

**NABARIMA:
A WARAO SACRED PLACE IN SOUTH TRINIDAD**

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Few Trinidadians know that Naparima Hill at the centre of San Fernando is a Warao name, and is sacred to this Orinoco Delta people. Two ethnicities are suggested ca. 1600, Chaguanes in the west and Waraowitu in the east. History records four centuries of visits to Trinidad. Ethnogeography suggests two social contexts, one undifferentiated and one political. A supreme spirit from each resides on Nabarima. Key institutions are three types of shaman, and the uxorilocal extended family based on son-in-law service. The key technology is canoe making. Subsistence is based on fish, crabs, and traditionally starch extracted from wild moriche palms. But this has been replaced by dasheen cultivation since 1970. Absence of pottery makes this society a good reference for the archeological preceramic series which surround the delta during BC 6000-0. Two pottery sites and a mission village show the continuing importance of Naparima during AD 0-1784. If the Warao people wish, we are willing to explore restoration of the ancient sacred role of Nabarima.

Pocos trinitenses saben que Naparima Hill en el centro de San Fernando es un nombre warao, y es un lugar sagrado para este pueblo del Delta del Orinoco. Se piensa en dos grupos étnicos en el año 1600 aproximadamente, chaguanes en el oeste y waraowitu en el este. La historia registra cuatro siglos de visitas a Trinidad. La etnogeografía sugiere dos contextos sociales, uno no diferenciado y uno político. Un espíritu supremo de cada uno reside en Nabarima. Las instituciones claves son tres tipos de Shaman y la familia extendida basada en el servicio de los yernos. La tecnología clave es la fabricación de canoas. La subsistencia se basa en pescado, cangrejos, y tradicionalmente fécula extraída de las palmeras moriches salvajes. Pero esto ha sido reemplazado por el cultivo de dasheen desde 1970. La ausencia de cerámica hace de esta sociedad una buena referencia para las series precerámicas arqueológicas que rodearon el delta durante 6000-0 A.C. Dos sitios de cerámica y una misión muestran la importancia continuada de Naparima durante 0-1784 D.C. Si el pueblo warao así lo desea, estamos dispuestos a explorar la restitución del papel sagrado antiguo de Nabarima.

Peu de Trinidiens savent que Naparima Hill, situé au centre de San Fernando est un nom Warao, et est sacré pour le peuple du Delta de l'Orénoque. On a mentionné deux groupes ethniques aux environs de 1600, les Chaguanes à l'ouest et les Waraowitu à l'est. Il est rapporté dans l'histoire qu'il y a eu quatre siècles de visites à Trinidad L'ethnographie suggère deux contextes sociaux, un non-différencié et un politique. Un esprit suprême des deux réside à Nabarima. Les institutions principales se composent de trois types de chamans, et la famille étendue est établie sur les services du beau-fils. La technologie principale est la fabrication de canoës. Les moyens de subsistance étaient basés sur le poisson, les crabes, et traditionnellement la fécula extraite des palmiers moriches sauvages. Mais ceci a été remplacé par la culture du chou de chine depuis 1970. L'absence de poterie fait de cette société, une bonne référence pour les séries archéologiques pré-céramiques qu'il y a autour du delta aux environs de 6000-0 a.v. J-C. Deux sites de poterie et un village de mission montrent l'importance continue de Naparima pendant 0-1784 ap.J-C. Si le peuple Warao le désire, nous sommes prêts à explorer le rétablissement du rôle sacré ancien de Nabarima.

Introduction

Few Trinidadians know that Naparima Hill, at the centre of San Fernando, is sacred to the Warao people of the Orinoco Delta (Figures 1, 2). The top is only 179 m above sea level, but its isolation makes it a landmark which can be seen from a great distance by sea or land. Since the 1950s the hill has been much destroyed by quarrying. This was eventually stopped by public outcry from the townspeople. In 1987 it was declared a national landmark, and responsibility was assigned to Forestry Dept. They landscaped part of the hilltop, and built a centre for functions. It has a "roof of the world" feeling, and

gives the people of San Fernando an escape from urban hassle, and a place of quiet and space.

The Warao

Orinoco Delta

Our immediate south neighbour (Figure 3) is ca 18,000 km², about four times the size of Trinidad. Our closest points are Icacos (15 km) and Erin (17 km). It is a flat watery landscape, with a network of rivers and islands, connecting and dead-end caños and cañitos, oxbow lakes, mangrove-, palm-, and herbaceous-swamps, former rain forest, and shifting sandbars (Wilbert 1979; Vila 1960; Anon 1992).

The tides divide the delta into three resource zones. The lower delta is tidal, and brackish water except for the annual high of the Orinoco (August–September). It is a mangrove and “black water” zone poor in fish. The intermediate delta is tidal, and freshwater except for some years in dry season (January–April), when the tides may bring brackish water 40–60 km up a caño depending on the strength of its current. These two zones form a coastal belt some 50–60 km wide, and are the preferred habitat of the Warao today. The upper delta is a fluvial “brown water” zone rich in fish. It is not tidal, but is subject to the annual high of the Orinoco. In March the water is low, peaceful and clear. In August it is high, turbulent, and laden with silt. Every ten years or so, there is an abnormal high. Stones are absent from the delta. But key resource palms – manac, moriche, and temiche – are present in each tidal zone.

The delta is crosscut by seven major caños, probably former mainstream courses. These are the Wayo, Sakobana and Arawao in the east; Mariusa in the centre; Macareo, Kokuina, and Manamo in the west. Each has access to all three zones. For a politically developed canoe people, each major caño offers a potential political unit.

Either side are swampy coastal lowlands: the Amacuro and Barima rivers to the east; the Guanipa and San Juan [Guarapiche] to the west.

Post-Contact History

This is well reported by Heinen (1988). I have divided it into four cultural periods.

1498–1700. The Tivitives (as many sources call them) are free, and form part of an Indian world which largely continues to be driven by indigenous political dynamics. Ca. 1600, the delta is occupied by two Warao ethnicities of different “castes”, between whom there are “continually warres” (Raleigh 1596).

The Siawani or Chaguanes live in the west delta, probably from the Macareo to the Amana [Manamo]. They are valiant warriors and have an external trade network, building war canoes and exchanging them for gold in Guyana and tobacco in Trinidad. Their houses are built on the riverbank, and they live off moriche bread, hunting, and fishing. Already in 1596, some Siawani have moved east to the lower Arawao to avoid Spanish interest in their gold.^a

The Waraowitu (true Warao) or Tivitives or Pallamos (Spanish for birds)^b live in the east and central delta, probably from the mainstream to the Mariusa. Their houses are built over water in the interior morichales, with built-in escape hatches. They also make canoes, and live off the moriche palm.

Another people, the Waraotu (foot Warao) live in the coastal swamplands west of the Gulf of Paria, and one village is reported in the northwest delta. They are not a canoe people, but houses and subsistence are the same as the Waraowitu.

Non-Warao subgroups surround the delta. Arawaks live to the east (Essequibo valley), north (southeast Trinidad), and west (near the upper Amana).^c Kariña subgroups live to the east (Amacuro),



and northwest (Guanipa and Guarapiche rivers).

The **1700–late 1920s** is a long history of illegal slave raiding and cheap labour: e.g., by the settlers of Angostura (1770s), by government to establish labour villages (1760s–70s), criollo “kings” with high-priced stores and minimal wages (1850s), and balata labour camps (1880s–1920s). Many Warao retreat for safety to the morichales in the vast swamplands of Isla Mariusa in the central delta. Here they are able to continue their traditional culture.

1920s–1970 is characterized by subsistence change. In the late 1920s migrant workers from the lower Sakobana bring dasheen cultivation from the Essequibo. This rapidly replaces the traditional processing of moriche palm starch. Villages move from the interior morichales to the caños, making people more accessible to wage labour. In 1925 Capuchin missionaries enter the delta. Some write sympathetically on Warao ethnography, but generally they promote cultural erosion. Study by professional ethnographers starts in 1954.

1970–date. Traditional social organization has begun to disintegrate. Government indigenous programmes are well intentioned, but often end up benefitting the criollo population. The link between present-day and contact populations is unclear (Heinen and García-Castro nd).

The Waraowitu live in the eastern delta, between the mainstream and the caños Arawao and Winikina. There are several subgroups. The Ataisiwari Warao on the lower Wayo and Merehina have atypically large villages, each with its own subtribe leader. They are traditionally minded in an assertive way. They claim to have come from up the Orinoco, where missionaries took them in the 18th century. They have the strongest tradition of the Tivitive (*Tringa* sandpiper) dance. The Sakobanarao have heavy Arawak influence, and practise horticulture. They have no memory of moriche palm sago, and their social organisation is somewhat different. Siawani descendants may still live near Siguani village. They have master canoe builders, brew kashiri beer, have criollo-type wakes, and introduced the Winikina people to Carib-type mare-mare dances and the Warao-type violin. The Arawabisi-Winikina-Mariusa subtribes all share in the sacred stone cult (see below).

In the central delta, the Marosarao (Mariusa) salt fish, and have a tradition for hunting manatee. They have no ancestral identification with the *Tringa* sandpiper.

In the west, some groups remain on the Macareo and some in the lower Kokuina. In Pedernales-Manamo, large-scale land reclamation and drainage projects have forced the relocation of many Warao villages to the middle caño. No group with clear Siawani ancestry has the Tivitive dance. The Siawani have disappeared as an ethnic group.

The coastal swamps to the east, in NW Guyana, contain some isolated Warao groups, who are mostly horticultural. Morichaleros are regarded as “forest people”.

The coastal swamps to the west contain some isolated Waraotu groups, in Monagas (west of the delta) and Sucre (west of the Gulf). Some are conuqueros, and some morichaleros.

Trinidad

Records suggest close informal contact.

1618 there is a Tivitive settlement, presumably on the river Chaguanes at the south edge of the Caroni swamp.

1690s Warao incite the new (presumably Arawak) mission villages of Mayaro and Careiro [Guayaguayare] to revolt, and cause their abandonment.



- 1712 Warao captured from the delta are added to the north Trinidad labour villages.
- 1762 a Dutch document from the Essequibo mentions the Trinidad Warraus.
- 1840s from this time on there are oral accounts of canoe visits to San Fernando, and trading visits to south Trinidad to sell wild animals and birds and buy necessities. Reportedly these are stopped in the 1930s by the Trinidad health authorities.
- 2004 contact continues: a Warao youth and his brother-in-law come by motorized canoe from the middle Mariusa to south Trinidad to sell a monkey.

Cosmography

East is top of the world. This still applies in 2004. Two items of oral tradition, collected by Wilbert in the lower Arawabisi-Winikina-Mariusa area in the 1960s, divide the Warao world into four directional quarters (Figure 4).



The Four Kanobos

This story (Wilbert 1972a) seems a cosmic charter for shamans. It suggests a society with minimal political institutions, such as the present-day (and possibly contact) Waraowitu. Four male supreme spirits or KANOBOS (our grandfathers) reside at the edge of the world on sacred mountains. Three (south, east, north) govern the living Warao. One (west) governs the Warao dead.

E. The east mountain is mythical, located at the equinoctial sunrise (Mar 21, Sep 21). The Morning-star Kite Kanobo represents life and light, and lives in a round white house of tobacco smoke. He is a youth holding a rattle in his right wing, and a bow and two arrows in his left. His four helpers are Black Bee, Wasp, Termite, and Honey Bee.

W. The west mountain is also mythical, located at the equinoctial sunset. The Scarlet Macaw Kanobo represents death, and rules over the abode of darkness.

S. The south mountain WAHAKARIMA (Guardian of the Sandbanks) is real, an isolated 150 m hill south of the mainstream. It was Venezuela's first commercial iron mine (1883). Red Neck, the senior Kanobo, lives here.

N. The north mountain NABARIMA (Guardian of the Waters) is another isolated hill, in Trinidad north of the channel. It is home to the Great Blue Butterfly Kanobo.

Three types of shaman control the relationship between the Kanobos and the people (Wilbert 1972a). Each Warao village has a south, east, or north Kanobo as its patron. In the Arawabisi-Winikina-Mariusa area, many villages have a sacred stone as his representative, in a two-story shrine due east of the village. It is conceptualized as a decapitated human head. On death, the shaman's spirit resides on the mountain of his patron Kanobo.

The WISHIRATU (pain master) works for the patron Kanobo. He constantly feeds the spirit with tobacco smoke from 50–75 cm cigars. He presides at the annual NAHA NAMU (moriche container) ritual and dance, when all the Kanobos visit the village and submerge in a huge offering of moriche sago. If they are angry they send a spirit sickness, which can only be cured by a Wishiratu with his large sacred rattle.



The BAHANAROTU (light master) works for the Kanobo of life in the east. He presides over the HABI SANUKA (small rattles) fertility ritual and dance, which follows the Naha Namu. He fires magic darts in puffs of tobacco smoke. Dart sickness can only be cured by another Bahanarotu, who inhales quantities of tobacco smoke and sucks out the injurious object.

The HOAROTU (dark master) works for the Kanobo of death in the west. He sends out sickness with his Hoa songs. He kills with his snare of tobacco smoke. Two tendrils travel out from his mouth and wind round the victim's neck. He pulls the snare shut, and carries the living soul over his shoulder down the black sky road to the west. Only a friendly Hoarotu with his songs can cure Hoa sickness.

Haburi

This story (Wilbert 1979) seems a cosmic charter for canoe-masters, multigroup unity, and intergroup exogamy. It suggests a society with well-developed political institutions, such as perhaps the contact Siawani.

SE. In the ancient time before humans, a hunter of peccary lives in the southeast quarter. There are moriche palms, but no women to extract the sago.

NW. One day, he climbs a shamanic manac palm, and flies to the northwest quarter to steal sago. This is the land of the giant otters, who live off fish and moriche palm sago. One day two otter women, sisters, discover him secretly eating their sago, and persuade him to marry them.

SE. He returns to the southeast with them to live off peccary and sago. The younger sister gives birth to Haburi, and soon after the hunter is killed by a feline ogre.

SW. The two women and baby flee to the southwest quarter, and find asylum in the house of Wauta, the tree-frog woman, who lives off manioc and maize. She transforms Haburi into a young man, tells him she is his mother, and sends him off daily to hunt birds (the work of a Warao son-in-law). He commits incest with his real mothers, and is told the truth by his otter brothers-in-law.

NW. He escapes by building a canoe and paddle, and all three flee via the caño Macareo to the north edge of the world, where they reside today on the sacred mountain Nabarima.

Centre. Canoe and paddle transform into a pair of tree snakes: female red cachicamo (BISI), and male white cachicamo (BABE), the preferred woods for canoe and paddle. These swim to the central delta to reside with the Warao who have now appeared.

ESE. The canoe snake becomes DAURANI (Mother of Trees). She visits the south sacred mountain Wahakarima, and her spirit resides on a mountain where the path of the sun at winter solstice (Dec 21) intersects the edge of the world (ESE).

Centre. The paddle snake stays in the central delta, and becomes the first master canoe maker.

The story seems to contain several messages.

(1) A new Kanobo is introduced, female instead of male, residing on an intercardinal instead of cardinal mountain. She provides the cosmic charter for male Warao to become master canoe makers (MOYOTU). This is an essential resource for a political elite like the Siawani, based on external trade in war canoes.

(2) Divine ancestress, pre-human ancestor, and hero son are all typical mechanisms for legitimating a hereditary ruling descent line.

(3) The story unites quarters with subtle ethnic differences^d into a single Warao nation. Northwest contains the giant otter people and the divine ancestress. Southeast contains a virilocal ancestral hunter. The feline ogre may be an allusion to the Kariña. Southwest suggests an ethnically mixed area. The horticultural tree-frog woman and her parrot speak Warao. Her house walls and thatch speak a Carib language – Nepuyo may be a good candidate. Wauta may be a reference to the green “Amazon stone” frogs,^e which were traded in pre-contact time by the Arawak, and later by the Kariña. Centre contains the Waraowitu.

(4) It also provides the charter for band exogamy. Young bachelors today don Haburi’s costume, and travel from village to village to find a non-consanguineal wife.

Political, Social and Economic Institutions of the Warao

Political institutions seem absent in Warao society. Authority resides with the shamans and the master canoe makers.

Exotic materials

In a politicized society, these are usually controlled by political leaders as an additional source of power. But here the sacred stone or rock crystal representing the Kanobo, tobacco for shamanic cigars, and white quartzitic pebbles for the shamanic rattle are curated or used by the shaman. The canoe adze, today iron but in the contact period made from exotic stone or marine shell, is curated by the master canoe maker at the east end of his house. He also uses the *Strombus* trumpet to initiate each stage of canoe construction, announce the return of a successful expedition, and in the contact period probably as a war trumpet.

Settlement Layout

The layout of settlements with a sacred stone confirms the overall power of the Kanobos and their intermediary the Wishiratu. The shrine of the patron Kanobo is placed directly east and at a certain distance. Then comes the dance platform, the house of the Wishiratu, and the settlement (Figure 5).

Social Organization

There are three levels: subtribe, band, and extended family (Heinen 1988). The subtribe is usually endogamous, and members do not feel related to members of other subtribes. The band is usually exogamous, and there are some obligations of reciprocity. The extended family is the driving social and economic institution.

Extended Family

The leaders are the household head and his principal wife. Sons-in-law move to their house, and owe them labour and food service. The father-in-law organizes a workforce of sons-in-law and unmarried grandsons. The mother-in-law organizes a domestic team of secondary wives, daughters,



and granddaughters. Girl children are desirable, because they are the key to a strong and numerous workforce.

Decisions on group problems are taken through the MONIKATA. This process is initiated by the old men in the very early morning, and the problem is thoroughly discussed hammock to hammock until consensus is reached. Women make their inputs quietly through their husbands.

Housing, Technology and Subsistence

The traditional Warao are a non-agricultural people without pottery, chert, or stone. So this section is important for comparison with preceramic archeology.

Housing

According to Heinen (1988), the traditional settlement is built over the water in a tidal inlet (Figure 5). Moriche palm pillars support floors of manac palm beams. Dance platform, house floors, interconnecting pathways, and jetties are built at the same level, and form a complex layout above the highest tide. Each house is an open pole framework without walls, supporting a two-sided roof of temiche leaves. For cooking, a large (1 m) clay hearth some 30 cm thick is packed by the women onto the manac floor. The shrine of the Kanobo is due east at a certain distance in the forest.

Technology

Heinen (1988) and Wilbert (1972b) includes canoe making, basketry, hammockry, housing, simple subsistence tools, and an encyclopedic knowledge of the environment. For instance Warao knowledge of seasonal river currents and daily tides enables them to cover long distances by canoe with minimum time and effort.

The Haburi story makes canoe-making central to the life of a male Warao (Wilbert 1976a). After some seasons as an unmarried assistant to his father (age 14–18), and several seasons in the work crew of his father-in-law and making 4–5 small canoes on his own (age 18–28), he should have a reputation for good work. If he receives a vision from the canoe makers' female Kanobo, Daurani, he arranges a ritual apprenticeship with a master canoe maker. He learns to feed her with smoke from shamanic cigars, and takes his initiatory celestial journey to her mountain. Finally he is a master, and able to build his own large canoe (over 12 m).

Blowing the *Strombus* trumpet, he leads the work group into the forest, and asks the tree, Daurani's daughter, for her permission to be cut. He blows the trumpet at each stage of work – felling, cutting the crown, scooping out and tapering the hull, and rolling it down a corduroy road to the village. Then he works alone with Daurani for several months thinning the hull with his adze. Finishing is by fire, controlled alternately by temiche leaves and clay. The charred portion is scraped off, leaving a shiny black surface (female colour). The hull is then filled with water, and heated by another temiche leaf fire. At the right temperature, crossbeams are inserted to widen the hull. Symmetry is checked and more heat applied, until it is perfect. The canoe takes the whole night to cool. After putting in struts for seats, it is ready to launch. During the whole period the Kanobo has required celibacy and continuous consumption of tobacco smoke. But the master is in a position to visit Trinidad to acquire more tobacco. When he dies, his soul will go to reside with Daurani in the ESE, and his body to the WSW.





Subsistence

According to Heinen (1988) and Wilbert (1972b, 1976b) traditional staples are: moriche starch, wild fruits, honey, fish, crabs, grubs, birds, and some small animals. There is a marked annual cycle. Moriche starch content is highest during the dry season. When the first rains come, the tree flowers and the content drops considerably. A son-in-law fells the tree, and removes the outer wood on the upper side to expose the pithy interior. He then uses a moriche hoe to macerate the pith into coarse shreds. A woman adds water and kneads the mixture in a sieve. Milky water falls through into a container. The water is bailed off, leaving moriche palm sago at the bottom. The hoe blade is a 45–75 cm length of moriche outer wood (Figure 6). The blade end is broad and grooved to produce a double cutting edge. The butt end is narrow and rounded. The handle is a pole slightly longer than the blade, and is tied to notches near the butt and others some 12 cm short of the cutting edge. It would not survive archeologically, but one needs to watch for a tool that would achieve the same shredding effect.^f

Fishing tools include spear, bow, three-pronged arrow with wood point, gorget-type hook, baskets, cudgel, portable fish weir, bare hands, and an otter tooth for good luck. Hunting tools include lance, arrow with broad or narrow point made of wood or stingray spine, wooden baffle for birds, sling, bare hands, hunting dogs, and a necklace of jaguar, otter, or alligator teeth for good luck.

Archeologically little would survive: e.g., sacred stone, rock crystal, white quartzitic pebbles from a shaman's rattle, canoe maker's adze, *Strombus* trumpet, bone points, gorget hooks, the good luck teeth, and possibly the clay hearth.

Archaeological Overview

Preceramic. Banwarian sites surround the delta (Figure 7), and are well reported by Boomert (2000: 53–91). These comprise Banwarian in Trinidad and Tobago (BC 6000–2000); Alaka in northwest Guyana (BC 6100–1900); and El Conchero in northeast Venezuela (BC 4500–2800). All are characterized by chert or stone flakes, and a varying presence of stone tools made by grinding. These suggest processing of starch from water edge plants rather than moriche palm. Nabarima is 12 km north of Banwari, and clearly visible.

Ceramic

The developing Barrancoid state (BC 1000–AD 650), centred on the southwest corner of the delta, must have affected the Warao, and possibly promoted Siawani political development. Warao memories of the Arawak are friendly.

The poorly documented Kariña expansion from the Guyanas interior to areas immediately east, north, and northwest of the delta, presumably in late prehistory, has left memories of fear.

Naparima Hill

Three sites are recorded close to the hill (Figure 8). An Early-Late Saladoid site (AD 0–650) is located below its south flank. A large Late Arauquinoid site now destroyed (say AD 800–1500) occupied the coastal bluff west of the hill. In 1687 a numerous population of “Naparima” Indians is reported, and the mission village of Guayria (1688–1784) is established “on the skirt of a mountain ... whose eminence can serve as a viewpoint”, probably WNW of the hill. This long settlement history suggests recognition of its sacred role by non-Warao peoples.

Future

If the Warao people and their leaders wish, we are willing to explore restoration of the ancient role of Nabarima.

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Figures

1. Naparima Hill from the sea, ca 1851 (Michel Jean Cazabon).
2. Naparima Hill from the land, showing damage from quarrying, 2005.
3. Trinidad, Orinoco Delta, tidal zones, and major caños (redrawn after Wilbert 1979: map 4).
4. Warao cosmography based on stories of Four Kanobos and Haburi (redrawn after Wilbert 1979: map 3).



5. Plan of Hebu Wanoko at its largest, 1971 (redrawn from Heinen 1988: figure 6).
6. Moriche hoe (redrawn from Wilbert 1976b: plate 86).
7. Banwarian sites surrounding the Orinoco Delta (redrawn after Boomert 2000: figure 11).
8. San Fernando showing Naparima Hill and archeological sites.

(Endnotes)

Notes

- i Today there is a Waraowitu settlement here called Siaguani
- ii Possibly refers to the Tringa sandpiper (see below).
- iii In the 1590s the leader of this subgroup is the Arawak warchief. He defeats the Amana Siawani to open an Arawak trade route from Aruacay to the Gulf of Paria. He also defeats the Kariña warchief, and makes him his tributary.
- iv Note these non-Warao attributes: virilocal, horticultural, house walls.
- v I hypothesize that ownership was restricted to elite Arawak women who could show direct descent from a female ancestress. Also that gold was restricted to her sons, heirs in a matrilineal society to the position of cacique.
- vi Probably storable starch can be extracted from any species of palm.





Figure 1: Naparima Hill from the sea, ca 1851 (Michel Jean Cazabon).



Figure 2: Naparima Hill from the land, showing damage from quarrying, 2005.

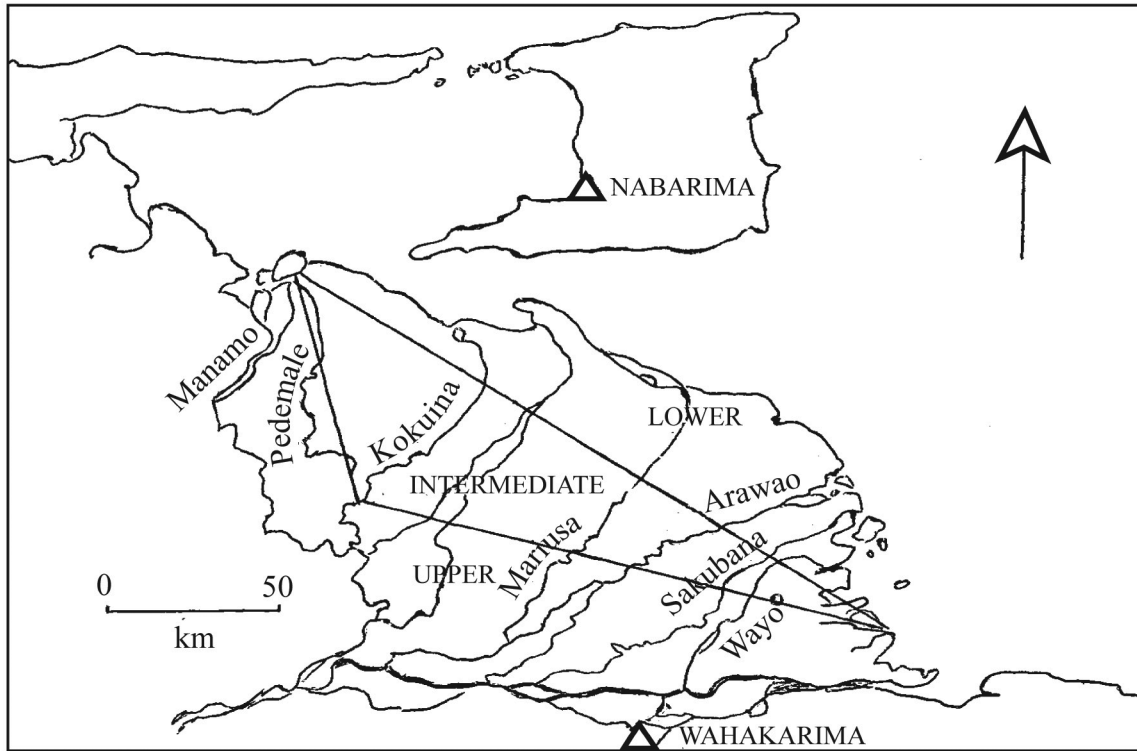


Figure 3: Trinidad, Orinoco Delta, tidal zones and major caños (redrawn after Wilbert 1979: map 4)

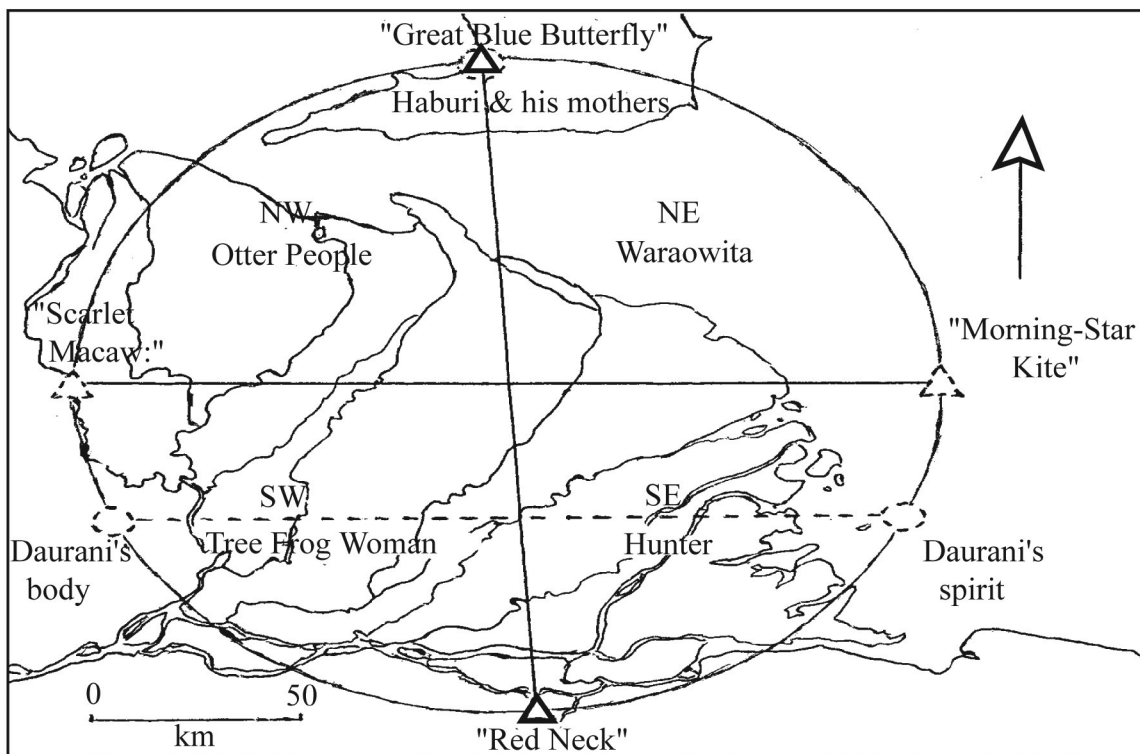


Figure 4: Warao cosmography based on stories of Four Kanobos and Haburi (redrawn after Wilbert 1979: map 3).



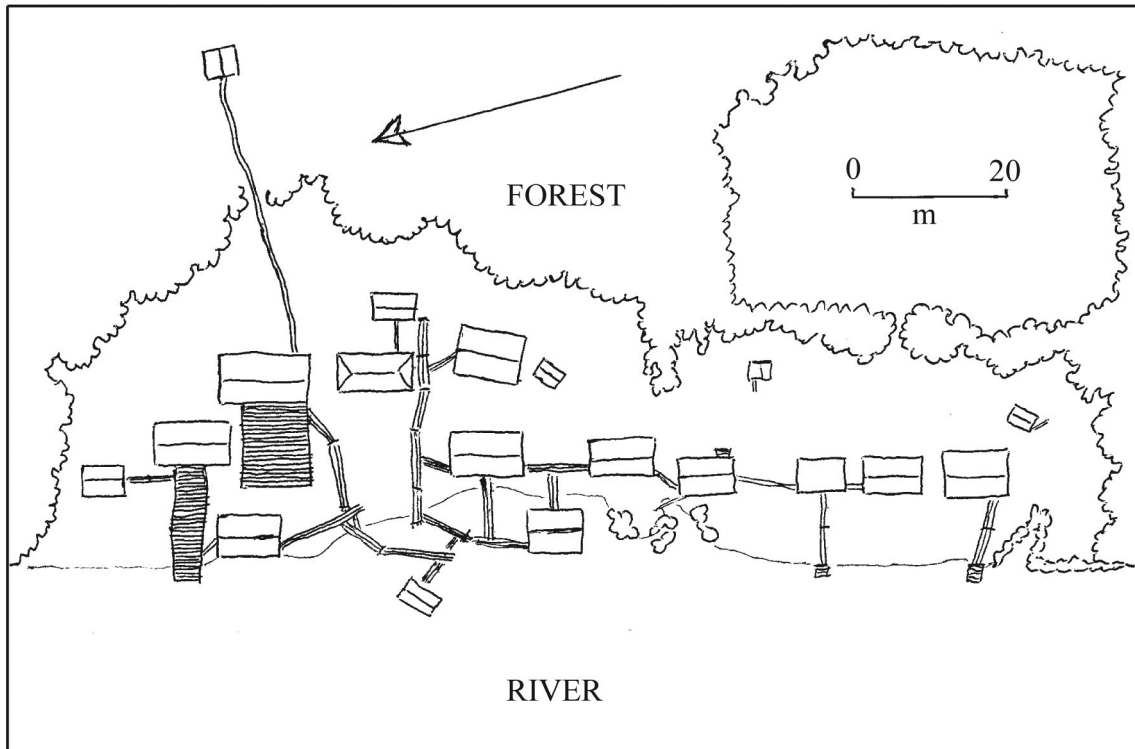


Figure 5: Plan of Hebu Wanoko at its largest, 1971 (redrawn from Heinen 1988: figure 6)

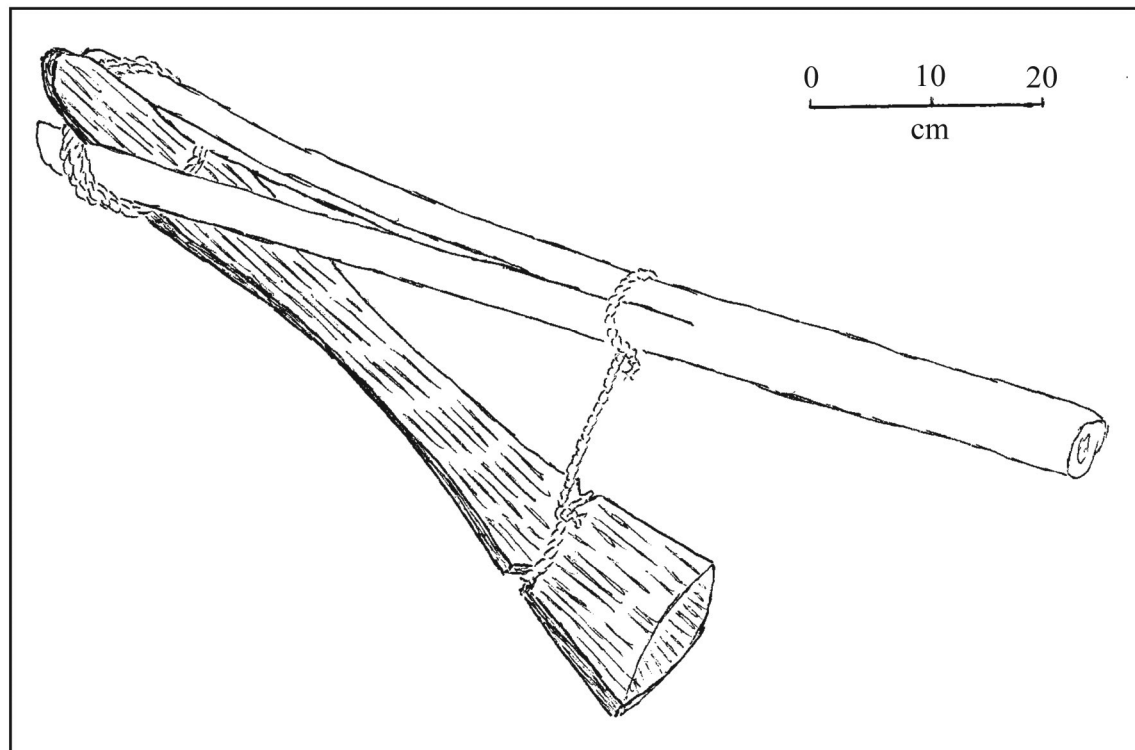


Figure 6: Moriche hoe (redrawn from Wibert 1976b: plate 86).

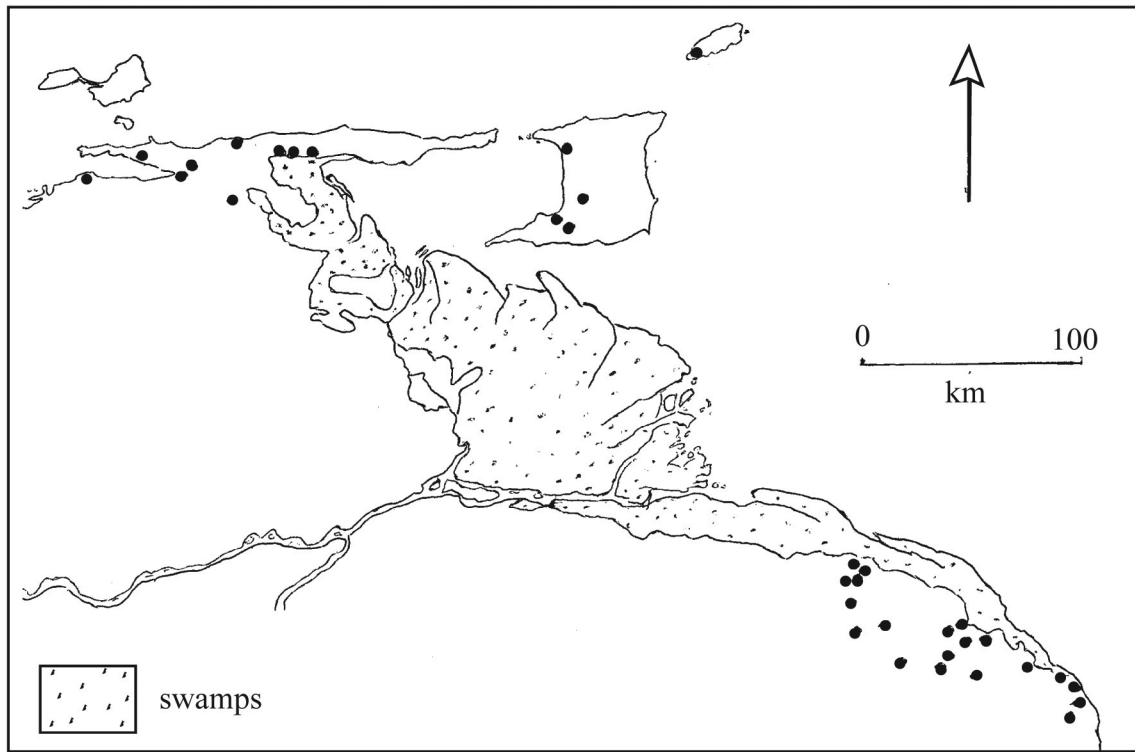


Figure 7: Banwarian sites surrounding the Orinoco Delta (redrawn after Boomert 2000: figure 11).

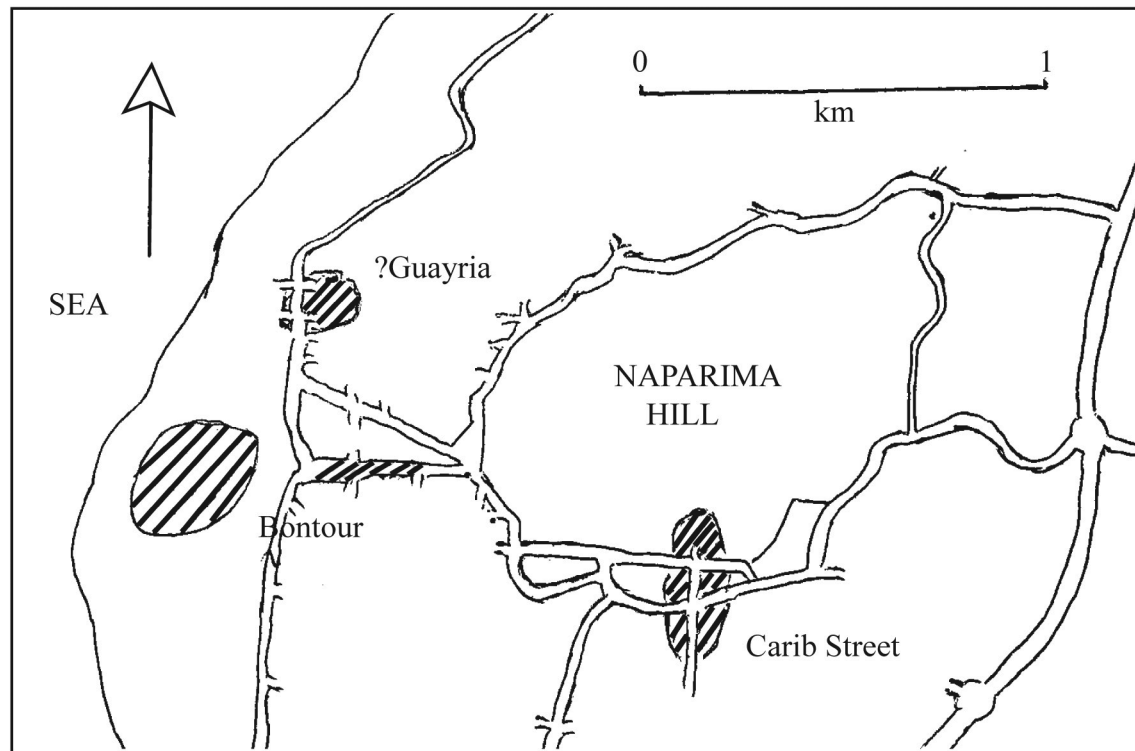


Figure 8: San Fernando showing Naparima Hill and archeological sites.

