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# Fraternal disputes and two-headed leadership: Hierarchy and heterarchy in the Upper Rio Negro

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### SUMMARY

This article identifies the tension between hierarchy and heterarchy as a structural principle that operates in favor of multiplicity, difference and autonomy in the context of regional systems and Amerindian ritual politics. Focusing on the relationship between owner / chief of maloca and shaman, in light of the tensions in the relations between younger / older brothers, typical of the Alto Rio Negro region, the constitution of a two-headed leadership is characterized, where both specialists work complement to meet the different directions involved in the policy, and the mechanisms that hinder its consolidation.

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### KEY WORDS

Amerindian  
Headship,  
Hierarchy,  
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Alto Rio Negro,  
Regional Systems.

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## Brotherly Disputes and Two-Headed Leadership. Hierarchy and Heterarchy in the Upper Rio Negro

**ABSTRACT** This article identifies the tension between hierarchy and heterarchy as a structural principle that favors multiplicity, difference, and autonomy in the context of regional systems and Amerindian ritual politics. It focuses on the house owner-shaman relationship in light of the tensions between younger brother and older brother, characteristic of the Upper Rio Negro region, in order to determine the constitution of a bicephalous headmanship, where both specialists work in tandem to attend to the various directions taken by political life and the mechanisms that restrain its consolidation.

**KEYWORDS**  
Amerindian Headmanship,  
Hierarchy, Heterarchy, Upper  
Rio Negro, Regional System.

At the beginning of 2008 there was an atmosphere of optimism among the Tabotihehea (“those with rough skin”), a clan of the *Ide masã* (Water People) or Makuna, as they are best known in ethnographic literature, and who inhabit the Pirá Paraná rivers and Apaporis in the Colombian Amazon. In those days - and their long nights - this was translated into confidence and joy by the frequent ritual activities, dances and healings<sup>1</sup>, as I witnessed during the five months that I accompanied them. This intensity was the result of the inevitable process of generational succession of the clan's ritual specialists. A few years earlier, some influential old shamans tried to leave past disagreements behind to rebuild relations with the clan's highest-ranking segment, encouraging the group's most powerful *kumu* (shaman), the jurupari master (*he gu*), and his son living in the vicinity of the Puerto Antonio community, where the *kumu*'s younger brother, also a shaman, with his son; In many cases, the young shamans were practically ready to replace their parents. This reunion also implied a rapprochement with the members of the clan who lived in the ancestral territory of the Water People, the Toaka River, where the head of the clan was. Thus, there was the collective purpose of bringing together the main clan experts to make a seamless generational transition.

A few months before my arrival, the most important chief / owner of the longhouse or maloca (*wi ühü*) suddenly died, precipitating his succession, a fact that also triggered that of the jurupari master because the articulated work between these two specialists must be carried out in the same generation. As in this region the clans are patrilineal and hierarchize relations according to the order of birth, specialists of the same generation are, in the social structure, older brother / younger brother (real or classificatory). At that time, three of the maloca owner's children were able to replace him, but none of them had completed their apprenticeship. The firstborn was expected to take the initiative and was only dependent on the brothers making a deal. Meanwhile, the old *kumu* definitively transferred the responsibilities to his son and gave specific assignments to other young shamans in the clan. The ritual intensity seemed like a way to test the capabilities of these young shamans and potential bosses at that time.

Back in the field, in January 2015, I was curious to see the results of that transition. The first surprise was to perceive an exacerbated pessimism, a climate totally opposite to that of 2008: the fragmented clan, the villages plunged into deep disagreements, the uncertainty about who could be the chief / owner of the maloca, the voluntary exile of the new *he gu*, the loneliness heartbreaking into which his old father - who spent the last months of his life sick and completely isolated - plunged into rituals and paralyzed cures. As a consequence of the lack of rituals, the world did not function well: the summer rains did not cease, swelling the river and making fishing difficult; peccaries invaded the gardens of several families and ate manioc; a jaguar traveled through

<sup>1</sup> In the Alto Rio Negro region there are a large number of shamanic actions that involve recitations and breaths that transmit intentions and effects on various substances and foods that are used by patients or people who have asked the shaman for a specific effect, such as having good luck. The literature in Portuguese calls these actions blessings and the bibliography in Spanish calls them “curaciones”. Both terms do not account for the complexity of the subject. Here I use healing as a literal translation of “curación”, which is the word used by the Makuna in Spanish.

different communities killing dogs that helped hunting, among other rare events. Therefore, in addition to family problems, there was a lack of food and many people wanted to leave the territory and migrate to one of the nearest urban centers. The weather was so tense that I had to leave the field early so I wouldn't get caught in the crossfire. It was a chaotic situation wherever you looked and that made people continually comment on how the world should function properly. In these conversations, the emphasis was always placed on the weakening of ritual life and the need to recover it with the complementary work of the two specialists, as the lack of one impeded its realization. Despite the brevity of my visit, I was able to glimpse some elements that are not usually very visible in the political dynamics of the region, which also led me to understand that certain fraternal disputes are central within the intricacies of makuna politics, and that there are several ways to acquire ritual and political power.

These fraternal disputes among the Makuna were previously analyzed by Kaj Århem (1981, 2000) for the Sairã clan, its affines and other co-residents on the Komeña River, territory adjacent to the Toaka River. Århem demonstrates that, from such disputes, splits and mergers are generated which, over time, alter the composition of local, territorial groups and villages and, therefore, they are fundamental in the political game. The new facet I expose in this text complements the analyzes of this author, by showing that the situations we saw in the field were different. Århem found disputes and divisions both between brothers who were both huts and powerful shamans, as well as between segments of the same clan and groups of allies - in the 1970s and 1980s when life went on from malocas to the founding of villages -, while I came across a recent attempt to regroup a clan, the result of which is still diffuse and which focuses on the relationship between brothers and on the complementarity between specialties. This difference in situations shows that the type of actions taken by the main actors of the political dispute depends on the possibility of claiming some collective project, or, on the contrary, of focusing on particular interests that end up producing overlaps in specialties, competition and conflicts.

In the region's ethnographic literature, shamans are better known and analyzed than maloca owners. Until the mid-1970s, Indians who spoke Eastern Tukano languages who lived in Pirá Paraná and other adjacent areas - with relatively difficult access - such as Apaporis and the headwaters of Tiquié, lived in malocas. At the same time, the reality of their relatives on both sides of the Colombian-Brazilian border was very different, as the large communal houses no longer existed after the ferocious pressure from missionaries (Cabalzar, 1999); thus, for them, the ritual life took other directions: some rituals were no longer practiced, others remained with modifications and new feasts appeared. For this reason, to analyze in detail the characteristics of the chiefs / owners of maloca among the Tukano it may not be a simple task, since this specialty has been distorted during the successive stages of contact with national societies, however its importance remains a central reference in several narratives.

The most representative ethnographic descriptions until the late 1970s (Goldman, 1968 [1963], 2004; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1986 [1968]; C. Hugh-Jones, 1979; S. Hugh-Jones, 1979; Århem, 1981; Jackson, 1983) showed that among the eastern Tukano the head / owner of the maloca could be a father who lives in the same house with his married and unmarried sons or the older brother of a group of agnates. They also highlighted the maloca as the indispensable setting for ritual life, with political power represented by the owner of the house and religious power by the *kumu*. As the authority of a chief in himself is fragile, the owner of the house could be more influential if, at the same time, he was an important ritual specialist, like a *kumu* or a *baya* (dancing singer). In general, the overlap between the owner of a maloca and *kumu* is very current and appropriate to characterize the profile of a prominent leader, whose image is reinforced if he has a series of ceremonial goods, such as a box of feather ornaments or a set of sacred flutes. For Tanimuka, for example, both specialties correspond to different stages of knowledge acquisition (Franky, 2004; Ramírez, 2018) and, for Tuyuka, according to Justino Sarmento Rezende (personal communication), an important owner of maloca is also owner of the ornaments and *baya*, his main shaman. So, for the eastern Tukano, ritual, politics and maloca are inseparable from what we can call political power and that is why the two specialties are fundamental, being able to be performed both by two specialists who complement each other and by a single person who brings both together knowledge.

We must point out that the term power must be considered because it is not the most adequate to understand indigenous political philosophy, as Clastres (2003 [1974]) has pointed out, since South American indigenous societies would be against the State. Among other things, this means that they favor multiplicity, difference and autonomy over uniqueness and coercion. Thus, the indigenous chief is a chief without coercive power, and collectives always have mechanisms to stop any attempt at individual concentration of power, even when it comes from other figures with coercive potential, such as the warrior and the shaman. Therefore, when we say that a chief has power, we are referring to prestige, to whom he has certain qualities highly valued by the collective, such as generosity, persuasion, mastery of oratory art, tranquility and intelligence to resolve conflicts etc., and that such prestige is neither permanent nor transferable and can be lost at any time.

It is also worth noting that the connection between political and ritual power is very common among the Indians of the Lowlands of South America. In certain contexts, they appear as fused elements, when the chief is the shaman; in others, the differences between a political dimension associated with production and kinship that opposes a chief to a ritual specialist are exalted; in still others, part of the ritual dimension is associated with war and there the chief is also a warrior. For example, Seeger (1980) shows that some Jê peoples (Timbira, Apinayé, Suyá) separate a political leader from another ritual, while in other groups (Kayapó, Xavante) political leaders control the rituals; among the Amuesha of the western Amazon, according to Santos-Granero (1986), the cornesha priests would also be the political leaders; in the *guianas*, according to Rivière (2001 [1984]), it is common for the chief to be the leader of a local

2] In the last century, as a result of missionaries, the specialties of warrior and shaman of the yai type (disease-sucking) have also lost relevance.

group, a father-in-law, although there are cases, such as the Piaroa, where the chief is also a shaman with supralocal influence; in Alto Xingu (Barcelos Neto, 2008; Guerreiro, 2015; Vanzolini, 2015), ritual power is not associated with shamanism but with great intercommunity rituals, in which chiefs show their condition and exchange speeches and valuable objects with their equivalents; for the Tupi of the 16th century, the leadership orbited around warrior rituals and, in contemporary cases, associated with shamanism (Sztutman, 2012); Clastres (2003 [1974]) observed that it was common in many indigenous societies to have one chief in peace and another in war and that he lost his provisional power when the conflict ended. In such a diversified scenario, the possibility of complementary and articulated work between a chief and a shaman, as suggested by the Makuna, further expands the analytical framework as it would constitute a possible type of two-headed chief.

Fausto (2008) associates the chiefs with the broader issue mastery and ownership, as well as those by Sztutman (2012), Guerreiro (2015) and Costa (2017) recent works have shown new dimensions, highlighting the fabricating processes of the chiefs / owners bodies<sup>3</sup>. Their bodies are built, among other things, both through relationships and through differentiated rituals and safeguards in which they capture substances, knowledge and powers from external agencies; this magnifies them and gives them the ability to build and encompass their collectives. Fausto (2008) explains that an owner, through adoptive or meta-affiliation, generates an asymmetry of the relationship conceived as a form of inclusion that is understood in terms of a relationship between content and continent. In this way, the production of the encompassing is the magnification understood as cannibal incorporation, or, according to Costa (2017), as a feeding relationship that produces unilateral dependence, control, protection and care. The needs induced by a feeder in its feeders amplify its capacities and therefore it becomes a body that contains others, that is, it is magnified. In this way, asymmetric relationships are produced that operate at the level of consanguinity and are opposed to symmetrical ties of affinity. An owner, says Fausto (2008), is a plurality that appears to others as a singularity.

<sup>3</sup> Seeger (1980) had already called attention to this aspect among the Suyá / Kisedje, stating that the chiefs would have different body characteristics from those of the rest of the village residents.

The asymmetry that is established in the relations between the chief and the other members of a group is formulated in terms of kinship. Thus, the chief is usually seen Amazonia as a foster father and / or father-in-law - in the Andes there is also the variation of being seen as a maternal uncle - founding asymmetry in generational difference. In this regard, the complementary work between *wi ühü* and *he gu* among the Makuna seems to show yet another variation, as the two specialists encompass the collective, but are in a relationship of older brother and younger brother, introducing symmetry in the domain of consanguinity to blend with asymmetry and enable alternations, conflicts and other central dynamics in relationships. Here, the asymmetry is more tenuous because it is based on the birth order within the same generation, although, when evoking the intergenerational difference in relation to a third party, the relationship between both becomes symmetrical because they descend from the same parent / ancestor. This means that together they must create an asymmetry with respect to the collective, appearing as “parents” to their relatives within a collective project, but, due to the simultaneity of symmetrical and asymmetrical relations between them, fraternal disputes are unleashed where both can compete trying to encompass each other or neutralize each other so that neither builds up power, situations that can lead to conflict and separation.

Going in this direction, the main objective of this text is to explore some details of the relationship of the two specialists with the political and ritual power in the light of the tensions between symmetry and asymmetry. In the regional literature, this tension has been addressed in terms of the presence of a dual model in which hierarchy and equality are opposed. This tension has not yet been explained satisfactorily because, to a large extent, it is directly related to the way in which social units are constituted at different scales. It is a consensus that the hierarchy operates more intensely in the internal relations between the members of a group of descendants (clan segment, clan, exogamous group, phratry) while the exogamous relations between different groups are equal; however, it is also known that the hierarchy is disputed and contested very often between groups and segments of groups that consider themselves consanguineous, and that there is a greater emphasis on the hierarchical discourse among those clans that consider themselves too high. My proposal is to take the tension between asymmetry and symmetry as a structural principle that allows different types of dynamics, sociopolitical configurations and transits between scales. Rather than taking the equality as opposed to hierarchy, I suggest using the concept of heterarchy instead, and that heterarchy and hierarchy constitute each other. In this way, the dialogue and the forces triggered by the tension and oscillation between hierarchy and heterarchy emerges a possibility of finding an alternative solution to the problem of scales and the formation of social units among eastern Tukano people of the Upper Rio Negro region (URN).

4 | This variation is important for comparisons with the Highlands since in pre-Hispanic times it was common in the Andes the transmission of the leadership via avuncular route (see, among others, Rostorowski 1988; Langebaek 1992, 2019; Gamboa 2010; Hernández Astete 2012) or between brothers, moving from an older to a younger one, both in matrilineal as well as patrilineal affiliation systems.

This analysis, also, can bring elements to produce new reflections on the power, the constitution of regional systems and the modalities of leadership in South America. This oscillation or coexistence between symmetrical and asymmetrical relational principles has a long presence in Amazonian ethnology and has been discussed in different ways, for example, in debates about dualistic organizations, or under the cloak of oppositions between reciprocity and hierarchy, or between egalitarian and hierarchical societies, as it has been identified operating at the levels of production (Hill, 1984) and gender relations (Lorrain, 2001), conceptualized as diarchy (Hornborg, 1988) or “equality within the hierarchy” (Santos-Granero, 1986), among others. This diversity of approaches shows that the tension between these principles is, in itself, a structural principle, a manifestation of the dualism in perpetual imbalance that Lévi-Strauss (1992) attributed to the indigenous peoples of South America and that, in the contemporary theory of kinship developed by Viveiros de Castro (2002), highlights the “potential affinity”, as an American relational principle, as a virtual source of difference, as well as the ideas of Fausto (2001, 2008) about familiarizing predation and meta-affiliation. In this frame of reference, the tension between hierarchy and heterarchy can be very useful to understand in other ways the dynamics of political power in regional systems where hierarchy appears as a salient feature - URN and Alto Xingu for example - and also to understand systems from the pre-Columbian past when this was also evident.

#### A STRUCTURAL TENSION

The Makuna are part of an open-ended regional system with at least 30 other groups speaking Eastern Tukano languages, Arawak, Nadahup, Kákua-Nukak, Karib, who inhabit the huge border area between Colombia, Brazil and Venezuela. In general terms and according to the general model, these groups are formed by exogamous patrilineal clans, hierarchically related as older and younger brothers according to the mythical birth order, who claim the possession of particular territories and ritual wealth according to this order; residence is patri / virilocal and the matrimonial rule is exogamy which, in the ideal models for the tukano case, adopts the form of linguistic exogamy<sup>5</sup>, which is why multilingualism is one of the main marks of the region. These peoples also share a ritual cycle based on the use of sacred flutes during male initiation (known regionally as "jurupari") and at intercommunity parties known as "dabucurís", which include the exchange of food and objects. They also share mythical narratives and cosmological models that structure and define the use of the region they occupy in common.

According to the Eastern Tukano narratives, the groups emphasize a common origin from a anaconda-canoe or ancestral anacondas that transported today's humanity, emerged in a waterfall considered to be the center of the world, and then spread out over the territories where they currently live. They emerged from the body of the

5| For a critique of this idea, see Chacon and Cayón (2013).

ancestral anaconda, in order of birth, and received characteristic specialties related to the internal hierarchical differences of each collective are attributed. In the case of the Makuna and their neighbors in Pirá Paraná and Apaporis, the ancestral anacondas of each group are linked by consanguinity and affinity. This means that within a group of anacondas opposite another aggregate of the same type, collectives also relate to each other as older and younger brothers, forming unnamed fraternities, and as a brother-in-law if “sons of a mother”, a term used to refer to those collectives who, although they do not share a “mythical consanguinity”, have the same groups like as affines and, therefore, should not marry each other. The exogamy of offspring groups is a central point of the system, but the limits of what is a group of offspring are never very clear. In the classical literature about kinship in the URN (Goldman, 1968 [1963]; C. Hugh-Jones, 1979; Århem, 1981; Jackson, 1983; Chernela, 1993; Correa, 1996), proliferate concepts such as: set of agnates, sibs, clans, simple exogamous groups, exogamous groups, linguistic groups, phratic segments, phratic categories, exogamous units, phratries, among others. One of the difficulties in delimiting these units is related to the different scales to which they refer, as it is evident that the indigenous people, depending on the contexts, activate one or another scale, or several simultaneously, and this implies that what works in one may not work in another, although patrilinearity and hierarchy are always emphasized.

The theme of hierarchy among the eastern Tukano has generally been addressed in the ethnographic literature in relation to clans, their territorial distribution and the control of ritual and economic resources. The hierarchy between clans, like older and younger brothers, has been associated with five basic specialties (chief or owner of a longhouse, dancing singer, warrior, shaman, worker) related to the birth order, the body parts of the ancestral anaconda of the which the clans originated (head, neck, half, back and tail, respectively) and how they were ideally distributed in the territory, whose axis is a river (the oldest clan at the mouth, the newest at the headlands). However, if we look more closely, the list of specialties is much longer and, in reality, brings the additional problem that there are many people with the same specialties who do not necessarily correspond to the specialties of the clans. In other words, each clan has members with all specialties and, therefore, each specialty has several practitioners; some people may even be recognized for practicing more than one specialty. Thus, the hierarchy built from clans and related to territorial distribution and ancestral anaconda is just a general and ideal scheme of its social structure, read via patrilinearity, and placed linearly in space.

However, when we look more closely at the real constitution of malocas and villages, it appears that the most common is that no clan occupies exclusively the territory that would correspond to it. In fact, the members of the clans are spread out and their members live in different places. Århem (1981) explains that the Makuna

are not governed only by the ideology of descent but they combine it with the principle of symmetric alliance to order the basic units of social and political organization in space<sup>6</sup>. Thus, the consanguineous are gradually dispersed and are concentrated with affines in new locations, producing a spatial organization of small groups ordered by the alliance. The groups are spatially organized into: domestic groups formed by a couple and their children, or by a group of brothers or agnatic relatives with their wives; local groups composed of several domestic groups located on a given stretch of a river and related by consanguinity and / or affinity; and, territorial groups made up of several local groups that occupy an entire river. Each local group functions as a political unit and follows the dispositions of a chief who can also be a ritual specialist. This chief organizes and promotes several parties that reinforce the links between nearby local groups. In this register, the hierarchical relationships that are fundamental to the relationships between older and younger siblings are not emphasized, but those of symmetry and equality between effective affinity groups.

To the various overlaps between affiliation, affinity and spatial organization of the units, there is the problem of tension between hierarchical principles that regulate the internal relations of a clan or an exogamous group and the central egalitarian principles in external relations with the affines. To try to solve these problems, Stephen Hugh-Jones (1993, 1995) reinterpreted the social organization of the Eastern Tukano who tried to get closer to the native views on their own social units. According to him, the Tukano conceptualize social relations in two different and complementary ways. The first emphasizes a male reading of the maloca that privileges the group's autonomy, unilinear descent, exogamy, agnatic ties and internal hierarchical relations expressed in clan rituals (He House - jurupari), especially in connection with the ancestor founder and agnatic hierarchical order. The second way exalts equality, interdependence and consanguinity, manifested in daily life and expressed in the rituals of food exchange (Food-giving House - dabucurí) between neighboring communities that emphasize co-residence, inbreeding and an extended family or blood group formed by commensality. The first reading partially corresponds to the anthropological conception of affiliation or descent, and the conjunction between both readings has certain connections with Lévi-Strauss's notion of "house societies"<sup>7</sup>. When explaining their organization, the Tukano tend to emphasize only at first reading and, therefore, when representing their patrilineal groups, each emphasizes a set of assets and prerogatives that constitute their ancestral identity and powers. Thus, each "home" is thought of as a single body formed by the relationship between its eponymous ancestor, its members, clans, territory, language, sacred instruments and ceremonial objects, exclusive names, chants, shamanic knowledge, dances, cultivation varieties, decorative and manufacturing styles artifacts, among other things that

6] Árhém (1981) calls the alliance system to segment this mode of socio-political organization.

7] For Lévi-Strauss (1989 [1979]), the house is a grouping that persists over time, whose continuity is ensured not only by succession and replacement of its human resources, but through fixed or mobile properties and by the transfer of titles and prerogatives that are an integral part of its existence and identity (Carsten and S. Hugh-Jones, 1995: 7). The house as a group of people or "moral person" that has material and immaterial properties, such as names and titles, transmitted by a real or fictitious line can express yourself through the language of affiliation or marriage, or both, as is more common (S. Hugh-Jones, 1995: 241).

define the particularities of each group in the regional context and which must be updated ritually<sup>8</sup>. Regardless of scale, the collective thinks of itself as a maloca and as a magnified person (eponymous ancestor, owner of a maloca, *kumu*) that contains other people and various relationships.

Christine Hugh-Jones (1979) pioneered the fractal character (multiscale) of the social units and with the ideas of her husband we understand that it is in the maloca where the fusion of scales takes place. In male reading, the house synthesizes and updates in a single body the relationship between the eponymous ancestor, the mythical past and the present, the living dead members of the group, the territory, the language, the sacred instruments and ceremonial objects, the unique names, the shamanic songs and knowledge, and other distinctive elements that activate the uniqueness of each group in the regional context. At the same time, this ritual fusion makes evident an overlapping of scales where they fit together and present homologies in the relationships they imply, being expansions and / or contractions of the same fractal person (S. Hugh-Jones, 2014: 57). S. Hugh-Jones (1993: 106) shows that from here emerges a basic structure that consists of a father and his children organized hierarchically in order of birth and that is constant in the scales: clan segment <clan <set of clans <exogamic group. In the female reading of the house where the relationships of affinity and interchange take place, the basic structure is reduplicated in a series that corresponds to the scales: family compartment [married son / brother] <maloca <territorial group <humanity.

This way, the maloca with its ability to merge scales thanks to the rituals also offers us the option of merging the discrepancy between, on the one hand, the patrilineal exogamous group formed by a father with his sons or by a group of brothers, and, on the other hand, the local group formed by consanguines and the like, whenever and when we shift attention from the problem between hierarchy and equality, affiliation and affinity, to the configuration and ritual functioning of the house - a space where a way of life is expressed - from the interrelationship between specialties (chiefs, dancing singers, warriors, shamans, workers)<sup>9</sup>. The separation of patrilineal clans does not prevent political and ritual dynamics from continuing, because the most important thing seems to be that specialists, regardless of belonging to one or the other group, make arrangements and adjustments to articulate themselves to perform different daily activities and rituals oriented to produce vitality and joy. Therefore, in order to deal with the imbalance between the search for the ideal way to do it, emphasized in the notion of patrilineal home, and the various adjustments of scale that occur in communities according to the participation of the like in its constitution, I suggested that understand these groups as “cosmo-producing units”).

8] The Yukuna, people who speak an Arawak language who live on the Miriti Paraná River south of Makuna territory, present themselves in a very similar way to the Tukano, however, analyzing their narratives about life in the maloca, a paradox is perceived. According to Shackt (2013), the ideal of patrilineal transmission of narratives and knowledge exclusive from the hierarchical distinction between sibs, related to each other as older and younger brothers, associated the political and ritual prerogatives of the maloca owners, contrasts with the information in the same narratives, which show that, historically, this heritage has remained in the hands, not of the oldest, but of the youngest and, surprisingly, of the affines. At several different times in history, in-laws left the custody of their sons-in-law the inheritance that today defines Yukuna identity.

9] Space is fundamental in the construction of Makuna people and in the allocation of specialties. During the shamanic actions of birth and puberty, shamans relate boys and girls with different malocas of different beings to transmit certain qualities to them according to the chosen specialty. These places are scattered immense territory and recalls the paths of ancestral anacondas and the emergence of humanity. See Cayón (2008, 2013).

Perhaps this term has a certain functionalist flavor, but it exalts the autonomy and equivalence of social units that can be organized both by asymmetric and symmetrical relations. In this scheme what remains constant is the relational disposition constituted by the interrelationships between specialties that are concretized in the rituals (time) inside the maloca (space), showing another face of the fractal character of the house, since it implies the permanent presence of two scales: an internal, the hosts, where we find a unit where its specialists are articulated and there are asymmetrical relationships, and an external one, visitors, where symmetrical relationships with units of equivalent constitution prevail<sup>10</sup>: if a maloca owner contains his collective, he relates at the party with the owner of another maloca that also contains his collective. This symmetrical relationship between magnified people implies the simultaneity of two scales. It seems that symmetry and asymmetry coexist all the time because there are always at least two scales in interaction, which can be enlarged or reduced according to different local and regional contexts<sup>11</sup>. This means that we are facing a social complexity that, at the same time that it presents hierarchical elements is totally against the State, a scalar dualism in perpetual imbalance.

In practice, every group is territorial and politically autonomous, equivalent to the others, as these units are organized in the same way: each has its territory, its specialists, a set of material goods and rituals, varieties of cultivated plants, etc. Viewed this way, the URN regional system resembles that of the Upper Xingu (UX), according to the characterization of Heckenberger (2011: 267), that is, "(...) a true civilization, composed of small and hierarchical polities integrated in a heterarchic regional peer polity". Since hierarchy and heterarchy refer to ideas about distribution and ordering of social relations and political power in terms of asymmetry and symmetry, the overlap or coexistence between these modalities implies both the possibility of encompassing, more in the sense of magnification than in the sense of encompassing otherwise (hierarchy, in the terms of Louis Dumont (1997 [1966])<sup>12</sup>, such as the displacements, competitions and alternations of centers of power organized in different ways according to certain conditions - heterarchy, according to Carol L. Crumley (1987, 1995).

The concept of heterarchy<sup>13</sup> is used in archeology to criticize the classic model of evolution of socio-cultural complexity (band-tribe-chieftdom-state), which assumes that power, hierarchy and order are directly related. Crumley(1995) affirms that the idea of considering hierarchy and order almost as synonyms is a mistake, since there are no inherently hierarchical biological and social structures, as hierarchy is often understood as a geometric model composed of elements in which certain factors are subordinate to others and can be ranked, something that in their analysis of Celtic settlements in regional scale and in the long term never is proven. On the contrary, what emerges are multiscale and multitemporal patterns in which each element is not ranked in relation to the others or has the potential to be ranked in a different number of ways. This is heterarchy, both a structure and a condition. Crumley explains that hierarchy characterizes power relations in some societies but there are also heterarchical structures, such as coalitions or confederations, where power has counterbalances

10| This reading is close to the party / war relational matrix formulated by Perrone-Moisés (2015), but it sees the relationship between hosts and guests as asymmetrical. This would be right if there was not a party in which the roles between them are reversed, as is the case with dabucurís in the URN, reason why the alternate invitations they seem closer to symmetrical relations.

11| As Viveiros de Castro (2002: 430) explains: "(...) the outside is immanent to the inside (...). The corollary of this immanence is that any point arbitrarily chosen from within it is a boundary between an interior and an exterior".

12| For an analysis of the applicability or not of the Dumontian concept of hierarchy in the URN, see Pedroso (2013). I do not intend to discuss this issue here, but it is worth remembering that Roy Wagner (1991) mentions in the final part of his famous article on the fractal person that the task of great Melanesian men is to maintain the scale in which one is the person and the group at the same time to solidify the totality as an event. And that this recalls Dumont's evocation of Indian holism in relation to the caste system, as a fractality of Brahmanic unity.

13| In turn, the term heterarchy was used in the modern sense by Warren McCulloch in 1945 in his analysis of cognitive structures, and his principles have been used in the field of artificial intelligence (Crumley 1995).

instead of being ranked. There may then be a heterarchy of scales, power and values. The hierarchy-heterarchy relationship, says Crumley, admits temporal and spatial flexibility, so a heterarchy could become time in one hierarchy, and vice versa, just as the heterarchical relationship in one scale can be hierarchical in another. For all these reasons, the dialogical relationship between hierarchy and heterarchy is a key tool to deal with the transition between scales.

If, on the one hand, among the Makuna, we have a hierarchical language that emphasizes the temporal difference established by the birth order, we also have contexts in which heterarchy is privileged, i.e., relationships between different and equivalent elements that do not go through gradations values nor do they involve different hierarchical positions. In this sense, one of the characteristics of the relationship between siblings in the regional URN system goes through a structural principle where there is a tension between the asymmetric difference (hierarchy) and the symmetric equivalence between different ones (heterarchy). This tension implies the coexistence or alternation between the asymmetry generated by the birth order and the equivalence produced by the sharing of the same ancestor. This operates in a fractal way, passing through the internal structure of each group, clan, or set of agnates. While the hierarchy structures an ordering and marks internal differences in an asymmetric way, the hierarchy allows to mark externally in a symmetrical way the differences between equivalent units (local groups, clans etc.) when there is any change of scale, for example, in the dabucuris, in which the head / owner of the maloca host encompasses his group and exchanges with the head of the invited collective, who also encompasses his group and is or is in a similar position. Thus, what we find in this tension between symmetrical and asymmetric relationship principles are ways of updating the collectives and of marking and maintaining differences, preventing the concentration of power and the constitution of forces leading to unicity, to the State. When what is important is to maintain differences between equivalents, all encompassing occurs in changes of scale to simultaneously mark difference and equivalence (which is not exactly the same as equality, because it does not cancel out qualitative differences). In this way, the tension between hierarchy and heterarchy works in favor of multiplicity and is part of the dynamic against the State that has been widely described for the peoples of the Lowlands of the continent.

#### **MALOCA-FORM AND SCALES**

The relational disposition of the cosmo-producing unit's specialties can be understood as a Maloca-Form that explains the continent-content relationship that operates on any scale. Among the Makuna, this Maloca-Form feeds ideologically on three distinct models of malocas that are interwoven, and always reveal that, after all, they constitute

the same structural arrangement. Each model corresponds to a specific place in the territory, and people have unique relationships with them. The first maloca corresponds with a reading of the masculine specialties whose prototype is found in the house of the jurupari flute spirits of the group, because these spirits hold and transmit the knowledge of the specialties to the young people who start in the rituals. There is a spirit who is the owner of the maloca, another is *kumu*, another dancer singer, and so on. The second maloca evokes an inbreeding reading of society, whose model is the birthplace of the group, the place where the ancestral anaconda lives with his sons and daughters, who hold the various male and female specialties. There, the chief is the ancestral anaconda and among his children are the specialties related to their names; therefore, assigning a clan name to a newborn implies assigning a specialty. These names are unique to each clan aggregate that descends from the same ancestor, must be kept secret in most contexts (S. Hugh-Jones, 2002) and, in the case of boys, must relate them to the associated jurupari spirits their specialties when they get to initiation. These two forms are closely linked to the Makuna's ideas about ancestry and patrilinearity, as the relationship between jurupari spirits, clan names and initiated youth can be thought of as if they were the very bones / children of the eponymous ancestor. The third maloca corresponds to the "center of the world", the most suitable place to live within the traditional territory and which corresponds to the exogamous reading of society, where affinity and marriage offer the material conditions to build malocas and celebrate rituals; then the specialties come into play and operate in a complementary manner. Thus, if we extract the ideas of patrilineality and ancestry on this scale, we will still be able to build the relational disposition between specialties, indispensable for the performance of rituals. In this sense, striving to replicate the ideal model inspired by the patrilineal pole may seem utopian, hence the difficulties that the Tabotihehea still have in successfully concluding the generational succession of their main specialists.

A clan's internal disputes are the result of the tension between hierarchy and heterarchy. While the hierarchy tries to maintain an ideal model based on the prerogatives given by birth order, heterarchy sets in motion competitions and rivalries between specialists. When heterarchy prevails, in addition to creating segmentations, what come into conflict are political positions based on particular political and ritual projects. When hierarchy prevails, a collective ritual-political project is emphasized that pursues the ideal of generating vitality for a group on a larger scale (it may be a patrilineal group, a village or a territorial group), and this includes the ritual expression of the Form -Maloca, of the interrelationships of a group of people with a determined territory, with their ceremonial wealth and with other human and non-human beings. It is when this expression evokes all connections that refer to the idea of a "patrilineal house" that a broader cosmo-producing unit takes place, approaching the full ideal. But in reality, this hardly happens, because the fraternal disputes produced by the tension

between hierarchy and heterarchy prevent the rituals from creating this type of totality, although they try to approach it. The current trend is, therefore, that each village reproduces on a small scale the ideal of thinking as a cosmo-producing unit led by the ritual-political project of a specialist with leadership power within each community. A cosmo-producing unit has the capacity to act at different scales, sometimes counting the brothers-in-law as ritual specialists that make up the same, sometimes approaching the exaltation of the patrilineal ideology, always emphasizing the exchange relations with other beings.

For the makuna ideal, the perfect cosmo-producing unit would be composed of all the descendants of its ancestor living in its traditional territory, with the hierarchy and specialization of the clans marked, each clan with its own maloca specialized in a ritual of the total repertoire and according to the annual cycle parties, with their feather ornaments and ritual objects circulating among these malocas to activate the whole set of vitality-generating powers. This also evokes a special way of living in which all male and female specialties complement each other and work together to organize rituals: the maloca owner (ühü) and his wife (üho) organize tasks, send out invitations and supervise production; the *kumu* negotiates hunting and fishing prey with the master spirits of the animals; hunters (ewa masü) go hunting and fishing; the workers (moari masã) and the food mothers (bare hako) go to the fields to harvest coca and manioc, as well as wild and cultivated fruits, according to the ritual, to later process the products and do other tasks, such as cleaning the paths or adapt a “bathroom”. On feast days, the couple owner of the maloca receive *the guests* and organize the distribution of food, drinks and other substances; the *kumu* heals the ritual and coordinates other shamans (yaia) to help protect the participants and act if necessary if someone falls ill or has an accident; the main *baya* (dancing singer) organizes the distribution of ritual objects and coordinates the rest of the dancers who will accompany him. In the past, the warriors (guamarã) installed themselves on the paths and ports of access to the maloca to prevent a possible attack by the enemies, and the disease-sucking shamans (yaia) accommodated themselves at the maloca’s door and in the courtyard to protect and prevent any attack to *kumu*.

By understanding social units as cosmo-producing units, I try to show that for the indigenous people of this region, what really matters is having parties to produce joy and vitality; the tensions between hierarchy and heterarchy are part of this purpose through the articulation of social specialties. This articulation becomes relative if, in one place or another, the specialists are consanguineous or affines.

If a village does not have a way of celebrating rituals to generate its own vitality, it will not have much importance in regional political dynamics, it will be encompassed and become dependent on others villages that organize the festivals. If a village has one or two highly prestigious specialists, its political and ritual importance is greater and, many times, this happens when it tries to approach the ideal patrilineal model, which means that the hierarchical principles associated with the clans acquire greater value in these contexts. It sometimes happens that a powerful shaman can also be an important maloca owner, which is why he does not need to associate with anyone; his prestige and political power will be greater if he also controls ritual elements specific to his clan; however, at the time of the ritual, you will have to delegate some of your specialties to another man, because it is impossible to attend to two fronts at the same time. Therefore, the articulated work between *he gu* and *wi ühü* allows to get closer to the ideal model, strengthens hierarchical principles and has greater potential for aggregation, magnification and prestige at the regional level. But there is a problem for this to materialize effectively: the tension between hierarchy and heterarchy inherent in the relationship between brothers.

#### TENSIONS: ENCOMPASSES AND NEUTRALIZATIONS

Ideally, the fundamental relationship between the two specialties must be established between the jurupari master and the group's main longhouse owner. This owner of a maloca is different from the others, since this position must occupy him the firstborn within the structure of the clan, but if he does not develop the appropriate personal qualities, some of his younger brothers may take his place. Unlike any owner of a maloca (*ühü*), this is called *wi ühü*, which we can translate as “chief of maloca and clan” or simply “chief”. *Wi ühü* has the power to resolve differences and conflicts between group members, who must accept their decisions, is the only one who can directly draw the attention of the *he gu*, and must act as host during the jurupari rituals. Despite appearing as chief in certain contexts for having particular characteristics such as generosity and handling “sweet words” (*sahari oka*) to persuade relatives and the like, if we compare his actions regarding the management of the house we will not find many differences with the other owners of maloca. This means that although there is a principle of hierarchy operating at the same time, there is a heterarchical principle among maloca owners. Every *kumu* that heals rituals, not necessarily a *he gu*, must be associated with at least one maloca owner, and that is why there is the possibility of competing politically for prestige and ritual power. It is possible that a shaman sustains a good part of his political power by making jurupari flutes, curing rituals in different malocas or that he builds his own. It is assumed that someone builds a maloca, precisely, so that a shaman can heal and give protection to family and members of the locale of the owner of the maloca blowing on

the substances consumed at the party, which transmit vitality to people (Cayón 2013). For the Makuna, vitality is given in homeopathic doses, hence the importance of organizing rituals at each time of the annual cycle because, in each one, people accumulate vitality through the strengthening of their vital principle and the invisible layers that compose them thanks to what they eat and ingest of substances blown by the shaman. The *he gu* establishes a feeding relationship with people and that is why he is perceived as the “father of people”: the maloca is his body and the inhabitants his parts. In a similar way, *wi ühü* is the “father of the people” because he feeds and sustains the inhabitants of the maloca, whether his brothers, children, brothers-in-law or sons-in-law, and, therefore, the maloca is also his body. This capacity can extend to the entire clan, to a group of clans and even to sections of a river. Thus, both specialists have the ability to magnify themselves, encompassing and incorporating collectives of different scales.

There must be a unique relationship between *he gu* and *wi ühü*. Their relationship is marked by ritual attitudes, specific forms of treatment and very formal forms of speech that show respect and mutual affection. Among them, the daily offerings of coca stand out, when the two make *kahi koa büsibüare*: a ceremonial speech about the coca gourd held when the coca processing is finished before starting the daily male conversations, in the late afternoon, or during the activities party preparations. In this speech, the two speak simultaneously and very quickly, in a certain melodic tone, about the birth and processing of coca before formally inviting the other men to eat coca, near the main pillar of the house. The owner of the maloca and the shaman are the only ones who have benches to sit on, the owner on the main pillar where various ceremonial objects of the house are placed, while the shaman can place his bench in different places. Benches are indexes of authority and power, which is why *wi ühü* guards the *he gu* bench on the spot. The owner must also have coca and tobacco at home always available for *he gu*.

In turn, the latter is the only one who can ask the owner for anything inside his home, as it is assumed that every *ühü* must be generous to his visitors. The *wi ühü* is the only one that can draw the attention of the *he gu* when he exceeds some conduct. In addition, both parties can request a party to perform some public healing. During the rituals, each one, sitting on his bench, occupies a specific place in the center of the house, and they formally dialogue each time the he concludes a healing stage, with the owner inviting people to eat coca, inhale tobacco, use paint, eat, go out to bathe. The *he gu* can establish rules of conduct in the maloca, mainly related to certain culinary activities, fasts, behaviors for menstruating women, initiates and sick, while the owner organizes the tasks for the maintenance of the house.

Working together, these two specialists, due to their heterarchical relationship, build a pole of power and contrast hierarchically with the rest of relatives and the like, generating asymmetrical relationships and configuring a two-headed chief in which both seem to be simultaneously the owners of the same maloca (or the same people). Therefore, the Makuna, using a tree metaphor associated with hierarchy, understand

them as the base (*hüdo*) of the tree while the others gradually move away towards the tip (*gaha*), with the ritual specialists and the initiated men closer the base and the most distant women and children. Only in the context in which both work together, without conflicts, does the potential exist to expand the scale and include other units, such as other clans or local groups; if there is conflict between them, the reduced scale is the one that remains.

As the *wi ühü / he gu* relationship is only effective within the same generation, *wi ühü* is *bai* (older brother), real or classificatory, from *he gu*. Sibling relationships obey the distinction by birth order between a *bai* (older brother) and a *kia* (younger brother); this distinction extends to all relatives of the same generation, to clans and other mythically linked groups. However, the relationship between older and younger siblings of the same father (or mythical ancestor) already brings a principle of rivalry, which is themed in mythic narratives in the different possibility of getting wives. As the marriage is exogamous and ideally involves the reciprocal exchange of real or classificatory sisters, older brothers have greater options for finding wives; in turn, the younger siblings may resort to a deferred exchange or abduction. The competitive tension between younger and older siblings for wives is one of the most recurring and conflicting themes in the myths, since the youngest always wants to steal his brother's wife, or maintains an alternate relationship with her that leads to many confusions which usually end with witchcraft or even death, for an entire clan or for an aggregate of clans. In the relationship between siblings, the tension between symmetry and asymmetry is based on their relationship with a third party: a father / ancestor and a potential wife, respectively.

Tensions between siblings suggest equivalence and symmetry between individuals who defend their autonomy, which explains the segmentation of clans produced, in large part, by conflicts between brothers and consanguineal relatives for control and / or possession of objects and ritual knowledge important for a collective<sup>14</sup> over which they are supposed to have the same rights. In practice, at the scale of the clans, symmetry is constructed by the complementarity and common origin of an ancestor, while the asymmetric difference may be related to the monopoly of said objects and knowledge by a clan, and for that reason it is possible to claim a higher hierarchy, even against the ideal model. The reason for this may be that a clan may have stayed longer without segmenting for a few generations or for its demographic growth (Andrello 2016). However, this control can be questioned and seen as the result of a usurpation; hence the numerous inconsistencies and disputes in the region over who or not the real older brothers are of this or that group, and the importance of using narratives to claim or dispute prerogatives and rights (Andrello, 2012). Some of the strongest effects of this structural tension are the reversal of hierarchical relationships and the possibility of extracting affinity from the consanguineous (id., 2016; 2019).

14 | For example, most of the Sairã clan (which is younger than the Tabotihehea and their ideal specialty is being a warrior) lives in another territory, the Komeña River, and the cause of their separation is related to their claim to the right to manipulate the group's knowledge and ritual objects, which until today are monopolized by a segment of the Tabotihehea.

One of the most important points of the heterarchic relationship between the two specialists is that one can be the counter-power of the other, which is evident in the healing of the world (*ümüari wãñõrẽ*), a shamanic action than is engine of cosmic vitality, in which life is given to all beings in the universe through the *jurupari* ritual. This cure recreates the origin of the world and the social order thanks to the personifications of demiurges and ancestors who embody these specialists. In the relationship between *wi ühü* and *he gu*, each of them can simultaneously personify different primordial beings, generating possible readings of their relationship, accentuating aspects of at least three prototypical relationships with which one can try to encompass or neutralize the other, and which generate asymmetry or symmetry, according to the ways in which the rituals refer to each other, or by some gestures that communicate their positions. These relations are between older and younger brother, father and son, and, initiate and partner<sup>15</sup>, the first two with asymmetric connotations, and the last symmetrical. The three identifications are always based on Maloca-Form and always highlight their interdependence and complementarity. Thus, in case of conflict or competition between them, each one can emphasize the hierarchical aspect of the relationship or the heterarchical side to try to neutralize the other.

Hierarchical forces can be unleashed at any time and compete with heterarchical forces. If the latter prevail, the relationships tend to be symmetrical. Since these relationships are manifested in the rituals that exalt patrilinearity, attempts to encompass and neutralize may resort to existing identifications in the Maloca-Form models that evoke asymmetry. On a first level, *jurupari* spirits / flutes are taken to the maloca to transform it into the scene of the creation of the world. Hidden behind a mat, and only being seen by *wi ühü*, *he gu* is rebuilding and fertilizing the cosmos to continue life by personifying the Bee of Pirá Paraná (*Waiyaberoa*), primordial spirit / instrument with which the universe was created. The *wi ühü* personifies Armadillo (*Hamo*), spirit / instrument that is the *ühü* of the *jurupari* maloca: here the *wi ühü* could be encompassed by the *he gu*, since the first is in the position of younger brother in relation to the second, inverting the real relationship between them. On the second level, the ritual evokes the longhouse of Water Anaconda (*Idehino*), its eponymous ancestor, to allow the participants' consubstantial link with their mythical ancestor; there, the *he gu* personifies the Old Ingá Tree (*Menerã bükü*), the eldest son of Water Anaconda, who was the first *he gu* of the group and became a *jurupari* spirit / instrument and, of course, is the *he gu* from the *jurupari* maloca. *Wi ühü* personifies Water Anaconda himself. Here, the *he gu* could be encompassed by *wi ühü*, since the latter is in the father's position with respect to the first. These possible ways of encompassing and mutual neutralization placed in the ritual prevent excessive concentration of power by one of the specialists, but if one of them tries to prevail over the other, the relationship will go to conflict.

15| These three identifications are simultaneous in the internal relations between the four Ayawa creative demiurges. They are older and younger siblings, companions to play the *jurupari* flutes, and parents and son. During creation, the four Ayawa lost one of their brothers. To recover it, they ejaculated on abiu fruit that was given to Romi kumu (Woman Shaman), the primordial woman, to eat. The juice of the fruit inseminated her, and thus Bokaneá was born, he is simultaneously the son and younger brother of the other Ayawa. By completing the group of four, they managed to play the *jurupari* flutes again.

So, in this ritual, which relationship emphasizes symmetry, solidarity and harmony so that the two specialists can work complementarily in the best way? There the focus is on the couple of boys who, being real or classificatory brothers, are being initiated together, personifying the Ayawa demiurges before gaining their power, and who considered themselves for the rest of their lives as drooling each other. The baba relationship is established in the initiation ritual, when each initiate is assigned a partner with whom to play the corresponding jurupari flutes. This ritual friendship is placed above the older / younger brother relationship to strengthen affections and, perhaps, eliminate the competitive momentum. I do not know if those who will be *wi ühü* and *he gu* are initiating together, but it is clear that from the relationship with a baba, a relationship that is created in a moment of strong individual emotions, it is possible to establish lasting links not subjected to the daily tensions between brothers, fundamental aspect to structure the complementary work between the two specialists. The relationship between an initiate and his baba serves as a model for the *wi ühü* / *he gu* relationship. Only in this way can we understand why the group, in its ideal model, emphasizes a collective project that marks the need for both specialists to act together in a harmonious manner. Thus, a heterarchical force can form a hierarchy on another scale.

The creation of an asymmetry of these specialists in relation to their relatives of the same generation shows that the collective's capacities for inclusion are oriented in two distinct and complementary directions, one cosmopolitical, the other sociopolitical. This double orientation needs the joint work between both specialists because each one is in charge of a direction, and this is evident in the Dabucuris. The personifications and the three relationships activated in the patrilineal group's rituals demonstrate the open character of the relationships and seem to emphasize that everything that exists belongs to a maloca and that any collective is ideally conceived as a patrilineal maloca in which take place the fabricating processes of kinship through ritual consubstantialization between people, ceremonial objects, territory and other constitutive goods of the group, oriented to build and claim a common ancestry (Andrello, et. al., 2015). This is a necessary element to define the magnitude and limits of a collective at a given moment. When entering into relationships with other collectives, these relationships take two different directions because one is directed at humans and the other at non-humans. Here, the hierarchical forces that enabled the magnification of specialists shape heterarchical relationships on another scale.

On the one hand, when they relate to non-human beings - who also live in malocas and have chiefs, shamans, singers etc. - for example, to organize a party that needs a surplus of food like a dabucurí, the shaman exchanges coca and tobacco for food with a spirit that owns the maloca of the animals. In this case, the relationship between them is

analogous to the symmetrical relationship between two magnified maloca owners when the host is inviting the other to join the party. In this sense, we can affirm that, on the cosmic level, the *he gu* appears as the chief / owner of the group's longhouse; in other words, it is who directs the group's cosmopolitics with respect both to the non-humans who populate the universe and to the *he gu* and shamans of other collectives, showing in this plan an ontological heterarchy with the owners of the non-humans and a regional heterarchy that also works in the dimension only accessible to shamans. On the other hand, because they are conceived as a unit that is consubstantialized with all the goods of the collective, such as sacred instruments, ritual ornaments, exclusive knowledge, mythical ancestor, etc., its expression on a larger scale identifies the territory as the group's maloca, and this contrasts on a regional scale with the malocas / territories of other groups, constituted in the same way, and with those that must be related through the organization of rituals that publicly show their equivalence and complementarity. In this regard, the *wi ühü* is the head of the group and guides social policy with human collectives that are politically and ritually equivalent, consanguineous and affines, once again extolling regional heterarchy.

So, the symmetrical complementarity between the two specialists is a reflection of the indispensable articulation of the two directions of political-ritual that heterarchically move through different paths, which is possible due to the capacities of magnification and comprehensiveness of the collective that the two have and that derive from hierarchical forces. Thus, for a dabucurí it will always be necessary the two directions that the relations take, converging in the maloca on the day of the party, since three collectives of equivalent magnitudes participate in it: one of guests, another of non-humans, both placed in relation by the hosts, thanks to the shared labor of the maloca owner and the shaman.

The internal asymmetrical pole generated by the complementarity between *he gu* and *wi ühü*, created in the rituals that sometimes exalt patrilinearity, sometimes coresidence, is a practical consequence of their central positions within Maloca-Form: the vitality of the collective depends on both. But, in the internal constitution of the relationship, the asymmetric forces that each one can generate live in latent conflict with the symmetrical forces, characterizing the typical tension between brothers, which often ends up producing divisions and distances when any party feels dissatisfied. Hence, it is in brief moments that a clan becomes a unit. Basically, the *wi ühü* / *he gu* relationship is very unstable and any conflict can spoil it, leading the *wi ühü* to look for another shaman to perform rituals in the maloca, while the *he gu* will be invited in several malocas to do his cures. This weakens collective projects that can expand the scale to create collectives of greater magnitude and requires a reduction in scale. In this, the rivalry between maloca owners is exacerbated to see who has the capacity to mobilize more

people to produce the material conditions of the ceremonies, the invitation of many guests and their satisfaction thanks to an abundant offer of food. In this sense, the prestige of a maloca owner is at stake in each ritual and, in fact, it is very difficult to be permanent; if a guest leaves the party dissatisfied, he can bewitch the *ühü* or his wife, and if those who worked for the organization feel unpleasant, they will abandon him. If one loses prestige *he gu* will be seen as a sorcerer, he will be feared and may even be murdered by his own apprentices, commonly sons and nephews. Like the war chief who loses his influence when the conflict ends, the *wi ühü* without the *he gu* can be reduced to just one title, as it seems that in this ritual system, the heterarchic forces work internally to level the maloca owners and make them to compete, while those of the hierarchy are on the side of the *he gu*, who nevertheless will maintain heterarchical relations with the *he gu* of the neighboring groups. The conflicts derived from this structural tension explain the current situation of the Tabotihehea clan, with which I started this text, and show the difficulty of its solution, since the processes unleashed by the hierarchy and the heterarchy seem to have no end, only temporary arrangements.

#### FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

We must continue to work ethnographically to understand the complexities of indigenous politics and it would be important to compare the nuances resulting from different emphases in the socio-political and cosmopolitical levels. For example, while some Ge separate both dimensions, in the URN they must be managed simultaneously and in a complementary manner; cosmopolitics in UX is encompassed by potential chiefs and their intra-community rituals, while among the Yanéscha priests created ritual centers and absorbed sociopolitics. For cases of open and multilingual regional systems like URN and UX, there seems to be an equal logic: in URN, hierarchy and heterarchy go through the relationship between older and younger brothers, with all their conflicting potential and the complementarity between specialists who work together to achieve a specific end, in this case, the generation of vitality, creating internal hierarchy and regional heterarchy; in UX, the mortuary rituals of homage to the chiefs serve to create an internal hierarchy within each people and their villages, and heterarchy at the regional level.

This way, the same structural principle can produce systems with very different characteristics. For example, in these two multilingual regional systems, the common identity can come from a peaceful ideal of civilized life that involves a set of behaviors, moral and aesthetic values and exchanges where the political power of the chiefs is ritualized, as in the case of UX, or o share both a set of nested ideas about ancestry, territoriality and exclusive rights over material and immaterial goods, such as exchange networks, a label and the same system of knowledge associated with narratives, rituals, material culture, etc., encoded in geography and common historical memory (conceptions of time and space), as in the case of URN.

The possibility of a two-headed chief or shared leadership may be the result of a structural principle based on the structural tension between hierarchy and heterarchy. In this sense, this principle can work both in societies classified as “chiefdoms” as well as in regional systems where there is no such thing as a two-headed leadership: on the one hand, it avoids excessive accumulation by a single person, as Amazonian ethnology abundantly shows, and, on the other hand, allows the production of major or minor scales in which there is the possibility of an alternation of centrality between the elements, people, positions etc., on which power is sustained in each regional system, emphasizing now on one characteristic or aspect, now on another, as for example in the appearance of chiefs, chiefs or curacas with great regional influence, in the staggered pre-eminence between different villages at different times, in the frequent fragmentation and recomposition of groups of co-residents, or in the height and fall of a chief, in warrior confederations, or, including the temporary emergence of messianic leaders.

Finally, it is worth speculating a little to what extent the tension between hierarchy and heterarchy could reach. Would it be possible to extract a state scale from it? The answer is affirmative and may possibly help us to understand the Incas and the Mesoamerican states in another way. In the Central Andes it was common for a cacique or curaca to have a “second person” in a brother (Salomon, 1980; Rowstoroski, 1988; Martínez Cereceda, 1995), a double, this being the greatest rival of a ruler. This scheme of two-headed leadership and disputes between brothers was also present among the Incas, because, according to Peruvian experts (here I am based on Rowstoroski, 1988 and Hernández Astete, 2012), two Incas always coexisted: the Inca Hanan, responsible for relations between Cusco and other Andean peoples, redistribution, calls for community work and military actions, and Inca Rurin, responsible for relations with supernatural beings, religious ceremonies, calendar management and the system of quipus, and the production of fabrics and fermented beverages in Cusco (Hernández Astete, 2012: 87), in other words, an Inca occupied with internal relations, rituals and cosmopolitics, and another, better known as Sapan Inca, concerned with external relations, war and sociopolitics. The entourage that accompanied the latter, transported by women, always included the acllas, a large group of women, who carried chicha (corn fermented beverage) and offered it to anyone who met the entourage. So, among other things, the Inca was a feeder, a supplier of fermented drink. In turn, when the conquests of other peoples were not due to wars, but to exchanges, the Inca received as wives the daughters or sisters of the local chiefs in exchange for wives of the Inca “nobility” and different gifts. Inca was son-in-law or brother-in-law of these, ended up related by marriages with the greatest number of magnified people in an extensive territory, accumulating the greatest number of possible relationships,

becoming a hyper-magnified person. Using a symmetrical relationship activated by affinity with the curacas, the Inca included them together with their peoples, as the custom points out that a local curaca or his “second person” was going to live in Cusco. Here, the maximum expansion of regional heterarchical relations expanded the size of Tahuantinsuyu, a very complex hierarchical system, and at the same time encouraged several rebellions in different places in the Empire. In addition, Inca always had fraternal disputes and his “second person”, his brother, the Inca who was in Cusco, was his direct counter-power. Just at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, Huáscar and Atahualpa, sons of the same father, Huayna Cápac, but from different mothers, were in a bloody war to decide which one would be the Sapan Inca and which would be the “second person”. More than an unprecedented situation, explains Rowstorowski (1988: 147), this happened at the end of each government. In this way, fraternal disputes were a central part of imperial succession. The ephemeral time that the Inca Empire lasted, around a century, may be a consequence of the structural dynamics, because the rivalry motivated by the heterarchical forces ended up overthrowing the maximum territorial expansion and hierarchical scale reached by the Incas. In this quick explanation, the distance between the Lowlands and the Highlands shortens and shows us an Inca state with more South American features: a two-headed leader in perpetual imbalance, marked by fraternal disputes motivated by the tension between hierarchy and heterarchy that worked in the generation of multiplicity and difference.

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