

Tipití: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America

ISSN: 2572-3626 (online)

Volume 7 | Issue 1

Article 3

June 2009

Comparative Studies and the South American Gran Chaco

Isabelle Combes

French Institute for Andean Studies (IFEA), Santa Cruz de la Sierra, kunhati@gmail.com

Diego Villar

National Council of Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET), Buenos Aires, villardieg@gmail.com

Kathleen Lowrey

University of Alberta, Edmonton, kathleen.lowrey@ualberta.ca

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.trinity.edu/tipiti>



Part of the [Anthropology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Combes, Isabelle; Villar, Diego; and Lowrey, Kathleen (2009). "Comparative Studies and the South American Gran Chaco," *Tipití: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America*: Vol. 7: Iss. 1, Article 3.

Available at: <https://digitalcommons.trinity.edu/tipiti/vol7/iss1/3>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by Digital Commons @ Trinity. It has been accepted for inclusion in Tipití: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America by an authorized editor of Digital Commons @ Trinity. For more information, please contact jcostanz@trinity.edu.

Comparative Studies and the South American Gran Chaco

ISABELLE COMBÈS

French Institute for Andean Studies (IFEA), Santa Cruz de la Sierra
kunhati@gmail.com

DIEGO VILLAR

National Council of Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET),
Buenos Aires
villardieg@gmail.com

KATHLEEN LOWREY

University of Alberta, Edmonton
kathleen.lowrey@ualberta.ca

INTRODUCTION

This article reviews the historical and present prospects of ethnohistorical and ethnographic work in the South American Gran Chaco. Geographically the Chaco is a semi-arid central South American plain, some one million square kilometers in size, encompassing portions of northern Argentina, eastern Bolivia, and western Paraguay. Average rainfall oscillates around 800 mm/yr, with the peripheries being wetter and the central Chaco drier. Some 250,000 indigenous people belonging to more than twenty ethnic groups live in the Chaco. Traditional ethnolinguistic categorization classifies them into six main linguistic groups: Mataco-maká (Wichí-Mataco, Chorote, Nivaclé-Chulupí, Maká), Guaycurú (Toba, Toba-Pilagá, Pilagá, Mocoví, Mbayá-Caduveo), Lule-Vilela (Chunupí), Lengua-Maskoi (Lengua, Sanapaná, Angaité, Enenlhet), Zamuco (Chamacoco-Ishir, Ayoreo) and Tupí-Guaraní (Ava-Chiriguano, Chané, Tapiete, Ioseño-Guaraní, and Guaraní Occidental). The last group is the largest, including nearly 100,000 people, of whom the majority live in Bolivia. Unlike their Amazonian and Andean counterparts, Chaco indigenous peoples have yet to establish transnational, pan-indigenous representative bodies of their own. The present position of Chaco scholars is in many ways isomorphic to that of Chaco indigenous peoples, as Chaco

anthropology has not established itself as an internationally recognized field of endeavor. Nevertheless, recent scholarship in the region is currently producing an original synthesis of many of the long-standing concerns of Andeanist and Amazonianist scholarship, respectively. A case can also be made for a new direction for research, based upon intriguing anthropological and historical parallels between the North American Great Plains and the South American Gran Chaco. The very indefiniteness of Chaco scholarship may also be its principal strength, and the past and present directions of Chaco research both draw upon and make a persuasive case for returning to comparative and area studies approaches in anthropology.

ETHNOHISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

The Chaco has a long history of exploration and evangelization from various fronts: the Andean Audiencia of Charcas to the west, Tucumán in present-day Argentina to the south, and Amazonia and the Chiquitanía to the north. As a result there exists a considerable corpus of written sources that permits the retracing of its history as far back as to the mid-sixteenth century. Though often shepherded into the category “lowland South America”, in this respect the Chaco is strongly differentiated from Amazonia. The paucity of written sources for the colonial period has become something of an obligatory lament in the ethnographic and ethnohistoric literature of the Amazon. By contrast, the multitude of sources available for the Chaco is comparable in many respects to the rich archival documentation extant for the Andes. There are some noteworthy differences. In the Chaco, the availability of written sources varies temporally. For example, there is an almost total absence of documentation for the seventeenth century, following the realization by the Spanish that establishing a permanent land route between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts would be impractical. The availability of sources also varies spatially: much more documentation exists for the periphery than for the interior of the Chaco. In fact, the way information about the interior was mediated by groups living on the periphery has become an interesting topic of research in its own right. Apart from a few missions established in the eighteenth century, Europeans passed through the Chaco but only established themselves on its margins. The information that we have, therefore, is up until the latter half of the nineteenth century derived from travelers’ and explorers’ logs and not, as in the Andes, from more exact materials such as censuses, tributes, complaints, and petitions originating from indigenous

peoples themselves. Finally, in the Chaco, in contrast to the Andes, there is a near-absence of archaeological data, due to a combination of three factors: the absence of suitable lithic raw material for stone tools, soil conditions that are not conducive to the preservation of organic and faunal materials, and a lack of research (Salas 1945; Fock 1961, 1966; Sánchez and Sica 1990; Méndez et al. 2000; Méndez et al. 2003; Dames and Moore 2001; Ortiz and Ventura 2003; Balbarrey et al. 2003; Calandra & Ferrarini 2003; Calandra & Salceda 2003, 2008; Calandra et al. 2005; Colazo et al. 2004; Lamenza et al. 2006).

There exists, nevertheless, a rich historical bibliography about the region and its frontiers that more than rewards consultation although it cannot without effort be regarded as properly ethnohistorical (Gandía 1929; Arze Quiroga 1953; Finot 1978; Maeder 1996; Pistoia 1989; Querejazu Calvo 1975; Tomichá 2002). The written sources used for historical and ethnohistorical analyses are the same, and include archives, chronicles and histories (Angelis 1835; Camaño 1955; Cardiel 1912; Cardús 1886; Charlevoix 1756; Comajuncosa 1836; Comajuncosa y Corrado 1884; Cortesão 1955; Díaz de Guzmán 1835, 1979; Dobrizhoffer 1968; Egaña 1954; Fernández 1994; Giannecchini 1996; Jiménez de la Espada 1965; Jolis 1972; Levillier 1922; Lozano 1733; Martarelli 1918; Mingo de la Concepción 1981; Misioneros del Chaco Occidental 1995; Tommasini 1937; Montenegro 1964; Mujía 1914; Muriel 1955; Nino 1908, 1912, 1918; Pastells 1912; Pastells and Mateos 1956; Rodrigues do Prado 2004; Sánchez Labrador 1910; Torres Revello 1941; Paucke 1942-1944; Calzavarini 2004-2006; Julien 2008), dictionaries and grammars (Chomé 1958; Giannecchini et al. 1916; Hervás 1800, 1990; Santiago de León 1998), records of voyages and explorations (Ayoroa 1927; Azara 2009; Balzan 2008; Belaieff 1924, 1925; Bennati 1875; Campos 1888; Cominges 1892; Cornejo 1972; Núñez Cabeza de Vaca 1994; d'Orbigny 1839, 2002; Schmidel 2008; Suárez Arana 1919; Thour 1997) and a corpus of maps which have been particularly important in the Chaco¹. Another source, properly ethnohistorical and only recently valued seriously, is oral history (Amarilla-Stanley 2001; Cordeu 2003; Encuentro Interconfesional de Misioneros 1997; Fric 1909; Gordillo 2005; Riester 1998; Riester and Weber 1998). These sources enable an organization not so much of Chaco indigenous history as of its contacts with colonial and republican society into the following four periods: (1) early phase—sixteenth and early seventeenth century exploration; (2) Jesuit phase—end of the seventeenth century through the eighteenth century; (3) colonization phase—the nineteenth century up to the Chaco War (1932-1935); (4) modern

phase—from the Chaco War to the present. It is important to note that while the mere existence of early sources distinguishes the Chaco from the Amazon, the limitations of these earliest sources mean that arriving at a real approximation to the pre-Columbian era is not possible here as it is for the Andes.

The very existence of sources across the *longue durée* paired with the absence of clear geographic boundaries for the region have meant, first, that a strongly historicist component has always been present in Chaco anthropology and, second, that Chaco anthropology has always demonstrated a marked bent toward comparativism and even, in its founding generation, toward diffusionism. The Chaco “classics” are the works of Erland von Nordenskiöld and his disciple Alfred Métraux, which particularly track Andean influences on Chacoan peoples. Nevertheless, the inescapable backdrop to all Chaco studies up to the present day is the substantial ethnic diversity of the region, reflected even in the very earliest sources. This, of course, is not a characteristic exclusive to the Chaco, but the availability of a body of historical sources makes possible here what is difficult in the case of Amazonia: tracking across the *longue durée* unfolding processes of population, ethnic composition, fusion and fission, mediations and contacts—that is to say, ethnogenesis generally. The development of this mode of analysis began with regional syntheses and reached its apogee with the work of the Slovenian-Paraguayan scholar Branislava Susnik (Métraux 1942, 1946a, 1996; Susnik 1961, 1968, 1971, 1972, 1975, 1978, 1981; Kersten 1968; Renard-Casevitz et al. 1986; Saignes 1979; Braunstein 1999; Braunstein et al. 2002). Her very ambitious style of broad synthesis is today only found in general introductions or single book chapters. Contemporary scholarship, instead, focuses its attention on case studies that are at once more modest and more exact, about particular indigenous groups or micro-regions (Nordenskiöld 1917, 1920; Métraux 1927, 1928a, 1928b, 1930, 1934, 1946b; Lussagnet 1961; Pifarré 1989; Saignes 1982, 1984, 1985, 1990; Santamaría 1995; Beck 1994; Langer 1994, 1995; Carvajal 1998; Saeger 2000; Nassis 2005; Citro 2008). While most recent efforts strongly emphasize oral histories (or “ethno-ethnohistory”), they only rarely complement these rich narratives with information available from archival documentation (Chase-Sardi 1981; Cordeu 1993, 1995, 1998; Fischermann 1993; Schuchard 1981, 1995; Segovia 1996, 2005; Siffredi and Santini 1993; Mashnshnek 2000; Gordillo 2002; Bossert and Villar 2005).

Finally, a few contemporary studies are distinguished by their simultaneous attention to history and to anthropology, focusing on

ethnogenesis and considering Chacoan indigenous identities in the *longue durée* and as historical products (Braunstein ed. 1989-2008; Cordeu 1993, 1995, 2004, 2008; Combès and Saignes 1991; Combès and Villar 2004; Combès 2005, 2007, 2008, 2009; Combès and Lowrey 2006; Bossert 2008; Richard 2008). These studies stress cultural hybridity, linguistic borrowing, diatopic variation, interethnic marriage and particularly the diachronic association of regional complexes based both in hierarchical (Mbaya-Guana-Chamacoco, Chiriguano-Chané) and symmetrical (Wichí-Chorote-Nivaclé) symbiosis. These latter works have also been concerned to avoid explanation in terms of cultural “traits” linked to linguistic “families”, and have moved away from a previous predilection for directly applying theories forged in other contexts (Amazonia in particular) to Chaco ethnohistory. Chaco ethnohistory, then, like Chaco anthropology *tout court*, is beginning to forge its own methods and analytical tools.

ETHNOLOGY

Chaco anthropology is marked by an antidogmatic eclecticism that derives in part from the peripheral position of its amateur and professional scholars. What may be called the “classical” period extends into the second half of the twentieth century, during which time disparate authors such as Erland Nordenskiöld (1910, 1920, 1929, 2002), Raphael Karsten (1915, 1923, 1932), Max Schmidt (1937, 1938) or Alfred Métraux (1937, 1943, 1946a, 1946b, 1996) carried out systematic empirical and descriptive studies from an analytical point of view which combined a collector’s zeal, a classical evolutionist theoretical bias and a diffusionist comparative standpoint. Several studies have been written about this pioneer phase (Lindberg 1995; Krebs 2005; Gordillo 2006; Bossert and Villar 2007), and the concerns of its major figures are echoed in the foundational, if stylistically abstruse, investigations of Susnik (1961, 1968, 1971, 1972). In terms of thematic problems, this pioneer phase concentrated on issues such as anthropometry and ethnoastronomy (Lehmann-Nitsche 1907, 1924a, 1924b, 1924c, 1924d, 1924e, 1924f, 1927), indigenous religion (Métraux 1937; Palavecino 1948), material culture (Rosen 1924; Fock 1966; Métraux 1930), and ethnohistory and “social organization” defined in quite a loose sense (Baldus 1931; Belaieff 1936; Boggiani 1894, 1897; Brinton 1898; Métraux 1946a; Susnik 1983). In addition, some scattered works attempted to establish the Gran Chaco as cultural area in its own right (Imbelloni 1941; Métraux 1946a; Palavecino 1948; Susnik 1972).

With the academic institutionalization of scientific anthropology, modern approaches gradually shifted the thematic emphasis to shamanism (Sebag 1965; Bernard-Muñoz 1977; Tomasini 1997; Califano & Dasso 1999), mythology (Kelm 1971; Bórmida and Califano 1978; Clastres 1992; Cordeu 1969, 1984; Cordeu and Siffredi 1988) and particularly the dynamic processes of absorption of missionary theology (Catholic, Anglican, Mormon, Evangelical, etc.) by indigenous cosmologies (Bartolomé 1972; Cordeu and Siffredi 1971; Miller 1975, 1979; Dasso 1999; Wright 2002, 2008; Ceriani Cernadas 2008a, 2008b; Villar 2007, 2008). Considered as a whole, Chaco anthropological literature is striking both for its relative poverty of kinship studies (Miller 1966; Wicke and Chase-Sardi 1969; Braunstein 1983, 1992; Palmer 2005; Barúa 1995) and of regional generalization (with a few exceptions, such as Cordeu and de los Ríos 1982; Braunstein 1983; Braunstein and Palmer 1992). Nevertheless, it also shows a considerable variety and richness regarding issues such as ethnoastronomy (Braunstein and Gómez 2004; Giménez et al. 2006; Gómez 2007), processes of ethnic definition and interethnic articulation (Braunstein 1988; Gustafson 2002; Combès 2005, 2006; Combès and Villar 2004, 2007; Cordeu 2004; Gordillo 2006a, 2006b; Bossert 2006; Lowrey 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2007; Villar 2005, 2006), and particularly the analysis of meaningful relationships between material culture and ethnic identity, symbolism, and cultural change. A significant tendency of Chaco anthropology has been the collecting of extensive compilations of oral literature (Nordenskiöld 2002; Métraux 1946b; Chase-Sardi 1981, 2003; Clastres 1992; Cordeu 2003; Riestler and Weber 1998; Wilbert and Simoneau 1982a, 1982b, 1985, 1987, 1988). Current foci include the relationship between oral history and ethnohistory (Saignes 1990; Siffredi and Santini 1993; Cordeu 2003, 2004; Combès 2005; Combès and Lowrey 2006; Combès and Villar 2004; Bossert 2006; Córdoba and Braunstein 2008) and changes in sociopolitical organization (Mendoza 2002; Combès and Villar 2004; Combès 2005; Combès and Lowrey 2006; Palmer 2005; Córdoba 2008; Lowrey 2007; Villagra 2008). Recently, several major collective works on problems such as cultural change (Miller 1999), ethnic classification (Combès 2006), political leadership (Braunstein and Meichtry 2008) and the structuring impact of the war of 1932-1935 between Bolivia and Paraguay (Richard 2008) have been published.

Regarding conceptual, methodological and theoretical frameworks, evolutionist and diffusionist approaches gradually gave way to phenomenological perspectives that analytically privilege the description of the internal logic of Chaco indigenous cosmologies. The tendency in

this latter phase has been to focus upon conscious meanings implicit in oral history, myth, autobiography and several other forms of discourse rather than on underlying economic, historical, political or sociological structures. This idealist emphasis is particularly evident in perhaps the only identifiable “school of thought” in Chaco anthropology, embodied in the works of Marcelo Bórmida and his disciples from the early 1970s to the near-present. Here recurrent theoretical references include Ernesto de Martino, Edmund Husserl, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, Mircea Eliade and Maurice Leenhardt (Bórmida 1973-1978; Califano 1999; Dasso 1999; Idoyaga Molina 1995; Tomasini 1997). To a certain extent this tendency has persisted in the contemporary eclecticism and interdisciplinarity of Chaco studies, particularly in Argentine academia where the majority of Chaco scholars function. In most contemporary studies, however, a broadly phenomenological point of view is loosely combined with analytical strategies of religious hermeneutics, existential and deconstructive philosophy, gender theory, theories of performance, cultural studies and even different varieties of structuralism (Sterpin 1993; Alvarsson 1998; Braunstein 2006; Cordeu 1984, 1999; Cordeu and Siffredi 1988; Wright 2003; Citro 2006; Hirsch 2006; Ceriani Cernadas 2008a, 2008b). Isolated attempts have also been made to analyze ethnographic data within different analytical frameworks, mainly derived from ethnohistory, descriptive linguistics, ethnobotany and sociology (Kidd 1995; Arenas 2003; Gordillo 2004; Bossert and Villar 2004; Palmer 2005; Combès 2005; Villar 2005; Montani 2008; Richard 2008). A related contemporary tendency is the slow revival of the comparative method in several approaches that strive to relocate the Gran Chaco within a wider Amerindian perspective, reestablishing comparative dialogue between regional data and Amazonian structuralist theories (Combès and Saignes 1991; Sterpin 1993; d’Onofrio 2003; Villar 2007; Tola 2007; Barúa 2008; Bossert et al. 2009).

Many of the aforementioned studies focus on Guaraní-speaking peoples. These groups live primarily on the outer margins of the Chaco proper and for the most part practice settled agriculture, supplemented now by cattle-raising and wage labor. The arid interior Chaco remains extremely sparsely populated even today and was until the War of the Chaco the almost exclusive terrain of nomadic groups speaking Zamucoan, Guaycuruan, and Matacoan languages. For this reason one also finds in the Chaco literature many works that consider indigenous life in terms of a “hunter and gatherer” analytical framework (e.g. Mendoza 2002). The archetypical Chaco people here, the one to whom the majority of such studies are devoted, are the Ayoreode of Paraguay and Bolivia. Some

of these contributions have a strongly sociobiological perspective while others employ a more or less “primordialist” lens; inevitably, the politics of NGOs, development projects and environmentalism and their interactions with nomadic Chaco peoples have become subjects of investigation as well (Renshaw 1988, 1996; Bremen 2001; Fischermann 1976, 2006; Bartolomé 2000; Blaser 2004a, 2004b; Bessire 2006).

WHY COMPARATIVE AND AREA STUDIES?

As a cultural and geographic zone, the Chaco exists in the shadow of the Andes and of Amazonia. It is similarly positioned in the anthropological imagination. The conceptual playing fields of South American anthropology are, clearly, Amazonia and the Andes. It is significant that in the *Handbook of South American Indians* the indigenous peoples of the Chaco appear in the volume devoted to “Marginal Tribes”. When reading the regional literature, it can feel to “Chacologists” as though the Chaco—tucked away into lowland South America, which is to say Amazonia—did not exist at all. The theoretical models that dominate ethnological analyses for the region have been forged on the basis of Amazonian data, while regional historiography is strongly shaped by Andean events, sequences, and narratives.

As the previous two sections demonstrated, Chaco scholarship has defined itself principally in geographic rather than theoretical terms and has continuously relied on the comparative approach in its self-constitution as an investigative enterprise. While Chaco researchers are sometimes self-conscious about this “anthropological relativism”, it is appropriate to the field and its data. Attempts by Chaco indigenous peoples to form a transnational organization of their own have stumbled repeatedly and are inevitably comparative undertakings, the models being the Coordinator of Indigenous Organizations of the Amazon Basin (COICA) and Andean confederations. The ethnographer’s magic works, after all, on the material at hand. Amazonian indigenous peoples have achieved worldwide recognition as complex interlocutors of environmental politics. Anthropologically, the Amazon is South America’s playing field for theories about the relationship between nature and society (Viveiros de Castro 1996): structuralist above all, but including historical and cultural ecological debates over demography and environment. Meanwhile, and most spectacularly marked by the election in Bolivia of President Evo Morales, Andean indigenous peoples continue to forge compelling

syntheses of pre- and post-colonial history. Andeanists, in their turn, have their fiercest intellectual battles about which history is most relevant to the present: the Incaic and pre-Incaic kind, or the colonial and post-colonial variety (Starn 1991). It is perhaps not surprising, then, that like Chaco indigenous peoples themselves Chaco scholars are selective and critically-minded comparers and borrowers, taking theories about structure from the Amazon, and taking historiographic inspiration from the Andes. Meanwhile, Chaco history and ethnography has had virtually no impact upon Andean studies, and after *Mythologiques* few Amazonianists have sought inspiration in Chaco ethnological data (for exceptions, see Lévi-Strauss 1985; Fausto 2008).

There is, then, a remarkable isomorphism between the literal and the conceptual field of study. The Chaco is and always has been a zone of exchange, of reciprocal influence, and of mixing. If the strong points of Chaco scholarship are meticulous ethnography and definite (if under-utilized) historiographic potential, its great faults are its internal indefiniteness and a certain—perhaps related—predilection for obscurantism. The work of Branislava Susnik, a figure who is in many ways the patron saint of Chaco ethnology, manifests both tendencies in canonical fashion. Ethnographers of the Chaco have long paid as much attention to the internal heterogeneity of inter-ethnic relations in the Chaco as to relations with non-Chacoan peoples (including non-Indians). This approach guided Susnik's work and is one of the reasons Chaco scholars continue to make the considerable effort involved in engaging her writings. This simultaneous attention to external influence and to internal complexity is perhaps the principal merit of "Chacology", and as such can offer an example to Amazonian and Andean scholars alike. Indeed, Chaco scholarship might aim to play more explicitly, as it sometimes has implicitly, the classic role of the "included" or "sublimated" inferior term relative to both the literature from Amazonia (with its emphasis on social and theoretical structures) and the Andes (with its emphasis on history and histories). It could thus act as an agent of mediation and of transformation within the whole formed by South American scholarship. There is ample reason to believe the peoples of the Chaco have often done so within that whole formed by South America. If the Amazon is the privileged field for the generation of theories, and the Andes for historical debates, perhaps Chaco scholarship is best located as a middle ground of synthetic reconciliation between structure and history.

To sink from airy conjecture back to the sandy earth in question, what differentiates the Chaco from the Andes and the Amazon most starkly is its flat, dry, brambly-thorny ecosystem, home to rheas, anteaters, armadillos

and endless flocks of birds. The socio-ecological metaphor for the Andes is the “vertical archipelago,” the systems of relations that connect the steep dry cold altiplano and its llamas and potatoes to the gently sloping warm moist foothills and their corn and fruit (Murra 1975). The socio-ecological metaphor for the Amazon basin is the “fractal river,” the systems of relations that recursively figure the downriver as white and full of manufactured goods and the upriver as Indian and full of forest magic (Gow 1994). A similarly aquatic metaphor can be conjured for the Chaco, though it is an arid flat expanse stretching from the Andean foothills to the Brazilian shield. One might imagine the plain as a waterless inland sea, at once a barrier to and means of connection and communication. The settled Guaraní agriculturalists on its margins then become the decent coastal fisherfolk, the linguistically diverse nomads in the interior—especially once they adopted the horse—the feared and unpredictable pirates of the high seas. This anti-waterway has long linked the Andean archipelagoes to the Amazonian fractal rivers in some ways and acted as an obstacle between the two in others (Lowrey 2006a).

Considering the Chaco in this way, it becomes evident that the Americas contain another such arid interior sea: the Great Plains. Like the Chaco, the Plains have long served as both avenue and obstacle to Indians and settlers alike; like the Chaco, the definition of the outer limits of the Plains is subject to dispute but its core evident (Rossum and Lavin 2000). This might be a mere geographical curiosity, but what is remarkable is that so many similar patterns hold in what might be called these two American heartlands, North and South (for useful Plains comparisons, see for example Albers 1993; Albers and James 1985; Biolsi 1984, 2004; Fowler 1994; Harmon 2002; Holder 1970; Holm 2002; Newcomb 1950; Osburn 1983; Strauss 1994; Turner Strong 2002; Wedel 1947). Contemporary anthropologists are not accustomed to thinking this way. The comparative ambitions of Lévi-Strauss’s *Mythologiques* are now viewed with considerable caution even in France, where a truly Americanist tradition at least exists (Désveaux 2006). In South America, comparisons between South and North America are more readily made, not least because South American anthropologists are more likely to read English than North American anthropologists are to read Spanish or Portuguese. However, it is disappointing that the program for comparative thought put forth in French historian Thierry Saignes’s essay “Indios de Abajo” has been so little engaged (Saignes 1979). Saignes suggested that in the eyes of their would-be colonizers, the Indians of the Chaco and the Indians of the Plains were respectively figured as the paradigmatic “wild Indians” in each case. His suggestive observations can be amplified. In the Spanish-

language literature, the phrase “horse complex” is deployed in the original English, borrowed from the Plains literature and applied to the adoption of the horse by nomadic Chaco groups (Nichols 1939; Métraux 1946a; Kersten 1968). Susnik famously described the Chaco as having been “colonized by cows” in the mid-nineteenth century before settlers followed in the second half of the century. In the most striking oversight—especially given the enormous literature on the Ghost Dance and the importance of Wounded Knee to the scholarly and popular American imagination—no one other than an amateur Bolivian historian (Sanabria Fernández 1972) has devoted even a portion of a scholarly monograph to comparing that movement to the remarkably similar, and nearly simultaneous, Apiaguaiqui Tumpa movement that ended in a massacre of several thousand Guaraní speaking Indians by Bolivian military forces at Kuruyuki in January 1892, little more than a year after Wounded Knee in December 1890.

There is nothing in the history of the Plains to compare to the War of the Chaco, but other parallels proliferate: where the American West got Mormons, the Chaco got Mennonites (Hack 1978-1980; Klassen 2002; Niebuhr 2001; Ratzlaff 2001; Roa Villalba 1997; Stahl 2007; Stoesz and Stackley 1999); where by the first half of the twentieth century everyone supposed the Chaco and Plains Indians to be finished by the beginning of the twenty-first their populations are larger than ever before. Finally, many of the same practical and political issues are presently paramount in the two contexts: land-holding is tied to huge ranches; settler models of agriculture have exhausted the land; petroleum reserves lie under the soil while the absence of spectacular natural or cultural landmarks have made it challenging to promote and establish protected areas above the ground. Territorially the majority of the Chaco belongs to Argentina, like Canada and the United States a country that considers itself a nation of white settlers. If the Chaco indigenous experience does share commonalities with the Plains Indians experience in North America, the drawing of scholarly attention to these parallels might even foster strategic mutual awareness between Plains and Chaco native communities.

CONCLUSION

Chaco scholars are accomplished magpies, reading Andean historiography, Amazonian theory, Plains ethnography and ethnohistory, and an autochthonous quasi-Boasian tradition of cataloguing/activist approaches to cultures as unique geographically-influenced expressions of the human geist. The present essay documents the growing trove

of historicized ethnography, true ethnohistory (what Schwartz and Solomon (1999) call “Indian histories” as opposed to “histories of Indians”), ongoing fieldwork, and productive engagement with extant Andeanist and Amazonianist scholarship that is the result. Beyond that lays a potentially productive avenue of renewed Americanist engagement with North American Plains materials. This multiply-peripheral region, simultaneously isolated and inter-connected, is a model of and a model for its own scholarship, which has accepted long, complex histories and mixed, hybrid identities as givens rather than as surprises. It contributes to the discipline at large a demonstration of the continuing value of comparative and area studies in anthropological scholarship.

NOTES

1. Mainly, the ones by Samson d'Abbeville (1657), Retz (1732), Lozano (1733), Anónimo (c. 1735), Cardiel (1772), Dobrizhoffer (1784), Camaño (1789), Campos (1883), Corrado (1884), Aráoz (1885), Cardús (1886), Thour (1883, 1886), Baldrich (1890), Pelleschi (1897), Cattunar (1911), Nino (1912), Nordenskiöld (1912) and Belaieff (1932).

REFERENCES CITED

Archives

- AGI Archivo General de Indias (Charcas, Buenos Aires, Justicia and Patronato Sections)
 AFT Archivo Franciscano de Tarija (“Fondo M: Misiones entre infieles”)
 AHN Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid)
 ANA Archivo Nacional de Asunción
 ANB Archivo Nacional de Bolivia (Expedientes Coloniales, Mojos y Chiquitos, Rück)
 ANG Archivo General de la Nación Argentina (BN: Biblioteca Nacional; AL: Fondo Andrés Bello; G: Gobierno)
 ARSI Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Roma)
 BNM Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid
 BNRJ Biblioteca Nacional de Río de Janeiro (Fondo Pedro de Angelis)

Albers, Patricia

- 1993 “Symbiosis, Merger, and War: Contrasting Forms of Intertribal Relationship among Historic Plains Indians.” In *The Political Economy of North American Indians*. J. H. Moore, editor, pp. 94-132. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press.

- Albers, Patricia & William James
 1985 "Historical Materialism vs. Evolutionary Ecology: A methodological note on horse distribution and American Plains Indians." *Critique of Anthropology* 6(1):87-100.
- Alvarsson, Jan-Åke
 1998 *The Mataco of the Gran Chaco: An Ethnographic Account of change and continuity in Mataco socio-economic organization*. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis (Uppsala Studies in Cultural Anthropology, 11).
- Amarilla-Stanley, Deisy (editor)
 2001 *Oé Chojninga: Relatos bilingües ayoreo-castellano*. Asunción: Centro social indígena/Centro de estudios antropológicos de la Universidad Católica.
- Angelis, Pedro de (editor)
 1835 *Colección de obras y documentos relativos a la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias del río de La Plata*. Buenos Aires: Imprenta del Estado.
- Arenas, Pastor
 2003 *Etnografía y alimentación entre los Toba-Ñachilamole#ek y Wichí-Lhuku'tas del Chaco Central (Argentina)*. Buenos Aires: Dunken.
- Arze Quiroga, Eduardo
 1953 *Documentos para una historia de la guerra del Chaco. Archivos Daniel Salamanca*, tomo 1. La Paz: Don Bosco.
- Ayoroa, Ángel
 1927 "Una interesante exploración al interior del Chaco." *Revista militar*, pp. 513-529. La Paz.
- Azara, Félix de
 2009 [1809] *Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes/CoLibris.
- Balbarrey, Gabriel, Horacio Calandra, Guillermina Couso, Guillermo Lamenza and Belén Aguirre
 2003 "Nuevos aportes en el análisis cerámico del central del Gran Chaco argentino." In *XXIII Encuentro de Geohistoria Regional*: 350-363. Oberá: Universidad nacional de Misiones.
- Baldus, Herbert
 1931 "Notas complementâres sôbre os indios Chamacoco." *Revista do Museo Paulista* 17(1):529 551.
- Balzan, Luigi
 2008 [1893] "Un poco más de luz sobre la distribución de algunas tribus indígenas del centro de Sudamérica." In *A carretón y canoa. La aventura científica de Luigi Balzan por Sudamérica (1885-1893)*. Clara López Beltrán, editor, pp. 323-332. La Paz: IFEA/IRD/Embajada de Italia/Plural editores.

- Bartolomé, Leopoldo
 1972 "Movimientos milenaristas de los aborígenes chaqueños entre 1905 y 1933." *Suplemento Antropológico* 7(1-2):107-121.
- Bartolomé, Miguel Alberto
 2000 *El encuentro de la gente y los insensatos. La sedentarización de los cazadores ayoreo en el Paraguay*. México/Asunción: Instituto indigenista interamericano/ Centro de estudios antropológicos de la Universidad Católica.
- Barúa, Guadalupe
 1995 "Alianzas y Proximidad Social: Discusiones sobre las peculiaridades del sistema de parentesco halladas entre los Mataco-wichí del Gran Chaco." *Runa* 21:53-70.
 2008 *Un arte delicado. Relaciones entre el parentesco, el conflicto y el acontecimiento entre los wichí del Chaco Central*. Buenos Aires: Dunken.
- Beck, Hugo
 1994 "Relaciones entre blancos e indios en los territorios nacionales de Chaco y Formosa, 1885-1950." *Cuadernos de Geohistoria Regional* 29.
- Belaieff, Ian
 1924 "Informe de la misión de reconocimiento de 1924 elevado al Ministerio de Guerra y Marina." Asunción: Biblioteca Ossuna-Massi 13.
 1925 "Informe de la misión de reconocimiento de 1925 elevado al Ministerio de Guerra y Marina." Asunción: Biblioteca Ossuna-Massi 7.
- Belaieff, Juan
 1936 "Tabla de identificación de las tribus del Chaco Paraguayo." *Revista de la Sociedad Científica del Paraguay* 3(6):193-194.
- Bennati, Guido
 1875 *Relación del viaje de la comisión científica médico-quirúrgica italiana por el norte del Gran Chaco y el sud de la provincia de Chiquitos*. Santa Cruz: Imprenta de Cayetano R. Daza.
- Bernand-Muñoz, Carmen
 1977 *Les Ayoré du Chaco septentrional. Étude critique a partir des notes de Lucien Sebag*. Paris/The Hague: Mouton.
- Bessire, Lucas
 2006 *From Honey to Ashes*. Film. Watertown, MA: Documentary Educational Resources.
- Biolsi, Thomas
 1984 "Ecological and Cultural Factors in Plains Indian Warfare." In *Warfare, Culture, and Environment*. R. B. Ferguson, editor, pp. 141-168. New York: Academic Press.

- 2004 “Introduction: What is the ‘Anthropology’ of ‘American Indians?’”
In *A Companion to the Anthropology of American Indians*. T. Biolsi,
editor, pp. 1-4. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Blaser, Mario
- 2004a “‘Way of Life’ or ‘Who Decides’: Development, Paraguayan
indigenism and the Yshiro people’s life projects.” In *In The Way of
Development: Indigenous Peoples, Life Projects and Globalization*.
Mario Blaser, Harvey A. Feit, and Glenn McRae, editors. Ottawa:
International Development Research Centre.
- 2004b “Indígenas del Chaco Paraguayo: ¿Proyectos de Vida o Proyectos de
Desarrollo?” *Suplemento Antropológico* 39(1):193-229.
- Boggiani, Guido
- 1894 “I Ciamacocco.” *Atti de la Societa Romana di Antropologia* 2(1):9-127.
- 1897 “Etnografía del Alto Paraguay.” *Boletín del Instituto Geográfico
Argentino* 18(10 12):613 625.
- Bórmida, Marcelo
- 1973-78 “Ergon y Mito. Una hermenéutica de la cultura material de los
Ayoreo del Chaco Boreal.” *Scripta Ethnologica* 1(1):9-68; 2(2):41-
107; 3(1):73-130; 4(1):29-44; 5(1):6-25 and 5(2):21-75.
- Bórmida, Marcelo & Mario Califano
- 1978 *Los indios ayoreo del Chaco boreal. Información básica sobre su cultura*.
Buenos Aires: Fundación para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura.
- Bossert, Federico
- 2006 “Dimensiones históricas y políticas de la identidad chané.” In
*Defniciones étnicas, organización social y estrategias políticas en el Chaco
y la Chiquitanía*. I. Combès, editor, pp. 225-238. Santa Cruz de la
Sierra: Institut Français d’Études Andines - SNV - El País.
- 2008 “Los chiriguano y el Tucumán colonial: una vieja polémica.” *Revista
Andina* 47(2):151-184.
- Bossert, Federico, Pablo Sendón and Diego Villar
- 2009 “Relevancia de las teorías clásicas del parentesco para el estudio
de las sociedades amerindias (Andes Centrales, Amazonía y Gran
Chaco).” In *Actas del VI Congreso Argentino de Americanistas*, pp. 35-
64. Buenos Aires: Sociedad Argentina de Americanistas.
- Bossert, Federico and Diego Villar
- 2004 “La onomástica chané en clave etnográfica y comparativa.” *Acta
Americana*, 12(1):49-78.
- 2005 “Aproximación al problema de la historia oral entre los chané.” In
Actas del Quinto Congreso Argentino de Americanistas, pp. 41-62.
Buenos Aires: Sociedad Argentina de Americanistas.
- 2007 “La etnología chiriguano de Alfred Métraux.” *Journal de la Société des
Américanistes* 93(1):127-166.

- Braunstein, José
 1983 *Algunos rasgos de la organización social de los indígenas del Gran Chaco*. Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras.
 1988 “Gentilicios toba del occidente chaqueño.” *Scripta Ethnologica* 12:51-55.
 1993 “Territorio e historia de los narradores maticos.” *Hacia una nueva carta étnica del Gran Chaco* 5:4-74.
 2006 “El signo del agua. Formas de clasificación étnica wichí.” In *Definiciones étnicas, organización social y estrategias políticas en el Chaco y la Chiquitanía*. Isabelle Combès, editor, pp. 145-154. Santa Cruz de la Sierra: Institut Français d’Études Andines - SNV - El País.
- Braunstein, José (editor)
 1989-2008 *Hacia una nueva carta étnica del Gran Chaco* (several years and numbers).
- Braunstein, José and Cecilia Gómez
 2004 “Algunas representaciones astronómicas en las culturas tradicionales del Gran Chaco.” In *Actas del XXIV Congreso de Geohistoria Regional*, pp. 295-303. Resistencia: Instituto de Investigaciones Geohistóricas.
- Braunstein, José and Norma Meichtry (editors)
 2008 *Liderazgo, representatividad y control social en el Gran Chaco*. Corrientes: Editorial Universitaria de la Universidad Nacional del Nordeste.
- Braunstein, José and Elmer Miller
 1999 “Ethnohistorical Introduction.” In *Peoples of the Gran Chaco*. Elmer Miller, editor, pp. 1-22. Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey.
- Braunstein, José and John Palmer
 1992 “Bereavement Terminologies in the Chaco.” *Hacia una nueva carta étnica del Gran Chaco* 3:7-23.
- Braunstein, José, Susana Salceda, Horacio Calandra, Marta Méndez and Stella Ferrarini
 2002 “Historia de los chaqueños: Buscando en la ‘papelera de reciclaje’ de la antropología sudamericana.” *Acta Americana* 10(1):59-88.
- Braunstein José and Pablo Wright
 1988 “Tribus tobas: Entre la historia, la demografía y la lingüística.” *Hacia una nueva carta étnica del Gran Chaco* 1:1-14.
- Bremen, Volker von
 2001 “Dynamics of Adaptation to Market Economy among the Ayoróede of Northwest Paraguay.” In *Hunters and Gatherers in the Modern World*. Peter Schweitzer, Megan Biesele and Robert Hitchcock, editors, pp. 275-286. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
 2007 “Impactos de la guerra del Chaco en la territorialidad ayorea.” In *Les guerres du Paraguay aux XIX^o et XX^o siècles*. Nicolás Richard, Luc Capdevila and Capucine Boidin, editors, pp. 263-280. Paris: CoLibris.

- Brinton, Daniel
 1898 "The linguistic cartography of the Chaco region." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 37(158):178-205.
- Calandra, Horacio and Stella Ferrarini
 2003 "Arqueología chaqueña 1. Antecedentes." In *Actas del XIII Congreso nacional de arqueología argentina*. Vol. 3, pp. 65-72. Córdoba.
- Calandra, Horacio and Susana Salceda
 2008 "Cambio y continuidad en el Gran Chaco. De las historias étnicas a la prehistoria." In *Liderazgo, representatividad y control social en el Gran Chaco*, J. Braunstein and N. Meichtry, editors, pp. 33-40. Corrientes: Universidad Nacional del Nordeste.
- Calandra, Horacio, Susana Salceda, Mariano Santini and Guillermo Lamenza
 2005 "Del Paraná al pie de los Andes: un indicador arqueológico." In *XIII Congreso nacional y regional de historia argentina*, pp. 1-8. Buenos Aires: Academia Nacional de la Historia.
- Califano, Mario (editor)
 1999 *Mito, guerra y venganza entre los wichí*. Buenos Aires: Ciudad Argentina.
- Califano, Mario and María Cristina Dasso (editors)
 1999 *El chamán wichí*. Buenos Aires: Ciudad Argentina.
- Calzavarini, Lorenzo (editor)
 2004-2006 *Presencia franciscana y formación intercultural en el sudeste de Bolivia según documentos del archivo franciscano de Tarija, 1606-1936*. Tarija: Centro eclesial de documentación. (7 volumes).
- Camaño, Joaquín
 1955 [1778] "Noticias del Gran Chaco." In *Joaquín Camaño SJ y su 'Noticia del Gran Chaco'*. Guillermo Furlong, editor, pp. 109-182. Buenos Aires: Librería del Plata.
- Campos, Daniel
 1888 *De Tarija a la Asunción. Expedición boliviana de 1883*. Buenos Aires: Jacobo Peuser.
- Cardiel, José
 1912 [c. 1767] "Relación del Chaco y sus misiones." In *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la provincia del Paraguay*. Vol. 1. Pablo Pastells, editor, pp. 477-497. Madrid: Lib. General de Victoriano Suárez.
- 1886 *Las misiones franciscanas entre los infieles de Bolivia. Descripción del estado de ellas en 1883 y 1884*. Barcelona: Lib. de la Inmaculada Concepción.
- Carvajal, Silvia
 1998 "Etnohistoria y ocupación espacial del pueblo tapiete." *Anales de la reunión anual de etnología*. Vol. 1, pp. 363-385. La Paz: MUSEF.
- Ceriani Cernadas, César
 2008a *Nuestros hermanos lamanitas. Indios y fronteras en la imaginación mormona*. Buenos Aires: Biblos.

- 2008b “Vampiros en el Chaco. Rumor, Mito y Drama entre los Toba Orientales.” *Indiana* 25:27-49.
- Charlevoix, Pierre François-Xavier de
 1756 *Histoire du Paraguay*. Paris: Desaint & Saillant/David & Durand. (3 volumes).
- Chase-Sardi, Miguel
 1981 *Pequeño Decamerón nivacle. Literatura oral de una etnia del Chaco paraguay*. Asunción: NAPA.
 2003 *¡Palavai nuu! Etnografía Nivacle*. Asunción: CEADUC Biblioteca Paraguaya de Antropología, 2 vols.
- Chomé, Ignace
 1958 [1740] “Arte de la lengua Zamuca (présentation de Suzanne Lussagnet).” *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 47:121-178.
- Citro, Silvia
 2006 “Tácticas de invisibilización y estrategias de resistencia de los mocoví santafesinos en el contexto postcolonial.” *Indiana* 23:139-170.
 2008 “Historia cultural.” In *Lengua, cultura e historia mocoví en Santa Fe*. Beatriz Gualdieri and Silvia Citro, editors. Buenos Aires: UBA.
- Clastres, Pierre
 1992 *Mythologie des Indiens Chulupí*. Louvain-Paris: Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études des Sciences Religieuses.
- Colazo, Susana, Marta Méndez and Susana Salceda
 2004 “El aporte de las fuentes documentales, arqueológicas y antropológicas para el conocimiento de la zona de Colonia Tacuarí, Chaco Austral.” *Revista Nordeste* 23:67-80.
- Comajuncosa, Antonio
 1836 [1800] “Misiones de Tarija.” In *Colección de obras y documentos relativos a la historia antigua y moderna de la provincia del río de La Plata*. Vol. 5. Pedro de Angelis, editor, pp. 3-50. Buenos Aires: imprenta del Estado.
- Comajuncosa, Antonio y Alejandro Corrado
 1884 *El Colegio franciscano de Tarija y sus misiones. Noticias históricas recogidas por dos misioneros del mismo Colegio*. Quaracchi: tip. del Colegio de San Buenaventura.
- Combès, Isabelle
 2005 *Etno-historias del Ioso. Chané y chiriguano en el Chaco boliviano (siglos XVI a XX)*. La Paz: IFEA/PIEB.
 2007 “De Sanandita al Itiyuro: los chanés, los chiriguano (¿y los tapietes?) al sur del Pilcomayo.” *Indiana* 24:259-289, Berlin.
 2008 “Los fugitivos escondidos: acerca del ‘enigma’ tapiete.” *Boletín del Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos* 37(3):511-533, Lima.
 2009 *Zamucos*. Cochabamba: Nómades Editores-Universidad Católica de Cochabamba.

- Combès, Isabelle (editor)
 2006 *Defniciones étnicas, organización social y estrategias políticas en el Chaco y la Chiquitanía*. Santa Cruz de la Sierra: Institut Français d'Études Andines - SNV - El País.
- Combès, Isabelle and Kathleen Lowrey
 2006 "Slaves without masters? Arawakan dynasties among the Chiriguano (Bolivian Chaco, XVI-XX centuries)." *Ethnohistory* 53(4):689-714.
- Combès, Isabelle and Thierry Saignes
 1991 *Alter Ego. Naissance de l'identité chiriguano*. Paris: EHESS/Cahiers de l'Homme.
- Combès, Isabelle and Diego Villar
 2004 "Aristocracias chané. 'Casas' en el Chaco argentino y boliviano." *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 90(2):63-102.
 2007 "Os Mestiços mais puros. Representações chiriguano e chané da mestiçagem." *Mana* 13(1):41-62.
- Cominges, Juan de
 1892 "Exploraciones al Chaco del norte." In *Obras escogidas de don Juan de Cominges*, pp. 3-249. Buenos Aires: J. A. Alsina.
- Cordeu, Edgardo
 1969 "Aproximación al horizonte mítico de los Tobas." *Runa* 12(1-2):67-176.
 1984 "Categorías básicas, principios lógicos y redes simbólicas de la cosmovisión de los indios ishír." *Journal of Latin American Lore* 10:189-275.
 1993 "La saga de Basybüky: sujeción intertribal, rencilla étnica y sumisión cognitiva de los ebidóso del Chaco boreal." *Scripta Ethnologica* 15:27-49.
 1995 "Una versión inédita de la Saga de Basybüky: conflicto intertribal e identidad negativa de los chamacoco o ishír del Chaco Boreal." In *Primer Congreso Argentino de Americanistas-1992. V. Centenario del Descubrimiento de América*. Vol. 2, pp. 15-29. Buenos Aires: Liga Naval Argentina.
 1998 "Memorias de un tiempo perdido: una historia oral de los indios tomaráxo del Chaco boreal sobre las mitades duales, los caballos y ese amor que se vende y se compra." In *II Congreso Argentino de Americanistas*. Vol. 1, pp. 125-168. Buenos Aires: Sociedad Argentina de Americanistas.
 1999 *Transfiguraciones simbólicas. Ciclo ritual de los indios tomaráxo del Chaco Boreal*. Quito: Abya-Yala.
 2003 "Textos etnohistóricos de los Ishír del Chaco Boreal." In *Memorias Etnohistóricas del Gran Chaco: etnias toba (qóm) y chamacoco (ishír)*. Edgardo Cordeu, Analía Fernández, Cristina Messineo, Ezequiel Ruiz and Pablo Wright, editors, pp. 147-496. Buenos Aires: PICT.

- 2004 “Los Tomaráxo y los ‘indios cavalheiros’ (Caduveo): Aportes para la historia de un sistema intertribal.” In *Los Mundos de abajo y los mundos de arriba: Individuo y sociedad en las tierras bajas, en los Andes y más allá*. María Susana Cipolletti, editor, pp. 275-312. Quito: Abya Yala.
- 2008 “Cuatro versiones de la saga de Basëbüke en clave ayoreo. Etnohistoria y etno-etnografía de los ishír-ebidóso del Chaco boreal.” In *VI Congreso Argentino de Americanistas*. Buenos Aires: Sociedad Argentina de Americanistas.
- Cordeu, Edgardo and Miguel de los Ríos
- 1982 “Un enfoque estructural de las variaciones socioculturales de los cazadores-recolectores del Gran Chaco.” *Suplemento Antropológico* 17(1):131-196.
- Cordeu, Edgardo and Alejandra Siffredi
- 1971 *De la algarroba al Algodón. Movimientos Milenaristas del Chaco Argentino*. Buenos Aires: Juárez.
- 1988 “Caleidoscopios de la Razón. Análisis simbólico de cuatro mitos chaqueños.” *Journal of Latin American Lore* 14(1):123-154.
- Córdoba, Lorena
- 2008 “Liderazgo, grupos locales y organización sociopolítica entre los toba del oeste formoseño.” In *Liderazgo, Representatividad y Control Social en el Gran Chaco*. J. Braunstein and N. Meichtry, editors, pp. 135-140. Corrientes: Eudene.
- Córdoba, Lorena and José Braunstein
- 2008 “Cañonazos en ‘La Banda’: la Guerra del Chaco y los indígenas del Pilcomayo medio.” In *Mala guerra. Los indígenas en la guerra del Chaco (1932-1935)*, Nicolás Richard, editor, pp. 125-147. Asunción/Paris: CoLibris - Museo del Barro – Servilibro.
- Cornejo, José Antonio
- 1972 [1790] “Expedición al Chaco por el río Bermejo ejecutada por el coronel Adrián Fernández.” In *Colección de obras y documentos relativos a la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias del río de La Plata*. Vol. 6. Pedro de Angelis, editor, pp. 459-509. Buenos Aires: Academia Argentina de Letras.
- Cortesão, Jaime (editor)
- 1955 *Antecedentes do tratado de Madri. Jesuitas e bandeirantes no Paraguai (1703-1751). Manuscritos da Coleção de Angelis VI*. Río de Janeiro: Biblioteca nacional, divisão da obras raras e publicações.
- Dames and Moore Inc.
- 2001 *Al este de los Andes, al sur del Amazonas. Descubrimientos arqueológicos en los bosques secos de los llanos de Bolivia*. Santa Cruz: Gas TransBoliviano.
- Dasso, María Cristina
- 1999 *La máscara cultural*. Buenos Aires: Ciudad Argentina.

Désveaux, Emmanuel

2007 *Spectres de l'anthropologie: Suite nord-américaine*. Paris: Aux lieux d'être.

Díaz de Guzmán, Ruy

1835 [1612] "Historia argentina del descubrimiento, población y conquista de las provincias del río de la Plata." In *Colección de obras y documentos relativos a la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias del río de la Plata*. Vol. 1. Pedro de Angelis, editor, pp. 1-156. Buenos Aires: Imprenta del Estado.

1979 [1617-1618] *Relación de la entrada a los Chiriguanos*. Santa Cruz: Fundación cultural "Ramón Darío Gutiérrez".

Dobrizhoffer, Martín

1968 [1784] *Historia de los abipones*. Resistencia: Universidad Nacional del Nordeste. (3 volumes).

D'Onofrio, Salvatore

2003 "Guerre et récit chez les Indiens ayorés du Chaco boréal paraguayen." *Journal de la Société des américanistes* 89(1):39-81.

Egaña, Antonio de (editor)

1954 *Monumenta Peruana*. Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 7 vols.

Encuentro interconfesional de misioneros.

1997 *Memorias del Gran Chaco*. Resistencia: Nuestra Cultura. (2 volumes).

Fausto, Carlos

2008 "Donos demais: Maestria e domínio na Amazônia." *Mana* 14(2):329-366.

Fernández, Juan Patricio

1994 [1726] *Relación histórica de las misiones de indios Chiquitos*. San Salvador de Jujuy: Centro de Estudios Indígenas y Coloniales.

Finot, Enrique

1978 [1939] *Historia de la conquista del oriente boliviano*. La Paz: Editorial Juventud.

Fischermann, Bernd

1976 "Los ayoréode." In *En busca de la Loma Santa*. Jürgen Riester and Bernd Fischermann, editors, pp. 67-119. La Paz/Cochabamba: Los Amigos del Libro.

1993 "Viviendo con los Pai. Las experiencias ayoréode con los jesuitas." In *Las misiones del ayer para los días de mañana*. Juan Carlos Ruiz, editor, pp. 127-139. Santa Cruz: El País.

2006 "Características y uso de territorio de un pueblo de cazadores-recolectores: el ejemplo de los ayoréode totobie-gosode del Chaco boreal." In *Definiciones étnicas, organización social y estrategias políticas en el Chaco y la Chiquitanía*. Isabelle Combès, editor, pp. 259-297. Santa Cruz: IFEA/SNV/El País.

- Fock, Niels
 1961 "Inca imperialism and Chaco burial forms." *Folk* 3:67-90.
 1963 "Mataco Marriage." *Folk* 5:91-102.
 1966 "Chaco pottery and Chaco History, Past and Present." *Akten des 34 Internationales Amerikanistenkongresses*, Vienna: 477-484.
- Fowler, Loretta
 1994 "The Civilization Strategy: Gros Ventres, Northern and Southern Arapahos Compared." In *North American Indian Anthropology: Essays on society and culture*. R. J. DeMallie and A. Ortiz, editors, pp. 220-257. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Fric, Albert Vojtech
 1909 "Die unbekanntenen Stämme des Chaco Boreal." *Globus* 96:24-28.
- Gandía, Enrique de
 1929 *Historia del Gran Chaco*. Madrid-Buenos Aires: J. Roldán and Co.
- García, Miguel Ángel
 2002 "El evangelismo wichí de uno y otro lado del límite étnico." *Ciências Sociais e Religião* 4(4):105-123.
- Giannecchini, Doroteo
 1896 *Diario de la expedición exploradora boliviana al Alto Paraguay de 1886-1887*. Asís: Tip. de la Porciúncula.
 1996 [1898] *Historia natural, etnografía, geografía, lingüística del Chaco boliviano*. Tarija: FIS/Centro Eclesial de Documentación.
- Giannecchini, Doroteo, Santiago Romano and Hermán Cattunar
 1916 *Diccionario chiriguano/español y español/chiriguano*. Tarija.
- Giménez Benítez, Sixto, Alejandro López & Anahí Granada
 2006 "The sun and the moon as marks of time and space among the Mocovíes of the Argentinean Chaco." *Archaeoastronomy* 20:52-67.
- Gómez, Cecilia
 2007 "Venus and the Star Woman." *Archaeologia Baltica* 10:25-28.
- Gordillo, Gastón
 2002 "Remembering 'The Ancient Ones'. Memory, Hegemony and the shadows of State terror in Argentinean Chaco." In *Culture, Economy, Power: Anthropology as a critique, Anthropology as a praxis*. Winnie Lem and Belinda Leach, editors, pp. 177-190. Albany: Suny Press.
 2004 *Landscapes of the Devil. Tensions of place and memory in the Argentinean Chaco*. Durham/London: Duke University Press.
 2005 *Nosotros vamos a estar acá para siempre. Historias tobas*. Buenos Aires: Biblos.
 2006a *En el Gran Chaco. Antropología e historias*. Buenos Aires: Prometeo.
 2006b "The crucible of citizenship: ID-paper fetishism in the Argentinean Chaco." *American Ethnologist* 33(2):162-176.
- Gow, Peter
 1994 "River people: Shamanism and history in Western Amazonia." In *Shamanism, History, and the State*. Nicholas Thomas and Caroline Humphrey, editors. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

- Gustafson, Bret
2002 *Native languages and hybrid states: A political ethnography of Guaraní engagement with bilingual education reform in Bolivia, 1989-1999*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University.
- Hack, Henk
1978-80 "Indios y Menonitas en el Chaco Paraguayo." *Suplemento Antropológico* 13(1):207-260, 15(1-2):45-138.
- Harmon, Alexandra
2002 "Wanted: More histories of Indian identity." In *A Companion to American Indian History*. P. J. Deloria and N. Salisbury, editors, pp. 248-266. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hervás y Panduro, Lorenzo
1800 *Catálogo de las lenguas conocidas y numeración, división y clases de éstas según la diversidad de sus idiomas y dialectos. Vol. 1: lenguas y naciones americanas*. Madrid: Imprenta de la administración del Real árbitro de beneficencia.
1990 [1787] *Vocabolario poligloto y Saggio pratico delle lingue*. Madrid: Sociedad General Española de Librería.
- Hirsch, Silvia
2006 *El pueblo tapiete de Argentina: historia y cultura*. Buenos Aires: Instituto de Lingüística, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Buenos Aires.
- Holder, Preston
1970 *The Hoe and the Horse on the Plains*. University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln.
- Holm, Tom
2002 "American Indian Warfare: The cycles of conflict and the militarization of Native North America." In *A Companion to American Indian History*. P. J. Deloria and N. Salisbury, editors, pp. 154-172. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Idoyaga Molina, Anatilde
1995 *Modos de clasificación en la cultura pilagá*. Buenos Aires: CAEA.
- Imbelloni, José
1941 "I popoli raccoglitori dello Scudo Brasiliano, della foresta e del Ciaco." In *Le razze e i popoli della terra*. Vol. 3. Renato Biasutti, editor, pp. 670-677. Torino: Utet.
- Jiménez de la Espada, Marco (editor)
1965 *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*. Madrid: Biblioteca de autores españoles. (3 volumes).
- Jolís, José
1972 [1789] *Ensayo sobre la historia natural del Gran Chaco*. Resistencia: Universidad nacional del Nordeste, facultad de humanidades, instituto de historia.

- Julien, Catherine (editor)
 2008 *Desde el Oriente. Documentos para la historia del Oriente boliviano y Santa Cruz la vieja (1542-1597)*. Santa Cruz: Fondo editorial municipal.
- Karsten, Rafael
 1915 *Indian Dances of the Gran Chaco*. Helsingfors: Centraltryckeri och Borkbinderi Aktiebolag.
 1923 *The Toba Indians of the Bolivian Gran Chaco*. Abo: Acta Academiae Aboensis.
 1932 *Indian Tribes of the Argentine and Bolivian Chaco*. Helsingfors: Societas Scientiarum Fennica.
- Kelm, Heinz
 1971 "Das Jahrefest der Ayoreo Indianer." *Baessler-Archiv*, neue folge, Band 19:97-140.
- Kersten, Ludwig
 1968 [1903] *Las tribus indígenas del Gran Chaco hasta fines del siglo XVIII*. Una contribución a la etnografía histórica de Sudamérica. Resistencia: Universidad nacional del nordeste.
- Kidd, Stephen
 1995 "Relaciones de género entre los pueblos minimalistas del Chaco Paraguayo: una perspectiva teórica y una consideración de los cambios actuales." *Suplemento Antropológico* 30(1-2):7-44.
- Klassen, Peter
 2002 *The Mennonites in Paraguay*. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Mennonite Books. (2 volumes).
- Krebs, Edgardo
 2005 "Alfred Métraux and the Handbook of South American Indians. A view from within". *History of Anthropology Newsletter* 32(1):3-11.
- Lamenza, Guillermo, Gabriel Balbarrey, Belén Aguirre and Horacio Calandra
 2006 "Complejidad e interacción de sociedades prehispánicas ribereñas del Gran Chaco argentino." In *Actas del XXVI encuentro de Geohistoria regional*, Resistencia: IIGHI/CONICET.
- Langer, Erick
 1995 "Missions and the Frontier Economy: The case of the Franciscan Missions among the Chiriguano, 1845-1930." In *The New Latin American Mission History*. E. Langer and R. Jackson, editors, pp. 49-76. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
 1994 "Caciques y poder en las misiones franciscanas entre los chiriguano en la crisis de 1892." *Siglo XIX* 15:82-103.
- Lehmann-Nitsche, Roberto
 1907 "Estudios antropológicos sobre los Chiriguano, Chorotes, Matacos y Tobas (Chaco Central)." *Anales del Museo de La Plata* 1:53-151.
 1924a "La Astronomía de los Matacos." *Revista del Museo de La Plata* 27:253-265.

- 1924b "La Astronomía de los Tobas." *Revista del Museo de La Plata* 27:267-285.
- 1924c "La Astronomía de los Mocoví." *Revista del Museo de La Plata* 28:66-79.
- 1924d "La Astronomía de los Vilela." *Revista del Museo de La Plata* 28:210-233.
- 1924e "La Astronomía de los Chiriguanos." *Revista del Museo de La Plata* 28:80-102.
- 1924f "La Astronomía de los Tobas (segunda parte)." *Revista del Museo de La Plata* 28:181-209.
- 1927 "La astronomía de los Mocoví (segunda parte)." *Revista del Museo de La Plata* 30:145.
- Levillier, Roberto (editor)
- 1922 *La Audiencia de Charcas. Correspondencia de presidentes y oidores.* Madrid: Colección de publicaciones históricas de la biblioteca del Congreso argentino, 3 vols.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude
- 1985 "D'un Oiseau l'autre. Un exemple de transformation mythique." *L'Homme* 93, 25(1):5-12.
- Lindberg, Christer
- 1995 "It takes more than fieldwork to become a culture-hero of anthropology: the story of Rafael Karsten." *Anthropos* 90(4-6):525-531.
- Lozano, Pedro
- 1733 *Descripción chorográfica (...) del Gran Chaco Gualamba.* Córdoba: Colegio de la Asunción.
- Lowrey, Kathleen
- 2006a "Entre estructura e historia: el Chaco." In *Definiciones étnicas, organización social y estrategias políticas en el Chaco y la Chiquitanía*. I. Combès, editor, pp. 25-31. Santa Cruz de la Sierra: Institut Français d'Études Andines - SNV - El País.
- 2006b "Salamanca and the City: Culture credits, nature credits, and the modern moral economy of indigenous Bolivia." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 12(2):275-292.
- 2006c "Bolivia multiétnico y pluricultural, ten years later: White separatism in the Bolivian lowlands." *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies Journal* 1(1):63-84.
- 2007 "Witchcraft as metaculture in the Bolivian Chaco." *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 93(2):121-152.
- Lussagnet, Suzanne
- 1961 "Vocabulaires Samuku, Morotoko, Poturero et Guarañoka, précédés d'une étude historique sur les anciens Samuku du Chaco bolivien et leurs voisins (I)." *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 50:185-243, 51:35-64.

- Maeder, Ernesto
 1996 *Historia del Chaco*. Buenos Aires: Plus Ultra.
- Martarelli, Angélico
 1918 [1889] *El Colegio franciscano de Potosí y sus misiones. Noticias históricas*. La Paz.
- Mashnshnek, Celia
 2000 "Mito e historia. La narrativa del contacto entre ayoreo y jesuitas." *Tercer congreso argentino de americanistas*. Vol. 2: 247-261. Sociedad argentina de americanistas, Buenos Aires.
- Méndez, Marta, Horacio Calandra, Stella Ferrarini and Susana Salceda
 2000 "De la prehistoria a la historia del Gran Chaco argentino." In *Unidad y diversidad en América Latina. Conflictos y coincidencias*. María Longinotti, editor, pp. 123-143. Buenos Aires: Universidad Católica Argentina.
- Méndez, Marta, Horacio Calandra, Stella Ferrarini, Susana Salceda and Alejandro Tobisch
 2003 "Arqueología chaqueña 2. Nota preliminar sobre un hallazgo de restos óseos humanos en urna." *Actas del XIII Congreso nacional de arqueología argentina*, vol. 3: 91-103. Córdoba.
- Mendoza, Marcela
 2002 *Band Mobility and Leadership among the Western Toba Hunter-Gatherers of Gran Chaco in Argentina*. New York: Edwin Mellen.
 2004 "Western Toba Messianism and Resistance to Colonization, 1915-1918." *Ethnohistory* 51(2):293-316.
- Métraux, Alfred
 1927 "Les migrations historiques des Tupi-Guaraní." *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 19:1-45.
 1928a *La civilisation matérielle des tribus tupi-guarani*. Paris: P. Geuthner.
 1928b *La religion des Tupinamba et ses rapports avec celle des autres tribus tupi-guarani*. Paris: E. Leroux.
 1930 "Études sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano." *Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán* 1:295-493.
 1934 "El estado actual de nuestros conocimientos sobre la extensión primitiva de la influencia Guarani y Arawak en el continente sudamericano." In *Actas del XXV Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*. Vol. 1:181-190. (La Plata, 1932). Buenos Aires: Coni.
 1937 "Études d'ethnographie Toba-Pilagá." *Anthropos* 32:171-94, 378-401.
 1941 "Messiahs of South America." *The Inter-American Quarterly* 3(2):53-61.
 1942 *The native tribes of eastern Bolivia and western Matto Grosso*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution (Bureau of American ethnology, Bulletin 143).

- 1943 "Suicide among the Matako of the Argentine Gran Chaco." *América Indígena* 3(3):199-209.
- 1946a "Ethnography of the Chaco." In *Handbook of South American Indians*. Vol. 1. Julian Steward, editor, pp. 197-370. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.
- 1946b "Myths of the Toba and Pilagá indians of the Gran Chaco." *American Folklore Society* 40:1-166.
- 1967 *Religions et magies indiennes d'Amérique du Sud*. Paris: Gallimard.
- 1996 [1946] *Etnografía del Chaco*. Asunción: CEADUC/Universidad Católica.
- Miller, Elmer
- 1966 "Toba Kin Terms." *Ethnology* 5(2):1-8.
- 1975 "Shamans, Power Symbols, and Change in Argentine Toba Culture." *American Ethnologist* 2(3):477-496.
- 1979 *Los toba argentinos. Armonía y Disonancia en una sociedad*. México: Siglo XXI.
- Miller, Elmer (editor)
- 1999 *Peoples of the Gran Chaco*. Westport: Bergin and Garvey.
- Mingo de la Concepción, Manuel
- 1981 [1791] *Historia de las misiones franciscanas de Tarija entre Chiriguano*. Tarija: Universidad Juan Misael Saracho.
- Misioneros del Chaco occidental
- 1995 [1861-1914] In *Misioneros del Chaco occidental. Escritos de Franciscanos del Chaco salteño*. Ana Teruel, editor. Jujuy: Centro de Estudios Indígenas y Coloniales.
- Montani, Rodrigo
- 2008 "La etnicidad de las cosas entre los wichí del Gran Chaco (provincia de Salta, Argentina)." *Indiana* 25:117-142.
- Montenegro, Juan de
- 1964 [1746] "Breve noticia..." In *Juan de Montenegro y su Breve Noticia*. Guillermo Furlong, editor, pp. 51-101. Buenos Aires: Theoria.
- Mujía, Ricardo (editor)
- 1914 *Bolivia-Paraguay y Anexos*. La Paz: Imprenta del Estado. (9 volumes).
- Muriel, Domingo
- 1955 [1766] "Breve noticia de las misiones vivas de la Compañía de Jesús en la provincia del Paraguay." In *Domingo Muriel SJ y su Relación de las misiones*. Guillermo Furlong, editor, pp. 130-218. Buenos Aires: Librería del Plata.
- Murra, John
- 1975 *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- Nesis, Florencia
- 2005 *Los grupos mocoví en el siglo XVIII*. Buenos Aires: Sociedad argentina de antropología.

- Newcomb, W. W., Jr.
 1950 "A Re-examination of the Causes of Plains Warfare." *American Anthropologist* 52:317-330.
- Nichols, Madeleine
 1939 "The Spanish Horse of the Pampas." *American Anthropologist* 41(1):119-129.
- Niebuhr, Gundolf
 2001 "Logros y desafíos en la convivencia multicultural." *Suplemento Antropológico* 36(2):451-463.
- Nino, Bernardino de
 1908 *Una página, o sea continuación de la historia de misiones franciscanas del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de Potosí*. Potosí: Tipografía Italiana.
 1912 *Etnografía chiriguana*. La Paz: Tip. Comercial I. Argote.
 1918 *Continuación de la historia de misiones franciscanas del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de Potosí*. La Paz: Editorial tipo-litográfica Marinoni.
- Nordenskiöld, Erland
 1910 "Sind die Tapiete ein guaranisienter Chacostamm?" *Globus* 98:181-186.
 1917 "The Guarani invasion of the Inca empire in the sixteenth century: an historical Indian migration." *The Geographical Review* 4(2):103-121.
 1920 *The Changes in the Material Culture of Two Indian Tribes under the influence of New Surroundings*. Vol. 2. Göteborg: Comparative Ethnographical Studies.
 1929 *Analyse ethnographique de la culture matérielle de deux tribus indiennes du Gran Chaco*. Paris: Editions Genet.
 2002 [1912] *La vida de los indios. El Gran Chaco (Sudamérica)*. La Paz: APCOB.
- Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Alvar
 1944 [1555] "Comentarios." In *Naufragios y Comentarios*. Buenos Aires: Espasa Calpe.
- Orbigny, Alcide d'
 1839 *L'Homme Américain (de l'Amérique méridionale), considéré sous ses rapports physiologiques et moraux*. Strasbourg: Imprimerie Berger-Levrault.
 2002 [1833] *Viaje a la América meridional (realizado de 1826 a 1833)*. La Paz: IFEA/Plural.
- Ortíz, Gabriela and Beatriz Ventura (editors)
 2003 *La mitad verde del mundo andino. Investigaciones arqueológicas en la vertiente oriental de los Andes y las tierras bajas de Bolivia y Argentina*. Jujuy: Universidad Nacional de Jujuy.
- Osburn, Alan J.
 1983 "Ecological aspects of equestrian adaptations in Aboriginal North America." *American Anthropologist* 85:563-591.

- Palavecino, Enrique
 1948 "Áreas y capas culturales en el territorio argentino." *Gaea* 8:447-523.
- Palmer, John
 1994 "Husek (The will): A wichí category of the person." *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* 25(1):59-68.
 2005 *La buena voluntad wichí. Una espiritualidad indígena*. Formosa/Salta: FAPCD.
- Pastells, Pablo
 1912 *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la provincia del Paraguay*. Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez.
- Pastells, Pablo and F. Mateos (editors)
 1956 *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la provincia del Paraguay*. Madrid: Consejo superior de investigación científica/Instituto Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo.
- Paucke, Florian
 1942-1944 *Hacia allá y para acá (una estada entre los indios mocovíes)*. Tucumán: Universidad de Tucumán.
- Pifarré, Francisco
 1989 *Los Guaraní-Chiriguano 2. Historia de un pueblo*. La Paz: CIPCA.
- Pistoia, Benito Honorato
 1989 *Los franciscanos en el Tucumán y el Norte Argentino, 1566-1973*. Salta: El Tribuno.
- Querejazu Calvo, Roberto
 1975 [1965] *Masamaclay. Historia política, diplomática y militar de la guerra del Chaco*. La Paz: Los Amigos del libro.
- Ratzlaff, Gerhard
 2001 *One Body, Many Parts: The Mennonite Churches in Paraguay*. Asunción: Evangelical Mennonite Association of Paraguay.
- Renard-Casevitz, France-Marie, Thierry Saignes and Anne-Christine Taylor
 1986 *L'Inca, l'Espagnol et les Sauvages*. Paris: Ed. Recherches sur les Civilisations.
- Renshaw, John
 1988 "Property, Resources and Equality Among the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco." *Man*, n.s. 23(2):334-352.
 1996 *Los indígenas del Chaco paraguayo: economía y sociedad*. Asunción: Centro de Estudios Rurales Interdisciplinarios, Universidad Nacional de Pilar.
- Richard, Nicolás (editor)
 2008 *Mala guerra. Los indígenas en la guerra del Chaco (1932-35)*. Asunción: CoLibris - ServiLibro - Museo del Barro.
- Riester, Jürgen
 1998 *Yembošingaro guasu, el Gran Fumar. Literatura sagrada y profana guaraní*. Santa Cruz: APCOB. (5 volumes).

- Riester, Jürgen and Jutta Weber
 1998 *Nómadas de las llanuras, nómadas del asfalto. Autobiografía del pueblo ayoreo*. Santa Cruz: Ministerio de desarrollo sostenible y planificación.
- Roa Villalba, José Tomás
 1997 "Los Menonitas del Paraguay: La integración en la vida cotidiana." *Ensayos de Culturas Paraguayas*. Vol. 3. Asunción: Institución de Antropología "León Cadogan."
- Rodrigues do Prado, Francisco
 2004 [1795] *Historia dos índios cavalleiros ou da nação guaycurú* (1839 edition in <http://documenta.incubadora.fapsep.br>).
- Rosen, Eric von
 1924 *Ethnographical Research Work during the Swedish Chaco-Cordillera Expedition 1901-1902*. Stockholm: C. E. Fritze Ltd.
- Rossum, Sonja and Stephen Lavin
 2000 "Where are the Great Plains? A Cartographic Analysis." *Professional Geographer* 52(3):543-552.
- Saeger, James
 2000 *The Chaco mission frontier: The Guaycuruan experience*. Tucson: The university of Arizona Press.
- Saignes, Thierry
 1975 "L'Indien, le Portugais et le Jésuite : alliances et rivalités aux confins du Chaco au XVIII^e siècle." *Cahiers des Amériques Latines* 9-10:215-244.
 1979 "Indios de Abajo, ideología e historia: Los Chiriguano en los ojos del otro." *Revista del Instituto Nacional de Antropología* 2:78-120.
 1982 "Métis et Sauvages: les enjeux du métissage sur la frontière chiriguano." *Mélanges de la Casa de Velásquez* 18(1):79-101.
 1984 "Jésuites et franciscains face aux Chiriguano: les ambiguïtés de la réduction missionnaire." In *Eglise et Politique en Amérique Hispanique (XVI-XVIII^e siècles)*, pp. 133-159. Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires.
 1985 "La Guerre contre l'Histoire. Les Chiriguano du XVI^e au XIX^e siècle." *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 71:175-190.
 1990 *Ava y Karai. Ensayos sobre la historia chiriguano (siglos XVI-XX)*. La Paz: HISBOL.
 2007 *Historia del pueblo chiriguano*. La Paz: IFEA/Plural.
- Salas, Alberto Mario
 1945 *El Antigal de Ciénaga Grande (quebrada de Purmamarca, prov. de Jujuy)*. Buenos Aires: Publicaciones del Museo Etnográfico, Imprenta de la Universidad.
- Salceda, Susana and Horacio Calandra
 2003 "La planicie chaqueña: orígenes de su historia." In *12^o Congreso nacional y regional de historia argentina*, pp. 1-18. La Plata, Buenos Aires: Academia nacional de la historia.

- Sanabria Fernández, Hernando
1972 *Apiaguaiqui-Tumpa: Biografía del pueblo chiriguano y su último caudillo*. Cochabamba: Los Amigos del Libro.
- Sánchez, Sandra and Gabriela Sica
1990 "La frontera oriental de Humahuaca y sus relaciones con el Chaco." *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines* 19(2):469-497.
- Sánchez Labrador, José
1910 [c. 1770] *El Paraguay católico*. Buenos Aires: Coni Hermanos.
- Santamaría, Daniel
1995 "Las relaciones económicas entre tobos y españoles en el Chaco occidental, siglo XVIII." *Andes* 6:273-299.
- Santiago de León, Pedro
1998 [1791] *Diccionario guaraní-castellano y castellano-guaraní*. Tarija/Camiri: Centro eclesial de documentación/Teko Guaraní.
- Schmidel, Ulrich
2008 [1567] *Reise in die La Plata-Gegend (1534-1544)/Viaje al río de La Plata y Paraguay*. Kiel: Westensee-Verlag (Fontae Americanae 3).
- Schmidt, Max
1937 "Los Guisnais." *Revista de la Sociedad Científica de Paraguay* 4(2):1-35.
1938 "Los Chiriguanos e Izozós", *Revista de la sociedad científica del Paraguay* 4(3):1-115.
- Schuchard, Barbara
1981 "The Chaco War: An Account from a Bolivian Guarani." *Latin American Indian Literatures* 5(2):47-58.
1995 [1982] "La conquista de la tierra: relatos guaraní de Bolivia acerca de experiencias guerreras y pacíficas recientes." In *Chiriguano*. Jürgen Riester, editor, pp. 421-476. Santa Cruz: APCOB.
- Schwartz, Stuart and Frank Salomon
1999 "New Peoples and New Kinds of People: Adaptation, Readjustment, and Ethnogenesis in South American Indigenous Societies (Colonial Era)." In *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*. Vol. 3. Frank Salomon and Stuart Schwartz, editors, pp. 443-500. Cambridge/New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Sebag, Lucien
1965 "Le chamanisme Ayoreo." *L'Homme* 5(1):5-32, 5(2):92-122.
- Segovia, Laureano
1996 *Lhatetsel: nuestras raíces, nuestros antepasados*. Salta: Víctor Manuel Hanne.
2005 *Otichunaj lhayis tha oibi tewok. Memorias del río Pilcomayo*. Salta: Secretaría de Cultura.
- Siffredi, Alejandra
2005 "Cuando la persona se deshumaniza: des-centramiento y jaguarización en la sociedad nivaclé." *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 91(1):185-210.

- Siffredi, Alejandra and Susana Santini
1993 "Movimiento, relocalización y experiencia. Una aproximación a la historia oral de los nivacle septentrionales en los últimos sesenta años." *Memoria Americana* 2:1-29.
- Stahl, Wilmar
2007 *Culturas en Interacción: Una antropología vivida en el Chaco Paraguayo*. Asunción: El Lector.
- Starn, Orin
1991 "Missing the revolution: Anthropologists and the war in Peru." *Cultural Anthropology* 6(1):63-91.
- Sterpin, Adriana
1993 "La chasse aux scalps chez les Nivacle du Gran Chaco." *Journal de la société des américanistes* 79(1):33-66.
- Steward, Julian (editor)
1946 *Handbook of South American Indians*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution. (6 volumes).
- Stoesz, Edgar and Muriel T. Stackley
1999 *Garden in the Wilderness: Mennonite communities in the Paraguayan Chaco, 1927-1997*. Winnipeg: Canadian Mennonite Bible College Publications.
- Strauss, Anne S.
1994 "Northern Cheyenne Kinship Reconsidered." In *North American Indian Anthropology: Essays on society and culture*. R. J. De Mallie and A. Ortiz, editors, pp. 147-171. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Suárez Arana, Cristián
1919 *Exploraciones en el Oriente boliviano*. La Paz: González y Medina, editors.
- Susnik, Branislava
1961 *Apuntes de etnografía paraguaya*. Asunción: Museo Etnográfico Andrés Barbero.
1968 *Chiriguano I. Dimensiones etnosociales*. Asunción: Museo Etnográfico Andrés Barbero.
1971 *El indio colonial del Paraguay III-1. El Chaqueño: Guaycurúes y Chanés-Arawak*. Asunción: Museo Etnográfico Andrés Barbero.
1972 "Dimensiones migratorias y pautas culturales de los pueblos del Gran Chaco y sus periferia (enfoque etnológico)." *Suplemento Antropológico* 7(1):85-107.
1975 *Dispersión tupí-guaraní prehistórica. Ensayo analítico*. Asunción: Museo Etnográfico Andrés Barbero.
1978 *Los aborígenes del Paraguay I. Etnología del Chaco boreal y su periferia (siglos XVI y XVII)*. Asunción: Museo Etnográfico Andrés Barbero.
1981a "Las relaciones interétnicas en la época colonial." *Suplemento Antropológico* 16(2):19-28.

- 1981b *Los aborígenes del Paraguay III/1. Etnohistoria de los chaqueños (1650-1910)*. Asunción: Museo Etnográfico Andrés Barbero.
- 1983 *Los aborígenes del Paraguay V. Ciclo vital y estructura social*. Asunción: Museo Etnográfico Andrés Barbero.
- Thouar, Arthur
1997 [1887] *A través del Gran Chaco, 1883-1887*. La Paz/Cochabamba: Los Amigos del Libro.
- Tola, Florencia
2007 “Eu não estou só(mente) em meu corpo’. A pessoa e o corpo entre os Toba (Qom) do Chaco argentino.” *Mana* 13(2):499-519.
- Tomasini, Alfredo
1997 *El shamanismo de los Nivaklé del Gran Chaco*. Buenos Aires: CAEA.
- Tomichá, Roberto
2002 *La primera evangelización en las reducciones de Chiquitos, Bolivia (1691-1767)*. Cochabamba: Verbo Divino/Universidad Católica Boliviana/Ordo Fratrum Minorum Conv.
- Tommasini, Gabriel
1937 *La civilización cristiana del Chaco*. Buenos Aires: Librería Santa Catalina.
- Torre Revello, José (editor)
1941 *Documentos históricos y geográficos relativos a la conquista y colonización rioplatenses*. Buenos Aires: talleres Casa J. Peuser.
- Turner Strong, Pauline
2002 “Transforming Outsiders: Captivity, Adoption, and Slavery Reconsidered.” In *A Companion to American Indian History*. P. J. Deloria and N. Salisbury, editors, pp. 339-356. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Villagra, Rodrigo
2008 “Liderazgos enlhet-enenlhet: los cambios, las continuidades, las paradojas.” In *Liderazgo, Representatividad y Control Social en el Gran Chaco*. José Braunstein & Norma Meichtry, editors, pp. 117-132. Corrientes: Eudene.
- Villar, Diego
2005 “Indios, blancos y perros.” *Anthropos* 100(2):495-506.
2006 “Repensando el ‘complejo cultural chiriguano-chané’.” In *Definiciones étnicas, organización social y estrategias políticas en el Chaco y la Chiquitanía*. Isabelle Combès, editor, pp. 205-224. Santa Cruz de la Sierra: Institut Français d’Études Andines:
2007 “Algunos problemas de interpretación de la religión chané.” *Bulletin del Institut Français d’Études Andines* 36(3):393-405.
2008 “Guanización, traducción y evangelización en las representaciones anímicas chané.” *Suplemento Antropológico* 43(1):339-386.
- Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo
1996 “Images of Nature and Society in Amazonian Ethnology.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25:179-200.

Wedel, Waldo

- 1947 "Prehistory and environment in the Central Great Plains." *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science* 50(1):1-18.

Wicke, Charles and Miguel Chase-Sardi

- 1969 "Análisis componencial de la terminología de parentesco Chulupí (Ashluslay)." *Suplemento Antropológico* 4(2):185-202.

Wilbert, Johannes and Karin Simoneau

- 1982a *Folk Literature of the Toba Indians*. Vol. 1. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications.
- 1982b *Folk Literature of the Mataco Indians*. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications.
- 1985 *Folk Literature of the Chorote Indians*. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications.
- 1987 *Folk Literature of the Nivaklé Indians*. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications.
- 1988 *Folk Literature of the Mocoví Indians*. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications.

Wright, Pablo

- 2002 "Ser católico y ser evangelio: tiempo, historia y existencia en la religión toba." *Anthropologicas* 13(2):61-81.
- 2003 "Colonización del espacio, la palabra y el cuerpo en el Chaco Argentino." *Horizontes Antropológicos* 9(19):137-152.
- 2008 *Ser-en-el-sueño. Crónicas de historia y vida toba*. Buenos Aires: Biblos.