

Maluwana, Pinnacle of Wayana Art in the Guyanas

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Abstract. The *maluwana* is a wooden disk, cut out of the buttress of the Ceiba tree and decorated with men-killing monsters. This wooden disk is suspended in the apex of the Wayana community house. Main motif on this disk is the dialectic *Kuluwajak* caterpillar; a male and a female, facing east and west respectively. In this article the unique and beautiful *maluwana* is central, as it is in Wayana life. First, I will discuss the fundamental aspects of the *maluwana*, i.e. symmetry, rhythm and emphasis of form. In addition to earlier studies on 'primitive art' (Boas 1955) and Wayana art in particular (Boven 1997; Van Velthem 1976, 1995, 2001), I will emphasize the dynamic dyadic. This study is based on *maluwana*'s present in today's Wayana villages in French Guyana, and *maluwana*'s in museum context in Berlin, Leiden, and Paris. Secondly, I will discuss the meaning of the motifs painted on the *maluwana*. The beauty of the form alone is more expressionistic due to an emotional laden endowment of meaning. Finally, I will explore the *maluwana* in the context of more recent theory of materiality and agency, and the commoditization of the *maluwana* due to a global market economy.

"The more energetic the control of form over uncoordinated movement, the more aesthetic the result ... each individual in 'primitive' society is a man, a woman, a child of the same kind, of the same way of thinking, feeling and acting as man, woman or child in our own society." (Boas 1927)

Early exposures

The first *maluwana*¹ was exposed to a European on October 17, 1876 (Crevaux 1881: 399; Fig. 1; Fig. 6; table 1: 71.1881.34.86). Crevaux was exploring French Guyana via the Jari river towards the Amazon (Fig. 2). When arriving in the village of Macouipy, which was located along the Jari, downstream from the mouth of the Apaouani (=Mapahoni), Crevaux was well received. Customarily, a place for the guest's hammock was made available in the community house (*tukusipan*). When Crevaux (1987: 140–141)² had his siesta and looked up into the top of the dome-shaped community house, he noticed a wooden disk painted like a mosaic with colourful diluted clay in the colours white, yellow and red. After a long conversation with the host, Apatou translated to Crevaux that this painting was in memory of the struggle during the navigation on the lower Jari. Crevaux perceived a frog that was stopped by fantastic monsters that bear a resemblance to mythical dragons. Crevaux concluded that this white painted 'frog' represents a *Roucouyenne* (=Wayana³) who explored the lower Jari river in order to see the white men (=Europeans), but these merciless monsters hindered him. The very same drawing of this *maluwana*⁴ (Crevaux 1881: 399; Fig. 1), was reproduced a decade later by Coudreau (1891: 458).

My earliest exposure to a *maluwana* was in 1997, after I had hung my hammock in the community house *tukusipan*, just like Crevaux 121 years earlier. The motifs were no longer painted in clay but in acrylic paint. In 2000, I asked Ronnie Tikaime (a Wayana) if he could show me how the *maluwana*'s were painted in the past. We cruised with his wife and niece along the river and prospected for different colours of clay (white, yellow, red, blue and green). Subsequently, they told me how to dry and process the clay, and I experimented in making a *maluwana* with clay paintings. The Wayana Elders appreciated my work, but the younger Wayana said this was too much effort. Nonetheless, the following year, Aimawale Opoya started to experiment too. He became a true master of the technique and ideology of the *maluwana*. In 2003, a new *maluwana* from Aima-

1 Researchers in Suriname tend to write *maluana*, and researchers in Brazil *maruanã*. Since Wayana is a spoken language researchers from different countries tend to transcribe in different ways. The flap tends to be written as /r/ in Brazil, as /l/ in Suriname, in 19th century French Guyana as /r/ and today as /l/. I differ in this text from earlier researchers in adding a /w/ to the fore last syllable to have four syllables of vowel and consonant: *ma-lu-wa-na*, instead of *ma-lu-a-na*.

2 "Au sommet du carbet où je fais la sieste, j'aperçois une couronne sur laquelle on distingue des images colorées en blanc, en jaune et en rouge. De loin on croirait voir une mosaïque. C'est une véritable peinture sur bois faite avec de l'argile de diverses couleurs délayées dans de l'eau. Après une longue conversation avec notre hôte, Apatou m'ex-

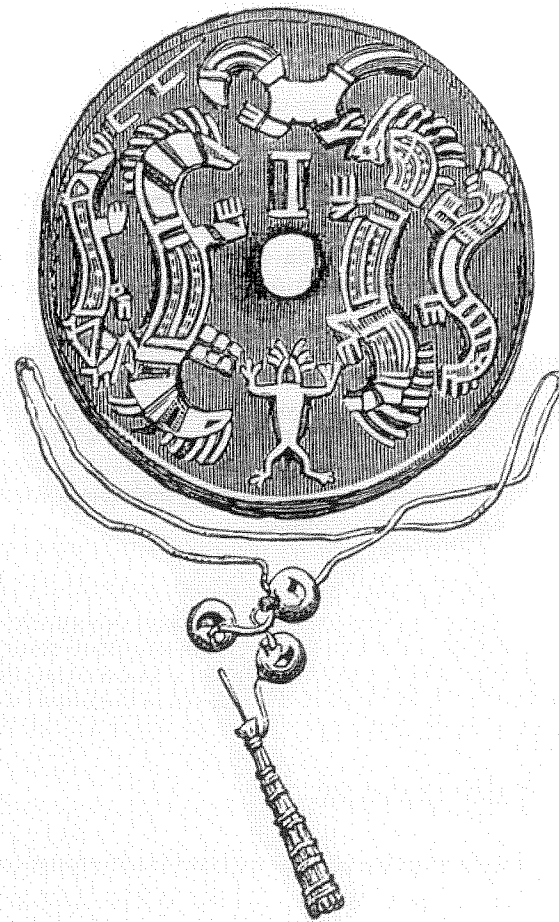


Fig. 1 Maluwana by Crevaux 1881.

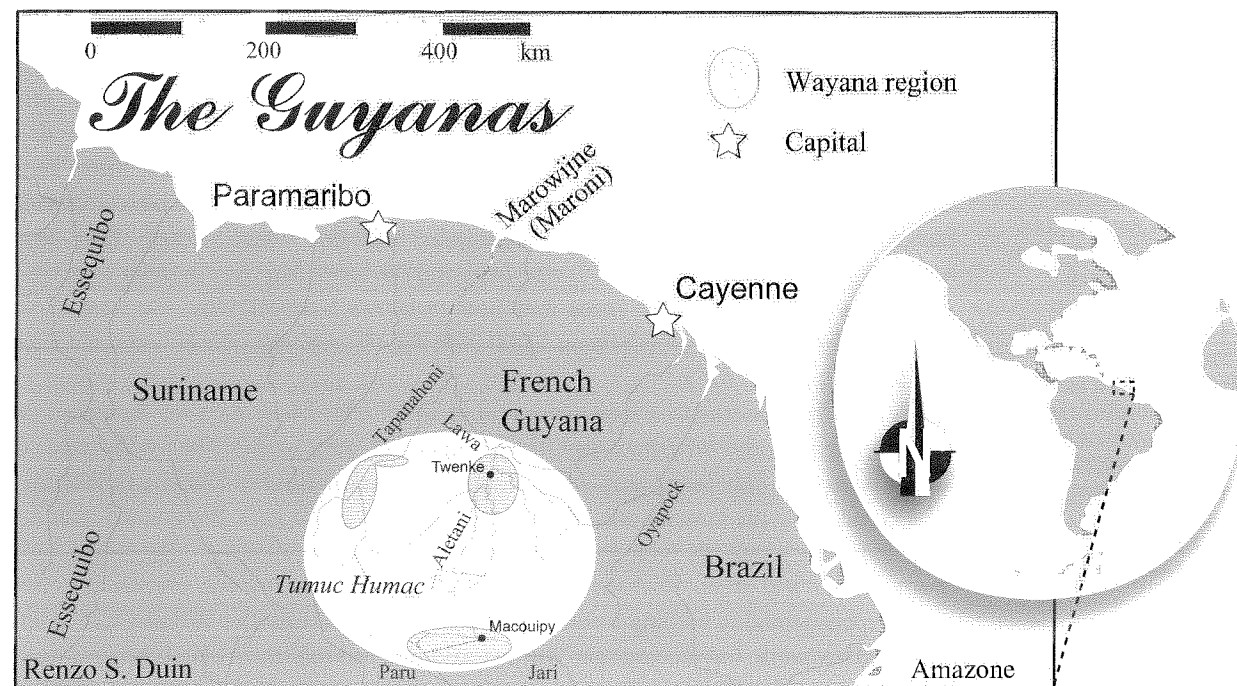


Fig. 2 Map of the Guyanas.

plique le sujet de cette peinture : c'est une allusion à la difficulté de la navigation du bas Yary. Une grenouille voulant prendre ses ébats est arrêtée par des monstres fantastiques qui ont quelque ressemblance avec les dragons de la mythologie. La grenouille représente le Roucouyenne qui veut s'aventurer dans les chutes du Yary pour aller voir les Blancs ; des monstres impitoyables l'empêchent de satisfaire son désir" (Crevaux 1987: 140-141).

3 The Wayana (or Oayana, also referred to as *Roucouyennes*) are an Amazonian nation inhabiting a region spread over Suriname, French Guyana and Brasil. According to Povos Indígenas no Brasil 1996-2000 by Instituto SocioAmbiental (ISA), the Wayana population in 1999 was 1615 individuals (Pará, Brasil: 415; Suriname: 400; French Guyana: 800). This figure does not differentiate between Wayana, and the different groups that name themselves Wayana (including some Apalai and Upului). The Wayana are a Cariban-speaking people who share many cultural traits with neighboring Carib groups in the Guyanas and with South-American Carib speakers in general. Subsistence activities involve shifting cultivation (slash-and-burn) of domesticated crops (particularly manioc), hunting, fishing, and gathering.

4 Crevaux does not name the *maluwana* but stated that it was a 'bijoux Roucouyenne' (Crevaux 1881: 399).

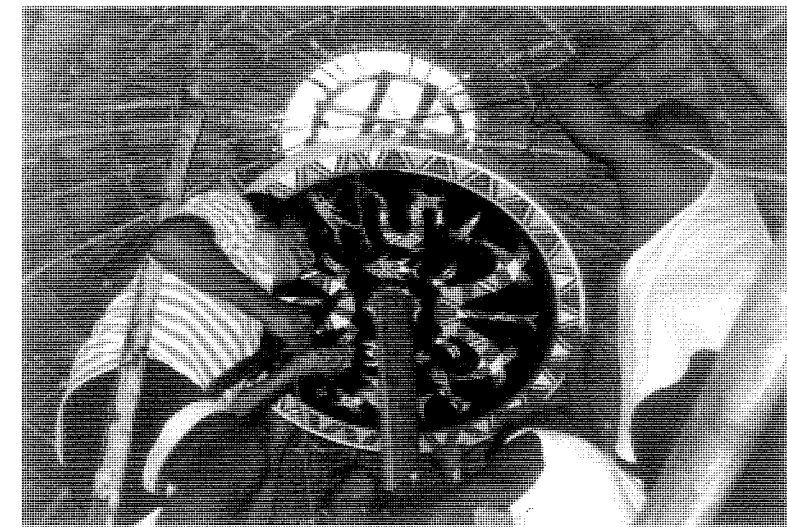


Fig. 3 Maluwana. Twenke 2003. Photo: Fabrice Lavalette.

wale's hands, this time painted with motifs in clay, was suspended in the apex of the *tukusipan* of Twenke (Fig. 3.).

The present article is based on my visits among the Wayana between 1996 and 2004. In total, I conducted over 16 months of ethno-archaeological fieldwork among the Wayana, among which a five month stay in 2000 during which I recorded several myths. During these visits, I witnessed all four *maluwana*'s hanging in the community houses of today's Wayana villages in French Guyana (Twenke, Talhuwen, Antecume Pata, Pilima), and I had fruitful conversations with several Wayana concerning these *maluwana* and related topics, which contributed profoundly to this article.

Additional sources for this article are *maluwana*'s in museum context, i.e. Berlin, Germany (VB 13592, Fig. 4; VB 16759, Fig. 5; VB 16760; originating from Brazil); Paris, France (71.1881.34.86, Fig. 6; 71.1881.34.68; 71.1939.25.193; 71.1939.25.194; 71.1985.66.1; originating from French Guyana); Leiden, the Netherlands (RMV 2352-189, Fig. 7; originating from Suriname); as well as *maluwana*'s published in monographs (Crevaux 1881=71.1881.34.86; Ribeiro 1988; Schultz-Kampfenkel 1938 [Note: 1938: face 168=VB16759], and Van Velthem 1995).

In this article I will first discuss the formal aspects of the *maluwana*, or the basic building blocks it consists of. Subsequently, I will analyze the meaning of the depicted motifs as well as the meaning of the *maluwana* as a whole for the Wayana. To conclude, I will explore the *maluwana* in the context of more recent theory of materiality and agency, and the commoditization of the *maluwana* due to a global market economy. We will see how this beautifully painted disk arose in a newly emerging social context and became a key symbol for Wayana society, which is today still constantly emerging.

In this article, scientific names for flora and fauna are placed in italics to facilitate identification. Additionally, Wayana vocabulary is placed in italics intending to facilitate reading, since the explanation of the most frequent terms is even more confusing. By now I hope the readers have some understanding of *maluwana* and *tukusipan* (community house), the key artifacts in this article. Other Wayana names that will occur frequently throughout this article are *Kuluwajak* and *Mulokot*, respectively a monstrous caterpillar and a monstrous fish (see Appendix). This essay is intended for those who are eager to know more about Wayana art, especially with regards to the unique and beautiful disks named *maluwana*.

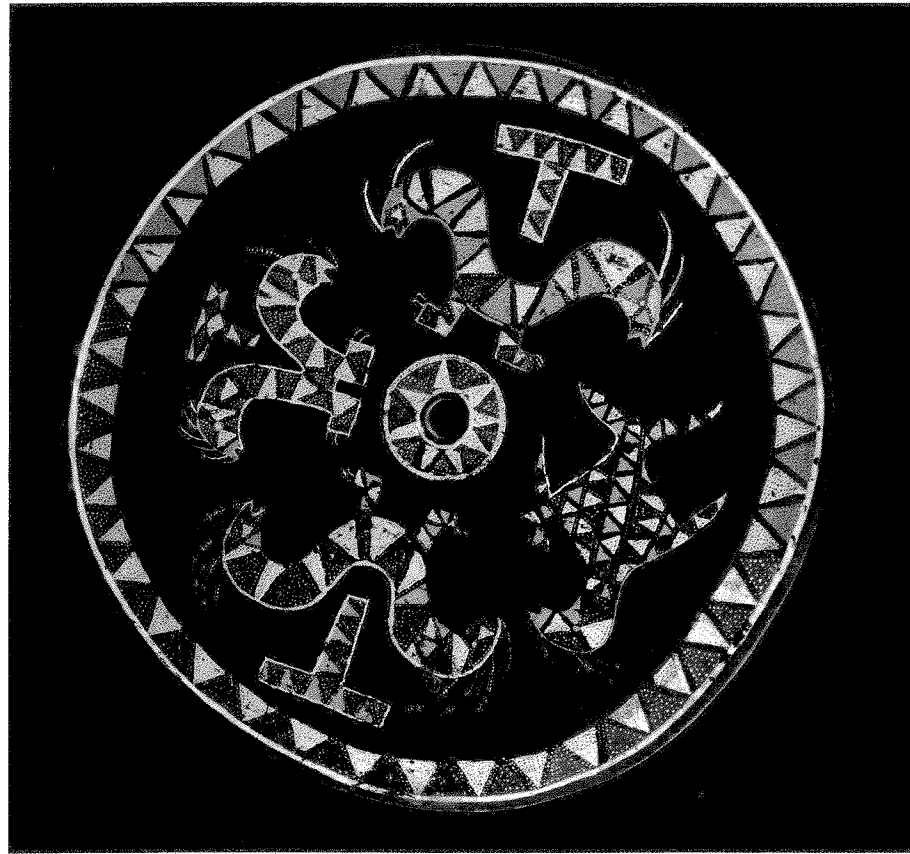


Fig. 4 *Maluwana*. Ethnologisches Museum Berlin VB 13592.

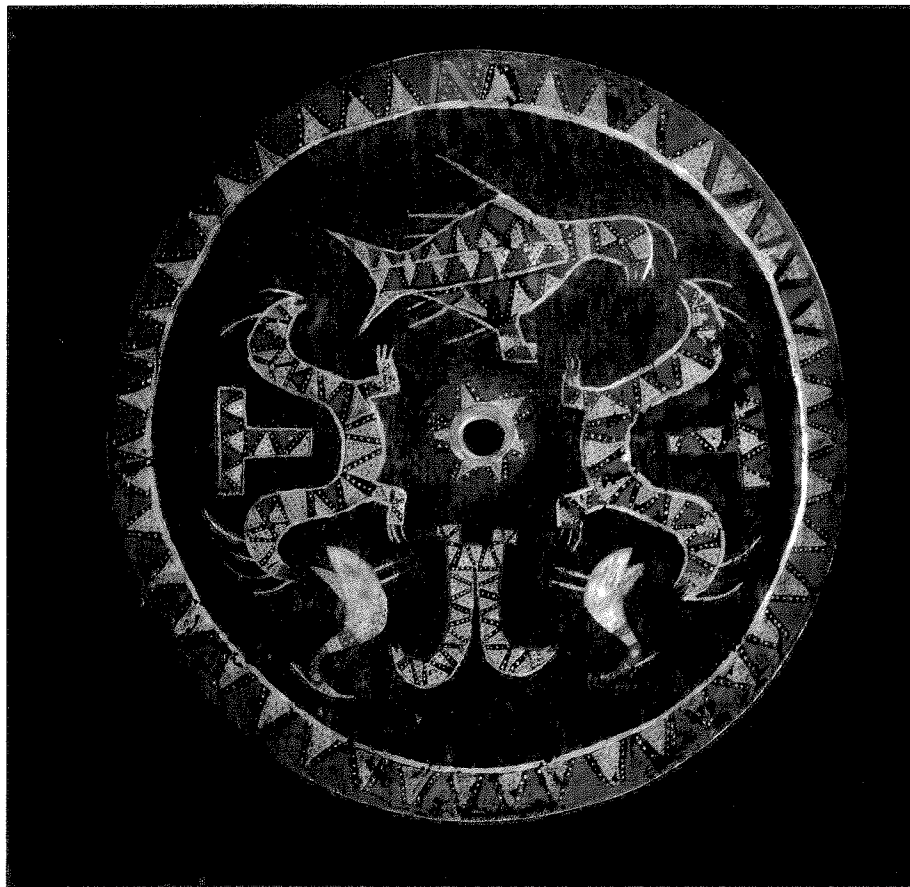


Fig. 5 *Maluwana*. Ethnologisches Museum Berlin VB 16759.



Fig. 6 Musée du Quai Branly, Paris, 71. 1881.34.86.

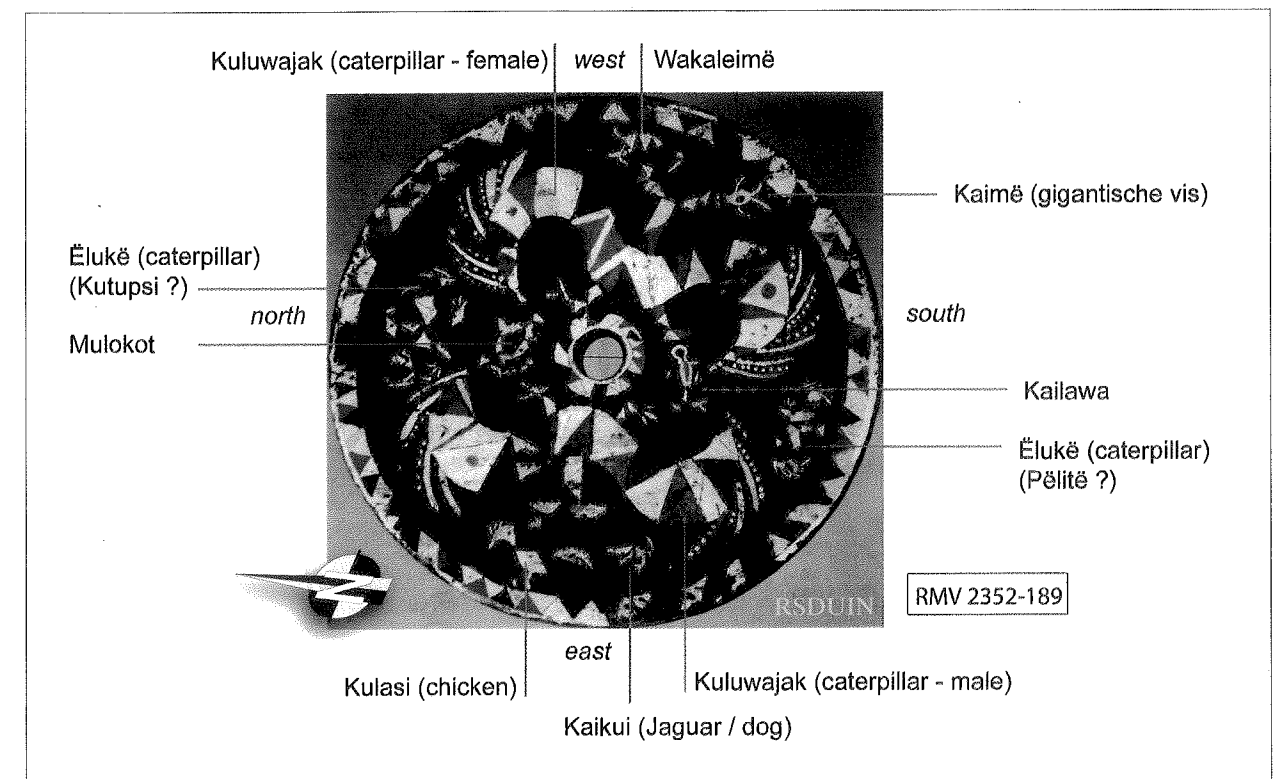


Fig. 7 *Maluwana*. Leiden, RMV 2352-189.

Formal aspects of the maluwana

Boas (1955: 11) stated that “the will to produce an aesthetic result is the essence of artistic work.” In this sense the *maluwana* is a piece of art, since the Wayana are aiming for an aesthetic result. It has to be beautiful, *pētuku*. Following Boas (1955 [1927]), I will first study the form alone, and subsequently study the associated ideas, in order to present the two-fold source of the artistic effect. Boas emphasised technique and skill in his monograph and stated that “[p]roductive artists are found among those who have mastered a technique.” To produce a *maluwana* the technique is two-fold. First, one has to be a good woodworker, and secondly, the artist has to be a good painter. Control of technique will demonstrate regularity. Ahlbrinck (1956: 58) wrote that the Wayana artists were more advanced than their Carib ‘sisters’, and Ahlbrinck (1931) had made a thorough study of the Caribs. Ahlbrinck (1956: 56–57) describes the body painting among the Wayana and writes that the women are very skilled in painting; “The hand drawing the line is steady; no flaw, no wobbling of the line. The eye sees sharp: no line ends too early or goes beyond the endpoint” (translation by the author). In addition, Ahlbrinck (1956: 57) asked these women artists to draw with pen or pencil on paper and states they did this with ease, as if they had done nothing else. This is for the reason that when the Wayana paint they use similar tools, and hence they are accustomed to this technique, it is their habit (this is in contrast to the examples given by Boas, e.g. 1955: 65).

The *maluwana* is a wooden disk, cut out of the buttress of the cotton tree (*kumaka*; *Ceiba pentandra*). The flat panel of the buttress of the *Ceiba* tree allows for minor adzing, to achieve a plane. The difficulty of adzing a disk is revealed in the disks present in museum context which are not perfectly round (Table 1 and colour plate). The disk is subsequently burnt over a fire and sanded (See Dubois 1981 for two photos of (a) cutting out and (b) burning a wooden disk).

Table 1: Dimensions of the *maluwana*’s in museum collections:

museum	catalogue number	originated from	year	diameter (cm)	thickness (cm)
Berlin	VB 13592	Jari	1937	87	5–6
Berlin	VB 16759	Jari	1937	87.7	3.7–4
Berlin	VB 16760	Jari	1937	89	4–4.5
Leiden	RMV 2352-189	Litani	1937	70	4.5
Paris	71.1881.34.86	Haut-Paru	1881	45	2
Paris	71.1881.34.68	Haut-Paru	1881	66	3
Paris	71.1939.25.193	Litani	1939	36 x 36.5	1.9
Paris	71.1939.25.194	Litani	1939	44.5 x 45.5	3
Paris	71.1985.66.1	Litani	1985	105 x 107	6

The burning of the plane results in a black background (today’s *maluwana*’s have a painted black background). Next, the plane is decorated with colourful motifs. Before applying the paint (clay or acrylic paint) stencils – in the old days of banana leaf, today of plastic – are laid-out over the disk in order to determine a regular spread of motifs over the surface. If Ahlbrinck (1956) would have been fortunate to see the men painting a *maluwana*, he could have referred to stencil use as discussed by Boas (1955: 156–157), whereby the latter states that the use of stencils is “rare in primitive culture”. These stencils are traced with a sharp pocket knife to mark the outline of the motifs. After the stencils are removed, the body of the motifs is divided into triangles. Additional lines are traced to mark hair and claws. With regards to the colour fill, adjoining areas are for visual purposes supposed to be filled in with dissimilar colours. Painting the same colour in adjacent areas is not beautiful, according to the Wayana.

In order to paint in clay, the clay is pulverised and sieved when bone dry. This pulverised dry clay is mixed with *mëpu*-resin (*Hymenea courbaril*) and applied by means

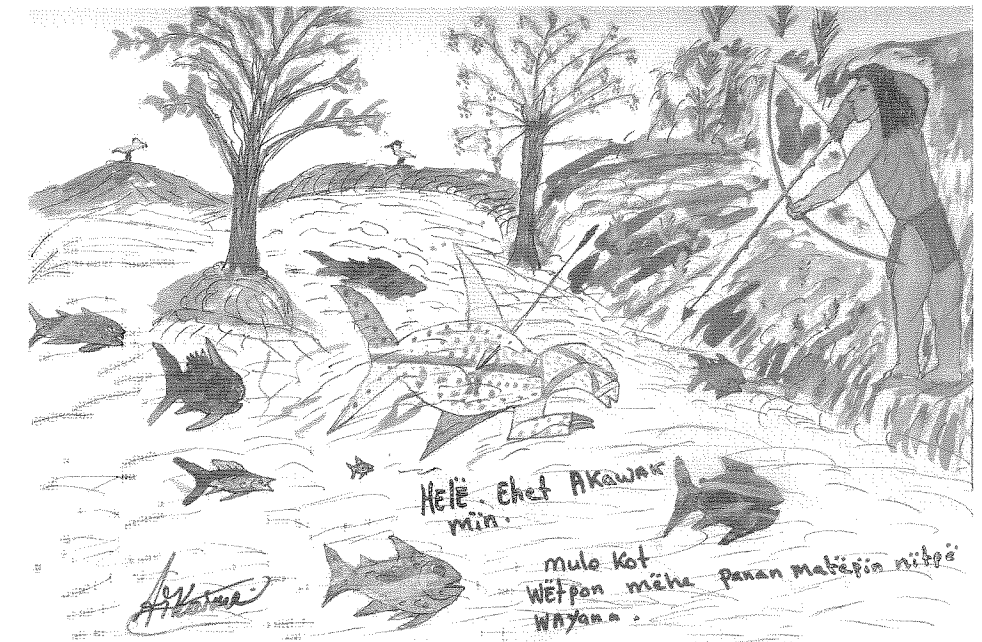


Fig. 8 *Mukolot* by Ronnie Tikaime.

of a brush (*imiliktop*), consisting of a shaft of bamboo with a feather, cotton, or human hair tip. Dots can be applied with a ‘pointer’ (*etihtim matop*) made of a fishbone or sharpened splinter. Red clay (*ëliwë akpiu*; oxidized kaolin clay) can be found higher on the bed slope; white kaolin clay (*nenuwë*) from around the water surface; black/blue clay (*pulune*; kaolin with a lot of organic material) found in small patches in the same bed as kaolin; yellow clay (*kuli*) from the riverbed; yellow-green clay (*katawa*) from deep below the riverbed. Color application is the same as in pottery production (Duin 2003). Where pottery is made by women exclusively, the *maluwana* is traditionally made by men.

Due to its rare occurrence in nature, plane, straight lines and regular curves such as the circle have a general pervasiveness among artists (Boas 1955: 31). The *maluwana* embodies both circle and plane, and the central hole serves to pass through the straight central pole of the community house. A circular plane drawing in Wayana is named *ali* (cf. leaf=*ale*). There are only two *ali*, i.e. *maluwana ali*, the drawing of the *maluwana* and *nunuwë ali*, the drawing of the moon (i.e. drawing of the ‘man-in-the-moon’). For the Wayana, the work is laid out in the mind of the artist before (s)he begins, and is a direct realization of the mental image. Although the Wayana artist is able to draw realistic paintings, the Wayana artist gives an “impression ... rather than an accurate photo” (Ahlbrinck 1956: 59). Moreover, as Boas (1955: 158) stated, the traditional style has a controlling power. When attempting to give a realistic painting, traditional stylistic elements are incorporated in the drawing. This can be seen in the drawings by Ronnie Tikaime, (Fig. 8), where we see the conventional motif of *mulokot* – as on a *maluwana* – incorporated in a realistic drawing. Such a constraining traditional style, however, does not mean that there is no variation and change possible (Boas 1955: 149, 156–158) as we will see below in the variation of available *maluwana*’s produced in different contexts, both temporal and spatially.

Wayana and Apalai say it was the elder of the Creator Twins, Mopo (Umale in Upului)⁵, who in mythical times made the first *maluwana*. In more recent historical times, it was the Apalai Kulepanasi who initiated additional designs. These additional motifs can be seen on the *maluwana* made by Yalukana as reproduced in the photos of Darbois (1953; Mazière and Darbois 1956) made in the early 1950s in the village of Yanamale. Also

⁵ The Wayana are a federation of different Amazonian tribes, among them the Upului. In the last century, the Apalai lived among the Wayana and interethnic marriages took place, as they do today.

the *maluwana* collected along the Aletani by de Goeje (RMV 2352-189), shows these additional motifs, where they are absent on the *maluwana*'s collected along the Jari by Schultz-Kampfenkel (VB 13592, VB 16759, VB 16760). Furthermore, a geometrical rim decoration is added over time, as this rim decoration is absent in the reproduction by Crevaux (1881: 399; 71.1881.34.86), yet present on the 'Apalai' *maluwana* collected by Crevaux (71.1881.34.68). Albeit that individual artistic variation in physical appearance of decoration motifs is noticeably present (see also Boas 1955: 84–85), the main theme of these discs is the two serpentine sinusoid motifs. The meaning of these two *Kuluwajak* will be discussed below. That it is a dialectic motif, and not simply two single elements placed in symmetrical opposition, is supported by a sketch made by Pitoma 'Winnetou' in the sketchbook of Schulz-Kampfenkel (1938: 146). Symmetry is one of the fundamental determinants in art, according to Boas (1955: 33), because it equals the symmetry of the human body and that of animals. Although Boas (ibid.) states that it is "the sensation of the motions of right and left (that) lead to the feeling of symmetry", his monograph, as does the article by Van Velthem (1976), misses the dynamic dialectic between the two halves forming the whole. The *maluwana* is unique in this regard. Symmetry on the plane of the *maluwana* is between the two serpentine sinusoid motifs. Yet it is not a perfect mathematical symmetry. At the same time these opposing elements complement each other since they are male and female (though gender is not always recognizable).

Boas (1955 [1927]) studied the relation between realistic / perspective and geometric / symbolic representation. Boas studied the art of the North Pacific Coast of North America, and I wonder how Boas would have reacted if he had studied the Wayana's *maluwana*'s from the Guyanas. Boas did not believe that there was a continuous series of forms, beginning with the most realistic and ending with a purely geometrical form. Both methods are distinct and the one not derived from the other. On several occasions Boas (e.g. 1955: 94–95, 129) brings up the example of the North American triangle in which there exists no transitional form between the realistic and geometric form of a tent or mountain. As in his examples (Boas ibid.) it is also clear that the interpretation of a form is context specific; in the case of the triangles interpreted as 'tent' or 'mountain'. Moreover, Boas constantly emphasised mastering a technique, because it is the material used by the artist that allows and/or restrains certain forms. In a technique that does not admit the use of curved lines – like basket weaving – and in which decorative patterns have developed, there is no space for curvilinear forms and the curved outlines of objects are broken up into angular forms (Boas 1955: 83–84). Van Velthem (1976: 18) reversed this reasoning and drew in her flow diagram arrows from curved lines to roof disk and from straight lines to basketry respectively, yet concluded that the form of these representations is only partly conditioned by the material being used.

Van Velthem (1976), in her article on the graphic representation to the verbal information, is not lucid in defining the relation between *Urukë/Urukó* (=ēlukë) and *Tulupèle* and their respective relations to the formal motifs. During my conversations with the Wayana, they told me the story of *Tulupele* as well. The Wayana told me that there were three *Tulupes*; one *Tulupele* on the Aletani that looks like a tapir, one on the Jari that looks like an *ēlukë* (=caterpillar), and one on the Paru de Leste who had in his reptilian body skin the designs used today in basketry. The latter *Tulupele* is the topic of the work of Van Velthem. The latter *Tulupele* bears more resemblance to a dinosaur than an anaconda; effectively the *Nothosaurus* fits the detailed description. Hence, there are three different *Tuluperes*. The name *Tulupere*, as Wayana elucidated to me, refers to the noise this water monster makes when it runs down the hill: *TTTllppprrr*. Then it plunges into the water, turns around the canoes, and kills the Wayana and Apalai.

Schoepf (1972: 54) located this "*Touloupère*" (= *Tulupele*) on the upper Paru de Leste, near the mouth of creek Achiki. This is the very same latitude of the demarcation

in the 19th century between Apalai in the south and Wayana in the north (Schoepf 1972: 53, following Crevaux 1881 and Coudreau 1893), or more accurately: the Upului in the north (Chapuis and Rivière 2003: 819). The killing of this monster by both Wayana and Apalai is an emic explanation why Wayana and Apalai have comparable basketry motifs. Parts of the whole – motifs on the reptilian body of *Tulupele* – serve as a template for motifs woven into basketry. However, *Tulupele* as a whole is never woven into basketry, yet his serpentine sinusoid can be depicted on the *maluwana* (since painting allows for sinusoids, in contrast to basketry weaving). The serpentine sinusoid main motif on the *maluwana* is *Kuluwajak* and not *Tulupere* as suggested by Van Velthem (1976). The relation between *Kuluwajak* and *Tulupele* is that both were defeated by the Wayana culture hero Kailawa⁶. Since we begin to enter the realm of representative art, which will be the topic of the next section, I will return to the formal aspects, in particular the geometric motifs.

The *maluwana* rim drawing (*maluwana etasi milikut*) is an archetypal liminal geometric motif (Boas 1955: 57–59). This motif is present on both the outer rim of the *maluwana* as well as on the inner rim around the central hole. As such, the rim drawing is a set off, closing in, and separating the fundamental from the surrounding. This is also supported by Van Velthem (1995: 302) since she named this motif *imirikut armit* (= *milikut ahmit* or 'drawing support') and stated that this rim drawing supports the inner plane drawings. Van Velthem (1995: 302) interpreted this geometric motif as a series of yellow and orange butterflies as can be seen in the spring on the sand banks in the river and stand for the beginning of a new year. The rim drawing has therefore a double purpose of decoration as well as limitation.

A final point I want to make on the formal aspects, is that the archetypal liminal geometric motif – as used for the inner and outer rim – is also the geometric zoned fill of the body of the main twofold sinusoid motif *Kuluwajak*. This *Kuluwajak* appears to be a liminal figure, so form and idea become one. In sum, both methods as distinguished by Boas (1955), realistic/perspective and geometric/symbolic, are embodied in the *maluwana*.

Meaning of the depicted motifs

After studying the formal aspects, or physioplastic (Boas 1955), of the *maluwana*, let us now study the ideological meaning, or ideoplastic (Boas 1955) of the depicted motifs and subsequently the *maluwana* as a whole. Without doubt it is stated in all Wayana ethnographies that these motifs are mythical animals embodying evil. Since these representations of supernatural beings are originating in nature yet remodelled by thought, they are therefore, according to Boas (1955: 84), in a conventional style. After the general introduction by Crevaux (1881: 399), it took over half a century for a more detailed determination of the conventional motifs on the *maluwana*. Schulz-Kampfenkel (1938: face 168) stated that these motifs were "white Egrets, double-headed Jaguars and Piranhas". Schulz-Kampfenkel (1938: 157) explained that the depicted motifs are "double-headed jaguars and piranhas, symbol of good and evil", and for this reason I conclude a dialectic in one body, i.e. the *maluwana* itself. Unfortunately, Schulz-Kampfenkel does not provide much information on the *maluwana*, other than some formal aspects of production as described above. De Goeje (1941: 87–89), who revisited the Wayana in 1937 – the same year as Schulz-Kampfenkel, but in Suriname instead of Brazil –, described in his section on '(evil) spirits' the *maluwana* and the depicted motifs. On both sides of the centre are depicted a "*Kuluwayak*", and often the disk also holds a human and other animals (de Goeje 1941: 89). Actually, de Goeje first describes the monsters and subsequently mentions the "*maluana*" and is hereby the first to effectively name *maluwana* and *Kuluwajak* as well as the other evil spirits depicted.

⁶ The latter is contested by Chapuis (Chapuis and Rivière 2003: 815), but is apparent in the narration by Azeima (2000, not yet published) and in the *maluwana*'s made by Aimawale (see the *maluwana* placed in 2003 in the *tukusipan* of Twenke; Pellet & Saint-Jean 2006).

Van Velthem (1976) is the first – almost a century after Crevaux’s publication – who made an in depth study of the *maruanā* (=maluwana), yet she initially published only half a *maluwana* (1976: 13). In doing so, she could never attain the most important part of the *maluwana*: the dynamic dialectic. In her later studies, Van Velthem (1995: 302–303; 2000: 68) mentioned another element fitting the category ‘men-killing monsters’: names of White Men. Van Velthem (1995: 302–303; 2000: 68) stated that the representation of the White Man, his outline or his name, was previously reported by Crevaux in 1881. As we have seen above though, Crevaux (1881: 399; 1987: 140) wrote that the ‘frog-like figure’ actually represented a ‘Roucouyenne’ (=Wayana), thus not a White Man or European. Moreover, the anthropomorphic figures on the present-day *maluwana*’s of Twenke, Talhuwen, Antecume Pata, and Pidima were designated by Wayana as ‘Kailawa’, the Founding Hero. Aimawale, recently (e.g. Pellet and Saint-Jean 2006), even drew Kailawa fighting *Tulupele* on some *maluwana*’s. The anthropomorphic figure on the published *maluwana* by Darbois (1953) was interpreted by several Wayana (*pers. com.* 2000) as the historical hero Kailawa as well.

Where Boas (1955: 356) stated that: “Goodness and beauty are the same,” the beautiful motifs on the *maluwana* represent Evilness, the antonym of Goodness. The same goes for Wayana basketry motifs which are men-killing monsters too. This principle that evil equals beauty, led to the ingenious title of Van Velthem’s dissertation (1995) *O belo é a fera* or ‘(Male) Beauty is the Beast,’ and inspired Boven’s 1997 article. Perhaps, it is a way to domesticate the monsters. By domestication, I do not mean that the monsters themselves are mastered or brought under control, as in the case of livestock, but ‘monster’ becomes a familiar and less dangerous part of the social and cultural landscape. Watch out for monsters in the forest. Watch out! Of interest is that this exclamation, “watch out!” in Wayana “*pētuku nai!*” literally means “be beautiful!”

The Wayana of the Aletani / Lawa (Fig. 2) told me that the motifs depicted on the *maluwana* were the monsters defeated by the culture hero Kailawa when exploring the watershed between Brazil and the Guyanas, i.e. the Tumuc-Humac mountains. This explanation is analogous to the explanation given to Crevaux 121 years prior. Let us first explore in more depth the meaning of the individual motifs and subsequently study the meaning of the *maluwana* as a whole.

Kuluwajak, and other monstrous caterpillars

The “double-headed Jaguars” on both sides of the centre on the *maluwana* as identified by Schulz-Kampfenkel (1938: facing 168), are the monstrous man-killing caterpillars *Kuluwajak*. Although the main motif seems to be ‘double-headed’ it is actually a head on one end, and on the other the rear end of a caterpillar mimicking a head (conform *saturniidae* sp.), as can be observed in the *maluwana* published by Crevaux (1881: 399). These ‘double-headed Jaguars’, or monstrous caterpillars, hold on their back a little straight adornment which is T- or Y-shaped (conform *saturniidae* sp.), named in Wayana *apsiklete* (*abriti* [~*aplete*] or *apturum* [Van Velthem 1995: 301–302]). This T- or Y-shaped adornment is the claw, like the tooth of a piranha (*Serresalmus piraya*), that kills people. This T-shaped motif is not present on the *maluwana* published by Crevaux (1881: 399).

De Goeje (1941: 88; translation by author) named *Kuluwayak* and *Palité* (=Pëlitë) and wrote that the Wayana stated that these spirits are *kaikui*, or *ëlukë* (caterpillar, worm, “dragon?”) and eat people. *ëlukë* is a caterpillar, and de Goeje was so free to translate the *ëlukë* *kaikui* with ‘dragon’, following Crevaux (1987: 141). De Goeje placed his translation of ‘dragon’ between brackets, followed by a question mark. Although these monstrous caterpillars could jump, they could not fly as dragons because they do not

have wings, so I suggest translating *kaikui* not with ‘dragon’ but merely with ‘monster’. Nearly all motifs on the *maluwana* and basketry are *kaikui* (monsters) or *ipo* (water monsters). Often *kaikui* has been translated with ‘jaguar’, but this miscommunication is based on semantics because the jaguar is also a monster, as are the caterpillars, but not all *kaikui* are jaguars. The proper name of jaguar is *ihaino* and the proper name of the caterpillar is *ëlukë*. *Kuluwajak* is the most important of all monstrous caterpillars or, as the Wayana say today, “the Big Boss”. *Kuluwajak* is always present on the *maluwana* and recognizable for its shallow sinusoid.

Following the introduction of the quest by the Wayana culture hero Kailawa, Kuliempë (2000) starts his narration with the defeat of *Kuluwajak*; the mythical, huge, serpentine caterpillar. Although Kuliempë does not mention a place name at this point, Wayana say this *Kuluwajak* was killed by Kailawa and his followers, and they put this monster in a hole in Mount Taluwakem (on the border between Brazil and Suriname. See Duin 2006: 291–293). This covered hole, encircled with stones, can still be seen today. At the summit of Taluwakem is another unique feature: floriglyphs. Wayana say it was Kailawa who placed these in *bromeliaceae*. All over the apex we see clusters of these wild pineapples, forming designs over three meters in length. “These are the same monsters you can see on the *maluwana*,” Wayana said (Duin 2006: 291). The first monster to be defeated in the story of Kailawa is *Kuluwajak*. By defeating this serpentine monster, Kailawa had cleared the passage in order to re-unite the Wayana. Kailawa became the founding father of the Wayana nation. This clarifies the two statements made by the Wayana in the 1950s to Mazière: “That is a long, long time ago, the Wayana were born; it is here that lives the Feathered Serpent [=Kuluwajak]” (Mazière 1953: 203. Translation by author).

Another mythical, huge, serpentine monster is *Tulupele*, as previously mentioned. Following is an excerpt of the Aletani version told by Azeima in 2000 at Kumakahpan.

M 1 Excerpt of the Aletani version of *Tulupele* told by Azeima in 2000.

- 0–10 ...
- 11 [The yellow macaw] flies above the river, before *Tulupele* arrives. The Wayana are attacked by *Tulupele*.
- 12 Then the first [canoe] returns towards the Jari and Paru. We don’t know where, but far, towards their leader, towards Kailawa.
- 13 Then they say [to Kailawa]: “We no longer have family!” they say. “We no longer have our family, a lot of people died, they of the Aletani are no longer [among us], and they from here are no longer [among us].”
- 14 So “what do you think, will you help us?” they say to Kailawa.
- 15 “Yes” he says “I am already significant!” says Kailawa.
- 16 Well, Kailawa arrives. He has knowledge. He has *hemit* (charms), very good *hemit*.
- 17 He is there, the monster is there. There he is. Who? A huge monster.
- 18 [Kailawa] did shoot. He shoots every animal. When arriving, [Kailawa] hunts on Taluwakem, since he came from this direction. He shoots at another place, at another place, towards the animal. It is there where the danger is.
- 19–45 ...
-

After defeating *Tulupele* the waterway is cleared and the Wayana are reunited, just as after the defeat of *Kuluwajak*, the passage is cleared and the Wayana are reunited. Not insignificant in this context is that both monsters are killed with the same method (M 1, line 27); from a high étagère (*jala*). Mount Taluwakem is mentioned as the hunting grounds where Kailawa is coming from, a name not mentioned in the narrative of

Kailawa by Kuliempë, but the place where present-day Wayana see the hole in which is said Kailawa placed the defeated *Kuluwajak*. The geological landscape feature at Taluwakem is ‘stone hard evidence’ that this event ‘actually did take place.’ However, the study of mythmaking and the potential of a revealing landscape are beyond the present article.

Where Ribeiro (1988), quoting Van Velthem (1976), stated that the serpentine motifs are snakes or lizards. To be more specific, the depicted monsters are monstrous caterpillars, huge as a snake. Several Wayana paced out their size to me, which was about 10 to 15 meters. Other monstrous caterpillars are *Pëlitë*, *Kutupsi*, and *Tokokosi* (see Appendix: M 2). Kuliaman (pers. comm. 2000) stated the latter two are the same kind, whereby *Kutupsi* is the Wayana name and in Apalai *Tokokosi* (= *Pakokoxi* [Van Velthem 1995]). Kuliempë (pers. comm. 2000), on the other hand, stated these are two different types of caterpillars and *Kutupsi* is a spanner caterpillar. In the appendix is included the “story of the caterpillars of the *maluwana*” as narrated by Kuliempë.

Mulokot, and other monstrous water spirits

The ‘Piranha’ as identified by Schulz-Kampffhenkel (1938: face 168) is *Mulokot*. De Goeje (1941: 87) stated that *Mulokot* is a fish-master (“*Molokot* ... a *ka-yum*”) and is similar to *Myletes* sp. De Goeje wrote down the essence of *Mulokot*, namely that he who shoots *Mulokot* will see this being in all the water he drinks. The painting of *Mulokot* on the *maluwana* remembers this act (see also the drawing by Ronnie Tikai 2000; Fig. 8) and implies the killer dying of thirst. *Mulokot* is an *ipoh kaimë* (water spirit monstrous fish), or, as Van Velthem (1995: 301) stated, “a fish composed of anatomic elements of mammals and birds” (translation by author). Today we no longer see *Mulokot* in nature, only on the *maluwana*. In the appendix is included the “story of *Mulokot*” as narrated by Kuliempë in 2000.

Where traditionally only a select number of motifs were applied – i.e. *Kuluwajak* and other kind of caterpillars (*ëlukë*: *Pëlitë* or *Tokokosi*), the monstrous fishes *Kaimë* and *Mulokot* and the big white egret *Wakaleimë* (Table 2) – there is today a vast range of motifs. In recent history, it was the Apalai Kulepanasi who started to make additional designs (Table 3) on this typical Wayana artefact, to fill the empty space. Amerindian artists stated that these are beautiful drawings of the fauna and flora you see on the river and in the forest. Already with Crevaux (1881: 499) we see the very simplified geometric outline of an additional motif, by the Wayana today (pers. comm. 2000) identified as giant anteater *walissimë* (*Myrmecophaga tridactyla*).

Table 2: Motifs painted on the *maluwana*’s in museum context, as interpreted by Renzo Duin:

museum	catalogue #	above	right	below	left
Berlin	VB 13592	Kuluwajak ♂ ⁷	Mulokot	Kuluwajak ♀	Kaikui (?) ⁸
Berlin	VB 16759	Mulokot	Kuluwajak ♀	Kaikui (?) + 2 Wakaleimë	Kuluwajak ♂
Berlin	VB 16760	Mulokot	Kuluwajak ♀	Wakaleimë & Kaimë	Kuluwajak ♂
Leiden	RMV 2352-189	core: outer: Kuluwajak ♀ Wakaleimë & Kaimë	Kailawa Pëlitë (?)	Kuluwajak ♂ Kulasi & Kaikui	Mulokot Kutupsi (?)

⁷ Male and female signs following *Kuluwajak* are according to the general *maluwana* scheme.

⁸ The question mark following *Kaikui* is for the reason that these over-stylized monsters can be identified as *Pëlitë*, *Tokokosi*, another monstrous caterpillar, or even a stylized jaguar.

Table 3: Additional motifs painted today on the *maluwana* (in alphabetical order):

Wayana name	Vernacular and Scientific name	Wayana name	Vernacular and Scientific name
<i>alisipsik</i>	=tamandua (<i>Tamandua tetradactyla</i>)	<i>makwatili</i>	=caterpillar (species unknown)
<i>aliwe</i>	=dwarf caiman = (<i>Palaeosuchus palpebrosus</i>)	<i>matawat</i>	caterpillar in forest and in old gardens (species unknown)
<i>apuweika</i>	=black jaguar (<i>Panthera onca</i> , black individual)	<i>meliimë</i>	=monstrous squirrel (<i>Sciurus aestuans</i>)
<i>ëkëi</i>	=snake sp.	<i>munët</i>	=scorpion sp.
<i>kaimë</i>	=monstrous fish (general term)	<i>pakila</i>	=collared peccary (<i>Tayasu tajacu</i>)
<i>kulasi</i>	=rooster / chicken (European import)	<i>pëneimë</i>	=monstrous piranha
<i>kuliputpë</i>	=tortoise (<i>Geochelone denticulata</i>)	<i>piphak</i>	=pipa-pipa (<i>Pipa americana</i>)
<i>kunkusimëna</i>	=black widow (<i>Theraphosa leblondi</i>)	<i>pilëwuimë</i>	=caterpillar on arrow cane (sp. unknown)
<i>kusitapalu</i>	=shark sp.	<i>sukuluni</i>	=pink river dolphin (<i>Inia geoffrensis</i>)
<i>kuto</i>	=tree frog (<i>Hyla boans</i>)	<i>wakalaimë</i>	=great egret (<i>Casmerodius albus</i> <i>egretta</i> & <i>Bubulcus i. ibis</i>)
<i>maipuli</i>	=tapir (<i>Tapirus terrestris</i>)	<i>walissimë</i>	=giant anteater (<i>Myrmecophaga</i> <i>tridactyla</i>)
<i>makuk</i>	=mygale (<i>Avicularia metallica</i> <i>avicularia</i>)		

Although there is wide range in personal artistic variability, a traditional scheme is applied (Table 2). Given the impression that the plane of the *maluwana* is divided into four quadrants (Berlin), the disk consists of two opposing quadrants with the main two serpentine sinusoid motifs (*Kuluwajak*) covering most of the entire plane (Paris and Leiden). Wayana explain that one side is *eluwa* (male) and the other side is *wëli* (female). The male *Kuluwajak* is oriented towards the rising sun (~east) and the female *Kuluwajak* towards the setting sun (~west). When suspended in the apex of the community house (*tukusipan*) the dialectic *Kuluwajak* are oriented towards the rising and setting sun. Male and female are not in binary opposition, but become, as the rising and setting sun, in a dynamic dialectic relationship, which is at the heart of Wayana religion. The southern quadrant, or whatever space is left by the main motif, is for other kinds of caterpillar (*ëlukë*: *Pëlitë* or *Tokokosi*), or the monstrous fish *Kaimë* and the big white egret *Wakaleimë*. When suspended in the apex of the community house, *Mulokot* faces north, which I confirmed *in situ* in all the present-day Wayana villages along the Aletani / Lawa possessing a community house – i.e. four out of twenty-one villages – namely Twenke, Talhuwen, Antecume pata and Pilima.

Meaning of the *maluwana* as a whole

Boas (1955 [1927]) stated that every cultural phenomenon is the result of historical happenings. In order to understand the *maluwana* we must understand Wayana history. When Crevaux on October 17, 1876 (1987: 140) informed about the painted disk in the top of the community house, his guide and translator informed him, after a long conversation with the host, that this painting was in memory of the problems during the navigation on the lower Jari. Crevaux saw a frog that was stopped by fantastic monsters that looked like mythical dragons. Next, Crevaux states that this ‘frog’ represents a *Roucouyenne* (=Wayana) who explored the falls of the Jari in order to see the White Men, but these merciless monsters hindered him (Crevaux 1987: 140–141). The Wayana told

me that the monsters depicted on the *maluwana* were the monsters defeated by Kailawa when exploring the watershed between Brazil and the Guyanas (Tumuc-Humac mountains). This explanation is analogous to the explanation given to Crevaux some 121 years prior and recently reaffirmed by the *maluwana*'s made by Aimawale (see the *maluwana* placed in 2003 in the *tukusipan* of Twenke and Pellet & Saint-Jean 2006). By defeating these men-killing monsters, Kailawa had made a safe place for the reunited Wayana. Not only did de Goeje provide the museum in Leiden with a *maluwana*, de Goeje also noted that in similar languages, i.e. Cariban languages, *maluana* means 'shield'. In this line of thought, I conclude that this 'shield' (=maluwana) painted with the monsters defeated by Kailawa and suspended in the apex of the community house (*tukusipan*), shields Kailawa's Wayana metaphorically against the evil monsters – including rival nations – surrounding the Wayana.

The dynamic dialectic of the *maluwana* is also present in the production, transport and consumption of the *maluwana*. Unique in this aspect is that north and south orientation will be reversed when the plane changes from its horizontal position during painting (outside the village); vertical position, when rolled into the village (liminal phase); reversed horizontal position with the painted plane facing downward in the top of the community house (inside the village). This is analogous to the human body going through the three stages of a rite-of-passage (Van Gennep 1909). Van Velthem (1995: 176) stated that when the rites of rolling the *maluwana* into the village and presenting it to the village chief who is sitting in his *tukusipan* is not properly conducted, these men will be punished by the stingray. I can add that even painting the motifs is dangerous, and therefore needs to be taken place outside the village (see Douglas [1980 (1966)] on the topic of *Purity and Danger*). When Ronnie (a Wayana), in 2000, was painting a *maluwana* in his house (intended to sell to tourists), his one year old daughter crawled by. Then she peaked at her father's *maluwana* drawing. Later, her eye became red and pussy. Ronnie blamed it on the fact that his daughter had seen the *maluwana* drawings. Medication helped to heal her eye. This was, for the Wayana, a confirmation that the ancestors were right; it is not good for women and children to look at the *maluwana* paintings in process.

Van Velthem (1995: 301) stated that this "*roda-de-teto*" (wheel-of-the-ceiling)⁹ is not just an "effigy" but constituted of the proper *Maruanāimē* (=Maluwaleimē). She (ibid.: 176) stated that this supernatural being corresponds with the sweet water stingray (*Potamotrygon* [sic.] sp.). When I was discussing the *maluwana* with the Wayana, the Elders (I have to thank Kuliēnpē in particular) told me about *Maluwaleimē*, the 'monstrous *maluwana*,' too. *Maluwaleimē* is like the large *sipali* (stingray, *Potamotrygon hystrix*), but different; it is like the *maluwana*. *Maluwaleimē* is an *ipo* (water spirit). It is a ray with a *maluwana* drawing on the upper plane and a sharp edge surrounding the body. In contrast to the stingray, *Maluwaleimē* does not have a tail (*iwatkē*). If you face *Maluwaleimē* too long it will blind you, analogous to *Mulokot* (Appendix: M 3). My reading of this detailed description is that it concerns the Brazilian electric ray (*Narcine brasiliensis*). The Brazilian electric ray is spotted like a *maluwana*, and has the geometric liminal motif (series of triangles) along the rim of his plane body, just like the *maluwana* rim motif. This electric ray with a length of 54 cm is a Torpedinae and can discharge between 14 and 37 volt (www.fishbase.org).

In sum, the *maluwana* as a whole is a synecdoche for the quest of the culture hero, or founding father Kailawa and the confederation of Wayana society as a whole. *Maluwana* is a shield, analogous the monstrous ray *Maluwaleimē* (Brazilian electric ray, *Narcine brasiliensis*), painted with images of monsters defeated by Kailawa in order to protect the Wayana. The *maluwana* as a whole represents Wayana society as a whole. Where the *maluwana* in this mode of consumption is a representative object of art, we have seen at several locations (e.g. Crevaux, Schulz-Kampfenkel and de Goeje) how

⁹ In French, the *maluwana* is named '*ciel-de-case*' or 'sky-of-the-house'.

the *maluwana* was taken out of its original context and acquired a new meaning in a non-Wayana society (e.g. as museum object). The *maluwana*, representative for Wayana society, became a merely illustrative object of culture, due to commoditization of Wayana culture, as we will study in the following part of this article.

Extended artefact

Thus far I have made a description of the *maluwana* as an object, or what Miller (2005) stated as "a vulgar theory of mere things as artefacts". During this 'vulgar' description I mentioned the dialectic aspect of the main motif. This dynamic dual aspect I will now bring in to the second part of this article, where I discuss the *maluwana* in its dynamic dialectic relationship with (wo)man, and the theory to transcend materiality (Miller 2005). Up to now I have written how Wayana make and made the *maluwana*, and in the previous section we have tried to understand the meaning of the *maluwana* as a whole. In order to acquire the full meaning of the *maluwana* we need to study not only how Wayana make the *maluwana*, but as well how the *maluwana* is making the Wayana.

On several occasions in this article I wrote that "it is beyond the present article ..." this is exactly the meaning of what Robb (2004) called the 'extended artefact', and "we have to see not their naked skeleton, the thing itself, but the extended artefact, the artefact with its extension into social space and time" (Robb 2004: 133). The *maluwana* is more than the mere sum of the separate motifs depicted on this disk. Moreover, the relations between the parts extend beyond the rim of the disk. Although Robb makes a case-study of the Bell Beakers in the late Neolithic-Bronze Age in Europe, his hypothesis applies also to the *maluwana*. Robb stated that "the rise to prominence of new key artefacts often heralds the moment in which a new genre of social action is formulated." In Robb's proposition, the artefact is no longer seen as an agency-less thing, but part of specific practices, associated with social roles for the practitioners, a corpus of knowledge, gestural commend of the body, semantic overtones and symbolic classifications. The *maluwana* is in the top of the central community house. The motifs on the *maluwana* are the monsters defeated by the Wayana culture hero Kailawa. The monstrous motifs are embodied during the rites-of-passage that take place in and around the community house. The *maluwana*, therefore, is a key artefact in this institution of Wayana rites-of-passage. Kailawa is seen as the founder of the Wayana nation, and the *maluwana* is a materialization of his (re)generation of society. A new society emerged out of chaos. A chaos invoked by Europeans travelling in Amazonia, bringing death with them (Hemming 1978). The rise of a new social context, and the *maluwana* is its key artefact, a symbol for Wayana society.

Spatially we can therefore define the Wayana region as the area where *maluwana*'s and associated artefacts of this new assemblage are and were present. Indeed I say are and were, because the *maluwana* as an extended artefact also has an extension in time. The artefacts' extension in time is linked to knowledge (Robb 2004: 135). The artist is expressing internalized knowledge when producing the artefact and the *maluwana* is an externalization of cultural knowledge. Knowledge is constantly emerging from the relationships between *maluwana*, user, and producer. The *maluwana* cannot be considered merely as a simple physical object, but it is the materialization of beliefs, practices, contexts and extensions in time. It is these extensions of the artefact that give the *maluwana* power to structure Wayana lives. A power with as unintended consequence (see Giddens 1984) the reproduction of Wayana society. Every time a *maluwana* is made, the artist substantiates he is part of Wayana society, and every time a *maluwana* is looked upon, the observer discerns this is a Wayana artefact. In both cases the Wayana society is validated and reproduced.

Now that Gell (1998) has given ‘agency’ to art ‘objects’, Robb (2004: 137) makes a distinction between ‘conscious agency’, or an agency of movement, of intention, of strategy by human agents on short time scales on the one hand and ‘effective agency’ on the other. Effective agency is based on background knowledge of movement, of abrasion, of constructing conditions, barriers and possibilities rather than moving among these, or in other words Bourdieu’s (1977) ‘structuring structure’. Following this hypothesis, we have a method to understand how the extended artefact plays a role in social life. A dynamic dialectic between artefact and human practice, as is the message embodied in the dynamic dialectic of the main motif of the *maluwana* itself: *Kuluwajak* a synecdoche for life through death; life of Wayana society through the defeat of *Kuluwajak*.

Within this theoretical framework, the artefact is no longer an object studied for its ‘function’, ‘dating’ and ‘style’. These artefacts are not simply objects providing a stage setting for human action, but they are integral to it and on occasion the artefacts are even active participants. Movement and change of people and artefacts while gathering time and knowledge is played out in its biography (Gosden and Marshall 1999). When I showed the photo of the *maluwana* from the 1950s in the village of Yanamale (Darbois 1953; Mazière and Darbois 1956), the Wayana immediately said that this *maluwana* was made by Yalukana. A *maluwana* has, like people do, a biography. Previously, I mentioned that Wayana and Apalai say it was the Creator Twin Mopo who in mythical times made the first *maluwana*. In more recent times, it was the Apalai Kulepanasi who initiated additional designs. Remember that Crevaux (1881: 399; 1987: 141) stated that one motif represents a *Roucouyenne* (=Wayana) who explored the falls of the Jari in order to see the White Men, but these merciless monsters hindered him. It is noteworthy that the *maluwana*, as an institution, has gathered so much background knowledge which is foregrounded when Wayana create and witness this artefact. *Maluwana* is a place of memory. *Maluwana* is not so much an object that accumulates biographies to themselves (e.g. Melanesian Kula exchange [Gosden and Marshall 1999]), but an object that contributes to the biography of a ceremony or body of knowledge. Yet the *maluwana* is not fixed. As we have seen above, the *maluwana* is constantly emerging, as is the Wayana society.

The biography of the artefact (Gosden and Marshall 1999) seeks to understand the way artefacts become laden with meaning through the social interactions they are caught up in. Meaning emerges from social action. This notion of the biography of objects goes back to Kopytoff (1986) who stated that things are part of the whole process and cycles of production, exchange and consumption. The central concept here is the relation between artefact and people; about the way meanings and values are accumulated and transformed. Kopytoff (1986: 68) defined a commodity as “a thing that has use value and that can be exchanged in a discrete transaction for a counterpart.” Since gifts are given in order to evoke an obligation to give back a gift, Kopytoff (1986: 69) stated that “gifts themselves may be things that are normally used as commodities (food, feasts, luxury goods, services), but each transaction is not discrete and none, in principle, is terminal.” Traditionally, the *maluwana* is made outside the village, rolled into the village, and presented to the village leader as a gift (in return the artist receives a protected place to stay). Subsequently, the village leader attaches this *maluwana* in the apex of his community house whereby he brings the Other inside – metaphorically domesticates the ‘malevolent Other’ – which is analogous to the object (of ‘primitive’ societies) brought into ‘civilized’ museum context.

According to Kopytoff (1986) objects have a constantly emerging cultural biography in which non-commodities can become commodities, and later on a non-commodity again. To bring this hypothesis to the *maluwana*’s in Berlin; most likely the latter was the situation of VB 13592, when encountered by Schulz-Kampfenkel in a Wayana/Apalai village (non-commodity context) and collected (commodity context) for the

museum in Berlin (non-commodity context). However, a photo of this object may enter the commodity context. Of interest is that VB 16759 – mark the hiatus in catalogue number with VB 13592 – is the *maluwana* showing in the picture facing page 168 (Schulz-Kampfenkel 1938). Accordingly, Schulz-Kampfenkel had ordered Pitoma ‘Winnetou’ to cut and paint a *maluwana* that would be purchased for the museum in Berlin. Both VB 16759 and VB 16760 are larger in diameter and thinner in thickness than VB 13592¹⁰. Most likely this is due to commoditization of the *maluwana*, as is the artistic variation. On VB 16759 and VB 16760 we perceive a ‘big white bird’ that is not painted on VB 13592. Maybe because the artist knew that these *maluwana*’s purchased by Schulz-Kampfenkel would not be suspended in the apex of a community house, but he felt the need to portray this important ‘big white bird’ that is traditionally placed on top of, or near, the central pole of the community house.

How fixed is a portable object? As we have seen, the *maluwana* can be transported, but its intended use value seems to be in the top of the community house. Essentially, its use value is more dynamic and lies in the fact that the *maluwana* is rolled into the village and then suspended in the apex of the community house. Subsequently, people have to visit this community house in order to perceive this *maluwana*. Gosden (2001: 165) makes a distinction between objects that can be distributed widely from a single source, e.g. pots, and objects as stone circles and temples which people have to visit in order to experience. The *maluwana* belongs to the latter category. The meaning of the *maluwana* can not be deducted from the mere object alone, meaning must be enacted. It must be performed and witnessed (see also Gosden and Marshall 1999). After reading Gell (1998), Gosden (2001) stated that the analysis of meaning lies in the analysis of effect. In the context of the *Kula* exchange, canoe prow carvings had the effect to bedazzle and beguile. Also the *maluwana* has an impressive effect to whoever perceives a *maluwana*. Moreover, this impressive effect is today also used by non-Wayana to illustrate journals and books as we will see below.

Commoditization of the *maluwana*

In the final part of the present article, I will explore the impact of our world system – a new social context once more – onto the *maluwana*. When Crevaux in the late 1800s categorized this beautiful decorated disk as “*Bijoux Roucouyenne*” commoditization of this religious-symbolic disk began (today present in Musée du Quai Branly; 71.1881.34.86, and previously part of the collection of Musée de l’Homme in Paris). By classifying this object as ‘*bijoux*’ (=jewellery), Crevaux perceived the *maluwana* as a commodity. In the early 1900s a few *maluwana*’s were purchased by Europeans who conducted research in the Wayana region. At present, these *maluwana*’s are in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden, the Netherlands; the Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin, Germany; and Musée du Quai Branly in Paris, France (Table 1). In the last decades of the 20th century, organizations in Brazil, Suriname and French Guyana began to supply the market with Amerindian handicrafts, including the *maluwana*. In Brazil it was Arte India, a branch of FUNAI (Brazilian Federal Agency for Indian Affairs), and different organizations in French Guyana and Suriname that sell Amerindian handicrafts. On the recent commoditization of the *maluwana* in Suriname see Boven (2006: 241–243).

In the first half of this article, I have discussed mainly consumption by the Wayana themselves, wherein the traditional scheme was respected and constraining. In this section I will specially focus on consumption by the global market. Hereby we have two concurrent modes of consumption of the *maluwana*. We have seen above that the former mode of consumption allowed for artistic variability, however, as we will see, the latter mode of consumption is resulting in modification of the traditional scheme itself.

¹⁰ In Suriname and French Guyana we observe that the *maluwana*’s intended for non-Wayana tend to be smaller in diameter (71.1939.25.193 and 71.1939.25.194). These two *maluwana*’s do not have a hole in its center. Besides, the latter *maluwana*’s collected in 1939 have a distinctive dotted background pattern as if a starry night sky. RMV 2352-189 is smaller than the disks purchased in Brazil, yet larger than the earliest collected *maluwana*’s by Crevaux (respectively with diameters of 45 and 66 cm).

The *maluwana* became, due to the latter mode of consumption, an illustrative object of culture, of Wayana culture, where it is in the former mode of consumption a representative object of art. The *maluwana* is central in Wayana society. Not only factually, because this disk is strung-up around the centre pole of the community house, which in its turn is located in the centre of the village, but also symbolically. This is not the case with *maluwana* as commodity.

In 2003, in the village of Twenke (map; Fig. 2), a new *maluwana* was placed (Fig. 3). This *maluwana* was made by Aimawale Opoya, who is today a very skilful artist/craftsman. This *maluwana* was painted with clay motifs. Though this *maluwana* was made recently, it was made according to the traditional scheme with conventional motifs (i.e. dual dialectic *Kuluwajak* and *Mulokot* in the north), as discussed above. In addition, Aimawale painted the historical culture hero Kailawa (in the south) and some other motifs to make it a 'beautiful' *maluwana*. Although not signed (for names on *maluwana* see Van Velthem 2000), the individual artist's signature is present all over the *maluwana* painting and this *maluwana* can clearly be distinguished from other *maluwana*'s painted by other Wayana artists, in present and past. Since this *maluwana* was made by a Wayana for the Wayana, this object holds its social meaning, its use value. In this section we will see how 'use' will be disconnected from 'use-value', leaving the object with merely 'value'. The latter is the market value, and in this process the *maluwana* becomes a commodity.

Early examples of *maluwana* as commodity are the ones purchased in 1937 along the Jari river in Brazil by Schulz-Kampfenkel (1938). These objects were obtained in exchange for glass beads and knives. The Berlin museum tags of these objects read '*Kauf*' (= 'bought'). To understand a commodity, it is not the production (technical, social, aesthetic), but the consumption we have to focus on (Appadurai 1986, Kopytoff 1986). Who is consuming? Is it within the same group that holds the knowledge of production, or is it an outside group addressing a different use-value to the very same object? In the previous section we have already seen that the use value can change within the lifetime of one object, e.g. from non-commodity to commodity to non-commodity. Production knowledge and consumption knowledge will diverge proportionately as the social, spatial, and temporal distance between producer and consumer increases (Appadurai 1986: 40). Following, I will explore how there are different modes of *maluwana* as a commodity.

Maluwana as commodity: logo

With *maluwana* as logo I mean that the *maluwana* as a whole is reproduced and as such exploited as logo. The social potential of consumption has changed. An example is the logo and cover illustration of the Dutch journal for Suriname studies OSO. This logo is a reproduction of a *maluwana* of the courtesy of Leiden University (at present 'missing'). To make a nice logo it was this *maluwana* that was reproduced and not the *maluwana* in the collection of the Museum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden, since the former did not have a hole in its centre. In addition, the point symmetry of the two *Kuluwajak* had been applied to one of the other motifs: in the *maluwana* used for a logo there are now two *Mulokot* present. In this process, the dominance of the dual dialectic *Kuluwajak* as main motif became less significant. The *maluwana* logo stands for 'traditional Suriname' instead of Wayana society *per se*. The majority of the articles in OSO do not have the Wayana or other Amerindian nations as topic, but Creole and Afro-American communities in Suriname.

Maluwana as commodity: illustration

The difference between this mode and the former is that it is no longer the *maluwana* as a whole, but it is the individual motifs that are extracted to serve as illustration. An example is a children's book with stories of the people along the Maroni (Clément 2001). This French children's book contains narratives from the Wayana, Kalina and Maroon living in French Guyana. Regardless the nation (Amerindian or AfroAmerican) the extracted *maluwana* motifs serve as a margin illustration. Due to this process, the social meaning of the total concept of *maluwana* has become simply illustrative. The central theme of the dialectic between the two opposing *Kuluwajak* is no longer present. Neither is the relation between these two *Kuluwajak* and *Mulokot*. The *maluwana* as a whole is reduced to its parts without a synecdochical relationship. The new context of the separate motifs is part of the left margin illustration, wherein the dynamic interrelationships of the different motifs as in the context of the *maluwana* is lost.

Maluwana as commodity: art

The previous examples of *maluwana* as commodity were done without direct involvement of the Wayana themselves. Previously, I have established, following Boas (1955 [1927]), that the *maluwana* is an art object because the Wayana artist is mastering the skills to produce this artefact. The difference with this section on the *maluwana* as a commodity categorized as art is that the *maluwana* is produced for non-Wayana consumption. As an example I refer to the internet, where people can order *maluwana*'s online.¹¹ On the referred internet site we can see some colourful *maluwana*'s made in 2004. The price for the first *maluwana* is \$ 127.05 based on price of \$ 2 per centimetre diameter (59 cm) for a *maluwana* painted in acrylic/oil on a black background. Another *maluwana* costs \$ 173.03 based on the price of \$ 3 for its unusual red background. In addition, a *maluwana* painted with natural clay costs \$ 5 per centimetre diameter. The mentioned webpage links to other objects labelled as art with the same price, size, material or weight. In addition, the background information on this website is inaccurate. Instead of living "thousands of kilometres into the jungle" the Wayana are located 'barely' three hundred kilometres from the Atlantic Ocean. Biographical details become mystified to make the art object even more exotic.

As I have mentioned above, the *maluwana* is sold per centimetre diameter, therefore the amount non-Wayana tend to spend – as well as transportation – determines the diameter. Moreover, in this process of commoditization more changes are present. Noteworthy is that these art objects displayed on this website are made by a woman. In addition, this woman chose to make a red background instead of the traditional black background. The disks are traditionally made by men, but commoditization apparently allowed for production by both genders. These wooden disks produced for the market are cut by chain saw (facilitating the mastering of the woodworking technique) out of the widely available cedar stems (*Cedrela odorata*), while the disks intended for the Wayana community house are cut out of the buttress more dispersed cotton tree (*Ceiba pentandra*).

Another example of the market determining the final product is seen in the absence of the central hole in the disk. As a commoditized art object, the central hole through which the central pole of the community house runs has lost its function. The non-Wayana consumers who buy a *maluwana* intended to hang on the wall, do not like to see the white wall peeking through this art piece. As a solution to this market demand of a disk without a central hole, the Wayana began to paint a star in the central space. More recently, Wayana have started to paint in the centre of the disk other motifs, among which they have a preference for the turtle/tortoise. Tortoise (*Geochelone denticulata*)

¹¹ I do not name the referred internet website, because I do not want to promote this kind of merchandise. Besides, for those who are interested to buy a *maluwana*, the mentioned *maluwana*'s on this website are already sold.

is the mother of the Creator Twins,¹² hence the Wayana ‘initiated’ new motifs within the context of the biography of the *maluwana* as an institution. The *maluwana* has a decorative function as a commoditized art object in contrast to the symbolic function when consumed by the Wayana. Although the Wayana are aware there is a demand, the Wayana do not produce the *maluwana* in large quantity. Non-Wayana in Suriname and French Guyana are producing imitation decorated disks in order to meet the market demand. Even though, these *maluwana*’s are produced by non-Wayana, they still represent Wayana society.

The Wayana, amongst other nations, do not have the Western notion of ‘art’, although every thing needs to be made beautiful. Art as a concept is so culturally laden (Ribeiro 1989; Gosden 2001) that ‘aesthetics’ might be a more useful unit of analysis, because “aesthetic pleasure is felt by all members of mankind” (Boas 1955: 9). Boas emphasised technique and skill in his monograph and stated that productive artists are found among those who have mastered a technique. Control of technique will demonstrate regularity, and “the more energetic the control of form over uncoordinated movement, the more esthetic the result” (Boas 1955: 349). Besides, not all objects are equal in their effectiveness and not all attract social relations. We have to study the *ART*ifact in its proper context in order to understand its meaning or effect. Highly charged objects such as the *maluwana* do not need to be called ‘art’ for us to recognize that they are socially central (compare with Gosden 2001: 166). By witnessing a *maluwana* the spectator feels that this is a highly charged and socially central object, in particular when the observer stands in the dome-shaped community house and looks up to the top where all rafters meet, and the *maluwana* is hanging in the centre.

Maluwana representative art of Wayana society

In this study, as in my daily life, I attempt to make sense of the world, as do we all. In “making sense: archaeology and aesthetics” Gosden (2001) explored the link between objects and bodily experience. Archaeologists deal with material culture – or cultural material –, from which they try to make sense of what happened in the past. The word ‘*sens*’ in French is more dynamic and does not simply mean ‘sense’ or ‘meaning’, but also ‘direction’ and ‘way’; figuratively opinion; understanding, judgement; sense as in smell and so on. In this context, the *maluwana* makes ‘sense’ in Wayana life. The motifs depicted on the *maluwana* are the monsters defeated by the culture hero Kailawa in his (re)uniting of the Wayana. The *maluwana* became a key artefact for this new Wayana society, and still today this unique artefact represents Wayana society. Not only Wayana make the *maluwana* but concurrently, the *maluwana* makes the Wayana.

Sense is made through aesthetics. When Crevaux (1881) categorized the beautiful decorated disk (= *maluwana*) as “*Bijoux Roucouyenne*” commoditization of this religious-symbolic disk, that stood for Wayana society, started. In the early 1900s a few *maluwana*’s were purchased by Europeans who conducted research in the Wayana region. These *maluwana*’s are today to be found in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden, the Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin, and Musée du quai Branly in Paris. In the first half of this article, I have discussed mainly consumption by the Wayana themselves, wherein the traditional scheme and conventional motifs are respected. In the second half, I focused on consumption by the global market. Hereby we have concurrently two modes of consumption of the *maluwana*. We have seen above that the former mode of consumption allowed artistic variability and we have seen that the latter mode of consumption is resulting in modification of the traditional scheme. In both modes of consumption, the object represented Wayana society as a whole. The *maluwana* became

¹² There is no image of the toad *pëlë* (*Bufo* sp.), grandmother of the Creator Twins.

due to the latter mode of consumption an illustrative object of culture, of Wayana culture, where, in the former mode of consumption, it is a representative object of art. In other words, the insiders – the Wayana – dwell their religion (with the *maluwana* as key artefact), while the outsiders – the buyers of a *maluwana* – entertain an objectified concept of culture of the Wayana.

What the Wayana taught me about their *maluwana* is written down in this article. There is more to tell about the community house, the rites-of-passage and related artefacts including the *maluwana*. Or to end in a traditional Wayana ending: *Kohlenma lep, lome kuhpime tētihe malalē. Ekalētoponpī ponahle lēken wai. Ma, huwalēken*. There is much more to tell, but that will be very long indeed. This is the way it was told to me. Well, it is like this.

Acknowledgement

Thanks to all the Wayana who taught me their culture, especially all the descendants in the lineage of the late Maipo. Thanks in particular to Kuliempē for his extensive stories on the monsters depicted on the *maluwana* and the stories of Kailawa; Ronnie Tikaimē for the transcriptions in Wayana and his additional explanations; Takwali Kulisa for the translations of Wayana into French and explanations on the Wayana language; Aima-wale Opoya for his work with the *maluwana* and his deep interest in Wayana history, especially on Kailawa; Sonia Pessoa for her patience and constructive comments when I was telling her the stories of *maluwana* and *mulokot*, while looking at her *maluwana*; Naya Pessoa for correcting the English text; Laura van Broekhoven of the South-America collection of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden; last but not least, Augusto Oyuela-Caycedo who brought me into contact with Manuela Fischer, Leiterin der Sammlung Archäologie Südamerikas, Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin, who invited me to write this article.

Appendix

In this appendix are included two stories narrated by Kuliempē in 2000. These two myths are two of many Wayana stories. These stories are included in this article because they tell the stories of the monstrous animals depicted on the *maluwana*. The first, M 2 *Maluwana ēlukē eitoponpē*, is the story of the monstrous caterpillars. Kuliempē mentions in line 25, with regards to *Kuluwajak*, i.e. the main motive on the *maluwana*, that the story of this monstrous caterpillar shot by Kailawa is too long to recite here. The second myth, M 3 *Mulokot eitoponpē*, is the story of the monstrous fish named *Mulokot*. Both stories were voice recorded as narrated by Kuliempē, transcribed in Wayana by Ronnie Tikaimē and translated from Wayana into French by Takwali Kulisa. Translated into English and edited by Renzo Duin. The latter translation attempts to be as close to the Wayana narrative as possible, with some additional explanation between brackets to facilitate understanding of the text for non-Wayana. First, there is the story of the monstrous caterpillars:

M2 *Maluwana ëlukë eitoponpë*, story of the caterpillars of the *maluwana*, narrated by Kuliempë in 2000.

	Wayana omi		English
1	<i>Ma, helë ëilankompëk. Ëilankom ekalëtop ituhtalïtom.</i>	1	Well, this is on the evil ones. The story of the evil ones that are in the forest.
2	<i>Ëtënkömlëken, ëtënkö komelaman tot.</i>	2	Only the eaters, they who bite are not many.
3	<i>Ënik? Pëlitë</i>	3	Who? <i>Pëlitë</i> .
4	<i>Pëlitë ëtse ëlukëme tëwesike. Akëlephakana tikaimotai</i>	4	<i>Pëlitë</i> eats like a caterpillar. He can kill from a distance.
5	<i>Ëh tanme tumhalap tikai, tuwalëla wai, ënenela iwesike.</i>	5	Maybe he jumped, I do not know, I did not see him.
6	<i>Malalë asimhak tëtukhetot inamolo, asimna (=tuilela) tëtukhe kaikui katipïla</i>	6	So they eat quickly, they do not eat slowly like the jaguars.
7	<i>Kalanma asimhak.</i>	7	Rapidly they go down.
8	<i>Ëh ehpaimepo, ehpaimepëk mëklë, talanpëklëken.</i>	8	On the <i>ehpaime</i> (unidentified species), he is on the <i>ehpaime</i> , only on certain.
9	<i>Malalë Kutupsi ëhekatiptot Pëlitë malë. Kutupsi ëile; akëlephakana tikaimotai.</i>	9	Then there is <i>Kutupsi</i> (spanner caterpillar) who are like <i>Pëlitë</i> . <i>Kutupsi</i> is evil; he can kill from a distance.
10	<i>Masike upak aptao Kutupsi tikaimotai manu lëken. Lome umhet lëken tipkëlëi. Asimhak tülëi umhet.</i>	10	So a long time ago <i>Kutupsi</i> did kill somebody. But he had only cut his hair. Rapidly his hair was gone [because caterpillars eat fast].
11	<i>Kutupsija umhetpë tipkëlëi, lome tumhehule. Tuhmïhe tan.</i>	11	His hair was cut by <i>Kutupsi</i> , but he had long hair. Long till here (till the shoulders).
12	<i>Masike uputpïnatot mëlëlëken tipkëlëi, umhet tipkëlëi.</i>	12	So assuming this was his head he had only cut this, his hair was cut.
13	<i>Helep tikaimëi, lome upak umhet epipëk. Mëlëkatip Kutupsi.</i>	13	He turned his head from left to right, but [<i>Kutupsi</i>] was still eating his hair. <i>Kutupsi</i> is like this.
14	<i>Malonme titëimeï inëlë, tëwepeimëtihwë, tëhamoi inëlë huwa. Mëlëkatip.</i>	14	Then he leaves, as soon as he got away, and he cries. It is like this.
15	<i>"Jelik manu mïhen kapa," tikai tumhet epï enelihtau. Mëlëkatip.</i>	15	"I nearly die," he said because they saw his hair was eaten. It is like this.
16	<i>Masike tëtahamai inëlë.</i>	16	So he is sad.
17	<i>Titëimeï pakilapëkhela tëtïlëmëi.</i>	17	He left to hunt down the peccaries (<i>Tayasu tajacu</i>).
18	<i>Masike asimhak titëmëi inëlë. Malalë ëlukëme inëlë, alimitom katipïla</i>	18	So he was really swift. Then he was like a caterpillar, not like a spider monkey (<i>Ateles paniscus</i>).
19	<i>Ëlukëme mëlëkatip itëtë, mukui mukui tikai.</i>	19	He walked like a caterpillar; he did <i>mukui mukui</i> [onomatopoeic description of his walk].
20	<i>Lome tëwëtukuluhtao mëlëmna tëtïihe, tikaimo enetpo. Mëlëkatip.</i>	20	But he changed his movements when he saw his prey. It is like this.
21	<i>Malonme Kuluwajak.</i>	21	Then <i>Kuluwajak</i> (=‘who-is-in-the- <i>kuluwa</i> ’)
22	<i>Ituhtali lëken, ituhtalïtom ekalëtop helë, kuluwa akipëklë kuluwapëk.</i>	22	Only in the forest, this is the recite of them who are in the forest, the caterpillars of the <i>kuluwa</i> grass (unidentified), together with them who are in the <i>kuluwa</i> palm (= <i>Attalea spectabilis</i>).
23	<i>Epï tihumkai mëklëlë ëlukë.</i>	23	This caterpillar tears down the sprout.
24	<i>Ëlukehnë ëile inëlë.</i>	24	This caterpillar is evil.
25	<i>Lome tatipola kunehak Kailawaja tuwëtöponpï. Wekalëjai inepikom lëken, ahmitkompëk eitopëk lëken.</i>	25	But the story that he was shot by Kailawa is another story. I only tell here about their food, there where they can be found only.

26	<i>Masike kuluwa akipëklë Kuluwajak.</i>	26	So the caterpillar in the <i>kuluwa</i> is named <i>Kuluwajak</i> .
27	<i>Malalë, mëlëlë aki iwalë Tokokosi.</i>	27	Then, like that I think was the caterpillar <i>Tokokosi</i> .
28	<i>Tokokosi tanme mëlëlë, aki talanme, mëlëpëk.</i>	28	Maybe <i>Tokokosi</i> was like that, it is certain that it is a caterpillar of the grass, it is like that.
29	<i>Ënipohnëpilahapon, lome tülitpï lëken maluwanapëk enekelëkenma wikei. Mëlëkatip Tokokosi ehë kom lëken.</i>	29	I do not know much, but I say this simply because I have seen his painting on the <i>maluwana</i> . It is like that, his name is simply <i>Tokokosi</i> .
30	<i>Ma, malalë Matawat. Matawat sihnat pëk tijupëklë man. Matawat jupëk sihnat pëk, mëlëkatip.</i>	30	Well, then <i>Matawat</i> . <i>Matawat</i> was in a certain liana for him. <i>Matawat</i> was in a certain liana for him, it is like this.
31	<i>Junmelalep, lome tanme ëtse, tanme pulutse, tuwalëla</i>	31	He was not big, but maybe he bit, maybe he stung, I do not know.
32	<i>Ëile inëlë tïmekai hela. Enetamna hela.</i>	32	He was evil and did not want to be touched. We could hardly see him.
33	<i>Malalë upaphakana ikaimotala inëlë. Ejale aptao lëken talanme tumholop tikai. Mëlëkatip.</i>	33	Then he could not kill from a distance. Only when one was near he maybe jumped. It is like this.
34	<i>Masike mëkja ëilankom wewe aki sihnat aki huwa. Mëlëkatip.</i>	34	So all the evil ones are the caterpillars of the trees and the caterpillars of the lianas. It is like this.
35	<i>Masike helëlëken man apsilëken helë akalëtop, tënatsë. Tïwëman kole ëilankomlep, kaikuitomlep, lome tïwëman.</i>	35	So these are only the short stories, that's it. Of each one there are a lot of evil ones, only monsters, but of each one of them.
36	<i>Malalë mëhankom itu akïtom, tïwëman mëklë ekalëtoptom.</i>	36	So they are the caterpillars of the forest, each of them is in these recites.
37	<i>Ma, huwaman helë ekalëtoptom. Apsikïpsik ehë komlëken esike.</i>	37	Well, these are the recites. It is short because it is only their names.
38	<i>Ma, mëlëkatip.</i>	38	Well, it is like this.

The following is the story of *Mulokot* as told by Kuliempë in 2000. Transcription and translation of this myth are in the same methodology as described above:

M3 *Mulokot eitoponpë*, story of *Mulokot*, narrated by Kuliempë in 2000.

	Wayana omi		English
1	<i>Ipo ëilan, ënik? inëlë ëilenma.</i>	1	The evil water spirit (<i>ipo</i>), who is that? He who is really evil.
2	<i>Mulokot.</i>	2	<i>Mulokot</i> .
3	<i>Mulokot watki man jepha, malalë ahpono man jephak. Mëlëkatip Mulokot eitop.</i>	3	The tail of <i>Mulokot</i> is sharpened, and the dorsal fin is sharpened. It is like this that <i>Mulokot</i> is. [This is equal to Van Velthem (1995: 301, footnote 9) stating that the T-shaped figure <i>abriti</i> is incorporated in the body and dorsal fin of <i>Mulokot</i> .]
4	<i>Mulokot man ëile malalë ëtse.</i>	4	<i>Mulokot</i> is evil and bites also.
5	<i>Uhpak kalipono tomoja tuwëi. Ma, tuwëi mëlëkatip.</i>	5	A long time ago he was shot by someone. Well, he was really shot.
6	<i>Malonme tëtampoi inëlë. Tuwëtpon ewujak tëtïhe.</i>	6	Then he took revenge. He entered in the eyes of the one who had shot him.

7	<i>Akëlën ewujak ëtülila enuwëla iwesike. Tuwëtpon ewujak lëken tëtïhe.</i>	7	He did not enter into the eyes of his companion because he did not shoot [<i>Mulokot</i>]. [<i>Mulokot</i>] entered only in the eyes of the one who had shot him.
8	<i>Epihe tütëi iwaptao molo, Mulokot tunakwau. Masike epila inëlë. Epilamma, tëlamuktailep.</i>	8	So when [the shooter] went bathing there, <i>Mulokot</i> was in the water. That is why he did not bath. He did not bath at all, even though he was sweating.
9	<i>Ma, tuna he tëtïhe, tuna he tëtïhe, tuna.</i>	9	Well, he needed water, he wanted water, water.
10	<i>Tupekhe elihelep, molo Mulokot weiwei tïkai.</i>	10	He wanted to drink water, but there was <i>Mulokot</i> swimming.
11	<i>Malalë okï aptao, "okï henma wai," tïkailep huwa tenei molo Mulokot okïjao.</i>	11	Then the beverage, "I really want to drink," [the shooter] said in vain and there was <i>Mulokot</i> in the beverage.
12	<i>Malalë "tëpëjphenma wai tuma enepkë."</i>	12	Then "I am hungry, bring me the pepper pot." [Note the linguistic resemblance in Wayana between <i>tuma</i> (pepper pot) and <i>tuna</i> (water). RSD]
13	<i>Emehelep, molonma Mulokot tumajao.</i>	13	He wanted to taste, but <i>Mulokot</i> was there in the pepper pot.
14	<i>Wakwak tïkailep tuma, lome ilëmëpila katop, wipanak mane.</i>	14	I heard that the pepper pot was boiling nevertheless, but this did not kill [<i>Mulokot</i>].
15	<i>"Masike Mulokot tenei, ëjahe aptao ënuwëla eitëk!" tïkai tamusitom. "Ënuwëla eitëk kamitomoh, peitopüüh ëwewukomjak mënëtïja!" tïkai.</i>	15	"So when you see <i>Mulokot</i> , do not shoot at him!" Say the Elders. "Do not shoot him little children, children he will enter into your eyes!" They say.
16	<i>"tuma henmawai!"</i>	16	"I really want water" [said the one who shot <i>Mulokot</i>].
17	<i>Ma, sihnat ewku elihe tütëi. Sak tïkïp, sak tïkïp, sololoh. Sihnatekulep, lome molo mëlëjao, sihnatekulep.</i>	17	Well, he went to drink the juice of a liana vine. He cut the liana, and the water ran. Simply the water of the liana vine, but [<i>Mulokot</i>] was in there, in the juice of the liana.
18	<i>Mulokot ënelihela tëwesike, ënelila inëlë.</i>	18	Since he did not want to drink <i>Mulokot</i> , he did not drink.
19	<i>Sisihnalitpë ulu helep.</i>	19	He wanted the cassava bread that was dried in the sun.
20	<i>"Julupsik enepkë. Ulu wëkui!"</i>	20	"Bring me some cassava bread. I want to eat cassava bread!" [said the one who shot <i>Mulokot</i>].
21	<i>Sisi eitop katïp man Mulokot, masike molo inëlë ulupëk.</i>	21	The sun is however equal to <i>Mulokot</i> , so there it is in the cassava bread.
22	<i>Ëwujak tëtïhe amolenpï.</i>	22	His shadow [visible spirit, <i>amole</i>] has entered in his eyes. [Wayana description of an 'after image.' RSD]
23	<i>Masike akëlephakana tütëi inëlë, ikutpëpsik molo. Mëlëkwak epïhe tütëi inëlë.</i>	23	Then [the one who had shot] goes far away, where there is a little lake. It is in here that he went bathing. [According to other Wayana: <i>Mulokot</i> was shot in <i>Mulokotimë eni</i> and the one who shot <i>Mulokot</i> died in lake <i>Akawakmin</i>].
24	<i>Hemele tëhe donn, maka, tëhe ewu alïlïja, mëlëkatïp.</i>	24	He drops down dead, <i>boum</i> , it is over, he had been killed by he [<i>Mulokot</i>] who is in his eyes.
25	<i>"Mulokot pëkëla eikë, Mulokot enuwëla eitëk!" tïkai Wajjanatom. "Unonma. Pëneimë man ëilelep. Ëtselëken lome tuwëi aptao tanme ewujak ëtülila."</i>	25	"Do not touch <i>Mulokot</i> , do not shoot <i>Mulokot</i> !" say the Wayana. "We are really affrighted. <i>Pëneimë</i> [monstrous piranha] is also evil. He bites, but when he is shot he does not go into the eye.

26	<i>Mulokot eitop man tïwë, ëilenma man, ëilëtse man. Malalë ewujak mënëtïja.</i>	26	The story of <i>Mulokot</i> is different, he is really evil. [<i>Mulokot</i>] blinds and goes in the eye.
27	<i>Tëwepïhe enetamna aptao man ëtse.</i>	27	When one sees him when he is in the water and when one bathes he will bite.
28	<i>Masike mëljakom pëkëla heitëi mënkai mëhnejatot, tamusimankom.</i>	28	So do not touch them, say the ancestors.
29	<i>Ïja, tïpanak mai poptë apsik lëken. Tïpanak mai poptë lëken, mëlëkatïp.</i>	29	I [Kulienpë], have only heard a little bit. I did not hear a lot, it is like this.
30	<i>Masike tuwalëla sike, tuwëi Mulokot kalipono tommoja uhpak, hemalëläla, uhpak.</i>	30	Since he did not know, <i>Mulokot</i> was shot by a man a long time ago, not in these days, a long long long time ago.
31	<i>Masike hemalë pona uno kutatëi.</i>	31	So today we fear [<i>Mulokot</i>].
32	<i>Hemalë Mulokot ënenela kutatëi. Uhpak tïlïpï lëken maluwana pëk.</i>	32	In these days we no longer see <i>Mulokot</i> . Only the drawing yester year on the <i>maluwana</i> .
33	<i>Hemalë kutatëi ëhmelë ëlukëtom ënenela; Kuluwajak ënenela, Pëlitë ënenela.</i>	33	Today we no longer see the caterpillars; we no longer see <i>Kuluwajak</i> , we no longer see <i>Pëlitë</i> .
34	<i>Ma, huwalëken mëlëken wika mëlëpëk Mulokot eitop pëk lëken. Maka.</i>	34	Well, and like this I have well told the story of <i>Mulokot</i> . That's all.

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