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Amotopoan trails : a recent archaeology of Trio movements

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Chapter 4

AMOTOPOAN *MOBILIA* AND THE VILLAGE FLUX

“Proceeding along a path, every inhabitant lays a trail. Where inhabitants meet, trails are entwined, as the life of each becomes bound up with the other. Every entwining is a knot, and the more that lifelines are entwined, the greater the density of the knot.” Ingold [2009] 2011:148

This Chapter will focus on the *mobilia* of Amotopo or, in other words, all matter in the village that was observed to be not yet permanently fixed in the landscape (cf. the *systemic* context [Schiffer 1976:27]). In a reaction to seeing people as being bounded by static places, it has recently been proposed to perceive people to live their lives *‘through, around, to and from [places]’* (Ingold [2009] 2011:148). An Ingoldian place should be seen as a ‘knot’ of peoples lines of movement. The data presented in this thesis were gathered along similar lines in the course of 2007 and 2008 whereby I extended this perspective in order to encompass all matter that people move. From an archaeological perspective the movements of people and objects are inextricably linked, their ultimate *situated* fix in time and space being the only lens to the dynamics of the past archaeologists wish to study. Archaeologists therefore only perceive fragments of the ultimate ‘knot’ and all movement has to be deduced from these.

The present chapter starts unravelling the trajectories of people and objects (*mobilia*), by distinguishing them into different spheres of movement that are correlated to differing spatial immobilisations in the village. In the first section (4.1) the *mobilia* that will eventually end up on the refuse heaps will be discussed. These reflect the sphere of subsistence *mobilia* that are deposited there on a daily basis. In the second section (4.2) the *mobilia* will be dealt with that can also be found in the toss zone that surrounds the village. I relate the scatters of *immobilia* in this spatial band to the sphere of the exchange *mobilia* which condenses a longer time span. In 4.3, we will focus on the *mobilia* that will ultimately form the traces of the structures in the centre of the village. These I will relate to the sphere of residential *mobilia*. Following the direction dictated by the asymmetry of perception (see the Introduction), the focus will firstly be set on the observed movements and subsequently on the reported movements of objects.

In the final section (4.4) the abovementioned Amotopoan spheres of movement, which together compose the total immobilisation process of the village, will be discussed and concluded.

4.1 The sphere of subsistence *mobilia*

The sphere of the subsistence *mobilia* is marked by the remains deposited on the refuse deposits surrounding the village (see 3.6.4, Fig. 3.31) and reflects the daily movements of the Amotopoans as finally introduced here. The subsistence *mobilia* mark the daily movements that entail procurement of subsistence resources in the immediate surroundings of the village which are predominantly for own consumption. Firstly I will introduce the movers themselves. A marked difference in daily mobility between men and women can be detected necessitating a discussion on gender-related task divisions.

4.1.1 Meet the Amotopoans

The core of the community of Amotopo during 2007 and 2008 consisted predominantly of a single extended family of Okomoyana-Sakëta descent.⁷⁴ The captain of the village is Paneshi Panekke (56y, AMO-01),⁷⁵ born in Panapipa and of Okomoyana descent. His wife Apëhpîn Mami (53y, AMO-02) is of Sakëta descent and was born in Waananpë in Brazil. Their hammocks are in the communal house (ST-01), from the western extension to the end of ISS-1 (see Fig. 4.1).

Together Paneshi and Apëhpîn have four sons: Atinio (39y, AMO-03), Petinia (37y, AMO-10), Atima (34y, TËP-02), and Mëpi (22y, AMO-16). These brothers, all Panekke's, are married with children of their own. With the exception of Atima, who has moved to the Eastern Trio Group in Tëpu, they all reside in Amotopo. Atinio, is married to Rosianne Inesaahpë (40y, AMO-04), the *basja* of Amotopo, also of Okomoyana descent.⁷⁶ Together they have two daughters and one son named Marcel,

74 The descent identities can be seen as subgroups of the Trio language group. These descent identities, (more of them will be mentioned in Chapter 5) were supposedly different linguistic groups that over the course of time have adopted the Trio language. The descent identity appears to be vague and non-fixed, able to change from generation to generation. Be that as it may, these identities are perceived as true identities.

75 In contrast to ethnological modes of referencing relations, it is more interesting, from an archaeological point of view, to include the place of origin in a code. Later on in this chapter, when dealing explicitly with migration, it becomes obvious that this way of coding leads to a convenient and instant comprehension of the totality of movements.

76 A *basja* is an authorised assistant-leader of the captain who is employed by the Republic of Suriname.

which becomes ‘Manais’ in the local lingo (6y, AMO-09).⁷⁷ Of the two daughters Mereo (22y, AMO-05) and Felitia (14y, AMO-08), the elder is married to a Sakëta named Ande Sikiriphe (24y, AMO-06). Mereo has a son named Erinalse or ‘Tuta’ (8y, AMO-07). In 2008 Mereo gave birth to a daughter named Keetje (0y, AMO-21).⁷⁸ In 2008, Atinio and Rosianne were living together with Felitia and Marcel in ST-12 (see fig 4.1).

The second son, Petinia, is married to Senairë Siruwinpë (35y, AMO-11) who is of Sakëta descent. Together with Petinia she has three sons and a daughter. The two sons, Aterie (18y, AMO-12) and Setrick (15y, AMO-

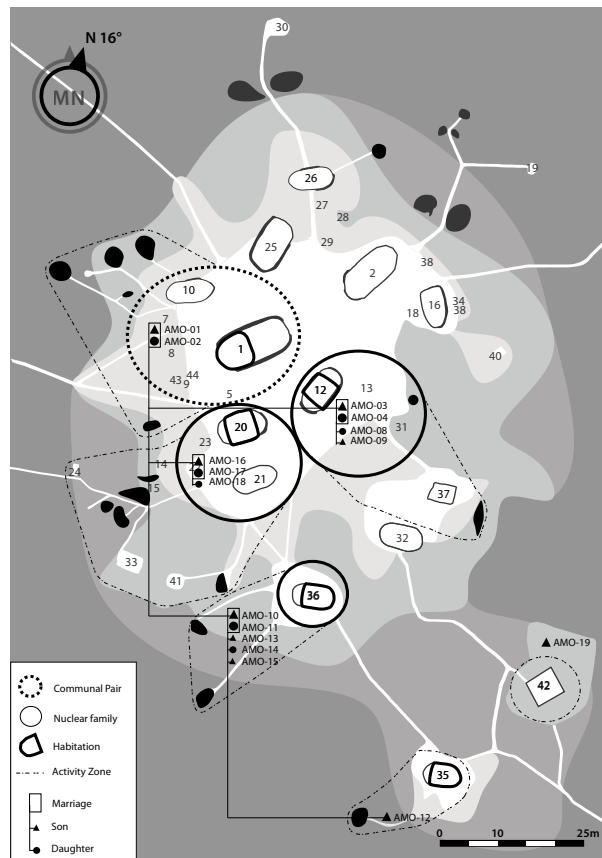


Fig. 4.1: Amotopoan social relations and compounds in 2008.

⁷⁷ The children inherit their mother's surname when their parents are not 'officially' married in the eyes of the Surinamese government. The majority of the married couples are not 'officially' married. Surnames for the Trio were introduced during the early 1960s when the people from the coast came into permanent contact with the Trio. Registration of surnames was required, so they were invented and added to the governmental administration. Only Paneshi and Apëhpın are officially married.

⁷⁸ It may be added here that Keetje (AMO-21) was named after the sister of the present author.

13), are adolescents, the daughter Merissa is a young girl (10y, AMO-14) and the third son, named Meseki (3y, AMO-15), is still a toddler. The eldest son, Aterie, sleeps in his own house, ST-35. Petinia, Senairë, Setrick, Merissa and Meseki sleep in ST-36. The fourth son of the captain, Mëpi, has recently remarried to Sarita Akarasa (20y, AMO-17) of Okomoyana descent, who in 2008 gave birth to their first-born, a daughter named Tërisë (0y, AMO-18). They reside in ST-20. Mëpi has a daughter, Mirena (5y, SAN-07), from his former marriage, who lives with her mother, Meseo (23y, SAN-06) of Sakëta descent, in Sandlanding near Apura.

Next to this core family there are other community members who have a house in Amotopo and claim or are claimed to reside in Amotopo. The first is Sarawa (55y, AMO-20) who is a stepsister of Apëhpîn and is also of Sakëta descent. She has been staying in Sandlanding for the past two years, but ST-25 remains her house. The last member of the Amotopo community is a young Okomoyana named Erijam Numehpë (21y, AMO-19), who is a grandson of Sarawa (AMO-20). He was staying in ST-01 as a guest, while constructing ST-42. Another house (ST-02) was occasionally inhabited by its owner, Paneshi's stepbrother, Pepu Ipajari (58y, RUS-01) and his wife Toke Tashoepuu (60y, RUS-02). The former is the captain of the small village of Lucie (T: *Rusi*), positioned on an island half an hour downstream of Amotopo. He has founded the Trio village of Amotopo together with Paneshi. He briefly stayed in Amotopo in 2008 because of the high floods that had inundated his village.

4.1.2 Task divisions of the Amotopoans

"Gardens have to be slashed and planted by men before women can pick up the products; fish have to be poisoned by men before women can trap them in their baskets; all that is plant and flesh has to be brought back to the settlement by men before women can turn it into food." Dumont 1976:64

Now we will proceed with a discussion of the daily movements of the Amotopoans made in order to fulfil their basic subsistence needs. These movements are dictated by the daily tasks of the Amotopoans which are strictly divided between the males and females. Roughly speaking, there is a tendency for the men to be responsible for the initial contact with any non-cultivated material from outside the village, be it animate or inanimate *i.e.*, men 'initiate'. After this first contact has been made, it is up to

the women to introduce the material into the village and process it further *i.e.*, women cultivate. After this process, all the material is available for men and women equally.⁷⁹

Let us consider three examples so as to illustrate this division. On several occasions I observed that when the men returned from a successful catch, they would throw the fish and/or game out of the canoe onto the rocks of the bathing place near the village. Subsequently the women transported the sometimes numerous fish and game from the bathing place up the steep river bank and then towards the village. The men usually followed them empty-handed. A second example of this division is the acquisition of firewood. The men were observed to chop down specific timbers and cut the tree into large segments. Next the women cut them into smaller segments to subsequently transport the heavy load to the village. The men again return empty-handed. A third example to affirm this initiate/cultivate division, is the observation of the women carrying the manioc from the gardens themselves.⁸⁰

This strict division could derive from a tacit strategy for the men to protect women outside the village (pers. comm. Carlin March 2009). While the women have their hands full, the men who are empty-handed are then able to protect them against sudden threats.⁸¹ By handling the first contact with the 'outside' material, the men initiate the material. Afterwards, the women can introduce the material into the village. By processing it further in the village, it becomes cultivated, made 'inside' or 'socialised', and can then be safely eaten or utilised by all. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that, on several occasions, I observed men carrying in materials without female intervention, too. This occurs, for instance, in the case of hunting, where no single gathering point exists. In other cases, it takes place whenever there is firewood or fish in abundance. Now the men occasionally helped to carry it to the village.

79 This division of tasks according to gender is well known in the anthropological literature of the region (see for example Rivière 1969:42-50; Dumont 1976:64-5; Morton 1984:225; Overing 1986:142-150; Mentore 1987:518-9; McCallum 2001:48-58; Boven 2006:26-8). The awareness of this division is therefore not only down to personal observation, but also recorded. The anthropologist Vanessa Grotti seems to argue against the spatial gendered dichotomy of 'inside' and 'outside' for the Trio inhabiting the Eastern Group and speaks rather of various types of gendered movement: men are 'centrifugal' and women are 'centripetal' (Grotti 2007:181-2). Grupioni also mentions the Trio distinction in gender differences in relation to horticulture (Grupioni 2002:72), but not necessarily its spatial organisation.

80 In the case of Amotopo, the gardens are adjacent to the village and might already be perceived as 'cultivated', since the gardens were originally initiated by the men from the village who chopped down all the trees before burning them in order to prepare cultivation.

81 On one day I was informed that a snake was being killed by one of the Amotopoan men on the path following the women who were carrying goods to the village. This man quickly laid his hands on a random stick so as to kill the snake with a blow before it could bite a child.

In short, men usually guide the mobility of women outside the gardens and village. Amotopoan women bring in the root crops and firewood collected within the cultivated area (the village and its gardens). Men bring in fish, game, fruits and construction materials from beyond this cultivated area. Amotopoan men seem to have the first contact with everything coming from outside the cultivated area of the village and the garden. Within the cultivated area anything can be handled and further processed by women. As we shall see, task division does not necessarily relate to the physical effort or strength needed in the process.

4.1.3 *The procurement of subsistence mobilia*

Firstly we will discuss the mobility patterns of the women and the material they bring back to the village. Seen from a material perspective, one of their tasks is to transport firewood, manioc (L: *Manihot esculenta*) and the sugarcane (L: *Sachharum officinarum*) into the village. The loads they carry on their backs and bring into the village can weigh up to c. 40kg.⁸² Their movements are mainly restricted to the gardens located near the village. Over the course of 25 days, the six women of the village,⁸³ together with the occasional guest, collected an estimated 875 kg of firewood, which was necessary for the preparation of food and drink. Furthermore, they collected manioc with an estimated total of 524 kg and sugarcane (70 kg). This approximate average resulted in quantities of firewood (35 kg), manioc (21 kg) and sugarcane (2.8 kg) *per diem*. The average maximum distance travelled beyond the village clearing is 206 m (disregarding one anomaly of 561 m), a limit imposed by the boundaries of the gardens (see Fig. 4.2). The numbers seems conservative since the rainfall in this period was exceptionally high, destroying a large share of the yield.

82 During the first days of documenting the women's mobility I was able to weigh two backpacks (T: *katari-ton*) with firewood which they considered heavy (37 kg and 38 kg respectively). Soon after these first measurements the weighing scale broke down. I estimated one full *katari* to weigh c. 35 kg, and from then on counted the number of backpacks. All of these numbers should therefore be regarded as estimates and future accurate measurements are necessary.

83 Girls of a young age already fully participate in the daily tasks of the village. At the same time boys of the same age are still practising their hunting skills, in a playful manner, on anything that moves within the village boundaries. Admittedly, the boys in Amotopo, who were still young (5 and 8 years of age), sometimes went along on fishing trips (see also Heemskerk & Delvoye 2007:57). The catch they brought into the village in terms of fish and game seemed negligible. Setrick (AMO-13), aged 15, did contribute substantially and is considered a 'mover' here. The two young girls from Amotopo, Merissa (AMO-14) aged 10 and Felitia (AMO-08) aged 14 years, are both already considered 'movers' in this study since they brought large loads of manioc and firewood from the gardens into the village. Needless to say, the youngest carried less weight.

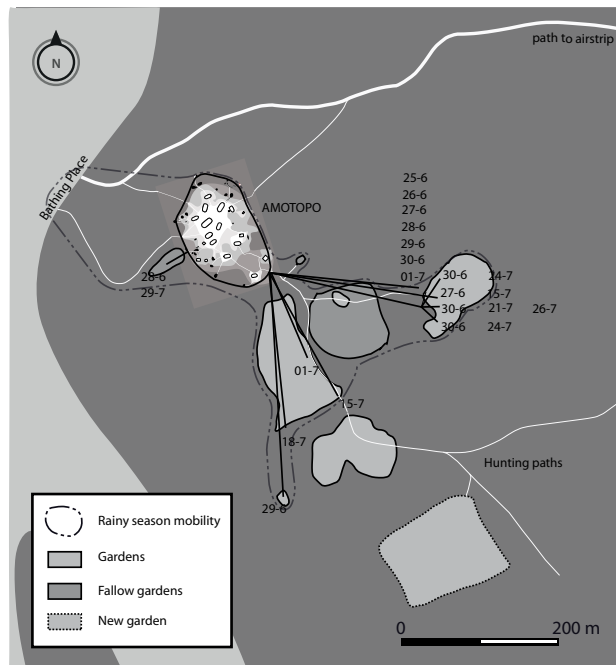


Fig. 4.2: Movements of the Amotopoan women over a period of 25 days.

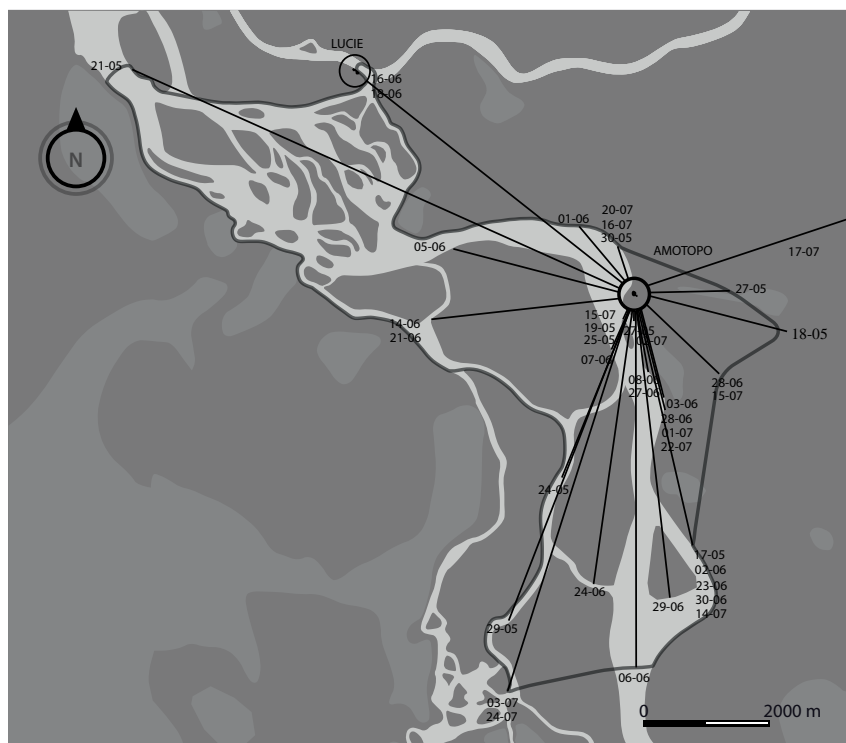


Fig. 4.3: Movements of the Amotopoan men over a period of 57 days.

The men go out fishing and hunting, so the *mobilier* they bring into the village on a daily basis mainly comprise animals and the pieces of fruit they happen to find on the way. I will here focus on the animal component.⁸⁴ Over a period of 57 days these seven men, at times assisted by occasional guests, fished and hunted a total of 320 animals. The majority hereof (n=253), *in casu* 79%, consists of fish (see Fig. 4.5). Here the catfish category dominates: the granulated catfish (T: *Soke*, L: *Pterodoras granulosus*), the manduba (T: *Metara*, L: *Ageneiosus inermis*), the red-tailed catfish (T: *Kinoroime*, L: *Phractocephalus hemiliopterus*) and the tiger shovelnose catfish (T: *Surui*, L: *Pseudoplatystoma fasciatum*). Smaller species such as pacu (T: *Wasitau*, L: *Myleus rhomboidalis*) and piranha (T: *Pone*, L: *Serrasalmus* spp.) were frequently caught.

The other 21% consists of hunted animals (see Fig. 4.4 and Fig. 4.6). Here the mammals dominate: agoutis (T: *Akuri*, L: *Dasyprocta leporine*), pacas (T: *Kurimao*, L: *Cuniculus paca*), howler monkeys (T: *Arawata*, L: *Alouatta seniculus*), armadillos (T: *Kapai*, L: *Dasyus novemcinctus*); a minority consists of birds, such as black curassows (T: *Ooko*, L: *Crax alector*) and guans (T: *Marasi*, L: *Penelope* spp.), and reptiles such as caimans (T: *Ariwe*, L: *Caiman crocodiles*) and iguanas (T: *Iwana*, L: *Iguana iguana*). A daily average of this number can be calculated at 4.4 fish and 1.2 game for all of the seventeen residents combined. The average maximum distance (disregarding a single anomaly of 15.33 km) travelled for these *mobilier* is 2834 m (see Fig. 4.3). The amount of game seems to be overrepresented as the hunting of the rodents was facilitated during this period by the flooding of the islands, which in one instance yielded a very fruitful bounty of twenty agoutis, one paca and seven armadillos.

The surrounding *mobilier* introduced into the village consisted not only of root crops and animals but also of fruits, seeds (for jewellery), craft and construction materials. The men at times brought these into the village returning from hunting trips. Visiting another village also provides men and women with the opportunity of returning with materials that are not present in their own daily range. Atinio (AMO-03), for instance, brought home several backpacks of Brazil nuts (T: *Tuhka*, L: *Bertholletia excelsa* [Teunissen *et al.* 2003]) from a grove he visited near the village of Casuela.⁸⁵ His wife, Rosianne (AMO-04), took the opportunity to harvest jumby beeds (T: *Wētēu*, L: *Ormosia coarctata* [Hoffman 2009:307]) overhanging the river on a trip back from Wanapan. However, cases have also been observed in which trips were organised from Amotopo *specifically* to collect goods, mainly handicraft and construction materials from the direct surroundings. An example of this is a short trip undertaken by

⁸⁴ The Latin references to Trio names of animals are mainly drawn from Teunissen *et al.* 2003.

⁸⁵ See also 2.4.3. Atinio (AMO-03) also brought home two small *tuhka* plants in the hope of growing them at Amotopo (see No. 28 in the horticultural band in Fig. 3.31).

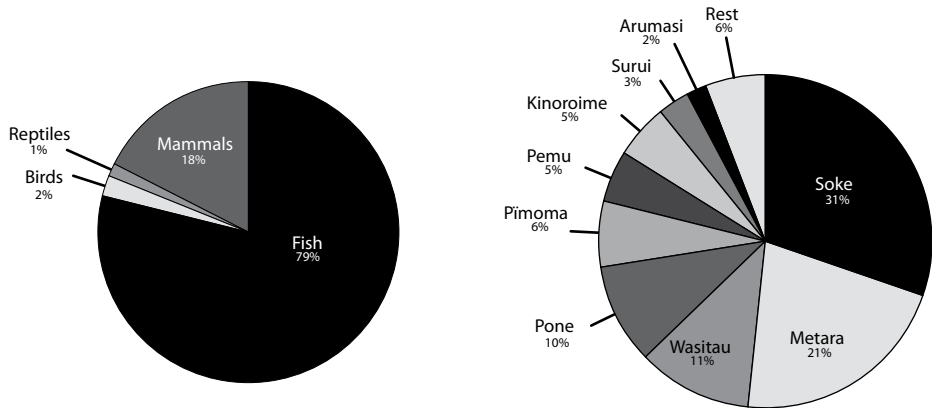
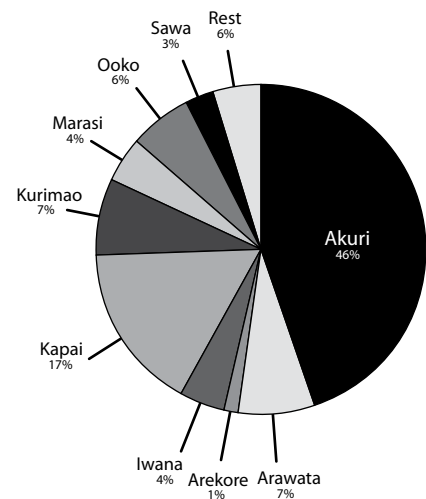


Fig. 4.4 (above): Percentage distribution of individual fish and game (n=320) over a period of 57 days during the rainy season.

Fig. 4.5 (top right): Percentage distribution of fish (n=253) over a period of 57 days during the rainy season.

Fig. 4.6 (right): Percentage distribution of game (n=67) over a period of 57 days during the rainy season.



Paneshi to a grove of Dalibanna palms (T: *Maraja*, L: *Geonoma baculifera* [Teunissen & Noordam 2003; Yde 1965:34]), the leaves of which served as roof thatch (see section 3.4). Similarly, roof posts, wood for an axe handle or the like were specifically sought. The majority hereof had been collected within the daily range as depicted in Fig. 4.3.

4.1.4 Observed flux of procured subsistence mobilia

The greatest part of the above-mentioned collected animals and root crops was consumed and the remains deposited on one of the refuse heaps. The remains of the communal meals were deposited on the refuse heap (RD-1) behind the communal cooking structure (see 3.7.4). The daily accumulations of weeds and cassava peels on top of animal remains keep the stench from its rotting process at bay. Remains of non-communal meals are deposited on the refuse heaps nearest to the individual cooking structures.

Here the *mobilia* are subjected to their final deposition and are transformed into *immobilia*; they become a permanent feature, geographically fixed in the landscape. A small share of the food items, however, was observed to stay ‘mobile’ by being given to inhabitants of other villages in return for other *mobilia*.

Over a total period of 72 days only an estimated 35 kg of manioc (one *katari*), 7 kg of cassava bread and 5 litres of cassava beer were exchanged.⁸⁶ This must be considered a small amount, and can be attributed to a large number of the manioc plants in the gardens having rotted away due to the heavy rains. This had also happened at the Amotopoans’ former village of Kwamalasamutu one year earlier, in 2007. Amotopo had sent their former co-habitants a surplus of 400 kg of manioc. The observed animal exchanges over a period of 72 days showed that 67 individual animals of the entire quantity of fish and game were exchanged.⁸⁷ Apart from a single smoked iguana, all were fish. Considering the daily total average, 0.95 of the 4.40 caught fish was exchanged out of Amotopo. In other words, 22% of all the caught fish left the village.⁸⁸

As the food items show, the remains of the greater share of the procured *mobilia* transform into *immobilia* due to its final deposition on the refuse heaps, in the shape of a.o. cassava peels and the skeletal remains of the animals consumed. However, as we have seen not all the food is consumed within the village boundaries. A part continues as *mobilia* until it becomes immobilised in another village (see 4.3).

4.1.5 Reported seasonal differences

The first issue that springs to mind is the seasonal variation that might have an effect on the daily movements of the Amotopoans. Unfortunately, both of my spells of fieldwork took place during a rainy season (see 2.3). I therefore could not acquire any dry season data to compare with. As reported knowledge is required here, I consulted the Amotopoans who informed me that fruit from the *wanuiṃē* tree (L: Unknown), red sali tree (T: *Arita*, L: *Tetragastris panamensi* [Hoffman 2009:303]) and Maripa palm (T: *Maripa*, L: *Attalea maripa* [Hoffman 2009:302]) start to ripen during the rainy season. Animals that feed on these fruits, like the howler monkey and the spider monkey (T: *Arimi*, L: *Ateles paniscus*), start to grow

86 My 2008 fieldwork period lasted 72 days during which any exchange could be monitored and during which I made trips to two other villages. During these trips I could not track the entire daily mobility in and around Amotopo.

87 Of these 67 exchanged animals, 51 were entire individuals and 16 not. The latter should be understood as, for instance, the exchange of only a fish head or tail.

88 At a certain moment during my fieldwork a large exchange was being prepared that included several smoked and grilled mammals. This exchange, however, was cancelled at the last minute when it appeared that the small airplane, the intended vehicle of transport, was not continuing to its expected destination.

fat and, and due to this, they become desired game. The tapir (T: *Pai*, L: *Tapirus terrestris*),⁸⁹ the iguana and the black curassow are also said to make good catches during the rainy season. It should be remembered that the highest level of water in the rainy season comes to flood the islands in the river. These island animals (armadillos, agoutis) incur the loss of land and, while fleeing the floods, become an easy catch. Well aware of this, the Amotopoans exploit this situation. Next to the animals mentioned, Heemskerk and Delvoye also add the giant anteater (T: *Masiwe*, L: *Myrmecophaga tridactyla*), the agouti⁹⁰ and the caiman to this rainy season list (2007:58).⁹¹ The red-tailed catfish, the granulated catfish and the tiger shovel-nosed catfish become the desired rainy season catch once the water rises.

During the dry season the water level drops. Now fish, *in casu* the anyumara (T: *Aimara*, L: *Hoplias macropthalmus*), peacock bass (T: *Tukunari*, L: *Cichla monoculus*) and pacu become the desired species. On the land, Sauari nuts (T: *So*, L: *Caryocar nuciferum* [van Andel 2000:48-9]) and Macca nuts (T: *Murumuru*, L: *Astrocaryum sciophyllum* [see Hoogbergen 1996:219]) start to ripen. According to the Amotopoans, this mainly attracts the paca, the collared peccary (T: *Pakira*, L: *Tayassu tajacu*) and the white-lipped peccary (T: *Poinjeke*, L: *Tayassu pecari*). The deer (T: *Wikapau*, L: *Odocoileus virginianus*; *Mazama americana*)⁹² become desirable, too, and are said to feed on flowers at this time. Heemskerk and Delvoye confirm this (as to the *Odocoileus virginianus*), although they add that at this time a deer is eaten because of their leanness, since their fat is not much preferred. They add the savanna tortoise (T: *Oi kurija*, L: *Geochelone carbonaria*) to the list of the sought-after dry season animals. The eggs of the iguana, which become available during the dry season, are considered a true delicacy. Heemskerk and Delvoye describe how the falling water level also offers the hunter an advantage by forcing all animals to find their way towards a small remaining volume of sweet water, in this way becoming easy prey (2007:59).

89 Heemskerk and Delvoye state that tapirs are only caught if enough hunters are available to transport the animal (Heemskerk & Delvoye 2007:58). This can be corroborated by my own data, since the Amotopoan men also shot a tapir on one occasion. Since the heavy game could not be lifted out of the water by the two young hunters, it could not be brought to the village and was considered lost in the river.

90 The agouti is reported to be an easier catch after it has eaten fermented fruits, rendering it somewhat 'drunken' (Heemskerk & Delvoye 2007:58).

91 It should be mentioned that Heemskerk & Delvoye reflect on the seasonal variety of the Trio village Sipaliwini near the savanna.

92 According to Teunissen *et al.* the Trio name *Wikapau* refers to the *Odocoileus virginianus* while the Trio name *Kajake* refers to the *Mazama americana* (Teunissen *et al.* 2003). In Amotopo they seemed to refer to both species with the term *Wikapau* and only to the smaller *Mazama gouazoubira* by the Trio name *Kajake*.

4.2 The sphere of exchange *mobilia*

The next sphere of the *mobilia* to be dealt with is that of the exchange items of Amotopo. These *mobilia*, when ultimately broken or out of use, are mainly discarded in the toss zone (see 3.2.7, see Fig. 3.31). The durable exchange *mobilia* are, due to their nature, dominant within the archaeological discipline.⁹³ Within archaeology this group is normally comprised of lithic, shell ceramic and metal objects. As we will see this category is expanded in Amotopo by way of the many plastic objects added to the assemblage. The group of perishable organic artefacts are, needless to say, archaeologically the more ephemeral one, namely those made of materials such as wood, resin, cotton, vines, feathers and grasses.

A different perspective is adopted with regard to this sphere of *mobilia*. In order to incorporate the social element, social network tools serve to visualize the movements of goods on both the intra- and inter-village levels. However, since we are discussing the movements of goods between social nodes here and not the static dyadic relations, we might as well emphasize this difference. Ingold's term 'meshwork' seems to be a good replacement for 'network' emphasising its dynamic content. As stated in his recent publication he aims to reveal that which lies

"behind the conventional image of a network of interacting entities, what [Ingold] call[s] the meshwork of entangled lines of life, growth and movement. This is the world we inhabit. [Ingold's] contention, throughout, is that what is commonly known as the 'web of life' is precisely that: not a network of connected points, but a meshwork of interwoven lines" (Ingold 2011a:63, see also Ingold 2007:80-82).⁹⁴

Ingold's aim is to undo what he calls the 'inversion' of movement into nodes. My aim here is instead to shed light on the movements of objects *between* different social and spatial nodes. The latter are prerequisite and necessary archaeological markers. Indeed the flux of *mobilia* through a certain site should be seen as 'place-binding' trajectories (Ingold 2011a:148). However, when a certain artefact stops moving, it becomes an archaeological immobile node and thus its movement becomes inevitably inverted

93 In fact, it needs to be acknowledged that 'perishable' and 'durable' are in fact two opposing extremes of a continuing spectrum (Drooker 2001:5).

94 Ingold borrowed the term 'meshwork' from the philosopher Henri Lefebvre (Ingold 2007:80).

into a node.⁹⁵ Since I will discuss exchange *mobilia* that are all still in flux, it would here be apt to speak of ‘meshworks’ instead of ‘networks’, since we are dealing here with a snapshot of temporarily convening artefact trajectories.⁹⁶ In the first meshwork analysis, the exchanges (movements of objects between social nodes) *observed* during fieldwork are captured. This will incorporate part of the subsistence *mobilia* as discussed in 4.1. The second meshwork analysis will focus on the *reported* movements of Amotopoan objects which condense a time scale of up to, say, 30 years. In both cases the *mobilia* were still in flux, so no final spatial nodes could be postulated. Although it is assumed here, following observation, that some of these *mobilia* will eventually end up in the toss zone surrounding the village.

4.2.1 Observed flux of exchange *mobilia*

The first network is based on observed artefact exchanges that took place between Amotopians and their exchange partners outside the village during 3 months in the rainy season of 2008. The nodes in the network are social actors both inside and outside the village of Amotopo. The movements of objects between these actors are visualized by directed ‘edges’ which are the arrows in the meshwork.⁹⁷ This meshwork of exchange represents a time slice of on-going, delayed reciprocal actions; therefore, in most instances only one ‘half’ of the exchange process could be recorded (see Appendices H and G). Whenever an exchange from one person to another comprised several items, these were all counted individually. In case of exchanged animals all were counted separately, even if it concerned certain body parts of an animal (in line with the Minimum Number of

95 At present Ingold seems to bring the pendulum to the middle, and sees a co-existence of a meshwork and a network. Referring to the archaeologist Carl Knappett Ingold states “should we not also be prepared to recognise that fluidity has its limits, its stoppages and its moments of consolidation? ‘Up close’ and immersed in the action, things may seem fluid, but what if we were to step back and take a longer and more measured view?” (Ingold 2011b:5). In another recent publication Knappett states that objects in networks and things in meshworks need not be opposed, but should be seen as different dimensions of the same process, the one being an analytical dimension, the other being experiential (Knappett 2011:40).

96 In a forthcoming publication together with Angus Mol, I discuss the same data in two *network* analyses that were interpreted in terms of power relations (Mol & Mans 2013). Here I will apply the same analyses, but will speak instead of *meshworks* since the focus is here explicitly on the movements and flux of objects. In both cases Visone software is utilised (www.visone.info).

97 The arrows which represent the movement of objects are ascribed a value from 1 to 4: the value ‘1’ was ascribed to the movement of durable non-container items such as machetes, axes or even nylon bird nets; the value ‘2’ was ascribed to the movement of durable container items including all metal pans and plastic bottles and bags; the value ‘3’ was given to movements of animals ranging from living pets to dried, salted or smoked animal parts; and finally the value ‘4’ was ascribed to the movement of organic (botanical) objects including items such as cassava products, arrow reeds and beads made from seeds.

AMOTOPOAN TRAILS

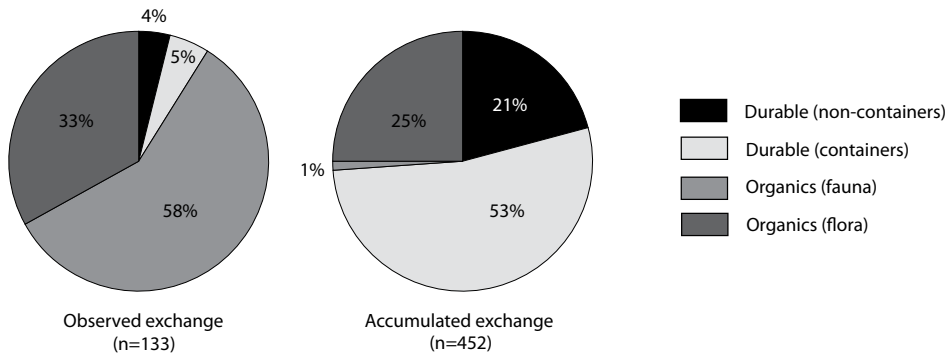


Fig. 4.7: The separate categories of objects of both observed (L) and accumulated Amotopoan exchange (R).

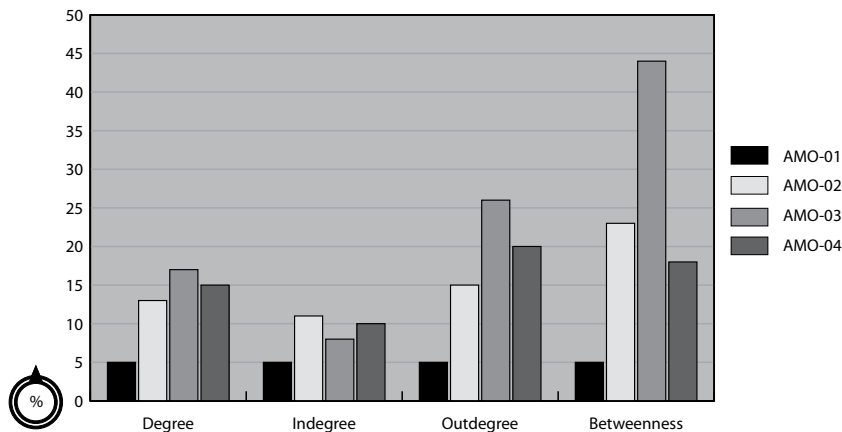


Fig. 4.8: The different calculations reflecting the relative positions of four of the social nodes in the meshwork of the observed exchange.

Individuals [MNI] approach). For a number of botanical gifts a further differentiation was made.⁹⁸ In this way a total of 133 exchange items could be differentiated (for a breakdown into types of objects see Fig. 4.7, L).

The 133 object arrows show the movement of objects between 33 social nodes of whom eight were inhabitants of the village of Amotopo. Four of these inhabitants were selected for further analysis testing their intra-site centrality in the meshwork, namely captain Paneshi (AMO-01) and his wife Apēhpīn (AMO-02), their eldest son Atinio (AMO-03) and

⁹⁸ In only a few instances was a large botanical exchange object divided into smaller units in order to make its value apparent in the network. For instance, the incidental case of a substantial exchange item of 35 arrow reeds was documented in the network as seven separate gifts, since the smallest exchange of reed observed was five arrow reeds.

his wife and *basja* Rosianne (AMO-04). Together they form the two most central marital pairs that formally lead the village. In describing the exchange of items, it soon became clear that the exchange of animals is a crucial part of the observed exchanges (see Fig. 4.7, L). All of the fish and game in Amotopo was caught by the men and was handed to the women for preparation. Fish or game meant to be given away was seen being prepared by either men or women.

The captain of the village in this case, however, is not so much occupied with hunting and fishing, but mostly concerned with collecting, craftwork, teaching, preaching and leading the village. Likewise, in the meshwork analysis, Paneshi (AMO-01) appeared less active in exchanges, which is reflected by his low centrality with respect to all ‘centrality degree’ analyses (see Fig. 4.8).⁹⁹ His wife, Apëhpîn (AMO-02), appears to play a far more important role. The network knowledge of the exchange spheres, especially regarding the observed food exchange, resides with her and to a lesser extent with her daughter-in-law (AMO-04). Apëhpîn is the one who knows who ought to receive what (see also Thomas 1972:23-24). In this case, exchange, and hence the movements of objects, is not only a man’s affair but is in part mediated by women: the latter have an influence on the decision-making process of the exchange ‘inside’ the village; the men subsequently perform the actual movement of objects ‘outside’ the village.

Atinio (AMO-03) provides the bulk of all the fish and game to his fellow Amotopoans and even to actors outside the village, which results in a high ‘outdegree centrality’ (see Fig. 4.8).¹⁰⁰ The many object movements

99 A degree centrality analysis is the most basic analysis of social networks and is based on the total number of edges connecting to a certain node, which can then be analysed in relation to the degree centrality of other nodes in the network (see Koschützki *et al.* 2005:20). In the presented meshwork, this degree shows how actively a person is involved in the movement of objects. Working with meshwork data (based on directed edges or ‘arrowed’ movement), we also looked specifically at two other degree analyses. Indegree centrality is calculated by adding up the incoming edges of a certain node, while outdegree only counts those edges that leave the node. Translated to our meshwork, it could be said that a person with the highest indegree is the greatest receiver of objects. The person with the highest outdegree is he or she who is the greatest giver of objects. Next to these degree analyses also the betweenness centrality of nodes is used (Koschützki *et al.* 2005:29-31). Having a relatively high betweenness centrality means being on many of the shortest paths between nodes relative to the other nodes. The person with the highest betweenness centrality therefore has the most face to face exchanges with different people and can be called the middle-man in terms of exchanges and object movements.

100 Although I could observe most of the exchange of fish and game from Atinio to his wife and mother, I could not oversee what game and fish they, specifically Apëhpîn, would receive from her other sons. Since I did not observe her husband Paneshi hunt himself, it is here assumed that Atinio provided the bulk of fish and game to both his wife Rosianne and his mother Apëhpîn, which they subsequently redistributed, the exchanges of which I could observe. Although I focus here explicitly on these four individuals, it could well be that her betweenness degree might be higher and that of her son, Atinio, lower.

in which he is actively involved, as is shown in the meshwork, is the result of his encounters outside Amotopo with many people some of whom exclusively exchange with him. This is reflected in a high betweenness centrality level. Regarding the flux of exchange items it suggests he acts as middle-man between Amotopoans and non-Amotopoans. He has the most face to face interactions with different actors in and outside Amotopo and is responsible for the bulk of the flux of *mobilia*; he is a vital part in this Amotopoan meshwork (see Fig. 4.9).

Atinio (AMO-03) not only functions as a middle-man for the relatives within his own village, but also for several villages located to the south and the north of Amotopo. For instance, although not incorporated in the current dataset, there is a long-standing tradition of inter-tribal exchange between the Waiwai and the Trio that plays a role in Amotopoan

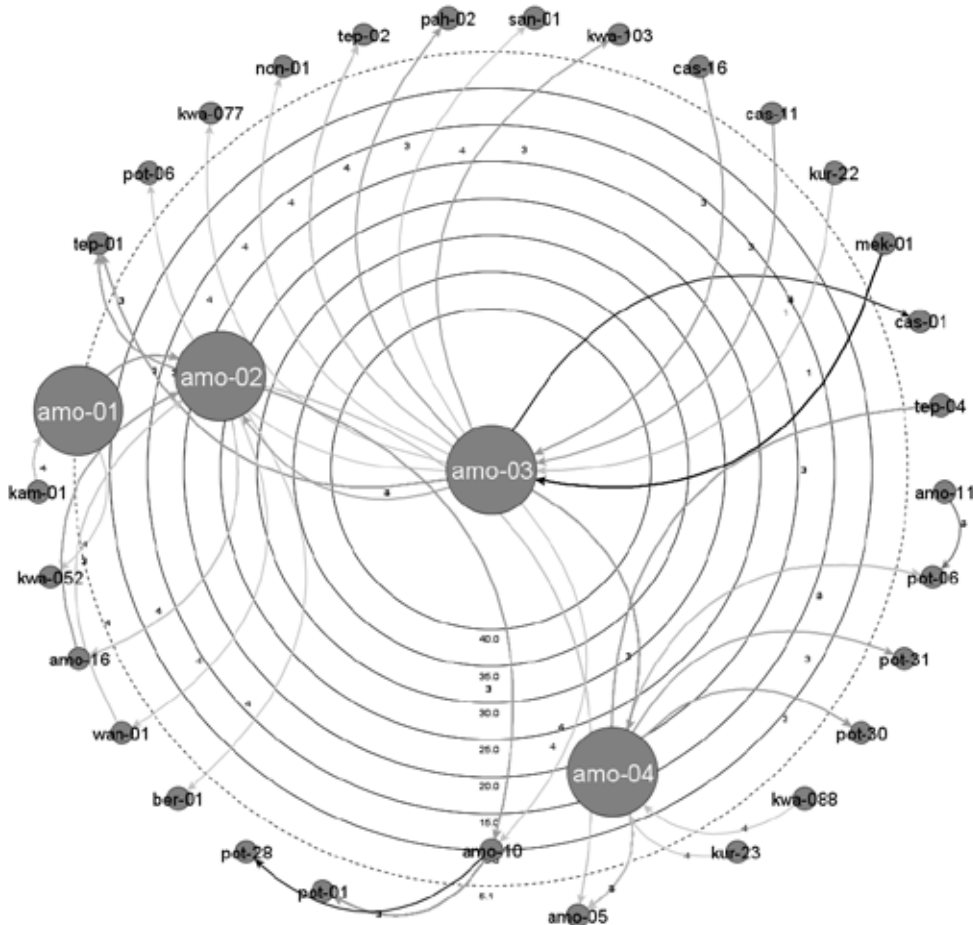


Fig. 4.9: The observed exchange network of the Amotopoans during the rainy season of 2008, showing the relative level of betweenness.

interactions. Atinio (AMO-03) contributes to these interactions by receiving hunting dogs and manioc graters from the Waiwai village of Casuela and subsequently taking them to the Maroons near the coast, in return for manufactured goods from Paramaribo (see 4.2.3; see also Howard 2001:229).

Several conclusions can be drawn from this meshwork. The first is that captain Paneshi (AMO-01), the main official political figure, plays only a minor role in the sphere of exchange mobilia, and that his eldest son is the one who is mainly active in this sphere (cf. Butt-Colson 1973:7). The two wives (AMO-02 and AMO-03) are more at the receiving end of the exchanges than their husbands (see Fig. 4.8). This is partially because they receive, prepare and redistribute animals for exchange, which they in turn have for the largest part received from Atinio (AMO-03). Subsequently they also exchange a portion of their own acquisitions, processed root crops and seeds. Remarkably, the Amotopoans gave far more than they received within the observation period. This can be explained by the fact that no other people hunt and fish in this area and therefore the yields are high. It can also partially be due to the rainy season: many fish typical for this season are caught (see 4.1.5). This situation is exploited in order to produce a surplus of food for exchange purposes. This appeared to be Amotopo's exchange specialization during the rainy season of 2008.

4.2.2 *Reported flux of accumulated exchange mobilia*

The second meshwork has a more specific spatial intra-site context that concentrates not on the observation of exchange, but on the accumulation of *mobilia* in houses. In 2008, nine of the sixteen large structures were in use (see Fig. 4.1). An object inventory was made of six of these structures (see Fig. 4.10).¹⁰¹ These included two habitation structures (ST-12 and ST-20), three kitchen structures (ST-10, ST-21 and ST-37) and a storage structure (ST-22). All six structures discussed in 4.2.1 are owned by the two aforementioned central marital pairs (AMO-01 & AMO-02, AMO-03 & AMO-04). Inside these six structures a total of 452 objects were inventoried (see Appendices I and G). The inventoried structures can be divided into: (a) a group made up of the habitation structure ST-20, kitchen structure ST-21 and storage structure ST-22. These form the first compound (*sensu* Siegel 1990:338) and belong to Paneshi (AMO-01) and

101 The other three structures were not inventoried due to the fact that they belonged to new Amotopoans with whom a strong bond of trust with the researcher had not yet developed.

his wife Apēhpīn (AMO-02),¹⁰² (b) a compound made up of the habitation structure ST-12 and kitchen structure ST-37, both belonging to the second household formed by Atinio (AMO-03) and his wife and Rosianne (AMO-04) and (c) the communal cooking structure ST-10, which serves all.

In essence, the four social nodes in the meshwork (AMO-01 & AMO-02, AMO-03 & AMO-04) form the core group of Amotopo. Atinio (AMO-03), while representing the four, was asked about each of the 452 objects: Had they acquired them themselves? Had they received them from someone else (for a division into types of objects, see Fig. 4.10).¹⁰³ In the latter case, he was asked from whom the object was received, to whom it was given and where it was given. As to the total of 452 inventoried objects, for 98 (21%) of them it could no longer be recalled how they had ended up inside their structures. As to 76 objects (17%) it was remembered that these were procured or purchased and brought into the village by Amotopos themselves. As to the remaining 282 objects (62%) they remembered that these were received either as a gift or through exchange with others. This number is applied in the present meshwork. The result of this inquiry is an insight into the accumulation of exchange *mobilier* temporarily stationed in the habitation and cooking structures of these four actors.¹⁰⁴

In this meshwork of accumulated objects it appears that Apēhpīn (AMO-02), the captain's wife, was involved in most of their trajectories as is reflected in her highest centrality degree (Fig. 4.14). In this respect, her husband, captain Paneshi (AMO-01) on the other hand was the least involved in the exchanges. His outdegree, however, testifies that the little

102 Although these were the possessions of the captain and his wife, their youngest son Mēpi (AMO-16) his wife Sarita (AMO-17) and their daughter Tērise (AMO-18) were sleeping in ST-20 in 2008. Instead captain Paneshi and Apēhpīn slept in their hammocks in the western extension of ST-01, the communal house. That being said, almost all objects in the ST-20, ST-21 and ST-22 were their belongings.

103 The structured interviews for the meshwork data were conducted with Atinio (AMO-03). He appeared to know who had given what object to whom as to the majority of the objects, probably due to the fact that he played a central role in the movement of most objects. Although it is true that marital pairs form economic units in exchanges (see Howard 2001:39), individuals were mentioned when the question was asked who the present owner of a certain object was. When it came to objects he did not know he asked his mother (AMO-02), his father (AMO-01) or his wife (AMO-04).

104 It should be stated that the objects inside the habitation structures (within the wall-planks) were not inventoried due to the fact that I had previously realised that this was entering a very private circle. I considered myself intrusive enough already and decided not to cross that boundary of privacy. This implies that any private possessions inside the house could potentially and probably be older and more valuable. The objects inventoried in the habitation structures were predominantly found at the back of the habitation structures, outside the enclosed interior. In addition, one could say that true valuables nowadays are, for instance, a watch, an outboard engine or a shortwave radio. None of these were found inside the inventoried structures.

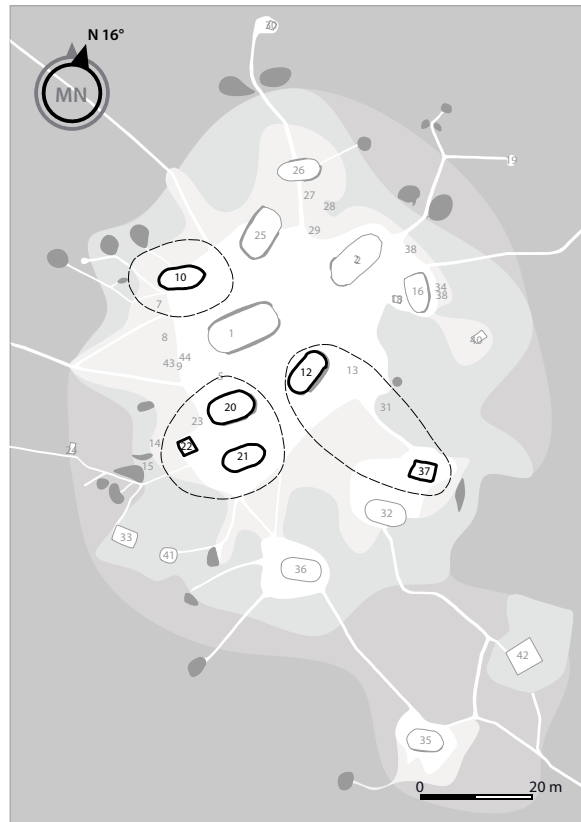


Fig. 4.10: Amotopo and the six inventoried structures.

involvement he had was mainly on providing objects to his wife. Their eldest son Atinio (AMO-03) had the highest outdegree (Fig. 4.11). This is probably due to the fact that he is the one provisioning predominantly his mother and his wife, with the most *mobilia* which he acquired through exchange. With the exception of some objects which the wife of the eldest son (AMO-04) gave her mother in law (AMO-02), the Amotopoan women in general are not ‘providers’ but ‘receivers’ of *mobilia*, most of which are durable containers (see Fig. 4.7 R), via the men.¹⁰⁵ When plotting the accumulated *mobilia* in a meshwork it becomes clear that Apēhpīn (AMO-02) is at the receiving end of the bulk of exchanges; the movement of many objects is temporarily paused in her possession (see Fig. 4.12). This corroborates the results of the meshwork constructed from the observed exchanges.

¹⁰⁵ In the 1960s Peter Rivière also noted that women had more possessions than the men, because of the many utensils necessary for cassava production and other food preparations (1969:40).

AMOTOPOAN TRAILS

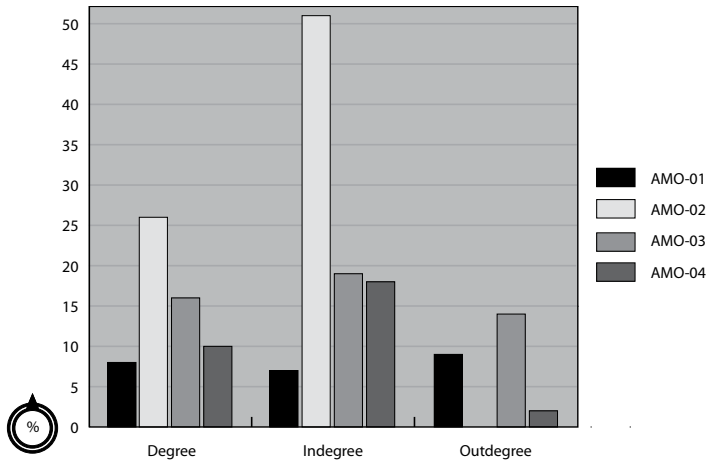


Fig. 4.11: The different calculations reflecting the relative position of four of the social nodes in the analysis of the accumulated exchange.

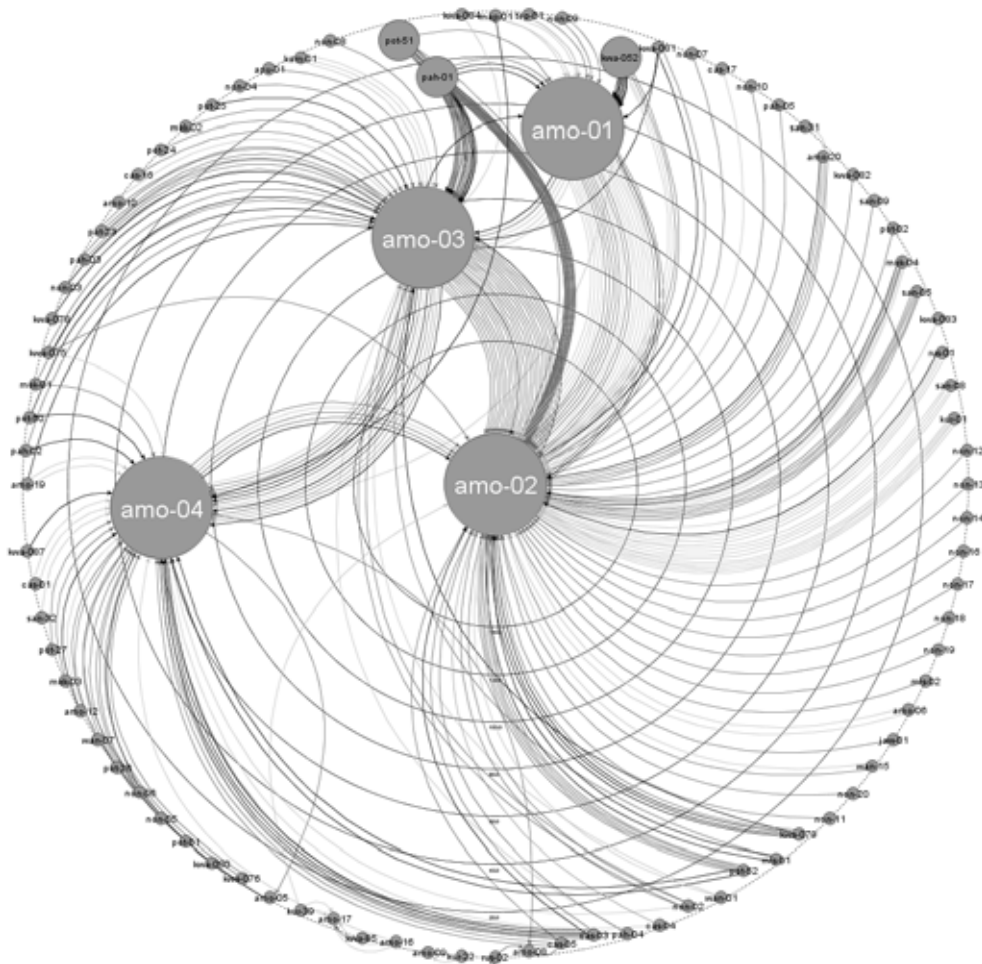


Fig. 4.12: The accumulated exchange network of the Amotopoans in 2008, showing the absolute level of degree.

In sum, the two meshworks of Amotopo show that the captain (AMO-01) is neither responsible for exchanges, nor the most important meshwork actor in the studied spheres of exchange *mobilia*. Atinio (AMO-03) on the other hand appears to be the person who predominantly exchanges with outsiders, as reflected in his high betweenness centrality for observed exchanges and degree centrality for accumulated goods. In fact one can say he is the middle-man between Amotopians and outsiders. Antinio appears a driving force behind the movements of objects in and out of Amotopo. Additionally, the fact he has a high outdegree centrality in both meshworks shows that he gives away many objects and does not possess many objects himself. The female actors, Apëhpîn (AMO-02) and Rosianne (AMO-04), have an unexpectedly high degree centrality in both meshworks and a relatively high betweenness centrality in the meshwork of observed exchanges. This is because they process the food that comes into the village before it is redistributed. In terms of reported exchange they are at the receiving end of most *mobilia*.

Between these two meshworks a difference can be observed between perishable exchange *mobilia* and durable exchange *mobilia*. The exchange of botanical and faunal objects seem to approach the most recent face-to-face exchange meshwork of a village, whereas the durable *mobilia* together condense an accumulation of multiple exchange networks. Let us take a look at the oldest object for which a context was known. It concerned a metal pot which Apëhpîn (AMO-02) received from the missionary Claude Leavitt (NON-09) in Alalapadu in 1967. This object, which reflects an exchange element of the Alalapadu network of the 1960s, subsequently moved to Kwamalasamutu with its owner, who still uses it in Amotopo. In order to calculate the effect of this I have plotted the approximated years from when these objects were acquired. This was possible with regard to 179, *i.e.*, 63% of all the exchanges.

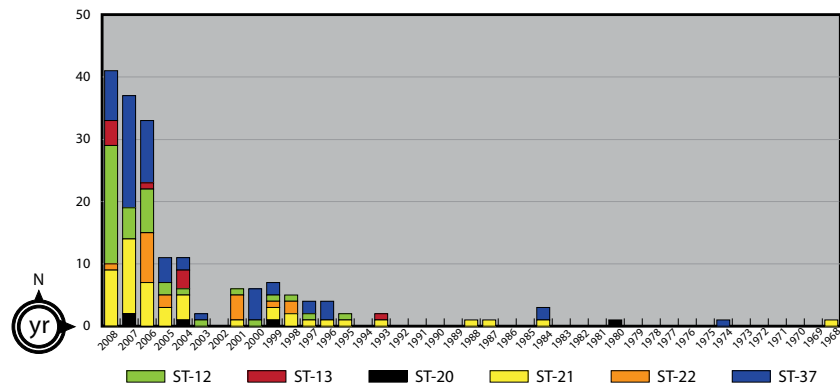


Fig. 4.13: The present location of inter-village mobilia and when they were approximately received.

Of these 179 objects everything before 2001 can be seen as most probably brought along with the residential move from Kwamalasamutu to Amotopo. In total now we are dealing with 44 objects which is 25% of the total of 179 objects for which an approximate year could be given. There are only two objects from Alalapadu, the other 42 objects represent the Kwamalasamutu exchange network of their owners (see Fig. 4.13 between 1975 and 2001). Although the 2001-2008 acquisitions show 75% of all the accumulated goods, a great deal of the newly acquired items is still in flux and a great deal will be exchanged on. The oldest durable objects, the ones the Amotopians use most frequently, seem most likely to be discarded the earliest in the new site, over-representing former exchange networks in the archaeology of the new village. Durable exchange *immobilia* therefore potentially come to represent a sequence of networks that predates the investigated archaeological site.

4.2.3 Reported information on different exchange objects

In the two meshworks, data were applied that can be considered snapshots of a totality of village object movements. Both are quantitative reports of exchange *mobilia* trajectories in the village in 2008. However, due to the specific foci of the two meshworks, the movements in a short period of time and specific temporary locations, there was as yet no room for individual object histories. Here I will take an approach in an attempt to contextualise these analyses with more reported information on some of these object trajectories from and to Amotopo. It will contextualise the goods themselves and their inter-site movements as seen from Amotopo. The earlier archaeological division of botanical and faunal perishables and durable containers and non-durable containers will be upheld.

4.2.3.1 The exchange of botanical objects (perishable)

The most fleeting group of objects are from the viewpoint of archaeology, those made of botanical perishables. Objects such as bows and arrows, resins, plaited objects, nuts, seeds and root crops belong to this group. For this group of objects the people seem most reliant on their immediate surroundings, but, as it appears for Amotopo, also very much on exchange. It turned out that the exchange of perishable crafts is very much at the heart of the Trio exchange sphere.

Amotopo receives almost all of its plaited objects from other villages. I observed during my first fieldwork period how the Amotopians took on board two manioc sieves (T: *Manare*) and two manioc squeezers (T: *Matapi*) in Sandlanding on their way back to their village. Apëhpïn had ordered these from Maita (SAN-08). In return she gave 25 kg of processed baked manioc (T: *Kajama*) and two Waiwai manioc grater boards

(T: *Simari*). Other examples come from the object inventory. In 2007 Apëhpïn (AMO-02) received two manioc squeezers from Santana (KUR-01), for which 20 kg of sugar was given in return. In 2008 manioc squeezers and sieves were also obtained from Casuela, for which fishing nets were given in return.

Another plaited object to reach Amotopo through exchange is the fire-fan (T: *Sipari*). Apëhpïn was given a fire-fan by Kasa (WAN-15) which she exchanged for a 1.5 litre bottle filled with salt, a similar bottle containing crushed dried peppers and a t-shirt. Rosianne received a fire-fan made by Mani (KWA-075) in exchange for a plastic bucket. Likewise, in 2006, she received a fire-fan from Santana (KUR-01) in return for a pack of batteries. From Arapahtë (WAN-01) a fire-fan was obtained for which Atinio gave back 10 kg of processed cassava (T: *Kajama*). Later, when documenting the objects in the structures, I encountered several plaited objects also made by Paneshi (AMO-01), Pepu (RUS-01), Ande (AMO-06) and Erijam (AMO-19). I then realised that in Amotopo the knowledge was actually present to produce a number of these plaited objects and was informed that they chose to exchange these goods with people in other villages, because ‘it is family’.

Further examples of botanical exchange items are the bow and arrow. The Trio make use of the bow and arrow on a daily basis, alongside shotguns, mainly for hunting iguanas and fish. In order to make a bow and arrow you need several resources: bow wood, arrow reed, an arrow point, resin, rope and feathers. The latter two can be found in the vicinity of the village. The fibres of silk grass (T: *Wirawaito*, L: *Bromelia alba* [Teunissen *et al.* 2003]) are twined into a rope. Paneshi (AMO-01) grows several plants of this species near the village (No. 29 in Fig. 3.31); he is skilled in twining. The feathers are mostly taken from the black curassow, the meat of which is regularly consumed. The arrows are often decorated with small feathers of the white-throated toucan (T: *Kijapoko*, L: *Ramphastos tucanus*). The arrow points consist of small pieces of iron bars which they have brought from the former village. I once observed how Atinio (AMO-03), on a visit to Kuruni, received a piece of bow wood (T: *Wirapa*, L: *Piratinera* sp. or *Brosimum* sp. [Teunissen *et al.* 2003]) from Tarïjasi (KUR-22). It was presented to him so that he could make a bow for his son Marcel (AMO-09). Later it became clear to me that the Amotopoans also have a bow wood tree in the vicinity of their village. Arrow reed on the other hand (T: *Pireumë*, L: *Gynerium sagittatum* [Teunissen *et al.* 2003]) does not grow in Amotopo. I was informed that they are starting to grow it in

Casuela, but that it is still of little importance. For the past years they have acquired arrow reed through trading partners in Kwamalasamutu.¹⁰⁶

The resin *mani* (L: *Symphonia globulifera* [Teunissen *et al.* 2003]), which is applied in tar for ropes, allegedly travelled the furthest. Atinio (AMO-03) obtained the *mani* from Eimmun (MAP-01), a Waiwai living on the Brazilian Mapuera River (see also Howard 2001:229). Atinio met Eimmun in Kwamalasamutu and informed me he had acquired the *mani* in a bamboo tube (c. 80 cm/ ø 4.5 cm) from him. In addition, Atinio was also presented with a piece of *barata* (L: *Manilkara bidentata* [Teunissen *et al.* 2003]) which was stored in a smaller bamboo tube (c. 40 cm/ ø 3 cm). The resin *barata*, applied to shaft arrow points into the arrow reed, was given by Atinio (AMO-03) to his father (AMO-01), who in turn gave half of the *barata* to his brother Pikiku (KAM-01). Over the years Atinio has presented pieces of this *mani* (c. 10 cm) to his younger brothers Petinia (AMO-10) and Atima (TĒP-05), to Pono (KUR-12), Tina (CAS-04) and a large piece of 40 cm to Kujimpë (KWA-079). Amotopo obtained new *mani* from Casuela in exchange for fishing line and fish hooks.

Several other botanical items are among the resources that leave Amotopo. Apëhpîn (AMO-02) has acquired several objects in her house for the return gift of threaded cotton. Likewise, she regularly sends fresh chili peppers to the captain of Wanapan, Arapahtë (WAN-01) (see Nos. 20, 21, 22 in Fig. 3.31). Another plant that grows well in Amotopo is annatto (T: *Wisee*, L: *Bixa orellana*) the seeds of which serve as red pigment (No. 30 in Fig. 3.31). Atinio brought four branches of annatto to Aisaki (SAN-01). Brazil nuts are either received from Casuela, close to which there is a grove of Brazil nut trees (T: *Tubka*, L: *Bertholletia excels* [Hoffman 2009:109]). The Amotopoans either acquire it from the people of Casuela through exchange or they procure it there themselves. Once these Brazil nuts are collected, they are sent to the city, for which city products are acquired. Furthermore, containers of calabash (T: *Kariwa*, L: *Crescentia cujete* [Teunissen *et al.* 2003]) are found in Amotopo. These have been provided by people from Sandlanding and Casuela since it is not yet fully grown in Amotopo.¹⁰⁷ As to the category of decorative seeds, several exchanges have been made.¹⁰⁸ In 2006, Rosianne (AMO-04) acquired

106 Arrow reed can therefore be considered a scarce commodity in Amotopo. When missing a shot for an iguana on a branch near the river, one has to go downstream with the canoe quickly to retrieve one's precious arrow.

107 Apëhpîn is now trying to grow calabash as well (see No. 6 in Fig. 3.31) after acquiring the seeds from Sandlanding in 2006.

108 Decorative seeds are used to make necklaces, bracelets and belts which the people of Amotopo wear themselves. However, they prefer beads (glass or plastic) from the city which they say are more beautiful. They mostly sell the adornments made from seeds to tourists who like them the most. Those staying near Amotopo in a tourist lodge sometimes visit the village before returning by plane to Paramaribo. Their beadwork is also sold to various shops in the capital.

through Dinia (CAS-05) a small bucket filled with sugar in return for an undefined quantity of painted *mara mara* (T: *Mara mara*, L: *Didimopanax morototoni* [Teunissen *et al.* 2003]) which is the most widely used decorative seed among the Trio. Atinio received kufa seeds (T: *Wanapan*, L: *Clusia grandiflora* [van Andel 2000:II:65]) from *basja* Jan (WAN-07) in return for chili peppers.¹⁰⁹ I have seen a number of decorative seeds being collected by men and women during visits to other villages. Special trips to collect these have, however, been reported too.¹¹⁰

The final, and largest, group of exchange objects in this category to leave Amotopo, is manioc. This will become apparent from the examples mentioned in the following sections that are return gifts for the accumulated objects. In 2007 I witnessed that the inhabitants of Amotopo were capable of producing a large surplus of manioc which they exchanged, in processed or raw form, to numerous trading partners. Due to bad harvests that year, their former village Kwamalasamutu was in desperate need of manioc. The Amotopoans managed to send 400 kg of manioc (a full Cessna, paid for by the government) to their former village. In 2008 I could observe far less of the botanical food exchange. The reason for this was that, in that year, the heavy rains had fallen on the Amotopoan side and had ruined the majority of their crops.¹¹¹

4.2.3.2 The exchange of animals and faunal objects (perishables)

Whereas the manioc yield was low in 2008, this was not the case for the catch of fish and game. As revealed above in the first meshwork, almost a quarter of all the fish left the village again. Several of the dried and smoked fish were sent either to trading partners in Paramaribo or Kwamalasamutu. Fish was then sold in Paramaribo (mostly pacu) for which small city objects such as shotgun cartridges, batteries, bread, sugar and salt were sent to Amotopo in return. The remaining dried and smoked fish were sent to family relatives in Kwamalasamutu. The majority of these fish are transported via the small planes which land in Amotopo. These planes generally speaking come to Amotopo in order to bring and pick up tourists who travel on to a tourist lodge *c.* 30 minutes upstream from Amotopo.

109 The village of Wanapan is named after the presence of many of these plants found in that locality (T: *Wanapan*, L: *Clusia grandiflora*). Kufa plants, however, can also be found near Amotopo.

110 Reported examples of the seeds they have procured, either in the vicinity of Amotopo or on trips to other villages, are *wëteu*, *tokiriman* (L: *Dialium guianense* [Hoffman 2009: 305]), *mokoko enu* (L: *Eugenia coffeifolia* [Hoffman 2009: 310]), *piëura* (L: *Socratea exorrhiza* [Hoffman 2009: 322]), *makui ipana* (L: *Mendoncia hoffmanseggiana* [pers. comm. Hoffman] and *mara mara*.

111 Due these bad yields, the Amotopoans received food packages (rice, sugar, salt, stock cubes, etc.) from the Red Cross.

The Amotopians are allowed to load a certain number of small packages on board the plane whenever space permits. If a seat is available the Amotopians can also fly to Paramaribo.¹¹² However, speaking from personal experience, these flights can be very infrequent and are mostly dependent on tourist bookings.

More reliable is travelling up and down the Corentyne River by canoe, which also gives the Amotopians more opportunities to bring and collect a larger number of objects. Other exchange goods that pass through Amotopo in this manner are hunting dogs. Amotopo has hosted many dogs in its young existence, testified by the large number of kennels (see 3.7.2.1). During my fieldwork I did not directly witness any dogs being exchanged, although I did see the objects given for them in return. In 2007, I observed an exchange between Atinio (AMO-02) and Kenki who lives in the Waiwai-Trio village of Casuela. Atinio gave Kenki (CAS-01) a shotgun in return for a hunting dog and two backpacks of manioc. Atinio, in turn, sold this hunting dog to a Maroon from Godolo in Paramaribo. In 2008, he received another hunting dog from Kenki (which originally came from a Wapishana) which he intends to exchange in the city in the near future. Therefore this dog was in transit in Amotopo. In a second example dating back to several years ago, Atinio had given the aforementioned Waiwai Eimmun (MAP-01) a HiFi stereo-set when he was still living in Kwamalasamutu. In return Atinio will receive a hunting dog from Eimmun at some point in the future when visiting Mapuera. This should be considered a long delayed return.

The trade of hunting dogs between the Waiwai and the Trio has been noted by several anthropologists (Howard 2001:227-229; Mentore 2005:61). Based on Waiwai field data from the 1980s, Howard gives an example of trade goods from the Waiwai to the Trio from the village Kaxmi which now no longer exists. She mentions that the Waiwai of Kaxmi

“concentrated on the animate wealth specialties of parrots and dogs. Most of these were sent to the northern Waiwai village, from where they were then passed on to the Tiriyo of Surinam in the east, thence to the Maroons. Along with dogs and parrots went various subsidiary specialties such as cotton thread (formerly also loincloths), annatto face paint, hair oil from Brazil nuts or palm fruits, balls of resin, arrow reeds and pepper sauce. In exchange they received manufactured goods from the Tiriyo: aluminium pots, knives, iron tools, mosquito nets, and glass beads” (Howard 2001:229).

The Amotopians acquire dogs from the Waiwai and from the Lower Corentyne agglomeration. Apëhpïn was given a puppy by Noeimi (WAN-10) and Atinio was given a dog by Panuweo (SAN-02) for which he said

112 Atinio (AMO-03) helped to clear the airstrip in Amotopo. In return he could enjoy free travel to the city (whenever there was a vacant seat) or send packages whenever there is any space.

he gave 5 kg of *wëteu* (seeds) in return. A final example comes from the inventory of the accumulated objects. One of Apëhpîn's metal pots in ST-21 came into her possession in 1984 through the exchange of a hunting dog with Sopo (KWA-19) who now lives in Kusare (Brazil).

4.2.3.3 The exchange of containers (durables)

Most information on the exchanging of durable containers derives from the object inventories. Having started with the object inventories in 2008, I encountered new plastic plates (T: *Ėrimakë*) in one of the structures and realised that a few I had spotted in 2007 were missing.¹¹³ After asking Atinio about this he explained to me that when visitors arrive in the village food plates are offered to those who do not have plates. In 2007 for instance Anturu (KWA-065) came from Kuruni on a visit with his children. Apëhpîn gave two plates to Anturu for him to keep, for which she received a piece of soap and a package of stock cubes in return. And, Rosianne gave him two plates, for which Anturu returned 5 kg of sugar. During the inventorying it became clear that earlier in 2008 Atinio had sent ten plates to Eimmun in return for the *mani* and *barata* he had been presented



Fig. 4.14: A metal pan (stored in ST-22) was presented by Pesuwi (SAN-05) to Apëhpîn (AMO-02).

¹¹³ During my first fieldwork in Amotopo, in 2007, I started drawing up some initial house inventories in Amotopo. Upon return for my second fieldwork a year later, I decided to conduct these inventories more systematically.

with earlier. Tusiki (RUS-03) brought them by canoe to Kwamalasamutu, where Eimmun was at the time. Apparently there had been a large flux of plates from Amotopo to the south in a short space of time. The ensuing void was filled with new plates from the coast.

Another group of durable containers consists of metal pots and pans. In a few cases it could be noted that names had been engraved of former (female) owners, leaving a clear marker of exchange on some of the metal pots and pans. In Fig. 4.14 we see an example of such a metal pan. It was once owned by Pesuwi (SAN-05), a former Amotopoan (see 4.3), who in 2008 was living in the Trio village of Sandlanding. The metal pan was given to Apëhpîn (AMO-02) in 2006 and made its way into ST-22. Another object found in ST-21 was presented by Pesuwi to Apëhpîn. Around 1998 a metal mug was given by Pesuwi to Apëhpîn, when both were still living in Kwamalasamutu. As this mug was exchanged in 1998, it must have been Apëhpîn herself who brought this metal mug to Amotopo.

4.2.3.4 The exchange of durable non-containers (durables)

The category of durable non-containers includes, in fact, any durable object that is not a plastic or metal cup, pot, pan or plate. An example of an object in this category is the manioc grater board (T: *Simari*) which consists of wood and is studded with sharp stone chips of stone.¹¹⁴ Manioc grater boards have been exchanged via Kwamalasamutu and Casuela to Amotopo. Subsequently these grater boards have been exchanged from Amotopo to people from Wanapan and Sandlanding. Rosianne (AMO-04) has given two grater boards to Pesuwi (SAN-05) in return for 25 kg of sugar, and Apëhpîn (AMO-02), too, has given two grater boards to Noemi (WAN-10) also in return for 25 kg of sugar. In 2008, Rosianne received another three new grater boards from Kusipi (CAS-03) for which she gave back a large metal bowl (ø 40 cm) and a smaller one (ø 30 cm).

According to Howard, grater boards were predominantly produced in the Waiwai villages of Mapuera and Shepariymo (Xapariymo) (Howard 2001:227-9; see Fig. 4.15). The village of Shepariymo was deserted in 1986.¹¹⁵ Some of its inhabitants now live in the village of Masakinyarï

114 These stones are called *sáma* by the Waiwai. According to Yde, the Waiwai used to travel two to three days to collect the stones that are suitable for the grater boards. There, a geological outcrop yields a type of stone which has been identified as hornfels. It can be described as a contact-metamorphosed rock. The Waiwai would collect blocks of these stones which were taken back to the village. Here only the outer layer of the block was utilised, the core was thrown away (Yde 1965:34-35).

115 For an ethnoarchaeological study of this village, see Siegel 1990.

(see Mentore 2005:59-60; Alemán 2005:2-3).¹¹⁶ It is likely that the Amotopoan grater boards originally came from either the new Waiwai village of Masakinyarĩ, passing the Waiwai-Trio village of Casuela ('Cashew Island') or the Waiwai village of Mapuera passing through the Trio village of Kwamalasamutu. It is thus via both routes that Waiwai grater boards reach Amotopo. From here they are subsequently exchanged to an even more northerly location (see Fig. 4.16).

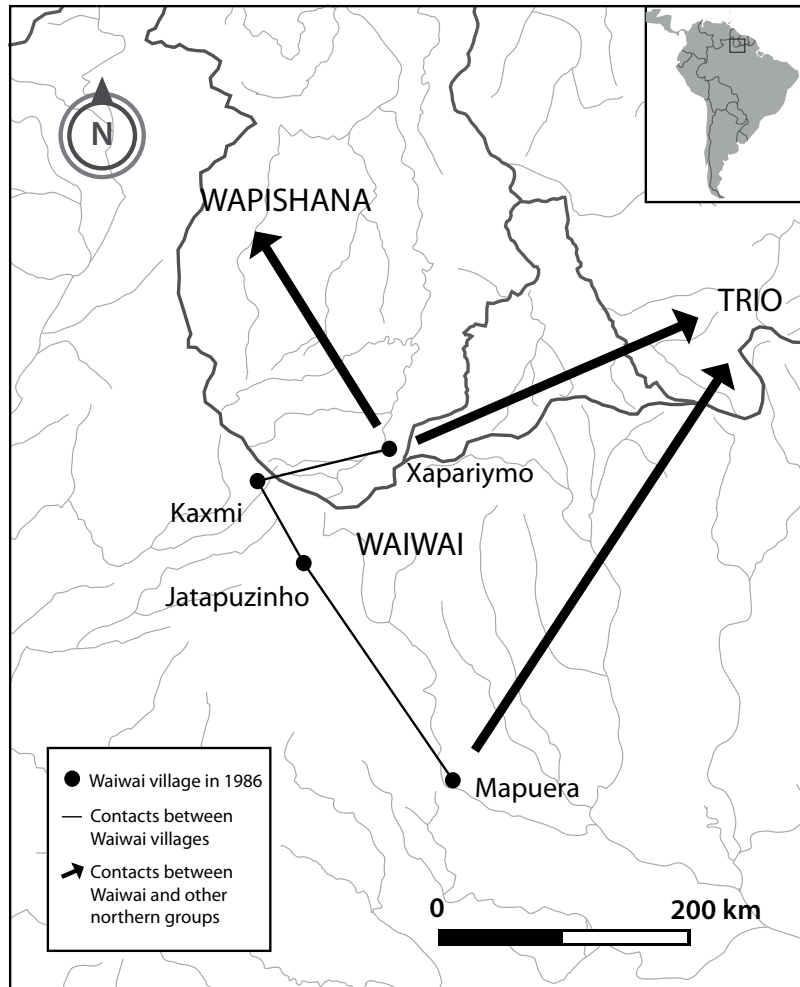


Fig. 4.15: Waiwai exchange routes in 1986 (redrawn from Howard 2001:228).

¹¹⁶ In 1986 the village of Shepariymo was deserted for a new village Akotopono, half a day downstream. This village in turn was deserted in 2000, splitting up into two factions. One faction founded a new village, Masakinyarĩ. Another faction moved further north to the Kuyuwini river where the village of Erepoimo was founded, which is now a Waiwai-Wapishana village (Alemán 2005:2-3; Mentore 2005:59-60).

In addition to grater boards, metal knives, machetes, shovels and other durables also fall into the durable non-container category. A great deal of these goods (machetes, shovels, axes, etc.) was provided by the government or NGOs, who distribute these objects to the villages in the interior. Goods, such as knives, are actually bought by the Amotopoans in Nickerie or Paramaribo. They then exchange these knives further to the south. For instance, Atinio has given Kenki (CAS-01) three knives, for which he will later receive 50 kg of Brazil nuts and 30 arrow reeds (when these will have grown to the proper size). In 2008 Kenki gave Rosianne a cassava squeezer for which she gave him a shotgun cartridge in return. Durable beads have also been exchanged. A bucket from Rosianne's house was received from Dinia (CAS-05) in return for which 500 g of glass or plastic beads were given.

4.2.3.5 Amotopoan exchange mobilia

As becomes clear from these examples of the various categories, several patterns have started to emerge (see Fig. 4.16). In general we can state that Amotopo receives plaited manioc sieves, squeezers and fire-fans from the nearest villages, let us say within the agglomeration. Resins and hunting dogs originate from the Waiwai, through the village of Casuela, but also from the northern Trio villages. Amotopo in turn sells these hunting dogs to Maroons in Paramaribo. Arrow reed enters Amotopo from

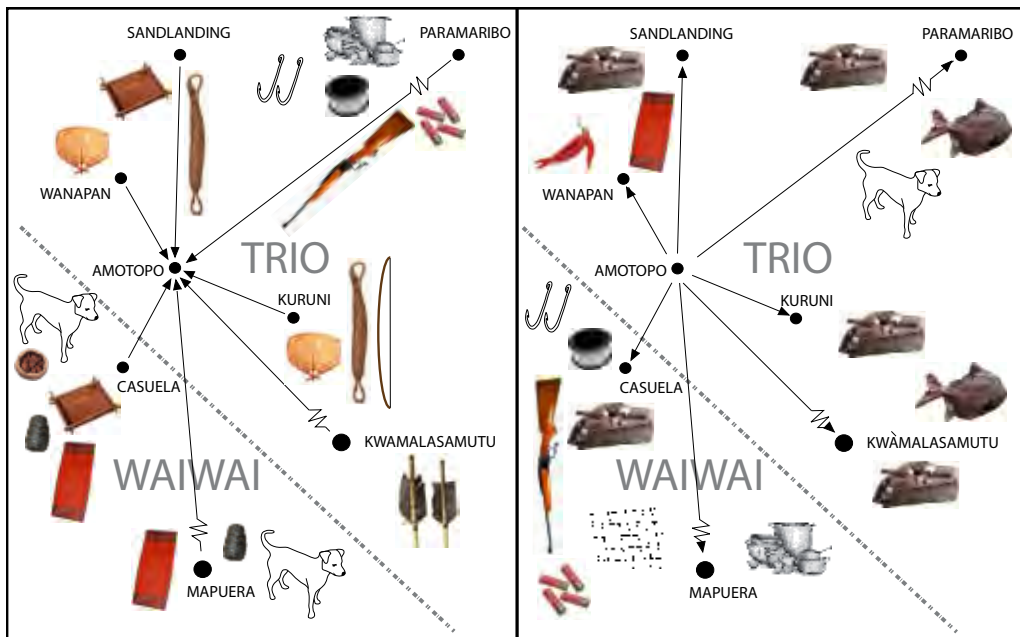


Fig. 4.16: Mobilia entering (L) and leaving (R) Amotopo.

Kwamalasamutu. From the capital, several durable products such as metal and plastic buckets, pots and pans, nylon fishing nets, shotgun cartridges, batteries etc., are sourced mostly by the Amotopoans themselves and in turn distributed to the hinterland. Likewise they distribute large quantities of manioc and large quantities of dried and smoked fish.

4.3 The sphere of residential *mobilia*

The residential *mobilia* are the traces or remains that explicitly signify the residential moves of people passing through a specific locality. The first group of residential *mobilia* are formed by those elements of the structures that cause the Amotopoan traces as discussed in Chapter 3. The Amotopoan structures will briefly be revisited and discussed in terms of their reported sequential appearances and will be related to the residential movements of the Amotopoans. The people themselves, and more specifically their bodies, form the second group of the residential *mobilia*. When someone passes away he or she is interred and the remains subsequently become immobilised. These mortuary features signify in this respect their final residential move. However, in Amotopo nobody has yet deceased¹¹⁷ and therefore this part of the immobilisation process needs elaboration and a discussion on a deeper time frame (see Chapter 5). In order to shed light on the history of the built environment of the village, we will start this discussion with the first residents who in 2000 created a clearing and a garden in the location that came to be known as Amotopo.

The Okomoyana stepbrothers Paneshi (AMO-01) and Pepu (now RUS-01) were both captains in the village of Kwamalasamutu which to date is the largest Trio-speaking village in Suriname. In 1999, Granman Asongo (KWA-001), the paramount chief of the Trio, reasoned that their former land which extends to the north had to be re-cultivated before people from the coast could claim it as their territory. The Okomoyana stepbrothers were asked to return to the land of their Okomoyana ancestors, Pehkëtë, which is roughly the area between the Frederik Willem IV Falls and the confluence of the Lucie and Corentyne Rivers. Another reason given for movements out of Kwamalasamutu is that subsistence resources in Kwamalasamutu were slowly becoming exhausted. The children were often ill, which provided another impetus for several families to decide to leave the village.¹¹⁸

117 On my visits throughout the middle and lower Corentyne agglomeration I have only heard of only one individual passing away so far in the Western Trio group, namely a person from the Trio village of Kuruni.

118 The village Kwamalasamutu has been continuously inhabited from 1976 up to the present. In 2004 the estimated number of inhabitants was between 800 and 900 (Carlin 2004:2), whereas by 2009 this number had decreased to 600-700 inhabitants (Heemskerk & Delvoye 2007: 22; Carlin & Van Goethem 2009:17).

The Okomoyana families were not the only ones to leave Kwamalasamutu. Some years before they left, Aramayana (the ‘bee people’) and Sakëta families, and a Mawayana (the ‘frog people’) family moved out of Kwamalasamutu in order to found new villages to the northwest, along the banks of the Corentyne River. One family settled on the site of a former military camp which was already named Kuruni (also an ar-

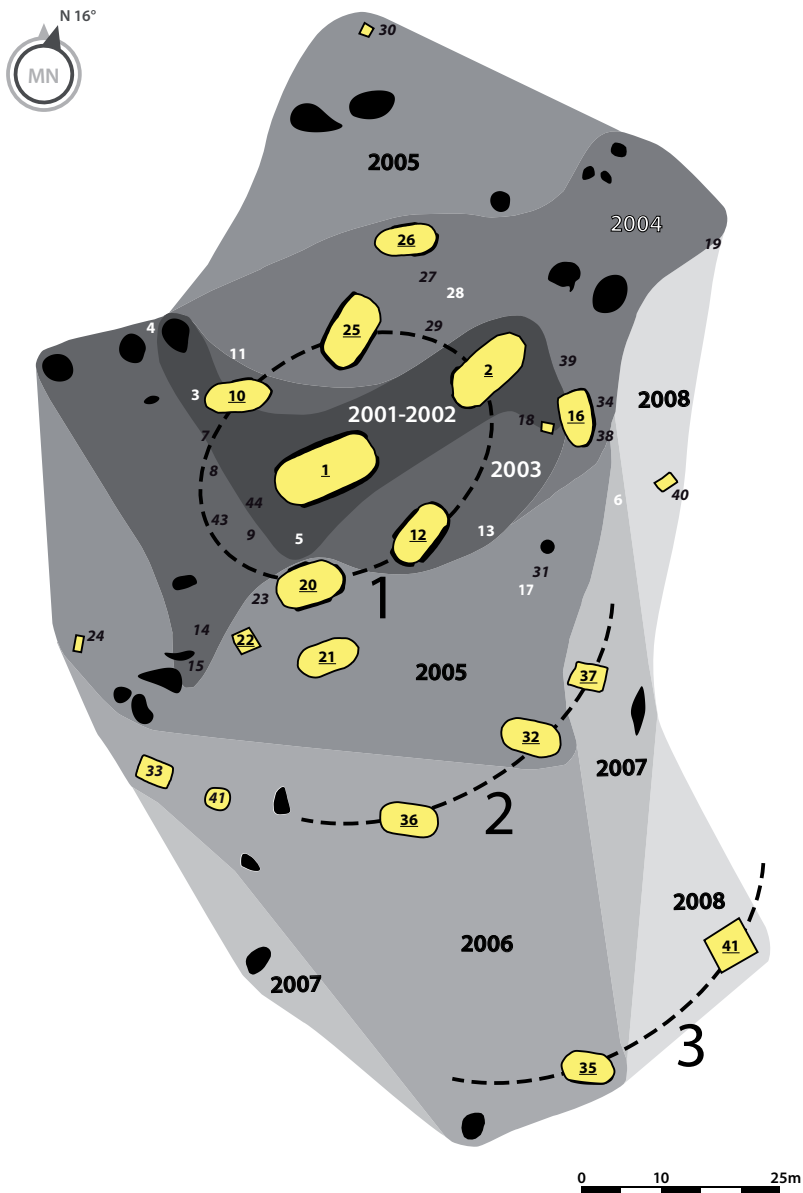


Fig. 4.17: The village layout and the related isochrones.

chaeological site, see Geijskes 1960 in Versteeg 1980:41). Another settled close by the Guyanese military camp called Tigri (the village is called also named 'Cashew island' or Casuela), and a third family settled down on another well-known archaeological site (see Versteeg 2003:87-95) which is located below the Wonotobo falls and is now called Arapahtë's village or Wanapan. Almost all seem to be positioned on previously inhabited sites.

In the late 1990s captain Paneshi (AMO-01) moved from Kwamalasamutu to Casuela and stayed there looking for a suitable spot in Pehkëtë. He found just that near the airstrip of Amotopo. Later his stepbrother Pepu (RUS-01) and a grandson named Aterie (AMO-12) arrived from Kwamalasamutu and together they moved to the new spot. They decided to live in the wooden building that was already there,¹¹⁹ while constructing a garden 100m further away. Starting off with only a small garden, they had no manioc at all but on occasion received some of it from the people of Casuela. When the first manioc was ready to be harvested in 2001, their wives Toke (RUS-02) and Apëhpîn (AMO-02) moved to Amotopo, together with Pepu's daughter-in-law Konsita (RUS-06). Firstly a camp structure (ST-5) was built. Next the communal structures (ST-01 and ST-02), a kitchen structure and several dog kennels were constructed in the garden (see Fig. 4.17, also for the structures mentioned below). Slowly, a village clearing started to emerge. After oneyear Aterie returned to Kwamalasamutu and a second-cousin of Apëhpîn, Erijam Numephë (AMO-19), came to Amotopo. Erijam was on his way to visit his mother (SAN-09) in the Trio village Sandlanding. In Amotopo he helped with extending the boundaries of the garden and the village. In the end, Erijam stayed for two years before continuing his journey.

In 2003, the household group of two nuclear families was expanded with another nuclear family, that of the eldest son of Paneshi, Atinio (AMO-03). He constructed a house for his nuclear family (ST-12). In 2004, Apëhpîn's stepbrother Putu (SAN-04) arrived in the village. The latter started the construction of a house (ST-25, and a kitchen, ST-26) for his widowed sister Sarawa (AMO-20) who arrived in 2005 together with Putu's wife, Pesuwi (SAN-05) who is also Sarawa's daughter. In that same year, two more nuclear families came to Amotopo. The first nuclear family was that of Mereo (AMO-05), Paneshi's eldest granddaughter with husband Ande (AMO-06) and her son Erinalse (AMO-07) who constructed a house in the second ring (ST-32). The second nuclear family was that of Mepi (AMO-16), Paneshi's youngest son, and his wife Sarita (AMO-17). They arrived in Amotopo to stay in the house of Mepi's parents (ST-20) who subsequently moved their hammocks to the south-western extension

119 An old BWKW-building dating from the 1970s was built for the purpose of hydrological inspections in aid of the construction of a dam in the Corentyne River, known as the West-Suriname project.

of the communal house (ST-01). Also in 2005 one of the founding nuclear families, namely that of Pepu (RUS-01), his wife Toke (RUS-02) and their daughter-in-law Konsita (RUS-06), moved out of the village. They founded their own village, called Lucie (T: *Rusi*), on an island in the Corentyne River, 5 km downstream from Amotopo. In 2006, Aterie (AMO-12) returned to Amotopo and started constructing his own house in the third ring from the communal house (ST-35).

In 2007, Putu (SAN-06) and his wife Pesuwi (SAN-05) left the village for the Trio village of Sandlanding in the north. Sarawa joined them in order to collect her social security money and to visit her second daughter (SAN-09). During my second fieldwork it was not yet clear if she would return although ST-25 is still considered her house. In 2007, another nuclear family, that of Paneshi's second son, Petinia (AMO-10), his wife Senairë (AMO-11) and their children, arrived in Amotopo. Paneshi started to build a house for them (ST-36). Petinia himself was looking for gold in the east and arrived one year later. In 2007, two other nuclear families (the family of Mepi (AMO-16) and the family of Mereo (AMO-05) both went to live in Kuruni for a year. Both Mereo and Sarita (AMO-17) were pregnant and Kuruni is the nearest village that offers governmental health care. In 2008, they both returned to Amotopo. In 2008, the nuclear family of the captain's second son (AMO-10) left to visit family in the Trio villages in Brazil not knowing when and if they would return. In 2008, Erijam (AMO-19) returned after visiting his mother in Apura and started work on a new type of house (ST-42) he had seen in Apura, in the third ring next to Aterie's house.

It becomes clear from this diachronic description that not all the inhabitants of Amotopo are in residential stasis as they move back and forth between different localities (see Fig. 4.18). Whereas a roughly concentric village lay-out could be distinguished in 2008, it became clear that only

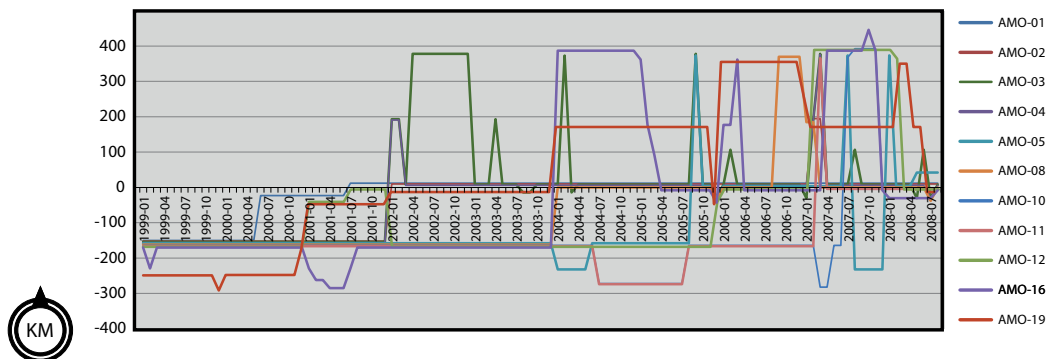


Fig. 4.18: Reported movements of ten Amotopoans. (The X-axis represent months and years [1999-2008], the Y-axis represents kilometers north [+] and south [-] of Amotopo).

part of it was inhabited. As new residents were building new structures in the second and third circle around the communal structure, some residents of the first circle might already have left. During the early years of the village the human flux is reflected in a horizontal accumulation. The outline of the village in 2008 should therefore not be seen as the material representation of the 17 residents, but as the sum of its human flux over eight years which in this case is that of 24 residents.

4.4 Conclusion

"It is the movement of exchange items that is fundamental, not their stasis: their value is constituted not in possession, but in the process of acquiring them and giving them away. Contact with other societies should not be measured in terms of the accumulation of goods, but rather, analysed in terms of how these goods flowed through the exchange network and how their meanings were transformed through such channels." Howard 2001:234

"The fundamental gender difference is not in terms of spatial spheres, or an opposition between a female, domesticating inside and a male, predatory outside, but rather between two different types of movement: whereas men are centrifugal, women are centripetal. Men physically spread themselves along networks which take them to diverse environments such as the city or the forest, thus exposing their bodies at a distance from the socialised centre of the village. Women, in turn attract external influence to the core." Grotti 2007:181-182

The focus of the present chapter was on the *mobilia* of Amotopo. Having discussed the necessary material setting of the village in Chapter 3, here the focus was to perceive this static material setting of 2008 as the temporary outcome of all village movements. In order to facilitate archaeological divisions into this sum of trajectories, this total was divided into three spheres of movements which could be correlated to the material setting of Amotopo. These spheres are those related to subsistence *mobilia*, to exchange *mobilia* and to residential *mobilia*.

Subsistence *mobilia* are procured on a daily basis, are mostly collected within a day's range from the village and their remains end up on the refuse heaps of the village within several days (see 3.6.4, Fig. 3.31). Within this category of *mobilia* there exists a sharp division between acquisition of subsistence *mobilia* by men and by women. From what I could observe women most of the time move in the cultivated area from which they extract firewood, fruits and root crops. On the other hand men move outside of this sphere into an area that is their daily range in which they catch fish and game, and acquire fruits and construction materials. For the women I have marked this 'cultivated' area as the village, the adjacent gardens and

the area including the bathing place. For the men it concerns the area in which they go fishing and hunting. These are not fixed spaces, but permeable ranges around the total of space they have 'delineated' themselves with through their daily movements. This gender mobility division is not always as black and white as I have observed it.¹²⁰ Occasionally women do accompany men on fishing or forest trips beyond the cultivated area.

The second sphere of movement is: the exchange *mobilia*. Social network tools were applied in order to visualize the movements of objects within the village. Instead of speaking of a 'network' it was considered more apt, however, to adopt the Ingoldian term of 'meshwork'. The reason was that the focus here was not necessarily on the power relation between nodes, but more specifically on the movements of objects between them. Two exchange meshworks were visualised for Amotopo: (a) actual observed exchanges and (b) reported movements of accumulated objects. Both meshworks indicated that the trajectories of the exchange *mobilia*, like the subsistence *mobilia*, presented us with a gender division in movements where women predominantly tend to accumulate and redistribute within the confines of the village and men predominantly move the goods outside and to the village. The temporary accumulations of exchange *mobilia* in the Amotopoan structures should be considered to be the material possessions of women, which in turn signify the actual exchange movements of the men.

In addition, a distinction could be made between the exchange of perishable and durable goods. The perishable goods (predominant in observed exchanges) seemed to reflect more short-term face-to-face exchanges. Part of the accumulated total of durable goods (predominant in the accumulated exchanges) on the other hand also represented previous exchange networks formed in preceding villages. It needs further investigation to ascertain if these previous exchange networks eventually become overrepresented in the totality of discarded exchange durables. As observed above the majority will probably end up in the toss-zone (see 3.2.7, see Fig. 3.31) surrounding the village where ultimately only durable fragments of these exchange *mobilia* will remain (cf. Siegel & Roe 1986). In that instance we no longer speak of meshworks. The object's movement becomes 'inverted' into a spatial immobile node.

Last, but not least, let us discuss the sphere of the residential *mobilia*. Although it may sound odd, the Amotopoans themselves are the main residential *mobilia* who in 2008 were still all *in flux*. When one of them passes away and is buried near or in the village, the body of the deceased will turn into residential *immobilia*. Its immobilisation will mark its final

120 It is reported that strict gender task divisions in general are gradually loosening in many Amerindian groups in Suriname and outside of Suriname too. (Boven 2006: 27).

residential move. Fortunately no Amotopoan has as yet deceased; we will further explore the trajectories of human *mobilia* in Chapter 5 where a longer term perspective is adopted. However, traces of residential *mobilia* are formed within the confines of the Amotopoan village too. A house or a structure is made during a brief period of time marking the residential move or moves of its first owners. The actual residential *mobilia* here consist of the posts that are used for the construction of the structure. Nevertheless, as to archaeology, we will hopefully identify these structures mainly thanks to their traces such as postholes, postmolds and ditches.

As demonstrated, above, the village Amotopo was not founded as a result of a group migration, in a literal strict sense of the word. People moved in, while others had already moved out of the village. Every family, however, contributed to the built environment. Whereas the end result might appear to be a concentric village in plan view, it does not mean that the houses in this concentric village were lived in at the same time. While a house in the centre might already be abandoned, a newcomer builds a new house outside the existing circle of houses. In this way, the residential movement of one individual affects the movement of another through the material traces it leaves behind.

