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A natural experiment in westernization: Of Faustian deals and the primitive

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Abstract

Why do native societies vary in westernization and market exposure? Answering the question has proven hard owing to a cobweb of unseen, unmeasured factors. To answer the question I exploit a natural experiment the Spanish ran in the eastern slopes of the Bolivian Andes over four centuries with two native Amazonian societies: the Mosetén and the Tsimané'. Fraternal twins, the two groups share a language, myths, and genetic material but today differ in westernization, with the Mosetén acculturated, their language disappearing, while the Tsimané' remain one of the societies in the world with weakest links to the market, and their language rapidly expanding. To easily accessible areas along large, navigable rivers, where the Mosetén happened to dwell, Spanish brought western goods, behaviors, and values, while leaving alone people in more inaccessible areas, such as the Tsimané'. Heavy western presence in one area but not in another explains why some native societies found it easier to Westernize, but it does not explain why: **(a)** natives would have sidled to westerners, **(b)** some in the treated group, the Mosetén, did not move farther away to avoid European abuses and epidemics, or **(c)** some in the untreated group, the Tsimané', did not move closer to riverine boulevards to take advantage of the goods and services whites brought. **(a)** Natives lurched to westerners because westerners fulfilled Indian needs by giving them more efficient metal tools and protecting them against old tribal foes. Dwelling next to large rivers, the Mosetén entered into Faustian deals, settling in missions, learning Spanish, dressing in European ways, and abjuring polygyny and idolatry; by their own choosing they gave up their cultural soul for short-term gains. **(b-c)** Mosestén and Tsimané' did not move into each other's lands to take advantage or to avoid the treatment owing to a morass of cultural, psychological, and economic hurdles.

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Tsimane' still hunt, forage, fish, marry their cousins, speak their own tongue, use hallucinogenic, and sometimes eat each other. They travel in dug-out canoes, use bows, arrows, and dibles, and produce much of what they consume: their food, dwellings, salves, and tools. Their tribal cognates – Moxeños, Chiquitanos, Yuracaré – westernized centuries ago, and some of their former neighbors – Morochinas, Barisinas, and Moporoaboconos – disappeared or transmogrified in the maelstrom of conquest, evangelization, and illnesses ignited by the coming of whites. Solving the puzzle of why the Tsimane' thrived while others did not has little merit, except that in answering it one grasps why some tribals sold their souls to westerners while others did not -- or could not. In a forlorn nook of the world among a forgotten people we see in a petri dish how the lure of the market and the pull of customs allowed villagers to seal a Faustian pact: my soul for your beads, weapons, protection, and iron knives. Here westerners ran a natural experiment starting in the sixteenth century, bringing European merchandise, behaviors, and values to some places but not to other places. Some Indians directly touched by European ways and goods imbibed the treatment, but others kept their distance. The treatment had many parts – industrial goods, priests, epidemics, abuses, rebellions – making it hard to pin point the part of the treatment that changed tribals. It also makes the experiment messy that natives had volition, moving closer or farther from the treatment as they saw fit, and that the treatment had hiccups, with missionaries, homesteaders, and traders coming and going intermittently, drawn by mirages of wealth and souls to save, or pulled back to civilization by fatigue, illness, and failure. In this chapter I describe and interpret the experiment and the countervailing forces shaping the Mephistophelian deal, mine the ethnohistorical record to answer the query of why the Tsimane' burgeoned while others shriveled, and sift the trial for broader morals.

The setting

For the last half millennium Tsimane' history unfolded over three adjoining places: the jagged eastern spurs of the Andes sheltering the Beni River below the Inka empire, the upper reaches of smaller rivers such as the Maniqui and the Apere east of the Beni River, and the savannas to the north around the dusty, sleepy town of San Borja (Map 1). Ease of access adverted westerners to some groups and places; rivers, thick vegetation, autarky, and a Zen-like ethos put other tribes out of the reach of Europeans.

The treatment area and its people. Before Europeans came to Bolivia, the watershed of the Beni River and some of the savannas below had been a chiasmic mingling ground of people, a well-trodden meeting place of highlanders and lowlanders moving between mountains and rain forests (Dudley, 2008, 2011). As part of their eastward expansion from the highlands, Inka colonizers had garrisoned themselves at the edge of the piedmont, between the highlands above and the Amazon basin below, halted from further eastward encroachment by heat, humidity, tropical diseases, unfriendly topography, and defiant lowlanders (Maurtua, 1906, pp. 155-156, 162; Pärssinen & Siiriäinen, 2003). From their outposts, the people of the empire offered metals and salt to sylvan folks or to highlanders who had fled Inka imperialism to re-settle in the sheltered cliffs of the mountains (Renard-Casevitz, Saignes, & Taylor, 1988, p. 155). In exchange for goods from the lords, lowlanders supplied them with feathers, cotton, Brazil nuts, and medicinal plants (Maurtua, 1906, p. 165; Meyers, 2002, p. 79; Saignes, 1981, pp. 156, 158; 1985).

The region of interest includes the confluence of the rivers Beni and Quiquibey, and their tributaries such as the rivers Bopi and Cotacajes. After Europeans arrived, traffic in the Beni River rose. The river turned into a congested boulevard of explorers, missionaries, traders, and naturalists moving between the Amazon basin and the highlands (Renard-Casevitz et al., 1988, p. 153). The closeness of the upper Beni River to the highland city of La Paz lowered portage costs to settlements along the river, and the advantage pulled Catholic congregations to set up missions along this river and not elsewhere. In the Beni River Franciscans built and re-built missions in response to Indian attacks, civil wars, epidemics, and erratic finances. Of the missions they set up, three matter for the experiment. In the Missions of Covendo, Santa Ana, and Muchanes, built in 1842, 1815, and 1804 clergymen put up chapels to convert Mosetén Indians, one of the groups dwelling in the watershed (Aldazabal, 1988, 2005; Caspar, 1953, pp. 167-168). The Mosetén act as our treatment group because they dealt continuously with Europeans for centuries, and because they come from the same genetic (Bert, Corella, Gené, Pérez-Pérez, & Turbón, 2001), linguistic (Sakel, 2004, 2011), and cultural stock (R. Ellis, 1996, pp. 15-17) as the Tsimane', the untreated or control group out of the wayⁱ. Mosetén and Tsimane' call each other 'muntyi' or 'chaetidye', roughly near kin (Rebecca Ellis & Aráuz, 1998, p. 2; Sakel, 2009). By an accident in favor of science, Europeans happened to do the trial with biological and cultural fraternal twins at baseline.

The control areas and its people. The second place lies farther east, in the upper reaches of the Maniqui River, about one to two weeks walking from the watershed of the Beni River through "almost impenetrable forests" (Pauly, 1928, p. 116), or two weeks marching from the highland village of Tunari, Cochabamba, through a trail of tears, the "Golgotha path" the prim Swedish Baron Erland Nordenskiöld (2001 [orig 1924], p. 138; Wassén, 1997, pp. 21-22) called it. The region housed the Tsimane'ⁱⁱ (Wegner, 1929).

The place fell outside the riverine expressway, cost much to reach, and was bereft of the treasures Europeans sought – no gold here, no silver, no rubber trees, no grazing lands, no large population of pagans to entertain clergymen. When the men of the *caudillo* free-trader Bolivian President José Ballivián (1841-1847) turned their gaze to build ports along the navigable rivers flowing east to help steam-powered vessels reach the Atlantic ocean to enlarge Bolivia's exports, they ignored the serpentine little rivers crossing the area where the experiment was taking place, so full of rapids and narrow gulches going nowhere, hard to use during the rainy season because too turbulent, and impossible to use during the dry season because too shallow (Groff Greever, 1987; Palacios, 1944 [orig. 1849]; Pérez, 2007; Pinilla, 1904). The Tsimane' of the middle and upper Maniqui River act as our first control because they did not come in direct contact with westerners; some lurched to the Beni River to visit their Mosetén kin and missionaries farther west, but most Tsimane' seemed to have stayed put in the Maniqui River.

The third place and second control lies in the plains, toward the lower end of the Maniqui River, at the western edge of the Moxos savanna. Crowded with Indians speaking different tongues, the area was a busy transit hub for Amazonian and highland Indians travelling to and from each other's lands (Eguiluz, 1884 [orig. 1696], p. 44; Marbán, 2005 [orig.1700]). Called Churimanas or Chumanos, they were likely proto Tsimane' and might have belonged to a larger group called Movima (D. F. d. Altamirano, 2005 [orig. 1713], p. 75; Marbán, 2005 [orig.1700], p. 61). In this area, Jesuit Fathers Juan de Espejo, Francisco de Borja, and Ignacio de Sotomayor moving west from the missions of San Ignacio de Moxos and Trinidad set up a Jesuit stronghold against the intrusion of Franciscans sliding east from the hills of Apolobamba and Dominicans

moving north from the mountains of Cochabamba (Chávez Suárez, 1986, pp. 248-250; Chicchón, 1992). Established in 1693, the mission town of San Borja beacons the western frontier of the Jesuit Kingdom (Finot, 1978 [orig. 1938], p. 354), the outlying post from which Jesuits would launch forays to reach obdurate heathens hiding in the forests. The town was onerous to reach and commercial goods expensive to acquire, particularly during the rainy season, from November until April, when sloughs severed hummock settlements (Block, 1994, pp. 53-54). Before and during the first three years after the town's establishment, missionaries worked hard to convert natives. They baptized 200 children and enticed 120 souls to settle in the town (Eguiluz, 1884 [orig. 1696], p. 43). Then disgruntled Indians burned the chapel and made the staff flee at arrow point because the good priests had not brought enough metal tools to trade with the Indians, yet wanted Indians to relinquish their idolatry and mummeries (Beingolea, 2005 [orig. 1764?], p. 182; Chicchón, 1992, p. 50; Roca, 2001, p. 37). These proto Tsimane' also fall into the control group: people akin in culture to the Tsimane' upriver, but in wan contact with Europeans.

The demand and supply for Faustian deals: An overview

Just because Europeans brought their ways and goods to some places and not to other places gets one started in understanding why natives vary in westernization, but the story remains unfinished unless one can also explain why only some natives accepted the offers. In the Amazon, early Europeans did not have the staff, money, unity, or goods to arm-twist Indians to accept western ways, so they had to scheme with care where to go, what to bring, and who to accost. And Indians, for their part, with forests at their footsteps, could flee the "disagreeable" whites if they disliked them (Nordenskiöld, 1979 [orig. 1924], p. 12). So we first need to make sense of why some natives wanted Faustian deals and why Europeans brought those deals only to some places.

Demand. In the beginning was the demand for goods and services from Europeans: metal knives, metal axes, medicines, military protection, and the proverbial glass beads. The accounts of missionaries in the Bolivian lowlands from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century include many references to the commercial goods missionaries had to bring with them if they wanted to win the souls of pagans (Block, 1994; Finot, 1978 [orig. 1938], pp. 280-281; Rea Galloso, 2005, p. 25). The *donecillos* -- little gifts -- as missionaries affectionately called them with a touch of disdain, were not so little after all for the time and place, and included a hefty bundle of useful tools with a lagniappe of colorful beads, darning needles, and gimcracks thrown in to seal bargains. Alliances and conquest through gifts went back to Inka times, so Europeans walked on well-trodden paths when swapping gifts for favors (Renard-Casevitz et al., 1988, p. 153). Touring the Province of Moxos in the late seventeenth century, Father Marbán put it baldly:

*....with a knife we will save the soul of an Indian man from its enslavement to the Devil;
and with a necklace or beads we will save the soul of an Indian woman. Indians are
drawn to baptism and to the Catholic faith by short-term needs (Marbán, 2005
[orig. 1700], pp. 62-63)ⁱⁱⁱ.*

At about the same time (1696) as Marbán penned these lines, Jesuit Father Diego de Eguiluz echoed Marbán. Although they spoke the local tongues well, shielded Indians from warring

tribes, supplied them with western medicines and nostrums, and lived with them in the hinterlands, Jesuits found it onerous to prevail on Indians to settle in missions and join the faith unless Jesuits paid their customers for converting (Eguiluz, 1884 [orig. 1696], pp. 18, 23, 27-28, 34). For abjuring polygyny missionaries had to give a villager a metal knife (D'Orbigny, 1845, p. 175). Thirteen years after Father Marbán's account, Jesuit Father Diego Francisco de Altamirano (2005 [orig. 1713], p. 75) made entreaties to his superiors for more financial aid to buy fripperies: "beads, knives, and other little gifts to attract and convert Indians"^{iv}. In the early eighteenth century when Movima Indians walked out of the mission of San Lorenzo to go back to heathenism, its founder, Jesuit Father Baltazar de Espinoza, followed them "like a good shepherd", persuading them to return and "appease their brutal character with the one-act farce of little gifts...that he happened to have at hand" (D. F. Altamirano, 1979 [orig. ca 1710], p. 167)^v. Three centuries later, Nordenskiöld, who knew well South American Indians, went further than his predecessors by noting that Indians' thirst for commercial goods grew out of an entrenched wish to peddle:

It was as a merchant in darning-needles, knives, red handkerchiefs, glass beads, etc. that I travelled through the interior of El Gran Chaco, that I visited the Chácobo on Lago Rojo Aguado, the Atsahuaca in the frontier region of Peru and Bolivia, and various other tribes.....If it were not for trade, it would be still more difficult to study them. They are themselves traders, and therefore they understand that others may be traders too, even if they often suspect that trading is but an excuse (Nordenskiöld, 1999 [orig. 1927], pp. 126-127).

Indians during the early history of contact with Europeans wanted hardware, jewelry, and sewing kits, albeit perhaps not in that order. When writing about ironmongery after the conquest of the New World, Swiss anthropologist Alfred Métraux, a disciple of Nordenskiöld, called the arrival of European tools the "revolution of the metal axe" (Block, 1994, p. 102) and the nineteenth century French naturalists and explorer Alcides D'Orbigny (1845) called metal tools a convertible "currency with which one could buy any person"^{vi}. Métraux (1943) said that Jesuits in the province of Moxos had routinely "praised the Indians' good order, initiative, and willingness to become Christians", but added the earthly observation that Indians ingratiated themselves to the clergy only from their "desire to acquire free iron tools"^{vii}. Metal tools lowered time cutting or carving trees to farm or to make canoes, and metal pots bore rough treatment better than clay pots. Metals hooked Indians to missions. When Indians lacked the goods coveted by Europeans, they turned to raiding and enslaving their neighbors, and then swapping their captives for western glass beads and metal tools (Métraux, 1943, p. 6).

But to missions Indians came for reasons other than consumerism. Like Father Las Casas in Chiapas, Mexico, missionaries in the Bolivian lowland from the sixteenth century onward fended presumably hapless Indians from harm (Frésard-Asun Moreo, 1999; Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924]). Pragmatically, Indians arrived at missions to shield themselves from tribal warfare with old foes, unscrupulous *conquistadores*, slave raiders, merchants' imposture, and illness (Chicchón, 1992, p. 53; Eguiluz, 1884 [orig. 1696]; Gott, 1993, pp. 231-232; Guiteras Mombiola, 2011; Pérez Diez, 1983, pp. 104-105). Diseases scoured South America after Europeans came, but might have been lower in Jesuit missions (Livi Bacci, 2010). If so, then demand for missionaries as healers rose, though some Indians saw baptism and western medicines as lethal (D. F. Altamirano, 1979 [orig. ca 1710], pp. 167-168).

A bundle of dissonant, syncopated, needs and angst drew Indians to Europeans: the search for novelty, new ways of easing drudgery, and protection -- physical, political, medical. But to meet their needs Indians had to give back, and give back they did. Besides giving up the habiliments of their religion and offering Europeans their time and goods, Indians had to learn western music for church services, wear clothing, speak Spanish or the *lingua franca* of missionaries' choice (D. F. Altamirano, 1979 [orig. ca 1710]; Chávez Suárez, 1986, p. 256), live in missions, marry monogamously, and stomach Spanish huffishness and affronts.

The utilitarian hunger for European goods and services tells half the story; it only explains why Indians got closer to westerners. One also needs to ask: Why and how did European services and goods reach only some areas?

Supply. Because the tropical eastern slopes of the Andes were just below the highlands, they were easy to reach from the highlands, and were soon filled with *conquistadores* seeking gold, missionaries seeking souls, and traders seeking profits. One thinks of the Beni River extending from the highlands of the Department of La Paz to the Amazon basin as an example of what is meant here. In the Beni River rubber traders, gold panners, missionaries, and explorers traveled over and over again for centuries. Some of them put down roots, went native, crazy (or both), retired, and died in their huts, forgotten by the world beyond. In the brief mission of Igiñi two priests tried converting the Tsimane' to the faith until

...one went crazy and would go running to the forest until finally villagers found him dead, his body eaten by vultures. His companion was saddened because he was now alone and because villagers were not docile enough. One day while the priest was preparing a plot to farm, a large tree fell next to him. He thought his charges had tried to kill him by making the tree fall next to him. The incident frightened the poor missionary and made him leave the mission (Sans & Bravo, 1888, pp. 135-136)^{viii}.

A late nineteenth-century observer noted that for every year rusticated in a tropical mission, a clergyman gave up two years of life; like Mistah Kurtz, clergymen resembled "wandering ghosts risen from a tomb" after dwelling in missions (José Cardús, 1886, p. 162)^{ix}. Indians abutting the heavily-trafficked waterways found it easy to acquire industrial goods, and westerners found it inexpensive to bring their goods and their ways to settlements along the waterways. Easy travel, easy trade; both greased European settlement.

Farther away, in the upper reaches of the Maniqui River, Western goods were costlier to bring. Travelers moving from the Beni River to the Maniqui River keened about physical hardships, loss of mules, and spoilage of cargo. Other than the frisson of going down the rapids of the upper Beni River – a trope travelers used to swanker their bravery (José Cardús, 1886, p. 225; Mendizabal, 1932, pp. 33-34) -- one rarely hears such kvetches from travelers along the Beni River. The expenses of buying and bringing goods to outlying lands hurt missionaries because they had to subsidize these goods. In their letters to families and friends back in Europe missionaries asked them to send tools, books, clothing, and musical instruments so they could run parishes in the Bolivian Amazon. Operating with a thin budget at the outer edge of the Catholic Church and Spanish empire, missionaries and traders did not have the financial leverage to force Indians into their orbit.

Paying to bring goods to offside lands such as the Maniqui River would have been justified if the lands had priceless goods or many souls for Church and King, but they had neither.

The basin of the Maniqui River did not have commercial resources valued by Europeans, and the Tsimane' population was too small, scattered, at times shy (Califano, 1975), and transient to attract attention. Distance, few tradeable resources, and the cultural eccentricities of natives joined to turn the area and its people into the untreated category of the natural experiment.

The coming of westerners split the Mositén and the Tsimane' into an included and an excluded group. The included ones, the Mositén, happened to live next to arteries of commerce, decided to stay put, deal with Mephistopheles, profit from westernization, and pay the cultural price. They could have withdrawn east to the land of their kin only a couple of weeks away by foot, but did not for reasons we will never know (Montaño Aragón, 1989, p. 24). Perhaps by the time Europeans came the Mositén had already learned to handle foreigners from stratified societies. Before Europeans arrived the Mositén had spoken with emissaries of the Inka empire, mined their gold, and supplied them with coca leaves (Armentia Ugarte, 1905, p. 103; Saignes, 1981, pp. 156, 158). They knew how to handle inter-ethnic trade with more powerful partners from distant lands, and so might have found it easier to deal with Europeans than their uncouth Tsimane' kin secluded farther east (Renard-Casevitz et al., 1988). Or perhaps the Mositén impetuously thought only about short-term gains from outsiders. During the first half of the nineteenth century Alcides D'Orbigny saw the effects of the boom in cinchona bark (to cure malaria) on forest Indians, and concluded that they lived "without thinking about employment, or their own or their children's future, probably confident in the natural wealth of the nation, which is enough to satisfy their needs" [Quoted in (Pérez, 2004, pp. 101-102)]. Westerners moving down the Beni River hired Indians as guides and waxed lyrical about their matchless skills as rafters and stockers (Armentia, 1903, pp. 12-13; Haenke, 1974 [orig 1794-1796], pp. 129-130; Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 133; Pinilla, 1904; Sotomayor Valdés, 1876, p. 410). Flattered by outsiders' compliments and encouraged by the demand for their talents, Indians like the Mositén developed a monopoly on river transport. Possibly, the Mositén moved to westerners to inoculate themselves against warring neighbors, such as the Lecos and Tsimane' (Aldazabal, 1988). From here on it took a small step until the Mositén docilely settled in missions – epidemics, abuses and all – working for anyone willing to hire them, praying and singing at Church services, and doing menial tasks for priests during the interregnum between bouts of employment with outsiders.

The excluded group, the Tsimane', tarried in the nooks and rapids of the Maniqui River, far from westerners, in a hard-to-reach corner of the world. Travelers complained about the hardships of reaching the Tsimane', their low population, and the absence of anything valuable in their land. The market left out the Tsimane', but the Tsimane' stepped aside from the market, preferring to enjoy arms' length dealings with Europeans. Trade *à la carte* you might call it. The Tsimane' could have moved closer to the river highway had they wanted to profit from Westerners, but did not.

The Tsimane' of the Maniqui River, particularly those in its upper reaches, had all they needed to subsist well: wild animals, fish, crops, farmland, and wild plants for many ends. In this they resembled other native Amazonians. Nothing unusual here. But one good above others they had which made a difference to their material self-sufficiency: salt. The salt deposits around Pachene in the upper Maniqui River gave Tsimane' the anchor to enjoy meaningful autarky without having to mortgage themselves to outsiders. One source hints at the idea that the proto Tsimane' put guards around their salt deposit, so valuable it was; Indians in the piedmont without salt got it by raiding (Renard-Casevitz et al., 1988, p. 159). Tsimane' profited from a monopoly on salt as late as the first half of the twentieth century (Hissink, 1955; Hissink & Hahn,

1989; Métraux, 1942; Wegner, 1929). Direct access to salt licks sealed the economic autonomy of the Tsimane'. Since the upper Maniqui River did not lure slave raiders, *conquistadores*, traders, ranchers, or clergymen (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 152) – though it remained open to attacks from neighboring tribes – its people did not need to settle in missions for protection. And about metal tools, the addictive ticket to westernization, the Tsimane' took a Zen-like, Talmudic stoic stance: “Want not, lack not” (Sahlins, 1972, p. 11). Happy with what they had, like their “indolent” Moxeño neighbors, the Tsimane' “want[ed] nothing particularly” (Herndon & Gibbon, 1854, p. 224). Unlike other groups, the Tsimane' continued to use hafted stone adzes into the twentieth century (Métraux, 1942, p. 23; Nordenskiöld, 1979 [orig. 1924], pp. 115-116; Pauly, 1928, p. 117; Santamaría, 2005, p. 33) at a time when their neighbors had already graduated to the Iron Age. Possibly the Tsimane' used salt to swap for metal tools, but not directly with westerners, but from other Indians with direct access to industrial accoutrements (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 171).

The details of the natural experiment

The treatment over time: The Masetén. Europeans first met the proto Masetén in the sixteenth century, but left few accounts of their meetings. One such account comes from Spanish Captain Francisco de Angulo (1906 [orig. 1588]) based on interviews he held with the Masetén during August 1588. The survey script centered on queries to help the Spanish overcome hurdles to expansion: Would Inka roads, once repaired, allow the cavalry to travel with ease? Were native settlements in the backlands well populated and were its people friendly? Were the lands beyond rich in minerals and crops?

A soldier of fortune, Francisco de Angulo came to Bolivia with a chequered and colorful personal baggage. His father, Gonzalo Pérez de Angulo, a Spanish lawyer and governor of the island of Cuba, had freed the Indians of the island from slavery in the mid-sixteenth century, but later angered the crown and islanders for his inept defense of the port city of La Havana against French corsair Jacques de Sores. Soon after the scourging, burning, and looting of the port, the crown replaced him with Diego de Mazariegos, a soldier whose *métier* was to rule with a strong hand. When the elder Pérez de Angulo died, Mazariegos scandalized the island by living in a free union with Pérez de Angulo's eldest daughter, Francisca, whom he eventually married after her mother's death. And when her brother (now Mazariegos's brother-in-law), Francisco de Angulo, made a scene by brawling and drinking in public with ruffians, Mazariegos, indifferent to the feelings of his affinal kin, exiled Francisco and his friends from the island (Johnson, 2013 [orig. 1920], p. 193; Wright, 1916).

From Cuba Francisco de Angulo went to Mexico, and from Mexico he made his way to the Bolivian lowlands. The Masetén Francisco de Angulo questioned through translators told him Inka colonizers had arrived in their land shortly before the Spanish had set foot in Peru. The Inkas had appointed a figure head among the Masetén (Angulo, 1906 [orig. 1588], p. 94), built roads and bridges, panned gold, and brought goldsmiths and silversmiths. The Masetén guarded Inka bridges, served as rafters, and paid tribute in plumes, bows, arrows, Brazil nuts, cotton, and war clubs (Angulo, 1906 [orig. 1588], p. 92; Métraux, 1942, pp. 16-18). In parts of the interview, the Masetén come across as obedient servants of the Inkas, bilingual or perhaps even tri-lingual in Masetén, Quechua, and Aymara (Armentia Ugarte, 1905, pp. 117, 214), but in other parts they come across as bellicose. The late French ethnohistorian Thierry Saignes (1981) noted that the ostensibly meek Masetén and their neighbors had fled from Cochabamba and the expansionist

Inkas to hide in the cliffs of the eastern Andes. Protected by an indomitable landscape and aided by alliances with neighboring Indians, the proto Mosestén assailed Inka outposts, terrorized Spanish gold panners, raided highland settlements in Cochabamba (Jackson, 1994, p. 25), levied tributes on travelers (Nordenskiöld, 1979 [orig. 1924], p. 11), and gained credentials as stubborn warriors (Renard-Casevitz et al., 1988, p. 154; Saignes, 1981, pp. 157-158).

Onda, one of the Indians interviewed by Angulo, told Angulo that the proto Mosestén about 20 years earlier had killed a party of Spanish travelling from Cochabamba looking for minerals. The spendthrift rake Viceroy of Peru, Conde de Nieva, during his brief tenure (1561-1564) as Viceroy had sent expeditions into the Ecuadorian, Peruvian, and Bolivian Amazon to enlarge his coffer and the Crown's. As part of the scheme, he sent Captain Diego Aleman in 1564 to explore and settle the eastern slopes of the Bolivian Andes (Aleman, 1897 [orig. 1564], p. 200). He was to ask about roads and rivers, Indian support, supply of forage for horses and victuals for men, and, most importantly, the whereabouts of gold and silver lodes. To carry out the plan, Aleman enlisted the help of Indian guides knowledgeable about Inka roads to Moxos and 8-10 Spanish soldiers (Sánchez Canedo, 2014). The journey brought mixed rewards. In portions of the trail knee-high swamps slowed the journey and deprived horses and men of food. Elsewhere they found plenty of manioc and maize for the taking (Aleman, 1897 [orig. 1564], pp. 196-197). The Indians the Spanish met along the way told Aleman that they warred with an ethnic group called Pacaxas. They also told the Spanish about Amazon women and the fabled El Dorado – just beyond. As if to whet the Viceroy's appetite, Aleman described an abundance of meat, gold, and silver he presumably saw. But the trip ended sourly. One of his soldiers, Francisco de Arraya, brazenly cut a hanging basket with his sword to take six objects of gold and two of silver. He died a few days later pierced by five arrows. Aleman himself, a tall, broad-shouldered, bearded man, who even in the field dressed elegantly in coat of mail, with leather pants and boots (but no cotton socks, Onda insisted), and a hat capped with a white feather, also met his end when Indians fleeced him, stuffed his body with straw, and put his gibbeted corpse in the house of an Indian chief. Along with Aleman, Indians killed all but two of Aleman's soldiers (Church, 1901, p. 148; Gott, 1993, p. 216; Markham, 1859, p. 172; Pérez Diez, 1983). The two survivors came back to tell their tale, one with a sample of gold dying shortly after returning, unable to enjoy his bounty. Some said Indians had not killed Aleman, but only kept him prisoner, short of a thumb (Aleman, 1897 [orig. 1564], p. 200). The bravest Indians took the knives and swords of their victims, but none dared take their arquebuses (Angulo, 1906 [orig. 1588], p. 96). Some twenty years after the killing, Onda warned Angulo not to go forward with his retinue because he would encounter thick resistance from murderous Indians who would not waver about killing the Spanish "like flies". From the shards of evidence one senses a brave mettle among the old Mosestén.

A thicker account of European contact with the ancient Mosestén took place 30 years after Francisco de Angulo's journey, and comes to us from Franciscan Father Gregorio de Bolívar (Bolívar, 1906 [orig. 1621]), an avid, strong-willed Spanish proselytizer against the Protestant expansion of the time. He travelled widely in the New World, and wrote to the Viceroy of Peru and the Catholic Church in Europe about conditions in Peru, Bolivia, Mexico, and Virginia. In 1631, while travelling through the eastern lowlands of Bolivia as part of a program to "quell rivalry among missionary orders, prepare a native clergy, ... encourage missionary adaptation to local conditions" (Bond, Perkowski, & Weber, 2002, p. 71), and find the fabled gold city of Paititi (Gandia, 1946, pp. 223-227; Saignes, 1981, p. 152), he and his two Franciscan companions were saint Sebastian-like, "*artoribus allegati et sagittis transverberati*" – tied to

trees and shot with arrows, by Indians (Bond et al., 2002, p. 86), possibly Masetén (Chávez Suárez, 1986, p. 84).

His report to the Viceroy of Peru on the Indians of the eastern slopes of the Bolivian Andes dates to 1628 and comes in the heels of an earlier, unsuccessful attempt to enter the Amazon eight years earlier (Saignes, 1981, pp. 145, 148), with a Creole translator, guitarist, harpist, and impostor, Diego Ramírez Carlos, who told villagers he carried royal Inka blood (Armentia Ugarte, 1905, pp. 197-198; Pérez Diez, 1983). Father de Bolívar's report covers the landscape and people of the piedmont of the Province of Apolobamba down to the confluence of several rivers. In the report he passes on the frisson of adventure he felt during a thirteen-day raft trip down gulches above the present-day town of Rurrenabaque, probably near an area now known as "estrecho de bala" (E. R. Heath, 1882, p. 145). As Father de Bolívar tarried somewhere near the confluence of the rivers Quiquibey and Beni, he was fêted by a headman, Apocasira, who lionized him, and made offers of hospitality, including offering one of his sons for conversion. Touched by Apocasira's bonhomie, and to gently ensnare him and his people to European ways, Father de Bolívar requited the gesture by offering commercial goods, all in the spirit of great comity. While beguiling away time as Apocasira's guest, Father de Bolívar received a visit from emissaries of Apucuitini, the chief of the Chumanos or Chomanos -- probably the ancestors of today's Tsimane' (Métraux, 1942, pp. 15-16) -- who had come in five rafts to fetch the Father (Bolívar, 1906 [orig. 1621], p. 227). Seems the headman of the Chomanos was upset that his nemesis, Apocasira, had hogged Father de Bolívar. The trip to the land of the Chomanos along the Beni River paid off. Father de Bolívar had nothing but praise for their land and its people. They are "good", he tells us, strong and well dressed, these Chomanos, and they are eager to have missionaries convert them. He speaks of their nonpareil land as not only "fertile", but also as the "strongest, freshest... happiest" and the "best" place of the region (p. 218, 220).^x

Father de Bolívar's shilling for the Catholic Church is at once intriguing, elliptical, gnomic, informative, but ultimately equivocal, raising many questions. As was true of explorers, soldiers, and missionaries of the time (Fernández-Armesto, 2007), we cannot tell from his tale whether the encomiums are earnest, or whether Father de Bolívar dissembles by sedulously using cant to win endorsement for missionary work among a benighted people. Spanish officials discountenanced de Bolívar's inflated estimate of the native population and their professed fealty to the King of Spain (Chicchón, 1992, p. 48; Saignes, 1981, p. 148). The eagerness of locals to offer hospitality to a stranger, including giving up one of their own for conversion, if true, raises the question of whether locals wanted to swap their faith for material gains (Dudley, 2008, pp. 148-149) -- a kind of Faustian deal -- as their Moxeño neighbors would do with Jesuits during the sixteenth century (Block, 1994) or as West Africans did when dealing with the first Portuguese on their lands (da Costa, 1985), or whether Father de Bolívar used the incident to tell his superiors about the fertile ground for future missionary work. Nor can we pinpoint the groups he met. Those he met might have been Tsimane', Masetén, Lecos, Aguachiles, Pamainos, or Tacanas. Early writers committed the venial sins of lumping Indians under one header, *chunchos*, today roughly churl or savage but in colonial times any tribe in the eastern Andes (Aldazabal, 1988; Varese, 2002, p. 41), or in its diminutive paternalistic version, *chunchitos*, or splitting them into finer lexical glosses to capture a group's location or its chief's name (Rebecca Ellis & Aráuz, 1998, p. 2)^{xi}.

If the people visited by Father de Bolívar belonged to the ancestral Masetén-Tsimane' dyad, then at least one arm dwelled along the upper Beni River, near the rivers Quiquibey and

Bopi (Aldazabal, 1988). Their land spanned from the redoubt of Espia in the highlands to the multi-ethnic, entrepreneurial “outpost of civilization”, the Babelian town of Reyes in the lowlands (Armentia Ugarte, 1905, p. 217), in a string of villages along the Beni River, extending east to Cochabamba (Aldazabal, 1988; Sanabria Fernández, 1973, p. 30). Espia sets the upper contour of the treatment area. Literary ‘spy’ or ‘vigil point’, Espia served as a watchtower from which highlanders eyed Masetén coca raiders climbing up from the lowlands (Armentia, 1903, p. 24; Balzan, 1893, p. 4), often during the rainy season (Armentia Ugarte, 1905, p. 103; Saignes, 1981, pp. 156, 158).

From the snippet of Father de Bolívar we can infer that the forefathers of the Masetén must have belonged to a stratified society to have had leaders and emissaries. Indeed, one of the contemporary myths of the Masetén and Tsimane’ tells of how in ancient times a woman used to boss over them (Jürgen Riester, 1993, p. 97). She assigned chores to her underlings and redistributed goods among them, redolent of what the neighboring Inkas did (Caspar, 1953, p. 169). An ethnohistorical account from 1644 speaks of a “fat, corpulent, dark-skinned” proto Masetén chief wearing gold ornaments, carried in a litter by 200 porters (Renard-Casevitz et al., 1988, p. 159). The Masetén Father de Bolívar met come across as pushy, sophisticated consumers, knowledgeable about the gains from inter-ethnic trade.

But some of their self-assertive, enterprising chine would dissolve in the coming centuries. In their search for gold and silver, Spanish adventurers crisscrossed the land of the Masetén, some coming from the highlands, others from Cochabamba, the rest from Santa Cruz (Aldazabal, 1988, p. 75; Mendizabal, 1932, p. 49). As they rifled the area, Europeans set up ephemeral settlements, disease effacing the settlements as fast as they went up. During 1675-1679 the Governor of Santa Cruz, Benito de Rivera y Quiroga, with his cabal of fortune seekers tried building a path from the highlands of Cochabamba to the lowlands of Moxos, touching on the upper Beni and the Maniqui rivers, only to abandon the chimera when they found no gold or silver (Armentia, 1905, p. 33). And for good reason since the precious minerals coveted by the Spanish had been more precious to Inka emissaries centuries earlier than to semi-nomadic native Amazonians in the seventeenth century (Métraux, 1942, p. 18), who most likely wanted to hide the lodes (Renard-Casevitz et al., 1988). When the adventurers left, two Dominican clergymen, Francisco del Rosario and José Morillo, who had shadowed the troupe, stayed behind to catechize. They found the Masetén decimated by smallpox, “well disposed toward the missionaries whom, in their misery, they must have regarded as potential saviors” (Métraux, 1942, p. 17). As in Moxos, so too in the land of the Masetén: with the spread of new ailments some Indians careened to the ambit of western ways and nostrums (Livi Bacci, 2010) by moving closer to large rivers (Santamaría, 2005, p. 15) or to missions, and, as in Moxos, here too clergyman tried to redress some of the wrongs civilians inflicted on Indians. All this happened in a brief time. Fifty years after Father de Bolívar’s visit, the Masetén still lived along the Beni River, scattered over 80-100 settlements, mixed in with other Indian groups (Métraux, 1942, pp. 15-16)^{xii}.

We know little about the Masetén during the silent eighteenth century (Barnadas & Plaza, 2005, p. 18). In 1729 Diego Quint Ridaño paid for an expedition into Masetén lands from which nothing followed (Maúrtua, 1906, pp. 423-424). During the late eighteenth century the Masetén resurface as pragmatic consumers of commercial goods. In the mission of San Francisco de Masetenes, founded in 1792, at the confluence of the rivers Bopi and Cotacajes, Franciscan fathers José Jorquera and Agustín Martí resettled 26 Masetén families, hoping to lure other Masetén into the Church (Delgado Zerda, 2012, p. 87), but to no avail since the clergymen had

no industrial wares to bait natives. Father Jorquera acknowledged that despite his best efforts, the venal Masetén refused to give up polygyny or to have their offspring baptized for fear children would die from the sacrament. Fittingly and in distress, Father Jorquera confessed it “was almost impossible” to entice the Masetén to put down roots in the mission, but added, pragmatically, that if the clergymen had more goods they could convert the stubborn heathens (Mendizabal, 1932, pp. 55-58). Only with “clothing, mirrors, knives, rosaries and other knick knacks” (Mendizabal, 1932, p. 59), he said, could the Church ever hope to draw the Masetén into Christian fellowship for good.

The Masetén repined for commercial goods and stole, kidnapped, and perhaps even killed to get them (Armentia Ugarte, 1905, pp. 102-103). In 1796 Augustinian Father Lázaro Agramonte guided by Leco Indians was rafting along the Beni River near a place called Tinendo or Chiboy (Sans & Bravo, 1888, p. 123) on his way to the Mission of San Francisco de Masetenes, bringing clothes, knives, axes, and food to the mission. Suddenly, five disgruntled Magdalenos – a thuggish group of Masetén known for raiding and enslaving -- hiding behind a scrim of vegetation showered the raft with arrows, riddling Father Agramonte’s body, but also losing the cargo when the panicked guides dumped it in the water in a frenzied attempt to hide below the raft and float downriver (Armentia, 1905, p. 232; Mendizabal, 1932, pp. 57-59; Sans & Bravo, 1888, pp. 134, 136). A mix of Masetén consumerism and enduring Masetén-Leco feuding most likely triggered the raid (Sotomayor Valdés, 1876, p. 410).

And then there is Father Bernardo Jiménez Bejarano who in 1800, following the path of Benito de Rivera y Quiroga more than a century earlier (Armentia Ugarte, 1905, p. 211), reached the confluence of the rivers Beni and Cotacajes to convert the Masetén, but left after a few months when he ran out of goods to swap. Shallow Christians, Indians relinquished heathenism, but only if Fathers requited the gesture with useful goods; when the flow of wares stopped, Masetén left (Armentia, 1903, pp. 5-6). The economic self-sufficiency of the Masetén gave them full puissance to take on missionaries. “They have abundant agriculture and fish,” Father Bejarano wrote, “and very few fevers, they produce peanuts, yucca [cassava], green chilies, papaya, cotton, beans, plantains, and bananas” [Quoted in (Vallvé, 2010, p. 300)]. The Masetén had almost everything needed to carry out a snug lifestyle. As Father Bejarano left, “he told [the Masetén] he would return with mirrors, adzes, machetes, and colorful handkerchiefs, which they value greatly and make them very happy” (Mendizabal, 1932, pp. 61-62)^{xiii}.

The tough stance Masetén took against missionaries as trade partners they offset with a soft spot for missionaries as a wall against grafters and raiders. Take the mission of San Miguel de Muchanes, established in the early nineteenth century. Before the founding of the mission the proud Masetén of Tinendo – the same ones who had murdered Father Agramonte in 1796 -- organized a successful sortie to kill and enslaved Leco Indians. Years later Tomasa Tuliapo, an odalisque from the raid, and Gaspar Cristóbal, a Masetén man, seem to have grown fond of western ways, and went to the friars asking them to set up a mission in Tinendo. We do not know if the request came from a wish to obtain commercial goods, from a need to shield themselves from retaliatory raids by the Leco (Sotomayor Valdés, 1876, p. 410), from a change of religious heart, or from a mix of motives. Be that as it may, Franciscan clergymen came and founded the mission of San Miguel de Muchanes at Tinendo (Sans & Bravo, 1888, pp. 115-116). In asking clergymen to set up a mission in the same place from which they had launched raids, the Masetén took a symbolic step disavowing their fighting heritage. They exchanged their warring cultural soul for protection and access to commercial goods, while Franciscans gained bragging rights from the souls they saved. Both won. The incident also highlights a leitmotif in

the post-colonial history of the Masetén and Tsimane' (and other lowland groups): asking missionaries to settle in villages for trade and support (Armentia Ugarte, 1905, p. 214; Finot, 1978 [orig. 1938], p. 285; Saignes, 1985, p. 85).

The Masetén vanished from ethnohistorical accounts but return a wisp of their former contumacious self to bespeckle the writings of Franciscan missionaries from the start to the end of the nineteenth century. Spearheaded by a charismatic, polymathic priest from Spain, Father Andrés Herrero, Franciscans came back with adamant faith at the beginning of the nineteenth century determined to leave an indelible spiritual footprint along the basin of the Beni River (Manzano, 1945, p. 20). In a *lapsus linguae*, some referred to Father Herrero's coming to the Beni as a *reconquista* ("re-conquest"), a battle in which clergymen would take no spiritual prisoners (Sans & Bravo, 1888, p. 136).

Born in Spain in 1782 and trained in philosophy and, later, as a Franciscan in Zaragoza, Father Herrero came to Bolivia after a short stint in Peru, where his supervisors, impressed by his preternatural drive and fluency in languages, found him well suited and with the nous to thrive in the hardship posts of the Masetén (Sans & Bravo, 1888, p. 20). He arrived in the Beni in 1813 and two years later founded a second mission in Santa Ana, rekindled the mission of Muchanes, and, in 1819, set up the first of many missions at Covendo, the plinth stone of Franciscan work in the region. He leaned toward setting up missions with charges from only one ethnic group in each mission because of the added effort to erase old grudges between people from different societies sharing the same space, especially during bibulous festivities (Sans & Bravo, 1888, p. 122). More importantly, he saw the need to sprinkle missions throughout the forests suited to the landscape and idiosyncrasies of each society – bringing the Church to the Indians – rather than having Indians sucked into the vortex of a central mission (Sans & Bravo, 1888, p. 137). Gifted in languages, he wrote the first Masetén grammar as a missal (Herrero, 1834; Sakel, 2004, p. 8), delivered homilies in Masetén (Sans & Bravo, 1888, p. 124), went to the Maniqui River where he wrote a diary (since lost) with the first ethnographic notes about the Tsimane', and sailed to Europe for two years to enlist missionaries and raise money. Done with dashing brio and managerial vim, the achievements took place during South America's wars of independence, at a time when anti-Iberian and anti-clerical animus peaked (Comajuncosa & Corrado, 1884, p. 305), the flow of missionaries and resources from the Old World to the New World dwindled, and the Church's loyalty to Spain was loudest (Langer & Jackson, 1988, p. 292; Schuller, 1917, pp. xviii-xix).

The Masetén and Father Herrero engrossed themselves in long-term and short-stem economic and spiritual exchanges. He knew that conversion required attention to matters spiritual and material in equal temper. He kept to himself his animadversions on Masetén religion, and avoided public invectives against their paganism (Sans & Bravo, 1888, p. 125). Like another traveler of the time who visited the Masetén (Parish, 1835, p. 100), Father Herrero admired their healing skills and knowledge of medicinal plants, placing them above those of European physicians (Sans & Bravo, 1888, p. 125). In 1815 when he first visited the place that would become the mission of Santa Ana, the Masetén he met told him they had ample farmland and game and did not wish to move from Santa Ana to any mission, up or down river. Like their ancestors had done in the same watershed with Father de Bolívar two centuries earlier, the Masetén offered some of their children for baptism as a gesture of good will. Because he worked in another mission, Father Herrero told the Masetén he could not live with them, but added that he could send a clergyman from Peru to live with them. From the ministrations of the clergy and the conversion of the natives, he thought, would come "many advantages in spiritual

and material matters” (Sans & Bravo, 1888, p. 122)^{xiv}. After singing church hymns, Father Herrero went to bed, but not without first offering bagatelles of sewing needles, tapes, knives, rosaries, and sugar to his hosts, gifts which the Masetén repaid with sweet potatoes, manioc, maize, cotton, and salt (Sans & Bravo, 1888, p. 122)^{xv}. By offering western bibelots now, he seemed to be making tangible the future benefits of conversion; a taste of my trinkets now for your souls later.

In their zeal to convert the Masetén, Father Herrero and his entourage unleashed a spate of cultural and economic changes. The sedulous clergymen brought cattle but stopped the Masetén from spontaneously butchering it for a hearty meal, as had happened with the herds of previous missionaries (Mendizabal, 1932, p. 63). They brought gunpowder, metal axes, metal cooking pots, industrial clothing, books, religious icons, musical instruments, salt, and, to the natives, exotic albeit jejune foods such as wheat flour (Sans & Bravo, 1888, pp. 124, 129). Father Herrero set up schools, trained blacksmiths, carpenters, spinner, and weavers, taught Spanish and church hymns, and offered the musically-gifted lessons in Western classical music. During one rainy spell when trapped in the mission of Santa Ana, Father Herrero taught

...music to the little savages, who then learned it; I had the pleasure of listening to them play their instruments and sing church songs, the Rosary, and other prayers (Manzano, 1945, p. 20)^{xvi}.

Bringing commercial goods from the highlands to the Masetén made life easier for the Masetén as they no longer had to journey up to raid or swap. One account says that when Father Herrero returned from the highlands laden with clothing, tools, and musical instruments for the mission his charges broke out in bathetic cries of joy at seeing the cargo (Sans & Bravo, 1888, p. 22). As the warehouse of missionaries filled up, the Tsimane’, the Visquitunis, the Quetotos, and other heathens came asking clergymen to set up missions in their lands (Sans & Bravo, 1888, p. 136). By the mid-nineteenth century, the Masetén talked missionaries into closing one of their best missions and re-opening it upriver in Covendo, a place with better climate, cleaner water, and more wildlife (Sans & Bravo, 1888, pp. 142-145).

Western goods and services came at a price. To obtain from day to day the friars’ goods, the Masetén had to settle in missions, work half-time for the church (Balzan, 1893, p. 26), con catechism and church songs, and go to school during weekdays and to mass on Sundays. In school they learned to read and write, and obedience. On Saturday afternoons skivvies showed obeisance by collecting firewood, washing mats, and bringing flowers to the church. After a hunt, missionaries expected gifts of meat, and during festivities gifts of food and eggs. In the morning, noon, and at the end of each day, school children lined up to greet the clergymen. Before nightfall the *cacique*, an Indian boss, “would show up to debrief the clergymen of the work done”^{xvii} (Balzan, 1893, pp. 26-27). Under the supervision of an Indian foreman, the helots of cooks, servants, and butlers catered to the clergymen. No more polygyny, missionaries said with hauteur (Sans & Bravo, 1888, p. 142), yet randy priests kept Indian mistresses (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 141). Masetén officers flogged real or perceived miscreants (Balzan, 1893, p. 24), putting them in makeshift gaols with stocks for punishment (Sans & Bravo, 1888, pp. 125, 137) and beat church scofflaws (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 132). Friars reprimanded Masetén for their indolence, for fleeing missions when the supply of industrial wares ran out, for their “abominable propensity to return to the forest” (“*maldita propensión al*

monte”) during fish runs, and for their unbroken love of magic and superstition (Sans & Bravo, 1888, pp. 117, 130).

Reared in religious and social hierarchy, friars felt at ease commanding natives, yet borrowed Andean seals of authority so pagans could grasp the power of the Church. Clergymen tailor-made the offices of *mayordomos*, *mandones*, *caciques*, and *capitanes* for their elite Indian vassals. Arriviste bosses had the right to use a wooden verge with a silver handle, redolent of seigniorial highland trappings of authority. Priests used hand-picked Indians bosses as their brokers with the ruck (Langer & Jackson, 1988) and as substitutes when priests had to leave missions (Pinilla, 1904). Masetén understood the symbols and authority, their supine obedience to chiefs going back to myths and their earliest encounters with Europeans. Experience with rank made it easy for the Masetén to segue into missions.

Nordenskiöld (2001 [orig 1924], p. 173), always sympathetic to missionaries and the plight of Indians (Isacssons, 1997, pp. 37-39; Lindberg, 2008; Nordenskiöld, 2003 [orig. 1922]), applauded friars’ work after his 1913 visit to the mission of Covendo. While there he heard of no prostitution, venereal diseases, infertility, or contraception, but berated priests for not doing more with public health. Life expectancy was short (below 50 years of age), he noted, and child mortality and fertility high. On the social side, the Masetén enjoyed “prosperity because missionaries protect them from exploitation, and the Indians know it” (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p.173). Federico Araona, his attendant and translator, went further and told Nordenskiöld that:

...even though the Masetén still follow their traditional beliefs, they want to continue with the priests because the priests protect them from debt slavery to the Whites. The Masetén have a lot of clothing, tools, shotguns, and even sewing machines^{xviii} (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 173).

True, missions sheltered Masetén from the grift of whites (Sans & Bravo, 1888, p. 145), but some Masetén found prestations rebarbative. The Masetén stayed in missions to get industrial goods, but also balked by dragging their feet, by keeping secret their aboriginal faith (Armentia Ugarte, 1905, pp. 137-139), or by obeying Indian bosses only when they felt like it (Armentia, 1903, pp. 5-6). Some stood up to supercilious priests by threatening to harm them (Sans & Bravo, 1888, pp. 119, 140), others returned to a peripatetic life outside of missions (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], pp. 138-139), and still others joined roving bands of rubber tappers and gatherers of cinchona bark, going as far as Madre de Dios, Peru, never to return again (Pifferi & Ducci, 1895, pp. 169-170).

Changes in Masetén culture came not just from clergymen, but also from the regional economy. Shortly after Franciscan missionaries re-entered the Beni River in the early nineteenth century, trade in rubber, cacao, cinchona bark, and coffee took off, with the upper Beni River having some of Bolivia’s best cacao and cinchona bark (Gibbon, 1854, p. 108; Haenke, 1974 [orig 1794-1796], p. 133; Herndon & Gibbon, 1854, p. 196), and Bolivia some of the best in the world (Rocco, 2004, p. 241). During the cinchona frenzy flocks of unruly gatherers from as far as Peru overran forests with cinchona trees in Bolivia (Pérez, 2002; 2004, p. 107). They worked under a foreman, feeding on an impoverished diet, quaffing ardent spirits, answering only to their creditors. They reputedly rooked the Masetén by taking advantage of their poor math skills (Balzan, 1893, pp. 45-46). Despite possible abuses, seems Indians freely gave up village life to take up jobs as prospectors, gatherers, and carriers of the bark (Pérez, 2004, pp. 100-101). As

the stocks of cinchona bark in accessible areas gave out, merchants and gatherers fanned out to outlying places, including the wilderness of the department of Cochabamba and the Maniqui River (Herndon & Gibbon, 1854, pp. 192-193; Pérez, 2002, p. 218; 2003; Vallvé, 2010, p. 99).

During the cinchona boom, roughly from the 1850s until the 1880s, the government of Bolivia tried to manage trade by fixing export prices and by allowing only three firms to gather and export the bark, but order gave way to unruly commerce in the hinterlands, away from the reach of the government, as smugglers, drawn by green lust, vied and fought each other to get the best first, selling it to the highest bidders, typically Peruvian buyers who surreptitiously repassed Bolivia's forest (Armentia, 1903, pp. 12-13; Pérez, 1998; Rocco, 2004, p. 239; Vallvé, 2010, pp. 116-117). The economic hebetude of the region had ended. In the new economy the Mosestén applied their old skills as rafters and porters, first to bark, then to sap (Vallvé, 2010, pp. 119-120, 299, 301).

Missionaries and traders travelled side by side, competing for the same customers, clearing, erasing, and following each other's trails. As molten trade spread, Franciscan missionaries placed themselves as a shield, protecting the Mosestén from the rest of the world (Caspar, 1953, pp. 167-168) and took steps to dampen the presence of outsiders in missions. This they accomplished by forbidding the entry of whites to missions (Aldazabal, 2005, p. 2) and by bringing store-bought goods from the highlands to missions so that the Mosestén would not have to rely on outsiders. Bolivian historian Carlos Pérez (1998, p. 37) says that as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, priests became creditors, proffering goods to Indians in exchange for future deliveries of cinchona bark, "a system of debt peonage that undercut" the profits of private cinchona traders and fueled bitterness between merchants and clergymen. To lessen the need for outsiders, priests promoted food self-sufficiency by having Indians in the missions grow maize, plantains, manioc, cotton, peanuts, and beans, and raise chickens, pigs, ducks, and sheep. To earn cash, friars had the Mosestén grow tradeable crops, such as coffee, coca, and rice (Aldazabal, 2005, p. 2; Balzan, 1893, p. 39). In firming up their monopsony, missionaries refused to clear paths to rural towns such as San Borja or Tunari, Department of Cochabamba, for fear cozeners, profligacy, and inebriants would flow osmotically into missions and undermine missionaries' grip on Indians (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 125; Pauly, 1928, p. 22). Prohibitionists, missionaries believed that alcohol vitiated Noble Savages. The quest for mission self-sufficiency appeared in other ways. Missions had their own schools, guest quarters, carpentry and blacksmith shops, kilns to make clayware, rice-hulling machines, sugar mills, and clinics (José Cardús, 1886, pp. 160-161). Mission festivities glued residents and broke the dullness of quotidian life. Nordenskiöld's guide, Federico Araona, turned down a lucrative employment offer from Nordenskiöld because the work would have taken place during the mission festivals he wanted to attend (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 142). Missions resembled gentle, porous total institutions, *sensu* Foucault (1995 [orig. 1975]) and Goffman (1961), with their own civil law, friars having plenary power. Bolivian historian Enrique Finot called missions a theocracy under the soft yoke of clergymen (1978 [orig. 1938], pp. 281, 371-373).

What kept the Mosestén under the gravitational pull of clergymen in the carapace of missions? Friars knew their Mosestén vassals remained in missions to get commercial goods: at first, trinkets and metal tools, which quickly displace stone axes (Armentia Ugarte, 1905, pp. 122-123), but later to fetch hunting rifles and must-haves such as clothing and salt (Balzan, 1893, p. 33). Acknowledging Indians cared only about consumables and the practical, one missionary called them "greedy savages" ("*bárbaros codiciosos*") (Mendizabal, 1932, p. 63). Even the

Magdalenos, one of the most rebellious Masetén, some of whom purposefully lived away from missions, would “every now and then ... appear at the missions of Tinendo or Santa Ana to obtain a supply of tools” (Sans & Bravo, 1888, pp. 136-137)^{xix}. When friars closed missions from epidemics, fires, or penury, they knew Indians would backslide to heathenism for they would no longer get paid for conversion (Mendizabal, 1932, pp. 56-57; Nordenskiöld, 1979 [orig. 1924], pp. 14-16, 174; Sans & Bravo, 1888, p. 140). The Italian Franciscan Daniel Mancini who spent 14-16 years preaching alone with nothing but a “cross in hand” (Church, 1901, p. 149) among native Amazonians in Bolivia during the mid-nineteenth century tells us of how the chief of one group he befriended put in a special customer order with him, detailing the goods the clergyman was expected to bring back on his next trip from the city of La Paz (Sotomayor Valdés, 1876, pp. 407-408).

Had missionaries their own pelf to supply Indians with the commercial goods Indians wanted, or had the synods or the government subsidized clergymen’s work, missionaries would not have needed to peddle with outsiders. With no such luck, friars had to reach out to those beyond the mission. To import goods, missions had to engage with the outside world, much as they would have liked to keep apart. During the nineteenth century the government of Bolivia did not pay missionaries in the Department of Beni (Comajuncosa & Corrado, 1884, p. 306; Sotomayor Valdés, 1876, p. 407), and transfers from synods came late, erratically, and did not cover all mission expenses (Sans & Bravo, 1888, pp. 129, 131). Missionaries had to wrest resources of their own by relying on alms, by asking for private donations, or by engaging with the market through primitive credit, or through the sale of goods and services of their charges.

In one form of exchange, friars gave out goods to Indians expecting future repayment in cash or in goods from those in hock. Clergymen brought canned salt from Espia to distribute among the Masetén in missions, with some goods earmarked for Indian bosses. Recipients went to the town of Reyes to sell the salt for the priests (Armentia Ugarte, 1905, p. 127), but used the trips to sell some of their own crops, and with these earnings repaid the clergymen for the highland goods they had received on trust (Balzan, 1893, p. 33; Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 174).

In another form of exchange, this time of labor, the Masetén hired themselves out as rafters and loaders in agreements enforced by missionaries (Balzan, 1893, p. 45), with priests and workers cleaving profits (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 134; Vallvé, 2010, pp. 300-302). Besides supplying travelers with guides, missionaries also supplied them with food and tools (José Cardús, 1886, pp. 163, 168), and refused to help those who could undermine ecclesiastical work (Pinilla, 1904). Julio Knaut, an engineer who during 1904 travelled along the Beni River assessing the feasibility of building a public trail from the highlands to the rain forest, tried to hire Indian cargo handlers and rafters only to find no takers because the priest had told his followers to reject all employment offers from outsiders. Possibly, the priest saw the trail as a threat to the church’s stranglehold over the Masetén. Roiled, Knaut wrote to the Bolivian Congress:

I find the conduct of the priest unjustifiable. Even though he knew better than anyone else the difficulties I would encounter in my travels, he absolutely refused to provide me with the six rafters I needed. This happened even though he had more than 100 men available in the missions of Santa Ana and Covendo, of whom he planned to use no more than 20 for his trip to La Paz, leaving behind at least 40 idle men with nothing to do^{xx}.

To further sabotage Knaut's visit, the *cacique* of Covendo told its residents to leave the mission before Knaut's arrival. When Knaut and his men set foot in Covendo, moil turned to wrath. Not only had the missionary refused to give him helpers, but he had flushed the mission of people. The only two adult Indian men left behind denied food to Knaut. With no other recourse left, Knaut told his men to "take by force two hens and search the houses for some eggs and fruit"^{xxvi}.

Penny capitalists, the Masetén found cracks to earn profits out of friars' sight. During the dry season (May-November) when Masetén men walked from missions to the highlands to pick up passengers who needed to raft down the Beni River, they would earn pocket money by taking brooms, pelts, cacao, and pets to swap for bread, liquor, and commercial goods with highlanders (Balzan, 1893, p. 2; Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 125; Schuller, 1917, p. xxi). With trees they had planted in the highlands foreshadowing their future needs, they made rafts to take their customers downriver (José Cardús, 1886, p. 225; Nordenskiöld, 1979 [orig. 1924], p. 177; 1999 [orig. 1927], p. 123)^{xxvii}.

Sebastian Pifferi and Zacarias Ducci, two Italian Franciscan priests who travelled through the upper Beni River in 1893, said that intermittent epidemics of dysentery, smallpox, leishmaniasis, and malaria, and village outmigration in search for rubber and cinchona bark had cut by two thirds the populations in the missions of Muchanes, Santa Ana, and Covendo, leaving a total of only 621 people (José Cardús, 1886, p. 162; Pifferi & Ducci, 1895, pp. 137-138; Schuller, 1917). The Masetén were no longer in fair fettle. Father Armentia (1903, pp. 12-13) wondered if travel along the Beni River would stop from the paucity of Masetén rafters able to take passengers through the rapids. Disease had enfeebled the Masetén, Pifferi and Ducci said, their bodies mottled with fungal blotches (Montaño Aragón, 1989, pp. 26-27), and no Masetén they saw reached 50 years of age (Pifferi & Ducci, 1895, pp. 131-132). Only a hundred years earlier, the good health of the Masetén had struck Franciscan Father Hernández Guarón; during a year living with them he had seen only three deaths, all infants, and not one sick person (Santamaría, 2005, p. 35).

By the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century the Masetén had turned pious and obsequious, learned their church hymns, and mastered playing Western musical instruments (Pifferi & Ducci, 1895, pp. 132-137, 169-170)^{xxviii}. The young Italian botanist Luigi Balzan (1893, pp. 8, 25, 45-46), who travelled through the area at about the same time as Pifferi and Ducci, reiterated his predecessors' remarks, but caviled about Maseténs' musical skills and was censorious of their food generosity. Balzan made unavailing gestures to get food from the Masetén, but could not find one Masetén willing to part with one chicken or with one egg. A family he had cured of malaria had the temerity of refusing to sell him bows and arrows for his private collection, despite his good deeds.

Cultural changes had trickled in for centuries, but at least to missionaries and to some of the earliest ethnographers the changes became noticeable by the turn of the twentieth century, if not slightly earlier. Masetén men began to wear cotton pants and shirts and woven hats, stopped using cotton tunics (Sotomayor Valdés, 1876, p. 409), and relied on rifles to hunt. By the early twentieth century clergymen had baptized most Masetén living in missions (Pauly, 1928, p. 118). Masetén had learned to make violins, harps, and flutes, sing in choirs, and stage kinetic musical performances as good as the ones in the cathedrals of New York City (José Cardús, 1886, pp. 160-161; Edwin R. Heath, 1883, p. 338; Sotomayor Valdés, 1876, p. 410)^{xxix}. The Italian botanist Balzan thought the changes were evanescent (Balzan, 1893, pp. 28-30, 45-46), erasable

as soon as missionaries left, but Father Armentia, his translator, ambivalent admirer, and at times snarky critic, thought changes would last.

The first modern ethnographic account of the Mosetén and Tsimané' comes from Nordenskiöld, the zoologist turned four-field anthropologist (Lindberg, 2008). Accounts of the Mosetén before the early twentieth century resemble a blank page dappled with randomly strewn flecks of the plain and the rare; a murder here, a mission fire there, a fleeting sketch of canoeing down river, and so on, but without a line linking dots. Not until 1913, that is, when Nordenskiöld with his wife, Baroness Olga, his assistant, the Swedish sergeant Johan Berg, murdered in the expedition after exiting Mosetén-Tsimané' lands, and their pet dog, Toy, spent three weeks travelling through Mosetén and Tsimané' treacle, trudging through hills and valleys, and rafting, totting, and paddling through narrow rivers, recording what they saw with warmth, humor, insight, and at times deadpan Boasian fastidiousness. They had come to Bolivia as part of a dustbowl expedition for the Gothenburg Museum to collect as much archaeological, ethnological, and linguistic material as they could take back. The whirlwind tour took them to over a dozen lowland Indian groups, ending suddenly with the outbreak of World War I when they were forced to return to Europe (Alvarsson & Agüero, 1997). He it is who gives us a kind of mezzanine view of the Mosetén and the Tsimané'; certainly not the first (or faithful) snapshot of what they looked like when first encountering Europeans, but no doubt the thickest extant modern ethnographic coverage of the two groups.

With eight mules, a horse, and a drunken Quechua guide who did not want to go to the lowlands, Nordenskiöld and his retinue marched for three weeks during late 1913 from the highland town of Tunari, Department of Cochabamba, to the mission of Covendo. During the trip Nordenskiöld's wife almost died, they lost a mule, and the group bore with fortitude the day-to-day annoyances of mosquito bites, humidity, and wet clothing. But when they arrived to the mission of Covendo all memories of peril and travail suddenly vanished. Under the hospitality of a Father Maximiliano, the group stayed in Covendo for 15 days. While at Covendo, Nordenskiöld copied vital statistics from church archives, collected archaeological and current artifacts, gathered "an astounding wealth of myths of different kinds" (Caspar, 1953), and recorded folk tales from an old woman who told her stories in Mosetén to her literate husband, a teacher at the mission, who translated the tales into Spanish (Caspar, 1953). Meanwhile, Baroness Olga helped Mosetén women in the field.

Nordenskiöld painted a nuanced, complex portrait of the Mosetén, with a bleak and an amiable side. They distrusted foreigners, got mad at the Swedes for not selling them goods, lacked curiosity, got bored fast, and were so jealous that Father Maximiliano did not dare enter a hut if the hut had only women inside. They were pessimists, fatalists, and myopic. Living only for the pleasure of the moment, they could not think of the future, or save for it (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], pp. 142-143). However dark and petulant their character, they offset their shortcomings with winsomeness, honesty, badinage, drollery, and generosity, which they displayed by serving copious amounts of home-fermented potatoes (*chicha*) to visitors and gifts of fruits and eggs to Olga for helping in the fields. In making sense of Mosetén culture, Nordenskiöld placed them next to other Bolivian Indians he had visited and reached an apodictic conclusion (Lindberg, 2008): The Mosetén in the mission of Covendo – presumably the most traditional Mosetén owing to friars' interdictions against whites staying in the mission (Aldazabal, 1985, p. 64; 1988, p. 73; 2005, p. 2) – had a mutt culture, far more acculturated than the Tsimané' (Nordenskiöld, 1979 [orig. 1924], p. Map 1; 2001 [orig 1924], p. 131).

What cultural price did the Mosetén pay for their decision to stay in the watershed of missions? Today the Mosetén feel more at ease speaking Spanish -- with variants of the Mosetén tongue “slowly disappearing” (Sakel, 2004, p. 4) -- and face a dwindling population of 4,000 people^{xxv}, a quarter of the expanding Tsimane’ population. They have an etiolated culture, their traditional material culture and social organization largely gone, with a few vestigial myths lingering on (Aldazabal, 2005).

Interpretative summary. It has become *idées reçues* to blame missionaries, markets, and conquerors for native people’s loss of culture, ignoring the fact that natives acted as confederates in the trials. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Mosetén had nothing of economic value for the rest of the world, so the rest of the world left them alone. The upsurge in cinchona trade changed things. As demand for cinchona bark rose, the Mosetén on their own turned into sellers facing two teams of buyers.

The first team consisted of roving private creditors, wholesalers, and merchants who offered commercial goods, liquor, and credit for bark in exchanges with quick pay-offs. We know almost nothing about them because they left no paper trail. What we know comes filtered through the writings of clergymen, their rivals. Clergymen made up the second team. They had traipsed the area since the sixteenth century, but deepened their roots with the cinchona boom. The sale of cinchona bark to clergymen formed part of a larger financial bundle, with fringe benefits and hidden fees. In exchange for bark and crops from Indians, missionaries furnished them with industrial goods, protection, credit, salves, and training in esoteric and utilitarian skills, some, like Spanish, needed to thrive in the new economy. To access the bundle, Mosetén had to settle in missions, give up cultural lore, and accept a theocratic monopsony. A moated economic institution, the mission offered short and long-term benefits: goods, credits, and health services in the short run, language and labor skills – and eternal salvation -- in the long run.

Irrespective of what they thought of Indians in private, friars and merchants had to treat Mosetén as peers in trade because only natives had the skills to find the wild trees coveted by outsiders (Pérez, 1998, p. 39). You can chain and flog a hauler or a digger because the task is repetitive, predictable, and fixed in space, but you must treat a prospector with deference because they need freedom to follow their hunches, moving untrammelled in the forest to find the wild plants their customers want.

Facing two types of buyers, the Mosetén tried them both because they differed. Private traders supplied ardent spirits, missionaries did not. Missionaries spoke Mosetén, traders probably did not. Traders were transient and frivolous, missionaries permanent and dignified. Merchants bought goods; priests bought goods and souls. Outside of buying and selling, merchants treated Mosetén as their equal; missionaries treated them as their subordinates in matters cultural and spiritual. Epidemics were most noticeable in missions, not in river-bank counters when swapping goods with traders. The contrasts fed angst and experimentation. The Mosetén abandoned missions 30 times (Vallvé, 2010, pp. 300-302), sometimes because of epidemics^{xxvi}, sometimes because friars ran out of goods to exchange, sometimes because traders had better deals, sometimes because of boredom. As late as the 1940s Redemptorist Father Marcelino Hagner of the Mosetén mission of Santa Ana witness all his charges vanish because one day they decided -- for no good reason, it seems -- to return to the wilderness (Frésard-Asun Moreo, 1999, p. 34). The decision to permanently settle in missions took place over many decades and trials.

As the booms in cinchona bark and rubber ended, the Mosetén were stuck with missionaries, private traders no longer finding it worthwhile to roam the forests. With the

waning of trade in bark and sap, the Mosestén might have gone to the highlands, but the highland ecology and culture were too different and the space too crowded to absorb newcomers. If they had moved to the remote lands to the east they would have had to forsake commercial goods and would have had to face their old foes, including the Tsimane'. Some did move east at the end of the rubber boom to take up a more traditional lifestyle (Vallvé, 2010, pp. 304-305). Next to other choices at the time, settling in missions to fetch industrial goods made sense, but abraded archaic culture over time.

It did not have to be so. Imagine a nineteenth century full of merchants, poling and punting their rafts up and down rivers, haggling and swapping commercial wares for forest goods, leaving promptly after each transaction. No doubt cultural change would have taken place, but not at the mighty scale, depth, and speed that happened with sedentary missionaries. Local culture vanished not so much because of market transactions, but because buyers and sellers swapped and haggled in a Procrustean commissary run by friars.

The control over time: The Tsimane'. The Tsimane' are among the most self-sufficient native Amazonian society of Bolivia and the world. One study comparing market exposure between 13 horticultural, pastoral, and foraging societies across the world placed the Tsimane' next to the bottom (Henrich, Ensminger, & McElreath, 2010). The written record for the Tsimane' pales when compared with the written record for the Mosestén because the Tsimane' had few explorers, conquerors, or missionaries leaving accounts. We cannot scissor and paste history (Collingwood, 1946, p. 251) with the Tsimane' as we could with the Mosestén. We stand on more suppositional grounds when explaining their inveterate weak links to westerners.

Isolation helped. A tangled mat of weeds, palms, and trees, and small, steep, shallow rivers sheltered them from foreigners (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 152). They dwelled in a hard-to-reach spandrel between the upper Beni River, the Moxos plains, and the highlands of the Department of Cochabamba. Missionaries and explorers, otherwise hardy people, complained about the pain of reaching settlements along the Maniqui River. In 1698, two years after Indians wrecked the town of San Borja, Jesuit Father Juan de Espejo wrote to Father Diego de Eguiluz that San Borja serviced 600-800 souls, but guessed that another 200 souls, most likely Tsimane', remained out of reach because they were too hard to reach (Mendizabal, 1932, p. 54). When the Argentinean engineer, geologist, and explorer Antonio Pauly (1928, p. 116) visited the Maniqui River in the early twentieth century he found the surrounding forests "almost impenetrable", and Nordenskiöld said that large expanses of untouched forests gave the Tsimane' a hiding place to avoid ill treatment from whites (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 152).

In Colonial times the landscape fenced off Tsimane' against Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans (Armentia Ugarte, 1905, p. 77). A steep and jagged topography also put them out of reach from feral and domesticated cattle, their owners and rustlers (Jones, 1995, pp. 173-174). Great distance, walls of living plants, and land fissures turned the area into an ideal hiding ground for felons, recusant Mosestén, and refugees of the rubber boom, a welcoming place for disillusioned attriters of messianic movements and white Bohemians, and a green rampart against white slave raiders (Jones, 1995, pp. 136, 175; Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], pp. 141, 145-146, 138-139; Juergen Riester, 1976, pp. 313-314; Jürgen Riester, 1993, pp. 128-129; Roca, 2001, p. 130; Vallvé, 2010, pp. 356-357; van Valen, 2013).

Yet the spandrel was useless because it did not have commodities valued by westerners, other than souls to save (Jürgen Riester, 1993, p. 73). Its cacao and alluvial gold deposits could not vie in quality or amount with those of the Mosestén. As a cattle-rearing area, its lands could not match the extensive savannas of Moxos. The place was too high to have rubber trees;

its soils too thin to sustain continuous cropping. Its fruits excelled in quality, but were perishable, seasonal, and too scattered to draw investors. Timber and thatch palm it had, pelts it had, and petroleum it might have had, but sustained demand for them did not come until the second half of the twentieth century (Jones, 1995; Santamaría, 2005). Only its cinchona bark and laborers drew some interest during the nineteenth century, but never enough to lock traders to the spandrel, and even cinchona bark one could find in larger, more accessible quantities in the Chapare, Department of Cochabamba (Pérez, 2002), and plantations along the Beni River (E. R. Heath, 1882, pp. 147-148, 153).

The outside world neglected the Tsimane', but the Tsimane' did not mind the slight. Overlooked by outsiders, the people of the spandrel had all the accoutrements to make an Elysian living. They had swidden, forests, rivers, game, fish, and salt. They turned the riverside into provisional gardens covered with a jumble of crops. Forests gave them some game and a feast of plants to make canoes, huts, wicker baskets, bows, arrows, drugs, poisons, and bast fabric. They transformed the Maniqui River into a two-way highway during the dry season and a one-way highway during the rainy one. Salt came from Pachene, prosaically a salt lick in the upper Maniqui River, but also their Mecca, one seat of the Tsimane' mythical universe, full of sexual taboos, petroglyphs, and wildlife (Daillant, 1997; R. Ellis, 1996, pp. 126-127; Hissink, 1955; Huanca, 2008; Jürgen Riester, 1993, p. 129). They canoed to the lick during the dry month of August (Jürgen Riester, 1993, p. 120) to gather salt in trips that also served to refresh ties with kin scattered along the river (Huanca, 2008). For a month while in Pachene they socialized, dabbled in farming, and solemnly collected salt in banana leaves or clay pots (Daillant, 1997, pp. 57-58) for their own use or to barter (Hissink & Hahn, 1989). Until the 1930s when industrial salt from the highlands arrived to displace salt from the Maniqui River (Daillant, 1997, p. 58), the Tsimane' enjoyed a monopoly on salt (Hissink, 1955; Hissink & Hahn, 1989; Métraux, 1942; Wegner, 1929). The salt lick rounded off Tsimane' autarky.

Which did not mean Tsimane' were abstemious, their wants sessile, or their appetite sated. One account says that a motley party of Indians sacked the town of San Borja in 1696 in a mantle of Indian uprisings (Armentia Ugarte, 1905, p. 78) because during the three years since the town's founding priests had not brought enough metal tools (Block, 1994, pp. 39-40; Chicchón, 1992, p. 50; Livi Bacci, 2010, p. 104; Mendizabal, 1932; Roca, 2001). In describing Indians around the town of San Borja Jesuit Father Marbán (Marbán, 2005 [orig.1700], pp. 62-63)^{xxvii} and others said that although Indians had a feisty side they were willing to live in town, yet left, astonished to find priests had not brought enough industrial goods (Beingolea, 2005 [orig. 1764?]; Marbán, 2005 [orig.1700])^{xxviii}. A few years after the 1696 pillage, Brother Alvaro de Mendoza asked the obstreperous heathens to return to San Borja, but not without first giving gifts:

Ignoring the dangers, he decided to return to the people who had rebelled. He found them irritated and intent on sticking to their abominable traditional customs. The gentle Brother softened their spirits and convinced them to return to the mission by using persuasion accompanied by little gifts, which facilitated the dialogue (Beingolea, 2005 [orig. 1764?], p. 182)^{xxix}.

Industrial merchandise had trickled to the town of San Borja during Jesuit days, but almost stopped when the Spanish Crown expelled the Jesuits in 1767 (Block, 1994, pp. 126-127, 146-147; Pérez Diez, 1983, pp. 110-112). The Jesuits gone, seminarians and Dominicans filled the

vacuum but lacked the zeal, language skills, managerial experience, or ethical standards of their nemesis (Finot, 1978 [orig. 1938], pp. 371-373). Officials in the city of Santa Cruz took over the management of San Borja from afar. Out of sight from their superiors, clergymen in San Borja fought each other, stole public funds, and mistreated natives, and government officials mistreated both. As services and revenues in San Borja fell, Indians went back to their villages. Making matters worse, an epidemic in 1797 killed much of San Borja's population, prompting its closure and the resettlement of the lingering few in the towns of Reyes, Santa Ana, and San Ignacio (Block, 1994, pp. 142, 146-147; Bogado Egüez, 1993, pp. 6-7). Because of their old enmity with the Movima Indians living in Santa Ana, some Indians from San Borja balked at settling in Santa Ana, and went to San Ignacio instead. San Borja's decay during the early nineteenth century prompted Tsimane' to travel to the Beni River or to the town of Reyes to get clothing, rifles, and metal tools.

In 1842 the government began breathing new life into the "defeated" town of San Borja so it could supply meat to cinchona gatherers, rubber tappers, highlanders, and urban dweller in Santa Cruz, and hides to Brazil (Rea Galloso, 2005, pp. 29, 33-34). To this end, officials started filling the town by hiring new public employees and bringing back Indians from the San Borja Diaspora. Parish priest Manuel Cortés de Villavicencio brought to San Borja Indians who had lived under his oversight in the mission of Iténez, Department of Beni (Groff Greever, 1987, p. 42; Roca, 2001, pp. 191-192; van Valen, 2013, p. 52). Winning over the Tsimane' to live in town was harder. In 1849 when officials told the Tsimane' to settle in San Borja, the Tsimane' answered by razing farms and robbing crops; fighting, killing, and torturing whites by slowly and deliberately skewering them with arrows, sending ripples of fear through the region (Jürgen Riester, 1993, pp. 54-64). An official attributed the reluctance to "the natural repugnance" of the Tsimane' to live with whites. He could have added that the Tsimane' hinterland had more and better resources to make a living than hollow San Borja (van Valen, 2013, p. 52), and allowed for greater freedom of expression as well. Western cads had forgotten that settlement by pressure Indians abhorred, as an earlier anonymous missionary account from 1698 taught:

It is dangerous to resettle Indians far from the place where they were born and grew up. This cannot be achieved without violence. When they are finally resettled, many die or become very ill from sadness and dejection (Armentia Ugarte, 1905) quoted in (Montaño Aragón, 1989, p. 19)^{xxx}.

Those who settled in the town of San Borja cleared forests for pasture and sugar plantations, built bridges in the purlieu of the town, set up a shop to produce ironmongery and saddles, and brought 500 heads of cattle from the town of Reyes to start the ranching business (Groff Greever, 1987, p. 42).

To succeed as a meat basket for the region, San Borja needed trails for cattle drives. Cattle trails from the Department of Beni to the highlands went back to the first Jesuit missions, but were useful only during the dry season, and mainly during commodity booms, returning to a tangle of thick coppice and bramble with the onset of the rains or the bust. To move cattle on the hoof, friars in 1800 carved a trail from San Borja to the city of La Paz through the Quetoto and Beni Rivers and the Mission of Covendo, but meat demand being weak, rank vegetation soon engulfed the trail; 30 years after its first clearing, the trail's whereabouts had been forgotten (Armentia Ugarte, 1905, pp. 33-34). Fifty years later, the town faced stronger demand for meat from rubber tappers and cinchona gatherers, prompting town officials to reply by fixing an old

track from the town of San Borja to the town of Reyes, from which cowhands could take herds to the riverine port of Rurrenabaque, on their way to the highlands in the Department of La Paz (Palacios, 1944 [orig. 1849], p. 20). Another track started from San Borja, followed the Maniqui River uphill, veered off to the mission of Covendo, and then headed to the highlands of the Department of Cochabamba (Rea Galloso, 2005, p. 34). For some of the year the cattle town of San Borja had ephemeral and bumpy paths linking it to the highlands of La Paz and Cochabamba. In the cattle ranches around San Borja and along the Maniqui River, Tsimane' found seasonal work as ranch hands, and as ranch hands they saw and got industrial goods (Huanca, 2008).

Until the mid-nineteenth century, a fence of forests, a moat of rivulets, and a cornucopia of natural resources unvalued by outsiders allowed the Tsimane' to keep westerners at bay, yet reach out for them when they needed them. When the market first came, it arrived enervated, with the occasional ragged trader, rancher, or priest showing at the village gate. The permanent presence of market started during the mid-nineteenth century with the irruption of priests and cinchona buyers, tussling for the same Indians but for different ends. Merchants valued Tsimane' for their skills at finding bark; priests, for their souls and obeisance. Missionaries feared competition from traders, and traders from missionaries and from each other^{xxxii}. In the match between merchants and priests each knew that the success of one went a loss for the other. A day gathering cinchona meant a workday lost to missionaries. Conversion abridged the labor pool of foragers; apostasy enlarged it. Despite the rancor between missionaries and traders, Tsimane' wanted both, just in case. Several times during the nineteenth century Tsimane' went to missions in the watershed of the Beni River asking Franciscans to set up missions along the Maniqui River (Mendizabal, 1932, p. 51). Like their Masetén twins, Tsimane' wanted metal tools, clothing, and the amenities of the western world, and had the will to join Franciscans in a pact.

Like divorced parents avoiding standing face-to-face for fear of what might come out, the struggle for Tsimane' fealty took place between clergymen and merchants without seeing each other. Better to keep challengers out of sight so they could be out of mind. Missionaries delivered hortatory sermons to the might-be-choir of Indians in village chapels devoid of merchants, while merchants traded with Indians by quiet riverbanks out of friars' sight. Both buyers paid with the same wares, but missionaries' currency carried extra charges in the form of religious conversion, church attendance, invectives, compulsory teetotalism, and the rolling back of exotic customs. The largest dividends from missionaries came far in the future. Leaner contracts ruled intercourse between cinchona merchants and the Tsimane': cinchona barks for tools now, with a sprinkling of alcohol. True, when dealing with cinchona traders or with missionaries Tsimane' debts swelled, but liabilities were as binding as Tsimane' sedentary. Off into the forest they went to shirk blackguards and friars, as they still do today (Jürgen Riester, 1993, p. 96).

All worked well along the Maniqui River, the trifecta remaining in quiet equilibrium until the second half of the nineteenth century when, like a wound, the cinchona market opened up (Gibbon, 1854, p. 108; Herndon & Gibbon, 1854, p. 196). Rising demand for cinchona bark increased the value of foragers to merchants, unraveling the covenant between merchants and priests. As the price of cinchona bark increased, so did the stakes for Tsimane' workers. Avoidance between merchants and missionaries turned into scuffles, scuffles into violence, and violence into the brief hegemony of the market and the retreat of the vanquished clergymen, as the murder of Italian Franciscan priest Pablo Emilio Reynaud shows.

We turn to the killing because it takes us to the excesses of priestly abuses and zeal, to the lawlessness of free trade at the fringe of the civilization, and to the split loyalty of the Tsimane', torn between priests and merchants, trade and autarky, obedience and rebellion, Christianity and idolatry. To make sense of the killing and use it as an entry point into weightier issues, we rely on a rare source. The victim left foreboding notes and a pellucid epistolary record as the events unfolded, to which prelates added commentaries pulling together the thrums of evidence after the murder. The redacted material has all the shortcomings of missionary tales -- one-sided, propagandistic, top-down, full of spiritual braggadocio -- but remains the only close-range, extant sketch of the Tsimane' during the nineteenth century.

Though cloistered during much of the nineteenth century, the Tsimane' had been visited as early as 1824 by Father Andrés Herrero (Manzano, 1945, p. 20) after receiving an invitation from the Tsimane' to come from the Beni River and set up a mission along the Maniqui River. Of the visit he wrote:

. On several occasions the Tsimane' have come to the mission of Santa Ana to buy tools and other things. We have dealt with them several times, and they have always expressed a great desire to become Christians and live with a missionary. In light of their overture, I decided to go and visit them in their villages. I went with them and with some of my Mosestén neophytes. The Tsimane' were not expecting my visit, but since they already knew of our activities and since they saw us coming with some of their own people, they gave us a cordial welcome. After the first greetings, which were not diplomatic, I spoke to them about God and their souls and of the happiness of Christians. I invited families scattered about the settlement to come and join us. I arrived to the largest villages, which is called Coisinge (Cosincho?) because it lies near a river with the same name. In response to their requests, I very much wanted to set up a mission for them [Quoted in (Mendizabal, 1932, pp. 117-118)]^{xxxii}.

The Tsimane' flattered Father Herrero by telling him they wanted a priest, but he turned down their request because he did not have enough resources, strapped as he was during the wars of independence trying to strengthen the Mosestén missions of the Beni River (Manzano, 1945, p. 30; Mendizabal, 1932, p. 117). Instead, he gave them a Mosestén curate from the mission of Muchanes who died in the Tsimane' outpost (Sans & Bravo, 1888, p. 119). Nothing much happened for the next quarter of a century until 1850 when Franciscan Father Pablo Mateo Cerdá revived the idea of establishing a mission in the Maniqui River.

Blessed with ardent faith, Father Cerdá had the misfortune of ministering over the Mosestén mission of Muchanes, whose population had downsized from outmigration and disease (Sans & Bravo, 1888, p. 118). Facing a demographic implosion, he chose to "enlarge his small flock by conquering the savage Tsimane'" (Sans & Bravo, 1888, p. 118)^{xxxiii}. He teamed up with Franciscan Father Salvador Vallés, and in 1852 made the journey from the Beni River to the Maniqui River. The Tsimane' gave them the customary warm welcome, and, not wanting to be outdone by their Mosestén brethren, asked the clergymen to build missions like the one in Santa Ana (Mendizabal, 1932, p. 119).

To their surprise, Fathers Vallés and Cerdá found that the Tsimane' they saw differed from those Father Herrero had met a quarter of a century earlier; the people had aged and the cohorts had changed. The earlier cohort was quiet, self-effacing, and tractable; the later, proud and

taxing. The first one wanted Christianity; the second one wanted conversion but on their own terms, and was “hot blooded and craved freedom, particularly in their customs” (Mendizabal, 1932, p. 121)^{xxxiv}. As an *obiter dictum* of the Tsimane’, Fathers Cerdá and Vallés learned that the Tsimane’ had killed a clergyman from San Borja who “did not behave properly” (“*no se conducía bien*”) (Sans & Bravo, 1888). One family, the redoubtable Mecus, adumbrating later troubles, displayed shameless boldness at the friars. Cleavages among the Tsimane’ showed up not only over time, but also over space. In 1850 the Tsimane’ of the Maniqui River were split into at least two large groups: one along the upper Maniqui River and the other father down, along one of its tributary, the Cosincho River. Perhaps to make easier their work, missionaries tried to talk the Tsimane’ into setting up only one mission, but the Tsimane’ demurred, insisting on two missions: San Pablo, along the upper Maniqui River near of the contemporary village of Donoi’, and San Pedro by the banks of the Cosincho River. Pressured by villagers, missionaries temporized, but before leaving they asked villagers to build chapels and living quarters for the missionaries they planned to send back to the Maniqui River.

Four years later, in 1854, three Franciscan friars guided by three Tsimane’ walked east from the Mosestén territory to the Maniqui River to carry out the plan so long in the making. Father Pablo Emilio Reynaud, 26 years old, settled in San Pablo; Father Samuel Mancini with lay brother Julian Bottini settled in San Pedro. They lived in their missions for eight years until a measles or perhaps a dysentery epidemic ravaged the area, killing in a few days most of its residents. Facing a dented population, the clergymen closed the mission of San Pablo and pooled their resources into the mission of San Pedro, with Father Reynaud at the helm while Mancini and Bottini went north to catechize the Cavina Indians (Manzano, 1945, p. 30; Mendizabal, 1932, p. 121). On June 4, 1862, Father Reynaud was killed.

Born Lorenzo in 1830, Turin, Italy, Father Reynaud had a mischievous youth until a change of heart took place. While in school he began taking food offerings to the statue of the Virgin, walking barefoot through the snow to train for the hardships of missionary life. By the age of 14 he tried to join the Franciscan congregation, but was affectionately turned down and encouraged to re-apply. And so he did a year later, was accepted, ordained in 1846 (the same year his sister Justiniana became a nun), and changed his name from Lorenzo to Pablo Emilio to embosom the stamp of his new religious identity. Enlisted by Father Rafael Sans during one of his European recruitment tours, Father Reynaud came to Bolivia and learned Spanish, Aymara, Mosestén, and Trinitario. He worked for a short while with the Mosestén, but, bored by their docility, he asked his superiors to place him with the “semi-barbarians, unconquerable, and fierce” Tsimane’ (Valcanover, 2010, p. 63).

In setting up new missions outside of the basin of the Beni River, friars wanted to take advantage of what they knew worked well and also please their new customers. And so they brought the architecture and work habits from the Mosestén missions to the Tsimane’ missions. Living quarters had two floors. Friars and sextons – Reynaud had one, a Tsimane’ named Domingo Kunai -- slept on the top floor; they cooked, ate, and had meetings in the bottom floor. The mission had a wooden chapel, a school, a jail. Missionaries wanted the rubes to follow a stern schedule. Every morning neophytes were supposed to attend mass and receive religious instruction. Afterwards, adults farmed, hunted, fished, and worked in the mission shops, while children went to school and trained in Western classical music. At the end of each day the clergymen hoped adults would show up to pray. Each day village bosses received orders about what to do next day. Clergymen taught, prayed, preached, cured, baptized, and administered justice, at least as gleaned through the sanitized ecclesiastical missives reaching us.

Tsimane' saw things differently. Old Tsimane' queried by Nordenskiöld, Riester, and Huanca 50-100 years after the events tell of a bleaker side to mission life in the Maniqui River. Remembered history says that Father Reynaud impregnated women, segregated Tsimane' by sex and age, forbade tipping, and singed the soles of those who broke his edicts. The lascivious, splenetic priest, they say, engaged in serial monogamy, disposing of his pregnant preys by commanding them to wed bachelors of his choosing (Huanca, 2008, p. 105; Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 172; Jürgen Riester, 1993, pp. 52-53).

Churnings in the regional economy made it hard for missionaries to win against traders upriver or ranchers downriver. Through persuasion and teaching Father Reynaud hoped to bring heathens closer to him, but the stratagem did not work because heathens wanted useful goods (Valcanover, 2010, p. 59), and useful goods he had not. Father Reynaud asked Father Sans in the land of the Mosestén and his family in Europe to send him tools and music, both instruments and scores. He made up for what he lacked in goods with teachings. Besides teaching them music and patristic writings, he taught them carpentry and tannery, and how to make silverware and ironware (Sotomayor Valdés, 1876, pp. 410-411). But to no avail. The supply of rare skills saw no demand for them in the quiet river economy.

The shortage of commercial goods to tie Indians to missions would have mattered if he had seen himself as a pragmatic proselytizer in the style of Father Herrero. Oddly, material resources for his charges undermined his *raison d'être*. In a note resembling young Saint Teresa of Avila's wish for martyrdom, Father Reynaud told his sister: "your brother no longer thinks of material things. His only wish is to become a saint, suffer on behalf of our beloved Jesus, and die a martyr" (Valcanover, 2010, p. 61)^{xxxv}. While still in the mission of San Pablo, he wrote confidently: "I am almost certain my days won't end in bed" (Mendizabal, 1932, p. 129)^{xxxvi} and in the registry of baptisms at the mission of San Pedro he scribbled, "my life is in danger, but I put my life in God's hands" (Valcanover, 2010, p. 76).

In line with his monastic, vestal aspirations, he led a plaintive, stark life, his hair long and disheveled, his diet Spartan. Bragging about his indigence in a plangent letter, he told his sibling, Sister Justiniana, that he survived:

....eating plantains, palm fruits, meat from monkeys, tigers, serpents, caimans....Some days I eat well, but other days I have to quell my appetite by eating frogs and lizards...bread and wine you don't find in these places (Valcanover, 2010, p. 68)^{xxxvii}.

The penury of mission life and the quest for martyrdom shaped his view of the Tsimane'. The fearsome character of the Tsimane' had pulled him into their basin, away from the bucolic missions of the Mosestén, one of which a later traveler said resembled "a fairytale castle" (Pauly, 1928, p. 22). In 1856, only two years into life in the Maniqui River, he found confirmation for his priors: "The Tsimane' have a ferocious character", he said, and noted that "when they get drunk they speak of nothing but of murdering people" (Valcanover, 2010, p. 63)^{xxxviii}. To his Sister Justiniana he admits of living among "savages" (*entre bárbaros*) (Valcanover, 2010, p. 61). Part of him pined for self-slaughter. Yet side by side with the murderous lived kinder people. His followers behaved well, loved him, and willingly went with him to convert the heathens scattered about the banks of the Maniqui River (Valcanover, 2010, p. 63)^{xxxix}. In possessive Las Casian fashion, he saw himself as the shield of "his Indians", "his savage children", as he called them.

Like the clergymen of his time, he valued the lay public's truckling to missionaries, and missionaries' to prelates, so he was troubled when some of his charges became irked at his homilies and at his officious manner. He acknowledged that the Mecu family disliked him, attributed the loatheness to his preaching, yet welcomed fatal danger. He owned a rifle but did not use it, not even in his final hours.

Threats to his life started years before his death. In 1858, while in San Pablo, he wrote that the Tsimane'

...are at war with others and neighboring tribes. I must defend them strongly so they don't kill the soul and body of my Tsimane'. The tribe is large. Three times I ran the risk of being skewered by arrows. (Mendizabal, 1932, p. 129)^{x1}.

The ineluctable end came on June 4, 1862. As he walked to his bedroom a Tsimane' threw a stone that hit him on the head, two strapping young men then tying his long hair to a pole. The men would have killed Father Reynaud had not bystanders taken down the assailants and put them in the mission jail. The turmoil over, Father Reynaud prayed, assembled villagers to review the incident, offered a short mass, and prepared for bed. Before departing, villagers wished Father Reynaud and sexton Kunai good night. Once on the second floor, the clergymen heard people on the first floor. They came down and saw a minatory conclave, one of them with a rifle. Father Reynaud asked them to leave, and some did, but Ignacio Ioscha and eight others hurled against Father Reynaud, and one, Jacinto Cari, cut his throat, crushed his head, severed his hands and feet, and threw the remains next to the kitchen so animals could feast on them. As the band left, they pilfered goods from the chapel.

Next day, Father Reynaud's assistant, Kunai, rung the chapel bell to assemble villagers to help bury the corpse. Villagers complied, but agreed to lie about the murder. Four froward villagers went to the Mosestén mission of Muchanes with a cover-up story telling the head priests of the mission that a jaguar had killed Father Reynaud. One night, the story said, villagers had asked Father Reynaud to cure a patient outside of the mission compound. Boys had to guide Father Reynaud to the patient's house because all adult men were away collecting cinchona bark. As they walked, a jaguar sprung up attacking a boy. Dagger in hand, Father Reynaud threw himself on the beast to aid the hapless child, only to meet his end while the children fled.

When they heard the story Fathers Bibolotti and Sans told the mission staff to investigate further the cause of the death, and asked that another 20 Tsimane' be brought to the mission of Covendo to give a fuller account of the events. It did not take long for missionaries to spot equivocations in the new testimonies. To clear up matters, Father Sans went to the Maniqui River to find out first-hand what had happened. With the 20 Tsimane' who had come to Covendo, with Father Cerdá, and with Mosestén bodyguards the retinue headed by Father Sans travelled to the mission of San Pedro.

As they arrived, Tsimane' came out to greet them with music, but Father Sans stopped the persiflage and roistering, mirth being inappropriate for the solemnity of the task. He thought of digging up the corpse, but cowered at the thought of incensing the Tsimane'. The group remained in San Pedro four day delving into the murder, but nothing came of the probe. Stonewalled, Father Sans tried to win them over through gifts. When they left on their return trip to the Beni River, he took with him two Tsimane' guides downriver to the town of San Borja, and it was they, possibly influenced by the gifts, who told Father Sans of what had happened.

Incensed, the clergymen tried to get the government to punish the culprits, but the request went nowhere. In a bitter coda he wrote that the culprits:

... became even more insolent and the mission was lost ... far from being rueful, they bragged about their sacrilege, burned the church, went into a drunken frenzy, danced with the chasubles on, traveled down to the town of San Borja causing terror, and then dispersed”
(Valcanover, 2010, p. 97)^{xli}.

Tsimane’ ran amok after killing Father Reynaud, much as they had done in 1849 when officials tried to settle them in the town of San Borja. In 1894, 22 years after the killing of Father Reynaud, a contrite Tsimane’ delegation returned to the mission of Covendo blaming their pagan kin for the murder, and asking missionaries to come back to the Maniqui River. Pleased at the penitential request, missionaries nonetheless turned it down because, as in the past, they did not have enough people to staff a new outpost (José Cardús, 1886, p. 290).

Why the killing and what does it say about the natural experiment? As a cause, we can rule out the idea that the killing took place to settle scores for the 1862 epidemic that razed the missions of San Pedro and San Pablo. Epidemics Indians had seen before, and knew that western anodynes worked as well as local ones. Health protection took the practicable form of avoiding westerners rather than requiting illness with anger (Armentia Ugarte, 1905, pp. 156-157; Herndon & Gibbon, 1854, p. 220). Or perhaps grievances against priests played a role. During the early eighteenth century, Father Diego Francisco Altamirano asked Indians about life in the elite Jesuit missions of Moxos and acknowledged that even there Indians suffered under the suzerainty of the clergy:

The missionaries take away their liberty. They deprive them of their ability to satisfy their likes and to get drunk (fully justified by Divine Law). Others said that priests settle them in missions to expose Indians to epidemics. They said that priests kill them with baptism and medicines, that they berate and punish them ... (D. F. Altamirano, 1979 [orig. ca 1710], pp. 167-168)^{xlii}.

Clergymen affronted the Tsimane’ through sexual abuses, verbal fumaroling, and flogging, as happened elsewhere in rural Bolivia (Langer & Jackson, 1988, p. 301) and even with the Tsimane’ in the twentieth century (Rea Galloso, 2005, p. 40). The shows of religious power fueled pique and spleen among the downtrodden, ending in murder. Perhaps. The explanation would hold up if clergymen had impounded the semi-mobile Tsimane’ in missions. If manacled to missions, quiet resentment would have burst into rage, but the Tsimane’ had escape valves in forests, to which they could flee after first abuses. Ragged lonely clergyman could not tie pagans to missions.

A third possibility has to do with traders’ view of missionaries. In Masetén lands clergymen banned traders from entering missions, or restricted their work while traders were in missions, and missionaries along the Maniqui River, who had trained in Masetén missions, tried to do the same in the new lands. In the lawless, emulous world of the Amazon, traders and their Tsimane’ partners might have found it handy to get rid of confrontational missionaries which epidemics had not. The tentacles of international trade in cinchona bark reached deep into the village economy. Creditors, businessman, and politicians backed the work of wandering Lilliputian cinchona traders. The resources and clout of traders overshadowed anything friars could offer, particularly if clergymen only wanted sainthood. The Italian missionary Daniel

Mancini ascribed the murder of Father Reynaud to traders' resentment at Father Reynaud's interdictions against cinchona trade in Tsimane' villages (Sotomayor Valdés, 1876, pp. 410-411). Ioscha, the surname of one of the gang leaders implicated in the murder of Father Reynaud, is not a Tsimane' surname, supporting Mancini's point that outsiders aided in the killing. A century after the murder, a Redemptorist successor to Father Reynaud, Father Martín Baur, living and working with the Tsimane' at the mission of Fátima along the Maniqui River, tells in his biography of fatal duels between cinchona traders in Masetén lands, and near-fatal face-offs between him and traders who tried swapping commercial goods for forest goods with his guileless charges at the mission (Frésard-Asun Moreo, 1999, pp. 40, 87-88). Like Father Reynaud, Father Baur had done time in Masetén missions and come to feel that religious conversion and atavistic trade protectionism went together (Frésard-Asun Moreo, 1999, pp. 17, 34).

The killing throws light on other aspects of the experiment. The incident highlights villagers' insouciance to the provenience of industrial wares. Market mercenaries, the Tsimane', like the Masetén, worked as carriers, rafters, foragers, and farmhands if payment came in the western goods they wanted. They it was who decided if the terms of trade were fair. Missionaries bemoaned traders' chicanery, forgetting that natives had many buyers and could renege on deals they disliked. The murder also shows the pugnacious side of the Tsimane'. Indians in the town of San Borja in 1786 had stood firm about not settling in Santa Ana because they did not want to live next to their Movima foes. In 1849 the Tsimane' pillaged and killed westerners trying to re-settle them in the town of San Borja. The murder of Father Reynaud 13 years later falls into a trend of Tsimane' signaling their bravery to outsiders trying to ramrod a settlement or a trade policy on them. More intriguingly, the killing shows how far the control group wanted the intervention. The Tsimane' careened to the market when it arrived at their doorstep through missionaries and cinchona traders. The wish to ease drudgery by using metal instead of stone, to feel new gaiety in benders with exotic liquors, to look fresher by wearing manufactured clothing and glass beads -- all these hidden wants suddenly surfaced with the market's arrival.

Last, the killing adds a pedestrian explanation for why the Tsimane' did not settle in missions. Some have said that Tsimane' did not do so because they had an acephalous polity in peacetime so chiefs lacked the power to force villagers to become sedentary^{xliii} (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 175; Jürgen Riester, 1993, pp. 96-97; Santamaría, 2005, p. 22). Others have said that fierce independence, a semi-nomadic lifestyle (Ringhofer, 2010, p. 62), and fear of contracting western ailments kept them away from missions (Chicchón, 1992; Rebecca Ellis & Aráuz, 1998; Huanca, 2008). True, but beyond these reasonable explanations one also has to ask: Why would Tsimane' live in a mission mall if they could visit it at will to get metal tools and pots and if, in addition, they received house calls in the village from travelling salesmen who brought them these wares? As tribal warfare decline, the protective benefits of missions faded and with it the inducements to live in missions.

As happens with the market for other natural resources, the market for cinchona bark vanished as fast as it came. By 1880-1890 the spread of cinchona cultivation in Asia and Africa put a stop to the halcyon days in the departments of Beni and La Paz (Balzan, 1893, p. 45; Pifferi & Ducci, 1895, p. 135; Sanabria Fernández, 1973, p. 33), and with the closure came a quiet retreat into ancient ways of doing things. The Tsimane' got a taste of the market, then went back to bunker isolation. From the 1860s until the mid-twentieth century, their run-ins with the market took place spasmodically around such things as the sale of pelts (Roca, 2001, pp. 455-456), feathers, and thatch palm, work in oil exploration and the construction of public roads

(Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], pp. 143, 153-154) and, more steadily and seasonally, as ranch hands.

The rubber boom of the nineteenth century did not directly reach the Maniqui River because rubber trees did not grow in the basin, but did touch it indirectly through cattle. An outdoor stable, the town of San Borja grew during the rubber boom because it fed rubber tappers in the hinterland (Pauly, 1928, pp. 26-27). During the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century ranchers cleaned cattle trails from San Borja along the Maniqui River, veering off to Covendo, and thence to the highlands. In 1913 when Nordenskiöld and his team visited the Maniqui River, they found white ranchers along the riverbanks (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], pp. 145-146, 163). Ranchers took cattle on the hoof from San Borja to Quillacollo, Cochabamba, or to La Paz (Roca, 2001, pp. 450, 453). As the rubber fever rose, cattle owners in the savanna fenced their ranches. The enclosure of open pasture lands for private gains dispossessed savanna Indians, deepened the perceived deprivation and grievances of the have-nots, and fueled their messianic movements in search for a promised land full of cattle but without whites, an Eden they often saw in the secluded forests of the Tsimane' (Chicchón, 1992, pp. 59-60). The rubber boom brought prosperity to ranchers, and in ranches Tsimane' saw new luxuries. Cattle owners showed-off their success by acquiring the toniest commodities: large diamond rings, phonographs, vinyl recordings of Caruso, and imported furniture. Despite the boom in cattle at the heels of the boom in rubber, Tsimane' did not pull up roots to settle in ranches, perhaps because cattle ranches had few jobs. Writing about the Tsimane' in the 1880s, Franciscan Father José Cardús (1886, pp. 289-290) said that they continued to live holed up in the headwaters of the Maniqui River, with a few venturing out to work in the *haciendas* of San Borja.

When Nordenskiöld visited the Tsimane' of the Maniqui River for three week in 1913 he was struck by how traditional they were compared with the Mosestén Indians he had just visited. In the Beni River he had interviewed Mosestén in Spanish because many Mosestén understood Spanish, but with the Tsimane' he had to rely on translators. Tsimane' women did not speak Spanish and only "a few of the ...men knew a few words of Spanish"(Nordenskiöld, 1979 [orig. 1924], pp. 15, 164). The Mosestén he had seen at Covendo had lost most of their traditional material culture but the Tsimane' kept theirs (Nordenskiöld, 1979 [orig. 1924], p. 255). He found nothing unusual about Tsimane' foraging skills or tools, but acknowledge the ubiquity of game, meat, and fish. Nor did he find anything noteworthy in their (paltry) stock of domesticated animals (Nordenskiöld, 1979 [orig. 1924], pp. 114, 160-161).

Instead of specializing in foraging, the Tsimane' had adverted to farming big time. Compared to ten other lowland tribes he had visited, the "little tribe" of the Tsimane', as he called them (Nordenskiöld, 1999 [orig. 1927], p. 175), had the most native crops and towered above others in their eagerness to borrow new crops. "Their fields inspire respect," he wrote (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 159). From westerners they brought rice, coffee, bananas, watermelons, onions, and sugarcane, and of their own crops they put in sweet manioc, maize, papaya, cotton, sweet potatoes, pepper, squash, tobacco, cacao, and peas. Of crops, they took with them in rafts to San Borja the light, easily transportable, high-value cacao and coffee beans, (Nordenskiöld, 1979 [orig. 1924], pp. 35-38, 159), but added plantains, manioc, onions, chickens, eggs, and tobacco for extra earnings (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 158). Like Mesoamerican Indians, their permanent earnings grew on trees, and their settlement grew more permanent than those of other tribes because the Tsimane' farmed with verve (Nordenskiöld, 1979 [orig. 1924], p. 23; 1999 [orig. 1927], p. 107). They grew crops in large fields around their

riverine villages, and some adopted the highland habit of chewing coca leaves to numb fatigue while farming (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 164), a habit unknown to them only 40 years earlier (Sotomayor Valdés, 1876, p. 410). With foresight, they sprinkled gardens along hunting trails to have food when foraging away from the village (Nordenskiöld, 1999 [orig. 1927], p. 119). Many crops, large fields, plot scattering, and fishing combined to ensure Tsimane' did not suffer hunger (Pauly, 1928, p. 117), and had an overplus to trade with the townspeople of San Borja and newcomers settling in their lands (Vallvé, 2010, p. 302). In their nook they had become master horticulturalists and lost none of their fighting backbone. When whites abused them, they struck back with fury by burning houses, abandoning whites in the forest, or by harming them -- and then escaping to lairs in the upper reaches of the Apere River where no white could ever hope to find them (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], pp. 140, 151, 159, 175).

Isolated but well-fed, corpulent, and strong, the Tsimane' lead a Zen-like life during the first half of the twentieth century. Their women were dignified and busy; their men ordinary looking, and honest. They had no interest in adornments, tattoos, sartorial fal-lals, body paints, plumes, or jewelry. Their music was rudimentary, akin to chants. Apotropaic bracelets they wore to protect their health, not to embellish themselves. For clothing they used only a tattered long tunic, at one per person, and dirty at that, and wished they could have had the tent of the Swedes to make more clothing (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], pp. 151, 153). Indifferent to color, they would have taken any canvas. They had no furniture, and few clay pots, wooden spoons, or wicker baskets. Their thatched-covered huts had no walls, and inside the huts chaos and rank smell reigned, with blankets, tools, decaying food, and rags all thrown about the mud floor (Pauly, 1928, p. 128). Had walls sealed huts, fetid smell of urine, putrid fish, and rotten game meat would have made habitation intolerable -- to westerners at least (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 155). Other than their artful bows, arrows, and palm sieves, they crafted nothing of beauty. They looked gray and dirty even though they often swam in rivers. From barter they wanted only useful metal utensils to which they had grown addicted -- axes, knives, fishhooks, and sturdy sewing needles (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 159) -- and had no interest in lucullan goods. They only made implements when they needed them, never before, and so found it hard to give up artifacts in the making or finished since they had no replacements for what they gave out (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 165). Distrustful of outsiders, they thought it impolite to show curiosity (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 153). Only the practical and the here mattered. Since their brush with the market included the sporadic sale of crops and work in cattle ranches -- presumably in unfavorable terms of trade if we believe the usual tropes of the powerful milking voiceless Indians (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], pp. 158, 163, 173-174; Vallvé, 2010, p. 302) -- they had little income to import goods to the village. They made their hunting and fishing implements, and much as they would have liked to consume commercial alcohol, they confined drinking to beverages fermented at home. Zen-like we call them because they could have had more huts, clay pots, bows, arrows, stools, tunics, locally-made bric-a-brac, sieves, and larger fields if they had wanted, but chose not to. They were wealthy because they were satisfied with what they had. In Talmudic austerity was their strength and cultural survival.

By the end of his short tour to the lands of the Masetén and Tsimane', Nordenskiöld drew an irrefragable conclusion. As twins, the Masetén and the Tsimane' shared traits: they shunned public displays of curiosity, got bored easily, were fatalistic, patient, honest, generous with drinks, stingy with food (Wegner, 1929), autarkic in agriculture, skilled at foraging, more wanting of utilitarian than of deluxe goods. But they also differed. Tsimane' had more monolingual speakers, lived in remote areas, exploited hideouts, were less obsequious, struck

back at whites who harmed them, were more egalitarian, traded less with white, and so also had fewer industrial goods. Tsimane' and Mose'ten travelled and visited each other, but almost never, it seems, to take up residence in the other's homeland.

Neither was willing to settle in the other's land despite the benefits of the move: Material prosperity in one case, cultural purity in the other. The ecologies being alike and next to each other, the move would not have needed technological retrofitting. Besides the obvious explanation that the clustering of Tsimane' and Mose'ten into two different geographical pockets grew out of self-selection into different lifestyles by people with dissimilar preferences, one can think of other, more arcane, answers to the puzzle. One has to do with cultural views of homeland. At least in modern times, the Tsimane' viewed the Quiquibey River as the western border of their territory. When a Tsimane' crossed the Quiquibey River, Nordenskiöld said, they felt homesick and asked themselves: "I'd like to know when I'll be able to return home" (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 172). Legends tell of fires that moved up from the savannas along riverbanks, scorching and purifying lands until they reached the Beni River and one of its affluent, the Quiquibey River; beyond the lands cleansed by fire one entered the dangerous, unclean ritual realm of the raw and the half-baked (Huanca, 2008). Another explanation has to do with perceptions of illnesses. If epidemics struck the basin of the Beni River and missions with greater force than they struck the land of the Tsimane', then Tsimane' may have avoided Mose'ten lands to guard their health (Huanca, 2008). And then we have inter-tribal and intra-tribal warfare, a tall fence halting the flow of people between territories. Present since pre-Hispanic times (Renard-Casevitz et al., 1988, pp. 29, 32, 155, 158), perennial bitterness ending in raids and tribal war had colored dealings between highlanders and lowlanders, between lowlanders and southern imperialists (Pärssinen & Siiriäinen, 2003), between one lowland group and another, and between people of the same tribe. The Tsimane' and Mose'ten were no exception. The Tsimane' fought against the Yuracaré (Jürgen Riester, 1993, pp. 127-128, 130; Santamaría, 2005, p. 35), against the Yacomitas (Sans & Bravo, 1888, p. 134), and against each other. In modern times, the Tsimane' split into eight large supra-families, feuding with one another (Mendizabal, 1932, p. 129; Santamaría, 2005, pp. 21-22). The Caris fought the Apos, the Apos the Paches, the Paches the Caris, and so on. After the ghoulish murder of Father Reynaud, the Mose'ten, angered at the killing of the priest they saw as their protector, raided Tsimane' villages in retaliation (Aldazabal, 1988, p. 74; Santamaría, 2005, pp. 33-34). Hard to move into the other's land with so much bad blood in between.

What cultural price did the Tsimane' pay for remaining at arms' length from westerners? The latest (2012) Bolivian census puts the Tsimane' population at 16,824 (INE, 2014, 2014a), and their language is "one of the few [indigenous] languages in Bolivia that still has a growing number of speakers" (Sakel, 2004, p. 4). We cannot say anything about how contemporary Tsimane' and Mose'ten compare with each other in quality of life because we know almost nothing about contemporary Mose'ten, anthropologists having shunned and "demoted" (Sahlins, 1993; p. 2) in punishment for modernizing. As we shall see in the rest of the book, the Tsimane' have low monetary income, but reasonable health, a happy disposition, a meaningful life, access to the industrial goods they want, but still no wish to move out of their lands.

Interpretative summary. Myopia cursed the Mose'ten and blessed the Tsimane'. To paraphrase the Bard, "in delay the Mose'ten saw no plenty", and soon entered rafting, loading, prospecting, and collecting until they could no longer go back to old ways. Living only for the now, the Tsimane' too drunk from the market when it came, but forgot it when it left, returning to social solitude and a tropical monastic life. Shy yet brave when needed, they did not follow

westerners to towns, missions, or ranches. Their inborn skills to enjoy the weighty pleasures of the moment helped them to bask in the frills and chine of the market when it arrived and from village life when it left. By providential design they were blessed with treasures unvalued by outsiders. Combined, myopia, shyness, courage, and randomly-strewn resources at the “ragged edge of the world” shielded them from the worst of markets and westerners.

Broader morals

First, like any natural experiment, this one has flaws, the chief being that at baseline the proto Masetén receiving the treatment had already learned to deal with higher ups, more so than their more primitive, remote, proto Tsimane’ kin farther east. Perhaps the Masetén had a greater propensity to seek novelty and deal with outsiders, however asymmetric the relation. When Europeans arrived to the eastern slopes of the Bolivian Andes, the Masetén swapped inter-ethnic trade with customers from one type of stratified state society, the Inkas, for inter-ethnic trade with customers from another type of stratified state society, the Europeans. If this turns out false and we find that Tsimane’ and Masetén were equally at ease with novelty and hierarchy, then the experiment becomes cleaner and the mistake works in our favor by making the two groups more alike at baseline.

Second, people have volition and bear some of the burden for the outcomes of contact. The Masetén decided to keep receiving the treatment perhaps because they incontinently enjoyed profiting from their short-term earnings as rafters and porters, perhaps because they had grown dependent on the Inkas even before Europeans came for such things as highland salt and metals, perhaps because feuds between and within tribes made it cumbersome for them to move elsewhere. Tsimane’ wanted European goods but were fine without them. The Masetén put earnings ahead of economic and cultural autonomy, the Tsimane’ did the opposite. Each had options and freedoms, but also constraints and un-freedoms; to move between the land of the treated and the untreated, people had to overcome cultural and psychological hurdles.

Third, the treatment, blunt as it was, sparked demographic and cultural attrition. We cannot tell whether the Masetén changed their cultural identity and survived by becoming something else or whether most perished. In any case, the number of people fluent in Masetén continues to shrink. Today we see only the survivors of the experiment, not those who changed their tribal identity.

Last, back in the sixteenth century when Europeans started the experiment few would have foreseen the aftermath of the trial: an acculturated group from long exposure to western ways and a flourishing traditional culture in the control group. Seemingly innocent, small decisions at the time, such as obtaining a metal axe, opening a cattle trail, trying out mission life, or wearing manufactured clothing, had addictive consequences in the long run, some improving the quality of life, some undermining forever.



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ⁱ Several authors have noted the cultural and linguistic similarities between the Mosetén and the Tsimané' (Rebecca Ellis & Aráuz, 1998; Pérez Diez, 1983). Early observers used the terms Tsimané' and Mosetén interchangeably to refer to the same people, and stressed the close links between the two groups (Armentia, 1905, p. 103; José Cardús, 1886, p. 289; Nordenskiöld, 1979 [orig. 1924], p. 3).

ⁱⁱ In a hyperbolic note Nordenskiöld says that two seasoned travelers in the rain forest could barely clear ten kilometers of trail in one day (Nordenskiöld, 2001 [orig 1924], p. 135).

ⁱⁱⁱ “con un cuchillo rescatarán el alma de un indio de la esclavitud del Demonio; y con una sarta de cuentas o chaquiras, el alma de una india, que por tan corto interés se vienen a recibir la fe y el bautismo”.

^{iv} “chaquiras, cuchillos y demás donecillos para el atractivo y conversión de los indios”.

^v “Como buen pastor...procurando amansar su fiereza brutal con el sainete de los donecillos y rescates que pudo haber a las manos”

^{vi} “Veíanse combinados en esta conquista espiritual dos elementos de prosperidad: el hierro, que por vez primera se ponía en manos de los indígenas, y que llegó á ser la moneda corriente con que se ganaba á los hombres.....”. Retrieved on May 17, 2014 from: <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/13479/pg13479.html>.

^{vii} Métraux has gained iconic prominence in ethnohistorical studies of the Mosetén and Tsimané', but he probably did not do fieldwork with either. As American geographer William Denevan (2001, p. 218) notes, much of what Métraux said probably came from his mentor, Nordenskiöld.

^{viii} "formaron el pueblo ó reducción en Igiñi, antigua morada de los alejados Chimanes. No sabemos cuantos años permaneció esta primera Misión; pero se aseguraba una mujer muy anciana, conocida del P. Luís Zacagñi, que ella había sido bautizada en Igiñi, que había dos padres, que uno de ellos se volvió loco, que se escapaba hacia el monte, y que, al fin, lo encontraron muerto y algo comido de los gallinazos; que el otro Padre siguió algún tiempo más, aunque siempre triste, ya por verse sin compañero, ya por la poca docilidad de los indios, hasta que un día, cortando palos para la chacra, cayó uno grande al lado del Padre, que creyó se lo habían hecho caer los neófitos de intento para matarlo; sospecha no temeraria que atemorizó al pobre misionero y le hizo abandonar la Misión".

^{ix} "La permanencia de diez años en semejantes lugares, es para los conversores lo mismo que quitarse veinte años de vida. Después que han permanecido algún tiempo en dichas Misiones, los Padres parecen espectros ambulantes que han salido del sepulcro".

^x "Es muy buena esta gente y de mucha rason, bien vestida y mejor dispuesta...está situado este pueblo, en el mejor, más fuerte y fresco y alegre sitio de toda esta tierra, no sólo para ellos, mas para la principal población, que los españoles viesen de hazer" (p. 218). On page 220 he says that the region of the Chomano is "el mejor sitio de esta tierra" ("the best place of these lands").

^{xi} For instance, based on toponyms the Mosetén were split into Muchanes, Tucupies, Magdalenos, or Covendeanos (Aldazabal, 1988).

^{xii} Missionaries left with "harta pena de sus corazones, abandonaron la tierra de los Mosetenes en la plena convicción de que se perdía todo su trabajo, porque sabían muy bien que los indios volverían a sus antiguas supersticiones, como efectivamente así sucedió".

^{xiii} The full quote: "Vivió con ellos algunos meses, instruyéndolos en las verdades de nuestra santa religión, pero se le terminaron las chucherías que llevaba para obsequiarles, y como estas gentes [Mosetén] se dejan ganar solamente con los obsequios, apenas faltaron estos, perdieron sus entusiasmos para instruirse en las cosas que el P. Misionero les explicaba...y se despidió de los salvajes, ofreciéndoles su pronto regreso con espejos, hachas, machetes y pañuelos de colores, que es todo su encanto y toda su felicidad."

^{xiv} "Sin embargo les hablé sobre el fin de mi venida, y prometiles que, si querían ser cristianos, yo escribiría una carta a Moquegua [Perú] para que viniera otro Padre que les enseñase la doctrina y les hiciese cristianos como á los Muchanis, de los que les resultarían tantas ventajas, no solo por lo espiritual sino también por lo corporal".

^{xv} "...y me retiré á mi posada, en donde les repartí algunas frioleras, como agujas, cintas, cuchillos, rosarios y azúcar; ellos correspondieron con camotes, yucas, maíz, algodón y sal, tanto á mi como á mis compañeros".

^{xvi} “Durante las aguas me dediqué a enseñar la música a los chunchitos, que luego la aprendieron y tuve el gusto de oírlos tocar sus instrumentos y cantar la misa, el Rosario y otras funciones”.

^{xvii} “A medio día los muchachos salen de la escuela y van delante del convento; saludan al misionero, diciendo en alta voz...[el día de la semana]. Por la tarde las muchachas, después de haber cantado el Ave María, vienen delante de la iglesia; con sus voces graciosas, soto voce, á dar las buenas noches al misionero, cosa que también hacen los muchachos, agregando un ‘hasta mañana’. Antes que anochezca se presenta el Cacique, el Capitán, ó algún mandón á dar cuenta del trabajo hecho, y se retiran todos á sus casas. A las ocho de la noche, una campana toca el silencio”.

^{xviii} “Federico nos dijo que aunque los mosetene conserven todavía sus antiguas creencias, quieren continuar con los Padres pues les protegen de convertirse en esclavos por deudas de los patrones blancos. Tienen mucha ropa, herramientas, escopetas e incluso maquinas de coser”.

^{xix} “...Magdalenos, que de vez en cuando se asomaban á Tinendo ó á Santa Ana, para proveerse de herramientas...”. Along the same vein, Nordenskiöld (2001 [orig 1924], p. 171) said that remote Mosestén who had no contact with whites would come furtively to the mission of Covendo to fetch metal tools from their kin.

^{xx} The quote comes from Pinilla’s 1904 book, available electronically at the following web site (downloaded on May 20, 2014):

https://archive.org/stream/memoria01gobigoog/memoria01gobigoog_djvu.txt. The electronic version has no page numbers. “Con los balseros que traía de Santa Ana tampoco había como contar por ningún dinero porque el Padre les había dado orden terminante de no seguir más adelante. Incalificable me parece la conducta del Padre, pues no obstante de saber mejor que nadie con las dificultades que iba á tropezar, me negó en lo absoluto facilitarme los 6 balseros que yo necesitaba, sin embargo de tener a su disposición más de 100 hombres, entre las Misiones de Santa Ana y Covendo, de los que él pensaba emplear apenas 20 para su viaje á La Paz, quedando, por consiguiente, más de 40 hombres, completamente desocupados y ociosos”.

^{xxi} See previous footnote: “Para mejor hacerlo [la visita a la misión de Covendo], mandé prevenir mi visita al Cacique, quien en ausencia del Misionero, queda de primera autoridad en una Misión; pero fue para peor. A la noticia de mi ida, todos, desde el Cacique para abajo, habían abandonado el pueblo, no habiendo quedado sino unas pocas mujeres y niños y 2 hombres, quienes, como me lo esperaba, me negaron todo y tuve que ordenar á mi gente que á la fuerza se apropiara de unas 2 gallinas y revisaran las casas para conseguir algunos huevos y un poco de fruta”.

^{xxii} But see Pauly (1928, p. 21), who in the early twentieth century noted that over some stretches of rivers the Mosestén pulled rafts up-river. Heath (1882, p. 145) also mentions pulling rafts up the river.

^{xxiii} See also Cardús (1886, p. 162).

^{xxiv} For a discussion of the Masetén tradition of performing classical music see the book and CD of Fernández et al. (2009).

^{xxv} Estimates of the contemporary Masetén population vary. The latest Bolivian census (2012) puts the Masetén population over 15 years of age at 1989 people. Assuming Masetén and Tsimane' demography resemble each other, and that a typical household contains the same number of people above and below the age of 15-16 years (as is true among the Tsimane'), then the Masetén population would reach about 3900 people (INE, 2014, p. 31). During February-March 2014, one Masetén provided the following estimates of the current Masetén population: 200 households in Covendo, 300 in Santa Ana, 30 in Pojponendo, 40 in Muchanes, and 10 in Quiquibey. Assuming the average Masetén household contains about six people (as is true among the Tsimane'), the entire Masetén population in early 2014 would have reached 3,500 people, an estimate roughly consistent with the estimate from the latest Bolivian census. Linguist Wilhelm Adelaar's (2004) estimate of the Masetén population is higher (5,300 people).

^{xxvi} During 1846-1850 and 1886-1887 Franciscans closed the missions of Covendo and Muchanes because of epidemics (Armentia Ugarte, 1905, pp. 156-157; Pifferi & Ducci, 1895, pp. 127-128; Sans & Bravo, 1888, p. 199). Pérez (2002, p. 224) notes that in 1855 an epidemic hit cinchona collectors in the department of La Paz or the watershed of the Beni River.

^{xxvii} "Tiene más de 1,200 almas, naturales rebeldes, que varias veces se han huido con sobresalto de los Padres". "It has more than 1,200 souls. Rebellious natives, they have several times fled startled from the priests" (Marbán, 2005 [orig.1700], p. 74).

^{xxviii} Referring to the Movimas, most likely the ancestral Tsimane', Beingolea says they had "a surly, warring character, as savage as the people in San Pedro" ["genio áspero y muy guerrero y tan bárbara como la de San Pedro"] (Beingolea, 2005 [orig. 1764?], p. 182).

^{xxix} "Este [Hermano Álvaro de Mendoza] se determinó, despreciando los mayores peligros, a ir a los pueblos de los rebelados y, aunque los hallo irritados y con propósitos de permanecer en sus antigua abominable conducta, no obstante la gran suavidad del hermano y persuasiones, acompañadas de los donecitos con que más eficazmente les hablaba, ablando sus ánimos y les obligó a que otra vez se uniesen...."

^{xxx} "Peligroso es trasladar a los indios a largas distancias del lugar donde han nacido y se han criado, y esto no puede conseguirse sin hacerles alguna violencia. Cuando esto se verifica, se apodera de ellos una tristeza y abatimiento, que cause a muchos la muerte, o por lo menos es causa de varias y graves enfermedades de que sucumben."

^{xxxi} Fifty years later, Nordenskiöld (2001 [orig 1924], p. 153) said that USA engineers had explored for oil along the Maniquí River and that white cattle ranchers living in the area had cast aspersions on the engineers telling Tsimane' they had come to steal from the Tsimane'.

^{xxxii} "A principios de este mismo año (1824) hice una expedición a los indios Chimanes, que también son Masetenes y del mismo idioma, quienes en varias ocasiones han venido a Santa Ana a comprar herramientas y otras cosas. Los hemos tratado algunas veces, y siempre han

manifestado muchos deseos de ser cristianos y vivir con el Padre. Viendo sus buenas disposiciones, determine ir a su rancherías; y en efecto, fui a visitarlos, acompañado de ellos mismos y de algunos de mis neófitos. No esperaban ellos mi visita; pero como ya tenían noticia de nuestras tareas, y viéndonos acompañados por sus propios deudos, nos recibieron con cordial benevolencia. Después de los primeros saludos – nada diplomáticos --, les hable de Dios y de sus almas y de la felicidad de los cristianos: hice llamar a varias familias que vivían dispersas en aquellas inmediaciones. El grupo mayor de sus ranchitos, donde llegue, se llama Coisinge (Cosincho?), por estar cerca de un río no muy grande, así llamado. Mucho deseaba yo formarles una Misión – según ellos me pedían...”

xxxiii “Este celosísimo Padre se propuso aumentar su pequeña grey con la conquista de los salvajes Chimanes”.

xxxiv “Para la fecha en que nos encontramos, habían muerto los promotores de la idea de la Misión y sólo quedaban sus hijos, instruidos ya en la doctrina Cristiana, pero con la sangre de fieras de bosque en sus venas y con tendencias de libertad, especialmente en sus costumbres”.

xxxv “...tu hermano ya no piensa en las cosas de esta tierra. Su único deseo es hacerse santo, padecer mucho por nuestro buen Jesús y morir mártir”

xxxvi The full quote: “tienen guerra con extraños – tribus vecinas – y tengo que defenderlos fuertemente para que no me los maten en alma y cuerpo. La tribu es numerosa. Tres veces corrí peligro de ser flechado. Ahora me quieren mucho y me obedecen perfectamente. Pero puedo tener una media certeza que mi vida no acabara en la cama”.

xxxvii “Vivo, comiendo plátanos, frutas de palmas, carne de mono, de tigre, de serpiente, de caimanes y de otros mil habitantes del agua y de las selvas. Algunos días vivo bien, otras veces tengo que apagar mi hambre comiendo sapos y lagartos...pan y vino no se ven por estos lugares”

xxxviii “Los Chimanes tienen un carácter feroz; en sus borracheras no hablan sino de matar”.

xxxix “Estos mis neófitos me aman entrañablemente: ya no me abandonan y me siguen doquiera me vaya y me ayudan a convertir a otros infinitos barbaros que son miles y miles sobre las orillas de los ríos”.

xl “tienen guerra con extraños – tribus vecinas – y tengo que defenderlos fuertemente para que no me los maten en alma y cuerpo. La tribu es numerosa. Tres veces corrí peligro de ser flechado. Ahora me quieren mucho y me obedecen perfectamente. Pero puedo tener una media certeza que mi vida no acabara en la cama”.

xli “Lejos de mostrarse arrepentidos, hicieron alarde de su sacrilegio, quemaron la iglesia, se embriagaron con frenesí, bailaron con las casullas puestas, bajaron a San Borja, causando horror, y después se dispersaron” (Valcanover, 2010, p. 97). All the material about Father Reynaud comes from two sources: Mendizabal and the recently edited version of his letters by M. Valcanover. (Mendizabal, 1932; Valcanover, 2010).

^{xlii} “los misioneros les quitan su libertad, los privan de sus gustos, de sus embriagueces, (todo esto es conforme a la Divina ley); otros repetían que los padres los juntaban en reducciones grandes para que los halle la peste; que los padres los matan con el bautismo, y con los medicamentos; que los riñen y castigan, y otras semejantes sugestiones.....”

^{xliii} One should not put too much stress on the absence of chiefs as a bar to settling in missions. People from small-scale, egalitarian societies, the reasoning goes, found it harder to accept the laddered living of missions. True, until one considers that the Moxos Indians had chiefs without followers yet asked Jesuits to set up missions for such things as protection and access to metal implements (Eguiluz, 1884 [orig. 1696], pp. 5-6).