

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

ISSN: 2572-3626 (online)

Volume 19

Issue 1 *An Amazonianist and his History:
Thinking Through (the writings of) Peter Gow*

Article 8

5-31-2023

Between Cocama and Modernity in the Ucamara (Peruvian Amazon)

Marta Krokoszyńska

University of Warsaw, marta.kaer@gmail.com

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



Part of the Archaeological Anthropology Commons, Civic and Community Engagement Commons, Family, Life Course, and Society Commons, Folklore Commons, Gender and Sexuality Commons, Human Geography Commons, Inequality and Stratification Commons, Latin American Studies Commons, Linguistic Anthropology Commons, Nature and Society Relations Commons, Public Policy Commons, Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons, and the Work, Economy and Organizations Commons

Recommended Citation

Krokoszyńska, Marta (2023). "Between Cocama and Modernity in the Ucamara (Peruvian Amazon)", *Tipití: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America*: Vol. 19: Iss. 1, Article 8. Available at: <https://digitalcommons.trinity.edu/tipiti/vol19/iss1/8>

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.

Between Cocama and Modernity in the Ucamara (Peruvian Amazon)

Marta Krokoszyńska

University of Warsaw

Poland

Descendants of the Cocama Indians make up a large part of the rural population of eastern Peru. They tend to live in large towns, a pattern followed by their prehistoric ancestors.

(Lathrap, 1970: 185).

Requena is one of the bigger towns of the Loreto region in eastern Peru, with a population of 23–30000.¹ As a modern town, it dates to the beginning of the 20th century. Local historian and retired teacher Victor H. Sunció (2010) drew a poetic image of the town's origin in a book devoted to its historical antecedents. "It took two characters," he explained.² One was the "founding missionary" Agustín López Pardo, a Spanish Franciscan priest. The other, Manuel Pacaya, was an indigenous man of the Peruvian Amazon, a "Cocama rebel," who was the "last living vestige of a vanished town" and a "natural heir to these lands."

The narrative gives their match a mystic tone. For the Requena teacher, the two men represented "diametrically opposed worlds" that had "converged in a single great purpose: to give birth to a town on the ashes of another one that had disappeared" (ibid.: 100–101). In the past, Pacaya had endured exploitation with a combination of heroic tenacity inherited from the race of Guaraní warriors, and lyrical visionaries, the Tupinambas, seekers of the "land without evil" (ibid.: 96, 104–105). Arriving at the *fundo*³, aptly called Codicia (lit. "Greed"), at the time of the gradually waning rubber boom, the Spaniard requested a place to stay in the house of the "heroic Cocama man." The arrival of López was the victory of the Cocama man, granted by "divine destiny and justice" that he had long cherished. López was the "saviour of the indigenous people," liberating Manuel from the enslaving greedy Brazilian foreigners of the rubber boom: the Mafaldos, the Rochas, the Hidalgos, and the Tuestas (ibid.: 15). Importantly, within days, he began teaching the Pacaya children, rather than those of the *patrones* ("bosses"). Sunció finds it remarkable that López should have chosen the discomfort of the humble Pacayas abode, rather than stayed with the wealthy *patrones*, Rochas, Mafaldos, or some "Peruvian *mestizo*" (ibid.: 95–97).⁴ It was from that point that Requena expanded as a town, which has since affiliated itself with (ideas of) knowledge and progress.

It is no accident that the man is identified as Cocama by Sunció. Peter Gow long suspected that the dispersed, "large but shadowy" (1991: 295) "ex-Cocama" population was of particular importance for understanding the heterogeneous population of the Loretan *ribereños*. Described as neither settler nor indigenous, this population currently inhabits both rural and urban Peruvian Amazonia, including Requena. Peter devoted his last, yet unpublished third volume of the trilogy on the Bajo Urubamba, "Audacious Innovations in Peruvian Amazonia. An Ethnographic Theory of Acculturation" to the history of this larger Loretan social system, speaking of a general "ethnographic theory of acculturation" as a modality of social interactions between the indigenous Amazonians older than the colonial project (Gow n.d.b, cf. 2015). He argued that the existence of a "riverine social system" based on mutually understandable idioms used within this vast region was "possible under only two conditions: that it evolved historically; and that Native Amazonian people were central agents of that historical evolution" (1991: 296). This paper is an addendum to his work both on the Western Amazonian

1. While the 2017 census found 22875 inhabitants, the other extreme comes from unofficial estimates by local administrators. The number has always fluctuated with the seasonal flooding and the school year. The name Ucamara comes from first syllables of Ucayali and Marañón Rivers and is attributed to Avencio Villarejo. It refers to the geological depression that connects the lower reaches of Marañón, Ucayali, and lower Tapiche rivers. The name is sometimes used in reference to the region of historical extension of the Cocama people, as well as to the currently socially and economically interconnected area (Pizarro Mesía, 2010: 9–10). It also features in "Radio Ucamara," the name of a Church-sponsored broadcast station run by indigenous people in Nauta.

2. Unless stated otherwise, all translations of quotes are mine.

3. Post-rubber bust agro-extractive landholdings, centered around a "boss," or "employer" within the debt peonage system (cf. Santos Granero and Barclay, 2000: 162–188).

4. The unpublished diaries of the missionary suggest that there simply was no one else present, and that the *patrones* made it abundantly clear that the priest was not welcome.

“acculturations,” and his interpretations (2007) of the “ex-Cocama” phenomenon. It suggests that the social project of Requena as a modern Amazonian town meets both conditions and could be seen as yet another “audacious innovation.” Situated at a junction of 4 major rivers, Ucamara area is representative of the larger Loretan *ribereño* social system. It is characterised by imagery, encoded in weakening descent categories or surnames, of towns as historically heterogeneous, and as operating within an ideological dualism.

I begin by reviewing the historical antecedents of Requena, to see Requena’s society from a historical perspective, and trace the role of the Cocama descendants in shaping it. This part is based mainly on historical records and anthropological interpretations of the social logics of the Western Amazon and its “colonial tribes” (Taylor, 1999). Then, I extend Peter’s reading of ex-Cocama with additional data gathered during my ethnographic research over the last two decades in the Requena Province. I illustrate the paradoxical, Amerindian logic of descent, the role of children in establishing and maintaining social relations and the resulting ways in which town spaces are imagined. Finally, this historical and ethnographic background serves as a basis for reflection on education as one strand of Ucamara’s drive to “modernity” in the 20th and 21st centuries.

Sunció’s original rendering of Requena’s local origin story can be seen as heir to long-standing indigenous historicities of the Western Amazon that are much older than modern Requena. It also captures the narrative framework in which the future and potentiality of Requena was expressed in the 20th and 21st centuries. Schools (as institutions) both relied on children as mediators and carriers of a particular relationship and were centres of new villages and urban spaces associated with the “potential affine” qualities. I propose that, for these reasons, schools may have been readily understandable to the Amazonian people. I argue that education and the ideology of improvement, social upward mobility and a vaguely imagined, removed future was “staged” as an important element of the local “modernity.” This casts some light on the local understanding of modernity as a global phenomenon. In T. Mitchell’s (2000) terms, the production of modernity involves a process of representing difference, or “staging” modernity. Looking beyond this representation requires not only recognising different versions of modernity and non-modern spaces, but also identifying the inherent heterogeneity, hybridity, as well as non-material imaginary and phantasmatic character at the heart of any claim to modernity. I take this article as an opportunity to look at the Western Amazonian history of “modernity” as a phantasm. I hypothesise that, not unlike the colonial history’s social categories of “Indians” and “Gringos” (Gow, 1993), “modernity” and “progress” have become meaningful within the local social context.

1. The peoples of Ucamara

Who are the *requeninos* and what does a “Cocama,” or Pacaya man do in Sunció’s story? For one, Requena lies at the heart of the historical Cocama territory. *Cocamas* or *Ucayales* was a Tupi-Guarani group inhabiting the Lower Ucayali in the 16th–17th century, and Pacaya was one of the leaders whose names first went into written record.⁵ Following an epidemic and a military upheaval, the survivors relocated to the Mainas Jesuit mission of Lagunas on the Lower Huallaga (see Map 1.). There, together with their cousins from Huallaga, the Cocamilla, and other missionised locals, the Cocama participated in creating what Peter called the Bajo Huallaga social system. To begin, I want to build on Peter’s argument about the role of the Bajo Huallaga social system and the Cocama descendants’ role in the migrations that resulted in creation of the “*loretano*” stratum, in order to extend this argument by examining indications of yet another “extension” to the Lower Ucayali, which, in turn, resulted in the creation of Requena. Drawing on Pete’s idea of “opening” of the social worlds in Nauta, I look for the historical record and the ethnographic perspective to attempt a conjecture of

5. Stocks (1978) has traced archival sources in some detail, and I will not repeat his task. Mainas missions’ history, in which Cocamilla, Cocama and Omagua played important roles, can be found in source accounts (Jiménez de la Espada, 1892; Chantre y Herrera, 1901; Figueroa, 1904) and historical analyses (Jouanen, 1941; Grohs, 1974; Golob, 1982; Michael, 2014).

different modalities of these extensions from the perspective of Cocama descendants when they broadened their social worlds towards other parts of the Amazon.

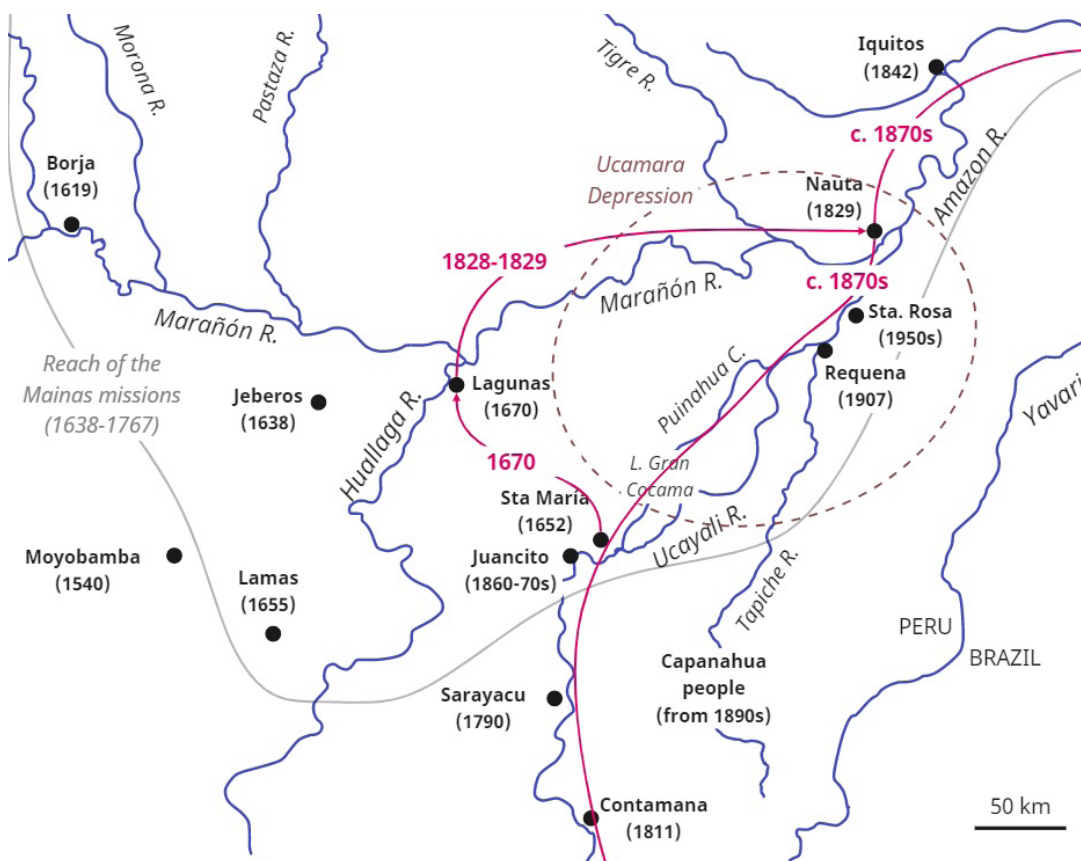


figure 1. Historical expansions of Cocama people with reference to towns of Eastern Peru with foundation dates (Map prepared by the author).

“Acculturations”

The mutual “acculturations” with their neighbours are a constant motif in histories of the Peruvian Tupi, shown to have happened even before the colonial times (Stocks, 1978: 78–79; Myers, 1974). Later, during the Mainas Jesuit missions project (1638–1767), the process of mutual “acculturation” with foreign missionaries as founding and sponsoring figures created a long-lasting tradition that Peter argued to be a “large-scale regional system characterised by a complex mixture of homogeneity and heterogeneity” in the Bajo Huallaga mission culture, dress, ritual, and Quechua language (Gow, 2009b: 45). In his unpublished book, he proposed that participation in this system before the 19th century involved a de-specification of Cocama together with other participants of this social project into the category of *crístianos* (lit. “Christians”). Rather than a religious denomination, the term was a generic “human” category. While being *crístiano* implied social differentiation from the “wild” ancestors on a temporal axis, and from pagan neighbours on the spatial one, the towns were composed of the coexisting endogamic “bloods” (*sangres*), often living in ideologically separated towns or their specific neighbourhoods (*barrios*).

These could take a form a sort of twin towns, or moieties joined by asymmetrical dualism (Lévi-Strauss, 1995), where one set of surnames and descent lines was presented as “tamed Indians” (*mansos*), a weaker version of people classified as extra-local “wild Indians” (*indios bravos*). The other set of surnames was seen as similarly weakened version of the image of

“White people” (*blancos*), or “mixed-blood people” (*mestizos*). In the early Mainas missions, children who ended up being raised by priests were considered by their ordinary kin as a class of *viracocha* or “Whites” (Golob, 1982: 237–238), associated with the white/*mestizo*, Spanish/Quechua-speaking milieu. This implies that Western Amazonians were taking both the colonial and local categories of “kinds of people” as images “from which to fashion themselves as the agents of their own creation” (Gow, 1993: 343). They were using these categories to shape local images of difference and processes of overcoming or maintaining social differentiation, “staging” the sphere of the remote *indios* as opposed to *viracochas*, and the intermediate position of neither-nor, i.e., *crístianos*.

In 1828, after the changes and tumultuous events following Peruvian independence, a leader called Manuel Pacaya led a group of people described by observers as Cocama to form new towns, Nauta and Parinari, on the lower Marañón river (Pöppig 1835: 399–401; Castelnau 1851: 455–456). Peter (Gow n.d. b) suggested that the move to Nauta also marked the “emergence of a modern phase in Peruvian Amazonia’s history.” It was characterised by a “profound opening,” of the social system which enabled transformation into the new generic category, *loretanos*. The position of the complementary moiety – until now taken by the ex-Mainas neighbours as/or *viracochas* – was taken by new people seen as more *viracocha*, or “White” – a governor, Brazilian traders, and other migrants. It could be read as

expansive exogamy, as marital alliance extended outwards to increasingly distant others in the making of new generations. Their ‘ethnic dissolution’ is simply the obverse side of this process, as these new generations come to specify themselves against the endogamous marital strategies of their ancestors. (Gow n.d.b)

Historical sources suggest how this process occurred - it may have been happening gradually throughout the 19th century. The “Indians from the town of Nauta” (Olaría 1870) had been exploring the resources of the lower Ucayali before the last quarter of the century (Herndon and Gibbon 1853; Sandi, 1905 [1865]). Other transient explorers from the Hualaga, whose presence was throughout the first three quarters of the 19th century, were the Amazonian ex-Mainas people (*Tarapotinos*, *Cumbazas*) from the San Martín region, jointly categorised as *sanmartinenses*. These were often associated with a “Whiter” orientation than local people, but also shared common Western Amazonian ex-Mainas heritage of concepts, habits, and social imagery (Chirif, 2021: 260) with the ex-Mainas Cocama who moved to Nauta. Importantly, living in Nauta exposed the new generations to trade interactions with the Brazilians, who came to live there and employed *nautinos* and other local people – rather than raided and kidnapped Mainas peoples as slaves, as they had done in previous centuries. The identity of these remaining foreigners is usually unspecified in the textual sources, but there are indications that some of them may have also been categorised by Europeans as “Brazilian Indians” (Colini, 1883).

The local people, or *nautinos* took the roles of dependents or peons (*cholos*) in relation to other Amazonian “owners” or “Whiter” people who were able to trade extra-locally. In this way, local men became involved in the wider Amazonian economy operating between the towns of Huallaga and the Brazilian Amazon through extraction of resources (salted fish, turtle meat and eggs, sarsaparilla, children of the feared interfluvial Panoans whom they called “Mayorunas”). They also sought employment as rowers. Many were, in Herndon’s words, “engaging” themselves to bosses in Brazil (Herndon and Gibbon 1853: 260–261; cf. Osculati 1854: 241, 274). But after Nauta experienced a decade of prosperity during the 1850s, as steamer boats connected the Brazilian Amazon with Nauta, the Cocama also served as navigation experts (Raimondi 1862: 91–93; Fuentes, 1908 vol. 2: 56–57; Santos-Granero and Barclay, 2000: 16–17).

If Jesuits and Franciscans in earlier eras admitted there was no evangelisation of Amazonians without iron tools, it was now travellers who noted the “singular desire of acquiring

property” among the Cocama men (Orton, 1870: 321, 637). Its locus were painted wooden chests where the men gathered “all their earnings converted into” clothing, hatchets, knives, harpoon heads, needles, thread, beads, fishhooks, mirrors – objects which proved their worldliness (Herndon and Gibbon, 1853: 207–208, 261–262; Bates, 1864: 261–292). At the same time, the *nautinos* must have experienced an enrichment of *sangres* (and surnames) among themselves. Despite the ideology of endogamy based on Dravidian-type kinship and the opposition to uncontrolled foreign relations reported between the 18th and 20th centuries (Osma, 1908; López, 1922; Espinosa, 1935; Alegre, 1974), new surnames and “kinds of people” did join the older sets of surnames, and even Brazilian surnames became associated with the Cocama descent. By the 1840s, Marcoy maintained that Cocama were not “pure” anymore, speculating pre-1828 “intermixture” in Lagunas with other *crístianos* from the ex-Mainas towns Cumbaza or Balsapuerto (Marcoy, 2001: 496). Unpublished documents related to the establishment of Requena also hint at repeated marital alliances of *nautinos* with other *crístianos*. Pascal Pacaya, whom Sunci3n presents as a “Manuel Pacaya,” was indeed one of the many Pacaya Romainas and Romaina Pacayas in the area who must have been the result of mid-1850s relations. The Romaina surname clearly indicates ex-Mainas descent from an ancient “tribe.”

Both types of engagement probably go hand in hand, since in contemporary Ucamara there is a widely repeated assumption that the local people have been receiving surnames through their engagements with employers, godparents, adopted parents, etc. Many contemporary surnames are thought to be gifted (*regalados*) or stolen (*robados*) rather than a result of actual pregnancies. One of the more emblematic examples today is the surname of the outgoing mayor of Requena (2019–2022). While he is of “humble” local origins, comes from a Lower Ucayali village and his parents have Cocama surnames, he uses the paternal surname Jakers, speculated to had been received from the Evangelical missionaries-teachers, and he is mocked as a (*sacha*) *gringo*, the “wild *gringo*.”

The second Cocama expansion

I wish to argue that the influx of people to Requena at that historical moment constituted yet another expansion of the Cocama descent. Peter has long proposed that the *ribereño* society came into being with an active indigenous agency, and he had long been intrigued by the role played by generations descending from the 17th century Cocama. Based on the historical record, I could argue that in the last quarter of the 19th century, there was another important geographical expansion in the Cocama people’s history, which coincided with the rubber boom. The Cocama “recolonised the lower Ucayali, often in the guise of Quechua – or Spanish-speaking *mestizos*” (Gow, 2010), after 250 years of living in Lagunas and in Nauta.⁶ By the beginning of the 20th century, people of Cocama descent have been reported to be “dispersed in various regions of the Amazon” and “mixed with the Indians from the *sierra*” (von Hassel, 1905: 37). The mention of the *sierra* (designating Andes, the mountain region of Peru) most likely referred to the Quechua language spoken by the Cocama and Cocamilla, as Stiglich’s lively account of the trilingual (Cocama, Quechua and Spanish) “Cocamillas,” and bilingual (Quechua and Cocama) “Cocama” suggests (ibid.: 328).

Rubber resources exploration was undoubtedly a vehicle for establishing wide-ranging relations throughout Western Amazon. It operationalised the “profound opening” of the social system and intensified economic relations of engagement to the boss figures, which theoretically meant access to a limited stock of tools, knowledge of new lands, people, laws, as well as names or surnames (less so in practice, given the exploitative nature of these relations). While some *nautinos* suffered violent exploitation in the town and its vicinity, or in places such as the Putumayo River (Woodroffe, 1914: 88, 126–127), by the 1900s people described

as Cocama often piloted steamers travelling up the Ucayali, playing an essential role in the rubber-boom (Stiglich, 1908 [1904]: 469).

This expansion likely consolidated the process of de-specification of *nautinos* into *loretanos* and enabled their 20th century emergence of the strata described by writers as *ribereños*, i.e., the “non-indigenous” but also “non-settler” riverbank dwellers (Padoch, 1988; Santos-Grano and Barclay, 2000: 270–277). In keeping with how they saw, presented themselves, and were seen by others, the Cocama descendants were often referred to as synonymous with *mestizos* in the Ucayali. The Loretan peasant society, especially since mid-20th century was described by foreign observers (missionaries and anthropologists) as either having significant contribution of Cocama-Cocamilla descent, or as being coterminous with Cocama-Cocamilla descendants (Stiglich, 1908 [1904]: 410; cf. 1905 [1904]: 293–295; Lathrap, 1970: 23; Alegre, 1974; de la Peña, 1978; Izquierdo García et al., 1977; Roe, 1982: 81; Padoch, 1988; Uriarte, 1989: 238). Various “indigenous” cultural or linguistic contributions to Loretan culture and the local variety of Spanish are also attributed to the Cocama (e.g., Rivas Ruíz, 2000; Valles, 2014). When A. Stocks came to the Peruvian Amazon in 1975 with the specific goal of studying the Tupi-speaking people, he found it was difficult to find the Cocama on the lower Ucayali, although people could indicate the Cocama speakers. For the local Requena chief of SINAMOS (government agency aimed to stimulate grass root organisations), the “Cocama” were “merely” descendants rather than an isolated group. He thought they were by “now mostly crossed with the *mestizos*” and “too mixed with the rural agriculturalists [*ribereños*] and urban slum people to identify.” They were just like anyone else, “peasants” (*campesinos*), and not “wild Indians” or *aucas* (Stocks, 1978: 7).

Authors who tried to describe the *ribereño* population relied on local terms of descent, noting the trouble they had eliciting unambiguous identifications (Chibnik, 1994: xii–xiii; Chibnik and de Jong, 1989; Padoch, 1988; VAY, 1980: 5). Padoch and de Jong’s description of a village that in relevant literature came to function as an example of *ribereño* settlement *par excellence*, Santa Rosa, just downriver from Requena, provides a perfect illustration of descent-related issues. Here, descent from “a particular tribal Amazonian group” did not lead to identifying oneself as a “current member of a native group.” The village had descendants of four or five “tribal groups,” as well as descendants of “European immigrants” and “mixed-blood” people (Padoch and de Jong, 1990: 153). The villagers of Santa Rosa were “reluctant to talk about their tribal backgrounds and Spanish [was] the language of the community.” The “ethnic backgrounds” were “frequently mentioned” during disputes (Padoch, 1986: 4 apud Chibnik, 1994: 47). In this context, the most appropriate common denominator is *santarosinos*, just as Stocks (1978: 287–288) observed for the *tipishquinos*. Peter also pointed this out in his analysis of Bajo Huallaga transformations, where the names of towns have replaced former “ethnic” categories (Gow, n.d.b). It thus seems that such representations belong to “a common ground, a kind of ‘zero degree’ of habitus” (Taylor, 2007: 158) between the rural or “indigenous” inhabitants of the province and the town-dwellers.

While two or three decades ago the Cocama were difficult to connect with specific locations, their surnames also seemed to appear everywhere where the Peruvian *mestizo* arrived, from Brazil and Colombia to the upper Ucayali, including Urubamba, where Peter worked – as well as further south, in the Madre de Dios region in Peru. The extent of this assumed overlap is testified by the notoriously difficult estimations of the Cocama population numbers. Although only around 10000 people identified as Cocama in Peru in the censuses of 1993 and 2017 (Rivas Ruíz, 2000; BDPI, 2021), recent estimates begin with 19–25000 in the 1970s and reach 85000–100000 in the last decade (Rivas Ruíz, 2000; Berjón Martínez and Cadenas Cardo, 2014), with the proviso that some people do not “even know they are [Cocama]” (Ríos Castro, 2015: 61).

6. The original “heart of the Cocama country,” lower Ucayali, was largely abandoned from the 1670s to the beginning of the 19th century (Veigl, 2006: 143; Girbal y Barcelo, 1791). For much of the 19th century, it was only sparsely populated by *Sarayaquinos* (i.e., riverine Panoans and Piro, occasional interfluvial Panoans from the Tapiche-Maquía highlands). Only later sources come to locate Cocama from Nauta as living in the area (Sabaté, 1877: 184; Colini, 1883: 13; Ordinaire, 1892: 219–220; Galt, 1878: 310).

Relacionados

In trying to understand how this expansion may have looked like from the perspective of the descendants of the Cocama and other ex-Mainas people who contributed to expansion of the the Bajo Huallaga social system, we can first note that the early historical engagements made ex-*nautinos* closer to the sources of foreign values. To the indigenous Amazonians of the Ucamara and beyond, the travelling and trading Cocama townfolk from the 19th century onward would have appeared “Whiter” or more *viracocha*. This was indeed how these people saw them in the 20th century, and how the Cocama presented themselves to the local people (Rivas Ruíz, 2011: 11, 112, 114). It was the Cocama descendants who now spread their own *sangres*, placing descendants, knowledge, tools, and surnames in other places among “tame Indians”, just as their ex-*cristiano* bosses and neighbours classified as *virachochas* had done before. One example of the new hierarchical relation was the one with the interfluvial, Panoan Capanahua from the Lower Ucayali, who had been “tamed” most probably in the last decade of the 19th century by the Brazilian *caboclos* (“mixed blood” Amazonian people) and their crews of Lower Ucayali people. Throughout the 20th century, the Tapiche–Buncuya Capanahua equated the *virachochas* with Cocama as the generic downriver *nawa* (enemies/strangers/whites). It was also to this emerging *loretano/ex-Cocama* commonality that Capanahua acculturated. Cocama descendants mediated many of the Capanahua contacts with the *ribereño* culture and society. Some Cocama descendants may themselves have been operating as *patrones* to people further removed in the *habilitación* (debt peonage) network. Encarnación Rojas, an early 19th century rubber boss from the Yaquerana River, was also possibly of Cocama descent (Matlock, 2002: 108–109). And a few decades later, E. Loos considered the employer (*patrón*) of the Capanahua on Buncuya River in the 1950–60s to be Cocama as well (Loos et al., 1981: 387). Peter suspected that the infamous boss Pancho Vargas, who played an important role in the social and power dynamics on the Upper Ucayali, was of Cocama descent. Vargas’ social capacity lay precisely in the fact that he shared idioms with other indigenous people (Amoroso, de Lima, and Gow, 2011: 530). A recurring theme on the Huallaga, Marañón or the Ucayali rivers of the 20th century was the division of towns or villages into the “White” and “Indian” quarters or descent lines, in which the “White” responded to the *mestizo* or *ribereño* category, and likely included the ex-Cocama and ex-Mainas people from San Martín region having more “noble” or foreign surnames, while the “Indian” part indicated the more “humble” or local surnames of the Shipibo or Yine.

Nevertheless, although Cocama descendants presented themselves as *loretanos*, *peruanos*, or *viracocha* to people they considered “Indians,” both sides were also aware of the relative character of this affiliation, and a mediatory, unfinished position in relation to the “real foreigners.” During my rural research, Román, who himself lived in a Capanahua descendants’ community, reflected on the stories heard in his family of Cocama descent. He explained that the goal of his ancestors was to become “more related” (*más relacionados*) with each other. Being *más relacionados* is a direct opposite of being isolated and devoid of relations with an outside world – a trait characterising “wild Indians” (Gow, 1993), or *indios*, *indígenas*, or *nativos*. Being related means having contacts in a variety of places – a quality related to the ubiquitous modernity of “real foreigners” (*gringos*).

One sense of relating was involved achieving a paler skin tone and alteration of physical appearance, a practice called improving the *raza* (*mejorar la raza*). Román’s ancestors would reportedly do this through sexual relations with either *mestizo* or Capanahua people. Consistent with the local image of the interfluvial “wild Indians” as light-skinned and hairy, Capanahua were thought to be “whiter,” like the *mestizo*. The Cocama were incorporating *sangres* or spreading the seeds of their own *sangres* among new kinds of peoples and new places. The

same goal motivates another practice of “whitening,” described recently by R. Rivas Ruíz for Cocama and Cocamilla, where parents reportedly maintain a specific diet to produce lighter skin of the foetus by introducing certain qualities (like the whiteness of manioc, etc.), or prevent contact with “darkening” foods (2011: 218–19).

According to Román, another quality the Capanahua of the 20th century desired was possessing more knowledge (*conocimientos*) and understanding (*entender*). This included the know-how of making tools such as paddles, baskets, and crafts (*artesanía*) marked by durability and beauty. A new value desired from the “indigenous” people is their language competences (*idioma*), deemed especially valuable for aspiring teachers in the 21st century (see below). In our conversation, Román failed to mention an important, long-standing regional conviction that the Cocama sought to master the shamanic arts, another potent kind of knowledge (see Chaumeil, 2004). Shamanic learning comprises ingestion of the plant or other teachers’ *sangres*, i.e., juices, extracts, phlegm, as well as worms, darts, thorns, as much as learning songs or formulas. This knowledge is as substantial a connection to other beings as *sangres* are in insemination and reproduction, or as are tools and “knowledge” from the bosses. Darts and projectiles are guarded in the reinforced, durable bodies of their carriers, the shamans/sorcerers. Such “knowledge-substance” remains a secret hidden within the owner’s body or some form of container, making it impenetrable and, ideally, indestructible – like the painted wooden chests coveted in the 19th century. The default term for shamanism is just “to know” (*saber*), and Román himself was considered partially adept at it or “curious” (*curioso*). The most powerful masters of the art, called *bancos*, travel underwater to faraway cities “on the other side” (*al otro lado*) of the underwater cities inhabited by “real gringo”-like foreigners. Since the Cocama men widely explored the rivers, getting to “know” new people and participate in larger networks of shamanic knowledge, they incorporated, used, and spread these skills. Accumulation of such knowledge would also imply being more *relacionado*. The ability to collect “trans-ethnic” specializations indeed made them great sorcerers (Chaumeil, 1991). At least since the 1890s and throughout the 20th century, the Cocama and other “old Christians” (ex-Mainas people) were considered to be skilful sorcerers, an opinion they used to their advantage in trade (Ordinaire, 1892: 219–220; Loos et al., 1981: 387). Within the larger Western Amazonian riverine social system, such mastery has been associated with the riverine populations, likely stemming from the lower and central Huallaga (Weiss, 1949; Gow, 1994). However, it constituted the obscured, “internal” part of the “colonial tribes” topology (as discussed below). When facing the *gringos*, in particular, the shamanic knowledge of the Ucayali is legitimised by connection to “wild Indians” (cf. Córdova-Ríos and Lamb, 1975; Freedman, 2014). One of the famous ayahuasca shamans visiting Europe claims to have received shamanic knowledge from his reportedly Capanahua grandmother, although his narratives include foreign words which are not Panoan at all (Breaking Convention, 2019).

2. Descent and sociality in the Requena Province

Recognising the inheritance of the 20th century *ribereño* social system from the Bajo Huallaga tradition, I now wish to enrich Pete’s reading of the “ex-Cocama” phenomenon by looking more closely into salient idioms of kinship, descent and their place in shaping how social spaces or towns are conceived, based on the fieldwork I have conducted in rural and urban parts of the Requena province. In the local renderings of the Requena’s foundation story, no one before Sunción had paid much attention to a Pacaya man as a humble “Cocama Indian.” But this recognition was only possible in the Peruvian Amazon. Pacaya has since the 17th century become a widespread surname. In his paper on ex-Cocama, Peter Gow demonstrated that Cocama surnames “encode processes by which originary separate peoples come together through intermarriage to form a new people” (2007: 206). The new people distinguish themself-

ves from their parents and ancestors, and although the Cocama ancestors were Cocama, they themselves are “merely” descendants. This is one of the most bewildering identity statements, deemed paradoxical by the Western observers, and the essence of the “ex-” prefix coined by D. Lathrap (1970). My doctoral fieldwork with Capanahua descendants was largely devoted to this theme (Krokoszyńska, 2016). These Panoan people of the Tapiche river, which connects with Ucayali in Requena, are also “merely descendants of the Capanahua.”

Weakening ancestors, or descending

At the outset of my fieldwork in the distant upland part of the Requena Province, I often naively asked to which “groups” people belonged. I was then trying to verify what I had heard about others. An early fieldnote from 2011 describes my dismay at the reaction of my future *comadre* (“co-mother”) Meri and her mother Llerme. When I said a man from another village was “Cocama”:

They burst out laughing, repeating “Cocama,” like a punchline too good to be dropped too soon. Doña Llerme points to the young woman sitting with them [her daughter-in-law], telling me she knows him – he is her uncle. And that I’d insulted her. “No, no, he says he is Cocama himself. Why be offended?” – I protest. They can’t stop giggling, and I struggle to understand what’s so funny. So doña Llerme, still cracking up, explains that “It is their raza [descent] – just like ours is Capanahua. And what are you, anyway?” she asks me. “Polish.” “And that’s not the same as gringo [somewhat derogatory term for a White person]?” – “No, something quite different,” I respond, thinking of a North American. They finally get going, and walk away chuckling, still rehashing “Cocama!”

Over the next years, I learned that while having some sort and degree of rural indigenous descent is universal, to call individuals such univocal names is usually offensive. The purpose of sociality is to evoke the impression of being the same as everyone else, whether in a “class” or an “ethnic” sense: just a modern humble *mestizo* or “Peruvian.” It creates contrast with communities perceived as isolated, maintaining relations only among themselves, using their own separate language, i.e., *indios*, or tribes (*tribus*), etc. *Raza* (lit. “race”) is a “kind of people,” as used by Peter, implying “just a Peruvian” or *mestizo*, a person who merely has a specific origin. Any definitive revelation of such descent in front of strangers, just like any other forms of difference may elicit a reaction of shame (*vergüenza*). Contemporary people have surpassed the imagined isolation of their ancestors and became “just descendants.” Both extremes – claiming to be more (*más*) or legitimate (*legítimo*), or a complete denial or ignoring of one’s descent (*ignorar su raza*) – are ridiculed. Instead, the descendants carry partial identities encoded in the surnames left as seeds (*semillas*) by other “kinds of people.”

If such “ethnic shame” is indeed a “Loretan idiosyncrasy” (Rivas Ruíz, 2000: 5), it seems to make sense within the local aesthetic of minimal difference, where purity in ethnic or class sense has negative connotations (Gow, n.d.a). What gives this reading more weight is also the context of local theories of conception and the role of children as descendants. In the Ucamara, I often noticed that people tend to see children as flawed copies of their parents, recalling an Amerindian social logic of “cascading distinctive features (...) that set in motion the machine of the universe” (Lévi-Strauss, 1995: 63). The local base metaphor for this relation is ancestors or parents as “tree trunks” (Lor. Sp. *tronco*). Children or descendants are only “already their branches” (Lor. Sp. *su ramas ya*), that which remained after the ancestors have gone. The very act of conception is described in terms of penetrative violence or appropriation, expenditure, and division (cf. Berjón Martínez and Cadenas Cardo, 2011 for the Cocama). The child’s blood is generally attributed only to the father and originates from his sperm, which is considered blood, and in the act of impregnation is described as a worm (*gusano*), or a microbe (*microbio*) dropped into the woman’s body. The foetus is equated to a hungry worm (intestinal parasite), or a pet. It has been detached from the father’s body, carrying his blood, and lives at the cost of the mother’s body, using up the limited stock of her “pieces of

intestine” (*pedazos de tripa*). Mother’s blood, in the form of breastmilk, is introduced only later, along with her sacrifice and that comes from satisfying the baby’s demands. The process is explicitly or implicitly, through metaphors, compared to a parasitic infection or bellicose aggression. Procreation here is literally a “mode of producing persons by means of the destruction of persons” (Fausto, 1999: 937). For this reason, insofar as children are only partly identical to their parents, they are also, by default, partial strangers to them. I suggest this is an intergenerational equivalent of the principle of “impossible twins” (Gow, 2009a), and the procreational foundation of the “ex-” phenomenon.

Joint separateness

The quotidian truth lies in between – being “merely descendant,” even though these aspects of a person are “revealed” in her absence, swelling in proportion, and remembered even across several generations. In Ucamara, displays of “pure,” “strong” identity do happen, but usually in specific situations, when people lack self-control (e.g., when drunk) or in certain official, ritualised settings (e.g., in front of officials or tourists who pay to see the difference). Despite the comingling and weakening, these part-identities are renewed and maintained as separate among themselves in specific situations.

On the Tapiche river in the 2010s, an expression *juntos pero separados*, joint but separate, referred to the names of tribes, *tribus* that, according to historical narratives, came to form Capanahua descent lines. An idealized image presented two descent lines (*razas* in Sp. or *kaibu* in Cap.) intermarrying continuously across generations. Such guaranteed exchange of children in marriages assumes a circulation within the system of alliance between the preferred and re-affinised sets of kinds of people. This is presented as helping control the weakening that results from descent. Endogamic marriages ensured “that the *raza* would not perish” (*que no pierda su raza*). After death, spirits went to the separate villages in heaven, corresponding to “kinds.” For the Cocama and Cocamilla, the most desirable kind of marriage in the past would also combine two *sangres* as spatially proximate and continuing to exchange between sets of siblings between quarters, *barrios* (Stocks, 1978: 257; Regan, 1993: 96–98).

Similar joint but separate setups of “groups in villages” or “quarters” have been recorded in the Western Amazon since the earliest recorded contacts spearheaded by the colonial explorers and Jesuits. In fact, the Cocama impressed the Jesuits as better disposed, in comparison to other local groups, to living in larger concentrations of people within the mission towns (Figuroa, 1904: 81–82). Jesuits found that when people of separate origins (linguistic, cultural, or geographic) overcame the initial fear of sorcery and eventually settled together, they insisted on settling in separate quarters (Chantre y Herrera, 1901: 142). The pattern of separate *barrios* persisted even after the Jesuits left, as distinct *barrios* of Lamas, Tabalosos, Jeberos, and Lagunas until the 20th century (Fuentes, 1908 vol. 1: 90–91; Julou, 2000; Cipolletti and Magnin, 2008; VAY, 1980). Whether the “traditional,” “totemically named peoples” such as Piro or Shipibo-Conibo (Gow, 2010), or the “postcolonial tribes” and towns such as Lamas, Tabalos (Taylor, 1999), the kinds of peoples spatialised in *barrios* perceived themselves as composites and a result of intermingling, or cohabitation in proximity. And while the idiom of “remains of groups” across Western Amazonia would often refer to the colonial demographic cataclysms, the expressions of descent that I have studied may suggest that they are as well rooted in the apparently indigenous Amazonian idioms grounded in generative mechanisms.

Peter Gow proposed that “while ‘races’ are imaged as being subject to an ongoing process of temporal commingling, ‘surnames’ defy such a process, retaining unchanged their origins as they move through intergenerational time” (n.d.b). Peter’s historical or mythological engagements with the ancestors referred to the “strong” identities of the Yine (2001). But the quotidian relations in the village he studied focused on the idiom of mixture between the

“weakened” descendants (1991; see Amoroso et al. 2011: 526–527). This paradoxical combination, of a mixed yet separated social life, allows a specific kind of coexistence and balanced continuity. Weakening the original, isolated qualities of strong extra-local identities - be they more *indio* or more *viracocha* - through generative “detachment of smaller pieces,” allows their coexistence. And the dormant, strong potential of the names/surnames refreshes and maximizes the difference.

Dependants

During my fieldwork, people in Ucamara emphasised generational rather than gender terms when describing the endogamous set-ups imagined for the isolated ancestors. It was the “old” people exchanging – or being stingy with – their children/daughters. Commenting on this parental claim to control, López admitted that “it is no small predicament for the priest not to bless these children because not being of age. When this happens, everyone is terribly sad” (López, 1922: 2; Woodroffe, 1914: 87–88; cf. Aguirrezábal, 1930 apud Río Sadornil, 1991). Kuczynski-Godard, a medicine doctor working in Peru, noted how children in Loreto in the 1930–40s were instrumental in linking the mother’s families to fathers who were obliged to “serve the children,” and therefore, the family that was raising them (1942: 111–112). This “strong will to procreate” characterised both women and men, who prided themselves as “populators” (*pobladores*) by the number of children they sired (*ibid.*).

The theme of children used as social relations is also consistent in historical record. In the 17th century, the Tupi-speaking people, called Ucayales or Cocama, were dreadful neighbours of the Jesuit mission project, stealing people’s heads and iron tools (Figuerola, 1904: 99). The abduction of children seems to have been a common practice up to the 20th century. The Jesuits soon found that raising local children as Christians and future interpreters was one of the most effective methods of establishing contact with the local people (Chantre y Herrera, 1901: 139; Maurtua, 1907: 325–27). Regardless of whether this practice preceded the Spaniards, it fit well with the local conceptual schemes.

At least since the 19th century (San Román, 1994: 110), another variant of establishing relations through children was *yacucheo*, *compadrazgo*, or co-parenthood, a ritual kinship. In this relation, the link between the parents and godparents is equally, if not more, important than that between the parent generation and the child. It is still acceptable to offer the child to the godparents to raise or support the child’s education. In recent history, the care, adoption, or employment relationship for a *padrino* (godfather), or *patrón* (boss) – could reportedly involve not only raising of the godchild, servant, or adopted child, or at least “serving it” (or its parents) with goods, but also involve a transmission of the surname to the child, the bestowal of a Christian name and other qualities. My own *compadres* used my name for their child and have repeatedly suggested that my godchildren should follow me to Europe.

In this context, children, offspring, or descendants are carriers of the social relation of their parents or ancestors with others. M. Kuczynski-Godard argued that the fundamental scheme of relation between settlers and adolescent dependants was difficult to overestimate in understanding Loretan social idioms:

This affiliation undoubtedly contains strong features of domination and exploitation, but it is a mutual relation which is of elemental importance in our region. (Kuczynski-Godard, 1942: 97)

The modality of kinds of people overlapping or becoming *relacionados* is through bits and pieces obtained from others, as branches from a tree, or leaving those bits and pieces, as “seeds to grow” in new towns. Those bits and pieces, apart from substantial contributions of tools and knowledge, as I argued with the Cocama extension, are actual human children in the form of descendants, adopted children, or workers. Although the emerging literature

on Mastery recognises the significance of the pattern of ownership and taming in Amazonian societies (e.g., Bonilla, 2007; Fausto, 2008; Costa, 2017), this Amazonian logic tends to be overlooked in the context of procreation and descent, perhaps because of the positive meanings attributed to kinship in Euro-American social science (e.g., Sahlins, 2013). I have demonstrated elsewhere (2016) that in Ucamara the relational pattern of owning is ubiquitous. It shapes the relations in various ways: from causality, through procreation, to participation in social spaces of owners, *compadrazgo* and employment, contemporary politics, property claims, to the handling of machines (cf. Berjón Martínez and Cadenas Cardo, 2018). It also creates a sort of topology of town spaces, and as I will go on to show in the last part of this paper, the pattern also helped usher Requena's town identity and *ribereños* sociality as based on education.

Topology of *raza*

A notion of a meeting place and encompassment by a foreign space and knowledge is what I suggest underlies the imaginary of towns and their ideologically distinct neighbourhoods (*barrios*). Here, the extra-local identities become “part” or “ex-” identities covered by the sociality of similarity and equality. During my fieldwork, the space in which people of various *razas* interact, the social *afuera* (outside), was presented as a common space of visibility or transparency between *vecinos* (neighbours). In daily life, descent is the hidden aspect of persons, belonging to a social *adentro* (inside) covered by the external placenta-like surface of similar clothes, designs, masks, etc. (cf. Gow, 1997; Chaumeil, 2000).

Peter's central insight in the ex-Cocama paper was the “distinctively Amazonian social logic” of Cocama surnames. Despite being the most intimate and autochthonous elements of persons and undeniably of Tupi origin, according to a myth, surnames originated when foreigners bestowed them (Gow, 2007: 207). Among the Capanahua, it was the mythic foreigner/unearthly figures, who named the ancient tribes, as well as kinds/branches of manioc, animals etc. In Amerindian systems, Pete reminded, such “potential affine” figures provide “rites and the dead, names and goods, souls and heads,” rather than actual spouses (Viveiros de Castro, 2018: 377). The list should continue with the historically modern values of the foreigners, because apart from surnames, these figures also reluctantly provided tools, materials, know-how, contacts, or money through work. Surnames, like the painted wooden chests for tools, capitalise on this foreign value, providing exogenous legitimation, and regulating relations between local, named kinds of people – and are re-affinised in the following generations. This means that the very vehicles of social interaction “within” the local society, which traditional intuition in social sciences understands as the “inside” of sociality (e.g., Rivière, 1984), are of socially foreign origin. They are conceived as *afuera*, the site of an external meeting of kinds of people of different origins or places – named, clothed, guided, and taught inside the community with knowledge and tools associated with the “outside”. It is not so much that these values are incorporated, but that local people come to inhabit them, or allow themselves to be incorporated, while preserving their histories in *sangres* and perpetuating the limits between the local, “humble” origins and the “noble” tools used to implement the social space and associated with the future.

The elements of this social topology of *raza* in an encompassing “outside” correspond to Anne-Christine Taylor's reading of social ideologies shared by the “colonial tribes” produced in Western Amazonia, in the Bajo Huallaga ex-Mainas contexts. One of their features is the idea of “grouping of culturally disparate societies” (Taylor, 1999: 234). Secondly, the potential affine name-giving Inca-foreigner figure as either a benevolent culture hero or as a cannibal partner plays an important role in these groupings or in naming. The roles correspond with the function of shamans as agents exterior to a society (Chaumeil, 1993) and founders of

villages. This is true, on the one hand, for the Huallaga's ex-Mainas Lamistas (Scazzochio, 1980: 99–100), and on the other, for the traditional Marubo remains of “tribes” gathering around a powerful shaman drawing from the spiritual worlds (see Welper, 2009). Thirdly, in the “colonial tribes”, the specific characteristics of each composing segment are sometimes hidden or completely submerged, sometimes ritually emphasised. Overall, these differences are subordinated to an externally created collective identity. The “colonial tribes” make a dual distinction between two spheres. One is composed of the visible behaviours and institutions provided by the foreigners/colonists as the “open sphere,” in which the *mansos* (“tamed” – hence, weakened) people live and move alongside “whites” and *mestizos*. The other is a “closed sphere” of the invisible aspects of their “culture,” the world of the *sacha runa* (the forest people). This structure is clearly distinguishable in the external, overarching space or identity (being Peruvian/*requenino*/villager), and the surnames and *razas* that are normally hidden and only occasionally emphasised. Moreover, in the Ucamara, these asymmetrical dualities are captured in the historical and social ideologies with the ubiquitous, relational hierarchies of behind/ahead, more/less, elevated/humble, foreign/local, noble/humble, Cocama/*mestizo*, simple/educated, etc. These asymmetric dualisms spread out widely across people's descent and surnames, knowledge, and even building materials. Finally, in the colonial tribes, the *mestizo* traders settling in “traditional villages” broker between the “forest” and “colonial society.” The result of this ideology is a “triadic configuration typical of the northern upper Amazon region” (Taylor, 1999: 236; cf. Gow, 1993), identifying the two extremes of the scale between the “Indian” and “White,” and the weakened, “mixed” people in between. Finally, the role of brokers is then taken on by the “tame” groupings in relation to other “wild” ones, as happened in the case of the ex-Cocama in relation to local people such as Capanahua.

In Peter's reading (n.d.b), this triadic structure is composed of two overlapping asymmetrical dualisms. Towns, as meeting grounds, are the spaces of such overlap. But the originary poles of the extreme strong difference (*gringos* and *indios*) are extra-local. These poles have their local versions, introduced through the topological injections or appropriations into the “external” space of town and detached from the original poles. These two weakened versions compose the local moieties. Children and the descent or surnames that they carry are weakened versions of the originary strong/intensive difference and serve as links between categories as they move between them. I find it remarkable that the heterogeneity of the descent lines that contributed to forming Ucamara during the rubber boom makes way for the dualistic imagery in Sunción's story. *Requeninos* often repeat that “there are *mestizos* and Cocama. No others” (Regan, 1993: 107). In a poetic historical image by another Ucayali writer, Marañón River symbolises the “Spanish race,” and Ucayali the “indigenous” or “Inca race,” coming together in the Amazon River, standing for *loretanos* as “a people of the future” (Reynafarge Peña, 1975). This is consistent with the ex-Mainas set-ups, related to the extreme poles of “Indian” and “White” (Weiss, 1949: 10–11), coagulating into two unequal twin categories.

A people of descendants

I have argued, in dialogue with Peter's work, that in the Peruvian Amazon, the “kinds of people” are the result of hybridization or differentiation accomplished through the acts of civilising or taming through children. The imagined source of children, or descendants, are the extra-local and extra-temporal entities of either “tribes” or “foreigners.” While the lines of descent are usually obtained from the “tribes,” the mutual acculturating spaces tend to be associated with the idealised “potential affine” values or tools of the “foreigners.” In the process of mixing these contributions, they end up weakened, forming the “part” qualities: part-descendants or ex-tribes, and part-parents or not-yet-foreigners. What is recreated is not “tribes” or ethnic groups, but “the spaces of acculturations” or towns perceived as heterogeneous or “cosmopolitan.”

At the close of his ex-Cocama paper, Peter suggested that the revival of the Cocama identity does not invalidate his acculturative argument. We can see just how much he was right about the paradoxical twist of acculturations. Santa Rosa, a community near Requena, studied by C. Padoch and W. de Jong, used to be presented as hosting a typical *ribereño* population. Ten years later, it was described as a “Cocama community” (Rivas Ruíz, 1994), and in 2013, it acquired an official recognition as “Kukama-Kukamiria native community” (Soria, 2016: 94). A similar trend could be observed throughout the region. In 1987, in the whole Requena Province there were 3 native communities (all Capanahua) (Odicio Egoavil, 1992: 44), while in 2017, there were 102, and 69 of them were recognized as “Kukama Kukamiria” (INEI 2018). In 1993, there were 42 “Cocama Cocamilla” communities in the whole Loreto region, by 2014, there were 51 (Hagiwara Grández, 2014), and in 2018, 216 (INEI, 2018: 17).

People who embrace the title of a “Kukama Kukamiria native community” make sure that it merely means being born in the place, or being *nato*, rather than identifying with the isolated, ignorant ancestors (Campanera Reig, 2012). The core idea in the regional logic of descent is a differentiation between the young, and the old, or ancestors. The old ones are/were Cocama originals, and the young are not Cocama any more (Badini and Galli, 2013: 18; Berjón Martínez and Cadenas Cardo, 2014: 27; cf. e.g., Regan, 1993: 105). Paradoxically, while young, educated people affirm their Kukama identity, the middle-aged “ex-Cocama” people worry that such an affirmation would lead to “regression,” rather than “progress.” But the Kukama people also demonstrate that they are just descendants: young, professional, and engaged in modern life (Ríos Castro, 2015).

The Kukama orthography comes from international transcription standards. Affirmations of this identity are supported by the often foreign, or at least extra-regional anthropologists and NGO workers or clergy (Ríos Castro, 2015: 62). These identifications may serve pragmatic goals such as obtaining land titles or attracting foreign tourism (cf. Mora, 1995). Ensuring an uncanny sort of continuity, it is again the foreigners who are placed in the role of providers of names that enable relations between the many differently named kinds of people of Loreto, and with the foreign others, hence enabling them to become more *relacionados*. The “national or worldwide legitimation” of the Kukama identity allows the inversion of the privileged position of the *mestizo* as more *relacionados*. Educated people with Kukama surnames can no longer be shamed. In an “onomastic warfare” (Gow, 2007: 212), it is they who claim to be the true Peruvians and owners of the land. They have improved the *raza* not by mixing with the *mestizo*, but by establishing direct relations with the foreigners or the central government. Such reversal reflects mythological terms, as the reversal of the worldly orders (e.g., Regan, 2019), as well as theories of liberation from the 1970s – whether state-sponsored by SINAMOS (Santos-Granero and Barclay, 2000: 279–280) or promoted by the Catholic Church (CPRS, 1991). In this reading, “Kukama” is not a “tribe” or an ethnic group, but the next Amazonian innovation, that is, a space of acculturation, with the foundation of partial descent and recognition of names from the foreigners.

3. Requena, the Athens of the Ucayali

Keeping in mind the ex-Cocama and ex-Mainas expansion and the regional ethnographic dimension, we can look at the history of the Requena’s particular “staging of modernity.” In Mitchell’s terms (2000), “Western modernity” is a narrative of unity, or an image of a homogeneous and coherent space-time, produced by opposing representations marked as “modern” to what is portrayed as “non-modern.” Often contrasting the «West» and the «non-West», the narrative conceals the local, heterogeneous histories which produce the many actual faces of the “modern” era. I suggest that in the Western Amazonian context, “modernity” came to be “staged” using conceptual tools inherent in the notions about descent and social participation.

Reading the historical record ethnographically, we can assume that schools and the idea of education offered a way of addressing the Amazonians' pre-existing concerns, deeply embedded in the regional social imagination. The extended ex-Mainas sociality was open to knowledge and ownership of tools as relations- and community-founding qualities. Additionally, it certainly had a long, Western Amazonian history of using children or children-like positions to acquire such qualities. Foreign missionaries, who did not officially sire children, came to fill an important position in local social worlds as teachers; they helped stage new acculturation spaces or an "outside" gathering of descent lines to accomplish "unity" as "modernity" with these foreign affines who were, by definition, potential ones. One of the innovations of the Amazonian patterns emerged at the time of the rubber bust, following the expansion of the Cocama descendants. It likely helped consolidate the *ribereño* stratum, as existence of school buildings came to determine the existence of settlements.

The education boom

The town of Sarayacu was the centre of the 18th–19th century Franciscan missions on the Lower Ucayali river. Between the 1850s–60s, the growing influence of traders on the Ucayali resulted in "a continuous and fierce struggle between traders and *padres* [Franciscan friars]" over the local population fought with delivery of commodities, and in 1863 the missionaries abandoned the town (Sandi, 1905 [1865]: 258). Fifty years later, Julian Ochavano, a descendant of the Panos, offered a striking image of school that used the imagination of social coexistence in town. When visited by a contemporary Franciscan missionary in 1911, the man recalled the beauty of the vanished life of the mission town. Moved to tears, he recalled "a large school, with separate classrooms for each tribe" (Izaguirre, 1926: 310). The school certainly evoked a beautiful image of social coexistence following the patterns of *juntos pero separados*. Yet the image is also intriguing, since I could not find any mention of a school, less so a segregated one, in any of the several historical accounts of Sarayacu.⁷ The imagery may well demonstrate the popularising new idiom of forming towns and becoming *relacionados*, providing new content to pre-existing social imagery and ways of relating with other "kinds of people." Three generations later, in 1973, an anonymous gentleman explained to the editors of Requena's parochial weekly *Voz de Requena* what it meant to be an educated *requenino*:

I was born on the Tapiche, and my father, a poor rubber tapper, brought me to Requena, and took me to Father Nicolas Giner. My father told him: "I am bringing you my son so that you can teach him. I know nothing, and I want my son to know." (...)

I went to serve my country, and I've been to various places. I have a wife and six children. Four of them went to this school. I am happy about it because three of my children are already professionals, two are studying, and one is married and lives in Pucallpa with a teacher from Requena.

You ask my opinion about the school [Requena's main school, Colegio PALP]. So, I am telling you that the school would be worthless if it weren't run by Franciscan friars. I hear lots of people talk against the friars, but those who do so would speak Cocama if it were not for the friars. They have educated almost all the teachers of Requena, and if they speak badly [of them] it is because they are still ignorant, even if they have a degree. I don't have one, but I have been able to educate my children. ("De todo un poco", 1973)

Such central place of education in local life was common by the 1970s and later, but a first modern spread of value of schools on the Ucayali is documented sometime between young friar A. López's arrival in Codicia in 1904, and the meeting of another Franciscan with Julian Ochavano in Sarayacu. López was seeking a place to establish a mission post on the long route between Contamana and Iquitos. It was to serve the Lower Ucayali and the densely populated rubber producing Tapiche river. The moment was significant. The previously mobile rubber workers settled on the Ucayali, near the landowners' private *fundos*. Since the 1890s, *fundos* were increasingly turning to more stable cattle-raising and agriculture ("Cuaderno con oficios relacionados a la fundación de Requena", 1905: fols. 13b, 17a–17b). The former

7. Stiglich, however, noted that inhabitants of Cashiboya, where Panos moved following the *padres* (cf. Sandi, 1905 [1865]) were schooled in calligraphy by the priests in the second half of the 19th century (Stiglich, 1905 [1904]: 311).

rubber explorers, peons and bosses alike, who remained in the region, “although themselves of unholy customs, were pleased by the good conduct of their children” (López, 1909 [1906]: 211). Between 1903 and 1907, when the population of the extensive Ucayali Vicariate was estimated at 60000, there were few permanent schools (Batle, 1903: 207; Urmeneta, 1908: 84; López, 1909 [1906]: 216–217; Fuentes, 1908 vol. 1: 260–61). From then on, the number of schools grew quickly, and by 1908, there were 32 of them (Propagación de la Fe, 1907: 510), and only one generation later, illiteracy was considered absent in the Peruvian Amazon: “Everyone, apart from the Indians of course, can read and write, and appreciates education” (Pankiewicz, 1928: 16). By the 1950s, primary education was common, and literacy levels reached 90%, making Loreto one of the foremost regions of Peru in terms of literacy (Salvador, 1956; Arroyo, 1963; Jover González, 1966).

The town of Requena came to play a significant role in this process throughout the 19th century. It became the locus of education on the Ucayali and produced generations of teachers, earning the epithet “the Athens of Ucayali.” Until the 1960s, it was the only place within a wide area offering secondary education. Until the 1970s, during the school year, students coming to live in Requena from across the Ucayali made half of the Requena population, staying in boarding schools or with relatives from town. At first, teachers were recruited from other regions of Peru, but by the 1940s, Requena began training its own teachers in the *Escuela Normal*. Requena’s struggle with the Ministry of Education over the decision to relocate the *Normal* in 1957 illustrates the importance of schools. By then, many of the teachers on the Ucayali had graduated in Requena and a significant number of alumni also had moved to other regions, spreading the fame of “the Athens” all over Peru. Schools were driving local economies, since traders, fishermen, and farmers provided food and commodities mainly to the pupils. It was feared that moving the *Escuela Normal* would cause a severe blow to the local economy, especially since beef and canned milk, which were important for the functioning of schools, needed to be imported, and were often bought on a local black market (“Argumentos en pro de La Normal”, 1957). The same reasons that allowed Requena to be proud of its civilising role and to defend the *Normal* as an island of culture and progress were ultimately used against it. Because the town was isolated from the rest of the country by the vast forest, and because it had notoriously bad communication, which meant directives from Lima took several months to arrive, the Ministry assumed that the *Escuela Normal* had little civilising effect in such an isolated zone (Pajares González, 1957: 3). Requena survived this blow and kept educating children. By the 1960s, it also managed to retrieve the *Escuela Normal* to continue training educators. Thus, education has indeed become one of the dominant and only industries of Requena (“Cuestionamiento”, 1973).

Space and knowledge of the foreigners

Schools were central for missionaries, who focused on children who would grow up to be Christians (López, [1909] 1906: 217; Oliver Climent and García, 2013: 294; Salvador, 1956). Yet, the historical material I have reviewed suggests that the Franciscans’ activity was not only dictated by their sense of what they considered to be right (to bring civilization and spiritual liberation), but also by what the local people needed and were willing to accept. The Franciscans emphasised that, rather than religious instruction, the *loretanos* were actually interested in education, personal development, and schoolhouses (Arroyo, 1962: 3; Propagación de la Fe, 1907: 510). It was explicitly why missionaries paid more attention to education rather than evangelisation (Ramírez, 1976: 15). López himself discovered that the condition for most of the local people’s abandoning “the comforts of their farms” and moving to the new town had been “the fervent hope of having a place to educate their children” (López, 1909 [1906]: 216–217). Throughout the 20th century, schools were constantly discussed by the Ucamara’s

people, and villagers – whether in “non-indigenous” or “indigenous” populations – demanded that their own schools be established (González, 1966; Stocks, 1976: 65–67; “Memorial”, 1987). Education was “the one subject they never tire of” (Machego Marquez et al., 1981: 149).

The figures of foreigners and professionals who were at the centre of the school’s functioning were a significant aspect of the compelling community-forming role of schools. Both the Catholics in Requena and on the Ucayali river, as well as the Summer Institute of Linguistics evangelical missionaries in the remoter villages since the 1950s, were treated as potent, widely *relacionados* foreigners. The neighbours of Codicia between 1904 and 1906 expected López and other priests to sponsor and build the schoolhouse and run it (“Cuaderno con oficios relacionados a la fundación de Requena”, 1905). Apart from education, the missionaries also delivered names and legitimisation of identities, surnames, marriages, and godparenthood to the *cristianos* through sacraments.

While the hunger for knowledge was ever-growing in the 20th century, concern for institutionalised learning was vicarious. It was not about one’s own quest for knowledge, but about the education of one’s children. Successive generations of parents were making sacrifices to pay for their children’s education (Chibnik and de Jong, 1989: 81; Izquierdo García et al., 1977: 121; Aladro, 1974: 8). It was the children who connected parents to the “staging” of progress and potential affine values. Whereas earlier local people involved themselves or their children in parent-like relations with the bosses (which in local terms were described as “owner-like relations”), school enabled “engaging” the children with professionals who offered the knowledge that would allow them to acquire desired values. Again, as in the times of the Jesuits, the children became a potent idiom of contact with the local population. Local people easily understood this in the context where the children were the link to the foreign, which enabled contact and coexistence in inhabited places. Schools may have functioned as another way of controlling the process of partial reproduction and the vital contact with the potent, privileged others. This setup was similar to the marriage alliances or to arrangements in labour contracts. Observers writing about education in Requena and the province repeatedly/often described that parents were using children for their own ambitions. Parents hoped to secure their own better futures, since as professionals, their children would have been expected to “serve” parents in return for their sacrifices. Parents also lacked interest in and motivation to educate their children beyond the prospect of basic economic support – it was the teachers who were to raise the children (e.g., Izquierdo García et al., 1977). It was a kind of knowledge that would increase the status of *relacionados* as *profesionales* (professionals) and elevate the descendants up the *noble* social ladder, through knowledge, know-how of administration, and channelling of goods. In this sense, schools provided new ways of “improving *raza*” – through social ascension – towards an ideal of *profesionales*.

Schools may have been readily understandable to the Amazonian people also because they came to constitute the centres of urban spaces. They facilitated creation of agglomerations independent from the bosses and their *fundos*, where private schools were inaccessible to the general population, dispersed across a larger area. This was explicit in a memorandum demanding re-establishment of a town, in which the justification given by the applicants was not only “patriotic,” but, more pragmatically, was “the just plead of a sovereign population, which has no place to educate its children” (“Cuaderno con oficios relacionados a la fundación de Requena”, 1905: fol. 12b). Placed at the heart of communities, the new schools that followed Requena’s across the Ucamara provided new vehicles for social gatherings. The very existence of settlements rapidly came to rest on the existence of schools in each location. This has been true as early as in the 1920s, when the smallest of settlements started with attempts to establish a school and they were not considered legitimate without it (Pankiewicz, 1928: 16). Schools continued to be the condition of “real villages” throughout the Ucayali in the early 1980s (Gow, 1991: 230). The school system and the desire of the upwardly mobile parents to

send their children to secondary schools have regulated internal migrations and existence of settlements (Stocks, 1976; Stocks, 1978: 271; Izquierdo García et al., 1977: 121). Education was one of the most consistent and generalised motives for internal migrations in the 20th and 21st centuries (Martínez, 1983; García, 2014: 198). This has also been true during my stays on the Ucayali and Tapiche rivers in the past two decades. Descendants of parents of diverse origins took on similar appearances, emphasised by school uniforms, and were expected to be fed or receive milk from “foreign” parental figures of teachers.

Finally, the *requeninos* and their fellow *loretanos* also expected missionaries to act as leaders, to show the way and to direct the “progress” of the town. It was a role which many friars tried to take up throughout the 20th century. If not themselves rich, they were effective in securing funds and handling remote administrative procedures. It was López who travelled to lobby for Requena to be officially recognised as a settlement, the status it was granted by 1907. The political authority of the Franciscans, their capacity to negotiate funds for the development projects in Requena, building and infrastructure initiatives meant they were usually the first to bring “modern” solutions like electricity, the press, brick factories, cars, running water and sewage, cinema, etc. to the town. They promoted and initialised the modernising state projects, such as the telegraph, landing strip, or roads, even if these often proved ill-fated and never lived up to the expectations. The Franciscan friars and nuns, and in recent decades, the Salesian missionaries, contributed significantly to the town’s modernity, assisting in moulding it at the intersection of the local expectations, regional and global limitations, and their own possibilities and visions. When they were not contributing directly, in each succeeding generation they provided the critique of the material or moral ways of modernisation. They did it in their writings in the local press and publications they edited, in the internal correspondence and reports conserved in the Vicariate’s archives, on the local radio, or in conversations with strangers such as myself. I suggest that these missionaries founded or legitimised spaces in which ideologically separate *razas* could come together as town-dwellers and neighbours (*vecinos*) through education, foreign knowledge and raising of children to form “new peoples/towns” in the shared “outside.”

The teachers

I would argue that the teaching profession added another modality of becoming *relacionado*. It is not simply linked to social ascension through one of the few career possibilities locally available. Being *maestro* (teacher) provides a modality for establishing translocal engagements with the authorities in Iquitos or Lima, NGOs, and the local rural people, including those still classified as indigenous, through knowledge, children, and sexual and trade relations. Presently, the Local Education Management Unit of Requena (UGEL)⁸ is one of the principal employers in town, followed by the Municipality. The teachers are a class of their own, and the appointment process for teaching and administrative jobs can be very competitive. Since the system enables concentration of power, the bitter struggles for posts are a daily feature of Requena and Loreto’s news. These include the recurrent strikes, violent takeovers of the UGEL headquarters, and frequent changes of administration. The teaching career is effectively one of the few viable paths of becoming a *profesional*. It is one of the few effective vehicles for “getting ahead,” *sobresalir*, that is, having a better future than the poor farmer parents or ancestors. Indeed, since the mid-20th century, teachers working in the entire province – including those sent to rural areas – have been recruited largely from Requena or the Lower Ucayali region. They have been educating the rural children across the province, including the Capanahua communities.

Apart from their official role as *maestros* and providers of knowledge, they often engage in local trade, becoming local *patrones* (cf. Stocks, 1978: 272). Village rumours and occasio-

nal court cases also present teachers as engaging in sexual relations with local women (despite having partners or wives in Requena), or with teenage students (cf. Miranda Flores and Armas Viera, 1999: 354; Stocks, 1978: 274–275). In the villages where I worked, there were rumours of teachers being responsible for certain teen pregnancies. Some of these rumours were allegedly initiated by parents in the hope of future relations of “serving” from the Requena-based fathers. Additionally, with the state and NGO reevaluation of indigenous identities in the recent decades, the asset most sought by the *mestizo/Cocama* descendants was the knowledge of indigenous languages. They were keen to either jot down vocabulary from the “older people” in the villages, or get copies of books and dictionaries, including those published before the 1980s by missionaries from SIL. This is connected to the idea that positions of bilingual teachers are more lucrative than ordinary ones, and that gaining a certificate relies on knowledge of the most basic vocabulary, and bribes or connections. Similarly, the villagers of Ucamara are convinced that indigenous languages are a new regional resource to be monetised.

The promise of education

The complex relation between the local population, the Franciscans, and modernity in Requena is beyond the scope of this paper. Yet, I suggest a possibility that schools, curated by a long line of Franciscan and Salesian missionaries who followed A. López, went towards filling the role of a “potential affine” for the emerging *ribereño* stratum during the 20th century. Schools came to legitimise the “outside,” in which various *razas* met, and which “staged” modernity as a remote value, trickling through the missionaries/teachers. Educational institutions responded to the locally formed “vague yearnings” of the *ribereños* who, in a poetic topological image by an Ucayali writer A. D. Hernández, were turning their backs on “the obscure and mysterious interior” of the forest and the past (Hernández, 2009: 183 transl. Santos-Granero and Barclay, 2000: 275). With the perspective of removing ignorance that perpetuated debts owed to traders, school was hoped to liberate people from the contemporary, exploitative, hard manual labour relations of *habilitación*. Peter Gow (1991) noted that there was a connection between the knowledge of the wider world that is acquired in school and the shamanic knowledge, both of which serve to defend the families. While education came to be understood as a path towards this projected quality, the limits of this process of transformation and transcendence have also been palpable. Modernity can logically be only partial in the local setting, existing as a “weak” version of the supposedly remote original.

In the 1970s, when the Catholic Church representatives in Loreto analysed the Amazonian realities, some of them noted limited effectiveness of what they intended education to do, and attributed it to the steady cultural and moral influence of the parents on their children. The mainly foreign clergy saw the same obstacles in evangelisation, identifying local “idiosyncrasies” in the disjunction between their own religious concepts and those of the folk religiosity, or in the relation of dependence in which the local people expected continued guidance from the Church. Some observers, however, also pointed out the limits inherent in the educational promise, recognising that educational expectations created enormous pressure on the young people. In the 1970s, Father Alegre, director of the main school of Requena, complained that the young Amazonians had “no choice” over their future. He implied that the idea that education was the only way of bettering oneself (*superarse*) and the guarantee of a better future was a specific myth among the local people. He blamed the parents for wanting to satisfy their own ambitions through children being “more” and using this acquired position against others (CPRS, 1976). Missionaries also recognised that such myths were also part of “the hypocrisy of the current system, which, while promoting ‘self-improvement’, in practice denie[d] to most of our families the living conditions that would allow them to achieve these objectives” (VAP, 1980: 3).

These prospects have barely changed in Requena, where possibilities for employment revolve around schools and their administration. M. Bustamante de Almenara (2016) compiled a harrowing case of suicides among young people in the Requena's twin town of Nauta, which also reflects the predicaments of Requena's education. She diagnosed a "grave mismatch between young people's expectations of progress and the opportunities they have" (ibid.: 48). The commonly accepted valorisation of *profesionales*, as "being someone" (*ser alguien*) results in rejection of what is referred to as "simple jobs" and the "life of suffering," associated with the physical labour of their parents as farmers and fishermen. On the other hand, employment opportunities are generally scarce, with or without education. Just like in Requena, official posts are granted as political favours, an arrangement affecting even the most basic jobs at the municipality, like sweeping the streets (ibid.: 58–59). Young people are exposed to drug trafficking and use, prostitution, and human trafficking, exacerbated by the construction of the road from Iquitos to Nauta. Depressed and confused teenagers reach for demonic pacts offered by the popular Amazonian occultism (e.g., *Ouija* boards), which promise to realise their desires for a better life, academic achievement, love, or money, to help their humble families (ibid.: 96–98). From the perspective presented here, these measures are yet another way of building relations with the potent others. However, because these young people are too weak to meet the demands of the demon teachers/bosses, they are driven to disillusionment, madness, and suicides.

Striving for improvement is linked with the condition of "intermediaries" with the worlds staged as "foreign" described in the *Relacionados* section. Neighbours of the Cocama descendants on the Ucayali river, the Shipibo reportedly had an ambiguous attitude toward mestizo (or "ex-Cocama"). They perceived the Cocama descendants' greater skill in handling technology, but they also saw the partiality of this knowledge and access to it. What indicated this partiality was mestizo racial appearance, and the fact that they merely owned "some elements of modern technology" (Roe, 1982: 91). This is still a common opinion about local people's levels of access to "foreign" knowledge and materials. It also seems to be shared by the Cocama descendants. Echoing numerous other conversations I had on the Lower Ucayali, the President of the Cocama association from Requena explained to me that expensive clothes, jewellery or "blue contact lenses" cannot hide one's origin. The face, accent or even a way of walking remain specifically historical: Amazonian or Andean. On the one hand, it shows how the "foreign" status of commonplace cultural elements persists against the local and "humble" descent and materials. On the other hand, it points to the historical limits of transformation – a moment and space in between the humble (local) origins and noble (extra-local) spaces – composed out of "bits and pieces" of both the *indio* and *gringo* poles. In a version of a characteristically Amazonian trope, the Cocama descendants sometimes present a mythic claim that the tools or devices owned by the "foreigners" originally belonged to the Cocama, but "having lost them, they are now trying to recover them" (Rivas Ruíz, 2011: 11).

These locally grounded ideas and expectations invested in education as access to foreign knowledge, materials and relations seem to express historically consistent goals in the Ucayali region. But these same goals are presented as a modernity which is always lacking in the Peruvian Amazon, and education is understood as one of the ways of reaching it. But analysing the ethnographic and historical grounding of such foreign-produced (or stolen) modernity does not mean that the Ucayali people are caught up in some spurious, Amazonian version, or a cargo cult, of an authentic Western modernity. Social studies increasingly emphasise not only the local versions of modernity, but also turn a critical eye on modernity as an ideological construct with a phantasmatic component. In S. Žižek's (1989) understanding, ideologies are based on the process of human desire creating its object as a phantasm of a complete, ideal Other. The indestructibility and infinity projected by the human subject on this outside object contrasts with the state of a constant lack in the subject

herself. This produced object seduces people who yearn for a lofty goal. But the phantasm is devoid of features and content. Its secret lies in the capacity of reflecting back the desires of those who see it. Recent social studies have pointed to modernity's phantasmatic quality, with writers emphasizing the non-discursive, vague, and empty character of its versions. It can be understood as "staged" (Mitchell, 2000), as a locally played "style" (Ferguson, 1999), a "bluff," and "culturally specific explanation of global inequalities" (Newell, 2012: 19), or an unattainable illusion (Yan, 2008). According to S. Dube and I. Banerjee-Dube (2006), it is through such spectral, phantasmagorical character that seductive antinomies of modernity cast an "enchantment" (cf. Dube, 2012; Bennett, 2001).

4. Conclusions

If the "ethnographic theory of acculturation" was a model guiding Western Amazonian social relations with others, as Peter Gow argued in his last book (n.d.b), a way of acquiring access to tools and names which were given local value, then my argument here is that schools were locally meaningful as a reflection of this enduring structure. The project of modernity in Requena is always unfinished. Since schools were also some of the important avenues leading to progress and modernity, by offering a promise of advancement, enlightenment, and liberation from the exploitative conditions of a third-world setting, they came to "stage" a spatially and temporally remote quality projected on the "West." In this sense, modernity and a state of progress, came to be expressed as essentially remote and locally scarce value. It took on a similar structural position as the strong extra-local poles – the *gringos* and *indios* – which found weaker expressions in the local worlds of kinship and sociality.

The ideological conjunctions intersecting in the "vague yearnings" and the values projected onto the potential affines, their tools, knowledge, and the future they promise, place the local strategies of becoming *relacionados* through education in a seemingly paradoxical position. On the one hand, the relevant structural constructs appear to have indigenous Amazonian roots. That is to say that Requena's "staging" of modernity has roots in the social imaginary of relation grounded in the regional structures of relation- and town-building. The modernity project displays the characteristic Amazonian asymmetry of givers and receivers, parents and children, owners and dependants. It also shows the encompassing dualities in which education/knowledge/capacity maps the gradual insertion into a social space of foreign relations and tools. From such an ethnographically informed historical perspective, these are astonishing continuities. Sunción's origin story of Requena's modernity postulates a fundamental split of identities between the "Indian" and the "White." Additionally, the engagement of children as carriers of relations prefigures the grouping of distinct "kinds of people" liberated into a better just space of learning, knowledge, tools, and peaceful cohabitation with others. It follows the Western Amazonian threefold scheme of "periodized historical narrative" (Taylor, 1999: 237-38, cf. Gow, 1991, 1993). The time of "slavery," enforced apprenticeship, unjust rule of the bosses, and "proper mixing" in production and consumption follows the "times of wildness," marked by ignorance, bellicosity, social and linguistic self-containment. Finally, the current era of "civilization" spells liberation and independent application/use of the internalised knowledge of mixing.

At the same time, Sunción's rendering captures the structural framework for Requena's conceptions of modernity at the beginning of the 21st century. The image of modernity is encapsulated in the vision of "a single purpose of creating a town on the ashes of an older one." The inheritors of the local resources and divisions keep on struggling to achieve the unity, knowledge, and a sturdy state of physical urban space identified as modern. The same ideological conjunctions both form the basis of the local form of modernity and provide an orientation for the continuous checking whether Requena is "already modern" in the local

“constitution of modernity” (Latour, 1993). They influence the kinds of fantasies (along with their material and practical dimensions) that in Requena and eastern Peru are being associated with progress and the state. The image of noble foreignness, in the form of state or modernity, is seen to have either been abandoned (“forgotten”) or never reached the area.

It is easy to see *requeninos* as forcibly “acculturated” Amazonians robbed of their “culture,” or their versions of modernity as “if not the trash and garbage, at least a highly reduced version of the ‘conquest culture’” (Uriarte, 1989: 242). However, we should consider a conjunction in which the “acculturative” ethos of an Amazonian sociality studied by Peter Gow meets the vagueness, emptiness and the unfinished character that is the essence of “modernity” as a “global” phenomenon obscuring the dramatic politico-economic situation of Peruvian Amazonia. The most recent (2019–2022) Requena municipality’s motto, the “Firm commitment to modernity,” is a testament to an ongoing project of improvement. *Loretanos* consider it unfinished and partial, which is as much an expression of the current anthropological reflection on modernity as it is a view firmly grounded in Amerindian social thought.

Acknowledgements

The article is a result of ethnographic research in Requena, financed by the National Science Centre (Poland) (Project no. 2016/20/S/HS3/00301), and a pilot project funded by Bourse Lelong granted by CNRS (Paris). Between 2005 and 2018, I conducted around 35 months of research in the Requena Province – on the lower Ucayali (working for AIDE-SEP), on Tapiche and Buncuya rivers (sponsored by the doctoral grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation and Bourse Lelong), as well as in urban Requena. I am indebted to friends in Requena who have shared their private archives and hospitality: Mons. Juan Oliver Climent, Carlos Pizarro Freyre, Roberto Oyarce Caíña, Juan Carlos Sambrano, Manuel Vicente Pacaya, Edilberto Ricopa Pacaya and many others. The authors of reviews, both from our Gow alumni group, as of the two anonymous reviewers, have been very generous with their attention and helpful suggestions. My friends Karolina Kuberska and Katarzyna Byłów have patiently attempted to correct my original English in the first and second drafts, respectively. My understanding of Western Amazonia owes a lot to the work of Professor Peter Gow. I am also forever grateful that in 2008 he agreed to supervise my doctoral dissertation. All failings of my research and paper remain my sole responsibility.

References

- ALADRO, Antonio. *El Hombre y La Selva*. Vol. 1. Charlas y trabajos para el encuentro de agentes de pastoral de la parroquia de Nauta. Nauta, 1974.
- ALEGRE, Pasucal, OFM. “Breve información monográfica de Requena”, 1974. Digital transcriptions by Mons. J. Oliver. Archivo del Vicariato, Requena.
- AMOROSO, Marta, Leandro Mahalem de Lima, and Peter Gow. “A aculturação é um objeto legítimo da antropologia: entrevista com Peter Gow”. *Revista de Antropologia* 54, n. 1 (2011): 517–39. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41825796>.
- “Argumentos en pro de La Normal,” Typewritten, 1957. Folder “Cartas, documentos - Vicariato de Requena”. Archivo del Vicariato, Requena.
- ARROYO, Luis V., OFM. “Vicariato Apostólico de Requena.” Typewritten, 1963. Folder “Conferencia general del episcopato, 1960”. Archivo del Vicariato, Requena.
- ARROYO, Luis V.. “Vicariato Apostólico de Requena – Respuesta a La Comunicación-Encuesta (XV Semana Española de Misionología de Burgos (3 a 10 de Agosto de 1962)).” Typewritten, 1962. Folder “Conferencia general del episcopato, 1960.” Archivo del Vicariato, Requena.
- BADINI, Riccardo, and Elisa Galli. “‘Miti’ occidentali e pensiero indigeno contemporaneo: Un progetto di ricerca nell’Amazzonia Peruviana”. In *Amazzonia Indigena e Pratiche Di Autorappresentazione*, edited by R. Badini, 13-22. Milano, Franco Angeli, 2014.
- BATES, Henry Walter. *The Naturalist on the River Amazons: A Record of Adventures, Habits of Animals, Sketches of Brazilian and Indian Life, and Aspects of Nature Under the Equator, During Eleven Years of Travel*. J. Murray, 1864.
- BATLE, Antonio, O.F.M. “Memoria presentada por el Prefecto Apostólico de San Francisco Del Ucayali al Ministro de Justicia i Culto 1 Lima 16 de Julio de 1903”. In *Colección de Leyes, Decretos, Resoluciones y Otros Documentos*, edited by C. Larrabure y Correa, vol. 9, 206–214. Lima, 1903.
- BDPI. “Ficha Kukama Kukamiria,” 2021. https://bdpi.cultura.gob.pe/sites/default/files/archivos/pueblos_indigenas/Ficha%20Kukama%20Kukamiria.pdf.
- BENNETT, Jane. *The Enchantment of Modern Life: Attachments, Crossings, and Ethics*. Princeton University Press, 2001.
- BERJÓN, Manuel M., and Miguel Ángel Cadenas. “‘Motocarro matador’: Variaciones sobre el dominio”. *Estudio Agustiniiano* 53, n. 3 (2018): 577–613. https://www.agustinosvalladolid.es/estudio/investigacion/estudioagustiniano/estudiofondos/estudio2018/estudio_2018_3_04.pdf.
- BERJÓN, Manuel M., and Miguel Ángel Cadenas Cardo. “‘Inestabilidad Ontológica’: El caso de los kukama de la Amazonía Peruana”. 2014: 25.
- BERJÓN, Manuel M., and Miguel Ángel Cadenas Cardo. “‘Ser Dueño’: Criterio de La Familia Kukama”. *Estudio Agustiniiano* 46, n. 3 (2011): 561–95. https://www.agustinosvalladolid.es/estudio/investigacion/estudioagustiniano/estudiofondos/estudio2011/estudio_2011_3_04.pdf.
- BONILLA, Lydie Oiara. *Des proies si désirables. Soumission et prédation pour les Paumari d’Amazonie Brésilienne*. Ph.D. dissertation, L’École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2007.

- BREAKING CONVENTION. *Don Francisco Monte Shuna – Ayahuasca and the Capanahua*, 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JDIZKCetdJo>.
- BUSTAMANTE DE ALMENARA, Maite. *Suicidios de Jóvenes En Nauta*. B.A. thesis, Pontificia Universidad Católica, 2016. http://tesis.pucp.edu.pe/repositorio/bitstream/handle/20.500.12404/7931/BUSTAMANTE_DEL_ALMENARA_MAITE_SUICIDIOS.pdf.txt;jsessionid=D66B2683490E172479352821B3305CAA?sequence=5.
- CAMPANERA REIG, Mireia. *¿Campesina o nativa? Derecho, política e identidad en los procesos de titulación de comunidades en la Amazonía Peruana*. *Quaderns-e de l'Institut Català d'Antropologia*, n. 17 (1) (2012): 10–24.
- CASTELNAU, Francis de. *Expedition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud, de Rio de Janeiro a Lima, et de Lima au Para executée par ordre du gouvernement francais pendant les années 1843 a 1847 sous la direction de Francis de Castelnau*. Vol. 4., 6 vols. Paris: P. Bertrand, 1851.
- CHANTRE Y HERRERA, José. *Historia de las misiones de la Campaña de Jesús en el Marañón español*. A. Avrial, 1901.
- CHAUMEIL, Jean-Pierre. “Del Proyectil al Virus. El Complejo de Las Flechas Mágicas En El Chamanismo Del Oeste Amazónico”. In *Salud e Interculturalidad En América Latina*, edited by G.Fernandez Juarez. *Perspectivas Antropológicas*, 265–78. Quito: Abya-Yala/Bolispánia/UCLM, 2004.
- CHAUMEIL, Jean-Pierre. “L'autre sauvage. Chamanisme et altérité”. *Amériques Latines: Une Altérité*, 69–89. Centre G. Pompidou, 1993.
- CHAUMEIL, Jean-Pierre. “Le masque et le placenta: Notes sur les costumes-masques Yagua”. *Société Suisse Des Américanistes Bulletin* 64 (2000): 97–105.
- CHAUMEIL, Jean-Pierre. “Réseaux chamaniques contemporains et relations interethniques dans le Haut Amazone (Pérou)”. In *Otra América en construcción. Medicinas tradicionales, religiones populares*, edited by C. Pinzón et al, 9–21. Bogota: ICAN-Colcultura-46o Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, 1991.
- CHIBNIK, Michael. *Risky Rivers: The Economics and Politics of Floodplain Farming in Amazonia*. Tucson & London: University of Arizona Press, 1994.
- CHIBNIK, Michael, and Wil de Jong. “Agricultural Labor Organization in Ribereño Communities of the Peruvian Amazon”. *Ethnology*, 28, n. 1 (1989): 75–95.
- CHIRIF, Alberto. “No uno sino varios castellanos amazónicos”. *Amazonía Peruana*, n. 34 (2021): 253–66. <https://doi.org/10.52980/revistaamazonaperuana.vi34.280>.
- CIPOLLETTI, María Susana, and Juan Magnin. “‘Nostalgia Del Monte’ Indígenas Del Oriente Peruano Según Un Manuscrito Del Jesuita Juan Magnin (Borja 1743)”. *Anthropos* 103, n. 2 (2008): 507–25. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40467427>.
- COLINI, Giuseppi A. *Note Geografiche e collezioni etnografiche del cav. Bartolomeo Luciolì, illustrate per cura della Società geografica italiana*. Roma: Societa Geografia Italiana, 1883.
- CÓRDOVA-RÍOS, Manuel, and F. Bruce Lamb. *Wizard of the Upper Amazon: The Story of Manuel Córdova-Rios*. Berkeley, Calif.: North Atlantic Books, 1975.
- COSTA, Luiz. *The Owners of Kinship: Asymmetrical Relations in Indigenous Amazonia*. Malinowski Monographs Series. Chicago: Hau Books, 2017.
- CPRS (Coordinación Pastoral Regional de la Selva). *Éxodo de La Iglesia En La Amazonía: 20 Años Después*. Iquitos, 1991.

- CPRS (Coordinación Pastoral Regional de la Selva). “I Encuentro De Pastoral Juvenil De La Selva, Iquitos”. *Shupihui I*, n. 3-Comunidades cristianas rurales, 1976.
- “Cuaderno Con Oficios Relacionados a La Fundación de Requena,” June 1905. Digital transcriptions by Mons. J. Oliver. Archivo del Vicariato, Requena.
- “Cuestionamiento.” *Inquietud* Año VIII, n. 14 (1973): 7–8.
- “De Todo Un Poco.” *Voz de Requena* Año XVI, no. 20 (June 13, 1973).
- DUBE, Saurabh. *Enchantments of Modernity: Empire, Nation, Globalization*. London & New York: Routledge, 2012.
- DUBE, Saurabh, and Ishita Banerjee-Dube. *Unbecoming Modern: Colonialism, Modernity, Colonial Modernities*. Berghahn Books, 2006.
- ESPINOSA, Lucas. *Los tupí del oriente peruano, estudio lingüístico y etnográfico*. Madrid: Imp. de Librería y Casa Ed. Hernando, 1935.
- FAUSTO, Carlos. “Of Enemies and Pets: Warfare and Shamanism in Amazonia”. *American Ethnologist* 26, n. 4 (1999): 933–56. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/647238>.
- FAUSTO, Carlos. “Too Many Owners: Mastery and Ownership in Amazonia (Trans. D. Rodgers).” *Mana* 4, n. SE (2008): 0-0. http://socialsciences.scielo.org/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0104-93132008000100001.
- FERGUSON, James. *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt*. Berkley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1999.
- FIGUEROA, Francisco de. *Relación de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en el país de los Maynas*. Madrid: V. Suarez, 1904.
- FREEDMAN, Françoise Barbira. “Shamans’ Networks in Western Amazonia: The Iquitos-Nauta Road” In *Ayahuasca Shamanism in the Amazon and Beyond*, edited by B. Caiuby Labate and C. Cavnar, 130-158. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199341191.003.0007>.
- FUENTES, Hildebrando. Loreto: apuntes geográficos, históricos, estadísticos, políticos y sociales. *La Revista*, 1908.
- GALT, Francis L. “The Indians of Peru”. In *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, Showing the Operations, Expenditures, and Condition of the Institution for the Year 1877*, 308–315. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1878.
- GARCÍA, Joaquín. “Interculturalidad Ciudades Amazónicas y Transfiguración Cultural”. In *Iquitos*, edited by R. Varón Gabai, C. Maza, 194–199. Lima: Telefónica del Perú S.A.A., 2014.
- GIRBAL Y BARCELO, Narciso. “Diario de Viaje de Fray Narciso Girbal y Barcelo”. Handwritten diary, 1791. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Diversos-Colecciones, 31, n. 96. <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/show/1339848?nm>.
- GOLOB, Ann. *The Upper Amazon in Historical Perspective (Peru, Ecuador)*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of New York, 1982.
- GONZÁLES, Severino, O.F.M. “Al Sr. Supervisor de Educacion de la Provincia de Requena”, April 20, 1966. Paquete “Flor de Punga - documentos, cartas.” Archivo del Vicariato, Requena.
- GOW, Peter. *Of Mixed Blood: Kinship and History in Peruvian Amazonia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

- GOW, Peter. "Gringos and Wild Indians: Images of History in Western Amazonian Cultures". *L'Homme* 33, n. 126/128 (1993): 327–47. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40589899>.
- GOW, Peter. "River People: Shamanism and History in Western Amazonia." In *Shamanism, History and the State*, edited by N. Thomas, C. Humphrey, 90–113. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994.
- GOW, Peter. "O parentesco como consciência humana: O caso dos Piro." *Mana* 3, n. 2 (1997): 39–65. http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S0104-93131997000200002&script=sci_arttext.
- GOW, Peter. *An Amazonian Myth and Its History*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- GOW, Peter. "Ex-Cocama': Transforming Identities in Peruvian Amazonia". In *Time and Memory in Indigenous Amazonia: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by C. Fausto, M. Heckenberger, 194–215. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007.
- GOW, Peter. "Of The Story of Lynx: Lévi-Strauss and Alterity." In *The Cambridge Companion to Lévi-Strauss*, edited by Boris Wiseman, 219–36. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009a.
- GOW, Peter. "Christians: A Transforming Concept in Peruvian Amazonia". In *Native Christians. Modes and Effects of Christianity among Indigenous Peoples of the Americas*, edited by Aparecida Vilaça, Robin M. Wright, 33–52. London: Routledge, 2009b.
- GOW, Peter. *A Desolation Called Peace. Exploring a Lévi-Straussian Ensemble in Southwestern Amazonia: Five Talks given in the Land Called Brazil. Lectures Delivered at the Museu Nacional, Universidade Federal Do Rio de Janeiro*, 2010.
- GOW, Peter. "Steps towards an Ethnographic Theory of Acculturation". *Etnografia. Praktyki, Teorie, Doświadczenia* 1 (2015): 34–39. <http://www.etnografia.ug.edu.pl/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Peter-Gow.pdf>.
- GOW, Peter. *Race and Gender in Eastern Peru: Two Views on a Class System*, n.d.a
- GOW, Peter. *Audacious Innovations in Peruvian Amazonia. An Ethnographic Theory of Acculturation*, n.d.b.
- GROHS, Waltraud Paul. *Los indios del Alto Amazonas del siglo XVI al XVIII: poblaciones y migraciones en la antigua provincia de Maynas*. Bonner Amerikanistische Studien, 1974.
- HAGIWARA GRÁNDEZ, Ferdinand. "Cosmogonía y cosmovisión en la racionalidad y el pensamiento cocama-cocamilla". *Phainomenon* 13 (2014): 55–68. <https://doi.org/10.33539/phai.v13i1.328>.
- HASSEL, Jorge M. von. "Las Tribus Salvajes de La Region Amazónica Del Peru". *Boletín de La Sociedad Geográfica de Lima Año XV*, n. XVII (1905): 27–73.
- HERNÁNDEZ, Arturo D. *La Selva Trágica*. Iquitos: Librería Mayel, Librería Almafra, 2009.
- HERNDON, William Lewis, and Lardner Gibbon. *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon: Made Under Direction of the Navy Department*. R. Armstrong [etc.] public printer, 1853.
- INEI. *III Censo De Comunidades Nativas 2017 Resultados Definitivos*. Lima: Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, 2018. https://www.inei.gob.pe/media/MenuRecursivo/publicaciones_digitales/Est/Lib1598/TOMO_01.pdf.
- IZAGUIRRE, Bernardino, OFM. *História de las Misiones Franciscanas y narraciones de los progresos de la geografía en el Oriente del Peru*. Vol. 12. 14 vols. Lima: Talleres tipográficos de la Penitenciaría, 1926.
- IZQUIERDO GARCÍA, Inocencio, Juan Alberto Herrera Zárate, and Julio Ojeda Pascual. *Familia y educación en la ciudad de Requena*. Profesor en Educación Secundaria (Especialización Religión y Filosofía), Escuela Normal Superior Particular "Marcelino Champagnat," 1977.

JIMÉNEZ DE LA ESPADA, Marcos. *Noticias Auténticas Del Famoso Río Marañón y Misión Apostólica de La Compañía de Jesús de La Provincia de Quito En Los Dilatados Bosques de Dicho Río (1738)*. Madrid: Impresor de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1892.

JOUANEN, José, S.I. *Historia de la Compañía de Jesus en la antigua provincia de Quito 1570-1773*: Tomo I (La viceprovincia de Quito : 1570-1696). Quito: Editorial Ecuatoriana, 1941.

JOVER GONZALES, Rafael. *Estudio monográfico de la ciudad de Requena*. B.A. thesis, Universidad Católica, 1966.

JULOU, Ronan. “Les ‘prédateurs’ d’histoire: ou la reconstruction du passé par les Indiens Jebero.” *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Études Andines* 29, n. 2 (2000): 189–214. https://www.persee.fr/doc/bifea_0303-7495_2000_num_29_2_1399.

KROKOSZYNSKA, Marta. *The Infliction of Descent: An Overview of the Capanahua Descendants’ Explanations of the Generative Process*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of St Andrews, 2016. <http://hdl.handle.net/10023/8566>.

KUCZYNSKI-GODARD, Máxime. “San Pablo. Actualidad y porvenir. Un informe sobre la reorganización de la Colonia con apuntes sobre la sociología médica de la lepra en el Oriente Amazónico.” *Boletín de La Dirección General de Salubridad*, n. 2 (1942): 5–124.

LATHRAP, Donald Ward. *The Upper Amazon*. New York: Praeger, 1970.

LATOUR, Bruno. *We Have Never Been Modern*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.

LÉVI-STRAUSS, Claude. *The Story of Lynx*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

LOOS, Eugene E., Patricia M. Davis, and Mary Ruth Wise. “Cultural Change and the Development of the Whole Person: An Exposition of the Philosophy and Methods of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.” In *Bilingual Education: An Experience in Peruvian Amazonia*, edited by Mildred L. Larson and Patricia M. Davis, 351–92. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1981.

LÓPEZ, Agustín O.F.M. “Los tribus del Ucayali: Estado actual, disposiciones, lo que se puede hacer”, 1922. A/11/2. Convento de los Padres Descalzos, Lima.

LÓPEZ, Agustín. “Pasado i presente del Ucayali, por uno de los sacerdotes de la Misión Apostólica Del Ucayali (1906)”. In *Colección de Leyes, Decretos, Resoluciones y Otros Documentos*, edited by Larrabure y Correa, vol. 18, 205–19. Lima, 1909 [1906].

MACHEGO MARQUEZ, Olivia, Isabel Hidalgo Pintado, and María Josefa Gómez Arjona. *Hacia la utopia de nuevas comunidades cristianas en Parroquia de Requena*. Profesor en Educación Básica, Escuela Normal Superior Particular “Marcelino Champagnat,” 1981.

MARCOY, Paul. *Viaje a través de América del Sur: Del Océano Pacífico al Océano Atlántico*. 2 vols. Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2001.

MARTÍNEZ, Héctor. “Los estudios acerca de la migración y ocupación selvática peruana”. *Amazonía Peruana*, n. 9 (1983): 7–21. <https://doi.org/10.52980/revistaamazonaperuana.vi9.206>.

MATLOCK, James Graham. *Registers of Resistance and Accommodation: The Structuration of a Peruvian Amazonian Society*. Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, 2002.

MAURTUA, Víctor M. *Juicio de límites entre el Perú y Bolivia : Contestación al alegato de Bolivia: Distrito de La Audiencia de Lima*. Imprenta De Henrich, 1907.

“Memorial de moradores de la comunidad de San Antonio Rio Puinahua, comprensión del Distrito de Maquía Provincia de Requena al Supervisor Sectoral de Educación N. 09 Tamanco – contra informe de una mala autoridad política,” June 19, 1987. Paquete “Voz del pueblo (documentos de varios caseríos)”. Archivo del Vicariato, Requena.

MICHAEL, Lev. “On the Pre-Columbian Origin of Proto-Omagua-Kokama”. *Journal of Language Contact* 7, n. 2 (2014): 309–44. <https://doi.org/10.1163/19552629-00702004>.

MIRANDA FLORES, Alfredo Segundo, and Juan Carlos Armas Viera. *Persona y sociedad en el Vicariato Apostólico de Requena*. Memoria final de estudios filosóficos, Seminario Mayor “San José” Requena, 1999.

MITCHELL, Timothy. *Questions Of Modernity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.

MORA, Carlos. “Una revisión del concepto de cholo en la Amazonía Peruana”. *Amazonía Peruana*, n. 25 (1995): 145–58.

NEWELL, Sasha. *The Modernity Bluff: Crime, Consumption, and Citizenship in Côte d’Ivoire*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

ODICIO EGOAVIL, Elmer. *Perfil Demográfico de La Región Loreto*. Iquitos: Instituto de Investigaciones de la Amazonía Peruana, 1992.

OLARIA, Lino J. “Exploración Del Rio Ucayali Por El Prefecto de Loreto Don Lino Ollaria.” In *Colección de Leyes, Decretos, Resoluciones y Otros Documentos*, edited by Larrabure y Correa, vol. 2, 516–20. Lima, 1870.

OLIVER CLIMENT, Juan, OFM, and Lorenzo García Alonso OFM. *Dos hombres, dos historias – Los forjadores de Requena*. Requena: Obispo del Vicariato Apostólico de Requena, 2013.

ORDINAIRE, Olivier. *Du Pacifique à l’Atlantique par les Andes péruviennes et l’Amazone: une exploration des montagnes du Yanachaga et du Rio Palcazu; les sauvages du Pérou*. Paris: Libraire Plon, 1892.

ORTON, James. *The Andes and the Amazon: Or, Across the Continent of South America*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1870.

OSCOLATI, Gaetano. *Esplorazione delle regione equatoriali lungo il Napo ed il fiume delle Amazzoni: Frammento di un viaggio fatto nelle due Americhe negli anni 1846-47-48*. Milano: Fratelli Centenari e comp., 1854.

OSMA, Felipe de. *Según las relaciones de los jesuitas: ¿hasta dónde son navegables los afluentes septentrionales del Marañón?* Madrid: Hijos de M.G. Hernández, 1908.

PADOCH, Christine. “People of the Floodplain and Forest”. In *People of the Tropical Rainforest*, edited by Julie Sloan Denslow and Christine Padoch, 127–40. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

PADOCH, Christine, Christine, and Wil de Jong. “Santa Rosa: The Impact of the Forest Products Trade on an Amazonian Place and Population”. *Advances in Economic Botany* 8 (1990): 151–58. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43927572>.

PAJARES GONZÁLES, Carlos A. “Informe No 986.” Lima: Comisión Permanente de Reforma de la Educación Normal, September 5, 1957. Paquete “Cartas, documentos – Vicariato de Requena.” Archivo del Vicariato, Requena.

PANKIEWICZ, Michał. *Ustrój społeczny montanji peruwiańskiej a praktyczne wskazania dla polskiego osadnictwa*. Warszawa: Naukowy Instytut Emigracyjny, 1928.

PEÑA, Víctor de la, OFM. “Realidad del Vicariato.” *Antorcha Ucayalina - Boletín Interno del Vicariato de Requena* 7 (1978).

PIZARRO MESÍA, Tomás. *La Depresión de Ucamara*. Requena: SHURF E.I.R.L., 2010.

- PÖPPIG, Eduard Friedrich. *Reise in Chile, Peru, und auf dem Amazonenstrom während der Jahre 1827-1832*. Leipzig: Friedrich Fleischer: J.C. Hinrichssche Buchhandlung, 1835.
- PROPAGACIÓN DE LA FE. *Anales de La Propagación de La Fe en el Oriente del Perú*. Vol. V. Lima: Imprenta “La Providencia,” 1907.
- RAIMONDI, Antonio. *Apuntes sobre la provincia litoral de Loreto*. Tipografía Nacional, por M.D. Cortés., 1862.
- RAMÍREZ, F. “5 Años en la selva del Perú.” *Antorcha Ucayalina - Boletín Interno Del Vicariato de Requena* 4 (1976).
- REGAN, Jaime. *Hacia la tierra sin mal: la religión del pueblo en la Amazonía*. Iquitos, Perú: CETA, 1993.
- REGAN, Jaime. “Milenarismo Tupí-Guaraní en la Amazonía.” *Amazonía Peruana*, n. 32 (2019): 39–59. <https://doi.org/10.52980/revistaamazonaperuana.vi32.30>.
- REYNAFARGE PEÑA, José Enrique. “Ucayali-Marañón-Amazonas: Ríos simbólicos de trinidad étnica peruana.” In *Homenaje Literario a La Provincia de Ucayali*. Contamana: Comité Cultural Pro 75º Aniversario de la creación política como Provincia, 1975.
- RÍO SADORNIL, José Luis del. *Labor misionera y cultural del Padre Agustín López pardo en la amazonia peruana: La fundación de Requena*. Ph.D. dissertation, Universidad Complutense del Madrid, 1991.
- RÍOS CASTRO, Meredith Cristina. *Una aproximación al proceso de afirmación étnica del pueblo Cocama: El caso del caserío de Santo Tomás*. B.A. thesis, Pontificia Universidad Católica, 2015.
- RIVAS RUÍZ, Roxani. *Ipurakari: Los cocama-cocamilla en la varzea de la Amazonía Peruana*. M.A. thesis, Pontificia Universidad Católica, 2000.
- RIVAS RUÍZ, Roxani. “La mujer cocama del bajo ucayali: Matrimonio, embarazo, parto y salud.” *Amazonía Peruana* XII, n. 24 (1994): 227–42.
- RIVAS RUÍZ, Roxani. *Le serpent, mère de l'eau: Chamanisme aquatique chez les Cocama-Cocamilla d'Amazonie Péruvienne*. Ph.D. dissertation, L'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2011. <https://www.theses.fr/2011EHES0458>.
- RIVIÈRE, Peter. *Individual and Society in Guiana: A Comparative Study of Amerindian Social Organization*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- ROE, Peter G. *The Cosmic Zygote. Cosmology in the Amazon Basin*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1982.
- SABATÉ, Luis. *Viaje de los padres misioneros del convento del Cuzco a las tribus salvajes de los campas, puros, cunibos y sipibos en el año de 1874*. Tip. de “La Sociedad,” 1877.
- SAHLINS, Marshall. *What Kinship Is – And Is Not*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013.
- SALVADOR, Angel Isidro OFM. “Informe Sobre La Actual Situación Del Vicariato Apostólico de San Francisco Solano Del Ucayali.” Typewritten, 1956. Package “Documentos del Vicariato” – folder “Algunos documentos importantes para la historia del Vicariato.” Archivo del Vicariato, Requena.
- SAN ROMÁN, Jesús Victor. *Perfiles históricos de la Amazonía Peruana*. II. Iquitos: CETA-CAAAP-IIAP, 1994.
- SANDI, Lino J. “Exploración del Ucayali por el teniente de marina Don Luis Sandi.” In *Colección de Leyes, Decretos, Resoluciones y Otros Documentos*, edited by Larrabure y Correa, vol. 2, 252–66. Lima, 1905 [1865].

- SANTOS-GRANERO, Fernando, and Frederica Barclay. *Tamed Frontiers: Economy, Society, and Civil Rights in Upper Amazonia*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2000.
- SCAZZOCCHIO, Françoise. *Ethnicity and Boundary Maintenance among Peruvian Forest Quechua*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1980.
- SORIA, Carla. *Sistema de información sobre Comunidades Nativas de la Amazonía Peruana, and Instituto del Bien Común*. Directorio 2016 comunidades nativas del Perú, 2016.
- STIGLICH, Germán. “Informe presentado por el alférez de fragata Don Germán Stiglich á La Junta de Vías Fluviales sobre el viaje que por encargo de esa institución efectuó á los rios Pachitea, Bajo Ucayali, Amazonas, Alto Ucayali i Urubamba (1904)”. In *Colección de Leyes, Decretos, Resoluciones y Otros Documentos*, edited by Larrabure y Correa, vol. 4, 272–367. Lima, 1905 [1904].
- STIGLICH, Germán. “La región peruana de los bosques, por el teniente de la Armada Nacional, Don Germán Stiglich. Informe. 1904”. In *Colección de Leyes, Decretos, Resoluciones y Otros Documentos*, edited by Larrabure y Correa, vol. 15, 308–495. Lima, 1908 [1904].
- STOCKS, Anthony. “Notas sobre los autóctonos Tupi del Perú”. *Amazonía Peruana*, n. 1 (1976): 59–72. <https://doi.org/10.52980/revistaamazonaperuana.vi1.43>.
- STOCKS, Anthony. *The Invisible Indians: A History and Analysis of the Relations of the Cocamilla Indians of Loreto, Peru, to the State*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1978.
- SUNCIÓN HERNÁNDEZ, Victor Hugo. *Antecedentes etnohistóricos de la fundación de Requena*. Instituto de Investigaciones Educativas e Históricas de la Amazonía Peruana (IIEHAP). Historia de La Amazonía. Iquitos, 2010.
- TAYLOR, Anne Christine. “The Western Margins of Amazonia from the Early Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century.” In *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*, edited by Frank Salomon and Stuart B. Schwartz, 1st ed., 188–256. Cambridge University Press, 1999. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521630764.005>.
- TAYLOR, Anne Christine. “Sick of History: Contrasting Regimes of Historicity in the Upper Amazon.” In *Time and Memory in Indigenous Amazonia: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by C. Fausto, M. Heckenberger, 133–68. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007.
- URIARTE, Luis M. *Native Blowguns and National Guns: The Achuar Jivaroans and the Dialectics of Power in the Peruvian Amazon*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1989.
- URMENETA, Dario A. “Nota al Prefecto de Loreto Memoria del subprefecto de la provincia de Ucayali”. In *Colección de leyes, decretos, resoluciones i otros documentos oficiales referentes al departamento de Loreto [1777-1908]*, edited by Larrabure y Correa, Carlos, 16, 75–87. Imp. de “La Opinión nacional,” 1908.
- VALLEJOS, Rosa. “Los Kukama-Kukamiria y su rol en la cultura e historia de Loreto”. In *Iquitos*, edited by R. Varón Gabai, C. Maza, 140–47. Lima: Telefónica del Perú S.A.A., 2014.
- VAP. “Apuntes para una pastoral de la familia en la selva (I-03 - Vicariato Apostólico de Pucallpa)”, 1980.
- VAY. “Ensayo de estudio socio-religiosa de la familia (I-05 - Vicariato Apostólico de Yurimaguas)”, 1980.
- VEIGL, Franz Xavier. *Noticias detalladas sobre el estado de la provincia de Maynas en América meridional hasta el año de 1768*. CETA, 2006.
- VIVEIROS DE CASTRO, Eduardo. “The Problem of Affinity in Amazonia”. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 8, n. 1–2 (2018): 347–93. <https://doi.org/10.1086/698527>.

WEISS, Pedro. "Estudio sobre los lamistas. Su grupo sanguíneo. Algunas pruebas psicotécnicas". *Revista Del Museo Nacional* 18 (1949): 1–24.

WELPER, Elena Monteiro. *O Mundo de João Tuxaua: (Trans)Formação Do Povo Marubo*. Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro Museu Nacional Programa de Pós-Graduação em Antropologia Social, 2009. https://minerva.ufrj.br/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000738066&local_base=UFR01#.ZDnSkXZBwQw.

WOODROFFE, Joseph Froude. *The Upper Reaches of the Amazon*. Methuen & Company, Limited, 1914.

YAN, Hairong. *New Masters, New Servants: Migration, Development, and Women Workers in China*. Durham, London: Duke University Press, 2008.

ŽIŽEK, Slavoj. *The Sublime Object of Ideology*. London & New York: Verso, 1989.