CAMPA COSMOLOGY

THE WORLD OF A FOREST TRIBE IN SOUTH AMERICA

GERALD WEISS

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PREFACE

At the present time we can say that no theory of cosmology exists. The term cosmology is used on occasion, but no significant attempt has been made heretofore to determine what it means or what it includes. The present work is chiefly designed to remedy this oversight, using data collected among the Campa Indians of eastern Peru as illustrative material to clarify the issues involved; it is an attempt to formulate a theory of cosmology.

My point of departure is the assumption that there are certain "natural" categories of phenomena within cultural systems that can be recognized and identified terminologically, these categories being separated from one another by natural planes of cleavage existing within the system. This assumption conforms to the "principle of division" proposed by Plato (1937:I, 269), "according to the natural formation, where the joint is, not breaking any part as a bad carver might." I attempt to show that cosmology constitutes such a natural category of cultural phenomena.

Let us take cosmology to mean the complete set of ideas about the nature and composition of the world or universe that is included in any given cultural system. All evidence suggests that every culture contains ideas of this kind. And perhaps the best demonstration that such ideas taken collectively indeed constitute a natural category of cultural phenomena is to isolate one such set of ideas from the culture of which it forms a part, set it forth, and thus show that it forms a coherent unity. The present work includes a demonstration of this kind by setting forth the cosmology of the Campas.

Admittedly, a cosmology can be analyzed to distinguish within it ideas about nature on the one hand and supernaturalistic ideas on the other, ideas about the present constitution of the universe on the one hand and ideas about the past on the other, and so forth. Yet it is clear that these subdivisions of cosmology interlock and interpenetrate to such a degree that a drastic reduction in intelligibility must result from considering any such subdivision in isolation.

A complete cosmology proves to be highly intelligible, but not completely so without reference to its context. It is necessarily a part of a cultural system and articulated into that system, and can only be understood as part of that system within a particular environment, subjected to particular external influences. Furthermore, as all cultural elements have their respective histories of origin and dispersal, a fuller understanding requires that the elements of a given cosmology be placed in the context of their wider occurrence among the cultures existing in that part of the world. For these reasons, a description of the setting of Campa culture and a summary description of the cultural system are provided as an introduction to my presentation of Campa cosmology, which is followed by a survey of the ethnographic literature of South America with particular regard to the distribution there of culture traits appearing as features of Campa cosmology and associated behavior.

The presentation of a single cosmology in all its detail may serve as a demonstration of the validity of the proposition that cosmology is a natural category of cultural phenomena, but such a demonstration can only serve as a prelude to a theoretical formulation of what cosmology is, what it does, what it contains, and how it is structured. Such a theoretical formulation is attempted as a conclusion to the present study. Although there have been no adequately formulated "theories of cosmology" yet offered, a number of writers have provided interpretations or theories of certain subdivisions of cosmology, in particular supernaturalistic ideas (or "religious beliefs") and ideas about the past (or "mythology"). The views on these subjects held by Franz Boas, Bronislaw Malinowski, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Clyde Kluckhohn and, after an hiatus of almost 20 years, Claude Lévi-Strauss, require our attention. Their views are presented, evaluated, where necessary rejected, and where possible incorporated into my concluding formulation. Because these writers, particularly Radcliffe-Brown, concerned themselves with the special problem

of the relationship of belief or mythology to ritual, a description of Campa ritual is appended to that of the cosmology, to provide a test case for their views on the matter.

The program of the present work is to offer (1) the geographic and cultural context of Campa cosmology; (2) the Campa cosmology; (3) associated Campa ritual; (4) the distribution of features of Campa cosmology and ritual elsewhere on the continent of South America; (5) an evaluation in terms of the Campa data of the views on cosmological matters held by anthropologists of the modern era; and (6) an attempt to formulate a theory of cosmology, intended to establish what it is, what it does, what it contains, and how it is structured.

The Campas are situated in the Montaña, or eastern tropical forest region, of Peru. I conducted field research among them from May, 1961, to September, 1962, and from July, 1963, to August, 1964. I spent the intervening period as an Ogden Mills Fellow at the American Museum of Natural History, putting into order materials already collected and preparing for a second excursion to Campa territory. It was during the second period of field work that most of the data presented in this monograph were collected.

I wish to express my gratitude to the institutions that provided the necessary funds for different phases of my field venture: the American Museum of Natural History, the National Science Foundation, and the Social Science Research Council. Nor can I fail to commemorate all the admirable Peruvians with whom I came in contact and their many acts of kindness and helpfulness, from the warehouseman in Pucallpa who stored a boat without charge "for the furtherance of science" to the men of the Guardia Civil who could always be counted on to supply roof and cot, and even simple fare, to a weary traveler. For hospitality and good fellowship I am beholden to the many missionaries I met in the field: the Franciscan missionaries, of whom Padres Azagra and Castillo are remembered with special fondness, the Mennonite missionaries at Atalaya, and the Kindbergs and Robertsons of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the South America Indian Mission, respectively. Finally, I affectionately acknowledge my debt to the Campas among whom I lived for so long, whose tolerance, fraternity, and willingness to participate in the joint endeavor of ethnographic investigation were indispensable for its accomplishment.

An earlier version of the present work served as a doctoral dissertation (Weiss 1969). I wish to thank Drs. Conrad P. Kottak and Eric R. Wolf in particular for their useful editorial suggestions in that connection, many of which have been incorporated into this work as it now stands, much to its benefit. An article summarizing the factual material on Campa cosmology has since appeared (Weiss 1972).

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PART 1. INTRODUCTION

DESIGN AND METHOD

The Campas, the largest and historically most important tribal group in the Peruvian Montaña, had not been intensively studied before I undertook field work among them. Concerning the Arawakan tribes of the Montaña, Steward and Métraux (1948:541) said the following:

> There is no major scientific account of these tribes, Farabee's observations (1922) of 1906 being of uncertain value and Tessmann's (1930) including only a few data from a *Campa* encountered on the lower Ucayali River.

In the same source, the Campas were listed among those Montaña tribes that "still present excellent opportunities for studies of functioning aboriginal cultures" and that "especially would still reward investigation of aboriginal ethnology" (Steward 1948:509, 513).

An extensive literature on the Campas did exist, however. Strategically situated just over the Andes from Lima, dominating the entranceway to the Montaña, the Campas were a major concern of missionaries for centuries, almost inevitable subjects of interest for all travelers in Peru, and likely to be included in any ethnographic survey of the Montaña region. But Otto Nordenskjöld's estimation of the situation (1924:7) has held true to the present day: "Even though the Campas . . . are often mentioned in the ancient and modern literature, one finds nowhere a detailed description of their material and intellectual civilization." The sum total of information on the Campas in the older literature proves on inspection to be fragmentary, superficial, and of questionable accuracy.

Travelers' accounts are usually unsatisfactory, and such accounts of the Campas are no exception. Missionaries, given their seriousness of purpose and their extended residences in tribal territories, are in a better position to observe and report authoritatively. Padre Manuel Navarro (1924:9-10) suggested as much, when he criticized some remarks on the Campas by two writers who had visited the area briefly in their travels:

> Neither the one nor the other has known these savages [the Campas] in depth, but only in passing, in an accidental manner, for a few days. To speak with understanding, it is not enough to deal with them for a little while and give them a lot of trinkets; it is necessary to live with them for some time, to study closely their customs, their inclinations, their character, their superstitions. I believe that those who deserve greater credence are the missionaries who live with them, observing them closely, who employ them in many jobs and travel with them on the rivers and in the interior of the forests.

Yet Padre Navarro's work, although ranking with the best available, is sketchy. And the bulk of the missionary literature, valuable as historical documentation, is nevertheless remarkably barren of ethnographic information. This situation has been recognized by the historian Luis Valcárcel (1961:26) for the work of missionaries (specifically, Catholic missionaries) throughout the tropical forest region of South America: "The volume of ethnographic data has been small, despite the favorable conditions of the missionary to obtain detailed information about the life of the forest Indian." Among both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, a sufficiently inquisitive spirit and an adequate understanding of what is required to produce a definitive ethnographic description of the Campas have been wanting.

One condition, consequently, that I faced at the beginning of my field investigation was the lack of significant prior work. The literature also failed to indicate any problem area in the Campa cultural situation which would reward special investigation. These two conditions stimulated me to investigate all aspects of the culture, an approach that was further prompted by the view of ethnographic research that sees merit in thorough descriptions of total cultural systems, and suspects that special, "problem-oriented" investigations are bound to miss important information even in the area of special concern.[1]

The present study, although restricted to a particular sector of culture, should be seen as a

product of an ethnographic investigation that by intent was unrestricted. In this enterprise I strove to divest myself of all theoretical preconceptions, to become for the time an undistorting and sensitized receiver of information obtained from observation and interrogation. The degree to which such an aim is attainable need not be argued here, but I believe that an ethnographer should make the effort to achieve this condition. It was only after the data were collected that they were inspected for possible theoretical significance, and the material included in the present work was selected for initial presentation. This procedure conforms to the distinction made by Lévi-Strauss between the collection of data and their manipulation for theoretical purposes, and his injunction against introducing manipulation into the collecting process.[2]

Perhaps the most striking fact about my field investigation of the Campas is the length of time involved. I set out for the field September, 1960, and returned September, 1964. From this four-year period should be subtracted an initial six months for travel in the Montaña, mostly outside of Campa territory, and the greater part of the third year passed in residence at the American Museum of Natural History in New York. Thirty months were thus spent among the Campas; I think that very little of this time could have been trimmed without defeating my purpose.

Every field situation is unique, with problems that cannot be anticipated. My chief difficulties were logistical, especially so because I was working alone. In addition, my initial choice of a community in which to settle was not ideal, although the best available at the time. When I left the field midway in the four-year period, I recognized that, for the materials on hand, completeness and accuracy could not have been much greater than 50 percent. Before leaving, however, I made arrangements to move my base camp to another settlement when I returned, a settlement where residents showed promise of furnishing more cooperative and knowledgeable assistants and informants. I was thus able to spend a very profitable final year in the field.

The techniques employed in the field for obtaining information were standard, adjusted only to the particular requirements of the information being gathered. I kept a journal; I recorded temperature, humidity, and precipitation readings daily; the information I obtained from observation and interrogation was accumulated on 4 by 6 slips or some other convenient form—in duplicate—with date, place, and informant's name indicated on each; specimens, photographs, and tape recordings were taken whenever possible. Observation and interrogation alternated as occasion and interest dictated, with activities observed furnishing the subject of subsequent discussion, and elicited descriptions of activities checked by subsequent observations. Even during the extended period in the field I never observed certain kinds of behavior—for example, military operations and treatment of accused witches. The descriptions of these were checked by questioning several informants and seeking the corroboration of earlier writers where possible. It was recognized that what people do, what they say they do, and what they say they ought to be doing should not be confused, as Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952:162) pointed out, and care was exercised not to mistake one for the other.

Furthermore, in terms of Linton's (1936: 272-274) typology of universal, alternative, specialty, and idiosyncrasy, every effort was made to prevent taking one of the last three for the first. Recurrence alone, of acts or statements by several informants from different parts of tribal territory, yields cumulative assurance that a given feature is a Lintonian universal of the culture or close to it, reveals what is invariant and what is free to vary (and within what bounds), and prevents misinterpretation of the isolated observation. In the presentation of material in this work, all general statements made without qualification and without assignment to specific informants are to be taken as statements of universal or modal facts about Campa culture, on the basis of my experience and judgment. Qualified statements designate alternatives (regional or in free variation), specialties, and idiosyncrasies, according to the qualifications stipulated. Wherever information is ascribed to one or more informants, the status of the information in terms of Linton's typology is uncertain. Such status can vary over a period of time for any feature, of course, and is not critical for an understanding of the general character of Campa culture and the range of phenomena it includes,

these matters being determined simply by establishing what features are present, in whatever frequencies.

Except for historical data and a small number of demographic and geographical points of information obtained from written sources and clearly indicated as such, all information on the Campas in the following pages was obtained in the course of my field investigation. Where other authors reported the same or similar facts, they are cited in footnotes as corroborative witnesses. Where their findings differ from mine, these differences are stated in footnotes to the main text. Where there exists some doubt as to whether a discrepancy between my findings and another author's report is due to error or to some regional variation, the uncertainty is stated explicitly.

For the most part, observation and interrogation proceeded without regard to the existing literature, and only subsequently was written corroboration sought and noted. In a number of cases, such corroboration was badly needed and happily received. Thus, the description of "demon-induced" insanity elicited from informants left me in some doubt about accuracy, as I did not witness an actual case. I was later pleased and relieved, therefore, to come upon an early missionary account of just such a case, conforming in detail to my information (see below, pp. 442-443, note 28). But I also resorted to another method. I had the opportunity during my stay at the American Museum of Natural History to review much of the existing literature on the Campas, and subsequently, during my final year in Peru, to inspect materials available in Lima libraries and archives. I copied all important passages on cards; then I selected those containing doubtful information. These were reviewed point by point with Campa informants. As a consequence, many statements in the present work are derived from checks or crosses, or short qualifying statements, on cards in my files. In these cases, it was my work that corroborated earlier reports, rather than the reverse.

To explain how the information in this work came to be collected, it is not enough to describe the procedures, but to point out that this information was gathered in the face of pervasive Campa reticence, especially about their beliefs. A colonist in Campa territory is quoted in a traveler's account (Harkness 1942:141) as saying: "It takes many years of living here to gain the confidence of a *salvaje* sufficiently for him to tell you anything–anything at all." In this reticence, the Campas resemble the Machiguengas, their closely related neighbors. A missionary among the Machiguengas, Padre Secundino García (1935-1937:XVII, 95; XVIII, 86), wrote, "it is a system of theirs to keep silent and to dissimulate before the stranger who might laugh at their myths," and noted "the great secrecy with which they conceal to strangers their peculiar mode of being. They have observed that many of their things produce hilarity in us and, so as not to see them exposed to possible derision, they resort to a defensive arcanum which is extended to all that they think we might find strange."[3]

Padre Navarro, presumably generalizing from his experiences among the Campas, noted (1924:14) that older Indians "are extremely reserved with respect to their customs, beliefs, rites, and superstitions," and that the younger Indians, "ordinarily more open and less preoccupied," are held in check by "fear of the shamans, who spy on them and threaten them constantly." Padre Isidoro Llano (1957:50) wrote of the indigenes in general and the Campas in particular:

> The savage himself, suspicious of those around him, conceals the finer convolutions of his inner being. The most obvious trait that characterizes him is not openness but reserve. It is this that represents an essential psychic trait of the [Campa] tribe . . . , which protects itself from civilized men, so to speak, with that strong armor. In place of openness and expansiveness, they appear, even before those whom they know can only do them good, with a taciturn reserve, a shy disdain, a fear of psychic contact.

All these statements indicate that the Campas will not divulge their most serious thoughts to a stranger who happens along, or to anyone they dislike or distrust. Nor is it enough simply to win their confidence and friendship, as they vary in their willingness to be helpful and in the strength of their habituated resistance to providing a considerable amount of information to any Caucasian.

It was my good fortune to make contact with

a Campa identified herein as Savaroháni, whose virtues included bilingualism, scrupulous honesty, comprehension of my purpose, and willingness to assist. Savaroháni's primary service was not as an informant, for too much of his life had been spent away from his tribe, but as a go-between, assuring immediate acceptance and openness from every other Campa, and as an interpreter when my grasp of the Campa language faltered. I joined Savaroháni where he lived at *Ošeráto*[4] on the Tambo River to spend my final field session there. Others residing in the Tambo region (but originally from each of the major regions in what I identify as River Campa territory) served as major informants. Some of these were closely related to Savaroháni affinally or consanguineally, others were not. The Campa informants whose names appear prominently herein may be identified and described briefly as follows:

Šaríti: an older man, perhaps in his late forties, dignified, laconic, with a sound but somewhat narrow intellect; the son of a shaman; originally from the Perené region, now residing at *Ošeráto* on the Tambo.

Komémpe: wife of Šaríti, perhaps a few years younger than her husband; vital, alert, and highly intelligent; originally from the Perené region, now residing at *Ošeráto*.

Heváyoki: foster daughter of Šaríti and Komémpe; in her teens, recently married, bearing her first child during my stay; taken by her foster parents from the Perené region to live on the Tambo; now residing with them at *Ošeráto*.

Savaroháni: husband of Heváyoki, in his late twenties; the son of a shaman; born in the Ene region, captured as a child by a raiding gang and raised by Catholic missionaries; a Campa in the mold of Melville's Queequeg, he spent several years in the Peruvian Navy, visiting the ports of two other continents, only to gravitate back to his own people; the only bilingual of those listed here; residing at *Ošeráto*.

Kenčóri: half-brother of Savaroháni, in his early twenties; easygoing, good-humored, good-natured; somewhat bilingual; born in the Ene region, escaped to the Ipoki (Perené) region as a child when accused of witchcraft; later took up residence with his family at *Meretári* on the Tambo.

Porekavánti: a man of adult years; a shaman; esteemed, imperious, volatile; originally from the Ene region, now residing on a hill near the mouth of the *Onkonéni* on the Tambo.

Širikónka: a man of adult years; a shaman; disesteemed, morose, serpentine; a Tambo resident from birth, living above the mouth of the *Onkonéni* on the right bank of the Tambo.

Komítia: a man in his thirties; intellectually quick and sharp; by birth a Nomatsiguenga; captured as a child by Pajonal Campas among whom he grew up, he later moved to take up residence at *Mahiréni* on the Tambo and joined the River Campa population; his son is married to one of Širikónka's daughters.

Maríti: a young man in his twenties; cheerful and witty; formerly a resident in the Ipoki region; now living with his family at *Ošeráto*.

The above, and others, supplied me with the information I sought and assisted me in many ways. Savaroháni and Kenčóri accompanied me on a reconnaissance trip down the Apurímac and Ene rivers by raft toward the end of my first field session. During my second field session, I made a trip down the Perené River in the company of Savaroháni, Kenčóri, and Šaríti, and a second trip down the Apurímac and Ene rivers in the company of Savaroháni and Kenčóri—this time under more hazardous conditions, the rainy season having begun. I recompensed my Campa assistants and informants for their time and services with merchandise and (for those who understood its value) Peruvian money, erring if anything on the generous side, to the satisfaction of all. I also traded for artifacts and on occasion gave gifts to Campas to gain good will, so that a lively flow and exchange of goods and services was maintained throughout my stay in the field.

Problems did arise occasionally, however. Soon after I returned to the field, Savaroháni arranged for the shaman Porekavánti to visit with the express purpose of instructing me by word and demonstration in shamanistic matters. In exchange, Porekavánti was to receive a sizable quantity of merchandise, in keeping with the Campa custom of paying a shaman for the slightest professional service. But Porekavánti arrived too early, while I was busy with other matters, and as the days passed he became increasingly agitated about the delay in finishing the

business and receiving his reward. Finally, he refused to continue, grumbling that he would die soon for having taught anything to a white man. A settlement was reached whereby Porekavánti received part of what was promised him, proportional to what had been accomplished up to that time, and he left. Fortunately, his prognostication proved to be inaccurate, his anger passed, and he willingly supplied additional information on subsequent occasions.

Another incident illustrates Campa reticence about what I call their cosmology. I wished to obtain some texts from Kenčóri when he was visiting *Ošeráto* during my second field session. I had known Kenčóri from my first field trip, and a close friendship had developed between us. Yet Kenčóri refused to talk into the microphone of my tape recorder. Instead, he narrated at length and then asked Savaroháni to repeat what he had said for purposes of recording. He gave as his reason that he had been specifically told, as part of his education, never to reveal these matters to any Caucasian. It was only when I showed signs of unhappiness at this impasse that Kenčóri relented and agreed to repeat his narrations into the tape recorder. By the time I left the field, when I was at a mission station awaiting a plane, Kenčóri was there, explaining points of Campa theology to any Caucasian who would listen. I can only hope that no harm came to him as a result of this breach of Campa security.[5]

When questioning informants, I did not record their answers verbatim, but rather summarized their responses, only occasionally noting particularly apt phrases. Therefore, my field notes do not consist of answers to my questions, but rather of descriptions of answers, just as they contain descriptions of observed activities and not the activities themselves. An exception was made for texts of myths and songs, where close fidelity to the original wording was desired. These were first recorded on tape, then phonemically transcribed phrase by phrase, with members of the *Ošeráto* community listening to short sections of tape and repeating what they heard to ensure maximum accuracy. The transcribed texts were then translated word for word with the assistance of Savaroháni, who would call in others for consultation whenever he was unsure of a particular meaning. This last step was particularly time consuming, as the precise meaning of every word had to be determined, frequently by means of extended questioning, including experimentation with the use of each word in different constructions. Transcribing and translating texts—many of which appear in this work—was my main occupation during a period of five months, working in the field under optimum conditions.

The present paper, as has been indicated, sets forth a block of information dealing with a particular sector of Campa culture. The Campa supernatural beings are identified before the myths in which they figure are presented, and the Campa view of the physical structure of the universe is presented before the beings believed to inhabit the universe are identified. But if there appears to be a sense of orderliness and coherence to the materials, it should not be presumed that this is an order imposed on these materials by my manner of presentation. For if Campa cosmology were not intrinsically orderly and coherent to a significant degree, no amount of manipulation of the data would make it appear so.

My information on Campa cosmology was not elicited from a single informant, nor could it have been, for no Campa is familiar with all the cosmological ideas and idea sequences held by the Campas collectively. Yet it is clear that it is not a matter of different Campas possessing different cosmologies, but rather of different Campas possessing various, partially overlapping, fractions of a single cosmology.[6] This circumstance becomes intelligible if we accept the concept of the "corporate heritage," viewed as the total set of mental cultural phenomena—linguistic, ideational, attitudinal, and motor "habits"—associated at a given point or period in time with a given human society. Such phenomena would include, again, universals, alternatives, specialties, and idiosyncrasies, all of which would be equally significant in composing a corporate heritage. To be sure, the degree of internal consistency in the corporate heritages of different cultures is variable, and perfect consistency is never attained, nor does complete inconsistency ever occur. The concept of the corporate heritage can be seen as equivalent to that of the gene pool in biology, with all it implies.

I believe that an inspection of the evidence shows that the degree of internal consistency of

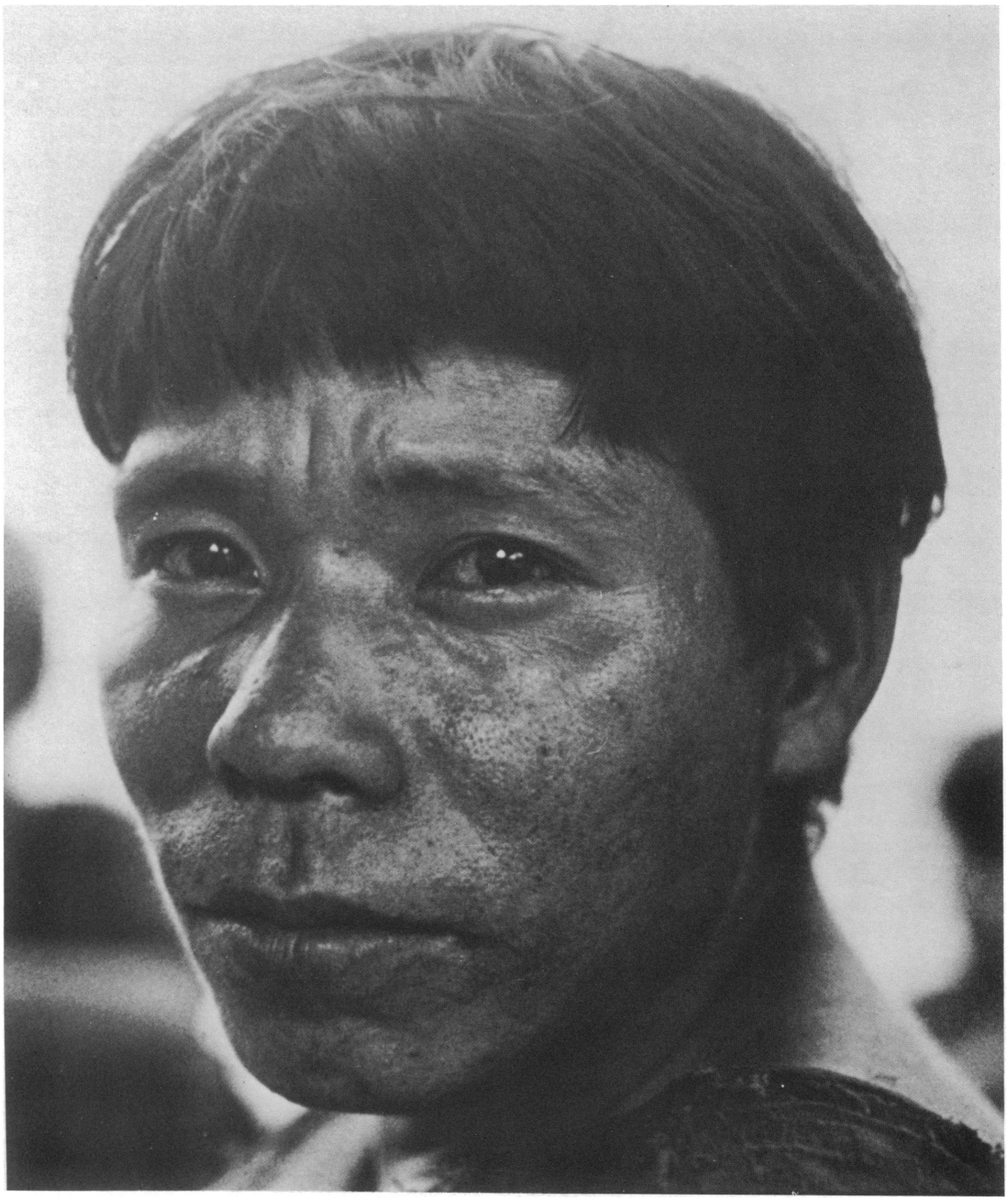


FIG. 1. Campa tribesman.

traditional Campa cosmology is very high. As a consequence, although a particular Campa may be familiar with only part of what is described in the present work, he would find everything intelligible and acceptable, "fitting in" with what he already knows. I feel confident in making this

assertion after observing time and again how one informant's exposition or narration was immediately accepted by those present, who may never before have encountered what was being explained.

This stands in contrast to the total unintelligibility of concepts foreign to, and incompatible with, Campa cosmology. When, on one occasion, I attempted to explain the workings of the solar system, using a lantern and various spherical objects for purposes of demonstration, the response was blankness, and a query as to whether I did not come from a land close to where the sky curves down to meet or approach the earth. When I attempted to explain the germ theory of disease, there was the same polite blankness, with one Campa turning to another to ask what had been said and receiving the reply that the talk had been about demons. These incidents occurred during my first field session. During my second, I was called upon to explain lightning and thunder, which I did in terms of electrical discharges. This infuriated Porekavánti, who insisted that the noise was made by "automobiles" being driven by the thunder spirits. In such a manner are new experiences assimilated to the basic, pervasive traditional outlook of the Campas.

NOTES

[1]It was Rivers (1913:6ff.) who insisted that when "the worker is especially interested in some special subject, such as religion, language, or the useful arts, and does not attempt to study the culture of the people as a whole," the results are necessarily superficial, that "one who studies [a useful] art merely on the obviously utilitarian side will miss whole worlds of thought and custom, by means of which alone the art and its details become intelligible. . . . It follows that specialism in the collection of ethnographical details must be avoided at all costs." This strong statement was echoed by Bronislaw Malinowski, that staunch advocate of total ethnographic commitment (1922:11): "An Ethnographer who sets out to study only religion, or only technology, or only social organisation cuts out an artificial field for inquiry, and he will be seriously handicapped in his work." See also Radcliffe-Brown 1958:71-72. If this is not a popular view today, one may suspect that practical rather than theoretical considerations have been weightiest.

[2]Lévi-Strauss 1953:526: "Great care should be taken to distinguish between the observation and the experiment levels. To observe facts and elaborate methodological devices permitting of constructing models out of these facts is not the same thing as to experiment on the models. By 'experimenting on models,' we mean the set of procedures aiming at ascertaining how a given model will react when submitted to change and at comparing models of the same or different types. . . . On the observational level, the main—one could almost say the only—rule is that all the facts should be carefully observed and described, without allowing any theoretical preconception to decide whether some are more important and others less."

[3]See also, for the Machiguengas, Baekeland 1964:296: "Because these wild Indians are shy and guarded under direct questioning, it was hard to learn much about them."

[4]For the phonemic transcription of Campa terms, the following special symbols are used: š (= "sh"), c (= "ts"), and č (= "tsh"). Throughout, phonemes placed in parentheses are optional in the words where they are thus shown, and a slash (/) separates alternative phonemes or words. Place names are given on the maps provided in the present work.

[5]Some Protestant missionaries have been successful in eliciting texts from some of their converts among the Campas, but these would have to be evaluated with a critical eye given the circumstances. I have not had the opportunity to inspect these collections to judge their value.

[6]Here disregarding, as has been done throughout this discussion, the Campa converts to intrusive missionary creeds.

THE SETTING

> This Montaña is a vegetable inferno that maintains itself against the heavens.
>
> —J. Armendariz, 28th Viceroy of Peru[1]

East of the Andean cordilleras in central Peru lies the considerable expanse of territory occupied by the Campas. It can be traced in the following manner: beginning at the point on the

lower Apurímac River that marks the southernmost extent of Campa habitation, moving north along the divide between the Ene and Urubamba rivers until the latter joins the Tambo River, continuing to the north to include most of what lies between the Ucayali and Pachitea rivers, proceeding south along the Pichis River and overland to where the Perené River begins, and returning at last in a fairly direct line to our starting point (see fig. 2).[2]

Campa territory, then, can be seen as forming a figure with an irregular shape, extending roughly from latitude 9° S to latitude 12° 45′ S, and from longitude 73° 20′ W to longitude 75° 20′ W, encompassing an area of approximately 20,000 square miles. For the most part this terrain is rugged, consisting of mountain ridges (with their accompanying hills and cliffs) having such imposing dimensions as rather to belie their denomination as the "eastern foothills" of the Andes.

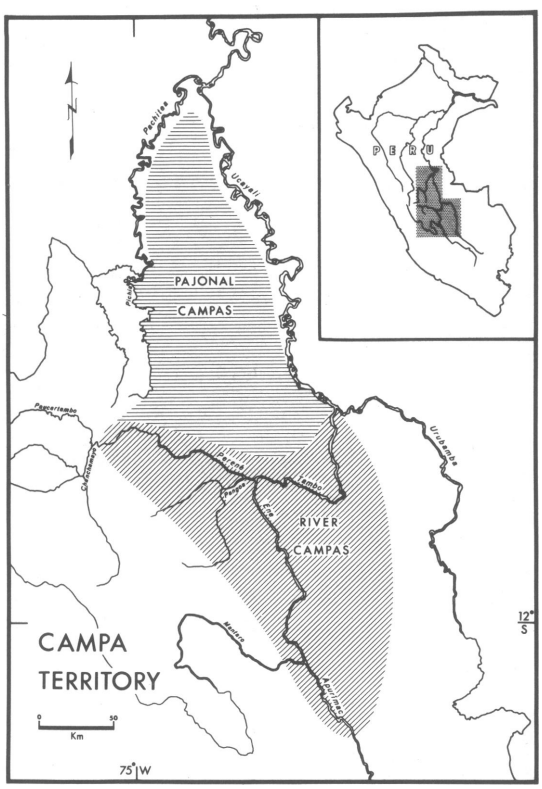


FIG. 2. Map showing Campa territory.

Through the heart of Campa territory cuts an important river system. The Apurímac River after it is joined by the Mantaro becomes the Ene River, which after it is joined by the Perené becomes the Tambo River. This main river, flowing in a generally northerly direction, can be referred to as the Apurímac-Ene-Tambo. The Tambo River merges with the Urubamba to the east to form the Ucayali. The Ucayali River flows northward out of Campa territory until, far to the north, it joins the Marañon to form the Amazon, which veers to flow due east. These and other geographical facts should be remembered when considering Campa notions of geography.

The main tributary of the Apurímac-Ene-Tambo is the Perené River which, once formed by the confluence of the Chanchamayo and Paucartambo rivers, flows eastward to intercept the Ene. The resulting Tambo River, deflected by the mountain masses to the northwest, also flows eastward for half its short course, then turns sharply to resume a northerly direction. The mountainous region north of the Perené and west of the Upper Ucayali, extending to the Pichis and Pachitea rivers, is known as the Gran Pajonal.

The elevation at the uppermost point in the Chanchamayo Valley occupied by Campas in former years, where the town of San Ramon is now situated, is 825 meters, whereas the elevation at the mouth of the Tambo River, at the other extremity of Campa territory, is reported as 260 meters above sea level (Schütz-Holzhausen 1895:177, 180). The Gran Pajonal has a general elevation of about 1500 meters, with a maximum elevation of perhaps 2000 meters (Navarro 1924: 5; Ortiz 1961:250; Sala 1907:96; 1925:528). Along the divide between the Ene and Urubamba rivers elevations exceed 3500 meters, but this terrain, according to all indications, is uninhabited.[3]

Unlike the Ucayali and the great Amazon, the rivers in Campa territory do not snake sluggishly through flat terrain, changing course over the years to leave crescent-shaped, swampy lakes to mark old loops of the river. They are precipitous and closely confined by the mountain masses through which they pass. They plunge along the routes that the mountains permit, each curve usually denoting a point where the river collides with a cliff and shoots off at an angle. Here and there, and along the greater part of the Tambo River, sheer cliffs face the rivers, largely barren

because of their declivity, and ranging considerably in height from the smaller rock outcrops that border the rivers to entire cutaways of mountains and mountain ridges set back a few miles from the river channels. The Ene River at one point cuts directly through a mountain ridge at the place called *Pakicapánko* by the Campas.

It is small wonder that the Tambo River, which draws together all the waters of the main river system in Campa territory, has been described as turbulent and tumultuous (Anon. 1941:77; Clark 1953:149; Pérez Marcio 1955:34). The inclination of the Tambo has been estimated to be 4 feet 5 inches per mile, with an average velocity of 7 miles per hour increasing to more than 10 miles per hour at certain points.[4] Ortiz (1961:229) summarized these conditions in the following terms: "The waters of the Tambo permit navigation with canoes and rafts, but at the cost of some serious difficulties." This statement is actually descriptive of all the major rivers in Campa territory. These rivers, difficult to navigate with native craft during the dry season, become surpassingly dangerous when swollen during the rainy season.

There are two fairly well-demarcated seasons—a rainy season that lasts from November or December until April or May (cf. Burke 1960b:mxxxviii, 9), and a dry season that comprises the rest of the year. Rainfall is negligible from mid-May to the end of August. There is then a sharp rise to a maximum of 10 or more inches per 30-day period in early January, followed by an equally sharp decline to the nadir of the dry season. During the rainy season, the Tambo River normally rises about 10 meters.

Annual rainfall varies regionally to a significant degree within Campa territory. We have reports of 3.6 meters (142 inches) for the Chanchamayo Valley (Pesce 1908:109), 80 to 100 inches for the Satipo area (Lewis 1954:117; Ortiz 1961:364, 506), and 150 to 200 cm. (60 to 80 inches) for the Apurímac-Ene region (Sabogal Wiese 1960a:153; 1960b:434). Annual rainfall in the Tambo region, known to be drier than other parts, is 50 to 60 inches, according to data I collected.

Average maximum daily temperature in the sun for the period July 29 to August 29, 1963, as calculated from data I collected on the Tambo River, was 101.3° F. (37.5° C.), with a range of 81° to 109° F. (26.5° to 41.6° C.). Average minimum daily temperature (nocturnal) for the same period was 67.3° F. (19.1° C.), with a range of 60° to 71° F. (15.1° to 21.1° C.). This period corresponds to the height of the dry season. By contrast, average maximum daily temperature for the period December 20, 1963, to April 1, 1964, corresponding to the central portion of the rainy season, was 91.6° F. (32.2° C.), with a range of 70° to 102° F. (23.2° to 37.8° C.). This general lowering of daytime temperatures during the rainy season is due to cloudiness, which more than cancels the effect of the greater proximity and verticality of the sun in these months. Nocturnal temperatures, however, do appear to be affected by the position of the sun, as average minimum daily temperature for the same period was 70.9° F. (21.0° C.), with a range of 66° to 75° F. (18.4° to 23.2° C.).[5]

Relative humidity declines as the sun rises in the sky. It is at its lowest—as low as 11.8 percent (the lowest reading I obtained)—when the sun is at its zenith. With the descent of the sun, the relative humidity rises. It continues to rise during the night to a maximum, usually in the high nineties, just before dawn.

With such topological and meteorological conditions prevailing, the nature of the vegetation should offer few surprises. Coming down out of the barren Andes, there is a sudden appearance of lush vegetation at an elevation of 1400 meters (Lewis 1954:116). Generally speaking, forest overlies all Campa territory, blanketing the mountain ridges as well as the valleys. This is where the "ocean" of tropical forest covering the lowland plain of the Amazon Basin splashes over the eastern Andean foothills, which exhibit none of the barrenness characteristic of the high Andes. Still, the otherwise lush tropical forest takes on a brown, parched look in the dry season in the drier Tambo region where it is not unusual to encounter cactus growing near the river. Sandy beaches and cane thickets are found all along the main rivers, and here and there at the higher elevations there are extensive stretches of grassland. It is indeed from the presence of such grasslands that the Gran Pajonal, or "Great Grassland," derives its name. There are stretches of grassland east of the Ene River as well.

Along the uninhabited divide between the Ene and the Urubamba the ground is spongy (hence

called *kanóha* [spongy] by the Campas) and apparently unfit for cultivation. The Campas speak of lakes existing at these higher elevations, both here and in the Gran Pajonal, but their location is uncertain.[6] The uninhabited, unexplored higher elevations in Campa territory, difficult of access and havens for wild beasts, are feared and avoided by the Campas, who characteristically add imaginary dangers to the real ones.

This, then, is the homeland of the Campa Indians, settled by the Arawakan-speaking Campas at an undetermined time in the past.[7] The Campa homeland, cradled between the Andes and the eastern lowlands and combining characteristics of both, being at once mountainous and forest covered, is not out of sight of these two environmental extremes. From Satipo, in the southwestern part of Campa territory, the snow-capped eastern cordillera of the Andes is visible. And before leaving Campa territory in the northeast, mountains and hills recede to the horizon after giving way to the vast low plain that ends at the Atlantic shore.

The Campas have their most important cultural affinities with the other forest tribes of the Peruvian Montaña. Their neighbors to the northwest inhabiting similar terrain are the Amueshas, virtually identical with the Campas in material culture, although their language, also Arawakan, is quite different. To the east and south of Campa territory dwell the Machiguengas, who are very closely related to the Campas, are similar culturally and speak a language that is barely more than a dialectic variant of the Campa tongue. The Machiguengas inhabit the watershed of the upper Urubamba River and the headwaters of the Madre de Dios, and their territory extends to a section of the Apurímac just upriver from the limits of Campa settlement. An enclave of Machiguengas survives between the Ene River and Satipo, well within Campa territory, identified as the Nomatsiguenga by the linguist missionaries of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (see Fast 1962:6-7). On the lower Urubamba, and formerly on the lower Tambo and the Ucayali, live the Piros, Arawakan-speaking lowlanders strongly influenced by the Panoan-speaking Conibos and Shipibos who dominate the Ucayali. Finally, north of Campa territory beyond the Pachitea are to be found the fugitive, cannibal Cashibos, also Panoan speakers.

These are the forest tribes that border the Campas on the north, east, and south with whom they have been on terms of amity or enmity from earliest times. They are known to the Campas by mostly equivalent terms: the Machiguenga as *mačikénka* or *mačikánka*, the Piro as *šimirínci*, the Conibo as *konívo*, the Shipibo as *šipívo*, the Cashibo as *kašívo*, and the Amuesha as *amáiša*. Unlike the riverine Panoans, the Campas are primarily mountaineers, but their adaptation like that of these other tribes is to the forest.

By contrast, Campa relations with the Andean Indians west of their borders have been sporadic and weak, and from all indications have always been so. The cultural differences between the two groups, stemming from their extremely disparate environments, are great. In addition, before the recent infiltration of the adjacent parts of Campa territory by Highland Indians following the paths opened by Caucasian colonists, the two culture areas were separated by an intervening stretch of no man's land, a transitional zone left almost entirely unpopulated.[8]

It is perhaps significant that, although contact with the Highlanders, however sporadic, antedates the Spanish conquest and has had its effect, the Highland Indians are known to the Campas by terms of probable late derivation. In the southern part of Campa territory, the Campas call the Highland Indians *piónkona* or *ivióne*, terms derived in all likelihood from the Spanish word "peon," in which capacity the Highlanders are mostly known to the Campas in these times.[9] Throughout the rest of Campa territory, the Highland Indians are known as *čóri*, a term which appears to derive from the Quechuan word "churi," meaning "son."[10] When or under what circumstances the Campas took over this term remains undetermined, but it does suggest the subservient status in which the Highland Indians have found themselves since the Conquest. The Campas regard these descendants of the Incas, now so lowly, with disdain and have no tradition of ever having reason to esteem them more.

Besides their indigenous neighbors, the Campas have had to contend during the last four centuries with a more formidable alien group, that of the Caucasians (*virakóča*), who have attempted to take over Campa territory and absorb or eliminate the Campas.[11] Thus far the Caucasians have failed, but they have already eroded

Campa resistance to a considerable degree, and the pressure is slowly but steadily increasing. Because the history of Caucasian-Campa contact is unquestionably important for an understanding of present-day Campa culture, a short sketch of this history is included here.[12]

The Spanish conquest of the Inca Empire occurred in 1532 and the years immediately following. Although the Spaniards soon overran a large part of South America, their contacts with the Campas remained sporadic and fleeting during the succeeding hundred years.[13] The first significant incursion took place in 1635, when the Franciscan friar Jeronimo Jiménez entered the region that includes the western extension of Campa territory and established two missions. Two years later, Fray Jiménez on an expedition down the Perené River was killed in a Campa ambuscade.

The Franciscan missionaries were undaunted by their first casualty. They established missions, then set about imposing on the Campas strict monogamy, obedience, service, and acceptance of corporal punishment. This policy was bound to vex some Campas, especially those men who dominated Campa society through force of character, whom we may designate as "strong-men." At the same time, Campas at the missions were confronted by the novel experience of being periodically decimated by smallpox and other introduced diseases, major outbreaks being reported for 1673, 1691, 1722-1723, and 1736-1737. In 1674 the strong-man Mangoré and his followers slew four missionaries. In 1694 the entry of some Spanish soldiers set off a general uprising in the upper Perené region, and three missionaries were slain. In 1737 the strong-man Torote and his followers slew two missionaries and a number of converts.

Despite this loss of personnel the missionaries had by 1742 established missions throughout Campa territory. Also, a number of large plantations were established by Spanish colonists who had followed in the wake of the missionaries. But in 1742 a Highland Indian or mestizo suddenly appeared in Campa territory, identifying himself as Juan Santos Atahualpa with the title Apu Inka, claiming to be the rightful heir to the Inca throne, and calling on the forest Indians to rise and throw off the Spanish yoke.

The Campas and neighboring tribes, delighted at the prospect of ridding themselves of the unwanted intruders, accepted Juan Santos as their leader. In a few short years there was not a Spaniard or Franciscan to be found in the area; all had been killed or forced to flee. The Spanish authorities were alarmed, fearing that the insurrection would spread to the Highlands.[14] Spanish military expeditions against Juan Santos met disastrous ends until, finally, the Spaniards resorted to throwing up a line of fortifications along the boundary between the tropical forest and the Andes. This was enough to contain Juan Santos who was never able to gain a foothold in the Highlands. Nevertheless, although Juan Santos died perhaps in 1756, it was a century before Caucasians successfully invaded Campa territory again, spearheaded by the Peruvian army in 1847.

Most of Campa territory, however, remained off limits to Caucasians. The Campas along the Tambo River effectively blockaded it against Caucasian travel, attacking any expedition attempting to force passage. Traffic of Caucasians through the Gran Pajonal was likewise impeded by the Campas of that region. But on the periphery of Campa territory the Campas began working for the Caucasians to obtain metal tools and other merchandise.

At the turn of the century, eastern Peru witnessed the so-called rubber boom, and the Campas on the lower rivers to the north were involved in collecting for the Caucasian rubber gatherers. They also became involved in the raiding of interior settlements of their own people, killing the men and making off with the women and children for sale to the Caucasians as household servants and laborers. This was a lucrative business; Campa raiders earned rifles, shotguns, ammunition, machetes, knives, steel axes, and tradecloth.

The rubber boom collapsed after a few short years. When the Caucasian rubber gatherers added failure to pay what they owed to their continued maltreatment and exploitation of the Indians, there was a Campa uprising in 1913 (or 1915).[15] Despite the decline in rubber gathering, the practice of raiding has continued to the present, but much diminished in volume. The Caucasian colonists in the area are as desirous as ever to obtain Campa slaves. But the Peruvian police are now operating in that region, and for

all their shortcomings have proved effective in curtailing the slave trade.

By 1920 the Campa blockade of the Tambo River had been broken. Since then there has been little interference with the passage of Caucasian travelers in Campa territory. The Campas have for the most part abandoned the idea of armed resistance against the invading Caucasians. A number of towns have sprung up on the peripheries of Campa territory along the routes of Caucasian penetration, in particular San Ramon and La Merced in the Chanchamayo Valley, Satipo on the tributary of that name, and Atalaya at the mouth of the Tambo River. The towns are surrounded by plantations growing coffee and other cash crops. Today the nearby Campas work on these plantations to earn Caucasian merchandise, a large part of which passes into the hinterlands along set trade routes.

The dependence of the Campas on the metal cutting tools of the Caucasian has meant the end of Campa self-sufficiency in this one respect. The Campas no longer fashion the polished stone axheads of former times. The techniques are lost, as is the memory of such implements ever forming a part of Campa material culture. Aboriginal Campa technology has survived virtually intact in other respects. Firearms, tradecloth, and aluminum pots have supplemented their native equivalents. But the use of the bow and arrow, the weaving of cloth, and the manufacture of ceramics continue little changed or abated. Crops and fowl introduced from European sources have added to but not replaced any of the indigenous cultigens.

Indeed, what is especially worthy of note is that after four centuries of Caucasian contact, and although they are situated just over the Andes from Lima, the Campas have managed to maintain their cultural integrity to a surprising degree. The consciousness of forming a distinct group remains in force. Native artisanry survives with little alteration despite the influx of Caucasian manufactures. Among themselves the Campas maintain their traditional social organization, except insofar as strong-men have become rare and that hardy weed, the Spanish "compadrazgo" system, has been taken over in a weak form. As for supernatural belief, which will be a major concern in the present monograph, the inroads of missionary teaching are evident, but among the pagan majority of Campas the older, indigenous beliefs remain dominant.

The survival of the indigenous Campa religion, however adulterated by missionary influences, is largely due to an effective if simple defensive mechanism, that of a conspiracy of silence. The Campas continue to conceive of the Caucasians as the common enemy, intrusive and overbearing. The free and pagan majority of Campas maintain an uneasy truce, reject the religious teachings of the Caucasians that are alien to their own beliefs, and pursue a common policy of revealing as little of their culture as possible to these outsiders.

The present-day boundaries of Campa territory reflect a number of adjustments made subsequent to first European contact. There is evidence to suggest, for example, that the Campas moved northward into the area between the Ucayali and Pachitea rivers in post-Contact times, forcing the Cashibos living there to evacuate to the west bank of the Pachitea.[16] It is even more certain (and here ample historical documentation is supported by local Campa tradition) that the Campas originally occupied the entire Chanchamayo Valley in the west, but were forced to retreat to the upper Perené River when that valley was expropriated by the Peruvians in the nineteenth century.[17] Today Campas occasionally visit the towns of La Merced and San Ramon in that region, which is otherwise given over to coffee plantations, but they do so as strangers in a land that was once theirs. Existing historical documents also are supported by local Campa tradition in affirming that formerly there were Piros living on the lower Tambo River.[18] The Piros now are gone from the lower Tambo, but their place has been taken by Caucasian colonists. The plantations of these colonists, utilizing Campa labor for the most part, are strung along the entire lower half of the Tambo as far up as the tributary *Čéni*.

Mention might also be made of the disruption caused by the Caucasian colonists, rubber gatherers, and slavers who scattered a portion of the Campa nation far and wide. Campas who went to gather rubber in the Madre de Dios region left their progeny there.[19] Campa thralls of the Caucasian colonists are to be found on plantations and in households all along the Ucayali River as far as Iquitos; in the heyday of the slave trade they reportedly were sold into Brazil and

Bolivia.[20] Still today, according to reliable informants, young Campas are shipped to the homes of respectable families in Lima for use as household servants.[21] But these Campas have for the most part passed out of the indigenous cultural systems that concern us and so, for our purposes, can be disregarded.

NOTES

[1]Quoted in Valcarcel 1946:39.

[2]Tribal maps providing roughly the same bounds for Campa territory can be found in Girard 1958:facing 8; Tanner [n.d.]:center spread; and Tessmann 1930:end matter.

[3]Baekeland (1964:285-287) reported that one peak in this region rises to 14,800 feet (4500 m.), and that, although the forest extends up to 10,000 feet (3000 m.), there were no indications of Indian settlements above 6000 feet (1800 m.). Sabogal Wiese (1960a:153; 1960b:434) also gave 1800 meters as the highest elevation of Campa occupation.

[4]Observations reported by Tucker (1905:72) for early December. Wertheman (1905b:195-196) reported the velocity of the Perené River varying between 3 and 12 mph, the velocity of the Tambo as high as 7 mph, for early November. (See also Capelo 1895:II, 100, 106-108; Raimondi 1874-1913:III, 439, 554-555.) Hurley and Rankin (1934) described traveling down the Tambo in canoe (during the dry season): "Sometimes we went as fast as twenty miles an hour."

[5]An unusual cold snap occurred July 26, 1964. My records show the temperature dropped to 58° F. the night before, rose to 61° F. during the day, fell to 56° F. that night, and returned to 92° F. the following day. For comparable temperature data, see Paz Soldán and Kuczynski-Godard 1939:23; Pesce 1908:106; Stiglich 1908:319, 321; Villarejo 1959:55-56; Wertheman 1905b:201.

[6]One of these lakes was discovered by the Baekeland expedition along its route from the Apurímac to the Urubamba (Baekeland 1964).

[7]The traditional view locates the place of origin of the Arawakan-speaking tribes in the Orinoco region, and has them spreading up the Ucayali (see Grubb 1927:20; Villarejo 1959:231). A glance at a linguistic map of the continent, however, reveals an unbroken chain of Arawakan-speaking tribes stretching due east from the Campas, suggesting that the path of entry taken by the Campas was not the Ucayali but the Purús River. An alternative possibility is that, as Brinton (1901:242) suggested, the original homeland of the Arawakan-speaking tribes is Campa territory. Recently Noble (1965:107) proposed a Proto-Arawakan homeland "near the headwaters of the Ucayali and Madre de Dios," i.e., in the vicinity of present-day Campa territory, but his rationale for this proposal is a strange one, that migration downriver is easier to postulate than migration upriver.

[8]Steward (1948:508) identified this zone as "the Ceja de la Montaña," and judged it to have been "an effective barrier between the Highland and jungle peoples."

[9]The suffix *-kona* occurs elsewhere in a few Campa words with obscure religious significance. This morpheme is borrowed from the Highland Quechua and serves as a clue to Highland influence on Campa cosmology. In Quechua, the morpheme "-cuna" serves as a pluralizer (see Navarro 1927:149; Sala 1929:370), but in Campa its function appears to be mainly ornamental. The term *iviónе* would mean "his peon."

[10]See Sala 1929:69. Tessmann (1930:84) suggested that *čóri* may be derived from the Spanish term "cholo" (a derogatory colloquialism for "mestizo"), but this seems a little far-fetched.

[11]See Anon. 1888:25; Bailly-Maitre 1908:625; Burke 1960a:mxxxii, 10-11; 1960c:11; Cárdenas 1905:32-33; Eidt 1962:255-256, 264; Giordano 1907:223-224; Gridilla 1942b:57, 77-78; Lewis 1954:131-132; Maúrtua 1918:265; Nistrom 1905:485-487; Olarte 1942:21-22; Ortiz 1958:18, 99-100; 1961:21, 65, 105, 365; Pereira 1905:461-462; Sabogal Wiese 1957:8; 1960a:158; 1960b:438; Sala 1907:99, 117, 119-120; 1925:531-532, 555, 558; Sobraviela 1791:103-104; Stewart 1965:147; Tibesar 1952:24-25; Wertheman 1905a:168.

[12]The main historical sources are Amich 1854; Contreras 1926; García Rosell 1908; Izaguirre 1923-1929; Loayza 1942; Ortiz 1958, 1961; Pallarés and Calvo 1907; Raimondi 1874-1913; see also Eidt 1962; Juániz 1942-1944; La Combe 1905; López 1922; Lorente 1871; Métraux 1942b; Navarro 1924; Ruis MS; Sobraviela 1791; Steward and Métraux 1948; Tibesar 1952; Tschudi 1847; Urrutia y Las Casas 1847; Valcárcel 1946; Vargas Ugarte 1956.

[13]The earliest mention of contact with the Campas is in Sarmiento de Gamboa's chronicle of 1572 (1906:6).

Sporadic contacts and attempts by Jesuit missionaries to enter Campa territory occurred during the remainder of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth (Jiménez de La Espada 1881-1897:II, xcii-xcvii; IV, clxv-cxcv; see also García Rosell 1908:586).

[14]In his petition of 1750 to the King of Spain, Padre Joseph de San Antonio expressed the worst fears about Juan Santos: "If he struck out for Lima (may God forbid it) with 200 Indian bowmen, we might fear . . . a general insurrection of the Indians in the provinces of the realm" (Izaguirre 1923-1929:II, 157). See also Lorente 1871:78-79; Tschudi 1847:324.

[15]This explanation for the uprising was given by Navarro (1924:32) and Ortiz (1958:55; 1961:123, 126). The date given for the uprising varies.

[16]According to Díaz Castaneda (1923:304): "Formerly the Cashibos occupied both banks of the Pachitea River in great numbers, but those on the right bank, threatened constantly by the Campas of the Gran Pajonal who descended via the Iparia mountain range to stage bloody raids upon them, resolved to pass to the left bank." Compare Marcoy 1875:II, 143; Steward and Métraux 1948:561. The last-named authors placed these events in the seventeenth century, but contemporary accounts suggest that early in the nineteenth century the Cashibos still occupied the right bank of the Pachitea (Anon. 1808:35-36; Izaguirre 1923-1929:IX, map facing 56; Raimondi 1874-1913:III, map facing 106; Smyth and Lowe 1836:4; see also Sagols 1902:360).

[17]The final conquest of the Chanchamayo Valley is documented in the following sources: Bailly-Maitre 1908:624-625; Barriga 1905:445-450; Eidt 1962:263, 275; García Rosell 1908:612-613, 622-625; Giordano 1907:181-190; Herndon and Gibbon 1854:I, 85-86; Izaguirre 1923-1929:IX, 129-130, 295ff.; La Combe 1905:494-496, 504-505; Ortiz 1958:33-42; Pallarés and Calvo 1907:39-40; Pereira 1905:460-462; Raimondi 1874-1913:III, 426-438, 513; IV, 474-477; 1908: 312-314; Urquhart 1893:349; Wertheman 1905a:160-168; 1905b:174-177.

[18]See Contreras 1926:22; Galt MS:II, 97, 99; Izaguirre 1923-1929:I, 294-295; II, 84; IX, map facing 56; Ortiz 1961:20, 26-27, 33; Saiz 1943:107; Samanez Ocampo 1907:298; Steward and Métraux 1948:539; Uriarte 1938-1942:LV, iv, 34. Piros were even reported to have been living on or near the Mantaro, headwaters of the Ene River, in the eighteenth century (Girbal y Barceló and Marques 1792:120; Izaguirre 1923-1929: VII, 324). The report of Padre Biedma's voyage up the Tambo River in 1686 indicates that the Piros were then interspersed with the Campas on the Tambo, with settlements at *Poyéni*, at *Anapáti*, and farther upriver (Amich 1854:112-114, 121, 282; Izaguirre 1923-1929:I, 281-282; Raimondi 1874-1913:II, 226-227), but by 1870 Galt (MS:II, 99) could write as follows about the situation on the lower Tambo: "The Campa Indians do not live about the river about [*sic*] this part of the Tambo, but have their settlements among the hills some three or more miles off. Higher up they dwell on the water line. A group of Piros live higher up than we are now." This passage suggests that at the time Galt was there, Piro territory entered that of the Campas only as a wedge extending a few miles up the valley of the Tambo from its mouth. My informants claimed that formerly the lower Tambo had been held by the Piros up to the tributary *Čémpo*.

[19]See Alemani 1905:261; Aza 1924:25n.; Cenitagoya [1943]:18; Cipriani 1907:252-253; Royal Geographical Society of London 1918:121.

[20]See Izaguirre 1923-1929:IX, 280-281; Navarro 1924:38; Pallarés and Calvo 1907:139; Tessmann 1930:101-102; Velarde 1905:144.

[21]This practice was mentioned by Clark (1953:54, 147).

THE CULTURE

> Degraded and ignorant beings, they lead a life exotic, purely animal, savage, in which are eclipsed the faint glimmerings of their reason, in which are drowned the weak pangs of their conscience, and all the instincts and lusts of animal existence alone float and are reflected.
>
> —Navarro 1924:26

According to the most recent and authoritative estimate of the total number of Campas, there are about 30,000 of them,[1] indicating a population density of approximately 1.5 per square mile. Because they rely heavily on scattered animal and plant resources in the forest, the Campas are split into small communities consisting typically of from one to six conjugal families (although larger concentrations occur), often separated by many miles from each other. These

communities, which interbreed freely within the bounds of a restriction explained in the following paragraphs, are the maximum political units under ordinary circumstances, owing allegiance to no higher authority. The one exception is that of a strong-man rising to dominate a number of communities. But even in that case only a relatively small area is affected, and such hegemony as exists disappears as the strong-man's physical powers wane, unless someone equally domineering replaces him. Sooner or later any such ephemeral association of communities disintegrates, and there is a return to the common condition. In other words, there is no tribal, or tribe-wide, political organization.

The Campas do not form a single, homogeneous group. Campa territory, in fact, can be divided into a number of regions differing in dialect and in certain minor details of material culture and belief. I was able to distinguish four such regions, those of the Ene (including the Apurímac), the Perené, the Tambo, and the Gran Pajonal. The first three of these remain distinguishable despite constant movement and intermarriage among them. But between them and the Pajonal region, contrasting conditions prevail.

The Campas along the Apurímac-Ene-Tambo and the Perené, as well as those up in the hills that flank these rivers, constitute a single breeding population, which I designate the "River Campas." The dividing line between the River Campas and what I call the "Pajonal Campas" is the brook *Píca*, a tributary of the *Ovéni* that flows into the Ucayali a short distance below the mouth of the Tambo River. The Pajonal Campas, inhabiting that part of the Gran Pajonal lying northwest of the *Píca* (with an extension to the Ucayali), are traditional enemies of the River Campas. The enmity has been both continuous and long-standing, in contrast to the relatively short-lived animosities and feuds that have prevailed at different times within either of the two groups. Intermarriage between the River and Pajonal Campas consequently has been rare, sufficiently rare for us to consider them as two separate breeding populations. And, in line with this cleavage, it is between the River Campas and the Pajonal Campas that the difference in dialect is greatest.

A single cultural system is one that contains a single human society, and a single human society may be defined as a human aggregate forming a maximum political entity or a single breeding population, whichever is larger. A tribe is a breeding population where, in addition, state formation is lacking, whether or not there exists a tribe-wide political organization. Consequently, if it is true that the River Campas and the Pajonal Campas are two separate breeding populations, they may be defined as two separate tribes and as the societal fractions of two distinct cultural systems. That these two cultural systems are very similar, are contiguous, could not be separated for many centuries, and could easily fuse if the present resistance to intermarriage were overcome, in no way detracts from the understanding that there are two Campa cultural systems that arose through fission from a common ancestral system and have diverged from each other since then.

It is the River Campa cultural system that I investigated and so it is River Campa cosmology on which I report. To provide a sense of overall cultural matrix of which this cosmology forms but a part, a brief description of the total cultural system is given here. Almost everything that this description contains would hold as well for the Pajonal Campa cultural system, but that does not mean that any particular detail is identical for both systems.

A cultural system consists of: (1) a number of material components; (2) the modifications imposed upon those components fitting them into the system; and (3) the systematic network of relationships and activities binding those components together. The material components of a cultural system (conceived in these terms) consist of a set of human components on the one hand and a set of nonhuman components (artifacts or material culture) on the other. These nonhuman components include all domesticated (and tamed) organisms as well as the inert objects of human manufacture. The human components are also of human manufacture, and in addition are universally or almost universally modified physically in one way or another in much the same manner as artifacts. Furthermore, the human components are subjected to extensive neural modification as the cultural system supplies the mental content of each human component's neural apparatus.

To describe such a system, it will prove con-

venient to speak in terms of the "features" of that system, each feature being a particular category of cultural phenomena. The "component features" of a cultural system, then, would be the categories of components encountered in that system. The "modificatory features" would be the kinds of modifications imposed upon the various categories of components. The "organizational features" would be the kinds of relationships and activities existing in the system. All these features, it might be noted, are what commonly have been called "culture traits." In the present monograph the primary concern is with certain modificatory features of the human components of the River Campa cultural system, specifically those neural modifications consisting of ideas about the cosmos.

The component features of the River Campa cultural system are listed in table 1. This list is exhaustive, and provides at a glance all that we need know about Campa material culture for the present. It incorporates a number of words from the Peruvian vernacular which we shall use as technical terms: "ayahuasca," "cushma," and "masato." "Ayahuasca" is a word of Quechuan origin referring to the hallucinogenic drink prepared from the vine *Banisteriopsis* and to the vine itself. "Cushma" is the name given to the garment worn by the Campas and a number of other Montaña tribes, a robe of woven cotton or, occasionally, bark cloth, rectangular in shape and sewn along the sides to leave holes for the head and arms. "Masato" is the common name for manioc beer.

In terms of the analytic approach here proposed, the River Campa population constitutes a component feature of the cultural system. The Campa term for "human being" is *atíri*. This term, to be exact, refers to the general category of human beings. Those human beings who are components of the River Campa cultural system are referred to, more specifically, as *ašáninka*, literally "our fellows." This is the term they use to identify themselves as a corporate entity.[2] The term "Campa" is not a word in the Campa language. Of uncertain origin, Campa has come to be the Caucasian name for the language and the tribes speaking it, but is not used by the Campas themselves (except on occasion as a recognized foreign word).[3]

The human components of the River Campa cultural system might be described briefly. They form a breeding population, as has been indicated, that may be classified as of the Amerindian subrace of the Mongoloid race. Among the distinguishing physical characteristics of this population are: considerable variation in physiognomy, light brown skin, straight black hair on the head (with an incidence of auburn or russet), scanty body hair, and an incidence of the Mongoloid blue spot and epicanthic eyefold. Adult males average 5 feet 3 inches in height and 130 pounds in weight, while adult females average 4 feet 8 inches in height and 110 pounds in weight.[4]

To this human raw material are added those cultural modifications, both physical and neural, that mold each member of the population into a Campa, one who looks, thinks, and acts as a human component of the River Campa cultural system should. In the River Campa cultural system the human components are subjected to the following kinds of permanent physical modification: tattooing (mostly on the face), piercing of the nasal septum to suspend a nose pendant (and, formerly, piercing of the lower lip), plucking out facial hair with a shell depilator, and cutting the head hair in one of a number of styles (long, bowl, or Western for males; long, perhaps with bangs, for females; shorn, or tonsure-style, for certain life crises). There are in addition certain kinds of more temporary physical modifications: painting the face and other parts of the body with a pigment from the pods of the cultivated tree *pocóti* (achiote, *Bixa orellana*) or with the juice of the fruit of the wild tree *ána* (huito, *Genipa americana*), and blackening the teeth with leaves from one or the other of the wild trees *iváranci* (*Piper* sp.) and *tokóntiki* (unidentified).

The neural modifications of the human components of the River Campa cultural system consist of all inculcated linguistic, ideational, attitudinal, and motor habits. Their sum total for the entire River Campa society forms what we may call the "corporate heritage" of the culture. The ideational sector of the River Campa corporate heritage consists of ideas about reality (cosmological ideas) and ideas about behavior (normative ideas). Cosmological ideas are set

forth in full in the present paper. Ideas about behavior do not depart significantly from actual behavior, summarized in this section in terms of institutional organization. Other areas of neural modification can be discussed briefly here.

The area of attitudes includes not only particular attitudes but also the general attitude or stance of the individual–what is properly called "character." With regard to their salient features of character, the River Campas show themselves to be proud to the point of arrogance, confident to the point of defiance, self-reliant, ruthless, shrewd, yet simple, candid, good-natured, and explosively good-humored. Any propensity to niggardliness or thievishness is especially discouraged, the terms *mašícari* (miser) and *košínti* (thief) being terms of maximum disapproval. Pride of sex is accentuated among the males; when a man accomplishes a particularly dangerous or difficult feat, he will exclaim "*Náro širámpari*!" ("I am a man!"). The women accept this attitude. Social relationships, as they are felt, appear shallow and without any sense of permanence. There is no word for "friend," only *niómpari* (my trading partner) and *nošáninka* (my kinsman).[5] All River Campas are *ašáninka* (our fellows), but there is no sense of tribal solidarity, and internecine feuding and raiding, although declining greatly in recent years with the pacification of the area, have been the rule. The *virakóča* (Caucasians) are hated and feared, virtually forming a category of demons, whereas their merchandise (*oararónci*) is greatly coveted.

The River Campas not only perform adequately in all their activities, but they are also famed for their skill with the bow and arrow.[6] Their skill with canoe and raft on the treacherous rivers has also been widely reported,[7] but it should be noted that only those Campas living on the rivers have developed such proficiency. It is not unusual for a Campa from the hills venturing out on the river to drown.

The Campa language is of the Arawakan family of languages. The phonemes in the River Campa dialects are as follows: a, e, i, o, h, k, m, n, p, r, s, t, v, y, š (= sh), c (= ts), č (= tsh). The language is typically Amerindian in being polysynthetic. Certain peculiarities of grammatical construction are: (1) there are two tenses only, action-completed and action-not-completed; (2) there are two genders, masculine-animate and feminine-inanimate; and (3) plurality need not be indicated, so that number remains ambiguous unless certain optional affixes or adjectives are added.[8] Writing is absent.

The terms in the Campa language that refer to perception are particularly relevant to Campa cosmology. Table 2 provides the categories of senses, colors, tastes, and quantities recognized linguistically by the Campas. The list of numbers is complete, and reveals that the expression of numerical quantities in the Campa language is weak. The only numbers for which there are definite terms are: nothing, half, one, two, three, four, five, 10, 20, and many. In general usage, the terms for one, two, and three take on the looser meanings of "not many," "a couple," and "a few," respectively. The literal meanings of the Campa terms for five, 10, and 20–"one hand," "both my hands," "both my feet"–suggest that Campa numbers originated in the counting of fingers and toes. The numbers between five and 10, and between 10 and 20, cannot be expressed, although they can be indicated on fingers and toes. There are no higher numbers. Mathematical manipulation (addition, subtraction, etc.) is completely absent.

The organizational features of the River Campa cultural system constitute in their totality the overall structure of the system. They may be classified into 10 major categories: political, military, economic, kinship, educational, transportational, recreational, medical, mortuary, and religious.

The political organization of the River Campa cultural system has as its institutional unit, typically, the hamlet community consisting of a small number of conjugal families. A few communities are sufficiently large to be called villages. In general the men dominate the women and are themselves arranged in a kind of pecking order; in any particular community there may or may not be one dominant male, or headman. The communities are politically autonomous except where an exceptionally dominant male, or strong-man, rises to dominate a number of them. The Campa term for such strong-men is *koráka* (the Quechuan "curaca"), but it should be noted that in these latter days the Campa strong-man is about extinct, and the term *koráka* has come to

be used by the Caucasian plantation owners to designate their Campa foremen. The Campas also have a term *pinkácari* (he who is dreaded), which bears the sense of "ruler." This term is applied to the major gods of the Campa pantheon, but it is applied as well to the strong-men of Campa politics.

The institutional unit of the military organization is the war party or raiding gang. The Campas are master bowmen and, protected by magical herbs,[9] courageous and ferocious warriors. Military paraphernalia include the bow and arrow, firearms obtained from the Caucasians, and the magical herbs mentioned, as well as pitfalls and other defensive constructions. A warrior is called *oáyeri* (killer) or *manatínkari* (shooter). In the past, the more proficient warriors organized themselves into raiding gangs that fell upon interior settlements to capture women and children for sale to the Caucasians. A certain amount of this activity still goes on. The principal tactic on these raids is surprise, and in more bellicose times no man left his weapons beyond easy reach.[10] The peculiarly strained manner in which visitors are greeted may reflect these earlier conditions. It appears that the pattern of raiding developed as a result of feuding and lack of tribal solidarity. It also appears that sporadic fighting of the same sort occurred with neighboring tribes, and the history of armed resistance to Caucasian encroachment is amply documented.[11] Military training involves war games where two teams shoot untipped arrows at each other, the object being to develop skill in evading oncoming projectiles.[12]

The effective economic unit is the conjugal family, within which the sexual division of labor takes the following form: the men do all the hunting, most of the fishing, and some gathering; they clear and plant the gardens; they build the houses and manufacture all artifacts made with a knife or other metal cutting tool, such as bows and arrows, canoes, rafts, gourd utensils, and combs; the women do the daily harvesting and cooking, the spinning and weaving, make the pottery, baskets, and mats, and care for the children. These activities can be conducted alone or in the company of others of the community. The only economic enterprise that requires a large group of people, usually drawn from several neighboring communities, is a major fishing expedition using fish poison. There is no ownership of hunting land or fishing sites, and only use-ownership of garden plots. All artifacts are individually owned and may be exchanged; foodstuffs alone are freely shared and given. There are set trade routes between the towns and the interior, as well as some trading of local resources, and along these routes are established trading partnerships (*niómpari* [my trading partner]). Small trading expeditions are quite frequent, so that transient visitors are commonplace in River Campa settlements. There is, in addition, some movement of families from the hills to the rivers to fish during the dry season when fish abound. Foraging activities are directed at the natural resources listed in table 3.

The institutional unit of the kinship organization is the conjugal family, usually monogamous, with incidents of polygyny associated with the more dominant males. All the consanguineal kinship and residence groups are lacking: there are no extended families, lineages, sibs, or moieties. Loose kindreds, however, can be said to exist, approximating in size and nature our own kindreds. The levirate and sororate are absent. The rule is cross-cousin marriage, but when a suitable cross cousin is not available any other person of the opposite sex can be taken as spouse, if not too closely related. Marriage is entered without ceremony immediately after the interested male gains the approval of the girl's parents or guardians, presuming that the girl herself is not opposed to the match. One or both spouses may be prepubescent at the time of marriage, but for the most part such marriages can be said to be only nominal until both spouses reach physiological maturity, the girl undergoing her rite of menarche. There is no fixed rule of residence. The prescription that a married couple live with or close enough to the wife's parents so that she can visit them frequently and so that her husband can assist them is honored more in the breach. Divorce is easy.

Procreation and the rearing of children are primarily operations of the conjugal family. Both parents are enjoined from eating certain foods during pregnancy to ensure an easy delivery and

a normal issue. A woman gives birth gripping a housepost and squatting over a mat or cloth under which the soil has been loosened. She is usually attended either by knowledgeable women, such as her mother or mother-in-law, or by her husband. Both parents must remain indoors for several days after the birth and must refrain from eating many kinds of food to prevent injury to themselves or to the infant; these restrictions are lifted progressively and terminate when the child begins to walk. Many women and some men cut off their hair at the birth of their first child. In the Ene region the tonsure style is affected for subsequent births. Nursing is permissive, supplemented by chewed foods and liquids about two months after birth. Weaning is induced, usually by the time a child is about two years old or when another child is born, by placing tobacco juice or syrup on the nipple. Children are kept in line by their total dependence on their parents or guardians, who care for them, instruct them, and chastise them when necessary.

Although the conjugal families tend to be atomistic, kinship relationships with everyone in the tribe are recognized. The entire network of social interrelationships, indeed, can be seen as primarily a kinship network. Individuals are identified more often in terms of their kinship relationship to the speaker or some known person than by name. Personal names are usually nicknames given in infancy by parents, but there are Campas who have no personal names, for whom identification and self-identification can only be in terms of how they are related to their fellows. Campa kinship terminology is a modified Iroquois pattern. The principal terms in the Tambo dialect are given in table 4.

Some special features of this pattern are: First, the kinship terminology is extended out indefinitely along collateral lines, collaterality being indicated by the optional suffix *-cori*. Second, it was reported to me that in the Pajonal dialect use is still made of the archaic form *pává* (my father), which survives in both cultures as the term of respect for the solar deity. The term *paváčori* (my father's brother) is clearly derived from *pává* plus *-cori* (my collateral father), although the term is so well established that classificatory father's brothers may be called *pavačori-córi*, with *apacóri* as a permissible alternative. Third, there may be collateral relatives on Ego's grandparental generation who are younger than Ego, or collateral relatives on the generation of Ego's grandchildren who are older than Ego. The terms *čáine* and *íšá* are applied to all relatives two generations away who are older than Ego, while *nočárine* and *nosáro* are applied to all relatives two generations away who are younger than Ego (male speaking). These terms can be replaced by the terms for relatives of Ego's own generation, which permits the calculation of more remote generations.

The educational organization of the River Campa cultural system can be fairly described as unformalized. A child is taught informally by its parents and any other adults willing to do so. The child must rely heavily on observation of adults and on the lessons of personal experience. Once a child walks, it remains with the women if a girl, but if a boy moves to join the men in their gatherings. As the child grows he engages more and more in adult activities, learning skills that will be useful to him as an adult. A girl helps with the preparation of masato, helps in child care, and begins to use the carrying basket. A boy first plays with a toy bow and arrow, then practices with a real bow and arrow made to his size, begins to hunt and fish, to manipulate canoes and rafts, and becomes increasingly self-reliant and independent.

One formal educational institution centers on menarche. At puberty a girl is confined to a small enclosure in the main house for several months. There she is tended (usually by her mother), is fed according to a very restricted diet, and spends her time spinning cotton thread. During this period the girl may not converse with any male, and no male may see her face. At the end of her ordeal the girl's hair may be cut and she may be painted with *ána* (huito, *Genipa americana*), whereupon she emerges and is honored by a festival. The girl is now marriageable. The reasons given for this custom are: to fatten the girl, and to force her to learn to work and not be lazy, to learn to spin, and to learn to obey her husband. She will emerge attractively plump in Campa eyes, accustomed to spending long hours at the onerous task of spinning, and with her

spirit broken sufficiently to play the role of wife and mother. There are no corresponding puberty rites for boys, who are toughened to the demands of adult life in other ways, the informal ways already indicated.

Two transportational institutions exist among the Campas. One is the trail party, a group of Campas moving by land along a path, marching single file, men and women interspersed. The men carry their weapons, the women their carrying baskets filled with belongings and suspended by tumplines from their foreheads. The women tote the babes in arms; toddlers, and older children when they tire, are carried by the men. A brisk pace is maintained dawn to dusk with rest stops and a midday pause to eat; nights are passed on the trail in temporary lean-tos or at Campa communities along the way. The other transportational institution is the canoe or raft crew. One individual acts as rudderman. If there are others, they take their positions forward to paddle or punt. Women and children sit as passengers, although a woman may serve as rudderman if the crew is shorthanded. A journey of any duration by river requires that provisions and belongings be taken just as for travel by land, and nights are passed in a similar manner.

Recreational organization includes all "recreative" activity for the maintenance of the human components of a cultural system. The institutions for eating, excreting, bathing, and sleeping are most important, and a daily necessity. The Campas usually eat three times a day. A family is up just before dawn; a woman feeds the members of her family before they disperse to their several tasks. Work groups stop at midday, and may eat where they are or return to the settlement for the noon meal, which is usually the main meal of the day. The evening meal is taken at the settlement after the day's work is finished. Commonly, in a small settlement, the entire community eats dinner and supper together, and the food is prepared and served by the women. Sometimes the families eat separately. In larger settlements, one or several families eat together, but not the entire community. When there are visitors, the women and children usually eat separately from the men. Food is served on banana leaves or basketry trays, or in pots, with everyone helping himself from the common supply. Masato is served in a gourd bottle or in a large pot.

The Campas are averse to exposing their genitals, even to others of the same sex. To excrete, an individual goes to one of a number of small clearings a short distance from the settlement, depositing what he must on the ground; while traveling, the individual steps aside to micturate if a male, or goes a short distance into the forest to excrete into a hole in the ground that is then well covered. An infant's excrements (until it walks) are saved by some mothers in little leaf packets stored in a palm-leaf bag. When the bag is filled, its contents are buried, burned, or thrown into the river. This is done to prevent insects from obtaining some of these materials to practice witchcraft on the infant (a belief which also accounts for the behavior of adults on the trail). Other mothers throw the offal of their infants directly into the river or bury it immediately in a selected spot; still others simply discard the offal without these precautions.

Every day, singly or in groups, the Campas bathe in some nearby river or stream. They master the art of slipping into the water without exposing their genitals. After splashing for a while, they emerge refreshed. Menstruating women alone refrain from this activity. Aside from herbal baths given to infants and the sick, this is all the Campas do to cleanse their bodies, and it suffices. Clothing is ordinarily not washed, apart from the periodic soaking of cushmas in an infusion of vegetable dye.

The members of a conjugal family sleep together in a heap or close to each other on a large mat or several smaller ones, with all the clothing they own and use gathered around them for insulation against the chill of the night. A family sleeps either on a platform in the house or in the open of the settlement clearing. An individual sleeps in his cushma, into which he draws his arms and legs, and even his head, when the night is cold. A headrest may be used: an old cushma, a stone, or a log.

The rest of the recreational organization consists of pastimes and diversions ranging in importance from trifling to highly significant. Children's games include such simple amusements as twirling around and hopping, as well as play with the toys listed in table 1. For the most part these

games are restricted to boys, although in a game like shuttlecock it is not beneath the dignity of men to join in. Both males and females, young and old, amuse themselves occasionally with string figures, and it is not unusual to see someone with a string draped around his neck to be used for this innocent pastime. From time to time during the day the women stop their daily work to relax, chat among themselves, and slake their thirst with masato. The duties of the men provide them with longer stretches of leisure time, even days, which they spend lounging on a platform in each other's company, a supply of the ubiquitous masato within easy reach.

Beyond this it is in the intense albeit transitory institution of the masato festival that we find the reigning diversion of the recreational organization. The women devote much time to the preparation of masato for these festivals, neighboring communities taking turns as host. The ideal psychic state of the River Campas is one of inebriation, and it is at such festivals that convocations of Campas achieve this ideal. As long as the supply of masato lasts, which may be several days, there is drinking, dancing, and singing. At such gatherings the sexes are segregated to prevent trouble of a sexual nature, although disputes and bloodshed for this or some other reason are not unheard of when the men are sodden. These festivals, nonetheless, are the high points of River Campa social life, enthusiastically viewed by all as events of unbridled enjoyment and goodfellowship. Yet, rip-roaring though they may be, the Campa masato festivals must be viewed in proper perspective, as simply enlivening a workaday world in which both men and women are hard and conscientious workers. Given the debilitating nature of the environment and the humdrum character of most daily activities, these recreational amusements are palliative. Indeed, entered into with typical Campa verve, they provide an important avenue of expression for the richness and vitality of the River Campa style of life, however limited that life may be.

The Campas are very conscious of sickness and death, their constant companions. When illness strikes, they attempt to save the stricken person, except when they judge the case to be hopeless. For a serious illness a shaman is called in. The Campa shaman, like shamans everywhere, is a part-time religio-medical specialist in whose person the religious and medical orders are fused. It is possible, however, to distinguish his purely medical activities from his strictly religious behavior.

As a medical practitioner the River Campa shaman is called in to examine the sick, with the understanding that he will receive goods for his service commensurate with the gravity of the case, whether or not the patient recovers.[13] It is important to note that the shaman simply examines the patient in order to diagnose the cause of illness, and this examination, although salutary to a degree, does not in itself effect a cure. The shaman blows tobacco smoke or spits tobacco juice on the affected part of the patient's body and then sucks thereon. The shaman bases his diagnosis on what he presents as having emerged from the patient's body and perhaps on what he dreams later that night (for the examination usually takes place at night), all of which are related to the patient's symptoms. He may ascribe the illness to a demon (*kamári*), to a human or nonhuman witch (*máci*), or occasionally to soul loss. In the case of soul loss the shaman sends out his own soul in search of the lost soul. In the case of a human witch the shaman singles out the culprit, usually a child, more often than not female, who is forced to unearth the witchcraft materials she has buried in and around the house. If the patient dies, the accused witch is executed or, in our time, sold to the Caucasians. In the case of nonhuman witches, and these include any of several species of ants and bees, herbal baths and drinks are administered at the same time that an effort is made to search out and destroy the nests of the suspected insect witches. Herbal baths and drinks are also in order if the cause of sickness was the "breeze" of a passing demon (*atánci*). But if the patient has experienced a direct confrontation with a demon of the imaginary sort, then nothing can be done for him and he is expected to die.

Thus, the shaman as physician examines, diagnoses, and prescribes but it is usually left to the patient's kinsfolk to take the measures deemed necessary to effect a cure. The women especially are knowledgeable herbalists, some more so than others. Certain female herbalists examine patients, using a special technique analogous to

sucking. This technique, called *cionkánci*, requires that hot stones be introduced into a pot containing water and selected leaves to produce billows of steam. The patient stands over the pot and allows the steam to rise up under his robe. The pot is later inspected by the herbalist to find objects understood to have dropped out of the patient's body, objects of the same sort as those a shaman would suck out.

When someone in a conjugal family dies, the survivors cut off their hair and vomit once the body has been disposed of. Others of the community assist if need be in the disposal, and unless the deceased was an infant the entire community abandons the settlement. Death practices are more thoroughly discussed below.

Religious organization may be taken as the apparatus by which a total cultural system relates to the supernatural, including not only the entire range of wholly imaginary beings and forces but also everything in nature to which imaginary attributes have been ascribed. The religious organization of the River Campa cultural system has as its main actors the fraternity of shamans. These religio-medical specialists do not act in concert, but act individually to enforce each other's pretensions. They are called *šeripiári*, the most accomplished of them being called *antiaviári*.[14] All River Campa shamans are males, in no way abnormal, achieving their status after more than a year of rigorous apprenticeship that involves restriction of diet, abstinence from all sexual activi-

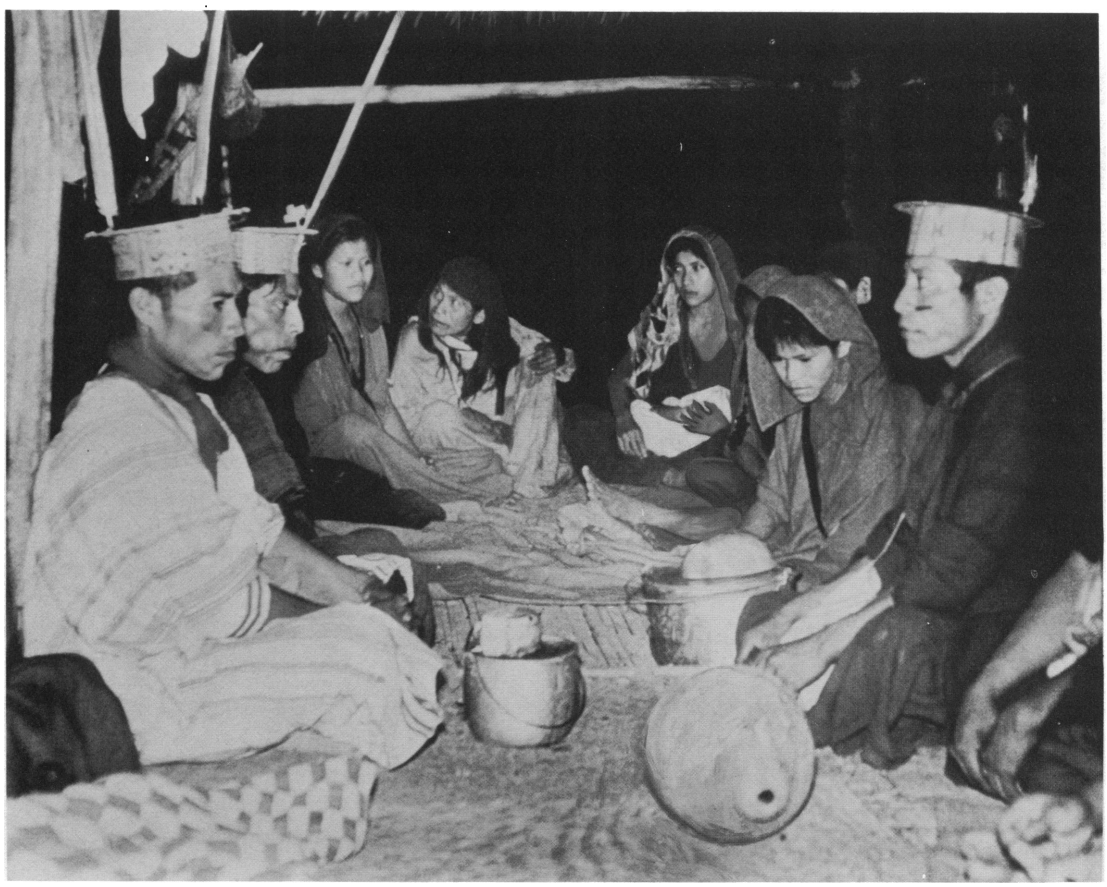


FIG. 3. A Campa ayahuasca ceremony (Ipoki region). The presiding shaman sits on the left, with a small pot of the hallucinogenic ayahuasca before him, surrounded by the other participants in the ceremony.

ties, and continual ingestion of psychotropic drugs, especially tobacco in syrup form and the hallucinogenic ayahuasca.

As a religious practitioner the River Campa shaman takes the lead in what may be called "ayahuasca ceremonies" (see fig. 3), which he organizes from time to time. The hallucinogenic drink, *kamárampi*,[15] is prepared by boiling segments of the ayahuasca vine (*Banisteriopsis* sp.) with the leaves of the wild tree *horóva* (*Psychotria viridis*). When night falls the shaman drinks a quantity of this liquid and gives some to the others present. When the drug takes effect, the shaman begins to sing and continues to sing as long as he feels the influence of the drug, perhaps throughout the entire night. It is understood that the shaman in singing is simply repeating what he hears the visiting good spirits sing, for it is at these ceremonies that good spirits come to dance and sing in full sight of the shaman and the others made receptive by the drug.

Shamans as a class enjoy good reputations and considerable respect. They are the River Campas' only recourse in time of grave illness. They alone can contact the good spirits, and they are the recognized authorities on questions of cosmological belief. Their special powers, given them by the continual consumption of tobacco and ayahuasca, add efficacy to their medical activities, permit them to see spirits in their true, or human, form, and enable their souls to travel far as lightning flashes to distant places and even to the abodes of the good spirits. There are some shamans, however, who do not share this reputation and respect. These are shamans reputed to have contact not with the good spirits but with jaguars, which are demons. It is believed that their souls become jaguars at night to attack people as they sleep. Rivalry between shamans will produce accusations to this effect. But physical violence is not used against a reputed jaguar-shaman, and he continues to be called on as a doctor. A jaguar-shaman does not, any more than a "good" shaman, practice witchcraft to make people sick: he is not *máci*.[16]

The River Campa shamans are the ultimate authorities on questions of cosmological belief. Yet, what they know and what they profess to know is common knowledge, the traditional cosmological beliefs inherited from past generations, at most given an individualistic twist in a few details by an individual shaman. As I discovered, the shamans are not necessarily the best versed in traditional lore. A shaman may know some myths and not others, or have heard of certain cosmological features or supernatural beings and not others, so that he finds himself in the embarrassing position of having to conceal his ignorance by speaking only of what he knows and remaining noncommittal about the rest, lest he be contradicted. The River Campa shamans thus suffer from the lack of a central theological seminary to standardize doctrine and teach them all they should know. Shamanistic practices are discussed more fully below.

NOTES

[1]This figure was provided by Peter W. Fast of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (1962:7).

[2]The Pajonal Campas also refer to themselves as *ašáninka*. Several authors reported that the Campas or "Campas proper" call themselves *atíri* as a tribal designation (Schläppi 1935:368; Schuller 1908:179n., 184n.; Steward and Métraux 1948:537; Tessmann 1930:83). This is an error. Tessmann (1930:83-84) gave "tšaninga" as the term "that the Campas often give to the question of what is the Campa name for their tribe," translating it as "countryman," which is reasonably accurate, but he was of the opinion that the term as used "refers only to the people of the same district," and so he concluded that the Campas "have no comprehensive name for their tribe." "Ashaninka" as the Campa name for themselves was reported in L. Kindberg 1961:505n., W. Kindberg 1961:519n., and Pike and Kindberg 1956:415. Farabee (1922:36) gave "acaningka" as the term by which the closely related Machiguengas designate themselves, but in the same work (1922:1) he reported that they call themselves (or are called) "Machiganga," whereas the Campas call themselves "Acheyenga" or "Achenega" (see also Aza 1923a:669).

[3]Tessmann (1930:83) suggested a Quechuan origin for the term "Campa." He also noted that in certain sources the word "Tampa" is used to refer to the same populations, and proposed that "Tampa," a Quechuan term meaning "in disorder, confused," may have been a mishearing of "Campa." Padre Aza (1924:24-25n.) suggested the reverse, that "Campa" is derived from

"Ttampa," which he translated to mean "disheveled": "The name 'Campa,' whose meaning the savages today do not know, I believe arose from the corruption of the Quechuan term 'Ttampa,' disheveled, since not only have I heard the Indians of the Highlands call them so, but I also find P. Bobo de Revello applying to them the name of 'Ttampas' in his pamphlet *Brillante Porvenir del Cuzco*, published in 1848."

[4]Sample size: 11 males, 16 females. For comparable data, see Kuczynsky-Godard 1939:III, 50.

[5]See Adam 1890:46, 98; Sala 1929:254. The reported use of the term *aní* (my male cross-cousin, male speaking) to mean "friend," denied by my informants, was probably limited to relations with Caucasian interlopers, and selected because of the implied joking relationship (see Delgado 1896-1897:V, 448; VI, 97; Sala 1929:254, 418; Urquhart 1893:355; Zavala 1895:155, 158).

[6]See Anon. 1888:23; Gridilla 1942a:68; 1942b:69; Herndon and Gibbon 1854:I, 82; J. G. 1868:30; Moss 1909:17; Navarro 1924:47, 52; Samanez Ocampo 1907:303; Schütz-Holzhausen 1895:214 (but see Wertheman 1878:139; 1905b:202).

[7]See Anon. 1957; Arroyo and Peréz 1936:226; Nordenskjöld 1924:20-21; Samanez Ocampo 1907:303; Schläppi 1935:369; Tovar 1966:55; Urquhart 1893:353 (but see Ordinaire 1887:282; Tschopik 1955:13).

[8]For an excellent analysis of Campa morphology, see W. Kindberg 1961.

[9]The herbs used are varieties of *ivénki* (*Cyperus piripiri*) (see Navarro 1924:23; Steward and Métraux 1948:548).

[10]For descriptions of such raids, see Navarro 1924:33-37; Zurinaga 1944:34-36 (also in Ortiz 1961:243).

[11]See Adamson 1904:17-18; Barriga 1905:448-450; Cárdenas 1905:30-31; Galt MS:II, 14; Giordano 1907:184, 222-223; Herndon and Gibbon 1854:I, 85-86, 208; Navarro 1924:7-13; Nistrom 1905:480ff.; Ortiz 1961:151-153; Portillo 1905:486-488; Raygada 1905:390; Saiz 1943:107-108; Valdez Lozano 1944: 52-54; Wertheman 1905b:176ff.

[12]For mention of this practice, see Clark 1953:125, 201; Dolinger 1955:156; Gridilla 1942a:67; Izaguirre 1923-1929:XII, 292; Llano 1957:52.

[13]This contradicts Tessmann's report (1930:95) that a shaman receives nothing if his patient is not healed.

[14]Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 212; see also Mac-Lean y Estenós 1939:336), reporting for the closely related Machiguengas, translated the Machiguenga equivalent of *šeripiári* as "he who is transfigured by the effects of tobacco." Although in the Campa language *šéri* means "tobacco" and *-pi-* is the verb root meaning "to transform," the ending *-piari* cannot properly be translated as "he who is transfigured by." Instead, the ending *-piari* may be related to "piai," the term for "shaman" reported for Cariban- and Arawakan-speaking tribes of the Guianas and for the Bacaïri to the south (Abreu 1938:260-261; Farabee 1924:129; Im Thurn 1967:328; Koch-Grünberg 1900:4-5; Nimuendajú 1926:142; Oberg 1953:75; Roth 1915:328; Steinen 1940:443-445; Steward 1946-1959:III, 856). If this is so, the Campa term *šeripiári* can be translated literally as "tobacco-shaman," and the term *antiaviári* would signify "great shaman." See also Tessmann 1930:93: "*Seripiári* (literally something like tobacco-taker from *seri* = tobacco)"; and, for the Machiguengas again, Girard 1958:211n.: "The name of the shaman of said group is *seri pigari*, that is, he who uses tobacco (*seri* = tobacco)." Padre Touchaux (1908:151) mistakenly gave "seripegari" to mean "chief."

[15]Tessmann (1930:95) was in error when he stated that the term *kamárampi* is "perhaps compounded of *kamali* = sorcerer and *ambi* = poison." The word is derived from the verb root *-kamarank-* (to vomit) because the drug is nauseatingly bitter.

[16]Tessmann (1930:93) reported as follows: "Sorcerer in general is called *kamáli*. There are two kinds of sorcerer. The evil sorcerer is called *matsínti* and the good sorcerer *seripiári*." (See also Steward and Métraux 1948:549.) This account is misleading: *kamári* is the Campa term for "demon," not "sorcerer"; shamans (*šeripiári*) and witches (*máci*) cannot be classified together. Padre Navarro (1924:30) mistakenly called the Campa shamans "Matchi," undoubtedly as a consequence of the common use of the term "brujo" in Spanish to refer indiscriminately to both shamans and witches.

PART 2. CAMPA COSMOGRAPHY

TERRESTRIAL GEOGRAPHY

The Earth's circle I know sufficiently,
That far the view is vouchsafed us
—Goethe, *Faust*, Pt. II

The Campas, in common with most of mankind, live where air, earth, and water meet, in touch with the ground while rising a short distance into the overlying atmosphere. This ground presents to each Campa, as to anyone, the appearance of extending out on all sides from beneath him, and of being solid in the sense of resisting and so sustaining his weight. The extension of the earth is broken only by bodies of water that can be entered with due caution but where no one can remain permanently. In addition, there are special characteristics of Campa territory that no one within its borders can fail to perceive: it is mountainous and not plane; it is thickly forested and not a desert; its waters are rivers and brooks surrounded by land and not a sea hemming in the land. It is this situation that the Campas face and which they have comprehended in their own distinctive way. How, then, do the Campas comprehend the earth which they inhabit? To answer this question properly it is necessary to investigate the terms they employ and the meanings of those terms.

The Campa term for earth, for soil, is *kipáci*. This term also serves to signify "land," so that any particular tribe inhabits its own *kipáci*, and a distant human group inhabits *pašíni kipáci* (another land). The entire earth can be called *kipáci*, but those Campas who give it any special name at all call it *Kamavéni*, the Land of Death, which recognizes that the characteristic inhabitants of the earth—the human species and particularly the Campas—are all mortal. In this region earth tremors are common: when the earth shakes, the shaking is called *oníka*.

A flat plain or plateau is called *ovinténi*. Where the ground slopes, as on the side of a hill or mountain, it is *tonkári*. The ridge at the top of a mountain is *otíši* or *oitáki*. A sheer cliff, exposing bare rock for lack of vegetation cover, is *impérita*. In listing these topographical terms, a significant fact becomes apparent, disclosing how much interpretation is embodied in the simplest descriptive terms. By way of contrast we might note that, in our own culture, a hill is usually conceived of as a solid mass of earth and rock that rises up from or sits upon level ground. The Campa term *tonkári*, the closest equivalent to our term hill, contains in its meaning no reference to the mass of a hill but refers only to its contour. The Campas, then, appear to describe the earth in terms of the contours of its surface rather than in terms of masses of solid matter. This interesting fact becomes even more significant when we consider how the Campas conceive the vertical structure of the universe.

Another aspect of the land is its vegetation cover. The Campas see vegetation for what it is, understanding that it grows but also recognizing that it is rooted and fixed in place, incapable of ambulation, and they ascribe to it an inanimate gender. The vegetation zones within their territory are recognized and named. The forest is called *inčátoši* (from *inčáto* [tree], and *-ši* [leaf]), the heavy forest or "monte real" is *antámi*. The stretches of grassland that break the continuous extension of the forest are called *kéši*, so that the Campas who live where there are grasslands are called *kešísati* (grassland dwellers), a term which is more pointedly used to refer to the Pajonal Campa population. The spongy bushland between the Ene and Urubamba rivers is, as mentioned above, designated *kanóha*, but here the emphasis is on the quality of the soil. A swampy area is *inkaharemáši* (from *inkáhare* [lake] and *-maši* [field]).

A lake, then, is *inkáhare*, but in Campa territory lakes are confined to the more inaccessible uplands, and although their existence is known, they are ascribed marvelous properties. It is believed that within them live human beings adapted to breathing water as we do air, together with all their houses, livestock, etc. It is in fact believed that the white race emerged from just

such a lake. It is further believed that the waters of these lakes are capable of rising up to engulf the unfortunate Campa who ventures too close.

At the elevations inhabited by Campas, however, surface water is flowing, in the form of a network of rivers and their many tributaries, down from the hills. The main river in River Campa territory, the Apurímac-Ene-Tambo, is called *Tampó(ni)*, that part above the junction with the Perené being called *Katónko Tampó(ni)*, or Upper Tambo, and also *Eni(ni)*. The Perené River is called *Paréni(ni)*.[1] These are proper names. The Campa term for a bend of the river is *otehempíhati*, the term for a strong current is *ošinciháre* (strong water), the term for whirlpool, a common feature of these rivers, is *omóink(an)i* (or *omoinkáre*), and the term for waves is *omotonká(ne)*. The term for brook or creek is *nihá-teni*, and every one of the numerous brooks and creeks flowing into the main rivers has its own proper name. Each Campa community simply takes its name from that of the brook or creek nearest it. Some of these proper names for tributaries of the main rivers are repeated at intervals of some distance. There is, for example, a *Šaoriáto* on the lower Tambo and another on the upper Tambo, a *Pihiréni* and an *Anapáti* both on the Tambo and on the Ene, a *Kempíri* on the Ene and another on the Apurímac. Some of the proper names of tributaries, like those of the main rivers, have no ascertainable meaning, but many of them do, as is shown below.

Two passes, especially dangerous during the rainy season, one on the Ene and the other on the Tambo, are both called *Otíka* (Dam), with good reason. Other dangerous passes also are named, but usually the name of the entering tributary, the major cause of the turbulence at that point, lends itself to the pass. One exception is the Tambo's *Otíka*, the bad pass that gives its name to the entering tributary there, thus reversing the naming procedure. A waterfall is, quite literally, *ovariháre* or *oparihá ti*. One waterfall of great height at *Koári* on the Tambo is visible from the main river. It has no special name.

Each cliff that diverts the river produces turbulence in the form of waves or whirlpools at its base. Such a dangerous landmark usually has a proper name often signifying "the house of" some species of animal, bird, or even fish. Thus, *Pakicapánko* (Hawk's House) is where the Ene River cuts through a mountain ridge. Peculiar terrain features, especially along the rivers that are the main avenues of travel, also have their proper names. A number of the mountain ridges have been given proper names as well. The named geographical features encountered along the Apurímac-Ene-Tambo and the Perené for those sections of these rivers that I traveled are listed in table 5 (see also figs. 4-6).

For the Campas the earth is a flat surface, not in the sense of being plane since their territory is mountainous, but in the sense of extending to its limits without curvature. They see themselves more or less centrally situated on the surface of the earth, which is reasonable as the vault of the sky is clearly at its highest overhead. A simple diagram depicting their views could be drawn to show two concentric circles, the larger, representing the earth, enclosing the smaller, representing Campa territory (see fig. 7). But this simple diagram should not lead one to believe that the Campas ascribe any regular shape either to their territory or to the earth. The rim of the earth, represented by the circumference of the larger circle, does have a real existence for the Campas—not as its physical limits, but merely as the outermost limits of Campa cognizance.[2] That part of the earth lying between the two concentric circles of our simple diagram is inhabited by non-Campa peoples, although it is not inconceivable to the Campas that there might be some other group of Campas, in the ethnic sense of the word, inhabiting some distant region.[3] Neighboring tribes are known and named, as mentioned above. These known groups, however, do not play a significant role in the strictly ethnocentric Campa cosmological system. Definite knowledge of the tribes beyond this immediate circle of neighboring tribes fades out quickly, and the Campas take no interest in what lies in these unknown intervening reaches. It is not until the limits of the earth are attained that the Campa imagination is again quickened.

It is the main river system flowing through Campa territory that gives orientation to Campa notions of geography. The only general directional terms for the surface of the earth are *katónko* (upriver) and *kirínka* (downriver). Otherwise the generic or proper name of a geographical feature, be it river, brook, mountain ridge, or other landmark, must be used with the

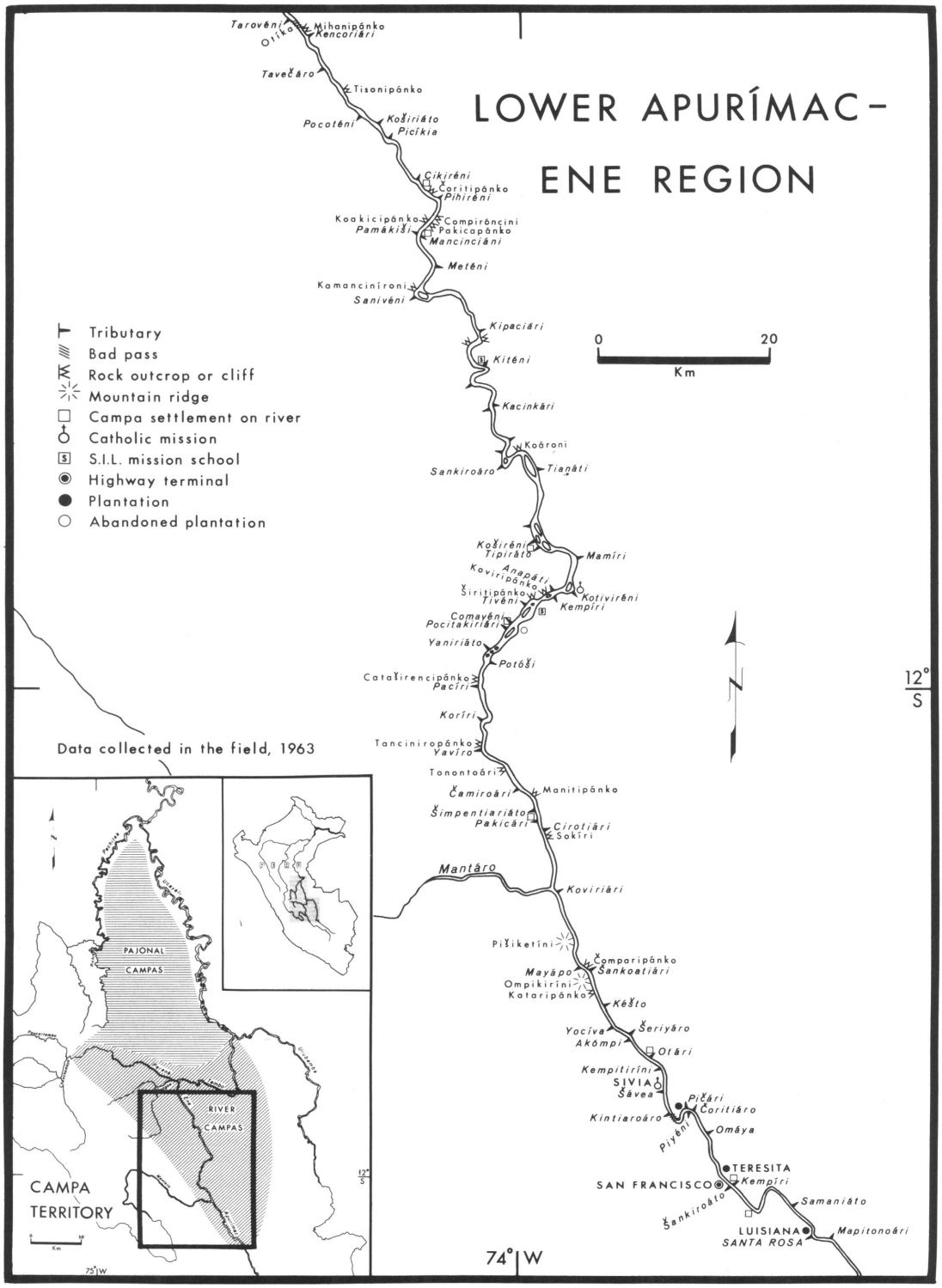


FIG. 4. Map showing lower Apurímac-Ene region.

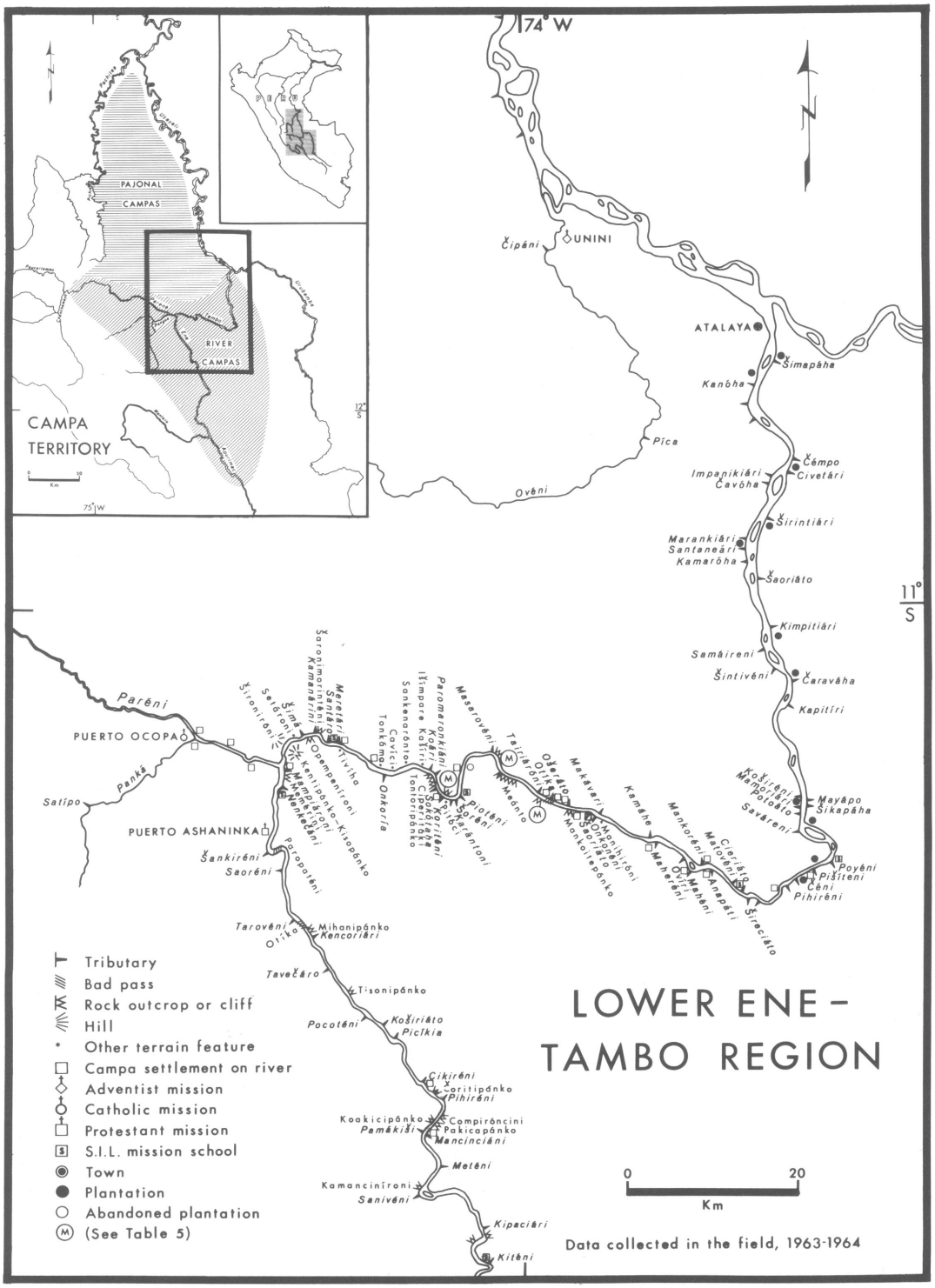


FIG. 5. Map showing lower Ene-Tambo region.

suffix *-ki* (to, at, from). The main river, the Apurímac-Ene-Tambo-Ucayali, flows from south to north, and so the Campas visualize the river as having its point of origin at the southernmost point on the rim of the knowable earth. This cardinal point, the point of origin of the main river, is called *Intatóni* (from the verb root *-int-* [to begin]).

The Campas also recognize that some time after leaving Campa territory the main river changes direction and flows due east until it reaches the rim of the knowable earth once again. The river ends there, falling through a hole in the earth. That place where the river ends, a second cardinal point, is called *Ocitiríko* (from *ocíti* [it submerges]). It is where the sun rises, which serves to connect the earth's orientation with celestial phenomena.[4]

The cardinal points on the rim of the earth are only accidentally directional in terms of our north-south-east-west system, and are only accidentally connected with the trajectory of the sun. *Intatóni* does not mean south, it means River's Beginning; *Ocitiríko* does not mean east, it means River's End. Nothing corresponds to our north, and what is believed to lie in the west is probably a recent addition. More than just terminal points of the main river, both *Intatóni* and *Ocitiríko* are mentioned as centers of habitation of good spirits, and the Perené River points westward to another center of habitation of good spirits recognized by the Campas, one called *Irimáka.* This name presumably derives from that of Lima, the capital of Peru lying almost due west, reports of which have come to the Campas from Caucasians, Highland Indians, and even some mission-trained Campas who have visited there.

To refer to *Intatóni* and *Ocitiríko* as points on the rim of the earth is to impose an artificial geometric simplicity on the Campa scheme of things. They are places, not points, and the rim corresponds to no physical termination. This becomes clear when the Campas speak of places beyond those already mentioned. Some but not all Campas recognize that beyond *Ocitiríko* is the place where the spirits that manifest themselves in thunder reside. This place is called *Otiriáni* (from *otíre* [thunder]). One shaman–Porekavánti–proposed to me that beyond *Intatóni* there is a place called *Širinkaróni*, literally "place of those who are tobacco (spirits)."

It was my impression that *Širinkaróni* was this particular shaman's own invention as an instance of his shamanistic virtuosity. It is significant that Campa cosmology appears to allow for such extension and elaboration of belief as long as it adheres to the logic of the system. What we do find are a few salient features of cosmography that are universal and time-honored in the culture, but which can and may be extended and elaborated. Such extensions and elaborations, however, will have only a limited circle of acceptance and a limited duration because, although they are perfectly acceptable in terms of the system, they are not important enough to become generally accepted articles of faith demanding transmission to future generations. Thus, it would not matter if *Širinkaróni* did not exist or if the idea were forgotten, but if the concept of *Ocitiríko* were lost, a main prop of the Campa universe would be knocked away.

The elaboration to which the concept of *Ocitiríko* lends itself is instructive. That there is a placed called *Ocitiríko* where the river submerges at the eastern end of the earth gives every indication of being an old and indigenous belief. It is possible that the attribution of an eastern termination to the river is derived remotely from actual knowledge of the true course of the river, a knowledge based on vague reports coming from the tribes downriver or on a tradition carried by the Campas as they migrated westward to their present location. But when Campas in the Ipoki region (presently overrun by Caucasian colonists) use the term "Amazonas" and locate a tribe of women without men called *Mahinaróete*[5] at *Ocitiríko*, there may be justification in identifying these notions as recent accretions, limited to that region, for they are unknown elsewhere. Another notion that may be limited to the Ipoki region (part of the larger Perené cultural region) is that there are reportedly bats at *Ocitiríko*, a special feature of the place. Apparently more widespread but not universal among the Campas is the belief that in the hole where the main river submerges there lives a gigantic crab (*antári ošéro*) that partially obstructs the fall of the river, so that when the crab moves to one side the level of the river goes down and from downriver comes the distant sound "du-du-du-du," and such that if the crab were ever to close off the river en-

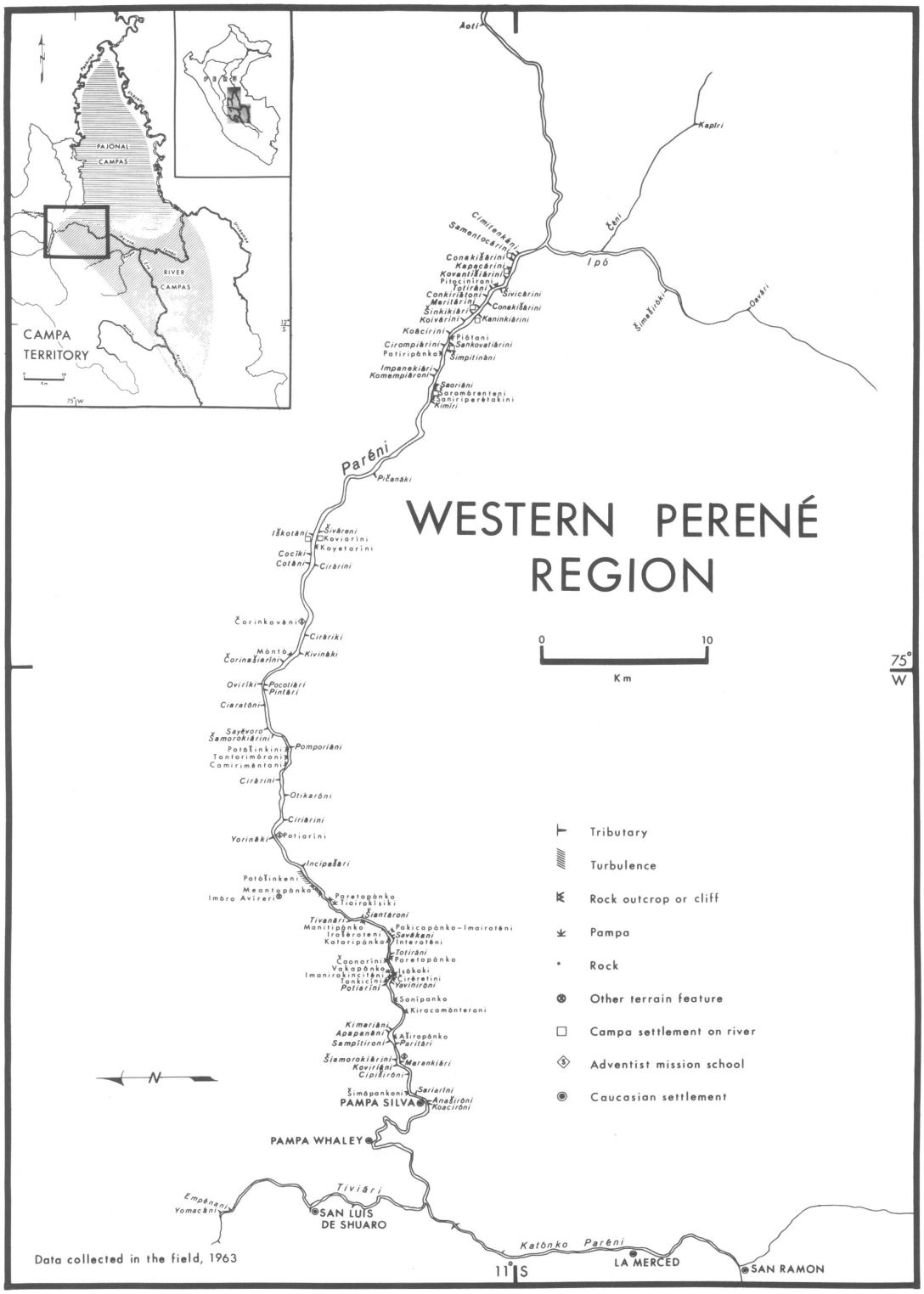


FIG. 6. Map showing western Perené region.

tirely the earth would be flooded. Also falling somewhere short of being universally recognized is the existence of a subterranean level called *Kivínti*, inhabited by good spirits. For those who do recognize the existence of *Kivínti*, it is understood that the river falls through the hole at *Ocitiríko* into *Kivínti*, to proceed no one knows where.

Mention of the great crab at *Ocitiríko* and its function in regulating the level of the river is an introduction to a final feature of terrestrial geography—the seasonal changes which the river undergoes. The rising of the river is called *kimóha* (big water) or *amára*, and a flood is called *ónka*. The rainy season taking its name from the condition of the rivers is called *kimohánci*. It may also be called *keáronci*. The dry season is called *osarénci*—like *keáronci*, a term of uncertain etymology.[6] Years can be counted by seasons, so that *apáro osarénci* would mean "one year."[7]

Within the span of a year the earth itself provides more precise calendrical information, in the form of the flowering of certain trees. My field notes contain the following summary description:

Calendar of the flowers. The heavy rains are over by March, and it is then that the tree *mešiá* is in flower. It is followed by *šimáširi*, which buds in April (and flowers in June), this being the time when all the game animals have much fat (except *kenírі*, which fattens during the time of *čakópi*). Next, also in April, come *kocímeti* and *pasáro*. Then, in May, appear the flowers of *kotíve* and *sampéra*. In June flower *sampá* and *šínti*, and it is then that all the birds are with fat (which is good). In July a number of plants give flower: *pihóro*, *oyéntiki*, *táiri* (with a red flower), and *kitepenkíri*—also called *sonkáre*—(with an orange flower). In August *komáro* flowers, and the dry season begins in earnest. After the beginning of the rainy season *pasótiki* and *cicériki* give flower (in February). Then come the heavy rains.

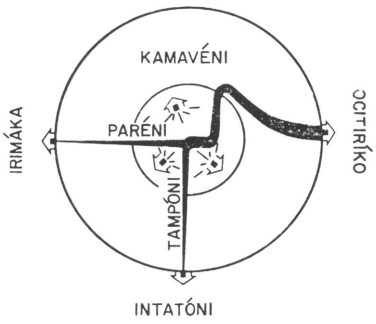


FIG. 7. Campa cosmography: schematic diagram of the earth.

Shorter spans of time are measured by the moon and sun. But this takes us outside the range of terrestrial geography and into the major celestial deities, which are discussed later.[8]

NOTES

[1]Ruis (MS:[15]) gave "Masarebeni" as the Campa name for the Perené, but *Masarovéni* is the name of a tributary of the Tambo some distince below the mouth of the Perené.

[2]One shaman I interviewed acknowledged that there might be lands beyond these recognized limits, lands of which the Campas simply have not received any report.

[3]In this regard, see Paz Soldán and Kuczynski-Godard 1939:13: "The Chuncho [Campa] has a notion of men and families with whom he can communicate, but he does not have the concept of a Chuncho community; we often had the impression that for them, despite everything, chuncho and man are practically the same. They have heard talk, in the sermons at the mission, of other continents and of other lands, and a Chuncho once asked if in those remote lands there were many Chunchos." A short discussion of the term "chuncho" is given below (page 481). The mission referred to is the former Adventist mission of "Susiqui" on the upper Perené River.

[4]A corresponding belief is reported for the Machiguengas: according to Padre Alvarez (1939:130), "*Otztiake* is the mouth or ultimate end of the river, where all the great rivers come together and the world ends"; Padre Grain (1957:91) also wrote of "*ostiake* or end of the earth." (See also Aza 1923:41.)

[5]Unmarried women are called *ma(h)ináro* (she without spouse) or *timašitínkaro* (she who is living alone).

[6]I suspect that *osarénci* is simply the substantive

form of "to make warm." Clark (1953:358) gave "osarensi" for "summer," i.e., dry season, and "quiare" for "winter."

[7]According to W. Kindberg (1961:545), years may also be calculated by rainy seasons, for he supplied the datum "noimohaačite *my years* (literally, *my high waters*)." Farabee (1922:16) reported for the Machiguengas that "the word for a seasonal year is 'sethehagarene,' " a term not recognized by my informants.

[8]The measurement of time in terms of terrestrial and celestial indicators is reported in much the same terms for the Machiguengas. Thus, Grandidier (1861:137) stated that "they calculate the months by moons and the seasons by the flowering of trees." Rosell (1916:xvi, 13) made the following observations:

"*Computation of time.* They compute time by lunations and seasons.

"They compute the month (*cosiri*) from one lunation to the next. As there are only two seasons in the region of the forests—the rainy season and the dry season, which have no fixed periods to begin and terminate—their calculations are only approximate, and they focus rather on the flowering or fructification of the trees.

"To note a past event, they refer to the flowering or fructification of this or that tree, within the limits of a year; they designate longer time with the vague word 'formerly.' "

According to Farabee (1922:16): "Long periods of time are counted by seasons, the wet and the dry, and by the return of the fruits and flowers. When a visit is planned or an engagement made, the time is fixed by the blooming of a certain flower. Shorter periods are counted by moons. . . . The quarters of the moon are used for counting time also. . . . The position of the sun is used to determine the time of day, and in keeping appointments." J. G. (1868:34), reporting on the Campas, wrote the following: "Lacking any astronomical notion, they cannot measure time except by the appearances of the sun and the moon, determining the year by the dry or rainy season and commonly by the song of some bird that appears periodically or by the chatter of some insect."

THE UNIVERSE VIEWED VERTICALLY

Evidently we do not see correctly.
—Melissus of Samos[1]

The earth appears to be viewed by the Campas as but one of a series of inhabited strata arranged one above the other. The Campas here recognize two cardinal directions, *isávi* (down below) and *henóki* (up above). The surface of the earth, which lies immediately beneath us, is designated as *isáviki*,[2] and all that lies above is called *henóki.* The word *henóki*, then, is used to refer to the sky, for which the specific term is *Inkíte*, and so comprises all the strata above the earth. As we look upward, the visible sky is in reality the floor of another world, and there are additional strata up to the highest, beyond which there is nothing. The number of celestial strata is indeterminate, and they have no specific names. Each stratum of *Inkíte* is inhabited by good spirits, the *henokiníri* (sky dwellers), and for them the stratum they inhabit is as solid underfoot as our earth is for us. This is our first intimation that, in Campa thought, the universe takes on a different appearance for each class of beings.[3]

The Campas do not pretend to know anything more about celestial geography, with a single exception: they recognize that somewhere through the sky and invisible to us courses a river called *Hananeríte* (as in *hanáneki* [child]), the River of Eternal Youth. There the good spirits bathe to regain their youth and so maintain their immortality. This celestial river abounds in fish, a major source of sustenance for the *henokiníri.*[4] It is reported that the Machiguengas hold a similar belief in a celestial River of Eternal Youth, which they call "Meshiaréni." The Machiguenga name appears to be derived from *mešiá*, the name in both Campa and Machiguenga for a tree (*Calycophyllum spruceanum*) which sheds its bark every six months and thereby emerges with a new bark or "skin" (*oméšina*).[5] Hence, the Machiguengas believe that the good spirits shed their old skins when they bathe in "Meshiaréni," an idea which the Campas do not recognize. Furthermore, the Machiguenga "Meshiaréni" is equated with the Milky Way, which the Campas deny for their celestial river, however likely it is that the Milky Way inspired the Campa belief in *Hananeríte.* The Campas call the Milky Way *iyámore henokisáti* (the sky dwellers are closing a river branch [to fish]), but for them *Hananeríte* is distinct and quite invisible to our eyes.[6]

Visible in the sky are the sun, the moon, and

the stars. These are comprehended, however, not as features of celestial geography but rather as personages. These heavenly beings inhabit different celestial strata, so that we see them by looking up through all the strata above us, strata invisible and intangible to us.

Between our earth and the sky intervene the clouds (*menkóri*), believed to be a distinct stratum with its own class of good spirits.[7] The clouds, of course, are visible high in the air. Air is called *tampéa* (which means both air and wind) and it is the way in which what lies directly above the stratum we stand on is experienced by us. Air is comprehended as a substance analogous to water in that we move around in and breathe air just as aquatic life moves around in and breathes water. This understanding, far from self-evident–for is the air not invisible, intangible, and therefore nothing? –was brought to my attention forcibly in the course of a conversation about the "human beings" who live in lakes. "But how do they breathe? " I asked. "Just as we do in this," replied the Campa, waving his arm through the air.

Within the layer of air that sits upon the stratum of our earth, exist meteorological phenomena that are recognized and interpreted: wind (*tampéa*) and rain (*inkáni*), lightning (*porekacíri*) and thunder (*otíre*), and the explosive thunderbolt (*tonkamentóci*). Winds are not personified, but they are considered to be bad and to have their origin in caves.[8] Rain is interpreted in terms of the activities of the *menkorisáti* (cloud dwellers), to be described in the next section. The occurrence of a flash of lightning is **porek**,[9] just as any flash of light is **morek**, so that a lightning flash is *porekacíri* (that which is **porék**) or, when the flash pulsates, *moremoretáciri*. Every lightning flash is a traveling good spirit or shaman's soul, hence the verb form is *ipóreki* (he flashes) or, less precisely, *imóreki*, with *yo(am)arénta* as an alternative expression having the same meaning. Thunder is *otíre*, and is understood to be the sounds made by the thunder spirits from *Otiriáni* when they venture forth. Thunder (*otíre*) and earth tremors (*oníka*), both involving reverberations, are associated in the Campa mind, and are both understood to come from downriver. A thunderbolt is *tonkamentóci* (shotgun) or *itonkaménto* (his shotgun), it being understood that a good spirit has discharged his weapon against a demon. *Omanarónci* (gunfire) is another name for thunder and lightning, and signifies that an enemy has chewed and blown into the air *omanaroncivénki* (one of the *ivénki*'s) to announce his attack.[10]

Beneath our earth two strata are distinguished. The stratum immediately below the earth is called *Kivínti*, inhabited by good spirits and into which the earth's river falls at *Ocitiríko*. The *kivintisáti* (inhabitants of *Kivínti*), good spirits with greater than mortal powers, can visit the regions above at will. Not all Campas recognize the existence of *Kivínti*, however, nor is anything more of significance ascribed to it by those who do. The shaman Porekavánti informed me that *Kivínti* is an underworld where the sacred birds *pónea* (? Olive Oropendola) and *ciróti* (Yellow-rumped Cacique) reside. Another informant–Kenčóri–gave *kivínti* as the name of the spirits who inhabit this first subterranean level, calling the stratum itself *Savinkáiteri* (that which is farther below). The word *Kivínti* may derive from the root *-ki-* (to burrow). *Kivínti* would be equivalent to the "Kamabiría" reported for the Machiguengas, except that the Campas do not speak of a river coursing through it.[11]

The second subterranean stratum, presumably situated below *Kivínti*, but the Campas are somewhat vague on this point, is *Šarinkavéni*, the Campa hell, the stronghold of the demons, where the Lord of Demons, *Koriošpíri*, resides and presides. The term *Šarinkavéni* has no ulterior meaning that could be elicited from my informants, although the ending *-veni* suggests the character of a place name.[12] *Šarinkavéni* would be equivalent to the "Gamáironi" reported for the Machiguengas, a word which contains the root *-kam-* (to die, be dead).[13] One might strongly suspect missionary influence to account for this Campa version of a subterranean hell, but the term with its present denotation is reported in an eighteenth-century document written no more than a century after the first significant European contact.[14]

Thus, if we were to cut a vertical plane through the Campa universe the cross section would show a number of superimposed strata with our own earth in an intermediate position (see fig. 8). From bottom to top the strata include *Šarinkavéni*, *Kivínti*, our earth (*Kama-*

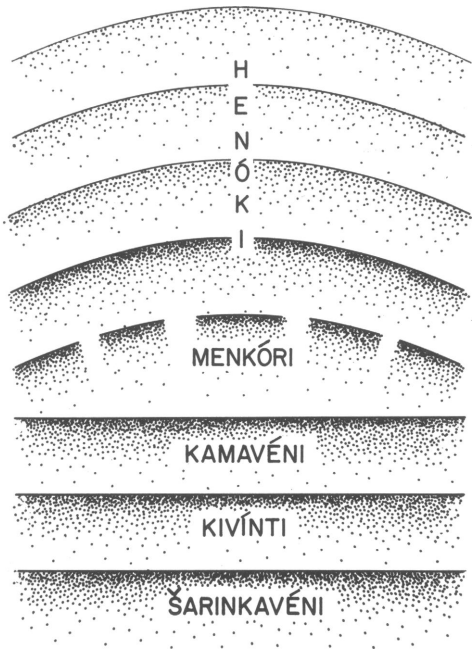


FIG. 8. Campa cosmography: the vertical structure of the universe.

véni), the clouds (*menkóri*), and an indeterminate number of celestial strata comprising the sky (*henóki* or *Inkíte*). The earth alone contains mortal beings. It is flat, and there is nothing to indicate that the subterranean levels are otherwise. But the sky is concave, curving down to approach the earth at its rim.

An important property of this series of levels is that the inhabitants of each stratum perceive it and experience it as solid underfoot, as *kipáci* (ground), while perceiving the strata above as *henóki* (sky). The solidity of the earth is not an inherent property but only the manner in which it appears to us. The earth is spacious sky to those who inhabit the nether strata and, for that matter, to the demons (*mankóite*) living within the cliffs (*impérita*) along the rivers in Campa territory. Indeed, what is the earth but a two-dimensional surface on which we reside, a surface that separates an apparent lower solidity from an apparent upper fluidity? This, at any rate, appears to be what the Campas have in mind when they consider the matter. And it may be for this reason that Campa topographical terms refer to the contours of the earth's surface and not to the solid mass within and beneath.

NOTES

[1]The position of the Eleatic school regarding the world of appearances is well known. For this epigraph, see Nahm 1947:267.

[2]From *isávi* (down below) plus *-ki* (at). There is also the verb form *isáviki* (*i-savik-i*), meaning "(where) he sits down" or "(where) he resides," which appears to be conceptually related.

[3]Padre García (1935-1937:XVII, 171) reported for the Machiguengas that "*Inkite*, the blue sky, is terra firma like ours . . ." which conforms to the Campa data, but he continued with ". . . and flat, without any hill," which goes beyond what the Campas claim to know about the upper realms.

[4]The minnow *saaventári* (unidentified) appears only in brooks after heavy rains, and the Campa shamans claim (so it was reported to me) that these little fish are from *Hananeríte*, thrown into the brooks to feed us by *Tasórenci*. The significance of the term *tasórenci* is explained below.

[5]According to Padre García (1935-1937:XVII, 173-174), the Machiguengas do use the term "Ananeríite," but for them it refers to one of several groups of good spirits living on the banks of the "Meshiaréni," that most numerous group seen by us as stars.

[6]According to Padre Aza (1924:28; see also 1923:291; Steward and Métraux 1948:551): "They have focused as well on the Milky Way, which they consider as a river in which the animals rejuvenate themselves by bathing, changing skin and plumage, for which reason they call it *Meshiarene*." (The animals referred to by Padre Aza must be sacred animals.) Padre García (1935-1937:XVII, 171) reported the following: "Many of the good spirits live in the mountains, but the majority reside on the *Meshiaréni* river and its tributaries. The entire expanse of *Inkite*, the blue sky, . . . [is] crossed by the immense river *Meshiaréni*, *Meshiari*, or *Meshia*–the Milky Way–which means 'river where the skin is changed.' " He related further, of the good spirits, that "all bathe in the *Meshiaréni* to change skin and preserve the blessed gifts which they enjoy" (1935-1937:XVII, 173). (The Campas, with respect to their own *Hananeríte* belief, have no knowledge of the "tributaries" mentioned here.) Padre Cenitagoya ([1943]:184) offered the following passage: "Bathing in the *Meshiarene*–

Milky Way–which they suppose a river that formerly pertained to this planet–they strip off their skin and recover eternal youth." (The Campas have no such tradition of their *Hananeríte* ever being on earth.) Pereira (1944b:93) reported the following: "The Milky Way . . . *Meshiaréni* (river where the skin is changed). According to the belief of the Machiguengas that river crosses the paradise where the souls of the fortunate will stay." See also Hammerly Dupuy 1945:290.

Padre García (1935-1937:XVII, 171-172) described how the river "Meshiaréni" flows to the rim of the world: "It arises above in the sky, and little by little descends to be united with the earth below, there far away, very far away. The earth, there where it ends, appears brusquely cut as by an enormous landslide. All the rivers, including the *Meshiaréni*, plunge into the abyss. Beyond nothing exists, nor is anything seen other than a very cloudy atmosphere. . . . In the mouth of the *Meshiaréni* there is a path of ascension to the sky; but the path as well as the river itself are invisible, and only the *Seripegári* (soothsayers), when they are enchanted, see them." The Campas, by contrast, claim not to know where *Hananeríte* goes, and do not describe the rim of the earth in these terms.

[7]Once again the Machiguengas have a similar belief, as reported by Padre García (1935-1937:XVII, 172): "Here above, between the earth and the stars, there exists another terra firma, with rivers, forests, and hills, like this one on which we live. Only the *Seripegári* see it. It is called *Menkorípatsa*, which signifies 'region of the clouds.' It is watered by another tributary of the *Meshiaréni* called *Manaironcháari.* It is a privileged land, though perhaps less so than that of the sky or *Inkite.*" The "rivers, forests, and hills"–and the river "Manaironcháari"–of which Padre García spoke are not recognized by the Campas as features of the stratum of clouds. Moreover, the inhabitants of this first supraterrestrial stratum are, for the Campas, good spirits and not demons as Padre García described them for the Machiguengas (1935-1937:XVII, 221, 224).

[8]For the possible significance of these ideas about wind, see Dundes 1962:1046.

[9]Terms between asterisks are verb roots uttered without affixes to signal the kind of action taking place.

[10]A warrior takes some *omanaroncivénki* and chews the nodes, then blow-spits the chewed *ivénki* in the direction of the community he proposes to attack. The result is thunder and lightning visible to the threatened community. Thunder and lightning are also imputed to the anger of a shaman, attesting to the power he is understood to possess. A number of these meteorological terms, and others not recognized by my informants, are given in the following sources: Adam 1890:93; Delgado 1896-1897:VI, 238, 348-349; Sala 1929:340, 342, 355; Savage-Landor 1913:II, 424, 428; Zavala 1895:162-163; and, for the Machiguengas, Aza 1923:234, 237, 281; Carrasco 1901:210; Castelnau 1850-1851:V, 291; García 1935-1937:XVII, 178.

[11]García 1935-1937:XVII, 172: "Another great tributary of the *Meshiaréni* is the river *Kamabiría*–river of the dead–which gives its name to another paradisiacal land, as large as this one and situated below it, not far from the surface."

[12]I find in my early field notes the verb root *-širinka-* (to subside), which seems a likely source for this term.

[13]The description given by Padre García (1935-1937:XVII, 221) is as follows: "Some devils live above in the 'region of the clouds'–*Menkorípatsa*–and many others here on the earth; but their principal abode, where the immense majority reside, is *Gabáironi* [*sic*]–'the place of death or of cadavers.' The hell *Gamáironi* was created by the evil god *Kientibákari.* It is below this earth, farther below than *Kamabiría*, and very distant. It is an extensive land, topographically resembling ours. There are in it dense forests but without fruits or edible birds and animals. Running through it in all directions is the torrential river *Kamabenía*–'the river of death.' . . . [This river and its tributaries] are not good to drink, nor do they contain any fish. The region of *Kamabiría* is with respect to *Gamáironi* what the blue sky–*Inkite*–is with respect to us." Again, the great river and forests attributed here to this lowest region are not recognized by the Campas. Furthermore, *Kamavéni* is the name given by the Campas to our own earth. Padre García, much to his credit, was able to capture the idea that each stratum is the sky of the stratum below.

[14]The anonymous *Arte de la Lengua de los Indios Antis o Campas* (Adam 1890:41, 58, 77-79, 104; see also Delgado 1896-1897:VI, 102).

DENIZENS OF THE UNIVERSE: THE GODS AND GOOD SPIRITS

O lord omnipotent! *Oji totzorinchi pingatzari.*

–Adam 1890:56

Into a stratified universe, the Campas introduce hosts of beings which manifest themselves to our senses in one form or another but have the ability to revert to their true form–human form,

normally invisible to us. These beings, of course, are the spirits, whose powers of invisibility, transformation, rapid flight, and overwhelming strength, though these powers vary among them, mark them as superior to mortals. But in Campa belief the soul (*išíre*) of every human mortal is itself a spirit, which can leave the body to engage in all the behavior of a free spirit, and is finally freed from the body at death to join one or another category of free spirits. Indeed, the vast majority of the spirits are referred to as *ašáninka* (our fellow tribesmen), or alternatively as *ašáninka pérani* (our fellow tribesmen long ago). In general, they are not ancestral spirits properly speaking, as no direct line of descent is traced, but they are understood to have begun their existence as members of the Campa populace. In this and the following section will be catalogued the recognized categories of spirits and a description of their characteristics.

The Campas have no word that means spirit, just as they have no word that means body,[1] but the distinction appears to be clear in their minds, despite the fact that the discrimination between body and soul is often blurred in discourse.[2] This blurring appears to stem in large part from a contempt for the physical body because of its limitations, and its insignificant role as mere "clothing" or "skin" of the soul.[3] Onto the great category of spirits–or rather of free spirits–for which they have no term, the Campas project a dualism or dichotomy of good (benevolent and beneficial) versus evil (malevolent and destructive) that separates the category of free spirits into two great hosts, for which the Campas do have appropriate terminology.

The good spirits are referred to as *ašáninka* (our fellow tribesmen), which not only suggests their origin in the Campa population at some time in the past but also suggests that they remain Campas "in spirit," maintaining close bonds of sympathy with the present Campa population. But whereas this usage of the term *ašáninka* is simply an extension of its normal significance of membership in the Campa population, an equivalent term *amacénka* is applied exclusively to the good spirits. The precise meaning of the term *amacénka* would remain a mystery if we did not know that the Machiguengas call themselves *amačénka* just as the Campas call themselves *ašáninka.* This, at any rate, is what I learned from my Campa informants. The Campa term *amacénka*, then, is either an archaism or a word borrowed from the Machiguengas and used as a special synonym for *ašáninka* in referring to the good spirits alone. If this interpretation is correct, the Campa term *amacénka* may be translated as "our fellow tribesmen, the good spirits."[4]

The good spirits, usually called *amacénka*, are with equal frequency called *manínkari* (those who are hidden), the Hidden Ones. The significance of that term, of course, is that the good spirits normally are invisible, concealed from the eyes of human mortals. One Campa expressed it thus in the course of a narrative:

"Yoamarénta,	yoamarentahééta,	oravé,	imaninkaríti.	
"They flash,	they all flash,	that is,	they are the	
	Aneavakéri	iroamarentapéémpa?	Éiro aneavakéri.	
Hidden Ones.	Do we see them	when they flash?	We don't see them.	
Haokaríka	okantakóte	akíki?"		
How might	they be	our eyes?"[5]		

The hosts of good spirits–*amacénka*, *manínkari*–have as their places of residence the commanding regions of the world and universe. They crowd the sky and inhabit *Kivínti* as well. They live at the rim of the knowable world, where their main centers of habitation are at *Intatóni* and *Ocitiríko.* In Campa territory, the mountain ridges (*otíši*) are their dwelling places. *Henóki*, *Kivínti*, *Intatóni*, *Ocitiríko*, *otíši*–these are the regions populated by the good spirits.[6]

From their places of residence the good spirits come to visit the territory of the Campas. Often they are seen passing in the form of lightning flashes (which may also be the souls of shamans in flight), or of thunder rumbling across the sky. More tangibly, they also appear in the form of certain species of birds, or in the form of otters, which thus are sacred in character. The sacred birds are those most beautiful in plumage or most stately in flight. One sacred bird is preeminent, *ašívanti* (the Swallow-tailed Kite, *Elanoides forficatus*), called *kačáonti* on the lower Tambo. All hummingbirds (*conkíri*) are sacred, with the exception of the demonic *cíisanti.* Of the sacred hummingbirds two species are distinguished by name–*kamévira* and *neorónke.* Many sacred birds fall into the category of *ciméri* (small birds), although larger birds, such as the herons, are also sacred.

Table 6 lists all the sacred birds made known to me, with their common and scientific names where known, or with some description, however inadequate, furnished by the Campas. This list is not necessarily complete, nor are some of the scarcer birds on it recognized by all Campas. It might be noted that most of the birds said to reside on the mountain ridges (*otíši*) do indeed tend to nest and be seen at the higher elevations, and the river fowl stated to reside at *Ocitiríko* (River's End) do appear to migrate from downriver.[7] Sacred also are the otters, both the smaller *parári* (*Lutra* sp.) and the larger, white-throated *čaravapána* (*Pteroneura brasiliensis*).[8] These riverine animals also are believed to have their homes at *Ocitiríko.*

The sacred bird *ašívanti* (Swallow-tailed Kite) is also called *virakóča* (Caucasian). Indeed, in its true human form *ašívanti* is envisioned as a white person with white clothes and a blue jacket. *Ašívanti*'s residence is *Ocitiríko* (*Intatóni* is also mentioned), and perhaps by association of ideas the center of Caucasian residence is believed to be downriver. *Ašívanti* is understood to furnish the Campas with the following edible insects (*comiricáye*): *eráma, kapóte, kariéni / kemíši, masóa, onkoráto / koréa, póko, šintikéni, šinčai, šiópa, tineóri, tinkéni, čarinári,* and *čáro* (none identified). These are all sons (*itómi*) of *ašívanti*, with the exception of *masóa*, who is his grandson (*isári*). It is the function of the shaman to visit the home of *ašívanti* in spirit and beg *ašívanti*'s wife to permit his "brothers" to return with him to feed his tribesmen. *Ašívanti*, then, is *paváčori* (father's brother) to the Campas.[9]

Conkíri (hummingbird) is credited with being the "owner" of the sacred tobacco plant, that is, with bringing and planting the tobacco seed. This belief in all likelihood had its origin in the fact that tobacco usually grows spontaneously–without being planted by the Campas–combined with the observation that hummingbirds suck the flowers of the tobacco plant. *Ašívanti* is also spoken of as a bringer of tobacco.

The sacred birds that do not reside at *Ocitiríko* (including *conkiriníro* [Purple Honeycreeper], which may have been erroneously identified as a resident at that place) are referred to as *itómi Pává* (sons of the Sun). They may be killed for their pelts or feathers and, except for the hummingbirds, eaten. The sacred birds and the otters, residing at *Ocitiríko* (and thus *ocitiríkosati*, or *kirínkasati* [downriver dwellers]), may not be killed.[10] They are all *itómi Pačákama* (sons of *Pačákama*), with the exception of *ašívanti* (Swallow-tailed Kite), *pitíri* (? Roseate Spoonbill), and the otters, which are *itómi Pává.* It is the *ocitiríkosati* who guard the hole through which the river falls at *Ocitiríko*, to prevent a log jam. They fling away the flotsam with their great strength and burn it, the smoke from which can be seen coming from downriver during the dry season. It is they–*parári* (small otter), *čaravapána* (large otter), *áávo* (White-necked Heron), *compári* (Great Egret), *katári* (Anhinga), etc.–who are the "owners" of fish, bringing the fish from downriver every year after the rainy season. Some shamans speak of the cayman (*saníri*) as *ašáninka* and as the chief (*koráka*) of fish, but this belief is not integrated into the overall vision that we are describing.[11]

Thus the good spirits, when they visit the land of mortals, cannot, under normal conditions, be seen in their true human form for they are invisible to the human eye. They may be heard in the rumble of thunder, flash by in blinding streaks of light, or take on an organic covering to appear as birds or beasts. The birds in the last instance are only the "clothing" of the spirits, which explains why certain of the sacred birds–those encountered in the forest, thus excluding the river

fowl—can be killed. The hunter, before killing a sacred bird, first requests its "clothing," and on being killed the soul (*išíre*) of the bird is understood to return to its home where it resumes its human form. The hunter can, in the case of the smaller birds, remove the hide (with bill, feathers, and feet attached) and use the pelt as a properly reverenced sacred ornament suspended from his wicker crown or robe. Such use of pelts is especially prominent in the Ipoki region. The larger *santáni* (Oilbird) and *šimpóni* (a crested guan) are not skinned in this way, but their feathers are taken for use as male adornments; the scalp of the guan serves as a female adornment. Except for hummingbirds, the flesh of all these birds can be eaten.[12]

The Campas believe that the inability of the human eye to see the good spirits in their true form can be overcome by the continual ingestion of psychotropic drugs, especially tobacco and ayahuasca, a process that in time and with perseverance will improve the eyesight to the point where the good spirits can be seen for what they are. Those who strive for and achieve this extraordinary vision are, of course, the shamans (*šeripiári*). Others, lacking a tolerance for nicotine in concentrated form, or lacking the inclination to undergo the rigorous training of a shaman, can at best hope to glimpse the good spirits while under the influence of ayahuasca. The following textual passages bring out in quite striking fashion the Campa comprehension of these matters:

"Iriotáke mééka yóká itímí šeripiári matírori
"It is he now he here he lives shaman he who can

počáro. Imáánake iriórí yóká yoviáro počáro.
(take) it tobacco. He sleeps he he here, he drinks it tobacco.

Imáánake,[13] yoáro počáro. Imáánake, ineavakéri
He sleeps, he eats it tobacco. He sleeps, he sees them

-- kempetáčari arórí aká, amišivééti arórí
when they arrive -- which is like us here, we always dream we

-- ineavakéri, yoamarentavákeri
-- he sees them when they arrive, he sees them in human form

aká. Iporekapááka
when they arrive as lightning flashes here. They arrive as lightning

aká, ineavakéri iriórí šeripiári. . . .
flashes here, he sees them when they arrive he shaman. . . .

"Ikantakoyetírime šeripiaripé iriórí: katári,
"They say all about them now all the shamans they: Anhinga,

ašáninka íni parári, ašáninka
our fellow tribesman he is; small otter, our fellow tribesman

íni; čaravapána, ašáninka íni; čerépito,
he is; large otter, our fellow tribesman he is; [a sacred bird],

ašáninka íni; conkíri, ašáninka
our fellow tribesman he is; hummingbird, our fellow tribesman

íni -- pimantacíri počáro. Oviakayetáriri iriórí
he is -- he who gives tobacco. He who makes them all drink he

yóntá. 'Háoka itímiri nintírori počáro,
he over there. 'Where does he live he who likes it tobacco,

matírori počáro?' Ipóneaka ocípaki kipáci.
he who can (take) it tobacco?' He sallies forth from another land.

Ipokanáke irióri conkíri yamákero počáro. Ipapáákeri
He comes he hummingbird he brings it tobacco. He gives him

yóntá oviárori počáro: 'Héró óká, namákempi
he over there he who drinks it tobacco: 'Here it is, I have

počáro aká.' Yaavakéro irióri šeripiári
brought you tobacco here.' He takes it he shaman

aká. Oponeantaríkea yaavííro počáro aká.
here. Therefore it comes about, then, he can take it tobacco here.

Aroríka antéro počáro, áitake aneakeríme
If we were to do (take) it tobacco, so it is we would see them

arórí aká. Íro kantáinča apínkiro arórí,
we here. But unfortunately we dislike it we,

okepišitímotee arórí aká. Aríkea, ikántiro irínti
it is bitter to us we here. Yes, then, he does it he alone

yóntá šeripiaritáciri. Yoamarentantayetári
he over there he who is shaman. Therefore they all (come) as lightning

yóká henokiníri. . . .
flashes they here they who live in the sky. . . .

"Pameneté mééka yóká ikantáeti, ikantáetiri mééka,
"Look, now, now they are they say, what they say now,

ikárati mééka ašáninka mééka, ikantayétiri
they include now our fellow tribesmen now, all that they say

mééka: compári irísati ašáninka; áávo,
now: Great Egret, he also our fellow tribesman; White-necked Heron,

iriotáke ašáninka -- ačárine akántiri
it is he our fellow tribesman -- our grandfather we call him

-- áávo; parári, arénti. Yóra čaravapána
-- White-necked Heron; small otter, our brother. He there large otter

šííriri parári, yoránki antiári kitamaroriránki,
he who is like him small otter, he, that is, large white, that is,

aníri, amíriri šímá irióri aká.
our brother-in-law, he who brings them fish he here.

Akántiri mééka ipóki imaciróti šímá timáci amíriri
What we say now they come they swarm fish, there is he who

aká, timáci amíriri. Yóká,
brings them here, there is he who brings them. He here,

ašitaríri irióri aká. Yóra cimpéni irísati
he who owns them he here. He there, [a sacred bird] he also

ašáninka; pakíca[14] ašáninka; máároni
our fellow tribesman; hawk our fellow tribesman; all

yóra -- pičokíti ašáninka,
they there -- Paradise Tanagers our fellow

arentííte; ompîkiri irísati.
tribesmen, our many brothers; [another small bird] he also.

Máároni -- cimeriyetáciri -- pitóroro
All -- all that are small birds -- barbets

irísati arentiitepé máároni. Áisati ompíkiri
they also all our many brothers all. Also [a small bird]

irísati arentííte.
they also our many brothers.

"Ipónea: té imponéempa kempéhi
"They sally forth: they do not sally forth, surely, close by

irióri: ipónea henóki, ipónea
they: they sally forth from up in the sky, they sally forth

kirínka irióri aká. Paméne yóká, otirianisatipé,
(from) downriver they here. Look at them here, all who live in

akántiri mééka, akémiro otireánake tín tín tín
Thunderland, what we say now, we hear it it thunders *sound of

tín tín. Téé, itiriákoti[15]
rumbling thunder*. No, they are traveling in thundering vehicles

ašáninka aká, káári inééti. Opokanáke oníka,
our fellow tribesmen here, who are not seen. It comes earthquake,

otireánake kirínka, opokanáke. Té aneavakérihi
it thunders (from) downriver, it comes. We do not see them when

arentííte aká, arentííte ináveta
they arrive our many brothers here, our many brothers they were

pokáci aká. Té aneavakéri aróri aká.
who come here. We do not see them when they arrive we here.

Yoamarentavákari
He sees them in human form when they arrive as lightning flashes

irínti šeripiári irínti aká. Ineavakéri,
he alone shaman he alone here. He sees them when they arrive,

matírori počáro aká."
he who can (take) it tobacco here."

It is especially noteworthy that in these passages the sacred birds and otters, as *ašáninka*, are drawn into the kinship network of the tribe. *Aávo* (White-necked Heron) is "our grandfather," *parári* (small otter) is "our brother," *čaravapána* (large otter) is "our brother-in-law," etc. From this we can judge how very strong is the kinship basis of social relationships for the Campas. It is true that these particular kinship relationships would probably not be recognized systematically by most Campas, but they reveal the close bond Campas feel exist between themselves and the good spirits.

Still, it would be a mistake to affirm that the good spirits never appear in human form visible to normal human eyes. They do have the power to take on resplendent human corporeality if they so wish, but this occurs rarely. There is the case of the *amacénka* in human form reported to Padre Sala (see above, page 274, note 4). In addition, I was told that a number of years ago there appeared in *Tinkavéni*, a tributary of the *Anapáti* that empties into the Ene, various *amacénka*, *šankénti* (? Timelo) in human form.

Campas came from everywhere to see them, according to my informant, and the *šankénti* with their power created houses for the visitors, who filled the air with the sound of their veneration. There was a continual festival, days of drinking masato and chicha alternating with days of drinking ayahuasca. Some time later two *šankénti* visited the Catholic mission at Puerto Ocopa dressed in robes painted with achiote (*Bixa orellana*) and perfumed, to see the adoration of the true God. Instead they saw the veneration of false gods (*mankóite*), idols of chalk with sightless eyes, speechless mouths, and deaf ears. The Mother Superior there sent them away. So as to frighten those who received them so poorly, the *šankénti* produced thunder (*otireánake*) that rumbled to *Ocitiríko* followed by an earth tremor. The idols fell and broke, and **porek** (flash), the two visitors disappeared.

A band of Campa raiders near Puerto Ocopa went to visit the *amacénka* in *Anapáti*, and were well received. But their leader, piqued because the *šankénti* had appeared in *Anapáti* and not where he (the leader) resided, decided that they were false spirits and that he would kill them. He thereupon led a war party against them, but on his approach the *šankénti* reconverted to birds, and the houses to mountain ridges. If this had not occurred, all the Campas would have been united in *Anapáti* under the government of the *amacénka*.[16]

Not only are certain species in the animal kingdom sacred, but also there are other species understood to be husbanded by the good spirits. The toucan with a yellow throat encountered at the higher elevations, called *čári* (*Ramphastos ambiguus*), is described as *ivíra itómi Pává* (raised by sons of the Sun) or *ivíra otíšisati* (raised by the mountain-ridge dwellers). The small bird *kentiókiri* (unidentified) is mentioned as being *ivíra itómi Pává*. The Cracidae are described in the same way, both the Razor-billed Curassow *camíri* (*Mitu mitu*) and the guans, including *kanári*, *sankáti*, and *cióni*. Such other important game birds as the tinamou quails *kencóri* and *onkíri*, however, are not described in this way.

Peccaries, or wild pigs (*šintóri*), which are important game animals, are described as *ivíra Pává*, or *ivíra tasórenci* (raised by god). According to the shaman Porekaványti, a single wild pig is released from its corral up in the mountains, and the swineherd, *tasórenci*, pulls hairs out of its rump and blows them into the air, whereupon the wild pigs multiply and descend to the waiting Campa hunters. Once again it is the shaman's function to visit this supernatural swineherd in spirit and request that this be done. The releasing of the wild pigs is done on sufferance, and the

Campa hunters are enjoined to kill these animals with a single shot, as the wounded animals return to the swineherd, who has the trouble of curing them, and will be reluctant to send them in the future. According to the shaman Širikónka, the swineherd is a female ("our sister"), nevertheless the general term *tasórenci* still applies. The game animal *kapéši* (coati, *Nasua* sp.) is also raised by this spirit, although it is not kept corralled. *Kapéši* are referred to as *irocítite oitásati* (dogs of the mountain-ridge dwellers).

We must not neglect the plant kingdom in this discussion, for there are sacred plants with their associated good spirits. These include the psychotropic plants *kamárampi* (ayahuasca, *Banisteriopsis* sp.), *počáro* (tobacco), and the wild plant *kavíneri* (described by informants as tobacco-like).[17] A host of good spirits is understood to be associated with each of these plant species. They are of both sexes, although as plants take the inanimate-feminine gender there does seem to be a tendency to conceive of them primarily as females. They present themselves as supernatural mates to continent users of the plant in question.[18] The shamans use a special word, *nomankiáro* (my spirit wife, my psychotropic drink) to refer to them.[19]

In addition to the psychotropic plants mentioned, it appears that manioc and coca also have their spirit counterparts. The Campas are careful not to urinate on any of these plants, because they are "people." According to one informant, if an ayahuasca or tobacco plant is urinated on, it changes into an ocelot (*macóncori*); if one urinates on a coca plant, the plant blows on him and ordains that the next time he is drunk he will urinate on his companions; and if one urinates on manioc, the soul (*išíre*) of manioc flies weeping to *Pává*. In addition, if a manioc garden is not tended, *išíre kaníri* (the soul of manioc) flies to *Pává*, complaining that it is being molested by "snakes" (vines) and that it wants to leave earth; it will also complain to *Pává* of a broken back if its roots are broken when they are taken from the ground. Another informant asserted that, if one gets drunk on masato (which is made from manioc) and causes trouble, *kaníri* (manioc) will become angry and the manioc plants will die.

"Supernatural mates," it should be clear, implies no sexual relationship. An interesting feature of Campa thought is that the good spirits are believed to reproduce themselves, but without sexual intercourse, without labor pains, and without the inconveniences of child rearing. The sexual parts of the good spirits are described as diminutive. It is also understood that a female spirit gives birth with a mere shake of her robe, and the resulting offspring stands at birth and reaches adulthood in about a month.[20] That the Campas project the sexual dichotomy and the reproduction it implies onto this category of spirits is reasonable, for are they not "people"? That they presume the good spirits to be free of the sufferings and inconveniences that accompany the process of reproduction among mortals is also reasonable. What is not reasonable is the Campa denial of sexual activity to the good spirits, and one might suspect Catholic missionary influence if two things were not known: first, that sexuality introduces a great amount of conflict into Campa society; and secondly, that sexual activities are understood to sap the power of anyone trying to contact the good spirits by the heroic consumption of psychotropic drugs.

The good spirits live in their remote homes in human form, their daily existence duplicating that of the Campas, except that they are always happy, never experiencing sadness, trouble, or pain, and are in possession of all good things in abundance, be it food, manufactures either native or Caucasian, or anything else to ensure their comfort. Padre García's description of the good spirits as envisioned by the Machiguengas (1935-1938:XVII, 173) is, apart from the matter of changing skin, entirely acceptable to the Campas:

> All the good spirits . . . are beings invisible, happy, immortal, and very beautiful. All of them were created by *Tasorínchi.* They do not sleep, but they eat, drink, get drunk, sing, play musical instruments, and dance. They do not get sick or old. There are both sexes, and each family lives in its own house. Those who work, which is almost everyone, cultivate a little, more or less, the same kinds of plants as the Machiguengas here, although they are of better quality. Everyone bathes in the *Meshiaréni* to change skin and conserve the blessed gifts which they enjoy.[21]

Along with the "good spirits" the Campas recognize other creatures of supernatural power

that do not conform to the good-evil dichotomy. These creatures are not classified as demons but they can hardly be described as benevolent or beneficial.

There is, for example, the bird *ecóni.* This bird, unidentified at this writing, is described as being about a foot long, navy blue or black, with a white throat. *Ecóni*, living here on earth, rises to block the passage of the souls of the dead as they attempt to rise to the sky, flinging them down in the form of shooting stars (*miháni / oipiári / parínari*).[22] *Ecóni* is not a demon, but rather a "bad god": *tasórenci ináveta ecóni* (*ecóni* is a god in vain). Here we approach, and perhaps achieve, the concept of a "species master," for the being spoken of here is *ecóni sánori* (the true *ecóni*), *iríri ecóni* (the Father of *ecóni*), as distinct from the visible birds themselves. No *ecóni* is ever killed, for fear of retribution by their "Father." Why the Campas have singled out this bird and attributed to it such supernatural significance may relate to a striking habit of the *ecóni*: flocks of these birds wheel in circles in the air, permitting the shamans to claim that they see them in human form, dancing in a circle playing panpipes.

Then, there is *tasórenci ináveta amémpori. Amémpori*, from its description, is a condor, perhaps *Sarcoramphus papa* if not *Vultur gryphus.* This bird, according to the Campas, is a great chief (*koráka*) with many daughters, residing at the level of the clouds. According to the informant Šaríti, *amémpori* adores God, performing Mass like the padres (no doubt an allusion to the stretching of the condor's wings), but the great danger is that one's spirit can be fooled into thinking that *amémpori* is the true God, and so come to follow a god that is false.[23]

Finally, there is the dreaded *yaanáite*, which inhabits the remote higher elevations in Campa territory. *Yaanáite* is described either as similar in appearance to the kinkajou (*kicáni*) or as taking the form of any of the known arboreal creatures. This vicious beast kills any human being venturing into its habitat, using a "soundless shotgun" that it manufactures for the purpose, eating the body and the very ground on which the victim's blood is spilled. Some Campas add that it eats through its tail, and that it can be killed only by cutting off that appendage. Yet *yaanáite* is referred to as *itómi Pává* (son of God) and *ikónki kešíto* ("mother's brother" of the sacred bird *kešíto*—although the shaman Porekaványti says *irániri*, "brother-in-law").

This anomalous conceptualization of *yaanáite* as a creature that is good but does evil, appears to have its source in the difficulty of reconciling the belief that the mountain ridges (dangerous and strange) are the abodes of good spirits. Whether or not *yaanáite* actually exists as an animal living in the heights, jaguars are found there, for the heights are their haunts; there also are the mysterious lakes and other details of terrain and organic life, absent at the familiar lower elevations, all shrouded in the solitude of a region devoid of human occupation.

Another element enters here too, a diffuse understanding that is more implicit than explicit in what the Campas actually say. The Hidden Ones (*manínkari*) are good spirits. Yet their goodness lies primarily in their being good and perfect, rather than in their doing good. They are paragons of goodness, but no Campa ever expects aid from a good spirit. Their doings, their comings and goings, are mysterious and unpredictable, and bear no relation to the needs and wishes of the Campas. They do what they want and not what the Campas want, they manifest themselves when they wish, and are harsh judges of human frailty. Their places of residence are sacrosanct, and they suffer no trespassing by imperfect mortals. The best shamans are privileged to visit their homes, but only because of the degree of perfection that those shamans have attained. The shaman Porekaványti claimed that he visited *Intatóni* and *Ocitiríko*, but that he had not yet reached the point where he could visit the good spirits in the sky. He further stated that the spirits at *Intatóni* do not appreciate being visited by the soul of someone still living, and will convert any such visitor into a monkey (*ošéto*), unless he shows himself to be perfect by not running after the women there.

Although the Campas distinguish good and evil beings in nature, nature itself often brings the two into proximity, and the Campas recognize this. I was told that below *Santáro* on the right side of the Tambo there is a brook called *Manitináha* which emerges from a large hole. There, large hummingbirds (*conkíri* and *ka-*

mévira) present themselves to visitors, but in that hole can be heard the sounds of jaguars, and indeed the name of that brook must not be uttered nearby or a jaguar will appear. The hummingbirds, the good spirits, can take care of themselves, but a mortal must fend for himself, and even the presence of good spirits does not lessen the inherent danger of such places. The existence of *yaanáite*, son of God and slayer of men, testifies to just how unmanageable is the universe in which the Campas live, where mortals are weak and must exercise great care and circumscription to prevent being crushed by the greater forces of the cosmos.

The good spirits form among themselves a hierarchy of power, with a few great spirits at the summit to which all the rest are subordinate. The Campas call these preeminent beings in the hierarchy of *manínkari* by the distinguishing term *tasórenci*, and we can with confidence call them "gods." The term *tasórenci* is a critical one, for it contains within it reference to the manner in which these great spirits exercise their power. It is the substantive form of the verb root *-tasonk-* (to blow).[24] The Campa belief is that the tremendous creative acts of these most powerful spirits are effected with no more than a puff of breath. The magnitude of the power inherent in these spirits stands revealed by the modest effort they need put forth to bring about a change in the universe, especially as they are conceived to be no larger than human beings.

One is struck by the close parallel between the Campa belief and the manner in which the God of the Scriptures was believed to have effected His creation.[25] But an equally striking difference should be noted. The Campa gods never create out of nothing: they create by transformation. The act of blowing by a god, or *tasórenci*, is an act of transforming something into something else. The Campa understanding is that only by such uncanny and instantaneous transformations do new forms come into existence.

The Campa god most noted for his powers of creative transformation is *Avíreri*. Many species of animals and plants, many rocks, certain features of Campa culture, and certain general features of the universe, were brought into existence by him while he lived in Campa territory. His reputation is such that when the author of a particular transformation is unknown or unspecified, there is a tendency to credit him with the act. The disruption that he caused by converting his fellow Campas into novel nonhuman forms is recounted in the myth cycle concerning him. *Avíreri* is god, trickster, and culture hero to the Campas, a god because of his great powers of transformation, a trickster because of the mayhem occasioned by his gratuitous transformations, and something of a culture hero because of his contributions to Campa culture. *Avíreri* now resides at *Ocitiríko*, retained there by *Pačákama* to keep him from further mischief.

The god *Pačákama* sustains the earth at *Ocitiríko*. There he is rooted and does not move, lest the earth fall. Earth tremors occur when *Pačákama* stirs, according to the informant Šariti, but he does not move the earth enough to destroy it because all the *manínkari* who live on the mountain ridges are his "sons" (or "children") and would be dispossessed with no place to go, as the sky is already filled with the "sons" of the Sun.[26] The resemblance between this god's name and the Incan "Pachacamac" is too close for us to presume anything but diffusion of the name as that of a god to account for it. It is probable that the Campas were the borrowers.[27]

Avíreri and *Pačákama*, then, are two of the most powerful beings in the Campa universe. But it should not be concluded that they are known to all Campas. The shaman Porekaványti, now residing on the tributary *Onkonéni* of the Tambo River but originally from the Ene region, claimed never to have heard of *Pačákama*, and it is true that the only Campas who spoke of that god had as their provenance the Perené region. For Porekaványti, *Avíreri* is the great creator god and sustainer of the earth, ranking even above the Sun in importance. The shaman Širikónka, raised and living on the Tambo, claimed never to have heard either of *Pačákama* or of *Avíreri*, so that for him there were only good spirits at *Ocitiríko*, undistinguished by name. It would be easy to say that both gods are known in the Perené region, *Avíreri* only in the Ene region, and neither in the Tambo region, but even if such a division is an oversimplification, there can be no doubt about the existing variation in belief.[28]

There is another god residing at *Ocitiríko*, *Ínka*, who plays a remarkable role in Campa cos-

mology. *Ínka* is the unwilling culture hero of the Caucasians, the technological genius who supplies the Caucasians with their superior material culture. According to Campa belief, *Ínka* was formerly the ruler (*pinkáciri*) of Campa territory and a great shaman, who voyaged downriver on a raft at a time when a great flood was produced by the Caucasians. This enabled the Caucasians, whose territory is downriver, to capture *Ínka* and force him to manufacture the superior artifacts that they now possess. *Ínka* remains a captive downriver to this day, wishing to return to his people but restrained by the Caucasians. If he ever did return, the existing relationship between Campa and Caucasian would, of course, be reversed.[29] It is in this way that the technological superiority of the alien Caucasians is explained in terms meaningful to the Campas. It should be understood that the Campa god *Ínka* is not to be identified with the Inca of the Andean Empire, of whom the present-day Campas know nothing, however reasonable it may seem that the one was derived from the other. The Inca Empire was conquered by the Spaniards, its rulers murdered and the Empire destroyed, but the *Ínka* of the Campas never dies, and some day he may return to his people—the Campas, not the despised *čóri* of the Highlands—and set things right. One thing is certain: the god *Ínka* and his history are post-Conquest phenomena.

Having considered the terrestrial gods recognized by the Campas, we proceed to the gods residing on the strata above the earth. We first encounter the level of the clouds (*menkóri*), where we find the Campa god of rain, *Inkanítari* or *Inkaniványti* (from *inkáni* [rain]). *Inkanítari* and, indeed, all the good spirits of that level are hidden from view by the clouds. They wear white robes, drink sweet masato, and, like all the other good spirits, bathe in *Hananeríte* to maintain their immortality. *Ašívanti* supplies *Inkanítari* with water from the earth's river, which *Inkanítari* then keeps in a kind of tank. A light rain indicates that the female spirits there, drunk and happy, are throwing water at each other. A heavy rain indicates that *Inkanítari* is very drunk, and has upset the tank of water.

Up above, in *Inkíte*, reside two other great gods of the Campas, the Sun and the Moon. The Sun, first among the gods,[30] is known by several names. He is called *Kacirinkáiteri* (he who is hot).[31] This is the common name for the Sun, and indeed the word is often used to mean simply, "it is a hot day." He may be called *Oriáciri* (he who illuminates).[32] He may be called *Ínti*, the Quechuan name for the Sun.[33] In a specifically religious context he is most often called *Pává* (Father). Finally, he may be called "Dios," Spanish for God, or any variation of the word more in keeping with Campa phonology and morphophonemics (*Dióši*, *Iróši*, *Iróiši*, etc.).[34] These, then, are the Campa names for their sun god: *Kacirinkáiteri*, *Oriáciri*, *Ínti*, *Pává*, and *Diós*. The Sun is also referred to as *Tasórenci*, with what can be inferred from context as a capital *T*, for the Sun is first among the gods. The Sun is God.

The Campa conception of the high god *Tasórenci* / *Pává* / *Kacirinkáiteri* (his most common names) might proceed as follows: He has human form, being tall of stature, with a skin "clear" as a mirror, wearing a white robe and a brilliant wicker crown. He wears no face paint, though his "sons" do. It is not known whether he lives alone or has a consort. He has existed continuously since "long, long ago" (*pérani*, *pérani*—there being no word for "always" in the Campa language). The good spirits in the sky are his "sons," and he resides above them all. Indeed, he is the Father of all, even of the demons, and he created all good things. He is all-powerful, all-seeing, all-knowing, and very good. Long ago, when *Tasórenci* was on earth, the Campas saw him, but today not even the shamans see him—they see only his sons. When he lived on earth he had a magnificent garden, but it is not known if he has one now; he ate and drank, but it is not known if he still does so; he sang, danced, and played musical instruments—which he still does.[35] This is not a description, clearly, of the visible sun. It is of the Campa high god, as he is in reality, and the visible sun is simply how he appears to our eyes.[36] He gives us heat and he gives us light, and he sets to bring on darkness so that we can sleep and rest. But how he returns to the east at each sunrise is a mystery, part of what is unknown about the mechanics of the universe.[37]

When the Campas speak, as they do, of *Tasórenci* or *Pává* as if he were a remote and invisible god living in a general way in the sky, it is diffi-

cult to distinguish between him and the Caucasian God. But, although we may suspect that missionary influence has had some effect in refining the Campa concept of a solar deity, that effect should not be exaggerated. The labyrinth of Campa theologizing invariably leads back to the visible sun as the manifest high god of the universe. Any concept of a God who is not the Sun, and who in fact created the sun among other things, is absolutely alien to Campa thought, and will be found only among those missionized Campas who have abandoned the old beliefs.[38]

The other major god or *tasórenci* in the sky is *Kašíri*, the Moon, also called *Mačánkori*, *Šimáte*, *Sánto*, and *Salvadór*. The last two names are, of course, the Spanish terms for saint and savior respectively. As we see, the Campas have taken over a number of sacred terms from the missionaries and applied them, divested of their precise original meanings, to their own gods. There are two important facts concerning the Moon: he is a cannibal, and he is the father of the Sun. The Moon, like the Sun, originally lived on earth. It was the Moon who gave manioc to the Campas, the Campas having previously subsisted on termites' nests. He took a Campa wife who gave birth to the Sun and was burned to death in doing so. His cannibal propensities forced him to flee to the sky, where he can now be seen. He still feeds on his fellow Campas, but now only when they die, and the waxing of the moon is the filling of the belly of the Moon with dead Campas. It is not known how he obtains them nowadays, but formerly he had a fish screen (*išímpere Kašíri*) just above *Koári* on the Tambo (and another at *Otíka* on the Ene) where he caught the Campa dead as they floated downriver. The remains of *išímpere Kašíri* can still be seen as a rapid on the left side of the river above *Koári*.[39]

Speculation about how the Moon continues to supply himself with his favorite food took two forms among my informants: (1) that the Moon now has his fish screen on the Milky Way; and (2) that the Moon has an invisible fish screen blocking the entire river here on earth, into which the dead, also invisible, float and are trapped. It is not known whether the Moon eats only the souls of the dead or their bodies as well. *Kašíri* eats everyone, both good and bad, except the good shamans and perhaps some other good Campas, who join the *manínkari*.[40]

The Moon is a male god, as are all the great gods of the Campa pantheon, and he is the father of the Sun.[41] But if the Moon is the father, and the Sun is the son, what might be the name of the Sun's mother, burned to death at his birth? Once again the missionaries have supplied appropriate terminology, for to many Campas the Sun's mother is known as *Sánta María*. Other Campas, however, know the wife of the Moon by the name of *Mampíra* (dawn), which may be the older form.[42] Clearly, the Campas have assimilated the basic tenets of Christian iconography to their own paramount father-son couple, so that their principal deity, the Sun, emerges as equivalent to the Jesus of missionary teaching. One of my informants stated as much: "*Irínea Jesustáciri Kacirinkáiteri aká*" ("Jesus is the Sun"). Although no further correspondences are imputed to the two sets of divine beings, the reader can begin to appreciate what difficulties the missionaries have encountered in their attempts to expunge the remarkably tenacious and resilient Campa beliefs.[43]

The Moon is a god but he ranks below his progeny, the Sun.[44] He is a god, not a demon, but no good can be expected of him, and his activities are gruesome.[45] A circle of clouds around the moon is called *iyóvite Kašíri* (the Moon's pot), in which he stews his catch of human dead for his repast. Although he is not a threat to the living, the ultimate destiny of many a Campa will be to fill the belly of the Moon.

If, as seems likely, the monthly waxing of the moon inspired the Campa belief in *Kašíri*'s cannibalistic tendencies, other distinctive characteristics of the moon have also been subjected to Campa interpretation. The monthly cycle of lunation is interpreted by the Campas in terms of aging. The Moon, young at the beginning of each lunation, grows old, until, at the end of the month, he goes to bathe in *Hananeríte* and so regains his youth to begin another cycle. The markings on the face of the moon have not escaped the attention of the Campas either.

According to my informants, a *tasórenci* named *Aróši* and his equally powerful brother

Taanikireá once lived here on earth. To clear their gardens they would chop just a little and then depart, leaving their machetes behind. In their absence the garden would clear itself, the tools working alone. When they returned they would find the job completed even to the burning, leaving them to fling aside the remaining roots and trees (for, being *tasórenci*, they were powerful).[46] It was *Conkíri* (Hummingbird) who stole *Aróši*'s silver necklace, and to replace it *Aróši* went to take a piece of the moon. The Moon ate him, and his legs can still be seen in the belly of the Moon when it is full.[47] *Aróši* still lives in the belly of the Moon, being a true *tasórenci* and therefore immortal.

Aróši's brother *Taanikireá* (from *-taa-* [to burn]) ascended to the sky with *Tasórenci*, reference here being made to *Tasórenci*'s mythical migration to the sky. *Taanikireá* is now at the top of the sky where he is not visible. It is he who gives heat to burn gardens. He is not allowed to descend from his lofty perch, for if he did he would burn the earth.[48]

A lunar eclipse is called *isoáke Kašíri* (the Moon is gagging). It is understood that the Moon has swallowed a deceased human being who has stuck in his throat.[49] In the case of a lunar eclipse the Campas are only mildly frightened. When there is a solar eclipse, however, there is panic, with supplication that the light return, followed by joy when the eclipse passes. A solar eclipse is called *icivakááka Pává* (our Father is extinguished).[50]

Both the sun and the moon are used by the Campas to measure the passage of time. The Campas are of course aware of the alternation of day (*kitáiteri*) and night (*citéniri*). They also recognize that it is the light of the sun that gives us day. The Campas determine the time of day by the position of the sun in sky, and estimate where it will be when they arrive somewhere or finish some activity. Ordinarily they simply extend an arm toward some point on the trajectory of the sun to indicate its position at that time, making special vocabulary unnecessary. Indeed, about the only term that the Campas use to indicate a position of the sun is *tampátika* (straight ahead), which refers to high noon.[51] On one occasion Kenčóri, who had had some contact with Caucasians, asked me whether the sun was a clock, which is suggestive of how the Campa mind grapples with new data.

The phases of the moon are named after a fashion. The new moon is called *ioáhi Kašíri* (the Moon has reappeared) and also *šonkapááha Kašíri* (the Moon has returned). A crescent moon is called *kiripecétahi Kašíri* (the Moon is a fragment). The full moon is *antaripankatáhi Kašíri* (the Moon is large and round).[52] In addition, the Campas can measure time by number of lunations, so that *apíte Kašíri* would mean two lunar months ago or from now. But they are, as we might expect, limited by the inadequacies of their numbering system.[53] Finally, it is possible to point to a position in the sky that the moon will shortly occupy at nightfall. Thus on one occasion Kenčóri advised that he would be coming downriver "when the moon is there" (pointing to a particular place in the sky).

In general, the Campas abstract from the cyclically changing universe the maximum amount of information respecting the passage of time that is possible without a satisfactory system of mathematics. Urquhart's statement (1893:354) that "the Campas have no method of counting time except by the new moon" does not credit them with the powers of observation which they do exercise.

Another feature of the sky that cannot fail to be noticed is the presence of stars, for which the Campa term is *impókero*. Although the Campas profess ignorance of the nature of the stars and of the significance of the great majority of them,[54] they do single out certain stars, star clusters, and other details of the night sky as cosmologically significant. These number among the most striking features of the night sky, and include the Pleiades, the belt and scabbard of Orion, and Antares in Scorpio.

The cluster of stars known to us as the Pleiades is called by the Campas *Mašíkinti* (or, alternatively, *Patíkiri*). *Mašíkinti* is understood to have been a Campa formerly living on earth, the first to use ayahuasca and, for some reason that I could not ascertain, described as being lazy. He and his family, fortified by ayahuasca, rose to the sky on a flying raft, and they can be seen today as that particular cluster of stars. Ac-

cording to one version of the *Mašíkinti* myth, *Porínkari* (or *Poríri*) was his brother-in-law who, together with his own family, joined *Mašíkinti* in the sky and can be seen today as Orion's belt and scabbard.

The prominent red star Antares in Scorpio is called *Kirá(ha)kiri* and also *Kitionkahákiri*, both names referring to the common ailment of a reddish inflammation of the eye. (The star is also known as *Cakáirenciki.*) A dark streak in the Milky Way just to the east of Antares and pointing to it, is *icakaménto Kirákiri* (*Kirákiri's* digging stick). *Kirákiri* was first to teach the Campas how to farm. More practically, when *Kirákiri* is overhead at nightfall it is time to plant maize (the native maize and not the maize introduced from the Caucasians, which can be planted at any time).

The Campas call the morning star *orímeši* and the evening star *pária.* With these there is no associated lore.[55] The planet Jupiter is called *šintitiáiteri*, about which, again, the Campas relate nothing.[56] Two other details of the night sky were identified for me. First, a dark area known to us as the Coal Sack, in the southeastern corner of the Southern Cross (not recognized by the Campas), is called *aéri*, the name of a certain species of bee, because of its fancied resemblance to the black nest of those bees. Second, the Large Magellanic Cloud, a whitish area about 10 degrees south of Canopus in Argo, is called *soróni* (sloth), because of its fancied resemblance to that animal. When asked what *aéri* and *soróni* are doing in the sky, the informant Šaríti explained that they had ascended to the sky with *Tasórenci*, an allusion to the mythical migration of *Tasórenci* from earth to *Inkíte.* When I pointed out that this would conflict with the episode in Campa mythology recounting *soróni*'s failure to reach the sky, it was suggested that apparently one sloth did.

In addition to all these stars, star clusters, and markings in the sky, the names of a number of other constellations (or whatever they may be) were given me without ever being identified. These include *ináro* (stingray), *katári* (Anhinga), *kító* (shrimp), *ošéro* (crab), *pitíri* (a river bird), *saníri* (cayman), *šempíri* (turtle), and *compári* (Great Egret), features that remained unidentified because of unfavorable conditions, such as cloudiness, or because they are not known to all Campas.[57]

The Campas also recognize the Milky Way, as we have seen, calling it *antiáro Támpo* (large Tambo) or *iyámore henókisati* (the sky-dwellers are closing a river branch [to fish]). It is entirely distinct from *Hananeríte*, the River of Eternal Youth, which flows invisibly in the sky. The Milky Way and *Hananeríte* are, strictly speaking, geographical features of the sky for they are not personified. *Hananeríte*, however, because of its rejuvenating powers, is also called *hananeróha tasorencíha.*

Among the *manínkari* or good spirits, several have such great powers that they are distinguished by the term *tasórenci.* The Campas do not claim to be familiar with all the *tasórenci* in the universe, but they recognize and identify a number of them by name, including *Kacirinkáiteri* or *Pává*, *Kašíri*, *Inkanítari*, *Avíreri*, *Pačákama*, *Ínka*, and a few others of lesser importance.[58] It should be understood that the *manínkari* and *tasórenci* are all Campas, all *ašáninka* and all *amacénka*. Surely ethnocentrism cannot go much beyond considering the sun and the moon to be members of one's own tribe. The named gods are in the sky,[59] at the level of the clouds, and at *Ocitiríko*. They are notably absent from *Intatóni* and *Kivínti*. These gods are all males, in keeping with the strong masculine bias of Campa society. Of them all, only *Kašíri* is definitely credited with a consort. The Campas are vague or uncertain about the domestic arrangements of the other gods. These great beings are called *tasórenci* specifically because of their tremendous powers.[60] They are also called *pinkáciri* (ruler, literally "he who is dreaded"), because they govern the universe.[61]

To conclude this section I wish to present as a postscript information concerning some peculiar developments in the Perené region, particularly along the Ipoki and its tributaries. These developments involve, specifically, a solar trinity and certain sacred stones.

The solar trinity of the Ipoki region is most intriguing. The Ipoki region, it should be noted, has been overrun by colonists operating out of the town of Satipo, and has been subjected to

Protestant missionary activity. Furthermore, it has seen a special elaboration of pagan beliefs. There the solar trinity took form, and as an aberrant version of Campa cosmology it remains virtually restricted to that region. The trinity consists of the gods *Nehároncí*, *Tááneri*, and *Santóvero*, each reigning over a separate celestial stratum.

In the highest of the three heavenly strata recognized in this peculiar scheme is to be found *Nehároncí* (literally, "mirror"), the highest godphase, and god of the summer sun.[62] Two mirrors (*amenáronci*) exist in this stratum, one to light the earth, the other heaven (or, alternatively, which are set at an angle to each other so that their combined force produces light and heat, and is seen as the sun). If these mirrors were to come together there would be no more day. *Nehároncí* can, when he wishes, cover the mirror (or mirrors) with a black cloth to make us repent (or to observe our thoughts)—an obvious reference to a solar eclipse. He has a "camera" for recording our deeds, as evidence for final judgment (or to take a photograph of us, which disappears when we die).

The ruler of the second stratum is *Tááneri* or *Táávanti* (from *-taa-* [to burn]), who is kept away from earth by *Nehároncí*, for his presence would burn and destroy everything. If *Nehároncí* ever grows tired of us, he will permit *Tááneri* to descend to the level of the visible sun (*sic*), resulting in eternal summer and the incineration of the earth. This once happened, long ago, and the river itself went dry.

Santóvero, friend of *Nehároncí*, rules the lowest stratum, the visible universe.

It certainly appears that we are here faced with an attempt to assimilate the Christian trinity to indigenous Campa heliotheism. All three names—*Nehároncí*, *Tááneri*, and *Santóvero*—are in fact understood to be names for the sun. But surely it is because of an inherent difficulty in reconciling this formulation with the older beliefs, that the distinction between a summer and winter sun has been made, so that this trinity is equated with the summer sun, while the winter sun is *itómi Kašíri* (son of the Moon). As for the trinity itself, if we take *Nehároncí* to be God the Father, ruler of the universe; if we take *Tááneri* to be God the Son, who visited the earth once before and, when he comes again, will destroy it;[63] and if we take *Santóvero* to be the "Espíritu Santo," the Holy Ghost, who in the meantime is with us, then the solar trinity of the Ipoki Campas is resolved into a rather obvious case of borrowing with modification.

That this solar trinity is a recent development, and that *Santóvero* is indeed the familiar spirit of the New Testament in a new guise, are evidenced in the following statement by Kenčóri, originally from the Ipoki region, who provided the information on the solar trinity presented here:

"Ikánta	isáviki	Santóvero. . . .	Oákera	neánci,	oákera	
"It seems	he lives	Santóvero. . . .	Recent	words,	recent	

neánci,	nokemakoventákeri	Santóvero:	pérani	té nonkéme.
words,	I heard about him	Santóvero:	long ago	I did not hear.

Pérani	timáci	yóká	onihaatakériri	Santóvero.	Isáviki
Long ago	there was	he here	he who showed him	Santóvero.	He lives

hananeríteki,	isáviki	hananeríteki.
by the River of Eternal Youth,	he lives	by the River of Eternal Youth.

Ikánta	irióri	yóká	mééka,	yóká	maninkaritanáinciri
It seems	he	he here	now,	he here	he who became a Hidden One

yóká,	té imánea	henóki,	té irimaninkaríte.
he here,	he does not hide	up in the sky,	he is not one who hides.

Oš̃éiki ašáninka, oš̃éiki ašáninka,
Many (of) our fellow tribesmen, many (of) our fellow tribesmen

ihíta Santóvero. Timáci irarakoménto, iróta[ke]
they are called Santóvero. There is their airplane, it is it

yanireantayétari išávi. Iponeááka, iponeááka
with which they all descend below. It has come about, he has come

irióri Santóvero. Okáákihi, okáákihi íni Santóvero,
forth he Santóvero. Close, close he is Santóvero,

té intáina, iríta[ke] kempoyakoventééri máároni. Timáci
not far, it is he he who watches over us all. There are

yóká, yórá, oihatééri, neaveetakayééri,[64]
they here, that is, they who follow us, they who make us talk,

ihíta ángel ihíta ángel,
they are called 'angels' [Sp.: "ángel"], they are called 'angels',

neaveetakayééri."[65]
they who make us talk."

It appears that the sacred stones of the Perené Campas are also limited to the Ipoki region, which has seen an efflorescence of pagan religion. In this instance, however, the inspiration seems to have come from the Amueshas, who have influenced the Perené Campas in a number of other particulars as well.

That the Amueshas have certain sacred stones and that these stones were already in existence at the beginning of the present century are documented in a contemporary report. According to this report, written by Bailly-Maitre in 1902, the Amueshas were worshiping three great raised stones at a place known locally as the "Chapel of the Savages," 8 km. north of the mission of Quillazu, in Amuesha territory.[66] According to Campas I interviewed on the upper Perené, these sacred stones of the Amueshas still exist. The stones are called *Yompíri* (or *Yómpi*), the name of a god. The stones are understood to be the clothing of this god, transformed by *Avíreri.* The ceremonies connected with these stones, it was further stated, were attended by some Campas from the upper Perené. Several years ago, the Caucasians attempted to destroy the stones with dynamite, but the dynamite failed to detonate three times and on the fourth attempt the major earthquake of 1947 resulted. Finally a house was built over the stones, and although the natives have been allowed to enter the house, they are not permitted to conduct rituals there.

In the Ipoki region, the following are encountered: (1) on a hill along the *Čéni*, tributary of the Ipoki, a stone having the three names *Yómpi*, *Santokóna*, and *Inkakóna*; (2) on the headwaters of the *Kapíri*, tributary of the *Čéni*, another stone also called *Yómpi*, *Santokóna*, and *Inkakóna*; and (3) near the Campa community of *Santovaráto* or *Santopánko* on the Ipoki, a stone called *Inkakóna* and *Ankerikóna*.[67] These stones are also considered to be the clothing of *Yómpi*, transformed by *Avíreri.* Near these stones there is believed to exist a large invisible town, with Campas, Caucasians, automobiles, pigs, etc., ruled by *Yómpi*, who is *tasórenci* (perhaps with a capital *T*), *pinkácari*, and father of all. *Yómpi*, *Yompíri*, and *Pačákama* sustain the earth, and when one of them moves there is an earthquake. The major earthquake of 1947 was caused by the movement of *Yómpi* and *Yompíri* (here treated as two separate deities), while *Pačákama* and the *intatonisáti* (those who live at River's Beginning) did nothing and so preserved the earth from total destruction.[68]

It is difficult for me to concede much importance to this god *Yómpi* (or *Yompíri*) in the Campa scheme of things. Certainly this god is unknown outside of the Perené region. The idea of sacred stones appears to have been taken over quite recently from the Amueshas, and the figure of *Yómpi* adds nothing significant to Campa cosmology, although it does demonstrate that the category of *tasórenci* is always open to new membership and is in no way restricted to the old, familiar gods. Indeed, the mystery surrounding the origin of the god *Yómpi(ri)* is dispelled when we determine the Amuesha name for the sun: "Yumpur," according to Padre Sala.[69] Although my informants were not aware of it, their god *Yómpi(ri)* appears to be a derivative of the sun god via the Amueshas, which explains the similar way in which both deities are described. In any event, one important consideration raised by the existence of these sacred stones is that they mark the inception of idolatry among the Campas, idolatry which has been repeatedly reported as absent among them,[70] as indeed is generally true.

NOTES

[1]It is possible to say something like *máároni nokátia nováca* (all–I stand–my flesh) to signify one's body, but this is a descriptive phrase that, if anything, points to the lack of a specific term.

[2]Thus, a shaman describing a soul flight will simply speak of himself as having made the flight. We have already touched upon the possibility of transmutation between body and soul (see above, page 245), where mention was made of a jaguar-shaman's soul transforming itself into a jaguar.

[3]Evidence for this understanding is to be found in a text I transcribed in which the speaker defends the native shamanistic religion against the calumnies of the missionized Campas. The relevant passages are given here:

"Ikámake šeripiári tóré,
"He dies shaman *short falling movement of the

hatáke išíreni, iróinti
head on dying*, (it) goes what had been his soul, it alone

iicáre yohokanáke. Óká imešináni
his clothing he leaves. It here what had been his skin

yohokanákero. Hatáke išíreni, porekanáke
he leaves it. Goes what had been his soul, flashes

irióri hatáke. Oankáka henóki. Éiro aneahirící.
he goes. Rises up to the sky. We will not see him

. . . Ikantayétiri yóká poyenisatipé,
again. . . . All that they say, they here all those who live

kemisantinkaripé, 'Ikámake
in Poyeni, all the Listeners (Protestants), 'He dies

šeripiári, šeripiári ináveta aká, ikámake, pacááhi
shaman, shaman he was here, he dies, rots

irióri aká.' Tevé, éiro apacaakaimatírici
he here.' No!, we will not have him begin to rot

šeripiári	aká.	Ikámake	šeripiári	irínti,	iróinti
shaman	here.	He dies	shaman	he alone,	it alone

yohokanáke	óká	aicáreni,	amešináni
he leaves	it here	our former clothing,	our former skin

aká.	Hatáke	išíreni		aká.	Éiro aneahiríci,
here.	Goes	what had been his soul		here.	We will not see

	porekanáke	irínti	henóki	Hatáke
him again,	flashes	he alone	up to the sky.	Goes

henóki,	porekanáke.	Oaratinkanáka.	Irótake
up to the sky,	flashes.	Soars vertically.	It is it

ikántiri	mééka,	ikenkicayetíri	yóká
what they say	now,	all that they relate	they here

šeripiári,	ikánti:	'Éiro mééka ikantayétici
shamans,	they say:	'Now they (the missionized Campas)

	aká.'"
should not say anything	here.'"

The Machiguengas have the same understanding, for Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 132) reported that "the human body is simply the clothing of the soul." We are reminded of St. Augustine's "the Divinity weak by taking our coats of skin" (*Confessions*, Bk. VII) and Malinowski's description of the Trobriand flying witches: "The *yoyova* casts off her body (*inini wowola*–which really means 'peals off her skin'). . . . Her covering (*kapwalela*, that is, her outward body, her skin) remains in the house, and she herself flies (*titolela boyova*)" (1922:251).

[4]This interpretation can be reconciled with some apparently contradictory passages to be found in the Campa literature. Thus, Tessmann's report that "the Campas who live farthest upriver are supposed to belong to a third division, the *amatšénge*" (1930:84) makes sense only if we remember that there are Machiguengas on the Apurímac upriver from the Campas who call themselves *amačénka*. (If *amačénka* does mean "our tribesmen" in the Machiguenga language, as my informants averred, then "your tribesmen" is *pimačénka*, and we do find in Touchaux [1908:161-163] "your countrymen" given variously as "pimachiyenga," "pimochiengo," and "pimachiringa.") Similarly, we must take Pike and Kindberg's statement that "in the Mantaro and Apurimac Rivers area . . . the people refer to themselves as Amatsenka Ashaninka" (1956:415) and the Kindbergs' statement that "the tribe refers to itself and its members as Ashaninka, or, in the Apurimac River area, as Amatsenka Ashaninka" (L. Kindberg 1961:505; W. Kindberg 1961:519) to indicate Machiguenga influence in the region. (Oddly enough, when I visited the Campas on the Apurímac near where the Kindbergs worked, those Campas denied calling themselves anything other than simply *ašáninka*, reserving the term *amacénka* for the good spirits.)

To complicate matters, repeatedly throughout the early document edited by Adam (1890), the word for "man" both as to species and as to sex is given as "amachenga"–for example, "*Amachenga* . . . man, person" (p. 85), and "*amachenga* man, *chinane* woman" (p. 23)–and the word "amachenga" continued to be thus defined by Delgado (1896-1897:VI, 100, 353), Navarro (1924:15-16), and Sala (1929:408-409, 416-417). Also, Padre Ruis early in the nineteenth century encountered Indians on the Pangoa River who "full of joy answered us with the word *acamachenga* which seems to mean good man, or good friend" (MS:[14]). These reports suggest that the term *amačénka* meant to the Campas until quite recently what it means today to the Machiguengas. An easier explanation, however, is at hand: the Franciscan missionaries seem always to have been unaware that the "Campas" east of Satipo are really a separate tribe, the Nomatsiguenga, speaking a Machiguenga or near-Machiguenga dialect, and it would not be unthinkable for a group of Nomatsiguengas to have been visiting or living on the lower Pangoa when Padre Ruis passed that way.

It is possible that formerly the word *amačénka* did mean among the Campas what *ašáninka* means today, but that missionary influence, taking the form of a mis-

understanding of the catechism as it was translated, gave the word a strictly supernatural significance. Thus Adam (1890) provided the following translations of the catechism being presented: "The selfsame son of God, made man for our welfare, died on a cross *irizatero i-tomi Tios amachenga-benta-chiri i-camana-que cruz-qui*" (p. 49); "God . . . became man . . . *Tios* . . . *i-amachenga-ta-benta-que-ri*" (p. 57); "The son of God the father became man . . . *i-tomi-sanori Tios paba i-amachenga-benta-je*" (p. 75); etc. (pp. 76, 80, 82).

Documentary proof of the present meaning of the term among the Campas is found in Padre Sala's journal of his march across the Gran Pajonal, where on March 10, 1897, he encountered a Campa who told him "that in Chanchamayo the Campas were fighting with the whites and that the *Amachegua* [*sic*] had appeared again, descending from Heaven, to aid them in combat. I . . . told them . . . that this *Amachegua* who provokes them to fight in the Pangoa and Chanchamayo [valleys] is some rogue who wants to exploit them" (1907:100; 1925:532-533; recounted in Sievers 1903:76). (See also Reyna 1942:21-22, 120-123, 131, 140; Sala 1907:111; 1925:546; Valdez Lozano 1944:6.)

[5]We are reminded of Thomas More's remark on the souls of the dead: "To the dull and feeble eyesight of mortal men they be invisible" (*Utopia*, Bk. II).

[6]The Campas do not divide the good spirits into named tribes as do the Machiguengas according to Padre García's account (1935-1937:XVII, 173-179). Although the good spirits inhabit different regions, they all are understood to have the same nature, and indiscriminately are called *amacénka* and *manínkari*. Nevertheless, it is understood that each of the sacred birds and beasts "comes" from one or another of these regions, suggesting that the spirits residing in any particular region are able to make themselves visible to ordinary human eyes in certain forms and not others.

[7]That the Machiguengas hold similar beliefs in sacred birds is revealed by Padre García's report (1935-1937:XVIII, 176) that "the birds *kátsari*, *chibíto*, *tionguíripi*, and *chímeri* are spirits of the respective tribes *Katsarítе*, *Chibitóite*, *Tionguiriptíte*, and *Chimerítе*." The Machiguenga notions, however, that these species of birds are separate tribes of good spirits and that they reside in the sky along the celestial river, have no Campa counterparts. On the other hand, the idea that these sacred birds have a human form when at home is one very congenial to the Campa view. Of another "tribe" of good spirits living along the celestial river, the tribe of "Shiguiríte," Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 176) related the following: "Some of them descend here in the form of birds, and are those which the Machiguengas call *shiguíri*. . . . Although they are seen as birds, they are people; and although their nests appear as nests, they are large houses like those of the Machiguengas. They are hunted and eaten because, although they are people, they appear as birds. After they raise their chicks, which also are people, they prepare to return to *Inkíte* with all their children. . . . When they arrive in *Inkíte* they take their old form again, and their children also receive human form."

[8]The identification of the otters is tentative, based solely on Gilmore's descriptions (1950:375). Clark's translation of "parare" as "wolf" (1953:359) was undoubtedly due to a misunderstanding of the local Spanish usage of "lobo" to mean "otter."

[9]The role of the shaman in bringing these insects was described by the shaman Porekavánti. Note that here a species is spoken of as if it were a single individual, something facilitated in the Campa language by the lack of any grammatical compulsion to distinguish between singular and plural.

[10]Stull (1951:123) stated of hummingbirds that "the Indian boys skin them, use their bright feathers for adornments, and roast the tiny birds for one delicious mouthful." Stull may have been mistaken, but it is also possible that the Pajonal Campas, among whom she lived on the Pichis River as a missionary's wife, differ from the River Campas in these understandings. It was in fact reported to me that the Pajonal Campas actually kill and eat *ašívanti*. There appears to be considerable variation in behavior in any event, dependent in part on degree of acculturation. Thus, the shaman Porekavánti claimed that he never kills any sacred bird, but on the Perené I saw the wing of a Great Egret (*compári*) hanging in a Campa's house as a trophy of the hunt. Acculturated Campas on the Ucayali were reported to kill otters for their pelts, to be sold to Caucasian merchants.

[11]According to Clark (1953:46), "the crocodile is one of the river gods." I could find no corroboration for this statement.

[12]The bird *pónea* (? Olive Oropendola) is an exception to the rule, for it can be killed without being asked. It is in fact a common game bird. The tail feathers are prized male back-ornaments; the wing feathers may be used for feathering arrows. But when *pónea* had human form, the tail feathers were its arrows, and the pink bald cheeks were its face paint.

[13]In Campa rhetoric, successive sleeps indicate the passage of days.

[14]The hawks, strictly speaking, are not sacred birds, because inherent goodness is not attributed to them.

Nevertheless, they are given a certain supernatural status and, as we shall see, do figure in Campa mythology.

[15]The distant rumbling of thunder marks the passage of thunder spirits, who travel in person or else in an automobile, train, or ship, the spiritual equivalent of the corresponding Caucasian conveyance.

[16]This chronicle was narrated to me by a renegade Campa educated by the Catholic missionaries. It is typical of the stories that circulate among the Campas.

[17]*Kavíneri* is described as a tobacco-like plant growing on the mountains. Its leaves when eaten are supposed to produce beautiful dreams. *Kavíneri* leaves are eaten by shamans and, it is believed, by good spirits. In addition, shamans mix the leaves with tobacco to make a particularly excellent syrup. (There is mention of a plant called "kabuíniri," used by Machiguenga shamans, in García [1935-1937:XVIII, 12, 214-215; see also Mac-Lean y Estenós 1939:337].)

[18]Tessmann (1930:95; see also Steward and Métraux 1948:549) reported for the Campas a "Mother of Tobacco" and a "Mother of Ayahuasca," neither of which was ever heard of by my informants. The "owner" of tobacco is *conkíri*, the hummingbird. The "owner" of ayahuasca is *Tasórenci*.

[19]This term is also used by shamans and jokingly by others to refer to their mortal wives.

[20]Similar beliefs were reported for the Machiguengas (García 1935-1937:XVII, 174).

[21]Padre García proceeded to describe the visage of a good spirit as "small and white, with tiny eyes, ears, nose, mouth, lips, and teeth." This description goes beyond what the Campas imagine, although the Campa shamans, possibly because of the nature of an ayahuasca-induced vision, speak of the good spirits as being small.

[22]*Miháni* (meteor) may also be called *oipiári* (indicating that it is "returning") or *partnari* (indicating that it is "falling"). On the Ene River there is a bluff with black streaks down its face. This is *Mihanipánko*. The streaks are believed to be the scorch-marks of bad souls flung down from heaven and converted into carbon.

[23]The Campas have great insight into the human condition. Are there not those among us who set themselves up as little gods, deluding others and themselves? Šaríti related that "the true God" gave a "penknife" to *amémpori* with which to cut, smoke, and eat "us" (i.e., human cadavers). *Amémpori* carries a piece to the true God, who blows on it to transform it into edible meat, which He eats. But if *tisóni* (the demon vulture) arrives first, *amémpori* disdains the carrion. The "penknife" is, we can be sure, the condor's beak, and this account can be seen as but a phrasing of the activities of the carrion birds in supernaturalistic terms. Clark may have learned some version of the *amémpori* belief, as he wrote "the Campas believe that the condors have a king and that he is white" (1953:83).

[24]The term has been translated as "powerful" or "omnipotent" (Adam 1890:43, 56-58, 74-75, 77-79, 81-82, 110; see also Delgado 1896-1897:VI, 237), but the missionaries working among the Machiguengas discovered its precise meaning: "*Tasorinchi* etymologically does not signify the 'All-powerful' but rather the Blower or Inspirer" (Cenitagoya [1943]:194); "It is inferred that the term *tasurinchi* signifies 'the blowing,' as substantive" (García 1935-1937:XVII, 97). It is important to recognize that the term *tasórenci* properly refers only to the highest echelon of good spirits and not, as Padre Navarro would have it, to all the good spirits indiscriminately: "The Campas believe in the good spirits, which they call *Tazorintzi*" (1924:21; see also Izaguirre 1923-1929:XII, 506).

[25]Psalms 33:6: "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made; and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth"—and what is a word if not breath? The efficacy of blowing by one with power, in Campa thought, is shown by the following passage in Padre Sala's journal (1925:527): "At times the parents took me to their children and begged me to blow in their ears, so that they could learn to talk and sing like us."

[26]Šaríti avoided any discrepancy between his account and the general denomination of the *otíšisati* (mountain-ridge dwellers) as *itómi Pává* (sons of the Sun) by ascribing the term *Pává*, the common honorific of the Sun (*Kacirinkáiteri*), to *Pačákama* also. Thus, he calls both *Pačákama* and *Kacirinkáiteri*, whom he recognizes as separate gods, by the term *Pává*. This is quite idiosyncratic usage in my experience. Major earth tremors, or earthquakes, come from downriver, according to Šaríti, caused by the stirring of *Pačákama*, by "the force of *Pává*," while minor tremors come from elsewhere and are produced by his "sons."

[27]A century ago, Marcoy (1875:I, 490) discovered and reported that "Pachacamac" was a divinity of the "Antis," by which he presumably meant the Machiguengas. Clark identified "pachukuma" as a "messenger god" (1953:357), and described him, inaccurately I believe, in the following terms (1953:167-168): "This

third deity in the complicated Campa pantheon (which includes Gods and Goddesses of Earth, Water–or Rain, Air, Fire, Space) was a sort of diabolical knight-errant ghost who acted as a Hermes-like messenger, or liaison, between mankind and Pahua. Both Pahua and Pachukuma were formed in the image of man."

[28]Padre García, reporting on the Machiguengas, wrote of "*Yabíreri*–also called *Pachákumue*" (1935-1937:XVIII, 11; 1943:235), which suggests that either the Machiguengas fused the two deities or the Campas fashioned two deities from one having two names.

[29]The Amuesha account of "Inca" visiting his father-in-law "Pachacamac" (or "near Pachacamac") downriver, to whom his ill-treated wife had fled, unwittingly sitting down and by the power of his father-in-law being literally and permanently rooted to the spot (as recounted in Fast 1953 and Duff 1957), is not recognized by the Campas. The identity of names and certain details, however, requires an explanation in terms of diffusion.

[30]Many statements in the literature are rather vague or misleading on this matter. Ford (*in* Ferris 1921:64) reported as follows for the Machiguengas: "They see some good influence or something to revere–a good Spirit–in the sun." Other authors, speaking for the Campas, did recognize the deification of the sun but gave no intimation that there are other gods: "They adore the Sun like the Incas" (Carranza 1894:30); "The religion of the Campas . . . consists of the worship of the Sun" (Touchaux 1908:132); "The Campa Indians are sun worshippers" (Caldwell and Calhoun 1932:242); see also Cenitagoya 1921:319 and Stull 1951:92. Some authors recognized the deification of both sun and moon by the Campas and related tribes, which still leaves much unspoken (for the Campas, see Coriat 1942:75, Hassel 1905:669, and J. G. 1868:17; for the Machiguengas, see Coriat 1942:85 and Hammerly Dupuy 1945:290; for the Amueshas, see Tello 1918-1919:55).

[31]Compare Delgado 1896-1897:VI, 240.

[32]An equivalent term, "Puriáchiri," is reported as the Machiguenga name for the sun (Aza 1923:260; 1924:28; García 1935-1937:XVII, 172; Hammerly Dupuy 1945:290; Pereira 1944b:93; see also Ferris 1921:65; Orton 1876:473). For the Campas, Clark wrote of "*Ureatsere*, the Sun" (1953:167; see also 358). Farabee (1922:48, 52) gave "poriatcira" as the Machiguenga word, and "urialstciri" as the Campa word, for "sun."

[33]Tessmann gave as the Campa terms for the sun, "tawanti, inti, intsi" (1930:103), of which the last is not an acceptable form and the first should properly be *táávanti* (from *-taa-* [to burn]). *Intiyáya* would be an acceptable alternative (see Zavala 1895:163), but my informants did not recognize "Kinti" or any variant thereof, despite the evidence of the Campa literature (Adam 1890:45, 46, 78, 103: "Sun . . . quinti", "sun . . . quienti", etc.; Sala 1929:351: "Sun . . . Inchiaya: quianti"). See also Touchaux 1908:157. The form "Kienti" was reported for the Machiguengas by Aza (1923:260), Cardús (1886:325), García (1935-1937: XVII, 172), Göhring (1877:72), and Mendizabal Losack (1951:67, 73), and the form "Kinti" by Carrasco (1901:210), but Pereira (1944b:93) did give: "The sun . . . Ynti or poreachiri (he who illuminates)." Castelnau's "kisiti" (1850-1851:V, 290) and Marcoy's "issiti" (1875:I, 490) as names for the sun have no Campa equivalent, and may have arisen from an error in transcription.

According to Padre García (1935-1937:XVII, 172, 221), the Machiguengas believe that "Puriáchiri" is the sun that we see from this earth, whereas the sky, "Inkíte," is illuminated by another sun called "Kiénti," and the Machiguenga hell, "Gamáironi," is illuminated by a third sun called "Kientiámpa." For the Campas no such multiplicity of suns exists: there is only one Sun, the Sun we see, who has several names.

[34]"Dios padre . . . *Tios paba*" (Adam 1890:75; see also 78-79); "Dios (Pahuá)" (Navarro 1924:11); "*Dios* . . . Dioschi [Pahuá]" (Sala 1929:285). For the Machiguengas, Farabee (1909:131; 1922:15) gave "idioci" as the name of their creator god, Marcoy (1875: I, 490) gave "Tayta-Dios" as their term for "God" ("tayta" being the Quechuan word for "father"), and Pereira (1944b:93) reported as follows: "Dios . . . Páhua (father of all).–Yrióshi (derivative of dios).–Tasorinchi (who makes all things with his blowing)." It might be noted that in all these sources the word being translated is not "Sun" but "God," and in fact in each case the term "sun" is otherwise translated. But for the Campas the Sun is the highest ranking spirit in the universe, equivalent to the God of the Caucasians in this respect, and when the Campas say *Pává* or *Dióś* they are referring to the Sun. What has been reported for the Amueshas by Fast (1962:7: "They believe that the Sun is God.") and Tanner ([n.d.]:19: "The Amueshas call the sun 'our father.' ") holds as well for the Campas. Indeed, for the Campa identification of the sun as the high god of the universe we have the authority of Padre Gridilla (1942b: 73: "Those of the Pichis [Valley] render a certain homage to the sun, which they call *Pahuá*, or Dios."), Pike and Kindberg (1956:425: "*Pawa* 'sun-god' "), and Stull (1951:51: "The sun is their god."). See also Savage-

Landor 1913:II, 423, 428. That *Pává* is a Campa name for the Sun was also reported by Delgado (1896-1897:VI, 240), Sala (1925:525-526), Touchaux (1908:157), and Zavala (1895:163).

[35]Compare this description, provided by the informant Šaríti, with that for the Machiguenga "Tasurinchi" provided by Padre García (1935-1937:XVII, 97-98):

"*Tasurinchi* is like a man of noble stature, but much more excellent than all other men. His face is white, as is also the very beautiful tunic that he wears, similar to the cushma of the Machiguengas after it is woven and before it is dyed red.

"*Tasurinchi* does not paint his face. He is crowned in the Machiguenga style, but his crown is not of *kapíro* [bamboo] or of feathers like theirs; it is luminous and of extraordinary splendor. When *Tasurinchi* moves, his crown scintillates, and these scintillations are the lightning flashes that we see [denied by Šaríti]. He lives alone.

"No one created him; he exists spontaneously, and forever. He resides above, higher than all creatures. The Machiguengas of long ago saw him, as have some of the medicine-men or *seripegari.* He can do all. He sees and knows all. He has no woman. He is very good. He has a magnificent garden that he created with only a puff of breath; he does not work. He eats, drinks *istea* [masato] until he is drunk, sings, beats his drum, and dances by himself."

[36]Once again we encounter the Campa distinction between true and apparent form. It would be a mistake to infer from this distinction that the Campa high god is a being who simply resides in the sun, or that the sun is merely a symbol of the high god. It is Clark who wrote of "Pawa, the Golden Man, whose spirit lived in the Sun itself" (1953:61) and, again, of "Pahua . . . , the 'man of Gold,' who lived in the middle of Ureatsere, the Sun" (1953:167), and who stated that "Pawa was not actually the sun, but higher than the sun" (1953:61). This description does not correspond to Campa thought on the matter. Reynolds (1930:7) would have us believe that the Campas "do not adore the Sun as a God, but admire and honor him as the purest and most perfect emblem of the Divinity." An inspection of Reynolds's work, however, leaves the certain impression that it is a fable, lacking verisimilitude.

[37]As Farabee (1922:15) reported for the Machiguengas: "No one knows why it is night, or where the sun goes at night."

[38]Farabee (1922:15) gave the following as an account of Machiguenga belief: "Idioci, the big man in the sky, made man, the sun, moon, stars, day, night, etc." He elsewhere (1909:131) provided the following amplification: "They believe in 'ĭdĭō'cĭ,' the big man in 'engĭ'ta,' the sky. He made man, the sun, the moon, etc., in some way, they know not how or when. At present he has very little to do with the world except to thunder at the beginning and the end of the seasons, and to send rain. He takes no more care of men than of the animals. . . . Their attitude towards him is much the same as his towards them—one of indifference." There can be little doubt that Farabee was only harvesting what the missionaries had sown, for this is but a paraphrase of the missionaries' creed (compare Adam 1890:78: "I believe that the sun, moon, and stars are not God, but rather creatures made by God for the good of man. *N-apatie-ri caari quienti, casiri, impuquiro-gei Paba, entane iribechica-ne Tios paba i-bechica-que-ri a-n-cametza-te-ri amachenga.*"). Tessmann (1930:93), reporting for the Campas, seemed to have fared no better: "God = *alíti* lives alone in a heaven located above the heaven of souls. In the beginning he made everything, but then retired—my informant knew not why. He visits the souls in the heaven under him from time to time." Tessmann's "alíti" must be *aríte*, "our father." Steward and Métraux (1948:549), presumably inspired by Farabee and Tessmann, informed us that "there is a hint of a creator god who retired to heaven (Campa, Machiguenga)." My informants never heard of *Tasórenci*'s or *Pává*'s "retirement" or, for that matter, of the "visits" to which Tessmann alluded.

There is indeed some conflict in the literature as to whether or not these tribes believe in a Supreme Being or God. For the Machiguengas, denials came from Aza (1924:25), Carrasco (*in* Raimondi 1874-1913:III, 186), and Rosell (1916:xvi,12), while affirmations came from Cardús (1886:294), Cenitagoya (1921:319; [1943]:69), García (1935-1937:XVII, 95-96), and Göhring (1877:69). For the Campas, affirmations came from Gridilla (1942b:73), Navarro (1924:19), and Samanez Ocampo (1907:303), with denials from Hurley and Rankin (1934), J. G. (1868:41), and Ordinaire (1887:276). Another denial, in effect, was made by Domville-Fife (1924:262): "They have no definite religious belief beyond a series of superstitions based on the powers of light and darkness." Domville-Fife's account of his visit to the Campas, however, is like Clark's, suspect. As the issue resolves itself into the idle one of whether the Campa and Machiguenga sun god deserves to be taken as equivalent to the Caucasian God, there is merit in a clear statement like that by Gastelú: "They do not know about God, and adore the Sun, the Moon, and the stars, not as author of the universe, but as benefactors" (1885:143n.; see also J. G. 1868:17).

[39]It should be noted that one common way to dispose of the dead is to cast the cadaver into the river. Schläppi (1935:367) reported another fish screen of the Moon on the Perené: "At kilometer 145 there exists a

place that the savages call 'Cashirisimbirini,' which signifies 'Place where they hunted the moon.' It may be that in the region at some time there fell a large meteor or . . . a second moon." As may be recognized, Schläppi's translation is inaccurate, so that his speculation is baseless.

[40]Extensive accounts of the Moon's activities exist in the Machiguenga literature, and are presented in the Appendix (pages 562-563) for purposes of comparison.

[41]We read in J. G. (1868:43) that "they suppose the Moon to be the spouse and sister of the Sun and that the stars form their entourage," and Harkness (1942:57) quoted a misinformed colonist as telling her "the moon is feminine, with human passions; she is their deity." These reports were not borne out by my investigations. Equally erroneous, we can presume, is Padre Izaguirre's statement (1923-1929:XII, 468) that "the Machiguengas suppose the moon is the mother of the sun," as well as Mendizabal Losack's suggestion (1951:68, 73) that, for the Machiguengas, the Moon is a daughter of the Sun. Padre Aza (1924:28; see also Hammerly Dupuy 1945:290) reported Machiguenga belief to be the following: "Of the sun they say that he is son of the moon, but as *father* rather than *mother*." This final statement conforms to my findings for the Campas, and can be taken as authoritative.

Padre Touchaux (1908:132) reported the following for the Campas (although the Apurímac Machiguengas would appear to be his source): "According to them, the good God has as his son *Tasorinchi*, the Sun, a god like him. *Tasorinchi* was incarnated in a virgin who, on giving birth to him, died from the extreme heat that she experienced, and later was placed in the sky as the Moon." This account, which may have been the source of Padre Izaguirre's remark, can be seen as a garbled version of our own presentation, due either to a misunderstanding on the part of Padre Touchaux or to the considerable impact of missionary teaching on his informant. In more orthodox Campa thought, the Moon is the father of the Sun, and the Sun's mother after her death is understood to have been translated to the sky, but her present precise location and guise are not known.

[42]Another name for the wife of the Moon is *Inánkaro*, a name without apparent meaning and one that is also used to refer to a cloud that covers the moon. Surprisingly, the old man Šaríti claimed that the little sucker fish *hetári* was the mother of the Sun, and that he (Šaríti) had never heard of the Moon being the father of the Sun.

[43]Clark, who curiously translated "pahua" as "man-of-gold" (1953:357), and who elsewhere translated "Pawa" as both "Christ" and "God" (1953:355, 356), treated us to the strange figure of "Pawa-Jesus, our Lord the Golden Man (Atahuallpa's old mystic title as the incarnated Sun God)" (1953:52). This passage appears to be a blending of fact and fiction.

The informant Kenčóri equated the sacred bird *ašívanti*, first among the *itómi Pává* (sons of the Sun), with the "Jesucristo" of the missionaries, which suggests that the Campas tend to translate the second person of the trinity into any important supernatural "son" in their own cosmological scheme.

[44]Nordenskjöld, reporting on the Campas, stated the following: "Their religious beliefs have to do primarily with the moon, less with the sun, according to what I was told" (1924:23; see also 1927:116). The probable cause of Nordenskjöld's error will be discussed below, in the section on Campa relationships with the gods and good spirits.

[45]According to Padre Grain (1957:91), "Kashiri" is for the Machiguengas "beautiful and terrible at the same time." Fast (1962:7) reported that the Amueshas "believe that . . . the moon is a bad person," which suggests a similar understanding. Foster's report (1922:96) that for the Indians of the upper Perené region the moon and stars are "bad spirits" and "evil gods," appears to me to be a distortion of the facts. The stars are, if anything, good, and the Moon is, to say the worst for him, a "bad god."

[46]The common Campa understanding is that all gardens were cleared in this manner formerly, the tools doing almost all the work alone, without human effort. How it came about that the Campas must now toil in the fields is variously explained. One Campa speaks of a transformation by *Avíreri*, another of a bird of ill repute clearing a field entirely by his own labor on one occasion, and so destroying for all time the power of tools to work alone; yet another, Catholicized, speaks of a castigation by *Tasórenci* because of womankind.

[47]What the Campas point to is the familiar "Man in the Moon," who is upside down in the southern latitudes.

[48]The source of this information is again Šaríti. We can reasonably trace any such belief in a tremendous source of heat in the sky that would scorch the earth if it were lower, to the presence there of the sun itself. There is a question as to just how widespread this story is in the Campa population.

[49]There is an allusion to the same belief in Padre Cenitagoya's account of the Machiguengas ([1943]: 196-197).

[50]I did not have the opportunity to observe Campa reactions during an eclipse. According to Padre Cenitagoya (1921:320): "When there is an eclipse of the sun, the Machiguengas believe that this heavenly body is extinguished. Therefore, seizing an arrow, one of the men puts on its point a piece of burning cotton and shoots it upward, with the object of rekindling the Father of the day." Ordinaire (1887:280) claimed that during an eclipse the Campas "murmured certain words," but Ordinaire is a doubtful authority at best (see page 283, note 69). Delgado (1896-1897:VI, 96) gave "Chuacatzi" (compare *isoáke*) as the Campa term for "eclipse," both lunar and solar.

[51]Farabee (1922:16) wrote as follows for the Machiguengas: "The position of the sun is used to determine the time of day, and in keeping appointments. . . . The distance between two villages or places far apart, is indicated by pointing to the position of the sun for each place or the time required to go there—a very satisfactory method." I concur. Tennant (1958:87) provided us with the following account of Machiguenga practice: "Their method for telling the time was to point to the sun and then to indicate that it would be directly overhead when we got to Pangoa [on the Urubamba River]. We were to find that there were really about five different times in the Machaguenga mind. One was with their arm indicating sunrise; one with the sun halfway up, which was mid-morning; pointing directly overhead meant midday; halfway down to the west indicated mid-afternoon, and with the arm right over pointing to the west meant nightfall." Tennant also (1958:168) noted that: "Machaguengas have no accurate means of telling time. They can only count up to three [*sic*], and hours and minutes are completely beyond them." This should come as no surprise to us. My experience indicates that the Campas are not limited to only five positions of the sun: they are capable of finer discriminations.

[52]Padre Navarro (1924:19) gave "Cashiri chiripiquite" as the Campa term for the new moon (*Kašíri kiripecéki* may be intended) and "Cashiri cuhuántere" for the full moon (which may be *Kašíri oántačari* [the Moon is therefore eating]; see also Izaguirre 1923-1929:XII, 468). Delgado (1896-1897:VI, 105) provided yet other terms for the phases of the moon.

[53]For the Machiguengas, Farabee (1922:16) stated that: "There are twelve moons in a year, and the period is called 'mamperokesire': 'mampero,' twelve, and 'kesiri,' moon." The Campas, as we have seen, have no numeral twelve, nor do they have any idea of the number of lunar months in a year. Farabee further stated that: "The quarters of the moon are used for counting time also. The new moon is 'tcisipekikeni'; the half moon, 'tcisimokeneki'; the full moon 'tcilita'; and the dark of the moon, 'pege.'" None of these terms is recognized by the Campas.

[54]This is an apparent departure from what is reported for the Machiguengas by Padre García (1935-1937:XVII, 174-175), that the stars are themselves good spirits, the principal part of the heavenly host:

"*Impókiro*—the stars—are a tribe called *Ananerítе* or *Atengaríite*. Among the tribes of good spirits this is the most numerous. . . . They are small like children, and that is what their name *Ananerítе* signifies. They paint their faces with achiote and dress in white cushmas. The men do not wear adornments, but the women adorn themselves, like women here, with necklaces and clusters of little bones, seeds, monkey skins, cocoons, desiccated birds, and so forth. All play the *sungarínchi* [panpipes] very well. . . . They play them at their frequent drunken festivals, when they dance, sing, and beat the drum; all of which they execute with such skill that *Tasorínchi*, near whom they live, hears them with singular pleasure and says to them: 'very good, *kametitákie*.' They fish in the branches of the *Meshiaréni* and narcotize the fish with a *kogui* or barbasco [fish poison] much superior to what is here.

"Although they are invisible beings, after dusk we see the shine of their crowns—the stars—which are most resplendent. . . . At night we also see the burning arrows—shooting stars—that their children shoot while playing. The urine of the *Ananerítе* falls here below, and is the dew that in Machiguenga is called *ichíni Impókiro*, urine of the stars. A wind blows there so strong that no one can ascend to visit them except the *Seripegári* [shamans]. They love the Machiguengas, and give medicinal plants to cure them to the *Seripegári* who visits them."

From this description of the stars the Campas recognize only that dew is *icíni impókero* (urine of the stars). The Campas do not profess to know how the visible stars relate to the good spirits in the sky (*henokiníri*), nor do they have any idea of the size of the *henokiníri*, or how they dress or adorn themselves. It is understood, however, that the *henokiníri* do have festivals honoring *Tasórenci*, which pleases him, and they do gather fish from the celestial River of Eternal Youth (*Hananeríte*). The fish, however, are simply taken as if they were domesticated, at least according to the informant Šaríti. This informant, furthermore, denied the existence of any strong wind in the sky and the giving of medicinal plants by the *henokiníri* (such plants rather being given by the *otíšisati* [mountain-ridge dwellers]). Shooting

stars are, as we have seen, falling souls (*mihání*) and not burning arrows.

[55]*Orímeši* and *pária*, alone of the features identified here, were never pointed out to me but were identified by description only.

[56]*Šintitiáiteri* may also be called *šintitiári* and, possibly, *oniháinari* (although this last term could be the missing name for Saturn). Mars may possibly be called *cakáirenciki*. Unfortunately, it was not possible to settle the problem of how the Campas designate all the visible planets. What was pointed out to me as *šintitiáiteri* in October, 1963, was located on the trajectory of the sun at about the latitude of Bellatrix in Orion and the longitude of β Andromedae. Dr. Kenneth L. Franklin of the Hayden Planetarium was kind enough to identify this object as Jupiter, and to identify the features that follow in the main text, as well, from my descriptions.

The Machiguengas are reported to call the planet Venus "sarípoto" (Aza 1923:288; 1924:28; García 1935-1937:XVIII, 6; Hammerly Dupuy 1945:290), a term not recognized by the Campas. Padre Alvarez wrote of "*Potzótiki*, or the planet Mars, who was . . . a *seripegari* [shaman]" (1939:129; see also García 1935-1937:XVIII, 96), equally unrecognized by the Campas. For the Campas, Padre Navarro (1924:19; see also Steward and Métraux 1948:549) provided us with the following remarkable description of beliefs and festivals that are, as far as I know, nonexistent: "These savages are polytheists; those on the Apurímac River have a Trinity in the manner of a divine family, consisting of god the father (*Pahuá*) whom they sense in the planet Venus, of god the son (*Pahuá Churi*) in Jupiter, and of the spouse of god the father and mother of god the son (*Chinani Pahuá*) in the star that accompanies the moon. They celebrate the festivals of these gods in May, November, and December respectively; but in August they hold another and more solemn festival for all the heavenly bodies in general."

[57]In addition to providing or confirming the identifications reported in these paragraphs, the informant Šaríti identified the head of Taurus as *itapinóma váka* (bull's mandible). Not only must this be a recent addition to Campa astronomy, but it is most likely due to direct Caucasian influence.

[58]There are some false reports, reports of Campa gods that do not exist. Burke (1960a:mxxviii, 8) wrote as follows: "The only word of Campa I know, starting out[,] is 'Sirumbiare,' which is supposed to be that of some ineffable ancestor-god, never to be named save on occasions to inspire awe." I suspect that Burke's "Sirumbiare" is none other than the word *šeripiári* (shaman), if not *širámpari* (male). Clark (1953:76-77, 94, 126, 139) reported the existence of Campa beliefs in a "Fire God," an "Earth God," an "Earth Goddess," "hunting gods," and "Snake Gods," concepts for which I found no corroboration.

[59]The Sun, high god of the Campas, may be called *henokiníri* (sky-dweller) as he lives in the sky, but this term applies as well to all the other good spirits dwelling there. We can, at any rate, understand how the explorer Samanez Ocampo came to report the following for the Campas: "They hold a very confused idea of the Divinity, whom they call *Genoquenire*" (1907:303; see also Coriat [1942]:83-84; Tovar 1966:96). Ordinaire's rejection of Samanez Ocampo's account, and of any Campa conception of a high god (1887:276), is remarkable: "It is known that the Quechuas [Incas] adored the invisible God under the name of Pachacamac. . . . Now the missionaries nowhere relate that they have found a similar conception among the Campas. A Peruvian voyager, M. Samanes, declares indeed that the riparians of the Apurímac and of the Tambo have a vague idea of the Divinity, whom they call *Génoquire* [*sic*], but we may allow that this idea is a seed of the Franciscans who have established themselves in the basin of the aforementioned rivers. Nothing in my personal observations nor in those of the colonists whom I questioned indicates that the Campas of the region where I passed have the notion of a creator God."

[60]A fly called *šinkiárenti* (from *-šinki-* [to be drunk]) is attracted to masato and often drowns therein. (It is this fly, according to the Campas, that lays its eggs in old masato mash, giving rise to the maggots *kohóki* or *pošóri* which they raise for food.) What has struck the Campas is that the drowned fly, left in the sun to dry, revives. As an acknowledgment of its powers of resurrection, the Campas extend to this fly the sobriquets *tasórenci* and *pává*. *Šinkiárenti*, incidentally, is understood in typical Campa fashion to be a former Campa drunkard converted to its present condition by *Avíreri*.

One plantation operator in the Perené region has so impressed a number of Campas with his largesse that they call him *tasórenci* (others have no such high opinion of him). In large part this is because he parceled out land to them free of charge, actually in accordance with existing statutes respecting Indian land rights. This state of affairs, if anything, demonstrates how far the Campas have gravitated toward dependency on any good will extended to them by the Caucasian invaders, and acceptance of that dependency. Of course, given the Campas' comprehension of human limitations, they can only presume that such artifacts as airplanes, which they

see in the possession of the Caucasians, were conceived and manufactured by some *tasórenci.* Although the etymology of the term is quite specific, *tasórenci* is used to indicate any being with unnaturally great powers.

[61]The word *pinkáciri* is rightly translated as "señor," i.e., "lord" in Adam 1890:56-58, 74-76, 78. The verb form is translated as "honrar," i.e., "to respect" (1890:34), although, "to fear, dread, loathe" would be more accurate. See also Sala 1929:254, 345.

[62]It is only in connection with this solar trinity that the distinction between a sun of the dry season (the summer sun) and a sun of the rainy season (the winter sun) was ever made in my experience.

[63]Compare Matthew 24:3.

[64]I.e., put words in our mouths.

[65]A problem with the translation of this passage is that Kenčóri apparently wants to pluralize *Santóvero*, to turn him into the "guardian angels" of the missionaries, with resulting confusion. The originator of this solar trinity, and the person referred to as "he who showed him," may have been a revered shaman by the name of *Inkanivánti*, also called "Chanchamayino" and "Areberto Inmensio," who dominated the religious life of the Ipoki region before he was murdered by Catholicized Campas on the Perené for his paganism. This shaman had two large robes made for use in his ayahuasca ceremonies, one being that of "Vicente" (identified as the Jesus Christ of the missionaries) and the other, now in my possession, being that of *Santóvero.* Exactly how these robes were used was not made clear to me. The murder of *Inkanivánti* occurred only a few years ago, I was told, and his followers in the Ipoki region still cherish his teachings and expect his return.

[66]Bailly-Maitre 1908:622-623 (see also Coriat [1942]:81-82):

"Eight kilometers to the north of the convent there exists what is called in the region the chapel of the Chunchos. In this place the Amueshas worship three great elevated stones; they come from afar to make offerings to them.

"They murmur long prayers and retire dancing, without turning their backs to the idols.

"Day and night the sacred fire is maintained in this place, sustained in three logs touching at their points; several shamans [brujos] guard the cult and prepare the beer [chicha] for the worshippers.

"Mention is made of one of them, who for a year had distinguished himself for his religiosity, edifying the marveling [Catholic] priests thereby. He later withdrew to practice before these idols, with great success, the external acts of the religious ceremonies that he had seen performed, to the point of simulating with compunction the reading of a book made of bird feathers, aided by another serving as sacristan to succeed him after his death."

[67]The term *Inkakóna*, apparently, is for the Campas only a sacred name associated with these stones, and has no association with the god *Ínka.* Nor does *Inkakóna* constitute a category of good spirits, as is reported for the Machiguengas by Padre García (1935-1937:XVII, 176): "*Inkakúna*: These spirits are the servants of *Tasorínchi.*" Padre Sala's translation of the word "ingacuna" as "man" (1925:525-526; 1929:254, 276, 302, 306, 323, 325, 351, 362; see also Delgado 1896-1897:VI, 352, and Zavala 1895:159) I consider to be inadmissible.

It might be noted that the word "Santo" is not limited to the Moon in its application in the Ipoki region, but instead has a more general meaning of "sacred." This word "Santo" is, as I have indicated, taken from the Spanish, while the ending "-kona" is from the Quechua. Their combination would produce *Santokóna.* Similarly, *Ankerikóna* can be derived from the Spanish word "ángel" to which has been added the suffix "-kona" (divested, it would appear, of its Quechuan significance as a pluralizer).

[68]The information presented here on the sacred stones of the Ipoki region was provided by Kenčóri and Šaríti, both formerly resident there. My field notes continue somewhat incoherently but in keeping with Campa ratiocination as follows: "These Powers can appear to us, if they wish, leaving us stupified. If we hang our heads instead of looking at them, we will be converted to *šintóri.* They eat, and the bones are set aside and regain their flesh. There the women are all beautiful."

Unfortunately, I was not to see any of these stones. While in the upper Perené region I did not evidence any interest in visiting the sacred stones of the Amueshas, as it would have required a special trip of some considerable distance, and because I was not then aware of the existence of sacred stones among the Campas. Later, the Campas who accompanied me neglected to mention the sacred stones in the Ipoki region until shortly after passing through that part of Campa territory. This was a simple oversight and not an attempt to conceal knowledge of the stones, but it was too late to retrace the steps of the expedition. That the stones exist cannot be doubted, but their size and shape, and the precise details of how they are conceived and treated by the Ipoki Campas, await a future visit. I did hear mention, subsequently, of an attempt to raise the stone *Ankerikóna* to the second story of a house in *Santovaráto.* The stone

apparently fell to earth, and it was decided that *Ankerikóna* did not wish to be elevated.

[69] Padre Sala (1929:166, 231) gave "Yumpur" as the Amuesha term for both "God" and "sun." Ordinaire (1887:281n.) provided the following information: "In Campa, the sun is called *Yamponi*, the moon *Arror*, the stars *Apimi*." None of these are Campa terms, and there is every indication that the "Campas" visited by Ordinaire were in actuality Amueshas. Again according to Padre Sala (1929:198), the Amuesha term for "moon" is "Arrur."

[70] For the Campas, Schütz-Holzhausen (1895:214) stated that "no idols have been found among them." Padre Izaguirre also denied the presence of idols among the Campas (1923-1929:XII, 379, 468), as did Schläppi (1935:369). Padre Gridilla (1942b:73) alluded to a prior condition of idolatry—"with the preaching of the Gospel, idolatry disappeared from among them"—that must be taken as a mere presumption, or a figure of speech, on his part. Padre Font, a Jesuit missionary who entered Campa territory as early as 1595, reported that the Campas "have no idolatry whatever" (*in* Jiménez de la Espada 1881-1887:II, xcvii). Hassel, whose statements I tend strongly to discount, reported as follows (1905:673; see also 657): "In the vicinity of the Pangoa there exists a rock engraved with an image of the sun and of the moon. On celebrating their festivals, the Campas paint these images with the same colors as they use on their own faces." Clark chose to entertain his readers with the following account (1953:51-52):

"In the center of the Sutsiki mission slave camp [referring to the Adventist mission on the upper Perené] was an enormous thatched idol-house of bamboo. Here, on an altar, Christ was worshipped in the anthropomorphic form of a gigantic wooden image carved in the semblance of a Campa brujo [shaman]. The idol's shoulders were covered with a sacred boa constrictor snakeskin cape, its loins girded with a grass skirt. A parrot feather headdress stood erect on its head, a band of cactus encased its brow, a skull necklace was strung around its neck, snake amulets encircled the ankles and arms. The fanged (for the teeth were pointed like a brujo's) face was painted terrifyingly with mystic symbols. The idol was crucified on its cross by giant pegs of black chonta from which blood dripped in partly dried clots—Christ's name being PAWA, (literally, 'The man of Gold')."

"This horrendous image was carved of . . . ivory wood, *palo marfil*. . . . It was daily washed in blood (taken from the veins of the worshippers) and likewise freshly painted with black sua and achiote, dressed and scented. [Etc., etc.]"

Clark also wrote of sacred crystals and of "carved green jadeite stones in the form of frogs (symbols of the Rain God)" (1953:71, 159). I encountered nothing of the kind among the Campas.

DENIZENS OF THE UNIVERSE: DEMONS AND WITCHES

No demons.—Tessmann 1930:97[1]

There is a remoteness about the good spirits of the Campa cosmos. They reside at some distance, they are aloof from mortal affairs, and indeed can only be approached by those few individuals who have achieved a certain measure of perfection. The spirits of evil, by contrast, are more immediate. They frequent the Campas' own habitat and present a constant danger, they inhabit the cliffs overhanging the rivers and overlooking the valleys, they roam the forests, and infest the rivers and streams, pressing the Campas in from all sides and inflicting terrible mischief on any unfortunates who fall victim to them.

The host of evil spirits, or demons, rivaling in number and variety the good spirits, is called by the general term *kamári*. The etymology of this term is uncertain, but it appears to contain the root *-kam-* (to die, be dead).[2] *Kamári*, often lengthened to *kamáári* for emphasis, signifies for the Campas whatever or whoever is intrinsically evil and detrimental to human well-being. It is the one term commonly used as a curse, extended to apply to any person or occurrence that is in any way reprehensible or unpleasant.[3] A female demon would be *kamáro*, with the feminine ending. A synonym for *kamári*, apparently quite rare, is the term *šaménci*.

Although demons are everywhere in Campa territory, their greatest concentration is in the subterranean *Šarinkavéni*, where the principal demon, *Koriošpíri* (or, variously, *Korošpíri*, *Korospíri*, perhaps with an inaudible *i* after the *š*) has his residence. The figure of *Koriošpíri* suggests missionary influence, especially as this term was first reported late in the nineteenth century.[4] I have considered the possibility that the term is a corruption of the missionaries' own term "Lucifer," which would become "*irošipéri*" on first

pronunciation in the Campa tongue, from which *Korošipíri*, etc., could be derived. The existence of a similar demonic overlord in Machiguenga belief, however, one who goes by the entirely different name of "Kientibákori," would suggest that the belief is old and indigenous.[5]

Koriošpíri is, of course, *kamári*, although this term does not designate him specifically.[6] He is the Father of all demons (*iríri máároni kamári*); he is Ruler of all demons (*pinkácari máároni kamári*); and he is sovereign over *Šarinkavéni*. As for the demons at large in *Šarinkavéni*, they are given no distinguishing characteristics. It is not until we turn to the demons that make their appearance on earth that we encounter a richly varied demonology.[7]

The elite among the demons of this earth are the *mankóite*, who live within the rock outcrops and cliffs (*impérita*) often encountered along the rivers in Campa territory.[8] The *mankóite* are demons in human form, normally invisible, with long, bushy hair in the form of a mane, wearing tattered robes and wicker crowns sporting *anánta* (a parasitic plant with red runners) instead of the red macaw feathers that the Campas use. Their old robes have the drab brown color that old robes have, the color that the Campas call *kamára(ri)*.[9]

The *mankóite* are powerful demons, with powers approaching those of the gods, so that they may be called *tasorencinééronka* (just as an inferior shaman may be called *šeripiarinééronka*). Such are their powers that, according to Šaríti, if and when the *amacénka* attack some *mankóite* to fling them into *Šarinkavéni*, the following occurs: if a *mankóite*'s head is cut off and flung down, he grows a new head, and if the demon himself is thrown down bodily, he dissolves into air while falling and thus escapes.

When a *mankóite* appears in person to a human being, death is instantaneous.[10] Usually, however, the harm done by the *mankóite* is produced by *atánci*, i.e., the breeze of a passing demon, and is limited to the symptoms of headache, fever, chills, vomiting, vertigo, and a twisted head. The effects of *atánci* can be treated herbally. In addition, children are cautioned against peering at cliffs in passing, for what can result if a child does so is a flash of light signaling the capture of the child's soul by the *mankóite*.

Within their cliffs, the *mankóite* live in much the same manner as the Caucasians, according to Campa testimony. Their houses and what they contain are similar, with doors that they shut in the faces of shamans to keep them from looking in. They also possess stores of merchandise like those in the Caucasian towns. The three great cliffs designated as *Meánto* on the Tambo River are, in fact, understood to be inhabited by demon Caucasians, demon priests, and demon Highlanders, respectively, and in order of decreasing size (see fig. 9). It is said that at night the clatter of their dishes can be heard, and that during the last earthquake a cry of panic came out of *Meánto*.[11]

Another species of demon is the *kacivoréri*. These demons are abroad along the rivers at night, retreating during the day to their homes in the rock outcrops up in the hills. A *kacivoréri* is described as a small black tailless creature dripping blood, with wings like a *kimáro* macaw. It flies through the air emitting a light from some part of its body and carrying a smaller demon on its back. The smaller demon helps it look for food, constructing weirs along the rivers to trap insects attracted by its blood. This demon is powerful and greatly feared, for it will attack a human being, overwhelm him (or her) with terrific force,[12] and thrust a huge penis into his (or her) body, where there is or is not a natural opening. With this act the victim is instantly killed or converted into another *kacivoréri*. These demons avoid Caucasians out of fear, which explains why they are rarely if ever seen by Caucasians.

My informants specified certain defensive measures that can be taken against this demon. One can prostrate oneself in the middle of an extensive stretch of sand (this not being a strong defense, although the demon fears sand). One can submerge up to one's neck in the river, grasping a pole held vertically, so that if the demon perches on the pole it can be drowned by swinging the pole down. One can chew *kacivorerivénki* and blow-spit in the direction of the demon, or throw this *ivénki* into a campfire, where the demon will be driven to incinerate itself. One can beam a flashlight at the demon, which will keep it at a distance as long as the light is on. Or, as a final resort, one can jump into the river in an attempt to escape.[13]

There is reason to suspect that what the Cam-

pas see and identify as *kacivoréri*—nocturnal lights flying through the air along the rivers—is some kind of natural phenomenon. An informant described the *kacivoréri* he saw as having the form of incandescent globes, faintly reddish yellow in color, bluish on the lower part. Others spoke of these lights as "dripping" luminous material of a red color. Descriptions such as these point to a single though rare natural phenomenon: ball lightning.[14] This would be sufficient to explain the Campa belief, although there remains the possibility, however slight, of some historical connection between the Campa notion of a nocturnal creature emitting a light and the old Spanish belief in the mythical "carbúnculo."[15]

Yet another kind of demon goes by the name of *sašínti*, a forest demon distinguished by its extreme thinness.[16] Šaríti added that it is fur- or feather-covered, but this may have been a gratuitous addition. When this demon appears to someone, it breaks his body into pieces (the Campa term being *itinkaráhakeri* or *ikaraháker*i), reassembles the pieces and blows on them to revive the victim. That victim, with full remembrance of what happened to him, returns home to sicken and die rapidly. If someone sickens because of *atánci* due to *sašínti*, the shaman, after sucking out leaves indicating *atánci*, may in a dream see the patient's soul in the house of *sašínti* and recoup it. There is a demonic bird called *mačémporo*, known as *išitáši sašínti* (the mat of *sašínti*). This bird is associated if not identified with the demon *sašínti*. If the bird follows someone, that person may be frightened into sickness (*caroánake* being the Campa term for fright).[17]

The demons *irampaványto* are the Campa equivalents of the Western succubus. These demons are believed to raise *opémpe* toucans (*Ramphastos cuvieri*) like chickens. *Opémpe*, then, are of demonic provenience, *ivíra irampaványto* (raised by *irampaványto*). An *irampaványto* appears to a man alone in the forest or in his garden as an attractive woman, perhaps taking the form of his wife or some other woman with whom he has been intimate, with an *opémpe* on her shoulder.

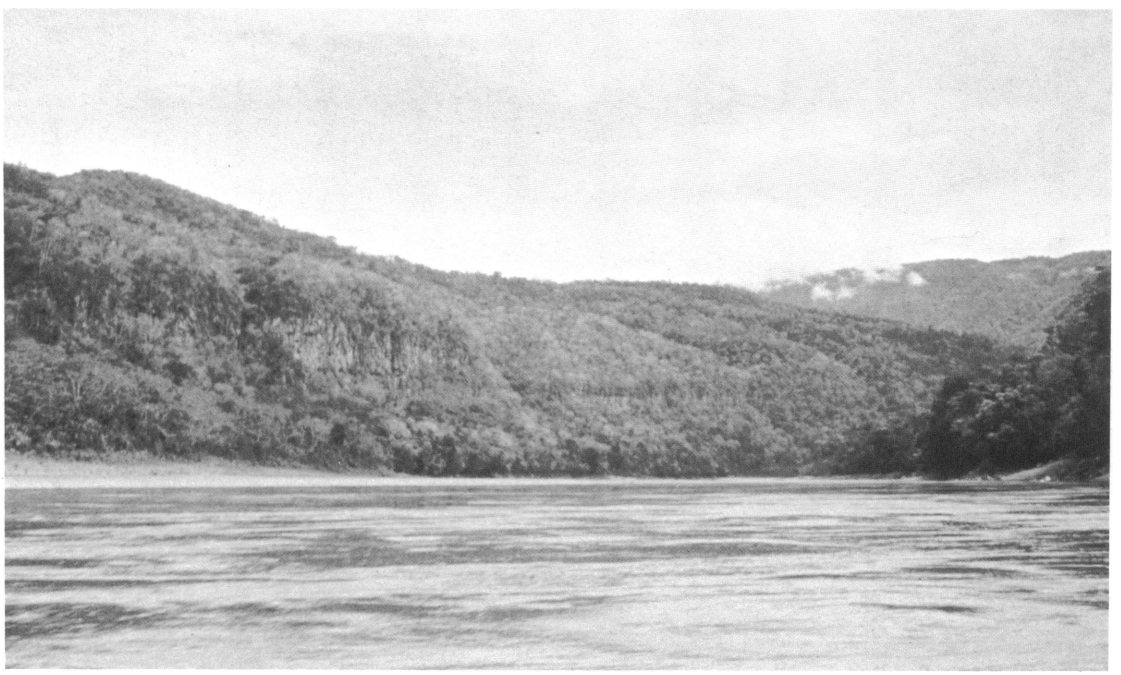


FIG. 9. *Meánto* (Tambo River) viewed from downstream. Within these great cliffs are supposed to reside *mankóite* demons—Caucasians, priests, and Highland Indians.

This demon, *kamáro*, excites coitus and afterwards tells the man what has happened to him. The man will be frightened into helplessness, permitting the demon to beat him to death. Later he will revive, return home, and die soon after, telling the others that he has encountered an *irampavánto* and cannot be expected to live. Having been beaten by the succubus, the man's symptoms include severe body pains. There is no remedy.[18] This demon can also present itself to a woman in the form of a man–perhaps looking like her husband or some other man with whom she has been intimate–with the same consequences. This is the demon's incubus form.[19]

The demon *míroni* or *amimíro* can appear either in human form or in the form of a large beast like a tapir or mule (horse).[20] In its human form, a *míroni* has the appearance of a little old man, wearing an old robe and carrying a walking stick which the demon uses to vault the river. The demon is further distinguished by the possession of a huge penis, which he carries over his shoulder like firewood, and by the ability, despite his decrepit appearance, to outrun and overwhelm a victim. According to the informant Heváyoki, the demon, at least in this form, makes a rumbling or moving sound.[21] In its tapir- or equine-like form, the demon is distinguished by huge eyes and, again, a huge penis. With this carnal weapon the demon attacks solitary men in the forest, abusing them sexually through every orifice of the body, even making new orifices. The victim dies and arises as a female *míroni.* One informant, Maríti, added that, when a *míroni* attacks a man, all the other categories of demon come to abuse the victim sexually also–*kacivoréri*, *mamáro* (owl), etc. This informant related further that if a man walks a straight line, he is like a worm leaving a thread behind, which the *míroni* can haul to detain him, and when the demon comes close enough it will shoot semen into the man's eyes, blinding him. What is especially distinctive about this demon is that it attacks only men, for it has a fear of female breasts, which appear to it like penes.[22]

A similar demon is the *kasónkati.* It, too, takes the form either of a large tapir or mule (horse) or of a man (described by Heváyoki as small, naked, and bald, although others would not be so specific). The size of this demon's penis is not specified. What distinguishes this category of demon is the possession of a hole in one or both knees, which it holds to its mouth and blows across to make a fearful whistling noise. The powers of this demon are such that it can whistle as it walks. The informant Komémpe related that her mother was once pursued by a demon of this description, that wanted to kill her by crushing her bones. She climbed a tree, the demon waited below; she called for help, and some passerby, hearing her, discharged a shotgun, frightening the demon away. There is an herb called *kasonkatíši*, the leaves of which are used to prepare a warm bath that serves to keep one from dying of fright after escaping from a *kasónkati.*[23]

Other forest demons of lesser importance are the *inčatonkóna* (or *inčatonkóveri*) and the *kapironkári*. An *inčatonkóna* is a demon of small stature but great force who beats the roots of trees (*inčáto*) with a stick to show how he will beat a human being if he encounters one. This demon has splayed toes, and one foot is tiny.[24] The demon *kapironkári*, according to Šaríti, has feet like *kapíro* (bamboo) cross sections, and produces a sound like beating *kapíro.*[25]

Another frequenter of the forests is the monster *korínto*, a beast described as being big as a house and possessing a kind of trunk. With this trunk, according to one Campa encountered along the Perené, it lifts its victim to deposit him in a hole in its back. A picture of an elephant, as the author discovered, will be recognized by the Campas as *korínto*. (The largest woman I met among the Campas was named, descriptively, *Korínto*.) According to one shaman (a friend of the shaman Porekaványti), *korínto* makes the sound "*kori-*" followed by a nasal release after a full stop, this being repeated. These man-devouring beasts no longer roam Campa territory, the Campas say, because long ago they were trapped by shamans in a cave at the headwaters of *Cikiréni*, tributary of the Ene. Some say they have since fled deep into the forests to the east. It is said that when the world ends the houses will be transformed into *korínto* and will swallow the Campas.[26]

Among the spirits living within the rivers and streams, the most important group is that of the water sprites called *keáci.* These inhabit lakes as

well, and have human form, both male and female. The *keáci* are not categorically *kamári*; some are bad and swallow people, others are good. When a Campa drowns and his ghost does not return to make noises, it is presumed that he still lives, has joined the *keáci*, and married one of them. The needle-nosed fish *icápite keáci* (*Sturisoma* sp.) is, as its name signifies, "*keáci*'s needle." Indeed, all fish are *itómi keáci* (children of *keáci*) except *saaventári* (unidentified), which is *iráši Pává* (God's), and the fishes *kitókiti* (*Pimelodella* sp.), *sankoáti* (*Astyanax* sp.), and *šimamirókiti* (*Curimata* sp.), which are raised by the rainbow demon (*ivíra oyéčari*).[27]

Aside from the *keáci*, the demons of the river include the *impošitóniro*, the *šonkatiníro*, and *Comiri(níro)*. The *impošitóniro* and *šonkatiníro* live in the whirlpools and bad passes of the river, where they wait to drown and eat voyagers passing by.[28] The *šonkatiníro* are the children of *Comiriníro*. *Comiriníro* is a spirit with a large *caráto* (shoulder-bag) which is his stomach, into which he puts the souls (*išíre*) of those who drown. The bodies are discarded to reappear at the surface and be eaten by buzzards, and the souls are converted to Caucasians that marry *Comiriníro*'s daughters.[29]

There are also demons that are not entirely imaginary but can be observed under normal conditions. The first is the Campas' rainbow demon, called *oyéčari* or *cavirénci*. This demon lives in the foul places along the rivers and brooks, has the form of a zungaro (giant catfish), but with longitudinal stripes along its body like the stripes on the Campa men's robes. Its urine and excrement form the reddish muck where it lives. This demon collects food refuse thrown into the stream and, with that refuse, practices witchcraft. According to the shaman Porekaványti, the symptoms are intestinal pain and diarrhea; the shaman sucks out dirty earth and dreams of a lake, and a cure is effected by throwing hot rocks into the mucky place or beating it with *kapíro* (bamboo).

The demon *oyéčari* or *cavirénci* is itself not seen. But associated with it is the rainbow, also called *oyéčari* or *cavirénci*. The rainbow itself is understood to be the smoke from this demon's campfire (or perhaps it is the demon's robe, for the Campas do not pretend to know exactly what the rainbow is). For the Campas, then, a rainbow is something demonic, repulsive, and detested, and when one is seen it is made to disappear by flinging ashes at it or by cutting the air with a machete.[30]

A demon that is itself a natural phenomenon is the little whirlwind that moves along the ground, swirling up leaves and dust (what we call a "dust devil"). This whirlwind demon is called *kaviónkari*, *tiviónkari*, or *šinkíreri*. When a whirlwind passes by a person, it can produce the condition of *atánci* if it wishes, and that person will be bedridden with body pains and a twisted head. According to the shaman Širikónka, the leaves carried by a passing *kaviónkari* enter the victim and clog his body, and the shaman makes his diagnosis upon sucking out leaves and then prescribes the proper herbal remedy. (The shaman Porekaványti claimed that in such a case nothing emerges on sucking, but that nevertheless he goes through the procedure of blowing tobacco smoke on the patient, sucking him, and then blowing air on him, with the aim of cooling his fevered body.) The herbal remedy is a warm bath and drink of water prepared with leaves of the wild herb *šinkireríši* or, alternatively, *čoviaríši* (unidentified plants).

The rest of Campa demonology consists of certain species of insects, birds, and beasts. There are two species of large butterfly classified as demons. One is the well-known morpho or blue butterfly (*Morpho* sp.), called by the Campas *sánta* or *ankáro*. The other is the larger owl butterfly (*Caligo* sp.), called by the Campas *maacaránci* (literally, "old clothes") and also *širéci* (ghost) or *širecipéta* (ghost *flapping of wings*). The demonic butterfly *maacaránci* is what becomes of the old clothing of a bad person when he dies.

Both these butterfly demons produce varieties of *atánci*. The demon *sánta* or *ankáro* produces the following symptoms: fever, vomiting, diarrhea, and a kind of vertigo where everything looks blue, like the color of the upper surface of this butterfly's wings. The remedy is a warm bath using *ankárovenki*, one of the cultivated *ivénki*'s. The demon *maacaránci* produces the following symptoms: fever, chills, vomiting, diarrhea, vertigo, and a kind of disassociation where the victim can burn himself in the campfire without

feeling it. The remedy is a warm bath and drink using *maacarancivénki* (another of the cultivated *ivénki*'s) or leaves from the wild herb *imancakíši* (unidentified plant). If the owner of this "old clothing" appears to the victim, however, there is no cure.[31]

The adult ant lion (Murmeleonidae), called by the Campas *šiénti* (or *šiénci*), is distinguished by its needle-like thinness and is *kamári mapéro* (demon emphatically). It produces a form of *atánci* where the head is twisted around or the mouth is twisted to one side. The little blood-sucking fly *cíito*, one of the most annoying pests in the Amazon drainage, is also *kamári mapéro*, and *itómi civáni* (child of the demonic bird *civáni*). It was explained to me that *civáni* says to *cíito*, "Go bring water (i.e., blood) from that person." *Cíito* can appear in human form and "break" a person, like *sašínti*. Also mentioned as a demon is the little firefly with intermittent light called *manciári* (sickly, weakly). If it touches a person at night, it is said to cause pain. A number of other insects are demons–the katydids *šíinti* and *cinéro*, the cricket *civivínti*, as well as various species of ants and bees–which are considered below in the passage devoted to witchcraft. Among the arachnids, the scorpion (*kitóniro*) is a demon.

Other insect pests are not considered to be demons, but are of demonic provenience (*iráši kamári*). These include the venomous centipede *širóna*, the tiny biting fly *ehóki* (known in local Spanish as the "manta blanca"), fleas (*kentiratíki*), lice (*néci*), chicken lice (*patóki*), ticks (*pašíti* or *pašíto*), mosquitoes (*máneo*), a subcutaneous worm called *keníci* (known in local Spanish as the "mirunda"),[32] and intestinal worms (*šíca*). There are in addition certain insects that are called *kamári* disparagingly, although they are not considered to be true demons. These include the glowworm *piróni* (*Pyrophorus* sp.); *piróni*'s "brother-in-law," the dung beetle *tivíto* (*Phanaeus* sp.); and the large locust *šeseróti*–also called *pátiri*, from the Spanish "padre" (priest), because of its cowl– (*Schistocera* sp.). We need not look far for the reasons underlying the special status of these last-named insects. Although they do no bodily harm, they are all useless–*piróni* with its eerie green lights, *tivíto* with its disgusting habits, and *šeseróti* with its propensity for eating holes in clothing. Another insect called *kamári* as a disparagement is *cipáto* (*Passalus* sp.), again useless, and so called because it eats rotten trees.

As for the demonic birds, mention should be made of *mačémporo*, identified as the "mat" or "wing" of the demon *sašínti*. The bird itself may be called *sašínti*. It is heard at night, but no reliable description of it could be obtained. It was equated with the demonic "tunchi" bird that figures in the beliefs of the Peruvian Loretanos and the Indian tribes downriver.[33]

Several other species of birds are also demons. They include the following: (1) *aróni* (a large black bird of rapine with a white abdomen, unidentified); (2) *tisóni* (the common vulture); (3) *mamáro* (all owls, including the *pompóri* and *orínari*); (4) *cíisanti* (hummingbird with *kamára(ri)*-colored plumage); (5) *civáni* (Squirrel Cuckoo); (6) *cirárato* (unidentified); and (7) *sakirírinti* (unidentified). *Aróni*, *tisóni*, and *mamáro*, if joked about, will transform themselves into succubi or incubi, like *irampaváanto*.[34] Owls (*mamáro*) are believed to be demons that can appear in human form and carry off the children and even the wife of a man absent on a trip or voyage. Owls are killed if captured.[35] *Cíisanti* and *civáni* will be considered in connection with witchcraft. *Cirárato* is a small bird that steals cotton to build its nest. It is said to have been a thief, stealing cotton in former times when it had human form. This bird also is believed to become a succubus or incubus when joked about, and its action in such an eventuality is summed up in the word *itinkaráhanti* (he breaks [us]). *Sakirírinti*, according to the informant Šaríti, is a small bird converted from the excrement of a bad person. My field notes contain the names of a few other birds stated to be demons, but they are unidentified and without importance. Mention might be made, however, of a demonic bird called *iríniro mapíti* (mother of the little bird *mapíti*). *Iríniro mapíti* can be heard at night calling "*soi*, *soi*," but what it looks like is generally unknown. Šaríti, however, claimed that it is a demon with only one foot, having the appearance of a small bird but actually being a "skinny" *ašáninka*.[36] Another informant identified the tinamou quails *kencóri* and *onkíri*, and the motmot *hiríti*, as *ivíra kamári* (raised by demons).

Among the mammals, bats (*pihíri*) are demons, as are all the large felines (*maníti*), of

which the jaguar is the archetypical *maníti sánori* (true *maníti*).[37] Jaguars—that is to say, *maníti*—that come prowling are understood to be, at least for the most part, the souls of living jaguar-shamans in jaguar form, as well as jaguar-shamans transformed bodily at death into jaguars, and the jaguar "children" of a jaguar-shaman sent out at his command.[38] In an encounter between a good shaman and a jaguar-shaman (or one of the latter's jaguar-children) in jaguar form, a show of superior strength may take place, the good shaman challenging the jaguar to follow him in the form of a lightning flash, knowing that the jaguar can only run along the ground.

It was explained to me that, in a jaguar's eyes, human beings appear as *šintóri* (peccary, Tayassuidae) and dogs appear as *kapéši* (coati, *Nasua* sp.). Jaguars come hunting the game animals *šintóri* and *kapéši*—actually human beings and dogs. According to the shaman Porekavánti, a good shaman can intercept a jaguar approaching a settlement and dispose of it in one of two ways: he can lure the jaguar into a *manitimóro* (jaguar's hole), one of which is on the left side of the Tambo between the tributaries *Piriréni* and *Čéni*, under the pretext of finding "*šintóri*" there, and then run out and close the hole to trap the jaguar within, where it will die; or he can carry the jaguar to a place beyond *Ocitiríko* called *Impírani* where there burns a fire into which he tosses the jaguar so that it is consumed. As the jaguar dies, so does the jaguar-shaman or his jaguar-child.[39]

At *Manitipánko* on the Perené River there is a peculiar rock formation that looks like a black feline peering out of a cleft in the cliff (see fig. 10). The explanation for this natural phenomenon given me conforms to and illustrates Campa thought on the subject: On one occasion a number of shamans tricked a jaguar by entering the cleft and emerging with men they had hidden there, and then telling the jaguar that if it en-

FIG. 10. *Manitipánko* (Perené River). In a cleft of this cliff can be seen a trapped jaguar turned to stone.

tered it also would find a man. The jaguar entered and the cleft closed, leaving the animal trapped.

A number of animals, though not *kamári*, will transform themselves to *maníti* if joked about. These include the following: *oáti* (*Galictis barbara*), *pitóni* (*Aotus* sp.), all the squirrels (*méiri*, *patáro*, and *patiánkori*), all woodpeckers, the bird *naráni* (unidentified), and the grub *hómpa*. The wingless wasp *išíkote maníti* (jaguar's lime), which delivers a painful sting, will also become a *maníti* if joked about.[40]

Rabbits (*kíma*) are demons. They also are not to be joked about or they will appear as succubi or incubi, exciting coitus and death. Few Campas eat rabbit. The same can be said for sloth (*soróni*) and the arboreal *óisonti* (unidentified), although there is some question about their demonic status.

Several species in the animal kingdom that are on the Campa menu are considered to be demonic. Their demonic status, while not ordinarily preventing their use as food, may become significant under circumstances requiring special dieting. The following food items were identified by Savarohání as *kamári*, and as converting to succubi or incubi if joked about: agouti (*šaróni*), capybara (*ivéto*), the monkeys *heróni* and *kenírí*, the toucans *kiári* and *opémpe*, the bird *mapíti*, the stingray *ináro*, and all the edible frogs (plus the toad *mašéro*, which is not eaten). Regarding the frogs and toads, the informant Šaríti asserted that the "Fathers" of *iyénto*, *oánto*, *pirínto*, *copínto*, and *mašéro* are demons of large size, while *héénto* is cross-cousin of the *manínkari* (good spirits) because it "sings" when there is lightning. The relations of the frog *hóóti* were not known to Šaríti.[41] (None of these amphibians has been identified.)

The shaman Porekaványti claimed that all tapirs (*kemári*) are demons, although in the sky there are *kemári* with soft bones—the livestock of *Tasórenci*—that are not demons. An alternative understanding was expressed by other Campas that tapirs encountered in the lowlands are demons, whereas those in the mountains with fat are good. Porekaványti added that there are jaguars (*maníti*) in the sky, among the *henókisati* (sky-dwellers), that are good rather than demonic.[42]

Porcupine (*tontóri*) and bear (*mééni*) are rarely eaten because they are seldom encountered, but they are not demons. The large armadillo *kintéro* is rarely encountered also, but its status is uncertain: Savarohání claimed that it is eaten whenever obtained, but Maríti refused to eat one of these animals for fear that it would carry him off to *Šarinkavéni*. Caymans (*saníri*) are not demons, but most Campas will not eat them. Snakes (*maránki*) and the electric eel (*cínke*) are called "*kamári*" but they are not actually demons. *Cínke* is eaten by few if any Campas, and snakes are never eaten (although it was claimed that the Pajonal Campas do eat snake meat to prevent illness). It is curious that, although Campas fear snake bites and speak of snakes as readying their "arrows" (fangs) for use against "*šintóri*" (human beings), they do not consider snakes to be demons and virtually disregard them in their speculative thought.[43]

There is a special category of demons designated by the term *peári*. A *peári* is understood to be the soul of a dead person, or any demon for that matter, taking the form of a game animal (or certain other members of the animal kingdom). A *peári* bagged by a hunter is never eaten because it is a demon. Any animal that is emaciated, has pustules, tumors, or patchy fur, is infested with worms, or has unhealthy-looking organs—in sum, any diseased or sick animal—is *peári*. How the belief arose among the Campas that such animals are demons and not to be eaten, appears obvious.[44]

Peári can take the form of any one of a number of species. The demon is then called by the name of that species with the added suffix *-niro*. This suffix means "having the outward appearance of," and consequently has frequently the sense of "demon in the form of." The following list of *peári* was elicited from the informant Šaríti, and may be checked against the list of Campa food animals provided in table 3: *šintoriníro* (*piraciníro*, *kitairikiníro*), *manironíro*, *kemariníro*, *šaroniníro*, *ivetoníro*, *kapešiníro*, *tontoriníro*, *meeniníro*, *oatiníro*, *soroniníro*, *kimaníro*, *moráníro* (*móra*: mule, horse), *ciyeriníro*, *ošetoníro*, *kenirinírо*, *koširiníro*, *pitoniníro*, *kicaniníro*, *oisontiníro*, *patiankoriníro*, *kencoriníro*, *kontonaníro*, *onkiriníro*, *paciriníro*, *camiriníro*, *opempeníro*, *čakaminíro*,

koacereníro, and *šimaníro*. According to Šaríti, *peári* are not known to take the form of the following species: *samáni*, *etíni* (except when the animal wanders into the settlement), *kintéro*, *cípi*, *heróni*, *kamárari*, *šitóni*, *tokári* (a question here), *méiri*, *patáro*, *cióvero*, *čampaváti*, all guans, all doves, all macaws, all parrots, *kanóhapa*, *káonkari*, *pišíro*, *pišíti*, *cemirinkári*, *čári*, all turtles, all frogs, all fish (except *šímá*), eel, crabs, shrimp, all insects, and all snails.[45]

A favorite item of food, although a *peári* can appear in its form, is the deer (*maníro*). This animal is reported for the Campas and Machiguengas by some authors, however, to be demonic and never eaten. The Campa literature is somewhat obscure on this subject. Foster (1922:249) wrote that "the Chuncho Indians regard them [deer] as sacred, and although they may kill them for their hide, they religiously refuse to eat the meat." Stull, who was with the Pajonal Campas on the Pichis, reported (1951:77) that the Indians "had superstitions about deer," which were not considered "suitable for food." Padre Navarro (1924:23, 58-59) claimed, curiously, that it is the head of the deer that the Campas do not eat, because the deer is a demon or like a demon (see also Steward and Métraux 1948:542).[46]

Just what may be involved here does not become clear until we turn to the Machiguenga literature. The earliest statement on this subject, by Stiglich (1908:399), refers to the Montaña tribes in general: "Worthy of investigation is the general belief that the deer, the capybara, and the black alligator are malignant spirits, especially the first."[47] Farabee (1922:55-56) reported that the red deer is not eaten by either Machiguengas or Piros because of the belief that on death a person's soul enters this animal—the souls of both men and women doing so for the Machiguengas, and of men only for the Piros (see also Steward and Métraux 1948:547).[48] According to Farabee (1909:130; 1922:14), the Machiguenga belief is not that the dead person's soul becomes a deer or becomes a deer's soul, but simply that the soul enters a deer. Farabee amplified his remarks as follows (1909:130; see also 1922:14):

> They have a tradition, that a long time ago the body of a Macheyenga was buried and watch kept to see if there was a soul and if so what became of it. In the morning of the eighth day they saw a red deer jump up from the grave and run away into the forest. Since then they have believed that the souls of Macheyengas always enter the red deer. They do not know what becomes of the souls of other men, but they do not enter the red deer.
>
> They never eat the flesh of the deer but have no objection to others doing so. They even kill it themselves and give it to others to eat. It is in no way treated as a sacred animal. When the cooked flesh is offered to a Macheyenga he makes signs as though the thought of eating it made him sick.[49]

Padre Aza (1924:31-32), reporting like Farabee that the Machiguengas believe their souls pass into deer when they die, added that the larger demons, the "kamagarine," also take the form of deer, and hence it is for both these reasons that they do not eat venison, although they do not mind killing these animals (see also Fernández Moro 1925-1928:XLVI, 235; Hammerly Dupuy 1945:290).[50] Ballón Landa (1917:208-209) also noted the demonic status of deer among tribes neighboring the Campas, and speculated that the belief is a consequence of missionary influence. He suggested that the early seventeenth century missionaries in the Montaña may have described the Devil in terms of the physical characteristics of the deer, this being enough to give rise to the native belief.[51]

Whether or not Ballón Landa is right, it appears that the Machiguengas have held certain beliefs about deer that make them averse to eating the animal but not to killing it. The less ample Campa data suggest that the Campas in contact with the Machiguengas were influenced by these notions to the extent of acting similarly. In conformity with this impression, I was told by Fray Diego Durand, formerly active as a missionary among the Campas, that in his time (1928-1933), the Apurímac Campas, as far down as the *Yavíro* of the Ene, would not eat deer: he would pay them to kill a deer, and after they did so they would flee in fear to advise him. This influence apparently was not lasting; I encountered nothing comparable to what is described in the literature anywhere among the River Campas.[52]

There remains the possibility that the reports

in the literature were inspired at least in part by dietary practices under special circumstances. For example, Campa parents during pregnancy do not eat venison lest their child be born with a long neck. Furthermore, they do not eat venison for the first few days following childbirth because, as was explained to me, *maníro* is indeed "*kamári*" and would frighten the infant with its big eyes, causing the infant to cry and die. During the first few days after childbirth, however, any possible reason for not eating a particular food item is sufficient to eliminate it from the parents' diet, since that is the time to be exceptionally cautious. Unlike many other food items, venison is back on the menu after those first few days, thus indicating that deer is not so preeminently demonic as to merit special mention. Shamans also maintain dietary restrictions, so as not to endanger their special powers. The shaman Širikónka did include *maníro* among the animals never eaten by him, for the reason that it is a demon, while the shaman Porekaványti denied this and stated that he himself ate venison.[53] Otherwise, the deer is a prized game animal.[54]

It can be reported that the belief in *pištáko* has spread among the Campas from its origin in the Highlands. For the Campas, the *pištáko* are Caucasians in the towns (Satipo, San Ramon, Pucallpa, etc.) who kill natives to extract the grease from their bodies for use in automobiles and airplanes. This belief, in various forms, has had a long history in the Highlands. It seems to have diffused to the Campas only recently.[55]

There are certain wild plants associated with the demons of Campa belief. In general they are plants that are similar in appearance to those the Campas cultivate. An exception is the plant *anánta* (unidentified), which resembles the macaw tail feathers used by the Campas to adorn their wicker crowns, and which is understood to be used by the *mankóite* for the same purpose. The other plants in this category reported to me conform to the rule. They are *ivočáro(niro)te mankóite* ([false] tobacco of the *mankóite*); *isevóya(niro)te oyéčari* ([false] onion of the rainbow demon) (from the Spanish "cebolla" [onion]); *icoriá(niro)te pihíri* ([false] *coría* [a cultivated tuber] of the bats); and *sántopenki*, described as similar in appearance to the banana plant (none identified).

There is in addition the capped fungus *kahevinίro* or *šitovinίro* (*kahévi* being the general Campa term for edible fungus, and *šitóvi* the term for one such species). This plant is also called *išívi* (or *itáharo*) *širéci* (or *kamári*) (penis [or blunt arrow] of the ghost [or demon]). It is understood to be a demon capable of transforming itself into a succubus or incubus, with the usual consequences.[56]

A special category of demons is that of witches (*máci*). These are human and nonhuman beings that cause sickness and death by the manipulation of materials. They are all *kamári máci.*

Human witches are usually children, and more often than not females. Adults also can be witches, but they are understood to have been witches since childhood who somehow escaped detection. A shaman may diagnose human witchcraft as the cause of an illness or a death, and in one way or another designate the culprit. As a general rule, the accused will be the most defenseless member of the community, usually a girl-child, especially if it is an orphan or captive taken in a raid. Among adults, a woman without a husband to defend her may be singled out.[57]

A witch-child is not necessarily considered to be guilty of malice or bloodthirstiness in causing sickness and death. The child may be innocent of evil intentions, and may bewitch unwittingly (although the case can be otherwise). What is understood to have happened is that one of a number of demonic birds and insects, also *kamári máci*, has appeared to that child in its sleep and turned it into a witch, taking advantage of its innocence. These "teachers" of witchcraft include *civáni* (the Squirrel Cuckoo, *Piaya cayana*),[58] *eentiopéti* or *ίίtipi* (unidentified bird), *šίinti*[59] and *cináro* (katydids [Tettigoniidae]), and *civivínti* (a species of cricket [Gryllidae]). Another teacher of witchcraft, *cempokiríriti*, was stated to be an insect, but an "insect" never seen except by witches. In addition, the soul of another human witch can come to teach witchcraft.

Any of these teachers of witchcraft can appear in human form[60] to a sleeping child in a dream, placing something–a bone, a fishbone, a palm-leaf sliver, or the like–in its hand, and then knocking that object out of its hand so that the object enters the ground. Any child, once it has learned to walk and talk, is susceptible to such a

visitation. The child, being innocent, does not defend itself, and is in this way easily transformed into a full-fledged witch. With what the demon knocks out of the child's hand, someone begins to sicken. As one Campa put it, the demon tells the child, "Let us kill that *samáni*," likening the human victim to a game animal (*Coelogenus paca*). The demon also gives the child, in its dream, human flesh to eat, for which it then develops a taste.[61]

The demon returns again and again to repeat these acts, and the child also dreams that it is burying things. The materials buried include those already mentioned and more: bones, fishbones, palm-leaf slivers (that is to say, fragments of mat), twigs, thorns, snail shells, manioc cores, food refuse of any kind, chewed coca or mucus wrapped in a leaf, pieces of cloth, hair, etc. These buried materials, in a way unknown to the Campas, enter the victim's body and strike him down with sickness. When the shaman extracts such material from a patient by sucking and (according to Porekavánti) later dreams of *šaróni* (agouti, *Dasyprocta* sp.), witchcraft is indicated, witchcraft of the human kind.

The shaman Porekavánti has an efficient way of identifying the witch in such a case. As he explained it, the morning after examining a patient he looks for the child with a downcast or serious expression. Any child who might suspect that it will be accused of witchcraft could well be expected to look that way, considering what is in store for it.[62]

An accused witch is punished cruelly, handled roughly, and forced to dig up the materials it had buried in and around the house. By digging up these materials, which the Campas claim are always found, the cause of the sickness is removed. My informants insisted that these materials are not simply discarded refuse, but rather are found tied or wrapped in a leaf, or otherwise showing evidence of being specially prepared. With these materials out of the ground, the witch's victim should improve. It is necessary for all the buried materials to be excavated and for the witch to be discouraged from further witchcraft by threats and severe punishment. A witch may be suspended by the heels over a smudge fire, beaten with a stick, whipped with a vine or with stinging nettles, etc. Chili peppers may be squeezed into its eyes to make it forget what it has been taught, and it may be made to stay and sleep on an upper platform in the house where its teacher will not be able to find it again. It is given almost nothing to eat, as it is understood to eat human flesh.

If the sick person gets well, the witch may be let off with a warning, but if the sick person dies, the witch will be executed or, alternatively in recent times, sold to the Caucasian colonists. To destroy a witch effectively so that its soul does not become a demon to cause more trouble, the witch may first be garroted or bludgeoned to death and the corpse then cremated, flung into the river with a rock tied to its neck, or thrust headfirst and face down into a large *kintéro* (armadillo) hole. When a witch is trussed up and thrown into the river, the nicety of its being already dead may not be observed.[63]

However innocent of evil intentions a witch-child may be, the reaction of the community is one of merciless fury. If it has been established that a child has been practicing witchcraft against members of its own family, and an initial warning does no good (whoever is sick does not get well), it will be executed by its own parents or elder siblings.[64] If the supposed victim is someone outside the family, some parents will defend their child, but not in the face of too strong an opposition lest they too be killed. Even in such a case, most parents will believe in the truth of an accusation of witchcraft directed at their own children. If the parents of a child accused of witchcraft against someone outside the family do not wish it to be killed, they may at some risk deliver the child to a missionary, if the child itself does not attempt to escape to a mission. An acceptable alternative to execution, when tempers are not too inflamed, is the sale of the child to a Caucasian colonist, which effectively removes the threat to the community while at the same time providing an extra benefit in the form of merchandise obtained from the sale.[65]

These practices expectably have shocked Caucasians who have learned about them and caused comment in much of the Campa literature.[66] The Peruvian authorities and the missionaries, however, although they have tried to discourage these practices, have thus far been most ineffectual, for the beliefs which justify and motivate the prac-

tices remain in force. The Campa shamans have been much criticized by Caucasians for the role they play in accusing and condemning human witches, and in such cases they do display a callous disregard for human life. It should be recognized, however, that a shaman only does what is expected of him within a consistent system of thought and action, the Campa (River Campa) cultural system. As Stull concluded (1951:99), after describing a case where two children were executed as witches by order of a shaman while a man lay dying, "the strange thing is that he [the shaman] believed he had done right, that he had done what he could." The following passage from a text I collected reveals how the Campas themselves justify witchcraft accusations by their shamans:

"Isémari yóká soldádo.[67] Ikemakótiri
"They hate him [shaman] they here soldiers. They have

ihitamacitánti. Té ihitamacitášitea,
heard about him (that) he calls 'witch.' He does not call 'witch'

ihitamacitašitántea aká.
without reason, he (does not) call 'witch' without any reason here.

Paménetea, amateróme arórí aká, akišotantayéte
Look, then, if we could we here, we therefore would blow-spit

kíšo, kíšo. Sotoapááke antaverénci irórí aká,
sound of blow-spitting. Emerges the mischief it here,

inčátonki.[68] Sotoapááke, oponeántari
little sticks of wood. (They) emerge, therefore it comes about

yoáiro iriórí aká. 'Héró óká. Mééka aká,
he passes them on he here. 'Here it is. Now here,

yašinonkantakári mééka ašinonkainčarínta aká.
therefore he is sick now he who is sick over there here.

Héró óká mééka kiantakáriri inčátonki
Here it is now what therefore entered him little sticks of wood

aká. Té irihokitášitea.'
here. He did not fall (sick) without reason.'

"Ipokapááke icípa ašáninka,
"He comes another (of) our fellow tribesmen,

kisakoventanakeárine iriórí ántá. Ipokapááke,
to defend him [the sick person] now he over there. He comes,

isampitapáákeri ántá. Ikánti šeripiári ántá.
he questions him [the shaman] over there. He says shaman over

'Irótake matákeri óká.
there, 'It is she (who) has been able to (injure) him she here.

Timáci antavetacíri aká.' Ikantapáákeri iriórí,
There is the one who has done mischief here.' He says to him he,

'Iróya nopokašitíri óká.' Ipokašitapáákero
'She, then, for which I have come she here.' For her he had come

irióri aká.
he here.

"Ikantapáiro, 'Páita pantantaríri aká?
"He says to her, 'Why have you done him (injury) here?

Páita pisemantáriri aká? Paméne, haokaríka ipimanteevetákempi
Why do you hate him here? Look, wherever they will sell you

virakóčaki, aríompa poamakéri virakóča?
to the Caucasians, is it true you will kill him the Caucasian?

Éiro poamáiri. Intáni picitakaašitapaakeári
You won't kill him. Only you will just have sexual relations with

aká. Ašáninka pininatíri iríinti aká.
him here. Our fellow tribesman you despise him he alone here.

Ári poašinonkašitaríkea. Inkamašitákea
Well, you have made him sick without reason, then. May he die without

irióri yantiašiparitapááke, inkamašitákea irióri
cause he (when) he is old, may he die without cause he

aká, Irómpa inkamašitákea irióri aká.
here. May it be (that) he will die without cause he here.

Ainirokéra irióri aká, ihananékiti irióri. Yoašinonkašitáka,
(He) is yet he here, he is a child he. He was made sick

ikámake irióri aká. Óká antavetákari
without reason, he is dying he here. She here she did him

inčátonki aká. Éiro oaharíci,
mischief (with) little sticks of wood here. She won't eat him,

antakeríri, áisati aká; iróinti kipáci
she who did him (injury), as well here; it alone the earth

oahearíne aká.'[69] Irótake ikantayétiri ašaninkapé
will eat him now here.' It is it all that they say all our fellow

irióri aká."
tribesmen they here."

The category of *kamári máci* is not limited to human witches and their demon teachers, for it includes as well a considerable number of species of ants and bees. In Campa thought, ants and bees—the social insects—also cause sickness by the manipulation of materials. Here the materials consist exclusively of substances discarded by the victim as refuse or body waste.

Most species of ants (Formicidae) are understood to carry off food refuse, excrement, or per-

haps a twig or leaf wet with urine, taking these materials to their nests and there practicing witchcraft with them. Table 7 lists a number of the species of ants that practice witchcraft, the symptoms associated with each species, the objects sucked out by the shaman, and what he dreams afterward in each case. The information contained in this table was obtained from the shaman Porekaványti and corroborates earlier, less complete information obtained from the shaman Širikónka. Inspecting this table, we can see certain connections between the characteristics of some of these species and the symptoms associated with them. Stabbing pains are taken as symptoms of witchcraft due to *manĭhi* (*Paraponera* sp.), a large black ant whose sting is exquisitely painful and long-lasting.[70] Abdominal cutting pains with bloody stools are taken as symptoms of witchcraft due to the leaf-cutting ant *sankóri* (although the other variety of leaf-cutting ant, *kóye*, is not considered to be *máci*).

My field notes contain, in addition, various symptoms attributed to still other species of ants: the ant *kanééki* was reported to produce inflammation of the eyes; the ant *kantirineóiri* or *savoromíti*, vomiting, stomach upset, and throbbing headache; the ant *mašerihániki*,[71] coughing; the ant *takíšari*, sharp pains in the wrists and hands; and the ant *čonkéki*, toothache and chills. The meat-eating ant *kačóneri* (*Camponotus* sp.) was reported as being considered *máci* by some, causing vinegaring of the stomach. The ant *aéni* (*Ecitan* sp.) was stated not to be *máci*, although one informant claimed that in some areas it does practice witchcraft, causing skin eruption.

The bees that practice witchcraft are the Meliponidae, or sweat bees, called by the Campas *aéri*. The species of *aéri* engaging in this practice include the following: *aéri sánori*, *aériki*, *aéri(ki) kipacinári*, *aéri(ki) šetánti*, *pantamankóri*, and *píinti*.[72] These bees are understood to take food refuse to their nests, there to be mixed with the bees' food and used to build their nests. The symptoms associated with this form of witchcraft are some combination of vertigo, vomiting, and chills. A shaman in this case sucks out, according to Širikónka, pieces of bees' nest or, according to Porekaványti, bees' food, later dreaming of masato. The demon hummingbird *cíisanti* is understood to carry off people's souls (*išíre*) to the nests of any of the *máci* bees, where the souls are made drunk with honey. The victim of such an act also behaves as if intoxicated.

When an illness is diagnosed as being due to the witchcraft of ants or bees, the victim's kin go out immediately to burn whatever nests they encounter in the vicinity, to destroy the materials being used for witchcraft. If a nest is located high in a tree, flaming arrows may be shot into the nest. Otherwise the tree will be chopped down, or someone will climb the tree with a supply of dry leaves to ignite the nest. For witchcraft of this kind, the Campas also resort to herbal remedies, mostly in the form of warm baths and drinks prepared from an appropriate *ivénki* or *piníci* (cultivated medicinals), or from a wild plant.[73]

It was reported to me that the demon cricket *civivínti* also carries food refuse to its nest for purposes of witchcraft. In addition, *kahíro* (termites with their nests in trees) are *máci* like ants, according to the informant Heyáyoki, producing noises in the ears of anyone who disturbs one of their nests. That particular nest must be sought out and burned.

Because of the danger of human wastes and refuse falling into the power of these insect witches, certain precautions are taken when at home, and other precautions when traveling. At home, after each meal, all food refuse is gathered up and thrown into the river or stream that flows by the settlement. Coca wads are deposited in some receptacle, such as a broken pot or gourd, where they are stored up and finally thrown into the river or stream. If there is no such receptacle, the wad can simply be thrown onto the roof of the house, to prevent ants or *civivínti* from carrying it to their nests. At home, body wastes are voided on the ground a short distance from the settlement, and one takes one's chances. But for infants who have not yet begun to walk, special precautions are usually taken: their excrement is scooped up and thrown into the river or buried in a selected spot, or else it is saved in little leaf packages deposited in a palmleaf bag hanging in the house. Each time the palmleaf bag is filled, the contents are buried, burned, or thrown into the river. (Some mothers, however, simply scoop up the offal and discard it at the edge of the clearing, without these precautions.) While on a

journey, one will excrete into a hole made in the ground, which is then well covered. Coca wads are buried, wrapped and tied in a leaf and left in the crook of a tree, or else put into one's shoulder bag to be thrown into a stream at the next opportunity or saved to be put into the coca receptacle at home.

As we have seen, the number of Campa demons is considerable. It is particularly noteworthy that the category of demon, *kamári*, disregards any distinction between the entirely imaginary and the directly observable. *Mankóite* and *maníti*, *kasónkati* and *civáni*, are all *kamári* without qualification.

The demons that are objectively observable—the animals, plants, and natural phenomena that are given the status of demons—have one property in common, for the most part: they are useless. In addition, there is the clear tendency to consider as demonic whatever is repulsive because of its shape (excessive thinness), color (*kamára(ri)* coloration), or activities (such as rapaciousness in birds); whatever is deceptive in its appearance (the katydids, for example, resemble leaves); and whatever is feared as being dangerous (jaguars) or pestiferous (blood-sucking bats). The demonic animals are killed on sight when it is possible or convenient to do so.[74]

The entirely imaginary demons cannot be disposed of so easily. When they appear (or when the various demonic animals, plants, and natural phenomena appear in human form) and directly attack, the victimized Campa is doomed to an immediate or rapid death, often preceded by behavior that is recognized as insane (*caviári*).[75] There is little a person can do to defend himself against the attack of a demon, and once he has been victimized there is no saving him. Very often the mere apparition of a demon is described as sufficient to produce these consequences. If a demon passes invisibly close by and brushes a person with its malignancy—a phenomenon known as *atánci* or *yatánake kamári*—the damage is minor and can be treated herbally, but there is damage nonetheless. *Atánci* is described as the breeze of a passing demon, although if one sees a deer or tapir—or a human figure—in the forest that on closer inspection turns out to be a rock, tree stump, or the like, this also is *atánci*: a demon has passed by, which one has seen momentarily. Thus, an optical illusion, a passing breeze, perhaps some strange noise in the forest, suggest the elusive presence of spirits, especially demons.

Deep in the forests where the men must go to hunt wander the demons of the land, demons whose mere proximity can be harmful and who seem to be impelled upon noticing the presence of a human being to destroy him—who seek human beings, hunting them down like game animals, to crush and abuse their bodies, to horrify and kill.[76] They move in and out of the range of human perception. They and whatever is associated with them take on different forms at will, so that things are not what they appear to be. Spirits among spirits, they are linked to the good spirits, related to them by a common quality of unnatural reality.

Two stories capturing the Campa conception of demons were related to me on one occasion by a visiting Campa. They are given here in summary form:

1. Long ago a man was hunting alone in the woods when he encountered a *manínkari* carrying some peccary meat, who gave him some and told him to escape as far as possible because his (the *manínkari*'s) grandfather, who was very bad (*mankóite*), was coming. The *manínkari* passed on, and the man, thinking he could defend himself, sat down and ate. First came a demon howler monkey (*kenírí*), carrying its young on its back, and passed by. Then came a demon man, with a back ornament of what seemed to be paucar (*córi*) tail feathers, carrying parakeets (*čókio*) that really were butterflies, who also passed by. Then came the grandfather, with a huge mane of hair, carrying a walking stick; with one stroke the grandfather smashed the man's side, with another his leg, with another his skull. Another *manínkari* came upon the scene and blew on the man so that he revived. But his soul had been taken by the demon and he returned home and died.

2. A man made a tree hut to hunt birds. A good spirit passing by advised him to leave because the owner of the tree would come and throw him down. The owner came, looked up, and noted that someone was in his tree, but a good spirit (*manínkari*) told him it was only a pole. Still he climbed up and found the man in the hut, told him that he (the "owner") had always hunted birds in that tree when he was alive,

and threw him down. The fall broke the man's bones so that they stuck out of his flesh. The demon blew on him, reviving him, but he lacked all force since his soul had been taken. The good spirit remonstrated with the demon for hurting people, and took out his shotgun—therefore we now observe the thunderbolts of good spirits shooting demons. The next day the man's brother-in-law came, found him, and carried him home where he died soon after.

Such are the demons. Their domain is all the land—and the water—lying beyond the clearings of the human settlements, below the mountain-ridge strongholds of the good spirits. To leave one's settlement, then, is to enter enemy territory. For this reason children are cautioned against wandering off into the forest unaccompanied, and for this reason women and children—and often men—when they must go to perform a natural function at night, are accompanied by some other member of the family. Nor is the settlement itself proof against demonic incursion, especially at night, and so a campfire is kept burning throughout the hours of darkness, lest demons come thinking the settlement is deserted,[77] and a vigil is kept day and night around a sickbed, for a human being weakened by illness is especially susceptible to demonic attack.[78]

Although surrounded by demons, the Campas are not what we might call "demon-ridden." Demons are for the Campas just so many more perils in the world; withal they remain a happy, exuberant people. But at the slightest intimation of a demon's presence, the universal reaction is fear.[79] Especially is this true at night, when visibility is minimized, reducing human perceptual powers, pitifully weak as they are, even further. One night, as I sat at leisure with a group of Campa men, a horrible scream was heard coming from the other side of the river. One man immediately identified the source of the sound as *kamári*; another suggested it was a deer being attacked by a jaguar; a third turned to me and asked how I would say, in my own language, "I fear."

NOTES

[1]Tessmann (1930:102) reported that his informants were a number of Spanish-speaking Campas transplanted to the Lower Ucayali by their "patron." It seems likely that these Campas were acculturated to a significant degree, perhaps even missionized. Whatever the reasons, Tessmann was led to report the absence of beliefs in demons among the Campas, while providing the Campa word for demon, *kamári*, as the designation for both shamans and witches (1930:93). For a Campa to call witches *kamári* conforms to Campa usage, but for him to call shamans by that term suggests the attitude of a missionized or highly acculturated Indian. In this section we turn our attention to what Tessmann failed to learn.

[2]Padre García reported as follows for the Machiguengas (1935-1937:XVII, 223; see also Mac-Lean y Estenós 1941:329): "All the devils are called *Kamagárini*, which is a name of action or office, since it signifies 'he who causes death.' They are called such, because the Machiguenga who sees them dies, and the Machiguenga whom they see, they kill." There is a question, however, as to whether the rules of Campa (or Machiguenga) word construction permit such a translation.

[3]The Machiguengas use the word similarly, for Padre García (1935-1937:XVII, 220-221) reported as follows: "The Machiguengas also at times call each other *Kamagárini*, and this is the strongest interjection with which they reproach any iniquitous conduct." See also Anon. 1888:23: "In addition, everything repulsive and strange is 'Camagari' to them." Savage-Landor (1913:II, 419) simply gave "kahmahri" as the Campa term for "bad."

[4]See Sala 1929:277, 284, 348; Zavala 1895:158. L. Kindberg (1961:513) gave "Jeroreši" as the Campa term for "Devil," a term not recognized by my informants.

[5]The following was reported for the Machiguengas (Anon. 1956:226): "*Kientibakori*, 'he with the long and penetrating fingers and nails,' which is what his name signifies, . . . turns out to be a sort of prince of the demons. He is the very essence of evil." Padre García (1935-1937:XVII, 223) provided us with the following description: "There is among the demons one very important who is called *Kientibákori*. He exists by his own accord; no one created him. He is *Kamagárini*, one alone, and creator of all that is evil. He creates these beings by *blowing* and, because he has that power, to his proper name of *Kientibákori* is often added that of *Tasorinchi sabintrira*—'the mighty one from below.' . . . He lives below in *Gamáironi*. He has a great abundance of intestines, all in the form of little *inkiro* creatures. He is evil to a certain point, and he also is good, though not as much as *Tasorinchi*. He is the one who makes the clouds down below, and from there they

come forth. He has a woman, and just as he is the creator of all the male demons, she is the creator of all the female demons." It may be noted that part of Padre García's statement has no Campa equivalent. Nor is there a Campa counterpart for the Machiguenga fear of uttering the name of this being, which Padre García reported (1935-1937:XVII, 227). See also Touchaux 1908:132, 145. Mendizabal Losack (1951:67) gave "Kachipiri" as the name of the Machiguenga chief demon–a term closer to the Campa equivalent, and containing the verb root *-kaci-* (to hurt, cause pain). Grandidier (1861:130), for the Ucayali tribes in general, reported as follows: "They believe moreover in the existence of a harmful being who resides at the center of the earth and causes all their ills; his name alone strikes them with terror."

[6]The commentators on the Machiguengas may have been in error when they gave "Kamágari" as the actual name of the principal evil spirit (Ballón Landa 1917:211; Carrasco 1901:207; Castelnau 1850-1851:V, 290; Cenitagoya 1921:319; Göhring 1877:73; Raimondi 1874-1913:III, 186). The term "Kamágari" also appears in the Campa literature, used in the same way (see Anon. 1888:23; Coriat [1942]: 83-84; Gastelú 1885:143; J. G. 1868:19, 41; Samanez Ocampo 1907:303; Tovar 1966:54), but probably this datum was obtained from the Machiguengas on the Apurímac, "kamágari" being the Machiguenga and not the Campa form. The reference given as "Anon. 1888:23" is curious, for there we read: "In the Paucartambo as in the Apurimac Valley the Campas generally believe in the Devil; they call him 'Camagari' and regard him as a kind of Santa Claus [Knecht Ruprecht]." Padre Navarro's report that the evil spirits of the Campas are called "Camágari" (1924:21; see also Izaguirre 1923-1929:XII, 506) suggests that his source may have been the Nomatsiguenga. Padre Navarro nevertheless was correct in stating that this term (but in its correct Campa form) applies to all demons. The interpretation that there is a single "Kamári" who takes on the various demonic forms we will be considering in this chapter–this being Clark's interpretation (1953:166-167)–cannot be justified.

[7]Padre García (1935-1937:XVII, 221-222) provided the following general description of the Machiguenga demons:

"The evil spirits are not people but devils created in *Gamáironi* by *Kientibákori*. They are ugly, wretched, invisible, and immortal. They work and cultivate some plants, which are of very inferior quality [compared] to those found here. *Istea*–manioc beer–and *shinnkiáto*–maize beer–they cannot make, since they have neither manioc nor maize, and so they cannot be happy, since they lack drunken festivals. All have women, like the Machiguengas here, and they procreate in the human manner. Each family lives in its house and has its garden.

"They are divided into many tribes, all very numerous. . . . From almost all the tribes some devils have emigrated and ascended to establish themselves here on earth, less a few who ascended to *Menkóripatsa*–'the region of the clouds.' Although the devils in *Gamáironi* have human shapes, all the emigrants take a strange shape while they live outside their homeland. Why they flee from *Gamáironi*, and what they are looking for in these lands, is not known; it is certain that they do not lead a better life even here."

The Campas do not recognize the contents of this statement beyond the second sentence.

[8]For the Machiguengas, Padre García (1935-1937:XVII, 223) wrote of "the rocks and boulders that have no value and are . . . houses of the devils." See also García 1937-1938:XIX, 185: "Some three leagues from Santoato, there exists on the same left bank of the river a great mass of stone called by the Machiguengas *Kieótike*, i.e., 'house of the *Kieóti* devils,' who, it appears, live within it." L. Kindberg's translation of "mankoite" as "ghost" (1961:511) is an error.

[9]The color *kamára(ri)* includes the various shades of cream, khaki, tan, brown, olive drab, and lead. It is the one color that the Campas find repulsive. Whatever has that color tends to be considered demonic by them.

[10]There is one Campa who claimed to have seen *mankóite*. It was reported to me that a certain Kaitáno, still living, on one occasion obtained a bundle of tobacco leaves which he took home with him. Later various *mankóite* came and began to push him with the intention of killing him, but he sat down and would not be moved. The *mankóite* thereupon began throwing away the tobacco, leaf by leaf. This Campa was further reported to have prophesied that, when he died, *atánci mankóite* would, one by one, kill all Campas.

[11]These cliffs are called *Meánto*, perhaps because at some time they were frequented by large numbers of macaws by that name (*Ara militaris*). Padre García, however, included among the less important "colonies" of demons here on earth "the colony of *Megántoni* from which, in Machiguenga, the Pongo of Mainique takes its name, since those rocks are the abode of these demons similar to the *meganto* parrots" (1935-1937:XVII, 227).

[12]Or, alternatively, the victim when attacked remains as if dead.

[13]Clark (1953:160) wrote of "the *catsiburere*, an *itasolenga* (spirit), a malignant man-dwarf, which in

adulthood stands only three feet high," and continued: "It has the hands of man, also a man's head with white hair. One of its feet is clubbed, and short. Its skin is white. From its shoulders grow red hair and the wings of the white king vulture. It is the worst monster of the jungle. When a man is confronted by the catsiburere he becomes paralyzed with fright, and the dwarf falls upon him, and breaks all his bones. It has the strength of a thousand devils, it is *antanukire* (fierce, fiendish), and it eats of the flesh of its victims until the belly touches the ground and the wings and body are dripping with blood." Clark's description does contain characteristic elements of Campa demonology, and it is possible that here he is honestly reporting one variant of the *kacivoréri* belief. Less convincing is Clark's account of the execution of a Campa accused of being a "catsiburere" in human form (1953:161-162). However, I did learn of the singular case of a Campa whose lunatic symptoms of demon attack were so extreme that it was believed a *kacivoréri* had entered his body, converting him into one; it was said that when he uncovered his abdomen, it glowed. Ordinarily, in cases of this kind, the Campas think in terms of demon attack but not of actual demon possession.

Padre García, in his compilation of the Machiguenga demons, listed three having names similar to the Campa's own *kacivoréri.* One of these is the "Kasibarénini," demons who whistle softly and are further described as follows: "They are like children, and dress in old cushmas of earthen color. . . . They live in the forest" (1935-1937:XVII, 225; see also Mac-Lean y Estenós 1941:330). Another is the "Kaseibarérini," described by Padre García (1935-1937:XVII, 226) as follows: "They live in the boulders of the hills, which the Machiguengas therefore fear to approach. Formerly they used to appear to sick Machiguengas and, pressing their throats forcefully, throttled them. All they do is whistle everywhere, searching for sick people to kill." Finally, Padre García wrote of the "*kachiborérini* or comet demons" (1935-1937:XVIII, 135; see also 9; 1943:234; Steward and Métraux 1948:551).

[14]I am indebted to Dr. Alan K. Craig, Department of Geography, Florida Atlantic University (who spent considerable time as a geologist in that part of the Montaña) for suggesting this phenomenon.

[15]For references to the "carbúnculo" belief, which the Spaniards carried with them to Peru and into the Montaña, see Girbal y Barceló 1792:111; Marcoy 1875:II, 20-21n.; and Tschudi 1847:320.

[16]Thinness is a physical characteristic that tends to be associated by Campas with the emaciation due to sickness. The Campas take plumpness as a sign of good health and a mark of good looks. There is an insect of the family Phasmidae so thin that it is called *sašínti* (and also *tonkínti* [skinny]). This insect is not *kamári*, but women are cautioned to cover their bathwater, because if this insect bathes in it, they will become "skinny."

[17]Tessmann identified *sašínti* as the soul of a dead witch (1930:94), which I believe is an error.

[18]In "The Succubus," one of Balzac's *Droll Stories*, a similar phenomenon is described: "From that night, he long felt his bones disjointed and his bowels crushed."

[19]It should be noted that we are here using the terms "succubus" and "incubus" loosely to mean a demon that appears to its victim in the form of a member of the opposite sex to excite coitus and death. As for the *irampavánto*, my principal informant, Savarohání, recounted the following story told him by his mother: A bachelor was away in the mountains when there appeared to him an *irampavánto* with a *čári* toucan (*Ramphastos ambiguus*, which is *ivíra otíšisati* [raised by the mountain-ridge dwellers], *ivíra itómi Pává* [raised by the sons of the Sun]) on each shoulder. She told him not to be afraid, that she was good and would be his mate. A bad *irampavánto* appeared, *opémpe* on each shoulder, and tried to take the man, but the good *irampavánto* defended him. The man brought his new mate home, where they lived together with his family. They all went away in the end and probably are still living, though invisible.

[20]The Campa term *móra*, derived from the Spanish "mula," refers to both mules and horses.

[21]Heváyoki further claimed that, according to some Campas, a *míroni* when young looks like a domesticated turkey of the Caucasians, making the rumbling sound that turkeys do. No other informant recognized this notion.

[22]Heváyoki related the following story: A couple went up into the hills to visit a shooting blind. A *míroni* was heard, and the man fell as if dead. The wife waited by his body and, when the demon appeared, she bared a breast, which had not yet sagged, exclaiming that it was her penis. The demon backed off a cliff and was dashed to pieces. The husband remained stiff and dead, but his wife awakened him. Savarohání added that if a woman bares both breasts, a *míroni* will die of fright.

Padre García (1935-1937:XVII, 225) reported for the Machiguengas a class of demons called "Amimíroni" (also called "Achaporo" and "Segámae"–names not recognized by the Campas), which he described as "like very large quadrupeds, and queer in form." The rest of

Padre García's description of this demon does not correspond particularly to the Campas' *míroni* (see also Mac-Lean y Estenós 1941:330): "They have much hair, long like the leaves of the *sega* palm. Their feet are like sickles. Formerly all the Machiguengas saw them; today only the *Seripegari* [shamans] see them, and the same is true for all the other devils. These days, they are heard at times but they are not seen. . . . These demons have the peculiarity that, while being so big, when they hear the noise of someone approaching, they shrink and reduce to a very small size. They live in the forests, beneath the trunks of fallen trees and also in the crevices or holes in the rocks."

[23]Padre García described the Machiguenga demon "Kasongátini" in the following terms (1935-1937:XVII, 225; see also Mac-Lean y Estenós 1941:330): "They are like big Machiguengas, and go about naked. Their faces are very ugly and wrinkled, and their feet resemble sickles. They whistle forcefully, and for that reason they are called *Kasongátini* or whistlers. Formerly they visited the houses of the Machiguengas and carried them off by force to work in their gardens, obliging them to work all night. They also work, but always at night; during the day . . . they sleep inside the boulders beside the brooks. Jaguars kill them." The Campa *kasónkati* and the Machiguenga "kasongátini," as can be seen, share little more than a name.

[24]Information on the demon *inčatankóna* was supplied by the informant Savarohání, who added that this demon would be equivalent to the "chullachaqui" or "duende" of the Peruvian Loretanos downriver. It appears that some of the Campas in the Ucayali vicinity have taken over this latter notion, for Burke (1960b:mxxxviii, 9) wrote as follows about them: "They have also *Chullachaqui*, the devil of deformed leg, about whom they prefer not to talk, especially when away from camp or with night coming on." For references to the "chullachaqui" belief, see Clark 1953:272, 314; Coriat [1942]:82-83; Pérez Marcio 1955:111-112; Villarejo 1953:197.

[25]Padre García simply listed "Kapiróngari" in his Machiguenga demonology (1935-1937:XVII, 227). Regarding these minor demons, there is a question as to how widely they are recognized among the Campas. Thus, on one occasion, Šaríti related to his family a story about yet another demon, *tiontíki*, described as having a long penis wrapped around his neck and living at the headwaters of the brooks, so that when a brook becomes turbid it is because this demon is washing his member. The existence of this demon was as much news to the other members of the community as it was to me. Also of uncertain distribution is the belief in tree- and rock-dwelling demons. According to Savarohání, there are demons without any special name that live in such trees as *sampanaróki*, *šína*, *kamána*, and *pótó* (the last identified as the ojé tree, *Ficus anthelminthica*). Furthermore, upon considering Padre Navarro's statement that when someone is sick one procedure is for the Campas to go "to the bank of the river to hit some stones with others" (1924:24; see also Mac-Lean y Estenós 1939:322), the informant Kenčóri could only imagine that this might refer to a case where sickness is ascribed by a shaman to a demon present in a large rock, which will then be beaten with another rock to frighten the demon and cure the patient.

[26]Adam (1890:94) gave the following datum: "*Corinto*, a serpent."

[27]One evening Šaríti related the following story to his family: A youth was taken by *keáci* and married one of their daughters, but always returned home by raft to visit. At last, he brought his wife with him and left her outside the settlement clearing, telling his mother to go fetch her. The mother went, saw her daughter-in-law painted like a jaguar, and ran away frightened. If she had not done so, the spirit-wife would have been transformed into full human form.

[28]See Reiser 1943:188: "The Indian encapsules respect and fear . . . in beliefs about spirits. In the violent rapids live evil river spirits; in the swirling whirlpools that pull under vessels and men dwells the demon of the abyss. One ought not to go by boat at night, since 'the river sleeps.' "

[29]This information was furnished by Kenčóri, who told the following: On one occasion a Campa discovered that his daughter had a *šonkatinítro* lover who emerged from the river when she beat on the rocks at the river's edge with *kapíro* (bamboo). The old man did the same and, when the demon began to climb out, cut off the fingers on one of the demon's hands with his machete. He then returned home and berated his daughter for consorting with a demon. She later tried to call her lover, but he could not climb up for lack of fingers on one hand.

Padre García encountered the demons "*Imposhítoni*" among the Machiguengas, and reported as follows: "*Imposhítoni* . . . a class of very terrible devils who live in the big holes, whirlpools, and turbulences of the river" (1937-1938:XX, 67); "*Ymposhítoni*: They look like naked men. They reside in rocks next to the holes or whirlpools of the rivers. The Machiguengas who bathe there, and those who pass by in a canoe or raft, if [the demons] see them, are seized, submerged, and drowned" (1935-1937:XVII, 226). Padre García's re-

port, in the hands of Mac-Lean y Estenós (1941:331) became "the 'ymposhitoni,' inhabitants of the rocks standing in the midst of the rivers, perpetrators of the whirlpools."

It was reported to me that the Campa Kaitáno, mentioned above in connection with the *mankóite*, also claimed to have been pulled down by an *ománi* (*Brachyplatystoma filamentosa*), the largest of the zungaro fishes, to the bottom of the river, where he saw the Mother of *ománi*, with white hair, and fled to the surface. White hair, as a mark of extreme old age, is repulsive to the Campas.

[30]The Campa term for "rainbow" is given variously as "uye" (Adam 1890:114), "oye" (Delgado 1896-1897:V, 449), and "ohyie" (Savage-Landor 1913:II, 426). These words were not recognized by my informants. For the Machiguengas Padre Aza (1923:27, 151) gave "Yogue or Yoye," Castelnau (1850-1851:V, 291) gave "yoya," and Pereira (1944b:94) reported as follows: "A rainbow . . . Yógue; this name is also applied to ferruginous waters and swamps, because they believe that those waters burst forth and produce the rainbow." Padre García's description of the Machiguenga equivalent of the Campa *oyéčari* is given here for comparative purposes (1935-1937:XVII, 226-227):

"*Yóguie*: The *Yóguie* devils live in certain rocks, generally subterranean. They have a human shape. They sweep their houses and throw the refuse outside, where they go to urinate. That refuse and urination form the reddish sediments of the iridescent ferruginous waters, also called *yóguie* by the Machiguengas, since they are things of the devils of that name.

"The *Yóguie* enchant themselves at times like the *Seripegari* [shamans], drinking the extract of the *kamárampi* vine, and ascend on a trip to the 'region of the clouds.' The rainbow . . . is the multicolor fringe with which a *Yóguie* demon adorns his cushma [robe] when he is ready to ascend to *Menkorípatsa*–'the region of the clouds.' Therefore in Machiguenga the rainbow is called *Yóguie*, since that is the name of the demon who wears it on his clothing. If the *Yóguie* who is up and about seizes some Machiguenga, the belly of the latter swells, and he dies. And whoever steps on the reddish mud of the *yóguie* or ferruginous springs, develops tumors or eczemas, especially of the feet."

Padre García (1935-1937:XVII, 220) also reported the following: "The rainbow pursues them, and whoever falls victim to its anger will promptly be crippled with feet covered by stubborn and painful tumors."

[31]The following was reported for the Campas (Anon. 1888:6): "In this twilight is seen fluttering now and then the Morpho Menelos, a beautiful blue butterfly, that the Indians, who believe in metempsychosis, take for the soul of a dead person." This statement has a certain accuracy, because the morpho butterfly, as we see, is a demon, and the souls of the dead can, and usually do, become demons. According to Ortega Ricaurte (who did not identify his source), "they fear the large butterflies that fly near their houses" (1940:144).

[32]This parasite is also referred to in the literature as the "sututo" or "succlacuro" (see Barraillier 1892:142; Cenitagoya [1943]: 161; Gridilla 1942b:68; Izaguirre 1923-1929:XII, 334-336; Larrabure i Correa 1905-1909:V, 227-228; XVII, 315-319; Navarro 1924:65; Pesce 1908:168-171; Tovar 1966:135, 189; see also Fernández Moro 1925-1928:XLII, 271-272; Gilmore 1950:420; Szyszlo 1955:396).

[33]For information about the "tunchi" belief, see Alvarez 1960:110, 121, 133, 137, 144; Ballón Landa 1917:208; Burga Freitas 1939:76; Coriat [1942]:64, 83; Espinosa 1935:140; Izaguirre 1923-1929:XII, 300; Pérez Marcio 1955:112; Tessmann 1930:230; Tovar 1966:198; Villarejo 1953:197. A special meaning of the term is reported for the Jívaro (Karsten 1920:51, 65; 1921-1922:III, 129-130; IV, 310ff.; 1926:286, 291; 1935:160, 173, 333, 376, 400ff., 454; 1964:179-180; Stirling 1938:117, 120; Tessmann 1930:353, 357).

[34]Savaroháni added the condor *amémpori*, but this bird, discussed in the previous section, does not have true demonic status, or at any rate its status is ambivalent.

[35]I witnessed the stoning of a captured owl. In Padre García's Machiguenga demonology we find the following statement (1935-1937:XVII, 225-226; see also Mac-Lean y Estenós 1941:330): "The *Mámaro* look like large doves. When they see Machiguengas they sing and, if they seize them, kill them. They are not seen but are heard from afar, and the terrified savages flee. Whenever they sing, the entire sky is immediately covered with clouds and a torrential rain starts to fall. They live in the forests."

[36]Padre García mentioned as Machiguenga demons of minor importance "the *Sonsóini*, which are like small birds and sing at night" (1935-1937:XVII, 227). Padre Aza, however, gave "soisoini" as the name of any small demon of the form and size of an agouti or rabbit (see page 304, note 50).

[37]In the present work the generic Campa term *maníti* is translated simply as "jaguar," for ease of expression. It should be noted, however, that, in addition to the jaguar (*Felis onca*), the puma (*Felis concolor*) is also known to inhabit the Montaña region. The only large

feline given a special name is the black jaguar (*čáonari*). The smaller ocelot (*macóncori* [*Felis pardalis*]) is not strictly speaking *manítі*, though it may be so designated.

The article on the Machiguengas by Snell and Snell (1954) describes the way in which those Indians enclose their houses "in order to keep out the dreaded tigers and their many invisible demon-companions which walk in the jungle darkness."

[38]That a jaguar can be the transformed soul of a living shaman was reported by Reiser (1943:188) in the following terms: "The medicine-man [shaman] said that his soul dwells in a tiger (jaguar) and therefore he kills no tiger, since he would thereby commit suicide." Reiser's statement is curious because, in my experience, shamans reputed to be jaguar-shamans deny the accusation. Tessmann reported that a shaman at death can change bodily to a jaguar, but he identified such shamans as those who have become homicidal after killing large numbers of witches, rather than as jaguar-shamans (1930:96; see also Steward and Métraux 1948:549). According to Padre Aza (1923:45), Machiguenga shamans ("seripegari") may transform themselves into animals, such as the feline "matsonsori," to attack, kill, and eat witches ("machikanari"), then return to human shape.

[39]Tessmann's account (1930:96) is here given in full for purposes of comparison: "There occurs a still more evolved form of the good sorcerer. When a very evil sorcerer, so called, has died, he is so overcome by the ghosts of the dead that he can become a passionate murderer who only desires to see victims. He does not give himself to this passion during his lifetime, but rather after his death, presumably. He thereby is entirely changed, i.e., his body together with his soul thus becomes a man-eating jaguar. These enchanted jaguars do not allow men to shoot them. Here a living good sorcerer must leap in to oppose them. He waits in ambush when the jaguar approaches a settlement to fall on the people, kills him with a thorn [Stachel], and cremates the animal on a burning pile of copal. With that the soul of the sorcerer that had changed itself into the jaguar, also is burned."

[40]Something similar is reported for the Machiguengas: According to Padre García, "when a Machiguenga mocks the alligator *sagóro*, it transforms itself into the tiger *matsóntsori* and attacks the mocker" (1935-1937:XVIII, 92).

[41]Padre García (1935-1937:XVII, 220) reported as follows for the Machiguengas: "Toads and frogs, because of their ugliness and some illnesses whose origin is attributed to them, are usually honored with the name of *Kamagárini*, not because they are actually thought to be so, but because of the similarity of their attributes." (See also 1935-1937:XVIII, 88.)

[42]I detected a slight ambivalence toward jaguars among the Campas, which might suggest that the big felines had a somewhat more honorable status among the Campas before missionary influence directed the Campas' reverence more exclusively toward the sky. The jaguar-shamans, who have no special name, may be survivors from a time when all shamans associated themselves more closely with jaguars. Still, there is no justification, at least for the Campas, for Hammerly Dupuy's claim that "the serpent, the jaguar, and coca . . . are attributed a considerable totemic importance among the Anti populations" (1945:284). Such a statement might better describe Piro belief as, for the Piros, Matteson (1955:59) wrote of "the boa and jaguar, most dreaded of all, and the most prominent in the mythology."

[43]Whatever special concern the Campas have with snakes can be summarized briefly. *Maránkivenki* is a cultivated *ivénki* that is chewed and blow-spit on one's body to prevent snake bite (compare J. G. 1868:36-37). If a person is bitten by a snake near home, it is presumed that the snake was sent by a human witch, or perhaps by a bad shaman (compare Tessmann 1930:94; see also Steward and Métraux 1948:549). If possible, a victim of snake bite should be tended and treated by someone who has survived a snake bite and is of the same sex, as seeing someone suffering from snake bite, especially of the opposite sex, could have bad consequences. The poisonous sap of the *kamána* tree (unidentified) is applied to the bite, and the victim observes a three-day restriction of diet. Padre Navarro's report of the use of tapir bile for snake bite (1924:68) was not confirmed by my investigations. (For treatment of snake bite among the Machiguengas, see Cenitagoya [1943]:64-65; Farabee 1922:11; and Mendizabal Losack 1951:64-65.) The name of the brook *Koširéni*, tributary of the Tambo, should not be pronounced in its vicinity, for if this is done a fer-de-lance (*košipirínke*) will appear and bite the offender. I judge Clark's report (1953:71-72, 159-160) of the considerable supernaturalistic importance of snakes, and of the existence of an Anaconda Brotherhood among the Campas, to be fiction.

[44]Complete lack of fat in an animal's body indicates that it is a *peári*. But if an animal has little fat at the time of year when the rest of its species has much fat, it is not *peári*. Rather it is understood to have been shot at before and to have escaped on that occasion. A peccary killed during my last sojourn among the Campas was judged to be a *peári*: its ribs were showing and it ran

only a short distance before it was brought to bay. It was believed that this animal was the transformed soul of a woman who had died in the region some years before, emaciated.

[45]Burke reported as follows for the Campas: "They believe in a very personal devil, *Pellare,* whom anyone may see" (1960b:mxxxviii, 9). See also Tovar's entry for "peyari" (1966:159). Padre García's Machiguenga demonology includes the following: "*Oshietoniro* looks like the monkey *oshieto.* It always moves very rapidly, and eats red earth that it encounters in the landslides of the great hills called enchanted hills" (1935-1937:XVII, 226); "*Shianiniro*: These devils have a shape somewhat similar to the ass. They eat earth and moss. They live in the forests, and jaguars attack and kill them" (1935-1937:XVII, 224). Padre García also provided us with the following information (1935-1937:XVIII, 135): "Not all bad Machiguengas descend to *Gamáironi.* Even during illness, even in the moment of expiring, some of them are transformed into *kamagárini* and, adopting strange forms like those of animals, remain in these hills, forests, and rivers, always endangering, like true devils, the existence of the Machiguengas. The monstrous animals into which they usually are transformed are, among many others: the *kumaguinaroniro*, looking like the monkey *kumaguinaro*; *oshietoniro* . . . ; *shintoriniro* . . . ; *kiemariniro* . . . ; *samaniniro* . . . ; *meguiriniro*, *etiniro*, *manironiro*, etc., etc."

[46]Entirely contrary to my findings is Clark's statement (1953:167) concerning "the patron Campa devil *Kamari*": "He could turn into a jaguar and cause it to pounce on a man. He could creep like the anaconda, hide like the tapir, or run like the deer. That is the true reason why these four animals are never eaten as food."

[47]The same author (1908:432) added the following: "They only know a despicable and terrible being in the deer, which they consider to be something like the devil." (See also Hassel 1905:669: "The deer and the black alligator are considered to be spirits in disguise.") Even earlier Padre Sala (1925:505) mentioned that "the Indians of the Ucayali do not like to eat tapir, capybara, or various other [*sic*] fishes; inasmuch as they say that they are their relatives, or that the Devil or *camarí* lives in them, as for example, in the corvina." Padre Navarro would have it that the head of the "corvina" is not eaten by the Campas for fear of being made sick (1924:23, 58-59; see also Steward and Métraux 1948:542), but my informants knew nothing of this.

[48]Tschopik (1957:23), discussing the Montaña tribes in general, alluded to this notion of cervine reincarnation: "Beliefs about life after death are varied and confused, but most tribes maintain that the soul is reincarnated as an animal, often a deer. Others believe that the soul merely wanders forever throughout the rain forest of the Montaña." Padre Cenitagoya ([1943]:95) provided what appears to be a slightly distorted statement of Machiguenga belief: "Neither do they eat the meat of some animals, as for example that of the deer, believing that this animal was once a *person.*" A Machiguenga belief in reincarnation, involving a number of animals but not the deer, was reported by Marcoy (1875:I, 490), who wrote that "after death the spirit will inhabit the body of a jaguar, a tapir, or an ape. As for the wicked, his punishment will be to live over again in the skin of a reptile or in that of a parrot." See also Grandidier 1861:141: "They do not eat certain species of game, due to their belief in metempsychosis."

[49]Rosell (1916:xvi, 12) furnished a somewhat different account of Machiguenga ideas about reincarnation: "Thus the soul of the valiant is incarnated in the jaguar; that of the timid, in another, timid animal; etc. The deer is always the incarnation of a whore." He continued as follows (1916:xvi, 12-13): "These beliefs do not appear to have been well rooted since when they are in a hurry, however slight, they do not refrain from killing the animals which they believe to be the incarnation of their fellow men, and eat their flesh."

[50]Padre Aza elsewhere stated (1924:26-27; see also Izaguirre 1923-1929:XII, 506) that the Machiguengas "have a deep-rooted belief in the existence of malign spirits, enemies of man, and . . . they admit categories among these spirits; the large ones, which appear in the form of deer, are given the name of *kamagarine*, and the small ones, which appear in the form and size of the *sharoni* (agouti) or of a rabbit, are called *soisoini.*"

[51]"The deer causes repugnance and fear among some tribes. They judge it to be a malign being. . . . If we inquire about the origin of this superstition the only track we encounter is that the Christian idea of the 'devil' was distorted.

"The [Spanish] conquerors or the missionaries who already in 1613 had catechised the Cocamas, Jeberos, Shipibos, Shetebos, and Conibos, expounded in their sermons on the dogma of hell and of Lucifer, making use of comparisons. Perhaps to paint the ugliness of the demon it was said that he had as many or more horns than the deer: this image affected the imagination and, repeated over distance and time, has been converted into the belief that the deer is the devil himself. . . . Not for a moment can it be accepted that ideas of this nature are part of the indigenous religions of the tribes."

[52]Nevertheless, Golewski (1933:142-143) reported as

follows for the Pajonal Campas: "They have . . . a belief in the devil, whom they call *Kamari Machinti* and personify in the deer, which for this reason is the only animal that they do not hunt or eat." My informants did not recognize this description. If true, it points to an old Campa belief that has faded out among the River Campas, or to influence from tribes to the north which is more strongly felt by the Pajonal Campas.

[53]Porekavánti and Širikónka agreed that a practicing shaman would not eat tapir (*kemári*), agouti (*šaróni*), or crab (*oširo*). Porekavánti gave the following reasons for these dietary proscriptions: (1) tapir is a heavy animal, therefore the eater of its flesh could not rise to visit the sky; (2) agouti teaches witchcraft (!) and therefore to eat of it would cause a shaman to lose his power; (3) crab stays under a rock and does not travel, so eating crabmeat would inhibit a shaman's ability to travel far (Širikónka's rationale was that crab becomes a jaguar in the stomach). Porekavánti added that the arboreal creatures *kenírі* (howler monkey), *tokári* (tocón), and *óisonti* (unidentified) are not to be eaten by shamans, for they are *kamári*. These do not exhaust the restrictions on a shaman's diet, but they suggest the kinds of considerations determining what a shaman will eat. There is individual variation in this matter, as we have seen in the case of venison. There also is variation among the different kinds of diet with respect to what considerations are taken as decisive. Thus, *šaróni* is not eaten by the parents of a newborn infant until the second new moon after its birth, according to the informant Komémpe, because *šaróni* is *kamári* and would "break" the infant's soul causing the infant to die. Yet *šaróni* is eaten during pregnancy because it is small and has a pretty face, traits desirable in the child to be born (smallness being greatly desired to facilitate parturition).

[54]The following authors listed deer among the animals hunted and eaten by the Campas: Navarro (1924:47); Samanez Ocampo (1907:303); Stahl (1932:62); Tessmann (1930:91).

[55]For information about the "pishtaco" belief in the Peruvian Highlands, see Oliver-Smith 1969 and Pezet 1917. Farabee may have encountered this belief among the Machiguengas, for he reported (1922:38) the following strange circumstance: "One was cut open by a white man and his kidney-fat used to make candles." The belief has been rampant in recent years among the "civilized" population of Loreto (the Peruvian "departamento" encompassing the greater part of the Montaña to the north of Campa territory).

[56]Padre García's Machiguenga demonology includes, apart from those already noted, several species of demon not recognized by the Campas. They were described by Padre García as follows (1935-1937:XVII, 224-226; see also Mac-Lean y Estenós 1941:330-331):

"*Kaimagárini*: The *Kaimagárini*—callers—look like the *puñarunas* or Indians of the Highlands, and call *he, he, he*, as if they were Machiguengas. When they call, soon clouds rise from the earth, and strong winds. The Machiguengas shoot arrows at them, but instead of penetrating them the arrows rebound violently and stick into trees. They live in the forests and jaguars devour them. . . .

"*Itoni*: The *Itoni* devils look like birds. If the Machiguengas mimic their song, they come at night in human shape and kill them.

"*Kiepigaríite*, *Kasantoníite*, or *Kieri*: These devils are anthropomorphic. They are the owners of sickness, especially . . . malaria . . . and another illness called *sorimáinga* so terrible that it rots the intestines instantly, and the sick person scarcely lasts a day. The *Kiepigaríite* live beneath the rocks. There they guard sickness, and they themselves are its first victims. They come out from time to time, and ascend the big river bringing one or another epidemic to everyone. This is the principal motive for the savages distancing themselves from the big river when there is an epidemic or any other illness."

Padre García also mentioned the demons "*Chiguirúmbari* which look like chickens" (1935-1937:XVII, 227).

In addition, Padre García (1935-1937:XVII, 220, 223-224) reported that, for the Machiguengas, the clouds are populated by demons, called variously "Ynkanierinti," "Yncanipiriegui" and "Marikanaríite," who are the "owners" of rain and the "lords" of faint thunder, the clouds emerging from "Gamáironi" where they are made by "*Kientibákori*" and the rain being an "evil spell of the devils." These beliefs are at variance with Campa cosmology, which sees the clouds as a place for good spirits. (Padre García did note [1935-1937:XVII, 173] that some good spirits are supposed by the Machiguengas to reside in the region of the clouds.) The Campas have no strong feelings against rain, aside from considering it an annoyance which they try to drive away, but they do view light rain with the sun still shining, called by them *kitahenkári* (or, variously, *kacirencihénka*, *kamancihénka*, and *sarampiónhenka*, referring to fever with chills, respiratory infection, and measles, respectively), as a cause of sickness if allowed to fall on one's body.

According to J. G. (1868:45), the Campas consider thunder to be the sound of demons fighting among themselves and lightning to be demons thrown down in these struggles, and also believe that the Sun, annoyed by this fighting, sends thunder and lightning and so adds to the tumult. It is possible that J. G.'s source in this instance was the Apurímac Machiguengas, or neighbor-

ing Campas influenced by them. For the actual Campa beliefs concerning these matters, the reader is directed to our discussion of meteorological phenomena (see above, page 255).

[57]Clark's description of "Matse" as "Old Witches or Old Grandmothers," and as respected members of the community (1953:175), is inaccurate. Urquhart (1893:358) translated "Matsi" as "son of a devil," which is incorrect, yet he proceeded with accuracy to speak of an accused witch as "almost invariably a young girl or woman–always one destitute of powerful friends."

[58]For the Machiguengas, Pereira (1944a:87n.) reported that "the *tchivani* is a bird of ill omen; above all when it sings at dusk or at night it always augurs some misfortune." The Campas have the same understanding. The local Spanish name for this bird is "chicua," which Burga Freitas (1939:61) identified as "the Yushin–demon, spirit–of the Indians of the Ucayali, and principally of the Campas." This statement can mean that "Yushin" is a Campa term (which it is not), and was so understood by Tovar (1966:212). Burga Freitas added the following: "When a 'chicua' flies over the head of a Campa, croaking its characteristic cry, he is overcome by a vague superstitious fear and immediately abandons the task that he has begun, whatever it is, sure that some evil is waiting for him close by. And if the chicua flies over his house, he abandons it and goes to construct another at a great distance."

Although it is an exaggeration to say that a Campa will move if a *civáni* flies over his house, it is true that the sound of this bird can cause a Campa to abandon what he is doing. A visiting Campa told me the following story: On one occasion *civáni* (Squirrel Cuckoo) presented himself in human form to a woman whose husband was away at a festival. The demon offered the woman inedible worms transformed by him to take on the appearance of the small fish *meréto*, which she and her children ate. Her husband returned and went off to hunt. *Civáni* then told her that when she heard *civáni* singing "*kíte, kíte,*" her husband would return empty-handed. This in fact occurred and the woman offered her husband the *meréto*, but the fish when cut revealed itself to be foul worms. The woman and her children thereupon died. So it is, concluded the narrator, when one hears *civáni* singing "*cén, cén, cén, cén . . .*," one will encounter game; but if *civáni* sings "*kíte, kíte . . .*," one will encounter nothing, and something bad will occur if one continues on. Similarly, if one is traveling, "*kíte, kíte . . .*" is a warning that one will come upon an outbreak of contagious disease (respiratory infection or measles).

[59]According to one informant, this name derives from the vocable **šiii** (sound of cutting flesh).

[60]*Civivínti* appears in the form of a tiny human being, whereas *šínti* and *cináro* appear in the form and size of a child's playmate, according to my informants.

[61]Padre Aza (1923:44) reported that the Machiguenga witches, or "machikanari," are supposed to eat foul things, like hair, toads, etc. The Campas have no such understanding.

[62]The procedure for identifying a human witch appears to vary from shaman to shaman. Some informants stated that the shaman dreams of a lizard (*šankóro*), and the direction of its movement somehow indicates who is the witch. According to Ordinaire (1887:279; 1892:148; see also Foster 1922:250; Steward and Métraux 1948:549), a shaman will chew coca and spit the saliva into his hand (which he then shakes) to determine from its configuration who is the witch. Padre Navarro (1924:24) seemed to be describing the same procedure when he related how a Campa shaman, if his patient does not respond to treatment, "spits into the palm of his hand the saliva of coca and nicotine, and with a magisterial tone . . . attributes the illness not to natural and physical causes, but to the evil spell of someone." I often observed this use of coca for purposes of divining, but my informants knew nothing of its being used in this way to identify a witch. See also Bailly-Maitre 1908:621. Foster (1922:96) provided a hearsay description from the Upper Perené region of "how, when a member of the tribe is ill, the witch-doctors [shamans] hide a piece of metal, send the children of the tribe to hunt it, and then kill the finder of it as being the one who harbors the bad spirit."

[63]Compare this account of Campa witchcraft with that offered by Tessmann (1930:93-96; see also Steward and Métraux 1948:549), which is for the most part unrecognizable. Also questionable is Padre García's report on Machiguenga witchcraft (1935-1937:XIX, 11-14; see also Rosell 1916:xvi, 13). Clark's assertion that it is the person made ill by witchcraft who is executed (1953:88-89), is contrary to my findings.

[64]The shaman Širikónka accused his own daughter of being a witch, attributing every sickness and death in his family to her, but she was living elsewhere and protected by her husband. Another case of this sort came to light when a Catholic missionary complained that Savorohání's brother, living at *Tipiráto* on the Ene, was maltreating children accused of witchcraft. When told of this complaint, the brother assumed a look of injured

innocence, and explained that about three years before an accused witch escaped from her home on the *Mamíri* and was captured by him. He beat the girl, accidentally breaking her arm, then bound the injured limb and returned her to her kinsmen. Her own brother finished her, I was told, by tying her hands and feet and throwing her, alive, into the river.

[65]The missionary mentioned in the preceding footnote, Fray Pío Medina, had in his care at *Kotiviréni* on the Ene, when I happened to pass there, a woman whose husband had twice attempted to sell her for bewitching his other wife. The woman still showed the effects of the beating her husband had given her. In this case, then, the accused witch was a grown woman.

[66]See Carranza 1894:31; Clark 1953:53, 78, 81, 145; Díaz Castañeda 1923:316; Foster 1922:250; Fournier-Aubry 1958:174; Gridilla 1942b:67; Harkness 1942:39-40; Hurley and Rankin 1934; Kuczynsky-Godard 1939:III, 27; Mac-Lean y Estenós 1939:322; Navarro 1924:24-25; Ortiz 1961:11, 147, 153, 240; Paz Soldán and Kuczynski-Godard 1939:23; Pérez Marcio 1955:164-176; Reclus 1894-1895:I, 310; Saiz 1943:106, 108; Stahl 1932:13, 35-36, 41, 51; Stiglich 1908:398, 434, 437; Stull 1951:97-99; Tschopik and Rhodes 1954:[4]; Uriarte 1944:7-9; Urquhart 1893:358-359; Wavrin 1937:495; 1943:89; 1948:118, 198, 223, 297; and, for the Amueshas, Bailly-Maitre 1908:621; González 1907:54; 1925:400; Izaguirre 1923-1929:XII, 21-24, 478-479; Ordinaire 1887:279; 1892:147-149; Steward and Métraux 1948:550. It is recorded that, in 1896, the refusal of Franciscan missionaries in the Pangoa region to deliver up a fugitive girl accused of witchcraft led to a Campa attack on the mission; the attack was repulsed, but the mission was abandoned (Contreras 1926:49; Izaguirre 1923-1929: XII, 113-140; Navarro 1924:23, 24; Ortiz 1961:93-97).

The use of the word "brujo" by writers in Spanish to refer to both shamans and witches has added a certain confusion to the literature. Díaz Castañeda (1923:316) was clearly referring to witches when he reported that "among the Campas . . . the anger against brujos is so great that the person who has the misfortune to be denounced is exterminated along with house and family." This passage, in the hands of Métraux (1949:598), became the following: "The punishment which the Indians meted out to witches was proportionate to the fear with which they regarded them. The most cruel acts committed by Indians were always those against shamans who had forfeited their trust. The *Campa* not only slaughtered the guilty shaman, but also his family, and destroyed his goods." A witch's family, as has been indicated, might be harmed only if they attempt to protect the accused.

[67]By "soldiers" (Sp.: "soldados"), the narrator is referring to the Peruvian police, who have attempted to suppress shamanism and the punishment of witches.

[68]Here the narrator alludes to the sucking technique and the materials sucked out of the patient's body by the shaman.

[69]I.e., a witch gains nothing by killing someone; the earth alone gains, by swallowing up the buried corpse.

[70]This ant is called "isula" in local Spanish. The identification given here agrees with Gilmore's (1950:421). Szyszlo (1955:390), however, identified the "isula" as *Dinoponera grandis*, while Girard (1958:19) and Villarejo (1953:131) gave *Myrmica saevissima*, and Tovar (1966:112) *Cryptocerus atratus*.

[71]The ants *kanééki*, *katítori*, and *mašerihániki* are tentatively identified as species of the genus *Solenopsis*.

[72]Specimens of *aéri sánori* and *pítnti* were not obtained, so that their family affiliation remains in doubt. The shaman Porekavánti added the bee *píci* (Apidae) to this list.

[73]That the Campas attribute sickness to ants and burn their nests was reported by Mac-Lean y Estenós (1939:322), Navarro (1924:24), Ortega Ricaurte (1940:144), and Reiser (1943:189).

[74]The Campas do not go out of their way to kill the demonic butterflies that flit in and out of the forest so frequently, or any of the other demonic animals. But they do shoot *civáni* (Squirrel Cuckoo) and *manítti* (jaguar) when the occasion presents itself, and once, when I pointed out a large *štínti* (katydid) to a Campa woman, she crushed it under her heel.

[75]For references to insanity as demon-induced, see Anon. 1888:23; J. G. 1868:41-42; Stull 1951:59; and, for the Machiguengas, García 1935-1937:XVIII, 167-168; Mac-Lean y Estenós 1939:339.

[76]The notion that human beings look like game animals to the demons is also reported for the Machiguengas. Speaking of "Inaenka," the "owner" of smallpox according to the Machiguengas, Padre Alvarez (1939:129) noted that "in truth men appear to the eyes of Inaenka as if they were pigs."

[77]A campfire is always maintained at night, whether at home or on the trail. Ordinaire (1892:125-126) gave as the reason for this a desire to prevent surprise attack by a jaguar, but the Campas have a more generalized fear of what may be lurking in the dark. Stull came closer to what is involved here in the following passage (1951:95; see also Caldwell and Calhoun 1932:242; Domville-Fife 1924:262; Reiser 1943:189): "For when the sun sets the Campa's god is gone, so they rekindle campfires to provide the light that becomes a man-made god for the hours of darkness. The shadows beyond the fire are the abode of evil spirits, so Indians stay within the light of their fires until night is gone."

[78]Padre García mentioned such vigils among the Machiguengas (1935-1937:XVIII, 167; see also MacLean y Estenós 1939:339).

[79]Compare what is reported for the Machiguengas by a missionary organization (Anon. 1963:80): "Before the missionary linguists came the Machiguenga were convinced that the birds, animals, fish and evil spirits of the jungle were dedicated to tracking them down, finally killing them."

PART 3. CAMPA COSMOGONY: THE EARTH

THE *AVÍRERI* CYCLE

> Myth knows of no other mode of explanation than to go back to the remote past and to derive the present state of the physical and human world from this primeval stage of things.
>
> —Cassirer 1953:153

The Campas do not believe that the universe has always been the same. They point to certain features of the universe and explain them as having come into existence through sudden transformations at some time in the past. By subtracting all the features so explained, a vision of the universe as it was in its initial or primeval condition emerges. This primeval universe of Campa cosmogony is nowhere explicitly described, yet it may be seen as implicit in Campa mythology as a whole, and the following picture emerges: Before the events related in Campa mythology took place, the universe was much less variegated. The earth existed, to be sure, and there were Campas living on it, some or all of them with powers immeasurably greater than the feeble forces of those who live today. But many if not all species of animals did not yet exist, certain species of trees did not yet exist, a number of rock formations in Campa territory did not yet exist; the earth did not as yet know seasons or the darkness of night; the sky was still empty of sun and moon and some if not all the stars.

The history of the transformation of this simplified, primal universe into the universe as it is observed today, is embodied in a number of traditional accounts of the kind we call mythological. These accounts are presented in this chapter and those that follow. Although they are classified and referred to as myths, for the Campas they are reliable reports, handed down orally from past generations, of happenings as real as any actual event of past years still remembered or talked about. But while these accounts form the corpus of significant Campa history, we should not expect any thoroughgoing consistency when we compare them. The Campas do not compare them. They are satisfied that each account is internally consistent in its explanation of the origin of specific features of the universe.

Two elements bind together the corpus of Campa mythology: first, all the accounts make sense in terms of the Campa manner of living; and, secondly, they all share a similar mode of explanation. Yet the accounts do not fit together to form a fully coordinated whole. Occasionally the same feature is explained in two different ways in two different accounts. Different informants give different versions of the same myth, or incorporate the same incidents in different myths. An inspection of the Campa mythological accounts reveals that they cannot be arranged in any temporal sequence, for they defy such ordering. Indeed, the only arrangement to which they lend themselves is of the sort used here: terrestrial transformations; then celestial developments; and finally the history of humanity.

The myths of terrestrial transformations concern the manner in which certain species and features on the earth's surface came into existence. The earth itself is believed to have suffered only one notable transformation, and that a gradual one: at one time the earth spoke, answering *Tasórenci*'s solicitudes, but with the passage of time its voice became weaker and finally ceased, leaving it inert as it is today. According to the informant Šaríti, it is because the Campas die and are buried that the earth has suffered and no longer speaks, at least within the confines of Campa territory. In describing the universe, however, it is not unusual for a Campa to impute the power of speech to the ground underfoot where the good spirits live at the ends of the earth and in the sky.

But more generally the terrestrial transformations conceived by the Campas were sudden transformations. Each of these marked the metamorphosis of a member of the original human—that is, Campa—stock into the first representative of a particular species of animal or plant, or into some feature of the terrain. The clues to the former human condition of these species and ter-

rain features are the human resemblances that they manifest in their shape or their behavior. And so it was the human species—the original Campa population—that supplied the material from which was fashioned much of what else is found on the earth's surface. This view reverses both the totemic and the evolutionary understanding that mankind is descended from nonhuman ancestors.[1]

All the transformations we are now considering were sudden, and constitute historical events. In most cases the transforming agent was a mythological personage, and the mythological personage most active in transforming his fellow Campas in this way was *Avíreri*.[2] In this section we consider the myth cycle with *Avíreri* as its central character, as related by the venerable informant Šaríti. The texts are given both in their original form and in translation. They are given verbatim as they were tape-recorded, only slightly edited, retaining the questions asked of the narrator by his listeners in the course of narration.

Episode 1. *Avíreri* the Great Transformer

For a long time *Avíreri* lived in Campa territory with his grandson *Kíri*, who was to be transformed into *kíri*, the pihuayo palm (*Guilielma speciosa*). It was *Avíreri*'s habit to visit his sisters to drink and socialize, and to carry his grandson on his back as he traveled. It was while traveling in this way that *Avíreri* transformed Campas encountered along his route into whatever they resembled, or whatever resembled them. Thus, in this first episode of the *Avíreri* cycle, *Avíreri* transforms a number of Campa boys—his sister's sons, who have been mischievously climbing his fruit trees to steal his fruit—into (1) arboreal creatures (white monkeys), (2) arboreal termite nests, and (3) arboreal bees' nests. Significantly, in the last two instances the boys are not transformed into individual insects but rather into entire nests, as it is not the insect but the nest that resembles a boy hugging a tree trunk to escape detection. (The text, which is not clear in this particular, has been corrected to make this explicit.) *Avíreri*'s conversions of his nephews infuriated his other relatives, many of whom were destined to be converted themselves on one occasion or another. The ill-will he engendered by his disruptive activities led, as recounted in the final episodes of the cycle, to his disposal and the transformation of his grandson.

Intáni ikántari ičarinéni
In the beginning he (Avíreri) was with him his grandson

(Kíri) then, apíte. (the) two. Isavikavéita, They were living, isavikavéita, they were living,

isavikavéita.[3] Osamahárikea She was annoyed with him, then, iríciro. his sister.
they were living.

Oséiki ipeákeri atiripé, ipeákeri
Many he transformed them many humans, he transformed them

atiripé, máároni. Ipeákeri ééri, irísati atíri
many humans, everyone. He transformed them bees, they also humans

pérani. Ipeákeri kahíro, irísati atíri pérani.
long ago. He transformed them termites, they also humans long ago.

Ipeákeri mapipé, irósati atíri pérani.
He transformed them many rocks, they also humans long ago.

Irótake ohananekitepé iriciróni, óká mééka
It was they her many children (of) his sister then, she here now

šimaširíka. Osemahárikea, okisakéri.
[the tree šimáširi] here. She was annoyed with him, then, she was

Okisakéri, "Té pikamécate. Oséiki
angry with him. She was angry with him, "You are no good. Many

pipeayetákeri pitineripé."
you have transformed many of them your many nephews."

Okantavétari, "Piháte
She had said to them (her sons) in vain, "Go

pinkantáiteri iriráiteta peárinci, peárinci yoravé
go tell him to come drink now manioc beer, manioc beer he there

pikónkiri ántá." Impokavetanákea ináveta. Kisó yóiri,
your uncle over there." They were to come in vain. Hard by he was

yoravé, ičarinéni. Yamaceetakótari.
together with him, he there, his grandson then. He carried him on

Haokaríka ikaratíni aká?
his back. How might he (Kíri) have measured then here?

Irihaníki, yamaceetakótari. Patakaitačákea.
A small boy, he (Avíreri) carried him on his back. Who adhered, then.

Patakáitača itápiki, aménaci irínti. "Camevé
Who adhered to his back, who looked he (Kíri) alone. "Let's go!

ašínkitea." Aménaci irínti.
we will get drunk." Who looked he alone.

Iriotáke ašitanákaro pérani, yóra, Avíreri,
It was he (who) owned them long ago, he there, Avíreri,

počáriki máároni, iyemitotepé, pamakipé -- paitaríka? --
sweet fruits all, all his cacao, all pamáki -- what else? --

šimampikipé,[4] icónkiro máároni, počáriki.
all šimámpiki, he finished (planting) them all, sweet fruits.

Iriotáke ovecikanakérori pérani, otimantári acoyetíro
It was he he who made them long ago, therefore they exist we suck on

arórі. Kapičahímpa iyemitóte? Aocinikivé!
them all we. (Were they) few his cacao trees? (On the contrary,)

Inevetarirákea,
in quantity on the path at that time! They saw them there, then, in

yoravé, itineripé. Ikantavetaitiári
vain, they there, all his nephews. They had said to him in vain

impiavetáhea. Iróinti yataitakóyeti,
(that) they would return (home). It alone they climbed many,

iróinti yataitakóyeti -- šimampikipé áisati. Okáme
it alone they climbed many -- many šimámpiki trees also. It here

pankirencitáciri. Šemokokiéreki. Áiketi ipiatáita,
now what was planted. Small plump fruits. They took their time

áiketi.
returning, kept on.

Koraketánahi irióri, oyotáča Avireríni,[5]
Watch out! here comes he, who was bowed down Avíreri

Aménaci iríntikea: ántá ipícoka,
then. Who looked he (Kíri) alone, then: over there he turned,

ántá ipícoka, ántá ipícoka -- ineapaahatíri
over there he turned, over there he turned -- he suddenly saw them.

"Ááni, páitampa yontayé?" "Tekacivé. Iriotáke,
"Grandsire, what (are) they over there?" "Nothing! It is they,

yoravé, pišaninkapé avírori, ááni. Camatiéri."
that is, your many fellow tribesmen you, grandson. Let's go on!"

"Pameneritéémi. Ááni, pameneritéémi, ááni." "Háoka
"Look at them! Grandsire, look at them! grandsire." "Where

arása?" Ári ipicokánaka. "Káári, ááni. Áni,
there?" Well, he turned. "No they're not, grandson. Grandson,

koširivé, košíri íni." "Há." Ipeáhiri
all white monkeys, white monkeys they are." "Ah." He (thus)

košíri. Yoáánaka, ikánta,
transformed them (to) white monkeys. They moved on, they went on,

ikánta, ineapáátiri ašáninka,
they went on, (when) he (Kíri) suddenly saw them our fellow tribesmen,

yatáiveta ináveta. Ári ipatakavetánaka,
they had been climbing in vain. Well, they flattened themselves

imaherevetánaka. "Haokarása, ááni?
in vain, they became silent in vain. "What is it there, grandsire?

Pameneritéémi, ááni, patakainčaríra." Yamenitánaka.
Look at them!, grandsire, they who are fastened there." He looked.

"Há, kahirové, ááni." Ipeákari
"Ha, all termite (nests), grandson." He (thus) transformed them (to)

kahíro. Yoáánaka áisati. Ipatakavetáka
termite (nests). They moved on again. They were flattened in vain

henóki, ééri. Kemašítari,
up above, (those who would become) bees. (He) simply heard him,

ikánti, "Ááni, paméneri patakačárinta
he said, "Grandsire, look at them they who are fastened over there

henókinta." "Tekáci. Iriotáke pirentííte,
up above over there." "(It is) nothing. It is they your many brothers,

ááni. Camatiéri." "Pameneritéémi, pameneritéémi."
grandson. Let's go on." "Look at them!, look at them!"

Ipicokitanáka. "Hää, eerivé, ááni."
He turned. "Ha, all bees (nests), grandson."

Irósati išemanteetakári, irosatíkea,
It also therefore they were annoyed, it also, then,

oravé, ikisanteetakári, mm. Máároni ikárati
that is, therefore they were angry, mm. Everyone they included

atiritáciri: etíni, máároni yokapé, paitarikapé,
they who were human: armadillo, all all these, what all else,

civanipé, emopé
all Squirrel Cuckoos (Piaya cayana), all [the edible weevil

-- emó, okárati, oravé,
Rynchophorus sp.] -- [Rynchophorus sp.], it included, that is,

iotiríri -- iyótiri mamaropé, santáni,
those who knew of it -- they knew of it all owls, the Oilbird

ikárati atiritáciri pérani
(Steatornis caripensis), they included they who were human long ago.

[K.: Yatíriti mééka pahérani?][6] Ihítari? [K.: Iriotaketé,
[He was human now long ago?] Which? [It is he,

santáni.] Mm, atírini irióri,
of course, the Oilbird.] Yes, human formerly he,

ariómpa išipatonatášita?[7]
isn't it (that) he has whiskers?

The transformations attributed to *Avíreri* are not limited to those recounted in this episode and those that follow. It was *Avíreri*, I was told, who transformed a Campa drunkard into the fly *šinkiárenti*, which is attracted to masato. All wasps, I was told, were formerly fierce warriors, transformed on some occasion by *Avíreri*. One informant added that the crab *ošéro*, the shrimp

kíto, and the water snail *tiontíiki* were *ašáninka pérani*, "our fellow tribesmen long ago," warriors who, fleeing from others, dived into a stream and were thereupon transformed by *Avíreri*. The Campas also single out certain features of the terrain in Campa territory as the consequences of *Avíreri*'s activities.

There is, for example, a peculiarly shaped rock on the left bank of the Tambo River just below *Tonkáma*. This rock is called *cavíci* (vagina) (see figs. 11, 12). The Campas believe this rock to have been a woman caught at her bath by *Avíreri* and turned to stone before she could put her robe on. It requires some imagination to see in the shape of this rock what its name suggests. Indeed, the rock is also called *citantáciri* (he [or they] who thus copulates). The rock is seen in this case as a couple caught by *Avíreri* in the act of coitus and turned to stone.

Further up the Tambo, on a cliff overlooking the salt spring *Tivíha* on the right side of the river, there is a natural formation that looks like a bearded, seated human figure (see fig. 13). This figure is understood to have been a bearded Spanish priest, the "owner" (*ašitaróri*) of the salt spring, and a very contentious person who whipped anyone coming to obtain salt.[8] When *Avíreri* passed by on one occasion, his grandson, as was his wont, asked what it was he saw. *Avíreri* answered that it was *mápi* (stone), effectively transforming the priest into stone. The hills above this transformed figure are understood to have been a town at one time, and a hilly protuberance to the right of the figure is understood to be a storehouse full of merchandise.

Manihiróni, the Peña de Wertheman, a great rock just below the mouth of the *Onkonéni* on

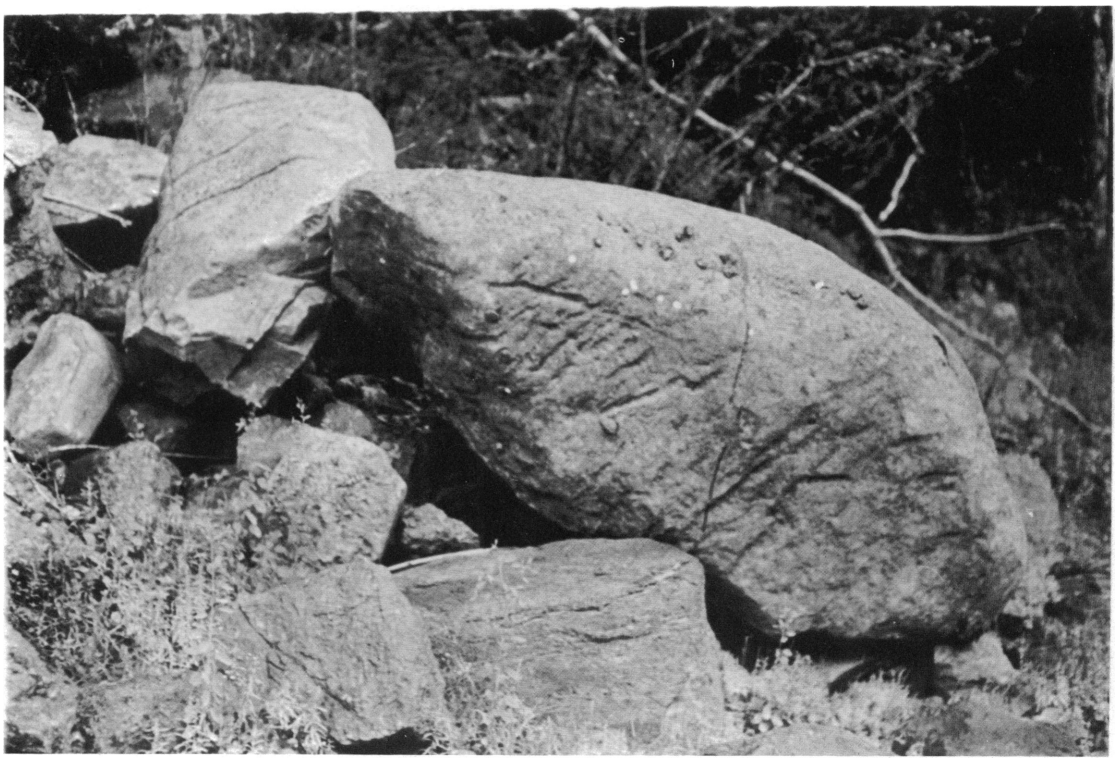


FIG. 11. *Cavíci* (Tambo River). This rock on the left bank of the river is believed to be a bathing woman turned to stone by *Avíreri*.

FIG. 12. *Cavíci* (Tambo River): rear view of bathing woman turned to stone. See figure 11.

the Tambo (see fig. 14), is understood to have been a launch similarly transformed by *Avíreri* into stone. I was told that the Caucasian crew of the launch was, at the moment of transformation, proceeding upriver to molest the Campa women of that region.

Just below the settlement of *Koriténi* on the Tambo, on the left side of the river, there is a rock outcrop broken into rectangular blocks, a common natural phenomenon (see fig. 15). The Campas call this rock outcrop *Oararoncipánko*. It is understood to be wharves stacked with crates of goods and rolls of cloth deposited there by Caucasians and transformed to stone by *Avíreri*. *Avíreri*'s purpose was to prevent the extinction of the Campas and the taking over of Campa territory by the Caucasians. I was assured that had *Avíreri* limited his activities to the Caucasians and their belongings, he would still live in Campa territory, but the havoc he caused among the Campas made it necessary to get rid of him. At any rate, here is the updating of Campa mythology into the post-Contact era.

Episode 2. *Avíreri* Creates the Seasons and the Night

Each Campa myth is in its own way a tour de force. This episode of the *Avíreri* cycle is particularly appealing, esthetically as well as intellectually, because it presents the great rhythms of the universe—the alternation of day and night, and the alternation of the seasons—as having been created out of music. In the preceding episode *Avíreri* appears as a trickster; here he is a culture hero in the strict sense of the term, creating for the Campas their festive activities. And as he dances and plays his panpipes, he takes music and dance appropriate to the night and thus creates the night, after which he takes music and

FIG. 13. *Ašitarórі Tivĩha* (Tambo River). A human-like shape on the face of this cliff is believed to be what remains of the former "owner" of a nearby salt spring, transformed by *Avíreri.*

FIG. 14. *Manihiróni* (Tambo River). At the right, in the distance, is *Manihiróni*, the Peña de Wertheman, a large rock the size of a river launch, which it is believed to have been before being transformed by *Avíreri.*

FIG. 15. *Oararoncipánko* below *Koriténi* (Tambo River). This rock outcrop, cracked into rectangular blocks, is believed to be bales and crates of Caucasian merchandise transformed to stone by *Avíreri*.

dance appropriate to each season and thus creates the seasons. One peculiar feature of the text is that it is mostly phrased in the future tense. The effect is to produce a sense of immediacy, as does the use of the historical present in English. The translation is kept in the past tense.

Iponeašitáhakea ikantahérikea,
It simply came about, then, (that) he said to him, then,

"Ááni, háokakea ahatahérikea mééka?" Há,
"Grandsire, where, then, will we go, then, now?" Ha,

išinkitakáákari, išinkitakáákari, išínkita . . .
they got drunk together, they got drunk together, they got drunk . . .

-- oveširiapááka Avirerínira. Íro iraapááke, kapíčahi
-- (he) made merry Avíreri then, there. It he drank long, a little

icáátake opakotákeri iríciro, icáátake,
he finished drinking what she gave his sister, he finished drinking,

icáátake, icáátake. "Cáme asónkate."
he finished drinking, he finished drinking. "Let's play panpipes."

Iriotáke onihaantanakerórí oveširiancipé áisati.
It was he he who showed it, therefore, all festive activities also.

Ikantanakerórí isonkatakayéri, isonkatakayéri,
He did it there, he played panpipes with them, he played panpipes

isonkatakayéri, isonkatakayéri,
with them, he played panpipes with them, he played panpipes with them,

inconkapáákero cónká. "Ariové." Onkánteri iríciro,
he finished it *finish*. "Good enough!" She said to him his sister,

"Pašíni pimátike, háihi pimátika." Matíkake. Imátiki,
"Another, dance, brother, dance." (He) danced. He danced,

imátiki, imátiki, iraakotákero citéniri, iraakotákero
he danced, he danced, he took (music) of it the night, he took

citéniri. Onkánteri ohápiri, "Té, háihi,
(music) of it the night. She said to him her brother, "No, brother,

té onkamécate. Éiro páiro citéniri, citenikírini
it is not good. Do not take it (music of) the night, (or it will be)

pá́ata." Mm, iraakotákero osárenci.
very dark later." Yes, he took (music) of it the dry season.

Okárati imatikakotéro osárenci: impampoyakotéro,
It included he danced of it the dry season: he sang of it,

impámpoya . . . Impónea iraakotákero inkáni,
he sang . . . It came about he took (music) of it rain,

keáronci, okearoncitantáitari, okárati
the rainy season, therefore there is a rainy season, it included

ipampoyakotíri. Iraakovetakeáro kearoncíya,
what he sang of. He began to take (music) of it the rainy season,

onkánteri, "Háihi, té onkamécate. Irótake,
then, (and) she said to him, "Brother, it is not good. It is it,

oravé, osárenci nokoakotímpi." "Há, irové." Irótake
that is, dry season I want from you." "Ha, all right!" It is it

iráaheri irónti. Impampoyáke, impampoyáke, imátiki,
he took it it alone. He sang, he sang, he danced,

imátiki, imátiki. "Kaméca, cío?" "Hé, kaméca."
he danced, he danced. "Good, sister?" "Yes, good."

Inkantakótea. Yoaniriakotákeri ičárine, savíkake.
He (thus) passed time. He lowered him his grandson, (he) was

	Hn,	haokaríka	irihatánahe,	há,	yavicanotanaheríkea.
seated.	Hn,	whenever	he will go,	ha,	he will embrace him again,

then.

Episode 3. A Water Sprite Swallows *Kíri*

This episode explains a particular terrain feature below *Anapáti* on the right side of the Tambo River. A *keáci* or water sprite swallows *Kíri* while *Avíreri* is sleeping. This event occurs perhaps at *Kentipánko*, a prominent hill just below the confluence of the Perené and Ene rivers to form the Tambo. *Avíreri* wakens, calls for *Kíri*, and hears a faint reply from far down the river. *Avíreri* follows the voice, wrests *Kíri* from the water sprite's maw, hauls the sprite part way out of the water, and proceeds to slice the creature up. Cautioned by a passerby not to finish what he is doing, *Avíreri* transforms the slices, already pockmarked by the gnawing of bees, to stone. The pockmarked stones below *Anapáti* are the record of this adventure. (I did not have occasion to be shown this particular terrain feature.)

	Ikánta,		ikánta,	íro	ikimotavetáha.
	He (Kíri) went on,		he went on,	so	he began to grow.
Irósati	yaitantákari		keáci.		Yáákeri
And so	therefore he grabbed him		a water sprite.		He took him
keáci,		iníakeri.	Arioríka		iponeakári
the water sprite,		he swallowed him.	Probably		it happened to him
ántá	kentipankóki.				
over there	at Kentipánko.				
	Haokaríka	ihátí	iriórí	imááke,	yoravé,
	Where might	he have gone	he	to sleep,	he there,
ičarinénira?		-- Avíreri	máinci.		Itináánaka.
his grandfather then there?		-- Avíreri,	who slept.		He awoke.
"Háoka	ááni?	Áá,	ihátí	ikáátí."	Yoyavetári,
"Where (is)	my grandson?	Ah,	he went	to bathe."	He waited for
him in vain,	yoyavetári,	he waited for him in vain,	ikahemítari,	he called him urgently,	
"Ááni,	ááni."	Peranííte.		"Háokampa	ári
"Grandson,	grandson."	A very long time (passed).		"Where	then
ihatanáhi?"	Ikáhemi,	"Ááni."	Ikémati		kapíčahi
did he go?"	He called,	"Grandson."	He suddenly heard		a little
yakáke	anapatikíka		mééka.	Apáro	"Ááni,
he (Kíri) answered	from Anapáti here		now.	One (reply)	"Grandsire,

yáákena keáci."
he has carried me off a water sprite."

Ári ipokašitíri. Ikahemáhiri, ikematíri
Well he came for him. He called him again, he suddenly

yoáitari; ikahemáhiri, ikematíri
heard him farther on; he called him again, he suddenly heard him

yoáitari. [K.: Yoihatakotanakéri?] Yoihatakotanakéri.
farther on. [He was following him?] He was following him.

Ikahemáhiri, ikematíri ántá.
He called him again, he suddenly heard him over there.

"Ááni," ikemapaahatíri, yakááke
"Grandsire," he (Avíreri) suddenly heard him on arrival, he (Kíri)

incompóiki. Icitiitanáka.
answered from within (the river). He (Avíreri) dove quickly.

Inošikítari keáci, yaahantíri ipáánteki,
He pulled him the water sprite, he went to take him from his mouth,

yoravé, ičarinéni. Conkáka ikarencátake,
he there, his grandson then. Thoroughly he (Kíri) was gummy,

yááhiri, yoaatahántiri,
he (Avíreri) took him, he went to take him out of the water,

ipitanáha. "Páita initantakenáriri ááni?
he (Avíreri) returned. "Why did he swallow him for me my grandson?

Kamári keáci. Mééka noncónkeri,
A demon (is) the water sprite. Now I will finish him,

nontoteritavé, ikóati, mééka nončarikíteri."
I will cut him now!, (that's what) he wants!, now I will 'jerk' him."

Ipitanáka, icitiánake, yaitáitari,
He returned, he dove, he went and grabbed him,

inošikavetákari niánki. Ikántiri, šéri, šéri,
he hauled him half (out of the water). He did to him, *sound of

šéri, šéri, ipiotákeri. Ipiotákeri, koraketánake
slicing*, he piled him up. He was piling him up, (when) watch out!

eerinivé, oanakaririkea
here come many bees then, who ate him (the sliced water sprite), then,

pékiriririririririri. Tekéra inconkerita, oravé,
sound of gnawing. He had not yet finished him then, that is,

intotéri ántá. Koraketapááke pašíni tasórenci.
cutting him over there. Watch out! here comes another god.

Amenapááke ipiotákeri, "Piconkaríkari."
(He) looked at what he had piled up (and said), "Careful that you don't

finish him." Apacakíro ipéiri
At once he (Avíreri) transformed him (the water sprite)

mápi. [K.: Mapitánake?] Mapitanáinciri.
(to) stone. [(He) became stone?] He who became stone.

Ikeciporokitantári,
Therefore they (the stones just below Anapáti) are pockmarked,

yoayevetakári, ééri ináveta, pékiri, pékiri,
(because) they had begun to eat him bees they were, gnaw, gnaw,

pékiri, pékiri.
gnaw, gnaw.

Ipónea yaanahíri ičárine,
It came about he (Avíreri) carried him his grandson,

yareetakááhari. [K.: Yaanahíri?] Yaanahirité.
he arrived with him. [He carried him?] He carried him, of course.

Áitake ikivanáhiri. Áitake inkempetapéémpari
So it was he washed him. So it was he was going to be like him

yóká. Irotáinci yantaríte.
[pointing to a small boy] he here. In a little while he would be

[K.: Itímimpa?] Yaanahirité.
big. [He was living (with him)?] He carried him, of course.

Hé, itimakaapááhiri. [K.: Karencakaavicáni!] Hé, arioté,
Yes, he lived with him. [Gummy all over!] Yes, of course,

ikamarankahírira -- aneašitári
he (the water sprite) had vomited him there -- as we see him

yoayetárinta, yoravé, ománira
he eats them all over there, that is, [the giant catfish ománi] there

irióri išímate. Iriorikáme kamanérime, eiroríka itasorencitíme,
he his fish. If he had been mortal, if he had not been a god,

kamákeme icomontékinta. Eirokeáme yakáhime.
(he) would have died in his belly over there. He would not, then,

Irosatíme kemisantáci ičárine antavé,
have answered. And so, now, (he) who heard his grandfather way over

ikahemahirírа yakitanáka, "Akavé,
there, (when) he called him there, he answered urgently, "Over here,

iniákena keáci."
he has swallowed me a water sprite."

Episode 4. *Avíreri* Attempts to Dam the River at *Kentipánko*

Kentipánko and its companion hill across the river, *Široniróni*, are explained as the remains of *Avíreri*'s earthworks, constructed by him in an effort to dam the river at that point (see fig. 16). Since *Avíreri* is conceived as having normal stature, these immense "earthworks" testify to great power in a small body. This short episode recounts *Avíreri*'s project and the manner in which it was thwarted by *ciraráto*. *Ciraráto*, it will be recalled, is a mischievous little bird that damages household goods to build its nest, and is considered by the Campas to be a demon. Here we encounter *ciraráto* in his original human form, undoing *Avíreri*'s labor by scratching at the earthworks like a bird, scattering the earth. *Avíreri*'s vengeance is swift: he transforms his frustrator into the demonic bird we now see.

Árі intikakeroménkea. Timáci
Well he (Avíreri) was going to dam it, then. There was

ciraráto, penkitapaakeríri,
[the bird ciraráto], he who was strewing (it) of his,

tacinkitapaakeríri ántá. Oarantanentanákari
he who was pushing (it) of his over there. Therefore some of it

kapíčahi. Tém[p]a, ára havétaka
was scattered a little. Wasn't it?, there [motioning] (it) had gone

henóki, oravé, iyaharáte Avirerini, išepikantearorímekea
up high, that is, his humus (of) Avíreri then, with which he was

óká itamponéni. [K.: Íro mééka
going to close it, then, it here his Tambo then. [It now

pahérani?] Hé, yoaranentáitiro kamári ciraráto.
long ago?] Yes, he scattered some of it the demon ciraráto.

[K.: Aneašitárinea? Mm, aneašitárinea, kem[p]etáčari
[As we see him, now?] Yes, as we see him, now, he who is like

yantavééti.
he (who) does (mischief) everywhere [pointing to a mischievous little

Yaitapáári, pénk, pénk. Ipokapááhi
boy]. He grabbed (it) of his, *strew*, *strew*. He came

ašitaróri. "Páita pipenkitantakenaróri?" Irósati
he who owned it. "Why are you strewing it of mine?" And so

ipeantapáákari irióri. Eirorika ipenkitírime,
therefore he transformed him he. If he hadn't strewn (it) of his,

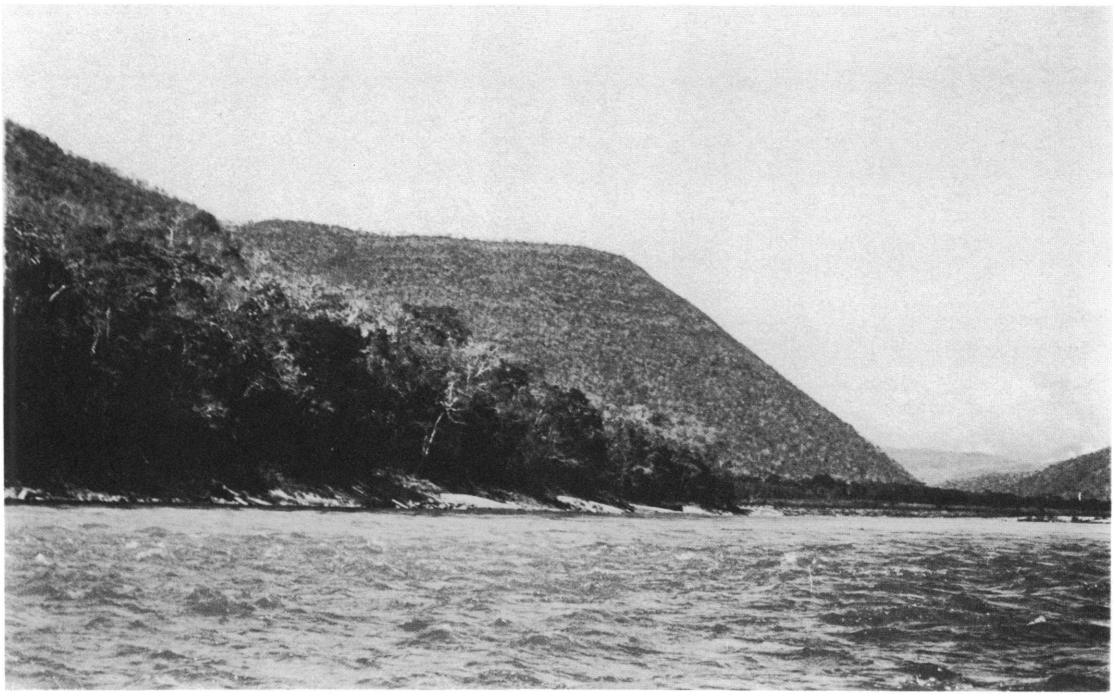


FIG. 16. *Kentipánko* (Tambo River) viewed from downstream. The large gable-shaped mountain in the distance is believed to be what remains of a dam *Avíreri* attempted to construct there.

áitake išepikakeróme, oravé, išepikanakérome.
so it is he would have closed it, that is, he would have closed it.

[K.: Háokakea ihátiri iriórі ašitaróri?]
[Where, then, did he go (afterwards) he he who owned it?]

Haokaríka ihátiri? Arióitem[p]a iháyeti ineayetíro
Where might he have gone? Undoubtedly he went to see them all

iriciropé. Ihayetínta ineayetíro iríciro,
all his sisters. He went all over there to see them all his sisters,

išinkitakoyétaro. Tekérata inintakayaróme išepitérome
he got drunk with all of them. He did not yet want to close it

iriórі. [K.: Aitákekea iriórі yatiritíkea
(the river) he. [So it was, then, he he was human,

ciraráto?] Atíri íni pérani.
then, ciraráto?] Human he was long ago.

Episode 5. *Avíreri* Is Dispatched to River's End

This episode and the preceding one had to be specially requested of the narrator, who had neglected to include them in his original narration. In this episode we learn how *Avíreri*'s relatives plot to rid themselves of him and succeed.

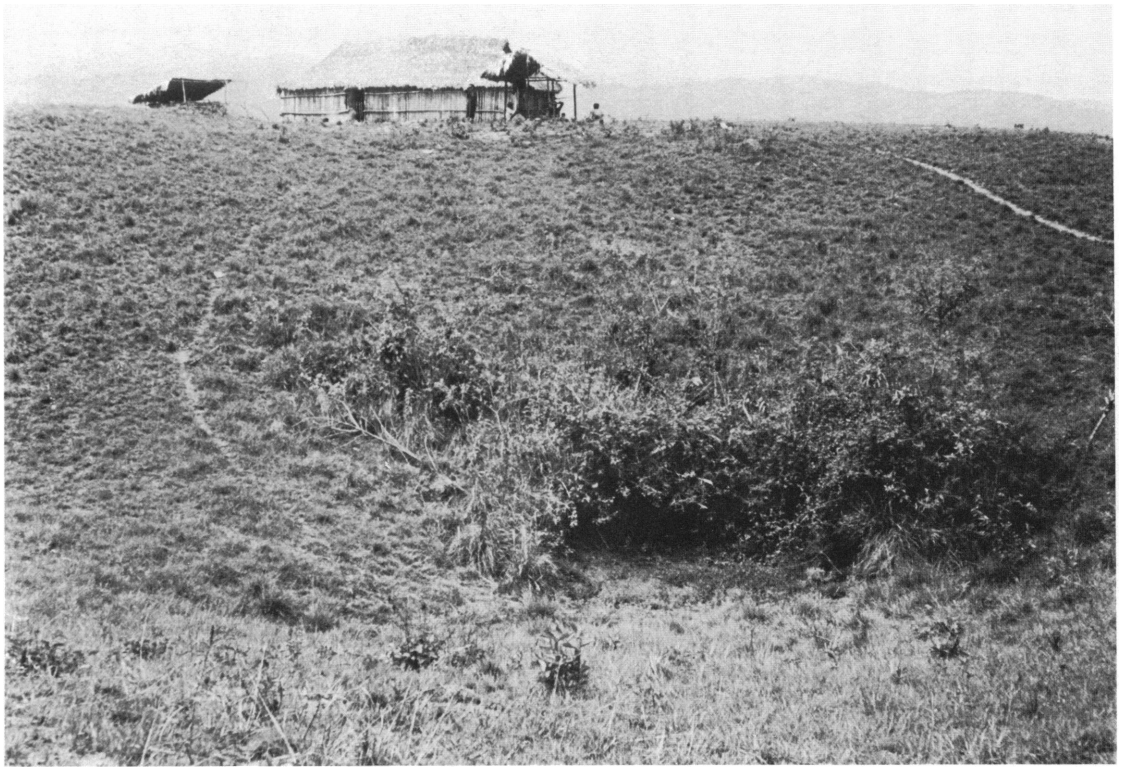


FIG. 17. *Imóro Avíreri* (Upper Perené region). In the foreground can be seen the hole into which *Avíreri* purportedly fell to end his sojourn in Campa territory.

Avíreri's brother-in-law (who, significantly, will be transformed into a burrowing animal, the armadillo *etíni*) digs a hole under the dancing area, leaving a thin layer of earth covering it. At their next festival, *Avíreri*'s sister invites him to dance with her, and she pushes him onto the weak ground covering the hole. *Avíreri* falls through into the hole and calls for aid. His sister throws him a weak string that breaks under his weight. She repeats the malicious gesture. *Avíreri*, furious at the trick played on him, transforms his sister into the tree *šimáširi* (unidentified), which flowers at the beginning of the dry season. His brother-in-law, frightened, has wrapped himself in his sleeping mat, and is transformed by *Avíreri* into the armadillo *etíni*. *Avíreri*, unable to climb out of the hole, opens by his own power a hole or tunnel to *Ocitiríko*. There a strangler vine wraps itself around him and *Pačákama* invites him to help sustain the earth. There *Avíreri* remains to the present day, no more able to move, because of the vine that constrains him, than the implanted *Pačákama*.

On the left side of the upper Perené River, just above the tributary *Yorináki*, there is a mountain ridge on top of which an extensive stretch of grassland sprawls. At its center can be seen a depression in the ground. This depression is *imóro Avíreri* (the hole of *Avíreri*), where *Avíreri*'s sister dispatched him to River's End (see fig. 17).

Ošinkitákari	iríciro	Avirerínira.
She got drunk with him	his sister	(of) Avíreri then there.

Iponeašitákeri. Okantakéri, "Háokampa
Thus it came about. She said to him (her husband), "What

ankanteririyéé? Háoka ankantéíri?" Okisanentakéri.
shall we do to him? What shall we do to him?" She was rather angry

Hm, imaheréti etíni iríinti. "Hm,
with him (Avíreri). Hm, he was silent Armadillo he alone. "Hm,

énci anteteríta ántá, aihayérita."
let's see we will put him in, now, over there, we will insert him

Háiteti, ikiašitákeri váne, váne, váne, váne, váne,
now." (He) finally went, he dug for him *throwing earth*.

váne, váne, váne. Há, ári inecanatáitiro kapíčahi ántá.
Ha, well he did it just right a little over there.

Inkénenta pááta, oravé,
He (Avíreri) would pass over there a little later, that is

imatikánakea. Irósati, óra, ontacinkanteáriri
(when) he would dance. It also, it there, into which she would shove

iríciro.
him his sister.

"Nošinkitáka mééka, pimatikakayéna, háihi." "Hé,
"I am drunk now, dance with me, brother." "Yes,

cáme." Háiteti imatikakáiro. Ipampoyakáiro,
let's go." (He) went he danced with her. He sang with her,

ipampoyakáiro, ipampoyakáiro. Iróta[ke] okitaitimátake.
he sang with her, he sang with her. It is it it began to dawn.

[K.: Yakacatírokea?] Yakacatíronea.
[He gave her his hand, then?] He gave her his hand, now.

Iróta[ke] okitaitimátahi. Há, té ompankenateári
It is it it began to dawn. Ha, she did not (have to) repeat

aríka . . . Ióta ikamantakerórí
(her request) to him when . . . (She) knew what he had told her

etíni: "Nerókaya ovekarátaka omóro."
Armadillo: "Here is, then, its limits the hole."

Okantitapaintatiári aká. Tíré, tíriririririri.
She did to him (Avíreri) quickly here. *Pushing off*, *skidding down*.

"Cío, pamákena pimampecáte, cío, pamákena
"Sister, bring me your thread, sister, bring me

pimampecáte." Ampacaitevéta,
your thread." She drew a thread around her toe to make a cord, in vain,

ampacaitevéta,
she drew a thread around her toe to make a cord, in vain,

ampacaitevéta. Opitavetári,
she drew a thread around her toe to make a cord, in vain. She gave (it)

opicareitanáka. Ampacaitavéta
to him quickly, it broke quickly. She drew a thread around her toe to

áisati, ampacaitavéta.
make a cord quickly, in vain, again, she drew a thread around her toe

Hatákeni tíriririririririri.
to make a cord quickly, in vain. (He) went then *skidding down*.

"Cío, énci pamákena pimampecáte." [K.: Aríkea
"Sister, quickly bring me your thread." [So, then,

okantakaanakári?] Áita[ke] okantakaanakári. Irorikáme
she was (like that) to him?] So it was she was to him. If she

áákeme kisocaríme, hé, ári sokihapáahime áisati.
had taken strong rope, yes, well (he) would have emerged again.

Kemíri ihátati tíriririririririri. Opavetári.
(They) heard him he went *skidding down*. She gave (it)
to him in vain.

Ikahemanáitiro, ikahemanáitiro, "Pineašitearové,
He called to her angrily, he called to her angrily, "You will see!,

cío. Oravé, picataakenárika,
sister. That is, perchance you have sent me to my doom,

pitacinkákena. Meekam[p]ákea, óra, avíro mééka,
you pushed me. Now surely, then, that is, you now,

šimaširím[p]a pimpeáitiea. Avíro
(to) [the tree šimáširi], surely, you will be transformed. You

iotahérone osárenci. Avíro iotahérone
will know it from now on the dry season. You will know it from

osárenci." Kemavákeri kašáinkahi, ikahemánake,
now on the dry season." (They) heard him faintly, he called,

ikahemakotanáitiri etíni iriórí. "Há, etíni
he called to him angrily Armadillo he. "Ha, (to) armadillo

pimpeáitiea avírori aravé." Ipeantanakaríkea
you will be transformed you there!" Therefore he was transformed,

iriórí etíni. Óra, yapinaikanaitiáro
then, he Armadillo. It here, he had wrapped himself in it!

išitási irínti, pináí, pináí, pináí. Irósati
his mat he alone, *wrap*, *wrap*, *wrap*. And so

ipeakoyetaitakéri iváca itakitantanákari.
he transformed him all within his flesh, therefore it became his shell.

Irósati ikenanáke tíriririri, ikemisántiri.
And so he (Avíreri) passed *skidding down*, they listened

Hatáke ocitiríkoki. Isokihantapaaharíntakea.
to him. (He) went to River's End. Therefore he emerged over there,

Hé, isokihimoitapááhiri ivačakamaténtakea.
then. Yes, he emerged where he was his Pačákama over there, then.

Irósati ikaratantaitaváha.
And so therefore they live together.

Ikánti timáci tíroki oisotavakériri.
They say there was a strangler vine that fastened around

him (Avíreri). [S.: Tíroki?] [A strangler vine?] Tíroki
A strangler vine

oisotavakéri irőinti. Avicanotavakéri. Há, irősati,
it fastened around him it alone. It embraced him. Ha, it also,

oravé, ikantitavaitiári, yoravé, Pačákama, "Pisavikapááhe.
that is, he said to him quickly, he there, Pačákama, "Live here.

Pisavikapááhe, cáme ampacatakoteári yőra atomííte,
Live here, let us help them they there our many sons,

ahirikakotérita. Pamitakoténa, oravé, kipáci
we will sustain them, now. Help me, that is, (with) the earth

aká. Narőtake ahirikakotíri atomííte kipáci
here. It is I (who) sustains them our many sons (on) the earth

itiriakotikári."
lest they fall with (it)."

Irősati isavikantáitakea mééka.
And so therefore he (Avíreri) lives (there), then, now.

Intáni iševavéta ináveta, okampenitantári
Alone he moves in vain, therefore there are faint sounds

tín, tín, tín, tín, tín, tín. Iševavéta. Tekáci
sound of distant rumbling. He moves in vain. There is nothing

inkántea	ára,	paricatapááke	iriórí,	paricatánake	iriórí	
he can do	there,	(he) was rooted	he,	(he) is rooted	he	
Avíreri	ántá	Ikempetára		Pačákama	iriórí.	
Avíreri	over there.	He is like, there,		Pačákama	he.	
[K.:	Áisati	ikempetakotapááhari?]	Ikémpeta,	yošiakotapááhari		
[	Also	he became like him?]	He is like,	he came to look		
like him	iriórí,	Árí	okárati	óra	okenkicarencitapááka.	
	he.	Well	it is finished	it there	it has become history.	

Episode 6. The Nailing of *Kíri*

A lengthy epilogue recounts the subsequent fate of *Kíri*. Heartsick for his lost grandfather, *Kíri* decides to go downriver to join *Avíreri*. As he travels he plants maize, which he leaves behind to grow. A group of his relatives pursue him, intent upon killing him for his part in *Avíreri*'s escapades. The pursuers come upon a field of maize ready to be harvested, and realize that *Kíri* passed that way so long before that the maize he planted has had time to mature. They continue on and encounter a field of maize not quite mature, and then another with maize even less grown, and so on until they come upon a field of maize freshly planted—and they know that they have caught up with *Kíri*.[9] Sure enough, they find him nearby attempting to dam the river to create his own *Ocitiríko*. They attempt to shoot him with their arrows, but only shoot each other, until only three (a few) of them are left. *Kíri* then advises the survivors to kill him by driving a spike down through his head and body into the ground. This they do, and he is transformed into the palm tree *kíri*.

His blood forms a lake, and at his bidding birds come to bathe therein. Some of the birds, including all the sacred birds, bathe only once in the blood and emerge with beautiful plumage. But others, including the demonic birds, are greedy, not satisfied with their good looks after bathing once, and bathe again, emerging with ugly plumage.[10]

By the time *Kíri*'s blood dries, he has grown and produced fruit. Following his instructions, his executioners take fruit from the tree, bring it home, and have their wives prepare it as *kiríha*, beer of the *kíri* fruit. *Kíri* had instructed that the beer made from his fruit be drunk in moderation and that no one finish a bowl of *kiríha* by himself, thus a small quantity would suffice to produce the desired effect. But the demonic bird *civáni*, still in human form, greedily drinks an entire bowl of beer, and so does the demon owl. The consequence of their action is that today the Campas must consume great quantities of beer for it to have its effect.

Vulture, still in human form, goes in search of the tree to obtain fruit for himself, though warned not to. Finding the tree, he reaches for the clusters of fruit, and climbs for them, but the tree grows carrying the fruit beyond his grasp. No sooner does he climb down from the tree than it resumes its former size. Once again he climbs, and the tree grows as he climbs, swaying violently, flinging large fruit downriver and smaller fruit upriver (which explains why the *kíri* palms in Campa territory have smaller fruit than those down along the Ucayali River). He descends, and once again the tree resumes its former size. Disgusted, he disparagingly wipes himself on the trunk of the tree, and from that moment the *kíri* palm has thorns.

Finally receiving some *kíri* seeds for planting, he returns home repeating the name of the tree to himself. But by the time he arrives there the name has become *kirítiki*, the bitter fruit of the *kiríti* palm. Sure enough, it is *kiríti* and not *kíri* that grows in his garden, so that all his labor has been in vain. Bat also receives some seed, but as he repeats its name, the sounds change to *potóki*, fruit of the *pótó* tree, which bats are still observed to eat.

Iponeašitákari mééka, áitake antiaritapááke,
It simply came about now, so it was (Kíri) became big,

šemapaakam[p]ákea irióri. Irósati
(he) became vexed, apparently, then, he. It also

yoiminkianteetakári ičarinéni.
they had thrown him (Avíreri) in his grandfather then.

Isavikavéta apániro, "Aaniniranki vé,
He (Kíri) was living alone, "My former grandsire, that is!,

aaniniranki vé," yoaširetakotakári. Hatáke
my former grandsire, that is!," he was heartsick for him. (He) went

kirínka irínti. "A[r]ivé, nohátahe nárori."
downriver he alone. "Well!, I will go I."

[K.: Háoka itímiri hatahácini?] Kiríka mééka.
[Who was he who went then?] Kíri here now.

"Arivé, nohátahe noneapaaheríta ááni." Yoaširetakotanákari.
"Well!, I will go to see him now my grandsire." He was heartsick

"Ári, nohátahe noneapaaheríta ááni." Hatáhi
for him. "Well, I will go to see him now my grandsire." (He) went

irínti Ocitiríkoki. Mm, iponeaitáka, "Hatahána,"
he alone toward River's End. Yes, he sallied forth, "Good-bye,"

há, té inkenkicatanáke.
ha, he didn't inform (the others of his intention).

Kitáiteri, kitáiteri, té aneáheri,
A day (passed), (another) day (passed), he was not to

hatáhi yááta. Á[r]i yoihatíri,
be seen again, (he) had gone soon after. Well he followed him,

yoravé, irikonkirintárira -- haokaríka ihitéériri
he there, he who was his uncle there -- how might they have called him

pérani? "Nimpoitaheritavé, yoravé, neotirankivé.
long ago? "I am going to encounter him now!, he there, my nephew,

Haokayáta ikenakéri?" Ipókake, ipókake, ipókake,
that is! Where, then, now, did he pass?" He came, he came, he came,

ipókake . . .
he came . . .

Há, yonkoitanáke šínki, yonkoitanáke šínki,
Ha, he (Kíri) had toasted maize, he had toasted maize,

yáánake nahákiri. "A[r]inea, naréétahea.
(and) he carried uncooked kernels. "Well, now, I will arrive.

Néró šinkíka, nareetantaheáriri. Noánakea, noánakea,
Here is maize here, with which I will arrive. I will eat, I will eat,

noánakea, noá . . . " Yáánake. Yaakotánahi haokaríka
I will eat, I will eat . . . " He carried. He carried I don't know

okárati posákiri. Yaakotánake nahákiri. Yantapááke
how many cooked kernels. He carried uncooked kernels. He made

oánci, yantapááke oánci, ipankitánake šínki. Oáánaka,
a garden, he made a garden, he planted maize. (He) moved on,

yantanáke pašíni. "Ári nareetaheári aanivé, árі
he made another. "Yes I will reach him my grandsire!, yes

nareetaheári ááni." [H.: Apá, iríkea
I will reach him my grandsire." [Father, he, then,

kantáci Kiríka mééka?] Hé, irihatáheme
who is speaking is Kíri here now?] Yes, he wanted to go

Ocitiríkoki.
to River's End.

Aitaketé hatáhi, haokaríka, yoravé,
So it is, then, (he) went, whoever (he was), he there,

yompaheetakéri Kíri pérani niánkika. Havétaha
he (who) nailed him Kíri long ago half(way) here. (He) went in vain

kirínka, yompaheetantakaríri. Ikánta Yamenahíri,
downriver, therefore he nailed him. It seems he looked for him,

yamenahíri, yamenahíri, yamenahíri,
he looked for him, he looked for him, he looked for him,

ineapáátiro -- irotahánci irareetaheári -- sampátake
he suddenly saw it -- shortly he will reach him -- (it) was dry

išínkine. Oáánaka. Ineapáátiro -- iroakéra, oravé,
his maize. (He) moved on. He suddenly saw it -- recently, that is,

okaratapááke išínkine. "Há, irotahánci
it measured [indicating the height] his maize. "Ha, shortly

nareetaheári."
I will reach him."

Ikantanáiti, "Noháteta akavé, nontinakoveetáiteta
He (Kíri) said, "I will go now here!, I will turn over

impíta."
rocks, now, looking for [the edible aquatic larva impíta]."

Yoáánaka, neapááti háoka
He (the pursuer) moved on, (and) suddenly saw where

itarompivetapáákaro. Oravé, ontikearamékea ináveta
he had begun to dam it. That is, he was going to close it off there,

pérani. Tarompivetapááka, ineantaharirírakea.
then, long ago. (He) had begun damming, therefore he (the pursuer)

[K.: Irío tarompivetapáinča, yóra . . . ?]
saw him there, then. [He who had begun damming, that is . . . ?]

Kiríka mééka. "Á[r]ive nontarompitapééri akavé. Aríme
Kíri here now. "Well! I will dam it here! Yes, now,

ocitirikotaheári nárori. Náši nárori Ocitiríkoni aká."
it will be River's End here (for) me. My very own River's End here."

"Narové, narové," ikantitapaahatiári, yoravé,
"(It is) I!, (it is) I!," he said to him suddenly, he there,

irikonkíri pokašitahiríri, "Páita pantirísa?"
his uncle he who had come for him, "What are you doing?"

"Tevé, kokí, oravé, notarompitirósa noánakea impíta.
"Nothing at all, uncle, that is, I am damming it to eat impíta.

Mm, páita pipokašitakérikea?" Yaitavétari,
Mm, what have you come for, then?" He (the pursuer) grabbed him

ikói inkenterírme. "Nonkentempimpayéé."
in vain, he wanted to shoot him. "I will shoot you, surely."

"Éiro pikéntana, kokí, éiro pikéntana." "Nonkentempíta.
"You won't shoot me, uncle, you won't shoot me." "I will shoot you

Avirotáke peakayetanakeríri yóra
right now. It is you who had them all transformed they there

panírini aká." Yaitavétari,
your former cousins here." They grabbed him in vain,

inonciašivétari -- haokaríka ikárati
they drew their bows in vain -- I don't know how many they were

ašáninka oihatanakeririnta. Yaitavétari
our fellow tribesmen who had followed him over there. They grabbed him

inkenterírme, tak, irísati kentavakááhača.
in vain to shoot him, *zip*, and so (it was) they who shot one one

Yaitavétari, ták, irísati
another. They grabbed him in vain, *zip*, and so (it was) they

kentavakááhača. Ikantapááka išáninka
who shot one another. They (by then) had come to be his fellow

mává. Ikántiri, "Aitapááke, piconkavakaašitákari,
tribesmen three. He said to them, "Enough, careful that you don't

éiro pikentavákaci. Pisameanaríka,
simply finish each other, don't shoot. If you are annoyed

oravé, poyéna, paašitaitenaté inčáki.
with me, that is, to kill me, go take for me, then, a stake.

Pompahenátakea, poyenatákea náinti." Ári isáviki,
Nail me now, then, kill me now, then, I alone." Well he sat down,

"Piháte."
"Go."

Yaitatiári, yompahakéri, tók, tók --
They grabbed him suddenly, they nailed him, tap, tap --

paitaríka yaitíri inčáki? Yompahakéri,
what might they have taken (as) a stake? They nailed him,

"Heróya nopatitóki, pinecanatakéna." Yáitari
"Here is, then, my crown, sight down on me." They grabbed him

tók, tók, imisaikakotakéri, "Há, ariové."
tap, tap, they stuck him to the ground, "Ha, good enough!"

Otimantaitariramékea antiarokitaciríka
Therefore it exists there now, then, whose fruit is large here

kiríka kíri palm here mééka. Yompahakéri, tók, tók, hm.
now, They nailed him, tap, tap, hm.

Há, iotakaavakéri, "Pompahakenaríka, néró
Ah, he had let them know, "When you nail me, here are

kitáiteri, kitáiteri, kitáiteri,
[showing fingers] (one) day, (another) day, (another) day,

pimpokáiteya pamenáitena. Á[r]iya nonkicotáke.
come, then, look at me. So, then, I will grow fruits.

Poyeánaya. Pišinkiteánaya. Pišinkitakeána:
Eat me, then. Get drunk with me, then. Get drunk with me:

kapíčahiya piráke, onkaramotihátake.
(just) a little, then, drink, the liquid capacity of the vessel

should come to (this) [indicating with a gesture].

Éiro picaatiróci. Éiro picaatanáci. Amaatakenaríka
Don't finish drinking it. Don't finish drinking me. When they

(the women) prepare me onohatašitákena they (should) chew for me onkonoákena to mix me with

kaníri. Pišinkitakeána."
manioc. Get drunk with me."

Yompahakéri tók, tók, ineavakéra iriráha
They nailed him tap, tap, they saw there his blood

čók. Karatánake iriráhani antavé.
splash. (It) extended his blood then way over there [indicating

a large extension]. Ikántiri, "Pinkaateanayavé."
He had said to them, "Bathe in me, then!"

Ikantayetakéri cimeripéra, pašinipéra.
He had said to all of them all the little birds there, all the other

(birds) there. Savarokáme irióri ikantéétiri,
The Scarlet Macaw (Ara macao) here now he he was told,

"Pinkaateánaya pááta." Ikárati
"Bathe in me, then, a little later." They totaled

amenakoventaheetakéri. Yompahakérira, iníiri
all (who) were watching him. They nailed him there, they saw (it)

of his onkanáka it formed a pool irirahavé, all his blood, kitionkamótiha. volume of red liquid.

"Pinkaaheetavakeána."
"All of you bathe in me."

Máároni civáni ipokanáke. Máároni
All Squirrel Cuckoos (Piaya cayana) they came. All

yorinipé. Máároni cimerihanikipé.
all Cock-of-the-rocks (Rupicola peruviana). All all the little birds.

Póiriki, picóco irióri,
[The little bird póiriki], [the little bird picóco] they,

máá[roni], conkánaka máároni, amenavakeririvé. Pašíni
all, completed all, all those who looked at him. Another

kaatapáinca, pašíni kaatapáinca, pašíni kááta . . .[11]
who bathed, another who bathed, another who ba . . .

piánaka. Korákeni conkíri iriórí. "Cáme
(and) returned. Watch out! there comes Hummingbird he. "Come on,

pikáátea iriráha." Sapokanáka. Kapíča
you will bathe (in) his blood." (He) undressed. A little

ikantapáinta irínti, pičék. Piánaka.
he did quickly he alone, *sound of slapping water*. (He) returned.

Yamenapááka, ineátia oanénkani, pocitanakinivé,
He looked at himself, he suddenly saw handsome, black clothing!,

marerianakíni, "Aitapááke." Korakevétaka
brilliant clothing, "Enough." Watch out! here comes in vain

cíísanti iriórí, pičék.
[the demon hummingbird cíísanti] he, *sound of slapping water*.

Oanenkavetanáka. Ipiitanáka, "Apáro
(He) became handsome in vain. He returned quickly, "One (more time)

noanenkataperotanakeáta." Ipiitavetanáka,
(and) I will be truly handsome now." He returned quickly in vain,

motóre. Neátiri kamarašíca, kamaracóvaki.[12]
quick dive. (They) suddenly saw him drab and long, (with) drab

beak tip.

Koráke, yoravé, saváro. Ikaatapááke,
Watch out! here comes, he there, the Scarlet Macaw. He bathed,

pičék, kapíča ikantapáinta aká,
sound of slapping water, a little he did quickly here,

ikantayetanáka, ikantayétaka.
he did all over (this area) [motioning], he did all over (this area)

"Áitake," yaménaka, oanenkatáka,
[motioning]. "So be it," he looked at himself, (he) was handsome,

"áitake." Koraketáke kimáro
"so be it." Watch out! here comes the Red-and-green Macaw (Ara chloroptera)

iriórí. Ikaatitavetapááka, pičék.
he. He bathed quickly in vain, *sound of slapping water*.

Ipiitavetanáka, ikááti, oravé,
He returned quickly in vain, he bathed (again), that is,

kamarasatáinani, ikantakéri, "Téé."
(the result was) a drab and flat head, of which he said, "No (good)."

Koraketáke iriórí, yoravé, yorína
Watch out! here comes he he there, the Cock-of-the-rock

ikaatapááke. "Nonkaateáta narivé." Kapíča ikantapáinta,
to bathe. "I will bathe now I!" A little he did quickly,

motóre, encipáite. Ikantiróntа íísi.
quick dive, instantly. He did to it over there his hair.

Mentáinaki. Katiapááka, yamenapááka, oanenkanivé,
Crested clothing. (He) stood, he looked at himself, very handsome,

kiterinákini, "Hm, aitapááke." Koráke meánto,
orange clothing, "Hm, enough." Watch out! here comes the Military

Macaw (Ara militaris), ikaatapááke pičék, pičék,
he bathed *sound of slapping water*,

arivé. Há, kitionkatiamakoineáhi irióri. Hm, koraketáinci
enough! Ha, cute red forehead he. Hm, watch out! who comes

irióri, yóra, ompikiríte. Ikaatapáinti.
he, he there, [the small bird ompíkiri]. He bathed quickly.

Yaménaka, oanenkatánaka, "Aitapááke."
He looked at himself, (he) had become handsome, "Enough."

Koraketáinci píčoti íri[ori].
Watch out! who comes the Paradise Tanager (Tangara chilensis) he.

Ikaatapáinti. Yamé[na], oanenkataitanakavé,
He bathed quickly. He looked [at himself], (he) had become very

"Áitake." [K.: Kapíča ikantayetapáinta?] Kapíča
handsome, "So be it." [A little he did quickly?] A little

ikantayetapáinta. Conká[aka], ihayetáhi.
he did quickly. Finished, they all went.

Inííri, inííri, inííri.[13] Kitáiteri
They saw him, they saw him, they saw him. (Next) day

yamenahántiri, ineátiri veránaka
they went to look at him, they suddenly saw him (his) size

aká, inčatoníki.
here, (it was as from here) to that pole [gesturing].

Iniimaitapáátiro oicokinivé. Kicotanáke,
They saw it right away plenty of fruit. (He) had produced fruit,

maciriakitáci. Ipiitanáitia. Apíte máánci ipíaha.
which was unripe. They went back. (After) two sleeps they returned

Ineátiro iraakanáke, kitionkamónki. "Cáme
again. They suddenly saw it it had ripened, red clusters. "Let's

áiteta." Ipatakareapáákero pátakare, pátakare, --
take quickly now." They broke them off *break off*, *break off*, --

pirihatanáhi iriráha, inkaharevetapáinta --
(it) had dried his blood, (that) had quickly formed a lake --

pátakare, pátakare, iconkakéro.
break off, *break off*, they finished it.

Ikantitánaka áisati, "Ponkoitakenaríka,
He (Kíri) had said also, "When you boil my fruit,

poisašitenáya.[14] Irómpa kapíča
poke the fire for me, then. If it (is) (only) a little

pinkantakéna, irósati, oravé, poisašítena,
you do (cook) me, it also, that is, poke the fire for me,

nokahenikitanakekaríinea. Poavetakeána,
careful, now, or my fruit will itch. You will eat me in vain,

ári onkočetanakémpi, ári
yes it will give you white, painful blotches in the mouth, yes

nontaanakémpi." [K.: Iyotakaanakéri?] Iyotakayetanakéri
I will burn you." [He let them know?] He let them all know

kacíni. Iponeašitákero, yaanahíro inámpiki.
much. They sallied forth with it, they carried it to their homes.

Yonkoitakéro. Yoáka, yoáka, yoáka.
They boiled the fruit. They ate, they ate, they ate.

"Pinkempoyéroya
[Kíri had also said:] "Keep them in a place apart, then,

oicokipé, pinkempoyéro. Éiro paatikayetána.
all the seeds, keep them in a place apart. Don't step on me.

Arioneákea, óra, pinkirikítake kíri seeds piitikipé,
Yes, now, then, it there, you will (grow) on all your

pinkacitayetáke. Mm, hm, šinkitáka: pišinkitárika,
feet, you all will hurt. Ah, yes, drunk: when you get drunk,

máároni pinkahemavakáya. Éiroya picaamotihatánaci,
everyone call (everyone), then. Don't, then, finish drinking the

éiro picaamotihatánaci
container of my liquid, don't finish drinking the container of my

apároni: kapíčahi piráke, kapíčahi piráke,
liquid one (person): a little you drink, a little you (the next

kapíča . . ." -- há, ikempevetakáro
person) drink, a little . . ." -- ha, as he (the first drinker)

irínti kea. Iráke náro. Yanteetakáro,
began it he alone, then. He drank *glug*. He (another) did it,

yanteetakáro, irósati okarahá ti, ene itake.
he (another) did it, it also the liquid (still) amounted to plenty.

Pašíni, pašíni, yanteetakáro, icaatakéro
Another, another, he did it, he finished drinking it

cáá.
finish drinking.

Ikiteetakéneri iriórí, yoravé . . . Há, ikiteetitánari
He was served he, that is . . . Ha, he was served

civánika méeka iriórí.
quickly Squirrel Cuckoo (Piaya cayana) here now he.

Kantánake, "Pamakenáta narové, pamakenáta narové."
(He) said, "Bring me now I, indeed, bring me now I, indeed."

-- aneašitári ičeenkantavincáti.
-- as we see him he (who) does not believe (what he is told).

[K.: Kamári!] Ikiteetatiánari, "Irósati pantéétakea."
[Demon!] He was served (and told), "It also you do (the same)."

Yáitaro náro, náro, icáátiro. Náro,
He grabbed it *glug*, *glug*, he finished drinking it. *Glug*,

"Háiriki, hairikiyáá,"[15] kimoširetanáke, icaamotihatákero,
"Háiriki, hairikiyáá," (he) was elated, he had finished drinking

kamáári! Á[r]ikea ipéétiri
the container of liquid, the demon! Well, then, he was given

mamáro iriórí. "Pamákena nárori." Áisati icaatakéro
Owl he. "Bring me I." Also he finished drinking it

náro, náro, icaatakéro. Ári imaheréti,
glug, *glug*, he finished drinking it. Well he was silent,

išíronta, "Hó, hó, hó, hó, hó." Yampimaitaríra,
(then) he laughed, "Ho, ho, ho, ho, ho." He continues it there,

akemantapinitaríri, "Hó, hó, hó, hó, hó, hó, hó," yóra
therefore we always hear him, "Ho, ho, ho, ho, ho, ho, ho," he there

mamaroperorírankí. Iširontátia. [H.: Ikimoširetánake
the true owl, that is. He is laughing. [He was elated (that)

icaatakéro?] Hm. [K.: Ikimoširetanaketékea.
he had finished drinking it?] Yes. [He was elated, of course,

] Ikántiro, ikántiro, icaamotihatákero,
then.] He did it, he did it, he finished drinking the container of

irósati tasonkaetáča, acaamotihatantaróri
liquid, and so someone blew, (and) therefore we finish drinking the

pearincipé áisati.
container of liquid, (as is the case for) all masato also.

Maaronirikáme ikemisantavetakári -- ikantavetakári
If all had listened to him -- he had said to them

aravé, "Éiroya picaamotihayétiro."
in vain there!, "Don't, then, finish drinking the container

-- irósati onkantáitia, áisati onkempeteáme
of liquid." -- it also it would be, also it would be similar

peárinci iróri: éiro acaatiróme, anteetatiemparóme.
masato it: we wouldn't finish drinking it, we would all do

Apároni kovítiki éiro acáátiro.
(drink) it without finishing. (Just) one potful we wouldn't

Oncikáátahea,
finish drinking it. They (the women) would strain (it),

anteetakeáro, anteetakeáro, irósati
we would all do (drink) it, we would all do (drink) it, it also

onkárate. Irómpa icaamotihatanakéro,
it would (still) amount to (something). But he finished drinking

ó! Tasonkanákame, "Ári
the container of liquid, oh! (Someone) blew, now, "So

pinkantaiteákea, aravé, pincaamotihayétero
you will be, then, that is, you all will finish drinking the

máároni. Neá, aríokea, éiroya inéétici
container of liquid everyone. So, well, then, it will not be

pišinkitaheetaveteárika kaniripé
sufficient, then, when you all start to get drunk all the manioc

ináveta." -- kempetačaríkakea acaamotihatantaróri
there be." -- which is like here, then, therefore we finish drinking

áisati.
the container of liquid also.

Koraketáke tisóni. "Háoka paakeróri?"
Watch out! here comes Vulture. "Where did you get it?"

"Há, antavé náákero." "A[r]ivé, náite nárori."
"Ha, way over there I took it." "Well!, I will grab I."

"Eirové pihá́ti, éiro pihá́ti." "Á́ri nohatakevé." Háiteti.
"Don't go!, don't go." "Well I will go!" (He) finally went.

Ikoakoatakéro, "Háoka yairóri, háoka
He looked and looked for it, "Where did he get it, where

yairóri, háoka . . . ?" -- ineapáátiro.
did he get it, where . . . ?" -- he suddenly saw it (kíri).

Yakotitavetapááka iriórі. Ineapáákero
He (extended) his hand quickly in vain he. He saw it

okitemonkitáke. Neátiro overaveraanakánta.
its clusters were orange. (He) suddenly saw it it was growing and

Yoaitavéta irayeróme,
growing over there. He moved quickly in vain to take them,

veraanakánta. "Háokampa nonkanteroriyé?"
(it) grew over there. "How will I do it, then?"

Yataititavetánaha. Hatánake, hatánake, hatánake,
He climbed quickly in vain. (It) went, (it) went, (it) went,

áikero ohátati henokitánake. Isoankitaitanáha. Yamenahíro,
it kept on going up high. He slid down quickly. He looked

išavihitapááhi. Ipiitavetanáka. Inííro
at it again, it was low again. He returned quickly in vain. He saw it

veránaka ántá. "Éé, nompariaitenícea." Ipiitanáha.
grow over there. "Ay, I will fall, then." He returned quickly.

Ipiitanáha, yoihaanááti, yoihaanáátiro,
He returned quickly, he followed, he followed them,

yoihaanáátiro, hatáke henokivé, karatáke oicokíni
he followed them, (they) went way up high, (it) totaled its fruit

aká. Otimanáke,
then here [indicating the quantity with a gesture]. They were,

oravé, kitionkakíro, otimanáke, oravé, kiterikíri.
that is, red fruit, they were, that is, orange fruit.

Yoihavétaro, yoihavétaro, ciaciátake.
He followed them in vain, he followed them in vain, (it) swayed and

Ohatáiti, ohatáiti aká,
swayed. It went, it went here [indicating direction],

opicokááka. Oconkantarintákea, oravé,
it turned. Therefore they finished over there, then, that is,

ohokayetakákea ántá. Conkáka oparitáke,
they all landed, then, over there (downriver). All told they fell,

oravé, kimoinaripé aká, máároni, kapičatapááke
that is, all the big round (fruit) here, all, (leaving) a few

kiripé, kiripé. Opicokááka heó:
small, small (fruit). It turned (upriver) *whirr*:

ohokaitantakaríkea kiripekitapáinciri,
therefore they landed, then, those that were small fruit,

kiritapáinciri, orihaniériki. Pákara. Pákara.
that which is kíri fruit, all small. *Patter*. *Patter*.

Aká opícoka iróinti aká, heó, conkááka, conkašitáka:
Here it turned it alone here, *whirr*, finished, simply finished:

omaamaanetakotakánta, oicokipé, oparítake kimókiri
they were swung over there, all the fruit, they fell the big fruit

ántá. Aká opícoka šimpó
over there [pointing downriver]. Here it turned the cupola of leaves

íro okarahéme, pákara.
it as if to break, *patter*.

Piapááka, ineahatíro
(Vulture) returned (to the ground), he suddenly saw it

ošavihítahi. Ári ikisakamaritánaka. "Háokampa
it was low again. Well he, the demon, became angry. "How

nonkanteroriyé?" Ári ikantiríri yóra ašáninka,[16]
will I do it?" Well he said to him there he there our fellow

"Pitoirokariyaavé." Yaméniro
tribesman, "Careful that you don't fell him, then!" He looked at it

ošavihitapááhi. Imaheréti, imaheréti. "Páitakea mééka,
it was low again. He was silent, he was silent, "Why, then, now,

óra nacipetantakárori natainataitiroyé?" Hé,
that is, have I worked in vain climbing and climbing it?" Yes,

yaavetáke, ipavetákari ašáninka,
he took in vain, he gave him in vain our fellow tribesman,

ipavetákari ašáninka, "Herové,
he gave him in vain our fellow tribesman, (saying), "Here it is!,

payéro avírori pivánkire." Há, yaméniro.
take it you your seed for planting." Ha, he looked at it.

"Pimpéna ošéiki. Nompankitérota nári." Háiteti,
"Give me plenty. I will plant it now I." (He) finally went,

ipankivétaro. "Háoka ohíta oránki óká?"
he planted it in vain. "What is it called it, that is, it here?"

"Kíri." "Háá, mééka nompankitéro nári." Irósati,
"Kíri." "Ah, now I will plant it I." And so (he repeated as

he went), "Kiritikikiritikikiritikikiritiki" kiritikitanaincirírakea.
"Kiritikikiritikikiritikikiritiki," which became kiríti ki

there, then. Ipankiyemačevetákaro iriórí,
He, despicable, planted it all in vain he,

ipankiyevetákaro kiríti ki, ikántiro, "Hé, iriotáke
he planted it all in vain kiríti ki, he said, "Yes, that's it

kiríti ki." Ošiokanáiti, yamenavetakáro, "Káári!"
kiríti ki." It grew!, he looked at it in vain, "That's not it!"

Yaitavétaro, yoavetákaro, kepišikítake.
He grabbed it in vain, he ate it in vain, bitter fruit.

Yacipetašitákaro, ipiapiatáka, oravé,
He had worked for nothing, he had returned and returned, that is,

ipankipankitíro.
he had planted and planted. [General laughter.]

Iniimaitapáákero -- ipokavetapááha, yoravé,
On arriving he saw it -- he came again in vain, he there,

pahakerirínta -- iniimaitapáátiro čeešipátini.
he who had nailed him over there -- on arriving he saw it bearded with

Ikánti, "Kamáári, ihecititakénaro kamári
thorns. He said, "Demon, he wiped his arse on it for me the demon

tisonivé. Háokakea nonkantaheárikea? Tekáci ankantahéro,
Vulture! How, then, will I be, then? There is no way for us to

kovenkatánaka, oceetanákenta."[17]
do it, (it) has become fearsome, it has become thorny over there."

[K.: Ihecitanakéro?] Ihecikamaritanakéro.
[He wiped his arse on it?] He, the demon, wiped his arse on it.

"Nohecitérota irónea káári ošinetántana
"I will wipe my arse on it now it, now, because it did not grant me

náye okáákihi." "Té inintakayetempi.
to take (its fruit) close by." "He didn't want to let you.

Aitákenea ipeevetákempi óicoki." [K.: Ipankitakerómekea
So it is, now, he gave you in vain its seed." [If he had planted

irióri encipáiteta . . . ?] Mm, éiro ihecitiromékea,
it, then, he right away . . . ?] Yes, if he had not wiped

his arse on it, then, háá, onkiritimotakerímekea
yes, it would have been kíri with him, then,

iriórí.
he.

Máároni, yoravé, pihíri, pihírika iriórí, Narorivé.
All, that is, Bat, Bat here he, "I (want)!

Nárori, pimpéna nári." Yaritakamarivetanáka
I (want), give me I." He, the demon, flew quickly in vain

irintikea, máro, máro, máro, máro, máro, máro. "Háoka
he alone, then, *sound of beating bat's wings*. "What

ohítara?" -- yaavetapáinta copíre --
is it called there?" -- he quickly took in vain *breaking off* --

"Háoka ohíta oránki?" "Kirivé." "Háá, kíri, kíri,"
"What is it called it, that is?" "Kíri!" "Ah, kíri, kíri,"

ári ipeakotáharo. "Háokampa ohitarankiyé?" "Oravé,
well he forgot it. "What is it called, that is?" "That is,

potóki." Yoantaitarórí potókikea.
pótó fruit." Therefore he habitually eats it pótó fruit, then.

Hé, ipankimačevetakáro iriórí. Ineátiro,
Yes, he, despicable, planted it in vain he. He suddenly saw it,

pašíni okantanáke, potokitánake. Irósati yoáitaro.
another it became, (it) became pótó fruit. And so he eats it

Áitake inintakayetanakéri.
habitually. So it is someone made him like (it).

Icarontakovetakárota, "Natočé, natočé, natočé,
He had made music for it, thereupon, in vain, "Natočé, natočé, natočé,

natočé, natočé,"[18] išonkavetakáro.
natočé, natočé," he had gone (flying) around it in vain.

Yaperovére, oravé, impampoyakotéro iraanteárime
His disagreeable music, that is, he will sing it therewith to take

kíri iriórі. "Natočé, natočé, natočé," -- ineáne
(it) of his Kíri he. "Natočé, natočé, natočé," -- his language

iriórі - "natočé, natočé. Mééka náye kíri. Háokampa
he -- "natočé, natočé. Now I will take kíri. What

ohitaránki?" "Kirivé." "Ahá, kíri." Árі yaavetanahároi,
is it called, that it?" "Kíri!" "Aha, kíri." So he carried it

"Kíri, kíri, kíri," -- opeimotapáákari --
off in vain, (saying), "Kíri, kíri, kíri," -- it changed with him --

"pototopototopococopococo, há. Há, irotakémpa póto.[19] Hé,
"pototopototopococopococo, ah. Ah, it is it, surely, póto. Yes,

iriotáke." Apacakíro ipeakotanahároi iriórі.
that's it." Since then he forgot it he.

Tekáci pašíni áácine ivánkire,
There was no other taker (of) his seed for planting,

tekáci. Apároni yaayaavetákaro, yoravé,
none. (Just) one he had taken and taken it in vain, he there,

yaayaavetákaro tisóni, kamári, iráyeme
he had taken and taken it in vain Vulture, the demon, he had wanted

ivánkire . . . mm, iponeaitavétake
to take his seed for planting . . . mm, he (also) sallied forth

kamári pihíri. Árі ikárati kantavetáinčari
quickly in vain the demon Bat. Well they totaled those who did

apíte, aacinéme ivánkire.
in vain two, the takers now (of) their seed for planting.

[K.: Tekáci pašíni?] Tekáci pašíni. Árі okárati.
[There was no other?] There was no other. Well it is

Árі okaratíkea mééka.
finished. Well it is finished, then, now.

We possess two good accounts of Machiguenga beliefs paralleling the events in the Campa *Avíreri* cycle. These are of considerable interest when compared with the Campa materials, and are given in full in Appendix 2 (pages 563-567) in English translation.

NOTES

[1]This view is shared with the Machiguengas, for whom Padre Cenitagoya ([1943]:194) expressed the matter aptly: "The Machiguengas are not totemists, i.e., they do not admit that they arose from animals, but rather they believe that many animals have men as their ancestors, by the action of a superior being."

[2]The Machiguengas also have this belief. Pereira

(1944a:85n.) reported for the Machiguengas a belief in "Yavireri," who was a "maleficent being who transformed human beings into animals." Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 97) reported the following: "Formerly all the animals were Machiguengas, say the savages of this tribe. The good animals were blown on and transformed by the powerful Machiguenga *Yabíreri tasorinchi*; the bad ones, on the contrary, owe their conversion to the blowing of the Evil Principle *Kientibákori*."

[3]This reiteration suggests a long period of residence.

[4]The fruit trees enumerated here as having been created by *Avíreri* are wild, not cultivated.

[5]The picture evoked here is that of *Avíreri* trudging along, stooped over and looking at the ground, with his grandson on his back looking around in all directions.

[6]Questions and statements interjected by Campas listening to these narrations are included if significant, in brackets. In each case the speaker is identified by initial.

[7]The bird *Steatornis caripensis* does indeed have "whiskers," and to that extent resembles human beings.

[8]The Campas, however, do not extract salt from this spring, nor is there any indication that they ever did so.

[9]This minor masterpiece of detection, slurred over by the present narrator, is more clearly expressed in another version of the same myth I collected.

[10]Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 94) reported the following Machiguenga belief: "The red and yellow colors that some birds exhibit come from their having painted themselves with the blood or bile respectively of *Yabíreri tasorinchi*."

[11]That is, the birds bathed one after another in the pool of *Kíri*'s blood.

[12]The color *kamára(ri)* is considered ugly by the Campas (see above, page 299, note 9).

[13]That is, they kept *Kíri* under surveillance.

[14]Poking the fire is to increase the heat.

[15]*Háiriki* is the name of a tree; it is uttered here out of pleasure while eructing, as a humorous note.

[16]This personage is not identified.

[17]The trunk of this species of palm is sheathed in rings of long, sharp thorns, which makes it impossible to obtain the fruit by climbing the trunk. These thorns, as the text recounts, came into existence as the direct consequence of *tisóni*'s contemptuous action.

[18]*Natočé* has no meaning. The intention may be to imitate the twittering of bats. The narrator repeats the *pihíri* incident here to add some details.

[19]*Kiríti* was identified as the inchaui palm (*Bactris concinna*); *pótó* was identified as the ojé tree (*Ficus anthelminthica*).

OTHER TRANSFORMATION MYTHS

> "The whole animal world, once we have begun to take notice, strikes us as humanity disguised and bewitched. . . . Oh, indeed, men and animals are closely related! "
>
> —Thomas Mann, *Confessions of Felix Krull*

Most of the transformations that shaped the world into its present form were brought about by *Avíreri*. Others were effected by *Pává*, the Sun. Still others occurred spontaneously. And, finally, certain transformations are recognized by the Campas as having taken place, but under unknown circumstances. Below are instances of spontaneous transformation, and of transformations by unknown causes. Individually they are of minor importance, but they represent two major kinds of transformations incorporated within Campa cosmological thought.

Oánto

This tale was narrated by Šaríti's wife, Komémpe. It is an entertainment that relates the manner of origin of the frog *oánto*. The Campa who became *oánto* was guilty of improper behavior, and his transformation came as a form of punishment, of poetic justice. According to the text, the man *Oánto* made a practice of murdering his fellow revelers at masato festivals where he was a guest. When a group of Campa men went in search of the killer, *Oánto* fell in with

them and, concealing his identity, gave them quantities of fish to eat so they would sleep soundly, their heads resting on stones (which Campas occasionally use as pillows). His intent was to crush their heads as they slept, but they were suspicious and only simulated sleep. When he attempted to carry out his plan, they arose and accused him. At this critical moment of disclosure, *Oánto* was spontaneously transformed into a frog, and the piles of his fish into driftwood.

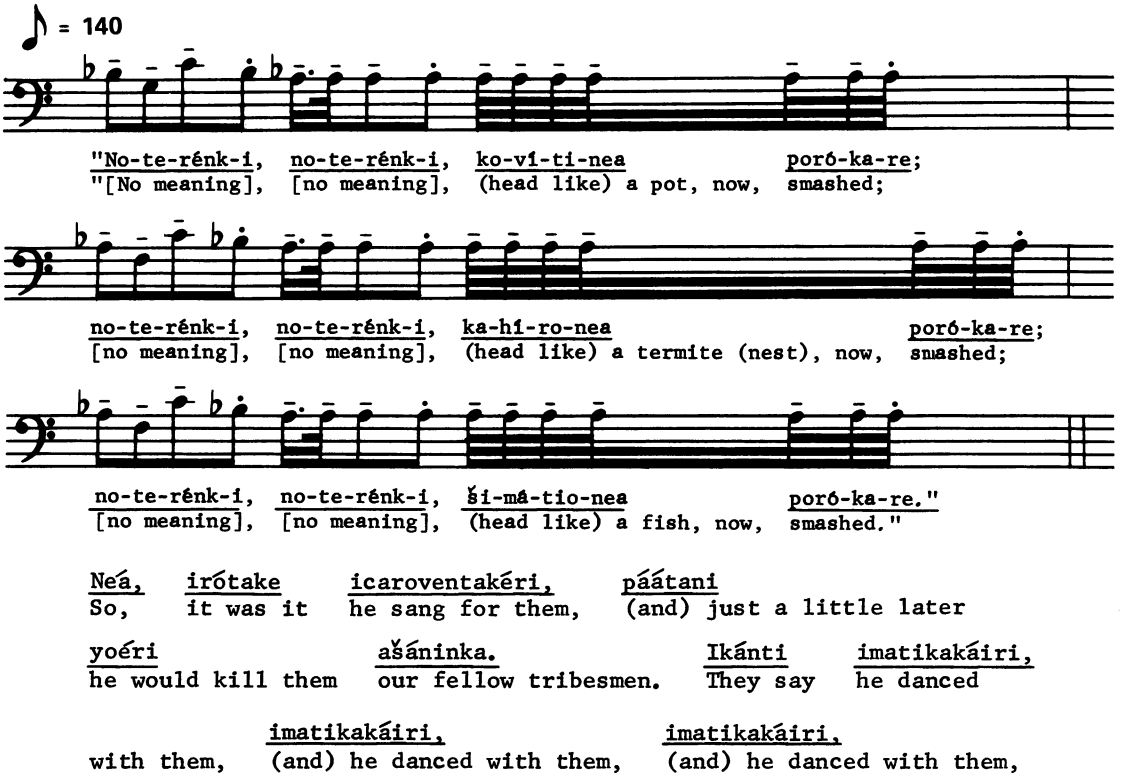
Yatíriti pahérani iriórí. Yoayetíri,
He was human long ago he. He killed them all,

yoravé, ašáninka pahérani. Pahérani yoayetírini
they there, our fellow tribesmen long ago. Long ago he killed them

iriórí. Inéétiri, árí ipeaakáári
all then he. He saw them, well he made them disappear

ašáninka; inéétiri, árí ipeaakáári.
our fellow tribesmen; he saw them, well he made them disappear.

"Narové, narové náinti."[1]
"(It is) I, indeed, (it is) I, indeed, I alone."

Óra, pampoyáke, imatikakaapáiri irínti oántora.
It there, (he) sang, he danced with them he there Oánto there.

Neá, irótake icaroventakéri, páátani
So, it was it he sang for them, (and) just a little later

yoéri ašáninka. Ikánti imatikakáiri,
he would kill them our fellow tribesmen. They say he danced

imatikakáiri, imatikakáiri,
with them, (and) he danced with them, (and) he danced with them,

imatikakáiri, Ántá yaanakéri, yaanakéri
(and) he danced with them. Over there he carried them, he carried

ántá. Ári ipeaakáákari, ári ipeaakáákari,
them over there. Well he made them disappear, well he made them

yóra . . .
disappear, he there . . .

"Pirahevé." "Teevé aneáheri yorankivé, haokaríka
"Drink!" "He isn't to be seen! he, that is!, where might

ikenakevé, nošinkitakaakaríinea." Ántá yoákeri,
he have gone!, I was drunk with him, now." Over there he had killed

inošikanakéri, imanáitiri ántá. Imanáitiri
him, he had hauled him, he had hidden him over there. He hid him

ántá, iponeááka ipiitavetapááha, "Páita, páitakea
over there, it came about he returned quickly, "What, what, then,

yorankiyé? Iroákera nomatikakaavetaríni. Iroákera
he, that is? Recently I was dancing with him. Recently

nomatikakaavetaríni aká, ári ipeimotákena."
I was dancing with him here, well he disappeared from me."

Išaninkapéra irióri, "Kearióm[p]aye?
All his fellow tribesmen there they, "Is it true?

Tekáme ipeapininteáhi." "Teevé, aitákenea nošinkitakááriri
He never used to disappear." "No!, so it is, now, I was drunk with

aká. óra, nomatikakáiri náinti." Hatáhi
him there here, that is, I was dancing with him I alone." (He) went

iríinti oánto, hatáhi inámpiki.
he alone Oanto, (he) went home.

Íro ikémahi ántá peárinci, óra,
So he heard again over there masato, that is,

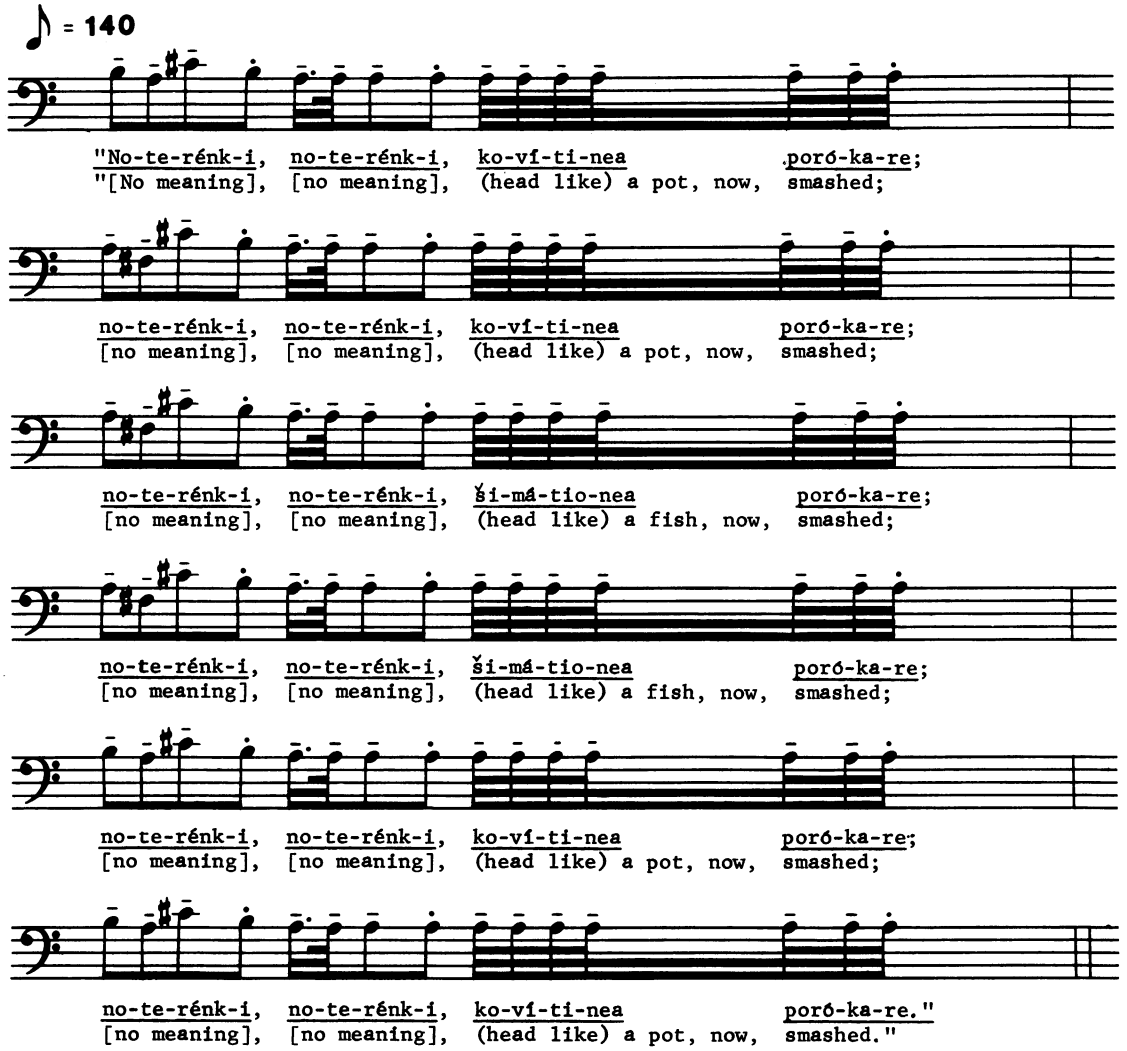
iširontahéeta, iyoapááhi irióri.
they all were laughing, (so) he emerged again he.

Iyoapááhi irióri, yoráve, oánto. "Avírosa?"
He emerged again he, he there, Oánto. "(Is it) you?"

"Narové." "Nošinkitatiavé." "Aríio? Pišinkiteavé."
"(It is) I, indeed." "I'm drunk!!" "Yes? Get drunk!"

"Pikisakotapayanatéémi." "Ariové." Irááke, irááke, irááke,
"Come to my aid!" "All right!" He drank, he drank, he drank,

irááke,	irapááke,	irapááke,	arío.	Šó,
he drank,	he drank,	he drank,	enough.	*Look at him go!*,

ikantakóitea,	imatikakaapááheri.
he will pass the time,	he will dance with them.

Yoáhi	ašáninka,	áisati	yáánahi,
He killed again	our fellow tribesman,	again	he carried again,

imanáátiri	ántá,	imanahátiri.	Čókakea,
he hid him	over there,	he went and hid him.	Here (they) were, then,

yoaitakéri	kaváko.	"Paitampayé	ipeaipeatantákari,
they waited for him	silently looking.	"Why	do they disappear

yoravé, nošaninkayé?"
and disappear, they there, my kinsmen?"

Ári iháti. Ára iciotaavaetahééti.
Well they went. There they all were illuminating (with

Ivééraka kacirinkáiteri antóó, citénitea,
torches). He was located the sun way over there, (it was)

ineáátiri, išitiatapááka
dark, then, (when) suddenly they saw him, he was walking along the

irióri. "Hánika yóntá? Iriotakeyááta
bank he. "Who (is) he over there? It is he, surely,

šinkitakotapinitáeri ántá." "Páitasa pantíri?"
he who always gets drunk with us over there." "What are you

"Tekacivé, nociotaaváeti, oánto."
doing?" "Nothing!, we are illuminating (in search for) Oánto."

Néa, iriotáke oantapinitáciri.[2] "Há, ariové,
You see, it was he he who always killed. "Ha, good enough!,

maaronivé, aciaciovaetahééteta máároni," ári ikempeákari.
everyone!, we will all illuminate now everyone," well he joined

Té imáyehi té imáyehi, té imáyehi,
them. They didn't sleep, they didn't sleep, they didn't sleep,

té imáyehi, té imáyehi.[3] Ikántiri --
they didn't sleep, they didn't sleep. He said to them --

iciovetáitate -- "Téé?" "Teevé." Ipitavetanáha,
they illuminated in vain -- "No (sign)?" "None!" They returned

iciovetáita išaninkapé,
(to the search) in vain, they illuminated in vain all his fellow

téé. "Téé?" "Teevé."
tribesmen, no (sign). "No (sign)?" "None!"

"Paatatiámi, nokicatáiteta. Nokicatáiteta,
"Just a moment, I am going to fish now. I am going to fish now,

pimaanakitiéri encipáite." Hm, háiteti. Pérani,
(so that) you will sleep right away." Hm, (he) went. Long time,

pérani, pérani, ineavahatirivé.
long time, long time, (and then) they suddenly saw him (returning)!

Iveraitakéri išimaténi, ipiotaitapáákeri. "Herivé,
He amassed them his fish then, on arriving he piled them up. "Here!,

niómpari, pitašiváete šimavé, pimaanakéta
my friends, roast all (these) fish, you will sleep thereupon

encipáite. Pitašenírika poasanotanakeáya kacíni,
right away. If you are hungry eat well, then, intensely,

poasanotanákea, pimáánake." Yoáka, yoáka, yoáka, yoáka,
eat well, sleep." They ate, they ate, they ate, they ate,

yoáka, yoáka, yoáka. Ikántikea ašáninka,
they ate, they ate, they ate. He said, then, our fellow tribesman,

"Páitam[p]a ikantantééri, 'Poasanótea, pimaaperotanáketa.'?"
"Why does he say to us, 'Eat well, sleep soundly then.'?"

Arío. Yaayetáiti mápi, itintayétari. "Paapáinteya
Enough. They all went and took stones, their pillows. "Bring

avirorivé mápi -- óra, háokampa
quickly, now, all of you stones -- that is, how

ohítari? -- pitinateári." Ári yaapáinti,
is it called? -- on which to rest your heads." Well they brought

yoáke kaváko, yoáke,
(the stones) quickly, they waited silently alert, they waited,

yoáke.
they waited.

Neáátiri. Té! Irótake yaména[ke],
(He) suddenly saw them. No (movement)! It is it he looked,

yamenahátiri. Yamenahátiri, inesaankaitiríkea,
he went to look at them. He went to look at them, he went to peer

yóra, yamatavitiríkea, imaciokamampeáka.
at them, then, they there, they fooled him, then, they closed their

Íro, oraté, ipiapááka,
eyes, pretending (to be asleep). So, that is, he returned,

ihitimááke. Oraté, yaavetapááka iróinti
he believed (they) were sleeping. It there, he took in vain it alone

mápi ipičaantearirírme. Áitake, óra,
a stone with which he was going to hammer them. So it was, that is,

itinaitaitanákakea irínti ipičeeterírakea.
he sat up in a hurry, then, he alone he who was going to be hammered

Oravé. "Arim[p]ayé pikantariyé? Avirotákem[p]a
there, then. That is! "Can it be you are he? It is you, surely,

mééka, oravé, oapinitakériri nošaninkapéni.
now, that is, he who has been killing them all my former kinsmen.

Te[y]áci, pikantirikeári, há, 'Nomatikakáákeri,
What is not, what you say, then, there, ha, 'I was dancing with him,

nomatikakáákeri,' avirotakeyáátakea oákeri.
I was dancing with him,' it was you surely, then, (who) killed them.

Pikem[p]evetakéna nárori. Ariompayé
You (tried to do) likewise, in vain, to me I. Surely

pikántari. Te[y]áci pikamécate." Máároni katiyayanákani
you are he. You are no good." Everyone stood up then

išaninkapáera tánkore, tánkore. "Camapicaterivé.
all his fellow tribesmen there *getting up*. "Let's go away from

Iriotakeyááci oaarantayetáeri yóká."
him! It is he, surely, he who killed some of us he here."

Piotáča išimatéra, ári opeánaka
(They) were still piled up his fish there, so they were

samákara íro, peánaka,
transformed (into) rotten wood it, were transformed (into),

óra, amárito porókini, oravé, išimatéra
that is, driftwood fragmented, that is, his fish there

ipiotakerîra, té aneanahéri. Peánaka,
that he had piled up there, no longer to be seen. (They) were

irósati ipeantaetakári. Peánaka
transformed, it also therefore he (Oánto) was transformed. (They)

amaritóni. Aivetakatákea
were transformed (into) driftwood. So it began, now, then,

išinkitakaavetári, yoáke ašáninka,
he got drunk with them, in vain, he killed our fellow tribesmen,

yoáke, ipeakáákeri, ipeakáákeri. Irótake
he killed, he made them disappear, he made them disappear. It is it

iyotimátake, irósati iyotantaetakárikea. "Iriotakevé
they began to know, it also therefore they knew, then. "It is he!

oakerîri." Há, ikantaitanákem[p]a irióri, irósati
he who killed them." Ha, (so) he was, surely he, and so

ipeantaetanakarîkea, irósati yoantotantanáka.
therefore he was transformed, then, and so therefore he became oánto.

"Oánto pipeaperoiteavé." Hm, aneantavaheáriri
"(To) oánto be transformed for good and all." Yes, therefore we

peaperotanáka.
see him totally transformed.

Iponeaheetahákea irínti ašáninka,
They all sallied forth, then, they alone our fellow tribesmen,

ihatayahíni, yananinkayanahíni inámpiki,
they all went then, they all walked by night then to their homes,

hatayahíni. Yamenavetanáhari. "Háokam[p]a
(they) all went then. They looked for it in vain. "Where (are)

išimatéranki?" Irovetáka, irótake, piotanahačári,
his fish, that is?" It had been they, it was they, what was piled up,

amárito porókira. "Iriotakevé šíma avakariránki
driftwood fragmented there. "It is they! the fish which we ate,

yóká. Téé, peánaka.
that is, they here. No, (they) have become transformed.

Amaritotanáka." Haitetánake. Té ipokaháte
(They) have become driftwood." (They) finally went. They did not

ašáninka.
come (again) our fellow tribesmen.

Ikantapáákero iriórí ihína,
He (one of them) said to her when he arrived he his wife,

"Heróketi ipeántari, yoravé, akaratiránki asáviki,
"Here, then, therefore he disappeared, he there, (from) our midst,

neotiniránki. Neá, iriotáke oakeríri,
that is, my former nephew, that is. So, it was he he who killed

yoavetákena nárori oánto. Iriotakeyáme oakáeri
him, he tried to kill me me Oánto. It was he, now, he who

oánto, ipeantákari neótini.
killed us Oánto, therefore he disappeared my former nephew.

Akantiríkea, háoka imatikakáiri? 'Šó,
We said to him, then, where did he dance with him? '*Look at it

nokantakotakári. Noaširetakotanakarivé,
(the time) go!*, I was (passing time) with him. I am very heartsick

ayomparinirânki. Nomatikakaitiríni.
for him, our former friend, that is. I was dancing with him.

Ipiimotákena, išinkivéntaka.' Neá iriotake
He disappeared from my presence, he was drunk.' Ha, it was he

oákeri."
(who) killed him."

Ári okárati. Ári okárati mééka.
Well it is finished. Well it is finished now.

Oáti

The tale of *Oáti*, as related here by *Šariti*, is more typical than that of *Oánto* because, instead of elaborating an accidental linguistic association, it serves to explain certain natural phenomena in terms of an appropriate mythological origin. Papaya trees grow around Campa settlements, though the Campas do not plant them, nor do they recognize that these plants spring from discarded seeds. Instead, the Campas credit the animal *oáti* (the tayra, *Galictis barbara*)—the white-throated variety—with cultivating these plants because it is so often encountered climbing them to get the fruit. Its status as a cultivator thus established, *oáti* is further believed to have cleared the forest for cultivation in days before its transformation from human form, and the grasslands found in Campa territory today are what became of *oáti*'s cleared fields. The myth of *oáti*'s transformation thus provides an explanation for the existence of these distinctive grasslands. Once again the central figure of the myth is guilty of improper behavior, gluttonous greed in this case. Begging seed of his sister to plant maize, *Oáti* wastes the seed by popping it and eating it directly. His sister becomes suspicious, spies on him, then boldly comes forward to accuse him of wasting her seed. Once again, at the critical moment of disclosure, the wrongdoer is transformed.[4]

Otimantayetárika mééka aneayetíro, oravé,
Therefore they all are here now we see them all, that is,

kešitacíri, irótake iroáne pérani. Irótake
what are grasslands, it is they his gardens long ago. It is it

išinkinetaríni, oravé, kešipikitanáinciri,[5]
what was his maize formerly, that is, that which became kešípiki,

irótake išinkinetavétari, iroákera icakayevetárokea.
it is it what began as his maize, recently he had begun to plant

it all, then. [K.: Opeašitanakákea?] Opeašitanakákea
[It transformed itself, then?] It transformed

itself, then, pérani iroákera ipeánaka, yóra,
long ago (when) recently he was transformed, he there,

oátira.
oáti there.

Piapiatáča, oravé, ikántiro
(He) who returned and returned, that is, he said to her

iríciro -- haokaríka ohíta iríciro?[6] --,
his sister -- how might she have been named his sister? --,

"Cío, pimpéna pišínkine. Noncáketa noáneki,
"Sister, give me your maize. I will plant in my garden,

tekérata onconkeáta. Nocakavétaka kapíčahi, conkapááka."
it is not yet finished now. I began to plant a little, (but it) ran

Opavetavakári, čékiri, čékiri,
out." She gave to him in vain, *sound of kernels when poured*,

yaapáintati, piánaka. Tekéra osamaníhi
he took quickly, (and) returned (home). It was not yet a little

oneahatíri. "Cío, conkapááha,
while (when) she suddenly saw him again. "Sister, (it) ran out

tekéra nonconkatanteáro noáne. Pimpáhena
again, therefore I have not yet finished it my garden. Give me again

pišínkine. Tekáci noncakahéri." Opitavetaváhari.
your maize. I do not have with which to plant." She gave him again

Piánaka.
quickly in vain. (He) returned (home).

Okánti, "Páitam[p]a, tém[p]a ošéiki nopákeri
She said, "What, isn't it much I gave him

šínki? Ošéiki nopákeri, tekérame inconkatanteáro
maize? Much I gave him, (but) he has not yet finished it, now,

iroáne. Háá, nopavahíri áisati. Arivé nohátake
his garden. Ha, I gave him again. Very well I will go

nonošikašitaiteárita, namenaiteríta
I will just sneak up on him, now, I will look at him, now,

haokaríka okárati antavé icákake." [K.: Ohítikea
how much might way over there he have planted." [She believed,

icakapéroti?] Ohítati
then, (that) he really was planting?] She believed (that)

icakaperotáti. Okánta, okánta, neapáátiri
he really was planting. She went on, she went on, (she) suddenly

-- pokaivéétaci tók, tók, tók, tók, tók,
saw him -- who was putting in the hot ashes *sound of popping corn*,

mihamihatačákea. Inníronta otonkayetanáke
who was hop-hopping, then. He saw it over there it all exploded

ántá, kantáci irióri, "Ónkona, ónkona, ónkona, ónkona, ónkona,
over there, who said he, "Ónkona, ónkona, ónkona, ónkona, ónkona,

ónkona, ónkona."[7] Tók, tók, tók, tók, oaváinča.
ónkona, ónkona." Pop, pop, pop, pop, who ate (them as they came

"Hää, ikántiri háihi, aravé, 'Pimpéna
flying). "Ha, what he said my brother, that is, 'Give me

pišínkine,' há, iriotáke, yoatiaroyääci, noneaitiríkea
your maize,' ha, it is he, he is eating it surely, I see him, then,

mééka." Há, oneáitiri, opianáha.
now." Ha, she saw him, she returned (home).

Opónea opiašitanákari áisati. Irósati
She sallied forth to return to him again. It also

ompeanteári. Okánta oneapaahatíri,
therefore she will transform him. It seems she suddenly saw him again,

pokaitáciri, hireáci išínkine,
he who was putting in the hot ashes, who was husking his maize,

híre, híre, híre, híre, itašipiokitáke.
husk, *husk*, *husk*, *husk*, he roasted a pile of kernels.

[K.: Irókea ašitačári šínki - iróinti irícirora?
[She, then, she who owned the maize she alone his sister

] Iroitem[p]ákea ašítača. Okánta oneapáátiri
there?] She surely, then, who owned. It seems she suddenly saw him

pokaitáci iroanékinta. [K.: Koráke.
who was putting in the hot ashes in his garden there. [Watch out!

] Mm. Okahemakotákeri, "Háihi, piconkakéro
here (she) comes.] Yes. She called to him, "Brother, have you

poáne?" Omincaroaitirím[p]akea, irósati
finished it your garden?" She frightened him, surely, then, and so

ipeantanáka oáti.
therefore he was transformed (to) oáti.

Okánta išínkine pióki. Iroákera
It was (left) his maize a pile of kernels. Recently

okaratavetapááka išínkine aká,
it had come to be (this high) [gesturing] his maize here,

šitekiééreki, ošiokayevetáka, óra,
worthless, small, it all had grown in vain, it there,

icakayevetákari kapíčahi. Okenáitake,
all that he had planted in vain a little. It extended (in this

opeánaka, irósati
direction) [gesturing], it was transformed, and so

okešitantaitanáka. [K.: Iríome peanakérori
therefore it became grasslands. [He, now, he who transformed it

pahérani kešitacíri?] Irío, kamári,[8] ipeašitánaka.
long ago what are grasslands?] He, the demon, he was transformed

Tekáci peaveteárine. Omincaroakeríra
by himself. There was no one who transformed him. She frightened him

iríciro. [K.: Há, omincaroašitákari?]
there his sister. [Ah, she simply frightened him?]

Omincaroašitákari iríciro. Áita[ke] ipašiventavetanáka
She simply frightened him his sister. So it was he was ashamed

ináveta. Ikenáitake. Okahemakotaváitiri, "Oáti pimpeáitetea,
he was. He went away. She called to him, "(To) oáti you will be

háihi. Éiro poaitetáharo šínki.
transformed finally, brother. You won't eat it again maize.

Mapóčam[p]a poáitea."
Papaya, surely, you will eat."

Irósati yašivincaitantákaro imapóčate irióri.
And so therefore he is owner of it his papaya he.

[K.: Irosatíkea yašitantanakáro irióri?] Mm.
[And so, then, therefore he is owner of it he?] Yes.

Irósati yašitantanakáro mapočapé. Íro inííro
And so therefore he is owner of it all papaya. So he sees it

oánci, íro inííro oánci, hokayetapáinci.
a garden, so he sees it a garden, (it is he) who comes and leaves

Íro inííro oánci, hokayetapáinci,
all (the papaya seeds). So he sees it a garden, (it is he) who

pákara, pákara,
comes and leaves all (the papaya seeds), *sound of falling seeds*,

aneantaróri ošiokáyeti. [K.: Arioté,
therefore we see them (papaya trees) they all grow. [Yes, of

paménero mééka óká, arotakémpa pankitíro?]
course, look at it now it here, is it we (who) planted it?]

Mm. [K.: Iriotákekea irínti ašítaro.] Kempetačaríra,
Mm. [It is he, then, he alone (who) owns it.] Which is like,

	oravé,	iroyé	iraakayetanáke,	ataitapááke,	yaapáinti
there,	that is,	it, indeed,	they all ripen,	(he) climbs,	he grabs

copíre.	[K.:	Yaapáintati.	]	Yaapáinti	copíre.
breaking off.	[	He grabs quickly.	]	He grabs	*breaking off*.

Té inkenkešireanahéro	iroaheáro	šínki,	yoavetániri	
He has forgotten	to eat it	maize,	which he ate formerly	

pérani.
long ago.

Mm,	ári	okárati,	nokemakótiri	oáti
Mm,	well	it is finished,	(what) I heard about him	oáti

irióri,	iráši	iyenkicári.	Té ošeikiperotasanóte.	
he,	his	his story.	Not really very much.	

Several other accounts of spontaneous transformation, as well as accounts of transformation with cause unknown, were collected by me, and are given here in summary form.

1. *Maníro* (deer) was a Campa long ago (*ašáninka pérani*) who used to go out hunting. So poor a hunter that he never bagged anything, he would cut off strips of his own flesh to smoke, bring back, and give to others. His fellows spied on him finally, and then came forward as he was engaged in his secret activities. For shame, he became transformed spontaneously into *maníro*. (Informant: Šaríti.)

2. The dung beetle *tivíto* was also a Campa long ago (*ašáñinka pérani*), married to the sister of the glowworm *piróni. Tivíto* always refused manioc when it was offered to him, but when his wife returned from performing a natural function he would disappear, and was found eating her dung. On one occasion *piróni* and *tivíto* went out to collect the edible termites called *kacíkori*. When it grew dark *piróni* returned home, using his lights to see, but *tivíto* refused to leave until he had amassed all the *kacíkori* he desired. *Piróni* was sent back by his sister, wife of *tivíto*, to look for him, and found him hunched over with his face covered. It seems *tivíto* had tried to return home in the dark and had banged his head everywhere, producing the black marks now seen on this vile insect. He was now ashamed to show his face. Suddenly he started flying as he does now, converted to his present form, leaving his *kacíkori* behind. (Informant: Šaríti.)

3. Fire was first made by the toad *mašéro*, then in human form. *Mašéro* swallowed the fire, leaving none for the rest. The squirrel *méiri*, also in human form at that time, thereupon made fire with a fire drill, using achiote (*Bixa orellana*) wood. This fire was stronger, and when *mašéro* swallowed it his throat was burned and he was thereupon transformed into a toad. How *méiri* was changed to his present form is not known. (Informant: Šaríti.)[9]

4. The insect *mašícari* (miser), also called *mašitiáirikiti*, was *ašáninka pérani* who feigned sleep whenever a visitor came so as not to give food. He was transformed by an unknown agent. Today this insect draws its limbs close when touched. Anyone who touches this insect often, will become stingy. (Information obtained at *Ošeráto*).

5. *Pihíri*, the bloodsucking bat, was formerly a Campa who bit his wife at night. It is not known how he was transformed. (Informant: Šaríti.)[10]

6. When toads and frogs sing a great deal it is because they are having a drunken festival. They were all *ašáninka pérani*, in the form of both men and women. The circumstances of their transformation are not known. (Informant: Šaríti.)[11]

7. The crab *ošéro* was formerly a Campa woman who made sweet maize beer. This explains the sweet flavor of crabmeat. It is not

known who transformed her. (Informant: Šaríti.)[12]

8. On the upper Perené River, just below *Manitipánko*, there is, in the water on the left side, a rock called *Irošéroteni*. This rock was formerly a large crab that overturned rafts. It is not known how the transformation occurred. (Information obtained on the Perené.)

9. We were tricked by *samáni* (*Coelogenus paca*), when he was in human form, into exchanging molars on a loan basis, so that he could eat hard food. This left *samáni* with the good molars that once were ours, and left us with his inferior molars. (Informants: Heváyoki and Komémpe.)[13]

NOTES

[1]With these words *Oánto* would proclaim his arrival at a festival. The text of the song that follows, like that appearing in another of these narrations (below, page 452), is syllabified in accordance with the notes. Musical transcriptions are by Mr. E. C. Culver.

[2]Note that the first four letters of this word, comprising the morphemes *-o-* (to kill) and *-ant-* (therefore) are the same as the first four letters of the word *oánto*. Here, in this tenuous linguistic association, we see the probable reason for attributing to this frog a homicidal past. There is, as far as I am aware, no other possible explanation for the transformation of the murderer in this myth or fable into, of all things, a frog.

[3]That is, the search party continued deep into the night without sleeping.

[4]Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 92) reported only that in Machiguenga belief *oáti* was formerly a cultivator transformed by "Yabíreri."

[5]*Kešípiki* was described as a wild plant that grows in the grasslands and resembles *ivénki* (*Cyperus piripiri*).

[6]The name of *Oáti*'s sister was later remembered to be *Kentákori*.

[7]*Ónkona* is the setico tree (*Cecropia* sp.). Its name is still repeated while popping corn.

[8]Here the narrator is simply being abusive.

[9]The association here appears to be between fire and the fiery red fur of *méiri*. When land is to be burned over to clear a field for cultivation or some other purpose, the Campas whistle over a cupped hand to summon the wind to spread the fire. But in the Ipoki region there is used in addition a chant, which incorporates the following phrases in various combinations:

Potenéri panírí
Méiri, méiri, méiri, méiri
Otiavánkori

Potenéri panírí means "illuminate your cross-cousin." *Otiavánkori* is a reference to burning. The reiteration of the word *méiri* was explained as signifying something like the following: "Let the fire be red like this squirrel; let the flames rise high like its fur; let the fire consume all, as *méiri* can eat the hardest nut." The wording of this chant is either archaic or esoteric, and it is not known who is being addressed. According to Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 93), the Machiguengas believe that the inventor of fire was transformed by "Yabíreri" into the monkey called "shíto."

[10]Compare García 1935-1937:XVIII, 91-92: "The vampire [bat] was a Machiguenga who bit his wife at night, leaving her entire body bloodied. She had a brother. When he saw the bad treatment that his sister suffered, he made a bow of the *kéiri* palm like those used to shoot arrows, rigged it with a strong cord at great tension, and gave it to her. At night her husband wanted to bite her as was his habit but, deceived, he began to bite the middle of the bow. As it was so taut, the bow broke suddenly and struck the middle of his nose, folding it toward his eyes, in the form that it is seen today. *Yabíreri tasorinchi* blew on him and converted him into a vampire."

[11]Compare García 1935-1937:XVIII, 88: "When the toads and frogs sing a lot it is because they are having a festival, in full drunkenness. Formerly all of them were Machiguenga women whom one day the Evil Principle *Kientibákori* found singing; he blew on them and converted them into toads and frogs."

[12]According to Padre García's report (1935-1937:XVIII, 93), the Machiguengas credit "Yabíreri" with this transformation. Note that this account contradicts the statement by another informant mentioned earlier, that *ošéro* was a fleeing warrior transformed by *Avíreri* when he dived into a stream.

[13]Padre García's account of the origin of human dentition is substantially different (1935-1937:XVIII, 96-97). The remaining accounts of this kind provided by Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 86-97) were not recognized by my informants.

PART 4. CAMPA COSMOGONY: THE SKY

KAŠÍRI, THE MOON: CANNIBAL ORIGINS AND FLIGHT TO THE SKY

I am the Moon-god Áāḥ, the dweller among
the gods. I shall not come to an end.
–Book of the Dead (*Papyrus of Ani*)

In Campa cosmological thought, *Kašíri* (the Moon) is a deity with cannibalistic tendencies who formerly lived on earth as a Campa. The following mythological text describes the events leading up to *Kašíri*'s ascension to the sky. Having taken a number of his nephews on hunting trips only to murder and devour them, *Kašíri* is at last found out, and while the irate father of the victims threatens him at length, *Kašíri* escapes by rising from earth to sky. The narrator notes that *Kašíri* survived to illuminate our nights because his brother-in-law, in the days before revenge killing had become customary, could only vociferate even as *Kašíri* made good his escape. This text was provided by the informant Komítia.

Ikántiri, óra, otímí iríciro -- kempetácimpi
What they say, that is, she lived his sister -- which is

avírori, otímí avírori picíro -- ,
like you you, (when) she lives you your sister -- ,

itímake itíneri, itíneri, itíneri, itíneri,
they lived his nephew, his nephew, his nephew, (and) his nephew,

oséiki. Ikantanáke mééka yóká Sánto iriórí, kašíri --
many. He said now he here Moon he, the moon --

akántiri arórí "kašíri" -- , ikántiro íriciro:
we call him we "the moon" -- , he said to her his sister:

"Cío, pintiankavakenári neóti. Óra, nohatakáyeri
"Sister, send them to me my nephews. It there, I will go with

them (to the forest) nomaaveetakáyeri.
I will sleep (pass) some (days) with them.

Nomaaveetakáyeri ántá." "Háá,"
I will sleep (pass) some (days) with them over there." "Ha,"

okantiríkea iríciro, "paanakerikéti, paanakéri."
she said to him, then, his sister, "take them, then, take them."

Yaanakéri.
He took them.

Árí ántá, imaakáápaakeri. Imaakáákeri
Well over there, he slept with them. He slept with them

ántá. Ihátake. Ikánti -- itiankapáákeri iriórí
over there. They went. He said -- he sent them he

ántá -- , "Neóti, piháte pimovaetapáe kencóri."
over there -- , "Nephews, go call Gray Tinamous (Tinamus

tao)." "Há, ariové." Yakišitakotáke kaníri,
"Yes, good enough!" He roasted in their shells manioc,

isomatakeríri koáhika yoákeri. "Ári,"
what he mixed with them later (when) he killed them. "Well,"

ikantanákekea iriórí kašíri, "ari nohátake nonkenanáke
he said, then, he the moon, "well, I go I will pass

nárori aká."[1]
I here (by this route)."

Ikenanáke iriórí ašáninka iriórí, itíneri
They passed they our fellow tribesmen they, his nephews

iriórí ikenanáke. Há, ipiapááka koáhika,
they they passed (by another route). Well, they returned later,

ikéntake kencóri, yamapáákeri. Há, ipokapááhi
they had shot Gray Tinamou, they brought it. Well, they came

citenihenkáiteni. Ikantapáiri, "Kokí!" Ikantaváhiri,
at dusk. They said to him, "Uncle!" He said to them,

"Neóti, pokáhimpi?" "Pokáhana." "Té, té anééri?"
"Nephews, have you returned?" "We have returned." "No, there was no

(game) sighted?" "Teevé. Té anééri. Té anéérihi
"No! There was no (game) sighted. There was no

(game) sighted aká."[2] "Há, nohááveta," ikantanáke
here." "Well, I went in vain," he said (in turn)

iriórí Sánto aká, "nohaavéita nárori ántá, té anééri.
he Moon here, "I went in vain I over there, there was no

(game) sighted. Mééka, neóti, pimáápee aká, pimáye. Pimáánake,
Now, nephews, sleep here, sleep. Sleep,

éirokea pisakitanakéci. Encipáite pimaaheetanáke. Há.
don't, then, awaken. Right away you all sleep. Ha.

Tekácini aká paamayári aká."
There is nothing here for you to fear here."

Imáánake, há, yaitarókea óra
They slept, ha, he grabbed it quickly, then, it there,

icekantakaríri, óra, ikántiri iyariváte[3] irióri.
with which he cut them, it there, what they call his club he.

Yáákero, šírí. Imáánake. Iposakéri
He grabbed it, *zip*. They were sleeping. He hit him (a nephew)

aká icánoki cátí. Yáitari pašíni,
here in his neck clean through. He grabbed him quickly the other

(nephew), ipošitári tók. Áá. Ikánta yoamáákeri,
he hit him quickly *wham*. Ah. It seems he killed them,

há. Yaitaríkea. Itotitári, išinkotákeri.
eh. He grabbed them quickly, then. He cut them up, he smoked them.

Yoákari, yoákari icípa. Okárati imááke aká.
He ate him, (and) he ate him the other. It totaled he slept here

[counting off fingers]. Imááke, imááke, imááke, imááke.
He slept (four days in the forest).

Héró ipokantáhari óká.
Here it is [indicating fifth finger], thereupon he came.

Ipokapááhi. Ikantavetapaaharókea irícíro,
He came (back). He said to her, then, in vain his sister,

"Pineavahírimpa neóti? Há, yohokáitana ántá."
"Have you seen them my nephews? Well, they left me over there."

Tekáci iramapááhi iriórí yóra Sánto.[4] Ipokašitapááha.
He brought nothing he he there Moon. He merely came.

Okantavakeríkea irórí irícíro: "Háokame
She said to him, then, she his sister: "Where, now, (are)

pitíneri mééka, háihi, aká?" "Ainíro ántá,
your nephews now, brother, here?" "They are over there,

nohokáitiri ántá. Irótake káári nopokitánta,
I left them over there. It is it therefore I did not come,

nokahemayevétari ántá. Irórika itimpineáke.
I was calling vainly for them all over there. Surely they got lost.

Iriórí itimpineáke ántá, nokahemavetáhari ántá,
They they got lost over there, I called them in vain over there,

te anééri, té akemahíri. Mééka nopianáke
they were not seen, they were not heard. Now I will return

áisati, naanahéri pašíni neóti aká. Nokoakayetáheri,
again, I will take them other nephews here. I will search with

nonkoayetahérita ántá irirentipé
them, we will search for them, now, over there all their brothers

ántá. Manárika itimpináke." "Hé, paanakerikéti."
over there. Surely they got lost." "Yes, take them, then."

Yáánahi apíte áisati. Apaniváni,
He took two (nephews) again. One (pair of nephews) left,

ikaratapááke aká, apíte áisati.
there were no more here, two also.

"Hé, paanakerikéti, háihi, aká. Pamenahantenári
"Yes, take them, then, brother, here. Go look for them

pitíneri ántá, pohokitayetakenári
for me your nephews over there, you have been losing them all for me

aká. Kamecaté ántá, pihatakáyeri ántá, éiro
here. Nicely, now, over there, go with them all over there, don't

pohokitayetanarîci aká. Kaméca pamapááheri aká.
be losing them all for me here. Nicely bring them here.

Pamakaapáákeri ihitarîka aká. Pikoakáyeri ántá
Bring with them whatever (you bag) here. Seek with them over there

pošíniri, pamakaapáákeri aká."
game, bring with them here."

Há, yáánahi pašíni apíte. Ikenanáke áisati,
Well, he took another two. They passed also,

ipiakaanakári. Ikantanáka yoákeri
he returned with them (to the forest). It seems he killed them

áisati. Ikárati, iconkakéri áisati, poyére.
also. They totaled (two), he finished them also, all used up.

Ipiapááha áisati, ikantapááhiro irîciro áisati, irósati
He returned again, he said to her his sister again, it also

ikantapááhiro áisati, "Cío, té aneáheri
he said to her again, "Sister, again they are not to be seen

neóti." Okantavakerîkea irîciro aká, "Háokampa
my nephews." She said to him, then, his sister here, "What

pikántiri pitíneri? Pipeantakáriri. Pintákari
have you done to them your nephews? So you have lost them. You began

pašíni čapínki, pipeáhiri áisati aká.
with them the others the other day, you lost them also here.

Pipeáhiri čapínki áisati. Manámpa mééka poatíri
You lost them the other day also. Surely now you killed them

aká."
here."

Otiankitaharímpa aká, kempeteéri aróri,
She sent him quickly, it seems, here, one like us us,

antiári. Icípa antiári. "Hé, encíte
big (adult). Another big (one also). "Yes, quickly, now,

poihatanákeri pikónkiri aká. Kearióya, manarikámpa, óra,
follow him your uncle here. Careful, then, surely, it there,

yoákeri aká. Neámpa irotáinci inconkaarantémpi
he killed them here. Perhaps next he will finish some of you

mééka aká. Kearióya pimaikaríya.
now here. Careful, then, careful that you don't sleep, then.

Pamenakóventea aká." Ihátake irióri, yoihatanakéri,
Look out for yourselves here." They went they, they followed him,

há.
ha (they encountered him).

Ári ántá imaakaapáákeri ántá,
Well, over there they slept with him over there,

imaakaapáákeri. "Hérό óká nomaakaavetári
they slept with him. "Here it is (where) I slept with them in vain

pirénti aká. Ári ikenanákeri aká.
your brothers here. Well, (this is) where they passed here.

Hérό čapínki ikenanáke icípa aká."
Here is the other day (where) they passed the others here."

"Há, mééka noháte nokoayétari ohítakea
"Well, now I am going to search for it whatever it is, then,

ipeántari aká, ipeantayetakári aká."
why they disappeared here, why they all disappeared here."

Ihatanáke irirénti iriόri. Ikántiri kašíri,
He went (also) his brother he. What he did the moon,

iponatakaanakéri kaníri, isomatakeríri koáhika
he had them wrap manioc, what he would mix with them later

yoakeári iriόri aká. Há, iponatakaanakéri kaníri,
to eat them he here. Yes, he had them wrap manioc,

itavakotapááke kaníri, okárati itavakóre
they roasted in their shells manioc, it totaled what they roasted

akavé. Isomatakeríri
here! [indicating the quantity]. What he would mix with them

koáhika, óra, yoamákeri[rika] yoákeri[rika] aká.
later, that is, [when] he killed them, [when] he ate them here.

Ári, ihatanáke. Ikánti, "Páita?" Ihavetáita
Well, they went. They said, "Why . . . ?" They went far

ántá. Yamenampoereyevetári ántá.
in vain over there. They looked for traces of them in vain over

Té, ipiapááha. Išonkapáákaro inčáto,
there. No (trace), they returned. They went around it a tree,

ineapáátiro, ikánti "Tonkíci." Itónki
(and) they saw them, (and) they said "Bones." Their bones

irirentipé. Ikánti karátake akavé!,
(of) all their brothers. They say (they) totaled here! [indicating

óra, inčáto, oméntaki, árí
the quantity], that is, (by) the tree, (by) its buttress, yes

ipiotákero tonkicinivé. Há, ikánti irirénti mééka,
he had heaped them all the bones. Well, he said his brother now,

"Háá, ikántiri mééka, 'Té aneáheri neótini
"Well, what he said now, 'They haven't been seen my former

aká, peáka.' Héró óká mééka máná
nephews here, (they) have disappeared.' Here it is now it is

yoaitiári aká." Ári ipokapááhi iriórí. Ikéntake
certain he ate them here." Well they came they. They shot

kencóri apíte. Ikánti irirénti, "Cáme,
Gray Tinamous two. He said his brother, "Let's go,

amenapaaheríta akónkiri aká."
we will see him, now, our uncle here."

Ipokapááke, irósati ikantavákeri, "Neóti, pokáhimpi?"
They came, and so he said to them, "Nephews, have you

"Hé, pokáhana." Há, ikantavákeri, "Kamáke
returned?" "Yes, we have returned." Well, he said to them, "Dead

kencóri?" "Apíte." "Háá." Há, ántá ineákero
Gray Tinamous?" "Two." "Ah." Ha, over there they had seen them

tonkíci ántá. Ikánti, ikantakéri yóra Sánto,
the bones over there. He said, he said to them he there Moon,

"Cáme amáye, cáme amáye, neóti, pimáápee.
"Let's go to sleep, let's go to sleep, nephews, sleep.

Osaitekérakea ahatamáne ankoayevetaheári
Tomorrow, then, we will go in the morning to search for them again in

pirénti aká." Ikantiríkea, "Hé, arío."
vain your brothers here." They said to him, then, "Yes, good

enough." Yoametákeri irirénti irióri, "Pimaikaríya.
He instructed him his brother he, "Careful that you

don't sleep, then. Cáme mééka amavéntea aká. Haokáitaci
Let's now be vigilant here. How

inkántee, hámpa aneákero tonkíci aká? Itonkipéni
will he treat us, haven't we seen them the bones here? All their

aréntini aká. Témpa iriotáke oákari
bones (of) our former brothers here. Is it not he (who) ate them

aká?" Ári, imaamampeánaka, yamatavitakéri, imaheretanáke,
here?" Well, they slept uneasily, they fooled him, they became

silent, imááke, iponanáka. Imááke, imááke,
they slept, they stretched out. They slept, they slept,

imaake, imaake -- te irimayehi.
they slept, they slept -- they didn't (really) sleep.

Imaheretašitáke. Yoakovéntaka.
They were just silent. They waited to defend themselves.

Ári itinahánaka yóra Sánto, kašíri. Itinahánaka,
Well he got up he there Moon, the moon. He got up,

ikántiri, "Neóti? Neóti! Máákempi?"
(and) he said to him, "Nephew? Nephew! Are you sleeping?"

Té yakérihi. Ikántiri, "Neóti?" -- pašíni
He didn't answer. He said to him, "Nephew?" -- the other

itinkavéta -- "Neóti, neóti, máákempi?" Té yakéri.
he prodded -- "Nephew, nephew, are you sleeping?" He didn't answer.

Ári ipicokánaka yáákero óká, iposantapinitaríri
So he turned he grabbed it it here, that with which he had hit

them irirentini, their former brothers, ipesantapinitakáriri. that with which he had cut them.

Há, yáákero šíríʹ. Íro yaavetákero,
Yes, he grabbed it *zip*. But he grabbed it in vain,

ikantavetakáro aká, incekeríme
he did (raise) it (to strike) in vain here, he was going to cut them

aká. Itinašitánaka. Ikantanákeri, yóra, "Páita,
here. They then got up. They said to him, they there, "What,

mééka, kokí? Háoka akantavakayémpari, kokí, aká?
now, uncle? What will we do to each other, uncle, here?

Aposavakaanteári aká?" Íri ikantanáke
Why are we going to hit each other here?" Well he did

kašíri iriórí aká, yoipianahíro iráko aká.
the moon he here, he made it return his hand here.

Ikói impošeríme aká. Yoipianahíro. Ikantiríkea,
He had sought to hit them here. He made it return. They said to

him, then, "Páita, mééka, kokí, aká, oavakaanteári
"Why, now, uncle, here, are we going to kill one

another aká? Heroketivé, kokí, mééka, pikántiri mééka,
here? Here is, then!, uncle, now, what you say now,

'Peáka neóti, peáka
'(They) have disappeared my nephews, (they) have disappeared

neóti aká.' Avísati aká oayetákeri aká.
my nephews here.' You yourself here killed them all here.

Avísati oákeri aká. Pikántiri mééka, 'Itimpineáke,
You yourself killed them here. What you say now, 'They got lost,

itimpineáke aká.' Té intimpinééhi, avirotáke oákeri
they got lost here.' They did not get lost, it is you (who) killed

aká. Máná poaitiári aká. Paméne, nárori
them here. It is certain you ate them here. Look, we

mééka noneákempi, irótake, pipošenáme aká.
now we have seen you, that's right, you were going to hit us here.

Té pikamécate mééka, kokí, aká."
You are no good now, uncle, here."

Íri ipokapicatíri. Ikantanáhiri irirénti,
Well, they came away from him. He said to him his brother,

"Cáme ahatapicatéri." Yaanahíri iyencórite,
"Let's go away from him." They took them their Gray Tinamous,

itetanáhiri icaratéki, ári ipóki. "Cáme
they put them into their shoulder bags, then they came. "Let's

ahatapicatéri." Ikánta, yananinkáhi osáite.
go away from him." They went on, they traveled at night at night.

Ikánta, yaréétaha inámpiki citeniríki. Yareetapááha.
They went on, they arrived home in the night. They arrived.

Okantaváhiri iríniro, "Pokáhimpi, notiómi?"
She said to them their mother, "Have you returned, my sons?"

"Pokavetahána aká. Yoavetákena kokí aká.
"We have returned in vain here. He tried to kill us uncle here.

Yoavetákena." "Háoka ikantakémpiri?" "Noneákeri aká,
He tried to kill us." "What did he do to you?" "We saw him here,

iróтake, ipošenáme aká. Noneákero iyéni
it is it, he was going to hit us here. We saw it our former brothers

aká -- óra, háokampa ohítari? -- itónki aká.
here -- that is, what is it called? -- their bones here.

Manánea yoaitiári aká. Té, ikántiri mééka,
It is certain, then, he ate them here. No, what he says now,

'Máná ipeašitáka, ipeašitáka.' Té, máná
'Certainly they just disappeared, they just disappeared.' No, it is

yoákari aká."
certain he ate them here."

Há, timáci irániri, ašitaríri
Well, there was his brother-in-law, he who owned them

yóká itomipé irióri. Ipokapááka iriori, ikamantapáákeri
they here all his sons he. They came they, they informed

aká. Ipokapááke. Éiro itími mééka Sánto irióri,
him here. They came. He would not live now Moon he,

pérani iroyetakeríme irióri. Irómpa okempetánaka mééka
long ago if he had killed him he. Was it like now

aká, oancitánaka pérani? Irómpa tekáci
here, there were killings long ago? Surely there was no

pérani antáncini pérani, tekáci kisánci pérani
long ago ado formerly long ago, there was no anger long ago

aká. Éiro itímime Sánto, éiro aneaiteríme mééka. Ári
here. He would not live Moon, we would not see him now. Well,

ipokavetapááka irániri irióri. Ikantapáiri "aní"
he came in vain his brother-in-law he. He called him "brother-

aká.
in-law" here.

Ipokapái irióri Sánto. Okárati
He came he Moon. It totaled [showing five fingers]

imáánake -- imái, imái, ipašiventavetanáka,
he had slept (in the woods) -- he slept, he slept, he was ashamed,

imááke -- okárati aká. Neavahátiri
he slept -- it totaled here [five fingers]. (They) saw him

ikenapááhi. Irósati ipokantáka, okantavákeri
he came that way. And so then he came, (and) she spoke to him

iríciro. Ipokapái, isavikapái. Irósati okantantavakári
his sister. He came, he sat down. And so then she said to him

aká, "Páita, háihi, aká?" Ári okántiri, "Poyérime
here, "Why, brother, here?" Well she said to him, "You were

pitíneri aká. Páita poanteáriri,
going to kill them your nephews here. Why will you kill them,

páita poantayetaríri aká pitíneri aká? Nokemavákeri,
why did you kill them all here your nephews here? I have heard it,

ikantapáákena, ikamantapáákena. Pikantiríkea
they have told me, they have informed me. What you have said, then,

méeka háihi aká, 'Té aneáheri neótini,
now brother here, 'They are not to be seen my former nephews,

timpineáke aká.' Avísati oákari aká. Máná
(they) got lost here.' You yourself ate them here. It is certain

poaitiári aká."
you ate them here."

Méeka išiapááka irióri ašitaríri itomipé
Now he came running he he who owned them his many sons

iriórí aká. Ikantapáákeri, "Aní, páita oponeántari
he here. He said to him, "Brother-in-law, why did it come

méeka aká poanteariríme pitíneri
about now here (that) you were going to kill them your nephews

aká? Páita oponeántari poanteariríme
here? Why did it come about (that) you were going to kill them

pitíneri aká? Poantayetakáriri aká. Pikántiri
your nephews here? Therefore you killed them all here. What you said

mééka, 'Itimpineáiti.' Té itimpinééhi aká. Máná
now, 'They got lost.' They did not get lost here. It is certain

poákari aká. Neámpa ineáitiro mééka yóká mééka
you ate them here. It seems they saw it now they here now

pitíneri áisati itonkipé aká. Pipiotákero
your nephews also all their bones here. You had piled them

tonkíci aká."
the bones here."

Ipiavéta, išiavetapáinta
He (the victim's father) returned in vain, he ran quickly

áisati, ikói yoyérime iriórí. "Énci avírori
in vain also, he sought to kill him he. "Let's see you

mééka aká, mééka noyémpi avírori." Ikánti; ineátiri
now here, now I will kill you you." He talked; he suddenly

iriórí kašíri yokáme Sánto: isotoánake -- okémpeta
saw him he the moon he here, now, Moon: he emerged -- it was

pankóci -- isotoánake, ikatiáka. Ikánti
like a house (where he was) -- he emerged, he stood. He said

mééka, "Noaitetímpi, aní, aká." Ikantanáke iriórí
now, "I will kill you, brother-in-law, here." He said he

Sánto, "Éiro poaitetanavé, aní, aká. Éiro poaitetánaci,
Moon, "You won't kill me!, brother-in-law, here. You won't kill me,

aní, aká." Irósati ikánti; ineavakéri; ikánti;
brother-in-law, here." And so he talked; he saw him; he talked;

yoaratinkanáka aká, yacománaka, yoankanáka, hatáke,
he soared vertically here, he went bodily, he rose, went,

hatáke, hatáke; ikántiri, ikantavétari.
went, went; he was (still) talking to him, he was talking to him

in vain.

Iriomerikáme ikantéétiri aká, hé, imanatavakérime,
If he had been what they say here, yes, if he had shot

ikentavakerírime, éiro itimáitime mééka Sánto.
at him, if he had shot him, he would not live now Moon.

Éirome ikantirírime mééka, "Noyémpi avírori,"
If he had not said to him now, "I will kill you you,"

éiro ikamantiríme mééka, éiro itímime mééka Sánto.
if he had not informed him now, he would not live now Moon.

Hé, mééka, acitenitakotéme mééka. Irósati mééka
Yes, now, we would be in darkness now. And so now

yoankantánaka henóki, irósati isavikántaka
therefore he rose up to the sky, and so therefore he resides

henóki. Hé, irósati isavikántaka henóki
up in the sky. Yes, and so therefore he resides up in the sky

mééka. Háiteti henóki. Irósati mééka
now. (He) finally went up to the sky. And so now

isavikantapááka henóki. Arío, okántari.
therefore he resides up in the sky. Enough, so it was.

NOTES

[1]*Kašíri* proposes to go out hunting while his nephews are hunting elsewhere. Nothing indicates, however, that *Kašíri* actually does so, for the game he is after are his nephews. This text is especially valuable for presenting a Campa view of hunting as a workaday occupation.

[2]The boys deny having bagged anything, although they have. This conforms to the common Campa practice of replying initially in the negative to any direct question about their activities or concerns.

[3]The club is not a component feature of Campa material culture. *Kašíri*'s weapon was identified as the swordlike club of the Panoan-speaking tribes to the north.

[4]That is, he brought back no game.

KAŠÍRI, THE MOON: GIVER OF MANIOC AND PROGENITOR OF THE SUN

At first the Campas ate only *kacikorípio* (the nest of the termite *kacíkori*), from which they themselves had originally been formed. It was *Kašíri*, the Moon, who gave the Campas manioc, their present staple food, when he became interested in a pubescent girl and took her as his wife. From their union was born the Sun, whose heat was so great that with his birth he burned his mother to death. The following account of these events was provided by the informant Kenčóri. The narrator uses this myth as a vehicle to introduce explanations of incidentally related phenomena: women today must work hard harvesting manioc because the Moon's wife neglected to instruct her mother simply to shake the manioc plants to harvest them; women today suffer labor pains because *Kašíri* leaned his wife on stinging nettles rather than on the lubricous *šínti* tree (? *Heliocarpus* sp.); the Campas today die and never return to life because *Oáti*, though instructed simply to leave the Sun's dead mother at a distance, buried her. The narrator uses terms to which we can assign a recent origin: he calls the Sun *Neháronci* (Mirror); he calls the Sun's mother "Santa María"; he makes reference to *Irimáka* (the spirit center at the western edge of the earth).

Ikánti pérani, oravé, Tašorenci -- Tasórenci mééka
They say long ago, that is, God -- God now

yóká, Pává -- Pává, yóra, ihitanáka yóra
he here, the Sun -- the Sun, he there, he is named he there

Nehárónci, ihitanáka Nehárónci, isavikavéétani pérani
Mirror, he is named Mirror, he used to live formerly long ago

aká. Ikánta ihátahi henóki. Isavikapááhi, oravé,
here. It seems he went up to the sky. He lives, that is,

overapááka kipáci óntá henóki.
(where) it ends the earth it over there up in the sky.

Iríο, pašíni, yóra Kašíri, intanakárori pérani.
He, another, he there the Moon, he who began it long ago.

Yóra, ašáninka, ašáninka,
They there, our fellow tribesmen, our fellow tribesmen,

té, oravé, anééro kaníri, té anééro kaníri, iróinti
there was no, that is, manioc, there was no manioc, it alone

yóa kipáci. Oponeááka, óra, opankošíta
they ate earth. It came about, it there, her menarche hut

óra, ohitanáka Sánta María. Sánta María. Oponeááka,
she there, she was named Saint Mary. Saint Mary. It came about,

oravé, irítake pankoširiákero Kašíri.
that is, it was he (who) dismantled it, the menarche hut Moon.

Oponeááka, iriόri íri hatáci yaméni kipáci,
It came about, he her father who went to look for earth,

yóra, yoravé, kacikorípio. Irítake
he there, that is, nest of [the termite kacíkori]. It was (it) of

otononkákeri -- otononkákero -- ,
theirs (kacíkori) they (the women) ground it -- they ground it -- ,

ošapekákeri, onkocitákeri, oákaro,
they made it into cakes wrapped in leaves, they boiled it, they ate it,

óra, cirepacári, óra, kipáci. Poneááka, iríο
it there, gummy mass, it there, earth. (It) came about, he

Kašíri itasonkákero kaníri. Poneááka, oaratínkaka
Moon he blew on it manioc. (It) came about, (he) soared vertically

henóki.[1] íro areetapááka, óra, iníro
(down from) the sky. She arrived, she there, her mother

Sánta María, yareeheetapááka, íri yáinta
(of) Saint Mary, they all arrived, her father he carried (from) afar

iipácite. íro oponeááka, poneááka, oravé,
his earth. So it came about, (it) came about, that is,

pankoširiákero Kašíri, óra,
(he) had dismantled it, the menarche hut Moon, (of) she there,

Sánta María, ineapáákero savikáke.
Saint Mary, (and) they saw her seated.

Irósati iponeááka, okantavákero iníro,
And so it came about, she said to her (to) her mother,

"Pihá[te] pamenapéé, óra, yovecikákeri pitíneri,
"Go look at, it there, what he made your son-in-law,

kaníri. Páita aciperiantarórí aváro óká,
manioc. Why do we do what is undesirable we eat it it here,

óra, kipáci?" Poneááka, óra, amašitákero.
it there, earth?" (It) came about, it there, she (the mother)

brought it improperly. Té onkanteróhi,
She (Saint Mary) had not said to her,

"Pinikeróya." Onikakérome,[2] irósati onkanteáme mééka,
"Shake it, now." If she had shaken it, it also it would be now,

óra aká, éiro opomerencitárome cináne aká,
it there here, it would not give them work the women here,

óra, onkeikakoyetéro.
it there, to dig them up.

Oponeááka itímake, itímake ohananékite,
It came about he was born, he was born her child,

itimakáákero Kašíri. Kantavétaka, kantavetakári,
he made her give birth Moon. (He) said in vain, (he) said to him in

[y]óra, íri, "Ariorika pinkonkakéna,
vain, he there, her father, "Whenever (the time comes) signal me

encipáite nompokapéé. Óra,
with a hand-whistle, (and) right away I will come. It there,

antintanteárota šínti,
therefore we will lean her, thereupon, (on) a šínti tree,

éirota okemayetahíroci kacipé
(so that) she will not, thereupon, feel them all all (labor) pains

óká, pišáninka." Poneááka itintantákero
she here, your fellow tribes(wo)man." (It) came about he leaned her

hirína otápiki, okemantayétari mééka
(on) stinging nettles on her back, therefore they all feel now

kaciripé, oravé, cinanepé ohananékite. Oponeááka
all pains, that is, all women (with) their children. It came about,

itasonkákeri, ipicareavakéri máároni.
he blew on him, he ripped him (the child) to pieces all.

Itasonkákeri, ipeákeri virakóča.
He blew on them (the pieces), he transformed them (to) White men.

Óká, ikitetántari, yóká mééka, Kirínko,[3] óra,
It here, therefore he is white, he here now, the Gringo, it there,

óká išémpa yantaritantayétari.
it here his shoulders therefore they are big.

Iponeááka, itímake Pává. Itímake Pává.
It came about, he was born the Sun. He was born the Sun.

Ikantavétaka, "Arioríka intímake
He (the father of Saint Mary) said in vain, "Whenever he is born

pašíni, pinkónkena." Áisati itaanakéro,
another (child), signal me with a hand-whistle." Also he burned

okámake. Iponeááka oáti irióri, yáánake
her, she died. He came forth Oáti he, he carried

iyecipátare, óra páta -- tekáci kocíro[4] pérani --
his flat club, it there flat -- there were no knives long ago --

iróinti, óra, páta, kirípata. Iróta
it alone, it there, flat, flat kíri wood. It, thereupon,

ikeitašitakéro, itihakéro. Éirome itihiróme --
so he excavated it, he buried her. If he had not buried her --

ikantavéta, "Pihá[te] pihokáitero ántá" --,
he had said in vain, "Go throw her over there" --,

irihokaiteróme ántá, páátani ompiapááheme.
if he had thrown her over there, in just a moment she would have

Áitake ankantaheeteáme mééka. Ankamavétakea,
returned. So it is we would all appear now. We would die at first,

páátani ántá koraketáke
(but) in just a moment over there watch out! here (we) come

ampíahe, éirokea akamahíci.
we would return, we would not die, then.

Héró, poneááka irióri yóra itiankavetakári
Here it is, (it) came about he he there he (Moon) sent

him in vain — ičárine, his (the Sun's) grandfather, — "Pihá[te] — pihokáiteri, "Go — leave him

pičárine — ántá — irimákaki." — Íro, — té, óra, irí́hate.
your grandson — over there — at Irimáka." — But — he didn't, that is, go.

Óntá, — óra, — ikisakotanákaro — irišínto,
It over there, — that is, — he became angry because of her — his daughter,

okámake, — yoamanakéro — otómi, — itaanakéro.
she had died, — he had killed her — her son, — he had burned her.

Poneááka, — óra, — áita[ke] — antaritánake — Pává.
(It) came about, — it there, — so it was — (he) became big — the Sun.

Ikántaka, — ikánta — saavatánake, — ikánta, — ikánta,
He went on, — he went on — (and) became warm, — he went on, — he went on,

ári — ikánti, — "Pihá[te]."[5] — Yaašitanakéri
well — he said, — "Go." — He (the grandfather) took for him

maacaránci. — Iponeááka, — oravé, — yaavetanakári,
old clothes. — It came about, — that is, — he took him in vain,

iponatanakéri — maacaránciki, — itaanakéro. — Yááke
he wrapped him — in old clothes, — (but) he burned them. — He took

inčáki, — yááke — inčáki, — yavitatanakéri.
a pole, — he took — (another) pole, — (and, using them,) he took him in

Ári — ántá, — áá, — té osámani irihatakáyeri.
tongs. — Well — over there, — ah, — he did not take much time in going

Ári, — óra, — yoákeri.
with him. — Well, — it there, — he left him.

Íro — okitaitamánake, — há, — aménake, — "Namenavakerí́ta
So — it dawned, — ha, — (he) looked, — "I will look for him,

nočárine, — ikenapéé." — Ántá
now, — my grandson, — he will come this way." — Over there (in the west)

yohokái[tiri], — ineátiri — itápiki,
he had left him, — (but) he suddenly saw him — at his back (in the east),

kenapááke, — yoreapááke.[6] — Ári — Pává, — aká,
(he) came this way, — he shined. — Well (when) — the Sun — (was) here,

tampátika, — neátiro — ocitenikitánake — henóki,
overhead, — (he) suddenly saw it — it became dark — up in the sky,

opariapái — inkáni. — Irosatitanáinci, — iponeááka — iriórí,
it fell — rain. — And then it came to pass, — he came forth — he,

aká, yoreánahi Pává aká. Tánkake.
here, he shone again the Sun here. (He) tipped over (began his

descent). Ivéraka, irósati
He (the Sun) was located in his trajectory, and so

ikantanáke, "Namenavakerîta
he (his grandfather) said, "I will look for him to arrive, now,

nočárine." Ineapáákeri, ikaatapái
my grandson." He (the Sun) saw him on arrival, (and) he bathed

yóká Pává.[7] Áisa[ti] pokapááka irióri,
on arrival he here the Sun. Also (he) came he,

sapokapááka iriórí. Poneááka, ipákeri iicáre,
(he) undressed he. (It) came about, he gave him his cushma,

kitiónkari, ičárine. Ári hatáhi,
red, (to) his grandfather. Well (he) went again,

yoihatahîri henóki.
he (his grandfather) followed him up to the sky.

Poneááka irióri, iponeááka irióri, yóra,
(He) came forth he, he came forth he, he there,

óra, iicarešitéki, ipainkakéro heneókihi,
it there, in his old cushma, he sunned it a little way up,

opeánaha óra máonti.
(and) it became transformed it there (to) [the owl-like bird máonti].

Amenantaitarîrikea mééka kacirinkáiteri, yóra
Therefore we look at him, then, now the sun, he there

máonti irósati yaméni henóki. Aká inténkahe,
máonti it also he looks up at the sky. Here when he (the Sun) tips

over (begins to descend), picókaha (máonti) iriórí.[8]
(máonti) turns he.

Héró okárati nokémiri. Ikamantána
Here it is finished what I have heard. They related to me

pérani, óra, yóká antariyetáciri,
long ago, that is, they here all those who were big (elders),

kemîrori iriórí pérani neánci ári okántari.
they who heard it they long ago words so it was.

For the events in this myth we possess three good accounts of parallel Machiguenga beliefs. These accounts are given in Appendix 2 (pages 567-570) in English translation for purposes of comparison.

NOTES

[1]The meaning of this statement is not entirely clear.

[2]That is, if she had simply jiggled the plant to extract the tubers.

[3]The narrator is making a pointed reference here to me, sitting beside him. The narrator is obviously familiar with "gringo," the common Spanish term for North American. Here an origin for the Caucasians is provided: they were created from the dismembered body of *Kašíri*'s first child. There is a question, however, as to how widely known and accepted is this understanding that the Sun was preceded by another child.

[4]From the Spanish "cuchillo." This passage may cast some light on what the Campas may have used before the introduction of metal knives by Caucasians.

[5]The Sun "goes on," becoming larger and warmer as he grows from infancy. His grandfather, who at first refused, is instructed again to carry him to the western edge of the world.

[6]This is a description of the first sunrise. *Pává*'s grandfather, having left him in the west, looks to the west to catch sight of him. To his surprise, *Pává* appears behind him. The sun, though it sets in the west, rises in the east, but this could not have been predicted when the sun rose for the first time.

[7]Apparently, when *Pává* arrives where his grandfather is waiting for him, he descends to earth and bathes.

[8]The bird *máonti*, according to the narrator, turns with the sun. This, we can say, indicates for the Campa a deeper connection between the two, and the narrator proposes that *máonti* was transformed from an old cushma of the Sun's.

PÁVÁ, THE SUN: BIRTH AND ELEVATION TO THE SKY

Who casts not up his *Eye* to the *Sunne* when it rises?
—John Donne, *Devotions*

The incident of the Sun's conception while his mother was bathing, reported for the Machiguengas, may have been left out of Kenčori's narrative inadvertently. The following version of this myth, provided by the informant Komítia, makes a point of *Pává*'s conception during his mother's bath, but introduces some special features. Here the Sun's mother is the Moon's niece, who is guilty of two counts of improper behavior: she disobeys *Kašíri*'s admonition not to play with his fish trap, and she bathes during menstruation, which Campa women never do for fear of impregnation by a water spirit. Her punishment is to be impregnated by *Kašíri* and to die in giving birth to *Pává*.

In this account the emphasis is on the problem of how to raise *Pává* high enough into the sky to save the earth from incineration. Several flying creatures attempt to carry *Pává* to the sky but fail because the Sun's heat is too great. Finally the bird *kentíparo* (unidentified) succeeds, and so becomes *Pává*'s "godfather." An unavoidable confusion results when the text is translated into English, which requires that singular and plural be distinguished. This distinction is not required in Campa, so it is easy for the narrator to speak of *kentíparo* as a single individual—*Pává*'s "godfather"—even though the understanding is that a flock of these birds carried *Pává* to the sky. This they were able to do by wrapping the Sun in a great number of new (white) cushmas or robes to insulate themselves from the heat. They carried him first to a low celestial level, which opened for them and resounded solidly when they landed—for, as we know, in Campa belief the celestial levels are as solid underfoot as our own earth. *Pává* then sent his bearers back to earth to see if he was still too hot. He was, and so he had himself moved to a higher level, where he now resides. This text, like the one preceding, incorporates the idea, both clever and simple, that those who first witnessed *Pává* in the sky expected him to reappear where he had disappeared at the first sunset, only to find him rising behind their backs.

The conclusion serves to explain why the bird *kentíparo* was chosen for the role it plays in this myth: these birds frequent the open beaches along the rivers, thus seeking rather than avoiding direct sunlight, and when the sun sets they rise

up cawing. This behavior is interpreted as supplication to the deity, the root *-aman-* (to supplicate), being the Campa term closest to our concept of "worship." The narrator makes the critical comment that the Campas themselves do not worship the Sun, and do not know how to worship him.

Ikánti, pérani yóká, akantáitiri inkáranki, Sánto.
They say, long ago he here, what we said before. Moon.

Išimpetíro pérani Tampóni, išimpetákero
He made a fish trap long ago in the Tambo (River), he made a fish

aká. Ikantavétaro, "Neanío, aitapááke
trap here. He said to her in vain, "Niece, that's enough

pantaatakotakénaro nošímpere. Intetapéémpata
you are fooling around with it of mine my fish trap. Perhaps they

šímá." Há, té okemisánte iróri. Ohátake
will enter now fish." Ha, she did not listen she. She went

kempetéérika Tampóki, ohátake. Antáátiro
perhaps like us to the Tambo, she went. She fooled around with it

Tampóni, antaatakéro, antaatakéro.
in the Tambo, she fooled around with it, she fooled around with it.

Okantanáka irióri yóká Santotáciri mééka,
It went he he here he who is Moon now,

kaširitáciri mééka, okiánake isáviki
he who is the moon now, it entered the surface of the earth

kipáciki išívi, šó. Ohátake. Irósati
into the ground his penis, *look at it go!*. It went. It also

ántá, timáci iróri ántá osankenári iróri, iráha
over there, there was she over there her mens she, her

iróri aká. Iráha iróri, há, osotoakotákero iróri
blood she here. Her blood she, ha, she let it emerge she

ántá, antáátiro Tampóni. Irókea
over there, she was fooling around in it in the Tambo. It, then,

okantavetakárokea iréntо, "Cáme ahátahe.
she said to her in vain, then, her sister, "Let's go.

Aitapááke akáátake." Oankavetanáha iróri ántá,
It is enough we have bathed." She started to get up she over there,

oankaantavetanáha iróri ántá. Okemavaitirókea aká,
she started to get up she over there. She felt it, then, here,

ikantakéri aká, ocávi irórí aká, otininkapáákero
what they say here, (in) her vagina she here, it hauled her

tiní. Amenanaitiríkea sankanaporencatáke[1]
haul. She looked at it intensely, then, transparent and long

iriórí aká, iščívi yóra Sánto. Itimantanakári
he here, his penis he there Moon. Therefore he was born

pérani yóká kacirinkáiteri, Diósi.
long ago he here the sun, God [Sp.: "Dios"].

Há, ári okantanákero irénto. Ohatanáhi
Ha, well, she said (it) to her her sister. She (the sister)

irórí iníroki. Okantavákero, "Háoka
went she to her mother. She (the mother) said to her, "Where is

pirénto?" "Té, icitákero
your sister?" "No, he (uncle) is having sexual relations with her,

kóóko, icitákero kóóko."
uncle, he (uncle) is having sexual relations with her, uncle."

"Háoka méeka irórí?" "Ainíro ántá."
"Where is now she?" "There (she) is over there."

Há, irósati osavikaatanáke ohááki,
Ha, it also she sat a long time in the water,

osavikaatanáke ohááki, há, pérani, pérani, irórí
she sat a long time in the water, ha, long time, long time, she

ántá, há, ocopánaha. Amáhiro oicáre
over there, ha, it reemerged. She brought it her cushma

okicatanáharo. Opokapááhi. Okantavákero iníro, "Imatakémpi
she put it on. She came. She said to her her mother, "He did to you

pikónkiri?" "Hé, imatakéna. Méékaya intíme,
your uncle?" "Yes, he did to me. Now, then, he will be born,

yóra, pisári aká," okántiro iníro, "Méékaya
he there, your grandson here," she said to her her mother, "Now,

intíme pisári aká."
then, he will be born your grandson here."

Aká, máánci, máánci, máánci, máánci, máánci,[2] há,
Here, sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, ha,

kimotatánake, kimocomontetánake. Kimocomontetánake,
became large, (her) belly became large. (Her) belly became large,

timánake mééka kacirinkaitetáciri mééka aká, Dióši.
(and so he) was born now he who is the sun now here, God.

Opokapááke, okántiro iníro, "Mééka, irotáinciya
She came, she said to her her mother, "Now, very soon, then,

mééka. Iná, intíme mééka pisári aká.
now. Mother, he will be born now your grandson here.

Mééka, éiroya aneavakááhaci aká. Méékaya
Now, we won't, then see each other again here. Now, then,

intaanaitiénaya mééka aká."
he will burn me, then, now here."

Óká itimantanakári pérani henokiníri.
It here therefore he was born long ago he who lives

Áá, okánta okacitakotákeri, okacitáke.
in the sky. Ah, it seems she suffered pain for him, she suffered

Okavincáka, okavincáka,
pain. She suffered labor pains, she suffered labor pains,

okavincáka, iróri aká. Okavincáka,
she suffered labor pains, she here. She suffered labor pains,

okavincáka. Okitiohanáke. Okitióhake iriniróni
she suffered labor pains. She spat. She spat his mother then

mééka -- háoka ohítari iriniróni? [S.: María.]
now -- what was she called his mother then? [Mary.]

Yóká kacirinkáiteri? [S.: Hé.] María. Okitióhake okantanáke
He here the sun? [Yes.] Mary. She spat it was

-- kempetáčari ašáninka
(like this) [spitting] -- which is like our fellow tribes(wo)men

otimakotiríka iróri ántá.[3] Áisati okitiohanáke.
when they give birth they over there. Again she spat.

Ohokapááka ohévanta, peánaka
It fell her spittle over there, (and it) was transformed (into)

yóra -- háoka pikantiríri avírori yóra, kiterišéri?
he there -- how do you call him you he there, [a small

Konoaríri yoránki yóká. . . .
yellow ant]? He who mixes with him he, that is, he here. . . .

[S.: Kiterišéri.] Hé, iriové, kiterišéri. Peánaka,
[Kiterišéri.] Yes, he indeed, kiterišéri. (It) was transformed,

kamaritánake. Okitióhake pašíni, peánaka
became a demon. She spat another (time), (it) was transformed (into)

yóra, yoránki, akánti arórі takíšari -- takíšari,
he there, he, that is, we say we [a black ant] -- takíšari,

peánaka. Okitióhake pašíni, ohokapááka, peánaka
transformed. She spat another (time), it fell, (and) was transformed

(into) manihi. Hatáke. Pašíni
[the large black ant manihi]. (It) went (away). Another (time)

okitióhake, pašíni -- peánaka maránki,
she spat, another (time) -- (it) was transformed (into) a snake,

peánaka maránki, soankanáka.
(it) was transformed (into) a snake, (which) slithered (away).

Iconkapááka.
It was finished.

Irósati okantantanakáro iníro, "Iná,
It also therefore she said to her her mother, "Mother,

méékaya éiro aneavakááhaci, irotáinci intíme
now, then, we will not see each other again, very soon he will be

pisári aká." Áá, irósati okavincáka,
born your grandson here." Ah, and so she suffered labor pains,

okavincáka, sotoánake sokíre. Iróinti
she suffered labor pains, (he) emerged entirely outside. It alone

apáro kahemavetánaka "ayavé," sokíre yóká mééka
on(c)e (she) shouted "ay!," entirely outside he here now

Dióši, sokíre. Kempétake hanáneki -- iriotaketé
God, entirely outside. Like a child -- he was

hananeki -- isotoánake iriórі sóto. Té aneáhero
a child -- he emerged he *emerge*. We do not see her any more

iriniróni, táánaka. Aká ašitaríri iriniróni,
his mother then, burned. Here she who owned him his mother then,

táánaka, itaanakéro iriórі aká, táánaka.
burned, he burned her he here, burned.

Té aneaheróni iriniróni, timáci
We do not see her any more his mother then, (but) there was

isaroníkea iriórі aká. Kantaincirikea irórі
his grandmother then, then, he here. She who said, then, she

aká, "Mééka, itimatiéya mééka, yóká, henokiníkika
here, "Now, he will live, then, now, he here, a sky-dweller,

aká. Eiroríka isavikíci mééka [aká], isávike
here, here. Surely he will not reside now [here], he will reside

henóki, inkíteki."
up in the sky, in the sky."

Há, ikahemakanteevetákari pašíni,
Ha, someone had them called in vain others,

yóká, išaninkaheetahániri pérani aká -- kempeťačari
they here, to come live with them long ago here -- which is like

arórí: itímí ašaninkapé, yóká,
us: they live all our fellow tribesmen, they here,

sokihayetáciri, arehipéki. Ikánti,
who all disperse, all far away. He (the summoner) said,

"Pinkahemáiteri aká, ipokanáketa aká. Yamenáiteri,
"Call them afar here, to come now here. Let them see him (the Sun),

isametitaiteárita, yoankeríta henóki."
let them be his godfather now, let them lift him now up to the sky."

Ipokapááke yóká pihiritáciri yoránki antiári.
He came he here he who is bat he, that is, big.

Ipokapááke, intavetapáákari. Isampitapáákeri, "Háoka
He came, he began it in vain. He asked him, "Where

pisavikéri?" Iotakéro yóká Dióši, iotakéro ineánati.
will you reside?" He knew it he here God, he knew how to speak.

Hananekikéra ináveta, neanaťake. "Heróka pisavikéri aká."
Yet a child he was, (he) spoke. "Here you will reside here."

Há, ihikotáke henóki. "Nosávike henóki." Hn,
Ha, he pointed up to the sky. "I will reside up in the sky." Hn,

yaavetanakári pihíri, yacomaavetanakári. Ári kempéhi
he carried him in vain bat, he held him, in vain. Well, close by

ipiakááhari, yoaniriapááhiri.
he returned with him, he let him down.

Pašíni pokáinci, yóra, máonti,
Another who came, he there, [the owl-like bird máonti],

máonti. Ipokapááke. Ikántiri, "Piháte ántá,
máonti. He came. He (the summoner) said to him, "Go over

pohókeri." Ikántiri, "Hánika mééka
there, leave him." He (the Sun) said to him, "Who now

koáciri isametítena aká?" Téya, yaavetanakári
(is) he who seeks to be my godfather here?" No, then, he carried him

irióri máonti. Yaavetanakári, šéro, šéro, ári.
in vain he máonti. He carried him in vain, went, went, enough.

Té, kacirinkatapááke aká, yapinaikakotantákari maacarancipé
No, (he) became hot here, so he wrapped him (in) many old

aká. Kacirinkatapááke. Yoaniriapááhiri tírón.
clothes here. (He) became hot. He let him down *bump*.

Kimotatáke, té išéntehi. Té inkémpetea
(The Sun) was big, he did not wait. He was not like

hanáneki, irósati ikantaitiáni aká.[4]
(our) children, it also (as before) they appear here.

Té išéntehi, kimotatáke.
He did not wait, (he) was big.

Pašíni okahemakántake isároni áisati.
Another she had called his grandmother then also.

Akántiri paronitáciri, paronitáciri
We call him he who is [the bird paróni (unidentified)], he who is paróni

-- háoka pikantiríri yóká sametiteárine?[5]
-- how do you call him he here (who) would be his godfather?

Pokavétaka irióri, ineapáákeri. Irotáinci savikáke,
Came in vain he, he saw him. Very soon (the Sun) was sitting,

kimotatáke! Ipokavetapááka, imaavetákari yoankeríme,
(he) was big! He (paróni) came in vain, he tried in vain to lift him,

té! Kacirinkatánake, tekáci inkánteri
no (avail)! (He) was hot, there was nothing with which

yacomayéri henóki.
he might hold him up to the sky.

Áá, ári okantanáke isároni irióri --
Ah, well, she said his grandmother then he --

ašitarórí óká iriniróni mééka, yóká, Dióši --
she who owned her she here his mother then now, he here, God --

ári okantanáke, "Hanikámpa sametiteárine mééka aká?
well she said, "Who will be his godfather now here?

Isavikavetákea mééka aká, ári inconkakéri yóká
(If) he will reside now here, well he will finish them they here

ašaninkapé" -- kempetáčari arórí: asáviki aká.
all our fellow tribesmen" -- which is like us: we reside here.

"Ári inconkakéri, intáákeri. Ári inconkakéri,
"Well he will finish them, he will burn them. Well he will finish

intáákeri aká. Ántá henóki,
them, he will burn them here. Over there up in the sky,

ihátake henóki, há, áitake okamecatáke iróinti
(when) he goes up to the sky, ha, fine it is good it alone

aká."
here."

Há, yóká ikahemakantitári iriórí yóká
Ha, he here he had them called they they here

sametiteáriri mééka -- piótiri avírori?
they who will be his godfather now -- do you know them you?

Haokaríka ikantiríri iriórí? Akánti arórí kentíparo.
How might they be called they? We say we [the bird kentíparo

Ikahemakanteetakéri iriórí kentíparo. Ipokapáake
(unidentified)]. Someone had them called they kentíparo. They came

iriórí. "Pikantáiteri kentíparo yóká sametiteárine
they. "Tell them kentíparo they here will be his godfather now

irínti." "Há." Ikemaváke iriórí kentíparo konihatákeya
they alone." "Yes." They heard they kentíparo (that he) had

yóká amenakotééneri, kitaitiakotáeneri,
appeared, then, he here he who will look at us now, he who will give

savaitetakotáeneri, há, ikánti,
us daylight now, he who will give us warmth now, ha, they said,

"Narotáke hatácine náinti aká." Há, ipokahéétake,
"It is I who will go now I alone here." Ha, they all came,

yamáke kicárenci oseikivékea. Kitamaroripé.
they brought cushmas a great many, then. All white.

Té ipoviriténi pérani kentíparo. Hámpa
They were not poor [Sp.: "pobre"] then long ago kentíparo. Isn't it so

iriotáke ašaninkapé mééka aká? Ári
it is they all our fellow tribesmen now here? Well,

yoašinonkašítari[6] yóká
they (some Campas) harm them without reason they here

antayetíriri aká, káári ioterone ikenkicáte iriori
they who do it all here, those who do not know history they

aká. Ipokapáake kentíparo, yapinaikitári.
here. They came kentíparo, they wrapped him.

Ineapáiri: katíaka!, katíaka,
They saw him: (he) was standing! here, (he) was standing

yóká méeka, Dióši, katíaka, aniivéetake.
here, he here now, God, (he) was standing here, (he) was

walking. Ikantapáakeri šaméti, "Háoka pikoirori
They said to him (his) godfather, "Where do you want

pisávike?" "Antáya, nokói henóki nosávike.
to reside?" "Over there, I want up in the sky to reside.

Té nokóyero aká. Ariorika nosavikake aká, ári
I do not like it here. If I were to reside here, then

noconkakempi, notaakempivé. Éiro itímí
I would finish you, I would burn you! They would not live

ašáninka." Há, irósati ikántiri, "Noánkempi
our fellow tribesmen." Ha, and so they said to him, "I will lift you

henóki." Irósati yaanakéri iriori kentíparo,
up to the sky." And so they carried him they kentíparo,

yapinaikakotakéri iicáreki, yoikotakotákeri,
they wrapped him in their cushma, they wrapped him in another,

yoikotakotákeri, yoikotakotákeri,
they wrapped him in another, they wrapped him in another,

yoikotakotákeri, yoikotakotákeri,
they wrapped him in another, they wrapped him in another,

yoikotakotákeri, yoikotakotákeri, okaratapái
they wrapped him in another, they wrapped him in another, they were

used up kicárencini aká. Apátiro yoaitanákero,
the cushmas then here. They did it with a single effort,

ikenakaanakéri irínti kentíparo. Icomakaanakári
they passed with him they alone kentíparo. They held him to their

breasts henokivé. Pérani otasorencitíni[7] pérani
way up to the sky. Long ago it was godly then long ago

aká. Yacomakaanakári henóki. Irósati mééka
here. They held him to their breasts up to the sky. And so now

téme isáviki kacirinkáiteri aká kempéhi. Há,
he does not reside now the sun here close by. Ha,

akántiri mééka, anííri mééka kacirinkáiteri,
what we say now, we see him now the sun,

té isavikanteáro mééka inkíte kempehitíri.
therefore he does not reside (in) it now the sky that is close by.

Antánea henóki! Henóki isáviki.
Way (up) there, up in the sky! Up in the sky he resides.

Neákero kipáci otentaránake tintári, hn.
(He) saw it the firmament it opened *open*, hn.

Tíron.[8] Kempetapááka mééka aká, asavikahééti. Ikánti,
Thump. (It) was like now here, (where) we all live. They said,

"Háoka pisavikéri?" Yoisavikavetakári aká mééka aká.
"Where will you reside?" They tried to make him reside here now here.

Teevé. Iraapááka irióri kempetácari hanáneki. "Té,
No! He wept he like a child. "No,

té nonkoapéérohi aká." Irááka yóká Dióši, irááka, irááka.
I do not like it here." He wept he here God, he wept, he wept.

"Háokampa ikoátiro ininti? Háoka pikóiro
"Where (is) what he wants (that) he likes? Where (is) what you want

pininti aká?" "Té nonintaiteapééro aká.
(that) you like here?" "I do not like it at all here.

Té nonintero. Há, encíte mééka, piháte isáviki," ikánti
I do not like it. Ha, quickly now, go down," he said (to)

šaméti, yóra kentíparo. Yoanitapááka irióri
(his) godfather, they there kentíparo. They went down they

kentíparo irióri aká.
kentíparo they here.

Neámpa yoroantáriri? Té impínkari
Isn't it so (that) therefore they sun themselves? (That) they

kacirinkáiteri? Aróri aroavetanákari,
do not fear him the sun? We we begin to sun ourselves,

šiánake ántá tohašériki. Irímpa kentíparo irínti,
(we) run over there into the forest. But they kentíparo they alone,

yóra sametitáriri, irioťake iriórí
they there they who are his godfather, it is they they

sametitáriri, irítake aantakériri pérani
they who are his godfather, it is they they who carried him long ago

henóki. Yametantaríri iriórí aká.
up into the sky. Therefore they are accustomed to him they here.

Yamanakotapáákeri iriórí
Arriving (back on earth), they supplicated him they

kentíparo, yamanakoheevetákari. Árí yamenapáiriri
kentíparo, they all began to supplicate him. Well, they looked

katónko. Okitaitetamanáke, árí
for him there (looking) upriver. It dawned, well

yamenirírí aká, yamenavetakári.
they looked for him there here, they looked for him in vain.

Ineaváitiri aká itákiki. Óra,
They suddenly saw him here at their backs. It there,

ikitaiteakotapáákeri. Yamapáákero óká kempetácari mééka
he gave them daylight. He brought it it here what was like now

osarenciťake mééka aká áisati, yamapáákero. Mm, hm.
the dry season now here also, he brought it. Ah, yes.

Ikántiri, "Héró." "Há, áitake." Ikenavetapááka.
He said to them, "Here (it is)." "Ha, so it is." He began to pass.

Ihatanáke. Ikántiri iriórí kentíparo, "Encíte mééka
He went. He said to them they kentíparo, "Quickly now

pipokanáke áisati aká." Ikahemákeri yóntá, yóká
come again here." He called them he over there, he here

mééka Dióši, ikahemákeri. "Pipokanáke mééka šaméti aká.
now God, he called them. "Come now godfather here.

Paménena aká."
Look at me here."

Ipokapááke, iyoapááke yóra kentíparo,
They came, they presented themselves they there kentíparo,

sametitakaríri. Isampitavakéri, "Šaméti, kamecatákena
they who were his godfather. He asked them, "Godfather, am I good

aká?" "Té pinkamécate, té pinkamécate. Oščiki, óra,
here?" "You are not good, you are not good. Much, that is,

ošéiki pikacirinkatáke." Irósati ikantantákari mééka,
much you heat." And so therefore he said to them now,

"Poankahéna ocipakínta henóki." Irósati yoaantahári
"Lift me to another over there up above." And so therefore they

áisati. Antiaritánake! Irósati
moved him again again. (He) was becoming big (adult)! And so

yoankantákari ántá henóki áisati ántá.
therefore they lifted him over there up above again over there.

Té ineá isavikanteáro mééka osavitiníri.
He is not therefore residing in it now what is located below.

Áá, antáya henóki! Irósati
Ah, over there, (rather) (way) up in the sky! And so

yoankantáhari áisati henóki. Ikánti, óra,
therefore they lifted him again again up above. He said, that is,

"Poááhena henóki." Yoááitari, yoaratinkitári.
"Move me again up above." They moved him, they flew him vertically.

Yoaratinkakaanakári irósati henóki. Áá,
They flew with him vertically it also up above. Ah,

yoaratinkakáákari.
they flew with him vertically.

Ikánti, "Encíte pihate mééka, pamenahéna mééka."
He said, "Quickly go now, look at me again now."

Ipokapááhi kentíparo, yaniriapááhi. Irósati
They came again kentíparo, they descended again. And so

ikantantákari, yaménake. Irío kantáčari mééka,
therefore they did, they looked. It what was said now,

"Pameneté mééka, té isavaperotéhi? Té isavaperotéhi?"
"Look! now, is he not very warm? Is he not very warm?"

Yamenakéri. Áá, ikántiri, "Té." Mééka
They looked at him. Ah, what they said, "No." Now

yoankašitanákari kentíparo, yoankanáka áisati. Yaraheetanáke,
so they rose to him kentíparo, they rose again. They all flew,

yoaratinkaheetanáke. Irósati ikantantapáári mééka.
they all flew vertically. And so therefore they talked to him now.

"Hémpe nokántari ántá?" Ikántiri, "Kamecatákempi.
"How am I over there?" They said to him, "You are good.

Kamecatákempi, óká mééka óká, isavikíniri,
You are good, it here now it here, what is located below,

éiro pisavikantaróci. Oŝéiki pikacirinkatáke. Ontákea,
therefore do not reside in it. Much you heat. It over there,

óká mééka pisavikantapaakarína henokinírika
then, it here now therefore you reside here what is located here

ocípa áisati, irótake pisavikanteári.
up above another (place) also, it is it therefore you will reside.

Kamecatáinciri." Áá, irósati isavikántaka
That which is good." Ah, and so therefore he resides (where he does)

mééka yóká. "Há, pipiáhe osávi."
now he here. "Ha, return below."

Yamenavetakári ántá. Kempéta
They looked for him in vain over there. (It was) like

ocitenítí, yamenavetakári aká. Okitaitetáke,
dusk, (and) they looked for him in vain here. It became day,

yamenaheevetákari ántá, máároni aká.
(and) they all looked for him in vain over there, all (of them) here.

Ikánta yamanakohéétiri. Té ayótero arórí aká.
It seems they all supplicated him. We do not know how we here.

Irómpa mééka antáite mééka amanakoyetéri yóká
Is it that now we do now we supplicate him he here

henokiníri, kacirinkáiteri? Té avóte
he who lives in the sky, the sun? We do not know how

amanakóteri. Yamanaheetakéri yóra,
to supplicate him. They all supplicated him they there,

ineaváitiri itákiki, ikenapáake.
(when) they suddenly saw him at their backs, he came their way.

Áá, sóréréréréré. Áá, ipicakaheetanáka kentíparo,
Ah, *splendor*. Ah, they all turned around kentíparo,

yamenaheetanáke, maaronivé! Ikántiri, "Heróketi."
they all looked, all (of them)! What they said, "There it is, then."

Yamenaheetanáke máároni kentíparo, yamenaheetaŋake iriórí
They all looked all (of them) kentíparo, they all looked they

aká. "Heriketivé šaméti aká." Ikantiríkea
here. "There he is, then!, our godson here." They said to him,

mééka, "Pinínti ro pisáviki henóki?"
then, now, "Do you like it (where) you reside up in the sky?"

"Nonínti ro nosáviki aká. Nosavikáke nárori kirínka[9]
"I like it (where) I reside here. I reside I downriver

nárori aká. Arí kea nohateríkea nárori aká.
I here. Well, then, I will go there, then, I here.

Korakenákea nompóke áisati aká." "Há, ári
Watch out for me, then, I will come again here." "Ha, is it so

pinintahíro?" "Áitake nonintahíro."
you like it?" "So it is I like it."

Irosatíkea mééka kentíparo irióri mééka, irióri aká,
And so, then, now kentíparo they now, they here,

óra, anííri mééka kentíparo. Akántiri mééka,
that is, we see them now kentíparo. What we say now,

isáviki kiripekiríki kentíparo, té isavikášitea,
they reside on the pebbles (beaches) kentíparo, they do not reside

(there) without reason, írinea rather isavikašitíri they reside (there) for him

isámeti irióri mééka, yóká Dióši. Yamenahéétari,
their godson he now, he here God. They all look for him,

yamanakoheetavákeri, yamanakóteri, yamanakóteri,
they all supplicate him, they supplicate him, they supplicate him,

yamanakóteri, neahatíri aká tampátika,
they supplicate him, (when they) suddenly see him here overhead

(noon), "há." "ha." Ipicokánaka aká išávihi.
He turns (begins to descend) here below.

Picokaheetanáka irióri kentíparo, yoihaheetanáhiri,
(They) all turn they kentíparo, they all follow him,

yamenaváhiri ántá, "páme." Ineavahíri,
they continue looking at him over there, "behold!" They see him,

ikantanáha irióri kacirinkáiteri yóká Dióši, yoanketanakáro
he goes he the sun he here God, he is atop of it

otíši, há, ántá, haokaríka ikiapiníti,
a mountain ridge, ha, over there, where he always enters,

téró. Háá, tirinkaheetanáke irióri kentíparo irióri.
enter. Ha, (then they) all fly they kentíparo they.

Irónea akemantáriri aká, "váo" -- oraté,
It, then, therefore we hear them here, "vao" -- that is, now,

ikantiróranki irióri, "váo, váo, váo, v. . . .", arío.
they say it, that is, they, "vao, vao, vao, v. . . ." enough.

Irókea ikántiri irióri, yamanakotavákeri ántá,
It, then, what they say they, they supplicate him over there,

ihátahi irióri ántá. Koraketamanáhe
(when) he goes he over there. Watch out! he comes again in the

koáhika, yamenaváhiri áisati aká.
morning later, they look for him again again here.

Irótake ikantiríkea aká. Áá, ári okántari
It is it what they say, then, here. Ah, so it was

pérani kenkicarénci pérani aká.
long ago history long ago here.

NOTES

[1]This term is used to describe a length of nylon fishline. Employing it here reinforces the imagery of this episode.

[2]This reiteration indicates the passage of days.

[3]Informants later denied that spitting accompanies parturition.

[4]The Sun was not like our children, who appear today as they did yesterday, because they grow so slowly.

[5]The narrator repeatedly queries his listeners about terms because they come from a different dialect region.

[6]The narrator here complains parenthetically that there are Campas who, ignorant of the mythological status of these birds, kill them out of hand.

[7]That is, all had powers.

[8]This is the solid sound of landing on one of the lower celestial levels.

[9]That is, in the east.

ALTERNATIVE COSMOGONY: *PÁVÁ* AND THE SKY-ROPE

Among the Campas there is a belief that at one time earth and sky were close together and connected by a cable. A vine called *inkíteca* (literally, "sky-rope"; *Bauhinia* sp.) with a peculiar stepped shape, was pointed out to me as the cable that held earth and sky together. In the text that follows, this idea is incorporated into an account of how *Pává* ascended to the sky, one entirely at variance with those presented in the preceding two sections.

In this account *Pává*, called *Neháronci* by the narrator Kenčóri, initially lived on earth with an entourage of all his children (for he was the Father of all)—an entourage that included the sacred birds I have enumerated. Wishing to change his residence to the sky, *Pává* conceived the plan to climb a cable from the lower to the upper stratum. But first, he had to find someone to fly up to the sky with one end of the cable and anchor it there. Everyone could then clamber up to the celestial realms. All the sacred birds failed in the attempt until the smallest of them, the minuscule hummingbird *neorónke*, was routed out of hiding and induced to try. Again, appearances are deceiving, for *neorónke*, though the smallest, succeeded.

With the cable in place, *Pává* and all who would accompany him climbed to the sky. At that time a number of transformations were effected. In the text, the "chief" (*koráka*) *Kemári* refused to accompany *Pává* and was transformed into *kemári* (tapir). According to the informant Šaríti, *Inkíro* (Mouse) also had human form until he refused to accompany *Pává* and was transformed. *Pává*, Šaríti added, intended to take all maize with him but *Inkíro* hid some kernels in his cheek, and for this reason we now have maize.[1] The weevil *emó* was also then in human form (*ašáninka pérani*), the daughter of *Pává* (*irišínto Pává*), only to be transformed when she declined to accompany *Pává* up to the sky. Again, according to Šaríti, the trees *šimášeri*, *mesiá*, and *kocímeti*, whose flowers have calendrical significance, were human formerly, and daughters of *Pává*. (Their sex may be attributed to the fact that plants, being inanimate, take the feminine-inanimate gender.) *Pává* took them up to the sky, leaving only their clothing, which we see as trees. This understanding conflicts with that of *Šimášeri* being the sister of *Avíreri*, who transformed her in anger after she pushed him into a hole in the ground. Šaríti could not resolve the discrepancy.

To continue with Kenčóri's narration, the good beings, sons and daughters of *Pává*, who climbed the sky-rope to be with *Pává* in the sky, were pursued by the fierce warriors *Tontóri*, *Soróni*, and *Kosámi*. *Pává*, seeing these unwanted pursuers climbing the sky-rope, threw it down. *Tontóri* fell to the ground and all his arrows fell on top of him: he was thereupon transformed into *tontóri* (porcupine) and the arrows into his quills. *Soróni* fell to the ground, turning over as he fell, to assume the characteristic pose of the *soróni* (sloth), into which he was indeed transformed. *Kosámi*, warlike as he was, was converted into the wasp of the same name. The narrator concludes with the thought that it is because these warriors existed in the past that the Campas are all warriors today.

A number of terrestrial transformations, then, are attributed to *Pává* at the time that he departed from this earth to take up residence in the sky. The informant Šaríti added one more transformation that occurred before that event. This was the transformation of the common fish *šímá* (*Prochilodus* sp.), the only fish understood to have had human form in the mythological past. Again it was a matter of improper behavior: *Šímá* was a cannibal. On one occasion he was dancing with his father, *Pává* (the Father of all), with panpipes, tobacco leaf, and human flesh in his mouth, when *Pává* invited him to bathe. *Pává* dived in first, prepared a flat rock under water, and emerged, telling his son to dive in too. The latter dived, panpipes under arm, and smashed his face against the rock, knocking out his teeth. He was thereupon transformed by *Pává*, who ordained that from then on he would be eaten by the very human beings he had preyed upon. And so we see *šímá* today, with its mouth mashed flat, toothless, the panpipes converted into the striations found under the mouth, and with dark cheek meat—one side tobacco, the other side human flesh.

Pérani,	nokémi	pérani.	Yóká,	irapatótane
Long ago,	I heard	long ago.	He here,	his gathering

Neháronci,	yóká,	Tasórenci.	Iponeááka	yapatotákeri,
Mirror,	he here,	God.	It came about	he gathered them,

yapatotákeri,	yóra,	ašívanti.
he gathered them,	they there,	[the sacred bird Elanoides forficatus].

Irakáiri	kamárampi.	Óká	mééka	imaninkaritantahéétari,
He drank with them	ayahuasca.	It here	now	therefore they all are

	káári aneanteári.	Pamenekéti,	ári
Hidden Ones,	therefore we do not see them.	Look, then,	well

ankanterómearóri, irérome kamárampi, iréro,
if we will do it we, if we will drink it ayahuasca, (if) we will

áitake éiro anéiri áisati. Pašíni, irío
drink it, so it is we won't see them either. Another, he

kantáca irióri, yóká, anaakotíriri, maníti
unfortunately he, he here, he who beats them to it, jaguar

irínti aneašitákea.[2] Yóká, ašívanti, éiro anéiri. Ošéiki
he alone we see, then. He here, ašívanti, we won't see him. Many

itasorénciti irío Tasórenci, ipahenkanakéri[3] pérani
he made gods he God, he gave them intangibles long ago

yóká, yóká tomitetanakáriri pérani yóra,
they here, they here they who became his sons long ago he there,

Neháronci.
Mirror.

Iponeááka yapatotákeri, ipónea ikahemákeri.
It came about he gathered them, it came about he called them.

Óra, osavikavéétani inkíteca yoankantáhari henóki.
It there, it used to be then sky-rope with which they rose up to the

Ikahemákeri ašívanti. Ikánti Neháronci, "Notómi ašívanti,
sky. He called ašívanti. He said Mirror, "My son ašívanti,

pimpokanáke pintineáro, óra, inkíteca, ahatahéta
come raise it, it there, the sky-rope, we will go now

henóki. Cáme ahátahe máároni, naayetanahéro
up to the sky. Let's go everyone, I will take them all

nišintóite máároni." Irosatíkea, ikánti iríori ašívanti,
my many daughters all." It also, then, he said he ašívanti,

"Éiro nohátici, éiro nohátici, aká, áita[ke] nametakáro
"I won't go, I won't go, here, so it is I am accustomed to it

nárori." Yovacakivetákari, téé iraavéérohi,
(here) I." He put it around his waist in vain, he could not do

mapéro oténati, fiérro óni. Oponeááka,
it, much it weighed, iron [Sp.: "fierro"] it was. It came about,

ikahemayevetakári máároni: pitóroro;
he called them all in vain all: [the sacred bird Eubucco sp.];

yóra, mankóri; yóra,
he there, [the sacred bird Cacicus uropygialis]; he there,

picóco, [a sacred bird], kešíto, [a sacred bird], máároni; all; yóra, he there, conkíri, hummingbird,

kamévira [a large hummingbird] -- kamévira, -- kamévira, mééka now anííri, we see him, ikitamaróti he is white

iróinti, it alone, ikitamaróti, he is white, kitamarórі white kicárenci cushma ikicáta, he wears, kitamarórі white

iicáre. his cushma.

Iponeááka, It came about, iriórі he išianáka he ran yóra he there neorónke, [a small

hummingbird], ikiapái he entered kapironákiki, into the hollow of a bamboo, ikiáke he entered

compói. within. Iponeááka, It came forth, óra, it there, antáro (a) big tampéa, wind, pašíni another (kind of)

tampéa, wind, iráši his (God's) iriórі. he. Óra, It there, irómpa it, surely, óká it here mééka now

anííri, that we see, iráši (is) his, kamári, demon('s), itampéate.[4] his wind. Timáci There is pašíni, another,

šincíri strong tampéa. wind. Ikántiro, He said to them, "Nišintóite, "My many daughters, piháte, go,

óra, that is, paméneri look for him pihárіri your brother neorónke. neorónke. Haokaríka Where might

ikénake?" he have passed?" Okenanáke They passed tí, tí, tí, *sound of strong wind*, otaporeakotáhiri[5] they broke the

circle for him ántá, over there, óra, that is, kapirosámpiki. in the dry bamboo. Iyovanáke. He emerged.

Okánti, They said, "Páita "Why pišiántari? did you run? Ikahemakántake He has called for (you)

ári, our father, yóra, he there, Nehárонci. Mirror. Ikánti, He says, 'Cáme 'Let's ahátahe. go.

Pintináero, Raise it, óra, it there, inkíteca the sky-rope ahatantaheári with which we will go

henóki.'" up to the sky.'" "Té, "No, éiro nohátici, I won't go, nametakéro I am accustomed to it aká. here.

Páita Why nohatašitéri should I go henóki? up to the sky? Témpa Are there not ošéikini many

ašáninka áisati henóki? Háokampa
(of) our fellow tribesmen also up in the sky? Where

nonkenapaatiéri? Aitákenea nareetaheári nárori
will I go when I arrive? So it is, now, I will arrive there I

ántá, novecataheári henóki. Irovanahenáro
over there, I will greet them up in the sky. He will leave it for me

óká, óra, óká kamárampi nareetantaheáriri
it here, that is, it here ayahuasca with which I will arrive there

henóki. Éiro naaveayetimaitahíro mééka aká.
up in the sky. I won't be able to begin to do it all now here.

Té iraaveayetimatahéro irióri mééka yóká ašívanti.
He was not able to begin to do it all he now he here ašívanti.

Antári inayevéta oašiánaka náro, irihanimotíki nóni.
Big they all were whereas I, small and chubby I am.

Éiro naavéiroci." Irókea ikánti mapéro išínciti,
I won't be able to do it." But, then, they say much he had

mapéro išínciti.
strength, much he had strength.

Iponeááka, yareetapááka. Ikánti, "Háoka
He came forth, he arrived. He (Nehároncí) said, "Where

pikémake, notómi, óra, neorónke, nokahemakántimpi?"
did you hear, my son, that is, neorónke, (that) I had you called?"

"Hé, nokemavétake," ikánti, "Páita?"
"Yes, I heard," he (neorónke) said, "What (do you want)?"

"Óká poankahéna. Cáme ahátahe henóki." Irókea
"It here lift for me. Let's go up to the sky." But, then,

ikánti, "Éiro nohátici. Páitampa avaiteári?
he (neorónke) said, "I won't go. What will we eat?

Novaiteánea, yóra, hetopé irihaníki" -- yoránki
I will eat, now, they there, all the spiders small" -- they,

anéiri. "Poanahenáro óká pišintóite
that is, that we see. "Leave me them they here your many daughters

aká, noaheeteáro" -- okakeáme kaníri,
here, I will eat them all" -- they here, then, now, manioc,

irišintóite yóká Nehároncí.
(who were) his many daughters he here Mirror.

Iponeááka, "Encíketi nomaveteáro,
It came about (that he said), "Let's see, then, I will try it,

eiroríka naavéiroci." Yovacakitakáro
perhaps I won't be able to do it." He put it around his waist

icákiki. Iponeááka, itináánaka. Itináákero máároni
at his waist. It came about, he rose. He lifted it all

otináánaka. Isantianakákea[6] cé, cé, cé,
it rose. He broke wind, then, *sound of breaking wind*,

áikero ohati henóki, áikero ohátí, áikero.
it kept on going up to the sky, it kept on going, kept on.

Té arehivétea pérani óká, ikantéétiri mééka, óká
It was not far long ago it here, what they say now, it here

amenakótiri, ohíta Hananeríte, ohíta
what we look at, it is called the River of Eternal Youth, it is called

Hananeríte.[7] Yovanketákero ántá, vánke.
the River of Eternal Youth. He placed it over there, *place*.

Poneááka, yataiheetanáke máároni.
(It) came about, (that) they all ascended everyone.

Ainíro yatiriyevetáni máároni,
They were they were all human then all, (inclusive of)

yóká kemári. Kemári, koráka íni, koráka íni, kemári.
he here Tapir. Tapir, chief he was, chief he was, Tapir.

Iponeááka, óra, ikahemakantakéri, "Pinkánteri
It came about, that is, he (Nehároncí) had him called, "Tell him

kemári, koráka notómi, impokanáketa." Ipokanáke iriórí. Ikánti,
Tapir, chief my son, to come now." He came he. He said,

"Notómi, cáme ahátahe henóki." "Té, éiro nohá. Noáitia,
"My son, let's go up to the sky." "No, I won't go. I eat,

óra, mahatikišipé, hirinašipé,
it there, all leaves of mahátiki (unidentified plant), all stinging

nettle leaves, óra, it there, potóki, fruit of the ojé tree, noáyetea." I will eat (them) all."

"Há, avíro kemári." Árí ipeanakéri kemári.
"Ha, you (are) tapir." So he transformed him (into) tapir.

Iponeááka: iriórí, yóra, tontóri, máároni,
They came forth: he, he there, Porcupine, all,

máároni, soróni, hé, yóra, sáni, kosámi.
all, Sloth, yes, he there, Wasp, [the wasp kosámi].

Yampícati, óra, ikemakoventíri Hananeríteki
He (kosámi) made cord, that is, he heard that on the River of

Eternal Youth oséiki (there were) many pošinirínci, oséiki many

cími, oséiki cióni, oséiki sankáti, máároni.
watering places, many [a bird], many [a bird], all.

Irókea yampicatíkea, óra, oravé, iramáite
It, then, he made cord, then, it there, that is, his cord

iroašitapéériri ántá. Iponeááka,
with which he would lay traps for them over there. It came about,

iponeááka, óra, aká, hayétake máároni.
it came about, that is, here, (they) all went all.

Ikantéétiri, yóra, kosámi ikentayetákeri kapiroméniki,
What they say, he there, kosámi he shot them all with bamboo-pointed

arrows, yóra he there oáyeri, warrior, mapéro very much oáyeri warrior pérani, long ago, oáyeri. warrior.

Ikokitantayetanákari mééka, yóká, yóra,
Therefore they all are shy now, they here, that is,

kanári.[8]
Blue-throated Piping-guans.

Iponeááka, irosatíkea, "Koráke
It came about, it also, then, "Watch out! here come

čakopivé," ikánti. Hatáke irínti yóká, yoravé,
many arrows," he said. (He) went he alone he here, that is,

yokaté, yóra, Tasórenci, Tasórenci, yokáme
he here, now, that is, God, God, he here now

ašitanakééri máároni. Hatá[hi] yoankáha henóki.
he who owns us all all. (He) went he rose up to the sky.

Koraketá[ke], irósati ipišontakotantakárikea,
Watch out! here come (the pursuers), and so therefore he threw (the

sky-rope) down, then, óra, that is, osavinkantakárikea therefore it (the earth) lowered, then,

mééka óká.[9] Ohíta mééka óká asavikapacári, óra,
now it here. It is called now it here where we live, that is,

Kamaveníani, Kamaveníani óká. Iponeááka,
the Land of Death, the Land of Death it here. It came about,

óra, ikenanáke tontóri, ihokapááka, otihanákari
that is, he passed (fell) Porcupine, he landed, they piled on him

ičakopíte. Irósati mééka oránki, ikiteš impokitantáhari.
his arrows. And so now it, that is, therefore he is

Iríio soróni, kenanáke, ipitareapááka.
yellow-quilled. He Sloth, (he) passed (fell), he turned over.

Ipeayetavakéri, yóra, Tasórenci, Neháronci. "Hé,
He transformed them all, he there, God, Mirror. "Yes,

soróni impéémpa, tontóri impéémpa,
(to) sloth may he be transformed, (to) porcupine may he be

hé, yóra, kosámi, sáni íni," -- ahitantáriri
transformed, yes, he there, kosámi, wasp he is," -- therefore we

mééka kosámi -- "kosámi impéémpa,
call him now kosámi -- "(to) kosámi may he be transformed,

irinantapaaheáro inčáto henóki." Peáka
he will live in it a tree up above." (He) was transformed (into)

kosámi, iríio oáyeri. Ipeákeri sáni, icimahénka
kosámi, he warrior. He transformed him (into) a wasp, (such was)

pérani oáyeri, mapéro oáyeri pérani.
his fury long ago warrior, very much warrior long ago.

Éiro itímime oáyeri -- irosatímekea iríake
If they had not been warriors -- it also now, then, it was they

omišiákeri -- irósati oayeritantaheetanáka
(who) made them (the others) run -- and so therefore (we) all are

mééka. Itasonkanakéri yóká Tasórenci pérani. Ári
warriors now. He blew on them he here God long ago. Well,

okárati nokenkicáti.
it is finished my story.

The concept of the sky-rope occurs in Machiguenga belief also. The account available to us in which this is reported, is included in Appendix 2 (page 571).

NOTES

[1]The Machiguenga belief reported by Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 92) is entirely different: "*The mouse*: Formerly this little animal was a lazy man who dedicated himself to robbing things to eat. One day a Machiguenga encountered him robbing in his garden and gave him a severe cudgelling, saying 'Why don't you work for your food?' *Yabireri* blew on him and converted him into a mouse."

[2]Kenčori has a high regard for ayahuasca as a sacred drug, but he recognizes that with its use the undesirable can also occur, as, for example, jaguars appearing instead of good spirits.

[3]That is, wisdom, knowledge, skills.

[4]The Campas consider winds to be bad. In this instance, however, *Pává* himself sends a wind to find *neorónke*, who has hidden himself in a bamboo hollow. This wind is necessarily good, and is composed of daughters of *Pává*.

[5]That is, the wind snapped the bamboo stalk across its circular cross section.

[6]From the strain.

[7]Initially the sky, across which *Hananeríte* courses, was very close to the earth. *Neorónke*'s flight, consequently, was short.

[8]The narrator suggests here that hunters today find game so shy because the warrior *Kosámi* so assiduously hunted after his fellow creatures. A short paragraph that follows in the recorded text is omitted here as unintelligible.

[9]Earth and sky, no longer connected by the sky-rope, move apart.

OTHER ASTRONOMICAL MYTHS: *MAŠÍKINTI* AND *PORÍNKARI*

The Pleiads in their central station
and Orion, lord of the night
—Euripides, *Helen*

Two constellations, perhaps the two most striking clusters of stars in the night sky, have been the subjects of special mythological concern for the Campas. One is the Pleiades, called by the Campas *Mašíkinti*. The other is the group of stars forming the belt and scabbard of Orion, known to the Campas as *Porínkari*. In the following narrative, provided by the informant Komítia, the story of *Mašíkinti* and *Porínkari* is told.

Mašíkinti once lived with his large family here on earth, but wished to trade mortality for immortality by migrating to the sky. He was the first Campa to use ayahuasca—it was he who introduced ayahuasca to the Campas—and by drinking this drug over a long period of time with proper continence he and his family made themselves ready and worthy to make the trip. Boarding a balsa-wood raft, they sang and danced with pious fervor, and the raft flew up to the sky.

Mašíkinti's brother-in-law, *Porínkari*, was left behind with his own large family. *Porínkari*, married to *Mašíkinti*'s sister, had not been willing to undergo the rigors of continence that drinking ayahuasca requires, and had not believed that it was possible in this way to rise to the sky. After *Mašíkinti*'s departure, *Porínkari* had a change of heart and attempted to duplicate *Mašíkinti*'s feat, but without success. His raft refused to fly.

At this point in the story the sky-rope is introduced again. *Mašíkinti*, heartsick for those he had left behind, threw down a rope, up which *Porínkari* and his family clambered. In this account, the sky-rope served to separate the worthy from the worthless: those worthy of living in the sky reached it, but those who were slow were still climbing the rope when it was cut, and they tumbled back to earth. These latter included *Tontóri*, who delayed long enough to take his arrows, and the slowgoing *Soróni*.

Pameneté	mééka,	ikantayétiri	áisati	óká,
Look, now,	now,	all that they say	also	it here,

hananeróca	áisati,	té iriotayetéro	yóká	šeripiaripé
ayahuasca	also,	they did not know it	they here	all the shamans

irírero	irióri	aká.	Hérí yóká	--	akántiri
(how) to drink it	they	here.	Here he was	--	we call him

Mašíkinti,	Mašíkinti	nihaantanakerórí.
Pleiades,	Pleiades	he who therefore showed it (how to drink

ayahuasca). [S.: Yatirivétani pérani?] Hé, ašániŋka
[He was human then long ago?] Yes, our fellow

tribesman íni. he is. Irótake It was it inámpini his home then irióri he aká, here, akempehééta he and we

are all alike mééka. now. Pameneté Look, now, mééka . . . now . . . [S.: Irókea [It, then,

pérani . . .] long ago . . .] Perantineákea, Lazy, yes, then, peránti, lazy, té yantaváete. he never worked.

Pikemasanotákena, Hear me well, nokántempi I will tell you nárori I mééka. now. Té Not apáro only

pikéme: you hear: máároni, all, akemahééti we all have heard máároni all aká. here. Paméne, Look,

ikárati they totaled itómi, his sons, itómi, his sons, itomipé, all his sons, irišintopé, all his daughters,

máároni. all. Té yanteróta He did not do it, now, óká it here antavérenci (sex) play aká. here. Iróinti It alone

yánti, he did, ikánti, they say, išinkiátaro he got drunk with it hananeróca. ayahuasca.

Ikántakea It seems, then, koánake (he) wanted oankakeríri it to lift him there henóki. up to

the sky. Išinkiáta. He got drunk (on ayahuasca), then. Ikantavetaríkea He said to him in vain,

then, yóra he there -- háoka how -- pikantiríri do you call him avírori, you, timáci is it

pikántiri you call him yóra he there Porínkari? Orion? Porínkari. Orion. Hm. Hm. Ikantavétari, He said to him

in vain, "Aní, "Brother-in-law, pipóke come pamitakoténa assist me akavé." here!"

Ikantiríkea He said to him, then, irióri, he, yóra, he there, Porínkari, Orion,

"Éiro namitakotímpici, "I won't assist you, aní, brother-in-law, aká. here. Naimentitimpirokári Careful that my sexual

activities don't spoil it (the ayahuasca) for you aká. here. Áitake So it is

namétaro I am accustomed to her, nocipatáro I am together with her picíro your sister aká." here."

Ikantiríkea mééka Mašíkinti, "Pipokanakeketitéémi,
He said to him, then, now Pleiades, "Come, then!,

aní, aká. Neámpa háoka okántari?
brother-in-law, here. Do you not see how it appears?

Ahaheetantaheári henóki." Ikantanákekea irióri
Therefore we will all go up to the sky." He said, then, he

Porínkari, "Tekacitéémi onkénea, aní, aká aháte
Orion, "There isn't a way, brother-in-law, here (by which)

henóki. Háokampa mééka akenanaitiéri aká?"
we will go up to the sky. How now shall we pass here?"

Há, ikantanákekea irióri Mašíkinti, "Há, ariové,
Ha, he said, then, he Pleiades, "Ha, good enough!,

aní, akemavakááka aká."
brother-in-law, we have heard each other here."

Ikántikea áisati, óra itoviriákero
They say, then, also, it there, he (Pleiades) cut it into

sonkáre, yoviriákero sonkáre,
sections panpipe-reed, he cut it into lengths panpipe-reed,

yoviriákero sonkáre, máároni; imonkaratakéri
he cut it into lengths panpipe-reed, all (he needed); he apportioned

itómi, itómi, itómi, itómi,
(panpipes) to each of them, his son, his son, his son, his son,

irisintopé, máároni! Ipáhake šintípa, ipáhake
all his daughters, all (of them)! He nailed a raft, he nailed

šintípa, ipáhake. Itimentákero.[1] Ikantavétari,
(that) raft, he nailed. He put it on its side. He said to him in vain,

"Aní, pamitakoténa." Ikántikea iriori,
"Brother-in-law, assist me." He said, then, he,

"Éiro namitakotímpici, aní, aká. Hámpa
"I won't assist you, brother-in-law, here. Is it not so?

tekáci akenavincatátie aháte henóki aká. Háokampa
there is not any route for us to go up to the sky here. How

akantanaitiémpari acománakea ahátake henóki?"
shall we lift ourselves bodily to go up to the sky?"

Ikantavétari mééka yóra Mašíkinti iriori aká,
He said to him in vain now he there Pleiades he here,

"Aitakevé, aní, aká. Há, íro nokantimpíri,
"So be it!, brother-in-law, here. Ha, it what I have said to you,

'Pamitakotavakéna, anahéétahe henóki aká.' Páita
'Assist me, we will all go up to the sky here.' Why

asavikantakári mééka aká kipáciki? Mm, áá,
therefore do we reside now here on the earth? Mm, ah,

onkanteáta, aní." "Mm, namétaro
(so) it will be now, brother-in-law." "Mm, I am accustomed to her

picíro, nocipatáro aká. Naimentitimpirokári."
your sister, I am together with her here. Careful that my sexual

activities don't spoil it for you." Hé, ári ikantanákeri
Yes, so he said to him

Mašíkinti, "Há, aitapaaketéémi, aní, akantavakááka
Pleiades, "Ha, enough!, brother-in-law, we have talked to

aká. Aitapááke akantavakááka aká.
each other here. Enough we have talked to each other here.

Akantavakááveta čapínki áisati. Órame,
We talked to each other in vain the other day also. It there, now,

éiro noneantimpíci koáhika. Órame, pašinonkanákea
therefore I won't see you later. It there, now, you will be lonely

koáhika aká." ikánti.
later here," he said.

Irókea koáhika, yáiti kamárampi, ikaratákero
So, then, later, he (Pleiades) took ayahuasca, he amassed

akavé! Isáátake, icáátake,
it (like this) here! [indicating the quantity]. He boiled, he finished

isáátake, icáátake, isáátake, icáátake.
drinking, he boiled, he finished drinking, he boiled, he finished

Conkapááka poyére. Pašíni yáiti áisati,
drinking. Finished completely. Another (supply) he took also,

ikaratákero akavékea! Isáátake,
he amassed it (like this) here!! [indicating the quantity]. He boiled,

icáátake, ikótita áisati, icáátake,
he finished drinking, he then cooked again, he finished drinking,

ikótita áisati, icáátake, ikótita áisati,
he then cooked again, he finished drinking, he then cooked again,

há, árikea ikántiro ihína, "Pihonkatánake
ha, well, then, he said to her his wife, "(It) has become light

(of weight) šintípaya aká." Yoroákero,
the raft, now, here." He had sunned it,

itimentákero, pihonkamenkotánake.
he had put it on its side, (it) had become lightweight.

Árikea ikántiro ihína, "Cáme aháte henóki.
Well, then, he said to her his wife, "Let's go up to

the sky. Há, cameketitéémi, cameketitéémi aká,
Ha, let's go, then!, let's go, then!, here,

ahatahéta henóki. Paméne, asavikáveta aká.
we will go now up to the sky. Look, we live in vain here.

Intáni aká akamaširehééti aká. Teperotíkea,
Only here all our souls die here. Not good, then,

akamaširetímekea, akamaarantahéétari máároni
our souls die now, then, we all die one after the other all (of us)

aká." Mm. Árі.
here." Mm. Enough.

Itetitapááka šintípaki, otetitapááka irišínto,
They embarked on the raft, they embarked his daughters,

itetitapááka itomipé, yaapaahirókakea sonkáre,
they embarked all his sons, they took, then, panpipes,

isonkahéétake itomipé,
they all played their panpipes all his sons,

són, són, són, són, són, són, máároni, máároni,
sound of panpipes, all (of them), all (of them),

óra, irišintopé omaninkehéétake irórі, é.
they there, all his daughters they all sang they, *sound of

female singing*. Neatirókea šintípa oankanáka.
(They) suddenly saw it, then, the raft it rose.

Há, yóká Porínkari, yohokeetanákeri. Ikantavetaváhari,
Ha, he here Orion, they left him. He said to them in vain,

ineákeri yoankakotanáka, ikemavákeri iriórі,
he saw them they rose on (the raft), he heard them he,

išikorotanáke, ipiompitanáke, ipiompitanáke, hatáke
they were dancing, they were singing, they were singing, (they) went

henóki, oankánaka. Okemavákeri iríciro,
up to the sky, (they) rose. She heard them his sister (of Pleiades),

omaninketanáke, omaninketanáke, kemavakéro
they (the females) sang, they sang, (she) heard them

é, é, é, é, é, é, é, hatáke henóki.
sound of female singing, (they) went up to the sky.

Ikahemanavetanáka, mééka yóra, Porínkari.
He kept shouting in vain, now he there, Orion.

"Aní, paapanahanténa, paapanahanténa,
"Brother-in-law, return and take me, return and take me,

paapanahanténa." Háiteti, sonkaheetanáke,
return and take me." (They) went for good and all, all playing

henokivé -- keméro són, són, són,
panpipes, way up to the sky -- hear it! *sound of panpipes*,

kempetánaka ecóni[2] henóki.
like [the bird ecóni (unidentified)] up in the sky.

Háiteti. Há, tíró
(They) went for good and all. Ha, *thud* (sound of landing)

henóki, mm.
up in the sky, yes.

Yamenakotapááhiri irániri, yóra,
Upon arrival he looked at him his brother-in-law, he there,

Porínkari, kemapáirikea. "Amenakóteri
Orion, upon arrival (he) heard him, then. "We will look at him

isáviki." Yamenakotapáiri ántá, ašinonkánaka.
down (there)." He looked at him over there, lonely.

Yáiti irióri, Porinkaritáciri,
He took (ayahuasca) he, he who was Orion,

yacipereanakáro irióri, káári yántini irióri.
he did it of necessity he, what he did not do previously he.

Yáiti, ikaratákero,
He took (ayahuasca), he amassed it [indicating the quantity],

aivetapaakavé! Yáiti, isaavetáka,
(he) took much (but) in vain. He took, he boiled in vain,

iravetáka, isaavetáka, iravetáka, isaavetáka
he drank in vain, he boiled in vain, he drank in vain, he boiled

ocípa, iravetáka. Ikantirókea
in vain another (portion), he drank in vain. He said to her, then,

ihína, "Cáme, akempeaheárita pihárири.
his wife, "Let's go, we will (do) like him now your brother.

Ihatantákari henóki." "Há, arío, áitake
He went because of it up to the sky." "Ha, good enough, so it is

amatakéro." Yáiti pašíni, iconkakéro
we will be able (to do) it." He took another, he finished it

poyére, yáiti pašíni, yáiti pašíni yáiti pašíni.
completely, he took another, he took another, he took another.

Té iconkiteárohi. Aivetáka, aivetáka,
He did not finish (doing) it. Took in vain, took in vain,

aivetáka, aivetáka, aivetáka, há, arío,
took in vain, took in vain, took in vain, ha, enough,

iotakerové. Icaatakéro, išinkiáátaka,
he knew it exceedingly. He finished drinking it, he got very drunk,

išinkiáátaka, išinkiáátaka, há, arío. Ikantavétaro
he got very drunk, he got very drunk, ha, enough. He said to her in

ihína, "Caméketi amenahéri pihárири
vain his wife, "Let's go, then, we will look upon him again your

henóki. Caméketi amenahéri
brother up in the sky. Let's go, then, we will look upon him again

pihárири henóki." "Há, caméketi."
your brother up in the sky." "Ha, let's go, then."

Ipahavétaka irióri šintípa. Téékea, óra, ihatakótehi.
He nailed in vain he a raft. (But) he did not, then,

Teheetapááka šintípaki. Itimentavetákaro.
that is, go in (it). All embarked on the raft. He put it on its side

Yaitavétaro, itevetáka, aivetáka
in vain. He took it quickly in vain, he embarked in vain, (he) took

sonkáre, sonkáre aivetapááka, isonkaheetapááke
in vain panpipes, panpipes (he) took in vain, they all played

itomipé irióri -- neámpa ikaratíni
panpipes all his sons he -- you see he (his family) totaled then

Porínkari irióri aká oséiki. Isonkaheetapááke,
Orion he here many. They all played panpipes,

isonkaheetapááke, irišintopé, yaitavétaro
they all played panpipes, all his daughters, he took it quickly

šintípa, yoankakavaróme henóki. Té,
in vain the raft, he was going to lift it up to the sky. No,

imavetákero, imavetákaro, té. Há, íro, aniriaheetanáhi
he could not, he could not, no. Ha, then they all disembarked

ihínani, irišintopé. "Háoka ankanteári aneantaheáriri,
his wife then, all his daughters. "What must we do in order to see

akempeantaheáriri, yóra, pihariríni
him again, in order to (be or do) like him, he there, your erstwhile

aká? Háoka ankantaheári aróri aká?"
brother here? What must we do we here?"

Yaméniri iriórí Mašíkinti hatáke
He looked at him he Pleiades, (who) had gone

henóki. Aneantaríri[3] mééka
up to the sky. Therefore we see them (the Pleiades) now

kisó y[óiri] -- akempetáka mééka: pisáviki avírori aká,
united -- we are similar now: you reside you here,

isavikáke icípa, isavikáke . . .
he resides (nearby) someone else, he (yet another) resides . . .

-- aneantaríri išonkapááka,
-- therefore we see them they pass around (the heavens),

poróki, poróki, máároni aká. Irótake
a group of small (stars), all (of them) here. It is it

ikantaetiríkea. Óra, isemanáka koáhika ineákeri,
what they say, then. It there, he was uneasy after he saw him,

yoaširetakotapááhari irániri iriórí aká. "Páita
he was heartsick for him his brother-in-law he here. "Why

nohokantayetáriri aní aká?" Irósati,
did I leave him my brother-in-law here?" And so

yoariantahárori šivicatáciri. Irósati, yoaniriantahánari
therefore he threw down what was rope. And so therefore he lowered

mééka irániri. Ohokapááka pankóciki. Irósati,
for him now his brother-in-law. It landed on the house. And so

ikánti ineákero aniriapááke. Irósati, yoankantanahári
they say he saw it (when) it was lowered. And so therefore he

	iriórі	mééka	yóra	Porínkari.	Ikantanáke,
lifted himself	he	now	he there	Orion.	He said,

"Cáme,	amenahéri				pihárіri."	Kantanáka
"Let's go,	we will look upon him again				your brother."	(They) went

šó,		máároni	šó,		henóki,
look at them go!,		all (of them)	*look at them go!*,		up to the sky,

tírón	kempetapááha	aká.
thump,	(it) was like	here.

Há,	yakotitavákaro	yóra	tontóri.
Ha,	he grabbed it quickly	he there	Porcupine.

Té	irišíncite		iháte	henóki.		Aitákeme
He did not have strength			to go	up to the sky.		So it might have been,

ihatakéme	tontóri	henóki.	Soróni,	irísati.
he might have gone	Porcupine	up to the sky.	Sloth	he also.

Ikárati	icatinkakoyetakéri		pérani	iriórі.
They totaled	those on whom he cut (the rope)		long ago	he.

Ošéiki	yompetanakáro	iriórі	tontóri	ičakopíte.	Ikánti,
Many	he gripped them	he	Porcupine	his arrows.	He said,

"Koahikáta.	Naanakérota		nočakopíte."	Soróni:	íri
"Just a moment.	I will take them now		my arrows."	Sloth:	he

kantáinča	iriórі	ihátake	kamáca,	kamáca,	kamáca,	há.
unfortunately	he	he went	slowly,	slowly,	slowly,	ha.

Satiriánake		yóká	irío	pérori.
(They) passed the dangerous obstacle		they here	they	(only) the best.

Irósati	ipesakoteetantákari	cátí.
And so	therefore someone cut (it) on them	clean through.

Ihokapááka	kipáciki	tiríki-gm-vékea.	Peánaka
They fell	to earth	*wham-(echo)*, then!	(He) was

	tontóri.	Itasonkavakéri	ántá
transformed (into)	a porcupine.	He blew on them	over there

henokinírika,	"Mééka	impéémpa
he who lives in the sky, here,	"Now	he will be transformed (into)

tontóri.	Pašíni	impéémpa	soróni."
a porcupine.	The other	he will be transformed (into)	a sloth."

Itimantayetanakári		soróni,	tontóri.
Therefore they all came into existence		sloths (and)	porcupines.

Héró	okántari	kenkicarénci	pérani	aká.
Here is	how it appeared	history	long ago	here.

Comparison of the materials thus far provided shows that there is a certain amount of shuffling of myth elements as we pass from one informant to another. As further illustration, the shaman Porekaványti's account of *Mašíkinti* and *Porínkari* is given here in summary form.

According to Porekaványti, *Mašíkinti* was born near the headwaters of the *Cikíreni*, tributary of the Ene River. He introduced ayahuasca to his brothers so that they might all rise to the sky. They drank for many years. His sister's husband was too preoccupied with her to take ayahuasca. *Mašíkinti* made a raft and on the appointed day he and his disciples boarded the raft, which flew to heaven. His sister's husband called to them to come back for him, but in vain, for if they had returned they would have been transformed to stone. The raft returned empty. He who was left behind began drinking ayahuasca but could never rise to the sky. He was transformed into the bird *porotiái* (unidentified), which makes a cry like its name and builds its nest of many twigs.

The history of *Porínkari* is for Porekaványti an entirely different account. At one time the earth was suspended by a rope from the sky a short distance away, about the height of a house. The warrior *Porínkari*, thus named because of his injured leg, was pursued by the warrior *Sáni* (Wasp). *Porínkari* climbed the rope, receiving an arrow in his leg. He then cut the rope and the earth descended to its present position.

NOTES

[1]Newly built rafts are placed on their sides so that the sun will dry them.

[2]Flocks of these birds wheeling in the sky are understood to be dancing while playing panpipes.

[3]That is, we see them as they are because *Mašikinti* and his family went up to the sky as they did. This sentence is parenthetical.

PART 5. CAMPA COSMOGONY: MANKIND

THE ORIGIN OF THE CAMPAS

> In the first mythological explanations of the universe we always find a primitive *anthropology* side by side with a primitive *cosmology*. The question of the origin of the world is inextricably interwoven with the question of the origin of man.
>
> —Cassirer 1953:17

Familiarity with the Campa narrative myth reveals it to be, essentially, a drama with a cast of characters: the interaction of these characters produces the effect that the myth is designed to explain. The creation of the world and of mankind, however, do not lend themselves to this treatment, which may explain why these topics are hardly touched upon by Campa mythology. Indeed, it is not certain that the Campas ever considered meaningful the question of how the universe was created. According to J. G., reporting a century ago (1868:42): "When they are asked who made the universe, they do not know what to answer, contenting themselves with saying that their ancestors must have known." Today the Campas generally say that *Tasórenci* is Father and creator of all, leaving the subject at that. Even this may be only the reflection of the extensive missionizing to which the Campas have been subjected.[1] I came away from repeated interrogations with the impression that for the Campas what is important is the concept of *Tasórenci* or *Pává* as Father of all, mainly in a titular sense, and not as creator except by implication. The same may be said for *Koriošpíri* as Father of demons. The inchoate condition of Campa thought about creation, and the degree of variation thus permitted in speculation on the subject, is suggested by the informant Šaríti's declaration that an unknown god gave *Koriošpíri* a small quantity of earth, from which he (*Koriošpíri*) fashioned the universe. This is not a statement that all Campas would recognize, although we might see in it an expression of the underlying Campa sentiment that theirs is far from being the best of all possible worlds.

If Campa concepts of the origin of the universe are suspect, so is their conception of its end. Here, again, is a suggestion of missionary influence. The Campas anticipate a time when *Tasórenci* will destroy the world or, rather, transform it into a new world. When that occurs, sky and earth will again be close together, the earth will speak once again, and its inhabitants will be a new race of humanity knowing nothing of sickness, death, or toil.[2]

As for the origin of mankind, although it too is obscured in the primal haze of Campa cosmogony, something more definite can be said. Mankind means Campa-kind, and the Campas believe that the first of their kind were created out of *kacikorípio* (nest of the termite *kacíkori*) by an unidentified god (*tasórenci*). This event took place within the present confines of Campa territory, for the Campas have no tradition of migration to their present habitat. They claim to have always been where they are.[3] There is, of course, an inherent inconsistency here: if all the gods were Campas to begin with, who, then, was the creator of the Campas? We have no choice but to recognize this inconsistency as one left unresolved in Campa thought.

As the first Campas were fashioned of earth, the earth of the *kacíkori* nest, all Campas return to earth after death. If they had been formed of more durable substance, the Campas would be immortal. One informant elaborated on this understanding as follows: The god who was to make man (the informant identified him as *Avíreri*), looking for a suitable substance, spoke first to *hiriváti* (unidentified), but received no reply—otherwise the Campas would be like this durable tree and not die. He then spoke to *mápi* (stone), but received no reply—otherwise, durable like stone, the Campas would not die. He then spoke to *mešiá* (*Calycophyllum spruce-*

anum), but received no reply—otherwise the Campas would be periodically rejuvenated, just as this tree changes its bark every year. Finally he took earth, and it answered—so now the Campas, made of earth, die.

Here once again we encounter an element in common with the misssionaries' creed—that mankind was made from earth. But in the Campa mind this is more than an explanation. It is a calamity, an indictment of the creative powers in the universe, because it accounts for human debility and mortality. The informant Komítia alluded to the pervasive Campa mood on this subject in the following terms:

"Neámpa	mééka	arórі	ašaninkavéta
"Is it not so?	now	we	we shoddy fellows of this tribe

arórі	pérani	aká,	ašáninka	té ašaninkatepérotea.
we	long ago	here,	we fellows	we are not true (well-made) fellows.

Íro	manánea	mééka,	yovecikééti	arórі
It	it is certain, then,	now,	someone made	us

pérani	aká.	Té yovecikééte	kaméca.
long ago	here.	Someone did not make	good.

Té yovecikééte	kaméca	arórі	pérani	aká.
Someone did not make	good	us	long ago	here.

Akántiri	mééka	'ašáninka,'	anéiri	mééka
We call them	now	'our fellow tribesmen,'	we see them	now

ašáninka	pokinkaripé	aká.	'Koráke
our fellow tribesmen	all who come	here.	'Watch out! here come

ašáninka,'	té ašaninkateári.
our fellow tribesmen,'	(but) they are not our fellow tribesmen.

Kipáci	óni	pérani,	itasonkeetanákero	irórі	aká.
Earth	it was	long ago,	someone blew on it	it	here.

Itasonkeetanákero	kipáci	pérani	aká.
Someone blew on it	earth	long ago	here."

Mortality, that ultimate evil, is for the Campas what it appears to be for all mankind, a puzzle that demands an explanation. But the Campa search for meaningful explanation has led to a number of alternative formulations. One of these is that the Campas are mortal because they were formed out of no more durable substance than earth. Another formulation explains mortality as an incidental consequence of the Sun's birth: the burial of the Sun's mother by *Oáti* made death final for all time. This rather gratuitous explanation may be found in a myth presented above (page 372). Another formulation was elicited from one of Savaroháni's brothers, who reported that the Ene shamans relate the following: Long ago (*pérani*) the Campas died, revived, and never died again, but the bird *hiríti* (motmot), then in human form, excreted on a dead person before covering him with earth, so that flies, etc., were produced. Consequently, the Campas are now eaten by worms when they die, and never revive; only their souls fly away. Thus, human mortality is viewed either as a direct consequence of the very manner in which humanity was created, or as a gratuitous innovation produced by the improper action, blundering or malicious, of a minor being.[4]

Campa ethnocentrism is thoroughgoing; the

creation of humanity means the creation of the Campas. They take no interest, so far as I could discover, in the origins of neighboring tribes, with a single fugitive exception. They do take an interest in the origins of the Caucasians (*virakóča*), whose invasion of their territory has been so traumatic. We have already encountered the notion that the *virakóča* were created from the dismembered body of *Kašíri*'s first child (see above, page 372). Although this particular notion is probably not widespread,[5] it appears that the Campas definitely do not include the Caucasians among the ordinary descendants of those created from perishable earth. Indeed, there is general uncertainty among the Campas as to whether Caucasians die.

The single reference to the origin of a neighboring tribe chanced upon by me, occurs at the end of a myth concerning the place called *Pakicapánko* (Hawk's House). The myth is given here in summary form (see figs. 18-23):

The imposing cliff on the right side of the Ene River where that river cuts through a mountain ridge was at one time the residence of a huge hawk, *Pakíca*. This creature preyed on Campas passing by, carrying them off to its home and there devouring them. Beneath *Pakíca*'s house is a cave, said to be the passage through which *Pakíca*'s wife, whose form was human, went to draw water. *Pakíca* was finally disposed of in the following manner: A number of Campas heaped up earth in the form of a canoe. *Pakíca* swooped down and tried to lift what it took to be a canoe, but could not, and in the struggle the Campas broke its legs with their paddles. *Pakíca* was then carried downriver a short distance and cremated on a large rock situated on the right side of the river. The heat of the fire cracked the rock in

FIG. 18. *Pakicapánko* on the right facing *Koakitipánko* (Ene River) as viewed from upstream. According to Campa belief, a man-eating hawk lived here on the Ene River until it was killed by the Campas.

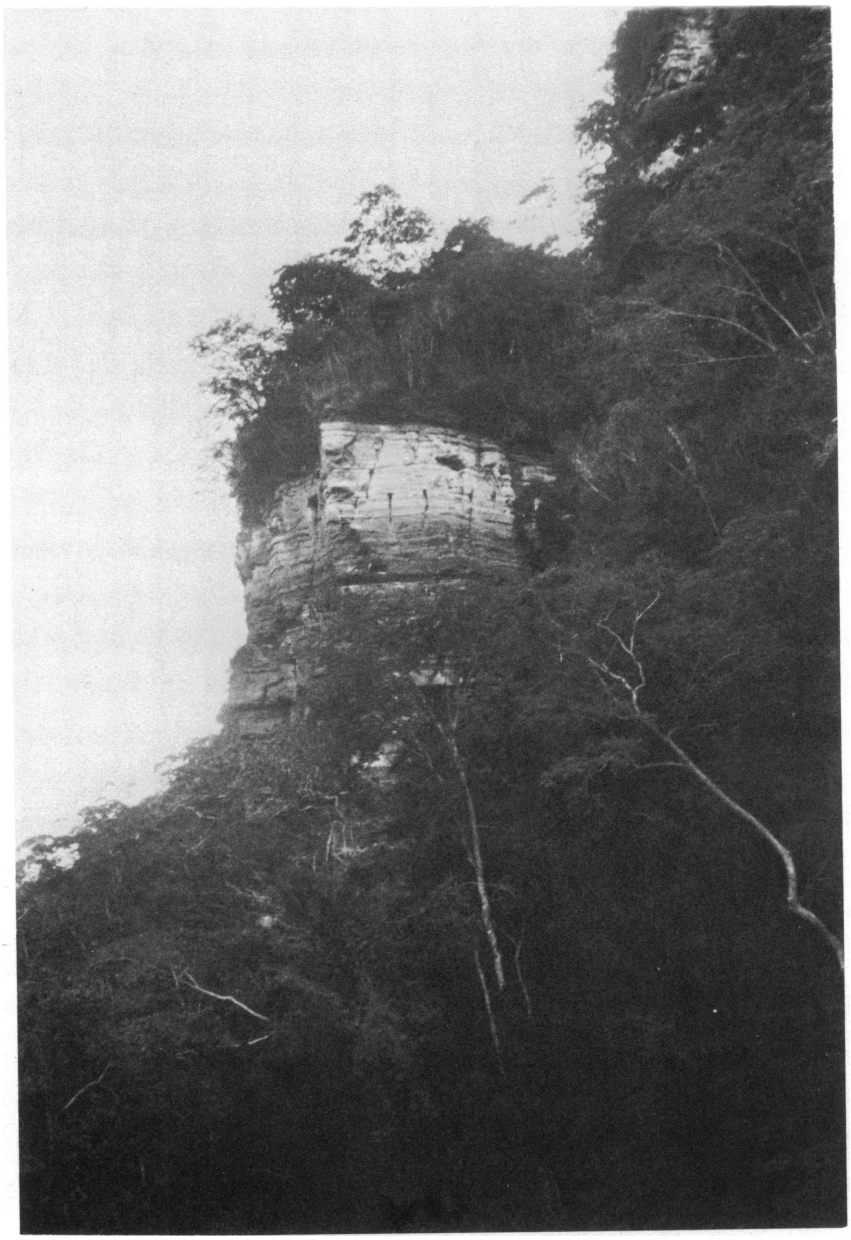


FIG. 19. *Pakicapánko* (Ene River). A turret of the man-eating hawk's house.

two.[6] The bird was burned entirely and its ashes scattered by the Campas. But with each handful of ashes thrown into the river, there appeared below a raft with a full crew, blowing their signal horns (*tivórenci*) and heading downriver. In this way the bird escaped. *Pakíca*'s wife remained, sad and hungry. Her brother *Koákiti* (a small hawk), though he tried, was too small to seize people. (*Koákiti*'s house, where he still lives, is *Koakitipánko*, the cliff that faces *Pakicapánko*

across the river.) *Pakíca*'s wife finally went downriver. Descendants of the pair are the cannibal Cashibos. (Informant: Kenčóri.)

On the upper Perené River there is another *Pakicapánko*, a great overhanging cliff on the right side of the river facing downstream. This *Pakicapánko* also was described, by Campas living in that region, as the former residence of a man-eating hawk. There the denouement was related in a slightly different form: The Campas at last made an effigy of earth, dressed like a Campa, and sent it downriver on a raft. The hawk swooped down and seized it, only to be beaten to death by the Campas with paddles, and its body cremated. Two large rocks standing in the river near the shore at the foot of *Pakicapánko* on the Perené are called *Imairoténi*, the name of *Pakíca*'s wife (or two wives), but nothing more could be learned about them.[7]

It appears that great cliffs at considerable distances from each other have the myth of the anthropophagous hawk attached to them by the Campas living near them. Only for the Ene is the myth used to explain the existence of the Cashibos, whose cannibalistic practices are widely known. If traditions exist among the Campas accounting for the origin of any of their other neighbors, they did not come to my attention.[8]

NOTES

[1]Padre García's account of Machiguenga beliefs concerning the origin of things (1935-1937:XVII, 98-99; see also Mac-Lean y Estenós 1941:329-330) seems little more than a revision of missionary teachings:

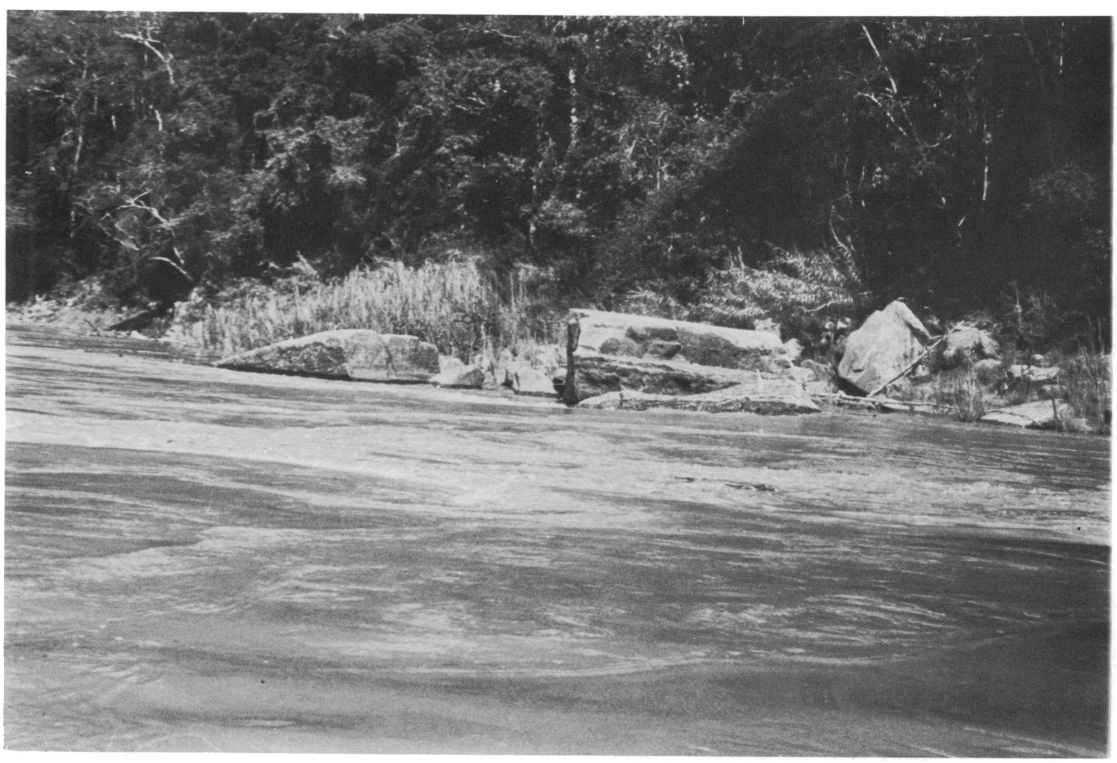


FIG. 20. Split rock below *Pakicapánko* (Ene River). On this rock the man-eating hawk was cremated by its destroyers.

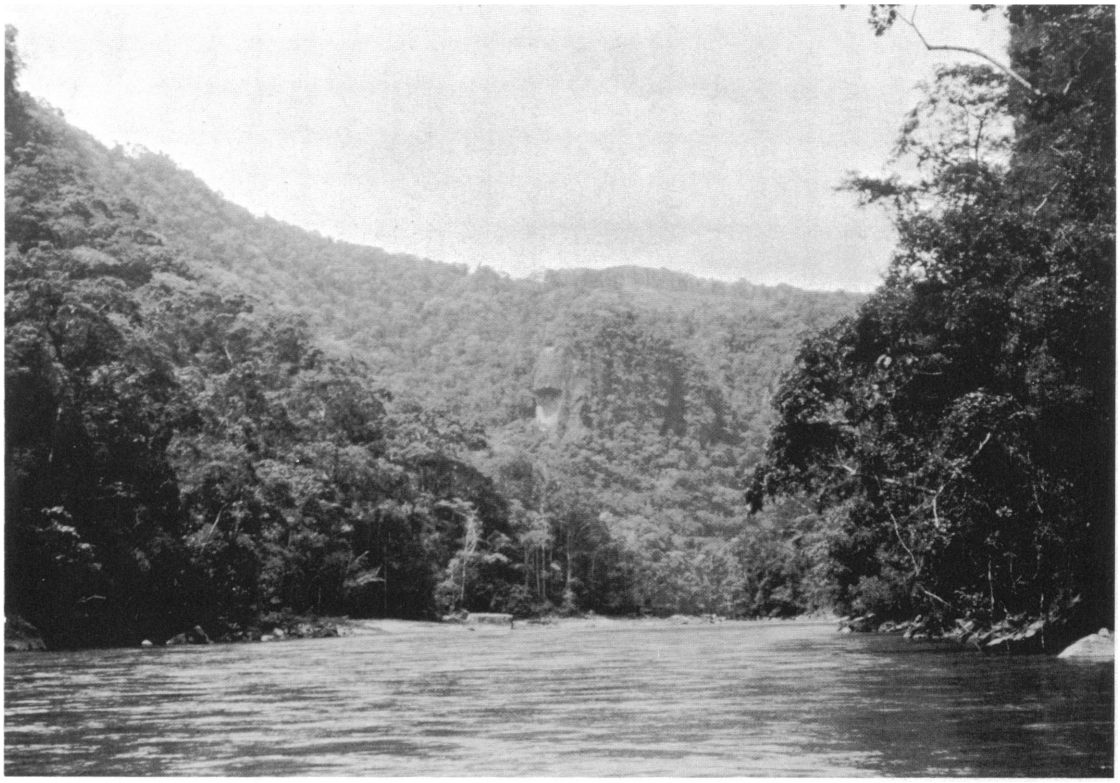


FIG. 21. *Pakicapánko* (Perené River) viewed from downstream. In the distance is a place on the Perené River where another man-eating hawk is believed to have resided.

"*Tasurinchi* is the creator of everything good. He created the stars, the moon, and the earth; thunder, air, and fire; springs, lakes, and rivers; the fish, birds, and animals that are eaten; the edible, fructiferous, and medicinal plants and trees; and, finally, the Machiguengas. But he created these things successively, not all at one time. Whenever he wanted something he blew and with only his blowing–*shió*–it was instantly done.

"When he wanted the earth, he blew and it fell done. At first it was flat because it was entirely covered with water. Later he dried the water and the mountains appeared. With another blowing he created all the good plants and, with another, the good animals. He blew again and created the Machiguengas, adult in age, both men and women, and in great number; all dressed in red cushmas, with faces reddened with achiote, and adorned with crowns of *kápiro* [bamboo] or of beautiful feathers, as is the style at present. Those first Machiguengas were not like those of today; they were good, and neither sickened nor died. . . .

"Just as *Tasurinchi* created everything good, *Kientibákori* is the creator of everything bad. He created sickness; the rocks; the clouds and the rain, the mud and the rainbow; lice, fleas, and chiggers; vipers and snakes; mice, alligators, and toads; spiders and scorpions; flies, gnats, and mosquitos; bats and vampires; termites and almost all species of ants; urticaceous and thorny plants, and those which neither are eaten nor provide edible fruit; the vultures both black and white, along with all the other birds that are not eaten. He is also the creator of the Highland Indians–puñarunas–and all the many devils.

"*Kientibákori* is very bad. He was not created by *Tasurinchi*; he has his own proper existence. He resides below, in the depths of the earth. He does not like the Machiguengas. If he had not created sickness and the other bad things we would not die."

My informants were of the opinion that *Koriošpíri*, the Campa equivalent of "Kientibákori," was indeed

created by *Tasórenci*, which is more in keeping with the Campa concept of *Tasórenci* as Father and creator of all. In further contrast to Padre García's account, *Koriošpíri* as the Father of demons is credited only with the creation of the demons, including the rainbow demon, scorpions, bats, and the various demonic insects and birds, but excluding the demonic scavenger birds. According to my informant Kenčóri, the scavenger birds–*tisóni* (vulture), as well as *aróni* (unidentified) and *amémpori* (condor)–were human beings who ate human flesh and were transformed by *Pává*. The Campas would add all vermin, all harmful and useless plants, and perhaps some sicknesses to the list of things for which *Koriošpíri* is responsible.

[2]For similar Machiguenga concepts, see García 1935-1937:XVII, 99; XVIII, 174-175.

[3]Padre Touchaux (1908:132) reported, quite simply, "Tasorinchi created man" but for him "Tasorinchi" was the name of the Sun. The corresponding Machiguenga idea, according to Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 2; 1943:229), is that the first Machiguengas were made by "Tasorinchi" from *paróto*, the balsa-wood tree: "The Machiguengas were the first human beings to exist in the world. *Tasorinchi* made them in great numbers, and all adults, from the *paroto* or balsa-wood tree, by blowing on it." (See also Steward and Métraux 1948:550, based on Padre García's account but with "Tasorinchi" erroneously pluralized.) Padre Aza (1924:27-28) attributed a different understanding to the Machiguengas, namely, that mankind first emerged out of a hole in a wild walnut tree. Padre Cenitagoya's account ([1943]): 183-184) is different again, and appears to reflect missionary influence:

"In the beginning there existed only *Tasorinchi*–the All-powerful–and *Kamagarin*–the Devil. But the Machiguengas assert that they lived in complete harmony.

"*Tasorinchi* wanted to teach *Kamagarin* the way to create human beings: He spat into his hand and flung the saliva into the air while saying 'Let human beings be made,' and there appeared the first human pair, consisting of *Pareni* and *Yagontoro*, wife and husband respectively.

"*Kamagarin* tried to imitate him, employing a dif-

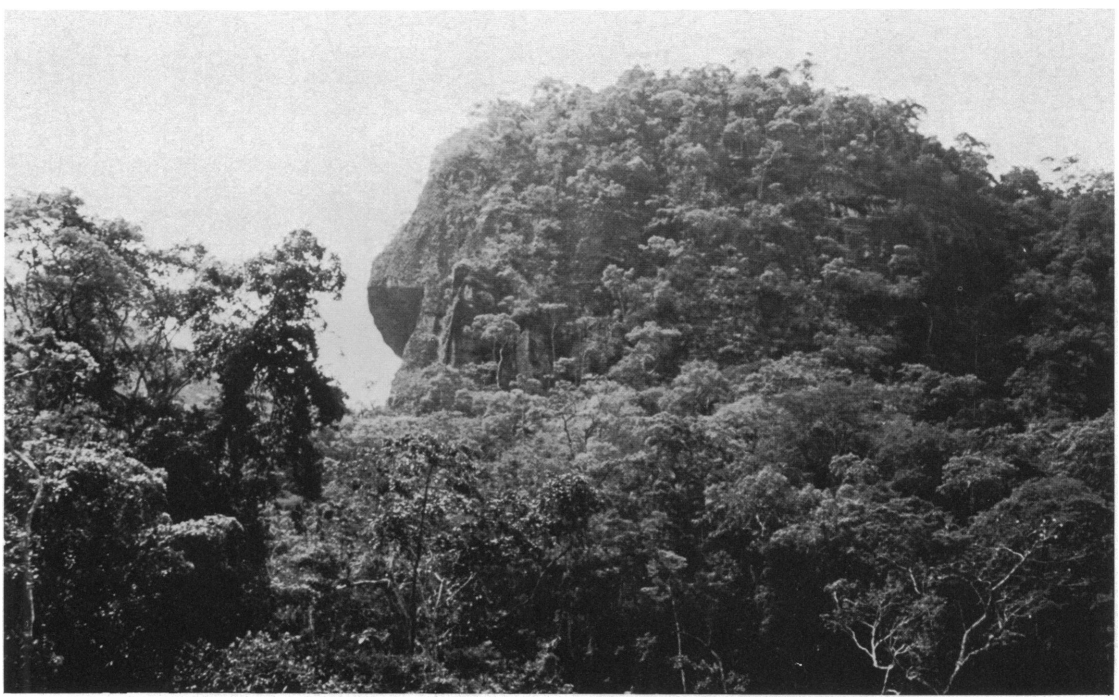


FIG. 22. *Pakicapánko* (Perené River). This beak-shaped formation marks the residence of the man-eating hawk of the Perené region.

FIG. 23. *Imairoténi* (Perené River). These two rocks mark the wife or wives of the man-eating hawk on the Perené River.

ferent method. He broke off one of his little fingers and threw it on the ground, where it became a serpent. This disobedience angered *Tasorinchi*, who reproved him harshly for his rebelliousness.

"Again *Tasorinchi* spat into his hand and, flinging the saliva into the air, said 'Let human beings be made,' and there were made it is not known how many.

"*Kamagarin* broke off his other little finger and threw it also on the ground, where it also became a serpent.

"Enraged by his inability to imitate the works of *Tasorinchi*, *Kamagarin* rushed on Him. But *Tasorinchi* flew to Heaven."

My informants recognized none of this.

[4]A plethora of explanations of death is also reported for the Machiguengas by Padre García, who furnished the following summary (1935-1937:XVIII, 131-132):

"When *Tasorinchi* made the first Machiguengas from the *paroto* or balsa-wood tree, he told them, 'You will not die.' But, seeing themselves made from such soft and unsubstantial wood, they answered him, 'We will die, we want to die.' *Tasorinchi* replied, 'Since you so wish, you will die,' thus punishing them for having answered him. If *Tasorinchi* had made the Machiguengas, not of balsa wood, but of *shira*, a tree with very substantial wood, they would not die.

"In the beginning the Machiguengas did not die, since there was no sickness, nor poisonous plants, nor venomous and ferocious animals, nor anything that could cause death. Then *Kientibákori* created all these bad things, and the Machiguengas began to sicken and die. If *Kientibákori* had not created the bad things, people would not die.

"Ever since the *tasorinchi Berenákoni* nailed *Yabíreri tasorinchi*, the Machiguengas began to sicken and die. If *Yabireri* had not been nailed they would not die.

"Formerly there were many Machiguengas, but they went on dying in the same way that they die now, until there are left only the few who exist today."

[5]More generally known is a Campa version of the history of the Caucasian invasion, presented in the following section.

[6]In Burke's report of his trip down the Ene River, we read the following: "One point along the river is called 'Pachichapango'; there, any Campa can show you a split rock, and the splitting of the rock was the work of an aggrieved hawk" (1960a:mxxviii, 8; see also mxxxi, 11).

[7]In Schläppi's account of his trip down the Perené (1935:356), we read of "the 'Hawk's Beak,' which is an immense rock in the form of the head of a hawk. At the base of the rock, in the river, there exists a large square stone called the 'table of the hawk.' " Schläppi added: "The Indians recount that formerly those who passed by the place were eaten by the hawk, and those who could escape fell into the claws of the tiger." The phrase "the claws of the tiger" presumably is a reference to *Manitipánko* (see pages 289-290) situated a short distance below *Pakicapánko* on the Perené.

[8]Padre García provided us with Machiguenga beliefs concerning the origins of three neighboring Indian groups: the "Chonchóite," the "Kugapakúri," and the "Puñarunas," the last named the Indians of the Andean Highlands. The "Chonchóite" are described as cannibals living at some distance, and originally created by "Kientibákori." These may be the Cashibos. The word *čončóite* in Campa is the name of a species of wasp. The "Kugapakúri" are described as ferocious bowmen created from fire ants by the breath of "Kientibákori." They are identified by some Machiguengas as the Mashco tribes to the east. The "Puñarunas" are described as having been demons created in the subterranean "Gamáironi," again by "Kientibákori." Most of them remain there, but a number of them emerged through a hole excavated in play by a Machiguenga child. These terrestrial "Puñarunas" were transformed from demons to human beings when they began to eat manioc, but they remain bad people. (See García 1935-1937:XVIII, 2-3, 13; 1943:229-230, 236-237; see also Steward and Métraux 1948:550.)

THE COMING OF THE CAUCASIANS

> And Death and Dread, with their white-livered slaves,
> Oer-run the earth
>
> —Bernard Shaw, *The Admirable Bashville*

The Spanish invasion of Campa territory in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is amply documented in the historical accounts that have come down to us. According to these accounts, the Campas proved themselves to be dangerous antagonists who took a steady toll of Spanish lives, missionary and otherwise. The Campa side of that struggle is told in a traditional account which emphasizes, by contrast, the ferocious, homicidal character of the Spaniards.

The first version of this traditional Campa account that I obtained came from a long-time resident of *Šímá* on the upper Tambo River:

Beyond the hills facing *Šímá* across the river there is a large lake called *Ompikirinkiáni*. Long ago a Campa, whose name is not known, was fishing in that lake. He first used a papaya on his hook, but without success. He then used a chicken on his hook, but without success. Finally he baited his hook with another Campa's child—and pulled up the Spaniards. The Spaniards pursued him to the house of *Ínka*, located on *Kentipánko*, the gabled hill just below the confluence of the Ene and Perené to form the Tambo. There the Spaniards sliced up the Campa and *Ínka*. The Campa was killed, but *Ínka* never dies. Afterward the Spaniards traveled all over Campa territory, and then disappeared. A housepost of *Ínka*'s house still stands on *Kentipánko*, or did until recently.

I procured another version of this myth from the informant Komítia who, after noting in a preliminary remark that the original (lacustrine) home of the Caucasians was in the *Kentipánko* area, whence they introduced themselves into other lands, proceeded as follows:

Peranîkea	irióri	aká,	yoimisotoákeri	pérani
Long ago, then,	he	here,	he pulled them out	long ago

aká,	intaronîri	irióri	aká.	Isotoanakéri
here,	he who was at the beginning	he	here.	They emerged there

mééka, akemakóitiri mééka "Peruáno",
now, whom we hear called now "Peruvians" [Sp.: "Peruano"],

"Peruáno" yóká -- háokampa ihítari áisati? --
"Peruvians" they here -- what are they called also? --

ikantéétiri iránki yóra "Išipaneóri".
they call them they, that is, they there "Spaniards" [Sp.: "Español"].

Inkaharesáti[1] íni aká, inkaharesáti íni aká.
Lake dwellers they are here, lake dwellers they are here.

Akemantayetáriri mééka, yoayetíro kirínka,
Therefore we hear them all now, they pass it on downriver,

ikánti mééka, inkaharesáti íni Peruáno aká --
they say now, (that) lake dwellers they are the Peruvians here --

máároni Išipaneóri. Arírika inkaharéki hanikárika
all the Spaniards. If there were in the lake whoever

nihaantahérine, éiro atimanáhici arórí, áitake
might again appear there now, we would not live we, so it is

iconkéétake, ipešetánake arórí, éiro atimanáhici.
they would finish, they would cut us, we would not live.

Pameneté, pérani isotoantakári. Pihitikáriya,
Look, now, long ago therefore they emerged. Careful that you do not

mééka avírori aká, itími
believe, now, now you here (that) they came into existence

virakóča -- akántiri mééka "virakóča" --
(as we did) the Caucasians -- we call them now "Caucasians" --

té, inkaharesátiya íni aká. Inkaharesáti íni
no, lake dwellers, now, they are here. Lake dwellers they are

iriórí aká.
they here.

Timáci kačatakeríri pérani. Nokemakótiri
There was he who hooked them long ago. I heard about it

náinti aká. Ikenkicáti ašáninka iriórí aká.
I myself here. They recount our fellow tribesmen they here.

Intárori pérani. Ikánti ineákeri, ineákeri
He who began it long ago. They say he saw them, he saw them

virakóča. Isemanákari séma séma, "Cáme
the Caucasians. He responded to them strongly, "Let's

ankačáteri. Háoka akanteári aneanteáriri? Nokói nárori
fish for them. When shall we therefore see them? I want I

akonoiteári aká." Háá, ikántaka yáánake
(that) we fraternize with them here." Ha, it seems he carried

ohitaríka yohokakenerírí šivíca. Yóra
whatever it was that he threw for them (as) rope. He there

isatakenéri, óra, parénti. Yohokakéneri,
he baited for them, it there, banana. He threw (it) for them,

okánti "có." Ineátiri yaavakéro
it gave the sound "plunk." He suddenly saw them they took it

šírí, irósati yaakotantakári šírí sokacáki.
haul, and so therefore he hauled them *haul* on the rope

Irósati isotoantanakavé,
[Sp.: "soga"]. And so therefore they emerged in great numbers,

neavakéri sotoánake, sotoánake, sotoánake, sotoánake,
(he) saw them emerge, emerge, emerge, emerge,

sotoánake, sotoánake, sotoánake, sotoánake, máároni,
emerge, emerge, emerge, emerge, all,

máároni. [S.: Sotoánake cináne?] Té, té osotoyéhi
all. [Emerged women?] No, none of them emerged

iroínti; irínti širamparinivé.
they (women) alone; they alone (emerged) men then in great numbers.

Timáci pašíni kempetáčari nošintocóri
There was another who was like my classificatory daughter

irórí aká. Osáviki. Neavakéri
[pointing to Heváyoki] she here. She resided. (She) saw them

kontetanáinci, kontetanáinci, kontetanáinci, kontetanáinci,
who emerged, who emerged, who emerged, who emerged,

iróinti. Išiantapáákeri ikantéétiri "Išipaneóri."
she alone. So they came running they who are called "Spaniards."

Išiaheetapááka, ipesanákeri ašaninkáni
They all came running, they cut them our fellow tribesmen then

pérani, intárori pérani. Ipesanákeri, ikántiri
long ago, those at the beginning long ago. They cut them, making the

"cátí, cátí, cátí," yohókati, yohókati.
sound "slash, slash, slash," they threw (them) down, they threw

Timácikea pašínikea, inešinonkatanakérika,
(them) down. There was, then, another, then, perhaps they had pity,

cináne kempetarórí mééka nošintocóri mééka.
a woman who was like her now my classificatory daughter now.

Otihaváiti irórí, otíhiro kicárenci. Ikantapáákero,
She was weaving she, she was weaving it a cushma. They said

"Páita oponeántari mééka aká?" Irísati intákari
to her, "Why did it happen now here?" He himself began it

ašáninka, ikačatakíri, irísati intanontákari,
our fellow tribesman, he hooked them, he himself began it on purpose,

irísati intákari. Ikánti, "Páita oponeántari mééka aká?"[2]
he himself began it. They said, "Why did it happen now here?"

Irótake impešetérome irórí. Ó. Ikánti
It was she they were going to cut her she. Oh! They say

onihráitari irórí óká ašítari
she showed them she she here what she possesses (her pudenda)

irórí. Héró ikánti irótake ivinkacáre Išipaneórí.
she. Here is they say it is it what they fear the Spaniards.

Onihaantakáriri, "Éiro pipesanáci aká."
Therefore she showed (it) to them, "Don't cut me here."

Há, irósati ikántake aneantarórí, ikánti --
Ha, and so they say therefore we see them, they say --

virakóča aká -- irávo antiároti, irávo
the Caucasians here -- their paths (roads) are big, their paths

aká, kempéhi sankóri irávo.[3] Hé. Arionea
here, like leaf-cutting ants their paths. Yes. So, now,

okantayétari aká pérani, kenkicarencipé aká.
it all appeared here long ago, all the stories here.

The Campas do recognize the Caucasians to be, like themselves, *atíri* (human beings). Yet, as the myth presented in this chapter establishes, in Campa thought the Caucasians are an aquatic form of life whose natural element is water and whose natural habitat is the beds of lakes. From one of these lakes the Spaniards emerged. The havoc they caused is, as we have seen, still remembered in Campa mythology.[4]

NOTES

[1]Lake dwellers in the sense of living within the lake, under the surface of the water.

[2]The Spaniards here express their anger at being fished out of their lake.

[3]The roads constructed by the Caucasians for their vehicles are here likened to the broad, even paths made by the leaf-cutting ants.

[4]The Machiguengas, according to Padre García, believe that the "Virakochas," like the "Puñarunas," were created in "Gamáironi" by "Kientibákori." A large number of them climbed to earth through a hole dug in search of precious metals by certain spirits called "Inkakuna," despite the desperate efforts of the "Inkakuna" to close off the hole. Like the "Puñarunas," the "Virakochas" left in "Gamáironi" are demons, while those who came to earth became human beings upon eating manioc, although they remain bad people (García, 1935-1937:XVIII, 3; 1943:229-230; see also Steward and Métraux 1948:550, who through error wrote of the *virakóča* as "the people of the Puna.")

ÍNKA

> Our world has just discovered another world . . . no less great, full, and well-limbed than itself. . . . The awesome magnificence of . . . Cuzco . . . and the beauty of their workmanship in jewelry, feathers, cotton, and painting, show that they are not behind us in industry either. . . . That last king of Peru, the day that he was taken, was thus carried on shafts of gold, seated in a chair of gold, in the midst of his army.
>
> —Montaigne, *Essays*

The Campas believe the technological superiority of the *virakóča* is due not to the inventive efforts of the Caucasians themselves but to the unfortunate circumstance that they were able to capture a Campa technological genius whose name is *Ínka*.

In the text that follows we encounter *Ínka* initially as the "owner" of Campa territory (much as *Pává* could be said to have been the "owner" of the earth when he resided on it) and a great imbiber of tobacco (from which we might infer that he was, in addition, a powerful shaman). The Caucasians, with their center of habitation downriver in the direction of *Ociríko*, created a flood in order to capture *Ínka*, a flood which covered the very mountain ridges. *Ínka* predicted the flood, but his fellow Campas scoffed at him.[1] When the flood came, *Ínka* saved himself by boarding a raft, on which he floated down to the waiting Caucasians. They captured him, and since that time they have forced him to manufacture the superior artifacts they are observed to possess. Thus far they have succeeded in preventing his return to his people, the Campas. If he ever did return, the differential between Caucasian and Campa technology would be reversed. This the Caucasians could not be expected to countenance. The narrator here is, again, the informant Komítia.

Yorámpakea,		yóra,	ikantéétiri	Ínka,	
He there, surely, then,		he there,	they call him	Ínka,	
iriotákekea	irínti	pérani	ašitaróri	inámpi	
it is he, then,	he alone	long ago	he who owned it	his homeland	
irióri	aká.	Há,	iriotáke,	ašitaróri	inámpi	irióri
he	here.	Ha,	it is he,	he who owned it	his homeland	he
aká.	Ínka!	Óra,	iponeánaka	yovonkakotanáka	pérani,	
here.	Ínka!	It there,	it came about	he was in a flood	long ago,	
opónea	ovónka	antiáro,	opokanáke.	Áitake	imátiro	
it came forth	a flood	big,	it came.	So it was	he could	

irínti, óká, počáro -- imátiro irínti,
(take) it he alone, it here, tobacco -- he could (take) it he alone,

yoviáro počáro. Ovonkanáka, oconkanáka otíši,
he drank it tobacco. It flooded, they were finished the mountain

oconkáánaka otíši máároni aká!
ridges, they were finished the mountain ridges all (of them) here!

Ohokantayetanakári yóra šímá ántá kanóhaki,
Therefore it left them all they there fish over there in the hills,

inkaharéki, ohokanákeri ovónka pérani aká. Oankanáka
in the lakes, it left them the flood long ago here. It (the flood)

šó, šonkapááka otíšiki.
rose *look at it go!*, (it) went around in the mountain ridges.

Arítake yántiro irínti počáro irióri aká.
So it is he did (take) it he alone tobacco he here.

Ikántaka irióri akempehééta mééka, yóra ašaninkapé
They appeared they all like us now, they there all our fellow

irióri. Ikántiri mééka, "Héró pikantiríkea
tribesmen they. He said to them now, "Here is what you said,

mééka aká, picénkana, pikántiri mééka
then, now here, you did not believe me, what you said now

aká, 'Icayášita mééka, éiro opókini óká
here, 'He lies without reason now, it will not come it here

ovónka aká. Icayášita, éiro opóki óra
the flood here. He lies without reason, it will not come it there

ovónka aká.' Pinéakero okántari mééka aká. Avínti
the flood here.' You see it how it appears now here. You alone

hatácine. Nárori, éiro noháti náinti
who will go (perish) now. I, I will not go (perish) I alone

aká."[2] Ikántaka otiriánake pérani óká henokiníri,
here." It seems it unloosened long ago it here what is in the sky,

tiriánake, ošiánake Tampóni.
unloosened, (and) it ran (wild) the Tambo.

Yoakotávaka, yoakotávaka, yoisotantanákari Ínka.[3] Irósati
He waited, he waited, thereupon he tied (it) Ínka. And so

Ocitiríkoki. Yamenavákeri yónta
(he went) to River's End. They looked for him they over there

ocitirikosáti, yóntá vonkakérori
the inhabitants of River's End, they over there they who had

Tampóni. Yamenanáke katónko, yamenanáke katónko,
flooded it the Tambo. They looked upriver, they looked upriver,

ikánti, "Koraketáke Ínka." Ikantapááka, šírírírí,
they said, "Watch out! here comes Ínka." He appeared, *motion*,

yamahatapááke Ínka. Yaatapááke séró. Ikantavakeríkea
he came downriver Ínka. He stopped *stop*. They said to him, then,

yóntá vonkakotakériri ántá, ikantavákeri,
they over there those who had flooded it over there, they said to him,

"Pineavakéro ovónka?" "Hé, noneavakéro." "Niotavakempíya
"You saw it the flood?" "Yes, I saw it." "We know you, now,

mééka aká. Avirotáke mééka Ínka áka, avirotáke Ínka,
now here. It is you now Ínka here, it is you Ínka,

avirotáke Inkatácine aká, avíro aká ašitaarantáčane
it is you who will be Ínka now here, you here who will have

kóahika aká." Mm, mm, áitake. Irósati
property now from now on here." Ah, ah, so it was. And so

mééka isavikántaha mééka Ínka ántá kirínka.
now therefore he resides now Ínka over there downriver.

Irósati isavikántaka. Ošeikiánake
And so therefore he resides (there). There have become many

ihananekitepé irióri aká, ošeikiáke ihananékite.
all his children he here, there are many his children.

Orákea kantáča, té inkoakááheri
It there, then, what appears, they do not want to let him

soldadopé irióri aká impokahéhi
all the soldiers [Sp.: "soldado"] they here (that) he come again

irióri. Ikantavétate iríori Ínka irióri aká --
he. He says urgently in vain he Ínka he here --

opokakóti neánci aká -- "Nokói namenahéri
they come (his) words here -- "I want to see them again

ašaninkapéni pérani. Timáci ohokanákeri
all our fellow tribesmen then long ago. There are those it left

ovónka pérani aká. Té incónkea ikáme ašáninka
the flood long ago here. They did not all die our fellow tribesmen

aká. Ainirotáci, ainirotáci."
here. There are still (some left), there are still (some left)."

Irío kantáča soldádo irióri yoipíahiri, yoipíro
They it seems the soldiers they they make him return, they make

them return neánci aká. Ikánti, "Téé. Poameyetapaahiríkari
(his) words here. They say, "No. Careful that you

do not teach them again apatiroitáci
what is the only (name by which we are known)

akámpati arórí aká. Poameyetapaahiríkari
we 'Campas' we here. Careful that you do not teach them again

aká. Téé, té nokoakáyeri, yóra, mééka, ihátahe
here. No, we do not want to let him, he there, now, (that) he

go again Ínka. Ínka. Isavikéta aká." Ihátahe
Ínka. He will reside now here." (And so, each time),

he will go (back to them) Ínka, Ínka, ošéiki yoametapááheri,
(and) much he will teach them again,

yokavé, išaninkapé, virakočapé.
they here!, all his (present) fellow countrymen, all the Caucasians.

Há, ošéiki, té okamécate. Oponeántari
Ha, much, it is not good. Therefore it comes about (that)

okisóiti mééka aká.
it is hard now here.

Óká mééka oararoncitáciri aká, iriotáke
They here now what are goods here, it is he

kearíotapaakerórí Ínka, yovecikapáákero ohitarikapé.
he who makes what we cannot Ínka, he manufactures them all and

sundry. Tonkamentóci. Iotirómpa virakóča yovecikíro
Shotguns. Do they know it the Caucasians (how) to

manufacture them tonkamentóci? Té irioteróhi. Ínka
shotguns? They do not know it. Ínka

yovecikíro tonkamentóci. Máároni, yóra, ikantéétiri,
he manufactures them shotguns. All, that is, what they say,

yóra, yovecikanakéro yóra virakočapé aká
that is, they manufacture them they there all the Caucasians here

káári pérori tonkamentóci. Aríka impavetákero aká,
not true shotguns. When they give it here,

amanatantakeáro óra, encipáite aká -- ikántiri
so we fire it it there, (and) right away here -- what they say

iriórí aká -- omalogratanákea aká. Conkapááka
they here -- it malfunctions [Sp.: "malograr"] here. Finished

aká. Áinti, irósati antaveventéro
here. We alone, and so we (still must) vainly do (work) for it

aká. Peranítake apinatéro aká. Óra --
here. It is a long time (that) we will pay for it here. It there --

háokampa ohítari? -- yóká, tiankavetarórí íro
what is it called? -- he here, he who used to send them them

pérori tonkamentóci. Pérani óká, intárori pérani.
true shotguns. Long ago it here, he who began it long ago.

Íni aneavetákeri pérani áisati aká, ašitavatačari
It is we saw it long ago also here, what is the ramrod

tonkamentóci, ikantéétiri, yóra, Píčiri,
holder (of) the shotgun, they called it, it there, Píčiri,

Píčiri,[4] iriotáke. Nenkéciki kisákiri peraníki, irísati
Píčiri, that's it. Trade beads black in times past, he also

ašítaro mééka, ikantéétiri, Ínka. Iríо ovecikíro, iríо
owns them now, they say, Ínka. He manufactures them, he

oametantapaakerórí iriórí inámpiki iriórí aká.
therefore teaches it he in his homeland he here.

Inampitákaro kirínka. Irítake ašaninkáni
It has become his homeland downriver. It is he our fellow tribesman

pérani aká.
formerly long ago here.

Oponeántari mééka, yóká kirínka
Therefore it comes forth now, they here downriver

yoakotákeri iriórí aká, ikenkicátahi iriórí išaninkapé
they pass it on they here, they recount they (to) all their

aká. Yoakotáhiri, ikenkicátahi iriórí aká.
fellow tribesmen here. They pass it on, they recount they here.

Oponeántari mééka, opokakóti mééka sankinarencipé
Therefore it comes forth now, they come now many writings

aká.[5] Áisati ikántiri mééka, ári ikantayétiri, ári
here. Also they say it now, yes they say it all, yes

ikantayétiri aká. Hé, kamecavetakátekea íri
they say it all here. Yes, it would be very good now, then, he

ipokahéme. Íro kantáinča virakóča
if he would come again. But unfortunately the Caucasians

yoipiapiatakéri irióri aká, yóra
they make him return again and again they here, they there

soldadopé irióri aká. Yoipiákeri. Yokaté
all the soldiers they here. They make him return. He here, now,

ikoáke isotoáhe irióri aká. Isotoapaaheríka irióri aká
he wants to leave he here. If he were to leave he here

ipokapááhe, áitake ayohéétahe aróri ihiteárika,
he would come, so it is we all would know we whatever there is,

avecikayetáheri aróri aká. Ayotahéro
we would make it all we here. We would know (how to make) it

tonkamentóci, avecikáhero aká. Máároni pólvora,
shotgun, we would make it here. All gunpowder [Sp.: "polvora"]

avecikáhero aká -- munisión áisati
we would make it here -- ammunition [Sp.: "munición"] also

avecikayetáhero máároni aká.
we would make it all all here.

Irókea kantáinča soldádo ikánti
But, then, unfortunately the soldiers they say

té ikoakááheri irióri aká impókahe
they do not want to let him they here (that) he come again

irióri aká, téé. "Éiro, óra, paméne, pihavetáhe
he here, no. "No, that is, look, if you go again

ántá, yašitaarantánahea irióri 'Kámpa,' aróri,
over there, they would own a lot they the 'Campas,' (while) we,

áro poviritanácine. Éiro ipeetanáheci
we would become poor [Sp.: "pobre"] now. They would not give

aróri oararónci aká. 'Kámpa,' áitake yacipetakaanahéro
us goods here. The 'Campas,' so it is they would make (us)

aróri, atarovakatanahéneri aróri
work with little or no pay us, we would work for them we

aká. 'Kámpa,' éiro yantaveetanáhici, áinti
here. The 'Campas,' they would not do (work) continually, we alone

antaveetahácine aká."
would do (work) continually now here."

Héró okántiri kenkicarénci.
Here is how it appears history.

NOTES

[1]This episode gives every indication of being a direct imitation of the missionaries' flood story. It is incorporated into a myth that by its very nature must be post-Contact. A flood myth attributed to the Machiguengas by Márquez Eyzaguirre (1935:188) appears even more obviously to be an echoing of missionary teaching.

[2]The text is unclear here. An alternative interpretation is that *Ínka* is repeating the words of his fellow Campas, when they refuse to join him in his flight downriver to escape the flood.

[3]Presumably a raft.

[4]The narrator is trying to remember the trademark of a good-quality shotgun no longer available. This passage reveals that the Campas have felt the effects of the decline in the quality of our manufactured goods.

[5]The narrator claims that *Ínka* has sent word of his whereabouts and intentions by word of mouth and also in writing. The term that the Campas have come to use to refer to writing is one that more generally denotes any kind of drawing. (On the left side of the Tambo, a short distance above *išímpere Kašíri*, may be found a number of boulders elaborately engraved with petroglyphs resembling the more intricate designs that the Campas paint on their faces. This place is called *isankenáro* [he wrote, or drew, it]. No legend or explanation is connected with these petroglyphs.)

PART 6. CAMPA COSMOLOGY: MAN'S PLACE IN THE COSMOS

THE NATURE OF THE HUMAN SOUL

> For it is impossible that the reasoning part in us should be other than spiritual; . . . there being nothing so inconceivable as to say that matter knows itself.
>
> —Pascal, *Pensées*

The Campas conceive of the universe by and large as an ordered structure in which the natural and supernatural are blended inextricably, and of the development of the universe into its present form as a history of cosmic evolution in which mankind—Campa-kind—has played a conspicuous part.

The Campas do not disassociate themselves from the natural order. "*Máároni nokátia nováca*" says the Campa to refer to his own body: "all my flesh standing."[1] His flesh (*iváca*)—human flesh—and the flesh of animals (*iváca*) are not distinguished either lexically or conceptually. The parts of his body that he recognizes and names are recognized in the bodies of animals as well, and are given the same names. The human heart, for example, is *nasánkana* or, alternatively, *nošíre* (my heart). The corresponding organ in any other creature, whether it walks, swims, or flies, is *irasankána* or *išíre* (his heart).[2]

As for language, which we take as the distinguishing characteristic of the human species, the Campa language is *noneáne* (my language, or speech). Any other language and, for that matter, the vocal utterances of any other species of animal is *ineáne* (his language, or speech).

In thought and in action the Campa places himself on a par with the rest of the animal kingdom, nor does he consider himself to be necessarily first among equals. He hunts, but is also hunted, and he has a healthy respect for the jaguar. Although he controls the crops he cultivates, they must be respected, for they have spiritual counterparts with greater than human powers, as do many animal species in nature. Furthermore, in the human condition, weakness, sickness, death, and dissolution are for the Campas the most striking characteristics. The Campa recognizes himself to be part of a natural order epitomized in its name, *Kamavéni* (Land of Death).

But the Campa may be forgiven if his thoughts do center around himself, if he does single himself out for special consideration, if he is to a significant degree egocentric—in a collective sense, for we are speaking of the generic "Campa." The Campa does not give himself a high place in the cosmic scheme of things, not even in the small-scale universe that he visualizes, but he is important to himself. And it is to the extent that he is concerned with himself that he gives thought to his own nature and destiny.

An individual Campa is an entirety, all of one piece: to himself he is *nárori* (I). But if asked whether there is not some part of him that survives death and that can wander far in dreams and under the influence of drugs, he will answer "*nošíre, nasánkana*" ("my heart"). It can be stated, then, as a first approximation, that, for the Campas, what corresponds to our concept of the soul is the heart. The term *nošíre* can be translated with equal correctness as "my heart" and "my soul."

But there is a difference between identity and association, and in this particular case we must be very careful not to be misled by linguistic appearances. Although the term for heart and soul is the same, the Campas do not pretend that the physical organ identified as the heart leaves the body and survives death. *Nošíre* refers to both heart and soul, but what it signifies is not that heart and soul are the same, but rather that the heart is the residence of the soul in the body. A similar instance of linguistic economy is perhaps to be found in the term *nocómi,*

which refers to both breast and milk.

The heart, then, is understood by the Campas to be the seat of the soul, and they share the same identifying name. In addition or, I am tempted to say, consequently, the heart is understood to be the seat of thought and speech, the function of the brain being unknown. "I think about him" is, in the Campa tongue, *nokenkiširéiri* (literally "I relate about him in my heart, or soul"). One informant, Komémpe, argued that the soul actually pervades the body, which is why a blow on the head or on a limb can do great damage, but the center of the soul remains in the heart.[3]

I conclude that in Campa belief each individual is understood to possess a single soul residing in or centered in the heart. No plurality of souls in the individual is recognized. Life (*anénkari* [alive]) is not conceived of as a kind of soul. Breath (*nanénki* [I breathe]) is not conceived of as a kind of soul. Blood (*niráha* [my blood]) is not conceived of as a kind of soul. One's shadow (*nampáre* [my shadow]) is not conceived of as a kind of soul, but is understood to be cast by the sun, and is given no supernatural significance. Even an echo is simply *opiahénkata noneáne* (my speech returns) and has no supernatural significance.

Although the soul resides in the heart, it is nevertheless capable of leaving the body and returning. The path by which the soul leaves and reenters the body is not specified.[4] According to my informants, in sleep the soul can leave the body, and for this reason we dream (*nomíšire* [my dream]; *nomíšiti* [I dream]). There was general agreement that only a part of the soul leaves the body in sleep, for if the soul went entirely, the individual would begin to sicken. The departure from the body of the entire soul, as when it is taken away by a demon, is understood to produce, not instantaneous death, but sickness leading to death, as the body, bereft of its soul, falls into a torpor and ceases to eat. If the soul returns before death intervenes, as when a shaman sends out his own soul to retrieve it, the individual returns to health.[5]

When a shaman's soul leaves his body to visit distant places, his entire soul goes. He remains in a torpor that can lead to death if for any reason his soul does not return. His soul, traveling through the air, is visible as a lightning flash. Since this is also the form in which the good spirits are wont to travel, a lightning flash marks the passage either of a good spirit or of a shaman's soul. Some exceptionally esteemed shamans are reputed to be able to transform themselves totally, both body and soul, into lightning flashes and to travel in this way.[6] The shamans further claim that their souls, when away from their bodies, can and do take the form of any number of the sacred birds and beasts. Thus, the shaman Porekaványti claimed that he—that is to say, his soul—could take the form of any of the following creatures: *áávo* (White-necked Heron), *hári* (a bird like *kompéro* [Blue-crowned Trogon]), *katári* (Anhinga), *ohíhi* (a large *pakíca* [hawk]), *pitíri* (? Roseate Spoonbill), *soríro* (unidentified), *šankénti* (? Timelo), and *čaravapána* (large otter). There may be some regional variation in the transformations preferred, as one informant (Komémpe) commented that, whereas on the Tambo the shamans took the form of *pakíca* very commonly, in the Ipoki region by contrast they took such forms as *mankóri* (Scarlet-rumped Cacique), *píčoti* (Paradise Tanager), *ciróti* (Yellow-rumped Cacique), and *conkíri* (hummingbird).[7] The souls of jaguar-shamans are believed to go abroad in the form of jaguars, ocelots, or even chicken hawks, to make predatory raids on Campa settlements.[8]

When one awakens from slumber, one's soul (or the part of the soul that has been away) may not return to the body for a little while longer. A sneeze signals the return of the soul. There is no fear of awakening someone whose soul may be abroad while he sleeps, although some prefer not to disturb a sleeping person for fear he will be annoyed.

In the case of either an infant or a sick person, for whom the loss of the soul is a particular concern, a sneeze elicits the exclamation "*kapé*" (or "*kapí*") from anyone nearby, by way of welcoming back the errant soul. On one occasion Hevayoki's newborn infant was suffering from bloody diarrhea, and the cause was traced to the parents having eaten *šinčái*, a species of caterpillar with poisonous spines. The infant sneezed, and Heváyoki exclaimed:

"Kapé -- kaatapicatáheri šinčái -- éiro poihátiri.
"Kapé -- come from him šinčái -- do not follow him.

Kapé -- pamáhero noširevé."
Kapé -- give it my soul!"

The Campas believe that the soul of an infant is not yet very securely associated with its body. This is suggested by certain precautions that some Campas take. A father, if he goes to visit someone by trail, may close each side path with a branch so that the soul of his infant, following him, will not get lost. If both parents go visiting, carrying the infant with them, they may close the side paths in the same way, the mother calling out "*até, até, até*" or "*kapé, kapé, kapé*" to attract the soul of the infant, understood to be straggling behind. Once they arrive at their destination and the infant sneezes, it is understood that the soul has rejoined its body. If the infant does not sneeze, the parents will return along the path, calling the soul. Travel by river does not require such practices, however, as the course of the river is too apparent for the infant's soul to go astray.[9]

In the Campa language, the word "soul" can only be expressed by the possessive form, as *nošíre* (my soul), *pišíre* (your soul), *išíre* (his soul), *ošíre* (her soul), or *ašíre* (our souls). One of these possessive forms would have to be used to speak about "soul" in the abstract. This is a peculiarity, because it is generally the rule in the Campa language that a possessive form can generate a nonpossessive form. But when this is done with "soul" we get *širéci*, which, instead of meaning "soul" in the abstract, or "a soul" with no possessor indicated, means quite unequivocally "ghost"--and, more precisely, "malevolent ghost." In other words, in Campa thought a soul invariably belongs to some living being and so must be expressed by a possessive form--except when it has ceased to belong to a living being because death has intervened, in which case it must be expressed by a nonpossessive form. A soul freed by death from its attachment to or association with a living being is a "ghost," and since in Campa thought ghosts actually are considered to be malevolent, it is to this area of meaning that the nonpossessive form, *širéci*, has gravitated.[10]

Every human being, every Campa, possesses a soul (*išíre*). It will survive his death and retain whatever may be required to identify it as the soul that had been his, although it may be transformed into a malevolent ghost or *širéci*, or have some other fate. The relationship between the soul (*nošíre*) and the self, or "I" (*nárori*), appears not to be rigidly defined. It shifts freely between a conception of the soul as only a part of the total "I" (the complete human being including the body)[11] and a conception of the soul as the essential "I," in relation to which the body it animates is but an external shell. It is certainly in the latter sense that a shaman says "he" has traveled far as a lightning flash or in some other form.

The sacred and demonic animals also have souls (*išíre*), the spirits which animate them and which are released, when they are killed, to return to their homes or haunts. Whether all animals have souls is a question that the Campas do not feel qualified to answer.[12]

A search for the etymological source of *nošíre* and related terms leads to the verb root *-ši-* (to look like, resemble). And it is true that the soul is the body's *Doppelgänger*: when someone's soul is seen, it is clearly recognizable (unless it has undergone some transformation) because it has the identical appearance of that person's body. It may even give every indication of corporeality, completing the illusion.

An obvious instance of resemblance is the image seen in a mirror. Ordinarily, no significance is attached to what for the Campas is commonplace. Mirrors, as Caucasian imports, are possessed by most Campas, and they are used daily to facilitate the application of face paint. A mirror image is simply *noneákero* $no^{v}/_{p}$*óro* (literally "I see my face"). There is one circumstance, however, where a mirror image poses a threat. Infants, as we have seen, are considered to be particularly vulnerable, and I was told that an infant should not see itself in a mirror. This would be *ineamempeákari* (he sees it with bad

results), because afterward the image of its mother may appear to the infant (*ošiakántanakea*), and the infant would then sicken.

In recent years the Campas have had to contend with another kind of image: the photograph. Caucasians come with cameras, take pictures of Campas, and go on their way. What do the Campas make of this? According to Clark (1953:82-83), the Campas believe cameras are "evil eyes" used for "capturing *shiakanse* or spirit pictures"; and elsewhere Clark (1953:189) gave "shiakanse" as the Campa word for "soul."[13] I was once told by a Peruvian, an occasional visitor to the area, that the Campas fear having their pictures taken. How much truth is there in such reports?

The Campa term for "photograph" is indeed *šiakánci* or *šiakáronci* (image). "My photograph" is *nošiakáro* or *nošiakántaro* (my image). The camera itself is called *šiakamentóci* (image-device). The term *šiakánci*, then, means neither "soul" nor "spirit picture" but instead designates an image or simulacrum. Do the Campas fear that when they are photographed they lose their souls or some definite part of themselves and will certainly be harmed as a consequence? Some Campas may have or may have had this idea more or less clearly formulated in their minds, but I encountered no instance of it. Nevertheless, Campas are frequently averse to being photographed. The reasons for this aversion, however, appear to lie elsewhere.

One reason I noted was shyness. Campa women especially, trained to modesty, are sometimes too shy and embarrassed to pose. Another reason is a feeling of being imposed upon, not easily countenanced by the Campa men. In the towns and even at the mission stations, the Campa men consider it an imposition to be the object of a Caucasian photographer, especially as they themselves gain nothing. In the towns Campas are known to turn their backs to tourists with cameras. A Campa might indeed demand some small payment before allowing his "image" to be taken, but this in itself is proof that he has no fear of soul loss or anything similar.[14]

I experienced very little difficulty photographing Campas, even Campas who had never seen me before. True, the first time I attempted to use a camera the women scattered in all directions. But once their initial surprise and embarrassment were over, they returned willingly to their activities under the eye of the camera. Of that group, one woman in particular assumed a certain regal air while posing, out of vanity.[15] Everywhere I carried my camera the Campas were willing or could be cajoled into being photographed, if only with a promise that they would receive a copy of the result. One woman in a community downriver on the Tambo was still reluctant, because a colonist had taken photographs there previously and had never sent the copies he promised.

Thus, Campa reactions to being photographed are varied. Some enjoy posing; most do not mind; many are a little shy or embarrassed; a number consider it an imposition on the part of the Caucasian invaders; and the reaction of the same individual may differ from one time to the next and from one situation to another. Yet we can sympathize with the Campas if underlying all this there does exist, as I suspect, a vague feeling of apprehension whenever a Caucasian takes a photographic image of someone and carries it off with him. For the Campa thus photographed, the carrying off of his image does him no good and might just possibly, in some unknown way, do him harm.

NOTES

[1]*Nokátia, máároni nokátia, máároni nováca, máároni nokátia nováca*—any of these expressions may be used to convey the idea of "my body."

[2]A complete list of body parts, substances, and functions recognized by the Campas is provided in table 8.

[3]Compare Padre García's account of Machiguenga beliefs (1935-1937:XVIII, 132): "The human body is simply the clothing of the soul, and the soul is another body more subtle, invisible, that occupies all the interior of the visible body." We have already encountered (above, page 258) the notion of the body as the "clothing" of the soul.

[4]According to Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 133,

166), the Machiguengas believe that the soul leaves the body by the crown of the head. The Campas hold no such definite idea.

[5]Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 132-133) described how, in Machiguenga belief, the soul divides and redivides as an illness progresses, a part of the soul leaving the body with each division. The Campas recognize no such process.

[6]Clark, in a description of these beliefs, stated that the "mind" of a shaman is understood to leave his body under the influence of ayahuasca and travel in the form of "lightning particles," the body remaining "in a state identical to death" until it returns (1953:166).

[7]I was told that Šaríti's father had been a shaman and after taking ayahuasca would disappear for a couple of days at a time, transformed bodily into an *eróti* (a species of parrot, not a sacred bird).

[8]Perhaps understandings such as these were referred to by Reiser when he reported the following (1943:188): "The medicine-man said that his soul dwells in a tiger (jaguar) and therefore he kills no tiger, since he would thereby commit suicide. It is also said of other Indians that their souls dwell in animals." Clark's assertion that deer are "a favorite animal disguise" of shamans (1953:129), seems to be without foundation.

[9]Reiser, who lived among Amueshas and Campas, reported the following (1943:188): "When an Indian woman with an infant crosses over a small brook, she turns around and lays a branch over the water. That means that 'the soul of the infant can go across.' "

[10]This distinction is not made in the existing literature. Adam gave "your soul" as "pi-chiri" or "pi-chere" (1890:58-59, 79, 81), and "soul" as "açhire, açhere, cirhechi, i-çhire, u-çhere" (1890:90). For "soul" Padre Sala gave "schrischi, chritsi, achire, achere" (1929:253). Delgado gave "asheri" (1896-1897:V, 448), and Tessman gave "išíri" (1930:93). Padre Touchaux gave "no shiré" to mean "my soul" and, after explaining that he was omitting the required possessive, "siré" to mean "soul" (1908:135, 140). Farabee gave "inkwi" as the Campa term for "soul" (1922:52), which my informants did not recognize. He provided, as the Machiguenga terms for "soul," "seletci," which would correspond to the Campa *širéci*, and "camatcirniga," which may be a garbled equivalent of *kamacirika* (will have died) (1922:39, 47; see also 1909:130). He gave "ĩsẽ'dẽ" as the Machiguenga term for "life"–which would correspond to the Campa *išíre*. Padre Aza (1923:17) gave "sirechi" and "isire," and Padre Cenitagoya ([1943]:197) gave "seirichi" and "gamairo," as the Machiguenga terms for "soul."

None of these authors made the connection between the soul and the heart. The Campa term for "heart" (but not for "soul") is given in Adam as "asangani, atzangane, achangane" (1890:89), in Sala as "asangañi" (1929:271), in Delgado as "sangañi, sangani" (1896-1897:V, 453), in Zavala as "nosangani or asangañi" (1895:157), in Savage-Landor as "nasangani" (1913:II, 424), and in Clark as "nasangane" (1953:356)–all forms of the alternative Campa term for both "heart" and "soul." See also Amich 1854:52: "nazanganiqui . . . of my heart." Only in Pike and Kindberg is "nasánkane" given as the Campa term for "my spirit" (1956:424), thus establishing the relationship.

[11]It is either an Amuesha or a Campa who is described by Reiser (1943:188) in the following passage: "An Indian was conversing loudly in my presence with someone who was not present. When I asked him with whom he was speaking, since no one was there, he said, 'with my soul.' " Here the soul appears as a kind of alter ego.

[12]Compare Tessmann's report (1930:93): "Animals have no souls." Clark's assertion that for the Campas all things have souls (1953:62) goes far beyond the understandings that I found the Campas to entertain.

[13]Karsten (1964:182) provided the following general statement: "The [South American] Indian in his natural state has a great dread of being photographed; he believes that the resulting picture represents his soul and that in consequence he will 'lose his soul' and die." (See also Karsten 1921-1922:III, 126; 1935:372.)

[14]Padre Gridilla (1942a:74) included the following exchange in a hypothetical conversation with a Campa: "–Hey! I am going to photograph you. –Good, but you pay me first." Moss (1909:16) described how, on the Paucartambo, he encountered "a native Chuncho [Amuesha or Campa], rifle in hand, returning from the hunt. At first he hid behind some brushwood, but was induced to accept a few cents and stand for his picture." Moss added the following (1909:16-17): "By bribery I managed to secure a few more of their pictures, though they were always shy and retiring and fled at the approach of the camera."

[15]Compare Ford (*in* Ferris 1921:63) on the Machiguengas: "They all enjoyed posing. One lady was much 'peeved' because I could not include her in a group." See also Domville-Fife 1924:264-265.

THE DESTINY OF THE HUMAN SOUL. 1.

His *soule* is gone; *whither*?
—John Donne, *Devotions*

In Campa belief, every living human being—every living Campa—has a soul. Questions as to whether and where this soul might have existed before the individual came to be alive, and how the soul came to be associated with a particular body, do not number among those which the Campas have cared to answer.[1] It is sufficient for them that each individual throughout his lifetime, be it long or short, has a soul, which can leave the rest of him temporarily in dreams, in instances of soul-loss and in the soul-flights of shamans,[2] and permanently at death. The understanding that the soul survives death and the throes of dying unimpaired has led, on the one hand, to treatment of the moribund and disposal of the deceased in ways reflecting an awareness of the soul's continued presence and, on the other, to speculation about the destiny of the soul after death.

The Campas are no strangers to death. A high rate of infant mortality and all the inroads of accidents, illness, and homicide bring death constantly to their attention. There is no Campa who is not aware of and resigned to the inevitability of his own death, and who is not inclined to doubt that he will survive the next few years. In this the Campas are quite matter of fact. Someone who is very ill and not expected to live is spoken of as *kamáke* (dead). Anyone departing on a long journey does so with an awareness that not all those he leaves behind may be there to greet him when he returns, nor can they be sure that they will ever see him again. When I left the field for the last time, and intimated that I might return in a few years, Komémpe, a woman perhaps in her forties, asserted that she did not expect to be alive by then.[3]

Death following illness is attributed to witchcraft or an encounter with a demon. This is true as well for an infant that sickens and dies. In the case of an infant, however, there remains the additional possibility that one or both parents have eaten or done something forbidden. Death from old age is recognized as a natural death, but in any particular case witchcraft may be suspected or the symptoms may suggest a demonic cause. Death from misadventure, such as drowning, may be considered a natural death, one involving no supernatural agency. In the same sense, death at the hands of another, in cases of murder, execution, and warfare, would be considered natural.[4]

The typical instance of death is one in which an individual expires at home despite the best efforts of his family and kin to keep him alive by the means known to them, that is, special care, herbal remedies, and shamanistic treatment. What follows is largely determined by a single overriding consideration—fear of the dead person's soul, now a ghost. The corpse is disposed of in one of several ways: if a river is nearby the corpse may be thrown into it, perhaps weighted down by a stone, or tied to a raft and set adrift; the corpse may be slung from a pole and carried some distance to be buried or abandoned; in rare instances the corpse may be interred in the house where death occurred; finally, under special circumstances, the corpse may be cremated. In any case, the settlement ordinarily is abandoned. When this is done it is usual to burn the house in which the death occurred. The surviving members of the community then flee some distance to establish themselves anew. The personal property of the deceased follows his corpse into the river, is left by the graveside, or is destroyed, the possible exceptions being major items of continuing value, such as shotguns and new cushmas.

The typical consequences of death, therefore, are precisely those which Malinowski (1955:52) argued could not be tolerated if society is to be preserved:

> The strong tendency . . . to give way to fear and horror, to abandon the corpse, to run away from the village, to destroy all the belongings of the dead one—all these impulses exist, and if given way to would be extremely dangerous, disintegrating the group, destroying the material foundations of primitive culture.

It appears that the Campas, because they are few

in number in a large territory, because their possessions are few and easily replaced, and because their social organization is so amorphous, can indulge themselves in the full expression of their fears on the occasion of a death. In the Satipo-Ipoki region, where the Campas today are surrounded by Caucasian colonists, they remain where they are after a death unless they are bothered by noises attributed to the ghost or to demons, in which case they burn the settlement and build another a short distance away within the confines of their landholdings.

These remarks require amplification. When someone dies at home, the body is disposed of as rapidly and efficiently as possible given the means of disposal selected, without circumspect or gentle handling and without ceremony.[5] If the settlement is on a river, the river may serve as a convenient receiver of the corpse. The corpse may be tossed in from the bank or lowered over the side of a canoe in midstream, perhaps with a stone tied to its neck, or else, as previously mentioned, lashed to a raft and set adrift. Bloated corpses are still occasionally seen floating down the rivers in Campa territory.[6]

Not all Campa settlements have easy access to a river, however, and even when one is close by, it need not be used for this purpose. Instead, the corpse may be wrapped in a sufficiently large cloth or mat, lashed securely, and suspended from a carrying pole. This pole is then shouldered and carried some distance,[7] where the body is buried[8] or, alternatively, abandoned.[9] The following description of such an event, occurring in the Tambo region, is taken from my field notes:

"When we arrived, we found the dying man lying on his side, on mats, his feet to a fire, surrounded by mats stuck on stakes as windbreaks . . . unconscious and wheezing. His brother, who was with our party, grew angry, kicked over the windbreaks, and then carried the body, with the aid of another man, to a mat under the roof of the house. Everyone sat or stood around, watching. An old woman, showing great concern, squatted near the body, then moved away to the other women. Soon the dying man stopped breathing. We sat for a few seconds, then someone blew a signal horn several times.

"The corpse was wrapped up in the mat on which it had been lying. There was some uncertainty as to how the arms should be placed, but the dead man's brother took over, placing the arms along the sides, and folding up the legs against the chest. The body was handled roughly. Another Campa strapped it up vigorously, throwing an old garment over the face.[10] The bundle was tied to a pole, which was shouldered by two men and carried to the river, where they entered a canoe.

"We preceded them upriver, stopping at a sandy canebrake on the right side. The dead man's brother and another Campa dug out a shallow hole. The former got into it to see if it was sufficiently large. The canoe with the corpse soon arrived, and the body was carried up to the hole. The Campa who had strapped the body was dissatisfied with the hole, insisting that it was too shallow to protect the body from dogs. He dug the hole deeper. The pole was placed over the hole, the lashings were cut, and the body fell in. The burial party then scooped sand over the body and tamped it down with their feet. We all left immediately afterwards."

Characteristically, this burial was accomplished rapidly and efficiently, without accompanying signs of either sadness or fear. Despite the absence of visible signs of fear, however, the sequel followed the usual pattern: the house of the deceased, in which he had died, was burned and the settlement abandoned.

In the more populous localities it is common for an area to be set aside for burials. Such a cemetery (*tiharimáši*) is generally found on the side or top of a hill some distance from the surrounding settlements.[11] At *Santáro* on the upper Tambo River there is a cemetery on a nearby hill that is used for infants and young children only. I was told that adults were not buried there because they were too heavy to carry to the place, and the river was conveniently close by. The body of a dead infant or young child is transported to the cemetery either suspended under a carrying pole or toted by the mother in an old carrying basket. When a basket is used, it is left on the hill after burial to join the other baskets there.

Much less frequently the corpse is buried in

the house where death occurred. This may be done only when the dying person expresses the wish to be buried in this way, or when there are not enough people to carry the body to a place of burial. Given the Campa dread of the dead, this procedure is a conceivable alternative only when the rest of the community intends to abandon the site.[12]

The abandoning of a settlement where a death has occurred is due strictly to fear of ghostly or demonic visitation. How far the surviving members of the community move—a considerable or only a short distance—depends primarily on the intensity of their fear. What they fear is that the ghost of the deceased will return to the house where the dead person resided when alive or, in more general terms, that the house, because a death occurred there, now belongs to demons for them to haunt.

Before leaving the settlement, the members of the community, after first removing their possessions, usually burn the house in which the death occurred. Sometimes, however, it is simply abandoned with the rest of the settlement. When this is done, the survivors may return after a time to burn the house if there are any signs of ghostly or demonic visitation. The house is burned in order to destroy a focal point of ghostly or demonic activity and to prevent any living person from ever inadvertently staying under that roof. This is the rationale behind the practice, although some Campas require no more justification for the practice than that it is customary. Some Campas refuse to burn a house in which a death has occurred, holding to a belief that to do so would augment the disease from which the deceased died.

A site abandoned because of a death is never reoccupied by anyone, my informants assured me—to which should be added, "as long as memory of the death persists." If it is possible to do so, the gardens there will be revisited until they are entirely harvested, but they will not be replanted.[13]

Some present-day Campas continue to live in the settlement and house where a death took place, braving whatever indications there may be of ghostly or demonic visitation. These appear to be some of the more acculturated Campas. The larger communities likewise do not relocate themselves after a death, undoubtedly because of the inconvenience and because the larger group finds strength in numbers: noises are heard for a while and then cease.

When someone dies away from home, there is no need to abandon the settlement. Hence, a dying person may be cast adrift in a canoe to remove his presence, or he may be carried a considerable distance, where his carriers will build a hut and await his death to bury him.[14] If there are many children, however, the community back home may retire a short distance for a few days when they learn that one of their members has died while away. This reflects the understanding that children are especially vulnerable to attack by malevolent spirits.[15]

Burning and abandoning a settlement is not ordinarily practiced when an infant or young child dies, as no harm is anticipated from its ghost. Burning and abandoning will occur, however, if the child has reached the age of discretion, if it dies babbling, or if noises are heard in the night after its death.[16] While this is the general rule, some Campas do move when an infant dies for fear its ghost will return to entice away its siblings.

No period of mourning follows a death, no formalized expression of grief. At most, a dead child's mother may shed a few tears, may even weep over a period of several days.[17] From the lack of outward show, however, it should not be concluded that no grief is felt. Where there is any affection for the deceased, there is sadness, however momentary. Indeed, when I was asked by the venerable Šariti if my countrymen died, and I answered in the affirmative, I was further asked if my countrymen suffered as the Campas do at the death of someone close to them. What seems to blunt the edge of grief among the Campas is the pervasive understanding that the survivors themselves are not far from death. On throwing a corpse into the river, a Campa will bid farewell to the deceased with such words as these: "*Pihívate. Korákena nokáme náro.*" ("Go ahead! Watch for me, I [also] will die, I.") A similar sentiment is expressed on learning that someone has died: that he should go on ahead and we all will follow, for we too must die.[18]

A death precipitates certain other actions among the survivors. The morning after someone has died, or during one or more of the first few mornings after a death, the survivors in the dead person's immediate family—a dead child's parents and siblings, an adult's spouse (or spouses) and children—vomit with an infusion in water of green tobacco leaves, of the rasped bark of the *koánti* bush (unidentified), or of the rasped bark of the root of the *šériki* bush (unidentified). The informants Šaríti and Kenčóri agreed that if this were not done the offender would suffer from foul eructions. If some time passes before someone who should vomit learns of a death, he or she need not vomit.[19]

In the Perené region, according to the informant Šaríti, the father of a dead child, after vomiting, searches for a *kamána* tree (unidentified), noted for its poisonous sap. When he finds such a tree, he shoots all his arrows into it, and leaves them there, along with his bow, to insure that the demons will fear the dead child and only the good spirits will take it, and to safeguard his other children.

It is also customary for the members of the immediate family—the wife (or wives) and children of a dead man, the husband (if he chooses) and the children of a dead woman, the parents and siblings of a dead child—to cut the hair from their heads. The reasons given by the informant Komémpe for this practice are as follows: an adult cuts off his or her hair on the death of a spouse to prevent the early death of his or her next spouse, and on the death of a child to prevent future children from dying; children are shorn so that the ghost of the deceased, parent or sibling, will not take their souls; the mother of an adult person will also cut off her hair, but for no particular reason. The informants Šaríti and Kenčóri, more simply, explained the practice as designed, first, to signal the new state of affairs and, second, to insure that the ghost of the deceased will not recognize the survivors and carry off their souls.[20]

When a child dies, its parents and siblings may remove their arm bands, perhaps their leg bands as well, and its parents may exchange the clothes they are wearing for the clothes being worn by other members of the community. The informant Komémpe explained these practices as intended to prevent the death of other children, adding that the wearing of arm and leg bands can be resumed after two lunations. The informant Savaroháni, however, suggested that perhaps these practices have the purpose of preventing the child's ghost from recognizing its parents, though he could not explain why this might be desirable.[21]

A dead child's mother may wear two or three vine loops for about a day following the disposal of the corpse, the loops simulating the bone-pendant sashes used by the women to carry their infants. This practice was likewise explained as serving to prevent deaths among the woman's other children.[22]

In contrast to the Machiguengas, the Campas do not disguise their faces after a death by painting them with unusual substances or designs,[23] nor do they paint red stick figures on bamboo poles and trees to direct the ghost away from the settlement.[24] But if a community does not move after a death, strips of cotton are placed on the trails leading to the settlement, so that the ghost, thinking they are snakes, will stay away. When a child dies, its siblings have strips of cotton placed around their necks as well, to keep the ghost from carrying off their souls. This is done for several days (one lunation, according to Komémpe) starting with the day of death.

In general, the Campas, even when they have given up all hope of a recovery, allow each life to flicker out of its own accord.[25] It is a different matter when someone is gravely ill yet refuses to die, lingering on with remissions and delirium. For the Campas, such a condition has only one explanation: the person was attacked by a demon, who "broke" him, crushing his bones, then blew on him to revive him. This may happen to someone alone in the forest, who then returns home to fall into the condition described. Or it may happen to someone already ill (and therefore also vulnerable), and for this reason a vigil is maintained over a sick person so demons will keep their distance. Once an individual is in that condition, however, there is no hope of recovery, nor is there any clear sign of movement in the contrary direction, toward death. The fear then generated in the rest of the community appears to result from some sense that the forces of evil are encroaching upon them in the person

of the sick individual. Ordinarily the sick person is not understood to be demon-possessed in the sense of a demon entering his body. But he is understood to have become demonic as a consequence of the attack he suffered. His soul has been transformed: if it was taken by the demon that attacked him, it has already taken on the form of a demon; if not taken, it will surely leave the body at death as a demon. In addition, there appears to be a feeling that the sick person's very presence invites and incites augmented demonic activity in the vicinity. It is altogether a distressful situation, and the Campas resolve it in the end by killing the sick person.[26]

Outright lunacy, violent in its expression, is similarly believed to be the result of a demonic attack. The victim, "broken" by a demon, becomes *caviári* (insane, deranged, out of one's senses).[27] The symptoms of lunacy, as enumerated by my informants, include the following: eating such substances as pieces of mat, dung, fingernails; exposing one's genitalia, touching them, rubbing one's food on them, tearing off and eating pieces of them; flinging oneself into the campfire to suffer severe burns, waving an ignited firebrand about and plunging it into one's mouth or genitalia, all without feeling pain; speaking irrationally.

Although the lunatic unleashes his violence primarily against himself, his behavior is such as to frighten everyone else thoroughly. If the members of the community are few in number, they may simply flee. Otherwise, they maintain a vigil to guard against demons while keeping the lunatic under observation for two or three days, after which they kill him. Because a lunatic has great strength, he must be overpowered by everyone present and tied securely with vines. (The informant Komémpe suggested that, because of a lunatic's strength, one should not order the bringing of the vines within range of his hearing.)[28]

The means employed to kill and dispose of someone who has been attacked by a demon are the same for cases of lingering death and for cases of lunacy. The sick person, too feeble to resist, or the lunatic, secured by vines, may be thrown alive and weighted with a stone into the river, or buried alive. Alternatively, he may first be killed by such means as garroting, beating to death with a pole, or shooting with arrows, and then the body is thrown into the river, abandoned at a distance, buried, or cremated.[29]

Burial in such a case may be in the common cemetery (*tiharimáši*) or in a place apart (or, alternatively, in the house itself). The body is buried face down instead of face up, deviating in this particular from a normal burial. As for cremation, this practice among the Campas has but one purpose: to destroy the soul of the deceased for good and all by fire when there is special reason to fear the ghost. It is understood that the soul of someone who has been attacked by a demon, and only such a soul, will itself become a demon after death unless destroyed by fire; this is sufficient reason for the Campas to cremate the corpse of such a person. Cremations are carried out at riverside so that the ashes will be washed away when the river rises.[30]

Witches also owe their condition to assault by demons, in this case by the demon teachers of witchcraft. Witches also are a threat to the community, and if they cannot be persuaded to abandon their activities, they too are killed, or sold to the Caucasians. Garroting is a favorite means of killing a witch. The corpse is then cremated, thrown into the river with a stone weight attached to its neck, or thrust headfirst and face down into the burrow of a large armadillo of the species called *kintéro* and then covered over. The corpse of a witch is not buried in the usual way, nor is it simply thrown into the bush, for the witch's demon teacher would then blow on it and it would revive.[31]

One final instance of demon attack might be mentioned. When an infant at birth is found to be deformed, it is understood that some demon has "passed over" the infant's mother or entered the woman through her vaginal tract to form an infant inside her body. It is not known whether this infant is the entering demon itself or its offspring. When such an infant emerges it is deformed, or else takes the form of a toad, lizard, rat, turtle, minnow, or the like (presumably the foetus in an early stage of its development). Or it may not emerge, but instead remain in the body as a lump (presumably a tumor). Indeed, a man with an abdominal tumor of this kind is also understood to have a demonic "infant" within him, the product of a demon entering his

body through the corresponding male organ. Deformed infants are killed at birth by such means as being buried alive or thrown into the river. The mother herself is not believed to be affected by the action of the demon in forming a demonic child within her, and nothing is done to or for her after the birth.[32]

A more elaborate burial procedure than has been described thus far was reported for the Perené region. As I was to discover, this procedure, at least in part, is practiced sporadically along the Ene River as well. What follows is a description of the more elaborate procedure, based on information supplied by former residents of the Perené region:

Once a Campa has breathed his (or her) last and the heart no longer beats, the body is prepared for burial.[33] The face is painted with achiote. This is done, it was said, so that the dead person will be handsome when the good spirits (*manínkari*) come for him.[34] The eyes are covered with cotton. This is done so that the corpse will not see the others while in the house or while being carried to burial and take their souls, and so that it will not see the path along which it is taken and know the way back. The cotton on the corpse's eyes does not prevent the ghost, as it returns from the grave to the settlement, from seeing human beings, but by that time the survivors will have fled.[35]

The corpse is dressed in a cushma and nothing more.[36] This cushma will be a used one according to Šaríti, a new one if the deceased has one according to Kenčóri. The body is then trussed up and carried suspended from a pole by two men to the place of burial. Others, both men and women, accompany them to the gravesite carrying the dead person's effects. For a man, these effects include his other cushmas, his weapons, his wicker crown, his shoulder bag, and his small things. For a woman, they include her other cushmas, her bone-pendant sash, her kerchief, her adornments, and her carrying basket.

At the place of burial a hole is dug to a depth of about one meter. A mat may be placed at the bottom. The corpse is then placed in the hole in a sitting position facing the setting sun.[37] This is done with care to prevent any discomfort to the dead person. If rigor mortis has set in while the corpse is extended, it will be buried in an extended position, facing upward, with an old cushma placed under the head. Nothing else is placed in the grave, and the grave is not filled in. Instead, sticks are inserted horizontally into the sides of the hole near the top, and on them a layer of leaves and then of earth are placed. Perhaps three sticks will be used if the body is seated, about five if the body is extended.[38]

Over the grave a kind of lean-to is built. This structure consists of a roof of coursed palm leaves sloping between a pair of tall and a pair of short supporting poles. The roof will be about 2 meters square.

If the deceased is a man, his wicker crown (with its feathers and a circle of sacred or *santótea* flowers, if they are available, stuck in the rim), his shoulder bag (containing his small things), and perhaps one or more of his other used cushmas (unless someone needs a fairly new cushma) are hung on this shelter. The dead man's vial of tobacco syrup is stuck in the eaves, his weapons placed against the structure (including his shotgun, unless someone needs one), his machete stuck in the ground. A gourd or bottle containing masato and another containing ayahuasca are left at the gravesite, along with a small pot of water and a little of the various cultivated foodstuffs. A campfire is made and a small pile of firewood left nearby. The rest of the man's effects, and the house in which he died, are burned. Any new cushmas, however, are saved as heritable, usable, and negotiable.

If the deceased is a woman the procedure is similar. Her kerchief is hung from the shelter, along with her other used cushmas, her bone-pendant sash, her necklaces, and her carrying basket. She is left with a gourd or bottle containing masato (but not one containing ayahuasca), a small pot of water, a little of the various crops, and a campfire with firewood. Her thread, spindles, and other small effects are burned along with the house in which she died. Her pots and large balls of thread in her possession, however, are saved as heritable, usable, and negotiable.[39]

The dead person is thus accommodated and provisioned. The food and drink left at the gravesite are intended to enable the deceased to eat and drink at night when he arises.[40] One final action is performed before the burial party retires: one of the men whistles over his cupped hand to notify the *manínkari* of the death so

that they will arrive to see the defunct and take his spirit before any demons do.

According to the informants Šaríti and Kenčóri, the retreat from a grave is made in an orderly manner and without haste in the Perené region, whereas on the Ene the leave-taking is by running down another path and doubling back, out of fear that the dead person's ghost is in pursuit.[41] The informant Komémpe presented a slightly different picture: those returning from a burial, when the dead person had died well, will return by another path because the *manínkari* are expected to come by the first path; but when the death was a bad one, due to the attack of a demon, they will return through the woods, cutting down small trees to cover their tracks, reentering the path at a distance to insure that the ghost will not follow them home.[42]

On arriving back at the settlement, the men who carried the corpse bathe with achiote leaves to prevent shoulder pains, and change their clothes so that the used clothing may be washed. Komémpe, who supplied this information, could give no reason for the practice.[43]

These, then, are the various ways in which the Campas dispose of their dead. Regardless of the method used, the body will never again be touched, for the Campas evidence an absolute horror of decaying human corpses and skeletal remains, and are not required by custom to handle them.[44]

In general, it is understood that the soul of the deceased remains with the body, at least for a time.[45] During this period the soul goes abroad, usually at night, returning to the body before daybreak. It is attracted by a kind of nostalgia to its former home and its former possessions; and it takes the invisible part of those possessions, although the objects themselves remain in the hands of those who appropriated them. This, of course, holds only for those things that were not left with the corpse or destroyed. If the dead person was bad, the soul is bad, and if it encounters any living person in its peregrinations, it will attack him and do him mortal harm. It is for this reason that ghosts are feared.[46]

The pervasive understanding is that most Campas are not good enough for their souls to become anything but *širéci* (malignant ghosts) after death. Few Campas (these include the shamans) pretend to others or themselves that any other fate awaits them. For this reason, in most cases, the soul of the deceased is feared. The Campas do not especially dread becoming *širéci* themselves, but they do fear the harm that can be inflicted by those who have gone before them. This, then, is the anticipated fate of most Campas: they will become malignant ghosts wandering through the forest,[47] perhaps in the form of diseased animals (*peári*).[48]

Of the *širéci*, or ill-fated souls of the dead, there are those whose destinies are more precisely determined. These are the souls of witches and the souls of those who died the victims of demon attacks. The soul of someone attacked by a demon becomes a demon of the same kind as the attacking demon, be it *kacivoréri*, *míroni*, or any of the other categories of demons already enumerated.[49] Similarly, the soul of a witch usually goes to join its demon teachers in the forest, becoming one of them, and returning to transform other children into witches; otherwise, it goes to *Šarinkavéni*.[50] As we have seen, the threat posed by the soul of a demon's victim or a witch can be forestalled by cremation, which destroys the soul along with the body.

By contrast, good souls, the souls of good Campas, shamans or others, join the *manínkari* up on the mountain ridges or up in the sky, becoming *manínkari* themselves. There they live much as they did when alive, much as living Campas do. In form their houses, clothing, food, tools, etc., are the same as for living Campas, though invisible. They differ in that they are immortal, know no suffering, and possess all things in abundance. They look down from their vantage points on the living, and as *amacénka* they descend to visit.[51] Domestic life is much the same among them. A soul that joins the *manínkari* is provided with a new spouse from among their number, for all earthly ties are severed with death. As was noted above, the good spirits propagate themselves, but both the sex act and the pain of childbirth are unknown to them.[52]

There is some sense of a hierarchy among the good spirits related to vertical position; the spirits in the sky are at the apex of spiritual excellence. It is understood that souls released from their bodies by death encounter certain

obstacles in their attempt to reach the sky, and only the best arrive. There is *Ecóni*, who rises from the earth to the level of the clouds to block the passage of any soul to the sky. There is *Amémpori*, who resides at the level of the clouds and can fool the unwary soul into thinking that he, *Amémpori*, is the true God and that the soul has arrived at its destination. And, according to the shaman Porekaványti, there is a place called *Timpineári* in the air but below the level of the clouds where live the *timpinearisáti*, who are also *amacénka* but presumably of an inferior order. The soul of someone who has just died, or the soul of a shaman visiting the realms of the good spirits, being escorted through the supernatural realms by an *amacénka* and on passing *Timpineári*, hears the sound of drums and urges its escort to detour to that place. The escort refuses, but if the soul insists it will be given leave to go there; it will go there, and it will be lost.

The more elaborate burial procedure reported for the Perené region, as we have seen, includes notifying the *manínkari* of the death by whistling over a cupped hand at the gravesite. As described by Šaríti, the *manínkari*, signaled in this way, send scouts to discover what has happened, who report back that a Campa is "sleeping." The *manínkari* then come and, if the deceased measures up to their qualifications, they bathe him and have him smell something that revives him. The deceased then accompanies them body and soul back to their place of residence. There they give him a new (white) cushma which, when he puts it on, makes him a *manínkari*. The grave will be left with only a small opening to mark where the deceased emerged. Achiote pods and sugarcane fragments will be found scattered around the grave; the former were used by the *manínkari* to paint the face of their new member, the latter were spit out by the *manínkari*, who chew sugarcane. If the deceased was not so good, but good enough, only his soul is taken to become a *manínkari*, and his body is left to decay.[53]

Šaríti described in some detail the fate of two special categories of bad persons: killers and fornicators. Killers are turned over after death to *Amémpori*, whose companions show them the severed heads of their victims and demand to know why they had killed them. As subjects of *Amémpori*, killers have a rather pleasant existence, although Šaríti agreed that they would undoubtedly be punished a little.[54]

Fornicators—men who in their lifetimes pursued many women—are turned over to *Ecóni* and made to dance, until at last they are thrown down in the form of meteors into lakes, where they cease to exist, or, if the earth opens up for them, into *Šarinkavéni*, the domain of *Koriošpíri*. In *Šarinkavéni* their ears are pierced so as better to hear that fornicating with sisters and other women is bad. There a giant toad exists, with mouth permanently agape and exhaling flames, into which they are made to thrust their arms, which burn, only to be healed instantaneously. For each fornicator, an iron stake is rammed up through the anus to the chin and stuck into the ground, and the fornicator is toasted, first one side and then the other, for a very long time (*pérani*), constantly groaning "*ayavé*" ("woe is me!"). Finally, the fornicator is either eaten by the demons or else released, with the option of either remaining in *Šarinkavéni* as a demon or returning to earth as a demon, joining the others in the low hills. A further possibility is to ascend from *Šarinkavéni* to the mountain ridges by climbing the tail of a dog, to become a *manínkari* at last, and to testify that it is not a good idea to be a fornicator while alive. This description suggests strong missionary influence.

Through the tangle of Campa mortuary procedures and notions about the afterlife, we see continuously that for the Campas death is not the end of existence for the individual. His soul survives and, unless it is destroyed by cremation or some other posthumous eventuality, it is immortal. Even his body, if he is very good, will be given invisible immortality and retained. And it will be the soul's fate, once it is free of the mortal body or the body is made immortal, to join the other free spirits in a universe dichotomized, in the main, into good and evil, joining one or another host of spirits as it merits.[55]

How does all the foregoing relate to the understanding that the souls of the dead are consumed by the anthropophagous Moon, as described in earlier sections? In fact there is no relationship. When the Campas speak of the Moon, they speak of that deity as the devourer

of the souls of the dead. When they are not considering the Moon, they describe the fate of the soul after death in the terms presented in this chapter. It appears that two mutually exclusive conceptions of the destiny of the human soul are maintained by the Campas.

NOTES

[1]Clark (1953:160) has the following passage: "The brujo [shaman] says–'Man (*champari*) has come from the stars (*enpoguiro*) . . . and to the silent (*pimagerette*) stars, he will return at death. . . .' " This is contrary to my findings.

[2]According to Tessmann (1930:93), only the souls of witches can leave the body during life, which is contrary to my findings.

[3]Compare what is reported for the Machiguengas (Anon. 1963:80): "Few people live to be old among the tribesmen; death is never far away. Machiquenga tribesmen often end ordinary conversations with the fatalistic words, 'I'll die.' "

[4]Compare Tessmann (1930:93): "Magical death is only from unknown internal illnesses, generally associated with fever visions. Death from known illnesses, from misfortune, from drowning, old age, or warfare, is natural." See also Steward and Métraux (1948:549) on the Arawakan-speaking tribes of the Montaña in general: "These tribes probably recognize natural causes of illness. During epidemics they flee from their villages."

It is true that the Campas have a serviceable conception of contagion. They recognize that the contagious diseases producing the greatest number of fatalities among them–measles and respiratory infections (smallpox no longer making the inroads of former years)–were introduced by the Caucasians. News of outbreaks of measles and respiratory infections are a major topic of conversation with visitors and a major concern. It is from fear of contagion that many Campas live scattered in the hills at a considerable distance from the rivers, to avoid contact with even their own tribesmen. Padre Sala (1907:94; 1925:522; also reported in Navarro 1924:8 and Reyna 1942:118) described how, on his journey through the Gran Pajonal, his way was barred by armed Campas at each settlement until his party had been submitted to an interrogation beginning with words to the following effect: "Who are you? From where do you come? Why have you come to this land? Are you bringing some illness? (On saying this they turn their faces and spit.) No doubt you bring catarrh or measles. (They turn their faces and spit with greater force.)" See also Izaguirre 1923-1929:VI, 340; Sala 1907:63, 111; 1925:482-483, 548. The belief exists among the Campas that someone with measles who bathes in the river pollutes the water, which carries the disease to those bathing downstream. For this reason, children are cautioned not to bathe in the river when measles are reported for an upstream community. The informant Kenčóri claimed that one of his tribesmen had brought back from the town of Satipo some trade cloth painted with measles by malicious Caucasians. I also encountered among the Campas the belief that a Caucasian may carry contagious disease in a box, which conforms to what is reported in Herndon and Gibbon (1854:I, 200) for the Piros: "They asked us if we had not in our boxes some great and infectious disease, which we could . . . let loose among their enemies." (See in this regard Ortiz 1961:256.) Data such as these suggest a Campa understanding that contagious disease is spread by some substance.

Nevertheless, personifying a disease, and so increasing its supernaturalistic burden, remains a possibility for the Campas. The informant Heváyoki related the following: Measles are a man and woman who come to cure the sick but also to victimize those who are well. Finding a sick Campa abandoned by his people (presumably in anticipation of their coming), they appear first as Campas, then as Caucasians, then (after sleeping on a platform) as handsome, fat dogs. (*Kíri* thorns may be placed around the house to discourage the coming of these dogs.) When they arrive, they call out "hu-hu-hu," but no one comes to greet them; they encounter the sick person, who cannot flee, and ask him why he did not show himself at their call, and he answers that he cannot move; they ask where the others are, and if he can tell them, they go in pursuit. Medicines and food appear, with which they cure the sick person. Those who fled the settlement return to their gardens for manioc, but to conceal their presence from these personifications of the disease, they dig up one plant here and another there and depart. Komémpe did not recognize this description, which tends to prove its restricted distribution.

[5]Funeral ceremonies were claimed for the Campas by Carranza (1894:31) but denied by Navarro (1924:21), as they were for the Machiguengas by Farabee (1909:129; 1922:13) and Rosell (1916:xvi, 16). The neighboring Piros, also Arawakan-speaking, do practice a kind of funeral ceremony, as described by Valdez Lo-

zano (1944:34) and Wiener (1880:355-356), similar to that reported for the Panoan-speaking Conibos and Shipibos (Anon. 1865-1866:XI, 106; Farabee 1922:84, 103; Marcoy 1875:II, 42; Ortega Ricaurte 1940:146; but see Tessman 1928:224). Steward and Métraux (1948:546) stated as a generality that "death observances amount essentially to nonritual disposal of the corpse" among the Arawakan-speaking tribes of the Montaña.

[6]The throwing of corpses into the river was reported for the Campas by Clark (1953:164), Gridilla (1942a: 74), Navarro (1924:21), Ordinaire (1887:280), Samanez Ocampo (1907:304), Schütz-Holzhausen (1895:214), Steward and Métraux (1948:547), Stull (1951:94), and Wavrin (1937:446). It was reported for the Machiguengas by Carrasco (*in* Raimondi 1874-1913:III, 186), Farabee (1909:129-130; 1922:12-14). García (1935-1937:XVIII, 169), Grandidier (1861:144), Marcoy (1875:I, 489), Ortega Ricaurte (1940:144), Rosell (1916:xvi, 15-16), Snell and Snell (1954:14), Steward and Métraux (1948:547), and Tennant (1958:68). Marcoy (1875:I, 523) and Wiener (1880:355) reported the practice for the Piros. Ordinaire, in the passage cited, claimed erroneously that only the bodies of witches are disposed of in this way among the Campas. Padre García mentioned the practice only in connection with snakebite victims, which is certainly not true for the Campas. The use of stone weights was noted by Carrasco (and, after him, by Ortega Ricaurte) but denied by Farabee. The use of rafts in disposing of the dead was reported for the Campas by Wavrin (1937:446, 466-467; 1943:90), and for the Amueshas or Campas by Reiser (1943:189).

[7]Caldwell and Calhoun (1932:242) made the following statement of Campa practice: "When a member of the group dies, the corpse is wrapped in cotton cloth from head to foot and tied to a long pole for convenience in carrying to the funeral. The manner in which the dead are disposed of is not known. The natives are determined to keep this a secret of their race. Any white man who attempts to pry into this mystery is endangering his own life. The accompanying picture is a snapshot of a funeral party proceeding through the jungle, taken without the knowledge of the natives." The photograph alluded to shows the corpse in extended position, which may be an acceptable alternative to flexing for some part of the Campa population, or may only indicate that rigor mortis had set in before the body could be flexed for easier transportation. These authors may have been excessively timid in their investigation of these matters.

[8]Burial practices were reported for the Campas in greater or less detail by Clark (1953:117, 164), Gridilla (1942b:54), J. G. (1868:21-22), Navarro (1924:21), Tessmann (1930:100), and Wavrin (1937:446, 466; 1943:89-90); and for the Amueshas or Campas by Reiser (1943:189). (Izaguirre [1923-1929:XII, 475] reported burial in natural rock cavities in the Satipo-Pangoa region, of which my informants knew nothing.) Similar burial practices were reported for the Machiguengas by Farabee (1909:129-130; 1922:13-14), García (1935-1937:XVIII, 170-171), Mac-Lean y Estenós (1939:340), and Steward and Métraux (1948:547). Piro burial practices were reported by Carrasco (*in* Raimondi 1874-1913:III, 188), Castelnau (1850-1851:IV, 384), and Matteson (1954:81); those of the Conibos and Shipibos were reported by Karsten (1964:206), Orton (1876:321), and Sotomayor (1908:357). Clark claimed incorrectly that burial is limited among the Campas to the disposal of shamans' bodies. Farabee (and, after him, Steward and Métraux) claimed burial is limited among the Machiguengas to those slain in warfare and to children, limitations which do not hold for the Campas. (According to my informants, those who fall in battle on a raid are left where they fell, although a warrior who dies from his wounds while returning from a raid will, it is true, be buried along the trail. See in this regard Golewski 1933:146: "They do not bury the dead who are left after their fights, and that is the reason why in various parts of the Pajonal and in the hills heaps of bones are encountered.") The practice of burial was denied categorically, presumably for the Machiguengas, by Ortega Ricaurte (1940:144), probably because it was not explicitly mentioned by his source, Carrasco (*in* Raimondi 1874-1913:III, 186); it was also denied for the Campas by Stull (1951:94).

[9]The abandoning of corpses without burial was reported for the Campas by Amich (1854:50), Harkness (1942:84-85), Izaguirre (1923-1929:I, 214), Steward and Métraux (1948:547), and Tschudi (1847:288); and for the Machiguengas by Rosell (1916:xvi, 16).

[10]Compare Stull 1951:94: "When I placed the woman's [dead] baby before her, she picked up the filthy dressings and put them directly on top of the child's face."

[11]Cemeteries were reported for the Campas by Tessmann (1930:100) and Wavrin (1943:89-90).

[12]Burial in the house was reported for the Campas by Anon. (1888:23), Carranza (1894:31), Domville-Fife (1924:262), Golewski (1933:142), Ordinaire (1887: 280), Samanez Ocampo (1907:304), Schläppi (1935:369), Schütz-Holzhausen (1895:214), and Tessmann (1930:100). It was reported for the Piros by Bal-

lón Landa (1917:287), Carrasco (*in* Raimondi 1874-1913:III, 188), Farabee (1922:55, 60), Herndon and Gibbon (1854:I, 200), Samanez Ocampo (1907:311), and Sotomayor (1908:355); and for the Conibos and Shipibos by Carrasco (*in* Raimondi 1897-1913:III, 190), Dueñas (1792:182), Farabee (1922:84, 103), Marcoy (1875:II, 44), Ortega Ricaurte (1940:146), Orton (1876:321), Sotomayor (1908:357), and Tessmann (1928:215). Tessmann claimed, contrary to my findings, that for the Campas burial in the house is the special manner of interring shamans, and is limited to them. Schläppi limited that practice to the death of a family head. Simply abandoning the corpse in the house, as Rosell (1916:xvi, 16) claimed the Machiguengas do with their shamans (or witches), does not occur among the Campas, according to my informants.

[13]The abandoning of a settlement after a death was reported for the Campas (though in some cases the Amueshas may be intended) by Anon. (1888:23), Carranza (1894:31), Golewski (1933:142), Izaguirre (1923-1929:VI, 323; VII, 66), J. G. (1868:22), Koch-Grünberg (1900:85), Medina (1957:81), Navarro (1924:23; 1927:117), Ordinaire (1887:280), Reiser (1943:128, 189), Schläppi (1935:369), Schütz-Holzhausen (1895:214), Stahl (1932:34), and Steward and Métraux (1948:547). It was reported for the Machiguengas by Farabee (1909:129; 1922:13), García (1935-1937:XVIII, 172), Grandidier (1861:144), Mac-Lean y Estenós (1939:340), and Marcoy (1875:I, 489). Somewhat divergent practices among the Piros were reported by Carrasco (*in* Raimondi 1874-1913:III, 188), Farabee (1922:60), Samanez Ocampo (1907:311), and Tessman (1930:366-367). Burning the house in which someone has died was reported for the Campas by Caldwell and Calhoun (1932:242), and Golewski (1933: 142). It was reported for the Machiguengas by García (1935-1937:XVIII, 176), Marcoy (1875:I, 489), and Rosell (1916:xvi, 14). Farabee's assertion (1909: 129; 1922:13) that among the Machiguengas a site abandoned because of a death could be reoccupied soon after by another group, was denied for the Campas by my informants. The Machiguenga belief reported by Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 176), that one endangers his own life if he stares into the flames of a house being burned after a death, has no Campa counterpart.

[14]Compare García 1935-1937:XVIII, 169: "It may be that the Machiguengas prefer to continue living in the same house, and so the sick person is the one who must leave, on foot or in the arms of others, to be conducted to a hill or solitary place. There they will leave him alone and abandoned . . . near some brook so that he can drink, and with some victuals." Provisioning and abandoning the seriously ill, alluded to in this passage, and reported for the Campas by Steward and Métraux (1948:547), was denied by my informants.

[15]Only in this instance do the Campas behave in any way resembling what was described by Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 172; see also Mac-Lean y Estenós 1939:340) in the following terms: "There are also Machiguengas who retire to the forest when someone in their family dies, and there they wander for a couple of weeks, fugitive and hidden so that the deceased cannot encounter and kill them." Temporary withdrawal from a house in which a death has occurred was also reported for the Machiguengas by Snell and Snell (1954:14).

[16]Golewski, reporting on the Pajonal Campas, gave two months as the critical age (1933:142). It might be more accurate to say that the death of a two-month-old infant would cause no particular concern, while the death of an older child, up to the age of discretion, would cause increasing apprehension, in a few cases precipitating flight. When a child has reached the age of discretion, his death is then reacted to as if he were an adult. By "age of discretion" is here meant the stage of development when a child can understand everything it is told and can speak intelligibly. Farabee noted that the Machiguengas do not move when the deceased is a small child but the rationale he gave indicates that his informants were quite acculturated: he was told that the Machiguengas do not believe in or fear ghosts, that they do not move after the death of a child because "the adults have no fear of children's diseases" (1909:129; 1922:13).

[17]According to Padre Navarro (1924:21): "When a mother loses her only child, she sometimes cries for many days, accompanying her tears with a certain very sad and funereal song that reveals her pain and grief." This description rings true, though there are no songs of mourning as such, and though such demonstrativeness would be exceptional. See also Stull 1951:93-94.

[18]Sadness at death was reported for the Campas by Izaguirre (1923-1929:XII, 475) and Nordenskjöld (1924:24; 1927:117). Lamentations lasting several hours were reported by J. G. (1868:21-22).

[19]Vomiting after a death was reported for the Machiguengas by Rosell (1916:xvi, 16).

[20]Šaríti and Kenčóri on another occasion gave as the reason for the practice a desire to prevent baldness, suggesting that what remains of the original rationale (whatever it might have been) is only a wish to avoid some indefinite bad consequence. Cutting the hair from the head following a death was reported for the Machi-

guengas by Cenitagoya ([1943]:28), García (1935-1937:XVIII, 172), Grandidier (1861:144), Mac-Lean y Estenós (1939:340), Marcoy (1875:I, 485), Snell and Snell (1954:14), and Tennant (1058:68). The reason given varies: Grandidier and Marcoy, as a sign of mourning; García and Mac-Lean y Estenós, lest the ghost of the deceased pull the hair, causing it to stop growing; Snell and Snell, and Tennant, lest the ghost of the deceased drag the survivor away by the hair. The practice was also reported for the Piros by Farabee (1922:60) and Wiener (1880:369). According to Farabee, a Piro widow will not remarry until her hair has grown back. Rosell (1916:xvi, 16) reported that Machiguenga widows also wait a period of time before remarrying. My informants stated that a widower or widow among the Campas will remain unmarried for a period of time ranging from six months to a year, as an earlier remarriage would result in the early death of the new spouse.

[21]The removal of arm and leg bands after a death was reported for the Machiguengas by Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 169-170). The reason he gave for this practice, that if not removed the bands would become the veins of the deceased and cause death, was not recognized by my informants. Padre García also reported that for several days following a death the women of the community refrain from spinning, for fear that the thread would turn into the intestines of the defunct, become attached to the intestines of the survivors, and kill everyone. The informant Komémpe agreed that Campa women would not spin for a couple of days after a death, lest the stick impale the visiting good spirits and the thread be transformed into the dead person's intestines, causing the spinner to die soon thereafter.

[22]These last few practices are optional, and apparently not particularly common. Note that the "reasons" given for these practices are all ex post facto, but nevertheless do reveal some of the things that worry the Campas when there is a death.

[23]This practice was reported for the Machiguengas by Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 172; see also Mac-Lean y Estenós 1939:340).

[24]This is another Machiguenga practice, according to Snell and Snell (1954:14; see also Tennant 1958:68). Clark (1953:111) reported as follows for the Campas: "The fire's soft glow showed a pair of tall blood-smeared posts weirdly painted with 'human ghost pictures' in white and red. Seeing them, the [Campa] slaves became greatly alarmed saying these were 'evil' and had to do with death, and with *kamari*—devil spirits." What is here described corresponds to nothing that I encountered among the Campas.

[25]Putting the aged and infirm to death as burdens to themselves and to the community was reported for the Campas by Alviano (1957:57), Domville-Fife (1924: 263-264, 273), Izaguirre (1923-1939:VII, 66), Moss (1909:18), Navarro (1924:25, 28), Nordenskjöld (1924:23; 1937:117), Stahl (1932:34), and Tschudi (1947:287). It was reported for the Machiguengas by Farabee (1909:129; 1922:13; see also Steward and Métraux 1948:547). Moss, Navarro, Nordenskjöld, and Farabee specified that the person is thrown alive into the river. Domville-Fife (and, after him, Alviano) provided a spurious description of burial alive in a standing position in such cases. My informants knew nothing of such practices. It was affirmed, however, that when a woman dies leaving an unweaned infant, that infant will be buried or thrown into the river alive if there is no woman present who can and will nurse it. This conforms to Stull's report (1951:75-76): "The father prefers to toss his baby into the river to follow the body of its mother than to hear it cry for three days in starvation and then die anyway." (The informant Kenčóri, while describing the general practice, claimed that he himself would try to keep the infant alive until it died, then inter it.)

[26]Killing the delirious as demon-possessed was reported for the Campas by Stahl (1932:34). Rosell (1916:xvi, 14) reported that the Machiguengas flee in panic from a sick person who is delirious, returning after a few days to see if he is recovered or dead.

[27]The term *caviári* (signifying "out of one's senses") is also used to refer to children who grope in their sleep, mumbling words, and to persons who get drunk at festivals and blunder over to the group of the opposite sex to fall asleep (segregation of the sexes is practiced at festivals). These occurrences, however, are not interpreted as demonic or dangerous.

[28]The information supplied here on the violent form of mental derangement occurring among the Campas, is corroborated by an incident reported by Franciscan missionaries in the Pangoa region, *ca.* 1673. The incident, as related by Padre Amich (1854:52; see also Izaguirre 1923-1929:I, 215), concerned a Campa boy some 10 to 12 years of age: "One day while in the forest with his parents, he was attacked by a sudden fit so extraordinary that, overcome like an endemoned fury, he crawled through the underbrush, ripping himself to pieces not only among the thorns, sticks, and tree trunks, but also with his own hands, nails, and teeth, tearing off his flesh with rabid bites. In addition to this, his screams and howls were such as to terrify those present. They would

have abandoned him (as is the custom among them) if they did not fear the displeasure of the [Catholic] priests who already had instructed them not to abandon those unfortunates who were ill. They carried him to the settlement on a stretcher, tied hand and foot, with a piece of wood in his mouth which he held so clenched in his teeth that bindings were superfluous. Compassionate and sympathetic, the monks untied him. But it was the same as untying a wild beast, and if so many people had not come to the rescue it would have been impossible to tie him again." See also Stull 1951:59: "We had seen sun exposure, and in every instance the afflicted Indian insisted that he had seen a ghost.... Days of lunacy followed in every case, with the afflicted ones ripping off their strait-jackets as fast as they were fastened on. They inflicted injury on themselves, and attempted to assault others."

[29]Compare Padre García's account for the Machiguengas (1935-1937:XVIII, 167-168; see also Mac-Lean y Estenós 1939:339).

[30]The practice of cremation was reported for the Campas by Clark (1953:164), Izaguirre (1923-1929:VII, 66), Navarro (1924:21), Stahl (1932:34), Steward and Métraux (1948:547), and Tessmann (1930:100). It was reported for the Machiguengas by García (1935-1937: XVIII, 169), Grandidier (1861:144), and Mac-Lean y Estenós (1939:339-340).

[31]Compare Tessmann (1930:100; see also Steward and Métraux 1948:547): "Evil sorcerers are thrown into the water or into the bush, or burned." Padre Navarro (1924:28) commented that Campa sale of witch-children to the Caucasians is "for them an act of true philanthropy." Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 169; see also Mac-Lean y Estenós 1939:339-340) reported that, among the Machiguengas, the bodies of witches are cremated to destroy their souls. He added that the bodies of snakebite victims are either cremated or thrown into the river, out of a conviction that if they were buried the number of snakes would multiply, all of which is without Campa parallel.

[32]This description holds only for an infant born with a major defect. If the defect is minor, the infant is either left to die or else accepted and raised. An alternative explanation of malformation at birth is simply that one of the parents had eaten something in violation of pregnancy restrictions, but the action taken is the same. Twins are not conceived to be demonic, although one of a pair of twins may be allowed to die to spare the mother the excessive burden.

Infanticide in the case of a deformed child, taken to be the offspring or product of a demon, was reported for the Machiguengas by Padre García (1935-1937: XVII, 227; see also Mac-Lean y Estenós 1939:339) and for the tribes of the Ucayali by Orton (1876:321). Coriat ([1942]:22) reported as follows: "There are some Amazonian tribes that retain the barbarous custom of burying alive or drowning a baby born with a deformity since they believe that the baby was born bewitched, and if an old woman has issue it also is eliminated in the belief that only the devil could have engendered that offspring." Grandidier (1861:130) reported that, among the Ucayali tribes, deformed and sickly infants are put to death, but he gave no reason for the practice; the same author (1861:143) reported that, among the Machiguengas, the second of a pair of twins is buried alive as the offspring of a demon. Clark (1953:76) mentioned infanticide of a "malformed baby" among the Campas, but he provided no reason for the practice—and the procedure he described, involving the use of a poisoned thorn, is contrary to my information.

[33]Padre García's description of Machiguenga burial practices (1935-1937:XVIII, 170-171; see also Mac-Lean y Estenós 1939:340) is very similar to this one. There are differences in details, however. Thus, Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 170) reported the following: "When they no longer perceive signs of life in the patient, they submit him to a rigorous examination to make sure. They open and close his eyelids, press a muscle, ausculate his heart, etc., etc." The Campas, by contrast, are satisfied with feeling for a heartbeat.

[34]Compare Grain 1943:244, for the Machiguengas: "They even bury their dead with faces well painted with achiote." According to Padres García (1935-1937: XVIII, 170-171) and Urquilo (1939:133), the Machiguengas paint a dead person's face with achiote in order to please the defunct and thereby mitigate his destructive fury. The Campas agree that the act is pleasing to the dead person, but not that the ghost's behavior is affected by it.

[35]Compare Padre García's account (1935-1937: XVIII, 171): "The cotton that they put on his eyes before carrying him to burial is so that he will not see the path by which they conduct him, and not succeed in returning later. Moreover, said cotton ensures that the cadaver can no longer see Machiguengas though he removes it later, on awakening."

[36]In these days, a shirt and trousers may be found under the cushma, if the deceased owned them.

[37]The informant Šariti stated rather anomalously that the corpse faces the setting sun so that the sun in setting will carry off its soul. Information gathered on

the Ene River would suggest that there, for similar burials, the corpse faces the rising sun.

[38]Compare Tessmann's account (1930:100): "A sleeping mat is spread out in the grave, on top of which is placed the corpse dressed only in a shirt [cushma] or loincloth but without adornments. An old shirt is put under the head. Other things are not added. The face of the corpse looks upward, the position is extended. Over the corpse, cross-sticks are stuck in the walls of the grave and covered with a layer of *Iriartea* palm leaves. On top of that comes the earth." The covering of the grave was described in much the same manner for the Machiguengas by Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 171; see also Mac-Lean y Estenós 1939:340), but his assertion that the Machiguengas alternatively cover graves with inverted masato troughs, is without Campa parallel.

[39]The large aluminum pots obtained from the Caucasians and the large balls of thread prepared for weaving cushmas represent a heavy investment of labor. Clay pots may be smashed or thrown into the river, as their value is much less. The claim made by Clark (1953:59-60, 62) that the Campas "kill" a dead person's weapons or pots by breaking them, to release their spirits, seems to be without foundation. Also unfounded is Tessmann's assertion (1930:100) that the burning or discarding of property is limited to women who die without children. For the Machiguengas, Marcoy (1875:I, 489) reported a systematic destruction of a dead person's property that goes beyond Campa practice, whereas Grandidier (1861:144) claimed that the personal property is saved. Concerning Piro practices, Carrasco (*in* Raimondi 1874-1913:III, 188) reported that everything a dead Piro owns is interred with him. Farabee (1922:60) stated as much, adding that a dead Piro's dogs are killed and buried nearby. Samanez Ocampo's description of Piro practices (1907:311) is more elaborate: "When a Piro dies, he is buried in his house, and over his sepulcher they burn all his clothes and flammable objects, smash what is breakable, throw his tools and arms into the river, and kill the animals he raised. Nothing pertaining to the deceased can remain."

[40]It may be noted that these provisions are placed around the grave rather than inside the grave, in contrast to what Padre García reported for the Machiguengas (1935-1937:XVIII, 171; see also Mac-Lean y Estenós 1939:340). Furthermore, it is not understood, as Padre García claimed for the Machiguengas, that the spirits will supply the deceased with sustenance if what is left at the grave is insufficient.

[41]As a statement of regional differences, this must be taken as a generalization. The orderly retreat from a grave may be a more recent development and a consequence, however indirectly, of acculturative influences. Compare Padre Izaguirre's report for the Satipo-Pangoa region (1923-1929:XII, 475): "But scarcely have they finished setting the cadaver in its resting place when all those present flee in disbandment, precipitously withdrawing from the place." Compare also Wavrin's report for the same region (1943:90): "They then escape by running down the slope opposite their place of residence. In this way, the spirit of the deceased cannot follow them nor carry them away." (See also Wavrin 1937:446, 466.)

[42]Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 171) described the Machiguengas retreating from a gravesite, "covering the path with dead leaves, branches, and small trees so that afterwards the cadaver will not follow them home." This description was paraphrased by Mac-Lean y Estenós (1939:340) in the following terms: "The funeral cortege withdraws, erasing the traces of its passing to turn from the trail the soul of the deceased."

[43]Bathing after a death is reported for the Machiguengas by García (1935-1937:XVIII, 172), Mac-Lean y Estenós (1939:340), and Rosell (1916:xvi, 16). That this is done by all the immediate relatives of the deceased, as Rosell claimed, and for the purpose of making the bathers invisible to the dead person, as Padre García (and, after him, Mac-Lean y Estenós) asserted, are without Campa parallels. According to Padre García in the passage cited (see likewise Mac-Lean y Estenós), the Machiguengas remove and wash the clothes they were wearing when the death occurred, and put on other clothes, to confuse the deceased.

[44]As Tessmann noted (1930:100), there is no exhuming of skulls or bones by the Campas. Clark's descriptions of human skulls and skins, bones and flesh, hanging in Campa houses (1953:69-70, 90), are contrary to my findings and thus appear as unnecessarily grotesque fictions. The same can be said for Clark's report (1953:27) of Campas fattening and eating a Caucasian prisoner. During the century following the sublevation of Juan Santos Atahualpa, when Campa territory was off limits to Caucasians, the notion somehow developed that the Campas were cannibals (see Barraillier 1892:138; Burke 1960a:mxxxii, 10; Clark 1953:78, 170, 177; Galt MS: II, 10; Loayza 1942:47-48; Markham 1895:244 [but not 1910:83]; Orton 1876:322; Tschudi 1847:283; Uriarte 1938-1942:LV, iv, 40, 42). This was denied by more knowledgeable reporters (Moss 1909:18; Navarro 1924:28; Ordinaire 1887:283). Cannibalism, in fact, is absent among the Campas and is incompatible with their attitudes toward the dead.

[45]As Reiser (1943:189) noted: "Where a dead man is buried, there his ghost haunts."

[46]Compare Padre García's account for the Machiguengas (1935-1937:XVIII, 171). According to Padre García, the souls of the good as well as the bad are dangerous during the first few days after death (1935-1937:XVIII, 172). This was denied by my informants speaking for the Campas. The question, however, is academic, as few Campas at death would be so highly regarded for their goodness that their ghosts would not be feared.

[47]That all Campas become, in the end, wandering ghosts, was reported by Caldwell and Calhoun (1932:242) and Stull (1951:64-65, 92-93). These authors (Caldwell and Calhoun 1932:242; Stull 1951:94) also reported that the ghost of an infant continues its association with its mother, who ties a tiny raft to her raft or canoe for the ghost to ride upon, and leans a stick against each side of any fallen log she may cross so that the diminutive ghost can follow her. Such behavior must be quite limited in its distribution, at least among the River Campas, as my informants had never heard of it.

[48]Aside from this, there is no belief among the Campas in transmigration. Nevertheless, transmigration into animals was reported for the Campas by Anon. (1888:23), Izaguirre (1923-1929:XII, 475), J. G. (1868:22-23, 42; see also Gastelú 1885:143), Navarro (1924:21), and Ordinaire (1887:280). It was reported for the Machiguengas by Göhring (1877:69), Grandidier (1861:144), and Marcoy (1875:I, 490), and for the Piros by Samanez Ocampo (1907:311) and Wiener (1880:369). Compare Padre Cenitagoya's account ([1943]:198): "The soul of the Machiguenga goes wandering in the forest, making noise . . . or else is converted into an animal to atone for the misdeeds he committed in this world." Padre Cenitagoya ([1943]:197) noted that, in Machiguenga belief, a soul may become an animal after death, but it does not enter into the body of an animal. Carranza (1894:30) reported a Campa belief to the effect that souls transmigrate from parents to children: "It appears that they believe in the immortality of the soul, supposing that it is transmitted from parents to children by means of procreation. In accordance with this idea they victimize those who are sterile, viewing them as parasitic plants." Nothing resembling what Carranza described was encountered among the Campas by me; my informants roundly denied any such belief or practice.

[49]The use of the term "victim" is somewhat misleading, because for the Campas anyone attacked by a demon somehow deserved his fate. The extent of demon-caused death can be exaggerated in the minds of some Campas, as in the case of one visitor who claimed that, except for those who die of old age, no one dies without "seeing" something. The same informant also claimed that when someone dies, his (or her) old clothing is transformed into *pompóri* (a kind of owl), his excrement into *tivíto* (the dung beetle), and his urine, when stepped on, causes acute pains.

[50]Compare Tessmann's account of the fate of witches (1930:93; see also Steward and Métraux 1948:547): "The soul of an evil sorcerer [witch] goes into the bush, whence it appears in dreams to youths who want to become evil sorcerers and tries to entice them to sorcery. . . . It has no home and eats nothing."

[51]Compare Tessman's account (1930:93; see also Steward and Métraux 1948:547): "The souls of laymen and good sorcerers [shamans] go to heaven. There the laymen live in houses as on earth, eat as they do here, etc. The good sorcerers subsist by smoking. . . . The souls in heaven, when they are old, become young again, so that they never die. Never again do they return to the earth. They have no chiefs." (My informants would not limit the sustenance of shamans' souls to smoking.)

[52]The elaboration permitted by Campa belief is illustrated by one informant's assertion that if a soul goes to *Kitamarónkani*, a mountain ridge and center of the *manínkari* above *Koári* on the Tambo, it will find that sexual activity and labor pains continue in force there; if it chooses it can go to *Hananeríte*, however, up in the sky, where both are absent.

[53]Farabee came upon an empty grave and could give no explanation for it (1922:13-14). Compare Padre García's account for the Machiguengas (1935-1937:XVIII, 136-137):

"The souls of good Machiguengas are conducted by the *Saangaríite* spirits to the mouth of the *Meshiareni* River (the Milky Way), 'the river where the skin is changed,' and there are submitted to an excellent bath that renews their skin, strips them of mortality and the human condition, and transforms them into *Saangaríite*. . . .

"The body of the good is buried like that of the bad, but after two or three days the *Saangaríite* go to disinter it, blow on the crown of the head, and the soul of the cadaver becomes reanimated and animates the entire body. They carry him directly to bathe in the regenerative waters of the *Meshiareni*, and there he is transformed also into a *Saangaríite*. The cushma and clothing that had been his shroud later appear hanging from a pole next to the sepulcher; he does not take them with him.

"Full of joy, the spirits conduct their new companions to their own houses, which are at the headwaters of the rivers, where the women already await with overflowing troughs of *istea* [masato]. In the

drunken festival with which their arrival is celebrated, the new compatriots are provided with consorts, *Saangaríite* also.

"Sometimes the cadaver anticipates the *Saangaríite* and, before they come to disinter it, gets up and goes by foot to visit them. When it arrives close to their houses, far away in the hills, something like distant thunder is heard from there. There they blow on it and animate it, and then carry it to bathe in the *Meshiareni*, except in certain cases in which they convert the cadaver into a *Saangaríite* simply by anointing the eyes with sap from the *ibénkiki* plant.

"The Machiguengas who take pains to go always in a cushma and with their faces very red with achiote, are carried to *Kamabiría* by the *Saangaríite* of those lands. Bathed in the *Meshiareni* and transformed into *Saangaríite*, they will thenceforth eat in abundance, apart from other delicacies, delicious and fleshy manioc of a special kind found only there."

This account agrees with Campa thought except for the following details: the Campas do not believe that the good spirits wait two or three days to visit a grave; they do not recognize the detail of the dead person's clothing left hanging from a pole; they do not believe that any dead person will go searching for the good spirits on his own; they do not recognize special recruitment for the first subterranean level–the "Kamabiría" of the Machiguengas, the *Kivínti* of the Campas. See also Cenitagoya ([1943]:201): "When a *seripegari* [shaman] dies, they say his cadaver disappears, perhaps to join his accomplice the *saangarite*."

[54]The following was reported by Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 137) as Machiguenga belief: "The bodies of those who die assassinated are eaten by the *sampónero* or white vultures, which respect the heart, blow on it, and convert it into a *sampónero* like them, and carry it up to *Menkorípatsa*, their paradisiacal abode." This description is acceptable to the Campas, taking "samponero" as equivalent to the condor *Amémpori*, who resides at the level of the clouds (the "Menkorípatsa" of the Machiguengas). For the Campas, however, assassins as well as the assassinated end up as lieges of *Amémpori*. Padre García added that, in Machiguenga belief, those who are lazy become "tachipionti" birds after death, a notion unfamiliar to the Campas.

[55]The belief that the soul survives death was reported for the Campas by Coriat ([1942]:77) in a passage that shows strong Caucasian influence but makes specific reference to the heart, a passage presented as the words of a dying Campa: "–Perhaps the thought is sad that I am going to live with my relatives, including those whose names were forgotten long before I was born? A man is like a grain of wheat [*sic*]: bury him and he becomes dust. Nevertheless, his heart lives and germinates in the breath of life (the soul) that makes him be again what he was." A belief in the immortality of the soul was reported as well for the Machiguengas by Aza (1924:27), Cenitagoya (1921:319), and Márquez Eyzaguirre (1935:188). A belief that the soul goes to its reward, either good or ill, was reported for the Machiguengas by García (1935-1937:XVIII, 133-134; see also Mac-Lean y Estenós 1939:339).

Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 173-174) reported that the Machiguengas hold a séance after a death to discover the final whereabouts of the soul of the deceased. No such séance is held by the Campas, although a shaman would be able to provide information about a soul's whereabouts, claiming to have seen it here or there. Entirely alien to Campa thought is Clark's formulation (1953:62): "The Campa dreams of the sun, is drawn up into it, and if he dies while he is thus meditating, he is returned to earth and the other worlds on its rays to become one with all creation–the flower, the earth, the snake, the water, the air, the trees–one with all phenomenal matter."

THE DESTINY OF THE HUMAN SOUL. 2.

Ha! ha!
Then is the ghosts' high-noon!

–W. S. Gilbert, *Ruddigore*

The basic Campa concept that the soul survives death as a ghost or *širéči*–basic in the sense that all else on the subject is elaboration or qualification–is given expression in the narrative that follows. This text is unusual, for the narrators are two in number. As they arranged the matter between them, the principal narrator is Komémpe while her husband Šaríti, who had first taught her the narrative, provides additions, corrections, and asides. First, a summary of the narrative:

A man sets out on an expedition to obtain salt, accompanied by his brother. He tells his pregnant wife that he will return in three months, and that she should have manioc beer ready for him. While he is gone, however, his wife dies in childbirth.

When the two men return, they find the house deserted. As night falls they climb to a high sleeping platform and, shoving aside piles of beans that had been left there, they bed down for the night. Some time later they hear the murmur of voices coming closer, and a man and woman enter the house. Although the two onlookers are not aware of it, the woman is the dead wife, and the man is her new ghost husband. The latter begins to beat a drum, and he instructs the dead woman (or, rather, her ghost) to harvest manioc and prepare manioc beer.

The two onlookers, afraid of being discovered, burrow into the pile of beans on their platform to conceal themselves. The ghost of the dead woman first takes some of the beans and cooks them. Then she goes out to harvest some manioc, returns after a lapse of time, and proceeds to make the beer (masato). The process is described in detail: she shells the manioc, [cooks it] mashes it in her masato trough, adds water to it, and strains the liquid. She then offers this masato to her ghost husband, who drinks and eructs in the Campa fashion.

The ghost husband asks his ghost wife to dance, but she is unwilling to dance alone, so he takes the lead, drumming and singing the Song of the Dead. (The words to this song are meaningless, suggesting that the dead speak a different language.) The two onlookers hear the song, and through them it will be passed on to future generations of the living down to the present day: for this reason we are now in possession of the song.

The ghostly revel is interrupted by the hooting of an owl, which the dead woman recognizes as her uncle's "rooster" heralding the approach of day, which appears to ghosts as night. The two ghosts hasten to finish their masato, the dead woman squeezing the mass of manioc pulp to extract the last of the liquid. Of course, it is all appearance: in reality the masato trough is empty and mildewed, abandoned with the rest of the house when the woman died. The two onlookers hear the clatter of the dead woman's gourd bowls as she arranges them, turning them upside down, preparatory to her departure. It is remarked parenthetically that ghosts have a longing to see the things they left behind, and for that reason return to the homes they knew.

The ghosts finally depart, the murmur of their voices fading into the distance, for it is the end of their "day," and time for them to sleep. [Šariti, musing about the strange reversal of day and night in the perceptions of ghosts,[1] suggests that it is analogous to the daylight we see in dreams during the night.] The two onlookers, who had been too frightened to sleep, wait until the bright of day to descend from their platform. They take their salt and leave, the one Campa, who had not recognized his wife in the ghost woman, wondering where his wife might have moved in his absence.

The two men trudge on and on, finally stopping to rest. They see approaching them the one Campa's wife, carrying her babe in her bone-pendant sash, the bone pendants clattering as she moves. They meet and greet each other, and the woman stares at the two men intensely. She asks her husband if he has indeed returned and if he has the salt that he had set out to obtain, and he asks her if she has given birth in his absence. All questions are answered in the affirmative. The husband then asks his wife to sit down, but she refuses, telling him to bring something for her to sit on. He brings her leaves but she rejects them, taking instead the leaves of stinging nettles and sitting on them.[2] The husband is astounded, and gives his wife an intense stare.

They decide to sleep where they are. The woman goes off to perform a natural function. She leaves the babe, which is covered, telling the two men not to look at it. The husband is puzzled by this injunction, and when his wife is out of sight he looks under the covers at his child. What he sees is a pile of worms, wriggling and writhing. It is now abundantly clear that the woman is dead and it was she whom they had seen the night before.

The two men sleep through the night. The next morning they follow the dead woman along the path. They come upon her: she has stepped off the path and under her feet another path has appeared, the path leading to the cemetery where she was buried, her present home. The husband's brother continues on along the real path, but the husband chooses to follow his wife to the Community of the Dead.

The path is long, but at last they emerge onto the clearing of that Community. There the hus-

band sees the host of the Dead, dressed in tatters, their ribs protruding. The Dead are disturbed that a living person should appear among them. They tell him to spit. When he does so they deduce that he is still "raw" (alive) and not yet "cooked" (dead), and they insist that he return to the living. Before he goes, however, they beg him to burn food, clothing, and other things for them when he is back among the living, since they are lacking in provisions.

He agrees, and then sets out along the ghostly path leading him to the real path and thence to the company of his fellows. He burns things as he promised, and he recounts all that he experienced. What he tells will be passed down from generation to generation to the present day, as a true account of what happened.

Irórí ineanáitiro comónte, ohímera, ári
She he saw her pregnant, her husband there, well

ikantaitanáka yái itívine. [Š.: "Náiteta notívine."]
he went far to bring his salt. ["I will bring now my salt."]

Hm, "náiteta," ikantanáitiro, "piotakeriríka kašíri
Yes, "I will bring now," he said to her, "when you know him the moon

inaapááke mává, íro išonkapááhe,
he will be three, it he will have gone around (three lunations),

arío payé kaníri . . ." [Š.: Mm, hm.] ". . . ári payé
then take manioc . . ." [Ah, yes.] ". . . well take

kaníri . . ." [Š.: ". . . nošinkitapéémpari."
manioc . . ." [". . . with which, when I arrive, I may get

] Hé, ". . . nošinkitapéémpari."
drunk."] Yes, ". . . with which, when I arrive, I may get drunk."

"Hé, arío." Neá irórikea áitake ocomontétira
"Yes, good enough." So she, then, so it was she was pregnant

irórí. [Š.: Irío oamákero ocómonte. Hm,
there she. [He (the child) killed her (in) her belly.] Yes,

iríonea. Aitákekea iriórí, yoraté, ainirotáci
he, now. So it was, then, he, he there, now, (and so) what there

ántá osavikáke antavé -- ántá, háokampa
is over there, she resides way over there -- over there, what

ohítari? -- ošaninkakipáenta. Ipiotákanta
is it called? -- with all her fellows over there. They assemble over

kamínkari. Opokantarirákea ári
there the Dead. Therefore she came there, then, well

imoncantaharorírakea niánki. Opokantarirákea,
therefore he encountered her there, then, half(way). Therefore she

opokimékea háká ovankokíka,
came there, then, she came now, then, here to her house here,

ovankokíkakea.
to her house here, then.

Arío koahikáta, intanahárita yóká,[3]
Well, later, now, what was first, now, they here,

ikemanáhiro ašitarórira ivánko. [Š.: Kamákekea?]
they heard her the owner of it there his house. [Dead, then?]

Hé, kamákekea iróinti. Neátea imaantapaatiarirákea
Yes, dead, then, she alone. So, then, therefore, on arriving, they

išitamenkoréki. Ikánti, "Tevé,
slept there, then, on his platform. He said, "No, indeed,

kamaarantakairikavé, kamaarantakairikavé."
perhaps some (people) have died (here)!, perhaps some (people) have

Ári yoapáákero itívine, yoapáákero
died (here)!" Well he put it down his salt, he put it down

okempetapáára opioyétiro
it was like there [indicating a corner] (where) she had piled them all

omačáte, opioyétiro omačáte. Kantaiteánaka,
her beans, she had piled them all her beans. (It) grew dark,

kantaiteavaetanáka, ári yataitanáka. "Camevé, iyé,
(it) grew dark everywhere, so they climbed. "Let's!, brother,

atái[tanake], ári amáyeri ántá." Itiankáákero
climb, well we will sleep there over there." He shoved them

omačatepéra, tiankáákero áikero aká -- neá
aside all her beans there, (he) shoved them aside until here -- so

aantatiarirákea onkotantapaakarírakea
therefore she took there, then, in order to cook there, then,

kamínkaro. [Š.: Áá, hé, onkocitapaakerírа.]
the dead woman. [Ah, yes, what she will boil, there.]

Hevékea, onkocitapaakerírakea.
Yes, indeed, then, what she will boil there, then.

[Š.: Ocokitapááhakea oyánire.] Hevékea,
[She harvested quickly, then, her manioc.] Yes, indeed, then,

pikénk. . . . [Š.: Ompearetapéempari, hé.] Hé,
imagine . . . [With which she would make masato, yes.] Yes,

pikenkicatavákero. [Š.: Ocokapáákekea opearetapááke
imagine it. [She harvested, then, she made masato

encipáite.] Mm, hm.
right away.] Ah, yes.

Neá koraketáke ántá, ikemaheetatíro,
So watch out! here (she) comes over there, they both heard

véro, véro, véro véro, oneavaetapááke, véro,
her, murmur, murmur, murmur, murmur, she was talking, murmur,

véro, véro, véro, há, irósati okiantapááka ovankokíra.
murmur, murmur, murmur, ha, and so so she entered into her house

"Hé, novankonikavé." Hé, iposapáákero
there. "Yes, my house formerly here!" Yes, on arriving, he (her new

itamporóte tín, tín, tín, tín, tín, tín, tín,
ghost husband) hit it his drum *sound of drumming*

tín. "Paapáe kanirivé." [Š.: Témpa išinkitavakáta?] Tekéra,
"Bring manioc!" [Wasn't he drunk then?] Not yet,

ipošitapaaharóta. Irókea irotakékea ikantantákari
he beat it upon arriving. It, then, it is it, then, therefore he

aká, oravé, "Pinohatapáe kaníri,[4] ašinkitapáe,
said here, that is, "Chew manioc, we will get drunk,

ašinkitanaheárota ayánire." Neá kemisantakékea
we will get drunk with it now our manioc." So (they) were listening,

then, irínticikea káárira kamáci.
they alone, then, (they who were) not, there, dead.

[Š.: Ikitavátaka mačákiki.] Mm, hm,
[They had buried themselves in the beans.] Ah, yes,

ikitavatakára, hevékea,
they had buried themselves there, yes, indeed, then,

piširetanahearokéti.
imagine it, then.

Ariové, ikemáitiro ántá, okiapááhi
Good enough!, they heard her! over there, she dug up

oyánire. [Š.: Aapáintita omačáte onkoitakéro.
her manioc. [She took quickly then her beans to cook them

] Hé, aapaaketé, irótake ohivatákeri.
quickly.] Yes, she took, of course, that is it what she did first.

[Š.: Neá iriotáke kitavatáinčari.] Hé,
[So it was they they who were buried (in the beans).] Yes,

iriotákekea yóntá, iriórí kemisantákero ántá.
it was they, then they over there, they listened to her over there.

Irotakékea ohivatapáákeri aapaakerákea
That is it, then, what she did first she took there, then,

šikére, šikére, šikére, šikére. [Š.: "Nonkoitapááheta
noise of beans. ["I will cook quickly now

nomačáte."] Onkoitantapaaharíra.
my beans."] Therefore she cooked quickly there.

"Há, arío, pikiapáe kaníri." Ári oháti,
"Ha, good enough, dig up manioc." Well she went,

kemáitiro ántá. Neáti pérani, pérani, arío.
(they) heard her! over there. So, long time, long time, enough.

[Š.: "Pitakirééroya."] "Pitakirééroya. Encipayeyavé pintakorééro,
["Shell it, then."] "Shell it, then. Quickly! shell it,

nošinkitatiémpari." Hm, neá ošincitapááke ihínara
with which I may get drunk!" Yes, so she hurried his wife there

irórikea tákire -- ihítikea ára
she, then, *sound of shelling* -- they believed, then, there

koniharóni -- tákire, tákire, tákire, tákire,
(that) she had really appeared then -- *sound of shelling*,

tákire, tákire, arío. "Nokematíro osokakérokea
enough. "I hear her! she is emptying it, then,

oyahonetékira," tók, tók, tók, tók, tók, otinkakérora,
into her trough there," *sound of mashing* she pounded it there,

tók, tók, tók, tók, tók, tók. Há, ariotákero. "Arío?" "Hé,
sound of mashing. Ha, it was enough. "Enough?" "Yes,

arío, pisaiterové, pisáitero. Encipáite nošinkitatiéya
enough, add water to it!, add water to it. Right away I will get

ašinkitatiémpari." [Š.: Okaatimaitanákakea
drunk!, then, with which we may get drunk!" [It proceeded

okačotánake.] Hm. [Š.: Okantakáro
rapidly, then, it vinegared.] Yes. [(So) she did it

oširecitánake.] Arioté, arío. Osaitakéro.
(when) she became a ghost.] Good enough!, good enough. She added

	"Picikaatenavé."	Arióitem[p]a	akántari	aká,
water to it.	"Strain (it) for me."	Surely	what we are	here,

ašíre . . .	[Š.: Apašinitanáke.]	Hé,	apašinitanákera.
our souls . . .	[We become different.]	Yes,	we become different

	"Picikáátena."	[Š.: Ocikaahatíraro,
there.	"Strain (it) for me."	[She strained the liquid quickly,

ciká, ciká, ciká.]	Há,	ocikaahatírakea.
sound of straining.]	Ha,	she strained the liquid quickly, then,

"Hérǒ."	Hm,	ári	irááke,	"Caméketi	iréémi,
"Here it is."	Hm,	well	he drank,	"Let's, then,	drink, now,

pimaninkétatie."	"Hm,	tekacité	acipatéari,
dance!"	"Hm,	there is lacking, now,	our (dancing) partners,

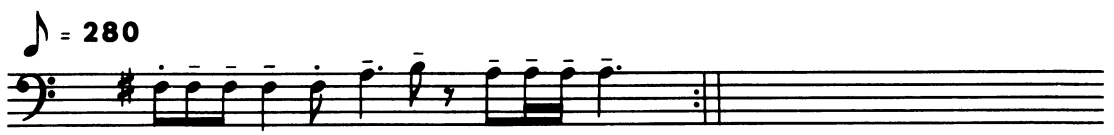
tekacité	acipatéari."	Irááke	iríinti.
there is lacking, now,	our (dancing) partners."	He drank	he alone.

Icáátake.	[Š.: Taratarátake.]	Hm.
He finished drinking.	[Eructed and eructed.]	Yes.

	Icáátake,	"Ariové,	notamporóteta,
	He finished drinking,	"Enough!,	I will drum now,

notamporotetavé,	éiro pimaninkéti	avírori?"	"Éiro."	"Há,	caméketi,
I will drum now!,	won't you dance	you?"	"No."	"Ha,	let's go,

	narótake	poiháte."	[Š.: Irókea	iyayarómate.]	Hn.
then,	it is I	you follow."	[It, then,	his ghost music.]	Yes.

Irosatímakea	yáákero	tín, tín, tín, tín, tín, tín, tín, tín, tín.
And so, now, then,	he took it	*sound of drumming*.

"A-ki-mi-váá-ro čáá-mai, ya-ya-ro-mái;

a-ki-mi-váá-ro čáá-mai, ya-ya-ro-mái."

Irosatíkea	iríinti	ikemisantakéri	ašaninkaperorirákea.
And so, then,	they alone	they listened to him	our real fellow

	[Š.: Káárira	kamácine?]
tribesmen there, then.	[(They who were) not, there,	dead?]

Hm, kaarirákea kamáci. [Š.:
Yes, (they who were) not, there, then, dead. [

Yaitantavakariririrákea.] Mm, hm,
Therefore they took (learned) it (the music) there, then.] Ah, yes,

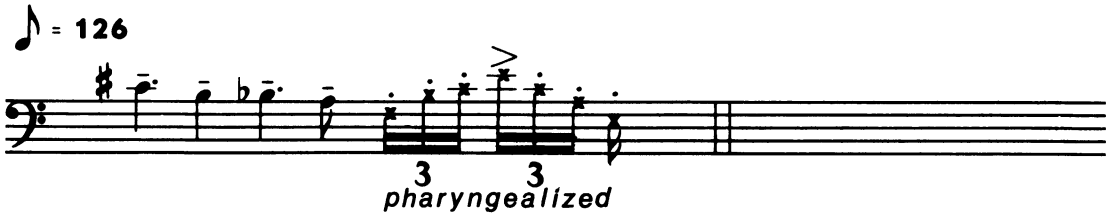
ikenkicatantaharorirákea, yoanteetaheerorîkea
therefore they related it there, then, therefore it has been passed

arórí. Ariové, ikantakóta itamporótake,
(down) to us, then, us. Well!, he passed time he drummed,

ikantakóta itamporótake, ikantakóta itamporótake, irótake
he passed time he drummed, he passed time he drummed, it was it

ántá ikemayetahîri mééka inkáranki akenkicáitiri.
over there all that they heard now before what we related.

Mamáro. Ikemahátiri ántá,
Owl. They heard it over there,



"Hóó, hóó, hóó, hóó, hó hó hó hó hó hó hó."

[Š.: Irótake onkitáitahe.] Hm, irotakevé
[It is it it will dawn.] Yes, that is it!

okitáitahe. [Š.: "Keméri itiápate."] "Keméri
it will dawn. ["Hear him, his rooster."] "Hear him,

itiápate kóóko, keméri itiápate kóóko,
his rooster (of) my uncle, hear him, his rooster (of) my uncle,

ántá." "Há, encîketi, pikaatimateróta encipáite
over there." "Ha, quickly, then, do it quickly now right away

acaatanahatiérori, picikaahatérota. Pirákempa
we will finish drinking it there, strain it now. Have you drunk

avîrori?" "Hé, niravetááka." "Há, énci picikaahatérota
you?" "Yes, I have been drinking." "Ha, quickly strain it now

encipáite. Akitaitakotikári." [Š.: Té,
right away. Careful or we will have day." [No,

". . . acitenitakotikári."] Há, ". . . acitenitakotikári,"
". . . careful or we will have night."] Ah, ". . . careful or we will

aríompa, há, ". . . aci. . . ." [Š.: Há, áitake
have night," yes, surely, ha, ". . ." [Ha, so it is

". . . acitenitakotikári."] "Acitenitakotikárikea."
". . . careful or we will have night."] "Careful or we will have night,"

[Š.: Há, irótake oncitenitáhe.] Irotakénea
then. [Ha, that is it, it will be night.] That is it, now,

oncitenitáhe. Há, ári ošincitákero. Picóre, picóre, picóre,
it will be night. Ha, well she hurried it. *Sound of squeezing (the

picóre, oneakaríkakea irórі. Neá tekacité
manioc mass)*, presumably she saw (it), then, she. But there was

oyahonetekíra, karasanténi.
(really) nothing, of course, in her masato trough there, empty hole

[Š.: Poasanténi.] Poasanténi. Há,
then. [Mildewed hole then.] Mildewed hole then. Ha,

opearetantáitaro.
with which she had made masato.

"Cameketivé cáme." Á[r]i ikemavahirové, há,
"Let's go, then!, let's go." So they heard her!, ha,

oioyetanahatíro okapáeka
she turned them (her vessels) all upside down all these here

oahonešetakipáe táro, táro. [Š.: Oyovitéra.
all her useless bowls *sound of arranging things*. [Her pots

] Hé, táro, táro, hára,
there.] Yes, *sound of arranging things*, there,

opoimotakayetanahíro. (Ampimayetarikakea
she made noise with them all. (When we have nostalgia for all [we left

mééka aríka akámake, pokapaakáeni antavé.
behind] now when we die, we come then [from] way over there.

[Š.: Amenayetapááhero avararoporóki.] Hé,
[To look at them all our little goods.] Yes,

amenayetapana[h]anteróta ánta avankokipénta.)
we will return then to look at all of them over there in all our

Háti. Irotakémpakea oneakeróra
houses over there.) Went. It is it, surely, then, she saw it there

okantiríra irórí, irótake ocitenitáhe.
what she had said there she, it is it it will become "night."

Háiteti, ikemaváhiro, véro, véro, véro,
(She) finally went, they heard her, murmur, murmur, murmur,

"Cáme, amaapáeta, oránea, náákero kitáite."
"Let's go, we will sleep now, it there, now, I have passed the day."

Árí ohátahi, há, kemisantáke. Té imáyehi irínti,
Well she went, ha, (they) listened. They hadn't slept they alone,

yóra, omincaroašireakeríri. [Š.: Íro
they there, (because) she had frightened them there. [It

ikitaitetanahírikea oravé, citéniri, íro ineavahíro
it becomes day there, then, that is, night, it they see it

kitáiteri, citenitánahi -- haokaríka okántaka?] Árí
day, (when it) becomes night -- how might it be?] Well

ipóki -- haokaríka okantakotiríri irórí? [Š.:
they came -- how might she have affected them she? [

Okempetárime amiširépeka áisati, oravé, anééro
What it is like, now, all our dreams here also, that is, we see it

kitáiteri ántá, há, citeniríki, há, aháyeti
day over there, ha, in the night, ha, we all go (roaming)

ántá, ó.]
over there, oh.]

Haitetivé. Ikántiri, "Iyé, árí
(She) finally went! He said to him, "Brother, well

aniriáke?" "Páátaya, óra,
shall we descend?" "Just a moment, then, that is,

tekérata okitaiperóte." Yamenavetakáro
it is not yet, now, true day." They looked for her in vain

aneašitáro . . . [Š.: . . . iroákera okonihaiteanáke.] Há,
as we see it . . . [. . . (when) recently it grows light.] Ha,

okoniháite. . . . "Páátaya, okitaiperotaváketa
it grew light . . . "Just a moment, then, it will be true day then

aniriánake. Amenampoiretanakérota óká
(and) we will descend. We will look for her traces now she here

šinkitaetačári. Árí ohátake." Neáti yanirianahim[p]ákea,
she who got drunk. Yes, she has gone." So they descended, surely,

"Camevé, cáme," yaniriaheetanáke. "Neákea
then, "Let's go!, let's go," they both descended. "So, then,

ativinékakea, árі aanahéro?" "Hm, ariorikavé,
our salt here, then, well will we take it?" "Yes, perhaps!,

ariové kisó avanahéro. Haokayááta
yes, indeed, together we will carry it. Where, then, now,

ántá, oááhari?" -- ikenkicatakérota ihínara
over there, has she moved?" -- he thought of her then his wife there

iriórі.
he.

"Cáme," iponeaheetahása, tk, tk, tk,
"Let's go," they both sallied forth, *sound of walking*,

ikánta, ikánta, ikánta, ikánta, ariové,
they went on, they went on, they went on, they went on, enough!,

imakoreapááke. Árі imakoreapááke, "Paatayavé
they rested. Yes they rested, "Just a moment, then!,

asavikanakéta." [Š.: Irosatíkea ineantavaheáro.
we will sit down now." [And so, then, therefore they will see

] Irosatíkea ineantavaheárokea.
her (the wife).] And so, then, therefore they will see her, then.

Irósati ineantavaheáro. Ocoompihanitárakea
And so therefore they will see her. She was carrying her baby there,

oševatiári
then, (in her sash) (with) her bone pendants (clattering)

čéro, čéro, čéro. Ikánti, "Koraketaincivé,
sound of bone pendants clattering. He said, "Watch out! who is

pááta oyavakérota akemavakeróta
coming, just a moment we will wait for her now we will hear her now

páita -- haokaríka okenkicatapái." "Há, ariové." Inéiro,
what -- how might she recount." "Ha, good enough!" They saw her,

inéiro, inéiro, yaméniro,
they saw her, they saw her (as she approached), they looked at her,

amenapáiri. [Š.: "Pokáhimpi? Pááke
she looked at them. ["Have you returned? Are you carrying

pitívine?"] "Pokáhimpi?" "Hé." Árі améniri
your salt?"] "Have you returned?" "Yes." Well she looked at them

sóréréréré, ári améniri, "Háokampa, óra,
intense stare, well she looked at them, "Where, that is,

pihatahátiri ántá?" Ári okátia, ári okátia,
have you gone and gone over there?" Well she stood, well she stood,

ári okántiri.
well she spoke to them.

Ikantavetarókea, "Pisavikéketi, pisávike."
He said to her in vain, then, "Sit down, then, sit down."

"Té." "Timakotanahím[p]impa?" "Hmm." [Š.: "Timánahi."] "Timánahi."
"No." "Did you give birth?" "Yes." ["Born."] "Born."

"Pisavikéketi." "Té. Paitenáketi óntá,
"Sit down, then." "No. Bring me quickly, then, it over there,

nošitateári. Páitena." [Š.: Yaitanáro
that mat on which I will sit. Bring me quickly." [He took for her

cipána.] Yaavetaitaníro cipánaši sánori. "Té! Ónťá
leaves.] He brought to her in vain leaves true. "No! It over

páitena." "Háokampa mééka? Paitekéti
there bring me quickly." "Where, now? You bring quickly, then,

avínti." Oponeáitaka, yamenavákero, neátiro
you alone." She sallied forth quickly, he looked at her, (he)

ahirikapaakerókea, orákea . . . [Š.:
suddenly saw her she grabbed it, then, it there, then . . . [

Hirína.] Hé, ikantaetirírakea išitášira,
Stinging nettles.] Yes, what is called there, then, his mat there,

iyotantaetanakarorirákea irótake, išitáši širéci
therefore it is known there, then, it is it, his mat ghost's

óká. Aapáákero iróinti, héitore, héitore, héitore,
it here. She grabbed them she alone, *sound of breaking off leaves*,

amapáákero, ošitatapáákaro. Ári, irióri ohímera
she brought them, she sat on them. Well, he her husband there

okantašireanakéri. [Š.: Yaméniro.] Yamenirókea
she did (amaze) his soul. [He looked at her.] He looked at her,

sóréréréré.
then, *intense stare*.

[Š.: "Ári amááheri aká."] "Ári amááheri
["Well, we will sleep here."] "Well, we will sleep

aká. Ári amááheri aká." Ikantiríkea irirentíra,
here. Well, we will sleep here." He said to him, then, his brother

"Iyé, arimpayé amááke?" "Mm, okántati,
there, "Brother, is it that we will sleep?" "Yes, she says,

'Ári amááheri aká.'" Yaméniro, yaméniro.
'Well, we will sleep here.'" They looked at her, they looked at her.

Té, okantimotakárita iriórі. "Ariómpa, háokampa oháti?"
No, she went on with them then them. "Well, where did she

Há, ošíta, ohokantanakáriri. [Š.:
go?" Ha, she defecated, therefore she left them. [

Yamenitantearoríra] Hé, yamenitantearoríra.
Therefore they will look at it of hers there.] Yes, therefore they will

Há, oanakítiri
look at it of hers there. Ha, she put him (the baby) down

opašitanaitíri. [Š.: "Pamenitanaríkari."]
she covered him. ["Careful that you don't look at him of mine."]

"Pamenitanarikaríya." [Š.: Ikánti,
"Careful that you don't look at him of mine, then." [He said,

"Páita okantantánari?"] "Páitampa okantantári?"
"Why did she say (that) to me?"] "Why did she say (that)?"

Háiteti, háiteti iróinti, há, ipašireakéri
(She) finally went, finally went she alone, ha, he uncovered him

pááta yaméni, ipašireakotitániro kapičáini,
after a moment to look, he uncovered quickly what was hers a little,

neatiríkea ára oyenirákea.
(and he) suddenly saw them, then, there her worms there, then.

[Š.: Mm, hm, pióréréré.] Mm, miórere, miórere. Ikánti,
[Ah, yes, wriggling pile.] Yes, writhing, writhing. He said,

"Iyé!, irómpa okantantakariyé, iyé, irotakémpa
"Brother!, it, surely, therefore she said (it), brother, it is it,

okantantákeri." [Š.: Okéniti.]
surely, therefore she said (it)." [She (was carrying) worms.]

Oyenivé. "Okamáitimpa?" "Hm, ariorika." [Š.:
Her worms! "Has she died?" "Yes, surely." [

"Okamaitetáitim[p]a?"] "Okamáitetaitimpa?" [Š.: "Neá irótake
"Had she died?"] "Had she died?" ["So it was she

akemavetakári opearetáhanta."]
whom we heard she was making masato over there."]

Arío. Ariránkimpa omáánahi? [Š.: Témpa
Enough. Didn't, that is, she sleep? [Is it not?

ariotáke imáánahi] Áitake imáánahi. Okitaitamanakékea
yes it is they slept.] So it was they slept. It dawned, then,

irósati yoihatantanakeárokea, irósati ineantaiteárikea
and so therefore he will follow her, then, and so therefore he will

ántá ipiotákanta kamáinciri,
see, then, over there (where) they assemble over there those who are

hé. [Š.: Ipiotánta tihayetáčari.] Hé,
dead, yes. [They assemble over there all who are buried.] Yes.

hé. Ineantaitaririntákea irióri ántá.
yes. Therefore he saw them over there, then, them over there.

Héró okénaka ikenantakearimékea
Here is (where) it (the path) passes by which they pass, now,

aká ašáninka sanoríka,
then, here our fellow tribesmen real (i.e., alive), here,

ikénanta. . . . [Š.: Káárinta
by which they pass . . . [(Those who are) not, over there

kamácine.] Kaarikákea kamácine. Neá
dead.] (Those who are) not, here, then, dead. So

okenašitáka aocitanakérakea,
she simply passed (and it) became a path there, then,

aocitanakerorákea. [Š.: Konihatanakénta.]
it became a path there, then. [(It) appeared over there.]

Konihatanaketé. [Š.: Iráo.] Hé. "Háokampa
(It) appeared, of course. [His (ghost's) path.] Yes. "Where

akenanahatiéri, akenanákeri aká?" Há, ikánti, -- teránkimpa
shall we pass!, shall we pass here?" Ha, he said, -- didn't, that

iháte irínti irirénti? [Š.: Té.] Té, apániro
is, he go he alone his brother? [No.] No, alone

yoihatanahíro. [Š.: Hé, apanirókea.] Intáni
he (the husband) followed her. [Yes, alone, then.] At first

ikantanáharo apíteni, picokanáhakea
they went on (after) her the two (of them), (but then he) turned off,

irînti irirénti. "Arío nokenanáheri
then, he alone his brother. (The brother says,) "Well, I will pass

náinti, apâtiro noanahéro." Ári
there (alone the real path) I alone, I will go directly." Well

améniri, ohîtikea éiro yoihatîro.
she looked at him, she believed, then, (that) he would not follow her.

Ári améniri, améniri, "Árim[p]a pikenanáheri?"
Well she looked at him, she looked at him, "Well, will you pass

"Té, áitake noihatanakémpi." "Cáme,
there?" "No, so it is I will follow you." "Let's go,

pineapainterótakea ántá nonámpe, á[r]inea
you will soon see it now, then, over there my home, well, now,

nosavikáhiri." [Š.: Neá otihakára.] Neá ára
where I reside." [So she was buried there.] So there

otihakantaté, opiotayakantaté
she was buried over there, of course, she was piled over there,

ántá.
of course, over there.

Ikánti ineantaitaririntákea, éé,
They say therefore he saw them over there, ay!,

karamerekierekîtake, kapičahîni ipašikayetáka.
their many little ribs were bared, (just) a little then they all were

[Š.: Mm, hm, ineapáintiro.] Hm, ineapáintiri,
covered. [Ah, yes, he saw them suddenly.] Yes, he saw them

kapîča ipašikayetáke.
suddenly, (just) a little they all were covered.

Arîm[p]akea, oraté, okántaka, okánta,
Well, then, that is, she went on, she went on,

aocitáke, áoci, áoci, áoci, áoci. [Š.: Aréétaka,
(along) the path, path, path, path, path. [She arrived,

yaréétaka, iyoakaapáákeri.] Hé, iyoapaakempákea
he arrived, she emerged with him.] Yes, she emerged surely, then,

ántá. [Š.: Há, inkantantavakeariríirakea.]
over there. [Ha, therefore they will speak to him there, then.]

Hevékea. [Š.: "Pipokašitáka aká,
Yes, indeed, then. ["You have come without reason here,

nahatacimpikéra."] Hmvékea! Irósati,
you who are still raw."] Yes, indeed, then! It also,

"Pitiohapaaheáketi, pitiohapéémpa avírori." Irosatíkea
"Spit, then, spit you." And so, then,

yoipianteetakárikea irínti. [Š.: "Cáme
therefore they made him return, then, he alone. ["Go

pimpiáhe."] Hé, itiohavetapááka. Ineátiro, "Há, tevé,
return."] Yes, he spat in vain. They saw it!, "Ha, no!,

nahatacímpi avínti. Náákam[p]a, há, posatakéna náinti.
you who are raw you alone. We surely, ha, we are cooked we alone.

Cáme pipiáhe, cáme pipiáhe." [Š.: Ipiitaitanáha.]
Go return, go return." [He returned finally.]

Ipiáitaha.
He returned (home).

Ikantaitirírakea,
They (the dead) had said to him there, then,

ikantanteetavakarírikea. "Hérő pineáitana mééka,
therefore they had said to him, then, "Here you have seen us now,

hé." [Š.: "Pintaapaahenáya."] Hé, "Pitaapaahenáya
yes." ["Burn (for) us, then."] Yes, "Burn (for) us, then,

kaníri, pintaayetapááhena máároni, irósati poapááhea avírori
manioc, burn all (for) us all, it also you will eat you

arioríka páátani . . ." -- háokampa ikantavakeríri?
when in a little while . . ." -- what did they say to him?

[Š.: Té nonkémero iróinti.] ". . . arioríka . . ."
[I have not heard it it alone.] ". . . when . . ."

[Š.: Intáni kaníri. "Pintaašitapáákena mampecapé,
[To begin with, manioc. "Burn for us all (sorts of)

pintaašitapáákena nomaacarapé."] ". . . arioríka
thread, burn for us all our old clothing."] ". . . when

avírori, arioríka pipiáhe . . ." -- háokampa? [Š.:
you, when you return . . ." -- how (does it go)? [

"Šinkipé, maonapé, hn,
"All maize, all máona (the tuber Dioscorea trifida), yes,

parentipé, onkárate pintaahenári."
all bananas, it will total what you will burn (for) us."

Kempetačaríka yaavahíro ovankirepé.
Perhaps it is as if they (the dead) took them (as) all their (cuttings

] Mm, hm. "Okárati pitaayetapaakenári."
or seeds for) planting.] Ah, yes. "It totals all that you will

"Há, arío, ariové. Ári, noneanahéro
burn (for) us." "Ha, good enough, good enough! Well, I am going

áoci." "Arío, arínea namenakoventavahémpi."
to see it the path." "Good enough, well, now, we will look to you."

Apátiro ipamicatapaahiróra, tík, tík, tík, tík,
Alone he followed it (the path) there, *sound of walking*,

tík, tík, tík, tík, tík, tík, tík, tík, hó, yaokiapaahiróra kea
ho, he encountered it there,

áoci sanoríra akenantarirákea.
then, the path real, there, by which we (always) pass there, then.

Apatirókea yoaitanáhiro. [Š.: "Noneapáintiri širéci."]
He went directly, then. ["I have seen them! ghosts."]

"Noneapáintiri ipiotákari širecivé. Tekáci
"I have seen them! they are assembled there many ghosts. (They) lack

iicáre, isavikamerekitašihéétaka, máároni
their cushmas, they all simply live (showing their) ribs, all

cinanepé, maaronivé." [Š.: "Pintaapaatieneríketi ampéhi."]
all the women, all!" ["Burn for them, then, cotton."]

Karátake ántá, antákea
(They) extend over there [motioning], over there, then,

atihakántakea, ineetáitiri. Karátake
(where) we are buried over there, then, he saw them. (They) extend

antavéya. [Š.: Timaitacímpa haokaríka
way over there, then [motioning]. [Surely there is some

otíši isavikantahári.] Heté, ariové,
mountain ridge where they live.] Yes, of course, good enough,

témpa? [Š.: Aperovééti intinaanahéme ikantéétati.
is it not? [(They) always try to raise themselves it is said.

Timáci ivánko širecivé, háoka ikói
There are their houses (of) the many ghosts, where they seek

intinaanahéme. Há, čókakea ipiotáka.] Mm, hm.
to raise themselves. Ha, close by, then, they assemble.] Ah, yes.

[Š.: Ihokanáhiro imóroni.]
[They leave them their holes.]

Cináne pokašivetavakaririrákea, ohítikea
The women came in vain to (see) him there, then, they believed,

iróri ikamáiti. Neetavákero yoihatapááke,
then, they (that) he was dead. (They) saw her (whom) he was

yoihatapaakeróra ihinaníra.
following, he was following her there his former wife there.

"Pipokašiváetaka avínti, éé." Pašíni kantavakéri,
"You have come without reason you alone, ay!" Another said to him,

"Pipokašiváetaka avínti, ainirotáci oci. . . ."
"You have come without reason you alone, there is still . . ."

[Š.: "Pináhati."] "Pináhati, éiro pipóki. Opokahíkea
["You are raw."] "You are raw, do not come. She came, then,

iróinti óká, posatakénea pihína." [Š.: Mm,
she alone she here, (she) is cooked, now, your wife." [Ah,

hm, okenkišireavetamačevetáka.] Hm. "Posátake
yes, they, despicable, had thought in vain.] Yes. "(She) is cooked

pihína. Avintim[p]ákea éiro pipóki, irósati pináhati
your wife. You alone surely, then, do not come, it also you are raw

avínti, pipiáhe."
you alone, return (whence you came)."

Hm, irosatíkea ikenkicatantapaakarórakea
Yes, and so, then, therefore he related about them there, then,

irióri: "Nareetapáintaro. Arímpa mééka
he: "I suddenly arrived (among) them. Is it not now

akantariyé?: tekaciyáci akicateári
how we are?: there is no longer what to dress ourselves with

akamakérika." Ikantantapaakaríra. [Š.: Išincitapááke itaapaahiníro.
when we die." Thus he spoke there. [He hurried he burned for

] Hm, išincitapaahim[p]ákea. [Š.: Oirikanetopé.]
her.] Yes, he surely hurried, then. [All her spindles.]

Ineayetapaahirókea mééka amaancakipéra --
He saw them all, then, now all our old clothes there --

ahokayetiróra kapičamánkiri -- ikantapáiro
we throw them all away there little rags -- he did to them

yapatotapaahirókea. Antákea
he collected them, then. Over there, then, (in the Land of the Dead)

vecikapááhakea antákea, omaataheetavaharíra
(they) were made anew, then, over there, then, what they all dressed

irórі. Vecikapááha irőinti.
in there they. (They) were made anew they alone (i.e., the old

[Š.: Itasonkeetavahiníro.] Hn, itasonkeetavahirókea,
clothes). [Someone blew on them.] Yes, someone blew on them,

ohatahínta.
then, they went over there.

Irosatíkea ikenkicatantákaro, ariyavé okántari,
And so, then, therefore he related it, yes, then!, what it is,

akemantayetakaríka irórі, okapáeka. [Š.:
therefore we all hear, here, (about) them, all these here. [

"Šimapé pintaapááke, pintaapééna, tekáci noyári."
"All fish burn, burn (for) us, there is nothing for us

] "Tekáci noyá máároni yóká, šimapáeka,
to eat."] "We lack all things to eat they here, all fish here,

pošinirincipáe, okárati pitayeténari, noyári.
all game animals, it totals burn all of them for us, we will eat them.

Tekáci . . . Pipókahe avírori páátani,
There is nothing . . . You will come again you in a little while,

tekáci poapéempa. Iróm[p]a
(and) perhaps you will have nothing to eat. It, surely,

pitayetapááhena yóká. Hé, timayetanakékea, iriotákekea
burn all (for) us them here. Yes, they all are, then, it is they,

poapaaheári avírori páátani . . ."
then, what you will eat when you arrive again you in a little

[Š.: "Nokisanentakári, nokisanentakári,
while . . ." ["Careful or we will be angered, careful or we will be

aríya nokahemašireáhempi."] ". . . arioríka
angered, well, then, we will call your soul."] ". . . when

piposatáhe avírori." "Hm, ariové,"
you will be cooked you." "Yes, good enough!,"

yakaperotanáitikea irínti ašáninka, "há,
he answered truly, then, he alone our fellow tribesman, "ha,

ariové, aitákenea nokemakémpi." "Keariómpiya."
good enough!, so it is, now, I have heard you." "Be careful, then."

Hm, irosatitákesa ántá ihatantáha ántá
Yes, and so! over there therefore he went over there

ašaninkaperorikínta.
to our true (i.e., living) fellow tribesmen over there.

Ikenkicatapáákempa, irosatíkea yoantayetarókea
Surely he related, and so, then, they passed it all on, then,

ašaninkára. Ikemakéra irióri . . . ikémi
our fellow tribesmen there. They heard there they . . . he hears

yóká, pašíni oáhero, ikémi yóká,
he here, (to) another (he) will pass it on, he hears he here,

pašíni oáhero, ikémi yóká, pašíni
(to) another (he) will pass it on, he hears he here, (to) another

oáhero, ikémake . . . timáke aróri, há,
(he) will pass it on, he hears . . . (we) are born we, ha,

akemantayetanakárika mééka, arórí. [Š.: Irosatitácikea
therefore we have heard all here now we. [And so, still, then,

mééka.] Irosatitácikea mééka, avantayétaro
now.] And so, still, then, now, therefore we pass it all on

kapičapáehi arórí kenkicarencipáe. [Š.: Meekatakotáke
all a little we all the stories. [Until now

aanahíro.] Hm. [Š.: Okárati.] Hm, árí
we have carried them.] Yes. [It is finished.] Yes, well

okárati.
it is finished.

I inquired of my informants whether they indeed burn things for the dead. They replied that this is done among the Campas but rarely, although among the Machiguengas it is common. I never encountered a Campa burning things for the dead.

NOTES

[1]Padre García (1935-1937:XVII, 171) noted that, in Machiguenga belief, day and night are reversed for the dead: "The cadaver sleeps during the day and gets up at night, which for him is day." Over three hundred years ago, in Canada, a Jesuit missionary was told by the Montagnais Indians that "souls are not like us, they do not see at all during the day, and see very clearly at night; their day is in the darkness of the night, and their night is the light of the day" (Kenton 1956:57).

[2]This is a clue that the woman is a ghost. One variety of stinging nettle, the most painful, is indeed referred to

by the Campas as *išitáši širéci* (ghost's mat). The slowness with which the two men come to recognize the ghost for what she is, makes sense if it is understood that the narrative is meant to describe in historical terms how the living first learned about the ways of ghosts.

[3]The husband and his brother, having returned from their salt expedition.

[4]Chewing starts the fermentation process in the production of masato.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE GODS AND GOOD SPIRITS

Hail! great parent of us all,
Light and comfort of the Earth

—Henry Purcell, *The Fairy Queen*

The Campas envision a vast and diversified hierarchy of good spirits topped by a small but respectable number of high gods, among whom the Sun stands pre-eminent. Associated with this hierarchy, and particularly with the high gods, is a mythology that is by no means extravagant in its richness, but which nevertheless serves to flesh the supernatural organization with historical incident and developmental explanation.

What is particularly striking about the Campa situation is that, compared with the fairly well-developed intellectual side of Campa supernaturalism, the ritual side is relatively rudimentary, especially where the high gods are concerned. Generally speaking, the Campas do not worship their high gods in any formalized and elaborate way, despite the high regard in which these spirits are held. This odd imbalance is something that the Campas themselves are not incapable of appreciating. As it was expressed by the narrator of one of the solar myths presented above (page 387): "*Irómpa mééka antáite mééka amanakoyetéri yóka henokiníri, kacirinkáiteri? Té ayóte amanakotéri.*" ("Now, do we worship him, he who lives in the sky, the Sun? We do not know *how* to worship him.") Here, then, is a deficiency in Campa culture which the Campas themselves can recognize. As we shall see, there have been attempts to fill this gap in the structure of Campa culture, but these attempts, by and large, have been localized and short-lived.

The literature on the Campas and on the tribes that neighbor them in the Peruvian Montaña provides some relevant information, at the same time demonstrating how far different authors can diverge in their observations and interpretations.

In a summary statement about the tribes along the Ucayali River, the explorer Grandidier (1861:130) reported that although these tribes believe in a creator-god, they lack anything in the way of cult, altar, or temple, with which to honor that deity. Padre Izaguirre (1923-1929: XII, 379), speaking for the Montaña tribes in general, stated that "our eastern savages profess no religion whatsoever, nor perform acts of idolatrous worship, nor make offerings."[1] In the same vein, Padre Cenitagoya ([1943]:70-71) affirmed that while the tribes of the Amazon drainage do possess certain religious ideas, "until now no one has surprised them rendering worship to the Supreme Being."[2]

Negative statements of the same sort characterize the literature on the Machiguengas, who are so closely related to the Campas. Thus, Grandidier (1861:137) reported that the Machiguengas possess neither ceremony nor priesthood. Farabee (1909:131; see also 1922:15; Grubb 1927:87) was even more ample in his strictures: "They make no offering nor prayers and have no ceremonies, no feasts, no sacred dances, no ceremonial objects, no charms, no fetishes. There is no communion between themselves and any spirit."[3] The complete absence of cult among the Machiguengas was also affirmed by Cenitagoya, García, and Rosell.[4]

The Campa literature, however, informs us repeatedly that the Campas "adore" the sun, or "adore" the sun and the moon. We are left with the impression that this "adoration" should be taken to mean ceremonial activity.

A very early document, a report by the missionary Padre Francisco de San Joseph written in the year 1716 (*in* Izaguirre 1923-1929:II, 283), stated that the Indians of the Cerro de la Sal region "adore the sun, to whom they sacrifice those who are blind."[5] J. G. (1868:17) reported from his experiences in the Apurímac region that

it is in their festivals that the Campas "adore" the Sun and the Moon: "Song and dance constitute their diversions, and they engage in them adoring the Sun or [*sic*] the Moon." Padre Touchaux (1908:132), whose experience was similarly limited to the Apurímac region, attributed a solar cult to the Campas.[6] In the relatively scanty Amuesha literature, Tello (1918-1919:55) mentioned that these close neighbors of the Campas in the upper Perené region "adore" the Sun and the Moon. According to Barraillier (1892:139) and Carranza (1894:30) the Campas "adore the Sun like the Incas." Ordinaire (1892:144) went further, suggesting a possible Incan source for the Campa "cult of the Sun." Similarly, Hassel (1904:100; 1905:652, 669), and Coriat after him ([1942]:75, 85; see also Hammerly Dupuy 1945:290), affirmed that the "adoration" of the Sun, and the Moon also, was introduced to the Machiguengas and to the Campas of the Pangoa region by the Incas. Padre Cenitagoya, while denying the existence of cult among the Machiguengas with whom he worked as a missionary, reported (1921:319) that word of Campa adoration of the Sun had come to his attention.

Domville-Fife (1924:270) asserted that the Campas "worship" the Sun, that "a circlet of flowers (called *nahmatteri*) round their heads of long black hair . . . is always worn when they are worshipping *Pahua*, the sun-god."[7] Caldwell and Calhoun (1932:242) also reported that the Campas "worship" the Sun, only to deny that this worship takes the form of ritual: "The Campa Indians are sun worshippers. They are desolate when night comes because their god has disappeared. They practice no religious rites or ceremonies and have no medicine men."[8] If the Campas are desolate when the sun goes down, as Caldwell and Calhoun claimed and as my informants denied, they are, according to Stull (1951:92), overjoyed when it reappears: "Daily the Campas greeted the rising sun with hideous shrieks and screams, a salute to their returning god."[9]

The ritual activities specifically reported for the Campas fall into three main categories: prayers, offerings, and festivals.

Prayers. References to praying among the Campas are motley. According to J. G. (1868:43), the Campas may attribute lightning and thunder to the anger of the Sun, in which case they will put out their campfires and pray to the Sun in some strange language.[10] Carranza (1894:30) informed us that the Campas habitually pray before going to sleep. Padre Navarro (1924:19) made a more general statement: "Often they call to *Pahua*, above all in cases of illness, war, and whatever difficult circumstance."[11] Clark (1953:91, 117) wrote of "praying to Pawa" in connection with river travel, and of "prayers to Pawa and the moon" in connection with burial.[12]

Offerings. J. G. (1868:42-43) reported that the Campas offer thanks to the Sun, and that the first bowl of masato at a festival is always lifted to the sun as a salute, as is the first manioc taken from the ground in harvest.[13] According to Ordinaire (1887:275; see also 281; Anon. 1888:23), this takes the form of an actual libation: the first bowl of beverage is poured on the ground as an offering to the Sun, to whom a prayer is then directed with hands touching at the fingertips at the height of the forehead.[14] Clark's description of a temple on the Perené containing an idol of "Pawa" has already been cited (see above, page 283, note 70). This questionable information is embellished with a description of offerings of raw meat made to the idol, as well as dancing, singing, drumming, and flute-playing before it.[15]

Festivals. Two kinds of religious festivals are reported for the Campas: an annual festival to the Sun held in the Gran Pajonal, and a monthly Festival of the Full Moon. Both of these were first mentioned by Ordinaire (1887:281).[16] Indeed, for the existence of solar festivals in the Gran Pajonal in the latter part of the last century, festivals which Amueshas also attended, the sole authority is Ordinaire, who learned from distressed missionaries at Quillasu, in Amuesha territory, that all their converts had disappeared for a month to attend such a festival.[17]

The Festival of the Full Moon has had a history of some interest in the Campa literature. First noted by Ordinaire, it was given considerable prominence in the writings of Padres Navarro and Izaguirre as a festival of major religious importance.

Padre Navarro, it is true, stated that this festival occurs at the time of the full moon in certain

regions only, elsewhere being held instead at the time of the new moon. He also, I believe erroneously, described the Campas as planet-worshippers, equating "Pahua" with the planet Venus, "Pahua's son" with the planet Jupiter, and "Pahua's wife" with an unidentified star "that accompanies the moon," and claimed that each of these has its own festival time: in May, November, and December respectively, with a "more solemn" festival to all the stars in August (1924:19; see also Steward and Métraux 1948:549).

The beginning of such a festival was described for us by Padre Navarro (1924:20) in the following terms: "No sooner does the disc of the sun go down in that ocean of greenery than, faces turned to the star they are celebrating, forming a semicircle with the shaman in the middle, like a pontiff in his functions, they adore the false divinity, offer him libations of masato and coca, recite certain prayers to him, and, this ceremony finished, begin to dance to the sound of the flute and drum, singing: *'Pahuá! ...Pahuá! ...piníro yurabé, Pahuá! ...'*" This passage is followed by a description of a typical Campa masato festival.

Padre Navarro's description resembles an earlier report by Carranza (1894:30), who also attributed to the Campas a number of religious festivals during the year, specifying the end of August as the date of one of them. Like Padre Navarro, he indicated that the activities at these festivals include singing, dancing, and libations. What Carranza did not specify was that the festivals are held at night and at a certain time of the month.

Departing from Padre Navarro's account, Padre Izaguirre (1923-1929:I, 208) indicated that these festivals occur mainly at the time of the full moon, and that they are in honor of the Sun. Elsewhere he described how the Campas at these festivals salute the moon and display certain ritual gestures and words, but he denied that they offer libations.[18] He presumably was repeating Padre Navarro when he asserted (1923-1929:XII, 468) that what he called "the great Campa festival of the full moon," which he described as "a most solemn festival," occurs three times during the year, in May, November, and December, but he replaced Padre Navarro's trinity of planets with another: Moon, Sun, and Fire, the last-named viewed as a derivation of the Sun.[19]

Apparently, the notion of a Campa "Festival of the Full Moon" led to a further notion among those who have written about the Campas, the notion that these festivals were directed to the Moon, and even that the Moon ranked above the Sun in importance. Thus, Nordenskjöld (1924:23; see also 1927:116) reported as follows: "Their religious beliefs have to do in the first place with the moon, and less with the sun, I was told. The time of their great festivals is around the full moon." Stahl (1932:24) reported: "Most of the Indians of this region worship the heavenly bodies, especially the moon; and at the time of full moon hold drunken feasts at which many murders are committed." Schläppi (1935:369) reported: "It appears that they adore the Moon, since their alcoholic festivals are held every full moon." Harkness (1942:73) reported: "The Campas worship the moon; some people even say that at times they make sacrifices to the new moon." Stull (1951:51) reported: "The Indians gather near a circle of campfires in a clearing to celebrate the return of the full moon. This they do in indescribably heathenish dance and revelry."

Nothing resembling an annual festival to the Sun came to my attention during my stay among the Campas. That it ever existed at all is vouchsafed by a single author, who himself never witnessed such a festival and only learned of it indirectly through missionaries. As for the Campa Festival of the Full Moon, I can only conclude that it does not and never did exist in the form described in the literature.

It is true that the Campas prefer to have their masato festivals at night, thereby avoiding the heat and distractions of the day. It is also true that they can be expected to prefer nights when there is enough moonlight so that they can see what they are doing. But this has nothing to do with any worship of the moon, although if a Campa wished to raise his bowl of masato to that luminary, no one would stop him. The masato festival is primarily a recreational activity and is usually held more often than once a month. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that it was the missionaries who limited these festivals among their converts to once a month at the time of the full moon.[20]

Nevertheless, the reports ascribing a sacred character to the Campa masato festivals cannot be discounted entirely. These festivals are primarily recreational, but they can and often do provide an occasion for expressing in some degree the respect and gratitude the Campas feel for the good spirits and especially for *Pává*, the Sun. To the degree that this is true in any particular instance, the recreational masato festival takes on the character of a thanksgiving.[21]

Padre Izaguirre, as has been noted, reported a Campa trinity consisting of the moon, the sun, and fire as a derivation of the sun. This is not the only reference in the literature to Campa fire-worship. Carranza (1894:30) stated that the Campas "adore the Sun like the Incas," then asserted that they "constantly feed fires as a kind of cult to its divinity." Padre Navarro (1924:19) reported that in the Satipo-Pangoa region the shamans guard sacred fires and conduct ceremonies involving them:

> Those of Satipo and Pangoa materialize their gods in fire, in light, and in all that shines. The shaman (*Máchi*) [*sic*] gathers from the forest with great care and secrecy (so that the fraud will not be discovered) the sacred fire that *Pahuá* sends from heaven to earth by means of lightning, and guards and maintains it alive in his house, exhibiting it on the day of its festival. They call this solemn occasion *Nántzi*, that is, assembly of men alone with the absolute exclusion of the women, and in it as many as feel inspired by the divine fire (better yet, by the intoxicating effects of the masato which is never lacking in their festivals or assemblies), talk, shout, and gesticulate until sated in the presence of the god of fire.[22]

Clark (1953:167) also reported sacred fires among the Campas in a passage that otherwise describes events which are totally unrecognizable to me.[23]

The Campas have no word in their language signifying "to adore" or "to worship." They make do with the term *namáni* (I ask for, entreat) as that term is used in interpersonal relations. I was informed that the Campas do indeed entreat the good spirits, and *Pává* in particular, for health, strength, etc., when any of these are wanting (although an actual instance of such prayer never came to my attention).

According to the informants Kenčóri and Savaroháni, a form of prayer, now fallen out of use, was formerly practiced. They spoke of a Campa living at *Šaoriáto* in the Ipoki region who still prays in this fashion. On arising, at noon, and on going to sleep—and on eating and drinking (holding the first bowl of masato aloft)—he will speak much as follows: "*Pásonki Pává, pásonki Pičoti, pásonki Pačákama*, [etc.] . . . (Thank you, *Pává*; thank you, *Pičoti*; thank you, *Pačákama*; [etc.] . . .) for having given me a day without bad events, for having created me with your breath, for having given us manioc, taught us how to drink masato, afforded this meat [excluding *šaróni* and *maníro*, which are of demonic provenience], [etc.] . . ."

These same informants added that those who "know" will lift up a bowl of masato with one hand and give thanks to the Sun and other deities, this being done day or night, and without orienting toward the sun; they themselves, not knowing much, simply blow on the masato, raise it up, and intone: "*Pává ašitarórí ovecikanakerórí pérani*" ("God, owner, who fashioned it, long ago"). They further asserted that there is one such thanksgiving for masato and another, identical, for solid food, on eating a meal. At any rate, such thanksgiving is not common, and appears to be restricted mainly to the Ipoki region, a hotbed of missionary-influenced nativism. The practice of libation, of pouring masato on the ground as an offering, was denied by my informants and was never observed by me.

The Campas do not feel that their God has left them when the sun goes down: they are not saddened when night comes. Their invocation of *Pává* during their nocturnal revels proves that they consider *Pává* to reign both day and night. But, according to Kenčóri and Savaroháni, the Campa does feel sad when it rains and, if the sun breaks through the cloud cover after a day of rain, he will beg the Sun to bring clear weather the next day, using such words as these: "*Pašíni pinapáahe. Poreakotamanáhena. Nocaroayetánake. Ošéiki inkáni. Nonkakotanakákari.*" ("Change! Heat me again in the morning! I am afraid of so much rain. I might perish in a flood.")

The frequent masato festivals of the Campas are their principal form of recreation. Neighboring communities frequently take turns as host, each inviting the others when it has a sufficient supply of masato on hand. These festivals usually

start in the evening, at the end of a day's work, and last through the night or until the supply of masato is exhausted, the next day being given over to sleep and recuperation. Occasionally there is enough masato for a festival to last several days. These gatherings provide a setting for leisurely as well as boisterous conversation, and for the stimulation of a happy frame of mind, creating an atmosphere in which mention or talk of *Pává* or any of the other good spirits would not be out of place. More than this, there does appear to be a general feeling that such festivals are pleasing in the sight of *Pává*, expressing in their own way the pleasure and contentment of the participants in the good order of the universe under *Pává*'s direction. It is mainly in this way and to this extent that a sacred quality attaches itself to these festivals and to the singing, dancing, and drinking that go on at such times.

In addition, dances with panpipes are performed by the Campa men at these festivals, and it appears that these panpipe dances are specifically sacred in character, particularly in the Perené region. Two or more men dance, playing panpipes the while—a form of the dance known as *oveširiánci* or *oveširémpa*. There are several such dances during a festival when this kind of dance is performed. At dawn (and, according to one informant, at midday), the panpipe dancers play special music. At least in the Perené region, these panpipe dances are specifically intended to be acts of homage to *Pává*.

Thus *Pává* is indeed not only revered but also invoked, entreated, regaled, and thanked, in ways befitting his position in the Campa cosmos. There are no temples, no priests, no sacrifices, no elaborate, intricate, or formalized ceremonies associated with him, but in their own way the Campas succeed in expressing their needs and their gratitude to him. Nevertheless, the rudimentary condition of Campa ritual directed to the high god *Pává* cannot be denied or disregarded. The other high gods in the Campa pantheon are entirely neglected, except when thanksgiving is broadened to include a range of good spirits.

Something more can be said about the sacred fires reported by Padre Navarro for the Campas of the Satipo-Ipoki region. Certainly there are no sacred fires in evidence today among the Campas. Yet one missionary (Willard Kindberg of the Summer Institute of Linguistics) informed me that he had heard reports of former fire-worship on the Perené. This was confirmed by the venerable Šariti, who acknowledged that sacred fires were formerly everywhere among the Campas (in the Perené region at least, we should add), although they are now forgotten. As to the nature of these sacred fires, Šariti explained that a campfire would be kept aflame continuously in a house apart without walls, and a good person could hear the voice of *Pává*, the Sun, in the flames. Nothing more could be learned about the matter, but I am tempted to give renewed credence to Padre Navarro's description.

We are led inescapably to the conclusion that, with regard to ritual, the Campa high gods are slighted. This conclusion is reinforced when comparison is made with the one relatively formalized ritual that the Campas do possess and practice, the Campa ayahuasca ceremony mentioned in passing earlier (page 245). Ayahuasca ceremonies, staged at irregular intervals by the Campa shamans, serve to satisfy the participants that they are thereby put in contact with the good spirits. What is particularly noteworthy, however, is that these good spirits are invariably the lesser spirits—the spirits of the sacred birds, animals, and plants. Contact with any of the high gods during one of these ceremonies is never attempted and never understood to occur.

The Campa ayahuasca ceremony exploits the hallucinogenic properties of the ayahuasca vine (*Banisteriopsis* sp.) when combined with leaves from the *horóva* tree (*Psychotria viridis*). The common Campa names for both the vine and the drug made from it are *kamárampi* (from *-kamarank-* [to vomit]) and *hananeróca* (from *Hananeríte*, the celestial river, plus *-ca* [vine]). The *kamárampi* vine is cultivated, but taken for planting purposes from the forest, where it grows wild. The vines are obtained from the higher elevations, as those found growing at low elevations are considered to be of the demons. The *horóva* tree grows wild in the forest and is never cultivated. It is simply visited and stripped of leaves when needed.[24]

To prepare the drug, sections of vine are shaved clean of bark, then cut or crushed longitudinally into segments. These are placed on top

of a layer of *horóva* leaves in a pot with enough water to cover, and capped with another layer of *horóva* leaves. The contents of the pot are cooked at a boil over a fire for about four hours. The liquid is then separated, boiled for another half hour, and finally poured into a small pot to be covered and set aside for use that night.[25] The drug may be prepared by the officiating shaman, by his wife or son, or, for that matter, by anyone who knows how.

Those who intend to participate in the ayahuasca ceremony forego the evening meal so that the bitter drug will not cause them to vomit—and, I suspect, so that the drug's efficacy will be enhanced. In addition, on the night of an ayahuasca ceremony the participants refrain from any sexual activity.[26]

Shortly after sundown the ceremony begins. Those present settle themselves, the men in one group, the women in another, perhaps lying on mats out of doors, perhaps accommodated in one of the houses (sometimes a special house is built for such ceremonies). The shaman, using a small bowl (*cóta*), drinks about a bowlful and then serves each of those present who cares to drink, women as well as men. Immediately after drinking each person blow-spits into his clothing, expecting in this way to increase the chances of the drug acting.[27] Later there will be a second round of drinking, the shaman again officiating, and so on until the supply is exhausted.

About a half hour after the drug is first administered it begins to take effect, producing color visions combined with euphoria.[28] When it does, the shaman begins singing, perhaps joined by one or more of the other male participants. The women usually are off by themselves a short distance, and sing other songs. The shaman sings in a kind of weak falsetto, perhaps varying the quality of the sound by wagging his lower jaw, perhaps at the same time causing his robe to tremble on his body. He rests between songs, perhaps going off to perform a natural function. With longer and longer rest periods he may continue singing until dawn. This kind of singing is called *imarentakána* (*imárenta*) or *ipiompetakána* (*ipiómpeti*).

The sacred songs, distinctive and distinctively sung, must be heard for their aptness to be appreciated. The frequently compelling, even exquisite, melodic line; the faraway, somewhat eerie quality of sound; the almost hypnotic effect produced by repeating the melodic line, with much the same words, over and over again; all these combine with the coolness and stillness of the night and the workings of the drug to produce in the listeners a feeling of delight. From these performances emerges the figure of the shaman as entertainer (he is often a leader in the singing and dancing at the secular masato festivals as well), and the suggestion that a major influence holding the pagan Campas to their religion is its esthetic appeal.[29]

Each song usually is about just one of the categories of good spirits. Of the sacred birds listed in table 6 the following are subjects of sacred songs I recorded: *ašívanti*, *kamévira*, *kanároa* (another name for *áávo*), *katári*, *ompíkiri*, *pitíri*, *šankénti*, *cimpéni*, *compári*, *conkíri*, and *čerépito*. Other sacred songs I recorded have as their subjects birds not listed in table 6 (birds with only a semi-sacred status, and birds whose sacred status would not appear to be widely recognized): *pakíca* (hawk), *koákiti* and *óihehe* (two kinds of hawk), *kanári* (Blue-throated Piping-guan, one of the *ivíra itómi Pává* [raised by the sons of the Sun]), *hahári* and *širikóko* (two kinds of *kompéro* [Blue-crowned Trogon]), *pinčována*, *čompiníro*, and *yohóri* (these last three unidentified). Still other sacred songs I recorded have as their subjects the following: the sacred otters (*parári* and *čaravapána*); the sacred psychotropic plants (*kamárampi*, *horóva*, *počáro* [tobacco], and *hayápa* [datura]); the caterpillar *šerikéni*, parasitic on the tobacco plant and therefore, by association, sacred; and, finally, such major groupings of good spirits as the *intatonisáti* (those who dwell at River's Beginning), the *ocitirikosáti* (those who dwell at River's End), the *otirianisáti* (those who dwell in Thunderland), the *komitanísati* (those who dwell where one's soul can be lost, as in *ikómita* [he forgets]), and even *sánto* (referring, it appears, not to the Moon but to the good spirits in general).

It is understood that members of these various categories of good spirits are presenting themselves to the shaman in their true, human form, festively dressed, dancing and singing so as to be seen and heard by him. It is further understood that the shaman, when he sings, is simply singing

along with the good spirits who have come to visit. In this way a shaman supposedly learns the songs of the good spirits.[30] This of course overlooks the fact that he first heard from other shamans all but the songs that may have originated with him, for rarely if ever is this singing impromptu.

The souls of other shamans may visit the shaman and, while he is under the influence of ayahuasca, be received by him. Conversely, his own soul may leave his body on a soul-flight to visit a distant shaman or to visit a distant settlement of good spirits.[31] The most accomplished shamans are reputed to leave on such flights bodily. Thus, it was reported to me that at *Mariovénti* (a tributary of *Kotiviréni*, which flows into the Ene) there formerly lived a renowned shaman called Šióri or Itínkame. At ayahuasca ceremonies held in an enclosed house with his disciples he would climb up to the second story, there step on a pole of balsa wood which would then fall to the ground, and he would disappear.[32]

When a shaman goes on a soul-flight, with or without his body, he travels in the form of a lightning flash. A visiting spirit or shaman's soul is likewise understood to come in the form of a lightning flash. The terms used to designate these phenomena are *iporéki* (literally, "he flashes"), *yoamarénta*, and *yamacéki*. This is the general rule. Alternatively, a shaman's soul may travel in the form of a sacred bird or beast, as described above (page 427).[33]

I encountered a somewhat different form of the ayahuasca ceremony in the Ipoki region. There a shaman also was in charge, but the men took turns singing, and after a while the entire group joined in a kind of spiraling dance with accompanying chorale. As this dance was observed, all present arranged themselves in a chain in the following order and manner: the shaman's wife, the shaman, the rest of the men (everyone up to this point linked together with arms around shoulders), and then the rest of the women (linked to the last man and to each other by holding hands); the shaman led in the singing and dancing as this human chain moved in a circle, the tail of the chain overlapping its head on the outside to form the figure of a spiral; the shaman, his wife, and all the men stepped backward while the women forming the end of the chain stepped forward. The women also danced the usual women's dance (*omaninkéti*), but the songs they sang were similarly liturgical. Several dances of each type were performed. All the choral singing was concerned with the somewhat confused pantheon of that region.[34]

The heightened religiosity of the Ipoki region was also manifest in the attire of the participants. All wore new cushmas or, at worst, their newest and cleanest cushmas (no Western clothing was in evidence), all the women with kerchiefs on their heads, all the men with wicker crowns sporting red macaw tail feathers and with richly painted faces.[35] Some of the men had further adorned their wicker crowns with flowers stuck in the circular brim. These flowers were *santótea* (literally, "sacred flowers"), there being three species of flower thus recognized and cultivated. Indeed, these flowers may be put in their crowns by the Ipoki Campas whenever they dress up, to add a decorative–and pious–touch to the costume. The Ipoki region, if not the Perené region in general, appears to be the center of interest in these sacred flowers, which for the most part are absent on the Ene and Tambo rivers.[36]

Shamans also drink ayahuasca when alone, some almost nightly, receiving spirits and going on soul-flights in much the same manner as they do in the course of the group ceremonies just described. Their continual ingestion of tobacco syrup can also be said to intensify their contact with the supernatural (especially in dreams). In addition, at the beginning of the dry season, when the tree *šimáširi* (unidentified) begins to flower, the Campa shamans turn to the floripondio *hayápa*, also called *sáaro* (*Datura* sp.), which is cultivated. Some eat the flowers, others boil the flowers and leaves and drink the liquid. This psychotropic plant was reported to be much more powerful than ayahuasca; a user would be too strongly affected by it to be able to sing.

Some use is made also of wild plant material with hallucinogenic or psychotropic properties. The bark of the *tirinkemíto* tree (unidentified) is eaten by shamans, with resulting visions. As with *hayápa*, there is no singing in connection with its use. Afterward, I was told, nothing cold is eaten for three days. The inner bark of the *mániri* tree (unidentified) is eaten by shamans together with

tobacco in order "to see" its spirit (identified as *henokisáti* [sky-dweller]).

The one recognized danger in the use of ayahuasca is that bad spirits rather than good may present themselves. The Campas have a word, *anakotínkari* (he who beats out, or arrives before), referring to demons that appear when good spirits are expected. This may happen at death, when *manínkari* should come to take the soul but *kamári* arrive first, and it may happen when ayahuasca is taken. At such a time, for example, the demonic bird *civáni* may present himself, saying: "*Náro Pává, nopóki nonešinonkatémpi*" ("I am God, I have come to help you"). Or, when one takes ayahuasca, *maníti* (jaguar) may appear in human form, well dressed, with a large house and many handsome wives, children and relatives, and offer "venison" and other meats that are in actuality human flesh, dog flesh, etc.: the unwary eats and becomes thenceforth a follower of *maníti*. Drinkers of ayahuasca run the risk as well of seeing *Amémpori* and mistaking him for the true God (see above, pages 265, 438). They accept masato from him, marry one of his handsome daughters, and remain there with *Amémpori* as one of the *otapinásati* (those who dwell below heaven).

Unlike the tribes downriver, where ayahuasca is reportedly used to induce visions of snakes and porpoises,[37] the Campas are intent on seeing only the good spirits as they are comprehended by them and as they have been described in this work. Seeing snakes or demons (such as jaguars) would greatly frighten a Campa.[38] To prevent this from happening, it is thought to be a good idea not to look too much at the ground after drinking ayahuasca, and not to have the campfire flaming. If these precautions fail, and snakes or demons appear to a participant in an ayahuasca ceremony, the officiating shaman can quiet him by blowing tobacco smoke on his forehead.

NOTES

[1]This passage continues: ". . . nor evidence tendencies toward either animalism or totemism, i.e., worship of the objects of nature; but . . . they accept metempsychosis and the survival of the soul; . . . they are given to magic and conserve mythological traditions."

[2]The full passage is as follows: "The savages of the Amazon Basin have a Platonic understanding of God, of the soul, of the devil, and of some moral precepts. But until now no one has surprised them rendering worship to the Supreme Being, . . . unless the diabolical invocations that they are accustomed to make from time to time in their nocturnal witches' Sabbaths, are consider as manifestations of worship."

[3]Farabee (1922:21) further stated that "it was impossible to get valuable text because there is [*sic*] no set ritualistic or ceremonial forms."

[4]García 1935-1937:XVII, 99: "As yet we do not have the least notice of their religious worshipings. . . . They recall the attributes of *Tasurinchi*, and his goodness appeals to them, but they do not know how to invoke him or offer him any gift."

Cenitagoya 1921:319: "Their worship is null, and they never adore or invoke God, perhaps because of a very exaggerated respect for Him." Cenitagoya [1943]:69: "Although it is true that neither have I surprised them practicing any worship, I have heard them speak of God, whom they designate with the name of *Tasorinchi*."

Rosell 1916:xvi, 12: "Many races and peoples . . . do not have the least idea of religion. The Machiguengas are in this category; you will not encounter in their vocabulary any word that designates the divinity, nor in their acts or other customs will you encounter the least vestige of worship."

[5]It is not certain whether Amueshas or Campas, or both, are being referred to. Nowhere else do we encounter notice of such sacrifices.

[6]Internal evidence suggests that at least some of the Indians met by J. G. and Touchaux were Machiguengas on the Apurímac.

[7]This author, claiming to have visited Campa territory, presented a report that is mostly word for word from Moss (1909); the Campa terms he used were all taken from the word list provided by Savage-Landor (1913:II, 423 *et passim*). *Namacáere* or *namacéére* means "my cylinder crown" or, more generally, "my hat." Clark (1953:84) also wrote of "ornate crowns of flowers." It might be possible to trace these reports back to a statement on the Campas made by Markham (1910:87): "The men wear a diadem of flowers." Mark-

ham, however, referred back to Larrabure i Correa 1905-1909:XV, 403 [404], where a paragraph on the Campas includes only the following datum of relevance: "They use a diadem with a feather on the head." This would be the Campa wicker crown with inserted feather. There is nothing to indicate that these authors had actual knowledge of the use of sacred flowers by the Campas.

[8]As this passage indicates, the presence of shamans among the Campas escaped the notice of these authors.

[9]In continuation: "Was it not the sun which dispelled their most feared enemy, night? . . . The Campa does fear death, and since night to him is the foreshadowing of death, he dreads night." Foster (1922:96) reported the following piece of hearsay from the upper Perené region: "When the moon and stars are shining, the Indians regard them as bad spirits, and get out their tom-toms . . . to pound until the morning sun drives away these evil gods."

[10]The passage reads as follows: "They also believe that the Sun, as their benefactor, gets angry and sends them lightning and thunder (then they put out their campfires and speak in their houses a kind of prayer or entreaty, using another language that I could not understand)." Compare in this connection Ordinaire 1887:280.

[11]Padre Navarro, however, identified "Pahuá" as the planet Venus. He moved beyond the credible in another direction when he stated (1924:19) that the Campas "have a notion, though quite confused, of a Supreme Being; and in the midst of that virgin forest, which they consider as a magnificent and grandiose temple, . . . they prostrate themselves on the soft moss to adore the divinity and offer him the aroma of its flowers, the delicate perfume of its balsams and fragrant resins."

[12]The same author (1953:174) claimed that Campa marriage is initiated with a "wedding ceremony to the Sun God" involving "rites to the minor gods and propitiation to the devils."

[13]The passage reads as follows: "The material benefit that they receive from the Sun makes them see in this heavenly body the animator of nature, who with his heat fecundates the animals and plants, and whose light makes everything visible, for their satisfaction and comfort. In terms of this understanding, they direct their devotions to him in the form of thanks and offer to him as sacrifice the first bowlful of beer before drinking in all their festivals. This is done by the head of family, lifting [the bowl] high with his face turned to the Sun, then drinking and passing it to the others. Without this ceremony no one would dare to drink. They make the same offering of the first manioc that they take from the earth when they begin harvesting."

[14]Ordinaire attributed this custom to the Campas, but it should be remembered that he was apparently in contact with Amueshas rather than Campas.

[15]Clark 1953:52: "Every night the image was offered slabs of raw tapir or deer meat, tossed on a greasy stone dish. To it, in the light of torches, Indian maidens, stripped naked, . . . offered . . . their . . . 'ghost bodies' to the pleasure of the image. . . . All this ritualistic orgy is to a drumming accompaniment on the sacred long drums, blest by the high priests of the Dancing Anaconda Brotherhood, and to the mystic wailing of flutes consisting of two rows of hollow crocodile teeth. All about[,] the men on the left, the women on the right, sit the entranced rows of Sun worshippers in a state of mass hypnotism, making obeisance to Pawa-Jesus, our Lord the Golden Man (Atahuallpa's old mystic title as the incarnated Sun God)! " See also 1953:61-62: "The singsonging hymns from the palm idol-house of Pawa . . . seemed never to end. . . . Small drums . . . were softly patted, day and night, scarcely without cease." This is altogether a strange way to describe an Adventist mission. I can report with confidence that there never was such a temple among the Campas, that there is no such organization as a Dancing Anaconda Brotherhood among the Campas, that there are no "high priests" among the Campas, that Campa material culture lacks both long drums and crocodile-teeth flutes, and that nothing of the ceremony described has the slightest claim to credibility. Clark elsewhere referred to a Campa "serpent cult," to "High Priests in the Gran Pajonal" and to a "High Priest in the Brotherhood of Dancing Anacondas" (1953:58, 61, 71), of which nothing corresponds to my findings. I question also the "Cult of Dreams" and the "Dream House" reported for the Campas by the same author (1953:61, 63). Clark claimed that the Campas make offerings "to the gods and devils" of solidified petroleum mixed with copal (1953:111), something which I never encountered.

[16]The passage reads as follows: "They know how to make . . . slightly alcoholic drinks. . . . These beverages . . . are hardly found among them except on the occasion of their solar festivals and certain nocturnal gatherings that are repeated every month. These gatherings always take place during the full moon."

[17]Ordinaire 1887:274-275: "At this time there exists throughout Campa territory a single establishment of

missionaries, that of Quillasu. . . . Two or three Franciscan fathers . . . reside there regularly. One of them related to me that one fine day all the neophytes disappeared from their *panguchis* [houses] scattered in the vicinity. On their return, at the end of a month, they were questioned about what they had done during their absence, and they averred that they had gone to the Pajonal to take part in a solar festival. In narrating that adventure to me, the monk who had catechized and baptised them seemed subject to an affliction mingled with discouragement." See also Ordinaire 1892:103: "The catechumens, pressed with questions, averred that they had gone to make their devotions to the Sun on the Gran Pajonal where, every year, a festival is celebrated in honor of that God." This information was repeated by Bailly-Maitre (1908:621), who also provided the description of Amuesha stone worship quoted earlier in full (above, page 282, note 66). Hassel (1905:673) reported the existence, in the Pangoa region, of petroglyphs of the sun and moon which are decorated with face paint by the Campas there at the time of their festivals, but as Padre Navarro (1924:29) noted with considerable justification, "von Hassel does not deserve much credence or belief in anything referring to the Amazonian tribes."

[18]Izaguirre 1923-1919:XII, 343:

"On that occasion I learned of all that appeals to the Amueshas and even the Campas, the festival of the full moon when the night is clear and diaphanous.

"They prefer not to have strangers witnessing the elaborations of this festival. When the radiant moon comes out among the trees abundant in foliage, they rejoice in an unrestrained manner: they discard every piece of civilized clothing, which they usually wear when they live together with Christians; they dress in their cushmas, put on their best bands and crowns, and paint their faces, arms, and legs with huito juice, making capricious designs. They present arms to the moon, and salute it with masato served by the women. Then the nocturnal dance begins."

Izaguirre 1923-1929:XII, 470:

"Thus adorned the Campas appear at the festival of which we speak, for which the shaman [brujo] or chief [cacique] in charge has had prepared great quantities of masato. When . . . the full moon shows itself clearly . . . , all those in attendance enter into a period of unrestrained enthusiasm, and take hold of the masato.

"It does not appear that they make any libation . . . , since they do not spill the masato or have a particular ceremony to make a sacred offering; but they do employ ritual gesticulations and words.

"Then they organize their traditional dance to the sound of a song led by the shaman [brujo], the same as the one recited to the heavenly bodies they venerate."

[19]I encountered no such special festivals in May, November, December, August, or any other month among the Campas. It seems safe to say that what has been reported in this regard for the Machiguengas by Ford (*in* Ferris 1921:64) holds as well for the Campas: "They have no regular feast days."

[20]The evidence is a passage in Gridilla 1942b:72 (see also 1942a:63) "At the old Pichis Mission it was necessary to regulate dancing among the Christian Campas. As it was not possible or prudent to suppress that barbarous diversion entirely, they were permitted to have it on the night of the full moon once a month. But they always looked for a pretext and means to transgress the established rule, mocking our vigilance frequently."

[21]It may be a situation like this that Tanner ([n.d.]:19) described for the Amueshas in the following passage: "The Amueshas call the sun 'our father,' dance and sing to it, and deck themselves out because the sun is pleased when they look pretty."

Another sort of sacred festival, one held in honor of manioc, was reported for the Machiguengas by Pereira (1942:244): "Until a few years ago the Machiguengas celebrated what may be called the festival of manioc, and it is probably still celebrated among the Machiguengas who live far from contact with civilized people. The festival consists of great orgies, songs, discourses, and above all a kind of riddle or charade (*Icantahuagueitira*) in which everyone with greater or less ability or ingenuity makes allusions to the divine origin of manioc, to its benefits as their principal sustenance, and therefore to the cares and attentive measures that everyone must take with it." There is no such festival among the Campas.

[22]It might be noted that *neánci* in Campa simply means "word, conversation." Steward and Métraux (1948:549) summed up their opinion of Padre Navarro's report in the following terms: "Navarro's account (1924) of an Apurimac *Campa* trinity (Venus as the father, an unidentified star as the mother, and Jupiter as the son), of sacred fires kept by the shamans, and feasts at the new or full moon for Venus seem fanciful."

[23]"To . . . nullify the evil efforts of Kamari, the witchman [shaman] must also seek the aid of *Pahua*. . . . The brujo [shaman] correlated his ceremony and symbolically began worshipping before a new small fire which an Indian had built on a hastily erected stone dais. . . . Yuca [manioc], the god-given Campa staff of life was then fed to this symbol of the Sun. And to the flames were added copal. The actual fire, *pumaare*, was

kindled from special sacred wood called *enshato*, which had been soaked in the 'hot blood of the sun' and in the 'hot blood of man killed in sacrifice.' . . .

"The gleaming, sweat-dripping, black-and-red-painted *abendaningare* [shaman] rose from his tiger skin, and symbolically glided snakelike around the 'Sun,' keeping time to the gently patted tom-tom, while all the Indians chanted in a high wailing chorus and incense and food sacrifice were consumed in the votive flames. Thus having appeased Pahua, and having asked the Sun God's aid against Kamari, who typifies the 'Spirit of Evil,' the witch [shaman] proceeded to worship *Pachukuma*."

It might be noted that *pámari* is the Campa word for fire, and *inčáto* is the Campa word for tree. "Abendaningare" is not a recognizable Campa word.

[24]*Horóva* leaves may also be called *pišitipánaki*. Clark (1953:163-164) reported the use of the hallucinogenic drug "camorampi" prepared by boiling the vine with "cowa" leaves. His assertion that "camorampi" may be translated literally as "Soul Vine" is incorrect. That ayahuasca is prepared from a combination of vine and leaves was also reported by Ballón Landa (1917:187).

[25]When the liquid is separated from the vine segments and leaves, water may be added to the solid matter and set to boil a second time, after which the solid matter will be discarded and the two liquids combined and boiled to thickness. The drug can also be prepared and stored in bottles for future consumption.

[26]In his description of ayahuasca ceremonies (which he described as "solemn") among the Piros, Padre Alvarez (1951:102) mentioned a preparatory fast. He also asserted that the participants retire to a place apart in the forest to have their ceremony, and that they beat on wood until the drug takes effect. These have no Campa parallels.

Rosell (1916:xvi, 13) reported that the Machiguenga shamans take "camalampi" at night at the time of the new moon, during which time they abstain from contact with women and must not see menstrual blood lest they lose their power. This description would not hold for the Campas, as the Campas do not limit their drinking of ayahuasca to any part of the lunar month, nor do they consider the mere sight of menstrual blood to be spiritually damaging to a shaman, unless the woman is not his wife.

[27]In the Campa language, *notásonki* means "I blow," *nokítiohi* (or *notióhi*) means "I spit," and *nokíšoki* means "I blow-spit." These terms refer to three distinct actions; the third is not a recognized practice in our own culture. The term "blow-spit" designates an action whereby liquid in the mouth is blown out forcibly to produce a cloud of vapor.

[28]The visions require a fair degree of darkness, and therefore these ceremonies take place at night. The participants do not stare into the campfire as Ballón Landa claimed (1917:187). On the other hand, the fire is not put out, as Padre García reported for the Machiguengas (1935-1937:XVIII, 216), although it should not be flaming.

[29]Compare the entry in Samanez Ocampo's journal for November 16, 1884, at Sangobatea on the Urubamba River (1907:352-353): "Last night the Campas took an infusion of *camalampi*, which they say produces in them an effect like that of opium or, rather, that of hashish. They sang all night in a strange and mournful tone, the women joining their chorus; they certainly were not out of tune. The leader of this ceremony at first was the owner of the house, and then the paddler Cristobal, who came as steersman in my canoe, a very distinguished personage among these Campas." Rosell's report for the Machiguengas (1916:xvi, 13-14) includes the following passage: "As 'camalampi' must have the same intoxicating effects as alcohol or some other strange property, on drinking it the shaman begins to sing and speak a lot of absurdities; he makes a great many gestures and mummeries, pretending to be in conversation with the spirits. The audience, mostly women, see nothing, as these acts take place in complete obscurity, and they are content with hearing and believing." See also Ballón Landa (1917:187): "Those narcotized get up automatically and to the sound of martial and funambulatory songs they revolve around the campfire, returning after a few minutes to sit down." There is a question as to whether the range of variation in procedure at Campa ayahuasca ceremonies would include what these several authors report. It is at least possible that some Campa shamans converse audibly with visiting spirits, although none do so in the Tambo region. (A ceremony in which the shaman converses with some spirit, followed by singing, was reported for the Ucayali tribes by Pallarés and Calvo [1907:63], and for the Machiguengas in connection with curing by Cenitagoya [(1943):200-201], but no mention was made of ayahuasca.)

[30]Something similar was reported for the Piros by Matteson (1951:37): "The witch doctor [shaman] is able to communicate with the gods and call on them for help. Furthermore, in an *ayawasca* trance, he sees the lovely goddesses approaching, hears the gods sing their praise, and himself takes up the song and answers it. Thus the witch doctors have derived the Piro music from the gods."

[31]It is understood that the part that remains behind continues to drink and sing. The sense of flight that the drug can produce was mentioned by Harkness

(1942:137), who erred, however, in suggesting that the drug is primarily "used to find lost or hidden things."

[32]It was explained that this shaman did not disappear in sight of the others present because, if he had, he would not have returned. Balsa wood, of course, suggests lightness and therefore flight in the Campa mind, as in the myth of *Mašikinti* (see above, pages 397-406).

[33]It is of some interest to compare the description of these ceremonies given here with that provided for the Machiguengas by Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 215-216; see also Mac-Lean y Estenós 1939:337):

"The . . . *seripegari* [shaman] is able to execute marvels, but ordinarily he accomplishes them only in a solemn and nocturnal *ceremony of enchantment*. . . .

"The ceremony of enchantment is not an everyday occurrence. It is celebrated only when the *seripegari* determines, because he is presented with some matter having to do with the spirits, or else simply because he wants to visit them.

"As for the place in which it has to be celebrated, there is nothing predetermined. Any place is appropriate. One hut serves as well as another, and it can also be performed out in the open.

"On the day of the ceremony set by the *seripegari*, his wife prepares the marvelous potion that must produce the enchantment of her husband. Once the *kamárampi* vine is pounded, she cooks it in a clean pot, returns to pound and cook it one or more [additional] times, and finally strains it and leaves it to cool. Thick and blackish, this drink is so bitter that women cannot drink it, they all say, and to this they attribute in large part that there are no female *seripegari*. Some drink also extracts of tobacco–*seri*–and of the *kabuíniri* plant, procured by the same process as for *kamárampi*. . . .

"Although the rite is not uniform, it nevertheless presents fundamental coincidences in all or almost all the ceremonies. The variations obey the purpose of each ceremony even more than the originality of the *seripegari*.

"They never celebrate it in full daylight, but rather at dusk and, more frequently, during the early hours of the night. The darkness need not be complete.

"At the agreed hour, those who are to attend, assemble. It is necessary to put out the fire. The *seripegari* occupies a preferred place. He drinks the *kamárampi* and becomes enchanted (*imarentákara*). Then he begins to sing, and the women and children accompany him, but their song is different from his. The *seripegari* sings improvising the words, which usually are a simple reference to what he wants to do in those moments, and employs rare terms in the language that the other Machiguengas do not understand well. When the song is over, he makes noise with a handful of little sticks, and everyone becomes silent. At that moment the *seripegari* disappears, and sometimes they see him rise through the air, walking as on a path that only he sees. After visiting in their respective abodes the spirits with whom he wished to communicate, he returns transfigured, beautiful, neither being nor appearing the same. Then he performs the services required of him, or reveals the desired knowledge, and turns back to converse with the spirits. He does not delay in returning again, and begins again to sing, accompanied as at first by the women and children. Thus the ceremony ends.

"These procedures that I have just explained are the most common, but there are much simpler ceremonies, and others celebrated with greater solemnity."

Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 217-219) described further how a shaman, when called upon to aid a sick person, takes ayahuasca and visits the spirits bodily, returning with the necessary herbal medicine to cure the patient or with a spirit who itself will administer the remedy. Presumably Padre García had this in mind when he wrote of other kinds of ayahuasca ceremonies. Campa shamans, it appears, make little use of ayahuasca in curing, and when they do, it is with a different understanding: if it is determined that a patient has lost his soul, the shaman may drink ayahuasca to go on a soul-flight to retrieve it (and may have the patient drink some too, just to improve his condition).

[34]One example will suffice: a poignant litany sung during a spiral dance evoking "Santo Indio Inka," presumably the lost *Ínka* of the Campas.

[35]Feathers are usually inserted into the back of the wicker crown. One Campa at the ceremony described here had feathers stuck in the front of his crown, and when queried explained that it was in imitation of *Ínka*. The inspiration for this aberrancy might have been the picture of an Indian with a headband from the front of which jut feathers, printed on all packages of Inca cigarettes, the inexpensive Peruvian cigarette widely smoked by colonists in Campa territory.

[36]The probable origin of these sacred flowers is discussed below (pages 493-494). The Campas do not share with the Machiguengas their reported elevation of the red pigment achiote (*Bixa orellana*) and its use to sacred status (see Grain 1943:244; Urquilo 1939:133). The Campas are not bothered about achiote seeds falling to the ground and being stepped on; they do not feel that painting the face with this pigment is an absolute necessity or something of a religious ritual; they do not deprecate someone whose face is not painted; they do not consider the use of achiote to indicate the user is good and destined to join the good spirits when he dies. The Campas make less extensive use of achiote than the Machiguengas; only rarely do they tint their cushmas with achiote, and when they do it has no sacred signifi-

cance. For the Campas, face paint serves primarily to enhance appearance, and they may indeed want to look their best when invoking the good spirits, but the face paint itself is not endowed with sacred qualities.

Nevertheless, although this is true of ordinary red achiote (*pocóti sánori kitiónkari*), the Campas also make use of a yellow or umber achiote to which they ascribe certain powers. They claim that this yellow achiote (*pocóti kitériri*) comes in a number of varieties, each serving, when applied to the face, to promote some activity. (Whether there are in fact several varieties of yellow achiote or only one going under different names–some plants being called by one name, others by another, and so forth–remains uncertain at this writing.) The shamans claim to receive from the good spirits special achiote seeds which they then cultivate and use for professional purposes. I was informed of the following special varieties of yellow achiote used by shamans: *amacikavocóte*, for traveling far in dreams; *hananerivocóte*, *šikorovócote*, *conkirovócote*, for use when drinking ayahuasca; *kepiarivócote*, to consume tobacco and ayahuasca without intoxication; *piompirevócote*, to sing under the influence of ayahuasca; *počarovócote*, to remove the bitterness from the taste of tobacco.

[37]According to Karsten (1955:170, 172; 1964:204, 206), Shipibo shamans have ayahuasca- and datura-induced visions of jaguars, anacondas and other serpents, caymans, porpoises, etc., which, though demons, appear as friends and counselors, and may be consulted, for example, in a case of theft to discover the guilty party. Karsten elsewhere (1921-1922:III, 127-128; 1926:325; 1964:57) reported drug-induced visions of similar creatures–jaguars, anacondas, crocodiles, bears, eagles, etc.–among the Jívaro. See also Villarejo 1953:190-191 (quoted in Tovar 1966:40-41).

[38]Padre Alvarez's description of Piro visions (1951:102) would not apply to the Campas: "They see everything they wish: the persons or animals that have done them injury and the most extravagant things they can imagine." Ballón Landa's description (1917: 187-188) might also more closely resemble what is envisioned among the "ayahuasqueros" of the Ucayali than among the Campas: "Ayahuasca makes one see wild animals that threaten and serpents that coil around the body, agitated rivers and cities never before seen; it makes one see rivals and an unfaithful wife, and in sum all the images of the most extravagant fantasy." (Ballón Landa [1917:208] also reported the following: "If they have a vision of a jaguar they grieve. It is a bad omen. This is believed principally by the Campas.") Equally foreign are the visions described for the Campas by Clark (1953:163): "Trees bend down and speak, snakes turn into human figures . . . , flowers melt into crocodiles."

Padre Fernández Moro (1925-1928:XLII, 274) included in his Machiguenga pharmacopoeia a tree called "Kamalampi Niro" which he identified tentatively as *Cinnamomun sonnium*: "With the bark of this tree they make infusions which they drink to produce a thousand capricious dreams, and the old men to divine the whereabouts of persons who are loved, or enemies, or to prophesy various events." This plant may be one of the uncultivated hallucinogens used by the Campas. ("Kamalampi" is also listed by Fernández Moro, and described as a thick vine with similar properties, though not as strong.) Again, my informants did not recognize the use of drugs for divination of any kind.

According to Grandidier (1861:143-144), the shamans among the Machiguengas (called "Campas" by him) use "camalampi" in their curations, drinking it and giving it to patients, with resulting visions described as follows: "When a patient has taken this drink, he is inebriated, his head spins, he believes he is flying through the air, he is subject to strange visions, he imagines he sees a *marinanqui*, a bearded man who is the object of worship of his tribe; during this hallucination, all that he imagines hearing from the mouth of that man is for him an article of faith." Some Campa shamans do use ayahuasca in this manner; they do report flying to distant places under its influence; any Campa belief, however, corresponding at all closely to Grandidier's "marinanqui," did not come to my attention. (In his listing of the good spirits of Machiguenga belief, Padre García [1935-1937:XVII, 178] included the bearded "Marenanchiíte.")

RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE DEMONS

"Ah! demon, begone! begone"
–Flaubert, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*

There are no relationships or contacts between the Campas and the evil spirits. The Campas fear and hate the demons, dread any contact with them, and act only to keep them at a safe distance.

It is common while on the trail, or even in a settlement, to encounter one of the demon butterflies–especially the morphos–fluttering into view. When this happens, the Campas pay no attention. They are not averse to identifying it as a

demon, naming it, and even assisting in its capture. So, too, is it common for a demon hummingbird (*cíísanti*) to be seen flitting through the house. When this happens, a Campa at most will spit and growl "*kamári*!"

When a jaguar is detected approaching a settlement, a shotgun may be fired to scare it away. If an *aróni* (unidentified demonic bird) or *mamáro* (owl) is sighted, the Campas will shout at the bird to go away, perhaps shooting an arrow or firing a shotgun at it. If the demon *sašínti* (see above, page 285) is heard, the Campas will blow a signal horn, beat a drum, shout "*Aákena sarampión*!" ("We have measles!") to frighten away the demon (who fears measles).[1]

If any of these creatures actually falls into Campa hands, it will be killed. I witnessed the stoning of a captured owl. I witnessed a Campa woman crushing a large *šíínti* (katydid) under her heel. I also was present when a Campa shot a *civáni* (Squirrel Cuckoo), just to kill it.

When a demon of the purely imaginary kind is encountered there is little else to do but flee, although this is not believed to do much good.[2] I heard from missionary sources that the Campas scatter when a dust devil (*kaviónkari*) approaches, but my informants denied this on grounds that the demon causes injury only if it so wills, and no avoidance of its physical manifestation will help. On seeing a rainbow, a Campa may slash the air with his machete or shoot a bamboo-pointed arrow at it, to cut the arc.

Although rain is not, strictly speaking, demonic—indeed, *Inkanítari*, the god of rain, and the spirits living with him on the level of the clouds are all good spirits—the Campas do not like to be rained on, and take certain preventive measures, however futile, when a discharging raincloud is bearing down on them. They frequently tell the raincloud to go elsewhere, naming the place where it should go. Even more frequently they blow-spit in the direction of the raincloud to keep it from arriving; for maximum efficacy the mouth should first be filled with tobacco juice from a green tobacco leaf. Traveling on the river, the Campas not only blow-spit but also splash water in the direction of the raincloud, with the hope that it will, as a consequence of this action, discharge itself completely before arriving. Alternatively, an arrow may be waved in the direction of the rain so that, just as the arrow is lightweight, the raincloud will waft elsewhere. Finally, an attempt may be made to frighten the raincloud away by exposing one's fundament to it; this is thought to work better when done by a woman.[3]

Demons are a constant menace, and little can be done to forestall them. Thus, demons like to attack solitary human beings in the forest; but the men must go out hunting, often alone, and they do. Also, demons are abroad mostly at night, aided in their depredations by reduced visibility. In this case, however, an easy preventive exists and is never neglected: a campfire is kept alive through the night, at home or away, to signal the fact that living beings are there and that no demon should come and make himself at home thinking that the place is abandoned or a place of death. A roaring fire to maximize illumination is not necessary; merely a glow as a sign of life is considered sufficient. It is not felt that the darkness of night is thronged with demons, but only that a demon may by chance be in the vicinity; for this reason someone going off to perform a natural function at night is often accompanied by another person.[4]

If preventive measures are scanty, so are measures to remedy harm done. The demon-attacked cannot be helped. If action is taken, it will be against the victim of a demon attack, identified by indications of derangement, who will simply be killed. In the case of soul loss in which the soul has been taken by a demon, professional opinion varies: one shaman (Porekaványti) claimed that he could retrieve such a soul; another (Širikónka) that it was impossible to do so, for the lost soul would already be transformed into a demon both in nature and appearance.[5] When the cause of illness is ascribed not to demons but to witchcraft, more direct action is taken: the nests of ants and bees are destroyed, and a human witch may be killed, as has already been discussed at length.

Human witches are understood to be in contact with their demon teachers, but on an intimate rather than ceremonial basis.[6] Jaguar-shamans are understood to be closely allied with the jaguar community, and to see jaguars when they take ayahuasca. Jaguar-shamans are reputed to drink not the yellowish true ayahuasca or *hananeróca* for seeing the good spirits, but rather a reddish ayahuasca or *šinkíreri* for seeing

maníti, using in its preparation not the true *horóva* leaf, but another variety called *koáriši*.[7] It was further reported to me that whereas white lightning flashes mark the passage of good spirits and shamans, reddish lightning flashes mark the passage of jaguars and jaguar-shamans as they visit one another.

NOTES

[1]Compare Navarro 1924:23: "When the wild beasts roar and the birds caw they become very nervous and are filled with fear. . . . When the *contona* bird (a species of owl) visits them at night, men, women, children, and old people are frightened, become half crazy, and shout and blow and spit and call it a demon, and rebuke it saying 'Move on! . . . Move on! . . . Go, demon! . . . *Piáte-be*! . . . *Piáte-be*! . . . *Empóqui*! . . . *Camagári*! ' "

[2]Clark (1953:125) wrote of "shaking a calabash rattle . . . to scare off any devils," but rattles are not part of Campa material culture.

[3]Hurley and Rankin reported (1934) the following: "A thunder storm broke upon us and the [Campa] Indians tried to drive it away by making a noise similar to the noise one makes in driving away animals, and waving their arms. They were evidently successful this time for it did not rain much." It is of interest to compare Padre Sabate's report for the Piros (1925:267-268):

"When the sky is covered and rain seems inevitable, those barbarians begin to spit at the sky so that the tempest overhead will go away. . . .

"At other times with the same purpose they take hold of knives and paddles, and shake them here and there, in contrary directions, believing that they thereby cut the wind and conjure the storm that threatens.

"Finally, they are also accustomed, in similar cases, to perform another action, repugnant and indecent, that consists of tucking up the sack or cushma that they wear, folding it several times at the waist, and then inclining their head toward the ground while their legs remain taut, so as to leave their buttocks completely bare to the air and to the view of everyone, directed at the rain, i.e., upward, in order that the rain go elsewhere and not wet them."

[4]Compare Caldwell and Calhoun (1932:242): "Fire is supposed to chase away evil spirits, so a native always starts a fire wherever he sleeps at night"; and Reiser (1943:189): "Also, the fire, which an Indian when staying in the forest burns throughout the night, holds off beasts and spirits." Domville-Fife's report (1924:262) is extravagant in this regard: "All the Indians of this important group are afraid to be alone in complete darkness. Their belief is that evil spirits haunt every shadow." So is Stull's report (see above, page 308, note 77).

[5]Indeed, Širikónka first denied that souls were ever carried off by demons; he argued that when a soul is lost it has gone "*henóki*" (to the sky or mountain ridges); that to search for it he will take ayahuasca; that when he encounters it he will tell it that the time has not yet come to leave the body, and will bring it back; and that when it returns the patient will sneeze.

[6]Padre García reported that Machiguenga witches have their own ayahuasca ceremonies wherein they sing quietly to the evil spirits with no one else present (1935-1937:XIX, 12), but nothing like this is believed by the Campas to be done by their own witches.

[7]The shaman Porekaványti supplied a specimen of *koáriši* and explained its significance. Another shaman supplied the datum on *šinkíreri*: he admitted to being a jaguar-shaman until Porekaványti gave him his (Porekaványti's) "drink," i.e., a quantity of his tobacco syrup to drink, and thereby converted him. Dr. Donald R. Simpson of the Department of Botany, Field Museum of Natural History, has very kindly identified my specimen of *horóva* as *Psychotria viridis*, and my specimen of *koáriši* as probably *Psychotria pichisensis*.

PART 7. CAMPA COSMOLOGY: INTERPRETATION

THE SOURCES OF CAMPA COSMOLOGY

> The creed of the Antis. . . . They make of the sun and of fire, of Christ and of Pachacamac, of the Virgin Mary and the moon, of stars and saints, a strange salmagundi.
>
> —Marcoy 1875:I, 490

In the Peruvian vernacular, and frequently in the literature, the Indians of the tropical forests are called "Chunchos," a term of apparent Quechuan origin. Roughly translatable as "savage," it is a term of disparagement as often as not applied to the Campas and their closest neighbors, as the most proximate of the Tropical Forest tribes.[1]

Another frequently encountered term, especially in the older literature, is "Anti," which is used variously to designate the Campas, the Machiguengas, and the Amueshas. "Anti" also appears to be of Quechuan origin, referring to the eastern tropical forests and their inhabitants; the eastern "quarter" of the Inca Empire was called "Antisuyo." It was by this term, in its Hispanicized form of "Andes," that the Campas were first known to the Spaniards. The Franciscan missionaries descending out of the Highlands into Campa territory were by the eighteenth century using "Andes," "Antis," and "Campas" interchangeably. "Anti," along with the term "Campa," came to be applied to the Machiguengas and Amueshas as well, because of their similar appearance. Later, when it was recognized that the Machiguengas and Amueshas were distinct tribal entities, they ceased to be called "Campas." At about the same time, however, "Anti" faded out of common usage, so that its meaning was never reduced from its widest application.[2] The Campas, Machiguengas, and Amueshas do form a cluster of contiguous tribes that are quite similar culturally, and I propose to call them the "Anti culture cluster," employing the term "Anti" as it came to be used before it passed out of fashion.

The voyager Marcoy, making contact with the Machiguengas on the Urubamba River over a century ago, could compose a general statement of Anti belief—the statement that heads this section—which, making all due allowances, summarizes a number of the striking facts about Campa cosmology. Similarly, Ordinaire, whose contact was with the Amueshas, could make a general statement about Anti cosmology (1887:275) that bears consideration as to its applicability in the Campa case. We shall take Ordinaire's statement as our starting point for analysis. It was Ordinaire's contention that Anti beliefs form three strata that are easily distinguished: a set of ancient Tropical Forest beliefs, a superimposed set of beliefs of Andean Highland origin, and a more recent set of beliefs coming from European sources. He wrote:

> The Antis never change their ideas. Their conversion, always incomplete, is a superposition rather than a substitution of one cult for another, so that one can study the beliefs that form their common fund almost as the geologist studies the layers of a terrain.
>
> These beliefs date from at least three epochs. The most recent is the epoch of the Spanish missions, abruptly interrupted in the middle of the last century. It was immediately preceded by that of the Incas, who also made numerous attempts to subdue the Chunchos to their law. Finally they have religious ideas which they have borrowed neither from the Christians nor from the Incas, and which they share with the majority of the other tribes of the Montaña. These ideas being in origin more ancient than the others, one can say that by comparison they are of the primitive epoch.

The information assembled in the present work suggests that Ordinaire's three "strata" are for the Campas not so easily distinguished as he would have us believe, that only fragmentary Andean and European elements were taken over, and that these were subjected to a process of assimilation to the preexistent Campa system of thought. Furthermore, the Campa system of

thought is no mere replication of some general Tropical Forest (or Montaña) corpus of cosmological ideas. It is true that the Campas, Machiguengas, and Amueshas prove to be very similar in cosmology as they are in other phases of their respective cultures. The comparison between Campa and Machiguenga cosmology maintained throughout the present work has shown as much, as have the occasional references to the meager Amuesha data in our possession. But once outside the Anti culture cluster such similarities become comparatively sporadic. This may be attributed in part to the fragmentary condition of our knowledge about the Tropical Forest tribes,[3] but there is no guarantee that more complete knowledge would alter the look of things appreciably.

For example, what is known of the Piros, who neighbor both the Campas and the Machiguengas and, like them, speak an Arawakan language, shows their mythology to be quite different from that of the Anti tribes. In very few particulars can we recognize anything even remotely resembling what is encountered among the Antis. One of these particulars is the sky-rope motif which, however, occurs in a quite different setting.[4] Another is the mythological episode of a hero slaying a number of jaguars[5] (the relevant Campa data are provided below). A third is the recognition of a deity called "Inca."[6] Other similarities include the notions that appearances can be deceiving and, indeed, are relative to the nature of the observer,[7] that the spirits are rejuvenated with a change of skin,[8] and that spirits exercise their power by blowing.[9] The Piro story of the swallowing of their god "Tsla" by a zungaro fish is reminiscent of the swallowing of *Kíri* by a water sprite, and the *pakicapánko* of the Campas is matched by a Piro tale of a man-eating hawk ("pakcha").[10]

The sky-rope motif encountered among the Campas and Machiguengas is present among the Piros and turns out to be quite widespread among the Tropical Forest tribes. It is reported in one form or another for the Cashinahua, Marinahua, Cuniba, Jívaro, Canelo, Quijo, Yagua, Witoto, Warrau, Guiana Arawak, Taulipang, Cayapó, Bacaïri, Umotina, Bororo, Mosetene, and Tiatinagua; it is also reported for the Lengua, Mataco, Toba, and Vilela of the Chaco region (see fig. 24).[11] The associated Campa and Machiguenga notion that the sky was once close to the earth is reported for the Panoan-speaking tribes along the Ucayali, as well as the Ocaina, Urubú, Botocudo, Bacaïri, and Tacana.[12] Clearly equivalent to the concept of the sky-rope is that of the sky-ladder, reported for the Conibo, Tucuna, Shipaya, and Tenetehara, and that of the sky-tree, reported for the Cariri, Sherente, Umotina, Chamacoco, Mataco, Mocoví, and Toba—in each case comprehended as having once connected earth with sky.[13] The distribution of this motif might be extended even further if we care to recognize as equivalent the idea of a chain of arrows to the sky, reported for the Conibo, Shipibo, Jívaro, Waiwai, Urubú, Tupinamba, Chiriguano, Guarayú, Cumaná, and Mataco.[14] Another allied notion is that of the earth-rope, by which name we might identify the concept of a rope connecting the earth, not with the sky, but with an underworld—which is reported for the Yaruro, Warrau, Taulipang, Mundurucú, and, in the Chaco region, the Chamacoco, Kaskihá, Mataco, and Toba.[15]

The chain of arrows motif is associated with the revenge on jaguars motif in the widespread twins cycle of the Tropical Forest. In the maximum elaboration of this myth cycle a pair of twins kill one or more jaguars to revenge the death of their mother, then ascend to the sky on a chain of arrows to become the Sun and Moon. As it turns out, the various distinguishable parts of the myth cycle have independent distributions, so that it is not possible to determine whether the full cycle is the original form of the myth or only an accidental conjunction of the several parts. There may be, instead of a pair of twins, a single hero who figures in the story alone or as one of several brothers.

Twins revenging the death of their mother by killing one or more jaguars is reported for the Jívaro, Záparo, Guiana Carib, Macusí, Bacaïri, Bororo, Tenetehara, Urubú, Tupinamba, Apapocuva, Cainguá, and Chiriguano.[16] The variant in which two brothers kill one or more jaguars to revenge the death of their father is reported for the Tucuna, Witoto, and Mataco: in the Witoto case the two heros later become the Sun and Moon.[17] The Caingang are reported to believe in a pair of brothers who created jaguars and later

killed a number of them.[18] Revenge on jaguars by a single hero for their killing of either his mother or father is reported for the Piro, as has been mentioned (the hero being one of three brothers), and also for the Mashco, the Ocaina (the hero being identified as the Sun), the Cubeo (the hero being one of three brothers), the Paressí, and the Yuracare;[19] a Chiriguano variant has a single hero killing felines in revenge for the blinding of his mother.[20]

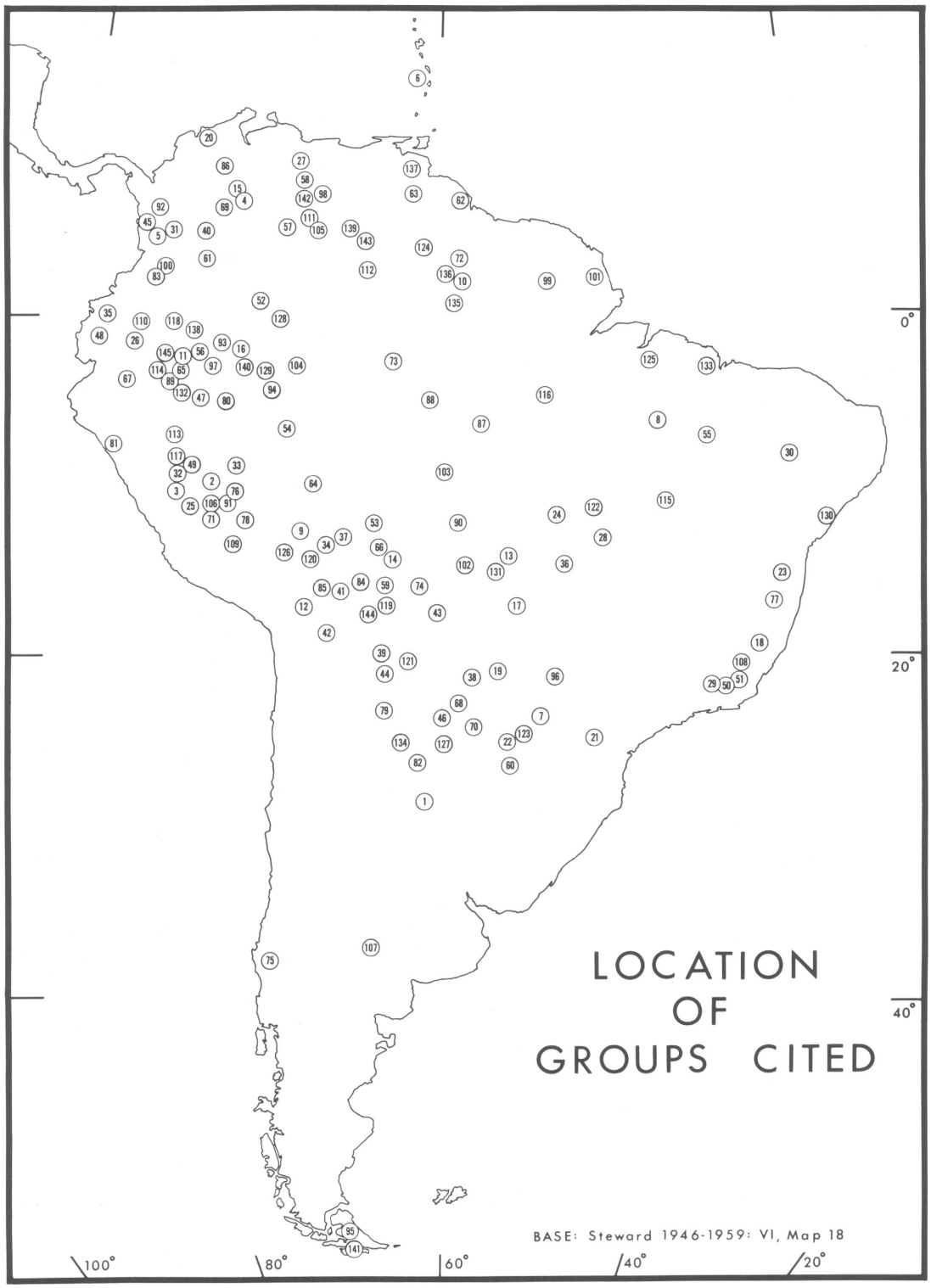
Twins reaching the sky by means of a chain of arrows is reported for the Shipibo, Jívaro, Chiriguano, Guarayú (for whom the heroes are identified only as brothers, and become the Sun and Moon), and Mataco (for whom the heroes are identified only as brothers and become the Pleiades).[21] A chain of arrows (a vine in another version) being used by the sons of the Sun and Moon to reach the sky and become the Pleiades is reported for the Conibo.[22] The chain of arrows motif takes the form of a bridge of arrows among the Tenetehara (and Mataco also), and may be seen as adumbrated in the Tupinamba notion of arrows suspended in the air.[23] The identification of a pair of mythological twins (not just brothers) as the Sun and Moon, or at least the implication of some equivalence between the two pairs, is reported for the Bacaïri, Cainguá, and Chiriguano;[24] in all three cases, the myths in question include the revenge on jaguars motif, but only for the Chiriguano is the chain of arrows motif also present.

The twins cycle is present as well in the Anti culture cluster: one version was obtained by Tello from the Amueshas and another by me from the Campas. In the Amuesha version available to us, the twins are male and female, which is unusual, the male being the Moon and the female, surprisingly, the Sun. They are born when an old female jaguar devours their mother. When they are grown to be children, the same old female jaguar prepares to cook them in a large pot and serve them to the other jaguars. They succeed in throwing her into the pot instead, and afterward scatter her dismembered body. The other jaguars, on discovering what has happened, pursue the twins over a bridge, which the twins succeed in breaking, plunging most of the jaguars to their death.[25]

The version of the twins cycle obtained from the Campas is of interest as an example of a borrowed myth that clearly is not fully assimilated into the cosmology of the borrowing culture. The donors in this case could very well have been the Amueshas. The indications are that the borrowing occurred recently and that familiarity with the myth is not widespread among the Campas. The obstacles in the path of assimilation to Campa cosmology of this myth in its usual form appear to be insurmountable. The Campas cannot identify the twins as the Sun and Moon so long as they hold to the belief that the Moon is the father of the Sun, nor can they ascribe the death of the Sun's mother to attack by a jaguar so long as they hold to the belief that the mother of the Sun was burned to death on giving birth to that diety. Indeed, the entire theme of a struggle to the death with jaguars is irrelevant to Campa cosmology, except as it can serve to illustrate one important cosmological postulate of the Campas, that small physical size can be conjoined with great strength.

The Campa version of the myth was obtained from the informant Komémpe. In it *Pává*, the Sun, visits a community of jaguars in the form of a small boy with cricket characteristics, that is, he takes the form of a cricket at a time when all creatures are human. He is accompanied by his "sister," who is not otherwise identified. The jaguars welcome the apparently defenseless pair and plan to make a meal of them. They are left in the charge of the mother of the jaguars, while the rest go off to hunt. The jaguar mother prepares a boiling pot to receive the children, but instead she is thrown into it by the boy, who thus demonstrates his superior strength, for he is *Pává*. The other jaguars return and begin to eat the meat they find waiting for them, presuming that it is the cooked flesh of the children, until the truth dawns on them.[26] They try to capture the children to take revenge, but are unsuccessful. Finally they go off to their jaguar neighbors to recount the events, completely baffled as to the identity of the children who have shown such remarkable strength.

Two flaws in the story as narrated testify to its incomplete assimilation. First, the "sister" of the Sun appears as an entirely superfluous character, without name and without role, as a vestige of the original twins motif in a culture where


LOCATION
OF
GROUPS CITED
BASE: Steward 1946-1959: VI, Map 18
0°
20°
40°
100°
80°
60°
40°
20°

the Sun is not otherwise recognized to have siblings. Second, at one point in the narration, the hero, who is identified as the Sun, checks the time of day by noting the position of the sun in the sky, a discrepancy that the narrator could not explain except in terms of the unknowable powers of *Pává*.[27]

Moving farther afield, the view of the struc-

FIG. 24. Map showing location of groups cited.

1. Abipón
2. Amahuaca
3. Amuesha
4. Anabali
5. Ancerma
6. Antillean Carib
7. Apapocuva
8. Apinayé
9. Araona
10. Atorai
11. Awishira (Vacacocha)
12. Aymara
13. Bacaïri
14. Bauré
15. Betoi
16. Bora
17. Bororo
18. Botocudo
19. Caduveo (Mbayá)
20. Cágaba
21. Caingang
22. Cainguá (Guaraní)
23. Camacan
24. Camayurá
25. Campa
26. Canelo
27. Caquetío
28. Carajá
29. Carayá
30. Cariri
31. Carrapa
32. Cashibo
33. Cashinahua
34. Caviña
35. Cayapa
36. Cayapó
37. Chacobo
38. Camacoco
39. Chané
40. Chibcha
41. Chimane
42. Chipaya
43. Chiquito
44. Chiriguano (Ava)
45. Chocó
46. Chorotí
47. Cocama
48. Colorado
49. Conibo
50. Coroado
51. Coropó
52. Cubeo
53. Cumaná
54. Cuniba
55. Eastern Timbira
56. Encabellado (Piojé)
57. Guahibo
58. Guamo
59. Guarayú
60. Guayakí
61. Guayupe
62. Guiana Arawak
63. Guiana Carib
64. Ipuriná
65. Iquito
66. Itonama
67. Jívaro
68. Kaskihá
69. Lache
70. Lengua
71. Machiguenga
72. Macusí
73. Manao
74. Manasí
75. Mapuche (Araucano)
76. Marinahua
77. Mashacalí
78. Mashco
79. Mataco
80. Mayoruna
81. Mochica
82. Mocoví
83. Moguex
84. Mojo
85. Mosetene
86. Motilón
87. Mundurucú
88. Mura
89. Murato
90. Nambicuara
91. Nocamán
92. Nutibara
93. Ocaina
94. Omagua
95. Ona
96. Opayé-Shavante
97. Orejón (Coto)
98. Otomac
99. Oyana
100. Páez
101. Palicur
102. Paressí
103. Parintintin
104. Pasé
105. Piaroa
106. Piro
107. Puelche
108. Purí
109. Quechua (Inca)
110. Quijo (Napo)
111. Sáliva
112. Sanemá
113. Setebo
114. Shapra
115. Sherente
116. Shipaya
117. Shipibo
118. Sioní
119. Sirionó
120. Tacana (Tumupasa)
121. Tapieté
122. Tapirapé
123. Tarumá
124. Taulipang (Arecuna)
125. Tenetehara (Tembé)
126. Tiatinagua (Huarayo)
127. Toba
128. Tucano
129. Tucuna
130. Tupinamba
131. Umotina
132. Urarina (Shimaco)
133. Urubú
134. Vilela
135. Waiwai
136. Wapishana
137. Warrau
138. Witoto
139. Yabarana
140. Yagua
141. Yahgan
142. Yaruro
143. Yecuaná
144. Yuracare
145. Záparo

ture of the universe entertained by the Campas appears to be approximated outside of the Anti culture cluster by a single South American group, the Witoto. The Witoto are reported to conceive of a flat, circular earth surrounded by water, the rivers coming together and finally falling through a large hole at an unknown location.[28] They are also reported to believe in multiple celestial strata, as well as in two underworlds.[29] The understanding that the earth is flat and circular, the rivers running down to one edge, is reported as well for the Panoan-speaking tribes along the Ucayali.[30] It is elsewhere reported for these same Conibo and Shipibo, however, as well as for the Cashibo, Shapra, and Cayapa, that the earth is conceived to be square in shape.[31] The belief in the existence of multiple strata in the universe is reported also for the Shipibo, Cayapa, Pasé, Yecuaná, Taulipang, Waiwai, Palicur, Urubú, Shipaya, Cayapó, Bororo, and a number of Chaco tribes.[32] The Mataco are reported to conceive of the Milky Way as a celestial river, which resembles certain conceptions we have had occasion to note among the Anti tribes.[33] The notion that the earth can hear and speak—not in former times as the Campas have it, but at present—is reported for the Sherente.[34]

With regard to cosmogony, we find that the Anti tribes have company in their transformationism among the other tribes of the Tropical Forest area and environs. The importance for cosmogenesis of one or more transformer deities is reported for the Sioní, for the Cubeo and neighboring Arawakan-speaking tribes, for the Chocó, Taulipang, and Macusí, for a number of Tupi-Guaranian-speaking tribes (specifically, the Mundurucú, Shipaya, Tenetehara, Tupinamba, Apapocuva, Sirionó, and Guarayú), for the Cariri, Botocudo, Sherente, Carajá, Bacaïri, Mosetene, the Mataco and Toba of the Chaco region, and the Incas. Among the Sioní and Sirionó the principal transformer is the Moon, who thus plays a role denied him in Campa cosmology. A more responsive chord is struck when we read of Sioní, Cubeo, Chocó, Mundurucú, Tupinamba, Botocudo, Sherente, Carajá, Mosetene, and Toba deities transforming human beings into animals, of Taulipang and Macusí transformers—as well as the Incan gods Viracocha and Inti—changing men into stones, and of the Guarayú deity Tamoi transforming his wife and child into rock.[35] The notion that animals (certain of them, at least) are transformed human beings is reported as well for the Mashco, Shipibo, Cashinahua, Cayapa, Jívaro, Yaruro, Warrau, Guiana Carib, Waiwai, Cayapó, Bororo, Caingang, Tacana, Tiatinagua, Chaco tribes, and Puelche;[36] the notion that certain stones are transformed human beings is reported for the Chibcha, Otomac, Atorai, Tacana, Mosetene, and Chiriguano.[37] The spontaneous transformation of human beings into nests of ants and termites is reported for the Apinayé.[38] A transformation story in which human beings are changed into animals is reported for the "civilized" Itonama, the manner of transformation bearing a strong resemblance to the first episode of the Campa *Avíreri* cycle given above (pages 310-313).[39] Not far from the Itonama are the Mosetene and Chimane, whose "Dohitt" cycle as it is reported to us shows a number of seeming parallels to the *Avíreri* cycle: Dohitt in his peregrinations transforms many human beings into various kinds of animals; in the end he is "nailed" to the ground; someone searching for him comes upon one after another of his plantations.[40] The minor Campa transformation myth involving a hunter who cuts off pieces of his thigh to present as venison, and who when confronted turns into a deer, is reported as well for the Mundurucú, where, however, the hunter's fate is to become a sloth.[41]

The notion of blowing as a means of creation or transformation is reported for the Bacaïri of the Brazilian Mato Grosso.[42] The creation of mankind from clay (earth) is reported for the Taulipang; the creation of mankind from wood or something similar (a notion which we have encountered among the Machiguenga) is reported as well for the Urubú, Camayurá, Bacaïri, and Paressí.[43] The Camayurá are also credited with a view that is quite pervasive in Campa thought, that is, that much of what is bad in the world can be traced back to wrong actions on the part of tribal ancestors.[44] And, just as the Campas explain human mortality in terms of mankind's initial creation out of nondurable earth, so the Apinayé are reported as attributing the shortness of human life to a mythological hero who answered the call of a rotten tree after being warned not to.[45] The converse understanding that the first man brought death upon his kind by not heeding the call of a tree that is immortal

because it periodically sheds its bark, is reported for the Urubú.[46] Tools originally doing the work of cultivation by themselves, but losing this power because of blundering intervention, is reported for the Taulipang, Mundurucú, Tenetehara, and Eastern Timbira.[47]

One peculiar feature of the mythology of a number of South American cultures is the association of the frog or toad with the origin of fire. We have seen above (page 356) that, in Campa belief, the origin of fire involved the toad *mašéro*. The appearance of a frog or toad in the myth of the origin of fire is also reported for the Motilón, Warrau, Yabarana, Macusí, Carajá, Bororo, Apapocuva, Cainguá, Chiriguano, Chané, Tapieté, Guarayú, and Tacana.[48]

Throughout South America the Sun and Moon are important deities. The Sun is almost invariably considered to be male.[49] The Chaco tribes are exceptional; most of them are reported to consider the Sun female.[50] The Moon's gender is more variable. The Moon as male is reported for the Piro, Mashco, Ipuriná, Amahuaca, Cayapa, Jívaro, Canelo, Quijo, Záparo, Shapra, Sioní, Yagua, Tucuna, the Witotoan tribes (Witoto, Ocaina, and Bora), the Cubeo, Tucano, Chibcha, a number of Cariban-speaking tribes (Chocó, Motilón, Yabarana, Taulipang, Waiwai, and Antillean Carib), the Warrau, Guiana Arawak, Sanemá, many Tupi-Guaranian-speaking tribes (Shipaya, Tenetehara, Urubú, Apapocuva, Cainguá, Camayurá, Chiriguano, Siriono, Guarayú, and Upper Guaporé tribes of western Brazil), several Ge-speaking tribes (Apinayé, Eastern Timbira, Sherente, and Cayapó), the Camacan, Bororo, most of the Chaco tribes, the Puelche, and the contemporary Quechua.[51] The Moon as female is reported for the Cashibo, Conibo, Shipibo, Colorado, Guayupé, Yaruro, the tribes north of the Orinoco River in Venezuela, the Mundurucú, Tapirapé, Carajá (report uncertain), Caingang, Chiquito, Manasí, Yuracare, Mojo, Tacana, Tiatinagua, the Lengua, Toba, and Vilela of the Chaco region, the Mapuche, Ona, Yahgan, Incas—and alternatively for the Jívaro, Quijo, the Witotoan tribes, the Chibcha, Antillean Carib, and Chiriguano.[52] For the Botocudo the Moon changes sex as it waxes and wanes.[53]

The sex of the Moon is particularly significant in determining how the Sun and Moon are understood to be related. Where the Moon is understood to be male, he can be considered the father of the Sun, as reported for the Yagua and Ocaina.[54] More frequently, the Sun and Moon are presented as brothers, as reported for the Sioní, Witoto, some Tupi-Guaranian-speaking tribes (Apapocuva, Cainguá, Camayurá, Chiriguano, Guarayú, and Upper Guaporé tribes), the Camacan, Bororo, Mataco, and Puelche,[55] or simply as male comrades, as reported for the Ge-speaking tribes and a number of Chaco tribes.[56] In a myth secured from the (matrilineal) Chibcha, the Moon appears as mother's brother of the Sun.[57] The Moon as female is usually presented as the wife of the Sun, as reported for the Cashibo, Conibo, Jívaro, Witotoan tribes, Guayupé, Chibcha, tribes north of the Orinoco, Caingang, Chiriguano, Tiatinagua, Toba, Mapuche, Ona, and Incas—the Moon being wife as well as sister of the Sun for the Incas and Conibos.[58] The Moon is reported as sister rather than wife of the Sun for the Colorado, Yaruro, Tapirapé, and Manasí.[59] A more complicated situation is reported for the Witoto: the Sun and Moon are brother and sister in one personification, and man and wife in another, within the same mythological account.[60] The Moon as mother of the Sun is reported for the Mojo;[61] the Moon as daughter of the Sun is reported for the Tacana.[62]

In addition, there are some concepts unknown to Campa thought reported for a number of the Tropical Forest tribes: the Moon as rolling head, reported for the Cashinahua, Marinahua, and Cuniba,[63] and the Sun and Moon as balls of feathers, reported for the Bacaïri, Bororo, and Paressí.[64] The anomalous combination of a male Moon and a nonanthropomorphized sun is reported for the Cubeo and the Sirionó.[65]

Outside the Anti culture cluster, the understanding that the Sun and Moon lived at one time on earth and later went to the sky is reported for the Mashco, Jívaro, Witoto, Ocaina, Chibcha, several Tupi-Guaranian-speaking tribes (Apapocuva, Cainguá, Camayurá, Chiriguano, Guarayú, and Upper Guaporé tribes), the Ge-speaking tribes, the Bororo, Puelche, Ona, and Yahgan.[66] The understanding that the Sun, at least, formerly lived on earth and later went to the sky is reported for the Yagua and Manasí;[67] the understanding that the Moon, at least, formerly lived on earth and later went to the sky is re-

ported for the Shipibo, Taulipang, Shipaya, Urubú, and Sirionó.[68]

Perhaps the closest approach to the Campa view of the lunar-solar situation is to be found among the Yagua, who conceive of the Moon as father of the Sun here on earth, the Sun subsequently being wafted to the sky on the flames of a fire. It is intriguing in the light of Campa notions about the Moon that for the Yagua the Moon is identified as a jaguar, and further, as the jaguar that killed the Sun's mother.[69] A jaguar as father of the Sun is reported as well for the Bacaïri; a jaguar as mother of the Sun is reported for the Camayura; a jaguar as wife of the Sun is reported for the Caviña.[70] Belief in a cannibal Moon is reported for the Bora and Sanemá (and possibly the Ona).[71] The reference in one of the Campa lunar myths to a wooden sword-club (page 360), which is absent from Anti material culture, does suggest a northern source for the myth. The Ocaina, closely related to the Bora, are reported to believe in a cannibal sun, a belief also mentioned for the Motilón, Camacan, and Mataco.[72] A belief in the aging of the Moon as it waxes and wanes is reported for the Mataco.[73] The Moon as giver of manioc and other domesticated plants is reported for the Sirionó.[74]

The Sun as paramount god is reported for the Betoi, the Sherente, the Chamacoco and Toba of the Chaco region, and, along with the Moon, for the Caquetío and the tribes north of the Orinoco.[75] The Sun is called "our father" (or "father") by the Ocaina, Waiwai, and Apapocuva, is considered to be the "father" of humanity by the Orejón, Apinayé, and Sherente, and is coupled with the Moon to be called "our parents" by the Omagua, whereas the Cashibo and Sáliva call themselves "children of the Sun."[76] These notions, it will be recalled, have their Campa counterparts. A belief in a paramount god who is not the Sun, and to whom the Sun is subordinate, is reported for the Shipibo, Cocama, Witotoan tribes (Witoto, Ocaina, and Bora), Tacana, Araona, Mapuche, tribes of Tierra del Fuego, and Incas.[77] The belief that such a paramount god (not the Moon) is father to the Sun, is reported for the Conibo, Jívaro, Shapra, Witoto, Ancerma, Apapocuva, Camayura, and Guarayú.[78] The belief that this paramount god can appear in the form of a jaguar or anaconda is reported for the Conibo.[79] A belief in a supreme goddess (entirely alien to Campa thought) is reported for the Cágaba, Yaruro, and Chamacoco.[80]

Actual worship of the Sun is reported for the Andean region—specifically, the Incas, Moguex, Páez, Carrapa, Chibcha, and Lache—and for the Yagua, Caquetío, Piaroa, Waiwai, and Apapocuva.[81] The rulers of the Inca Empire claimed to be descended from the Sun.[82] The equation of the Sun with "Inca" is reported for the Panoan-speaking tribes—specifically, the Cashibo, Conibo, and Cashinahua.[83] A myth involving "Inca Dios" and a flood is reported for the Panoan-speaking tribes along the Ucayali,[84] without any of the indications of post-Contact formulation found in the corresponding Campa myth. It does not appear possible, however, to determine which is the earlier version. Both the Cashibo and Cashinahua are reported to speak of birds obtaining their bright plumage by bathing in the blood of Inca,[85] which recalls the final episode of the *Avíreri* cycle given in the present work.

The Campas, as we have seen, have fastened on the Pleiades and Orion for mythological elaboration. Their myth of *Mašíkinti* and the flying raft is paralleled by the tale, reported for the Tucuna, of a group of people reaching the sky and immortality on a flying tapir hide, and still visible as the lunar aureole or, in another version, as the Pleiades.[86] Elsewhere in Tucuna mythology can be found an account of the manner in which Orion was lamed or, in another tale, lost a leg.[87] A one-legged Orion or, alternatively, Orion as a severed leg, is also reported for the Guiana tribes, and suggested for the Mataco and Conibo.[88] The Campa notion of a lame *Porínkari* may be related in some way to these ideas.

Jaguars are of supernaturalistic importance wherever they occur in South (and Central) America. The Campa position with respect to jaguars, as we have seen, is that jaguars are demons, the attitude toward them being one of antipathy and fear mixed with a certain admiration for their great strength. This admiration adds a note of ambivalence to Campa feelings about jaguars. There are, in addition, shamans among the Campas who are jaguar-shamans, whose spiritual contacts are with jaguars only and who can transform themselves into jaguars.

These shamans are for these reasons disliked and disesteemed, in contrast to the general attitude toward the "good" shamans who are in contact with the good spirits. Even so, a "good" shaman (Porekaványti) could assert that there are jaguars in heaven (the sky).

The precise supernatural significance of jaguars varies among the autochthonous cultures of South America. The Jívaro, Canelo, Záparo, Quijo, Cubeo and other Vaupés-Caquetá tribes, and the Guayupé are reported to consider jaguars as demons or evil beings; the Cashinahua are reported to distinguish between good and evil jaguars; the Witotoan tribes are reported to respect (or fear) jaguars as sacred (or potentially evil); the Piro are reported to regard jaguars with "superstitious fear."[89] The Nambicuara are reported to believe that demons and ghosts can take jaguar form; the Umotina are reported to believe that malevolent ghosts can take jaguar or snake form; the Colorado are reported to believe that a jaguar which kills someone is a demon in jaguar form; the Chamacoco are reported to believe in a demon having the appearance of a jaguar.[90] The importance of a "jaguar spirit" is reported for the Guiana tribes, a jaguar creator deity for the Yaruro, a god in jaguar form for the Nutibara and the tribes of the North Colombian Lowlands, and a "jaguar god" for the Araona.[91] A jaguar "spirit" and "cult" are reported for the Mojo, while a "feline cult" in the central Andean region is recognized to have existed there as early as Chavin times.[92]

The idea that shamans or witches (two categories frequently confused in the literature) can and do take the form of jaguars (or ocelots) is quite widespread. It is reported for the Shipibo, Colorado (report uncertain), Jívaro, Canelo, Záparo, Quijo, Orejón, the Witotoan tribes (Witoto, Ocaina, and Bora), the Cubeo and other tribes of the Vaupés-Caquetá region, the Guayupé, Guamo, Otomac, Taulipang and other Guiana tribes, the Mundurucú, Camacan, Mashacalí, Cayapó, Bacaïri, Bororo, Nambicuara, Itonama, Mojo, Mosetene (report uncertain), and the Chaco tribes.[93] The same sources report that, in some instances, shamans or witches are understood to be able to take other animal forms as well: anacondas and poisonous snakes among the Shipibo; anacondas, poisonous snakes, birds, and other creatures among the Jívaro; "pythons" among the Záparo; serpents, bats, and hummingbirds among the Witoto; boas, tapirs, and deer among the Bora; bears and other wild beasts among the Guayupé; serpents, stingrays, birds, insects, and "anything else" among the Guiana tribes; anacondas, poisonous snakes, tapirs, peccaries, vultures, and "anything that moves" among the Bacaïri; poisonous snakes among the Bororo; poisonous snakes and horses among the Choroti of the Chaco region.[94]

Another widespread notion, but one without Campa counterpart, is that lunar eclipses are caused by a jaguar attacking the moon. This belief is reported for the Tucuna, Manao, a number of the Tupi-Guaranian-speaking tribes (Omagua, Tupinamba, Apapocuva, Guayakí, Chiriguano, and Guarayú), the Camacan, Opayé-Shavante, Chiquito, Chané, Mojo, and the Chaco tribes. Solar eclipses are similarly explained among the Manao, Chiriguano, and Chaco tribes.[95] According to one report, the Incas explained lunar eclipses in terms of the moon being attacked by a puma or serpent.[96]

The anaconda or water boa (*Eunectes murinus*), with its great size and formidable aspect, also takes on supernaturalistic importance wherever it is found. It is reported as a "god," "demon," or "monster," as "sacred" or "potentially evil" for such diverse tribes as the Piro, Jívaro, Canelo, Quijo, Shapra, Orejón, the Witotoan tribes, the Cubeo and other Vaupés-Caquetá tribes, the Guayupé, and the Toba and Mataco of the Chaco region.[97] A supernaturalistic dread of the anaconda is indicated or intimated for the tribes of the Peruvian Montaña—of the Marañon, Ucayali, and Urubamba regions—in general.[98] A related concept having a wide distribution is the notion that the rainbow is a serpent (aquatic in some cases), reported for the Ipuriná, Shipibo, Canelo, Shapra, Cocama, Omagua, the Witotoan tribes, the Guiana tribes, the Mura, Bororo, Cainguá, Guayakí, Chiriguano, Chané, Cumaná, Bauré, Tacana, a number of the Chaco tribes, and archeologically for the Mochica.[99]

The northernmost Campas in contact with the Panoan-speaking tribes may have borrowed some notions about the anaconda, but the River Campas, whose territory lies outside the anaconda range, know nothing and believe nothing about

the creature, nor is the concept of a rainbow-serpent to be found among them. For the Campas the rainbow is demonic, an emanation of the demon *oyéčari* or *cavirénci*. This understanding contrasts not only with the notion of the rainbow as a serpent, but also with what is reported for the Andean Highlands, where the Incas deified and revered the rainbow as a descendant of the Sun, took it as the royal insignia, and viewed its appearance as an omen.[100] Closer to the Campa view is the Tucuna belief that the rainbow is a water demon, one of a class of demons "in the form of gigantic snakes or catfish."[101] Because the River Campas do associate the rainbow with a catfish-like demon, it could be argued that the Campa belief is an aberrant form of the rainbow-serpent concept, in a region where the anaconda does not occur.

In ethnographic reports from all parts of South America we read of the belief in the existence of hosts of spirits, especially demons and ghosts.[102] Here and there we encounter beliefs resembling those the Campas hold in this connection. A belief in wandering ghosts which may take animal form is reported for the Tenetehara.[103] A belief in demons with oversize penes is reported for the Iquito, Cubeo, Urubú, and Tapirapé (the Urubú, in addition, equipping the spirits which they deem good with diminutive or no genitalia).[104] Encountering and losing one's soul to a demon in the forest, afterward returning home to die, is an understanding reported for the Urubú.[105] Anthropomorphic water spirits are reported for the Piro, Shipibo, Cayapa, Murato, Shapra, Omagua, Cubeo, Mundurucú, and Toba.[106] Beliefs in anthropomorphic water spirits, and in the danger of uttering the names of places passed while voyaging on water, are reported for the tribes of the Guiana region; incubus (but not succubus) demons, as we are using the term, are reported for the Warrau and Arawak of the Guiana region.[107] Incubus demons are also reported to figure in Canelo, Quijo, and Witoto belief.[108] A belief in the demonic nature of the morpho butterfly is reported for the Cubeo and other Vaupés-Caquetá tribes.[109] A belief that "the great black ant" and the scorpion are demons is reported for the Canelo.[110] The owl and the vulture as demons is reported for the Jívaro, Canelo, and Quijo.[111] The belief that whirlwinds are passing demons is reported for the Abipón (report uncertain), Lengua, Toba, and Vilela (all of the Chaco region).[112] The Mapuche are reported to consider as demonic whirlwinds, fireballs, comets, shooting stars, and a bird of ill-omen.[113] Sacred birds are reported for the Waiwai, Camayurá, and Guarayú, and the Bora are reported to hold the Great Egret sacred.[114] A belief that stars are "people" and that "people" live at the level of the clouds is reported for the Mashco.[115] A belief in spirits controlling specified plants and animals is reported for the Shipibo, Jívaro, Quijo, Cocama, Guahibo, Warrau, Yabarana, Taulipang, Waiwai, Mundurucú, Camayurá, Caingang, Tiatinagua, and Incas.[116] The association of hummingbirds with tobacco is reported for the Guiana tribes.[117] Equating the soul with the heart is reported for the Warrau and Tucano; locating the soul (or principal soul) in the heart is reported for the Piro, Antillean Carib, and Waiwai; equating thought with the heart is reported for the Witoto.[118] Describing the body as the "clothing" or "skin" of the soul, and belief in a celestial lake where periodic bathing followed by shedding of skin ensures immortality, is reported for the Bacaïri.[119]

Although the Campas rarely if ever make offerings to the dead, the injunction to do so figures prominently in the narration included above in the second section concerned with the destiny of the human soul (pages 446-466). As the narrators claimed that the Machiguengas do make such offerings, a Machiguenga origin for the tale might be inferred. Accounts resembling the first part of the Campa narration, however, (nocturnal encounters with the dead at abandoned house sites) are reported for the Tucuna,[120] while the second part of the Campa narration is surely related to the widespread Orpheus myth of tribal North America.[121] Offerings to the dead at special ceremonies are reported for the Cocama, Nambicuara, and Highland Indians of Peru and Bolivia.[122] Special provisions for the souls of infants, strikingly similar to what has been described for the Campas (see above, page 430, note 9, and page 445, note 47), are reported for the tribes of the Guianas.[123]

The uncertain status among the Campas of the taboo on eating venison has been discussed above (pages 291-292). Beyond the immediate circle of the Campas' neighbors, we find a belief that the souls of the dead sometimes enter deer, which

consequently are never eaten. This is reported for the Mayoruna and Bororo.[124] A belief that deer are demons and not to be eaten is reported for the Shapra and, along with tapir, for the Jívaro and Canelo, as well as for the Waiwai and Chorotí.[127] A belief in a deer ogress is reported for the Cubeo.[126] A belief that the first manioc garden was destroyed by a deer, for which reason deers are hated and killed but never eaten, is reported for the Camayurá.[127] Refusal to eat deer is reported also for the Nocamán, some Encabellado, the Yagua, Yaruro, and inhabitants of the Kuluene River in the Brazilian Mato Grosso.[128]

Abandoning a house or settlement when someone dies is reported for the Shipibo (but not the Conibo), the Cayapa, Colorado, Jívaro, Záparo, Iquito, Urarina, Awishira, Encabellado, Yagua, Witotoan tribes (in the case of a chief), Anabali and other Orinocan tribes, Wapishana, Oyana, Coroado, Chacobo, Sirionó, Yuracare, and Chaco tribes.[129] The practice of burning the house or village in which a death has occurred is reported for the Shipibo, Urarina, Awishira, Yagua, Wapishana, Waiwai, Oyana, Coroado, Chacobo, Yuracare, and Chaco tribes.[130] Cutting off or otherwise removing head hair when a close relative dies is reported for the Panoan-speaking tribes along the Ucayali, the Jívaro, Waiwai, Antillean Carib, Mundurucú, Tapirapé, Tupinamba, Chiriguano, Purí, Coroado, Coropó, Carayá (where a tonsure style is affected), Bororo, many of the Chaco tribes, the Ona and Yahgan, and the Highland Indians.[131]

Shamanistic activities conform to the general pattern of trait distribution that we are eliciting from the literature. Medical techniques and the beliefs associated with them are much the same everywhere, though differing in detail. The understanding that shamans may travel far to visit the abodes of the spirits is reported for the Yaruro, Yecuaná, Taulipang, Wapishana, Waiwai, Mundurucú, Tupinamba, Tapirapé, Sherente, Bacaïri, Nambicuara, Cumaná, and the Mataco and Toba of the Chaco region.[132] The belief in a struggle between shamans and witches is reported for the Ocaina.[133] Ideas about human witchcraft and the treatment of human witches, remarkably like what has been described for the Campas, are reported for the Antillean Carib.[134]

The requirement of sexual abstinence during a shaman's apprenticeship is reported for the Sioní; the practice of sexual abstinence and dietary restrictions while engaged in ritual is reported for the Witoto and the Sherente.[135] The Campas, as previously shown, have similar ideas: sexual abstinence and dietary restrictions are required of an apprentice shaman (pages 244-245); their belief that sexual activity while engaged in ritual is defiling plays a prominent part in the myth of *Mašíkinti* and *Porínkari* (pages 397-406). Continence before important undertakings for fear of offending the spirits is also reported for the Camayurá.[136] Similar practices preceding ceremonies are reported for the Highlands.[137] Sexual abstinence as a requirement for purification is, of course, not limited to South America.[138]

The Campa practice of blow-spitting to drive away rain has been noted (page 479). Very similar practices (blow-spitting or "blowing" to prevent rain) are described for the Záparo, Vaupés-Caquetá tribes, Ancerma, Guiana tribes, Antillean Carib, Araona, Tiatinagua, and Mashco.[139] The Záparo are reported to use for this purpose, not tobacco as the Campas do, but "piripiri"—the Campa *ivénki.* By contrast, blow-spitting with piripiri is reported for the Shapra to produce (rather than prevent) rain, and for the Jívaro, Canelo, and Ucayalian tribes in general, to do either.[140]

So concludes a brief survey of the general South American situation. What has not been mentioned of Campa cosmology is without reported parallel outside the Anti culture cluster, except for a number of Andean Highland elements. It is evident that Campa cosmology is not at all out of place in the Tropical Forest area, but nevertheless that many of the salient cosmological features of the Anti culture cluster occur nowhere else or only in isolated instances. To say that Campa beliefs are basically Tropical Forest is to say that the Campas are Tropical Forest Indians whose beliefs can be traced only in part to sources outside that culture area. Of the residue a part is shared with other tribes in the Tropical Forest area, but another part—one of no mean magnitude—appears to be a distinctive development within the Anti culture cluster.

It seems fair to say that the impact of Andean Highland culture on Campa cosmology has been negligible and apparently recent. A number of Quechuan words turn up in the Campa lexicon: Viracocha, Inti, Pachacamac, and Inca, with its

plural form Incacuna. For the most part the question of Andean influence revolves around these terms.

Viracocha was a title given to the high god of the Incas, to whom even the Sun was subordinated.[141] The Campas have an important deity with a partially similar name–*Avíreri*–but there is no similarity between the two figures apart from the generality that they are both creator gods. The reported Highland belief that Viracocha transformed human beings–entire populations–to stone,[142] in this way resembling *Avíreri*, indicates only that both deities conform to the general transformer type of South America. The Incas extended the term Viracocha to refer to the first Caucasians on their shores,[143] and it was with this meaning exclusively that the term passed to the Campas and other Montaña tribes, as an indubitably post-Conquest phenomenon. The use of the term Viracocha to refer to the Caucasians has been reported widely for the Campas as well as for the various tribes of the Urubamba, Ucayali, and Marañon regions of eastern Peru.[144]

The high god of the Campas is the Sun, one of whose recognized names is the same as the Quechuan word for the Sun: Inti. It appears futile, however, to derive the preeminence of the Sun among the Campas from any Highland source. The status of the Sun as an important deity occurs everywhere in South America, with a distribution that does not suggest a Highland origin. The Campas make very little use of the term *Ínti*, usually calling the Sun *Kacirinkáiteri* or, in a mood of piety, *Pává*. The introduction of the term *Ínti* into the Campa lexicon is probably late, a consequence of recent contact with Highland Indians under post-Conquest conditions.

The Campa god *Pačákama* is without doubt derived from the god Pachacamac formerly worshiped on the Peruvian coast. The early chroniclers translate "Pachacamac" as "maker of the world."[145] For the Campas *Pačákama* is not the maker but the sustainer of the world, with treelike characteristics.[146] The chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega insisted that "Pachacamac" means not "maker" but "sustainer" of the world, yet by "sustainer" he indicates that he meant "animator" rather than "upholder."[147] Given the unsatisfactory state of our knowledge concerning Pachacamac, it is not possible to establish precisely how divergent the Campa view really is. *Pačákama* does not figure prominently in Campa mythology, and to postulate a recent introduction of this deity to the Anti culture cluster from the Highlands would not be unreasonable.

The chronicles do suggest that the Incan high god Viracocha was equated with the coastal creator god Pachacamac. Cabello Valboa went so far as to call this deity "Ticci Viracocha Pachacamac," and much the same is indicated in most of the other early chronicles.[148] The relationship of Viracocha-Pachacamac to Inti, the solar deity, was apparently never consistently worked out: Cieza de León and Valera reported that Viracocha was considered the father of the Sun, while Garcilaso de la Vega reported the opposite, and other chroniclers described the Sun as the father of Pachacamac.[149] The assimilation of Pachacamac to Viracocha by the Incas, and the tenuous relationship suggested between Viracocha and the Campa *Avíreri*, do lend a certain significance to the reported belief that Pachacamac converted a number of human beings to animals.[150] The Pachacamac myth as reported, however, does not correspond to the form of the *Avíreri* cycle.

Among the tribes of the Peruvian Montaña there is wide distribution of the belief in a deified Inca.[151] We see here the reflection of past Inca glory among those forest tribes closest to the old Inca Empire. The Campa conception of *Ínka* as a technological genius held captive by the Caucasians is most clearly a post-Conquest development.[152] Nothing in Campa thought approaches the assimilation of Inca to the Sun that is reported for the Panoan-speaking tribes. As for Incacuna, it appears that nothing more than the term itself has diffused, devoid of the original Highland significance it may have had.

Certain miscellaneous beliefs reported for the contemporary Quechua are very much like beliefs held by the Campas: the notion that concealed within mountains are great dwelling-places, plantations and livestock of the spirits; and the notion that certain wild species are the domesticated animals of the spirits.[153] The relationship between these beliefs and the corresponding Campa beliefs is not certain. Similar ideas are reported for the Cayapa.[154]

Highland ritualistic practices have not made much headway among the Campas, but certain incursions can be documented. When I visited the

Upper Perené region, which has seen an invasion of Highland Indians in recent years with some intermarriage, I learned that some Campas there have been making offerings of coca in the Quechuan manner.[155] The sacred stones of the Perené region may be related to the sacred stone "huacas" of the Incas.[156] And the mystery of the sacred fires of the Campas in the Perené region appears to be resolved when we learn that the Incas made use of fire to communicate with spirits.[157]

The last in order of time of Ordinaire's postulated strata of beliefs is that of European Christianity. What is remarkable, however, is how little of Christian doctrine has seeped into Campa thought after more than 300 years of contact. The majority of the Campas remain unconvinced and skeptical about the alien scheme of thought professed by the Caucasians and advocated so strongly by the missionaries.[158] The skepticism of the Campas has tended to take a form particularly disheartening to the missionaries—ridicule.[159] The discouragement felt by the missionaries in the face of Campa mockery is not entirely justified, however, since such behavior appears to be due more to lack of solemnity than lack of receptivity.[160] The Campas are wont to treat their own most cherished and deeply held beliefs lightly and casually, like old friends.[161]

Acceptance of Christian doctrine varies among the Campas from the most refractory pagan to the most fervid convert, but Urquhart's appraisal of the situation (1893:351) can otherwise be taken as a fair statement:

> It appears that the humble Amuesha readily embraces the doctrines of Christianity—outwardly at least; but that the ribald Campa will give way to uncalled-for hilarity on the most unexpected occasions. Probably the truth of the matter is that the Indian accepts the Christian's faith unhesitatingly, at the same time cleaving to his own religion also, though he does not openly confess it. Hence the Chunchos at present practice a curious mixture of Christianity, idolatry, and sun-worship.[162]

The Franciscan missionaries, whose history of missionizing activity (and failure) extends back farthest in time, are the most given to despair. They look back to a golden age of successful proselytizing that was swept away by the rebellion of Juan Santos Atahualpa in the eighteenth century and never regained. There is much to be said for the picture of a heavily missionized Campa nation not fully divested of its former beliefs, that in the century following Juan Santos—when all contact with the Caucasians was broken—shifted back to those former beliefs, retaining but a few fragmentary elements of Christianity. It was this picture presumably that Sotomayor had in mind when he called the Campas "the most apostate tribe" (1908:354; quoted in Tessmann 1930:101).

The Franciscan Padre Gridilla (1942b:73) expressed with particular poignancy the frustration of his Order in its dealings with the Campas:

> The greater part of the Campas are descendants of apostates. Their ancestors were Christians; and it is for this reason that even among those who have no contact with civilized people we find many Christian [i.e., Spanish] names. But nothing else has remained with them aside from this, neither in their beliefs nor in their customs. . . .
>
> It is certain that all the Campas were worshippers of the sun, whose cult they perhaps took from the highland Quechuas, abandoned for that of the true God in the epoch of the missions, so florescent in those parts until the middle of the eighteenth century, when they were destroyed by the apostate Juan Santos Atahuallpa, of sad memory.
>
> And what has followed? For with the preaching of the Gospel, idolatry disappeared from among them; and with the abandonment of the missions, they quickly forgot the practices of Christianity.
>
> The Campa, then, has no religion! He believes, nevertheless, that there is a God; that heaven and hell exist, to which the good and bad go, respectively; he believes in the devil or *camari*, whom he fears greatly; and is full of superstitions. He has faith, but without works.
>
> As the Campa is so enamored and jealous of his liberty, he shows himself reluctant to embrace Christianity, a religion that imposes duties on him and that curbs his disordered passions. He does not want impositions from anyone, nor is he disposed to abandon his dissolute customs.[163]

Vestiges of Christian influence did survive the century of Campa isolation following the rebellion of Juan Santos. We learn from the explorer Wertheman, one of the first Caucasians to reenter

Campa territory in the latter part of the nineteenth century, that the Campas were cultivating flowers, which they were using to adorn crosses in their houses. This information strengthens the case for seeing the present-day cultivation and use of sacred flowers (*santótea*, from the Spanish "santo," or "saint," plus *-tea*, "flower") as derived from the use of flowers to adorn images in Catholic mission churches. Wertheman also reported being informed that the Campas had preserved intact the paraphernalia of the abandoned eighteenth-century missions, although if the paraphernalia did survive the literature is mute about their subsequent fate.[164]

The present century has seen the reintroduction of Franciscan missions into Campa territory. Adventist missionaries have also been active among the Campas. More recently other Protestant missionary organizations–the South America Indian Mission and the Summer Institute of Linguistics in particular–have made their entry among the Campas. Each of the existing missionary groups has succeeded in making a fair number of converts, while exercising influence over a somewhat wider circle. The majority of the Campas, however, remain pagan.

For our present purposes we can disregard the Campa converts to one or another form of Christianity, and such questions as what they retain of their indigenous beliefs and how they comprehend what they have been taught. Our concern is with the indigenous cosmology maintained by the majority of the Campas, and the question for us to consider is whether analysis can isolate a significant Christian component in it.

We have seen that the Campas have taken over some of the more important sacred terms and names in the Spanish language–Dios, Santo, Salvador, Santa María–only to apply these terms to their established gods without any perceptible change in their earlier conceptions.[165] Indeed, there seems to be nothing definitely Western or Christian in the way the Campas structure the universe and populate it, certainly nothing of importance. A few oddments have crept in, like the western spirit-place *Irimáka* (Lima)[166] and the constellation Bull's Jaw (Taurus), but these have been assimilated into Campa cosmology without altering its character in any way. To this list can be added such "modern" notions as the interpretation of thunder as the sound of thunder spirits traveling in noisy spirit automobiles, airplanes, and the like.

It remains uncertain, to be sure, whether the Campas do not owe to missionary influence their strong dichotomy between good and evil spirits, and the orientation of this dichotomy to the vertical dimension, with good spirits in the sky and a demon stronghold underground ruled by the demon overlord *Koriošpíri*. The possibility that *Koriošpíri* is a corruption of the Spanish term "Lucifer" has been suggested above (pages 283-284). An alternative possibility, however, is that the Campa term is related to the name of a prominent Tupian forest demon, variously given as Kurupíra, Corupira, Corropira, and so forth.[167] Missionary influence may also account, and perhaps with greater likelihood, for the orientation of "good" shamans toward the good spirits in the sky and elsewhere, with the corresponding denigration of shamanistic orientation toward jaguars. Elsewhere in the Tropical Forest area, as we have seen, jaguar-shamans are reported to be the rule, and not the exception as among the Campas. Finally, we have the tendency to disassociate *Tasórenci* from his solar materialization, a weak tendency which, again, may or may not be due to missionary influence.

The Campa shamans have retained their position and power despite missionary inroads. They feel sufficiently threatened, however, to inveigh on occasion against the aliens and the alien mode of thought, and they assert that the disappearance of shamans among the Campas would mean the end of harvests and game, and the consequent destruction of the Campa nation.[168] Christian ritual and paraphernalia have made no impress on Campa procedures, except in the Ipoki region. There, a vigorous pagan revivalism incorporates not only the use of sacred flowers, but also greater participation of the laity in the ayahuasca ceremonies, and sacred music that makes greater textual reference to Christian hagiology and may show the influence of mission choral music. Crosses are notably absent as sacred objects, except as worn by an occasional Catholicized Campa.[169]

In view of all the above, it seems fair to conclude that Ordinaire's analytic scheme, presupposing as it does the incapacity of Campa culture to assimilate alien elements, requires major qualification. Certainly there are elements in Campa

cosmology that can be identified as Andean or Western in origin, but for the most part they are adapted to their new setting. In addition there are a number of features that cannot be classified easily in one or another of Ordinaire's three strata.

Campa cosmology, then, consists basically of a hard core of indigenous beliefs shared in the main with the other Anti tribes, some having wider currency in the Tropical Forest, but all rigorously structured in terms of certain dominant principles of cosmological thought that, in their purity, are distinctively Campa. Everything is regularized in terms of a stratified universe, itself brought to its present condition by a series of transformations operating very strictly according to analogical association and poetic justice. To this hard core have been added fragmented Andean and Western elements that owe their inclusion to their intelligibility, or at least neutrality, in terms of the dominant principles of Campa cosmological thought. Most of these alien elements have remained superfluities; others do indeed appear to be significant additions to the core, although without them Campa cosmology would be poorer but still integral.

It is the integral character of Campa cosmology, by and large, and despite its multiple origins, that is particularly striking. Campa cosmology may be somewhat unusual in the Tropical Forest for its systemic coherency and for the negligible incidence of contradictory and disordered elements within it. Malinowski (1922:239) has warned us not to expect such coherency in a tribal cosmology:

> The native feels and fears his belief rather than formulates it clearly to himself. He uses terms and expressions, and thus, as used by him, we must collect them as documents of belief, but abstain from working them out into a consistent theory; for this represents neither the native's mind nor any other form of reality.

Of the tribes of the Peruvian Montaña, Coriat ([1942]:75) expressed a similar sentiment: "All their beliefs are very obscure, have no system, and are transmitted from father to son, their fullness depending on the origin, character, and natural intelligence of each individual." These cautionary statements are well-taken, but the fact remains that, in the Campa case, when all the information I gathered from different informants, together with all the information provided by the extensive Anti literature, is pieced together and presented in an orderly fashion, the systemic coherency of the result is very much in evidence.

Perhaps we should think in terms of a scale of systemic coherency in accordance with which the cosmologies of different cultures can be ranked. On such a scale Campa cosmology would rank high. The historical reasons for this condition of Campa cosmology would have to be sought among such likely causes as the accidental initial association of compatible elements, the presence of dominant principles of imaginative thought possessing considerable vitality and generative power, and an intellectual vigor in the application of these principles in selecting and assimilating new elements.

Campa ingenuity in cosmological explanation, operating in accordance with a special form of the principle that man is the measure of all things, is impressive in its simplicity and elegance. Even more impressively than our own modern secular cosmology, it can explain with a minimum of hypothesis such disparate phenomena as insects and stars: take a man and attribute to him a coprophagous nature, and we can generate a dung-beetle; take a man and attribute to him an extraordinary body heat, and we can generate the sun. The difference between Campa cosmology and our own is not so much due to a difference in the number of phenomena taken into account as it is due to the difference in basic postulates or principles of thought. Nor is it a matter of truth versus falsity when we compare the elements of Campa cosmology with such notions of ours as an initial ylem or a paradoxical tensored four-dimensional continuum, for truth and falsity become meaningless terms in matters of cosmology as soon as we pass beyond what can be and is actually observed.

The Campas, of course, are not worried by or concerned with these questions. For them their vision of the universe is true, it makes sense in terms of their canons of thought, and it forms part of the corporate heritage of their culture, descending to them out of the past as an authoritative historical record of past events and present consequences. Indeed, the Campas recognize that the lapse of time since the mythological era has

had an attenuating effect, with a strong possibility that a certain amount of such historical knowledge has already been lost due to failure in the process of oral transmission.[170] The Campas are not troubled by the alien cosmology (or cosmologies) of their Caucasian invaders, for they quite simply do not understand it, nor is it an evident improvement over their own within the limits of their range of experience. Their own cosmology is entirely satisfactory to them and they are in no haste to abandon it in favor of the unfamiliar ideas of their enemies. For all they know they are being lied to, or are faced with some strange demonic phenomenon. Moreover, even if some truth to the ideas of the Caucasians were admitted, the Campas would not feel obliged to abandon their own ideas, for they believe that the universe appears in different guises to different classes of beings.

NOTES

[1]See Cieza de León 1959:61, 287n.; Izaguirre 1923-1929:XIV, 111; Larrabure i Correa 1905-1909:XIV, 610n.; XV, 429; Steward 1946-1959:III, 507, 535-538; VI, 221; Tessmann 1930:83; Urquhart 1893:348-349; Villarejo 1959:132, 163; Wiener 1880:349. See also Anon. 1864:202; Bürger 1923:107; Carranza 1894:26; Cobo 1956:II, 31, 254; Coleti 1771:I, 100-101; Domville-Fife 1924:247, 259, 272; Farabee 1922:154; Foster 1922:224-225; Grandidier 1861:127; Gridilla 1942a:72-73; Herndon and Gibbon 1854:I, 208; Izaguirre 1923-1929:II, 293; IX, 311; Jiménez de la Espada 1881-1897:IV, xxiii, clxxxiii-clxxxv; Larrabure i Correa 1905-1909:III, 79, 85, 202; IX, 192; XI, 221; XII, 66, 99; XVI, 363; Loayza 1942:26n. *et passim*; Luna Gonzalez-Polar 1962:37-38; Markham 1895:252; 1910:93-94; Miller 1836:178ff.; Navarro 1925-209; Ordinaire 1887:266; 1892:102; Ortega Ricaurte 1940:161, 475; Osambela 1896:219; Paz Soldán and Kuczynski-Godard 1939:3; Poma de Ayala 1956-1966:III, 198, 403; Raimondi 1874-1913:I, 128, 219, 247; III, 399, 451; Reclus 1894-1895:I, 310, 376-378; Schütz-Holzhausen 1895:180, 213; Sobraviela 1791:103; Touchaux 1908:132-133, 161-164; Tovar 1966:83; Tschudi 1847:282-284, 290, 321-327; Uriarte 1938-1942:LIX, iv, 119; Valcarcel 1946:48; Wertheman 1878:139.

[2]For references to the Incan "Antisuyo" and its inhabitants, see Cabello Valboa 1951:344; Cieza de León 1959:162; Cobo 1956:II, 107; Garcilaso de la Vega 1959:I, 91, 161; II, 44-45, 132; Jiménez de la Espada 1881-1897:II, 181; Lizarraga 1946:114-115; Luna Gonzalez-Polar 1962:38, 40; Poma de Ayala 1956-1966:I, 77, 112-113, 120-121, 124-125, 191-192, 239-240, 341-342, 372, 379, 383, 436, 475; III, 196-198, 403; Ramirez 1936:38; Valera 1945:84; Zárate 1968:47, 137. The tribes included in "Antisuyo" are not known, but the anonymous chronicle presented by Luna Gonzalez-Polar (1962) indicates that little more than trade relations existed between them and the Incas. For the post-Conquest use of the term "Anti" (or "Ande"), see Adam 1890:15; Amich 1854:23-24, 35 *et passim*; Anon. 1864:202-204; 1865-1866:VIII, 10; 1888:6, 21, 23; Ballón Landa 1917:283; Brinton 1901:242-243; Bürger 1923:22; Carrasco 1901; Castelnau 1850-1851:IV, 290; Coleti 1771:I, 20, 35; Contreras 1926:12; Domville-Fife 1924:270; Farabee 1922:1; Galt 1878:312; Grandidier 1861:127, 136; Grubb 1927:86, 137; Izaguirre 1923-1929:I, 166, 198, 358; II, 52, 56, 58-59, 79, 84, 116-117, 162, 279, 291, 293; VII, 298; IX, 43, 204; XII, 455; XIV, 407; Jiménez de la Espada 1881-1897:I, 83; IV, xxiii, clxxxvi; Larrabure i Correa 1905-1909:VII, 217; IX, 57; XI, 412, 524; XIV, 263; XV, 402-403, 595 (see also III, 188, 378; IV, 346; XVIII, 115); Loayza 1942:3 *et passim*; Marcoy 1875:I, 483, 490; Markham 1895:244; 1910:83, 137; Mendizabal Losack 1951:63, 72; Miller 1836:175-176; Murdock 1951:32; Nordenskjöld 1924:6; 1927:110; Ordinaire 1887:226; 1892:102; Ortega Ricaurte 1940:141, 144, 501; Ortiz 1958:19; 1961:32, 37-38, 53, 57; Paz Soldán 1877:47; Paz Soldán and Kuczynski-Godard 1939:7; Raimondi 1874-1913:I, 146; II, 208, 255; III, 27, 156, 184; Reclus 1894-1895:I, 310; Rosell 1916:xv, 41; Sarmiento de Gamboa 1906:6-7; Savage-Landor 1913:II, 374, 379, 419ff.; Schütz-Holzhausen 1895:213; Schuller 1908:184; Sobraviela 1791:101, 108, 111-112; Steward 1946-1959:III, 535-538; Tessmann 1930:83; Touchaux 1908:131-133; Tovar 1966:32, 34; Tschudi 1847:204n., 282-283, 290; Valcárcel 1946:48, 52; Villarejo 1959:105, 126, 163.

[3]Compare Métraux's appraisal of the South American situation (1949:55): "The difficulties of adequately summarizing the fundamental characteristics of religious life in South America are considerably increased by the poor quality of the source materials at our disposal. The picture of the Andean religions given by the ancient chroniclers is most unsatisfactory because it is both incomplete and twisted by the Catholic and classical viewpoint of our main authorities. In the rest of the continent much of our information is marred by hasty generalizations or by the accumulation of trifling and unrelated details. There are few groups whose religion may be said to be approximately well recorded, and even for

those with the best documentation we have to reckon with gaps and obscurities."

[4]Alvarez 1960:30-31.

[5]Alvarez 1960:19-24; Matteson 1951:47-49; 1954: 70; 1955:59.

[6]Alvarez 1962-1963:XLIII, cclvi, 35: "Among the Piros puberty rites are of great importance. . . . All the Piros agree in saying, 'The Inca taught them to us.' "

[7]Alvarez 1960:159: "Apparently the mother of the lupuna tree is a tree, but only in appearance. Its top is the head, its trunk is the body, and its buttresses are the legs." Matteson 1954:66: "We heard the hum or rattle of the viper *jergón*. 'He's asking for our blood,' they said. 'He sings, "Uncle, uncle, uncle, feed me honey," because our blood is honey to him.' " (The same conception is reported for the Taulipang by Koch-Grünberg 1917-1928:II, 16; see also, for the Urubú, Huxley 1957:188.)

[8]Alvarez 1960:78.

[9]Alvarez 1960:136: "The hobgoblin blew on them and instantly they were all dead; he blew again and they revived." See also Matteson 1951:37.

[10]See Matteson 1951:61, 63. A man-eating "falcon" also appears in the mythology of the Eastern Timbira (Nimuendajú 1946a:179-181).

[11]Abreu 1914:480; 1938:253, 255, 264, 332; Baldus 1937:221; 1946:22, 109; Banner 1957:38; Colbacchini and Albisetti 1942:218-219; Farabee 1922:124-125; Fejos 1943:98-99; Flornoy 1953:124; Girard 1958:229; Karsten 1919:335-336; 1923:106; 1932:209-210; 1935:503, 520-522; Koch-Grünberg 1917-1928:II, 12, 54; Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXVII, 284; XXVIII, 196, 216; Lévi-Strauss 1964:121-123; Métraux 1939: 50; 1942a:25; 1945:292; 1946a:16; 1946b:101-106; 1960:7-8; Nordenskiöld 1924:140; Oberg 1953:109; Roth 1915:141-142; Savage-Landor 1913: I, 212; Steward 1946-1959:I, 367, 434; III, 346, 449, 504, 684; Stirling 1938:124; Tello 1923:126; Wavrin 1937:613; Wilbert 1964:25. In Bororo belief, the sky-rope was raised to the sky by a hummingbird (Colbacchini and Albisetti 1942:218-219; Savage-Landor 1913:I, 212). The Taulipang also are reported to believe that a "small bird" raised the sky-rope to the sky (Koch-Grünberg 1917-1928:II, 19, 54). Of particular interest is the Taulipang identification of the sky-rope with the same peculiarly stepped vine as that which my Campa informants pointed out as their own *inkíteca* (Koch-Grünberg 1917-1928:II, plates 4, 6; see also above, page 389).

[12]Hissink and Hahn 1961:75, 77; Huxley 1957:214; Nimuendajú 1946b:111; Steward 1946-1959:I, 540; III, 348; Tessman 1928:199; Wavrin 1932:143; 1937:639. The "Panoan-speaking tribes along the Ucayali" (using this phrase where specific tribal identification is uncertain) are the Conibo, Shipibo, and Setebo; these tribes are referred to collectively in local Spanish as the "Chama," a term which they strongly resent.

[13]Baldus 1931:87; 1946:22; Girard 1958:266-267; Izaguirre 1923-1929:I, 319; XII, 485; Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXVIII, 67-68; XXX, 156-157; Lévi-Strauss 1964:247; Métraux 1935:133; 1939:9, 1946b:24-26, 45, 106; Nimuendajú 1919-1922:XIV-XV, 1008-1009; 1944:184; 1952:130; Oliveira 1913:396; Steward 1946-1959:I, 366, 559; Wagley and Galvão 1949:137.

[14]Burga Freitas 1939:43-44; Girard 1958:266; Huxley 1957:166; Koch-Grünberg 1917-1928:II, 277, 286; Métraux 1940a:126; Steward 1946-1959: III, 55, 405-406. For the rest, see below, page 498, note 21.

[15]Baldus 1931:87; 1937:194; Métraux 1946b:106; Murphy 1958:78; Petrullo 1939:237-240; Steward 1946-1959:I, 367, 434; III, 281, 880; IV, 462. See also, for the Urubú, Huxley 1957:231.

[16]Baldus 1937:178-182; Dance 1881:340; Farabee 1922:125; Huxley 1957:218; Karsten 1919:338-339; 1935:524-525; Métraux 1931:120ff.; 1946a:21-22; 1946c:120; 1950:80-82; Nimuendajú 1914:319, 366, 394-396; 1915:283-285; Oberg 1953:77-78; Roth 1915:133-135; Steinen 1940:477-478; Steward 1946-1959:I, 433; III, 47, 93, 132, 484, 532, 627, 650; Tello 1923:108-109, 111-112, 115-116, 124-125, 132; Wagley and Galvão 1949:137-139. As reported by Fock (1963:39-40), the corresponding Waiwai myth—about twin heroes whose mother is killed by jaguars—omits the episode of the twins taking their revenge.

[17]Métraux 1939:16; Nimuendajú 1952:122-123; Preuss 1921-1923:51, 304-314; Steward 1946-1959:III, 724.

[18]Nimuendajú 1914:375; Ploetz and Métraux 1929: 213; Steward 1946-1959:I, 474.

[19]Alvarez 1956-1957:XXXVIII, 4; Girard 1958: 138-139; Koch-Grünberg 1967:II, 159; Métraux 1931: 130, 144; 1942a:13, 169; 1946c:119n.; Steward 1946-1959:III, 46, 359, 502-503; Tello 1923:119-120.

[20]Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXVIII, 89 (see

also 88); Métraux 1931:142-143; Nordenskiöld 1912:272-273. A similar account of a hero killing a jaguar, but with the omission of any preceding injury to a parent, is reported for the Sherente (Nimuendajú 1944:181-182).

[21]Cardús 1886:78; Farabee 1922:125; Girard 1958:253; Karsten 1919:339; 1935:526; Métraux 1931:147, 149, 164; 1939:16; 1942a:109; 1946c:116, 120; 1950:83; Nordenskiöld 1922:158; Pierini 1910:704; Steward 1946-1959:III, 437-438, 484, 627; Tello 1923:126. Only one of the twins ascends to the sky in this way in the corresponding Waiwai myth reported by Fock (1963:36, 42, 55).

[22]Burga Freitas 1939:43-44 (see also Girard 1958:266-267; Izaguirre 1923-1929:I, 318-319; XII, 484-485). A similar version is reported for the Amahuaca (Huxley and Capa 1964:93).

[23]Métraux 1939:54-55; 1946c:120; 1950:83; Nimuendajú 1915:284 (see also Koch-Grünberg 1917-1928:II, 277; Steward 1946-1959:III, 132).

[24]Métraux 1931:139, 165; 1946a:20; 1946c:115-116; Oberg 1953: 77-81; Steinen 1940:467-486; Steward 1946-1959:III, 484; Tello 1923:115-116.

[25]Métraux 1931:149-150; 1946c:116, 119-120; Tello 1918-1919:51-55; 1923:128-131.

[26]A similar episode, wherein a malevolent host discovers that he is eating the boiled flesh of his wife rather than of his guest, is reported for the Urubú (Huxley 1957:189-190).

[27]The Piro and Campa data, in addition to the Amuesha report, require that Métraux's pronouncement on the matter (1931:134n.) be amended: "The myth in the form that we are studying has not been found to this date in any tribe of Arawakan stock."

[28]Farabee 1922:145. Some Mashco reportedly conceive of their main river as falling into a deep abyss at the end of its course (Alvarez 1956-1957:XXXVII, 179).

[29]Preuss 1921-1923:49 (also in Baldus 1931:80-81; Métraux 1946b:25).

[30]Tessmann 1928:183, 197.

[31]Barrett 1925:III, 355; Girard 1958:207, 250, 271.

[32]Baldus 1931:79-80; Banner 1957:38, 50; Barrett 1925:II, 352; Farabee 1922:104; Fock 1963:[v], 101; Huxley 1957:215; Koch-Grünberg 1917-1928:III, 175, 377-378; Métraux 1935:133; 1939:9; 1945:291; 1946b: 24-25; Nimuendajú 1919-1922:XIV-XV, 1008; Ortega Ricaurte 1940:150; Steward 1946-1959:I, 366; III, 711; V, 567.

[33]Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXVII, 265.

[34]Nimuendajú 1942:85.

[35]Baldus 1937:202, 274; Chaves 1958:136; Farabee 1924:83; Goldman 1963:182, 255; Holmberg 1950:46; Koch-Grünberg 1917-1928:II, 5, 39, 42; Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXIV, ii, 193; Lévi-Strauss 1964:93, 109; Métraux 1942a:109; 1946a:9, 15-18, 20, 24; 1946b:29-30, 44, 58-60, 66, 79-84; 1946c:114-115; 1950:41, 43-44, 47, 63-64; Mishkin 1940: 226-227; Molina 1943:13; Murphy 1958:68ff.; Nimuendajú 1944:183-184; Nordenskiöld 1924:140-141; Roth 1915:152; Sarmiento de Gamboa 1906:24; Steward 1946-1959:I, 368; III, 90, 133, 437, 463; V, 560; Tello 1923:150, 164-165, 171; Wagley and Galvão 1949:134. See also, for the Urubú, Huxley 1957:200, 213.

[36]Abreu 1914:117-208; Ahlbrinck 1924:221; Alvarez 1956-1957:XXXVII, 180; XXXVIII, 4; Banner 1957:39 *et passim*; Barrett 1925:II, 382-383; Colbacchini and Albisetti 1942:211-212, 214, 260; Fock 1963:62-67; Hissink and Hahn 1961:viii, xi, 53 *et passim*; Karsten 1919:326-327; 1921-1922:III, 131; 1935:378; 1955:166, 170; 1964:57, 79, 198, 204; Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXIV, ii, 184; XXVII, 284; XXVIII, 69, 196, 198; XXX, 149; Lévi-Strauss 1964:94, 101-103, 107, 113, 128; Métraux 1935:143; 1939:59-62, 65; 1946b:29-31, 34-35, 37, 66, 79-84, 100-105, 114ff.; 1960:10-11 *et passim*; Petrullo 1939:194, 235, 237, 260; Ploetz and Métraux 1929:212; Savage-Landor 1913:I, 222; Steward 1946-1959:I, 367; III, 449, 684-685; Wilbert 1964: 68-69, 73, 91-93, 155, 160.

[37]Hissink and Hahn 1961:337; Karsten 1926:337; Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1929:XXVIII, 94; Métraux 1946a:18; Roth 1915:145, 152; Steward 1946-1959:II, 894:IV, 444. A deity turned to stone is reported for the Mapuche (Faron 1968:70). See also Roth 1915:237-238.

[38]Nimuendajú 1939:183. A hero who transforms himself into a beehive and back again is reported for the Mundurucú (Murphy 1958:96).

[39]Nordenskiöld 1915:112: "A man once passed by a school with noisy boys. 'Who is there within?' he asked. 'They are only howler monkeys,' he heard in answer. He transformed them all into such animals. This man came

also to a carpenter's shop. 'Who is there within? ' he asked. 'They are only wild pigs,' he heard in answer. He transformed all the carpenters into wild pigs." See also, for the Sioní, Chaves 1958:136.

[40]Métraux 1942a:25-26; 1946a:16-18; Nordenskiöld 1924:139-143. One element of the final episode of the Campa *Avíreri* cycle, a tree growing beyond reach, is also reported for the Mundurucú (Murphy 1958:96).

[41]Murphy 1958:121. "Tortoise" cutting meat from his own leg is reported for the Tenetehara (Wagley and Galvão 1949:155). A hunter who brings pieces of his own body as game meat and who turns into a turtle when he is discovered, is reported for the Urubú (Huxley 1957:81-82).

[42]Métraux 1946a:22; Oberg 1953:78-79; Steinen 1940:464-465, 480; Tello 1923:112-113. The magical efficacy of blowing is also reported for the Waiwai and other Cariban-speaking tribes of the Guianas, and the Mataco and Toba of the Chaco region (Farabee 1924:184-185; Fock 1963:75, 104-108; Métraux 1939:79; 1946b:64).

[43]Huxley 1957:150, 215; Koch-Grünberg 1917-1928:II, 39; Métraux 1942a:170; Oberg 1953:19, 77.

[44]Oberg 1953:53.

[45]Nimuendajú 1939:156 (also Lévi-Strauss 1964:77, 157).

[46]Huxley 1957:92-93.

[47]Koch-Grünberg 1917-1928:II, 124-128; Murphy 1958:79-81; Nimuendajú 1946a:244; Wagley and Galvão 1949:132; see also Lévi-Strauss 1964:305. For another Mundurucú example of the formula, "If x had not been done, we would not have to do y," see Murphy 1958:113.

[48]Baldus 1937:200-201, 212-216; Colbacchini and Albisetti 1942:231-232; Dance 1881:340-341; Hissink and Hahn 1961:48-50, 503; Lévi-Strauss 1964:150, 197; Métraux 1931:171-172; 1942a:44, 109; 1946b: 111; 1946c:120; 1950:97-98, 106; Nimuendajú 1914: 329-330, 396-397; Nordenskiöld 1912:254, 314; 1922: 155, 198; 1924:277, 298-299; Roth 1915:132-133, 135; Savage-Landor 1913:I, 216; Steward 1946-1959: III, 438, 448, 484, 880; IV, 368; Wilbert 1963:157; 1964:50-52. Baldus (1937:213) offered the following explanation for this oddity: "That it should have been selected for such a role is quite comprehensible since, as is known, this animal has the singular capacity to swallow burning things like cigars and coals, perhaps because it takes them to be fireflies." See also Roth 1915:133n.

[49]See Alvarez 1956-1957:XXXVIII, 3, 5; Baldus 1931:82; 1937:61, 197, 226, 229; Banner 1957:48; Barclay 1904:77; Barrett 1925:II, 353; Burga Freitas 1939:30; Caballero 1933:22, 33; Cardús 1886:78; Chaves 1958:145; Colbacchini and Albisetti 1942:248; Farabee 1922:124; Flornoy 1953:122; Garcilaso de la Vega 1959:I, 124, 131, 266; Girard 1958:41, 48, 77, 137-139, 208, 266; Hissink and Hahn 1961:75, 81; Huxley 1957:214; Izaguirre 1923-1929:I, 317-318; Karsten 1919:335-336; 1932-122; 1935:519, 522; 1964:43; Koch-Grünberg 1917-1928:II, 11; Koppers 1925:116; Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXIV, ii, 30, 45, 55-59, 183; XXVII, 256, 270-271; XXVIII, 84, 215; Maybury-Lewis 1965:93-94; Métraux 1931:139, 147, 165; 1939:12; 1942a:44, 132, 151; 1943:28; 1946b:142-143; Mishkin 1940:232; Murphy 1958:83; Nimuendajú 1914:331; 1939:19, 135-137; 1942:9; 1944:182-183; 1946a:232; 1946b:110; Nordenskiöld 1912:295; Oberg 1953:53; Oliveira 1913:528; Petrullo 1939:240; Poma de Ayala 1956-1966:III, 144, 373; Preuss 1921-1923:51; Roth 1915:254; Savage-Landor 1913:I, 188; Steward 1946-1959:I, 124, 168, 351, 366, 434, 509, 551; II, 295, 908; III, 90, 93, 282, 379, 393, 421, 437-438, 448, 483, 594-595, 627; IV, 35, 40, 390, 462, 474, 491, 564; Stirling 1938:124; Tello 1923:116, 132-133, 149; Valera 1945:4; Wagley 1940:255; Wavrin 1932:123, 130, 135, 137, 144; 1937:509, 516, 547, 550, 603, 622, 635, 639; Wilbert 1963:233.

[50]Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXIV, ii, 58; XXVIII, 68-70, 185; XXX, 149; Métraux 1935:134; 1946b:19-20; Steward 1946-1959:I, 366. In the information supplied on the Bora by Wavrin (1932:139, 140, 143), the Sun is identified as male in two places and as female in another.

[51]Alvarez 1956-1957:XXXVIII, 3; Alvarez 1960:98; Baldus 1931:82; Banner 1957:48; Barrett 1925:II, 353; Borde 1886:227; Cardús 1886:78; Chaves 1958:134, 137, 143-145; Colbacchini and Albisetti 1942:231-238, 248; Farabee 1922:124; Flornoy 1953:122; Fock 1963:54-56; Girard 1958:48, 137-139, 208; Goldman 1963:258-259; Holmberg 1950:46-47; Huxley 1957:26, 166; Huxley and Capa 1964:93; Karsten 1919:335-336; 1926:286; 1935:519-522; 1964:43, 58; Koch-Grünberg 1917-1928:II, 12, 55; Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXIV, ii, 55n., 58, 183; XXVII, 256; XXVIII, 69-70, 84, 86; XXX, 149; Lévi-Strauss 1964:261; Maybury-Lewis 1965:93-94; Métraux 1931:139, 147, 165; 1935:134; 1939:12; 1942a:151; 1946b:19-20, 142; 1946c:119; Nimuendajú 1914:331; 1919-1922:XIV-XV, 1011, 1939:19, 138; 1942:84;

1944:183; 1946a:232; 1952:143; Nordenskiöld 1922:157; Oberg 1953:53; Pierini 1910:704; Preuss 1921-1923:51; Roth 1915:256; Savage-Landor 1913:I, 188; Steward 1946-1959:I, 168, 351, 366, 397, 434, 509, 551; II, 463, 908; III, 54, 93, 379, 437-438, 463, 649, 684, 798, 879; Tello 1923:116; Wagley and Galvão 1949:135; Wavrin 1932:130, 135, 142-144; 1937:547, 603, 607, 625, 640; Wilbert 1963:156, 233.

[52]Alvarez 1956-1957:XXXVIII, 5; Baldus 1937:61, 197; Barclay 1904:77; Burga Freitas 1939:38; Caballero 1933:33; Farabee 1922:104; Garcilaso de la Vega 1959:I, 124, 131, 266; Girard 1958:75, 77, 140, 266; Hissink and Hahn 1961:75-77, 81-83; Izaguirre 1923-1929:I, 317-318; Karsten 1932:122; Koppers 1925:116; Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXIV, ii, 30, 45, 55-59; XXVII, 270-271; XXVIII, 84-85, 215; Métraux 1942a:13, 44, 126, 132; 1943:9, 28; 1945:292; Mishkin 1940:232; Murphy 1958:86; Nordenskiöld 1912:273, 295; Petrullo 1939:238, 240; Poma de Ayala 1956-1966:III, 144, 373; Steward 1946-1959:I, 124; II, 295; III, 282, 393, 422, 483, 594-595, 627; IV, 35, 40, 390, 462, 491, 564; Stirling 1938:124; Valera 1945:4; Wagley 1940:255; Wavrin 1932:135, 137, 139; 1937:509, 516, 550, 607, 622. The modern Mapuche are reported to believe in a "god and goddess of the moon," as well as a "god and goddess of the sun" (Faron 1968:65-66).

[53]Nimuendajú 1946b:110.

[54]Flornoy 1953:122; Girard 1958:48, 137-139.

[55]Cardús 1886:78; Chaves 1958:145; Colbacchini and Albisetti 1942:231-238, 248; Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXIV, ii, 183, 186-187, 196, 203; XXVII, 256; Métraux 1931:139, 147, 165; 1942a:151; Oberg 1953:53; Preuss 1921-1923:51; Savage-Landor 1913:I, 188; Steward 1946-1959:I, 168, 434, 551; III, 93, 379, 437-438; Tello 1923:116.

[56]Métraux 1935:134; Nimuendajú 1942:84; Steward 1946-1959:I, 397, 509. Nimuendajú (1942:84) specifically denied that the Sherente believe the Sun and Moon to be brothers, yet Maybury-Lewis (1965:93) referred to them as "twins about whom there is a whole cycle of Sherente tales."

[57]Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXIV, ii, 55n.; Steward 1946-1959:II, 908.

[58]Alvarez 1956-1957:XXXVIII, 5; Baldus 1937:62; Barclay 1904:77; Garcilaso de la Vega 1959:I, 124, 131, 266; Girard 1958:77, 140, 265-266; Izaguirre 1923-1929:I, 317-318; Karsten 1932:122; Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXIV, ii, 30, 45, 55-59; XXVII, 270-271; XXVIII, 84; Mishkin 1940:232; Steward 1946-1959:I, 124; II, 295; III, 483, 594, 627, 760; IV, 35, 390, 491; Stirling 1938:124; Valera 1945:4; Wavrin 1932:135, 137, 139; 1937:509, 550. The Moon as wife of the visible sun and daughter-in-law of the real Sun is reported for the Mundurucú (Murphy 1958:86). The Moon as wife of the Sun's brother is reported for the Yahgan (Koppers 1925:116).

[59]Caballero 1933:33; Métraux 1942a:132; 1943:28; Petrullo 1939:238, 240; Steward 1946-1959:II, 393; Wagley 1940:256; Wavrin 1937:516, 622. Kirchhoff suggested that the supreme goddess of the Yaruro is "basically" the Moon, and the wife of the Sun (*in* Steward 1946-1959:IV, 40, 462).

[60]Girard 1958:77.

[61]Tello 1923:137.

[62]Hissink and Hahn 1961:75, 81.

[63]Abreu 1914:454-480; 1938:331-332; Baldus 1946:108-109; Girard 1958:228-229; Steward 1946-1959:III, 54, 684. A non-lunar rolling head or skull is reported for the Piro, Jívaro, Tucuna, Witoto, Warrau, Shipaya, Tenetehara, Cainguá, Chiriguano, Apinayé, Cayapó, Bacaïri, Caviña, and Tacana (Abreu 1938:253; Alvarez 1960:112-113; Baldus 1946:47-49; Banner 1957:60; Hissink and Hahn 1961:ix, xii, 62 *et passim*; Karsten 1935:450; Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXVIII, 88; Métraux 1942a:44; Nimuendajú 1915:290-291; 1919-1922:XVI-XVII, 369-370; 1939:64; 1952:133; Nordenskiöld 1924:294-295; Preuss 1921-1923:109-110, 354-363; Roth 1915:129; Steward 1946-1959:I, 516; III, 55, 148, 448; Wagley and Galvão 1949:145-146; Wilbert 1964:34-35, 61-62). Lowie (*in* Steward 1946-1959:I, 516) added the "Bolivian highlands, Argentina, *Araucanians*, Chaco, etc." A belief in wandering heads is also reported for the Incas (Steward 1946-1959:II, 297-298). Severed heads become the visible sun among the Mundurucú (Murphy 1958:85-86).

[64]Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXIV, ii, 194; Métraux 1942a:170; Oberg 1953:78-79; Steinen 1940:480, 650; Steward 1946-1959:III, 359; Tello 1923:113; see also Baldus 1937:190-191, 197. The sun and moon as transformed from inanimate objects is reported for the Warrau (Wilbert 1964:67).

[65]Goldman 1963:258-259; Holmberg 1950:46-47.

[66]Alvarez 1956-1957:XXXVIII, 3; Baldus 1937:63; Banner 1957:48; Barclay 1904:77; Cardús 1886:78; Colbacchini and Albisetti 1942:237-238, 248; Farabee 1922:124-125; Flornoy 1953:124; Girard 1958:137-139; Karsten 1919:335; 1921-1922:III, 133; 1926:355; 1935:502, 519; 1964:43; Koppers 1925:116; Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXIV, ii, 55n., 59, 183-184, 187; Lévi-Strauss 1964:200, 297; Métraux 1931:147, 154-167; 1942a:109, 151; Nimuendajú 1914:331; Oberg 1953:53; Preuss 1921-1923:51, 304-314; Steward 1946-1959:I, 434; III, 379, 437-438, 484; Tello 1923:115-116; Wavrin 1937:639.

[67]Caballero 1933:22, Flornoy 1953:122; Girard 1958:48; Métraux 1942a:132; 1943:28; Steward 1946-1959:III, 393; Tello 1923:132.

[68]Girard 1958:252; Holmberg 1950:46; Huxley 1957:166; Koch-Grünberg 1917-1918:II, 12, 53; Nimuendajú 1919-1922:XIV-XV, 1011; Steward 1946-1959:III, 463.

[69]Flornoy 1953:122; Girard 1958:41, 47-48.

[70]Métraux 1942a:44; Nordenskiöld 1924:286; Oberg 1953:53; Steward 1946-1959:II, 346, 448.

[71]Steward 1946-1959:V, 596; Wavrin 1932:139, 141; 1937:522; Wilbert 1963:233. A cannibal devouring a group of boys he has led into the forest, but not identified as the Moon, is the substance of a tale reported for the Sherente (Nimuendajú 1944:186-187); a man who takes one wife and then another into the forest where he eats them, is reported for the Tenetehara (Wagley and Galvão 1949:148).

[72]Métraux 1935:135-136; 1939:96; Ploetz and Métraux 1929:210; Steward 1946-1959:IV, 368; Wavrin 1932:144; 1937:640.

[73]Métraux 1939:12.

[74]Steward 1946-1959:III, 463. The belief that men formerly ate termite nests is reported for the Ge tribes (Lévi-Strauss 1964:254); the belief that men at first ate rotten wood until given manioc by a mythological being is reported for the Urubú (Huxley 1957:171). A special relationship between the Moon and manioc beer is suggested by Huxley (1957:167) for the Urubú. It may not be coincidence that the name for manioc beer is "kashiri" among the Taulipang and in the "lingoa geral" of Brazil (Koch-Grünberg 1917-1928:III, 53, 115; 1967:I, 65-66 *et passim*; Steward 1946-1959:III, 45; 358, 539, 578; see also Coriat [1942]:78; Karsten 1926:529; Nimuendajú 1926:41 *et passim*; Steinen 1940:687).

[75]Baldus 1931:76-77; Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927: XXVII, 270; Oliveira 1913:394; Roth 1915:117-118; Steward 1946-1959:IV, 35, 398, 474, 491.

[76]Fock 1963:35; Girard 1958:139, 155, 179; Nimuendajú 1939:133; 1942:9; Oliveira 1913:394; Roth 1915:142, 254; Steward 1946-1959:III, 90, 93; V, 579; Tovar 1966:61; see also Ortega Ricaurte 1940:152.

[77]Faron 1968:63-65; Girard 1958:68, 197, 249, 252; Hissink and Hahn 1961:89ff.; Métraux 1942a:41; 1946a:11-12; Steward 1946-1959:III, 760; V, 560-562. For the Inca references, see this report, page 505, note 141. Christian influences may be suspected in virtually all these cases.

[78]Cardús 1886:78; Girard 1958:68, 208, 263, 265; Izaguirre 1923-1929:I, 317; Nimuendajú 1914:316ff.; Oberg 1953:53; Steward 1946-1959:III, 90, 93, 437-438, 595; IV, 320; Stirling 1938:124. A father for the Sun and Moon is reported also for the Upper Guaporé tribes (Métraux 1942a:151; Steward 1946-1959: III, 379).

[79]Girard 1958:265.

[80]Métraux 1946a:12-13, 20; Petrullo 1939:173, 185, 236, 241; Steward 1946-1959:I, 350; II, 885; IV, 40, 462; V, 562-563.

[81]Fock 1963:34-35; Garcilaso de la Vega 1959:I, 131, 139, 149, 160; Girard 1958:41-42; Steward 1946-1959:II, 294, 906-907, 952-953; III, 90; IV, 17, 19, 313, 367, 474; V, 575-576; Valera 1945:89; Wilbert 1963:65; Zárate 1968:50, 139. Farabee (1922:80) stated that reports of former worship of the sun and of fire by the Panoan-speaking tribes of the Ucayali region "are not well authenticated" (see Ortega Ricaurte 1940:145).

[82]Garcilaso de la Vega 1959:I, 101, 116-117; Herrera 1944-1947:VI, 253; Mishkin 1940:228; Poma de Ayala 1956-1966:III, 144, 373; Steward 1946-1959:II, 294; V, 564.

[83]Girard 1958:263, 266, 271, 274-275; Izaguirre 1923-1929:I, 316-317; XII, 467, 484; Steward 1946-1959:III, 685.

[84]Burga Freitas 1939:50-52.

[85]Steward 1946-1959:III, 685; Tessman 1930:149.

Métraux (1939:30) reported the Mataco belief that birds were stained red when splashed with the blood of the trickster Tawkxwax. Birds dyeing their feathers in the blood of the Moon is reported for the Shipaya (Nimuendajú 1919-1922:XIV-XV, 1011). A bird dyeing its plumage in someone's blood is a detail in a Tucuna myth (Nimuendajú 1952:150). The Warrau speak of birds bathing in a virgin's hymenal blood (Wilbert 1964:131). Birds bathing in the blood of an anaconda and so taking on their present form and coloration, occurs as an episode in a Waiwai myth (Fock 1963:64). The blood and other body fluids of a terrapin provide the coloration of the birds in a Mundurucú tale (Murphy 1958:129). Birds bathing in blood is also reported for the Caduveo and Parintintin (Lévi-Strauss 1964:308, 319-320).

[86]Nimuendajú 1952:135-136 (also in Lévi-Strauss 1964:166). The calendrical importance attached to the Pleiades in South America is discussed by Lévi-Strauss (1964:223-224).

[87]Nimuendajú 1952:147, 149; see also Lévi-Strauss 1964:229.

[88]Burga Freitas 1939:45-46; Dance 1881:296, 343; Goeje 1952:269; Izaguirre 1923-1929:I, 318-319; XII, 484-485; Koch-Grünberg 1917-1928:III, 281; Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXVI, 42-55, 66-67; XXVII, 263-264; XXVIII, 104; Métraux 1939:15; Roth 1915:113-135, 262-266; see also Lévi-Strauss 1964:118, 230-231.

[89]Girard 1958:70, 226; Karsten 1921-1922:III, 127, 135, 137; 1926:270; 1935:374, 386, 446, 448; 1964:57, 61, 172; Koch-Grünberg 1967:II, 185; Matteson 1954:59; Steward 1946-1959:III, 760; IV, 35, 391. According to Karsten (1921-1922:III, 137; 1926:371; 1964:58), the Canelo distinguish between "natural" and "demoniacal" jaguars.

[90]Baldus 1931:79; Karsten 1924:146; Oberg 1953:109; Steward 1946-1959:III, 368-369.

[91]Métraux 1942a:41; 1946a:20; 1946c:115; Petrullo 1939:185-186, 236, 238-239; Steward 1946-1959:III, 885, 888; IV, 17, 320, 338, 462. The supreme goddess of the Yaruro was assisted in the work of creation by the brothers Jaguar and Anaconda.

[92]Métraux 1942a:74; 1943:8, 12; Steward 1946-1959:II, 83-84, 171; III, 422-423. According to Karsten (1926:340), the Highlanders consider the puma to be "an evil spirit" (see also Mishkin 1940:237-238).

[93]Abreu 1938:261, 267, 270; Colbacchini and Albisetti 1942:122; Girard 1958:71, 132-133, 160; Goldman 1963:258, 262-264; Im Thurn 1967:332-333; Karsten 1921-1922:III, 128, 137; IV, 328; 1926:268-271, 277, 293-294; 1932:113-114, 121; 1935:375, 386, 407-408; 1955:165-166; 1964:52-53, 57-58, 198; Koch-Grünberg 1900:5; 1917-1928:III, 200-201, 381; 1967:II, 155; Métraux 1943:13; Murphy 1958:44; Nordenskiöld 1915:110; Oberg 1953:100; Steinen 1940:444; Steward 1946-1959:I, 365, 397; III, 51, 422-423, 626, 649, 760, 796, 889; IV, 391, 444, 468; Tessmann 1930:199, 244, 322-323; Wavrin 1932:138, 140; 1937:520, 550, 552, 559. See also Koch-Grünberg 1900:13; Tschopik 1957:23. It is reported that Encabellado shamans have a jaguar tutor (Albis 1861:61), and that shamans among the modern-day Quechua have a puma patron (Mishkin 1940:237-238). The Taulipang shamans reportedly are assisted in their activities by jaguar spirits (Koch-Grünberg 1917-1928:III, 211).

[94]See also Karsten 1921-1922:III, 129; 1926:271n., 285; 1935:376-377; 1964:64-65, 67.

[95]Cardús 1886:75; Girard 1958:179; Karsten 1935:220, 333, 375-376, 388, 448; Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXVII, 257-258; XXVIII, 87-90, 215; Métraux 1931:157-158; 1935:139; 1940b:243; 1942a:109; 1943:19; 1946b:19-20; 1950:99; Nimuendajú 1914:319-320, 378; 1952:142; Nordenskiöld 1912:294; 1922:157; Steward 1946-1959:I, 366, 444, 552; III, 93, 133, 424, 438, 483, 712, 724; Tello 1923:136-137.

[96]Cobo 1956:II, 158 (see also Steward 1946-1959:II, 295; Tello 1923:185-186).

[97]Girard 1958:70, 75, 140, 160, 209; Karsten 1919:328n.; 1920:70; 1921-1922:III, 128, 138; 1926:287-288; 1935:220, 375-376, 388; 1964:41, 64-65; Matteson 1954:58-59, 71, 74; Métraux 1946b:6, 57-59; Pérez Marcio 1955:111-112; Steward 1946-1959:I, 379; III, 626, 760, 795 (see also 531); IV, 462. See also Roth 1915:242; Wavrin 1937:520-522, 599. The Wapishana are reported to believe in a giant anthropophagous serpent; the Tarumá are reported to believe in anaconda spirits and to venerate the anaconda as the father of the first woman (Farabee 1918:117, 148-151). The Waiwai likewise are reported to consider anacondas as "people" living in the river, who provided the females from whom all human beings are descended, and to believe that the "Father" of fish is an anaconda (Fock 1963:24-25, 32, 36, 42, 48-53). Inimical water spirits, the Masters of fish, who take anaconda and human form alternately, are reported for the Tacana (Hissink and Hahn 1961:228-235, 301-303).

[98]Ballón Landa 1917:208, 214; Izaguirre 1923-1929: IX, 166; Larrabure i Correa 1905-1909:VI, 516; XI, 446; XIII, 185, 500; Steward 1946-1959:III, 891.

[99]Espinosa 1935:140, 142; Girard 1958:70, 141, 196, 209, 250; Hissink and Hahn 1961:75; Karsten 1920:70; 1921-1922:III, 141; 1926:360-361; 1935: 220, 392; 1964:47; Koch-Grünberg 1917-1928:II, 15, 72n.; Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXVIII, 83, 214-215, 221-232; Métraux 1935:142; 1942a:95; 1946b: 38, 40; Nordenskiöld 1912:296; 1922:134; Steward 1946-1959:I, 366, 443; II, 171; III, 265, 406, 702; Wavrin 1937:552. The Eastern Timbira are reported to believe that "the ends of the rainbow rest in the open mouths of two anacondas" (Nimuendajú 1946a:234; Steward 1946-1959:I, 515). The Carajá are reported to believe that the rainbow is an electric eel; the Cashinahua that the rainbow is the blood of a man-serpent; and the Mapuche that the rainbow arises from a place where there is a nest of snakes (Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXVIII, 230, 232). Both the Canelo, for whom the belief in a rainbow-serpent is reported, and the Jívaro, for whom it is not, view the rainbow as a demon, according to Karsten (1926:360; 1964:46-47).

[100]Acosta 1954:143; Garcilaso de la Vega 1959:I, 267; Herrera 1944-1947:VI, 302; Morúa 1946:164; Polo de Ondegardo 1916:189; Sarmiento de Gamboa 1906:36; Steward 1946-1959:II, 304. According to Acosta and Herrera, the Incan insignia consisted of a rainbow flanked by two serpents (see also Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXVIII, 232). For the Mojo, the Rainbow was the wife of the Sun (Métraux 1942a:75; 1943:9); for the Yahgan, the Rainbow was brother of the Sun and husband of the Moon (Koppers 1925:116). The modern-day Quechua are reported to interpret the appearance of a rainbow as an indication that the Sun is sick (Steward 1946-1959:II, 463).

[101]Nimuendajú 1952:119. A discussion of the rainbow as serpent and as demon in South America is provided by Lévi-Strauss (1964:252-254; see also 268, 284, 310-311, 316).

[102]See, for example, Barrett 1925:II, 360; Espinosa 1935:144; Girard 1958:194; Holmberg 1950:90; Karsten 1923:40; 1955:164; 1964:197; Matteson 1951:37; 1954:73-74; Métraux 1935:143; 1943:9; 1950:137; Steward 1946-1959:I, 470; III, 91, 128, 176, 795; Wagley 1940:258; 1943-64-65.

[103]Steward 1946-1959:III, 145-146.

[104]Goldman 1963:257; Huxley 1957:160, 180, 192-193; Koch-Grünberg 1967:II, 157-158; Tessmann 1930:522; Wagley 1943:68.

[105]Huxley 1957:179.

[106]Alvarez 1960:140-142, 157-158; Barrett 1925:II, 374; Goldman 1963:257; Karsten 1955:165; 1964:197; Matteson 1954:59, 74; Métraux 1946b:50, 66-67; Murphy 1958:92; Steward 1946-1959:III, 795; Tessmann 1930:62, 290.

[107]Roth 1915:172, 241-252; see also Farabee 1924:172-174; Fock 1963:25, 32, 42, 48; Wilbert 1964:70-71.

[108]Karsten 1920:69-70; 1935:390; Wavrin 1932:138.

[109]Coriat [1942]:76; Koch-Grünberg 1967:II, 181. Karsten (1935:378) reported a Jívaro belief that butterflies are souls.

[110]Karsten 1921-1922:III, 140; 1926-293.

[111]Karsten 1921-1922:III, 130; 1935:377-378, 449; 1964:59. The owl as demon is reported for the Cubeo and other Vaupés-Caquetá tribes (Koch-Grünberg 1967:II, 185).

[112]Karsten 1923:42; 1964:171; Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXVIII, 214.

[113]Faron 1968:69-70.

[114]Fock 1963:34, 43, 101; Girard 1958:123; Karsten 1926:276; 1964:56; Oberg 1953:59.

[115]Alvarez 1956-1957:XXXVIII, 5.

[116]Arriaga 1920:28-29; Espinosa 1935:142, 144; Fock 1963:23-24, 26; Girard 1958:194; Hissink and Hahn 1961:vii, x, 82 *et passim*; Karsten 1921-1922:III, 131; 1935:378-379; 1955:166-167; 1964:79, 198; Koch-Grünberg 1917-1928:II, 20; Murphy 1958:13-16; Oberg 1953:20; Steward 1946-1959:I, 470; III, 447; Wavrin 1937:520; Wilbert 1963:148; 1964:79. See Steward 1946-1959:V, 565-566, 578-579, for a general statement about the concept of the species "mother" in South America. Species "mothers" are also reported for the Piro (Alvarez 1960:150ff.), including a "mother of peccaries"—which may bear some relation to the Campa notion that the spirit that provides peccaries is female (above, pages 263-264). Fock (1963:16, 26-31, 128) described how the Waiwai shamans visit the "Father" of peccaries to persuade him "to give good hunting" (the

Waiwai species masters being "fathers" rather than "mothers").

[117]Roth 1915:371 (also in Lévi-Strauss 1964:211).

[118]Borde 1886:237; Fock 1963:14-15; Matteson 1954:74; Roth 1915:153; Steward 1946-1959:IV, 561; V, 570.

[119]Abreu 1938:250, 255, 261. A belief that mortality came to men when they lost the opportunity to rejunevate by skin-shedding is reported for the Cashinahua, Shipaya, and Tenetehara (Abreu 1914:487-490; Nimuendajú 1919-1922:XVI-XVII, 385; Wagley and Galvão 1949:149; see also Lévi-Strauss 1964:163-164, 169-170). The association of skin-shedding and rejuvenation is also reported for the Cayapó (Banner 1957:38).

[120]Nimuendajú 1952:116-118. See also the Warrau account in Roth 1915:180.

[121]Gayton 1935:263ff.

[122]Espinosa 1935:143: Girard 1958:194; Oberg 1953:96; Steward 1946-1959:V, 569. It is reported that in Inca times the Highlanders burned clothing and foodstuffs as offerings to the gods, huacas, and royal mummies (Cobo 1956:II, 202-204, 209, 212, 216; Jiménez de la Espada 1881-1897:I, 206-207; Molina 1943:33-34, 46, 48, 61-62, 69, 76; Polo de Ondegardo 1916:16, 37; 1917:20-21, 23-24; Steward 1946-1959:II, 306-307).

[123]Dance 1881:249 (quoted in Roth 1915:325): "When the father wades through the water, the toddling spirit . . . must paddle over in the tairn-leaf boat; and when his sire crosses over the stump, the little temporary bridge enables the infantile spirit to climb over." See also Ahlbrinck's description of the actions taken by the father of a newborn child among the Carib (1924:223): "If the path divides itself, he will cover up one path . . . in order that the soul of the child should not take the wrong path and lose its way."

[124]Karsten 1964:60; Savage-Landor 1913:I, 223; Steward 1946-1959:I, 382; III, 555; Tessmann 1930:373. The Bororo reportedly also believe that the souls of the dead become reincarnated in jaguars and vultures, which are similarly taboo (Savage-Landor 1913:I, 223). Baldus (1937:162) gave a different rationale for the Bororo practice: as mankind is descended from a man and his deer-wife, eating venison would make one sick.

[125]Coriat [1942]:85; Farabee 1922:117; Fock 1963:20-21, 79; Karsten 1920:33, 52; 1921-1922:III, 127, 137; 1926:273, 285; 1932:114; 1935:374, 387, 505-506; 1964:53; Larrabure i Correa 1905-1909:IV, 32; Ortega Ricaurte 1940:191; Steward 1946-1959:III, 619; Tessmann 1930:353; Wavrin 1937:510, 519-520, 584, 599. Wavrin (1932:142; 1937:552) reported a Bora belief that deer and tapir are demons. Karsten (1920:33, 52; 1921-1922:III, 126; 1935:372-373, 387) added that the Canelo belief is not current, and that for the Jívaro the demons are souls of the dead.

[126]Goldman 1963:257.

[127]Oberg 1953:19.

[128]Petrullo 1939:198; Tessmann 1930:177, 215, 465. Taboos surrounding the eating of venison are reported for the Urubú (Huxley 1957:83-84).

[129]Barrett 1925:II, 332-333; Farabee 1918:100; 1922: 103, 119 (see also 84); Girard 1958:40; Holmberg 1950:87; Izaguirre 1923-1929:XI, 141-142; XII, 490; Karsten 1924:151; 1935:458-460; 1955:172; 1964:206; Métraux 1945:291; Nordenskiöld 1922: 38-39, 110; Ortega Ricaurte 1940: 193-194; Orton 1876:321; Ploetz and Métraux 1929:223; Roth 1915:159; Steward 1946-1959:I, 379; III, 461, 646, 745, 758; Stirling 1938:112-114; Tessmann 1930:507, 525, 545; Villarejo 1953:144, 152, 156.

[130]Farabee 1918:100; Fock 1963:164-165; Girard 1958:40, 246; Karsten 1913:218; 1923:94, 96; 1932:194; 1955:172-173; 1964:206; Métraux 1945:291; Nordenskiöld 1922:38-39, 110; Roth 1915:159; Steward 1946-1959:I, 379, 528; Villarejo 1953:144, 152, 156.

[131]Cieza de León 1959:276; Cobo 1956:II, 274; Dueñas 1792:182; Farabee 1922:84, 103; Fock 1963:19, 163; Karsten 1913:218; 1920:75; 1923:94, 96-98; 1926:43-44; 1932:194, 198; 1955:173; 1964:207; Larrabure i Correa 1905-1909:XIV, 357; Métraux 1939:120; Ortega Ricaurte 1940:146; Savage-Landor 1913:I, 225-226; Steward 1946-1959:I, 528; II, 236, 286; III, 38, 117, 174, 279, 586; IV, 559; Tessmann 1928:216.

[132]Abreu 1938:264-265, 270; Farabee 1918:88; Fock 1963:16, 128, 140; Karsten 1923:48; 1932:129; Koch-Grünberg 1900:5; 1917-1928:III, 215, 378; Métraux 1935:135; 1939:91-97; 1940a:126; Murphy 1958:27; Nimuendajú 1942:91; Oberg 1953:100; Petrullo 1939:193, 248-250; Steinen 1940:444-445; Steward 1946-1959:III, 129, 405-406; Wagley 1940:253; 1943:76, 81. According to Métraux (1935:135;

1939:92-93, 96), the souls of Mataco shamans are believed to travel in the form of birds.

[133]Girard 1958:132.

[134]Borde 1886:232-234 (also in Roth 1915:353):

"They believe themselves never to get ill, but to be bewitched; and, simply for a head-ache or stomach-ache, they kill or cause to be killed, those whom they suspect to have given it to them. It is generally a woman, since they dare not openly attack a man.

"But before killing her, they ill-treat this unfortunate person most cruelly. Their parents and friends go and fetch her, and she is then made to search in the earth in different places, and ill-treated, until she finds what they believe her to have hidden; and, very often, the woman, in order to deliver herself from her executioners, confesses what is not true, picking up some pieces of shell . . . or fishbones. . . .

"When the women who are accused as witches pick up these different shells they say that it is the remains of what the bewitched had eaten, which the pretended witch had buried in the ground. Many incisions are then made on her body. She is hanged by the feet; a kind of very strong pepper called *Piman* is then rubbed in her eyes, and she is left for some days without food until a drunken executioner arrives and puts an end to the unfortunate being by breaking her head with a club."

[135]Chaves 1958:129; Girard 1958:73; Maybury-Lewis 1965:91. See also Huxley 1957:247.

[136]Oberg 1953:66. See also Lévi-Strauss 1964:101, 280.

[137]Acosta 1954:176; Romero 1919:186; Steward 1946-1959:II, 301, 311; Zárate 1968:50.

[138]See, for example, Exodus 19:15.

[139]Alvarez 1956-1957:XXXVIII, 6; Borde 1886:246; Coriat [1942]:86; Farabee 1918:120; Fock 1963:112; Girard 1958:211n.; Izaguirre 1923-1929:IX, 174; XII, 472; Koch-Grünberg 1967:I, 195; II, 24; Larrabure i Correa 1905-1909:VI, 523; Métraux 1942a:44; Roth 1915:268; Steward 1946-1959:IV, 320, 554. Blowing and direct address are reported for the Mashco and the Tiatinagua (Alvarez 1956-1957:XXXVIII, 6) and for the Vaupés-Caquetá tribes (Koch-Grünberg 1967:I, 195; II, 24). Blowing, direct address, and presentation of the posterior are reported for the Guiana tribes (Roth 1915:268).

[140]Girard 1958:211; Grandidier 1861:130; Karsten 1935:452. See also Anon. 1791:81; Ortega Ricaurte 1940:192. Preventing rain by smoking a pipe is reported for the Shipibo shamans (Karsten 1955:171; 1964:205).

[141]Acosta 1954:142, 200-201 (quoted in Garcilaso de la Vega 1959:II, 110-111); Betánzos 1880:2, 7, 114; Herrera 1944-1947:VI, 252; Métraux 1946a:12; Molina 1943:38-45, 74; Morúa 1946:166; Polo de Ondegardo 1916:3; 1917:49-50; Sarmiento de Gamboa 1906-23, 26; Steward 1946-1959:II, 293-294; V, 738. See also Avila 1939:77; Poma de Ayala 1956-1966:III, 144, 372. Garcilaso de la Vega alone denied this, asserting that Virococha was a subordinate deity before the coming of the Spaniards (1959:II, 120-121); for Garcilaso de la Vega the high god of the Incas was Pachacamac (1959:I, 139-140).

[142]Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXIV, ii, 193; Molina 1943:13; Sarmiento de Gamboa 1906:24.

[143]Acosta 1954:142, 202; Cabello Valboa 1951:296, 466; Cieza de León 1959:30n.; Cobo 1956:II, 99; Garcilaso de la Vega 1959:II, 118-119, 140; Poma de Ayala 1956-1966:II, 9, 289; Sarmiento de Gamboa 1906: 123-124; Steward 1946-1959:II, 294n.

[144]Adam 1890:57; Alvarez 1960:106; Amich 1854:34, 98, 122, 173; Anon. 1941:78; Aza 1923:130; Ballón Landa 1917:147; Burga Freitas 1939-140; Burke 1960b:mxxxviii, 9; Dueñas 1792:180; Golewski 1933:141; Izaguirre 1923-1929:I, 185, 198, 311; II, 112, 117; VIII, 247; IX, 213; X, 557; XII, 121-122, 136; J. G. 1868:12; Larrabure i Correa 1905-1909:III, 345, 353-354; X, 291; XI, 45, 479; XII, 118; Márquez Eyzaguirre 1935:185; Navarro 1924:11, 23; Ortiz 1961:54; Reclus 1894-1895:I, 246; Reyna 1942:37, 46-47; Tessmann 1928:11; Touchaux 1908:132; Tovar 1966:204. The term with something of its original meaning is reported for one Tropical Forest tribe, the Guarayú, one of whose creator gods is called Mbiracucha (Cardús 1886:76; Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927: XXIV, ii, 193; Métraux 1942a:108; 1950:62; Pierini 1910:704; Steward 1946-1959:III, 437).

[145]Acosta 1954:142; Avila 1939:80; Cieza de León 1959:336; Cobo 1956:II, 150, 188; Gómara 1946:233; Morúa 1946:9; Santillan 1927:30; Zárate 1968:48, 116; see also Steward 1946-1959:II, 293n.; Tschudi 1847:144.

[146]The Mashco are reported to believe in a deity that supports the earth and whose movements cause earth tremors, but the name of this deity is entirely different (Alvarez 1956-1957:XXXVII, 211). Given the relationship between *Pačákama* and *Avíreri*, it may not be

irrelevant that the Tupian word for "tree" is "wira" or "ivira" (Huxley 1957:60; Noble 1965:78; Steinen 1940:679, 682).

[147]Garcilaso de la Vega 1959:I, 130, 133, 135-136, 192; II, 191, 221; III, 208. Pizarro's report (1844:260) is, unfortunately, slightly obscure on this point: "Pachacama means for them the Lord who takes the entire earth." Castro and Ortega Morejón (1936:246) were similarly indecisive: "Pachacamac, which means he who gives being to the earth."

[148]Acosta 1954:200-202; Betánzos 1880:63-64; Cabello Valboa 1951:310, 333, 362-363, 365, 423, 479; Cobo 1956:II, 62, 79, 155; Molina 1943:13; Morúa 1946:9; Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua 1927:148-149n., 160-161; Steward 1946-1959:II, 293; Valera 1945:100 (quoted in Garcilaso de la Vega 1959:II, 94). Garcilaso de la Vega alone denied that Viracocha and Pachacamac were the same (1959:I, 135; II, 120-121).

[149]Cieza de Léon 1959:27-28; Garcilaso de la Vega 1959:I, 140; II, 54-55; III, 229; Gómara 1946:233; Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXIV, ii, 193; Mishkin 1940:225; Tello 1923:149; Valera 1945:3-4; Zárate 1968:48.

[150]Ambrosetti 1896:321-322; Gómara 1946:233; Zárate 1968:49.

[151]Larrabure i Correa 1905-1909:II, 63. Farabee (1922:96) reported the following for the Shipibos: "They successfully repelled invasions attempted by the Inca in ancient times [*sic*], but they were greatly impressed by their civilization and warfare. They think that the Inca will yet return to power in the Andes. Anything they see that is new, strange, or beyond understanding, they believe belongs to the Inca." See also Abreu 1914:422-454; 1938:342; Steward 1946-1959:III, 595, 685; Tessmann 1928:199-200; 1930:149. Myths about the Incas are reported for the Tacana of Bolivia (Hissink and Hahn 1961:459-461, 495).

[152]A similar conception, that of a native culture hero being responsible for the technology of the Caucasians, is reported for the Warrau (Roth 1915:125): "Haburi sailed away, found new lands, and taught the white people all their arts and manufactures, all about guns and ships, and for many years used to send his old Warrau friends certain presents annually, but they never come now—an unscrupulous Government detains them in Georgetown!" See also, for the Mundurucú, Murphy 1958:81.

[153]Mishkin 1940:237; Steward 1946-1959:II, 463.

[154]Barrett 1925:II, 363. According to Barrett (1925:II, 381), the Cayapa also believe in the existence of caves containing treasure and guarded by spirits. The concept of wild animals being the domesticated animals of the spirits is reported as well for the Bacaïri (Abreu 1938:263).

[155]For offerings of coca by the Highland Indians, see Arriaga 1920:44-45, 198-199; Avila 1939:77, 130, 137; Cobo 1956:I, 214; II, 203; Garcilaso de la Vega 1959:I, 143, 152; III, 134; Jiménez de la Espada 1881-1897:I, 207; Karsten 1926:326, 345-356, 381, 393; 1932:145; Métraux 1934:200-201; Mishkin 1940:236-237; Molina 1943:22; Morúa 1946:154, 162-163, 165, 169; Polo de Ondegardo 1916:16, 40, 190, 192, 205; Romero 1919:187-188; Steward 1946-1959:II, 292, 307, 425, 562.

[156]See Acosta 1954:201 (also quoted in Garcilaso de la Vega 1959:II, 111); Arriaga 1920:22; Cobo 1956:II, 169ff.; Herrera 1944-1947:VI, 260; Jiménez de la Espada 1881-1897:I, 149, 207; Karsten 1926:341-344; Lehmann-Nitsche 1919-1927:XXIV, ii, 193; Molina 1943:9; Polo de Ondegardo 1917:5ff.; Poma de Ayala 1956-1966:I, 185, 431 (see also III, 259, 265, 429, 433); Santillan 1927:32; Tello 1923:150; Zárate 1968:50.

[157]Cobo 1956:II, 230-231; Steward 1946-1959:II, 302-303.

[158]See Tschopik and Rhodes 1954:[3]: "The Campas, of all the Ucayali dwellers, have remained largely pagan and independent to the present day."

[159]See, for example, Medina's report (1957:113): "It dawned. . . . We arose and performed our Christian prayers as always. The Campas laughed mockingly." Marcoy encountered much the same situation among the Machiguengas, for he reported (1875:I, 387) that during the performance of a Catholic mass, "the Antis Indians standing near us appeared to make very merry at this spectacle, and their shouts of laughter at times quite disturbed our composure."

[160]Compare Urquhart 1893:350 (quoted in part by Tessmann 1930:100): "There is one characteristic common to all Campas, and one which is hardly in keeping with the current notions of an Indian—a tendency to spontaneous laughter of the most boisterous and infectious description, for the slightest cause or none at all. More than once it happened that, while we were resting by the river's bank, some trifle struck a Campa as being too comical. He broke forth into the peculiar laugh affected by all—a hearty peal, winding up with a shriek. This was taken up by another and another; of course it

grew irresistible, and finally all were convulsed, ourselves included. If any one had come along and asked to be let into the joke, none of us could have told it. Neither have these people any respect of persons, for they will laugh in the face of whoever provokes their mirth. The good fathers of San Luis assured me that the greatest obstacle to be encountered in the conversion of the Campa is this tendency to make light of things, even the most solemn—that he is a *burlon* (mocker)."

[161]Thus, Komémpe could terminate an eruction with the word *parári*, and could refer to her husband as *Tasórenci* with good-humored irony.

[162]In continuation: "Apart from the cynicism referred to, three great, and apparently almost insurmountable, obstacles confront the would-be Christianizer of the Campa—namely, sun-worship, polygamy, and belief in witchcraft. The first two may perhaps be regarded as matters of opinion; but the consequences attendant on the last are terrible."

[163]In continuation (p. 74): "The Campa situation is truly mysterious. With regard to obstinacy and obduracy, we encounter many points of similarity with the Jews: like them they reject the Crucified One." And further (pp. 75-76):

"What has the missionary accomplished with the Campas in the space of almost 300 years? Almost nothing. . . .

"And what is the cause of such a failure? . . . It is the character of these savages, refractory to Faith and Civilization, that annuls our efforts, opposing the diffusion of the Holy Gospel.

"It is evident that the Campa does not want religion, and that he laughs at the missionary, since he exploits him. He believes he has a right to everything, and if he gives something he later demands recompense. He is selfish in the extreme and does not know what is gratitude. And we live among them! And we sacrifice ourselves for them!"

[164]Wertheman 1878:139-140: "It appears that they have preserved the Christian religion or at least some remembrances of it from the time of Santos Atahualpa. . . . Thus a Campa from Unini told us that the equipment from the churches erected by the missionaries still existed, and that it was preserved most carefully by the descendants of the former sacristans. . . . In their fields they plant . . . flowers. . . . All have Christian names and in all the houses there are crosses decorated with flowers." See also Anon. 1888:23; Ordinaire 1887:275; Schütz-Holzhausen 1895:214; Wertheman 1905b:202-203. The use of crosses on graves was reported by Carranza (1894:31) and, as decorated with flowers, by Giordano (1907:222).

[165]This is not a unique phenomenon in South America: Nimuendajú (1942:83) reported that the Sherente have identified Christ as the Sun and Saint Peter as the Moon; Mishkin (1940:236, 238; see also Steward 1946-1959:II, 463) reported that the contemporary Quechua often equate both God and Christ with the Sun; Métraux (1934:200; 1940c:58) reported that the contemporary Aymara and the Chipaya identify the Virgin Mary with Pacha-Mama, the Earth Goddess; in the early seventeenth century Highland Indians were calling lightning "Santiago," according to contemporary accounts (Arriaga 1920:58; Morúa 1946:164; Polo de Ondegardo 1916:189, 198; Romero 1919:188; Steward 1946-1959:II, 295; the survival of this association to the present day is reported in Métraux 1940c:54, 58, and Mishkin 1940:239).

[166]The contributing agents of this notion, however, may well have been Highland Indians, as the original Quechuan name for Lima is Rimac (see Garcilaso de la Vega 1959:II, 221).

[167]Fock 1963:93; Huxley 1957:181; Koch-Grünberg 1967:I, 190, 230; II, 157; Métraux 1950:126-129, 132-134; Roth 1915:174, 369; Steinen 1940:705-706; Steward 1946-1959:III, 128, 145; V, 567. See also Abreu 1938:271; Clark 1953:17; Goeje 1952:269; Hissink and Hahn 1961:554; Lévi-Strauss 1964:269.

[168]That is to say, I was told that shamans made such dire predictions. On one occasion an Adventist convert was sent as a messenger up the Tambo River to call a number of formerly Adventist Campas to the Adventist mission at Unini in preparation for the end of the world (or so it was explained to me). As the messenger passed on his return, the shaman Porekavánti stood overlooking the river at the place where I was staying, shouting, gesticulating, twirling around in his anger, the gist of his fulminations being that if the end of the world were coming he surely would have learned about it beforehand from the spirits with which he was in contact.

Compare the report of Padre Francisco de San Joseph on the state of the missions in the upper Perené region for 1716 (*in* Izaguirre 1923-1929:II, 285-286): "What saddens us most is to see the fierce pride with which a few perverse pagans, and diabolical enchanters or brujos [shamans], corrupt these ignorant common people in order that they not attend and not give credence to the Sacred Mysteries that we teach them, insinuating with infernal malice that they are most pernicious doctrines. And the more to irritate the vulgar herd against us monks, they intimate to them that all their burdens exist because they allow us in their territory and we teach them not to adore the Sun. And that for this reason frequent epidemics consume them, the air frightens away the birds, the water hides the fish, the

earth gives scarce fruit, the forest conceals the animals, and finally that we introduce to them the mortal pestilences that destroy them."

[169]Harkness's report (1942:201-202) of a Campa "curaca" tying a dead bat to a cross of sticks in his possession, chanting over it, and then setting it adrift on the river, was not duplicated in my experience.

[170]Padre García (1935-1937:XVII, 99) reported that the information supplied by his Machiguenga informants concerning "Tasurinchi" was claimed by them to be "genuinely Machiguenga concepts, transmitted from one to another from the first," to which he added the following: "Serious Machiguengas affirm that today's savages are now forgetting about *Tasurinchi*, but that the Machiguengas of long ago knew him better."

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CAMPA COSMOLOGY

> Human beings in whatever culture are provided with cognitive orientation in a cosmos; there is "order" and "reason" rather than chaos. There are basic premises and principles implied, even if these do not happen to be consciously formulated and articulated by the people themselves.
>
> —Hallowell 1964:50

The cosmology of the River Campa cultural system has been presented in detail, and its historical relations have been traced as extensively as the literature will allow. Considered in this final section is the significance of this particular body of information for theory in anthropology.

Very little has been done with cosmology heretofore to determine its bounds, its nature, its contents, and its place in culture. The term "cosmology" is found occasionally in ethnographic works as part of the title or heading the section where data of the same kind as we have been considering are set forth, and is sometimes included in theoretical discussions in passing, but largely without definition or further discussion. It is perhaps time that this useful concept is properly identified and accredited, the place of cosmology in cultural systems established, and its relationships with the supernatural, with religion, and with mythology, clarified.

What little discussion there is in the anthropological literature on this subject has been provided mainly by Robert Redfield and Melville Jacobs, who directed their attention to what they called "world view." According to Redfield (1962:270):

> "World view" . . . is the picture the members of a society have of the properties and characters upon their stage of action . . . the way the world looks to that people looking out . . . the way a man, in a particular society, sees himself in relation to all else . . . the properties of existence as distinguished from and related to the self. It is, in short, a man's idea of the universe.

Redfield proceeded to give the term "cosmology" a very restricted meaning (1962:274): "For world view as developed through the systematic reflections of the specialized thinker, the word 'cosmology' is conveniently at hand." The main objections that may be raised against Redfield's handling of the problem are: (1) his definition of "world view" is suitably ample, but so crudely phrased that it cannot be determined whether he meant the "self" to be included or not, or whether he was limiting "world view" to the world of appearances and so excluding the supernatural (or "hidden reality," as we shall come to call it); and (2) there is no adequate justification for confining the meaning of "cosmology" to the world views of "specialized thinkers." In the present work, "cosmology" and "world view" are taken as equivalent terms, with the broadest possible meaning, and the former is used as the technical term.

The inchoate condition of thought in this area is especially evident in the presentation made by Jacobs (1964:366, 374) who did little more than offer a catalog of the subjects he felt should be included within "world view." After stressing that "world view" includes much more than "cosmology" (which he did not define), he provided as additional ingredients "epistomology, prepsychology, theory of disease, logic, and the principle topics that have been of interest to professional philosophers . . . [beliefs about] supernaturals . . . beliefs regarding geography, climate, history, the zoological and plant world, the heavens, biological functions, health, mentality,

and so on . . . knowledge, excluding technology and expressive heritages such as myth, music, and dance . . . convictions about relationships between self and other selves and the very nature of individuals' identities."[1] This adds up roughly to all ideas about the totality of reality, which is the definition of "cosmology" I propose that we accept. Yet Jacobs' formulation is deficient: in this passage he excluded mythology from world view, and for him cosmology is only part of what remains. In thus limiting the scope of cosmology he had an important precursor.

It was Immanuel Kant who made a clear-cut distinction between cosmology and theology, asserting that the former had as its object the natural world, the world that could be observed, the world of appearances, while the latter had as its concern the supernatural world, the putative world lying behind the world of appearances, the hidden reality.[2] In terms of this distinction, cosmology would have nothing to do with religion or the supernatural, but rather would provide the overview of all it is that science as we know it explores–the natural order. Yet it is in terms of modern scientific understandings that Kant's distinction appears to stand revealed as an artificial one, and the traditional contrast between science and religion to require serious reappraisal.

Basic to the scientific world view is the understanding that only part of the totality of reality is observable, and that the observable part can only be comprehended in terms of its derivation from the part that remains hidden. It has been the traditional faith of the scientific community in the Western cultures that the observable part of reality provides the clues from which the hidden reality can be reconstructed. This traditional faith received a rude shock when the indeterminacy principle was formulated early in this century and its implications considered, for this principle appears to establish that, at least on the basis of existing theory, the reconstruction of the hidden reality cannot proceed beyond a certain point. Here there appears to be a cut-off point that to certain thinkers bears a marked resemblance to the older cut-off point between the natural and the supernatural.[3] As a matter of fact, the implications of the indeterminacy principle may point to an even closer resemblance–indeed, an identity–of the hidden reality of scientific concern to the supernatural of theological speculation.

The supernatural realm of which any given set of religious beliefs purports to be an accurate description, is never simply a separate realm from that of nature. Both are always understood to be complementary divisions of the totality of reality, of all that exists, so that the observable part–nature–is explained in terms of the operation of the hidden part–supernature. The two realms may indeed be comprehended as interpenetrating, their distinctive properties shading off into one another. Considerations of this kind suggest that the distinction between nature and supernature be made along the following lines: "nature" consists of all that is, or can be, directly observed; "supernature" consists of all that cannot be thus observed and can only be inferred–the "hidden reality." The supernatural, then, would include all beings, forces, and properties not directly observed but reputed to exist, including non-observable properties attributed to natural objects.

In these terms, the hidden reality of scientific concern, despite the self-conscious secularity of science as we know it, is the very supernatural realm that the religions of all cultures claim to know and describe. If religion essentially is a formulation of the supernatural and an organization relating society to it, then science appears quite simply to be a form of religion–a very special form, perhaps. The victory of "science" over "religion" in the Western cultures, then, if such it be, can be seen more precisely as the replacement of one form of religion (one view of the hidden reality) by another–and the rivalry and conflicting claims of "science" and "religion" can be seen as no different from the conflicts arising between any two contending religions. The claims of science to possessing the only correct world view, the only correct approach to reconstructing the hidden reality, and the only set of ideas about the hidden reality worthy of acceptance, are no different from the claims of any religion to possession of the truth. Admittedly, in terms of the canons of evidence we accept in the Western cultures, scientific investigation is very impressive as it moves out from the realm of nature into that of the hidden reality. But, in doing so, it takes on many if not all the charac-

teristics of religion. The hidden reality it has reconstructed for us is, it is true, depersonalized (with the possible exception of Maxwell's demon), but depersonalization is not entirely unknown among the world's religions, especially in the Orient (the *t'ien* of classic Chinese religion, the *tao* of Taoism). The very replacement of "religion" by "science" in the Western cultures is highly suggestive: replacement can only mean that both fit into the same slot in the general structure of cultural systems, and perform the same functions.[4]

The discussion thus far is intended to justify the use made herein of the term "cosmology" to include both "cosmology" and "theology" in Kant's terms. In any given culture, ideas about nature and ideas about the supernatural are all of one piece: in combination they form the culture's set of beliefs about all of reality, and we cannot hope to understand one without the other. This holds true whether (as in the Campa case) no sharp distinction is made between the two sets of ideas or (as in the Western cultures) the two are divided neatly.[5] The famous case of Galileo becomes intelligible in these terms: he did not question a tenet of supernaturalistic belief, but he was nevertheless attacked by the ecclesiastical (religious) organization of his culture because that organization stood for an entire cosmology, a total world view that could be weakened by a questioning of the ideas about nature it included as much as by a questioning of its beliefs about the supernatural.

What, then, is religion? Every culture contains a set of features that, in their sum, constitute the religion of that culture; or, in other terms, in every culture we can identify a sector of its total composition to which the word "religion" can be applied. The religion of a culture may be pluralistic (in which case we speak of "religions" within the culture), or it may be linked organizationally to the religions of other cultures (in which case we speak of an "international" religion), but these considerations do not require the abandonment of the basic concept of one culture–one religion. A culture's religion, or religious sector, is a combination of heterogeneous categories of cultural features. It consists, in each case, of (1) a cosmology, (2) a religious organization, (3) the operation of that organization, and (4) a set of associated attitudes. The cosmology, again, is a set of ideas about the totality of reality, including both the world of appearances and the hidden reality. The religious organization of a culture consists of the sum total of its social institutions that engage in religious activities, insofar as they do, plus the organization of their associated paraphernalia (religious artifacts). The operation of the religious organization involves its normal perpetuative activities, plus its primary reason for existing: ritual. Religious attitudes include all those engendered by the cosmological ideas themselves, by membership in any of the religious institutions, and by participation in their operation. This remains a circular argument until we define ritual. Ritual will here be defined as any action or actions on the part of any of the members of a society directed toward or relating to what is understood in the cosmology to be the hidden reality, or any part of the world of appearances insofar as it is understood to possess hidden (supernatural) properties. This is a large order, and it can be seen how religion interpenetrates with all the other major functional sectors of a culture (economics, politics, etc.).

An inspection of the religion, or religious sector, of every culture discloses that it is multifunctional, and we can conclude that it is the combined force of its several functions, each important, that explains its tenacity and its universality. The major functions that can be identified include the following:

1. Religion serves to explain the world of appearances (the universe as perceived and lived in) in terms of a hidden reality.

2. Religion serves to make the universe meaningful by reducing it to more human terms: by such means as anthropomorphizing, conceptually reducing natural forces to humanly manipulable proportions, or (as is particularly the case for science) simply translating its contents and operations into cultural (linguistic) terms.

3. Religion provides for the individual solace and hope in time of disaster or death, and security and confidence in time of stress or danger.

4. Religion enhances social solidarity through group participation in a common fund of ideas, common institutional membership, and common ritual activity.

5. Religion helps maintain social order by le-

gitimizing the status quo and postulating cosmic (supernatural) penalties for disruptive behavior.

This list appears to exhaust the major functions of religion, and the role of cosmology in each of these functions is evident. The religions of different cultures can be expected to vary in the degree of their success in satisfying these several functional requirements. A pluralistic religious sector necessarily tends to be disruptive both for the society as a whole and for its individual members, although if the society is large enough, a *modus vivendi* can be worked out. Science, insofar as it pretends to replace older forms of religion, must perform the same functions. At the present stage of its emergence it is strong in certain areas and notably weak in others. If it does not or cannot strengthen its functional services to the culture where they are deficient, it cannot be expected to take over the religious sector completely.

Whereas hitherto the term "cosmology" has not itself been the focus of any extended theoretical discussion, certainly there has been extensive theoretical concern with the subjects of religion, religious belief, and mythology. That is to say, cosmology, without its necessarily having been identified as such, has been very much the concern of theoreticians. It is the set of beliefs of a given religion, it is a set of religious beliefs although it includes more than supernaturalistic beliefs alone, and it encompasses what is meant by mythology.

Before proceeding to an evaluation of contemporary views relating to these matters, the nature of mythology should be considered, as it has been the subject of special attention in the existing literature.

A given cosmology, as a set of ideas, can be analyzed into two sub-sets: a set of conceptual ideas, or concepts; and a set of sequential ideas, or accounts. In a loose sense, every cosmological idea is a myth. It was in this sense that Franz Boas (1938:609) distinguished between mythological concepts and mythological tales. This understanding would require an acceptance of cosmology and mythology as identical terms. Mythology, however, has a stricter meaning, which is more commonly treated in the general literature. In the stricter sense, mythology is a set of cosmological accounts. To allow an evaluation of the general literature on the subject, and to avoid simple redundancy by equating mythology with cosmology, we shall accept the stricter meaning of the term.[6]

This concept of myth as cosmological account requires some clarification. First, any cosmological account that is not a matter of prophecy necessarily refers to events in the past. In accordance with general usage we can eliminate from mythology all prophesying accounts (which rarely are very numerous), and restrict mythology to the bulk of cosmological accounts, those reporting events of the past.[7] Second, regarding the problem of distinguishing myths from folktales raised by Boas (1938:609) and Kluckhohn (1942:46-47), let us for our purposes stipulate that any cosmological account of past events, however trivial, which is believed to be true, is a myth, whereas any otherwise identical account which is understood to be a fiction, a parable, or simply an entertainment, is a folktale. This would require us to regard the extensive body of fiction in the literature of the Western cultures as no more than elaborated folktales—which would not be amiss. Lastly, it is not sufficient to define myth as "sacred tale," as Kluckhohn does (1942:47; see also Hallowell 1964:57). An allied notion, that myths are accounts of the past believed by others but not ourselves, that they are "untrue" by definition,[8] embodies an artificial distinction that, once removed, permits a better understanding of what is involved here.

The artificial distinction alluded to, of course, is that between what we are willing to accept and what we are not. It is particularly clear that what we would identify as the mythology of a culture other than our own is, for the human components of that culture, history. It follows, once the artificial distinction is removed, that all we accept as history—whether anecdotal or developmental—constitutes our mythology. This is not a novel idea. It is what historians acknowledge when they speak of the interpretation of history changing with the times. Such a view makes good sense in terms of our concept of cosmology: the past by definition no longer is present, and so cannot be directly observed. It therefore forms part of the hidden reality, in terms of which the observable must be explained. The past must be reconstructed on the basis of clues afforded by

the existing world of appearances: memory, documents, remains, surviving accounts, and, beyond these, rational formulations in terms of how the universe is believed to operate. None of these, it must be admitted, offers absolutely unquestionable evidence. The canons of evidence, again, vary from one culture to another; we accept fossils as a certain kind of evidence for reconstructing the past, while rejecting as evidence terrain features possessing roughly human shape; the Campas, as we have seen, do quite the contrary. We are drawn to the conclusion that all accounts of the past believed to be true are myths, whatever the degree of "sacredness" (a particularly elusive concept) they may possess.

Cosmology, as has been suggested, serves to explain the world of appearances in terms of a co-existent hidden reality. More precisely, the two are mutually dependent parts of a total reality, on the analogy of the iceberg, where the world of appearances is only that part which is observable to human sensors, an unintelligible mass of fleeting impressions unless a hidden reality is postulated. Every culture postulates such a hidden reality. The totality of reality existing in the present does itself require explanation of some kind, and a universally recognized form of explanation is in terms of temporal causality: the present is explained as an outgrowth of the past. The Campa data are particularly suggestive from this point of view: causality is built into the grammar of the language, as the frequent appearance of verb affixes translated as "therefore" attests. In this sense, the hidden reality of the past can be said to explain both the hidden reality and the world of appearances of the present. The proposition that mythology has a primarily explanatory function, to be defended shortly against the contradictory view of Malinowski, can here be set forth as a reasonable inference.

The explanatory function of mythology appears to operate in two ways, so that we can speak of two distinct types of myth. One type includes all myths serving to explain the present reality in terms of past occurrences that brought the present state of reality into existence. These myths can be called cosmogonic. The bulk of the Campa myths collected in the field and presented here are of this type. The other kind of myth is explanatory in an entirely different manner: it serves to explain, by illustration, how the cosmos operates. Myths of this kind may be called exemplary: they include the many apparently pointless stories making up the bulk of many collections of mythological materials. Few of the Campa myths are of this type. The exemplary myth, in effect, translates the subjunctive formulation, "If x were to occur, y would or might result," into the past indicative, "On one occasion, x occurred, and y resulted."[9]

The question that theoreticians have set for themselves with regard to cosmology (or "religious belief") in general and, as a special concern, mythology in particular, is how to explain the existence of such phenomena. In general, those of the modern era have suffered from a kind of misplaced realism, which in part foreordained their conclusions. Viewing cosmology and especially mythology as a sort of luxury in which cultures indulge themselves, as something superfluous, not in itself necessary for the operation of a cultural system, they were led to conceive of cosmology and mythology either as fortuitous excrescences of a cultural system in operation, or as serving in a strictly auxiliary capacity to justify current practice in the culture, above all else. These views will now be evaluated, for which purposes, as we shall find, the Campa data prove to be particularly helpful.

The views here referred to all direct attention to Function 4 in our list of the functions of religion. In terms of this function, that of promoting social solidarity, one school of thought sees in ritual alone sufficient potency for promoting such solidarity, and so sees the role of belief as no more than providing an excuse for ritual. Perhaps the most able spokesman for this point of view was A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. The view was not original with him by any means; it had been expressed by such illustrative forerunners as Robertson Smith (1894) and Émile Durkheim (1915). Suggesting that religion is to be seen as "an important or even essential part of the social machinery, . . . part of the complex system by which human beings are enabled to live together in an orderly arrangement of social relations" (1952:154), Radcliffe-Brown went on (1952: 155) to provide us with the following key passage:

In European countries . . . religion has come

to be considered as primarily a matter of belief. This is itself a phenomenon which needs to be explained, I think, in terms of social development. We are concerned here only with its effects on the thinking of anthropologists. Among many of them there is a tendency to treat belief as primary: rites are considered as the results of beliefs. They therefore concentrate their attention on trying to explain the beliefs by hypotheses as to how they may have been formed and adopted.

To my mind this is the product of false psychology. For example, it is sometimes held that funeral and mourning rites are the result of a belief in a soul surviving death. If we must talk in terms of cause and effect, I would rather hold the view that the belief in a surviving soul is not the cause but the effect of the rites. Actually the cause-effect analysis is misleading. What really happens is that the rites and the justifying or rationalising beliefs develop together as parts of a coherent whole. But in this development it is action or the need of action that controls or determines belief rather than the other way about. The actions themselves are symbolic expressions of sentiments.

My suggestion is that in attempting to understand a religion it is on the rites rather than on the beliefs that we should first concentrate our attention.[10]

Radcliffe-Brown's position, that the function of religion is to promote social solidarity, that it is ritual that actually accomplishes this, and that belief is generated incidentally by ritual to provide the necessary excuse for its performance, and has no other major function, thus stands revealed.[11] Some credibility is provided this view in the form of ethnographic substantiation by Boas, with particular reference to rituals and the myths associated with them (1938:617): "The uniformity of many . . . rituals over large areas and the diversity of mythological explanations show clearly that the ritual itself is the stimulus for the origin of the myth. . . . The ritual existed, and the tale originated from the desire to account for it." This indeed appears to be true for cases of this kind, and we can reasonably agree that certain myths were undoubtedly generated to explain existing rituals. The question that remains unanswered is whether the rituals themselves did not originate to begin with in response to already existing beliefs (not necessarily myths). Here, however impressive the point of view expressed by Radcliffe-Brown may appear, reason suggests that, since ritual is always directed to something believed to exist, the belief in the existence of whatever that may be must have existed prior to ritual. Once rituals have come into existence they can generate new beliefs, so that from that point on no priority need be given to either.

Perhaps the most telling criticism of Radcliffe-Brown's view presents itself in the form of cultures possessing a rich cosmology and an impoverished ritual. The Campa case is an ideal example, for here we find hardly any ritual worthy of the name. What ritual exists neither enacts myths nor is explained by them, and relates to only a part of the elaborate Campa structure of cosmological thought. The ayahuasca ceremonies are directed to the minor good spirits; the Sun is honored with panpipe dances; but *Avíreri*, *Kašíri*, the mythology associated with them, the evil spirits—where are the rituals that could have given them birth? The answer is, Nowhere. Thus, Campa ritual does not provide a sufficiently broad base for the erection of the extensive and varied cosmology of the campas. The Campa case demonstrates how far belief can proliferate without ritual underpinning.

This is not the first time that this particular criticism has been leveled at the point of view espoused by Radcliffe-Brown. Kluckhohn (1942:48) had the following to say: "Generally speaking, we do seem to find rich ritualism and a rich mythology together. But there are cases . . . where a ramified mythology appears to have existed more or less independent of a comparatively meagre rite-system." As instances of the last circumstance mentioned, Kluckhohn (1942:48-49, 59, 61) cited the cases of classical Greece, the Mohave, and the Bushmen, and also noted the existence of myths without associated rituals among the Navahos. He concluded (1942:56, 65) that myth and ritual jointly serve to promote social solidarity, and are related to each other in terms of an "intricate mutual interdependence." To this generalization we need not offer objection, except to point out that this "explanation" does not exhaust our list of religion's functions.[12]

In the course of his argument, Kluckhohn noted (1942:46n.) that Boas had demonstrated

"how mythology reflected social organization—*not* how mythology preserved social equilibrium or symbolized social organization," and this, we may presume, is to be taken as a criticism. To digress at this point to consider Boas's contribution to the study of mythology, an important contribution particularly in the area of clarifying the issues involved, it was Boas who formally rejected the far-fetched interpretations of an earlier day, in particular the theories that would explain all myth as cryptic embodiments in story of solar or lunar observations, and the psychoanalytic interpretation of myths as dredgings out of the unconscious. He quite reasonably argued (1938:610-612) that the experiences of everyday life, combined with the play of the human imagination on these experiences, were sufficient to account for everything that myths contain. This view, that myths are derived from the experiences of everyday life, led Boas to the realization alluded to by Kluckhohn, that myths "reflect in detail the cultures of which they form part" (1938:616; see also 622).[13] An inspection of the Campa data reveals how considerably true Boas's assertion can be for a given mythology.

Boas, as we have seen, is included among those who derive myth from ritual—a view which we have called in question—and he attempted with what appears to be greater success to generate myth out of the cultural experiences of the myth-makers. As he wrote, somewhat less definitely, 40 years before the formulations we have been considering, "ritual moulds the explanatory myth, and . . . , in a more general way, the myth is made to conform with the social status of the people" (1940:423). The link Boas saw between social life and myth inspired him to take a further step and to suggest a law of internal consistency for mythology: "When the order of social life is loose . . . the mythological world corresponds to these conditions and the mythology is full of contradictions" (1938:618). Here Boas proposed a very interesting relationship which we might call "Boas's Law of Cosmology" (remembering that Boas used the term "mythology" as we are using "cosmology"). Boas's Law deserves rigorous testing, which it has not received to date. The Campa data reveal only that they would not necessarily fail to conform to Boas's expectations.

Campa social organization is definitely loose—extremely so—in Boas's terms. Authority is minimal, rules are flexible, and the individual has considerable freedom of movement and action. Although Campa cosmology has herein been described as orderly and coherent to a high degree, this is only a relative statement, and a number of inconsistencies may be noted. Disregarding minor variations in detail, Campa cosmography contains one significant discrepancy: there is no adequate reconciliation of the view that the souls of the dead join the hosts of spirits and the view that they are consumed by the Moon. Aside from this flaw, Campa cosmography is a model of consistency. It is in the area of mythology that the greatest number of significant inconsistencies can be found. The same episode may be repeated in different contexts: this is the case for the episode of Sloth, Porcupine, and the sky-rope, which appears both in the myth of *Tasórenci* and in that of *Mašíkinti*. This inconsistency is not too serious, as a Campa might argue that the same events were indeed repeated on two different occasions, or might admit that the episode was indeed out of place in one of the two myths. Another kind of inconsistency, the sort that Boas was referring to specifically when he spoke of "contradictions," involves multiple explanations for the same phenomenon. In three different myths about *Pává* included in the present study, three different means by which he was raised from earth to sky are set forth: (1) he is carried to the sky by a flock of birds; (2) he is carried by his grandfather to the western edge of the world, where he is set on his trajectory; (3) he ascends to the sky by means of a sky-rope. Contradictions of this kind must be recognized (another example would be the alternative explanations given for the origin of death), but we must not lose sight of the pervasive consistency that underlies these contradictions. The basic Campa belief, which every Campa accepts, is that the Sun originally was here on earth in human form, later moving to the sky. What varies is the description in myth of how this came about, and it might be fair to say that the differing versions are for the Campas simply alternative feasible possibilities. This situation may not differ appreciably from the presence in our own culture of multiple geometries. What is lacking in traditional, or indigenous,

Campa belief is anything like the schisms that have proliferated in those cultures characterized by state formation. The number of mutually contradictory concepts existing in our own culture—between sects, between traditionalists and secularists, etc.—should prove to be many times greater, even proportionally, than what can be shown for the Campas.

Boas's Law needs testing. Restricting its application to tribal cultures, it would have to be shown that where social organization is more rigidly structured or more centralized, the degree of cosmological inconsistency is lower than in the Campa case and others like it. Considering all cultures, the indications are that the degree of cosmological inconsistency varies with the degree of social diversity and size, regardless of the degree of "looseness" in the organization. If this is the case, then Boas's Law would require reformulation, perhaps to state more correctly that the degree of variation in a culture's cosmology will be roughly proportional to the degree of variation within the culture as a whole, insofar as there is variation among individuals, regions, and specializations.

Boas's conception of myth as a resultant of everyday experience and the play of the imagination led him in another direction, to the view that myths are primarily works of art—literary achievements—and not only, or not at all, attempts to explain the present in terms of the past. Witness the following passage (1938:611):

> Mythology and folklore cannot be understood solely from the point of view of a primitive philosophy, as the result of speculative thought about the origin and structure of the world and of human life. It is no less an outflow of artistic, more specifically literary activity. The one-sided emphasis laid upon the intimate relation between religion and mythology obscures the imaginative play that is involved in the formation of myths.

Elsewhere Boas was less restrained: he argued (1940:480) that "the mainspring in the formation of the modern tale must have been an artistic one," that consequently the explanatory element in any myth appears to be no more than "an artistic finishing touch" and, as a further consequence, that "the occurrence of the explanation cannot be reduced to a rationalizing activity of primitive man." Boas thus showed the influence of the then-current tendency to give less credit to human rationality than had theretofore been the case, and to deny any significant degree of intellectual activity on the part of "primitives."[14] Yet, a striking feature of Campa cosmological discussions, as the evidence presented in this study shows, is their delight in reasoning—in drawing distinctions, relationships, and conclusions. Their resort when there is any question is always an appeal to reason: "Is it not so that . . . ? " If Campa cosmology is any one thing, it is an impressive intellectual accomplishment, and a testimonial to the power of the human brain even when working under limiting circumstances. The artistic quality is there, not only in the often splendid imagery, but also in such delightful touches as the alliteration in the *Mašíkinti* myth: the repeated *isáátake*, *icáátake*, *isáátake*, *icáátake* (he cooked, he drained, he cooked, he drained), and again, *isaavetáka*, *iravetáka*, *isaavetáka*, *iravetáka* (he cooked in vain, he drank in vain, he cooked in vain, he drank in vain), but we are compelled to conclude that, certainly in the Campa case, artistry is the servant of explanation, and not vice versa.

The interpretation of mythology proposed by Boas, seeing myth as constructed of the elements of everyday cultural experience, transformed by imagination into artistic fantasy, does identify important aspects of mythology, as an inspection of any body of mythological materials reveals, but as an explanation it is far from complete. Boas himself was aware of the deficiencies of his interpretation. He wrote on one occasion (1940:490): "The essential problem regarding the ultimate origin of mythologies remains—why human tales are preferably attached to animals, celestial bodies, and other personified phenomena of nature." This problem does remain unsolved until we recognize cosmology as primarily explanatory, binding together in meaningful terms the human and the nonhuman, the past and present into a unified world view.

The most direct attack on explanation as the prime function of mythology was made by Malinowski. His argument, essentially, was that the members of a society need no explanations, but they do need to have their activities justified if they are to continue to perform them, and mythology provides that justification. Mythology, as Malinowski was fond of saying, consti-

tutes a "charter" for the cultural system itself. The relevant passages in Malinowski's work include the following (1929:540; 1955:108-110; 1922:328; see also 1962:250-254, 299, 303):

> Myth does not furnish an explanation in terms of logical or empirical causality. It moves in a special order of reality peculiar to dogmatic thought, and it contains rather a warrant . . . a charter . . . than an intellectual answer to the scientific *why*.
>
> In *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* . . . we read . . . : "*Myths* are stories which . . . are intended, or believed by the teller, to explain by means of something concrete and intelligible an abstract idea or such vague and difficult conceptions as Creation, Death, distinctions of race or animal species, the different occupations of men and women; the origins of rites and customs, or striking natural objects or prehistoric monuments; the meaning of the names of persons or places. Such stories are sometimes described as *etiological*, because their purpose is to explain why something exists or happens."
>
> Here we have in a nutshell all that modern science at its best has to say upon the subject. Would our Melanesians agree, however, with this opinion? Certainly not. They do not want to 'explain,' to make 'intelligible' anything which happens in their myths—above all not an abstract idea. Of that there can be found to my knowledge no instance either in Melanesia or in any other savage community. . . . Nothing is more familiar to the native than the different occupations of the male and female sex; there is nothing to be *explained* about it. But though familiar, such differences are at times irksome, unpleasant, or at least limiting, and there is the need to justify them, to vouch for their antiquity and reality, in short to buttress their validity. Death, alas, is not vague, or abstract, or difficult to grasp for any human being. . . . The idea of death is fraught with horror, with a desire to remove its threat, with the vague hope that it may be, not explained, but rather explained away, made unreal, and actually denied. Myth, warranting the belief in immortality, in eternal youth, in a life beyond the grave, is not an intellectual reaction upon a puzzle, but an explicit act of faith born from the innermost instinctive and emotional reaction to the most formidable and haunting idea. Nor are the stories about "the origins of rites and customs" told in mere explanation of them. They never explain in any sense of the word; they always state a precedent which constitutes an ideal and a warrant for its continuance, and sometimes practical directions for the procedure.
>
> We have, therefore, to disagree on every point with this excellent though concise statement of present-day mythological opinion. This definition would create an imaginary, non-existent class of narrative, the etiological myth, corresponding to a non-existent desire to explain, leading a futile existence as an 'intellectual effort,' and remaining outside native culture and social organization with their pragmatic interests.
>
> Thus, . . . myth possesses the normative power of fixing custom, of sanctioning modes of behavior, of giving dignity and importance to an institution.

For Malinowski myths are to be seen not as explanatory devices, but as validations for current cultural behavior. The importance ascribed to Malinowski's interpretation of mythology among those influenced by him is considerable: Malinowski's "interpretation of myth was altogether revolutionary," according to Nadel (1957:206). "His signal phrase, 'mythical charter,' has become an indispensable part of the modern anthropological vocabulary."[15] But do the Campa data conform to Malinowski's expectations?

A careful inspection of the entire corpus of Campa mythology reveals that nowhere do we find validations for current cultural behavior. It is true that in the myth of *Kíri* instructions are given for the preparation of *kíri* beer, but the Campas do not need this myth to learn how to make *kíri* beer or to be encouraged to make *kíri* beer. It is true that the myth of *Mašíkinti* can be taken, or may serve, as a testimonial to the powers of ayahuasca, but the Campas do not need this myth to recognize the truly impressive powers of this drug. If these are questionable cases, there are others where no doubt exists. The myth of the cannibal Moon cannot in any way be construed as a validation of cannibalism, because the Campas do not practice cannibalism. Nor can it be taken as a validation of the prohibition of cannibalism, because cannibalism simply lies beyond the range of conceivable behavior for a normal Campa: it requires no prohibition and no validation thereof. We are forced to conclude that cannibalism appears in the myth to explain

the origin of the Moon in terms related to the Campa explanation for the Moon's waxing. An even better example is at hand: the myth of the visit to the Land of the Dead specifically enjoins the frequent burning of offerings to the dead, yet this is precisely what the Campas do not do. Here then we have a case of mythological validation for cultural behavior that is nonexistent. Whatever its origins (and Malinowski is opposed to the very concept of survivals), the indications are that this myth, like all the others, exists as a part of the Campa corporate heritage because it is both explanatory and entertaining.[16]

If the Campa data fail to substantiate Malinowski's interpretation of mythology, as appears to be the case, we may ask where Malinowski made his error. Malinowski postulated that the reason for the existence of any cultural phenomenon is the part it plays in satisfying some basic or derived human need or needs, either directly or indirectly. His list of basic human needs, which he presented as exhaustive, are all physiological: "metabolism, reproduction, bodily comforts, safety, movement, growth, health" (1944:91; 1962:204). Since mythology satisfies none of these needs directly, Malinowski concluded that its function must be to aid indirectly in their satisfaction by justifying in supernaturalistic terms all activities that provide for these needs in one way or another.

The source of Malinowski's error appears to lie in the inadequacy of his list of basic human needs. Why, indeed, should we take that list to be exhaustive, and why should we presume that all basic human needs are physiological? I propose that one additional need be included in Malinowski's list, a psychological one: comprehension. It can be argued that survival for organisms requires a "sizing up" of situations, that a confused or bewildered organism in survival situations is in danger.[17] Cultural systems provide their human components with a cosmology, a meaningful comprehension of the world, meaningful in the sense of explaining what goes on, thus enabling them to operate efficiently and confidently. Mythology is a part of cosmology, and as such it shares in the important function of satisfying the basic human need to comprehend the world in which human beings and human societies exist and perforce operate. The phenomenon of multiple functions should not be overlooked where it occurs, and we should not be led to reject the possibility that in certain cases myths do have the validating function that Malinowski assigned them, but it does appear to be comprehension that mythology serves primarily and pervasively, satisfying that need by explaining the present in terms of the past.

It is not, then, that functionalism is inadequate for the task of interpreting mythology. It is rather that Malinowski inserted an unnecessary stricture in his general theory, leading him to reject explanation, to miss recognizing comprehension, as the primary function of mythology. By removing this stricture, we find that functionalism stands, but our understanding of mythology in functional terms becomes more ample.

The latest attempt to formulate a general theory of mythology, that of Lévi-Strauss, marks a return to the understanding that myths are the product of intellectual activity, attempts to explain or comprehend reality. Lévi-Strauss's approach is rather special and unusual, as it is very simply an application of the currently fashionable computer analogy. To say this, however, does not mean that his views should be dismissed lightly. Certainly the rationale he provided for his approach deserves serious attention.

Basic to Lévi-Strauss's thinking on the subject is his recognition (1962:16) that mythology is explanatory, that it is not an exercise in literary fantasy "turning its back on reality" but the product of "observation and reflection" upon that reality. Another axiom of his thought, the product of his firsthand experience with a number of Mato Grosso tribes, is the realization that the intellectual power of the human brain is not absent or stifled in tribal cultures, but expresses itself in a fully mature form wherever appropriate, and particularly in cosmology. "The savage mind is logical in the same sense and the same fashion as ours," he wrote (1962:268). "Contrary to Levy-Bruhl's opinion, its thought proceeds through understanding, not affectivity, with the aid of distinctions and oppositions, not by confusion and participation." To these two principles, Lévi-Strauss (1962:17, 21-22) added a third, that myths are constructed of ideational odds and ends mainly inherited from the past, as derived from subjective (psychological) or objec-

tive (social) human experiences. Nevertheless, no matter how heterogeneous and miscellaneous the elements of a myth may be, they are put together in a particular way, and Lévi-Strauss (1963:203-204) argued that all myths conform to a small number of structures. Indeed, the illustrations he provided all possess a single structure in Lévi-Strauss's terms: a built-in binary opposition plus an attempted resolution of the opposition by means of an ambivalent mediating term. His clearest example is the Zuñi origin myth, which he interpreted (1963:219-222) as embodying an opposition that is always of human concern, that between life and death. This opposition is expressed more concretely in the myth by a contrast between plant-utilization (life-producing) and warfare (death-producing). The attempt at resolving this opposition takes the form of interposing hunting, which is both life-producing (providing food) and death-producing (killing the animal), and so serves as an ambivalent mediating term linking the two opposites. Lévi-Strauss seemed to suggest that this attempt to reconcile intellectually, in the form of a myth, the opposition between life and death, fails, as must all such attempts to reconcile the two.

Although Lévi-Strauss's writings on the subject are in my opinion far from clear or even coherent, his line of reasoning, and his program for myth analysis, appears to consist principally of the following series of steps:

1. All myths are woven on a certain structural frame.
2. Therefore, we can assume that this frame is the way in which the human mind thinks when myth-making.
3. All human minds think the same way.
4. Therefore, all myths can be shown to be woven on the same frame.
5. The mind thinks in terms of binary oppositions.
6. Therefore, every myth embodies one or more such oppositions.
7. Oppositions are isomorphic.
8. Therefore, the oppositions in a myth are in apposition, and among myths are interchangeable.
9. The mind seeks to resolve oppositions.
10. Therefore, every myth attempts to resolve the opposition or oppositions it embodies.
11. An opposition cannot be resolved in abstract terms.
12. Therefore, concrete equivalents or embodiments are substituted, permitting an attempt at resolution in the form of a concrete ambivalent term.
13. The resolution, insofar as it fails, embodies the original opposing abstractions, and can therefore be separated into another formulation of the original opposition.
14. Therefore, a myth may attempt a further resolution of the first resolution, and so forth.
15. The abstract oppositions involved are unresolvable.
16. Therefore, there will always be myth and myth formation.
17. A dualism plus a resolution constitutes a triad.
18. Therefore, every attempt to resolve the contradictions of the world will be found to take the form of a triad, or trinity.

The final couplet on this list (propositions 17 and 18) was not only suggested by Lévi-Strauss in his work on mythology (1963:224; 1967a:18; see also Leach 1967:4-5), but also in his work on kinship (1963:132-163), where he attempted to demonstrate that dual organizations are triadic. Whatever the merits of Lévi-Strauss's approach to mythology, I believe it is clear that in his fascination with diads and triads he has moved dangerously close to cabalistic numerology. We are reminded of Dean Swift's exposure of this disease of the intellect, where he wrote of "a Number which I was resolved to establish, whatever Argument it might cost me; in imitation of that prudent Method observed by many other Philosophers and great Clerks, whose chief Art in Division has been, to grow fond of some proper mystical Number, which their Imaginations have rendered Sacred, to a Degree that they force common Reason to find room for it in every part of Nature; reducing, including, and adjusting every *Genus* and *Species* within that Compass, by coupling some against their Wills, and banishing others at any Rate."[18]

It is too early to evaluate the importance of Lévi-Strauss's work in any definitive way, and it may be that we are here standing before a major contribution to anthropological theory. Perhaps the fairest judgment that can be made at this

time is that much of what he has to say appears to be sound, but caution should be exercised in accepting his total approach as both correct and sufficient. In the list presented above, it might be noted that all the odd-numbered propositions are unobjectionable (proposition 3, for example, simply states that basic axiom of anthropology, the psychic unity of mankind). On the other hand, some of the even-numbered propositions, conclusions drawn from the former, are more open to question. Thus, granted that myths are structured (proposition 1), does it necessarily follow that this structure (which turns out to be a binary opposition) is simply the way the mind operates (proposition 2)? An alternative explanation would be that oppositions simply exist in the observable world, and in this way enter into human thought about the world and its formation. Again, granting the psychic unity of mankind (proposition 3), does it necessarily follow that myths all conform to a single or small number of basic structures (proposition 4)? Proposition 4 may be true, but it needs to be established on an empirical basis, because proposition 3 does not rule out all other possibilities. Granted that the human mind is capable of discriminating opposites (proposition 5), it does not necessarily follow that a binary opposition is included in every myth (proposition 6), or that, where it can be detected, it is the primary concern of the myth. The rest of the even-numbered propositions are acceptably reasonable, if we accept propositions 2, 4, and 6; these, therefore, are the critical ones.[19]

In effect, in the observable world there are oppositions, very obvious ones, such as life-death, male-female, human-nonhuman, up-down, and so forth, and the empirical evidence demonstrates convincingly that they are recognized in all cultures, but that every myth must by its very nature be built around such an opposition is not at all self-evident, nor has it as yet been established empirically. If this last proposition can be established, Lévi-Strauss must be credited with an important discovery. There would still remain, however, the question of whether there is not more to mythology than Lévi-Strauss's approach can tell us. Another consideration calls for attention in this connection: In conformity with Lévi-Strauss's approach, a myth may be analyzed as containing, for example, the life-death opposition. According to Lévi-Strauss, it is the opposition between life and death that has captured the imagination of the myth-maker in such a case. Yet we may well ask whether it is this opposition between life and death that is the object of concern, or whether it is not rather death itself, that terrible and unacceptable condition, that is being scrutinized. "According to Schopenhauer," wrote Sigmund Freud (1938:874-875) approvingly, "the problem of death stands at the beginning of every philosophy," and certainly no mythology fails to attend to this problem. But it is the problem of death and not the problem of life versus death that, it might be suggested, is being attended to.

What would be a suitable test for Lévi-Strauss's theory? It comes to mind that if a single myth can be shown to lack a binary opposition, Lévi-Strauss's theory falls. Nevertheless, if such a myth, or a number of such myths, could be found and presented, Lévi-Strauss's defense might take one of two forms: either that we simply have not penetrated deeply enough into the myth to find the binary opposition embedded in it, or else that such myths simply conform to another pattern, a nonbinary one, because Lévi-Strauss does speak of more than one structure for myth (although all his examples are interpreted as binary in one way or another). Lévi-Strauss provided himself with these two routes of escape to evade the consequences of contradictory evidence. But let us focus on the approach to the analysis of myth specifically advocated by Lévi-Strauss, and perform the following experiment: analyzing a representative cosmogonic myth and a representative exemplary myth from the Campa corpus in Lévi-Straussian terms, then in alternative terms provided by me.

Let us first consider a Campa cosmogonic myth that is simple, clear, and amenable to analysis in Lévi-Strauss's terms—the myth of *Oáti* (see above, pages 352-356). This myth can be summarized as follows:

(1) *Oáti* visits his sister. (2) He asks her for maize seed to plant a garden. (3) She gives him a sufficient amount. (4) Later he returns and makes the same request, which again is granted. (5) His sister becomes suspicious. (6) She travels to see what he is doing with her seed. (7) She

finds him popping and eating the corn instead of planting it. (8) She returns home. (9) She revisits her brother. (10) She now finds him roasting and eating her corn. (11) She steps forth and confronts him. (12) He is shamed. (13) Out of shame, he is transformed into the animal *oáti* (*Galictis barbara*). (14) His fields are transformed into grasslands of the sort found in Campa territory. (15) As a former cultivator, it is *oáti* that plants papaya trees. (16) This explains the appearance of papaya trees in cultivated areas without being cultivated, and the preference of *oáti* for papaya fruit.

Lévi-Straussian Analysis. This myth is constructed on the framework of the opposition between the human and the nonhuman (or between culture and nature). What it is that Lévi-Strauss would select as the ambivalent mediating term is uncertain, but three possibilities might be considered: (1) The ambivalent mediator is *oáti*, which in nonhuman form is credited with the human attribute of cultivation, and in former human form is guilty of nonhuman behavior (not planting). However, former-*oáti* (human) and present-*oáti* (nonhuman) may alternatively be taken as the concrete presentation in the myth of the abstract human-nonhuman dualism itself. (2) The ambivalent mediating term is the transformation that takes place, this being the link between *oáti*-as-human and *oáti*-as-nonhuman. However, the transformation itself is not ambivalent–does not embody properties of the two opposing poles of the dualism–and is simply neutral. (3) The ambivalent mediating term is what caused the transformation–the wrongdoing of *Oáti*, consisting of improvidence, self-gratification, theft–actions that are at once cultural (within the range of human behavior) and anti-cultural (improper for a human component of the culture). This third possibility seems to fit Lévi-Strauss's concept of a mediating term best.

Critique. The implication of Lévi-Strauss's approach to the analysis of myth is that any given myth is generated out of its structure, and that this indeed was the way in which the myth was formed: "Mythical thought always progresses from the awareness of oppositions toward their resolution" (1963:224). In this case, attempting to resolve the opposition between the human and the nonhuman, and selecting the ambivalent action of improvidence in the matter of cultivation, the myth-maker was led to search for some nonhuman form having something in common with man-as-cultivator, and decided upon *oáti* because that animal is believed to cultivate papaya. This is a possible sequence of events, but is it reasonable? If we take myths as attempting, not to resolve oppositions, but to explain important or unusual features of the world lived in (in either a cosmogonic or exemplary manner) and if, in this case, we follow the mode of reasoning characteristic of the Campas and expressed in their verbal formulations, we can hypothecate a different chain of events leading up to the final form of the myth.

Alternative Analysis. Let us consider what this chain of events might have been. If the *oáti* myth is indeed intended to explain rather than resolve, it is clear that the myth is intended to explain two related facts: (1) *oáti* are particularly fond of eating papaya fruit; and (2) papaya trees do not grow in the wild, but in cultivated places, without themselves being planted or tended by any human agent. For the Campa, there can be only one meaningful explanation for this peculiar set of circumstances: papaya are cultivated by *oáti*. This, of course, is only possible on the presupposition that animals can have human characteristics or, perhaps more precisely, analogs thereof. This is exactly what the Campas do presuppose, and it is a presupposition that, insofar as it anthropomorphizes, serves in itself to reduce the gap between the human and the nonhuman, "resolving" the opposition to that extent more satisfactorily than any myth built on the Lévi-Straussian model.

If the animal *oáti* cultivates papaya, i.e., possesses a human behavioral characteristic or its analog, then (as the Campas reason) *oáti* must formerly have been human, i.e., the first *oáti* must have been a transformed human being–and the human characteristic carried over from that condition was significantly involved in the circumstance of the transformation. This step in reasoning presupposes a former human condition for every nonhuman category to which there are any grounds for attributing some human characteristic or analog thereof. This presumption further serves to resolve the human-nonhuman opposition by generating one out of the other. Why the Campas should seek to generate all that

is nonhuman (or as much as possible) out of the human is unclear, but they do, and it is a basic postulate of their system of thought. Given the natural anthropocentrism of man, perhaps it is not this postulate but any alternative comprehension that requires special explanation.

We now have *Oáti* in human form, and a cultivator, existing at some time in the past and destined to be transformed into an animal. Why will he be transformed? An inspection of all the Campa cosmogonic myths suggests that we can distinguish between a primary transformation and one or more subsidiary transformations in each of the terrestrial transformation myths. In each case, the primary transformation is the consequence of some act of wrongdoing on the part of whoever is transformed.[20] Therefore, if *Oáti* is to be transformed, it must be in punishment for some act of wrongdoing related to his activities as a cultivator. The most elemental fault that any cultivator can commit is consuming the seed reserved for planting. This is what *Oáti* does. The plant selected by the myth-maker is maize, which grows from seed. The other major crop, manioc, is grown from cuttings–and not to plant them would be simple laziness rather than improvident self-gratification, nor would it be possible to generate the rest of the myth on this basis.

If *Oáti* is to be transformed for wrongdoing as a cultivator, he must be transformed by a transformer-deity or else auto-transformed; these are the two possibilities allowed by the Campa system of thought. For him to be transformed by a deity, it would have to be *Avíreri* (rather than *Pává*, whose transformations all fall within a certain restricted compass that would exclude the *oáti* situation),[21] and *Avíreri* transforms at the sight of obvious wrongdoing while passing by, in the majority of cases. As *Avíreri* could not, passing by, deduce from *Oáti*'s eating corn that he was consuming seed for planting, it would be unreasonable to attribute the transformation to *Avíreri*. This leaves the other alternative: auto-transformation.

Auto-transformation in the case of a primary transformation is the consequence of an overwhelming feeling of shame, when the wrongdoer is confronted by other members of the society and realizes that he has been discovered. Who will confront *Oáti*, and why? A good reason for the confrontation is that the seed that *Oáti* is misusing belongs to the confronter, which will explain the confronter's indignation (a necessary feature). From whom, then, does *Oáti* obtain seed for planting, only to consume it instead? The simplest solution here would be a single person, a close relative, and one with whom relations are ambivalent (as the confronter must first be willing to give seed on a kinship basis, and later become indignant about its misuse). The person who perhaps fits this description best is a sister.

The peculiar ambivalence that exists in Campa society between brother and sister, particularly as it is expressed in their mythology, deserves mention in this connection. Brothers and sisters are very close–as, for example, *Pává* and his sister in the jaguar myth summarized above (page 483), wherein the two are virtually merged, or *Avíreri*'s constant visiting of his sisters–but the possibility of rupture arises when a sister has sons. The antagonism of a man toward his sister's sons is very strongly emphasized in Campa mythology, and the motherly love of his sister toward them can only result in a brother-sister rift if he injures them. This, it may be recalled, occurs in the case of *Kašíri* and *Avíreri*. The reasons for the antagonism of a man toward his sister's sons, I might suggest, are the following: (1) a man's sister's sons marry his daughters, to whom he is strongly attached, and (2) he is the butt of joking relations with his sister's sons, who constantly badger him about his daughters (if they are not yet married to them). How strongly a man is attached to his daughter is suggested in the solar myth presented above wherein the grandfather of the Sun becomes angry at him for burning his mother (the grandfather's daughter) to death (page 373). This anger would otherwise be inexplicable given another characteristic of the mythologically idealized kinship organization of the Campas: grandfather and grandson are identical (equivalence of alternate generations), so that *Avíreri* and his grandson are inseparable and mirror each other (in a version referred to but not given in the section setting forth the *Avíreri* cycle, the two are merged into one figure) and, in the solar myth here being considered, the Sun is finally accompanied up to the sky by his grandfather, suggesting mergence.

The clear parallel between a woman sending her sons to or with her brother, who does them

injury, in the myths of *Kaširi* and *Avíreri*, and a woman sending her seed for planting off with her brother, who misuses the seed (consuming it as *Kašíri* does his nephews), suggests that we have a basic structural element of Campa myth construction.[22] *Oáti*'s sister, then, provides him with maize seed for planting when he comes to her and requests it of her. She becomes suspicious when he returns for more because she gave him enough the first time. She goes to find out what is happening. What she encounters is a perceptual extravaganza—an artistic touch that is a delight to all hearers—corn popping and flying through the air, caught in flight and devoured by the ecstatic *Oáti*. She leaves and returns, only to find him now busily roasting and husking her maize to eat it. This confirms her first impression.[23] She confronts *Oáti* who, overwhelmed by shame, is auto-transformed into a creature that still pursues cultivating habits to this day (planting the papaya trees that grow in the Campas' plantations).

Cultivation itself can only remind anyone familiar with Campa territory of the stretches of grassland so resembling cleared fields that dot the countryside. Because cultivation is the touchstone of this particular myth, it is used to explain these grasslands as well; they are the transformed gardens of *Oáti*, which he never finished planting. Whether the *kešípiki* mentioned in the text as a grassland plant bears any resemblance to maize, from which it was transformed in the general denouement, is uncertain (a specimen was not obtained), but if so we would have a stronger reason for the selection of maize as the plant included in the myth. At any rate, this creation of the grasslands is an instance of a subsidiary transformation that is not itself a penalty-transformation; rather, it connects two things resembling each other in some way, one of which is somehow involved in the events of the myth. As the myth is narrated, it is indeed possible that the desire to explain the existence of grasslands resembling cleared fields first stimulated the chain of reasoning leading to the formulation of this myth. If so, the initial links in that chain would have taken the following form: grasslands resembling cleared fields must have been fields cleared for cultivation formerly; they must have been transformed when their cultivator was; their cultivator must have been transformed into a nonhuman being that still "cultivates"; the animal *oáti* fits this description because it "cultivates" papaya. The logic involved here is not too different from that of recent geographers who see wild grasslands as the consequences of earlier human action.

I have reconstructed the *Oáti* myth in every detail from an initial observation of certain unusual features of nature and an attempt to explain them, in accordance with certain basic understandings of how things are related, how they came into being, and how they behave. In the course of this analysis, binary yes-no decisions had to be made. This being so, it may be possible that a computer could be programmed with no great difficulty to produce Campa-like myths indistinguishable from the original models. But it should be noted that when we analyze a myth as we have analyzed the *Oáti* myth, Lévi-Strauss's central binary opposition and ambivalent mediating term somehow drop out of sight, and nowhere appear as critical for an understanding of the myth. Certainly, the *Oáti* myth presupposes the recognition of a difference between the human and the nonhuman (and a number of items might be construed as mediating terms in one sense or another), but a great deal besides is presupposed, and must be, to generate this myth. With respect to all that is involved, the human-nonhuman opposition is relatively insignificant, and remains only one of the considerations in the mental background.

If an analysis and comparison of this kind is not sufficient to allow a definite evaluation of Lévi-Strauss's approach to myth analysis, it might be helpful to consider another of the cosmogonic myths in the Campa repertory, one where we can raise the question of whether Lévi-Strauss's approach applies at all. Let us consider the episode of the water sprite and *Kíri* in the *Avíreri* cycle presented above (pages 319-322)—a self-contained myth, although included in the *Avíreri* corpus. A summary of the myth might proceed as follows:

(1) *Avíreri* is asleep. (2) *Avíreri*'s grandson near the river is swallowed by a water sprite. (3) *Avíreri* awakens and calls for his grandson but hears no reply. (4) Finally, *Avíreri* hears his grandson faintly and goes in search of him. (5)

Avíreri encounters the sprite at a distance downriver. (6) *Avíreri* rescues his grandson by diving into the river and wresting the boy from the sprite's maw. (7) *Avíreri* then hauls the sprite onto the river bank and begins to slice it up. (8) Bees come and gnaw at the slices. (9) A passerby tells *Avíreri* to stop, which he does. (10) The partially sliced and gnawed sprite is transformed to stone. (11) The petrified sprite can still be seen on the Tambo River below *Anapáti*.

Lévi-Straussian Analysis. We must first determine the primary binary opposition on which this myth is built. Is it the opposition of human versus nonhuman, culture versus nature, life versus death (or live versus dead), good versus evil, land versus water, organic versus mineral (or action versus petrification)? All these distinctions are made in the course of the myth, but none of them appears to be primary either in the sense that it is the point of the myth or in the sense that it structures or generates the myth. Nor can we find any attempt at resolution of any opposition in the myth. If the myth makes any contrastive point, it is that *Avíreri*'s grandson survived his ordeal only because of his superhuman powers, which suggests that the primary opposition here is that of human versus superhuman. Yet only one pole of this opposition is represented in the myth. No human beings (mere mortals) appear in the myth to represent the opposite pole. And, again, no attempt at resolution of the opposition in terms of an ambivalent mediating term is discernible.

Critique. No amount of crushing, twisting, or stretching seems sufficient to fit this myth comfortably into the Procrustean bed of Lévi-Strauss's mythic all-structure. Not even a forced interpretation like Lévi-Strauss's questionable analysis of the Greek Oedipus myth (1963:214-216) seems possible. We must question the universality which Lévi-Strauss claims for the applicability of his method of analysis. It is not enough to dismiss a myth as an exception to the rule. If, as Lévi-Strauss tells us, the basic structure of all myths is a direct expression of the structure of the human brain, a single exception would raise grave doubts about Lévi-Strauss's entire line of reasoning.

Alternative Explanation. Again let us consider the likely sequence of steps in reasoning that led to the formulation of this myth. First, we can identify this myth as explanatory in the cosmogonic sense. What the myth explains is the presence of a peculiar rock formation at one place along the Tambo River. This rock formation, presumably, resembles to some degree a creature partially cut into slices, the meat of which has been gnawed by bees. To the Campa mind, such a formation could only be the petrified remains of such a creature. It is taken to be a river creature, as the formation is on a river bank. The myth-maker, we can say, took the option of identifying this river creature as a water sprite, one of the many understood to infest the river. The sprite itself is apparently conceived of on the pattern of the gigantic catfish *ománi*, which does have the reputation of dragging unwary swimmers down to the depths of the river. Perhaps the shape of the rock formation suggests the *ománi* (but this remains surmise, as I did not see the formation in question). If the transformation into stone of the *ománi*-sprite is to be taken as a primary transformation, it must have been as punishment for some act of wrongdoing. Conceived of as an *ománi*, the creature must have at least attempted to pull down and devour someone.

With regard to the transformation itself, if it were an auto-transformation, it would have to involve a human being shamed by his fellows (shame requires a human social context). Nor do the Campas consider demons (evil, or inimical, beings) capable of being ashamed of their actions. Besides, the creature is already dead when it is transformed, as it is partially sliced into sections and so could not be overwhelmed by shame at the moment of transformation. The only other possibility is transformation by a deity. Of the two transformer-deities, *Pává* and *Avíreri*, the former is an unlikely candidate. The astral theorists would have interpreted the swallowing as a sunset or the like, but we can use good sense by following Boas to interpret swallowing as swallowing. *Pává*, as the most powerful of beings, is not likely to be swallowed by a water sprite, nor is he associated closely with anyone who might be. The case is different for *Avíreri*. He also is too powerful to be overcome by a mere water sprite, but his grandson is perfect for the part. A water sprite, then, swallows *Kíri*. *Avíreri* rescues

him, then hauls the sprite onto the river bank and begins to slice it up; to account for the pockmarks in the stone, bees are understood to come at this point and gnaw on the slices; to account for the incomplete fracturing of the rock formation, *Avíreri* is persuaded by a passerby (not otherwise identified) to desist; the remains of the sprite are transformed to stone (presumably by *Avíreri* before he leaves). The unidentified passerby is an anomaly, but we can presume that *Avíreri* on his own, being so angry, would not have stopped until he had finished slicing the sprite. The myth-maker, then, had to introduce an outsider to stop *Avíreri,* an outsider who could not be further identified because not even a motive could be assigned to him other than, we might suspect, the common tendency for a disinterested outsider to attempt to calm enraged tempers.

With this we can conclude our alternative analysis, whereby we reason backward from whatever it is that the myth presumes to explain, making a number of binary yes-no decisions among available alternatives on the basis of what would make best sense in terms of Campa understandings of the way things work in the cosmos, until we arrive at the myth's beginning (or initial situation). When we reverse this line of reasoning, we find that we have generated the myth in every detail.[24]

It remains for us to consider a purely exemplary myth of the Campas. These are comparatively rare in the Campa corpus, but not entirely absent. Let us take the first of two accounts of encounters with demons presented above (page 297). A summary of this account, which conforms to our definition of an exemplary myth, is as follows:

(1) A man is out hunting. (2) He encounters a good spirit. (3) The good spirit warns him to flee from an approaching demon. (4) The demon is related to the good spirit as his grandfather. (5) The man is heedless of this warning. (6) A number of demons pass by. (7) The demon warned against appears, carrying a walking stick. (8) The demon uses the stick to kill the man. (9) Another good spirit appears and blows on the man to revive him. (10) The man revives, but his soul is gone. (11) The man returns home and dies.

Lévi-Straussian Analysis and Critique. Once again we are at a loss to decide what might be the primary opposition embedded in this myth. It might be that of human versus nonhuman or superhuman, or good (spirits) versus evil (spirits), or life versus death (as the protagonist dies). Again, it is clear that all these distinctions are in mind, but that none of them really structures the myth. A man encounters spirits and is killed by one of them. There is, however, no balanced (symmetrical) presentation of the human versus nonhuman (or superhuman) dualism here, nor of the life-death dualism. Good spirits as well as evil are mentioned, and we might see an attempt at resolution of the opposition between good and evil spirits in that one of the good spirits is presented as the grandson of the murdering demon (equivalence of alternate generations). But it seems that the first spirit encountered is identified as being good only because he "has the goodness" to warn the man of what is coming, and the second spirit identified as being good is so identified because he "has the goodness" to resuscitate the dead man so that he can return home although doomed to die shortly anyway. Everything leads to the recognition that this myth is not about the distinction between good and evil spirits; it is about the damage that a demon can inflict on a man, and how this may happen.

A final possibility is that the myth is structured on Lévi-Strauss's culture-nature opposition, where what lies beyond the bounds of a human settlement is antagonistic nature. It is true that the Campas regard the forest as the domain of spirits, particularly evil spirits, and it is surely no accident that the protagonist of this myth is hunting in the woods when he encounters the spirits mentioned in the account. Yet demons can also invade the settlements themselves, as does *civáni* in another of the myths about demons (see above, page 306, note 58), and the danger lies not so much in being in the forest as in being alone. The relative security of the settlement is indeed felt, but is largely due to others usually being present there. Even if we accept the culture-nature opposition, which for the Campas does appear to be sensed if not articulated, the myth itself only presupposes this opposition, and is not structured in terms of it. We can only conclude that there is no basic dualism, let alone an attempt at resolution, detectable as forming the structure of this myth.

Alternative Analysis. This myth does not explain the origin of anything. Therefore, it must be an exemplary rather than a cosmogonic myth. It must be a projection into the past of a suppositional proposition (or series of these) about the operation of the universe, of the sort, "If *x* were to occur, *y* would (or might) follow." So we find that the myth is merely an expression of the following Campa beliefs: If a Campa goes into the forest alone, he is liable to encounter a demon; if he does, the demon will attack him physically and take his soul; and, if this happens, he will revive, return home, and die. The other details of the myth offer additional descriptive information about the physical and behavioral characteristics of spirits.

What can we say at this time about the magnitude and merit of Lévi-Strauss's contribution to anthropological theory regarding human thought? He certainly deserves highest commendation for pointing out so convincingly that the making of discriminations and the recognition of oppositions are by no means limited to any one class of cultural systems but rather are universals.[25] Whether any of his more specific proposals will stand up when applied to more than selected examples remains to be decided. The preceding attempt to apply his method, however, strongly suggests that his analysis of mythology is inadequate. We cannot conclude, on the basis of the Campa data, that "every myth (considered as the aggregate of all its variants) corresponds to a formula of the following type: $F_x(a):F_y(b) \cong F_x(b):F_{a-1}(y)$" (Lévi-Strauss 1963:228; see also 239-240). This formula is not adequately explained, but one possible interpretation is that *x* and *y* are the terms of a binary opposition, *a* and $a - 1$ (!) are the concrete embodiments of *x* and *y* respectively, and *b* is the ambivalent mediating term. If this interpretation is correct, the formula appears to be unsound: $F_{a-1}(y)$ should be $F_y(1 - a)$. In any event, we have determined that the myths of the Campas conform to no such formula. It is most significant that Lévi-Strauss in his "Four Winnebago myths" (1967a:21) was forced to abandon his main contention—that every myth is structured upon a binary opposition—as, for the myths he attempted to analyze in this instance, one pole of the opposition is absent. He was reduced to the claim that the group of myths in question "is based upon" an opposition, a phrase which conceals his retreat from "is structured upon" to "presupposes."

There is every indication that most myths will prove as disappointing as those we have selected in their susceptibility to analysis in Lévi-Strauss's terms. But there is the occasional myth that seems to have been made to order for such analysis. In the Campa corpus, the myth of the Land of the Dead presented above (pages 446-466) is a particularly apt example. My initial impression was that the narrative consisted of two myths conjoined for no good reason other than that they both have to do with ghosts. The first "myth" would be that of the nocturnal visitation of two ghosts, the second that of a man's journey to the Land of the Dead. Two separate myths, accidentally associated, is suggested by the disappearance of the ghost husband of the first part in the second part of the narrative. In terms of Lévi-Strauss's approach, however, the two parts can be seen as making sense in combination, the esthetic sense produced by symmetrical balance. If we take the myth as built on the opposition of life and death, concretely represented by the realm of the living as set against the realm of the dead, we can say that the two realms coexist, spatially separated, with an invasion by the dead of the realm of the living in the first part counterbalanced by an invasion by the living of the realm of the dead in the second. The myth emerges as a brilliant validation of at least part of Lévi-Strauss's approach. What is lacking is a mediating term, suggesting that even where the Lévi-Straussian model is appropriate, the mediating term is optional. Of further interest is the explicit statement in this myth of the culinary metaphor which Lévi-Strauss recognized, but only inferentially, elsewhere in the reported mythologies of South America: x:y::raw:cooked, where *x* and *y* stand for the poles of the primary opposition expressed in the myth, in this case the living and the dead, respectively.[26]

This myth, in conjunction with the others analyzed, permits us to make a provisional statement about the value of Lévi-Strauss's approach. It appears that human beings do recognize oppositions, as Lévi-Strauss asserts, although there is nothing to indicate that the human brain is so structured that it must recognize them: we can only say that it is able to. Further, it does appear, as Lévi-Strauss argues, that human beings

do (and so we can say, are able to) equate oppositions metaphorically, as in the notable culinary metaphor which he discovered. Nevertheless, it also appears that most cosmological accounts (myths) are not structured on oppositions but only presuppose them, together with other presuppositions about the nature of reality. There are those myths, however, which do reveal themselves to be structured on some opposition, so that each myth of this kind incorporates two concrete representations of an abstract opposition, representations which are set off against each other symmetrically in some fashion in the course of the narrative (one appearing at the beginning and the other at the end, or in some more complicated way). Symmetry itself implies balance, and balance appears to be a condition satisfying what we may call "esthetic logic." It appears that to human beings esthetic logic is as compelling of acceptance as intellectual logic (inductive, syllogistic, or analogical reasoning), so that the symmetrically balanced myth is particularly attractive and striking. Such myths may also contain an ambivalent mediating term in accordance with Lévi-Strauss's postulate of an urge to resolve opposites, but not always, just as further attempts at resolution may be present but need not be. The symmetrically balanced myth does occur, as the Land of the Dead myth attests, but it is not the only or the most common form that myth takes, and a rambling narrative may be as accepted and cherished as the most rigorously structured account. Only some myths, then, appear to be composed in accordance with Lévi-Strauss's expectations, but all myths are composed to satisfy our postulated drive for comprehension, in either a cosmogonic or exemplary manner. The Lévi-Straussian myth turns out to be only a special case.

The generally unsatisfactory character of the existing literature in the handling of cosmology in general and mythology in particular should by now be evident. There have been errors both of commission and of omission, and we remain without a sound overall theoretical comprehension of this sector of cultural systems. The Campa materials presented in this work prove to be seriously damaging to the most highly regarded of the theoretical interpretations proposed in the modern age of anthropology. Yet these same materials by the same token suggest an alternative formulation, one which accounts for the Campa data and, presented in sufficiently general terms, should prove to have general applicability. This formulation, expressed as a set of propositions, is offered here with all due reservations as a concluding summary of my findings regarding cosmology in the light of the Campa data:

1. Every cultural system contains a corporate heritage, consisting of all language, ideas, attitudes, and skills present in the culture.

2. The ideas in a culture's corporate heritage fall into two major categories: ideas about behavior (normative ideas, or norms), and ideas about reality (cosmological ideas, or cosmology).

3. Every culture contains a cosmology as part of its corporate heritage.

4. Every cosmology consists of a set of ideas about the nature of the universe–its structure and its contents.

5. This set of ideas serves to make the world of appearances comprehensible and meaningful as part of a larger reality, the remainder of which remains hidden.

6. The hidden reality is for each culture deduced from the world of appearances on the basis of what the culture accepts as legitimate canons of inference and significant kinds of evidence, and is further restricted by the range of observations possible for the human components of the culture.

7. The world of appearances is nature, and the hidden reality is supernature, in every cosmology.

8. Supernature consists, for each cosmology, of all beings, forces, and properties presumed to exist, although they cannot be directly observed.

9. A cosmos is the universe, or totality of reality, as comprehended by a culture in terms of its cosmology.

10. Every cosmology is divisible into ideas about the past (mythology), ideas about the present (cosmography), and ideas about the future (eschatology).

11. Every cosmology includes ideas (understandings) about the physical structure of the universe that phase from the natural (what can

be observed) to the supernatural (what cannot be observed), and about the beings and forces, and their properties, both natural and supernatural, that exist within that structure (inhabit the universe).

12. In every cosmology there is a recognition, derived from observation and experience, of the passage of time and the temporal ordering of events, such that events arrange themselves in sequences, each causing or allowing the succeeding event to occur.

13. Sequences of events that are cyclical or recurrent constitute the operation of the universe viewed as a stable system, i.e., the universe will be viewed as stable to some degree, the same kinds of phenomena and sequences thereof recurring periodically or from time to time.

14. Accounts of specific sequences of events that occurred in the past are myths.[27]

15. Every cosmology includes a set of myths which comprise the mythology of that culture.

16. Myths serve primarily to explain the universe as it exists and as it is comprehended in terms of sequences of events understood to have occurred in the past (i.e., completed sequences).

17. There are two kinds of myth: the cosmogonic and the exemplary.

18. A cosmogonic myth presumes to explain one or more features of the present universe by showing their origin as the resultant of a particular chain of events connecting an original or initial situation and a final or resulting situation (the inception of the present form of the universe as far as those features are concerned); where a lengthy transition is postulated, a particular myth may begin or end at an intermediate stage.

19. An exemplary myth presumes to explain, in the sense of elucidating, certain features of the operation of the universe, either in its present form or during any of its past phases, in terms of a particular sequence of events definitely believed to have occurred.

20. Every thing, property, and event mentioned in a myth must be intelligible to the hearer, either as part of his experience or as elements of the hidden reality recognized in his culture's cosmology.

21. Consequently, the elements of a myth are of the following kinds: known natural phenomena, human attributes, material and organizational features of the culture, supernaturalistic beliefs, and moral values.[28]

22. The initial situation, the final situation, and the intervening sequence of events composing a myth must, then, all be intelligible to the hearer.

23. The initial situation of a cosmogonic myth may be different from anything known in the universe in its present form, in which case the formula for the myth is $a \rightarrow b$; true creation is a special case where a equals zero.

24. The initial situation of a cosmogonic myth may *not* differ from what may be found in the present universe, but it is understood to have generated something else existing at present, in which case the formula for the myth is $a \rightarrow a + b$; the myth is one of pseudo-creation when a is an active agent in producing b.

25. The same result (i.e., $a + b$) can be gained by $b \rightarrow a + b$ (or $c \rightarrow a + b$, which reduces to the formula in proposition 23), so that there are alternative mythic solutions to the same problem: e.g., men may be derived from animals, or animals from men, or both from some third condition (zero in the case of true creation).

26. The kinds of things, properties, and events which the cosmogonic myths of a culture explain are significant, and vary in their significance:

a) Terrain features: these are always highly significant, because they stand as material and perdurable proof of the mythic approach to explanation.

b) Features of the culture: we should expect these to be drawn mainly from areas of emphasis in the culture (e.g., in the Campa case, recreation and warfare).[29]

c) Features of existence incomprehensible in a reasonable (i.e., ideal) universe (e.g., death, discord).

d) Anything else that can be explained in similar ways.

27. Whatever is not explained in this way is a constant, persisting from initial to final situation (e.g., human attributes, moral values), adding continuity: the initial and final situations, then, are connected not only by the intervening

sequence of events, but also by a number of common properties.

28. In the simple case, initial situation becomes final situation via a single event–the pivotal event or transformation (a creation, where the initial situation is zero); in the complex case, initial situation becomes final situation via (a) gradual transformation or (b) a series of transformational events.

29. A transformation may be effected by an active agent (a transformer) or not.

30. The presence of a transformer requires the expansion of the formula $a \rightarrow b$ (or $a \rightarrow a + b$) to $t + a \rightarrow t + b$ (or $t + a \rightarrow t + a + b$); where *a* is zero, the transformer is a creator (i.e., a creator is a special case of a transformer) in a myth of pseudo-creation with formula $t \rightarrow t + b$, itself a special case of the formula $a \rightarrow a + b$ (see proposition 24).

31. A transformation may be fortuitous or triggered by a preceding event.

32. When the universe is viewed as moral,[30] the triggering event is likely to be a moral event (e.g., wrongdoing on the part of the transformed entity).

33. An exemplary myth takes the form, "If *a* occurs, *b* will or can occur; if *b* occurs, *c* will or can occur; . . . if $n - 1$ occurs, n will or can occur," in which specific events (or instances) are substituted for $a, b, c, \ldots n$, and the entire sequence projected into the past, as an actual historic sequence.

34. Myths may be purely cosmogonic, purely exemplary, or some mixture of the two; a cosmogonic explanation may be gratuitously added to a primarily exemplary myth, and an exemplary disquisition may be included in a primarily cosmogonic myth.

35. A myth, being an account, a narrative, a story, tends to have esthetic as well as intellectual appeal, in the choice of words, phraseology, imagery, and compositional balance–such that the acceptance of the myth may depend as much on one as the other.[31]

36. With regard to the combined intellectual-esthetic appeal of a myth, certain attempts at myth-making will have "brilliant unforeseen results," to use Lévi-Strauss's felicitous phrase (1962:17), these being the myths that will be preserved as the core of the mythology, while others are not taken over, are soon lost, or remain minor and peripheral.

37. Myths that serve to explain the origin of features of the culture serve at the same time to justify their existence (Malinowski's "charter"), but such justification need not be thoroughgoing (thus, most of Campa culture is left unexplained by the mythology, and so remains without "charter").

38. The primary function of mythology is not to justify existing ritual or to justify current practices in the culture in general, nor is it the primary function of myth and ritual jointly to justify or inspire acceptance of the rest of the culture, although they may do so to some degree.

39. Ritual is of two kinds: commemorative and manipulative. The former is geared to mythology; the latter (magical or propitiatory) is geared to the nonmythological part of the cosmology; myths may arise to explain the origin of these rituals; consequently, rituals may or may not have anything to do with myths: where they do, causation may go either way, and much of the cosmology need have no corresponding ritual.

40. Mythology is a universal human concern and endeavor that develops in terms of its own internal intellectual and esthetic logic, drawing its material from the world of appearances, "the world around," both cultural and noncultural, and is not a simple excrudescence of any "infrastructure" of the culture.

41. Cosmology in general is a universal human concern and endeavor that develops in terms of its own internal intellectual and esthetic logic, drawing its material from the world of appearances, "the world around," both cultural and noncultural, and is not a simple excrudescence of any "infrastructure" of the culture.

NOTES

[1]Elsewhere (1964:370-371), Jacobs presented a more coherent classification of what "world view" may include: (1) categories of beings; (2) cosmography; (3) cosmogonic beliefs; (4) mythological stages; (5) geography; (6) psychology; (7) clean and dirty things; (8) antagonistic beings. It may be noted that this classifica-

tion approximates the arrangement of materials in the present monograph.

[2]Kant 1958:176: "The sum-total of all appearances (the world) is the object of *cosmology*, and the thing which contains the highest condition of the possibility of all that can be thought (the being of all beings) the object of *theology*."

[3]A summary of this development was given by Newman (1963:399): "Heisenberg's indeterminacy principle can be interpreted as a flat denial of causality in the atomic domain. It does not merely state that the causal links at this level are beyond man's power of detection; it clearly implies that the links do not exist. This was Heisenberg's own inference from his principle, an inference to which the majority of physicists subscribed." As Eddington (one of the latter) concluded: "A rather serious consequence of dropping causality in the external world is that it leaves us with no clear distinction between the Natural and the Supernatural" (1935:296).

[4]This view is by no means idiosyncratic to me. Lévi-Strauss, for example, intimated a similar interpretation when he wrote of taxonomic names as constituting "a language 'sacred' in two respects (being Latin and scientific)" (1962:211). According to William James, writing at the turn of the century: " 'Science' in many minds is genuinely taking the place of religion. Where this is so, the scientist treats the 'Laws of Nature' as objective facts to be revered" (1961:62); see also Swann 1936:138: "And the postulates of physics are its gods."

In referring to Maxwell's demon I do not mean to suggest that it is believed to exist, but we may take it as representative of the tendency within science to animate the inanimate and personify the impersonal. The eminent nineteenth-century biologist, Ernst Haeckel, wrote as follows: "All natural bodies known to us are equally animated. . . . The distinction which has been made between animate and inanimate does not exist"; "Liking and disliking, desire and aversion, must be common to all atoms, which can only be explained by ascribing to them perception and volition" (quoted in McDougall 1929:196). The prominent twentieth-century psychologist, C. Lloyd Morgan, wrote as follows: "There are no physical systems of integral status that are not also psychical systems. . . . Both attributes, inseparable in essence, are pervasive throughout the universe of natural entities" (quoted in McDougall 1929:202). Perhaps these statements mark an earlier era in the maturation of science, but it is noteworthy that even today "Nature has remained, in many sciences at least, as a quasi-personified, quasi-deified power imagined, if not conceived, as a power external to the beings that compose her 'kingdom' " (Knowles 1962:15).

[5]Compare Hallowell 1964:58: "It is unfortunate that the natural-supernatural dichotomy has been so persistently invoked by many anthropologists in describing the outlook of peoples in cultures other than our own."

[6]It may be noted that, with cosmology recognized as a part of religion, and mythology as a part of cosmology, it is required to consider mythology as a part of religion. I consider it extraordinary that a number of ethnologists represented in the South American literature distinguish between mythology and religion in such a way as to deny religious status to any mythological being who is not worshiped (Karsten 1926:355; 1964:42; Métraux, *in* Steward 1946-1959:III, 131; V, 562-563; see also Oberg 1953:17). In the general literature also we find, for example, Hultkrantz's "separation of mythology and religion" contrasting with Jensen's "mythic and hence religious" (Jensen et al. 1965:202, 214). Jensen, incidentally, was referring to his major thesis that "everywhere ancient root-crop cultivators believe that tubers originated from the body of a murdered divine being" (1965:214), a thesis that is refuted by the Campa evidence.

[7]An alternative approach was chosen by Murray, who suggested a classification of myths into three temporal categories: (1) retrospective myths; (2) perennial myths; and (3) prospective myths (1960:334). It is the first of these categories that we are taking as myth proper; the second category, comprising description of recurrent events, might better be taken as cosmographic rather than mythological in character; the third category consists of prophesies, which are rarely worked out in such detail as to resemble "myths proper," and may be distinguished as eschatology.

[8]See Hallowell 1964:57, 79 (n. 15); Harrison 1962:327; Middleton 1967:x; Murray 1960:309, 336.

[9]Andrew Lang, who recognized that "savage mythology . . . is also savage science," argued that most myths "are nothing more than explanations of intellectual difficulties, answers to the question, How came this or that phenomenon to be what it is? " (1911:132). These he called "cosmogonic myths" (1911:142), as we are for the same reason. All others he referred to as "romantic myths" (1911:143) i.e., stories, thus marking his failure to recognize their correspondingly explanatory function.

What herein are called "exemplary" myths should not be confused with what Mircea Eliade has called "exemplar" myths. Eliade apparently considered all myths to be both "cosmogonic" and "exemplar"—"exemplar" in the essentially Malinowskian sense of providing a model for emulation (1963:410, 416-417, 429). A more

sophisticated analysis was offered by Murray, who distinguished three major categories of myths in this connection: (1) "etiological" (i.e., cosmogonic) myths; (2) "heroic historical" myths (presumably equivalent to Lang's "romantic" myths); and (3) "interpretive" myths (a questionable category comprising "beliefs as to the superhuman agents responsible for recurrent natural events," which suggests cosmographic rather than mythological ideas). "Heroic historical" myths are of two types, according to Murray: (a) "exemplar" or "eductional" myths, which "excite and orient certain valued actional dispositions, guide conduct, and sustain effort"; and (b) "deterrent" myths, which "weaken or suppress certain disvalued actional dispositions." In elaborating the function of such myths as guides to conduct, Murray came very close to the definition herein provided of the exemplary myth: "By illustrating a basic aimful need, its actuation, and its outcome, undesirable or desirable, a myth presents a model, as does a parable, of what should be done if possible or of what should not be done under the given circumstances. It provides, one might say, a graphic exemplification of a precept, or even an operational definition of a possible scientific proposition: if in a *situation* of class 13, a man attempts an action of class 27, the *outcome* will be one of class 9." This, somewhat more precisely presented than in the original, and disregarding a number of other suggested categories of myth which are of less certain value, is Murray's scheme (1960:306, 309-310, 337). We can say that exemplary myths, by illustrating the workings of the universe, can indeed serve as guides to conduct, but for a myth to serve as a guide to conduct it must first be credible as an accurate depiction of how the universe operates.

[10]This passage is followed by a lengthy quotation from Robertson Smith in support of the main thesis, a quotation that proceeds in part as follows (1952:156): "It is of the first importance to realize clearly from the outset that ritual and practical usage were, strictly speaking, the sum-total of ancient religions. Religion in primitive times was not a system of belief with practical applications; it was a body of fixed traditional practices to which every member of society conformed as a matter of course. Men would not be men if they agreed to do certain things without having a reason for their action; but in ancient religion the reason was not first formulated as a doctrine and then expressed in practice, but conversely, practice preceded doctrinal theory." Durkheim (1915:422) expressed much the same point of view, and attempted to provide a rationale for the sequence: "For a society to become conscious of itself and maintain at the necessary degree of intensity the sentiments which it thus attains, it must assemble and concentrate itself [i.e., in rites]. Now this concentration brings about an exaltation of the mental life which takes form in a group of ideal conceptions [i.e., beliefs] where is portrayed the new life thus awakened."

The priority of ritual over belief is expressed as well by another group of writers for whom all myths originated as the spoken dialogue of rituals (see Raglan 1949a:128-130). This interpretation was summarized by Raglan as succinctly and simplistically as possible: "To all savages religion is ritual, and nothing more" (1949a: 159; see also 1949b:126), a view which, though extreme, is not distant from the conclusions of Robertson Smith and Radcliffe-Brown.

[11]I agree with Kluckhohn's assessment of Radcliffe-Brown's position: "Radcliffe-Brown's explanation, though useful, strikes me as too narrow in that it seems to deny to non-literate man *all* bare curiosity and any free play of fancy, undetermined by societal necessities" (1942:54n.).

[12]Lévi-Strauss also addressed himself to the problem of the relationship between myth and ritual (1963: 232): "From Lang to Malinowski, through Durkheim, Lévy-Bruhl, and van der Leeuw, sociologists and anthropologists who were interested in the interrelations between myth and ritual have considered them as mutually redundant. Some of these thinkers see in each myth the ideological projection of a rite, the purpose of the myth being to provide a foundation for the rite. Others reverse the relationship and regard ritual as a kind of dramatized illustration of the myth. Regardless of whether the myth or the ritual is the original, they replicate each other, the myth exists on the conceptual level and the ritual on the level of action. In both cases, one assumes an orderly correspondence between the two—in other words, a homology. Curiously enough, this homology is demonstrable in only a small number of cases. It remains to be seen why all myths do not correspond to rites and vice versa, and most important, why there should be such a curious replication in the first place." Having stated the problem, he neglected to attempt its solution.

[13]Necessary qualifications of this understanding were made by Lévi-Strauss (1963:207-208; 1964:53; 1967a: 20; 1967b:29-30; see also Benedict 1935:I, xiii-xxi).

[14]See, for example, Benedict 1938:636; Harrison 1962:329; Jensen 1963:2, 209; Lévy-Bruhl 1966:14-15.

[15]This author provided (1957:206) the following exegesis on Malinowski's writings: "There are, to be sure, incidental aspects of myth which serve quite different purposes. Myths may occupy the place of poetry and epics. . . . Myth enriches people's perception of their environment: it fills the landscape with dramatic happenings and with meaning. . . . And myth also attempts to

provide a total story of the world, from its creation to the phase one knows as the present, with its living customs and institutions. . . . One might ask if this is not in part 'explanation' and hence an intellectual effort born of the desire to understand, to complete and transcend the fragmentary knowledge human beings normally possess? Malinowski would argue that there is still a deep gulf between the 'sacred tradition' of myth and any attempt at 'scientific explanation': the former 'does not explain things; it tells how they were created'. . . . And even if there is an explanatory element in sacred tradition, it is only 'secondary'; it would still be subordinated to that other notion, of explaining that which exists today, exists by right—by the right that flows from the anchorage in primeval happenings."

[16]We can be sure that the Campa case is not an isolated exception to Malinowski's interpretation. Métraux, for example, reported in his presentation of Toba and Pilaga myths that, of them, "only one myth can be construed as justifying and reinforcing tabus" (1946b:6).

[17]If this appeal to the organismic necessity for comprehension is not sufficient to establish comprehension as a basic human need or drive, though a psychological one, there is the particularly suggestive evidence of experiences under the influence of certain chemical substances. William James's experiments with nitrous oxide, for example, had results which he described as follows (1961:305): "Nitrous oxide and ether, especially nitrous oxide, when sufficiently diluted with air, stimulate the mystical consciousness in an extraordinary degree. Depth beyond depth of truth seems revealed to the inhaler. This truth fades out, however, or escapes, at the moment of coming to; and if any words remain over in which it seemed to clothe itself, they prove to be the veriest nonsense. Nevertheless, the sense of a profound meaning having been there persists." Similar reports are abroad today in connection with the current interest in psychotropic drugs. I suggest that these drugs do not themselves generate the deep but unjustified feeling of comprehension that results from their use, but rather release it, in this way satisfying what must be taken to be a basic drive.

[18]The number upon which Swift claimed to be focusing all his loving attention, in his introduction to *Tale of a Tub*, was Three. It might be noted that the charge of numerology has already been made against Lévi-Strauss by Worsley (1967:157). In this connection, it appears that Lévi-Strauss has arrived independently (or semi-independently) at a way of looking at things long recognized by Christian apologists for their own purposes. William James (1961:98n.) quoted Edward Caird's Glasgow Lectures of 1890-1892: "The sense of the division of man from God . . . is not indeed lost [in Christianity]; but it can no longer overpower the consciousness of oneness. The terms 'Son' and 'Father' at once state the opposition and mark its limit. They show that it is not an absolute opposition, but one which presupposes an indestructible principle of unity, that can and must become a principle of reconciliation." James himself thought in terms of philosophic "contradictions" and the "higher unity" of their "reconciliation" (1961:123, 126, 306).

Another precursor of Lévi-Strauss was Carl Jung, whose proposition "that 'myth-forming' structural elements must be present in the unconscious psyche" resembles the position of the later writer, except that for Jung these "elements" were not forms but archetypal figures and situations (Jung and Kerényi 1949:99, 218-219). Lévi-Strauss, to his credit, has argued for myth structure but never for myth content as being built into the mind genetically (1962:65; 1963:208). There is a closer convergence, if not a direct influence on Lévi-Strauss, where Jung spoke of Taoism as involving "the union of opposites through the middle path" (1953:205), and of mythology itself as serving to unite the opposing conscious and unconscious of the human psyche: "As opposites never unite at their own level . . . , a supraordinate 'third' is always required in which the two parts can come together . . . reconciling their conceptual polarity . . . a symbol which expresses both sides" (1959:180-181).

Along similar lines, Eliade recognized that certain myth devices "always involve . . . a pair of opposites (like good and evil, night and day, high and low, etc.)," wrote of "the divinity, which transcends all attributes and reconciles all contraries," identified a category of "myths of polarity (or bi-unity) and reintegration," such that "divine androgyny is simply a primitive formula for the divine bi-unity," and identified another category of myths "illustrating not merely a brotherhood between opposing figures, but their paradoxical convertibility" (1963:417, 419-420, 428). Adolf Jensen also recognized the pervasive existence of "concepts of polarity," "the incontrovertible contrasts of day and night, man and woman, right and left, above and below," adding that "true polarity strives toward unity" (1963:152; see also 39, 98, 160).

[19]Lévi-Strauss's assumption that the human mind operates in such a manner that, confronted by an opposition, it seeks an ambivalent mediating term (referred to in proposition 10), is open to question on empirical grounds. William James (1961:306) described the deep comprehensions he experienced under the influence of nitrous oxide as involving reconciliations of opposites—reconciliations effected, however, not by any mediating term, but rather by one pole of each opposition, "the nobler and better one," absorbing or subsuming the

other. We may suspect that James experienced what his philosophic background led him to experience. We may further suspect that Lévi-Strauss has been influenced to some degree and however indirectly by the same intellectual background. But what we can be sure of is that James's experiences failed to conform to what Lévi-Strauss's scheme would require us to predict.

[20]This moral element contradicts Boas's assertion (1940:467) that in Amerindian mythology the moral element "is nowhere part and parcel of the tale."

[21]An inspection of the transformations attributed to *Pává* reveals that they either occur at the time of *Pává*'s ascension to the sky, or punish inveterate wrongdoing (the case of *Šímá*). Neither of these situations applies to *Oáti*.

[22]This presumably would be an instance of what Lévi-Strauss (1963:229) called "repetition" and Leach (1967:2) called "redundancy"–for them a clear sign that some important message is being communicated. What the message might be in this case remains a baffling mystery, at least to me; I might suggest that this understanding of redundancy would force us to presume that every refrain of "tra-la-la" is heavy with meaning. A more intelligible interpretation of the recurrence of this plot element is that it is just that–a plot element that serves as a useful coupling device in the construction of myths among the Campas.

[23]We have to presume that *Oáti*'s sister, on first discovering his activities, was too shocked or uncertain to do anything but return home. It remains possible that, of the two visits, one was in the myth as originally formulated, and the other was thought of later and added to rather than substituted for the original encounter episode.

[24]An interesting comparison can be made between the approach to interpreting cosmogonic myths advocated here and the approach to dramatic interpretation that "involves 'following the chain of causality' back from the denouement of a play" (Pring-Mill 1961:xviii).

[25]In his appreciation of the high quality of tribal intellect, Lévi-Strauss has a precursor in Paul Radin, who wrote as follows (1957:373): "It must be explicitly recognized that . . . in capacity for logical and symbolic thought, there is no difference between civilized and primitive man."

If Lévi-Strauss deserves commendation for his recognition that men in tribal cultures think clearly, even insightfully, we may question another of his conclusions, that "analysis of a society's myths verifies the primacy of the infrastructure" (1967b:45, n. 14; see also 1962:117; 1964:251). Lévi-Strauss apparently was impelled to pledge fealty to the old infrastructure-superstructure idea that sees "ideology" as "epiphenomenal" to what was identified so rightly by Rabelais as "Belly." Everything that Lévi-Strauss has written on mythology denies this conclusion; everything points to mythology as primarily an intellectual activity drawing upon everyday experiences to be sure, but then processing these data in accordance with the intellectual operations of the human brain.

[26]See Lévi-Strauss 1964:178: "We have thus established that, in addition to the codes utilized, which can vary from one myth to another but still remain isomorphic, it is always a matter of expressing the same pertinent opposition, of a culinary nature, between cooked food and raw or rotten food" (see also Lévi-Strauss 1964:172). He gave the following examples: (1) jaguar:man::raw:cooked; (2) nature:culture::raw:cooked; (3) male:female::raw:cooked; (4) water:land::raw:cooked (1964:91, 152, 209, 342, 344). As he could only infer these appositions from his materials, the explicit statement "living:dead::raw:cooked" in the Campa myth provides a much needed proof of his insight. I prefer to interpret what is involved here, however, not in terms of the various oppositions "expressing" the raw-cooked opposition, as Lévi-Strauss would have it, but rather the reverse: it appears that the raw-cooked opposition, which is easily comprehended, has been used to clarify other oppositions, by being set in apposition to them in myths. This is evident in the Campa instance, and also in another explicit expression of the raw-cooked metaphor (supernatural:human::raw:cooked) reported for the Zuñi of North America many years ago (Benedict 1935:I, 185ff.). The presence in one form or another of the raw-cooked opposition in the cosmologies of different South American tribes (and up into North America) is probably due to diffusion, which would also explain Lévi-Strauss's success in pursuing his analysis while leaping from one tribe to another on the continent.

[27]Compare Lévi-Strauss 1962:26: "Myths . . . use a structure to produce what is itself an object consisting of a set of events (for all myths tell a story)."

[28]Compare Boas 1938:616; Lévi-Strauss 1967b:7.

[29]Compare Boas 1938:622: "If it is true that myths are built on the experiences of everyday life, we may expect that the dominant cultural interests are reflected in them."

[30]Compare Boas 1940:467; Redfield 1962:278.

[31]Compare Boas 1938:611.

APPENDIX 1. TABLES

TABLE 1
COMPONENT FEATURES OF THE RIVER CAMPA CULTURAL SYSTEM

Feature	Campa Name	Remarks
	Human Components	
Human being	*atíri*	
Male	*širámpari*	
Female[a]	*cináne / kóya*	
	Nonhuman Components: Inanimate Artifacts	
House	*pankóci*	
Beehive hut (hunting blind; menarche hut)	*pankošínci / pankóinanci*	
Windbreak	*pankošetánci*	
Campfire	*pámari*	
House platform	*šitamenkóci*	
Drying rack	*šitamenkóci*	
Tree platform (birding)	*menkorénci*	
Trail	*áoci*	
Bridge (2 or 3 poles)	*pavíci*	
Dugout canoe	*pitóci*	
Raft	*šintípa*	
Paddle	*komáronci*	
Punting pole	*tiarokínci*	
Pitch	*cinéri*	
Bow	*veánenci / peá*	
Arrow	*čakópi*	
Barbed	*čakópi*	
Multipronged	*cempokirénci*	
Fishing	*kaharapíri*	
Blunt	*taháronci*	
Bamboo-blade	*kapiroméni*	
Arrow-refuse deposit	*tiavirénci šivánki / tiavirénci čakópi*	
Sling	*varakáca*	
Pitfall	*samirénci*	
Weighted trap	*tinkári*	
Snare	*oaširénci*	
Fish screen	*šimpéri*	
Fish trap	*ciána*	Perené region only
Fish weir	*tikáárenci*	
Fishhook (palmwood)	*kacáro*	
Garden	*oánci*	
Foot plow	*ševamentóci*	
Digging stick	*cakamentóci*	
Milling tray (maize)	*pasánta*	Perené region mostly
Rocker stone	*tononkamentóci*	

TABLE 1–(*Continued*)

Feature	Campa Name	Remarks
Pot (clay)	*kovíti*	
Plate (clay)	*metáro*	
Basketry		
Carrying basket	*kantíri*	
Masato strainer	*cikamentóci*	
Tray with cover	*civéta*	
Hanging tray	*cimenkorénci* / *caimáorenci* / *cáátenci*	
Bag	*cikanarénci* / *ciarokána*	
Carrying bag	*cimiánti*	Ene region only, in place of *kantíri*
Box (cane)	*civó*	
Mat	*cipéri*	
Household mat	*šitášinci*	
Firefan	*hevamentóci*	
Feather firefan	*hevárenci*	
Basketry firefan	*hevároncí*	
Fire drill	*mokavirénci*	
Broom	*pišimentóci*	
Baby hammock	*iyáo*	
Dog strap	*icatakóro ocíti*	
Gourd utensils		
Bottle, pyriform	*pačáka* / *onéro* / *čonkórina* / *kótí*	
Bottle, globular	*pahóna* / *mónti* (large) / *pamóko* (small)	
Bottle, squat	*matíta*	
Lime container	*šokonáki*	
Bowl	*páho*	
Men's spoon	*cóta*	
Women's scoop	*cóta*	
Masato funnel	*peamentóci* / *šikootonáki* / *setáro*	
Masato trough	*kahóni*	
Pounder (of manioc mass)	*tinkamentóci*	
Stirrer (of manioc mass)	*páta*	
Stirrer (of stew)	*pišamentóci*	
Babracot	*menkoárenci*	
Smoking tongs	*šinkorénci*	
Meat	*vacáci*	
Stew	*čapipáca*	
Fish roasted in leaf	*akiparénci*	
Fish roasted in bamboo section	*akisavirénci*	
Milled maize mass roasted in leaf	*šápe*	
Maize gelatin[b]	*sopére*	Perené region only
Beverages		
Masato (manioc beer)	*peárinci*	
Chapo (banana drink)	*čápoha*	Caucasian origin likely
Chicha (maize beer)	*šinkíha*	
Palm fruit beers		
Pihuayo beer	*kiríha*	
Ungurahui beer	*šeákiha*	

TABLE 1–(*Continued*)

Feature	Campa Name	Remarks
Hussaí beer	*cirénci(ki)ha*	
Sweet potato beer	*koríčaha*	
Cotton beater	*pasamentóci*	
Spindle	*kirikaméntoci / kirikanetóci*	
Full spindle	*ovavárenci / motirénci*	
Thread	*mampéca*	
Ball of thread	*tankeánenci / mampéca*	
Loom	*tihánci*	
Weaving sword	*páta*	
Heddle	*šimatarónciki*	
Shuttle	*napiviró(ton)ki*	
Men's costume		
Cushma (robe)	*kicárenci*	
Shoulder bag	*caráto*	
Wicker crown	*cikénti*	
Cylinder crown	*amacáerenci*	
Hood	*čovinarónci*	
Feather headband	*kamašiári*	
Feather back ornament	*cataširénci / kihaširénci*	
Bandolier	*canóetenciki*	
Women's costume		
Cushma (robe)	*mánci*	
Shoulder ornament	*catá(ire)nciki*	
Bone-pendant sash	*co(r)ompirónci*	
Bone pendant	*ševatiarénci / sevatakirenci*	
Braided chestband	*co(r)ompirónci*	Perené region only
Seed necklace[c]	*nocanotáro / nonenketáro*	
Monkey-canine necklace	*ahíkici*	
Adornments (both sexes)		
Waist cord	*novacakíro*	
Ligature	*marénci*	
Seed chestband	*nocanotaheárota* (male) / *noco(r)ompitaheárota* (female)	
Cord chestband	*amaitenci*	
Nose pendant	*vairekínci / vaireroki / kireeki*	
Beaded headband	*co(r)ompironcimáši*	Rare
Comb	*kišíri*	
Shell depilator	*čopíroki*	
Climbing strap	*ašimáitenci*	
Tobacco pipe	*poaroncínaki*	
Snuff tube	*asakamentóci*	
Tobacco syrup (vial)	*počáro(náki) / šéri(náki)*	
Lime (for use with coca)	*šoko(páne)*	
Prepared ash (for use with coca)	*tokóra*	
Face paint (vial)	*pocoti(naki)*	
Face-paint stamp	*pocomentóci*	
Calendar stick	*nototašitiróri kitáiteri* (I cut it for the day)	Caucasian influence
Musical instruments		
Drum	*tampóro*	Spanish introduction likely; Sp.: "tambor" (drum)

TABLE 1–(*Continued*)

Feature	Campa Name	Remarks
Panpipes		
4 to 6 tubes	*sonkáre*	
10 or more tubes	*totáma*	Perené region only; Highland influence likely
Mouth bow	*haavirénci / heentimíti / sonkamitirénci*	
Flute		
5 holes	*šiovirénci*	
3 holes	*moriávi*	
Hunting whistle	*motamentóci*	
Signal horn	*ti(v)órenci*	
Toys[d]	*nantavéro / noneacavéro*	
Shuttlecock	*čotankarónci*	
Ring-and-pin	*kentaverónciki*	
Bullroarer	*nantavéro* [no special name]	
Hand-spun top	*nantavéroki*	
Whistling top	*šoronkamentóci*	
Soarer	*nohóneki čakópi*	
Spinner	*nohóneki*	
"Hawk's nest"	*iménko šííri*	
Popgun	*tonkamentóci*	
Clatterer	*tonkamentóci*	
Reed whistle (2 kinds)	*nantavéro* [no special name]	
Nonhuman Components: Inanimate Artifacts (Caucasian Imports)		
Shotgun	*tonkamentóci*	
Machete	*savíri*	Sp.: "sable" (sabre)
Knife	*kocíro(hániki)*	Sp.: "cuchillo" (knife)
Axe	*šáča*	Sp.: "hacha" (axe)
Adze	*katéte / šeronkamentóci*	
Rubber sling	*héévi*	Sp.: "jebe" (rubber)
Metal fishhook (and line)		
Large	*kačááronci(ca)*	
Small	*ompitasáronci(ca)*	
Matches	*cenkirónci*	
Enamel plate	*peráto*	Sp.: "plato" (plate)
Needle	*kicápi*	
Scissors	*tišíra / totamentóci*	Sp.: "tijera" (scissors)
Mirror	*neháronci / amenáronci*	
Trade cloth	*tokóyo*	Sp.: "tocuyo" (sheeting)
Kerchief	*páneo*	Sp.: "panuelo" (kerchief)
Blanket	*pašikarónci*	
Nonhuman Components: Cultivated Plants *(pankirénci)*[e]		
Manioc, sweet (*Manihot esculenta* [= *M. palmata*])	*kaníri*	Number of varieties: 32±
Bananas and plantains (*Musa* spp.)	*parénti / payánti*	Number of varieties: 12
Maize (*Zea mays*)	*šínki*	Number of varieties: 7
Peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*)	*ínki*	Number of varieties: 4

TABLE 1–(*Continued*)

Feature	Campa Name	Remarks
Squash (*Cucurbita* spp.)	*kémi*	Number of varieties: 5
Beans (various genera)	*mačáki*	Number of varieties: 9
Sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*)	*koríča / koríti*	Number of varieties: 3
Chili peppers (*Capsicum* sp.)	*citíkana*	Number of varieties: 19±
Sugarcane (*Saccharum officinale*)	*šánko*	
Tubers (minor)		
Arrowroot (*Maranta arundinacea*)	*tinkóci*	
Malanga (*Xanthosoma ?nigra*)	*impári / mápa*	
Malanga (*Xanthosoma ?nigra*)	*išívi ocíti*	
Malanga (*Xanthosoma ?nigra*)	*ónko*	Number of varieties: 2
Malanga (*Xanthosoma ?nigra*)	*pišiticánari*	
Malanga (*Xanthosoma* sp.)	*coría*	
Sweet cornroot (*Calathea ?allouia*)	*pinčái*	
Sweet cornroot (*Calathea ?allouia*)	*šoneáki*	
Taro (*Colocasia esculenta*)	*pitóka / pitóso*	
?Taro (*?Alocasia*)	*šimpíri*	
Tumeric (*Curcuma longa*)	*maneónkona*	
Yam (*Dioscurea trifida*)	*máona*	Number of varieties: 2
Yam-bean (*Pachyrhizus erosus*)	*póe*	
[Unidentified]	*šóiriki*	
Fruits		
Cashew (*Anacardium* sp.)	*kášo*	
Granadilla (*Passifloria* sp.)	*šimámpiki*	
Guava (*Psidium guajava*)	*tomášiki*	
Ice cream bean (*Inga* sp.)	*incípa*	
Lemon (*Citrus lemon*)	*irímaki*	Sp.: "lima" (lime)
Mango (*Mangifera indica*)	*mánko*	
Orange (*Citrus* sp.)	*naránka*	Sp.: "naranja" (orange)
Papaya (*Carica papaya*)	*mapóča*	
Pineapple (*Ananas comosus*)	*tivána*	
Star apple (*Chrysophyllum* sp.)	*kaimíto*	Sp.: "caimito" (star apple)
Watermelon (*Citrullus* sp.)	*santí(r)a*	Sp.: "sandía" (watermelon)
Psychotropics		
Ayahuasca (*Banisteriopsis* sp.)	*kamárampi / hananeróca*	
Coca (*Erythroxylon coca*)	*kóka*	
Datura (*Datura* sp.)	*hayápa / sááro*	
Tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*)	*počáro / šéri*	
Cotton (*Gossypium* sp.)	*ampéhi*	Number of varieties: 7
Calabashes and gourds		
?Calabash gourd (*?Lagenaria*)	*matí(ta)*	Ene region only
Calabash gourd (*Lagenaria* sp.)	*pačáka / onéro / čonkórina / kóti*	
Calabash gourd (*Lagenaria* sp.)	*šokonáki*	
Calabash tree (*Crescentia cujete*)	*páho*	
Calabash tree (*Crescentia* sp.)	*cóta*	

TABLE 1—(*Continued*)

Feature	Campa Name	Remarks
Pigment		
Achiote (*Bixa orellana*)	*pocôti*	Number of varieties: 13 (?)
Bead seeds		
Balloon vine (*Cardiospermum* sp.)	*mááviki*	
Canna (*Canna edulis*)	*ancíriki*	
Job's tears (*Coix lacryma-jobi*)	*tióšiki*	
Trumpet flower (*Thevetia peruviana*)	*tánoki*	
[Unidentified]	*manirosóki*	
Fish poisons		
Barbasco (*Lonchocarpus nicou*)	*kómo*	
Chirrinchao (*Phyllanthus ?acuminatus*)	*pitíši*	
Huaca (*Clibadium remotiflorum*)	*vákaši*	
Dye		
?Bean family (?Leguminosae)	*oyepári / iyórite oyéčari*	
Sacred flowers	*santótea*	Sp.: "santo" (saint)
?Chaff-flower (*?Alternanthera*)	[no special name]	
Marigold (*Tagetes erecta*)	[no special name]	
Zinnia (*Zinnia elegans*)	[no special name]	
Magical and medicinal herbs		
?Alcaparro (*Cassia ?tomentosa*)	*kacirencíši*	
Castor bean (*Ricinus communis*)	*morínaki*	
Iris family (Iridaceae)	*kentaroncináki*	
Jambuassú (*Spilanthes oleracea*)	*kovíriki*	
Piripiri (*Cyperus piripiri*)	*ivénki*	Number of varieties: 70±
?Potato family (?Solanaceae)	*čaríro(ši)*	
?Primrose willow (*?Ludwigia*)	*kentiyóro*	
?Soapberry family (?Sapindaceae)	*ponkáro / kanirisáma*	
Spiderwort family (Commelinaceae)	*covéroši*	
?Tilo (*Justicia ?pectoralis*)	*piníci*	Number of varieties: 17±
[Unidentified]	*kenáši*	
[Unidentified]	*šimašintáki*	
Nonhuman Components: Reared Animals (*virácí*)[f]		
Dog	*ocíti*	
Chicken	*tiápa*	
Duck	*pááto*	Sp.: "pato" (duck)

[a]Alternative terms in the same or in different dialects within the River Campa cultural system are separated by a slash. In this case, the word for woman is *cináne* everywhere but in the Perené dialect, where it is *kóya*. The most reasonable explanation for this is that the latter is a loan word from the Quechuan, as "Coya" is reported to be the

TABLE 2
CAMPA TERMS FOR PERCEPTIONS

English term	Campa term	Significance
	Sensing	
I see	*nonéi*	
I hear	*nokémi*	
I smell	*nokem(ah)énkati*	
I taste	[no term]	
I touch	*nahériki*	
I feel it	*nokematíiro*	
I am full	*kemá(it)akena*	
	Color categories	
white–very light	*kitamaró(ri)*	
red	*kitiónka(ri)*	
orange–yellow	*kitéri*($r^i/_o$)	
green–turquoise–light blue	*kenáši*($r^i/_o$)	
blue	*asóri*	Sp.: "azul" (blue) (note: rare in nature)
very dark (blue, brown, black)	*kisá*($r^i/_o$)	
black	*pocíta*($r^i/_o$)	
rust–pumpkin	*pocóna(ri)*	
cream–khaki–tan–brown–olive drab–lead	*kamára(ri)*	
light gray	*samámpo*	"ash"
skin color	*akíteti*	
"-ish"	*-niro-*, *-henka-*	
(e.g., pumpkin yellow: *kiterinírori*; chartreuse: *kiterihénkari*)		

old Quechuan term for the Incan "queen" (see Cieza de León 1959:41; Garcilaso de la Vega 1959:I, 127; Poma de Ayala 1956-1966:I, 90-106, 353-366).

[b]There are no special names for other food dishes.

[c]Some men also wear seed necklaces as chokers.

[d]Toy rafts, canoes, and, these days, airplanes of balsa wood are also made and enter into children's play.

[e]The cultivated plants taken over from the Caucasians include some if not all the bananas and plantains (today second only to manioc as a vegetable staple); at least one variety of maize; some of the beans; the taro, tumeric, and yam; sugarcane; most if not all the fruits; the marigold and zinnia; the castor bean; and perhaps some others. Papaya, jambuassú, Job's-tears, guava, and often tobacco grow without being planted. Assisting in the identification of cultivated plants were Dr. Daniel F. Austin, Department of Biological Sciences, Florida Atlantic University; Dr. Monroe R. Birdsey, Department of Biology, Miami-Dade Community College; Dr. Martha Meagher, Department of Biology, University of Miami; and Dr. Homer V. Pinkley, Botanical Museum of Harvard University. Sources consulted were Duke 1972 and Szyszlo 1955.

[f]The chicken was taken over from the Caucasians, either directly or indirectly. The duck, less frequently encountered, can also be ascribed to a Caucasian origin, as the derivative character of its name suggests. The young of many wild animals and birds are captured and raised as pets (*viráci*). One grub, called *kohóki* or *pošóri*, is raised for food.

TABLE 2–(*Continued*)

English term	Campa term	Significance
	Taste sensations	
sweet	*počá(ri)*	
sour, acidic	*kačó(ri)*	
salty	*potiá(ri) / katió(ri)*	
bitter	*kepiši(ri)*	
	Quantification	
nothing	*tekáci*	
half	*niánki*	
one	*apáro(ni)*	"not many"
two	*apíte*	"a couple"
three	*mává*	"a few"
four	*ocipasáti*	"a pair"
five	*apapakóro(ni)*	"one hand"
ten	*máároni náko*	"both my hands"
twenty	*máároni nóiti*	"both my feet"
many	*oš̌éiki*	

TABLE 3
NATURAL RESOURCES EXPLOITED BY THE RIVER CAMPA CULTURAL SYSTEM

Category	Identification	Campa Name	Remarks
	Animal Kingdom[a]		
Game animals[b]	Mammalia	*pošíniri*	
Agouti	*Dasyprocta* sp.	*šaróni*	
Armadillo			
Carachupa	*Dasypus* sp.	*etíni / ašóši*	
Yangontoro		*kintéro*	Never eaten by some
Bear	*Tremarctus ornatus*	*mééni*	
Capybara	*Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris*	*ivéto*	Never eaten by some
Coati	*Nasua* sp.	*kapéši*	
Deer	*Cervus* sp.	*maníro*	
Kinkajou	*Potos flavus*	*kicáni*	
Monkeys			
[Unidentified]		*heróni*	Black and white, diurnal
Woolly monkey	*Lagothryx* sp.	*kamárari*	
Howler monkey	*Mycetes seniculus*	*kenírí*	
Mono blanco	*Ateles marginatus*	*košíri*	

TABLE 3–(*Continued*)

Category	Identification	Campa Name	Remarks
Musmuki	*Aotus* sp.	*pitóni*	
[Unidentified]		*šitóni*	Black, diurnal
Tocón	*Callicebus* sp.	*tokári*	
Leoncillo	*Hapale* sp.	*cípi*	
Frailecito	*Chrysothryx* sp.	*ciyéri*	
Maquisapa	*Ateles ater*	*covéro / ošéto*	
Paca	*Coelogenus paca*	*samáni*	
Peccary	Tayassuidae	*šintóri*	
Collared peccary	*Tayassu tajacu*	*kitáiriki*	
White-lipped peccary	*Tayassu pecari*	*šintóri sánori / piráci / kasánkari / ošeikiánti*	
Porcupine	Erethizontidae	*tontóri*	
Squirrels			
[Unidentified]		*méiri*	Red with white throat
[Unidentified]		*patáro*	Red
Tapir	*Tapirus americanus*	*kemári*	
Tayra	*Galictus barbara*	*oáti*	Eaten only in extremity
Game birds[c]	Aves		
Cock-of-the-rock	*Rupicola peruviana*	*yorína*	
Curassow, Razor-billed	*Mitu mitu*	*camíri*	
Doves	Columbidae		
[Unidentified]		*kanénkari*	
[Unidentified]		*koncáro*	
[Unidentified]		*pamóro*	
[Unidentified]		*potóti*	
[Unidentified]		*sampákiti*	
[Unidentified]		*širóni*	
[Unidentified]		*tókiti*	
Guans	Cracidae		
Blue-throated Piping-guan	*Pipile cumanensis*	*kanári*	
Speckled Chachalaca	*Ortalis guttata*	*maráti*	
[Unidentified]		*sankáti*	
[Unidentified]		*cióni*	
Macaws	Psittacidae		
Blue-and-yellow Macaw	*Ara caninde*	*kasánto*	
Red-and-green Macaw	*Ara chloroptera*	*kimáro*	
Military Macaw	*Ara militaris*	*meánto*	
Scarlet Macaw	*Ara macao*	*saváro*	
Parrots and parakeets	Psittacidae		
[Unidentified]		*eróti*	
[Unidentified]		*kintáro*	
[Unidentified]		*terórí*	
[Unidentified]		*ciráka*	

TABLE 3–(*Continued*)

Category	Identification	Campa Name	Remarks
[Unidentified]		*váonti*	
[Unidentified]		*kaníro*	
[Unidentified]		*meméri*	
[Unidentified]		*paréto*	
[Unidentified]		*santéro*	
[Unidentified]		*čokío*	
Blue-headed Parrot	*Pionus menstruus*	*čoríto*	
Paucars	Icteridae		
[Unidentified]		*kónti*	
Scarlet-rumped Cacique	*Cacicus uropygialis*	*mankóri / kešíto*	
Yellow-rumped Cacique	*Cacicus cela*	*ciróti*	
[Unidentified]		*córi peraperáti*	
?Olive Oropendola	*?Gymnostinops yuracares*	*córi pónea*	
[Unidentified]		*córi sánori*	
Tinamou quails	Tinamidae		
Gray Tinamou	*Tinamus tao Kleei*	*kencóri*	
[Unidentified]		*kontóna*	
[Unidentified]		*onkíri*	
[Unidentified]		*pacíri*	
[Unidentified]		*sonkári / toári*	
[Unidentified]		*šankoróti*	
[Unidentified]		*širínti*	
[Unidentified]		*cióvero*	
[Unidentified]		*čampa^{h}/$_{v}$áti / čarampampáti*	
Toucans	Ramphastidae		
[Unidentified]		*kanóhapa / kaneohapári*	
[Unidentified]		*káonkari*	
[Unidentified]		*kiári*	
Cuvier's Toucan	*Ramphastos cuvieri*	*opémpe*	
Chestnut-eared Aracari	*Pteroglossus castanotis*	*pišíro*	
Emerald Toucanet	*Aulacorhynchus prasinus*	*pišíti*	
Curl-crested Aracari	*Pteroglossus beauharnaesii*	*cemirinkári*	
Black-mandibled Toucan	*Ramphastos ambiguus*	*čári*	
Trumpeter, Pale-winged	*Psophia leucoptera*	*čakámi*	
Woodpeckers	Picidae		
[Unidentified]		*noáhe*	
Crimson-crested Woodpecker	*Phloeoceastes melanoleucos*	*cikónti / čovávati*	
[Unidentified]		*čamánto*	
[Unidentified]		*aríti*	
[Unidentified]		*hóma*	
[Unidentified]		*koácere / kotéri*	

TABLE 3–(*Continued*)

Category	Identification	Campa Name	Remarks
[Unidentified]		*páⁿtio*	
Small birds		*ciméri / cáti*	
[Unidentified]		*kasánto kompéro*	
[Unidentified]		*kentiókiri*	
[Unidentified]		*keríto*	
Blue-crowned Trogon	*Trogon curucui*	*kompéro*	
[Unidentified]		*kovíva*	
[Unidentified]		*mapíti*	
[Unidentified]		*ompíkiri*	
[Unidentified]		*pecínea*	
Barbet	*Eubucco* sp.	*pitóroro*	
Paradise Tanager	*Tangara chilensis*	*pičoti*	
[Unidentified]		*póiriki*	
[Unidentified]		*sóici*	
[Unidentified]		*šakómpiti*	
[Unidentified]		*šipíti*	
[Unidentified]		*tinkári / čenkíti*	
Black-faced Dacnis	*Dacnis lineata*	*ciríntiki*	
Purple Honey-creeper	*Cyanerpes caeruleus*	*conkiriníro*	
Green Honey-creeper	*Chlorophanes spiza*	*coriníro*	
[Unidentified]		*čómpi*	
[Unidentified]		*yopánka*	
Reptiles	Reptilia		
Lizard	Lacertilia	*šííki*	Eaten by some
Turtles	Chelonia		
Motelo	*Testudo tabulata*	*konóya*	
Charapa	*Podocnemis expansa*	*šempíri*	
Teparo	*?Peltocephalus tracaxa*	*čótaro*	
White cayman	*Caiman sclerops*	*saníri kitamorórí*	Eaten by some
Amphibians	Amphibia		
Frogs	Salientia		
[Unidentified]		*héénto*	
[Unidentified]		*hóóti*	
[Unidentified]		*iyénto*	
[Unidentified]		*oánto*	
[Unidentified]		*pirínto*	
[Unidentified]		*copínto*	
Fishes[e]	Pisces		
Scaled			
[Name not available]	*Crenicichla* sp.	*asána (nihátenisati)*	
[Name not available]	*Crenicichla* sp.	*asána (tampósati)*	
Sapomama	*Triportheus* sp.	*kapáraro*	
[Unidentified]		*kapéši*	

TABLE 3–(*Continued*)

Category	Identification	Campa Name	Remarks
[Name not available]	*Apareidon ecuadoriensis*	*kipáori*	
Lisa	*Leporinus* sp.	*koána*	Number of species: 2
Paco	(*Chalceus opalinus*)	*komáiri*	
Paco		*komáiri kisári / savé*	
Corbina	*Salminus* sp.	*kovíri*	
Sabalo	(*Brycon* sp.)	*mamóri*	
Anchoveta	*Tetragonopterus* sp.	*mentiántiki*	
Anchoveta	*Astyanax* sp. and *Bryconamericus* sp.	*meréto*	Number of species: 2
Chambira	(*Myletes paco*)	*savíri*	
Boquichico	*Prochilodus* sp.	*šímá*	
[Name not available]	*Curimata* sp.	*šimamirókiti*	Number of species: 2
Pez perro	*Hoplias malabaricus*	*cenkóri*	
[Name not available]	*Leporellus vittatus*	*ciróti*	
[Name not available	*Charax* sp.	*čakipatári*	Number of species: 2
Yahuarachi	(*Curimatus elongatus*)	*čáopa / čónčo*	
Palometa	*Mylossoma* sp.	*čoménta*	
Scaled, small[f]			
[Name not available]	*Creagrutus* sp.	*aneankóiriki*	
[Name not available]	*Creagrutus* sp.	*kisóitokiri*	
[Names not available]	*Odontostilbe* sp. and *Knodus* sp.	*kisocatékiri*	
[Name not available]	[Same as *kisóitokiri*]	*kisocovíkiri*	
[Name not available]	*Characidium* sp.	*korióviri*	
[Unidentified]		*saaventári*	
Mujalita	*Astyanax* sp.	*sankoáti*	Number of species: 2
[Names not available]	*Astyanax* sp. and *Knodus* sp. [same as *kisocatékiri*]	*tairipéntaki*	
[Name not available]	*Bryconamericus* sp.	*tiáiriki*	
[Name not available]	*Bryconamericus* sp.	*čamónkiri*	
Catfish			
[Name not available]	*Pygidium* sp.	*kirómpi*	
[Name not available]	*Pimelodella* sp.	*kitókiti*	
Conchi	*Pimelodus* sp.	*kitóca*	
[Name not available]	*Astroblepus* sp.	*matéri*	
[Unidentified]		*morío*	Never eaten by some, because of bad taste

TABLE 3–(*Continued*)

Category	Identification	Campa Name	Remarks
[Name not available]	*Perugia* sp.	*móta*	
[Names not available]	*Microglanis* sp. and *Pseudopimelodus roosevelti*	*pónke*	
[Name not available]	*Pseudoplatystoma* sp.	*santíci*	
[Name not available]	*Sorubim lima*	*ʔevatarónci / čovatarónci / kotikíronci*	
[Names not available]	*Rhamdia* sp. and *Narrorhamdia nemacheir*	*šáori*	
[Name not available]	[Same as *matéri*]	*tiotiántiari*	
Tuva	*Pimelodus ornatus*	*titíro*	
Zungaros			
Tongseya	*Pseudoplatystoma fasciatum*	*kayónaro / ióci*	
Zungaro blanco		*kacáro / kitamarórí*	
Tigre zungaro		*manitióci*	
Huacava	(*Brachyplatystoma filamentosa*)	*ománi*	
Saltón	(*Piratinga piraiba*)	*ománi kitamarórí*	
[Unidentified]		*mónčo*	
[Unidentified]		*tóso*	
[Unidentified]		*čaráva*	
Carachamas[g]			
[Name not available]	*Chaetostoma* sp.	*hetári kitetakíri*	
[Name not available]	*Ancistrus* sp.	*hetári cekínti*	
[Name not available]	*Plecostomus* sp.	*kantántori*	
[Name not available]	*Plecostomus* sp.	*kempíti*	
[Name not available]	*Plecostomus* sp.	*meconakíri*	
[Name not available]	*Cheiridodus* sp.	*samóto*	Number of species: 2
[Name not available]	*Ancistrus* sp.	*šímpi*	
[Names not available]	*Loricaria gymnogaster* and *Loricaria* sp.	*copíro*	
Eel	*Synbranchus marmoratus*	*ciríni*	
Stingray	Rajiformes	*ináro / civéta*	Eaten by some
Crustaceans	Crustacea		
Crabs			
[Unidentified]		*ošéro*	
[Unidentified]		*óironti*	
Shrimp	*Macrobrachium* sp.	*kíto*	

TABLE 3–(*Continued*)

Category	Identification	Campa Name	Remarks
Insects	Insecta		
Zuri	*Rynchophorus* sp.	*emó*	
[Unidentified]		*eráma*	
[Unidentified]		*hómpa*	
[Unidentified]		*impíta*	
[Incompletely identified]	Erotylidae	*kahevikéni*	
[Incompletely identified]	Pentatomidae	*kamáto*	
[Unidentified]		*kapóte*	
Termite	Isoptera	*kacíkori*	
[Unidentified]		*kemikéni / kemíkiti*	
[Unidentified]		*kemíši / karía / kariéni*	
Cicada	Cicadidae	*kentóri (kororóti)*	
[Incompletely identified]	Diptera	*kohóki / pošóri*	
[Incompletely identified]	Buprestidae	*košánti*	
[Unidentified]		*kótá*	
Rhino-beetle	Dynastinae	*máho*	
[Incompletely identified]	Lepidoptera	*maneoána*	
[Incompletely identified]	Scarabaeidae	*maneóro*	
[Unidentified]		*masóa*	
[Incompletely identified]	Sphingidae	*onkoráto*	
[Incompletely identified]	Cerampycidae	*parentikéni*	
[Unidentified]		*póko*	
[Unidentified]		*poneáširi*	
Wasp (larvae)	Vespidae	*sáni*	
Leaf-cutting ant	*Atta* sp.	*sankóri; kóye*	
[Incompletely identified]	Hesperiidae	*šankokéni*	
[Incompletely identified]	Sphingidae	*šerikéni / počarokéni*	
[Unidentified]		*šintikéni*	
[Unidentified]		*šintorinkéta*	
[Unidentified]		*šinčái*	
[Unidentified]		*šiópa*	
[Unidentified]		*šitovikéni*	
[Incompletely identified]	Carabidae	*šitovikéni / tontarikéni*	
Cicada	Cicadidae	*šiverekíti*	
Cicada	Cicadidae	*šiverekíti pacénta*	
[Unidentified]		*tineóri*	
[Incompletely identified]	?Saturnidae	*tinkéni*	

TABLE 3–(*Continued*)

Category	Identification	Campa Name	Remarks
[Incompletely identified]	Bhrentidae	*tınkóčari*	
[Unidentified]		*carátori / šipía*	
[Name not available]	*?Eburia*	*ci(r)ontiáiki*	
Harlequin bettle	Cerambycidae	*cirómpe (pérori) / ciró(ni)*	
[Unidentified]		*čako(pi)kéni*	
[Unidentified]		*čarinári*	
[Unidentified]		*čáro*	
[Name not available]	*Rhinostomus barbirostris*	*čóviki*	
Honey	Apidae	*picíha*	
Mollusks	Mollusca		
Snails[h]			
[No common name]	*Strophocheilus popelairianus*	*pompóro*	
[No common name]	*Strophocheilus popelairianus*	*mapóto*	
[Unidentified]		*činčineáki*	
[No common name]	*Thaumastus melancheilus*	*sankíro kimonakíri*	
[No common name]	*Thaumastus melancheilus*	*sankíro irihanínaki*	
[No common name]	*Plekocheilus floccosus*	*cairináki*	Eaten by some
[No common name]	*Corona regina*	*kepišinánkiri*	
[No common name]	*Asolene* sp.	*tiontííki*	

Plant Kingdom[i]

Bark cloth	Number of species: 2
Bead seeds	Number of species: 18
Castigation (stinging nettles)	Number of species: 3
Construction, etc.	Number of species: 50±
Cosmetics	Number of species: 6
Food	
Fruit trees	Number of species: 18
Fungus	Number of species: 10
Hunting and fishing magic	Number of species: 16
Medicinals	Number of species: 70±
Psychotropic plants, etc.	Number of species: 7
Palm trees	Number of species: 15; various purposes
Planting magic	Number of species: 2
Spinning and weaving	Number of species: 2

TABLE 3–(*Continued*)

Category	Identification	Campa Name	Remarks
Tinting and dyeing			Number of species: 7
Wrapping food (leaves)			Number of species: 4
		Mineral Kingdom	
Earth		*kipáci*	Pottery clay, etc.
Salt		*tívi*	
Stone		*mápi*	Various purposes
Water		*níha*	

[a]Identifications of mammals, reptiles, and some miscellaneous items are taken from Gilmore 1950; Raimondi 1905; Szyszlo 1955; and Villarejo 1953. Birds were identified from specimens in my possession by Dr. Maria Koepcke, Museo de Historia Natural, Lima, Peru; common names were subsequently derived from Meyer de Schauensee 1970. All fish identifications were made by Dr. James W. Atz, Department of Ichthyology, the American Museum of Natural History, from specimens supplied by me (with the exception of those in parentheses, which were taken mainly from Szyszlo 1955 on the basis of local Spanish names). Insect specimens were identified by Mr. John C. Pallister, Department of Entomology, the American Museum of Natural History, and Sr. M. Doarojeanni, Universidad Agraria, La Molina, Peru. Snail specimens were identified by Mr. William Old, Jr., Department of Living Invertebrates, the American Museum of Natural History. All gaps in the Identification column are due to failure to obtain specimens or, in the case of several insects, the difficulties inherent in identifying immature specimens.

[b]The rabbit (*kíma*), the sloth (*soróni*), the "small brown squirrel" *patiánkori*, and the "nocturnal *kicáni*-like" *óisonti* are considered demonic and are not ordinarily eaten. For arboreal creatures not otherwise identified, the Campa descriptions of them are given here and in the Remarks column.

[c]Many of these birds not only serve as food but also provide pelts and feathers for adornment, etc. Hummingbirds (*conkíri*, Trochlidae), as sacred birds, are killed only for their pelts. The motmot (*hiríti*, Momotidae), because of its bad taste, is also killed only for adornment. The small bird *mašokoróti*, bad tasting, is never eaten except by some Campas living in the hills.

[d]Woodpeckers *kirihéti* and *koširisoáiti* are never eaten.

[e]Under this heading, in the Remarks column, the number of species in my sample, when more than one, belonging to the same genus and given the same name by the Campas, is indicated in each case. Specimens belonging to the same species but given different names by the same informants, are indicated with the use of brackets in the Identification column.

[f]The small fish *macirénkari* (*Paragoniates* sp.) is never eaten because of its foul smell.

[g]Carachama *icápite keáci* ("water sprite's needle," *Sturisoma* sp.) is never eaten.

[h]Snails are listed here, generally, in order of decreasing size. It appears that the Campas give more than one name to the same species on the basis of a noticeable difference in size.

[i]As little purpose is served by listing here all the wild plants utilized by the River Campas, I have resorted to the artifice of grouping them according to the major uses to which they are put, setting aside only palm trees as a special category. The number of plant species that can be ascribed to each category is indicated in the Remarks column.

TABLE 4
CAMPA KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY
(Tambo dialect—first person singular.)

Relation	Male Ego	Female Ego
my father	*apá*	*apá*
my father's brother	*pavačori*	*pavá(ini)*
my father's sister; my mother-in-law	*áironci*	*áyo*
my mother	*iná*	*iná*
my mother's sister	*mamánciki*	*nána*
my mother's brother; my father-in-law	*kokí*	*kóóko*
my brother; my male parallel cousin	*iyé*	*háihi*
my male cross cousin	*aní*	*nohimecóri*
my sister; my female parallel cousin	*cío*	*éétio*
my female cross cousin	*nohinacóri*	*neátio*
my spouse	*nohína*	*nohíme*
my husband's other wife		*nočárone*
my son; son of my sibling (or parallel cousin) of my sex	*not(i)ómi*	*not(i)ómi*
my son's wife; daughter of my sibling (or parallel cousin) of opposite sex	*(ne)anío*	*neyatayéro*
my daughter; daughter of my sibling (or parallel cousin) of my sex	*nišínt(i)o*	*nišínt(i)o*
my daughter's husband; son of my sibling (or parallel cousin) of opposite sex	*neóti*	*tinéinci*
my grandfather/grandson	*čáine // nočárine*	*nosári*
my grandmother/granddaughter	*išá // nosáro*	*nosáro*
my godfather/godson	*š(i)améti*	*š(i)améti*
my godmother/goddaughter	*š(i)amét(i)o*	*š(i)amét(i)o*

TABLE 5
NAMED GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES ENCOUNTERED ALONG THE APURÍMAC-ENE-TAMBO AND PERENÉ RIVERS

Side of River[a]	Name of Feature	Kind of Feature[b]	Significance[c]
		Apurímac-Ene-Tambo[d]	
Apurímac			
Right	*Mapitonoári*	tributary	
Left	Santa Rosa	tributary	
Left	Luisiana	(plantation)	
Right	*Šamaniáto*	tributary	*samáni* (the mammal *Coelogenus paca*)
Left	*Šankioráto*	tributary	*šankóro* (a small lizard)
Right	*Kempíri*	tributary	
Left	San Francisco	(highway terminal)	
Right	Teresita	(plantation)	
Right	*Omáya*	tributary	
Right	*Čoritiáro*	tributary	*čoríti* (a small bird)
Left	*Piyéni*	tributary	
Right	*Pičári*	tributary; (Reforma Agraria station)	
Left	*Kintiaroáro*	tributary; bad pass	*kintáro* (a parrot) [name not uttered in passing for fear of shipwreck]
Left	*Šávea*	tributary	*savé* (a scaled fish) (?)
Left	Sivia	(Catholic mission)	
Left	*Kempitiri*$^{n}/_{k}i$	tributary	*kempíti* (the fish *Plecostomus* sp.)
Right	*Otári*	tributary	
Left	*Akómpi*	tributary	
Right	*Šeriyáro*	tributary	*šéri* (tobacco)
Left	*Yocíva*	tributary	*ióci* (the fish *Pseudoplatystoma fasciatum*)
Right	*Kéšto*	tributary	*kešíto* (the bird *Cacicus uropygialis*)
Left	*Kataripánko*	cliff	*katári* (the bird *Anhinga anhinga*); *-panko* (house)
Left	*Ompikiríni*	mountain ridge	*ompíkiri* (a small bird)
Right	*Šankoatiári*	tributary	*sankoáti* (the fish *Astyanax* sp.)
Right	*Čomparipánko*	cliff	*compári* (the egret *Casmerodius albus*); *-panko* (house)
Left	*Mayápo*	tributary	
Left	*Pišiketíni*	mountain ridge	
Right	*Koviriári*	tributary	*kovíri* (the fish *Salminus* sp.)
Left	*Mantáro*	tributary	
Ene			
Right	*Sokíri*	cliff	
Right	*Cirotiári*	tributary	*ciróti* (the bird *Cacicus cela*)
Left	*Pakicári*	tributary	*pakíca* (hawk)
Left	*Šimpentiariáto*	tributary	
Right	*Manitipánko*	cliff	*maníti* (jaguar); *-panko* (house)
Left	*Čamiroári*	tributary	*čamíro* (a wild vine chewed with coca)
Left	*Tonontoári*	cliff	
Left	*Yavíro*	tributary	

TABLE 5—(*Continued*)

Side of River[a]	Name of Feature	Kind of Feature[b]	Significance[c]
Left	*Tancíniro(panko)*	cliff	
Left	*Koríri*	tributary	
Left	*Pacíri*	tributary	*pacíri* (a tinamou quail)
Left	*Cataširéncí(panko)*	cliff	*cataširéncí* (feather back ornament)
Right	*Potóši*	tributary	*pótó* (the tree *Ficus anthelmintica*); *-ši* (leaves)
Left	*Yaniriáto*	tributary	
Left	*Pocitakiriári*	tributary	*pocíta* (black); *kíri* (the palm *Guilielma* sp.)
Left	*Comavéni*	tributary	
Left	*Tivéni*	tributary	
Left	*Širitipánko*	cliff	*širíti* (fish net) (?); *-panko* (house)
Left	*Koviripánko*	cliff	*kovíri* (the fish *Salminus* sp.); *-panko* (house)
Right	*Kempíri*	tributary; (S.I.L. mission school)[e]	
Left	*Anapáti*	tributary	
Right	*Kotiviréni*	tributary; (Catholic mission station)	
Right	*Mamíri*	tributary	
Left	*Tipiráto*	tributary	
Left	*Koširénci*	tributary	*košíri* (the monkey *Ateles margenatus*)
Left	(?)[f]	tributary	
Right	*Tianáti*	tributary	
Right	*Koároni*	cliff	
Left	*Sankiroáro(ni)*	tributary	*sankíro* (the snail *Thaumastus* sp.)
Left	(?)[g]	tributary	
Right	(?)[g]	tributary	
Left	(?)[g]	tributary	
Right	*Kacinkári*	tributary	*kacinkári* (that which is cold, hurts)
Left	(?)[g]	tributary	
Right	*Kiténi*	tributary; (S.I.L. mission school)[e]	*kitéri* (yellow-orange)
Left	(?)[f]	cliff	
Right	(?)[f]	cliff	
Right	*Kipaciári*	tributary	*kipáci* (earth)
Left	*Sanivéni*	tributary	*sáni* (wasp)
Left	*Kamancinírоni*	cliff	*kamánci* (respiratory infection); *-niro* (false, demonic)
Right	*Meténi*	tributary	
Left	*Pamakiší(ni)*	tributary	*pamáki* (a wild fruit tree); *-ši* (leaves)
Right	*Mancinciáni*	tributary	*mánci* (woman's robe) (?)
Left	*Koakitipánko*	cliff	*koákiti* (a small hawk); *-panko* (house)
Right	*Pakicapánko*	cliff	*pakíca* (hawk); *-panko* (house)
Right	*Compiróncini*	cliff	*coompirónci* (bone-pendant sash)
Right	*Pihiréni*	tributary	*pihíri* (bat)

TABLE 5—(*Continued*)

Side of River[a]	Name of Feature	Kind of Feature[b]	Significance[c]
Right	*Čoritipánko*	cliff	*čoríti* (a small bird); *-panko* (house) [demon's house: name not uttered while passing]
Right	*Cikiréni*	tributary	
Right	*Picikiá(ni)*	tributary	*píci* (a bee)
Right	*Koširiáto*	tributary	*košíri* (the monkey *Ateles marginatus*)
Left	*Pocoténi*	tributary	*pocóti* (achiote)
Right	*Tisonipánko*	cliff	*tisóni* (vulture); *-panko* (house)
Left	*Tavečáro*	tributary	
Right	*Kencoriár*$^{i}/_{o}$	tributary	*kencóri* (the bird *Tinamus tao Kleei*)
Right	*Mihanipánko*	cliff	*miháni* (meteor); *-panko* (house) [where bad souls fall]
Center	*Otíka*	bad pass	*otíka* (dam)
Left	*Tarovéni*	tributary	
Left	*Saoréni*	tributary	
Center	*Paropaténi*	bad pass	
Left	*Šankiréni*	tributary	
Left	Pto. Ashaninka	(Protestant mission)	
Right	*Nenkečáni*	tributary; (S.I.L. mission school)[e]	*nenkéci* (necklace)
Right	*Memérini*	cliff	
Right	*Mampiároni*	tributary	
Left	*Paréni*	tributary	
Tambo			
Left	*Široniróni*	hill	*širóni* (a dove)
Right	*Kentipánko*;	hill	*kentíparo* (a bird) (?); *-panko* (house)
	Kisopánko	cliff	*kiso-*(hard); *-panko* (house)
Left	*Setároni*	whirlpool	*setáro* (funnel) [name not uttered while passing]
Left	*Šímá*	tributary	*šímá* (fish)
Right	*Opempeníroni*	cliff	*opémpe* (the toucan *Ramphastos cuvieri*); *-niro* (false, demonic)
Left	*Kamanárini*	tributary	*kamána* (a wild tree)
Left	*Šaronimorinténi*	cliff	*šaróni* (the mammal *Dasyprocta* sp.)
Left	*Santáro*	tributary; (S.I.L. Mission school)[e]	
Left	*Meretári*	tributary	*meréto* (the fish *Astyanax* sp.)
Right	*Tiviha*	salt spring	*tívi* (salt); *-ha* (liquid)
Left	*Tonkáma*	pool	
Right	*Onkoriá(ni)*	tributary	
Left	*Cavíci*	stone	*cavíci* (vagina)
Left	*Sankenarónto*	petroglyphs	*sankenarénci* (drawing)
Left	*Išímpare Kašíri*	cascade	*išímperi kašíri* (Moon's fish screen)
Left	*Koári(ni)*	tributary	
Left	*Paromaronkiáni*	tributary	
Right	*Tontoripánko*	cliff	*tontóri* (porcupine); *-panko* (house)
Right	*Ciperitáki*	cliff	*cipéri* (mat) [demon's house (*ivánko mankóite*)]

TABLE 5—(*Continued*)

Side of River[a]	Name of Feature	Kind of Feature[b]	Significance[c]
Right	*Sokótaha*	tributary	*šókó* (lime)
Right	*Koriténi*	tributary	*koríti* (sweet potato)
Left	[M][h]	rock outcrop	
Right	*Pitóci*	pool	*pitóci* (canoe) [name not uttered while passing]
Right	*Karántoni*	tributary	
Right	*Šoréni*	tributary	
Right	*Pioténi*	tributary; (S.I.L. mission school)[e]	
Right		(former plantation of Sr. Hugo Núñez)	
Left	*Masarovéni*	tributary	
Left	[M][h]	rock outcrop	
Right	*Meánto(ni)*	tributary; cliffs	*meánto* (the macaw *Ara militaris*) [demons' houses (*mankóite*): *ivánko virakóča* (Caucasians' house); *ivánko pátiri* (priests' house); *ivánko čóri* (Highland Indians' house)]
Left	*Tairiároni*	tributary	*táiri* (a wild tree)
Right	[M][h]	rock outcrop	
Left	*Otíka*	tributary; bad pass	*otíka* (dam)
Left	*Ošeráto*	tributary	*ošéro* (crab)
Right	*Mankoitepánko*	cliff	*mankóite* (a class of demons); *-panko* (house)
Right	*Šaoriáto*	tributary	*šáori* (the fish *Rhamdia* sp.)
Right	*Onkonéni*	tributary	*onkóna* (a wild tree)
Left	*Makavarí(ni)*	tributary	
Right	*Manihiróni*	rock (Peña de Wertheman)[i]	*manîhi* (a large poisonous ant)
Left	*Kamahé(ni)*	tributary	
Right	*Maheréni*	tributary	
Right	*Ovíri*	tributary	
Right	*Mahéni*	tributary	
Left	*Mankoréni*	tributary	*mankóri* (the bird *Cacicus uropygialis*)
Right	*Anapáti*	tributary	
Left	*Matovéni*	tributary; (S.I.L. mission school)[e]	
Left	*Ciyeriáto*	tributary	*ciyéri* (the monkey *Chrysothryx* sp.)
Right	*Šireciáto*	tributary	*širéci* (ghost)
Right	(?)[f]	tributary	
Right	*Pihiréni*	tributary	*pihíri* (bat)
Right	*Čéni*	tributary; (plantation of (Sr. Victor Camacho)	
Right	*Pišíteni*	tributary	*pišíti* (the toucan *Aulacorhynchus* sp.)
Left		(plantation of Sr. Francisco Pita Montes)	
Right	*Poyéni*	tributary; (S.I.L. mission school)[e]	

TABLE 5—(*Continued*)

Side of River[a]	Name of Feature	Kind of Feature[b]	Significance[c]
Left	*Saváreni*	tributary	*saváro* (the macaw *Ara macao*)
Right		(plantation of Sr. Pedro López)	
Left	*Potoáto*	tributary	*pótó* (a wild tree)
Right	*Šikapáha*	tributary	
Left	*Mamoriári*	tributary; (plantation of Sr. Hugo Núñez)	*mamóri* (the fish *Brycon* sp.)
Right	*Mayápo*	tributary	
Left	*Koširéni*	tributary	*košíri* (the monkey *Ateles marginatus*)
Right	*Kapitíri*	tributary	
Right	*Čaraváha*	tributary; (plantation of Sr. David Pent [forfeit])	*čaráva* (a fish of the zungaro type)
Left	*Šintivéni*	tributary	*šínti* (a wild tree)
Left	*Samáireni(ni)*	tributary	
Right	*Kimpitiári*	(plantation of Sr. Trajano Ysurieta); tributary	
Right	*Šaoriáto*	tributary	*šáori* (the fish *Rhamdia* sp.)
Left	*Kamaróha*	tributary	
Left	*Santaneári*	tributary	*santáni* (the bird *Steatornis caripensis*)
Left	*Marankiári*	(plantation of Sr. Pedro del Aguila); tributary	*maránki* (snake)
Right	*Širintiári*	(plantation of Sr. Angelo Ratteri); tributary	*širínti* (a tinamou quail)
Left	*Čavóha*	tributary	
Left	*Impanikiári*	tributary	*impáneki* (sand)
Right	*Civetári*	tributary	*civéta* (sting ray)
Right	*Čémpo*	(plantation of Sr. Juan Tante); tributary	
Left	(?)[f]	tributary	
Left	(?)[f]	tributary	
Left	*Kanóha*	tributary; (plantation "La Colonia")	*kanóha* (spongy ground)
Right	*Šimá(páha)*	tributary; (plantation of Sr. Grimaldo del Aguila)	*šímá* (fish)
Left	Atalaya	(town)	
		Perené[j]	
Perené			
Right	*Koaciróni*	tributary	
Right	*Anaširóni*	tributary	
Left	Pampa Silva	(port)	
Right	*Sariárini*	tributary	
Left	*Šimápankoni*	cliff	*šímá* (fish); *-panko* (house)
Left	*Cipiširó*$^{n}/_{k}i$	tributary	
Right	*Marankiári*	tributary; (Adventist mission school)	*maránki* (snake)
	Pirihaténkaroni	tributary of *Marankiári*	*piríha* (dry)

TABLE 5–(*Continued*)

Side of River[a]	Name of Feature	Kind of Feature[b]	Significance[c]
Left	*Koviriáni*	tributary	*kovíri* (the fish *Salminus* sp.)
Left	*Šiamorokiárini*	tributary	*šiamoróki* (limestone)
Right	*Paritári*	tributary	*paréto* (a parakeet)
Right	*Aširopánko*	cliff	*ašíro* (iron [Sp.: "acero"]); *-panko* (house)
Left	*Sampítironi*	tributary	
Left	*Apapanáni*	tributary	
Left	*Kimariáni*	tributary	*kemári* (tapir)
Right	*Kiracamónteroni*	cliff and pool	*kira-* (red); *camónte* (pool)
Right	*Sanípanko*	cliff	*sáni* (wasps); *-panko* (house)
Left	*Potiaríni*	tributary	*potiá(ri)* (salty)
Left	*Tonkicíni*	cliff	*tonkíci* (bones)
Right	*Yaviniró*$^{n}/_{k}i$	tributary	
Left	*Imanirokinciténi / Manirokínci*	rock outcrop	*manirokínci* (deer's neck)[k]
Right	*Čiréretini*	cliff	–
Left	*Vakapánko(ni)*	pampa	*váka* (cattle [Sp.: "vaca"]); *-panko* (house)
Right	*Isókoki / Sokopánko*	cliff	*sóko* (lime); *-panko* (house)
Left	*Ča(v)onaríni*	cliff	
Right	*Paretopánko*	cliff	*paréto* (a parakeet); *-panko* (house)
Right	*Totiráni*	tributary	
Left	*Kataripánko*	cliff	*katári* (the bird *Anhinga anhinga*); *-panko* (house)
Right	*Interoténi*	rock	*kintéro* (a large armadillo)
Right	*Savákani*	tributary	
Right	*Pakicapánko*	cliff	*pakíca* (hawk); *-panko* (house)
Right	*Imairoténi*	two rocks	
Left	*Irošéroteni*	rock	*ošéro* (crab)
Right	*Šiantároni*	tributary	
Left	*Manitipánko*	cliff	*maníti* (jaguar); *-panko* (house)
Left	*Tivanári*	tributary	
Right	*Tióirokíšiki*	pampa	*tióirokíši* (a small snail)
Right	*Paretopánko*	cliff	*paréto* (a parakeet); *-panko* (house)
Left	*Meantopánko*	cliff	*meánto* (the macaw *Ara militaris*); *-panko* (house)
Right	*Potóšinkeni*	waves	*pótó* (a wild tree); *-ši* (leaves)
Right	*Incipašári / Incipáši*$^{n}/_{k}i$	tributary	*incípa* (a wild fruit tree)
Left	*Yorináki*	tributary	*yoríni* (the bird *Rupicola* sp.) (?)
Right	*Potiaríni*	(Adventist mission school)	*potiá(ri)* (salty)
Right	*Ciriárini*	tributary	
Right	*Otikaróni*	tributary	*otíka* (dam)
Left	*Cirárini*	tributary	
Left	*Camiriméntani / Potiaríni*	cliff	*camíri* (the bird *Mitu mitu*) *potiá(ri)* (salty)
Left	*Tontorimóroni*	cliff	*tontóri* (porcupine); *imóro* (its hole)
Left	*Potóšinkini*	cliff	*pótó* (a wild tree); *-ši* (leaves)
Right	*Pomporiáni*	tributary	*pompóri* (an owl)

TABLE 5–(*Continued*)

Side of River[a]	Name of Feature	Kind of Feature[b]	Significance[c]
Left	*Šamorokiárini*	tributary	
Left	*Sayévoro*	tributary	
Left	*Ciaratóni*	tributary	*ciáro* (the palm *Scheelea tessmannii*)
Right	*Pintári*	tributary	
Left	*Ovíriki*	tributary	
	Satináki	tributary of *Ovíriki*	
Right	*Pocotiári*	tributary	*pocóti* (achiote)
Left	*Čorinašiaríni*	tributary	*čorína(ši)* (a palm tree)
Left	*Móntó / Comóntoni*	cliff	*comónte* ([big] belly)
Right	*Kivináki*	tributary	
Right	*Ciráriki*	tributary	
Left	*Čorinkavéni*	grassland; (Adventist mission school)	*córinki* (a snake) (?)
Left	*Cotáni*	tributary	*cóta* (a gourd)
Right	*Cirárini*	tributary	
Left	*Coci*^{n}/$_{k}$*i*	tributary; (former Adventist mission)	
Right	*Ciperivánti*	mountain ridge	*cipéri* (mat)
Right	*Koyetaríni*	cliff	*kóye* (leaf-cutting ant)
Right	*Širinkáitoni*	mountain ridge	*-širinka-* (to subside) (?)
Left	*Iškotáni*	tributary	
Right	*Koviaríni*	settlement	
Right	*Šiváreni*	tributary	
Right	*Morinkaríni*	mountain ridge	
Right	*Pičaná*^{n}/$_{k}$*i*	tributary	
Right	*Tamporóito*	mountain ridge	*tampóro* (drum)
Right	*Kompaváitoni*	mountain ridge	
Right	*Kimíri(ni)*	tributary	
Right	*Saniriperétakini*	cliff	*saníri* (cayman)
Right	*Šaromórenteni*	cliff	
Right	*Saoriáni*	tributary	*šáori* (the fish *Rhamdia* sp.)
Left	*Komempiároni*	tributary	
Left	*Impanekiári(ni)*	tributary	*impáneki* (sand)
Left	*Patiripánko*	cliff	*pátiri* (priest [Sp.: "padre"]); *-panko* (house)
Right	*Šimpitináni*	tributary	*šímpi* (the fish *Ancistrus* sp.)
Left	*Cirompiárini*	tributary	*cirómpe* (grub)
Right	*Sankovatiárini*	tributary	
Right	*Piótani*	cliff	
Left	*Koácirini*	tributary	*koácere* (a bird) (?)
	Avanteníni	tributary of *Koácirini*	
Left	*Koivárini*	tributary	
Left	*Šinkikiári*	tributary	*šínki* (maize); *-ki* (kernel)
Right	*Kaninkiárini*	tributary	
Left	*Meritárini*	tributary	*meréto* (the fish *Astyanax* sp.)
Right	*Conakišárini*	tributary	

TABLE 5—(*Continued*)

Side of River[a]	Name of Feature	Kind of Feature[b]	Significance[c]
Left	*Conkiriátoni*	tributary	*conkíri* (hummingbird)
Left	*Totiráni*	tributary	
Left	*Pitocinírоni*	cliff	*pitóci* (canoe); *-niro* (false, demonic)
Right	*Šivicárini*	tributary	*šivíca* (rope [of bark or vine])
Left	*Kovantišiárini*	tributary	
Left	*Kapacárini*	tributary	
Left	*Conakišárini*	tributary	
Left	*Samentocárini*	tributary	
Left	*Cimitenkáni*	tributary	
Right	*Ipó*($^{n}/_{k}i$) / *Mapévani*	tributary[l]	*mápi* (stone)

[a]In conformity with customary procedure, left and right are determined in terms of a hypothetical observer looking downriver. Brackets enclose features situated at the same point on the river.

[b]Features in parentheses are Caucasian intrusions.

[c]Many Campa place names are derived from common words in the Campa language; the latter are given in this column where the derivation is obvious or (as indicated by an interrogation mark) somewhat uncertain. Special significances of certain features are given in brackets.

[d]Proceeding from *Mapitonoári*, near the southern limits of Campa territory, to the mouth of the Tambo River. The information provided in this section of the table and the next describes the situation existing in 1963-1964. For comparable data, see Amich 1854:112-114; Arroyo and Pérez 1936; Burke 1960a; Medina 1957; Portillo 1899, 1905; Samanez Ocampo 1907.

[e]S.I.L.: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

[f]Name of feature not known to the Campas who accompanied me.

[g]Feature passed at night and consequently not identified.

[h][M]: merchandise (*oararónci*) turned to stone, e.g., *icivoténi išipaneóri* (Spaniards' boxes, formerly).

[i]Below this point only tributary names (and plantations) are indicated.

[j]The Perené River or *Paréni* is formed by the junction of the Chanchamayo and Paucartambo rivers. The former is called *Katónko Paréniki* (Upper Perené) by the Campas. The latter is called *Tiviári* (from *tívi* [salt]), for on tributaries of this river there are salt mines that in former times supplied salt to the entire Campa nation and neighboring tribes. The region of the salt mines is the historically important Cerro de la Sal, actually in Amuesha territory but close to the Amuesha-Campa border. In this section of the table are listed the features encountered by me along the upper part of the Perené, beginning with the tributaries across from Pampa Silva, the present limit of Caucasian extension down along this part of the river, and proceeding as far as the *Ipó(ni)*, or Ipoki. For comparable data, see Golewski 1933:147; Schläppi 1935:357, 361.

[k]So called because this rock formation is recognized as having the shape and color of a deer's neck.

[l]At the mouth of the *Ipó(ni)*, or Ipoki, I left the Perené to journey overland to Satipo, so that the lower Perené was not explored. Note, however, that below the *Ipó(ni)* are the Cascades of the Perené, called *Cavári(ki)*, a serious obstacle to navigation from all reports (see Capelo 1895:II, 101-104; Golewski 1933:147; Larrabure i Correa 1905-1909:III, 188-189, 196; X, 245-246; Raimondi 1874-1913:III, 440-441, 547-549, 554; Schläppi 1935:361). Farther downriver, on the left, is the tributary *Áoti(ni)*, the site of the former Catholic mission of San Tadeo de los Antis. The stream came to be called the "Antis" or "Antes," later reverting to "Auchique" or "Aotziki" (see Golewski 1933:141, 147; Izaguirre 1923-1929:IX, map facing 8; X, map facing 402; XII, map facing 176; Larrabure i Correa 1905-1909:III, 188, 378; IV, 346; X, 246-247; XV, 402; Raimondi 1874-1913:III, 549, map facing 538; Schläppi 1935:359; Schütz-Holzhausen 1895:180; see also Izaguirre 1923-1929:II, map facing 104; VI, map facing 18; VII, map facing 32; Raimondi 1874-1913:II, map facing 418; Sobraviela 1791:101, map facing 120). Near the mouth of the Perené, and on the right, enters the tributary *Panká*, or Pangoa, and there the Catholic mission of Puerto Ocopa is situated.

TABLE 6
THE SACRED BIRDS OF THE CAMPAS

Campa Name	Common Name (or Description)	Identification	Place of Residence[a]
áávo	White-necked Heron	*Ardea cocoi*	*(Ocitiríko)*[b]
ašívanti	Swallow-tailed Kite	*Elanoides forficatus*	*Ocitiríko*
kamévira	(large hummingbird, blue-green with white tail tips)	[Unidentified]	*Intatóni*
katári	Anhinga	*Anhinga anhinga*	*Ocitiríko*
kačónčo	(white heron with black wings)	[Unidentified]	*(Ocitiríko)*
kovíva	(lead-colored)	[Unidentified]	*Otíši*
mankóri / kešíto[c]	Scarlet-rumped Cacique	*Cacicus uropygialis*	*Otíši*
neorónke	(small hummingbird, dark olive-green with white throat and "belt")	[Unidentified]	*Intatóni*
ompíkiri	(small)	[Unidentified]	
pitíri	?Roseate Spoonbill	*?Ajaia ajaja*	*Ocitiríko*
pitónto	(river fowl, black with yellow breast)	[Unidentified]	*Otíši*
pitóroro	Barbet	*Eubucco* sp.	*Otíši*
picóco	(red with black shoulders)	[Unidentified]	*Otíši*
píčoti	Paradise Tanager	*Tangara chilensis*	*Otíši*
pónea	?Olive Oropendola	*?Gymnostinops yuracares*	*Kivínti*
santáni	Oilbird	*Steatornis caripensis*	*Otíši*
šankénti	?Timelo	*?Parrajacana* sp.	*Ocitiríko*
šimpóni	(guan with crest)	?Cracidae	*Otíši*
cimpéni	(dark brown back, light brown breast)	[Unidentified]	
ciríntiki	Black-faced Dacnis	*Dacnis lineata*	
ciróti	Yellow-rumped Cacique	*Cacicus cela*	*Kivínti*
compári	Great Egret	*Casmerodius albus*	*(Ocitiríko)*
conkíri	Hummingbirds	Trochilidae	*Intatóni*
conkiriníro	Purple Honeycreeper	*Cyanerpes caeruleus*	*Ocitiríko*
coriníro	Green Honeycreeper	*Chlorophanes spiza*	
čáironka	Swallow-tanager	*Tersina viridis*	
čerépito	(blue back, white breast, red throat)	[Unidentified]	
yoríni	Cock-of-the-rock	*Rupicola peruviana*	*Otíši*

[a]The right-hand column reports the places of residence ascribed to a number of the sacred birds by the shaman Porekavánti (with the exception of those given in parentheses, which were provided by other informants). Most of the birds unidentified as to place of residence are probably *otíšisati.*

[b]The shaman Porekavánti departed from the usual ascription of *áávo*'s dwelling place to *Ocitiríko* by giving instead *Cimánkani*, a mountain ridge facing the Peña de Wertheman on the Tambo River.

[c]There is some question as to whether *mankóri* and *kešíto* are the same bird.

TABLE 7
NONHUMAN WITCHES: ANTS

Ant Species	Symptoms	Materials Sucked Out by Shaman	Content of Shaman's Dream
katítori	toothache, rotting gums, or pustules in the mouth (infants: pustules on head also)	nothing [Širikónka: food refuse]	yellow dog
kacíkori	chills, followed by pain in penis; bloody urine	earth (as where one urinated)	yellow dog
kiterikíri	intestinal fever; swollen leg or jaw; skin eruption	nothing [Širikónka: food refuse]	white dog
maníhi	chills; stabbing pains	old leaves and small twigs	black dog
onkonankéto	skin eruption (entire body)	nothing	nothing
sankóri	cutting pains in abdomen; bloody stools	nothing [Širikónka: leaf fragments]	agouti[a]
šaríma	lumbar and knee pains; chills	larger leaves and twigs	yellow dog
tontanakíri	lumbar and knee pains; chills	old leaves and small twigs	yellow dog

[a]According to Porekavánti, the appearance of *šaróni* (agouti) in a shaman's dream indicates witchcraft due to a human witch or to the leaf-cutting ant *sankóri*, while the appearance of *sankóri* in a shaman's dream indicates witchcraft due to a human witch.

TABLE 8
CAMPA TERMS FOR BODY PARTS, SUBSTANCES, AND FUNCTIONS

English Term	Campa Term
my head	*noíto*
my head hair	*noíši*
my face	*novóro*
my forehead	*novánka*
my eyebrow	*notámako*
my eyelash	*nošimperéki*
my eye	*nóki*
my nose	*noíri*
my nostril	*noírina*
my mouth	*novánte*
my lips / my lower lip	*nocéra*
my pursed lips, beak / my upper lip	*nocóvi*
my tooth	*náhi*
my canine	*notinkamenáhi*
my molar	*nocitipankanáhi*
my tongue	*nonéne*
my chin	*nonóma*
my cheek	*nosóriki*
my ear	*noyémpita*

TABLE 8–(*Continued*)

English Term	Campa Term
my whiskers	*nošipatóna*
my neck, nape	*nocáno*
my throat, gullet	*noneámento*
my shoulder and upper arm	*nošempa*
my elbow	*noyénčoki*
my inner elbow (antecubital fossa)	*noávita / noáviro*
my lower arm	*nohémpeki*
my wrist	*noáviro / noávita*
my hand	*náko*
my finger	*nakocapáki*
my thumb	*nancárote(páko)*
my middle finger	*notínkami(páko)*
my little finger	*nocímpina(páko)*
my fingernail, toenail	*nosétaki*
my armpit	*nočopena*
my chest	*nonéhi*
my breast, mammilla, milk	*nocómi*
my pectoral (male)	*nocominéhi*
my upper abdomen	*nomóti / nocómonte*
my navel	*nomóito*
my lower abdomen, waist	*nocáki*
my abdomen (hide and flesh only)	*nomonkimáši*
my penis	*nošivi*
my penis (child)	*nočonki*
my testes	*noacaréki / noyemáicoki* / (chicken:) *noašicoki*
my vagina	*nocávi / nocékaro*
my mons veneris	*noyémpori*
my shoulder blade	*nočóketa*
my back	*notápi*
the small of my back	*notéte*
my hip	*nošorita*
my rump	*nocéiti(ki) / notépoki*
my anal cleavage	*nočome(ti)ki*
my anus	*noti(á)oki / notiamóro*
my upper leg	*novóri*
my knee	*noyérito*
my inner knee (popliteal fossa)	*notánkoca(ki)*
my lower leg	*notávato*
my hamstring (tendo calcaneus)	*nosápeca*
my foot	*noíti*
my toe	*noiticapáki*
my body hair, fur, plumage	*novíti*
my axillary hair	*nošíva*
my pubic hair	*nošivacáki*
my skin	*noméšina*
my flesh	*nováca*
my fat	*norého*
my blood	*niráha*
my menstrual blood	*niraháti*
my blood vessel, tendon	*nošica*
my ligament	*nosápe*

TABLE 8—(*Continued*)

English Term	Campa Term
my heart	*nasánkana / nošire*
my brain	*noinapáca*
my windpipe	*nanenkaménto*
my lungs	*novihonkári* / (fish:) *nošintipári*
my stomach	*nosèito*
my small intestine	*namporéca*
my large intestine	*nomòtire*
my colon	*noširite*
my liver	*nanàtari*
my gall bladder	*noyépite*
my spleen	*notára*
my pancreas	*nošinkana*
my kidney	*nosònki*
my bladder	*nocinimòti / nocinimènto*
my bone	*notônki*
my bony protuberance	*nošonkaróki / nošankirite*
my skull	*noitotáki*
my mandible	*nonomatónki / notapinóma*
my spine	*nomítica*
my ribs	*noméreki*
my lower sternum	*nonehipátaki*
my marrow	*noherépi*
my placenta	*nanàtari*
my umbilical cord	*nomòito (ca)*
my tear	*nohàáki*
my mucus	*nòha*
my saliva	*nohééva*
my sweat	*nomasavíne / nomasavíre*
my cerumen, grime	*notòmpe*
my semen	*nokóče / noóce (paca)* / (Perené region:) *nošapenéki*
my urine	*nocína*
my excrement	*notía*
my breaking of wind	*nosánti*
I blink	*nokimáoki*
I weep	*nirà (aka)*
I breathe	*nanènki*
I sneeze	*natísanki*
I snore, make noise	*nopòimati*
I yawn	*nasánki*
I cough	*natóheti*
I eruct	*natarái (ro)*
I expectorate	*nokitíohi*
I vomit	*nokamaránki*
I ejaculate	*okamaránki nokóče*
I urinate	*nocínta*
I excrete	*nošíta*
I break wind	*nosántia*
I bleed	*niraháni*
I eat	*no (ák) a*
I drink	*níri*
I sleep	*nomáái*

APPENDIX 2. MACHIGUENGA TEXTS

TEXTS RELATED TO DENIZENS OF THE UNIVERSE: THE GODS AND GOOD SPIRITS

The following accounts, translated from the Spanish, describe Machiguenga beliefs concerning the present-day activities of the lunar deity. The first to be presented here, Pereira's account (1942:243), does not deviate greatly in its first two paragraphs from what we have ascertained for the Campas, although the last two paragraphs exceed what the Campas profess to know about the matter:

The god *Cashire*, so beneficent at first, besides giving the Machiguengas manioc and its precious seed [*sic*] had also constructed a sort of trap (*Shiperenchi*) in the Urubamba River, in which were caught, as if by enchantment, incredible quantities of all kinds of fish. . . . But on retiring from this world he destroyed the trap, the remains of which, according to the story, are yet to be seen a short distance upstream from the mouth of the Tuitemi River on the Urubamba.

In place of the earlier trap he constructed another in one of the great rivers that cross the sky, not to trap fishes but rather the corpses or, more precisely, the souls of the people whom he sentences to death—especially women and children, whom he enjoys particularly since becoming a cannibal.

Next to that trap, to inform *Cashiri* of the prey that fall into it, a being called *Shirichanchani* is always on guard. His master responds to his call when there is booty, kills the victims, smokes them, makes a package of them all, and returns with that cargo to his house, very pleased.

But that guardian or watchman, who formerly was a human being, is also wont to be moved by the regrettable destiny that awaits those who in life were his fellows. Therefore, instead of detaining them when they fall into the trap, he allows them to escape. Going immediately to his master, he tells him untruthfully that nothing has fallen into it, and so he [*Cashire*] retires. When things happen in the sky in this way, it comes about here on earth that the ill who were on the point of dying end by regaining their health.

Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 6) reported a similar understanding of the present situation, the details of which, however, are not recognized by the Campas:

The Moon made in the *Tsungabeni* River, tributary of the Meshiareni, a trap called *shimperenchi*, like the one used by the Machiguengas to collect fish. But his purpose was to fish for the cadavers that the river carries along. The trap is so perfect that no cadaver falling into it can rise and escape. It is looked after by a toad who never leaves it. When some cadaver falls in, the amphibian shouts "*tantanaróki–iróki, tantanaróki–iróki*" (an onamatopoeia of its croak that literally means: "the toad *tantanaróki* and his eye"). As soon as he hears the call, the Moon comes running with a stick in his hand with which to kill the cadaver. He arrives, beats and kills it immediately, cuts off the hands and feet, roasts and eats them; the rest of the body he converts into a tapir.

Padre García elsewhere (1937-1938:XX, 68) described a Machiguenga *išímpere Kašíri* on the Urubamba in the following terms:

The low dale at the mouth of the Kiteni and Koshireni is called by the Machiguengas *Komempenike*—"place of the vine *komempi*." The Moon had made use of this species of vine long ago, they say, to tie the poles of the trap *shimperenchi* that he constructed there in the Urubamba with the aim of collecting in it the cadavers of the Machiguengas that the river carries off—for the Moon subsists on cadavers. . . . Even today they point out the place where the trap was, and continue to call it *Ishímpere Kashiri*—"shimperenchi of the Moon." It is a place where the Urubamba funnels from both sides toward the center, and plunges on with considerable turbulence, four hundred meters above the Kiteni.

Finally, Padre Grain's account (1957:91-92) is provided below; it should be noted that the subterranean river and other details, and the role played by *katári*, are not recognized by the Campas:

According to legend, when we men die he [the Moon] eats us. In effect, at the moment that the soul disengages itself from the body and descends into the abyss, *Kashiri* sets out a *shimpirinchi* (cane fishtrap), and traps us in it. Actually it is not only the soul that goes below but the entire

man. It should be noted that below—*sabipatzake*—there is a great river, which forks at a certain point. *Kashiri* dries one branch so that almost all the water passes through the other. Very close to the juncture he sets out his trap with great skill. The dead swim downstream in search of another land. On entering the branch where the *shimpirinchi* is placed they are caught and begin to shout. When he hears them, *Kashiri* runs quickly over there, seizes them, and, since from their shouts he sees that they are not entirely dead, kills them again with blows from a stick and throws them on the rocky beach. Afterward he carries them to his house, removes their hearts, roasts them on a *cahuito* (a kind of trivet made of four legs of wood with sections of cane on top), and eats them. Later he grips the heart of each and blows on it to make it revive, the same man as before reappearing in body and soul. The latter can then see with loathing and fear that *Kashiri* is having a feast with the flesh that formerly was his.

When this man gets hungry, *Kashiri* makes him imagine momentarily that this flesh is not his but rather that of *kiémari*—tapir—and he eats it also. But after he has eaten it, it makes him nauseous and he vomits it up.

In this manner he lives a long time with *Kashiri* (and all the dead have the same experience). On one occasion he was invited to fish, and so he beheld the skill with which *Kashiri* set out the trap at the juncture—*otzegua*—and how the souls went weeping into it. He saw them, actually, as if they really were fish, according to the narrator of this little story. He also beheld how *Kashiri* seized the souls, cudgeled them, and threw them on the rocky beach. Afterward, he said to himself, the Moon eats the dead people—*kamachirini.*

On one occasion he [*Kashiri*] had caught an enormous quantity of those "fish." Making a large hoop, which he tied with forest lashing—*tzibicha*—he laced them to it, and carried them, already roasted, on his back to where the earth ends and meets the sky. From that point he ascended to the highest part of the firmament, where he shines in the form of the moon.

It should be understood, the legend adds, that such an ascension can only be accomplished by those who are like *Tasorinchi*, i.e., similar to God. The stars—*impókiro*—are all *ananerite*, very tiny people, dwarfs. They are up above, but they cannot descend and ascend like *Kashiri.*

When it is first quarter the Moon appears in his fullness, like a great crown, acquiring complete roundness. This signifies that he has by then gathered many people and has food for a long time.

When the dead do not pass by the *otzegua* but rather by the main branch, they swim very deep, and in the depths they encounter the *káteri*, a species of black duck. . . . If the dead are good, he carries them very happily to his house, and gives them abundant food. As both are Machiguengas, the *káteri* and the *kamachirini* greet each other courteously. . . . Later they begin a long and animated conversation, [*káteri*] asking him a thousand details about his life: whence does he come, what did he do on the journey before arriving there, whom did he encounter on his voyage, etc. He invites him to live with him in his house, where already there are a great many *kamachirini*, who are happy in his company, since they lack nothing that a Machiguenga might desire.

On the other hand, when the dead are bad, he [*káteri*] greets them dryly and lets them pass by with great disdain.

The Machiguenga words given in this last account might be commented upon. "Kashiri," of course, is the same as the Campa *Kašíri* (Moon); "shimpirinchi" is the same as the Campa *šimpéri* (fish screen); "kiémari" is the same as the Campa *kemári* (tapir); "kamachirini" is presumably the equivalent of the Campa *kamínkari* (he who is dead); "Tasorinchi" equals *Tasórenci* (God); "impókiri" equals *impókero* (stars); "ananerite" has as its Campa equivalent *Hananeríte*, which refers not to the stars or celestial spirits but to the celestial river in which they rejuvenate themselves; "káteri" is probably the same as the Campa *katári* (Anhinga), which numbers among the Campas' sacred birds. The term "sabipatzake" may be *isávi pacáke* (rotten below); "otzegua" may be equivalent to the Campa term *očáoha* or *očévo* (island); "tzibicha" may be equivalent to the Campa term *tapéca*, the name of a thin vine used for lashing.

TEXTS RELATED TO THE *AVÍRERI* CYCLE

The Campa *Avíreri* cycle has its counterpart among the Machiguengas, for whom we possess two extended accounts. The earliest of these was provided by Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 9-12; 1943:235-236; see also Steward and Métraux 1948:550), and proceeds as follows:

The Machiguenga Tasorinchi. Among the first Machiguengas who existed on Earth, there were

various *tasorinchi*, i.e., powerful beings. None of them had parents; they were all created from nothing. The tasorinchi *Kinteróni*, husband of *Paréni tasorinchi*, was the most powerful. Seeing that he had power to make persons from nothing, he wanted to create a new *tasorinchi* more powerful than himself, and with one breath he created *Yabíreri*, whom his wife and he called son, although in reality he was not. *Berenákoni tasorinchi*, brother of *Paréni*, became very fond of his nephew *Yabíreri* and obtained the consent of *Kinteróni* to carry the child to his home. When his father saw him already grown, he made him powerful, and he was such that, whatever Machiguengas he encountered, he converted them into animals. *Berenákoni* had many sons. To test, when they were big, if they were sons of his or not, he sent them to cut and carry on their shoulders great tree trunks; those who could he recognized as sons, but those who succumbed in the test, he rejected. Besides the four tasorinchis already mentioned, there is another called *Shigóbiri*. None of these tasorinchi died. *Berenákoni* converted himself into the armadillo *étini*; *Kinteróni* was converted by his son *Yabíreri* into the armadillo *kinteróni*; *Paréni* became salt rock; *Yabíreri* is at the end of the earth, and *Shigóbiri* lives downriver, far away, in a landslide on the bank of the Urubamba River.

Yabíreri Tasorinchi. The tasorinchi *Yabíreri* could do everything. With a single word he converted the Machiguengas he encountered into animals. One day he saw a menstruating girl in a menstrual hut and said to her, "Be converted into a tapir." And, converted into a tapir, the girl went running into the forest.

Seeing that her brother *Yabíreri*—her son according to others—was very powerful and that no one could match him, *Paréni tasorinchi* invited him to a banquet and dance, which was held on the appointed day. On the dance area *Paréni* had spilled a certain slippery substance so that *Yabíreri* would fall down a ravine. It actually turned out as she wished. When the others saw the tasorinchi disappear, they said to each other with joy, "Now there is no longer anyone to convert more Machiguengas into animals." But *Yabíreri* did not die. There in the depths of the ravine he attempted to get out, but he could not. As he was tasorinchi, he converted himself into an ant, and so could climb; but in the moment of stepping out he fell rolling to the bottom. He converted himself into a wasp and flew up but, when he was at the point of clearing the ravine, he fell again. He then became a bamboo (*kápiro*) plant and grew rapidly, believing that he could get out, but not even this way did he succeed. In a new and final attempt he converted himself into a vine and climbed way up but, no more fortunate than in previous attempts, he fell down once again.

The reason for his failure was that, in order to dance, he had taken off a small amulet that he carried with him always, which was what made him powerful. Sad *Yabíreri*, seeing himself despoiled of his virtue and that he no longer could do anything, asked *Paréni* to toast some kernels of maize for him to eat, and she brought them to him. His forces somewhat repaired with that delicious food, he marched off, saying that he was going to bathe. *Kinteróni*, the husband of *Paréni* and father of *Yabíreri*, knew nothing of all this. He had been working in his garden, and on returning he asked for his son. *Paréni* told him what had happened. "Why have you done this?" replied *Kinteróni*, and tired as he was, he ran after *Yabíreri.* Those kernels of toasted maize that he [*Yabíreri*] had requested, he wanted to sow wherever he passed. *Kinteróni* ran as fast as he could to catch up with him, and he came out upon a garden where the maize sown by *Yabíreri* was already almost mature. He continued running with greater swiftness and found a garden of maize with green ears. He ran more and more, and arrived at another garden with maize recently sown, a sign that the sower was not far away. *Kinteróni* continued running faster, and came out upon another garden, where *Yabíreri* was sowing. *Yabíreri* then wanted to close the river downriver to drown all the Machiguengas, and he already had part closed off with stones, when his father *Kinteróni* said to him, "Pay no mind, leave it be; why do you want to do that?" *Yabíreri* obeyed, and sat down; but lo and behold he could not walk or even get up. *Kinteróni* said to him, "Don't be sad, come home; I will carry you, and I will make you powerful once again." And when *Yabíreri* was slung on his father's shoulders it occurred to him to blow on the crown of his carrier, and he converted him into the armadillo *kinteróni* who went running into the woods. If *Kinteróni* had not followed his son to intercept him, he would have finished the Machiguengas with a flood.

Annoyed with his nephew *Yabíreri*—also called *Pachákamue*—for his having converted his father *Kinteróni* into an armadillo, and because he converted many Machiguengas into animals, and besides wanted to exterminate them with that flood, the tasorinchi *Berenákoni* reproached

him and said, "Why do you do these things?" And he carried him to the end of the Earth, and there nailed him to some trunks with seven strong nails made from the palms *kamóna* and *kontíri*. He pierced his hands, knees, and feet, each with a nail, and his breast with one more. There he is even today. He did not die; he is alive, but immobile; if he moved the Earth would shake and it would all collapse. He is so strongly nailed that he cannot unnail himself. Now he feels no pain because he has become accustomed to it, but at first it hurt him very much. Since he was nailed the Machiguengas began to get sick and die. If he had not been nailed the Machiguengas would not die. . . .

Paréni Tasorinchi. This powerful woman was sweet like salt. . . . Her husband *Síiro* sucked her continually until one day, tired of it, she blew on him, converting him into the bee *síiro*. Therefore the inoffensive *síiro* bees like sweat very much, as we see today, and light on people to savor them. *Paréni* had another husband afterward, called *Tsonkíri*, whom she gave fish to eat very frequently. *Tsonkíri* did not know where she got them in such abundance. One day he hid himself behind a small mat to observe her, and saw that she gave birth to them. Many emerged, good and handsome, and she put them on little mats. When she finished giving birth to them, she went out to look for water to cook them. Taking advantage of this absence *Tsonkíri* abandoned his hiding place and went to hunt in the forest. He returned in the afternoon, and his wife presented the fish to him, as was her custom, to eat. "I don't want fish from your belly," he said, "eat them yourself." Sad to see herself scorned, *Paréni* blew on her husband and converted him into the hummingbird *tsonkíri*, that then began to sip the nectar of flowers and to eat spiders.

Paréni did not die. She was converted spontaneously into a rock of very sweet salt, and is downriver, toward the mouth of the Tambo River. The *Shimirinchi* or *Piro* savages take much salt from there, using axes. It looks like a rock, but it is *Paréni*.

She is the mother of all fishes. There she gives birth to them and suckles them, and when they have grown, they come upriver.

The other account of these beliefs among the Machiguengas was provided by Padre Cenitagoya ([1943]:185-192), as follows:

The first woman created by *Tasorinchi*, *Pareni* by name, had a brother called *Pachakamue*. He possessed the same power as *Tasorinchi* and lived alone. He went from time to time to drink masato in the house of his sister. One day that he went to see her, he asked her about her sons, who were many. She answered him that they were playing in the trees.

"Careful that they don't become monkeys," *Pachakamue* said to her.

No sooner had he pronounced these words, than all those children were converted into a band of monkeys, deafening space with their shrieks.

Another day he also went to visit his sister, and he asked her why she did not take a daughter of hers out of the seclusion in which she was held due to having reached puberty. She answered that she still had to remain enclosed for no less than three moons.

"She is going to be converted into a tapir," he said to her.

Since *Pareni* knew from experience that the words of her brother effected what they signified, she opened the door and found her daughter transformed into a tapir.

Indignant because of the ignoble end that their children had had, *Pareni* and *Yangontoro* hatched the following plot against *Pachakamue*: they would carpet the ground of the clearing with the gelatinous cortex of the setico or *shiari* plant . . . and invite *Pachakamue* to drink masato.

Once he had passed the limits of sobriety, they would carry him between them to the edge of the ravine, and giving him a push, throw him over the precipice.

They accomplished all that they had plotted. *Yangontoro* went to the house, leaving *Pareni*, just like a curious woman, to await the final denouement.

Some hours after, *Pachakamue* came to himself. He raised his eyes and saw his sister up above. He asked her how he had come to rest in that place. His sister told him that he had fallen because he had drunk excessively.

Pachakamue begged his sister to lift him up with the help of her husband.

She told him, since he had so much power, to become a cuqui or *sánkori*—an ant that attacks all cultivated plants and raises promontories to construct its galleries—so that by climbing one of them [a promontory] he could scale the height.

Quick as a wink, *Pachakamue* transformed himself into a *sánkori*. When the promontory approached the level of the ravine, it crumbled, and *Pachakamue* saw it was impossible to achieve his objective.

His sister than counseled him to make a cane or reed sprout, so that he could climb up it. The cane sprouted and grew very near to the same height, when unexpectedly it broke in several places and *Pachakamue* could not realize his desires.

Pareni called *Yongontoro* and begged him to accompany her brother to distant regions.

Peering over the edge of the ravine, *Yangontoro* did not see *Pachakamue*, who had already marched off.

Yangontoro went in pursuit. After much walking he came upon some maize plants ready to be harvested, because some grains of toasted maize which *Pachakamue* was carrying in his bag to eat had fallen.

This circumstance gave him to understand that *Pachakamue* was very far from him.

He increased his pace, and saw on the path other plants of the same cereal, recently sprouted. This time *Yangontoro* deduced that his brother-in-law was close by. He hastened his pace, and at the end of a few days, he came upon *Pachakamue*, who was constructing a great dam in the river to drown everyone.

Yangontoro succeeded in making *Pachakamue* desist from his plan, begging him at the same time to follow him. *Pachakamue* agreed to this invitation. While both were hiking, *Yangontoro* flung himself on *Pachakamue* and killed him. Instantly there was an earthquake. *Yangontoro* put on his crown and the earth ceased to tremble. Immediately afterward he cut off *Pachakamue*'s head, pierced it with two nails of chonta, one vertically and the other horizontally. . . .

Once the crime was committed, *Yangontoro* wanted to return home. But just as when he came, he walked quickly, on returning he felt a great inability to walk, so that he gradually was transformed into an armadillo, which is what *Yangontoro* signifies in Machiguenga.

Seeing that her husband did not return, *Pareni* married the sweat bee, which at that time, they say, was human.

One day when *Pareni* was weaving a cushma, her husband approached her to lick the sweat which ran copiously on her body.

The woman was angered by this lack of urbanity on the part of her consort. As on other occasions he did the same again, *Pareni* told him, "You are like a sweat bee!" Instantly, he who until then had been her husband, was converted into that insect.

Seeing herself a widow for the second time, due to the metamorphosis that her previous husbands had experienced, *Pareni* married *Tzónkiri.*

When one day he came from work in his garden, his wife presented him with some fish to eat, which until then were unknown. *Tzónkiri* began to eat them, but as he observed that *Pareni* did not try them, he asked her the cause of such a rare abstinence.

Pareni told him that, having been in the house all morning, she had had occasion to eat them.

Another day her husband again came from his garden and she gave him the same fish to eat. On this occasion she again abstained from trying them. A certain suspicion entered *Tzónkiri* on observing this conduct. The following day, *Tzónkiri*, instead of going to his garden, hid himself in a contiguous habitation, behind a mat that he had put against the wall. *Tzónkiri* was able to discover the origin of the fish and consequently of the repugnance of his wife toward so exquisite a mouthful. *Pareni* was the mother of those lovely creatures.

When that day *Pareni* offered him the aforementioned fish, *Tzónkiri* did not accept them, but rather reproached her for having given him such food to eat.

Pareni said to him, "You will never again eat fish, because of the contempt that you have for them. From now on you will go from flower to flower eating the pollen that the flowers produce."

Suddenly her third husband was transformed into a hummingbird, which is what *Tzónkiri* signifies in Machiguenga.

Pareni refused to marry again and she traveled with the only daughter left to her along the Urubamba River, and on the Tambo or one of its tributaries, the two of them were converted into rocks of salt. To that place, known by them nowadays by the name of *Pareni*, the Machiguengas say that the Piros of the lower Urubamba go to supply themselves with this condiment. . . .

Could it be by chance the Cerro de la Sal that exists in Chanchamayo . . . ?

Padre Cenitagoya's suspicion appears to be well founded, that the conversion of "Pareni" (a mythological figure unknown to the Campas) to salt in Machiguenga mythology refers to the salt mines of the Cerro de la Sal in the upper *Paréni* or Perené region—where, indeed, the Campas' *imóro Avíreri* is situated.

The motive of "Yabireri" (or "Pachakamue") for damming the river, given in these accounts, has no Campa parallel. The informant Saríti denied that *Avíreri* or *Kíri*, in their attempts to block the main river, planned a general inundation. Rather, a hole was to have been provided

into which the river could fall, letting some water pass to arrive at *Pačákama*'s residence. In these Machiguenga accounts, the figure of *Kíri* disappears, partly assimilated to the Machiguenga equivalent of *Avíreri*, otherwise omitted.

"Yangontoro" in Padre Cenitagoya's account would be the large armadillo *kintéro*. Padre García elsewhere presented the conversion of the small armadillo *etíni* as a minor transformation tale (1935-1937:XVIII, 93):

The Armadillo Étini. This animal was formerly a Machiguenga who used very rough clothing, and trained himself in making excavations in the ground. He ate only grubs and worms. *Yabíreri* converted him into the armadillo *étini.*

These accounts suggest that, unlike the Campas, the Machiguengas do not reverence *conkíri* as a sacred bird. *Katári*, the Anhinga of the rivers, another sacred bird of the Campas, is likewise presented in unflattering terms in the following minor transformation tale provided by Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 93):

The Ducks [*sic*] *Kátari.* There once were some indolent Machiguengas who would work only a little while and then go off to bathe. When *Yabíreri* saw their laziness, he converted them into river fowl. When the dry season begins, their parents, the yellow flowers of the trees *shimáshiri* and *korínti*, rebuke them, call them lazy, and order them to work. But the *kátari* flee from their presence, going downriver to settle on the beaches.

This depiction contrasts with Padre Grain's account presented on page 563 where "káteri" is portrayed as a sacred bird of considerable importance.

TEXTS RELATED TO *KAŠÍRI* THE MOON: CANNIBAL ORIGINS AND FLIGHT TO THE SKY

Machiguenga culture includes a myth of the Moon and the origin of the Sun that falls largely within the range of Campa belief. Three versions of the Machiguenga myth are available in the literature. The first of these, again, was provided by Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 3-6; 1943:230-232; see also Steward and Métraux 1948:550), and may be translated as follows:

Formerly there was no manioc, maize, plantain, or any other plant cultivated today. In those times the Machiguengas ate only red earth, like that used to make pots. They toasted it and swallowed like chickens, since they did not know how to chew, and did not have teeth.

A certain young Machiguenga girl being seated (a Machiguenga euphemism for menstruating) alone in a separate little hut, as is the custom in such cases, there appeared to her a man, whitish and taller than average. It was the Moon, who brought her some pieces of cooked manioc for her to eat. She accepted the gift; but, as she did not know how to chew, she swallowed the manioc, and it was necessary for *Kashiri* himself—so the Moon was named—to teach her the way to eat. He told her not to eat any more earth, that he would bring her food, but that she should not tell anyone anything, not even her own parents. The girl, obedient, ate no more earth. Her parents brought it to her as usual, but on seeing that she did not eat, they said to her, "Why don't you eat the earth that we bring you?" "Because I don't feel like it," she replied.

A few days later *Kashiri* returned and said to the young girl, "I want you to tell your parents all that has happened. And tell them, besides, that from now on I will bring the food for everybody, and that I am going to be your husband; your parents will be my parents-in-law." Which she did. She related everything to her parents, and presented them with some manioc as a sample. They began to eat, and it seemed to them such excellent food, that they said, "*Kametitákie*, it is very good." From that date they ate no more earth.

Kashiri returned again, and this time he brought seeds of manioc, maize, plantain, and other edible plants that the Machiguengas cultivate today. He gave them all to the young girl, for her in turn to offer them to her father and plant them. He no longer concealed himself; he permitted himself to be seen by everybody, and with his future parents-in-law he personally discussed his main intent. They being predisposed by these unusual bounties, it was not difficult for *Kashiri* to obtain a favorable decision.

Once adopted as a son-in-law, he came to live with the girl. Everybody was pleased with him, because he had brought them good food and taught them to eat. When he was bringing the manioc, he passed near another little hut where there was a menstruating Machiguenga woman. She learned about the manioc and desired it ardently; but *Kashiri* passed her by and gave her none, for which, aflame with rage, she threw in his face a handful of blood, and those are the spots that are still seen today on the face of the Moon.

One day *Kashiri* said to his wife, "Let us go to

the river to bathe; but don't say anything, nor get frightened, when some little fish touches you." On returning from the bath, the young girl felt herself to be pregnant. Not long after giving birth, she went again to bathe, and he warned his consort as before. Thus, successively.

Four children did the Moon have, all males. The eldest is the Sun, called *Puriáchiri*, which means "he who heats and lights," and is known also by the name of *Shungábari*, which signifies "he who revolves." The second is *Saripoto*, the planet Venus. The third is called *Kientiámpa*, the sun that is below in *Gamáironi*. The last is the sun of *Inquite*, called indifferently *Koriyénti*, *Kiénti*, or *Tábanti*.

Each time that his wife found herself pregnant, *Kashiri* planted a kind of squash called *Kiemi*, to feed the child that would be born. The seed sprouted very well, and produced abundant squashes. He planted the same for his last child, but the sprouted seeds dried up after a few days. He knew what that signified, so he said to his wife, "You will not give birth to my child; we have a manifest sign." Effectively, this last of his children was so hot that he burned the insides of his mother, killing her at birth. Angered, the mother of the defunct rebuked her son-in-law *Kashiri* most harshly, and said to him, "You are a devil . . . ; and since you caused the death of my daughter, now eat her." "Wait a little," answered *Kashiri*, "for your daughter will return to life." The mother-in-law paid no attention to him and again ordered him to eat her. After a few moments the deceased returned to life, but she no longer wished to live here on earth. She had descended to *Gamáironi* and it had appeared better there, so she died again, saying, "I am going to live below; there it is very good." Her body remained; only her soul descended. *Kashiri*, grieved by the harsh phrases of his mother-in-law, and burning with anger at the same time, gave his face the customary terrifying aspect by smearing it all over with red achiote, and with an angry frown seized the corpse, saying, "You have ordered me to eat it, I will eat it." He roasted it and ate it, found it so tasty that he took a liking to human flesh, and said, "Now that they have made me eat human flesh, from now on I will devour as many corpses as I can get." It was entirely the fault of the bad woman who said it to him, since *Kashiri* is a good person, and would not eat Machiguenga corpses if that old woman had not made him eat her daughter.

Kashiri, widower and embittered by the misfortunes indicated, decided, as is the custom among the Machiguengas on such occasions, to change his residence. His son *Kientiámpa* descended to *Gamáironi*, and is the sun of that land. He heats very little, and is bad, since he causes rain here, precisely when the Machiguengas clear their fields, so that the trees and underbrush do not dry and cannot burn. *Kashiri*, with his three remaining sons, ascended to the heights where he now lives. His sons are the suns, and he is the Moon. But *Koriyénti*, the youngest son, burned them, and they could not tolerate him. The very stones could not withstand his heat, and burst. His father found no other solution but to raise him and place him above, over the *Inkite* or Firmament, at a great height. There he remains today, and is the sun that gives light to all the stars or *Ananeríite* spirits, residents of *Meshiareni*. He is not seen from here due to the great distance that separates us. Only two sons live today with their father the Moon, they being: *Saripoto* (the planet Venus) and *Puriáchiri* (the sun). They live in *Inkite*, like the *Ananeríite* or stars.

The descent of the Moon's wife into "Gamáironi," where she remains to this day, was referred to elsewhere again by Padre García (1935-1937:XVIII, 134): "The wife of the Moon, burned by her son *Koriyenti*, was the first Machiguenga to enter *Gamáironi*, and therefore the others who go there hold her in great esteem and call her 'mother.' She is by now so ancient that she has no teeth." The Campas have no such tradition (see page 279, note 41).

The second account of these events from Machiguenga sources was provided by Pereira (1942:240-243); according to Tennant (1958: 75), Pereira was himself half Machiguenga—which lends his publications a certain authority:

> In a certain region of the forest there existed, in former times, a family of Machiguengas, whose daughter, of extraordinary beauty, arrived at her menarche or first menstruation. At the onset of this menstrual period, her parents enclosed her in a separate habitation, thus following the customary rites in such cases. . . .
>
> In the times when manioc (*Manihot* sp.), later the basis of alimentation, was unknown, the Machiguengas used as food a kind of clay that was kneaded and cooked in hot ashes. On one of those days when the parents of the young girl absented themselves, as usual, to go supply themselves with that clay, the god *Cashire* (the Moon) presented himself to her in the guise of a handsome young man, who after the initial greetings and other compliments declared his love, ending

by asking her to be his wife and fixing the date of the nuptials for when she emerged from her confinement.

Among the Machiguengas, good hospitality is shown to someone who has just arrived by providing him with a mat to sit on and something to eat. In accordance with such civility, the young girl offered her guest the calcined earth that she and her family ate. *Cashire* explained that such material was not for eating but for the manufacture of pots or vessels in which to cook manioc, the succulent tuber that a certain plant produces, that only he possessed, and that provides the basis of alimentation of mankind. Saying this, he took out of his shoulder bag some pieces of cooked manioc, which he offered to his betrothed, urging her to try them. On helping herself, the young girl experienced a great satisfaction with the goodness of the manioc, promising to tell all about it to her parents; but *Cashire* told her by no means to inform them until he authorized it.

The meetings and talks continued with the greatest secrecy, the divine wooer remaining each time more captivated. While the heart of his future consort was being conquered, he no longer was content to offer her pieces of cooked manioc but instead he also brought the seeds [*sic*] and planted them in the garden and environs. Afterward he brought raw manioc and taught his betrothed to prepare with it a fermented beverage that serves as a purgative as well as a beverage at feasts. The day she emerged from her confinement, she purged herself by drinking a great quantity of said beverage, but several days before she emerged . . . the divine suitor authorized his betrothed to tell everything to her parents.

From the first moment her parents were surprised and pleased with all that they heard and saw, and their admiration was even greater when the divine suitor presented himself to them in person. Not doubting the advantageous alliance that was offered them, they accepted very willingly, granting the hand of their daughter. Shortly thereafter they celebrated the nuptials, at which were present the principal families of the region, and the wedding was celebrated with great festivals, at which they drank without cup the excellent and intoxicating manioc beer [chicha], prepared beforehand by the newly married woman. More so than anyone else, her father drank beer with unending mirth and merriment. From then on, *Cashire* lived with the Machiguengas, and from then on, also, they stopped eating clay, because thanks to him they knew, besides manioc, other food crops, such as maize, plantain, sweet potato, magona, uncucha, etc., and the manner of cultivating them.

After the wedding, *Cashire* wanted his wife to conceive a child, for which purpose he invited her to bathe in the river; once there and leaving her on the bank, with water up to her waist, he went farther in, warning his wife beforehand not to be disturbed or alarmed when a *materí*, a little fish, touched her. Despite the warning, she was startled to feel in her body the mysterious act, which provoked the laughter of her husband; feeling somewhat offended by this, she revenged herself on him, flinging in his face the juice of the leaves of the *Amanquerichi*, which she was then chewing. From this, they say, come those indelible spots that the moon exhibits on his face.

Cashire, probably because he was a god and also for other reasons, did not want his children to mix with mortals but rather to be transformed into suns or stars; in which state they now exist in the sky, although some are invisible. When his first child was born, he planted or sowed at the four cardinal points of the horizon the seeds of a certain tree, and as only two germinated and grew, he said to himself, "Here are indicated the two extremes of the path along which my son must pass"; and saying this he placed his son in the east, to rise to the firmament from there. As soon as his son reached the zenith his rays became so ardent that with his heat the rivers dried up and the earth itself burned with all its inhabitants. Observing this, his father rushed to remove him and place him in another region of the sky, to serve as luminary there for other, more privileged creatures. This is the "Sun" that never sets, and is known by the name of *Conti* or *Yguentimaranaia*, as much for the size of his body as for the high mission that he performs in the empyrean.

He made a similar attempt with his second son, and as the rays of this one were more tolerable than those of his brother, he was assigned to illumine and animate the earth and its inhabitants. He was named *Inti* or *Poreashiri*, "Sun which lights and heats us," and which rises and sets at determined points on the horizon, obeying an immutable law.

Besides these two, *Cashire* had by his wife other children, among which the last two were twins of great size, who at birth caused the death of their mother. The sad event was the motive for the mother-in-law of *Cashire* breaking forth in reproaches against her son-in-law, telling him that he was the only one responsible for the death of her daughter because like a lascivious

sensualist he made her conceive child after child so frequently. It did not help *Cashire* to promise that during the night, with his power or virtue, he would resuscitate her daughter if they placed her beforehand in a place far apart. He proposed besides that from the resurrection of the defunct would be reborn two persons in place of one, to suckle each one of the infants. The bad mother-in-law, even more furious, continued hurling the worst insults at him, even insisting that he eat the corpse of her daughter, considered as a victim. *Cashire*, much offended and unable to tolerate the insults any longer, ended by putting into practice what that implacable mother-in-law commanded him. He seized the corpse, roasted it in a separate place, and ate it there, becoming thenceforth a cannibal without ceasing to be a god above all in the sky, where he returned mysteriously one day and where sometimes he is seen accompanied, according to some, by one of his sons . . . and according to others, by his own wife, a star, whom he gave in the sky a new life and a better one than that which she lost on the earth.

The third account, aberrant in certain particulars, was given by Padre Cenitagoya ([1943]:192-196):

In the beginning, mankind was nourished with earth. The food plants that we know today did not exist. Here is the origin of some of them: a girl, having recently reached puberty, was secluded in a habitation, as the Machiguengas are accustomed to do even today with their pubescent daughters.

Her parents left her a pile of earth with which to feed herself during the days of confinement.

One day the Moon appeared to her in the form of a man . . . and said to her, "Don't eat earth. Instead eat this cooked manioc that I bring for you. But tell no one."

The young girl tried this tuber, and was very pleased. The Moon said to the young girl, "Manioc is planted with cuttings," and he entrusted her with the secret, disappearing immediately afterward.

Another day he came to visit her bringing plantains, and taught her how they are planted. . . .

On a certain occasion her parents went to see her and, noting that the earth remained intact, they asked her why she had not eaten it. She answered that earth was not food, but the manioc and plantains that the Moon had brought her were.

They advised her when the Moon came again to inform them of his presence. When her parents went to visit her, they encountered her conversing with the Moon.

They asked him from where he had brought those viands, and how they were planted. The Moon answered that he had planted a garden near the house and they could go see it when they wished. . . .

The parents of the young girl, moved by the inducement, begged the Moon to live with her. The Moon accepted the offer. . . .

The parents took their daughter out of her seclusion, and . . . gave her to the Moon as his wife.

While the young girl was bathing one day in the river, the Moon approached and threw mud at her belly. Indignant at this irregular conduct of her husband, the young girl did the same to him.

The Moon said to her, "Why do you do that? I have thrown mud at you so that you will have a child."

At the end of nine months the young girl died in childbirth, and with her the child, as punishment for the desecration she had committed against the Moon. Indignant against the Moon, the parents of the young girl wanted to make him eat her corpse, but he felt horror at putting into practice so repugnant an act.

Obliged in the end by the pressure exerted on him by the parents of the young girl, he opened the belly of his former wife, extracted the dead child and resuscitated it. He ate half of the body of his wife and with the other half he ascended above.

The Machiguengas relate that the spots that we see on the Moon are the macabre remains of his former wife. . . .

They also claim that until then only the sloth, in a tenuous manner, shone in the firmament; that the son which the Moon had with the young girl was transformed into the Sun; and that the Sun, in revenge for what his maternal grandparents had done to his father, remained for entire days on the horizon, burning mankind with his searing rays and drying the rivers and brooks. A *seripegari* [shaman] ascended and succeeded in making the Sun move, there being from that time days and nights.

The "sloth" mentioned in this final account may be the same celestial phenomenon which the Campas call *soróni* (sloth), i.e., the Large Magellanic Cloud.

A TEXT RELATING TO ALTERNATIVE COSMOGONY: *PÁVÁ* AND THE SKY-ROPE

Padre Alvarez (1940:22-24) provided a rendition of a Machiguenga myth in which the sky-rope motif appears:

In remote times . . . the vault of the firmament was not so high as now. Between it and the earth there intervened only a space of the height of a tree. The Machiguengas, the Viracochas (whites) and the Puñarunas (Andean Indians) were at the time all good.

From the earth could be heard the laughter of the "Saangaríte" or "good spirits"—who lived in the sky.

The firmament or sky had an appendix or umbilicus called "omóguito Inkite" that united it with the earth and was the latter's only sustainer. On this appendix there was a kind of inclined staircase by which the Machiguengas climbed and entered the sky through a hole that was there, where the umbilicus took root in the firmament. In addition, the Saangaríte descended by it to visit the earth.

Viracochas, Machiguengas, and Puñarunas all spoke the Machiguenga language. There was only one bad man who, when he climbed to Inkite and was invited by the Saangaríte to drink masato, drank to the point of drunkenness. In this he differed from the others, who stopped at the precise point of pleasant and prudent equilibrium.

Wanting to end the visits of this man, the Saangaríte decided to cut the appendix and let the earth sink into the abyss. They communicated their intention to those who were good who, no sooner advised, gathered . . . their property and, carrying it, climbed the staircase rapidly to save themselves in the firmament.

This plan did not fail to spread and reach the ears of the bad man who, gathering hastily the bulk of his things, ran toward the staircase with his arrows in his hand.

He began to climb when no one was on it. Part of the good people were saved above, in the land of Inkite, and part below, in "Kipachi" land.

Already the bad man believed himself safe; but when he started to enter the sky, the Saangaríte cut the appendix. The firmament rose suddenly to where we see it now, while the earth sank, disappearing into the abyss.

The place on the earth where the good people were did not fall and so they were saved.

When the bad man fell, the arrows that he carried stuck into his body, and he was converted into the porcupine "tontori."

At that moment the new earth, the present earth, appeared, and the good people jumped onto it. The porcupine succeeded in doing the same and so we see him walking in the forest. The arrows that he carried are the spines that now he has as hair.

Scarcely had they jumped, when the piece of the old earth, which remained supported by the new earth, sank as well, and the hole in which it fit closed, leaving the earth intact.

Before this the Machiguengas, Viracochas, and Puñarunas did not die. There were no sicknesses. From that time sicknesses and death began. And the Machiguengas began to know badness and be evil-doers.

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