Understanding ritual practice is not a question of decoding the internal logic of a symbolism, but of restoring its practical necessity by relating it to the real conditions of its genesis, that is, to the conditions in which its functions, and the means it uses to attain them, are defined.

The significant and enigmatic is indeed, how a whole is constructed from parts, like a melody is composed from notes. This creating of real units, wherein the parts are organically interrelated and focused for one specific purpose, harmonic through time, varying in certain circumstances withholding the type, like a melody that in different keys remains recognizable.
—Frederik J. J. Buystendijk, *De Wijsheid der Mieren* (1922:87; my translation).
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<tr>
<td>AAA</td>
<td>American Association for Anthropology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACT</td>
<td>Amazon Conservation Team</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMNH</td>
<td>American Museum of Natural History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APFT</td>
<td>Avenir des Peuples du Forêt Tropicale (Future of the People of the Tropical Forests)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARPA</td>
<td>Amazon Region Protected Areas</td>
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<tr>
<td>BASA</td>
<td>Bonner Altamerika-Sammlung</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAWAY</td>
<td>Culture et Artisanat Wayana (Culture and Wayana Handicraft)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBL</td>
<td>Centraal Bureau Luchtkartering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CI</td>
<td>Conservation International</td>
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<tr>
<td>CI-S</td>
<td>Conservation International Suriname</td>
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<tr>
<td>CITES</td>
<td>Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSNR</td>
<td>Central Suriname Nature Reserve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLMNH</td>
<td>Florida Museum of Natural History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GIS</td>
<td>Geographic Information Systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPS</td>
<td>Global Positioning System</td>
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<tr>
<td>HSAI</td>
<td>Handbook of South American Indians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IGN</td>
<td>Institut Géographique National (National Geographic Institute)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRD</td>
<td>Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (former ORSTOM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KIT</td>
<td>Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen (Royal Institute for the Tropics)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNAG</td>
<td>Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap (Royal Dutch Geographical Society)</td>
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<tr>
<td>L.E.S.</td>
<td>Logement Évolutif Social (Social Housing Project)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MPEG</td>
<td>Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi</td>
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<tr>
<td>MQB</td>
<td>Musée du Quai Branly (former Musée de l’Homme)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>ORSTOM:</td>
<td>Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique Outre-Mer (see IRD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAG:</td>
<td>Parc Amazonien de Guyane (formerly known as “Parc du Sud”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARC:</td>
<td>Program for the Acceleration and Reinforcement of Colonization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMAE:</td>
<td>Peabody Museum for Archaeology and Ethnography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RMV:</td>
<td>Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (Museum for Ethnography)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RS:</td>
<td>Remote Sensing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIL:</td>
<td>Summer Institute of Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TFC:</td>
<td>Tropical Forest Cultures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UF:</td>
<td>University of Florida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UL:</td>
<td>Leiden University (former RijksUniversiteit Leiden; RUL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIC:</td>
<td>West Indian Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WWF:</td>
<td>World Wildlife Foundation</td>
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This study is an innovative contribution to an ongoing debate on socio-political complexity of indigenous people in Amazonia, and Guiana in particular, demonstrating an integrated regionality in Wayana socio-political organization, based on in-depth ethnographic fieldwork conducted from 1996 to 2004 in over twenty Wayana villages and abandoned places of the upper Maroni basin. This case study draws on a wide array of data—from intra-settlement patterns and local structures of kinship, to regional organization associated with ritual gatherings, along with personal histories, legends and mythical narratives on cosmology—the organization of chapters in this study is designed to reflect upon various aspects of a multi-scalar approach gearing up to an understanding of socio-politically more complex and integrated regional organization of Carib-speaking peoples in Guiana, while acknowledging an unequal distribution of roundhouses.

Although historical sources suggest the past existence of denser and more regionally integrated populations in the region, it is assumed that such a hierarchical supravillage organization—as recorded in 1769 among the Roucuyennes [= Wayana] of French Guiana—had disintegrated by about 1800. Beginning with a historical and geographic overview of Guiana, this study zooms-in on the Wayana region: inter-settlement patterning, intra-settlement
organization, and house structures. Once arrived at the scale of the roundhouse—commonly interpreted as microcosm—the inside becomes outside, and alterity is incorporated. Next, local patterns of kinship and affinity are discussed in the context of transformation and continuity, managed by rites of passage and the role therein of the Wayana shaman (pïjai). Utmost rite of passage where Wayana become Wayana, in a sense that they become of tukusipan, is the ritual commonly referred to as maraké or ant/wasp stinging ritual. I posit that this characteristic Wayana ritual goes beyond a mere initiation ritual. Another ritual situated in alterity and performed on the village plaza is discussed next, namely the Tamok whip-dance. These rituals are subsequently situated in the ritual economy along with the dynamic process of socio-political organization in Guiana, from which is derived a hypothesis of the birth of the Wayana nation and why this socio-politically more complex organization has hitherto not been recognized.

Diachronic and synchronic patterned relationships that emerged from settlement features, built environment, demographic census, and social memory allowed for the interpretation of politico-ritual dynamics and the flow of power in chieftaincy, as it moves through historically charged valuables (e.g., “prestige goods” and heirlooms) in a politico-ritual landscape in Guiana. Therefore, understanding interrelationships between villages (contemporary and abandoned), people (Wayana and non-Wayana), artifacts (particularly sacred and historically charged goods), is essential to the understanding of how Wayana (Guiana) socio-political organization operate regionally in the realm of a ritual economy, whereby the imminent ritual gathering engenders a surplus production (including but not restricted to, large quantities of cassava beer) to be consumed (and regurgitated) by the people from the village as well as the invited guests from other settlements. Notably, participating guests originate mostly from smaller settlements that do not have the means to built a community roundhouse (tukusipan) and in due process demonstrate
loyalty to the host village. Ethno-historical and ethnographic accounts demonstrate a pattern whereby some families appear to lead in the organization such lavish ritual gatherings.

Results of this study demonstrate how Wayana, in past and present times, organized symbolic capital and transformed their local natural environment into a complex regional socio-political landscape centered upon the roundhouse (*tukusipan*), and at a wider scale upon an exceptional inselberg named after its resemblance to such a roundhouse (*Tukusipan; T1*). This demonstration contributes, from the local to the global level, to a better understanding of the local Wayana culture, consideration of social inequality and complexity in Guiana, and to the broader field of anthropological theory. Most directly, this research provides substantive information on contemporary and historical Wayana intra- and inter-settlement patterning, demography, and descriptions of ritual, ceremonies and oral traditions. It is a multi-scalar approach to the social organization of the indigenous (Carib-speaking) people of Guiana, which does not correlate with conventional models of complex societies. Ephemeral settlements and “natural features” have likely been ignored by theories that focus on the presence of enduring structures and accumulation of non-perishable objects. Once the focus of investigation is directed towards the relations between the visibly material units, what has been invisible—even immaterial—can be shown to endure and to contribute to long-standing social rank differences. Instead of concentrating on synchronic redundancy and ideal types in a structural-functional approach, the present study provide a deep-time ethnographic demonstration of complex socio-political organization in hitherto unrecognized form within Guiana, from which to model dynamic dialectic hierarchical processes in the present, as well as in the past. At the broadest level, this study is a contribution to anthropological knowledge and theory and it is situated within the discourse on personhood/identity, sociality/community, indigenous religions, and
especially in further developing the paradigm of a “ritual economy” that is divergent from deterministic economic models. The focus on spatial aspects and materialization during highly marked occasions when the community gathers in a clearly defined space for communal rituals contributes to a further understanding of such archaeological signatures in conjunction to politico-ritual organization. In conclusion, the goal is to understand the hierarchical supravillage organization from a ritual economic perspective centered on and around the community houses and symbolic capital within a politico-ritual landscape that extends beyond the boundaries of the individual ephemeral Wayana village.

To gain understanding of (re)production of the regional social body in Guiana, we have to explore sociality or the ways in which social interactivities among individual persons are situated in a sense of belonging to a larger social body, while facing other social bodies. Throughout this study, ethnographic detail and thick descriptions are brought to the foreground to demonstrate potentiality for regional organization and socio-political complexity of indigenous peoples in Guiana as previously went unrecognized. This study is focused on a sense of belonging to Wayana society, while facing other social bodies (Trio above all), and therein the managing role of tukusipan. In due process a new perspective on the Wayana and their ethnogenesis emerges, grounded in a sense of belonging to, while becoming of tukusipan.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Human life is a process that involves the passage of time. Second, this life-process is also the process of formation of the landscapes in which people have lived. … [As] the process of dwelling is fundamentally temporal, the apprehension of the landscape in the dwelling perspective must begin from a recognition of its temporality.


Figure 1-1. Julian Steward’s culture types of native South America (1959:13), and the location of the research area in the zone of tropical forest village farmers.

This study aims to understand the role of community roundhouses (*tukusipan*) in Wayana (Guiana)\(^1\) socio-political organization based on in-depth ethnographic fieldwork during nineteen months of fieldwork from 1996 to 2004.\(^2\) Indigenous people of Guiana—Wayana amongst others—are commonly described as residing in small and ephemeral autonomous villages compliant with what Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1996) coined the “Standard Model of Tropical Forest Cultures” (Gillin 1948; Lowie 1948; Steward 1948; Steward and Faron 1959; Figure 1-1). In Guiana, roundhouses play a central role in the social and symbolic reproduction of community
(e.g., Guss 1989; Roe 1987; Wilbert 1986). During my fieldwork in the upper Maroni basin, I realized that in only four out of about twenty Wayana settlements stands such a roundhouse. As not every Wayana settlement owns a roundhouse (*tukusipan*), this implies an unequal distribution of mechanisms of social and symbolic reproduction of the Wayana community.

Guiana societies have, by default, been categorized as tropical forest cultures as they lack distinguishing features of politically complex societies as the presence of large-scale settlements (seat of the institutionalized office of a chief), along with accumulation and redistribution of valuables and occasional surplus; characteristic for mid-range societies, regional and moderately hierarchical, between autonomous villages and bureaucratic states, with tremendous variability through time and space, often glossed as “chiefdoms” (Drennan 1995; Drennan and Uribe 1987; Earle 1989, 1991; Oberg 1955; Redmond 1998; Service 1962, 1975). Societies with small-scale settlements are ignored or treated as simple and essentially autonomous communities, failing to situate these places in broader, regional, politically integrated, social and sacred landscapes. This study adopts a dynamic approach to the socio-political organization of Carib-speaking peoples in Guiana (Chapuis 2006; Gallois 2005; Howard 2001; Rivière 1984), which elaborates upon the model of regional organization situated in the discussion of socio-political complexity.

Overconfident presumptions that in “every [Wayana] village stands a *tukusipan*” (e.g., Gray and Birchfield 1999:282), renders inert a dynamic landscape in which “each component enfolds within its essence the totality of its relations with each and every other” (Ingold 1993:154). In practice, settlements *without* roundhouse are in conjunction with villages *with* *tukusipan* through sharing of substance during ritual events, engendering and revitalizing what Edward Casey (1996; drawing on Nancy Munn 1986) called a “region” wherein, out of action, is emerging an intersubjective social field. In the process, Wayana *become of tukusipan*. In
Wayana, *pata* refers to a “place of …” (rather than simply “place”) and such named places in the landscape are subjective conditions shared by two or more individuals. This spacetime—a lived world emerging from a sphere of interaction and historical exchange of valued goods linking local and extra-local places as well as routes between them facilitating movement of agents (Munn 1986), allowing for practical jokes—is centered upon the *tukusipan*. Unequal distribution of community roundhouses, as demonstrated in this study, allows for ranked regional organization, a feature expected to go unrecognized in village-based ethnographic studies.

I perceive *tukusipan* as continually emerging process of dwelling in a dynamic sacred landscape saturated with social memory from which Wayana draw a sense of belonging because “things that people make, make people” (Miller 2005:38); rather than defining roundhouses as static artifacts or cultural traits that simply are, these roundhouses are materializations of intersubjective interrelationships in process. Apprehension of regional intersubjective interrelationships in process must begin from a recognition of its temporality. Although “in practice, it has not proved feasible [in Guiana] to move away from the settlement as representing one of the fundamental social [and political] units of the region” (Rivière 1984:101), “[marriage, disputes, trade, and ritual] help break down the physical and social isolation of settlements” (Rivière 1984:80; also Arvelo-Jimenez 1977). Data on settlement patterning, kinship relations, gifts, and rituals as presented in the present study be evidence how Wayana are socio-politically more complex than assumed from conventional village-based ethnographic studies. To go beyond existing synchronic models of single-house settlements as micro-cosmos (i.e., politically autonomous social units), I argue, a model of Wayana sociality and Guiana socio-political organization ought to be more dynamic, multi-scalar, and with a unit of analysis beyond the boundaries of the single village. Data collected, analyzed, and interpreted on different scales
(temporal and spatial), does not make a study “multi-scalar” unless it is investigated how identified phenomena relate to each other on different, hierarchical, scales (Lock and Molyneaux 2006), furthermore, as pointed out by Malcolm Ridges, different processes can operate on different levels, and being aware that “there is no simple way of visualizing all the patterns and processes within a complex system in a single representation” (Ridges 2006:145), I argue that, in practice, it has proven feasible to move beyond village boundaries for perceiving fundamental socio-political units in Guiana, and the present study is an attempt to visualize interlocking patterns and processes through time.

More broadly, this study is situated in the ongoing debate on socio-political complexity of Amazonian tropical forest cultures in general, today and in the past. From a regional landscape approach, while recognizing its temporality, this study aims at gaining insight in apparent autonomous settlements in the present compared to regional socio-political organization (ranked and centralized confederations) in the past. Architectural expenditure, related mythology and how this reflects social memory on symbolic and social reproduction of society, along with the rituals performed in and around community roundhouses, are recurrent themes throughout this study, as well as how these roundhouses orchestrate ritual performances, and who is endowed to built these exclusive resources and tactically engage with them. Instigating critical evaluation of economics as extrasomatic means of adaptation to the environment while emphasizing the primacy of the infrastructure (whereby the past equals the present), compliant with Julian Steward’s (1950) cultural ecology, which ontology grounds the conventional model of tropical forest cultures as autonomous communities with a decentralized political organization.
1.1 Conventional Model of Tropical Forest Cultures

The present study critically examines characteristics of Guiana Peoples as tropical forest tribes perceived essentially as structurally redundant autonomous villages, compliant with the “Standard Model of Tropical Forest Cultures” (Viveiros de Castro 1996). Social and political organization of Tropical Forest Tribes in Amazonia was categorized in the third volume of the *Handbook of South American Indians* (Steward 1948) as that “in many of the tribes the settlement consists of one or a few communal houses (maloca). … Commonly each settlement is autonomous, so that the headman merely controls fellow-residents, but some tribes are said to have paramount chiefs” (Lowie 1948:29, 32). For Guiana specifically, it was stated that “beyond the immediate family, the settlement is everywhere the basic social unit, a group usually of 15 to 50 members, sometimes as large as 200. Typically, a group of blood relatives with their spouses constitutes the kernel of a settlement, if not its entire membership” (Gillin 1948:848-849), and “politically, the settlement is under the supervision of a headman … The headman is usually only nominal head of the settlement, and true tribal chiefs are everywhere absent” (Gillin 1948:849). Sixty years later this typological model of tropical forest tribes is still among us, and is the default in categorizing Amazonian Peoples, Guiana societies above all.

Thirty-six years after publication of the *Tropical Forest Tribes* (Steward 1948), Peter Rivière published *Individual and Society in Guiana: a comparative study of Amerindian social organization* (Rivière 1984) aiming at identification of essential elements and relationships in Guiana social organization. Setting the stage for further research in Guiana, Rivière argued that:

Guiana society exists within a narrow time scale, and the differences between a synchronic and diachronic view is not great. Both aspects are mirrored in the life of the settlement. At one moment it is autonomous, self-sufficient, and apparently perdurable; at another it disintegrates and the elements that formed it, families and individuals, disperse only to
create a similar pattern with like elements elsewhere. Although not entirely apt, the image of the kaleidoscope is the one that comes to mind (Rivière 1984:102).

Furthermore, Rivière stated that Guiana societies lacked any formal social groupings, such as lineages, clans, moieties, age-sets, etc. In other words, “Guiana social groups are atomistic, dispersed, and highly fluid in form” (Overing 1983/1984:332), and their informal “loose” social and political organization was, according to Rivière (1984:4), due to their “atomistic nature” and situated in “rampant individualism,” whereby atomism stands for “the social and economic particularity of the nuclear or limited extended family” (Hickerson 1967:313), a structural result of the kind of fragmentation applied to Maroni River Caribs (Kaliña) by Peter Kloos (1971:261). Furthermore, following Joanna Overing Kaplan “there exists [in Guiana] no ritual to declare the elaborate interlocking of the units of which society is comprised” (Overing 1983/1984:332) as the ideal Guiana village with perfect conviviality during dance festivals carries “the seeds of its own destruction” (Santos-Granero 2000:283; also Rivière 2000:254). Among Guiana Carib-speakers, as traditionally portrayed, there was no need for complex social structures or regional political organization based on requirements of society and autonomy of individual. Beyond Peter Rivière’s metaphor of the kaleidoscope, however, lay dynamic and complex supra-local and regional interrelations critical to sociality in conjunction with more complex socio-political structures of past, and possibly present, Guiana civilizations.

Tensions in definitions of formal social groupings, as well as between antagonistic principles of dichotomies as consanguine versus affine, matrilineal versus patrilineal, and matrilocal versus patrilocal, are overcome in the institution of the social House (Lévi-Strauss 1979:47, 1982, 1987), resonating with the Tiliyo concept of itipíme (Rivière 1969:64) or itüpü (Grupioni 2002, 2005), recognized by Peter Rivière among the Trio as “the foremost criterion in the ordering of social relationships” and he goes on to say that “in its genealogical sense the
word [iɪ̯ɪp̥im̥e] applies basically to relationship by descent, although consanguinity may act as the interconnecting link … it can mean ‘to continue without a break’” (Rivièer 1969:64). In his introduction to the Brazilian edition, Rivièer (2001 [1998]) concluded that Individual and Society should be situated in the then current literature on the “house” (also Rivièer 1995), then again, he goes on to say that the concept of a “house society” would not change his perspective on Trio social organization, as they are living in societies where one single settlement consisted of one single house (i.e., a built structure). Supported by ethnographic research elsewhere in Guiana, for example among the Yekuana where each settlement “is referred to as a “house” or atta and is not only conceived of as a self-contained universe but is actually constructed as a replica of the cosmos” (Guss 1989:21), whereby each settlement is categorized as “a completely self-contained, autonomous unit, with its own chief and shaman” (Guss 1989:21; Arvello-Jimenez 1977). This narrow, largely synchronic, and non-dynamic interpretation of a “society of social houses” (société à maisons) (Lévi-Strauss 1979:47, 1982, 1987) fails to address critical aspects of supra-local socio-political organization, among which long-term friction and rivalry between subunits, as described in the present study.

A similar notion of the autonomous house can be found with Christine Hugh-Jones who, with regard to Northwest Amazonia, wrote that “there is a village within a house … it is a community which is structured, or built, according to the same principles as the house which shelters it, but is built over the generations, in time” (1996:185, 188). Studies of Christine Hugh-Jones (1979) and Stephen Hugh-Jones (1979, 1985, 1995) were conducted in the 1970s when anthropological studies on indigenous cosmological concepts, myth, ritual, and ecology, were modeled after a version of systems theory (e.g., Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971, 1976, 1996, 1997) or theoretically integrated in a structuralist duality (e.g., Roe 1982) positing each house/village as
its own totality; presenting homogenized models of an idealized type village representative for all villages of that Amazonian community. Accordingly, in an area otherwise known for its ranked regional social organization (Hill 1993, 1996; Hill and Wright 1988; Hugh-Jones 1979; Oyuela-Caycedo 2004; Vidal 2002; Wright 1998, 2002), the Northwest Amazonian house (maloca) was perceived as microcosm (e.g., Hugh-Jones 1995:236) reinforcing the notion of autonomous units as is the default of the conventional model of tropical forest cultures.

Where anthropological studies perceive “the Wayana” as relatively autonomous groups, ethno-historical and geographical studies situated Wayana in a broader regional context (Grenand 1971; Gallois 1986 [1980]; Hurault 1965, 1968; Lézy 2000), notably a recent study on regional networks of social relations in Guiana (Gallois 2005). Due to conventional anthropological methods and theory, contemporary Guiana Carib socio-political system is regarded as structurally simple with a high degree of autonomy, even when the focus of research was on regional networks of trading relationships (Butt Colson 1973; Rivière 1969; Villalón 1983/1984). Although inter-tribal relations have been demonstrated in Eastern Guiana (Grenand 1971; Gallois 1986, 2005; Howard 2001) and inter-tribal trade has been demonstrated in Western Guiana (Butt Colson 1973, 1983/1984)—from which emerged routes of knowledge along which the religious Alleluia-movement spread (Butt Colson 1985)—there did not appear a regional organization of redistribution in the sense of Elman Service (1962, 1975); indigenous social organization in Guiana remained defined as “small, ideally autonomous, self-sufficient, relatively ephemeral, dispersed settlements mainly composed of close kin” (Rivière 2000:263-264, emphasis added; see also Butt Colson 1983/1984; Meggers 1996, 2001), with a political system based upon consensus decision-making under guidance of a village headman (Hurault 1965, 1968; Rivière 1984, 2004; van Velthem 1983), and “in the absence of any overarching,
hierarchically ordered institution each settlement is master unto itself, and its internal political structure is safely studied in isolation” (Rivière 1984:72), even when situated in modern global politics (Boven 2006; Brightman 2007; Howard 2001). Rather than perceiving “the Wayana” as an autonomous group, I situate Wayana (and Trio subgroups) in a broader regional context.

Although Jean Hurault hypothesized that: “long ago the Oayana [= Wayana] lived in ‘maloca’s’ or giant houses where was a place for the whole group of relatives” (1965:24; my translation), compliant with the standard model of tropical forest tribes, Peter Rivière wrote that the Wayana may be an exception to the standard Guiana model, described in the eighteenth century as having a “centralized military organization with a hierarchical chain of command (Tony 1843)” (Rivière 1984:83). This exceptional case of regional organization in Guiana in 1769 (Tony 1835, 1843) has not been further explored as it was concluded that this organization had disintegrated (Coudreau 1893:238) and completely vanished by around 1800 (Hurault 1965:18). Pierre Grenand (1971) and Dominique Tilkin Gallois (1986, 2005) acknowledged socio-political difference between centralized confederations (confederações) of the past, opposed to autonomous atomistic units (grupos atomizados) in the present. Nonetheless, the conventional model of autonomous villages reigns supreme in Guiana.

At a broader scale, my research is situated within the theoretical debate on socio-political complexity in Amazonia, as researchers in other parts of Amazonia begin to revise the standard model of tropical forest cultures grounded in a paradigm of extrasomatic means of adaptation to the environment while emphasizing the primacy of the infrastructure, which led to the typical classification of South America in Andean civilizations, nomadic hunters and gatherers at the margins of South America (and isolated patches in Amazonia), theocratic and militaristic
chiefdoms in the Greater Antilles and Circum-Caribbean, and tropical forest village farmers in Amazonia (including the Lesser Antilles) (Steward and Faron 1959; Figure 1-1).

One side of this debate is represented by, among others, Betty Meggers (1971, 1992, 1996, 2001, 2003; Meggers and Evans 1957) for Amazonia as a whole, and by Peter Rivière (1969, 1983/1984, 1984, 1995, 2000) for Guiana specifically, maintaining the notion that Amazonia (and Guiana specifically) merely sustained fairly egalitarian tropical forest-dwelling tribes residing in ephemeral and structurally redundant autonomous villages. Furthermore, this side of the debate has a tradition of linking ethnographic observations to historical and archaeological findings grounded in neo-evolutionary thought; in brief, a simple tribal-level community today is assumed to have never attained a more complex level of socio-political organization in the past. For example, after the excavations at the mouth of the Amazon (Meggers and Evans 1957), Clifford Evans and Betty Meggers (1960) went to British Guiana (Guyana) to conduct archaeological surveys as well as ethnographic studies in the Waiwai area. Without critical evaluation ethnographic data was superimposed on archaeological findings. Where “the site” has traditionally been the unit of analysis for archaeologists and “the village” being the unit of analysis for ethnographers, it became straightforward to use the ethnographic village as analogy for the archaeological site. It was soon after concluded that “Waiwai culture, which in 1955 was vigorous and in main unaffected by civilization, has already ceased to exist” (Fock 1963:242; emphasis added). Meggers exemplifies an ahistorical standpoint of perceiving Amazonian populations “frozen in time” as the past equals the present (whereby the present is the 1950s), in other words, what you see (in the 1950s) is what you get (in the past). However, in Guiana, and Amazonia at large, what you see is not always what you get (compare with Rivière 1994).
Betty Meggers (1996) assumed Amazonia to be a “counterfeit paradise” that could not support socio-politically complex cultures. Therefore, elaborate ceramics found at the mouth of the Amazon made her conclude that these “high ceramic cultures” were intrusive immigrations from Andean civilizations (Meggers and Evans 1957). Instead, Donald Lathrap (1970) argued that these “high cultures” along the Amazon were indigenous developments. Hypothesis of a “counterfeit paradise” grounded in cultural ecology (Steward 1950), following the tradition of the *Handbook of South American Indians* (Steward 1948), although deeply criticized (DeBoer, Kintigh, and Rostoker 2001; Heckenberger, Petersen, and Neves 2001; Isbell and Silverman 2008; Lathrap 1970; Roosevelt 1987, 1999a, 1999b), is upheld by Meggers to the present day.

The latter brings us to the other side of the theoretical debate on socio-political complexity in Amazonia as “revisionists” suggest dynamic changes and diversity in past societies along with socio-political regional organization, whereby Neil Whitehead (1994:46) warned for “a very negative and incomplete reading of the historical literature.” Based on historical sources, it has been argued that there used to be more complex socio-political regional organizations in Guiana (Dreyfus 1983/1984; Porro 1994; Whitehead 1988, 1994, 1998, 1999). Albeit the lower Orinoco River holds strong historical evidence, physical archaeological vestiges have hitherto to be recovered (Whitehead 1998), and these chiefdoms from Guyana and trade relations between the Amazon, Orinoco, and Atlantic Coast were far more important than ever imagined by Steward and followers (Whitehead 1999). For Amazonia in general, there is a growing number of archaeologists (e.g., Erickson 2008; Heckenberger 1996, 2005, 2008; Heckenberger, Petersen and Neves 1999, 2001, Heckenberger *et al.* 2003, 2007, 2008; Lima, Neves e Petersen 2006; Roosevelt 1987, 1991, 1999; Rostain 1994, 2008; Schaan 2000, 2001, 2008; Versteeg 2008) unearthing large man-made structures that evidence pre-contact socio-political supravillage
organizations, indicating that social complexity and large populations were not ruled out by environmental limitations. Six decades after *Tropical Forest Tribes* (Steward 1948), the heydays of environmental determinism are over, and Amazonia appears more complex than previously assumed, more heterogeneous, more dynamic, and more socio-politically complex with regional elements of organization (Heckenberger and Neves 2009; Silverman and Isbell 2008).

In the process of describing Amazonian societies more complex than conventional tropical forest cultures, the notion of “chiefdom” arose time and again, yet addressing the question on the origins of chiefdoms, and how chiefdoms can be found in historical and archaeological context, was grounded in essentialist units of analysis while searching for general definitions. Robert Carneiro and Neil Whitehead (Redmond 1998) critiqued that an earlier symposium (i.e., Drennan and Uribe 1987) had been focused uniquely on archaeological signatures. In about that time, Timothy Earle (1989, 1991) organized a seminar on the dynamics of chiefdoms resonating neo-evolutionary and neo-Marxist thought. Dilemma of this search for “chiefdoms” is that these positivist theories are limited by their essential classification and categorization. Distinguishing quality of chiefdoms is that they transcend the tribal level of autonomous villages (Carneiro 1970, 1998; Oberg 1955:484), as “*redistributional societies* with a permanent central agency of coordination” (Service 1962:134; italics in original). Aim of this study is not to determine whether “the Wayana” are (or were) a chiefdom or not, other than to explicate how Wayana transcend, in practice, the tribal level of autonomous villages.

During the last few decades, evidence for more socio-politically complex societies materialized in Amazonia as recently demonstrated in the *Handbook of South American Archaeology* (Silverman and Isbell 2008); above all at the mouths of the rivers Orinoco and Amazon, as well as along the Middle and Lower Amazon River, Northwest Amazonia, upper
Xingu basin, and at the Llanos de Mojos. Nonetheless, the interior of Guiana, past and present, remains categorized as small, isolated, and autonomous communities with decentralized political organization, compliant with the default of the standard model of tropical forest cultures. The exceptional case of regional socio-political organization in the Wayana region in 1769 (Tony 1835, 1843)—in accordance with the definition of politically organized chiefdoms defined as “multivillage territorial chiefdoms governed by a paramount chief under whose control are districts and villages governed by a hierarchy of subordinate chiefs” (Oberg 1955:484)—is briefly cited (Boven 1998, 2006; Carlin and Boven 2002; Chapuis 1998; Gallois 1986, 2005; van Velthem 1995), other than these anthropologists did not further explore this historical case of Guiana supravillage organization.

1.2 Socio-Political Complexity and Regional Organization

This study elaborates upon the model of regional organization as situated in the discussion of socio-political complexity as these mid-range societies transcending autonomous villages yet without bureaucratic state-level institutions. Redistribution of goods and amassed surplus from a permanent central agency of coordination—hence a ranked organization—is intrinsically regional. Due to the apparent lack of permanent redistribution centers in tropical forest cultures (specifically in Guiana), ranked regional oriented societies were understood to be absent. From a different perspective, however, it is Amazonian circular plazas embodying these permanent central agencies coordinating redistribution (Heckenberger 2005).

Rather than that Amazonianists further explored regional aspects of redistribution in Amazonia, the focus of investigation became centered upon surplus production and whether Amazonia had the necessary carrying capacity to support larger populations. As manioc is the most crucial shared cultural ingredient of tropical forest cultures (Lathrap 1970:47ff.), there is no techno-economic need for redistribution of manioc in Amazonia. Furthermore, societies based
on in root-crop agriculture were assumed unable to produce the necessary surplus allowing for more complex societies, and Amazonian subsistence was (and is) mainly based on root-crop agriculture, predominantly manioc. Donald Lathrap (1970:53) hypothesized that maize was cultivated, replacing bitter manioc, to build up an economic surplus. “If there had indeed been a period of intensive maize cultivation on the Orinoco floodplains, as the Columbian scholars [Reichel-Dolmatoff 1965] were suggesting, then there was no economic barrier to the rise of dense populations and complex societies, according to the theoretical scheme of that time” (Roosevelt 2009:157). That the introduction of maize would correlate with a large increase in human population density was confirmed by Anna Roosevelt (1980) at Parmana along the Orinoco. Therefore, archaeology, according to Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1996:185-187), seemed to be focused on subsistence patterns whereby the maize/manioc dichotomy is central in its discourse. However, Roosevelt’s drive for maize subsistence soon vanished (Roosevelt 1991). Heckenberger (1998) stated that this debate on socio-political complexity in Amazonia rooted in a maize/manioc dichotomy is in a deadlock, and that anthropological archaeology has to move beyond oversimplified typological models. He goes on to argue that, based on his own (Heckenberger 1996) and Robert Carneiro’s (1957) research in the upper Xingu basin, manioc production can support dense sedentary indigenous populations, provided that in combination with aquatic resources, which are widely available in Amazonia (Heckenberger 1998). Moreover and directly related to Guiana, John Frechione (1990) presented an ethnographic case where a Yekuana village, founded in 1971, had grown to a supervillage formation of about 450 individuals in 1988, opposing the carrying capacity predicament in Guiana.

John Frechione (1990) focused on a single village—though an unexpected large settlement according to Guiana standards—as socio-political organization in Guiana is assumed not to
extend beyond the boundaries of the autonomous villages and “in the absence of any
overarching, hierarchically ordered institution each settlement is master unto itself, and its
internal political structure is safely studied in isolation” (Rivière 1984:72). Rather than focusing
on distinct settlements, a regional approach has been implemented in several parts of Amazonia
(Heckenberger 1996, 2005; Heckenberger, Petersen, and Neves 1999, 2001; McEwan, Bareto
and Neves 2001; Lima, Neves e Petersen 2006). These researchers implemented, a problem-
oriented research strategy, including a systematic regional survey (instead of informal
reconnaissance surveys), along with intensive small scale research on individual sites including
stratigraphic excavation, as proposed by Anna Roosevelt (1987:161) and implemented in her
research on the *Moundbuilders of the Amazon* (Roosevelt 1991). Such a regional approach
allowed Heckenberger (1996, 2005) to perceive a distinction in scale of various circular plaza
villages situated in a broader “galactic” settlement patterning as fundamental for regional
organization and ranked socio-political organization.

Amazonia today appears more heterogeneous than the simplistic dichotomy between
floodplains (*várzea*) with richer soils due to sediment-rich white-water rivers techno-
economically allowing for more complex societies; versus ancient uplands (*terra firme*) of
poorer soils drained by black- or clear-water rivers with a carrying capacity only allowing for
small scale societies. Contrary to conventional belief, it appears that forests with anthropogenic
origins account for more biodiversity than undisturbed “pristine” forests (Balée 1993, 1995);
leading to the question whether in pre-Columbian times Amazonia was a natural jungle or a
cultural parkland managed by indigenous populations (Heckenberger *et al.* 2003, 2008). Rather
than adaptively responding to their environment (as assumed in cultural ecology) indigenous
communities appear to have intentionally managed their landscapes (ibid.). Poor soils of the
ancient uplands have been enhanced through slash-and-burn (slash-and-char) agriculture, producing Amazonian Dark Earth (*terra preta*) (Glaser and Woods 2004; Lehman *et al.* 2003). Though these agricultural techniques of slash-and-burn are in use by Wayana today (Topoliantz, Ponge, and Lavelle 2006), it was argued that “the low degree of sedentariness of the Wayaná [in Brazil] is very close to the pattern of hunting tribes” (Lapointe 1970:2), resonating with Jean Hurault’s (1965: xiii; see also Butt 1977) summary defining Wayana [in French Guiana] as:

> those who occupy the upper waterways of the river, have no ancestral customs and have developed no form of appropriation of land either individually or to groups of the same parentage. They live in small semi-nomad groups, changing their place of habitation every 5 or 6 years; their activity is centered on fishing just as much as farming, and they tend to settle preferably in the neighborhood of water-falls and rapids where they can arrow the fish … Oayana [= Wayana] Indians, who do not grow rice, are not obliged to make an annual clearing. They obtain two successive harvest of manioc on the same site. Agricultural farming is to them only a means of subsistence (Hurault 1965: xiii-xiv).

Rather than further exploring regional aspects in Guiana, the perception of autonomous villages, ephemeral yet timeless, was reinforced by accepting archetypal dwelling whereby the “hut [roundhouse], and the village with which it is often coterminous, are “microcosms” of the total “macrocosm” of the known universe” (Roe 1987:80). Peter Rivière (1995) perceived the Trio as a “house society” as they used to live in communities where one village consisted of one single communal house (see also Bos 1973), and Peter Siegel (1990a:402) among the neighboring Waiwai, concluded that individual dwellings inhabited at the time were scaled-down versions of past large communal roundhouses. Circular lay-out of roundhouses (internally divided in a central domain for men surrounded by living quarters, i.e., domain of women) surrounded by slash-and-burn garden plots, encircled by “pristine rainforest” is archetypal in Guiana (Roe 1987). In Western Guiana, when “traditional” Yekuana communal houses were abandoned and “modern” multi-house settlements were built, they were constructed following the conventional model of dwelling spaces around a public place (Arvelo-Jimenez 1971:147).
Not only did these anthropologists take for granted autonomous villages with a circular lay-out, they took for granted as well the impact by globalization whereby concepts of change and reproduction (as part of structure and practice) are altered by external influences, as demonstrated by Marshall Sahlins (1981), and this historical transformation creates a new order that is mediated between historical agents, requiring redefinition of the different categories and their relationships within the traditional system.

Along similar lines, Kay Århem (2001:148) presented village formation in Northwest Amazonia whereby the “new” *maloca* (traditional communal house) as a community house became stage for “old” rituals as Food-Giving and the initiation rite of Yurupari (*He*). Process of village formation, according to Århem, was a local response to the historically changing socio-economic environment due to rubber boom, coca boom, and gold rush. Other “modern” buildings in the village studied by Århem were: a school, a chapel, a missionary sponsored shop, soccer-field, a dispensary, and a community meeting hall (*casa comunal*). The latter, in contrast to the community *maloca*, was to host official visitors and public gatherings with dances “with the women the way the Whites do” (Århem 2001:148). While this process of village formation resonates with some Wayana settlements—missionary sponsored buildings as a school, a chapel, a missionary sponsored shop, soccer-field, a dispensary, and a community meeting hall, are found in Anapaike Kawemhakan / Lawa Station (Boven 2006); schools, soccer-fields, and dispensaries in several other Wayana villages (e.g., Chapuis 1998)—, I was told (pers. comm. Karin Boven and Jean Chapuis) that decades of impact by Dutch and French governments, next to American missionaries in Suriname, had altered Wayana settlement patterning and that the Wayana no longer resided in “traditional” houses; hence there would be, according to them, no point to conduct an ethno-archaeological study on architecture and settlement patterning.
Although anthropologists emphasized to me that Wayana no longer dwell in communal roundhouses, they stated that the single remaining “traditional” building was the roundhouse named *tukusipan*. These roundhouses were alleged vehicles for carrying meaning—microcosms modeled after the Universe, as is the conventional interpretation of Guiana roundhouses (e.g, Guss 1989; Roe 1987; Wilbert 1986)—, whereas I perceive these roundhouses (*tukusipan*) as “a potential clue, a key to meaning [to be discovered]” (Ingold 1993:172). Rather than defining units, I intent to make sense of the relations between the units, as in the field I realized that whereas Wayana (Guiana) settlements may be self-sufficient in techno-economic terms, these very settlements are certainly not autonomous during dance festivals and ritual performance.

### 1.3 Ritual Economy of Political Power

With Guiana settlements being self-sufficient in techno-economic terms, and inter-village dance festivals understood as carrying the seeds of destruction of perfect conviviality (Rivière 2000; Santos-Granero 2000), I argue for a critical evaluation of individual and society in Guiana situating regional organization and socio-political complexity in what has been referred to as the Ritual Mode of Production (Rappaport 1984:410; Spielmann 1998), “ritual phase of political economy” (Southall 1999), “symbolic economy of power” (Heckenberger 2005), or simply “ritual economy” (Wells and Davis-Salazar 2007). Roy Rappaport (1984:410) brought the rather Marxist sounding “Ritual Mode of Production” into play in the epilogue of the second edition of his *Pigs for the Ancestors* against Julian Steward’s (1950) cultural ecology grounded in sheer economics as extrasomatic means of adaptation to the environment while emphasizing the primacy of the infrastructure. Vital in a ritual economy is that the superstructure (ideology) is no longer epiphenomenal and in certain situations even generates surplus production and consumption, which, in turn, is intrinsically interwoven with socio-political power.
Settlement patterns are but one medium (albeit a critical one) through which socio-political relations are articulated and regulated. Another key material channel is through the flow of certain historically charged objects or ritual objects (including, but not restricted to, what structural Marxists glossed “prestige goods”), which may have longer histories of exchange, “cultural biographies” (Kopytoff 1986), than the rather ephemeral Guiana settlements themselves, engendering an intersubjective social field as “self-other relationships formed in and through acts and practices” (Munn 1986:9). This social field of ritual economy can be manipulated in a tactical manner by competing heterarchical forces amidst subgroups, which places emphasis on the political dynamics of and flow of power in chieftaincy in a religious-political landscape as it moves through charged ritual objects, rather than mapping settlement sizes as functional nodes in a Cartesian landscape.

Guiana (and Wayana) ethnographies have been focused on every-day economic household activities of fishing and manioc production, or what Jonathan Hill (1984) called the “natural-social” mode. Pierre Clastres stated in *Primitive Economy* (1994:105-118) that in Amazonia “surplus” is in the environment itself, and short periods of low intensity are sufficient to satisfy subsistence needs. Moreover, seasonal extreme scarcity of riverine resources and the abundance of wild fruits provide for the means to support large-scale regional events such as harvesting a surplus of fruit during Food-Giving rituals, situated in the “ritual-hierarchical mode” (Hill 1984). Hierarchy, including differentiation between segments of society and emphasis on ranking—as Irving Goldman (2004:44) recognized for Northwest Amazonia—is the essential condition for the developmental process of differentiation, whereby distinction in the social order is created through “symbolic capital,” i.e., contextual value of materiality and immateriality creating a bond between people (Bourdieu 1990:112-121). To go beyond the
standard model of tropical forest cultures is to allow for ritual economy and symbolic capital, rather than merely focusing on every-day economic activities of fishing and manioc production.

Focus on ritual economy does not mean that manioc production has to be removed from the research agenda, on the contrary. Where an abundance of wild fruits can be harvested seasonally, manioc—to produce large quantities of cassava beer—ought to be planted. By stimulating and managing surplus production [including manioc] and communal consumption [of cassava beer], ritualized public performances are instrumental in the development of social inequality and hierarchy (Geertz 1980; Heckenberger 2005:314). Additionally, upcoming gatherings will demand increased production of goods, including, but not restricted to, large elaborate vessels to brew, distribute, and serve beverage. Time-lapse between planting and harvest of manioc requires planning and a calendar; thereby increasing the symbolic value of surplus produced in a ritual economy. Manioc production, or rather the acquisition (stimulation and managing) of a surplus production of cassava beer, is thus vital in a ritual economy, as is the communal consumption of large quantities of manioc beer in and around community houses.

Large quantities of cassava beer, elaborate costumes adorned with priceless featherwork, ritual paraphernalia, and last but not least the community roundhouses have been taken for granted among the Wayana, and in Guiana at large. Beyond every-day household economics, the acquisition, production, and consumption of ritualized and sacred goods are situated in a demand for ritual while its materialization can be manipulated; managing meaning and regulating interpretations. Unique properties (origin of raw materials, skilled crafting, and qualities of “enchantment”) distinguish these socially valued goods from mundane material objects even when manufactured from inexpensive materials (Spielmann 2002:198-201), whereby these social valuables gain value and accumulate histories of exchange through time.
(Kopytoff 1986), along with the historical tradition of ownership and exchange, particularly within a given social unit; such historically charged objects can be exchanged, or handed down, to other individuals in an inalienable way, keeping-while-giving, so to say (Weiner 1992). Artifacts such as composite featherwork for monumental headdresses, claws of the giant armadillo for flutes, and the roundhouse itself, become active agents engaged in intersubjectivity of ritual practice. These are examples of what Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1990) called “symbolic capital” as beyond sheer economics, material and immaterial value is situated in social relations bonding people while generating honor and prestige. Rather than referring to surplus in techno-economic terms, it now includes, but is not restricted to, prerogatives, indigenous histories, even the right to dwell in a specific place, and Michael Heckenberger (2003) goes so far as to say that, in terms of symbolic capital, “the surplus resides in the body of the chief.”

Ritual economy intrinsically interweaves and cuts across symbolic and social capital with political forces as to create a bond between people—contemporaries as well as ancestors. This social and symbolic capital can even endow certain individuals (chiefs above all) with the ability to amass economic capital (Heckenberger 2005:318). Contrary to conventional aggrandizement models (e.g., Hayden 1995), ritual economy will instigate the production of valuables (apparent economic actions) characterized by social processes grounding productive activities in situational ritual contexts (Heckenberger 2005; Rappaport 1984; Spielmann 1998, 2007) and in the process sanctifies truth (Watanabe 2007), which is as much a contested resource as any material good.

In their orchestration of communal cassava beer consumption during public gatherings along with their architectural expenditure, communal roundhouses become exclusive resources. Manipulation of exclusive resources (and thus manipulation of the social field) is not simply in the theoretical mind, as ritual in practice is a transformative process of materializing social
relations (Bell 1992), with primary reference to spatial transitions of the body through highly
discernible places (Turner 1969; van Gennep 1909). Consequently, the ritual process will result
in archaeological signatures. With regard to supravillage formations in the upper Xingu basin,
Heckenberger (2005:161) perceived as important feature of “Xinguanification” that immigrating
Carib groups had to abandon their traditional single-house (maloca) settlement patterning
(characteristic for the Eastern Complex), and adapt to a “circular plaza village” whereby they not
only built this physical arena, but they also needed to fully participate in the rituals taking place
here (Heckenberger 2005:161). Among the Wayana in Guiana, community roundhouses are the
hub during ritual gatherings. In view of the fact that not every settlement owns a roundhouse,
this implies that not every Wayana settlement is an autonomous unit, at least ritually speaking.

1.4 Relational Approach to Socio-Political Organization

Guiana settlements give the impression to be self-sufficient in the every-day natural-social
mode, yet these very same settlements appear far from autonomous when ritual activities come
into play. In the present study, demonstrating regional socio-political organization in Guiana, I
shift the unit of analysis to the relations between the units; that is, from settlements to relations
between settlements. When I first visited the Wayana I had in mind the homogenized model of
an idealized type village representative for all Wayana villages:

In every [Wayana] village stands a tukusipan (too-koo-SEE-pahn), a large, circular,
communal [sic.: community] hut made from dried palm leaves. There, the Wayana (why-
YAH-nah) hold meetings and festivities. To the highest point on the inside of the roof, the
Wayana attach a maluana (mah-loo-AH-nah) [= maluwana], a circular piece of wood from
the trunk [buttress] of a fromager (froe-mah-JAY) tree. They paint the maluana in bright
colors with geometrical designs and animals that have spiritual or mythological meaning.
The Wayana still hold one ceremony called the maraké (mah-RAH-kay) [= ėputop], or the
“ant test,” part of the ritual boys and girls undergo before they begin their adult life, around
the age of eleven or twelve. A wicker frame full of stinging ants is applied to their bodies;
to show strength, the children must remain silent (Gray and Birchfield 1999:282).
Momentous Wayana ritual event—during which large quantities of cassava beer are being consumed and regurgitated in and around the roundhouse—is known as “maraké” and it was these series of traditional dance and song performances that were the focus of investigation of Audrey Butt Colson only to arrive in an emerging prophetic movement (Butt 1964; pers. comm. April 17, 2009). Conventionally this event is interpreted as “initiation ritual” and although Jean Chapuis recently stated that the “main primary, explicit goal is to produce adults” (2006:526), it was fifty years prior that Father Ahlbrinck (1956:90) had concluded that “whatever its sense, this [maraké] is not an initiation rite to lead children into adulthood, because; 1) indifference of the relation between marriage and stinging ritual, and 2) if this is an initiation ritual, than why do adults endure this stinging, in fact, more adults are present than adolescents” (Ahlbrinck 1956:90; my translation). The condition in which this ritual functions, I posit, is not so much the decomposition and composition of an individual body (Paul Henley 2001, drawing on Anne-Christine Taylor 1998, 2001), as it is the consumption and production of a larger social body; this fundamental Wayana ritual is grounded in becoming Wayana and revitalizes the social field centered upon the roundhouse tukusipan.

Not only cassava beer is being consumed during these gatherings, and despite Rivière’s statement that in Guiana there is “no possession, material or non-material” (1995:203-204), I argue that material and immaterial property does exist in Guiana in the form of symbolic capital; most obvious composite featherwork for monumental headdresses and other ceremonial regalia curated inside feather-boxes and displayed during these theatrical public corporeal spectacles. Furthermore, it was Claude Tony (1835, 1843) who wrote during his Voyage in 1769 that everything with them is shared, with the exception of women, weapons, chickens, and birds that they tame and raise a large quantity of all kinds of species, especially parrots and macaws, only having in mind to retract their colored feathers, that serve them to make
these kind of garnishments that Europeans search as object of a rare and great curiosity (Tony 1843:228-229; my translation, emphasis added).\textsuperscript{17}

All this resonates with prerogatives mentioned in other parts of Amazonia, as:

(1) feather headdresses and ceremonial goods kept inside the feather-box [stored in one’s house]; (2) a set of sacred musical instruments; (3) rights to make particular items … that are exchanged at rituals; (4) non-material, linguistic and musical property comprising the names of people and ritual objects, a language, chants [see also Hill 1993], spells, songs (Hugh-Jones 1995:241), plus rights to raise certain animals as pets (Lea 1995:208-209).

By means of inalienable transmission of the above listed prerogatives, along with personal names (Lea 1995), heirlooms (Joyce 2000, 2007), and rights to land and labor, even in newly encountered landscapes (Bolender 2007), the social House is durable (Beck 2007; Gillespie 2000, 2007; Heckenberger 2005:273-290; Lévi-Strauss 1987). Fundamental in the definition of a social House (Lévi-Strauss 1979:47, 1982, 1987:151) is that (a) it is an embodied curator of material and immaterial possessions, and (b) that its transformative continuation is situated in the discoursed transmission of its name, its goods, and its titles down a justifiable line of descent.

While Janet Carsten and Stephen Hugh-Jones criticized Lévi-Strauss for neglecting “the most obvious feature of houses: their physical characteristics” (1995:12), Carsten and Hugh-Jones (1995; Rivière 1995) neglected politico-historical aspects of the social house as advocated by Susan Gillespie (2000, 2007; Beck 2007), emphasizing that “houses are in history” (Gillespie 2007:41), and Michael Heckenberger (2005:273-290), demonstrating social hierarchy among the Xinguanos in southern Amazonia. These historical prerogatives, names, and heirlooms, are intersubjectively contested, and this plurality of and struggle between “social houses” in a société à maisons (“society of houses”) is masked and rendered silent in the mere term “house society.”

During maraké rituals, roundhouses are the place of legitimization, in a contesting manner, by means of transmission of material and immaterial property, as required for continuity of social Houses. Furthermore, these theatrical public corporeal spectacles attract large numbers of
spectators and participants that, as unintended consequence, become incorporated in the social field, even if lacking descent ties to the authority of the corporate unit or social House (compare with Gillespie 2000c:28). Wayana (Guiana) socio-political organization is thus more complex than outlined in the conventional model of tropical forest cultures, and ramification of my reading, i.e., a public socio-political alternative to a private domestic initiation ritual, is that interpretations of similar historically recorded rituals (by and large categorized as “initiation ritual”) will have to be reassessed, allowing in the process for regional supravillage organization.

Notwithstanding the study of Jean Lapointe (1970) was titled *Residence Patterns and Wayana Social Organization*, it did not allow for a Wayana socio-political supravillage structure nor ranked regional organization, due to a theoretical grounding in Julian Steward’s economic principles of ecological adaptation. The present study focuses on residence patterns and Wayana social organization as well, other than a different ontology provides a springboard to further develop the concept of a ritual economy as an alternative to Guiana studies focusing on techno-economic means or natural-domestic traits grounded in seemingly timeless continuous cycles. Several dissertations on “the Wayana” have been defended since the study by Lapointe (1970), although the Suriname Civil War in the 1980s profoundly impacted fieldwork in the area (Boven 2006). Ethnographic research was conducted among Wayana in Brazil (Morgado 2004; van Velthem 1995, 2003), French Guiana (Chapuis 1998), and Suriname (Boven 2006); focusing respectively on the aesthetics of production and predation, or the monstrous origins of basketry weaving (van Velthem 1995, 2003), bodily activities (Chapuis 1998), ethno-medicine (Morgado 2004), and survival in a modern frontier zone (Boven 2006). Nila Tavares (2006) conducted linguistic research in Brazil resulting in *A Grammar of Wayana*. Most recently, Marc Brightman (2007) situated *Amerindian Leadership in Guianese Amazonia* in socio-politics rather
than merely in social organization. In these studies, contemporary regional socio-political organization is exclusively contributed to modern influences from Suriname and French Guiana, exemplified by the mere terms “Kapitein” for village leader and “Granman” for paramount chief.

Data collected during my fieldwork among Wayana was more diverse and multifaceted, and did at times not fit the conventional model of social and political organization of Guiana tropical forest cultures. While drawing multiple village plans and interviewing residents about settlement history, it appeared that several Wayana settlements are small and impermanent (less than ten inhabitants and lasting only a few years), whereas some villages were relatively large and enduring (about and over one hundred inhabitants and lasting for several decades). When linking genealogical charts to settlement plans, pattern recognition demonstrated a preference for post-marital uxorilocal residence, whereas in some cases married men decided to stay in the village of their parents. The latter appeared to be the case with potential village leaders, that is, (grand-) sons of (former) village leaders. Neither did the collected data demonstrate preferred settlement endogamy, on the contrary, nor emphasis on co-residence in ordering relationships.

Intertwining historical processes of regional organization can only be fully understood by means of a multi-scalar, multivocal, dynamic, and open unit of analysis. Heckenberger suggests that the Amazonian circular plaza “enables us to consider self-scaling between human bodies, houses, neighborhoods, galactic clusters, and regions, each with their unique dimensionality and temporality” (2005:261). Along similar lines, Guiana settlements are not autonomous but rather fractal; being at once a collective “plural body” encompassing multiple entities, as well as a particular “singular body” (in)dividual agent in interaction (Strathern 1988).

Beyond Amazonia, Hilda Kuper (1972) advocated that the total spatial arrangement has to be perceived as a complex network of communication wherein politics are situated; whereby we
have to consider how different actors—including ancestors (Munn 1996)—construct, contest, and ground experience in place (Rodman 1992). This spatial socio-political process, following Miles Richardson (1982), is expressed in expenditure of symbolic capital in a place of material openness allowing for visibility (cleared space of the public plaza), and in dialectic with a social reality of restriction out of public sight; situational interactions whereby people are not simply in the plaza/market, but become of the plaza/market. Concordantly, the total spatial arrangement becomes a complex regional network of sociality wherein socio-economics and socio-politics are situated (de Certeau 1984; Bourdieu 1977, 1990; Meskell 2003; van Dyke and Alcock 2003).

From a landscape perspective—rooted in the concept of landscape as a cultural process (Sauer 1925; Hirsch 1995)—places are no longer disconnected sites, but rather emerging as nodes in a spatio-temporal economic-political web of people dwelling in a region (Bender 1993; Hill 2002; Zucchi 2002; Wright 1998). Other times, other places, other persons (ancestors, culture heroes), and “natural features” (mountains above all) are also interconnected into this network (Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Bender 2001; Morphy 1993; Feld and Basso 1996; Gow 1995; Santos-Granero 1998; van Dyke 2003). Even abandoned and “forgotten” ephemeral places can be renewed in memory when encountered by descendents (Gow 1995; Küchler 1993; Morphy 1995; Santos-Granero 1998). These socially constructed landscapes (intrinsically related to land rights) along with historical-political significance of landscapes might not be noticed when imposing our Western biased assumptions of a mapped, measured, described and depicted landscape (Küchler 1993). Barbara Bodenhorn (1993) perceived public arenas and private domains as, respectively, places of community and kinship where men and women interact. Drawing on the latter, i.e., revisiting these dichotomies as also Amazonian settlements have traditionally been described in terms of public vs. private domains grounded in a
male/female dichotomy (e.g., Hugh-Jones 1985; Roe 1987), I will reconsider Wayana (Guiana) private domains as places of kinship and public plazas as places of community.

In sum, landscape as a cultural process (rooted in phenomenology; Sauer 1925) is a model alternative to environmentally deterministic paradigms with the primacy of the infrastructure, perceiving culture as an extrasomatic means of adaptation to the environment. Along similar lines, the model of a ritual economy is against orthodox Marxist based modes of production wherein ideology is epiphenomenal. Whereas ethnographers have focused on every-day economic household activities of fishing and manioc production, differentiation in society and emphasis on hierarchical ranking emerges in a ritual economy. Where the standard model of tropical forest cultures takes for granted the techno-economic production and consumption of cassava bread and beer, these processes are entrenched in a time-lapse, and therefore a basic hierarchizing act; producing symbolic capital in a socially produced and consumed spacetime. Unequal distribution of community roundhouses (tukusipan) among the Wayana, I posit, is medium and outcome of an unequal distribution of public communal processes engendering symbolic capital, and is materialized as a complex cluster of ranked regional settlement patterning along with socio-political supravillage organization.

Five decades ago, Father Willem Ahlbrinck (1956:17) wrote: “Aren’t we by now familiar enough with the Wayana?” (Zijn de Wayana niet reeds voldoende bekend?), as “everybody in Suriname knows the Wayana … read about them in the books of travelers, heard about them from gold miners” (ibid.; my translation). Indeed, back then, as today, everybody in Suriname and French Guiana has heard about the Wayana, read about them in popular or scientific literature, or as seen on the internet. At present, familiarity with Wayana is related to negative effects of gold mining and mercury contamination (e.g., Fréry et al. 2001; web references 1), or
tourist trade in painted disks (Duin 2006). Ahlbinck stated that Claudius H. de Goeje (1905, 1906, 1908, 1910, 1941, 1951) was “the man of the Wayana” and that his expeditions in the upper Maroni basin resulted in important publications on Wayana language and ethnography. Then again, the life history of a people is so broad, and its values and practices (depending on age, season, place, and other circumstance) are spread over time and place, that Ahlbrinck saw his publication of the 1938 expedition as valuable contribution (Ahlbrinck 1956:17).¹⁹

In sum, the aim of the present study is to allow for regionality rooted in the temporality of the Guiana landscape as a cultural process. Data will be presented as evidence on how Wayana settlement patterning, kinship, and ritual go beyond the boundaries of a single village. This study is a springboard for the development of a more dynamic and historically situated model of social (re)production along with materialization of social memory linking past and present in a sacred landscape. Today, with a post-processual focus of investigation on creating, exchanging, and ordering a world of artifacts, a new ordering of the world of social relations is emerging (Tilley 1999); it appears that we have barely scratched the surface of Wayana sociality. This study will focus on three aspects: regionality, ritual economy, and social complexity, whereby the political power is grounded in the ritual economy, which in turn is rooted in regionality.

1.5 Organization of Chapters

Drawing on a wide array of data—from intra-settlement structures and local patterns of kinship, to regional organization emerging from ritual gatherings, along with mythical narratives on cosmology—the organization of chapters in this study is designed to reflect upon various aspects of a multi-scalar approach gearing up to an understanding of socio-politically more complex and regional organization of Carib-speaking peoples in (Eastern) Guiana.

Beginning with a broad geographical and deep-time overview of Guiana, this study will zoom-in on the Wayana region, inter-settlement patterning, intra-settlement organization, and
specific house structures. Once arrived at the scale of the community roundhouse, commonly interpreted as microcosm, the outside becomes inside and alterity is incorporated. Subsequently local patterns of kinship and affinity are discussed in the context of change and continuity, managed by rites of passage and the role therein of the Wayana shaman (pijai). Utmost rite of passage where Wayana become Wayana, in a sense that they become otukusipan, is the ritual commonly referred to as maraké or ant/wasp stinging ritual. In due process I will argue that this characteristic Wayana ritual goes beyond a mere initiation ritual. Next another ritual performed on the village plaza is discussed, namely the Tamok whip-dance, which is also situated in alterity. The present study is concluded with a model to understand a ritual economy of political power in conjunction with the dynamic process of socio-political organization in Guiana, and a novel hypothesis to the ethnogenesis of the Wayana confederation.

Chapter 2 is a historical and geographical setting of the research area. Guiana history (past and present) is intrinsically interwoven with the search for gold. Late sixteenth century explorers as Walter Raleigh and Lawrence Keymis wrote Guiana into world history. Ensuing prospectors for gold explored the interior of Guiana. During these early explorations in uncharted territory, Europeans encountered the people residing in the interior of Guiana. Only in the mid-eighteenth century were located the “Roucouyennes” in what is now the border zone between Suriname, French Guiana, and Brazil. Roucouyennes, later identified as “Wayana,” are assumed to have migrated from the Jari River in Brazil earlier that century. Late nineteenth century explorations and early twentieth century map-making boundary expeditions charted the Wayana homeland. Whereas early (ethno-) historical sources indicate socio-political complexity in Guiana, late (ethno-) historical sources along with early ethnographic fieldwork described Guiana societies as small, isolated, and autonomous communities with decentralized political organization. This
discrepancy between regional socio-political complexity and apparent autonomy of Guiana settlements will be critically evaluated throughout this study.

Chapter 3 is a largely synchronic outline of Wayana settlement patterning, drawing on some unique descriptions from the mid eighteenth and late nineteenth century and focusing in detail on intra- and inter-settlement structure and organization in the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first century. Temporality of spatial patterns will be correlated to socio-political processes in order to people the settlement patterning study; demonstrating Wayana (Guiana) settlement organization beyond village boundaries.

Chapter 4 focuses on the community roundhouse (tukusipan) with its extension in time and place. Such Guiana roundhouses are commonly interpreted as microcosm built after the universe, yet in this study I will argue that the Wayana tukusipan is multi-scalar, and that for a better understanding of its role in supravillage organization we have to move beyond the micro-macro-cosmos models. Introducing this chapter with a reflection on “carbet” the noun commonly used in French Guiana (and the French Antilles) to determine a structure built like an “Indian hut” followed by a general describing of house types and architectural elements from a traditional single-settlement perspective. In the second part of this chapter I provide an alternative view to perceive this roundhouse situated in the Wayana landscape.

Chapter 5 shifts gears to people the landscape and built environment hitherto described. Summarizing the basics of Wayana sociality, and reproduction of society, this chapter will begin with the myths of the Creator twins (Mopo Kujuli) and King vulture (Kulum). These narratives, as are Wayana kinship systems, are situated in continuous natural-domestic cycles truncated by relationships between grand-parents and grand-children attributable to the death of a parent caused by a social other as non-humans (e.g., jaguars), non-local Wayana (e.g., powerful, and
potentially harmful, shamans), and non-Wayana (e.g., Europeans and their contagious diseases). Beyond grand-parents and grand-children is the realm of ancestors and the unborn (perceived as social others), grounded in Kujuli *pata* (*place of* the Creator Twin Kujuli), which brings about a discussion of ancestors and eschatology, the role of the Wayana shaman (*piïjai*), and indication of avoided spaces in the Wayana (Guiana) landscape.

Chapter 6 is a thick description of initiation rites and Wayana cultural-public rhythms of sociality. Whereas natural-domestic rites of reproduction of society (e.g., birth, marriage, and initiation of girls) are out-of-sight of the public, cultural-public rituals (first and foremost the life-crisis ritual glossed as *marakê*) are performed in overt spaces grounding Wayana personhood. These public communal activities (ritual performances) mirror a mythical background (see: Mopo Kujuli), reaffirm as well as manipulate social relations while being foregrounded, and generate power relations at the core of Wayana sociality through the continuing yet changing scheme and location of theatrical performances in and around the community roundhouse (*tukusipan*). With this life-crisis ritual culminating in the stinging rite (*ëputop*) performed at sun rise, Wayana have correlated the stages of human life with the grand rhythms of the Universe. Rather than a local event of sociability, these cultural-public rituals are situated in supralocal sociality.

Chapter 7 focuses on another ritual performed on the plaza in front of the community roundhouse situated in alterity and the gift of basketry; it is a memory work bringing together mortals and ancestral beings, earth and sky, into one masked transformative discourse on the evil spirit Tamok. Focusing on processes of materializing social memory (situated in change and cultural continuity), new meanings constantly emerge. In due process it becomes obvious that
the role of community roundhouses is rooted in the reproduction of Wayana society grounded in relationships between indigenous Self and social Others (indigenous or otherwise).

Rooted in, and beginning with, the indigenous history of the founding father Kailawa, Chapter 8 is directed towards the role tukusipan plays in the shifting of gears between horizontal and vertical scales, and its ramifications. Rather than decoding symbolism related to community roundhouses (tukusipan) and painted discs (maluwana), I argue that the symbolic density operating at various scales (temporal and spatial) in and around a tukusipan is rooted in Wayana ethnogenesis while grounding sociality; a sense of belonging to, while being of, the tukusipan.

Providing potentiality for regional organization and socio-political complexity (as well as encouraging archaeology of ritual and religion in Guiana and beyond) this study offers a novel venue to a dynamic approach to sociality of indigenous peoples in Guiana. In closing this study, chapter 9 develops upon a perspective of the temporality of the Wayana landscape, and broader Guiana landscape, including an integrated discussion of how local ecology and settlement, kinship, and cosmology are woven in unique forms of social memory, as well as a critical analysis of the place of the researcher in elaboration of a dwelling perspective. In conclusion, the goal is to recognize ranked supravillage organization from a ritual economic perspective centered on roundhouses along with symbolic capital within a religious-political landscape extending beyond the boundaries of individual ephemeral Wayana (Guiana) villages.

1 Wayana are indigenous Carib-speaking people in the interior of Guiana (Appendix A: Map 1). In techno-economical terms, they exhibit a typical tropical forest culture with their subsistence based on fishing, hunting, gathering, and shifting cultivation of predominantly manioc. Settlements, today and in the past, range from farmsteads with only about fifteen inhabitants to villages with over one hundred residents. Population today totals about 1700 individuals in the upper river basins of Jari and Paru in Brazil (neighboring Apalai), Tapanahoni in Suriname (neighboring Trio or Tarêno), and upper Maroni basin, frontier between Suriname and French Guiana (neighboring Boni Maroons and Emerillon or Teko). In the upper Maroni basin, i.e., the research area, they live in approximately twenty settlements located on a circa fifty kilometer trajectory of the rivers Lawa and Aletani. It is commonly assumed that during the eighteenth century “the Wayana” migrated from Brazil into Suriname and French Guiana. See chapter 2 for a more in-depth discussion on the history and geography of Wayana in Guiana.
Fieldwork was mainly conducted in the twenty Wayana villages of the upper Maroni basin. Abandoned settlements were visited as well, and archaeological reconnaissance surveys identified additional sites in the area.

Although not further explored, unequal distribution of community roundhouses (tukusipan) among the Wayana of Brazil has been mentioned by several ethnographers (e.g., Lapointe 1970; Schoepf 1972; van Velthem 1983).

Peter Rivière’s (1984) social organization trait list of Guiana Carib-speakers include: cognatic descent, two-line prescriptive relationship terminology, preferred settlement endogamy and/or uxorilocal residence, emphasis on co-residence in ordering relationships, and small and impermanent settlements.

“What unites these communities is their shared linguistic and cultural heritage” (Guss 1989:21).

Rivière’s narrow, non-dynamic, and synchronic interpretation of “house society” (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995), echoes in the standpoint of European archaeologists (Darvill and Thomas 1996; Dürring 2007; Gerritsen 2007; Hodder 1990), and diverges significantly from other interpretations of a “society of social Houses” resonating with Lévi-Strauss’s “société à maisons” (Beck 2007; Gillespie 2000, 2007; Heckenberger 2005:273-290).

While Peter Rivière focused on Carib-speaking groups in Eastern Guiana (Trio [Tarëno]), Audrey Butt Colson focused on Carib-speaking groups in Western Guiana (Akawaio and Pemon): apart from her fieldwork among the Wayana (April-October 1963) resulting in a publication on Waiyana Prophetism (Butt 1964) (see also Butt 1977).

Additionally, Eduardo Viveiros de Castro posed the legitimate question that “if the projection of ethnographic data into the past has it dangers,” as Amazonian cultures changed over time and were heavily impacted by invasive European colonizers, then “one should not underestimate the opposite danger of an ‘archaeological perversion’” (1996:193), especially in the context of contemporary global politics.

In July 1948, the same year Tropical Forest Tribes (Steward 1948) was published, Betty Meggers and Clifford Evans embarked on a year long archaeological journey at the mouth of the Amazon (Meggers and Evans 1957). One of their goals was providing data from which they developed An Experimental Formulation of Horizon Styles in the Tropical Forest of South America (Meggers and Evans 1961) complementing the Archaeological Chronology of Venezuela (Cruxent and Rouse 1958/1959). Radiocarbon dating to accurately identify a time frame did not yet exist in 1948 (Arnold and Libby 1949). Survey methods and excavation techniques (Meggers and Evans 1957; Evans and Meggers 1960), did not result in proper understanding of horizontal and vertical distribution of archaeological sites.

In short, Donald Lathrap (1970) proposed that around 3000 BC Proto-Arawakan people began to spread from a cultural center near the Central Amazon, following the major rivers. This “Arawakan Diaspora,” as Michael Heckenberger (2002) glossed it, can be traced archaeologically through its pottery: Saladoid and Barrancoid (Lathrap called these pottery styles Saladero complex and Barrancas complex), along with unique circular plaza settlement patterns. He goes on to argue that these early Arawak-speaking people already had a hierarchical social structure (Heckenberger 2002, 2005), as the spatial organization of circular plaza settlements have an intrinsic hierarchical character (Heckenberger 2005:chapter 8; also Fabian 1992; Lévi-Strauss 1963:128). Although the Arawakan Diaspora is multifaceted, and the origin area is not well established (alleged centers in northwest, western, or southwestern Amazonia), these complex “high cultures” are undeniably Amazonian developments (Lathrap 1970; Heckenberger 2002).

Kalervo Oberg (1955) introduced the concept of “Politically Organized Chiefdoms” advocating for a ranked regional category of supravillage organization in Amazonia. Kalervo Oberg’s culture-historical socio-economic-political oriented article was a reaction to Julian Steward’s (1948) neo-evolutionary culture-materialist South American groupings based on diagnostic culture traits. Next, Steward “upgraded” several of the Tropical Forest Cultures (Steward and Faron 1959). In 1933, Kalervo Oberg (1973) prepared his dissertation, titled The Social Economy of the Tlingit Indians, under supervision of Alfred R. Radcliffe-Brown.


Kay Århem (2001) studied village formation process in Northwest Amazonia as embedded in historical changes, rather than an adaptation to the natural environment. Historical impact on society, appearance of multiethnic confederacies, role of the religion of Kúwai (or Yurupari for the Eastern Tukanoan groups), and the interwoveness between history and myth (i.e., oral tradition or social memory) is apparent in most studies among Northwest Amazonian groups since the 1980s (Hill 1984, 1988, 1996a, 1996b; Hill and Wright 1988; Vidal 2002; Wright 1993, 1998, 2002; Wright and Hill 1986; Zucchi 2002). These studies transpire (particularly Wright 1998) that transformative change is well entrenched within the tradition of Kúwai.


Pierre Clastres (1976) concurred with Marshall Sahlins that the Domestic Mode of Production—or Kin-Ordered Mode of Production (Wolf 1982:88ff.)—is only a political tool, and has to be annulled for pre-state societies lacking a separate organ of power demanding surplus.

“Tout est chez eux en commun, à l’exception des femmes, des armes, des poules, et des oiseaux dont ils en apprivoisent et en élèvent une très-grande quantité de toutes les espèces, surtout des perroquets et des aras, uniquement dans la vue d’en retirer les plumes colorées, qui leur servent à faire ces sortes d’habillements que les Européens recherchent comme un objet d’une rare et grande curiosité” (Tony 1843:228-229).

Research was mainly conducted from a single, and rather exceptional, Wayana village: respectively Anapaike Kawemhakan / Lawa Station where American Missionaries had settled (Boven 2006), and Antecume pata [actually located on Surinamese territory] where the Frenchman from Lyon, André Cognat, had settled (Brightman 2007); the latter in comparison with the Trio (Tarêno) village of Tépu where American Missionaries settled (Brightman 2007).

Emphasizing that Ahlbrinck’s expedition took place in 1938, that is seventeen years prior to publication.
CHAPTER 2
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH AREA

Where we see “a landscape” too, the man of nature [referring to the Apalai in Brazil] perceives a river with many rapids and rocks, a mass of trees, branches and leaves, that all together form the forest. Our [European] eyes glance swift and incessantly across the entire landscape, and we generate in our mind an overall impression. The “wild man” [indigenous people of Guiana] focuses his sight on every single object, he sees every twig and recognizes every irregularity in the canopy of a tree, every unusual shape of a floating tree trunk.1


Figure 2-1. Horizontal scales

This chapter is a historical and geographical setting of the research area. It also sets the tone for two ways of knowing history and geography, both of which will be explored throughout
the present study. It suggests that while cartographers and ethnographers were map-making and map-using, the first explorers were discovering, “mapping,” uncharted territories. As illustrated by Felix Speiser (1926:83), the recognition of every irregularity in a landscape goes unnoticed when generating an overall impression in our mind. Landscape is not a static image to be gazed upon, but rather constantly emerging in practice: “the landscape is the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting [these places]” (Ingold 1993:156, 1995, 2000; Hirsch 1995; Sauer 1925). Dwelling, opposed to reducing a landscape to its representation, are different yet not mutually exclusive spatial practices (de Certeau 1984; Ingold 2000; Leroi-Gourhan 1964; Thomas 2001).

Glossed by Michel de Certeau (1984) “map-mode” and “tour-mode,” the former is a static totalizing projection of where things/places are located (map-making/map-using), while the latter is a dynamic process organizing movements between things/places (“mapping”) organizing possibilities as well as interdictions, materializing habitability in space. Called “wayfinding” by Tim Ingold (2000), the actor or narrator is (or was) not drawing or using a charted map, but rather is “dwelling” in the landscape. The practice of walking creates not merely a sense of direction but also a sense of meaning. André Leroi-Gourhan (1964:155-159), for instance, stated that the surrounding world could be perceived in either a static or a dynamic mode; the latter (espace itinérant) is related to terrestrial entities, dynamic in muscle power through trajectories; whereas the former (espace rayonant) is related to a static bird’s eye view creating order in an entirely humanized microcosm (Leroi-Gourhan 1964:159). This is not to say that wayfinding is better than map-making/map-using; only that they are ontologically different.

Maps are “totalizing and homogeneous productions, results of observational distance and ‘neutralization’ with respect to the strategies themselves that constitute as ‘islands’” (de Certeau
1984:53). The “whole” can be seen in a glimpse, and looked down upon from a distance, while meaning is created by the map-maker. Social landscapes can be visualized in the context of scientific knowledge and as such it represents a technology of knowledge and power. Those who produce (e.g., draw or paint) hold the land as a passive alienable commodity. Alternatively, a landscape is a set of relations between people and places emerging out of dwelling. Meaning of experienced place, as opposed to measured geometric space, emerges by inhabiting space, whereby “meaning is there to be discovered in the landscape” (Ingold 1993:172).

Situated in these two ontologically different approaches to landscape, I posit, is the recognition of socio-political difference in Guiana; with in the past centralized confederations (macro-polities), opposed to autonomous villages in the present. Historical research in Guiana presented a dynamic landscape of trading and military macro-polities (Whitehead 1989, 1994, 1999). In 1542, in the southern peripheries of the Wayana region, commonly portrayed as autonomous villages compliant with the conventional model of tropical forest cultures, was noted such a regional organization named “Kalipono” (Carvajal 1992:264-265). These early explorers in Guiana were mapping out itineraries in practice (e.g., Carvajal 1992, 1994 [1542]; Keymis 1596; Raleigh 1596 [Whitehead 1997]; Tony 1835, 1843 [1769]). Rather than drawing geographical charts, as mentioned by de Certeau (1984:120), such early cartographies were similar to history books mapping out itineraries in practice. The “island of Guiana” became defined properly through its boundaries (i.e., the Atlantic Ocean and the rivers Amazon, Rio Negro, and Orinoco), that were charted, classified, and labeled (de Goeje 1925; Lézy 2000). Nonetheless, the interior of Guiana remained unknown territory; a white spot to be filled by artistic impressions of natural and mythical creatures. I argue that, rather than classifying it, regional socio-political organization can be discovered by dwelling in the Guiana landscape.
2.1 Exploring Guiana: Search for Gold

In 1596, Sir Walter Raleigh wrote *Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*, with a relation of the great and Golden Citie of Manoa (which the Spanyards call El Dorado) *And of the Provinces of Emeria, Arromaia, Amapaia, and other Countries, with their rivers adjoining* (abbreviated in the present study as *Discoverie*) (Whitehead 1997). It was, and still is, Raleigh’s (1596) *Discoverie* that fascinated so many Europeans and drew them to the northern shores of South America. At the same time, Lawrence Keymis (1596), described the coast of Guiana in more detail in his *Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana*, concluding with a table of names of the rivers from Amazon till Orinoco, residing Nations, towns, and leaders.

Along with a description of the coast, Keymis described how indigenous people of Guiana traveled inland by canoe and land passages towards a large body of water along which shores he supposed—as Keymis noted between brackets—was located Manoa, Golden City of El Dorado. One of these rivers leading south into the interior of Guiana was the Essequibo, named after the Earl of Essex (Keymis 1596:G2); a vital river in Guiana and setting for several early English and Dutch settlements in the sixteenth century (Edmundson 1904; Whitehead 1988, 1994; Williamson 1923). Keymis wrote that the Indians called this river “brother of the Orenoque [= Orinoco]” (1596:G2), and that this river of Essequibo, or Devoritia,

lyeth Southerly into the land, and from the mouth of it vnto the head, they passe in twentie dayes: then taking their prouisjon they carie it on their sholders one daies journey: afterwards they returne for their Canoas, and beare them likewise to the fide of a lake, which the Iaos call Roponowini, the Charibes, Parime: which is of such bigne se, that they know no difference between it and the maine sea. There be infinite numbers of Canoas in this lake, and (as I suppofe) it is no other then that, whereon Manoa standeth (Keymis 1596:C; To stay close to sixteenth century writing, I use f (italic: ñ) instead of /s/; v instead of /u/ and vise versa).

Leading to a large lake-like body of water, the Essequibo River leads south into the interior of Guiana, and it presumably took about twenty days for the indigenous population to reach the
sources of this river (i.e., Serra Acaraí) where they carried for one day their provisions on their shoulders over land to reach another body of water. From the Serra Acaraí they could have carried their provisions and canoes to rivers ranging from Anauá, leading to the Rio Branco, in the west, to the Trombetas River in the east. Later, Keymis (1596:C3) noted that it took sixteen days from Barima, thirteen days from Amacur, and ten days from Aratori (the latter two being affluents of the Orinoco River), suggesting a westerly position, potentially leading to the large lake-like body of water of the Rio Negro above Manaos. Keymis (1596:G) also noted that the city of Manoa was located at a twenty-day journey from the mouth of the Wiapoco [= Oyapock], suggesting a more easterly location of the lake-like body of water, potentially an inland lake near the mouth of the Trombetas River (at 1°48’ Z, 56°05’ W, is located a lake stretching about 30 km east-west and 10 km north-south with an outline similar to lake Parime on the map), or even the Amazon proper. Keymis appears more certain of the latter position of the salt lake where Manoa is located; potentially indicative of two separate lake-like bodies of water. Based on these accounts the river Oyapock now became the aim for many non-Iberian explorers intending to find Manoa, the golden city of El Dorado.4

The coast of Guiana became an opportunity for French, English, Irish, and Dutch trading ventures (Edmundson 1903, 1904; Whitehead 1988, 1994; Williamson 1923), due to a political vacuum between the Spanish and Portuguese realms. The boundary between the Spanish and Portuguese realms had been drawn east of the mouth of the Amazon in 1494 during the Treaty of Tordesillas, and Keymis had emphasized that “farther to the Eastward then Deffékebe, no Spaniard euer trauelled” (1596:C)—that is after the voyages down the Amazon by Francisco de Orellana (Carvajal 1992, 1994 [1542]; Markham 1859; Medina 1934; Sweet 1974) and Lope de Aguirre (Hemming 1978:195-197; Minta 1993; Whitehead 1999:418-419)—meaning that there
had been no thorough Spanish explorations of the Guiana coast east of the Essequibo River.

Subsequently, in 1608, Robert Harcourt (1613) explored the coast of Guiana, and a decade later, in 1619, Captain Roger North (who had accompanied Raleigh during his second voyage to Guiana) designed to establish a plantation “upon the river Amazon near Guiana,” i.e., between Amazon and Oyapock, or what is now Amapa (Harris 1928:11).5

Sir Walter Raleigh’s (1596) and Lawrence Keymis (1596) aimed to provide a venue to gold and other sources of wealth, as is unambiguous in the statement that “golde shall be the reward of their travels” (Keymis 1596:F), and to those “be willing to aduenture in searcch of them, I could propoſe some hope of golde mines, & certain assurance of peeces of made golde, of Spleen‐tones, Kidney‐tones, and others of better estimate” (ibid.: E3). Keymis thus promised gold mines and objects made of gold, as well as the prospect of objects made of green‐stone.6

When the raines ceaſed, which was in Iuly, I [Robert Harcourt] began to trauell abroad in searcch of those Golden Mountains, promiſed vnto vs before the beginning of our voyaige [referring to Raleigh 1596 and Keymis 1596] … that their inſatiable and couetous mindes could not bee satisﬁed with any thing but oenly Gold (Harcourt 1613:38).

There were golden objects, e.g., “a halfe Moone of mettall, which held somwhat more then a third part Gold, the reft Copper [i.e., a copper‐gold alloy]: another alſo gaue mee a little Image of the fame mettall; and of an other I bought a plate of the fame (which hee called a fpread Eagle [compare with “Mazaruni Dragon” (Whitehead 1996)]) for an Axe … Images of Gold, by them called Carrecoory [kalakula]” (Harcourt 1613:38).

My Indian Anthony Canabre [who had lived for fourteen years in England (Harcourt 1613:8)], brought mee a peec [= piece] of a rock, of white Sparre [= quartzite], whereof the high Country is full: And if the white Sparres of this kinde, which is the pureſt white of all others … bee in the maine roccke, they are certai nely Mines of Gold, or Silver, or of both. I made triall of a peece of Sparre, which the fame Indian diſcovered vnto me, and I found that it held both Gold, and Silver … but the belt lie deeper in the earth, and wee had no time nor power to make search for them (Harcourt 1613:39‐40).
When Robert Harcourt arrived in 1608, several Indians residing at the mouth of the Oyapock already spoke English and aided the British in their quest for gold. European explorers were less interested in native language and customs, than in gold and other richness of Guiana. Others began to explore the Lower Amazon River and its tributaries:

In the yeare 1616, one Peeter Adrianson [= Pieter Adriaanszoon], in the Golden Cock [De Goldne Haen = The Golden Rooster, i.e., the name of Pieter Adriaanszoon’s ship] of Vlushings [= Vlissingen, city in Zeeland] sayled for the Amazones … and between the River Coropatube [= Jutai] and the River Ginipape [= Paru de Este] on a peninsula by a little river on one side and an Arme of the Amazones on the other side, they built a fort … They were one hundred and thirty men and fourteen of them carried their famelies to plant [= settle] with them … the Indians assisted them in planting Tobacco, Annotta, a red dye, a Bastard Scarlet [Bixa orellana] … the Losse of that Hopeful Colony was thier engaging themselves in the Quarels of the Indians, assisting the Supanes [= unknown Indian nation] against another nation called the Periotes, who were in Aliance with the Portogueze [= Portuguese] (Major John Scott, Sloane MS 3662; quoted in Edmundson 1903:6-7).

Dutch and English had settled in strongholds from where peaceful contacts with indigenous people were endeavored in order to establish trading relations for tobacco (Nicotiana spp.), red dye (Bixa orellana) and speckle wood (Brosimum guianensis). In the early seventeenth century, Pedro Teixeira aspired to expel the Dutch, English, and Irish from the Lower Amazon, which he did with extreme force (Edmundson 1903:19-21). Entries in the West India Company reports ceased in 1628 and from this time onward the Portuguese were the masters of the Lower Amazon. In close proximity to Adriaanszoon’s fort, mentioned above, Acuña wrote (in: Markham 1859:129) that at six leagues (about 24 km) from the mouth the Ginipape [= Paru de Este] the Portuguese had a fort named El Destierro, with a garrison of thirty soldiers and some pieces of artillery, not to defend the river against Dutch enemies, but to shock-and-awe the “vanquished” Indians.

Politics of Europe were brought into the Americas; not merely a conflict between Spain and Portugal, but since Spain and Portugal were at war with England and the United Provinces of the Netherlands (including Holland and Zeeland), this war extended into the western hemisphere.
Dutch created alliances with indigenous people who were at war with the indigenous people who were allied to Spain or Portugal; since the Arawak were by and large allied with Spain, Dutch allied with Caribs. Therefore, the historical distinction between “peaceful” Arawakan peoples and “fierce” Carib peoples might be a ramification of Spanish chroniclers perceiving the Dutch as fierce, and hence their Carib allies as well (Whitehead 2000). Later, the British, French, and Dutch would divide the Guiana coast into British Guyana, Suriname, and French Guiana.

Figure 2-2. New map of amazing land and rich in gold of Guiana, Jodocus Hondius, 1599. Courtesy of the University of Amsterdam; map library inventory number: 104.05.04.

When in 1599 Jodocus Hondius published his “New map of the land amazing and rich in gold of Guiana” based on the plottes of discoveryes by Sir Walter Raleigh and his Captain Keymis, a new dimension was added to the quest for gold. This map (Figure 2-2) consisted of
line drawings, figurative illustrations, and text, and after Keymis (1596:G), Hondius had written on the map near the mouth of the Oyapock, that the inhabitants of the Wiapoco [= Oyapock] needed twenty days with their canoes from the mouth of this river to the lake where is the gold rich town of Manoa. The location of the golden city—and how to get there—had now been mapped; and what is marked on a map exists. However, I posit that this imaginary lake on the map emerged as a unit “in-between” when rendering the relational sixteenth century spatial narratives into a static map. In order to make sense of this mythical body of water it is necessary to read the spatial narratives by Raleigh and Keymis (1596) concurrently with the spatial narrative of about fifty years earlier (expedition by Francisco de Orellana) written down by the Dominican friar Gaspar de Carvajal (1992, 1994; Medina 1934).

In 1542, during the first European descent of the Amazon, Francisco de Orellana was told by an Indian previously captured near the Trombetas River (Carvajal 1994:141) that these lands and the settlements (that were out of sight) belonged to a great overlord (paramount chief) whose name was Arripuna, or Caripuna (Carvajal 1992:264-265; 1994:144-145):

(C)Arripuna, who ruled over a great expanse of country; that in a direction back up the river and across country he possessed eighty days of journeying, as far as a lake which was off to the north, which was very populous, and that this was ruled over by another paramount chief whose name was Tinamostón; but [the informant] said that this one [Caripuna or Tinamostón] was a very great warrior and that they ate human flesh, which was not eaten in all the rest of the land that we had gone through up here… It is he who holds under his control and in his country the Christians whom we learned about farther back [ibid:123] because this said Indian who had seen them (Carvajal 1992:264-265; 1994:144-145; my translation).

Based on this account, Neil Whitehead (1994, 1999) located the macro-polity of Karipuna at the Paru River, a tributary of the Lower Amazon. According to the Indian informant (Carvajal 1992:264-265; 1994:144-145) this paramount chief ruled over a vast region. John Hemming reduced this account to a single sentence: “The expedition’s Indian informant told them that this tribe was under a chief called Aripuna and that, unlike any of the other tribes on the Amazon,
they ate human flesh” (1978:194). Also Medina (1934:223) interpreted that Arripuna and his subjects ate human flesh. Reading Carvajal (1992:264-265; 1994:144-145), it is indefinite whether it was Caripuna, or Tinamostón (the paramount chief in the north)10 who ate human flesh. Focus of later researchers on consumption of human flesh (cannibalism) silenced the regional aspects of this spatial narrative.

This spatial story by the Indian guide (about thirty years of age [Carvajal 1994:131]) referring to Christians living in the land near the great body of water in the north—at a journey of eighty days (Carvajal 1992:264-265; 1994:144-145)—can but refer to Europeans settled along the Atlantic coast of Guiana, such as at the mouth of the Essequibo as mentioned above. The indicated route back up the river, i.e., upstream from the current location (just downstream of Tapajos), and across the land that is within the reign of Caripuna, to reach a large body of water in the north (Carvajal 1992:264-265; 1994:144-145), I argue was a passage across Guiana, a route of communication, via Trombetas and Paru de Oeste in Brazil, across the Sipaliwini Savanna at the watershed between Brazil and Suriname, to the Essequibo and Corantyne rivers in (British) Guyana.11 Alternatively, a passage crossed Guiana via the Paru de Este to the Tapanahoni and Marowijne in Suriname,12 towards the Atlantic coast of Guiana.

With regard to the latter route, it was Henri Coudreau (1893:87) who stated that it took him twenty-seven days and Jules Crevaux thirty-three days to go upstream the Maroni River, and respectively forty-two and forty-seven days to descend the rivers Jari and Paru (Coudreau 1892a:18); resulting in a trajectory, from Atlantic Ocean to Amazon River across Guiana, covered in about eighty days. A great body of water can thus be reached from the Amazon River within about “eighty days of journeying” (Carvajal 1992:264-265; 1994:144-145) along the

This body of water was not the only Guiana creature that got lost in translation. Next to the interior lake, Jodocus Hondius (1599; Figure 2-2) had placed images of a man with his head upon his chest, and a female Amazon warrior. It is generally assumed that this imagery is based upon the imaginary mid-fourteenth century *Travels* of Sir John Mandeville, but I argue for a local Guiana explanation for these creatures. Two centuries after Mandeville, Keymis located in the interior of Guiana “headless men” following his interpreter “John” (Keymis 1596:C3): these headless men had their wide mouths in their chest; *Guianians* (*sic*) name this “nation” *Ewaipanomos*, and their name in the Carib language is *Chiparemai*. Rather than enigmatic mythical monstrous people, this description resonates with a description of rays, whereby sipali (riverine spine-ray; *Potamotrygon hystrix*) phonetically resonates with Keymis’s root *chipare* with the third person singular of “to be” (*nai*) (note that the interior of Suriname is called Sipaliwini, after rivers filled with spine-rays), possibly indicating the presence of spine-rays (rather than monstrous “headless” men) in the interior of Guiana.

To dwell for a moment in Guiana names lost in translation; People with a Dog’s head resonate with the Kaikusiyana in the interior of Guiana (Tony 1843:219-220), whereby *kaikui* can be translated as “jaguar” or “dog”; hence People of the Jaguar or Dog, referring to the fact that these people were maybe fierce as jaguars, or potentially dog traders (Lombard 1928:126). Next, the Amazon River acquired its name after friar Carvajal (1992, 1994) continued referring to the legendary Amazon warrior women, an Ancient Greek legend that was drawn upon to make sense of the female warriors that attacked the Spaniards. Near the mouth of Trombetas, Carvajal increased his writing on the Amazon warrior women. Perhaps there be some truth in Carvajal’s
displaced narrative, as Wayana (as do other Amazonian people) recognize a legendary tribe named *Wëlïisiyana* consisting of only women (*wëlïi* = girl) (de Goeje 1941:88). As the mere name “Amazon” is a derivative of Greek mythology (Female Warriors), I posit that the name “Carib” (generally assumed a misunderstanding between the Kaliña/Galibi/Caribs and the terms Kahn and cannibals; Keymis 1596 wrote “Charibes”) resonated with Greek mythology as well. During the *Voyage of the Argonauts* it was said that “there were Chalybes, who did not plow and cultivate their fields and herded cattle on the meadows like other people; they [the *Chalybes*] lived below daylight, mining for ore and iron from the depths of the earth and never saw the sun, nor planets, during their entire life” (Schwab 1964:112; my translation). When Columbus and his followers understood there were “Charibes / Chalybes” on the mainland (Chanca 1930), it was decided to explore Guiana in search for gold and ore that could be mined. A myth was born.

Ironically, the major ethnological elements that Ralegh incorporated from the intelligence that the Spanish had already gathered were exactly those for which his account [Discoverie 1595] has been most pilloried by subsequent generations: El Dorado, the invasion of the Epuremei, the headless Ewaipanoma, woman-warriors-without-men, the Amazons, and the Canibals. However, … these are actually the elements to Ralegh’s account that should be considered the most credible (Whitehead 1997:42; italics in original).

An interior lake had been created along with mythical peoples in the process of map-making that would haunt map-users in the following centuries. In 1703, on the map by William Delisle, it was written between the sources of Essequibo and Maroni that “it is in these regions that most authors place the Lake Parime and the City of Manoa of El Dorado” (Evans and Meggers 1957:568; Figure 2-3; my translation). Outline drawing of an interior lake in Guiana had been removed from the map, yet the notion of Lake Parime and the golden city of Manoa had not been silenced as the author wrote on the map, in text, that most authors place the infamous lake and city at this location. Lake Parime would reappear in 1707 on the map by the Jesuit Samuel Fritz, leaving the rest of the interior of Guiana almost empty.
Clifford Evans and Betty Meggers (1957:568) republished (part of) the 1703 map of Guiana by William Delisle (Figure 2-3), to plot the people inhabiting Guiana and the mouth of the Amazon around 1700. No mention of “Wayana” is made. Delisle mentioned on his map a silver mine located at the sources of the Paru, and a gold mine located between the headwaters of the Paru and Jari. Though the outline of Lake Parime and the location of the golden city of Manoa had disappeared from the map, the rush for gold remained directed towards this area; towards the Wayana region.
2.2 First Written Account on the Roucouyennes [= Wayana]

Voyage in the interior of the continent of French Guiana among the Roucoyens Indians

[Roucouyennes = Wayana] (Voyage dans l’interieur du continent de la Guyane chez les Indiens Roucoyens; abbreviated in the present study as the Voyage) by Claude Tony (1835, 1843) is the first written account on the Roucouyens as encountered in 1769.13 Proper name “Wayana” is not written down, though the geographical location of the rivers Aletani [= Litani or l’Itani], Arraoua [= Tampok], Maroni [= Lawa] (Tony 1843:218), and Ouahoni [= Marouini or Malani] (ibid.:215) indicate the Wayana region in French Guiana (Figure A-2). During a three week stay, Tony observed settlement patterning, food and lodges, physique and character, fishing, hunting and gardening, and mortuary practices, which he wrote down on eleven and a half pages (Tony 1843:220-231), i.e., half of the entire Voyage. Tony (ibid.) counted about eighty people, not counting elderly and children. No total demographic estimate has been given for the Roucouyennes in 1769 as Claude Tony only visited a single village.

Claude Tony’s Voyage is unique in that the Roucouyennes [= Wayana] are described as “having a centralized military organization with a hierarchical chain of command” (Rivière 1984:83); hence support for supravillage organization in Guiana. Nevertheless, there were many occasions in the production of the history of Guiana where Tony’s Voyage could have easily been deleted from history; silenced in the sense of Michel Trouillot (1995). According to Trouillot, silences enter at four crucial moments: at the making of sources or moment of fact creation; secondly in fact assembly or making of archives; thirdly in fact retrieval or making of narratives; and finally, in the making of history, or at the moment of retrospective significance. These crucial moments will briefly be evaluated with regard to Tony’s Voyage.

It is remarkable that this 1769 Voyage was written down in the first place, as Claude Tony was not a learned Frenchman from the European mainland. Tony was a free mulatto of the
Approuague River in French Guiana; a “Mulatre Libre d’Approuague” as stated in the title (it goes beyond the present study to discuss the position of free mulattos, maroons, and their relations with Indians in French Guiana). Approuague River is located between Cayenne, capital of French Guiana, and the Oyapock River. Being an intermediary, Tony was ordered to accompany M. Patris, a French botanist, in 1769, into the interior of French Guiana (Tony 1843:213). Tony wrote the Voyage as a “tour” in the sense of de Certeau (1984): while reading, the reader can follow step-by-step the pedestrian speech-act (Figure A-2).

Upon returning the canoe capsized and all belongings were lost with the exception of some waterproof baskets containing feathers, during which ordeal Tony succeeded in saving his own life as well as that of Patris, leader of the expedition (Tony 1843:234). Tony regretted that he had lost all his gifts from the Wayana, and he went on to say that Patris had lost his bags with stones as well. Although no descriptions are made of these “bags of stones,” it is quite intriguing that a botanist was collecting bags of stones from the interior of Guiana. What is more, Tony (1843:232) wrote that Patris seemed to conduct numerous mineralogical studies without explaining to the other members of the expedition what he was looking for. While Patris claimed towards the Wayana leader (Tony 1843:222-223) that they came as friends to make trading partners, Tony, unintentionally, provided the potential of a hidden agenda of Patris’s exploration in the interior: botanist Patris had not simply embarked on an expedition to study the flora of the interior of French Guiana; the 1769 expedition had apparently a hidden agenda to survey for gold deposits indicated by diagnostic quartz veins in granite, equivalent to what Harcourt (1613:39-40) had found one hundred sixty years prior. This collection of rocks and stones, that was now lost in the river, could indicate the possible location of mines of silver and gold. That the 1769 expedition departed from the Oyapock is another indication for gold
prospection (compare with Keymis 1596:G; Map by Hondius 1599). The hidden agenda of the French botanist M. Patris could have easily silenced Tony’s account from the very beginning.

Last but not least, the expedition was conducted in 1769 and only published sixty-six years later as an annex in Barbé-Marbois’s *Diary of a Detour in French Guiana (Journal d’un Déporté a la Guyane)* (Tony 1835:301-320). It was almost a decade later when the twenty-three pages counting *Voyage dans l’interieur du continent de la Guyane chez les Indiens Roucoyens* (*Voyage in the interior of the continent of French Guyana among the Roucoyens Indians*) was incorporated in the edited volume of *Essays and Observations to the use of the ancient history of the Americas* (Ternaux-Compans 1843:213-235). Most researchers cite the 1843 edition (none cite the 1835 edition), so if Ternaux-Compans had not included Tony’s *Voyage* in his bundled essays, the chances of survival of the *Voyage* would have been extremely small, and there would then not have been a written indication of socio-political supravillage organization in Guiana.

A spatial story on the Roucouyennes in 1769. To engage with the tour mode of the *Voyage*, and to get a feeling of his dwelling in the interior of Guiana, I will quote Claude Tony in some length. With regard to spatial stories in Guiana, Tony does not refer to typical map-maker terminology as land, country, and territory; instead he refers to canoe landing places (*dégrad*) and roads, i.e., bridging connections between places rather than defined locales. This different ontology is grounded in the mere fact that Claude Tony was a Free Mulatto and not a White European. His narrative can be followed with a finger gliding across a map (Figure A-2).

For example, Tony wrote that “We descended immediately the later river Arraoua [= Alawa, or today’s Tampok] for half a day, and we had arrived in the Maroni [= Lawa, or upper Maroni] where there is an island [= Lawa Mofou Tabiki, i.e., Sranantongo for “Island at the
Mouth of the Lawa”] across from this mouth, on which we slept” (Tony 1843:218; all translations of the *Voyage* are mine). Tony continued:

We went upstream the Maroni [= Lawa] for a day and a half; the navigation is very hard due to the falls and rocks [particularly Awara Soula, Domofou Soula, and the complex of the Sauts de l’Aletani near present-day Antecume Pata], and I [Tony] estimate that there is only three to four leagues (lieues) between the mouth of the Arraoua [= Tampok] and that of the Ouahoni [= Malani, or Marouini], into which we entered. In the Ouahoni [= Malani], near its mouth, [is] a very large fall [= Pouou Sani Soula] (Tony 1843:219).

we arrived at the landing place of the Arramichaux [= Aramiso], which is at the right bank [of the Malani]; this third village of this nation [of the Aramiso] is at halve a day from the river [about 15 km inland, calculating from the fact that earlier Tony (1843:215) had mentioned that the travel distance on land is about six leagues a day, thus halve a day travel over land would be about three leagues] near a creek named Aueymanbo [= Creek Maïna?]; we arrive there, going east, via a very beautiful road. There are in this village about a twenty some men (Tony 1843:219).

This settlement of the Aramiso (a Trio subgroup [Frikel 1957:541; Riviere 1969:16-17]) is located about fifteen kilometers east from the river Malani. Not only is this settlement located fifteen kilometer inland, and approached via an exceptionally high-quality road (instead of a forest trail), it appears to be connected with other settlements in Guiana. The men in this village are of the same nature as those we have already seen [near the landing place for the ‘Chemin des Emerillon’ at Crique Grande Waki], [and] with whom they communicate via a land road that passes trough [the region of] the Calcuchéens [= Kaikusiyana]; it takes them five days to complete this road till [they arrive] among the other Arramichaux [= Aramiso from the Crique Grande Waki]; They have received us well too (ibid.:219-220).

When this road is mapped, a stimulating situation emerges. This third village of the Aramiso was reached by the 1769 expedition only after nineteen and a half days canoeing after departure from the second Aramiso village located on the Crique Grande Waki, whereas it took the Aramiso just five days to complete this trajectory over land by a well maintained road.15 These men might actually have been the very same men encountered almost three week prior.

On the Malani, possibly between creek Maïna and creek Soualani, Tony wrote that “We have arrived at the landing place of the Indians Roucouyennes [= Wayana] that is at the right
bank; we slept there, after unloading the canoes” (Tony 1843:220). Tony (1843:218) did not describe how the expedition camped during the 1769 Voyage, yet he did mention that they slept on the island at the mouth of the Tampok river, that is, just before they changed from downstream the Tampok to upstream the upper Maroni and Malani. Tony (1843:220) mentioned once more that the expedition spent the night ashore, just before entering the Wayana territory. Tony mentioned the act of sleeping before major shifts were about to happen, analogous indigenous Amazonian discourse (see for example Table C-14: line 69), wherein the traveler, through the act of sleeping, leaves a socially defined space, a save home base, and move to a liminal treacherous place of dangerous beings (Basso 1985:30). The 1769 expedition did not know what to expect in this unexplored territory among unknown nations as Aramiso and in particular the Roucouyennes:

The following morning we set out on a straight road, well opened and well kept clean, towards East-South-East. After having walked for an hour, we perceived next to the road, under the trees, a tocaye [i.e., a shelter from palm leaves kumu or wapu; named mîmnē in Wayana] a small circular lodge about ten feet [about three meter] in diameter ending in rotunda, and there was only a small door of about two feet and a half wide by three feet high [about 76 x 92 cm] that closed with a door, a sort of matting or a panel of leaves that also stood against the rain. As we approached, we saw an Indian taking off, running with all his force, realizing that he had seen strangers; having arrived at the tokaye, another Indian comes out armed, who seems young to us (Tony 1843:220).

After having walked another three hours, we have arrived in a garden plot, an abattis [= French for slash-and-burn field], in the middle of which we found, inside a carbet [= French for Indian dwelling. See chapter 3.1] some ten men with their leader, all well armed, which seemed to be an advanced guard; because there were no women, nor anything else that could distract them. The Captain [= French for chief or village leader], who had already became conscious of us, came several paces towards us, and after greeting M. Patris by taking his hand, he withdraw from the road and made a gesture to enter the carbet, where were the other Indians, arrows in their hand while leaning on their bow. Although this Captain knew M. Patris from his earlier voyage [three years prior, in 1766], he did not say anything, he did not ask anything and he made no request. Seeing this we asked him the way and permission to enter the village, and he indicated it immediately and we did hit the road. From this sort of advanced guard to the first village, there is still about four leagues [about 20 km, i.e., at the foothills of the Tumuc-Humac watershed between borne 3 and 4]; however it has to be brought to the attention that this road is made with still more care (Tony 1843:221).
This unique Guiana settlement and the lay-out of roads will be studied in the next chapter.

Spatial story in the interior of Guiana is about to reach its pinnacle:

Near their [Roucouyennes] village [Chapter 3.2], there is a mountain named Couyariouara [= Kujaliwala? Unidentified inselberg], that is nothing other than some rocks piled up one on top of the other, where no plant grows. Climbing to its summit, we discover towards the west a great chain of mountains that, as we assume, leads to the Cordilleras [= Tumuc-Humac] (Tony 1843:231).

Following Tony’s spatial story, this Roucouyenne/Wayana settlement was located at the foothills of the Tumuc-Humac watershed (Figure 2-4). No exact location of this settlement is known though anomalous features in the forest can potentially be revealed by means of remote sensing. Between borne 3 and 4 along the border between Brazil and French Guiana, is a significant inselberg (N 2°24’50”; W 53°53’33”). From the top of this inselberg the Tumuc-Humac mountain range, including Toukouchipann and Mitaraka are discernible at the western horizon. Claude Tony never named the Tumuc-Humac. On the other side of the watershed is originating the Couyari, affluent of the Jari. While standing on top of this inselberg with a perfect panorama over the Guiana landscape, exemplary that narratives are evoked through being in the landscape, local Indians told Tony the following:

The Indians told us [while being on top of an inselberg], that by going southwest [i.e., following the fourth road, paralleling the Malani River], on the other side of the Ouahoni [= Malani] river that we took upstream, there is a series of villages of the Roucouyennes [= Wayana], and of the nations Amicouane [= Amikwan; possibly Upului] and Appareille [= Apalai], all friends and allies [still today the Wayana are friends and allies, and even intermarried with, Upului and Apalai; see chapter 8.3], who communicate via a beautiful road [i.e., Kailawa’s trail, see chapter 8.1] that stretches till nearby the mountain range [= Tumuc-Humac] of which I [Claude Tony] just spoke. They also say, that these united nations [= confederation of the Wayana; see chapter 8] have established a leader [“chef”], a kind of general chief [“capitaine général”] who resides in the last of these villages, which is also the most important (Tony 1843:231).

On the other side [of the watershed] going south, one finds at a day march the head of the river Mapahoni, that continues into the Yarri [= Jari], that flows its waters into the Amazon [Figures C-1 and C-3] (Tony 1843:231).
M. Patris, who seemed to conduct numerous mineralogical studies, without explaining [to Tony or the other expedition members] what he was looking for, without opening up to anybody, he had the desire to go and see this series of roucouyens [= Wayana] villages and to go to the great chain of mountains. He leaves alone with the Indiens, because I [Claude Tony] had fallen ill; but he [Patris] returned after three days, stating that he was not able to arrive at the first of these villages nor to the mountain that was near it (ibid.:232-233).

This panoramic description of a “beautiful road” at which end is located the “most important settlement” where the “paramount chief” resided is unique in Guiana history. Note that this panoramic, distanced, and summarizing perspective is given from the top of an inselberg from where the forest down below—where the people walking were hidden and out of sight—could be gazed upon. These two modes resonate with de Certeau’s difference between “map” and “tour” spatial stories; all-watching eyes from the top of a building, opposed to blind walkers in the streets down below. Patris desired to prospect this region with its series of villages, as he assumed the richness in gold of this area. Since Tony had fallen ill, Patris set out by himself and some Roucouyennes. After three days of walking, Patris returned, without having reached even the first of these villages and its nearby inselberg. If only Tony had not fallen ill, we would have had a better impression of this supravillage organization in the heartland of the Wayana region.

2.3 Shift from Tour to Map

Maps of coastlines had been produced for navigation purposes—and the treaties of Tordesillas (1494) and Madrid (1750) had divided the mapped world into a Spanish and a Portuguese realm—however the interior of Guiana remained unknown territory. No map was drawn in the spatial narrative by Claude Tony (1835, 1843), and whereas Jules Crevaux (1881) did cartographically map French Guiana, his narrative is mainly in the tour-mode. Crevaux (1987:124-125) stated that he was in the line of numerous explorers, beginning with Raleigh. Crevaux aspired to find the infamous Lake Parime along which banks was to be found Manoa the Golden City of *El Dorado*. 

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Figure 2-4. Reference map for spatial stories in the Tumuc-Humac region.
Myth, legend, or otherwise, gold was (and continues to be) found in the rivers flowing from the watershed between Brazil and the Guianas. It is not always gold that shines; Crevaux wrote (1987:124-125) that explorers had found “temples” of the Golden Man at an affluent of the Jari River, but in reality walls of these rock shelters were of mica rich rock and when the sun penetrates such dark rock shelters, mica will glow up with a bright golden shine. Although Crevaux had explored the interior of Guiana for many years, he was never able to draw this mythical lake on the map based on field observations. The legend of El Dorado was however kept alive in discourse, and the further distanced, the more real it was perceived.

2.3.1 French-Dutch Boundary Expedition (1861)

The 1880s Gold Rush in the Lawa Basin pressured the question of demarcation; which river (Tapanahoni or Lawa) is the upper course of the Marowijne / Maroni River (considered boundary between Dutch and French Guiana; Figure A-2). The legend of El Dorado became truth when gold was found in the Tampok River in 1883, and in the Lawa Basin in 1887 (Wekker 1984). In view of auriferous potential, it was between September and November 1861 that a French-Dutch boundary expedition went into the interior to scientifically measure the stream flow of Tapanahoni and Lawa (Wekker 1991, 1992). France claimed that the Tapanahoni was the main stream whereas the Lawa was a mere affluent, thereby including the gold deposits on French territory. Based on scientifically collected data, it was Tsar Alexander III from Russia who decided in May 1891—thirty years after the boundary expedition—that the Lawa and not the Tapanahoni had to be recognized as the upper course of the Maroni River (Wekker 1992). Upper course of the Lawa is still in debate; France presumes the Aletani (l’Itany) as source, whereas Suriname claims the Marouini as source of the Marowijne River.
2.3.2 Jules Crevaux and Henri Coudreau (Exploring Guiana Between 1877 and 1891)

It was these first explorations and scientific boundary expeditions that would first describe in detail the arts, crafts, customs, and languages of the Guiana Indians, then again, power struggles between Dutch, French, and Brazilian governments, would lead to constant redrawing of the borders beyond the sphere of influence of indigenous populations, the Wayana among others. In 1877, while the decision on the boundary between Dutch and French Guiana lingered on, Jules Crevaux (1881; 1987) went upstream the Maroni River to enter the Tumuc-Humac mountain range via the Aletani and cross to the Jari River (Figure A-2). He yearned to continue where the expedition by Patris, as described above, was forced to return. Where Crevaux was the typical adventurous and wayfinding explorer, Henri Coudreau intended to make a scientific study of the interior of Guiana, including making a map. Primarily, Coudreau intended to deconstruct the notion of Lake Parime by proving there was neither such lake nor golden city in the interior of Guiana.

During his voyage, Crevaux would provide, in a tour-like manner, important information about the indigenous peoples dwelling in this region, the Wayana in particular. In addition, and providing a basis to communicate with Wayana, Crevaux (1882) wrote the first French-Wayana vocabulary (Vocabulaire Français-Roucouyenne), counting 364 entries on 21 pages, wherein he stated that “the Indians of the upper-Maroni, Jari and Paru, who are known in French Guiana under the name Roucouyenne [after Tony 1835, 1843], name themselves Ouayanas [= Wayana]” (Crevaux 1882:17; my translation). Ten years after publication of the Wayana vocabulary by Crevaux (1882)—followed by an 11 page counting grammar (Adams 1882)—Coudreau (1892) published his Vocabulaires Methodiques of Wayana, doubling the number of entries to circa 700 on 23 pages, followed by 11 pages grammar, and 15 pages of verbs and example phrases.
Throughout his publications Henri Coudreau aimed to be more scientific in approach than his predecessor Jules Crevaux, emphasizing the distinction between his scientific map-making in Guiana versus the exploratory mapping by Crevaux ten years earlier. In due process, Coudreau (1892a:16) stated that he had discovered “unknown pages of the history of the peoples without history” (emphasis added; all translations of Crevaux and Coudreau are mine). Nonetheless, Coudreau’s initial accounts, first published in the French journal “Le Tour du Monde” and first part of his monograph (Coudreau 1893), is in the tour-mode, similar to Crevaux’s exploratory narratives. Coudreau proposed to remain for a longer period of time (from May 1887 to April 1891) in this region to scientifically explore and map the Tumuc-Humac area. This was not an easy task, and the first line in his report of four years of exploration stated that “Les Tumuc-Humac m’ont coûté beaucoup de mal” (the Tumuc-Humac has cost me a lot of pain) (1892a:3).

Coudreau’s spatial story can be traced with a finger on the map (Figure 2-4). Where the footpath crossed a creek, a tree trunk served as bridge. Apparently, the trail from Aletani to the village of Pililipu was frequently in use as the Wayana had cut a tree square, wide enough for two people to pass (Coudreau 1893:96). What is more, while these footpaths follow creeks, they are bridging paths between important south-north flowing rivers; e.g., between Oyapock and Maroni, from Maroni to Aletani, from Jari to Paru, and from Paru to Trombetas. Few footpaths cross the watershed (e.g., from Aletani to Mapahoni and Jari, and from Paru to Tapanahoni). These travels, first published in Le Tour du Monde, were dynamic pedestrian speech-acts organizing movements between places.

From the village of Pililipu, another mapping story developed (Coudreau 1893:159-164). Coudreau described his seven day, and almost 120 kilometer long, journey through the Green Hell of Guiana. No panoramic view was given; simply because ongoing rains and no clear sky
made this impossible. General directions are southwest from Pililipu towards “Arouco patare [= Œlukë pata], about 10 km southwest towards a “savanne roche” [= borne 1], about 20 km north towards a peak that is at the source of creek Saranou and then northwest towards Koulé koulé, which creek will be followed till it falls into the Aletani, from where Coudreau returns to Pililipu via the above named footpath (Figure 2-4).

February (Coudreau 1893:159; all translations are mine)... “We will travel with the rains. Marche!” (ibid.:160) First stop is Arouco Patare [= Œlukë pata; place of the caterpillar], i.e., the watershed between the Aletani and Malani. Rain prevents the expedition to obtain a proper panorama, and they have to descend into the forest below. “We walk … we arrive at the bank of a creek. Possibly this is the head of creek Carapa [marked on contemporary maps as Alama]. We stop to have for lunch the two partridges (sic) that Laveau [the photographer] had shot, and to let us dry a little. Rain ceases (ibid.:161).

Coudreau described a real sadness of the tropical rainforest, including wet hammocks and wet cassava bread, which caused the Wayana guides to indicate that they would gladly return to their village (ibid:161). Coudreau continued:

After a day of 10 kilometer we make camp at the rim of a large bare space, a kind of “savanne rocheuse.” We attach our hammocks between the trees at the edge of the forest” (ibid:161). The third day, “we traverse the savanna that stretches, at this point, for about three kilometers. Then, between two hills, we pass the head of a creek that is four meter wide. We approach the mountains. At the foot of this range are vast swamps of pinot-palm trees (Euterpe oleracea). Flooding of the winter has by now begun. For about two hours, we walk across the water till our knees, and sometimes even till our waist … Now is the ascent of peak Saranou. This peak, that is barely 400 meters high, is of an easy access. In the furrows of the western slopes where pass through little streams that, as it seems, bring into being the creek Saranou (Coudreau 1893:161).

The spatial story above illustrated a blind walking through the Amazonian rainforest where “je ne vois absolument rien” (I cannot see anything at all) (Coudreau 1893:163). These itineraries left a single line on the map, without notion of the whole, as was recognized by Coudreau (1892a:3). The whole could, according to Coudreau, merely be derived from high points offering a panorama for triangulation, yet such panoramas are rare in Amazonia.
Shift from tour to map came into effect during the second expedition—and the second half of *Chez nos indiens* (Coudreau 1893:245 ff.)—as Coudreau presented a more historical panoramic overview of French Guiana. Not insignificantly, along with this shift was the introduction of photography (Coudreau brought along a still photographer named Laveau). Photo negatives that survived this hostile environment were rendered artistically into gravures. Photographs and gravures represented landscapes that could be awed upon from a distance. Coudreau (1892a:4) stated that there where only three out of about two hundred mountaintops providing a proper panorama showing the entire horizon for map-making purposes, naming three mountain tops from where a complete panorama could be obtained: Mitaraca, Tayaouaou near the sources of the Oyapock, and Témomaïrem at the trail from Maphoni to Aletani (ibid.:4).

Remarkable is that Coudreau did not address the inselberg that is vital to the present study (T1, Tukušipan, or Timotakem), located four kilometers to the northwest from the rocky savanna crossed by Coudreau (*savanne roche*; Figure 2-4: G) from where a great panorama of the surrounding forest can be obtained … when it is not raining. Another significant inselberg from where a beautiful panorama can be obtained—e.g., during the Gonini expedition (Franssen Herderschee 1905a)—was the point of return of the 1861 French-Dutch Boundary expedition; named (without being susceptible for a possible indigenous name) “Piton Vidal” after the leader of the French party who climbed this inselberg with Kappler (leader of the Dutch party) on November 20, 1861 (Wekker 1992:20-21). While Crevaux wrote that in 1877 he (re)named this inselberg Knopaiamoi21 (Crevaux [1881] 1993:101, 112), it was Coudreau who oddly stated that Crevaux had named this mountain (*montagne*) after Vidal.

Of the three named inselbergs (Mitaraca, Tayaouaou near the sources of the Oyapock, and Témomaïrem at the trail from Maphoni to Aletani), the first mountaintop (Mitaraca) mentioned
for a complete panorama by Coudreau (1892a:4) is not the inselberg labeled today as Mitaraka or
Massif du Mitaraka. Although Henri Coudreau intended to be “scientific,” he also sought after
“his” mountain, and was eager to name an inselberg after himself: “I also want to have my
mountain. I like mountains; they are firm, they are concrete … My mountain!” (Moi aussi je
veux avoir ma montagne. J’aime les montagnes; c’est ferme, c’est solide ... Ma montagne!) (1893:86; exclamation mark in original). Mitaraca with its dangerous ascent is the only
inselberg of this region with such a beautiful belvedere; with the most outstanding panorama. Therefore Coudreau named this inselberg after himself (Coudreau 1893:123-124), and this
inselberg with its significant double conical towers at N 2°15’ (711 m.) is today labeled as Pic
Coudreau.22 Furthermore, Pic Coudreau (former Mitaraca) is located just south of Arouco Patare [= Èlukë patatpë] where Coudreau wandered blind due to torrential rains, as described above. Possibly this was a way for Coudreau to domesticate this hostile Guiana landscape.

Because mountains are solid and concrete, naming a mountain is as if this name is literally
written in stone. The 1861 French-Dutch Boundary expedition was materialized in stone by
naming inselberg Konopameje: Piton Vidal. Cassabatiki (kuhelap patatpë) was renamed Mount
Lorquin (Coudreau 1893:87). Though inselbergs may be of solid granite, their names have
changed and labels wander over maps. Mountains may be inert, yet they are far from lacking
agency, as they have (Tumuc-Humac in particular) stimulated people’s movements and actions.

Scientific exploration of the Tumuc-Humac region made Coudreau (1892a:18) conclude
that (1) Gold is abundant enough for lucrative exploitation; (2) Rubber is especially present in
the upper course of the Oyapock; and (3) Cacao is also present in the upper course of the
Oyapock where there are eight large cacao plants of which the largest is about 1500 hectares.
Not to hide broader impacts, Coudreau (ibid.) stated that the climate is certainly not an obstacle
for colonization. Scientific map-making in the interior of Guiana had but one aim: to provide future pioneering colonizers with a map that they could use while exploiting the gold reserves, rubber, cacao, or other economically valuable commodities. Political agenda of the quest for gold was no longer hidden. Then again, as later stated by de Goeje (1905b:1089), is that the northern tributaries of the lower Amazon are very difficult to navigate. To support his case, he mentioned that it took Crevaux respectively 42 and 47 days to descend the Jari and Paru Rivers. Difficult navigation of both Jari and Paru River—especially the large falls at the lower course, Cachuera San Antonio above all—were the reason that the upper courses of these northern tributaries of the lower Amazon River were not as intensively affected by invading colonial forces and exploited for rubber or other valuables, as other parts of Amazonia. Spatial narratives moving between places was rendered into a mapped arrangement of where places are located.

2.3.3 Expeditions by the Royal Dutch Geographic Society (Early 20th Century)

Albeit the main rivers of Guiana had been explored, and Crevaux (1881) and Coudreau (1893) had drawn the first rather detailed maps of the interior of Guiana, five-sixths of Suriname remained “unknown territory” to European map-makers (Van Panhuys 1896). The following year, 1897, the board of the Association for Suriname initiated the plan for a “systematic and scientific research of those parts of the colony of Suriname, which are not or hardly ever visited by Europeans” (de Goeje 1905b). Photography improved around the turn of the century, and as a result the reports of the Royal Dutch Geographic Society (KNAG; Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap) are full of original photographs (e.g., Bakhuis 1902; Franssen Herderschee 1905a, 1905b; de Goeje 1908; Van Lynden 1939); frozen images of a never before seen landscape.

Corantyne River, western border of Suriname with (British) Guyana, had previously been explored by Sir Robert Schomburgk in 1843. In 1901, following the “systematic” approach, the
first expedition to explore the interior of Suriname went upstream the Coppename River (Bakhuis 1902; Figure A-2), i.e., the first major river flowing into the Atlantic Ocean counted from the western border. Second KNAG expedition was the 1902-1903 Saramacca expedition; whereby the Saramacca is the second major north-south river counted from the western border. The Suriname River (after which river former Dutch Guiana was named) was sufficiently known, except for its upper course and its sources. Initially, the Royal Dutch Geographic Society required exploring the sources of the Suriname River, however, Dutch government requested exploration of the Lawa area instead as this region became increasingly subject for gold mining activities. Accordingly, in 1903, a third expedition explored the Gonini River, just south of the Tapanahoni–Lawa junction which had been subject of scientific research during the 1861 French-Dutch Boundary expedition forty-two years prior. Systematic and scientific research had to give way to a politico-economic agenda.

Aims and goals during the scientific expeditions in the interior of Suriname were laid-out in the preamble of the Report of the Coppename expedition (Bakhuis 1902), and maintained during all expeditions (de Goeje 1905b:1085). Principal goal was geographic exploration, followed by, collection of stone samples, depiction of mountain formations (panoramas) and collection of biological and ethnographical matter. Hidden agenda behind these expeditions (grounded in collecting stone samples to determine auriferous potential) is evident from statements in de Goeje’s report on the state of scientific research in Suriname, in that “as long as the gold-industry will not be established there [i.e., upper Lawa basin], the knowledge of the course of both creeks [i.e., Oelemari and Loë] is not of paramount importance” (de Goeje 1905b:1086; emphasis added). After four expeditions, twenty percent of Suriname remained unknown territory: the western Tumuc-Humac range, rivers Oelemari and Loë (Loë or Luwe)
in the upper Lawa area, and the upper courses of the Suriname River (Gran Rio and Pikien Rio). Even though the inner lake had been removed from the Guiana map, and the myth of El Dorado was scientifically proven untrue, actual prospection for gold continued, and is still continuing today.

Akin the British Ordnance Survey in Ireland, it were soldier-surveyors who undertook the cartographic project in Suriname; an act of colonial domination, as map-making is a means to maintain control in making the landscape, its people, and its past known and quantifiable (Smith 2003). Maps are complex artifacts of the negotiation of colonial authorities of identity and place, whereas the perspective of the voiceless is not taken into account, apart from a rare local toponym that is written on the map as a mere label in the writing system of the map-maker.

Members of the 1903 KNAG expedition were: Franssen Herderschee, leader of the expedition, navy officer and cartographer; de Goeje, navy officer and cartographer; Versteeg, medical doctor in training and biologist. Van Breen, districts commissar and negotiator with Maroons. Significant landscape features were named after the Dutch Royal Family (Huis van Oranje), reaffirming that the colonizers were in command. For instance, the upper courses of the Gonini, originating from the Oranje Mountains, were named Wilhelmina and Emma Rivier, respectively after the ruling queen of the Netherlands and her mother Wilhelmina, queen of the Netherlands from 1890 to 1948. Mountain ranges that are the source of the Coppename River were in 1901 also named after Emma and Wilhelmina respectively. Highest summit (1230 meters) in the Wilhelmina Mountains was named after the queen’s daughter Juliana. Princes Juliana had married prince Bernhard in January 1937, and it was later that year, during the 1937 boundary expedition, that an inselberg on the border between Suriname and Brazil would be named “Prins Bernard Berg” (van Lynden 1939:858). Cartographer Claudius de Goeje had a mount named
after himself as well; namely De Goeje Gebergte (N 3°24’, W 54°13’) as written on the map during the 1903 Gonini expedition (Franssen Herderschee 1905). This 658 meter high mount is located in the Wayana region, northwest of present-day Antecume pata. Labelling his name to this mountain would lead to unintended consequences as prospectors today assume this a “goeje” mountain (phonetically for “good” in Dutch); assumed rich in gold.25 In the name of science, it was members of a military institution (navy officers) who conducted map-making of Suriname, under the supervising eye of the Royal House in the Netherlands.

Exploration of the unknown sources of the Suriname River continued to be an aim for the Association for Suriname. The 1904 Tapanahoni expedition was sent to explore the river basins of Tapanahoni and Suriname (Franssen Herderschee 1905b). The 1904 expedition had recruited the Maroon guide Apatoe [= Apatou] who had previously guided Jules Crevaux (1881) and Henri Coudreau (1893).26 Apatou declared, based on his previous experience with Crevaux and Coudreau, that the members of the expedition should not have a cold, because this would make flee the indigenous people. Franssen Herderschee (1905b:864) concluded that this was due to several influenza epidemics that made many casualties in the interior of Guiana. During the explorations of Crevaux and Coudreau deadly result of these influenza epidemics were frequently mentioned. Even today Wayana and Trio populations fear a cold, or as they call it kwamai. Apatou warned the Dutch expedition furthermore that bosnegers (Maroons) would be distrustful and suspicious of the nature of Europeans visiting the interior, and he went on to say that Maroon populations could not believe that Europeans would enter the interior with the sole purpose to “draw” rivers and mountain ranges. Later de Goeje heard why Maroon populations were suspicious of a hidden agenda; not simply to maintain their proper trading monopoly between the coast and Indigenous populations of the interior (as suspected by Franssen
Herderschee), but “Master has to consider that we [Maroons] are “lowésoema” [runaway slaves] and we do not like it when people [Europeans in particular] know the country above our district so well” (de Goeje 1905a:972; my translation).

Entering the twentieth century, little to nothing was known of the people living in the interior, i.e., borderland of Suriname, French Guiana, and Brazil. A third aim was added by the KNAG: to study culture, language, and customs of the Indians. The 1904 Tapanahoni expedition was led by the same leader of the Gonini expedition, i.e., Franssen Herderschee, and de Goeje and Versteeg participated as well. De Goeje, being the second cartographer, was charged with collection of “ethnographica” and description of language and customs of the Indians (de Goeje 1905a, 1906, 1908c, 1910). Versteeg was charged with the collection of floral and faunal specimens. Copijn was charged with the coordination of transport by 28 contract workers. During five months, the expedition did spend 30,569 gulden, and brought home a collection of artifacts of the Trio and Wayana Indians (currently in the collections of KIT, Amsterdam, and RMV, Leiden). Nonetheless, the 1904 expedition had not mapped the upper Suriname basin in the center of Suriname. Boundary making and defining borders thus appears to be of more importance than centers in these political map-making projects.

2.3.4 Claudius Henricus de Goeje

One person from the KNAG expeditions ought to be discussed in some detail; Claudius Henricus de Goeje (1879-1955), “the man of the Wayana” (Ahlbrinck 1956:17).27 It was de Goeje who said, during his Professor Emeritus oration on October 18, 1946, that “during such expeditions one needs the aid of the Natives and, to begin with, one has to be able to speak with them; this led to the gathering, editing, and publication of data on the topic of language-studies and ethnography of those regions” (de Goeje 1946:2).28 For instance, the 1904 expedition expected to encounter Trio Indians along the Tapanahoni, yet in the first indigenous settlement
(Intelewa) de Goeje recognized the clothing and how people were wearing their hair from his previous journey among the Wayana along the Lawa and Aletani (Franssen Herderschee 1905a). De Goeje asked them, in Wayana, whether they were Wayana. That de Goeje spoke some Wayana facilitated communication and made the Ndjuka guides redundant.

During their stay in the Wayana village of Intelewa (on August 30, 1904), de Goeje (in: Franssen Herderschee 1905b) interviewed Tamusi Intelewa (village leader who had given his name to his village) on the upper course of the river Tapanahoni, on whether there were other Indian settlements, and whether there was a large granite outcrop near the river. The latter was to obtain a panorama and a position for triangulation to map this unknown area of Suriname. First, a drawing was made in sand, later on a piece of paper. Recorded aspects of this interview provide insight into the wayfinding perspective of this Wayana leader, such as the number of days counted by the times one has to sleep (tinikhe), and the time of arrival indicated by a index finger running along the daytime arc of the sun and brought to a standstill at the time of arrival (Franssen Herderschee 1905b:899-901): “There we sleep (tiniksé). Than follows a series of ‘toeti’ [= tïtei] going, ‘tiniksé’ [= tinikhe] sleeping, which every time means a day-journey, till we arrive the third day at a ‘itsjoli pepta-psiek’ [= isoli peptapsik] a little height fall, named Trombaka … and then one sees at the right hand side a high rock (tepoe pepta [= têpu pepta]) named Kassikassima” (Franssen Herderschee 1905b:900; all KNAG translations are mine).

Characteristic of a wayfinding spatial narrative is that when de Goeje interrupted Intelewa during this recital, the chances where that the course of this imaginary travel was lost, and Intelewa had to start from the beginning (Franssen Herderschee 1905b:900).

Without realizing it, Franssen Herderschee indicated the Wayana region (Figure A-1), based upon information de Goeje had gathered from Tamusi Intelewa, namely that the upper
Tapanahoni was uninhabited, whereas the Paloumeu was home to three Indian villages: two Wayana (Pontoetoe and Toewoli)\(^{29}\) and one Trio (Majoli). Intelewa had never heard from the Suriname River, and the Corantini [= Corantyne] was vaguely known to him (outside the Wayana region). Then again, Intelewa could provide many details about the rivers Paru and Jari with their tributaries (within the Wayana region), Aletani and the villages of Panapi and Jamaiké were not unknown, and Intelewa could even name several Boni-maroons who were his friends (Franssen Herderschee 1905b:900-901), thus indicating the rivers, villages, and people within the Wayana region.

Based on his prior experience during the Lawa and Tapanahoni expeditions, as well as his relation with the Wayana, Claudius de Goeje was made leader of the 1907 Toemoek Hoemak expedition (de Goeje 1908a, 1908b). Other members of the expedition were: navy officer Bisschop van Tuinen, second topographer, and van Leurs inspector of police and negotiator with Maroons. The 1907 Toemoek Hoemak expedition, which had as aim to map the watershed, was a result of the 1906 treaty with Brazil that the watershed between Amazon Basin and Guyana Shield Rivers would be the boundary between both nation states.\(^{30}\) Based on personal interests in language and ethnography, gathered data, and publications on Wayana and Trio, the minister of Colonies allowed Claudius de Goeje to continue his task of collection of \textit{“ethnographica”} and description of language and customs of the Indians during the third tier of the 1935–1938 boundary expedition. In June 1937 he left with a provisions transport to the upper Maroni, where he would stay for four months in the village of Taponte (de Goeje 1941). Next to still image cameras, de Goeje had brought a 16 mm film camera. Scenes from daily life were filmed, the river journey, and even Wayana ritual dances (de Goeje 1937).\(^{31}\)
2.3.5 Boundary Expeditions: 1935–1938

It was during the 1904 Tapanahony expedition (Franssen Herderschee 1905b), as well as during the 1907 Toemoek Hoemak expedition (de Goeje 1908) that parts of the Tumuc-Humac watershed, i.e., agreed upon border between Brazil and Guianas (British, Dutch, and French), was being mapped. It would take into the late 1930s to conduct the difficult task of map-making, boundary making, and factual defining the border. Third tier of the boundary expedition (July 10, 1937 – February 20, 1938), was to go upstream the Maroni river (in the steps of the 1861 French-Dutch boundary commission and the 1903 Gonini expedition) to finalize the eastern part of the watershed and determine the three-junction (Drielandenpunt) between Suriname, Brazil, and French Guiana (van Lynden 1939). De Goeje would not actively participate in the actual boundary determination. He would remain in one of the Wayana villages and continue his ethnographic study (de Goeje 1941). Regrettably he did not join the commission with some Wayana, as this is the very same region saturated with social memory on Kailawa and the birth of the Wayana Nation as discussed in the present study; the three-junction appears to be located on an Indian trail, i.e., the trail of Kailawa.

French authorities sent two delegates (Grébert and Richard) to verify the astronomical observations of the three-junction between Suriname, Brazil, and French Guiana. René Grébert and R. Richard did initially dispute the location of the three-junction as determined by the Dutch, but eventually agreed upon its location (van Lynden 1939:856). The unfortunate news reached Grébert, via de Goeje, that his wife had died in Paramaribo. This might be the reason why the collected data was never published by Grébert (an edited version appeared in 2001). Grébert and Richard stayed in a base camp at the mouth of Kulé-kulé creek, only to visit the Dutch to confirm the determination of the three-junction. The French indicated to remain here till January 1, 1938, however when the Dutch commission arrived at the mouth of Kulé-kulé creek, they
found an empty camp (van Lynden 1939:868-869). As remainder of the French presence they
found a borne of cement with the inscription: Mission Française, 27 Dec. 1937. On January 3,
1938, the Dutch finally met the French in an abandoned Wayana village. It goes without saying
that a bottle of champagne was brought to the table; “served by Senegalese soldiers with the red
fez on their black head” (van Lynden 1939:869). Richard, captain of the colonial artillery, would
observe the stars during the night for his astronomical observations (ibid:870).

Baron van Lynden had requested to cut down trees at the three-junction to facilitate
astronomical observations to determine its location. Rather than perceiving local tradition, van
Lynden (1939:855) compared the calmness of this place with the times when the Kaninefaten
(Cananeftates) lived in the Netherlands around the year zero. Rather than focusing on the
symbolically dense region of Wayana confederation, the boundary commission focused on first
encounters with “Stone Age Indians” (van Lynden 1939:853; Meuldijk 1939:873-876; see also
Ahlbrinck 1956; de Goeje 1943; Geijskes 1957). Van Lynden concluded his report by saying:
“We have won and completed” (ibid.:871; my translation). Later that year (from September to
November 1938) the French ethnographic Musée de l’Homme would sent Paul Sangnier to study
Wayana social organization, mythology, and religion, and to acquire a collection of Wayana
material culture (currently present in Musée du Quai Branly [MQB], Paris; web reference 16;
Reichlen 1941). Sangnier obtained an Akurio pottery vessel (MQB inventory number:
71.1939.25.659; 2528 gr.) from the Dutch 1938 Oelemari expedition in search of “Stone Age”
Indians, and he brought back more potsherds (e.g., MQB: 71.1939.25.655.1-14; 849 gr.), among
which a so-called “pre-Carib” vessel (Reichlen 1941:182), later identified as belonging to the
Koriabo Culture, (MQB: 71.1939.25.654; 12 x 35.7 x 33.7 cm; 1652 gr.) found near the village
of Taponaike. Unfortunately, Paul Sangnier would pass away at the age of twenty-one in the
Dordogne in the spring of 1939, without publication on his findings among the Wayana.

Taponaike, as so many other Wayana settlements, had never been properly located on the map.35

During the 1935–1938 Boundary expeditions, Brazilian Amapa was explored by the German Amazonas-Jary Expedition, lead by Otto Schulz-Kampfhenkel (1938). As mentioned above, Amapa borders French Guiana at the Oyapock River. The German Jari expedition would explore the river Jari that has its source in the Franco-Brazilian watershed. This was a first assessment of the border between Brazil and French Guiana, though no actual determination of the location of the watershed was put into effect. The main focus of the expedition, officially, was to produce a map at scale 1:10,000 (Schulz-Kampfhenkel 1938:113; published at the inside cover), zoology, although ethnographic data on the Wayana and Apalai was gathered as well (ibid.:208).36 The Deutsche Amazonas-Jary-Expedition 1935–’37 was financed by the German NSDAP (de Goeje 1938:577; Schulz-Kampfhenkel 1938:209) and carried a swastika on the tail of his water-airplane and the Nazi flag at the stern of his dug-out canoe. The Nazi propaganda machine allowed German explorer Otto Schulz-Kampfhenkel to enter Amazonian Amapa armed with a 16 mm film camera (Schulz-Kampfhenkel 1938 feature movie: Rätsel der Urwaldhölle).

While Schulz-Kampfhenkel filmed Apalai of the Jari, de Goeje filmed Wayana on the other side of the watershed as mentioned above.37 This was however, not the first time a film camera was brought among the Wayana and Apalai. In 1924, Felix Speiser (1926; dedicated to Theodor Koch-Grünberg who would pass away in 1924) had brought a 35 mm film camera among the Apalai. Most likely due to the success of “Rätsel der Urwaldhölle” (Schulz-Kampfhenkel 1938), Speiser’s footage (about 20-24 minutes) was edited in 1945 into “Yopi [yepe (= friend)]: Chez les Indiens du Brésil” (Cosandey 2002/2003). Schulz-Kampfhenkel followed in the footsteps of Speiser. Another German had visited the Apalai earlier: namely Curt
“Nimuendajú” Unckle. When in 1915 World War I was in progress, the German scientist Unckle (a.k.a. Nimuendajú) was stranded in Brazil. German Consul in Para arranged to send Unckle to the Apalai of the Paru where he remained for six weeks, only to return “more dead than alive but with a splendid collection which he had made during the early days of his visit” (Farabee 1919:105) including an Apalaii (sic) war chief’s ceremonial dress (ibid. fig. 41; Figure 7-17). Apart from his popular book and feature movie, a scientific study on Apalai ethnography has not been written by Schulz-Kampfhenkel, and although he mentioned a map drawn by the Apalai Tuschau [paramount chief], this indigenous map has never been published (Schulz-Kampfhenkel 1938:160). These boundary expeditions were scientific map-making expeditions in which was no place for indigenous spatial narratives.

2.3.6 Jean Hurault

Watershed boundary between Brazil and French Guiana, would only be demarcated after the former colony of French Guiana (Guyane) in 1946 became an overseas department of France (Département d’Outre-Mer; DOM). French geographers Jean Hurault and Pierre Frenay began to map the boundary and determine borders, beginning at the above mentioned three-junction (Hurault 1998). During these boundary expeditions they found rock alignments (geoglyphs) where they placed Borne 1 (savanne roche), and the Marouini AstroStation was placed on a boulder with petroglyphs (Hurault, Frenay, et Roux 1963; Figure 2-4). Just as de Goeje before him, Hurault drew the upper Maroni basin on the map along with detailed ethnographic studies of the people residing in this region. After a comparative techno-economic study of The Material Life of the Maroon Boni and the Indian Wayana of the Upper-Maroni (French Guiana): Agriculture and Habitat (Hurault 1965), a second study (Hurault 1968) would be focused on the Wayana of French Guiana, and include aspects of socio-political aspects (structure sociale) and even a comprehensive description of a maraké (coutume familiale).
Hurault generated a model of a “traditional” indigenous culture that was assumed to be distinguished rapidly in the modern era. A digest of the history between *Français et Indiens en Guyane 1604-1972* (Hurault [1972] 1989) would follow.

It would be in this era (departure: July 1947) that Hassoldt Davis would explore the south of French Guyana and “if the rainy season permits, the expedition may continue to the Tumuc Humac Mountains bordering Brazil, still searching, hopefully, for El Dorado” (excerpt from the original application to the Explorers Club). Such explorations (e.g., Davis 1952; Mazière 1953) were the ground for Hurault’s personal quest to have the name Tumuc-Humac removed from the map, as these adventurers aimed for the “great, the legendary, the sinister Tumuc-Humacs, where Lake Parimé and its golden cities shone in the dreams of the old adventurers, and would always shine for me” (Davis 1952:255-256). “Since the beginning of my IGN (National Geographic Society) work in French Guiana (1947-1948), I had noticed that the mountain range of ‘Tumuc-Humac’ does not exist. On several occasions, I requested the removal of this toponym” (Hurault 2000:383; my translation).

About fifty years after his first explorations in this region (and about five years before he passed away in September 2005), Jean Hurault (2000) stated that the “mythical” mountain range Tumuc-Humac (*Montagnes mythiques*) does not exist; emphasizing “mountain” range. On the latest (second) edition of the map of French Guiana (IGN 1995), the name “Tumuc-Humac” has been erased from the map.

Hurault became to de Goeje what Coudreau had been to Crevaux; where the latter duo was focused on the mythical Lake Parime, the former were focused on the mythical mountain range Tumuc-Humac. Hurault (2000:368) mentioned the disjunction between mythical lake and mountain range and geographer Emmanuel Lézy emphasized that there had been “a complete
topographic reversal: the lake becomes a mountain” (Lézy 2000:226; my translation), whereby he supported his statement of the lake becoming a mountain with the following formula:

“Lake Parime [is to] Tumuc-Humac [as is] [is to] ” (Lézy 2000:226).

Then again, directions of the rivers and creeks had been drawn, determining the watershed over which ridge was drawn the continuous boundary line (Map: Nijenhuis 1935–1938). Crevaux (the first European who crossed the watershed) had previously emphasized that the watershed between Maroni and Jari was not as considerable as assumed, or in his own words:

“La chaîne des Tumuc-Humac qui sépare les bassins du Maroni et du Yari est moins importante qu’on ne le croyait généralement” (Crevaux 1993:122). In comparison to the French Pyrenees or the Alps, the Tumuc-Humac does not qualify as a mountain range, however it is when compared to a Dutch “mountain,” e.g., the Vaalserberg which is with its height of (only) 322 meter the highest point in the Netherlands.41

Jean Hurault did visit the “Indian trail” to map the three-junction at the watershed (Koulimapopan; N 2°20’15” W 54°36’04” height above sea level:391 m). From this trail the surrounding inselbergs (labeled with Wayana names rendered according to French orthography) were placed on the map (Massif des Tumuc-Humac, IGN, NA-21-XVIII-2). Maoulékountop is Mawu ekumîtpê, the inselberg Kailawa and his men saw from Paluluime enpê (on the map: Paloulouimeenpeu) (Table C-14). I used this map to trace with my finger the names of the inselbergs named in Kailawa’s story. Inselbergs were drawn on the map as isolated features, however, these autonomous units are interconnected in discourse in the spatial story of Kailawa’s quest to find a path connecting Jari with Aletani (i.e., the “Indian trail”). Since this is the homeland of the Wayana, this enigmatic mythical landscape of Tumuc-Humac should be understood as to what this region means to Wayana, rather than to map-makers.
2.4 A Forest of Parks Tumucumaque

While Jean Hurault (2000) succeeded in removing the toponym Tumuc-Humac from the map of French Guiana (IGN 1995, second edition), a true forest of parks Tumucumaque emerged across the border in Brazil. Where used to be drawn on the map of Guiana a vast lake (as I argued above, due to defining a unit “in-between”), emerges today a vast green sea of pristine rainforest. Indisputably, agriculture, mining, road building, settlements, and deforestation due to logging mar the Amazon rainforest. Whereas the following quote focuses on the illusion of “limitless,” I intent to focus on the illusion of a “pristine wilderness.”

Flying high over the Amazon in a commercial jet grants the traveler the illusion of limitless pristine wilderness. A brilliant tapestry of blue and green stretches to the horizon. At ground level, however, the reality is more sobering. Pushing inward toward the heart of the Amazon basin from its eastern and southern flanks, agriculture, mining, road building, settlements, and deforestation due to logging mar the landscape. The Amazon Basin, with its staggering biodiversity and unmatched natural resources, is under siege (web reference 9c; www.worldwildlife.org/what/globalmarkets/forests/item3607.html).

With regard to the name Tumuc-Humac (Toemoek Hoemak in Dutch; Tumucumaque in Portuguese), Claudius de Goeje (1908b:178) had questioned the obscure origin of this toponym first mentioned in French Guiana by Jules Crevaux ([1881] 1993:229) claiming this name has its origin in the *kumu*-palm. Ever since Crevaux wrote Tumuc-Humac, this watershed became a place of paramount contestation. First and foremost “Coudreau (1887-1888) was haunted by the legend of the ‘Tumuc-Humac,’ and that this mountain chain, of with we know nothing than its strange name, seemed a worthy objective to a grand explorer” (Hurault 2000:376). Whatever the origin of its name, agency of Tumuc-Humac would impact the Wayana landscape.

Course of the Tumuc-Humac watershed had been mapped during the 1935–1938 boundary expeditions. Straight lines, instead, were drawn on the map by means of rulers in 1961, creating the Reserva Florestal do Tumucumaque (Floral Reserve of Tumucumaque), only to realize that indigenous people were living in this area (mainly Trio and Wayana). Subsequently, in 1968,
Parque Indígena Tumucumaque (Indigenous Park Tumucumaque) was created (van Velthem 1980; Figure 2-5). Parque Indígena Tumucumaque would encompass the Reserva Florestal do Tumucumaque and include Wayana and Trio settlements along the Paru de Este and Paru de Oeste. Rather than straight linear lines, the boundaries would now follow the course of rivers.

Figure 2-5. A forest of parks Tumucumaque.
Bordering the Parque Indígena Tumucumaque is the Parque Nacional Tumucumaque (Tumucumaque National Parc). On August 22, 2002, then president of Brazil Fernando Henrique Cardoso, announced establishing world’s largest rainforest national park; covering 9.5 million acres (Associated Press, August 23, 2002. Web references 11 and 13). This park was realized under the World Wildlife Foundation (WWF) program of Amazon Region Protected Areas (ARPA), and it was concluded that the Tumucumaque National Park sets a new conservation standard. President Cardoso said that “with the creation of Tumucumaque Mountains National Park, we are ensuring the protection of one of the most pristine forest remaining in the world” (ibid.; emphasis added). Resonating with statements made by Baron van Lynden (1939:855) in the very same region, Conservation International (CI) interpreted this as “the park is as pristine and primordial as any place in the world. The land today looks much like it did hundreds, even thousands of years ago” (web reference 8). According to ARPA “this pristine, unexplored park is now a reality” (web reference 9), and the park shelters jaguars, harpy eagles, 8 primate species, 350 bird species, and 37 lizard species (web references 7, 8, and 9). Today, it is no longer soldier-surveyors, but scientists who make the landscape and its inhabitants (animals and people) quantifiable. Resonating with Angèle Smith’s (2003) study of British Ordnance Surveys, it is once more powerful institutions (e.g., government, municipality, army, business, or scientific institution) that are able to control knowledge by controlling the images of places, people and their past, in drawing maps, and thus maintaining colonial control, this time covered by the cloak of protecting pristine rainforest.

A true forest of Parks Tumucumaque has risen (Figure 2-5). The situation has become so confusing that the Mapping Project by Amazon Conservation Team (ACT), which took place in 1999 in the Parque Indígena Tumucumaque, is frequently mentioned on the same page with the
National Park Tumucumaque. ACT is known for their ethno-mapping projects, and their methodology is as follows (web reference 7):

Indians were shown how to collect data using global positioning satellites (GPS), and set out to cover every square inch of their territories. Thousands more people-hours were spent compiling drafts from data, aerial photos, and previous attempts to map the lands. Tribal elders were then asked to compile cultural records of the area: the names of rivers, mountains, and sacred sites; fishing and hunting grounds; and places of historical or mythical significance (web reference 7b).

Western methods and techniques of knowledge production (e.g., GPS, satellite photos, aerial photos, GIS, and maps) are used as a template to be “filled in” with indigenous data. True ethno-mapping should bridge between western cartography and indigenous social memory. Ethno-mapping is far from easy, as ACT acknowledged, and the main obstacle was the concept of the map itself; researchers and indigenous people “simply weren’t speaking the same language” (web reference 7b). It seems however that indigenous people do have an understanding of western cartography, as transpires in a quote on the very same ACT web page, where a “chief of the Apalai tribe” stated that “white men have the Bible and other books to teach their kids about their ancestors. We now have our map to teach our children our history.” Indigenous people have their landscape to tell their children their history, but indigenous people become increasingly aware that to communicate local indigenous history to the white man, a map drawn on paper might facilitate this dialogue.

Maps are merely representative of the imagined landscape of the map-maker (Smith 2003). Conservation International (CI) is also caught up in the National Park Tumucumaque, and CI-Brazil stated that it “will help the members of the adjacent Waiapai (sic.) Indigenous Reserve to map out and design a management plan for their land” (www.conservation.org), because in the south, the National Park Tumucumaque encapsulates the Indigenous Area of the Wayãpi; located at the source of the Iratapuru, affluent of the Jari. Two comments: Wayãpi (Tupi-speakers) and
their historical migration from the Xingu into this region in the eighteenth and nineteenth century has been studied in detail by Pierre Grenand (1971; Grenand and Grenand 1979) as well as by Dominique Tilkin Gallois (1980, 1986). Secondly, Wayana (Carib-speakers) used to live along the upper Jari, in what is now the western part of the National Park Tumucumaque. By using Wayãpi to map this area (which they relatively recently settled), a different map will materialize than when Wayana are asked to map their ancestral homeland.

There will never be a final map of Guiana, because maps are constantly emerging. Since Hondius’s (1599) depiction of Guiana after Raleigh’s *Discoverie*, maps of Guiana have changed. Maps are the material outcome of desires of map-makers. Local inhabitants do not need a map, drawn on paper, to “read” and make sense of their landscape, whereas maps are key political tools of the colonizer employing powerful institutions to chart maps. It is impossible to map, on a single piece of paper, the interanimated and political complexity of a region through time and space; there will therefore never be a “final map” of the Tumuc-Humac or Wayana region.

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2 Tim Ingold (2000) made a distinction between mapping and map-making/map-using; defining “mapping” as “wayfinding” whereby the actor or narrator is not drawing or using a charted map, but rather is “dwelling.”

3 Consistent with English phonetics, it is this spelling I apply for the “Island of Guiana” encompassing five Guyanas: Venezuelan Guyana, Guyana (former British Guyana), Suriname (former Dutch Guyana), French Guiana (Guyane), and the Brazilian territory north of the Amazon, including, but not restricted to, Amapa. Early Dutch ways of writing Guiana are “Weyana” (Cabeliau 1599), and “Wiana” (de Laet 1625), phonetically comparable to the Spanish “Guayana;” raising the question on association with the name “Wayana” (de Goeje 1925, 1934; Williams 1923). Reverent James Williams (1923:34) posited that the name *Guayana* is derived from Kūwai-āna, the people of the *kuwai* or Mauritius palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*, Arecaceae). Van Panhuys (1925:85) in his book review of James Williams, suggested the possibility of an old Tupi noun *waya* or *wayanna* meaning valley, river or water, hence the River Valley People, resonating in the name of large river of Oyapock or *Waya puku* (ibid.).

Hollanders and Zeelanders were already beginning to explore the coast of the Guianas in 1596 (Lorimer 1989:26), and a translation of Raleigh’s *Discoverie* in Dutch (in 1598) would lead to an increasing Dutch interest in Guiana. Following the directions provided by Keymis, it was on May 17, 1609, when Robert Harcourt (1613), during his *Voyage to Guiana* “came to anchor in the Bay of Wiapoco [= Oyapock]: where the Indians came off vnto vs in two or three *Canoes*” (Harcourt 1613:5; whereby a note [*] is made that “canoes” are “Indian boats”). People nowadays question how it was possible in the sixteenth and seventeenth century to arrive so accurately between the mouths of the rivers Amazon and Oyapock after a transatlantic journey without Global Positioning System (GPS),
radar, maps, or other means of cartography. This question of a “map”-minded person can be answered when translated to a “tour” mode. Western European ships would sail south along the coast of Africa until they reached Cape Verde; located between about 15° and 17° north. From this latitude it is possible to sail west across the Atlantic with the Northeasterly Trade Winds in the back. A latitude course can be maintained by compass, or by measuring the inclination of the sun at noon with a quadrant. More accurately, however, latitude can be maintained at night using the North(ern) Star, or Polaris (\(\alpha\) Ursae Minoris; \(\alpha\) Ursae Minoris). Not only stands Polaris almost motionless in the sky, and all the stars of the Northern sky appear to rotate around it. Zenith Height of Polaris equals the latitude on earth. Thus, a Zenith Height of between 15° and 17°, i.e., between 15° and 17° above the horizon, equals the latitude between 15° and 17° north of the equator on earth. This is the basic aspect of celestial navigation, which caused Christopher Columbus to arrive in the Caribbean while aiming at the northern Philippines located between about 14°30’ and 18°30’ (i.e., roughly the latitude of Cape Verde at 15° and 17° north). North coast of Puerto Rico is located at about 18°30’ whereas Guadeloupe (where Columbus arrived during his second voyage) is located at 16° north. Mouth of the Amazon is located at the equator; therefore Guiana explorers knew they had to maintain a course across the Atlantic Ocean whereby Polaris touched the horizon, without meticulous measurement of Zenith Height. With this course due west, just north of the equator, Guiana explorers only needed to sail about 4°30’ north when arriving at the South American mainland in order to reach the Bay of Oyapock (Wiapoco).

5 The cape just north of the mouth of the Amazon is named Cabo Norte. Name of this cape is generally assumed to be the Northern Cape, however Cabo Orange (Cape of Orange, or Cap d’Orange, after the Royal Dutch House of Orange), just east of the mouth of the Oyapock, is located further north; providing the possibility that Cabo Norte was named after Captain Roger North as he had a project for a plantation in this area (Harris 1928:11).

6 Spleen-stone and kidney-stone are two varieties of stone referring to “greenstone” (i.e., green-hued minerals and stones, as serpentine, nephrite, and chrysoprase, often glossed as “jade”) which in Elizabethan England was used as medicine as it aided the stomach and spleen by contact and was worn over the kidneys to prevent retention of urine. Greenstone pendants (generally in the shape of frogs [referred to as \(muiraquitá\)] and sometimes in other zoomorphic shapes as birds) were highly valued in Amazonia, and possibly part of a ceremonial exchange in Amazonia and the Caribbean (Boomert 1987). Aad Boomert (1987) suggested a movement from Amazonia into the Caribbean (cf. Boomert 1987:47). Nonetheless, it appears that Caribbean greenstone artifacts are related to the Saladoid period, whereas mainland greenstone artifacts are associated with more recent Arauquinoid, Santarém/Konduri, and Marajoara Polychrome; hence the so-called “Amazon-stones” originated from the Caribbean and drifted towards the Amazonian mainland. With regard to Guiana, manufacturing sites of greenstone pendants were located at the lower Trombetas and Tapajós rivers (Boomert 1987:40), as well as at Tingiholo site at the central Suriname coast (Boomert 1987:42; Versteeg 2003:152-153); indicative for routes of knowledge and exchange between Trombetas – Corantyne in the west and Paru – Maroni in the east. Sources of the Suriname River, near which mouth the Tingiholo site is located (Versteeg 2003:139), can be accessed from either Tapanahoni (affluent of the Marowijne) or Lucie River (affluent of the Corantyne). This region, in which center is located the Trio Nation, was in all probability destabilized when Europeans removed greenstone artifacts, gold, and other shiny objects from circulation in this Guiana landscape.

7 Harcourt even presented a list of trading goods desired by the native population in exchange for provisions and profitable commodities in Guiana—as there is cassava, maize, honey, game, fish, sugarcane, cotton, hemp, annatto, resin, balata, drugs, wood, and tobacco (Harcourt 1613:28-37)—namely: axes, hatchets, billhook knives, all kind of edge tools, nails, fishhooks, harping irons, “Jewes Trumps” [= mouth harps], looking-glasses, blue and white beads, crystal beads, hats, pins, needles, salt, shirts, bands, linen and wool cloths, swords, muskets, calibers, powder and shot, i.e., metal ware, beads, salt, clothing, and weapons (Harcourt 1613:37) which remain until today highly demanded commodities among native Guiana populations.

8 Identification of these rivers with the use of Acuña (reprinted in Markham 1859) describing the Curupatuba (ibid:128) and Ginipape (ibid:128-129). To secure their ventures, Zeelanders (around 1600 at the mouth of the Xingu) had built two forts named Oranje and Nassau (de Laet; cited by Edmundson 1903:1), named after the royal Dutch family, or House of Oranje-Nassau.

9 Nieuwe caerte van het wonderbaar ende goudrijcke landt Guiana, gelegen onder (sic) de Linie Æquinoctiael, tuschen Brasilien ende Peru: nieuwelick be...

10 Lawrence Keymis (1596:G), about fifty years after Carvajal, did mention a nation (Ipaios, Ch[aribes]), at the river Manmanuri (14) (i.e., present-day creek Karouabo, or Malmanoury creek, at the Centre Spatial Guyanais between Kourou and Sinnamary in French Guiana) who were “verie cruell to their enemies. For they bind, and eat them.
alieu [alive] péece-meale” (ibid.). Furthermore, Keymis made the annotation that these people “lpeake the language of the Indians of Dominica [implying a linguistic relation with the Carib-speaking people in the Caribbean island of Dominica]” (ibid.). What is unambiguous is that it is the social Others who are said to ate human flesh.

11 Keymis (1596:G2) in his table of the names of rivers, noted with regard to (39) Curitini [= Corentyne], that it would take up to ten days to the source of this river. It is at this river of Corentyne, that Keymis (ibid.) elaborately described potential merchandise; including images of gold.

12 Situated between these potential passages across Guiana is the homeland of the Trio (Appendix A: Maps 1 and 3). Timing of this expedition is possibly related to the border mapping of Brazil after the Treaty of Madrid in 1750.

13 Claude Tony estimated the distance traveled in lieues (leagues), whereby one league (lieu) equals three statute miles. One statute mile equals 1.609 km. Therefore three statute miles equals 4.827 km. However, since Tony approximated the traveled distance, I will interpret “one lieu” as five kilometers. Tony tended to estimate a distance of “about three leagues” which I will interpret as about fifteen kilometers, rather than 14.481 km. By approximation, Tony gave a distance of three to four leagues, i.e., about 15 to 20 km, from the mouth of the Tampok to the mouth of the Malani. This distance on the map is about 19 km, hence an accurate estimate made by Tony. In general, Tony appears fairly accurate, apart from one instance (which is actually written down twice): “We had gone upstream, constantly going towards the South-southeast, making about three leagues a day for about fifteen days” (Tony 1843:219, 220). Three leagues a day for about fifteen days, equals a distance of 15 km times 15 days, or 225 kilometers, while the distance from the mouth of the Malani to the watershed Tumuc-Humac is only about 120 km. Possibly “quinze jours” is not to be taken literally as 15 days, but as “two weeks.” Maybe there is a typographical error of quinze and cinq (five). Fifteen times five equals 75 km, which brings us from the mouth of the Malani to about creek Maïna.

14 This road passed through the region of the Kaikusiyana. Kaikusiyana were located around the “Chemin des Emerillon” at the sources of the Crique Grande Waki (next to the Aramiso village; Tony 1843:217), and halfway the Tamouri, affluent of the Camopi, affluent of the Oyapock (Tony 1843:214-215). While the latter is the principal village of the Kaikusiyana (Tony 1843:215), Tony specified for the former that “this village [of the Kaikusiyana] contains about fifty men, and in proportion a number of women and children” (Tony 1843:217), hence a total of about 200 inhabitants when we count a average family of one man with one woman and two children. These Kaikusiyana “are bigger, more vigorous, better built and lighter of skin than those who live near the sea” (ibid.). Since the road between the Aramiso settlements of the Waki and Malani transverses the Kaikusiyana region as well, we might include the upper Tampok basin. A line on the map between the two inferred locations of Aramiso settlements crosses the Tampok river halfway, and well near the place of Saut Pierre Kourou (a vast complex of rapids and falls) which is known to be an archaeological site containing several locations with grinding grooves and numerous remnants of pieces of pottery on the river banks (Mazière 1997:36 [aerial photo]). No systematic archaeological survey or excavation has been conducted at this site.

15 There is a nomenclatural association between the river Coyari and the barren inselberg Couyariouara, whereby kujali in Wayana is the name for the red-and-green macaw (Ara chloroptera)
considered boundary between French Guiana and Brazil, yet was never charted. French Guiana had now lost half its superficies to the Dutch and Portuguese. Impact for the indigenous people residing in this frontier zone was that Wayana and Apalai, among others, residing in the upper Paru and Jari basins were no longer residing in European territories, but rather found themselves in the new Brazilian State of Amapa.

Map-making in Amazonia is not an easy task, and it certainly was not in the late nineteenth century. A trail was blazed with machetes if none was present. Further needed was a compass for course direction, a podometer to count steps, a watch to calculate time, and for altitude estimation a barometer “baromètre de Naudet” (Coudreau 1893:87); Apatou told Coudreau that Crevaux during his first exploration of the Maroni had a barometer the size of a pocket compass (Coudreau 1893:87). A stereoscopic distance meter, used for triangulation, would only come in use during the Coppenname expedition of 1901 (Bakhuis 1902). Coudreau calculated from a rate of “au podomètre 59.490 pas, et à ma montre 10 heures 5 minutes de marche. J’évalue la longueur de la route à 43 kilomètres, y compris les sinuosités” (Coudreau 1893:96). When tracing this spatial story, this trip was only about 25 kilometers. As a result of these primitive mapping techniques, and ignorance of magnetic declination (de Goeje 1934:78), the accompanying map made by Coudreau has a counterclockwise rotation in the center of the map.

This remarkable 490 meter high inselberg is located about 1½ hours north of the Aletani River and forebode of the Tumuc-Humac as poetically portrayed by François Mazière (1953:188-189). This is the first inselberg penetrating the canopy of the green frame of the Aletani River while going upstream. This inselberg is today known as “Konopamoi,” although the label on the map (CBL 1980; Knopayamoy Top) is attached to a mountaintop six kilometers northerly of inselberg Konopameje. Difference between Konopameje, Knopaiamoi, Konopamoi, or Knopayamoy Top, is due to the transcription of phonemes depending on a linguistic background of Wayana, Dutch, French or otherwise (Duin 2006a). Identical dilemma materializes with Ččimi čimek (Chapter 7-4): Tumuc-Humac (French), Toemoek Hoemak or Tjimi-Tjimak (Dutch), and Tumucumaque (Portuguese). Also the name Tumuc-Humac was first mentioned for French Guiana by Jules Crevaux ([1881] 1993:229).

Inselberg Mamilipan (where rock paintings are to be found; Figure 2-4: P) is erroneously labeled “Pic Coudreau” on the map of the Gonini expedition (Franssen Herderschee 1905a).

Preliminary results on the study of the stone samples by mining-engineer Thie, added as appendix III in the Tapanahoni expedition report (Franssen Herderschee 1905a:993-1021), are regarding potential (gold-) mining. Location, as well as photo number 88 (van Lynden 1939:880 v.), confirm that this inselberg by Wayana is named Taluwakem (Figure 2-2-1: F). Neither “Prins Bernard Berg” nor Taluwakem ever made it to the official maps. West of this inselberg was another inselberg that was baptized “Prins van Oranje” (Prince of Orange) “now we all live with the expectation, that soon a little Prince will be born” (nu wij allen in de hoop leven, dat spoedig een Prinsje geboren zal worden) (van Lynden 1939:859; my translation). It was the current queen Beatrix van Oranje-Nassau who was born on January 31, 1938; a female princess rather than a male prince.

During the 1935-1938 boundary expedition, on the original drawing of the watershed, i.e., the border between Suriname and Brazil, an inselberg was labelled “de Goeje” with pencil. This “de Goeje” mountain was never materialized on official maps. Perhaps, because de Goeje was eager to only have a mountain named after him in the area he loved the most: the Wayana of the upper Maroni basin. Labelling his name to this solid rock would have devastating consequences for the Wayana, as gold miners are mostly illiterate, let alone are aware of the fact that in the early twentieth century a man named de Goeje, explored and mapped this region.

The 1904 Tapanahoni expedition would be partly affected by a political play between Granman Oseisie (residing along the Lawa River) and his right hand Kapitein Arabi who had been banned by Granman Oseisie to Granbori along the Tapanahoni (Franssen Herderschee 1905b:882). Another political play that influenced the area is between the Ndjuka (Aukaners) and the Boni (Aluku). Boni are residing along the Lawa, upstream from the Ndjuka, and within the Wayana region. Boni was murdered and decapitated in 1793 on the Marouini (de Goeje 1934:73). This decapitation was performed by the Ndjuka led by Granman Bambi, as ordered by the Dutch government in Suriname. Relation between Wayana and Boni is far from hostile, and most Boni even speak some Wayana and most Wayana speak some Taki-taki. The Boni wars, and overall situation of Maroons in the upper maroni basin is beyond the present study, other than I want to mention that it was around 1865 when Arabi visited the Paru River to request Wayana and Trio to settle on the north side of the watershed which would facilitate trade relations. Four Wayana migrated to the Tapanahoni and were soon followed by others (de Goeje 1905a:975).

De Goeje was born in Leiden, dropped out of school, and entered the Royal Dutch Navy. In Dutch East India (Indonesia), he became Lieutenant of the Sea with the Hydrographic Service. Due to his talented skills of drawing sea maps, de Goeje was recruited as second geographer for the above mentioned Gonini and Tapanahoni expeditions of the KNAG, to map and draw the course of the rivers in Suriname. De Goeje was twenty-four years of age during
the 1903 Gonini expedition when he first met the Wayana. From 1910 to 1924, de Goeje returned to Batavia, Indonesia, only to return to the Wayana in 1937 during the 1935-1938 Boundary expeditions. Thirty-three years after the first encounter with the Wayana, de Goeje (now being fifty-eight years of age) would make his last visit among the Wayana (de Goeje 1941). In 1946 de Goeje was granted the title bijzonder hoogleraar (Professor Emeritus) at the University of Leiden.

28 “Op zulke tochten heeft men de hulp der Inboorlingen nodig en moet, om te beginnen, met hen kunnen spreken; dat heeft geleid tot verzamelen, bewerken en publiceren van gegevens op het gebied der taal- en volkenkunde van die streken” (de Goeje 1946:2).

29 Later de Goeje learned that Toewoli, Pontooeto, and Intelewa were actually Opoeroeis [= Upului], the group that mainly resided along the Paru River (Franssen Herderschee 1905b:917).

30 The watershed, a natural boundary between the Amazon basin and Guiana river basins, had now become a cultural border between opposing nation states. These boundary expeditions resulted in bounded spaces, which would determine the borders of later National Parks (Chapter 2.4). Accordingly, these parks defectively match ecosystem functions and flows of elements (Robbins 2004). Moreover, these boundaries cut up the Wayana region.

31 Curated by the Stichting Nederlands Filmmuseum. Property of Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen (K.I.T.) Amsterdam. These were the first moving images of a marake ritual. The forty-five minute silent black-and-white film was shown after lectures by de Goeje on the Wayana Indians of Suriname on October 14 and 27, 1938 (mededelingen van het Tijdschrift van het KNAG, tweede Reeks Deel LV, 1938:971-973).

32 Members of the Dutch commission (van Lynden 1939) were: vice admiral C. C. Käyser; ex-lieutenant of the sea first class A. J. H. baron van Lynden; and lieutenant of the sea first class F. H. M. van Straelen. Additional members were: H. E. Rombouts, medical doctor, who would also collect botanical samples and take photographs; and K. Meuldijk, corporal telegrapher of the Royal Dutch Navy to maintain radio contact. Furthermore, head of the Brazilian Bureau of Boundaries (located in Manaos), as well as the leader of the Brazilian commission of boundaries, was Captain Braz Dias de Aguiar of the Brazilian Navy. Correspondence (May 2, 1934; curated in the library of the University of Leiden) demonstrated that Braz Dias de Aguiar and Claudius H. de Goeje knew each other personally; moreover, both had a Navy background.

Walter E. Roth, who had recently published his *Additional studies of the arts, crafts, and customs of the Guiana Indians* (1929)—mainly based on published data from Claudius H. de Goeje on the Wayana and Trio—wrote a letter to de Goeje (June 22, 1930; curated in the library of the University of Leiden [UB Bijzondere Collecties (KL): Brieven - BPL 2529]), stating that he had not been commissioned by the British Guyana Government to partake in the British Boundary Expedition; and thus requested from de Goeje to be included in the Dutch expedition to mark the boundary with Brazil. Since the role of the Goeje during the 1935-1938 Dutch Boundary expeditions was not prominent, Walter Roth would not participate in any Boundary expedition.

33 The Dutch Boundary commission had difficulty determining named inselbergs. What they assumed Temomairem later appeared to be Paloeoloeimeenepu [= Paluulime enpê] (van Lynden 1939:854); photo number 78 clearly shows the molar-shaped inselberg Paluulime enpê (Figure 5-10: # 4). Published narrative of the Dutch Boundary commission resonates with “blind walkers” in the sense of de Certeau (1984); sightless walking in a forest, although equipped with theodolith and photo camera. Nude inselbergs from where panoramas could be perceived were rare. From time to time the commission errs in locating the watershed and has to go back in their steps. Eventually the watershed, and therefore the boundary, was drawn on the map. To materialize the boundary, “bornes” were placed on the inselbergs; often wooden posts, sometimes a cairn from pilled local stones, sometimes a low trapezoid concrete borne from cement.

34 A similar concrete marker (base: 44 x 43 cm; height:18 cm; top:31 x 31 cm.), can be found on a boulder in the middle of Kriboi soula (*isolé étakima*, the first rapid; counted from the watershed). Inscription in cement: Mission Française, P 10, 1-1-`38. It thus comes out that the French descended the Aletani and had a New Years Eve celebration at this beautiful location in the Aletani.

35 In 2000, I was able to locate the former village of Taponaike as pointed out to me by descendents of Taponaike, and reported the coordinates to the *carte-archeologique* of Cayenne, French Guiana.

36 Schulz-Kampfhenkel was in contact with the Kaiser Wilhelm Institut für Biologie and the Museu Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Ethnographic collection of Schulz-Kampfhenkel is located in Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, Germany. However, it is unknown what part of the collection has survived WWII (Fisher and Haas, pers. comm. 2006), and part of this collection appears to be located in Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi in Belem, Brasil; among others the *olok* feather headdress (MPEG 1986:91).

37 De Goeje did have contact with Schulz-Kampfhenkel, as he received a letter on December 20, 1943 (curated in the library of the University of Leiden: UB Bijzondere Collecties (KL): Brieven - BPL 2529), wishing de Goeje a merry Christmas and all the best for the following year; this letter was signed with a firm “Heil Hitler!”
nearly or above 500 meter, e.g., Knopaiamoi (490 m), and Toukouchipann (582 m) with a highest point of 690 meter.

Peaks in the Tumuc-Humac range measure (Hurault 2000:383).


Goeje 1905a, 1908a, 1908b). Due to their primitive cartographic instruments (no GPS or satellite imagery) the late

employed by Dutch and French cartographers in the beginning of the twentieth century (Hurault 1965, 1968; de

not a new standard of excellence in the management and protection of these rainforests. This method was already

residing in the river basins of upper Jari, upper Maroni, and Tapanahoni. As these demarcated areas were not fenced

separation lies at 500 meters; to the English it is at 1000 feet, or 305 meter. Watershed Tumuc-Humac has a

continuous iso-line at 1000 feet in the border region of French-Guiana, Suriname and Brazil; accordingly we may

speak of a mountain range, although its “peaks” are relatively low. Peaks in the Tumuc-Humac range measure

nearly or above 500 meter, e.g., Knopaiamoi (490 m), and Toukouchipann (582 m) with a highest point of 690 meter
(or 2263 feet) in Massif Mitaraka.

This play of tropes had been put into writing by Henri Coudreau: “une mer de forêt vierge” (Coudreau 1893:161).

Front-page of the flyer of WWF-ARPA stated that “in the local Apalai and Wayana languages, Tumucumaque

means “the rock at the top of the mountain”” (web reference 9b). Denuded granite monzonitics of the

Precambrian Guyana-shield are named “inselberg” in French Guiana, “kale rotstop” in Suriname, and “tëpu” in

Wayana. Stone, rock, mountain, and inselberg are called tëpu in Wayana. Translation of “the rock at the top of the

mountain” should have at least one reference to tëpu in Tumuc-Humac / Tumucumaque.

Drawing boundaries would create a frontier between the people residing within the park, versus Trio and Wayana

residing in the river basins of upper Jari, upper Maroni, and Tapanahoni. As these demarcated areas were not fenced

off, indigenous people were able to tactically cross boundary lines by foot and/or canoe.

Declaration of the Parque Nacional Tumucumaque was made during the Summit of Sustainable Development in

Johannesburg, and just before the presidential elections of Brazil when Lula was first elected president.

ACT stated that Trio, Wayana, and Apalai are “tribes … small bands of forest dwellers” (www.amazonteam/

news_0103_article01.html; web reference 7b). The new conservation standard thus depends on a romantic and

exotic view of the ‘residents’ as ‘primitives’ (Robbins 2004).

French Guianese, based on an article by Thierry Sallantin (1999), stated that PARC is an acronym for: Program

for the Acceleration and Reinforcement of Colonization; because conservation represents control (Robbins 2004).

For example, as on the News Archive website of the Amazon Conservation Team (www.amazonteam.org) of

February 15, 2003. The website of the Moore Foundation (web reference 10) is one of the few who is unambiguous

in stating that the ACT Mapping Project took place primarily in the Brazilian state of Pará, whereas the National

Park is located in the state of Amapa. In addition, the website of MSNBC (web reference 12) shows a map wherein

the “mapped area” is indicated outside of the Tumucumaque Mountains National Park.

Method of “downloading data” from elders, to be plotted on data collected with western scientific equipment, is

not a new standard of excellence in the management and protection of these rainforests. This method was already

employed by Dutch and French cartographers in the beginning of the twentieth century (Hurault 1965, 1968; de

Goeje 1905a, 1908a, 1908b). Due to their primitive cartographic instruments (no GPS or satellite imagery) the late

nineteenth and early twentieth century map-makers were more dwellers in the landscape (in the sense of Tim Ingold

2000) than the ethno-mappers of the Amazon Conservation Team. Meaning of place—mythic-historical

significance to social memory—will only emerge when experiencing the landscape from a dwelling perspective.

From a dwelling perspective, narratives of the ancestors are revealed while walking through the landscape, so

there is no need for a paper map in the first place.

Unintended consequence of acknowledgement of “the map” by indigenous populations is a tacit acceptance of

colonial powers of the West. It is thus questionable whether “the map” is “a win-win situation for everyone

concerned” (web reference 7b). On the News Archive website of the Amazon Conservation Team

(www.amazonteam.org) of February 15, 2003, it is stated that the map does not feature locations of coveted medical

plants, because this information is sensible from the tribes’ viewpoint. Then again, knowing that the President of

ACT is ethnomontanist Mark Plotkin, it is debatable whether this is not a personal conflict of interest.
CHAPTER 3
WAYANA SETTLEMENT HISTORY

By their very nature, complex systems are composed of many interacting components, each varying continuously across a multitude of measurable contexts. Because of this, there is no simple way of visualizing all the patterns and processes within a complex system in a single representation.


Figure 3-1. Wayana settlement of Talhuwen as seen from a hill across the Lawa River (1997).

Following on the broader history and geography of Guiana, this chapter is focused on the history and geography of Wayana settlement patterning and organization. Settlements are complex systems of many interacting elements, such as houses, plazas, paths, and people, requiring a multiscalar approach as they cannot simply be depicted in a single image. After an outline of intra-settlement structure, house types, and construction elements, I will discuss these topics based on (ethno-) historic and ethnographic accounts on Wayana regional settlements. While mapping out houses, plazas, and trails—aided by a handheld Global Positioning System (GPS)—I realized that not all Wayana settlements comply with the typical intra-settlement

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pattern as described in Guiana literature. In addition, while living among Wayana, I noticed interrelationships among settlements, which were supported by genealogical data. On occasion, genealogical data correlated with names and places mentioned in the late nineteenth century by Jules Crevaux (1881) and Henri Coudreau (1893), or recorded at times during the twentieth century by ethnographers, geographers, and anthropologists, providing insight in Wayana settlement organization during the last 125 years. This chapter concludes with an analysis of Wayana perspectives on the history and geography of settlement patterning.

Following the standard model of Wayana intra-settlement patterning:

the village is always built following the same scheme: a grand round house in its center, the *tukusipan*, in the service of the dances and gatherings, and the household dwellings arranged in surrounding corona … This arrangement is very likely a reminiscence of the past mode of habitation of the Wayana, where the entirety of the village dwelled in a roundhouse unique in its grandeur, in which every household occupied a segment” (Hurault 1968:70). In an earlier work, Hurault elaborated that “in the middle of the village raises a round house, the *tukusipan*, of which the roof forms a dome; its function is to shelter the people of other villages during the days of the dances (Hurault 1965:24).

This summarizing model by Jean Hurault is but one example of how the unique stands for the typical, as will be critically evaluated throughout this study. Most researchers, as non-local visitors or social others, are housed in the *tukusipan* during their fieldwork. Without being invited into settlements without *tukusipan*, the villages with a community roundhouse are represented as typical Wayana villages, resulting in a loss of variation. Along these lines of thought, I will not simply reiterate and model intra-settlement organization of exceptional Wayana settlements as typical; I will critically assess the temporality of the Wayana landscape, movement, and change though time, as dynamic processes of variability and distinction in a broader region.
3.1 From Tour to Map, and Back Again

Rethinking Guiana sociality in terms of interactions and interrelationships, between local and regional scales of social reproduction, follows from a “dwelling perspective” (Ingold 1993, 1995, 2000), situating the researcher in an intersubjective space. Claudius de Goeje, after a lifetime of research and longtime dwelling while map-making in the region (de Goeje 1905, 1908a, 1908b, 1941), concluded his academic career with a study on *Space, Time, and Life*, incorporating a Wayana perspective (de Goeje 1951). With his passing, his original thought into a dwelling perspective in Guiana ceased to exist. A dwelling perspective is more than simply “being in the field.” As a theoretical approach, rooted in phenomenology, it focuses on intersubjective relationships between the units, rather than essentially defining each unit in and of itself:

in a landscape, each component enfolds within its essence the totality of its relations with each and every other” (Ingold 1993:154), “the landscape tells—or rather is—a story. It enfolds the lives and times of predecessors who, over the generations, have moved around it and played their part in its formation. To perceive the landscape is therefore to carry out an act of remembrance (Ingold 1993:152).

My fieldwork, at times, included map-making and charting genealogies along with participant observation, at other times I was moving along with the landscape. In 1996, I participated in archaeological excavations in French Guiana, from which I began to explore possibilities for ethno-archaeological fieldwork on the coast among the Kaliña and Arawakan groups. That year, an archaeological prospection of the rivers Tampok and Waki was my first visit to the land of the Wayana. My research developed from the tradition of Caribbean archaeology drawing on ethnographic studies in Amazonia (Guiana particularly) following Peter Siegel’s (1990a, 1990b) ethno-archaeological studies in Guyana among the Waiwai.; to aid reconstruction of house structures based on posthole formations found during archaeological excavations at Anse à la Gourde, Guadeloupe (Duin 1998; Jansen, Duin, and Hofman 2001).
While living among the Wayana, explaining ethno-archaeology as the study of contemporary people to gain understanding of past practices, they said to me that “since you are so interested in the past, why don’t you study OUR past?” We thus found a common research goal, as Wayana of my generation were eager to know what had happened in the past; in their past. Wayana Elders told us stories of times long ago (uhpak aptau eitoponpē). I studied ethnographic collections and ethno-historical records of Guiana. Upon returning with photocopies of my findings (glossed: uhpak aptau pampilan), we continued the dialogue. Together we visited the Tumuc-Humac area in the footsteps of their Wayana ancestors.

In total I conducted over nineteen months of fieldwork among the Wayana, among which about five months in 2000 (July 20 – December 30) and a five-and-a-half months period in 2002/3 (December 2 – May 15). Upon arriving in the Wayana village of Talhuwen, I was asked whether I intended to stay where the anthropologist (Jean Chapuis) resided or whether I wanted to hang my hammock in the tukusipan (community roundhouse). I choose the latter. Wayana invited me to fish and hunt with them, and they invited me to help clearing their garden plots and paths. They invited me to their cassava beer parties. During these activities, all Wayana saw that there was in their midst a new palasisi (Wayana for “white man”). In due process of participating in all daily life activities, I learned their Wayana language, customs, and beliefs.

Data collected during my fieldwork, at times, did not fit the conventional model of social and political organization of Guiana tropical forest cultures, which was more diverse and multifaceted. It appeared that several Wayana settlements are small and impermanent (less than ten inhabitants and lasting only a few years), whereas some villages were relatively large and enduring (about and over one hundred inhabitants and lasting for several decades). When linking genealogical charts to settlement plans, pattern recognition demonstrated a preference for
post-marital uxorilocal residence, whereas in some cases married men decided to stay in the village of their parents. After completing the technical drawing of a community roundhouse, I asked who had built the first *tukusipan* and the reply was the narration of the myth of the Creator Twins (Appendix C: Mopo Kujuli). While drawing house structures, village plans, and kinship charts, I realized that in order to make sense of Wayana settlement organization and above all the role of community roundhouses *tukusipan*, I had to dwell among the Wayana.

### 3.2 Wayana Settlement Patterning through Time and Space

First published planview of a Wayana settlement was drawn by geographer Jean Hurault in 1962 of the village of Tïpiti (Hurault 1965:23; Figure 3-3), and reduced to its essentials by Audrey Butt Colson (1977:11). Hurault (1965:24-25) discussed some house types, illustrated only by a technical drawing of an *otopan* from the village of Tïpiti in 1957 (ibid.: facing 88; planche XIX). On settlement patterning he said that “houses are distributed without order, but often the village has a common tendency to a circular distribution, reserving a place of about thirty meters in diameter of which the center is the round house *tukusipan*; it is here where take place the dances and the customary ceremonies” (ibid.:25). Stating that “often” villages have a tendency to a circular distribution implies that not all Wayana settlements have this intra-settlement patterning. Hurault did not publish planview drawings of other Wayana settlements.

A decade before Hurault drew his planview of the village of Tïpiti it was Dominique Darbois who—during a visit in the spring of 1952 (March-April)—photographed the daily life of Wayana Indians in *Yanamale, village of the Amazon* (Darbois 1956; Mazière and Darbois 1953), presenting an idyllic picture soon to be lost forever due to change incurred by the penetration of modern life. Another photo book, intended for children, was based on the life of Janamale’s son: Paranam (Mazière and Darbois 1959). Together with Paranam and his sister Kali, I discussed Darbois’s photos to reconstruct a planview of settlement of Janamale in 1952.
(Figure 3-2). A steep stairways (cut out in the clay of the river bank) lead from the stone embankment to the plaza located some eight meters above the river. Kitchen and eating house of Janamale was located on the right-hand side upon arriving in the village from the stairways.⁶

Janamale Kawemhakan and Tipiti are compliant with the standard model of Wayana settlements. Hurault depicted the village of Tipiti, as the typical Wayana settlement (see also Butt Colson 1977:11). As will be demonstrated below, Janamale, like Tipiti (successor of Machiri who immigrated from the Jari in 1951) (Hurault 1965, 1968), Touanké [= Twanke] (Coudreau 1893), Mazière [= Masili] (Coudreau 1893), and Machiri (Hurault 1965, 1968), were no average Wayana but powerful leaders competing for power in a heterarchical Amazonian society. These men (tamusi) had the power to mobilize peito to gather and prepare the labor intensive, and thus valuable, roundhouses. These unique illustrations of Wayana settlements have to be regarded as exceptional, rather than typical Wayana settlements.

Figure 3-2. Reconstruction of the planview of Janamale Kawemhakan (1949-1953).
3.2.1 Late 18th Century Settlement Patterning

There exists only one description of a settlement in the Wayana region in the eighteenth century, namely in 1769 by Claude Tony (1835, 1843; Figure 3-4), and despite the pitfall that this unique settlement be perceived as typical for the region, I will quote (and interpret) this unique source in some length (all translations of Claude Tony are mine). Most significant in the *Voyage* (see also Chapter 2.2) is the description of well maintained roads connecting to other settlements in the region. It took about four leagues (about 20 km) from an outpost to the village, whereby Tony emphasized that this was not an insignificant forest trail temporarily blazed, but rather an increasingly more beautiful cleared and well maintained road upon arriving:

The road leading towards the village “is eight or nine feet wide [about 2.5 to 2.75 meter wide]; it is straight and aligned, as it was by means of a string, as far as halve a league [about 2.5 km] from the village; and from here, this road branched in three to arrive there [at the village], that is, there are three roads parallel, connected one to the other; the middle
one is about nine feet [about 2.75 meter] wide and all along, at both sides, it is fenced off with pickets [palisades], similar to gardens in the new city of Cayenne; all three roads are maintained in a utmost cleanness (Tony 1843:222; all translations are mine).

Claude Tony (1843:221) described a sort of advanced guard, or outpost, where a dozen armed men were gathered (Figure 3-4; left: about four hours walk from the river, and about 20 km from the village). Between this outpost and the river was a hiding place (*tokai*). The road from the canoe landing place (in East-South-Eastern direction, according to Tony) was nice, and became increasingly better after the outpost and upon approaching the village. Near the village this road was about 2.5 to 2.75 meter wide. About 2.5 km before the village, this road split into three branches; the middle road being about 2.75 meter wide with a picked fence (palisade) on both sides. Without a doubt, indigenous people in the Wayana region were landscaping their environment, by building straight roads that were up to 2.75 meter wide, and near the village offset by palisades, and parallel roads (Table 3-1 indicates the potential directions of the other three roads departing from the village).

![Figure 3-4. Reconstruction of a Wayana settlement in 1769; after Claude Tony (1835, 1843).](image-url)
Table 3-1. Bearing of roads from the 1769 settlement and potential directions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bearing</th>
<th>Potential direction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NW</td>
<td>To the earlier mentioned canoe landing place (dégrad) along the Ouahoni [= Malani] (Figure 3-4).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NE</td>
<td>To the earlier mentioned Aramiso settlement (Tony 1843:220) and thus linked into a wider Guiana road system across French Guiana from Malani [Marouini] via Arroua [= Tampok], Waki, and Camopi towards the Oyapock (Figure A-3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW</td>
<td>Paralleling the Malani River, and potentially branching towards Chinale (where, among others, Pililipu is located) and Alama (affluent of the Aletani) or following the Malani towards Pic Coudreau (Mitaraka) and Toukouchipann (Chapter 6). This is the general direction towards the petroglyphs of the Marouini, located in the 1960s by Hurault (1998; Hurault, Frenay, et Roux 1963).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>Potentially a path across the watershed towards the Rio Couyari and Cuc (affluents of the Jari). River Couyari will flow into the upper Jari at the meander wherein the village of Marière [= Masili] was located (Figure A-4). Relation to Rio Couyari is further indicated in that “near their village, there is a mountain named Couyarïouara that is nothing other than some rocks piled up one on top of the other, where no plant grows. Climbing to its summit, we discover towards the west a great chain of mountains that, as we assert, lead to the Cordilleras [i.e., Tumuc Humac]” (Tony 1843:231). Consequently, this settlement described by Tony would be central in a potential overland route from Atlantic Ocean via Oyapock and Jari to the Amazon River.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This settlement, unique for Guiana (Figure 3-4), 10 where Dr. Patris and Claude Tony would reside for three weeks, was described as follows, and I quote in length:

Upon arriving, we found the Indians dressed with feathers and armed; they formed a circle that enclosed the large carbet, named Tapui; they touched and closed ranks and were pressed one to the other, while having their faces turned outwards. The captain [village leader] came in front of us at fifty feet [about 15 meter], and after greeting M. Patris, he led us to the Tapuy while opening the circle [of guards] but only in the way that we hardly could pass one by one though this breach; and the moment we had entered, the circle [of guards] had been closed again, and the Indians made a kind of half-turn to face the Tapuy and watch us, but without moving (Tony 1843:222; all translations of Tony are mine).

The village is located on a little elevation; broken grounds stretched out all around [the village] for more than a quarter league [about 1200 meters]; four triple roads, like those I already discussed [Tony 1843:222; see above], leading into the middle of this village at a right angle, and where, in a kind of public space [plaza], there is a kind of high-rise building [tapuy; described earlier (Tony 1843:222)], which ends in the shape of a dome, 11 holding four windows, one facing each road [this differs from the present-day tukusipan, as does the function as ‘guard house’]; tall stems are added one against the other as ship’s masts [i.e., telescoping masts] to raise this tower of which the assemblage however is not stopped other than with liana vines. Carbets [dwellings; see chapter 3.1] are along the roads and form a kind of streets (Tony 1843:225).

Their carbets are constructed at first like those of all the other Indians [i.e. wooden posts and palm frond roof]; but on top of the floor which they usually make at six or seven feet from the ground [about 2 meters above the ground], the latter allocates the lodgings with partitions, well made, that are of a kind of tree bark well joint and very tidy. They paint on these partitions all kinds of animals, like ‘tigers’ [= jaguar], anteater, monkeys and birds.
Although these paintings are executed very crudely, they nonetheless resemble the object, to distinguish the same attitude that one wants to give to the animal (Tony 1843:226).

Upon arriving, Claude Tony (1843:222) described a military drill of armed men guarding a central building, while a hierarchically higher individual approached the strangers and guided them inside. Several pages later, he continued to describe this highly militaristic central guard:

*tapuy*, that is to them a kind of guard building (= *corps de garde*). They [feathered guards] all have there their marked place where they have their hammock; their weapons and a small bench. They are provided with food, and they can never move without order of the chef (Tony 1843:226).

After we [Patris and Tony] sat down, the captain [= village leader] asked us many questions and wanted to know what we came undertaking among them; we replied him that we came as friend to make trade, to exchange merchandise for curiosities. Immediately he wanted to see all our merchandise, all our things and till the least of our old cloths. He opened himself the cases, all our packs or bundles, he drew the cloths out, one piece after another; and after examining all that, he replaced everything back with the same persistence and without asking anything” (Tony 1843:222-223).

After this operation that had taken hours, he [the chief] ordered the women to prepare us food; and after having talked half an hour with us, he ordered his Indians who had stayed in the same position to guard us, to march one after the other making a tour from the place where we were seated, to salute us and enter the tapuy, where they arranged themselves around taking each their place, that they could not leave, nor change without orders of the chief (Tony 1843:223).

After all these ceremonies, they had us eat, and subsequently they gave us a carbet to lodge us, save M. Patris, who he [the chief] placed near him, in a separate accommodation (Tony 1843:223).

After an initial welcome and the examination of the merchandise in the central communal building, Tony (1843:223) wrote that the chief ordered his women to prepare food for his guests (compare with Crevaux 1983:132). Tony elaborated upon the relation between men and women with regard to food and space some pages later:

[To the men who] stayed in the village, their wives bring them food in the grand tapuy where they serve them, and when they are finished eating, the woman returns home to eat with her family. They only have two meals a day: in the morning at eight o’clock, and in the afternoon at half past five (Tony 1843:227).
Claude Tony (1843:227) did not separate male from female domains, other than engendering space wherein women brought food to the central place where their men resided, only to return to their dwellings after the men had finished eating, to eat with their family. The central guard house was not excluded for women, and is therefore not a “men’s house” in the traditional sense. Central guard house is a public communal place, open to strangers, in contrast to private dwellings where families reside and kin members sleep and eat.

Even if Tony described only a single settlement in the Wayana region in detail, it was here, while standing on top of a barren inselberg, that local Indians told him about a series of villages of the Roucouyennes [= Wayana], and of the nations Amicouane [= Amikwan; possibly Upului] and Appareille [= Apalai], all friends and allies, who communicate via a beautiful road stretching till nearby the mountain range (most likely the trail of Kailawa bridging the Tumuc-Humac mountains). Concluding that “these united nations [confederation of the Wayana] have established a leader (‘chef’), a kind of general chief (‘capitaine général’) who resides in the last of these villages, which is also the most important” (Tony 1843:231), indicative that the settlements in this area (i.e., the Wayana region), in 1769, were far from autonomous units.

3.2.2 Late 19th Century Settlement Patterning.

About a century after Claude Tony (1835, 1843 [1769]), Jules Crevaux (1881) and Henri Coudreau (1893) did not recognize such a regional organization in this area. Crevaux and Coudreau are not very specific on Wayana intra-settlement organization, other than some architectural elements can be read from accompanying engravings, illustrating diversity in settlement arrangement and house types (Figure 4-3). Most detailed is Crevaux’s description of the settlement of Namaoli at the junction of the Mapahoni and the Jari (Figure 3-5): “The village of Namaoli is located about 10 meters above the river. In order to arrive here, we are obliged to climb a steep stair, which is cut out in the clay of the river bank” (Crevaux 1987:132; all
translations of Crevaux and Coudreau are mine). “Arriving at the grand carbet, located in the center of the village, the two wives of the chief brought me, respectively, a stool and a ceramic vessel with the remainders from lunch: that is a little bit of boiled fish with a lot of peppers (i.e., pepper pot) … After this modest meal, we felt all very tired, and we hang our hammocks and slept till five o’clock in the evening” (Crevaux 1983:132). A year after this initial visit, Crevaux (1987:273 ff.) would return to Namaoli (October 1878) when the great maraké took place. This ritual gathering and the fact that the foreign expedition could hang their hammocks in the central “grand carbet,” makes the village of Namaoli (like Janamale Kawemhakan and Tipiti) a unique village, rather than a typical Wayana settlement. Few of the about four dozen Wayana settlements in the late nineteenth century (Figure 3-5) are depicted and described.

Figure 3-5. Wayana settlements 1878-1892 (sources: Crevaux 1881 and Coudreau 1893).
Preeminent illustration of a Wayana settlement by Coudreau is a description and engraving of the village of Pililipou (1893:103-113; Figure 3-2-1. A), in the hearth of the Wayana region; located at the foot of mount Pililipou, situated on a plateau of 250 meter altitude near the watershed between Aletani and Marouini. Once again, this is not an ordinary Wayana settlement, but a unique village, even referred to as “capital” by Coudreau (1893:103). Four houses (pakolo) surround the central building (otoman); housing about fifty people, including children (Coudreau 1893:112; Table 3-2). This description of Pililipou illustrated, next to a general lay-out of architectural elements, settlement organization situated in socio-political struggles and tactics of various Tamusi, Touanké [= Twanke] above all, who will play a central role—next to Tamusi Janamale—throughout this study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House</th>
<th>Inhabited by:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tamouchî Touanké [= Tamusi Twanke], son of Ouanê [= Wane, Wanika], with his son Païké (according to Coudreau, a true Don Juan) and his wife Amêta (Coudreau 1893:103-106).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Acoulî the Aplaï [Apalai], designated Tamusi by Twanke, and constructing the future grand village of Chinalé (ibid.:108-109).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Toumtoum, founder and tamusi of the village of Pililipou, who handed over this position to Twanke when the latter moved here after his father Wane passed away (ibid.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Counicamane [= Kunikaman], great-grandson of demoiselle Dujay (Wayana name: “Tori” = Tuli [Inga sp.]) who participated in the 1767 French expedition of Dr. Patris (ibid.:110). Tuli, i.e., demoiselle Dujay, married Wayana Yapotoli (paramount chief) Toropé [= Tolopit (Bird)], and gave birth to two baby girls of whom one died. Daughter of Tuli gave birth to a daughter (Enéoua, i.e., the old woman [kuni] of the village of Peïo) and a son (Talouman). Kunikaman is the son of Talouman and would marry to a daughter of Toumtoum (ibid.:110-111).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen on the engraving of the village of Pililipou (Coudreau 1893:104) and read in the text (ibid.:99), paths wide as a road, head off to every creek. Overland roads leading to and from Wayana settlements astounded early European travelers throughout the Wayana region. Upon arriving in the settlement of Masili, which Coudreau (1893:531) even called “cité de Marière” [city of Masili], Coudreau was amazed by the long and straight lane (une allée), well maintained and wide as a French road (chemin de France) (Coudreau 1893:531). Upon arriving
in the village, he noticed that the village is encircled by old garden plots overgrown with weeds, while vast new slash-and-char agricultural fields stretch from here to the first perimeter (ibid.). About a century earlier, Claude Tony (1769) had also noted that “the broken grounds stretched out all around [the village] for more than a quarter league [about 1200 meters]” (Tony 1843:225). Arrival upon a village is thus made visible by well maintained roads as by broken grounds and a charred landscape of slash-and-burn agricultural plots. Even before perceiving the actual buildings of a settlement, presence of the settlement is made visible in roads and charred (or weed overgrown) agricultural plots.12

Similar landscaping was described in the mid-twentieth century as roads connected the settlement of Tipiti with the villages of Malavat, habituation Tolinga (Boni Granman), and to a landing place (dégrad) at the Aletani near the former village of Machiri (Hurault 1965). Arrow cane fields (wide between 30–60 meters) surrounded Tipiti, whereby the arrow cane fields are deepest on the north side towards Machiri and Tolinga.13 Hurault also mapped agricultural zones (“zones de cultures itinérantes”), indicating old (cleared prior to 1960) slash-and-burn fields surrounding Tipiti stretch for 1.5 kilometers along the river and about 0.7 kilometers inland. New garden plots would be cleared outside this zone (mainly in 1960 and 1962) as well as within this zone (1961) (Hurault 1965:60-65). Arrow cane fields and slash-and-burn garden plots allowed for a clear view—along with a “soundscape”—surrounding the settlement of Tipiti.

Hurault (1968:71) republished the village plan of Tipiti in 1962 as illustration of typical social relations within a Wayana village. Tipiti, who, in 1955, founded his village (Figure 3-2) on the high left bank of the Malani (Marouini), about 12 to 15 meter above the river (Hurault 1965:60), was not an average Wayana; he was the successor of Machiri who had migrated into
this region in 1951, and in the running text Hurault (ibid.:70) explained that Tipiti and his brother Touliné founded this village when the village of Massili II moved; and they split off. In order to understand settlement patterning and organization we have to go beyond the boundaries of a single Guiana village, and acknowledge their temporality situated in socio-political history.

3.3 Late Twentieth Century Wayana Settlement Organization

While dwelling among the Wayana I noticed variability between, and interrelationships among settlements that I did not recognize from my Guiana literature reading. Arriving in 1997, being a visiting outsider (a dangerous “Other”), I attached my hammock in the outer-circle of the roundhouse of Talhuwen. Ronnie Tikaimé had heard that a Dutch student had arrived, and since he was a Wayana originating from the Suriname bank, he sought to talk in Dutch; as other researchers passing through Talhuwen were always French. The following morning there would be a fishing party and Ronnie invited me to come with him in his canoe. After a day fishing in the cataracts upstream, I returned to my hammock in the tukusipan. Ronnie invited me that evening to have some cassava beer. There was a party because a lot of fish had been caught that day. The following day, Ronnie invited me to bring my hammock to his place. He had discussed it with his wife and mother-in-law, and they had agreed to house me; because it is not good to stay by oneself in the tukusipan. They say spirits roam there at night, and they asked me if I had seen some ghosts. So I untied my hammock, and they indicated me to tie it under the largest house of Espérance. This house belonged to Senita, who was out of town. Her married daughters with husband and children were sleeping upstairs. Espérance became my home base during fieldwork among the Wayana in the upper Maroni basin during the following years. Ronnie became my classificatory brother, and thus I was given a place in their kinship system. During my fieldwork, I drew planviews and architectural drawings—beginning in Espérance—which radiated out, and changed through time, forming the fundamental data for this study.
When discussing Wayana intra-settlement patterning and organization, socio-political aspects grounded in history have to be taken into consideration, yet there are some basics that need to be taken into consideration: Wayana settle near fertile soils (indicated by locations of former settlements), near creeks or bends in the river where there are rapids (fishing grounds), where rocks are situated in the river so that one can bath and clean game and fish without fear of being stung by stingrays (*sipali*; *Potamotrygon hystrix*). Wayana do not like to settle near places invested with monsters (*kaikui*), malicious spirits (*jolok*), or where water monsters (*ipo*) have been sighted. Wayana prefer returning to abandoned village locations to clear garden plots as it is easier to clear secondary forest than to cut down large diameter trees of primary forest. New settlements are founded on prior garden plots; resulting in an overlapping or layering of garden plot, settlement, garden plot, settlement, etcetera.

Long ago Wayana did build their villages. They did not built their village no matter where. First, Wayana looked for good grounds, where the manioc grows well, the bananas grow well, well all the plants [grow well]. When they saw that the grounds were good, they started to clear a space for their village. … He who clears the forest becomes chief of his proper village. However, it is not immediately that Wayana built their proper village. How many years he hears that he is not liked, but he stays there anyways. Maybe, when the village leader interfered with someone else’s business. When [the villager] had a
problem with a chief. If he does not like someone [in his village], the chief says: “Leave from here, this isn’t your village.” So he who is insulted looks for another village. This happens, when [the villager] has enough from the insults. When there is less game, Wayana also leave their village. Also [they leave] when there is a deceased buried in the house, or several dead in the village. … People are frightened [of the evil spirits] of he who has been buried (Tasikale, 2000. Excerpts from Table C-4).

Let me now elaborate on the intra-settlement patterning and organization of Espérance, constructed in the early 1990s on the former garden plots of the people of Twenke. Building activities were initiated by Senita. As her mother (Makilu Mukuwa; grandmother of the ward) is a first degree parallel cousin of Twenke, she was allowed to settle here. Espérance is entirely fenced of by trees, secondary growth, and arrow cane (Figures 3-6 and 3-7). Banana trees are planted all around the cleared grounds surrounding the houses. Widest road (ëhema; Figure 3-8: trail # 10) leads west-southwest from the main plaza (# 3; pulolop) towards the tukusipan of Talhuwen. On the other side of the plaza (seen from the main road) is the house of Senita (S21); built in Surinamese style with stilts and a galvanized corrugated roof. East of this dwelling is a trail (# 8) that goes down into a gully where a little creek runs; providing Espérance with fresh drinking water. Next to this road, down the slope, trash is deposited (midden # 6). At the south side of this plaza is a work hut (S28) where is located the griddle (metal plate of one meter diameter; supported by three stones) to bake cassava bread. On the north side of this plaza is located the place of Makilu, grandmother (kuni) of this ward (1).

Several rebuilding stages have been taken place in the northern zone. Let me discuss this process chronologically, beginning with 1997. Makilu’s house (S18; Figure 3-2-4) has an oblong roof with malalia palm fronds, and the floor is about seventy-five centimeters from the ground. West of this dwelling is a small work hut (S19). From here a path (trail 7) leads towards the northwest (towards the house of Aloupki) and joins the path (trail 9) that goes from Awala kampu to the garden plots southeast of Talhuwen. North of the dwelling of Makilu is the
house of Ronnie (S7), who is married to the second daughter of Makilu. In 1997, Ronnie and his wife together with their two children had recently moved here from Kawemhakan. Their house is on stilts, with a floor about 1.75 meter above the ground, and a roof of *malalia* palm fronds. Behind their house goes a path (# 5) connecting the plaza with the landing place (*tunakuwao kanawa*) (bathing place etc.) on the Lawa River. North of their house is located a work hut with corrugated iron roof (S4), which had been relocated the following year (S3).

Upon my return in 2000, Ronnie had abandoned his former house (S7) and was finishing the construction of his new house in Surinamese style with on stilts with galvanized corrugated roof (S2). I had helped him building this house in 1998. This house is further removed from the house of his mother-in-law and located in a small cleared space (2) apart from the main plaza (3). A separate road (trail 1) led to a separate landing zone, next to the previously mentioned landing zone at the Lawa River; the latter now only used by grandmother Makilu and family of Senita. Grandmother had abandoned her house (S18), which was now used as storage place. Her former work hut (S19) had been taken apart. A new, and bigger, house (S7) was built for grandmother on the exact location of the abandoned house of Ronnie (Figure 3-8); a new place had been cleared (1), separate from the main plaza (2). Drip zones formed alongside Ronnie’s former house had to be filled-in to prevent water running through grandmother’s house. A little plank inserted at the upper side of the former gully prevented from water eroding the recent (loose) fill. A new work hut (S10; *kuluwata pakolon*) with manioc grater trough (*kuluwata*) was built southwest of her new dwelling. To keep this place cool, upon request of grandmother Makilu, the roof was of *malalia* palm fronds, as was the roof of her new house. A galvanized corrugated roof work hut (S9; *tilaka*) was placed by Ronnie, just north of the grandmother’s work hut, built from material recuperated from earlier work huts (S3 and S4). Husband of Suzanne, Senita’s
oldest child, had built a house with a galvanized corrugated roof (S29) parallel of Senita’s kitchen (S27) south of the plaza (Figure 3-9).

In 2000, Espérance totaled 17 inhabitants (see genealogical chart in figure 3-7); grandmother had her two daughters living on both sides of her house. One daughter (Sihmi) lived north of her mother with her husband and two children, a girl and a boy. The eldest daughter (Senita) lived south of her mother with her seven children. Two of these children, her eldest daughters, were married and lived with their husband and child in their mother’s house. The eldest grandchild, Maya, lived with her paternal grandparents elsewhere (in Antecume pata). Among the Wayana the firstborn child is often raised by his or her grandparents.

In 2002, the process of centrifugal power radiating from the grandmothers house had continued. Ronnie had removed the work hut next to his mother-in-law’s work hut, and had made a kitchen (S1; *wapot pakolon*) of reused material just north of his house (S2), next to the road (trail 1) to the landing which doubles as bathing place. Ronnie’s place approached the palm tree (next to trail 2) indicating the border between Espérance and Awala kampu. Awala kampu is named after a row of *awara* palm trees (*Astrocaryum segregatum*) separating this ward from the northwestern wards of Talhuwen. People from Awala kampu had begun using the path (trail 2) connecting to Ronnie’s place, via (trail 4) Makilu’s place into the plaza of the family of Senita, and from there into the road (trail 11) leading towards the garden plots south of Talhuwen. The old road (trail 9), bypassing Espérance, had become abandoned. Ronnie and his wife Sihmi\textsuperscript{15} tended to move towards Awala kampu, and away from grandmother and Senita (Figure 3-7). A space west of the main plaza was reserved for the second daughter of Senita and her family (5). Due to suicide of the daughter and the return of the husband to his parents (who resided in Kawemhakan) this space remained an empty lot.
Figure 3-7. Change through time at Espérance (1997–2000–2002); planviews and genealogy.
Figure 3-8. Structures (S #) at Espérance (location of posts is indicated with dots) (2002). Divided in five sectors belonging to 1) grandmother Makilu, 2) Ronnie, 3) Senita, 4) Suzanne, and 5) a potential building space for one of the daughters of Senita.
On the south side, Suzanne had her husband built a new house on pillars with walls (S31). Senita’s kitchen (S27; *wapot pakolon*) was stripped down and moved towards the west (S28), to clear the view for the kitchen/eating house (S29; *ëtuhket pakolon*) of Suzanne. East of Senita’s earlier kitchen are located several racks to dry pots and pans (S22-S26; *jala*; Figure 3-9; rebuilt over time). The griddle (*ëlinat*) to bake cassava bread had been moved to a new location (grey circle in S28); leaving a ring of charcoal of about a meter in diameter behind in the ground.
(Figure 3-9). Suzanne did not have a griddle in her kitchen, and used her mother’s (grey circle in S28) to bake cassava bread. Neither did Sihmi own a griddle; she used her mother’s griddle instead, to which was made a little shelter of palm leaves just southwest of grandmother’s work hut (S15, replacing the prior roofed structure S13). Manioc was pressed on location S14 (tëwuhkai katop; one standing post and one vertical beam to hold the tinkii (manioc press) was attached at its other end to a burned tree trunk). Additional drying racks (S16, S17; jala) had been constructed west of the kitchen area. In 2002, the former house of grandmother Makilu (S18) had been stripped down and its posts pulled out of the ground; resulting in empty postholes. Main road (trail 10) towards the tukusipan was always maintained clean and wide open, as was the trail towards the creek in the east (trail 8), and the roads (trails 5 and 6) towards the canoe landing place in the north, that now led directly to the grandmother’s new house (S6), of which the ground floor became a gathering place for visitors, friends, and family.

Espérance resonates with the typical tropical forest village as portrayed in the literature. Grandmother and her daughters (matrilocal) are able to grow manioc and sustain the settlement (ëutë) with cassava bread and cassava beer. Husbands, originating from other villages, bring in enough fish and meat to make this place self-sufficient. Techno-economically, Espérance is self-sufficient, other than roads lead to all cardinal directions, and visitors, mostly family, always stop by for a chat and some cassava beer; trail east, leads to Halam pata (place of Halam) who is the first husband of Senita and father of her first two daughters and eldest son; trail south leads to the garden plots; trail north leads to Awala kampu; and the main road west-southwest heads directly to the tukusipan of Talhuwen. Espérance, therefore, has to be perceived in relation to its broader context: the village of Talhuwen proper (Figure 3-10).
3.3.1 Talhuwen as Agglomeration

Espérance is but one of several wards that constitute Talhuwen proper. Ronnie moved his place not only away from his in-laws, but towards Awala kampu (sector north of the tukusipan of Talhuwen; Figure 3-10). To understand this movement, we have to look simultaneously at the genealogical chart (Figure 3-11). Center of Awala kampu is formed by the house of Aloupki and Siwanka. Siwanka is a daughter of Ekinau, who was the sister of the maternal grandmother of Ronnie. Therefore, Ronnie moved away from his in-laws (affines), while at the same time moving towards his relatives (consanguins).
Figure 3-11. Genealogical tree to demonstrate kinship and affine relations among Wayana mentioned in the present study. This is not a complete genealogical chart.
Road from Ronnie’s place towards the *tukusipan* of Talhuwen crosses the place of Tasikale and Rinja (Figure 3-8: trail 3). Tasikale, son of Aloupki, is married to Rinja, daughter of Paranam and Melidu. Paranam is Ronnie’s maternal uncle. It’s all in the family. There is more to the location of the house of Tasikale and Rinja. Once more, we have to scale up and consider the village of Talhuwen as a whole. The village of Talhuwen is named after its village chief, Talhuwen, son of Opoya. This village is located just upstream of the former Boni settlement Doméké (as labeled on some older maps). On maps, the village of Talhuwen is still labeled “Opoya” (IGN 1995). Opoya used to live in the house today owned by Aimawale Opoya; first son of Melidu and Paranam, named after the father of Opoya: Aimawale. Aimawale and his younger sister Rinja are maternal grandchildren of former village leader Opoya, and their father Paranam (son of former paramount chief Janamale) had hoped to become village leader (especially after marrying the daughter of former village leader Opoya), but he was considered too young, and Wayana choose Talhuwen as their village leader. Talhuwen resides with his family on a cleared space south of the *tukusipan*. Rinja and Tasikale not only live midway their in-laws and relatives; their place is cleared north of the *tukusipan*, that is, on the opposite side of the village seen from the canoe landing place of the former village of Opoya; the rocky outcrops next to Aimawale’s place. Alternatively, Tasikale’s place is located opposite from the canoe landing place used by French governmental officials, with the school in the middle (Figure 3-10; red roof in green-zone. Other green-zone indicates a soccer field).

In the central space next to the community roundhouse of Talhuwen are located: a school and the house of Takwali (since 1988 “*mediateur culturel*” assisting French teachers to instruct children in their Wayana mother tongue). The school was built in 1991 as annex to the school in Twenke that had opened its doors in 1974. Teacher Jean-Paul Klingelhoffer was in office for
twenty years (1973-1993), during which time he became founder and president of CAWAI (Culture et Artisanat Wayana), of which Aimawale today is president. Guillaume Costes was teacher at Talhuwen from 1993-1998. It was during this time that the *tukusipan* of Talhuwen was built in 1996 under the program of APFT (Avenir des Peoples des Forest Tropicales [Future of the Tropical Forest Peoples]). Costes was succeeded by Laëtitia Jobard (1998-2000) who was employed at Talhuwen for two years. Ever since, the rate of change of teachers in the Wayana area increased significantly. School, house for teachers, and community roundhouse (as were some of the dwellings, e.g., house of Aimawale Opoya built for the then village leader Opoya, as was the house of present village leader Talhuwen) were built with French resources.

When Aimawale and Tasikale organized the 2004 rites of passage (Chapter 5.2), they had the tall *maripa* palm tree cut down (an act of clearing boundaries, and thus unifying the village of Talhuwen) that was just north of the *tukusipan* (Figure 5.2-8). They had ordered to clear this space between the *tukusipan* and Tasikale’s house; creating a public arena (a plaza) for the upcoming rites of passage, and allowing space for the seclusion hut (*tëpijem pakolon*) along the road from Espérance to the *tukusipan*. This, intentional or not, was favorable for Tasikale and placed Aimawale on the immediate right-hand side of the canoe landing place: the place within a Wayana village where his paternal grandfather had lived some fifty years ago (Figure 3-3).

Immediate right-hand side of the canoe landing appears to be the place where is located the house of a paramount chief. The house of Amaipotï, current *granman* or overall leader of the Wayana, and son of granman Twenke, is located on the immediate right-hand side of the canoe landing place of Twenke. On the opposite side of the village, across from the *tukusipan* is the house of the elder sister of Amaipotï. After the death of Twenke (who gave his name to his village), this settlement is referred to as *Kulumuli pata* (place of bamboo). Mother of Twenke
(Éki) was a sister of the mother of Anamaila. Éki and her sister Kuli, were granddaughters of Tamusi Twanke, mentioned by Crevaux and Coudreau at the end of the nineteenth century. Anamaila is of a second marriage of his mother Kuli. The first marriage of Kuli and Taponaike resulted in a daughter Makilu; grandmother of Espérance. This makes kuni Makilu a first degree parallel cousin of Twenke (mothers’ sisters’ son). Social and political relations are thus played out spatially.

Northwest of the tukusipan is a large cleared plaza between the houses of Kawet, and the former house of Tënepo (son of Wempi and adopted son of Twenke, and a powerful pijai). Kawet married, consecutively, two sisters; granddaughters of Twenke. These cleared spaces are located on the highest part of the bank; a kind of peninsula around which the Lawa River meanders. Two other cleared plazas are located northwest, at a lower level of the riverbank; these being in the west the houses of Ėutetpē and his family, Romeo and Pavon. In the north, at the lowest end of the peninsula of Talhuwen, is the now abandoned place of Tëpu uku, where Alikot and his family had build their houses. When the genealogical chart is reviewed spatially; people descending from Twanke (great-grandfather of Twenke) appear living in the northwest quarter of Talhuwen, that is, in proximity of the village of Twenke. Members of the other quarters are descendents (or related to descendants) of Maipo and Tailu (Figure 3-11).

3.3.2 Twenke – Talhuwen, and Beyond

West from Talhuwen, on an island in the Lawa River, is located Kulumuli pata (place of kulumuli-bamboo) the former place of Granman Twenke (Figure 3-12: left). Around the tukusipan are located the houses of the children of Twenke (house of Granman Amaipotï [son of Twenke] is located on the immediate right-hand side of the canoe landing place), as well as a school, the house for school teachers, and a dispensary. The green zone in the west is a soccer field, doubling as helicopter landing place for the French army. At the east side, near the river,
are the houses of grandmother (*kuni*) Kïiwa (widow of Alemïn, brother of Alewuike [= Aloike]), with her daughter and grandson. South of the citrus trees planted by teacher Klingelhoffer, are the houses of the children of Granman Amaipotï. Also located in this southern part of Twenke were the houses of Anamaila, parallel first cousin (classificatory brother) to Twenke, and his wife’s children from her first marriage.

![Figure 3-12. Planview of Twenke (left), Talhuwen (center-left), and beyond (2003).](image)

After 2000, Anamaila and Tënepo, respectively (classificatory) brother and (adoptive) son of the late Twenke, decided to clear new garden plots to found a new settlement east of Talhuwen (Figure 3-12; center-right). Tënepo, a pïjai, has his house in the center of these higher...
grounds. Anamaila has, also in the center a rather provisory house. In the near future, a more permanent house will be built. On the far south side of this cleared space, Baiwa (son-in-law of Anamaila) has his house. South of this cleared area begin the garden plots for the residents of Talhuwen. East of this cleared area lies another gully with a creek. This creek contains rocks with grinding grooves; indicative for earlier (prehistoric) habitation in this area. When entering from the river, the space “reserved” for the granman (immediate right-hand side) is still available. West of this space is the place of Awïla (son of Poloman, who inhabits the exact same location in Twenke). Relational layout for a new, and large, settlement is outlined. Further to the east, across the creek, roads lead to the place of Tëpu, continuing to Alawataimë enî (place of Kulienpë), and even to Lomeke (place cleared in 2003) (Figure 3-12; upper-right). Latter settlements are being inhabited by Wayana leaving Kawemhakan / Anapaike, to be closer to Talhuwen and its institutions, schools above all.

Villages of Twenke and Talhuwen are unique in the upper Maroni basin (Figure 3-13) as materialized in their sheer number of inhabitants (90 and 110 respectively) as well as duration of a continuous fifty years of Wayana occupation. These numbers are only surpassed by Antecume pata (150 inhabitants). Numbers of inhabitants in other settlements in the upper Maroni basin are estimates, as a complete census is lacking. Near Maripasoula, settlements of Aloïke [Alewuike] and Telamale comprise about 100 Wayana total.18 Two villages on the Tampok River (Elæ [or Malipahpan] and Kajode) comprise about respectively 50 and 70 Wayana, Emerillon, and even some Wayâpi, and two Akulio in Malipahpan. On the Lawa, Kawemhakan houses about 70 people, whereas Alawateimë eni and Kumakahpan comprise each about two dozen former inhabitants of Kawemhakan (Lawa Station, Anapaike). On the Aletani, Pilima, the most southern village houses some 40 inhabitants, whereas Palasisi (= Wapahpan) (Figure 3-14; right),
Pelea, and Palimino (Figure 3-14; left) each comprise about 15 inhabitants. Of these and recently abandoned settlements in the upper Maroni basin, only four villages (28.5%) own a community roundhouse, namely Twenke, Talhuwen, Antecume pata, and Pilima. These four unique villages with a roundhouse, and their history, are vital to this study, but it should not be forgotten that these settlements are situated in a matrix that also includes settlements without roundhouses; actually most of the Wayana settlements do not own a tukusipan.19

Figure 3-13. Wayana settlements along the Lawa and Aletani (2000).
Figure 3-14. Planviews of two Wayana settlements without community roundhouse (2000).
3.4 Historically situated Movements of Wayana Settlements

It is generally acknowledged that modern globalization impacted Guiana in the 1950s and 1960, nevertheless, change in settlement movements were already in motion by that time, and what has been commonly perceived as typical for tropical forest cultures is merely a snapshot in a much longer historical process. In the 1960s a Missionary Station was created at Apetina along the Tapanahoni to where surrounding Wayana and Trio populations migrated (Frikel 1971), however prior to that, Arabi (Maroon leader in Suriname) went to the Wayana and Apalai of the Paru requesting them to settle along the Tapanahoni to facilitate trading relations (de Goeje 1905a:975). Intercultural studies on the complex trading interactions between Wayana, Trio, Maroons, and Dutch Government in Suriname, such as tabulated by Gabriel Coutinho Barbosa (2005), as well as American evangelical missionaries, goes beyond the present study, as do the current problems in the Wayana region regarding gold mining and mercury pollution.

The history of modern globalization impacting the upper Maroni basin was recounted by Kawet (December 18, 2002), who had learned Dutch at Lawa Station and was eager to tell me this story in Dutch:

Many people [Wayana] now reside on the French Bank. This is because the schools are located here [on the French Bank]. Therefore [as many people reside here] there is a lack of fish and game. In the past people moved every ten to fifteen years, so one had enough game. Today, with the schools, this [moving of settlements] is no longer possible. In the past, [Wayana] were frightened and resided far into the forest, near a creek. Then came the Boni [Maroons; settled in the Lawa area in the 1790s] and [Wayana] saw how they made dug-out canoes [before Wayana had tree bark canoes]. Also the Wayana began to built dug-out canoes, that they did not have before; there were though canoes from tree bark. Also the Taira [generally assumed to be Kaliña from the mouth of the Maroni] knew how to navigate, they dominated the rivers and migrated south via the Aletani. At Mulokotimë ënë [north bank of Aletani between Walempan and Kulekule at N 2°26.66’ W 54°31.24’] they encountered the Tilijo [= Trio]. The war began and the Trio made the Taira retreat. The last stand of the Taira was at Jakutouku. After the Boni came Lanti (Dutch governmental [lands-] officials). These governmental officials arrived with many beads and presents. Then [Wayana] were no longer frightened [and resettled along the main river]. French officials realized that the Wayana then moved towards the Surinamese Bank. At that moment, Boni were settled at Awara kampu and
Doméké [present-day Talhuwen]. It were the Boni who had planted mango trees and *awara* palms. [Several other Wayana settlements built on former Boni sites are identified by the presence of mango trees, *awara* and coconut palms]. Boni had also settled at Kumakahpan and at the mouth of the Ulemali. Then the French came with presents. Subsequently, two granman [paramount leaders] were appointed; Taponaike on the French side, and Janamale on the Surinamese side (Kawet 2000; my translation).

Figure 3-15. Wayana settlements of the Aletani in 1903 and around 1938.

The settlement of Taponaike—named Granmanpassie (Sranantongo for “passage of the paramount chief” or path of the granman)—was the most important settlement in the 1930s. This village was located at the most northern tip of the right bank of the Aletani before its meets the Marouini (Figure 3-15). This was one of five villages mentioned for the Aletani in 1938, which were plotted on the map only some twenty years later (Geijskes 1957:194; from north to south: Granmanpassie of Taponaike, Makale [Anapaïke], Janemalé [Janamale], Maraitawa [Malaitawa], and Wapodimiet [Wapotumït]). Several abandoned settlements are referred to—but not placed on the map—among which the abandoned village of Maipo at the mouth of the
Loë (Luwe). Maipo was the father of Malaitawa who had founded his new village between Feti kreek [Mapaoni; not the Mapahoni, affluent of Jari] and Tëpu pepta, named after a large rock formation (tëpu pepta) in the Aletani River. Maipo and Tailu were parents of Malaitawa, Ekinau and Kumakau; the latter two wives of respectively Tasikali and Janamale.20

Janamale was granman among the Wayana till his death in 1958.21 Before I will discuss the biography of Janamale, I want to mention that Pilima—a great pijai (shaman) who even began his own prophetic movement (Butt 1964) and a son of Janamale—named his firstborn son Jamaïke (Wese), after Jamaïke who had his own village on the Aletani around 1900 (map accompanying Franssen Herderschee 1905a; Figure 3-15; located just north of where Coudreau (1893) had mapped Yamaïké a decade earlier). A second village was mapped along the Aletani in 1903: Panapi (father of Wempi [a.k.a. Sampati, Jean-Baptiste] who in 1962 would have founded his own village at the mouth of the Tampok; Figure 3-16). Since the 1903 Gonini expedition did not explore the Marouini (neither did the 1935–1938 boundary expeditions), no data is known about village locations in the Marouini basin, and a historical reconstruction of settlement patterning of Aletani–Marouini basins is inherently deficient.

When I discussed the Wayana history narrated by Kawet (cited above) with Aputu (village leader of Kumakahpan), his wife Kali (daughter of Janamale) began to narrate this history in more detail; particularly the movements of her father Janamale and his grounds to resettle, as well as a more detailed introduction of the last stand at Jakutouku, just downstream of Janamale Kawemhakan, the village where she and Aputu grew up (Figure 3-3). This is the narrative of Kali, as translated by her son Ronnie Tïkaime into Dutch (my translation into English):

Kulumulijinpë [founded by Tëpëputse, son of Ouuptoli]22 is the first village at the Aletani of Alijakalu. Alijakalu [father of Toko and grandfather of Janamale] came from the Jari. Alijakalu returned to the Jari when the Taila attacked Kulumulijinpë. Upon arrival at the Aletani, [Alijakalu] with his son Toko founded the village of Tikolokem. Later, Toko with
his son Janamale founded the village Ëtëmanu, and next Pilikaju [Figure 3-16]. Those who remained at the Aletani founded a village that was located downstream. The name of this village is Kasujinpë. The third village is named Enëkuhenpë. It is from this latter village that [Wayana] return to the Jari to request support from the Tilljo [Trio].

At this point, Kali began to narrate the story of Tapanawale, i.e., the last stand of the Taira at Jakutouku. War with the Taira sets the stage for Janamale’s biography, and will be discussed in the closing of this chapter. Next, Kali continued with the biography of her father Janamale and his settlements (between square brackets are notes resulting from discussions of Janamale’s biography): “After the war with the Taira, Janamale founded his first village at Kawatop” [Figure 3-16; labeled Gramanponsoe in 1938; this settlement consists of two villages, one named Luwe located on the French Bank, and a second village, named Tulamïtpë located across the river on the Surinamese Bank]. Janamale is kapitein [village leader] of both villages [and is thus engaged in a political play with Dutch and French Governments who are eager to draw the Wayana to their side]. [Forced by Dutch Government] Janamale founded his village Janamale on the Surinamese Bank; left or north bank of the Ulemali, about one and a half kilometers from the mouth of the Aletani. Later [forced by French Government], just downstream of Janamale, Janamale founds his village Kawemhakan [“High place”] on the high right or south bank of the Aletani [This village of Janamale, Kawemhakan, was visited by a French expedition in 1952 and photographed by Dominique Darbois (1956; Mazière and Darbois 1953). Her photos clearly show that Janamale had a community roundhouse tukusipan in his village].

Forced by the French, Paina [Painawale or Awelisi; half-brother of Janamale], was made village leader of Kawemhakan. Subsequently, Janamale moved downstream and founded Wapahpan [Falls of Jakutouku are located between Kawemhakan and Wapahpan], only to settle further downstream [just upstream of Awara soula] and founded a second Kawemhakan [not so high above the river as the original Kawemhakan]. This latter settlement of Kawemhakan is
located at the end of the landing strip of Lawa Station [built by the Missionaries]. People [Wayana] are still buried here [on the location of the former village of Janamale]. Also Paina moved downstream, across isoli (falls) Jakutouku; first Paina settled on the big island (pau pepta) and founded a village with the same name (Pau pepta), together with Malavat, only to later resettle across the river on the French Bank, where [Paina] passed away. Americans [evangelical missionaries in the 1960s] brought together several villages, among which Pau pepta, and called this settlement near Granman Janamale’s second Kawemhakan: Lawa Station. This village [Kawemhakan/Lawa Station] would later receive the name from Granman Anapaike [who passed away on July 30, 2002; and who was a son of the above named Tëpëputse].

This biography of Janamale, and his tactical play of settlement movements, is uniquely situated in Guiana history. Instead of treating the place of Janamale—or any village with a community roundhouse—as the “typical” model Wayana village, I argue that this is the unique settlement organization of the village of the Wayana Granman (paramount chief). Critical in the biography of settlement movements in the early twentieth century is the census data provided by Lodewijk Schmidt (1942; Appendix D), which allows to trace back and locate ancestors. There were only five Wayana settlements along the Aletani, in 1940, and migrations from the Jari and Paru can be construed. This data emphasizes the importance of Janamale’s village in 1940.

Studies on Wayana demographics refer to this data, or actually they refer to Gerold Stahel summarizing that there was an average of 17 inhabitants per village, and a total of 358 (sic. sum equals 338) Wayana in Suriname (and French Guiana) and Brazil (Schmidt 1942:50). Stahel, who edited Schmidt’s work, was a Swiss agricultural scientist and director of the Agricultural Experiment Station (Landbouwproefstation) in Paramaribo, Suriname. Dirk Geijskes (stationed at the Landbouwproefstation in Paramaribo) briefly mentioned that Baas Lodewijk Schmidt
(a.k.a. “Smitje”)—a Saramakaner Maroon who had been head of supplies (voorman en magazijnmeester) during the 1930s boundary expeditions—volunteered to accompany Geijskes in the 1939 expedition in search of curare arrow-poison (1957:196). After that an expedition was planned to explore the Wayana and Trio on the Brazilian side of the watershed. Due to World War II, the latter expedition came into jeopardy as military officers were called to their posts. It was the Saramakaner Maroon Lodewijk Schmidt (1942) who would conduct the proposed exploration. His non-European ontology would be critical for the present study as he named each individual Wayana and Trio residing in a given village (Appendix D).

When the names written down by Schmidt are converted into numbers of inhabitants, a different picture emerges than Stahel simply concluding that there was an average of 17 inhabitants per village. Four out of five villages of the Aletani have a total number of inhabitants below the average of 17 (ranging from 9 to 15), whereas one village with 27 inhabitants is above average; this unique village is Janemale. With 13 men, Janemale housed almost double the average number of men (average number of men per Wayana village is 7). Mean average of the total number of inhabitants of the five Wayana settlements along the Aletani is 14.4, with a standard deviation of 6.62. This is in contrast to, for example, Wayana settlements along the Mapahoni with a mean average of 14.5 and a standard deviation of 1.5. Demographic variation between Wayana settlements, as recorded by Schmidt, has been evened out by Stahel’s summarizing compilation of mean averages. Janamale’s village was unique.

Janamale’s biography was not discussed by Jean Hurault, who did not even name or properly place the settlement of Kawemhakan (~1949-1953) on his otherwise comprehensive map of village movements from 1948 to 1968 (Hurault 1965 planche VIII facing page 24; Figure
3-16). Then again, political movements in settlement patterning after 1948—not discussed in Janamale’s biography—can be read from Hurault’s data, as will be discussed next.

Figure 3-16. Wayana settlements 1948-1968 (source: Hurault 1965 planche VIII facing p. 24).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Alias [village name]</th>
<th>Additional information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Wampi</td>
<td>Wempi, Sampati, Jean-Baptiste</td>
<td>Had first founded his village at the mouth of the Tampok (Ouaqui), and would later migrate upstream the Tampok River to Kajode.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Elaké</td>
<td>Elabe, [Lawa Mofou Tabiki]</td>
<td>Fissioned from the village of Alewuike (see # 6) and would later settle at the mouth of the Tampok [Elae, Malipahpan].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Pléki</td>
<td>Pileike, Piakaë, Pleike</td>
<td>Son of former village leader Wapotumit, founded his village first near his fathers village (1948), to migrate some forty kilometres north near Lawa Mofou Tabiki (Island at the Mouth of Tampok). He would later settle across from Twenke (# 5) and Talhuwen (Figure 3-12).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Touanké</td>
<td>Twenke, Toanke, [Kulumuli pata]</td>
<td>Seat of Granman Twenke, located on an island in the Lawa, founded in the 1950s (Figure 3-12; left).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Aloiké</td>
<td>Aloike, Alewuike, Alawaike</td>
<td>Mentioned by Lodewijk Schmidt as resident of Masili (Machiri) along the Mapahoni. Settled in 1948 in the cataracts of the Aletani near present-day Antecume pata, to finally settle near Maripasoula.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Tiliwé</td>
<td></td>
<td>Migrated about 20 km from Jalawale patatpë at the mouth of the Oelemari (1948), to a place just north of present-day Talhuwen (1956), to finally settle about 9 km south in the cataracts of the Aletani near present-day Antecume pata (1962).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Tipiti</td>
<td>Tipiti</td>
<td>Figure 3-6. Successor of Machiri (a.k.a. Masili, Massili II, Alipoya) who migrated to the Aletani in 1951. Tipiti resided in the village of Machiri in 1958 (Hurault 1968:35).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Nanou[k]</td>
<td>[Makalahpan]</td>
<td>Brother of Malavat (see # 10).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Ilikwa</td>
<td>[Pau pepta]</td>
<td>Fissioned from the village of Pileike (see # 3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Yaroukana</td>
<td>Jalukana</td>
<td>Most southern settlement. Hurault does not mention that Jalukana was an Apalai who had first settled in Janamale Kwemhakan (Kali pers. comm. 2000; Figure 3-3).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4.1 After World War II

Settlement locations and migrations in the upper Maroni basin after WWII, particularly from 1948 to 1968, is fairly well known due to map-making and kinship charting by French geographer Jean Hurault (1965: planche VIII facing page 24; Figure 3-16). The 1948 village of Touanké / Malavate, which Hurault located just south of Taponaike’s Granmanpassie (1939), is of particular interest as Schmidt (1942) mentioned Malwat [= Malavat, a.k.a. Kapauwet] as resident of Taponaike’s Granmanpassie, and Toeanké [= Tenkenke] as resident of Janamale’s village of Ulemale kumta (mouth of the Oelemari); respectively settlements of the Wayana
Granman of the French bank and Dutch bank. Some twenty years later, Twenke (#5) and Anapaike (#4) had succeeded as Granman of French and Dutch bank respectively (Table 3-3).

Between 1948 and 1962 an event took place that was mentioned by Hurault, although he underestimated the socio-political impact of this migration of Machiri [= Massili II] from Jari to Aletani in 1951. Hurault (1965:24) noted that from the 240 individuals censed in December 1958 in the upper Maroni basin, almost half of them arrived in 1951 from the Jari. Machiri would found his new settlement just above the cataracts of the Aletani, at less than three kilometers east of the village of Touanké/Malavate (Figure 3-16). Next the village of Touanké/Malavate fissioned: Malavat would resettle five kilometers to the southwest (upstream) (and soon resettle at pau pepta (big island); Table 3-3; #10), and Twenke would resettle five kilometers to the northeast (downstream) (and soon resettle at the island of kulimuli-bamboo; Table 3-3; #5). Distinction between Wayana “above” the great waterfall complex of the Sauts de L’Itani (e.g., people of Malavat and Tipiti [successor of Machiri]), and those “below” (e.g., people of Touanké, Aloiké, and Tiliwe [see Table 3-3; #7]), was now in effect. During this process, Janamale (not at all discussed by Hurault) was settled about ten kilometers south (just south of Jakutouku), in Kawemhakan (from about 1949 till 1953) (Figure 3-16).

Late Boni Granman Tolinga had his habitation on an island amidst the Falls of the Aletani (Sauts de l’Itani; Hurault 1965:23), as this island is located west of the mid-river border it was officially located on Surinamese territory. It goes beyond the present study to thoroughly evaluate the interrelationships between Wayana and Maroons, other than it would be on this exact location of the former village of Boni Granman Tolinga, that in 1967 the twenty-nine year old Frenchman André Cognat (born in Lyon but “chosen to be an Indian”) would found his village: Antecume pata (Cognat 1977, 1989). Cognat had married a Wayana (Alasawani;
illegitimate daughter of Janamale and Iliwu), and was adopted by Malavat. Possibly Malavat joint the young Frenchman in resettling at the former village of Boni Granman Tolinga to regain potential political power some fifteen years after the fission of the village of Touanké/Malavate (following the immigration of Machiri, as discussed above). As André “Antëkë” Cognat is a French citizen, his place (Antecume pata), is for political reasons mapped in the contested zone between Aletani and Marouini (IGN 1995), rather than on Surinamese grounds.

Where Antecume pata grew in the 1960s and 1970s due to French involvement, Janamale’s new Kawemhakan (on the Surinamese bank) would thrive and attract new immigrants from the Tapanahoni (Hurault 1965: planche VIII), in part due to the American evangelical missionaries under whose supervision was constructed a dispensary (policlinic), Sunday school, shops, an airstrip (doubling as soccer field), and a church, among others (Boven 2006:131). Due to missionary intervention, Kawemhakan (renamed: Lawa Station) would, under Janamale’s successor Anapaïke, grow to the most important Wayana settlement of the upper Maroni basin. In 1969 a total of 359 Wayana had gathered at Lawa Station (data: Medische Zending; in Boven 2006:128).27 This growth would last for little over a decade till the incursion of Ronnie Brunswijk and his Surinamese Jungle Commando (Boven 2006).

When Granman Janamale died in 1958, the Surinamese government inaugurated Anapaïke as succeeding granman. From this succession, without emphasis on Dutch involvement, Hurault (1968:74) concluded that every Wayana can succeed a tamusi, because there was no known kin relationship between Anapaïke and Janamale. Nonetheless, there were familial relationships between the former granman and his successor as Anapaïke was married to Janamale’s daughter Maleu (Boven 2006:127), and what neither Hurault or Boven mention was that Anapaïke had been married to Alijamle, sister of Janamale. The son of Janamale, Paranam, was considered too
young to follow in his father’s footsteps, and his daughter, Kali, was married to Aputu, who was made village leader of Lawa Station. However, when Anapaikë began to clash with Kali, she and her husband Aputu left to Pilima from where they founded Kumakahpan, a new village on old grounds (this place is specified as a former Taira settlement [see below]). Nevertheless, when Aputu returns on occasion to Kawemhakan, he is seen as its village leader.

Kawemhakan used to have a community roundhouse in the 1970s (Miller pers. comm. 2009), which is absent on the village plan provided by Boven (2006:131; figure 5.5) yet when comparing her plan view with the associated table of inhabitants (ibid.: table 5.2), the house of the village leader (Kapitein) Aputu (# 10) is located on the opposite side of the plaza when arriving from the canoe landing place and the house of Granman Anapaikë (# 1) is located on the immediate right-hand side of the path entering the plaza from the canoe landing place. Though Lawa Station was a missionary village, the basic spatial lay-out of the houses of village leader and paramount chief were according to conventional Wayana logic as discussed in this chapter.

A process of migration from Kawemhakan / Lawa Station that began in the 1980s (after the incursion of Ronnie Brunswijk and his Jungle Commando) continues today, grounded in push factors from Suriname, as well as pull factors from the French; most recently due to French identity cards for Wayana, and associated monetary funding. Karin Boven (2006:128) counted in 1991 “only” 157 inhabitants, that is less than half of the heydays of the missionary times in the 1960s. Impact of globalization on Wayana of Kawemhakan, and how Wayana managed to survive, is discussed elsewhere (Boven 2006). Acknowledging the deep impact of a continuing globalization on “traditional” Wayana life, I argue that some processes taking place today (including, but not restricted to, materialization of socio-political formations) are deeply rooted in a pre-colonial, and pre-historic, past. From the above biographies can be concluded that,
although there is involvement of the Dutch and the French, the distinction between Wayana Granman is not merely restricted to “Surinamese side” versus “French side” as this distinction is also rooted in a distinction between “upstream” versus “downstream.” The latter distinction, and how to overcome this barrier, will be explored as I conclude this chapter.

3.4.2 After the War

To conclude this chapter, I will critically evaluate story of Tapanawale, i.e., the last stand of the Taira at Jakutouku (Table 3-4; compare with Chapuis and Rivière 2003:495-505) in conjunction with the statement by Kali that “after the war with the Taira, Janamale founded his first village at Kawatop” as a work in progress situated in the traditional Wayana discourse of unification centered upon Tulupere (and other serpentine men-killing monsters). The story of Tapanawale is a case of war resulting from unsuccessful transactions, followed by Janamale’s story situated in a history of exchanges as peacefully resolved wars. These two narratives resonate with Claude Lévi-Strauss’s statement that “exchanges are peacefully resolved wars, and wars are the result of unsuccessful transactions” (Lévi-Strauss 1969:67), grounding the debate on Self and social Others in the discourse on exchange and war.

Figure 3-17. View of Jakutouku (falls at the left, and former village on the hill in the middle).
Table 3-4. Narrative of Tapanawale, or the last stand of the Taira at Jakutouku.

The story of Tapanawale as narrated by Kali on January 13, 2003, at Kumakahpan.

1 At a certain day, two brothers (who were residing in the village Kulumulijinpë founded by Tëpëputse) asked their sister who had made her pregnant.
2 First the one brother asked: “did my brother get you pregnant?”
3 “No!” she replied.
4 Then the brothers went into the forest, near the house of their sister, to keep watch on her and see who is visiting her.
5 Then two Taila from Jakutouku arrived. In those days the Taila (Akaina or Galibeans [coastal Caribs]) had a large village at Jakutouku. They approached the sister.
6 Then the brothers shoot their arrows. One Taila is killed and the other escaped and returned to his village.
7 One of the two brothers, named Tapanawale, pursuits him. [Tapanawale] will never return to his village.
8 Next, his brother will search Tapanawale.
9 Taila ask him [brother of Tapanawale]: “What do you want! Come visit our village and see what you like!” Because the Taila have large canisters and tinboxes, like pakala, about three chests filled with axes, knives, beads, mirrors, and what have you.

note: [Taira are thus in the interior of Suriname / French Guiana to establish trading relations with the Wayana.]

10 The brother stays that night at Jakutouku.
11 The next morning he hears someone playing the deer bone flute kapaujetpë: “ti, ti, ti, tuh, Tapanawale uputpë, ti, ti, tuh, Tapanawale uputpë ….”
12 “What?” he says, “the head of Tapanawale?” But he remains in his hammock, while listening to the flute play of the Taila: “”ti, ti, ti, tuh, Tapanawale uputpë, ti, ti, tuh, Tapanawale uputpë …”

note: uputpë means head; hence Tapanawale uputpë refers to the head of Tapanawale.
13 After it dawned [when it is light], the village leader summons him [brother of Tapanawale].
14 “Here is a tinbox,” says the village leader, “see what you want: beads, axes, knives …”
15 But the brother asks: “What is in that tinbox over there?”
16 “It is better not to look into that one,” the village leader says.
17 “But I want to see what is in that one,” the brother [of Tapanawale] says.
18 “OK,” the village leader says, and he opens the tinbox.
19 “What is wrapped in those red cloths?” the brother [of Tapanawale] asks.
20 “You do not want to see that,” the village leader says.
21 But the brother wants to see for himself. When the cloth is unwrapped, the brother sees that it contained the decapitated head of Tapanawale.
22 Without reconsideration, and without taking anything, the brother of Tapanawale returns to his village.
23 “Mah, they have cut off the head of Tapanawale, those Taila!” the brother says.

note: At this point, Ronnie Tïkaime (son of Kali and Aputu) (who translates Kali’s narrative from Wayana into Dutch) asked why they did not simply give their sister to those Taila; then nobody would have died.
24 Next, the brother [of Tapanawale] goes to the Jari and requests support.
25 Tïlïjo [= Trio] are pugnacious and immediately willing to go to the Aletani [where Jakutouku is located].
26 Same with the belligerent Okomëyana [aggressive as the okomë wasp] and Wayana/Upului.
27 A fourth group joins them, perhaps Waiwai [Kali is not certain of the name of the fourth group].
28 These four groups set out for the Aletani with many canoes, armed with many bows and many arrows.
29 At night they first circumscribe Jakutouku, the village of the Taila, and sprinkle hemït (charm, poison). Hemït for the Taila become blinded and will get weak arms. Hemït that they know of through Kailawa.
30 When the hemït is sprinkled around the village, they return to their camp to attack at daybreak.
31 Attack is from the forest and the water.
32 All Taila are massacred.
33 Because of the hemït they [the Taira] cannot fight.
34 Only three Taila succeed to shelter under a reversed canoe and float downstream… towards Albina.

Situating this narrative in time and space is more complex than it seems. Jakutouku

(Figure 3-17)—a cataract in the Aletani just north of the former village of Janamale
Kawemhakan (Figure 3-16)—is where Wayana situate this battle, indicating that the former village of the Taira was located on the hill where can be found lots of quartzite flakes used in manioc grinders. As Janamale’s village at Kawatop was located in 1938 (Ahlbrinck 1956), it can be concluded that the story of Tapanawale—the last stand of the Taira—took place before 1938. Since Ouptoli, father of Tëpëputse (founder of the village where the grandfather of Janamale settled), was mentioned by Coudreau (1893:545), this story must have taken place after 1889. However, according to de Goeje (1943:342), at the cataracts of Jakutouku—or Indji foetoe (*Ingi foetoe* = Indian foot)—Maroons took their revenge around 1840-1845, which would end terribly wrong. Maroons had taken Waya(ri)kule children after the skirmishes, and raised them in their village. This revenge was a result of an attack by Waya(ri)kule on Maroons, after which attack this affluent became known as Feti kreek (“fighting creek” in Sranantongo) (de Goeje 1943:342).

De Goeje referred to Crevaux who wrote that “men and women, the Boni took to flight in all directions; only three among them were able to regain their canoes. Others, in their escape, stumbling over hidden liana vines that the Waya(ri)kule had attached across from feet of trees, were massacred by their merciless enemies” (Crevaux 1993:71).

The story by Crevaux resonates with the ending of the narrative of Tapanawale; all Taira are killed, except three who were able to flee in their canoe (Table 3-4: line 34). All others trip over booby-traps placed by their attackers the night before (Table 3-4: line 29). Crevaux stated that the attack on the Maroons was signaled by the Waya(ri)kule in their beating of tree trunks with their “tomahawks” and an attack of some hundred Indians with stone axes followed. Today, Wayana fear the echoing sound of clubs beating tree buttresses. Wayana declare it is the Akulijo [= Akurio] who have this habit of beating clubs on buttresses. Waya(ri)kule nor Akulijo
were mentioned in the narrative by Kali, and Crevaux wrote about a battle between Oyacoulets and Boni, whereas the narrative of Tapanawale recounts a battle between Wayana and Taira.

Though these two stories resonate, there are several discrepancies. First discrepancy is rather straightforward to resolve as Kali was uncertain about the fourth group joining ranks with Tapanawale (Table 3-4: line 27), it is possible that Waya(ri)kule or Akulijo, rather than Waiwai, are the fourth group joining ranks with Wayana/Upului, Tilijo [Trio], and Okomëjana. If so there must be a relation between Maroons and Taira, who are generally perceived as Kaliña from the mouth of the Maroni River, as I will discuss in a moment. Second discrepancy is its timeframe as de Goeje (1943:342) estimated that this battle described by Crevaux took place around 1840-1845, whereas the battle narrated by Kali is estimated to have taken place between 1889 and 1938. The historical analysis by Coudreau makes the picture even more complicated, referring to an attack by Oyaricoulets [= Waya(ri)kule] at “saut Yacoutoc (l’homme qui a vu la bataille) [the man who saw the battle]” (Coudreau 1893:78), and mentioned in a footnote that “in November 1888, two creoles of Cayenne, gold miners of the Lawa, were exploring up to Yacoutoc [= Jakutouku] where they were attacked by Oyaricoulets [= Waya(ri)kule]: one of them was killed, the other wounded” (Coudreau 1893:79; my translation). While about five hundred pages later, Coudreau referred to a battle between Wayana and Galibis [= Kaliña] resulting from exchange of merchandise for women gone wrong:

Galibis, with their merchandise they require from the coast, the Galibis who lack women, as states the tradition, the Galibis seduce and take away women of the Roucouyennes [= Wayana]. These [actions] resolve in such evil neighbors and they will bring it to war. The Galibis have as allies the Aramichaux [= Aramiso] (named Alamessons by the Roucouyennes). … in the village of Tribici [unknown settlement], at the upper Aletani, of Pééoua, a roucouyenne woman of such grand beauty that the Galibis engaged in war for her in the garden fields of Tribici, a battle in which the Roucouyennes [= Wayana] lost many souls, Galibis and Aramichaux [= Aramiso] defeated, were driven away and descended the Lawa and the Maroni till its mouth (Coudreau 1893:558).
While the place of action is the same, namely the cataract of Jakoutouku, Coudreau (1893:558) stated that this skirmish took place around 1775. Time-lapse between the different versions—from 1775 to 1840 and from 1845 to 1910—is sixty-five years, i.e., about one lifetime. Although Coudreau (1893:558) does not equal Galibis [Kaliña] with Taira, the third discrepancy, this history narrates about an unsuccessful exchange after which the defeated party is forced to retreat to the coast. Debatable is how Galibis and Aramiso could have ever traveled up and down the Maroni River controlled by Maroons: Boni (Aluku) had at this time settled at the Lawa at the foot of Cottica Mountains, whereas Ndjuka (Aukaners) controlled the Maroni River downstream. Unless, Taira refers to participants in expeditions of Caribs and Maroons combined, or perhaps refers to people similar to the Black Caribs of the Caribbean. According to Wayana, “Taila” refers to Galibis or Kaliña (coastal Caribs), yet it is remarkable that several settlements indicated by Wayana as Taira villages, were later inhabited by Boni Maroons (and more recently by Wayana) (Figure 3-18). Further studies on interrelationships between Wayana and Maroons are needed for a better understanding of these complex processes. If the story of Tapanawale refers to trading expeditions lead by multiethnic groups of coastal Caribs and Maroons, without direct intervention of Dutch or French Government, these stories most likely will not have entered the written historical record.

Coudreau’s (1893:558) mentioning of a battle at Jakoutouku a hundred years earlier, resonates approximately in time with the only historically recorded event of decapitation in the upper Maroni basin (Hoogbergen 1984:30-31; compare with table 3-4: line 21): on February 20, 1793, Bambi killed and decapitated Boni. Aukaners (Ndjuka) lead by Bambi descended the river rapidly, but capsized between Marouini and Inini, and the decapitated head of Boni was lost in the falls (Hoogbergen 1984:30-31). With place as virtual constant and time as variable, it
appears that the cataract of Jakutouku became a gathering place to materialize social memory. Rather than posing the question what actually took place here at Jakutouku, and when, we have to pose the question: what is the meaning of these histories placed at Jakutouku? Fundamental in all versions of the battle(s) at the cataract of Jakutouku is a unification of social subgroups (dialectic Self) against a common enemy (social Other).

Wayana discourse on unification of social subgroups against a common enemy is found in narratives on the water monster (ipo) Tulupere. Name of Tulupere is onomatopoeic in that it, according to Wayana, refers to the sound when it runs down hill; TTTTTLLLPPPPr. Then it is said that this monster (kaikui) plunges into the water, turns around canoes, killing Wayana and Apalai. Tulupere has different appearances (Aimawale 2000 pers. comm.): Tulupere of the Jari River looks like an ėlukë (caterpillar); the one of the Aletani is like a tapir (maipuli) and does not have any motifs on his skin; the third Tulupere, the one of the Paru de Este, is the real monster. The latter is the Tulupere with a decorated reptilian skin holding designs used today in basketry, as is the focus of research of Lucia van Velthem (1976, 1995, 1998, 2001). Daniel Schoepf (1972:54) located this “Touloupère” [= Tulupere] on the upper Paru, near the mouth of creek Achiki. Just south of creek Achiki is located creek Tapeucourou [= Tépu kulu] along which was located a path joining the Apalai of Rio Maicuru (Rauschert 1982). This serpentine monster is unique rather than typical, and its sighting location at creek Achiki, I realized, is on the latitude of the demarcation in the nineteenth century between Apalai in the south and Wayana in the north (Schoepf 1972:53; following Crevaux 1881 and Coudreau 1893; Figures A-3 and 3-18), or more accurately: Upului in the north (Chapuis 2003:819).

This “classic” Tulupere story, I argue, narrates about a frontier zone between Wayana and Apalai that is abridged (Appendix C: Tulupere). After killing this serpentine monster, Wayana
and Apalai of the Paru de Este unite as Wayana-Apalai, and basketry weaving is a mnemonic device of identification. With combined efforts Apalai and Wayana killed Tulupere, whereby Apalai took one side of the reptilian skin as template for their basketry motifs while Wayana took the other side. Therefore Wayana and Apalai basketry motifs resemble, though slightly differ, as the left and right side of the reptilian body slightly differed. Unification of Wayana and Apalai (as a dialectic Self) materialized while facing a dangerous social Other: Tulupere.

Tulupere being the archetypal serpentine dangerous social Other was a metaphor, I posit, for the Pijanokoto as quintessential enemy to the Wayana. Creek Achiki could have connected with a path to nearby Rio Urucuriana (Igarapé dos rucuyannas) where it joined the Pijanokoto of the Rio Cúmina or Paru de Oeste (Coudreau 1901). Tulupere of the Jari (similar to a caterpillar) is another example of a frontier zone abridged, as Jean Chapuis located this monster above the mouth of Rio Kuyali, that is, near the frontier between Upului and Kaikusiyana (Figures 3-18 and A-3). In the latter case the dangerous social Other most likely were the recently immigrating Wayãpi, whereby Kaikusiyana united with these newly settling Wayãpi.

The narratives of Tulupere, according to Chapuis (2003:815), took place in modern times, without intervention of Kailawa, however, in Azeima’s version (Appendix C-3: lines:12, 18) it is stated that Wayana went to Kailawa requesting him to lead the expedition to kill this (water) monster Tulupere, because Kailawa had the knowledge and power; he owned powerful hemït (charms). Chapuis marked in a footnote, yet did not explore further, the fact that the Tulupere of Aletani (proper name is Matawanaimê) is entirely black, as is possibly related to a symbolic reference to Aluku (Boni) and Ndjuka Maroons (Chapuis and Rivière 2003:817; footnote 1962, 827). Erroneously, Chapuis placed Tulupere of the Aletani between Kulekule and Alama (Chapuis and Rivière 2003:825, then again maps by Chapuis are rather sketchy). Relative
proximity of Tulupere sightings along the Aletani and the locations of Taira sites Pakilaimë enï and Mulepan enï (Figure 3-18; these sites were pointed out to me on several occasions, by several Wayana, while navigating the Aletani in canoe with GPS and map in hand) appears to me as a memory work in progress; situating the conventional Tulupere narratives of overcoming frontiers into historical context of Maroons (*mekolo taliliman*) as dangerous social Others.

Figure 3-18. Location of Taira sites and sightings of Tulupere.

With the Maroons/Taira as dangerous social Others, the narrative of Tapanawale is about unification of a dialectic Self (Wayana) along the Aletani. I posit that the histories of the Wars at the cataract of Jakutouku, as well as the various locations of Tulupere sightings along the
Aletani, are a means to materialize while making sense of historical events. Different sightings of Tulupere along the Aletani (Figure 3-18) resonate with the shifting frontier between Okomëyana (downstream of Kiboï soula or isoli ētakima [first falls when arriving from the watershed]) and Kukuiyana (upstream of these falls) (Figure A-3). As will be discussed elsewhere (Chapter 6.3), Okomëyana and Kukuiyana are at the core of Wayana society.

As such the falls of Jakutouku, a frontier between Okomëyana (represented by Janamale) upstream and Kukuiyana (represented by Twenke) downstream materialized as a bridging frontier to the dialectic Self (Wayana sociality) while facing dangerous social Others (Taira, Maroons). Events that possibly occurred at one point in time near these falls are incorporated in a memory work, in that the mythstory is being created in order to make sense to the Wayana, and materialize a social memory of belonging to Wayana sociality.

This chapter demonstrated that Wayana (Guiana) settlement organization is more diverse and more complex than previously assumed. Succeeding chapters are additional lines of evidence of the regionality of Wayana sociality beyond the in this chapter discussed temporality of the built environment and settlement patterning emerging out of socio-political processes in the Wayana (Guiana) landscape. In the next chapter, I will discuss the various dimensions of the community roundhouse and its relation to the surrounding Guiana landscape.

1 Though the phenomenological language in this monograph resonates with Martin Heidegger, Claudius de Goeje emphasized in his conclusion that nobody else was writing on the subject.
2 We saw some grinding grooves and the French archaeologists went up the riverbank. Instead, I asked the Wayana pilot—who originated from the Suriname Bank and hence spoke some Dutch—if there used to be a village around here. “No, not here. A little further upstream, there used to be a village” he answered.
3 Some Wayana of my generation admitted that they had frequently fallen asleep during nighttime narration of stories of times long ago (uhpak aptau eitoponpë). They knew about, but they could not narrate, these stories.
4 November 6, 2000, I was given a Wayana name: Imso. First of all, Imso resonated with my proper name Renzo. More importantly, imso are winged male leaf-cutter ants departing from the ground in December to fly away. In 1998 and 1999 I departed mid-October and in 2000 I would depart December 30; per Cessna from Maripasoula to Cayenne. Winged ants imso always return, as I always returned; an irresistible analogy. Furthermore, imso is living underground, walks on the earth, and flies into the sky; yet this small insect is not as powerful as other animals roaming different worlds as caiman, harpy eagle, or jaguar. Correspondingly, I did not have the knowledge of a powerful pïjai (shaman), but I appeared to know about their powerful knowledge from gazing into their worlds.
churches. While “observation” was the main objective of Thevet and de Léry, it was Hans Staden who made his descriptions and illustrations of the indigenous people of Brazil with the prospect of returning to their respective churches. Thevet and de Léry (1594 [1578]) intentionally set out to conduct detailed descriptions and illustrations of the indigenous people of Brazil with the prospect of returning to their respective churches. While “observation” was the main objective of Thevet and de Léry, it was Hans Staden who made his observations while “participating” in local traditions, i.e., Observant Participation avant la lettre.

Hans Staden (1634 [1557]; Whitehead and Harbsmeier 2008) described and illustrated the daily lives of indigenous people of Brazil while being captive with the prospect of being killed and eaten. In contrast, André Thevet and Jean de Léry (1578) described and illustrated the daily lives of indigenous people of Brazil while being captive with the prospect of being killed and eaten. In contrast, André Thevet and Jean de Léry (1994 [1578]) intentionally set out to conduct detailed descriptions and illustrations of the indigenous people of Brazil with the prospect of returning to their respective churches.

Eithne Carlin and Karin Boven (2003:27) translated that this outpost, or “camp,” was located on a “man-made mound.” There is no mention of a man-made mound by Tony (1843:221); other than this structure is located in the middle of a garden plot.

Carlin and Boven (2003:27) do not mention the impressive size of these roads, moreover they translated “palisadé avec des gaulettes” (Tony 1843:222) as “cordoned off by a balustrade” (Carlin and Boven 2003:27), and stated that these “three parallel paths [were] just where it entered the village” (ibid.) whereas Tony (1843:222) wrote that these parallel roads branched off about halve a league (about 2.5 km) before the village; thus not “just before.”

Kujaliwala, unidentified mountain; kujali is the Wayana name for the red-and-green macaw; Ara chloroptera.

Without further consideration, Carlin and Boven stated that this “central hut named tapui … nowadays is referred to as the tukusipan” (2003:27-28). Aimawale (pers. comm. 2000) named this structure in the center of the public plaza, as described by Claude Tony, kwepi, and stated that this was a roofed platform where weapons were stocked and guarded by keepers of arms.

Following Tim Ingold (2000) the landscape is visible, whereas the taskscape is audible. Even before visually laying eye on buildings of a settlement; activities within a settlement produce a soundscape surrounding the settlement. In narratives, announcement of a nearby village is not by means of its visibility, but through the deep sounds of fluteplay (luwe bamboo flutes) and songs performed in the nearby village. Alternatively, visitors announce their presence by playing flutes (high pitched kapaujetpé [deer bone flute] above all) upon arriving.

Settlements of Tolinga and Machiri (just south of Tolinga [present-day Antecume pata]) can be perceived on an aerial photograph from 1956 (Hurault 1965:planche IX; commentary 25-26).

In 1958, Tïpiti and most of the residents (including Opoya and Wéyoukou) resided with Massili II (ibid.:plate II). In 2005, I heard that Sihmi had divorced her husband and had married Tuwoli from Awala kampu.

In 2005, I heard that Sihmi had divorced her husband and had married Tuwoli from Awala kampu.

Wife of Opoya, Alimina, is a daughter of the second marriage of the mother of Tïpiti, which makes Alimina and Tïpiti (discussed above) half-brother and sister.

Granman Amaipotï dismissed Klingelhoffer in 1993 in the context of information gathered by the French Officials for French Identity Cards based on his negative interpretation of the origin of several Wayana. At the arrival of the Gendarmes and city hall officials among the Wayana with regard to French ID-cards, a meeting that took place in the tukusipan with Granman Amaipotï and Kapitein Anamaila, and according to Wayana, Klingelhoffer did not take the side of the Wayana, resulting in the fact that several Wayana did not obtain French ID-cards nor the social security that comes with it. This is not the place to elaborate further on this highly political debate.

Considering demographic data, Henri Coudreau (1892a:8) stated that: “Nothing is more variable than the total of the indigenous population” (Rien n’est plus variable d’ailleurs, que le total d’une population indienne) as the entire population moved along so that the researcher could not make a distinction between hosts and guests of a given village. Sometimes women and children left the village and fled into the woods. On occasion, a single house contained thirty people, at times merely a single couple (ibid.). Instead of meticulously recording a census, Coudreau, as other researchers, simply ignored demographics, only to list some averages and general total numbers of inhabitants. I will later return to the topic of demographics and ramifications of averaging total number of inhabitants (Chapter 6).

An initial survey with Google Earth demonstrated that neither all settlements in the Jari Basin (research area of Daniel Schoepf and Lucia van Velthem) hold a community roundhouse (tukusipan). On the ground fieldwork will determine whether similar socio-political forces, as discussed in the present study, are at work.

Janamale [synonyms: Janemalé, Yanamale] had founded his new village, named Luwe (also referred to as Gramanponsoe), at Kawatop (Figure 3-16). He had moved here from Pilikaju or Toko patapé, the former place of his father Toko. Former place of Pilikaju was located just south of the village of Wapotumït [synonyms:...
the Jari to the Aletani. Today, Kïiwa resides in Kulumuli pata [Twenke].

Etté, attaques par les Oyaricoulets: l’un d’eux a été tué. l’autre blessé” (Coudreau 1893:79).

Les Galibis, avec les marchandises qu’ils tenaient de la côte, les Galibis qui manquaient de femmes, dit toujours roucouyenne d’une grande beauté pour laquelle les Galibis livrèrent, dans les abatis de Tribici, un combat dans lesquels les Roucouyennes perdirent beaucoup de monde, les Galibis et les Aramichaux, vaincus, furent massacrés par ces ennemis impitoyables” (Crevaux 1993:71).

les Galibis, with the marchandises they had from the coast, the Galibis who were missing women, said always:

en novembre 1888, deux créoles de Cayenne, chercheurs d’or à l’Aoua, s’étant aventurés jusqu’à Yacoutoc, ont été attaqués par les Oyaricoulets: l’un d’eux a été tué. l’autre blessé” (Coudreau 1893:79).

En novembre 1888, deux créoles de Cayenne, chercheurs d’or à l’Aoua, s’étant aventurés jusqu’à Yacoutoc, ont été attaqués par les Oyaricoulets: l’un d’eux a été tué. l’autre blessé” (Coudreau 1893:79).

as illustration of arbitrariness of data; where Hurault mapped in 1948 the location of six Wayana settlements along the Aletani (from north to south: Aloïké, Touanké/Malavate, Yanamalé, Tiliwé, Païna and Pléiké), in the same year, medical doctor André Saussé (1951:100) recognized only four settlements (three on the French bank and one on the Dutch bank; unnamed). Where Docteur André Saussé (1951) wrote a broad historical overview of the Populations primitives du Maroni (Primitive Peoples of the Maroni), he apparently “missed” two Wayana settlements south of Ingifoetoe (south of the Oelemari): Païna and Pléiké. The late Pileike (Pliéiké) was the son of former village leader Wapotumït. Païna will later join Janamale in his village Kawemhakan.

At the bank overlooking the cataract Jakutouku, where some other stones with grinding grooves are located as well.

This history of this site goes back to prehistoric times as a boulder with several dozen grinding grooves is located at the bank overlooking the cataract Jakutouku, where some other stones with grinding grooves are located as well.

Hier [at Curmotibo along the Lawa] fanden wir auch einen jungen Burschen und ein Mädchen vom Stamme der Irakuleh-Indianer [Waya(r)kule], die in ihrehe Kindheit von den Bonninegern entweder geraubt oder als Geiseln mitgenommen waren. … Sie waren, wie manche Neger, tätouiert und hatten ganz die Manieren ihrer Gebieter angenommen” (Kappler 1861, in de Goeje 1943:343).

Anapaikë (brother-in-law of Janamale in his first mariage and son-in-law in his second marriage) was made Granman of the Wayana of Suriname under influence of the Dutch Government (Boven 2006:127). Anapaikë and his wife Alijamï (Aliwame) are named by Schmidt (1942:51) as inhabitant of the village of Janamale in 1940. Parents of Amaipotï (Granman of the Wayana of French Guiana), namely Twenke (Toenke) and Alilupïn (Malehoepin) were also residents of the village of Janamale.

parents of Amaipotï (Inamï) who is married to André Cognat, village leader of Antecume pata.
CHAPTER 4
ROUNDHOUSES ON EARTH AS IN THE SKY

In the clear sky, detaches at the horizon a rocky outcrop that I [François Mazière] point out to Janamale, for we want to go there [name of this inselberg in the Tumuc-Humac is not provided]. “No! Not humans. That is there that a long, long time ago, the Wayanas were born; it is there that lives the Feathered Serpent.”¹


Figure 4-1  Community roundhouse of Pilima, an inside view (left) and its location indicated with yellow dot on an aerial photograph (right). Inset is the maluwana of Pilima.

This chapter focuses on intra-settlement patterning, the variety of buildings, house construction, the built environment, and the Wayana landscape. At the top of the community roundhouse (tukusipan), hangs a wooden disk painted with men-killing monsters (Figure 4-1), which, in a sense, is the Wayana approach to “map” their socio-historical Guiana landscape. This discussion of the maluwana is rooted in the means Wayana employ to orient themselves
within their landscape, followed by an outline of Wayana orientation in time. This chapter concludes with a critical evaluation of the Wayana calendar and its implications for life on earth, and the mediating role of roundhouses on earth as in the sky. As demonstrated throughout this study, a house is more than a static artifact; apprehension of the house as dynamic, in history, and hub for interrelationships, must begin from a recognition of its temporality through dwelling.

4.1 Carbet as Dwelling: Noun or Verb?

Grounded in the distinction between mapping and map-making/map-using, as outlined in chapter 2, is the pitfall of settlement pattern analysis resulting in a static rendering of dynamic forms of dwelling. The verb “dwelling” is rendered motionless into a dwelling, i.e., a house structure. Let me clarify this statement by critically assessing “carbet,” the commonly used term for “indigenous type hut” in French Guiana and the French West Indies. For French Guiana, Claude Tony (1843 [1769]) wrote carbet, referring to an Indian hut, and Pierre Barrère (1743:141; Figure 4-2) depicted two types of carbets amerindiens: taboïï or grand karbet, and sura or high house (sura = rack). About a century earlier, in the Antilles, Raymond Breton (1647) mentioned karbet, or karebet, as the Carib big house. Later in his dictionary, he specified this big house as tāboïi (Breton 1665, 1666). Among contemporary Kaliña (Coastal Carib) tapui (also written as ta:pïi [Ahlbrinck 1931:119]) is larger than auto (house) and a former meeting place of men, merely present as memory of elders (ibid.). The same name (tapuy) was written down by Claude Tony (1835) for the grand central building in the Wayana region, and tapuï means “house” in Apalai (Carib language; pers. comm. Aitale [an Apalai]; Tapuy, Schulz-Kampfhenkel 1938), Aitale added that Emerillon (Tupi language) call a house tabouite.

Whereas the name of the traditional grand meeting place appears consistent with variants of taboïï or tapuï, “carbet” is rather ambivalent.
Confusion is not simply in classification of house types, as *carbet* “is a term serving both the single and the compound [*du simple et du compose*]. They call indifferently *Carbet* a single Carib house and [as well as] a cluster of houses forming together a village” (Anonymous 1776; my translation). About a century earlier, Breton (1665, 1666), in his dictionaries, had translated *aute* with both *carbet* (house) and place (village, settlement). Moreover, in about the same period, Father Biet in his description of French Guiana applied *carbet* both as a noun (designating the central building), as well as a verb referring to talking that takes place in this central building; “*carbeter*, this means to talk about their business” (Biet 1664:37):

They have a large place well cleared, to have enough space to dance and to do other physical exercises. In the middle of this place they have a big *Carbet*, sometimes longer than 150 *paces* [about 75 meter long]. They are open at all sides, only having a roof of palm leaves supported with forks and pillars. This is where the spent the day all together to *carbeter*, this means to talk about their business, while they are sitting on their beds which they name *Accadots* or *Amacs*, and to make their little things, as bows, arrows, *boutous* [= clubs] and comparable things. At about twenty *paces* [about 10 meters] from this *Carbet* are the houses, where they sleep during the night (Biet 1664:37).

A central meeting hall where communal discourse is conducted, resonates with Yves d’Evreux who wrote that “in the *carbets* they converse about nothing else than this new knowledge of God … they conclude their *carbets* by expressing the desire to see baptized their
children and themselves” (1615: second traité, chap. 1), other than this description concerns the coast of Brazil or seventeenth century France Antarctique, where in Tupi, carbet was not a static noun (a built structure), but a dynamic verb (practice of gathering); it is “their Carbet that they hold every evening at the plaza encircled by their dwellings” (Abbeville 1614:329), as also mentioned by André Thevet (1668:56). I therefore argue that the term carbet (which may be of Tupi origin) became incorporated into French vocabulary in Guiana and the Caribbean—brought by the French from the coast of Brazil in the seventeenth century —did not refer to a built environment sensu stricto among Tupi but the performative interrelationships of gathering.

4.2 Intra-Settlement Structure and Construction Elements

Wayana settlements (ëutë) are typically described as a community roundhouse (tukusipan) on the main plaza (pulolop) around which are located, spaced between each other, several dwellings (pakolo) and work sheds (tilaka). House structures are essentially described as a frame built out of hardwood with a roof of leaves (palm fronds), and classification is often threefold; (1) roundhouses ascribed as meeting-houses or “men’s houses,” (2) gable roofs for dwellings or living-houses, and (3) primitive constructions of a simple roof for work- and storage-houses (e.g., Schulz-Kampfhenkel 1938:157). Ëutë is the general term for village, regardless of its size or house structures. Pata (as deictic intersubjectivity) refers to a “place of …” (e.g., Awîla pata = place of Awîla), and patatpê indicates a “former place of …” whereby not always human settlements are indicated (e.g., hali hali pata = place of fish poison; ělukë patatpê = former place of caterpillars). Average settlements lodge up to 25 inhabitants consisting of a small number of dwellings—in average three or four—where several families reside. Households are typically uxorilocal, consisting of a grandmother (kuni) with her married daughters and their respective children.
This typical settlement organization has been around for at least a century, as Coudreau wrote that “the village [of Apoïké] is composed of four large pakolos where live several families. These pakolos are spacious and arrange amidst them a large public place, with in its center the otoman, the house of guests” (Coudreau 1893:90; my translation). A similar arrangement can be seen in the village of Pililipu (ibid.:104; Figure 4-3 A). Diameter of the otoman of Pililipu,
according to Coudreau (1893:103), was 15 meter. A similar type of roundhouse in the village of Ouptoli (ibid.:545; Figure 4-3 D), was identified by Tënepo as otopan, but named monta by Kulijaman (2000, pers. comm.). In 1908, Claudius de Goeje added to his earlier study of house types (de Goeje 1905:11-12), that the monta, is also named “tukusipán” (de Goeje 1908:3). This monta differs from the current tukusipan in that it contains a floor (Table 4-1).

Although the domed building in the center of the village of Marière [Masili] (Coudreau 1893:537; Figure 4-3 C) resembles a tukusipan or monta (interpreted as such by Kulijaman), this structure was named muwêman by Tënepo (pers. comm. 2000). A similar structure in the village of Atoupi (Coudreau 1893:533; Figure 4-3 B), was identified by Tënepo and Aloupki as muwêman, and muwê by Kulijaman. Another high-rise roundhouse on the left of the engraving of the village of Marière was interpreted as a tamsilem (“with point[ed roof]”) by Tënepo and Aloupki, and as an otoman by Kulijaman (2000, pers. comm.). The otoman pointed out to me in 1997 (only structure of this type in the upper Maroni basin; Figure 4-5) did not resemble the type of structure Coudreau referred to, nor those structures interpreted as otoman. A feature of utmost importance to archaeology is that, although the roof of otoman and tukusipan, among others, is indicative of a “roundhouse” its posthole formation (four or eight main posts) is rectangular and almost square. This ethnographic detail not only illustrates structural variety within a single type of roundhouse, but also that one single building can be given multiple names depending on the origin of the builder, and/or interviewee. Discrepancy in names for roundhouses serving to house guests (e.g., tukusipan, monta, otopan, or muwêman) is in all probability situated in the Wayana ethnogenesis as a multi-ethnic confederation.
Figure 4-4. *Tukusipan*: community roundhouse in the village of Pilima (1998).

Figure 4-5. *Otoman*: traditional Wayana dwelling at Kawemhakan / Lawa Station (1997).
Table 4-1. Typology of Wayana house structures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>round</td>
<td>tapui</td>
<td>“Large carbet named Tapui … that is to them a kind of guard building [= corps de garde]. They [feathered guards] all have there their marked place where they have their hammock; their weapons and a small bench. They are provided with food, and they can never move without order of the chef” (Tony 1843:226). Aimawale (pers. comm. 2000) interpreted this building as a kwepti: roofed platform where weapons are stocked and guarded by keepers of arms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monta</td>
<td>monta</td>
<td>“monta (Pl. IX, fig. 1), circular with dome. The roof reaches till 1½ to 2 meter from the ground. In every village is such a house present. At Jamaikê [one of the Wayana villages along the Aletani] it was meant specifically for guests and feasts. Every person possessed a section at the interior of the roof where he could store dancing paraphernalia, arrows etc. [Franssen Herderschee (1905a:121) stated additionally that the dance ornaments that comprised the common property of the village, were hung in the vicinity of the ridge]. Occasionally a floor with thin boards is made [at more than 2.5 meters from the ground], with a square entrance opening and ladder [description of ladder]” (de Goeje 1905:11; all translations of de Goeje are mine). Dimensions of the monta of the village Intelewa are a diameter of about 10 meter with a height of 15 meter (de Goeje 1908:1016). In 1908, Claudius de Goeje added to his prior study of house types (de Goeje 1905:11-12), that the domed monta, is also named “tukusipán” (de Goeje 1908:3). This monta differs from the current tukusipan in that it contains a floor level.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tukusipan</td>
<td>Walter Roth (1924:260) mentioned that the roundhouse was named tkuchpang among the Makusi, Patamona, and Wapishana, and tapui among the Arekuna. Among the Trio, several names are given to this domed building: timakitti (de Goeje 1905:12), umaná (Yde 1965:5, 153), and tukúxipán (Frikel 1973). Domed community roundhouses tukusipan are located in the center of Wayana and Apalai settlements. Among the Wayana of the upper Maroni basin there are currently four tukusipan present; namely in the villages of Twenke, Talhuwen, Antecume pata, and Pilima (Figures A-4 and 3-11). Twenke (founded by granman Twenke in the 1950s) is the oldest settlement of these four villages with a community roundhouse. Tukusipan of Twenke is with a diameter of about ten meters (84 m²), eight inner circle posts and eight outer circle posts, and a height of about six-and-a-half meters, the smallest. Tukusipan of Pilima is of about the same dimensions as the tukusipan of Twenke (eleven meter diameter and about seven meter high; eight inner circle posts and eight outer circle posts). Tukusipan of Antecume pata (founded in 1967 by the Frenchman André Cognat), is twelve meters in diameter and thus has 113 m² covered surface (about 30 m² more than Twenke). Furthermore, this tukusipan has twelve inner circle posts and twelve outer circle posts. Distance between inner circle and outer circle remains 1.5 meters in all four community roundhouses, as this is the distance needed to hang a hammock. Most recent tukusipan is the community roundhouse of Talhuwen that was only built in 1996 under direction of Aimawale Opyoa, and re-roofed in the summer of 2009. This tukusipan with a diameter of between 13.5 and 14.3 meter (almost doubling the covered surface from the tukusipan of Twenke), a height of about seven meters, twelve inner circle posts and twelve outer circle posts, is the most impressive of the four roundhouses in the upper Maroni basin. Central pole9 traverses the roof and is topped with three nested ceramic vessels. Oral tradition tells that it was the Creator Twins who built the first tukusipan for their initiation, after they had been sheltered by a reversed cassava cooking pot (oha) (Table C-1: line 6) protecting them from being eaten by fierce Jaguars. Cross-section of this reversed cassava cooking pot (oha) is analogous the cross-section of the domed tukusipan (Duin 2002/2003:46). Characteristic for a tukusipan is the painted disk (maluwana) hanging in top around the central pole (Figure 4-1).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mere name *tukusipan* is enigmatic in that it refers to “the place of *tukui*” whereby *tukui* can refer to hummingbird (*tukui* or *tukusi*), which, according to Daniel Schoepf (1998) stands for hummingbird dancers who arrive from elsewhere to dance at this place. Or it might refer to *tukui* arrows with a single large bamboo blade to kill large game as tapirs (and thus suited to kill humans), that are stuck in the roof of the *tukusipan* (Duin 1998). Whatever the proper translation—maybe simply because a lot of hummingbirds fly in and out (David Alikoto, pers. comm. 1998)—meaning emerges out of interrelations between social Others who arrive at this place, and to whom this heterotopia is a *pied-à-terre*. Lucia Hussak van Velthem (1983:174) furthermore stated that Wayana name this building in Portuguese “prefeitura” (town hall).

Henri Coudreau does not name the domed roundhouse destined for guests (*la maison des étrangers*) *tukusipan*, *monta*, or *tapui*, but *otomane*. An *otoman* was present in the village of Apoiké (Coudreau 1893:90), and can be seen in the village of Pililipu next to four other roundhouses (Coudreau 1893:104; figure 3-2-1. A). Diameter of the latter structure, according to Coudreau (1893:103), was 15 meter.

A similar building is depicted in the drawing of the village of Marière (Coudreau 1893:537; Figure 3-2-1. C); Tënepo (pers. comm. 2000) identified this structure as *muwëman*, yet Kulijaman (pers. comm. 2000) identified this building in the center of the village of Marière [= Masili] as *monta*. Central roundhouse in the engraving of the village of Atoupi (Coudreau 1893:533; Figure 3-2-1. A), has also been identified by Tënepo and Aloupki as *muwëman*, or *muwë* (Kulijaman; pers. comm. 2000). Possibly this is a play of tropes with *mule* (womb). Other high-rise roundhouses have been interpreted as *tamsilem* after its pointy shape. High-rise roundhouse on the left of the engraving of the village of Marière (Coudreau 1893:537) has been interpreted as a tamsilem by Tënepo and Aloupki, and as an *otoman* by Kulijaman (2000, pers. comm.). Furthermore, the central building in the engraving of the village of Ouptoli (Coudreau 1893:545; Figure 3-2-1. D), was identified by Kulijaman as *monta*, and by Tënepo as *otopan* (2000, pers. comm.).

*Otomane* (Pl. IX, fig. 2), with floor [Note that none of the Trio houses has an upper story or floor (de Goeje 1906:12)]. According to Coudreau [1893:90] the *otomane* is the house of the guests. We only found this type in Intelewa [one of the Wayana villages along the Tapanahoni; hence the *otoman* is a unique building]; during our visit there, we lodged downstairs, [while] the Indians slept at night on the upper floor (de Goeje 1905:12). Dimensions are about 9 meter long, 5 meter wide, and 5 meter high (Franssen Herderschee 1905b:898; my translation).

This description differs from the dwelling that was pointed out to me in 1997 as *otoman* (Duin 1998:95; Figure 3-2-3). Only one such structure was to be found in the upper Maroni basin; and well next to the church of Kawemhakan/Lawa Station. Dimensions of this structure are about 7 meter long, 6 meter wide, and 3.5 meter high (Figure 3-2-3). Walter Roth (1929:24) complained about absence of detailed illustrations and descriptions of frames and constructions of Wayana houses. First construction drawings of Wayana houses—and settlement plans—are to be found with the geographer Jean Hurault (1965). Hurault (1965: planche XIX) made an architectural line drawing of an otopan with cross-sections and dimensions (about 6 meter long, 4.5 meter wide, and 3.75 meter high). While dimensions resonate with the *otoman* of Kawemhakan/Lawa Station (Duin 1998:95), the built structure of the otopan from the village of Tipiti along the upper Maroni in 1957 is analogue (yet restricted in width) to photos of an otopan from the village Xuixuimó along the upper Jari in 1978 (van Velthem 1983:180; no dimensions available). Lucia Hussak van Velthem (1983:178) classified otopan/otopan as a type of *pakolo*. A structure similar to *otoman* (apart from the lack of one semicircular apex) as encountered in the Aldeia Apalai in 1977, was named “harpey tyiaritan, tymkoroem” (van Velthem 1983:181), resonating with “3°. tialetakim, similar [to *otomane*], though somewhat smaller” (de Goeje 1905:12).

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**Table 4-1. continued.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mere name</th>
<th><em>tukusipan</em> is enigmatic in that it refers to “the place of <em>tukui</em>” whereby <em>tukui</em> can refer to hummingbird (<em>tukui</em> or <em>tukusi</em>), which, according to Daniel Schoepf (1998) stands for hummingbird dancers who arrive from elsewhere to dance at this place. Or it might refer to <em>tukui</em> arrows with a single large bamboo blade to kill large game as tapirs (and thus suited to kill humans), that are stuck in the roof of the <em>tukusipan</em> (Duin 1998). Whatever the proper translation—maybe simply because a lot of hummingbirds fly in and out (David Alikoto, pers. comm. 1998)—meaning emerges out of interrelations between social Others who arrive at this place, and to whom this heterotopia is a <em>pied-à-terre</em>. Lucia Hussak van Velthem (1983:174) furthermore stated that Wayana name this building in Portuguese “prefeitura” (town hall).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>otoman</em></td>
<td>Henri Coudreau does not name the domed roundhouse destined for guests (<em>la maison des étrangers</em>) <em>tukusipan</em>, <em>monta</em>, or <em>tapui</em>, but <em>otomane</em>. An <em>otoman</em> was present in the village of Apoiké (Coudreau 1893:90), and can be seen in the village of Pililipu next to four other roundhouses (Coudreau 1893:104; figure 3-2-1. A). Diameter of the latter structure, according to Coudreau (1893:103), was 15 meter. A similar building is depicted in the drawing of the village of Marière (Coudreau 1893:537; Figure 3-2-1. C); Tënepo (pers. comm. 2000) identified this structure as <em>muwëman</em>, yet Kulijaman (pers. comm. 2000) identified this building in the center of the village of Marière [= Masili] as <em>monta</em>. Central roundhouse in the engraving of the village of Atoupi (Coudreau 1893:533; Figure 3-2-1. A), has also been identified by Tënepo and Aloupki as <em>muwëman</em>, or <em>muwë</em> (Kulijaman; pers. comm. 2000). Possibly this is a play of tropes with <em>mule</em> (womb). Other high-rise roundhouses have been interpreted as <em>tamsilem</em> after its pointy shape. High-rise roundhouse on the left of the engraving of the village of Marière (Coudreau 1893:537) has been interpreted as a tamsilem by Tënepo and Aloupki, and as an <em>otoman</em> by Kulijaman (2000, pers. comm.). Furthermore, the central building in the engraving of the village of Ouptoli (Coudreau 1893:545; Figure 3-2-1. D), was identified by Kulijaman as <em>monta</em>, and by Tënepo as <em>otopan</em> (2000, pers. comm.). <em>Otomane</em> (Pl. IX, fig. 2), with floor [Note that none of the Trio houses has an upper story or floor (de Goeje 1906:12)]. According to Coudreau [1893:90] the <em>otomane</em> is the house of the guests. We only found this type in Intelewa [one of the Wayana villages along the Tapanahoni; hence the <em>otoman</em> is a unique building]; during our visit there, we lodged downstairs, [while] the Indians slept at night on the upper floor (de Goeje 1905:12). Dimensions are about 9 meter long, 5 meter wide, and 5 meter high (Franssen Herderschee 1905b:898; my translation). This description differs from the dwelling that was pointed out to me in 1997 as <em>otoman</em> (Duin 1998:95; Figure 3-2-3). Only one such structure was to be found in the upper Maroni basin; and well next to the church of Kawemhakan/Lawa Station. Dimensions of this structure are about 7 meter long, 6 meter wide, and 3.5 meter high (Figure 3-2-3). Walter Roth (1929:24) complained about absence of detailed illustrations and descriptions of frames and constructions of Wayana houses. First construction drawings of Wayana houses—and settlement plans—are to be found with the geographer Jean Hurault (1965). Hurault (1965: planche XIX) made an architectural line drawing of an otopan with cross-sections and dimensions (about 6 meter long, 4.5 meter wide, and 3.75 meter high). While dimensions resonate with the <em>otoman</em> of Kawemhakan/Lawa Station (Duin 1998:95), the built structure of the otopan from the village of Tipiti along the upper Maroni in 1957 is analogue (yet restricted in width) to photos of an otopan from the village Xuixuimó along the upper Jari in 1978 (van Velthem 1983:180; no dimensions available). Lucia Hussak van Velthem (1983:178) classified otopan/otopan as a type of <em>pakolo</em>. A structure similar to <em>otoman</em> (apart from the lack of one semicircular apex) as encountered in the Aldeia Apalai in 1977, was named “harpey tyiaritan, tymkoroem” (van Velthem 1983:181), resonating with “3°. tialetakim, similar [to <em>otomane</em>], though somewhat smaller” (de Goeje 1905:12).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although the roof is indicative of a “roundhouse” its posthole formation (four or eight central posts) is rectangular and almost square.

General term for house. Gabled roof dwelling supported by four to six main posts, and generally provided with an elevated floor. Hammocks are tied to crossbeams. Additional beams (or planks) are placed across crossbeams providing shelves onto which boxes (pakala), baskets (pilasi), and other storage materials are stocked. Smaller personal belongings can also directly been stuck between the palm fronds forming the lower rim of the roof (see also van Velthem 1983:188-190).

While pakolo is a general term of reference for “house” it can be an adjective to specify the kind of activities for which this house serves:

The place where is located a fireplace (fire is wapot) is named wapot pakolon (pakoro tumaetop or uapot pakoron: van Velthem 1983:184) and generally, when a griddle is present, serves as the place where cassava bread is baked.

kuluwata pakolon (kaiamaetop pakoron: van Velthem 1983:184) is where the kuluwata (trough to rasp manioc roots) is located.

kaikui pakolon (kaikui pakoron: van Velthem 1983:185) is a dog house.

Note: Coudreau referred to these houses to shelter dogs, birds, and other domestic animals as “ajoupa” (Coudreau 1893:112).

Note: Coudreau referred to these houses to shelter dogs, birds, and other domestic animals as “ajoupa” (Coudreau 1893:112).

ituta pakolon (“house of the forest”), is a night shelter against mosquitoes as “itota-pakolo are located on the garden plots, far from the river” (de Goeje 1906:12) (Coudreau 1893:531; Crevaux 1983:133). Ituta pakolon is a description of where the house is located—namely in the forest (ituta)—whereas the actual name for this structure is maita. This type of structure became discarded after the introduction of mosquito nets for the hammock, as Araibá told van Velthem (1983:178).

Compare with maite (Pl. IX, fig. 5); round hut, roof till the ground, with one single entrance (de Goeje 1905:12). Claudius de Goeje wrote that “moineu, about the same as the maite of the Ojana’s [= Wayana], though bigger and with two diametrically placed entrance doors” (1905:12). Although no dimensions are given by de Goeje, moineu resonates with the communal roundhouse müimó, accommodating all inhabitants of the village (Ros 1973; Fock 1963:196; Yde 1965:5, 153). This name resonates, in its turn, with the Wayana mïmnë, a shelter (about 2 meter in diameter, and 2 meter high) of dense layers of vertically arranged palm fronds from kumu (Oenocarpus bacaba) or alternatively wapu (Euterpe oloracea) palm fronds, also named tokai (Tony 1843:220). No light may traverse the palm frond walls.

Shaman’s hut (mïmnë) is only constructed after dusk and stripped down before dawn. It is at this ephemeral place where the shaman invokes the spirits. I have seen a Wayana pijai (shaman) enter, and some two hours later there was a high pitched voice. Other Wayana informed me this was ipoh (a water monster) and a little later there were other monsters (kaikui) running around rustling the palm fronds. In contrast to the Yagua case described by Girard (1963:38, 59), the Wayana shaman had his patient inside this obscure shelter. Then again, she was lying inside a hammock of which the posts were outside of the shaman’s hut. Sick people are not merely metaphorically, but literally floating between two worlds.

Generally, a tilaka (telakaman, tyrakan: van Velthem 1983:182) consists of a gabled roof supported by four or six posts, and walls may be constructed by horizontally placed split logs between a series of poles. Center-left structure in the engraving of the village of Atoupi (Coudreau 1893:533; Figure 3-2-1. B) has been identified as tilaka (Tënépo and Aloupki), or tijalitakem (Kulijaman 2000). These tilaka can serve as atelier for potters, and other handicrafts. These are also the temporary structures build in the gardens as garden house, or temporary shelter before building the village at this place. “tilaka (Pl. IX, fig. 3), of which one can find several in one village, in use as work hut of the women” (de Goeje 1905:12).
Another kind of building, that actually is not a separate type of structure, which is named after a construction element, is de Goeje’s lomonaka (Pl. IX, fig. 4), named “till the ground (lo),” as its roof touches the ground.

Building on the right-hand side foreground of the engraving of the village of Marière (Coudreau 1893:537; Figure 3-2-1. C) has been interpreted as a kuliputpëman (by Kulijaman) or kapasiman (by Tënepo and Aloupki; pers. com 2000) after its shape, whereby it was noted that the Wayana name is kuliputpëman (“like a tortoise”), whereas the kapasiman (“like an armadillo”) is the Wayãpi terminology. Effectively, this is a Wayãpi (Tupi speaking people) dwelling analogous the “oca Wayãpi” (Coudreau 1893:529; see also Gallois 1983), as the village leader Marière [= Masili] was married to a Wayãpi (ibid.:538).

Figure 4-6. Pakolo (architectural drawing of the house of Makilu at Esperance 1998).

Figure 4-7. Architectural drawing of house with floor of Kulienpë at Alawateime enï, 2000.
Coudreau (1893:90) wrote that the house of the guests (*otoman*) was encircled by four large *pakolo*, whereby *pakolo* is the general term for house (Figures 4-6, 4-7). As an adjective, it can specify the tasks it houses, for instance, where the *kuluwata* (trough to rasp manioc tubers) is located is called *kuluwata pakolon*, and *wapot pakolon* is the place where is located a fireplace (*wapot* = firewood) which, when a griddle is present, serves as the place to bake cassava bread. *Kaikui pakolon* is a dog house (*kaikui* = dog [lit.: domesticated monster]).

After 1950, Western civilization made a more continuous entrance into the Wayana region by way of the frontier town of Maripasoula located at the French bank of the Lawa, consisting of a gendarmerie post, a post office, and a mission post (today grown to about four thousand inhabitants, and with a regional airstrip). Arrival of American Protestant Baptist missionaries, stationed in the 1960s in Kawemhakan (renaming this village Lawa Station), built a Sunday school, a clinic, a house for Granman Anapaïke, a place for a power generator, a store, and a landing strip of about 400 meter ending in a soccer field (Boven 2006). The Bible had been translated into Wayana in 1979, yet the church of Kawemhakan was only inaugurated on December 25, 1998. These missionaries were not allowed on the French bank. Soon after, the French Government began to invest in Wayana settlements in the 1970s, beginning with the village of Granman Twenke located on an island in the Lawa River (Figure 3-14). French social housing projects (*Logement Évolutif Social* [L.E.S.]) constructed houses for Granman Twenke and his relatives, as well as a school building and a dwelling for the teacher. The first French school in Wayana territory was built in Twenke in 1973. In 1991, Klingelhoffer had an additional school build across the river in Talhuwen. L.E.S. of the social housing project, i.e., houses on stilts with a concrete floor and a walled second floor were also built for village leaders and their relatives in the Wayana villages of Aloïke, Tedamale, Elae (where a school was built in
construction and expenditure of Wayana (Guiana) architecture has often been taken for
granted as “the construction is the usual of the Indians in these regions: a wooden frame, of
which the parts are tied together with thin and bendable liana vines; the roof is of palm fronds”
de Goeje 1905:11; my translation; see also Roth 1924:248-271, and 1929:19-28). Several
construction elements (Figure 4-8) include cross-beams (ëhëwaptetop [literally: to tie]); beams
(awapolon); rafters (isihmatop, or ijalita sihmatop when at rounded part of roof); tie beam for
rafters (wakamipilikan); stairs (epi); ridge (tunu or pakolo apë tapulu [literally: closer of the roof
of the house]) and weight pieces on ridge (etkapatop). Kumu (Oenocarpus bacaba) palm fronds
protect the lower rim of the roof and are supported by short rafters (kumu ahmit [literally: kumu support]). Everything is tied together with vines (mami; Heteropsis flexuosa) or sometimes nailed into place. Last but not least, the posts of the house (pakolo epu) named wakap when made of wakap tree trunks (Vouacapoua americana; synonym: Andira inermis).

Table 4-2. Wood used in Wayana house construction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wayana name</th>
<th>Use</th>
<th>Scientific name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wakap</td>
<td>post [diameter 9 to 16 cm.]</td>
<td>Vouacapoua americana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milimi or mekolo wewe14</td>
<td>beam and rafter [diameter 3.5 to 5 cm.]</td>
<td>Oxandra asbeckii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wapu</td>
<td>floor board, wall</td>
<td>Euterpe oleracea [split stems are used]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wapa</td>
<td>ridge weight</td>
<td>Eperua falcata [split stems are used]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4-3. Leaves and palm fronds used in Wayana house construction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wayana name</th>
<th>Scientific name</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Time for roof construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>malalia</td>
<td>Geonoma baculifera</td>
<td>7 - 14 year</td>
<td>4 - 5 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pépë</td>
<td>Socratea exorrhiza; synonym: Iriartea exorrhiza [support for malalia]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alakupï</td>
<td>Attalea sagotii; synonym: Orbignya sagotii [support for malalia]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wapu</td>
<td>Euterpe oleracea</td>
<td>7 - 9 year</td>
<td>1 - 2 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumu</td>
<td>Oenocarpus bacaba</td>
<td>5 - 6 year</td>
<td>1 - 1.5 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malipa</td>
<td>Attalea maripa</td>
<td>3 - 4 year</td>
<td>1 - 1.5 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palulu</td>
<td>Ravenula Guyanensis</td>
<td>1 - 2 year</td>
<td>1 - 2 weeks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4-4. Calculations for the necessary quantity of Geonoma baculifera leaves for roofing.

Roofing: On a 1.50 m long row are attached 50 malalia-leaves (palm fronds) (Geonoma baculifera). Plus 2 x 25 = 50 additional leaves on the protruding front and back of the roof.

Gabled: for a gabled roof with a ground plan of 4 by 6 meter is needed:
- roof surface: 6 x 6 m = 36 m²
- 6 / 1.50 m = 4 → 4 x 50 leaves + 50 additional leaves= 200 + 50 = 250 leaves per row.
- 20 rows x 2 sides of the gabled roof = 40 rows.
- 40 rows x 250 leaves = 8,000 malalia-leaves.

Domed: for the domed roof of a tukusipan (or monta) is needed:
- roof surface: (4πr²) / 2
- diameter 10.70 m; r = 5.35 → roof surface = 180 m²
- When 8,000 malalia-leaves are necessary for 36 m², than 180 m² requires 40,000 malalia-leaves.
- diameter 11.00 m; r = 5.50 → roof surface = 190 m²
- When 8,000 malalia-leaves are necessary for 36 m², than 190 m² requires 42,222 malalia-leaves.

An additional 30 centimeter diameter requires about 2,222 more malalia-leaves (palm fronds).
Figure 4-9. Example of a former dwelling from which two posts have been removed.

Posts constitute debarked tree trunks with a diameter between 14 to 18 cm. Postholes are preferably dug with a diameter restricted to about 20 cm to give firm support to the post. They are dug about 0.65 meter into the ground (about 0.50 meter when there is no second floor). This depth is related to an arms length (about 0.65 meter) of the person digging the posthole. Jean Hurault (1965:25) noted that when Wayana abandon a village, carpentry pieces of houses in a good condition (particularly wakap posts, rafters, and roof “wings” of malalia) are dismantled and reassembled at the new construction site. Parts of former houses will be re-used to build a
new dwelling. Habit of recuperating hard wood posts, rafters, and roofing parts from abandoned houses is still occurring today. This implies that decay of houses is not the main reason for moving to a new location. Removal of posts, and particularly the removal of ground on one side of the post allowing for some wiggle room, will leave behind in the ground a recognizable posthole negative (holster-shaped cross-section profile; Figure 4-9).

Where *wakap* trees (*Vouacapoua americana*) for posts are hard to cut, it is the sheer volume of *malalia* palm fronds (*Geonoma baculifera*) needed for roofing in which is situated the expenditure of roundhouses. Based on my calculations (Table 4-4), the construction of a domed community roundhouse requires a significant number (about 40,000) of *Geonoma baculifera* palm fronds. Village leaders intending to build such a structure have to request a vast amount of labor from their subordinates (*peito*). First to collect the vast amount of palm fronds needed, and secondly to process these palm fronds into winged rows of leaves to be attached to the rafters of the domed structure. Architectural expenditure is high, especially when realizing that this domed community roundhouse (rather than a men’s-house or a communal house) is (1) the place where visitors (including researchers and governmental officials) stay during their visit in the village, (2) stage for performance of rituals, (3) potential burial place, (4) today used during New Years Eve parties, however (5) most of the time this structure is simply standing empty without being peopled; perhaps only with some children playing in its shade. Number of man-hours needed to construct a community roundhouse, and its lavish roofing in particular, is so costly that the request to subordinates (*peito*) to construct such a valuable structure in the center of the settlement, can only be afforded by the most powerful of village leaders.

In the upper Maroni basin there are currently four domed community roundhouses in the villages of Twenke, Talhuwen, Antecume pata, and Pilima (Figures A-4 and 3-13). Twenke, the
village founded by the late Granman Twenke in the 1950s, is the oldest inhabited settlement in the upper Maroni basin. *Tukusiban* of Twenke has a diameter of about ten meters (84 m²), eight inner circle posts and eight outer circle posts, and a height of about six-and-a-half meters. *Tukusiban* of Pilima is of about the same dimensions as the *tukusipan* of Twenke (eleven meter diameter and about seven meter high; eight inner circle posts and eight outer circle posts; Figure 4-4). *Tukusiban* of Antecume pata (founded in 1967 by the Frenchman André Cognat [Antëkë]), is twelve meters in diameter and thus has a covered surface of 113 m² (about 30 m² more than Twenke). Furthermore, this *tukusipan* has twelve inner circle posts and twelve outer circle posts. Distance between inner circle and outer circle remains 1.5 meters in all four community roundhouses. Most recent *tukusipan* is the community roundhouse of Talhuwen that was only built in 1996 under direction of Aimawale Opoya, and re-roofed in the summer of 2009. This *tukusipan* with a diameter of between 13.5 and 14.3 meter (almost doubling the covered surface from the *tukusipan* of Twenke), a height of about seven meters, twelve inner circle posts and twelve outer circle posts, is the most impressive of the four roundhouses in the upper Maroni basin. Throughout this study I will argue that it is not by chance that it is these four villages with a community roundhouse. Before discussing how these community roundhouses are tactically engaged in political plays, it is necessary to first understand the historical and mythical ladenness of these roundhouses.

### 4.3 Mirroring the Wayana (Guiana) Landscape

In top of the community roundhouse (*tukusipan*) hangs a wooden disk (*maluwana*) painted with men-killing monsters, said to be defeated by the culture hero Kailawa when exploring the watershed (Tumuc-Humac) between Brazil and the Guyanas (Figures 4-1, 4-10). Some artists paint Kailawa—armed with bow and arrow—shooting these man-killing monsters. In the narrative of the painted disk, Kulienpë outlined, named, and reflected upon, motifs depicted on
the *maluwana*, on conventional motifs and more recent additions (Appendix C: *Maluwana*).

Kulienpē interprets today’s sickness—eye problems in particular—as a result of looking at these painted monstrous caterpillars as a child. Mopo—elder brother of the Creator Twins—made the first *maluwana*, according to Wayana legend (Table C-1: line 41), and it was the Apalai Kulepanasi who began to paint new designs (Table C-5: line 3). This painted disk is the embodiment of Wayana history and geography.

![Image of Maluwana installation](image)

Figure 4-10. *Maluwana* installed in the *tukusipan* of Twenke (courtesy: F. Lavalette 2003).

*Maluwana* and *tukusipan* are dense key symbols. In lieu of static ideal types, Sherry Ortner (1973) offered a model with more fluid and contextual key symbols. Key symbols make sense within the internal organization and seem to have some sort of continuity, yet they are capable of being transformed as well, having the power to transform society, generation after generation. At one end of this continuum, Ortner defined “summarizing symbols” as those that
serve to synthesize a complex system of ideas, i.e., summarizing the system as a whole. On the other end, “elaborating symbols” are agents with the capacity to order experience. Elaborating symbols are comprised of (1) a “root metaphor” providing analytical categories for the ordering of conceptual experience, and (2) a “key scenario” providing strategies for organizing action experience (Ortner 1973). Tukusipan is such an elaborating symbol in that it provides analytical categories for the ordering of conceptual experience as well as it provides strategies for organizing action experience, whereas maluwana is a summarizing symbol synthesizing a complex system of ideas.

Key symbols cut across time and space, geography, myth and history. Wayana as a new society emerged out of chaos invoked by Europeans traveling throughout Amazonia, bringing death along with them. That this process of regenerating sociality out of chaos—while facing non-Wayana as social Others and drawing legitimization from the past, their past—is still going on today is revealed in the 2004 ritual performed in Talhuwen; a key scenario to organize action experience, grounded in analytical categories for the ordering of conceptual experience provided by the Creator Twin myth as discussed in subsequent chapters. Before critically evaluating local patterns of kinship and affinity, initiation rites and supralocal sociality, I will first outline Guiana space and time from a Wayana perspective, and my interpretation of this deep-structure.

4.3.1 Lay-Out of a Maluwana

The general lay-out of a maluwana has been discussed in detail elsewhere (Duin 2006). In this chapter this decorated disk and its meaning will be discussed from a different perspective, namely from its position hanging in top of a roundhouse. Main motif on this disk is the dyadic dialectic serpentine Kuluwajak caterpillars; a male and a female, facing east and west respectively. When discussing the painted disk with Wayana (with special acknowledgement for Kulienpē), they emphasized that the male (eluwa) is oriented towards the rising sun (sisi
mektopoinë) and the female (wëli) towards the setting sun (sisi eniktopoja).\(^\text{15}\) Male and female Kuluwajak are not in a binary opposition, but become—as rising and setting sun—in a dynamic dialectic relationship.\(^\text{16}\) Not only are (gigantic) caterpillars painted on the disk surface (alî), Kulienpë (Table C-5: line 27) stated that the disk itself is cut out of the buttress of a kumaka (Ceiba pentandra) analogous caterpillars cutting circular pieces out of leaves.

With regard to the two remaining quadrants (or whatever space is left by the main motif), it first has to be recognized that north and south orientations are reversed when the plane of the painted disk changes from its horizontal position during painting (outside the village, in the shade); vertical position, when rolled into the village; reversed horizontal position in top of the community roundhouse with its painted plane facing down. Southern quadrant is reserved for other kinds of caterpillar (ëlukë: Kutupsi, Pëlitë or Tokokosi), or the monstrous fish Kaimë along with the big white egret Wakaleimë. These named monsters (men-killing caterpillars and water monsters) are conventional motifs painted on the disk (compare with table C-5: line 2). The Apalai Kulepanasi was the first who instigated the painting of new motifs as there are frogs, serpents, water monsters, piranhas, scorpions, roosters, water spiders, crabs, etcetera (Table C-5: line 3; see for additional motifs Duin 2006:131, table 3). When placed in top of the community roundhouse—which I confirmed in situ in all present-day Wayana villages of the upper Maroni basin holding a community roundhouse, namely Twenke, Talhuwen, Antecume pata, and Pilima (figure 4-1)—Mulokot (the one-armed water monster) faces north.

Beautiful monsters are dangerous to look at. Kulienpë (Table C-5: line 6-17; as confirmed in the field by Fabrice Lavalette in 2003 at the inauguration of the new maluwana at Twenke [Figure 4-10]) called attention to the fact that the maluwana was not to be seen by maidens (waluhma; adolescent girls). Only after the disk had been rolled into the tukusipan under
protection of açai palm fronds (*wapu; Euterpe oleracea*), and subdued to a stinging ritual (*ëputop tukusipan típuhe*) with *ijuk* ants (similar to an initiation ritual), adolescent girls and children were allowed to view the paintings on the disk. The stinging rite, in a sense, tames monstrous beings situated in the realm of alterity (i.e., social Others) entering the *tukusipan* where they are ritually “killed” (compare with the jaguars from the Mopo Kujuli narrative) after which they endure the taming, disciplining, and in that sense “domesticating,” stinging ritual.

As concluding reflection, Kulienpë (Table C-5: line 25–26) stated that nowadays—because of the commoditization of these painted disks (Duin 2006)—children and adolescent girls watch their fathers paint the monstrous beings on the *maluwana*: as a result, many children fall ill to diarrhea and fever. Children, according to Kulienpë, fall ill because they watch the *maluwana* being painted before it is subdued to the stinging rite. With the story on the monstrous beings of the *maluwana* concluded, Kulienpë requested a pen and paper as he knew another motif that used to be painted on the *maluwana*, a motif that is no longer painted on the *maluwana*: Kawahena.17

When the Wayana were still living along the Jari, according to Kulienpë, the water monster *Kawahena* was in opposition to the water monster *Mulokot*. Emphasis on the placing of these water monsters (*ipo*)—south (*Kawahena*) and north (*Mulokot*) respectively—made me reflect upon a potential identification of these species, but I have to add a skeptical note here that I may push the identification of species below too far. It is trivial whether or not there is a correlation, most important is that these powerful otherworld beings that are no longer among us are perceived for what they are worth: to make people think and reflect.

4.3.1.1 **Southern water monster: Kawahena**

Significant in Kulienpë’s drawing of *Kawahena* (redrawn in figure 4-11 upper right) are the two little fish attached to its fishtail. Was this gigantic men-killing water monster a shark with two ‘shark-suckers’ at its tail? The only shark able to swim up the Amazon River (a large
body of fresh water) is the Bull shark, *Carcharhinus leucas* (Thornson 1972; Grzimek 1973). Bull sharks (length: 350 cm; weight: 317 kg max.) are real (wo)men-killing water monsters in demersal, freshwater, brackish, and marine environments. Bull sharks often have remora’s (*Echeneis naucrates*; length: 110 cm), also called shark-suckers, attached to their bodies.

Figure 4-11. Water monsters *Mulokot* and *Kawahena* (Right: Wayana line drawings. Left: fragment of Jonstons 1660: table VII).

4.3.1.2 Northern water monster: Mulokot

When, following Wayana logic, *Kawahena* is in commemoration of the men-killing Bull sharks in the Amazon (in the south from a Wayana standpoint) then the one-armed *Mulokot* must refer to a “real” water monster in the north. Otto Schulz-Kampfhenkel (1938: face 168) identified this monstrous fish simply as Piranha. Claudius H. de Goeje (1941:87) stated that this fish-master (“*Molokot … ka-yum*”) might be a *Myletes* species. Lucia Hussak van Velthem (1995:301) stated that this “fish is composed of anatomic elements of mammals and birds” (my translation). Janamale stated that “*moelokot*” is a “*watradagoe-brara*” [Sranantongo for “brother of the otter”] (Geijskes 1957:282), hence a water being with mammalian anatomical elements.
This one-armed water monster may seem fantastic, other than it is analogous a seventeenth century scientific depiction and description where a “fish with arms” is depicted amongst sharks (Jonstons 1660: table VII, 7; Figure 4-11 lower left). Potential source for Mulokot is to be found in the family of Phocidae, which are of the order of Carnivora. I posit that Mulokot is a representation of the Caribbean Monk Seal (Monachus tropicalis. Synonymous: West Indian Monk Seal), the only seal ever known to be native to the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico, a species that was formally declared extinct in 1996 (LeBoef, Kenyon, Villa-Ramirez 1986). That this seal is extinct corresponds with Kulienpë’s statement that today we no longer see Mulokot in nature, only on the maluwana.

Furthermore, maluwana as a whole is modelled after a water monster. Lucia Van Velthem (1995:301) stated that this “roda-de-teto” (wheel-of-the-ceiling) is not just an “effigy” but constituted of the proper Maruanâimê, stating that this supernatural being corresponds with the sweet water stingray (ibid.:176). During our discussion of maluwana, Kulienpë told me that Maluwaleimê is like the large sipali (sweet water stingray, Potamotrygon hystrix), but different; it is like the maluwana. Maluwaleimê is an ipo (water spirit). It is a ray with a maluwana drawing on the upper plane and a sharp edge surrounding the body. In contrast to the stingray, Maluwalaimê does not have a tail (iwatkê). If you face Maluwalaimê for too long, it will blind you, analogous Mulokot. My reading of this rather detailed description is that it concerns the Brazilian electric ray (Narcine brasiliensis) as the Brazilian electric ray is spotted like a maluwana, and has the geometric liminal motif (series of triangles) along the rim of his plane body, just like maluwana rim motif. This electric ray (length: 54 cm) is a Torpedinae and can discharge between 14 and 37 volt (www.fishbase.org). As the maluwana is an embodiment of this dangerous electric ray, this object is potentially dangerous with a shocking effect.
4.3.2 Wayana Map of Guiana

Let me take the analysis of *maluwana* as a whole one step further, and again I recognize that I may push the interpretation too far. With male and female *Kuluwajak* facing rising sun and setting sun respectively, *Mulokot* facing north (Caribbean Sea / Atlantic), and the monstrous fish *Kaimë* or *Kawahena* facing south (Amazon River), we can interpret the *maluwana* as a map of the Wayana world. It is a special map in that it hangs upside-down in top of the community roundhouse. As such, this disk mirrors the mythical and dangerous Guiana landscape. This is not simply my interpretation, as *aluwa* (root of *maluwana*) means “mirror” in Wayana. In French, the *maluwana* is called “*ciel-de-case*” (sky-of-the-house). Instead of mirroring life on earth today, *maluwana* mirrors legendary times and places.
When this mirror-image of a mythical and dangerous Guiana landscape is superimposed over the Wayana region the following outline emerges (Figure 4-12): 1) female *Kuluwajak* located at the Tumuc-Humac range and *Samuwaka*, the original settlement of Trio ancestors (Koelewijn 1987:253); 2) male *Kuluwajak* located at the rivers Cuc and Tampok where Tupi-speaking Emerillon and Wayãpi settled; 3) *Mulokot* has its head where current Wayana settlements of the upper Maroni basin are located; 4) *Kawahena* is located along the Jari with its head at the Citaré river where was located a village named Caïraoua [= Kailawa] (Coudreau 1893:566); and last but not least 5) the center of the *maluwana* through which runs the central pole of the community roundhouse—as an *axis mundi*—is the symbolically dense region surrounding inselberg Tukusipan / T1, the trail of Kailawa across the watershed, and the place where it is said that Kailawa enclosed the monstrous caterpillar *Kuluwajak* in stone (Duin 2006:292); a place where myth and legend are written in stone. In this sense, *maluwana* is a result of (and a medium for) the Wayana socio-historical landscape.

### 4.3.3 Gazing at Maluwana

On October 17, 1876 Jules Crevaux (1987:140-141) had his siesta and looked up into the apex of the domed roundhouse. He noticed, a wooden disk painted like a mosaic with colorful diluted clay in the colors white, yellow, and red, and was the first European to describe a *maluwana* in the process. His guide and translator informed Crevaux—after a long conversation with the host—that this painting was in memory of problems during the navigation on the lower Jari. Crevaux saw a “frog” that was stopped by fantastic monsters that looked like mythical dragons. Then he stated that this “frog” represents a Roucouyenne [= Wayana] who explored the falls of the Jari in order to see the White men, but these merciless monsters hindered him (Crevaux 1987:140-141). One-hundred twenty-one years later, Wayana told me that these monsters depicted on the *maluwana* were the monsters defeated by Kailawa when exploring the
watershed between Jari basin and upper Maroni basin (i.e., Tumuc-Humac range). By defeating these men-killing monsters (*kaikui*), Kailawa had created a safe place for the Wayana. In order to understand the *maluwana* as a cultural phenomenon we must understand Wayana history.

When not resting in a hammock, as did Crevaux, outsiders walk towards the monumental community roundhouse, incline their body, enter the roundhouse, raise their eyes and head, and gaze upon the painted disk. This visual effort of “looking up to” this painted disk at an almost upright angle (involving a certain amount of physical stress on the head tilted back) connotes the notion of awe to those who observe this painted disk. Meaning of the *maluwana* goes beyond a mere interpretation of the images depicted on this disk, and is to be found in its effect to impress. These painted disks therefore are imbued with secondary agency as they cause events to happen (Gell 1998). In the case of *maluwana*, the people viewing this painted disk are being fixed in place, say petrified, rendered “patients” in the sense of Alfred Gell (1998) as they undergo the event caused by the agent (in this case the *maluwana*). Meaning in this sense must be performed and witnessed (see also Gosden and Marshall 1999). Although the *maluwana* is a portable object—after being painted it is rolled into the village and hung into the community roundhouse (Table C-5: lines 7, 13, 23, 24, 8, 10)—people have to go inside a *tukusipan* to perceive the *maluwana*. Local Wayana are aware that this disk is located in the apex of their roundhouse and do not look up when inside the roundhouse, whereas non-local Wayana and non-indigenous people as social Others (mainly French and Dutch) are thus disciplined in looking up to this disk that is mirroring the wider Guiana landscape in legendary mythic-historical times. Legendary mythic-historical times embodied by local Wayana through social memory while experiencing their landscape. This and other angles of vision endow the *tukusipan* with a hidden dimension that can only be experienced in practice.
Detailed observation of the nested ceramic vessels on top of the roundhouse (at a 45 degree angle when standing next to the roof rim) is an angle of vision blocked by the curvature of the roof (Figure 4-13). These nested vessels are hardly recognizable upon approaching the roundhouse. These ceramic vessels—specifically manufactured for this purpose, with a hole in the bottom as the central post runs through these vessels—are put in place by the Wayana village leader; in case of the 2003 re-roofing of Twenke it was Granman Amaipotï who carried the three vessels to the newly roofed roundhouse of Twenke (Figure 4-14).

Figure 4-13. Nested ceramic vessels on top of community roundhouse.

Figure 4-14. Granman Amaipotï delivers the three specially manufactured ceramic vessels to the community roundhouse of Twenke (courtesy: Fabrice Lavalette 2003).
4.4 Crossroads of the Earth and the Sky

Cross-section of the roundhouse is analogous the cross-section of the Universe—with clouds in the sky as cross-beams and an opening at the top from where the rain falls (for which reason protective vessels are placed on top of the roundhouse)—and *vise versa* (Figure 4-15). In turn, this cross-section is similar to an overturned cooking vessel (Duin 2002/2003:46), a vessel similar in shape to the largest of the three nested vessels on top of the roundhouse. At different scales, the Universe, roundhouse, and cooking vessel have the same cross-section. In concluding this chapter I will discuss how Wayana orient themselves in this multi-scalar world.

![Figure 4-15. Vertical scales, a simplified model.](image)

Where maps, plan views, and kinship charts in prior chapters have been oriented by means of a north arrow along with a scale bar, Wayana employ other means to orient themselves within their landscape. First, Wayana speak of “the place where the sun appears” (*sisi mektopoinë*) and “the place where the sun goes to sleep” (*sisi eniktopoja*), rather than due East–West orientations in a Cartesian grid. Wayana orientation is more dynamic as it accounts for the sun’s movement along the horizon during the year, including its stations of azimuths of solstices and equinoxes.
Rather than our antagonistic East–West opposition, Wayana draw on the sun’s continuous movement: appearing along the eastern horizon, journeying along the firmament, disappearing along the western horizon (where the sun begins its journey through the world below), and reappearing along the eastern horizon (Figure 4-15). Second dynamic dialectic to organize the Wayana (Guiana) landscape is according to the flow of rivers, that is upstream (atuhpono) versus downstream (ametak). These orientations cannot simply be translated as north–south divisions. With its sources in the watershed of the Tumuc-Humac mountain range, the main rivers in Suriname and French Guiana flow northward towards the Atlantic Ocean, whereas the main rivers in the Brazilian side of the Wayana region flow southwards towards the Amazon River.26

Third binary opposition with which the Wayana organize their landscape is the distinction between the cultivated village (ëutë; place of humanity) versus the ferocious forest (itu; space of monsters [kaikui] and water monsters [ipo]). The latter distinction is more than a straightforward opposition of “culture” versus “nature” since animals (and plants) have their proper “villages” as part of their inherent “humanity” (as discussed in detail elsewhere: Århem 1996; Descola 1996; Viveiros de Castro 1998). Malevolent trickster spirits (jolok) roam village and forest.

This earth onto which we live, and ordered as described above, is, according to Wayana, like jehmanali:27 that is, like branches, leaves, and sand floating in a bend of a river. Worlds below (luman, revealed through the water surface) as well as the worlds above (kapu, reflected in the water surface) are modeled after earthly experience, so each world is described as having forests, rivers, mountains, and the like (Figure 4-15). Worlds in the sky above (kapu) include Kujuli pata, place of the Creator Twin Kujuli where the visible spirits (omole) return after death, and Kulum pata, place of Kulum the King vulture (chapter 5.1). Luman, the world below this earth, is an otherworld experience as all universal aspects of life are reversed: in the world
below, the sun rises in the west and sets in the east (to rise in the east in “our” world). When it is
day on earth and in the skies above, it is night in the otherworld below. This otherworld can be
accessed by means of passage ways in the ground; caves, burial pits, and other holes as the
ground drum *ehpa*. It is through here that the deceased can access the otherworld flow of
celestial bodies leading to *Kujuli pata* (land of the ancestors) in the sky. In this typical
Amazonian cosmological model, terrestrial Amazonian rivers flow from the watersheds (Andes
and central Guiana) to the Atlantic Ocean, and this motion is mirrored in the underworld river
flowing from east to west (Stephen Hugh-Jones 1982:195). Indeed, this simplified model of
vertical scales resembles a community roundhouse in cross-section (Figure 4-15).

4.4.1 Star Gazing at Dusk

In order to understand how the complexity of vertical scales makes sense to Wayana, and
other indigenous Amazonian people, we have to go beyond micro- versus macrocosm models.
Beyond micro- versus macrocosm models, Gary Urton (1981) in his study titled *At the
Crossroads of the Earth and the Sky* demonstrated how life on earth—in the Peruvian Andes—
was mirrored in the night sky. Indigenous Andean people saw in starry night constellations what
they witnessed on earth. During a conference held by the New York Academy of Sciences in
1981, it became clear that world wide the night sky was perceived as a “star map” or a “celestial
blueprint” for daily life on earth (Aveni and Urton 1982).28 Amazonian ethno-astronomy was
represented by Stephen Hugh-Jones (1982) and Gérardo Reichel-Dolmatoff (1982). With regard
to Guiana, Edmundo Magaña and Fabiola Jara published an overview of the Carib sky, in past
and present (Magaña and Jara 1982). Particular contemplation was focused on the Pleiades and
Scorpius and their association with rainfall; the Pleiades-Scorpius opposition has been studied in
depth in Amazonia (Hugh-Jones 1982; Lévi-Strauss 1964).
Table 4-5. Wayana calendars.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>Enaou wataohku</td>
<td>inau (first constellation)</td>
<td>Big rainy season begins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>Petpine ëkëuikhuk</td>
<td>ipetpîn (= Orion)</td>
<td>‘sleeping in the rain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>Ayamouri wataohku</td>
<td>rise of inau (the Pleiades)</td>
<td>Big rainy season ends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>Maoua kulimahku</td>
<td>jalaka</td>
<td>‘clears all’; river decreases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>Siouet ololihku</td>
<td>1) (early) kiapok ihku</td>
<td>1) many toucans in the sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2) wayana ipokela etopohku</td>
<td>2) people fighting a lot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3) (late) ëkëi ihku</td>
<td>3) many snakes in forest, and occasional rain showers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>Siwit pelehku</td>
<td>1) okî ihku</td>
<td>1) cassava beer parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2) mauluhku</td>
<td>2) many cotton in trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3) watau ihku</td>
<td>3) many watau-fish in river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4) ololihku</td>
<td>4) iguanas lay eggs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>Ouanouaye asitaohku</td>
<td>onolehku</td>
<td>burning of garden plots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>Louéloüé alawatahku</td>
<td>onolehku</td>
<td>burning of garden plots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>Itihmé ëwokohku</td>
<td>kijawëk ihku (compare with Coudreau February)</td>
<td>kijawëk-ants fly away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>Maouaméoune pupuhku</td>
<td>[clouded sky]</td>
<td>Preparations for life-crisis ritual maraké</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>Quiaouquéecoure pasinahku</td>
<td>[clouded sky]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>Onorécoure mulokoimahku</td>
<td>[clouded sky]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4-16. Relation between (a) big rainy season and the Pleiades, and (b) Scorpius and the burning of the gardens (see also figure A-5).
Edmundo Magaña (1984, 1987, 1988) emphasized opposite positions of certain constellations (Pleiades and Scorpius particularly) in time and space, and presented a refined framework of constellations in Carib astronomy and oral tradition. He stated (and maintains; pers. comm. 2002) that the Pleiades rise and fall every night, so “the Pleiades rise during the rains and do not precede them. The rains in fact, do not stop in the tropics so that when we say that a given constellation rises or sets with the rains we have in mind relative values only” (Magaña 1984:351). To expand his database of the Carib sky, Magaña visited the Wayana settlement of Kawemhakan / Lawa Station. During a couple of weeks between June and August of 1985, two-hour sessions were held one after the other at night with Wayana Elders to identify stars and constellations (Magaña 1987:68-69).

Thorough understanding of indigenous star-lore emerges from long-term (at least covering the span of a full year) participant observation in the field, including, but not restricted to, gatherings of family groups on the cleared plaza at dusk, following Stephen Hugh-Jones’s observations of Amazonian star gazers: “at dusk, men, women, and children often sit in family groups on the cleared sandy space in front of the maloka (single house dwelling); this is the time when most observations of stars are made” (1982:194), whereby “attention is focused upon the vertical position of different stars with respect to the eastern and western horizons” (ibid.). Or, as noted by Navarrete in 1545, that men gathered in the assembly house to talk about the sky, sun, moon, and stars (cited in de Goeje 1943:10).

Rather than referring to nightly rise and setting of stars, I realized—after several years of gathering at dusk with Wayana on the plaza in front of their houses—that when Wayana speak of “star rise” (silik kaweinë) and “star set” (silik tewëkai) or “falling of the star” (silik tewëtuhmoi) this is in reference to heliacal rising and heliacal setting (Duin 2004). Heliacal setting of the
stars occurs around 18:45 PM when the sun is that far below the horizon that the first stars
become visible in the sky. During the following evenings, for the reason that the daytime arc of
a particular constellation will correspond with the daytime arc of the sun, this constellation will
no longer be visible in the night sky during the corresponding period. Placing heliacal rise and
setting, at sunset, on the seasonal calendar, a significant correlation materializes between the
rainy season (the big rainy season specifically) and the Pleiades (Figure 4-16). Heliacal setting
of the Pleiades (inau; the first constellation; Table 4-5) in April at the WNW horizon
corresponds with the beginning of the big rainy season. During the period that the Pleiades are
not visible in the sky (April to June), the big rainy season lasts. Big rainy season ends when the
Pleiades rise again in June along the ENE horizon. Silik kaweinë or “star rise” refers to the
heliacal rise of the stars; i.e., the re-appearance of stars just before sunrise (about 05:30 AM).
Accordingly, the heliacal setting of Scorpius (onolehku) corresponds with the period of the
burning of the gardens, or rather based on the heliacal setting of the constellation of onolehku
(Scorpius and Lupus) in October and November, Wayana plan the burning of their gardens.

4.4.2 Day, Month, Year

Before discussing the Wayana calendar and its implications for life on earth, I will first
outline some basic Wayana concepts of time. Wayana indicate time of the day by pointing at the
position of the sun at the daytime arc. Descriptions of time during a 24-hour cycle are indicated
by the position of the sun at its daytime arc, or by variations on the noun for night (koko) (Figure
4-17). Dusk (tametei) occurs in the tropics between 18:30–19:00 PM, when Wayana retreat into
their dormitories, unless a full moon is flooding the plaza in bright moonlight. Nighttime (koko)
is the moment when malicious entities (jolok) roam and can be contacted by a pïjai (shaman). A
pïjai visits patients after sunset when it is kokolepsik (“a little bit night”).30 Shaman sessions
may last till midnight (kokole), or even till the little hours of the night (kokopsik). At night,
preventing evil spirits (jolok) from sitting on benches, or swinging in a hammock, benches are placed at an angle to a post of the house and vacant hammocks are tied over crossbeams.

Figure 4-17. Wayana descriptions of time during a 24-hour period.

Figure 4-18. Jenunu (the man in the moon) as visible in the Moon disk. A (left) a sketch of Jenunu by Ronnie Tikaiime (2000). B (right) rendering of Ronnie’s sketches onto an image of the Moon (position of Jenunu’s wife varied in the sketches).
Every day is nested in a larger time cycle of phases of the moon; every full moon \((tetonke)\) indicates a new month \((nunuwe)\). Every full moon rise, Wayana women and girls come out of their houses and begin to jump and clap their hands towards the rising full moon. In the dark areas (Seas and Oceans) of the full moon disk \((nunuwe ali)\) Wayana perceive Jenunu (Figure 4-18). This is not the story of the Moon itself, but of the man who got hiding in the Moon.

Time cycles of twelve moons brings us back to the Wayana calendar mentioned above. Henri Coudreau (1893:223) was the first to write down a Wayana calendar. Edmundo Magaña (1987:72) compiled an additional Wayana calendar. Remarkable, is that no single month given by Magaña corresponds with the names of the months provided by Coudreau a century prior. During my 2000 fieldwork (Duin 2004), I obtained yet again different names, so I had to make sense of these discrepancies. Two first months, according to Wayana—\(inau\) and \(ipetpin\) (April and May)—corresponded with Coudreau’s calendar: \(Enaou\) and \(Petpine\) respectively (Coudreau 1893:223). Secondly, various names were provided to me in August and September, among which \(watau ihku\), specified by Magaña for April and June. Recurrence of \(ihku\) (or as suffix \(~hku\)) in the names of the “months” is significant as \(ihku\) in Wayana means “constellation” whereby it can be concluded that the names indicating months in the work of Magaña (1987:72) are in fact names of constellations; as previously pointed out by de Goeje (1941:90). This explains discrepancy in names (Table 4-5), as several constellations fall within one month, and one single constellation may be located on the limit between two months.

On the sky map (Figure A-5), a wide variety of constellations is depicted between the 9h and 16h meridians. These constellations heliacally set between June and October, i.e., the dry season in which it is good hunting and fishing. Even a barbecue frame is visible in the body of Ursa Major (Dubhe, Merak, Phecda, and Megrez represent four posts). Another framework is
indicated by four stars in Orion (Betelgeuse, Bellatrix, Rigel, and Saiph). Head of Ursa Major is perceived as the head of *kulimau* (*Agouti paca*; DE-A.60). During the months of July, August, and September, Wayana observe the evening sky for constellations to set in order to determine which species will “fall” on earth. For example, when the constellation of toucan\(^34\) (*kiapok ihku*; D-A.23.5) sets in early August: many toucans (*kiapok*) are present in treetops. When the constellation *watau* (DE-F.50) sets, many *watau* fish (*Myleus pacu*) are present in the rivers. When *ololihku* (D-A.70) falls, many iguanas (*ololi*; *Iguana iguana*) come down from the trees to lay their eggs in the sandy riverbanks.

Whereas most of the constellations identified by Magaña (1987) are located in the “dry season” section of the sky (Figure A-5: 10–16 hours), not all constellations are related to hunting and fishing. In Virgo (D-F.0) Wayana see *okï ihku* (constellation of cassava beer) represented by a cooking pot (*oha*) standing on firewood.\(^35\) When this constellation of cassava beer sets in September, many gatherings are held among the Wayana. Cassava beer parties held in anticipation of slashing garden plots that will be burned a month later. Burning of garden plots is linked with *onolehku*; at the tail of Scorpio\(^36\) Wayana see *onole* (*Tigrisoma lineatum*), a tiger-heron with in front of its beak a fish (in: Lupus).\(^37\) When this constellation falls, Wayana hang an *anapamii* (fan), *opoto* (mat), and a *katali* (backpack) on a cord between their house and an isolated pole; for a good wind will blow to burn the garden plots. After burning, the rains begin. Just before the rainy season starts *kijawëk*-ants (*Atta* sp.) fly away in December, which event is marked by *Kijawëkihku* (Peacockstar; eye of Pavo).

During the months of January, February, and March, there was a period of clouded evening skies. In this time of the year, it was not possible to observe the heliacal setting of constellations systematically. However, during the clear midnight skies several constellations were visible:
namely the world wide known triad of Orion, Hyades, and Pleiades. Soon after, the Pleiades ((inau) set once again heliacally and a year has passed. There are twelve full moons (months) between two events when the migrating Great Crested Flycatcher (wei; Myiarchus crinitus) sings. Accordingly, a “year” is named after the Great Crested Flycatcher: wei. Nowadays, Wayana also use the Sranantongo term “jali” (after Dutch: jaar) to refer to one year.

When discussing star gazing in September 2000, Aputu (village leader of Kumakahpan and father of Ronnie Tikaimé) began to draw several constellations in the sand; beginning by drawing inau (Pleiades) and jalamatatpë (“the mandible” in Hyades) in the sand near him (reproduced as inset in figure A-5). Above these constellations Aputu drew a big star and said “Tapalukawa” (Venus; identified earlier during star gazing events). He said that Silikunku (Jupiter) is the husband of Tapalukawa. Next to Tapalukawa, Aputu drew a series of stars “ëkëi” (snake), above which he drew two parallel lines “kumaka hawalutpë” (Milky Way; literally: “former Ceiba tree burning”). Across from the Milky Way, Aputu drew a cluster of stars “Wajanahku” (Wayana constellation), and two other constellations “kaikui” (monstrous jaguar) and “sipalihke” (riverine spine-ray constellation). Although Aputu had been an informant for Magaña, the latter three constellations were not mentioned by Magaña (1987).

Another Wayana constellation first published here is the dark cloud constellation of kanawa (canoe) between Cygnus and Aquila (E-A). This dark cloud constellation was pointed out to me by Ronnie’s mother-in-law Makilu. In exchange for their narratives, Wayana asked me to narrate European myths. While narrating the story of Orpheus and Eurydice at the point where Charon—the ferryman of Hades—crosses the Styx, grandmother Makilu went outside and indicated that Wayana also have a canoe navigating the eternal rivers of the Otherworld. She indicated the dark area of the Milky Way between Scorpio and Cassiopeia. This section of the
sky contains several constellations in the shape of a cross; sign of the malicious spirit *jolok*.

Watershed moment of the Otherworld River (Milky Way) is Mitaraka (Cassiopeia; B-A.60)\(^39\).

### 4.4.3 Locating the House in the Sky

When drawing the Wayana star map (Figure A-5)—in part based on data published by Magaña (1987)—it occurred to me that Sirius (the brightest star), as well as several first and second magnitude stars in the region of Orion were not referred to. Of the twelve first magnitude stars Canopus, Capella, Procyon, and Achernar are located in the vicinity of Orion, yet were not included in Wayana star-lore.\(^40\) Of twenty-seven second magnitude stars, Gemini stars Castor and Pollux are located near Orion.\(^41\) I wondered how it was possible that seven of the brightest stars were not included in Wayana star-lore. When inquiring during the 2000 field season about these stars, Wayana told me they had forgotten about Wayana star-lore and that Elders who knew about the stars had passed away. These feelings resonate with Peter Gow’s (2001) *Amazonian Myth and its History*, wherein the main informant stated “I don’t know that, my grandfather knew, but he deceased,” making Gow belief to be present in a dying tradition. Nevertheless, from the pool of forgotten myths would emerge a renewed myth; making sense in its historical context. Gow’s (2001) study demonstrated that a narrative is a flexible adaptation to an ever changing environment.\(^42\) Rather than reconstructing a dead culture, the transformation of myth through time ought to be situated in its proper long-term conjunctional processes. Interpretation of these seven of the brightest stars not included in Wayana star-lore, as discussed next, would bring my study of the Wayana life-crisis ritual to a whole other level.

Several of the brightest stars surrounding the constellation of Orion are included in a constellation recorded by Gérardo Reichel-Dolmatoff in Northwest Amazonia (Vaupés region): “It consists of a huge hexagon formed by the stars Pollux, Procyon, Canopus, Achernar, T3 Eridani, and Capella. The center of this hexagon is said to be Epsilon Orionis, that is, the central
star in Orion’s belt” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1982:167). This super-constellation (spanning almost 120° and 9h meridians; Figure 4-19) of a huge hexagon with Orion at its center is, according to Reichel-Dolmatoff (1982:172), an architectural blueprint for the traditional Northwest Amazonian Desana longhouses. This architectural blueprint is also present in Guiana as on the dust jacket of Beyond the Visible and the Material (Rival and Whitehead 2001) it is written that “the Panare word for the major internal house beams … is also used to refer to the Orion’s Belt constellation” in reference to the jacket cover photo of the roof construction of a Panare roundhouse (photo by Paul Henley 1989). Furthermore, Stephen Hugh-Jones stated that “dancing took place in a house representing the cosmos … [whereby] the house, built as a replica of the cosmos, becomes the universe itself and the cycle of night and day takes on the proportions of the year. At the same time, the layers of the cosmos are conjoint and the living united with the dead” (Hugh-Jones 1982:199-200). As mentioned above, the Wayana roundhouse appears rooted in this notion of a house representing the cosmos.

If this celestial house and place of the ancestors centered upon Orion, as recognized in Northwest Amazonia (Hugh-Jones 1982; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1982), is the archetypal blueprint of Amazonian communal houses, then why is this knowledge “lost” among the Wayana? I returned to the narrative of the Creator Twins who first built the community roundhouse tukusipan; it is in the conclusion of Dondon’s (Wayana-Apalai from Anapuaka, Rio Paru de l’Est) 75 minute long narrative on the family of Kujuli (Kujuli tom) as recorded on December 17, 1975 (Schoepf 1985), where it is concluded that Okaia [= Kujuli] told his grandmother that they would climb into the sky (Schoepf 1985:132); Pulupuluapo [= Mopo] would become Inau (Pleiades), and he [Kujuli] would settle after him, right in the center, becoming Yalaka.43 Next Dondon stated that
behind Kujuli will appear Kutumo [= Kulum] as the constellation *Ipètpen* (Orion). Finally, grandmother Frog (*sic.*: Toad) will take place behind them as *Pelelirku* [= *Pëlë ihku*].

When mapping this spatial narrative of Dondon, *inau* (Pleiades) is the embodiment of the Elder Creator Twin (Mopo) (Figure 4-19). Grandmother (Toad) took place behind the Creator Twins. Following the star-lore of this triad (Pleiades, Hyades, and Orion), it is possible to identify the constellation of the Toad (*Pëlë ihku*) with the brightest star in the sky: Sirius. Dondon stated that “behind Kujuli will appear Kutumo [= Kulum] as the constellation *Ipètpen* (Orion)” (Schoepf 1985:132) which made Daniel Schoepf conclude that when Orion is “behind” the younger Creator Twin, than the latter is embodied as the constellation Hyades. As discussed later (Chapter 5.1), the constellations of Kujuli and Kulum are superimposed when gazing at Orion from the ground; one will be positioned “behind” the other. Unaware of the possibility of superposition, Schoepf assumed that these celestial embodiments were individual constellations and thus identified *Yalaka* as Hyades. Orion is located in the center of the sky map (Figures 4-19 and A-5: CE-A.0) and not merely in the middle of these mythical beings.

This super-constellation of the celestial roundhouse centered upon Orion with under its roof the Pleiades and Sirius, i.e., the stellar embodiment of the Creator Twins and their grandmother (*Kuju* *li* *tom*) is entirely visible at midnight around New Year’s Eve (Figure 4-19). Rather than a celestial marker for New Year’s Eve this model—wherein the constellation at zenith is a mirror image of the lay-out of posthole formation of the Amazonian community house on earth—echoes the Universal imagery of three interconnecting worlds whereby “the Universe is conceived as having three levels—sky, earth, underworld—connected by a central axis” (Eliade 1974:259), which idea is present in northern South America (e.g., Wilbert 1981, 1993). The question remained, even if this model of the celestial house, resonating with cross-
referenced Universal micro-macrocosm models, then why did the Wayana not recognize this stellar constellation of the House in the Sky?

Figure 4-19. House in the sky with Orion in its center (see also figure A-5) (Data: source: Starry background rendered through Starry Night © Pro 4.5).

On the one hand there was heliacal setting of Scorpio and the burning of garden plots in October and November (Table 4-5; Figure 4-16), together with other natural-domestic related constellations referred to in August, September, and December. On the other hand there was the heliacal setting of the Pleiades, Hyades, Orion, and Sirius—following Dondon (Schoepf
1985:132) the family of the Creator Twins (*Kujuli tom*)—all located within the archetypal celestial blueprint of the Amazonian house (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1982). As the Wayana are great structuralists (see above with the *maluwana*), I sensed that the latter had to make sense within the cultural-public domain. When I, once more, reflected upon the Wayana calendar (Table 4-5), I realized that Wayana had not provided me with any names of constellations during the months of January, February, and March. I had simply taken this for granted as the evening skies had been too clouded for star-gazing, and now it all seemed to fall into place.

This super-constellation housing the stellar embodiment of the family of the Creator Twins (*Kujuli tom*) was none other than the place of *Kujuli* (*Kujuli pata*), the land of the ancestors. Following Wayana star-lore, as discussed above, *Kujuli pata* “falls on earth” (i.e., heliacal set) from February (τ3 Eridani) to late May (Procyon, Castor and Pollux). Ramification of this interpretation is that, according to Wayana logic, “the land of the ancestors” will no longer be in the sky, but here with us on earth; and it is in this period that Wayana life-crisis rituals traditionally took place: closing around March-April. Neophytes thus were initiated when, according to Wayana logic, the ancestors were among them. For example, Henri Coudreau (1893:202-203) wrote that 1888-1889 was a year of festivities for the Wayana, with dances taking place from September to April. This is about the same period covered during the 1964-1965 maraké gatherings of the Aletani/Lawa (Huraiult 1968:102), the 1938 maraké held in May (Ahlbrinck 1956:27, 69), and it was Francis Mazière (1953:161) who wrote that it was the short dry season in March announcing the maraké ceremony. At this moment in time (around April), a bridge is realized at the crossroads of the earth and the sky allowing a gathering the fourfold “by a primal oneness the four—earth and sky, divinities and mortals—belong together in one” (Heidegger 1954:327). One space-time has been realized gathering ancestors and people today
into one collective, realizing Arnold van Gennep’s philosophizing conclusion (quoted in the beginning) that it is a grand idea to connect the stages of human life with those of the grand rhythms of the Universe (Van Gennep 1909:279).

However, when it is stated that “it was indeed during the month of March that, for centuries, the Indians practiced this painful initiation ritual” (Mazière 1953:161; my translation), and the timing of the 2004 ritual in Talhuwen was contested by the Elders, as it was not performed in the proper month, this was not a single occurring anomaly. Where it might be concluded that this discrepancy in timing is situated in the modern globalizing world of the Wayana,51 this event does not stand alone. While the 1938 maraké was held in May (when Kujuli pata sets on earth), a second maraké was held in December (“anomalous”) (Ahlbrinck 1956:27, 69). Furthermore, in 1889, in Atoupi, Coudreau (1893:537 vv.) witnessed a maraké on October 30. Rather than dismissing these maraké rituals as “non-traditional” there had to be a secondary pattern which will be discussed later in this study.

Before shifting the focus of investigation to these so-called “non-traditional” maraké rituals—bridging between past and the present, ancestors and mortals, sky and earth, when space and time become one in and around the tukusipan—and how these are situated in the broader politico-ritual Guiana landscape, I will first discuss local patterns of kinship and affinity, to people the dynamic and constantly emerging Wayana landscape as outlined in this chapter.

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1 “Dans le ciel clair, se détache au loin un piton rocheux que je désigne à Yanamalé [= Janamale], car nous voulons y aller. « Non! pas les hommes. C’est là que loin, loin, dans le temps, les Oyanas [= Wayana] sont nés; c’est là que vit le Serpent à plumes [= Kuluwajak] »” (Mazière 1953:203).
2 “Est un terme significatif du simple et du composé. On appelle indifféremment Carbet une seule maison de Caraïbe et un amas de cases formant ensemble une bourgade” (Anonymous 1776).
3 “Ils ont vne grande place bien défrichée, pour y avoir a[ez d]e[p]ace afin d’y dan[er & faire d’]autres exercices corporels. Au milieu de cette place ils y ont vn grand Carbet [note in 1896 publication: Cette grande case commune ressemble fort, pour la forme de la construction et pour l’usage qu’en font les sauvages des Antilles, au balei des Malais dans l’archipel Indien.] long quelquefois de plus de cent cinquante pas, c’est comme une forme de halles qui sont dans les places publiques des villes. Ils font à iour de tous co[tez, n’y ayant que la couverture de Palmi[te [ou]tenue de fourches & de pieux. C’est où ils pal[ent la journée tous en]semble pour y carbeter; c’est à dire s’y
entretien de leurs affaires, et, à visir ses jours qu'ils appellent Accadots ou Amacs, et pour y faire leurs petits ouvrages, comme les arcs, flèches, boutous & choles semblables. En une vingtaine de ce Carbet, ont les Cautes, ou ils le vont couche pendant la nuit (Biet 1664:37). [note in 1896 publication: this big community house resembles, in manner of construction and use, the ones the savages of the Antilles make, and to balei of Malaysia in the Indian archipelago].

4 “Dans les carbets on ne parle plus d’autre chose que de cette nouvelle connaissance de Dieu …. ils finissent leurs carbets en exprimant le désir de voir baptisier leurs enfants et eux-mêmes” (1615: second traité, chap.1).

5 “leur Carbet qu’ils tiennent tous les jours emmy la place entourée de leurs loges” (Abbeville 1614:329).

6 “au milieu de la place des quatre loges, au lieu qu’ils appellent Carbë” (Thivet 1668:56).

7 “Le village [Apòkët at the upper Aletani] se compose de quatre grands pacolos où vivent plusieurs familles. Ces pacolos sont fort espacés et ménagent entre eux une grande place publique, avec l’otomane, la maison des hôtes, au milieu” (Coudreau 1893:90).

8 Walter Roth (1924:260) mentioned that the roundhouse was named tkutchpang among the Makusi, Patamona, and Wapishana, and tapui among the Arekuna. Among the Trio, several names are given to this domed building: timakitti (de Goeje 1905:12), umanà (Yde 1965:5, 153), and tukúxipãn (Frikel 1973).

9 When cross-beams are placed onto the inner-circle posts the central post will be slightly off-center.

10 Only reference to hummingbird dancers among Wayana. Possibly Schoepf refers to Tamok dancers (Chapter 8).

11 Jean Hurault (1965:24), without further reference, stated that Wayana used to live in “malocas,” vast buildings that housed an entire family. Then again, otoman can be interpreted as “like an oto,” i.e., like an évé, hence “like a village” resonating with a long forgotten single-dwelling settlement structure, as the Trio communal roundhouse.

12 “Le shaman possède un refuge dans la forêt. C’est une cabane conique, d’à peu près 1,50 m de haut, et d’une diamètre très réduit, dans laquelle il peut à peine bouger. Elle est fait de feuilles de palmer très touffues, de sorte que l’intérieur est plongé dans l’obscurité, et est en même temps à l’abri des insectes. C’est une lieu de tabou, et celui qui entre tombera malade. Le shaman opère ses guérisons à l’extérieur (Girard 1963:38).

13 According to de Goeje (1905:12) the tialetakim (tijalitakem) is a smaller version of the otoman.

14 Literally mekolo weve means “tree (weve) of the Maroons (mekolo).”

15 This chapter will conclude in more detail about Wayana spatial-temporal orientation in Guiana.

16 Claude Lévi-Strauss, after his visit to Leiden in 1973, stated “I am now beginning to understand why, besides Paris, Leiden also developed into a centre of structural anthropology. This must have been due to Leiden anthropologists’ work in Indonesia. It is not the Leiden anthropologists but the Indonesians who are the great structuralists!” (Vermeulen 1987:31), and the same goes for my fieldwork among the Wayana in Guiana.

17 This water monster (ipo) is replaced by Kaimé (monstrous fish), without further identifying specification.

18 Spotting of a similar water monster of the coast of Brazil in 1613 has been interpreted as a phoque or sea elephant by Pierre Clastres (d’Evreux 1985:181) other than sea elephants occur on the Pacific coast of South America and not on the Atlantic coast.

19 Mentioned in NationalGeographic.com (0806_030806_sealkiller.html; web reference 17) was the death of a British marine biologist in Antarctica (July 22, 2003) caused by a leopard seal (Hydrurga leptonyx). However, this species lives around Antarctica and not near northern South America.

20 Little scientific data was gathered before the Caribbean Monk Seal went extinct. As with most seals, the back of adult seals were shiny brown with a grey tinge, and the underside of the Caribbean Monk Seal was pale yellow. Soles and palms were naked, with the nails on the anterior digits well developed. Males are thought to have reached a length of between 2.1 to 2.4 meter and a weight up to 200 kg (Grzimek 1973).

21 In French, the maluwana is named ‘ciel-de-case’ or ‘sky-of-the-house’.

22 Aroua means mirror in Tupi (de Léry 1994:231 [1578]).

23 Not only did Claudius de Goeje provide the museum in Leiden with a maluwana [RMV 2352-189], de Goeje also noted that in similar languages (i.e., Cariban languages) this noun means ‘shield’. This mirroring ‘shield’ painted with the defeated monsters hanging in top of the community house tukusipan protected the Wayana metaphorically from the evil monsters surrounding them. Kailawa had provided the Wayana community with a protected landscape holding the potential for continuous dwelling, and this social memory is materialized in the maluwana.

24 Franz Boas (1955 [1927]) advocated that every cultural phenomenon is the result of historical happenings.
As the Amazon River flows eastwards towards the Atlantic Ocean, it mirrors the westward movement of the sun. Claudius de Goeje (1941) wrote that the earth is named *ehemanali.*

Focus of the 1981 conference was the debate on the tropical astronomy thesis; that is, the difference between people who take zenith and nadir as fundamental principle of their star-lore, while other people put emphasis on the horizon azimuths (Aveni and Urton 1982). Concepts of zenithal and solstice passages of the sun in addition to right ascension and declination, had already been postulated some twenty years prior by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1964).

Though the significance of the Pleiades throughout Amazonia and Caribbean is commonly recognized, general data concerning the position of stars when they are observed is incongruous. Star-lore of various South American Amerindians has been recorded in the early twentieth century (Koch-Grünberg 1909; Roth 1915; Lehmann-Nitsche 1922, 1923, 1924; de Goeje 1941). Among the Caribs (Kaliña) of Suriname valuable information has been gathered by Penard and Penard (1907, 1908) and Ahlbrinck (1931). Important contributions to Amazonian star-lore have been made since Reichel-Dolmatoff (1975) (S. Hugh-Jones 1979; Ch. Hugh-Jones 1979; Wilbert 1981).

First of all, it must be acknowledged that Amazonia is a vast and diverse region. Star gazing is influenced by the geographical fact that some Amazonian people live near the equator, while Cuba is located near the tropic of Cancer at 23½° N. Secondly, meteorological variation is not insignificant, so each group has adapted the “standard model” (i.e., association between Pleiades-Orion and rainy season) to their local circumstances.

Twenty-five years ago it was stated that “Carib astronomers seem to have developed a complex astronomical system based on the observation of the relative position of the stars with regard to the sun, to other stars, and in connection with the season” (Magaña 1984:362), however there was little notion on how this complex Carib astronomical system was situated in Wayana social life compared to Andean star-lore (Urton 1981; Zuïdem 1982). Rather than charting a summarizing overview of the Carib sky, in past and present (Magaña and Jara 1982), it is necessary to understand how star-gazing makes sense in long-term socio-political processes.

In severe cases, a *pijai* may ask for a specific enclosure to be build in order to treat the patient in full darkness.

New Moon is called *ëmunim.*

Grandmother Makilu requested to look through my camera with zoom lens so she could clearly see Jenunu. Jenunu is the story of the man who barbequed his wife after she had deceived him (CAWAY 1992; narrated by Grandmother Makilu). Meaning of this narrative will be discussed elsewhere (Duin in prep.) other than I want to mention here that this story illustrates how a man can enter the world below through a hole in the ground, such as via a former *ehpa* (ground drum used during *marakê*) (represented in the full Moon disk in Mare Crisium). In this Otherworld below, Jenunu did hide in the Moon. Later, every full Moon, Wayana perceive this man who is hiding in the Moon, climbing up into the sky (compare with figure 4-15). A similar route is taken by the deceased (on “hiding / buried” see chapter 4-4). Like Jenunu, deceased Wayana climb up into the sky to enter Kujuli pata (place of Kujuli, i.e., the land of the dead in the sky. Through metaphor, the scarlet macaw mounted on a wooden stick to be attached under a string of beads, in order to complete the voyage to the land of the dead in the sky. Through metaphor, the scarlet macaw feathers on the upper arm enable mortals to fly high into the sky like *Ara macao* (compare with figure 4-11). Scarlet macaw tail feathers represent sun beams at sunrise and sunset. Another key artifact of travelers worn by Jenunu is a *pumali,* i.e., feather crown of red-and-yellow toucan (*kijapok*; *Ramphastos tucanus*) feathers to which is attached a bird (*wanat*; *Cotinga nattereri*; Cotingidae are known for their exuberant colors and variety of sounds [Sick 1993:503-505]). Similar feather crowns are present in the Amazonian Collection at the FLMNH (T2241; T2242) and two objects (T2217; T2218) even have a bird attached to the crown. Rather than referring to Reichel-Dolmatoff’s (1968, 1971) general symbolic interpretation of red as (menstrual) blood, and yellow as semen, I posit an alternative symbolic meaning of the feather crown *pumali.* *Pumali* feather crowns consist of two sections of red vent feathers (of *Ramphastos tucanus; kijapok*) and two sections of yellow rump feathers, separated by black feathers. Furthermore, the bird (*wanat*) hanging on the back of the wearer is attached to one of the yellow sections of the feather crown. Therefore, *pumali* is worn with two opposite yellow sections facing front and back, while opposite red sections are located laterally. Since it is indigenous Guiana traveler’s (Waiwai, Trio, Wayana, and Wayâpi) wearing a *pumali* feather crown, and the rivers in Guiana flow north-south, canoe-travelers wearing a *pumali* embody the four dialectic directions according to Wayana (Guiana) worldview: Red as rising and setting sun (East and West, respectively); Yellow as sunlight (North and South, respectively).

Not the Western constellation Tucana.

During the September equinox, the sun’s path crosses the firewood (*wapot*) of the cassava beer constellation. Not the Western constellation Tucana.

Note that Pleiades and Scorpio are distanced at 12 h. in Astronomical Length, or half a year apart.

In addition to stars and constellations “the Arawaks see in the Milky Way nebulae [near Scorpius μ (note R.S.Duin)] a tapir being chased by a dog, followed by a jaguar (Roth 1915:260), and the Tukuna see a jaguar after...
an anteater (Nimuendajú 1952:143)” (in: Magaña 1984:344). These Dark Cloud constellations, i.e. head of atoq the fox, and tail of mother llama, are very important in Andean cosmology (Urton 1981). Most significant is that these Dark Cloud constellations opposite the Pleiades by 12 celestial hours, or 160°, or a distance in time between heliacal rise of 6 months, i.e., half a year. This Pleiades-Scorpio opposition is studied in depth by Lévi-Strauss (1964), Urton (1982) and Magaña (1984). These Dark Cloud constellations are located within the Wayana constellation onolehku. When this constellation sets at sunset (circa 18:45 pm in the month of October) this is the month Wayana burn their recently slashed gardens.

Correlation between the passing of a year and the Pleiades had been marked in the seventeenth century in the Antilles (Breton 1999:83 [1665, 1666]): “chiric, poussinière ou pléiades. Les Sauvages comptent les années par poussinières” (Breton 1999:83 [1665, 1666]). “chiric, Pleiades. The Savages count the years by Pleiades” (Breton 1999:83; my translation).

Counterpart of the double peaked inselberg named Mitaraka is located in the Tumuc-Humac Mountains.

Rigel is a first magnitude star in Orion, and Aldebaran is a first magnitude star in Taurus (jalamatatpë).

Betelgeuze is a second magnitude star in Orion.

Similar processes of transformation are described by Jonathan Hill and Robin Wright (1988:93-102) for the historical interpretation in Wakuénai narratives about Venancio Camico.

In his notes, Daniel Schoepf (1985:137) interpreted, contrary to Magaña, yalaka as the Mygale spider Theraphosa leblondi and identified this constellation as Hyades in Taurus. Hyades in Taurus are generally identified among Wayana as jalamatatpë (lower jaw; Appendix A: Map 5: CE-A.20), whereas the four bright stars in Orion (Betelgeuse, Bellatrix, Rigel, and Saiph) are by some Wayana identified as jalaka (frame).

During my 2000 fieldwork in the upper Maroni basin, Wayana said that this interpretation was plausible; there was no confirmation, neither denial of this hypothesis.

Four stars in Orion (Betelgeuse, Bellatrix, Rigel, and Saiph) are by some Wayana identified as jalaka (frame).

Hyades in Taurus is generally identified by Wayana as jalamatatpë (lower jaw; Appendix A: Map 5: CE-A.20).

Remember that the Wayana “New Year” starts in April with the heliacal setting of the Pleiades.

Dimmest star of this super-constellation.

Gemini stars Castor and Pollux possibly mark the twin posts of an entrance door.

Concluding in a maraké at Peïo, located between Aletani and Malani.

It was said that Aimawale, one of the initiators, had time restraints. First, Aimawale works for the French Government and had to perform this maraké during his summer break. Secondly, Aimawale requested to endure this stinging ritual (for a second time) before he would participate in the Kailawa 2004 expedition that would depart from Talhuwen on October 18, 2004.
CHAPTER 5
LOCAL PATTERNS OF KINSHIP AND AFFINITY

What happens ‘takes place’ because it happens somewhere, in the presence of others, because events become interventions, the subjectivity of different persons the issue.


Figure 5-1. Mothers and social Others; author among Wayana. From right to left: Ronnie Tikaine, Renzo Duin (both with cassava beer in the hand), Cevin (with soft drink in his hand), Sihmi, Karmen (front), Kalinalu (back), Kali, Siwanka (sitting), Anita, and Tailu (photo taken by Alipoike, husband of Anita, September 16, 1998).

It is time to shift gears and people the scene, the built environment, and the Guiana landscape, as described hitherto, providing a background of local patterns of kinship and affinity to regional processes as discussed in subsequent chapters. As briefly touched upon earlier, kinship (*iweki* = my family) grounds the Wayana region of socio-political interaction. Beyond kinship, Amazonian social formations are grounded in a difference between consanguinity (“insiders”) and affinity (“outsiders”), as discussed in detail in the edited volume titled Beyond the Visible and the Material: the amerindianization of society in the work of Peter Rivière (Rival and Whitehead 2001). This work brings about four premises, namely that (1) affinity is ‘given’ (“natural”) whereas consanguinity is embedded in a notion of affinity and needs affinity to be
defined (Taylor 2001; Viveiros de Castro 2001), a notion further developed on the wikia website \textit{A Onça e a Diferença} (http://amazone.wikia.com/wiki/Projeto_AmaZone); (2) a wide range of agents (predators) mediating between “insiders” and “outsiders” (Butt-Colson 2001; Henley 2001; Whitehead 2001); (3) a notion of generational continuity, descent, and consanguinity related to the model of a society of social Houses (Århem 2001; Lea 2001); and last but not least (4) embodiment and personhood situated in transforming bodies cutting across most of the thirteen contributions. These four premises are fundamental and in this chapter I will explore how these premises of social formations grounded in a difference between “insiders” (consanguinity) and affinity (“outsiders” or social others) play out among the Wayana.

An additional dimension of gender relations and perspectives to these premises—published the same year as \textit{Beyond the Visible and the Material}—can be drawn from the work of Marilyn Strathern on same-sex and cross-sex social relations wherein she stated that “each relation [same-sex or cross-sex relations] can only come from the other [relation] … [as an] internal reflexivity” (Strathern 2001:240). It is at once a conceptual and a social process as “a unified sexual state (same sex) is created through shedding or detaching the exogenous (other sex) element from a cross-sex relation” (Strathern 2001:226). Beyond the gender relations, this exploration of the comparative raises the question “how to deal with what we perceive as (internal) differences \textbf{between} all those others” (Strathern 2004:48 [1991]; emphasis in original). Philippe Descola stated that “certain cultural areas were to be considered as ethnographic totalities within which each different society or community could be treated as a structural variation within an overall pattern” (2001:109). Along similar lines I argue that the Wayana are a structural variation within a Guiana (Amazonian) pattern, and in this chapter I will outline how Wayana perceive and manage local patterns of kinship, affinity, and alterity.
5.1 Mothers and Social Others

In the beginning there were Mopo and Kujuli [the Creator Twins]; on the same day they were like babies in the eggs of tortoise [Geochelone denticulata]. But they were already alive. Then [Mopo and Kujuli] said to their mother [Tortoise]: “Mama,” they said, “let us be hidden by our grandmother,” they said. Mopo was not like a child, not as a toddler; they were still in the egg. But already he had knowledge. Subsequently they went to their grandmother. Tortoise went to [her mother] Toad. Next [Tortoise] says to [her mother] Toad: “Hide my children, the Jaguars are going to eat me,” [Tortoise] said to her mother. [Toad] hides the children of Tortoise. Then they are hidden by Toad under a big vessel (Excerpt from Appendix C: Mopo Kujuli; illustrated by Ronnie Tikaim: Figure 5-2).

Figure 5-2. Mopo Kujuli (Drawing by Ronnie Tikaim, 2000).
The Creator Twin narrative (Appendix C: Mopo Kujuli) contains fundamental principles of Wayana (Guiana) social organization as discussed in this chapter and depicted by the Wayana Ronnie Tikaiime in his artistic rendering of this narrative (Figure 5-2); with Mopo (elder brother) and Kujuli (younger brother) each with a set of bow and arrow, Grandmother Toad (Pëlë; species name is here used as a proper name),¹ Mother Tortoise (Kuliputpë),² the fierce Jaguar (Kaikui eilan; as the Jaguars are presented as a distinct people rather than a mere reference to the species of jaguar [Panthera onca] I will capitalize Jaguar; kaikui [literally: monster] is the general name for jaguar and dog, proper name for jaguar is istaino), eggs of Mother Tortoise hidden under a big ceramic vessel (oha), a roundhouse (tukusipan) on a cleared plaza, and even a decorated club (kapalu; the importance of this flat-board club will be discussed in later chapters [7.4 and 8.2]).

The narrative of Mopo Kujuli explicates how the processes of social relationships enfold. One of the basic social relationship is between grandparents and grandchildren; creating a social hierarchy of protection through nurture. It is at once an ideational and a real social process as among Wayana the firstborn child is often raised by his or her grandparents. The relation between grandmother Toad and mother Tortoise is a same-sex relationship demonstrating descent and generational continuity. The same-sex relationship between the two (male) Creator twins is one of consanguinity (as they are from the same egg string of Mother Tortoise). These same-sex relationships (diachronic and synchronic respectively) are an outcome of cross-sex relationships. Of interest in this version of the Creator twin narrative is the absence of a father figure (implied for the same-sex relation between Toad and her daughter Tortoise, as well for the cross-sex relation between mother Tortoise and her children Mopo and Kujuli). The exogenous (other sex) element from the cross-sex relation between the Creator Twins and their mother is disconnected by the fierce Jaguars eating mother Tortoise. Next the Creator twins—still in their
eggs—are hidden with grandmother Toad who nurtures the boys (indicative of a grandmother culture). This second exogenous (other sex) element, this time from the cross-sex relation between the Creator twins and their grandmother Toad, is severed through their initiation. Although not entirely transparent, there appears a social relation between Toad and the Jaguars. The Jaguars, as primordial social others, serve as predator agents mediating between “insiders” and “outsiders” while there is simultaneously a notion of affinity.

In this case, consanguinity is defined through affinity. In other words, the nurturing relationship between grandmother and her grandchildren becomes materialized though alterity while facing social others; in this case Jaguars (kaikui istaino) that are about to eat the mother of the Creator twins (Table C-1: line 5), as materialized in a basketry motif named kaikui ene kuliputpë (jaguar is eating the tortoise) (Figure 5-3).

![Figure 5-3. Basketry motif named: “jaguar is eating the tortoise” (kaikui ene kuliputpë). The rectangle represents the tortoise between the paws of a stylized jaguar with curly tail.](image)

Jaguars as non-human beings are social others, and in essence dangerous killers, as are all non-Wayana (kalipono; compare with wiíoto in Tilíyo). Being a “social other” depends on one’s perspective. To the Jaguars, for instance, Tortoise is a dangerous social other as in several Wayana narratives Tortoise killed Jaguar (not published in this study). Other social others
discussed in this study, and therefore dangerous, are the ancestors and the ones responsible for death. Places of these dangerous social others are preferably avoided, but encountered in the cultural process of defining consanguinity, of defining sociability, of defining the self.

Terence Turner (1985), in his structural analysis of the Kayapo myth on the origin of fire, outlined the role of jaguars as ambivalent mediating agents and source of transformation; “becoming socialized, in other words, implies acquiring the power to replicate the process one has undergone, which is to socialize others” (Turner 1985:97). Rather than simply stealing fire (through “predation”), according to Turner, one must understand how to replicate (“transform”) fire out of firewood. Among the Wayana, a similar learning process of knowledge gathering in the transformative process of the origin of fire was told at the conclusion of the Creator twin narrative (Table C-1: lines 56–65), wherein grandmother Toad explained, through trickery—in favour of deceit (Basso 1987)—to her grandchildren how to make fire: “They start to eat what has been cooked on the fire, no longer [‘cooked’] in the sun” (Table C-1: line 65), whereby cooking with fire is the cultural transformation of raw food (Lévi-Strauss 1964, 1969). Whereas the jaguar leads the boy into manhood (Turner 1985:64), the total absence of reciprocity between jaguar and man leads to the elimination of the jaguar’s wife (Lévi-Strauss 1969:83), which in turn resonates in the Wayana Creator twin myth where the Jaguars are invited to participate in the upcoming initiation ritual to lead the boys into manhood, at which point (when the Creator twins realize that they are the children of the one killed by the Jaguars) they kill the Jaguars by collapsing the roundhouse (tukusipan). Rather than conducting a structural analysis of myth, I will briefly address these and other Wayana narratives to outline Wayana perspectives on mothers and social others, and how to manage continuity through change and transformation.
Discourse on change, transformation, and jaguars in Amazonia, evokes the notion of the shaman. Linguistically, the indigenous term for “shaman” is often similar to the term for jaguar, for example in Tukano both are named ye’e or yai (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1975:101). The case of the jaguar/shaman is the most manifest expression of the fluidity of the body in Amazonia. The shaman embodying the jaguar is twofold: by means of jaguar skin body painting the body of the shaman becomes a jaguar skin; or the shaman can wear jaguar body parts such as jaguar pelt or jaguar teeth incorporated in a necklace and thus appropriating jaguar body parts. It has to be mentioned that the Amazonian term “pajê or piaii” (Whitehead and Wright 2004:2), “pagê” (Thévet 1557; Narby and Huxley 2001:13), “piayê” (Biet 1664; Narby and Huxley 2001:16), and pïjai in Wayana (pija = Harpy eagle; Harpia harpyja), became known to the European audience before the introduction of the term “shaman” (Petrovich 1672; Narby and Huxley 2001:18). Moreover, when Avvkum Petrovich introduced—from Siberia—the concept of “shaman” he stated this notion as a verb: “to do the shaman” (ibid.). In Wayana tïjumkai (root is jum = father; je [mother] is the root in tïjei = roasting) can be translated with “to do the shaman.” For these reasons, I am reluctant to use the term “shaman” (also because of the ladenness of the term) and advocate, for Amazonia, the use of pïjai, piaii (Carib) or pajé (língua geral of Amazonia).

In the second part of this chapter I will discuss and evaluate the role of the Wayana pïjai managing the flow of history, interpreting changes entrenched in conflicting versions of traditional institutions, and hence maintaining the continuous change or changing continuity generating new meaning in the process. In the first part I will focus on the reproduction of Wayana society, including topics as birth and marriage (taken place out-of-sight of the public), as well as mortuary practices in conjunction with public initiation rituals (performed in overt spaces, facing social others, comparable to the Creator twin myth) as discussed in the next
chapter. Society is not static as life changes continuously for the reason that it is situated in a constant dying and transforming into something else.

Wayana have philosophized on these themes and formulated a discourse on reproduction of society in the narratives of Mopo and Kujuli (Creator Twins) and Kulum (King Vulture) in order to make sense of these concepts. Religion as “providing a meaningful existence” (DeLoria 1992) is coded in social and economic reproduction. Reproduction of both social (rites of passage) and economic (manioc production) aspects of society, are at the heart of narratives of Mopo and Kujuli (Creator twins) and Kulum (King vulture). Finding a wife (note the male perspective in these two myths) and giving birth—which will cause kinship organization to be reassessed and the kinship system to shift one generation—are natural-domestic events rooted in continuous cycles. With regard to Wayana religion, Jean Hurault stated that the “spiritual side of Wayana culture cannot be considered to be a religion; its basis is a kind of natural science, aiming to control the spirits of nature” (Hurault 1968: xiii), then again “a great part of the customary way of life is kept up fervently and with conviction, especially the initiation rites of adolescents” (ibid.: xiv). Before evaluating the cultural-public initiation rites in the next chapter, I will first outline local “natural” patterns of kinship and affinity.

5.1.1 Mopo and Kujuli: the Creator Twins

Jules Crevaux (1993:129 [1881]) first noted that Wayana do have a God who made everything, and who lived after his death high above the clouds, and it was Henri Coudreau (1893:548) who first wrote down the name of this God: Couyouri [= Kujuli]. Rather than a single supreme deity, Kujuli, together with his elder brother Mopo, are twins as they are born from the same egg string. Discourse on Kujuli was first described in detail by Claudius de Goeje (1941:76-82) who recognized that his series of Creator Twin narratives was far from complete. Additional myths related to the Kujuli cycle are recently published by Jean Chapuis...
(Chapuis & Rivière 2003) and together with other versions (e.g., Boven 1999; Schoepf 1985), there exists a wide-ranging variety of narratives pertaining the Wayana Creator Twins. Let me recapitulate the main actions of Mopo and Kujuli, part of a larger cycle of myths:

Long ago there was Mopo Kujuli. They were still in the belly of their mother Kuliputpë when they said “Hide us with our grandmother Pëlë” for Mopo and Kujuli were already knowledgeable. Grandmother Toad did hide the children (while they were still in their eggs) under a large ceramic vessel *oha*. When the jaguars Istaino appear, after they have already eaten mother Tortoise (*kaikui ene kuliputpë*), they cannot find Mopo and Kujuli.

Then Grandmother Toad raises the twins in her garden where she has a small house. She gives them cooked food, for it is toads who have fire. Mopo and Kujuli are playing like children and they make a small tukusipan. Grandmother Toad made some cassava beer. The next morning there had materialized a monumental tukusipan with lots of beer.

Then they said to their grandmother they wanted to be initiated. Mopo goes to the village of the Jaguars to invite them for the big gathering. The Jaguars are invited, and asked to make feather headdresses *olok*, to play the flutes *waitakala* and to sing the songs *kalau*. Later, when the Jaguars have arrived in the village of Mopo Kujuli, Kujuli starts to play the flute *mëlaimë amohawin* and thunder is heard. Mopo plays the same flute and thundering increases. When they dance, raining starts. Kujuli invites the Jaguars to shelter in the tukusipan. Then Mopo and Kujuli remember that the Jaguars had eaten their mother Tortoise and they make collapse the tukusipan and all the Jaguars were killed.

The block text above is a shortened version (and translation only) of the Wayana myth of Origin (see Appendix C: Mopo Kujuli). Wayana say Mopo and Kujuli were raised by their grandmother Toad since their mother Tortoise was killed by the Jaguars. The social relations mentioned in this narrative have already been discussed above. That every novice (*tëpijem*) is experiencing the social memory of Mopo and Kujuli while dancing and playing the flutes, hence materializing social memory through performance, will be further discussed in the next chapter.

In 1999, Kilian Tuwanaikë elaborated on the story of Mopo Kujuli and told me that after the events discussed above, Kujuli was bitten in his left breast by a caterpillar (*ëlukë*). This suppuring wound (*ëlek*) resulted in a women’s breast, and ever since Kujuli had cassava to eat. Kilian continued his narrative that Kujuli went sitting in the middle of a garden plot that he had cleared. When Kujuli died, while sitting in the center of his garden plot, he told his elder
brother Mopo to return in six months. When Mopo returned after six months, all garden products had grown: manioc, banana, sugarcane, pineapple, sweet potato, everything, and Kujuli told Mopo how to process these produce. I asked Kilian if Mopo had a wife to do this work. Indeed, Mopo needed a wife to process the garden products, replied Kilian, and told me the story how Mopo created his wife (pers. comm. 1999): First Mopo took a calabash *tutpë* (*Lagenaria siceraria*) and put his penis in it. His sperm got in the calabash and a fetus started to grow inside the calabash. However, the calabash was too small and broke. The fetus died. Secondly, Mopo modeled a wife out of beeswax (*molopi*), but she melted under the searing sun. Thirdly, a wife was modeled out of rubber (*palakta*), but she would curve under the heavy weight of the backpack (*katali*) filled with manioc tubers. Mopo finally succeeded in copulating with a tapir. Nine months later, a little tapir girl was born and after some years she was big enough to perform her tasks. In a sense, Wayana are descendents of the Tapir, or Tapir-people (Paiyana in Tîlîyo).

Overhearing our conversation from a nearby hammock Elina, Kilian’s wife, interjected: “if you want a wife, you will have to capture a small king vulture and wait till she becomes adult” (pers. comm. 1999). Linguistically, Wayana relate kin and pets (*ekï; iwekï = my kin; jekï = my pet*). The latter term is also used for the guardian of the *tëpijem*). In a spatial, yet timeless drawing by Ronnie Tîkaimë (Figure 5-4), summarizing the basic elements for reproduction; the Tapir-girl next to the *tukusipan*, with on the other side the King vulture-girl, among others, with in the foreground Mopo straightening his arrow in cooking fire next to which also sit his parents and grandmother Toad. Moreover, mother Tortoise is depicted (on either side of her husband) in her anthropomorphic as well as in her zoomorphic being.
5.1.2 *Kulum: King Vulture and the Man Without a Wife*

Relationships between a husband and his in-laws (affines) are not discussed in the Creator twin narrative, yet this is a vital theme in, among others, the story of the King vulture (Appendix C: Kulum). Henri Coudreau (1893:209, 533, 548) refers on three occasions to Kulum. First occasion (ibid.:209) is during a consultation on shamans, Masters of the Animals, and the evil spirits *jolok*. Coudreau refers to it as “catechism” (ibid.). His Wayana informant (Acouli) said that these spirits live like people in a big house, and they have an Elder named “Couloun” [= Kulum], who is giving rain (ibid.). Second reference on Kulum is more detailed since, as Coudreau stated himself, this information came from a religious authority with high-quality
theogonic knowledge: Marière [Maïri, Masili], a “Ouayana pur” (true Wayana) (ibid.:544). Masili, as repayment for his knowledge, requested a hammerless-greener rival worth 800 francs and Coudreau was so astounded by this request that he wrote it down in his monograph and never again requested information from religious specialists.\footnote{10}

Masili stated that \textit{jolok} is the father of Kulum and that \textit{jolok} is white, and he went on to say that “\textit{piayes roucouyennes}” [= Wayana shamans] go up into the sky, to Kulum, to dance and to eat (Coudreau 1893:533). They do not drink. It is here where \textit{pïjai} go [at night, to consult in order to cure the sick]. The common man does not go to Kulum’s place. Kulum is white-grey and he has a cousin who is black, named Aouira [= \textit{awïla}]. Awïla is the assistant (\textit{peito}) of Kulum; he hunts for him (ibid.).\footnote{12} Concluding that Kulum is old, does not have hair on his head, is small, and does not work (ibid.). He smells horrible. He devours the bad \textit{pïjai} except for their stomach. Kulum is half Indian (ibid.). This last statement can be perceived in two manners: Kulum is like an Indian, having a house and dancing like people do, that is, humanity as the common condition of both humans and animals (Århem 1996; Descola 1986:120; Viveiro de Castro 1998). Or, Kulum is actually a human being (\textit{Homo sapiens sapiens}) clothing himself with the vulture’s feather cloak to fly up into the sky. Wayana tried to explain this narrative on Kulum and “the man-without-a-wife” to de Goeje (1941:84) who wrote—referring to Coudreau—that “in the sky above us are Kulum (very large vulture, Gypapus papa [= \textit{Sarcoramphus papa}]), Wantingkë (smaller vulture) and Awila (smaller vulture) … ; these are “Wayana”; when they come down to eat they put on their feather cloak. To this sky also belong the stars” (my translation).\footnote{13} Complicating the myth analysis is that in the narrative of “Kulum and the man-without-a-wife” (\textit{Kulum eitoponpë Wajana ehet Ipiïmîn}) both modes appear.
Pëlëka’s version of the king vulture story (Appendix C: Kulum), resonating with de Goeje, indicates that king vultures have a cultural life, similar to human beings, and that king vultures (in order to eat) put on their feather cloak when they fly down to earth where humans perceive Kulum as bird. Feather cloaks are an instrument to fly in the sky. As the (human) husband does not have the habit (epamiła) of flying, his king vulture wife first perches on a high branch from where she will subsequently support them in acquiring this habit by flying under them (Table C-2: lines 67–72). Earlier in this narrative, the (human) husband provided his pet king vulture (his wife-to-be) with food every day to domesticate her, to provide her with the domestic habits (epamtíhwë). Next the king vulture girl learns how to process cassava in the manioc squeezer (tinkëi), where the man perceived from afar a beautiful girl as she had left her feather cloak in the house (ibid.: lines 35–40). After a quarrel, the man gave his loincloth (kamisa) to the girl so the girl was well dressed (ibid.: line 46). This variety of “corporeal envelopes” (in this case king vulture feather cloak and human loincloth; in other narratives howler monkey fur coats, etc.) serve as interchangeable power tools endowing the body with a certain habit. Association between habit (custom) and clothing (costume) is even rooted in our language as a “habit” is a distinctive set of clothing worn by members of a religious order.

This part of the Wayana narrative of Kulum is in line with the notion that “the manifest form of each species is a mere envelope (a ‘clothing’) which conceals an internal human form (Vivieros de Castro 1998:470-471), then again, in the Kulum story it is also stated that the girl resembled a person who had just endured her initiation (tëpijem mïtpë), as her head was bald (Table C-2: line 37), hence a bodily reference to the “natural state” of a king vulture (Figure 5-4 right). Embodied knowledge which has become habitual behavior (a “second nature”) is physically incorporated in the body. This is why Peter Rivière concluded with “behaviour is a
better guide than appearances” as “What You See is Not Necessarily What You Get” (Rivière 1994:261, 256), but these corporeal envelopes (“cloths”) are not covering or masking “an internal ‘essence’ of a human type” (Viveiros de Castro 1998:482). Linguistically, grammar can express truth and knowledge with the suffix ~me (Carlin 1999), so that what you hear is what you get, for instance at the conclusion of the Kulum narrative when it is said about the (human) husband in a feather cloak that he is “Kulumme” (“like a king vulture”) (Table C-2: line 116).

Differentiating between various species (human and non-human) while “the spirit/soul of humanity” is a given condition (Århem 1996, Viveiros de Castro 1998), turns inside-out the Western tradition following Linnaeus, where all species (including Homo sapiens) are in essence biologically natural. As demonstrated in various Wayana narratives (not all published in this work), difference between dissimilar species (such as human beings, king vultures, howler monkeys, caterpillars, etc.; portrayed as affine relationships), is a dangerous interrelationship that, when mocking the habits of the social other, will cause chaos and disorder while “rebooting” the “natural system” of difference within a social field of interaction.

5.1.3 Visible During a Starry Night

Interconnectedness between Kujuli and Kulum is best visible at night when gazing at the constellation of Orion. Orion has earlier been identified as the center of the house in the sky (Figure 4-19), and de Goeje (1941:77, note 1) wrote in a footnote that Kujuli is the younger brother of the South American twin myths, while the elder brother is possibly related to the first shaman and the man-without-a-thigh, that is: the constellation of Orion (Figure 5-5). In Wayana, Orion is named ipetpîn (“the-man-without-a-leg”), similar to the Kaliña name Epetembo (Magaña 1988; Jan Stjura pers. comm. 1996). There appears to be a play of tropes between the names of Ipetpîn (“the-man-without-a-leg”) and Ipîtîmîn (“the man-without-a-wife”) whereby the latter, not insignificantly, had been shot in the leg by an arrow (pîlêu) while wearing the
feather cloak (hence double headed: one human head and one king vulture head) (Table C-2: lines 94–96; Figure 5-6). It has to be noted that where Ipïtïmïn raised a king vulture as his wife-to-be, the information on whether Kujuli had a wife is rather incongruent. It goes beyond the present study to conduct an in-depth pan-Amazonian myth analysis, other than I will provide a new perspective that will allow revisiting prior ethno-astronomical myth analysis.

De Goeje continued his discourse on Wayana worldview in stating that “above this sky [of Kulum] is a second sky; this is Tukušima-pata, place of the Tukušimas … This is also the sky of Kujuli, Mopo and Pëlikaman” (de Goeje 1941:84; all translations of de Goeje are mine). Next, de Goeje elaborated that “Kujuli dwells on a beautiful large rock with many wasps” (ibid.:120). Wayana cosmology thus consists of a multilayered cosmos, wherein above the sky of Kulum is the sky of Kujuli. Wayana today refer to this sky as Kujuli pata (“place of Kujuli” i.e., the hereafter). Late pijasi Pîleike told Chapuis (1998:583) that in this land of Kujuli there was no rain, no clouds, no sun, other than it was always bright. In the narrative of the Creator twins, after the roundhouse (tukusipan) collapsed, it is stated that Mopo was already in the sky (Table C-1: line 51), with Mopo (or Kujuli) embodying the constellation of Orion in the center of Kujuli pata. However, the narrative on Kulum and the man called Ipïtïmïn (man-without-a-wife) concluded that “he leaves forever into the sky” (Table C-2: line 113), that is, “the man-without-a-wife” will forever be perceived in the stars as the constellation of the King vulture, identified as Orion. From an essentialist standpoint the constellation of Orion can only be identified with one or the other myth, however from a Wayana (Amazonian) perspective the places of Kulum and Kujuli are located one above the other, and when seen from earth below they appear superposed in the constellation of Orion (Figures 5-5 and 5-6). Gazing at Orion, and perceiving
the stories of Mopo and Kujuli (Creator Twins) and Kulum (King vulture), intertwines the reproduction of both social and economic aspects of sociality.

Figure 5-5. Orion as Kujuli (background of figure 5-6 at a 90 degree angle).

Figure 5-6. Orion as the constellation of Kulum (double headed King vulture).
When we perceive Peter Roe’s (1982) considerable study of *The Cosmic Zygote* to map an Amazonian mythical interaction sphere rooted in a structuralist model; the King vulture (Ancient Eagle [Roe 1982:128]), is mapped in the West together with female, black, and death. King vulture is in opposition to Harpy eagle depicted in the East together with, male, white, and birth. Lévi-Straussian structuralism did not suggest binary oppositions in and of themselves, but rather a series of transformative oppositions amidst all the elements forming a whole. Instead of a cataloguing taxonomy with fixed typological units we need to seek dynamic processes within the structure, say, King vultures do descent for carcasses, nevertheless, the main theme of the King vulture discourse is not death, but rather reproduction of society.

### 5.2 Between Grand-Parents and Grand-Children

In the Creator Twin narrative, when Tortoise gives birth to her children, her mother becomes grandmother to Mopo and Kujuli. It should not be overlooked that once a daughter gives birth to a newborn, the daughter now becomes a “mother” and the mother of the daughter becomes a “grandmother” to the newborn, resulting in a shift in kinship terminology. In other words, kinship system is not static: the “output” of the formula (i.e., a grandchild) becomes a new “input” (*ego*, self). Hitherto I elaborated upon the inadequacy of maps as maps lack spatial narratives, and in a similar vein, kinship charts render personal histories motionless. Kinship systems, in practice, will shift throughout succeeding generations, resulting in continuous dynamic dialectics, calibrated by the nurturing relationship between grandparents (*tamusi* and *kunumusi*) and grandchildren (*ipa*).

#### 5.2.1 Kinship Terminology

Before I continue with an outline of birth and marriage among the Wayana, followed by an exposition on ancestors and eschatology leading into a discussion on the *pïjai* managing change and continuity, I will briefly elaborate on Wayana kinship terminology. Wayana consider other
Wayana as iwekî (my family)\textsuperscript{19} calibrating the structure at the +2 generation with grandparents (term of reference: tamusi and kunumusi or inot for respectively grandfather and grandmother, term of address: tamo and kunì), and at the -2 generation with grandchildren (ipa for both genders).\textsuperscript{20} Hurault made a study of the Wayana kinship system wherein he concluded that:

until recently, each village corresponded to a distinct group of kin. Wayana reckon their relationships through two lines, the paternal and maternal … Marriage … is prescribed … with one of the classificatory cross-cousins. Results of this marriage system is to combine patrilineal and matrilineal segments in one kin group. The group set up may, at least in theory, live completely endogamously, a principle which seems to have been until recently the very basis of social life among the Wayana. The exogamous marriage was admitted only if an endogamous marriage was impossible. In all cases residence was matrilocal (Hurault 1968: xiii).

On the next page, Hurault stated that this “traditional” system “declined two generations ago. Endogamous marriage … is being increasingly abandoned [and] there is no longer a fixed rule of residence, each individual follows his personal preferences. The kin group, thus dismembered, has ceased to be the basis of social organization” (Hurault 1968: xiv).

Whereas Peter Rivière (1984:38) criticized Hurault’s “rather inappropriate” use of Africanist terminology (Hurault worked mainly among Maroon populations, i.e., descendents of African slaves), Rivière does not question his statement of “degradation of the Wayana kinship system” (Hurault 1968:38) as it was assumed that the “traditional system” (assumed endogamy in matrilocal kin groups) declined and became abandoned during the 1950s and 1960s rather than trying to understand a Wayana logic of their socio-political organization, as explored throughout this study. Jean Hurault (1968:19-39) made an effort to describe the social system of the Wayana, concluding that the recently immigrating people of Massili (socio-political implications of this immigration have been discussed above [Chapter 3.4]) were most truthful to the “traditional” endogamic structure with preference to cross-cousin marriage and prohibition of marriage of classificatory “sisters,” “mothers,” and “daughters” based on a parallel patrilineage and matrilineage structure. As example of a “contemporary trend” to a loose structure of fusion and fission, Hurault (1968:36-38) presented the settlement of Touanké, that is the settlement of
granman Twenke. Today, most Wayana follow the uxorilocal post-marital residence structure (for instance the case of Espérance), however, it is sons and grandsons of village leaders (i.e., those who are potential future village leaders in a hereditary system; the powerful) who remain in the village of their parents after marriage (patrilocal post-marital residence structure; such as the case of Aimawale Opoya), as noted elsewhere in Amazonia (Viveiros de Castro 1992:375).

Table 5-1. Wayana age scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>age</th>
<th>♂</th>
<th>♀</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>tamusi (vocative: tamo)</td>
<td>kunumusi (vocative: kuni)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35+</td>
<td>tamsimanme (vocative: tamo)</td>
<td>kunumusimanme (vocative: kuni)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>tewantak ikatpë (individual [m/f] who knows, who is respectful)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12+</td>
<td>imjata (age to become têpijem)</td>
<td>waluhmame (age to become têpijem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-10</td>
<td>mule (vocative: kami)</td>
<td>jemsi (vocative: kami)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>pijukuku</td>
<td>pijukuku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Village elders are referred to as tamusi (grandfather) and kunumusi (grandmother). A true tamusi or kunumusi is over sixty years of age, yet 35-plussers can also be addressed with the vocative tamo (grandpa) or kuni (granny) (Table 5-1). Wayana say that a person is fully mature at 30 years of age, when s/he is knowledgeable and respectful. Kami is the general vocative for a child, with as term of reference: peitopït or pitani (plural: peinom). Children under the age of ten are generally referred to as jemsi (girl) or mule (boy). At twelve years of age, i.e., the age to become a têpijem (novice), adolescent boys are referred to as imjata and adolescent girls as waluhmame (maiden). Once a woman has given birth, she is referred to as tipijutpë. A parent who has lost a child, even while she still has other children, is referred to as jenpë (literally: former mother). A boy who has lost his mother is referred to as mulenpë (literally: former boy), and imjatame once adopted (tuwantaniphe) by a grandparent.22
Wayana kinship terminology (Figure 5-7) does not distinguish between brothers and sisters (

\textit{akon} = similar other), apart from the elder sister who is called \textit{tasi}. As (classificatory) brothers and sisters are \textit{akon} (other) they refer to their brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law as husband (\textit{îinnerum}) and wife (\textit{ipît}). All women in the 0 and -1 generation are referred to as \textit{wëlîsi} (girl).
A woman refers to her husband and her brother-in-law as ïmnerum (husband), and it is not uncommon for Wayana to remarry a first husband’s (classificatory) brother.

Wayana kinship terminology, based on the classificatory brothers/sisters and classificatory husbands/wives, breaks down into two basic structures of consanguine and affine relations. The consanguine organization includes brothers/sisters (akon = similar other), children of a classificatory mother (je; term of address: mamak) and a father (jum; term of address: papak) or a potential father (japo = father’s brother [akon to father] and mother’s sister’s husband [ïmnerum to mother]). Consanguine kinship terminology is similar in male and female perspectives (Figure 5-7), but kinship terminology differs in the affine relationships. Affine organization (different others) is centered on, from a male perspective, kono (brother-in-law, term of reference for men; term of address: ipam) who is married to a classificatory sister (akon or tasi), and, from a female perspective, jelut (sister-in-law, term of reference for woman) who is married to a classificatory brother (akon = similar other). Parents of the classificatory husband/wife and kono/jelut are named konko (father-in-law and mother’s brother; term of address: ëwo) and ëwotpë (mother-in-law and father’s sister; term of address: wotpë). The graphs below chart the Wayana kinship system from a male and a female perspective (Figure 5-7).

This Wayana kinship system is rooted in what Claude Lévi-Strauss (1968 [1943]) called the “brother-in-law institution” based on his research among the Nambikuara where the social other must be determined as an affine—as a “(potential) brother-in-law” (materialized when ego marries the alter man’s sister)—expressing the political dilemma of uniting two groups in kinship terms. Lévi-Strauss never grounded kinship in biological reproduction (cf. Schneider 2004) and manipulations of kinship taxonomies fulfill a political function (see also Bourdieu 1990: chapter 2). I will therefore focus on the postulation of political means to produce
reciprocal social relations with the social other—rooted in the work by Lévi-Strauss (1949)—as identity emerges in the context of alterity, and social interaction is therefore politically loaded. When kinship terminology and its manipulations reside in the political predicament of uniting two groups, kinship organization as a whole ought to be situated in the context of socio-politics.

Figure 5-8. Cross-cousins and extended cross-cousins.

Manipulations of kinship taxonomies are least problematic in cross-cousin relationships, especially when these cross-cousin relations can be extended over more than one generation. As said by Jean Hurault (1968) and Paul Henley (1983/1984:176) Wayana do not marry their cross-cousins, nevertheless, according to a Wayana emic perspective they do. This discrepancy is situated in the notion of a cross-cousin over a single generation: fathers-sisters-daughter/son or mothers-brothers-daughter/son. Wayana additionally calculate cross-cousins (as well as parallel-cousins, i.e., classificatory brother/sister) over more than one generation—which I call “extended cross-cousins”—for example, a fathers-mothers-sisters-daughters-daughter/son is, according to Wayana classification, a cross-cousin (Figure 5-8). (Extended) cross-cousins are classificatory husband/wife (íinnerum/ípit), which potential relationships are sometimes realized, such as when Tasikale married his mother’s-mother’s-sister’s-son’s-daughter (Figure 3-13). That
Anapaike married Janamale’s sister, and later Janamale’s daughter (Figure 3-13), facilitated future manipulation of (extended) cross-cousin relations for political purposes.

This model of extended cross-cousins is rooted in an uxorilocal organization where sisters remain with their mother while husbands move in, and children are raised by all women, calling their mother as well as their mother’s sister mamak (term of reference: je). As uxorilocal organization can be “overruled” in the case of (potential) village leaders, I posit that there has been no degradation of the Wayana kinship system, other than researchers were not able to ‘fit’ their data in conventional singular kinship models. Hurault, I argue, had difficulty analyzing these kinship systems as he tried to fit “lines of descent” of the villages of Touanké [= Tenwe] and Massili [= Machiri, Alipoya] in matrilineages rather than in patrilineages as these where settlements of a Wayana granman (paramount chief). With regard to Hurault’s examples, the father of Massili, Anana, had been the most powerful tamusi (granman or chief) of the Jari (Hurault 1968:19), and Granman Tenwe was the great-grandson of Twanke (Touanké) of whom Coudreau (1893:104) had stated that he was of “an old roucouyenne [Wayana] family who since a long time ago provides ‘tamouchis’ to the Roucouyennes of the Marouini and the Aletani” (my translation). I will later elaborate on the concept of tamusi as paramount chief, other than I here want to bring to a close this section on kinship terminology with that the same noun “tamusi” is also the term of reference for grandfather, which led early ethnographers to believe that every village elder (tamusi) simply could become a leader (tamusi).

5.2.2 Birth and Marriage

As the present study focuses on regional aspects of Wayana (Guiana) socio-political organization, rather than on local domestic economies, I will only briefly outline how birth and marriage are grounded in the Wayana landscape. Birth and marriage, among the Wayana, occur out-of-sight of the public, without elaborate rites. To give birth, the mother-to-be sits on a
wooden bench. Sitting on a wooden bench is a rare occasion for Wayana women as this privilege is conventionally reserved for men of high status. Facing the mother-to-be, the mother or mother-in-law proceeds as midwife. Once the child is born (tewëkaktai), the umbilical cord (poni ewa) is cut (traditionally with a kulumuli-bamboo knife [Crevaux 1987:273]). The placenta (uponpë) is buried in a small pit, specifically dug for this purpose (Hurault 1968:54). During the day, this pit is dug at some distance from the house, however with a delivery at night the placenta might be buried next to a post of the house (e.g., Chapuis 1998:309).

Parents have to restrain to a series of proscription (tehenemai). Only tiny fish (opi) and sun-dried cassava bread (sisikan) are allowed to be eaten according to Wayana lore; otherwise the child will die. Upon my arrival among the Wayana in 1999, a Wayana girl was born. To pay respect to my hosts, I obeyed the proscriptions and restrictions. The following data is mainly based on my experience during the 1999 fieldwork period. Food restriction to opi and sisikan for parents at birth is similar for novices during their initiation, as well as for the next-of-kin in case of a death. Restriction to opi and sisikan are therefore the quintessential rite-of-passage food proscriptions. Moreover, following Wayana lore, new parents are NOT allowed to:

Make pottery (ëliwë), because of the risk of breaking the pottery which will cause the lower abdomen and female reproductive organs (ëli) to burst. Or boys will grow heavy. Shoot kunolo (scarlet macaw), otherwise the baby will grasp for air when climbing. Weave basketry (wama), otherwise the legs of the baby will be weak (as cane shafts). Shoot snakes (ëkëi), or you will have a crying baby. Shoot kapau (red brocket deer), or the baby will grow spinning in its head (lëwë). Regurgitate cassava beer, or his child will have to vomit as well, which is not good.

These and other restrictions are the reason why both parents prefer to stay at home in protection of their child, which habit is at the origin of the infamous couvades of Carib men (e.g., Crevaux 1987:272). Rather than being lazy, these new fathers are actively protecting their newborn baby. The mother is not allowed to bath the newborn baby (piukuku) in the creek or river, in fear of water monsters grabbing the baby and dragging it under water. Even the parents...
are not allowed to bath in the river for several days. Grandmothers will bring water from a nearby creek to the house of the young mother, where the latter will sprinkle some water over the new born baby sitting on her knee. After a week, the baby may be bathed in the river. When the remainders of the umbilical cord detach from the navel, the brothers and sisters of the newly born are requested to each burn a piece of the *pisa*-broom in the hearth fire. The mother squeezes the burned pieces of the *pisa*-broom into carbon which she applies to the navel and the detaching umbilical cord. Then, feet and hands are massaged, and the head of the baby is massaged: the mother places her left hand to the back of the head, and the right hand on the front of the babies head. This is, Wayana say, to make the babies head beautifully round and small.

Bead strings are tied below the knee and above the ankles in order to make the calves of the lower leg big and strong. To protect the child, half a *koja* nut (*Anomospermum chloranthum*) is attached to a cotton string and hangs around the neck of the baby. This nut resembles a sleeping dog guarding the child, and protecting the baby against monsters in the water and on land.

When a newborn is considered to have a birth defect (e.g., a hare-lip), resembling a “caterpillar” or taken into the forest by a *jolok* (malicious spirit), the father or grandfather may decide to carry out infanticide (for two examples see Chapuis 1998:444-445). The baby will be brought to a remote area (sometimes on an island) where a pit has been dug, and will be killed in its grave. Neither is it good, according to Wayana lore, to give birth to twins (*latome*), because people are not supposed to have a living mirror image. Wayana say it is best to kill both twins, because when only one is killed, the other twin will constantly be reminded of fact that he is one of a twin (e.g., village leader Palimino is said to be depressed because he is one of a twin).

When the woman does not want to give birth, she uses a piece of bamboo to inflict *abortus*
provocatus. The fetus will be buried in the green zone around the settlement (tēwēkaktai; literally: “being born”) after which the woman will remain in her hammock for several days.

Wayana do not have birthday parties, other than schoolteachers recently introduced the concept of a birthday party. Due to the attention and gifts received, some children claim their birthday several times a year.

Marriage is related to birth, in that—in the old days—a groom-to-be used a buried placenta to fish for a turtle that he had to present to his future parents-in-law. When a boy intents to marry a girl, he will converse with the parents of the girl. Her father will ask the boy for one of four delicacies: 1) kuliputeimë (large turtle, unidentified species); 2) ēkēi taun (large snake that glides on the wind from tree to tree, unidentified species); 3) crop of the kapauimë (giant deer whose crop tastes like honey, unidentified species); 4) head of atalekale (unidentified species; brain near its ear tastes as honey). Father and mother of the girl will consume these engaging sweets in private. There is no public gathering or other festivity. The father will inquire his future son-in-law whether he has the knowledge of how to build a house, how to cut a canoe, how to slash a garden plot, and the like, and he may request his future son-in-law to build him a new house or a new canoe. A man has to be familiar with these practices, yet may learn these skills during his marriage. Only then, the boy may hang his hammock next to the hammock of the girl. The latter being a sign of marriage. There is no exchange of rings or the like. Neither is there a public wedding ceremony. Marriage and birth occurring without elaborate rites out-of-sight of the public, in other words a relation between a man and a woman in the natural-domestic mode, is illustrated in the King vulture narrative mentioned above (Appendix C: Kulum).

Divorce is straightforward. Sign of an upcoming separation is when a woman hangs her hammock in the house of her mother. Husbands may then pack their belongings and return to
the village of their family, as the new couple generally resides in the village of the girl (post-marital uxorilocal). With the ease of divorce in mind, potential village leaders remain in the village of their fathers (post-marital patrilocal).

Guiana societies are said to perceive the social other as dangerous, and one means to maintain a high degree of autonomy in a preferred post-marital uxorilocal residence custom (i.e., safely near mother) is intergenerational marriage (Rivière 1984; Henley 1983/1984), however, according to Paul Henley (1983/1984:174-175), Wayana and Apalai are the only Guiana societies that do not practice institutionalized intergenerational marriage. Instead of researching these “anomalous” Wayana and Apalai kinship systems (Henley 1983/1984), Paul Henley (2001) went to study social reproduction among West-Guiana peoples in the context of ritual, above all the ceremonial construction of the individual person vis-à-vis alterity. Possibly Henley did not conduct this study among the Wayana as social reproduction among Wayana (East-Guiana) in the context of ritual appears beyond a ceremonial construction of the individual person. The complexity, supralocality, and multifaceted Wayana initiation rituals will be presented and reassessed in the next chapter, first I will dwell in mortuary practices and eschatology.

5.3 Ancestors and Eschatology

Birth and marriage, as briefly outlined above, are taken-for-granted from a Wayana emic perspective, they are, so to say, situated in the natural-domestic realm. Mortuary practices, on the other hand, are situated in public discourse and performed in overt spaces, in what we may call the cultural-public realm. Among the Wayana it is not only the mourners who take care of the deceased body. As will be illustrated below, it is often the person who is dying influencing mortuary practices, and mortuary practices are situated in the reproduction of society. As I did not personally witness mortuary practices, I have to base this part of my study on ethno-historical accounts, Wayana discourse and open-ended interviews conducted during my fieldwork.
Mortuary practices on the whole are a loaded topic that cannot simply be a topic of research during an initial visit. First opportunity to discuss mortuary practices with Wayana was in 1999. While Ronnie stayed at home to protect his newborn baby, I visited the neighbors of Awalakampu. My ethno-archaeological focus on architectural elements made me decide to aid Kilian Tuwanaikë in building his new house at Awalakampu. In return Kilian and his wife offered me a meal, from which I was restraint in the house of Ronnie and his newborn baby. Tënepo (a pïjai; above I explained why I prefer pïjai or pajé above the term “shaman”) visited the building site reminding us that an Apalai was buried at the place we were preparing for construction. This was my moment to ask: “what if we touch the bones of the dead?” This question sparked a vivid discussion of mortuary practices and eschatology.

Another example of death situated in discourse; November 28, 2000, heavy rain showers and wind gushes soaked many Wayana houses and blew off some roofs of newly built structures. The day before, someone had died on the settlements on the island facing Antecume pata. Since this was the second death in this place, the settlement was abandoned and the houses remained standing. That night, before getting into my hammock, Sihmi (Ronnie’s wife) asked if I had red lipstick. Since I did not have lipstick, she went to her niece who lived next-door to borrow red lipstick. Next, she began to draw on the faces of her husband, her children, and her proper face: red crosses on the checks and forehead, and a continuous line over the ridge of the nose. Similar facial painting was drawn by William Curtis Farabee (1924: plate XL: A) among the Waiwai. Reader of this study might understand that I did not wanted to be painted like Farabee’s Waiwai face painting A, with red lipstick crosses on my cheeks, forehead, and a red line over the ridge of my nose. That night I had the strangest dream: my brother visited me in Leiden, and when we walked from the train station to Campus, he kept but inviting me into diners, pizzerias, McDonald, and other places to eat. My brother is not the person to go out and invite me for a good meal. I never had a dream like this, and it did not make any sense to me. That morning when I woke up, I asked Sihmi why she had painted red lipstick crosses. She replied that the cross is the sign of jolok, the trickster spirit. This facial painting, she continued, was to prevent evil jolok spirits to visit a person at night after a death occurred, in the shape of a good friend and offer food in order to gain power over this person. I was speechless. My deductive academic reasoning did not understand how this was possible. Yet it made sense according to Wayana logic.

Another day, around 1 AM, hooting of owls could be heard near the village. The owl left only to return around 5 AM. Ronnie went out of bed, took his gun, and fired a shot in the air.
The hooting stopped. He had not killed this owl, merely scared it away. He informed me that *pehpë* (Spectacled owl; *Pulsatrix perspicillatta chapmani*) is the announcer of sickness and death, which is why these owls have to be scared away; so no death will be brought upon the village. If killed, another owl will simply replace the one killed to announce imminent death.

5.3.1 Mortuary Practices in Discourse

Tasikale Aloupki (brother-in-law of Kilian) continued this research of mortuary practices in the past, including what to do when a person touches the bones of the dead (Table C-4: line 14). Tasikale stated that when a person touches a skeleton while digging a hole to place a post, a *pijai* has to be invited immediately to mediate with the remains of the deceased person (*ëkepjetpë*). When the *pijai* concludes there is an evil *akuwalinpë* (invisible spirit) in the grave, the building project has to be abandoned. Otherwise the residents of the future house built over the grave will certainly get ill (ibid.: line: 14-15). When there is no mediating *pijai*, he who touches the skeleton will certainly die (ibid.: line: 16). It is possible to build a place on a former settlement, yet the village can become uninhabitable due to the presence of *akuwalinpë* and *jolok*. Better is to found a new village where no people have been buried before (ibid.: line: 12-13). Let me quote the rest of Tasikale’s account on “burial related affairs” (*onamtop*) in its integrity (Wayana version is included in Appendix C: Table C-4):

Long ago the Wayana buried the dead in the house. One also buried in the tukusipan [community roundhouse], but not anybody. Only the village chief [can be buried in the tukusipan], because he constructed it. Also those who helped building [the community house], when they are dead, can be buried in the same place [for example, in the tukusipan of Janamale Kawemhakan are buried: Wejuku, Yakuman, Polina, and Wantapïn. That is, their ashes had been collected in a ceramic vessel after cremation, and these vessels containing their ashes have been buried inside the community house]. It is only them who have this right. Then, when all chiefs are dead, all other people can move elsewhere. Some will see the chief of another village to ask “can I settle here with you?” to ask him a place to built houses. Some [former inhabitants] will built a village for themselves.

When the deceased is dead, he will not be buried in the ground, but placed outside. But when the body decomposes, the village will smell bad. People leave the village because
they do not like this carcass-stench. Then, when a pïjai (shaman) dies, the Wayana obey his word. The [pïjai] dying will request: “when I am dead you will not burry me, I will remain outside. When you treason with me then I will not agree with that. When I am outside [i.e., above the ground] than it is good.” So they respect him and “burry” his body according to his last wishes; because they are afraid of him [the pïjai]. Because he [the pïjai] will otherwise make arrive evil spirits; make arrive the jaguar, and many others. Because people are very fearful for [evil spirits] of he who has been buried (Table C-4: line:17-27).

Wayana are frightened by evil spirits of the dead, then again, Tasikale himself is eager to see the face of his maternal grandfather Tasikali who passed away before Tasikale was born. Based on a tour-like description by Tasikale’s mother, Tasikale, his sisters and brothers, and I, set out in 1999 to find the former village of Tasikali that had been abandoned after his death in the mid 1970s. Retracing Tasikale’s mother’s spatial story (she said to follow the old hunting trail across from Kawemhakan. Left at the palms that must have grown out of the palm fruits Siwanka used to eat at the rim of the village. When arriving at the creek we must have crossed the village), we found the former settlement (patatpë): several posts were still standing, others had rotten and fallen onto the ground. Amidst the posts, a depression was found in the forest floor where supposedly grandfather Tasikali had been buried. However, in 2003, when Tasikale, his father Aloupki, and the rest of his family, had slashed down the trees and subsequently burned this site to make a garden plot, the proper location of Tasikali’s final resting place was located. Confirmation of the grave was indicated by a metal trunk filled with red beads, just as Tasikale’s mother had indicated. Tasikali’s final resting place became the center of the garden plot and was left untouched. Tasikale intended to excavate the skull of his grandfather and hang this tamojetpë (grandfather bone) it in a basket in his house; for he is eager to see the face of his maternal grandfather Tasikali, of his name-giver. However, Tasikale’s father Aloupki (who is a pïjai) stated that it is not good to “play” with the bones of the dead. Tasikale indicated to wait till his father has passed away to excavate Tasikali’s skull, now that he knows its location.
After conversations with Wayana elders, Tasikale told me about individual wishes requested prior to death (pers. comm. 2000). For instance, Nanuk (brother of Malavat [Kapauwet]) requested to be buried with his head above the ground while facing the Aletani River, as he was fond of the vista over the river. Piįai Aloupki (Tasikale’s father), however, advocated that it is not good to be seated in a grave: it is better to be buried lying in a new hammock. Another example is the late powerful piįai Pileike who passed away between my visits of 1999 and 2000. When I returned in 2000, Tasikale told me that the late Pileike (actually, Wayana do not name the recent dead, so Tasikale referred to him as “he from across the river”), had requested to be left alone; lying in his hammock in his house. Then, before he passed away (at the age of 73), Pileike requested all residents of his village to move to neighboring Twenke. I asked if I could see “him from across the river” as Pileike still appeared to be lying in his hammock. Pileike had said that all Wayana who would land here—and visit his place—would certainly die. Being very frightened of the spirit of the deceased (akuwalinpē) that remains in the grave, Tasikale told me it was better not to visit that place. So I did not, and was not able to see what Coudreau witnessed over a century ago just south of Pililipu: a skeleton hanging in, and enveloped by, a hammock rocking in the wind (Coudreau 1893:119-120).27 Thus are the last wishes of Wayana.

Seated, suspended in a hammock, or buried otherwise, the walls of the burial chamber are covered with several opoto (mat woven from kumu palm fronds), so the deceased will not touch earth and sand. Planks from old canoes served to cover the grave pit. Before the arrival of metal tools (axes, adzes, machetes, knives, and shovels) it was hard to dig a proper size pit to bury a person, so the corpse could be wrapped in a hammock and the enveloped body was placed in a posthole that had been enlarged for this purpose (Kulijaman 2000. Table 5-2).
Table 5-2. Pakolo etatpë jaklëken tonamhe (They buried him where used to be a posthole).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wayana omi</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Ma uhpakèle. Wayana tilêmêphe aptau, têwêtawohanëmai.</td>
<td>1 A long time ago, when a Wayana had died, they did not know how to bury.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Ėkep tilêmêphe aptau, pakolo etatpë jaklëken tonamhe.</td>
<td>2 When a person had died, they buried him in a hole where used to be the post of a house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Malalë tonohanëmai têkëpipkom tîpîtîpîmîhe ejahe tiwîlîmai ejahe pakolo etatpë enek tihe.</td>
<td>3 First they tied up the corps for it would fit into the hole.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Malonme mêlê pakolo etatpë tilêmêë ejahe peptamepsik ėkep.</td>
<td>4 Next they enlarged the posthole in order to contain the corpse that is a little big.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Enek tilêmêë ejahe anumna hapon lo awatop eitohme. Tohme wanma ëtikomomna lo awatopomna monkala. Malijama napamna wîwî tomomna êhmelêmne.</td>
<td>5 They did this for this was less effort. For they did not have tools to dig into the earth. No knifes, no machetes, no axes, nothing [no metal tools] at all.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Masike malëhkulëken ėkep têkëpipkom tonamhe ejahe.</td>
<td>6 Thus they buried the corpse like this although this is not ideal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Tahkuken tonamhe holope tomomna esike.</td>
<td>7 But what to do to burry when one does not have shovels?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.1.1 Akuwali(npë) and omole

Let me briefly elaborate on two (or three) spirit concepts: akuwali(npë) and omole. When discussing mortuary practices with the Wayana, it appeared that characteristics of omole and akuwali(npë) become apparent after death: omole goes to Kujuli pata, the place of the Creator Kujuli (i.e., the hereafter in the sky), whereas the akuwalinpë, i.e., the former akuwali, remains in the grave on earth. A corpse (ĕkep) or skeleton (ĕkepjetpë) in the grave can be animated by akuwalinpë, the former akuwali (invisible spirit) that has its counterpart in omole (visible spirit).

Omole is a reflection, an image, a shadow. Wayana say that when one looses omole, or if it is taken away, the body will grow cold; it is like a sweater you take off and you will get cold. Omole, according to Wayana, leaves the body via the mouth at night as we dream. That is why one feels so cold at dawn, because omole intermingled with other shadows traveling to far away places while dreaming. Early in the morning Wayana need to warm up slowly near the fire place, in order to let their omole return to their body. Based upon information provided by the late powerful pïjai Pîleike, Jean Chapuis (1998:610) drew a processual scheme of the course of omole. What Pîleike described seemed to be a fractal body as the parts of a “new” visible spirit
is more than one, but less than two: a “new” omole is provided by Kujuli at conception while another part of omole is originating from an ancestor bearing the same name as the newborn; the good part of omole will rise up to Kujuli pata, where it can be recycled into a “new” omole provided by Kujuli at conception. When there is no more omole left in the body, the person is dead. When someone feels his last part of spirit is leaving him, he might choose to lie in his hammock. The so-called “fetus-position” of the dead, in my perception, is a result of the body growing cold, and the person dying is naturally taking this position trying to keep warm, rather than a symbolic reference to reincarnation or rebirth.

Death is accumulated sickness, according to a Wayana emic perspective, that is, during illness the patient loses a piece of his/her omole (shadow spirit). When you have a fever, and you feel cold while your body appears hot, your omole is leaving the body. The body is dead when there is no more omole left. It is not good to take pictures of sick people, for the reason that omole, the visible image, is captured in the picture, which this will leave the sick person with even less omole. On the other hand, Wayana love to see pictures, for the very same reason that these are the omole of a (deceased) person. Omole goes up to Kujuli pata (place of Kujuli), i.e., the hereafter. Dying, according to Wayana logic, is a continuous process of accumulated sickness: “la mort est donc un continuum” (Chapuis 1998:524). Every time a person is sick, wounded, or beaten up, a part of his soul vanishes. Every time someone is sick he dies a little. When someone suffers a lot, or after a day hard work, Wayana say “ilëmëpjai” (he is dying).

Evil part of a person’s soul will fuse with akuwali (invisible spirit) after death, resulting in a good and a bad akuwalinpë that will remain with the skeleton in the grave pit. The pïjai may send his evil akuwali(npë) into several animals with the intent to harm a person.30 According to Wayana—after I mentioned the possibility—the pïjai does not transform into a jaguar or other
animal, he merely sends his evil spirit. When the jaguar, or any other animal, is killed, the
akuwali of the pîjai simply changes host to complete its task. Wayana say that if the pîjai wouldecome a jaguar, or transform into a jaguar, he would be killed when the jaguar dies. Worst is
kutkutuli, the black hawk-eagle (Spizaetus tyrannus) that will seize the akuwali of people and
make them slave: they will grow thin and eventually die. Powerful shamans (pîjasi) may
revenge during their lifetime or after death as their evil akuwalinpë remains on earth in the grave.
Wayana say that burial of a pîjai occurs, so his akuwali will remain in the grave as akuwalinpë
(former akuwali) to be visited and consulted if necessary. These consulting visits may be
conducted by successive pîjai tom, commoners, and even animals (Crevaux 1993:324).31 When
a pîjai dies, trickery malevolent spirit jolok, will remain in the grave as well.

That a powerful pîjai can send his evil spirit into animals to harm people, resulted in the
proscription (tehenemai) after life-crisis events to consume merely small fish—opi and pasina
(Myleus ternetzi)—because these small cold-blooded fish have little omole and akuwali. This
means that there is the slightest potential for a powerful shaman to send his evil akuwali(npë)
into these tiny fish. Small fish are therefore not dangerous, in contrast to large warm-blooded
animals holding the potential to bear the evil akuwali(npë) of a powerful shaman.

Wayana illness, and ensuing death, is as much an individual experience as it is a communal
phenomenon. When a person is ailing, a relative is sent out with cigarettes to invite a
knowledgeable pîjai. After sunset the pîjai will arrive in the settlement of the patient and ask
where the ailment is located. The pîjai may blows on the fingers and toes of the patient; if there
is a whistling sound, this means akuwali (invisible spirit) is present. By a lack of tone, the pîjai
makes the diagnosis that this patient’s akuwali is gone and has to be found. Search for the lost
soul is performed at night in the presence of close relatives. Removal of a jolok pile (evil spirit
arrow) sent by a powerful shaman, is of another order. When the *jolok pile* does not “want” to be removed, the ailing patient may consult a different *pïjai*, who owns different songs, and conducts different practices. Differentiation among Wayana shamans is not grounded in a hierarchy; they are simply in communication with different spirits, resulting in a regional complex wherein several *pïjai* are located, each in contact with different spirits. Today there are eight *pïjai* in the upper Maroni basin, namely one in Anapaike/Kawemhakan (Akoy), two in Talhuwen (Aloupki and Tënepo), one on the island across from Kumakapan (Tukano), one in Pilima (Pilima), two in Antecume pata (Panapasi and Mekuwanali), and one in Malipahpan/Elae (Tamo), the latter is an Emerillon/Teko from the Tampok River. It is denied by Wayana that one *pïjai* is “better” than the other; they are simply different. That *pïjai* practice beyond the boundaries of their proper village is another line of evidence of regionality in the Wayana social landscape.

Healing is not only performed by the *pïjai*. There are several Wayana (male and female) who know *élémi* chants that are performed in curing ceremonies. These *élémi* chants supports curing of wounds inflicted upon the carnal body, rather than physical illness. Many women know *élémi* chants and know recipes for herbal cures, other than they are not considered *pïjai*. Many Apalai know *élémi* chants, and many *élémi* chants are sung in Apalai, including the ones published by de Goeje (1941) as Wayana. Aputu, father of Ronnie, knows *élémi* chants, but is not considered a *pïjai*. Just as different *pïjai* master different methods to succeed, different *élémi* chanters know different *élémi* chants for different cures. Among the Wayana *élémi* chanters are not ranked hierarchically, other than they simply know different chants. When people have flesh wounds they go to an *élémi* chanter (male or female) proven to be effective in healing this kind of wounds, which is another line of evidence of regionality in the Wayana social landscape.
Where ėlemi chanters reduce the carnal wounds (e.g., snake bites, sting ray dart hits, machete cuts), the primary task of a Wayana pījai, as I see it, is to materialize the invisible. Experiencing stinging pain described as if a knife is stabbed into the body (specifically into chest or leg) can be caused by a heart attack, apoplexy, or nerve problem. According to Wayana this stinging pain is caused by jolok pīle, the evil spirit arrow sent by a powerful shaman. Steam treatment (a pījai blowing smoke and massaging the indicated place of stinging pain or the below described tonokai) enhances blood circulation and alleviates the pain. Next, the pījai may “remove” from the patient’s body (by means of an illusionary performance) a jolok pīle, now materialized as a pebble, bamboo splinter, glass, or other sharp object. As a result, it is concluded by the patient and her/his family that the pījai was successful in removing the jolok pīle (evil spirit arrow). Then again, a heart attack, apoplexy, or nerve problem may return, or even cause the patients death in which case the pījai will be accused of killing the patient.

For example, when Ronnie had a stinging sensation in his right leg, he went to Tukano. Since the pain remained in his leg, he went to see Aloupki four days later. The stinging pain remained, yet shifted from his right thigh to his knee. Next, Ronnie’s mother Kali (Kali is a potter, not a pījai) tried something else: tonokai. Tonokai is the practice of a steam bath while the patient is suspended in a hammock: white quartzite river cobbles (tēpu ewu) are heated in fire and subsequently placed below the place where the pain is situated. Then water is sprinkled over the boiling hot stones, resulting in hot steam circling up to the painful place in the patient’s body. This case of Ronnie occurred in December when the cold rains had just begun to fall. Particularly Ronnie’s indication of a shift of jolok pīle from the right thigh to the back of the right knee may indicate a hernia whereby the vertebral disk is touching nerves to the right leg via the knee. Steam treatment might have supported blood circulation and alleviated the pain.
Where my research focus in 1999, unintentionally, had shifted towards birth (because of a birth upon my arrival) and mortuary practices (as a grave was indicated on the site prepared for building a house), the 2000 field season was intended to expand on Wayana social memory and oral tradition on the *maluwana* (painted disk in top of *tukusipan*) above all. Kulienpë had agreed to narrate on the *maluwana* and on the motives depicted on it (Duin 2006; Chapter 4.3), but he first told two other stories: the first was about an Upului, and the second on grandfather Alili, who both returned from the dead. Mythstory of Kailawa—beginning with the killing of Kuluwajak, the main motif on the *maluwana*—appeared to be intrinsically grounded in a vital Wayana eschatology of life generated through death.

### 5.3.1.2 Upului returning from the dead

General eschatological principles—and the question of death of an individual in conjunction with continuation of the community—are stored in social memory by means of exemplary narratives, such as a possible return from the land of the dead in the narrative of a man whose name has been forgotten, only that he was an Upului (Wayana subgroup) (Table C-6: line 2). The Upului, whose name has been forgotten, intended to have a great drinking party (*ëtawokhe*) after which, he said, he would pass away. He declared to return after his death (Table C-6: line 5). He said to his friend not to be afraid, because he would return with their deceased family members (ibid.: line 7). The Upului gave directions on how to wash his body after he had passed away, and how to extinguish the fire that will be in his eye sockets and heart when he returns from the dead (ibid.: line 9-12). The Upului requested to be cremated (*tëwahe*; *këwakënai* = cremate me) to be certain to return to earth (ibid.: line 22). His friend only replied that many of his friends had died, but they never returned (ibid.: line 14). Then the Upului died from an unknown cause; Kulienpë, the narrator, speculated that his death might be in discourse (*tïkatopke*), due to a “natural” wound (*tïlëkhem*), or possibly by an evil spirit arrow (*jolok pïle*)
Respecting the last request, maybe out of fear, the deceased Upului was cremated (ibid.: line 27).

The deceased Upului did not return that night, or the following morning. Mourners waited for three days and nights. He did not return, but this is the day, so they return to their house in hiding (Table C-6: line 28-34). The third day, the Upului returns in the morning (ibid.: line 35). Nonetheless, the friend is too frightened by his friend returning from the dead that he remains hidden in the house without answering the Upului who has returned from the dead (ibid.: line 35-50). Begging his friend all day long to wash him properly and extinguish the fire in his eyes, the Upului becomes furious that he declared to leave forever as apparently his friend does not love him truly (ibid.: line 51-66). Then he leaves with all the family members that he had brought back from the dead (ibid.: line 65-67). As the Upului had foretold, people today cry, because they no longer are able to return from the dead (ibid.: line 68). Based on this narrative, Granman Amaïpoti has expressed his will to be cremated when he passes away.

5.3.1.3 Alili requests to be buried in the plaza

Another exemplary story is that of Alili, grandfather of Kulienpë the narrator, who requested to be buried in the plaza (Appendix C: Alili). Alili was a powerful shaman (pïjasi) from the Jari. His cause of death is unknown. As he was a great shaman, it is suggested he was killed by a revenge action (toimai); Table C-7: line 1-2), an evil spirit arrow (jolok pïle), or kwamai (flu; an epidemic disease incessantly recorded by Crevaux [1881] and Coudreau [1893]).

Alili did not die at once. Alili first requested to be buried in the middle of the village; in the community roundhouse tukusipan. Followed by a discussion with Alili’s brother Aluwakali who replied that he would be unhappy in the community house (Table C-7: line 4-7). Then Alili stated that he would not be buried in the tukusipan as there will always be children playing around searching for something (ibid.: line 8). Subsequently, Alili requested to be buried in the
plaza, and since he felt he is going to die he requested his brother to start digging (ibid.: line 9-10). Alili walked himself to his grave dug in the plaza (ibid.: line 11-18), yet he requested assistance to aid him in ascending his grave and to place supporting sticks behind his head and to properly place his legs and feet (ibid.: line 19-23), while he sits on his bench (ibid.: line 36). Alili stated he had already left, and asked the grave to be covered with old canoe planks that had been prepared for this purpose (ibid.: line 14, 24-25). Opoto mats are placed along the walls, to prevent the earth to touch the body of the deceased. The planks are covered with sand (ibid.: line 26-28). From within the burial chamber, Alili requests all to leave (ibid.: line 29-30).

Three days later, the brothers return to the grave (Table C-7: line 31-34). When they lift the planks, they witness an empty chamber. Not even the backrest or the bench is present, all his belongings were taken. What they see is a hole in the wall (ibid.: line 35-37); a hole similar to a giant armadillo hole which slopes deeper down into the earth (ibid.: line 38-40). Therefore, Alili was truly a powerful pïjai (shaman) (ibid.: line 41-43). Then the relatives of Alili fill the empty grave pit with earth. They do not place the planks to maintain an empty chamber, but they fill the grave entirely with earth. That is the story of grandfather Alili, who was truly a great pïjai.

5.3.2 Cremated, Buried, or Abandoned

Wayana mortuary practices encompass a wide array from cremation, burial (primary and secondary), and abandonment, with as variable “inside” or “outside” the house and/or village (Figure 5-9; Duin 2002). Main distinction in mortuary practice is based on the “cause” of death. In the case of an unforeseen death (e.g., suicide, tree fall, drowning) Wayana expect foul play by a powerful shaman or evil spirit, and the corpse will accordingly be cremated outside the settlement, or simply abandoned outside the village in the forest like an animal. Then again, next-of-kin may decide to bury the corpse. Alternatively, when a person feels his/her end coming (as illustrated in the stories of the Upului and grandfather Alili), the last wishes are to be
respected and a person can be buried, cremated within the village, or abandoned within the house or settlement (e.g., the cases of Pileike, Nanuk, and Wempi). Where cremation or abandonment occur inside the village/house based on the last wishes of the deceased, cremation or abandonment occur outside the village (in the forest) in cases of unforeseen death “caused” by dangerous forces (Figure 5-9).

Figure 5-9. Mortuary practices among the Wayana.

Detailed technical descriptions of Wayana mortuary practices, the grave, and cremation, have been published by Jules Crevaux (1881), Henri Coudreau (1893), René Grébert (2001 [expedition in 1937]), Willem Ahlbrinck (1956 [expedition in 1938]), Claudius de Goeje (1941), Jean Hurault (1968), and André Cognat (1989). Unique is the 16 mm footage from 1937 depicting in moving images a cremation on the village plaza, and even the soon to be cremated woman landing by canoe and walking up into the village (de Goeje 1937; 1941:118-119). When I showed this footage to the Wayana it was articulated by elder women that this footage demonstrated that in the old days people were not yet truly dead when they were cremated. These accounts are far from complete and provide little insight on how this interrelates with
Wayana religion and cosmology. Conversely, it goes beyond the present study to provide a thick description of each mortuary practice. In most cases, possessions of the recently deceased will be deliberately destroyed; ritually “killed” (Chapman 2001). Property of the recently deceased is broken, burned, or thrown into the river, as witnessed by Crevaux (1987:155 [1881]) and de Goeje (1937, 1941:118-119). In the old days it was undemanding to break pottery vessels, calabashes, bows and arrows of the dead. Nowadays, outboard motors, guns, and metal trade ware, are too valuable to be destroyed.

No food is placed in the burial chamber, for Wayana believe that there is an abundance of food and cassava beer in Kujuli pata (place of Kujuli, i.e., the afterlife), though a dying person may ask for a gulp of cassava beer to complete the journey to Kujuli pata. Several arrows and a good bow may be placed next to the recently deceased, or jammed into the roof above his grave, with the intention that the visible soul omole of the deceased can hunt and fish in Kujuli pata. A dying person may ask for personal ornaments, utensils, and tools, that (s)he intends to bring to Kujuli pata. Tasikale’s story of an unnamed Wayana is exemplary: Than he dies. He awakens: “No, I forgot my knife, get me my knife!” Than he dies. He awakens again: “No I still want to drink a little, get me some cassava beer!” Than he dies (pers. comm. 2000). In this case the person awoke from death to request his knife, as he was uncertain if this metal trade ware would be available in Kujuli pata, as knifes and other metal ware were introduced in historical times, more recent than the mythical times of Kujuli.

With regard to positioning of the body in burial, Ahlbrinck (1956:62) gave a direction of the head facing the setting sun. Alternatively, Chapuis (1998:620) stated that a good person does not have a prescribed direction of burial, yet a bad person is always facing the setting sun, so his omole will not get lost into the labyrinth. Then again, Wayana confirmed to me (pers. comm.}
that the deceased may face his/her direction of choice; except facing the rising sun, since
the visible spirit *omole* will be blinded and the dazzling soul will lose its way up to the afterlife.
When the eyes of the deceased are blinded by rising sun glare, the visible soul (*omole*) will get
lost and will never find its way to Kujuli pata.

Next-of-kin will weep and cut their hair. Close kin will shave their head, while more
removed relatives cut only a few centimeters of hair (e.g., Cognat 1989:225). When the hair has
reached its normal length, the mourning period is over. Hurault (1968:66) indicated that about a
year after interment, a second mourning rite took place named *tëtanopëmei* which was also done
for those who were not able to assist at the initial burial. Elders do not like it when adolescents
cut their hair short, voluntarily or due to military recruitment, because this is a sign of mourning.

Mortuary practices, as a rite of passage, consist of three phases: “*préliminaires*
[separation], *liminaires* [transition] et *postliminaires* [re-incorporation]” (Van Gennep 1909:14).
In his thorough study of rites of passage, Arnold Van Gennep (1909:234-236) concluded that
separation is often realized by burning artifacts, house, goods of the deceased, and even the
corpse or dead body itself. He went on to say that burial takes place in two stages: provisional
and definitive. This marginal state, when a sense of *communitas* (Turner 1969) emerges, is a
transformative “in-between” state with certain autonomy. Lying in their hammocks the sick and
the dead are suspended in an intermediate position between earth and sky, between being alive
and true death (compare with Van Gennep 1909:266), a similar position (lying in a hammock)
is taken by the *tëpijem* (neophytes) after the rite of stinging (Chapter 6.3). Wayana *marakê* and
mortuary practices—like initiation rites in general—emphasize the marginal state of transition
(Van Gennep 1909:272-273). These time-encapsulated transition events become almost a-
temporal in their highly temporal contextual reorientation of social dispositions.
Mortuary rites are a recalibration of life as we knew it, as are all life-crisis rituals by definition. During mortuary rituals, and in the case of the Wayana maraké (Chapter 6.2, 6.3), arises the question of who inherits the social position of the deceased. During these life-crisis rituals in the cultural-public mode, there is a display of the condensed condition of a social persona as never possible in the natural-domestic mode.

Re-incorporation for the next-of-kin often consists of communal meals, whereas the re-incorporation for the deceased consists of a return to the land of the dead. What better than combining re-incorporation of the living with the re-incorporation of the dead: communal meals wherein the deceased is incorporated by the next-of-kin; also referred to as endo-cannibalism. Implied by a statement by Claude Tony, Roucoulennes [= Wayana] practiced endo-cannibalism in 1769: after cremation “they remove all the bones, and burn them to ashes on a ceramic griddle. These ashes are crushed in a wooden mortar. They are passed trough a basketry sifter, and thrown into a large vessel full of common beverage. They drink this beverage with the ashes during the same day, while they perform the ceremonies that are substantiation of their lament” (Tony 1843:230-231; my translation). Only other reference to endo-cannibalism among the Wayana is by de Goeje (1941:119) who had heard from someone who spent a long time among the Wayana (which brings into question the accurateness of this testimonial), that tamojetpê (the bones of the ancestors) were mixed in a drink as “medicine.” Before addressing the bones of the ancestors (tamojetpê) in detail, which in turn is grounded in shamanistic practice, I will first outline, briefly, each mortuary practice, focusing on how these practices leave their footprint in the landscape while creating a place for the dead.
5.3.2.1 Buried within the house

Customarily, Wayana are buried within their home. *Onamtop* can be translated as “burial related affairs,” however *onamtop* also means “hiding place” after its root *onam* (to hide).\(^{38}\) That is, only the inhabitants of a house and those who assisted in building the structure can be buried in this house. After I had lent a hand to Kilian in building his house (see above), it was his wife who told me: “Renzo, now you have a place to be buried here” (pers. comm. 1999). With regard to the community house *tukusipan*: only the village leader, i.e., the owner, and those who assisted him in building this structure have the right to be buried in the community house. When someone dies far from home, yet he requests to be buried in his own house, people will return his corpse to his house. Even when a person is buried “outside” the house, a small structure is erected to protect the grave and the corpse from the elements and scavengers, such as encountered by Jules Crevaux in 1878 (Figure 5-10):
Macuipi, being a *pïjai*, that is to say a medical doctor [Crevaux, being a medical doctor himself, referred to shamans as “colleagues”], was not cremated as were the other mortals. Being lead to the burial place, I [Jules Crevaux] see a small hut [a structure erected to protect the grave] in the middle of which is a large pit of about two meters deep; at the bottom I noticed my former host lying in a hammock where he seemingly sleeps. The dehydrated body, stiff as parchment, is entirely painted red. His head is adorned with magnificent colored feathers, his forehead is girded with a crown made of caiman scales [symbol of *Tamusi*] [macaw feathers are attached to his shoulders as wings] … around his neck is hung a small bone flute [*kapaujetpë*] and several small bags filled with colors [possibly to paint a *maluwana*]; … I [Crevaux] perceive next to him a large vessel, but it is empty; the Roucouyennes [= Wayana] do not provide food to their dead [as the hereafter is said to be plentiful] (Crevaux 1993:270 [1881] my translation and interpretation).39

This place of burial is named *ëtonamtop*. Nowadays, Wayana are buried in abandoned villages (*ëutetpë* or graveyards (*ëtonamtop*), a trend already noticed by Hurault (1968:62). Burying in graveyards is without a doubt a result of American Protestant Missionaries who settled at Kawemhakan/Lawa station in the early 1960s and subsequent European influences. People from Kawemhakan/Lawa Station are buried in the initial settlement founded by Janamale, just south of the airstrip (Chapter 3.4). Wayana of Twenke and Talhuwen are buried in the former settlement of Twenke, just south of Talhuwen. No Wayana is buried in the wilderness.

Dimensions of the grave inside the house, as encountered in 1938, are reported as “[long] the size of a human being … over a meter deep … with steep walls” (Ahlbrinck 1956:48; my translation).40 Holes in the ground (e.g., postholes, pits, and graves) were—and still are—cut into the ground by means of an ax and loose sand is removed using a calabash bowl. Graves are not filled with sand. Walls of the burial chamber are enclosed with *opoto* mats woven from *kumu*-palm fronds (*Oenocarpus bacaba*). Burial chambers are covered with sand over planks of tree bark (parts of old canoes as specified by Hurault [1968:64]) supported by several sticks horizontally placed one decimeter below the surface (Ahlbrinck 1956:48). Mats and planks are to prevent the corpse be soiled with sand and earth (*lo*). Bottom of the burial chamber may be covered with a floor of split stems onto which the deceased squats (Grébert 2001:59), or sits on a
little bench (ahmit, kololo) or stool (mijele). With the body half seated, half laying, a wooden rest is placed behind the back (Ahlbrinck 1956:62). Even when buried in a hammock, a supporting plank is placed behind the head to hold the head in place (Hurault 1968:63).

When there is a grave in the house, this will not have to be a problem, Wayana say. However, when a resident of the house gets sick, this might be the result of bad akuwalinpë. A pijai will have to be asked to converse with the akuwalinpë of the deceased. When the grave in the house appears to be of a shaman this causes a problem, for it contains also evil spirits jolok. When many people pass away in a village this settlement will be abandoned—as was the case with the village of Maipo at the mouth of the Loë where in 1938 five graves were found (Ahlbrinck 1956:48)—for evil spirits remain in this place. Therefore it is unspeakable for Wayana to return to these places where many graves are located, resulting in avoided spaces in the Wayana landscape.

Unless several deaths occur in a short period of time, or if the deceased was a pijai or village leader who had ordered his residents to leave, the house in which the tomb is located remains inhabited. René Grébert (2001 [1935]) was shocked by the fact that not only direct family continued living in this house, but also travelers may stay in the place where the grave is located (i.e., in the community roundhouse). The 1935 Grébert expedition stayed several days above the grave of the village leader Lavaud who had died one week prior (Grébert 2001:59). This confirms, once more, that the deceased is perceived as a traveler to the land of the dead, since it is travelers who stay in the community roundhouse, and as such the tukusipan is a temporary resting place for the social other (non-local, non-Wayana, or a deceased Wayana).

The pijai will mediate between the living, the ailing, and the dead, in order to heal the sickness. Rather than perceiving illness as an isolated and sheer physical phenomenon, the pijai
treats illness within the context of tensions and anxieties of interfamilial and social relationships. Healing of an individual is more than a mere corporeal healing of the physical being. It is a cerebral healing of the emotional being, the social being, and the social web holding the community together. Appalling influences are taken away to make place for sociability.

Figure 5-11. Cremation among the Wayana. October 23, 1876 (Crevaux 1987:153-155).

5.3.2.2 Cremation on the plaza

Cremation on the plaza was described and depicted by Jules Crevaux (1987:153-155; Figure 5-11), as witnessed on October 23, 1876, in the village of Yeulemeu (Jari basin), and such a cremation was even filmed by Claudius de Goeje in the upper Maroni basin (1937, 1941:118-119). Between 1952 and 1964, Jean Hurault (1968:62) noted 13 cremations among 40 adults— which is about one third (32.5%) of the adult Wayana population mortuary practices. According
to *pijai* Tënepo (pers. comm. 2000), a *pijai* can be cremated, as was the case with the murdered Alemïn from the Jari who was cremated in a pyre (*tipihme*) constructed with stems from the *kumu*-palm (*Oenocarpus bacaba*). Tënepo continued that stems from the *kumu*-palm scatter in fire (rather than simply burn and break) and a *pijai* is fond of wood that bursts open during his cremation. According to Grébert (2001:58), a pyre measures about one meter square with a height of 0.8 meter. The body is placed half seated, half lying, within the pile of wood; “like a bird in his nest” (Ahlbrinck 1956:62). Crevaux (1993:324) stated that the spirit of the dead will ascend with the smoke. Smoke will unswervingly bring the visible soul *omole* (i.e., skin and soft tissue of the body) up to the land of the dead (*Kujuli pata*). Motivation to return to earth after death, as did the Upului in the above cited narrative, may put into practice the request to be cremated, as is the request of granman Amaipoti.

Secondary burial of the ashes may occur. Ashes and cremation remains are collected in a ceramic vessel, which is subsequently buried in the house of the deceased (Grébert 2001:58-59; Cognat 1989:225). Hurault (1968:63) specified that ashes and bone remains were collected after two days only, and placed inside a cassava squeezer (*tinkii*). This basketry cylinder, in its turn, was folded in two and buried horizontally. Additionally, cremation remains may be collected in a canister, cloth, or woven mat, and buried under the house (Ahlbrinck 1956:63). Other than burying, the remainders of a cremation, collected in a ceramic vessel, may also be guarded at the crossbeams of the house of the deceased (Crevaux 1987:155) or the community roundhouse, or even mixed in a beverage, as mentioned above. Burial of the ashes grounds the dead in the Wayana landscape.

### 5.3.2.3 Outsiders

While dying, the prospective deceased requests what has to be done after his/her death; whether (s)he has to be left ‘sleeping’ in his/her hammock, and whether the village has to be left
by all residents; whether (s)he has to be buried, or whether (s)he has to be cremated. All depends on individual choice. In general, for Wayana fear evil spirits, the deceased is treated according to her/his last wishes; especially when the deceased is a powerful shaman. When it is no longer possible to ask the deceased—in case of suicide, tree fall, or drowning—the corpse is generally abandoned or cremated in the forest, as Wayana conclude that these sudden causes of death are resulting from an intervention by evil spirits (independently or sent by a powerful shaman), the place where the “killing” occurred is subsequently avoided, for people are fearful of evil akuwalinpë and malevolent jolok, resulting in avoided spaces in the Wayana landscape.

5.3.3 Toimai: Death-Swap

Father Ahlbrinck (1956:62-63) wrote down an incident of cremation in the forest: only two or three people were present to build the pyre and to collect the ashes and remains of cremation in order to bury them in the forest. Before cremation, the heart of the deceased was removed for a special rite (Ahlbrinck 1956:63). The heart was placed in a ceramic vessel together with kalapa oil, maize, peppers, and a petpë bush (petpë is one of the ingredients for urali arrow poison [Geijskes 1957]). This pot was placed on the fire to boil. When the heart started to simmer it was interpreted as the evil spirit jolok grumbling. Eventually the pot broke, at which moment, according to Wayana the pijai responsible for sending jolok to kill will go into a frenzy: he will gasp fire and eat it, bite off his own fingers, etc. (Ahlbrinck 1956:63). Although Ahlbrinck does not name this ritual, it is indisputably what Wayana call toimai.

Toimai is performed when a person dies and Wayana speculate whether a pijai passed by and inflicted death. In such cases the next-of-kin request a powerful pijai to perform toimai (intermingling, death-swap) in order to “find” the shaman responsible for their loss. Out of fear of being accused of sorcery, many adolescent Wayana no longer want to become a pijai.
Most significant “cause of death” for the Wayana is the intervention of a shaman. Of a total of twenty-nine deaths reported between 1952 and 1964 (Hurault 1968:62; Table 5-3), eighteen (62%) were reportedly due to actions of powerful shamans who had send either their *akuwali*(npê) or *jolok pîle* (evil spirit arrow) to perform the killing. Referring to Hertz’s *dramatis personae* (corpse, soul, and mourners), the study of Metcalf and Huntington (1991) on mortuary practices, does not include the influence of the killer; whether in actual assault or situated in discourse. Where Guiana *kanaima* include actual assassinations by dark shamans (Butt Colson 2001; Whitehead 2001, 2002), Wayana accusations of shamans killing other Wayana is more situated in discourse.

Although there is little to no “proof” of Wayana dark shamans actually going out to kill others, as in *kanaima*, Wayana do have a ritual named *toimai* to “establish after the fact” who is responsible for the killing. *Toimai* refers to the highly corporeal ritual of intermingling, exchange, or the swap of the spirit of the deceased with the person responsible for the killing. The wide variety of resources used during this ritual (Table 5-4) offers the *pîjai* who conducts the *toimai* ritual to influence who might be labeled responsible for the killing, as it is only after the rite of *toimai* that people begin to speculate about the behavior of a certain *pîjai* in correlation with the elements used during *toimai*.

Although *toimai* and *jolok pîle* are situated in discourse, they materialize in performance.47 When a person dies unexpectedly, the “killer” who presumably sent a *jolok pîle* (evil spirit

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause of death</th>
<th>number</th>
<th>percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actions by a shaman; Sending his <em>akuwali</em>(npê)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actions by a shaman; Sending a <em>jolok (jolok pîle)</em></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>34 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spontaneous action by a <em>jolok</em> or <em>akuwalinpê</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poisoning by means of <em>hemît</em> or <em>tamojetpê</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaman killed by an adversary</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Natural” death (including suicide and madness)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>29</strong></td>
<td><strong>100 %</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
arrow) must be held responsible. Therefore, *toimai* (death-swap) is not so much an act of revenge (as the killer is unknown up to the rite of *toimai*; although the *pïjai* conducting a *toimai* may have his eyes set to a potential killer) as it is to establish who is responsible for the killing. *Toimai* is a rather graphic materialization of social discourse on potential killers.

Among the causes of death among the Wayana recorded between 1952 and 1964 (Hurault 1968:62; Table 5-3), poisoning by means of *hemït* or *tamojetpë* (see below) as well as a shaman killed by an adversary are inflicted by shamans. Therefore it can be concluded that, according to Wayana logic, almost all causes of death (90%) are attributed to a powerful shaman. There will be no *toimai* when a person dies of “natural causes” (note that, among others, a heart attack is not perceived as “natural” but caused by a shaman’s evil spirit arrow) from a Wayana perspective (Table 5-3: three cases; 10%).

Hurault (1968:63) summarized *toimai* and presented a model, however, the essentialist task of classification is inadequate, as *toimai* is multifaceted, complex, variable, and deictic in that it requires referential context and meaning emerging from conjunctional interrelationships. Conducting the rite of *toimai* includes a wide variety of resources (Figure 5-12). In order to release evil (cause of death)—i.e., the final stage in *toimai* rites—a boiling hot stone (*tëpu ke tewahe*), taken out of the fire, is placed onto the stomach of the recently deceased. According to Wayana, this procedure will provoke a stomachache with the sender of evil, and the *pïjai* who grows a stomachache at this moment will be accused of being the sender of evil. Two parts of a bow (broken in two) are driven through the body of the deceased to induce the sender of evil with fever: one part of the bow is driven through the corpse from the right collarbone to the left waist, and the second part of the bow is driven through the body from the left collarbone to his right waist. These two parts of the broken bow form a cross, i.e., the sign of the evil spirit *jolok*. 
Table 5-4. Resources used, placement, and results to locate the potential killer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Components used</th>
<th>Placement in the corpse</th>
<th>Result for the potential killer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mëpu resin (Hymenea courbaril)</td>
<td>Burning the copal smoke into the eyes.</td>
<td>Blindness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalipo (ceramic bowl)</td>
<td>Attached to the head, in front of eyes.</td>
<td>Heavy head and blinding vision.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anekatop (oar to stir cassava beer)</td>
<td>Under the collarbone, akin a jolok pile that smashes everywhere.</td>
<td>Overall significant pain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sihkëwëtop (piece of a bow)</td>
<td>Driven crosswise from the collarbone to the waist.</td>
<td>Fever.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feathers of kunolo (Ara macao)</td>
<td>In the anus.</td>
<td>Digestive hemorrhage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone of meku (Cebus olivaceus)</td>
<td>Stuck in the corpse.</td>
<td>The killer will tear out his hair on his head and his pubic hair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone of mamhali (Psophia crepitans)</td>
<td>Stuck in between the ribs.</td>
<td>Forever haunting scratching at the ribcage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone of kulipulë (Geochelone denticulata)</td>
<td>In the throat.</td>
<td>General contractions of the throat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone of kapau (Mazama americana)</td>
<td>In the palms of the hands, feet, and in the throat.</td>
<td>lëwë, spasm, convulsion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone of maipuli (Tapirus terrestris)</td>
<td>In stomach and chest.</td>
<td>Howling and bellowing like a tapir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone of ihtaino (Panthera onca)</td>
<td>In the throat.</td>
<td>Getting out of breath.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone of aliwe (Palaeosuchus palpebrosus)</td>
<td>Nape of the neck and loins.</td>
<td>Generic contractions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone of pijë (Harpia harpyja)</td>
<td>In the throat.</td>
<td>Whistling like a harpy eagle, scratching oneself, and clawing others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serpent teeth</td>
<td>In the lower jaw under the tongue.</td>
<td>Makes it impossible to swallow and drink.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teeth of pëne (Serresalmus piraya)</td>
<td>Under the tongue.</td>
<td>Bloody saliva.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fishhook</td>
<td>To pull out the tongue to cut it.</td>
<td>Biting in ones tongue.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5-12. Elements of conduct of a toimai (death-swap).
During a rite of toimai the throat of the deceased person is stuffed while wrists and ankles are tied together to prevent jolok from leaving the body through hands or feet touching the ground. A pijai can harm the potential killer through a variety of resources (Appendix C: toimai and tamojetpë; Table 5-4). For example, a pijai may stick bones of a meku monkey (Weeping capuchin monkey, Cebus olivaceus) into the corpse. After toimai (death-swap exchange ritual), the potential killer will scratch and pull out his pubic-hair akin capuchin monkeys. All kinds of animal bones can be stuck into the corpse, in order to make the killer mimic the behavior of animals whose bones were placed inside the corpse. Placement of a konoto shell (Asolena sinamarica, Ampullariidae) at the genitals of the deceased (testicles will be placed inside the shell). Genitals of the potential killer will hurt and swell (similar to a growing prostate). In other cases, the tongue of the recently deceased can be pulled out of the mouth by means of a large (fish) hook and cut off with a (bamboo) knife. This will “cause” the sender of the jolok pîle biting his own tongue. Furthermore, a ceramic bowl can be placed covering the face of the deceased. After the rite of exchange (toimai) the person “responsible” for the jolok pîle will get lost as his vision is now blocked. The potential killer will no longer know how to return from the forest and will eventually die. To blind the potential killer, smoke from burning mëpu resin (Hymenea courbaril) can be blown into the eyes of the deceased directly. Toimai is finalized with the “breaking of the stomach” (iwe têpu têpkêlêpoi) to release the jolok pîle (evil spirit arrow) and return it to its sender: the powerful shaman (pijasi).

On three occasions (10%), the cause of death among Wayana between 1952 and 1964 was defined as poisoning by means of hemît or tamojetpë (Haurault 1968:62; Table 5-3). Pijai Tênepo declared that “a long time ago, the Wayana did not speak of hemît; they only spoke of tamojetpë (bones of the ancestors). They cremated the bones of their ancestors, and crushed them into
powder, to empoison other people” (Appendix C: toimai and tamojetpê: lines 39–60). Tênepo continued that “tamojetpê is also named taphem” (ibid.: line 42) and that Wayana in the old days “removed the bones of the ancestors (tamojetpê) and placed them in the handle for the olok feather headdress: handle of the taphem tamo, or tamo (ibid.: lines 49–50). This was all made very beautifully. Therefore they are imitated during the traditional dances, for people to see them. A calabash (tutpê; Lagenaria siceraria) is placed as head. Then feathers are placed on the basketry body of the olok. Then they dance with this. There are thus two kinds of tamojetpê; for empoisoning other people, and as the handle of the taphem” (ibid.: lines 39–60).

In the context of Wayana eschatology and the continuity of community after death of an individual, it is remarkable that the bones of the ancestors (tamojetpê) also play a crucial role in the Wayana ritual known as maraké where they materialize in the body of the feather headdress olok (taphem). Taphem or tamojetpê (the bones of the ancestors) mediating between the dead and the living, ancestors and contemporary generations, hold ancestral agency effecting kinship and community, while managing change and continuity of Wayana sociality.

5.4 Managing Transformation and Continuity

Mortuary practices and eschatology are intrinsically interwoven with the actions and agency of the pîjai (shaman) managing processes of change and continuity. Traditionally, studies on shamanism have focused on the curing and healing aspects of shamans and it is only recently that the dark side of shamans, i.e., the potential to kill through witchcraft and sorcery, has been studied in detail (Whitehead 2002; Whitehead and Wright 2004). The dark side of Amazonian shamans has been mentioned in other studies, for example, Gérard Girard wrote that “the favorite technique of the sorcerer exists of launching invisible magic darts that provoke sickness or death. He can transform himself into an animal and in this shape he can kill human beings” (1963:63; my translation). Dark shamans were included in Johannes Wilbert’s study of
the shamanic order among the Warao (Wilbert 1993:92-125; Wilbert 2004). What transpires in
the edited volume by Neil Whitehead and Robin Wright (2004) is the ambivalent position of the
shaman. At one moment in time this person can be a healer, but when the shaman becomes too
powerful, or when his patient does not heal and eventually dies, the shaman can be held
responsible for the death of the patient. Killing power of powerful dark shamans is mostly
situated in discourse rather than the physical explanation for sickness, although active
assassination does occur (Whitehead 2002).

Boundaries between curing and killing (light and dark shamanism respectively) are fluid
and constantly emerging in powerful shamans. Because of his conduct of a toimai in the
Tapanahoni basin, Tënepo aroused suspicions whether or not he actually was a powerful dark
shaman, which caused him to flee to the upper Maroni basin. Tënepo was adopted by Twenke
and receded in the satellite village of Talhuwen for several years.51 By merely focusing on
“healing” capacities the complementary dark side is silenced. Furthermore the ritual practice of
“curing” can only be understood in a context of “assault sorcery” by powerful dark shamans—
situated in historical processes and the cultural production of history (Whitehead and Wright
2004)—as dark shamans are held responsible for sending the “sickness” to the patient.

Some pijai and great elemi chanters joined the Mission at Lawa Station (Anapaike,
Kawemhakan) and these former pijai now lead the church among Wayana and Trio of Suriname.
The latter are most certainly former “vertical shamans” as coined by Stephen Hugh-Jones (1994)
exploring the difference between horizontal shamans and vertical shamans based on dual
shamans introduced by David Crocker (1985). Horizontal shamanism is space-based, i.e.,
relations with social others among us on earth, whereas vertical shamanism is time-based, i.e.,
the higher is space, the more distant in time (which is different from our western linear concept
of time). According to Crocker and Hugh-Jones, the horizontal shaman is constantly becoming. The horizontal shaman practices outside the house, with direct contact with his clients. On the other hand, the vertical shaman is the essence of being, a stable master of ceremonies, and peaceful guardian of esoteric knowledge. The latter is responsible for the reproduction of internal relations within the group. Robin Wright (2004) stated that when the horizontal shaman acquires knowledge of the verticality they can become prophets, as was the case with Pilima in opposition to Lawa Station missionary activities (Butt Colson 1964, Hurault 1965:147).

David Crocker (1985) began defining *aroe* as soul, a ‘totemic’ essence, and ancestral souls. In the second half of his book on *Vital Souls* among the Bororo, Crocker has difficulty in defining *bope*. 52 *Bope* and *aroe* not merely opposites, they complement each other; they are a deictic antithetical dyad. Indigenous Amazonian religions engage with dialectic between order and disorder. Order is aesthetically pleasing, un-hairy, and ethically correct, whereas disorder is aesthetically distasteful, hairy, and ethically incorrect. Disorder among the Wayana is embodied in *jolok* (materialized as *Tamok jolok* as discussed in chapter 7) and offset by Kulum, the King vulture. King vultures, as discussed in the beginning of this chapter, are a dyadic par excellence: embodying the dialectic in a single body. King vultures are scavengers; thus death is necessary to produce new life. Head of King vulture is bald, not hairy; as the head of Kulum is bald like a novice of the life-crisis ritual *ëputop* (Figure 5-4 right). Last, but not least, feathers of King vultures are black and white. King vultures are thus a perfect symbol for reproduction of society in indigenous Amazonian religions embodying the dialectic between order and disorder.

In reflection, relatedness and interconnectedness are key elements to indigenous religions. Myth cycles of Kujuli and Kulum intersect in the fields of rites of passage, manioc production, and reproduction of society. When Coudreau asked the subordinates (*peito*) of Atoupi (at the
Jari) about their religion, they stated (Coudreau 1893:548) that there was “a Couyouri [= Kujuli] who made White people, Black people, Indians, the waters, and the sky. He lives in the East and has a wife and a son named Coullicamane [Pëlìkaman, according to de Goeje 1941:84]. He has no father. He is good. He is older than Couroum [= Kulum] and Yolock [= jolok]” (my translation). Next, subordinates of Atoupi made a statement crucial in the understanding of Wayana space-time: “He [Kulum] lives less far than Couyouri [= Kujuli]” (Coudreau 1893:549; emphasis added; all translations are mine). Less far, vertically, that is; resonating with a more recent statement by Jean Chapuis (1998:583) that above the sky of Kulum is the sky of Kujuli.

Differentiation in time and space situates the relation between Kujuli and Kulum. As mentioned above, vertical shamanism is time-based. Time-based is not grounded in our linear concept of time. Time-based means that the higher in space, the more distant in time. Where Kujuli is older than Kulum, he is also higher in the sky. This does, from a Wayana perspective, not mean that people today can no longer visit these ancient places, on the contrary. Powerful shamans Pilima and the late Pïleike informed Chapuis (1998:583) that it is only shamans who can visit these lands of Kulum and Kujuli. Pïjai can access these lands via a certain liana vine resembling a ladder (identified as Kujuli ëhanuktop; Kujuli’s ladder; Bauhinia guianensis). I have to adjust this statement by stating that it is only the pïjai who can visit these lands while being alive. When a person dies—any person, not just the pïjai—the omole (shadow or visible soul) of the deceased will go to Kujuli pata (place of Kujuli); i.e., the land of the ancestors.

Along similar lines, the father removed horizontally, the farther removed in time. For example, the Tumuc-Humac range at several days removed from contemporary settlements implies the presence of a far removed past, including—but not restricted to—the times of Kailawa, founding father of the Wayana confederation. It is in these far removed places (Kujuli
pata, or the Tumuc-Humac range) that a sense of history beyond a kinship centered worldview can be experienced through dwelling in the temporality of the landscape, and it is during *maraké* rituals that these other times and other places become foregrounded in performance.

1 Pëlë is the generic term for toad (*Bufonidae* sp.). Wayana say that toads have fire in their anus. Burning fluid is projected by some toads as protection.

2 Kuliputpë is a tortoise (*Geochelone denticulata*). William Balée (2000:410-414) found a relation between this species of tortoise (*Geochelone denticulata*) and menstruating women among the Ka’apor. Balée even went so far to state that “this ritual complex seems to be uniquely Ka’apor” (Balée 1984b:228), until Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1992:361, n. 6) wrote that “there appears to be a Tupi-Guarani system of ‘tortoise transformations’ at work” and research has proven that the complex is indeed shared, albeit unevenly, among diverse Tupi-Guarani societies of the Amazon Basin (Balée 2000:410-414). Is this “forgotten myth” in the sense of Peter Gow (2000) of the tortoise and menstruating women indicative that Wayana discourse on social reproduction is grounded in Tupi cosmology?

3 This theme can be found throughout Guiana, e.g., among the Waiwai (Mentore 2005:94-95).

4 Kujuli is also known among Wayana as Umałe or Okaia, and his elder brother Mopo as Kumawale. This variety in names of the Creator Twins is another indication that the Wayana are a confederation of different Peoples, who initially had proper names for their Creator Twins; today commonly known as Mopo Kujuli.

5 Kilian Tuwanaikë is the son of “Toetanaikë” [= Tuwanaikë] mentioned by Schmidt (1942:52) residing along the Tapanahoni in the village of Alakaliwak. Kilian is a brother-in-law of Tasikali Aloupki.

6 Garden is *ihmë*; ‘my garden’ is *itupi*. Note also the resemblance with *ihmo*, which means both egg and pregnant.

7 *Kulum* is the name for a piece of pottery in the shape of a calabash *tupë* decorated with dots.

8 Vital in the Kulum narrative is that the man-without-a-wife raises a pet king vulture that will become his wife. This is narrated in the second *kalau* song performed during the *maraké* (Hurault 1968:124; Chapuis and Rivière 2003:950-959; Appendix C; Kalau songs: 2nd song *kalau* – raising the king vulture wife). Slightly different is the Trio version (Koelewijn and Rivière 1987:37-44) of the king vulture myth. Iconic actions are similar though, and the overall theme is reproduction of society. Among the Trio there was a man named Warapaen whose wife could not get pregnant. He shot a tapir and left the dead animal behind. When it was rotten the vultures came. Warapaen caught a king vulture. The couple held the king vulture as a pet, but considered it their child. The couple went visiting a shaman who contacted the father of the child *Kurumu* (compare with *kulum*) and mediated between the father and the couple. *Kurumu* told how to raise his child. When Akaraman grew up he wanted real feathers for his arrows, he wanted king vulture feathers. Then Akaraman found out that his father was a king vulture, and so was he. Therefore the boy wanted to go up into the sky. Warapaen wanted to go after his adoptive son, but after climbing into the tree, he dropped dead on the ground. Akaraman intended to stay but now his adoptive father had died because he did not listen to him, he decided to return to his biological father the king vulture. Soon after Akaraman had taken off, his adoptive mother fell ill and died. In this case the king vulture Akaraman is a boy.

9 Jean Chapuis (1998:582), in his substantial dissertation, only makes one single reference to Kulum, which is not included in his Wayana stories (Chapuis and Rivière 2003). Kilijamnon told Chapuis (1998:582) that there were two women Manailupën and Anailukun with a man named Tilineikë, who were brought there by Kulum. Another man, Lomonoale (Lomonicaikë, Chapuis and Rivière 2003:955), came next.

10 Marière [= Masili] is the great-grandfather of Machiri (Alipoya) who moved in 1951 from the Jari to the Aletani.

11 “Telle est la théogonie de Marière. Pour prix de ses renseignements il me demande un fusil comme le mien, un hammerless-greener. Ce joujou ne m’a coûté que 800 francs! Penser donc! ” (Coudreau 1893:548).

12 This account by Masili is an accurate interpretation of the “natural world” as king vultures (*kulum*; *Sarcoramphus papa*) have a white-and-black feather coat, whereas turkey vultures (*awïla*; *Cathartes aura*) and lesser yellow-headed vultures (*watënkë; Cathartes burrovianus*) are black. Furthermore, it is scientifically known (Grzimek 1973; Ridgely and Gwynne 1989) that because of their better sense of smell, *Cathartes aura* and *Cathartes burrovianus* will arrive at carcasses before *Sarcoramphus papa* does. It is the sense of vision that distinguishes and enables king vultures to spot other vultures from afar. King vultures arrive last, yet start eating first. In this sense *awïla* (turkey vulture) and *watënkë* (lesser yellow-headed vulture) are indeed *peito* (subordinate) to the king vulture. Even in our vernacular languages, the mere root “king” in king vulture indicates a superior rank in social hierarchy.
A pun on WYSIYG (pronounced “wizzy-wig” or “wuzzy-wig”), an acronym for What You See Is What You Get as used in computing to describe seamlessness between the appearance of edited content and final product. Today this is expected for word processors but in other situations, like web (HTML) authoring, this is not always the case. Or in other words: it allows the user to concentrate entirely on how the content should appear, e.g., a user can see on screen how a document will look when printed. Related acronyms are: WYCIWYG: What You Cache is What You Get (“wyciwyg://” turns up occasionally in the address bar of Gecko-based Web browsers like Mozilla Firefox when the browser is retrieving cached information), What You Create Is What You Get, What You Click Is What You Get; WYGİWYGINUC: What You Get Is What You’re Given And It’s No Use Complaining. WYSIMOLWYG: What You See Is More Or Less What You Get; and my preferred one: WYTYSIWYTYG: What You Think You See Is What You Think You Get when a program claims to be WYSIWYG but isn’t.

14 Myth of Epetembo, alternatively resonates with the Wayana narrative of Jenunu “the-man-in-the-moon” who barbequed his wife (Caway 1992). The proper name of Jenunu was Tompowale, and today his image can be seen in the full moon. Every full moon Wayana narrate the story of Jenunu.

15 “In den hemel boven ons zijn Kulum (de zeer grote gier, Gypapus papa), Wantingkē (kleinere gier) en Awila (kleinere gier) (op iets dergelijks doelt C 209, 533, 549; ook 1G 26, 2G 12, Sp 222 en zie § 50); deze zijn “Oayana”; als ze naar beneden komen om te eten, hangen ze hun vederkleed om. Tot dien hemel behooren ook de sterren (§ 12)” (De Goeye 1941:84).

16 The same goes for Kailawa, the founder of the Wayana Confederation, of whom it is said that he did not have a wife (ipit tīmna), but maybe he had a wife somewhere far away (Appendix C; Kailawa: line 19) as it has been said (ibid.: line 158) Kailawa had a (possibly an adoptive) son. Common theme in these discourses is social reproduction; paramount task in order to keep the cultural transmission of Guiana traditions alive and re-emerge in a historical place situated in incessant demise and death.

17 “Boven dezen hemel is een tweede hemel; deze is Tukušima-pata, de plaats der Tukušima’s (zeer groote ooievaar, Mycerta americana). Dat is ook de hemel van Kuyuli, Mope en Pēlikaman” (De Goeye 1941:84). Where de Goeye identifies Tukušimē as a very large stork (Mycerta americana). Wayana today, when we were discussing the birds of the Guyanas, named several bird species tukušimē (stork and pelican, among others). All species had the same key features of a black-and-white feather cloak, they were large birds, and they had a long bill. The latter—a long bill—refers to its name tukuseimē, which literally means: “giant hummingbird” (tukui is the generic name for hummingbirds, Trochilidae). De Goeye (1941:85) mentioned that he was told that the hummingbird is the shaman and that the tukušimē helped the hummingbird to fetch tobacco.

18 The natural-domestic perspective is enforced by mere Wayana terminology, e.g., /momai/ versus /tepijem/, /patum/ (daughter-in-law) and /iwekï/ (my kin) versus /jekï/ (my pet animal). Furthermore, /ekï/ is the name for the supporter of the /momai/ and /tepijem/ during the marakê, and /ékê/ is also a synonym for /peito/ (worker, subordinate).

19 Remark the similar root for pets and relatives who are both referred to as /ekï/. Difference is only discernible with the personal pronoun, i.e., /iwëki/ (my kin) versus /jekï/ (my pet animal). Furthermore, /ekîŋnîpi/ is the name for the supporter of the /momai/ and /tepijem/ during the marakê, and /ékê/ is also a synonym for /peito/ (worker, subordinate).

20 Mark that the root /pa/ is also the root in /pahe/ (daughter-in-law) and /patum/ (son-in-law) resonating with Guiana intergenerational marriage (Rivière 1984; Henley 1983/1984).

21 As /mule/ also means “womb”, this is a play of tropes indicative of the relationship between a boy and his mother.

22 A child who has no father present, that is, an illegitimate child (anolitpē), is referred to with the same term for food that has been thrown away (anolitpē).

23 Mothers-mothers-sisters-daughters-daughter/son is a parallel-cousin, hence a classificatory brother/sister.

24 This type of cross-cousin marriage was not found among the coastal Maroni River Caribs (Kloos 1971:136).

25 The natural-domestic perspective is enforced by mere Wayana terminology, e.g., /ihmo/ for both the pregnant woman as for egg, and /uponpē/ (placenta) literally meaning “former nest” (upo), bridging between the natural world and Wayana society.

26 Tëwëkaktai is also the root in tëwëkaktaimëtëwëhe which refers to the act of jumping into the and being born as a human being (e.g., the walek-frogs in the narrative of Jenunu [man-in-the-moon]).

27 Jean Hurault (1968:64) wrote that in 1964 Toulissima [= Tulisime], a powerful pïjai as well, had been left in his hammock under the tukusipan of a recently abandoned village at the mouth of the Tampok [village of Wempi].

28 Concept of /omole/ equals /wakan/ among the Achuar [Jivaros]: “Le wakan entretient en effet avec le corps une relation en miroir, comme entémoignent les significations du terme dans d’autres contextes où il peut désigner l’‘ombre portée’ ou le ‘reflet dans l’eau’. Indissociable par nature de ce qu’elle représente, l’âme est donc moins un double ou une copie qu’un envers ou une projection,” (Descola 1993:260). This idea can also be found among the Arawakan Wayu [Guajiro]: “To each of us is attached a soul [a’in]. … Everywhere our soul follows us like our shadow. Some even say that the shadow is the form of the soul and to the soul they give the name of shadow. Our
soul leaves us only when we sleep or when we are sick, when we have been pierced by the arrow of a wanüliü’
(Perrin 1987:7).

29 Although illness was the research topic of Jean Chapuis’s (1998), after sixty pages he lacked to properly
distinguish between omole (Chapuis 1998:589-612) and akuwali(ûpê) (ibid.:613-619). Chapuis merely followed the
reasoning of Claudius de Goeje (1941) some sixty years prior.

30 A pijai can send his evil akuwali(ûpê) into the red brocket deer (kapau) to eat manioc from the garden plot of
the targeted person; into an agouti (akuli) to eat sweet potatoes (napî); into bats (lele) to eat bananas; into capybara
(kapiwala) to eat all produce from the garden plot. Even worse is when the dark shaman sends his evil akuwali into
an anacoda (êkëjiimë) or jaguar (istaino) to kill people. Wayana enlightened me that these harmful attacks will
happen when a person refuses or declines to provide gifts to a pijai.

31 “Les piays, qui ne sont jamais livrés à la crémation, gardent l’âme attachée au corps. L’esprit et la matière restent
dans la fosse, où ils sont visités par les piays qui leur succèdent, et par des bêtes et des hommes qui viennent les
consulter” (Crevaux 1993:324).

32 Later, when I discussed this story with other Wayana, particularly with those who resided before in Anapaike
Kawemhakan/Lawa Station (settlement of the American protestant missionaries), Wayana interjected that this is
analogous to Jesus, but that this Upului story is part of Wayana social memory from before missionaries arrived.
They reaffirmed that the story of the Upului is a true Wayana narrative.

33 When entering Kujuli pata (place of Kujuli, i.e., the land of the dead), the deceased has to be well dressed. As
mentioned above, it is the visible shadow spirit omole who goes up to the land of the dead. Following Ahlbrinck
(1956:62), Wayana men may wear their pumali feather crown (a traveler’s headdress), several cotton strings
(akawale), bead strings, cotton leg fringes (waipu), and pasik (red tail feathers of the scarlet macaw [kumolo; Ara
macao], attached to a small stick, stuck in the upper arm band) to travel to Kujuli pata. The body is washed, hair is
oiled and combed, and the body is painted with onot (red dye from Bixa orellana [synonyms: roukou, urucu, annatto,
koesoewe]. Wayana mix red grains of onot with kalapa oil (Carapa guianensis). This substance is used to grease
the body by life, as protection against irritating insects. Each third day the red dye is washed off, and after bathing,
the body is greased again. Dying the body red (hence the derogative “red-skin”) used to be habitual procedure
before visiting another village, reinforcing the notion of the deceased as a traveler.

34 “S’il s’agit d’une personne bonne, on l’enterra soit sans orientation précise soit le visage tourné vers le soleil
levant. … S’il s’agit d’une mauvaise personne on l’enterra toujours le visage tourné vers le coucher, afin que son
amole (sic) se perde à jamais dans le labyrinthe” (Chapuis 1998:620).

35 “Une position intermédiaire, on le soutient entre ciel et terre, de même que le mort ... est suspendu entre la vie et
la mort vraie” (Van Gennep 1909:266).

36 “On retire tous les os, on les fait calciner sur un platine de terre cuite, on les pile dans un mortier de bois, on passe
ces cendres dans un mortier de bois, on passe ces cendres dans un tamis fait d’arrouma et on les jette dans un grande
vasse plein de leur boisson ordinaire. Ils boivent cette boisson avec les cendres dans le courant de la même journée,
ces cendres dans un mortier de bois, on passe ces cendres dans un tamis fait d’arrouma et on les jette dans un grande
vasse plein de leur boisson ordinaire. Ils boivent cette boisson avec les cendres dans le courant de la même journée,
en faisant des cérémonies pour témoigner leur regret” (Tony 1843:230-231).

37 Endo-cannibalism will result in a lower number, and possibly an absence of human remains, including cremation
remains, in the archaeological context.

38 Mopo and Kujuli, the Creator Twins, were “hidden” by their grandmother Toad under a vessel (ohana) as protection
against the Jaguars. As they were still in their eggs when hidden under the womb-shaped vessel, this play of tropes
links burial with birth in discourse. Alternatively, their grandmother was hiding herself under a ceramic bowl
(kalipo) as protection against the rains. Although I did not encounter the practice of covering the grave with a
 ceramic among the Wayana, this practice of protective covering by a ceramic vessel seems logic within Wayana
 tradition. Pottery is regarded the ultimate protective cover; even the community roundhouse tukusipan is covered
with a ceramic vessel (actually three nested vessels) to protect it from incoming rains. According to some Wayana,
the ceramic vessels (due to their weight) prevent the roof of the roundhouse to be blown away.

39 Additionally, the root onam is also present in îpi étonam tapopê (hill of hiding/burial of a long time ago), with
which Wayana designate the so-called “montagne couronnées” (hills with a moat on top). Undetermined is whether
indigenous people used these fortified hills to hide from raids, or whether these moats prevented the invisible and
 evil spirits of the deceased buried here from leaving this place, preventing them to roam the world of the living.

39 “Macuipi, en sa qualité de piay, c’est-à-dire de médecin, n’a pas été brulé comme le reste des mortels. Conduit sur
les lieux de la sépulture, je vois une petite hutte au milieu de laquelle se trouve un large trou ayant deux mètres de
profondeur; au fond j’aperçois mon ancien hôte couché dans un hamac où il semble dormir. Le corps desséché, dur
comme un parchemin, est complètement peint en rouge. La tête est parée de plumes aux couleurs les plus éclatantes,
le front est ceint d’une couronne faite des écailles de caïman …” (Van Gennep 1909:266).

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of the essential metamorphoses, a tapir and a jaguar, respectively. This metaphor makes the les Roucouyennes [Wayana] ne donnent pas à manger à leurs morts” (Crevaux [1881] 1993:270).

Even the idea of the body is completely colored in red (La Borde wrote: “Si l’on brûle le corps aussitôt après la mort, c’est pour que l’âme s’envole avec la fumée” (Crevaux 1993:324). When Kali fired her vessels she said that this smoking wood pile is akin a creation pyre (film by Duin 2008). In both cases, the pyre (tipihme) is a transitory stage from something moldable (clay or corporeal body) to something lasting (pottery or eternal body).

Data based on five graves in the village of Maipo along the Loë, affluent of the Aletani (Ahlbrinck 1956:48). Note that the pïjai hut (mimme) is made of kumu-palm fronds (Oenocarpus bacaba).

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40 Data based on five graves in the village of Maipo along the Loë, affluent of the Aletani (Ahlbrinck 1956:48).

49 This action is situated in a Wayana play of tropes, as konoto refers to a thump (to) thrust by a brother-in-law (kono). By means of synecdoche, konoto shells imply a firm blow by a brother-in-law (kono to) in the private parts of the person who has the murder on his conscious.

48 This table was initially created in the 1980s by Britta Veth during her interviews with Tukano during her interviews with Tukano (Ahlbrinck 1956:62); resonating kanaïma practice (Whitehead 2002).

47 Cause of death was established by Wayana as a fall out of a tree inflicted by a powerful pïjasi (dark shaman) from the Jari roaming the forests invisibly with his tiny bow (tawioma) and tiny arrow (wamaimë) (Ahlbrinck 1956:62); resonating kanaïma practice (Whitehead 2002).

46 For example, Tukano (an Upului) had been accused to “murder” an individual from Anapaike. Later, according to Wayana, Tukano was “killed” at the Oelemari with a blow of a machete between the eye and the nose (at the bridge of the nose) and a blow in the neck. Tukano, the dark shaman, survived this revenge assassination attempt.

45 Cause of death was established by Wayana as a fall out of a tree inflicted by a powerful pïjasi (dark shaman) from the Jari roaming the forests invisibly with his tiny bow (tawioma) and tiny arrow (wamaimë) (Ahlbrinck 1956:62); resonating kanaïma practice (Whitehead 2002).

44 Mourners, on the other hand, may decide to bury their loved ones. Cause of death was established by Wayana as a fall out of a tree inflicted by a powerful pïjasi (dark shaman) from the Jari roaming the forests invisibly with his tiny bow (tawioma) and tiny arrow (wamaimë) (Ahlbrinck 1956:62); resonating kanaïma practice (Whitehead 2002).

43 In the sky’ or white sky. Bad causes disaster, yet these disasters are always followed by new life.

42 “Si l’on brûle le corps aussitôt après la mort, c’est pour que l’âme s’envole avec la fumée” (Crevaux 1993:324).

41 Note that the pïjai hut (mimme) is made of kumu-palm fronds (Oenocarpus bacaba).

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44 Mourners, on the other hand, may decide to bury their loved ones. Cause of death was established by Wayana as a fall out of a tree inflicted by a powerful pïjasi (dark shaman) from the Jari roaming the forests invisibly with his tiny bow (tawioma) and tiny arrow (wamaimë) (Ahlbrinck 1956:62); resonating kanaïma practice (Whitehead 2002).

43 In the sky’ or white sky. Bad causes disaster, yet these disasters are always followed by new life.

42 “Si l’on brûle le corps aussitôt après la mort, c’est pour que l’âme s’envole avec la fumée” (Crevaux 1993:324).

41 Note that the pïjai hut (mimme) is made of kumu-palm fronds (Oenocarpus bacaba).

Data based on five graves in the village of Maipo along the Loë, affluent of the Aletani (Ahlbrinck 1956:48).

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“Si l’on brûle le corps aussitôt après la mort, c’est pour que l’âme s’envole avec la fumée” (Crevaux 1993:324). When Kali fired her vessels she said that this smoking wood pile is akin a creation pyre (film by Duin 2008). In both cases, the pyre (tipihme) is a transitory stage from something moldable (clay or corporeal body) to something lasting (pottery or eternal body).

41 Note that the pïjai hut (mimme) is made of kumu-palm fronds (Oenocarpus bacaba).

Data based on five graves in the village of Maipo along the Loë, affluent of the Aletani (Ahlbrinck 1956:48).

49 This action is situated in a Wayana play of tropes, as konoto refers to a thump (to) thrust by a brother-in-law (kono). By means of synecdoche, konoto shells imply a firm blow by a brother-in-law (kono to) in the private parts of the person who has the murder on his conscious.

48 This table was initially created in the 1980s by Britta Veth during her interviews with pïjai Pilima. Jean Chapuis reproduced this unpublished table in his dissertation (1998:552) without contacting Veth (pers. comm. Veth and Boven 2000). Additional modifications have been made. This table is a mere example of the wide range of possibilities in a multifaceted kaleidoscopic performance of toimai, rather than an inclusive database.

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43 In the sky’ or white sky. Bad causes disaster, yet these disasters are always followed by new life. Bope is continuous transformation, it is constantly emerging. The bad bope (maereboe) live upon the earth and in the ‘inner sky’ or white sky. Bad bope, are the ones that are hairy, are believed to live in constant association with man. Where bope is black, aroe is black and white.

Crocke (1985:314-315) explained the table by Hugh-Jones (1994:37) with a structuralist formula embodying the dialectic: bope ure : marege mori-xe :: aroe etawa-are : bari. In other words, each shaman becomes in the most essential metamorphoses, a tapir and a jaguar, respectively. This metaphor makes the aroe shaman (vertical) ‘food of the bope:’ a tapir. The bope shaman (horizontal) becomes the prototypical ‘revenge animal:’ a jaguar.
CHAPTER 6
INITIATION RITES AND SUPRALOCAL SOCIALITY

In conclusion, the cycle of human passages is linked among some peoples with those of the cosmic passages, with the phases of the moon, with the revolving of the planets. And it is a grand idea to connect the stages of human life with those of the life of animals and plants, as well as, by a kind of pre-scientific divination, with the grand rhythms of the Universe.¹


![Figure 6-1. Bones of the ancestors (*tamojetpë*, or *taphem*). A. Collections of the Anthropology Division of the Florida Museum of Natural History, FLMNH Temp. No. T 2125. B. *Maraké* at Talhuwen, August 28, 2004 (photo by Daniel Saint-Jean).](image)

Initiation rituals, along with the ritual known as *maraké*, were not discussed in the previous chapter on reproduction of society as it deemed necessary to dedicate an entire chapter on the transformative rite of stinging (*tëwëtepuhe*) emblematic for Wayana society; generating Wayana sociality and revitalizing Wayana identity. Claudius de Goeje wrote that “a man may do that [stinging rite], for example, when he fails to shoot often or when the game is shy, and he will especially have his left arm—that is holding the bow—being stung; a woman does it, because her child has died and she wants to have another child” (1941:109; my translation). Additionally, “[*maraké*] is the occasion to regroup the men and, in the presence of the spiritual leader, to
revive the epical Tradition and bring it to life again: this is what teaches the Wayana the history of their race, and, in the isolation of the forest, to protect their unity” (Mazière 1953:162; my translation). These two quotes describe rather different aspect of the very same ritual and this chapter aims in understanding this most important ritual in becoming Wayana while generating a sense of belonging to Wayana sociality. In line of thought with Arnold Van Gennep (1909:279), the Wayana succeeded—*avant la lettre*—in connecting the stages of human life with those of the life of animals and plants, as well as with the grand rhythms of the Universe.

Initially I anticipated developing a standard model of the *maraké*, but soon I ran into several predicaments. First and foremost, Jules Crevaux wrote that Roucouyennes [= Wayana] named this ceremony *maraké* (1892:97), whereas the mere name “*maraké*” is strange to Wayana today. Wayana today refer to this stinging ritual as *ëputop* (related to *tepuhe* = being stung by an insect, and *tëwëtepuhe* = stinging oneself with an insect). Henri Coudreau called it “*la grande fête nationale, le maraké annuel des Roucouyennes*” (the grand national festival, the annual *maraké* of the Wayana) (Coudreau 1893:537; translations of Coudreau and Crevaux are mine). Since the term *maraké* is commonly used in the literature, I will use this name, however, based on the fact that one series of events leading up to *ëputop* lasts about half a year, it is highly improbable that *maraké* was ever an annual event. Moreover, since most of the travelers visited the Wayana (or specific settlements) only once, there is no evidence to support this claim of an annual event.² Without critical evaluation of these predicaments it is however concluded that the Wayana are loosing their tradition. Reproduction of Wayana society through *maraké* cuts across time and space, myth and history, and in due process allows for an intersubjective social field of supralocal sociality, beyond the boundaries of a single village, as Wayana *become of tukusipan*.
6.1 Initiation Rites and Beyond

Experiencing Wayana history is epitomized in the stinging ritual commonly glossed as maraké or ant/wasp test, and conventionally interpreted as initiation rite for marriage candidates following Crevaux (1892:97-100; recently by Chapuis 2006:526), yet contested by Coudreau (1893:228; also Ahlbrinck 1956:90). In the present study I will use the term maraké when referring to the spectacular cultural-public performances lasting for several months, and épupot for the ultimate corporeal spectacle of the stinging rite performed during such a maraké. The act of “stinging” is also referred to as tēwētepuehe. Though the “stinging ceremony” is a key event in this life-crisis ritual, it is but one link in the chain of events lasting to up to six months of reciprocal dances performed in different villages. Next to the elaborate maraké rituals there are gatherings lasting for three days in a single village during which occur stinging ceremonies referred to as wēlīipan (“full of girls”) since these are basically initiation rites for girls (wēlīi = girl). These wēlīipan take place soon after a girl has her first menses. Nevertheless, wēlīipan are not exclusively for girls, as boys may also participate in this initiation rite. Alternatively, girls may participate in an upcoming maraké, and may even delay their initiation to participate in an upcoming public maraké (de Goeje 1941:109). Nowadays, out-of-sight of the public and in the privacy of the domestic domain, wēlīipan ceremonies are still performed among Wayana of the upper Maroni basin (e.g., Boven 2006:151-153). These “true” initiation ceremonies are said to endow adolescent girls and boys with the force needed for married life. This ritual, by means of endurance of stimulus of pain, hunger, and thirst, is a proof of passive self-discipline. Rooted in the lumping together of the latter natural-domestic wēlīipan and the former cultural-public épupot under the same name of “maraké” is what instigated conclusions (such as Boven 2006:154-155) that the rite of stinging no longer takes place in its traditional elaborateness.
In the summer of 2004, a cultural-public stinging ritual took place at Talhuwen, initiated by Aimawale Opoya and Tasikale Aloupki (for background information see chapter 3.3). This 2004 ritual has been dismissed by anthropologists as non-traditional, stating that the last “truly traditional maraké” took place in 1989 at Kawemhakan / Lawa Station (Boven 2006:147-156; Chapuis 2006:526). I argue that the 2004 maraké was a traditional ceremony; not the least supported by the fact that one of the initiators, Tasikale, had expressed to be initiated the traditional way, and joined me in the study for a “standard model” of the maraké. During my 2002/2003 field season I discussed a general outline based on the comprehensive—hour-by-hour, day-by-day—description by Jean Hurault (1968:87-106, 122-131) of this Wayana ritual lasting for one-hundred and three days in total in 1964-1965, complemented with descriptions from explorers, ethnographers, and other researchers that at times confirm, on occasion contradict, or indicating an alternative. Tasikale showed more than average interest in this historical material. Reaching thirty years of age, and never initiated, he was eager to be initiated, but only in the traditional way; we thus had found a common research agenda. Kilian Tuwanaikë (Tasikale’s brother-in-law) granted to comment on the general outline and inform us about these rites, under the condition that I promised NOT to request to be initiated, as the venom of the ants (ilak; bullet ant; Paraponera clavata) is strong and I would certainly die.

The other initiator of the 2004 maraké, Aimawale, had been initiated at the age of 14 during the 1989 maraké at Kawemhakan / Lawa Station, and is also exceptionally interested in Wayana history. Aimawale had requested Eric Pellet if he knew somebody who could film his éputop. Pellet contacted Jean-Philippe Isel who would film the ritual (see also Pellet and Saint-Jean 2006:17-34). My discussion of the 2004 ritual is based on this film and personal communication with Isel, as well as personal communication with Aimawale during the 2004
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Kailawa expedition. The 2004 ritual included traditional and innovative elements; indicative that this ritual—marakê in general—is more complex than a customary male initiation ceremony.

Some fifty years ago, Father Ahlbrinck (1956:90) had concluded that, whatever its meaning, Wayana marakê is not an initiation rite leading children into adulthood, because indifference of relation between marriage and stinging ritual, and if this is an initiation ritual, than why do adults endure this stinging, in fact, more adults than adolescents are present. I argue that the 2004 ritual is key in understanding the Wayana marakê; a complex and multifaceted ritual that typically has been summarized as a mere initiation ritual. Before addressing the political power of this ritual (Chapter 8), I will first outline the “conventional” course of events grounded in a ritual economy producing beverage and regalia with the sole purpose to be consumed during these ritual gatherings in and around the community roundhouse tukusipan.

6.2 Standard Model of the Wayana Initiation Ritual

Participants in the ĕputop are named tēpijem, which name, according to Claudius de Goeje (1941:108), is related to epit meaning “cure” (possibly a play of tropes with ipiît, wife). I posit that tēpijem is related to the verb tupijem (searching, looking for something), as in tupijemēi (they looked for something), as these neophytes are searching for knowledge. In due process of such an initiation ritual, the Creator twins came to realize that they were the children of the one killed by the Jaguars (Table C-1: lines 37–40, 48). Mopo (elder brother) went into the forest to invite the Jaguars (i.e., the dangerous archetypal social Other) for their upcoming initiation (ibid.: line 43). Leader of the Jaguars (Kaikui umiitin) accepts the invitation with a straightforward “ëë” (okay) and tells his peito (subordinates) that they are all invited (ibid.: line 44). This first day thus generates vital fundamentals of indigenous religion; namely the distinction between self (those who initiate the ritual) and social others (those residing in other settlements who have specific knowledge), while inviting them to eat and drink.
Jean Hurault (1968:87) stated that the hosts are thereafter named Tipatakemï (*Tipatakem* = those-of-the-place), whereas those who answer are named Tiyulemï (this term is indecisive and might refer to “those-of-the-living” as *ulë* = living). Hurault (1968:88) named the villages of the 1964 *maraké* and grouped them as *Tipatakemï* (Tiliwé, Touanké, Aloiké, Élahé; as several settlements join the host village we can speak of a multi-local Self) and *Tiyulemï* (Tipiti, Malavate, Yaloukana), whereby the former were referred to as the “people of below” and the latter as the “people from above” referring to their relative geographical position; respectively downstream or upstream of the cataract of the Aletani (*Saut de l’Itany*) near present-day Antecume pata. During the first day of the *maraké*, the distinction made between Self—host village(s) of the *tëpijem*—and social Others—those from other Wayana villages who have the knowledge—is laid-out geographically as downstream (*ametak*) versus upstream (*atuhpono*). Third binary opposition with which Wayana orient themselves in their landscape (Chapter 4.4), “the place where the sun appears” (*sisi mektopoinë*) and “the place where the sun goes to sleep” (*sisi eniktopoja*), will play a role in the closing dance of the *maraké*.

### 6.2.1 Cultural Transmission Through Alterity

Leading up to *ëputop*, a series of reciprocal dances are performed in the village(s) of the invited as well as in the host village(s), during which gatherings are sung the *kalau* chants which are teachings of Wayana history. “In the course of the night, the singer of the kalahou [= *kalau*] will recall the life of the ancestors, the origin of the world, and stories of a variation on familiar animals” (Cognat 1989:33; my translation). Song and dance named *kalau* is one of the most important and most original cultural traits of the Wayana. While it is an initiation ritual for adolescents, it is also a compilation of myths upon which their system of representing the Universe is based. The *kalau* is sung in a secret language, incomprehensible (sic.) to the Wayana, of which a part of the words are distorted from Wayana by inversion or adjunction of syllables, but of which most [words] are loaned from apparent vanished languages. Some words, as *yakalé*, caiman, are from Tupi-Guarani (Hurault 1968:122).
Each kalau gathering lasts for three days, and kalau gatherings are separated in time by about three weeks, as described by Jean Hurault from the first week of October 1964 until the stinging ritual on January 6, 1965 (translating kalau songs into French [Hurault 1968:122-131]). It is beyond the present study to make a detailed ethno-musicological study of each song in the kalau series, other then I will briefly discuss the themes of several chants (Table 6-1).13 Other chants describe what to expect during the ceremonies and what to expect in life in general. Finally, kalau songs instruct for the final ordeal on where to find, how to approach ants and wasps, and what will be the result of their sting (eleventh kalau; Hurault 1968:127). In sum, these chants educate on how to become Wayana.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kalau chant</th>
<th>Theme. English translations with additional notes are to be found in Appendix C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First kalau: Tricksters</td>
<td>This song describes dancers entering the village showing novices their dances. As can be heard in the first kalau, these dancers mock the proper Wayana dress code. That the dancers are mocking is also clear in the version recorded by Hervé Rivière, though not recognized as such in the analysis (Chapuis and Rivière 2003). I posit that these dancers are Tricksters wherein their mockery imitation of deceit is the visual version of the speech-act of the practical-joke (compare with Ellen Basso 1987). It is through deceit in this first kalau that the path to order can occur. In analogy, and equivalent the Kalapalo studied by Ellen Basso (1987), it is in the myth of Mopo Kujuli (Chapter 5.1) that the present order came into being through deceiving, above all through deceptive speech. Principle of creation through deception, as rooted in the first kalau, situates our thinking in a different perspective.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second kalau: Kulum the King Vulture</td>
<td>This song narrates about raising a King vulture wife. In the myth of Kulum, the King vulture is perceived as a pet of the one-without-a-wife; later Kulum becomes his wife (Chapter 5.1). Jean Hurault (1968:124) published a French translation of the second kalau. Jean Chapuis (Chapuis and Rivière 2003:950-959) published a version in Wayana with a French translation. Jean Chapuis, focusing on Kailawa and assuming all kalau songs concern Kailawa, noted on the proper names mentioned in this second kalau that these men are not warriors of Kailawa. Indeed, the second kalau does not refer to Kailawa, instead refers to the myth of the King vulture Kulum (Sarcoramphus papa), who was raised by a Wayana man to become his wife. In this chant Wayana sing about the King vulture feathers used as feathers for arrows, just as in the narrative. A metaphorical relation is established between the King vulture and neophytes; head of the girl was bald because the head of a King vulture is bald, just as the heads of tëpijem in their house are shaved bald (Table C-2: line 37). It is said in the song to place King vulture girl in a cage like the house of the tëpijem, that is to say a house with an enclosing roof till the ground. Also in 1964 Kulijaman (Hurault 1968:124) sung in the second chant that one had to capture a young King vulture to keep in a hut like the ones build for the novices tëpijem. Chapuis and Rivière (2003:952-953) call this type of house maita (= maite by de Goeje 1906: plate IX, № 6).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6-1. continued.

King vulture Kulum and the tépijem are hence in a similar position; merely perceived from a different gender perspective. Hurault (1968:90) noted that it is during this chant that the 12 and 13 year old girls go around and distribute manioc bread. Hurault noted, without further explanation, that this performance of a “symbolic meal” lasted for 55 minutes (ibid.:90-91). Symbolism of this meal is situated in the performative enactment of King vulture girl who processed cassava for the “man-without-a-wife” (chapter 5.1). Mark that bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*) is named ulu which is the root of the proper name of kulum and the myth of Kulum. To conclude, during kalau ii:32 (chanted by Kulijaman; Chapuis and Rivière 2003:953) “Éw-ekî j-apiëkë malëli kulumîle {a}piëkë mala” is repeated three times; translated as “Capture le vautour kulum” (ibid.) (capture the vulture kulum). To be more specific, I call attention to the fact that ëw-ekî means ‘your pet’ whereas iëw-ekî means ‘my family’. Éki holds a double meaning of kin and pet. This song teases that one has to capture a pet King vulture to raise a family (Chapter 5.1).

Seventh and eight kalau: bringing the past into the present

Seventh chant (Chapuis and Rivière 2003:994-999; in Wayana and French) catalogues the charms hémië, but it also manages the powerful social Others who have arrived to help the novices to prepare key objects for their rite of passage. In these songs, past and present are blurred; time is obliterated, only materiality exists, as do proper names that are handed down through the social houses as symbolic capital. This play of tropes leads up to the eighth kalau centered around the inselberg Tukusipan, where past and present, mythical past, and historical past, the earth and the sky all are gathered and materialized; a perfect example of ‘gathering the fourfold’ in the sense of Martin Heidegger (1977:327 [1954]). Eighth kalau will be discussed in detail below (Ch. 8).

Ninth kalau: speech-act of the Jaguars

This chant (Chapuis and Rivière 2003:1006-1011; in Wayana and French) is about the Jaguars, and brings to mind the story of Creator Twins Mopo Kujuli (Appendix C; chapter 5.1). By means of speech-act, Mopo and Kujuli deceived the Jaguars, and have them killed under the collapsing tukusipan. Thus this song bridges between the myth of origin (Mopo Kujuli) and the history of Kailawa as venerated in the eighth kalau. As in the narrative of Mopo Kujuli, the (grand) parents of the Jaguars, i.e., këlëpukë (= taira; *Eira barbara*), were not tricked and went out into the forest to create today’s Jaguars. Central question in the ninth Kalau is “who hums tïlïlï?” (lines: IX-16, IX-17, IX-21, IX-27, IX-28, IX-59). Is it the Jaguars kaikusi? First answer says: “it is not the jaguar, it is the hummingbird tukusi” (IX-18), hereby establishing a relation with the mere name of the community roundhouse tukusipan: place of hummingbirds (tukusi). Maybe it is the water source (IX-22, IX-23), or is it the hummingbirds after all? (IX-29 to IX-31). Is it the Jaguar (IX-32), or maybe the grandfather of Monsters: Tulupere? (IX-37). It is the Jaguar kaikusi that hums (IX-58 to IX-60), go out and kill that monster kaikusi to make it your club design (*kapalu anon* [IX-54 to IX-57]; compare with the ceremonial club with figures representing mythical forest monsters [Farabee 1924; plate XXII], see also chapter 7.4). Ceremonial clubs *kapalu* with their distinct jaguar motif serve as mnemonics to evoke memories of the past.

These kalau chants, according to Hurault, were only known by two men (Yaliimé and Kouliamann [= Kulijaman]). In 1996, Hervé Rivière recorded twelve kalau songs from Kulijaman (that is, the very same kalau singer cited by Hurault). Twelve kalau songs were transcribed, translated, and published (in Wayana and French) after the unfortunate death of the
ethno-musicologist Hervé Rivière in 2001 (Chapuis and Rivière 2003:933-1035); the very same year Kulijaman passed away. During the 2004 ritual, kalau chants were sung by Kailawa. The latter may be an indication that these kalau chants are not dying altogether with their performers, but that singing these kalau chants is a matter of prerogatives.

Kalau gatherings differentiate hosts from guests in a multi-local setting, which is emphasized during the dancing and singing of kanawa and maipuli alternating with kalau chants. Where kanawa means canoe, and maipuli means tapir (Tapirus terrestris), singers are not referring to actual vehicles (canoe) and animals (tapir), but invoking the cassava beer recipients of the other group. In the old days, a canoe shaped trough full of cassava beer was placed in the village of the inviting hosts, whereas waterproof baskets, massive as a tapir, were brought into the host village by responding guests. Even though these wooden troughs and basketry containers are today replaced by plastic containers, guests still sing kanawa, requesting cassava beer from the hosts, whereas hosts sing maipuli, requesting cassava beer brought in by the guests. This reciprocal question-and-answer dance does have a competitive aspect built in.

Rather than from an existing surplus, excess quantities of cassava beer are produced specifically to be consumed, and, above all, regurgitated, during these ritual gatherings. Large quantities of cassava beer distributed during these gatherings result in regurgitating, more drinking, and more regurgitating, as the ground becomes an off-white puddle of regurgitated cassava beer. Hassoldt Davis wrote “a more serious investigator than I would take off his glasses, wipe them, reflectively fill his pipe, and state that this was Ritual Degurgitation; for they stood, the red Indians, in a row, and simultaneously opened their mouths and spewed, not as you and I, sporadically, but in a series of thick golden streams across the moon” (1952:209). A distinctive Wayana trait is that it is not merely required to drink in large quantities, as it is highly

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requested to *regurgitate* the cassava beer in a nice 90-degree arch. Claudius de Goeje wrote on regurgitating of cassava beer among the Wayana that it is not simply a repulsive misfortune, but a kind of fine art (de Goeje 1908:146), which I can underscore from my proper experience.

*Kanawa* dances end, only to be followed by a *kalau* dance. When the *kalau* song ends, dancers ask once more for *kanawa* and *maipuli* respectively. This alternation continues all night long, for three straight days and nights (hour-by-hour notes published by Hurault 1968:88-92). Guests have tied their hammocks inside houses, eating houses, kitchens, and other structures, one next to the other, and sometimes even simply between two poles that are jammed into the ground only for this purpose (e.g., Cognat 1989:34). Elders retire in their hammocks while the youth continues singing for *kanawa* and *maipuli*. Sokia (son of Kulienpë; and maternal grandson of Masili) stated during the 2004 ritual that “before, the youth lived their tradition. Today, with the school and all that, [the children] have other things to do than submit themselves to the *maraké*. Before, every body knew how to organize the *kalau* gatherings. There were many *kalau* singers. It was enough to inform them and the party began” (Source: film by Isel; my translation).

Although the world of the Wayana is rapidly changing, cultural transmission still takes place as a series of songs and dances named *kalau*.

During the last dance of the *tëpijem*, as discussed below, some songs are performed in the rhythm of *kalau*. These chants, translated by Hurault (1968:130-131), describe the state of the *tëpijem*, their dancing on the *ehpa* with the flutes *mêlaimê amohawin*, their adornments including *halikëti* and *olok*, their bodies rubbed with all kinds of hunting charms (*hemît*).15 This chant also narrates what awaits the *tëpijem* the following morning, namely the stinging ritual with the *kunana*. A warning is made not to leave the *tëpijem pakolon*, or else the neophyte will remain ill for the rest of his life. In this chant the *tëpijem* are counseled, after their beads and other regalia

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are taken from them, to endure the stings alike the bird *pajakwa* (yellow-rumped cacique; *Cacicus cela vitellinus*). Oral tradition narrates how Alalikaman was lost, and during his journey saw the *pajakwa* perform the stinging ritual (Hurault 1968:118-119). *Pajakwa* is said to be the original singer of *kalau* (Yellow-rumped cacique’s name in the *kalau* chant is *kalau*). The song of this bird is so varied that it gives the impression of “a chorus of various birds; wild birds commonly produce perfect imitations of birds and mammals, e.g., toucans, aracaris, parrots, parakeets, hawks, kingfishers, … otter” (Sick 1993:624). *Pajakwa* demonstrated how ants sting their chicks. Association with the yellow-rumped cacique is entirely appropriate, since this bird nests in colonies in trees at the edge of gallery forest, often on branches covered with ant and wasp nests (Sick 1993:624). When Alalikaman returned home, he imitated the observed stinging ritual. Village leader Tipoikali requested Alalikaman to sing the *kalau* chant as he had learned from the yellow-rumped cacique (a bird, hence a non-human social other).

These flamboyant *maraké* rituals and the interconnected body of oral tradition demonstrate a “consumption of the Other” yet different from Eduardo Viveiro de Castro’s model of social reproduction of “*economia da predação*” (economy of predation) (1986, 1992; compare with Fausto 1999, 2000), as Wayana do not obtain the knowledge of the social other in a predatorily manner, but rather engage with the difficult process of learning how to reproduce the knowledge of the social other. For instance, the Creator twins obtained fire from their grandmother Toad and learned, in favor of deceit, how to reproduce fire with the proper firewood, and that water and sand will extinguish the flames (Table C-1: lines:56–65). As discussed below, during their seclusion, male Wayana initiates (*momai*; that is before they return to their village and are named *tëpijem*) learn, as in school, how to (re)produce woodwork and above all basketry weaving.
Cultural transmission, next to *kalau* chants, takes place during the period of reclusion in the village of the social others (other Wayana) where neophytes become habitual—acquire embodied knowledge—with basketry weaving, woodwork, and other male practices. Some Wayana say this seclusion is like school. Knowledge transmission is situated in alterity, whereby the neophyte will learn new cultural crafts from the social other (other Wayana, non-Wayana [Dutch and French schools], and non-human [animals] as in the case of Alalikaman cited above). At this moment neophytes are called *momai* and will only be called *tëpijem* upon returning in their home village.

After the third *kalau* has finished, the *momai* will build a “house for the *tëpijem*” (*tëpijem pakolon*), in which they will retreat immediately after the stinging ritual (*ëputop*). This temporary structure is about three meter wide, two meter high, and five meter long and approximately oriented east-west (Hurault 1968:93). Hurault mentioned that only the east side was open (Hurault 1968:93), nevertheless, Wayana told me that an opening towards the setting sun is best, as not to be blinded by the rising sun the day after the stinging ritual. This hut is entirely covert, till the ground, with *kumu* palm fronds (*Oenocarpus bacaba*) (this kind of palm is also used for the *pïjai* séance hut *mïmne*). Once the “house for the *tëpijem*” is built, the *momai* will leave their home village to obtain their education in the village of the responders (Tïpiti in 1964 [Hurault 1968:95]; Twenke in 2004).

It is about a month before the stinging ritual that in the village of the responders (as social Others) boys will be instructed in basketry and woodwork, e.g., to weave basketry (*wama*), and carve spindle axes (*ekumtop*). During this preliminary period of seclusion, which will last for about a week or two, girls are being instructed in the processing of cotton, e.g., to manufacture hammocks (*ëtat*) and knee fringes (*waipu*), yet girls do not need to leave their home village. For
the most part, *momai* learn to weave large waterproof baskets (*maipuli*) that they will have to carry back, full of cassava beer paste, to their home village.\(^\text{18}\) Wayana boys have been commonly cared for, nurtured, and raised by women in this mainly uxorilocal society. This prescribed time during the initiation process is the first formal occasions for boys to learn to act and speak like men. Separated from their home village, and above all from their mothers, they are, formally and informally, taught male skills; including the kinds of speeches, rituals, jokes, bragging, or recounting of history and mythology which are the cultural prerogatives of men. Therefore Wayana say that this reclusion of the *momai* is like school. During the week of seclusion of the *momai* in the village of Twenke in 2004, no resident from Talhuwen did visit Twenke, or even passed by in canoe, fearful of being captured and taken into custody with the *momai*. A miniature whip is attached to the upper arm of the *momai*, preventing them from leaving; Ronnie said this miniature whip serves as a “police force” (pers. comm. 2003).

### 6.2.2 Bones of the Ancestors

During reclusion for learning the habits of the social other, each boy selects a supporter. This supporter (referred to as *ekï* = pet animal) will follow the novice wherever he goes (including going to the river to relief oneself). While *momai* getting skilled in their tasks, Elders prepare vital regalia including the bones of the ancestors; namely feathered flutes *mëlaimë amohawin* and *taphem* dance shields. In 1964, Kulijaman and Palanaewa\(^\text{19}\) manufactured the *mëlaimë amohawin*: flutes with the nail of the giant armadillo (*Hurault 1968:93; also: de Goeje 1908: tafel I, upper right; Ahlbrinck 1956:72*).\(^\text{20}\) This feathered flute is analogous the decorated flute blown by Mopo and Kujuli made from the claws of their mother Tortoise (*Kuliputpë*) that were carefully conserved by grandmother Toad (*Pëlë*) after being discarded by the Jaguars (*Ihtaino*). Nails of the giant armadillo (*Priodontes maximus*) are comparable to nails of the tortoise (*Geochelone denticulata*), in that both serve to dig into the ground. While Mopo and
Kujuli—children of the one who is eaten by the Jaguars—blow this exceptional flute; thunder approaches. Then Mopo requests the Jaguars to shelter inside the tukusipan (Table C-1: line 46). This is the beginning of the end for the Jaguars who will be crushed to death under the collapsing roundhouse (ibid.: line 48-50). Performative blowing of the feathered flute mēlaimē amohawin revives the myth of the Creator Twins; foregrounding the mythic background in the present. As the maraké ideally takes place in the month of March, blowing flutes by the tēpijem undeniably “causes” rainfall since it is in April that the big rainy season begins (Figure 4-16). The culture / nature dichotomy becomes obsolete during this ritual performance.

Second ceremonial regalia with “the bones of the ancestors” specifically produced for the upcoming ritual by specialists is the taphem (Figure 6-1). Jean Hurault (1968:93) wrote that he did not ascertain the meaning of this object, as this sense had vanished in time. Nevertheless, Hurault continued that this object was sometimes referred to as “tamo yetpë” (bones of the ancestors), and that this might indicate an ancestor cult, but nothing is certain as the term tamo jetpë is also applied to designate the bones of the dead looked for in pyres to fabricate poisons (ibid.; compare with chapter 5.3). Meaning is multifaceted. Taphem consists basically of two elements: a flamboyant feather headdress (olok), and a wooden board. The olok feather headdress will be discussed in a moment. The board, i.e., the handle of the taphem, is key in understanding the meaning of this object referred to as “the bones of the ancestors” or taphem.

The rectangular wooden board is about 50 cm high, with a protruding oval part at the top. At the back of this board are attached two horizontal rods, joint by a vertical rod serving as handle. Drawing of the wooden board, and handle of the taphem, by de Goeje (1908:8 figure 13), is almost identical to the (reversed) drawing by Hurault (1968:95), and taphem in the collection of the FLMNH. Boards in the Amazonian Collection at the FLMNH are painted
with traditional Wayana motifs.\textsuperscript{23} To the 1964 board was attached a stem representing the vertebral column and two perpendicular stems in lieu of shoulders and hips respectively (Hurault 1968:93), so that \textit{“taphem symbolizes a skeleton dressed with a dance hat olok”} (ibid.; my translation).\textsuperscript{24} Hurault wrote that this board was named \textit{“kunikë”} (ibid.; not mentioned by Hurault is that \textit{kunike} literally means \textit{“with grandmother”}). That the \textit{taphem} is not simply a “symbol” of a skeleton wearing the \textit{olok}, is unambiguous in the narrative by de Goeje, who stated that he was told a story of an old man (\textit{tamusi-wet}; possibly paramount chief Wet [Ouèt named by Coudreau 1881:237, 565]) who requested to be killed: “They killed him with a club, cut all the flesh from the cadaver, and ate the flesh. The skeleton was broken at its knees; they attached it [the skeleton] to a wooden board and danced with it (the skull was cut off and guarded in a basket). That with which they danced was named \textit{tamo-yetpe} (bones of the grandfather)” (de Goeje 1941:119; my translation).\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Tamojetpë} thus literally refers to the bones of the ancestors (\textit{tamo} = grandfather; \textit{jetpë} = bone). Covering the protruding part of the otherwise rectangular board is a calabash. This calabash is hidden inside the basketry framework, analogous a human head wearing the feather headdress \textit{olok}.

That the \textit{taphem} stands for the bones of the ancestors (synecdocheal as \textit{tamo jetpë}), might be the reason why Wayana did not want to be separated from this object when de Goeje tried to include this object in his ethnographic collection; other than it was needed for upcoming festivities as explained de Goeje (1905:11). Later, de Goeje (1908:144) described how a man stood in the middle of an arch of dancing men, each with the hand on the shoulder of the preceding dancer and in the other hand a green twig. The man in the middle was holding a \textit{taphem} with an old \textit{olok} (ibid.). When dancers dance with \textit{taphem}, they metonymically dance with ancestors. When I asked Tënepo, a renowned \textit{pïjai}, about \textit{tamojetpë} he told the following:
A long time ago, Wayana did not speak of hemit (charm). They only spoke of tamojetpê (the bones of the ancestors). They cremated the bones of their ancestors, and crushed them into powder, to empoison other people. The tamojetpê is also named taphem (line 42). They removed the bones of the ancestors and placed them as a handle for the olok feather headdress. The handle of the taphem tamo, or tamo (lines 49–50). This was all made very beautifully. Therefore they are imitated during the traditional dances, for people to see them. A calabash (tutpê; Lagenaria siceraria) is placed as head. Then the feathers are placed on the basketry body of the olok. Then they dance with this. There are thus two kinds of tamojetpê; (1) for empoisoning other people, and (2) as the handle of the taphem (line 59) (Tënepo 2000; excerpt from: Appendix C: Toimai and Tamojetpê: lines 39–60).

Meticulous notes by Hurault (1968) indicate there were in fact two taphem manufactured. Rearticulating the course of events related to the taphem, the true sense of the taphem emerges.

Palanaewa, advised by his paternal grandfather Twenke, made the taphem in Tiliwe, while at the same time, Opoya (paternal grandfather of Aimawale), made another taphem in the village of Tïpiti. Hurault stated that these two taphem were symbolically exchanged during the course of a dance named tapsem tiwetkai (presentation of taphem) (Hurault 1968:93). “Symbolically” does not cover the full significance of this exchange of taphem. Jean Hurault (1968:93-95) described how the Downstream People (i.e., inviters from Tiliwê) arrived at 18:30 PM in the village of Tïpiti, led by Palanaewa with the taphem in his hand, circling around the tukusipan:

18:40 PM. Rite of dry pepper. What Hurault did not explain, is that burning of black roasted peppers (takupï) produces an eye tearing smoke. Wayana today use takupi smoke to scare away evil spirits jolok. Since taphem is the embodiment of the ancestors, Wayana make sure no evil spirits will come along into their village.

18:45 Upstream People (i.e., responders from Tipiti) circle around the Downstream People. Led by Alifolo, son of Opoya, they seize the taphem from Palanaewa after a mock battle (ibid.:94). The taphem from the Downstream People is secured in the house of Opoya.

18:50–19:30 Rites of the symbolic meal, exchange of cassava bread and beer. Next, another night of kanawa-maipuli dances.

23:00 Alifolo stands in the middle of the circles of dancers, holding in his hand the taphem of the Upstream People. Now it is the turn to Palanaewa to get hold of the taphem of the Upstream People. Both men dance and jump, while holding the taphem one after the other. Alternating struggle for the taphem continues the following day (December 14).
09:00 AM the next morning (December 15), the Upstream People led by Opoya, place next to their tukusipan a load of bananas, papayas, and sugarcane. Alifolo, who redressed the olok of the taphem, brings the taphem at the foot of this cargo of provisions. Hurault stated that this is an offer to the taphem (ibid..95), yet Palanaewa and his wife are given the load of provisions (over 80 kg) to be taken to their village of Tiliwé where only preadolescent children and elder people of over 45 years of age may nourish them of this food.

12:00 departure of the dancers. The Downstream People, bring with them the two taphem. The taphem of the Downstream People is deconstructed, whereas the taphem of the Upstream People will be placed inside the tukusipan of Tiliwé.

(Jean Hurault, 1968:93-95; my translation).

Drawing on Hurault’s exhaustive notes, I posit that initiators of the maraké set out to the village of the invited people to recuperate their ancestral origins incarnated in the form of the taphem. In the film of the 2004 maraké the taphem is driven to the background and we see only for a few seconds village leader Talhuwen dancing with a taphem in the tukusipan of his village. Later, Kailawa (the kalau chanter) is dancing with this object. The film by Isel does not show the exchange of taphem as the filmmaker was focused on the elaborate feather headdresses olok.

Taphem olok, as mentioned by Coudreau, “is the feather headdress worn by jolok [Tamok Jolok] when encountered in the forest” (1893:552; Figure 7-13). Multicolored feather headdresses (olok) are a key cultural trait of the Wayana (and Apalai), and portrayed almost with ecstasy in every ethnographic study. Placed on a wooden cross (atiptetop) topped with a calabash kalapi (Crescentia cujete), the basketry frame (olok ahmit) is layered with bands of featherwork. First carefully arranged on a mat (opoto), these composite featherwork pieces have a prefixed order on the headdress, as meticulously drawn by Ronnie Tïkaime (Figure 6-2 A).

Henri Coudreau (1893:554) philosophized that Wayana do not kill many birds to obtain the multitude of feathers necessary to manufacture the required objects for upcoming ritual performances as the provenience of most of these feathers is from pet birds that were taken out of their nest and raised in the village to be plucked from time to time. Travelers (e.g., Coudreau 1893:112-113, 141, 554-555; de Goeje 1905a:122) described, next to the presence of dogs and
monkeys, the cacophony of pet birds in Wayana settlements, including parrots, macaws, curassows, kami-kami (*Psophia crepitans*), toucans, roosters and chickens. With regard to the latter (*kulasi; Gallus gallus domesticus*) it is emphasized that the fowl were, if at all possible, perfectly *white*, and that these white feathers where necessary for dancing ornaments (Coudreau 1893:113, 541; de Goeje 1905a:122). Shining jewel beetle wing cases (*siliapenpë*) for jingling adornments attached at the end of red tail feathers (*sïpsïp*), positioned at the back, are gathered from gardens. First Wayana slash a clearing. Jewel beetles (*Euchroma gigantea*) are attracted to these sunlit clearings. When burning the slashed trees, jewel beetles are burned in the fires. After the rains following the burning of the gardens, shiny wing cases shimmer in sun rays. Jules Crevaux (1987:274) wrote that it took over a year to manufacture these composite feathers.

Not only do Wayana not kill many wild birds to obtain feathers—and if they shoot wild birds for feathers it is with a flat headed arrow (*kamata* with a blunt head from hardwood, or a piece of tortoise plastron) to prevent blood staining the feathers—what is more important is that polychrome composite featherwork is curated in boxes (*olok enï* [specific]; *pakala* [general]), only to be aired for an upcoming ritual performance. Feather boxes filled with composite feathers are shown in the photos by Dominique Darbois (Mazière and Darbois 1953) and Daniel Schoepf (1971:39). Overlooked, or not emphasized enough, is the ancestral origin of this wealth of composite featherwork handed down from generation to generation. Coudreau (1893:174) was amazed to see several hundreds of precious feathers curated in the family *pakala* (storage box; more specifically: *olok enï*) of Touanké (see also Crevaux 1881:98). Resonating with when on November 8, 1903, Pontoetoe had a box (*pakala*) filled with composite featherwork, from which he assembled an *olok* (de Goeje 1905:967). De Goeje gave Pontoetoe an ax and some beads, and left the following day for Paramaribo with the *olok* (de Goeje 1906:146, Plate III).
Figure 6-2. Various material aspects of the life-crisis ritual (Ronnie Tïkaime, 2000). A. lay-out of elements used to build an olok. B. Tëpijem wearing olok and blowing the flute mëlaimë amohawin, with a mulokot kunana in the background. C. kanawa dancers. D. sketch of dancing with taphem. E. Games of temptation following ėputop. Throughout are dancing arrows (tukui upo, tëpiem pile) and stinging shields (kunana).

Table 6-2. Layering of feathers on olok headdress (from top to bottom; Figure 6-2 top).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wayana name</th>
<th>General description of layer (main color and species)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kunolowatki</td>
<td>Fan of red tail feathers of scarlet macaw (kunolo; <em>Ara macao</em>) mounted on a shaft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sïpsïp</td>
<td>Composite feathers at the front and back of the kunolowatki; back piece ending in jingling adornments with shining wing cases from the jewel beetle (sili; <em>Euchroma gigantea</em>).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pijumot</td>
<td>White lower belly down of harpy eagle (pija; <em>Harpia harpyja</em>).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kijapok</td>
<td>Black tail feathers of toucan (kijapok; <em>Ramphastos tucanus</em>) cut at equal length.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulima</td>
<td>Yellow feathers of crested oropendola (kulima; <em>Psarocolius decumanus melantherus</em>) cut at equal length with two sideway protruding composite red feathers at the front.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulaikulai</td>
<td>Green feathers of non-identified parrot (<em>Amazona</em> sp.), set off with two red feathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulasi emhulan</td>
<td>White tail feathers of chicken (kulasi; <em>Gallus gallus domesticus</em>); also attached one kijapokwatki (toucan tail feather)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papona / kïsipotï</td>
<td>Mosaic from rectangles cut from bill of a collared aracari toucan (kïsi; <em>Pteroglossus frantzii</em>).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hapika</td>
<td>Band of small red and blue feathers (unidentified species).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These genuine treasure chests are curated by the head of families (Twanke and Pontoetoe in the examples mentioned above). These feather boxes are material property, symbolic capital charged through history as they are handed down from generation to generation. In an essay on, amongst others, stylistic aspects of Wayana featherwork, Daniel Schoepf (1971) stated that there was a kind of hesitation at the moment of choice in the assembly process, as some feathers were tied with cotton thread to a wooden shaft or woven belt, whereas other feathers were simply glued to their foundation. This choice, I argue, is not a “kind of hesitation” (Schoepf 1971:38), but inherent in the origin and use of each particular object. For example, feather mosaics glued to the ant/wasp shields kunana (Figure 6-2 upper right) are transient objects made by the tëpijem to serve exclusively during his stinging rite. Stinging shields (kunana) are personal objects only to be used once; first and foremost serving the tëpijem who made it. Quite the opposite, precious polychromous composite featherwork for olök headdress were made by the ancestors, curated by Elders, and worn by the tëpijem during their final dance before the stinging rite. The latter featherwork holds secondary agency in the sense of Alfred Gell (1998), as these objects hold the capacity to cause events to happen, not as primary agents, as this featherwork is not self-sufficient with intentionality, but this featherwork is without doubt imbued with secondary agency—with what I would call ancestral agency—in conjunction with human associates or ‘patients’ who undergo the event caused by the agent (Gell 1998:16-23). In his study, Gell shifts the analysis from “meaning” to “effect,” especially the effect to impress.

We can deduct a meaning as Wayana (and Apalai) layer feathers of scarlet macaw (red) and harpy eagle (white)—living in the uppermost canopy of the rainforest—, toucan (black), crested oropendola (yellow), and Amazon parrot (blue-green)—from the lower branches of trees—, and chickens (white)—living on the earth’s surface—, to stand for the levels of the
universe while covering primary colors (red, yellow, and blue), white and black (Table 6-2).
Alternatively, meaning emerges from social action (interrelationship between artifact and people) as this featherwork is situated in the effect to impress, during which process meanings and values are accumulated and transformed through time; the object accumulates a biography (Kopytoff 1986; Gosden and Marshall 1999). These feather headdresses are what John Robb called “extended artefacts” whereby “we have to see not their naked skeleton, the thing itself, but the extended artefact, the artefact with its extension into social space and time” (2004:133).
Within this theoretical framework, the artifact is no longer an object studied for its ‘function’, ‘dating’ and ‘style’. These artifacts are not simply objects providing a stage setting for human action, but they are integral to it and, on occasion, these artifacts are even active participants.

According to Kopytoff (1986) objects have a constantly emerging cultural biography in which non-commodities can become commodities, and later on a non-commodity again. Such is the case of the featherwork for the olok headdress that was in possession of Pontoetoe before November 8, 1903 (non-commodity), when it was acquisitioned by Claudius de Goeje “for an ax and some beads” (de Goeje 1905:967; de Goeje 1906:146, Plate III) (commodity), and upon return in the Netherlands donated to the museum of the Royal Institute of the Tropics in Amsterdam (inventory number: KIT 402-40) where it became a non-commodity once more, but this time with a different cultural value.

Figure 6-3. Black-and-white mosaic at the base of the headdress signifying tēpijem. Drawn after the olok curated in Leiden (inventory number: RMV 2352-1).
Signifying the novice (tēpijem) is papona, a black-and-white mosaic (rectangles cut from the bill of a collared aracari toucan; kīsipotī); a band absent in most olok headdresses in museum collections; de Goeje brought one to Leiden (Figure 6-3), and Crevaux brought one to Paris (1881:98). 31 Arabesque arrangements (Crevaux 1892:97) of the black-and-white scales are in the shape of mekuwom, an exceptionally long “caterpillar” (unidentified species; possibly tapeworm). Ronnie Tīkaime (Figure 6-2 B) literally wrote “tupihem” instead of drawing this meandering mosaic of the kīsipotī, emphasizing that this arabesque “reads” tēpijem. Ahlbrinck (1956:28), based on a drawing by Dr. Rombouts, stated that at this place was a spotted jaguar skin. Crevaux (1987:274) wrote that it was the “tamouchy” who carried this mosaic on the front of his headdress, or a similar woven base on which are attached the scales of a caiman. On the latter, he had stated earlier that a crown with the scales of a caiman is the emblem of sovereignty (Crevaux 1987:270). On the diadem with caiman scales, Crevaux further stated that it was Taliman, chief of Talimapo (upper Paru) and an important authority, had obtained such a crown with caiman scales when he married the daughter of the chief, even though she had elder brothers (1987:311). These objects endowed with ancestral agency are social valuables and inalienable property (charged by accumulation of cultural biography), which may be exchanged with other members of a social unit during ceremonies, legitimizing the owners’ identity, as will be central in the discussion of the ritual economy of political power (Chapter 8.2).

These olok feather headdresses hold agency in that they move people. The feather boxes and featherwork are portable objects, however, the power and use value of this featherwork is more dynamic and lies in its effect to impress and attract people; people have to visit the closing dance of the maraké in order to perceive this monumental headdress in state. Meaning of such artifacts cannot be deducted from the mere object alone; its meaning as impressive effect must be
enacted, it must be performed and witnessed (Gosden 2001:165; Gosden and Marshall 1999), as will be further discussed in a moment.

6.2.3 Return of the Momai

Momai will be named tēpijem upon returning in their village; they are now endowed with embodied knowledge of cultural qualities, basketry making above all, learned in reclusion in another Wayana village (in the village of those invited; the social others). Several days before the stinging ritual, the momai return to their village, crowned with hamile to which are attached in the front two long cotton strings, and dressed under a heavy load of red and blue bead strings (replacements of olukla; sash from grounded shell from the Paru), several feather adornments such as pasik (long red macaw tail feather decorations attached by the bead strings on the upper arm [apēpata]), and draped on their back halikēti (feather mosaic representing, on a red backdrop, a yellow-golden men “with his legs spread as a frog” [Crevaux 1892:97] and his upper arms reaching each other above his head). Coudreau, who brought such a feather mosaic to Paris, described this dorsal ornament as “Sacred Star” (Coudreau 1893:555; MQB inventory number: 71.1890.93.184). This beautiful piece of featherwork on the back is mirrored on the chest by a shiny mirror (aluwa). Crevaux (1892:98) and Ahlbrinck (1956:76) noted that the abdomens of the tēpijem were girded with a large number of belts (akawale): some of black spider monkey fur, others of white cotton (see also de Goeje 1908:147; absent today). Around the hip is tied a panti (belt woven from glass beads). They wear a long red loincloth (kamisa), and their body is covered with designs painted with black kupē (Genipa americana). To make the traditional kupē designs even more radiant, Tasikale (in 2004) had applied some sparkling golden stars around them. He had also glued some downy white cotton to his cheeks and chin, as a sign of old age, as someone who knows and who is respectful (tēwantak ikatpē; Table 5-1).
Before the *momai* return, several men and boys from the host village imitate the return of the *momai*; dressed under a heavy load of red and blue bead strings, though mockingly crowned with *tīpapo* (white chicken feathers attached to a string), and on the back a *weju* (beaded women’s apron; not insignificant is that the second meaning of *weju* is “flame”) (Pellet and Saint-Jean 2006:29 upper right). In the evening of 2004, five *momai*, led by Tasikale, arrive from the side of the *tēpijem pakolon* (Figure 6-6: path <II>; east side), turn counterclockwise around the community roundhouse, to enter the *tukusipan* from the west side. When they sit inside the *tukusipan*, village leader Talhuwen asked Tasikale how many *maipuli* (cassava beer containers) they had made during their seclusion at Twenke. Subsequently, the *momai* return and carry these heavy loads on their back from Twenke to Talhuwen. Villagers from Talhuwen went along with the *momai* to help them collect the *maipuli* full of cassava beer paste. Hurault added that in 1964 the Downstream People went to collect, in addition, several *maipuli* that were left halfway by the Upstream People (1968:98). Upon returning, the *momai* are each assigned a section under the roof of the community roundhouse.

Hurault (1968:98) further noticed that in 1964 the *momai* danced under the *tukusipan* whereby the eldest was holding the *taphem* of the “Upstream People” (social others), which had been seized during a nocturnal mock battle two weeks prior and placed inside the *tukusipan* of Tiliwé (host village) (see above; Hurault 1968:95). *Momai* (originally from the host village) are now perceived as “social others” and faced by the “Downstream People” (from the host village) who sing *maipuli*, evoking the large cassava beer containers to be brought into the host village. In a sense, the initiates now are the “social others” and in each distinct section under the roof it is the “Upstream People” (the invited social others) who mount the *olok* (the Creator Twins invited the Jaguars, the quintessential social Other, for this task). It is the guardians (*ekīnpi*) who have
each their proper section under the tukusipan where they mount the olok with layers of feathers (olok tatïptëi [olok takiptei] (Hurault 1968:98); see also de Goeje 1908:146), guided by Elders. To mount the monumental feather headdress olok its basketry frame (olok ahmit) is placed on a wooden cross (atïptetop) (Figure 6-2 A).38 When the monumental feather headdresses are finished, the guardians walk around the tukusipan and hang the olok in the tëpijem pakolon, where they will remain till the next morning. Momai sit on their benches and are relieved from their load of bead strings which are returned to their owners.

While mounting the olok headdresses, Aloupki,39 next to an olok-stand (atïptetop), is sitting on a wooden stool facing the center of the tukusipan applying to the back of Françoise (encouraged by Sokia) a belt woven from green palm shoots into which ants are locked. Françoise will endure the stinging ritual, and this preliminary test is to assess whether she can withstand the venom of bullet ants (ilak; Paraponera clavata) released during the ordeal. Next, children are brought forward to also endure the ant stings. Rather than the extremely painful ilak bullet ants (Paraponera clavata), other black ants (ijuk; possibly Cryptocercus atratus), with a less painful sting are fixed into a miniature ant-shield (kunana upsik). Women and children try to flee the scene, unwilling to endure this pre-maraké, while some boys laugh triumphantly tolerating the stings (compare with Cognat 1989:34; Coudreau 1893:233; de Goeje 1908:146). Rather than concluding that the Wayana undergo this stinging ritual from the age of four,40 I argue that, supported by the agency of Aloupki, who is a frequent joker (it was comedian Pontoetoe who performed this pre-maraké in 1907 [de Goeje 1908:146]), this witty preliminary stinging with a provisional ant-belt is simply to joke and trick.

For the upcoming event, next to the monumental feather headdresses olok, and the wide array of regalia as the flute mëlaimë amohawin, is produced a dancing arrow (tukui upo [litt.:
nest of hummingbird]; tepiem pîle [Hurault 1968:93]) specifically prepared for the têpijem (têpijem pîle). This ornamented arrow is not fitted with an arrowhead. Stabilizing feathers at the end of the arrow (pîlêu ale) are framed in by a web of threads (de Goeje 1908: tafel I). In 2003, Ronnie Tikaim, without visual mnemonics, drew several sketches of this dancing arrow (Figure 6-2). It was Ronnie’s father Aputu who in 2004 manufactured these dancing arrows.

Another component for the final dance, the têpijem have to build themselves: the ground drum (ehpa). In 2004, the trench for the ehpa (about 8 meter long, 32 cm wide, 3 degree east of due north)41 was dug in between têpijem pakolon and tukusipan (Figure 6-5: location B). In 1964 (Hurault 1968:100), the ground drum was made from the base of an old canoe (about 5 meter long, 50 cm wide). Crevaux (1892:98) and Mazière (1953:170) wrote that the trench was covered with a long bark strip. It has to be noted that canoes used to be made from the circa five centimeter thick bark of mëpu trees (Hymenea courbaril). The plank was placed over a circa 10 to 20 centimeter deep trench, which was filled with leaves of the wapu palm (Euterpe oleracea). This trench is dug out by the têpijem after they have collected the wasps (de Goeje 1908:147), or sometimes before (Hurault 1968:100). The têpijem have to carry the plank for the ground drum above their head into the plaza. During this exercise, the têpijem are being whipped with palm fronds (Ahlbrinck 1956:31; Hurault 1968:100). According to Ahlbrinck (1956:31), when in place, the plank is covered with sand. When the ritual has passed, the plank is removed.

Not to be left unmentioned—neither described in detail—is that the week before the stinging ritual women begin to produce large quantities of sisiakan (sun dried cassava bead), kasîli, and umani (cassava beer) (e.g., Cognat 1989:30, 43; Mazière 1953:166). Production and consumption of cassava beer has been described in detail elsewhere, including some Wayana recipes (Daniel Schoepf 1979), as well as how Guiana peoples endow their landscape with social
glimpse on the “orgy of beverage” taking place in different villages.

In order to harvest and produce these large quantities of cassava bread and beer, I like to
emphasize, the manioc stalks ought to have been planted six to twelve months earlier. This
surplus is produced intentionally for the approaching gatherings, rather than an amassed surplus
of food is distributed by a paramount chief. This ritual economy has often been taken for
granted, such as when in 1888 Twanké took off for a grand hunting party at a branch of the
Malani in the Tumuc-Humac area (Coudreau 1893:224). Coudreau interpreted this hunting party
as one of the “customs of the primitive life of the Indians. Such as this noble practice of the
grand familial hunting parties” (ibid.; my translation), rather than a necessary economic means
for the upcoming ritual festivities. Soon after Twanké returned from his hunting party, the 1888
maraké took place. Coudreau most likely did not make a connection as he had left the village of
Twanké (Pililipu) in order to witness the maraké at Peïo (1893:227), which Coudreau perceived
as two autonomous settlements. He does nevertheless go on to say that the food production is
one of “delicate preparations” and that “the maraké is always an opportunity for a big party”
(Coudreau 1893:229). It is the upcoming ritual that requires a surplus production to be
redistributed among guests visiting from neighboring villages. Upcoming rituals not only
generate a surplus of crops and protein, they also request larger vessels to brew and store cassava
beer, along with elaborate vessels to distribute and serve cassava beer to guests.

6.2.4 Têpijem presenting their Kunana

*Kunana,* is another object that is exclusively produced for the upcoming stinging ritual; a
unique zoomorphic mat woven from *jaujale* (*Bactris hirta*) onto which mainly red and white
down feathers, offset with black feather strips, are glued with *palakta* resin (Figure 6-2 B upper
right; E upper central). Center plaiting is left undecorated to hold ants or wasps during the
stinging rite ėputop; hence the common reference to ant/wasp ritual. Few days before the stinging ritual (ēputop), the tēpijem present the kunana they made to the public. Feathered kunanas are attached by means of a cotton string to a baton that is colored red with onot (Bixa orellana) and crosshatched with soot black lines. In 2004, while the tēpijem dance in line, holding their kunana, it was Kailawa (standing in the middle of this dance line) who sung the kalau chants that were answered by the tēpijem dancers. It was full moon, and the central plaza was reflecting the clear moonlight. That night, kalau chants and maipuli-kanawa dances continue in alternation. People of Talhuwen sung maipuli while beating the rhythm with rods to which were attached kawai noise makers. Visiting guests were dressed with okalat and hamile crowns, and held a white feathered shaft in their hands, singing kanawa. The two women (Françoise and Assen) that would endure the stinging ritual in 2004 did not present their kunana; women and girls (wëlïi) have a square non-decorated ant-shield (wëlïi katop).

Shape of the kunana, representing mythical animals, is historically described as (1) quadrupeds or fantasy birds (Crevaux 1892:98) while sketches of these instruments (ibid.:100; reproduced by Coudreau 1893:244) support identification of the former as kaikui or apuweika, and the latter as mulokot; (2) fish named macas (Coudreau 1893:230); (3) fish or double headed serpents (Mazière 1953:164); (4) fish or game (Cognat 1989:48); (5) wataw fish [= watau], molokot [= mulokot], sipalad crab [= sipalat], meli squirrel, ipo water monster, palite [= pëlitë, caterpillar species] (Ahlbrinck 1956:29-31), all are representing a monster on land or in the water, real or mythological (Ahlbrinck 1956:89). Janamale made one kunana especially for Dirk Geijskes. While Geijskes thought this resembled a fish (“a koemaroe [Myleus pacu] or piranha [Serresalmus piraya]”), Janamale assured him that
this was a “moelokot” [= mulokot] a “watradagoe-brara” (Sranantongo for “brother of the otter”) (Geijskes 1957:282).

Besides a gender distinction, there is another important distinction reflected in the kunana: têpijem who will endure this test for the first time (i.e., true initiation) will have a kunana in the shape of the watau fish (Myleus pacu) set with bullet ants (ilak; Paraponera clavata), in contrast to men who already have experienced this ordeal at least once. Wayana told me that the têpijem after his true initiation is free to choose one of the monsters depicted on the maluwana to shape his wasp-shield, e.g., kaikui, mulokot, kuluwajak, makwatili, matawat, and apuweika. Shape of kunana favored for the second maraké is mulokot (monstrous fish with one arm; discussed above). After true initiation, têpijem set with their kunana with wasps of their choosing, e.g., okomëjot, kapheu, kuloklo, elinatwale, muklawale,kuluklu, or apala (these species have not yet been identified). Wayana say that elinatwale, muklawale, and kuluklu, are incredibly agonizing. Hurault (1968:105) stated that the name of the former, i.e., a true initiate, in Wayana is ipotka (ipïtke; literally: with wife), whereas the latter are named umïnpïlin. Furthermore, in the kalau songs, true initiates are referred to as alimijapo (literally: uncle of the spider monkey), the second time têpijem are tïpulusem, third time ikajali, fourth time ijotome, and those who have endured four stinging rituals are referred to as ekajaleime. The last stinging ritual a person endures in his lifetime is with a kunana in the shape of a tukusi (gray dolphin; Sotalia fluviatilis) set with about five squares in a row filled with okomë wasps. Distinction between ants during true initiation, and wasps during consecutive ordeals, as previously noticed by Coudreau (1893:228), confused ethnographers not recognizing the distinction between ants and wasps in the shields, and who did not differentiate between true initiates and other stinging rite participants.
This distinction can also be observed in the height of the olok. Where true initiates have a “single” olok, tëpijem who previously endured a stinging ritual may choose for a “double” olok, meaning that the basic basketry cylinder will be twice as high allowing for twice the layering of featherwork series. Another distinction is that after the actual stinging by the kunana, the true initiates will retreat without delay into the tëpijem pakolon, whereas the other tëpijem will first circle the village plaza.

In the 2004 maraké, Paiwali and Roberto Kilian had, as true initiates a kunana in the shape of a watau fish. Roberto Kilian, fearful of the stings, had made a relatively small kunana. Both were adorned with white and red down feathers, and a black feathered tail. Red down is from the scarlet macaw (kunolo; Ara macao), white down is from chicken (kulasi; Gallus gallus domesticus), and black is from curassow (ëwok; Crax alector). These feathers are glued onto the basketry from palm leave (jaufale; Bactris hirta) with palakta (Manilkara bidendata). Sylvain, although a true initiate, yet French (non-Wayana), had chosen for mulokot covered entirely with black feathers. Although Pajakwali and Tasikale had never endured a stinging ritual before, yet were no longer adolescents, they choose for respectively matawat (mainly black, red bottom, red-yellow-blue midsection) and mulokot (white with red outline, with yellow and blue at the joint of the arm). Aimawale, who had endured his initiation in 1989 at the age of 14, had chosen for an unusual kunana: apuweika (black panther), which he had adorned in the remarkable hue of white down (bring in mind the significance of black-and-white in one object [Chapter 7.4]). Moreover, Aimawale had a second kunana adorned with black down: Kailawa, founding father of the Wayana confederation (Figure 6-4). This was the first time in history that an anthropomorphic kunana had been presented. Aimawale intended to be fully prepared when exploring the Tumuc-Humac region, in search of the tracks of Kailawa (Pellet and Saint-Jean
2006), thus his choice of a wasp-shield in the shape of Kailawa, in order to be able to read the tracks of his ancestors.

Figure 6-4. Aimawale’s anthropomorphic kunana: Kailawa (A. Saint-Jean, August 2004), and, on the right, a more traditional kunana: makwatili (B. Duin, May 2003).

### 6.3 Closing Dance and Stinging Ritual

In the early morning of the day before the stinging ritual (ëputop), the tēpijem together with several men set out into the forest in search for ants or wasps needed for the stinging ritual. These men are not allowed to drink any cassava beer, “no cachiri from manioc [= kasili], no chacola [= sakula], no omani [= umani]. Otherwise the Manioc-Shaman, who is very strong, will kill all the ants and wasps within 24-hours. They are allowed to drink banana juice [= palu ewku] without danger to the insects” (Coudreau 1893:229; my translation). The kunana is brought into the forest, and placed horizontally onto three (Geijskes 1957:283) or four (Mazière 1953:165) sticks next to the nest. Anesthetic methods and setting of the ants or wasps into the kunana is described in detail elsewhere (Ahlbrinck 1956:31-32, 68-70; Mazière 1953:165).
After having pushed a plug of cotton, drenched with an anesthetic,\textsuperscript{46} into the opening of the nest, the nest will be fumigated and the wasps will fall out of the nest. No sound is made during this procedure. Ants or wasps are secured by their abdomen between the mesh in the center of the \textit{kunana}, following the hourglass motif of \textit{wakawatpë} (see for details Geijskes 1957:283). \textit{Tëpijem} return from the forest with in their hand, attached to a baton, their \textit{kunana} filled with up to 300 ants or wasps that begin to awaken from their anesthesia.

Each \textit{tëpijem} is assigned a place around the plaza where they have their bench (\textit{kololo}) and where they will be dressed for their closing dance that will last the entire night. While sitting silently and immovably on their benches, others dress them with heavy loads of bead strings and other adornments, including the monumental feather headdress \textit{olok}. Their body is not painted red with \textit{onot} (\textit{Bixa orellana}), on the contrary, all the remaining red dye has been washed off. Not mentioned by Hurault, but seen in the film of the 2004 \textit{maraké}, is that Anamaila and Siksili demonstrate the dance to the \textit{tëpijem}; that is, how to move, how to play the flute, how to dance with an \textit{olok}. Including, how to leave the ground drum, circle around, and return to the ground drum. Sokia is giving additional directions. Fringes on the forehead are cut and the rest of the hair is tied into a ponytail (Ahlbrinck 1956:78). Next there is a rehearsal dance for the \textit{tëpijem} to feel if their \textit{olok} needs further adjustments in order to have a secure fit as it would be catastrophic if the monumental feather headdress falls onto the ground during the closing dance.

6.3.1 From Dusk till Dawn

At dusk (\textit{tametei}), fires and lamps are lit and the \textit{tëpijem} dancers enter the village plaza.\textsuperscript{47} \textit{Tëpijem} cannot enter the stage effortlessly, as others obstruct their access and try to drive them back with palm fronds and \textit{opoto} mats (de Goeje 1908:146). In 2004 at sunset, just as over 120 years ago (Crevaux 1892:98), each \textit{tëpijem} approached the \textit{ehpa} (ground drum), onto which the \textit{tëpijem} will dance the entire night (see also figure 6-5).\textsuperscript{48} By baton, Siksili pointed out the place
to each tëpijem. Tëpijem stand side-by-side on the ground drum facing sunset (the 2004 ehpà
trench was dug north-south, with an angle of only three degrees east of due north; Figure 6-6 B). Each male tëpijem holds the above described flute mêlaimë amohawin in the left hand, and
dancing arrow tukui upo in the right hand. Granman Amaipoti49 and Siksili50 direct the flute
play by blowing on an undecorated flute with giant armadillo claw. Participating women and
girls do not have such a flute. Women and girls dance side-by-side the men whereby the men
often support the girl with their right arm. At times, dancers leave the ehpà, to dance in a
circular movement around the plaza, only to return to their fixed place on the ground drum
(Ahlbrinck 1956:76-77).51

Figure 6-5. Marakè: dance of the tëpijem at Antecume pata (courtesy: Daryl P. Miller, 1973).
In 2004, about a thousand Wayana, that is most Wayana from the upper Maroni basin, had gathered at the plaza of Talhuwen to view this ritual spectacle (Figure 6-6: E and F are locations from where the visitors viewed the spectacle; B is the location of the \textit{ehpa}). People from other settlements thus become part of Wayana space-time by being in the village plaza and participating in the rituals held in and around the community roundhouse. Aimawale and Anamaila were surprised to see that so many Wayana had gathered; a sign that many young Wayana support traditional Wayana culture. To cite Anamaila: “Some try to live our culture; others can care less about it, but they are wrong. Nonetheless, they have come too. All the villages have been deserted to gather at this event, because it is very beautiful to see” (Anamaila 2004; my translation from the film by Isel 2006).\textsuperscript{52}
While tépijem are dancing on the ground drum, several plays take place. These theatrical farces take place behind the backs of the tépijem (Figure 6-6; location D), whereas the tépijem are not allowed to turn their head, laugh, or show any other signs of emotion; they must continue to dance, beat the ground drum with their legs (under the knee are attached kawai noise makers) and blowing the flute simultaneously, without showing reaction to what is happening behind them. Adults and children partake in the imitation of a hunting game of capybara (kapiwala) eating sugarcane while being attacked by dogs played by jumping lads (Ahlbrinck 1956:80; Hurault 1968:101; Isel 2006). Other deceitful imitations are the game of the toads and anteaters (Ahlbrinck 1956:80-81; Hurault 1968:102; Miller in prep.). Not only animals are imitated, In 1938, Maifat (Malavat) entered the stage disguised as and in perfect imitation of an old woman: Namijei (Awali) posed the question “Who are you woman?” Reply: “I am a woman of the Wajarikulé.” Question: “I came to see whether the Wayana can dance well” (Ahlbrinck 1956:81; my translation). This kind of humor deliberately provokes anxiety, as well as laughter.

Practical joking is visual and in speech-act, and not unique in Amazonia (e.g., Basso 1987:293-295). It has to be noted that Wajarikulé are considered “wild” Indians, even from a Wayana perspective, so the answer from the trickster imitator Maifat (Malavat) “to see whether the Wayana can dance well” is ridiculous to Wayana who consider themselves more civilized and therefore better dancers without question. Later, the same impersonator (Malavat) entered the stage with white cotton glued to his cheeks and chin, and this “old man” was provided with a seat as a “sign of his power” and commented on the dance (Ahlbrinck 1956:81). All spectators laugh, so his joke was a success, however Ahlbrinck did not understand the words, neither was given an interpretation by Wayana. We might wander whether this was a farce of the White Man (maybe even of Ahlbrinck himself); in 2004 such “theater plays” were held by Wayana imitating
the arrival of the French (Isel pers. comm. 2008; unfortunately the video tapes of these farces got lost). During the 1973 ritual, André Cognat came out in a skit-like performance as an old crippled man on crutches with one leg tied up behind him (Miller pers. comm. 2008, in prep.).

Next to the skit-like farces, there are plays of ūwēm (penis) and evil trickster spirits jolok. In the former, adolescents have attached a circa 50 centimeter long basketry cylinder to their lower abdomen imitating an enormous penis. Chasing after women and making them touch the end of this mock penis (Hurault 1968:102; compare with Northwest Amazonia [Oyuela-Caycedo 2004] and Xinguano erotic tricksters described by Ellen Basso 1987:295). Last play mentioned by Hurault (1968:102; from 19:30 to 21:30), as well as the last play during the 1973 maraké (Miller in prep.) and the 2004 maraké, was the mocking of the evil trickster spirits jolok. At the edge of the plaza, a shaman’s hut (mïmnë) is erected from kumu palm fronts (Figure 6-6. location: G). Hurault wrote that children enter this hut, mimicking a fight between good and evil spirits; a struggle that is taken out to the plaza (1968:102). Isel filmed this performance in 2004. Rather than children mimicking a fight between good and evil spirits, one individual embodied the evil trickster (jolok) inside the shaman’s hut. From the audience, a Wayana at the age to pass the stinging rite is chosen to fight this jolok. This “obligated volunteer” is trying to get a look inside the shelter while approaching it. The incarnation of jolok protrudes his head (covered with a black bandana) through the palm front shelter, once and again. Than, suddenly, jolok (dressed in a white shirt and white pants with black stripes at the side) leaps out of the shaman’s shelter and begins to wrestle his adversary from the audience out in the plaza. After some wrestling, the “obligated volunteer” lifted jolok (while facing him) and walked him into the spectator crowd. This is another example that the Wayana maraké is a conceptual event demanding the viewers’ participation and forces them to get involved.
Ad infinitum, and without showing emotion, tēpījem continue their monotonous dancing on the ground drum, while blowing their flute. There is no singing. Tēpījem are permitted to take short breaks and sit on their bench, re-adjust their olok, have a little sip of cassava beer to prevent dehydration, only to take stand on the ehpa once more. While spectators go to sleep, tēpījem continue their ordeal. Tēpījem are not allowed to wipe the sweat from their forehead, under the forewarning that they otherwise will develop skin complaint on their face. Dancers continue to beat the ground drum with their legs and to blow the flute (for an animated description see Ahlbrinck 1956:33-34). After midnight tēpījem are offered some more cassava beer. Around 2:30 AM a row of benches is placed next to the dancing ground. Dancers take place on these benches with their back towards the ground drum, and are offered some more cassava beer, which is regurgitated immediately (Ahlbrinck 1956:83-84), leaving the plaza filled with fawn tinted pools (see also Coudreau 1893:231).

With regard to music, dance, and beer, Victor Fuks (1988:178) wrote that “enjoying music, dance, and beer not only permits individual and group needs to be mediated but goes further, indicating pleasures and emotions. Making music, drinking caxiri (sic.), and dancing in particular ways are, above all, indicators of what it means to be a Waiapi (sic.)” and the same goes for their Wayana neighbors. Beyond “indicators” of what it means to be Wayãpi—or Wayana—music, dance, and cassava beer are “unique forces in major transformations mediating potential conflicts in a subtle way, with the result of intense emotional experiences” (Fuks 1988:178). Then again, the Wayana marakê is far from a “subtle” way of mediating potential conflicts during major transformations. These are intense emotional experiences, which, incidentally, are not allowed to be revealed by the tēpījem.
6.3.2 Stinging Ritual (ëputop)

After some twelve hours of dancing, many gaze at the eastern horizon longing for the rising son (sisi mektopoinë). At dawn (kokopsik), Elders play kului with the bamboo flute titilu (momai ĕwu). Tëpijem reply with flute plays resembling the kului (marbled wood-quail; Odontophorus gujanensis). The Elder in charge (Malaitawa in 1938; see Ahlbrinck 1956:85) monitors the eastern horizon. Everything is brought to a halt when the oldest grandmother (kuni) grasps the ant-shield and strides towards the dancers (Mazière 1953:170), at times aided by the tamusi, who Cognat (1989:54) even refers to as “doyen” (Touloucimê [= Toulisima]58 ibid.:56). At the break of dawn, têpijem return to their benches where they are being stripped from their outfit (Ahlbrinck 1956:34, 70-71; Crevaux 1892:98; de Goeje 1908:148; Hurault 1968:102).59 This is an abstract commentary on discarding materialism (“disguises”) for the natural (“the real”) underneath.

Coudreau (1893:231) wrote that it were the “tamouchi [= tamusi] Peïo and the old Enéoua, the ‘Couni’ [= kuni]” who were about to apply the kunanas to the têpijem “Acamali, Couraïpo (son of Peïo), Ariué et Iri” (Coudreau 1893:231). Hence another constituent necessary for proper conduct of this rite: one needs a grandmother, because the grandmother is in charge (Ahlbrinck 1956:28). Wayana are a grandmother culture whereby cultural transmission skips one generation. Wayana assured me that when your grandmother is deceased, you can “hire” one, or ask a grandfather (tamo). In the past, payments were arranged with an ax, iron file, a metal canteen, and glass beads, among others. Today, payments mainly take place in Euro.

Grandparents are required, because it is them placing the kunana on the body of the têpijem. As Mazière emphasized (1953:166-167): “during the placing of the ants, the initiate is not allowed to show the slightest indication of suffering” (my translation).60 Daryl Miller, based on shadows
on his pictures of the 1973 ritual (pers. comm. 2009; Figure 6-6) noted that the têpijem face west, while the Elders and kunana face the rising sun in the east while applying the kunana.

![Stinging ritual in 1973](image)

Figure 6-7. Stinging ritual ëputop at Antecume pata (courtesy: Daryl P. Miller, 1973). Moloko is applying the kunana (mulokot) while Pilima stands behind the têpijem.

In 2004, following tradition, it were first the girls who, after being stripped from their beads and other adornments—except for their beaded apron (weju)—would walk back to the ground drum (Figure 6-5: location B), where at its northern end was the place of the stinging rite (location H). Assen, wife of Aimawale, was first to endure this ordeal. Her paternal grandfather held the undecorated female kunana in both hands, and first applied it to his own upper legs and chest, before applying it to his granddaughter. Kali (2003 pers. comm.) added that with the girls they forcefully press the kunana to the hands and chest, then say “som kaikë!” and apply the kunana to the sole of the feet. Second in line was Françoise. Third in line was Roberto Kilian, who was so frightened by the thought of the stings of the bullet-ants that he had made a miniature watao kunana. The ant-shield was applied by pijai Aloupki. In order to make Roberto Kilian a good hunter and (therefore) a good Wayana, he had to hold a gun in his right
hand (barrel in the hand while the shoulder piece rested on the ground) while blowing the flute in his left hand. After his body is stung by ants, he returned the gun, and walked counterclockwise, along the crowd of spectators, via some bowls of cassava beer (location i and j)—the last sip before fasting—to the têpijem pakolo (Figure 6-5: location C). Then Paiwali, who held in his right hand an arrow cane, while Siksili is blowing the flute. Not included in the film are the stinging rites of Pajakwali, and of the organizers Tasikali and Aimawale who would endure this ordeal last of all. Video cassette of the ordeal of Aimawale and Tasikale disappeared before the cinematographer Jean-Philippe Isel departed from Talhuwen, whereby he stated satirically that this was more painful than the ant-stings (Isel pers. comm. 2008).

Stinger of the bullet ant (ilak; Paraponera clavata), rather than its enormous jaws, will be placed onto the body penetrating the skin delivering its venom. After being stung by venomous stings of respectively bullet-ants or wasps, each têpijem makes his round counterclockwise along the visitors around the plaza (Figure 6-6. Dotted line from H alongside the visitors E and F), towards the têpijem pakolon (C) where each can finally rest in a brand new hammock (Cognat 1989:54; de Goeje 1941:110; Hurault 1968:102). Sometimes the têpijem has to be carried to his hammock where he will lay, tied in, like a dead body with a little fire underneath (Crevaux 1892:98; Coudreau 1893:233). Sometimes the têpijem will sit in his hammock rocking back and forward, because of the pain inflicted by the venom. Têpijem will at this point, laying in his hammock alike a corpse, is figuratively as well as literally floating between two worlds, enduring the venom released by the stingers.

6.3.3 Games of Temptation and Return to Society

Hair of the têpijem is cut (tetupukhe) at noon (Hurault 1968:104), or at night (Coudreau 1893:233). True initiates are shaven bald, starting at the crown of the head and around in growing loops, while those who have previously passed their initiation are only cut some hair
(Cognat 1989:57). Shaving of the head also occurs in other occasions (e.g., mortuary rites) serving a pseudo-calendar purpose as length of hair indicates the time-span of prohibitions.

Novices are in silence, only allowed to speak in a soft voice (De Goeje 1941:110). For five days they will be in reclusion (Hurault 1968; 2004 ritual), without eating and drinking, they become thin. As narrated in the kalau song “their face becomes somber as that of a red howler monkey (alawata). Their stomach becomes flat like that of a weeping capuchin monkey (meku). Their arms grow thin” (Hurault 1968:131; my translation). Their silence, fasting, and stoicism will be tested during their stay in the tôpijem pakolon. Wayana told me in addition that the individual personality of the tôpijem grows during this reclusion and successive temptations. For example, when a tôpijem turns his head around, he will remain easily frightened for the rest of his life. When the tôpijem laughs out loud, he will giggle for the rest of his life. When the tôpijem expresses emotions of anger or is crying, he will remain angry or a crybaby for the rest of his life. In the afternoon the tôpijem are allowed to drink “tig’wa” [= tikwa] some warm water in which cassava bread is dissolved (Cognat 1989:58). At night the door is closed and the tôpijem are guarded by an Elder (tamusi or kunumusi). When you have a home in this village where the tôpijem pakolon is located, then you may sleep at home, only to return the next morning to spend the day in seclusion with the other tôpijem.

As the theatrical corporeal spectacle has ended, most visitors return to their respective settlements. However, the maraké has not ended and the ordeals will continue for the tôpijem. Hurault (1968:102-103) named three games that take place in the afternoon. Each performed by a specific village. First, there is the game of the spider monkeys, which was already witnessed by Crevaux (1892:98) and Coudreau (1893:233). This spectacle of the spider monkeys (alimi; Ateles paniscus) is described in more detail by de Goeje (1908:149) and Ahlbrinck (1956:88-89,
91, photos of the “spider monkey attack” between pages:144-145 and 160-161). While the tēpijem were trying to sleep of their pain in the tēpijem pakolon several men imitate a troop of spider monkeys attacking the hut. While climbing onto the rafters and beams they relentlessly make the hut shudder. Although Crevaux does not name the imitation of the spider monkeys, he does state that they shake the hut so stoutly that it is about to collapse (Crevaux 1892:98). As a result, all hammocks in which the tēpijem are laying will move in all directions. This is extremely painful for the tēpijem who still suffer from the stings. During the attack, Coudreau wrote, “a liana vine was grated into a pot: this is the alimi-piaye [= alimi hemït], that will make the tēpijem good spider monkey hunters. Tamusi takes the pot in his hand and sings around the virtue of the alimi hemït [i.e., charm to attract spider monkeys]. Next he sprinkles this drug onto the patients who sleep in their hammocks” (1893:234; my translation). Then those who play a hunting group, track down the monkeys and subjugate them (Ahlbrinck 1956:88-89; de Goeje 1908:149). Ahlbrinck (1956:89) stated that this is not a game as there are no spectators, yet may be in analogy to the Carib takini-piai who, as a novice, has to endure attacks of evil spirits.

In the meantime, the kuliputpë dance takes place (Coudreau 1893:234).64 Later that afternoon a tug-of-war takes place, named séríre (Coudreau 1893:234) [silili, related to wililin = round going]; children versus adults, men versus women, without the prior distinction of Upstream versus Downstream People (Hurault 1968:104). Similar tugs-of-war took place in 1973 (Miller pers. comm. 2008), and 2004, especially between men and women (Isel pers. comm. 2008). In 1965 a game of a pack of white-lipped peccaries (pëinëkë) was performed (Hurault 1968:102), and the day was concluded with the farce of trading travelers; six men from the village of Tipiti (social Others) had left by canoe a little earlier, only to return at the canoe landing place of the host village imitating Apalai from the Jari river. Benches were prepared,
and they played a customary arrival scene. They mock a trading exchange of dogs against old hammocks and pots full of holes (Hurault 1968:103). While non-têpijem amuse themselves with theatrical farces, the têpijem are not allowed to show any emotion.

People will enter the têpijem pakolon and bring food, yet the têpijem must resist these temptations (see for animated descriptions Ahlbrinck 1956:37 and Cognat 1989:56). Bananas may be hung above the hammock to lure the têpijem, as they did to Ronnie (pers. comm. 2003). Later the têpijem (all holding on to an arrow cane (tapuju) to keep them in line) are guided to the tukusipan where are set delicious dishes for their temptation trial (têpijem têtawokhe). Also the Elders who applied the kunana, as well as relatives of the têpijem, are restricted to a diet of warm water and some cassava bread (Hurault 1968:103-104).

Whereas manioc production is normally a task of women, it is “at night, the men [têpijem] set out to search for manioc, that they grate, and they make cassava bread [ulalakan] and chakola [= sakula] beer without the aid of any woman” (Coudreau 1893:234; my translation). This cassava bread and beverages are presented to the têpijem the following day. At that moment, an artist cuts out of cassava bread the silhouette of a deer, that will be hang in the tukusipan and remain there till the following maraké (Coudreau 1893:234).

The morning after the stinging ritual, while the têpijem rest in their hut, Elders from the invited village (social Others) (in 1965 Tipiti and Opoya [Hurault 1968:103]) will cut duplicates of each kunana out of cassava bread made by the women from the invited village. Then each cassava bread silhouette is tied to the kunana and hung in top of the tukusipan (Ahlbrinck 1956:90). De Goeje (1941:111) referred to Ahlbrinck who saw how every kunana had its mirror image in cassava bread (briefly visible in the film of the 2004 ritual). Next to the kunana are
hung the olok basketry frames stripped from their feather adornments. Geijskes (1957:220) noted that after some time, these preserved kunana are turned brown due to the smoke.

On the third day, small pieces of cassava are placed, from behind, on the shoulders of the täpijem by means of a split bamboo stick (Cognat 1989:56; Hurault 1968:103). Then pieces of ulalakan cassava are given, still by means of a stick, to the täpijem. These pieces have to be held in the right hand between thumb and index finger, and aimed from under the left arm at a target (takalamatpë) that is held by the ekïnpï at some distance behind the back of the täpijem. Each has three attempts (Figure 6-2 E).

On the fifth day of their seclusion, i.e., halfway, täpijem are submitted to a shooting proof (Hurault 1968:104). This is the beginning of their return to society (täpijem tewëtakïimai; whereby êtakima refers to the beginning). The day before, they have been preparing their arrows. With bow and arrow they have to hit a target resembling a spider monkey (Ahlbrinck 1956:37; Hurault 1968:104). Targets were built from leftovers of dancing costumes after a night of dancing (in particular pieces of okalat-bark and some feather down) and tied to a branch at the edge of the village (Hurault 1968:104) at about thirty meters distance (Cognat 1989:58). Cognat (1989:58) declared about the two-tiered shooting target (prepared by Aputu) symbolized a spider monkey (alimi) surrounded by the three-toed sloth (ïïï). Afterwards täpijem go from house to house and shoot at smoked game and fish (Coudreau 1893:235)

The following day, täpijem are guided to the tukusipan where outside on the ground are laid-out several banana leaves (Hurault 1968:104). In front of each leave is set a bench for the men (in 2004, Assen also requested a bench but was not given one). First, the täpijem are offered a small quantity of cassava beer. André Cognat (1989:58-59) vividly described how he found a thick white coleopteran larva (supuli; non-identified), on the bottom of this calabash cup.
Then the tēpijem are offered large quantities of cassava beer. They are requested to regurgitate (wenatatop) the cassava beer onto their banana leave to demonstrate that their stomach is empty; hence that they did not break the fast. Only thing to be found on the banana leave among the regurgitated cassava beer is the fat larva (Cognat 1989:59). Subsequently the tēpijem are guided to the river where they are allowed taking a bath with roucou leaves (onot; Bixa orellana). Next, and finally, the male tēpijem will go shoot a nest of alama (mélipones wasps; flies according to Hurault 1968:105; wasps according to Coudreau 1893:235). In top of an isolated tree in the midst of a garden, circa 20 meter from the ground. Then the tēpijem may go fishing or return to their home. Their ordeal has ended and they have returned to Wayana society.

Nevertheless, from now on the tēpijem will have to submit to alimentary taboos (tehenemai etukula), depending on their hair length (Hurault 1968:105-106). Till the hair reaches the ears, a Wayana is not allowed to eat any animal, except for the fish opi (generic term for tiny fish), jaike (Mylesinus pacou) and talani (Leporinus friderici). Further prohibited are salt, oil, and tobacco. Till the hair reaches the cheekbones, a Wayana is not allowed to eat the fish aimala (Hoplias aimara), asitau (Myleus rhomboïdalis), mulokoime (Brycon falcatus), matawale (Cichla ocelaris), caiman, and bananas. Till the hair reaches the shoulders, a Wayana is not allowed to eat mammals as tapir, white-lipped peccary, collared peccary, spider monkey, howler monkey, coumarou fish (Myleus pacu), sweet potatoes, and sugarcane. Taboo till the retiring age of about 50 years old is the brown capuchin monkey, three-toad and two-toed sloth, tortoise, fish hului (catfish species; Silurus sp.), alimina (Electrophorus electricus), curassow, and all eggs. It is said that chicken eggs give a person bad eyesight.68 Wayana are encouraged to shoot tinamou birds (hololo) for food, but never to eat the red brocket deer (kapau) or the southern tamandua (alisipsik) because they are considered to be porters of jolok (Hurault 1968:106). Neither are
Wayana allowed to eat the jaguar (*Panthera onca*). Hurault (1968:105) stated that it is to guard the newly acquired virtues that the tëpijem are prohibited to shoot tapir, peccary, anteater, red brocket dear, red howler monkey, curassow, turkey vulture, and the fish catfish *kunoloiimë*.

Numerous travelers, geographers, ethnographers, and others, have described or published photos on this emblematic Wayana ritual (e.g., Ahlbrinck 1956; Cognat 1977, 1989; Coudreau 1893; Crevaux 1881; Darbois 1956; de Goeje 1908, 1941; Hurault 1968; Mazière 1953; Miller in prep.; Van Velthem 1995) which provided the platform of the above description. Empirical generalization on *maraké* and inference from data about events observed at a specific time and a specific place have to be treated carefully. Continual reference in 2004 to Kailawa (founding father of the Wayana confederation) seems to have added a new layer to the meaning of this communal rite of passage; a layer that is currently being modified to give sense to the current situation of the Wayana. By definition, and in contrast to common assumption, this ritual (often glossed as *marakè*) is not an initiation ritual, and I posit that these public corporal spectacles are not simply socio-cultural events but true political plays. Grounded in concepts of need and interest, strategy and tactics, these rites are situated in history making. These rituals bear resemblance to revitalization rites, in that the whole community gathers and revives traditions from a deep past in conjunction with current historical conditions. The 2004 ritual, including the anthropomorphic *kunana* of Aimawale, is unique but not to be disregarded as non-traditional.

Some elements, though, appear rooted in forgotten legendary times, such as when Mazière (1953:164) posits that its source is a Sun Cult. When tëpijem dancers stand side-by-side on the ground drum (with the 2004 *ehpa* trench dug north-south, with an angle of only three degrees east of due north), dancers are facing sunset and sunrise. Fanning out macaw tail feathers, elaborately displayed in *olok* feather headdresses, mirror red sun beams at sunrise and sunset.
Alternatively, it can be speculated that its source is a Rain Dance as these rituals terminate just before the rainy season commences in April. The closing dance of the tëpijem and the stinging ritual específico, is held at the transition from dry to rainy season. A transformation of boys into men is thus linked with the change from dry to rainy season and the grand rhythms of the Universe are in conjunction with the renovation of society. Furthermore, these universal rhythms are cyclical, as are the inalienable properties as olok headdress feathers and other regalia as the giant armadillo claw for the feathered flute. The last dance of the Wayana maraké, embodying the myth of the Creator Twins through performance, followed by the stinging ritual, takes place on the plaza outside of the community roundhouse (tukusipan). This transitory corporeal spectacle, performed on the central plaza where it is highly visible to the social body, reveals knowledge/power to insiders. It is creating a social body among those who identify themselves with the very same social body. After death, there will be rebirth. This life-crisis ritual is recurrent birth, not simply of individual Wayana, but cultural birth of Wayana sociality.

6.4 Regionality and Temporality of a Ritual Economy

As previously concluded by Father W. Ahlbrinck, and I concur, “whatever its sense, this [maraké ritual] is not an initiation rite to lead children into adulthood, because; 1) indifference of the relation between marriage and stinging ritual, and 2) if this is an initiation ritual, than why do adults endure this stinging, in fact, more adults are present than adolescents” (Ahlbrinck 1956:90; my translation). For analytical purposes, I suggest a distinction between (a) a ‘true’ initiation ritual, and (b) rituals following the habitual grammar of a ‘true’ initiation ritual. The first time a neophyte endures this rite (i.e., a ‘true’ initiation ritual) s/he is stung by ilak-ants (Paraponera clavata) set in a kunana (ant-shield) in the shape of the fish watau (Myleus pacu). Both boys and girls stand this ordeal of the stinging rite (éputop). Whereas a ‘true’ initiation ritual for girls is called wëliipan (full of girls), boys may participate as well. Ant shields (for
both girls and boys) during *wêlîpan* are plain and undecorated and called *wêlî katop* (thing of girls). Both boys and girls wear simple headdresses *hamile*. This gender neutral initiation ritual is different from the public *marakê* when boys and men wear monumental feather headdresses (*olok*) and have elaborate feather-adorned *kunana* shields. Girls may participate in the latter public corporeal theatrical spectacles, other than they are only allowed to wear simple headdresses (*hamile*) and have a simple plaited ant shield (*wêlî katop*).

The public corporeal theatrical spectacles (*marakê*), are beyond ‘true’ initiation rituals as true initiates dance in line with Wayana who will perform the stinging ritual (*ëputop*) for a second, third, fourth, etc. time (as can be seen in figure 6-5). The latter participants have a “double layered *olok*” and are not stung by *ilak*-ants, but rather by a species of wasp of choice. Although the difference between ants and wasps applied during such stinging rites has been noted (e.g., Coudreau 1893:228; Hurault 1968:105), the model of initiation rituals with as explicit aim to produce marriageable adults is default (most recently by Chapuis 2006:526).

Philosophizing on the motivation of the *marakê*, Ahlbrinck (1956:90) stated that one must observe many *marakês* in different places in order to gain full insight into its significance. Unlike ‘true’ initiation rituals that recurrently take place in all Wayana settlements, the *marakê* only takes place in Wayana villages with a community roundhouse (*tukusipan*) and, unlike some say, not every year. Based on the last six recorded *marakês* in the upper Maroni basin, it can be concluded that rather than being an annual event, the *marakê* appears to occur about every 13 to 15 years (number: 5; mean average: 13.2; standard deviation: 2.48) (Table 6-3). Thirty-one years lapsed between the 1938 ritual and the 1907 ritual (de Goeje 1908), which equals two periods of about fifteen years till and from 1922. Unfortunately there is no written record whether or not a *marakê* took place around 1922. Similarly, no written record of a *marakê* in the
upper Maroni basin exists from around 1892, some fifteen years prior to 1907, other than Coudreau (1893:537) described a maraké about that time (in 1889) in the upper Jari basin.

Table 6-3. Time and place of recorded maraké rituals in the upper Maroni basin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>year</th>
<th>time-lapse</th>
<th>éputop</th>
<th>place</th>
<th>reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>August</td>
<td>Talhuwen</td>
<td>Pellet and Saint-Jean 2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Anapaike/Kawemhakan</td>
<td>(no written reference)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>January</td>
<td>Tiliwe (joined by Twanke)</td>
<td>Hurault 1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>Janamale/Kawemhakan</td>
<td>Darbois 1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>Janamale/Luwe</td>
<td>Ahlbrinck 1956:71-93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td></td>
<td>May</td>
<td>Taponte (son of Twanke)</td>
<td>Ahlbrinck 1956:27, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td></td>
<td>November</td>
<td>Popokai (Tapanahoni)</td>
<td>De Goeje 1908:143-149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>Atoupi (Jari)</td>
<td>Coudreau 1893:537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td></td>
<td>April</td>
<td>Peño (joined by Twanke)</td>
<td>Coudreau 1893:227-237</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This series of recorded marakés suggests that, instead of Wayana loosing their tradition, the time-lapse between the 1989 and the 2004 ritual (mean average: 14.38; standard deviation: 2.595) appears customary. The November 1973 maraké (Miller in prep.), requires an exceptional contextualization as this maraké took place in Antecume pata—the new village of the Metropolitan André Cognat (compare with chapter 3.4)—facing a growing influence of American evangelical missionaries at Lawa Station (Anapaike/Kawemhakan), yet is indicative of socio-political tactics played out regionally rather than it merely being a local initiation ritual.

This series (Table 6-3) demonstrates another trend, namely the 2004, 1964, 1938, and 1889 did not occur in the proper months of March-May, and time-lapse of these ‘odd’ rituals is respectively forty, twenty-six, and forty-nine; about two generations. As will be discussed in detail below (Chapter 8), this latter trend places these public maraké rituals in the socio-political
realm, given that the December 1938 maraké in the village of Janamale took place after the death of Taponte (son of granman Touanké [Twanke]) earlier that year (on February 14, 1938 [de Goeje 1941:71]), and the September 2004 maraké initiated by Aimawale (paternal grandson of Janamale) took place after the dead of granman Anapaïke (successor of Janamale) in 2002. The January 1965 ritual took place some years after granman Janamale, the face of the Wayana nation, passed away in 1958. Although the 2004 maraké took place in the village of Talhuwen, Aimawale, one of the initiators of the 2004 maraké, is the paternal grandson of Janamale in whose villages the December 1938, 1952, and 1989 rituals took place.

During the 2004 maraké the momai were in reclusion in Kulumuli pata, the village of Twenke (the village of the social others). Mark that Twenke and his maternal grandfather’s father Twanke joined the host villages during the 1888, May 1938, and 1964 rituals. Asen, the wife of Aimawale, who also endured the 2004 ëputop is a maternal granddaughter of Anapaïke, and according to Karin Boven also a paternal great-granddaughter of Taponte (son of Twanke). Where Boven (2006:145) situated the 1992 marriages of Aimawale with Asen and Aimawale’s brother Akama with Asen’s sister Aniwa in the reproduction of the core-group of the village of Kawemhakan / Lawa Station as well as in access to French citizenship, I posit that these marriages go beyond a mere prospect of French ID papers and reproduction of the core-group of Kawemhakan / Lawa Station; Aimawale is on the pathway of supremacy through socio-political tactics of marriage and the unification of Wayana, above all the descendants of Janamale while facing the descendants of Twanke during the 2004 maraké.

Ramifications for a supravillage organization, is that, during such maraké rituals, not every Wayana village is an autonomous unit as the host village is joined by people from other Wayana settlements who also want to participate in the upcoming ëputop; resulting in multilocality.
Moreover, people from settlements WITHOUT *tukusipan* visit to host village (with *tukusipan*) to witness the spectacular closing dance and stinging ritual, and become in the process incorporated into the socio-political field managed by the community roundhouse. While emphasizing the basic nurturing relation between grandparents and grandchildren, these roundhouses (*tukusipan*) and monumental feather headdresses (*olok*) engender the effect to impress and are endowed to move people, or what I have called “ancestral agency.”

Ahlbrinck declared that there is no secrecy with regard to the *maraké*, yet there is no need for questioning because Wayana have familiarized themselves with these practices; and since these have become habit, Wayana do not know how to explain their performance (1956:90). Then again, “understanding ritual practice is not a question of decoding the internal logic of a symbolism, but of restoring its practical necessity by relating it to the real conditions of its genesis, that is, to the conditions in which it functions, and the means it uses to attain them, are defined” (Bourdieu 1977:114). Rather than being merely a phenomenological experience, or possibly a medical practice against arthritis, *maraké* is situated in the ritual economy of political power, as large quantities of cassava beer are being produced, consumed, and regurgitated. Discussion of the real conditions of this political power play, restoring the practical necessity of two social subgroups—descendants of Janamale versus the descendants of Twanke—require a chapter in and of itself (Chapter 8). Rather than decoding the internal logic of symbolism (as rooted in Creator twin narrative), apprehension of this vital Wayana ritual must begin from a recognition of its temporality.

Rather than defining a meaning, I have explored how continuation and change are situated in a continuous process of reassessing a multifaceted Self while facing social Others, a process that will be continued to be explored in subsequent chapters. First I will critically assess the
performance of a masked whip-dance where Wayana imitate Tamok, the evil spirit of the forest. That these dangerous evil spirits Tamok (social others) emerge out of the forest from where they bring the gift of basketry, echoes the *momai* (as social others) returning to the host village with the knowledge of basketry weaving. Moreover, the costume of the *tëpijem* is similar to Tamok wearing a cloak of dark *okalat* streamers topped with a bright colorful *olok* feather headdress. These chapters on performative rituals differentiating between Self and social Others will lead to a critical evaluation of Wayana (Guiana) sociality, medium and outcome of a ritual economy of political power where the meaning of *maraké* emerges in conjunction with *tukusipan*.

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1 “Enfin la série des passages humains se relie même chez quelques peuples à celle des passages cosmiques, aux phases de la lune, aux révolutions des planètes. Et c’est une idée grandiose, de rattacher les étapes de la vie humaine à celles de la vie animale et végétale, puis, par une sorte de divination préscientifique, aux grands rythmes de l’Univers” (Van Gennep 1909:279).
2 Henri Coudreau, during his voyage along the Jari River, in late October 1889, stopped at the Wayana village of Atoupi (who was born Apalai [Coudreau 1893:546]) and wrote that it was the time for “la grande fête nationale, le maraké annuel des Roucouyennes” (the grand national festival, the annual *maraké* of the Wayana) (ibid.:537), in which partook seven villages. When the festivities had ended, Atoupi and his men guided Coudreau back to the Boni (Maroons) of the Lawa (ibid.:543).
3 Coudreau (1893:233) stated that initiation rites for girls never take place at the moment of *maraké*.
4 Boys and girls wear a *hamile* feather crown with tail feathers of white roosters. During *wëlïipan*, boys are not allowed to wear the elaborate ornate feather headdress *olok*.
5 As Arnold van Gennep (1909) recognized, these kind of life-crisis rituals demonstrate a social puberty (*puberté sociale*) rather than a mere physical puberty (*puberté physique*).
6 Alternatively, flute play while dancing during the night before the stinging ritual, as well as blowing the flute during *ëputop* is proof of active willpower.
7 This ritual would be held a year after Audrey Butt Colson conducted fieldwork in the upper Maroni basin intending to study series of traditional dance and song performances (Butt 1964; fieldwork: April–October 1963).
8 One non-Wayana, Sylvain Hervouët de Forges (member of the 2004 Kailawa expedition), did participate in the 2004 ritual. It was Sylvain’s guardian Barbosa (who was to apply the ant-shield), who publicly and explicitly stated that this was the voluntary choice of Sylvain, and that he was not to be held accountable in case Sylvain would die. Importance of the presence of social others was mentioned by Jules Crevaux in the beginning of his expose on the *maraké* based on his visit of the village of Namaoli (located where the Mapahoni mouths into the Jari) (1892:97)
9 In 1964, it was Palanaéwa (son-in-law of Tiliwe; son of Taponte and father of Siksili and Barbosa) who initiated the *maraké* to have his eleven year old son Akayouli (Siksili) initiated (Hurault 1968:88).
10 Various recorded versions of *kalau* songs demonstrate variation, meaning there are no predetermined song texts.
14 Kanawa dancers are in a semi-circle with the right hand on the shoulder of the preceding dancer and a baton (enep) in the left hand, and dance counterclockwise. A second line of dancers (in the same formation) is dancing around the kanawa dancers. This second group of dancers, maipuli dancers, is singing a different song (on the very same rhythm of the kanawa singers) (Cognat 1989:33; Hurault 1968:89).

15 Although the Wayana do not use the maraca (hand rattle), in this chant is narrated that Epëhaita found the maraca; when he had killed the giant serpent (ekëjuimë; i.e., ekëjuimuë pilakiti, tropical rattlesnake [Crotalus durissus]), he found the maraca at the tip of his tail (i.e., the rattle of the rattlesnake) (Hurault 1968:130).

16 According to Wayana, kalau is not related to kalao (red-throated caracara; Daptrius americanus).

17 Tëpijem pakolon for the 2004 ritual (which had already been torn down when I arrived in Talhuwen in 2004), had about the same dimensions and was build circa 30 meter northeast of the tukusipan (see figure 6-5: A) tukusipan; C) tëpijem pakolon. Entrance opening of the house for the tëpijem was towards the tukusipan, i.e., facing south-west. It is indecisive whether a cardinal direction or a relative direction towards the community house is preferred in building the tëpijem pakolon.

18 Momai asked for the support of the residents of Talhuwen to collect their maipuli (Isel, pers. comm. 2008).

19 In 2004, Siksili, son of Palanaewa, manufactured these flutes.

20 Ethnographic museum in Leiden (RMV) holds a similar complete and a partial flute mêlaimë amohawin in their collection (inventory numbers: 2352-190; 7006-438a), as does the Geneva Museum (inventory number:34381). The Peabody Museum in Harvard has a nail of the giant armadillo that could have been part of a similar flute among the Wayana-Apalai (inventory number:10-58-30/82743).

21 Eliane Camargo (Camargo and Rivière 2001/2002:112) noted the difference in writing by Coudreau between tapsem (Coudreau 1893:187) and tapehem (ibid.:552). What she did not recognize was that the latter was recorded during the 1937 Talhuwen ceremony at the Jari (home of the Upului and Wayana), whereas the former was recorded in the village of Pillipui between the Aletani and Malani (home of Trio subgroups). This is in accordance with Apalai and Trio nouns demonstrating [s], whereas Upului and Wayana nouns favor [h] (compare with Appendix B).

22 Florida Museum of Natural History (FLMNH) holds four taphem in their collection (inventory number T 2125 is fully mounted (Figure 6-1. A); tapehem without feathers: inventory numbers: T 2126; T 2127; T 2488). What she did not recognize was that the latter was recorded during the 1937 Talhuwen ceremony at the Jari (home of the Upului and Wayana), whereas the former was recorded in the village of Pillipui between the Aletani and Malani (home of Trio subgroups). This is in accordance with Apalai and Trio nouns demonstrating [s], whereas Upului and Wayana nouns favor [h] (compare with Appendix B).

23 Inventory numbers T 2125 and T 2488 are painted with a double Kuluwajak, main motif on the frames without feathers: inventory numbers: T 2126; T 2127; T 2488).

24 “le tapsem, qui symbolise un squelette coiffé d’un chapeau de danse olok” (Hurault 1968:93).

25 “Men doodde hem met een knots, sneed al het vleesch van het geraamte en at het vleesch. Het geraamte werd bij enep) was towards the tukusipan, i.e., facing south-west. It is indecisive whether a cardinal direction or a relative direction towards the community house is preferred in building the tëpijem pakolon.

26 Florida Museum of Natural History (FLMNH) holds four taphem in their collection (inventory number T 2125 is fully mounted (Figure 6-1. A); tapehem without feathers: inventory numbers: T 2126; T 2127; T 2488). What she did not recognize was that the latter was recorded during the 1937 Talhuwen ceremony at the Jari (home of the Upului and Wayana), whereas the former was recorded in the village of Pillipui between the Aletani and Malani (home of Trio subgroups). This is in accordance with Apalai and Trio nouns demonstrating [s], whereas Upului and Wayana nouns favor [h] (compare with Appendix B).

27 Several such feather headdresses are located in museum collections (inventory numbers: Leiden RMV 2352-1; Amsterdam KIT 402-40; Geneva:34386; Cambridge Peabody Museum PMAE 71-11-30/4715.1, 71-11-30/4715.2; Gainesville FLMNH T0221; basketry frames for olok with okalat (Apalai): T0172, T0248, T0249, T0320, T2332).

28 Compare with collected data among Wayana-Apalai in Brazil: Kinorô watkê; xip-xip; Pia umot; Kêlu watkê or kiapok watkê; Kurima watkê; Korohô watkê; Tipapô or kuraxi takion; Hapinkâ (van Velthem 2003:202-205).

29 Daniel Schoepf (1971:38-40, 54-57) described in detail Wayana objects curated in the ethnographic museum in Geneva, expressing the baroque beauty of these polychrome works of art.

30 In Wayana, there is no linguistic difference between “feathers” and “hair” as both are referred to as pupot. Olok is thus metonymically the “hair” of the ancestors.

31 Another element of the olok headdress often absent in museum collections is the hama. Hama is a strip of woven palm shoots onto which are glued white chicken feathers by the momai. This strip arches 180 degrees over the olok, and is held in place by three rods decorated with monkey tail (makuwatkiti). Two rods depart from the top of the cylindrical frame of the olok in a 45 to 90 degree angle in the same direction of the kunolowatki (macaw tail feather fan), i.e., towards the front and back. One rod goes straight up. On top of the latter is attached a three-fold macaw tail feather ornament panapot (literally: ear feather).

32 Remark the significance of black-and-white in one object (Chapter 7-4).

33 This species of shell is apparently only found south of the Tumuk-Humak watershed. These shells are ground down on stone till they receive their rectangular shape (Ahlbrinck 1956:23).

34 Compare its similarity with inventory numbers: KIT 403-67 (Leiden); PMAE 99-12-30/53170 (Cambridge, MA). Halikëtï brings forward the hypothesis that the Golden Man (El Dorado) is the sun itself; as the flaming golden sun rises against a red background, to set in the waters of the west, only to rise again from the waters in the east.

35 Aroua means mirror in Tupi (de Léry 1994:231 [1578]).
about its meaning, yet concluded that he does not know its true sense.

Feathered outfit of the infamous quote by Karl von den Steinen [1894:352] that the Bororo stated that they are macaws. See also Turner 1991) or feathered fish.

season (Sylvain pers. comm. 2004).

30 centimeter long fish cut out of the stalk of a banana stem, with at its head and tail end attached lines leading to the juice of crushed bark of worlds. Introductory yell at the beginning of each kalau appears that the Wayana, by creating the "feathered fish," have brought together the best of two intermediary Fish is another animal that has aroused human imagination; to be able to swim and enter the underwater world. It above. To be decorated with such flamboyant feather coats, to sing, to parade to seduce, to protect once offspring. Fish is another animal that has aroused human imagination; to be able to swim and enter the underwater world. It appears that the Wayana, by creating the “feathered fish,” have brought together the best of two intermediary worlds. Introductory yell at the beginning of each kalau goes “Kajajamanane!” Although Jean Hurault (1968), Jean Chapuis and Herbé Rivière (2003), and Eliane Camargo (Camargo and Rivière 2001/2002) have not translated or interpreted this initial yell, Lucia van Velthem (1995:169) translated it as “São como os peixes!” (“They are like fish”). Feathered outfit of têpijem thus brings into question, whether initiates are embodying birds (compare with the infamous quote by Karl von den Steinen [1894:352] that the Bororo stated that they are macaws. See also Turner 1991) or feathered fish.

Data challenging the interpretation as initiation rite is that Wayana during their lifetime undergo this stinging ritual seven times (Mazière 1953:161), whereby only a few have exceeded more than four (Hurault 1968:87). In preparation to the concluding stinging ritual, novices are submitted to several prohibitions, e.g., abstinence from intercourse, not to approach fire, not to eat hot food, not to throw pebbles into the water. Breaking these proscriptions will result in the departure of wasps from their nest before the final ordeal, and thus to make the stinging rite impassible (Hurault 1968:105).

Mazière (1953:165) named as anesthetic roucou leaves (Bixa orellana) crushed in water. Another anesthetic is the juice of crushed bark of kulekle (Cecropia shreberiana) (Geijskes 1957:282) or pêtum (Apeiba tibourbou). Ahlbrinck (1956:32-33) already mentioned that due to their “contact with civilization” they by now have lamps. When têpijem dancers arrived at the ground drum in 1938, they were led by the tamusi Janamale and Wapotumït, who would perform the dance of the lost fish katutatse (Ahlbrinck 1956:67). On the plank of the ehpa was lying a 30 centimeter long fish cut out of the stalk of a banana stem, with at its head and tail end attached lines leading to two “fishing” rods. Eight dancers with olôk headdresses split into two groups, circling the ground drum, led by Janamale and Wapotumït respectively. Both Elders take up the fishing rods and begin to “haul in” the fish, from opposite sides, while circling the ehpa. Eyes of all dancers are focused on the banana stem fish. After a while of this fishing tug-of-war, a Wayana moves into the scene with a miniature bow (tawijoma), with which he will eventually shoot the mock fish. This unique lively performance was filmed by Claudius de Goeje (West Indie nr 3).

Granman Amaipoti is the son of former Granman T wenke, who was the great-grand-child of Twanke. Sikili, is the son of Palanaeva, who was the son of Taponte, who was the son of Twanke.

Ahlbrinck (1956:79) was the only ethnographer who noted that têpijem dancers (1938 at Janamale) were given their kunana (hanging on a cotton string from a baton) and left the ground drum to dance towards the riverbank where they, facing the river, danced for a while alike on the ground drum, with their kunana attached to a baton in the right hand and the mêlaimê amohawin in the left hand, only to return to the ground drum. Later that night, the dancers return a second time to the river to dance with the kunana along the river. Ahlbrinck (1956:79-80) philosophized about its meaning, yet concluded that he does not know its true sense.

Jean-Philippe Isel (pers. comm. 2008), the cinematographer of the 2004 ritual, had difficulty to follow the course of events, first of all, because his main informant (Aimawale) underwent this ordeal himself. Secondly, it was often that the Elders did not agree on the course of events, the main issue being the timing of the éputo in the incorrect season (Sylvain pers. comm. 2004).

Malavat [Kapauwet “red brocket deer shit”], resided in 1940 in the village of Taponaike (Schmidt 1942:51).
her forehead and chest (Balée 2000:140).

"assisala" (Coudreau 1893:230); Jenunu, the dance of the man in the moon (Coudreau 1893:555).

Ékalë from the village of Touanké and Makali from the village of Tipiti. Three adolescents pass the test; Omiyo, 16 which lasts for several seconds to about some minutes. Two twelve year old girls have to endure this stinging ritual; stomach, chest, face, thighs, lower legs, arms, and then the

okalat imitative dances may be performed, as "akomeu" (= okome; wasp. The dance of the wasp wherein the dancers wear okalat and sing without flute play [De Goeje 1941:113]); "mamsali" [= mamhali; common trumpeter, kami-kami]; “assisala” (Coudreau 1893:230); Jenunu, the dance of the man in the moon (Coudreau 1893:555).

Jean Hurault (1968:103-104) described this event as follows: Several children wind between them and fall onto the ground in convulsion, i.e., the play of lëvë (see for an insiders perspective: Cognat 1989:56). Tëpijem are to keep in line devoid of expression. Tëpijem are guided into the takusipan where they are set on their benches. In
front of them are set tasty foods, which they are not allowed to touch, including the best parts of smoked and boiled
monkeys, tortoise, peccary, and a wide variety of fish (see for an insiders perspective: Cognat 1989:56).
Furthermore, on a stick is placed an animal skull (black spider monkey \textit{[alimi]} according to Ronnie; Figure 6-2 E)
painted with roucou (\textit{onot; Bixa orellana}) and feathers. Ronnie further tells, from his personal experience in 1989,
that each \textit{tëpijem} wants to look around, but that is prohibited. Neither is the \textit{tëpijem} allowed to laugh. A man from
the Upstream People arrived with grimace, presenting a plate holding the head of a tortoise that had been eaten that
morning. \textit{Tëpijem} have to remain serious during this comical spectacle. What Hurault does not confirm, is whether
or not this is a mocking performance of the vital scene where the Jaguars (i.e., the Others) have eaten the tortoise
(i.e., the mother of Mopo and Kujuli), as represented in the basketry motif “\textit{Kaikui ene Kuliputpë,}” or “the Jaguar is
eating the Tortoise.” More food is offered to the \textit{tëpijem}. They have to resist. Sugarcane juice (\textit{asikalu ewku}) is
being prepared, which is nicknamed \textit{tëpijem okï} (beverage of the novices). Others, including supporters of the
\textit{tëpijem (ekïnpï)} will eat and drink the entire afternoon in front of the \textit{tëpijem} who will have to endure watching
without participating in the meal.
66 \textit{Sakula} is a type of cassava beer made from \textit{ulalakan} (thick cassava bread) submerged in water. In contrast to
other beverages that have to be ready before sunset, it is with \textit{sakula} that sweet potato (\textit{napi; Ipomoea batatus}) is
added after sunset. Wayana told me that at that moment the women sing “\textit{iwokî isusu pak lele}” (Bat, help us make
the beverage sweet [\textit{isusu} is breast milk]) (pers. comm. 2000).
67 \textit{Tëpijem} remained in reclusion for two weeks (Creveaux 1892:98), or ten days (Coudreau 1893:233).
68 Wayana say that in the months from April to June the following monkeys are fat (\textit{ikat}) and thus good to eat: \textit{alimi}
(black spider monkey), \textit{alawata} (red howler monkey), and \textit{meku} (weeping capuchin monkey). Siwanka, the wife of
Aloupki added that one may only eat \textit{alimina} (electric eel), \textit{ili} (three-toed sloth), and \textit{kuliputpë} (tortoise), when your
mother has died, otherwise you will grow old soon. This according to the Law of Resemblance (Ahbrinck undated),
as these animals are slow, have bent legs, and a wrinkled skin. \textit{Tëpijem} are only allowed to eat warm water (not
cold water, which the Wayana fancy) and cassava bread with tiny fish \textit{opi}, for several months (Cognat 1989:58).
Usually, cassava bread has an H-shaped “facial drawing” (\textit{ulu epijate}), parallel lines (\textit{ulu okotpë}), or radiating
parallel lines (\textit{maipuli otkalan}; litt.: tapir ribs). Cassava bread for the \textit{tëpijem (kumiman)} does not have its usual
motifs that are drawn by the fingers while the manioc is toasted.
69 The latter resonates with rites functioning in Revitalization Movements (Wallace 1956, 1966) or Utopian Renewal
(Brown 1991) (see also Wright 1998).
Cultural forms of consciousness and meaning, including their abstracted elements such as individual tropes or symbols, must be understood and analyzed primarily as constituents of contextually and historically situated social interaction.


Figure 7-1. Whip-dance among the Wayana performed in 1877 (Crevaux 1881:105, 258).

Next to the maraké ritual discussed in the preceding chapter, another ritual performance is said no longer to be performed among Wayana today, namely the whip-dance wherein dancers wear a costume comparable to the tēpijem dancers (okalat streamer cloaks and olok feather headdresses; Figure 7-1). The present chapter critically evaluates this whip-dance, assumed to be a mortuary ritual (Crevaux 1987:285; Gillin 1948:852; Roth 1924:664), whereas Wayana situate it in the context of exchange (of basketry items) and construction (of a tukusipan). This chapter is a true memory work in the sense of Barbara Mills and William Walker (2008), as it
demonstrates the authoring of the past in the present as it situates materiality of social life (for Amazonian examples see Fausto and Heckenberger 2007). Wayana do not simply experience memory, they create social memory through materiality in communal practices. They make (and made) social memories through repeated, patterned, and engaged social and material practices of recalling, reviving, reforming, harmonizing, transmitting, and forgetting. Moreover, the present study is a memory work in that it constructs new interpretations about the Wayana in Guiana; making sense from a different perspective of the materialization of social memory in present and past Amazonian communities. Not only archaeologists make interpretations about past societies, also past and contemporary Amazonian societies make their interpretations about their past.

The whip-dance is a Wayana (Upului) interpretation of the encounter in the past with the Evil Spirit of the forest, which imitation was vividly described by Jules Crevaux in 1877. A decade later, Henri Coudreau described this Wayana whip-dance as well, with additional detail that the dancers were now wearing masked costumes. Despite the fact that the whip-dance is no longer performed, discourse on Tamok is still very much alive in Wayana social memory. Or should I say, Upului social memory, as Tukano (who made Tamok masks) and Kulienpë (who narrated the Tamok stories) are both Upului descendents. Both Tukano and Kulienpë originate from the upper Jari River;¹ homeland of the Upului (Figure A-3). As discussed above, Upului are one of the groups incorporated in the Wayana confederation (e.g., Coudreau 1893). At the time of Crevaux’s exploration (late 1870s), the Upului homeland was still considered to be French territory; all Wayana were located in French Guiana. It is in this region that Crevaux witnessed what he called the “pono-dance” as is discussed comprehensively in this chapter.

Augusto Oyuela-Caycedo (2004) wrote a comprehensive article on The Ecology of a Masked Dance: Negotiating at the frontier of Identity in the Northwest Amazon, providing an
Amazonian perspective on the role of masked dances in the context of exchanges of gifts, balanced reciprocity, and native Amazonian religions. Practice of masked dances based on reciprocal animism may go back, according to Oyuela-Caycedo (2004:57), to the first arrival of inhabitants of the Americas some 11,000 years ago. This long-term history accounts for similarities as well as differences among masked dances in Amazonia.

Where it has been repetitively claimed that Wayana are loosing their tradition in no longer performing this and other dances and rituals, I posit that this whip-dance (along with the Tamok costume) emerged from a context of historical epidemics. Wayana refer to this epidemic disease as kwamai, i.e., a disease with flu-like symptoms that killed many Wayana, as was reported by Europeans in late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Crevaux 1881; [couamaye] Coudreau 1893:543; de Goeje 1935). Tamok dances, I argue, are situated in death brought upon Wayana by Europeans (dangerous social Others) and subsequent renewal of Wayana (Guiana) sociality emerging out of temporary chaos. While this whip-dance is no longer performed today, Tamok-masks are produced for the global market of indigenous art; representing the dangerous Other.

This chapter concludes with a hypothesis on the origin of the evil thundering spirit that the Wayana (Upului) imitate during their Tamok whip-dance, and how these thundering powers are harnessed in the flat-board club carried by the (war-) chief, while wearing an outfit similar to Tamok dancers (see Farabee 1924, plate XIX; Figure 7-17); powers that will be put into play by Wayana chiefs in the socio-political landscape as will be discussed in the succeeding chapter.

### 7.1 Dwelling in a Landscape Saturated with Social Memory

Landscape approaches, and the discourse on place, emerged out of research on rootedness, uprootedness, and transrootedness (Feld and Basso 1996). In this chapter I will elaborate on how sickness and germs made Wayana (Upului specifically) flee their homeland and migrate north, and how they recall these series of events, followed by a reflection on the “birth” of the Wayana
confederation in the succeeding chapter. Questioning “where [we are] now and where are we from” requires a historical approach to situate the experience of Diaspora (Bender 2001). When people are displaced and/or experience considerable culture change, the risk is that these places will no longer be visited. Hence the sense of space will no longer be performed. Then again, these places of origin will remain vivid in social memory, as it is not merely important how one dwells in a place, as where one is originating from (Blu 1996). Karen Blu (1996) posed the question “Where Do You Stay At?” The title question not simply means “where are you living?” but above all: Who are your people? Where do you come from? Thus allowing for a rootedness of identity in a particular place (a home place), even when uprooted or transrooted. As a result, place has a vital center, yet its borders are blurred. This vital center may consist of a landmark as (1) physical features, (2) built features, or (3) less discernible ‘areas,’ the latter being vaguely defined lacking the firm boundaries of black lined cartographies (Blu 1996:200); a vital center that among Wayana is materialized as the community roundhouse (tukusipan) in conjunction with mount Tukusipan at the center of the symbolically dense region of the Tumuc-Humac.

In this complex multilocal, multivocal, and multilayered rhizoid maze of constantly emerging landscapes the question of the reliability of people’s testimonies yields a complex answer. We may attempt peeling back layers of modernity and colonization, as Eva Hunt (1977) demonstrated for the Zinacantecan poem of the hummingbird, whereby the deep-structure remained lucid and coherent without being corroded by the passage of history. Peter Gow’s (2001) analysis of _An Amazonian Myth and its History_ (see also Hill 1988; Wright 1998, 2002) appeared more complex than merely peeling back layers, as new meanings continuously emerge during this dynamic process of layering. Jan Vansina (1965, 1985) stated that the contribution of archaeology is the verification of oral tradition, and especially to provide a time frame for the
events; to peel back layers through excavation. Archaeology is more than a handmaiden of
history to find material remains verifying historical events; interactions between archaeology,
history, and social memory are complex (e.g., Heckenberger, 2005; Schmidt 2006).
Archaeology can reveal hidden and silenced histories, correct inaccuracies, and reexamine
history at large. Instead of pursuing a quest for the truth, the multivocality and discrepancies in
testimonies will have to be analyzed to gain insight into this complex process of social memory,
as processes of generating a collective social memory involve remembering, as well as
forgetting; creating multiple and conflicting versions of the past (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003).

Social memory is not situated in the individual mind, and Ruth van Dyke and Susan
Alcock (2003:4-5) presented a list of mnemonic devices for creating and perceiving social
memory: (1) Ritual behavior, or re-enacting a past and venerating the ancestors; (2) Narratives,
transmitted as oral tradition or textual records; (3) Representations as paintings, masks, rock art,
human bones. Seemingly contradictory, these representations are often brought into play in the
process of forgetting; and (4) places, including buildings, monuments, landscapes, natural
features, mountain peaks, caves, tombs, shrines, trees, etc. Cross-referencing between different
kinds of mnemonic devices can reduce the friability in individual and collective memory. For
example, ritual performance can be referred to in oral tradition, which can be supported by
representations, that in its turn corresponds with landscape features.

Since landscape (and/or place) as a social construct is rooted in history, this is part of the
process of generating a collective social memory trough practice. Whereas people learn about
their ancestral past by moving through the landscape; ritual provides a context for the ordering of
the social landscape as well (Morphy 1995). In both cases, the ancestral past is continuously re-
created, or in other words, experiencing (consuming) the landscape is transforming (producing)
the ancestral past. This continuous interaction between past and present, whereby the landscape holds potential for encoding meaning, has also been described, in similar fashion, for Amazonia (Santos-Granero 1998). Past landscapes are multivocal and multilocal, and archaeologists must be aware of their own practice, as well of the presence of the past in the past, because not only archaeologists but also other people, including people in the past, were interested in their past (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003). In this discourse on meaning of place, “excluded spaces” must not be forgotten. Excluded places emerge through avoidance in spatial practice (Munn 1996). There exist dangerous spaces where ancestors once traveled and where spirits roam; in avoiding these dangerous places (excluded spaces), boundaries come into place. As these boundaries are result of bodily movements, they are not fixed, yet emerge out of constantly changing movements of people dwelling in a lived world (Munn 1996). Dwelling in a landscape saturated with social memory is thus more complex than depicting a panorama frozen in time and space.

7.1.1 Hot and Cold Societies

History and myth are good to rethink our perspective on Wayana society and landscape on the frontier of contemporary nation states Suriname, French Guiana, and Brazil. Discourse on history and myth was sparked by the distinction between ‘hot’ and ‘cold’ societies by Claude Lévi-Strauss. It is evident for Lévi-Strauss (1962:280) that all societies are embedded in history and that this changes. Levi-Strauss suggested that the distinction between ‘hot’ and ‘cold’ societies be more useful than the distinction between “the ‘people without history’ and the others [with written history]” (Lévi-Strauss 1962:279; emphasis added). In this exercise, Lévi-Strauss did not abridge the complex relation between Indigenous and Western societies by simplistic polarities, nor did he formulate that ‘people without history’ : Western society :: cold societies : hot societies. “Hot” societies were defined as societies having internalized the historical process through writing, and made it the moving power of their progression. “Cold” societies,
conversely, were described as having as aim to make that the sequence of temporal succession
should have as little influence as possible on their content; and therefore “primitive” but not
equated with non-Western societies.

Outline between hot and cold societies was written in a chapter called “time regained,”
following the question “how, if it exists, do classificatory systems succeed in eliminating history,
or when that is impossible, integrating it?” (Lévi-Strauss 1962:279); criticizing ahistorical
taxonomic cataloguing systems of nomenclature, whether Western scientific or non-Western. As
the botanist knows his (‘secret’) Latin words and rules of taxonomy in order to name a new-
found species, so do native people know their (‘secret’) words and rules of arrangement in order
to name a new-member of the social group. In both cases proper names are descriptive, and in
both cases a second, vernacular, name is employed in daily life. Lévi-Strauss (1962:262-264)
criticized the totemic system as perceived by Compte and his followers, as, according to Lévi-
Strauss, “totemism, or the totemic system, is always lived because it is a total system for internal
organization of the group, it is an “hereditary system of classification” which clarifies the
poverty of totemic myths because the function is merely to establish a difference as a difference
within the constitutive units of the system, like a scientific taxonomic system” (ibid:277; italics
in original). Dialectic oppositions—structural relational—are not made equal in the union of
contraries, neither are they separated; they manifest the dynamic duality between them. This
discourse is regained more recently when Pierre Bourdieu (1998:9) stated that one has “to differ,
to be different” to facilitate existence in a social space because what exists, according to Pierre
Bourdieu (1998), is a social space of differences in which classes are constructed, resonating
with Jones who argued “that ethnicity involves the objectification of cultural difference vis à vis
others in the context of social interaction” (Jones 2000:453 [1996]). Danger of this “logic of
classes” (Bourdieu 1998:10) is that a scientist can compose fictitious regroupings that will only exist on paper as ‘real’ classes, whereby, once more, reducing the relationship between the different social agencies will be to the essentialist ahistorical logical formula. Overall, this is the problem of cataloging and taxonomic classification.

Title of Claude Lévi-Strauss’s work (1962) referred to above, has been translated as The Savage Mind (1966), herein eradicating the second meaning of la pensée sauvage, namely the vernacular French name for the wild pansy (Viola tricolor), as depicted on the cover of the original French edition. This cover illustration is reminiscent to the reader that this work is about the “savage mind” as well as it is about the essentialist taxonomic cataloging system whereby each vernacular name has its ‘secret’ Latin name in the taxonomic system, such as the wild pansy (la pensée sauvage) is the Viola tricolor, which is different than other Viola species, and different from other genus. Resulting from this taxonomy is that every Viola tricolor bears this name, regardless space and time. Time is eliminated in the process of the essentialist taxonomic cataloging system, and no two objects can be addressed the same proper name. Time will be regained, he continued, in living the myth, in performance, or practice of the structure (Lévi-Strauss1962:283). Beyond performance, e.g., in oral tradition or writing, the past can be equated to the present, therefore a crossing of domains, play of tropes, as is essential to metaphor. Process of naming is a kind of metaphor (namely: metonymy) blurring boundaries. Mythical history presents the paradox of being both disjoined from and conjoined with the present. Original Beings were Creators, whereas ritual performers are merely imitators. Myth will be relived and the past is set in motion in the present. Nevertheless, the past is different from the present; hence time regained.
History includes “totality of processes whereby individuals experience, interpret, and create changes within social orders and both individuals and groups change over time as they actively participate in changing objective conditions” (Hill 1988:2-3), resonating with the current concept of “memory work” (Mills and Walker 2008). Myths challenged in the edited volume by Jonathan Hill (1988) are: 1) assumed objectivity of the researcher; and 2) that writings are more objective than oral tradition. In other words, every bit of data, whether from written documents or oral tradition, needs to be critically reviewed in its proper historical context. Indigenous ‘mythical’ formulations try to make as much sense of their existence as do Western scientific researchers; both apply a range of tropes that are put into play to bridge from one domain to another, in order to interpret the unknown.

Myth is historically situated as the narration is performed (Basso 1985, 1987, 1989; Vansina 1985: chapter 2) and dynamics between narrator and audience (in most cases familiar with the story) are creating the tale together. Performances are not produced at random times and in random places. Every performance is new, but every performance presupposes something old: the story itself. Frequency of repetition aids memory, but the frequency by itself is not enough for evaluating the authenticity. Memory is recalled through mnemonic devices as objects, music, and landscapes. These mnemonic devices provide simultaneously ‘proof,’ whether or not the event actually took place as remembered: “All the visitor asks is to be shown it” (Lévi-Strauss 1962:291). Mnemonic devices, therefore, are highly powerful socio-political components engaged in memory work. While conducting my fieldwork, illustrations from ethnographical and historical sources served to elicit discussions, and the engraving of the whip-dance by Crevaux (Figure 7-1) facilitated the discussion on Tamok and the whip-dance.
7.1.2 Social Memory in Time and Place

Remembering is an active process, but not simply a re-creation of what once was. Remembering is at once Remembrance of Things Past and In Search of Lost Time; as grounded in the dual sense of Marcel Proust’s work A la Recherche du Temps. Remembering is a process of people, in the present as well as in the past, of connecting their present world to the past. It is Archaeologies of Memory (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003) and Memory Work (Mills and Walker 2008). From this dynamic process a new meaning emerges to both the material from the past and the present actors.

Social memory is intimately linked to place. Human action is intertwined with the environment in a process which Keith Basso (1996:107) named interanimation: “As humans create, modify, and move through a spatial milieu, the mediation between spatial experience and perception reflexively creates, legitimates, and reinforces social relationships and ideas” (Dyke and Alcock 2003:5). In the process of generating a collective social memory this involves not only remembering, but also forgetting, creating multiple and conflicting versions of the past. Mnemonic devices for creating and perceiving social memory are, following Ruth Van Dyke and Susan Alcock (2003:4-5): 1) Ritual behavior, or re-enacting a past and venerating the ancestors. 2) Narratives, transmitted as oral tradition or textual records. 3) Representations as paintings, masks, rock art, human bones. Sounding contradictory, these objects often are brought into play in the process of forgetting. 4) Places, as used space, including buildings, monuments, landscapes, natural features, mountain peaks, caves, tombs, shrines, trees, etc. Throughout the present study, I elaborate upon mnemonic devices, such as the maraké ritual with olok and tapsem (“the bones of the ancestors”), various narratives, the painted disk maluwana, tukusipan and Mount Tukusipan, and how these are at once medium and outcome of belonging to Wayana
sociality. In this chapter I will cut across some mnemonic devices (tukusipan and olok feather headdresses) while adding to this series the mnemonic devices incorporated in the Tamok mask.

Social memory is a collective and a constantly reorganizing of data it contains. It is more than what a single person remembers, neither is it a single collective brain at work. Social memory is “common knowledge” adjusted to the present worldview of reality. Interpretation alters data and provides new meaning through a selective process from a pool of past memories, but this does not mean that every generation invents a brand new past. Constant input of new items—which ought to coexist with older material—make social memory change over time.

Peter Gow (2001) elaborated on this process in detail in An Amazonian Myth and its History, wherein he analyzed the Piro myth called “A Man who went under the Earth.” First, this myth is analyzed in the context of that January evening in 1982 when it was narrated. Secondly, this myth is placed in the context of other versions of this Piro myth. Furthermore, this book is a positive contribution to ethnographers who are given the response “I don’t know that, my grandfather knew, but he deceased,” believing to be present in a dying tradition. Vital in Gow’s study is the notion of transformation; the Piro myth does not demonstrate a system falling apart, neither is Gow’s book about reconstructing a dead culture; it is about a flexible adaptation to an ever changing environment. Similar process is described by Jonathan Hill and Robin Wright (1988:93-102) for the historical interpretation in Wakuénai narratives about Venancio Camico. This study is another example of transformative intertwining histories of (1) the Amazonian myth of the Creator twins building the first roundhouse for their initiation; (2) Mythstory on Kailawa, the founding father of the Wayana confederation, represented by a painted disk hanging in top of the community roundhouse; (3) Ritual performativity of renewal and reform situated in historical context of community building; (4) Tamok.
7.2 Wayana Imitating Tamok

On the afternoon of October 3, 2000, Tënepo (a Wayana pijai) visited me and asked for the “uhpak aptau pampilan” (“long time ago papers” i.e., my collection of photocopies from book illustrations, objects in musea, and other mnemonic devices of the Wayana past). Tënepo took a seat in a hammock and started commenting on the illustrations. When he saw the Crevaux’s illustration of the “pono-dance” (Figure 7-1), Tënepo called out “Tamok” and pointed out that this whip (itain) produced a loud bang. At that moment, the cord that held his hammock broke near his head and Tënepo fell on the sand floor. All bystanders awed and were in shock. Tënepo laughed and said “Tamok!” while making the gesture of falling; as if Tamok had caused the cord to break. Then Tënepo grasped a wooden stool (kololo) and continued reading the illustrations.

Figure 7-2. Tamok masks and whip made by Tukano in the hands of Ronnie Tikaieme (2000).
Later I was informed that there was one Wayana (to be precise an Upului from the Jari River) who could make a Tamok mask. This man, named Tukano (a powerful pïjai), lived with his wife on an island across from Kumakahpan. When Tukano had finished the Tamok masks, he had also made an accompanying whip (Figure 7-2). Ronnie Tïkaimé tried the whip. After a few attempts he produced a loud banging clack. Coudreau (1893:182) claimed that these whip cracks carried over a distance of ten kilometers. Upon returning in the village of Kumakahpan (across the river) several Elders greeted us and immediately asked whether we had heard that loud bang; “it has been a very long time that we haven’t heard that sound” they said in low voice.

Several years later, Kulienpê (whose mother’s father was Upului) said to me that I had to visit him in his village if I wanted to record the story of Tamok, because he knew that story well (Appendix C: Tamok narratives). When I asked Kulienpê to narrate the Tamok story, it was his son Sokia who inquired: “which story? The story of Tamok jolok (Evil Spirit Tamok), or the account of Wayana imitating Tamok?” Then Sokia briefly described these two narratives.² Evil Spirit Tamok story tells us that first there was a small Tamok, followed by a big one who killed people and ate them. Tamok was beautiful. With reference to this mythical Evil Spirit Tamok, Wayana say that it is hard to see his eyes because fringes covered his forehead. Over his nose and mouth he had a sort of basket; like a long nose without a mouth. On his cheeks he had beautiful drawings. Second narrative tells us about Wayana (actually Upului) dancing as Tamok; imitating while mocking the Evil Spirit Tamok. When I showed to Sokia the illustration of a pono-dance (Figure 7-1), he confirmed: “Yes, it was exactly like that!”

After my fieldwork I realized that German ethnographer Manfred Rauschert (1982:201-207) had conducted a study on the Tamok whip-dance in 1969, yet René Dehnhardt (2000:126) questioned whether the Tamok-dance studied by Rauschert, was identical to Crevaux’s pono-
dance. Manfred Rauschert (1963:188) during his 1955/56 expedition along the Rio Maicurú (Figure A-3) heard a myth of men-eating water-monsters named Tamokoimo (compare with van Velthem 2003:425). In 1969, Rauschert (1982:201-207), in the village of Anakalemo³ (or Maschipurimo) along the Rio Paru in Brazil, heard once more about these mythical Tamoko [= Tamok] monsters that almost exterminated the Apalai (sic.; Upului). A powerful “Zauberer” (shaman) made his spirit communicate with the spirit of Tamok and forced them back. This brief German summary of the Tamok myth resonates with Jolok Tamok eitoponpë (including the intervention of a powerful pijai [Table C-15: line 24-27]; a story that was narrated to me without me being aware of Rauschert’s work at the time). Moreover, Rauschert heard there was also a Tamoko-feast where people danced as Tamok; resonating with Wayana Tamok ukuknanom (Table C-16: beginning at line 36).

Figure 7-3. Tamok whip-dancers (source: Manfred Rauschert 1982; cover photo).
Rauschert requested his friend Araiba to gather as much information as possible on this masked dance. Thirty kilometers upstream, according to Rauschert, resided an old woman who had experienced the whip-dance as a little girl. According to my calculations this place must have been near the abandoned village of Canéapo where, ninety-one years earlier, Crevaux (1987:285) had made the first ethnographic observations of this whip-dance (Figure 7-1). It was the old woman who gave further instructions on the facial painting and emphasized the protruding wax nose. Even a whip was produced (Figure 7-3). A drawing was made on the Tamoko feast (Dehnhardt 2000:126). Rauschert requested a Tamoko-dance to be held during the construction of his proper roundhouse, but this was not realized (Rauschert 1982:207).

While preparing an exhibition on the Rauschert collection, René Dehnhardt interviewed Manfred Rauschert (Cipolletti und Schreiner 2000:137-142). The interview states that the protocol for the Tamok-dance had been entirely forgotten, and it was only due to this one old woman that Rauschert could reconstruct this forgotten dance costume. Rauschert questions the relation with the pono-dance as described by Crevaux, because the dancers did not wear masks. Rauschert does not refer to Coudreau who (ten years after Crevaux) did observe this dance being performed with full-face masks. Then Rauschert stated that he disliked the idea that these Tamok masks are produced today for the global art market. Tamok masks for wholesale are to nice and smooth—in contrast to the rough dance costumes—and eye-holes are not in the proper place. Later during the interview Rauschert is asked whether festivities during construction of the roundhouse have anything to do with Tamoko-feasts. Rauschert replied with a firm German “Nein” (no) and that Tamoko is much older and was only danced during special occasions.
7.2.1 Voice of Tamok in the 19th century

On October 28, 1878, Jules Crevaux (1987:285 [1881]) was the first European to witness a whip-dance. The Crevaux expedition, after crossing the watershed between the Jari and Paru de Este, arrived in the village of Canéapo (Figure A-4). Chief Canea had sent out two canoes to bring the expedition members to his village. Crevaux did not intend to stay long in this village, because he was on a mission to explore the sources of the Paru de Este. After a long journey across the Amazonian rainforest, Crevaux arrived at the village of Canea in the midst of a festival. In this village he noted that “all men wear long bark streamers beginning at the neck, and a kind of robe similar to that used by judges” (Crevaux 1987:285; my translation). Prior to departure, Crevaux purchased one of the dance-costumes.

On November 22, 1878, Crevaux took some rest in the village of Yaripo—following a month of pedestrian exploration at the sources of the Paru de Este in the Tumuc-Humac (Figure A-2)—and noted that “at four o’clock in the evening, twenty men are aligned in a single row and head towards the village plaza” (Crevaux 1987:322). Similar to a month earlier, Crevaux witnessed a Wayana dance but he could hardly have gathered contextual information on what went on, because he had just arrived after a long journey.

Wayana today do not recognize the term pono given by Crevaux (other than the affix ~pono means ‘inhabitants of …’). Most likely pono is a combination of upo and ~no; whereby upo (nest) refers to the bark strip cloak of the dance-costume, combined with the nominaliser suffix ~no, resulting in: “a nest one.” In the Tamok story (Table C-16: line 62) upo is affixed with t-...-ke (‘with …’) meaning “they [Tamok dancers] were dressed up.” Toulé, second feast to honor the dead, as mentioned by Crevaux (1987:285 [footnote], 322), is not identified as such by Wayana either. Wayana say tule is the name of a certain kind of simple step dance pattern: tênkêlu (Table C-16: line 91).
Without discourse analysis, contextualization, or reference that Crevaux had just arrived in the village, Walter Roth translated Crevaux’s description of this festival—in the chapter *Death and Mourning*—as follows: “the men are covered with long bark strips, starting from the neck, and a kind of toque similar to that used by [French] magistrates. One man alone stands up, holding in his hand a whip 8 meters long, which with a swirling motion he cracks like a pistol. Each one takes it in turn to get up and crack the whip. The other Indians, seated on their heels, applaud, etc.” (Roth 1924:664-665). In this short description, there are no sustainable grounds for an interpretation as “feast to honor the dead of a *tamouchy* [Elder] who passed away a month ago” (Crevaux 1987:285; without explication to how this information, and the interpretation as “mortuary feast,” was obtained) or for Roth’s classification as “mourning ritual.”

Without explanation that a month of exploration intervened between the two dance performances (*pono* and *tule* respectively) and that these dances were conducted in two different villages (Canéapo and Yaripo respectively) Roth (1924:665) wrote translations of Crevaux’s *pono*-dance and *toulé* (= *tule*) one after the other as an homogenized model of idealized type dances representative for all Wayana at all times; eradicating local history, geography, and socio-politics. Although there existed only two descriptions of these whip-dances—namely Crevaux (1881) and Coudreau (1893) [the latter not even being cited by Roth]—Roth (1924) considered both dances as typical for northern Amazonian festivals in honor of the dead stating that the “Oyana (Roucouyenne) [= Wayana], Apourouī [= Upului], and other Indians celebrated two festivals in honor of the dead, the Pono and the Toulé” (Roth 1924:664-665). Walter Roth treated the Wayana as a people without history, annulling possible effects of geographic and historical factors. Along similar lines John Gillin (1948:852) categorized these dances under *final mourning ceremonies*, noting that they may have borrowed Arawak *makuari* features, in
that the *makuari* ceremonies drove away evil spirits by systematic whipping of the participants with sacred whips (on *makuari* see also Roth 1924:645-651). Instead of a proper Arawakan *makuari* illustration, Gillin (1948; plate 120 bottom) reproduced, once again, Crevaux’s 1881 illustration of a *pono*-dance.

Neither Roth nor Gillin cite Coudreau who also described this *pono*-dance and stated that these dances (*pono* and *tule* respectively) are not at all festivities to honor the dead, but a simple occasion to use up the entire manioc surplus from the garden (Coudreau 1893:174). Wayana oral tradition regarding Tamok does not mention any reference to mourning for a particular deceased member of society. Unclear is why Crevaux (1987:323 [1881]) closed his description of the *tule* with the seemingly unrelated statement that “the death of a woman is not followed by any kind of festival” as was translated without critique by Roth (1924:665), even though the preceding passage does not refer to any kind of mourning situation (female or male).

Roth objectified these homogenized models by leaving out specific subjective sections of Crevaux’s ethnographic account, such as when the dancers are blowing large bamboo flutes. Translating that, upon arriving in the center of the village, they form a circle around which they start circling, while playing the same tune and lightly beating the ground rhythmically with the right foot. It is a living wheel, in motion all night. However not translating that the “tooting” annoyed Crevaux in that he could not close his eyes that night, and that he even called this ‘living wheel’ a “*machine diabolique*” (diabolical machine) (Crevaux 1987:322).

Secondary sources describing the respective dances —i.e., Walter Roth (1924) and John Gillin (1948)—did not question why there is no mention of close relatives shedding tears over their loved one that had passed away; why the dancers bring out gifts; and why most of the dancers are strangers. That the dancers are strangers (social Others) bringing gifts, appears vital
to the Tamok story. Kulienpë’s narrative of Wayana dancing as Tamok repeatedly points out that Tamok dancers were building a community roundhouse *tukusipan* (Table C-16: line 43-47, 71, 77-78, 90). Tamok dancers were Wayana from other villages (ibid.: line 42, 53, 59) aiding in construction of a *tukusipan*; digging holes for posts, debarking stems, cutting leaves for roofing. These construction workers subsequently danced as Tamok. In other villages, before building a *tukusipan*, they also danced as Tamok (ibid.: line 78). In the recorded history of Wayana dances discussed above, the important association between Tamok dancers and the construction of a community roundhouse (*tukusipan*) is never mentioned. In all probability, Jules Crevaux did not describe this building process as he arrived in Wayana villages when festivities were underway, and he left the village soon after.

Kulienpë stated that it were his Upului ancestors of the Jari who were dancing as Tamok. Not only the geographical area, but also qualitative detail in Kulienpë’s narrative correlates with the account by Crevaux. For example, the very same objects listed by Crevaux (1987:323) are listed in Kulienpë’s narrative (Table C-16: line 86) and more: baskets (*piłasi*), carrying baskets (*katali* [Crevaux: *catouri*]), manioc sifters (*pamkali*), plates (*lutë*), decorated baskets (*piłasi tïmilikhem*), also mats (*mapitu [= opoto]*) fans (*anapami*), beverage sifters (*manale* [Crevaux: *manaré*]). Oars to steer manioc beer (*Anekatop oki ïtop* [Crevaux: *anicato*]), oars for canoes (*anekatop akupuita*), and spinning tops (*mawu ekumtop*). Kulienpë (ibid.: line 88-89) answered his own question about the role of dancers imitating Tamok; responding that they were no longer like Tamok, as they were bringing basketry items, resonating with Crevaux stating that the dancers were no longer wearing their great headdresses. Kulienpë (ibid.: line 94) even mentioned the living wheel of dancers playing the flutes as described—and despised—by Crevaux, affirming that this spectacle took place before the dancers brought out their gifts.
Return of the dancers, and envy of the women wanting these objects, is vividly narrated by Kulienpë and positively confirmed (line 81-84). Most likely Kulienpë’s Upului ancestors are the so-called “strangers” mentioned in Crevaux’s account, and therefore the Tamok dancers were not “strangers to the tribe” (Crevaux 1987:322; Roth 1924, 665), but rather inhabitants of another Wayana village; at most they were Upului.

Masked dances in Amazonia are performed in a context of exchanges of gifts and balanced reciprocity; to negotiate with the social Other through a ritual of incorporation and to secure the continual supply of resources (Oyuela-Caycedo 2004). Tamok dances are no exception:

The owner of the baskets sits in the middle of the place with a stick behind his back. A girl comes to seize the object, but instead receives a heavy whack on her fingers amid the laughter and plaudits of the audience. A second, more dexterous, avoids the blow and carries off the basket. This distribution of the presents and the blows occupies more than an hour. The women respond to the generosity of the guests by bringing them three large jars of cassava beer of an even better quality than that of the day before (Crevaux 1987:322-323 [1881]; translated by Roth 1924:665).

Lucia Hussak van Velthem (1995:174-175; 2001), among the Wayana in Brazil, made a reference to Wayana dressed in Tamok masks; originating from other villages and representing the archetype enemy. Context is vital, in that Tamok dancers were helping in roofing the community roundhouse tukusipan. Although Van Velthem does not mention the whip-dance, her understanding of Tamok related to building activities at the community roundhouse (tukusipan) resonates with Kulienpë’s narrative, as opposed to Crevaux’s interpretation.

Exchange of basketry, central in the stories of both Crevaux and Kulienpë, become profoundly foregrounded in van Velthem’s distinction of domains: female domain of utilization of basketry (1998:166); whereas confection of basketry is the male domain (1998:178). In the language of Kopytoff (1986) it is men who produce basketry while women consume basketry, and in turn men consume products (cassava bread and beer) made by women using these basketry items. Exchange of basketry is bonding the whole process of production, exchange, and consumption.
Since it is Tamok dancers (“social Others”) who bring basketry items, it may be concluded that the “social Other” is essential in the process of production, exchange, and consumption.

Construction of a community roundhouse (tukusipan), I posit, is key in understanding the Tamok dance. As discussed earlier in this study, the community roundhouse is a pathway to unite Wayana, and reproduce vital elements of sociality. During the marakê ritual, theatrical plays and farces were performed in front of the tukusipan. Likewise, the imitation of Tamok in dance was simply to party, to mock, and to show trickery, and the dancers were mocked by the hosts (Table C-16: line 58, 68-69). During the construction period of the community roundhouse, it was not unification and reproduction that was mocked, rather its opposite: Death, embodied as Evil Spirit Tamok. Through Tamok dance performance, Wayana created a temporary chaos from which would emerge order (compare with Basso 1987). In his historical reflection (Table C-16: line 57-58), narrator Kulienpê stated that “the first [Tamok] were like evil spirits jolok, and therefore there was death, and children died. But this [dance] was simply to party.” Because these imitators “were not evil spirits jolok, they did not have the heat … and people did not have fever. Likewise, nobody died because they were not the evil spirits” (ibid.: line 55-56). When the imitators arrived in the village, they were dressed-up like evil spirits Tamok (ibid.: line 62-65); with dark streamers of okalat-bark, with painted faces that were hidden, and with a whip as their weapon. Central in these dynamic Tamok dances is the reproduction of life materialized through basketry embodying interwovenness. Nonetheless, production of Life, i.e., building a new community house and bringing the gift of basketry, is situated in the milieu of Death: Evil Spirit Tamok causing epidemic diseases. As Kulienpê concluded (ibid.: line 76): “this is the story of the people who imitated Tamok,” a story that has long been silenced in Guiana history making.
7.2.2 Head of Tamok and Tamok Facial Painting

In March 1888, Henri Coudreau (1893:174-185) was the second European—about ten years after Crevaux—to witness and describe a whip-dance performed among the Wayana, as well as the dance costumes, including how the inner bark okalat is blackened by submerging it for about twenty-four hours in the mud of swamps (ibid.:178-179). At the wrist and elbow the dancer has 60 centimeter long skeins of white cotton attached. Headdress is sometimes a simple crown of white feathers. Headdress for the dance is the complex olok. Additionally, the dancer is wearing on his back a rectangular plastron (alikété), which according to Coudreau is the most beautiful piece of feather work that he has ever seen among the Wayana. Most significant part of Coudreau’s description is that, in contrast to Crevaux, “the headdress is a mask” (“Le chapeau forme masque”) (Coudreau 1893:178; emphasis added), completely covering the head. Unfortunately, Coudreau does not provide a drawing or photograph of this mask that is as a “long and straight visor” (“longue et étroite visière”). Coudreau (ibid.:185) concluded that he did not know the origin of this pono-dance.

The whip-dance ended at sunset. Without whip, yet still in their okalat cloak, dancers may be dancing acomeu [= okomë-wasp dance] or toulé [= tule] (Coudreau 1893:184). As prologue to the description of these three Wayana dances, Coudreau stated that Touanké displayed his family box containing several hundreds of precious feathers. Other preparations for the upcoming festivities were burning and clearing of grassland around the village and of the “grand alee” (la grande allée; Coudreau 1893:177). At the end of this road, near the woods, was constructed a small housing for the dancers, where they had their costumes and changed. Coudreau reaffirms that it is “never young people of the village who dance the pono; dancers have to be strangers” (ibid.; all translations of Coudreau are mine). Then Coudreau described the course of events: “All of a sudden, [at noon] at the other end of the road [from the house of
the *pono*-dancers], appears a dark shape that slowly advances, under an enormous hat adorned with feathers [*olok*], masked, and holding in his right hand a two meter long baton on which is wound a cord … in front of the house of the travelers [i.e., *tukusipan*] … the dark shape crouches down … the dark being remains unknown, we have not seen his face, we have not heard his voice” (ibid.). At intervals, other dancers arrive.

In the engraving by Crevaux (Figure 7-1), it can be perceived that Wayana imitating Tamok have a cloak and feather headdress, but no tangible mask. As recounted in oral tradition (Table C-16: line 63), faces of Wayana dancers were painted like Tamok. Tamok facial painting (*Tamok épata melikut*) is unique, and a specific basketry motif is named after it (Figure 7-4).13 This basketry motif of Tamok facial painting should not be confused with the basketry weaving
technique specifically applied in manufacturing the Tamok mask proper, or “head of Tamok” (*Tamok uputpë*)15 (Figure 7-5).

![Figure 7-4 (left). Basketry motif named “Tamok facial painting” (*Tamok épata melikut*).](image1)

![Figure 7-5 (right). Frame for Tamok mask (*Tamok uputpë; head of Tamok*).](image2)
Two Tamok masks were made in 2000 by Tukano (Figures 7-2 and 7-7; Lawa 1 and 2; Table 7-1). Thirteen Tamok masks are present in the Amazonian Collection of the Florida Museum of Natural History (FLMNH) (Figure 7-7; Table 7-1). Araiba had made several cane Tamok-heads while Rauschert was in Belem where he purchased beeswax to recreate Tamok masks (Rauschert 1982:203-205, plates 38, 39; Figure 7-6 A). Tamok masks can be analytically divided into four types (M1, M2, F1, and F2; Figure 7-8): Tamok heads may be shaped as a deep reversed basket (M1) or as a shallow reversed basket (about 10 cm deep) with one side dropping down (about 25 cm long) providing the basis for the facial painting (F1). Latter type can be shaped more naturally following facial contours (F2). Former type may serve as the foundation for a protruding cylindrical frame serving as base for the \textit{olok} feather headdress (M2). Since it is men who wear \textit{olok} feather headdresses, the M2-type is interpreted as “male” (\textit{eluwa}), while the F-type is interpreted as “female” (\textit{wëlli}) (Figure 7.2-7). None of the “male” Tamok masks (T1596, T2150, and T2152) in the FLMNH came with such a feather headdress\(^1\) (artist impression in figure 7-7). The “female” Tamok masks (T2149, T2153, and T2151) have a simple feather crown of white chicken feathers (\textit{tïpapo}), or no feathers at all. Although T2330 and T2331 consist of an M-type mask, they do not have the base for an \textit{olok} feather headdress. Instead a two centimeter wide strip of chicken feathers is glued with resin (\textit{palakta}) above and below the face of Tamok. Since the M1-type does not include an \textit{olok} feather headdress its gender is inconclusive (FLMNH inventory numbers T2330, T2331). Two Tamok masks from the Rauschert collection in Bonn (BASA inventory numbers 3321 and 3322; Figure 7-6 A) are of the F1-type with an additional \textit{okalat} Mohawk in which red macaw tail feathers are set.
Figure 7-6. Tamok masks. A. Collected by Rauschert in 1969 (BASA, Bonn inv. nr. 03321). B. Collections of the Anthropology Division of the Florida Museum of Natural History, FLMNH Temp. Nos. T2153 and T2150)

Figure 7-7. Variety of Tamok masks and facial paintings (T numbers refer to the temporary inventory numbers of the Amazonian Collection at the FLMNH; Lawa numbers refer to the two Tamok masks made by Tukano in 2000, see figure 7-2).

Feather headdress *olok* is an artist’s interpretation
Table 7-1. Variety of Tamok masks in the Amazonian Collection of the Collections of the Anthropology Division of the Florida Museum of Natural History, FLMNH.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FLMNH #</th>
<th>gender</th>
<th>total length in cm.</th>
<th>length of face in cm.</th>
<th>type of head (Figure 7-8)</th>
<th>diameter in cm. (at eye level)</th>
<th>facial color (Munsell)</th>
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In comparison: two Tamok masks made by Tukano along the Lawa in 2000.

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<td>151</td>
<td>33</td>
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<td>23</td>
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</table>

T numbers refer to the temporary inventory numbers of the Amazonian Collection at the FLMNH.

Munsell colors (1990):
5 YR 4/6; 5 YR 5/6 = yellowish red
10 R 5/6; 10 R 5/8; 10 R 4/6 = red
10 R 5/4; 10 R 5/3; 10 R 4/4 = weak red

Figure 7-8. Typology of Tamok masks (M = male and F = female).
At eye level, two holes are cut out of this basketry frame. At eye level M2-type masks have the largest diameter (25 cm) (Table 7-1). F2-type masks have a diameter between 21 and 23 cm. F1-type masks made by Tukano in 2000 (Lawa 1 and 2) were prepared to wear and have a diameter of 22 and 23 cm. M1- and F1-type masks from the Amazonian Collection vary in diameter between 18 and 21 cm. Since these diameters are too constricted to fit over a person’s head, it is doubtful whether these masks were designed for wearing as performance-mask.

Beeswax (molopi) was molded over the facial part of the Tamok head, and a protruding nose modeled. A mouth is absent in the Tamok masks that Tukano made in 2000 (Lawa 1 and 2), whereas only one mask in the Amazonian Collection of the FLMNH lacks a mouth (T0171). Other masks in the Amazonian Collection of the FLMNH do have modeled mouths (T0169, T0170, T0377, T1596, T2149, 2151, T2153, T2330, T2331) or a mouth cut out of the basketry frame (T2150, T2152). Over the modeled beeswax face, a reddish paste was applied, as was it a human face painted with onot (Bixa orellana) mixed with kalapa-oil (Carapa guianensis).\(^\text{17}\)
Linear incisions were made creating a zone filled in with white kaolin clay (*nenuwë*). Three Tamok masks (T2149, T2153, and T2151) have black facial paintings resembling genuine facial paintings with *kupê* (*Genipa americana*). Facial painting will be discussed in a moment.

To complete the dance-costume, streamers of *okalat* inner bark (*Couratari guianensis*) are knitted to the lower rim of the mask to fully cover the body from neck to feet. A separate set of bark strips covers the head and falls down laterally and posterior. *Okalat* inner-bark strips (naturally tan-yellow colored) are blackened by means of a resist-dye technique in an anaerobic environment; usually in a swampy bend of the river. Next streamers are hung out to dry and tie strips are removed. Sections where bark strips were tied have retained their original tan-yellow color, whereas parts which had not been tied, have obtained a bluish-black color by exposure to swamp water. This bluish-black color is resistant and does not fade or run.

Most prominent is the Tamok facial painting which seems arbitrary at face value, but appears rooted in a deep-time and broad geographical Amazonian tradition of transformation. Tamok facial painting is analogous to the Yekuana (Carib-speaking people in Western Guiana) facial painting of the “Owner of the Basketry” or “Mask of Death” (Guss 1989: chapter 5). According to David Guss (1989:106), the primary basketry design is “*Woroto sakedi*” or the “Devil’s joints” (Figure 7-10 A), encountered in several variations, depending on the number of joints (ibid.:107; Figure 7-10). Last variation of *Woroto sakedi* (*simiñasa*, or “the thin one;” Figure 7-10 B) is before the pattern curls up into itself: into *Awidi* (coral snake; Figure 7-10 C). *Awidi*, the most complex line drawing in perpetuation of the “Devil’s Joint” motif was interpreted by Wayana as *Tamok ëpata milikut* (facial painting of Tamok).
Woroto sakedi simiñana (the thin one) is similar to the basic line drawing I used in the transformational analysis of Tamok facial paintings (Figure 7-11), albeit Wayana named this motif Apuweika or taliliman istaino (panther or black jaguar). To make sense, life must contain death and Guss (1989:125) concluded that “to weave is to conquer death.” It is this essential cosmological element of indigenous Amazonian religion that is rooted in the facial paintings on the basketry head of Tamok masks. Constant shifts between background and foreground, variations, and interchangeability are key to the struggle between the context of life and death, as well as interrelationships between self and social others.

Figure 7-11. Variations of Tamok facial paintings.
When the “thin version” of the “Devil’s Joint” motif (Guss 1989) (*Apuweika* [panther] according to Wayana) is placed over the face of Tamok masks, there is an interruption of the vertical style at mouth level (Figure 7-11: lower sequence from left to right); leaving a small vertical style between the mouth and the chin. Lowest bar (on mandible) is continuous. Last version of this sequence (Figure 7-11: lower right) is partly in negative (lower half), and partly off-set, with a dark bar over the ridge of the nose (upper half). Latter version is the basis of the three female Tamok masks at the FLMNH (T2149, T2151, and T2153). Meandering cheek motifs have been applied in genuine Wayana facial paintings (e.g., van Velthem 1995:270).

![A. photo by Darbois, 1953; B. artist rendering.](image)

Figure 7-12. Wayana facial painting. A. photo by Darbois, 1953; B. artist rendering.

Three female Tamok masks in the Amazonian Collection at the FLMNH (T2149, T2151, and T2153) are not only painted in black like “genuine” Wayana facial paintings (Figure 7-12), they also hold another element absent in other Tamok masks: L-shaped outlines above the eyes. It has to be mentioned that Wayana epilate facial hair (eyebrows and eyelashes) and these L-shaped outlines are painted above the eye (Darbois 1965; Mazière and Darbois 1953, 1959; Hurault 1965, 1968; Van Velthem 1995:270; Figure 7-12). Also the line over the ridge of the nose is visible. A variety of motifs may be painted on the cheek, in real life as well as on the
Tamok masks. Cheek motifs are analogous rectilinear motifs in basketry plait work, suggestive of a relation between the human body and basketry. The three “female” Tamok masks (T2149, T2153, and T2151) have black facial paintings that are dotted white, whereas their “male” counterparts (T2150 and T2152) have white facial paintings and the white dots are applied on the red face outside of the motifs. In all aspects, the three “realistic” female Tamok masks are complete opposites of their grotesque male Tamok companions.

When the sequence of Tamok facial painting variations is condensed (Figure 7-11: upper right-hand corner) this motif equals the Yekuana Woroto sakedi ohokomo (large Devil’s Joint) (Guss 1989:107). This “compact” version is painted on the cheeks of Tamok mask T2331 (Figure 7-7). With intent I placed this motif at a 45 degree angle, because when it is rotated another 45 degrees, we perceive the bracketed facial painting applied by Tukano (Lawa 1 and 2; figure 7-2). Therefore, I conclude that all Tamok facial paintings are but variations on a single theme. Origin of this theme emerges from a pool of “forgotten” Amazonian myths. For example, both “bracketed” and “compact” versions (Figure 7-11: upper right pair) were mentioned by Raphaël Girard (1963:210) for the Shipibo in the Peruvian Amazon where he placed these motifs alongside an outline resembling the Tamok facial painting (Figure 7-4). These motifs are all said to be Shipibo variants of the “serpent” related to rain (Girard 1963). Complex essence of this repository of “forgotten myths” is portrayed in the facial painting of Tamok, and performed during the whip-dance: human beings must gain control over secret weapons of mass destruction that provide the “Others” with power—in this case thunder and rain—and incorporate it into their very existence if they are to survive, as it is not enough to merely vanquish death. Such a detoxifying duel between humans and the anti-cultural “monsters
from the forest” is materialized among the Yekuana in weaving “painted” baskets (Guss 1989). This clash involving dangerous powers along with its integrative process is embodied in Tamok.

### 7.3 Evil Spirit of the Forest

Preceding the narrative of Wayana imitating Tamok (analyzed above), Kulienpë told the story of the evil thundering spirits; malicious spirits (*jolok*) that were imitated by his ancestors (Appendix C: Tamok narratives: *Jolok Tamok eitoponpë*). Claudius de Goeje during his long-term ethnographic research among the Wayana never witnessed a whip-dance, however, in his brief cross-cultural analysis of the whip-dance, de Goeje (1941:111-113) is the first to associate the name “Tamok” to the whip-dance described by Crevaux (1881:105, 258). He went on to say that “the [Tamok-] dancer represents the ghost of *Tamoktamok* (that is a tuna-kaikui [= water monster] and an iyum [jum = father, origin, master], which also is the name of the big blue Morpho butterfly that dwells in the dark woods” (de Goeje 1941:111; my translation). When I discussed this with Wayana, they told me that “Tamok” had no relation with either *tamoktamok* (blue Morpho-butterfly) or *tamo* (grandfather, ancestor) and that “Tamok” was a proper name.

This story of Tamok is taking place between mythical time of the Creator Twins and personal eyewitness accounts. To fully understand the mythstory of *Tamok Jolok* we need to understand the language in which it is narrated. Not only do we need to understand Wayana language, we need to understand the play of tropes used to make sense of the sequence of events. Reversed process, yet similar explanation though metaphor, can be seen in Crevaux’s (1987:285 [1881]) description of Tamok dance as translated by Roth (1924:664): “the men are covered with long bark strips, starting from the neck, and a *kind of toque similar to that used by [French] magistrates*. One man alone stands up, holding in his hand a whip 8 meters long, which with a swirling motion he *cracks like a pistol*. Each one takes it in turn to get up and crack the whip” (emphasis added). Crevaux described the cracking of the whip sounding like detonations.
(Crevaux 1987:285). Also Kulienpë (Table C-16: line 67) described the sound of the cracking whip like a gun (alakapuha katïp). Of interest is that the Wayana term alakapuha derived from harquebus or arcabusa in Spanish. So if Wayana, familiar with firearms, refer to the clacking of the whip as sounding as a gunshot, then how would Wayana unfamiliar with firearms describe a gunshot?

Wayana imitating Tamok did not have the evil powers of the original Tamok spirits who brought death; and no person died during the performance by Wayana imitating Tamok. Tamok whip-dance was simply a party to mock (Table C-16: line 55-58), in favor of deceit (sensu Basso 1987). The whip—“weapon” of Tamok—is named itain or Tamok tain. Its root /tail/ is also the root in taitikai; literally ‘it does tai,’ referring to thundering. Evil spirits were carrying a “thunder whip” (Table C-15: line 10) causing “thunder strikes” so powerful that they slashed down trees akin opening a garden plot (ibid.: line 16), breaking the top of a big tree (ibid.: line 18), and shattering houses in pieces thereby destroying and collapsing them (ibid.: line 23). These thundering sounds and their effects were so frightening that the Wayana abandoned their village (ibid.: line 21).

Cracking whip, thunder strike, and gun shot, all stand for similar phenomenological experiences; and each of these three metaphors can be interchangeably referred to in order to make sense of the other experience. This association between thunder and harquebus/guns is not new in South America; in Andean South America this connection has been studied by Irene Silverblatt (1988) and Peter Roe (1988). The following analysis will be more complex than the above evaluation of Wayana imitating Tamok described in early ethnographies. Narrative of the evil spirits Tamok has to be perceived as making sense of the sudden arrival of a new entity holding a power to kill people. If indeed Tamok “thundering whips” refer to fire arms (described
by people who have no previous experience with fire arms), than the story of evil spirits Tamok may refer to a first encounter with Europeans in Guiana.

7.3.1 First Encounter of the Lower Amazon

Setting of the story of the evil spirits Tamok in time and place is embedded within Wayana logic, beginning with a reference in time: the hiding place (mîmnë) is made in order to shoot and scare off birds that are feeding on garden produce, implying that this event happened at ripening of garden produce after the rainy season; thus about July – August (Table C-15: line 1-2; Figure 7-13). Place of this event is less evident. It is said that Wayana (Upului) got so terrified that they never returned to this river (ibid.: line 33), but this river is left unnamed. Since Upului are historically known to be from the upper Jari River, they most likely migrated upriver from the lower Jari or adjacent tributaries of the Lower Amazon.

![Figure 7-13. Evil Spirit Tamok (Tamok Jolok) (drawing by Ronnie Tikaiime, 2000).](image)

First Europeans arrived at the Lower Amazon in the sixteenth century, yet documents are rare and not very detailed. Father Acuña (reprinted in Markham 1859) described the rivers Jutai [= Curupatuba; ibid:128] and Paru de Este [= Ginipape; ibid:128-129], but then crossed to the
south bank of the Amazon and mouth of Xingu [= Paranaiba; ibid:129-130], continuing his journey along the south bank of the Amazon; bypassing Jari and other tributaries mouthing at the north bank. In 1541, a Spanish expedition in search on the land of Cinnamon stranded in Peru, Francisco de Orellana left in search of food for the expedition, and he would be the first sailing down the Amazon. Historians have scrutinized the sixteenth century journal of this voyage by Dominican friar Gaspar de Carvajal to gain insight into more complex cultures of the upper and central Amazon or Solimões (Sweet 1974; Whitehead 1994, 1998, 1999; Porro 1994), other than the passage after departing the “Land of the Black People” and just before arriving at the delta of the Amazon) has been silenced in the historical process. Whereas Neil Whitehead warned for “a very negative and incomplete reading of the historical literature” (1994:46), Betty Meggers (2003) continues to reject these early chronicles claiming they present a distorted vision as a result of preconceived ideas, and therefore entirely inadequate for archaeological use.26 A short passage on the Lower Amazon in 1542 (de Carvajal 1992:268-269), skipped by John Hemming (1978:194), among others, ought to be critically evaluated in this context.

To contextualize this passage it is necessary to point out that Francisco Orellana and his men had just been attacked by “black painted people” (Carvajal 1992:264-265).27 Gaspar de Carvajal was shot in his eye on June 24, 1542, and it goes without saying that this affected his perception and writing in the following months. Near the Rio Trombetas, Carvajal was shot in his side as well; his cloak saved him. That Carvajal did not cease writing implies the importance of what followed. These lands were under the reign of a lord, cacique, named Arripuna, or Caripuna. Downstream, the Spaniards were attacked once more, but this time the arrows contained curare poison, and one of the Spaniards died within the day (Carvajal 1992:266-267; all translations of Carvajal are mine). Spaniards decided no longer to go ashore in populated...
areas. Their fear is heard in the citation of the birdsong “hui, hui, hui” corresponding to the imperative of the Spanish verb fugar; to flee. Though Carvajal must have been tormented by his wounded eye, he mentioned several times the lack of food and constant preparedness for battle on the side of the Spaniards. At the mouth of the Xingu the Spanish brigantine was attacked by two squadrons of canoes. Another Spaniard, hit by a curare poisoned arrow, died (ibid.:268-269). Carvajal described two remarkable shots fired by their arquebusiers: two Indians were killed by a single round, and the thundering of arquebus shots made the Indians jump into the water of fear, whereby he wrote “thunder” (trueno) to describe the sound of the harquebus shot (ibid.:269). Subsequently, the Spaniards follow the left or north bank of the Lower Amazon (la banda sinistra del río [ibid.]). No settlements were located along the river bank, and Carvajal wrote that the villages were located in the interior.

On July 1542, in lack of food, the Spaniards stopped for several days on the north bank of the Lower Amazon, and Orellana sent a patrol ashore. No leader is mentioned for this patrol in the lower Jari area (Carvajal 1992:269), however, mid-April, Orellana had send out a patrol to search for provisions and that patrol was led by a hidalgo named Alonso de Robles (Carvajal noted that this man was very capable for this task). A month later, two other patrols were sent out to chase down Indians, whereby the last patrol was led by a chevalier named Cristóbal Enríquez. The July 1542 patrol explored the interior for about four kilometer (una legua), reporting to Captain Orellana that the lands become more and more beautiful, that there are savannas and hills. Furthermore, the patrol reported numerous traces of people who are hunting here and stated that it is better not to penetrate further (ibid.). When the Spaniards set sail again, they leave good lands and high banks; only to enter the labyrinth of islands at the mouth of the Amazon (plus de tierra firme and muchos isles; ibid.:269). Although historians have thoroughly
studied Carvajal’s journal, it was never addressed what exactly happened during the last patrol (July 1542) on the north bank of the lower Amazon, near the mouth of the Jari in the lands that became more and more beautiful. From the account alone this area seems a great place to settle, so why did the Spanish patrol mention it was better not to penetrate any further?

7.3.2 Wayana Tradition Related to Spanish Sources

In order to make sense of the Wayana narrative on the evil spirit of Tamok (Appendix C: Tamok narratives: \textit{Jolok Tamok eitoponpë}), as well as the enigmatic last Spanish patrol of 1542, I will set the main events discussed in the Wayana narrative (W) alongside a context of sixteenth century Spanish presence (S) at the lower Amazon (Table 7-2). Wayana play of tropes in order to describe newly encountered fierce creatures, validates Wayana social memory as a unique eyewitness account of the first encounter with Europeans; describing, I argue, the Spanish foot patrol on the Lower Amazon in July 1542 from a native point of view (Figure 7-14).

Figure 7-14. Evil spirits of the forest; a Spanish patrol in July 1542 (Duin 2007).
Table 7-2. Comparing Wayana narrative on Tamok Jolok with a Spanish patrol in 1542.

(W) While the Wayana is waiting in his shelter, an unknown being arrives in his garden (Figure 7-13). This being is like a child and as if painted black (Table C-15: line 5).

(S) On a single occasion Gaspar de Carvajal (1994:71) mentioned the presence of two Africans, which are excluded from his list of 57 followers. Presence of black children (or Africans of short stature) in the Spanish expedition is neither confirmed, nor excluded.

(W) After the child is shot by the Wayana from his hunting shelter, another being arrives. Both wear decorations at their upper arms (apëpata; line 9). Then others arrive who carry a “thunder whip” that does “ton ton” (line 10). With their “thunder” they slash branches, the crest of the tree (line 12), and even entire trees (line 16, 18). And the loud thundering sounds were awfully frightening (line 21).

(S) A blasting “thunder” cutting down trees leaves little room for an interpretation other than a harquebus (Figure 7-14). Are these the harquebusiers of Francisco de Orellana’s patrol? Even Carvajal used “trueno” (thunder) to describe the sound of these arquebus shots (Carvajal 1992:269).

(W) They had a long cloak and were wearing a feather headdress (line 15).

(S) Was it fear for curare tipped arrows and the effectiveness of Carvajal’s cloak that saved his life that made patrol members decide to wear such a protective cloak? Following sixteenth century fashion; hats (and helmets) of Spaniards were decorated with flamboyant feathers.

(W) To make sense of this new kind of headdress, Wayana described these head coverings in familiar terms of the feather headdress olok (Chapter 6.2). When the big leader arrived (line 17) he not only brings the biggest weapon along; he also arrived with an onomatopoeic “ilesoman, ilesoman, ilesoman,” echoing the sound of kawai noise makers tied below the knee of Wayana dancers.

(S) Since leaders of prior Orellana patrols were a hidalgo and a chevalier these men of standing might have had metal body armor; resulting in clingling sounds. If so, than this leader most certainly also had a metal helmet. Sixteenth century helmets had a visor that could be lowered when necessary to protect the face. Such a visor makes the eyes nearly invisible, and completely covers nose and mouth; analogous the full-face Tamok head covering.

(W) Various Tamok suddenly arrived out of the green zone surrounding the village (line 22).

(S) Previous patrols by Orellana had fifteen to twenty-five men; explaining the sudden arrival of a lot of unknown beings. Furthermore, as villages were inland in this area, Wayana did not see the brigantine with which the Spaniards had arrived. This explains why Tamok were thought to originate from the ground, not from the water. Nevertheless, Claudius de Goeje (1941:111) noted that Tamok dancers represented “spirits of water monsters,” and when Jean Hurault listed the water spirits (ipo), he noted that the Tamok spirits are “dwarfs living in the river” (1968:17).

Also the return of Tamok was invisible (line 23), as the patrol returned to the brigantine and continued their voyage downstream; never to return again.

(W) Never again were these fierce monstrous beings seen at the north bank of the north canal of the mouth of the Amazon. Wayana villagers went to a powerful pijai (shaman) and asked him to bring these evil beings to a standstill (lines 24–26). The shaman could not control these beings “without a Master” (line 27).

Later, Wayana were struck by epidemics of fever and headaches. Children and pregnant woman died (lines 29–30).

(S) Intervention by the powerful shaman was effective enough to make the Spanish patrol return to Orellana. The Spanish foot patrol had left something behind: germs.

(W) These Tamok were considered to be without Master, since the powerful shaman could not request the Master of Tamok to contain this feverish epidemic (line 31).

(W) = Wayana version
(S) = Spanish version
(line #) = reference to Appendix C: Tamok narratives (Table C-15).

If this reading is indeed a native perspective on the first encounter with Europeans; then what to make of the ending stating that the Wayana was eaten by these monstrous beings (Table
C-15: line 19, 34-35). Did Orellana’s men practice cannibalism? Or is this statement merely according to an Amazonian Logic to complete the narrative of such man-killing monsters from a native point of view (*sensu* Viveiro de Castro 1992); as the anthropophagic Tamok represents the archetype enemy (Van Velthem 2003:425). In more general terminology (following Turner 1988:241): possibly the cannibalistic ending of the Tamok narrative was obligatory to describe the social Other contrary to the Self.

7.4 Pool of Forgotten Myths

When Wayana perceived these fierce creatures, it is said these beings resembled Tamok, hence applying an already existing name to identify these fierce, yet beautiful, beings through synecdoche (Table C-15: line 25: ~*hapon* = likewise; ibid.: line 26: ~*me* = ‘other-world’ reality facsimile marker [Carlin 1999]). According to Eithne Carlin (1999:236) ~*me* indicates that the narrator knows that an object is not what it seems, or refers to an object that was taken to be something else, or to indicate the uncertainty as to the identity of an object. *Tamokme* (Table C-15: line 26), indicates that Wayana knew they were dealing with an entity merely bearing a resemblance to Tamok. These entities resembling Tamok did not have a Master, as had ‘genuine’ Tamok, so the powerful shaman could not communicate with them; they were of their own creation (ibid.: line 27). The *pïjai* could not prevent the powers of evil Tamok spirits causing many Wayana to die (ibid.: line 29-30). In concluding this chapter I will explore the sources of Tamok as related to rain-making practices (invoking the rains), and in turn this exploration results in an illumination of the power of decorated ceremonial flat board clubs (*kapalu*) as potential thunder club of the Tamusi.

7.4.1 Invoking the Rains

Wayana say that long ago there were powerful *pïjasi* (shamans) who could invoke the rains like Mopo and Kujuli. When Claudius de Goeje discussed Kujuli, he wrote that Wayana told
him that Kujuli was an iyumiyumiyumi-enma (*i-yum* father being, spiritual power, *−enma* very) and that Kujuli is an exceptional powerful *pijai* (medicine man, magician) (de Goeje 1941:76). The Creator twins, as discussed in chapter 4.1, invoked the rains during their initiation, as they were beating the ground drum and blowing feathered flute outside on the plaza. Then the rains arrived. Mopo and Kujuli asked the Jaguars (who ate their mother Tortoise) to shelter in the community roundhouse *tukusipan* (Table C-1: line 46-47). Then the community house collapsed, locking in and killing all jaguars (ibid.: line 49-50, 52). Bad rains, invoked directly, caused death to the social others embodied as jaguars (Table 7-3). Every *tëpijem* is experiencing this social memory of Mopo and Kujuli as rainmakers while dancing on the ground drum and playing the flutes before the big rainy season begins. In the story Sintaman told Karin Boven (1999) it was further mentioned that Mopo asked Sikë (God of Thunder) his thunder club (*kapalu*) to create lightning and thunder, returning the club when all the land was flooded.

Today Wayana attempt to stop incoming clouds by blowing against the wind and by waving the rain clouds away with ones hand while shooing away the dark rain clouds packed together over the hills on the river bank. While in a canoe, I saw Wayana enforcing the power of the hand by taking ones cap and waving against the incoming clouds towards the direction where they wanted them to go. One year in November, I was among the Wayana when it started raining, while normally the rainy season only starts in December with the big rainy season in April. I asked Wayana (in Talhuwen) why it was raining and they answered it was due to the fact that in Kayodé, a village located northeasterly along the Tampok River, people were burning garden plots. Relation between “cloud” and “smoke” is enforced metonymically as both are named *eklot* in Wayana (*ekuluwato* in Apalai). Similar act of blowing away rain clouds was described in Northwest Amazonia by Theodore Koch-Grünberg (1909:195, II 24), whereby he
noted that Witoto say “Rain leave! Go away!” in Tariána and Tukáno (as if the clouds are sent by these neighboring groups). Relation between clouds and smoke is elaborated upon by Raphaël Girard (1963) as rains can be invoked by smoking a special cigarette and blowing tobacco smoke into the sky. When Girard (1963:39) wrote about provoking rain caused by tobacco smoke among the Yagua, he used the term “sorcerer,” and among the Witoto he emphasized that the “Huitoto sorcier” provokes bad rains bringing sickness (Girard 1963:63). Girard also described another method of rain-making practices in Northwest Amazonia:

Their [Bora] rites to make the rain drop, they practice inside their own house, invoking—as among the Witoto—the “water boa.” To make his prayer he [the shaman, or aima] turns towards the east, slapping his chest; then he turns towards the west, and to end towards zenith, ‘where roars thunder,’ for it is there the Thunder spirit, chijchi, master of the clouds, dwells. … As among the Witoto, the God of Thunder is also the God of the Forest, and in his quality of master of the clouds he receives the name illap (Girard 1963:87; my translation).

Thus in order to bring good rains, the shaman must communicate with the Masters of Thunder and Rain (“water boa” [= anaconda]) (Table 7-3: indirect method of invoking rain). Alternatively, dark shamans can invoke bad rains, without intervention of the Masters of Thunder and Rain, by blowing smoke, beating and drumming (table 7-3: direct method).

Table 7-3. Difference between direct and indirect rain makers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>practitioner:</th>
<th>pijai (shaman)</th>
<th>pijasi (powerful dark shaman)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(“healer or medicine man”)</td>
<td>(“sorcerer”)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>method:</td>
<td>indirect</td>
<td>direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>location:</td>
<td>inside a building</td>
<td>outside on the plaza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aimed at:</td>
<td>community of the practitioner</td>
<td>social others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>technique:</td>
<td>communication</td>
<td>blowing smoke, beating and drumming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medium:</td>
<td>Master of Thunder</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>result:</td>
<td>good rains (causing growth and prosperity)</td>
<td>bad rains (causing sickness and death)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Good rains for crops, hence prosperous life, are offset against bad rains bringing sickness and death. In Northwest Amazonia, Bora say “first [good rains] are asked for by the magician, good doer of the community; latter [bad rains] are produced by Tsemé Tschmé or Chemey … Tsemé or Chemey signifying sickness” (Girard 1963:87-88; my translation). Günter Tessmann (1930:272) also noted among the Bora the relation between tsēmè ( “God”) and sickness, separating sickness given by tsemé and sickness given by sorcerers, whereby he stated that Tsemé is a kind of sorcerer. “Further proof”, Tessmann continued, “is that the medicine man can speak with God and ask him to remove the sickness” (ibid:273; my translation). Shamans (Medizinmänner) try to remove the sickness given by a sorcerer (Zauberer) to prevent his patient from dieing. “Death by other sicknesses, accidents and dieing of old age is given by tsēmè” (ibid:273). Bad rains produced by Tsemé Tschmé or Chemey (Girard 1963:87-88), Tsemé (Tessmann 1930:272), whereby Tsemé or Chemey (Girard 1963:87-88), tsēmè (Tessmann 1930:272), [phonetically: /čemi/] is directly related to sickness and even death.

The Amazonian concept of čemi causing bad rains resonates with the Caribbean notion of zemi (or cemíes as Ramón Pané (1974 [1493]:42-43) wrote it in 1493 in the Greater Antilles):

Also they say the Sun and the Moon come out a cave that is in the land of the cacique named Mautiatihuel, this cave is named Iguanaboína, and this one they keep in great estimation …. And in this cave there are two cemíes, made out of stone, small, the size between the arms, with the hands hold, and it seemed it sweated. These cemíes were highly valued; and when there was no rain, saying they entered here to pay a visit to them and to be followed by rain. And these cemíes, one is named Boïnayel76 and the other one Márohu77 (Pané 1974 [1493]:42-43; my translation).

Notes in Pané 1974:

76 Ulloa: Boïnayel; Anglería: Binthaitel. (...) Boïna-y-el is the son of Boïna, the Sly Serpent, metaphor of the clouds charged with rain.

77 Ulloa: Maroio; Anglería: Márohu. The reading of Pedro Mártir clearly registers three syllables: prefix of privation ma-; root -aro- that appears in the Arawak languages or-aro, ur-aro, ul-aro ‘cloud’, and the suffix of nominalization -hu, (...). Hence signifying, ‘Without-Clouds’ (...).”
Breton (1999:69[1665]) translated “chemijn, or çemijn” as “God,” with the observation “that most Savages pronounce the ç as ch … chemijn chemeignum: God, Gods, the other çemijn, çemeignum” (ibid:50; my translation). Different ways of writing down čemi results in the following comparative table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amazonia</th>
<th>reference:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsêmê</td>
<td>(Tessmann 1930:273-4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsemé Tschmé or Chemey … Tsemé or Chemey</td>
<td>(Girard 1963)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumi or Sume … Zumi or Zume</td>
<td>(Girard 1963:158)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribbean</td>
<td>reference:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cemi</td>
<td>(Pané 1974 [1493] Capítulo XI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemeen</td>
<td>(La Borde 1674)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemijn or çemijn</td>
<td>(Breton [1665] 1999:69)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: alternation of /i/ - /ï/ - /e/, and /ç/ pronounced as /ts/ or /ch/ as in church. Tessmann and Breton, although working in different areas (Northwest Amazonia and Caribbean respectively) and different eras (1905 and 1645), both translate this term with God.

7.4.2 Materializing Zemi in the Tumuc-Humac

Notion of čemi generating bad rains creating sickness and death appears widespread throughout Amazonia and the Caribbean; whereas materialization of zemi has only been recorded archaeologically from the Caribbean (see for a summary: Boomert 2000:486-490). There is, however, a single indication that čemi might have been materialized in Guiana. In 1609, Robert Harcourt (1613) traveled up the river Wiapoco [= Oyapock] during his Voyage to Guiana, where he encountered an Indian named Comarian who told Harcourt that “vpon the borders of Wiapoco [= at the source of the Oyapock River], there is a Natiõ of Charibes hauing eares of an extraordinary bignes [= there is a Carib nation with long earlobes]⁴² …, whom hee called Mar∫hewaccas” (Harcourt 1613:41). Of these so-called Mar∫hewaccas, Comarian told Harcourt that they hold “an Idole of ñtone, which they worship as their God; they haue placed it in a hou∫e made of purpo∫e for the greater honour of it, which they keepe very cleane and
This is the only descriptions of a “temple” in the interior of Guiana, and the worship of a stone idol. Robert Harcourt described this stone idol in rather precise detail:

This Idole is fashioned like a man sitting upon his heeles, holding open his knees, and resting his elbows upon them, holding up his hands with the palmes forwards, looking upwards, and gaping with his mouth wide open (Harcourt 1613:41).

Although Harcourt stated that the “meaning of this proportion [i.e., position]” could not be declared by his informant. This description correlates with anthropomorphic three-pointer stones known from the Greater Antilles (Figure 7-15). The stone idol from Guiana described by Harcourt has never been recovered.

Figure 7-15. Outline drawing of a three-pointer stone from the Greater Antilles.

Harcourt visited the interior of Guiana in 1609; that is about sixty years after Orellana and his men drifted down the Amazon in 1542. Only if this stone idol described by Harcourt will be recovered, petrographic analysis, and stylistic studies may conclude whether this zemi-like stone idol was introduced from the Caribbean after the traumatic events of the Summer of 1542, or whether this stone idol was already present in Guiana before 1542. Harcourt (1613:41) situated the stone zemi-like idol near a mountain (named Cowob) on top of which a great lake, full of different species of fish (ibid.:15). This lake might be associated with the only identified lake by Coudreau during his expeditions; a lake (3 kilometer long by 500 meter wide) in the mountain range of Tacouandewe (1892:8; 1893:327-329), eastern offshoot of the Tumuc-Humac range.
Tumuc-Humac has been an enigmatic name (synonyms: Toemoek Hoemak [Dutch], and Tumucumaque [Portuguese]). Dirk Geijskes, during the 1939 expedition, noted the Wayana pronunciation of some of the toponymes, and “so is our Toemoek-Hoemak mountainrange named Tjimi-Tjimak” (Geijskes 1957:234; my translation). Pëlë ëmit, an Akulio originating from this region, said he lived in “Tsïmi Tschïmëk” (pers. comm. 1999), a pronunciation similar to Geijskes’s Tjimi-Tjimak. Previously, de Goeje (1910) stated that /č/ is pronounced as /ts/, or as /ch/ as in church.43 Pronounced as Ćimi ċënëk, Tumuc-Humac resonates with Tsemë Tschmë (Girard 1963:87) as recorded near the western watershed of Amazonia.

Watershed of Tumuc-Humac is a mythical place where rains emerge.44 In 2000, when arriving at the circa 730 meter high summit of mount Taluwakem we were overtaken by several heavy rain showers. When I asked why it was raining, Wayana replied with a counter question: “did you touch Tamok jolok?” During our way up, we saw a dark termite hill, shaped as an old man wandering through the forest leaning on his stick. I took a photo (Figure 7-16), and Elina told me this was Tamok jolok; “it is alive, since white foam surfaces,” she said.45 It had been Elina’s son who barely dared to admit that he was the one ‘causing’ rain due to his beating of this Tamok jolok. I thus experienced, from the pool of forgotten myths, the essence of Tumuc-Humac (Tsïmi Tschïmëk) that is still very much alive.

Figure 7-16. Tamok Jolok encountered in the forest at the foot of Taluwakem, 2000.
7.4.3 Impossible Imitation: Tamok, Bringer of Sickness and Death

This Amazonian pool of forgotten myths (sensu Gow 2001), served as potential source for the name “Tamok” for the fierce creatures, as well as to launch the dance where Wayana-Upului imitated Tamok. That the Tamok whip-dance is no longer performed today is not a sign that Wayana are loosing their tradition; on the contrary, I argue that the Tamok whip-dance, as witnessed in the late nineteenth century, was a Wayana innovation, emerging from a historically rooted context of epidemics of a disease locally named kwamai. Kwamai epidemics with flu-like symptoms killed many Wayana, as reported by Europeans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Crevaux 1881; [couamaye] Coudreau 1893:543; de Goeje 1935). Tamok is the impossible imitation; Tamok is at once beautiful and horrific. Tamok is analogous the Xinguano cannibal forest monsters Afasa (Basso 1987: ch. 5); not only is this powerful being associated with serious illness, these old grandparental sort of powerful beings are at once beautiful and horrible in their distorted and excessive voice and physical characteristics that are molded in beeswax onto the gourd-mask painted red, white, and black. Afasa imitators wear burity-palm skirts to cover their body, and carry a staff while they slowly hobble along. Afasa can also be called upon to affect a cure.

Among the Wayana it appears that fear for kwamai epidemics with flu-like symptoms replaced the fear for rainy season sickness, and the Tamok whip-dance emerged out of this Amazonian pool of forgotten myths of invoking the rains. One feature that needs to be reassessed from this viewpoint is the associating thunder-whip. Thunder in Wayana is called tïlintïkai or taitïkai, whereby tikai means ‘saying’ or ‘doing;’ onomatopoeic of “doing tïlin” or “doing tai.” Of interest is that the root tai46 is also present in istaino (jaguar)47 and itain (whip/weapon of Tamok). Common flash of lightning is named kapauwatkë (deer antler) after its resemblance with the antlers of kapau (red brocket deer; Mazama americana).48 Yet, it is not...
deer that ‘causes’ thunder. According to Wayana, thunder is caused by *kaikusimeru,* a jaguar monster running across the clouds, spouting summer lightning out of its beak. This “thunder jaguar” is also present in Northwest Amazonia, where among the Desana it is named *Buxpu-ye’e* or *Buhpu yee.* When Reichel-Dolmatoff (1973:102, 123) discussed the symbolism of the jaguar, he wrote that the growling of the jaguar is comparable with the rolling thunder and therefore “it is not surprising that this animal is associated with rain.” The sound *tai* echoes in Northwest Amazonia as “*TAYNN! …* the sound of thunder! The sun was straight above, straight above” (Wright 1998:54) where it is perceived as “the most powerful sound of the sky (sky and thunder are the same word, *eenu*) and one of various powerful sounds that ‘opens the world’ and that are associated with cosmic creation” (Wright 1998:61; notes and emphasis in original).

This monstrous yet beautiful outfit of Tamok (dark *okalat* streamers with a colorful feather headdress) is also materialized in the costume collected by Curt “Nimuendajú” Unckle in 1915 (Farabee 1919) and depicted by William C. Farabee (1924: plate XIX; Figure 7-17); interpreted as a “war chief’s ceremonial dress” attributed to the Apalai. This so-called “war-chief” is holding in his right hand a wooden flat-board club (*kapalu*). This club is depicted in detail with the subtitle: “ceremonial club with figures representing mythical forest monsters” (Farabee 1924: plate XXII; Figure 7-17). This photo was reproduced in a study on Guiana clubs titled “*one blow scatters the brains*” in which Warwick Bray (2001) leaves no room for alternative interpretations of such ceremonial clubs. Bray (2001:262) concluded that “all lines of evidence suggest that by the close of the century war clubs were going out of use among the more acculturated Indian groups, though the artefact maintained its place in rituals and ceremonies.” Rather than a mere cultural relic, I will posit an alternative reading of this flat-board club in the hands of a war-chief.
Next to flat-board clubs (*kapalu*), Wayana have another type of club (*siwalapa*). The latter is cylindrical (as a baseball bat) with in top an inset of peccary canines or a small whetted stone. From a functional standpoint, *siwalapa* appears better suited to “scatter the brain” than the flat-boarded *kapalu*. Flat-board clubs, or rather bats, allow for a larger surface for figurative designs, such as “mythical forest monsters” (Farabee 1924: plate XXII). The double (mirror-image) motif central in the ceremonial club published by Farabee were interpreted by Wayana in 2000 as “*kaikui*” (monstrous jaguars). Two flat-board clubs (*kapalu*) present in the Amazonian collection of the FLMNH (inventory numbers: T2489, T2490) also depict the “*kaikui*” motif, and the flat-board club of the Ethnographic Museum in Leiden (inv. number: RMV 2352-183_a) has
a variant on the kaikui motif. A less angular version of this kaikui motif is carved in the wooden club in the collection of the Peabody museum, Harvard (inventory number: 71-11-30/4713-1871). Other motifs (anon) may be carved into, or painted on, clubs; among which are ēlukē (caterpillar), tēwētapēihem (see inventory number: RMV 7021745; depicting a caterpillar, a cross, fishhook-like motifs, and a rooster), kalaipu or sipalat (crab), mamak telele (mother of trembling), mekuwom (long caterpillar), matawat and meliimē (four-legged forest monsters).

Jean Hurault (1968:73) wrote with regard to these decorated ceremonial flat-board clubs (kapalu) that “traditionally the function of tamusi (Elder) was accompanied by certain decorum. The tamusi kept, stuck in the ground, next to his hammock, the kapalu, club, and symbol of his power. During ceremonies, one of his peito (subordinate) always followed, bearing the kapalu on his shoulders” (ibid.:73). I posit that these flat-board clubs are “thunder clubs” into which thunder jaguars are carved. As such, these clubs are not merely “ceremonial” in that they allow a powerful shaman (potentially in his manifestation of “war chief”) to discharge thunder as this club holds synecdochecal powers of Thunder Jaguars. In the context of thunder clubs and the thunder jaguars invoking deadly illness through rain, it is hitherto not so difficult to envision the deadly powerful reign of Wayana paramount chiefs, constantly displaying their powerful kapalu (thunder club) as a constant mnemonic device. More effective than actual man-to-man combat, is to bring these “weapons of mass destruction” into play leading to an entirely different kind of warfare (comparable to the nuclear war race); fear in discourse for the lethal outcome if these weapons of mass destruction would to be brought into play.

Jean Hurault stated that the institution of Tamusi was a mere survival and that “it is difficult to imagine what the nature of authority of the village chief was, and how this was executed” (Hurault 1968:73). Now that we have an understanding of the powers harnessed in the
flat-board club, a decorum of the chief, as well as an understanding of the temporality of rituals
and how these are grounded in the landscape, in conjunction with interrelationships between self
and social others (Wayana and non-Wayana), will engage in the following chapter in a study on
the nature of authority of Wayana chiefs, and how this was executed.

1 In 1940, Kulienpë resided in Moelepaneimi, of which his father (Talumale) was village leader (Schmidt 1942:52).
2 None of the prior research by Claudius H. de Goeje (1941), Walter Roth (1924), and John Gillin (1948) mentioned
the fact that there is more than one Tamok narrative.
3 Rauschert does not mention that Anakalemo (or Maschipurimo) is just north of the former village of Yaripo where
Crevaux on November 22, 1878, had made observations of the Toulé dance (see below).
4 In a personal communication René Dehnhardt (December 18, 2007) stated that in the Bonner Altamerika-
Sammlung (BASA), there are at least six Tamok masks. The Rauschert collection is not completely inventoried.
5 Crevaux 1987 is a verbatim transcription of the 1881 publication. All translations from Crevaux and Coudreau are mine.
6 Jules Crevaux described the feast at the village of Canea on October 28, 1878 as follows: “J’assisté enfin à un fête appelée toulé. … Ils n’ont plus leurs grands chapeaux, mais de petits couronnes en plume (pomaris) … Le chef du bande, qui est à droite, tient à la bouche une grosse flute de bamboo d’où il tire des sons graves et tristes … Arrivés au milieu du village, ils forment un cercle et se mettent à tourner en jouant toujours le même air et en frappant légèrement le sol en cadence avec le pied droit. C’est une roué vivante qui reste en movement toute la nuit, en sifflant … Les danseurs, presque tous étrangeres à la tribu, se proposent de récompenser les femmes … montrent l’un un catouri (hotte), l’autre un manaré (tamis), un troisième une cuiller (anikato) pour remuer la bouillie. Les femmes brûlent d’envie de posséder ces objets qui sont tout neufs et artistement travaillés.”
7 Crevaux concluded that “every one has his turn to produce these detonations. This dance is called the dance of the
pono. The other Indians, seated on their heels, applaud while shouting: “Hé!… hé!” (Crevaux 1987:285).
8 This is once again an example of reversed reasoning of a ritual mode of production wherein surplus is
intentionally produced to support such a lavish feast.
9 “Touanké y fera l’exhibition de son pagara de famille contenant plusieurs centaines de plumes précieuses”
(Coudreau 1893:174).
10 “Ce ne sont jamais les jeunes gens du village qui dansent le pono, les danseurs doivent être étrangers” (Coudreau
1893:177).
11 This motif is absent in Van Velthem’s (1998) Iconographic Catalogue.
12 For basketry weaving Wayana use cane (wama; Ischnosiphon arouma).
13 Tamökuputpë, tomökuputpë; “head of the supernatural tamök” (Van Velthem 1998:88, 89; my translation).
14 Reason that some (only 3 out of 13) “male” Tamok masks in the Amazonian Collection of the Florida Museum of
Natural History (FLMNH), have a base for the olok feather headdress, is to be found in legislation: CITESlegislation prohibits, among others, the export of Ara macao feathers essential to olok feather headdresses. Basic
material from which Tamok masks are made (cane, beeswax, clay, inner bark, cotton) are not mentioned under
CITES, and thus legal to import. However, these masks were part of a collection that was seized by US Fish and
Wildlife. This collection of Brazilian indigenous artifacts contains feathers and other parts (e.g., bone, teeth, claws
and possibly antler) of endangered animal species. These objects were confiscated by the United States Fish &
Wildlife Service (USFWS) in violation of CITES, U.S. Endangered Species Act, the Lacey Act, the Migratory Bird
Treaty Act and U.S. Customs. Over 2500 objects (including the thirteen Tamok masks) in the Amazonian
Collection of the Florida Museum of Natural History (FLMNH) were donated to the University of Florida in 2005
by the United States Fish and Wildlife Service under authority of USFWS Investigation number 305 000 215 and
This process of resist-dying is described in detail for the bark cloaks of Waiwai Yáno and Shadowiko dances (Yde 1965:273-276); though the dances itself were not witnessed. Waiwai are located at the border between British Guyana and Brazil (Yde 1965), which situates the distribution of this resist-dye technique for bark cloth from the Waiwai to the Wayana-Apalai, i.e., frontier between Brazil and the Guyanas from British to French Guiana.

David Guss refers to Roth 1924 for a similar motif, although he did not mention that Roth (1924:354, 356) interpreted this motif as “wild nutmeg” among Arawak and Warrau, whereas certain Carib groups recognized this motif as “famous mythical snake which originally supplied them with their vegetable charms” (Roth 1924:355; see also Roth 1915:283-284). Guss did not account for this incongruity.

This motif is absent in Van Velthem’s (1998) Iconographic Catalogue. Among the Yekuana, Mado fedi (Jaguar face) is nearly identical to that of the Devil’s Motif order (Guss 1989:111).

“de [Tamok-] danser stelt den geest Tamoktamok voor (die een tuna-kaikui [watermonster] is en een iyum [jum = a) vader –referentie–; b) begin; c) meester]), wat ook de naam is van de grote blauwe Morpho-vlinders die in het duistere woud leven” (de Goeje 1941:111).

Butterfly-mask-dancers play a central role in Northwest Amazonian dances (Oyuela-Caycedo 2004:65 ff.). Preliminary dances are performed to honor the memory of the recently deceased (Oyuela-Caycedo 2004:60-61), which is in support of Crevaux’s interpretation of the pono-dance. Noted by Oyuela-Caycedo (ibid.) was that the preliminary dance was to prevent that spirits of the diseased would interfere with masked dances.

Arquebus or arcabusa: interchange of the alveolar liquid/flap r/l; c/k; b/p; and s/h leads to alakapuha.

With regard to the present study, Betty Meggers conducted (with her husband Clifford Evans) archaeological investigations at the mouth of the Amazon (Meggers and Evans 1957). She included in her analysis material excavated by Curt Nimuendajú in the 1920s at Alto Alegre, Bom Destino and Uxy (locations mapped by Meggers [1957:35]). This area in the lower Jari Basin was incorporated in the extractive area of José Júlio de Andrade (1899-1948) and the Jari Project (1967-1999) (Little 2001); hence little archaeological evidence may remains.

Note that Wayana distinguish Pijanokoto as painted black when going to war. Pijanokoto are historically situated between the upper Trombetas and upper Parú de Este.

“Yendo caminando, mandó el Capitán que saltásemos en tierra por tomar alguna recreación de aquella tierra que tanto nuestras agradaba; y así paramos [...] días en este dicho asiento, de donde el Capitán mandó que se fuesse a ver la tierra adentro en una legua [about 4 km], por ver y saber qué tierra era; y así fueron y no caminaron una legua cuando los que iban dan la vuelta, dicen al Capitán como la tierra iba siempre mejorando porque era todo çabanas y los montes como dicho habemos, y parecía mucho rastro de gente que venía por allí a caza, y que no era cosa de pasar adelante; y así de la vuelta el Capitán se holgó” (Carvajal 1992:269).

This idea is also present among the Yagua, Witoto, and others (Girard 1963).
“I fait une distinction entre les vents et les pluies favorables, et les mauvais vents et mauvais pluies (les vents étant toujours associés à la pluie). Les premiers sont ceux demandés par le mage, bienfaiteur de la communauté; les autres sont produits par Tsemé Tschmé ou Chemey. . . . Tsemé ou Chemey signifie maladie” (Girard 1963:87-88).


“Der Tod durch alle andere Krankheiten (other than ‘Zaubertod’), durch Unfälle und Alterstod ist von tsêmé gegeben” (Tessmann 1930:273).

Note that among the Desana (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1997:102) the paca (Coelogynis paca) is called “semé, related to sumú, which signifies the white foam and bubbles that float on the dark waters near waterfalls and deep pools; these spots always have marked fertility associations, and the Indians speak of ‘foaming’ and ‘bubbling’ as procreative and live giving process.”

“Y también dicen que el Sol y la luna salieron de una cueva, que está en el país de un cacique llamado Mautiatihuel, la cual cueva se llama Iguanaboína, y ellos la tienen en mucha estimación (...). Y en dicha cueva había dos cemíes, hechos de piedra, pequeños, del tamaño de medio brazo, con las manos atadas, y parecía que sudaban. Los cuales cemíes estimaban mucho; y cuando no llovía, dicen que entraban allí a visitarlos y en seguida llovía. Y de dichos cemíes, al uno le llamaban Boínayel 76 y al otro Máróhu. 77

Notas:
76) Ulloa: Boinayel; Anglería: Binthaitel. (....) Boina-y-el es el hijo de Boina, la Serpiente Parda, metaforización de las nubes cargadas de lluvia.
77) Ulloa: Maroio; Anglería: Máróhu. La lectura de Pedro Mártir claramente registra tres semantemas: el prefijo , privativo ma-; la raiz -aro- que aparece en las voces arahucas or-aro, ur-aro, ul-aro ‘nube’, y el sufijo nominalizador -hu, (...). Significaria, pues, ‘Sin-Nubes’ (....).

Long-eared Indians were also later reported by Harcourt’s cousin Unton Fisher (1613:52) during his excursion upstream the Maroni River. Not known at the time was that the sources of Oyapock as well as the sources of Tampok (or Aroua; tributary of the Maroni River. Named by Fisher in 1609: Arroua) originate from the same watershed at about N 2°20’ W 53°30’ where as well Cuc (Kouc, tributary of the Jari River) has its source. It is in this area that is located the Amikwan, which in Tupi means “long ears.” I conclude therefore—contrary to Harcourt (1613:41) who concluded that there be many nations of long-eared people—that long-eared Indians reported both at the sources of Oyapock (Harcourt 1613:41) as well as at the sources of Maroni (Fisher in Harcourt 1613:52) are one and the same people.

Another example of this sound /e/ can be found in the indigenous name for sand fleas. Kappler, even in one volume, has different ways of writing “tsjicas of zandvlooijen (Pulex penetrans)” (Kappler 1983:68), “tschika” (idem:86), “chique, ook wel sicca genoemd” (ibid.:117). /e/ can thus be written as [tsj], [tsch], [ch] and [s].

Potentiality for precipitation is exceedingly great; northeastern trade winds bring immense quantities of moisture into the atmosphere, a feature which is eloquently expressed by the very high absolute and relative humidity. Some atmospheric cooling is required before precipitation is induced. Cooling may occur by means of a very common orographic effect; resulting in plumes of clouds and associated rainfall.

Compare with Ramón Pané (1974 [1493]:42): “and it seemed it sweated.” Pané does not mention whether this cemíes was black-and-white, although zemis (as well as stone beads) from black-and-white stone (diorite) have been recorded in Caribbean archaeology (Knippenberg 2006). Furthermore, Desana call paca (Coelogynis paca) “semé, related to sumú, which signifies white foam and bubbles floating on dark waters near waterfalls and deep pools; these spots always have marked fertility associations, and Indians speak of foaming and bubbling as procreative and live giving process” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1997:102).

Note the resemblance between tai and tayn of the Arawak speaking Baniwa refered to above.

Mark the linguistic resemblance between istaino (jaguar) and Taino (People of the Greater Antilles who greeted Columbus [Rouse 1992]).

In Wayana, lightning is called by onomatopoeia: pîpîptîkai or talala. Summer lightning is called wapot or wapotkatîp (literally: like wapot; after hearth, fireplace, or fire in general).
CHAPTER 8
RITUAL ECONOMY OF POLITICAL POWER

This is the quest of Kailawa; on how they dwelled. … Here is the story of the explorers from a long time ago. The names of the explorers were: their leader Kailawa, also Êsihalala, their leader, his follower Kuluwapotï, their leader, and also Weweamat. … There were a lot of [leaders], but that was no hindrance. So the explorers went into the forest. There were a lot of fierce creatures there. … So they do not go swift, [they went] like the people who do not see. Maybe there were monsters there. [Kailawa] shot at everything. He shot all kinds of animals. … [Later] they arrived at a place where there were lots of manioc stems [kuhelap patatpë]. This is not far from the Aletani. So they [Kailawa and his men] go up the hill [i.e., the watershed], and descend till the mouth of Kule kule [affluent of the Aletani, south bank]. There used to be a path there. It was his [Kailawa’s] road. So they stopped there. There was no canoe there to descend; maybe there were no people there yet. There were people [at the Aletani] but not there [, not at the Kule kule]. It is like this. Well, the narrative ends about here. … There are still other things to say, but that will be long.

—excerpts from Kulienpë’s story of Kailawa (Table C-14).

Figure 8-1. Kailawa spatial narratives painted by (A) Aimawale Opoya during the 2004 Kailawa expedition, and (B) by Ronnie Tikaiame at his house in Espérance (2000).
In the late nineteenth century, Henri Coudreau wrote on Wayana socio-political organization that “this small people has, actually, no leaders, who recognize only one authority, namely that of the father of the family” (1893:204; all translations of Coudreau are mine), and that each village gave rise to its autonomous tamusi (village leader) not dependent on any chief or any confederation (ibid.:237), providing historical grounds for the statement that “in the absence of any overarching, hierarchically ordered institution each settlement is master unto itself, and its internal political structure is safely studied in isolation” (Rivière 1984:72).

In his historical review, however, Coudreau (1893:237, 564) wrote that the Wayana military institution—particularly the role of the paramount chief, named yapotoli, who commanded directly all village leaders—fell in disuse after the wars with the Wayâpi. Coudreau (1893:237) stated that Ouaninika [Waninika, Wane] was the last yapotoli of a long line of paramount chiefs, beginning with Caïraoua [= Kailawa], Sarara, Toropé, Ouèt, and Tamoui, who were “downright little tyrants,” according to Coudreau (ibid.). Then again, he concluded that “the Roucouyennes [= Wayana] today [1880s] are a tribe without organization, completely disintegrated, without federative bond and without local authority: it is the regression. Tamouchis or village leaders hold, that is most of them, no genuine authority; there are sometimes several in one village, and there are villages who have none. The youth no longer obeys and mock the chiefs and the elders” (Coudreau 1893:237-238; emphasis added). These statements give the impression that regional socio-political organization was no longer present among the Wayana in the late nineteenth century and question the political power of local chiefs.

Nevertheless, Coudreau presented ethnographic data supporting a regional, overarching, hierarchically ordered institution during the description of the village named Pililipu (between Aletani and Marouini; Figure 8-3). Pililipu was founded by Toum toum (Coudreau 1893:108),
but when Touanké [Twanke] moved to this village after the death of his father Ouané [Wane], he became tamusi of Pililipu, as Twanke was “of a greater race than Toumtoum” (ibid.). This “greater race” was earlier described by Coudreau (1893:104) as “an old roucouyenne [Wayana] family who since a long time ago provides tamouchis to the Roucouyennes of the Marouini and the Aletani” (ibid.). Later in this chapter I will focus on such continuous socio-political units, as well as critically evaluate the chiefly terms tamusi, yapotoli, and granman. Rather than defining these terms, or categorizing what things mean, this chapter explores how things mean, and how chieftaincy plays out in a ritual economy. First I will set the stage of regional socio-political organization with the story of Kailawa as history. Though preceding chapters may have given the impression of rather local events, becoming Wayana in Guiana is a multi-scalar process in which the sacred landscape of Tumuc-Humac and the culture hero Kailawa take a prominent place; ensuing a Wayana region centered upon mount Tukusipan.

8.1 Kailawa: His Story as History

Henri Coudreau (1893:237) stated that Caïraoua [= Kailawa] was the first of a long line of paramount chiefs. In the context of Kailawa finding a path across the watershed to unite Wayana in search of a safe place to live, it is noteworthy that his name seems a play of tropes of Karai, Caraiva (H. Clastres 1995)—Carai (e.g., de Léry 1994:396 [1578])—i.e., Tupi prophets, religious and often political leaders. Discourse on Kailawa resonates with Robert Carneiro’s (1998) model of a successful war chief becoming paramount leader of a collectivity of settlements based on merit. As mentioned in oral tradition, Wayana went to Kailawa as he was already significantly knowledgeable (uwantatpï) as he knew (tuwalë) powerful hemït (charms, poisons) (Table C-3: lines 13–16). Kailawa was not simply the first of a long line of chiefs; he was the founding father of the Wayana confederation.
Although Crevaux (1881), Coudreau (1893), Hurault (1965, 1968), Ahlbrinck (1956), and de Goeje (1906, 1941, 1943) wrote extensively on the Wayana, Kailawa’s story remained silent to history until recently (Chapuis 2001; Chapuis and Rivière 2003; Duin 2006; Pellet and Saint-Jean 2006). Wayana history of Kailawa was voiced by Aimawale Opoya (main informant of Jean Chapuis; cousin of Ronnie Tïkaime hosting Renzo Duin; member of Association Alabama headed by Eric Pellet). Not only is he named after his maternal great-grandfather, Aimawale was also the name of one of the peito of Kailawa, a lieutenant, as Aimawale repeatedly recites.

Many mythical elements are included in the stories of Kailawa, yet the narrative appears to be situated in historical times (possibly eighteenth century). Wars with the Wayãpi, mentioned above, are one time indicator. Epoch between the arrival of the first Europeans around 1500 and the mid-eighteenth century, i.e., the most dreadful period of Guiana history, remains largely unknown (Hemming 1978, 1987; Whitehead 1999). It is commonly assumed that remnants of Guiana peoples regrouped in the interior of Guiana. Rather than simply dismissing the discourse on Kailawa as legendary, this study attempts to make sense of this as history; as “mythstory”.

Rather than fixed in time, Kailawa’s story is grounded in space, and this spatial narrative can be traced with a finger on the map (Appendix C: Kailawa; Figure 8-2). During the last stages, from kuhelap patatpë (former place of manioc stems), Kailawa and his men go up the hill and descend into the valley of Kule kule, affluent of the Aletani (Table C-14: lines 189–191). This experiential tour of crossing the watershed is an alternative description of mapping the three-junction between Brazil, Suriname, and French Guiana. This chapter, drawing on mapped places and historically recorded events, mainly focuses on the interrelations between named places and peoples through time, to gain a sense of its socio-political complexity.
Kailawa is portrayed as a powerful warrior-shaman, situated at the closing stages of the era of “the old wars” (Chapuis and Rivière 2003). From an indigenous Amazonian perspective, it appears that generic cosmic mythical time begins its drama with a catastrophic event, and it is probable that in oral tradition “war” is a cosmological “necessity” that might not have taken place in reality (Wright 1998:128). In discourse, the Amazonian warrior is a glorified peacemaker trained to kill (Basso 1989, 1995:91-104), yet responsible for reproduction of society (Clastres 1994c, 1994d). Simone Dreyfus (1983/1984) posited that the disappearance of warfare in Guiana might be responsible for the shattering of hierarchical and intertwined macro-polities of the past and the rise of egalitarian, atomistic, and often small and fleeting settlements. The research question is therefore whether hierarchical supravillage organizations indeed ceased to exist, or whether the absence of war basically made these interrelations less visible (and what processes make these interrelations situated in subjectivity more visible). Next to warfare, this research question needs to be situated historically in population movements, and a rapid demographic decline from an estimate of over 4000 in 1787 (Coudreau 1893:565), 2–3000 in 1878 (Crevaux 1987:303), to 1000–1500 people in 1890 (Coudreau 1893:547). Rather than determining whether or not these eternal wars actually took place at the extent described in oral tradition, it may be concluded that “war” is a primordial Amazonian model defining identity though alterity while ordering the social landscape and opening up the potential for exchange.

Defining identity though alterity is at the heart of social reproduction, as no community is “[capable] of self-reproduction in isolation” (Fausto 2000:948; Lévi-Strauss 1949; Overing 1983/1984:333; Viveiros de Castro 1986). Focused on social relations, social anthropological models such as “the moral economy of intimacy” by Joanna Overing Kaplan (1983/1984), Peter Rivière’s “political economy of control” (1983/1984), and “the symbolic economy of alterity”
(“economia da predação”) by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1986, 1992, 1996) and Carlos Fausto (1999, 2000), often underemphasize the regional socio-political aspects at the origin of producing reciprocal relations with other social groups (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1943, 1949; Heckenberger 2005). Established in the present study is how political aspects of producing reciprocal relations with other social groups, along with characteristics of sociality, are present in Guiana, including regional levels of socio-political reproduction of supralocal sociality.

Reproduction of Wayana sociality appears grounded in a desire of bringing social others (ancestors, Trio subgroups and other indigenous groups, and non-indigenous people) into the heart of Wayana society, as demonstrated in the outline of the maraké in a previous chapter, to become skilled at their knowledge. Wayana appropriation and familiarization of social others during festivals seems in line with Carlos Fausto’s (1999) variation of the symbolic economy of alterity where shaman and warrior, each in his own manner, mediate this dialectic interplay between master and pet, interiority and exteriority, identity and alterity, while guarding the risk of enemies becoming too friendly and kin becoming alleged rivals. Rather than opting for one or another paradigm for social reproduction, I will critically assess how Wayana manage such hierarchical power relations at various scales, and how these interrelations are in history.

Warrior-shaman Kailawa embodies the historical mediation of identity and alterity among Wayana. The focus of investigation here is on the role of roundhouses (tukusipan) where ritual gatherings take place in this process of symbolic and social reproduction situated in alterity, in conjunction with the mythical landscape traversed by Kailawa and his men; in particular the role of mount Tukusipan, which Kailawa climbed to sing ėlemi chants to become immortal. Acknowledging the symbolic density of the Guiana roundhouse, this study is not to determine what its meaning is, but rather how tukusipan means. Tumuc-Humac Mountains, according to
geographers (Hurault 2000; Lézy 2000), is a mythical place that does not exist, nonetheless, this landscape is a place of symbolic density and in that sense mythical, and this chapter outlines how this landscape has meaning for Wayana. It was in the Tumuc-Humac that Francis Mazière in the early 1950s saw a rocky outcrop emerging from the green canopy against a clear blue sky, which he pointed out to his guide Janamale who answered that “it is there where, long ago, the Wayana were born” (Mazière 1953:203; my translation);6 a statement silenced by the Amazonian rainforest in the history writing in Brazil, Suriname, and French Guiana.

Against a backdrop of globalizing change in eighteenth century Guiana, manifestation of Wayana— at the time known as Roucuyenne (Tony 1835, 1843; Crevaux 1882:17)—occurred along the lines of Jonathan Hill’s notion of ethnogenesis as “concept encompassing peoples’ simultaneous cultural and political struggles to create enduring identities in general contexts of radical change and discontinuity” (Hill 1996:1). Demographic decline and raids by Wayãpi and Kaliña (Taira), were a result of respectively European introduced diseases and guns. In due process, the Wayana confederation emerged (“the Wayana were born”) in the Tumuc-Humac region, simultaneously a historical and mythical place.7 Expressed in the narratives on Kailawa as he moved from west (Taluwakem “He-who-holds-the-mirror [aluwa];” Figure 8-3: F) to east (Tïmomailem / T1; near Borne 1), is the symbolic density of this legendary, even sacred, landscape of Kailawa’s Wayana. The identity of the new Wayana nation was in reference to men-killing monsters and fierce people (i.e., dangerous social others).

A coherent story on the trail founded by Kailawa, as Kulienpë narrated to me (Table C-14; Figure 8-2), was not provided by Kulijaman to Jean Chapuis. Kulijaman’s narratives on the events related to Kailawa leap from *Mawu ekumïtpë* to *Paluluimë enpë* (Chapuis and Rivière 2003:797-813), without Chapuis properly explaining the context.
Where Kulienpë’s story on Kailawa ends—stating that “there are still other things to say, but that will be long too” (Table C-14: line 193)—Kulijaman’s story continues as follows: while Kailawa and his men tried to get rid of the monsters dwelling in the Tumuc-Humac mountain range, they visited inselberg Pëmpëmuli, lair of the bumblebee pëmu (Chapuis and Rivière 2003:804-805). From here they went to Mïtalaka [= Mitaraka Nord], which is not invested with monsters (Figure 8-2: #7; Kailawa had during and earlier visit established that there were no caves, and no people at this inselberg). Nearby they encountered the fierce bee Alama, and they called this place Alama patatpë (former place of the bee alama). Next, Kailawa and his men perceived shadows at which they shoot, and named this shadow place Tëwalunem (ibid.:808-807). Then they went to the place of oklai birds, and they continued.

It appears that Kailawa and his men followed the watershed from Massif du Mitaraka to T1/ Timotakem, coincidently the very same trajectory we followed during the 2004 expedition (Pellet and Saint-Jean 2006; Figure 8-3: triple dotted line). Only after dwelling in this region, and getting a feel of the landscape, I was able to locate named places in Kulijaman’s narrative. Kailawa and his men encountered at the next inselberg the fierce Wayarikule (which ethnonym will be discussed in the last part of this chapter; Chapuis noted that these Wayarikule were monstrous spirits, not ‘real’ people). Then follows the inselberg with a plateau, recited in the kalau chant, as emphasized by Kulijaman (Chapuis and Rivière 2003:808-809), wherein it is named Tukusipan and nicknamed Timotakem (as discussed below, I identify this inselberg as T1). At the foot of this inselberg, Kailawa and his men found lifeless bodies of people, and Kailawa asked himself who might have killed them (ibid.:808-809). These events are recounted in kalau songs (Hurault 1968:126; Chapuis and Rivière 2003:1000-1005) performed during the Wayana maraké ritual, at the foot of a community roundhouse (tukusipan).
Figure 8-2. Kailawa’s trail bridging the Tumuc-Humac watershed. Footsteps indicate Kailawa’s journey, whereas the dotted line indicates the corollary trail.
Figure 8-3. Reference map of the mythical landscape of Tumuc-Humac.
Rather than attempting to locate Kailawa as a historical figure in time and space (as typical in western historiography), the role of Kailawa is situated in becoming Wayana, as recently foregrounded during the 2004 maraké ritual where Aimawale had requested Kailawa (bearing the same name, and thus descendent of, the historical leader) to sing the kalau songs. Ground for his second maraké is unique in Wayana history as Aimawale sought to be fully prepared for the 2004 Kailawa Expedition (Pellet and Saint-Jean 2006). By bringing an anthropomorphic kunana (stinging shield; Aimawale said this was Kailawa) into play, Aimawale materialized a direct relationship between him and the founding father of the Wayana confederation: Kailawa. A few months after the 2004 maraké, Aimawale and Pajakwali [nephew of Tasikale]—both were tēpijem and had endured the stinging ritual, as had Sylvain Hervouët de Forges—participated in the 2004 Kailawa expedition to explore the Tumuc-Humac Mountains where once roamed Kailawa according to Wayana oral tradition (Pellet and Saint-Jean 2006).

Several isolated mountaintops (inselberg; tēpu) in the Tumuc-Humac range are named after proper names related to the Wayana ritual; for instance, Kailawa’s hideout Temomairem (He-who-is-momai) is in reference to momai (neophyte in retreat before becoming tēpijem). Most significant is Toukouchipann as stone embodiment of the roundhouse (tukusipan). Initially—in reference to other mythical stone roundhouses in Guiana (e.g., Guss 1989:21)—I thought this to be the mythical place where once the Creator twins had enclosed the jaguars (Duin 1998, 2002/2003). During the 2004 expedition, while I was wayfinding and dwelling in this symbolically dense landscape with Wayana, an alternative sense emerged: the Wayana confederation was founded under leadership of Kailawa at Mount Tukusipan.
8.2 Political Tactics During Communal Rituals

“And thus are the strange manners and customs of the noble nation of the Wayana, the only [people] who, in central Guiana, still practice the maraké” concluded Henri Coudreau (1893:235; my translation)\(^{10}\) without further explanation and grounds for these “odd” rituals. These flamboyant life-crisis rituals, as discussed in detail earlier, have generally been interpreted as initiation rite, whereby regalia, songs, and dances have by and large been taken for granted (Ahlbrinck 1956; Cognat 1977, 1989; Coudreau 1893; Crevaux 1881; Darbois 1956; de Goeje 1908; Hurault 1968; Mazière 1953; van Velthem 1995). This communal ritual at the heart of the Wayana ritual economy, I argue, is rooted in the “habitual grammar” of an initiation ritual (first performed by the Creator twins) as the political means to tactically produce reciprocal relations with other social groups. In other words, Wayana communal rituals are situated in the “cultural-public” mode of sociality producing a social body, which is truncated by a common assumption of a “natural-domestic” mode of initiation rites for adolescents producing a socialized body. To gain apprehension of the cultural-public dimension of this ritual, temporality of the socio-political landscape ought to be recognized.

Today, in times when Wayana are under pressure of gold mining and global politics, Aimawale Opoya and his brother-in-law Tasikale Aloupki succeeded in reuniting Wayana of the upper Maroni basin. In doing so, they revitalized the tradition of Kailawa who, in reaction to similar outside pressures, unified a wide range of peoples (“tribes”) under the name Wayana. The maraké goes beyond a mere initiation ritual, or a sheer recital and performance of the acts of the Creator twins. The 2004 maraké, I posit, is “traditional” as well as innovative in some aspects. Modern influences range within habitual customs.\(^{11}\) Cultural continuity along with innovation is demonstrated by comparing the 2004 maraké with similar rituals described in detail by, amongst others, Ahlbrinck (1956 [ritual in 1938]), Hurault (1968 [ritual in 1965]), and Miller
(in prep. [ritual in 1973]). Where Aimawale is drawing legitimization from Kailawa, it appears that Kailawa was drawing legitimization from Creator twin Kujuli; drawing together mortals, divine ancestors, earth, and sky, or what Martin Heidegger (1977:327 [1954]) called the gathering of the fourfold in one space-time. These communal gatherings are revitalizing rituals embodying and materializing collective social memory within performing participants. Wayana society is at time performer and audience, from which emerges a Wayana space-time.

8.2.1 Historical Demographics

Before elaborating upon the socio-political Guiana landscape, Wayana sociality, and how political tactics play out during the ritual economy, I have to ground this process in historical demographics, as these socio-political processes depend on a sheer number of people. When discussing the socio-political Guiana landscape, one factor not taken into consideration—or not stressed enough—is the historical demographic effect of shrinking and growing. Considering demographic data, Henri Coudreau (1892a:8) stated that “nothing is more variable than the total of the indigenous population” (Rien n’est plus variable d’ailleurs, que le total d’une population indienne) because the entire population moved along so that he could not make a distinction between hosts and guests of a given village. Sometimes women and children left the village and fled into the woods. On occasion, a single house contained thirty people, at times merely a single couple (ibid.). In the late nineteenth century there were thirty-six settlements; some only counted three to four houses, others had up to six houses (Coudreau 1893:565). Coudreau (ibid.) estimated an average of 100 residents per settlement, including twenty archers (i.e., adult men), and acknowledged that the total Wayana population was extremely variable, depending on either intelligent chiefs (population growth), or epidemics such as smallpox (population decline).
Diachronic demographic data demonstrates that the number of Wayana today is rising after a turbulent time of rapid decline from an estimated 4000+ in 1787 (Coudreau 1893:565), 2–3000 in 1878 (Crevaux 1987:303), 1000–1500 people in 1890 (Coudreau 1893:547), to reach a demographic nadir in the 1940s of 338 Wayana total; of which only 72 individuals (of which only 58 adults) in five villages in the research area (Schmidt 1942:50) (Figure 8-4). After World War II, medical aid in the interior of Suriname (via “Medische Zending”) and French Guiana would prevent the Wayana from extinguishing. Western medication against European diseases would establish a healthy foundation for a dramatic historic effect of demographic growth. In 1999, ISA estimated 1,615 Wayana (total in Suriname, French Guiana, and Brazil), which is a remarkable increase of the numbers of the 1940s, nevertheless far below the lowest population estimates of Crevaux in 1878.
Historical demographic data on the Wayana is not without discrepancies. First of all, there is no demographic census before 1940, only rough estimates. Where Lodewijk Schmidt (1942) during the first census noted 72 individuals in five villages in the research area in 1940, Ahlbrinck (1965) had estimated about 150 individuals in four villages in the research area in 1938. This discrepancy might be rooted in ephemeral Wayana settlements and rollercoaster demographics. Then again, in 1948 a French medical doctor (André Sausse) and a French geographer (Jean Hurault) made census in the research area. According to André Sausse (1951) the number of villages in 1948 had been reduced to four (three on the French bank, and one on the Surinamese bank), of which only 61 Wayana dwell on the French bank—his estimate of 150 Wayana total implies that there are about 89 Wayana in the one village on the Surinamese bank—(Sausse 1951:100). Conversely, Jean Hurault (1965:25) located six Wayana settlements in 1948 (three on the French bank, and three on the Surinamese bank). One explanation is that Sausse did not go far enough upriver to observe the last two Wayana settlements. With regard to the research area, movements of Wayana from the Surinamese Bank to the French Bank, as well as movements to and from Brazil and south-central Suriname, did not facilitate demographic census or even estimates.

Two conclusions can be drawn from the above outline of Wayana demographics. First, estimating population averages does not address that Wayana settlements, today and in the past, range from farmsteads with only about 15 inhabitants to villages with over 100 residents. This considerable demographic variability has not been a concern for ethnographers coping with average population estimates. Secondly, it is during the demographic nadir (1920s – 1960s) that ethnographic fieldwork was conducted in Guiana, providing the image of the standard model of tropical forest cultures. Such demographic decline caused a sheer lack of a people to sustain
potential for a complex society. Based on a paradigm of a “political economy of control,” Peter Rivière (1983/1984, 1984) concluded—drawing on Terence Turner (1979, 1984)—that the political economy of Guiana is concerned with the management of people, not of goods, but people were few in number when Peter Rivière conducted his research in Guiana.

Before I continue my qualitative analysis of Wayana (Guiana) chiefs in general, and two chiefs in particular, I will, as an aside, conduct in the next few paragraphs a brief quantitative exercise in sheer population numbers and how this effect potential for Wayana socio-political complexity. In the context of foundations of social inequality, Garry Feinman advocated “considering ‘population’ as a category rather than as a variable” (1995:259-261), inspired by a social science study by Russell Bernard and Peter Killworth On the Social Structure of an Ocean-Going Research Vessel and Other Important Things (1973). Derived from empirical evidence, Feinman concluded that “communities (or tightly integrated political groups) larger than 2,500 ± 500 do seem to be associated with significant organizational complexity” (1995:260). Bernard and Killworth (1973), discuss, amongst others, the psychological and mathematical limitations on interpersonal relations between elements of subgroups in larger units. It is concluded that “the maximum group size which can be “handled” by random elements carrying the psychological restriction $E(x) \leq 7$ is therefore 2460, achieved by 30 subgroups of 85 elements” (ibid.:183). Furthermore, they hypothesize in conclusion that “any group of more than at most 140 elements must form its own subgroups, and in so doing produce its own formalized hierarchy to deal with this” (Bernard and Killworth 1973:184).

Considering the Wayana case, it is Feinman’s “magical number” of 2,500 ± 500 that is the estimate provided by Crevaux for 1878 (Figure 8-4). Hurault (1989:168) stated that Patris had estimated the same numbers (2–3,000) for the Wayana in 1766. Exact numbers of Wayana
before 1900 period will never be known, nevertheless, demographic estimates before 1900 indicate a sufficient number of Wayana to reach 2,460 individuals resulting in more complex hierarchical societies; a hierarchical Wayana society as encountered in 1769 (Tony 1835, 1843). As the Wayana population is growing (Figure 8-4), I posit that once the Wayana population will reach the 2,500 ± 500 range (i.e., the demographic foundation of social inequality) Wayana society will materialize a more hierarchical socio-political structure. To continue this exercise, the number of subgroups hypothesized in the social science study (30; Bernard and Killworth 1973:183) is approximately the number of settlements in the Wayana region in a given time period, e.g., 36 villages in 1890 (Coudreau 1893:547). Following this line of thought, the ideal number of inhabitants of a Wayana settlement would be 85, and when the number of inhabitants reaches 140, fission will most likely occur to produce its proper formalized hierarchical subgroups in order to manage interpersonal relations.

No complete census is available for the Wayana region. In March 1997, a French research team conducted a demographic survey in four Wayana villages (Kayode, Tvenke, Talhuwen, and Antecume pata) during their study on the impact of mercury on the health of the Wayana of the upper Maroni River, counting a total of 521 individuals, consisting of 286 men and 235 women (Table 8-1; web reference 18). Of the total of 521 individuals, 54.3% was below the age of 20, and only 5.4% was over 60 years of age. Following the hypothesis of Bernard and Killworth (1973), the village of Tvenke (home of Amaipotï, Wayana granman of the French Bank), with 88 inhabitants, is near the ideal number of 85, and the settlements of Talhuwen (146 inhabitants) and Antecume pata (175 inhabitants) should have formed subgroups as they have crossed the critical number of 140. Even when this census is incomplete (only four of the largest villages out of about twenty settlements in the region) it raises some inspiring questions.
Table 8-1. Demographic numbers of four Wayana villages (data source: web reference 18).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Antecume pata</th>
<th>Twenke</th>
<th>Talhuwen</th>
<th>Kayode</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>women</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>women</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>70 - 74</td>
<td>1</td>
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As I began this exercise, I have to explain why the Wayana villages of Antecume pata and Talhuwen did not comply with the hypothesis Bernard and Killworth (1973), or do they? The anomalous data of Antecume pata can be explained mainly as this is the settlement of the Frenchman André “Antëkë” Cognat who founded this village in the 1970s at the location of the former habitation of Boni Granman Tolinga. Antecume pata is unique in that it is the settlement of a Frenchman who chose the Wayana lifestyle (Cognat 1977, 1989), yet built in his village a dispensary, school, store, tourist lodge, and surrounded himself with other European luxuries. On the plan view of Antecume pata various wards with cleared grounds can be distinguished (Figure 8-5). André Cognat, as village leader, bonds the various subgroups in his settlement. Future developments, after Cognat leaves this place, will demonstrate how these different subgroups will be played out, as some have already began to built houses across the river.
Figure 8-5. Planview of Antecume pata, the village of André “Antëkë” Cognat.

Talhuwen, the second anomalous village (146 inhabitants in 1997) also had crossed the critical number of 140 for the break-up of a subgroup. Undetermined is whether the critical number includes children or merely adults participating in the process of socio-political communication. The layout of the village of Talhuwen has been discussed earlier (Chapter 3.3), and this was the site for the 2004 ėputop (Chapter 6). The social science study by Bernard and Killworth indicate that the time and location of the 2004 maraké at Talhuwen is more than likely rooted in mechanisms to manage historical demographic effect of growing populations.
Twenke (with 88 inhabitants near the ideal number to manage interpersonal relations) and Talhuwen (with 146 inhabitants crossed the critical number of 140, which must form its own subgroups and in so doing produce its own formalized hierarchy to deal with interpersonal relations) go beyond the typical Wayana settlement. Twenke is named after its founder, the late Wayana granman from the French bank and great-grandson of Touanké [= Twanke] of who Coudreau said he was of a “greater race … an old roucouyenne [Wayana] family who since a long time ago provides tamouchis to the Roucouyennes of the Marouini and the Aletani” (Coudreau 1893:104). Talhuwen, located across the river from Twenke, is built on the former garden fields of Twenke and therefore belongs to Twenke. The 2004 maraké at Talhuwen was organized by Aimawale Opoya, paternal grandson of Janamale (late Wayana granman from the Surinamese Bank). Before further analyzing this tale of two Wayana granman, Twenke and Janamale, I will first critically evaluate the position and role of Wayana chiefs.

8.2.2 On Wayana (Guiana) Chiefs and their Supporters

Tamusi (synonyms: tamouchi, tamouchy, tamouthchi, and tamoesji) is the term used by early Europeans to indicate Wayana village leaders. Tamusi is the general term of reference for village elder (tamusi = grandfather; term of address: tamo). As the village leader often is a village elder, he is referred to as “grandfather” (tamusi). Tamusi is a deictic concept in that it does not exist without its complement: peito (poito in Carib). That the position of a tamusi is referenced to other aspects in life is illustrated by Toewoli’s reply to de Goeje that “Apoteki is only a little bit tamoesji [= tamusi]; he does not have any péito’s, nor a village or garden plot” (de Goeje 1905a:934; my translation). Crevaux (1987:264 [1881]) translated peito as “warrior” (guerrier). Other translations of peito are vassal (Hurault 1968:74), son-in-law, helper, assistant, servant, and even slave (Butt Colson 1983/1984:10; Henley 1983/1984; Whitehead 1999:404). These interpretations are rooted in the Carib institution of bride service, whereby the son-in-law
has an inferior position and has to perform labor for his parents-in-law. As such the relationship between tamusi and peito is one of hierarchy in the social use of kinship in practice.\textsuperscript{14} This relationship is at the foundation of the “political economy of control” (Rivière 1983/1984). This paradigm of social reproduction is however limited in understanding symbolic capital and the ritual phase of political economy, critical in a ritual economy.

Being tamusi consist of more than a sheer title. Yacouman [Jakuman] stated that “qualities of a leader are not only in war, [the leader] must show [his qualities] in time of peace in giving intelligent orders for fishing, hunting, and manioc [agri-] culture” (Crevaux 1987:311 [1881]; my translation). Intelligent orders for a sustainable development are only to be given based on a proper knowledge of the environment, weather conditions, and expertise of the star-calendar.

Yacouman, an Upului, was the most influential chief, and resided for over twenty years in his village along the upper Jari, south of the Tumuc-Humac watershed (Coudreau 1893:235; Crevaux 1987:311). Yacouman acknowledged to Crevaux (1987:311) that Taliman (leader of the village Talimapo along the Paru d’Este) was a great authority and that his peito, the ‘soldiers’ of Taliman, were all fat (indicative that they were well provided for). However, “Taliman is not the son of a tamouchy,” he went on to say, “he is not a hereditary prince; he obtained the diadem with caiman scales by marrying the daughter of the leader” (ibid.).\textsuperscript{15} This diadem with caiman scales is part of the material wealth that makes up the estate of the corporate body by which means the transmission of the title tamusi is transmitted; legitimatizing continuity of the social house as expressed in the language of kinship or of affinity and, most often, of both, following the definition of a social House by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1982:174, 1987).
Although there appear to be families that do provide more tamusis than other families, tamus and peito are not routinized into fixed cast systems. Let the interrelatedness and fluidity of relationships between tamus and peito be illustrated by a short novella presented by Crevaux:

Yeleumeu, one of the last survivors of the Apourou tribe [= Upului] (Crevaux 1987:265), showed affection for the widow of the powerful pijai (shaman) Macuipi, who had just been buried (ibid.:270; Figure 5-10). In effect, Yeleumeu showed his affection to the mother of two children who addressed Yeleumeu not as ‘papa’ but as classificatory husband (ibid.:271). In exchange of these benefits, Yeleumeu gave up his title of tamus and became a peito; allocated to be commanded by the son of the late Macuipi who was only a child (Crevaux 1987:265; all translations of Crevaux, Coudreau, and Hurault are mine).

Hereditary tamusis, such as Ouanica [Wanika] the 15 year old son of Yacouman, have the right to sit on a stool (kololo) during meals alike the ruling leader (Crevaux 1987:278, 312). Such seats of power can be considered material wealth, yet immaterial wealth is located in the proper act of sitting on a stool while eating, as peito have to sit on their heels during meals.

Another example of material wealth engendering immaterial wealth is the ceremonial flat-board club kapalu, a thunder club (Chapter 7.4). Jean Hurault (1968:73) stated that: “traditionally, the function of tamus was accompanied by certain decorum. The tamus kept, stuck in the ground, next to his hammock, the kapalu, club, symbol of his power. During ceremonies one of his peito followed constantly bearing the kapalu on his shoulders” (ibid.). While Hurault presented data and anecdotes allowing for an understanding of Wayana supravillage organization he sought after the traditional model of autonomous Guiana socio-political organization, following, among others, Niels Fock’s 1963 study among the Waiwai. Hurault concluded that “in the present social state of the Wayana, the function of tamus is a simple survival. It is difficult to imagine what the nature of authority of the village chief was, and how this was executed” (Hurault 1968:73; my translation). In concluding the present study I will focus on the nature of authority, not simply of the village chief but also of the Wayana paramount chief, how this was executed, and how this authority was grounded in the Guiana landscape.
Leader of the entire Wayana region, was what Yacouman [Jakuman] intended to become: “instead of being a simple tamouchy [tamusi] who commands a village, he intended to become a yapotari [= yapotoli], that is, leader of the entire region” (Crevaux 1987:283; my translation). In order to do so, Yacouman asked Crevaux (1987:283) to be sprinkled with salt water under the plea to acquire more prestige among the Wayana of the Jari. Akin the stool and flat-board club mentioned above, salt water is a material wealth that can be applied to engender immaterial wealth. Apatou (Boni translator for Crevaux and Coudreau) explained that there was no more salt left in their provisions, but that they would bring more salt next time. Yacouman, according to Crevaux, displayed remarkable self-centeredness in this occasion in recommending Apatou to bring only two bottles of salt: one for him and one for his heir. Crevaux concluded that the prestige of this exclusive practice of “sprinkling salt water” as reserved for paramount chiefs vanished when all peitos gained the opportunity to be sprinkled with holy water by missioners to become “brothers in Jesus Christ” (Crevaux 1987:283 [1878]), providing another explanation for the current absence of regional socio-political organization along with paramount chiefs.

Whereas Coudreau (1893:237, 564) stated that the chief who commanded directly all village leaders was named yapotoli (yapotari [Crevaux 1987:283]), Wayana today do not recognize this term. Possibly the term yapotoli is of Kaliña origin: i-abutu-li (“my clubber” which is a suitable name for a war-chief; abutu in Carib, kapalu in Wayana). Function of yapotoli resonates with the function of granman, whereby granman (after: grand man) is a Maroon term used in the interior of Suriname and French Guiana for the paramount chief. Most significant Wayana in the 1940s and ’50s was Janamale. Ahlbrinck (1956:47) wrote that it were the Wayana who told him that it was Admiral C. C. Käyser who had made Janamale “tamosesji” [tamusi]. In opposition to the Dutch, French Captain Sangnier had made Taponaike “tamosesji”
That the term “granman” is a Maroon term, and Dutch and French appointed Wayana as “tamusi” to facilitate communication from the capitals to the interior, and therefore intrinsically interwoven with global politics, does not automatically imply that the concept of a paramount chief is not a local indigenous development, as advocated by Karin Boven (2006:127) who wrote that the office of granman is a rather recent development in Wayana history due to political authority from Suriname and French Guiana. Demonstrated in the present study is that some Wayana are more significant than other Wayana—as Orwell would say: some are more equal than others—and their power reaches beyond their village boundaries.

Wayana terminology of chieftaincy is the best venue to gain a proper understanding for power relations among the Wayana. Whereas in early ethnographic sources village leaders are often referred to as tamusi (grandfather, elder) the proper term for a village chief in Wayana is ěutē umǐtin (the-one-in-charge-of the-village [ěutē = village; umǐt = big, creating force]). An alternative term is tipatakem (he-who-owns-the-place [pata = place of ...]), as his settlement is named after him (e.g., Antecume pata: place of Antēkē [Wayana nickname for André Cognat]). While discussing these terminologies of leadership with Wayana during my fieldwork in 2000, I asked for the Wayana term for granman, and Wayana replied: tīwitkem. With suffixes of possession ti-...-kem (compare with tipatakem = he-who-owns-the-place) the Wayana paramount chief (tīwitkem) is the person who owns “iwit.” Next inquiry was on “iwit,” root of tīwitkem (paramount chief), which is also the root in iwetkaimēi tīēi. Iwetkaimēi tīēi (also referred to as ētawokhe) are feasts held as “repayment” for gifts presented during takai, as no gift can be left without counter-gift (Mauss 1990 [1950]); iwit is also the root of the months of August and September—named Siouet and Siwit by Coudreau (1893:223; Table 4-5)—when many cassava beer parties are held and many people fight (Duin 2004:476). There are several kinds of takai...
presentation themes, such as *wama takai* (presentation of basketry; film by Duin in prep.), *kumu takai* (presentation of *kumu* palm fruits), *maja takai* (presentation of mango fruits), *heli takai* (presentation of edible *heli* ants), and *kololo takai* (presentation of benches [in film by Duin 2008]), to name but a few. Hurault (1968:78-77) described the course of events of such a *takai*, concluding that this was a mere “symbolic” exchange. Rather than a mere symbolic exchange, these ritualized exchanges are at the heart of a ritual economy wherein the prospective gathering generates a demand of increased production. Once the gifts have been presented—often on request by the receivers—a date is set for a “repayment feast” wherein the receivers will provide large quantities of cassava beer, meat, and rice\(^\text{17}\) to those who brought the gifts. Time-lapse between a *takai* presentation and a “repayment feast” (*iwetkaimëi tîtëi, ėtawokhe*) is on average a week (minimum period necessary to prepare cassava beer), yet may be as short as immediately after presentation of the gifts, or lasting up to several weeks.

Role of a Wayana *tiwitkem* (paramount chief) is therefore in the realm of ritual; managing a ritual economy, rather than supervising a sheer techno-economic or natural-domestic mode of production. Rather than “war-chiefs” (*yapotoli*), Wayana paramount chiefs (*tiwitkem*) are persons in charge of “*iwit*” (counter-gift festivities). Ultimate ritualized series of gift and counter-gift, presenting and receiving (and in due process identifying Self and social Others), is the *maraké* ritual. Rather than grounded in warfare, regional Wayana leadership and supravillage political power emerges within the social field of a ritual economy.

### 8.2.3 Tale of Two Chiefs: Janamale and Twanke

Whereas the late Twanke (Touanké) and Janamale were portrayed as typical Wayana, they were unique paramount chiefs, and in this section I will situate their presence in the context of *maraké* rituals and how this is medium and outcome of their authority. Rather than decoding the internal logic of symbolism (as rooted in the Creator twin narrative), apprehension of this vital
Wayana ritual must begin from a recognition of its socio-political temporality. Instead of focusing on similarities in Wayana marakés and generating a standard model for the course of events, I will here focus on the discrepancies between so-called “traditional initiation rituals” and “anomalous events” such as the December 1938 (Ahlbrinck 1956), and the 2004 maraké.

Uniformity between different marakés through time is indicative of habituated performances grounded in rhythmic mythological times; with feather headdresses rooted in mythological times (van Velthem 1995:169-182, 198-218). Typical recurring patterns, appealingly static through time, demonstrated incongruity in odd divertive events such as the 2004 maraké which has been designated as “non-traditional” by anthropologists (Boven 2006:147-156; Chapuis 2006:526).

Even when I can only refer to three rather comprehensively recorded ritual gatherings (all located in the upper Maroni basin)—namely, December 1938 (Ahlbrinck 1956), January 1965 (Hurault 1968), and September 2004—the socio-political contexts of these ritual events are so similar that there appears to be a pattern. There is not enough contextual data to definitively conclude that the 1889 maraké in Atoupi was a ritual-political tactical play of the Apalai to materialize a socio-political bond with “true” Wayana, in opposition to Upului (Coudreau 1893:537-547). Wayana maraké is a unique, yet far from subtle implement (cf. Fuks 1988), during major transformations to mediate potential conflicts.

Conditions in which this communal gathering functions is socio-political and goes beyond the techno-economic means of the autonomous village, as comes into view from the question posed by Ahlbrinck (1956:80); namely that as “the four leaders of the Aletani are all present. Who among them is in charge?” (All translations of Ahlbrinck are mine). Janamale, tamusi of his village where the maraké took place, participated in the ordeal himself. Namije (Awali), tamusi of the village of Taponte and successor of Taponte, is the guardian of Toepiep (Anapaïke)
who is in his turn the brother of Namije’s wife (Alahu). Wapotumït, tamusi of the village with the same name, is the oldest, yet Malaitawa,\textsuperscript{19} tamusi of the neighboring village, was said to be more skilled. Malaitawa is thus in charge of the 1938 maraké (Ahlbrinck 1956:80), and will sing the kalau songs (Ahlbrinck 1956:83). It is this complexity of names and kinship relations that has not facilitated thorough analysis of these Wayana rituals. Next to the presence of proper names, it is in the striking absence of people from Anapaïke during the 1965 ritual (Hurault 1968), from which an alternative meaning of these ritual gatherings emerges.

In December 1938, in the village of Janamale Luwe (also known as Granmanponsoe which is Sranantongo for “Heavy Big Man”) near Feti-kreek a maraké ritual was performed (Ahlbrinck 1956:71-93, illustrated with numerous photos).\textsuperscript{20} Earlier that year, in May 1938, a ritual gathering was held in the village of Taponte. Taponte was the son of Touanké [Twanke] of whom Coudreau claimed that he was of a “greater race” and of “an old roucouyenne [Wayana] family who since a long time ago provides “tamouchis” to the Roucouyennes of the Marouini and the Aletani” (1893:104; my translation). Taponte died on February 14, 1938 (de Goeje 1941:71) and later that year, in December 1938, there would be a maraké in the village of Janamale (Ahlbrinck 1956:27, 69). This ritual gathering took place at the all-time low of Wayana demography, and one would assume that Wayana were more concerned with their proper survival than competition for power.

Where the 1938 maraké in the village of Janamale took place after Taponte had passed away, it was the 2004 maraké at Talhuwen that took place after the dead of Anapaïke in 2002.\textsuperscript{21} The 2004 maraké was initiated by Aimawale Opoya and Tasikale Aloupki. The socio-political position of Aimawale has been discussed earlier, and his brother-in-law (classificatory through kinship terminology and actual through marriage) Tasikale\textsuperscript{22} is a descendent of Maipo.
Malaitawa, who was in charge of the 1938 maraké in the village of Janamale (Ahlbrinck 1956:80), and sung the kalau songs (Ahlbrinck 1956:83), was the son of Maipo. Moreover, in 2004, the flutes with the nail of the giant armadillo (mélaimé amohawin) were manufactured by Sikisi, son of Palanaewa who manufactured these flutes in 1964 (Hurault 1968:93). In 2004, during the concluding dance of the tëpijem the mélaimé amohawin flute play was directed by Sikisi (paternal great-grandson of Twanke) and granman Amaipoti (son of former granman Twenké, who was the great-grandson of Twanke). Recurrence of kin is more than incidental.

Another aspect of the stinging ritual, and most important in the context of Janamale as a paramount chief policing other Wayana, was published in the most unusual of ways. During his honeymoon, Hassoldt Davis with his wife Ruth (a professional photographer), went to French Guiana, backed by, amongst others, the Explorer’s Club (flag number 127 [Davis 1952:238]). During World War II this Bostonian explorer had been fighting in the French army where he must have heard the myths of the Tumuc-Humac, and soon after the war ended this adventurer set out to El Dorado which he assumed was located in the Tumuc-Humac. His travelogue was published as “the Jungle & the Damned” (Davis 1952; republished in 2000), and the film shot during this voyage was edited by Ruth to a 20 minute movie released as “Jungle Terror” by Warner Brothers (Davis 1949). This adventurous travelogue concludes with a Wayana stinging ritual that is not classified as an initiation ritual. Accompanying photos and film by Ruth Davis demonstrate an undecorated square kunana, and a headdress without the elaborate featherwork described earlier. Ruth asked Yana Mali [= Janamale] what they are going to do with these wasp-mats, and the chief replied that “every boy of the Roucouyennes at the age of puberty must undergo the test of manhood, before he could be accepted as a warrior … but now … we prepare the wasps for a different matter, which is very much the same” (Davis 1952:295-296).
And he went on to talk of warriors who sometimes were thought craven by their fellows in the battles with the Oyaricoulets. These were few, he said proudly, but when the case was proven against them, they were shamefully forced to submit again to the test of their pubic youth, to prove them men and warriors. There was such a person among them now. Malfatti [= Malavate] was his name (Davis 1952:296).

This punishment, as Ruth Davis (1952:297) called it, of Malavate, who was their guide during the Tumuc Humac expedition, was not so much punishment as “it was simply necessary that Malfatti prove, by courage, his right to reinstatement in the tribe, for he had been, in his time a respectable warrior and a fine bush citizen” (ibid.). This undecorated kunana was donated to the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH; catalogue number 40.0/6352), where it is erroneously labeled as “initiation mat” (web reference 19). A decade later, Malavate would have his proper village at pau pepta, joined by people from Janamale after the latter passed away in 1958 (Table 3-3.). Hassoldt continued describing the scene which his wife Ruth continued filming (Davis 1952:293-306), and before they left in canoe, Janamale asked them to “suggest to the préfet [de Guyane] that he, Yana Mali [= Janamale] should be considered chief of Malfatti’s [= Malavate] village as well as his own. Malfatti, he said, could not last much longer beneath the test. He had once cried out as a warrior never should” (ibid.:305). And so, concluding his adventurous explorer’s honeymoon in French Guiana, Davis provided the potential for a socio-political supravillage organization whereby Janamale has policing power over other Wayana, including other village leaders such as Malavate.

Policing power in the Wayana region has been replaced by French Gendarmes. However, with a growing number of Wayana, competition for power becomes more foregrounded today. It had been at Janamale’s second settlement named Kawemhakan (High place) where American Protestant Baptist missionaries stationed in the 1960s and renamed the place Lawa Station. After the death of Janamale in 1958, Anapaïke would become granman of the Surinamese Bank; succeeding Janamale, his brother-in-law and father-in-law by his second marriage. Son of
Janamale, Paranam (leading person in the children’s photo book *Parana, boy of the Amazon* by Mazière and Darbois 1953, 1959), was a young boy when his father passed away. Later Paranam married Melidu, daughter of village leader Opoya (today’s Talhuwen, but still labeled Opoya on the map: IGN 1995), and descendent of Masili (Maïri, Mazière; the “Ouayana pur” mentioned by Coudreau 1893:544). That Talhuwen (brother-in-law of Paranam) succeeded Opoya as village leader—and named the village after him—remains an issue for Paranam, son of former paramount chief Janamale (Figure 8-6). Today, Aimawale, son of Paranam and Melidu, appears tacitly heading forward on a pathway to supremacy; managed by the roundhouse where the maraké takes place. The tukusipan at Talhuwen, built under the guidance of Aimawale in 1995, is with its diameter of about fourteen meter diameter larger than the other three community roundhouses in the upper Maroni basin (Twenke’s tukusipan is about 10 meters in diameter, Pilima’s is about 11 meters diameter, and the one at Antecume pata measures about 12 meters in diameter). It was at this largest tukusipan that the 2004 maraké took place.

Figure 8-6. Breakfast at Wapahpan. Talhuwen sitting in the foreground (with striped shirt), while Paranam (in the background) noticeably distanced himself (Sept. 17, 2000).
Beyond the question whether or not the 2004 maraké was traditional—and I argue against the statement that the 2004 ritual was a “non-traditional” maraké—the question arises how to interpret the relationships between the hosts (relatives of Janamale) and the invited guests (descendants of Twanke). In 1997 it had been Ronnie Tikaimé who invited me to stay at his house. At that moment Ronnie said that he was a Wayana, as say all Wayana. Later, as I became more familiar with the Wayana way of life, Ronnie told me that he, as well as his mother Kali and her father Janamale, were actually Okomëyana. Ronnie added that he was married to a Wajanahele (‘true’ Wayana). Being an Okomëyana explained why Ronnie was so aggressive, other Wayana told me; aggressive as the okomë-wasp. Takwali Kulisa told me later that he was actually a Kukuiyana (Takwali pers. comm. 2000); that he was of the yana (people) of the kukui (glowworm; Lampyris noctiluca, Elateridae). Additionally, Takwali told me that this is the reason why he is short of stature. In the list by Chapuis (2006), and taken-for-granted in prior listings, is the particularity retained for denomination. It appears that physical appearance and attitude are determining a people.\(^{26}\) Wayana told me that Okomëjana were aggressive as okomë-wasps; Opakjana were small and pale like opak-toads; Upului can be recognized by their nose and their fatness; Apalai have curly hair; and Kukuijana are short of stature. However, in Leiden, during conversations with linguist Eithne Carlin, she stated that this was impossible, because the Okomëyana had vanished, and since Okomëyana were a Trio (Tílîyo) subgroup they could not be Wayana (Carlin pers. comm. 2000). The Trio subgroup, interpreted as “Kokoyana” or the people of the night (koko) (Carlin and Boven 2002:20, 33), are in fact Kukuiyana (Glowworm People) that have light at night, and also at the heart of Wayana sociality. The 2004 gatherings were utmost public materializations of power over social memory grounded in competitive feastings in a ritual-political tactical play between rival social groups in Guiana:
Okomëyana (represented by the descendants of Janamale) versus Kukuiyana (represented by the descendants of Twanke). Next I will explore how Okomëyana and Kukuiyana, otherwise known as Trio subgroups, have become incorporated in the Wayana confederation.

8.3 Tribes, Totemic Ancestor Clans, and a Society of Social Houses

Okomëyana and Kukuiyana, located in the upper Maroni basin, have been categorized as Trio subgroups (Frikel 1957:541-562; Rivière 1969:18-17), but rather than perceiving Trio and Wayana as two distinct socio-linguistic units (as is the default approach in Guiana studies), I will perceive these subunits (often glossed as ‘tribes’ or ‘clans’) as relational and constantly generating Guiana social organization in the process of interaction. Peter Rivière praised Protásio Frikel for his “conscientious and methodological attempt to order and classify the tribes of the whole region [i.e., Eastern Guiana]” (Rivière 1969:16), beyond a mere listing of “real” and “imagined” peoples (cf. de Goeje 1941, 1943b), and he stated in the section on historical identification of Trio subgroups that they “appear to be as definite as anything can be in this ethnographic chaos” (Rivière 1969:21).

Based on Rivière’s historical outline (1969:17-26; see also Bos 1998; Frikel 1957:541-562, 1960:2), and cross-referenced with the original sources, a map can be sketched with the approximate location of named Trio subgroups around 1900 (Figure A-3). When mapping out the wide range of Trio subgroups a much more complicated image emerged than the simplistic general overview of Guiana tribes. C. A. van Sijpesteyn (1854: xv), in his Description of Suriname, historical, geographical, and statistical report collected from official sources (Beschrijving van Suriname, historisch-, geographisch- en statistisch overzigt uit officieele bronnen bijeengebragt), stated that the interior of Suriname was largely unknown, with the exception of the naming of Trio (Tarëno or Tïlïyo) and Accouriërs [= Akurio]:

27
28
Nothing has been conducted in Suriname to learn about the interior: hence this is to a large extent unknown. … Although the tribes dwelling in the interior of Suriname, are mostly unknown, mentioned among those are the tribes of the Trio and Accouriërs (van Sijpesteijn 1854: xv; my translation).²⁹

One and a halve century later, the list of tribes in the interior of Guiana has expanded exponentially (e.g., Chapuis 2006:532-542), yet indigenous social organization in Eastern Guiana remains largely unknown. Jean Chapuis (2006) advocated for a dynamic approach to the social organization of the Carib-speaking peoples of Eastern Guiana. Instead, he essentially defined a social organization among the Wayana based on “totemic ancestor clans or tribes” (Chapuis 2006; Chapuis and Rivière 2003:428), an idea previously elaborated upon by Claudius de Goeje in the first half of the twentieth century (de Goeje 1925, 1941, 1943b). De Goeje based his hypothesis mainly on data collected in 1904 among the Wayana of the Aletani (de Goeje 1905a). This hypothesis of “totemic ancestor clans or tribes” persisted in the dissertations by Gerrit Bos (1998:203) and Karin Boven (2006:61), regardless of the critique by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1962) on the “totemizing reading” of Amazonian socio-cosmologies (also Viveiro de Castro 1992, 1996, 1998). Categorical taxonomic classification is essential to the individualizing process, and will thus not provide a dynamic regional approach to the social organization of the Carib-speaking peoples of (Eastern) Guiana. Wayana and Trio subgroups as Okomëyana and Kukuiyana are groups of people united by kinship and descent, other than they do not claim descent—stipulated or otherwise—from non-human ancestors as the okomë-wasp or kukui-glowworm. Rather than debating over classifying definitions and whether or not these socio-political units are “clans” or “tribes” I will outline how these social units (referred to as yana by Wayana) play out amongst each other in the socio-political landscape of (Eastern) Guiana, and in due process I will provide a regional and supravillage approach to sociality in Guiana.
8.3.1 Social Units Nested in Larger Political Units

Claudius de Goeje (1925:470, 1943:18-20) pointed out that most of the names of Carib tribes end with either ~koto, ~goto, ~ghoto, e.g., Pijanokoto, or ~ana, ~yana, ~yenne, e.g., Yekuana, Kaikusiyana, and Roucouyenne. The suffix ~yene can also be found among Arawak speaking groups as the Palikur (living along the coast of Amapa and French Guiana) meaning “people” and interpreted as “tribes” or “clans” (van den Bel 1995, 2009: tables 3 and 4). Both suffixes (~koto and ~yana) have conventionally been interpreted as “People,” e.g., Pijanokoto, the Harpy eagle People, and Kaikusiyana, the Jaguar People or People of the Dog. De Goeje (1943:20) translated ~koto with “to conjure up the spirit indicated by the preceding word” from ~ko (respectful attention) and ~to (to cause). The suffix ~yana (~jana, ~jene) appeared related to the referential term for mother (je in Wayana; and ~ne as an agency suffix meaning “(s)he who does the preceding word”), therefore, according to Gilij (cited in de Goeje 1943:19), indicating matrilineal descent. De Goeje (1925:471) concluded (echoed in Chapuis 2006) that similarities in characteristics in tribal names—e.g., reference to flora and fauna—most likely demonstrate the genesis of contemporary distinct tribes from families of clans of a single people; “If that be so, these tribes represent clans of the former Karipona-people” (de Goeje 1943:19). Historical sources (Carvajal 1992:264-265) indicate in 1542 a macro-polity named “Kalipono” along the lower Amazon (Whitehead 1989, 1994, 1999), i.e., at the southern peripheries of the Wayana region. This hypothesis posited by de Goeje implies that Carib peoples of Eastern Guiana, instead of independent tribes, are smaller social units nested in larger political units.

It is generally assumed that “the Wayana” migrated into this region during the eighteenth century, as did the neighboring Wayãpi (Grenand 1971; Gallois 1986, 2005; Figure A-3). Concurrently, it is assumed that “tribes” residing in this region prior to Wayana and Wayãpi migration, have vanished. The Tumuc-Humac—heartland of the Wayana region—according to
Rivière “has been an area of intertribal mixing, and the vital question is how important are these sub-groups or tribal remnants in the present composition of the Trio and whether there is any advantage to be gained in distinguishing them. It is possible to say with assurance that whatever the distinction may have been previously it is now virtually non-existent” (Rivière 1969:27).

The complex socio-political organization in the Wayana region has kept anthropologists from continuing their research on this topic. Quandary of individual and society among Wayana and Trio socio-political organization, is situated in the mapping of Guiana subgroups. Conventional linguistic classifications (e.g., Trio and Wayana) must be overcome in researching interrelations in (Eastern) Guiana; classification of spatio-temporal variation in language groups is intricate as “multilingualism was (and is) the norm among the Indian tribes of Amazonia” (Dixon and Aikhenvald 1999:8).  The research question that surfaces is how to go from individualized “tribes” to larger social units as Trio and Wayana, or, how to create a unified social body.

During the past thirty years, more fluid, multifaceted, and contesting models of identity and personhood were explored in anthropological theory, overcoming essentialist definitions of tribe, clan, lineage, and the like, which may aid our understanding of Wayana (Guiana) sociality; what Westerners distinguished as a “substance-body” was perceived by indigenous people as “relationship-body” (Seeger, da Matta, and Viveiros de Castro 1979; Turner 1980, 1995). Marilyn Strathern (1988, 1992), engaged with this dilemma of the relation between individual and society from a socio-anthropological perspective of “plural personhood” whereby the intersubjectivity, emerging in social interaction, is twofold: it is a particular partible body in interaction with other bodies; and it is a collective dividual body encompassing multiple bodies. These two analytical modes of ‘plural body’ and ‘singular body’ are components of a whole in continuous process rather than disconnect means. Personhood (cultural identity) of the
“individual body” and the “social body” (consanguine versus affine likewise) are not static but nested in an open matrix of implied integral relationships, or what Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2001) called the “Grand Unified Theory” or GUT feeling. Concepts of individual and sociality are subjectively situated in internal relationships without preexistence; instead of objectively defined and identified, they are continuously in the process of reassessment.

Along similar lines of thought, Trio and Wayana are social bodies constantly emerging through interrelationships. Medical doctor Jean Chapuis (1998) conducted an ethnographic study in French Guiana on the corporeality of the Wayana body. Then again, the body of an individual is not so much defined by its physical boundary, as this bodily interface is situated within a fluid matrix of social relations: “body” refers to corporeality of an individual human body, as well as it denotes a larger social body as society, community, and various other socio-cultural groupings, mediated through the bodily interface as “social skin” (Turner 1980). Social organization in Guiana seems more complex and multivocal than a simple categorizing dichotomy of Trio versus Wayana, amongst others, and this intertwining historical organization of social kinship relations can only be fully understood by means of a non-dichotomizing, dynamic, and open unit of analysis.

To demonstrate how it is possible that contemporary Wayana claim to be part of social groups of which some have been identified as Trio subgroups (e.g., Okoméyana and Kukuiyana), I will draw on Marilyn Strathern’s 1988 model of plural bodies encompassing multiple partible individual bodies. The case of Okoméyana and Kukuiyana is analogous to Pierre Bourdieu’s 1977 treatise on *Union and Separation* whereby “the union of contraries does not destroy the opposition (which it presupposes), the reunited contraries are just as much opposed, but now in a quite different way, thereby manifesting the duality of the relationship between them, at once
antagonistic and complementary” (1977:125). In the process of Wayana confederation (“Wayanafication”), composite internal relations between former Trio subunits as Okoméyana and Kukuiyana were eclipsed (Figure 8-7). Fractality of Guiana societies consists therein that the effect (“output”) of taxonomic classification (e.g., Okoméyana and Kukuiyana as Trio subgroups) can become an “input” of rendering these (in)dividual bodies into a collective, whereas the effect (“output”) of suppressing composite internal relations can become “input” of taxonomic classification (e.g., the Wayana).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Relations</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Particular</td>
<td>“singular body” (in)dividual, partible person in interaction</td>
<td>(1) Trio / Tïlïyo speakers &gt; taxonomic classification</td>
<td>“Friendly” / “Wild” Pjanokoto / Akurio Okoméyana / Kukuiyana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>(2) non-Trio</td>
<td></td>
<td>taken-for-granted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) allies vs. enemies</td>
<td>(4) Wayanahle, Upului, Kukuiyana, Okoméyana &gt; rendering into Collective</td>
<td>Wayana confederation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Dual internal relations, which must be detached to affect one of a pair.
(2) Taken-for-granted composite external relations.
(3) Taken-for-granted dual external relations.
(4) Composite internal relations, which must be suppressed (eclipsed) to affect one Collective.

Figure 8-7. Plural Personhood: the case of Trio and Wayana.

The collective of Trio people has been rendered into (in)dividual units through scientific taxonomic classification by Protásio Frikel (1957:541-562, 1960:2), Peter Rivière (1969:18-17), Jean Chapuis (2006:532-542), and others. The internal Trio relations were disconnected and Trio subgroups were divided into “friendly” or “wild” to affect one of a pair (Figure 8-7: effect [1]); summarized by van Sijpesteyn (1854: xv) as Trio and Accouriërs [= Akurio]. Before revisiting the “friendly” versus “wild” dichotomy, I will juxtapose this model with a similar rendering of the myth of the Creator twins. It was during the playful building of the tukusipan
that Mopo and Kujuli became distinctively divided as one of a pair (Figure 8-8: [1]). Parents of the Creator twins (particularly the unnamed—unknown—father) are taken for granted. In collapsing the *tukusipan*, Mopo and Kujuli enclosed the Jaguars (dangerous social others). This action at *tukusipan* is the unquestioned means to manage socio-political processes of Wayana confederation while (re)producing Wayana (Guiana) sociality. Rather than simply situating the Creator twin narrative at Mount Tukusipan (T1), I posit that in naming this inselberg after the community roundhouse (*tukusipan*), Kailawa made a synecdocheal association with the first *tukusipan* destroying the dangerous social others; in due process dual external relations (allies vs. enemies) were taken for granted and composite internal relations were suppressed to affect one Collective: Wayana (Figure 8-8). These actions were mediated through *tukusipan*, and while a single community roundhouse may be ephemeral, this deep structure is enduring.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Relations</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Mythical twins</td>
<td>&gt; divide @ tukusipan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) parents</td>
<td>taken-for-granted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(3) allies vs. enemies</td>
<td>taken-for-granted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(4) Wayanahle, Upului,</td>
<td>&gt; Kailawa confederation @ Tukusipan / Timotakem Wayana confederation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“plural body”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>encompassing multiple persons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Dual internal relations, which must be detached to affect one of a pair.
(2) Taken-for-granted composite external relations.
(3) Taken-for-granted dual external relations.
(4) Composite internal relations, which must be suppressed (eclipsed) to affect one Collective.

Figure 8-8. Plural Personhood: the Wayana case and managing role of *tukusipan*.
Figure 8-9. *Tukusipan* mediating the gathering the fourfold in one space-time; mortals, define ancestors, earth, and sky: roundhouse in the sky centered upon Orion, a constellation resembling the posthole formation of a roundhouse in the ground, and materialized in stone as Mount Tukusipan (T1) in the Tumuc-Humac.

8.3.2 It happened at Mount Tukusipan, Nicknamed Tïmotakem, and Labeled T1

To accentuate the role of community roundhouses, the role of Mount Tukusipan in the ethnogenesis of the Wayana confederation needs to be acknowledged. The Creator twins transformed their *tukusipan* into stone, after Mopo remembered the story of their mother being eaten by the Jaguars: “*Moloinë, ūje kom ėitoponpē tïpohnepëmëi Mopoja. Moloinë pepta têpu. Tukusipan tanuktaniphe eja têpume*” (Table C-1: line 48, 49). This theme echoes the Yekuana myth on the origin of the first house and “today this [first] house can be seen in the form of a mountain located in the center of the Yekuana homeland” (Guss 1989:21). Jean Hurault (1968:152) noted that an inselberg of this name (Tukusipan) is located in the upper basin of the Alama creek, and that one can see from here the “Indian trail” (i.e., the way of Kailawa) between
Aletani and Mapahoni (Figure 8-3). Nonetheless, in his annotations of the Creator twin myths, Jean Chapuis declared that “I [Chapuis] do not know whether there exist a link between this story [Mopo and Kujuli transforming their tukusipan into stone] and the inselberg named Tukusipan” (Chapuis and Rivière 2003:141, note 326; my translation).35 Even in the Wayana narrative the narrator used “tępume,” whereby the suffix ~me indicates that the narrator recognized that a building cannot transform into stone literally, only metaphorically (see Carlin 1999). Before the meaning of inselberg Tukusipan (and its synecdochecal relationship with community roundhouse tukusipan) can be revealed, it is necessary to first determine the geographic location and historical context of this inselberg.

In the hearth of the Wayana homeland is located an isolated mountaintop (inselberg; tępu) with the name Toukouchipann. On the map at scale 1:200,000 (IGN 1958, feuille 10) the label Toukouchipann is placed between two inselbergs in the Tumuc-Humac range. Upper-left inselberg seems to be indicated by the label “Toukouchipann” and it was of this inselberg that Jean Chapuis showed his main informant Aimawale a picture taken by a botanist who had visited Massif du Mitaraka for botanical research (Chapuis and Riviere 2003: cover photo lower-left). Aimawale stated that this inselberg does not resemble a community roundhouse tukusipan, and therefore was not the deemed mountaintop. Lower-right inselberg was labeled T1 during the 2004 expedition as this inselberg did not have a mapped name (T refers to the zone “Toukouchipann”). During the 2004 expedition I saw that the two inselbergs between which the label “Toukouchipann” had been placed were aligned from the point of view from Massif Mitaraka (Figure 8-10). To avoid confusion by re-labeling T1 as Tukusipan, I refer to this inselberg as Timotakem; the Wayana nickname as it resembles a shoulder (mota).
That T1 resembles a shoulder can be seen from the east (Borne 1; Figure 8-11; Pellet and Saint-Jean 2008:77). On his map of the region, Coudreau (1893) did plot inselberg Timotakem in the area of Toukouchipann and wrote below it “le pacolo” (the house). Most compelling visual evidence of a synecdocheal relation between this inselberg (T1, Timotakem) and a community roundhouse (*tukusipan*) is the vista from the south (Figure 8-12).
During the 2004 expedition we explored the region of Tukusipan and climbed T1, which provided me with a dwelling experience (Pellet and Saint-Jean 2006); neither Jean Chapuis, Jean Hurault, Henri Coudreau, Jules Crevaux, nor any other European had ascended this inselberg. We climbed the steep sloping inselberg; holding on to grass and shrubs, arriving at the top to witness a magnificent panorama. Such a panoramic view over the Guiana landscape is unique. From its summit we could see far into French Guiana, Suriname, and Brazil. We made base camp halfway the plateau of T1 and creek Alama at its foot. We made base camp next to a water stream that emerged from between the rocks, which was exceptional as it was the dry season. I could put this phenomenological experience into play while examining the eight kalau song performed during the maraké in which inselberg “Toukousipann” [= Tukusipan] is ascended in speech-act (Hurault 1968:126; Appendix C: kalau songs).36

Proper names mentioned in the eight kalau are, according to Hurault (1968:152), leaders of two by now vanished tribes, namely Alatipoiké, Alamiso, as well as Mayamayali from a Wayâpi faction. Hurault on no account mentioned the name Kailawa. Jean Chapuis (Chapuis and Rivière 2003:1003) is exceedingly pleased to finally find some of the names of Kailawa’s
warriors, namely Alatïpoikë, Alimamhe, Upsewei. Although Chapuis made a detailed study with Kulijaman on the war of the Wayana with surrounding tribes, Chapuis does not, in contrast to Hurault, mention that we are dealing here with members of “vanished tribes.” Furthermore, not only men, also women climbed this inselberg. Where Hurault did not name women, four women (Kulunepïn, Kïinepïn, Imokipïn, and Mëkineu) encountered by Kailawa and his men while exploring the road to bridge between Jari and Aletani, are all named here. Chapuis does not elaborate on the importance of these family names.

On Upsewei and the others, Chapuis refers to a narrative from the times of Kailawa (ibid.:805-813) wherein, in its turn, the narrator Kulijaman refers back to the kalau songs. At some point in this narrative, Kulijaman made a statement that was left unmentioned in the kalau song, yet ubiquitously present in the essence of Wayana maraké as a whole: “It is to become immortal that we are here!” they (Kailawa and his men) say “that we have climbed this rock [Tukusipan/ T1/ Tïmotakem]!” (Chapuis and Rivière 2003:808-809). Kailawa made this announcement to a grandmother who resided at the plateau, and announced that he had arrived: “Umëkjahe, kuni!” (ibid.). Kailawa assured this grandmother that they had not arrived to frighten her, only to sing ëlemi songs. Kailawa did not kill them, because they were his family, and he knew they were his family, because they carried the same names (ibid.). One of the women living on the plateau below the peak of the inselberg (compare with figure 8-4-3) was named Kïinepïn (Table C-13: line 55), just like Kailawa’s sister (as well as Pajakwali’s sister-in-law, who, therefore, is family too).

On the east side of T1 is an access to the plateau, corresponding with Kulijaman’s narrative that “behind, there is a road leading to the top” (Chapuis and Rivière 2003:808-809). When arriving from Mitaraka in the west, “behind” can be interpreted as at the eastside of the plateau.
Kailawa and his men climbed this inselberg, and on the plateau they found four women: Imokipïn, Kulunepïn, Kiinepïn, and Mëkineu. These women lived here with their husbands Puklupo and Upsewei. These names are equal to the proper names recited in the eighth kalau song. Continuity of proper names is important in House societies. Novel in this narrative is that these people were already residing on this inselberg when Kailawa and his men arrived. Furthermore, Wayana social memory indicates that Kailawa and his followers did not settle in virgin territory; Kailawa settled among lost family.

Back in contact with lost family while declaring having to sing ėlemi songs at the top of the inselberg—to go high, in order to become immortal—is vital in the sense of super-local cosmologic sociality. Kailawa came to bring peace, he was not their enemy. When Kailawa intended to return to the Elders, following Kulijaman, his men told him that they had already left towards the sky (Chapuis and Rivière 2003:808-809). That is, the ancestors had already departed. This resonates with the story of the Upului who asked to be cremated, in order to bring his family back from heaven and to become immortal (Table C-6; Chapter 4.4). Quest for immortality is at the heart of social houses. Departed souls (omole) leave for “Kujuli pata” (Kujuli’s place; the Hereafter). This symbolically dense place gathers mortals, divine ancestors, earth, and sky—what Heidegger called “the Fourfold” (1977:327 [1954])—in one space-time.

As an aside, on top of T1 (Timotakem), Aimawale declared that the large amount of broken pottery found here was because many people were cremated here. The 2004 expedition was a reconnaissance pedestrian survey (Duin 2006). Only a sample of surface finds were collected (Figure 8-13; Table 8-2). With regard to Toukouchipann (n = 29) and T1 (n = 71), a total of 100 pottery fragments was collected. Only from one of the rock shelters at Toukouchipann was collected a single decorated rim shard (n = 1; 12%). Alternatively, a
significant number of decorated sherds (n = 23; 32%; rim, shoulder, and body) were collected from two locations at the summit of T1. Decorated pottery includes; incision (Parallel Line Incision, Zoned Incised Cross-hatch, composite parallel line incision: solids and dashes), impression (“armadillo carapace”), engraving (broad vertical lines), and possibly the attachment of an application on the rim. Future phase II archaeological test units will have to determine the dimensions of this site (horizontal and vertical distribution) as well as if the percentage of decorated pottery is consistent throughout this site. Large percentage of decorated pottery points towards “ritual killing” of pottery during mortuary practices (Chapman 2001; Chapter 4.4). Cremation of leaders and “killing” of their distinctive decorated vessels indicate an ending of autonomous subgroups and unification into a Wayana confederation.

Figure 8-13. Pottery collected during the 2004 pedestrian survey (summit T1).
Table 8-2. Initial analysis of pottery collected at Toukouchipann and T1 in 2004.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>rim</th>
<th>shoulder</th>
<th>body</th>
<th>base</th>
<th>griddle</th>
<th>undetermined</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S  D</td>
<td>S  D</td>
<td>S  D</td>
<td>S  D</td>
<td>S  D</td>
<td></td>
<td>#</td>
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<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 1</td>
<td>4 / 44 %</td>
<td>0 / 0 %</td>
<td>0  0</td>
<td>6 / 0</td>
<td>0  0</td>
<td>0  1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 2</td>
<td>2 / 22 %</td>
<td>0 / 0 %</td>
<td>0  0</td>
<td>1 / 0</td>
<td>3 / 0</td>
<td>2  2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 3</td>
<td>2 / 22 %</td>
<td>1 / 12 %</td>
<td>0  0</td>
<td>0 / 0</td>
<td>0  0</td>
<td>0  1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>8 / 88 %</td>
<td>1 / 12 %</td>
<td>1  0</td>
<td>8 / 0</td>
<td>3 / 0</td>
<td>2  3</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 / 31 %</td>
<td>1 / 3 %</td>
<td>8 / 28 %</td>
<td>3 / 10 %</td>
<td>5 / 18 %</td>
<td>3 / 10 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s. 1</td>
<td>7 / 29 %</td>
<td>8 / 33%</td>
<td>1  2</td>
<td>21 / 10</td>
<td>2  0</td>
<td>0  1</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s. 2</td>
<td>8 / 33 %</td>
<td>1 / 5 %</td>
<td>0  0</td>
<td>3 / 2</td>
<td>2 / 2</td>
<td>2  1</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>15 / 62.5 %</td>
<td>9 / 37.5%</td>
<td>1  2</td>
<td>24 / 12</td>
<td>4 / 0</td>
<td>2  2</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24 / 34 %</td>
<td>3 / 4 %</td>
<td>36 / 50%</td>
<td>4 / 6 %</td>
<td>4 / 6 %</td>
<td>0 / 0 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T = Toukouchipann (site)
T1 = T1 / Timotakem (site)
r. # = rock shelters 1, 2, and 3.
s. # = summit locations 1 and 2.
S = simple (non-decorated).
D = decorated.

Potentiality of this particular inselberg (“naturally” resembling tukusipan) provided Kailawa with means of an intertwining conjunction between his personal quest of reuniting Guiana peoples and the myth of origin. By adjusting the narrative of the Creator twins—the community roundhouse collapsed and turned into stone—Kailawa had legitimized his quest, and his story now became history. Analogous Mopo and Kujuli, Kailawa had created a sense of belonging mediated through alterity (through dangerous social others) who at times were almost de-humanized. In its synecdochecal relationship with tukusipan, inselberg Tukusipan is central in managing the socio-political processes of reproducing the Wayana social body in the process of materializing Wayana social memory in a constantly emerging Wayana (Guiana) landscape.

### 8.4 Becoming Wayana at Tukusipan

Explored throughout this study is how the Wayana confederation took shape under leadership of warrior-shaman Kailawa, and how Wayana sociality is reproduced since. Now we have come to a point to critically evaluate how uprooted social groups as Wayanahle (‘true’ Wayana) and Upului from the south (from the rivers Jari and Paru de Este respectively), led by
Kailawa, had to compete with local Trio subgroups for a place to settle; particularly with Okomèyana and Kukuiyana who resided in the upper Maroni basin (Figure A-3). Assumed as common knowledge, and reiterated time and again, is that “the Wayana” migrated in the eighteenth century from Brazil across the Tumuc-Humac mountain range into French Guiana and Suriname (Figure A-3: black arrow). I posit that “the Wayana” did not migrate as a whole, instead I will further explore the statement by Janamale that here in the Tumuc-Humac Mountains that “the Wayana were born” (Mazière 1953:203).

Paul Henley (2001)—drawing on Anne-Christine Taylor’s (1998, 2001) work on the construction of the social body—stated that there are no important marriage rituals in Guiana because ceremonial events are focused on deconstruction and construction (consumption and production; decomposition and composition) “of persons than … constitution of social groups as such” (Henley 2001:200; emphasis added). The Wayana maraké is recurrently interpreted as an initiation rite, yet I argue that this ritual goes beyond a customary initiation ritual focused on the deconstruction and construction of individual persons; Wayana maraké is about the constitution of social groups as such; revitalizing Wayana sociality. Most outstanding occasion among the Wayana where individual bodies are needed to produce social bodies is during the Wayana ritual known as maraké. This is not simply “a” ritual, it is “the” Wayana ritual (as discussed in detail earlier); it is a “total social fact” (Mauss 1990 [1950]) made visible for all to witness.

In order to understand and make sense of ritual practice, beyond decoding the internal logic of symbolism rooted in the Wayana myth of the Creator Twins Mopo Kujuli, it is necessary, following Bourdieu, to “[restore] its practical necessity by relating it to the real conditions of its genesis, that is, to the conditions in which it functions, and the means it uses to attain them, are defined” (Bourdieu 1977:114). Although Chapuis stated that “main primary,
explicit goal is to produce [marriageable] adults” (2006:526), he continued that “on this occasion, *kalau* songs … allusively call up the past while splendid *olok* headdresses, the only good transmissible between generations in this society, manifest of what I [Jean Chapuis] have called lines. Each line has a single headdress; it is transmitted to the eldest son or, if he is not considered worthy, to another son or to the sister’s eldest son” (Chapuis 2006:526). In other words, feather headdresses (*olok*), or rather the *olok* *enî* (container of composite featherwork used to adorn the ephemeral basketry framework)—which have been taken-for-granted by ethnographers—are inalienable property in the sense of Annette Weiner (1992) as these feather boxes are given to keep within social groups (‘lines’ according to Chapuis). In the process of performance and transmission, the assembly of composite featherwork curated in special feather boxes (*olok* *enî*) accumulates a biography adding to their intangible value.

Rather than by a “line” (Chapuis 2006), or by a single individual or paramount chief, I posit that symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1977, 1990)—including, but not restricted to, curatorial feather boxes—is accumulated by a social house in the sense of Claude Lévi-Strauss (1979:47, 1982, 1987), i.e., kin-based units maintaining property over generations that often form the basis for hierarchical social difference (Gillespie 2007; Heckenberger 2005:273-290). I argue that this symbolic capital, including inalienable property, is played out during public ceremonies in the village plaza where is located the community roundhouse *tukusipan*. Personal names truncating the historical cases of ritual performance indicate a transmission of proper names designating a continuation of immaterial property. Ritual itself appears to be the place of legitimating, in a contesting manner, by means of transmission of material and immaterial property as required for the continuity of social houses. Ritual objects and their biographical histories, foregrounded in performance, are recognizable enduring property, despite the ephemeral nature of people and
villages. Through ritual performance, especially with the gift of inalienable possessions, these *olk* headdresses demonstrate beautifully the line of transmission, fictive or real. Differentiation in maintaining symbolic capital and the rivalry among social houses, played out during the communal rituals in the central plaza, will help reveal ranking and supravillage hierarchy.

These embodied practices create their own spatio-temporal locales and endow them with meaning as they create or transform individual and group identities; they produce a regional and temporal space-time in the sense of Nancy Munn (1986) through the circulation of people, social valuables, and symbolic capital. Beyond sheer economics, material and immaterial capital is situated in social relations bonding people while generating honor and prestige. Prerogatives transmitted inalienably through the social house constitute a background of ideal, imagined existence. Through ritual performance these prerogatives will become foregrounded in concrete socio-political actuality; a ritual phase of political economy (Southall 1999), or a ritual economy of political power, as ritual drives the economy from which derives regional political power.

Although it has been stated that the last traditional Wayana initiation ritual was held in 1989 (Boven 2006:147-156; Chapuis 2006:526), a similar Wayana ritual took place in 2004 (Pellet and Saint-Jean 2006:17-34). Preparations for the 2004 ritual began after the death of Granman Anapaïke in 2002. Recently, Miep Ipomali has been elected by the Trio and Wayana communities in Suriname to succeed Granman Anapaïke. Miep Ipomali has been selected by his descent as well as for his relations with non-Wayana, in particular through his personal relation with anthropologist Karin Boven, with whom he has a daughter. As this election process took place in Kawemhakan / Lawa Station, facing the flag of Suriname, it may be concluded that this process was grounded in global political processes (Figure 8-14). Anapaïke, as mentioned earlier, had become Wayana Granman of the Surinamese Bank succeeding Janamale after his
death in 1958. Initiators of the 2004 maraké were Aimawale (paternal grandson of Janamale) and his brother-in-law Tasikale. Therefore the 2004 ritual appears to be a traditional Wayana means of the family (social house) of former paramount chief Janamale, to engage in socio-political reorganization after the passing of Granman Anapaïke in 2002. Novices are in silence, only allowed to speak in a soft voice (e.g., de Goeje 1941:110), yet what is expressed through these series of public spectacles is screamingly loud: belonging to the Wayana Nation, a sense of Wayana sociability.

Figure 8-14. Miep Ipomali (left center, in white shirt) facing Surinamese Trio and Wayana kapiteins (village leaders) and granman, in the process of becoming a granman (photo by Renzo Duin: January 2, 2003 at Anapaïke Kawemhakan).

8.4.1 Revisiting the “Friendly” versus “Wild” Trio Dichotomy

Kailawa had created a sense of belonging, of Wayana sociality, mediated through alterity (through dangerous social others) who at times were almost de-humanized, which brings me to a critical evaluation of the dichotomy between “friendly” and “wild” Trio subgroups (Frikel 1957) that have troubled anthropologists ever since. As Gerrit Bos (1998:253) recapitulated, Protasio
Frikel (1957:541-562; Rivière 1969:18-17) applied the term “wild” to indicate that these people are “stone-age” Indians; indicating that they still use stone axes and ceramic pots instead of metal ware. Classification as “wild” is not related to anthropophagic practices, as Bos (1998:253) criticized Edmundo Magaña’s (1982:230) interpretation. Taken for granted is that these “wild tribes” were in reference to “friendly” Trio subgroups, and before concluding this study with a reflection on individual and sociality in Guiana, I will first re-assess this predicament of “wild” or “Stone Age” Indians who, parenthetically—potentially not insignificantly—reside in the very same region described above of Wayana confederation.

Table 8-3. Trio/Tíliyo subgroups (source: after Frikel 1957:541-562; Rivière 1969:18-17).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Friendly (“Civilized People”)</th>
<th>Wild (“Forest People”)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. (Maracho) Pianokoto</td>
<td>7. Akuriyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Okomoyana (Maipuridjana, Waripi)</td>
<td>8. Wayarikule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Prouyana</td>
<td>9. Wama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Arimihoto</td>
<td>10. Kukuyana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Aramagoto</td>
<td>11. Pianoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Aramicho</td>
<td>12. Tíliyometesem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Kirikirigoto (added by Frikel in a later version)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wayana confederation, described above as a process of symbolic and social reproduction, is situated in the context of relationships of alterity whereby the dangerous social other is almost de-humanized. Narratives of wars between Wayana and social others are ample, particularly with Trio subgroups; Pijanakoto/Pjianokoto above all (e.g., Bos 1998; Chapuis and Rivière 2003; Koelewijn and Rivière 1989). The Tumuc-Humac where Wayana confederation took place is the region of Kukuyana, Akurio, Wayarikule, Wama, Tíliyometesem, and Pijanai; the so-called wild tribes.

Distinction between “friendly” and “wild” Trio subgroups (Table 8-3; Frikel 1957:541-562; Rivière 1969:18-17), resonates with the distinction between “civilized people” and “forest people” made by Peter Gow (1991:265-266) elsewhere in Amazonia. This duality is neither
based on kinship nor on a distinction between native people and white people (Gow 1991).

Civilized people reside in cleared settlements and eat “real food” in contrast to people from the forest who “consumes nothing which circulates in habilitación and who is ignorant of ‘civilized knowledge’” (Gow 1991:266). In Guiana, Wayana perceive themselves as “civilized” whereas they refer to Akulio as people from the forest (itutan). Akuriyo (table 8-3 [7]) [= Akurio or Akulio] are named after the agouti (Dasypodictis agouti); a rodent known to ravage garden plots. The name Akurio is a generic term for “savage Indians” dwelling in the forest (itutan).

Table 8-4. Comparative list of East Guiana People / tribes / subgroups / clans / nations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Craweanna</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawmeeanna</td>
<td>3. Prouyana (f)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Pîlûmeyana</td>
<td>Arrow cane People</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quikeanna</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sîkîyana</td>
<td>Sîhkîyana</td>
<td>Sand flee People</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peewattere</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arameefo</td>
<td>6. Aramicho (f)</td>
<td>Aramiso</td>
<td>Aramiso</td>
<td>Pigeon (People)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acaw-reanno</td>
<td>2. Okomoyana (f)</td>
<td>Akuriyo</td>
<td>Okomëyana</td>
<td>Wasp People</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acooreo</td>
<td>7. Akuriyo (w)</td>
<td>Akuriyo</td>
<td>Akulio</td>
<td>Agouti (People)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tareepeeanne</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Taripiyana</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Capuchin monkey P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corecorickado</td>
<td>13. Kirikirigoto</td>
<td>Kirikirikoto</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Green parrot People</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peeuancado</td>
<td>1. Pianokoto (f)</td>
<td>Pîjanakoto</td>
<td>Pîjanokoto</td>
<td>Harpy eagle People</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocoanno</td>
<td>10. Kukuyana (w)</td>
<td>Kukuyana</td>
<td>Kukuiyana</td>
<td>Glowworm People</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itfura</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Itutan</td>
<td>Those of the forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wareminnio</td>
<td>4. Arimihoto (f)</td>
<td>Aramiso</td>
<td>Alimikoto</td>
<td>Spider monkey P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>5. Aramagoto (f)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Alamakoto</td>
<td>Sweat bee People</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>8. Wayarikule (w)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Wayarikule</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>9. Wama (w)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Wama</td>
<td>Basketry (People)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>11. Pianoi (w)</td>
<td>Pîjanakoto</td>
<td>Pîjanai</td>
<td>Harpy eagle (P.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>12. Tiriometesem (w)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Tîliyometesem</td>
<td>“ones as the Trio”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Kaikusiyana</td>
<td>Jaguar P. / Dog P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Tunayana</td>
<td>Water People</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paragoto</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Parukoto</td>
<td>River People</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1609, Unton Fisher mentioned “Acooreo” [= Akurio] in this region (Harcourt 1613:52), and I argue that Fisher’s Itfura (ibid.) can be interpreted as itutan.42 Kukuyana [= Kukuiyana], the only “wild” subgroup with the suffix ~yana (or ~koto), will be discussed in detail in a moment. The other four (out of six) “wild tribes” mentioned by Frikel are not mentioned in
Fisher’s 1609 list (Harcourt 1613:52), yet they are among the vanishing groups that were mentioned in a footnote by de Goeje (1941:73), i.e., Oayarikulé [= Wayarikule], Tliometesem [= Tîliyometesem], and Wama, whose cultural distinction is ambiguous (Ahlbrinck 1956:95-178). “Malauwni [“last of the Wayarikule”] … objected to the name Way(ri)kulé; she said: ‘this is a denigrating name given to us by the Wayana; we call ourselves Triometesem,’ … [which] according to her would mean ‘friends of the Trio’” (de Goeje 1943:345).

In July 1938, following the 1935–1938 border expeditions (discussed in chapter 2.3), Father Ahlbrinck would return to make contact with these “wild” yet “noble savages” (Ahlbrinck 1956:95-178; de Goeje 1943a; Geijskes 1957; van Amstel 1946). The process to “civilize” these “wild Indians” was by bringing them out of the forest and to the river, as Lapo (Lavaud) told de Goeje that “his father Panapi (who had been made granman by the Boni [Franssen Herderschee 1905a:126]) had moved all Wayakulé [= Wayarikule] from the interior to the Aletani (that is, out of the forest to the river)” (de Goeje 1943:345; my translation), resonating with a later statement by missionary Claude Leavitt who stated that “they are really children of the forest. May God grant that they will soon become children of light” (Findlay 1969:6). In his Report on the Second Contact with the Akurio (Wama) Stone Axe Tribe, Surinam, September 1968, Ivan Schoen (Interior Coordinator West Indies Mission), wrote that whereas Ahlbrinck (1956) called them Wama, “the name we heard most, for these people whom we have been calling the Wayarekule, is Akuri.43 This is after the rodent Agouti … [and] it would seem more correct for us to refer to these people in the future as the Akuri or Akurio Indians” (Schoen 1969:9).

October 1, 1999, during a party at Malipahpan, Pêlë ëmit (“toad face”) offered me a ladle of cassava beer. A Wayana told me in French that he did not properly speak French as he is an Akulio found in the forest. Pêlë ëmit, the Akulio, concurred: “found in the forest, be careful!”
and he lifted his shirt showing the tattoos written on his body by the military who removed him from the forest, and in his best Wayana he said he was from “Tsïmi Tschïmëk” pointing towards the Tumuc-Humac in the south. After an initial contact in the Tumuc-Humac range in 1937 and Oelemari River area in 1938 (Ahlbrinck 1956:95-178; de Goeje 1943a; Geijskes 1957), it was only some thirty years later (on June 8, 1968) that a canoe with eight Wayana, some returning to the Jari River, encountered at the Walemapan “five strange Indian men peering out … from the bush” (Schoen 1969; cf. Cognat 1977:91; Approximate location of encounter is marked with a star in figure 8-3). Based on these accounts, André Cognat and several Wayana set out to find these “wild Indians” named Akulio (Cognat 1977:127-132), and upon his return, Cognat runs into the expedition of the American missionaries assisted by Surinamese police officers (ibid.:133-135). From June 1968 to October 1970 eight contacts with the “Akurijos” were made by the missionaries (mainly by Ivan Schoen, Claude Leavitt, and Art Yohner, assisted by Trio and Wayana) (Yohner 1970:16). In June 1973 an expedition lead by Roy Little together with five Wayana, two Trio, and two Akulio, set out to contact Akulio roaming around between the rivers Oelemari and Tapanahoni “desiring to share with them the Gospel of Jesus Christ and wanting to help them in other ways, such as with medicine and simple tools, etc.” (Lytle 1973:1), as prior “Claude [Leavitt] and [Art Yohner] had opportunities to minister the Word of God a number of times to the Akurijos. They were eager to listen” (Yohner 1970:11). In the scientific world these encounters were perceived as “Contact with the Stone Age” (Carneiro 1969; Schoen 1969) with a focus on the primitive technology of stone axes without knowledge of agriculture “thus they appear to rank as the most primitive Indian culture left in the New World” (Carneiro 1969:10), and the reports of these primitive, stone age, Indians in the interior of Suriname filled several dozen of pages in the Surinamese newspaper De West (Findlay 1969). Just as after the
first encounters with “Stone Age Indians” in 1937 (van Lynden 1939:853; Meuldijk 1939:873-876), it was some thirty years later that the searchlight in the jungle of Suriname was on these “primitive” people, rather than trying to gain an understanding of the symbolically dense landscape of Wayana confederation located in the very same region of Tumuc-Humac in the interior of Guiana.

In order to make sense of Wayana confederation, I will include a brief analysis of the “friendly” tribes. First “friendly” subgroup is the Pijanokoto (Harpy eagle People), who were sometimes even equaled to the Trio as a whole (Frikel 1964; Rivière 1969:19). Moreover, Pijanokoto are the main (Western) Trio subgroup, historically settled along the rivers Coeroeni (upper-Corantyne) (Schomburgk 1845) and Cuminá (Paru de Oeste) (Coudreau 1901).

Pijanokoto are not merely named after the harpy eagle (*pija; Harpia harpyja*, Accipitridae), i.e., most important predatory bird in Amazonian cosmology (Roe 1982). Pijanokoto become Harpy eagles, in the sense that Bororo become scarlet macaws (Turner 1991); visibly enforced by gluing Harpy eagle down on their head (pers. comm. Wayana 2000). Wayana oral tradition recounts fierce battles between the Wayana and Pijanai/Pijanokoto44 (see also Chapuis et Rivière 2003: part III), however Chapuis does not differentiate between Pijanai and Pijanakoto. Carlin and Boven (2002:33) correlated Frikel’s Pianokoto as well as the Pianoi (table 8-3:1 and 11), that is, a “wild” and a “friendly” tribe, to Fisher’s Peeauncado (Harcourt 1613:52; table 8.4-3).45

Since Pijanokoto appear to be the most powerful Trio subgroup in Eastern Guiana (and probably considered themselves as most civilized), if any, the newly arriving Wayana should become subjected to the Pijanokoto, rather than vise versa. In the historical process of “Wayanafication” as described above, the neighboring Pijanokoto/Trio have been rendered into “enemies” of the Wayana; in due process, the Pijanokoto/Trio enemies were taken-for-granted.
Thus in remembering the ethnogenesis of the Wayana, the particular Pijanokoto/Trio history is rendered silent and in its doxic quality is prone to be forgotten. Pijanokoto are outstandingly absent in the list by Chapuis (2006), maybe because he had the Wayana Aimawale Opoya as main informant during his fieldwork (Chapuis 1998).

Drawing on table 8-3 (after Frikel 1957:541-562; Rivière 1969:18-17), I posit that the suffixes ~yana and ~koto indicate social houses. Suffixes ~yana and ~koto hold potential for societies of social houses in Guiana: in Carib languages “the house” is glossed with a variation of auto, ëttë, or oto, preceded with the indicative suffix ~k(e) (“with”), and “the central cleared space/plaza” is glossed anna (Trio), or annaka (Yekuana) with the possessive prefix y~ (“my”). Accordingly, subgroups without these suffixes (i.e., Frikel’s “wild” subgroups) are “houseless” people. This does not mean that these people are homeless; rather that they do not belong to one of the social houses competing for power. People of a social house are considered “civilized,” whereas people that do not belong to a social house are regarded as lower ranking, less sophisticated, uncontrollable and “wild” therefore. Possibly the Pijanai in the east have become detached in history from the social house of the Harpy eagle (Pijanokoto).

Second “friendly” subgroup (table 8-3: Okomoyana), i.e., Okomëyana, was mapped by Coudreau (1893) along the Loë [= Luwe] in the upper Maroni basin where their presence had already been recorded in 1609 (Fisher’s Acaw-reanno; Harcourt 1613:52; table 8.4-3). While discussing the Wars and Diasporas, Kulijaman answered Aimawale (Chapuis et Rivière 2003:893), with regard to the question on the arrival of his grandparents, that “Janamale and his people are here for a long time, a long time that they are here! They came a long time ago! It is because of them that the others came to dance” (my translation). Janamale, as mentioned above, had been the face of the Wayana Nation, yet was identified by Wayana as Okomëyana.
Civilized “friendly” subgroups have as indexical suffix ~\((k)oto\) (e.g., Pijanakoto) or ~\((y)ana\) (e.g., Okomëyana) (table 8-3). Conversely, the Kukuiyana (Fisher’s Cocoanno) are the only “wild” subgroup from Frikel’s list (table 8-3) with the suffix ~\(yana\). When Takwali Kulisa told me that he was actually a Kukuiyana (pers. comm. 2000), that he was of the \(yana\) (people) of the \textit{kukui} (glowworm; \textit{Lampyris noctiluca}, Elateridae), as was the late Wayana granman (paramount chief) Twenke, I realized that I had “discovered” a member of a “vanished wild tribe” in Guiana; or better, the Kukuiyana were never lost! Kukuiyana, in the person of the late Granman Twenke and his kin, appear to be at the heart of Wayana society. This raises the question to why Kukuiyana were classified as a “wild” Trio subgroup. In the process of “Wayanafication” it makes sense that Kukuiyana—apparent adversary to the main “friendly” subgroups Pijanokoto and Okomëyana—joined the collective of immigrating Wayanahle (‘true’ Wayana) and Upului to create an enduring identity in their common cultural and political struggles in the land of the Trio.

Tension between the two Wayana paramount chiefs, Janamale and Twenke, in the early twentieth century—as well as between their respective successors, Anapaïke and Amaipotï, in the late twentieth century—goes beyond the pressure inflicted by Surinamese and French governmental institutions as suggested by Karin Boven (2006). Emerging from this critical evaluation is that the socio-political tension between the social house of the \textit{okomë}-wasp (Okomëyana represented by Janamale and Anapaïke) vis-à-vis the people of the \textit{kukui}-glowworm (Kukuiyana represented by Twenke and Amaipotï) goes back at least 400 years when these proper names were first recorded (Harcourt 1613:52). Wayana society can now trace its written history back four hundred years to the first account of 1609 when Unton Fisher (Harcourt 1613:52) mentioned, among others, the Cocoanno [= Kukuiyana] and Acaw-reanno [=
Okomëyana] along the *Arretowenne* [= Aletani] and *Wanoune* [= Malani], tributaries of the *Marrawini* [= Maroni], in the upper Maroni basin.

### 8.4.2 Individual and Society in Guiana Revisited

Whereas a ‘true’ Wayana initiation ritual (*wëlïi katop* = thing of girls) can be performed in the private domain in the context of kinship, corporeal theatrical spectacles (*maraké*) performed in the public domain in and around the *tukusipan* are in the context of community. Not every Wayana settlement—contrary to popular believe—owns a community roundhouse (*tukusipan*). In fact, today in the upper Maroni basin, only four out of about twenty Wayana settlements hold a community roundhouse. In order to understand the role of Wayana community roundhouses the scene needs to be peopled, because bodies are needed to reproduce bodies. Apprehension of this vital Wayana ritual must begin from a recognition of its temporality beyond the common assumption that Wayana are loosing their tradition. The total spatial arrangement becomes a complex network of communication through time wherein socio-politics are situated.

Space and time become one during *maraké*, i.e., the Wayana ritual. Boundaries between now-here (at the community roundhouses *tukusipan*) and then-there (at inselberg Tukusipan / Timotakem / T1) become blurred through a play of synecdoche. Foundation of social memory, is embodiment (Bourdieu 1977), creating a performative memory that is bodily (Connerton 1989). Even though Wayana do not have a written history, they will never forget the historical course of events, as memories of unification are created *through* and *within* the body (compare with Eves 1996). Stinging rite (*ëputop*) is the culminating event in the Wayana ritual. At dawn, all spectators gather once more around the flamboyant dancers on the plaza, and at sunrise, the first *tëpijem* is called upon. It is time for *ëputop*, the stinging rite, whereby the entire body has to endure the painful stings of hundreds of ants or wasps of choice. This public theatrical corporeal
spectacle is a sight never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it. In performance, Wayana are not merely present at the community roundhouse, Wayana become of tukusipan.

Rather than reiterating the traditional theme of “totemic clans” or “vanishing tribes” in the interior of Guiana, this study outlines a dynamic, multimodal, transdisciplinary, and open model rooted in a society of social houses. Whereas typical features of social organization in Guiana are ethnographically defined as small, ideally autonomous (in the natural-social mode), self-sufficient (in techno-economic means), relatively ephemeral, dispersed settlements mainly composed of close kin; a model of a society of social houses will also allow for supravillage hierarchical organization in the ritual-hierarchical mode. Proper names of socio-political units were first written down four hundred years ago, after Fisher’s 1609 testimony. Persistence in time and space of proper names of socio-political subgroups throughout one of the most atrocious periods in Guiana history is indicative of a society of social houses. Inalienable gifts brought onto the stage during the distinctive Wayana ritual, demonstrate legitimatization of an individual belonging to a certain social house, by means of kinship terminology.

Wayana are, by definition, not a “tribe” but a mid-range society, regional and moderately hierarchical, between autonomous villages and bureaucratic states, with tremendous variability through time and space. It is roundhouses that manage socio-political power struggles between social houses in Guiana, formerly identified as “totemic clans” or “tribes.” Nodes in the lines connecting various social units, managing identities, and in due process materializing social memory, are the Wayana community roundhouses tukusipan. Wayana identity cuts across linguistic boundaries as former Trio (Tïlïyo) subgroups, are now at the core of Wayana sociality. Wayana identity is not classified by its boundaries, but rather its center of origin: locally this is the community roundhouse, representing mount tukusipan central in the Wayana landscape,
which is in turn a reference to the first tukusipan turned into stone by the Creator twins, or so it is 
recited in social memory of the descendents of Kailawa.

1 “Ce petit people qui n’a, en réalité, pas de chefs, qui ne reconnaît qu’une autorité, celle du père de famille” 
(Coudreau 1893:204).
2 In the early eighteenth century the Portuguese armed Wayâpi to raid the contested area between France and 
Portugal (today’s Amapa), whereby the Wayâpi raided the Tumuc-Humac region around 1760 and the wars would 
last till about the 1820s (Grenand 1971:112-113, 1982; Tilkin-Gallois 1986:121).
3 With regard to Kailawa’s successor, it is said that Sarara [Salala] was an Upului child assigned by the principal 
assistants of Kailawa to succeed him in his function of paramount chief, stating that “he will be the new Kailawa!” 
(Chapuis and Rivièreme 2003:745-747). Toropë [Tolopit; tolopi = bird] was paramount chief at the time of the 
voyages by Patris (1768-1769) (Coudreau 1893:557). Relation between Salala and Tolopit (residing east of Pilipilu 
at the creek Carapahetpé [ibid.]) is indecisive. With regard to kinship relations between succeeding paramount 
chiefs Coudreau (1893:561) wrote:Ouët [Wet; wet = shit], the next paramount chief, was the brother of Tolopit 
(ibid.), and Tamoui [Tamusi; Elder], his successor, was the son of Wet, and led the war against the Oyampis [= 
Wayâpi] (Coudreau 1893:557); Enéoua [Eniwa], the old kuni residing at Peño (Enéoua and Peño apply the kunana 
during the 1888 maraké at Peño [Coudreau 1893:231]), was a maternal granddaughter of Tolopit; and Ouâné 
[Wane], father of Touanké [= Twanké], was the principal tamouchi to Tamoui. Touanké [= Twanké] is the great-
grandfather of Twenke, who in turn is the father of the current Wayana Granman Amaïpoë.
4 “Touanké … comme étant de plus grande race que Toumtoum” (Coudreau 1893:108).
5 “Touanké appartient à une vieille famille roucouyenne qui depuis longtemps donne des tamouchis aux 
Roucouyennes du Marouini et de l’Itany” (Coudreau 1893:104).
6 “C’est là que loin, loin, dans le temps, les Oyanas sont nés” (Mazière 1953:203).
7 In February 1888, during his tour in the Tumuc-Humac, Henri Coudreau (1893:159-164) went from the savanne 
roche near Borne 1 (Figure 8-3:G) to Kule kule via Saranau uputpë, hereby circumventing the symbolically dense 
sacred landscape. It rained during Coudreau’s tour and Wayana guides were eager to return to their village 
(Pilipilu). Coudreau (1893:160-164) persisted and completed his tour via Kule kule. Most likely the Wayana guides 
were content during these pouring rains (on dangerous rains see chapter 7-4) to avoid the mythical Tumuc-Humac.
8 This inselberg is a plateau, and I posit it can be identified as MitaraK Sud due to its long plateau below its summit. 
Panoramic photo of figure 8-2 is taken from this plateau (Duin 2004).
9 Chapuis (ibid.:807) related this to an unidentified inselberg named Alama. I argue that this name alama is 
referring to creek Alama (tributary of Aletani). Also I posit that this is remembered in the mnemonic of 
alamaponpë, “the former place of alama” a basketry motif resembling a meandering creek with villages along side.
10 “Et telles sont les mœurs et coutumes bizarres de la noble nation Ouayana, la seule qui, dans la Guyane Centrale, 
pratique encore le maraké” (Coudreau 1893:235).
11 Tasikale acknowledged that he had never been initiated, and his desire to be initiated during a full-blown life-
crisis ritual as in the old days, instigated a common focus of research during the 2000 field season.
12 Crevaux (1881) and Coudreau (1893) encountered recurrently European diseases causing epidemic death (kwamai) 
among the Wayana. Together they might have been partially responsible for introducing these diseases in the 
Wayana region in the late nineteenth century. Full extent of European diseases causing epidemic death among the 
indigenous populations in Guiana from the fifteenth century onward is unknown.
13 A maraké was held in 1973 concluding with an épútòp on November 2 (Miller in prep.). 
14 Peter Rivière (1984) in Individual and Society in Guiana does not name tamusi or peito; as his focus of 
investigation was on intergenerational marriage (Rivière 1969). Intergenerational marriage was reviewed by Paul 
Henley (1983/1984) amongst all Carib-speaking peoples of the Guianas, wherein he concluded that this institution 
of intergenerational marriage is a strategy to avoid bride service for the in-laws; the husband can now work for his 
natal family. Neither Wayana nor Apalai practice intergenerational marriage (Henley 1983/1984:159), but Henley 
did not explain this ‘anomaly’.
15 On the socio-political power of a diadem with caiman scales see Crevaux 1987:270, 274.
16 In the village of Pilipilu, Coudreau (1893:187) found salt that was produced at the Paru de Este from a process of 
burning maripa palms (Attalea maripa) and pressing the ashes in a cassava press while pouring water in the top 
orifice. The compressed salt residue was subsequently heated.
17 Rice, off course, is a relatively recent product in Guiana. When I asked Wayana what the side dish consisted of in the past, they answered me that maize used to be the side dish. Use of maize in this process of repayment feasts is indicative of more complex societies, although different than the traditional manioc/maize debate in Amazonia.

18 Atoupi, an Apalai (Coudreau 1893:546), had organized a maraké in October 1889 (Coudreau 1893:537-547) where he had invited Marière [Maũi = Masili], a “ouayana pur” (true Wayana) (Coudreau 1893:544), and his subordinates (peito). In 1889, Yacouman [Jakuman], an Upului, was the most influential chief, and resided for over twenty years in his village along the upper Jari (Coudreau 1893:235; Crevaux [1881] 1987:311).

19 Malaitawa is the son of Maipo and Tailu. Malaitawa is the brother of Kumakau who is married to Janamale, and brother of Ekinau who is married to Tasikali (i.e., maternal grandfather of Tasikale who initiated the 2004 marake).

20 In December 1938, eight Wayana surrendered to the stinging ritual, i.e., four men, two boys, one elder woman and her younger daughter, apart form the youngest boy (Kaitawale) who was stung with ants, all would be stung with wasps (indicative that these participants had previously endured a stinging ritual with ants) (Ahlbrinck 1956:71).

Tëpijem in December 1938 in the village of Janamale were:

1) Janamale himself; stung by kaphe wwasps, by his own mother Kumakapin (the oldest women). Janamale will only leave the ground drum after everybody else (Ahlbrinck 1956:87). His wife Kumakau hands him his bow and a bundle of arrows. He holds these bow and arrows in his left hand that is stretched out, while the bow and arrows rest on the ground. Ahlbrinck (ibid.:88) is surprised by the endurance, determination, and self-respect of Janamale. Following the stinging ritual, he will not join the others in the tëpijem pakolon (ibid.:71).

2) Atoe, brother of Janamale; explained as reason for this éputo that game is shy for him.

3) Meli (no further info).

4) Painawali (not the pïjai Painawali [Awelisi] half-brother of Janamale). After the stinging ritual, he requests the kunana to be tied to his chest and he returns to the ground drum (Ahlbrinck 1956:88-87).

5) Wahulu with her daughter. Since her youngest baby died, Wahulu wishes that this maraké will allow her to have another child. She did not own any bead strings, merely borrowed some from others who had marked their proper bead string (Ahlbrinck 1956:82). Wahulu is married to Ilikwa, who is a son of Ali. In 1940 they reside in Edikaimeni along the Paru River (Schmidt 1942:52), while in 1957 they reside in Twenké to move to Pileike in 1964 (Hurault 1968:37).

6) Wanalu, 15 year old daughter of Wahulu. Second to endure the stinging rite in 1938.


8) Kaitawale, one-eyed brother of Anapaïke. 11 years old and only tëpijem to receive ants, all the others including the woman and girl are being stung with wasps. Santé from the Jari is his supporter (ibid.:81). Kaitawale, who will be the first to receive the ant-shield, will not remain his composure when the kunana is applied by kuni Kumakapin; he is crying and screaming (Ahlbrinck 1956:85).

21 Granman Anapaïke has been succeeded by Miep Ipomali, maternal grandson of Mokolepka, half-sister of Janamale by his father Toko’s second marriage.

22 Tasikale, one of the initiators of the 2004 maraké is named after his late maternal grandfather. Janamale had been married to Kumakau, daughter of Maipo and Tailu. The sister of Kumakau, Ekinau, had been married to Tasikali. Aimawaile and Tasikale thus are relatives by two lines: 1) Tasikale married the younger sister of Aimawaile’s paternal grandmother, hence they are second degree cross-cousins or “potential brothers-in-law.” Pajakwali, is the son of Tasikale’s eldest brother Soko, who is currently married to Kuliman. Assen (Aimawaile’s wife) and Paiwali are children for the first marriage of Kuliman. Furthermore, Kuliman is the daughter of the third marriage of Anapaïke, who had been married before to Janamale’s sister Alijamî, and Janamale’s daughter Maleu.

23 Malaitawa was the brother of Kumakau who is married to Janamale, and brother of Ekinau who is married to Tasikali (i.e., maternal grandfather of Tasikale who initiated the 2004 marake). Ahlbrinck (1956:28) was told that the next maraké would be held in Wapotimiet [= Wapotumït]. Wapotumït, tamusi of the village with the same name, is the senior, yet Malaitawa, tamusi of the neighboring village, was said to be more skilled.

24 The 1964 ritual that took place in Tilawe was instigated by Palanaewa (Hurault 1968:87-106). Palanaewa was the son-in-law of Tilawe, though more importantly, and taken-for-granted by Hurault, Palanaewa was the son of Taponte (who was the son of Touanké [Twanke]).

25 Anapaïke was a paternal grandson of Ouptoli, who in 1880 resided along the Jari where he participated in the maraké at Atoupi (Coudreau 1893:537). Anapaïke had endured the stinging ritual in December 1938 in the village of Janamale Luwe (Ahlbrinck 1956:86)
Long-eared Amikwan / Upului (mentioned by Claude Tony 1835) are not mentioned in the list by Chapuis (2006).

The more commonly known orthography Trio will be used in this study, rather than the more correct “Tariño” or “Tïlïyo” referring to the language. With regard to all indigenous names mentioned, I will write the most commonly accepted orthography, unless it concerns quotes from historical sources.

Name between square brackets [= …] refers to the currently most accepted orthography.

“In Suriname is tot het leeren kennen der binnenlanden niets verricht: zodat die dan ook zeer weinig bekend zijn. … Hoewel dus de volksstammen, die de binnenlanden van Suriname bewonen, veelal onbekend zijn, zoo worden evenwel onder hen genoemd de stammen der Trio’s en Accouriers” (van Sijpsesteyn 1854:xv).

Pija is the Harpy eagle (Harpia harpyja).

Kaiksusí has a multiple meaning of both jaguar and dog, as well as for the giant, men eating caterpillars. I posit to translate kaikusí / kaikui with the generic term monster. The proper Wayana name for jaguar (Panthera onca) is istaino, by some pronounced as ihtaino. It is thus unclear whether these people were fierce as monstrous jaguars, or that these people were dog traders (see also Bos 1998; Chapuis 2006:533).

Though the Wayana write ~jana, I made the compromise in the present article to write the commonly used ~yana with a /y/, as well as “Wayana,” instead of the more correct transcription: Waijana.

Generic term for a “non-Wayana human being” is kalipono in Wayana, and witoto in Tïlïyo.

Linguistics determined that the Upului and Wayana languages are more recent than Apalai and Tïlïyo / Trio. Where for instance, Wayana use kaikui, tukui or tapsem (s > h > Ø). Nevertheless, the Wayana are known to sometimes include more archaic forms in their language (pers. comm. Sergio Meira 2000).

“Je ne sais s’il existe un lien entre cette histoire [Mopo and Kujuli transforming tukusipan in stone] et l’inselberg nommé Tukusipan” (Chapuis and Rivière 2003:141, note 326).

Where Hurault names “Toukousipann,” no proper name is given in the kalau by Chapuis and Rivière (2003:1000-1005). Though it is stated that “I climbed the inselberg in the shape of a shoulder (= timotakem)” Chapuis (ibid.:1003), placed a question mark after this appealingly enigmatic line. When dwelling in this region, and actually climbing this inselberg, it is clear that the profile of inselberg T1 is in the shape of a shoulder (figure 8-4-3).

Kïnepïn is also the name of Kailawa’s sister, but this is a different person (Chapuis and Rivière 2003:809). Furthermore, Kïnepïn is also the name of Pajakwali’s sister-in-law. Pajakwali climed T1 with us in 2004.

Aimawale stated that his grandmother, who is a potter, named this type of decoration armadillo carapace.

A preliminary analysis (Boomert pers. comm.) points toward the Taruma Phase, above all Kanashen Incised (Evans and Meggers 1960:216), Kassikaityu Punctate (ibid.:218), and Yochó Plain (ibid.:227). Kanashen Incised and Kassikaityu Punctate are predominantly found on Yochó Plain. Kanashen Incised is characterized by zoned parallel lines, (zoned incised) crosshatch, broad scrapings, and Kassikaityu Punctate holds a wide variety of decoration modes on the upper outside wall produced by punching, poking or jabbing with a wide variety of tools. T0-Alabama holds even an example of the distinctive orange surface color of the Taruma Phase. A few rims and profile shapes, however, are to general to make conclusions, especially since the Taruma Phase is rather problematic. Some parts of the notebook of Farabee, who visited the Taruma in 1914, are published in Evans and Meggers (1960:243-245). Further temper and texture study on the pottery sample collected during the Kailawa expedition 2004 and additional archaeoelogical research in the region is necessary to determine whether or not this sample can be associated with the Taruma Phase.

Miep Ipomali is a maternal grandson of Mokolepka, half-sister of Janamale by his father Toko’s second marriage.

Fricative flap /ɾ/ is transcribed in Suriname as [ɾ] and in French Guiana as [l].

Compare these people from the forest (itutan) with the so-called Itutan tribe in Brazilian Amapá.

Another name given to the missionaries by the Akulio was “Tula, which is also their word for a small brown monkey” (Schoen 1969:9).

In his list, Chapuis (2006) mentioned related groups, though it is not specified whether these are allies or enemies.

Written as Pijanokoto or Pijanakoto; sounding as Pijanakoto (compare with “Peeauncado” Harcourt 1613:52).

Dash in Acaw-reanno indicates a hard return at the right margin. At the left margin /ɾ/ might originally have been written as /m/. Identified as Akuriyo by Carlin and Boven (2002:20).
CHAPTER 9
CONCLUSION: TEMPORALITY OF THE WAYANA (GUIANA) LANDSCAPE

Reading early sources on the Caribs I was usually struck by two, quite opposed, facts. It appeared that certain sociocultural elements had changed enormously, while others had remained remarkably stable.


Figure 9-1. Central place of Twenke (*kulumuli pata*) where tradition and globalization come together. The community roundhouse (*tukusipan*) is located between the pole with a French flag (left) and the French school and dispensary (in background).

This study is situated in the current debate on socio-political complexity in Amazonia. Understanding socio-political landscapes is complex and its complexity can only be understood from an acknowledging of an integrated regionality; a multi-scalar regionality situated in cosmology as well as settlement patterning: from stars falling on earth (i.e., heliacal setting) to the landscape itself. Understanding the social landscape is to acknowledge its temporality. Mythical times become foregrounded during historical events, and historical events, over time, become legendary. This multitude of temporal and spatial dimensions is mediated in Guiana through the roundhouse. Then again, such roundhouses are more than a mere backdrop, more than a stage to re-enact mythical times. In Guiana, thus far, indigenous settlements are by
default perceived as socio-politically autonomous. Nevertheless, essential in understanding ranked—hierarchical—supravillage organization, grounded in an unrecognized political-ritual landscape, the unit of analysis has to extend beyond the boundaries of a single settlement.

9.1 Complexity in South America

Complex societies in South America are, without doubt, the Andean irrigation civilizations as well as the theocratic and militaristic chiefdoms of the Greater Antilles and the Circum-Caribbean. The Handbook of South American Indians, of which Julian Steward was the editor, defined the greater part of South America, Amazonia primarily, as tropical forest tribes, with here and there bands of nomadic hunter/gatherers. Compliant with the standard model of tropical forest cultures, Wayana villages deemed small, ephemeral, and socio-politically autonomous.

The “Island of Guiana” is surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean, Amazon River, Rio Negro, Casiquiare Channel, and Orinoco River. The Wayana are located in the frontier zone contested between Suriname, French Guiana, and Brazil. Typically, Dutch and English-speaking researchers focus on the Wayana (and Trio) in Suriname, French researchers focus on the Lawa area, border between French Guiana and Suriname (my research area, sensu stricto), whereas Brazilian, German, and Swiss researchers focused on the Wayana of the upper Jari and Paru basins, now located in Brazil, but I have to note that prior to 1900 this area was French territory. This area, as well as the southeast of Suriname was lost by France in the context of gold mining potential. It was, and still is, the gold rush that determined boundaries cutting through the Wayana region. Early explorers, in their search for gold, made the first descriptions of the Wayana, at the time known as “Roucouyennes,” as discussed in chapter 2. Other Carib-speaking people in eastern Guiana are the Caribs and Kaliña along the Atlantic coast, Trio neighboring the Wayana and Waiwai, and south of the Wayana region reside the Apalai.
The Guiana landscape appears as a sea of green tropical rainforest—nonetheless, as I have argued, far from “pristine”—, that has been mapped (particularly the boundary rivers and the watershed, that is, the northern border of Brazil), along with intra- and inter-settlement patterning. First plan view of a Wayana settlement was first published by the French geographer Jean Hurault in 1965 (Figure 3-3). In fact, this was the only published plan view, and it became representative for all Wayana villages. Rather than working on different scales, a true multi-scalar approach focuses on the relations between the various scales, as well as on the relations between the units. In this case, the relations between the settlements, relations between the dots on the map.

A decade prior to Jean Hurault, a French photographer made a photo book of the village of Janamale. This photo book, I discussed with the son and daughter of the late Janamale and we reconstructed a planview based on the photographs along with personal Wayana histories (Figure 3-2). The result was similar to Hurault’s typical village plan: i.e., a public roundhouse to receive guests (foreign and other indigenous people) surrounded by private dwellings housing the local inhabitants.

Similar settlement organization had been described, and depicted, in the late 1800s, by Jules Crevaux and Henry Coudreau. Overall, these settlements were small and dispersed throughout the landscape of Guiana. Although this brief diachronic exercise appears to depict a standard Wayana settlement patterning, I have demonstrated in the present study why the villages of Janamale in the 1950s and the village of Pililipou headed by Touanké in the 1880s, with their community roundhouses, were unique rather than typical Wayana settlements.

Roundhouses are archetypal in Guiana (Chapter 4). Case studies among other Carib speaking people in the interior of Guiana, as there are the Yekuana, Waiwai, and Trio,
demonstrate the very same model: namely, a center for public gathering and ritual ceremonies surrounded by private dwelling compartments. Even the non-Carib Warao at the mouth of the Orinoco River demonstrate a similar layout, and Johannes Wilbert during his decades of research refined the micro/macro-cosmos model wherein the roundhouse is built after the Universe. Intended or not, this model emphasizes the autonomy of each Guiana village, consisting of a single roundhouse representing the Universe in its totality.

Case studies among the Yekuana, Waiwai, and Trio, acknowledge the influence of missionaries from the 1950s onward. Due to these and other global influences, the “traditional” communal roundhouse model “exploded” into a settlement patterning where dwelling compartments of the communal roundhouse became private dwellings surrounding the community roundhouse. The community roundhouse, in turn, was a reduced version of the communal roundhouse (“maloca”) that housed the entire community. This model of a post-1950s Guiana village with a community roundhouse in its center was congruent with the literature and recent studies on the Wayana, exemplified by the village of Twenke (founded by Twenke, great-grandson of Touanké mentioned above—after the passing of Twenke, Wayana today refer to this village as “kulumuli pata,” i.e., the place of kulumuli-bamboo), located on an island in the Lawa in the upper Maroni basin. Due to modern influences we see in this village a French flag, corrugated iron roofs, rectangular houses on stilts, a French school, and a dispensary. It is remarkable that under all these modern influences, the community roundhouse retained its traditional form.

Wayana narrate how the roundhouse, named tukusipan, was first built by the Creator twins for their initiation, and how this first roundhouse was transformed into stone. Even non-Wayana are easily convinced that a domed inselberg in the Tumuc-Humac range bears resemblance with
a tukusipan. However, when dwelling in this landscape and visiting this mountaintop with Wayana, a different story emerged (discussed in detail in Chapter 8.3.2). The summit is full of potsherds, and it is this mountain that oral history recounts as the place where the historical hero Kailawa went to become immortal. Instead of a myth analysis, or merely rendering the area into a map, I realized that my dwelling in the region (what Tim Ingold called “mapping”) was necessary in order to make sense of it.

9.2 Dwelling in a Social Field

The village of Twenke, referred to above, demonstrates the “typical” Wayana intra-settlement patterning of a roundhouse surrounded by private dwellings. Other Wayana settlements, however, are divergent from this model (Chapter 3-3). Nearby the village of Twenke are several farmsteads with one or a few houses and a dozen or so inhabitants. These small farmsteads are techno-economically self-sufficient (manioc production, fishing and hunting), nevertheless they are connected to the villages with a roundhouse by river and overland roads. My home base since 1996 was in the midst of this; Espérance, a ward of Talhuwen. This village has grown rapidly during the past decades, not the least due to the French school. A community roundhouse (tukusipan), the largest of the region, was built near the school in 1995.

When I first began to map out Espérance, it actually did comply with the standard model of tropical forest cultures: uxorilocal, about 17 inhabitants, and techno-economically self-sufficient. However, when I did visit and map other parts of Talhuwen and beyond, the collected data, at times, did not fit the standard model. Most of the inhabitants of the farmsteads in this area originate from Anapaike, the missionary station at the Surinamese bank (about five minutes downstream by canoe). Due to these modern developments anthropologists working in the region discouraged me to continue my ethno-archaeological research on architecture and
settlement patterning. These anthropologists stated that the only traditional structure remaining among the Wayana is the *tukusipan*.

At first I took for granted that the *tukusipan* was the only “traditional” structure, until I broadened my unit of analysis and realized that *only four out of about twenty settlements* in the research area own a community roundhouse, namely the above discussed villages of Twenke and Talhuwen, along with Antecume pata and Pilima. Pilima is the most southern village (located in the contested zone between Suriname and French Guiana) and about 20 km north of Janamale’s village discussed earlier (not insignificantly is that Pilima is a son of the late Janamale, and known to have initiated his—though short-lived—prophetic movement in the early 1960s). Antecume pata is a story in and of itself. André “Antëkë” Cognat, a Frenchman from Lyon, visited the Wayana in the 1960s and chose to become an Indian (in his own words). His village and its history are unique rather than typical. It is Cognat himself and the modern facilities in his village that accommodate researchers. It goes without saying that research conducted solely in this village is biased.

Furthermore I posit that research conducted solely in the village of Twenke is biased. In 2003 paramount chief Amaipotti, son of the late Twenke, brought ceramic vessels to protect the newly roofed roundhouse of his village (Figure 4-14). These vessels are without bottom as they will be penetrated by the central pole of the community roundhouse. Unique among the Wayana is that, on the inside of the roof, the central pole penetrates a wooden disk (*maluwana*) onto which are painted men-killing monsters (Chapter 4-3). Main motif on the *maluwana* is the two men-killing caterpillars Kuluwajak, defeated by the legendary Kailawa at the watershed; a watershed moment after which this historical hero defined his path across the watershed from
Brazil to French Guiana, essential to Wayana confederation (as discussed in detail in the previous chapter).

These roundhouses—and the *maluwana* above all—are exemplary of how Wayana manage their history, today and in the past. These roundhouses play a central role in the complex socio-political organization of the Wayana. First, it takes (female) specialists to produce the bottomless vessels, as well as other (male) specialists to cut and paint the *maluwana*. Not insignificant is that only a paramount chief holds the power to request people to gather and manufacture the 40,000-plus palm fronds needed to roof this domed structure (Table 4-4). Note that roofing of the *tukusipan* is not a basic necessity as these are public buildings instead of a communal dwelling that houses the entire village or community.

These roundhouses come into play during community gatherings, ritual festivities and dances as discussed in chapters 6 and 7. People from other villages join the host village to dance. Actually, competitive dances are performed wherein hosts and guests (the “social others”), consecutively, request in song for more cassava beer from the other. I argue that, rather than that such gatherings are a result of a fortuitous manioc harvest, these excessive amounts of cassava beer are intentionally produced for upcoming events, to be consumed and, above all, regurgitated. This is an economy driven by upcoming gatherings situated in the context of ritual performance.

Dancing with the social other is epitomized in the Tamok whip-dance (Chapter 7-2). It will take too long to discuss all the multiple facets of Tamok and these whip-dances (Chapter 7), other than I would like to mention that the Handbook of South American Indians interpreted these events as “mortuary practice” while, according to Wayana oral history, these performances,
mocking the deathly evil spirits, take place during the period of roofing community roundhouses; hence no mortuary practice.

Another typical Wayana ritual is the so-called “maraké,” paramount event in becoming Wayana. This ritual is generally interpreted as “initiation ritual” but as I argued in chapter 6, it is more complex. For about six months, several reciprocal dances, lasting each about three days, are performed in the villages of the hosts as well as in the villages of the officially invited guests, concluding with the final dance of the tëpijem followed by the “stinging ritual” (ëputop) (as described in detail in chapter 6-3).

The host village clears the central plaza in front of the tukusipan to make a place where the guests can gather and witness the upcoming spectacle. In due process a social field is generated drawing people residing in smaller settlements (without community roundhouse) to this village with a tukusipan. Wayana are not merely present at the community roundhouse, in due process they become of the tukusipan. Being Wayana is being of the tukusipan.

A trench, positioned almost due north-south, is dug for the concluding dance, and on this ground drum, the initiates dance with their monumental feather headdresses, while blowing a sacred flute, from dusk till dawn. True initiates dance side by side with Wayana who endured this ritual, one, two, three, or even more times (up to 7 times). Furthermore, this concluding dance is not exclusive for boys and men, as also women and girls may dance on the ground drum, however, women and girls are not allowed to wear elaborate feather headdresses. The composite featherwork for these monumental headdresses (olok) are stored in special containers (olok enî) and guarded by village elders from one ritual to the next, and as such, these feather headdresses demonstrate legitimization through ancestral agency. Such boxes with featherwork,
beads, and other regalia, among others, demonstrate continuity of socio-political groupings, hitherto assumed absent in Guiana.

Unfortunately few such elaborate rituals are described in detail, too few to provide a solid statistical base, nonetheless there appears to be a pattern (Table 6-3). The 2004 ritual has been disregarded by anthropologists as being non-traditional. This 2004 ritual, however, seems to fit the pattern. Rather than that this event takes place every year, as generally assumed in the past (nor are Wayana loosing their tradition), there appears to be an interval of about 15 years. The nine year interval prior to 1973 ritual may be explained by the mere fact that this ritual took place at Antecume pata, the village of André Cognat discussed above. Nonetheless, these apparent modern-influenced rituals support my hypothesis of a regionally integrated heterarchical socio-political organization among the Wayana.

Rituals performed at odd times—i.e., not around the month of April, that is before the big rainy season begins, corresponding with the heliacal setting of the Pleiades and Orion, the center of the house in the sky, the land of the ancestors (Figure 4-19)—occurred after the death of a Wayana paramount chief, e.g., Taponte, son of Twanke, passed away in 1938; Janamale in 1958; and his successor Anapaike passed away in 2001. In 2003, Trio and Wayana leaders from Suriname, in their uniforms provided by the Dutch government, were still in debate on Anapaike’s successor (Figure 8-14). The 2004 ritual, I posit, was a traditional Wayana manner to manage the socio-political instability caused by the death of one of their paramount chiefs.

Next to the date of the highlight of this maraké ritual, the names of the organizing villages appear more than random: host villages are lead by Twanke or Janamale, or their respective descendants. The 2004 ritual was organized by Aimawale, grandson of Janamale together with Tasikale, whose grandmother was the sister-in-law of Janamale. Genealogy supports a pattern of
continuity and supravillage organization previously unrecognized in Guiana. Ancestors are identified with peoples and places named in the late 1800s, providing a time depth of about 125 years, or about six generations (Figure 3-12).

9.3 Revisiting the Tropical Forest Cultures of Guiana

When discussing genealogy, marriage, and social organization in Guiana, this inherently brings us to Peter Rivière, the now retired social anthropologist from Oxford. In his 2001 introduction to the Brazilian edition of his classic *Individual and Society in Guiana* he stated that this work should be situated in the debate of the social house, then again, Rivière defined the “social house” as a single building, housing the entire community that makes up a Guiana settlement. This definition deviates from Claude Lévi-Strauss’s concept of a “society of social houses” which actually does correspond with the Wayana case. Such social units competing for political power becomes foregrounded during maraké rituals, I argue.

Insight into such ranked yet heterarchical continuous social units can be perceived from Rivière’s historical introduction, when perceived from a different perspective. When mapping out this apparent chaotically complex history of Trio subgroups, an image emerges that spatially distinguishes “friendly” from the so-called “wild” Trio subgroups (Figure A-3). The “wild tribes” correspond with a spatially rather restrict area in the mythical Tumuc-Humac range where nomadic hunter/gatherers have been encountered, as I will discuss briefly in a moment. Instead of defining people and freezing them in time and space, we have to focus on interrelationships. The Wayana have beautiful narratives on such interrelationships, exemplified by the story of Tulupere (Chapter 3.4.2). After killing this monster, Wayana and Apalai were united. The patterned reptilian skin was divided between Wayana and Apalai and served as a template for their basketry motifs; and that is why Wayana and Apalai basketry motifs look alike. This event is said to have occurred at creek Achiki, the old frontier between Apalai and Wayana/Upului.
With regard to the latter, although it is commonly acknowledged that the Tamok masks are made by the Wayana-Apalai, Tamok masks are actually made by the Upului (Chapter 7.2.2). Another unique sighting of Tulupere (this time the skin was entirely black), occurred at the Aletani, and well at the latitude of the frontier between Okomëyana and Kukuiyana (see figure A-3).

When discussing these Trio subgroups with Wayana, they told me that, actually, Janamale was an Okomëyana, and Twenke was a Kukuiyana. I thus had to rethink the conventional linguistic categories as Tïïyo (Trio) and Wayana; some Trio subgroups, assumed extinct, now appeared at the heart of Wayana society. Therefore I argue that “the Wayana” did not migrate *en bloc* from Brazil to Suriname and French Guiana, as generally assumed, but rather Wayana ethnogenesis occurred when Wajanahle and Upului (south of the watershed) encountered Kukuiyana and Okomëyana (north of the watershed), and they established common grounds under the leadership of Kailawa; the Wayana confederation was born (Chapter 8).

So how is it that this Wayana history is unknown? Well the Wayana, surely, know their own history, but for non-Wayana it was in the very same area that the Dutch boundary expedition encountered nomadic hunter/gatherers in 1937, and thirty years later a second “first contact” was made with these “Stone Age Indians” which set off a true hype among scientists, adventurers, and missionaries (Chapter 8.4.1). Several expeditions were made in 1967 and 1968 to meet these “wild” Indians. Remarkable is that these stories of contact with “Stone Age Indians” (indicated by red stars in figure 8-3), took place in the very same region where the Wayana confederation was born; after Kailawa had killed the monstrous caterpillar Kuluwajak (main motif on the *maluwana*), after Kailawa had established a path across the watershed, and after he had climbed the mountain resembling a roundhouse.
Moreover, not far from this mythical landscape is located the former village of Pililipou, headed by Touanké in 1881 as mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, and about 50 km farther to the east is located the former village of the “Roucuyennes” visited in 1769, which anthropologists refer to (but do not locate) in order to demonstrate that more complex societies did exist in Guiana in the historical past. Of this village, Claude Tony said that “four triple roads … arrive at a perpendicular angle in the middle of the village, where, in a kind of public place, an elevated tower is located, [this tower] ends in a dome, holding four windows, one facing each road … the carbets [= houses] are along the roads” (Tony 1835, 1843), and he continued that the Roucuyennes [= Wayana] communicate with other allied nations via, “a beautiful path (linking a series of village), and they also say that these united nations have established a chief, a kind of general captain [cacique], who lives in the last of these [series of] villages, who is also the most important” (ibid. Chapters 2.2 and 3.2.1). In conclusion, supravillage organization in Guiana is not only something from the past, as I have demonstrated, other than we have to perceive the recorded data from a different perspective.

Furthermore, we have to be aware of historical demographics (Figure 8-4). Claude Tony does not provide an estimate of the number of Wayana, but the rollercoaster decline of the population from the late 1800s till the mid-twentieth century is shocking. In 1940 the first demographic census was conducted among the Wayana and Trio, counting only 338 Wayana in 20 villages, in Suriname, French Guiana and Brazil; of which barely 72 individuals in 5 villages in the research area sensu stricto. Not insignificant is that it is during this demographic nadir that the ethnographic studies were conducted supporting the standard model of the tropical forest cultures.
From the 1950s onward, missionaries brought medication against European introduced diseases and the Wayana population began to grow. The growing population together with the fusion and fissioning of settlements, partially drawn on the maps produced by Europeans in conjunction with Wayana oral histories, provides insight in how complex regional socio-political processes play out spatially and through time (Chapter 3.4). As I have demonstrated throughout this study, a regional integration materializes through a ritual economy of political power that extends beyond the boundaries of a single village. We have barely scratched the surface of Wayana sociality, and socio-political organization in Guiana … beyond the boundaries of a single village; and the role of a ritual economy therein.

The village visited by Claude Tony in 1769 is located near the place where the Wayana confederation materialized, yet the encounter with “Stone Age Indians” drew more attention than the history of the Wayana and their legendary leader Kailawa. Although this landscape, a mythical and sacred landscape, is saturated with Wayana social memory “written in stone,” today this very landscape is classified by non-Wayana map-makers as “pristine” forest.

My research among the Wayana would not have been possible without Ronnie Tikaii, grandson of Janamale. Other Wayana, who had worked with anthropologists, told me that Ronnie did not know anything about Wayana history, and therefore he would not be a good informant to me. We thus had found a common research agenda. In due process Ronnie learned about his Wayana history, and (as Wayana love to mock and play practical jokes) I knew that the stories that were told to us were true. To conclude in a Wayana manner: *Tuwale lëken. Kohlenma lep, lome kuhpime tētihe malalē. Ma, huwalēken.* (This I know. There is much more to tell, but that will be very long indeed. Well, it is like this).
Figure A-1. General overview of Wayana in Guiana (all maps in Appendix A are by the author).
Figure A-2. French Guiana explored.
Figure A-3. Subgroups in the interior of Guiana (after Rivière 1969:17-26; Bos 1998).
Figure A-4. Wayana region and the location of important (former) settlements.
Figure A-5. Wayana star map.
APPENDIX B  
WAYANA LANGUAGE AND VOCABULARY USED IN RUNNING TEXT

Wayana vocabularies and grammars date back to the end of the nineteenth century.

“Indians of the upper-Maroni, Jari and Paru, who are known in French Guiana under the name Roucouverne, name themselves Ouayanas [= Wayana]” (Crevaux 1882:17; my translation).

This is an entry in the first Wayana vocabulary (*Vocabulaire Français-Roucouverne*), published by Jules Crevaux (1882) counting 364 entries on 21 pages. This vocabulary is followed by 11 pages on Wayana grammar (Adam 1882). Ten years after the publication by Crevaux and Adams, Henri Coudreau (1892) published his *Vocabulaires Methodiques* of Wayana. Alike the publications of their voyages in French Guiana, Coudreau aimed to be more scientific in approach than his predecessor Crevaux. Coudreau doubled the number of entries to about 700 on 23 pages, followed by 11 pages grammar and 15 pages verbs and example phrases.

Claudius Henricus de Goeje published the first volume of his linguistic studies of Carib languages in 1910. This volume included an introduction of three pages on the Wayana history and language, followed by 19 pages on Oyana [= Wayana] grammar and subsequently a vocabulary collected in 1907 (de Goeje 1908). De Goeje (1910:266) even pointed out loanwords from Arawak language in Wayana, e.g., āsi = pepper, and enàu = Pleiades, as well as loanwords from Tupi, e.g., apikà = small bench, and arua = mirror. It was only in 1946 that the second volume appeared of his *Carib Linguistic Studies (Études Linguistiques Caribes)* with 37 pages on Wayana grammar, and 43 pages with about 40 entries per page of Wayana vocabulary collected during his stay along the upper Maroni / Aletani in 1937. This vocabulary was followed by 48 pages with about 25 verbs and example phrases per page, followed by 11 pages with about 30 example phrases per page like a Wayana pocket travel dictionary. Claudius H. de Goeje, as well as Jules Crevaux and Henri Coudreau, did not have an education as linguist.
However, as orated during the acceptance of the position as Exceptional Professor at the Leiden University on October 18, 1946, de Goeje said that “during such voyages [i.e., cartography in the interior of Suriname] one needs the help of the Natives and has, for starters, to be able to communicate with them; this led to the collection, processing and publication of data at the fields of language and ethnography of these areas” (my translation).

Another Wayana grammar was published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) (Jackson 1972; see also Ford 1970). Walter Jackson provided 30 pages of Wayana grammar with de Goeje 1946 as only reference. Shortly after, the New Testament (*Helê Kan Pampilan, Kan Nimoipotom Ihjan*) had been translated into Wayana by Ivan and Doris Schoen (1979). This was the first book published in Wayana, but not a book of the Wayana. First book in Wayana and of the Wayana was *Wayana eitoponpë, (Une) histoire (orale) des Indiens Wayana* (Wayana Stories, [an oral] history of the Wayana Indians) (Chapuis and Rivière 2003).

**Wayana Phonology**

Wayana language is a Carib dialect, as are the neighboring languages of Apalai and Tíliyo. Wayana is the youngest dialect of Carib languages. Furthermore, Wayana today state that Wayana of the Paru de Leste in Brazil speak slightly different from Wayana of the Aletani/Lawa in Suriname and French Guiana. On aspects of Wayana phonology and grammar of the Wayana of the Paru de Leste (Brazil) see Eliane Camargo (1996), and Petronila da Silva Tavares (2005). Eithne Carlin is currently researching the phonology of the Wayana in Suriname and French Guiana. Tables B-1 and B-2 are on how to pronounce Wayana consonants and vowels.
Table B-1. Minimal set of consonant phonemes and phonetic symbols for Wayana.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stop / plosive</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative, voiceless</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>[Tiliyo: š]</td>
<td>χ [s]</td>
<td></td>
<td>h^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricative</td>
<td></td>
<td>[Tiliyo: č]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>[j or y]^3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquid / flap</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>r [r or l]^4,5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table B-2. Classification of vowels [and Phonetic symbols for Wayana].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>position of tongue</th>
<th>FRONT</th>
<th>CENTRAL</th>
<th>BACK (rounded)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>u (Dutch: /oe/ ‘hoed’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MID</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>[e]</td>
<td>[e] (Dutch: /u/ ‘hut’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td>[o]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparing this classification of vowels with the Wayana lexicon by de Goeje (1910, 1946), it can be discerned that de Goeje wrote [ui] for [i], [ü] for [i], and [ö] for [ë].

Vocabulary used in running text

This vocabulary lists Wayana terms used in the running text; this is not intended to be an exhaustive Wayana dictionary. Not included is Wayana vocabulary from stories in Appendix C.

This list does include flora and fauna, yet is not extensive. Wayana vocabulary in the running text is placed in italics and its translation (or the Wayana word) is placed between brackets.

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1 The velar voiceless stop /k/ sounds nasal /ŋ/ before /m/ and /n/.
2 The glottal fricative /h/ sounds as /s/ or /χ/ before /i/ and /t/. Fergusson (1990) described the historical trend of turning [s] into [h]. Apalai and Trio nouns demonstrate [s], whereas Upuluí and Wayana nouns favor [h], indicating that Wayana is a more recent dialect than Trio and Apalai. The [s] / [h] can finally turn into Ø. Examples of variation in fricatives are kaikusi > kaikui and tuksi > tukui.
3 The phonetic symbols [j] and [y] represent the same phoneme /j/. Depending of the native language of the researcher (Dutch, French, or Portuguese) a preference is made for [j] (Dutch) or [y] (French, Portuguese). Jolok (evil spirit) and yolok is thus pronounced the same.
4 The /r/ is a flap with lateral opening, meaning that the sound falls between /l/ and /r/, like the Portuguese /r/ in Pará. The difference between [l] (French) and [r] (Dutch, Portuguese) in lexicons of Crevaux, Coudreau, de Goeje, and present-day researchers is, again, a matter of the native language of the researcher (Dutch, French, Portuguese).
5 Liquid /l/ sounds as a voiced stop between two /i/s, such as, Pilima sounds as /Pidima/.
Concepts of time: 24 hours in Wayana

ankomhak (very hot; between 11 AM and 1 PM)
tëwai ikatihwë (“descending by now”; about 3 PM)
walunak (late afternoon; about 4 – 5 PM)
tametei (twilight at dusk; 6:30 – 7 PM)
petoh (evening; around 7:30 PM)
kokolepsik (a little night; about 7 – 8 PM)
kokole (midnight; 12 AM)
tïkohmamhe (starry night; 1 – 2 AM)
tïkohmamëhmëi (dark night; 1 – 2 AM)
kokopsik (a little night, i.e., dawn; 5 – 6 AM)
havele (morning; 7 – 8 AM)
sisi ēhanuktihwëpsik (“the sun has by now climbed a little”; 9 – 10 AM)

River synonymes

Aletani: L’Itani, Litani
Lawa: Aoua, upper Maroni, boven Marowijne
Malani: Marouini
Maroni: Marowijne
Mapahoni: Mapaoni, Apaoni
Tampok: Arroua
Waki: Ouaqui

Wayana – English dictionary

aikom: Let’s go!
ahmit: bench, support
akawale: thick girdles of white cotton and black spider monkey tail, respectively.
akuwali: invisible spirit, soul
akuwalinpë: former invisible spirit
akon: 1) other. 2) brother / sister
alakapuha: gun (loanword derived from arcabusa; Spanish for harquebus)
Alama: Affluent of the Aletani River with its source near peak Tukusipan.
Alama: wasp species (mélipones).
alahata: red howler monkey (Alouatta seniculus).
Aletani: L’Itani or Litani River, upper course of the Maroni or Marowijne River.
alimi: black spider monkey (Ateles paniscus).
alimina: electric eel (Electrophorus electricus).
alisipsik: southern tamandua; anteater (Tamandua tetradactyla).
alive: dwarf caiman (Palaeosuchus palpebrosus).
ametak: downstream
anapamii: fire fan
anekatop: oar to stir cassava beer
anolitpē: 1) thrown away food. 2) illegitimate child.
anon: design
apēpata: bead strings on upper arm (to hold pasik).
apuweika: black panther (*Panthera onca*, black individual).
asikalu: sugarcane
asikalu ewku: sugarcane juice
atiptetop: wooden cross to support olok when mounted with feather adornments.
atuhpono: upstream
awawa: giant otter (*Pteronura brasiliensis*); neotropical otter (*Lutra longicaudis*).
awila: turkey vulture (*Cathartes aura*).
awo: dog (*Canis domesticus*); see also kaikui.

ehpa: ground drum, used during maraké.
eki: 1) relatives. 2) pet animal. 3) supporter to momai during maraké.
iwēki = my relatives
jekī = my pet animal
eluwa: male
epulu: stinging
ēputop: stinging ritual, often referred to as maraké
ēpit: cure
enep: dance baton; with feathers or noise makers (*kawai*)
ewku: 1) juice. 2) sperm.
ēē: okay, confirmation.
ēkep: skeleton
ēkepjetpē: bones of the dead
ēkēijuimē: giant snake: in particular 1) anaconda, and 2) rattle snake
jumuli: *Eunectes deschauensis*, Boidae (anaconda)
ulamali: *Eunectes murinus*, Boidae (anaconda)
pīlakīlī: *Bothrops atrox*, and *Bothrops brazili*, Crotalidae
ēkēijuimē pīlakīlī: *Crotalus durissus*, Crotalidae (tropical rattlesnake)
ēkilapoja: a plank to which are attached three feathered cane shafts, representing wings.
ēlek: suppurating wound
ēlemi: 1) song. 2) healing song.
ēli: female reproductive organs
ēliwē: pottery
ēpopata: cotton strings, attached to hamele or arms.
ētakima: 1) beginning. 2) first
isoli ētakima = first fall (counting from Tumuk Humak)
ētonamtop: burial place
ētē: village, settlement
ēwēm: 1) penis. 2) stamen. 3) sprout of banana leaf (still rolled up).
ēwo: father-in-law and mother’s brother, term of address. Term of reference: konko
ēwok: curassow (*Crax alector*)
ēwotpē: mother-in-law and father’s sister, term of reference. Term of address: wotpē

granman: paramount chief (loanword from Sranantongo: *granman*)
halikëï: dorsal adornment for maraké
hama: woven arch adorned with white down encircling the olok.
hamile: feather crown with tail feathers of white roosters.
hemït: charm. Often herbal, sometimes from animal brains.
hololo: tinamou (Tinamus major castaneiceps).
hulu: feather cloth at lower back as tail of dancer, with bird of choice.

ihmë: garden plot. My garden is itupi.
ihmo: 1) egg. 2) pregnant.
ihtaino: jaguar (Panthera onca); see also kaikui.
ijuk: black ant (possibly Cryptocercus atratus).
ikat: fat
ilak: bullet ant, or “24-hour ant” (Paraponera clavata). During the stinging ritual (ëputop) these ants are placed in the central maze of the kunana. Not the enormous jaws, but the stinger penetrating the skin to deliver its venom will be placed onto the body of the initiate. On the Schmidt Sting Pain Index (Schmidt 1984, 1990; see also Weber 1939), Paraponera clavata ranks top among Hymenoptera with a 4.0+ described by Schmidt as inducing immediate, excruciating pain and numbness to pencil-point pressure, as well as trembling in the form of a totally uncontrollable urge to shake the affected part: pure, intense, brilliant pain. Like fire-walking over flaming charcoal with a 3-inch rusty nail in your heel.

imjata: adolescent boy
inau: Pleiades
ipam: brother-in-law, term of address for men. Term of reference: kono
ipiï: 1) wife. 2) sister-in-law, term of reference for men.
ipiïke: first time tëpijem (novices)
ipo: monstrous water spirit.
isoli: 1) waterfall. 2) rapid.
itain: whip
itupi: my garden; ihmë is a slash-and-burn garden plot.
iwekï: my relatives
ïmnerum: 1) husband. 2) brother-in-law, term of reference for women

jala: 1) rack. 2) house on stilts
Jali: Jari River in Brazilian Amapa. Home of the Wayana and Upului.
jalita: hip
japo: father’s brother (akon to father) and mother’s sister’s husband (ïmnerum to mother), thus a potential father.
je: 1) mother, term of reference. Term of address: mamak. 2) live-giving-force.
jekei: my pet animal
jelut: sister-in-law, term of reference for woman
jemsi: girl
jepe: friend
jetpë: bone (literally: former mother).
jolok: ambivalent deceitful spirit of the forest.
jolok pïle: evil spirit arrow, causing pain.
juju: gland
jum: 1) father, term of reference. Term of address: papak. 2) origin. 3) master
juphak: shiny

ka: fish (generic term).
kahulu: bead (loanword from Dutch: kraal)
kaikui: 1) jaguar (see ihtaino). 2) dog (see awo). 3) monstrous being.
kaikusi: see kaikui.
Kaikusimeru: monster running across the clouds, spewing summer lightning out of its beak.
Kailawa: historical leader, founding father of the Wayana confederation.
kalakuli: 1) money. 2) gold / silver.
kalao: Red-throated caracara (Daptrius americanus).
kalapa: oil from the nuts of Carapa guianensis. Used for onot body paint.
kalapi: 1) calabash (Crescentia cujete). 2) drinking bowl.
kalau: series of song performed during maraké.
kami: child (vocative).
kamisa: red loincloth (loanword from Portuguese: camisa)
kanawa: 1) canoe. 2) dance of reciprocity (cf. maipuli).
kapé: smoked fish / meat
kapalu: flat board club (see also siwalapa)
kapalu anon: club design
kapau: red brocket deer (Mazama americana).
kapaujetpë: bone flute (without mouthpiece, with three finger holes) made from a tibia of a red brocket deer (Mazama americana).
kapitpë: scales (fish-skin)
kapiwala: capybara (Hydrochaeris hydrochaeris).
kasili: cassava beer, cachiri.
katali: backpack
katïp: likewise, resembling …
katop: thing, artifact
kawai: noise makers, made from the seeds of the Thevetia ahouai.
~ke: with … (instrumental suffix).
kijapok: toucan (Ramphastos tucanus)
kïsi: collared aracari (Pteroglossus t. torquatus)
koja: half a koja nut (Anomospermum chloranthum) is protective charm for babies.
kololo: rectangular bench (see also ahmit and mijele).
konko: father-in-law and mother’s brother, term of reference. Term of address: ëwo
kono: brother-in-law, term of reference for men. Term of address: ipam
konoto: shell (Asolena sinamarica, Ampullariidae)
kopë: rain (konopo in Tiliyo and Apalai).
Kukuiyana: Glow-worm people, most ancient Nation along the Aletani River. See yana.
kulas: chicken (Gallus gallus domesticus) (preferably white).
kulekle: Cecropia shreberiana
kulima: crested oropendola (Psarocolius decumanus melanterus).
kuliputpë: 1) tortoise (*Geochelone denticulata*). 2) mother of the Creator Twins
ku: Wedgehead Caiman (*Palaeosuchus trigonatus*).
ku: marbled wood-quail (*Odontophorus gujanensis*).
kuum: king vulture (*Sarcogalbus typus*).
Kuluwaj: principal caterpillar monster; depicted on the *maluwana*.
ku: *Oenocarpus bacaba* palm
ku: feathered basketry mat to hold ants or wasps during *ëputop*.
ku: grandmother (term of address).
ku: scarlet macaw (*Ara macao*).
kumus: grandmother (term of reference).
kupë: *Genipa americana*; black dye for body painting.
kutkutuli: black hawk-eagle (*Spizaetus tyrannus*).
kwamai: epidemic sickness with flu-like or bronchitis symptoms killing many Wayana.
kwelap: bitter manioc stem (*Manihot utilissima*).

Lawa: upper course of the Maroni or Marowijne River. Located between the mouth of the Tapanahoni and the confluence of Aletani and Malani.

lëwë: spasm, convulsion (lëwë of mirror is worst as it blinds), (see lëwë).
lëwë: whirlwind, tornado (see lëwë).
lo: 1) ground. 2) earth.
lu: 1) bamboo (*Olyra latifolia*). 2) bamboo flute. 3) [Luë] tributary of Aletani.

maipo: little tinamou (*Crypturellus soui poliocephalus*).
maipuli: 1) tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*). 2) dance of reciprocity (cf. *kanawa*).
Malani: Marouini, upper course of the Maroni or Marowijne River.
maluwana: wooden disc, painted with mythical monsters, hanging in top of *tukusipan*.
mamhali: common trumpeter (*Psophia crepitans*).
maraké: Wayana ritual performance. See also *ëputop*.
Maroni: Maroni or Marowijne. Border river between Suriname and French Guiana.
me: weeping capuchin monkey (*Cebus olivaceus*).
me: an exceptionally long caterpillar (unidentified species).
mëlaimë: giant armadillo (*Priodontes maximus*)
mëlaimë amohawin: maraké flute with a nail of the giant armadillo (*Priodontes maximus*).
mëpu: copal resin (*Hymenea courbaril*).
mëpu: bench with curved oval seat (see also *ahmit* and *kololo*).
mëko: gill
mënnë: 1) hiding place to shoot animals. 2) shaman’s hut.
mëlopi: beeswax
momai: neophyte in maraké.
monta: roundhouse (see *tukusipan*).
Mopo Kujuli: Mopo and Kujuli, the mythical Creator Twins. Mopo is the elder brother. They are named Umale and Kumawale in Upului.

mëlu: 1) boy. 2) womb
Mulokot: monstrous fish with one arm. Motive on *maluwana*; embodied as kunana.

okalat: inner bark streamers (*Couratari guianensis*) for dance costume.
okî: beverage (including cassava beer, but not restricted to cassava beer).
olok: ornate flamboyant feather headdress.
olok enî: basketry box to curate composite feathers for olok headdress (see pakala).
olok tatîptëi: mounting the olok with feather adornments.
olukla: sash of grounded shell (unidentified species; from Paru or Maicuru).
omohawi: 1) nail. 2) claw
omole: 1) shadow. 2) visible spirit
onamtop: burial related affair
tonamhe: hiding
onot: 1) red dye from Bixa orellana. 2) Bixa orellana plant (roukou, urucu, annato).
opi: 1) tiny fish (generic term). 2) Pseudopristella simulata and Phenacogaster sp.
opoto: mat woven from palm fronts.
pajakwa: yellow-rumped cacique (Cacicus cela vitellinus).
palakta: rubber
panti: belt with beads woven into various images.
papona: black-and-white mosaic signifying the tîpijem
pasik: red tail feathers of the scarlet macaw (kunolo, Ara macao), attached to a small stick, stuck in the upper arm band (apêpata).
pasina: fish, Myleus ternetzi
pata: place of …
patatpë: 1) former place of …. 2) abandoned settlement.
pakala: box to store objects (see also olok enî).
palakta: 1) glue. 2) resin from Manilkara bidendata
palasisi: White Man (traditionally used for the French)
pakila: collared peccary (Tayassu tajacu).
pakolo: house. General term for a house structure.
pakolo etatpë: posthole
pehpë: spectacled owl (Pulsatrix perspicillatta chapmani); announcer of death.
peito: worker, servant, vassal, soldier, subordinate.
peitopît: child (term of reference).
penatopë: abandoned village [in Tîlîyo]
pêinëkë: white-lipped peccary (Tayassu pecari).
pêne: piranha (Serresalmus piraya)
pêlë: 1) toad (generic name; Bufonidae). 2) Grandmother of the Creator Twins
pêtum: Apeiba tibourbou, Tiliaceae
pija: harpy eagle (Harpia harpyja).
pisa: broom
pitpë: 1) skin. 2) hide. 3) bark.
piukuku: baby
pijai: shaman, “medicine man”
pijasi: shaman, “witchdoctor”
pîlëu: 1) arrow. 2) straight as an arrow.
pîlëu ale: stabilizing feather at end of an arrow (literally: arrow leave).
poti: 1) bill. 2) beak.
pot:** navel
poni ewa: umbilical cord
pulolop: plaza
pumali: feather crown: 2 red and 2 yellow toucan feather segments offset with black.
pupot: 1) hair. 2) feather.

sakula: cassava beer made on basis of ulalakan.
sili: jewel beetle (Euchroma gigantea)
siliape: jewel beetle wing case
siliapenpë: wing case from sili (jewel beetle) as tinkling ornament of olok.
sin: this, this is
sisi: sun
sisi eniktopoija: “where the sun goes to sleep” (West)
sisi mektopoinë: “where the sun is appearing from” (East)
sisiakan: sun dried cassava bread
siwalapa: cylindrical wooden club (see also kapalu)

taïïkai: thundering (literally: it does tai).
takupi: black roasted peppers. When burned in fire they produce an eye tearing smoke. The evil spirits jolok do not like this smoke and stay away.
Taluwakem: “He-who-holds-the-mirror” inselberg in the Tumuc Humac mountain range.
tamo: 1) grandfather (term of address). 2) Elder.
Tamok: Evil spirit from the forest. His weapon to kill people was a thundering whip.
tamok épata melikut: Tamok facial painting, i.e., a specific basketry motif.
tamok uputpë: Tamok head, i.e., a specific basketry weaving technique.
Tamok tain: weapon (whip) of Tamok.
tamusi: grandfather (term of reference).
tamusi tom: the Elders
tapakula: 1) sweet manioc (Manihot esculenta). 2) sweet cassava beer.
taphem: dance shield with olok. Pronounced as tapsem by Trio descendents.
tasi: elder sister
taun: 1) wind. 2) large snake that sails on the wind.
tawioma: tiny bow for A) children’s play; B) fishing armored catfish (pële; Ancistrus sp.); C) dark shamanistic kanaima killings.
tehenemai: proscriptions
tëpijem: novice. See épup and maraké.
tëpijem pakolon: house of the novices
tepuhe: being stung (by an insect).
tépu: 1) stone. 2) inselberg, granite outcrop floating in the Amazonian canopy as an island (hence its name). 3) ‘hearing stones’ in ear of fish.
tépu ewu: quartzite river cobbles (literally: stone eye).
téwëhe: 1) burning. 2) firing pottery. 3) cremating a body
téwëkaktai: 1) being born. 2) green zone around the settlement.
téwëkaktaimëtiwëhe: to jump into water an being reborn as human being
téwëtepuhhe: rite of passage. See maraké and épup.
tijulem: “those-of-the-living/womb,” i.e., responders of the maraké.
tijumkai: to do shamanism (root: jum).
tipatakem: “those-of-the-village,” i.e., the initiators of the maraké.
tipijutmê: woman who has given birth.
tikwa: warm water in which cassava bread is dissolved.
tinki: cassava squeezing tube (elsewhere in Amazonia known as “tipiti”).
tiwhmo: pyre
tolopit: bird (generic term).
tonokai: steam bath with boiling hot stones sprinkled with water.
tukui: 1) hummingbird. 2) bamboo-tipped arrow for big game (and humans).
tukui upo: 1) nest of hummingbird. 2) dancing arrow of tëpijem (tëpijem pîlew).
tukusi: see tukui
tukusime: gray dolphin (Sotalia fluviatilis)
tukusipan: community roundhouse. Literally: “place of the tukusi.”
Tukusipan: Toukouchipann. Inselberg in the Tumuc Humac Mountain range.
Tumuc Humac: Watershed between Brazil and the Guiana plateau; border between Brazil and Suriname/French Guiana.
tuma: pepper-pot
tuma enï: pepper-pot container; i.e., cooking vessel
tuna: water
tunaton: large body of water (e.g., Atlantic Ocean).
tupijem: searching; looking for something.
tuptê: 1) calabash (Lagenaria siceraria). 2) water container.
tuwahamo: dancers
tuwantanîphe: adoption, childcare
ulalakan: thick cassava bread
ulali: arrow poison
ulê: living
ulû: bitter maniok root (Manihot utilissima). Stem is kwelap.
umanî: cassava beer made from ulalakan.
ümînpîlin: tëpijem (novice) who already endured the initial stinging ritual.
ümîtición: leader
umot: 1) pubic hair. 2) lower belly feathers of bird. 3) maize hair. 4) tassel at lower rim of female skirt; 5) fringe at lower ridge of roof.
upo: nest
uponpê: placenta
waipu: cotton leg fringes tied below the knee.
wakawakatpê: hourglass-shaped motif (literally: waka and former waka; whereby waka possibly refers to azimuth location at horizon of star rise / star set.).
walisimê: giant anteater (Myrmecophaga tridactyla).
waluhnâmê: adolescent girl
wama: basketry
wapot: 1) fire. 2) fire wood. 3) summer lightning
wapu: palm (Euterpe oleracea)
wasi: leg
**watau:** coumarou (*Myleus pacu*). Shape of *kunana* during first *ëputop.*

**watënkë:** lesser yellow-headed vulture (*Cathartes burrovianus*).

**watkï:** tail

**Wayana:** confederation founded by Kailawa, presumably in the eighteenth century. Main social Houses at the heart of the Wayana Confederation are the Kukuiyana, Okomëyana, Upului, and Wayanahle.

**Wayanahle:** real Wayana, originating from the Jari River.

**weji / wei:** 1) year. 2) great crested flycatcher (*Myiarchus crinitus*). This bird sings once a year, namely during the dry season.

**weju:** 1) apron. 2) flaming candle.

**wet:** shit, droppings

**wewe:** tree

**wëlïipan:** initiation for girls. Boys may also participate (cf. *marakë*).

**wëlï:** 1) girl. 2) spouse. 3) female.

**wëlisi:** male term of address for women and girls in 0 and -1 generation.

**wïwï:** 1) ax. 2) clitoris.

**yana:** 1) People, Nation, and often glossed as Tribe. 2) social House.

**Yapotoli:** Paramount chief (most likely a Kaliña-Carib term).
APPENDIX C
WAYANA ORAL TRADITION

Original and never before published Wayana narratives referred to in the running text are included in this appendix; ordered following their occurrence in respective chapters. On Wayana phonology and how to pronounce Wayana consonants and vowels: see Appendix B (Tables B-1 and B-2). For the most part narratives were processed following the same methodology. Most historical stories were narrated by Kulienpë at Alawateimë enî (unless mentioned otherwise). Being a Wayana who migrated from the Jari some thirty years ago, Kulienpë was considered (by other Wayana) to know stories from a time long ago. Mythical stories as Mopo Kujuli and Kulum were narrated by Sihmi in the house where I stayed during my fieldwork. These narratives were transcribed from audiotape by Ronnie Tïkaime, my host. Ronnie Tïkaime illustrated several of these narratives with his great artistic skills. Shaman stories and mortuary practices were narrated by Tënepo to Tasikale. I had discussed my questions prior with Tasikale and he asked Tënepo to elaborate on these topics. Tasikale transcribed Tënepo’s narratives. Transcribed narratives were translated into French by Takwali Kulisa (unless mentioned otherwise). Editing the narratives and translation into English was done by Renzo Duin. Notes and additions between square brackets are by the author. And to close in a Wayana manner: This is how it was told to me. Well, it is like this (Ekalëtoponpï ponahle lëken wai. Ma, huwalëken).

Mopo Kujuli (Creator Twins)
Mopo Kujuli (recording time:11 minutes), as narrated by Pëlëka Makilu in 1997 at Espérance (Talhuwen), transcribed in Wayana by Carème, translated to Dutch by Ronnie Tïkaime. Edited and translated to English by Renzo Duin. Notes and additions between brackets are by the author.
1 In the beginning there were Mopo and Kujuli [Creator Twins]; on the same day they were like babies in the eggs of the tortoise [Geochelone denticulata]. But they were already alive.

note Mopo and Kujuli are twins, because they originate from the very same tortoise egg string. Although born from a tortoise mother, they are as humans (compare with Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles).

2 Then [Mopo and Kujuli] said to their mother: “Mama,” they said, “let us be hidden by our grandmother,” they say.

3 Mopo was not like a child, not as a toddler; they were still in the egg. But already had he knowledge.

4 Subsequently they went to their grandmother. Tortoise went to (her mother) Toad (Bufo sp.).

note Tortoise is the mother of Mopo and Kujuli. Since Kuliputpë / Tortoise is used as a proper name, rather than a reference to a certain species, I translated Tortoise capitalized; the same goes for grandmother Toad.

5 Next [Tortoise] says to [her mother] Toad: “Hide my children, the Jaguars are going to eat me,” [Tortoise] says to her mother.

note Kaikui (Jaguar, dog, monster) is here specified as istaino (jaguar). These monsters kaikui are the real Jaguars.

6 [Toad] hides the children of Tortoise. Then they are hidden by Toad under a big vessel.

note Oha is a big ceramic vessel to prepare and store manioc beer.

7 Then their mother [Tortoise] says it is good. Subsequently she leaves the eggshells behind, with in her stomach just the egg pouch.

note Ëtïpena is ‘thingy’, an interjection while the narrator is searching for the proper term (compare with note on line 12).

note Not explicitly mentioned in this version, but implied in the rest of this narrative, is that at this point mother Tortoise has been eaten by the Jaguars. This event is represented in the basketry motif ‘Kaikui ène Kuliputpë’ or ‘Jaguar eating the Tortoise’.

8 “Where are her children?” he [the Jaguar] asks. Then “Where are her children, where are they?” he asks subsequently to the grandmother.

9 “What, I don’t see them. I don’t see the children of Tortoise at all, I don’t know them,” she [Toad] answers him.

10 “They are here!” the Jaguar says, “they are here, you did hide them here!” he says.

[Toad replies:] “Hé! Don’t break my pottery, don’t break my oha, I need that to make my cassava beer! I haven’t seen the children. Tortoise didn’t say she
“ënenelanma wai!”

12 “Talënma man. Enek! Ihmohpën mamë neha iwetepujau,” tikë ënïkpena Kaikui. 12 “They are here. Look! She had the egg pouch in her stomach,” says Jaguar.

note Ënïkpena is an interjection meaning “such-and-such” while the narrator is searching for the proper name.

13 “Mëkapa?” tikë moloinë kunumusi. 13 “Did you eat her?” the grandmother asks next.

14 “ïhï” tikë, “ihmo enpë weneimë esike hemalë upijëmë jai. Tïpokne man ëpakolon!” tikë kunumusija. 14 “Yes,” [Jaguar] says, “and because I saw the egg pouch I’m now searching for them. Your house smells,” he says to the grandmother [Toad].

15 “Këh, innanhamë wai, imna wai ënenelanma wai,” tikë kunumusi. 15 “I don’t know, not at all, I don’t see them at all,” the grandmother says.

16 Moloinë upijëmë kepheinë aptau maka tëtïhe, moloinë tëtapëklëi mëi lëken meklë. Moloinë, tupijëmë kephe eja esike maka. 16 Then when they [the Jaguars] have finished searching, subsequently he drops everything. Next, since he [Jaguar] has been searching everywhere he is ready.

note In another version (not recorded), the Jaguars find the tortoise and her eggs, and it is only now that Toad requests two eggs to be left behind with her. Instead of eating these two eggs, she places them in cotton under a vessel. Then the Jaguars return home and throw the remains of Tortoise, including her shell and claws, at the midden along the road at the rim of the village.

At this point the tape recorder was briefly stopped. When the recording continued, the narrator carried on from the point where she had left the narrative.

note In another version (not recorded) it is narrated that Toad protects these eggs with love. The children ask her, while still in their eggs, to be transferred to the garden house, because they sense they soon will leave their eggs.

Toad tells the Jaguars that she will work in the garden for a while, and they let her go, as they are lazy.

Toad placed the children under a shelter and cleared the surroundings. Then she hears screaming: “Granny! Come quickly, we are hungry! Give us food!”

Grandmother Toad provides the children with bananas. The bananas are cooked, since it is Toad who holds fire (in her anus).

The children go bathing in the river and ask grandmother to make them bows and arrows.

Grandmother Toad provides the children (Mopo and Kujuli) with little bows and arrows, with which they immediately know how to shoot. They hear the pidgin (pëti) and ask grandmother whether they can eat it.

The pidgin says: “It is not me who ate your mother” but the twins shoot. They miss, and the pidgin flies away.

17 Moloinë, wantë, tuwalë lanma têtïlëmëi inëlë. 17 Then, much later, he [Mopo Kujuli] remembers very well.
Next the curassow [ëwok; *Crax alector*] was singing. “Let’s kill the curassow,” he says. They are already alive since they are opened by their grandmother. [Their eggs are hatched by their grandmother.]

Next the curassow was singing. They are leaving [Mopo] with his brother [Kujuli] underneath [the curassow]. They search, but they do not the curassow at all. “Where is he?” he says to his brother. “What is he saying?” “Èu tapek... ëje wene... Kaikusi,” as the currassow sais.

Three times three syllables, just like the song of the currassow. This is an example of ‘sinc-wave speech’ (Pinker 1994:154), where the sound physically is nothing at all like speech, but the human brain can ‘hear’ speech content in sounds that have only the remotest resemblance to speech. See also chapter 7.3 on Orellana and his men hearing Spanish in a bird song.

When Mopo repeats the phase by the currassow, he says “kaikui” instead of “kaikusi”. Through time /s/ became /h/ and even /Ø/; kaikusi > kaikuhi > kaikui.

This is the first time Mopo is individually named, separate from his brother Kujuli, yet they still perform together.

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This is the first time Mopo is individually named, separate from his brother Kujuli, yet they still perform together.

“Më, aile kunija.”
“Këh! Ipanakmak pitë pa pëtuku, maka, hesi ëwok ënuwêla,” tkai tokonoja.
“Èu tapek...ëje wëne... Kaikusi” (song of ëwok)
“Këken tuwalëla wai, téipa mikanakma?” tkai inêlê.
“Kùni, mamak ëne kapa Kaikui?”
“Èu tapek ... ëje wene ... Kaikusi,” nikanmanë tkai.
“Ma iwalë, ipanakma tatëk pëtuhku!” Moloinë têhalëi tot ipanakmai mijalë, tokon malë.
Opikahehle hemele, tipanakmai: “Èu tapek... ëje wene... Kaikusi,” tkai.
“Mëk, mamak man têhe mala aptau Kaikusija!” tkai tokonoja.
“Kuni, ahpelahle kapa mamak êne Kaikusi?”

“Yes, you are the children of the one who is eaten by the Jaguars.

“hide my children, because the Jaguars are about to eat me” has your mother said,” she [Toad] says.

So “Oh, we are the children of the one who is eaten by the Jaguars.”

That morning, as custom, they are building a little Tukusipan [domed, centrally located, community house]. He builds a very small Tukusipan with his brother [as children like to play].

“Granny, can you make our okï [common name for beverage, among which manioc beer or kasseri]?” he says.

So drinks are made by grandmother. Next they are placed in the tukusipan by Kujuli.

In this line we have a first distinction between Mopo and Kujuli, as it is the latter who placed the beverage in the roundhouse. Where Mopo is the talker (line 25), Kujuli is the doer.

The next morning they see an immense community house tukusipan. Everything, there even is a maluwana in there, made by the buttress of a kumaka tree (Ceiba pentandra).

During the night the roundhouse they had made had become gigantic. No longer a children’s construction, but a real community house. Inclusive a decorated wooden disk maluwana (Duin 2006c).

Then, that morning, their grandmother had made their beverage. She had made just a little bit, but now there was a lot of manioc beer in the community house.

Mopo and Kujuli tell their grandmother Toad that they want to be initiated. They ask grandmother to make a lot of manioc beer, a lot of kasseri and umani for those who prefer that drink.

That morning Mopo goes into the forest as a momai (novice) to the leader of the Jaguars.

“I invite you to drink and to eat,” says [Mopo] to the leader of the Jaguars.

The Jaguars are invited to participate in a maraké (chapter 6.2) and are asked to make the feather headdress olok, play the flutes, and sing the song kalau. The village leader, though surprised that Toad did not eat the eggs, provides Mopo with a stool kololo, a meal of invitation, some calabashes with cassava beer and a long cigarette.

“Ok,” says the leader of the Jaguars, and he says to his vassals they are all invited.

In this line the hierarchy is transparent. A stranger arrives and converses with the village leader. Subsequently, the leader distributes the message to his peito, his people (see also chapter 8.2).
Next they arrive in the village of Mopo and enter the tukusipan. All drink a lot and all laugh a lot.

note Unspoken, but implied in the following sequence, as well as embodied during the rites-of-passage, Mopo and Kujuli blow the decorated flute (mēlaimē amohawin) made of the claws of their mother Tortoise (This flute actually contains the nail of the Giant armadillo; Priodontes maximus) that were carefully conserved by grandmother Toad after discarded by the Jaguars.

While they are blowing this magical flute, it begins thundering. When Mopo blows the flute, thundering increases, and Kujuli state that it seems that thunder approaches. The dancing and singing of kalau begins, and it starts to rain heavily. Note that the rite-of-passage marakē takes place when the rainy season approaches.

“Go shelter, shelter!” Mopo says [to the Jaguars].

Just Kēlēpukē [tayra; Eira barbara] with his wife do not shelter. He says he will shelter, but they never does shelter.

note The Tayra, perceived as the grandparents of the Jaguars, later return to the forest (line 50) and will be create the jaguars that are in the forest today. Because the Jaguars from the past died (line 52).

Subsequently, Mopo remembers the story of their mother being eaten by them [Their mother Tortoise eaten by the Jaguars].

Then there is a big stone. The tukusipan is transformed into a stone.

note The suffix -me means that the narrator knows a house cannot transform into stone literally, only metaphorically.

[The Jaguars] are all locked in and it has ended. The Kēlēpukē return both into the forest.

Mopo was already in the sky [a constellation] and their grandmother was already somewhere [in the ground].

The Jaguars are decaying in the rock, because they were enclosed by Mopo.

note After this chaotic event, Toad asks herself where her grandchildren are.

A little later, Toad asks: “Where are my little children?”

[The twins] do not worry at all. They merely scare her while they are doing as Walama, as Pehpe, als Kulēu, like all the spirits of the forest.

note Walama (Asio clamator forbesi), Pehpe (Pulsatrix perspicillatta chapmani), Kulēu (Lophostrix cristata wedeli) are different species of owls feared by the Wayana as forebode of death.

Next, Mopo and Kujuli want to eat cooked food, but they do not have fire. According to another
57 Moloinë kunumusija talimai iphala.
58 “Ulëk mëlë hamutke epïkak tunake upïkë lon ìkalëntau,” ëkai.

59 Moloinë, Mopoja tupïhe soh tunake téwepïjëmëi. Hamutke tôpoló, lîmái.
60 Mïjalë tïnët kom tôlelepëmëi ejahe.

62 Moloinë, Mopo tïtëi wapot umït alimatïhwe anëmëhe. Tanimëmëi eja, tïputonmai tumïtpai.
63 Hemele uwa tot étukula kohle. Sisipolëken, sisipolëken téwëtukhe tot, wapotkela.
64 Moloinë kunumusija ëkai tewëmëtuhkë, tanme wapotumna. Mëlë tékailep, ëkai Mopo.
65 Tewëtukëmëi wapon, wapot pona, sis pola tot.
66 Moloinë inot kom imahalan kom pëk, mapë tëlë ìte mëkjaleja ëneimëi.
67 Tëneime hawelemë imnahle alila.
68 “Tënanma pa kumapën kom ali nitéja, enëkïnë pa nalëja?”
69 “Këken tuwalëla wai”, ëkai Mopo.
70 Hawele, alíla.
71 “Éë, énëk nalëja iko?” ëkai.
72 Moloinë: “Uwa pililikman tïhehe, kalaoman tïhehe ekalënëme,” ëkai Mopo.

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version, grandmother Toad holds fire in her anus.

56 “Here is firewood, take it. What did granny say, she said to keep our fire, what are you doing,” says Mopo.
57 Next fire is thrown into the air by the grandmother.
58 “Make it alive with sand or with water when there are flames.” [Grandmother Toad says].

note Grandmother Toad intentionally mocks fire making, and tells the Twins to fire it up with sand or water. Everybody knows this will result in killing the fire, hence grandmother is a trickster. Later (line 61) she tells the twins how to increase the fire with proper firewood, and order is created out of chaos, in favor of deceit.

59 Subsequently, Mopo sprinkles water but it dies. When he throws sand, it is the same.
60 Once more he [Mopo Kujuli] starts to scare their grandmother.
61 “What is happening to you, what I told you is: enlarge your fire with luwe-luwe, with maukë, with kalipoime,” she says. “That is what I have said,” says grandmother Toad.

note Luwe-luwe, maukë, and kalipoime are different species of (fire-) wood.

62 Next, Mopo goes fetching the fire that she has thrown around. He collects it and adds new wood, and this time it does not die.
63 Several days they [Mopo and Kujuli] have not been eating. Simply in the sun, they cook their meal simply in the sun, without fire.
64 So they say to their grandmother to come and eat. But it was without fire. Like this he maybe said, said Mopo.
65 They start to eat what has been cooked on the fire, no longer ['cooked'] in the sun.
66 Then their grandmother is emptying the fish traps, they had made mapë [= fish trap for in creeks].
67 They return the following morning but they do not see anything [There is no more fish in the fish trap].
68 “Where is what was in our fish trap, who took it?”

note When Mopo and Kujuli do not find any fish in the trap, they place birds near the trap that will make noise when somebody approaches.

69 “I don’t know,” says Mopo.
70 They return the next morning, nothing.
71 “Hé, who is taking our food?” they say.
72 Then: “Let’s make a little wren bird (Pililik-pililik, Troglodytes ochraceus ligea) and let’s make a big Kalao (Red-throated caracara, Daptrius americanus),” says Mopo.

note When Mopo and Kujuli do not find any fish in the trap, they place birds near the trap that will make noise when somebody approaches. And so they do.
74 Subsequently Pililik-pililik and also Kalao cry when grandmother arrives. She is carrying a lot of fish.
Kulum (King Vulture)

Kulum eitoponpë Wajana ehet Ipïtïmïn (recording time:17.5 minutes), narrated by Pëlëka Makilu (Sihmi) in 2000 at Espérance (Talhuwen), verbatim written down by Ronnie Tïkaime.

Translated to French by Takwali Kulisa. Edited and translated to English by Renzo Duin. Notes and additions between brackets are by the author.

Table C-2. The Story of the King vulture and a man named “Without-a-wife.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wayana omi</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Kulum eitoponpë Wajana ehet Ipïtïmïn</td>
<td>1 This is the story of Kulum (<em>Sarcoramphus papa</em>) and the man named Ipïtïmïn (“Without-a-wife”).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>note: Compare with <em>Ipetpuin</em> (“Without thigh”), i.e., the Carib signification of the constellation Orion.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Ma, ekïme Kulum, tuwëi eja apë amatak, îlêmëpïla Kulum.</td>
<td>2 Well, he had tamed the king vulture, he had shot it below its wings, <em>kulum</em> (King vulture) was not dead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>note: <em>ekï</em> = a) kin, b) pet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>iwekï</em> = my kin (compare with line:30)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>jekï</em> = my pet (line:2); b) gardien of <em>tëpijem</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Lome wëlïi kunehak Kulum.</td>
<td>3 But it was a female king vulture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Ma, tôkïme kunehak tïhe ipïtïmïn nïja. Pëtuku kunehak tïhe tôkïme eja.</td>
<td>4 Well, she was tamed by the person who did not have a wife. He took good care of his pet animal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Tïtalamtëi pëtuku eja, ënawohanë mala kunehak.</td>
<td>5 He had well made a cage / platform, and he never lingered on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Malalë têwetse awaina kuptë. Têwetuk top katïplë, têwetse eja.</td>
<td>6 So he had provided food every day. Every time when he ate, he gave food to her.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Ma, epamtïhwë, kunenkakatïp kunehak ihmato talïhnak, mëwihnëlalep, pakolotao. Lome inëlë malalë tôpïmïhe kunehak ewasipëk.</td>
<td>7 Well, when she got accustomed, her master let her go out, but not really far, it was in his house. But she was also attached by her leg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Ma, molo hepï inëlë, pakolotao, tapsik wejî [wei]? Pëkënatpë wejî kunehak ihmato malë.</td>
<td>8 Well, she remained there, in the house, how many years? One year with her owner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Ma, akon wejîjao, tanuktatop pëk kunëtïli'h. Pinapophak Ipïtïmïn enene Kulum.</td>
<td>9 Well, in the following year, she began to change. Kulum (King vulture) saw that Ipïtïmïn (“Without-a-wife;” her master) was unhappy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Ma moloinë, hakëne wejî [wei]/ jalï' aptao tïwë kunëtïli'h Kulum. [jalï = Surinamese taki-taki]</td>
<td>10 Well, then, when it had been two years, Kulum began to transform.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>note Year in Wayana: wejî / wei / jalï (jaar)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Tëpihem înene èhmëhle pëkënme kunëtïli' eluwa apëtomaneme èhtële eluwa itëkuptë tëpihem îneme</td>
<td>11 Kulum had prepared all the food every time the man left somewhere.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
12 Akename kunehak eluwa têmaminen.
Ma, ëhmelë ñëangepëm ñëne akename kunehak eluwa tapsik jalî ? Tulu tîmomhe eja, ëhmelë ëtikom tîmomhe eluwaja.
13 In the beginning the man had worked hard.
Well, how many years that the man had prepared his food? He had brought manioc, all things were brought by the man.
14 Ma, ituhak titëi pitëna pakila, alimi, alawata, maipiuli, hololo, akawak, mamhali, külüputpë, ëhmelë tunä wali tom: ka tom, aimala, watao, pasina, ëhmelë têhem tînephe eja.
Well, he left into the woods to hunt for peccary, spider monkey, howler monkey, tapir, perdrix, marais, agami, tortoise, all those who are in the river: fish, aimara, coumarou, pacoussine, all game was brought by him.
15 Molo kunehak ëkï Kulum. Tëtukhe akëlë eluwa nekejutpï tom, tëkhe tëhem eluwa nenepïtpï tëhe.
There was his pet king vulture. She ate bread with the man, she ate all the food that the man brought.
16 Ma, moloinë ulu tînephe eluwaja imëpoinë.
Well, then the manioc was brought by the man from his garden plot.
17 Molo mihen tulu tinëmëi eluwaja, ñitupi tom akolokai titëi eluwa.
The man left his manioc there, and the man returned to clear his garden.
18 Mëjëleine tumëkëmëi eluwa. Tëneimëi eluwaja uhpak tîpikanmai, tîkïnmai, têwuhkanmai
From there returned the man. The man saw that [his manioc] was by now peeled, grated, and drained [by placing the grated manioc paste in a squeezer].
19 Masike tëk titkai eluwa, wanpilop titkai eluwa.
So the man was surprised.
20 Mala palutom aptao tîjei titkaklëi pëtuku.
Also when he had bananas she boiled them and sifted them well [to remove the fibers].
21 Masike “ënïk jutom ëkija Kulumi?” titkai titkïja.
So “who grated my manioc king vulture?” he asked his pet animal.
22 Tëkimehnë aptao, lome apëneikume Kulum towomijao léken “en, en, en,” titkai léken, Kulum.
Since she was still his pet animal, she only replied in her tongue “en, en, en” she merely said, the king vulture.
23 Ma, mïjalë okï aptau tíhe eluwaja, tinëmëi eja okï akonmala. Ituhtuk titëi.
Well, one time when the beverage had been made [boiled] by the man, the beverage not yet diluted [simply the paste] was made by him. He left into the forest.
24 Mëjëleine uhpak tokonmai titkaklëi.
Upon return water had been added to the [boiled] manioc paste and sifted.
25 Moloinë titkaimëi mïjalë titkïja “ënïk kînmapa numëk Kulumi?” titkai.
Then he asked once more to his pet animal “who did stop by Kulum?” he said.
26 Lome towomijao léken Kulumja têpënukhe. “En, en, en, en” titkai léken.
But king vulture only replied in her tongue “En, en, en, en” she merely said.
27 Ma, moloinë tëk titkai eluwa. “Énïk patoma iwokïtom jutom ekej?” titkai inëlë.
Well, then the man was surprised. “Who made my beverage and my manioc bread?” he said.
28 Ma, mïjalë man titëi ulupëk eluwa.
Well, the man left to gather manioc another time.
Ma, mïjalë man titëi ulupëk eluwa.
Well, the man left to gather manioc another time.
Ma, mïjalë man titëi ulupëk eluwa.
Well, the man left to gather manioc another time [for the third time].
29 Moloman tewelamai enehe tewëtihe eluwa.
There the man returned for he had become curious.
“Who is here in my place?” he said. Then “maybe this must be my family!” said the man. It had been his pet animal when she was still a pet animal.

Well, the man returned to his garden plot to clean it simply a little. Then when he was in his garden plot, he remembered and said: “no, who is grating the manioc?” he said. “I will see it!” he said.

Later she had become his wife. She was seen by him sitting on the lever of the manioc squeezer making the juice pour out of the manioc paste. So the man went and walked up to her.

In the beginning she was just seen by him from afar, a very beautiful girl. She was like a person who had just endured her initiation (tëpijem mïtpë), king vulture Kulum [with a shaved head].

After seeing her, the man came swiftly towards her, as she was beautiful. He glided.

She stood up rapidly and left to grab her cloak. She was hold by the man. He grabbed her by her arm and brought her to his hammock.

For a long time she was held by the man and he talked a lot with her.

“Are you mocking me?” de man told her. “Preparing food for us, making cassava bread!” the man told her. “Don’t be shy, you are shy for whom?” the man told her.

Well, after discussing the man told his wife “continue working on the cassava!”. Then the girl left and took the manioc paste that she had in the squeezer. Then he gave his loin-cloth to the girl, so the girl was well dressed.

Well, when that was done [the work with the cassava], they went to take a bath in the river. Upon return they ate together.

Well, they made love, which we do not discuss further…

Then she did not get pregnant immediately.

Well, she got pregnant and they had two children [no twins]. They were boys. Their children grew big.

Then the children wanted arrows, but the family from their father did not have any feathers for the arrow.

So their mother went to search for feathers among
Inëlëhken pitë man tïëi man eluwa molo peitopît tïjkom malë.  
54 Masike itëlïhtao aptao, tëtahamhenma immelum.  54 So when she had left, her husband was very sad.
55 “Ahpela nai mëhkele kupeinom nai mëham!” tïkai eluwa tïpit tïja.  55 “You will have to return by all means because we have children!” the man told his wife.
56 Masike kokopsik man tïëi ipit.  
56 So very early in the morning the wife left.
57 Moloinë man tumëkëmëi tanme ankomhak ipit.  57 Then his wife arrived maybe at noon.
58 Molo tïjum tom moja walawalam inëlë emsi “kamitom pïletom alëta!” tïkai tïjum mïja.  58 There the wife talked with her parents “bring arrows for your grandchildren!” she told her father.
59 “Ëh!” tïkai ijum, “wïtëjai.  Masike emna oñi tuwëpok,” tïkai ijum tëmsilija.  59 “OK!” her father said, “I go. So we need to have something to eat when we go hunting” her father told his daughter.
60 “Ëh,” tïkai emsi.  60 “OK!” his daughter said.
61 Masike immelum mïja tuwëi hakene kapau, tïmatai otïkom.  
61 So her husband had killed two deer (Mazama americana), their meat had rotten [because vultures eat rotten meat].
62 Molonman tumëkëmëi ijum ije huwa.  Ëhmelë, awïla, watënke, Ëhmelë kawëna kom tïmëkan enanomlë.  
62 There come her father and mother. All arrive, the vultures (Cathartes aura and Cathartes burrovianus), all who eat rotten meat.
63 Masike molo emsi Ëhmelë okîhpe.  
63 So there his daughter had beverage.
64 Emsi mala kawëna titëthwë tupokom tênehpe ëhelowao (3) tênehpe eja; tïmelum upo ëpeinom upo huwa.  Maka aptao, tëhaléimëi tot ijumtom.  64 When she was up there she brought three cloaks; one for her husband and also for her children. When they are done, her parents return home.
65 Ma, moloinë tïëi man tot kawëna.  Tëhme? Uwa, ijum mïja tømøpai tot kawëna.  65 Well, then they set out to above. Why? No, her father had invited them into the sky.
66 “Ëh, wïtejai!” tïkai emsi.  Hakene ipeinom.  66 “OK, I leave!” says his daughter. [Because] she has two children.
67 Mah akename ipit tïëi wewe pona, kawemhakan pona, elaima hehe.  67 While her husband and children learn how to fly.
68 Molona ipeinom ijum kom huwa, wewepo tot.  Tëwëthëi têhëpihe Ëhmelë.  68 The children were there with their father, they were up in the tree. They were all very well placed.
69 Ma, kawëinë tot tekëlimai, akename immelum, ipeinom, ëkëmne ije, peitopît je.  69 Well, they leave the high place where they were, first her husband, (then) her children, and finally it is the mother, the mother of the children.
70 Uwanma hapon immelum epamïla, malalë ipeinom.  70 Her husband does not have the habit of flying, neither do his children [because they are human beings].
71 Masike mëklë ije kom lomo lomok ïkai, henma opi opi lëhe têwëtëwe lamai.  Lomo lomok ïkai.  71 So she [mother King vulture] also flies, she places herself under them. She flies.
72 Masike mapai malë tot têwëhalëi kapunak.  72 So they fly very carefully into the sky.
73 Ma, meje ëwuholëpsik kawë ëtënetamu tom patao.  73 Well, he stays long up there in the village of the family of his father-in-law.
74 Ma, ëtënetamu luja tênokhe ëtëpalum tïwelën têpe malë, Kulum malë, tïwelën Wajanahnëlep epe.  74 Well, he sees his father-in-law with his female friend and with the other King vulture friends, his friends were like Wayana.
75 “Okomë ipkë lëpotà!” tïkai tëmsilija.  75 “Go cut me a nest of okomë wasps!” [the father] says to his girl.
76 Malonme emsi ïkai: “papak nai okomë ipkëlë pota nika.”  76 Then his daughter says: “my father asked that you have to cut a nest of okomë wasps”
Masike “ekëpitpë na mële alëpok ëtkapit openai,” malalë ëtkai lep jüm.

77 So “you will have to get him the old cloak, otherwise he will hurt himself” her father said then in vain.

78 Lome inëlë ipalum ihjan jao he. “Ma, wiëtëjai!” ëtkai inëlë.

78 But his girlfriend did not want to and she got a brand new one [cloak]. “Well, I leave!” he said.

79 “Ma, pëtukunai, ëtkapit naï kutopol!” ëtkai imnetamu.

79 “Well, pay attention, do not hurt yourself!” his father-in-law said.

80 Malonme kouff, ëtkai tuptëi inëlë têpe malë, masike wewe pona têhapeihe tot, pak kai tot.

80 Then zouff, he descended with his girlfriend, so they perched on a tree.

81 Masike têpeja enetapîtë ëtkai.

81 So she told her boyfriend to have a look.

82 “Éh,” ëtkai epe.

82 “OK” her friend said.

83 Tuptëi ënei epeja kolenma okomëpkëtëlë. Ejahe, lome kunnëlamkom aptao tîmekan elewe muni lilik ëtkai tot.

83 He descends and many okomë wasps were seen by her friend. To them [King vultures perceive these as wasps], but we [human beings] see them as larvae that crawl in rotten flesh.

84 “Ma, jepe kolenma neha. Aimëtëhpo hek halëp tênet kulasin (= pïlasì)” ëtkai epe.

84 “Well, there are a lot. Let us thus fill our crops / baskets” the friend said.

85 “Éh,” ëtkai epe.

85 “OK” her friend said.

86 Moloinë tuptëitot.

86 Then they descend.

87 “Ma, jepe kolela hapon nai ëlasin alïptëk!” ëtkai têpeja.

87 “Well, you should not overfill your basket (crop)!” she [King vulture] told her [Wayana] friend.

88 Masike awomi aïlë epeh; apsik lëken talïptëi eja.

88 So her friend listens to her; he only filled it a little.

89 Moloinë Wajana ënei epeja akename.

89 Then a Wayana was first perceived by his friend.


90 “OK” her friend said.

91 Lome tenmenma epe.


92 Masike, “jepe ëwenatak këlehapon!” ëtkai lep epe.

92 “You will have to vomit my friend!” his friend said in vain.

93 Masike tiwenatai epe, kaluluk sakpuluël têpeja lomona.

93 So her friend vomited, all that had been gathered fell on earth.

94 Moloinë, tanëken, pilëu tumëkhe lak kahenma. Tuwëi kenem ipam mîja.

94 Then, all of a sudden, an arrow arrives and chak [he is hit]. [The arrow] shot by his brother-in-law.


95 “Au! I am hit by something dangerous!” he says to his girlfriend. “Where is he hurt?” she says to her friend. They climb flying a little higher.

96 Moloinë tekëfilmëmëhit mîhja hemëlë pilëu têlëi kapunak tëwasiëpëk.

96 Then they leave far and he brings the arrow high into the sky in his leg.

note: This accident occurs in the world of the King vultures. The brother-in-law is the brother of the King vulture woman. Now equipped with a feather cloak, the Wayana man can communicate with the King vultures who he perceives in their state of humanity.

97 “Jepenma ëtkapit opa!” ëtkai epe.

97 “My friend had an accident!” his friend says.


98 “So I told her” says his father-in-law [the King vulture]. “He is hurt where?” he says [King vulture to his king vulture daughter].
“Etìwït pëkënanma,” tïkai epeh. “It is in his calf” says his girlfriend.

Malonme tïkïlëmëi imnetamuluja. So it was taken out by his father-in-law.

note: King vulture is thus a pïjai (shaman).

Moloinë tïkïlëmëi imnetamuluja. Then he is cured with the elemi chants by his father-in-law.


103 “Këh, tanme ma îpam pïle. Êpam pïle menma wenejai,” tïkai tuwëtpï. “I do not know, maybe it is the arrow of my brother-in-law. I have seen that it is his arrow” says he who had been shot [Wayana with King vulture feather cloak].

note: Arrows of King vultures are recognizable by their tail feathers. Above in line 52 it is stated that they went to the land of the King vultures, because the family of the Wayana man did not have feathers for the arrows for their children.

104 Moloinë, tapsik awaina aptao, îpam pïle enepëmëi tuptë inëlë tuwëtpï sija tïpatak. So, after how many days, he who had been shot will descend into the village there [the King vulture village] to return the arrow of his brother-in-law.

note: îpam = term of reference
kono = term of adress

105 Molo tïnïkëmëi. He sleeps there.

106 Pëkënatpë awaina tïhwë haweleme tïtëi îpam pïle alëimëi. After spending a day he returns the arrow of his brother-in-law.

107 Ma, tïkai tïjum mïja: “ëpatumnai wei pupupkei.” Tahku tïkai ijum tuwëi tïmumu sike. Well, he says to his father [King vulture father]: “I will argue with the son of my brother-in-law”. The father did not say anything as it was his son who had shot the arrow.

108 Moloinë tïtëi inëlë îpam mïjahle. Then he goes towards his brother-in-law [brother of Kulum the King vulture].

109 “Ma kono, èlekom tapek kasin?” tïkai îpam mïja. “Well brother-in-law, does this not belong to you ?” he says to his brother-in-law.

note: îpam = term of reference
kono = term of adress

110 “Îna, îlënna!” tïkai îpam. “Yes, that is my arrow !” says his brother-in-law.

111 “Èh, ahpela manatëi,” tïkai îpam mïja. “Yes, you are right” he says to his brother-in-law.


113 Moloinë hemelë tïtëi ijume kapunak. Then he departs permanently and forever towards the sky [i.e., he becomes the constellation of Orion; Figure 5-5].

note Belt of Orion (Mintaka, Alnilam, Alnitak) is the leg of the King vulture into which is shot the arrow (around Orion Nebula and Nair al Saif). Double headedness of the King vulture (Rigel and Cursa) are referring to the Wayana man (head # 1) wearing a King vulture feather cloak (head # 2).

114 Titëlïhtao tïkai tïjum mïja: “ma, wîtjai hemelë papa, kuwënmätêk lëken nai hemelë,” tïkai tïwekë tom moja. While departing he says to his father: “well, I will leave permanently papa, take advantage of having me shot forever” he even says to his family.


116 Kulumme tanuktai hemelë. He had been transformed forever into a King vulture kulum [hence the double headed King vulture perceived in the constellation of Orion].

117 Ma, huwalëken man Kulum eitoponpë. Ma, makaneha. Well, that is the story of Kulum the King vulture. Well, it ends here.
Tulupere
Tulupere (recording time: 5 minutes), as narrated by Azeima (older brother of Ronnie Tikaiime) in 2000 at Kumakahpan.

Table C-3. Tulupere

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wayana omi</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Ma wiikei Aletanikwali Tulupelepëk.</td>
<td>1 I will tell you the story of Tulupere of the Aletani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Ma akename tumëkhe jalikwawëinë kalipono, uwanna ëhenela.</td>
<td>2 First, there were people [non-Wayana] who came from the Jari, but we did not see them. Other people came but we didn’t see them [they did not arrive].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Moloinë tikai tiwëlënkom “mëjekane iwëki?” tikai. “Tëitumëkhe, epohnëpïla iwëkikom.”</td>
<td>3 Then, other people said “are our kin members with you?” they said. “Where do they come from, we don’t know where is our family.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Masike “mëjekane iwëki?” “Uwanma,” tikai.</td>
<td>4 So, “is our family with you?” “No,” he said.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Masike “eneimëi wëtiëjai,” tikai iwëki.</td>
<td>5 Thus “I will go see them,” he said to his kin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Uwanma ënenëmëlë.</td>
<td>6 Never had he would see them again.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Mijalë lëken tilëmëpëhe. Ma, mëklë wekë tumëkhe tilëmëpëhe.</td>
<td>7 More [people] will die. Ok, his family comes and dies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Masike tikai tot “Ma, ennëke molo,” tikai tot. “Ma, koletot tumëkhe; ñëweh nanëke.</td>
<td>8 Then they say: “Who is there?” they say. “Ok, they come with many; other people follow them.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Moloinë ehekuptëlë kanawa tom tïtëi.</td>
<td>9 Then the canoes depart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Moloinë tipanak mai ejahe kunolo. Akename tipanak mai ejahe alalawa kan kan kan.</td>
<td>10 Then they hear the scarlet macaw. First they hear the blue-and-yellow macaw kan kan kan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Tuna epi tïtëtëi mëlëme Tulupele tumëkhe. Tulupeleja tëhe Waijana.</td>
<td>11 (The blue-and-yellow macaw) flies above the river before Tulupere arrives. Wayana are attacked by Tulupere.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Moloinë telamaimëi pëkënatpë mijale Jalikwak Palukwak. Tëletële mijëa toma, tumëf kompona; Kailawapona.</td>
<td>12 Then the first [canoe] returns towards the Jari and Paru. We do not know where, but far [before going to the Paru, people first took the trail to the Jari, and subsequently the trail to the Paru and its affluents], towards their leader; towards Kailawa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Moloinë tikai (Kailawaja) “iwekëlinna nenat,” tikai inëlë, “iwekëlinna nenat, kolenma kalipono nenat, Aletanikwali tom, tênatse, hejelon kom tênatse huwa.</td>
<td>13 Then they say (to Kailawa): “We no longer have family!” they say. “We no longer have our family, a lot of people died, they of the Aletani are no longer, and they from here are no longer among us.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Masike “ta mipohnëpja, emnakamapë tome?” tikai Kailawaja.</td>
<td>14 So “what do you think, will you help us?” they say to Kailawa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 “Ilëi,” tikai, “malonme uwantatpë vai!” tikai Kailawja.</td>
<td>15 “Yes” he says “I am already significantly knowledgeable!” says Kailawa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Ma, Kailawja tumëkhehh, tuwalë, hemïtihe pe inëlë, ipok kan hemït.</td>
<td>16 Well, Kailawa arrives, he knows, he has hemït (charms, poisons), very good hemït.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

note
The narrator corrected himself in stating that it is first the blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna) instead of the scarlet macaw (Ara macao) that appears.
Talëman mëklë, talëman mëklë, talëman mëklë katop. “Ënìk?” Kaikui pepta.

It is there, it is there, it is there. “Who?” An enormous monster.

[Kailawa] has shot. Every animal he shoots. Upon arriving he hunts on Taluwakem, since he comes from this direction [compare wit Kailawa narrative]. He shoots at another place, at another place, towards the place of it. It is there where there is danger.

Then his hemit moves; his hemit does kilimkilim [hemit-charm (sensitive leaves) is attached above his biceps].

Kailawa has shot. Every animal he shoots. Upon arriving he hunts on Taluwakem, since he comes from this direction [compare wit Kailawa narrative]. He shoots at another place, at another place, towards the place of it. It is there where there is danger.

Kailawa has shot. Every animal he shoots. Upon arriving he hunts on Taluwakem, since he comes from this direction [compare wit Kailawa narrative]. He shoots at another place, at another place, towards the place of it. It is there where there is danger.

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Kailawa has shot. Every animal he shoots. Upon arriving he hunts on Taluwakem, since he comes from this direction [compare wit Kailawa narrative]. He shoots at another place, at another place, towards the place of it. It is there where there is danger.
On Building a Village and Mortuary Practices
These notes on building a village, leading to notes on mortuary practices, were written down by Tasikale Aloupki in 2000, after conversations with Elders (tamusi tom).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wayana omi</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Uhpak kunehak wayana tïpata kom èníkëpïla. tïhnëlë tïpata kom tupijëmëi ejahe.</td>
<td>1 Long ago the Wayana did build their villages. They did not build their village no matter where.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Malalë Wayana tom monoken tïpata kom ënílëmëla kuhak. Akenëme lo ipokan tupihe, ulu makpan palu tom makpan, èhmëlë ètikom makpan, huwa.</td>
<td>2 First, the Wayana looked for good grounds, where the manioc grows well, the bananas grow well, well all the plants [grow well].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Mëlë kom enekep tìhwë aptau tïpata kom tëkëtëmëi ejahe. Helë katîp kunehak, tïpatakëm ètîhëpëk.</td>
<td>3 When they saw the grounds were good [presence of dark earth], they started to clear a space for their village. It happened like this, with the owner of the village [i.e., the village chief].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Talanme, ipokela èûtë umîtîn èitop èkälëtse. Ipokela èûtë umîtîn omi aptau.</td>
<td>4 Maybe, when the village leader interfered with someone else’s business. When [the villager] had a problem with a chief.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Tiniseilanopke malalë “ëpata tapek helë, ëtëkële” tikat tïpatakëm.</td>
<td>5 If he does not like someone [in his village], the chief says: “Leave from here, this isn’t your village.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Aptau mëklë iniseilanopï tïpata upijameja. Malalë isëla mënke mëklë iniseilanopï.</td>
<td>6 So he who is insulted looks for another village. This happens, when [the villager] has enough from the insults.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However, it is not immediately that Wayana built their proper village.

How many years he hears that he is not liked, but he stays there anyways.

When he has enough of this, he starts looking for a place, for his village.

He who clears the forest becomes chief of his proper village.

When there is less game, the Wayana also leave their village.

Also when there is a deceased buried in the house, or several dead in the village. The village becomes uninhabitable due to jolok, i.e., the evil spirits.

Also when we dig a hole to place a post, one can touch bones of the dead. This is bad, one can get ill and even die, but when there is a shaman it is good; he can make him better.

One leaves the village when building if the shaman says “it isn’t good over here, because there is a bad akuwalinpë.” One leaves the village.

But when there is no shaman, he who touches the skeleton will certainly die.

When the deceased is dead, he will not be buried in the ground, but placed outside.

But when the body decomposes, the village will smell bad. People leave the village because they do not like this carcass-smell.

Then, when all the chiefs are dead, all the others can move elsewhere, some will see the chief of another village to ask “can I settle here with you?” to ask him a place to built houses.

Some built a village for themselves.

When the deceased is dead, he will not be buried in the ground, but placed outside.

But when the body decomposes, the village will smell bad. People leave the village because they do not like this carcass-smell.

When a shaman dies the Wayana obey his word.

The one dying will state: “when I am dead you will not burry me, I will remain outside. When you treason with me then I will not agree with that. When I am outside [above ground] than it is good.”

So they respect him and “burry” his body according to his word, because they are affright of him [affright of the pïjai (shaman)].

Because he [pïjai (shaman)] will otherwise make arrive evil spirits, make arrive the jaguar, and many others. Because people are very affright for [evil spirits] of he who has been buried.
Maluwana

This story on the painted disk in top of the community roundhouse was narrated by Kulienpë in 2000 (recording time: 7 minutes). I took the liberty to reorganize this text. The numbers refer to the original sequence as recorded.

Table C-5. Maluwana: story of the painted disk (reorganization of maluwana eitoponpë).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wayana omi</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17 Helë uhpak eitoponpë maluwana anon.</td>
<td>17 This is the history of the motifs of the maluwana [painted disc in community roundhouse].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Takijë man kumaka, takijë ūlukëhpe.</td>
<td>27 [The disk is cut out the buttress of a Ceiba tree (Ceiba pentandra), as caterpillars cut a piece from a leaf. Kumaka is cut as with caterpillar teeth, as with teeth of a caterpillar, like ūlukë. ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Masike weheptëjai akename Kuluwajak, Tokokosi, Pëlitë, Kuliputpë, Kutupsi, Mulokot huwaman. Maluwana pëken ehet.</td>
<td>2 I will first name Kuluwajak, Tokokosi, Pëlitë, Kuliputpë, Kutupsi, and Mulokot. Those are the names of the ones on the maluwana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Ma, hemalë man kolenma: kutopipak tom, Kujuli tom, ma ĕkëi, ma ipoh, ma pëne, ma munët, kulasi, kunkusiminë tom, sipalat, ūhmelë.</td>
<td>3 Well, today there are many more [images]: frogs, Kujuli, serpents, water monsters, piranhas, scorpions, roosters, water spiders, crabs, and more.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Hemalë tonom nëlë, upakatom nëlë uwa.</td>
<td>4 Today the latter are [painted on] the disk, the ancients did not [paint the latter] on the disk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Upakeihe kalipono tom maluwana pëkëm komole uhpak.</td>
<td>6 In the old days, people made the maluwana in the shade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Malalë, tukusipan etepat ūnîlîkom. Ėnapisa mala inëlë etikom palë ūnîlîlë tukusipantao.</td>
<td>7 Next, the disk was [rolled] towards the central post of the tukusipan. It was rolled, so nobody would get hurt while placing [the maluwana] inside the tukusipan [community roundhouse].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Malonme ijuk molo: ēputop tukusipan, ūpûhe.</td>
<td>13 Then there were the ijuk ants: a tukusipan stinging ritual, stinging [the maluwana].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Maluwana anon ūnenela tëwepukep ūhwēhe ijukke kunumusija ūpûhe tot tamusi tom moja ūpûhe huwa aptao etamesila ūtîhe ūhmelë.</td>
<td>23 The motifs on the maluwana were not seen before the disk endured the stinging of ijuk ants applied by grandmothers or grandfathers and it was truly done without seeing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Malalë tepilëi tot wapu amuke tēpîjem katîp. Tēpîjem mēlēkatîp.</td>
<td>24 Then they were set apart, screened off by wapu palm fronts (Euterpe oleracea) like novices (tēpîjem). The tēpîjem is like this [screened off].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Eitop tukusipantak ūnîlîkom ipokenma.</td>
<td>8 So the disk was well placed inside the tukusipan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Tēn telelemë tēlēi lomo lola tēhmei lēken.</td>
<td>10 With care they bring it, and attach it simply from the ground. It is like this.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Malonme maluwana tēnei ūhmelë kalipono tom moja.</td>
<td>16 Then the maluwana was witnessed by everybody.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Malalë, pijukukume tîpeinom kamo ūnenela. Étikatohme? Kuluwajak mēnehetameike. Mēlēkatîp.</td>
<td>21 However, babies and children are not supposed to see [the motifs on the maluwana]. Do you know why? Otherwise Kuluwajak [man-killing caterpillar] will be in their nightmares. It is like this.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Hemalë, tēneilëken tēmamine waluhma tom, peitopît tēmamine, ijumîi mankom tēmamine. Étikatohme? Kalakulihe sike.</td>
<td>25 Today, girls and children watch the production [painting of the disk], as their fathers work. Do you know why? Because they can earn money.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Masike man hemalë peitopît wamewela hapon,</td>
<td>26 So it is that today many children are really ill, have</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
diarrhea, have fever. It is like this. Do you know why? Because they have seen the *maluwana*.

This was the story of the *maluwana* of the people in the past. One was not allowed to look into the decorated circular surface.

Otherwise [the designs] would remain in the pupils of the eye, and the vision would already be damaged inside the *tukusipan*.

Two Narratives on Eschatology: the story of an Upului and that of grandfather Alili

These two stories on Wayana eschatology, i.e., the story of an Upului (recording time: 14 minutes) and that of grandfather Alili (recording time: 11 minutes), were narrated by Kulienpë in 2000 before he discussed the motifs on the *maluwana*.

Table C-6. *Upului eitoponpë* (story of an Upului)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wayana omi</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ma helê Upului eitoponpë katop, wipanak maimêhnejai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Masike ehetïmna lêken, Upului lêken. Mêlê ehet, ehet katïp, eheptëtop tuwalêla sike.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Masike mawïkei ekalêhepoptë.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ma, uhpak têtawokhe helê katïp, têtawokhe okï molo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>“Ma jepe, kêtawokjai pêtuku pëtuk, lome wantëlêpsik ilêmêpjai.” Malonme, “ilêmêpîtihâw, umêkmêjai. Kêtawokemêjai, helêlê katïp kuwêtawok toponpï katïp.” tïkai tëpeja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lome malalê ehet, epe ehet, tuwalêlawai. Katop lêken tïpanak mai ija.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>“Masike umêkmêjai. Masike Junomna nai eikë jepeh. Junom nai eikë, umêkmêjai. Kuwekî wenepêmêjai. Kolela pitë tot wenepêmêjai, pakolomna imêmna kuwesike. Wenepêmêjai lep kuwekî tom mohle pitë lêken,” tïkai tëpeja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Têtawokî kome, têtawokî kome… “Masike Junomna eikë. Mêlêkatïp, kêtawokjai helêlê katïp. Masike Junomna eikë.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>“Malalê pêtuku kokowakêle kai.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>“Malalê unonopophakêla umêkmêjai. Apsiklêken īwanêmna wapatohpehnêh, jewuman wapatohpehnêh.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>“Masike jewu ali wapot epîkâkêle mîhen,” tïkai tëpeja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>“asi, iponi upëtkê asih. Moloinë makulilikei kilihkilik kilik. Malonme masinêjai,” tïkai tëpeja.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
His friend doesn’t even answer. He not even says a word, he says nothing.

“Maybe, many of my friends are dead, never they have returned. You tell bullshit” says his friend.

“No, don’t say that friend. I will return, certainly without mistake” he says.

“I will not be like our deceased relatives. I will make a path starting today” he says to his friend.

Then he continues preaching…

“You will have to wash me for we may drink, for we will eat together”

All for we will eat, in the middle of the village. We will laugh after being death, when I will return” he says.

Then he is dead. With what [due to what cause]? Well, maybe just by saying, maybe a sickness, maybe with an arrow of an evil spirit.

Suddenly, without a clue for his death, we do not know the sickness he had. So he is dead.

“cremate me” he had said before (dying) “cremate me friend. Certain that I will return!” he says “I will be cremated !”

“So I say this to you, for you are my best friend. We understand each other very well, no problem” he says to his friend.

Ok they said subsequently, it seems, but they were affright of two things; the stomach and his eyes.

He was thinking of that maybe. “How are you going to return to me?” He asked.

It was like that. So they just said okay.

Fine, he burns his deceased friend on the pyre. He had burned him, finished, his friend is no more. So well incinerated.

That night (19:00–20:00), in the morning (06:00–07:00) he does not return. He stays the whole night.

That night, no, he does not return, he stays the whole night.

That night, in the morning, no, he does not return.

That night, 3 days later (in Wayana one says sleeping).

Then: “It is today my friend (will return)” he just says. So they hide in their house.

The peppers have not yet been crushed.

They just hide; they close their house with mats (opoto) just to close.

a) burying
b) hiding

Then he [the Upului, the one who has been cremated] arrives in the morning, (maybe at 8 AM, but this is not said, people just say in the morning).

Then the friend returns walking, he seems to walk, like he walked before.

Then, “Okay, my friend!” he [the Upului] says, “My friend, have you made me warm water?” he says when he arrives. “My friend, have you made me warm water?”
37 He does not answer. He does not answer for he is frightened.
38 “My friend, I told you to make that for me, my friend” he said.
39 Nothing, he does not answer. He does not answer at all.
40 “My friend!” he continued to say. “My friend!” he said without interruption.
41 No response.
42 “My friend!” he continued to say. “I told you to prepare this and do not fear me.”
43 “My friend, that we can drink together, as agreed upon,” he says.
44 Yet no response. Not even a word to say to him “I fear you, my friend.” He never answers.
45 So, that is how it went.
46 Never, it is already noon. He never descends for he fears his (cremated) friend.
47 Then, it was what hour, people say that the sun is descending. It went like that. Never had he responded.
48 “My friend!” says his friend without interruption. “My friend!” says his friend without interruption. “My friend, I told you to wash me,” but …
49 He sees his shiny eyes, like there is a fire burning. His heart too, but that was not that big. Like that, very small. Also in his eyes was it very small.
50 But he was really affrighted of his friend.
51 So at night (about 5 PM) he became furious.
52 “Ok my friend, I will leave forever. You didn’t even sprinkle me with water. Later you will cry. You will cry when your family will leave for the old village [= when your family dies]; whether your father goes to the old village, whether your grandmother, whether your uncle, whether your wife, whether your children go to the old village [= will die].
[Note that he does not mention ‘wife’ and ‘mother’]
53 “Oh, my little girl, my little daughter” you will say (crying).
54 “Oh, my wife has died!” you will say (crying).
55 “Oh, my uncle has died!” you will say that my friend.
56 Then “I will go, cry here, sorry for you,” he says. You don’t love me at all. You don’t love our family. It is like you don’t love me!” he says.
57 So he is really sad, he spends all morning there. He who has been incinerated spends all morning and the night: “My friend, you not even come down?”
58 He says so since he is calmed down, he is calm. Never, he [his friend] answers, not at all.
59 So when it became evening, his voice calmed down. He [the Upului who had been cremated] did not say anything anymore, because his voice had calmed down.
60 “My friend” he does not say any more, “My friend...
tanme tëwanëjao. 

61 “Masike japënukulanma nëtili?”
62 Masike ëpuku ënënilëmëlanma neha.

64 Sisi walunak (tanme ëti kom julu kutketëi lëken? tanme 5 julu, 6 julu, 7 julu) tekëlamame ënë, 7 julu aptao. “Ma jepe, witëimëjaha, uwamëna japënukulanma, ëhelanma mïhen meha!” ëtkai ënëlë.


68 Hemalë kunmëlan kom, hemalë këhanjatojëlëken, awomipë aïlë. Awomipë aïlë, këhanjatojëlëken. Mëlekataïp.


64 The sun that evening [the sun is reflecting in the water] (what time it was? Maybe 5 AM, 6 AM, 7 AM) he leaves him, when it is 7 AM [when the stars become invisible]. “Ok my friend, I leave, you didn’t even answer me, you don’t love me at all!” he says.

65 “You don’t love me at all. Why do you not love me? Ok I leave with our family” he [the Upului who had been cremated] says.

66 So you don’t even say: “ah, my friend leaves.” You don’t even say: “I fear you!” But he does not answer at all. Then he leaves marching to the path.

67 There is his family, playing the flutes [kapajetpë [deerbone flute from a tibia] wìsilën wìsilën. Also the horns titilu, also wetkëlilë. It was like that the people that were cremated were playing their flutes. Not like deceased people, but like living people.

68 And we today, today we cry just as he had said, he was right. Like he had said, we cry. It is like that.

69 So only that I have told, a little bit of that story. I only know that story a little, maybe it is wrong. But it is like that. Ok, this is what I have heard; only a little bit. The End.

Table C-7. Alili eitoponpë (story of Alili)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wayana omi</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Alili pijai kunehak, Alili. Masike kunilëmëp tipëken mai pijaijine iweiske. Talanme tilëmëpankeke. Mëlekataïp.</td>
<td>1 Alili was a pijai (shaman), Alili. Then he is dead, the other one killed him for he was a shaman. Maybe he had killed somebody. It is like this.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Ëtëkatohme, tanme jolokpëlehe, tanme kuvamai. Ëtëkom, tanme jemnë, tanme ëkëjapomë.</td>
<td>2 Why, maybe with the arrow of an evil spirit, maybe he had fever. Unimportant what, maybe by fever, one does not know.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Masike kunilëmëp tamo, ehetënpë Alili. Masike mëlëpëpë wekalëjai. Ma kuniilëmëp tamo.</td>
<td>3 Therefore the grandfather is dead, his name was Alili. Therefore I’m going to tell this. Well, grandfather is dead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Ëh, ëtwuhlepsik, tâspik tînikhe? Tanme tînikhe, tanme tînikhe tînikhe, tanme 4 awaina, tanme 5 awaina.</td>
<td>4 Eh, some time later, how many days [how many sleeps]? maybe one time sleeping, maybe two times sleeping, maybe 4 days, maybe 5 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Ma, tamo kunilëmëp. “Ma ilëmëpjaxi,” ëtkai tokon noja, Aluwakali.</td>
<td>5 Well, grandfather is dead. “Well I’m going to die” he said to his brother, to Aluwakali.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 “Ilëmëpjaxi; masike konampok. Konamkë epeitojoa. Konampok mïhen molo, lamnapo hewai, pakolotao. Helawai mon he lamnapohe,” ëtkai Alili tokon noja, Aluwakali.</td>
<td>6 “I’m going to die; therefore I want to be buried. You are going to bury me with your helpers. I want to be buried over there, in the middle of the village, inside the house. I want to be there in the middle” said Alili to his brother, to Aluwakali.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Next “You are going to be unhappy” said his brother. “You are going to be unhappy inside the house, or when you have your own house, but that is our house, the tukusipan. So you will stay in there”

“No, I do not want to be in there, for there will be children who will arrive, children who will search for red dye, searching something” said Alili.

“I want to be in the plaza. Do as I say” he says to his brother, says Alili.

Next “I’m going to die. Thus start digging today, start digging today. Over there in the plaza / center” he said.

“Be without yarns, and be aware of the spirits. For you want to be buried like this” said Aluwakali to his brother Alili, to him who is going to die.

Following the helpers start digging a hole. Finished, ended the dig. Well, is it finished ? No, not jet, it will be finished tomorrow.

Eh. And night falls, and it dawns. Terminated, all is ready and well prepared.

“In order to cover the pit prepare planks of an old canoe. I want the old canoes. I want the planks like this” he said. Then the old canoes were prepared to cover the pit properly.

Next, “Well, take me, take me. Therefore take me like this. He goes, he walks step by step. He sees still a little his grandfather Alili. Then he goes near the burial pit. It is like this.

Then, “My brother is going to die, I am going to bury my brother in the pit, with respect”

Aluwakali weeps when he takes his brother.

He goes, still alive; he [Alili] is still a little bit alive.

Next, “who holds me ? Hold me ! Who is going to hold me down in the hole” he said, grandpa Alili.

“I’m leaving” he says, the brother to the other one [his pal]. Aluwakali said to his friend: “Go and hold your grandfather [down in the burial pit]!” he said.

Then the other goes into the deep pit. Standing-up, they take him by his arms. One is jumping into it. In this manner he supports him, they range with a stick behind his head. It is like this.

Thus they range well his legs and his feet.

“Do you want we cover you today ?” he said.

“Cover me, Cover me ! [apulu = cover] I have already left !” he said “I have already left ! Cover me, cover it well. [With opoto mats alongside the wall and the planks of the canoes above]

I do not want the ground yet. When you are going to see me, I want the ground” he said.

He places some sand, he places some sand, there no longer is a hole. It is like this.

28 Then the cover the pit well with earth. Like the hole over here, just a little bit (a depression), and with (the planks of) an ancient canoe. And a piece of a former canoe, and another plank of a canoe. Thus they have well done it without ground (without filling-up the hole).

29 Malonme; “Ma ëhalë tëkële!” tënïjak taputïhwë. “Ëhalë tëkële. Kupanai katëinaji, awapnaiji!”

29 Next; “Well, you will leave” he said in his covered burial pit. “You will leave. Do not break my ears, stop !”

30 Tëhalëimëi tot, onamïtpon kom, tulululu, iwekïtpïtom tëhalëimëi. Maka.

30 They leave, the people who buried him, one after the other, all relatives leave. End.

31 Malonme tînìkhe inëlë. Mëlë tîkohmamhe inëlë, petoh. Anumalë petoh, anumalë petoh, anumalë petoh, êhelowao tînìkhe.

31 Then they sleep. The night very dark, the evening (19:00 - 20:00 hours). The following morning, the following night, after three nights sleeping.

32 Moloinë akon noja; “Ma, helë ailë kenekële kunka jakonpoh. Masike hene tatën nule jakon nopsikë, tanme nimata.

32 Then he says to his brothers; “Well, this is the day, our brother wanted us to see him. Thus let us see our brother, maybe he has rotten. [Thus the family had been outside this village during these days].

33 Talanme këtakametëhe ipokïnke,” tïkai mëklë, akon, tamo Aluwakali.

33 Maybe we will be intoxicated by the smell” he said, the brother, grandfather Aluwakali.

34 Malonme temekhe tot, tulululu, ëhmelë. 34 Then they arrive, one after the other, all.

35 Moloinë tapu waimëi powep; imna, imna huwa.

35 Then they lift the cover; nothing, and nothing.


36 First when they had buried him he had a backrest, but the backrest is no longer there, all has disappeared. The bench is no longer there, nor are the cigarettes, maybe not even his case. All his belongings he had taken with him.

37 Ma, itëtoponpï tënei mïhja, lonailë mëlaimë nawatpï katïp mïhja, mëlaimë nawatpï katïp petuhku. Lomnahlë ailë tëhetpëtse.

37 Well, they see where he has left, the hole is like the burrow of a giant armadillo. Really like the burrow of a giant armadillo.

38 Opsatun tïkai ënunomna tëwëthë. Tawai nai pëtuhku.

38 They descent to the bottom without anxiety. They dig well.

39 Ankomhak sike, ankomhakëla.

39 It is already midday, not even midday.


40 Maybe they continue just above, they no longer see nothing. Where he has left is not horizontal. But there no longer is earth where he has left. And it is in angle downwards, but really straight where he passed.

41 “Eh, maheka kunehak jakonopsik, ahpelanma jakonopsik pijai men. Ma, jakonopsik ahpelanma,” tïkai akon, tamo Aluwakali.

41 “Eh, my brother wanted to be like that, my brother really was a shaman” said his brother, grandfather Aluwakali.

42 Masike tëtahamai ëhmelë akon, iwekïtpï tom, hemele kuwililik tïkai tëwëhamaoi.

42 Therefore all his brothers are sad, also the family, all cry and weep.


43 “A long time ago my brother has left definitively, he no longer is here. It was the truth and my brother was like a pijai (shaman)” he said.


44 Thus he covers the hole with earth. They just cover the hole. They fill it up and they place nothing in the pit. They do not place planks. They just fill-up completely.

45 Uhpak titëi mëlëkatıp kunehak tamo Alili, pijai menma. Ma huwalëken tamo patatpë ekalëtpë ëjâ. Maka.

45 It was grandfather Alili who is gone for a long time, he really was a pijai. Well, It is like this the story of the former village of my grandfather ends. End.
**Toimai and tamojetpë (grandfather bones)**

Following narratives are situated in the discourse of *toimai* (Chapter 5.3). It was the shaman Tënepo who told these events in 2000 to Tasikale and me. Tasikale later transcribed the recordings. Next, Tënepo told three cases where he had performed, or assisted in *toimai* and other mortuary practices. Those stories have not been published here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table C-8. Toimai</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wayana omi</strong></td>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Malalë uhpak Wayanaja ēkep toimai ejahe.</td>
<td>1 In the past, the Wayana were doing <em>toimai</em> [= exchange] to the corpse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Malalë tuptolop kai ejahe kalipoke pįjaham oimatomte tohme. Ùwa pįjasija ēke toimai ilêmê(pk)ai esike.</td>
<td>2 Also their face was covered with pottery to exchange with the shaman. That is, when he was not killed by a great shaman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Akename talanne tîmtalîptëi kunuwi ke ehenak tihe kumau münkë huwa molonalë. Mëlë ilêmê(pk)aton ehenatolopam tohme malalë ahtota tohme huwa.</td>
<td>3 First, they placed <em>kunuwi</em> [<em>Alchornea</em> sp.] in his mouth, and they placed a small <em>papaya</em> [<em>Carica papaya</em>] in his throat, in the same place. In order to enlarge the throat of the one responsible for his death, and also to make him cough.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Kalipo aptau utataktohme tohme tîmîfîlke kalipo sike.</td>
<td>4 Likewise with pottery; in order to make him [i.e., the killer] loose his way, they make the drawing inside the pottery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Malalë mekujetpë tihe toloklonmai ipun têwêmpë kîwi tohme.</td>
<td>5 Also they stab a capuchin monkey [<em>Cebus olivaceus</em>] bone in his body for he will touch his genitals [like a monkey].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Âhmëlë enîkpalë tom jëtpë tihe tohme Âhmëlë enîkpalë tom ukuk tohme.</td>
<td>6 One can stab all kinds of bone, for he [the killer] will imitate all these animals [following the Law of Resemblance].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Ilêmëp katpon nuja ipohnep tohme. Më mëhe kapa kunîlëmëp kathme. Moloinë mëlë mënîlêmëpja ilêmê(pk)aton.</td>
<td>7 In order to find the one who has killed. To say: ah, that is the one who has killed. Then, the one who has killed will die.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Êhtoimatop eitop.</td>
<td>8 Story of <em>toimai</em> [exchange]. [To revenge the one who is dead.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Malalë ēmu tînpai konotoke aptau pįjai entolopam tohme. Mënêtëja konoto. Tilêmë(pk)ai kalipono esike.</td>
<td>9 Also one places his testicles in a shell [<em>Asolene sinamarica</em>] in order to make swell the ones [testicles] of the shaman. They are eaten by the snail konoto [<em>Asolene sinamarica</em>]. For [his spirit] has killed someone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Oimatopkohek mëlë.</td>
<td>10 This is to find the one who has killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Malalë mëlêpsik lêkën tapek mënêtëja Âhmëlë, mënêtëja kaikui jëtpë. Âhmëlë, enikpalë tom jëtpë, itikapolamna man.</td>
<td>11 There are not only the bones of the jaguar, there are almost all bones of animals to utilize. All, all kind of bones, one can not count them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Malalë inu têpêlëse aptau, ñiu Åtohme mëlêlë ilêmê(pk)atonu.</td>
<td>12 Then one can pull out his tongue [of the deceased, and cuts off the tongue], for the one who has killed will bite in his tongue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Malalë etîmtëpö aptau, mëlêlê kaîtihman huwa.</td>
<td>13 Also the one who has poisoned the other one, this must be equally.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Masike, helë kom unonma pįjaham kunêtîfi, hemalë pona.</td>
<td>14 Thus, the shamans are very anxious for these practices, until today.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
15 A long time ago, they continued killing people.
16 All this was to revenge.
17 Only the shamans were very anxious for they had seen it.
18 This is a story of toimai [exchange]. [by Ténépo] [this is to vengeance the one who has been killed] When he is dead, he will die.
19 Then it has ended, for he is dead, he no longer lives.
20 Then one begins to make the revenge / exchange [ëhtoimatop].
23 Then when it has ended, we do not burn a lot, we only burn a little bit. But when we do not want to burn, we just place a stone that is made hot in a fire, for he will take flames.
25 Then when it has ended, we do not burn a lot, we only burn a little bit. But when we do not want to burn, we just place a stone that is made hot in a fire, for he will take flames.
26 When we do not do this, the evil spirit arrow [jolok pile] will not leave. In order to leave towards the shaman... for it will leave. In the corpse we find the arrow of an evil spirit [jolokpile] causing his death.
27 When we do not do this, the evil spirit arrow [jolok pile] will not leave. In order to leave towards the shaman... for it will leave. In the corpse we find the arrow of an evil spirit [jolokpile] causing his death.
28 When we do not do this, the evil spirit arrow [jolok pile] will not leave. In order to leave towards the shaman... for it will leave. In the corpse we find the arrow of an evil spirit [jolokpile] causing his death.
29 When we do not do this, the evil spirit arrow [jolok pile] will not leave. In order to leave towards the shaman... for it will leave. In the corpse we find the arrow of an evil spirit [jolokpile] causing his death.
30 When we do not do this, the evil spirit arrow [jolok pile] will not leave. In order to leave towards the shaman... for it will leave. In the corpse we find the arrow of an evil spirit [jolokpile] causing his death.
31 When we do not do this, the evil spirit arrow [jolok pile] will not leave. In order to leave towards the shaman... for it will leave. In the corpse we find the arrow of an evil spirit [jolokpile] causing his death.
32 When we do not do this, the evil spirit arrow [jolok pile] will not leave. In order to leave towards the shaman... for it will leave. In the corpse we find the arrow of an evil spirit [jolokpile] causing his death.
33 When we do not do this, the evil spirit arrow [jolok pile] will not leave. In order to leave towards the shaman... for it will leave. In the corpse we find the arrow of an evil spirit [jolokpile] causing his death.
34 When we do not do this, the evil spirit arrow [jolok pile] will not leave. In order to leave towards the shaman... for it will leave. In the corpse we find the arrow of an evil spirit [jolokpile] causing his death.
35 When we do not do this, the evil spirit arrow [jolok pile] will not leave. In order to leave towards the shaman... for it will leave. In the corpse we find the arrow of an evil spirit [jolokpile] causing his death.
Table C-9. Tamojetpë

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wayana omi</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39 Malalë helë tamojetpë. Uhpak aptau hemït ënëheptëlëa kunehak Wajana. Tamojetpë ëtawokpatohme. Tamojetpë katohme man mëlë.</td>
<td>Also here are the grandfather bones [tamojetpë]. A long time ago the Wayana did not say hemït / charm. They only spoke of tamojetpë [i.e., bones of the ancestors].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 Malalë uhpak titamukom jetpëke lëken kalipono tomojoa towokpai ëtawokpatohme. Tamojetpë katohme man mëlë.</td>
<td>Also a long time ago people empoisoned other people with the bones of their ancestors. They fired the bones of their ancestors, and subsequently crushed them to powder to empoison. This is named tamojetpë.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 Titamukom jetpë tëwahe, moloinë topoi ëtawokpatohme. Tamojetpë katohme man mëlë.</td>
<td>The tamojetpë is named taphem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 Tamojetpë katohme man taphem. [dubbelling 43-44 / 51-52]</td>
<td>We name it tamojetpë. They removed his bones for a handle of the olok taphem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43 Tamojetpë kukatopkome man. Tïjetpë ëtawokpatohme. Mëlëkatïp lëken.</td>
<td>Next, one places the bones of the ancient people on the olok as a handle. Thus this was all made very beautifully.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44 Malonme, ëhmelë ijetpë uhpakatonomoja olok epume. Masike ëhmelë pëtuku ëhme huwanalupsik.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 Tamojetpë eitoponpë.</td>
<td>The story of the tamojetpë / ancestral bones.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 Uhpak aptau kunehak Wajana, uhpakatonomotëtom, hemïtkekla ëtawokpai, uhpak.</td>
<td>A long time ago the Wayana, the ancient people, did not empoison with hemït [poison / charm], a long time ago.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47 Titamutpikom jetpëke lëken, tamojetpë menketot. Mëlëkatïp lëken.</td>
<td>It was done just with the ashes of the bones of their ancestors, named tamojetpë. It was simply like this.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48 Tëwahe mëlë jetpë topoi, uhpak aptau.</td>
<td>One fired these bones and crushed them, a long time ago.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49 Ma mëlë tamojetpë katohme man taphem tamo epu.</td>
<td>These bones of the ancestors are in the handle of the taphem tamo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 Tamojetpë kukatopkome man tijetpë ëtawokpatohme.</td>
<td>We name it tamojetpë. They removed his bones for a handle of the olok taphem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52 Malonme ëhmelë ijetpë uhpakatonomoja olok epume. Masike ëhmelë pëtuku ëhme huwanalupsik.</td>
<td>Next one places the bones of the ancient people on the olok as a handle. Thus this all was made very beautifully.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53 Mëlë lëlë, ukukëmëtop uwatohpo aptau henejatëi.</td>
<td>For that matter, one remakes them during traditional feasts and one sees them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54 Moloinë uputpïme ëhme tutpë.</td>
<td>Then one places a calabash [tutpë] as head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 Malonme tàtíptëi olok apopsik mëlë.</td>
<td>Then one places the feathers on the basketry body of the olok headdress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56 Malonme tuwaitot mëlëke, wantë.</td>
<td>Then they dance with this, a little later.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57 Masike tamojetpë katohme man mëlë.</td>
<td>Thus one says this is tamojetpë for we still speak of this.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58 Masike tamojetpë mënke Wajana.</td>
<td>Thus the Wayana of today name it tamojetpë.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59 Hakene man mëlë; tamojetpë ëtawok patohme, taphem epume huwa.</td>
<td>There are two kinds of these; tamojetpë for empoisoning, and the handle of the taphem. Maybe this is false, maybe true. I do not know, this is just a story told. This is just it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 Tanme ahpe, tanme ahpela. Tuwalëlawai ekalëtop lëken. Mëlë lëken.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kalau Songs

These are a selection of *kalau* songs performed by Kulijaman during the concluding dance of the *tepijem* during the *maraké* in 1965 (Hurault 1968:123-128). Basically, the French translation by Jean Hurault is translated into English. Since Hervé Rivière recorded *kalau* songs from the very same singer, i.e., Kulijaman, in 1996, cross-reference is made to these versions. It appears that Hurault’s interpretations, as can be observed in the two versions of the 8th *kalau* song, left out many repetitive phrases that will be of interest to further study on ethnomusicology and speech-act. Additional notes in the running text are placed between square brackets.

Table C-10. 1st *kalau* chant – Tricksters (1965)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kayayamanané! (bis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>note:</td>
<td>Translated by van Lucia Velthem (2003:169) as: “São como os peixes!” (Be like the fish!).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The dancers along the road dress up with their adornments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>note:</td>
<td>As we will see below, these dancers mock the proper Wayana dress code. That the dancers are mockers is also clear in the version published by Chapuis and Rivière 2003:938-949 due to the repeated phrasing that they “act strangely” (I-13, I-14, I-23, I-24, I-29 to I-34, etc.), yet they are still beautiful through their black kupe facial paintings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The dancers go forward, stop, and go backwards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>They wear at their ankles the rattles kawai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>note:</td>
<td>Note that the Boni wear the kawai at their ankles, the Wayana normally wear them below the knee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The people from upstream have come to dance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>They have come to dance for the novices <em>tepijem</em> [but in favor of deceit].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>They have decorated their body with sipë designs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>They have the [black] kuupë designs to be beautiful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>They wear the macaw feathers on their adornments ćkilapoya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>note:</td>
<td>ċkilapoya = dorsal decoration with three shafts representing wings. Normally the three shafts are with white chicken feathers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>They wear the curassow feathers in their adornments pasik.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>note:</td>
<td>pasik are the long macaw red tail feather decorations at the upper arm, not the short black feathers of the curassow (ěwok; Crax alector).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>After having danced a little along the road, they enter the village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>The macaw feathers from their arms are shaken off due to the dance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>note:</td>
<td>Normally the feathers stay on, thus the dancers mock the falling of feather adornments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>They wear the feather crowns tipapo of the white chickens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>note:</td>
<td>tipapo is only worn by novices in seclusion, not in public, normally.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>The men who dance are beautiful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>The women are beautiful too.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>They wear the lashes of bark ukanat. They appear to be malevolent men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>note:</td>
<td>Hurault (1968:151) noted that the children fear these <em>kalau</em> singers. He did not realize that these dancers mock Wayana tradition, in favor of deceit.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
They wear the feathers of the blue ara *alalatua* [*Ara ararauna*].

**note:** Normally, Wayana only use the red feathers of the *Ara macao*. Hurault (ibid.) noted that these are rare along the Aletani. Then again he had not perceived the mockery.

Their back is hidden by the *ukalat*.

They wear the designs *kuupë*.

The young people are made more attractive with designs.

They wear the [cotton string] arm adornments *mau apëpata*.

**note:** Normally the *apëpata* are the strings of beads at the upper arm, not out of cotton.

They carry the dance rods *enep* [that have jangles *kawai* attached in top, to make a lot of noise].

I know the song *kalau*, I sing the song *kalau*.

The young people are made more attractive with designs.

The dancers have left their villages and have come for a trade.

The people from downstream bring their pots [with food] and their fire fans *anapamì*.

The women from upstream come to taste the cassava of the women of downstream.

The dancers dance backwards.

**note:** A final mockery: the normal pedestrian act forward is danced backwards.

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**Table C-11. 2nd *kalau* chant – raising the king vulture wife (1965)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 The women from below withdraw their pots and return them home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 The young women who had delivered their first child go get their pots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 The elder women also go get their pots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 There is somebody at the road, who is it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 It is a woman who is looking for water to make cassava beer, <em>kasïli</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 She joins a man who is not her husband.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 With the cassava, the dancers run dry the <em>tuma</em> [pepper water] from the bottom of the pot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 They look for small pieces of fish in the bottom [of the pepper pot].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 The cassava beer in the <em>makwa</em> pots is run out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 The women from below place the pots next to their house, for the women from above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>note:</strong> Instead of the opposition downstream versus upstream, it seems that the opposition in this song is about the people on earth, and the anthropomorphic beings in the sky.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Take a young king vulture <em>kulum</em> to elevate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Take a decomposing cadaver, and close your nose because that smells awful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 With the aid of a trap, capture the young king vulture <em>kulum</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 The vulture devours his flesh, and the only thing remaining is the skull.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 The vulture enters in the trap, she will eat the cadaver [Hurault translated with ‘he’].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 The men encircle the vulture with the leaves of wild banana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 They have taken the king vulture. They place her in a cage like the house of the novices <em>tepiem</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 The dancers dance forwards, then backwards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Laugh, let us drink cassava beer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>note:</strong> In conclusion, though we are different–humans versus king vultures–we both have culture, represented by the cassava beer, and we have to live together. This song is a perfect illustration of Viveiro de Castro’s (1998) perspectivism, but also an ideal example for the relation between the different houses that make up Wayana society. The following songs are about other relationships, taboos for the novices, and what to expect further during the rites-of-passage.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Table C-12. 8th *kalau* chant – climbing the inselberg Tukusipan (1965)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation of Jean Hurault (1968:126) (French translation).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 The women bring the cassava beer at night.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 The bird <em>oglæ</em> [= <em>oklai</em>; <em>Nyctidromus albicollis</em>] on the inselberg does not sleep.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>note:</strong> all birds mentioned in this song are black or mainly black.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3 The bird *milo* [= *milo*; *Nyctibiō* sp.] on the inselberg does not sleep.
4 The wasps *waya-waya* [unidentified] can not sleep at night.
5 The bird *owoli* [= *Trogon melanocephalus*] can not sleep at night.
6 The man climbs high up the inselberg.
7 At the first song of the cock, he climbs to the top of the inselberg.
8 He ascends the inselberg “Toukousipann” [= Tukusipan] 

**Note:** Hurault (1968:152) noted that an inselberg of this name is located in the upper basin of the Alama creek, and that one can see from here the road between Aletani and Mapaoni. Hurault relates this to a period of war, and that the Wayana since a century no longer visit this area. Hurault on no account mentions the name Kailawa.

9 The bird *hocco* [= *ëwok*; *Crax alector*] climbs on the inselberg.
10 The bird *kuyui* [= *kujuwi*; *Chamaepetes unicolor*] too climbs the inselberg, on top of Tukusipan.
11 The men who had made war did climb the inselberg with the birds.
12 With [the men from] Mayamayali they climbed the inselberg.

**Note:** Following Kuliaman this nation was a fraction of the Wayãpi (Hurault 1968:152).

13 With the [men from] Alatipoiké, and with the Alamiso [two vanished tribes, noted Hurault].
14 They had climbed the sloping inselberg, holding on to grass and shrubs. Together they climbed.
15 The women climbed too, the husband with his wife.
16 Taken by the night, they climbed nevertheless.
17 Dance backwards. The novices *tepiem* shout to the dancers.

---

**Table C-13. 8th *kalau* chant – climbing the inselberg Tukusipan (1996)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kaja jamanë !</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kaja jamanë !</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> no translation given for these initial lines. Translated by van Lucia Velthem (2003:169) as: “São como os peixes!” (Be like the fish!).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>We dance [?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>We dance [?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>With the <em>hemït</em> of the bird <em>owoli</em>, my grandfather splashed it in my eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>With the <em>hemït</em> of the bird <em>owoli</em>, my grandfather splashed it in my eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The bird <em>owoli</em>, who is on the inselberg has his eyes open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td><em>Owoli</em> has his eyes open [this Black-headed Trogon has ‘night-vision’]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> In addition to Hurault’s version, Rivière’s version mentions the meaning of these birds. Not only can they see at night, or ‘do not sleep at night’, but their brain was used as charm <em>hemït</em> in order to give its night-vision to the Wayana by splashing it in ones eyes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>On the inselberg, the bird <em>oglai</em> [= <em>oklai</em>; <em>Pauraque; Nyctidromus albicollis</em>] has its eyes open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td><em>Oglai</em> [= <em>oklai</em>] has its eyes open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>The bird <em>milo</em> [Common potoo; <em>Nyctibiō griseus</em>] has its eyes open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Those who are on the inselberg have their eyes open at night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>The frogs <em>wajawaja</em> [Hurault translated these animals as ‘wasps’] have their eyes open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>The <em>wajawaja</em> that are at the inselberg have their eyes open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>The frogs <em>wajawaja</em> have their eyes open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> This sequence of animals—<em>oklai-milo-wayawaya</em>—is similar to the version by Hurault, other than the <em>owoli</em> are now named first, and not last. The <em>wajawaja</em> are unidentified.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>I climbed the inselberg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> Where in the version by Hurault the Tukusipan is named, no proper name of the inselberg is given in this version by Rivière.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>I climbed the inselberg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> Note that this song is sung in the first person singular, and not in the third person, as translated by Hurault.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Without fear, like the <em>pawsi</em> [= <em>ëwok</em>; Curassow; <em>Crax alector</em>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Without fear, like the <em>pawsi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> Kuliaman is using the Sranan term <em>pawsi</em>, and not the Wayana name <em>ëwok</em>. In the version by Hurault, the Curassow is named too, but it is not specified, that this bird climbs the rock without fear.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I climbed the inselberg.
Without fear, like the kujuwi [= Black Guan; Chamaepetes unicolor].
Like the kujuwi, like the kujuwi.
Without fear, like the malai [unidentified].
Like the malai I climbed the rock.
I climbed the inselberg.

Note: In the version by Hurault, first the Curassow and then the Black Guan are named too, in the same order. An unidentified species has been added to the list. These birds, in contrast to the four birds mentioned in the first series, do not fly away when approached, these birds are ‘without fear’.

I climbed the steep rock.
I climbed the steep rock.
I climbed the steep rock.
With Palulumhe I climbed it.
With Alatipoikë I climbed the inselberg.

Note: Chapuis (ibid.:1003) is exceedingly pleased to finally find some of the names of the warriors from the narratives on Kailawa.
With somebody courageous I climbed the rock.
With Alimamhe I climbed the rock.
We have climbed this inselberg.
With somebody courageous I climbed the rock.
With somebody courageous, with Upsewei, I climbed the rock.

Note: On Upsewei and the others, Chapuis refers to a narrative from the times of Kailawa (ibid.:805-813) where the narrator, Kuliaman, refers back to the kalau songs. This historical narrative on the events taken place at the inselberg Tukusipan, though not identified as such by Chapuis, will be discussed below.

I climbed the inselberg in the shape of a shoulder (= timotakem).

Note: Chapuis (ibid.:1003), placed a question mark after this enigmatic seeming line. Though when dwelling in this region, it is clear that the profile of the inselberg Tukusipan is in the shape of a shoulder (figure 6.3-3). Moreover, Coudreau (1893) on his map of the region does plot the inselberg Timotakem, in the area of Tukusipan, and wrote below it “le pacolo” (the house).

We have climbed this inselberg.
We have climbed the inselberg Anatu[mïnï].

Note: ~Wanatumïn = ‘without the wanat’, whereby wanat is the name of the bird hanging on the feather crown pumali. Is this a nickname for this inselberg?

[With] Alatumle [I have climbed it].
With the warriors I have climbed it.
I climbed the inselberg.
With Palulupana [nickname: ‘banana-leave ear’] I have climbed it.
With Kululumhe I have climbed it.
This inselberg we have climbed.
We have climbed the cliff.
We have climbed the cliff.
With Palalipana I have climbed it.
We climbed the rock by means of [holding on to] shrubs.
We climbed the rock by means of shrubs.

Note: Chapuis translated incorrectly that they climbed with “liana vines sihnat”

Although Chapuis made a detailed study with Kuliaman on the war of the Wayana with surrounding tribes, in contrast to the version by Hurault, Chapuis does not mention that we are dealing here with members of vanished nations.

I climbed the rock, I climbed the rock.

Note: This and following lines “I climbed the rock” are doubled in the Wayana text but translated in French by Chapuis only once, without the bis line.
With somebody courageous, with Kulunepïn, I climbed the rock.
With somebody courageous, with Kulunepïn, I climbed the rock.
I climbed the rock, I climbed the rock.
With somebody courageous, with Kïinepïn, I climbed the rock.
Kailawa, Finding His Way

Kailawa’s story (recording time: 37 minutes), was narrated by Kulienpë in 2000 after we discussed the motifs on the *maluwana* (Chapter 4.3). First Kulienpë narrated two stories of Wayana eschatology, i.e., the story of an Upului (recording time: 14 minutes) and that of grandfather Alili (recording time: 11 minutes) (see above). Defeat of Kuluwajak, the main motif on the *maluwana* is narrated in this story (line 22-67) as well as other *maluwana* motifs are mentioned (line 61). Transcribed in Wayana by Ronnie Tïkaime. Translated into French by Takwali Kulisa. Edited and translated into English by Renzo Duin. Notes and additions between brackets are by the author (see also Chapter 8.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wayana omi</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kailawa eitoponpë, ekalëtop.</td>
<td>This is the quest of Kailawa, how they dwelled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line</td>
<td>Textual Representation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>The name of the woman [who went with the explorers] is asilihmatonpë [= ‘she who has the peppers’]. Kiïnœpín, her husband is Ésihalala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>Kailawa’s brother-in-law is Ésihalala. Kailawa’s sister is Kiïnœpín.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Here is the story of the explorers from long ago.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The names of the explorers were: Their leader Kailawa, also Ésihalala [~ Asisalala = ‘rippling drain’. Maybe his name is related to the ‘waterfall event’ at line 140-141] their leader, his partisan Kuluwapotï [= ‘Sprout of kulúwa-palm’], their leader, also Weweamat [= ‘Tree Branch’]. That’s all. There were a lot of them, but that was no hindrance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>As we will hear later, Kailawa and his men were assisted by many followers (e.g. line 66, 127, 128), and at Tïmomairem (line 150) they make their fortified camp where the followers will join them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>There were a lot of fierce creatures there. The past tense is used in line 4 because, as we will hear in this story, Kailawa and his men killed all these fierce creatures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>And the ‘bosman’ made the trail. ‘Bosman’ is the Sranan term used in Suriname for the prospector, for the first in line. In French Guyana the term ‘Layoneur’ is applied.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>So they do not go swift, [they go] like the people who do not see.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Maybe there were monsters there. The suffix ~lep means ‘in vain’, so the monsters were not at this place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>[Kailawa] shot at everything. He shot all kinds of animals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>And so it happened that they arrived on the big inselberg named Tëpukuli [= ‘yellow clay stone’], the place of the charms hemït, which can be found there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>“Who can bring my hemït, my charms to shoot game?” said my great-grandparents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>So Tëpukuli is the name of the place of hemït, where only hemït-charms are to be seen.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nevertheless, *pata* not only refers to plants, as *ēlukēpata* (line 61) refers to the place of many caterpillars *ēlukē*. *Pata* thus means “place of …”

12 They transverse the inselberg.
13 Then they gather another [charm] to become fierce.
14 They gather all the *hemit ēpēlama* [that serves] to withdraw ones force out of his arms. [compare with line:167]

15 Also [they collected the charm] to become a bad hunter/fisher, in order to loose ones force.
16 Also [they collected the charm] to become strong, to become without fear, to become without tiredness, to become fierce.

note During the translation, Ronnie illuminated the force of this *hemit* with “Rambo katip” or ‘like Rambo’, that the men would be as strong and fierce as Rambo, the famous icon personified by Sylvester Stallone, of whom the Wayana had seen some videos.

17 Also [they collected the charm] to apply on the foot sole, to not to be injured [in those days the Wayana walked bare feet, compare with line 56].
18 It is really like this that Kailawa acted.
19 He [Kailawa] knew all the charms, since he was fierce and a killer, without fear for anybody. [Kailawa had] no village, [and] no wife. Maybe he had a wife far away [because line 158 refers to the (adoptive?) son of Kailawa].
20 Only one, only Ésihalala, had a wife there; Kïinepïn [Kïinepïn, wife of Ésihalala, is sister of Kailawa see lines ii and iii]. She was a woman who had peppers. Therefore the nickname of Kïinepïn was ‘Granny’.

21 It is like this. So, I [Kulienpë] will tell you just a little.

note I had asked Kulienpë to narrate stories of the motifs of the *maluwana*. This is the story of Kuluwajak, the ‘Big Boss’ of the caterpillar monsters on the *maluwana* (see line 61; chapter 4.3; Duin 2006). Although the inselberg Taluwakem is not named here, other sources, and the material ‘proof’ on Taluwakem (Duin 2003) indicate that this part of the story takes place at Taluwakem (Figure 8-3: F). From Taluwakem one can see the Aletani River flowing east. Most likely prospectors returned downstream the Jari River only to go upstream the Mapaony branch of the Jari. Line 68 refers to the fact that they did not completely return home. After the introduction of the main actors and the preamble of the researchers collecting charms (line 1-21), the act of the defeat of Kuluwajak (line 22-67), it is the quest on the Mapaoni basin in search of a pathway to Aletani that takes off (line 68-192).


24 Tohpule satunkai, molo titëi inëlë, mëme. Tile tanimëmëi molo, Kuluwajak tenei ipeitolïja.


26 Masike tenei eja, mënëmëja mënëmëja, kole. Iñipkapola mëlëkatipit.

27 Malonme titëimei inëlë asinhak ëlukë enëtpo Kuluwajak. Titëimë titamukom pona.
of his partisans (on discourse analysis in Amazonian stories see Basso 1985, 1987, 1989, 1995). Apart from quoted speech, the narrator is frequently using onomatopoeia, call of an animal, expletives or a song to create the narrative. In this process tropes do not distort or fantasize but facilitate comprehension. In this, I completely agree with Basso and this narrative on Kailawa is an example that Basso’s discourse analysis can also be applied to Wayana narratives.

28 “Ma, monnai kalipono weneh, kaikui nai wene.”
29 “Tëpaneha?”
30 “Molo kuluwahtao.”
31 “Etikaipa mi tém?”
32 “Uwa, alimi waki,” tïkai inëlê.
33 “Tohmepa méhakompëk meha, étukhe kapa kunnëkne.”
34 “Étukhelan mamë kunnëkne. Iuhtali tom wëi kutkanen mamë këtukjai walunak ikot kutilwëjai éniklë éwoktom leken.”
35 “Wikanen mamë,” tïkai, “aji heneta.”
36 Ma tïtëi inamolo. Ma, molo Kuluwajak tënei.
38 Tëweihamo jakin nuhnë. Kohle, lome monmëi tamme.
39 Imalotonom énik palë, pëinëkëimë tom talame.
40 Masike tewëhalëimëpitëtot akëlephak këpsik.
41 Tikampuin kom tïhe ituhtao.
42 Malalë tëhtalam tëitot. Ëhmelë weve tëpkëlëi ejahë. Tëhtalam tëitot, Ëhmelë kawëmhaïk.
43 Malalë tëtapuhe kawë. Kawë tëtapuhe tot.
44 Masike tëtapukep tïhwëhe aptao, pëtuku tïkëp tïhwë
when this is well done, they leave to shoot.

[Narrators reflection on the construction:]
It is not like this house here [Kulienpë points to one of his houses at Alawateimë ení; Figure 3-2-5], that he [Kailawa] made there. But they were maybe outside only [without roof]. A place to sleep, but especially to protect themselves it was well closed with wood [with walls], not to be attacked by animals.

Then they head out.

Well, Kuluwajak was shot by Kailawa, but he misses.

Kailawa did not kill this being in one single shot, and subsequently gave orders to his partisans to shoot. It takes all four leaders to kill this monster.

“You” he [Kailawa] says to Ėsihalala. He too shoots and shoots, but he misses.

“You” he [Kailawa] says to Kuluwapotī. He too, he misses, and the animals do kujukuju. So all the animals cry and they also cry kwililik, these Kuluwajak.

He scratches him and [the animal] cries kujukuju. All, the monstrous capuchin monkeys, the weeping capuchin monkeys, the gigantic howler monkeys roar koke koken. The jaguar, the meliimë [~ puma], all.

When they all heard these cries they all left. Really rapidly. Also [the four leaders] brought the head of Kuluwajak for his product hemít; the brains serve them as charms hemít.

Not only plants serve as hemít (line 10-18), but also brains are good charms. For brains as hemít see lines 86, 109, and 149.

So they left, really swiftly. Like they had a charm to go really fast. Also [they may have had a charm] not to be tired.

[Maybe they had a charm] to not to be injured at all, they applied it on their foot soles [compare with line 17].

So they leave, followed by the caterpillars. Really the Kuluwajak came towards them; they follow them where they marched. The fierce monstrous white lipped peccaries, the gigantic collared peccaries, the gigantic howler monkeys, all, and the meliimës head out.

That is what I have heard from somebody (just from narrative), but I have listened just a little bit. It is
Then they shoot a lot from the door of their house. They shoot to kill *meliimë*, the jaguar *kunawaliimë*, the dog, but they do not miss. They do not miss. They know very well the place where to shoot the animal [to kill it at once]. They are like dangerous men.

So the Alawatâimë [gigantic howler monkey or the gigantic caterpillar that have reddish-brown hair like the howler monkey], *Kuluwajak*, *Kutupsi*, maybe *Tokokosi*, all [see Oral Tradition #.# *èluë maluwana*]. All, maybe this was the place of the caterpillars. Like the place of *Kuluwajak*. All those *kuluwa*-palms, and they ate those leafs [*Kuluwajak* = ‘in the *kuluwa*’].

So they shoot all, all [monsters] are shot. The monstrous white lipped peccaries, they kill them all.

Their heavy clubs *kapalu* are heavy, and maybe made of letter wood [*Brosimum guianensis*]. Maybe the clubs are thick as to place teeth, maybe with the teeth of a jaguar, maybe with the teeth of collared peccaries. They had lots of clubs. [They had] not just one single *kapalu*, but many clubs. And also many arrows.

Really this is what [Kulienpë] have heard.

They didn’t have a lack of arrows. They had an overseer (*ehem*) to keep the arrows and someone who keeps the bows, and someone who keeps the bowstrings finished and unfinished; the bowstring. Do you know why, no? If the bowstring snaps, they have other [bowstrings] at hand.

The act of ‘sleeping’ narrated for the first time in this story means that major shifts are about to happen. As elaborated upon by Basso (1985:30) the ‘interactive self’ of the sleeper wanders. The travelers leave a socially defined space, a save home base, and move to a liminal treacherous place of dangerous beings.

Then someone who resembles a child, what does he say? [It is] near the source of the creek [Mapaony]. “èh, èh, èh” he says, like the language of a child. “Let’s go, let us eat on that side” [*Kailawa*] says. They set out towards that side [crossing the creek].
Masike mëklë tïwehnai ejahe amat uputpëjao.

74 Tïnïkhe inamolo, tïnkëmëi tokon malë, tanme ipit. Tïh, mule unutpë, lome ïwekïka kala tot apësi inaheka.

75 Lome tïjele ëtse.

76 Mëlëkatïp mule hapon lëken. Ëilan.

77 Mëlëkatïp mëklë tuwëimei. Tahpule katïhwë, kujû kujû tïkai.

78 Pîlëu tïpëlëli.

79 Mëlëkatïp katop wipanak mai mëhnejai.

80 Ma, moloinë tïtëi tot mëklë wëheinë imepïnpona, molo.

(3b) Further upstream the Mapaony creek.

81 Aliweimë, aliweimë pepta, lome tatîkai awomi, tanme kük kük tïkai, talanme.

82 Mëk, kaikui, kaikusija tuwalë inamolo. Tuwalënma inamolo kaikui aïkom hentatën. Epolahnépsik, kopinnïhtao, aliwe pepta, pepta aliwe.

83 Tanon tunakwatalï hapon tapek, tïwëlën, pepta aliwe, aliweimë.

84 Aliweimëhle hemelë ituhtalï, amat uputpëme.

85 Pepta tïpola. Tanme, tïpophaklë iwalë tuwalëla, lome takîphe.

86 Mëlëk tuhpowepkai tïhemëtkome imephaku tïkîhe, tïhemëtkome.

(4a) This place on the watershed is mapped (IGN map 1/200.000, feuille 10) as Paloulouimeuènpeu, next to the “Indian trail” traversing Tëmomairëm (see line 150).

87 Ma, mëklë wëkeptïhwë tïtëi akon pona

88 Paluenpë pona, paluenpë mëlë.

follow him [the ‘child’] in the direction of the source of the creek.

74 They sleep, [‘the child’] is sleeping next to his sister, maybe [she is] his wife. Well, the big child presents himself, but they don’t say that it is my family.

75 But they had [pointed] teeth to eat us.

note Apparently these people are not related to Kailawa and his followers. The different language and pointed teeth to eat human flesh makes them the archetypal Other (see also Tamok chapter 7.3). Other Others encountered by Kailawa and his followers is the cotton spinning grandmother who is as well claimed to be not a Wayana and therefore had to be killed (line 138).

76 Like that was the one resembling a child. The fierce one.

77 Like that he was shot at. When [Kailawa and his men] shot him [the child with the pointed teeth], cries [onomatopoeia].

78 The arrow is broken [because the ‘child’ had cut it with his teeth].

79 That is like what I have heard being told.

80 Well, after they had killed him they go far away, there.

(3b) A giant dwarf caiman [Palaeosuchus palpebrosus], an enormous caiman, but what do they say in their language, maybe kük kük they say, maybe.

note This reddish-black dwarf caiman [Palaeosuchus palpebrosus, in Wayana: aliwe] is preferred game, preferred above the grey caiman kulu, among the Wayana. Normally this species along the frequented rivers will not reach their average of 1.8 meter. But maybe this very old female was laying her eggs in the forest near the sources of the creek Mapaony. Well, this monster, they knew well these monsters. They knew they were about to see this monster. He hasn’t arrived yet, it is in the bushes, the big caiman, an enormous caiman.

82 This [monstrous caiman] was not like the [caiman] we see in the river, another one, a big caiman, a monstrous caiman.

83 It is the big caiman we find in the forest, near the sources of a creek.

84 The big one is not good to eat. Maybe, it must be good to eat but we don’t know, but it is tough.

85 They broke its skull to take its brains as charm, as their hemït.

87 Well, when they had killed it [the monstrous caiman], they leave to another place.

88 The place of the hole of the banana, we call it “hole
of the banana” (compare with: Paluluimë enpë).

Palu: Musa X paradisiacaal, Musaceae

Simply with his bow [he discovered this hole of the banana. Kailawa is not specifically named for this act].

The Wayana do not have bananas there, none [i.e. no bananas (Musa spp., Musaceae) or wild bananas (Phenakospermum guianensis, Strelitzaceae) are present in Brazilian Guyana (Pará)]. No bananas were there in the ground, no bananas (Musa spp., Musaceae) and no wild bananas (Phenakospermum guianensis, Strelitzaceae).

This is a contribution to the ‘banana debate’ of South American bananas. Wayana state that in the past they were eating the fruits of the Phenakospermum guianensis i.e. Strelitzaceae and not Musaceae.

I cannot resist mentioning that this event resonates with the arrival of Manco Capac in the place where he will found Cuzco.

We didn’t know then like we know today.

He made a hole, a hole was made like the porcupines do.

I cannot resist mentioning that this event resonates with the arrival of Manco Capac in the place where he will found Cuzco.

They dig and see the bananas, big wild bananas.

“Oh, gather them they are edible.”

And they take just three [bananas].

No, nothing happened, they don’t have stomachache. They don’t throw up. These are good bananas.

This animal that says tënënën is unidentified.

Still near the inselberg Paluluimë enpë, or Paloulouimeuènpeu, at the watershed, but at a lower hill (line 112).

Then the animal [that says tënënën] came out of the ground, after they had eaten the bananas. tënënën tënënën [call of the animal].

This animal that says tënënën is unidentified.

There were a lot of them, many helpers. So they sang many tënënën tënënën tënënën tënënën
Then the night fell. Maybe around midnight, he sings loudly again. It ends, they discontinue calling. [Kailawa’s men] are looking for [the one who says ténénén]. “It was in there.” [they say.]

It is like this. With the eyes of the crested owl [Lophostrix cristata wedeli], with the eyes of the common pauraque [Nyctidromus albicollis], with the eyes of all who do not sleep at night [these are hemît / charms]. They go, and they are with charms [they have taken the brains of those who see at night]. It is like this.

The interjection of “why?” by Kulienpë is because I was not familiar with this story of Kailawa. The importance of a listener-responder, the “What-Sayer”, is as important as the narrator (Basso 1985). The What-sayer is responsible for creating the conditions under which a story can unfold, and to whom the story is told while many others are listening. As recommended by Basso (1985), I publish the interjections in this translation to maintain the dynamic dualistic performative interaction, which is critical to the unfolding of the story. This process set in a historical and social context is lost in translation and transcription in most published myths as merely running text.
Tanme ituhale tomke, tanme.

115 “Sinjao wëlakapalémne?” ťikai. responder.
Malonme kulu tasihe.
116 “Tuwëtëk!” ťikai. Then they probe with a stick.
Hapelélém tëtëhe. Kulu tasihe.

117 Mëlë tasitëhwë. Alilïn ťikai, halilïn ťikai tëhe tonke. When they deepen with a long stick. Alilïn [the animal roars], halilïn he does with a big voice. Like the fierce jaguar he roars, and like he is ready to bite.
Èile kaikui esike, ëtëne esike huwa.

118 “Më, helëjao kapa ne!” ťikai.
119 Tapuhe ejahë, tapuhe. Malalë hewihnë tapuhe. Everybody is ready to kill it. They probe with a stick.
Malalë tipulelekai ten puka. Molo mënën awë
tënënën nuimë
tënënën pepta, lome kaikui katïp.

117 Then they probe with a stick.
116 Everybody is ready to kill it. They probe with a stick.

119 They enclose it, cover it. Then they cover the other side. Next they make a hole in the middle. He is in there and cries
tënënën in big roars
tënënën, but resembling a jaguar.

120 Thus they shoot at it; tchac tchac. He dies, he died.

121 Moloinë, mëklë wëheinë tëtapkëleimëi, tïtëi imepïnpona. Then, after they have busted the animal, they head off for another place.
There, maybe there, they arrived without paying attention.

(5) Looking south, in the direction from where they arrived, they see the following.

122 Hawele mawu ekumne tënei, hawele. Ïpïhtao akëlephak huwa, tïh akëlephak tënei. The next morning they see somebody who is spinning cotton, the next morning. And in a hill far, far away they see.
123 Lome ametapo sisilïmna tëwëtïhe, sisilïmna. But when the sun sets there is no sun, no sun.

note This enigmatic phrase is to indicate the east side of the inselberg, hence the shadow side during the setting sun.

124 “Ënïkpamëk, menejatëu ka?” ťikai. “Tëpupo esike. Who is there, do you all see?” he says [one of Kailawa’s men]. “Like she is on the rock. Do you see her?”
125 Lome mawu ekumïpëk inële. Tuk, tuk, tuk, tuk. But she is spinning cotton. She pulls repetitively at the cotton string [onomatopoeia]. Her cotton is white.
Tikoloke imawulun.

note It is emphasized that her cotton is white, because until that moment, the Wayana only had ecru cotton.

126 “Mëh, mawu ekumnenma toma mëklë. Anumalë aikom,” ťikai. “Ah, it is someone who is spinning cotton. Let’s go tomorrow,” he says.
127 Titëi akëlëphnakëna, akëlëphak têpupëk. Malonme têtëi inamolo anumalë. Molo mëkja ipeito ëtëla. They go far, far towards the inselberg. So they leave the following morning. His vassals do not go there with them [Only Kailawa and the leaders go].
128 Tên têtëi kolehnëlep, tatïpola. Lome sinkom ehem ëtëla. They go with few, but that is no problem. But the overseers [e.g. the overseer of the bowstrings] do not go [see line 66].
Inamolo têhalëi.

130 Malonme ma kapolola, petoh. Walunak iwë têtihwë
têmakai inële. Tuk, tuk, tuk, tuk, têmawulun
têkumhe. Pelelep, pelelep, tuk, tuk, tuk. They are not far [from the inselberg]. “Well, let us stay here to see well” he says.

Then without haste, night falls [after 7 PM]. Later in the afternoon [4 to 6 PM] she leaves [the woman they had seen the other day is again at the summit of the inselberg]. She spits her cotton while pulling. She turns, turns, pulls, pulls
131 “Mëh, anumalë aikom.”
Hawele tëhalei tot, epoh têpupo. Têpu tawunukhe ejahe kamsiliman kamsiliman. Malonme tîtëi inamolo têhanukhe.


133 Akename titëhemija man kunumusi pakolon têtkapai.

134 Jaka.
“Mëk, sintapek kapalep … awap!” Tapu wai, powep. “Tïh, molo kunumusi, kunumusi molo!”

135 Ënik jamkom kàtîp, tanme Kïiwa kàtîp.

137 Tën hanik tawake. “Këlëtëk ëwakëlën kome ëpeitokome këlëtëk?” ñkaillep.


139 Tahpule tahpule kai imotajak mïhen, imotajak mïhen tuwëi. Kunumusi hakpa tîlëmëphe mïhen.

141 Mëlëtamikhe ejahe. Ësihalala tamikhe tîpît mawulunputpë me, epîmaimë tohme. Mëlëkatîp.
Masike, tuwë kepïthwë, tuwuptëi tot. Mija awënahle enei, imnahle etala, molohlepsik lëken. [Kïinepïn], to replant them at their place. It is like this [that the Wayana obtained white cotton].

Étatëmna, étatëmna. Malëken tûnikhe.


So, when they are done shooting, they enter [in the cave]. There where they looked, there was no hole, only a little that way [i.e. there was no big entrance to the cave].

I [Kulienpë] have heard [= learned] that it is like this. This place is named Mawu ekumïtpë, the inselberg. 'The place where the cotton was spun', is its name.

(6a) Leaving from Mawu ekumïtpë towards the east, towards Timomailem.

Ma, maka aptao, imepïnpona tîtëi. Ikïpammïla, ikïpamla. Ten tëhalei tot imepïnpo.

Well, when this had ended [the story with the old woman spinning cotton], they [Kailawa and his men] head out to another place. Not tired, they are not tired. They go to another place.

There were lots of monsters on the trail to the Aletani. [Remember, this is the region where the Trio, according to Frikel (1957), place the ‘wild’ tribes too (Chapter 8.3).]

Melo kapiwaleimë. Tëhetonke tot; “win, win, win, win, win.” Lome hakenephele tot, mëlëkatïp.

Kapiwaleimë [= monstrous capybara; Hydrochaeris hydrochaeris] is there. They have a loud voice; “win, win, win, win, win.” But there were two [a male and a female], that is for sure.

(6b) Return to Timomailem, back to the trail towards the Aletani. Literally, Timomailem means ‘the one with the novice momai’ (see Chapter 6.2 on momai and rites-of-passage).

Molo kapiwaleimë. Tëhetonke tot; “win, win, win, win, win.” Lome hakenephele tot, mëlëkatïp.

Melo kapiwaleimë. Tëhetonke tot; “win, win, win, win, win.” Lome hakenephele tot, mëlëkatïp.

Molo kapiwaleimë. Tëhetonke tot; “win, win, win, win, win.” Lome hakenephele tot, mëlëkatïp.

Molo kapiwaleimë. Tëhetonke tot; “win, win, win, win, win.” Lome hakenephele tot, mëlëkatïp.

They return to Timomailem, and they stay the night there [on this hilltop]. They make their camp, they place the wood, make the palisade, and they make a platform jala. Here on Timomailem they make a platform. So it ended.

They return to Timomailem, and they stay the night there [on this hilltop]. They make their camp, they place the wood, make the palisade, and they make a platform jala. Here on Timomailem they make a platform. So it ended.

They installed themselves there, little by little. They make waiha [= two posts jammed into the ground to hang a hammock]. A lot of them. Then, there they calm down, they settle down.

note On the hilltop of Timomailem, along the road from Jari to Aletani, Kailawa built his fortified village. As mentioned before (note on line 69), the fact that it is mentioned that they sleep here, in an indication that some major event will happen.
Lome molo kului katïp kunehak. Pijanai, Pijanai kului katïp tokolon, tokolon, tokolon tikai, kokopsik, tokolon, tokolon tikai.

But there was like [the song of] the bird kului, the marbled wood-quail [Odontophorus gujanensis]. The Pijanai, like the marbled wood-quail [play the flutes] tokolon, tokolon, tokolon, in the morning, tokolon, tokolon the Pijanai do.

This is about the encounter with the Pijanai, the ‘wild’ Trio, according to Frikel (1957). See also chapter 8.3.

The following lines (153–155) are a dialogue in quoted speech between the chief Kailawa and his adoptive son. On quoted speech, see also note on line 27.

“Papa, kuluiwëi wïtëjai,” tikai. “Papa, I will shoot the bird kului” he says [Kailawa’s adoptive son].

“Un, kalipono,” tikai lep ijum. “Hm, that is somebody [a person = kalipono], that is, not a bird” his father (Kailawa) simply says.

“Kalipono tapek neha, kului, tuwei wïtëjai.” A titëi imumu. “That is not a person, that is kului, the marbled wood-quail, I will shoot him” [Kailawa’s adoptive son says]. So his son departs.

[Interjection by Kulienpë:] People do not give the names of these people, only [they give the names] of the elders.

So he leaves [the son of Kailawa]. tokolon, tokolon, tokolon [the Pijanai flute play]. Then he looks over there; the place where the bird sang. But the Pijanai arrived from the other side. [Kailawa’s son] came from this side, but [the Pijanai] came from there [That is, the Pijanai came from behind the boy, so the boy did not see the Pijanai approaching].

Then [the Pijanai] shoots him, Kailawa’s son. Aie, he says, aie, aie, aie, aie, but he had really shot him under his arm. [The old woman who was spinning cotton (5) was shot in her shoulder and died (line 139)].

Then the Pijanai returns to his place, rapidly, in order to hide. Maybe they knew, maybe they went just passing by [without paying attention, without noticing]. So like they knew, they knew, he returns. So he encloses himself to them. They go this way, and they go that way, but they don’t see him [the Pijanai] at all.

“Well, there still is danger” he says, Kailawa. “There still is [danger]” he says, “Let’s go searching everywhere!”

They search everywhere, everywhere they search. Far, far they go, even on Mitalaka.

Kailawa and his men set out east in chasing the Pijanai. Hereby they pass by Kunuwihpan (8), i.e. the cave of the Pijanai. Kailawa and his men track for about ten kilometers to the inselberg Mitalaka, at the watershed, and today’s border between Brazil and French Guyana.
515

163 Moloinë mïja tïtëi wamahpan uputpëja hapon. No hole at all.

(8)

163 Then they leave towards the sources of the Wamahpan [= Walemapan].

(8) After the chase at Mïtalaka, Kailawa and his men returned to their fortified village at Timomailem. Though not on the same trail, but slightly heading north of it. Without doubt, Kailawa must have seen the chain of inselbergs, among which the Toukouchipann, continuing to the east (Figure 5-11).


164 There they see who? They don’t see him [they do not see the Pijanai], but a lot of pet animals; howler monkeys, weeping capuchin monkey, crested guan, crested curassow, kami-kami, a lot of animals where there in front of their rock shelter. So they sang misak, misak, misak [kami-kami] simply the animals. The curassow sang humhumhum. The howler monkeys sang julon julon. Kokokon the capuchins, but they thought they were their masters. The capuchins thought it were their masters. So the animals didn’t cry / hurl, they didn’t do tjo, tjo, tjo.


165 Suddenly [Kailawa and his men] saw the door [i.e. the entrance of the cave or rock shelter], nearby [at kunuwihpan “the place of many fruits Alchornea sp.”]. “There are still fierce people here who shot my son” says Kailawa.

166 “Ma, aikom mole,” tëhaleimëi tot. 166 “Well, let’s go” and they return home [to Timomailem, without attacking the Pijanai immediately].

166 “Ma, aikom mole,” tëhaleimëi tot. 166 “Well, let’s go” and they return home [to Timomailem, without attacking the Pijanai immediately].


167 Then [Kailawa and his men] bring ëwïtï [hemít / charm] to make people sleep. By night they sprinkle the village with ëwïtï to make them sleep. And they sprinkle épëlama [to no longer have force in ones arm. See line 14]. They [the Pijanai] do not even know. Then the following morning, it is not even morning, they sprinkle ëwïtï once more palalap palalap [onomatopoeia] together with with épëlama. That is all.

168 Malonme hawelem, hawelem tot tewëhalëi hemele, kokopsik. Kohkopsik huwa têhalei tot epo.

168 Then that morning really early they go to kill them, very early. And very early in the morning [around 5 AM] they leave and arrive.

169 “Ma, wëmëmjai tuhmohehe!”

169 “Well, I will enter to kill them!” [Kailawa said.]

170 Tëmëmhe kolela tot têmëmhe têtuhmokom uno, têtuhmokom uno.

170 They did not enter [the cave] with many in order not to fight amongst each other, in order not to kill amongst each other [because physically the Wayana and Pijanai resemble each other in the dark].

171 Lome malisihpe têhële tot ëtuwpkolon mai, malisike pïja. Malisike ëhmëlë ëïpunkom, ëhmëlë tekolommai.

171 But they [the Pijanai] had placed malisi on their head [in contrast to the Wayana], with the malisi of the harpy eagle [Pijanai means ‘harpy-eagle people’]. The white down feathers they had placed all over their body, they had become all white [of the down feathers of the harpy eagle].


172 It was [dark] like the night within that cave. Then they kill them. They hit [with clubs kapalu], and many [Pijanai] were massacred. It does tohto, toh
They killed lots of Pijanai. That is all.

Well, one person who returned from hunting, after he had returned he turns around to hide [this Pijanai does not enter the cave at kunuwihpan]. Then [the Wayana] kill and push, and they close the door [of the cave].

Near the door the strike to kill, they hit, they kill them. They all enter, toh toh toh. It has ended. There are no more Pijanai. Like this it went. And just like this is the story of the massacre of the Pijanai.

I will tell you about the one who was saved. They searched him.

Well, a little later [Kailwaw and his men] hear the noise boum boum boum. A -fruit [Hymenea courbaril] splashes apart in their path. In their path [at the road towards the Aletani] several -fruits fall apart boum boum boum, like the spider monkeys do [Spider monkeys (Ateles paniscus) are known to throw branches et cetera from the branches down]. So he was eating those fruits. Boum boum boum

“He is our target” he says [Kailawa]. They saw him like a peccary [as game, that is], they don’t fear anything.

Well, he saved himself [at first]. But, they saw him and shoot chac.

He shoots again an arrow as quickly as possible chac. When he saw him, he did not wait to take revenge.

“If it was me [Kulienpë adds], I would have shot them all!” So, since it was already daytime, he did not stop shooting. Unfortunately [Kailawa and his men] were hiding behind a tree, and the arrows [of the last Pianai] merely hit the tree.

They leave him there in the middle of the road [Kailawa and his men leave the last Pianai dead on the road.].

I [Kulienpë] came from there, from where the bones are. [Kulienpë took this trail from the Jari to the Aletani.] When I came here [around 1975], the skeleton [of he Pianai] was still under the -tree. It is like this. Well, that’s it.
Interlude on the plant *alakuhele*.

There still is the story of *alakuhele* [*Protium* sp. *Burseraceae*]. Maybe I [Kulienpë] will just tackle it quickly.

Alakuhele was on the nude rock. It was not the alakuhele that is on the tree [*Bromeliaceae*], but the alakuhele that is on the stone.

That smells good. “Sah” he says [one of Kailawa’s men], “that smells good.” It had a good odor. “I will take it as my perfume.” [He says to himself.]

“No! Don’t take it, maybe it is poison!” says Kailawa. “Maybe this one [like the charms *hemït*] is to kill, let it be! [under the devise: ‘don’t touch what we don’t know’] we did not come for that, but to make the road” he says.

Kailawa took the parole and clearly stated that they have come here to find the road bridging between Jari and Aletani.

So they leave [this place], after they had seen this [plant *alakuhele*].

They arrive at a place where there are lots of manioc stems [*kuhelap patatpë*]. This is not far from the Aletani.

The mere name ‘former place of manioc stems’ is enigmatic. It is not simply the place of the manioc plant *ulu*, but the cut off stems *kuhelap*. Why there was cut manioc stems lying in the forest? An explanation may be deducted from the map; about three kilometers east of this point on the trail is located a plateau at 512 meter altitude (about 300 meter above river level). The dimensions of this lozenge shaped plateau are about 750 x 450 meter or more than 33 ha. An archaeological pedestrian survey may conclude whether or not a settlement was located on this plateau.

This is where the Wayana cross the watershed. It is near the tri-jonction between Brazil, Suriname and French Guyana at N 2°20’15, W 54°36’04.

So they [Kailawa and his men] go up the hill [i.e. watershed], and descend till the mouth of the Kule kule [affluent of the Aletani, south bank].

Though many hills have been ascended and descended during this prospection, it is only at this place that the ascent and descend are mentioned. Only here at the watershed.

Kulienpë wrapped the story up in conclusion.

There used to be a path there. It was his [Kailawa’s] road. So they stopped there. There was no canoe there to descend; maybe there were no people there yet. There were people [at the Aletani] but not there [not at the Kule kule].

There was no canoe at the Kule kule, which Kailawa and his men could use to descend the river north. The habit of the Wayana was that people using this trail to go north would use the canoes of...
the people who went south on this trail, whereby the latter would use the canoes of the former to descend the river south. To prevent misunderstanding, Kulienpë added that when Kailawa was prospecting for this trail, definitively people were living on the Aletani, simply not at the Kule kule affluent.

**Note**

192 Mëlëkatip. Ma, huwaléken man helé ekalëtop.


**Note**

192 It is like this. Well, the narrative ends about here.

193 This is the traditional ending of a story.

193 Only this I know. There are still other things to say, but that will be long too. Well, that’s it.

In addition to the usual ending of a story, Kulienpë leaves the story open for a sequel. The other things to say, that will be too long, are, among others, the events that happen at the inselberg Tukusipan, further to the east.

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**Tamok narratives**

Wayana oral tradition on Tamok can be analytically divided into two narratives. First narrative is on the encounter with Evil Spirit Tamok in a remote historical past: *Jolok Tamok eitoponpë* (recording time: 12 minutes). Second narrative is on Wayana imitating Tamok in a more recent historical past in their dances: *Wayana Tamok ukuknanom* [starting at line 36] (recording time: 20 minutes). In the second narrative, lines 38–40, 55–57 refer to the historical encounter elaborated upon in the first narrative. Last but not least, there are life-histories of personal encounters with Tamok Spirits in the forest, materialized in termite hills. I had several of such encounters while dwelling among the Wayana. These different stories are part of a larger pool of cosmological knowledge that has a dynamic history for thousands of years and can be addressed to in constantly emerging circumstances. The following two narratives were told by Kulienpë on January 10, 2003 in Alawateimë enï, after he saw a drawing titled “dance pono” in the village of Canea on the Paru in 1878, near the trail to the Jary (Crevaux 1987:285). Where Kulienpë told the shorter *Jolok Tamok* story first, this narrative is discussed in chapter 7.3 after the contextualization of the narrative of Wayana imitating Tamok (chapter 7.2). Reason for my
sequence (in chapter 7) is that the discourse of Tamok mythstory is discussed from most recent performances to prior events into forgotten sources that appear present among us.

Table C-15. Jolok Tamok eitoponpë (Story of the evil spirit Tamok)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wayana omi</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 Jolok tamok eitoponpë.</td>
<td>0 The story of the evil spirit Tamok.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Helë katïp tikai, pitëna itëtpï, nimmë nimtëi. Timnitëi, tinmëti nimnë tapatamau.</td>
<td>1 It is like this they say [the ancestors say], with regard to he who left to hunt, making a hiding place nimnë. He made a nimnë on a flat place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Masike mëlé opinë tolopit nadot; ëwik tom, mamhali tom, nadot mîhen. Masike mëlépëk inamolo uwa.</td>
<td>2 So he thought that he would have birds under this one; curassows, agamis. But they did not come to this one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Haweleme upahken umëkïla mëlélëta. Tëlaimai lep. Malomne kokopisk tïtíémëniëmë mijalë, mijalë elaimai. Masike molë inëlë.</td>
<td>3 The following morning nothing came. But he was patient. Then early in the morning he returned another time, to wait for them another time. So he stays there [in his hiding place].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Hulun, sisi éhawunukiëwëpsik. “Tën”, tikai lëken, Waijana.</td>
<td>4 Hulun [sound of leaves in the forest], when the sun rose a little. “Well” he only said, the Wayana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Molo tumëkhe inëlë, mule kàtip, lome pëtukulupsik, pëtukulupsik. Tan kupëhpan kàtip, amo sija. Éhmëlu îpupu talhiëme, titüpkë.</td>
<td>5 There he arrives, like a child [circa 1 meter high], but he is very beautiful, magnificent. Here he had a kind of genipa [black paint], on his hands and up. His feet were entirely black, inclusive his heel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Pëtuku iwesike tuwëi. Tëwehjokai mëklë wajamuk tuwëi. “Mah, mulepsik kînmahek uwë!” Tawïja apëhjakat tikaiël, lome uwa. “Uwëjahe!”</td>
<td>6 The one who is beautiful is shot. He who shot placed himself into a great danger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 “Mah, mulepsik kînmahek uwë!” Tawïja apëhjakat tikaiël, lome uwa. “Uwëjahe!”</td>
<td>7 “Eh, I shot a child!” Above all he had asked himself whether to kill or to capture, but no. “I will shoot him!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Tahpule kai, tahpule tuwëi mule. Kuwi, kuwi, kuwi kai téhomo inëlë. Masike inëlë tïhawunuke akon mëk ûhwë, akon tumëkhe peptapsik.</td>
<td>8 [The Wayana] shoots at the boy. Aahh he [the boy] cries. Then he [the Wayana] climbs into the tree] because another [Tamok] has come, another one who is a little bigger has arrived.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Malomne mëklë ten tikai. Tëlëkenme akon peptapsik hemele hapon, peptapsik tëlëkenme akon. Pëtupëtule, sitplïlimela, ëmekpohpep tëlëpëpata, ëpëpatahpe.</td>
<td>9 Then he rests quiet. A little later another one [Tamok] arrived who is a little bigger [the size of an 11 years old], another who is a little big has arrived. They are magnificent, not ugly, and they wear decorations at their arms, even decorations at their arms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Tumpolep akon, tumpolep akon hemele tïtajihken, tajiihpun ton ton tikaihen.</td>
<td>10 Another [Tamok] appeared, and another one who this time carried a thunder whip, the thunder went boum boum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Malomne têhelekapëi mëklë, tuwëtpon, tïhawunuke upak tapuhu. Itëtopamna tètëhe oplan, oplan, oplan, tåhanki wewepona. Ton, ton, alîmanehepohe.</td>
<td>11 ‘Thunder whip’ is an indigenous metaphor for the gun or harquebus.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tamatkai.


14 “Ipëkëleman mëlè ëtajinkom moh!” ñkailep. Lome epônaka pepta hemele.


16 Lome hek ton kakepîla, ton kakepîla, weve tupkai, îmëpîn tupkai, peptame tewëtìhe îmë katîp.

17 Umiit pepta hemele ilesoman, ilesoman, ilesoman, pepta tajî tonn. Maka.


19 Umm, ñêhe Tamokoja kole tètìhetot katoponpë. Mëlëlëken.

20 Masike ton, ton, ikake tipanatai kaliponotom, ma tanme tekëlënkepsik iwâlë. Uwanma akélënumma.


23 Masike tot tewëhalëi ëutëpona pole. Ëhmélë 23 Then they [the Tamok] went to the [Wayana]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Titëi. Lome pîjai pepta molo, kulimauvuimë enîpo. Pîjai pepta akêlephak. Akêlephak titëi, lome kulimauvuimë enîpo, pîjai pepta, awolemîpin ike tîjolok kem, Tamok ke. Tîjolohkem. Tamohke tîjolohkem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Masike, tîhnële tîmîmtëi, tîhnële tîmîmtëi. Mêklëhle tijumkanehpoi. Tamok kohpe têtîhe molo, Tamok hapon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Inêlëlë Tamokme sike têkuptëi eja, “talëhnë mëwai!” tîkai eja, talanme. “Talëhnë mëwai, talëhnë mumëkja?” tîkai. “Talë iwu mëjëlon, manai têhejen!” tîkai ehejatot, Tamok tom, pîjai jolokon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Mëi umîtîmîn, têwëtîlîlë.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Malonme, antapek molohela têlîhetot. Tîpînkai molo ametak têhalëi tot. Maka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Moloinë tilékemîhpe tot têtîhe; ijasitutpikom, ijasitutpikom mëwihînë, tilékhem pëlëmînë, jemnë, uputpë. Tîkai Tamok ijasitumhakan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Malalë tilékhem, malalë ijasitunkomke tiléêmêpe muletom talan, welîhim wamela hapon têwehamo tiléêmêphe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Mënke Tamok, jolok umîtînmom. Kole, mëhe Tamok, iloptailon, iloptailon, antapek jolok katohme man, mëham Suwisuwi tom.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“Do not do like this next time,” he said [the shaman to the Tamok]. “You have eaten a Wayana, [but] your child is not dead; he is shot [by an arrow] but not dead, whereas the Wayana that you made fall [out of the tree] is dead, eaten by you! Already his dead body is in the stomach of the others [Tamok].”

This is the story of the fierce Tamok, the monstrous piranha, because they resemble the monstrous piranha [with their men-killing teeth].

[Then Kulienpë, the narrator, adds:] Then this story is not long to narrate. On the contrary, the other story that resembles [the Tamok] is long to tell.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wayana omi</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36 Waijana, Tamok ukukëmënanom.</td>
<td>36 Wayana, imitators of Tamok.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 Helëkatïp ukukëmënanom, ukukëmënanom Waijana. Tamotom kunehak mëkja, ukukëmënanom.</td>
<td>37 This is what the imitators did, the Wayana imitators. These were my [Kulienpë] ancestors, the imitators. [Though throughout this story it is written ‘Wayana’, since these are Kulienpë’s ancestors, these were the Upului. Along the Lawa today, it is only Upului who know how to make the Tamok masks].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38 Malalë ikaatìp, kupime iweitopkom katìp helë upokom, hume, ikaatìp, tukukëmëi esike.</td>
<td>38 Like him [Tamok], like the long cloak, till the ground, because this is the way they imitated [the Wayana imitated the Tamok].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39 Malalë taji sjapanëk, sijahek, sija, sijala.</td>
<td>39 Also they had a whip that went in this direction, that way, that way, not that way [not behind him].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 Masike helelë katìp upokom.</td>
<td>40 Also their dress resembled the latter [see above: Tamok story 1].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 Masike Tamokme tuwaitot ëutëpona. Èhmële tuwaitot molo, kohle kalipono tom, tamo tom lëhken tïkena. Tamo tom lëhken tuwai. Malalë tuwai tamokme.</td>
<td>41 So they danced like Tamok in the village. All danced there, a lot off people were there, not just my [Kulienpë] ancestors were there. Only my ancestors danced. Then they danced like Tamok. The following morning, they take care of the house posts, like here [Wanekpata, north of Alawataimë eni, where this story was recorded, was also in construction], they make a lot. They make a community house tukusipan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 Um ëutëna. “Ma, umëjaikala!” Tuwai lëken, maka.</td>
<td>42 They arrived in the village. “Well, I have arrived!” They only dance, done.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43 Malalë hawelemne, pakolo epupëk, sinhapon (Wanekpata), kohle tìhe. Tukusipan pakolo.</td>
<td>43 The following morning, they take care of the house posts, like here [Wanekpata, north of Alawataimë eni, where this story was recorded, was also in construction], they make a lot. They make a community house tukusipan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44 Malalë, tìhe tawai enë. Mëi uptala kapëk. Masike, tèmamine mëwihnë tot, tèmamine mëwihnë tot, ituhtau lëken tèmamine tot.</td>
<td>44 Then, they dig the holes [for the posts]. One [person] is cutting the wood. It is like this they work really, they work hard, and they work only in the forest.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
45 Then they had cut the rafters. A lot of trees were cut for the rafters of the community house *tukusipan*. Then they debark the stems.

46 Moloine kama tikai epu, moloi isihmatop kama tikai.
46 So they finished the work of the posts, so they finished the work of the rafters.

47 Like this the trees and the rafters are cut. Then they made the ceiling, only by splitting [the stems in half]. It is like this.

48 Tamok eitop moloinë tumëkëmei tot tuwai inamolo.
48 Like Tamok those who had arrived there subsequently danced.

49 Tuwai *pìpìpìpìpìpì* ejale tikai aptao lowep pon têtuhoi. Tanìmémëi lëken ilêmêpìla tupohtao sike.
49 They danced and the lightning arrived when one approached it fell suddenly *boum*. We put him back on his feet because he is not dead thanks to his cloak.

50 Mëlëkatip, kunebak tamotom.
50 It is like this, it were the ancestors.

51 Malonme tuwaitot uwai tïkohmamhe petoh. Epïhe têhalëitot, lome helëkatip umosiphakhela. Ëjam tênu, kole ëjam. Ëjam aptala lep, tênepoî lëken.
51 Then they danced all day long and night fell. They went bathing, but it was without jealousy [however, compare with line 53]. They were looking for lice, because there were a lot of lice. Maybe there were no lice, but they were just pretending looking for it.

52 Malalë epïhe tïtëi aptao, mëje tuntulam wëlïi molonkom, pìham malë. Mëlëkatip.
52 Then when they go bathing, the women are bathing there too, with the women (of the village). It is like this.

53 Mala têwëtakilimai, têwëtasikai aptao, têhalëimëiti têpatakêhe. Mëlëkatip tot.
53 Like they are offended, like they are irritated, they return to their own village. They were all like this.

54 “Stop!” they only said. It is like this. We were not that close to the women who were bathing. It is like this.

55 Malonme, uwaheinë. Tuwaïpitë tot Tamokmehle helëkatip èhepëk, lome ijasitunnumnatot, jolokmela sike ijasitunnumna, jemnëmna tïjephela.
55 Then, after having danced. First they danced exactly like Tamok clinging to one another, but they did not have the Power [see story of the evil spirit Tamok causing epidemics of painful heat] because they were not the evil spirits *jolok*, they did not have the heat, they did not have the temperature and people did not have fever.

56 Malalë uputpë ëniklëkula uputpëmna ilêmëla jolokmela sike.
56 Likewise, nobody died because they were not the evil spirits.

57 Jolokme kunehak akenatom, masike tïlomoi, peitopî tïlomoi huwa.
57 [Historical reflection:] The first [Tamok] were like the evil spirits *jolok*, and therefore there was death, and children died. But this was simply to party [to mock, show trickery].

58 Malëla têtawok helëken.
58 Then they returned to their village, in order to rest in their own village.

59 Malonme têhalëimëi tot têpatakêhe, eletaimëi lëken têpatakêhe.
59 They search for liana vines *mami*, they cut the liana vines. Then they certainly cut down the tree and the rafters were cut. Maybe they had returned to look for other things in their village.

60 Mami apëtëmëi, mami apëtse. Malalë tanme wewe isihmatot tom apkëlëi. Talanme ètikompalêpêk têhalëi tot têpatakêhe.
60 They did not stay many nights, how many did they sleep? Maybe several nights. [Indigenous way of counting the number of days by the amount of nights slept.]

61 Kolepsik kïla tïnikhe, tapsik tïnikhe? Tanme kolepsik tïnikhe.
61 They did not stay many nights, how many did they sleep? Maybe several nights. [Indigenous way of counting the number of days by the amount of nights slept.]

62 Well, they returned. Then they were dressed up *upo and okalat* = bark strips to form a dance
costume], like that [referring to the ‘real’ Tamok], dressed like that. The okalat bark strips were long. Like them [Tamok] they [the Wayana] were painted, their faces were hidden.

64 Amongst them there was the weakest who did not have the thunder [see the first small Tamok appearing in line 5], his name was Kuluiwet. He was undoubtedly weak. [Not insignificant is the play of tropes between Kuluiwet and kulaiwat, the clacking end of the whip (line 73).]

65 Only one had the Power of thunder. Kulululun tonkai … budong. Palap palap. [Onomatopoeic sound of the whip. Drawing the whip over the ground… and boum. Drawing the whip over the ground.]

66 The others were weak. Boum, palap palap, only. The others only fell on the ground. Another boum like thrown by thunder. Another boum.

67 By watching these scenes the villagers mocked them, the people of this place, but they did not laugh out loud, simply the villagers. So they did not mock them entirely. [On the danger of laughing at other people, see for example the stories of the howler monkey alawata.]

68 They danced long with a lot of fun because they spent their time building the community house tukusipan they danced a little long as Tamok.

69 Therefore they danced [like Tamok] in another village before building a tukusipan.

70 And so they danced in this manner [like Tamok], they danced and danced, but very long. They danced really long like Tamok, they danced and danced.

71 They danced long with a lot of fun because they spent their time building the community house tukusipan they danced a little long as Tamok.

72 Then the dance stopped and they returned the same way. They just left to return another time while using the whip, maybe it were the same [instruments that Tamok used].

73 Their whips were placed in the water maybe with the sprouts of the Mauritius palm [Kuwait; Mauritia flexuosa] onto which was attached a long line of kulaiwat [Bromelia karatas].

74 Then the tukusipan was almost finished, only a little [work] was left because the roof needed to be finished on the posts made by Alukwa.

75 Likewise, there were Mauritius palm sprouts there. This is the story of the people who imitated Tamok.

76 Therefore they danced [like Tamok] in another village before building a tukusipan.

77 [Reflection on why Tamok whip dance was danced among the Wayana (see also line 71).] “Build a community house tukusipan and imitate Tamok!” they said, the Wayana.

78 Then, because everything is done, it has ended.
They danced the simple [kalau] dance of wihwime, without okalat. Without whip, without boum. They simply danced wihwime.

Then they returned. “Well, we have returned! Of course you will see us again!” they said.

“I want that! I want that, I want that!” the women said who had given them food.

“Of course you will see us again!” they said.

They were working on the basketry and were simply weaving.

Also there were big plates, manioc sifters, beverage sifters, everything.

Also the top had been finished and so it had been entirely done.

Already the community house tukusipan had been finished by those who had cut the lower leaves. Also the top had been finished and so it had been entirely done.

So they danced as they pleased. They danced like in gatherings, maybe tēnkēlu, tule is the name of one kind of tēnkēlu.

So they placed water to wash the hands in the middle of the village when they rested. Likewise when they went washing. Tuprrr…we, when they go washing [their mouth] and to wash their hands. That is all.

Then they brought the backpacks as gift. They had attached one to the other when they returned into [the village].

But first they went round and round [in the village].

They pretended to be shot, tahto, with the liana vines that they had for this purpose like this [like little arrows].

Even the bow of liana vine with which they pretend to shoot, and so they dance. [Note the phonemic resemblance between tuwēi to shoot, and tuwai to dance.]

Then the men of the women [of the village] go about to see the women of the dancers who earlier had slept with their wives.

They went to be painted. [To be painted, the man is lying in the hammock and the woman is sitting next to him to paint all his
Tamo kuntem èheklemai. Tamo tìtèi ten tipitèk ivesitè pîtpè pîtpè tìtèi.

My grandfather [Kulienpë’s grandfather] went to the test. My grandfather went to sleep with the wife of the one who had slept with his wife.

He was painted with the motif by the woman. It is like that.

Then they returned, stating that ‘it’ had not happened. The others intimidated the swingers by saying Sesese hunhuhum, sesese sesese hunhum. This manner of intimidating people remains [until today].

The dancers] only sang, simply sang [they did not worry]. Some had really nice elemi songs, others had less nice songs.

Then they returned, stating that ‘it’ had not happened. The others intimidated the swingers by saying Sesese hunhuhum, sesese sesese hunhum. This manner of intimidating people remains [until today].

There were many singers, innumerously many. I can not count them, and he who could name them is deceased. I have seen him.

To the isatunmatpëk they attach their backpacks onto horizontally placed round woods serving as support, they had a lot of basketry, mats… several mats. All mats.

Also there were big plates, manioc sifters, beverage sifters, everything (see line 86). So this is the inventiveness of the dancers imitating Tamok. These are the basketries of the Tamok dancers. It is like this.

It was like this it went. They left. The baskets were all taken the following morning. All [baskets] were detached.

The people of the village prepared mënknënë fish roasted in palm leave and eaten cold the body with beautiful motifs. A sensual act.

My grandfather [Kulienpë’s grandfather] went to the test. My grandfather went to sleep with the wife of the one who had slept with his wife.

He was painted with the motif by the woman. It is like that.

Then they returned, stating that ‘it’ had not happened. The others intimidated the swingers by saying Sesese hunhuhum, sesese sesese hunhum. This manner of intimidating people remains [until today].

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The people of the village prepared mënknënë fish roasted in palm leave and eaten cold the body with beautiful motifs. A sensual act.
following day], maybe they went fishing in a big body of water. *Mënkuñëme.*

114  Also they boiled [fish].

115  They made *tëtpëta* [fish / meat placed in basket and eaten cold the next day] with all fish and meat.

116  Afterwards they [who had made the basketry] went eating [at the repayment feast].

117  One can not bring backpacks and baskets without compensation, it is like this. Well following this because it has all ended:

118  “It is good!” they said.

119  “Well, let us return! We want that you do the same thing,” they said. “I want that you dance like we have done!” they said.

120  “How?”

121  “Like this!” they said. “Like this, like the Tamok!” they said. “Not just like this, not simply dancing as you please, [Tamok whip dance]. That will be good to hear. Another, another, and another time simply.” They said.

122  [Reflection by Kuliepnë:] “It is great to hear the flutes of the past!” It is like this.

123  Well, that was the story, what else to add, otherwise we will start another story…
APPENDIX D
DEMOGRAPHIC DATA BY LODEWIJK SCHMIDT

Table D-1. Wayana villages in 1940 (data: Schmidt 1942:50-55 [Stahel’s compilation]).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>River</th>
<th># villages</th>
<th>Settlement name</th>
<th>men</th>
<th>woman</th>
<th>children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aletani</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Granpassi (Taponaike)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yanamale</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Makale</td>
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<td>Aliituwa</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Alikaman</td>
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<td>Tapanahoni</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>Mapahoni</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Mulamakpan</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Wayana:</td>
<td>20 villages</td>
<td>358 residents (sic. sum equals 338)</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table D-2. Inhabitants of the Aletani and Mapahoni 1940 (source: Schmidt 1942:50-55).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>River</th>
<th>Settlement name</th>
<th>name</th>
<th>gender</th>
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Renzo Sebastiaan Duin was born in 1974 in Haarlem, the Netherlands. He obtained his bachelor’s degree in archaeology (1992) and subsequently his master’s degree in archaeology and cultural history of indigenous America at the University of Leiden, the Netherlands (1998). Next, he continued fieldwork among the Wayana, open to wherever the field would bring him; dwelling in the frontier zone between French Guiana and Suriname. Case studies on material culture conducted during this long-term fieldwork among the Wayana, along with his dwelling in the mythical and legendary Tumuc-Humac Mountain range, have been published and presented at international conferences. His in-depth ethno-archaeological fieldwork provided data that, at times, did not fit the standard model of tropical forest cultures. In order to make sense of these recorded patterned processes, an interdisciplinary approach and multi-scalar theoretical framework was necessary. Renzo Duin obtained his doctorate at the University of Florida in Gainesville, the United States of America, based on the present dissertation. The defense took place when it was announced to the world that the eminent Claude Lévi-Strauss had departed.