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**Representations of Space. An Historical Ethnography of the Space:
Dynamics and territory of the Mapoyo, from Middle Orinoco,
Venezuela.**

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1. Representations of Space. An Historical Ethnography of the space Dynamics and territory of the Mapoyo, from Western Guayana, Venezuela.

This research intends to be an ethnography of the spatial aspects and representations of the Mapoyo, an indigenous group that inhabits the region of the Venezuelan Middle Orinoco. Its population consists of approximately 350 persons, that are settled in the Community of 'El Palomo', in the Cedeño district, a district that is formed of a predominantly indigenous population, located in the South-west of the Bolivar State. The contemporary Mapoyo population inhabits the area within the Caripo River and the Villacoa River. Although their ancestral territory lies between the Suapure River in the North and the Parguaza River in the South, all of the territory is bordered by the waters of the Orinoco River by the West. The territory consists of approximately 6000 km². The Mapoyo language is classified inside the Caribic family (Villalón, 2006), nevertheless, nowadays there are only a few people that speak the language.

I will provide an historical ethnography of social, economic and political changes in the Middle Orinoco region since European colonization. This will allow for the understanding of the development of different spatial representations and dynamics, including ethnogenetic processes linked to the use and construction of landscape since the establishment of Jesuit missions during the 18th-Century until the present in the region between the Suapure and Parguaza Rivers and, specifically what became the Mapoyo indigenous community of El Palomo, Bolivar State, Venezuela. In other words, how the Mapoyo identity was and is constructed through the different strategies they have used to to manage their territory.

The Mapoyo people has proven references in the written history of the region. Thanks to the documentation of the Jesuit Missionaries, the historical account starts at the beginning of the 17th Century, or sometimes even further into the past, but with more obscure references. One of the first was made by Fray Jacinto de Carvajal in the year 1648 (Carvajal, 1956). Nevertheless, his description mentions the daily life, or the traditional life of the indigenous populations of his time, that researchers of the region have identify as "interfluvial Caribic" (Tarble 1985, Gasson 2000).

The history of the region, specially of the groups that had inhabited it and also the groups that now live there, has been researched with the help of a diverse set of tools: e.g.

archaeology (the Archaeological Project Suapure-Parguaza, in spanish: Proyecto Arqueológico Suapure-Parguaza PASP, Tarble and Scaramelli). Furthermore, ethnographic research of the historical documents that the travellers, religious missionaries and bureaucrats of the Spanish Crown made; and as important as the latter, the oral history of the Mapoyo and other neighbouring indigenous groups, narrated by the same Mapoyo group but also by other indigenous or by creole populations. The resulting picture of these narratives is a complex mosaic of constructions and reproductions of ethnicities and territories.

I started to work with the Mapoyo in the year 2005, as a bachelor student of Anthropology, I did my thesis with them, invited by my advisor archaeologist Dr. Kay Tarble. During my studies I did a specialisation in archaeology, but after my firsts travels to the Mapoyo community, I became more interested in the daily life of the people, that is why my bachelor thesis took a turn from archeology to ethnoarcheology, in which I studied the construction of the housing inside the El Palomo community. After my thesis was defended I started to work as an advisor for the State, regarding the land claims of indigenous groups of Venezuela, and one of the communities I worked closed with was the Mapoyo. For around two years from 2007 to 2009, I travelled often to the El Palomo community, that it is around 17 hours by car from the capital city Caracas, or around 2 hours by plane.

In 2010, and after I resigned my job at the Ministry of Environmental Issues (National Commission for the Demarcation of the Land of Indigenous people). I started a master in anthropology that was specialised in ethnographic research and fieldwork anthropology, at the Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Cientificas, mostly due to my interest in continuing to work with the Mapoyo people, to help them develop documents with possible juridical strategies to legally claim their territorial rights. I did an intensive process of fieldwork that went from 2010 to 2012, collecting demographic data, oral tradition, and an ethnography of their daily practices. For this research, I spent around 6 months living in the community, split across several trips. Nonetheless, during my previous research with the Mapoyo for my bachelor degree, I realised to get my bachelor degree, with the Mapoyo it is also a key point that would help to understand the dynamic of their social and ethnic identity.

This research makes a rapprochement of three of the topics of the Creole Master: new identities, because it deals with the construction and reproduction of the Mapoyo identity;

visual anthropology, i.e. taking into account the graphic representations of space, as well as the importance of the visual record that helps the Mapoyo to defend their territory and identity; and last but not least the topic of 'material culture' from a historical perspective. Throughout the history of anthropology and more precisely ethnography, the representations and images of the indigenous have been different and diverse: from the position of the indigenous as a good savage that lived in a traditional way without the interference of modern society, to the indigenous as a post-modern being or a trans-cultural native (Turner, 1995). I would like to distance the theoretical approach of this thesis away from essentialist views of indigenous societies. Essentialism as the word states, tries to look at the "essence" of something or someone. It is a concept that has gone from philosophy to the human sciences. In ethnography it can be explained as: "both a violation of anthropological relativism and one of the besetting conceptual sins of anthropology. ... The distinctive mark of essentialism ... lies in its suppression of temporality: it assumes or attributes an unchanging, primordial ontology to what are the historically contingent products of human or other forms of agency. It is thus also a denial of the relevance of agency itself." (Herzfeld 1997)

Essentialism and primordialism are basically the same concept, in which a society is seen as natural, homogeneous, definite, complete, finished and atemporal. Although, it is an important concept to keep in mind, especially when investigating a society with a colonial background, as Edward Said a grosso modo formulated in his "Orientalism" (1978), essentialism is the mindset of the colonial environment, and the historical and ethnographic disciplines were plagued with this paradigm at least until the end of the 19th century, which is related to an Eurocentric point of view of the sciences and per se, a colonialist perspective.

Instead, my theoretical approach will be closer to a relativistic perspective, in which a society can be seen as social construction constantly produced and reproduced, requiring legitimation and even occasionally challenged, changing through time and the agents involved in it, that it is why the concept of ethnogenesis and indigeneity would be an important component of the theoretical perspective.

I start from the premise that every society is culturally constructed and therefore composed of ever-changing social dynamics; it is not nature, it is nurture, even though it also depends on a perception of continuity and delimitation, to be able to distinguish

themselves from others Therefore, from now on, I will use the terms 'inclusive' and 'exclusive' to refer to the strategies of continuity within the group and bordering from other groups, to create and reaffirm ones group, in this case, the Mapoyo. These signifiers easily suggest that these representations of the indigenous or the cultural, in general, separating them from other populations either indigenous or not, and in particular of the different notions of space: Which contributed to the construction of a delimited territory, e.g. territoriality and ethnic groups , e.g. ethnicity, ethnogenesis and indigeneity.

1.1. Research Questions

The main question of this research is how the Mapoyo construct, negotiate and manage their identity through their representations of space. Considering the role of outsiders, e.g. how they negotiate with other communities their territorial boundaries, and the Mapoyo community itself: their practice and management of sites and territory, their oral traditions concerning histories and myths of places, and their tangible practices: e.g. sites of crops, places for fishing, for dwelling, etc.

This question has secondary questions, that need to be understood in order to provide an interpretation of the production and reproduction of the Mapoyo identity view through the window of their representations of space.

- ✱ Which are the groups with whom they interact, from the ones closer to them: daily basis interaction, to other bigger and 'invisible' hand, e.g. the State and Laws
- ✱ Which is the actual Mapoyo territory. Which are their geographical and ethnic boundaries?

1.2. Research Objectives

These questions led me to the following objectives for this research:

1. To understand the historical processes that have generated changes in the spatial distribution of the Mapoyo indigenous community of El Palomo, Cedeño Municipality, Bolivar State.
2. To know spatial dynamics that arise both within the community itself and in its relations with other communities, particularly those of the road axis.
3. To understand the multiethnic nature of their territory, the structure of their communities, and their forms of cartographic representation.
4. How they define each other in terms of ethnic identity against the 'others', that is, how the relation between them is established, for the understanding of the ethnogenetic processes. The others are mostly excluded from membership of the community. e.g. other indigenous communities, the state, creole communities, etc.

My approach is historical and ethnographic. Historical because I want to distant my research from an essentialist or primordialist perspective, taking into consideration that ethnic groups change, appear or disappear according to historical circumstances, in this case, immerse in a colonial landscape.

It is important to understand the past of the community and the Mapoyo people to know how they have moved through space, how they placed their communities and households, how they dealt with the outsider influences, and how they incorporated or resisted it. I did a historical research of documents that included: maps made by the spanish colonizors, creole or foreigners, blogs made by monks, like the Jesuits, and the oral tradition of the Mapoyo people, which we documented during the process of fieldwork.

As it was stated previously, in the theoretical frame the following concepts will be important: the concept of space and its representations, in which is also discussed the definition made by Anderson (1983) of "imagined communities", a discussion of the terms indigeneity, colonization, ethnicity, ethnogenesis and ethnic groups. Congruently, the concept of ethnic group was constructed as groups with well-defined and closed social and cultural boundaries. Contrary to this notion I must start from the idea, as proposed by

Barth (1976: 17), that "ethnic groups are not based simply or necessarily on the occupation of exclusive territories".

The national state has imagined that these ethnic groups maintain spatial boundaries. These boundaries have been represented both in geographic maps and in public policies (laws), as a measure to facilitate administration and control (monitor and punish) "cultural diversity", distinguishing and excluding minority groups in unequal ethnic landscapes. The long-standing economic and political tradition of "Western society" has required it, under the need to locate resources, establish jurisdictions and powers, allocations and regulations of access to each other.

Nevertheless, I have taken into account, then, that these ethnic boundaries are largely true for the actors and channel social life, which often generates a very complex and dynamic organization of social relations.

Besides, for this research is important to have definition of agency, and a thorough discussion of the concept of space to get into the definition proposed by Soja (1989) and Lefebvre (1991 [original 1974]). These definitions would help to understand the dialectic relation between the inclusiveness and exclusiveness of the Mapoyo territory. As well, these sets of concepts will be helpful to build a methodological toolbox to interpret the complex ethnic and geographic landscape of the Mapoyo community.

To answer the questions, I will discuss the spatial representations constructed by the "West" and which obviously refer to various social policies and praxis. The one that I will refer to most often is that of colonialism and colonality of power, that is, briefly summarised, the incorporation, submission and assimilation of the other: e.g. native, local, indigenous, black; so that it belongs and serves the Metropolis or the Crown, in this case the Spanish Crown.

I explore the Mapoyo case to also question the representation of fixed territories and identities that still affects ethnographic perception and political discernment, particularly visible in the making of laws concerning indigenous rights. In contrast to this idea, as I will explicate in the next chapters, the Mapoyo case shows the conformation of a space of inclusion and coexistence characterized by open and permeable boundaries. It is a territory differentiated and dynamized by migratory movements, inter-ethnic marriages and

commercial exchanges; inhabited by people who define themselves and are seen as belonging to an ethnic group whose members are identified by descent, language and culture, but they arise in the midst of long and cohabitation, neighbourhood, affinity and constant and daily interaction in the landscape and the history of the last 500 years (Hernández, 2007).

1.3. Politics and Region of Study

Venezuela is located in the north of South America, the neighbouring countries are Colombia to the West, Guyana to the East, Brazil to the South and the Caribbean sea and Atlantic ocean to the North. Its population is approximately 30 million people, of which not more than 3% are indigenous (725.141 persons according to the last census 2011, INE, 2014). Nevertheless, there is a big diversity of ethnic groups; there are more than 42 indigenous groups recognized, and more than 30 different languages are spoken by these groups.

Although the process of demarcation and property of the indigenous lands began in the 1970's, the government of Chavez took this fight as one of his own; they claimed to be the first government to have given rights to indigenous populations. Thanks to the politics of the Chavez government there are now several laws that protect (in theory) the indigenous populations. Venezuela signed the ILO 169 convention (about Indigenous and Tribal peoples), and after that, indigenous people and ethnic minorities were included in the 1999 constitution, and then two laws were created to protect

The entitlement to lands for indigenous people (demarcacion indígena de tierras de pueblos y Comunidades indígenas 2001, that took effect in 2002, and Ley Orgánica para pueblos y Comunidades indígenas 2005). Nevertheless, it is important to point out that this was not the first concern regarding indigenous land claims, and that in fact, this is an historical fight that goes well beyond colonial times.

1.4. The Mapoyo.

The Mapoyo are an indigenous group of Carib linguistic affiliation, they live in the lowlands of northern South America, in the Middle Orinoco basin, between the Suapure and Parguaza rivers (see Map 1: Territory), in Venezuela. The Mapoyo are located in the

Palomo community, its population consists of approximately 400 people, including non-mapoyo people that make ties with them by affiliation (e.g. marriage).

They have a dispersed settlement pattern that is changing rapidly to a more clustered one (see Hernández 2007b). Their economic activities include fishing, cultivating crops such as yuca (*Manihot suculenta*), corn, rice and sugar cane, hunting, paid work as a labour force for the metal industries that are close the community, and foraging, particularly interesting is the relation they have with the collection of the Tonka beans.

The Mapoyo share spaces with seven other different ethnic groups, including the Piaroa (see Overing, 1975), Panare (Henley, 1982) and the Hiwi, among others. The social relations between the Mapoyo and the other indigenous groups are mostly friendly; the Mapoyo are self-aware of their size, they are a small ethnic group (living mostly in just one dispersed community “El Palomo”), in comparison to their neighbours, they are trying to become a bigger and stronger group (as well, they are afraid of the extinction of their culture), their strategy its an inclusive one, they try to include and insert people to the community by marriage for example, but in geographical terms they are clustering and losing more of their territory, which means they can be more efficient to control it. Nevertheless, there has been tensions with other groups, particularly between them and the Piaroa community of ‘Cerro Pastoral”, a conflict that started in the middle of the 1980’s, grounded on land claims.

1.5. Organization of the text

In this chapter I have made clear the questions and objectives of the research, an historical overview of the region as well as an introduction to the geographical region and of the Mapoyo community.

The second chapter of this research, is called “representations and identities: a theoretical approach to space and identity”, I will discuss first, the previous ethnographic, historical and archaeological researches, and then I will focus on concepts such as: coloniality, indigeneity, representation, space, history, tradition and identity, that will give us the conceptual tools to understand the ethnic and social dynamics of the Mapoyo community through time and space.

The third chapter will be the methodological approach, based on an historical and ethnographic analysis of the study community. There I generate a methodological proposal for the study of relations, dynamics and space-time representations, or in other words, the construction, conception and perception of space. In the fourth chapter “historical territories”, I attempt an historical recount of the management of territories and space of the region from colonial times to the present, using the laws and the maps that were generated of the region.

In the fifth chapter, “an ethnography of space” I will make an ethnographic description of the Mapoyo, the area of study and the exclusion territories made up of groups neighbouring the Mapoyo, such as the Piaroa, and the different ways in which the groups manage the territories in the region. Ending the chapter with a photographic essay, to understand visually the social and geographic landscape of the Mapoyo territory.

For the sixth and final chapter, “Mapoyo: identity and representations” I will analyse the territorial perceptions of the Mapoyo, while being cognisant that these are representations resulting from my work in a given time and space, with a particular perspective. Also, I will make some prospections about the generation of public policies in terms of territorial administration, as well as a reflections on the different views given by anthropology, in particular Venezuelan on spatial dynamics, thinking that these views have generated an agency, or to put it simply, contributed to an agenda, at the time of praxis.

2. Theoretical Approach

2.1. Introduction

This chapter consists of two parts, first an historical overview in which I will explain the previous anthropological works in the region, and in the second part, I will refer to a triad of key concepts that will help me to observe the ethnographic presence of the Mapoyo. These concepts are: Space, Colonialism or Coloniality and Identity, all of which are interconnected, and could be understood as cultural products and practices. In anthropology, it is considered necessary to study both spatial and temporal ambits, since they are part of the human experience of being-in-the-world. Studies from coloniality to the way contemporary globalized society is organized, and how different forms of living in society are important to understand even the most “remote” people on earth (Anderson 1983, Appadurai 1996, 2003).

Before I explain the concepts, I will give an overview of past anthropological works in the Amazonian region, and more locally in the Middle Orinoco region. It is important to go back to these studies which either detail ethnographic works or comparative reviews (such as Riviere, 1984), as well as some archaeological works, which can give us an historical perspective of the region.

Since early in colonial times, the Guayana region has been subject to numerous tales about cities of gold, monsters and beautiful and savage men and women, as well as an imaginary cartography. In the words of Neil Whitehead,

“The total space of “America” quickly became identified with two key representational tropes—gold and cannibals—which have persisted as standard reference points in travel writing about South America through to the present day (Whitehead, 2009:3)

Even in contemporary times we are not far from this perspective; there is still imagination coming out from ethnographic works or from the State, in the way the State imagines indigenous communities to be, just to name a few of the multiple representations of the people of the Lowlands from the good savage to the fierce cannibal. Whitehead points out:

“These constructions of the “native” or the “indigenous”—whether in public political discourse, media representations, or anthropological and ethnographic writing— have served to enable and encourage violence against indigenous

communities...this discursive production of “natives” continues to create a broad cultural framework in which violence against indigenous persons can be more easily obscure or justified.” (Whitehead, 2009:7)

2.2. Lowlands: An overview of the Amazonian Anthropology

The anthropology of the Amazon region has made varied representations of its spaces (depending on the theoretical approaches and the historical moment in which these investigations were developed). Included are the well-known dichotomies of Highlands / Lowlands or *Várzea* / *Tierra Adentro* (Meggers, 1999) and other theories applied in the 1950s and 1960s, which explained the symbolic system in the myths of Amazonian populations (Lévi- Strauss in the Mythological series, 1964-1967). In more recent theories, which emerged in the late 1970s with a renewed interest in history on the part of anthropologists, there is a concern to study how specific cultural and linguistic traditions shape social consciousness in any political-economic condition (Hill, 1998, 1996. Whitehead, 1994).

Basically, we could distinguish two different moments in the ethnology and ethnography of the region, which possibly extends to the entire American continent. The first moment, taken from *The Handbook of South American Indians*, compiled by Julian Steward, was widely quoted, and conceptions such as *family*, *clan*, *tribe* were used in order to describe the native population. In the second moment, in which these notions or concepts were no longer in use, as there was a critique of using such concepts and “the influence of African models in the Americanist ethnology, notions of ‘local group’, ‘society’ and ‘ethnic group’ gained eminence in the description of the social organization of native societies in Guayana.” (Fajardo, 2009:105)

However, these investigations focused either on very local issues or on very global theories, which did not allow a good understanding of the relations between the two situations.¹ For example, Jonathan Hill (1998) emphasizes how fundamental the understanding of ethnogenetic processes in the creation of territories and ethnic borders is, as a two-way phenomenon. Terence Turner points out the importance of representations, not only in visual forms but also in the forms of corporal practices, in the myths and in the history of indigenous groups in the Amazon (Turner, 1988, 1995), which makes us rethink new and old research themes, or as Bernard Cohn (1996: sp) suggests,

¹ In fact, this global / local is another dichotomy.

"... what began as a new form of historical anthropology will bring us back questions about the construction of culture."

2.3. Anthropological research in West Guiana

On the other hand, the anthropological investigations carried out in the Middle Orinoco region have been very rich and revolve around diverse topics of interest: from the first works in archeology realized in the years 1940 and 1950 to determine regional chronologies through studies on ceramics (Howard, 1943; Cruxent and Rouse, 1982), to more recent works of the last four decades framed within ecological-cultural perspectives (Roosevelt, 1980), or to try to explain the demographic processes that the native populations suffered (Morey, 1979; Morey and Morey, 1975). There are other works that emphasize the need to investigate the local chronologies of the Middle Orinoco to give a more complete regional chronology of human occupations (Zucchi and Tarble, 1984, Tarble and Zucchi, 1984) and the establishment of possible correlations between linguistic groups and Archaeological evidence (Tarble, 1985; Zucchi, 1985).

Other ethnohistorical works focused on rebuilding the regional exchange systems (eg, SIRO: Orinoco Regional Exchange System) between indigenous groups in the Orinoco region, both before contact with Europeans and after colonization (Arvelo-Jiménez and Biord, 1994; Biord, 1985; Gassón, 2000, 2003, and 2007 as critics of SIRO). They are relevant research in trying to understand inter-ethnic relations and therefore on spatial representations (and even of generation and transformation of ethnic territories).

With regard to ethnographic research, there are descriptive works of indigenous peoples living in the Middle Orinoco, with a tendency to look at them from a static a perspective, with impermeable territories (Overing, 1975, Overing and Kaplan,1988), to recent works in which the importance of understanding the historical processes in the construction of the territories is emphasized: those focused on the political economy (Mansutti, 1988, 1992, 2010) Others, to understand the ecological relation that these indigenous groups have (Zent, 1993, 2000, 2009, for the Piaroa, Zent and Zent for the Hoti). It is worth noting the boom that occurred at the beginning of the second millennium in the studies on territorial demarcations, coinciding with the promulgation of new laws for the "protection of ethnic spaces" (Caballero 2007, López-Zent 2003).

2.4. Previous Ethnographies about the Mapoyo

In the case of Mapoyo, the first ethnographies about them were made in the late 1970s by Paul Henley (1975, 1983), who did the first descriptive work on the situation of the community of El Palomo². In total, he stayed five days in this community, after arriving to clarify the question of whether the Mapoyo were or were not a subgroup of their neighbors Panare. Nevertheless, it was an important contribution to the ethnography of the region. With the help of Marie Claude Mattei-Müller (1975a, 1975b), who made linguistic studies, and visiting the ethnohistory of the region, they could observe that the Mapoyo represented a different group. They were pessimistic about the perpetuation of this group in the future, due to processes of "transculturation" and "creolization". However, they held out certain hopes and called for further ethnographic studies of greater depth.

This research was followed by the short ethnographic article by Miguel Ángel Perera in the 1980s (1992), on the last Wánai, the efforts of María Eugenia Villalón and associates to describe and revitalize the very vulnerable Mapoyo language due to age and death of its speakers. After long years of an alert and urgent tone, a sentimental pessimism (Sahlins, 2000) to the situation of the Mapoyo continues recently with the work of archive and opinion realized by Mosonyi and Suárez (2010).

Following the Suapure-Parguaza Archaeological Project (PASP) that emerged in the early 1990s³ led by Kay Tarble and Franz Scaramelli, research has been carried out integrating archeology and ethnography. These have helped provide a look at the historical dynamics of the populations that have inhabited the Middle Orinoco region from a pre-Hispanic past to the present, focusing on the transformations that have emerged from European contact and colonization.

The project has been supported and diversified by the investigations of the students that are inserted within the project, which tried to understand the prehispanic settlement

² Henley then identifies the Mapoyo as being called Waiai. The term Wánai is not currently used by residents of El Palomo. They call themselves Mapoyo.

³ The works of the investigators Scaramelli and Tarble: on the landscape and the memory (2004a). Archeology of missions (2004b), caving and rock art (1999), Tarble (1994) on the conception and use of space, and (1993). They have helped enormously to establish criteria for the location of pre-Hispanic settlements in the region.

patterns (Falconi, 2003, Díaz, 2005, Romero, 2004). Topics of recent research include historical and current spatial and residential dynamics (Hernández 2007a, 2007b); the economic and political history and its influence on the processes of social change, through the role of sarrapia (Torrealba, 2011) and metals in the process of colonization (Navas, 2012), of cassava (Vidal, 2011) and the extraction of turtle eggs (Meza, 2013), and even the importance of activities such as football in present-day populations as a means and social practice that allows mobilization and re-production of cultural meanings, among others.

This research continues the efforts of the PASP to recover the historical record of the Middle Orinoco and contribute to a less naive image of the past, present and future Mapoyo, removing the burden of an ethnography that devotes to an essentialist and static conception of culture, which Resulted in fatalistic and even disqualifying prospects for the community, evicted by academics and officials, and perhaps by themselves, to allow themselves to adopt such positions.

It is precisely such representations of culture and consequently of ethnic landscapes, as they are presupposed in national Indian policies, that present the challenges and difficulties to the Mapoyo, but also the opportunities and options of the route to overcome them and exploit them with cunning and advantage. On the contrary, the Mapoyo's difficulties, including those to be defined as "ethnicity" to legitimize their appropriation of a "traditional and ancestral territory" delimited to guarantee their continuity, are in fact revealing their vitality and distinction as a group, of the options that they take and leave in the political praxis of the daily life in which they are being constituted and reproducing throughout the time and the width of the space.

The Mapoyo case can be effectively illustrative of the boundaries of ahistorical ethnographic concepts, the detriment of policies based on nonexistent subjects (as they are assumed to be fixed and immutable), expressed in cartographies of perpetually delimited and exclusively assigned spaces. It would show positively the possibilities of analysis more critical of local and regional history that indicate the agentivity of social actors, the need for change and updating, the fluidity and flexibility of ethnicity, as well as the inclusiveness and mobility in the construction of the territory.

2.5. Space

2.5.1. Space and representations

Some studies on the production and (re)production of representations suggest that societies can organize their world, their space, through pairs of basic oppositions (Eliade, 1957, Lévi-Strauss, 1964). In contrast, other authors have understood that representations are generated through more complex social dynamics (Appadurai 1996; Giddens 1979, 1975; Lefebvre 1974; Sahlins, 1994). This, while emphasizing the fundamental role played by "mental" maps as a cartography of landscape and history, as well as the creation of laws that legitimize, authorize and normalize the production and reproduction of these spatio-temporal representations (Sharpe, 1986) and of the social dynamics, for example, in the relations between neighboring groups (Sarró, 2009).

We need to redefine the categories of time and space, in Fernando Coronil words, "to integrate a spatialized conception of time with a temporalized notion of space." (Coronil, 1997: 24). The spatial is basic to my theoretical approach, taking a revisionist perspective, the social and political studies of space made Lefebvre or Foucault, and what Soja (1989) has called the spatial turn of social and cultural theory, or the reassertion of geography in social theory, which means that academics are taking note of the importance of the spatial, but without taking away the time. As Coronil points out there is an opportunity "not to install space and geography in place of time and history as the distinctively significant interpretive dimensions of the contemporary period, but to reassess the meaning of these polarized categories, just as time occupies space, space unfolds in time: as "mediums" for each other, they share a fundamental unity-in-difference." (Coronil, 1997:27). In this sense, there is a criticism of the established disciplinary traditions, and which promotes a trans-disciplinary approach to the study of space and, therefore, its representations.

It means that the space cannot be seen just as a container of the human experience or life, but it is a medium for action in which people not only moved through but also it is produced and constructed by them. As Christopher Tilley suggested in his book *A Phenomenology of Landscape* (1994), space cannot be separate from action, which means space is not apart from events and histories; "Space as a social production is always centered in relation to human agency and is amenable to reproduction and

change because its constitution takes place as part of the day-to-day praxis or practical activity of individuals and groups” (Alemán, 2009:201).

Space is at the same time an enabler and a constrainer of human experience, because it is medium of action as well as the result of it. Tilley affirms “a landscape in motion is a necessary component of the description and understanding of any social group... marking, moving, controlling and sometimes acquiescing to persons makes up the other large portion of active life” (Tilley in Alemán, 2009:202). This is one of the reasons why the concept of landscape is important to point out when explaining space, or talking about space theory.

The status of the concept of landscape can be related, in anthropology, as Eric Hirsch suggests in his book *The Anthropology of Landscape* (1995), to the concept of body, with the difference that the first has not been problematized as much as the latter. He illustrates the relationship between the landscape and the body in terms of sound: “This landscape is constructed out of the interface between two kinds of experience; distally it is comprised of a codification of ambient sound...” (Hirsch, 1995:241)

Likewise, Soja (1989) suggests that space must be put first, with its concept of *thirdspace*: it is distinguished from the traditional way of thinking space, in which space is thought to function by binary oppositions, from material / real perspectives or mental / imagined.

Landscape and memory are connected, Simon Schama in his book *Landscape and Memory* (1995) points out that social memory has the power of shaping identities, as well as the environment has features in which an individual or a group can create and make a shape of these memories: “He asserts that identity is constructed more through the experience of others and the environment than through and autonomous self-consciousness” (Alemán, 2009:203).

2.5.2. The Social Construction of Space

It is also important to explain Henry Lefebvre's theory of space, because his book from 1974, later translated to English in 1991, *The Social Construction of Space*, has been a groundwork for thinking about the concept of space in a way in which integrates its significance in the social production without detaching it from nature. His theoretical core is based always in a triad of concepts, to make it an understandable dialectical process, and not just a dialogical opposition, starting with *form*, *function* and *structure*, or *labor*, *soil* and *capital*, in order to understand the capitalistic production of space, for example. (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974])

Nevertheless, the triad of concepts that are important to this theoretical frame are: *spatial practice*, *spatial representations* and *representational spaces*. Throughout these three concepts appears a dialectical process of production of space.

The first concept, the *spatial practice*, involves the production and reproduction of the social sphere. It is the environment that we construct and perceive, where the daily routines and the institutional practices are associated. The *spatial representations* are forms of knowledge and ideologies of space that are controlled by a hegemony, it is the conceptual space where professionals, bureaucrats and politicians stand, this is the space for abstract representations that will have an impact on the production of space throughout political and social practices. Finally, the third concept, *representational spaces* can be understood as the lived spaces, with symbolic value, as well as practical, is the space of the agents (Lefebvre, 1991).

The importance of Lefebvre's theory is that it helps to allow for the conception of a middle point, between a materialistic and idealistic perspective, he understands that there is a dialectical relationship happening between the material and the ideal realm, also he brings the importance of the practice, where the body or subject is the mediator between these triad of concepts.

For Lefebvre the perception of space is that it is concrete and has a material form, as well as is abstract and mental at the same time, I could say 'imaginary'. It is important to take note the dimension of time, because in Lefebvre's theory, also plays a key part of the lived

experience, that means that if we want to be able to understand how space is produced we also need to take into account the production of (and in) time (Lefebvre, 1991).

2.5.3. Types of space. A phenomenological approach.

Following Tilley (1994), spaces are always created, re-produced and transformed, in relation to spaces constructed before (Tilley, 1994:15). This means that space has historicity. There is need to distinguish between space and landscape. Landscape, in a social context, can be understood as a creation of the actors through their own experiences and in relation to their environment and nature, where agents give significance to a space, in this way it turns into a landscape. Space can be considered a wider concept, that includes landscape (Bender, 1993).

Tilley (1994), also makes a categorization of space that can be used as an heuristic tool to understand it. He says that there are five dimensions of space, each of them mutually related: somatic spaces, perceptual spaces, existential spaces, architectonical spaces and cognitive spaces. I will briefly explain each one of them.

1) *Somatic Space*: Is the space of the unconscious, repetitive and habitual action, it invokes the capacity that has a body to move through the space, is where the agent interacts with the environment and nature, can be generated through routines. (Tilley, 1994)

2) *Perceptual Space*: Is the space of the ego, the individual. This space is always relative and qualitative. It is related to corporal movement and perception.

3) *Existential Space*: It is the living space constructed by the particular experiences of the individual and the social group where he lives. It is constantly re-produced through the movements and the activities of the agents and the community.

4) *Architectural Space*: It only has meaning when it is associated with the other spaces. It is the space that creates and makes boundaries, where interior and exterior are generated. it can be useful to think when explaining boundaries, for example. It can have structuring effects in the perceived (perceptual) space.

5) *Cognitive Space*: the last space category is the space that creates the ground to reflection and theorization, it is the space to the understanding of the Other. It is the space for discussion and analysis, where the myths, histories and science stands. (Tilley, 1994)

This conceptual categorization of space will be useful to this work in order to analyse the representations of space within the indigenous community of El Palomo, to understand the changes that have occurred through time in the landscape of the Mapoyo territory.

Even more, apart from these types of space, I will define, for practical methodological criteria, other types of spaces. In this case, I have defined three types of spaces that can be found inside the Mapoyo territory. These are: public spaces, communal spaces and private spaces.

The public space can be used by every person in a society, it should not have restrictions to access it. Examples are roads, parks, squares. Communal space is the one where access is only possible for members of one community, the access for foreigners or outsiders is restricted. Lastly, private spaces are the places restricted to the majority of people, or a community, in the case of the Mapoyo territory it could be households, but it is also the spaces inside the territory where the state has property that is not accessible for the community, such as Bauxilum, the company that extracts Bauxite (Roberts, 1996).

2.5.4. Territory and mapping

Territory in anthropology can be seen as a concept with agency, because affects social and political aspects of the human society, it is a concept that is closely related to the concepts border and frontier, and also of the modern concept of Nation-state. A Nation has to have a territory to exist. (Anderson 1983, Wilson, 2012). Territory is key for territoriality, to have not only a sense of belonging to a place but to have legal rights of it. It is a difficult concept and in the case of the demarcation of indigenous lands in Venezuela, is a concept that is nowhere to be found, because according to the venezuelan law, the only territory is the national one, nevertheless, Mapoyo people often speak about their territory which goes from the rivers Parguaza to the Suapure, many other indigenous groups have the same idea about the concept of territory, this is why I have to be careful in the use of this concept.

I will make an observation about the rooted notion in Western thought that "the map is the territory", assuming in advance that there is a territory, and the isomorphism between reality and its representation or concept.

Following Geertz (1963) we say that cartography represents a "territory", but that it is necessary to go beyond these cartographic (visual-centered) representations to understand the spatial (re) production of human groups: the map is a tool or colonialist mechanism of control and surveillance, but also used contemporaneously for the processes of claiming indigenous rights, which have helped to (re) establish the tangible physical limits of a place, as I will explain in the next chapter, when I will refer to indigenous mapping as a tool for indigenous communities to counter attack government policies that go against their land's rights, or also it is a tool that can help them claim established indigenous land rights, as is the case of Venezuela.

2.5.5. Chronotopes. Spaces in time, times in space

The concept of *chronotope* was first used in the literature world by the Russian scholar Bakhtin, as he wanted to demonstrate the different configurations and uses of time and space in literature. In anthropology the term was acquired by Keith Basso in his linguistic study of the Western Apache stories (Basso, 1992; 1996), where the geographical scape in the Apache region are chronotopes; they are sites that activate the memory and where stories are hidden. I use this term in my study case, because the Mapoyo also bound the landscape and its features with their stories. Therefore these stories are ascribed to one place (not necessarily one time), these are places with meanings that also conform an ethnic identity of the community.

2.5.6. Ethnoscapes. Ethnic Landscapes

In addition to the discussion of space, I will explore the concept of Ethnoscape, first sketched by Appadurai (1996), to explain the spatial/temporal interethnic relations, and also between the nation-state, the community and the transnational spaces in our modern world. According to Appadurai (1996), "The image, the imagined, the imaginary—these are all terms that direct us to something crucial and new in global cultural processes: the imagination is a social practice." (Appadurai, 1996: 31). Imagination is central for agency to exist; the social imaginary or the set of values, institutions, laws and

symbols found in a society, where the imagined plays an important role in the social practice. The social imaginary is formed along five dimensions of flow in the global culture, these are, according to Appadurai: 1) ethnoscapas, 2) mediascapas, 3) technoscapas, 4) financescapas, and 5) ideoscapas. The first concept will be relevant to this research as it will allow for the understanding of the interaction processes that occur between the Mapoyo community and other agents, it is also important enable an explanation of the relationship of the Mapoyo with globalization processes and the global world, that in one way or another help to conform and re-affirm the ethnical identity of the Mapoyo community. Appadurai (1996) defines ethnoscapas as:

“...the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and individuals to constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of (and between) nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree. This is not to say that there are no relatively stable communities and networks of kinship, friendship, work, and leisure, as well as of birth, residence, and other filial forms. But it is to say that the warp of these stabilities is everywhere shot through with the woof of human motion, as more persons and groups deal with the realities of having to move or the fantasies of wanting to move.” (Appadurai, 1996: 33-34)

The idea of movement, of flows of people even in local spheres, and territories is key to understanding notions of identity, and how they can change depending on political and social factors. This is why I will continue to elucidate a theory for identity that will help to understand this process of change.

2.6. Identity

2.6.1. The problem of Culture

To explain how identity has been conceptualized, we first have to understand how it has been bound to the concept of culture. Furthermore we need to problematize that relationship because in most of the anthropological literature, culture and identity are ideas that were bounded together.

Following Said's definition of culture (1994), we can say that it has two faces, it is, on one hand, the human practices that are relatively autonomous from the social, political and economic aspects, those that can be more associated with arts, for example, and on the other hand “culture is a concept that includes a refining and elevating elements, each

society's reservoir of the best that has been known and thought...culture in this sense is a source of identity" (Said, 1994: xiii).

We could think of culture as a kind of theatre "where various political and ideological causes engage one another." (Said, 1994: xiv). Nevertheless, there is a problem with this notion of culture because "it entails not only venerating one's own culture but also thinking of it as somehow divorced from, because transcending, the everyday world." (idem).

There is also the idea of culture as just practice, following the concept of culture by Pierre Bourdieu (1977), where the notion of *habitus* plays a key role. He defines habitus as "generating principles of distinctive and different practices... but also it is the classificatory principles, principles of vision and division, affections and difference. It establishes the difference between what is right and wrong." (Bourdieu, 1997:16. My own translation).

He gives a second concept of *habitus*, the most used in social sciences, *habitus* are the,

"systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them." (Bourdieu 1990:66)

In other words, *habitus* are all the daily actions and practices of a social group, it is the space of repetition, the habits that are so naturalized inside the culture that "go without saying" (Bourdieu 1990:66-67). According to Bourdieu (1977) space would have no significance if it is separate from practice, being social practices made by the agents responsible to activate meaning in spatiality.

We need to deconstruct the concept of culture, so it can provide a useful tool to think about ethnicity, understanding ethnicity as: "the social organization of cultural difference." (Barth, 1995:13).

Identity is not a continuous, and impermeable thing, it changes through time, depending on social, political, ideological or economic factors, in this sense, identity shares this

characteristic with the notion of territory. Due to this territory (boundaries) and identity cannot be seen as separate entities.

2.6.2. Identity and Ethnic Identity

As with culture, the idea of identity is something that is not fixed. In anthropology, one of the first concepts of identity dealt with, the “ethnic identity”, is almost self-explanatory. If we take into account the history of anthropology, especially at the beginning when the subjects of the study of anthropology were non-western or “primitive” societies, this notion of ethnic identity had a double meaning: the idea of self-identity and the idea of the self in relation to others, in other words, a consciousness of belonging, where people that were the same shared the same territory, language and culture. These two notions of the ethnic identity were not contradictory, on the contrary, they were complementary, because the group to which a person belongs is an important factor of the social environment in which the self-identity of that person was constructed (Benoist, 1977).

Nevertheless, ethnic identity is a useful concept if it is detached as just being an expression of one’s culture. This means that ethnic identity can be understood as a feature of the social organization. (Barth, 1994:12)

Ethnic identity is situational, it can change according to environmental/social factors. It depends on “ascription and self-ascription: only in so far as individuals embrace it, are constrained by it, act on it, and experience it will ethnicity make organizational difference.” (Barth, 1994:12)

2.6.3. What is imagined. An Overview on Benedict Anderson’s Theory.

An important concept within the framework of this theoretical frame, refers to the concept of *imagined communities*, or the *imagined*. It is an idea proposed by Benedict Anderson, in his book of 1983, *Imagined Communities*. The concept makes reference to a political/social community that has a unique destination based on a shared origin and experiences.

The concept of a territoriality is an important element in the making of this togetherness. The territoriality is conformed through a nation-state, this extends beyond idea of a local community, is now a national territory, outside this territorial border there is a world of "dangers and insecurities." (Anderson, 1983)

According to this theory, the nation-state is the result of a successful commitment of interests between different social groups, in which an exchange between group loyalty is offered by giving them participation and security. It is not the result of empowering the bourgeoisie, as defined by Marxist theory, or as a necessity in highly differentiated societies, as suggested by functionalist theory (Anderson, 1983).

Nevertheless, the concept of nationalism is destined to remain blurred and diffused, in part, by processes such as trans-national immigration, since there are groups that are related beyond national territorial borders. In relation to the concept of identity, one can have several nationalities, depending on the place of birth as well as the place of birth of parents and grandparents.

The totality that is imagined as a territorial unit, will have clearly defined boundaries that separate the 'homogeneous' domestic sphere from an external and heterogeneous one. In fact, I can emphasize that the construction of a 'nationalist' space can be seen clearly represented in the world maps, where the globe is divided and with different colours of each country of the world, each distinguishable from the other, with clear lines that are separated, these borders are well defined and almost identical in all maps of the world, if I do not take into account historical maps, which can give the idea of some temporal uniformity through the spatial representation. If it is investigated from a diachronic perspective, it can be observed how these representations have changed over time, both the forms of graphic representation and the boundaries themselves, eg. what 30 years ago was the Soviet Union is now several countries and Russia. (Calhoun, 1997: 12-18)

2.6.4. Ethnic identities and Otherness

In the 1970s, after critical discussions about the concept of identity, the focus changed and academics started to talk about identities in plural, instead of "identity" as just one, because it was easier to show that, "identities" can be multiple, affirming that it is a dynamic concept, that is the result of interactions between every social actor or agent. In

this way, a person, can be think of capable of not just to be able to have one single identity, but actually has a multiplicity of identities, that are changing, always being constructed and interacting. However the individual is not an autonomous agent in the sense that he/she builds his/her identities in relation to different collectivities. (D'Ans 1986). In other words, identities are always con-formed through comparisons and contrasts, only the possibility of difference (otherness) make it possible to happen a (likeness) or similarity. (D'Ans 1986)

This means that it is not just the same group as an agent that gives him the possibilities to developed identity, it is also the relationship of the agent with outsiders, with other groups, with so-called otherness, because identities are built by recognizing differences.

The other is a basic category in the formulation of an identity, but this otherness can either be close to the agent or completely different from him. The formulation of identity is not a homogenous process, and it is never constructed in the same way inside the social structure, so in this way the social transcends the cultural realm, the latter being conceived in a substantive way (Augé, 1994). The identities theory enables the understanding of the decentering (or detachment) of the notion of culture, in other words, that the notion of culture has been considered a coherent, unchanging whole that is shared by every human being. But in this context of pluralities, of identities, culture can be interpreted (and also identity) as a phenomenon that is collectively constructed, invented and imagined and re-created (Anderson, 1983).

2.6.5. Identities and Territory: a metaphor or a fact

Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that the concept of identity (id-entity, identities) is closely attached to the notion of territory. Amodio (1999) defines two concepts to explain identity that are metaphorically and practically spatialized, these are: cultural border and ethnic frontier, in the first the geographic space is represented, and it is also where the human groups interact, it is the physical and cultural space, while the latter, refers to the distance in which a group establishes itself from another (or the other), starting from the perception that they have of themselves and of the differences that they have with the other groups that they keep contact with, either a direct, everyday contact or an indirect and sporadic one.

2.6.6. Ethnicity and the State.

There are three dominant perspectives in the debate on the *ethnic* and the *national*. In the first approach, ethnic groups and the nation are considered as modern phenomena, which emerged as the product of the emergence of a territorial state and industrial development. The second perspective sees the ethnic and political state of the nation-state as a transitory phenomenon, which will give way to a new state, perhaps a socialist one. (Quijano, 2008)

In the third view, *ethnicity* represents an important basis of the history of humanity, limiting the range of nationalist inventions and modern imaginaries. However there is also a fourth perspective and it is to understand nationalism and ethnicity not only as products of the formation of the modern state and industrialization, but to understand that modernity is itself based on ethnic and nationalist principles. In these new political forms processes of inclusion (such as democracy, rights, citizenship, popular sovereignty, etc.) have been generated, but also exclusion processes based on ethnic or nationality differences. (Quijano, 2008)

These modern principles of inclusion are intimately related to national and ethnic forms of exclusion. It must be remember that the pre-modern empires were conformed by ethnic differences under the shadow of a hierarchical political order, universalist but non-ethnic, in which each group had its defined space (Grillo, 1998, McNeill, 1986). That is, a pyramid.

It should be noted that this politicisation of ethnicity is the result of the overlapping of three notions of "peoplehood".

1. People as a sovereign entity,
- 2 As citizens of a state with equal rights before a law, and
3. As an ethnic community that is not differentiated by distinctions of honour or prestige, but which hold a common political destiny and a "culture" shared. (Grillo, 1998, McNeill, 1986)

It is also necessary to recognize the importance of the role that the state plays in the construction of ethnicity, because the state regulates and normalizes people's lives, the state also "deals directly with groups and categories of people." (Barth, 1994:19).

In Venezuela, one can observe this phenomenon in the making of indigenous laws and enforcing the rights of indigenous peoples: there has been a significant increase in the number of people identifying themselves as indigenous in the national censuses in the time between 1990s and the 2000s due to a reduction in the stigma in being identified as indigenous and advantages bestowed upon indigenous peoples. (INE, 1990-2005).

The latter example illustrates how the state it is always an active actor in the making of ethnicity. Thus, it is important to analyze the policies and policy-making of the state because we can depict “the power represented by the state as a specifiable third player in the processes of boundary construction between groups.” (Barth, 1994:20).

The state, in this research, will be observed at the macro level; it is an important level to keep track of, therefore the analysis of the laws, either recent or colonial, is key to understanding how the Mapoyo not only identify themselves but how they construct their spaces.

Even beyond the state we could think about a transnational space where ethnicity is imagined; this space is the place of the NGOs, of international organizations such as UNESCO, of the global discourses on identity and ethnicity. This macro level articulates with micro levels, such as a small community of indigenous people, in our case, the Mapoyo. The Mapoyo is a community that also participates in international affairs, and wants to be, and in fact it is recognized as an indigenous community by international agents, such as the UNESCO (they are registered in the non-material heritage of the humanity since the year 2014). (UNESCO, 2014)

The nation-state can be seen as a group of individuals that are associated with each other by a language, traditions, or a shared history and territory, which enables the individuals to feel a sense of belonging to a nation-state as a form of identity. Benedict Anderson (1991) suggested that if the members of a modern nation-state feel their inclusion in the nation-state is a form of identity, it cannot be just because it can be imagined as a community, but because they have something real and meaningful in common: “this, in all modern nation-states, is a more or less democratic participation in the distribution of the control of power. This is the specific manner of homogenizing people in the modern nation-state.” (Quijano, 2008:205).

In Venezuela, and in many Latin American countries we have the example of a homogenisation of the identity towards the idea of the *mestizo*, as a way to make everyone the same, with the same traditions, people that are mixed but that share just one identity, that mixed identity.

The policy of ethnic identity can be seen in a variety of ways, for example, in the sometimes forced inclusion of ethnic minorities into a citizenry, or in territorial struggles of lands inhabited by an ethnic group (as is the case of indigenous peoples in Venezuela), the grouping of diasporas, or even more extreme forms such as ethnic cleansing, ethnocide or apartheid, and expulsions. (Anderson, 1983)

Recalling that inclusion has also come with a process of exclusion, either implicit or explicit, from groups that are not considered true members of a family, who have been classified as foreigners, ethnic minorities, religious minorities, etc ... Nevertheless, these minorities have also managed to rise up and try to generate more equitable processes, such as representation in a Congress, or National Assembly, equity before the Law, among other wins. against the state So the vision of a multinational and multiethnic state or society represents a "shattered" image of the nationalist project from which these groups were held / held. (Anderson, 1983)

Thus, the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion is a dialectic process in which modern institutions that promote inclusiveness, such as citizenship and democracy, are systematically linked to ethnic and national forms of exclusion, correspondingly ethnic conflicts and racism, Ethnocentrism, xenophobia are integral parts of the order of nation-states. (Anderson, 1983). And this is not just only a way-of-doing-things in a macro level, but also, can be a strategy for small communities to survive, the play between inclusion and exclusion, whom to include or exclude from the territory, from the social life of the community. Also, science(s) cannot be apart from this reality

This is also a call for attention to the way of doing science, especially in the social sciences that for many good intentions it has to recognize in general its Eurocentric approach ... and this we see it following different philosophical traditions and Sociological concepts that come from the 18th and 19th centuries ... especially when speaking dichotomically of concepts such as *gesellschaft* / *gemeinschaft*, mechanical societies /

organic societies; Tradition / rationality; Raw / cooked; Developed countries / developing countries; center/ periphery, and stop counting ... following our modern Western thinking: rationalizing and dichotomous, with a dye often clearly derived from a linear evolutionism where the ceiling is shaped by "modern Western society". (Anderson, 1983; Appadurai, 1996)

Now these dynamics of nation-states must also be viewed with the process of globalization: it may be said that nation-states have lost some political strength because of factors such as information flow, immigration, and transnational corporations.

2.6.7. Identity and the Global Sphere

I part from the understanding that members of a society have, in addition to a social structure through which they are governed, the ability to generate changes in their environment (concept of agency, Giddens, 1981).

In particular, when I refer to processes of transformation and the generation of ethnic identities, identity would have to be understood from a Lamarckian approach, to use a comparison with the history of biology: the intelligent transmission of adaptations and progressive innovations. It should not be understood in terms of strict Mendelian genetics, inherited conservatively through the blood that sustains, transmits and even essentialises it.

On the other hand, I understand that we are in a world where agents are interconnected in global networks. Therefore, work on the topic of globalization is relevant to this research. Many social processes are explained through how the world relates and becomes complicated (co-implies). These global or globalizing processes have been studied from different perspectives and many authors propose that they be viewed dialectically and therefore in a positive way.

In these processes of globalization both the phenomena of uniformity of societies occur, as well as of their distinctions (Appadurai, 1998; Sahlins, 1988), generating theories such as the world-system, widely used by the economists of the 1980s, and popular terms such as 'glocal' (Beck, Robertson). It is understood that, as mentioned by Eric Wolf (1987), human beings have always been interconnected, with the distinction that in the

last century the global network has the capacity to generate faster and distant communications, producing, for example, mediascapes (Appadurai, 1998).

2.6.8. Indigeneity

The concept of indigeneity, is an official definition accepted since 1972 by the United Nations Working Group for Indigenous Peoples. In 1983, was first amended to the following definition:

“Indigenous populations are composed of the existing descendants of the peoples who inhabited the present territory of a country wholly or partially at the time when persons of a different culture or ethnic origin arrived there from other parts of the world, overcame them, by conquest, settlement or other means, reduced them to a non-dominant or colonial condition; who today live more in conformity with their particular social, economic and cultural customs and traditions than with the institutions of the country of which they now form part, under a state structure which incorporates mainly national, social and cultural characteristics of other segments of the population which are predominant.” (UN Human Rights Sub/ Commission on Prevention of Discrimination ad protection of Minorities, Study of the Problem of Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations. The original document in order of publication: UN Does. E/Cn.4?Sub.2/476/Add.1-6 (1981): E/ CN.4?Sub. 2/1982/2/Add. 1/7 (1982) and E/CN.4/Sub.2/1983/21/Add.1-7 (1983)

The concept of indigeneity has been used as an official term in other institutions, such as the World Bank and the ILO 169 Convention of Indigenous Rights. This concept has also been discussed within the community of anthropologists, one of his detractors is Adam Kuper (2006:21) that states: “The notion of ‘indigenous peoples’ is an ideological makeover of the old idea of primitive people” (In The concept of indigeneity. (2006). Social Anthropology, 14(1), 17-32.), nevertheless, there are many anthropologists in favour of this concept, such as Alan Barnard who makes a critique on Kuper’s position, saying that indigeneity is a useful conceptual tool that helps to understand the relationship of indigenous communities and the modern globalized world.

2.7. Colonialism

In this part, I will explain why colonialism and coloniality are key ideas to understand when talking about space, in this case, the representations of space of the Mapoyo people. The structures of colonialism are still alive in the way people organize their lives,

and though they are invisible, they can be found in all levels, from the state to the smallest and most remote community.

2.7.1. Coloniality

Coloniality is a category of analysis laid out by Anibal Quijano, he defines it as “a global hegemonic power in place since the Conquest that articulates race and labor, thus combining the epistemological dispositifs for colonial dominance and the structures of social relations and the exploitation which emerged with the Conquest and continued in the following states of Latin America’s history” (Quijano, 2008:19). It was the specific structure of domination that was imposed from Europe to the colonies since the “discovery” in 1492.

Instead of speaking about neo-colonialism (new forms of colonialism) or even post-colonialism (how people overcame the colonial condition, creating a new structure), I will mention *coloniality*, and refer to it as the condition that resulted “from colonial domination and the modern phenomenon of territorial expansion.” (Quijano, 2008:19). Nevertheless, this domination was not always coercive “it was not only about physically repressing the dominated populations but also about getting them to naturalize the European cultural imaginary as the only way of relating to nature, the social world, and their own subjectivity.” (Castro-Gomez, 2008:281). This explains why, for example, the missionary project (in the Middle Orinoco region the Jesuit company was in charge of the evangelization of the native population) was so important for the Spanish Crown to be completed.

Coloniality is a spatial articulation of power that started in the sixteenth century, just after the “discovery of America”, when the Atlantic route that connected Europe and America, Old continent and New continent, was created, understanding that this was not just a commercial route where things and objects were traded, but also where people and cultures flowed. It was not just a unilateral exchange, the new continent taking from the old, but it was a two way street process. This was the point that modernity, as we know it, was created. (Quijano, 2008)

It means that if we want to understand coloniality, as Quijano refers to the term, we need to conceive it as a constitutive aspect of modernity, and not just something that was

caused by modernity. It means that “all dominated populations and all the newly created identities were subjected to the hegemony of Eurocentrism understood as a way of conceiving of and organizing knowledge, above all, when some sectors of the dominated population had the opportunity and the chance to learn the writing system [la letra] of the colonizer.” (Quijano, 1998:147). Also we need to point out that “coloniality is not the past of modernity, it is simply its other face” ((Castro-Gomez, 2008:283)

Coloniality is attached to the concept of Imperialism, both can be understood as the resulting condition that occurs from colonial domination and the territorial expansion of modern days. Nevertheless, the main difference is that “the term imperialism is usually restricted to the type of empire building that accompanies the emergence of the modern nation-state in the West, and usually refers to European territorial expansion during the nineteenth and twentieth century.” (Maraña et al, 2008:19)

2.7.2. Colonial difference

Mignolo's concept of Colonial difference can be connected to coloniality. It is defined as the space where localities and its histories meet global designs, in other words, how the macro spheres (the global) has to be either adapted or rejected, integrated or ignored in the micro levels (the local). It is a concept at the same time material, with a physical basis and ideational, with an imaginary location; “The colonial difference is the space where coloniality of power is enacted.” (Mignolo 2000:ix). It is how a particular region or community is connected and intermingles with the world-system of, in this case, colonial domination.

It is a useful conceptual tool because, distinguishes the relationship between local and global, not as a unilateral relation but it is multidimensional and heterogenous, it is both the imaginary and the physical location “where the coloniality of power is at work in the confrontation of two kinds of histories displayed in different spaces across the planet.” (Maraña et al, 2008:18)

2.7.3. The Invention of Tradition

Another key concept to understand not only how coloniality works, but to also understand identity and space, is the notion of tradition. In particular, how something that has the appearance of being old or ancient could be just recently invented, this is what Eric Hobsbawm (1993) calls “the invention of tradition”. In his book of the same title, he explains that,

“The term ‘invented tradition’ is used in a broad, but not imprecise sense. It includes both ‘traditions’ actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period—a matter of a few years perhaps— and establishing themselves with great rapidity.” (Hobsbawm, 1983:1)

It can be understood as a set of practices, with rules that are socially accepted, that also have rituals and a symbolic meaning. This set of practices seek to instill norms and values that are meant to be repeated. This repetition means that there is a continuity with the past, but this continuity with that past can be an imagined notion, as Hobsbawm points out, “the historic past into which the new tradition is inserted need not be lengthy, stretching back to the assumed mists of time.” (Hobsbawm, 1983:2). Invented traditions are “essentially a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition.” (Hobsbawm, 1983:4)

This concept is important to understand how the Mapoyo community generates a singular identity through traditions, in the form of practices, myths, rituals, stories, etc., that are not necessarily ancient or have had a continuation in time or space but are a fundamental part of their contemporary identity.

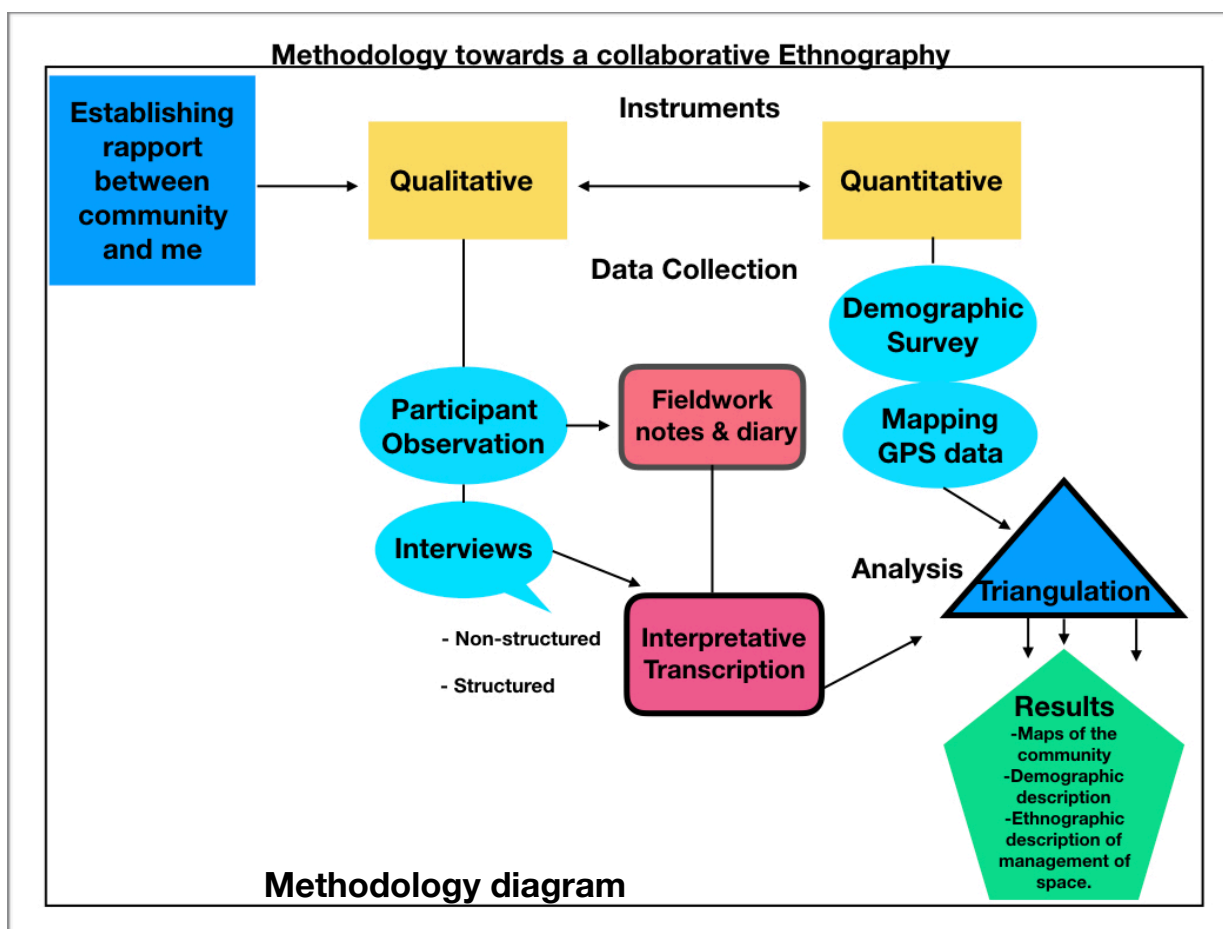
Overall, the concepts presented in this theoretical framework will help us understand, the historical and social dynamics that were in action, and still are, in the local context of the Mapoyo community, where even though we count approximately 200 souls that are living in a “remote” area of the national territory of Venezuela, and of the world, still are participants not only of local events but on regional and global as like.

3. Methodology

In this chapter, I will discuss the methodological approach that was used to collect the data. From qualitative methodology to quantitative demographic data collection to understand how population of El Palomo is composed. I will be explaining the methods utilized, one by one, first during fieldwork process, in the collection of the data, and continuing with the methods I used to analyze the data collected. My main goal was to aim towards a collaborative research between the El Palomo community and me, because, the main issue that this project was faced to, was demarcation of the Mapoyo's territory, even I could say that this project started as a request of the community to put on paper, with coordinates, maps and historical facts, the land that this community believes is theirs.

3.1. Collection of Data

This project was a long term research, I started to collect data in the year 2005 until the



year 2012, even before my research started, the main project PASP was working since the beginning of the 90's, all the data collected was mainly archeological, but important

to understand the historical space distribution of the Mapoyo people in their territory. The total time spent in the field was approximately nine months, made in recurrent and frequents trips to the community of El Palomo and its neighbours .

The diagram is a flow of the methodology used, from start to finish, that helps to illustrate every step that I have taken during research, from start, in the first approach and building of rapport with the community, to finish with the analysis of the data, resulting and maps, in demographic results and in the documentation of the oral tradition and historical events. (Hernandez 2007)

3.1.1. Methods

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I used both qualitative and quantitative methods. The central method that I have used for this research was participant observation. In which I made interviews, including: focus groups, interviews with experts in indigenous and territorial claims, informal conversations, taking note that many of the interviews were transcribed as verbatims transcripts, which means everything said or not said was transcribed, with the purpose of showing the reaction and emotions of the interviewee. I also did non-standarized and standarized observation; a photo documentation. And in the quantitative ground, I implemented demographic surveys, and the making of maps, including GPS mapping and mental maps created by the community. In the following table it can be distinguish the qualitative and quantitative methods utilised.

Etnographic method	quantitative	qualitative
Technics	✓ Demographic survey: including open and closed questions ✓ GPS mapping of the community, households and neighbouring communities	✓ Informal interviews ✓ Historical documents research ✓ Focus groups ✓ Non-standarized participant observation ✓ Photographic documentation

3.1.2. Qualitative methods

Ethnography is mainly a qualitative method in which techniques tend to be flexible (Guber, 2001; Rusque, 2001), I consider that it is an open method of investigation within the field; and one of its most important characteristics is the way in which the "researcher must maintain himself in a being inside and outside his object of investigation, a kind of closeness and remoteness, not easy to achieve" (Rusque, 2001: 57).

The aim of ethnographic work is to achieve a good description or interpretation of the society that studies, without misinterpreting it, that is to say, without incurring ethnocentric interpretations, substituting the points of view, and values of the studied culture, for those of the researcher. Here I will explain the qualitative techniques used in during fieldwork

3.1.2.1. First approach. Informal visits.

The first visits I made to the Palomo community were in 2005, I made two visits, all of them during dry season, which goes from January to March, it is important to point out this fact, because during this season it is easier to move around the territory, in the raining season it is almost impossible to go to other places, that are not connected with the pavement road. The first visit had a duration of two weeks and the second, three weeks respectively, with the goal of getting to know the people and that the people knew me, having meetings with the community to create and organise the project of mapping the territory, step by step. These first visits were extremely important to establish rapport between me and the community, many of the days were expend doing what the local women and children would do on their daily lives, meaning: waking up early, around 4 in the morning to be able to go to the crops fields, and harvest, the going to cook lunch for the family. The productive activities of the community usually stop around 11 am, this is due to the intensive heat that happens during the middle of the day, that is the reason why people go to the river after lunch, to refresh themselves from the heat and also to socialized, it is specially a daily activities for the children of the community, they will go there after school is finish for the day and they would learn to fish, hunt, and other activities, until approximately 4 p.m, after that, people would return to do their productive activities, or kids would do their homework, and later, everyone would spend evenings

watching movies in the patio of the Captain's house, at least this is what happened during the first years I was visiting the community, later on, with the introduction of television in almost every household, and an incorporation of a new generator of electricity that would permit that each family would gather inside their own houses, changing the social dynamic.

3.1.2.2. Participant Observation

In the traditional sense during ethnographic field work the researcher must spend several months and even years within the community to be able to understand all its aspects (Malinowski, 1986). The method of Participant Observation consists in "observing in the most systematically and in a controlled way possible everything that happens around the researcher" (Guber, 2001: 57), participating in one or several activities of the group. To achieve this, rapport or trust must be established between the community and the researcher (Rusque, 2001); We also consider that there is co-authorship with the people in the production of knowledge, and that the researcher makes an interpretation of that society, taking into account the cultural situation of the observer

In this research case, to obtain data about many aspects of the life of the Mapoyo indigenous group, that could be summarize the aspects of the representation of space, it took several years to comprehend the bigger parts that were at play in the community (the interactions between them and other agents such as the government and other communities), in this fieldwork I had the advantage of not having to learn another language, even though I investigated and try to learn basic Mapoyo, it is not their main language anymore, which allowed a faster approach and without the need for interpreters .

I observed the form(s), in which the Mapoyo, transform, use, appropriate and conceive space, in this case the space of the community, and the Mapoyo territory, as well as their perception of the "other" territories, or communities, whether near or distant. It participated in different activities of the daily life of the people of the community to be able to understand, also, the processes of mobilization that occur within this population, understanding population as the people that inhabit, and not only the space itself.

I also take into account the informal conversations that were maintained throughout the stay in the community with the inhabitants and neighbours of the area. A field diary and a personal diary to record the researcher's autobiographical experiences on a day-to-day basis within the community of El Palomo were key to understand the historical process undergoing in the community. This type of exercise is known as "experimental ethnography" (Rabinow, 1977), and may be useful for "experimenting with the text a more equitable researcher-informer relationship" (Guber, 2001: 124). Taking into account that there is not a single voice (a single informant), but a plurality of voices within the community that could provide multiple glimpses of everyday life within the village (Clifford, 1983). In addition, a field observation guide was taken in which each of the points considered key to observation were noted; which is s a useful tool both to remember important points in the observation and to increase the understanding of the analyzed phenomena. (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002)

3.1.2.3. Mapping

The mapping of indigenous lands is a tool that helps indigenous groups and communities to achieve broad political objectives. The main objective is to claim and defend their lands and natural resources against several threats: one of the main concerns are met during the times of mining projects. Nevertheless, the mapping of indigenous lands also has other purposes, some of which are not as well known; it helps to strengthen indigenous political organisations, to plan for economical development and the management of natural resources, as well as being a helpful tool for the documentation of the historical places and the places with sacred meanings, that later can be used for educational purposes in schools, to teach children about the communities in their history as well as to educate a non-indigenous audience about indigenous communities.

The use of cartography as a tool for indigenous communities to map their lands has been a recent application. Cartography has been a tool used by empires to control and maintain their resources, as geographer J.B. Harley says "as much as gun and warships, maps have been the weapons of imperialism" (Harley, 1988). Cartography is a tool that has been mostly used to help political administrations to manage land, resources and people, with the acquisition of new knowledge, for example when the Spanish and the

Portuguese Crown divided their empires in the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), they used a map to divide up the colonies in Latin America and in Africa, each owning an empire spanning half of the world. nevertheless, part of this maps, and many maps, were representations, sometimes imagined representations not only of the land, but also of monsters and dangers that could be hidden in uncharted territories.

There are multiple ways to represent the land and to draw maps, most societies have ways to make representations of their lands, although is through cartesian maps that we, in western societies nowadays, make most of these representations for administrative purposes. The first indigenous mapping, methodologically speaking, was made in Canada and Alaska in the 1960's and 1970's, and was a reaction to the arrival of non-indigenous population in the indigenous territories. This was a policy made by the Canadian government to try to assimilate the native communities as regular communities. The indigenous communities counter attacked by making maps, not only of their geographic landscape but also the ethno-scape, by mapping practices within the territory, this type of mapping can be also referred as ethno-cartographies. It helped the native population to achieve a legal status of their lands, with Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project, a document generated by the Inuits. (Wood, 1992, 2010)

When I refer to 'indigenous mapping' or mental maps it means a cartography created by ethnic populations to delimited a territory within a national state, in this case, Venezuela. The indigenous communities were resilient to the europeans manners because the way of life of the colonialists was different, as indigenous subsistence in the Middle Orinoco was based on hunting, fishing and gathering, and not farming.

After the colonialists were expelled out of the national territory and the republic was created, the creole government invested in massive projects of conlonization of part of the country that did not have much population, this was called "La Conquista del Sur", the projects were such as the making of hydroelectric projects and the exploitation of natural gas and oil, and bauxite and building of roads, this happened all accross the American continent, including North America (Chapin and Threlkeld, 2008). This tactic of mixing creole and indigenous people has been widely applied as a colonisation measure; many nation-states in Latin America have try to implement this policy, known as "mestizaje", as a way to homogenise the people as well as the culture.

The tool of ethno-cartography in indigenous mapping has been widely use with other types of methods. Most of its application has been taken place in the so called 'Third World Countries'. In Latin America's case, the indigenous mapping appeared relatively late, at the beginning of the 1990's, and it helped to empower populations, to be able to control in one way or another, their territories; and to fight multiple menaces such as: mining exploitation, building of damns, roads or electrical lines, and uncontrolled migration of creole people to native lands (Hvalkof 1994, Garcia et al 1998, Pires O'Brien 1999; Zent et al, 2003). In Venezuela, the region of my case of study, the indigenous mapping started in the late 1990's and beginning of the 2000's when laws that protected indigenous groups were promulgated.

In Venezuela, there are several examples of ethnic communities making use of ethnocartography, or mental mapping, not only among Native American communities, but also it has been widely used by Afro-American communities in the North coast of Venezuela. One of the biggest projects and efforts in indigenous mapping was the one of the Hoti people, the advisors of the project were the anthropologists Stanford Zent and Eglee Zent (IVIC), they facilitated the technological tools as well as the technological knowledge (from computers, GPS, pens and notebooks, to how to learn to use mapping software such as ARCGIS) to the Hoti people. This project started in late 2001 and took several years to complete, but the detail of the information it is better than the one provided by the government (Zent, E. et al 2003, Zent, S. et al 2016)

For this case study, we designed a methodology to represent all of the Mapoyo territory as well as the knowledge (from myths to administration of resources, to toponyms) inscribed in it. One of the main strategies the Mapoyo thought about was to do a detailed mapping including the stories immersed in the sites of the whole territory they are claiming. This process began in the year 2005, just when I started to do my bachelor research on the dwelling space of the community El Palomo. This making of maps was conducted by my advisor Dr. Franz Scaramelli (University of Chicago). At first the community met rigorously in a process that took almost a year, and they produced seven maps, each one with a specific subject of their interests: one for every home in the community, where the people that live in the community are located, a second map for all of the neighbouring communities, a third map that identified where the crops are located, a fourth map with all of the forest resources and their locations, where the Tonka trees are located, and the plants used for curative proposes, map five showed the sacred places

and cemeteries, map six the water resources, this includes small creeks, rivers, lagoons, lakes, waterfalls, as handling the water resources is extremely important for the Mapoyo socio-economical life, the men spent significant time socializing in the lakes, for example, when they go fishing and hunting, it is also important to know from which places you can drink clean water and where to bathe or where it is dangerous to do so, either because of pollution or because of dangerous animals such as crocodiles, snakes, pirañas, stingrays, etc.

These maps were accompanied by other methods, in every meeting there was an audio recorder, in order to take the information of the toponyms and the stories behind the names of the sites (the chronotopes). After a year the maps were ready, so the Mapoyo sent the maps along with the documents required to start the demarcation and granting of property of the land in 2007, to the Commission of Lands of Indigenous Communities and People, that at that time was working in the Ministry of Environmental Issues and Territorial Administration. Coincidentally, I was working in that commission at the time, as the 'fieldwork anthropologist', and I took the case of the Mapoyo, because of the previous knowledge and relation that I had with them. Nevertheless, this was not enough to overcome the intricate bureaucratic net⁴.

After that, and the lack of response on the part of the government authorities in charge of the demarcation, the Mapoyo decided to do not only a detail mental mapping but to do a complete cartography of the territory, in order to be able to control the boundaries of their lands by themselves, against the threats of other groups: other indigenous communities, the creole population, and even as a way to protect themselves against projects formulated by the authorities. In 2010, they invited me to help them with the geo-referencing of the land, as well as to make an ethnography of their ways of life and to help in the building of the Communal Museum, the first of its kind in Venezuela. A methodological diagram was made of the whole process, since the beginning in 2005,

⁴ I also worked for other more difficult cases such as the demarcation of the Yukpa, Yanomami, Yek'wana, and the Hoti-Yabarana. In my time working there, we were able to deliver only a few collective property titles of the land, the government was afraid that the indigenous populations would take control over massive amounts of lands that then would lead to secession (Mansutti 2006). Many violent deaths were part of the 'process', especially in the Yukpa case, out of frustration and also out of being afraid of my well being (I received a couple of death threats), I decided to quit and get involved as an activist, and as a student of anthropology with the case of the Mapoyo people.

when I first met the Mapoyo community, to the final process of doing the georeference mapping of the land. My active participation ended in 2012, when I moved to Vienna.

3.1.2.4 Interviews.

I did implement several types of interviews, depending of the conditions and possibilities, and also, of the main subject I wanted to research. But first it is important to clarify why interviews help a researcher, interviews are an instrument that helps to make people talk about what they know, think and believe (Guber, 2001:75). There were formal interviews, that I made with open questions, as a fluid conversation. Nevertheless, I used a structured guideline with the themes I wanted to talk about, these interviews were voice recorded and transcribed (Kvale, 1983; Vansina, 1967), neither of the interviews are the same, because I let the conversations to be fluid. (Valles, 2000)

I also did informal non-structured interviews, that were basically, questions that pop out of my head while doing daily tasks with the Mapoyo, like cooking, or fishing, among others. Basically, this is an important part of participant observation, and most of the information collected on those interviews went to my fieldwork diary.

The first step to make an interview was to receive the contentment of the interviewee, and explain what I wanted to research. After that, I asked personal data, such as name, age, gender, place of birth, in which part of the community they have lived, and also personal history: which are the parents, grandparents, alive or dead; and also relatives that were currently living in the same household of the interviewee (ego), to collect this information I had in mind that it could be useful to future research to understand the genealogy of the community, nevertheless, this is a bigger project that has little place in this particular thesis, but it could be extremely helpful for future research projects.

One important question was, where have they live during their life time, to understand the mobilisations of the members of the community, they explained to me how the community changed places in the last 50 years. I also asked the elderly about the oral history, the tales of creation, and the stories of why the territory in which they live is their ancestral territory.

3.1.2.4.1. Analysis of the Interviews data.

The interviews that were transcribed, were so, word by word, respecting silence and sounds from the interviewee, for example, in other words, it was represented every expression that arise during the interview , this has the purpose to facilitate a content analysis of the data. This type of transcription can be known as interpretative transcription, it consists on the establishment of codes and signs by the researcher, with the end of conserving the meaning of the original discourse. (Poland,1995). I found categories from parts of the discourse that were repeated along the interviews for example: the historical references, the myths and stories of the community, I will make a descriptive analysis of these discourses in the results chapter.

3.1.2.5. Historical documents research

I did a research of the historical documents of the region, and this method was used along the Oral Tradition of the community (Sitton et al, 1989), to understand the historical context of the Mapoyo group, from the end of the prehispanic period, in which even though there is not written documentation, there is a detail archaeological research made by the PASP project. I made a research and consulted documents that offered descriptions of each historical moment of the region. I understand document as “the result, before everything, of a conscious or unconscious montage of the story of an epoch, of the society that has have produced it, and that it leaves a testimony for future generations” (Le Goff, 1991:238). Nevertheless, this document has to be reconstructed, analized, compared to other documents and then interpreted by the researcher to try to debunk “the apparent meaning of it” (Le Goff, 1991:238). Most of these documents, are just fragmented pieces of information, that were written in specific cultural, social and historical moments, this is why it is important to handle with precaution, because it is not the true that is written but a representation of it, a part of it.

I used primary sources, that means, from the people that were there in that moment in time, from missionaries, scientists, travellers, that had contact with the native population o of the Middle Orinoco region. I tried to triangulated every piece of information, from different periods (centuries), comparing and completing this written information with the oral tradition of the group, and on early periods of contact with the archaeological information.

3.1.3. Quantitative Methods.

A quantitative method can be explain as a method that can measure certain elements or processes inside, in this case, a society, selecting variables or indicators to do this. (Siegel, 1990) To do this research it was necessary to know how the El Palomo community is compose demographically speaking, for this reason, I designed a demographic survey. As well, it was important to understand the Mapoyo territory and geographical aspects, which was made possible by constructing maps of the whole territory, which were made in a collaborative effort between the community and the researcher.

3.1.3.1. Demographic survey.

The survey has the peculiarity of have been implemented twice, once while I was doing my bachelor thesis in the year 2006, and the second time in 2012, which offers opportunities to understand possible changes inside the community. The idea to implement a demographical survey was due to lack of available demographic information of the Mapoyo community, as well in this survey it was collected the cartographic information of every household, with to purposes: 1.To understand the relationship between the habited space and the dwellers, and 2. To provide a map of the community households that would help its members to manage their communal space for future projects.

Inside the demographic survey the questions are: 1. Location of the house, with GPS coordinates. 2. Neighbours, and this information was also complete with the help of the interviews and participant observation. 3. Type of household and family, this according to the concept of every person that was interviewed. In the majority of cases, I encountered nuclear families. The data of the interviewee (ego) as well as their family members was collected. Following my Bachelor Thesis, and to be able to compare results through time, the variables used to make the demographic profile were :

1. Age: in years old. Variable in scale of ration.
2. Gender: two categories referred to the gender of ego. 1) male, 2) female.Variable in nominal dichotomous scale, that means, only two values were measure.

3. Marital status: there were four main categories. 1) Single, 2) married or living with a partner, 3) divorced or separate, 4) Widower. This is a nominal variable.
4. Place of birth: This variable was applied to understand possible migratory movements inside or outside the Mapoyo territory. Nominal variable.
5. Date of birth: it was asked to verify the age of the interviewee.
6. Ethnic self-denomination: It was important to understand not only the ethnic composition of the community, but also, to understand identity issues, migratory processes and how the Mapoyo population builds family relationships with other communities. In the first survey were only five categories, which changed in the results of second survey. The main categories were: 1) Mapoyo 100% pure. 2) mixed Mapoyo, 3) Mapoyo and other indigenous ethnicity, such as Mapoyo-Curripaco, 4) criollo (creole), 5) other, such as white or black. In the results chapter I will explain with detail this categories.
7. Occupation or profession: It was asked to know the economical activities of the member of El Palomo. Variable in nominal scale. (Hernandez, 2007)

3.1.3.1.1. Data analysis.

To transcribe the data, it was used the spreadsheet program Excel, and to analyse the data collected for the demographic survey I used the computer software SPSS, which is a program for statistical analysis. I made a descriptive analysis of the demographic data, being interested in the frequencies the statistical average of variables, such as age, gender, among others. Each variable will be explain throughly in the results chapter.

3.1.3.2. Cartography

Cartography can be defined as a discipline that deals with the production and making of maps, it is not necessarily consisting of pure quantitative methods. In this research I will consider the cartographic survey as a quantitative method, using GPS coordinates, that were taken to be able to make maps of the community and the Mapoyo territory. The information was collected in UTM REGVEN DATUM (WGS84), but they had to be transformed to DATUM LA CANOA, because that was the coordinate system in which the official maps of the region were made back in the 1970s.

It was taken a GPS coordinate of each household, taking in the front door of the house. I also made a sketch of the position of every construction of the household, such as the kitchen, the toilet, or other areas. After that, I made a photographic register of each house, this was requested by a member of the community: the daughter of the captain: Carolina Bastidas, she needed it to manage a project for the construction of new houses.

The communal areas were also incorporated to the maps: the school, fishing areas, hunting areas, and the main road were measure. More than 180 GPS coordinates were taken, including households and other communities that are settled in the Mapoyo territory.

3.1.3.2. 1. Analysis of the GPS Data.

As previously mention, the data had to be converted to the previous coordinate system LA CANOA. It was made an Excel spreadsheet to collect all the information that was gathered and the conversion from WGS84 to LA CANOA. I had the help and advice of geographer Yheicar Bernal from the Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Cientificas (IVIC) to make the maps. The software used to construct the maps was quantum GIS, which is an open source program, and also it was used Arc GIS, and Adobe Illustrator.

4. Historical Ethnography of the Mapoyo

The knowledge of the historical context of the region is vital to understand the changes that had happened regarding the representations and use of space, and identity of the Mapoyo community, many of these changes were a cause of the colonial contact and interaction with european colonizers. To understand the historical context I use the historical period classification that was elaborated by Scaramelli and Tarble (2005a), in the frame of the Archaeological Project Suapure-Parguaza, and which explains the occupational sequence of the region of study. It consists of five major periods: Late Prehispanic (1000-1500 a.D.); exploration and conquest (1530 to 1680 a.D.), Early Colonial (1680-1767 a.D.), Late Colonial (1767-1830), and Republican (1830-nowadays).

4.1. Late Prehispanic (1000-1530 a.D)

It is possible that the Mapoyo, among other groups from the Carib linguistic family, such as the Tamanaco, Yabarana and Parecas (already extinct), were inhabiting the Middle Orinoco Region before the first contact with Europeans conquistadors and colonizers. Specifically, according to archaeological evidence (Tarble 1985) and oral tradition, the ancestors of the Mapoyo appear to have occupied the region between the Suapure and Parguarza, just like in present times. Tarble (1985) points out that through ethno-historical evidence, and archaeological (Valloide Serie, ceramics 1000-1400 a.D.) and linguistics, it is possible to associated to this region the groups of Carib filiation such as the Mapoyo, among others. However, it must be remarked that the recognition of the Mapoyo as an ethnic group might come from a process that happened during the european conquest and colonization. The colonizers had the task of distinguish and name diverse groups, that probably did not identify themselves like that previous the contact.

4.2. Conquest and Exploration Period (1530-1680 a.D.)

In regional level, this period includes from the first european incursions in Guayana until the foundation of the town Santo Tomé de Guayana by Antonio de Berrío in 1596. The myths about El Dorado propelled european expeditions to inhospitable regions for the search of the precious gold. During this period the first commercial relations between europeans and indigenous population were established. Nevertheless, in the region between Suapure and Parguaza rivers, commercial relationships started around 1680

a.D., first moment in which there were the first european attempts to establish jesuistic missions in the Middle Orinoco Region, nonetheless, in this region there are not archaeological sites dated from this period (Scaramelli and Tarble 2005a:141), as well as there is no evidence that could indicated habitation continuity in this region. (Scaramelli and Tarble, 2002)

To the europeans, in particular to the spaniards, the Middle Orinoco region was a difficult place to conquest and to colonise, this due to factors such as scarcity of food resources, hard weather conditions, that made movilization almost an impossible task. This region was dominated by the spaniards only in later times in comparison to other regions of Venezuela. However, in the Middle Orinoco, exactly in the region known by the spaniards as Barraguan, there was contact between indigenous people and spaniards earlier than other places, but this contact was intermittent and possible of violent expression. In the local history, the first conquerors to pass through this region, such as Diego de Ordaz and Alonso de Herrera between the years 1532 and 1535, did not leave written evidence of contact with the indigenous populations, but it can be guess, according to their cartographic surveys that they could have had contact with the natives of the area, and possibly with the Mapoyo or their ancestors either directly or indirectly. (Perera, 2000)

From the year 1549 to 1568, the conquest expeditions were suspended, being forbidden violent entries by the Crown. This might had affected the situation for the european colonization of the region, it was forbidden the entry of people coming from the Islands in the Caribbean such as Margarita, and the capitulaciones were also canceled, such as the one of Diego Fernandez de Serpa, in 1549 (Perera, 2000:261)

Antonio de Berrio inherited the Gobernación of Guayana and Trinidad, as well as the enterprise of the search of the mythical city of El Dorado from his father in law Don Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada. In his second expedition, it is possible that he had passed through Mapoyo territory, which might have lead to contact between the indigenous population and the spanish conquistador. Nevertheless, there is no written record from Antonio de Berrio, or his companions for this expedition. However, there are precise references about the landscape of the region, that Berrio called Barraguan or Orinoco, according to the conquistador this region was a key piece in the puzzle to find El Dorado. It is probable that Berrio and his men, cross the borders of the Parguaza, Caripo and

Suapure hills, travelling aprox 100 or 150 km, getting inside a savanna that was identifies as Siamucú (Perera, 2000:307)

Likewise, Sir Walter Raleigh, who took Berrio as a prisoner, he related in his book "The golden hills of Manoa", the unsuccessful search of El Dorado by Berrio, where he makes reference to the Barraguan region, as one of the possible entries to El Dorado. (Raleigh, 1980:83)

The end of the 16th century was a turbulent moment, during this time there were unsuccessful tries of colonization by europeans, not only spaniards but also, french, english, dutch, this is one of the reason documentation for this period is rare.

According to Perera (1992), the first written document about the Mapoyo was made by Ruiz Maldonado, in his travel from Santa fe de Bogotá to Santo Tomé de Guayana, between the years 1638 and 1639. In his document, he said that he recluted "bogas mapoyes" in three villages in the Orinoco shores. (Perera, 1992:143). However, it is not certain that this people were direct ancestors of the contemporary Mapoyo, because there is a confusion between documents that talk about the actual Mapoyo and another group that lived near Cuchivero river, the quaqua people, that were also denominated by europeans as Mapoye (Henley, 1983:224). During the seventeenth century there are no written documents about the Mapoyo, this is due to the fact that the majority of the european efforts to colonization went to the Lower Orinoco, between the Caura and caroni rivers.

In reality, the first two hundred years of European dominion, the contacts between indigenous population and europeans was made to do commercial trades, and this is why most of the documentation was never found, or never made. This is known, because of the materials objects that have been found in archaeological sites, metal utensils, beads and ceramic plates, for example. Material objects were extremely important when establishing alliances between natives and europeans. European technology was inserted in the local societies, having a high value, likewise, the europeans were looking for valuable objects and materials, such as gold, precious stones, and even food became of high value, because it meant live or dead for these travellers. With these material exchanges, was made one of the first forms of communication between natives and

europeans, old World and New World, through the objects, the transformation of indigenous societies first occur. (Falconi, 2003).

4.2.1. Administration of the land. The Laws of Indias

From the establishment of the Spanish colonial order we have written records that can serve as examples to understand a hierarchical and universalist model of political integration characteristic of pre-modern politics. The Spanish Crown after the conquest sought to prevent the rise of the conquerors to political scenarios (as lords of a feudal class in America) ... wanting to protect the indigenous population that was increasingly reduced in numbers, overexploitation and The displacement produced by the colonizers. It was a good work for the Crown that sought to conquer new territories on the one hand, but which sought to safeguard new submissive subjects, among other things, to obtain accessible labor. These goals were achieved through the creation of an institution called *encomienda*, in the first decades after the conquest, was a form of fiduciary title. (Arcilas Farías, 1966)

The Crown's right to demand tax was ceded to the Spanish conquistadors who could use the Indigenous people as labor (or labor force), in exchange for their military services. In the *encomiendas* there was a strict pattern of settlement, where the indigenous communities or houses had to be separated from the *encomenderos* residences.

The administration was facilitated by the reductions: that is to say, the indigenous population, much of which lived before the arrival of the Spaniards in a dispersed way, was grouped in these reductions, which were permanent peoples, or at least they tried to be, and With the help of the Catholic Church its settlers were converted to Christianity and therefore to "ways of behaving", these reductions would then lead in the colony to the creation of communities of peasants called Indian republics. Those who received small lands, to maintain them, and with their profits can pay tribute to the Crown. However, it was not the intention of the Crown to assimilate the new subjects completely. (Arcila Farías, 1966)

It is for this reason that a series of legal statuses were created that would be called Laws of the Indies, with an exclusive court to enforce this new legal platform, the General Court

of Indians, both were established at the end of the sixteenth century. These laws were made in order to protect the indigenous population from overexploitation and abuses of the conquistadors, and to defend the titles granted. Uniformization or assimilation can be said to have occurred but only in the religious sphere, since in order to be King's vassals, the natives had to be Catholic (or converted to Catholicism).

4.2.1.1. System of Encomienda

The encomienda system was a legal figure that was introduced by the Spaniards in the second half of the sixteenth century (1545), this institution had two objectives, first, to ensure the settlers a stable source of work, and second to humanize the indigenous work that was involved in the production processes of the colony. The encomienda was maintained until the year 1718 (Arcila Farías, 1966). Under this figure, colonizers recognized as indigenous property sites that were occupied and / or permanently cultivated by indigenous peoples, no land rights were recognized for indigenous populations that had a seasonal settlement pattern (better known in the literature as nomadic peoples Or semi-nomads), who were the vast majority of populations. The legal division of lands was done through the mechanism of the so-called "land grants" which were instituted in 1513, constitute the principle of territorial property in the colony (Coppens, 1971: 6). The justification for these repartimientos was based on:

“Porque nuestros vasallos se alienten al descubrimiento y población de las Indias, y puedan vivir con comodidad, y conveniencia, que deseamos: Es nuestra voluntad, que se puedan repartir y repartan casas, solares, tierras, caballerías y peonías a todos los que fueren a poblar tierras nuevas en los Pueblos y Lugares...; y habiendo hecho en ellas su morada y labor, y residió en aquellos Pueblos cuatro años, les concederemos facultad, para que de allí adelante los puedan vender, y hacer de ellos a su voluntad libremente, como cosa suya...” (Ley I, Tít. XII, Lib. IV- RECOPIACIÓN 1943, II: 39).⁵

⁵ I prefer to keep this quotes of ancient spanish law on its original form, although I would offer an english translation as footnotes: "Because our vassals are encouraged to the discovery and population of the Indies, and can live with comfort and convenience, we wish: It is our will, that can be distributed and distributed houses, lots, lands, chivalry and peonies to all who are To populate new lands in the Peoples and Places ...; And having done their dwelling and labor therein, and resided in those Peoples four years, we will grant them faculty, that from there forth they may sell them, and make of them at their will freely, as their own ... "(Law I , Title XII, Lib. IV - COLLECTION 1943, II: 39).

4.2.1.2. Merced de Tierras

The "land grant" (Merced de Tierras) being earlier than the encomienda system should not be confused with it, although both mechanisms were closely linked mainly motivated by economic reasons; Because the colonizers needed the indigenous labor force to be easily accessible and permanent, so it was common for the Spaniards to settle close to indigenous settlements and then to request the neighboring Indians to entrust their properties with the purpose of valorizing these domains. It should be noted that the title of an encomienda was granted for two lives, or generations.

That is to say, that of the encomendero and that of his heir. In this system the Indians entrusted maintained full ownership of their lands, this should not be confused with the land grants that were granted to encomenderos. (Arcila Farías, 1966: 288). "The encomienda consisted therefore in that the encomendero received the sole lordship over the lands owned by the Indians entrusted, without power to alienate them" (Coppens, 1971: 7).

This system entailed obligations and rights both for the encomendero and for the Indians entrusted. For example, the encomendero had to defend the population entrusted, to be worth for the material well-being and the salvation of the souls of the natives. On the other hand, those entrusted, considered as vassals of the King, had to pay tribute, either in the form of work or personal services. (Arcila Farías, 1966: 118).

The legal norms elaborated by the Crown were very precise, focusing on the maximum protection of indigenous properties, especially when agriculture began to be an important productive activity, due to the increase of the cacao trade. However, this legal protection of everyday reality was another, since the usurpations to previously considered indigenous territories increased with a generally standardized procedure:

"The landlord proceeded to extend his dominions at the expense of lands legally reserved for the Indians themselves, on the basis of a "land grant", as a general rule of an imprecise limit, or of the simple extension of undocumented lands to protect the occupant, Or not yet adjudicated, at the same time that, by means of diverse means and of its economic power, it exploited the work of the Indians. Thus, once an economic base was

established, the landowner used bribery or intimidation for us to write and officials to issue titles of property or proceed with the extension of the originals, by paying for the composition "(Dominguez, 1966: 115).

This means that in the question of land distribution, the settlers created de facto situations that went against the legal instruments, so that the Crown was in need of generating new norms to regularize such situations. Therefore, all lands granted without a fair or true title of property had to be restored to the Crown, although these dispositions were not applied equally in the different colonies, reason why King Felipe IV dictated in 1631 that:

“Considerando el mayor beneficio de nuestros vasallos, ordenamos y mandamos a los Virreyes y Presidentes Gobernadores, que en las tierras compuestas por sus antecesores no innoven, dejando a los dueños en su pacífica posesión; y los que se hubieren introducido y usurpado más de lo que les pertenece, conforme a las medidas, sean admitidos en cuanto al exceso, a moderada composición y se les despachen nuevos títulos” (Ley XV, Tít. XII, Lib. IV-RECOPILACIÓN 1943, II: 43)⁶.

The composition consisted in the payment of a rent to the Crown, with which the causative situation remained healthy. However, these ordinances failed to counteract the situations of encroachment of indigenous lands by settlers.

4.3. Early Colonial (1680-1767)

From late seventeenth century with the construction of the first missions to the entrance of the officials of the “Expedición de Limites” in the year 1755, and posterior expulsion of the jesuitic missionaries. Perera (2000) divides this period in two phases. The first phase was characterised by armed scuffles, especially between colonisers and Caribs (Perera, 2000:58). The second phase of this period, was characterised by the retirement of the Caribs and more presence of Spanish Crown officials.

⁶ “Considering the greater benefit of our vassals, we order and command the Viceroy and Presidents Governors, who in the lands composed by their ancestors do not innovate, leaving the owners in their peaceful possession; And those who have been introduced and usurped more than their own, according to the measures, are admitted as to excess, to moderate composition and to be given new titles ”(Law XV, Title XII, Lib. IV-COMPILATION 1943, II: 43).

In this period the first detail descriptions of the Mapoyo are made by the missionaries of the Society of Jesus. Between the important references, there are the documents of Father Joseph Gumilla (1963), Vega (1974), and decades later, Father Gilij (1965).

Gumilla called the Mapoyo people as uruanayes, according to this mission man:

“Los indios de la nación Mapoya llaman a la tal piedra en que remata, y que sirve como de capitel al picacho de Barraguan, Uruana; y dicen que aquélla es la raíz de toda la gente de su nación; y por eso gustan mucho de que les llamen uruanayes y ensartan esta raíz con una larga cadena de quimeras y desatinos” (Gumilla, 1963: 109-110). (The indians from the Mapoyo Nation, called the rock that finish and serves as chapter to the top of the Barraguan, and they say that this is the root of their people, that is why they like to be called uruanayes, and skewer this root with a long chain of chimeries and nonsense)

One of the few missions that the Society of Jesus established among Mapoyo was San José de Mapoyes, founded by Gumilla between the years 1731 and 1732, as part of a second attempt of the Jesuits to establish missions in the Middle Orinoco.

San José de Mapoyes was located near the shore of Parguaza river, near to the castle and the village of San Francisco Javier de Marimarota. However, the exact location is not known yet, this is due to the lack of active life that this town of mission had, because there are no more records of this mission by 1749, it had a short life.

Gumilla explains that between the years 1731 and 1739, the missionary had to reunited three times the village's population, due to the constant runaways of the natives, the inter-ethnic feuds and the epidemics of smallpox and measles, especially between 1738 and 1739, when many of the houses were left empty because of a big part of the population died from these diseases, in particular Mapoyo suffered major loses. This came to the point that there were no people to buried the dead, like Vega tells about a particular epidemic that hit the population of San José de Mapoyes

“...que empezaba a reducir al pueblo, visitando sus rancherías las halle desiertas, y entrando en los ranchos halle los muertos por el suelo, o los chinchorros podridos, sin que hubiese habido quien los hiciese la caridad de enterrarlos...” (Vega, [1974]; en Del Rey, 1974:106). (that started to reduce the town's population, theirs households, I found empty, and inside the houses I found people dead on the ground or on the rotten hamacas, without anyone giving a charity of bury them)

Gumilla describes the Mapoyo as docile and treatable people, that receives well the holy word (Gumilla, 1963:202). However, the missions did not have the desired success due to problems in the missionary policy and the resistant of the native population to be converted to catholicism, and to adopt new customs. (Rivero, 1883:48). Gumilla recognizes that the only achievement in the Mapoyo missions was to baptise young kids and people on their dead bed, which made the native population to associate baptism with death. (Perera, 2000)

Moreover, one of the first descriptions of a native's house, and the habit of receiving visits, was made by Gumilla, where he stands out the political role of the caney, he describes:

Veamos ahora cómo sucede en casi todas aquellas naciones la entrada y las ceremonias de recibimiento. Tienen generalmente todos los caciques gentiles, no lejos de su casa, otra abierta por los cuatro vientos, y sólo con techo de paja o palma para recibir forasteros; vía recta a esta casa se va el misionero con sus compañeros, cuelga su hamaca o red de uno a otro palo, que para el caso están siempre clavados en el suelo, y descansa buen rato, sin que parezca indio alguno, o porque se están pintando, o porque dan lugar a que descansen los huéspedes... (Gumilla, 1963: 241).

Another attempt to catechise Mapoyo population was made by Agustín Vega, between the years 1738 and 1739, he narrated one of the runaways of the Mapoyo from the San José de Mapoyes mission, this was a recurrent situation in the vast majority of the missions throughout the Middle Orinoco, during the first years of catechisation and colonization of the region. He describes the life of the Mapoyo, like:

La vida destes Mapoyes, es graciosa, por lo que la contare aquí, suspendiendo um poco la relacion en que hiba. En medio de que yo atendia a las demas reducciones en quanto los padres querian servir de mi. Yo tenia mi particular ocupación y era en quanto no tenia, que hazer en los demas Pueblos, me entretenia con varios Yndios que no tenian propio Misionero, y poco a poco los hiva domesticando, y aficionado a la vida politica, entre ellos, a los que acudia con mas frecuencia, hera a los Mapoyes, que vivian en las montañas del Rio Paruate [¿Parguaza?], destes Yndios, y de los Piaroas y Parecas tendria ya juntos, y de asiento mas de trescientas almas, y buenas simenteras para su manutención como para que se mantubieran los que fueran viniendo de sus tierras, de que tenía seguras esperanzas, que se reducirian todos; pero como la prision, o por mejor decir el descuydo que tubieron en Guayana, con los que el Padre Superior mando prender, fue la principal causa del alzamiento de todos los Yndios del Orinoco entre ellos los primeros que alzaron el buelo, fueron los Mapoyes que tenia a mi cuydado, los Salibas cuyos vecinos heran les engañaron diciendoles que bien podian ponerse a

salbo: porque nosotros los engañabamos, y que no hera otro el fin sino luego que huviera muchos juntos, pretenderlos y mandarlos a distintas partes, por esclavos, como quisieron hazer con los Abaricotos en Guayana... Los dichos Mapoyes, luego que los Salibas les dijeron estas cosas, no aguardaron mas sino luego trataron de uirse, como lo hicieron, la treta que usaron para esto, fue arguardar que yo me fuera a Pararuma a oir missa, a los que quedaron en mi rancho que heran mis compañeros los tubieron esa noche divertidos con una guitarrilla, que yo mismo les havia dado, por complacerlos, por que son muy aficionados a los entretenimientos de musica, los compañeros mios que heran un Negro, y un Blanco, por darles gusto, el Negro les tocaba la dicha guitarra, y el Blanco danzaba, y los Yndios admirados celebraban y aplaudian, para que durara, y se cansaran bien dormidos en su cansancio, pudiesen ellos mejor lograr su lanze de irse, que para estas malizias todo Yndio es astuto con exceso, luego que los vieron dormidos, tiraron todos, y fue providencia de Dios, que no se les propuso matarlos, lo que hubieran ejecutado si se les ofreze. Con las sim... (roto) teras que estos tenian se mantubieron los Pueblos de Pararuma y Carichana, que a no haverse ido los Mapoyes huvieran perecido ambos Pueblos de hambre, por que con la mala determinación que estos tambien tenian, de uirse, no sembraron aquel año nada, de donde inferimos que la huida de dichos Mapoyes fue intempestiba y por induccion (En Rey Fajardo, 1974: 112-114).

Vega blames this situation to the Saliva people; according to his documents, the saliva pushed the rest of the indigenous populations, among them the Mapoyo, to scape from the Jesuist mission. It is also add, the continuous attacks that the missions of the region received from the Caribs, between the years 1733 to 1744. Even though when the relationship between missionaries and Mapoyo was inconstant, these contacts with europeans played a key role in the transformation of these indigenous societies. (Rey Fajardo, 1974)

On the other hand, during this period, the cartographical knowledge of the region is greatly improve, the Expedicion de Limites was a key part of this improvement, between the years 1756 to 1769, they also collected data about the flora, fauna and people living in the region (Lucena, 1993). According to Perera (2006) the maps that were produced by the Expedition helped to demystify the geographical space, in particular, the El Dorado myth. In just two years, and due to the efforts made by officials of the expedition and of the jesuits Manuel Roman and Bernando Rotella, the cartographic knowledge was improved by 900km, from the 1206km previously known by the early years of conquest, this last one, was always near the rivers basin (Perera, 2006). Nevertheless, this new cartography was a secret of the Crown, up until the late 18th century and beginning of the 19th century (Barandarian, 1992)

During this period, it is also found the documents writing by father Felipe Salvador Gilij, during his stay in the jesuits missions of the Middle Orinoco, between 1749 until 1767. Although he did not have direct contact with the Mapoyo, his descriptions about the daily life of the indigenous communities of the region are extremely detail, especially in the aspects regarding socio-political organization, as well as territorial organization of the communities of the area.

He makes a detailed description of the traditional household of the groups of Carib filiation. He stars describing the houses and how are they organized among the territory:

Las chozas en caso muy raro que estén construidas en buen orden. En primer lugar son muy pocas, al menos en el Orinoco. Cuatro o cinco chozas, forman una población india, tanto porque los habitantes en naciones reducidas son pocos, como porque el estilo de los salvajes es estar muchos bajo el mismo techo, o por temor a los enemigos, o por pereza de hacer las casas. Cualquiera que sea el número de las cabañas, una está formada de una manera, otra de otra, una está cubierta toda de hojas de palma, la otra cubierta solo a medias, una es grande, otra, pequeña (Gilij, 1965: 186-187. Vol. II).

Gilij even compares the indigenous households with the ones of his native land in Italy, specifically with the houses of labradors people in Tuscany. The material for the construction of the houses in the Middle Orinoco was, according to Gilij, of good quality and duration, however, the quality of the fabrication of the houses was poor according to his standards. (Gilij, 1965: 186-187. Vol. II).

Gilij points out that just determined groups, like the Saliva, Maipure and Güaipunaves, would finish the construction of the rooms, covering the roof and the walls completely, with either palm tree, or with palm tree just in the roof and bahareque on the walls. He describes that there is variability in size and shapes of the houses and villages depending of the indigenous group.

Respecting, the constructions of communal type, he only describes one, called tapui, that according to Gilij, is a big hut that it is use for dances in the Carib populations, likewise, he indicates, that the “plazas” used for these dances and ball games (otomacos) was encounter in almost all of the villages (Gilij, 1965:190). According to his descriptions, we can say that the space organization between the european notion and the indigenous is

completely different. For the Europeans it was necessary to have public spaces, like a church, a square town, and places where the political power was invested.

4.3.1. Indigenous Land Administration in the Early Colonial period

4.3.1.1. Encomienda by Tribute

In 1687, the Spanish Crown was able to impose the encomienda by tribute, so that the entrusted ones were only obliged to pay the encomendero a rent in the form of annual tax, annulling the personal service regime. Where half of this income was to be delivered to the Royal Treasury. (Arcila Farías, 1966). It is to be understood, therefore, that the Indians needed to have land in order to pay such tribute, since the lands were the basis for economic production, based on agriculture and animal husbandry mainly. The system of Encomienda was abolished in the year 1718, passing the collection of tributes directly to the Crown, until the date of the independence in 1811.

4.4. Late Colonial (1767-1830)

Between the end of the early colonial, after the expulsion of the Society of Jesus, there were new political projects proposed by Manuel Centurion, the governor of La Provincia de Guayana, between the years 1766 to 1776, who promoted the idea of mixed villages, instead of missions, where an indigenous group would live under the tutelage of european missionaries, with little or no contact at all with other european or creole population. Instead, the notion of the mixed villages was to create towns where spaniard, blacks and indigenous people would live together, and to promote through the years the mixing between these populations, according to Centurion, mixed blood people could bared the weather conditions of the region better than europeans, but they would have the “spanish heritage of being good and hard workers.” (Gonzalez, 1984)

The Guayana's province summed up to the independence's movement in the year 1817. (Perera, 2000) In the Middle Orinoco, the Franciscans took charge of the old Jesuits missions, even though, many villages where abandon by the indigenous population, the Franciscans put effort to re-populate these towns. Guayana once was attached politically

to Santafé de Bogota, in this period, Guayana is an independent region from Bogota, and its territory was delimited during the beginning of it.

Economically speaking, the exportation of local products improved, such as coffee, cocoa beans, among other, the hunt for turtle's eggs is also intensified, this was a precious raw material that was used to make oil, to many europeans that oil was as good as olive oil. Due to over-exploitation of the eggs, the population of turtles declined rapidly, and nowadays, the Orinoco Turtles are endanger species.

During this period, highlights the descriptions of the Franciscan Ramon Bueno, who was commissioned to the Mapoyo (Mopoyos in his descriptions), by early 19th century, however, his work does not have the detail descriptions of his predecessors Jesuits missionaries, like Gumilla or Gilij. (Perera, 2000)

Bueno (1933) describes the close relations that the Mapoyo had with the Piaroa group (Wothuja), and that even today the still have. He says: "Los Mopoyos, a quienes actualmente misiono, son muy parecidos a los Piaroa. Congenian con ellos, tratan y contratan en buena unión. En color son muy parecidos, aunque entre éstos hay mejores caras" (Bueno, 1933: 137). According to him, he describe the Mapoyo as being timid people, dramatic and inconstant. (Bueno, 1933: 137), but he also adds, that Mapoyo are serious and hard workers and they do not like to be living many of them together in just one village. (Bueno, 1933: 137). This last affirmation is not far from the true, nowadays, the Mapoyo like to have big buffer zones between them and their neighbours.

He also, described the way that Mapoyo people use to dress, with a cotton guayuco, that cover the genitals. As well, he documented the way of life, and activities such as hunting and fishing. One of his most detailed descriptions is about the funerary rituals of the indigenous group. (Hernandez, 2007)

"Los que mueren en los montes los entierran, siendo plebeyos; pero siendo capitán o saludador, meten el cadáver, bien liado con cáscaras de palo, en la concavidad de una piedra, y consumida la carne, colocan los desnudos huesos en la piedra más elevada, haciendo para tal efecto escaleras muy largas a proporción de la altura, y dejándolos en ella, queman la escalera dicha y se van a sus ranchos a llorar por cuatro o cinco días la muerte de estos superiores." (Bueno, 1933: 138)

Nowadays, the cavern formations, known as stone houses (Casa de Piedra) are still used by the Mapoyo and other indigenous groups such as the Piaroa, to buried the Dead. However, this ritual is not longer exclusive to the shaman or the leader of the community, but it is available to any given member of the group, if is their wish. El Palomo community has a casa de Piedra, around 2 km. away from the town, that it is actively used by the community to bury the dead. (Hernandez, 2007)

In the year 1800, Alexander von Humboldt, in company with Aime Bompland, being their guide Father Ramon Bueno, visited the Middle Orinoco Region, he stayed in the old Jesuit mission town of Carichana. He made observations about the flora, fauna, topography of the region, as well as ethnographic observations about the natives. Humboldt describes that in the missions, one can find two kind of “indians”, “indios monteros e indios llaneros o andantes” (Humboldt, 1985: 20. Tomo IV). The first kind inhabited the forest regions, and the latter were the nomadic indigenous people that lived in the Savannah. Nonetheless, Humboldt does not offers a documentation about the Mapoyo, he only says that the Mapoyo language is part of the saliva linguistic family, but he probably was referring of another group known as Quaqua⁷

Humboldt does describe the surroundings of the Mapoyo territory, specially, he makes an interesting description of the San Francisco Javier fortress, located near the Parguaza river, and his description coincides with the archaeological findings (Hernandez, 1994). Humboldt (1985) reports the following: “Al este percibimos una montaña de cumbre rasa de 300 pies de alto y servía de fortaleza a los jesuitas, quienes habían construido un fortín allí defendido con tres baterías de cañones y de continuo ocupado por un destacamento...” (Humboldt, 1985: 372. Tomo III). This fortress, also known as “The Castle”, was abandoned and destroyed after the expulsion by the Spanish Crown of the Company of Jesus missionaries, for a while, it was one of the few defensive systems that the europeans had in the Barraguan region.

By the end of this period, late colonial, between the years 1817 and 1830, the spanish authorities and missionaries are repelled off the territory now conform by the new

⁷ As i previously mention, the Mapoyo language forms part of the Caribic linguistic family.

Republic of Venezuela. During this period of time, the region of the Orinoco has the following characteristics:

- 1.-scarcity of food due to the killing of the livestock of the missions, this was in great part because of the battles between spaniards and republicans.
- 2.-Those battles decimated the local population.
- 3.-Lack of documentation or descriptions of the region or about the indigenous population, it was impossible to scientific expeditions to go to the region because of the Independence War.

Nevertheless, to fill the gap of information about this period, there is the Oral History of the Mapoyo, about this time. According, to their oral tradition, their ancestors participated in a battle that was lead by General José Antonio Páez against the spaniards, with the purpose of taking the fortress of San Francisco Javier de Marimarota. As they helped to win the fight, Páez took the leader of the community, Paulino Sandoval to meet with Simón Bolivar, who rewarded the Mapoyo with a property tittle of their lands between the rivers Suapure and Parguaza. To be true, this episode could have happened around the years 1817 to 1819, when the independentists like Páez or even Bolivar were in the region (this information was giving in the interviews with the Mapoyo) (Henley, 1975; 1983; Perera, 1992)

4.4.1. Indigenous Land Administration of Late Colonial

Period.

4.4.1.1.Tribute and Indigenous Land Ownership

As the system of Encomienda was abolished in the year 1718, the Crown begin to collect Tribute directly. At that moment the Spanish Kings began a movement Of land distribution to indigenous populations, and took strong measures for the return of large tracts of indigenous lands that had been usurped, also as a measure to stop the latifundistas (and independentistas) interests of the Creole population. The legal figure used was that of resguardos, which constituted one of the forms of land tenure that most influenced the organization of the territory of the indigenous groups (Arcila Farías, 1968), and this also led to a historical process of conformation of New ethnic identities. The resguardos consisted of portions of lands with collective property, granted to the indigenous

communities by the King for their use and use, without any right to individual property, only with individual usufruct rights on certain parcels of community property. (Coppens, 1971: 9).

4.4.1.2. Resguardos

The Crown gave the possession of communal lands to the natives, who were under their tutelage in a sort of adjudication of titles of lands that had the property to be inalienable; ie that land could not be sold or transferred to third parties. This legal figure prevailed throughout the eighteenth century and resulted in controversy between the metropolis and the Creole settlers of the colonies, arguing that the lands were not sufficiently well used by indigenous communities at the level of economic production. Notwithstanding this situation of dispute in the colonial environment, by the end of the XVIII century already had been constituted in Venezuela about three hundred indigenous resguardos located in the zones of population dense of the country. (Arcila Farías, 1968: 18).

These communities consisted of a reduced indigenous population, both by the encomienda system and by the concentrations subject to the Missions (mission villages, doctrine). The legal status of the resguardos was concretized in relation to the rights of succession, and the collective responsibility of the Indians reduced in the payment of Tributo. "As early as 1546 the Crown decreed an ordinance designed to protect the property of indigenous communities" (Coppens, 1971: 9). This ordinance stated:

“Los encomenderos no pueden suceder en las tierras, y heredamientos, que hubieren quedado vacantes por haber muerto los indios de sus encomiendas sin herederos, o sucesores, y en ellas sucedan los pueblos donde fueren vecinos, hasta en la cantidad que buenamente hubieren menester para paga, y alivio de los tributos, que les fueron tasados, y algunas más, y las otras que sobraren se aplicasen a nuestro Patrimonio Real” (Ley XXX, Tít. I. Lib. VI- RECOPIACIÓN 1943, II: 196)⁸.

⁸ "The encomenderos can not happen in the lands and inheritances that have been vacant because the Indians of their encomiendas have died without heirs or successors, and in them they happen the towns where they are neighbors, even in the amount that they will need to And relief from taxes, which were taxed to them, and some more, and the remainder to be applied to our Royal Patrimony. "(Law XXX, Title I. Lib. VI-COLLECTION 1943, II: 196).

More specific provisions were then made on this problem. As a corroborative regulation of the year 1776, which promulgated:

“...prohibo el que dichas suertes de tierras las puedan vender, enajenar, ceder ni traspasar por ningún motivo cualquiera que sea, sino que las referidas suertes han de pasar de padres a hijos por orden de naturaleza y en su defecto a los parientes a quien por regla común correspondan, y cuando faltaren todos se incorporará dicha suerte de tierras a las de comunidad del pueblo para su aprovechamiento general...” (Real Instrucción para el establecimiento de la Intendencia de Caracas, art. 43. En Arcila Farías 1966: 302)⁹.

Many of these lands were later usurped in the east and west by colonizers (Amodio, 2005; Martínez Guarda, 1982), which showed that there was a significant difference between what was promulgated by the written word of the Law and what Which in reality was happening.

This process of partitioning of guards was terminated by the struggle for independence, which led to significant changes in the forms of land tenure, territorialisation and identities of indigenous groups. When Venezuela came to independence from Spain, the Creole landlord classes completely acceded to political power; With which immediate changes were introduced to the system of resguardos or any type of ownership of indigenous lands. The property went from being collective to being individual:

"Article 200 of the Constitution of the Congress of the Republic, enacted on December 31, 1811, approved the distribution, in individual ownership, of communal lands granted to indigenous communities that had been created by the Laws of the Indies. It was established that the distribution would be made in proportion to the number of parents who integrated the respective resguardos "(Coppens, 1971: 10).

⁹ "... I forbid that such lands may sell, sell, transfer or transfer for any reason whatsoever, but that the said lots must be passed from parents to children by order of nature and, failing that, relatives To whom by common rule correspond, and when they are absent all this land will be incorporated to the community of the people for their general use ... "(Royal Instruction for the establishment of the Intendence of Caracas, article 43. In Arcila Farías 1966: 302).

4.5. Republican Period (1830-1930)

This period starts with the consolidation of the Republic of Venezuela in the year of 1830, this also coincides with the development of new colonialist exploitation politics (Gil, 2003:18) of diverse natural resources such as achiote (*Bixa orellana*), India rubber (*Ficus elastica*), and the Tonka bean (*Dipterix sp.*). At this point, the turtle oil is still extracted from the turtle eggs that are deposited at the shore and islands of the Orinoco river, although, not in the quantity of previous decades. Expeditionaries, such as Chaffanjon (1886-1887), Crevaux (1880-1881), Wickham (1869-1870), Codazzi (1841) and the venezuelans natives Michelena y Rojas (1855) and Tavera Acosta (1904), visited the Middle Orinoco region, leaving important documentation about the geographic and human/social landscape.

Codazzi (1841), who was commissioned to make a geographic survey of the region by the venezuelan authorities. He documented the Mapoyo, describing them as a small group of native population who where pacific and hard working, conformed to around 200 hundred people. (Perera, 1992:144)

One of the first expeditionaries to visit the region was the venezuelan Francisco Michelena y Rojas. He was commissioned to make his travels to the region by the government of Jose Tadeo Monagas, in the year 1855, the result of his travel was a publication named “Exploración Oficial” (Arvelo-Jimenes and Biord in Michelena y Rojas, 1989). The objectives for this exploration were:

1. To recollect information about natural resources that could be exploited.
2. To inform the government about the borders situation of the region.
3. To explore which possibilities were faceable for the colonization and establishment of new towns around the border region.
4. Also Michelena y Rojas is titled with the job of Governor of the Nueva Provincia de Amazonas. (Arvelo-Jimenes and Biord in Michelena y Rojas, 1989)

Regarding the region of study, Michelena y Rojas passed by during his travels between the town of Caicara and Amazonas, although, there are some notes worth of mention, that he made about the landscape and the old missions, such as La Urbana. Hi makes a detail description about the hydrography and geography of the region. He also describes the cultural landscape in detail, in particular from La Urbana, which was at this point of

time, the second biggest population of the region, after Caicara. (Michelena y Roja, 1989:272)

Michelena y Rojas (1989) describes the town of La Urbana, as one with regular houses, with two extended parallel streets that are next to the Orinoco River, a church, and in general, he explains that this is a mixed and culturally diverse town but also with a big part of the population being composed by Piaroa people, and with an emerging commercial activity by the time.

Between the objectives of his expedition was to find natural resources that could be exploitable, one of those resources was Tonka beans, this particular seed or bean was and still is highly requested because it is a component of the best perfume, also it is nowadays used as a spice. The Mapoyo have a long history of gathering the Tonka Beans to sell it in the international market. It all started in the year 1855, when European markets took interest in this bean. This economic activity could have had an impact on the growth of the Mapoyo population, because this resource was (and still is) abundant in the region, specially inside the Mapoyo territory, by the decade of 1950 the international market prices of Tonka Beans (sarrapia) were really high because it was a product on high demand). (Perera, 1992)

Another expedition that visited the region was orchestrated by the french expeditionary Jean Chaffanjon, he was searching for the source of the Orinoco River, and he was accompanied by illustrator Auguste Morisot. Chaffanjon had direct contact with the Mapoyo, his description of the Mapoyo community is unique, because is the only description made in the 19th century, or at least the only one that survived. Chaffanjon was in Mapoyo territory in the year 1886, he found a Mapoyo group integrated by six families, they all were in an island of the Orinoco, called Pararuma, according to Chaffanjon the Mapoyo were gathering turtles eggs, he says that they were nervous by the presence of the europeans, specially the women avoided all type of contact with the explorers running away back to the bushes, while the Mapoyo did the collecting of eggs as quickly as possible.

Chaffanjon spoke with one of the men, and he was able to buy from them some cultural items, such as a: hat, hammocks, and ceramic items, he also describes in detail the physic and clothing of the Mapoyo men:

“De mejor constitución, más altos y más fuertes que los otros hombres de tierra adentro, los Mapoyo gozan de una salud excelente. Las mujeres, no muy altas pero bien conformadas, tienen el pelo muy largo y lo cuidan con cierto atildamiento. El guayuco por único vestido. Para las ceremonias, los hombres llevan cinturón y corona de plumas. En presencia de un extranjero, las mujeres visten encima una especie de camisa larga (Chaffanjon, 1989: 124).”

After that encounter, Chaffanjon went to a Mapoyo settlement that was on the banks of the Parguaza River, he describes the houses as being made entirely of palms, spacious but empty, and with small windows (Chaffanjon, 1989:126). Only inside of one of the houses, Chaffanjon encountered five persons, from which two of them were old men, two women and one was a man, because the rest of the population was in the islands collecting turtle's eggs. The old men were the leaders of the settlement, he describes the scene:

“Acostados en sus hamacas, esos desdichados no muestran sino huesos pegados a la piel, de lo enjuto que son. Les ofrezco galletas, pero me entero que solo pueden comer pescado hervido. Los cuidados con que los rodean me conmueven.” (Ibíd.).

Chaffanjon ends the description about the Mapoyo, referring to the types of crops that they have, he says that there were crops of yucca (*Manihot* s.) and sugar cane (*Saccharum* s.); he marvels at how good are Mapoyo fishermen, they fished Amazon River Dolphin (*Inia geoffrensis*) around the months of May and June, from which it can be taken out a fine oil.

During this period, the ancient social system of the Mapoyo starts to change drastically, adapting their culture to creole customs, for example by wearing western style clothing. In the year 1920, the Mapoyo population that lived in La Urbana was baptised to the catholic church, and in this settlement, it also occurred a mixed of the population, between creole (descents of spanish and mestizos), Mapoyo and other indigenous groups. In the economic field, collection of Tonka beans increased due to the high prices in the global market of the product, although this production declined by the 1950s because prices dropped. It is factual to affirm that Tonka bean production had an impact in the population growth and characteristics, in particular facilitated the mixing of the

Mapoyo with creole population which generated a process of mestizaje, both social, cultural and phenotypical.

4.5.1. The Republican Laws of Land Administration

This change in the type of property was justified by the proclamation of equal rights of all the populations of the Republic, including the indigenous. However, the hidden purpose of the dominant creole classes was "to eliminate the legal obstacles previously imposed by the Crown, so that, in" equality "of conditions, they could apply, in the face of defenseless indigenous communities, the entire range Of its economic and political power "(Coppens, 1971: 10).

However, in spite of the laws that insisted on the repeal of the guards, these territorial policies were difficult to implement, motivated mainly by administrative problems and even the indigenous resistance to deliver communal lands; Even though there were different attempts after 1811, such as Article 4 of the Law of the Congress of Great Colombia, promulgated on October 11, 1821, where the individual distribution was arranged, each family, according to the extension of The resguardos and the number of inhabitants of said resguardos. Also the laws promulgated 2 of April of 1836 and 7 of April of 1838 that arranged mechanisms for the distribution of lands of the resguardos, that nevertheless did not have effect. (Coppens, 1971; Caballero Arias, 2007: 191).

It was not until 1882, under Guzmán Blanco's rule, that the Law of June 2, 1882, on Reduction, Civilization and Protection, was decreed, which established the definitive repeal of the indigenous reservations with the exception of the indigenous populations who Inhabited in the Amazon, Alto Orinoco and Guajira Territories, which would be administered by the Federal Executive. (Coppens, 1971). And for the safeguards that would be canceled an individual allocation would be made, according to article 4 of said Law, which states that:

“Los descendientes de indígenas que en virtud de la legislación patria hayan procedido oportunamente a la división y adjudicación de sus resguardos, serán tenidos y reputados como dueños absolutos del terreno comprendido en la respectiva adjudicación. Esta adjudicación servirá a cada familia

indígena de título suficiente de propiedad para asegurar sus derechos adquiridos..." (Ley de 1882, art. 4)¹⁰.

According to Coppens (1971), the motivation for the elimination of the safeguards "was directly inspired by economic liberalism then in force" (Coppens, 1971: 11), according to which anyone had the right to acquire as private property the land that was Traditionally cultivating, in addition to that no property could be subtracted "to possible alienation of its owner" (Coppens, 1971: 11).

However, the real situation was that very few indigenous people were able to legalize any title deeds, in addition the creoles used as a tactic the gradual indebtedness so that the indigenous families that if they obtained the titles had to yield them to pay those debts. Unfortunately, "Invoked liberalism had an eminently pro-latifundist character" (Coppens, 1971: 11).

The guards that survived in the Amazon, Delta Amacuro and Guajira territories were regulated in the Organic Code of the Goajira, Amazonas and Alto Orinoco Territories, promulgated on August 23, 1882. (Armellada, 1954: 168). A shelter had its legal character from two or more indigenous families not reduced, considered comuneros inhabit a particular site. This law also provided provisions on how to acquire private property.

"Art. 93. El indígena en cualquier punto del Territorio haya constituido casa o choza y sembrado árboles y otras plantas, o tenga animales domésticos, sin que persona alguna se considere con mejor derecho a poseer tales bienes, será considerado dueño y señor de todos ellos y el terreno que cultive y el Gobernador respectivo, previa la prueba del caso, le expedirá su título de propiedad." (Ley de Reformas del Código Civil del 23 de agosto de 1882)¹¹.

¹⁰ "The descendants of indigenous persons who, by virtue of the national legislation, have timely proceeded to the division and adjudication of their reservations, shall be deemed and deemed absolute owners of the land included in the respective adjudication. This award will serve each indigenous family with sufficient title to secure their acquired rights ... "(Law of 1882, article 4).

¹¹ "Art. 93. The indigenous in any part of the Territory has constituted a house or hut and planted trees and other plants, or has domestic animals, without any person being considered as having a better right to possess such property, shall be considered the owner and master of all of them and the Land that he cultivates and the respective Governor, after proof of the case, will issue his title to him. "(Law of Reforms of the Civil Code of August 23, 1882).

It was also considered a legitimate possession if it had been inhabited on the site for a period of twenty or more years. Another article of the Law states:

“Todo indígena que haya habitado o poseído por tres años una, dos, tres o más hectáreas de terreno, en que tenga una choza y labranza, tiene derecho a pedir al Ejecutivo Nacional por medio del respectivo Gobernador, el beneficio que le acuerda el artículo 5o del Decreto Legislativo de 2 de junio de este año, sobre extinción de los que se llamaron Resguardos Indígenas.” (Ley de Reformas del Código Civil del 23 de agosto de 1882)¹².

This provision would have allowed a perimeter of up to 25 hectares of uncultivated land to each indigenous family that had been in the protected lands. In addition, on the repeal of the resguardos a much more flexible provision was made in the same Law, although with a term of only two years, in an era where the media, especially to remote and isolated places where they lived a large part of The indigenous populations at the end of the 19th century were little known.

“Art. 4. Las comunidades indígenas continuarán como dueños reconocidos de sus respectivos resguardos y procederán irremisiblemente a su división como propiedades de ellos, dentro del término improrrogable de dos años, so pena de quedar declarados ipso facto baldíos o incorporados a los terrenos de esta denominación que administra el Ejecutivo Nacional, si al vencimiento de dicho término no se hubiere concluido el correspondiente juicio” (Ley de Reformas del Código Civil del 23 de agosto de 1882)¹³.

¹² “Every Indian who has inhabited or possessed for three years one, two, three or more hectares of land, in which he has a hut and tillage, has the right to ask the National Executive through the respective Governor, the benefit that the article 5 of the Legislative Decree of June 2 of this year, on the extinction of what were called Indigenous Reserves. ”(Law of Reforms of the Civil Code of August 23, 1882).

¹³ Art. 4. The indigenous communities will continue as recognized owners of their respective resguardos and will irrevocably proceed to their division as property of them, within the non-extendable term of two years, under penalty of being declared ipso facto vacant or incorporated into the lands of this denomination that administers The National Executive, if at the expiration of said term the corresponding trial has not been concluded ”(Law of Reforms of the Civil Code of August 23, 1882).

According to Coppens, these laws relating to the old reservations came to "create the legal fiction of the wastelands" (Coppens, 1971: 12), where the product configuration had an internal contradiction:

"Within this juridical-administrative regime (for the allocation of vacant land), the most original of the treatments were given to the guards without sufficient title (even if they had an ancestral possession), while the large latifundios maintained Their economic absenteeism and a rudimentary technique of work-without the constitutional principle that property is a social function that implies obligations, the indigenous guards in which their lands were intensively but irrationally exploited were assimilated by the legal procedure to the wastelands "(García, 1952: 47).

For 1904, the Law of April 8 of that same year confirmed that provision of article 4 of the Law of 1882, although this time, there was no fixed term. As a result, the natives established in community guards were given another opportunity to make individual properties legal.

Also in the Unaccompanied Lands and Ejidos Act of June 27, 1910, the requisite requirements to legalize the individual property of the old indigenous reservations were raised, this Law established a period of five years to complete the formalities for legalization, Although later the lapse to two years was reduced in the Law of Waste lands and Ejidos of 11 of July of 1911.

In the Civil Code it is posited as a legitimate possession "when it is continuous, not uninterrupted, peaceful, public, not equivocal and with the intention of having the thing as its own" (Law of 1904, article 772). Therefore, the acquisition of property through collective land ownership is not recognized. This same law also excludes indigenous groups with a seasonal and / or nomadic settlement pattern in order to be able to acquire a property through possession, due to the requirement of a continuous occupation of the territory.

Finally, the Law of Unaccompanied Lands and Ejidos of August 19, 1936 stipulated that all indigenous reserves would be included within the category of ejidos, with the

exception of the rights that were acquired individually in accordance with the Law of 1904.

Another law that impacts on the territorial and ethnic order of Venezuelan indigenous groups was the Law of Missions promulgated in 1915, and its regulation of 1921; Where the indigenous groups that were found in vacant lands and in border areas were under the tutelage and indoctrination of several religious orders. The State granted Catholic missionaries (Capuchins and Salesians) the task of "reducing, evangelizing and educating the natives who were to progressively incorporate themselves into civic life" (Caballero Arias, 2007: 192). As established in the following articles of said Law:

“Art. 1. Con el fin de reducir y atraer a la vida ciudadana las tribus y parcialidades indígenas que aún existen en diferentes regiones de la República, y con el propósito, al mismo tiempo, de poblar regularmente esas regiones de la Unión, se crean en los Territorios Federales y en los Estados Bolívar, Apure, Zulia, Zamora y Monagas, tantas Misiones cuantas sean necesarias, a juicio del Ejecutivo Federal.”

Y donde: “Art. 8. El Ejecutivo determinará los linderos de cada Misión y reglamentará la presente Ley” (Ley de Misiones de 16 de Junio de 1915. En: Armellada, 1954: 267¹⁴).

Although the Venezuelan State did not grant, distribute or sell indigenous lands to religious missions, if it delegated the apostolic vicariates, as well as the jurisdiction to control and regulate the administration of these territories, so that the life of the Indians as well as Land use depended on the decisions and legal provisions of the missions.

After the Laws of the Baldías and Ejidos and Misiones, the following law that had great historical impact in the management of indigenous lands was the Agrarian Reform Law of March 19, 1960, which established the following To real rights of native populations:

¹⁴ “Art. 1. In order to reduce and attract civic life the tribes and indigenous biases that still exist in different regions of the Republic, and with the purpose, at the same time, of regularly populating those regions of the Union, are created in the Federal Territories and in the States Bolivar, Apure, Zulia, Zamora and Monagas, as many Missions as necessary, according to the Federal Executive. ”

And where: “Art. 8. The Executive will determine the boundaries of each Mission and will regulate the present Law ”(Law of Missions of June 16, 1915. In: Armellada, 1954: 267).

“Art. 2. En atención a los fines indicados, esta Ley: d) garantiza y reconoce a la población indígena que de hecho guarde el estado comunal o de familia extensiva, sin menoscabo del derecho que le corresponda como venezolanos, de acuerdo con los apartes anteriores, el derecho de disfrutar de las tierras, bosques y aguas que ocupen o les pertenezcan en los lugares donde habitualmente moran sin perjuicio de su incorporación a la vida nacional conforme a ésta u otras Leyes.” (Ley de Reforma Agraria del 19 de marzo de 1960)¹⁵.

It should be noted that throughout the 20th century great progress was made with respect to human rights in general and to indigenous rights in particular. As well as great advances in the anthropological knowledge and in the historical processes and peculiarities of the indigenous populations, who undoubtedly helped to implement public policies much more informed although not necessarily functional.

With regard to the Law on Agrarian Reform, the right of indigenous communities to land, particularly land held by uncultivated land belonging to the Nation, which is "affected for the purposes of Agrarian Reform" (Article 10); That is to say, that the vacant lands could be adjudicated in endowment to its occupants. These allocations could be made through collective and individual titles according to a certain order of priority, that is to say: "the first to be able to demand the benefit of loose lands are precisely the occupants of the same" (Coppens, 1971: 15), this is found in Article 68 of the Law. It should be noted that the law of the Baldías and Ejidos, 1936, established that the land was first guaranteed only the right to usufruct of the land, and 10 years Then you could receive the right to property:

“Si transcurridos diez años, los beneficiarios hubieren establecido en el terreno cedido un verdadero fundo agrícola o pecuario de eficiente aprovechamiento económico, podrán dirigirse al Ejecutivo Federal, por órgano de la autoridad civil inmediata, en solicitud de permiso para enajenar o gravar su propiedad por causa de necesidad extrema y previo el

¹⁵ "Art. 2. For the purposes indicated, this Act: d) guarantees and recognizes the indigenous population that in fact keeps the communal or extended family status, without prejudice to the right that corresponds to him as Venezuelans, in accordance with the previous sections, The right to enjoy the lands, forests and waters they occupy or belong to them in the places where they habitually live without prejudice to their incorporation into national life under this or other Laws. "(Agrarian Reform Act of March 19, 1960).

cumplimiento de los requisitos en el artículo 632 del Código Civil” (artículo 85 de la Ley de Tierras Baldías y Ejidos, 19 de agosto de 1936)¹⁶.

This means that the time for applying for title deed was reduced by 10 years. On the other hand, in the 1961 National Constitution, in articulation with article 2 of the Agrarian Reform Law of 1960, Article 77, Clause 2 establishes that:

“El Estado propenderá a mejorar las condiciones de vida de la población campesina. La Ley establecerá el régimen de excepción que requiera la protección de comunidades indígenas y su incorporación progresiva a la vida de la nación” (Constitución de Venezuela de 1961)¹⁷.

Therefore, these legal instruments recognize the existence of indigenous communities and their full right to collectively use the lands they have historically occupied, however, it also establishes the incorporation of these communities into the life of the national society. Through the Agrarian Reform Law, the National Agrarian Institute was created in 1971, better known by its acronym I.A.N. Which aimed to guarantee the ethnic groups of the country the right to own their land. Through this figure, 142 temporary property titles were granted between 1972 and 1993, but the final ownership of the property was only awarded in some cases. At the same time, what was said in the Constitution was quite ambiguous regarding the regime of exception for "any policy or program to be applied among the natives" (Caballero Arias, 2007: 193). What happened with the project of La Conquista del Sur between 1969-1974, which consisted of a plan of economic development, involving the mobilization of population to the southern regions of the country, that is, a new attempt to colonize especially the zones Border regions also with the purpose of avoiding the loss of territory by other countries with expansionist policies like Brazil and Colombia. (Clarac, 1983, 1986).

¹⁶ "If, after ten years, the beneficiaries have established a real agricultural or livestock fund with efficient economic exploitation, they may apply to the Federal Executive by means of an immediate civil authority requesting permission to sell or encumber their property. Cause of extreme necessity and prior compliance with the requirements in Article 632 of the Civil Code "(Article 85 of the Law of Lands and Ejidos, August 19, 1936).

¹⁷ "The state will tend to improve the living conditions of the peasant population. The law will establish the regime of exception that requires the protection of indigenous communities and their progressive incorporation into the life of the nation "(Constitution of Venezuela of 1961).

4.6. Modern Times. Laws, and claims of the indigenous territories.

In Venezuela, Chavez's regime has enforced the notion that laws protecting indigenous population, and the rights to their lands and political auto determination is something new, made with the possibility of his regime. Nevertheless, as we already explain was a subject of concern in the projects of colonization of the Spanish Crown.

Although, it is true that first time in history, indigenous populations were given the opportunity of participating in the law-making of instruments that would grant them rights: specially in terms of land ownership.

Before, this instruments were created in the year 2001 and 2005, there were othe legal instruments in use for the control and management of lands protected by the State, under the figure of special administration regime, better known by its abbreviations ABRAE (Areas bajo Regimen de Administración Especial, in spanish). These areas are managed by the Ministry of the Environment and Natural Resources (M.A.R.N.), now called the Ministry of the Environment (M.I.N.A.M.B). The objective of the ABRAE is to conserve existing natural resources through figures such as national parks, forest reserves, natural monuments, buffer zones and biosphere reserves.

The interesting fact is that many of the areas under special administration regime are juxtaposed in areas inhabited by indigenous populations. Situation that has generated impacts, among them, discrepancies between what is established by the ABRAE regulations for the protection of the environment and the presence and usufruct of lands by the indigenous population; In the figure of the ABRAE does not recognize the traditional forms of use and management of the resources, in addition under this regime the application of titles of property is not allowed.

Likewise, the Ministry of the Environment assumed the task of coordinating the National Commission for the Demarcation of Habitat and Lands of Indigenous Peoples and Communities (CND), once published on January 12, 2001 the Land Demarcation Law of Peoples and Indigenous Communities, which is protected by the Constitution of 1999, where the multiethnic and pluricultural character of the Venezuelan population is distinguished, and where it is confirmed ontologically, the existence of the figure of

indigenous peoples and communities, recognizing their forms of social organization , Political and even juridical, customs, languages, religion as well as their habitat and rights on the lands "that they have ancestrally occupied" (Caballero Arias, 2007: 196). Article 119 of the Constitution identifies three important aspects:

"The official consent that there is a correlation between land and continuity of indigenous forms of life; The necessary co-responsibility between the National Executive and indigenous peoples for demarcation (direct indigenous participation); And the consideration that indigenous lands are the collective property of the peoples, a condition that can not be modified by qualifying them as inalienable, imprescriptible, non-transferable and nontransferable "(Caballero Arias, 2007: 196).

Article 119 also states in its twelfth transitory provision: "The demarcation of the indigenous habitat referred to in Article 119 of this Constitution shall be carried out within a period of two years from the date of entry into force Of this Constitution. " Of course, it is to be hoped that this lapse has not been fulfilled, later we will return to the problem.

This quality of the indigenous territories as inalienable, imprescriptible, non-transferable and nontransferable, was ratified in 2005 with the publication of the Organic Law of Indigenous Peoples and Communities (LOPCI), on December 27 of that year, which establishes a chapter Although the Demarcation Law of 2001 was not repealed, following the steps stipulated in the LOPCI for the demarcation of land, which has generated serious inconsistencies and contradictions in the land. These laws are protected at international level by ILO Convention 169, which Venezuela ascribed. However, we must note that attention to the problem of legal security of indigenous territories and lands in Venezuela is very late compared to their neighbouring countries. (Chirif and Hierro, 2007).

In these two laws, the LOPCI and the demarcation law, several legal concepts are defined as: Indigenous habitat, Indigenous lands, Indigenous peoples, Indigenous communities, Ancestry, Tradition, which unfortunately have caused problems in the titling process, and This is basically due to the essentialist and primordialist character of concepts; That is to say, the ethnic groups are not understood as products of historical processes that become right from the moment of the contact with the Europeans, in these laws it is thought that the indigenous populations have always remained in the territories that they occupy at present, and that they are also ethnically homogeneous And waterproof. For

these theoretical reasons land titling has been ineffective despite the fact that it provides for the active participation of indigenous populations; Another problem of weight is found in the concept of territory, which the nation-state understands as national sovereignty, however, indigenous peoples prefer to speak of demarcation of indigenous territories and not of habitat or land, partly also due to (For indigenous peoples) that land ownership does not include ownership of subsoil, water, or natural resources (which are the exclusive property of the state). Caballero Arias also highlights the following paradoxes:

"The demarcation must be carried out jointly between the national executive and the indigenous peoples, but in reality it is the State that makes the decisions and sets the parameters for the territorial ordering ... the legislation contemplates the granting of titles of collective property to towns and Indigenous communities. However, so far the State has not titled large areas as collective property of peoples, and has only recognized the use and enjoyment of the lands and habitats of some indigenous communities, which are inalterable and inalienable and unencumbered. "(Caballero Arias , 2007: 198).

It is also necessary to distinguish between the processes of demarcation and self-demarcation of lands; The first is the only one that has legal status for the State, however, many indigenous peoples consider as valid the self-demarcations they have made, and also protect that the law safeguards the customs of indigenous peoples, including their internal rules . It is almost worth noting that this perspective has brought many problems for the State, which does not know how to handle certain situations, as for the indigenous communities that feel helpless and neglected by governmental entities.

To sum up, since the beginning of the demarcation process, in 2001, a total of 42 collective titles have been delivered only to indigenous communities, not to indigenous peoples (who already have self-demarcation projects like the Ye'Kuana, Pemón, Mapoyo), because this would mean more land. The first titles were delivered in 2005, the following year titles were awarded, and later in 2008 and 2009. The states in Venezuela with title deeds are: Anzoátegui, Apure, Monagas, Sucre, Delta Amacuro and Zulia; Curiously, no titles or legal recognition have been given to indigenous populations in the Amazon and Bolivar states that are traditionally known to have a large and diverse ethnic component. This also means that communities that have received titles cannot be relocated or expanded, this is a problem, since factors such as population growth, or the continuity of historical processes are not being taken into account, are actually being created small

Indigenous community reserves that somehow prevent the (legal) possibility of these groups from making life at the national level. It should be noted that the jurisdiction of the National Demarcation Commission was entrusted to the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples at the beginning of 2011, many indigenous organizations are currently protesting against this change, specifically due to the current passive action And only) minister of indigenous peoples, Nicia Maldonado. Organizations like ORPIA believe that this means the end of the process of demarcation and titling of lands to indigenous communities, and that this legal instrument was used as a political instrument for the incorporation of voters in favour of the 'revolutionary' process (López-Zent, ORPIA. Personal communication)¹⁸

However, the demarcation of indigenous lands is a non-exclusive phenomenon at the national level, it is a process that has been occurring in Latin America, and many other parts of the world with indigenous population. In Venezuela generated an active participation and incorporation of the indigenous population in a new form of territorialization of the areas they occupy, and reaffirmation of their ethnic identities. In addition, indigenous peoples have developed a historical awareness that emerges from the process of construction of their territories, where cultural expressions of identity and ethnic-cultural processes have emerged, which can be seen through the creation of mental maps of indigenous communities and peoples. The maps point out their historical, sacred sites, areas of fishing, hunting, agriculture, settlement, among others, as well as the transcription and dissemination of stories and myths, and their socio-anthropological characterizations. It also provides us with a way of reviewing the actions of academics, in particular anthropologists, as well as officials, bureaucrats and political leaders, in their roles as agents of change, through imagined representations (whether in the legal, political or even cartographic level) that they make of and about the ethnic population of the country.

¹⁸ In part this information I also gathered while working for the Comisión Nacional de Demarcación, between 2008 and 2010.

5. The research Field.

5.1. The ethnography of representation of space in the Mapoyo people.

I started to work with the Mapoyo community in the year 2005, when I was planning my bachelor thesis, at that moment in time, little did I know, that I was going to be involving in helping and giving technical support to the Mapoyo for the communal property claim of their land. This research took few years in the making, and consisted on several steps: 1. The creation of the mental maps by the member of the community; 2. Taking the gps coordinates from each site mention, taking particular emphasis on the boundaries between the Mapoyo territory and their neighbours, 3. Making the cartographic maps based on the mental maps information. 4. Taking these maps to revision with the Mapoyo, and 5. Making the corrections that the Mapoyo suggested. This process was only for the map-making, although this process was accompanied by a:

1. Historical investigation of the sites within the Mapoyo territory.
2. Interviews with members of the Mapoyo community to know the origins of the names of places and its history, the resulting from both history and name-placing it is what I have defined as chronotopes.

In the following chapter, I will first describe the profile of the Mapoyo population and how it has change between 2005 and 2012. Then I will explain in detail the process of map-making in the Mapoyo community, with the resulting maps and information, as well as, I will go through the interviews (oral tradition) to understand the motivations and reasons behind why the Mapoyo are requesting the territory between the Suapure and Parguaza rivers as their own.

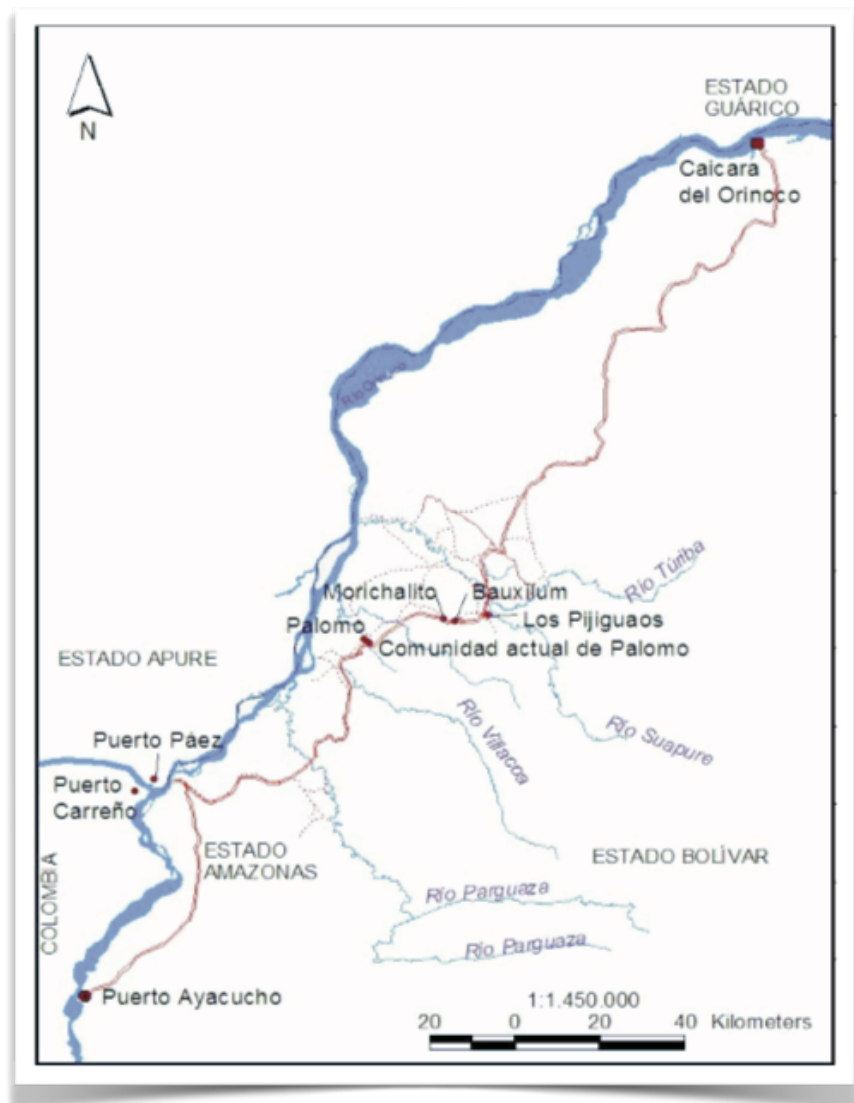
5.1.1 Description of the Mapoyo Community

The Mapoyo people were considered a relatively small group, that maintained a traditional “Carib” interfluvial settlement pattern, that means, a seasonal settlement pattern, that varied depending on the available resources of the two main ‘seasons’ of the year, that means, dry season and rain season.

The present community of El Palomo, exists next to a main road that connects two

important cities of the south of Venezuela¹⁹, Caicara and Puerto Ayacucho, since the 1970's, when it was constructed. the community was settled previously, around 20 kilometres away from its present site, but the name was the same "El Palomo", the previous location was right next to a hill formation and a small river with the same name, so, after the road was build, the members of the Palomo community decided to move next to the road because it will give them an easiest contact and transportation to the surrounding communities.

Location of El Palomo community



The El Palomo community consists of approximately 49 households, with a population of 240 people. The settlement pattern is relatively disperse, with a tendency of clustering around the main road, where the school and the chief's house is located. The cemetery of

¹⁹ Because the official maps of the region were outdated I had to take gps coordinates throughout the road, to be able to draw within a map precisely the part of the main road that is inside the Mapoyo territory

the community is located in El Cerro de los Muertos (Translation: The Hill of the Dead), in a cave formation, where the bodies of the deceased are deposited on ground level, this burial site practice, is similar to the one of the Piaroa groups, which are also neighbours of the Mapoyo people.

5.2. Population of El Palomo

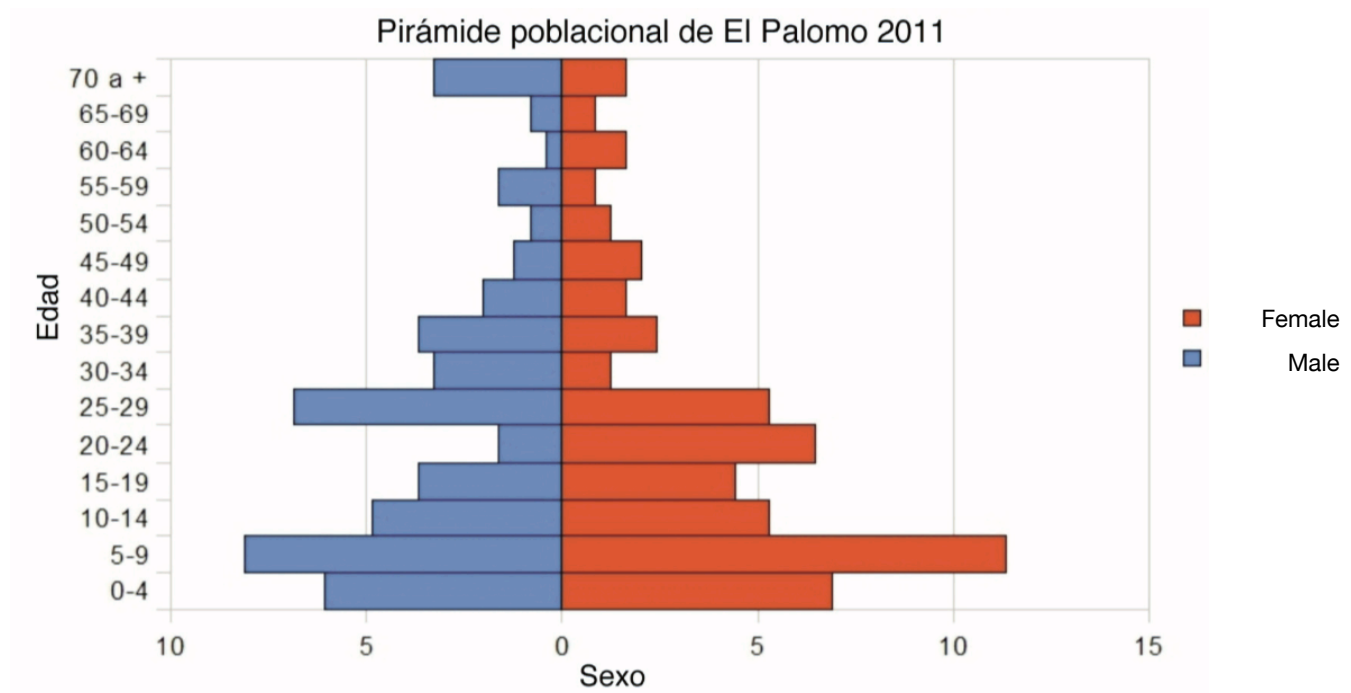
5.2.1. Demographic Description

During the research made between the years 2011 and 2012, there were censused 247 persons, that are members of El Palomo community in 49 households, which makes an average of 5 persons per household. The population consists of 53% females, and 47% males. The average age of the inhabitant of El Palomo community is of 24 years, which means that the Mapoyo group has grown over the last 40 years, which is, since there is register of its population.

The first demographic approximation was made and published by prof. Paul Henley in 1975, in which he found that there were 75 people in the old settlement of El Palomo community. Years later, in 1982, the national demographic survey counted 76 persons identified as Mapoyo and living in El Palomo, that means that the population remained stable over the course of 7 years. Even though, we must be careful taking these numbers, 1. the fieldwork that Henley was able to accomplish with the Mapoyo people was of only 5 days, because his focus of research was the Piaroa, not the Mapoyo, and this is just not too much time to being able to do an in-depth demographic research. (Henley, 1980)

In the year 2007, I was able to apply a demographic survey, pretty much the same as the one that I did for this research. In that survey, I counted 186 inhabitants of El Palomo community, with an aged average of 22 years old. The preliminary results of the demographic survey of 2011-2012, show that, in less than 5 years there was a huge population growth, of approximately 40%, and the average age grew two years. Also, the masculinity index has been levelled up in relation with the female population. In 2007, the population consisted in 55% females, and 45% males, and now is two percentage points more of the latter.

Population Pyramid 2011-2012

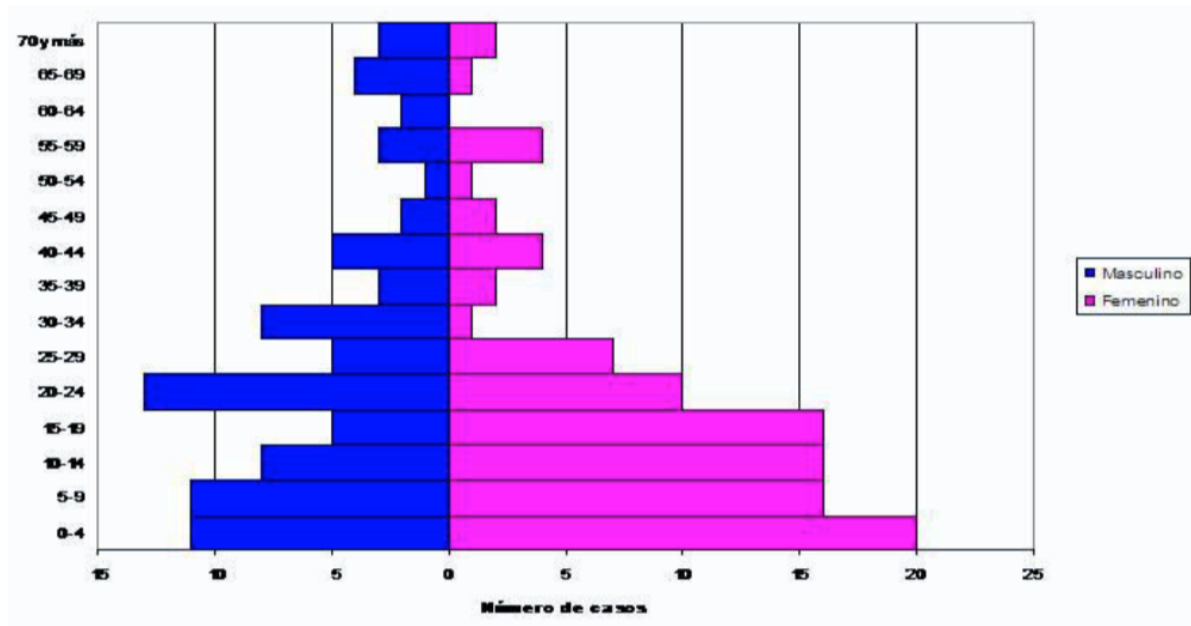


The population growth could be explain by several possible factors: 1) the birthday rate, and better children cares which diminish the infant mortality. 2) migration and ‘assimilation’ in Mapoyo territory, of people of different ethnicities as Mapoyo, people that has identified as a member of the El Palomo community but not of Mapoyo blood. 3) political reasons: when the Mapoyo submitted their claim for the territory, the government first rejected that claim, saying that they were a group too small for the amount of land that they were claiming and in fact, they needed to have a bigger group of people to make a second claim²⁰. Knowing this the Mapoyo, allied themselves with creole population that was living inside the territory, that was welcomed as long as they followed the Mapoyo way of living²¹. In the next graphic I show, the relation between female and male population within age groups. In the next two graphics I show the population pyramids of El Palomo community, the first made in 2007, and the second made exclusively for this research, it can be seen a correlation of the population growth, considering that 5 years passed between each one.

²⁰ I know this information because of my work in the “Comisión Nacional de Demarcación” at one point, during 2008 and 2009, I was in charge of the Mapoyo case of their land claim.

²¹ I am aware of the fact that this is a delicate issue. For what I saw in the field, I know that many of the creole people did not deny their creole origins, but they felt associated and had loyalty towards the Mapoyo community, and many of them said to me that they felt more Mapoyo than creole because the Mapoyo were their people, their neighbours, and their costumes were the ones of the Mapoyo.

Population pyramid 2007

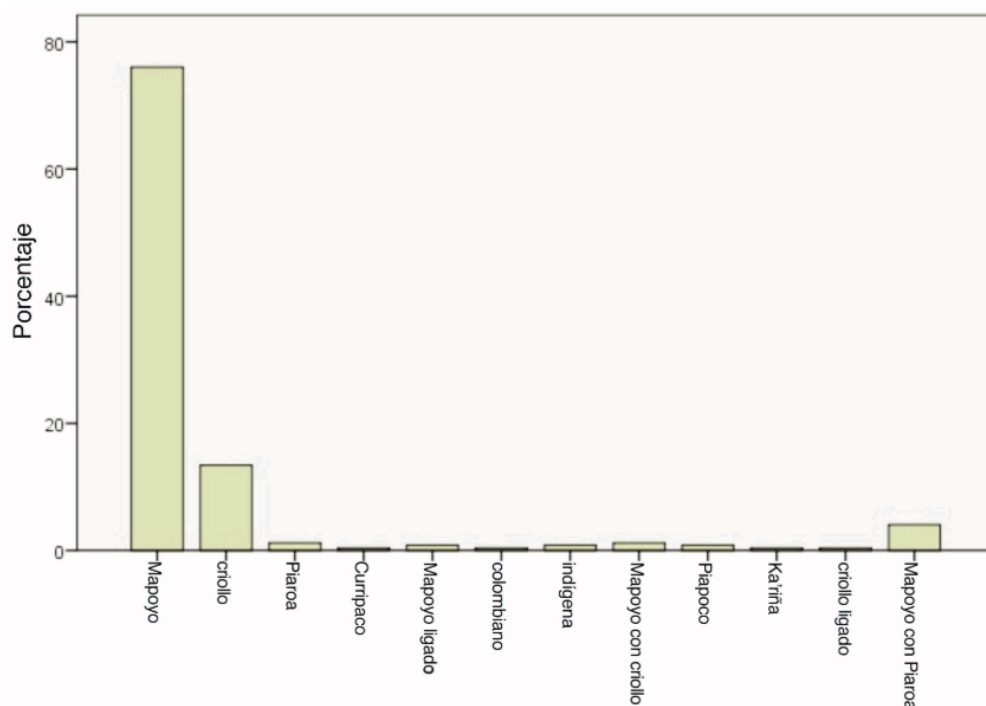


As it can be seen, in the year 2007 the main part of the population was conformed by the ages 0-4, but this changed in the last five years, and in 2011-2012, it is shown to be the biggest part of the population people between the range of 5 to 9 years old, which is consistent with the first survey, because populations tend to age, but it also shows that the born rates are dropping in the year 2012. Overall, the results show consistency between each other, it is notable the drop of the female young population between the years 10 to 19, this could be due to several factors, the most probable is migration to other nearby towns, such as Morichalito, the causes could be, from marriage to seeking better opportunities to continue education and finding jobs. It would be interesting for future research to do a following up of the population after some time, to see how the venezuelan crisis has made an impact or not in the Mapoyo population.

5.2.2. Ethnic self-denomination

For this research, I could gathered 12 categories of ethnic self-denomination, in the first survey I did implement in 2007, I collected only 4 categories, which were “Mapoyo”, “Criollo”, “mixed Mapoyo” and “other”, people at that time did not specify to which ethnic identity they belonged when they answered “other”, but it is fair to say that my main research at that point, in 2007, was not identity, and I just asked the question to open a window to new possibilities of research in the nearby future, nevertheless, I was able to correlate place of birth with ethnic identity in this first survey. In the 2011 survey, as I said

the results were 12 categories, which were: 1. Mapoyo, 2. Criollo, 3. Mapoyo with Piaroa, 4. Piaroa, 5. Mixed Mapoyo, 6. Mixed creole, 7. Curripaco, 8. Colombian, 9. Kariña, 10.



Mapoyo with Creole, 11. Piapoco, 12. Indigenous without detailing a specific ethnicity, as it is shown in the next graphic.

Ethnic self-denomination

In the 2011 survey 76% of the population, identified themselves as Mapoyo, this result contrast with the 2007 survey, were about, 68% of the total population considered themselves as pure Mapoyo. It means, that there has been an 8% growth of the number of people that identify themselves as Mapoyo. This can be explain, partially, to the number of births, but is also due to the ethnogenetic process that is happening in the community. Even people, that claimed not to be Mapoyo per blood, with creole parents or from other ethnic groups, they self-defined themselves as Mapoyo, and when I question “why?”, the most common answer was because they have been living in their territory, and they shared costumes and ways of life of the Mapoyo. That is the reason why they considered themselves to be Mapoyo. Also, I found that there is a 1 correlation in the Pearson’s coefficient between place of birth and ethnic self-denomination, which means, that there is a higher probability within the people that was born inside Mapoyo territory to say that they feel part of the Mapoyo group, than there is of people that were born outside this territory.

This could give us an idea of how malleable can be the notion of ethnic identity, and also of the impact that the notion of territory, and its representation, can have in shaping peoples identity, specially, when the idea of this territory bound to an ethnic heritage is

inclusive to more people. We have to take into notice that the Mis a small group, and a faceable way to survive through generations, is to include outsiders of their culture to their own, and show them “the Mapoyo ways” so it means, that heritage is not by blood but by rather following the traditions²².

5.3. Economic activities

Economic activities are important to understand how people manage and move through space, this activity is fundamental to human survival and socialization, it is part of the existencial space, as described by Tilley. The Mapoyo have a list of economic activities that form part of their daily lives, traditional economic activities such as farming, animal breeding, fishing, hunting and gathering, but they also take part in the national and even international economy, many of the settlers also have formal jobs in private or public entities. In this section I will focus in the economic activities that are made inside the Mapoyo territory, mostly of these activities are consider traditional economic activities and it plays a fundamental role in the way the Mapoyo people move, perceived and think their territory.

5.3.1 Family crops

The great majority of El Palomo settlers are farmers and breed animals for they our consumption, of the 49 families that live in Mapoyo territory, 40 of them own a parcel, where they cultivate a variety of crops, such as, corn, rice, Manihot, among others. 27 of the families have just one field active, but several that are not using at the moment. Seven of the families have two active crop fields, and the rest (3 families) have three active plots. The average active years of the fields is around 2 to 3 years, but there are exceptions, one family has a field that has been active for 15 years, considering the type of soil which is in the vast majority acidic, which means is really hard to maintain a good amount of crops, it is a remarkable accomplishment, it also means that they know how to rotate crops from corn to yucca, and then pumpkin and beans, with the purpose of improving the quality of the soil. In the appendix there is a table with the detail information.

²² I also should point out that while applying the survey, I did a photo documentation of every member of the community, at the request of Carolina Bastidas, because they wanted to have a photographic data base of every person, and to document elders and children. They were always happy to pose for the camera.

There are special sites around the Mapoyo territory for the making of crops fields. Every family decides which place suit best and if the rest of the community agrees then they will take that specific site for their crops, always around these special areas dedicated to agriculture. These sites are not usually near the community, the nearest place where families have field is Caripito, which is about three to four kilometres approximately from the captain's house, which I would say, is the center of the settlement. There the family of the captain maintain their crops.

Other popular places are Cerro²³ Negro, Cerro de los Muertos, which are further apart from the community, as well as Cerro Macho and La Estación, that are pretty far apart from the houses of the families that have their crops there, when asked why they have chosen those sites, they say it is mostly because the soil is better in those places, near the piedmont of these small hills, or near creeks and rivers such as Caripito. Another reason they claim to have settle their crops in apart places, is that as these sites are no near the main road it is less likely that they would suffer from people stealing their crops. The families that have their crops far away, usually build a camp post with the basic amenities, such as a camp fire, and they have utensils such as machetes, pots and pans, plates and a storage to deposit water.

The crops have to be kept separate from the cattle and the animals that are being breeded, fences are build to prevent this situation to happen and avoid that the animal could eat the crops, this fences have a social role, in this case to avoid fights with neighbours that own cattle. As Maritza Garcia explained to me.

“Entonces, ahí la gente cercaron, usté ve esos alambres que están por ahí cerca, que hay por ahí... Eso es pa' que el gana'o no se meta pa'l conuco... Eso se llama... pa' no tené pelea con los otros parientes de uno, verdá, su primo... sus, sus familiares, uno no, pa' no está peleando, no, “sus cochinos se han metido pa' allá, su, su vaca mire, allá está en el, mi conuco”. Eso es para evitar las peleas, pa' uno no está peleando con los otros, con sus animales. Entonces, pa' acá uno tiene su cerca... (Maritza García).”

According to oral tradition, taking care of field was a communal reciprocal task, and I would argue that nowadays we can observe the same solidarity. At the moment of cleaning the field previous the cultivation, families would help other families in the

²³ Cerro means hill in spanish, it is usually a small hill

community to do this laborious task. The Conuco is a symbol of communal effort, but it is not communal because each family has their own.

...eso por ejemplo, ellos eran unido en su trabajo, cuando iban hace' conuco eso todo el mundo y que iba hace' conuco, todo el mundo iban por ejemplo a limpia', eso iban hasta de muchachitos, mujeres, todo el mundo "vamos a limpia'le el conuco a fulano", bueno, y esos iban, todo el mundo iba allá y trabajaba y le limpiaban el conuco a ellos, bueno, y iban otro día en otro, el conuco de otro, ve, ellos eran uníos' anteriormente, uníos'. (Maritza García: D-18).

In the not so far distance past, the conuco (crop field) was for exclusive use of the family that owned it, it did not have a commercial purpose, as Simon Bastidas said "*cada uno tumbaba, un pedacito, un poquito, porque eso no había venta de maíces, de nada, aquí no entraba comercio...*" (Simón Bastidas), nowadays, families have fields both for commercial and for personal use.

The conuco plays also a part in the passage from childhood to adulthood. Children are taught from their relatives to cultivate, and boys have to learn also to hunt and fish, and how to build a house. They become adults when they have a separate conuco from their parental family, most of the times, it also means that they have build an own house, and married a women. When men are single they live in a separate house within the household of their parents, and help in their parent's conuco.

Si, a el muchacho lo enseñaban a caza', a hace' conuco, a hace' su rancho y toda esa cosa, pero ellos, ya lo nombraban desde este tamañito, ése era la mujer y el muchachito como ande, mismo, chiquitico, y la... ya decían que ellos se iban a casa', e iban creciendo y creciendo, desde, cuando, desde pequeños que se iban a casa' con ellos, a ello los iban enseñando a caza eso era pa' que mantuviera a la muje', lo llevaban pa'l conuco a enseñarlo a sembra', la yuca y toda esas cosas, pa' que él fuera aprendiendo... (Simón Bastidas: D-20).

In the Mapoyo oral history the notion of endogamy is found in many stories, according to this, the Mapoyo were an endogamous group for a long time, but there was a point in time when women were far less in numbers than the men, and the Mapoyo were forced to find a solution to this, by marrying women of other indigenous groups. I would suggest that agriculture played an important role inside the family organization and of the kinship, Mapoyo interchanged crops for women with other indigenous groups such as Piaroa, with whom they keep close social relations. This situation is no longer a reality, now the young women are more in number than young men, but it is curious to point out that the

number parity is not the same in older women and men, there are less older women than men, which could suggest that this story is true.

Eso, cuando mi mamá dice que cuando ella abrió los ojos los Mapoyo estaban aquí que no había ninguna otra clase de indio, sino ellos nada más, ellos nada más, esto se fue, ella dice que esto se fue llenando de piaroa, fue que una vez, ajá, una vez vinieron unos piaroa y ellos querían yuca... entonces, le cambiaron una piaroa a uno, uno de los Mapoyo por una hectárea de broma de esa, ajá, le dijeron: “nosotros queremos yuca, te vamos, te vamos a cambia esta piaroa por una hectárea de yuca”. Ajá, así fue que entraron los piaroa, que le cambiaron una piaroita por una hectárea de yuca, así fue que se ligaron, así que hay, uste’ ve que hay piaroa y mapoyo ligao, la sangre, ellos están ligaos (Maritza García)

As we can observe, economic activities make a great impact on the way that we manage the territory, and this is not exception for the Mapoyo people, they need to plan their time to travel to the fields, expend time there working, have/acquire knowledge of factors such as the type of soil, how the terrain drains water, where is the less likely place to hide crops not be steal, make alliances with other families and other communities in order to cultivate, and important as well, to know the history and story of these places, because there is always a reason why a place is called, for example “Cerro de Los Muertos²⁴” o “La Estación²⁵”.

5.3.2. Hunting, gathering and fishing

Beside the agriculture as an economic activity, the Mapoyo also hunt, fish and gather resources. Fish and game are an important part of Mapoyo diet, in particular fishing is a respected activity, and also incorporate fish in the daily diet is seen as a healthy thing to do, even is look at with a nostalgic feeling, because nowadays is harder to fish, as many of the interviewees told me:

...mi mamá tenía, tenía una mente, mire, se la echaron bien puesta, porque ella no se crió con pasta, no se crió con arroz, el arroz lo “agarraban era pa’, pa’ hace carato, no pa’ hace arroz con carne ni

²⁴ As I previously mention Cerro Muerto is where the Mapoyo cemetery is located, it is a sacred place, that requires a series of steps to be able to enter without suffering any spiritual consequences.

²⁵ The name La Estación, makes reference to the time when Tonka Bean production was highly active, this place used to be a station where people storage the Tonka Beans, around the ending of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century.

nada de eso, ellos no comían mucho arroz, me contaba ella, pues, que me decía: “no hija, a mi no me gusta casi, arroz ni pasta, a mi no me criaron con eso, a mi me criaron fue con pesca.” (Maritza García:).

Nevertheless, fishing is still nowadays a common activity, specially during the dry season, when rivers and creeks have low levels of water and the stream is not dangerous. In fact a family usually fishes three or more times in a week during this season. The community cacique explained to me how to find the best places to fish:

“...a donde hay el pesca’o, el agua no se seca está bonita, limpiecita, todo eso, esos son dueños del agua, hay esa creencia, todo”.
(Simón Bastidas)

Fishing is mainly a man activity, although, in the community there are young women that practice fishing with a hook, leaving harpoon fishing and net fishing exclusively for men.

There is also a high respect to the water animals, some of them dangerous such as stingrays, electric eels, water snakes and caimans. Some of these animals are sacred for the Mapoyo, such as the anaconda, according to Mapoyo oral tradition, anacondas are the owners and caretakers of water, being a bad omen to kill one of these creatures, even is considered tabu. I was witness of the killing of an anaconda, for safety reason the men had to kill it because it was living in the creek where the children played, the men were not happy about this deed, and they told everyone that witnessed the scene to please not commented with other members of the community. The snake is one of the mythical creatures that are preserved in the narratives, according to tradition the shamans used to communicated with the anaconda spirit. (Perera 1992, Henley 1983)

“claro, la culebra esa es la madre del agua, una culebra de agua, en donde haiga un agua bien bonita, empozao, blanquita bien clarita ahí hay la mamá de la culebra, al mata esa culebra, eso, el agua se pone amarilla eso, bastante, la baba, esos son animales que son dueños del agua, el caimán...” (Simón Bastidas)

Besides the sacred animals, there are a variety of animals that are safe to be hunt, such as the Lowland paca (*Cuniculus paca*), collared peccary (*Pecari tajacu*) and alligator. Hunting is done mostly during rain season, because at this time of the year fishing is difficult. The hunting sites are located in forests, generally near or on hills, such as Caripito, as well as near rivers and small creeks where animals gather to drink water. The weapons use to hunt are mostly fire weapons, this activity is done more frequently by

men but there are women that hunt.

5.4. Map-making of the Mapoyo Territory

The process of making detail maps for the Mapoyo territory, started as a petition of the Mapoyo people, because they wanted to have the necessary documentation to make the application to claim their land rights, after the 2001 “ley orgánica de habitats y tierras de pueblos y comunidades indígenas” was promulgated. First I will explain the location of the El Palomo settlement, following the process of the creation of maps from the community mental maps.

In the photo, a younger me organizing the materials for the making of the mental maps.



The first step was to organise members of the community that where knowable of the topography of the region to participate in the making of the mental maps, this was in charge of the community, to decide who was going to participate, as well as when and how to do the maps. We²⁶ facilitated the technical expertise and materials so the community was able to translate their knowledge into paper.

The process took a long time, from 2006 to 2007 and still the maps are being updated from time to time. One of the main strategies the Mapoyo though about when making the maps was to do a detail mapping including the stories immerse in the sites of the whole territory they are claiming. It is also important to note, that in part they were highly motivated to do the process of demarcation, due to the conflict that they had with the neighbour Piaroa community of Cerro Pastoral, this is a long conflict, dating back from

²⁶ I am speaking in second person plural because, I was only an assistant to Dr. Franz Scaramelli and Dr. Kay Tarble, who were the experts involved in the mental maps making. After a few years, I was pass the responsibility of the maps, to digitalised them and store them.

the beginning of the 1990s, when the Mapoyo agree to let a Piaroa family to settle in their territory, but they brought more people and they started to dispute with the Mapoyo over land rights.

In a process of almost a year, five maps were produced by the community. They decided that one map was not sufficient to show all of the information that was needed²⁷. The first map²⁸, was dedicated to the hydrological aspects of the territory, and the cerros (hills). The second map²⁹ was dedicated to locate each settlement inside the Mapoyo territory including the ones that were not Mapoyo, in other words, they mapped their neighbours settlements, but in this map we can also find, rivers, roads, bridges, and the ethnic denomination of each of the neighbouring settlements, they located at least five different ethnicities living in the Mapoyo territory, these are: Piaroa, Curripaco, Jivi, Creole and Piapoco, as well as pointing out the hatos, plots of land owned by Creoles with the economic end of breeding cattle.

In the third map³⁰ we can find the location of each household, family that is part of the El Palomo community, either Mapoyo or Creole. The buildings coloured in red and yellow, are the communal structures, such as the church, the school and the Caney³¹ where they have meetings that concern the whole community. The fourth map³² represents the sites of hunting and gathering, the most important item to gather, has been for a long time, Tonka Beans, in this map is also represented the hydrography, roads, and there is emphasis on the roads that were used for the Tonka Bean Exploitation, we can count at least 47 sites in which the Mapoyo hunt, fish (nevertheless the next map details the sites for fishing) and gather Tonka Beans, each site is represented by a tree. Most of these

²⁷ Mental maps were a requirement to the official application for the land's claim. There was a point on time in the 2000's where almost all of the indigenous groups in Venezuela were engaged in the process of map-making, some had the help of NGOs and experts, such as the case of Ye'kuana, Jodí and Eñepa, the last two, counted with the help of Dr. Stanford Zent and Dr. Eglee Zent. Information that I know, as I was able to go through all of the indigenous applications in my time working for the MINAMB, the responsible agent at that time for the demarcation process.

²⁸ Map is in the appendix, as 1. Hydrography and Topography.

²⁹ In the appendix as Neighbours Settlements

³⁰ In the appendix as 3. Households and Families of El Palomo

³¹ A caney is a structure that does not have walls, only a roof. Most of the houses have at least one caney. This structure helps the population to deal with the hot weather, because as not having walls, the breeze passing through always helps to refresh the ambiance.

³² In the appendix as, 4. Gathering and Hunting sites

sites are located near or in the Serrania of Parguaza, which is a mountain chain located on the eastern part of the Mapoyo territory, also known in the literature and historical documents as Barragúan.

Last but not least, the fifth map³³ represents exclusively the hydrography of the Mapoyo territory, as well as the sites for fishing, also we can see the road and the bridges that help to connect the territory, This map is different from the first because here the lakes are represented, even though the Mapoyo can be classified as an inland group, the rivers and lakes have played an important part in their way of life, and that can be shown in every of the mental maps. The lakes and rivers were used for fishing, historically, as well as beaches and islands which were important locations for the recollection of turtle eggs, and hunting of river dolphins (toninas), these animals were hunted in the past for the oil and meat but are prohibited now because these are endangered species, the Mapoyo are now breeding turtles and releasing them into the Orinoco River with the hope that some day its population can grow and the Mapoyo could be able to hunt them again. Also, rivers facilitated transportation between settlements, and even nowadays rivers are still navigated, the Mapoyo located in this map also the dangerous places where navigation is difficult due to streams and waterfalls.

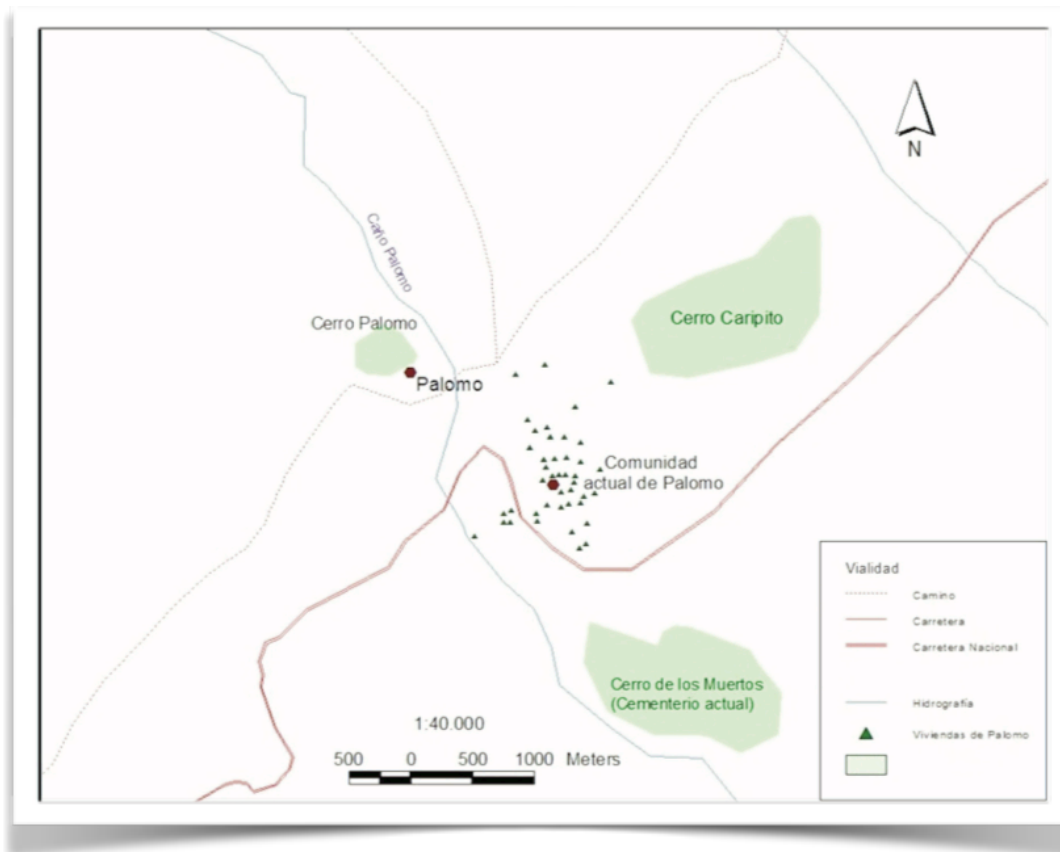
5.4.1. The Process of georeferencing the mental Maps.

The Mapoyo were satisfied with the resulting mental maps, but after they gave the documents to the Ministerio del Ambiente y Recursos Naturales (MINAMB) to open the case file, the authorities denied the next steps to apply for the legal claim of the land, saying that they did not have the personal to make the georeferencing of the territory's polygonal³⁴, in other words, the government is required to make an official map of the borders of the land that is being claim. This is the reason why the Mapoyo were forced to do the georeferencing by themselves with our help, in an attempt to speed up the process of land demarcation.

³³ Fifth map is found in the Appendix section as, 5. Hydrography (including lakes)

³⁴ In fact this claim was true, because there was only a geographer hired by the MINAMB between 2008-2009 for the whole project of demarcation, and the government of Chavez was giving priority to the "easy cases", files that were introduced by small communities not demanding much land, such as many Ka'riña communities. Nevertheless, it was the State responsibility to hire more personal to being able to make the demarcation of all indigenous lands in the period that they had demarcated, a period of only 2 years since the promulgation of the law in 2001.

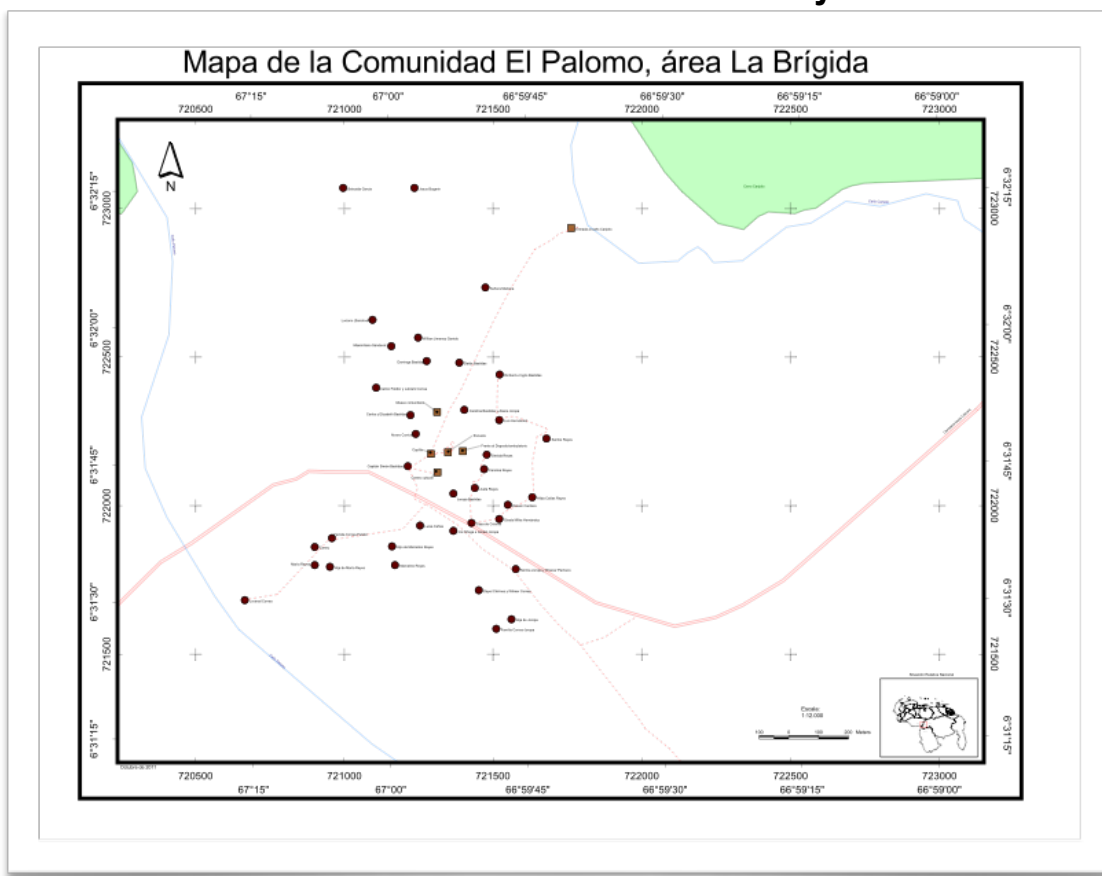
Household distribution of El Palomo Community. First Version



One of the first maps that we produced, collaborative was the map of the households and the families, we make two versions of the map. An early version with black dots representing each households, map that is next. The second version was requested by the mapoyo, in which each dot/household has the name of the family that lives there, and it also includes the paths that connect each of these households.

This map shows how the El Palomo community is settled, in total there are 49 households, all gather around the area of the Main Road, represented by the red line. this was made with a GPS, because the official map was outdated, the most recent being made in the 1970's, when this road was not yet even built, we needed to trace this road, because is the main artery that connects El Palomo with the rest of the neighbouring communities, and in general that connects the Mapoyo with the world.

Household distribution of El Palomo Community. Second Version



The next map, is the second version which details each family name, specifically in the area of El Palomo known as La Brígida, which is the center of the settlement, where most of the population is concentrated. Includes the area where the church, school and communal areas are located, which are represented by the squares, instead of the red dots that represent the households.

5.4.2. Mapoyo and their Neighbours

The Mapoyo share spaces with seven other different ethnic groups, including the Piaroa (see Overing, 1975), Panare (Henley, 1982) and the Hiwi just to name a few. Inside the 'ancestral' Mapoyo territory, that consists from north to south, from the rivers Suapure to Parguaza, there are more than 22 communities that belong to a multiplicity of ethnic groups.

The social relations between the Mapoyo and the other indigenous groups are mostly friendly, the Mapoyo are self-aware of their size, they are a small ethnic group (living mostly in just one dispersed community El Palomo, map 2: households of El Palomo), in

comparison to their neighbours, they are trying to become a bigger and stronger group (as well, they are afraid of extinction of their culture), their strategy is an inclusive one, they try to include and insert people to the community by marriage for example, but in geographical terms they are clustering and losing more of their territory, so they can be more efficient to control it. Nevertheless, there has been tensions with other groups, particularly between them and the Piaroa community of Cerro Pastoral, a conflict that started in the middle of the 1980's, grounded on land claims.

In the last years, the conflict reemerged due to the necessity of both communities to map their territories, in order to protect themselves from multiple menaces, like the guerrilla, the mining, and the lack of governmental protection.

Cartography, or should I say, cartographies, have played an important role in the debate about territorial rights on both sides (Mapoyo and Piaroa). In one hand, the Mapoyo maintain their claim from the historical maps, maps generated by anthropologists (including me), and by their Oral History, they say that there is no problem of sharing their land with other ethnic communities as long as these communities recognise that they are settled in ancestral Mapoyo land. On the other hand, the claims of the Cerro Pastoral community, have to do with two different strategies, that are representations of the territory less inclusive than the Mapoyo.

- 1.They have requested that every community is demarcated as they are at the present time, the Piaroa would limit their territorial claims only to the spaces and sites that are being in used in the present being.
- 2.The second strategy, is to ask for a multiethnic demarcation of all the territory, which not only would include the Piaroa but the rest of the ethnic groups that make a living within Mapoyo ancestral territory, but without any acknowledgement of the history of the Mapoyo in this territory.

5.5. Interviews and Oral History

To understand land's significance for Mapoyo people, it was necessary to know the history and stories behind each site, behind each name, this is a work that can be explore to further research. In this thesis I will focus in the history and myths related to two iconic places, that give meaning to the Mapoyo land claims and also to their identity. The two remarkable stories that I am going to describe and analyze are the Mapoyo collective

suicide and the independence battle that took place in Mapoyo territory, and also I will discuss the meaning of sacred places.

5.5.1. Sacred Places

Mapoyo sacred places are defined as having a set of religious rules restricting access. Among the places considered sacred by the Mapoyo are the graveyards and some of the hills, many sites combine both of these aspects. One of these is the Cerro de los Muertos, in which there is a rock shelter that is home to the dead of the community. The Cerro Las Piñas, more about which I will explain further on when discussing the Mapoyo collective suicide, is also a place that has this particularity. Caique Simon Bastidas talked to me about the cemeteries:

Los cementerios. El otro, piedra sagrada que tenemos es donde la gente se mató. Las Piñas, eso es un sitio sagrado, que tenemos, y los otros sitios sagrados que tenemos es en donde ellos hacían sus ritos, sus cosas, en la montaña. (Simón Bastidas)

When entering and leaving these places, where the graveyards are located, the person should make a series of rites, to purify the person from evil spirits. To enter the graveyard the person should be barefoot, and when they leave the cemetery they are not allowed to enter a house without first taking the dirty clothes off and taking a shower. These places are prohibited to small children and to older people. There is a present problem, the graveyards are being desecrated by creole people, because of the nature of being open air cemeteries, everyone can have access to these places and to the bodies. Other problems are generated when the access to these sites for the Mapoyo community is taken away, as happened with Bauxilum.

“Bauxilum puso ahí ‘Propiedad Privada’ <en el cementerio del Cerro Las Piñas de ahí para allá, que es un gran error. La otra vez yo estuve participando sobre esto que estaban, ese es un cementerio sagrado, por los huesos y eso, y ellos pusieron de esa esquina para allá y que ‘Propiedad Privada.’” (Daide Bastidas)

In the interviews several hills and mountains were mentioned as Mapoyo sacred places, many of the places were named because of particular characteristics they have, such as types of animals that could be found in that area, that is the case of Cerro Palomo.

“El Palomo también, esos son sitios sagrados que tenemos ahí. Porque son sitios que tienen nombramiento ellos, porque ellos, eso le tienen... El Palomo es un sitio sagrado porque viene... cantó una paloma, cantaba una paloma, toitos a esta hora lo estaban oyendo en el cerro, adentro del cerro, y ahí otro sitio que llaman El Gallo, que también el jueves santo se sentaban en una laja de piedra así cuando ese gallo cantaba, salía ese gallo y cantaba, ahí cantaba, entonces le pusieron la laja del Gallo, y bueno, y los otros sitios que pusieran era porque si hallaban una cosa, le ponían ese nombre ahí, ese sitio. Cosas de ellos que tenían esa creencia, lo tenían como sagrado, era privado, era cosa de que ellos eran los que iban ahí, eso va queda’, nada más que la historia, ahora no, no existe” (Simón Bastidas: 34).

There are other types of sacred places that can be found in water sources, such as rivers, lakes and creeks. These places can be also associated with the animals that inhabited it, such as the anaconda, which is a figure with mythical powers, from being the water caretakers to being responsible for punishing humans for their actions. These places are an important part of the conception of space, and integrate the past and present, experiences and history, through social practices or rituals.

5.5.2. Mapoyo Collective Suicide

The first report that exists documenting the story of the Mapoyo collective suicide was made in the year 1948, compiled by Wavrin (1948). This story has change through time, and depending on the persons narrating it, nevertheless it is a fundamental fact in Mapoyo history. The people that I interviewed gave different versions³⁵, but the core narrative is the same, with just small variations. The core narrative is as follows:

The men of a Mapoyo community were doing a ritual inside of a house, the spiritual rituals were restricted to women, especially menstruating women. A girl was curious about what the men were doing in that house, and she took a look inside the house. At that point the men were talking to the Gods, and one of the Gods realized that a young woman was watching them. The Gods got angry and demanded retaliation. The Mapoyo knew that they offended the gods because of the young woman’s offense, the only way to pacify the gods was to kill themselves; the entire community (some of the Mapoyo say it was a family or two when narrating the story).

³⁵ See Appendix for the Mapoyo collective suicide versions

One day, the men took their women and children to the Cerro Las Piñas, where they had previously build a big ladder with lianas. They somehow attached it to the top of the hill, and asked the women and children to climb it, but at some point the person that was in the top of the ladder cut it, and everybody fell to their deaths. Mapoyo people say that the human remains that are to be found in the piedmont of the hill are the people that died in this incident.

Following Tarble and Scaramelli's (2004) explanation of these stories; "on this tales there can be found are classifications of the landscape that have possible roots in ancient cosmograms" (Tarble and Scaramelli, 2004:12), I would also argue that these stories can function as maps of memory, in both time and space.

According to Perera (1992), the tale that was documented by Wavrin does not have similarities to this one. It is possible that the story that he compiled does not correspond to the Mapoyo story but rather to other indigenous groups, such as Piaroa, or maybe even to Creole people (Perera, 1992:155).

Cerro Las Piñas was also a Mapoyo graveyard, probably used in the late 19th century. Mapoyo chose places found in hills, which have rock shelters, as locations for their cemeteries. Nevertheless, this type of story has an iconographic character, and in other indigenous groups, such as Panare and Piaroa (Wothuja), there can be found references about collective suicides that took place in the ancient times.

One of the students of the PASP, Natasha Brites (1994), made a physical anthropological research for her grade thesis project about the bodies of the Las Piñas Graveyard. She found that most of the bodies were placed there after they died of diverse causes (old age, diseases, etc), but there were some bodies that had fractures that could be correlated to a big fall that happened before death, which could confirm the Mapoyo's oral tradition.

Perera (1992) explains that Spaniards and travellers documented this type of stories, judging the indigenous actions as "a coward fact" (Perera 1992, 155). But looking at the other side of the coin, due to the violent character of colonization and the diseases brought by the Europeans, it was dignified to die by their own hands by collective suicide, rather than to succumb slowly to European subjugation. Although it is also possible that

the story comes from a myth or event that happened before colonization took place, in pre-Hispanic times, there is no evidence of this.

5.5.3. Battle for independence

The second story that I found to be of the most important in the way that the Mapoyo people conceive and construct their territory and their identity is the Battle for Independence that took place in the San Francisco Marimarota fortification, which by the time of the battle, around 1809 or 1810 was already an abandoned structure. The story goes as follow:

There was a time when Bolivar and his men were around the Middle Orinoco area looking to recruit men to fight against the Spaniards for independence, at which point Bolívar, or Paéz, depending who is narrating the story and the political moment, found a group of Mapoyo and he asked them to join the fight against the Spaniards and to liberate the slaves. The Mapoyo initially declined the request to join because it would have meant leaving their women and children behind and unprotected, but they said that they could help to get rid of the Spaniards within their territory, and that they knew a post taken by the Spaniards. With the intelligence given to them by the Mapoyo, the Creole army planned an attack on the fortification and the Mapoyo men also took weapons and fought against the Spaniards, and subsequently they won the fight. As a reward, Bolívar decided to give the Mapoyo a paper that gave them the ownership of the lands between the Suapure and Parguaza Rivers, and also he gave them a sword as a symbol of their union against the Spaniards. The sword still survives and is kept by Cacique Simon Bastidas as one of the most precious relics of the community, but the document that confirmed the land ownership was destroyed, according to the tale, in a fire inside the house of the Cacique. This probably happened at the beginning of the 20th century. ³⁶

It is important to remark that there is archaeological evidence in the San Francisco Marimarota site that confirms the story of a battle. PASP students did research on the archeological site, and could find bullets, weapons and other material evidence that points to violence, dating from the early part of the 19th century (Falconi, 2003;

³⁶ The story narrated by Simon Bastidas is in the Appendix section of this thesis.

Hernández, 1994). When I visited the site in one of my last visits, to take GPS coordinates in the year 2012, accompanied by Cacique Simon Bastidas and his son Argenis Bastidas, also leader of El Palomo, I found some fragments of bullets. Nevertheless I did not have the archaeological expertise to determine if these were colonial. I also admired the respect that both Argenis and Simon paid to this place. In context it is a sublime and beautiful place, and strategic one too, because two rivers collide, the Parguaza with the Orinoco.

Through Oral tradition the Mapoyo rescue the importance of their territory, and their belonging to it, as well as their identity, as Tarble and Scaramelli noted “The time-space is appropriated and culturally significant, represented symbolically through social actions” (Tarble and Scaramelli, 2004:3).

This could be understood in the context of this story as: the Mapoyo have the right to their land because they fought for it, even if it was just a battle, it is a symbol of their continuous fight to get recognition from the government, neighbours and from people of the lands that they own, because it is their right, no one else knows this territory as the Mapoyo do. This is the reason why they do not agree with governments petitions to submit a claim for a small piece of land, because they earned their territory a long time ago, and that is something that can not be negotiated, not in the past and not in the present.

5.6. Photo-essay.

I would like to present a series photos that I produced during the fieldwork, to give an idea to the reader of the landscape and the people that inhabit the territory between the Suapure and Parguaza Rivers.



Meeting in the community Caney, discussing the demarcation project.



A girl playing during her school break.



Girls having fun with the camera.

Children playing with a pet bird



A road in the middle of the forest.
Caripito.



Main road of Cerro Pastoral, Piaroa community. The settlement pattern is different to the Mapoyo, it is a nuclear settlement pattern.

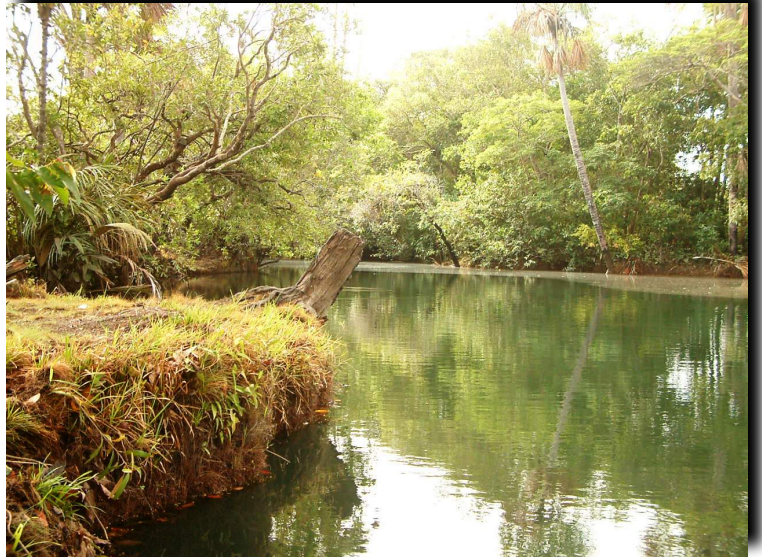


Argenis Bastidas. One of the many small lakes that can be found in Mapoyo territory.

A view of Cerro El Palomo. Site where the El Palomo community was settled before the building of the main road, in 1977



Creek



In the inland many water sources are found

Archaeological remains.
indigenous ceramic
fragments. San Francisco
de Marimarota.





A family's corn field. Conuco

Where the Parguaza Meets the
Orinoco River.
San Francisco de Marimarota



Cacique Simon Bastidas, on the
right with his son Argenis

Anthropologist Ernesto Yevara and children of the community, helping to build the community's museum



The community museum from outside.

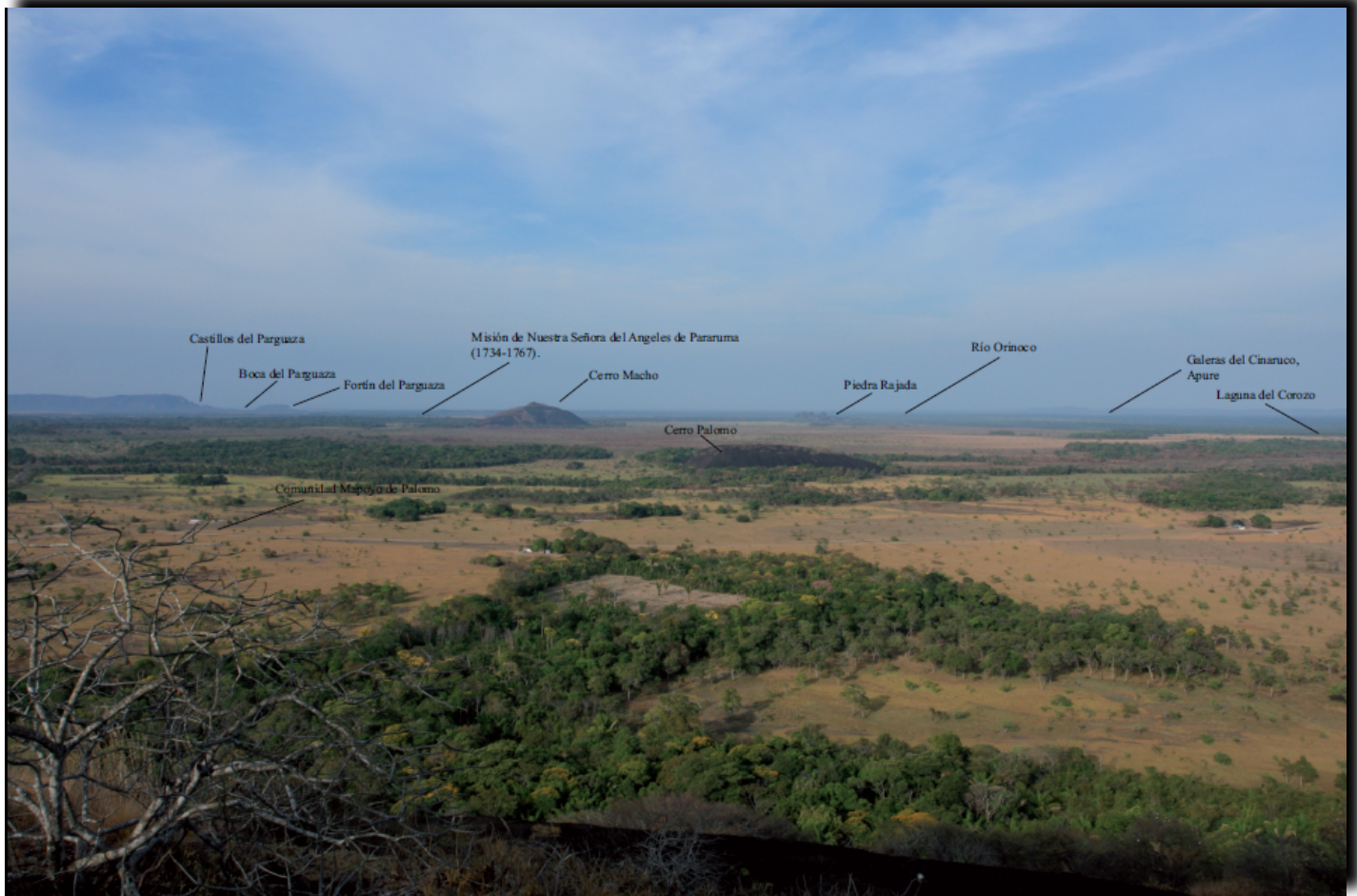
Cerro Caripito. Comunidad El Palomo





Mapoyo Burial. Cerro de los Muertos.

The Mapoyo geographical Landscape, view from Cerro Caripito.



A family's Cattle



Maritza Garcia, preparing rice that she cultivated, before it is cooked.

6. Conclusions

6.1. Mapoyo: identity and representations

In this final chapter, I will give my last remarks and thoughts about the geographic and social landscape and scenario of the Mapoyo territory, dealing with the notion of territory, and of the current struggles for the recognition of the lands they are claiming, and also of their identity as an indigenous group.

6.1.2. Physical space. Dealing with territory

I explained how the social relations of the Mapoyo people with other groups and with government institutions have been through history. In doing so, I have given case examples of how they handle conflicts over the land control, from the feud with the Piaroa community of Cerro Pastoral that began in the 1990's, where they found help from archeologists to reconstruct their history and in that way reclaimed the lands lost to other ethnic groups, to the meetings they have regularly with the government institutions, the mapping of their land, and even with the recognition they just had from the UNESCO, when the latter proclaimed the Mapoyo language and oral tradition as part of the heritage of the humanity.

Those are a just a few strategies the Mapoyo used as a community to maintain not only control and access to their lands and resources, but also to secure and reinforce their identity as an indigenous group that is self-aware of the dangers of 'creolization', of losing their identity and not being indigenous anymore. It is because of that fear that their culture remains more alive and resistant nowadays.

6.1.2. Other Examples of demarcation processes in Venezuela

One thing for sure is that the government position has been pretty ambiguous in the process of indigenous land claims. It has not necessarily been contradictory, because the law says one thing, i.e. 'to protect and preserve the native cultures', and since 1999 the indigenous communities have been a part of the state policies, but in praxis there are not

many cases of success regarding demarcation. I can mention maybe two examples, the property tenures that were granted to the Bari and Yukpa people in 2011, the first with 325.570ha. and the second with 143.610ha; in comparison with other cases, these cases were granted big extensions of territory, and in both cases, the people were based in a 'strategic' area for the government: mining and other economical activities are important and in many cases 'illegal' in the region, in addition to being an area that borders with Colombia (Tillett 2012).

Although the legal document of the Yukpa land has many flaws, and generated more violence between "land owners" and the indigenous population, incurring many violent deaths, such as that of leader Sabino Romero. Additionally the document had problems regarding the exact coordinates, and because of that might not be a legal document (Aguilera 2012).

Another example of failure is the demarcation of the Yanomami and Ye'kuana people. Even before the legal tools were available (the 2002 and 2005 laws respectively), both of the groups started a process of indigenous mapping with the technical help of the Centro de Investigaciones Antropológicas de la Universidad Experimental de Guayana, after the promulgation of the legal resources the indigenous people gave all of the necessary documentation to initiate the Land Claim. Nevertheless, the government filed the case, and the indigenous people of Yanomami and Ye'kuana have not received a response so far, only what President Chavez declared in his TV show on 11th October 2006: 'the indigenous cannot ask for more lands than the ones needed it for their basic subsistence, we do not want landlords, that case in particular represents a lot of land for just a few people' (Chavez en Mansutti 2006).

After that, the government tried to make a handbook of how much land an indigenous community should have to subsist. Also in the handbook was a guide, similar to the one of George Murdock, to establish what and who were true indigenous populations (personal communication). I participated in the making of the handbook, with the hope that it could be just a flexible guide to help with the collection of data. In other words, the process of demarcation of indigenous lands have been related more with electioneering: politicians looking for easy votes in favour, and less in really paying 'the historical debt' that the creole population and the Nation-state has with the native communities.

At the present time, there are at least five open cases waiting for a decision on the part of the government. So far 12,4% of the land claims have been granted, which means 80 tenures that benefited 372 small indigenous communities, between the years 2005-2013 (Censo Indígena 2011).

The other problem is regarding the use of the concept of “territory”. To most of the Venezuelan indigenous communities it is natural to talk in terms of territory when referring to the lands they request and manage as their own, but for the government, this word becomes an issue because it is associated with the “nation-state”, and it is only possible to have one territory, the national; according to the constitution and laws. If indigenous people talk about their rights for territory, it is seen as a direct threat to the government, of secessionist fears, which was never the case. Maybe it could be treated as a “lost in translation” term, but it gave the government a perfect excuse to stop many land claims from being processed. Even though in the current laws there are other terms such as habitat or land, that can be use instead of territory, the word territory means the complete management of all the resources, including those underground and water resources, which is not the case with habitat or land..

The Mapoyo did receive a small part of the land they were claiming, smaller than the previous collective tenure they already had from the 1970's Instituto Agrario Nacional (IAN) (that was of 45.000 ha), the new one was of (35.000ha). The government says that there is lack of information and an impossibility for many communities to get the documents needed done, but this is not entirely true because many of the communities that were active in the process never receive their land tenures.

After 2013 much less has been done, for which the hard economical and social crisis that Venezuela is going through at the moment is to blame. In a place where the majority of people are now struggling to find their daily food and staples, the demarcation of the indigenous communities (the 2% of the total population of Venezuela), it is seen as superfluous. Also, working in the commission I remember a couple of times when the authorities discredited many of the maps that were geo-referenced because it ‘looked too professional’ and according to them indigenous populations do not have the capacity of achieving such a thing.

6.1.3 Cartography as a social tool

A reflection that I have come to, regarding maps, is that even though they can be a really helpful tool to understand a territory, they cannot be used as the only tool, because when we get everything to paper, and we fix it in time and space, we are also in a way essentializing a whole, dynamic society.

There is not a fixed history, as there is not a fixed space in the Mapoyo world, it changes in time-space. The map should be understood and read only as a partial document, in space and in time, the borders could change as well as the toponyms and the histories inscribed in it. So in this way, the map is a representation of reality, and as every representation it does not embrace the whole reality.

The cartographical map is legitimate in a political system foreign to the indigenous, and because the indigenous communities do understand what a powerful tool it is when dealing with the government and with legal issues, it is not a surprise that they have had problems with the applications. It is what Arturo Escobar calls a hybrid knowledge (Escobar 1995).

The ethnocartography opens new windows to understand and visualise the human landscape, and the interdependence that exists between cultural and natural phenomena, on one side, and the construction of the space through names, meanings and activities immersed in a cultural system, and on the other, the influence of the natural life: of the rivers, mountains, plants, soil, in the system of meaning of the society. The local knowledge that the indigenous communities possess and its meaning and impact on the environment are important things to keep in mind, and those things are being ignored in most occasions by the state policies that only look for economical profit in the short term (Ellen and Harris 2000).

6.2. Mapoyo Social space and ethnoscape

There were many processes and dynamics that have changed the spatial distribution of the Mapoyo people. In the years of the colonization, we have seen how encomiendas, pueblos de misiones, and later resguardos played a key role in the way the indigenous people would be distributed around the Middle Orinoco area, not only new settlement

patterns were imposed, but also ethnogenesis occurred, as new indigenous groups were formed, and I hypothesise that it was a way to cope with the European colonizers.

In the time of the Republic, laws also affected the way Mapoyo would be distributed in the territory, they made a formal claim in the 1970's, before the construction of Bauxilum, the state owned company that has operations inside the Mapoyo territory and before the construction of the main road.

The IAN (Instituto Agrónomo Nacional), gave the Mapoyo a provisional communal title of their lands, as a way to protect not only the Mapoyo people but also to protect the government goals with Bauxilum. As I explained previously, the total area granted to the Mapoyo was of 45.000 Ha, which is a big portion of land but is not even half of the territory that goes between the Parguaza and Suapure Rivers.

After the construction of the main road, there was a drastic change in the settlement pattern of the Mapoyo people. They used to live in a dispersed settlement pattern, around the territory, maybe a family or two, and they would not have neighbours for miles, but after 1977, the cacique of the time, Juancito Sandoval, father of the present cacique, decided to settle his family near the road, so they could travel faster and have commercial contact with other communities of the region. After that decision other families took the cacique's idea on board, and started to build their houses closer and closer to each other, by the end of the 1990s they had already built a school and were planning other communal constructions.

Then how do the spatial/social dynamics that arise both within the community itself and in its relations with other communities, work particularly with those of the road axis? Mapoyo have a clear inclusiveness pattern in the way they handle their territory, and the people that want to make a living inside it, it is a diverse ethnoscape. Nevertheless, there are always rules and restrictions.

The neighbours, mostly the creoles, have to get along with the rest of the community, they should not steal crops from other neighbours' conucos, and they should recognize that the territory that they live in is an indigenous territory, and in fact a Mapoyo territory, and therefore that they are welcome but they have to participate in the community. To the Mapoyo is important that everyone has a voice, that everybody is aware of and

communicates in the decisions that are made, and that the creole people that live in the territory knows the 'Mapoyo's ways, and are part of their culture.

If people do not agree to follow these rules, then there could be severe consequences, I was told a story about a family that was persisting too much in their attempts to evangelize the community and they had a fight with a Mapoyo family. The cacique asked them to solve the problem, because there was no solution, the cacique asked them to leave Mapoyo territory because they were not welcome anymore. When that family refused to leave, the cacique took strong actions, the worst punishment was to burn all of the crops that this family had within the Mapoyo territory, so without being able to produce food, this family was obligated to leave the area. This is a rare scenario, because the Mapoyo try by all means to solve the conflicts that are presented inside the territory and outside it, with their neighbours. As I previously mentioned, there are more than six ethnic groups that border the Mapoyo territory, and they have good relations with almost all of them, the only exception is the Piaroa community of Cerro Pastoral, with whom they still have an ongoing dispute over who has the land rights of this area of the Middle Orinoco.

Because the territory is bordered by six ethnic groups, the Mapoyo have to live with a porous and dynamic ethnoscape and territory, where always people are coming in and out. Mapoyo territory is per se, a multiethnic territory, where different ethnicities live along side each other and establish relationships, and families are formed. The Mapoyo is a people that care about detail, and by their mental maps we can observe this fact, which is why the rivers and lakes, and hills and savannas are so important not only to their subsistence but also to their identity. They know their territory as they know the palm of their hands, and it was clear to me to observe it.

The Mapoyo defined their identity through their stories, fundamentally the two stories that I have narrated: the Mapoyo collective suicide, and the battle in the beginning of the 19th for independence. These stories have a physical place in their memory, which is why the landscape is so important, because they also reaffirm their identity by the names and stories immersed in each place, what I have called the 'chronotopes', which gives them a sense of place and belonging. None of their neighbours have the same history and oral tradition and that gives them uniqueness, identity. It is not easy for the Mapoyo because many outsiders and even anthropologists have said that the Mapoyo do not exist anymore,

that they are extinct. The reasons that people make this claim are based on the facts that the Mapoyo do not wear their traditional clothes anymore and that there are only two people remaining in the community that speak the language. The Piaroa for example, still speak their language, and actually Spanish is their second language, or the Panare still wear their traditional guayuco.

I was witness to a meeting with the Ministra para los Pueblos Indígenas, in which she accused the Mapoyo of not being an indigenous group anymore. I remembered the sadness in captain Simón Bastidas face after hearing those words from someone that is supposed to defend and protect them. I was also emotionally affected because I had spent time with the community and I knew that what the minister was saying came from misinformation, and possibly from pressure from the top heads of the government, to not allow the Mapoyo to have their lands demarcated.

The Mapoyo is an indigenous group even though they do not wear traditional clothes; the myths, the way they build their houses and their settlements, the way they engage with economic activities, how they manage their landscape, how they name it, how they memorize it, and many other things that are unique to them is what gives them their identity. Finally they got the recognition that they deserved, by the UNESCO, in the year 2014 when they were listed in the Intangible Cultural Heritage list of the UNESCO, the file 00983, defines them as:

“ The Mapoyo indigenous community is composed of about 400 people, who speak a Carib language and are settled along the Orinoco River, in the Venezuelan Guayana; more specifically, in the Cedeño Municipality of Bolivar State. Members of the community live under a horizontal, egalitarian social structure in which roles are assigned according to gender and age. Since the past few decades, the group has welcomed individuals from other ethnic, cultural backgrounds to join in a harmonious, consensual manner. Members practice traditional economic activities, which include hunting, fishing, gathering, herding and farming, and belong to regional trading networks. The Mapoyo currently live under a form of government wherein the chief or captain inherits his position and enjoys life tenure. His power rests on his ability to foster dialogue and consensus and yield to the will of the group, as

can be seen in other Amazonian indigenous societies.” (In <https://ich.unesco.org/es/USL/la-tradicion-oral-mapoyo-y-sus-referentes-simbolicos-en-el-territorio-ancestral-00983>)

I will end with the statement that Kay Tarble and Franz Scaramelli make, when they explain that “Culture, in order to be viable, must have the ability to transform; if not, it becomes a straight-jacket for its members. Definitions of ‘authenticity,’ ‘identity’ and ‘tradition’ will depend on the moment and the context in which they are recorded. They mediate a past and a future...” (Scaramelli and Tarble, 2007).

The Mapoyo make and reaffirm their own identity, through the daily activities (habitus), and their relationship with their physical space, their neighbours and outsiders, and it is through the reflection of these components and dynamics that they create a cognitive space to defend their rights to the land and their identity.

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Abstract

I will provide an historical ethnography of the changes in social, economic and cultural aspects of the Mapoyo people in the Middle Orinoco region since European colonization to understand the changes of the ethnoscape and territorial dynamics, including ethnogenetic processes connected to the use and imagining of the landscape since at least the establishment of Jesuit missions during the 18th-Century until the present in the region between the Suapure and Parguaza Rivers of the indigenous community of El Palomo, Bolivar State, Venezuela.

I will demonstrate that within the Mapoyo territory there has been a process of including neighbouring communities and ethnic groups, either indigenous or creole as part of El Palomo community, which could be understood from the social and physical reproductive needs of the Mapoyo group and its identity.

In order to explain the spatial and social dynamics of the present-day Mapoyo through their history, this research has two dimensions: A historical dimension, which included the study of written documents and laws that helped to produce changes in spatial representations and policies and an ethnographic dimension, including demography and spatial organization, and oral traditions of the Mapoyo, which may have defined exclusive territories or allowed spaces of inclusion, plurality and diversity.

Abstrakt

Ich werde eine historische Ethnographie der Veränderungen in den sozialen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Aspekten der Mapoyo Leute in der Mittleren Orinoco Region seit europäischer Kolonisation zur Verfügung stellen, um die Veränderungen der Ethnoscape und der territorialen Dynamik, einschließlich der ethnogenese Prozesse zu verstehen, die mit dem Gebrauch und der Vorstellung der verbunden sind Landschaft seit mindestens der Errichtung von Jesuitenmissionen im 18. Jahrhundert bis heute in der Region zwischen den Suapure und Parguaza Flüssen der indigenen Gemeinschaft von El Palomo, Bolivar, Venezuela

Ich werde zeigen, dass es innerhalb des Mapoyo-Territoriums einen Prozess gab, der benachbarte Gemeinschaften und ethnische Gruppen, entweder indigene oder kreolische, als Teil der Gemeinschaft El Palomo einbezieht, was aus den sozialen und physischen Fortpflanzungsbedürfnissen der Mapoyo-Gruppe und ihrer Identität verstanden werden kann .

Um die räumliche und soziale Dynamik des heutigen Mapoyo durch ihre Geschichte zu erklären, hat diese Forschung zwei Dimensionen: Eine historische Dimension, die das Studium schriftlicher Dokumente und Gesetze umfasste, die dazu beitrugen, Veränderungen in räumlichen Repräsentationen und Politiken zu erzeugen ethnographische Dimension, einschließlich Demographie und räumliche Organisation, und mündliche Überlieferungen des Mapoyo, die möglicherweise exklusive Territorien oder erlaubte Räume der Inklusion, Pluralität und Vielfalt definiert haben.

Appendix

Survey Instrument

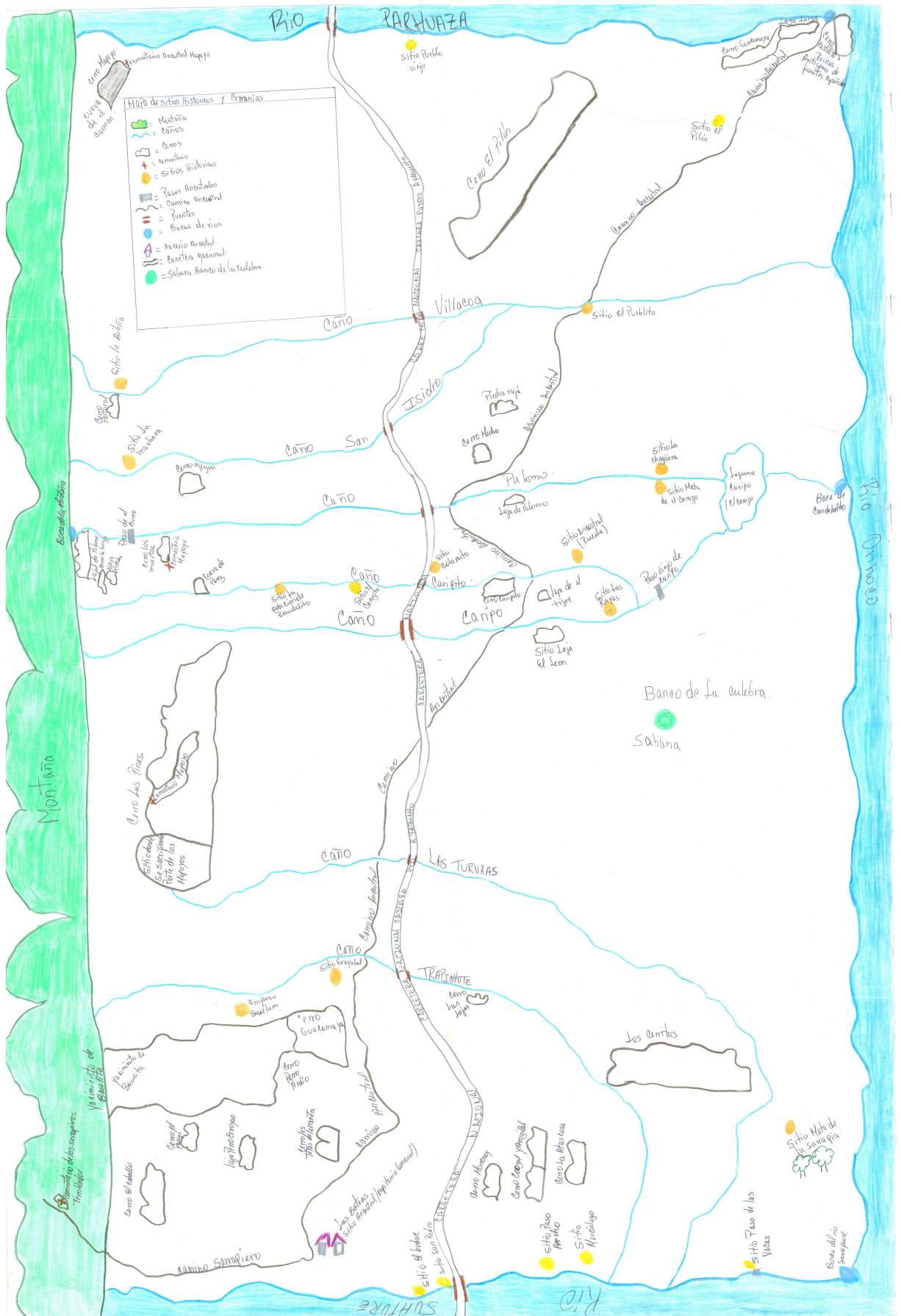
Coordenadas	Fecha de nacimiento	Lugar de nacimiento		Autodenominación étnica	
Edo. Civil	Ocupación/Educación	Edo. Civil	Nombre de la pareja	Ocupación de la pareja	Grupo étnico de la pareja
Nombre de la Madre			Grupo étnico	Vive: SI NO	
Nombre del Padre			Grupo étnico	Vive: SI NO	
Hijos: SI NO	Nombres de los hijos:				
Movilizaciones:					
Notas y observaciones:					

Crop fields in the community (conucos per family)

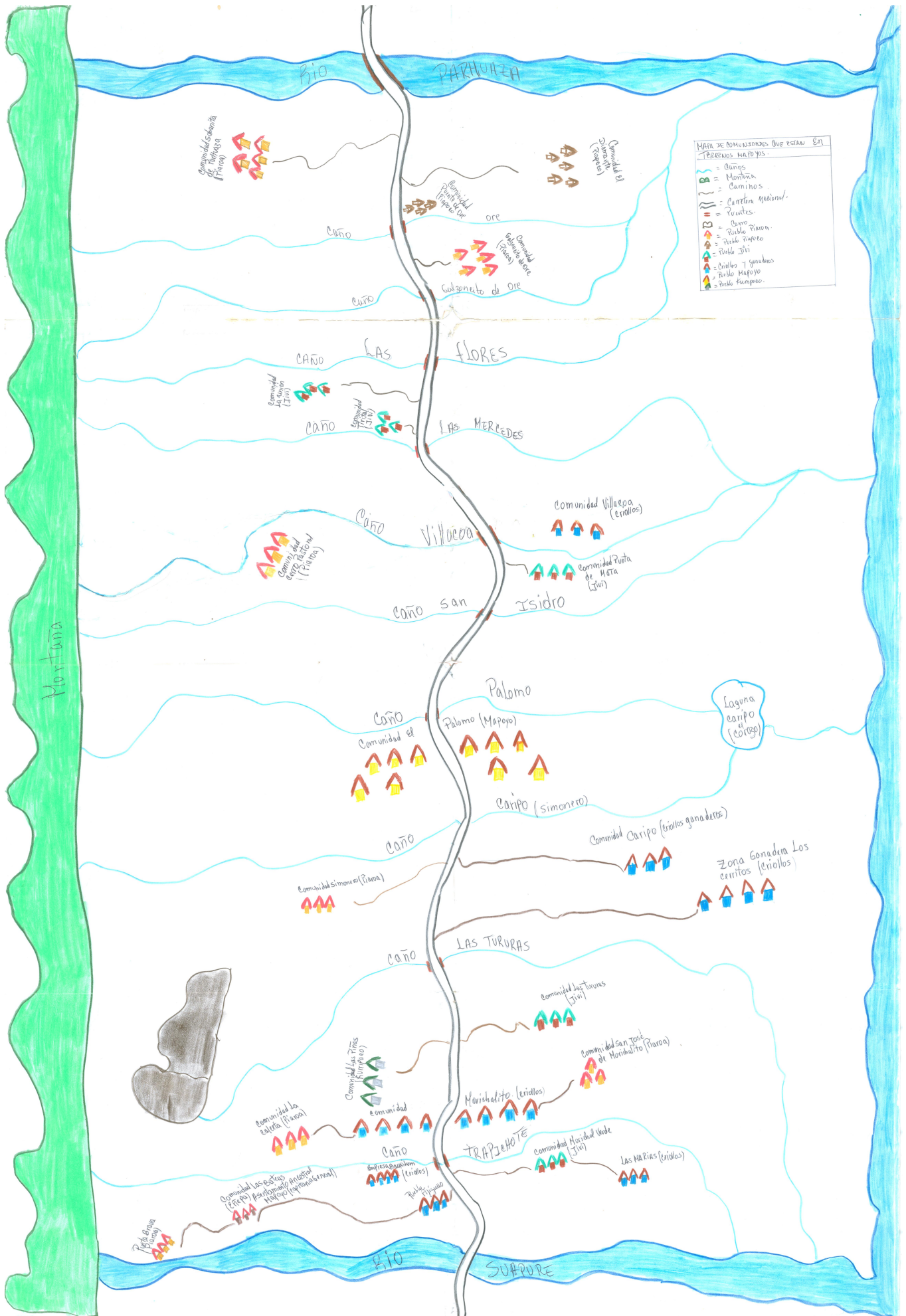
Family (número)	Fields location	area Aprox (Ha)	Number of fields	Crops	Notes/years active
1	No	No			
2	La Estación	2		Plantain, corn	?
3	?	5.50	3	Yucca, plantain	?
4	Caripito	2	1	plantain	?
5	Cerro Negro/ Palomo	3	2	Corn, plantain, yucca	3 years
6	Cerro Negro	5	1	Yucca	2 years
7	Caripito	1	1	Plantain	
8	?	2	1	Plantain	Gerson García ¿where?
9	La Lanza	1.50	1	Yucca	
10	Cerro Los Muertos/ Casa Palomo	2	2	Plantain, topocho, banana, yucca	2 years
11	No tiene				
12	Cerro Macho/Cerro Los Muertos	4	3	Yucca y plantain	4 years
13	Cerro Macho	1	1	Sweet Yucca	2 years
14	Cerro Negro	2	1	Sweet Yuca	3 years
15	La Mata	2	1	Not cultivated yet	
16	Cerro Negro	3	1	Sweet Yucca, plantain	2 years
17	Caripito	2	1	Yucca, beans, corn	4 years
18	Caripito/ cerca de la carretera	2	3	Yucca, topocho, banana	12 years
19	Cerro Macho	5	1	Yucca, corn, beans	4 years
20	Cerro Macho	2	1	Yuca	4 years
21	No tiene				
22	La Estación	3	1	yucca, corn, peppers, yam, plantain, topocho, pigeon pea, banana, papaya, watermelon	3 years
23	La Estación	2	1	Corn	10 years

Family (número)	Fields location	area Aprox (Ha)	Number of fields	Crops	Notes/ years active
43	El mismo del 42	40		Paddock	Same extended family
44	No tiene				
45	Fundo las 2 BV	5	1	yucca, plantain, corn, sugar cane, papaya, beans, peppers, bell pepper, cucumber, aubergine, melon, watermelon	3 years
46	Caripito	1	1	Plantain	1 years
47	San Isidro	3	1	Corn, yucca, plantain, banana, peppers, red bell pepper, coriander, oregano	1 years
48	El Pueblito- Orinoco	4	1	Inactive	
49	Fundo San Isidro	5	1	Inactive	

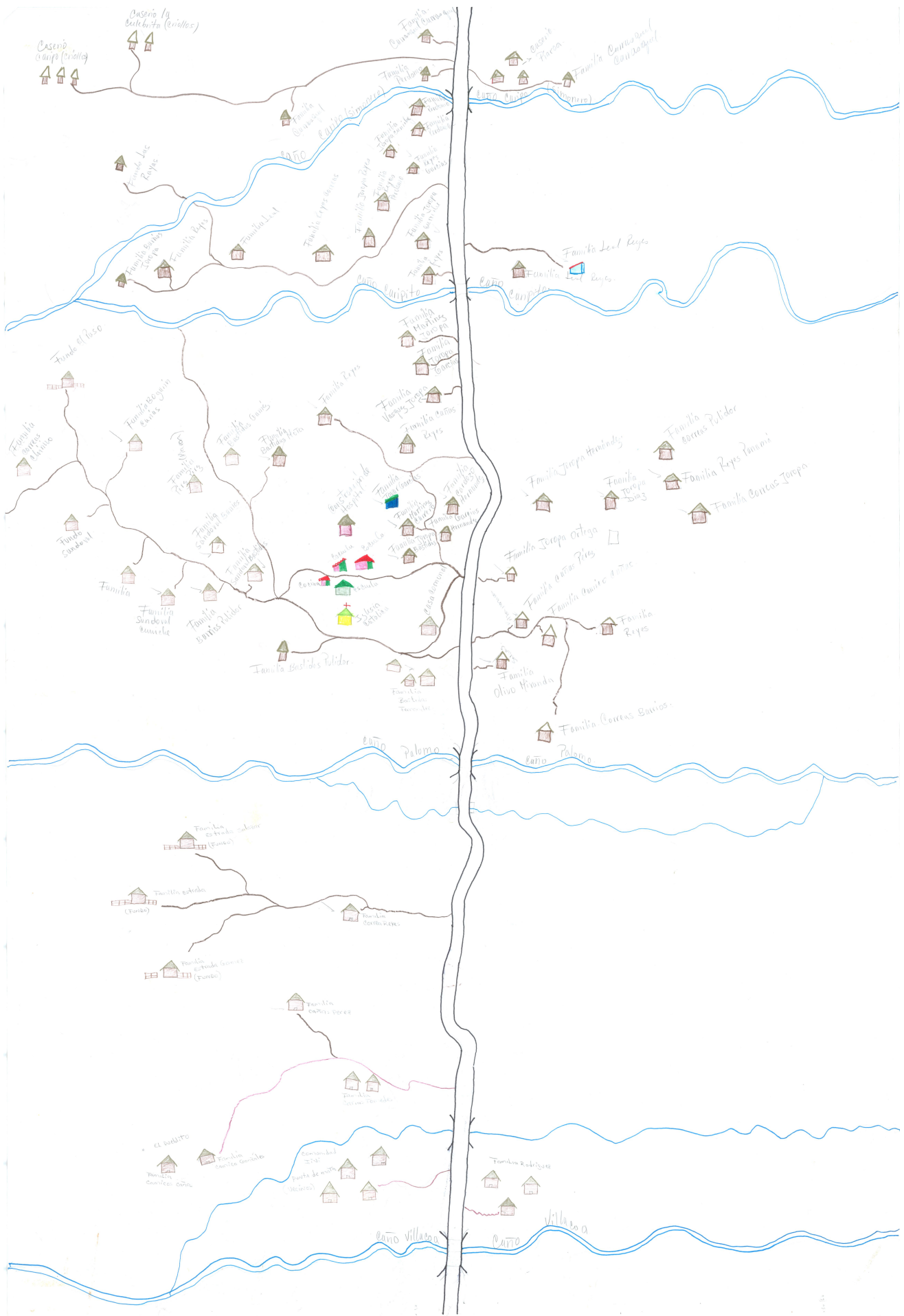
1. Hydrography Orography



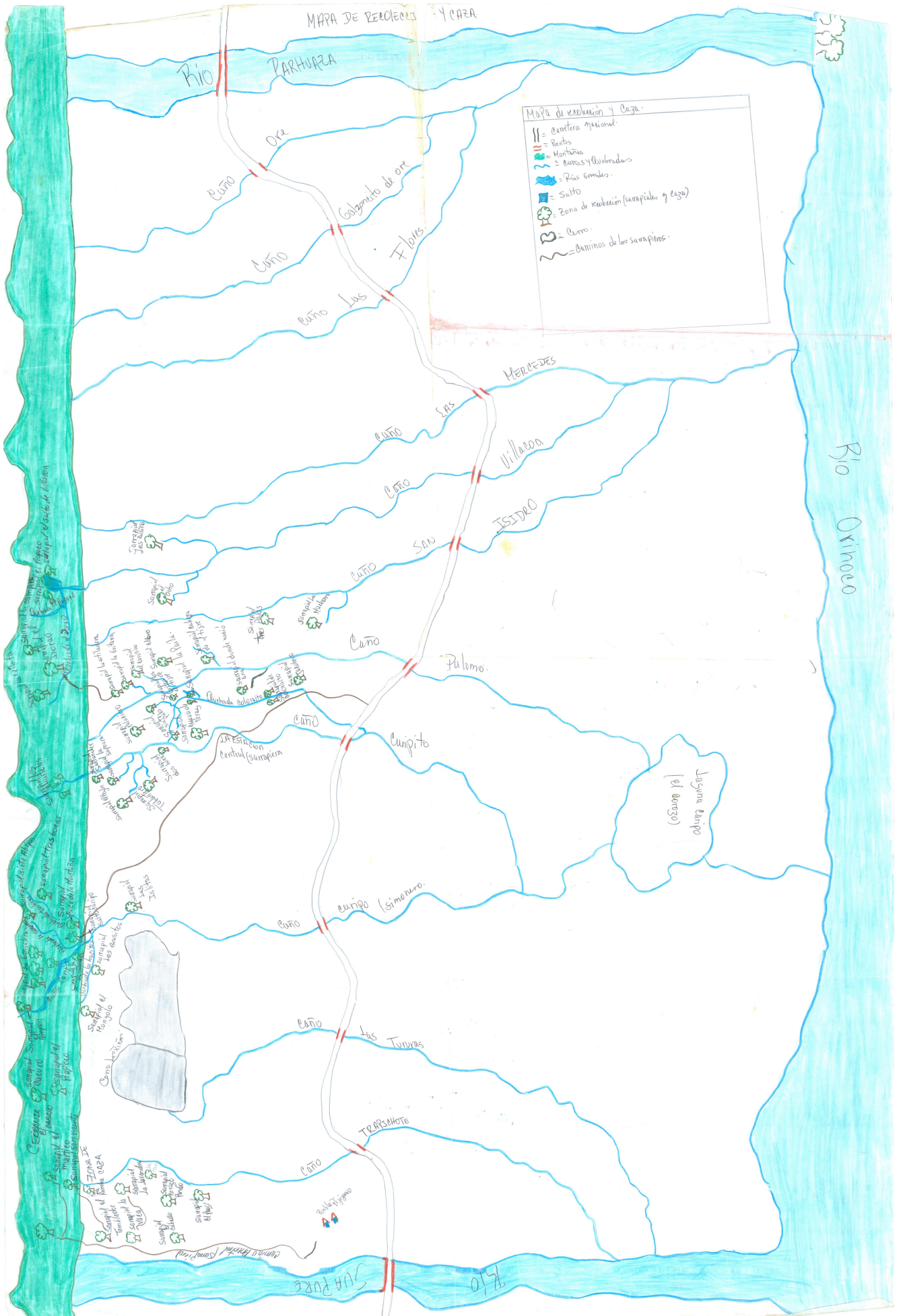
2. Neighbours Settlements



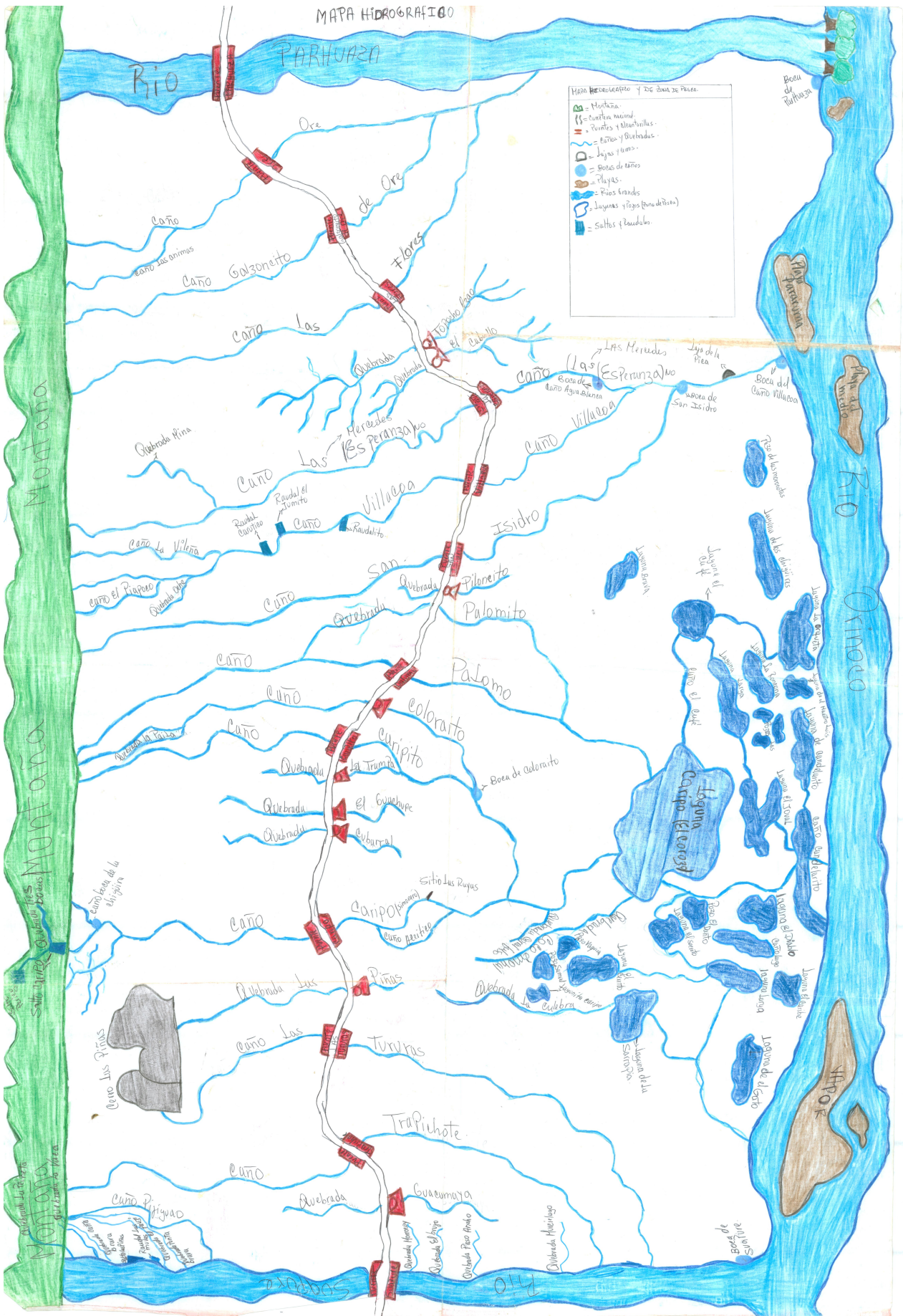
3. Households and Families of El Palomo



4. Gathering and Hunting Sites



5. Hydrography (including lakes)



red line is the land occupied in the present by the Mapoyi and the territory that Bolívar gave them (green line). Generated by the PASP. Taken with the permission of Dr. Franz Scaramelli



Mapoyo collective Suicide Story

Version 1

Que cuentan que... la gente, hay unos que dicen: '¡los Mapoyo se murieron toítos, no quedó ni uno!'. Eso es mentira, eso es mentira, eso me lo contaba mi mamá y mi tío tinaja, ¡eso es mentira! Si fue verda', que sé, que se murieron unos Mapoyos, vamos a pone', ve, se murieron por ejemplo como deci', una casa, verda', una familia, verda', aja, ahí en ese cerro, en el cerro ese que le dicen Las Piñas, bueno ahí están y pa' prueba, ahí están los cadáveres de esa gente, que se mataron ahí, pero esos se mataron fue que ellos hacían una... hacían fiestas con los, con los espíritus, ellos tenían, sorbían yopo y bajaban unos espíritus de arriba, no, bueno, y que eran pequeñitos, y que eran pequeñitos, bueno y hacían fiesta, hacían yarake, hacían bueno, bebida, bueno con esa bebida ellos se emborrachaban así... Bueno, y entonces bajaban esos espíritus y ponían... a bebe' y broma y esto, bueno... bueno, entonces esa, esa gente de arriba no fiestiaban con las mujeres de aquí, de, del suelo era con puro hombre, puro hombre, bueno, entonces y que, y que hubo unos pero de los de arriba que dijo: 'mire Capitán, yo quiero un poquito de carapiña'. Y hay que se fue y le dijo a la mujer: 'mire, traigame un poquito de carapiña que la gente de arriba, de Kapú, (Kapú se llama el cielo, no), la gente de Kapú, está pidiendo carapiña, apúrese y traiga', y llegó la, la mujer, no, y hizo su, su carapiña, pero uste' sabe que, debe se como... ellos tenían unas muchachas pero había una safrisca, y que dijo ella: '¡Yo, yo voy a pasa' a lleva'lo', entonces, el papá dijo... la mamá dijo: 'no, su papá dijo ninguna mujer podía salí pa' allá ni saca ni las manos, pues, nada que tenía que hace... (Adentro de la churuata estaban las mujeres, todas las mujeres, estaban adentro de la churuata. Bueno, y entonces llegó ella, y no mire, agarró esa carapiña y saco la mano: '¡Aquí esta la carapiña, papá', bueno, y cuando sacó la mano, esa gente del cielo, bueno, le agarraron la mano y se la partieron con los dientes (tao), y le quitaron la mano, le cortaron la mano, esa mano y que se la comieron, afuera, entre ellos, no, bueno, y entonces, y que dijo el papá: 'pa' qué la dejó saca las manos' (la mamá dijo): 'no, yo le dije pero ella no me quiso hace caso'. Le cortaron la mano... bueno, entonces, ahí el, el capitán vino, el capitán, no, pero el de la casa como deci' el papá de ellos: '¿qué fue lo que pasó?', 'no, que le cortaron la mano', 'pero, yo no le dije a ustedes que no sacaran la mano ¿pa' qué sacaron la mano?' Entonces, por ahí mismo vino como, uste' sabe que anteriormente ellos eran curiosos... curaban, ellos eran brujos, vino le escupió esa mano y le cruzó los hombros...

pa' que se le trancara la sangre, verda'. Bueno, le curó, la... esa broma, esa mano, le echó como bicho de eso... ¡ceniza! Le echó ceniza, y le echaron tabaco... bueno, y le

rezaron eso, bueno, se le trancó la broma, la sangre. Entonces, ese él que le picó la mano a la muchacha le dijo a el papá de la muchacha, y que le dijo: 'bueno, yo quiero que ustedes se vayan con nosotros pa' rriba... porque esa muchacha es mía ella, esa es mía, porque yo ya le comí la sangre, esa muchacha me la llevo, entonces pa' que ustedes no se queden se pueden ir con nosotros pa' rriba'. Ese hombre le dijo al viejo, verda', le dijo: 'ustedes van a hace', van a hace' un... dos escaleras, van a hace' dos escaleras y ahí se van... por aquí se meten toda la gente hasta que lleguen allá arriba... y uste' el viejo va a se' el último, el último de arriba, bueno... es el que va a lleva el machete y uste' es el que va a cae el... la escalera (¿cómo es que se llama eso?) el bejuco'. Porque eso iba bien amarrao era con bejuco, este... 'porque todos van a salí volando' y ellos creyeron eso, que en verda' iban a salí volando directo pa' allá, pa'l cielo, pues, que iban, bueno, entonces así hicieron, se metieron toítos alegres, cantando y que cantaban: 'wihi gustare a kapú' cantaban. Bueno, entonces el hombre a lo que picó todo el mundo se bajó fue pa' bajo, todo el mundo cayó fue allá abajo, se murieron, se mataron todos. Bueno, pero se mató fue esa sola familia no todos como dicen

Version 2

Ellos también los criollos, varios se adaptaban, porque veían eso... eso era lo de ellos, todo eso, ellos trabajaban mucho, era como cuando iban a una reunión así, cuando estaban haciendo un rito... se murió el capitán Simón en Simonero, estaban haciendo un rito, que ellos bajaban un espíritu, una serpiente, entonces la cargaban en el hombro, la cantaban y hablaba, eso era comunícale a los indígenas que era lo que tenían y con que ellos se iban a cura, a que, que planta iban a usa' para esa enfermeda', como... eso era lo que... Y las muchachas habían tres muchachas, jóvenes, ya eran señoritas, solamente, porque el después que le dictaba, le decía, él cantaba, rezaba oraciones de las muchachas... "son bochincheras". Solamente con con la, el habla de él tan bonita lo hallaron que ellas querían ve'lo a ve' si eran bonito como hablaba, fueron enfundando la (inintendible)... la fueron enfundando, enfundando, enfundado, hasta que se enfundaron pa' ve el espíritu, a lo que enfundaron se fue, quedaron... ahí pues, quedaron ahí se mato un gentío, todos de la serranía de Las Piñas, todos, todos, todos... (Inintendible), y ahí quedaron un gentío grande toítos en esa serranía, se sumbaron toítos, allá está el poco 'e huesos, amontonaos, amontonaos, todos los huesos

Version 3

Claro, así anteriormente, por ejemplo, esa churuata la utilizaban ellos específicamente era para, este, bajar ese espíritu que nadie lo podía ver, por ejemplo, y en eso, participaba puro varón, hembras no, porque esa era la creencia, ellos cumplían con la regla de sus creencias, y por medio de eso, era, era el motivo que ellos utilizaban esa churuata, que, que no se viera, pues, que eso era, eso tenía que se' oculto, eso era sagrado para ellos... entonces, ellos se veían era por ejemplo el capitán, los chamanes, todos esas, esas personas importantes de la comunidad, el cacique, el chamán, más que todo, y era que se concentraban en esa churuata para, este, bajar, este, este consultar con el Dios, que enfermedad venía, como ellos podían hacer para evitar las enfermedades, eh, tantas cosas que le informaba ese espíritu, pero eso era, eso, ellos, ellos tenían como un secreto, eso tenían que cumplirlo ellos así, y las hembras eso era prohibido entrar allí, pero si las voces se escuchaban hacia fuera, cantaban rezaban, ellos bailaban allí, y por medio de sus oraciones y su broma bajaban a ese Dios, ellos el Dios, el espíritu, eso era sagrado, entonces, en, en esa historia de ahí de Simonero, que le dicen Cerro Las Piñas, que fueron, aparentemente fueron dos familias, no fueron todas que se lanzaron del cerro, y fueron por eso, ellos dicen que pecaron, ellos, el cacique dice según que ellos no cumplieron las reglas como el cacique le decía, sus creencias, sus ancestros, cuestiones así. Entonces, dice, unas muchachas siempre curiosas, las mapoya, había muchacha que tenía la curiosidad de ver qué era lo que hacían ellos, qué era lo que hacían, qué, ellos querían ver qué era lo que hacían, qué era lo que bebían, qué era lo que tomaban, cuál era la oración, muchas curiosidades por ver esa churuata ahí encerrada, no dejaban entra' a más nadie si no eran ello, puro ello, puro ellos: 'pero ¿qué harán esa gente ahí'. Entonces, una de esa de tantas veces, y su padre les decía, que eso era prohibido las mujeres nada que ver, pero eso se escuchaban las voces afuera de la churuata, y una de esa vez, entonces, una muchacha dice que, tuvo la curiosidad como era de palma, la, las paredes de la churuata eran de palma, ella tuvo la curiosidad, la curiosidad de abrir un huequito, en los demás que estaban ahí adentro ella no los vieron pero como el espíritu si, entonces, dicen que fue el gran error que ella cometió, pues, porque ella vio, vio, quiso ver cual era porque la voz y que era muy bonita, ella lo hallaba que era muy bonita, pues, que hablaba bonito, en idioma eso, y a ella le gustaba como, como él hablaba, ella quería ve' como era ese hombre, quien era el que estaba hablando ahí, entonces, ella se asomó por ahí, y de a partir de ahí, fue la creencia que ellos dijeron que habían peca'o con el Dios, y se decidieron de, de, de, de limpiar sus casas donde vivían y decí que ante', ya no iba a se' como antes, pues, porque ellos desobedecieron, no cumplieron con lo que

ellos llevaban ese misterio eso, ese, algo sagrado. Después ellos empezaron a limpiar las casas, los conucos, se empezaron a, a preparar porque ellos se iban con el Dios, con su Dios ellos se iban. Este, hicieron casabe, limpiaron las casas, como que fueran a volver otra vez, eh, lavaron la ropa, la pusieron arriba en una troja, casabe, hicieron, como que ellos se iban de viaje e iban a volver todo preparado, bueno, llegó el día y todos alegre, ellos no, no se entristecieron ni nada, sino es que iban alegres y que porque iban para el cielo, arreglaron la familia, niños, grandes, todo lo que era la familia Mapoyo, aparentemente dos según la historia, este, se alistaron, hicieron mañoco, se vistieron, lavaron, picaron leña, todo, y se fueron al cerro, dicen que hicieron fue un bejuco, la escalera fue un bejuco, y se iban subiendo, pues, el primero por supuesto y que fue un bejuco, aja, ellos iban subiendo grandes y pequeños, y el que se subió primero fue el que, que pico allá y al picar eso cayeron todos, y ahí están los huesos todavía.

Battle for Independence narration.

Entonces, ellos pedían, le pedían por medio de eso rituales, a ellos, hacían fiesta, hacían ritos, hacían broma, pidiéndole que... había un hombre que andaba libertando a todos los esclavos, y, que era Bolívar, y los indios pidieron... pa' que el hombre les llegara, trae'lo, entonces, ellos... vino, a tiempo vino un general, por allá donde está la tumba de la hija mía que murió, que lo, que la enterraron ahí... entonces ellos tenían ahí un caserío, ahí les llegó la, la tropa. Cuando ellos se dan cuenta estaban en sus casas, entonces, llegó un general, y les dijo que iban de paseo, que iban de paseo, iban a ve', de viaje pa' Amazonas... Bueno, entonces, le dijo, habló, habló el general con el cacique, le dijo: "Bueno, cacique esta noche vamos a..." le dijo: "lo malo es que no hay (inintendible) mándele decí' a su familia que naiden llegue ese muchacho, ustedes van a dormi abajo de aquí, de la tropa, los soldados... que no venga naiden esta noche, mañana después..." y le mando por ahí... porque le tenían miedo no iban a ir por nada, creían que le iban a mata' (risas), estaban asustaos, bueno, entonces él le exigió eso a ese general, que él quería que viniera Simón Bolívar porque, porque sí, porque tenían unos jóvenes que los tenían de esclavos en la boca de Parguaza, le dijo "como no, cacique, les va a llega', porque yo voy a habla' con ellos pa' que les llegue, él va a vení a liberta'les esto, cuente que sí". Entonces, se fueron, no hombre, eso se le había olvidado, al tiempo, al año sería yo no sé que fue que... ya tenían gente, varios indígenas ahí. Entonces, Páez, Páez fue el que le llegó a ellos primero, pero en la boca del río Parguaza que estaban pescando ellos

en una playa... Y, y el río era seco, ellos cruzaron en bestia por encima atravesaron el río en bestia... para este lado que venía por la orilla del río, por la playa por, cuando los indígenas se dieron cuenta se fueron corriendo pa'l monte, asustao, pero ellos los agarraron con las bestias fue y lo atajaron, le dijo: "no, no, no corra que nosotros no le vamos hace' nada". Ahí le pregunto Páez a ello, de cómo se llamaba ese punto ahí, él le dijo que ellos le dijeron que eso se llamaba, este, "peloro", Laja Larga se llamaba eso, entonces le dijo que... le preguntó que, que llegaron, llegaron a unos, a unos mangos, todavía existen los mangos, los hijos de los mangos, un español que llamaban "torito", eso lo agarraron ahí y lo amarraron de una vez, de un palo, entonces le preguntaron a los indios que estaban pescando que donde, de donde eran ellos, ellos le dijeron que ellos eran de ahí, de Pueblo Viejo, que ellos tenían el cacique de ellos en Pueblo Viejo.

Entonces, le dijo que si quedaba muy lejos, ellos le dijeron que, que no, que quedaba tres horas de, a pie, de camino, ellos le dijeron que lo fueran a busca' que querían habla' con ellos, Páez. Entonces, le dijeron a, a Alejo Sandoval se llamaba el capitán, pero el propio cacique era Paulino Sandoval, hermano de Alejo Sandoval. Y entonces, vino y le dijo al general, el general "vine a atende' su llamado"... "yo llamé fue a Bolívar" "no, yo no soy Bolívar, soy segundo al mando... de Simón Bolívar, yo lo que lo mandé a llama' es para que me indique si esa serranía tiene subida", le dijo que "sí" que "sí tenía". "Bueno, yo quiero de que usted me lleve para allá yo soy el General Páez, el General Bolívar viene por agua, viene en barco, así que vamos a esta como tres días... naiden va a sabe' que estamos acá, estamos... porque vinimos a un... a una exigencia que hicieron los indígenas por aquí, por Guayana, yo no sé si es aquí o en otra parte, que tienen varios esclavos indígenas". Le dijeron que ahí era. "Bueno, pero ustedes llegan allá" "Si" "Bueno, dígame a ellos, dígame a ellos, comiencen que cuando la, la, la tropa llegue que, que comiencen a pelear, se metan por debajo de la parte esa que está ahí, que ahí ya sabemos... eso es lo que mando a decí' Bolívar a ustedes que se metan por debajo de esa, que de allí no le vamos a zumba' plomo, porque sabemos que están ahí". Entonces, así fue, entonces tuvieron tres días y bueno: "recójanme toda la gente suya para, para que ustedes custodien por los lados de la serranía y nosotros por encima porque lo vamos a ataca' a ellos". Entonces, ese cerro es así, entonces por aquí... los indios se pusieron por aquí y por aquí y esta eso, el, el, pueblo esta es aquí, entonces ahí de aquí se zumbaban pa' abajo, y los indios por aquí, y por aquí, si aquí iban corriendo los agarraban los indios y los mataban.

Bolívar cuando llegó que terminó, mandó, mandó a llamar el cacique Paulino Sandoval para ver que quería por la ayuda de la gente de ahí, para ellos que si querían paga'le, que si querían comercia, el cacique Paulino Sandoval le dijo que ellos de comercio no sabían nada, porque no sabían donde es, y de ganadería tampoco porque del llano no sabían nada, ellos lo que querían con él era que le donará terrenos para ellos pode' viví. Entonces, le dijo que desde donde a donde ellos, vivían desde donde donde, desde que parte ellos se, se defendían, el cacique le dijo que desde las barrancas del, de las barrancas del Suapure hasta las barrancas del Parguaza, toda la serranía; ahí entonces le dijo que para eso lo había mandado a llama', para, lo había mandado a llama' era para eso, pa' hace'le frente, pa' eso que qué querían, por eso, por la ayuda de la gente, entonces pidió fue tierra. Y él le donó esta tierra desde el Parguaza...

Entonces, él les dio un, un documento, se los dio y les dijo: “este papel es para que ustedes se defiendan, que ningún terrateniente, ningún tipo les venga a echa' broma, ni al gobierno. Y de, y de, y de prueba reciba este sable pa' que vea que es una prueba que le voy a deja'", y pa' él le dejo una lanza, para que vea. (Simon Bastidas)

Land Titles granted By the IAN (1970s to 1990s)

State	Type of Title	Ethnic Group	Nº communities	Nº Families	Land Granted (Ha)
Amazonas	95 Títulos provisionales/ 7 Autorizaciones de uso, goce y disfrute	Baniva	6	82	22.800
		Bare	2	29	14.000
		Curripaco	7	87	98.600
		Guahibo	33	598	153.030
		Guarequena	1	30	40.000
		Maco	4	59	13.000
		Piapoco	2	57	3.850
		Piaroa	27	607	223.645
		Puinabe	5	67	18.500
		Yanomami	1	17	10.000
		Ye'kuana	8	179	215.000
		Yeral	4	30	102.000
		Saliva/Guahibo/criollo	1	16	1.516
		Criollo/Mapoyo y Piapoco	1	46	10.000
Anzóategui	9 Títulos provisionales/ 1 definitivo/ Reconocimiento de Títulos coloniales	Kari'ña	12	754	23.146
Apure	3 Títulos Provisionales/3 definitivos/ 1 provisional intercomunitario/ 1 definitivo intercomunitario	Pume	22	168	214.094
		Cuiva	3	78	9.893.75
Bolívar	15 Títulos provisionales/ 6 definitivos/ 1 provisional intercomunitario/ 1 definitivo intercomunitario	Kari'ña	2	60	10.154
		Mapoyo	1	19	45.000
		Panare	1	50	14.400
		Pemón	12	527	111.554
		Piaroa	6	225	100.000
Delta Amacuro	3 Títulos Provisionales	Warao	3	62	3.060
Monagas	3 Títulos Provisionales	Warao	3	93	3.500
Sucre	Catastro a dos comunidades	No reportado	2	No reportado	No reportado
Zulia	14 Títulos provisionales y catastros	Yukpa	14	302	36.872