

THE MAZARUNI SCORPION

(A Study of the Symbolic Significance of Tattoo Patterns among the Akawaio)

BY

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In Georgetown there is a certain drink made of green granadine, rum and ice. It is called the 'Mazaruni Scorpion' and is sometimes given to unsuspecting visitors who praise its pleasant taste and are beguiled by its receptive mildness. They ask for more. After the third or fourth drink the 'Mazaruni Scorpion' may turn on you and, like its namesake, it is found to have a sting in its tail.

INTRODUCTION.

One of the most noticeable features of Guianese Amerindian women, and to a lesser extent of the men, was a certain characteristic pattern of tattooing on the lower half of the face. Such tattooing inevitably inspired comment from the Colonists on their contact with the indigenous population. The Guiana literature is spattered with descriptions of the tattoo marks of individuals of various tribes and such accounts are frequently interspersed with derogatory comments as to the decorative effect thereby achieved.

Foreign contact, leading to certain social changes and a change of values and ideals of beauty, caused tattooing to die out among the coastal tribes by the late 19th. century. Today, even in the interior, tattooing is rarely practised. It is only on the faces of the old people that it survives, indelible and in the most complex patterns.

What I have to say concerns mainly the Akawaio, a Carib-speaking tribe of the Upper Mazaruni District of British Guiana, but literary evidence suggests that Akawaio beliefs and practices concerning tattooing are shared in many details by other tribes—of both Carib and non-Carib stock.

METHOD OF TATTOOING.

There are two methods in vogue among the Akawaio.

(1) *Pricking*: This form of tattooing is done with a needle; a thorn was used before trade needles were introduced. The skin is pricked and then the needle is drawn through the line of pricks, making a continuous scar.

(2) *Cutting*: The surface of the skin is scratched and broken with a sharp knife edge or a piece of glass. Pieces of glass from a broken bottle are almost invariably used nowadays and I never saw any other material employed for this particular method of tattooing. When the blood runs from the cut it is scraped away with a piece of stick and a little water is poured over the wound. Then a black dye is rubbed in.

Similar instruments for tattooing are reported for the Barama River Caribs¹ but continuous incisions are made with both bottle glass and needles "no tattooing is done by the puncture method." Tattooing reported from various tribes and quoted by Roth² involved the use of fish bones or fish teeth; spines

of the pimpler palm (*Astrocaryum*) were used by the Pomeroun Arawaks and Warraus. The Carib Islanders are said to have used sharpened bamboo sticks. The Wapishiana tattoo is either solid or dotted lines "Fine lines are pricked about the month with thorns and the mixture rubbed in."³

Incision (with teeth, bone or sharp stick) or pricking (with thorns, needles etc.) are widely reported methods in British Guiana. The Akawaio use both and distinguish between them. Although the pricking method has recently fallen into disuse the incision method is still common and widespread.

DYES AND THEIR INGREDIENTS.

The Akawaio use a blue-black dye which they call '*ekleng*' (meaning simply 'black' or 'dark'). It consists of lamp black which is usually derived from the outside of a sooty pot, mixed with burnt sugar cane or honey. This mixture is rubbed into the cuts or the pricked skin and left for a day or so to become permanent. Sometimes honey is burnt and used alone. Occasionally a tree resin called *waluwa* is added to the honey.

Men's tattoo patterns are not made with honey but with the juice of a number of plant roots which have been mixed together and charred and which have the lamp black added.

Some tribes are said to use the juice of the seed of the *Genipa Americana* (*lana*) for the black colour.⁴ The Pomeroun Arawaks are said to have used *Karuwatti*—a reddish purple juice from the fruit of the *Renealmia exaltata*.⁵ "The present-day Makusi, Patamona and Taurepang women use for coloring matter either rotten plantain skin or soot from the pot, mixed with honey." The Makusi use a mixture of calcined cassava bread and wild honey, according to Farabee⁶ and the same author states that the Wapishianas tattoo with ". . . . a liquid made of calcined cassava chips and honey. The root is scraped, cut into thin strips, dried in the sun or on the bread pan. In this form it is called '*sapara*' and is used in making drink. These chips are burned, pulverised and mixed with the honey of the wild bee The outer part of sugar cane or banana skins may be charred and used for the same purpose, but these are mixed with cane juice instead of honey."

The important point which emerges from the accounts of the dye used in tattooing in these Guiana tribes is that such dyes are nearly always made up of two different ingredients, namely: some dark colouring matter (sometimes obtained by burning) and a sweet substance.

THE TATTOO PATTERNS.

The tattoo patterns which are most noticeable and which, consequently, have caused most comment in the literature, are those made round the region of the mouth and jaw. Wapishiana, Makusi, Waiwai, Arekuna, Patamona, Akawaio and Arawak women are among those which have been mentioned as possessing these mouth patterns in British Guiana. The majority of the Amerindians of French and Dutch Guiana are likewise said to have tattoo patterns round the mouth. Thus, the Warrau women had the skin at the corners of the mouth tattooed with several curved lines. Robert Schomburgk remarked that the Wapishiana women had elliptical lines tattooed about the mouth, and Farabee⁷ gives a sketch of these as he saw them half a century later. He states that the

women have lines tattooed about the mouth, one across the upper lip, extending well over the cheeks, a corresponding one on the lower lip and others from the corners of the mouth to the cheeks. Among the Arekuna "Some of the women had the dark-blue lines traced across the upper lip and extending in wavy curves over either cheek, resembling immense curled moustachios, but the favourite style seemed to be a broad line round the mouth, so wide that each lip appeared to be an inch broader, and the aperture itself two inches longer than nature had made it."⁸

Only a few authors refer to tattooing on other parts of the body. Schomburgk claimed that the Trios (Diau) are unique in Guiana in that they ornamented their bodies all over by incisions, like the South Sea Islanders. The Wapishiana, Arekuna and Akawaio have been reported to have tattoo patterns on their arms.

My own information from a study of Akawaio tattoo patterns, confirms that, almost invariably, they are confined to the face, usually the lower half of the face, and to the limbs, usually the forearms. In one instance only I encountered a woman with a few lines tattooed on one breast. Plate I shows the various types of patterns tattooed on the limbs. Comparison of these with the facial patterns depicted in the other illustrations will show the essential similarity and even identity between them. The arm naturally allows more scope for solid designs and also for more extensive ones, whereas the facial features circumscribe the tattoo patterns made on them. Much more care is evident in facial tattooing and there is a higher degree of stylisation. Again, this is to be expected since it is not so important to achieve an artistic effect on the arms as on the face, which is the focus of attention.

AKAWAIO TATTOO PATTERNS ON THE FACE.

The accompanying diagrams (Plates III, IV, V & VI), show facial tattoo patterns which I have copied from the Akawaio who bore them.

There are several aspects of the facial tattooing which require comment. In the first place, the series of short lines extending on either side of the chin, along the line of the jaw, are the most widespread patterns found to-day. (See Plate II A.). They are frequently the only ones tattooed on the face. Occasionally two rows may be found, one row slightly under the chin and jaw and the other on the face but still following the line of the under pattern. The length of the line varies according to individual taste and may be a few strokes following the chin or a good number, framing the face and extending nearly to the ear-lobes. These marks are either called *tedzang* (referring to the honey which has been rubbed into them) or *potoro* (referring to the method by which they are made). *Potoro* or *botoro* is the Akawaio name for 'bottle'. The derivation is obvious. The pattern so-called is made with relatively little difficulty and pain by making successive short cuts with a piece of bottle glass and then rubbing in the usual blue-back dye and sweet substance. Henry's wife (see Plate III J.), was somewhat haphazardly tattooed in this way, over the lower half of her face. She was one of the few with tattooing on the face in which due respect for symmetry and careful patterning had been neglected.

The most common facial pattern, and one which is frequently combined with the *potoro* chin and jaw patterns, is that known as *kansuk* among the Akawaio.

This is the 'scorpion's tail pattern' and it is found in the majority of cases on the faces of the older people. (See Plate II B.). This particular pattern has come in for a lot of derogatory comment. Boddam Whetham⁹ for example, sarcastically commented on the Akawaio thus—"The women added to their charms by a few pot hooks tattooed into the corners of the mouth." It has been called the 'pot-hook pattern' and also referred to as 'hooks' or moustachios'. The variations and combinations of this basic pattern, can be seen from the designs depicted and require no special comment. It is a pattern which has become stylised and is so much a part of traditional practice and form of ornamentation that only a few of the older Akawaio could tell me what it signified. The great majority of people said that they did not know and asserted that they had forgotten. The fact that many Indians just copy this stylised pattern from custom probably explains why it has defied identification for so long. So far as I can ascertain, no-one in the Guiana literature has realised the actual link between the mouth pattern and the scorpion's tail which it represents, although W. E. Roth¹⁰ mentions that the 'pothook' on Carib drinking vessels represents the scorpion.

Another part of the mouth pattern and extending like a W between the lines of the *kansuk* pattern is the 'camoudi' snake pattern, (the Akawaio word is *aramari*). This pattern is invariably found on very old women.

What is the significance of these tattoo patterns and why are they made? These are questions which immediately spring to the mind but which are very difficult to answer without making the most detailed enquiries. The majority of the Akawaio can give no help in providing a satisfactory explanation but by piecing together remarks made from time to time on the subject of tattooing it is possible to get an answer to the problem.

TIME OF TATTOOING

Akawaio say that the time for tattooing women is at the age of puberty. They say that the patterns are made at the time of the girl's first menstruation, when at the same time she has her hair cut, is confined to her hammock apart from the rest of the household and has to observe certain food prohibitions. In saying this they are referring to the time of making the face tattoo patterns, the *kansuk*, scorpion's tail pattern in particular, for I several times observed quite small girls receiving tattoo patterns on their arms. For example, at Kataima December 1951, John David's two daughters received cuts on their arms which were made permanent with the usual dye. The elder girl was undeveloped and perhaps about 12 years old. Her sister was some years younger. Other little girls who lined up for the operation were younger. The ages of all who were tattooed on the arms that day ranged between about 6—12 years.

The younger girls, still very small, had only a short row of lines:— // // // //

The older girls had the more complicated bee pattern thus:— V V V V
One small girl had her tattoo marks made on top of old ones on her arm. Another girl added more, though she had plenty on her arm already.

The fact is that tattooing is not done all at once at one particular time. As the Akawaio admitted on closer question'ng, it is done at varying ages when girls begin to take up household tasks seriously. The marks are added to from time

to time but most of the tattooing is done during the period of adolescence when the girls start taking charge of the household and learning women's work so as to become responsible adults and to prepare for marriage. The most important pattern, the *kansuk*, tattooed round the mouth, is reserved for the period of seclusion at puberty. Since this most complicated tattooing is rarely, if ever, done nowadays, there is not much chance of confirming this by direct observation. However, more than one informant assured me that it occurred thus and Roth¹¹ was told the same on enquiry among the Makusi, Patamona and Arekuna.

As regards the men, it would seem that they are tattooed later than the girls, if they are tattooed at all, which is not often nowadays. It occurs during the adolescent period when they start hunting seriously, but the time for tattooing the mouth patterns is not determined strictly as it is naturally for the girls. The usual Akawaio comment is that a boy is tattooed when he gets big and starts to hunt. However, in one instance I know a man was tattooed round his mouth after he had married and had children.

THE PEOPLE WHO TATTOO

There is no invariable rule as to who should tattoo and who should not. Usually it is done by an elderly relative and almost invariably by a woman. A sister, mother, grandmother, were those mentioned to me. Women may also do it for themselves. I saw a young girl scar her own arm ready for the dye and Joseph Grant's wife a U'Wi village (Ataro river area) stated that she had tattooed her own mouth patterns with the aid of a mirror and that it had been very painful! One Chinawiang man had been tattooed by his wife. Other men stated that female relatives had done it for them or they had managed it for themselves. One man had been tattooed by his father.

It seems therefore, that any responsible, elderly relative, and occasionally quite young people of either sex, may be called on to tattoo.

TATTOO PATTERNS AS CHARMS.

After an Akawaio girl has been tattooed her relatives say that now she will be able to make sweet cassava.* They say that these patterns are for making good cassava bread cassiri† and other drinks and they say that a woman who has the patterns will do good cooking and make sweet drinks and that they enable a woman to work well. They also say that the *kansuk* (scorpion's tail) patterns mark the puberty stage and that they are much admired by the men. They are used for decoration. It is the 'custom' to have them.

These were the reasons given me for the practice of tattooing women.

The association between cooking and tattooing likewise applies to other Guiana tribes. Gillin¹² noted that "A woman may have a series of long parallel lines running diagonally across the inner surface of her forearm. This is said to make the drink which she manufactures taste better. If this decoration appears on both arms, a woman is said to be able to work the cassiri more easily." Farabee¹³ noted that the young Waiwai women selected to chew the cassava for

* Cassava—*manihot utilissima*, a root from which the Akawaio make their staple food, cassava bread.

† Cassiri is a drink made from cassava.

making their intoxicating drinks, wore permanent tattoo marks at the corners of the mouth and the Makusi and Wapishiana girls were similarly selected for chewing cassava bread or corn.

We may therefore conclude that the tattoo patterns for the Guiana women are in the nature of 'cooking charms' and particularly 'brewing charms', as well as being a mark of maturity and a decoration of a customary type which attracts the opposite sex.

What about the tattoo marks borne by the men? In the first instance, the men's tattoo patterns are not made with honey or any sweet substance but with the roots of plants which are customarily used as hunting and fishing charms*. The ingredients are mixed and charred and rubbed into the cuts in the skin in the usual way. For the men therefore, the tattoo patterns are hunting and fishing charms to aid a man in his work of providing the household with a meat supply.

It has been maintained that the tattoo patterns are distinctive tribal marks¹⁴ but the differences cannot be marked for many different tribes use the same patterns. The most that can be said within a tribe is that some families tend to adopt a more complicated set of patterns than others. Such families tend to reproduce a similar combination of these facial patterns generation after generation. It seems to be merely a question of copying from mother to daughter. (See Plate VI).

THE SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE OF TATTOO PATTERNS.

It is noticeable in written accounts of the Guiana tribes and also in my own investigations that there is a particular connection between the patterns and the making of *sweet* drinks and *sweet* cassava. The women bear the symbols of bees on their arms and faces and the ingredients of the tattoo dyes always include something sweet—wild honey or sugar cane. Even the '*aluai* skin' pattern is related to this stress on sweetness since the skin of the *aluai* fish is said to taste sweet. Farabee noted that "... the tattooing serves as a distinguishing mark, but it all appears to be most important in rendering the drink sweeter to the taste."¹⁵ Roth maintained ¹⁶that among the Makusi, Patamona and Arekuna "The honey, with which the pigment is mixed, is believed to act as a charm or bina to make the drink taste 'sweet'".

Symbols of bees and the use of honey or sugar cane juice have the same significance among the Akawaio, but, we may ask, why should stress be laid on sweet cassava and sweet drinks? The answer lies in the methods of brewing and the type of occasion for which drinks are required.

Most of the traditional Amerindian brews in the Guianas derive from such garden products as cassava, yams, sweet potatoes and maize in various combinations. Of all these products cassava is by far the most important and is the basis of most of the drinks brewed. I do not intend to give a detailed account here of the various drinks and the exact methods of making them, but only to say that one of the most important and notorious incidents in brewing is that

* These charms are called '*murang*' by the Akawaio. The general Guianese term is '*bina*'.

involving the chewing of part of the cassava bread, corn or other ingredients of the drink and spitting the chewed food into the drink, which is then left to ferment. The best known drink made with the assistance of chewing was paiwarri (known as *paiwa* to the Akawaio) in which burnt cassava bread was chewed. Cassiri and other drinks also contained chewed ingredients in the past. One of the classic incidents in books published on British Guiana Amerindians is that in which the author describes how he drank certain brews and then found out to his dismay how they were made and what his reactions immediately were!

The function of chewing is to assist the fermentation and to give a better taste. It has even been maintained that Europeans can never make such good drinks of the Amerindian type because they would not do the preliminary chewing. The saliva acts on the starchy substance of the cassava, yam, maize, etc., and a chemical change takes place converting the starch into sugar. The sugar, after a short lapse of time, produces a stronger, fermented drink than would otherwise be obtained.

Today, chewing is very rarely done. I have seen it once only in the Upper Mazaruni area. This is for 2 reasons. One is that the Amerindians have been so frequently lectured by the missionaries and other horrified Guianese on the evils of their unhygienic methods of brewing (although in fact the boiling or fermentation which takes place destroys any bacteria deriving from the mouths of the chewers) that they too, in most cases, have come to regard it with self-righteous horror. The other reason is that sugar cane juice now performs the same role that chewing did years ago.

Sugar cane is not indigenous to South America, although it was brought to the West Indies very early in the history of European colonisation. It was introduced to Surinam (Dutch Guiana) in 1651 and into the Pomeroon (Essequibo province of present day British Guiana) in 1658 when the Dutch West India Company helped to establish 4 plantations there. The great development in the sugar industry came in the early part of the 19th century under British rule.¹⁷ How soon the Guiana Amerindians obtained sugar cane and started cultivating it for themselves is a difficult question. Sugar cane is one of the few introduced plants which they have adopted with enthusiasm and apparently without preliminary persuasion. The interior tribes were growing it during the 19th century but sugar cane juice as a brewing aid replacing chewing does not appear to have come into vogue until this century. Among the Akawaio today it is mixed with nearly every kind of drink, sometimes being left to ferment, sometimes drunk sweet, according to individual taste and the occasion.

Alcoholic drinks are the main accompaniment to the spree. From time to time the members of a settlement or enlarged family group will feel that they have enough leisure time and food to hold a celebration to which they will invite relations and friends. They will dance, sing, gossip and engage in various religious and social activities for a number of days. The chief means of enjoyment at spree times is the mildly alcoholic drinks which are dispensed and which get everyone into a jolly mood, (sometimes a quarrelsome one) and create the party atmosphere which alcohol does with us. Drinks also provide the means of enjoyment for various minor social occasions, at communal meals, family parties, visits, working parties and so forth. It is as unthinkable for an Akawaio household to be long without drinks as it is for the majority of Gui-

anese to be without their rum. With the Amerindians the drinks are as much a food as a drink and are, on account of the sugar content and stimulant, an invaluable pick-me-up on long journeys and during periods of hard work. Incidentally, they are a valuable source of vitamin B., though the Akawaio naturally do not think in terms of vitamins but in terms of enjoyment and need.

It is easy to see, in virtue of the importance of alcoholic drink in the society and in its mode of preparation, why stress is laid on 'sweetness'. It is obvious why the women, who did nearly all the chewing before sugar cane was used, and who bake the cassava bread and prepare the drinks, should bear the symbols of sweetness and of the bee in particular, the insect which produces the essence of sweetness. It is also obvious why the tattoo patterns should be made on the forearm and round the mouth for the most part. The arms are used in all the activities of preparing the drink, especially in grating the cassava roots to pulp ready for boiling, or for making cassava flour for the bread. The importance attached to tattooing on the arm is suggested by the fact that, among the Barama River Caribs "Some informants stated that a woman could pass drink to a man only with the arm which is tattooed . . ."¹⁸.

The mouth is used for chewing the ingredients of the drinks and so giving the sweetness which is the aid to fermentation; thus, the mouth is made prominent by the tattoo marks in its vicinity. Farabee records¹⁹ that the Makusi girls who chew have the sides of their tongues scraped and rubbed with burnt cassava bread (such as is used in making paiwarri) and wild honey. Among the Wapishianas "The tongue also is tattooed, for this a sweet kind of honey is used called kamowab. The tongue is scraped along the sides and the mixture rubbed in. Sometimes, instead of tattooing the tongue a special kind of ant is allowed to bite it on the end. This treatment of the tongue is supposed to make the drink sweeter." The Akawaio used to cut the tongue and rub in honey or a sweet-tasting bark called *Kow'wi*.

That the use of sweet substances is not fortuitous among the Akawaio is particularly suggested by the fact that the men's tattooing dye does not include cane juice or honey. As I previously stated, their tattooing is associated with success in hunting and the juice of various plants is rubbed in to charm the meat.

The symbolism of bees, honey and sugar cane juice is obvious. Less obvious is that of the ant used to bite the tongue, the *kansuk* (scorpion's tail) pattern which is the general mouth pattern among so many of the Guiana Indians and which was so common among the Akawaio and Arekuna, and the camoudi snake which I saw tattooed across the cheeks of elderly Akawaio women.

The explanation from the Akawaio viewpoint was given to me as follows:—* "Men have the *kansuk* patterns as hunting charms. Women use them in order to make sweet cassava and drinks. Women also have the symbols of bees and other things on their arms, as well as *kansuk* on their arms and round their mouths. The *kansuk* represents the scorpion. Years ago, bees with painful stings were represented. This is because the women wanted to be able to make

* Henry of Katalma Village summarised thus, in a few sentences: What I had learnt bit by bit from Akawaio in settlements ranging over the entire tribal territory during the course of 14 months research.

sweet, strong cassiri, and other drinks, which would get the people drunk at spreeds."

The sting in the scorpion's tail, the sting of bees, the sting of the ant, the bite of the spider and of the camoudi snake are symbols which Akawaio and Guiana Indians in general, have taken directly from nature and which they use to represent the sweet, strong drink which the women aim at producing; their tattoo patterns are thought to aid them in doing this by the very fact of symbolic representation and the attraction implicit in 'charms' of this type.

SYMBOLISM OF PATTERNS IN ART FORM

The symbolism involving alcoholic drinks is extended to other art forms besides that of tattooing. It is very frequently found on drinking vessels. Roth²⁰ portrays a Carib goblet from the Pomeroon River, decorated with the pot-hook (scorpion) pattern and he says that this is a typical decoration on their drinking vessels.

He also depicts a second Pomeroon Carib drinking cup with the design showing two trees, in the tops of which lives the aramari (camoudi) snake; the snakes are depicted on either side while the roots of the trees are surrounded by scorpions, the tails of which are given special prominence and are represented several times in the customary form.

Also on the Pomeroon, the tail rings and claws of a scorpion may be strung and tied round a little girl's waist so that when she becomes a woman and makes paiwarrie the liquor will be "strong and biting".

Among the Akawaio drinking gourds are sometimes decorated with the scorpion's tail pattern by means of a black dye or by being burnt in. A reference to this is made in one of the humming bird dance songs* The dancers sing that a man's *walagi*† has got a fancy gourd pattern on her mouth

The scorpion pattern occurs in bead apron borders and is a recognised pattern in tribal crafts.

CONCLUSION

The tattoo patterns of the Akawaio and the dyes with which they are made act as particular types of charms. Information from other Amerindian tribes shows that they have similar patterns inspired by a similar mode of thought and that there are only slight variations in detail from tribe to tribe and from area to area.

For the men these patterns are hunting charms in which the ingredients in the dye form the most important part and the pattern seems to be merely a decorative traditional form.

For the women, tattoo patterns are much more important and are cooking and brewing charms in which both pattern and dye have their significance.

* TUGOIK is the humming bird dance which used to be danced up to some 30 years ago.

† WALAGI = female cross cousin, preferred marriage partner, possible sleeping partner and girl friend.

The patterns have an esthetic as well as a practical appeal to the Amerindians. They are regarded as beautiful (or were so regarded in the past); they attract the opposite sex; and they are a symbol of maturity and of the attainment of certain skills—namely hunting for the men and brewing for the women. On the practical side, they are believed to assist the bearers of the pattern in these specific tasks. They are formalised, symbolic representations taken from nature. In every case, the creatures which have inspired the patterns are those which are regarded as producing the essence of sweetness or of stinging and biting. The combined essence of this sweetness and powerful stinging is brought into the closest contact with those who require to stimulate it in their activities—the women who, years ago, made the cassava bread and chewed the ingredients of the spree drinks. Their aim was a sweet, powerful drink to make the men merry and drunk during celebrations and to achieve this they enlisted the aid of the creatures which possess the necessary characteristics and by symbolic association they thought to reproduce these same qualities. It is the Mazaruni scorpion which puts the kick, or sting, in the Akawaio drink!



1. J. Gillin. *The Barama River Caribs* p. 30.
2. W. E. Roth. *Arts and Crafts of the Guiana Indians* pp. 420—422.
3. W. C. Farabee. *The Central Arawaks*. pp. 82.
4. W. E. Roth. *Arts & Crafts of Guiana Indians* pp. 91 & 422.
5. W. E. Roth. *Arts & Crafts of Guiana Indians* p. 422.
6. W. C. Farabee. *The Central Caribs* p. 64.
7. W. C. Farabee. *The Central Arawaks* p. 81.
8. W. C. Farabee. *The Central Arawaks* pp. 81—82.
9. W. H. Brett. *Indian Tribes of Guiana* p. 268.
10. Boddam Whetham. *Roraima and British Guiana* p. 157.
11. W. E. Roth. *Animism and Folklore*. p. 289.
12. W. E. Roth. *Arts and Crafts of the Guiana Indians*. p. 421.
13. J. Gillin. *The Barama River Caribs*. p. 30.
14. W. C. Farabee. *The Central Caribs*. p. 167 & p. 64..
15. W. C. Farabee. *The Central Arawaks* p. 81.
16. E. F. Im Thurn. *Among the Indians of Guiana* pp. 195—196..
17. & J. H. Bernau. *Missionary Labours in British Guiana*. p. 29.
18. W. C. Farabee. *The Central Caribs* p. 64.
19. W. E. Roth. *Arts & Crafts of the Guiana Indians* p. 421.
20. J. F. Williams. *The Development of the Cane Sugar Industry in British Guiana*. *Timehri* No. 29 Aug. 1950. pp. 9—10.
21. J. Gillin. *The Barama River Caribs*. p. 30.
22. W. C. Farabee. *The Central Caribs* p. 64 & *Central Arawaks* pp. 81—82.
23. W. E. Roth. *Animism & Folklore of the Guiana Indians* p. 289 & p. 283.

PLATE I



a *Teazang*; a bee pattern. Cut in a girl's arm with bottle glass and a dye of burnt sugar cane and soot rubbed in. This is a very common arm pattern.



b *Aluai bipa*; aluai (a fish) skin pattern. Also a very common pattern. Groups of short lines such as this may be scattered over the arm.



c *Arai*; spider pattern.



d *Tedzang*; bee pattern (seen on right forearm).



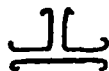
e *Tedzang*; bee pattern—tattooed on knee.



f *Kansuk*; scorpion's tail pattern (seen on left arm).



g *Kansuk*; scorpion's tail pattern.



h *Kansuk*; scorpion's tail pattern.



i *Kansuk*; scorpion's tail pattern.



j *Arai*; spider pattern—on man's wrist.

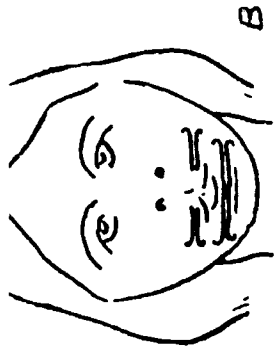


k *Kansuk*; scorpion's tail pattern.

AKAWAIO PATTERNS ON THE LIMB

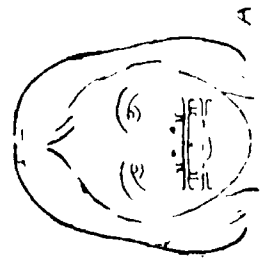


May (Tagaikapai, Mazaruni River Group)
Botolo pattern.

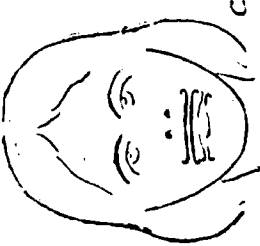


Mama (Kamarang River Group)
Kansuk (Scorpion's tail pattern)

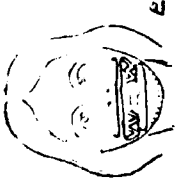
THE TWO BASIC TATTOO PATTERNS AMONG THE AKAWAIO



Tattooed by her elder sister

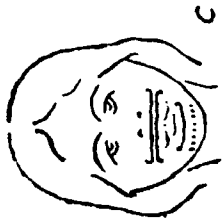


CHINAWIENG VILLAGE (MAZARUNI RIVER GROUP).



WOMEN OF KATAIMA VILLAGE (MAZARUNI RIVER GROUP)
TATTOOING on FACES of WOMEN

These are all "kansuk" patterns representing the scorpion's tail.



AMOKOKOPAI VILLAGE (KUKUI RIVER GROUP)

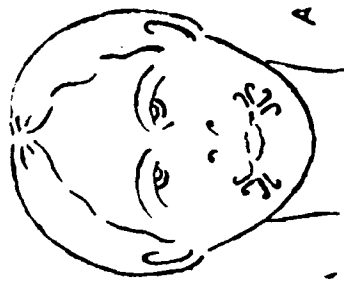


Pattern not completed

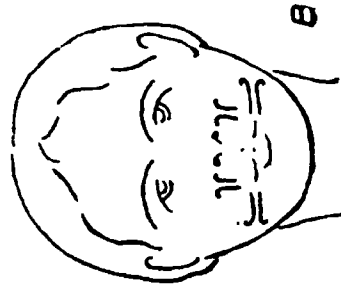
Old woman

U'WI (ATARO River Group)

These are all "kansuk" patterns representing the scorpion's tail
TATTOOING on FACES of WOMEN



KATAIMA VILLAGE
(Mazaruni River Group)



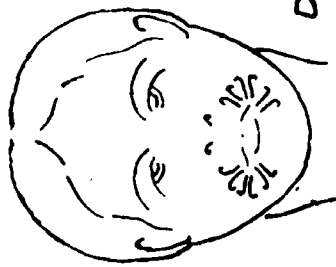
DANNY,
(Kamarang River Group)

AKAWAIO MEN'S TATTOO PATTERNS

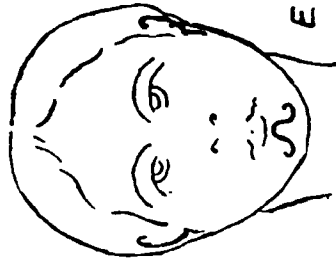
These are "Kansuk" representing the scorpion's tail



JOSEPH GRANT, U'WI
(tattooed by himself)
(Ataro River Group)



GEORGE, SAGARA-MADAI
(Mazaruni River Group)



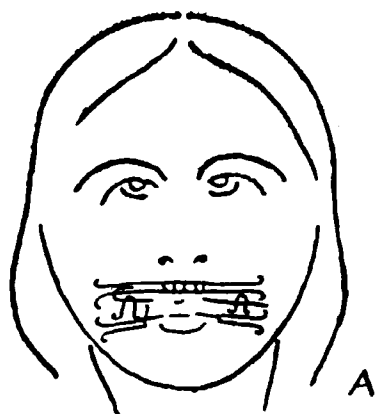
CHINAWENG MAN
(tattooed by his wife)
(Mazaruni River Group).

PLATE IV.

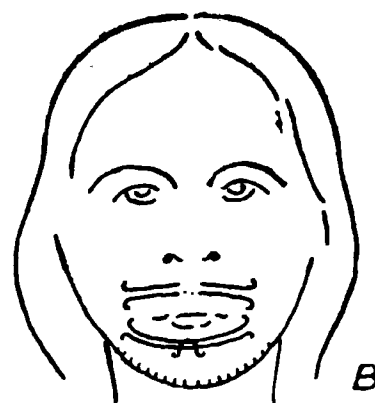
AKAWAIO MEN'S TATTOO PATTERNS.

All these patterns are "kansuk" representing the scorpion's tail.

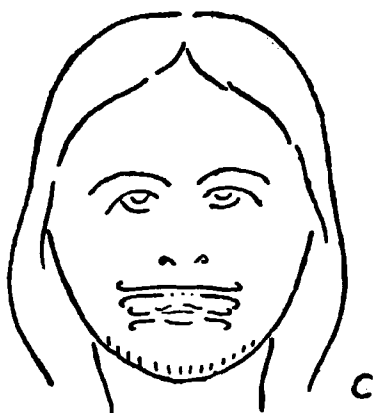
PLATE V.



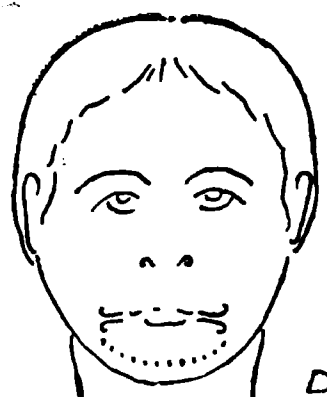
Very old woman
Tattooed by her mother



Tattooed by 'A'



Tattooed by 'B'



Tattooed by his wife 'C'

Tattoo patterns in one elementary family indicating process of
simplication in recent generations.

CHINAWIENG VILLAGE (MAZARUNI RIVER GROUP)