Amotopoan trails : a recent archaeology of Trio movements

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Chapter 5

A HISTORY OF TRIO MOVEMENTS (1907-2008)

> *"One of the most important elements in the Trio world is that we are con-*
> *stantly living in a state of flux, few things being constant. In the words of*
> *Rivière (1994), the Trio live in an transformational world where nothing*
> *is as it appears to be, where appearances are deceptive, and everything can*
> *change. (…) For the Trio, egocentric knowledge and one's 'insight' are cen-*
> *tral in successful communication."* Carlin 2004:299

In the present chapter we will venture beyond the village of Amotopo and reflect upon a 100 years (1907-2008) of Trio movements in the Sipaliwini basin. It is my goal to compare the Amotopoan spheres of *mobilia* with the spheres of other archaeologically documented historical villages of the Trio of this period. However, since no such description is available I chose to compare and contrast the Amotopoan data set with the spheres of *mobilia* as could be distilled from historical sources.

The reasons for focussing on the period between 1907 and 2008 are: (a) it is within this time frame that we encounter the densest period of reported knowledge concerning the Trio of the Sipaliwini basin in which specific individuals are named. The oral histories of the Amotopoans and those of other Trio, as well as written reports from contemporary anthropologists up to the earliest expeditions are available, Moreover, upon seeing the names of their relatives in Peter Rivière's book (1969), the Amotopoans themselves have expressed the wish that I should further report on their social history (see 2.2); (b) from an archaeological perspective, the period covering 100 years can be considered a blind spot which seems just out of scope of the archaeologists. Restricted by our instruments we either focus on the reconstructions of activities on a site-level or speak of periods spanning over one century. Herein interpretations can more confidently be based on archaeological data such as ceramic styles and radiocarbon dates (as to the present archaeological resolution, see 1.1). The present centennial perspective will provide us with the opportunity to investigate Trio movements on this in-between temporal scale from an archaeological viewpoint.

Instead of presenting a continuous Trio history from the earliest Trio-European encounters in the Sipaliwini basin up to the present, I decided to divide the above-mentioned century into three periods. These are treated in a counter-chronological direction thus following the natural asymmetry of perception and its correlated inevitable analogical direc-

tion (see 1.2). In each of the three periods a specific Trio village takes centre stage: Amotopo (2000-2008), Alalapadu (1963-1964) and Anapi (*c.* 1907-1911).[121] For the latter two villages the spheres of *mobilia* are distilled from the reported sources and should be treated as prognoses. The above villages will be introduced and contextualised in terms of their particular state of movement. In some occasions, the degree of time depth will also allow for an elaboration on the sphere of residential *mobilia* which was not feasible in Amotopo.

The above three villages have not been chosen randomly but are all linked to the Amotopoan family. Let us firstly begin with contextualising Amotopo as a village that has recently split off from Kwamalasamutu (5.1). In the past decades a number of families have set off in a northwesterly direction now together forming the Western Trio Group. A more regional perspective will instruct us further with regard to the human *mobilia* that make up this group. Secondly, the missionary village of Alalapadu village is discussed, introduced and contextualised as the fusion of a Trio village (5.2). Paneshi (AMO-01), the present-day captain of Amotopo, arrived in the village of Alalapadu as a young boy. He was married in this village and his eldest sons were born here too. The third and final village to be discussed is the one led by Anapi. According to the historical sources he was Paneshi's great-great-grandfather. Anapi is mentioned in the reports of the earliest Dutch expeditions into the Sipaliwini basin, but his village was never visited. These and other early (reminiscing) descriptions of the Trio in the pre-fusion era will serve to sketch the supposed spheres of *mobilia* of the heuristic village 'Anapi' (5.3).

In 5.4, the spheres of *mobilia* of the various villages are compared and discussed as analogical interactions.

5.1 Amotopo: a fissioned Trio village (2007-8)

In the present section I no longer need to introduce the village Amotopo and its spheres of *mobilia*. The village of Amotopo is here regionally con-textualised as part of the recent Western Trio Group which is the con-sequence of the splitting off of a large Trio village, Kwamalasamutu. In addition, the individual residential movements of the people of the entire Western Trio Group as perceived by the Amotopoans will be discussed along archaeological parameters. It will provide us with a regional insight

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121 These dates refer to the period during which observations and reports were made on these vil-lages: my personal observations took place in the village of Amotopo during 2007 and 2008, Peter Rivière's observations of the village Alalapadu date from1963-1964 and the reported information on Anapi provided by Claudius de Goeje date from 1907. Conrad Käyser's observations took place in 1910-1911.

into the trajectories of human *mobilia* (the sphere of residential *mobilia*) over a larger stretch of time which could not yet be discussed in Chapter 4.

5.1.1 Leaving Kwamalasamutu

The foundation of a new village by the Amotopoans implies the abandonment of another. As stated in 4.3, a part of the present Amotopoans had left Kwamalasamutu during the late 1990s to head to the northwest. The Amotopoans were not the only family to abandon Kwamalasamutu. The main reason for a number of captains to leave Kwamalasamutu with their families was that their Granman Asongo Alalapadu had asked them to do so. His reasons for the request were twofold. Kwamalasamutu, originally founded in 1975 had grown from 580 inhabitants to approx. 1000 during the 1990s (van Mazijk 1978:12; taking the high estimate of Carlin 1998:7; see also Carlin 2004:2). Pressure was rising on its environmental resources. In the course of the late 1990s the men regularly had to venture far out, staying away for one or two nights at a time in order to encounter game or to find a rich fishing spot. Moreover, their former gardens located far from their houses could no longer be allowed to lay unattended for a long time, as this would slowly lead to impoverished fields (Heemskerk & Delvoye 2007:32). In sum, the families who moved out of Kwamalasamutu probably also felt a desire to found their own village away from problems associated with places where too many people live together.[122]

In addition, the splitting off of the village can partly also be seen in the light of the indigenous land right discussion. Evolving in Suriname during the 1970s, this issue has yet to be legally resolved. As it remains an unsettled matter, an increasing number of non-Amerindian investors are finding their way into the interior. For example, gold miners in the east, but also entrepreneurs in ecotourism in the west who are constructing more and more tourist lodges on former Amerindian sites. Ever since these non-Amerindian entrepreneurs started encroaching on the territory of the Amerindians of the interior, the Trio seem to have realized that they could no longer back down. Learning how to play that game, establishing new Trio villages can also be seen in the light of the reclamation of their threatened land (see also Carlin 1998:8,34-5). In 2008 the villages founded by families leaving Kwamalasamutu were: Sandlanding, Wanapan, Lucie, Amotopo, Casuela, Kuruni, Kamani, Kutari, Sakuru, Alalapadu II and Kaikui Tëpu. The most marked of these moves culminated in creationing the Western Trio Group.

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122 In Kwamalasamutu conflicts began to rise increasingly amongst the people living here. Atinio (AMO-03) stated that his children were often hungry and sick during in the last years that they lived there (pers. comm. Atinio Panekke 2007).

5.1.2 The foundation of the Western Trio Group

The oldest village of the Western Trio Group is situated in the Middle-Corentyne agglomeration in the mid-west of Suriname on an island in the New River (in the politically disputed south-west triangle). Its name is Casuela (also written as 'Kasuelen' by Heemskerk & Delvoye 2007:32 or 'Cashew Island' [Kasjoe Eiland] by Vereecke 1994:2). This place was first inhabited by the Mawayana-Trio from Kwamalasamutu before 1994 (Vereecke 1994:2; see also Carlin 1998:8,34-5). Alemán describes that when she returned to the area in 1997 a family of the Waiwai village of Akotopono had moved to *Camp jaguar* (Alemán 2005:2-3). This camp is a Guyanese military post and a former Surinamese military camp ('*Tigri*' as it is still referred to in Suriname).[123] This Waiwai family subsequently moved to live with the Mawayana-Trio in Cashew Island [124] which is located just south of *Camp Jaguar*.[125]

Kuruni was the second place in mid-west Suriname to which people from Kwamalasamutu moved as early as 1995. Initially Kuruni was a military post and airstrip which saw a great activity during the political land dispute over the Southwest triangle. Up to this day this political matter has not been resolved, although the Surinamese military has left the camp. Koroni (KUR-03), a Sakëta-Trio, informed me he had started working for the interior aviation service based at Kuruni in 1995 (Koroni, pers. comm. 2008, see also Carlin 1998:6). He now lives at Kuruni with his parents, brothers and their families. His father called Santana is the village leader. Their families have moved into the present Bruynzeel houses (pre-fab houses on stilts). Their cooking facilities and other structures are built surrounding them. Apart from this extended family three other nuclear families moved here. The fathers of two of these families moved to Kuruni, because they could found employment carrying out maintenance work on the airstrip. The mother of the third family now runs the only medical post in the area. In terms of number of inhabitants this village is the largest in the Western Trio Group: 41 villagers were counted in 2008.

The Trio that settled most to the north-west was the extended family of captain Arapahtë, an Aramayana-Trio, who decided to found his village below the Wonotobo Falls in 1998 (*basja* Jan (WAN-07) from Wanapan, pers. comm. 2008; Heemskerk & Delvoye 2007:32; see Fig. 5.1). Its name

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123 The Sranantongo word *tigri* or the Dutch word *tijger* in Suriname refers to the jaguar (T: *Tïmenuren kaikui*, L: *Panthera onca*).

124 This seems to be confirmed by the fact that the Horniman Museum & Gardens (London) acquired seven Waiwai objects from Cashew Island on the New River in 2003.

125 Whenever inhabitants of Casuela travel to meet up with the Amotopoans near the Frederik Wilhelm IV Falls, Guyanese soldiers escort them. More information on the village of Casuela is currently unavailable due to the fact that the Guyanese military would probably not have allowed me to enter their country without the required travel documents.

Fig. 5.1: The village of Arapahtë (Wanapan) in 2008.

is *Arapahtë ipata* (meaning, the village of Arapahtë) or Wanapan, which denotes the area near the Wonotobo Falls (see also Boven 2001:41). The Trio occupation was not the first to take place in this sandy place. In the recent past it had been occupied by the Dutch government. It left behind visible traces such as concrete floors and an abandoned car (see also Heemskerk & Delvoye 2007:32). Recalling the deeper past, this location is also known as an important archaeological site, harbouring the most easterly continental South American presence of Saladoid ceramics (Versteeg 2004:81,86-95). An ecolodge has been constructed in the vicinity of Wanapan. On the other side of the river-*cum*-border lies a Guyanese logging camp. Wanapan was inhabited by the Aramayana-Trio at the behest of Granman Asongo (*basja* Jan, pers. comm. 2008).

However, Wanapan lacked a medical post or a school. The children were sent off to school in Apura, further north. This village is larger and inhabited by approx. 3000 people, mainly of mixed Lokono and Warao stock. It is the most southern village to be connected with the town of Nickerie by road. Nonetheless the freight boat was still the most common mode of transport to access it in 2008. Within a short period of time a Trio satellite village called Sandlanding was founded on the southern outskirts of Apura. The people of Sandlanding and Wanapan form a single community. Several inhabitants have constructed a house in both places. The other members prefer to stay predominantly in the same place. Sandlanding and Wanapan together form the lower Corentyne Trio Agglomeration.

The final two Trio villages in the Western Trio Group are named Lucie and Amotopo. They belong to the Okomoyana-Trio family of the above-mentioned stepbrothers Pepu (RUS-01) and Paneshi (AMO-01). The Granman also requested them to move to the north-west as to recommence habitation of their ancestral Okomoyana land (called Pehkëtë). Paneshi claimed to have lived in Casuela for one or two years while ex-

ploring the area around Amotopo (see also Carlin 1998:6, 34-5). Paneshi and Pepu subsequently moved into an old wooden building near the airstrip of Amotopo. This building, an airstrip and a road (leading all the way from Apura to Amotopo) was originally constructed in order to facilitate hydrological research (BWKW [*Bureau Water Kracht Werken*]) on the Corentyne River (Heemskerk & Delvoye 2007:32).[126] Shortly after the Trio had moved into the wooden BWKW building, one of the pilots asked them to leave as it had been stated that the building belonged to someone else. At first the Okomoyana heeded the request and moved further downstream to construct a new village on the island of Lucie located opposite to the confluence of the Lucie and the Corentyne Rivers. However, when the Granman heard that the Okomoyana had been sent off, he demanded that they return to Amotopo and to not occupy the old building, but to construct new houses a short distance from it. They began this task in 2001.[127] After spending the initial years in Amotopo, the oldest stepbrother, Pepu, (RUS-01) decided to return to Lucie while retaining a house in Amotopo (ST-02).[128] Thus there are now two villages only 5 km apart. Around the time of their foundation, construction started on a new ecolodge located 20 minutes upstream from Amotopo in the vicinity of former Amerindian sites (SUR-15 and SUR-338, Versteeg 2003:243). As stated earlier, a number of Amotopoans maintain the airstrip for the owner of the ecolodge. In return they can fly to Paramaribo free of charge whenever a aeroplane seat is empty.

A seemingly valid observation as to almost all villages in the Western Trio Group is: locations for villages have been selected whenever traces of former occupations occur (see 2.4.3). This selection can be seen as pragmatic. The location has clearly been approved of in former times and it is less work to open up a plot of secondary forest. In addition, some useful plants can potentially be encountered here. This eases the difficult initial beginnings with regard to life in a new village and in a new area.

5.1.3 Human mobilia of the Western Trio group

Let us now provide a regional perspective which should be considered a small side step. In it we will reflect on the trajectories of the human *mobilia* of the Western Trio Group. This should be considered an elaboration on the discussed sphere of residential *mobilia* from Amotopo (4.3). However,

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126 The original intent was to build a dam in the river (*Nieuw Suriname* 1976:3). However, after only a few years, the civil war (1986-1992) broke out and these plans were never concretised. The research, the building and road were indeed abandoned.

127 These new houses were probably built in the garden clearing they had already created there.

128 The reason for this return to Lucie is that Pepu preferred to live in a village closer to water. Ironically, due to the heavy rains, the village of Lucie was completely flooded in 2008. Next he decided to found a new village higher up.

here the scope is expanded towards a regional perspective including all the residential movements that together have formed the Western Trio Group. In this instance we chose not to focus on the structures of the built environment, but on the people who have moved their bodies to new places.

I did not ask each and every individual from each and every village about his or her residential movements myself. The following data therefore rely totally on the reported knowledge regarding the Amotopoans. In recording the movement data I employed a simple human mobility division (place of birth and current place of residence). It can be paired conceptually with the local/non-local distinction in the stable strontium isotope methodology as known to the science of archaeology (see Ericson 1985; Bentley 2006:135-6). Together with archaeologist Jason Laffoon I conducted the subsequent test hypothesizing along the following parameters.

The isotopic signature of the area where somebody grows up is 'captured' in the human skeleton by means of the element of strontium (Sr). By drinking local water and consuming local food an isotopic value is stored in the skeleton that can be matched with geological features. After comparing this skeletal isotopic signature with the isotopic signature of the location where this skeletal material is subsequently found, a distinction can be made between the 'source' of this material and its final deposition. If it is congruent there is a great possibility that this person was probably born and raised in the same (isotopic) area. Whenever these two signatures differ, one can state that this person came from another (isotopic) area to live in the place where her or his skeleton was ultimately found.

In total I recorded 101 individuals living in six villages (see Appendix J), the places of birth of whom the Amotopoans were familiar with.[129] Based on this information a comparison was established between geological locals and non-locals and actual locals and non-locals in the various areas.[130] Three *caveats* need to be considered when interpretating the results: (a) the information applied with regard to this hypothetical case is entirely based on Amotopoan perceptions; (b) it must be stated that geological formations are not the same as isotopic areas and as to the hypothetical purpose of this section (5.1.3), however, these are considered to be one-on-one; (c) no member of the Western Trio Groups has yet passed away, except for one individual in Kuruni. Here once again an artificial freeze of the flux of human *mobilia* is implemented. It should be considered to represent an immobilisation process halfway.

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129 Only those inhabitants of the Western Trio Group were selected if a clear village of origin was provided by the Amotopoans which could subsequently be positioned on the map. Of 134 inhabitants counted in these six villages (see Appendix G), for 101 this was possible (see Appendix J).

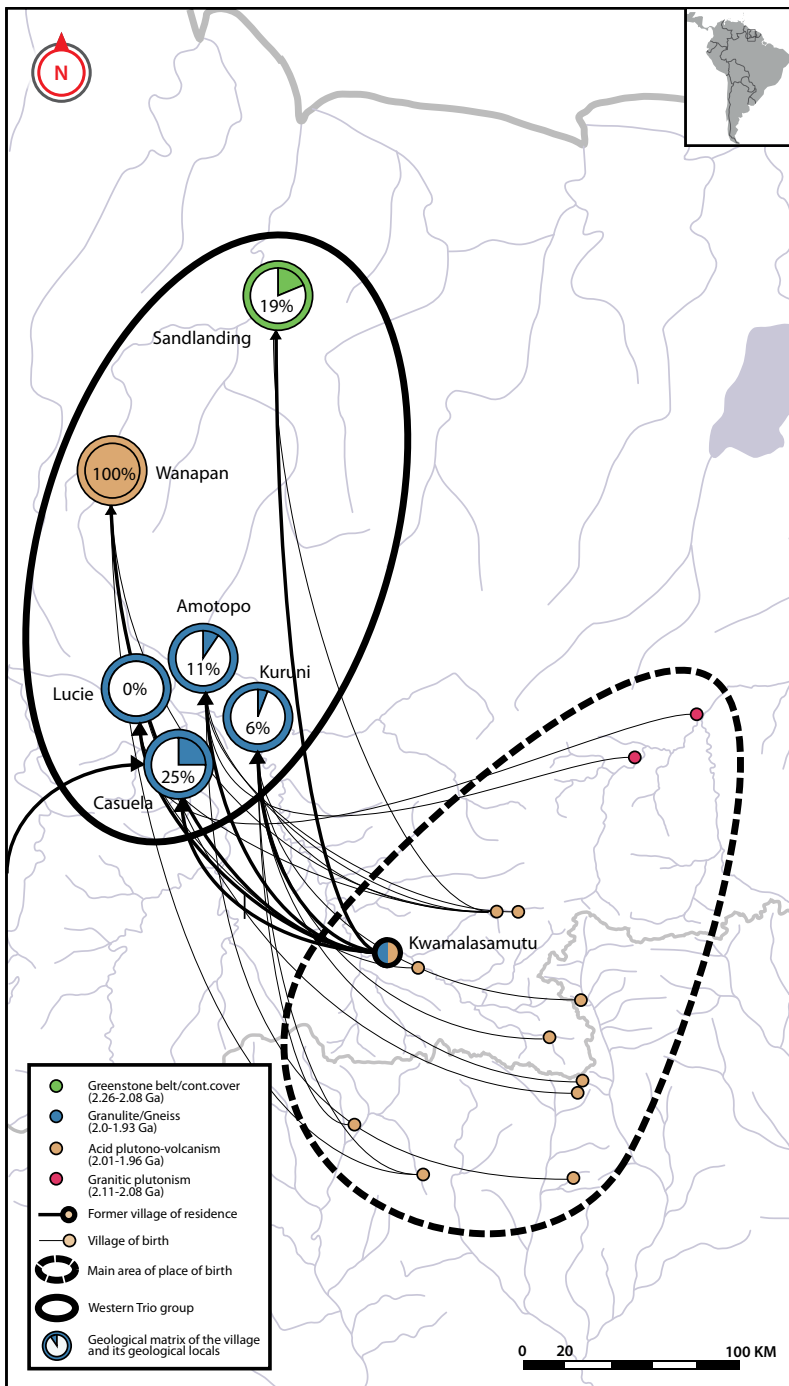130 The geological information applied in this test derives from Delor *et al.*2003; Kroonenberg & Roever 2010.

Fig. 5.2: The individual residential movements of the Western Trio Group (geological information from Delor et al. 2003; Kroonenberg & Roever 2010:13).

A relatively high number (51%) of all members of the Western Trio Group was born in Kwamalasamutu. These are predominantly the people younger than 33 years old minus some of the youngest born into the Western Trio Group.[131] Kwamalasamutu lies on the border of two geological matrices. This implies that the results can be interpreted as supporting one of two different scenarios. The first scenario regards Kwamalasamutu as situated in another geological matrix than the Middle Corentyne Agglomeration (as in Fig. 5.2), namely in the Uatumã suite formed during the Late Trans Amazonian plutono-volcanic event (2.01-1.96 Ga) (see 2.2.2; Delor *et al.* 2003:218; Kroonenberg & Roever 2010:13,15). In this case the 'geological' locals (23%) of the Western Trio Group seem to correspond roughly to the number of actual locals (14%). As to the village of Amotopo specifically, the geological local percentage corresponds exactly to the percentage of the actual locals (10 %). The only 'mismatch' in this perspective is the village of Wanapan. Here all inhabitants are geological locals (100%) in contrast with the number of actual locals (50%). This has to do with the fact that Wanapan and Kwamalasamutu, although far apart, fall within the same geological matrix in this scenario.

The second scenario envisages Kwamalasamutu as falling within the same geological matrix as the Middle Corentyne Group. Namely in the Central Guiana Granulite belt formed during the Late Transamazonian event (2.05-1.81 Ga)(see 2.2.2; Delor *et al.* 2003:218; Kroonenberg & Roever 2010:13,14). In that case the number of geological locals is high (59%) compared to the number of the actual locals (14%). As to the village of Amotopo, and the rest of the Middle Corentyne Agglomeration, this scenario also presents a problem since the percentage of the geological local would be inflated from the actual percentage of 10%, to one of 71%.

When applying the isotopic methodology a problem rises as to the acquisition of a local isotopic proxy which is sometimes derived from the most common occurrence of the analysed skeletons. Apparently, in the case of a founder population it seems best not to take the local isotopic proxy from the inhabitants, which in this case would predominantly represent the isotopic signature of the former village (pers. comm. Laffoon 2010). It would be better to take this proxy from the youngest deceased in the village. It must be recalled here that we are dealing with a freeze frame of an immobilisation process. Diving deeper into the past it will become clear that the present-day Trio have dealt with several residential moves in their lives (for an Amotopoan example, see Mans 2009:83).

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131 They were actually all born in the medical post of either Apura or Kuruni. Here a scenario is assumed in which the infants are born in either Kuruni or Apura, villages with medical posts, to return to their villages with their parents shortly afterwards.

This small case study suggests that, from a Trio perspective, in which all except for the youngest ones should be seen as actual non-locals, the appearance of a large number of geological locals should receive extra attention. In a number of scenarios linked to this particular case, this can be explained by a large incongruence of the number of geological locals with the number of actual locals (for example, see Wanapan in Fig. 5.1). Whenever this inflation is overcome, an interpretation for an encountered geological local could be: this individual would have indeed spent his or her life in the same region, say in a time when residential moves were only short or circular (see 5.3). Or: an elder could have returned to his place of birth later in life. Age can therefore be an important variable when interpretating the isotopic values of the skeletal archaeological remains (pers. comm. Laffoon 2010).

5.2 Alalapadu: the fusion of a Trio village (1963-1964)

Before a village splits off there is also time of fusion. The present section will begin with a contextual discussion of the process of fusion into the large missionary village of Alalapadu where Paneshi (Captain of Amotopo) arrived as a young boy in *c.* 1961. Anthropologist Peter Rivière conducted part of his fieldwork in this village (1963-1964) the data from which the spheres of *mobilia* could be distilled. However, before the spheres of *mobilia* of Alalapadu are discussed the period of fusion resulting into the village of Alalapadu is sketched (1942-1964). As will be demonstrated below the Trio already started to fuse into the small village of Panapipa, the village of Eüjari, the grandfather of Paneshi. This fusion subsequently continued into the missionary village of Alalapadu. We will therefore commence this section with a brief reflection on the village of Panapipa before discussing the spheres of *mobilia* of Alalapadu.

5.2.1 The beginning of a fusion sequence: the village of Panapipa

In the period justly preceding Alalapadu the village of Ëujari (see Fig. 5.4 L), also referred to as Panapipa (Schmidt writes *'Panapikpan'* 1942:58, Rivière writes *'Panapipa'* 1969:213) appeared to be the first place where people from other villages started to converge beyond average proportions. To get a sense of the 'average' proportions of the Trio in the pre-Alalapadu era we will briefly reflect on Schmidt's expedition report. *Baas* Lodewijk Schmidt van Gansee had extensively visited a number of Trio villages in both Suriname and Brazil during the early 1940s. The purpose of his expedition was to acquire a clear picture of the lives and villages of the Amerindians who lived near the southern border of Suriname as well as of the connections, e.g. paths, between their villages (Stahel in Schmidt

1942:5). On his journeys Schmidt also visited the village of Panapipa. In his report he states that this village consisted of seven men, seven women, five boys and six girls. This total of 25 people was near the calculated average of 26 inhabitants for a Trio village during the early 1940s.[132] However, Schmidt does not provide much more specific information on the material dimension of the village.

While this village was initially one of the few average Trio villages, it would later gain importance. As Rivière describes "A good and strong leader will tend to attract people to his village, and Eoyari's (62) village of Panapipa was given as an example of this" (Rivière 1969:233). Since it was not his focus, Rivière had not paid much attention to this village. During an interview I asked Pepu (RUS-01), assisted by Paneshi (AMO-01) and his wife Apëhpïn (AMO-02), to reflect on the movements of the people recorded by Rivière. For his kinship study he had inventoried all the people of Alalapadu who were seen as 'inclusive' by Iyakëpon (Rivière writes '*Iyakəpo*' 1969:292). Iyakëpon was Pepu's father's brother[133] and the brother of Ëujari's first wife Tawiruye, the grandmother of Paneshi.[134] With a little help from Paneshi (R-33) and Apëhpïn Pepu (R-22) was able to remember 146 of the 299 recorded persons (49%).[135] Of these 146 he could recall, I asked him to tell me their place of birth and their places of residences thereafter, too, which he then went on to do.

The answers resulting from this interview offered the perspective that of these 146 persons as many as 96 had passed through Panapipa as place of residence (see Fig. 5.4). This means that 66% of all the people Pepu could remember (which is 32% of the people listed by Rivière as inclusives of Iyakëpon in 1963-1964) had first lived in Panapipa before moving

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132 The average number of inhabitants as recorded by Schmidt was 38 inhabitants per Trio village in Suriname and 24 inhabitants per Trio village in Brazil (Schmidt 1942:49, 50-1). It is due to miscalculations (the inhabitants of village Joeloe were counted twice: both under 'Paloemeu' and under 'Sipaliwini') that these averages appear to be incorrect. The Surinamese Trio average number of inhabitants of a village is 33 and the Brazilian number should be 23. In addition, it should be noted that in the Surinamese number the fusion of two villages (Joeloe and Jetite) had just occurred. Schmidt had calculated them as one village, otherwise the Surinamese average would have been 28. Taking the fusion as it happened, the Surinamese and Brazilian Trio villages taken together (based on 21 villages), the average number of inhabitants of a Trio village during the 1940s was 26.

133 Pepu immediately recalled him as 'jeetï' meaning, 'my uncle'.

134 Ëujari considered himself to be of Pïreuyana descent, which translates as the 'Arrow' people. This was one of the subgroups that would merge into the Trio. In Alalapadu the Trio identity in general was emphasised. From Kwamalasamutu onwards, Paneshi came to stress his Okomoyana identity, which was also that of his grandmother (Tawiruye, the wife of Ëujari, who allegedly came from Pehkëtë). His stepbrother, Pepu, is Okomoyana too. Their father Sipi (Paneshi's stepfather) was also an Okomoyana. His mother, Paruparu, was said to have lived in Pehkëtë before coming to Panapipa (see Appendix J, see Riviere 1969:22).

135 Rivière applied index numbers when referring to the Trio. Pepu (RUS-01) was referred to by '22' and Paneshi (AMO-01) by '36' (Rivière 1969:309-311). I will know utilise these numbers to refer to the individual Trio wherever applicable.

to Alalapadu. The question now rises: What does this figure represent? As Pepu was a direct relative of Iyakëpon it is not a great surprise that he was able to remember so many of his relatives as well. According to Pepu, Iyakëpon (R-52) had come from Pehkëtë, prior to arriving in Panapipa, located just below the rapids of the present day Frederik Willem IV Falls and is considered the ancestral grounds of the Okomoyana (see Appendix K). According to Rivière, the missionary village of Alalapadu had been the first large sedentary Trio village to bring all the small Trio villages together. The mentioned flux of 96 persons could however imply that this process had already started earlier in the village of Panapipa. This number does indeed seem to indicate that this village had already been larger than the Trio average as based on Schmidt's data. The *caveat* should be raised here that we are speaking of a number of flux and not a static number of inhabitants.

We pursued the interview with the question where according to Pepu the Panapipans themselves originated from. Of the 96 Panapipans, 32 were said to have been born in Panapipa, like Paneshi who had also been born there. For those who born elsewhere, the following villages and regions were mentioned: Pehkëtë, Tapanani, Paikarekahpë, Kakaimë Eeku (where Pepu was born), Inkapiru, Samuwaka, Tukuimïn, Pono Eeku, Karamiri Eeku, Toronoi, and Makuimë. Of these villages and regions several could be traced and located on the map after comparing them with other sources. Pehkëtë had already been introduced as the aforementioned ancestral grounds of the Okomoyana. The name 'Tapanani' refers to the larger Tapanahony River and thus incorporates a larger region.[136]

Numerous villages could be traced, too. Paikarekaphë refers to a creek, and the village situated here was named after its leader Akandé ('*Village Paikalakapö or Akandé*' in Schmidt 1942:33,58). Kakaimë Eeku (*eeku* means creek) was named by Schmidt as '*Akame-oekoe*' or the village of captain Akakoe (Schmidt 1942:59). Pepu mentions the village of Inkapiru on several occasions, but it seems not to have an equivalent in Schmidt's or Rivière's writings or maps.[137] However, this village is also marked on the recent ACT map that deals with Trio land use of the Sipaliwini River. Tukuimïn and Makuimë could also be traced on the ACT map. The vil-

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136 This broader geographical reference in itself seems to reflect a greater social distance.

137 The nine Trio) mentioned by Pepu as having lived in Inkapiru prior to Panapipa and Alalaparu (R-123, R-130, R-165, R-169, R-173, R-175, R-189, R-216 and R-237) are mentioned neither in Rivière's report of people from Alalapadu nor in Schmidt's village data of the early 1940s (1969:105-8). However, there is one person (Siwiri, R-237) who was listed by Schmidt to have lived in Nelli (or Maraka Eeku) which is located nearby Inkapiru, at that time (Schmidt 1942:59).
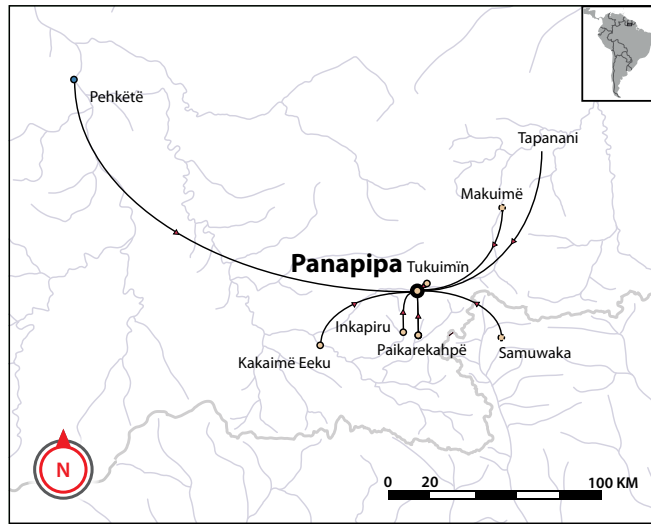
Fig. 5.3: The fusion to the village of Panapipa, c. 1942-1960.

Fig. 5.4: Ëujari (L), the village leader of Panapipa, and his successor, Pesaihpë (R). (Rivière's Photo Collection 1963-1964, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford).

lages of Pono Eeku, Karamiri Eeku and Torononi, however, could not be verified.[138]

138 The Amotopoans said they did not know the exact location of the Brazilian-Trio places; these cannot be verified. Therefore, only the Surinamese-Trio places were mapped. Moreover, although Schmidt claimed that rivers, creeks and mountains retain their Trio names over time, this in contrast to the names of the villages (Schmidt 1942:19). These names however appear not always to endure through time. Giving names to creeks is in most cases relational. This led to the situation that several names of creeks and rivers on the ACT map of the Middle Corentyne River appeared not to corroborate the names given by the Amotopoans. The Trio names of mountains seem to be most consistent.

After his son had passed away, Ëujari temporarily left the village of Panapipa to found the village Matïtïkiri. His reason for leaving Panapipa was the death of his son and his reason for choosing the location of Matïtïkiri was because he desired access to the Brazil nuts which grow abundantly there. After some time Ëujari returned to Panapipa. Pesaihpë (R-93, see Fig. 5.4 R) later succeeded Ëujari to become captain of Panapipa in the 'more energetic activities' marking the years before moving to Alalapadu (Rivière 1969:233).

5.2.2 The move to the missionary village of Alalapadu

> *"More than one child of the Trio now lived among the Waiwai. One of them, part Trio, part Mawayana, volunteered to take his wife and son and go with Kron [the missionary Claude Leavitt], now at another station, to the Trio people. Though Kron and his family had left Kanashen [a Waiwai village in southern Guyana), their influence lingered. A number of Christian Indians made the arduous trip to Kron's new place to demonstrate to the Trio tribe how Christian faith had brought welcome changes into their lives."* Dowdy 1963:231-232

Peter Rivière studied the social relations between the Trio living in in Alalapadu and in Palumeu. These two villages were the first missionary posts in the deep south of Suriname. Missionaries were able to access the interior through the infrastructural outcome of the new development plan which the Dutch government had instigated towards the end of the 1950s. This development plan was divided into a long-term project and a short-term project. The long-term project, operation 'Tortoise', intended to provide the colony with road connections to British Guiana in the east and French Guiana in the west. This has since been accomplished and is nowadays called the 'east-west connection' (D: Oost-West verbinding). Secondly, roads were planned in order to provide access into the deep interior. This process would be slow because the budget was limited. In addition, the organisation contracted for the road constructions also took on the task of training new Surinamese road constructors (Butner 1961:2).

As the road constructions slowly started on the east-west connection, the opening up of the interior demanded a quicker short-term solution enabling easier expeditions to map Suriname's resources. An operation called 'Grasshopper' entailed the construction of seven airstrips in the interior. The airstrip in the Sipaliwini Savanna and the one in Palumeu were located either near or inside Trio territory (see Fig. 5.5). With governmental permission, missionaries were also allowed to land on the airstrips and to then convert the Trio. Rivière began his research in these villages shortly after they had been built and describes how these mission stations had attracted Trio.

Rivière states that in 1963 upon his arrival in Alalapadu a turbulent period for the Trio had just transpired. Having gained permission from the Surinamese government in 1959, the Door-to-Life Gospel missionary Claude Leavitt had made first contact with the Trio near the Sipaliwini airstrip during the spring of 1960 to return more permanently in August 1961 (Rivière 1969:14-5). In the past, this missionary had lived among the Waiwai in Guyana for a period of ten years. He had brought with him a number of Waiwai from Guyana to help him with his work in Suriname. One of his Waiwai assistants, Japoma, had lived in Guyana for several years. He was in actual fact a Mawayana (meaning, 'frog people'; they speak an Arawakan language). His foster mother was a Trio. Having spent years in Brazil and Guyana Japoma felt a growing desire to return to his mother's Trio land in Suriname (Findlay 1976:230-1). The Waiwai were of great help to Claude Leavitt and his missionary work.

For a long time the Trio have looked up to the Waiwai because of their knowledge, skill in creating handicraft and large gardens with a large variety of crops (Grotti 2007:115-6; Brightman 2007:115). The mediation of the Waiwai must have facilitated the Trio to become convinced by Claude Leavitt ("Koron") to visit his village and later to be converted to Christianity (see Fig. 5.6). The Trio had not come across many white
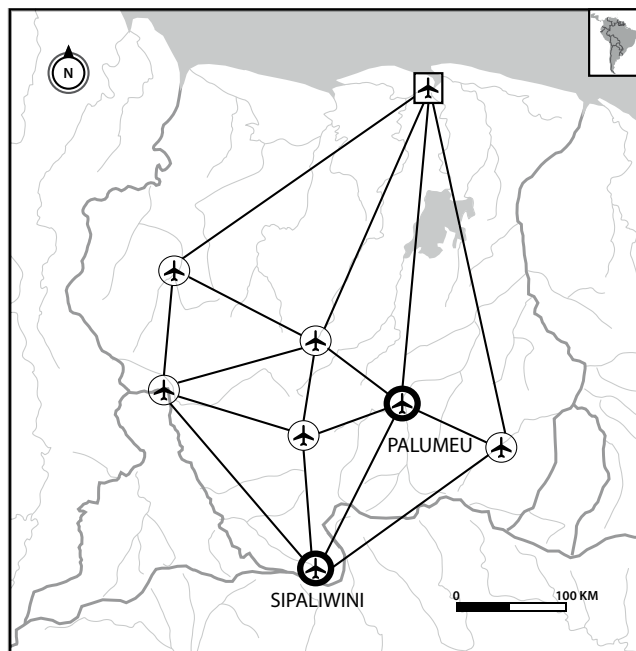

Fig. 5.5: Two of the seven airstrips of Operation Grasshopper where missionaries started their work amongst the Trio (Map from Butner 1961, with Palumeu and Sipaliwini highlighted).

Fig. 5.6: Claude Leavitt either baptising the Granman Pesaihpë in Alalapadu or demonstrating it (Rivière's Photo Collection 1963-1964, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford).

men prior to the 1960s. Rivière describes that during one of Leavitt's visits to the small Trio villages he was told by an older Trio man that, so far, he had only seen three *pananakiri* (E: *white person, townsperson*), namely Lodewijk Schmidt and the two Americans who were looking for the pilot Paul Redfern who had disappeared after his plane had crashed in the area of the Kutari (Rivière 1969:13-4;pers. comm. Carlin 2011).

In 1960, during his first short visit to the Sipaliwini River, Claude Leavitt made contact with the Trio village Aaro. On his return one year later he became acquainted with Ëujari, leader of the village of Panapipa (Boven 2001:27). Interestingly he spoke with Ëujari and not with Pesaihpë. According to Rivière, the latter Trio was considered the leader of Panapipa during its final days (Rivière 1969:233). Frikel asserts that the first mission station was actually in Panapipa to later move to Alalapadu (Frikel 1971:19). The question arises: did Leavitt chose the location of Alalapadu himself or was he assisted in this choice by the villagers of Panapipa and/ or Aaro? The village of Alalapadu is situated in a Brazil nut grove, a desired place for the Trio to be in the vicinity of. Not much earlier Ëujari had founded a temporary village Matïtïkiri in the neighbourhood, on the Kuruni river near the mouth of the Araraparu creek.

Ëujari might well have suggested to Claude Leavitt to establish his village here. Findlay describes that once the village area of Alalapadu had been cleared, and the first houses had been built, the village numbered
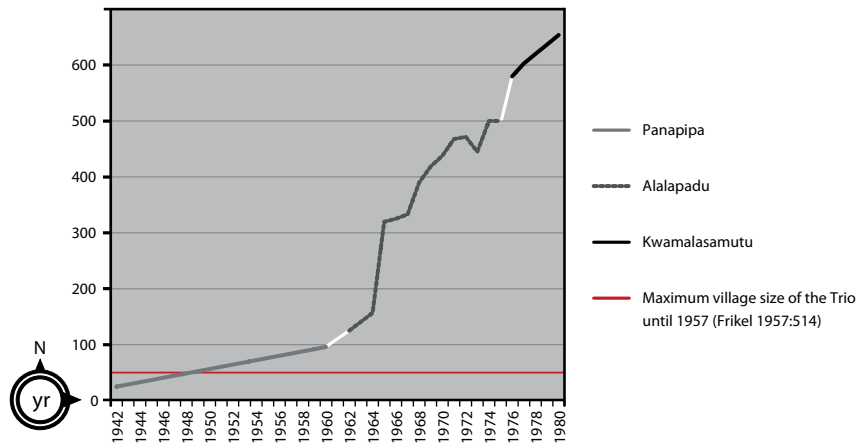
Fig. 5.7: The growth of the Trio village population in the Sipaliwini River basin. In sequential order from Panapipa (from 25 to 96), Alalapadu (from 125 to 500 [van Mazijk 1978]) and Kwamalasamutu (from 580 to 650 [van Mazijk 1978]).

125 Trio whereby the Trio inhabitants of Aaro and Panapipa were probably merged. To the present day it remain unclear whether the airstrip of Alalapadu determined the founding of the mission at that location or whether its construction followed the foundation of the mission. Healy's publication suggests that the latter is the case: Leavitt flew to the Sipaliwini savannah and held a meeting in the Trio village of Aaro. With Japoma's help, he convinced the Trio to settle in a single village. The location at the Araraparu creek was then selected for the founding of this village (Healy *et al.* 2003:39).

When Rivière conducted his fieldwork in Alalapadu between July 1963 and January 1964 this village had been in existence for only two years.[139] As previously done for Panapipa I will now in the same vein shed some light on the residential mobility of the inhabitants of Alalapadu. Of the 299 inclusives of Iyakëpon as recorded by Rivière in Alalapadu, 164 were alive and, thus, inhabitants of Alalapadu. As mentioned earlier, the residential movements of 146 inhabitants during the early days of Alalapadu could be remembered by Pepu (RUS-01) who was assisted by Paneshi (AMO-01) and Apëhpïn (AMO-02). It appeared that a large group (96) in Alalapadu had come from Panapipa. There were 44 others, who as Pepu recalled, came from other villages (see Fig. 5.8). We can confirm that these first villages that fused into Alalapadu almost all came from the Sipaliwini basin. Rivière mentions that towards the end of the 1964-1965 dry season, Trio fused into Alalapadu from their respective villages along the Brazilian

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139 Immediately after his fieldwork in Alalapadu, Rivière moved to Palumeu (January - April 1964) as his second location for fieldwork (Rivière 1969:128).
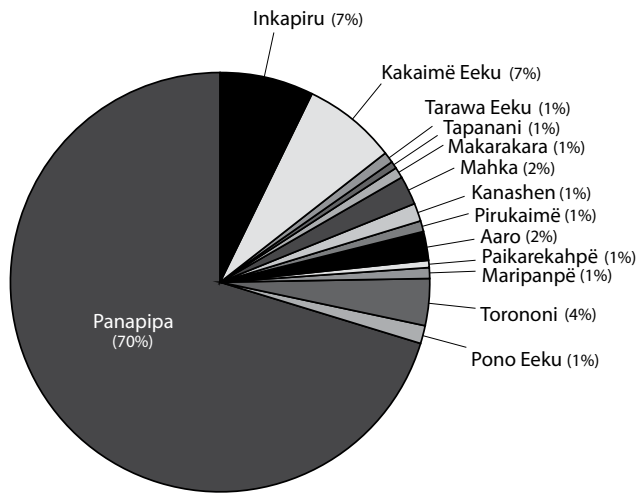
Fig. 5.8: Former villages of 146 of the inhabitants of Alalapadu during 1963-1964. As perceived by Pepu, Paneshi and Apëhpïn in 2008.

West-Paru and the Marapi. Trio from the Brazilian Anamu River also moved to Alalapadu in 1965. Rivière considers this considered the last migration wave that fused Trio into this missionary village. [140]

Two other sources mention that more villages have fused into the missionary village of Alalapadu. Recently, Healy *et al.* presented the following villages of origin for Alalapadu: *Aropo, Inka Perunpe po,* the large village of *Panapipa, Mahka, Aparakare*, a village at the mouth of the Wiumi creek and *Pahpaman* along the Kutari (Healy *et al.* 2003:39). Another, earlier source is a publication by Frikel. He states that the following villages fused into Alalapadu: *Matetekori, Ariwe-imo, Mampakampo, Maha, Panapipa, Tarawa-egu, Makuima, Awara, Iwatapurupo, Aro*, a village (name unknown) near the mountain *Parapohte* on the river Api-egu. From Brazil Trio came from the villages *Wurapa Iwepatafo, Kurapina* and in 1966 the Brazilian villages *Tuhka, Parapoto* and *Tunawapu* (Frikel 1971:38-40; see Fig. 5.9). Next to the fusion of these villages into the missionary village of Alalapadu, Trio from the Tapanahony River, but also from the Brazilian East-Paru River, likewise fused into the Palumeu missionary station. The new Brazilian Catholic mission situated near the headwaters of the West-Paru drew the least Trios from its own area. All in all, Trio demographic

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140 These are the residential waves that brought the Sakëta and the Aramayana to Alalapadu. This is presumably also the moment when Apëhpïn (AMO-02) moved to Alalapadu. She was born in a Brazilian Trio village (Waananpë) situated on the Marapi River. The Kuruni elders also seem to have come from the Marapi. Several Wanapan elders, on the other hand, appear to originate from the Anamu (Pëname) (see Fig. 5.9).
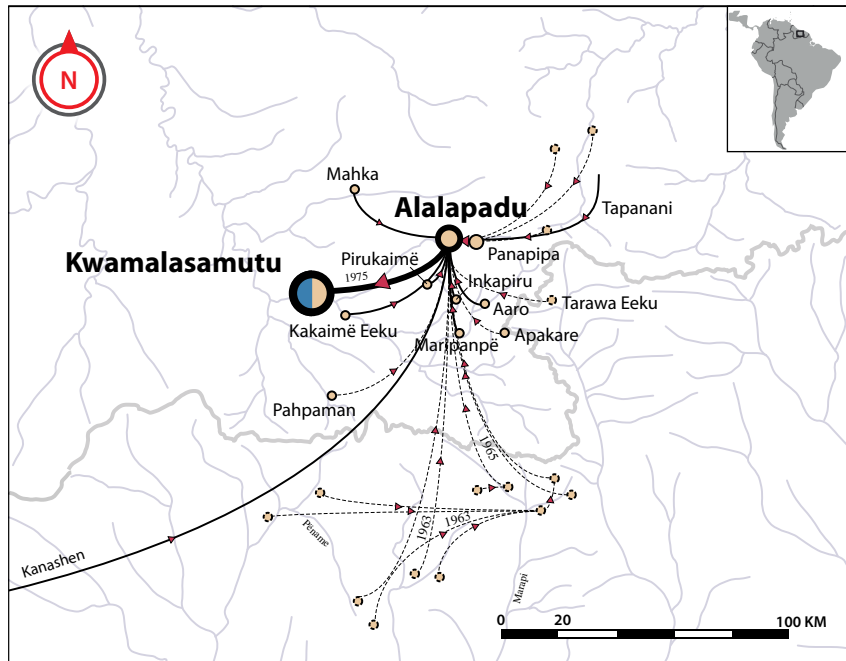
Fig. 5.9: The fusion to the missionary village of Alalapadu and the subsequent move to Kwamalasamutu. According to Pepu, Paneshi and Apëhpïn reflecting on Rivière's kinship data (solid lines). Excluded are the mentioned villages of Makarakara, Torononi and Pono Eeku for which no location could be verified. The former village of Aaro seems to be situated on the ACT map where on Schmidt's map the village Paikarekahpë was situated (see Fig. 5.3), so the latter was excluded here. Added (dashed lines and villages) are the Trio movements to Alalapadu between 1963 and 1966 as mentioned by Frikel (Frikel 1971:39,41) and the villages Pahpaman and Apakare mentioned by Healy et al. (Healy 2003:39).

centre of gravity shifted from Brazil to Suriname (Frikel 1972:38) during a short space of time.

After 14 years of living in Alalapadu, in the course of which the population grew to *c.* 500 villagers (van Mazijk 1978:12; see Fig. 5.7), the decision was made to move to Kwamalasamutu, 'the place of bamboo and sand', situated downstream along a larger stretch of the Sipaliwini River. Here the population grew even further and peaked during the mid-1990s after which people started to leave Alalapadu again. However, it is a large village even today coexisting next to small villages that have recently split off from it.

5.2.3 Human immobilisation in Alalapadu

The actual immobilisation of the human *mobilia* is envisioned in this section. While reflecting on the movements of their former co-habitants, before and after Alalapadu, Pepu (RUS-01), Paneshi (AMO-01) and Apëhpïn (AMO-02) indirectly provides us with an insight into the lives of those who passed away at Alalapadu. They could only reflect on those people present in Alalapadu during the first years (1961-1963), as Rivière had conducted his fieldwork in 1963-1964. Although this image is therefore not complete it does give us an insight into the final phase of the immobilisation process of the human *mobilia* the simulation in 5.1.3. could not provide.

Where 146 of the former residents have passed through Alalapadu 15 others passed away and were probably buried in Alalapadu (see Fig. 5.10). Although most were actual non-locals in this village, geologically 14 (93%) would show up in a hypothetical analysis (considering the earlier given *caveats* in 5.1.3) as being local, while the true locals were only two in number (13%). The two actual locals representing the latter percentage were both young boys who passed away (R-133, R-180). Again it seems that the two young deceased provide the most certain local proxy as was already noted in 5.1.3. Although the 13 others were actual non-local in the strictest sense, their villages of origin were not that far from Alalapadu apart either. Besides for two individuals (R-61 from Pehkëtë and R-116 from Kanashen in Guyana), the origins of the others (73%) seem to fall within a 50 km radius from Alalapadu.

In addition, it is interesting to notice that two individuals are said to have lived in Alalapadu twice. Since a decade Alalapadu II has been founded in the very same locality as the former eponymous village (Heemskerk & Delvoye 2007:32). The two elders who had lived in Alalapadu during the 1960s have recently returned to the newly founded Alalapadu village where they subsequently passed away (see R-6 and R-29 in Appendices K and L).
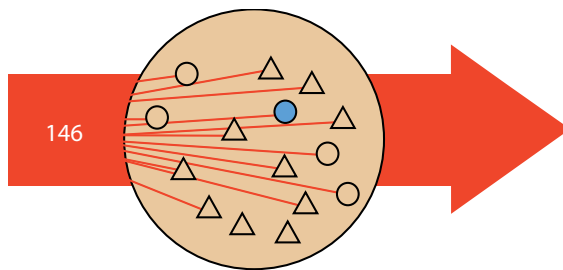

Fig. 5.10: Part of the human immobilisation process at Alalapadu. Data derived from Pepu (RUS-01), Paneshi (AMO-01) and Apëhpïn (AMO-02) reflecting on Iyakëpon's inclusives (Rivière 1969:309-318).

5.2.4 Alalapadu's spheres of movement

Now the Alalapadu context and its preceding fusion sequence has been provided, we can now tune in with the village level of Alalapadu by distilling the spheres of movement from Peter Rivière's findings (1969). As conceptualised in Chapter 4, the description will follow the division into subsistence *mobilia*, exchange *mobilia* and residential *mobilia*. Since Rivière's central focus concerned the social dimension of the village, and not necessarily the material village, the strands of data he provides (on occasion inevitably quoted at great length) are further contextualised by referring to the contemporary German missionary Protásio Frikel's publication on the aspects of the material culture of the Brazilian Trio (1973).

5.2.4.1 Subsistence mobilia

> *"In the reply of an informant when asked if anyone had ever stolen his bow or arrows: 'Why should anyone take mine? They can make their own.'"*
> Rivière 1969:41.

Several distinctions could be made on the basis of subsistence procurement thanks to observations recorded in Amotopo e.g. between (a) men who hunt and fish and who collect construction materials and fruits, and (c) women who predominantly move around the cultivated area procuring root crops and fire wood. As to Alalapadu during the early 1960s, Rivière reports that "the smallest viable economic unit is the partnership of a man and woman. The combination of an adult of each sex is theoretically capable of existing alone because between them they should know every technique of the traditional culture which the Trio use for exploiting the resources of their environment"(Rivière 1969:55). This remark suggests, strengthened by the head quote that items were mainly produced by each partnership independently.

As to terms of daily, logistical movements Rivière observes that the

> *"dietary items are normally collected by either sex as the opportunity arises, but both men and women will make special journeys to collect certain types of food. In the case of raw materials collection is usually restricted to the sex who will process it; a man will go to fetch material for weaving or making a house, but does not go to collect pottery clay, which is done by a woman as she needs it"* (Rivière 1969:47).

In relation to the procurement of raw resources he remarks that "raw materials which are used in the manufacture of every item in the Trio's traditional culture are mainly collected as required, and the range of such materials is immense" (Rivière 1969:46).

In the above statements Rivière mentions elements that require some elaboration. Although Alalapadu gourds of different sizes and ceramic pots and griddles were used, metal pots and pans were increasingly seen in Alalapadu too (e.g. Rivière 1969:40,210, Plate 8,11). Rivière adds that Trio possessions were few in number. Women had slightly more possessions (cooking utensils, implements required for the processing of the root crops) than men. A man's possessions in Alalapadu were all the items needed when hunting (bow and arrow, the occasional gun), fishing (hooks and line, knife), garden clearing and house construction (axe, machete). A man's or woman's possession is related to the gender-related task division (Rivière 1969:40). Rivière later forwarded the hypothesis that such a dividing of task contains a dichotomy between soft-female/hard-men which recurs in Trio oral narratives (Rivière 1969:261-263; see also Rivière 1995:196).

All of the above seems to have a number of implications with regard to the spatial spheres of daily movements. The spatial spheres of the men appear similar and potentially larger than those of the Amotopoan village. On the other hand, the women's spatial sphere also seems to have encompassed a part of the river for the provenance of clay. As this material usually derives from the river, this could well have been close to the bathing place which is considered to be part of the cultivated space in the Amotopoan case too. Father Protásio Frikel, while at the Brazilian Trio missionary station of Missão on the Brazilian West-Paru during the 1960s, observed a number of Trio making long-distance logistical moves in order to obtain the correct type of clay (T: *tawá*, see Frikel 1973:140). The Trio (Tiriyó) from the Brazilian West-Paru had to acquire their clay in the river Iriki which was approx. two day's travel away. According to Frikel this was not a particularly exceptional situation. He had observed a similar situation in the Trio villages of the Brazilian Pëname River. It is not clear if the women accompanied the men on such far trips. Amotopoan men do team up with the women when collecting seeds.

In general it can be stated that as the providing of raw resources was a task for each economical unit independently in Alalapadu, their spatial subsistence movements must have been more numerous when compared with those of the inhabitants of Amotopo where raw materials were also derived from the sphere of exchange. In addition, it should be noted that according to Rivière canoes were seldom found in Alalapadu during the early 1960s. Tree-bark canoes were hardly utilized as they are difficult to navigating on the shallow creeks and rivers especially in the dry season. During the early 1960s there were only two large dug-out canoes in Alalapadu. One was made by a Mawayana for the missionary Claude Leavitt, the other one by a Trio who had learned this skill on the Tapanahony River. In the course of his fieldwork Rivière had only once

seen a canoe put to use (Rivière 1969:50). The majority of the movements beyond the village and its gardens were on foot. This must have resulted in a different spatial, and hence temporal, radius than when compared with the village of Amotopo.

5.2.4.2 Exchange mobilia

> *"Concepts of property are poorly developed with regard to traditional objects since these are available from the boundless resources of the environment. However, this is not true in the case of women, who more than any other resource are vital not only for the survival of the individual but for the existence of the society at any level."* Rivière 1969:269

The next group of *mobilia* to contrast with Amotopoan situation is the group of exchange *mobilia*. Since Alalapadu had converged all the smaller villages in the wider region, predominantly intra-village exchanges were observed by Rivière and hence inter-village mobility observations are few. As stated, western goods were already available early on in Alalapadu. However, these only seemed present in small quantities and occurred alongside gourds, calabashes, basketry and ceramic griddles and pots. The gourds and calabashes were grown in their own gardens. The larger specimens served as water containers and the smaller ones to keep pigment, vegetable oil or, for instance, dried peppers in (Rivière 1969:40). Due to the heavy reliance on own procured items it seems that inter-village exchange of objects was not so apparent in Alalapadu. The larger hypothesised spatial subsistence spheres referred to in 5.2.4.1 could partly be the consequence of an inversion of the exchange movements in Alalapadu.

Rivière, however, does define two spheres of exchange which he could observe within the confines of Alalapadu. The first sphere concerns the exchange of women. It is also closely related to the exchange of game and food. Here human *mobilia* become exchange *mobilia*. This relation is based on the earlier stated inter-dependence of men and women. This does indeed start early on in life, as Rivière explains, through the example of a young boy who presents his first catch to his mother. Later in life, either "through death or delegation", the unmarried man will subsequently come to form an economic bond with his sister whom he will provide with game. In return she will provide him with processed food and beer. When his sister marries, his 'economic' loss has to be compensated by the return of another wife (Rivière 1969:180). In this way alliances are forged consisting of a pair of families that provide each other with wives. This exchange also comes with the obligation to provide services on the part of the man and the wife to their respective in-laws (Rivière 1969:163-4,208-9,269-270). With the focus on the material dimension, these services can subsequently surface over time as gifts of food and objects. Through the

fusion of villages these dynamics unfolded in Alalapadu within the confines of the village.

The second sphere of exchange concerns the hunting dogs. According to Rivière the hunting dog is the most important animal for the Trio, perhaps because it is also the most valuable trade item. The hunting dogs are normally cared for by men, but their partners also help. Rivière makes a distinction between dogs and hunting dogs. The latter will be valued on the basis of their willingness to chase game and the former will not be taken care of to the same extent (Rivière 1969:41). The best hunting dogs are placed on a dog table in the house or in a kennel, elevated from fleas and other insects. The Trio say that a good hunting dog has a curly tail. Now and again they lend nature a helping hand by curling the young puppies' tails (Rivière 1969:53). The Trio trade their dogs with the Maroons during short trade visits. Rivière once witnessed a hunting dog being sold "for two axes, two machetes, a big knife, a metal canister with padlock, a litre bottle of salt, two mirrors, a pair of scissors, and a metal basin" (Rivière 1969:53). Needless to say the Maroons were important for the Trio in Alalapadu. Besides the missionary, the Maroons were the only providers of manufactured goods, although the Trio expressed their dislike concerning the Maroons for driving hard and unfair bargains. The acquired goods served to facilitate their daily tasks (Rivière 1969:54).

5.2.4.3 Residential mobilia

> "It seems likely that there will be minor comings and goings for some time, if not always, but unless there is a further radical change in the influences at work on the Trio the traditional settlement pattern is unlikely to reappear, and the small scattered villages have been permanently replaced by large but more widely separated settlements." Rivière 1969:16.

The material dimension of the missionary village is only known through a single map that Peter Rivière drew of Alalapadu (Rivière 1969:135) and his collection of photographs.[141] In this section I will focus on a number of his observations concerning the village layout and the various structures. When looking at this map and the photographs of the Rivière Collection, three main observations distinctly contrast with the Amotopoan image. These are the shorter distance between the structures, the presence and absence of various types of structures and the changes within the structures. As we can see in Fig. 5.11 (see below), the occupied area in both villages is almost similar. The difference consists mainly in the density of structures

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141 The Rivière Collection was acquired by the Pitt-Rivers Museum (Oxford) in 2001.

in the villages. The flux of inhabitants into the eight-year-old village of Amotopo is 24. The flux of inhabitants in Alalapadu up till 1964 was 149 during a period of a few years.

Next to the difference in space, the differences in structures are apparent too. In the plan view of Alalapadu we see a total of 38 structures: 8 round structures and 30 rectangular ones. The main difference between the plan view of Alalapadu and Amotopo, is that that of Alalapadu features mainly habitation structures. In contrast, Amotopo contains only 8 habitation structures. In 1964 Rivière calculated five individuals living in each house, while reflecting on the Trio villages of both Palumeu and Alalapadu, although he also stressed that this may be an overrepresentation due to the high influx of people. This number is also influenced by the fact that the missionaries were persuading the Trio to live in each house as one nuclear family (Rivière 1969:38). Although communal cooking structures were present in Alalapadu (pers. comm. Rivière, 2011; Rivière 1969:39), most cooking took place in the structures which were also used for habitation. The same applied to the dog sheds as mentioned above. Kennels did exist, but dogs also rested on dog tables in the houses.

One could say that the structures in Alalapadu were more multifunctional when compared with the structures in Amotopo. Therefore the types of structure also differed. The floors of the round and rectangular structures were all at ground level. This seems directly linked with the ability to cook in a safe environment. The cooking and habitation structures in
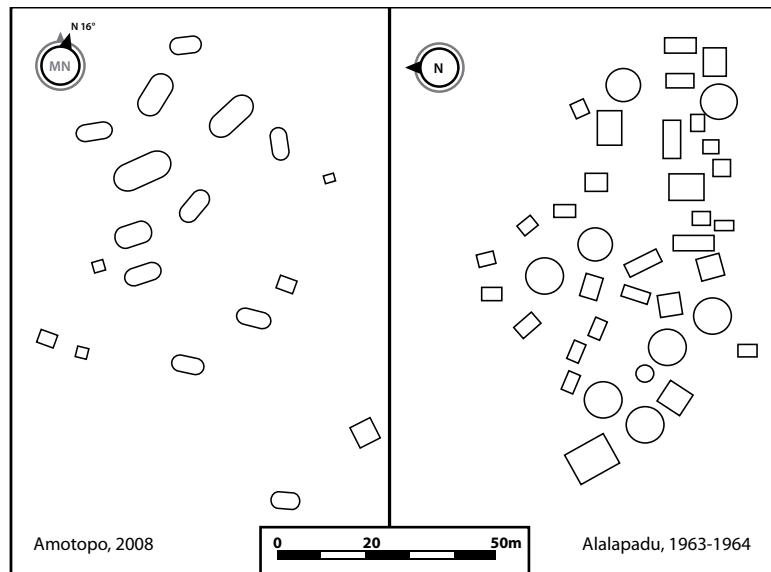

Fig. 5.11: Comparison of inter-structure distance differences between Amotopo and Alalapadu (adapted from Rivière 1969:135).
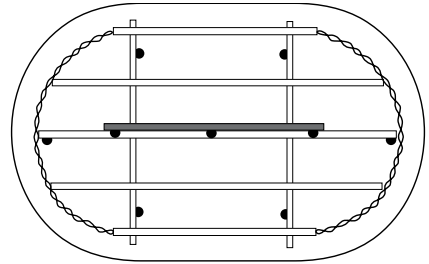
Fig. 5.12: A paiman house type in Alalapadu (L, Rivière 1963) and a plan view (redrawn from R, Frikel 1973:281).

Amotopo seem to be of the same type as the rectangular and elliptical habitation structures of Alalapadu (see Fig. 5.12) the difference being that the habitation structures in Amotopo have elevated floors and are a bit wider. During the early 1960s, Rivière could already witness some Trio houses on stilts, which he perceived as a very recent development potentially in imitation of the missionary house and airfield houses, but also noted similar reported house types among the Galibi of Cayenne and the Wayãpí. Frikel calls this (non-elevated) house type the *páima* (Frikel 1973:21) which I came to know as the *paiman* (see Fig. 5.12). Frankly, the Amotopoans called only the communal house the *paiman* and the habitation structure *pakoro* (*i.e.*, the generic term for 'house', Rivière 1995:190). However, its structure and that of the kitchen structure is of the *paiman* type.

The round houses which appear in the plan view and photographs of Alalapadu are not present in Amotopo. The traditional Trio house (Rivière 1995:192,196) was considered to be a specific type of the round houses and referred to as *mine* (see Fig. 5.13). This beehive-like structure was characterised by its circular shape, being thatched all the way to the ground, and harbouring a single door opening in this thatch (Frikel 1973:18-9, refers to this structure as '*müne*'). According to Paneshi (pers. comm. 2009) the thatch of the *mïnnë* down to the ground serves to keep the warmth inside. According to Rivière it might also bear a ritual connotation in the sense of concealing what is inside. Although he has no clear evidence for this, it is a given that the same structure, albeit smaller, was utilized by the shaman as a place to conduct his séances. In this structure the shaman can be invisible from the outside, implying he is in a state of travelling to one of the layers of the invisible cosmos (Rivière 1995:196).

Their architectural plan shows us a circular build-up of several roof-bearing posts. In order to arrive at a circular house plan, the Trio utilised a piece of liana in order to measure a perfect circumference from the centre (pers. comm. Rivière 2011). Next to the *mïnnë* another type of round structure could be observed in Alalapadu (pers. comm. Paneshi Panekke 2009). This circular structure was similar to the *mïnnë*, with the important difference it had no walls within its essential structure and was referred to as *tïmahkatë* ('*tímakötö*' in Frikel 1973:20; see Fig. 5.13). A final type of round structure known to the Trio in other villages, but not present in Alalapadu, was the *tukusipan* ('*tukúxipá*' in Frikel 1973:20-1). This structure was also open, but came with a more bowl-shaped appearance due to the utilisation of flexible rafters and an extra ring of roof bearers in its plan.

According to Rivière, the general Trio outline of a settlement is a clearing (*anna*) surrounded by the structures. Whenever the structures do not encircle the *anna*, it can be found in front of the structure where collective activities take place. Garbage is deposited behind the structures on a plot of half-cleared land between the village and the forest (Rivière
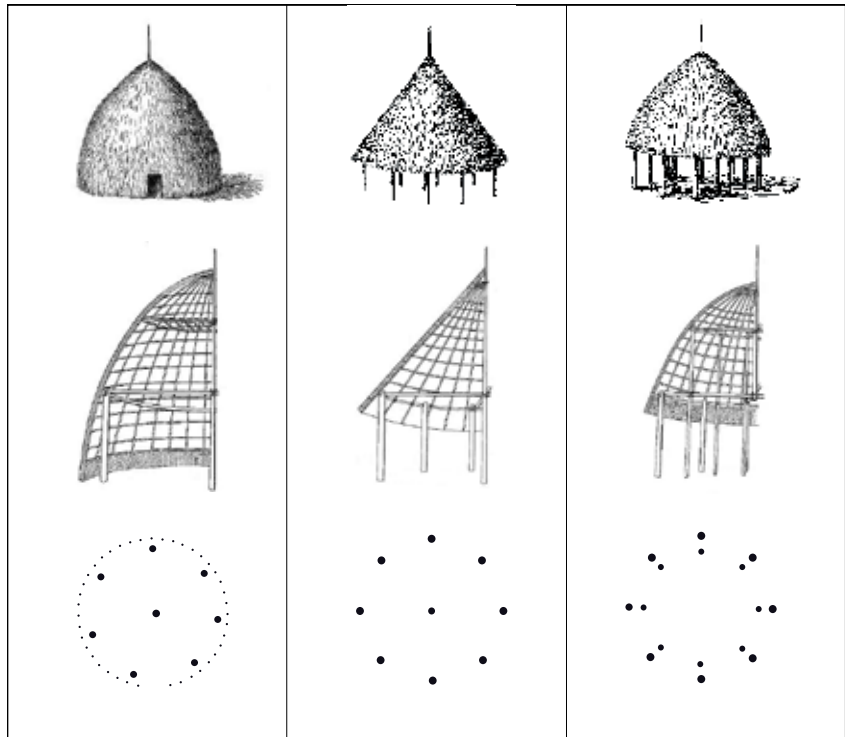

Fig, 5.13: From L to R: A müne, a tímakötö and a tukúxipá (Adapted from Frikel 1973:278-280).

1995:192). The *anna* is visible on the map of Alalapadu (Fig. 5.11), al-
beit as a small narrow stretch because there is very little space between
the houses. According to Paneshi, this close proximity between structures
was something of the past. After a number of fires, the Trio had decided
to leave more room between the houses (pers. comm. Paneshi Panekke
2009).

Rivière also stressed that most structures were short-lived. After several
wet seasons the majority of the roofs had become infested with insects. In
general this did not drive the Trio to create a new thatch roof, but rather to
construct an entirely new house elsewhere. Besides the functional reason
for erecting a new structure, another reason could be the desire to inhabit
a new place free of 'misfortune'. Misfortune, seen as the result of a disease
or death of a family member, could become associated with the location
(Rivière 1995:197). This increased the motivation to build a new house
or to found a new village. One question remains unanswered to me: how
long did this tight village plan of Alalapadu exist once several houses were
abandoned and new ones were created, presumably outside this tight vil-
lage plan?

5.3 'Anapi': A state of deep Trio fission (1907-11)

> *"...the watershed region became a retreat area where the remnants of a*
> *number of different groups settled, some of whom had possibly suffered*
> *already from European contact. Whether or not there was an earlier or*
> *indigenous population is not important, but the population density was*
> *almost certainly higher than it is now. Mainly as a result of exotic sickness*
> *and disease, this population became gradually depleted. The survivors, their*
> *attitude to strangers tempered by their unfortunate experiences with them,*
> *turned in upon themselves to find security among their kin and co-resi-*
> *dents."* Rivière 1969:19

The last period to complete our centennial focus represents an era of deep
Trio fission. For this period there is no detailed micro-resolution informa-
tion concerning one particular Trio village, as was the case (see 5.3) on the
village of Alalapadu. It was therefore chosen here to allow one village to
serve as a symbol (a heuristic village) for the pre-fusion period that char-
acterizes the first half of the 20th century. Being an ancestral village of the
Amotopoans, the village of Anapi, Paneshi's great-great-grand-father, was
chosen to be this symbol. The village of Anapi allegedly existed during the
first decade of the 20th century as testified Dutch explorers testified in the
course of their earliest expeditions in the headwaters of the Sipaliwini ba-
sin; it was sadly never visited by them. However, their reports of the small
neighbouring Trio villages of Anapi have served to reconstruct the spheres

of *mobilia* for this period. Due to this twist it becomes clear that we are losing grip crossing the boundary of reported and inferred knowledge (see Fig. 1.1).

The contextual information for the present chapter originates both from oral Trio history and from the aforementioned early Dutch and Surinamese expeditions. The Dutch expedition reports set the anchor points for this chapter, because they shed light on specific time period regarding the first-hand documentation of specific Trio individuals and their villages. This is not to say that Trio history starts with Dutch sources. The Trio have orally passed down their histories which are full of human movements. This information is contextually of great significance. Although it is unclear to which temporal period is specifically referred to, the oral histories suggest that fusions into large multi-ethnic villages predate first Trio-European contact and that the village which is here contextualised, 'Anapi' (1907-1911) in fact represents a state of deep Trio fission. Therefore, I will start the following section with accounts from Trio oral history that precede the first Trio meetings with the Dutch explorers.

5.3.1 Oral histories: the Samuwakan diaspora and the Okomoyana[142]

I will now focus on some oral histories of the Trio as they have been recorded in the past decades. The Trio discuss their own movements in the past that preceded contact with people from the coast in these histories. Although these accounts are being renegotiated every time they are told, there are some recurring elements and details that are of interest. As will become clear, these accounts should not be attempted to be placed in one linear history. The selection of oral histories begins with the legendary village of Samuwaka as one of the numerous stories Tëmenta (R-482) told to Cees Koelewijn (Koelewijn & Rivière 1987:260).[143] A later and shorter version was documented by Karin Boven (Boven 2001:18-9). The account is complemented with certain additions and variations provided by an-

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142 The first oral account of Tëmenta (Koelewijn & Rivière 1987) followed by Pepu's account (Appendix M) are paraphrased at great length and are complemented by information from Pesaihpë (Findlay 1976) and Tëmenta's second account (Boven 2001).

143 In answer to Koelewijn's question as to what to say in the preface to his stories, Tëmenta replied spontaneously: "What about the Trio? Don't they have roots, don't they have a past and a future? No, we have ties with both! We have fathers, we have mothers, we have always had ancestors, and now we have sons, daughters, grandchildren. Therefore we have ties with past and future." However, the Trio youth had lost interest in these oral traditions. Instead they have oriented themselves increasingly towards city life. Tëmenta took the opportunity of documentation "to pass on his valuable knowledge from Trio history through the permanence of writing rather than through the ephemerality of speech" (Koelewijn in Koelewijn & Riviere 1987:XI).

other short account on Samuwaka as told by Granman Pesaihpë (R-93) to Claude Leavitt (Findlay 1976:1). It is followed by Pepu's account that is specifically on the Okomoyana (see Appendix M).

The story of the large village of Samuwaka, as told by Tëmenta, seems in time to have preceded the Trio's first encounters with the Maroons and their later contacts with the white people (Boven 2001:17). Pesaihpë estimated the expanse of Samuwaka 'village' to equate the distance between Panapipa and Alalapadu, which *c*. 18 km (Findlay 1976:1). It is unclear if this refers to an actual location, or an agglomeration or cluster of smaller villages, or that Pesaihpë just meant to say 'very large'. The location of Samuwaka is known and can be located near the Kantani (the *inselberg* Pico Ricardo Franco) in the Paru savanna close to a creek of the Brazilian West-Paru River (Boven 2001:17; for a location of the Pico Ricardo Franco see also Bubberman 1973: Fig.8).

The oral accounts on Samuwaka depart from a situation in which this large 'village' had already come into being. According to Tëmenta Samuwaka was the contextual setting of the story of the young boy Aturai[144] who was kidnapped by the Akuriyo and the Okomoyana (Koelewijn & Riviere 1987:253-61; Boven 2001:18). The Akuriyo and the Okomoyana at the time were trading partners, had intermingled with each other and lived on the upper Tapanahony near the Arakamïn Mountain (Boven 2001:18). They were considered to be fierce by the Trio. The Trio ('Tirijo'), on the other hand, were the allies of the Aramayana, the Pirëujana and the Akïjo.[145] They lived together in the area of Samuwaka. One day the father of Aturai (the Pïreuyana Sohpiripi who was also one of the leaders of Samuwaka [Boven 2001:18]), had taken the family on a trip to the upper reaches of the Kuruni River near the Tukuimïn Mountain. While the men were hunting and the women were collecting firewood the little boy Aturai and his younger brother were kidnapped by the Akuriyo in an unguarded moment when they were left alone playing in a creek.

Years went by and the two young brothers were raised among the Akuriyo. After quite some time their stepmother, who cared for her Trio foster children as if they were her own, warned Aturai that her people and the Okomoyana were planning to kill and eat him and his brother. Aturai was also warned by his girlfriend who advised him to escape and return

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144 Pesaihpë instead speaks about the son of Aturai (Maruwaikë [Boven 2001:18]) being kidnapped and not Aturai himself (Findlay 1976). In another brief account by Rivière, Aturai is kidnapped by the Okomoyana (Rivière 1969:263).

145 In the various accounts there seems much confusion regarding the name 'Akïjo'. In one account the name represents a group, both as an ally of the Trio (Koelewijn & Riviere 1987:253) as well as an enemy group (Boven 2001:18). In another context the name refers to the leader of the Akuriyo at the time of Samuwaka (Findlay 1976). In another report it also represents a Wayana leader during Trio-Wayana wars in the post-Samuwakan era (Koelewijn & Rivière 1987:262-264).

to the Kantani Mountain where his people came from. Although warned, Aturai's younger brother did not escape. While the latter's body had already been painted with patterns and tied up 'like a tortoise' on the village square (where he was to be ritually slain [Boven 2001:18]), Aturai escaped to make his way to the Kantani Mountain and back to Samuwaka.

Aturai decided to take revenge for the death of his younger brother. The Trio of Samuwaka then attacked the Akuriyo and the Okomoyana in their own villages (one of their leaders was Werehpai [Boven 2001:18]). One village was located near the mountain *Arakamïn*, one near the *Ëmërijatë* creek, one near the *Siminatë* creek and one village was called *Awarerupo*.[146] Here all the men and women had gone except for a few children. Aturai captured a little boy named Maritïïkë at *Awarerupo*, who turned out to be a very intelligent and strong. He was not an Akuriyo, however, but a Pianakoto whom Aturai later adopted as his subordinate. Subsequently they set off for the mountain on top of which the Akuriyo were waiting for them armed with their bows and arrows. Here the Trio allegedly surrounded the mountain and fought a final battle with the Akuriyo killing them all (Tëmenta in Koelwijn & Rivière 1987:260).

In Pesaihpë's account[147] and Tëmenta's second account as documented by Boven, the Trio wars against the Akuriyo and Okomoyana did not stop there. A number of the Okomoyana had fled to the Sipaliwini (Tëmenta in Boven 2001:18). Here Pepu's account on Okomoyana movements blends in. The Okomoyana who had already moved their villages further northwest in the Sipaliwini basin (see Appendix M), were attacked with clubs by the Trio leaders Aturai and his son Maruwaikë. According to Pepu, this took place in the Okomoyana village of *Kurere Ahkëtëhpë* which is situated near present-day Kwamalasamutu (see Fig. 5.14). In Tëmenta's second account, this encounter took place near Makuiwaka [Boven 2001:18][148] which in turn is one of the Okomoyana villages mentioned in Pepu's

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146 Of these only the mountain reference can still be found. The names of the creeks and village are no longer known or have changed. However, the *Awarape* creek could have given its name to the village *Awarerupo*. According to Frikel Tëmenta ('Temetá') was the village leader of '*Awara-po*' during the late 1950s which Frikel situated Awarapo near the *Awarape* creek (as mentioned on the ACT map). Tëmenta's village was described as one of many of which the inhabitants moved to Alalapadu (Frikel 1971:38).

147 In Pesaihpë's version this final attack actually followed upon several revenge attacks by both sides. Ultimately, however, the Trio ambushed the Akuriyo in the savanna to the east of the Kantani mountain. Here the Akuriyo found themselves surrounded by numerous Trio and were eventually slain. This site is even today called '*Akijo Aminiemieri pipie*', the place where the Akuriyo were fooled (Pesaihpë in Findlay 1976:3-4).

148 The Trio also attacked a group of Okomoyana near Kïnoro waka which is situated at the headwaters of the Tapanahony (Boven 2001:18). It is unclear if this is the same Okomoyana group as the one encountered in the Sipaliwini basin who according to Pepu's account, were moving in a northwesterly direction. There could also have been two separate Okomoyana groups.

account). The Trio killed almost all the Okomoyana except for a small number who fled further northwest, to Pehkëtë.

According to Pesaihpë's account, as documented by Findlay, the war with the Akuriyo and the Okomoyana had caused the Trio to consider living in a single large village as too dangerous (Findlay 1976:4). Moreover, there were too many people in Samuwaka and there was not enough meat to feed everybody (Koelewijn & Rivière 1987:262). It is also stated that many tensions emerged due to the problems with the redistribution of the game that hunters brought to the village (Findlay 1976:4; Boven 2001:18). The village leaders counted how many people there were by providing everyone with a small piece of meat from a large bamboo skewer. Next the people left in various directions. The large-scale fissioning of the village now took place dividing the people into subgroups. They named themselves either after their leader or after a certain characteristic (Pesaihpë in Findlay 1976:4). Several groups went to the Palumeu, the Tapanahony, Okomokï, Wanamu, the Paru and the Marapi Rivers (Koelewijn & Rivière 1987:262; Boven 2001:19).[149]
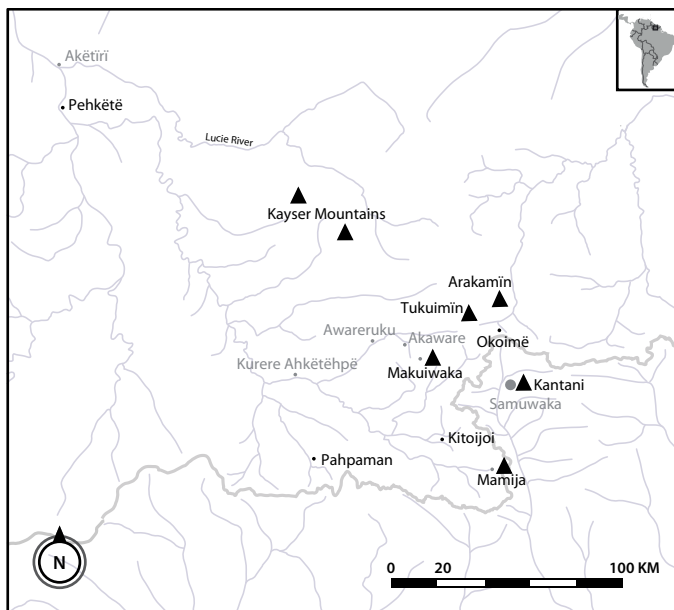

Fig. 5.14: Villages and mountains mentioned in the oral histories (The estimated localities indicated in grey could not be verified with the ACT 2003 & 2004 map).

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149 In his first account, Tëmenta also added the Okomoyana as scattering from Samuwaka, moving back to the Sipaliwini basin when the large village had split off. The Okomoyana are no longer mentioned in his second version.

Let us now continue with Pepu's account concerning the Okomoyana, who had been decimated by the Trio and had fled to the northwest, to Pëhkëte. There the number of Okomoyana started increase again. They lived not far from where the village of Lucie is presently located.[150] The leader of that Okomoyana village was *Akëtïrï* who had two sons, *Siikim* and *Kasipara*. *Siikim* firstly travelled up the Lucie River (as far as to the Käyser Mountain) and then moved to the Wonotobo Falls (Wanapan) before returning to *Akëtïrï*. His brother Kasipara moved upriver to the Kutari tributary to reach the village of Pahpaman where many Okomoyana allegedly lived. Afterwards they returned to the mouth of the Kutari River and moved further upstream on the Kuruni River to the Araraparu creek. The local Okomoyana leader here was Eemainan. The Okomoyana moved further to the mountain of Mamija and then to the mountain of Kujari Oota. There was a village here too. Next they moved to the village of Kitoijoi (the same place where later Apikollo was located, see Fig. 5.14 and 5.15). Here the Okomoyana met up with Trio from Samuwaka again. The Okomoyana leader at that time, *Suriwa*, moved to the village Okoimë where the Okomoyana and the Trio shared wives and started living together in Samuwaka. According to Pepu, the Trio and the Okomoyana subsequently fought against 'the Akïjo' on the Kantani Mountain. Once this battle had run its course, the Okomoyana had convinced the Trio and the Akïjo to lay down their spears and clubs (see Appendix M).

As becomes evident, Pepu's account discusses the village of Samuwaka twice. The account on Samuwaka seems hereby to be brought full circle as a true drawing by M.C. Escher. Firstly he deals with the large village of Samuwaka as home to the Trio heroes, Aturai and Maruwaikë, who chased the Okomoyana away after they had slain and devoured Aturai's brother in the company of the Akuriyo. Many residential movements of the Okomoyana later, travelling through a wide extent of the Corentyne River, the Okomoyana arrived at the village of Samuwaka. Here they came to live together with the Trio. Both fought the Akïjo on the Kantani Mountain, but eventually laid down their weapons. It should be made clear that references made to groups and events in oral traditions are renegotiated every time they are told and should be seen as constantly being appropriated to current contexts. They are not meant to be placed in linear sequential order.

However, several Trio oral traditions do tell historical events that sync with information we know from expedition reports. Some are truly historical, some have become myths, others are myths containing historical events (Rivière in Koelewijn & Rivière 1987:303-4). In other words it could well be that the Okomoyana and the Trio have lived together

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in a village 'Samuwaka' in more recent times. This does not mean that 'Samuwaka' in Pepu's second statement also refers to the legendary large village of Samuwaka. It could also refer, for instance, to a more recent and probably smaller village in the same location as that of the legendary large village of Samuwaka, namely the Paru Savanna near the Kantani Mountain. This would explain Pepu's remarks that certain people on Rivière's list had also lived in 'Samuwaka' (see Appendix K).

5.3.2 Dutch expeditions in the Sipaliwini basin (1907-1942)

Let us now look into the earliest Dutch and Surinamese expedition reports. Explorers from the United Kingdom were the first to establish a borderline between British and Dutch Guiana towards the end of the 19th century (Schomburgk 1845; Barrington Brown 1877).[151] As a result of these expeditions, the western borders of the present-day Surinamese territory were initially determined. However, the Surinamese interior itself had remained largely unexplored ever since the Dutch had claimed the territory as their colony. The reasons for this neglect might have been due to the fact that the earliest prospection in the interior appeared to suggest that there were no riches to be found in the deep interior only more impenetrable forests and infertile ground. In other words, the myth of El Dorado had become clear to the colonizers. From this moment on the forests in the south were perceived as a barrier isolating Suriname from the rest of the South American continent. The focus shifted to the plantations in the coastal area rendering a large part of Suriname a *terra incognita* to the Dutch from the 17th till the early 20th century.

Interest in the interior was rekindled in the course of the 19th century.[152] In 1897 an idea was born at a meeting of the *Vereeniging voor Suriname* (the *Suriname Association*) to scientifically and systematically explore the interior of Suriname where only a handfull, in some places not even a sin-

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151 The first visit by a European to a Trio village has to be ascribed to Schomburgk. In 1843 on a border exploration he visited a small 'Drio' village at the head of the Anamu River (near the Kutari River) describing it as a sister tribe of the Pianaghottos (Schomburgk 1845:84,86). An interesting remark by Schomburgk is that the 'Drio' were decorated with incisions (Schomburgk 1845:85). In addition, he reported that both Pianaghottos and Drios were friendly with the Surinamese Maroons to the East although they complained that these Marroons were difficult to negotiate with when trading glass beads (Schomburgk 1845:87). For a discussion on early European explorers in the border area of Suriname and French Guiana, see Duin 2009:78-85.

152 It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to investigate what the reason for this renewed interest could be. In order to postulate a hypothesis: after the abolition of slavery in Suriname in 1875, the plantation industry could perhaps no longer leech off Surinamese agriculture to a maximum profit. Former slaves became paid labourers and labourers from China, British India and the Dutch East Indies were contracted. The Dutch interest in the Surinamese interior was born out of the potential new resources that could be found there as plantation profits were waning (see Buddingh 1995:212-72).

gle European, had ever set foot (Van der Wijck & Bosboom in Bakhuis 1902:1). This Dutch idea regarding expeditions appeared an expensive affair. To be able to succeed in such a costly enterprise the *Maatschappij ter Bevordering van Natuurkundig Onderzoek in de Nederlandse Koloniën* (the *Society for promotion of Physical Research in the Dutch Colonies*) was requested to contribute, as was the *Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* (the *Royal Dutch Geographical Association* [henceforth abbreviated KNAG]). The most important party to involve was the Dutch Government.

The primary reason of the KNAG expeditions was the exploration of the colony of Suriname and not so much to learn about its inhabitants. Firstly the Coppename River was explored, then the Saramacca River and finally Maroni River in the course of which encounters with the Wayana people were documented. During this third expedition First Lieutenant Claudius de Goeje officiated as the second geographer. Besides the actual objectives of the expedition, de Goeje also took great interest in the Amerindian inhabitants. He learned to speak the language of the Wayana on the basis of linguistic notes recorded by the French explorer Crevaux. They would help him to communicate with the Wayana people (Franssen Herderschee 1905a:113). Our attention is mainly drawn to the de Goeje's two subsequent expeditions (the 1904 Tapanahony expedition and the 1907 Tumuc-Humac expedition) which brought him to Trio territory with the help of Wayana scouts.

The first encounter between de Goeje and the Trio was instigated by the Wayana scout called Toewoli. He guided the Dutchman to the village of Majoli located at the headwaters of the Palumeu River (a tributary of the Tapanahony) in 1904. De Goeje describes the first meeting with the Trio in the eponymous village of leader Majoli where his eye soon "fell on a bunch of squatting men, who stared at the strange visitor distrustingly. The red and black [painted] figures on their faces and the clubs they were holding in their hands, gave them a fierce appearance" (de Goeje in Franssen Herderschee 1905b:937-8). He was welcomed there by village leader Majoli who wore jaguar teeth around the neck. De Goeje remarks how close the houses stood together and that they were full of barking dogs. Their loud presence forced him to sleep in a camp outside the village. Having continued his journey hoping to come across the Brazilian Trio in the headwaters of the East-Paru River, he did stumble upon Trio villages the inhabitants of which had all fled.

De Goeje returned on a subsequent expedition, the Tumuc-Humac Expedition, in 1907. This time he penetrated further into Trio territory visiting several Trio villages. This expedition brought him as far southwest as the Trio village of Apikollo. In 1910-1911, an expedition to the Corentyne River took place. Lieutenant Conrad Käyser now approached

the Trio area from the other side, namely from the Corentyne in southeast direction. Käyser also visited a number of Trio villages and went as far east as the village of Apikollo, which in the mean time had been deserted. Both de Goeje and Käyser were informed about other Trio villages situated along a path between the villages of Langóe in the east and Sikima in the west. Both men, however, did not have enough time to travel further along this path.

One of these villages was the one of leader Anapi (see Fig. 5.15). I will briefly explain the link with captain Paneshi from Amotopo. Paneshi's great-grandfather appeared to be Sawirapo (Rivière 1969:311), also referred to as Tunawaka ('Toenawakka' in Schmidt 1942:39). Sawirapo's father was called Anapi. Anapi's village was situated near a mountain called Tukuimïn ('Toekoeimoeni' in Käyser 1912:46). Both de Goeje and Käyser had heard about this village, but did or could not visit it. The village of Tukuimïn, located near the eponymous mountain, is the village where Ëujari was allegedly born (see Appendix K). Together the reports of de Goeje and Käyser (de Goeje 1908; Käyser 1912) represent the earliest first-hand information on the Trio of the Sipaliwini basin dating from the first decade of the 20th century.
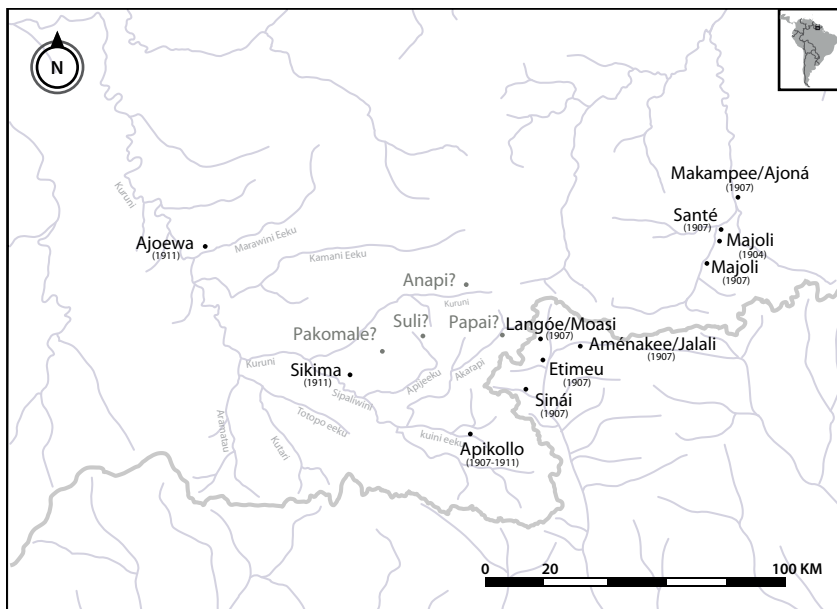

Fig. 5.15: Trio villages visited by de Goeje (1904, 1907) and Käyser (1911). The approximated Trio villages indicated in grey were reported to de Goeje and Käyser, but not visited.

After the above-mentioned expeditions, another three followed approaching and entering the Sipaliwini basin, namely 1913-1916 expedition led by William Farabee (Farabee 1924), the 1926 expedition led by father Willem Alhbrinck and Gerold Stahel (Ahlbrinck 1927), and the 1933-1938 expeditions which focused on the mapping of the southern border with Brazil (van Lynden 1939). Farabee stated he encountered a Kumayena village (probably Okomoyana) built on an eastern creek (called Karape) of the Kutari tributary (Farabee 1924:214; Rivière 1963:173).[153] Ahlbrinck and Stahel's 1926 expedition did not travel up the Sipaliwini tributary but remained on the Corentyne River and her Kuruni, Kutari and Aramatau tributaries. They came across a large number of camps and a few gardens situated along these tributaries. All but one but one camp along the Kutari tributary was deserted. Here the Germans briefly encountered a small group of frightened Amerindians. Unfortunately, Ahlbrinck could not find to which group these people belonged. However, he assumed that they potentially had their proper villages on the Sipaliwini tributary (Ahlbrinck 1927:112). The camp structures and the objects were documented in detail (Ahlbrinck 1927:114-39). In the course of the 1930 border expeditions that focussed on the Corentyne River, they merely encountered certain Amerindian traces and a small number of travelling Trio (van Lynden 1939:817-8). [154]

The aforementioned *Baas* Lodewijk Schmidt provides us with a final first-hand source for the comprehension of the fission context in the Sipaliwini basin. Since the boundaries of Suriname had been established, there was no sound notion as to the Amerindian inhabitants during the interior 30 years after de Goeje's expedition. For this purpose it was not considered necessary to go for an expensive expedition. Thus Schmidt departed on a one-man venture. During the course of three journeys (1940-1942), he visited 20 Trio villages of an informed total of 25 (Stahel in Schmidt 1942:5), yielding a new overview of Trio villages in Suriname and Brazil (see Fig. 5.16; but see Frikel & Cortez 1972:38-9). Likewise,

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153 Farabee found the Kumayena village by encountering some sunk bark canoes tied to a branch on the river bank. They followed the nearby path for three hours to the village, where they encountered five men, five women and two children. The village which was not in good condition (the worst he encountered on his expedition), was composed of several houses which he describes as "tumbled down shelters in an old grown up field". The people were described to have no stored food except for some nuts. Farabee implies they did not have more possessions besides "ragged breech cloths" and "fragments of aprons" (Farabee 1924:214).

154 Of the multiple expeditions of the latter, the focus here lies mainly on the first expedition on the Corentyne River which approached the Sipalwini basin. An exception should be made as to the expedition member named Rombouts and as to Art Williams (the English Border Commissioner). Together they set out to investigate the disappearance of the American pilot Paul Redfern whose plane had vanished somewhere in this region a few years earlier. They went up the Sipaliwini River and also briefly visited a Brazilian-Trio village (Alapité). No further details on this visit have been published (van Lynden 1939:819; Schmidt 1942:24).

he inventoried all the villages writing down the names of the Trio who lived there or who were said to live there. As mentioned above, Ëujari was village leader of the eponymous village ('Ojalè' also called 'Panapikpan' [Schmidt 1942:58]). It was probably located not far from the village where he was born (Tukuimïn) nor that of his grandfather Anapi. As stated in 5.2.1, during Schmidt's time (the early 1940s), the village of Panapipa had not yet started to grow out of proportion, still resembling the size of its small neighbouring Trio villages. Besides the static inventory as composed by Schmidt, the three separate journeys also allowed for observing changes in the spatial settings of localities visited earlier, even in such a short period of time.

The first-hand reports presented by de Goeje (1905; 1908), Käyser (1912) and Schmidt (1942) combined provide us with a solid basis for the construction of the spheres of movement for a heuristic Trio village ('Anapi') representing a deep state of fission.

5.3.3 'Anapi' spheres of movement

The accounts of oral history show that the 1907-1911 context of 'Anapi', our heuristic village which is also the village of Paneshi's great-great-grand-father, should be seen as one of fission. The Dutch first-hand sources have now been introduced and provide us with the pre-fusion data set from which the spheres of movement can be distilled. Besides these reports an additional source will be called for. Peter Rivière had interviewed numerous Trio in Alalapadu and Palumeu how life had been in the days before they had come to the missionary village. These snippets of oral history are of assistance when constructing the spheres of movement of 'Anapi'. Once again, the description will follow the division into subsistence *mobilia*, exchange *mobilia* and residential *mobilia*.

5.3.3.1 Subsistence mobilia

On returning from his journey that had aimed making contact with Brazilian Trio, de Goeje visited the Surinamese-Trio village of Majoli on the way back in 1904. Since the Trio felt less and less afraid and more confident in the direct vicinity of this white man, they started to interrogate him about his belongings. De Goeje writes how they started to inspect his clothes and other belongings. They then asked him, for instance, why he was wearing gaiters, what purpose did they serve and had he made them himself? After denying he had made his gaiters himself, they then asked: did you perhaps made your own jacket? They were greatly confused after realizing that this white man did not make any of his own belongings at all (de Goeje in Franssen Herderschee 1905:957).

This interesting interaction, if interpreted correctly by de Goeje, implies that a great part of the possessions among the Trio in that region were procured and/or produced by their owners. De Goeje subsequently described that labour division mainly followed the gender divide in Trio society, as we could already observe in the aforementioned Amotopoan and Alalapadu examples. The Trio men created a clearing for the garden to then in collaboration with the women start its cultivation. The women subsequently did the harvesting and processing. The men hunted and fished, created dance adornments and the majority of the utensils for daily use. The women produced pottery, wove hammocks and looked after the children (de Goeje in Franssen Herderschee 1905:957).

On several occasions de Goeje remarks on the pragmatic mode of hunting, fishing and collecting of the Trio. Several Trio had served as guides on his expeditions. They had got to know each other well during their long journeys together. De Goeje had a goal to reach on a given day, whereas the Trio took full advantage of chance encounters. De Goeje was forced to wait for hours whenever his guides (including Maroons) had once again encountered honey, a spider monkey or went fishing (de Goeje 1908:1040, 1060, 1078-9). This pragmatic way of moving about, to spot what is out there, touches greatly upon the temporal dimension too. Whenever you drift away from your village, opportunities for chance encounters are to be exploited even if you have set off for an entirely different reason.

The fact that this flexibility also translates into easy movements between villages regarding the fulfilling of subsistence needs should, therefore, not come as a surprise. Rivière was informed by the Trio that, before they started living together in one village, they "went to that village to hunt, that one to poison fish, and another to collect Brazil nuts. Secondly, some Indians said they had several villages and a garden at each one"(Rivière 1969:57). This remark sheds light on the situation de Goeje encountered in 1907. On his way westwards from Majoli he passed through several Trio villages. In the village of Aménakee (see Fig. 5.15) he came across only a few Trio, namely a Trio named Atotoli, his wife and their children. They stated they were only there temporarily and it appeared they would soon be leaving the village. This was made clear by the holes in the roofs of the houses, by the weeds that had already started to 'recarpet' (Mentore 2005:59) the village clearing. In addition, the house where this family was staying was the only one with domestic utensils (de Goeje 1908:1051).

The de Goeje expedition team had to acquire food in the subsequent village (called Langóe) before continuating the expedition. Certain Maroon guides were no longer willing to participate; therefore, de Goeje also needed new bearers. They found a number of Trio in the village willing to help (de Goeje 1908:1064). Now they had to wait for the villagers of Langoé to dig up manioc and for the subsequent production of cassava.

The manioc in their gardens, however, was not yet fully grown. Although this was not a very advantageous situation for the villagers, the prospects of receiving manufactured trade items made up for this. In the meantime, it had appeared that this village was barely capable of feeding the entire expedition team (de Goeje 1908:1054).

As soon as the cassava was ready the team continued its journey to the third village, called Apikollo, passing the deserted village of Etimeu along the way. Upon arrival its members received a large quantity of sugarcane and bananas from the villagers. De Goeje states that it was clear that this was a village of abundance. In his view this was the reason why there were so many people present in this village. He easily counted 50 persons, knowing that that there were also people still out in the gardens, on a hunting trip or in hiding (de Goeje 1908:1062).

5.3.3.2 Exchange mobilia

The village of Apikollo was situated on the very spot where the Okomoyana village Kitoijoi was formerly located (Pepu 2008 [Appendix M]). Ironically, this is also the place where de Goeje briefly met up with an Okomoyana. He writes that

> *"there was (…) a young man present, who according to Silowá belonged to the tribe of the Okomoyana. I did my utmost best to make this man talk in the hope of documenting some of his language. Some books were brought, a stack of white buttons (one of the most desired exchange items)- nothing worked. The man did not understand Wayana, gave up on my trade dialect and my pointing to the sun, sky and earth, body parts and garments only made him respond in sound Trio. To my regret the man soon disappeared and I never saw him again."* (de Goeje 1908:1063).

The fascinating aspect of the above passage is that this man did not understand the trade dialect, as was the case with certain other men in Apikollo, too. This pidgin dialect was spoken between the Maroons and the Trio for exchange purposes. Although the Ndyuka guides ('Joeka' Maroons) were no strangers to the village leader Apikollo, it was also clear that Trio-Ndyuka exchanges did not occur that often in these parts. When de Goeje later expressed the wish to continue further south to the land of the "feared Saloema [Saluma]" neither Trio nor Ndyuka guides responded, implicitly expressing the wish to return (de Goeje 1908:1065). The Trio village of Apikollo should perhaps be considered a barrier where nei-

ther Maroon nor Trio would tread beyond, or at least not with this white man.[155]

De Goeje also observed the Trio hunting dog exchange between the Trio and the Ndyukas. According to de Goeje the Trio also exchanged hunting dogs with the Aluku Maroons ('Boni') by means of the Brazilian Paru and Yari Rivers. In this manner the Trio received manufactured goods such as axes, knives and fishhooks (de Goeje in Franssen Herderschee 1905:942). In addition, he states that the Trio also acquired a number of these exchange goods from Brazil through the mediation of the Saluma and the Sikïiyana who allegedly lived in the upper-Trombetas (de Goeje in Franssen Herderschee 1905:941-2, 1906:16). Both the Trio and Saluma were known for raising good hunting dogs. De Goeje also mentions how he met up with the Wayana Sukuma ('Soekoema') in the Trio village of Majoli who allegedly was returning from a dog exchange with the Saluma (de Goeje in Franssen Herderschee 1905:956).

More than three decades later, Schmidt reports how the Trio-Saluma contacts had turned sour in the time between de Goeje's visit and his own (Schmidt 1942:38-9). Akaku ('Akakoe'), a self-proclaimed Pianakoto ('Pianagotto'), describes how the Trio (including himself) had had an argument with the Saluma during the early 1930s. This row had taken place in a village on the Pëname tributary, on the very spot where the Trio village Maisa was said to be located in 1942 (see Fig. 5.16). This disagreement was about the exchange of hunting dogs. Having returned to his village, Akaku decided upon revenge. He gathered a group of Trio men[156] and set off for the Saluma village which was situated somewhere near the confluence of the Kafu and Pëname tributaries. They attacked the village at night killing eight Saluma. One Trio was killed during this attack. The raid bounty included a number of hunting dogs, six women and a few children (Schmidt 1942:39). In the course of Schmidt's previous expedition six months earlier, he had met up with the village leader Sipoti and one of the abducted Saluma women called Tuta ('Toeta'), whom Sipoti had taken as his second wife, and Tuta's daughter Makabula ('Makaboela'). Sipoti did not mention the raid but regretted that even several years after this incident no peace had been made. This meant he could not acquire

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155   Although de Goeje and his team were provided with an abundance of food upon arrival in the village of Apikollo, it should be stated that the villagers were not at all satisfied with the arrival of these white men and argued heavily with the Maroon guides for bringing them to their village. Apikollo himself requested the expedition team to leave and did no wish to colloborate on any further guidance on their journey (de Goeje 1908:1061-4; see also 1065-6).

156   Among them four men from Sipoti, the village leader Nelli [younger brother of former village leader Apikollo] and Tunawaka ['Toenawakka'] who was Ëujari's father (Schmidt 1942:36,39; but see also Rivière 1969:233), and thus Paneshi's great-grandfather.

the elaborate Saluma basketry and dance attributes on which he was quite keen (Schmidt 1942:25).

5.3.3.3 Residential mobilia

In contrast with the subsequent period of Alalapadu, this period is marked by a high frequency of residential moves. When de Goeje returned to the Trio village of Majoli on his second journey (1907) into the interior, he was informed that village leader Majoli had moved his village 8 km to the north in a former garden. The reason was that a villager had died and several others had fallen ill (de Goeje 1908:1023-4). Continuing on his journey, de Goeje encountered more deserted or abandoned villages. The village of Apikollo where de Goeje encountered the highest number of Trio (de Goeje 1908:1062) in 1907, was found abandoned by Käyser's expedition in 1911 (Käyser 1912:49). At a day's march away from former Apikollo, Käyser had come across a camp that had more recently been abandoned, as the smouldering remains of a fire indicated. Nearby he found a small shaman's structure (see also 5.2.4.3) and a freshly dug grave. Käyser inferred that the shaman's efforts had apparently not helped (Käyser 1912:50-1).

One of the Trio villages de Goeje also visited was the village of Langoé. More than 30 years later, Schmidt encountered the people who allegedly claimed to be the former villagers of Langoé, but who were now living in the village of Koelawaka. That same year (1941) Schmidt paid a second visit to the village Koelawaka. The villagers had now chosen a new captain named Piké. On his third journey, Schmidt discovered that Piké's village had been built in a new location.[157] According to Schmidt the previous inhabitants of Langoé, since de Goeje's visit, must have moved between six and eight times already. The name of the village must have changed a few times too. Schmidt concluded that only rivers and mountains retain their names over time, serving as the sole anchors for spatial orientation (Schmidt 1942:19).

Schmidt presents us with slightly varying observations as to residential *mobilia*. In the course of his third journey he had witnessed a spatial transition of villages belonging to the same captain on three occasions. The first case concerns the already familiar village Ëujari. When Schmidt arrived at a junction of footpaths near the Kuruni River his guides informed him that one path led, by way of a day's march, to the second village of Ëujari, and the other footpath led to the current village of Ëujari. Schmidt

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157 Piké informed Schmidt as to the main reason for moving his village. A visiting Maroon from the village of Drietabbetje with a coughing disease had wished to acquire a hunting dog from the villagers of Piké. When this was refused, he spat angrily into the fire as a mark of protest. The Trio considered this curse of death concerrning all the villagers. Abandonning this village became the only option (Schmidt 1942:32).

described Ëujari, the village leader, as a young and robust but very friendly man (Schmidt 1942:34). He also mentions Ëujari's son, named Malatin. This must be Paneshi's father, since it appears from Rivière's data that Ëujari had only one son.[158] Ëujari and his son Malatin escorted Schmidt to Nelli since Ëujari had to go there to pick up hunting dogs that were to be exchanged with the Maroons in the east.

When Schmidt arrived in the village of leader Nelli (as told by his guides), it appeared to have been abandoned recently. According to Schmidt this could have been due to the fact that there was no freshwater available since the adjacent river was dry. They walked on for several hours and arrived at a second village of Nelli which had apparently been abandoned even longer. Continuing their journey the next day along the foot-
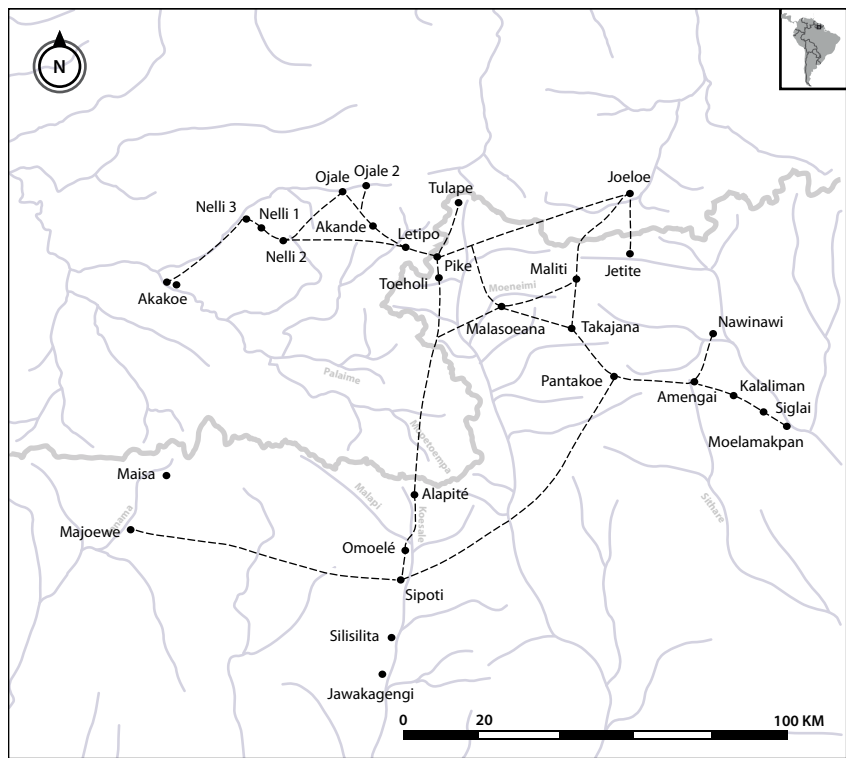

Fig. 5.16: The Trio villages and roads during the early 1940s (the village Moelamakpan in the east was a Wayana village; adapted from Schmidt (1942).

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158 Rivière writes Ëujari as 'Eoyari' and gives him the index number 62. Utilising index numbers I will refer to them as '(R-62)'. Ëujari's son is named '*Kurumuku*' (R-35) which literally means *'young man'* in Trio (see Rivière 1969:173) . The son had already passed away before they moved to Alalapadu. Paneshi (AMO-01) is referred to by R-36 and Pepu (RUS-01) is referred to by R-22 (Rivière 1969:309-11).

path, they firstly passed an, once again, empty hunting camp of Nelli, and after walking for half a day, they finally arrived at a recent clearing. Here the Nelli villagers had just started building a new roundhouse (Schmidt 1942:35).

During their stay at the next village they came across a similar situation. After arriving at a garden, it took them almost a day to arrive at the village of Akakoe. This village was fairly new, the clearing was recent and two round structures were in the process of being constructed. The adjacent new garden was awaiting the rainy season. This village was not far from the former abandoned village of Akakoe. However, after walking for half a day and an additional 200 m to be travelled in a bark canoe, they arrived at the current village of Akakoe (Schmidt 1942:38). This could indicate that the Trio villagers were frequently moving collectively at the time. In this perspective these 'village' movements were no further than half a day's march from the abandoned village. Another interpretation, as Rivière suggested, could be that several small villages, some half a day apart, together formed a single community or agglomeration (Rivière 1969:52,57) potentially with a single community leader. Both interpretations do not exclude the other.

In terms of structures it has been suggested that certain Trio houses encountered in the course of de Goeje's and Schmidt's expeditions were larger than those of Alalapadu. Schmidt remarked that in comparison to the Wayana "the Trio all sleep together in a large round house" (Schmidt 1942:25). De Goeje took a photograph of type of round house found in Apikollo, called '*timákitti*' (see Fig. 5.17; de Goeje 1908:1062-3). The ethnohistorian Gerrit Bos stated that this may well have been the last Trio communal house ever, although it is also possible that this example was an acculturated Saluma house type as suggested by Frikel (Bos 1973:159; see also Fig. 5.15b). Moreover, it is difficult to determine on the basis of these photographs alone if the portrayed houses were actually larger (in terms of floor area) than those in Alalapadu or Amotopo.

The sources also tell us something about the immobilisation of human *mobilia*. A significant reason for village abandonment, according to Schmidt, was the death of a village leader (Schmidt 1942:19). Schmidt describes how captain Alapité of the eponymous village had died and was buried. His son-in-law had dug a grave (110 cm long, 53 cm wide and 114 cm deep) inside the former captain's house in which he was placed. His bow and arrow were also interred after being cut in half. A fire-fan and a cassava mat were positioned on the deceased, too. The entire grave was covered with boards made of wood from the 'palissade' palm (Schmidt 1942:26). Soil from the hole in the ground was placed on top of the grave. It was said that this village would soon be abandoned and that his son Apuka ('Apoeka) would establish a new village. He would become the new

Fig. 5.17: 'Timákitti' house type in the village of Apikollo (de Goeje 1908:1062-3).

captain (Schmidt 1942:27). Schmidt asserted that a village on average would exist between three and six years. According to Schmidt, a village was also abandoned when nearby gardens lost their fertility or when leaf-cutter ants defoliated the crops (Schmidt 1942:18-9).

The high number of residential moves in the early 20th century are most probably also instigated by influenza or the 'cough disease'. Influenza was spreading among the Trio causing many fatalities. However, the Trio did not consider disease to be a natural phenomenon. It was caused by strangers who sent evil spirits (Rivière 1969:238). In this light, the influenza epidemic must have spread paranoia among the scattered Trio villages, brought about by a deep fear for strangers. Rivière was informed on several occasions that the reason why the Trio lived so far apart from each other during the pre-Alalapadu era was because of their fear for strangers (Rivière 1969:238).

Rivière reports Ëujari informed him that during a distant travel he once had visited a village where he was refused food. Its inhabitants had accused him of putting a curse on their village and had subsequently threatened to kill him. From that day on, as Rivière states, Ëujari (grand-father of Paneshi) stayed in his village behaving fierce to visitors. Perhaps as a resulting consequence, Ëujari became well-known for his experience in *nokato* (*i.e.*, a strong form of ceremonial dialogue) (Rivière 1969:236-7,239). This type of dialogue served to find out who the visiting stranger reallly was, and hence what his real intentions were. Over time this in-

ter-village tension seemed to have increased. This must also have affected the sphere of exchange *mobilia* as the Trio-Saluma incident of the 1930s demonstrated (5.3.3.2). The fear of strangers felt by the Trio had already been mentioned in the reports of the earliest Trio-European encounters (Schomburgk 1845:85,88; Brown 1877:338-9; Crevaux 1883:275-6; de Goeje 1908:1063-4).

In order to conclude our focus on the immobilisation of human *mobilia*, we may consider an example reported by Rivière. During the early 1960s when he asked the Trio how a person ought to be buried in a conventional manner, it was stated that the property belonging to the deceased should be destroyed with the exception, however, of the goods that were difficult to acquire or of those that took considerable time to produce. Rivière's report goes on to say that often only a token destruction took place. For example, whenever a woman died, the implements she had used for processing manioc and her pots would generally speaking be shattered. This would not be the case with her ceramic griddle - the young Trio women of the 1960s were no longer capable of making such a griddle (Rivière 1969:222). During the pre-Alalapadu days, presumably when Trio women still knew how to make them, the griddle's large size (ø 75-100 cm) and its brittleness rendered it an object that probably moved only once in life. After being moulded and dried for two weeks, the leather hard and brittle griddle was lifted and placed on three stones for firing. The Trio considered the griddle as an object that would be abandoned whenever a move to a new village occurred (Rivière 2004).[159]

5.4 Discussions

Due to the lack of excavations of (proto)-historical sites within the Surinamese interior, it was decided to contrast the Amotopoan data with information distilled from ethnographic and historical sources. A century of Trio history was divided into a sequence of three villages highlighting three discrete periods. Firstly, the village of Amotopo (Mans 2007-8) represents process of fission from Kwamalasamutu. Secondly, the village of Alalapadu (Rivière 1963-1964) representing a process of fusion. The third focus was set on the heuristic village of 'Anapi' (de Goeje 1907-Käyser 1911) representing the period of deep fission that preceded Alalapadu.

Here the three villages and periods are contrasted in the following discussions: (a) in which Alalapadu (1963-1964) is contrasted with Amotopo (2007-2008) and (b) in which Anapi (1907-1911) is contrasted with Alalapadu (1963-1964).

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159 Peter Rivière donated a collection of Trio ethnographica to the Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford), for which he also wrote the entries. This information came with the smaller-sized ceramic griddle with inventory number 1964.8.4B.

5.4.1 Amotopo-Alalapadu discussion

In Amotopo a clear division regarding spheres of subsistence movements can be established between those relating to men's tasks and those relating to women's tasks. The same goes for Alalapadu. A postulated contrast posed by the village of Alalapadu is that the men probably had to go further afield in order to catch their fish and game. In a similar vein it can be postulated that the women probably also had to venture further afield in order to reach their gardens. Another reason for the women to leave the cultivated area of the village was to collect clay from certain spots in the river with which to produce their pottery. However, as Rivière had observed, the production of pottery as well as the production of gourds and calabash containers gradually diminished. In due course it was replaced by a new range of durable items (pots and pans made of plastic or metal).

Concerning the latter Rivière stated that

> "although these new possessions have not changed the basic pattern, since at a man's death objects such as his knife may still be destroyed, the greatly increased amounts of wealth in exotic goods which an individual can accumulate through trading has had a number of consequences, not least of which is the strengthening of the system of inheritance" (Rivière 1969:222).

The Trio women had considered the production of gourds, calabashes and pottery as a matter of personal procurement (subsistence *mobilia*). Ever since Alalapadu, however, these objects had increasingly become part of the sphere of exchange *mobilia*. This also has its effect on the various movements of men and women as could be observed in Amotopo (see Mol & Mans 2013).

The spheres of exchange that could be observed in Amotopo could be divided into observed exchange (a large part was of which consisted of food) and the accumulated exchange of durable *mobilia*. The spheres of exchange, as described by Rivière for the village of Alalapadu, concerned those of women and dogs. In his view, the exchange of women also materialised within the sphere of food exchange. In Alalapadu this sphere of exchange was restricted to the confines of the village. Several decades later, however, as a consequence of fission helped by quicker modes of transport, it has become a pronounced part of Trio exchange over large distances (in this respect see also Grotti 2007).

Another above-mentioned element is the trade of hunting dogs. The Maroons desire these exchange items up to this day. In Alalapadu the hunting dogs were probably raised in the village and traded with the Maroons during the early 1960s. In Amotopo in the course of 2007-2008, the function of the Trio as middle-men comes into play. Not only hunting dogs, but also resin and manioc graters, are obtained from the Waiwai. These items are subsequently traded further north and east by the Amotopoans.

Goods are acquired in the city. In turn, metal pots and pans, pieces of clothing, fishhooks and lines, etc. are scarce in the far south. The exchange of these goods in this respect has become crucial for young men to gain prestige (see also Mol & Mans 2013). Interesting in this light are the village specialties (e.g. Amotopo as provider of fish and manioc) that have come into existence in the Western Trio Group.

As to the sphere of the residential *mobilia*, it can be stated that Amotopo is characterised as a small village situated within a group of other small villages. This village is headed by a captain and houses a variety of structures (communal, habitation and cooking facilities). In contrast Alalapadu was a large village with one Granman. It had converged all small villages in the vicinity resulting in a void periphery. The second contrast is formed by the structures. In Alalapadu several types of habitation structures could be found the majority of which have no elevated floors. Although communal cooking structures were present as well, domestic cooking was probably done in the habitation structures. As a third contrast it becomes evident that the houses in Alalapadu were built in closer proximity. Captain Paneshi of Amotopo stated that after Alalapadu the villagers started to build their houses further apart from each other, because of fire hazard.

These contrasts backfire to Amotopo. Besides the difference in space between between structures in Alalapadu and Amotopo, we also see over time that after Alalapadu is chosen for the *paiman* type of habitation structure on stilts and for externalised domestic cooking structures and dog kennels. This in turn explains the large number of posts and stakes as observed in Amotopo. Since the women now possess their own domestic cooking structures, they provide an opportunity for a large accumulation of durable exchange *mobilia*. Moving from a context of one large village to one of several smaller villages, also results in an increase in competition between the villages. Although he does not play a role in the exchange of goods, Paneshi does seem to play his part regarding the residential movements to his village when he attempts to attract others to come and live in his village. If people learn of the good life in his village (nice and tidy village, an abundance of manioc, game and fish, good leadership, etc.) mouth to mouth advertisement might follow. His village may thus potentially expand.

5.4.2 Alalapadu-'Anapi' discussion

As abovementioned the subsistence *mobilia* of Alalapadu were brought in by both men and women leaving the village in order to collect the necessary resources for their task related production. Although there is no reason to assume this differed as to the early 20th century, there is a contrast. In the time of Anapi, people were living in small villages near to each other

and the Trio easily moved to other villages for instance for their subsistence needs. The Trio, reflecting on the pre-fusion days, informed Rivière that certain people had different houses in different villages and that they would travel between them to fish in the one and collect Brazil nuts in another. It led Rivière to postulate that before Alalapadu it was probably more apt to speak of an agglomeration as an economic unit, instead of regarding the village as an economic unit (Rivière 1969:52).

As a result of this situation, together with the remark that possessions were few in the early 20th century and easily carried from one village to the other (Rivière 1969:41; see also Franssen Herderschee 1905:953), it was possible for many people to be present in one place making other places appear deserted. It seemed an institutionalised form of dealing with seasonality and sharing of means of subsistence in which no strict village territories were recognized. In addition, the role of feasting and dance festivals in this respect should not be underestimated. It would have a considerable effect on the immobilisation of large quantities of subsistence *mobilia* in a certain village in a short time (Rivière 1969:241-58; for a Wayana example see Duin 2009:270-452). Reflecting back on Alalapadu, this flexibility was lost during the 1960s. The men had to venture further out in order to collect the same variety, although in contrast with 'Anapi' the remains of this variety probably all ended on Alalapadu refuse heaps.

Due to the fusion to the large village of Alalapadu most exchanges (food and women) seemed to play out within the confines of the village. During the 20th century the Trio appeared to play an important role as middle-men in the exchange of hunting dogs as well as objects between the Saluma in the South/Southwest and the Maroons to the Northeast. They received durable manufactured goods from both sides. The Trio of Alalapadu, however, were still exchanging hunting dogs with the Maroons, although it is unclear if they bred them themselves or obtained them from the Waiwai. As to their plastic and metal pots and pans they received all of them via the Maroons and, in part, probably via the missionary in the village too. Not many other exchanges have been reported for Alalapadu.

Further contrast with Alalapadu is formed by the 'negative' exchange reported among the Trio of the early 20th century. The Trio abducted Saluma women, children and dogs on the Brazilian Pëname River during the early 1930s forcing the Saluma to retreat to the south. Hence the Trio regretted the fact they no longer had access to the Saluma trade items. Negative exchange thereby led to residential movements away from one another. Another dark side of exchange was presented in the form of disease. As explained earlier, the Trio consider disease and death to be a curse, and to a certain extent still do. The spread of an influenza epidemic during the pre-Alalapadu period probably resulted in raising suspicion. This has probably also caused the greater inter-village distances and barriers to

visit other villages. Since the process of fusion to Alalapadu these negative exchanges no longer seemed to have occurred.

As to residential *mobilia* it can be stated that the people of Alalapadu all lived together in one large village in which nuclear families dwelled in various types of habitation structures positioned close to each other. The 'Anapi' villages of the 20th century contrast with Alalapadu by being small and short-lived villages. Schmidt observed that the Trio stayed even closer together, namely that they slept together in large round houses, which could be interpreted as residing in communal structures. Another report mentions that the Trio moved between villages for their means of subsistence. Moreover, certain Trio owned multiple houses and gardens in different contemporaneous villages. Here subsistence and residential spheres of movement merge. These subsistence/residential movements during the 20th century therefore probably resulted in a higher number of structures built in varying localities and belonging to the same group of people.

The larger immobilisation of residential *mobilia* in the 20th century can also hypothesised to be an indirect result of influenza epidemics. As early reports have shown, the death of fellow-villagers, but also disease and infertility of the land have been described as valid reasons for the Trio of the early 20th century to found a new village. When, during the deepest period of fission in the Sipaliwini basin, epidemics of influenza resulted in great fear and suspicion within the Trio group, this probably further increased the already high rate of residential moves. This period also led villages to become further removed from one another. When the Trio moved to live in a larger village disease and death would still be a reason to move house, but this time within the confines of the village and not necessarily to found a new village.