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Ritual Economy: Dynamic Multi-Scalar Processes of Socio-Political Landscapes in the Eastern Guiana Highlands

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Abstract. For the last two decades the standard model of tropical forest cultures has been assessed critically, and the current article is a contribution to the exploration of new directions in Amazonian anthropology. This study aims to further an understanding of indigenous Amazonian socio-political organization in Guiana, and therein the role of houses as built structures and social constructs. To understand the resilience of roundhouses and social houses during centuries of globalization processes, it is needed to acknowledge the role of the Wayana roundhouse (*tukusipan*), and to reconceptualize basic social and historical processes. Rather than perceiving the Wayana community as a 'house society' or 'micro-cosmos' where all members reside in conviviality, I argue for a multi-scalar and historically dynamic conceptualization of a heterarchical society of social houses. Wayana roundhouses are the hub during ritual gatherings, particularly during the *grand maraké* (*ëputop*). As not every settlement owns a roundhouse, this implies that not every Wayana settlement is an autonomous unit, at least ritually speaking, hence the foregrounding of a 'ritual economy.' Acknowledging such a frictional, ranked and regionally integrated society has ramifications for the conventional model of tropical forest cultures along with the understanding of socio-political landscapes in the Eastern Guiana Highlands.

Keywords. Northern Amazonia, social houses, historical demography, ritual economy, multi-scalar approach.

Economía Ritual: Procesos dinámicas a multi-escala del paisaje socio-político en las tierras altas de Guayana Oriental

Resumen. Durante las últimas dos décadas el modelo estándar de las culturas de los bosques tropicales ha sido evaluado críticamente, y el presente artículo es una contribución para la exploración de nuevas direcciones en antropología amazónica. Este estudio tiene como objetivo avanzar en la comprensión de la organización sociopolítica indígena amazónica en la Guayana, especialmente en el rol de las viviendas como estructuras construidas tanto como constructos sociales. Para entender la resilencia de las viviendas

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redondeadas y de las viviendas comunales pese a siglos de procesos de globalización, es necesario reconocer el rol que tiene la vivienda redondeada Wayana (*tukusipan*) y reconceptualizarla como un "microcosmos" social básico en donde todos los miembros residen en convivencia. Planteo una conceptualización multiescalar e históricamente dinámica de una sociedad heterárquica de viviendas comunales. Las viviendas redondeadas Wayana son el centro de las reuniones rituales, sobre todo durante la *grand maraké* (*ëputop*). Como no todo asentamiento posee una vivienda redondeada, esto implica que no todo asentamiento Wayana es una unidad autónoma, al menos ritualmente hablando, de ahí que se destaque en primer plano una "economía ritual". Reconociéndolas como una sociedad con fricciones, jerarquizada, e integrada regionalmente, esto tiene alcances en el modelo convencional de las culturas selváticas tropicales así como en la comprensión de los paisajes socio-políticos en las montañas del Este de Guayana.

Palabras clave. norte de Amazonia; viviendas comunales; demografía histórica; economía ritual, enfoque multi-escalar.

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

—Marilyn Strathern, *Partial Connections* (2004 [1991]: 27).

Reading early sources on the Caribs I was usually struck by two, quite opposed, facts. It appeared that certain sociocultural elements had changed enormously, while others had remained remarkably stable.

—Peter Kloos, *The Maroni River Caribs of Suriname* (1971: 259-260).

Figure 1
Wayana village of Twenke, French Guiana (*kulumuli pata*, Duin 1998).

Dynamic Units of Social Organization

Upon arriving among the Wayana indigenous people of French Guiana in 1996, I took for granted that the community roundhouse (locally named *tukusipan*) was the only 'traditional' Wayana structure that survived in a globalizing world (Figure 1). As French Guiana is an Overseas Department (*DOM*), French influences are omnipresent, ranging from the *tricolor* (French flag), French schools and medical posts, as well as the French language and the Euro as currency, yet the roundhouse is still present in some Wayana villages. During the past decades, due to various pull and push factors (Boven 2006), many Wayana crossed the Lawa River (Marowijne or Upper Maroni River, frontier between Suriname and French Guiana. Figures 2 and 3). I am fully aware of the ramifications of globalization following the so-called 'Columbian Exchange' and its effects on the Wayana communities (Duin 2009). During my research on Wayana architecture and settlement organization in the Upper Maroni Basin, I was struck, just as was Peter Kloos several decades prior at the mouth of the Maroni River, by two opposed facts: 'it appeared that certain sociocultural elements had changed enormously, while others had remained remarkably stable' (Kloos 1971: p. 260). During the past decades, Neil Whitehead advocated that 'it is necessary to reconceptualise basic social and historical processes in this region, rather than just to add "new data" to "old theory"' (Whitehead 1994: 33; Whitehead and Alemán 2009). Michael Heckenberger (2002) began to rethink the Arawakan Diaspora, the process of Xinguanofication (Heckenberger 2005, 2007), and situated Amazonian archaeology and anthropology in a historical ecology paradigm (Heckenberger and Neves 2009). In order to understand the resilience of community roundhouses during decades, if not centuries, of globalization processes, it is needed to acknowledge the role of the Wayana roundhouse *(tukusipan)* in the socio-political landscape, and to reconceptualise basic social and historical processes in the Eastern Guiana Highlands.

Typically, indigenous Guiana communities are equated with single villages, and as these settlements often consisted of a single roundhouse, the community is equated with the roundhouse (Roe 1987). Among the Yekuana, for instance, each settlement 'is referred to as a "house" or *atta*' (Guss 1989: 21), whereby each settlement is categorized as 'a completely self-contained, autonomous unit' (Guss 1989: 21; Arvelo-Jiménez 1977).[1] Peter Rivière (1995, 2001) called these social units 'house societies.' He concluded in his introduction to the Brazilian edition of *Individual and Society* (Rivière 2001 [1998]) that this comparative study of Amerindian social organization (Rivière 1984) should be situated in the then current literature on the 'house' (see also Rivière 1995). Nevertheless, Rivière stated

[1] 'What unites these communities is their shared linguistic and cultural heritage' (Guss 1989: 21).

that the concept of a 'house society' would not change his perspective on Trio social organization, as the Trio are living in societies where a single settlement consisted of a single house (i.e., a built structure). Rivière's interpretation of a 'house society' resonates among European scholars (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995; Darvill and Thomas 1996; Düring 2007; Hodder 1990; Chr. Hugh-Jones 1996), and diverges significantly from interpretations of a 'society of social houses' (Beck 2007; Duin 2009; Gillespie 2000, 2007; Heckenberger 2005: 273-290; Lea 1995). This difference is beyond a play of semantics. The 'house society' as a narrow, largely synchronic, and non-dynamic interpretation of a 'society of social houses' (*société à maisons*) (Lévi-Strauss 1979: 47, 1982: 174, 1987: 151-152), fails to address critical aspects of supra-local socio-political organization with long-term friction and rivalry between subunits, as I posit to exist in Guiana, at least among the Wayana.

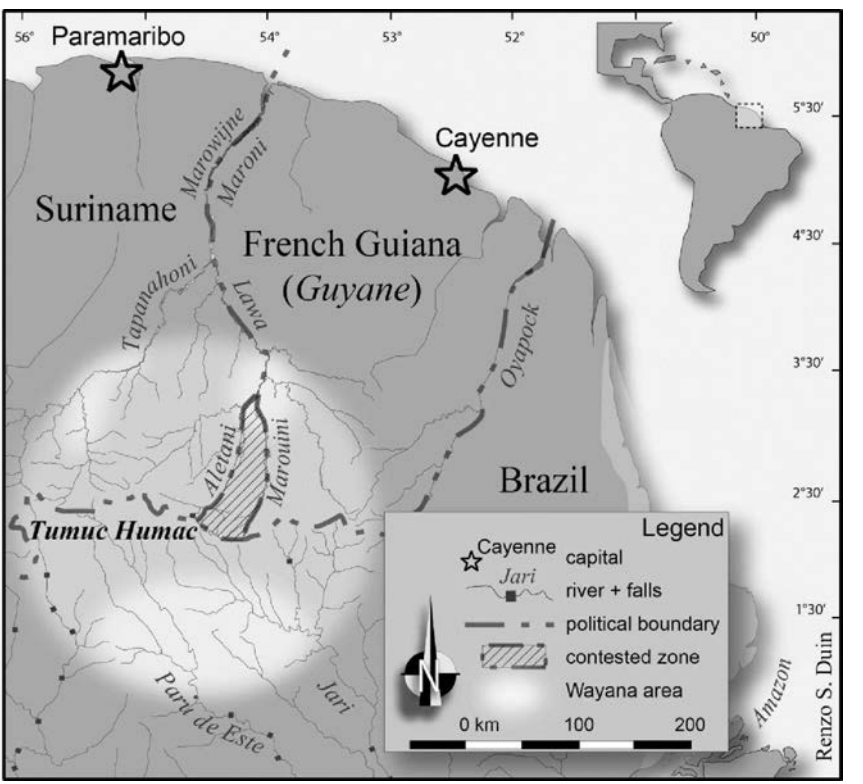

Figure 2
Distribution of the Wayana in Suriname, French Guiana and Brazil.

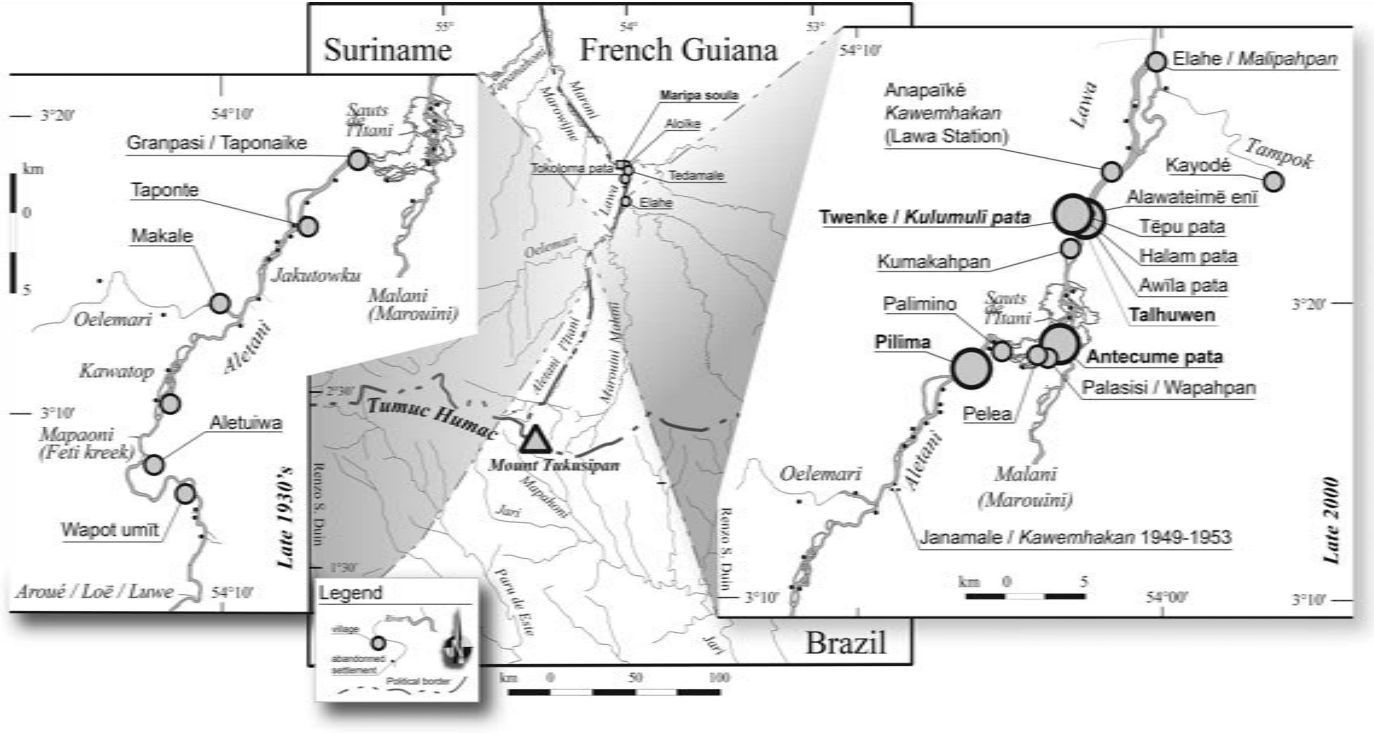

Figure 3

Distribution of Wayana settlements in the Upper Maroni Basin in 1940 (inset left) and in 2000 (inset right) whereby the four larger circles indicate villages with a community roundhouse (*tukusipan*).

Amazonian social formations are grounded in a difference between consanguinity ('insiders') and affinity ('outsiders'), as discussed in detail in the edited volume *titled Beyond the Visible and the Material: the amerindianization of society in the work of Peter Rivière* (Rival and Whitehead 2001). This work brings about four premises, namely that (1) affinity is 'given' whereas consanguinity is embedded in a notion of affinity and needs to be defined (Taylor 2001; Viveiros de Castro 2001); (2) a wide range of agents (predators) mediating between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' (Butt-Colson 2001; Henley 2001; Whitehead 2001); (3) a notion of generational continuity, descent, and consanguinity related to the model of a society of social Houses (Århem 2001; Lea 2001); and last but not least (4) embodiment and personhood situated in transforming bodies cutting across most of the thirteen contributions. Regarding the indigenous Guiana village, or 'house society' (*sensu stricto*) it has been recognized that '[marriage, disputes, trade, and ritual] help break down the physical and social isolation of settlements' (Rivière 1984: 80; also Arvelo-Jiménez 1977, 2000; Butt-Colson 1973, 2009), however, 'in practice, it has not proved feasible to move away from the settlement as representing one of the fundamental social [and political] units of the region' (Rivière 1984: 101). Notwithstanding that the indigenous Guiana village is categorized as 'a completely self-contained, autonomous unit' these settlements may be integrated in trading and interaction networks (Butt Colson 1973, 1985; Barbosa 2005; Rivière 2007), such as the 'System of Orinoco Regional Interdependence' (Arvelo-Jiménez and Biord-Castillo 1994; Pérez 2012). The latter being grounded in archaeologically reconstructed Orinoco interaction networks (Boomert 2000; Zucchi 2002). Peter Rivière (1970: 253) once suggested that although 'the Trio village is a single-cell unit […] the villages forming an agglomeration [i.e., a cluster of three to five settlements at about halve a day to a whole day's march apart] fulfill some of these functions [referring to socio-political functions in a Shavante multi-cell unit settlement].' Rivière's proposition of a regional socio-political organization ('multi-cell unit') in Guiana has not been researched further hitherto, neither has the transformative role of 'outsiders' to the social process of 'insiders' been critically revisited in the Guiana Highlands as it has been elders in Amazonia.

Different understandings of what constitutes a 'social house' are a question of perspective. Emphasis on interrelationships between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' will have a different result then when exclusively focusing on 'insiders.' This can be demonstrated in Northwest Amazonia. Northwest Amazonia is known for its ranked regional social organization (Hill 1993, 1996; Hill and Wright 1988; Hugh-Jones 1979; Oyuela-Caycedo 2004; Vidal 1999, 2002; Wright 1998, 2002). Nevertheless, the Northwest Amazonian house (maloca) has been perceived as a microcosm (S. Hugh-

Jones 1985, 1995: 236) or as 'a village within a house […] it is a community which is structured, or built, according to the same principles as the house which shelters it, but is built over the generations, in time' (Chr. Hugh-Jones 1996: 185, 188; compare with Århem 2001). The latter statements are suggestive of a notion of autonomous units in an area otherwise known for its regional integrated sociality. In Northwest Amazonia, seasonal extreme scarcity of riverine resources and the abundance ('surplus') of wild fruits provide for the means to support large-scale regional events whereby 'outsiders' are essential. These regional feastings, such as Food-Giving rituals (Chr. Hugh-Jones 1979; S. Hugh-Jones 1979; Goldman 2004; Hill 1993; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971; Wright 1998) are situated in the 'ritual-hierarchical mode' (Hill 1984). While the Wayana, as any other indigenous Guiana Highland community, appear self-sufficient in the 'natural-social mode', I posit that it is during the *grand maraké* rituals, the 'ritual-hierarchical mode', that the regional elements of Wayana socio-political organization emerge.

Ethnographies in Guiana, have typically been focused on what Jonathan Hill (1984) called the 'natural-social mode', other than components of a 'ritual-hierarchical' mode have been recorded. Implications to the economic system of a series of dances and ceremonies leading up to an initiation ritual in Guiana were described by Paul Henley (1982: 78-82), only to later situate it in Panare social solidarity (ibid.: 134-154). Most compelling is Audrey Butt Colson's recent *magnum opus* on indigenous Western Guiana Highland communities, wherein she writes that 'despite the lack of a secular hierarchy of community leaders in the upper Mazaruni regional group and its component river areas, there has been a conceptual and ritual unity which has political implications' (Butt Colson 2009: 213). The over-arching ritual unity she refers to is the prophetic Alleluia movement (Butt Colson 1985, 2009: 213-217), with the institutionalized office of the *pugenak* ('possessor of wisdom'). 'In pre-Alleluia days (before the 1880s),' Butt Colson continued, 'a large, central settlement maintained a festival house […] referred to as *tugushi bïng,* "hummingbird's nest." […] A small extended-joint family settlement does not have the need to use its more limited manpower and resources to build and maintain a communal feast house' (ibid.: 253-254). So even while the central village with its smaller satellite settlements and scattered family holdings, is considered an autonomous 'village community' (ibid.: 309), there are indications that, among the Akawaio and Arekuna of the Western Guiana Highlands, the church and Alleluia prophetic movement are a transformation of ancient regional socio-political organization centered upon a community roundhouse for ritual feasting. The Akawaio and Arekuna name for the central roundhouse, *tugushi bïng*, resonates with the Wayana name for the central roundhouse, *tukusipan*. Both Eastern and Western Guiana people refer-

red to (Akawaio, Arekuna, and Wayana) used to have hummingbird-dancers (hummingbird = *tugushi*, *tukusi*, or variants thereof) gathering in and around the central roundhouse named *tukusipan* ('place of the hummingbirds') (Schoepf 1998). Beyond the fact that these are Cariban-speakers, these rather specific references to hummingbird-dancers gathering in and around a roundhouse called 'full of hummingbirds' (*tukusipan*, or a variant thereof) indicate a pan-Guiana Highland regional system that yet has to be researched further. Regional elements emerging during the events in the 'ritual-hierarchical mode' are dormant during the 'natural-social mode' of daily life activities. Indigenous terminologies, cloaked by European pervaded institutions such as the political offices of *capitayn* (*kapitein*) and *granman* or religious movements such as Alleluia, nonetheless indicate the potential presence of indigenous over-arching institutions beyond the boundaries of the techno-economically self-sufficient village.

Amazonia appears more dynamic, heterogeneous, and with regional elements of socio-political organization than anticipated in the constraining definition of tropical forest cultures (Heckenberger and Neves 2009). Interrelationships of a community extend beyond the boundaries of a single village. Total spatial arrangements within and amongst villages become a complex network of communication in which socio-politics are situated (De Certeau 1984; Kuper 1972; Meskell 2003; Richardson 1982; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003). Instead of being disconnected sites, these places are nodes in a spatio-temporal web of people dwelling in a regional landscape (Bender 1993; Hill 2002; Munn 1986). I posit that the Wayana roundhouses are nodes in such a spatio-temporal web. The roundhouse is a hub in what Edward Casey (1996; drawing on Nancy Munn 1986) called a '*region.*' Although villages in Amazonia appear self-sufficient during daily life activities, I argue that these villages during ritual performance become integrated in regional networks because the 'grand roundhouse in its center [is] in the service of the dances and gatherings' (Hurault 1968: 70; Schoepf 1998). Through sharing of substance during ritual events, engendering and revitalizing a region (*sensu* Casey 1996) wherein, out of action, is emerging an intersubjective social field. As not all Wayana settlements have a community roundhouse (*tukusipan*), it is through ritual practice that settlements *without* a roundhouse become in conjunction with villages *with* a roundhouse, and in due process Wayana *become of the tukusipan*.

Before discussing the role of the roundhouse in Wayana society, I first have to define fundamental elements of my unit of analysis: settlement, community, social house, and region. Wayana have two terms for 'settlement', namely *ëutë* (village) and *pata* ('place of …'). Rather than simply indicating 'place' proper, *pata* refers to the place of someone (the founder of the village or village leader) or something (e.g. the place of certain plants or animals). Such named places in the landscape are subjective conditions shared by two or more individuals. In other words, a named place is not a static defined entity, but a deictic intersubjectivity. Therefore I perceive the

settlement as both a means and an outcome of human interaction. In the past it has been proposed to merely replace the term 'settlement' with 'community' (Chang 1968: 3). Current archaeologists, however, perceive that the community is 'situated between household archaeology and regional studies' (Canuto and Yaeger 2000: 1), perceiving 'community' as a dynamic open system defined as:

> 'an ever-emergent social institution that generates and is generated by suprahousehold interactions that are structured and synchronized by a set of places within a particular span of time' (Canuto and Yaeger 2000: 5).

A related dynamic open system, though considered durable instead of placed in a particular timespan, is the *société à maisons*, or a society of social houses (Gillespie 2000, 2007; Beck 2007) as proposed by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1979: 47, 1982: 174, 1987: 151-152). Imperative in the concept of a '*société à maisons*' is that it is a model to approach social organization beyond kinship (Gillespie 2000), as well as its direct relation with materiality: a 'house' is …

> 'a moral person, keeper of a domain composed altogether of material and immaterial property, which perpetuates itself by the transmission of its name, its goods, and its titles down a real or fictive line, considered legitimate as long as this continuity can express itself in the language of kinship or of affinity and, most often, of both' (Gillespie 2007: 33; Lévi-Strauss 1979: 47; cf. the more commonly cited Lévi-Strauss 1982: 174).

Settlements, communities, and social houses can be analyzed at various scales. Beyond recognizing that there are different scales, a true multi-scalar approach focuses on the relations between the various scales and on the relations between the analytical elements. Data collected, analyzed, and interpreted on different scales (temporal and spatial), does not make a study 'multi-scalar' unless it is investigated *how* identified phenomena relate to each other on different, hierarchical, scales (Lock and Molyneaux 2006). Different processes operate on different levels, and therefore 'there is no simple way of visualizing all the patterns and processes within a complex system in a single representation' (Ridges 2006: 145). The concepts of settlements, communities, and social houses are dynamic, their limits fluid, and they are situated in historical processes. My unit of analysis is a lived world emerging from a sphere of interaction and historical exchange of valued goods linking local and extra-local places as well as routes between them facilitating movement of agents, i.e., a 'spacetime' (Munn 1986) or what Edward Casey (1996) called a 'region'. This interrelational definition of a 'region' differs from the geographic definition of a region as spatial area.

Relations between the dots on the map, settlements in this case, are interrelationships and intersubjectivities that emerge from a multi-scalar and multi-disciplinary approach. During my fieldwork (over 31 months since 1996), I visited all the Wayana settlements in the Upper Maroni Basin and realized that in the research area only four out of about twenty settlements own such a community roundhouse, namely the villages of Twenke, Talhuwen, Antecume pata and Pilima (Figure 3)[1]. An unequal distribution of community roundhouses, allowing for a ranked regional organization, is a feature expected to go unrecognized in village-based studies. Specific data on, and historical contextualization of, settlement patterning, kinship and affine relations, property, gifts and counter-gifts, ritualized gatherings and social memory, is elaborated upon in detail elsewhere (Duin 2009). A dynamic multi-scalar approach, not constrained by the settlement as unit of analysis, demonstrates how the indigenous Wayana communities, today and in the past, were socio-politically more complex than presumed from conventional village-based ethnographic studies grounded in what Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1996) called the 'standard model of tropical forest cultures'.

Temporality of the Landscape

Viewed from afar (from an airplane, satellite imagery, or a map), the Guiana landscape appears as a sea of green tropical rainforest through which rivers meander. The river banks dotted with villages. From this distance, intra-village organization is hardly discernible. Google Earth, for instance, does not allow zooming in at village level in the research area. Plotting a distribution of settlements on a map is merely a beginning. We have to make sense on *how* settlements relate in space and in time to other settlements. Setting the stage for further research on individual and society in Guiana, Peter Rivière argued that:

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

[1] At New Year's Eve 2011, fireworks set fire to the roof of the *tukusipan* of Antecume pata, and the tukusipan of Pilima has perished.

Viewed through the kaleidoscope, pebbles of glass (or other colored objects) create a colorful pattern due to the reflection off mirrors set at an angle and with light entering from the other end of the tube. As the tube is rotated, the tumbling of the colored objects presents the viewer with varying colors and patterns. Any arbitrary pattern of objects becomes visible as a beautiful (καλός) symmetrical pattern (είδος) created by the reflections in the mirrors. Whereas twentieth century Amazonianists have focused on beautiful patterns (kinship systems, village plans, and the like), we also need to acknowledge the dynamic transformative processes underlying these beautiful patterns. Indigenous Guiana settlements are ephemeral and distributions change over time, because this is a 'life-process, […] the process of formation of the landscapes in which people have lived' (Ingold 1993: 152). The temporality of the landscape is situated in deep-historical dimensions of regional distributions of communities.

Rather than departing from the notion that not every Wayana village has a roundhouse because Wayana are losing their culture, I explore the motives why the roundhouse *(tukusipan)* has been resilient during centuries of globalization. Because 'things that people make, make people' (Miller 2005: 38), I perceive the roundhouse as a continually emerging process of dwelling in a dynamic socio-political and sacred landscape saturated with social memory from which Wayana draw a sense of belonging. When we allow for people to dwell in a region, we have to acknowledge that 'the process of dwelling is fundamentally temporal, [and therefore] the apprehension of the landscape in the dwelling perspective must begin from a recognition of its temporality' (Ingold 1993: 172). Drawing settlement distribution maps per time period should not be an aim, but rather the beginning as to understand (a) how people moved between settlements, (b) how these interrelationships between settlements emerged from past settlement distributions and, (c) how the interactions of people dwelling in the plotted settlements generated new settlement distributions. Temporality of the social landscape is situated in the dynamic processes of continuity and transformation of the socio-political organization beyond the boundaries of a single village, yet it is simultaneously rooted in the social memory of the central public places. Beyond Rivière's (1984: 102) metaphor of the kaleidoscope lay dynamic and complex supra-local and regional interrelationships critical to more complex socio-political structures of present and past indigenous Amazonian civilizations.

House Society or Society of Social Houses?

Archetypal model in Guiana is the self-governing circular lay-out of roundhouses; internally divided in a central domain for men encircled by living quarters, i.e., domain of women, surrounded by slash-and-burn

gardens, and enclosed by primary forest (Roe 1987). Each village, for instance among the Yekuana, is referred to as 'a "house" […] and is not only conceived of as a self-contained universe but is actually constructed as a replica of the cosmos' (Guss 1989: 21), whereby each village is categorized as '*a completely self-contained, autonomous unit, with its own chief and shaman*' (Guss 1989: 21, emphasis added; Arvelo-Jimenez 1977). Johannes Wilbert (1981, 1986) demonstrated a correlation between Yekuana roundhouse symbolism (Barandiarán 1966) and Warao cosmology (a non-Cariban speaking people living at the mouth of the Orinoco River). Intended or not, this micro/macro-cosmos model wherein the roundhouse is built after the Universe, posits the autonomy of each Guiana village consisting of a single roundhouse representing the Universe in its totality. By accepting that the 'hut [the roundhouse], and the village with which it is often coterminous, are "microcosms" of the total "macrocosm" of the known universe' (Roe 1987: 80, 1982), the concept of structurally redundant autonomous villages is reinforced. These self-contained autonomous units, following Janet Carsten and Stephen Hugh-Jones (1995), are what Peter Rivière (1995, 2001) called 'house societies.' While Janet Carsten and Stephen Hugh-Jones criticized Lévi-Strauss for neglecting 'the most obvious feature of houses [namely]: their physical characteristics' (1995: 12), they in turn neglected politico-historical aspects of the social house as advocated by Susan Gillespie (2000, 2007; Beck 2007; for an Amazonian example see Heckenberger 2005: 273-290), emphasizing that 'houses are in history' (Gillespie 2007: 41). In this sense, Carsten and Hugh-Jones (1995) do not go beyond Lévi-Strauss, but 'disregard […] the concept of "house" as a moral person possessing a domain [consisting of material and immaterial wealth or "honours", the latter even including goods of supernatural origin], perpetuated by transmission of its name, wealth and titles through a real or fictitious descent line which is recognized as legitimate as long as the continuity can be expressed in the language of descent or alliance or, most often, of both together' (Lévi-Strauss 1987: 152; original lectures: 1976-1977). In my ongoing research, I explore these politico-historical aspects of the social house in the Eastern Guiana Highlands.

In the following paragraphs I will describe Wayana society in conjunction with the concept of a society of social houses as introduced by Claude Lévi-Strauss in the 1970s. Let me begin with the constituent that 'in all societies with "houses", we find tensions and often conflict between antagonistic principles that are, moreover, mutually exclusive: descent and residence, exogamy and endogamy [amongst others]' (Lévi-Strauss 1987: 152). Geographer Jean Hurault (1968) had difficulty analyzing the Wayana kinship system as he tried to fit the 'lines of descent' of the villages of Touanké and Massili in matrilineages rather than in patrilineages. As a

general rule, indigenous Guiana society is rooted in an uxorilocal organization where sisters remain with their mother (husbands move to the village of their wives) and children are raised by all women, calling their mother as well as their mother's sister *mamak* (Wayana term of reference: je). Nonetheless, uxorilocal organization, I argue, can be 'overruled,' so to speak, in the case of (potential) village leaders. That is, sons and grandsons of village leaders prefer to have their wives move into their village. Regarding the examples of Touanké and Massili mentioned above; the father of Massili had been the most powerful *tamusi* (chief) of the Jari River (Hurault 1968: 19), and Touanké [= Twenke] was the great-grandson of Touanké of whom Henri Coudreau (1893: 104) had stated that he was of 'an old roucouyenne family [= Kukuiyana] who since a long time ago provides "*tamouchis*" [chiefs] to the Roucouyennes [= Wayana] of the Marouini and the Aletani' (my translation and interpretation). When Touanké, after the death of his father, moved to the village Pililipu (located between the rivers Aletani and Marouini; Figure 2), he replaced village leader Toumtoum, the founder of the village, because Touanké was 'of a greater race than Toumtoum' (Coudreau 1893: 108).[2] The villages selected by Hurault as *typical* Wayana villages (see also Butt-Colson 1977), Twenke in particular (Figure 1), thus where *unique* Wayana villages illustrating tensions and conflicts existent in a society of social houses.

The above mentioned statements by Henri Coudreau (1893: 104, 108) relate to another component of Lévi-Strauss's definition, namely that 'in order to perpetuate themselves, houses make extensive use of fictive kinship, in terms of both alliance and adoption' (Lévi-Strauss 1987: 152). Pilima,[3] village leader of the settlement with the same name (Figure 3), for instance, had been adopted by the renowned Wayana leader Janamale (who will be addressed to below), and inherited Janamale's exclusive boxes with precious composite featherwork for *olok* headdresses (importance of this inalienable intangible heritage will be discussed in a moment). Wayana kinship is rooted in what Claude Lévi-Strauss (1968 [1943]) called the 'brother-in-law institution' expressing the political dilemma of uniting two groups in kinship terms. In this system, the social other must be determined as an affine, i.e., as a '(potential) brother-in-law' (materialized when ego marries the alter man's sister, as in a cross-cousin marriage). Manipulations of kinship taxonomies fulfill a political function (Lévi-Strauss 1969 [1949]; see also Bourdieu 1990, chapter 2). When kinship terminology and its manipulations reside in the political predicament of uniting two groups, kinship organization as a whole ought to be situated in the context of socio-politics. Although it has been stated

2 "Touanké … comme étant de plus grande race que Toumtoum" (Coudreau 1893: 108).

3 Pilima had initiated a prophetic movement in 1963 (Butt-Colson 1964; Hurault 1968: 147).

that Wayana do not marry their cross-cousins (Hurault 1968; Henley 1983/1984: 176), according to a Wayana emic perspective they do, and such marriages are highly political. This discrepancy is situated in the definition of a cross-cousin. Conventionally, a cross-cousin is calculated over a single generation: fathers-sisters-daughter/son or mothers-brothers-daughter/son. Additionally, Wayana calculate cross-cousins (and parallel-cousins, i.e., classificatory brothers/sisters) over more than one generation (e.g., fathers-mothers-sisters-daughters-daughter/son). The latter I call 'extended cross-cousins' (Figure 4). Among the Wayana, (extended) cross-cousins are classificatory husband/wife (*ïmnerum/ïpit*).[4] That Anapaike married Janamale's sister, and later Janamale's daughter from an earlier marriage, facilitated future manipulations of (extended) cross-cousin relations for political purposes (Duin 2009: 132). That politically important men marry multiple wives will facilitate the manipulation of kinship relations. Manipulations of kinship taxonomies are least problematic in cross-cousin relationships, especially when these cross-cousin relations can be extended over more than one generation. I argue that there has been no degradation of the Wayana kinship system, other than researchers were not able to 'fit' their data into conventional kinship models. Grandparents (*tamusitom*; +2 generation) and grand-child (*ipa*; -2 generation) calibrate the socio-political manipulations of kinship relations at the ego, +1, and -1 generations. The fundamental social interrelationships in the Wayana kinship system are therefore between a grandfather or grandmother (respectively *tamusi* [term of address = *tamo*] or *kunumusi* [term of address = *kuni*]) and their grand-child (*ipa* [term of address = *ipali*]) whereby the grandparents often raise or adopt grandchildren, notably the first child of a daughter.

Manipulation of ('extended') kinship relationships, including adoption, is the basis for the materialization of social houses 'initially defined by the possession of a domain consisting of material and immaterial wealth or "honours", the latter even including goods of supernatural origin. […] In the absence of male heirs, and sometimes concurrently with them, sisters and daughters assure the transmission of [prerogatives]' (Lévi-Strauss 1987: 152). By and large taken for granted, yet, I argue, key in the materialization of Eastern Guiana social houses, are the colorful feather headdresses *olok*, or rather the exclusive boxes (*olok eni*) containing precious composite featherwork intended for elaborate headdresses to be performed during the *maraké* ritual. Jean Chapuis mentioned that the 'splendid *olok* headdresses [are] the only good transmissible between

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

generations in [Wayana] society, manifest of what I [Jean Chapuis] have called lines. Each line has a single headdress; it is transmitted to the eldest son or, if he is not considered worthy, to another son or to the sister's eldest son' (Chapuis 2006: 526). Regarding the transmission of *olok* headdresses, or actually the transmission of exclusive featherboxes (*olok eni*), I have to make two remarks. First, these storage boxes containing featherwork are not exclusively transmitted to male descendants (as claimed by Chapuis), but can also be given to keep by daughters or sisters (though often with the intention to later hand down the feather boxes to a male heir [either consanguine or affine]). Secondly, while Chapuis (ibid.) claims that 'each line has a single headdress' several storage boxes for multiple *olok* headdresses can be owned by such a single social unit. Two great-grandsons of Touanké, for instance, are each curator of feather boxes for three *olok* headdresses. In a moment I will address how these *olok* headdresses play a role in legitimization and manipulation of the socio-political landscape of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' in the Eastern Guiana Highlands.

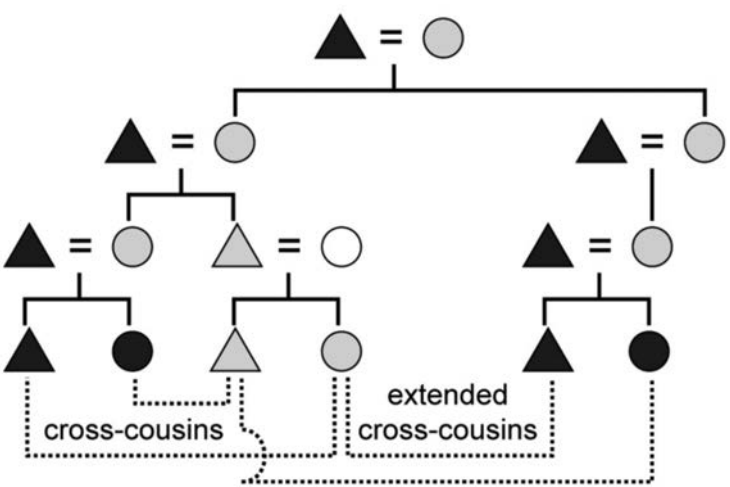

Figure 4
(Potential) brothers-in-law, cross-cousins and extended cross-cousins.

Jean Chapuis (2006; Chapuis and Rivière 2003: 428) aimed towards a classification of Eastern Guiana societies as 'totemic ancestor clans or tribes' which he called 'lines' (Chapuis 2006). The concept of totemic clans has been previously elaborated upon by Claudius de Goeje in the first half of the twentieth century (de Goeje 1925, 1941, 1943). This hypothesis of

'totemic ancestor clans or tribes' in the Eastern Guiana Highlands persisted in several dissertations (e.g., Bos 1998: 203; Boven 2006: 61), regardless of the critique by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1962) on the 'totemizing reading' of Amazonian socio-cosmologies (see also Viveiro de Castro 1992, 1996, 1998). Categorical taxonomic classification is essential to the individualizing process, and the totemizing reading will thus not provide a dynamic regional approach to social organization. Lévi-Strauss (1962: 276-279) perceived the concept of a 'totem' as an atemporal regime in which history is eliminated, because 'the function […] is only to establish a differenceasa difference' (ibid.: 276). Before situating the aforementioned prerogatives (including, but not restricted to, *olok* headdresses) in a ritual economy, I will first briefly discuss the material and intangible wealth in the context of Wayana social houses.

Despite Peter Rivière's statement that in Guiana there is 'no possession, material or non-material' (1995: 203-204; cf. Brightman 2010), Wayana traditionally possess storage boxes (*pakala*; specifically named: *olok eni*), in which they curate precious feathers and polychrome composite featherwork used to dress elaborate *olok* headdresses (Coudreau 1893: 174; Crevaux 1881: 98; de Goeje 1905: 967; Mazière and Darbois 1953; Schoepf 1971: 39). Henri Coudreau (1893: 174) was amazed to see hundreds of feathers curated in the family *pakala* of Touanké. Most of the feather boxes among the Wayana of the Upper Maroni Basin today are guarded by descendants of Touanké.[5] Overlooked, or not emphasized enough, is the ancestral origin of this wealth of composite featherwork curated in special boxes. In the absence of male heirs, and sometimes concurrently with them, sisters and daughters assure the transmission of these feather boxes, of which the wealth of precious feathers and polychrome composite featherwork will be displayed during the *maraké* ritual. Next to the special boxes containing featherwork, other prerogatives come into play during the *maraké* ritual. During the 2004 maraké, two great-grandsons of Touanké (among which *granman* Amaipotï) played the sacred flute *mëlaimë amohawin*. This flute is named after the claw of the giant armadillo (*Priodontes maximus*) that is attached to one or both ends and hidden by a feathered cone. The other flutist had also manufactured such a sacred flute (*mëlaimë amohawin*) for the 1964 *maraké* (Hurault 1968: 93). Along similar lines of thought, I posit that the chanting of the *kalau*-songs during the *maraké* rituals is a

5 One of four *olok* headdresses from Taponte (son of Touanké) was obtained in 1937 by Claudius H. de Goeje and this headdress is currently housed in the Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden (RMV 2352-1). The other three *olok* headdresses from Taponte are currently curated by the Wayana *chef coutumier* Barbosa (grandson of Taponte).

prerogative. All these prerogatives resonate in other parts of Amazonia (particularly Northwest Amazonia), namely: (1) feather headdresses and ceremonial goods kept inside exclusive boxes and stored in one's house; (2) a set of sacred musical instruments; (3) rights to make particular items … that are exchanged at rituals; (4) non-material, linguistic and musical property comprising the names of people and ritual objects, a language, chants [see Hill 1993], spells, songs (Hugh-Jones 1995: 241), and rights to raise certain animals as pets (Lea 1995: 208-209). There thus exist material and intangible possessions in the Guiana Highlands, at least among the Wayana where these possessions and prerogatives are foregrounded during the *maraké* ritual.

The standard model of tropical forest cultures (Viveiros de Castro 1996) presumed the absence of any formal social groupings such as lineages, clans, moieties, age-sets, etc. In other words, 'Guiana social groups are atomistic, dispersed, and highly fluid in form' (Overing 1983/1984: 332), and the informal 'loose' social and political organization was, according to Rivière (1984: 4), due to their 'atomistic nature' and situated in 'rampant individualism.' Peter Kloos (1971: 261) applied the concept of '*atomism*,' or 'the social and economic particularity of the nuclear or limited extended family' (Hickerson 1967: 313), to define the structural result of the kind of fragmentation among the Maroni River Caribs (Kaliña). Within this structural fragmentation in Guiana, there exists, following Joanna Overing Kaplan, 'no ritual to declare the elaborate interlocking of the units of which society is comprised' (Overing 1983/1984: 332). Nevertheless I posit that the *grand maraké* is such a ritual declaring the elaborate interlocking of the units of which Wayana society is comprised. The temporality of the Wayana community is truly kaleidoscopic, and emerges from the dynamics of a multi-scalar approach. Historically situated prerogatives, names, and heirlooms, are intersubjectively contested, and this plurality of, and struggle between, social houses in a society of houses is masked and rendered silent in the constricted and largely synchronic interpretation of a 'house society,' whereby the entire community is situated in a single dwelling space, or built structure, i.e., the standard model of roundhouses in Guiana. Among Guiana communities, traditionally portrayed as autonomous and atomistic social units, there was no need for complex social structures or regional political organization based on the requirements of society and autonomy of the individual.

Inter-village dance festivals are perceived as 'carrying the seeds of destruction' of the perfect conviviality of the ideal Guiana settlement (Santos-Granero 2000: 283; Rivière 2000: 254). When the social other is perceived as dangerous, one means to maintain a high degree of autonomy in apreferred post-marital uxorilocal residence custom is intergenerational

marriage (Rivière 1984; Henley 1983/1984). According to Paul Henley (1983/1984: 174-175), however, the Wayana and Apalai are the *only* Guiana societies that do not practice institutionalized intergenerational marriage. Instead of further researching these 'anomalous' Wayana and Apalai kinship systems, Paul Henley (1982, 2001) continued his studies on social reproduction in the Western Guiana Highlands in the context of ritual, above all the ceremonial construction of the individual person vis-à-vis alterity. The main ritual among the Wayana is the stinging ritual (in Wayana: *ëputop*; generally referred to as *maraké*). The condition in which the *grand maraké* functions, I posit, is not so much the decomposition and composition of an individual body (Henley 2001, drawing on Taylor 1998, 2001), as it is the consumption and production of a larger social body (i.e., the social house). The *grand maraké*, the fundamental Wayana ritual, is grounded in becoming Wayana and revitalizes the social field centered upon the *tukusipan*.

Ritual Economy and Symbolic Capital

Defining identity though alterity is at the heart of social reproduction, as no community is '[capable] of self-reproduction in isolation' (Fausto 2000: 948; Lévi-Strauss 1949; Overing 1983/1984: 333; Viveiros de Castro 1986). Focused on social relations, social anthropological models such as 'the political economy of control' (Rivière 1983/1984), Joanna Overing Kaplan's 'moral economy of intimacy' (Overing 1983/1984), and 'the symbolic economy of alterity' (*economia da predação*) by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1986, 1992, 1996) and Carlos Fausto (1999, 2000), often underemphasize historical and regional socio-political aspects at the origin of producing reciprocal relations with other social groups (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1943, 1949) which are fundamental in the 'symbolic economy of power' (Heckenberger 2005). Settlement patterns are but one medium (albeit a critical one) through which socio-political relations are articulated and regulated. Another key material channel is through the flow of certain historically charged objects or ritual objects (including, but not restricted to, what structural Marxists glossed 'prestige goods'). Among these historically charged objects are the ritual regalia mentioned earlier, for instance the exclusive boxes for *olok* headdresses (*olok eni*), giant armadillo claws for the sacred flute *mëlaimë amohawin*, and even the roundhouse *(tukusipan)* itself. These historically charged objects have longer histories of exchange, 'cultural biographies' in the sense of Igor Kopytoff (1986). These historically charged objects live longer than the rather ephemeral Guiana settlements themselves and engender an intersubjective social field as 'self-other relationships [*identity*] formed in and through acts and practices' (Munn 1986: 9). Rather than mapping

autonomous settlements as functional nodes in a Cartesian landscape, we have to allow for the intersubjective social field to be manipulated in a tactical manner by competing heterarchical forces amidst subgroups such as in a society of social houses. This interrelational approach places emphasis on the political dynamics of and flow of power in chieftaincy in a religious-political landscape as it moves through historically charged ritual objects.

Manipulation of the social field in a tactical manner by competing heterarchical forces amidst social houses in the Eastern Guiana Highlands takes place, I posit, during the *grand maraké* ritual which is fundamental to Wayana identity defined through alterity. With Guiana settlements being self-sufficient in techno-economic terms, and inter-village dance festivals understood as carrying the seeds of destruction of perfect conviviality (e.g., Rivière 2000; Santos-Granero 2000), I argue for a critical assessment of individual and society in Guiana. Regional organization and socio-political complexity in the Eastern Guiana Highlands ought to be situated in what has been referred to as the 'Ritual Mode of Production' (Rappaport 1984: 410; Spielmann 2002), 'ritual phase of political economy' (Southall 1999), 'symbolic economy of power' (Heckenberger 2005), or simply 'ritual economy' (Metcalf 1981; Wells and Davis-Salazar 2007). Vital in a ritual economy is that the superstructure (ideology) is no longer epiphenomenal and in certain situations even generates surplus production and consumption, which, in turn, is intrinsically interwoven with socio-political power.

Most small-scale inter-village dance festivals are not expensive in terms of energy or finances required to conduct them, because, as Pierre Clastres (1994: 105-118 [1976]) stated in *Primitive Economy*,[6] in Amazonia, 'surplus' is in the environment itself, and short periods of low intensity are sufficient to satisfy subsistence needs. Where an abundance of wild fruits can be harvested seasonally, the acquisition (stimulation and managing) of a surplus production of cassava beer, as well as the planting and cultivation of an intended surplus of manioc, is indispensable in the ritual economy of Amazonia. Time-lapse between planting and harvest of manioc increases the symbolic value of surplus produced in a ritual economy. By stimulating and managing surplus production (including, but not restricted to manioc) and communal consumption (mainly of large quantities of cassava beer), ritualized public performances are instrumental in the development of social inequality and hierarchy (Geertz 1980; Heckenberger 2005: 314). The *grand maraké* demands a surplus production of hundreds of liters of cassava beer. Cassava beer is not solely

6 Introduction to Marshall Sahlins' *Age de Pierre, Age d'abondance. L'economy des sociétés primitives* (1976).

produced in the host village. In fact, the surplus is mainly produced in adjacent as well as distant settlements. The surplus of cassava beer is gathered, redistributed, consumed, and regurgitated in and around the community roundhouse *(tukusipan)* of the host village. The *grand maraké* is the ultimate inter-village dance festival in the Guiana Highlands, feasibly carrying seeds of destruction of a perfect conviviality. Above all, the *grand maraké* is a tactical means to manipulate competing heterarchical forces within a social field (a 'region' in the sense of Edward Casey) centered upon the *tukusipan* (community roundhouse).

Generally referred to as *maraké* (Coudreau 1893: 235), not all stinging rituals (*ëputop*) are equivalent, nor have the same effect. Small-scale gatherings include the stinging ritual for girls (*wëlïïhpan*)[7]. Next there is the prompt stinging ritual (*wïhwïhpan*)[8] where the organizer brings his proper *olok* feather headdresses and where neither *kalau* chanter nor *momai* are invited. The grand *maraké* ceremonies (*ihle watop*) are at the other end of the spectrum and subjugate the attentions on many people over an extended period. Without distinction, these three stinging rites (*ëputop*) ranging in scale, are commonly referred to as '*maraké.*' The 'ritual economy' approach allows for a ritual to telescope in scale without any essential change in format or rationale. 'And thus are the strange manners and customs of the noble nation of the Wayana, the only [people] who, in central Guiana, still practice the *maraké*,' concluded Henri Coudreau (1893: 235; my translation)[9] without further explanation and grounds for these 'odd' rituals. These flamboyant life-crisis rituals have generally been interpreted as initiation rite which 'main primary, explicit goal is to produce [marriageable] adults' (Chapuis 2006: 526), whereby regalia, songs, and dances have been taken for granted on the whole (Ahlbrinck 1956; Cognat 1977, 1989; Coudreau 1893; Crevaux 1881; Darbois 1956; de Goeje 1908, 1941; Hurault 1968; Mazière 1953; van Velthem 1995). Father Ahlbrinck, however, who had witnessed two *maraké* rituals in 1938 (in May in the village of Taponte, a son of Touanké; and in December in a village of Janamale), concluded that 'whatever its sense, this [*maraké*] is not an initiation rite to lead children into adulthood, because; 1) indifference of the relation between marriage and stinging ritual, and 2) if this is an initiation ritual, than why do adults endure this stinging, in fact, more adults are present than adolescents' (Ahlbrinck 1956: 90; my translation). Furthermore, Ahlbrink wrote that not only boys and men endure this stinging rite, but also girls and women

[7] Boys may partake in the *wëlïïhpan*, but are not allowed to dance with the *olok* feather headdresses.

[8] Both boys and girls may partake in the instant stinging ritual (*wïhwïhpan*), but the girls are not allowed to wear the *olok* feather headdresses.

[9] "Et telles sont les mœurs et coutumes bizarres de la noble nation Ouayana, la seule qui, dans la Guyane Centrale, pratique encore le maraké" (Coudreau 1893: 235).

may take part in this ritual. Where the stinging ritual for girls (*wëlïipan*) and the prompt stinging ritual (*wïhwïhpan*) may be situated in the decomposition and composition of an *individual body* (Henley 2001; Taylor 1998, 2001), the condition in which the *grand maraké* functions, I posit, is the consumption and production of a larger *social body*, i.e., the social house. These theatrical public corporeal spectacles are the fundamental Wayana ritual grounded in *becoming Wayana* and revitalizing the social field centered upon the community roundhouse (*tukusipan*).

The *grand maraké* at the heart of the Wayana ritual economy is rooted in what I call the 'habitual grammar' of an initiation ritual, explicitly the first initiation ritual performed by the Creator Twins (Duin 2009: 469-476). The twins first made a roundhouse *(tukusipan)* in which they placed the cassava beer brewed by their maternal grandmother who had raised the twins after their mother Tortoise had been eaten by the Jaguar. Outlined in a nutshell here are fundamental elements of the Wayana social system such as the relation between a grandmother and her grandchildren (the Creator Twins) as well as the role of predator agents (Jaguar) mediating between 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. Jaguars are primordial social others yet related to grandmother Toad. The twins announce to be initiated, and the eldest twin went to the village of the Jaguars. The Jaguars were invited and requested to make *olok* headdresses, to play the flutes *waitakala*, and to chant the *kalau* songs (outlining the role of 'outsiders' during the *maraké* ritual). When the twins played the sacred flute, thunder appeared, and when they danced it began to rain. The large digging claws of a giant armadillo (*Priodontes maximus*) used in the sacred flute *mëlaimë amohawin* are a metaphor for the claws of the tortoise (*Geochelone denticulata*) that were discarded after the Jaguars had eaten the mother of the Creator Twins. Then the twins remembered that their mother Tortoise had been eaten by the Jaguars. Kujuli invited the Jaguars to shelter in the roundhouse (*tukusipan*). Then the twins made collapse the roof of the roundhouse and all Jaguars were trapped and killed. This frictional tension between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' becomes foregrounded during the *grand maraké*, for instance, when the initiators of the 2004 ritual (Aimawale and Tasikale), invited the descendants of Touanké (mentioned earlier) to make feather headdresses and sacred flutes. Analogous the Creator Twin narrative, the *momai* went to the village of Twenke before returning to their own village (Talhuwen), the host village, where they would become *tëpijem* and perform the final dance (*tehapai*) -in front of the tukusipan that about a decade prior had been constructed under the direction of Aimawale and Tasikale- followed by the stinging ritual (*ëputop*) and subsequent seclusion. I posit that the Wayana *grand maraké* is situated in the 'cultural-public mode' of sociality

producing a social body, which is truncated by a common assumption of a 'natural-domestic mode' of initiation rites for adolescents producing a socialized body. To gain apprehension of the cultural-public dimension of this fundamental Wayana ritual, temporality or deep-history of the socio-political landscape ought to be recognized.

Tukusipan (roundhouse), *olok* (headdress), and *mëlaimë amohawin* (flute), are key elements in the Creator Twin narrative, and even if the contemporary roundhouse, headdress, and flute, are not of supernatural origin, they evoke mythical times. The English translations of the Wayana proper names of these objects do not even get close to the imbued meaning thru their proper Wayana name. The tukusipan is much more than a roundhouse, an *olok* is much more than a headdress, and the mëlaimë amohawin is much more than a flute. Being mnemonic devices, the precious polychromous composite featherwork for the *olok* headdress -made by the ancestors, curated by the elders, worn by the tëpijem during their final dance (*tehapai*) before the stinging rite, and subsequently dismantled and stored once more in their exclusive featherbox (*olok eni*) to be curated by the elders only to be taken out for the next public performance- are historically charged objects. The same goes for the claws of the giant armadillo for the sacred flute (*melaimë amohawin*). The roundhouse is a historically charged object as well. These historically charged objects hold secondary agency in the sense of Alfred Gell (1998). Beyond their 'meaning' (*sensu stricto*), these objects hold the capacity to 'effect,' to cause events to happen, not as primary agents (featherwork, claws, or a built structure are not self-sufficient with intentionality), but the featherwork for *olok* headdresses, the giant armadillo claws, and the *tukusipan* (roundhouse) are without doubt imbued with secondary agency. This secondary agency of these historically charged ritual objects, I call 'ancestral agency.'

Olok headdresses are imbued with ancestral agency in that they move people. These historically charged objects are in conjunction with human associates or 'patients' who undergo the event caused by the agent (Gell 1998: 16-23). The feather boxes are portable objects, however, the power and use value of this featherwork is more dynamic and lies in its effect to impress and attract people; people have to visit the *tehapai* (closing dance of the *grand maraké*) in order to see the performance of these monumental headdresses. The meaning of the *olok* cannot be deducted from the mere object alone; its meaning as impressive effect must be enacted, it must be performed and witnessed (Gosden 2001: 165; Gosden and Marshall 1999). This performance has effect on intra-settlement organization, because the host village needs to have a designated stage for the performance and the space to receive a large amount of guests. The *olok* headdress has the effect to impress spectators, but also to move the

tëpijem to undergo the ritual. Furthermore, the precious featherwork stored in the exclusive boxes (*olok eni*) need to be looked after with care and devotion, and in due process, these inalienable possessions gain social value and accumulate histories or 'object biographies' (*sensu* Kopytoff 1986). Along with the historical tradition of ownership and exchange, particularly within a given social unit, such historically charged objects can be exchanged, or handed down, to other individuals in an inalienable way, keeping-while-giving, so to say (Weiner 1992). Although these objects are manufactured from relatively inexpensive materials, their unique properties (origin of raw materials, skilled crafting, and qualities of 'enchantment') distinguish these socially valued goods from mundane material objects (Spielmann 2002: 198-201). Artifacts such as composite featherwork for monumental headdresses, claws of the giant armadillo for sacred flutes, and the roundhouse, become active agents engaged in the intersubjectivity of a ritual economy. These kinds of inalienable property maintained by kin-based units over generations (i.e., social houses) form the foundation for hierarchical social difference (Gillespie 2007; Heckenberger 2005: 273-290). *Olok* headdresses, claws for the sacred flutes, and the *tukusipan* (roundhouse), are examples of what Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1990) called 'symbolic capital' whereby, beyond sheer economics, the contextual value of materiality and immateriality is situated in social relations bonding people while generating honor and prestige, and consequently … distinction.

A History of Wayana Social Houses

Assumed as common knowledge, and reiterated time and again, is that in the eighteenth century 'the Wayana' migrated from Brazil across the Tumuc-Humac mountain range into French Guiana and Suriname. This kind of history is flawed in that it assumes a static social unit, namely 'the Wayana.' Not all social units in Guiana (and Amazonia at large) are equal (some are more equal than others), and these social units are not static albeit they include elements of continuation. In the Eastern Guiana Highlands, Peter Rivière (1969: 64) recognized among the Trio the concept of *itïpïme* (Grupioni 2002, 2005 wrote: *itüpü*) as 'the foremost criterion in the ordering of social relationships' and he went on to state that 'in its genealogical sense the word [*itïpïme*] applies basically to relationship by descent, although consanguinity may act as the interconnecting link […] it can mean "*to continue without a break*"' (Rivière 1969: 64, emphasis added). This dynamic notion of lasting inter-relationships of a community resonates with elements of the concept of a social house. I am not surprised that the Trio have an understanding of social houses as two of the Trio subgroups located in the Upper Maroni

Basin, namely the Okomëyana and Kukuiyana (Frikel 1957: 541-562; Rivière 1969: 18-17), are currently at the heart of Wayana society, and both play a major role during the *grand maraké*. The history I will elaborate upon here is on how specific social houses in the Eastern Guiana Highlands, in a tactical manner, manipulate the social field of ritual economy through historically charged objects during the *grand maraké*.

Before Amazonian people were considered tropical forest cultures (Steward and Faron 1959), they were categorized as Tropical Forest Tribes (Steward 1948; also Gillin 1948). Peter Rivière praised Protásio Frikel for his 'conscientious and methodological attempt to order and classify the tribes of the [Eastern Guiana Highlands]' (Rivière 1969: 16), beyond a mere listing of 'real' and 'imagined' peoples (cf. de Goeje 1941, 1943), and he stated in the section on the historical identification of Trio subgroups that they 'appear to be as definite as anything can be in this ethnographic chaos' (Rivière 1969: 21). In order to make sense of this apparent 'ethnographic chaos' the subunits (often glossed as 'tribes' or 'clans' or distinguished as socio-linguistic units such as 'Trio' and 'Wayana'), I argue to perceive these subunits as relational and constantly generating Guiana social organization in due process of interaction. Claudius de Goeje (1925: 471) concluded (echoed in Chapuis 2006) that similarities in characteristics in tribal names (e.g., reference to flora and fauna) most likely demonstrate the genesis of contemporary distinct tribes from families of clans of a single people; 'If that be so, these tribes represent clans of the former *Karipona*-people' (de Goeje 1943: 19). In 1542, a macro-polity named 'Kalipono' had been situated along the lower Amazon (Carvajal 1992: 264-265; Whitehead 1989, 1994, 1999), which is at the southern peripheries of the Wayana region. In Wayana, *kalipono* is the generic term of reference for 'people' (indigenous, but not Wayana, as *wïtoto* in Tïlïyo). The hypothesis posited by de Goeje (1943) implies that, instead of being independent tribes, Carib-speaking peoples of the Eastern Guiana Highlands are smaller social units nested in broader political units.

To demonstrate how it is possible that contemporary Wayana claim to be part of social groups some of which have been identified as Trio subgroups (e.g., Okomëyana and Kukuiyana), I will draw on Marilyn Strathern's 1988 model of plural bodies encompassing multiple dividual bodies (Figure 5). With Okomëyana interpreted as 'the people of the *okomë*-wasp' and Kukuiyana as 'the people of the glow-worm'[10] a totemic reading as discussed earlier seems logical at first glance. However, the case of Okomëyana and Kukuiyana being Wayana is analogous to Bourdieu's treatise on *Union and*

[10] Kukuiyana, 'people of the firefly (*kukui*)' has generally been interpreted as 'people of the night (*koko*).'I follow the interpretation made by the Wayana themselves. Kukui is the glow-worm (*Lampyris noctiluca*, Elateridae).

Separation whereby 'the union of contraries does not destroy the opposition (which it presupposes), the reunited contraries are just as much opposed, but now in a quite different way, thereby manifesting the duality of the relationship between them, at once antagonistic and complementary' (Bourdieu 1977: 125). In the process of '*Wayanafication*,' the composite internal relations between former Trio subunits (Okomëyana and Kukuiyana, among others) were eclipsed. The multi-scalar dynamics of Guiana societies consist therein that the effect ('output') of taxonomic classification (for instance Okomëyana and Kukuiyana as Trio subgroups or 'totemic clans') can become an 'input' for rendering these (in)dividual social bodies into a collective, such as in the case of *Wayanafication*.

Form	Relations	Action	Effect
Particular 'singular body' (in)dividual, partible person in interaction	(1) Trio / Tïlïyo speakers	> taxonomic classification	'friendly' / 'wild' Pijanokoto / Akuriyo Okomëyana / Kukuiyana
	(2) non-Trio		taken-for-granted
Collective 'plural body' encompassing multiple persons	(3) allies vs. enemies		taken-for-granted
	(4) Wayanahle, Upului, Kukuiyana, Okomëyana	> rendering into Collective	*Wayanafication*

(1) Dual internal relations, which must be detached to affect one of a pair.
(2) Taken-for-granted composite external relations.
(3) Taken-for-granted dual external relations.
(4) Composite internal relations, which must be suppressed (eclipsed) to affect one Collective.

Figure 5
Partible and plural bodies (after Strathern 1988): the case of Trio and Wayana.

The *grand maraké* and the role of the *tukusipan* in particular, I posit, is situated in these dynamic multi-scalar processes ('actions') of partible and plural social bodies. While cataloguing the published *maraké* rituals during the past 130 years, two names emerged persistently, namely Janamale and Twenke, directly or through their ancestors or descendants (Duin 2009: 317). Janamale was the leader of the Wayana in Suriname, and Twenke (succeeded by his [adoptive] son Amaipotï) was the leader of the Wayana in French Guiana.[11] During my in-depth ethnographic fieldwork, Wayana told me that Janamale and Twenke were respectively Okomëyana and Kukuiyana. Other Wayana confirmed that Janamale was indeed as fierce as the *okomë*-wasp. Twenke was short and dark-skinned as the *kukui* (glow-worm, *Lampyris noctiluca*, Elateridae) and his ancestors had torches with which they travelled at night. In order to understand how

[11] These paramount chiefs are in Suriname and French Guiana known as *granman*. Assuming that the institution of a *granman* was a political European means to communicate with Wayana on either French or Surinamese (at the time Dutch) territory (Boven 2006), shrouds the role of a paramount chief (*tïwitkem* in Wayana) in the Wayana community cutting across the French/Dutch (now Surinamese) boundary.

Wayana leaders of the mid-twentieth century could belong to Trio subgroups, we have to make sense of ritual practice. 'Beyond decoding the internal logic of symbolism, it is necessary,' following Pierre Bourdieu, to '[restore] its practical necessity by relating it to the real conditions of its genesis, that is, to the conditions in which it functions, and the means it uses to attain them, are defined' (Bourdieu 1977: 114), because ritual, as a social activity, is a strategic way of acting in the world (Bell 1992). The *grand maraké* is an opportunity for some subgroups ('social houses,' predominantly Okomëyana and Kukuiyana) to tactically manipulate the social field ('region') of a ritual economy that emerges during times of the *grand maraké*. Wayana belong to a collective ('the Wayana') while at the same time they are part of (in)dividual socio-political units (e.g., Okomëyana, Kukuiyana, Upului, Apalai). The *grand maraké* brings 'the Wayana' together, while concurrently foregrounding internal differences in due process.

The *grand maraké* provides an arena for symbolic capital to be played out during public ceremonies. Through ritual performance, *olok* headdresses beautifully demonstrate the line of transmission, fictive or real. The *grand maraké* ritual is the place of legitimization, in a contesting manner, by means of transmission of material and immaterial property as required for the continuity of social houses. While during the prompt maraké (*wïhwïhpan*) the organizer makes available his own *olok* headdresses, it is during the *grand maraké* (*ihle watop*) that the *tëpijem* arrange for *olok* headdresses from another social house. Because these headdresses, or actually the exclusive boxes containing precious featherwork, are inalienable possessions, the priceless composite featherwork is removed from the basketry frame (*olok ahmit*) after the ritual performance, stored in the feather box (*olok enï*) and returned to its curator (the *tepïjem* keeps his *olok ahmit* as a souvenir to the ordeal). Let me illustrate the difference with some examples. For the prompt *maraké* (*wïhwïhpan*) of 2003, Pilima made available for his grandson the composite featherwork which Pilima had inherited from his adoptive father Janamale. Furthermore, Pilima made himself an additional *olok*. For the *grand maraké* of 2004, conversely, two of the *tëpijem* (Tasikale and his younger brother Tuhwoli) requested *granman* Amaipotï to dress for them their olok with the composite featherwork that Amaipotï had inherited from his father Twenké (great-grandson of the aforementioned Touanké). Another *tëpijem*, Aimawale, decided not to ask his uncle Pilima for the *olok* from his paternal grandfather Janamale, but instead asked his uncle Talhuwen for the *olok* from his maternal grandfather Opoya. Aimawale's father Paranam (being a son of the legendary Janamale) was eager to succeed his father-in-law Opoya, but instead Talhuwen succeeded his father Opoya as village leader. Tasikale and Aimawale, the organizers of the 2004 *maraké*, are extended parallel-cousins. Their

potential brother-in-law relationship was materialized when Tasikale was requested to marry Aimawale's younger sister. Tasikale married his mother's-mother's-sister's-son's-daughter, which in Wayana is a classificatory husband/wife, or what I call an extended cross-cousin (Figure 4). From these cases (for detailed information, and more examples, see Duin 2009), it is evident that personal names, truncating the historical cases of ritual performance, indicate a transmission designating a continuation of intangible heritage. Ritual objects and their biographical histories, foregrounded in performance, are recognizable enduring property, despite the ephemeral nature of people and villages.

Dynamic units of analysis ought to be multi-scalar. As I demonstrated (Duin 2009), only four out of about twenty Wayana settlements in the Upper Maroni Basin own a community roundhouse implying an unequal distribution of the mechanisms of social and symbolic reproduction. Concurrently, the Upper Maroni Basin is part of a larger whole. Rather than recognizing three independent Wayana areas (the here discussed Upper Maroni Basin; the Upper Jari and Paru de Este in Brazil; Tapanahoni-Palumeu in Suriname; Figure 2), I argue for crossing boundaries to gain insight in a further-reaching socio-political Wayana landscape encompassing these three areas (Duin 2011). In perceiving these three areas as having fluid boundaries and being part of a larger Wayana region, I acknowledge the temporality of the socio-political landscape. The deep-historical dimension of the distribution of Wayana is centered upon a dome-shaped inselberg of the Tumuc-Humac mountain range (Duin 2005). This dome-shaped inselberg *(Tukusipan)* does indeed resemble a domed roundhouse *(tukusipan)* (Figure 6). The earlier cited Creator Twin narrative relates that the first roundhouse was transformed into stone, and it is said to have happened at this place in the mythical Tumuc-Humac mountains. In a play of tropes, through synecdoche, this dome-shaped peak became at the heart of Wayana society and fundamental in the process of Wayanafication. Wayana regional integration materializes through a ritual economy of political power that extends beyond the boundaries of a single village and is rooted in a sacred landscape saturated with social memory.

Roundhouses among the Wayana are more than a mere backdrop for the *maraké* ritual, more than a stage to re-enact mythical times. In the Upper Maroni Basin, only four out of about twenty settlements have a community roundhouse, namely the villages of Twenke, Talhuwen, Pilima, and Antecume pata[12] (Figure 3). In conjunction with the brief vignettes

[12] Antecume pata was founded in 1967 by the twenty-nine year old Frenchman André '*Antëkë*' Cognat, born in Lyon but 'chosen to be an Indian' (Cognat 1977, 1989). This village was located at the place of the former habitation of the Boni *granman* Tolinga. Cognat was adopted in the 1960s by Malavate and married a Wayana woman (Alasawani, an illegitimate daughter of Janamale). Possibly Malavate joined the young Frenchman to regain potential political power some fifteen years after the fission of the joined village of Twenke/Malavate (Hurault 1965, planche VIII). Rumour goes that Malavate is the biological father of *granman* Amaipotï.

above, it is evident that these four villages are unique, rather than 'typical' Wayana settlements. Subsequently these villages have a residence organization diverging from the '*structure traditionelle*' (Hurault 1968: 36). The Wayana roundhouse *(tukusipan)* is not a techno-economic basic necessity as these are public buildings rather than communal dwellings that house the entire village or community. It takes potters (female specialists; Duin 2000/2001) to produce the bottomless vessels that are placed on top of the roof, as well as (male) specialists to cut and paint the wooden disk *maluwana* (Duin 2006) which is hung in top on the inside of the roof. Both the pottery vessels and the wooden disk are penetrated by the central pole (*ilamnali*). Not insignificant is that only an enigmatic leader holds the power to request people to gather the 40.000-plus palm fronds needed, and to manufacture the roofing of this domed building.[13] The Wayana *tukusipan* is not simply a reduced form of the communal roundhouse as is understood in other parts of the Guiana Highlands (Arvelo-Jimenez 1971: 147; Bos 1973; Siegel 1990: 402). These roundhouses play a central role in the complex socio-political organization of the Wayana, and are tactical means of how Wayana manage their history, today and in the past. Ritual economy intrinsically interweaves and cuts across symbolic and social capital with political forces as to create a bond between people-contemporaries as well as ancestors. Historically situated social and symbolic capital can even endow certain individuals (chiefs above all) with the ability to amass economic capital (Heckenberger 2005: 318). Differentiation in maintaining symbolic capital and the rivalry among social houses, principally among Okomëyana and Kukuiyana, played out during communal rituals (i.e., the *grand maraké*) in the central plaza, will help reveal ranking and supra-village hierarchy in a heterarchical society of social houses.

Historical Demographic Dynamics

Based on a paradigm of a 'political economy of control,' Peter Rivière (1983/1984, 1984), drawing on Terence Turner (1979, 1984), concluded that the political economy of Guiana is concerned with the management of *people*, not of goods. Nevertheless, people were few in number when Rivière conducted his research in Guiana. As regards the Wayana, only 338 individuals were counted in 1940, comprising 72 individuals (of which 58 adults) in five villages in the research area (Schmidt 1942). After WWII, the number of Wayana has been growing to about 2,000 in the research area today (2012). Today's population number is at the lower

[13] Tasikale and Aimawale, the organizers of the 2004 maraké, were in 2010 in charge of the rebuilding of the tukusipan of Talhuwen after the original roundhouse built in 1995 had been destroyed in a fire.

margin of the 2,500 ± 500 range (i.e., the demographic foundation of social inequality according to Feinman 1995: 260; see also Bernard and Killworth 1973). Beyond sheer numbers, the first census of Lodewijk Schmidt (1942) provides insight into a structure of a more hierarchical socio-political organization, even during the demographic nadir.

Figure 6
View towards inselberg *Tukusipan* (a.k.a. Tïmotakem, or T1) in the Tumuc-Humac mountain range with an inset of a community roundhouse (the *tukusipan* of the Wayana village of Talhuwen) (Renzo Duin, 2004).

Before discussing the data from the census conducted by Lodewijk Schmidt (1942), I will first mention some historical population numbers. Indeed, the number of Wayana is expansively growing since the 1940s. Nonetheless, the population growth is only after a turbulent time of rapid decline from an estimated 4000+ in 1787 (Coudreau 1893: 565), 2-3000 in 1878 (Crevaux 1987: 303), to 1000-1500 individuals in 1890 (Coudreau 1893: 547). Jules Crevaux and Henri Coudreau between 1877 and 1891, and Claudius the Goeje in 1937, recurrently encountered epidemic outbreaks (known among Wayana as *kwamai*) causing pandemic death among the Wayana. In the ten years between the expeditions of Crevaux and Coudreau, 50% of the Wayana population had vanished (according to the respective total population estimates). The expeditions of Crevaux and Coudreau most likely have been (partially) responsible for introducing European diseases into the Wayana region in the late nineteenth century. Medical aid intervention in the Eastern Guiana Highlands after WWII prevented the Wayana from extinguishing and would establish a healthy

foundation for a dramatic historic effect of demographic growth (Figure 7). The full extent of European diseases causing epidemic death among the indigenous populations in Guiana from the fifteenth century onward is unknown. The current demographic estimate (2012) is at the level of the lowest estimates of Crevaux in 1878, and the ethnographic studies conducted between 1900 and 2000, based on sheer population numbers, may not be sufficient to gain understanding of the socio-political complexity in the Eastern Guiana Highlands before 1850 such as described by Claude Tony (1835, 1842 [expedition of 1769]). During the demographic nadir, however, the traditional socio-political organization may have been dormant, or not as visible to outside travelers, ethnographers, and other researchers.

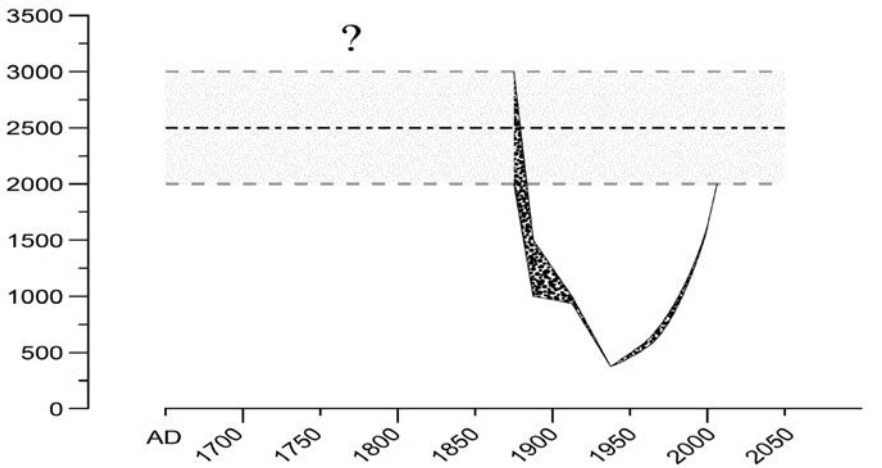

Figure 7
Historical demographics of the Wayana in Suriname, French Guiana and Brazil. Vertical scale: number of individuals. Horizontal scale: years.

Demographic data is not unbiased and population estimates and averages of population numbers shroud socio-political complexity. Let me briefly explore the case of the census conducted between November 1940 and January 1941 by Lodewijk Schmidt, a local Surinamese Maroon. The summary by the editor, Gerold Stahel (Schmidt 1942: 50),[14] accounts for an average of 17 inhabitants per village as is compliant with the standard model of tropical forest cultures. However, when the names recorded by Lodewijk Schmidt (1942: 50-55) are converted into numbers of

[14] Gerold Stahel, who edited Lodewijk Schmidt's work, was a Swiss agricultural scientist and director of the Agricultural Experiment Station (Landbouwproefstation) in Paramaribo, Suriname.

inhabitants, a different picture emerges, demonstrating a significant variation in number of inhabitants per village (Table 1). Before discussing the numbers of the demographic data analysis of the Aletani (i.e., my research area *sensu stricto*), I have to point out three issues that emerged during this exercise. First of all, counting all the names of Wayana recorded by Schmidt equals a total of 338 individuals instead of the number provided by Stahel (i.e., 358). This discrepancy (possibly an unintended misprint) has not been noted before. Secondly, rather than Schmidt's original list of individuals, it is Stahel's summary that is commonly used by anthropologists to account for Wayana population numbers, thereby not recognizing the demographic variability. Thirdly, it was the settlement of Janamale in particular that had almost double the averages of men and women, and almost double the average total number of inhabitants of the Wayana villages. Janamale's village was considerably larger than the other Wayana villages in the region. These demographic variations have not been considered in the Guiana Highlands, as the unit of analysis has been, by default, the village.

Table 1:
Wayana Demographics of the Aletani based on Schmidt 1942: 50-55.

River name	**Village name**		**Village**	**Men**	**Women**	**Children**	**Total**
Litani (Aletani)	Granpassi	[= Taponaike]		3	5	2	10
	Janemale	[= Janamale]		13	10	4	27
	Makale	[= Makale]		4	4	1	9
	Alitoewa	[= Aletuiwa]		4	6	5	15
	Wapoedoemit	[= Wapot umït]		5	4	2	11
Total:			5	29	29	14	72

Let me briefly demonstrate the variability through basic quantitative analysis. Drawing on the list of names provided by Schmidt, four out of five villages of the Aletani had a total number of inhabitants below Stahel's average of 17 (ranging from 9 to 15) based on the total Wayana in Suriname, French Guiana and Brazil. One village, the village of Janamale, with 27 inhabitants is above average. With 13 men, the village of Janemale housed almost double the average number of men (average number of men per Wayana village is 7). Mean average of the total number of inhabitants of the five Wayana settlements along the Aletani is 14.4 (standard deviation = 6.62). While the mean average is about equal, this standard deviation differs significantly from, for example, the Wayana settlements along the Mapahoni (Upper Jari) with a mean average of 14.5 (standard deviation = 1.5). Demographic variation between Wayana settlements, as recorded by Schmidt, had been evened out by Stahel's

summarizing compilation of mean averages. The village of Janamale, located in the center of the five villages of the Aletani (Figure 3, inset left), was unique. Janamale was unique. Janamale was, till his death in 1958, one of two Wayana chiefs. The other was *granman* Twenke (in the 1950s founder of the village depicted in Figure 1), who in 1940 resided in the village of Janamale. This significant variability in demographic data per settlement, in conjunction with local histories, has not been a concern hitherto.

Acknowledging the significant variability in demographic data per settlement, even during the demographic nadir, in conjunction with an unequal distribution of community roundhouses has ramifications for the conventional model of tropical forest cultures and the understanding of sociality and an integrated ranked regionality of socio-political landscapes in the Eastern Guiana Highlands. First, estimating population averages does not address that Wayana settlements, today and in the past, range from semi-permanent farmsteads with only about 10 to 15 inhabitants to villages with over a hundred residents, the latter currently existing for over fifty years. This considerable demographic variability has not been a concern for ethnographers coping with average population estimates. Secondly, demographic data in the research area demonstrates a rollercoaster effect that inherently was the foundation for transformations of the settlement distribution. Thirdly, it is during the demographic nadir (1900–2000, with a critical low in the 1940s–1960s) that ethnographic fieldwork was conducted in the Guiana Highlands, providing, and later compliant with, the image of the standard model of tropical forest cultures. Such demographic decline caused a sheer lack of a people to even potentially sustain a complex society. Exact numbers of Wayana before 1940 will never be known, nevertheless, historic demographic estimates prior to 1880 indicate a sufficient number of Wayana to sustain more complex societies, possibly at a chiefdom level, such as witnessed by Claude Tony in 1769. Then again, socio-political complexity is more than simply adding more people into a single village, or adding more dots representing autonomous villages on the map. Beyond sheer population numbers, 'complexity' implies a significant re-organization and managing of the socio-political landscape in the Eastern Guiana Highlands, centered upon the few villages with community roundhouses and a public space to perform large-scale inter-village ritual gatherings. This article is thus not simply adding new data to old theory, but rather aims to reconceptualise basic social and historical processes in the Eastern Guiana Highlands to go beyond the standard model of tropical forest cultures.

Concluding discussion

Although it has been acknowledged that more complex societies (*confederações*) did exist in the past in Guiana, contemporary indigenous Guiana societies are perceived as autonomous atomistic units (*grupos atomizados*) (Grenand 1971; Tilkin Gallois 1986, 2005; Rivière 1984). The Wayana may however be an exception to the standard Guiana model, described in the eighteenth century as having a 'centralized military organization with a hierarchical chain of command' (Rivière 1984: 83). This exceptional case of regional organization in Guiana in 1769 (Tony 1835, 1843) has not been further explored as it was concluded that this organization had disintegrated (Coudreau 1893: 238) and completely vanished by around 1800 (Hurault 1965, p. 18). When most anthropologists and archaeologists cite 'Tony 1843,' they actually refer to Rivière (1984: 83). The historical document has not been properly contextualized hitherto. Even between the 1769 expedition lead by Dr. Patris and the publication of the *Voyage by* Claude Tony as an appendix in the 1835 *Journal d'un Déporté a la Guyane*, exists a time-lapse of over sixty years. This is not the moment to discuss these documents in detail, other than it provides a possibility that complex societies once did exist in the Guiana Highlands. Nonetheless, the conventional model of autonomous villages reigns supreme in Guiana. Beyond the discussion on the historical accuracy of Tony's *Voyage*, I argue that we have to reconsider all the ethno-historical and ethnographic data at hand from a different perspective to gain insight into the dynamic processes of regional organization and socio-political landscapes and therein the role of a ritual economy.

The standard model of tropical forest cultures is grounded in the paradigm of Cultural Ecology (Steward 1950), whereby economics are perceived as the extrasomatic means of adaptation to the environment while emphasizing the primacy of the infrastructure. Along with a constraining neo-evolutionary paradigm, the indigenous Amazonian people of the Guiana Highlands were by default classified as 'tribes' as these communities lacked the typical centralizing features of chiefdom level societies. Roy Rappaport (1984: 410), in the epilogue of the second edition of the *Pigs for the Ancestors*, brought the rather Marxist sounding '*Ritual Mode of Production*' into play against Julian Steward's Cultural Ecology. Essential in a ritual mode of production, or a ritual economy, is that the superstructure (ideology) is no longer epiphenomenal and in certain situations even generates surplus production and consumption, which, in turn, is intrinsically interwoven with socio-political power. It is time to reassess studies on residence patterns and Guiana social organization grounded in the paradigm of Cultural Ecology (e.g., Lapointe 1970), approach the collected data from a different perspective, and

situate each study in local deep-historical contexts. More than sixty years after the publication of the Handbook of South American Indians, of which Julian Steward was the editor, it is time to foreground the concept of a *'ritual economy'* in Amazonian anthropology and archaeology and to reconceptualise basic social and historical processes in the Guiana Highlands.

It is commonly accepted that roundhouses play a central role in the social and symbolic reproduction of indigenous Guiana communities. During my in-depth ethnographic fieldwork (more than 24 months since 1996 in the Upper Maroni Basin, frontier zone between Suriname and French Guiana), I realized that in only four out of about twenty Wayana settlements -some settlements are more permanent than others- stands a roundhouse. At New Year's Eve 2011, fireworks set fire to the roof of the *tukusipan* of Antecume pata, and the *tukusipan* of Pilima had perished, which leaves us today with the two community roundhouses of Twenke and Talhuwen, the two central villages in the *grand maraké* of 2004. As not every Wayana settlement owns a community roundhouse, this implies an unequal distribution of the mechanisms of social and symbolic reproduction. An unequal distribution of community roundhouses, allowing for a ranked regional organization, is a feature expected to go unrecognized in village-based studies even when these studies recognize a dispersion of relatively small settlements. Large quantities of cassava beer, elaborate costumes adorned with precious colorful featherwork, ritual paraphernalia, and last but not least the roundhouses themselves, have been taken for granted. Beyond every-day household economics, the acquisition, production, and use of ritualized and sacred goods, along with the surplus demand, redistribution, and regurgitation of large quantities of cassava beer centered upon the community roundhouse, are situated in a ritual economy. The materialization of this ritual economy can be manipulated, and in due process meaning is managed and interpretations regulated. The social field ('region') of ritual economy can be manipulated in a tactical manner by competing heterarchical forces amidst subgroups such as social houses.

During the *grand maraké* rituals, the roundhouse *(tukusipan)* is the place of legitimization, in a contesting manner, by means of transmission of material and immaterial property, as required for continuity of social houses. Furthermore, these theatrical public corporeal spectacles attract large numbers of spectators and participants that, as unintended consequence, become incorporated in the social field, even if lacking descent ties to the authority of the corporate unit or social house. Wayana (Guiana) socio-political organization is thus more complex than presumed in the conventional model of tropical forest cultures. Ramification of my understanding of the *grand maraké*, i.e., a public socio-political

application of an in origin private domestic initiation ritual, is that interpretations of similar historically recorded rituals (typically categorized as 'initiation ritual') will have to be reassessed, allowing in due process for regional supra-village organization. To further an understanding of sociality and the social landscape in the Guianas it is important to shift our unit of analysis beyond the boundaries of a single village and allow for a dynamic open system, such as the model of a 'social house' situated in a 'region' or intersubjective social field.

In conclusion, this case-study implies that we have to rethink our understanding of Guiana communities that, by default, are defined according to what Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1996) called 'the standard model of tropical forest cultures.' From a different perspective, the seed of destruction of a perfect conviviality is the germ of intersubjective relationships. The autonomy of the settlement vanishes whilst regional integration is emerging. During daily life techno-economic activities at the household group level, Wayana appear compliant with the typical self-sufficient tropical forest culture. Nevertheless, during a period of ritual gathering the Wayana community appears a different and more socio-politically complex society with elements of integrated regionality. Trade, marriage, disputes, and ritual, have been previously recognized in the Guiana Highlands as causes of movements of people between settlements, otherwise considered autonomous, without acknowledging a regional integration (whereby 'region' implies more than a mere geographic area). To understand the archaeology of the Guiana Highlands, and Amazonia as a whole, it is not sufficient to simply add more people into the conventional image of autonomous tropical forest villages. We have barely scratched the surface of Wayana sociality and socio-political organization in the Guiana Highlands … beyond the boundaries of a single village, and therein the role of a ritual economy.

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