Nurturing the Other: First Contacts and the Making of Christian Bodies in Amazonia.

<CT>Introduction

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<EPI>And only that which is temporary is perfect.

—Gianrico Carofiglio, *Le perfezioni provvisorie*

<FL>Between 2008 and 2011, on the southern side of the headwater region that separates Suriname from the Brazilian State of Pará, a group of Trio men established a series of contacts with members of a Zo'é settlement who appeared to have lived in relative isolation until then. Witnesses describe how the remote villagers' bodies were naked, apart from ornaments such as the lip plugs and feathered headdresses characteristic of this Tupi-speaking population; their communal houses had thatched roofs made of woven palm, the ground was scattered with clay pots and the men held on to their bows and arrows. Although the Trio quickly realized that those whom they had just contacted had gardens and were thus seminomadic forest people, the Zo'é appeared to inhabit a space free from manufactured items: no metal pots or shotguns, no t-shirts or flip-flops. The strangers they had sought out and found were truly 'wild'.[1] As an Amerindian people, the Zo'é acquired a certain level of fame when in the early 1990s they were then revealed to the world's media as one of Brazil's last 'isolated tribes'; today they number about 280 people (Fajardo Grupioni 2015: 11).[2] Their main territory, officially registered as an indigenous territory in 2009 (Terra Indígena Zo'é Cuminapanema/Urucuriana), is located between the Cuminapanema and Erepecuru Rivers in the municipality of Oriximiná, approximately 200 km south of Marapi, the nearest Trio settlement in northern Brazil. A first delegation of missionaries from the New Tribes Mission had established initial contact and a base camp in the Cuminapanema region in the 1980s, before being evicted by the Brazilian authorities in 1991 (Funai 2011; Gallois 1997).

The settlements first visited by the Trio expedition members in 2008 could well have been situated further north along the Erepecuru River, in a part of northern Pará that remains particularly remote. The initial exchanges between the Trio travellers and the Zo'é villagers appear to have been relatively peaceful if somewhat guarded; crucially, they involved exchanges of goods. The Zo'é's curiosity for the goods such as shotguns and Western clothing that the Trio had with them was so intense that on a subsequent visit in 2010, a young man decided to follow them back to their village all the way across the watershed into Suriname.[3] Reportedly against the wishes of his relatives who feared that the Trio would kill him and eat him once they had returned to their village on the other side of the border, the young man accompanied the Trio to Kwamalasamutu, the largest Trio village in Suriname, and remained there for well over the three months his kin had agreed to see him go for. The only records of the young Zo'é's extraordinary odyssey are Trio and Zo'é first-hand accounts and video clips Kwamalasamutu residents took of him with their mobile phones. Further stories circulated at the time on the airwaves of the radio communication network that connects the Trio and Wayana villages across the region, telling of other recent successful contacts established by separate expedition parties ever deeper in the remote headwater regions of northern Pará and Amapá states in Brazil.

This early wave of contact expeditions, which caused little stir in the Brazilian and Surinamese media, but gradually spurred a collaborative state-funded initiative to restrict access to recently contacted people living in indigenous protected areas in Brazil,[4] was characterized by a common method of peaceful exchange of goods. The Trio expedition members carried objects such as metal tools and fishing line that they used on their journeys along rivers and through mainland forests and as barter items; they also transported highly socialized processed foods produced by their female relatives such as manioc bread (*ui* in Trio). Occasionally, they also

carried a Trio Bible (*kan panpira*, lit. God's book/paper), printed in South Korea and distributed in Suriname by a network of retired North American field pastors who occasionally travel to the South American nation and its hinterland.

<HDA>Nurturing Wildness: Trio and Other People in Central Guiana

> <EXT>As we got close to the village, the two children [who had guided us there] started to hit a tree, and moments later all the villagers came out of the forest into the clearing. I could see straight away that they were all tense … 'We won't do anything to you, we have come here to help you' [I said] … We saw that they cooked from old fashioned clay pots. They ate on the ground … there was a sick man for whom we prayed … This was a small village where we stayed for two days. Then they brought us to a larger settlement of approximately 300 people … this was further into the forest. The leader is still young but is a fierce man … This group is wild but I think that they have already been in contact with white people … When the level of the river is good again, we will return, we are going to seek more help for them. (Trio expedition leader as quoted by Chang (2009))

<FL>A short article published in Suriname's main newspaper *De Ware Tijd* at the onset of a wave of Trio contact expeditions in the second decade of the 21st century recounts the first encounter between the Trio and the Zo'é. The text mostly consists of an extensive quotation from the Trio expedition leader describing his impressions of the meeting with 'wild Indians', which was collected in Dutch by the travel journalist in Kwamalasamutu in 2009. Printed alongside the feature

are two colour photographs taken by the Trio in which one sees the contact expedition members gazing awkwardly at the photographer, while surrounded by a crowd of confident-looking Zo'é. The description of the Zo'é, referred to as Chuernas by the narrator, bears some striking similarities to generic descriptions of 'wild people' (*wajarikure*) that I often heard during the time I spent among the Trio in southern Suriname. *Wajarikure* are wild and fierce people; fierceness is a bodily attribute that implies the absence of social bonds forged through alliance and trade, a powerful transformative capacity that is predatory and warlike, a way of being and living associated with a nomadic and sheltered life in the forest and the spirit-world. Wild people are potentially dangerous and would traditionally have been avoided by the Trio; yet, as the passage quoted above reveals, they now deliberately search for them with the purpose of bringing them 'help' and prayers. In short, the Trio spontaneously go out of their way into unfamiliar territory to seek out remote potential enemies who could well retaliate with less peaceful means, and the Trio contact them because they want to care for them and to nurture them.

The wave of contact expeditions initiated in 2008 is not the first of its kind; rather, it represents a new surge in a long series of expeditions that previously led to the sedentarization[5] of several groups of nomadic hunter-gatherers into Trio villages in the late 1960s. Both waves have in common that they mostly involve Amerindian participants (usually young men in the prime of their lives), that they are partly designed and initiated by Amerindians, but also that they are coordinated and whenever possible logistically supported by a network of North American evangelical Protestant missions active in Suriname since the 1950s. Yet, especially in the past decade, the Trio involved are not mere pawns controlled by external agents; they are active and enthusiastic participants in these endeavours. The reasons for these contacts lie in processes of conversion to Christianity and processual relations with non-Amerindian actors, as much as in

Amerindian relational ontology, which impinges on notions of personhood, historicity, kinship and social transformation. First contacts enable the Trio to seek out and incorporate through nurturing processes forms of alterity that are necessary for their social reproduction. This historic transformative process in which central Guianan populations are currently entangled forms the subject of this book.

Nurturing the Other is a study of 'strange encounters' in northern Amazonia (Vilaça 2010); it deals with first contacts and sedentarization processes of hitherto seminomadic Amerindians partly or wholly initiated by nonindigenous peoples. My argument is based on a comparative field study in Amerindian villages in Suriname and French Guiana connected by kinship networks across the border between these countries as well as those of Brazil and Guyana. The process of sedentarization, which began in the 1950s through various uncoordinated governmental and nongovernmental initiatives in the different countries involved, resulted in the formation of a small number of large villages that have broadly replaced the previous configuration of numerous small and dispersed settlements. Taking these historical events as the backdrop to an ethnography of population concentration, social transformation and Christianity in native Amazonia, I aim to analyse the Trio's relation to other people and to themselves by focusing on native ideas about human and social corporeality. By 'other people', I mean a wide array of nonrelated persons who do not fall under the category of kin (*-imoitï*) and with whom the Trio seek relationships. These can be other Trio and, by extension, other Amerindians, who despite their social and physical distance are referred to as human persons (*wïtoto*).[6] These nonrelated Amerindians are the first referential classificatory affines, those with whom one may develop processual bonds of kin-making through marriage and coresidence. Although in the past classificatory affines may have been the preferential affines, with the formation of mission stations in the early 1960s and the

subsequent aggregation of previously dispersed extended cognatic groups in their vicinity, there are many more unrelated affines with whom the Trio now interact on a daily basis. The term 'other people' also refers to the Maroons (*mekoro*), descendants of self-liberated African slaves, who live downstream from the Trio in the interior of Suriname and French Guiana, and with whom they have been engaging in trading partnerships since the eighteenth century. The Maroons the Trio have historically developed trading bonds with are the Ndjuka; their territory lies along the Tapanahoni and Maroni Rivers. Finally, the Trio also distinguish urban, coastal Creole dwellers or distant foreigners (*pananakiri*), and Brazilian nonindigenous nationals (*karaiwa*). The use of the term *karaiwa* appears to be restricted to a rather small population of 'colonizers' who have put pressure on the Trio and their neighbours as far as triggering mass migration to flee persecution from skin hunters in precontact times or gold miners who have aggregated in the headwater region of the Maroni River at the border between Suriname and French Guiana since the start of the gold rush in the 1990s.[7] *Pananakiri* (originally meaning 'man from the sea'),[8] which was originally used to refer to white-skinned colonizers (plantation owners, missionaries, etc.), is increasingly expanding to include a wide range of nationalities or national ethnic groups such as American, Dutch or East-Indian and so forth (*Amerekan*, *Oransi*, *Industani*). Occasionally white-skinned people will be referred to as *tïkorojan*, but they will mostly fall under the generic category of *pananakiri*.[9]

More fundamentally, the Trio ascribe two key states or qualities in relation to affinity that can be scaled accordingly to characterize a group or a person: fierceness (*ëire*) and peacefulness (*sasame*). These states are not used to define relations between kin and within a residential unit; they belong to the world of alterity. They are used to refer to Amerindian people, but can be found in other people too, such as *mekoro* or *pananakiri*. 'Fierce, wild people' are usually warlike,

powerful but isolated. Almost by definition they are classified as enemies (*ëirato*).[10] 'Happy, peaceful people' are their logical counterpart: they are not warlike and are less physically strong, but enjoy extended networks of sociality with Amerindians and non-Amerindians alike. This fundamental dualism is in constant flux within Trio personhood and in the Trio sense of historical transformation; it is typical of an Amerindian ontological identity in perpetual fluctuation between two incompatible halves (Lévi-Strauss 1991: 311). This oscillation between fierceness and peacefulness is a key element in the analysis of Trio involvement with Protestant missionaries, the missionaries' engagement with Central Carib cosmologies and the dialogue that has emerged since the original encounter in the early 1960s in this perpetual, asymmetric process of domestication and pacification. I understand domestication (or nurture) as an asymmetric relationship, an asymmetry that shifts according to social contexts and scales, but that remains inherently hierarchical.[11]

'Pacification' as a relational strategy at a regional level implies a form of interaction with former enemies marked by the creation of peaceful social bonds where there used to be avoidance at best and mutual predation at worst. This form of sociality based on a discourse of care and a practice of nurture allows the Trio to incorporate alterity without the use of force or shamanic expertise, but with trade goods and the Gospel. This becomes particularly salient in the postcontact phase, during which the Trio maintain their newly formed relationships by emphasizing the caring and 'educational' aspect of exchange with 'wild people': the latter are 'taught' how to live well, how to live properly the way the Trio do. This apprenticeship, referred to in Trio as *arimika* (lit. 'undoing the spider-monkey', also used to describe a mother's upbringing of her child), covers all aspects of everyday life, from Trio language (*tarëno ijomi*) to gardening techniques, from hammock-weaving to the use of a shotgun, from beer-making to Bible study. As we shall see,

newly contacted peoples are encouraged by the Trio to spend time alongside them in their villages. In some cases, these visits equated to permanent relocation as *peito* (helpers) to a Trio household. This powerful strategy is leading the Trio and some of their neighbours such as the Waiwai into contemporary processes of regional political and territorial expansion that are arguably reminiscent of the conquering manoeuvres of sixteenth-century chiefdoms in tropical America such as the Kalinago or the Tukano (Santos-Granero 2009a, 2016), yet this time with a strong evangelical Christian element, especially in the eyes of the nonindigenous missionaries who have been monitoring and supporting these expansive moves.[12]

To represent a central Carib population intent on using new tools coming from the outside to their own advantage in relation to others may seem surprising in an ethnographic region traditionally imbued with an aura of egalitarianism (Overing 1983–84); indeed, anthropological and archaeological studies of the past two decades that reassert the historical importance of regional networks of ritual and trade exchange among Guianan societies have generally described these as 'networks of sociability' (Gallois 2005; Fajardo Grupioni 2005), often focusing on precontact political formations based on intervillage alliance or large residency patterns (Duin 2009; Mans 2012). This portrayal is correct: indigenous peoples in Guiana, and in Amazonia as a whole, are mostly eager to interact with outsiders, and to organize communal celebrations with nonrelated 'others', albeit through regionally and historically specific forms of social bonds.[13] However, among the Trio, processes that seem to pertain to the domain of sociability such as domestication, care or nurture, whether deployed in a consanguineal or an affinal context, are asymmetric processes insofar as they posit one person in the position of carer and another in the position of cared-for. As Carlos Fausto has argued in a comparative article on ownership and mastery in Lowland South American societies, such processes are perfect examples of relations of

mastery: ‘owners control and protect their creatures, being responsible for their well-being, reproduction and mobility. This asymmetry implies not only control but care’ (2012a: 32). In this context, Peter Rivière’s classic assertion that wealth in Guiana is about people (1984) takes on a new meaning to help us understand what lies behind the interest in domesticating others that the Trio have had since the early days of the mission-stations in the 1960s. This new form of wealth, defined as a ‘vital capital’ within an Amerindian ‘political economy of life’, in Santos-Granero’s work on slave societies in tropical America (2009a: 209, 199; 2016), is of potential value for political leadership and to a communal historical process that the Trio relate to their new life in peace alongside unrelated others in long-term villages founded by urban people (*pananakiri ipata*, lit. ‘urban people’s village’). This new life is concurrently a historical trajectory and a bodily state, that of pacification, which the Trio, in their narratives about their own history, associate with the coming of the American missionaries and the change brought by conversion to Christianity.

<HDA>Mission Stations, Christianity and the Trio

<FL>The Trio (known as Tirio in French Guiana and Tiriyó in Brazil) are a transnational Carib-speaking population numbering around 3,700 in the latest national censuses in Suriname and Brazil (Nankoe 2017: 716; Fajardo Grupioni 2018).[14] Until the end of the twentieth century, most Trio in Suriname lived in four villages located on the Sipaliwini, Tapanahoni and Palumeu Rivers, all resulting from mission-stations (Kwamalasamutu, Ararapadu, Tëpu and Palumeu). Since the mid-1990s, especially in the western part of the country, new settlements have started to emerge following a concerted Trio initiative to create new villages on what is considered Trio ancestral land (Mans 2012: 128–36), thus expanding the current number of officially registered villages to a total of nine (Nankoe 2017: 7016), to include Sipaliwini, Kuruni, Lucie, Amatopo, Wanapan and

Sandlanding.[15] This territorial deployment is characterized by the foundation of small villages led by a young leader, which in their architecture and layout are reminiscent of smaller villages of the past, marked by restricted social interaction with neighbouring Amerindian groups, and increased engagement with nonhumans, especially forest-dwelling persons. This village configuration was never truly abandoned across the border in Brazil. In the northern State of Pará, the Trio live mostly in smaller, scattered settlements in the western part of the Terra Indígena Parque do Tumucumaque, on the Paru de Oeste/Marapi basin, and on the Paru de Leste/Citaré basin. The village of Missão Tiriyós was founded by Franciscan missionaries in 1959 and permanently staffed from 1963 (Rivière 2000b: 29); refounded in 1976 under the same name, it is the largest village in the area, which the Trio share with the Katxuyana, and is located in a strip of grassland savannah along the Paru de Leste River.

Like most central Carib peoples, the Trio result from the aggregation of several separate historical groups, known as *jana*, which came together to form the *Tarëno* ('the people here'). The linguist Eithne Carlin remarked that when the Trio are asked who they are (*akï ëmë*), they answer 'wï Tarëno' (I am Trio), but if asked which *jana* they belong to (*akïjana ëmë*), they answer by listing their father's and their mother's historical group: 'Tarëno wï, pahko Pïropï, mankho Okomojana' (I am Trio, my father is *Pïropï*, my mother is *Okomojana*) (Carlin 2004: 18). Some of these historical groups used to be at war with one another and the *Pïropï*, or 'chest', *jana* is considered to be the core Trio formation. Although I found that many Trio, including senior ones, could not remember either one or both their *jana*, the Trio retain a sense of filiation, or belonging, to their historical group. The *jana* do not appear to have much incidence on marriage and residence patterns, in the sense that they do not represent descent groups.[16] But among the Trio, there is the feeling of a collective identity made of aggregates that have come together over time, through

processes of absorption, through warfare and capture in the past, and through alliance and trade in the present. 'We are all mixed', my host grandfather would say, using the Sranan word *moksi* to point out the fact that the Trio reveal composite layers of identity, and he would use his own family as an example of this: he had a Wayana wife and a Wayana son-in-law, while he also had Katxuyana nephews who lived in Brazil. It was not uncommon to hear that a particular person who had lived in the same village for decades was not actually a Trio but a Wayana. By living alongside Trio people and by sharing the intimacy of daily life with Trio relatives, this person had become a Trio herself. Nevertheless, I will often refer to 'the Trio and Wayana' in this book because of the dynamism with which people switch languages and identities according to different everyday situations and movements from place to place, and to reflect the shared and intertwined histories of the two peoples.

Trio people, like their Carib-speaking neighbours, consider their relatives, in particular their commensals, to be connected by processual networks of influence (see Rivière 1969, 1981, 1984). Commensals share a communal bodily substance that invisibly connects them to one another, sharing benefits and curses as a single body. What matters first is being together, through commensality and the daily nurture of kinship bonds. What intrigues me most with the 'wild people' whom the Trio have contacted and resettled alongside themselves since the 1960s is that this widely accepted pan-Amazonian feature has not altered their state as 'wild' unrelated others; despite decades of domestication on the part of the Trio, unlike other neighbouring groups, contacted people remain in a perpetual state of 'people-in-the-making'. This unusual state of affairs will be the guiding narrative to many aspects of Trio sociality that I discuss herein.

Like their neighbouring central Guianan populations such as the Wayana and the Waiwai, the Trio are characterized by an ideal of endogamy and uxorilocality as well as a political emphasis

on individual autonomy and mobility. Prior to the arrival of the missionaries, the Trio lived in small settlements numbering thirty to forty people, usually led by a senior couple, their daughters and sons-in-law; settlements were connected by kinship networks and organized ritual intervillage encounters for beer-drinking feasts and initiation rituals. People would also travel extensively to other Amerindian or Maroon villages, either by following trails through the forest or by navigating the rivers and their treacherous rapids. The Trio are defined as forest people by their neighbours the Wayana (who view themselves as river people), and despite their adoption of Christianity, they retain their reputation as unrivalled plant and chant healers (*ëremi*), powerful shamans, but also as dangerous poisoners.[17] In 2011, Jacob, a senior nurse from Paramaribo, commented on his many years spent working in healthcare posts among the Trio and on the unexplained ailments and afflictions that used to beleaguer people as a result of cursing: 'I saw things, things you will not imagine. Things that I saw with my own eyes … If you don't believe, you don't believe. But if you see it, you believe. The people [the Trio] they do things [they practice powerful curses].' Against this backdrop of silent shamanic attacks that make up the quotidian, there is also a powerful narrative that the Trio sustain and repeatedly evoke to define their current bodily state and communal sociality. Whereas leaders and church elders will readily describe themselves as Christian (especially when speaking to outsiders in Sranan, Dutch, Portuguese or English), most villagers will instead insist on being 'peaceful' (*sasame*). The Trio now live in a state of peace with affines (*sasame wehto*). In Jacob's words, being *sasame* means that they do not 'do shaman's things anymore' since the arrival of the American missionaries a few generations ago.

It was in the early years of the autonomous government of Suriname, in June 1959, that Door-to-Life, a small North American mission with headquarters in Philadelphia in the United States, was granted the exclusive right 'to develop the interior and its Indian population' with a

view to delivering education, health and pastoral care (Friesen 2018: 112; Vernooij 1989: 128).[18] While the missionaries brought their own funds and their plane along, they benefited from the initial logistical support of the Surinamese army in cutting airstrips at various strategic locations that were to become mission stations. The autonomous (but not yet independent) Surinamese government had just embarked on 'Operation Grasshopper', a concerted project to 'open up the interior' by clearing airstrips at various locations considered to be strategic for subsoil exploration and the securing of the international borders with British Guiana and Brazil (Carlin 2004; Friesen 2018; P. Rivière, personal communication 2012). The missionaries established their first mission post among the Trio in Ararapadu, which offered the Amerindians healthcare and trade objects and focused on winning over and converting charismatic leaders and shamans. By 1960, the missionaries were establishing contacts with the Trio along the Sipaliwini River; the Wayana had already been contacted in 1959 on the headwaters of the Maroni River. The Door-to-Life's involvement in Suriname's interior was short-lived. In 1960, it was taken over by the umbrella organization West Indies Mission (WIM), supported by missionary personnel on loan from the Unevangelized Fields Mission (UFM). The WIM had been established in coastal Suriname since 1954, but required logistical support and advice from the UFM, a missionary organization that had been working in the far south of British Guiana among the Waiwai since the 1950s. This is how Claude and Barbara Leavitt came to settle among the Trio in 1961. In 1962, the Mission Aviation Fellowship (MAF) started to provide aerial links between the WIM mission stations in the interior and the Surinamese coast, before opening its own base in Paramaribo, at the Zorg en Hoop airport, alongside Surinam Airways.[19] A few years later, in 1967, WIM missionaries brought several families involved in a dispute in Ararapadu to the headwaters of the Tapanahoni River further east,

to establish the village of Tëpu. It is Claude Leavitt (*Koroni* in Trio) who is still remembered today by Tëpu's elders as the founder of their village.

<insert Figure 0.1 here>

Figure 0.1. View of people gathered around a light MAF aircraft on the airstrip of Ararapadu. Photograph by Peter Rivière, 1963–64. Pitt Rivers Photograph Collections, PRM. 2001.33.11.1 © Pitt Rivers Museum

In the early years following contact, responsibility for all medical work and basic education rested on the American missionaries (Vernooij 1989: 130). It was only in 1966 that a primary healthcare plan was designed and established as a private foundation: the Medical Mission. The first managing director, Jan Van Mazijk, set up a support structure with the Reformed Church of Suriname through which to recruit Christian medical and educational personnel in Suriname and the Netherlands. Thus, in Suriname, in a delegation of governmental sovereignty unprecedented in the region, health and education policies for the populations of the interior were designed and implemented by a consortium of religious groups based in Suriname and the Netherlands (Antonius 2001: 20), in coordination with two North American organizations (Conley 2000; Dowdy 1997; Grotti 2009b; Hawkins 1956).[20] Today, the Medical Mission has become a primary healthcare foundation predominantly funded by the Suriname state and is now part of the Ministry of Health, yet retains a level of independence with its own board of directors.

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Figure 0.2. UFM missionaries Claude and Barbara Leavitt vaccinating children in

Ararapadu. Photograph by Peter Rivière, 1963–64. Pitt Rivers Photograph Collections, PRM. 2001.33.182.1 © Pitt Rivers Museum

There are few accessible primary sources that relate the details of the establishment of the missionaries among the Trio. Trio elders in Tëpu remember the contact years as a time marked by the terrible loss of relatives, as the spread of infectious diseases took their toll. Medical records attest that among the first causes of mortality were chest infections (tuberculosis, influenza and bronchitis); next in importance came other infectious diseases such as malaria (*vivax* and *falsiparum*, the latter picking up in southern Suriname from the early 1970s onwards), typhoid, hepatitis, measles and chickenpox. The initial death toll was high before gradually easing into a demographic recovery in the second half of the 1970s (Frikel and Cortez 1972; van Mazijk 1977; Yohner and DeJong 2016). By 1962, a major turning point was reached when Tëmeta, the most powerful and respected Trio shaman, publicly converted to Christianity by cutting kinship ties with his spirit child and destroying its material representation – his shaman's rattle – in the process (Koelewijn and Wetaru 2003; van Mazijk 1977). Trio shamans engage in relations of kin-making with different types of spirits that are related to them according to several degrees of closeness and potency; the principal spirit-helper (related to as a child by the shaman) is known as *tikopija* and its material representation is the *kuri*. The material representations of these spirits are kept in a rattle (the *maraka*). These can be pebbles, glass beads, seeds or stones. They are regularly fed with tobacco smoke blown onto them to prevent them from growing fierce and prey uncontrollably on people to satisfy their hunger. After his dramatic conversion, according to a missionary report quoted in Van Mazijk's medical records, Tëmeta allegedly convinced other shamans to follow suit,

and to dispose of their rattles, thus initiating a process of mass conversion that led many Trio to agree to be baptized.

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Figure 0.3. Trio shamans' rattles donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum by anthropologist Peter Rivière following his doctoral fieldwork. One of the rattles' contents is displayed on the table. © Vanessa Grotti

Baptism in water is the ritual of conversion for Baptists; it means that the soul is irrevocably 'won for God' and will go to Heaven, even if there is relapse in later life.[21] The act of baptism is thus a particularly significant one, and one on which missionary newsletters and reports focus, as success stories combined with the promise of immediate further achievements generate financial and logistical support from church-based stakeholders. In this context, besides encapsulating 'vital capital' (Santos-Granero 2009a: 219) for the Trio, 'wild, uncontacted people' as future converts represented a potential powerful regenerative source for missionaries.

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Figure 0.4. UFM missionary Claude Leavitt demonstrating baptism in the river, Ararapadu, 1963. Photograph by Peter Rivière, 1963–64. Pitt Rivers Photograph Collections, PRM. 2001.33.201.1 © Pitt Rivers Museum

It was in southern British Guiana in the 1960s that a technique of cumulative evangelism was developed by the Unevangelized Fields Mission,[22] whereby resident missionaries

accompanied by converted Amerindians organized expeditions to contact neighbouring isolated groups located in northern Brazil, with a view to encouraging the latter to sedentarize alongside the indigenous expedition members (Grotti 2009b: 113). Missionary sources often return to the use of this specific strategy to rely on converted Amerindians as contact expedition members as a hypothetical way to protect the foreign missionaries from meeting the same fate as those who were executed by the Huaroani in Ecuador in the 1950s (Friesen 2018; Yohner and DeJong 2016). The process of cumulative evangelism involving the Waiwai was well documented by Catherine Howard in her doctoral thesis (2001). Howard aptly describes the Waiwai perspective on these expeditions; she stresses in particular how the Waiwai's willingness to take part in these expeditions reflected an enthusiasm for the capture and assimilation of other people, and that both capture and assimilation were expressed through the idiom of evangelization. Cumulative evangelism is more than the centuries old practice of colonizers of employing indigenous mediators in contact zones and situations (Axtell 2003; Metcalf 2005), because it aims to create a snowball effect, recruiting indigenous missionaries among the converted who will in turn contact and convert hitherto isolated groups.

The spread of Christianity in South America is far from being a recent phenomenon; the Catholic Church carries a deeper historic and political weight on the subcontinent than the evangelical churches that concern us here. Early explorers and colonizers brought representatives of the Catholic Church on their vessels to the New World: priests who attended the travellers, but also planners such as Jesuits who set up missions where the settlers developed plantations, and colonization projects of various kinds. Indeed, in some parts of Amazonia, such as coastal Brazil, Peru or Paraguay, the presence of missions dates back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Gow 2009; Greer 2009; Hemming 1978; Vilaça and Wright 2009). In coastal Guiana, the Jesuits

established missions among the Carib and Arawak populations such as the Kali'na and the Palikur in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries respectively (Capiberibe 2007; Collomb 2011), while the Protestant Reformed Church opened its first churches in Dutch Guiana in the seventeenth century (Vernooij 1989). These remained attempts focused on the narrow strip of coastal land on which European colonizers had managed to settle successfully. The Guianan interior remained largely unexplored territory. The Protestant missions that reached indigenous peoples such as the Trio in the 1960s were small, privately run enterprises that relied on funds collected in local churches back in the United States. They were staffed by ministers who made a point of travelling with their families and were usually trained as technicians, linguists or healthcare practitioners. Operating at a time when the South American forests were considered to be one of the central missionary goals (Conley 2000), these missions strategically benefited from advances in medicine and technology such as single engine aircrafts, short-wave radios and anti-malarials. At a regional, transnational scale, they were operating alongside existing Catholic missionary networks that had often been in place for longer, even if only slightly in the case of the Trio: Missão Tiriyós, the largest Trio village in Brazil, was founded by Franciscan missionaries in 1959, following the construction of an airstrip by the Brazilian Airforce (Frikel and Cortez 1972: 36). There existed strong differences between the Catholic and Protestant missions, differences which were exacerbated by a profound reciprocal antipathy (Frikel 1971; Hemming 2003a). Today, the missionary infrastructure has been replaced by state-run services in both countries, but the distinct legacy left by both denominations in Trio life remains salient.

The anthropological study of Christianity among native populations is still relatively new to Latin America, and to Amazonia in particular. As Aparecida Vilaça has argued, this partly reflects the relative neglect of the study of Christianity, and native Christianities, by

anthropologists in general, this being due to what was viewed as a traditional unease or rejection of missionaries and Christianity by the discipline as well as the 'relative absence … of conceptual tools for thinking about cultural change' (Vilaça 2011: 243; 2013). Studying and discussing Christianity among Amerindian peoples of Lowland South America has become increasingly common during the past two decades.[23] This recent surge is related to a more general interest in aspects of social transformation and change among Amerindian populations as legitimate and timely subjects of investigation. Missionaries, like colonizers, 'project developers', conservationists or health agencies, have become a ubiquitous presence in the Amazonian landscape. In current times of geopolitical upheavals in the region, colonizing fronts and population movements across borders have grown at an exponential rate in the past few years. In this context, studies of native engagement with non-Amerindians through politics and activism (Brightman 2016; Capiberibe 2018; Capiberibe and Bonilla 2015; Carneiro da Cunha and de Niemeyer Cesarino 2014), trade and materiality (Bonilla 2005, 2009; Gordon 2006), state healthcare, education and governmental agencies (Allard 2012, 2019; Gonçalves Martín 2016; Kelly 2011; Lasmar 2005, 2009), youth and urbanism (Virtanen 2012), environmental, land rights negotiations and conservation agencies (Bold 2019; Engle 2010; Latta and Wittman 2012; de Matos Viegas 2007; Vindal Ødegaard and Rivera Andía 2019) are now well established; their particular trait is to embrace the transformations occurring in the field as full subjects of enquiry and to analytically reconcile classic themes in Amazonian anthropology with studies of modernity and change.

Studies of Christianity in Amazonia in the past two decades take an approach focused on myth, history, kinship and personhood, presenting a native view on engagement with missionaries and conversion that documents this process as part of a wider move towards 'being civilized', or

'being Christian', as representing a social transformation that breaks from the past. Historical, collective change becomes a communal relational project that is viewed positively by the native populations concerned, even when the former has occurred in violent circumstances (Gow 2001; Vilaça 2010).[24] In an original attempt to open up what remained for the most part a regional debate (Robbins 2009: 230), Vilaça has recently engaged with the literature on the anthropology of Christianity outside of Latin America and developed a dialogue with Melanesianists who have devised analytical models to account for indigenous forms of Christianity in the Papua New Guinean Highlands (Mosko 2010; Robbins 2004; see Vilaça 2009, 2011). Vilaça later adapted the idea of the dividuality and partibility of personhood present in the 'New Melanesian Ethnography' (2010: 244) to the Amazonian ethnographic context by centring her argumentation on the instability of the body in Amazonia. She focuses specifically on the Amerindian ontological incompatibility with the notion of identity, as the self is perpetually shifting between two halves (Lévi-Strauss 1991). Vilaça introduces this model to engage with her ethnography carried out in Western Amazonia, in the state of Rondônia, which shows the existence of this dualism in Wari' personhood, expressed under the terms of the perpetual oscillation between an animal (affine, enemy, prey) and a human (kin, relative, predator) bodily state. By converting to Christianity, the Wari', she argues, engage in a process of stabilization into a human state that is also intrinsically asymmetric as it positions the Wari' as children in relation to God (Vilaça 2011: 252–53).

Reading Howard and Vilaça's works on the Waiwai and the Wari' respectively was very inspirational when I was trying to disentangle my own ethnographic data on Trio processes of conversion and 'first contact' expeditions. I would suggest that what is special about the Trio in comparison to other Lowland South American cases is the prevalence of a certain dualism in Trio ideas about personhood that, rather than focusing on human/animal or predator/prey positions,

shows an oscillation between a state of fierceness and a state of peacefulness. These two states carry the same respective associations with affinity and consanguinity, and with an intrinsic relation to the absence or nurture of social ties as among the Wari'. Among the Trio, 'fierce' (*ëire*) and 'peaceful/happy' (*sasame*) were unmarked positions in the past; they retained no association with 'evil' and 'good'. In the early years of the mission, this prevailing dualism of Trio personhood caught the imagination of the Protestant missionaries who settled among the Trio as they set about learning the local language. The fundamental oscillation between *ëire* and *sasame*, which occurs in mythic and other narratives, in descriptions of neighbouring groups and other people, or of bodily aptitudes and personhood, in relational strategies with unrelated affines, used became a central trope in the evangelization process. In what I have come to see as a gradual process of 'controlled equivocation' (Viveiros de Castro 2004b), both Trio and missionaries creatively engaged in the active stabilization of the fierce/peaceful dualism contained within the Trio notion of personhood. The missionaries came to recognize in this Amerindian feature a reflection of their own ontological preoccupation with the dualism prevailing in their notion of social and bodily order, which oscillates between another dual combination – that between the Christian God and the Devil. Fierceness became associated in missionaries' discourses with the Devil, together with its realm, the invisible world of spirits. Indeed, the Trio word for spirit (*wïrï*) was used as a root to make up the word for sin (*wïrïpë-me,* lit. 'like-spirit'). It appears that the ultimate aim of the conversion process was to stabilize Trio bodies into only one of their components – the peaceful one, *sasame wehto*, the state of happiness – and, most importantly, to achieve this through extended social practices. To the missionaries, the stabilization of Trio identity encapsulates perfection at the bodily and social levels. But has this perfection come to stay? Or is it only temporary?

My interest is in investigating how this stabilization happened from both Trio and missionary points of view in daily and ritual life. How has the apparent stabilization of the Trio into peacefulness evolved over the decades and the passing of generations. Is this pacification process the result of a break from the past that reveals long-lasting or structural changes (Robbins 2004; Vilaça 2013)? And, most intriguingly, why extend this pacification to neighbouring 'wild' groups, the quintessential 'other' in an Amerindian cosmos of alterity, whilst purposefully refraining from full adoption and assimilation? In order to answer these questions, I turn to an analysis of the subjects of this pacification process through the analytical lens of the body: the human body and the collective body of the village.

<HDA>The Research Context

<FK>The Trio, like their Carib-speaking neighbours, live in an international border area. I collected my ethnographic data during a total of twenty-two months of fieldwork mostly between 2003 and 2005, and during additional field trips in 2006, 2011 and 2013. Although mainly based in the village of Tëpu, my fieldwork expanded to several localities across the border separating Suriname and French Guiana. The border between these two countries is constituted by the Maroni River and its tributaries, along one of which, the Tapanahoni, is nested Tëpu. At a regional level, the Maroni River has a powerful evocative force; it is the historic haven and battleground of Maroon communities, who settled in the forests alongside the Amerindian populations after escaping slavery in the brutal plantations of coastal Dutch Guiana as early as the late seventeenth century (Grotti 2017; Jolivet 2008). The Paramaka, Aluku and Ndjuka Maroons fought for, and eventually obtained, rights over the lower reaches of the Maroni from the colonial authorities in 1762. With the arrival of the Maroons in the hinterland, the Amerindian populations of the interior

gradually became cut off from the coastal Caribs and Arawaks (Price 2011). They developed with their new neighbours long-standing relationships based on warfare and alliances, notably performed in mutual domesticating processes centred around trade (Dupuy 2008; Price 2010); this tradition of trading partnerships (-*ipawana* in Trio) is still perpetuated today, although with a few differences to which I will return. Central Carib populations such as the Trio and the Wayana who live in Suriname and French Guiana today share with their Maroon neighbours a territory, a common history and in recent years a common political battle to guarantee sovereignty over land in Suriname and French Guiana (Price 2011); local historical narratives also stress years of mutual knowledge exchanges, such as the sharing of shamanic expertise as well as music and video projects; this specific cultural baggage turned towards the Caribbean is partly what distinguishes them from their Amerindian relatives who live further south in Brazil.[25]

The Maroni is a region that is still recovering from the scars left by the Surinamese civil war of 1986–92 and in particular its later years, during which, in a conflict dubbed the 'War of the Interior', the Paramaribo regime fought with the Jungle Commando for control of the Maroni and the cocaine trading routes that traversed it. In retaliation against Maroons joining the paramilitary forces of the Jungle Commando, vital forms of infrastructure such as roads and hospitals were destroyed in the eastern part of Suriname by the army at the end of the conflict. The ensuing battles caught the river population in its centre, triggering mass migration and the creation of refugee camps along the French Guianese bank of the Maroni, thus starting an unprecedented migration eastward (Brightman and Grotti 2014). The Trio, especially those who lived in the villages situated further west in southern Suriname, such as Kwamalasamutu and its satellites, opted to turn southwards and flee to Brazil. Today, the residents of Tëpu still struggle to talk about the years of the civil war. The families who had fled to live with their kin on the Brazilian side returned in the

mid-1990s to a different landscape: the foreign resident missionaries and missionary health and educational personnel had left the country for good, whilst the state was slowly stepping in to recapitalize and secularize the school and healthcare infrastructures. But the returning Trio themselves had changed; their extended residency among their Brazilian relatives in the Catholic missions closely exposed them to another form of peaceful sedentarism that retained shamanism, chants, drinking festivals and initiation rituals. The 'Brazilian exile' reinforced the connection across the mountain range and a wave of revival in social practices such as drinking and dancing, which are clearly visible today. By the time I started my fieldwork, the Trio had been managing relations with their residential affines, Christianity and the spirit world without the intervention of village-based foreign missionaries for over two decades.

My focus in this book is on the Trio who live in Suriname, but my involvement with them, and one family in particular, led me to travel to Wayana villages in French Guiana and to spend time in urban centres such as Paramaribo, St Laurent du Maroni and Cayenne, often to assist someone to make their way through administrative matters or to give company to patients flown to hospital for treatment or childbirth. Although connections between villages, across urban centres and with non-Amerindians are sought out by Trio villagers eager to engage with distant and exotic novelties, most of the quotidian routine remains tied to an engagement with subsistence-based activities: hunting, fishing, tending the gardens, processing foods and building dwelling places. Daily life has not been transformed by decades of missionary policy focused on maintaining certain levels of autonomy, a different process from the neighbouring villages in French Guiana that lived through growing interventions from the state aiming at 'integrating' Amerindian communities to the French Republic, reflected in better infrastructure, however often imposed by central authorities, and more formal but also more unforgiving education and employment

systems, partly based on boarding schools away from the river and village life (Armanville 2012; Grotti 2017).

Nurturing the Other analyses contemporary Amerindian sociality through encounters with alterity, and takes the village setting of the Trio and Wayana as the most appropriate starting point. The ex-mission stations such as Tëpu, where most indigenous people in southern Suriname live today, visually, spatially and materially encapsulate the social transformations that the Trio have undergone since the early 1960s. Central to the character of the village is that it brought previously unrelated people to live in relatively close proximity in what today are known as 'urban people's villages' (*pananakiri ipata*). Sedentarization processes and Amerindian perspectives and strategies on the establishment and maintenance of social relations in large-scale settlements represent complex contemporary themes; they have previously been tackled through the prism of 'contact' and its cosmologies (Albert and Ramos 2000), as a separate field of ethnohistorical analysis (Whitehead 2003) or through a discussion of change and 'modernity' among indigenous peoples, emphasizing the destructive effects of the former upon the latter (Coimbra et al. 2002). However, apart from Peter Gow (1991, 2001) and Catherine Howard (2000, 2001), and most recently excellent research carried out by Brazilian colleagues such as Geraldo Andrello (2006), Oiara Bonilla (2005, 2009, 2014), Cristiane Lasmar (2005) and Aparecida Vilaça (2010, 2016), few anthropologists have to my knowledge considered the possibility of productive effects and continuity in such processes; the formation of contemporary identity may be attached to contexts of colonial encroachment resulting from the expansion and pressure of wider national society, but such changes are not locally viewed in these terms. My analysis considers movement and flow of personhood, and how these have developed as a result of sedentarization, showing that some crucial processes have remained the same, even if the actors involved have changed.

These processes are analysed with regard to symbolic and temporal spatial construction in the current context of long-term sedentarization marked by the coresidence of former enemies and increasing interaction with national society. The Trio and Wayana villages of Suriname today represent the result of decades of active 'contact' policy. Contemporary villages are made up of a mosaic of cognatic clusters that at the same time claim distinct identities of substance and a common social identity, which sometimes embraces national administrative units and external political forms, and sometimes subverts these by playing on internal political forces. There are forms of interaction between these different groups, which are linked to their respective histories and are tinged with a sense of social hierarchy expressed in bodily terms. The treatment that the descendants of the Akuriyo hunter-gatherers, who were contacted, 'captured' and eventually incorporated into the village of Tëpu by the Trio members of the pastor-led expeditions of the late 1960s, provides an illustration of such interactions. Their marginal position based on substance (the substance of their bodies is not mixed with that of the Trio by marriage) is deliberately maintained by their Trio 'guardians'.

I study the motivations underlying the incorporation of distant groups into large sedentary settlements through the key concept of nurture. The Akuriyo are not familiarized in order to become consubstantial, but rather are maintained in a state of social subordination through a series of nurturing techniques. I have coupled my analysis of the body, of its treatment and making through transformation with a study of the substances and things that constitute it over time. The idea of mixed blood, either by intermarriage or by the literal exchange and consumption of blood, was often offered to me to explain the bonding of people without previous consanguineal ties; as I will discuss in Chapter 2, people consider themselves to be of mixed blood when their children have resulted from exogamous intermarriage, but remain resigned to constantly striving to prevent

social entropy, which is reflected in their personal spatial representations of their living surroundings. Moreover, separation between one group and another is articulated in the same idiom. Their assertion of being less fierce than their ancestors, sometimes referred to as the 'real people', prefigures my analysis of how a primeval, original design was first established by mythical entities, from which, through consecutive transformations, contemporary people result. The reality of fieldwork in this context provided evidence of the existence of several systems of hierarchy and fragmentations, ramifications and concentric movement. These could be palpably addressed by taking a relational approach, deeply rooted in ethnographic data: focusing on people and objects, practices and making, and movement of human and nonhuman elements through space.

Chapter 1 is a study of the establishment of the mission stations that came to be the permanent villages in which the native populations of Suriname live today. Taking the example of the main field site, Tëpu, I examine how people live on a daily basis alongside former enemies and how space is constructed from the point of view of social relations – that is, in particular, how the balance between cognatic groups and affines is managed in everyday life. My analysis focuses in particular on kinship-making practice, ideas about the body and personhood, historicity and social transformation, and how conversion to Christianity came to be associated by the Trio, Wayana and Akuriyo with pacification (*sasame wehto*).

Whilst daily village life is the object of Chapter 1, Chapter 2 deals with the ritual life of intervillage and intravillage celebrations, where relations and conventions of the quotidian are suppressed and subverted to foster a feeling of consanguinity and exuberant happiness with affines such as former enemies, mainly through dancing and drinking manioc beer. Manioc beer plays a fundamental role in Trio and Wayana sociality; drinking beer with relatives, but most significantly

with unrelated others is one of the most cherished occupations of the people with whom I conducted fieldwork. This chapter sets out to investigate the apparent contradiction of the Trio's enthusiastic consumption of fermented drinks in the light of their professed conversion to evangelical Christianity.

Chapter 3 documents and analyses a series of expeditions organized by Protestant missionaries and some Trio to contact, 'pacify' and sedentarize several groups of nomadic hunter gatherers who lived in the mountains on the border between Suriname and Brazil in the late 1960s, a process that, as we have seen, has been successfully perpetuated to this day. I study the social relations that emerged between the parties involved from both missionary and Amerindian point of view, focusing on the body and kinship, in particular the relationship between the Trio and 'wild people' whom they came to predate upon in these expeditions. I then examine the unravelling of the missionaries' plans, the relocation of the nomadic hunter-gatherers into sedentary village life, and the development of the peculiar master–servant relationship that emerged over the years between 'wild people' and their 'captors'. The theoretical discussion here examines the question of the importance of nurture and domestication in the articulation of asymmetric relations in Amazonia.

Chapter 4 leaves aside relations between bodies (the collective body) to focus on the making and constitution of the human body (the person) in a context of change and transformation. This implies an analysis of the delicate balance between, on the one hand, Christianity and sedentarization, and, on the other hand, the shamanic sociocosmic universe which permeates daily life. I discuss the transformations arising through the relationship between Christianity and shamanism, the changes in leadership and kinship practices with the growing presence of the state, and the changing management practices of the environment.

The Conclusion returns to the questions addressed throughout the book: what happened when the Trio encountered the foreign missionaries on either side of the Suriname-Brazil border? How did events unfold from then on in Trio historical narratives, and what weight does conversion to Christianity as a collective project carry in shaping contemporary Trio sociality, in particular towards alterity? Unsurprisingly perhaps, the Trio have devised creative responses in unexpected circumstances, and it is this genuinely Guianan resourcefulness that this book investigates.

Notes

1. The term 'wild' that I use here is a translation of a key Trio bodily attribute known as *ëire*. In the wordlist compiled at the end of his thesis on Trio language, Meira writes for the entry *ëire*: 'wild, unfriendly (people), non-domesticated (animals): *pena anja ëire t-ee-se*, long ago (before the first contacts), we were wild, unfriendly' (1999: 654).

2. Periodic 'emergence' or 'revelation' of proclaimed 'isolated tribes' are a regular feature of sensationalistic news representing indigenous populations of Lowland South America. These events, if captured on camera, are reported internationally, as in the more recent case of the Mashco-Piro on the Peruvian-Brazilian border (Brightman and Grotti 2017; Opas 2016).

3. However, the decision to leave may not have only been triggered by curiosity for goods, and the whole trip was quite traumatic for the young man whom the Trio baptized *Kiritu* (D. Gallois, personal communication, 2012). This episode is also recounted by Nogueria Ribeiro in a 2015 publication, in which the young Zo'é traveller is referred to as Kitá (2015: 169).

4. The visit of a Brazilian Amerindian to Kwamalasamutu was not reported in the press, but was referred and confirmed to me by several interlocutors on two separate trips in 2011; however, Trio incursion into the Zo'é indigenous territory is mentioned as a deciding factor in the

Programa Zo'é (PZO'É) initiative, a project in which Brazilian academics, governmental and nongovernmental agencies collaborate towards the implementation of a policy of protection and control of the Zo'é Indigenous Territory (PZO'É 2014); in addition, a missionary and a harvester from Campos Gerais do Erepecuru were taken to court by the Federal Public Ministry in 2015 on charges of human trafficking and slavery at the expense of the Zo'é (ISA 2015). Newspaper coverage was given in Suriname to one contact between a Trio expedition party and a group of Zo'é who are referred to as the Chuerna (Chang 2009). On the controversy of converted Trio and Waiwai entering protected areas to contact populations maintained in voluntary isolation by the Funai (Brazil's National Foundation for the Indian), see Carneiro (2010); Milanez (2011) and Recondo (2009). For a wider comparative discussion including more recent cases of 'first contacts' in Amazonia and related controversies, see Brightman and Grotti (2017).

5. I use the term 'sedentarization' to refer to the passage of a nomadic or seminomadic life in the forest to the establishment of long-term villages that survive the death of the founder or its elders. Although the Trio and hunter-gatherer people proper such as the Akuriyo remain mobile and travel through the forest, and, in the case of the Trio, to distant places such as the city and Maroon villages, they now live alongside their dead, who are buried in a cemetery on the outskirts of the village. Sedentarization in this sense means a new relational pattern with the spirit world and the dead from the past. I also aim to remain close to the Trio's own description of their present village life and their own bodies as being different from the past and being marked by stabilization. I will return to this point in Chapters 1 and 2.

6. Both the Trio and Wayana are clear about contemporary sociality being marked by increased interaction with neighbouring Amerindian groups, defined here as human persons (*wïtoto*), at the expense of relations with nonhuman persons, such as spirits and forest animals in particular.

However, although my interest lies in these contemporary relationships, the Trio and Wayana understanding of humanity and personhood is far from being restricted to this narrow category and can fluctuate and be graded according to social and historical circumstances and across scales. For instance, some nomadic neighbouring Amerindian groups possess different levels of socialization and thus a different humanity, which is something I will return to in greater detail in Chapter 3.

7. Recent events in northeastern Amazonia, especially related to two major political crises in Venezuela and Brazil, have led to a dramatic worsening of the environmental, social and political context across the border in the Brazilian State of Amapà, which culminated in late July 2019 with the incursion of armed *garimpeiros* in the Wayãpi protected area (Terra Indígena Wajãpi) and the assassination of the leader Emyra Wajãpi near the village of Mariry. The Wayãpi I met and spent time with (most notably my adoptive father) in Suriname and French Guiana had all settled north of the Tucumaque mountain range as a result of the pressure of gold miners in their villages further south in Brazil in the 1970s (Apina 2019; ISA 2019).

8. See Thomas (1982: 18–19); however, Alcantara e Silva, in an article on central Carib migrations and aggregations following Protestant missionary expansion, rightly quotes Dreyfus' analysis of the ancient term *paranakari*, used by coastal Caribs under colonial rule to refer to the Dutch (Dreyfus (1993), in Alcantara e Silva (2015: 155)). The Wayana use a similar term: *palasissi*. These three terms are related and refer to colonizers and city-dwellers travelling to Amerindian territory from coastal and urban centres located further north, on the Guianese shore.

9. As linguist Eithne Carlin writes: 'While *mekoro* still refers to a Maroon, as distinct from a Creole, it also refers to a black person, thus there is overlap between the categories *mekoro* and *pananakiri*, that is, a *pananakiri* can be either a *mekoro* or a *tïkorojan*' (Carlin 2004: 17).

10. *Ëirato* is a reciprocal term used to describe a relation of mutual predation. It is now mostly used by the Trio to describe the wars of the past, as well as their past relationships with their neighbours. In an everyday context, it is the nonrelational *ëire* that is used. However, the two are intimately connected: if a fierce person attacks another (through witchcraft or physical aggression), they will start a relation of warfare that automatically involves relatives on both sides. Although the linguist Sergio Meira refers to the term in his Trio grammar (*ratoe* – Meira 1999: 699), anthropologist Denise Fajardo Grupioni uses the term *iurüpümanton* to define Brazilian Trio category of enemies, under which white people, Maroons, Wayana and other non-Trio Amerindian peoples were classified prior to contact (Fajardo Grupioni n.d.: 9).

11. I have chosen to adopt the term 'domestication' rather than 'familiarization' (as used by Fausto (1999)) because, as we shall see, certain asymmetric caring and controlling processes that I shall describe lead to incorporation into a domestic sphere without involving the making of kinship in the manner characteristic of familiarization. The term 'domestication' also leaves space to account for the perpetuation of differentiation between slaves and masters over time, involving a kind of counterfamiliarization through processes like the anticommensality that Jabin refers to as 'heterotrophy' (Jabin 2016: 467–76).

12. In his ethnography of Urapmin Christianity, Joel Robbins discusses the reasons for which at a particular time in their history, the Urapmin welcomed the missionaries and their teachings, and set off to convert the neighbouring Atbalmin (Robbins 2004: 19–20, 27). The reasons evoked by Robbins of the Urapmin's relative regional marginalization at a time in their history and the use of evangelization as a means of asserting dominance over neighbouring groups rings partly true for the Trio first contacts. But just as the Urapmin had their own reasons rooted in cultural preoccupations with morality that led them to convert to Christianity (ibid.: 21), the Trio

had their own preoccupation with the stabilization of their body and pacification that led them to find the messages of the evangelical missionaries attractive.

13. See Albert and Ramos 2000; Bonilla 2007, 2016; Vilaça 2010.

14. The 'Tiriyó' entry of the *Instituto Sociambiental Online Encyclopaedia* was written by Denise Fajardo Grupioni in 2005, but includes the latest demographic information available in Brazil on the Trio population gathered by the SIASI (Brazil's national monitoring system for indigenous health, available at http://www.ccms.saude.gov.br/saudeindigena/asesai/sistemasdeinformacao.html). For the Trio in Suriname, Mirella Nankoe uses Suriname's 2012 Population and Housing Census.

15. Mans mentions the additional village of Casuela, located on the middle Corentyne and already inhabited in the early 1990s by a family that originated from Kwamalasamutu (Mans 2012: 130).

16. However, the importance attributed by the Trio to their *jana* may be more significant in the Brazilian villages (see Fajardo Grupioni 2005 and 2018).

17. Indeed, Trio extensive ethnobotanical knowledge has been sponsored and protected by an NGO Amazon Conservation Team, contributing to their promotion in Suriname and abroad. In November 2015, three Trio shamans nominated by the NGO were awarded Suriname's Honorary Order of the Palm in recognition for their work preserving and teaching Trio ethnobotanical knowledge (ACT 2015).

18. The Door-to-Life mission could actually be more accurately described as a 'two men and a plane' affair, involving Eugene Friesen and Robert Price, who decided from the United States to launch a contact operation in Suriname after being inspired by the work of the American missionaries among the Waiwai in British Guiana. Price and Friesen's involvement in the

Guianas was extremely short-lived, as they disengaged their small mission as early as 1960. However, by then, Friesen had managed to run and oversee the cutting of a significant number of airstrips in southern Suriname. In January 1960, Friesen brought Claude Leavitt and some Waiwai men from their village of Kanashen in British Guiana directly to the Sipaliwini in Suriname. On the 5 February of that year, they initiated contact with the Trio living in several villages in the area (Friesen 2018).

19. Details on the timeline of MAF's involvement in Suriname can be found on its country webpage: https://www.maf-uk.org/place/suriname (retrieved 28 September 2021).

20. 'Health policy was strongly influenced by religious groups. Reflecting a similar situation in the Netherlands, various Christian denominations competed to provide services. The Medical Mission, a collaborative effort of different religious groups, is an example of unusual cooperation between these Christian sects' (Antonius 2001: 28). The Medical Mission Suriname (Medische Zending or MZ) is the umbrella for the medical work of three religious foundations: the Medical Mission Suriname Foundation, the Roman Catholic organization Peter Albrick Stichting and the Medical Mission of the Protestants (Medizebs).

21. This is how baptism was explained to me by missionary interlocutors in the field.

22. I define cumulative evangelism as a strategy of missionary expansion common to Protestant organizations throughout Lowland South America. In northeastern Amazonia, affiliated organizations such as the WIM and UFM specialized in targeting populations of the interior.

23. See (to name but a few) Capiberibe 2007, 2009, 2017, 2018; Montero 2006; Opas 2008, 2017; Vilaça 1996, 2002b, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2016, 2018; Vilaça and Wright 2009; Wright 1999, 2004. There were earlier publications such as Rivière (1981a). However, it is essential to note the wealth of studies that have combined ethnographic fieldwork and archival research to document

and discuss the rise of indigenous messianic movements over time across the region (Brown 1994; Butt Colson 1960; Fausto 2007; Fausto and de Vienne 2014; Hugh-Jones 1994; Whitehead 1999).

24. Indeed, these authors have also rightly theoretically reappraised Lévi-Strauss, who was the first to point out the Amerindian structural 'forgetfulness' in relation to past events (see also Descola 2014).

25. However, it is important to note that in recent years, political alliances have emerged on the Brazilian side of the border, uniting indigenous residents of the TI Katxuyana-Tunayana and the Quilombolas of the TQ Cachoeira Porteira of the State of Parà in a common fight to protect their ancestral lands (Fajardo Grupioni 2015: 10). Quilombolas are descendants of self-liberated African slaves transported to work on plantations on the Lower Amazon (in Óbidos and Santarém, for example) over two centuries ago.