



Fig. 17. Wafer's route across the Isthmus of Panama in 1681 according to Pérez' interpretation of Wafer's description. The numbers signify: 1. The place where the inland voyage started. 2. *Temaltakeyala*. 3. *Uligal*. 4. *Ulnakkue*. 5. The mountain *Ibedón*.

which W a f e r describes (p. 59). The Cunas call it *Temallakeyala*, that is, »the mountain from which one sees the ocean.» From here W a f e r went with his Indian guides to *Neg-gana* or Old Narganá. They were by now »at the Sea-side» (p. 60) but had not reached the actual coast. It was in this village that W a f e r was allowed to attend the magic ceremonies which he describes as *pawawing* (p. 61).¹ From this village they finally followed Rio Ticantiqui (R. Concepción) to the sea.

The present Narganá at the mouth of R. Narganá (R. Diablo) was then not in existence. According to P é r e z the R. Diablo formerly had no definite mouth but the river flowed out in a wide marshy stretch (»el Rio Diablo anteriormente no tenia su desembocadura; el rio al llegarse a la costa se regaba sus aguas en todas direcciones y formaba pantanos»). In the lower reaches of the river there was a whirlpool (*pirya*) which the Indians feared, as they believed that there were many dangerous animals in it. In order still to reach the sea with the canoes they dragged them a certain stretch overland between a point on the river called *Uligar* (the »canoe way»; from *ulu* = canoe and *igal[igar]* = way). On the coast east of the river's mouth they thus reached the shore at *Ulnakkue*, which means »place where one goes up with the canoe». Both names are still in use and the places are marked on the map (3 and 4). It was during *Nele Pa-wa*'s time that the Rio Narganá route to the sea became navigable the whole way. Before this the Indians always went by Rio Ticantiquí and it was, according to Pérez, on this river that W a f e r concluded his adventurous voyage.

¹ Cf. W a s s é n 1938, p. 72.

Part B.

Cuna Documents of Mythological — Historical Content.

I. The History of the Cuna Indians from the Great Flood up to our Time.

This document consists in the original of twenty-one closely type-written folio pages of which 1—10, *GM 31.27.26. a*, are written in Spanish and pages 11—21, *GM.31.27.26. b*, in English. The document has been dictated by the Cuna High Chief *Nēle de Kantule* to different secretaries who interpreted *Nēle's* speech in Spanish and English respectively. *Nēle* himself speaks only Cuna. The manuscript was brought to Gothenburg by the secretary Ruben Pérez Kantule from the collection of documents in Ustúpu.

The original, the Spanish and English texts of which in some measure cover the same ground (the English version taken as a whole is more exhaustive) is here published in the form in which it appears in the version gone over by Nordenskiöld and Pérez. In this connection only a part of the all too evident mistakes in writing and spelling have been corrected, but on the other hand a great number of corrections have been made in the matter of faulty and unclear words and expressions. These additions gone through by Nordenskiöld assisted by Pérez I have here placed within brackets []. The notes added by Nordenskiöld and Pérez I have however as a rule worked in in the explanatory text. The explanatory text had not been fully worked out in Swedish manuscript by Nordenskiöld. What was lacking I have tried to fill in. The page numbers within parentheses refer to the page in the original text. Cuna words have been italicized in both versions. ED.

**La Historia de la Antigüedad de Indios de San Blas después del
Tiempo de Diluvio Universal.**

(P. I) (GM.31.27.26.a.)

Después *Mû-osis* venimos nosotros hemos venido nacer, después *Mû-osis* después de dos años vino un hombre aquí en la tierra para conocernos que había ya un pueblo que se llama *Mom-mon* que significa flojedad vino saludarnos a [nuestros] antiguos padres hicieron hombre vino a ese pueblo *Acuapirmay* [o] *Mom-mon* a es[te] pueblo vino el hombre para conocer a nosotros a saludar en ese tiempo, ese hombre vino avisar a decirnos que saludar es bueno cuando vienen algunas personas de otras partes eso es para en pensar en Dios darnos buenos saludos eso Dios nos da para hablar a nosotros al día; en ese tiempo el hombre dijo que le hiciera *huar* en antiguo se decía *tola*, cuando ya estaba hecha se decía *tola* ellos no entendían, y entonces le dijo el hombre yo llamo esto *tola* cuando ya estaba hecho el *huar* o *tola* para dar el incienso, o dar humo que vino el hombre con sus c[o]sas listas para uso y dijo que le pusieron una *surpa*, y cuando le hicieron, [el] entró se puso cantar y vino *poni* dijo, *Ibeorgun cânanélepa*, *yānelepa*, *Ibeorgun Cungilel* vino cantar el *poni* se dice también vino *etarpagana* cuando ellos oyeron esa voz dijeron que se llamaba *Ibeorgun*, y el es primer hombre que vino a buscar los nombres a nosotros. Cuando amaneció al día siguiente el *Ibeorgun* hizo una conferencia al pueblo y dijo a todas las personas o a las gentes que Dios me ha mandado para enseñar aquí en la tierra y le dijo a las gentes que aprendieran [*Absogetigala*, *Cámū-igala*, *Caburrigala*, *Siaigala*, *Masarigala*] y etc. que Dios dijo que aprendieran. [Esto] viene de la boca de Dios que debemos aprender aquí en la tierra para ayudarnos a nosotros. Ese hombre vino de mucho sabiduría [y decía] que Dios lo había mandado a la tierra para que los hombres supieran que Dios lo ha mandado para los hombres. *Ibeorgun* siempre hacía conferencia [diciendo] que [Dios lo había dado su conocimiento], que le diera a las gentes clases de enseñanzas

(Corresponding to p. 126)

(P. 1) After *Mú-osis*¹ we were born here on the earth. Two years after *Mú-osis* a man came to this earth to learn to know us. And there was even at that time a village *Mom-mon* or *Akuapirmai*.² The man came to teach us to greet our neighbors and to believe in God.³ He brought knowledge about tobacco, *huar*, and when they did not understand he explained and said: »I call tobacco *huar* and when it is ready to smoke⁴ or to be used as incense⁵, I call it *tola*. »And the man came with his things ready and said that they should build him a *súrba* ⁶. And when they had done this he went into it and sat down to sing and the *pónis*⁷ came there, said *Ibeorgun cánanélepa yanelepa* ⁸. And *Ibeorgun Kungilel* sang and even the *etarpagana*⁹ came there and when they heard the voice of the one who sang they said that he was called *Ibeorgun*, and he was the first to come to give us names. When the following day dawned *Ibeorgun* gave a speech in the village and said to all the people that God had sent him to earth to give instructions and he said furthermore that the people should learn *absogetigala*,

¹ The great flood. See p. 235.

² According to a handwritten note by Pérez this place was located south of *Tacarcuna* mountain at the shore of the tributary to the river Tuile. The place was called *Mommon* because there was a natural bridge there and everybody who went over it was assailed by laziness, *mommokua*. Cf. p. 232. ED.

³ Pérez interpreted this difficult sentence thus: »Puso a enseñar a los demás en el modo de saludar a los demás vecinos y a la existencia de un hombre supremo diciendo: Cuando encuentra a uno de afuera deben saludar dándole manos y preguntando a la vez su salud y sus familias». ED.

⁴ In the form of a cigar.

⁵ At feasts.

⁶ An enclosure in the hut. ED.

⁷ *Póni* = demon.

⁸ Skill which *Ibeorgun* had.

⁹ Inferiors or subordinates.

de hablar, que como ese tiempo los hombres no sabían de decir hermano, entonces el *Ibeorgun* le dijo que dijera para decir hermano *Cargüenatdi*, para decir hermana [*Om*] para decir su hermano el *Yai* y *Yaya*, para llamar el marido de mi tía se dice *Tuc-so*, *Ibeorgun* dijo a las gentes que dijeran que arriba en el cielo que Dios está los llamanos *Diosayla*. [Padre — papá] la tierra que nacemos que llamamos papá. Cuando una mujer se ha muerto y se casa con [otra el] hombre que cuando la mujer tiene una hija el hombre llama a [la] hija de su mujer *Huapun* y *Huapa* y cuando es varón *Capalu* y *Sam-mor*. Cuando una persona tiene una criada ó criado se dice *Sapca* y se dice también *Nia* y ahora decimos *Aguedi*. Cuando nace un niño ó una niña se dice [*Uela*] y [*Uāsa*], eso es antigua lengua eso es buenos idomas antiguos. El papá de mi padre se dice *Dada* y el padre de abuelo se dice *Dad-tuma* y el [hermano de *Dada*] se dice *Dadolo*. La madre de mi madre se dice *Mu-u*, la madre de mi *Mu-u* se dice *Mu-u-tum-madi*. La hermana de *Mu-u* se dice *Mu-uhuccua*. [El] hermano de mi padre se dice [*Kilólo* ó *Kihu*]. La hija de mi abuelo se dice *Am-ma* [ó] *Am-mor* y dijo *Ibeorgun* a las indígenas que Dios que nos ha dejado aquí en la tierra que dijéramos *Nap-cua-na* [ese mundo] porque estamos en el centro del mundo a la mitad del mundo y que estamos en *Kuna*. Se dice que estamos en el plan de la tierra que andamos rectos, *ucurmacque*. Se dice que sigamos ó andamos en la tierra.

Cuando nosotros tenemos hija y cuando queremos dar marido a la niña que no tiene marido, el padre de la niña va al padre del joven para pedir el muchacho para que se casa con la joven. El padre de la joven avisa a su papá y abuelo y a su mamá y a su abuela y a sus hermanos y el padre del joven también avisa su papá y abuelo y sus hermanos y abuelas y cuando van a traer el joven a la casa de la joven van a traerlo con alegría diciendo le llevo para la joven para que trabajes para que siembres comestibles para la joven para que le busques leñas y entra la casa y

(Corresponding to pp. 126, 128)

kamuigala, *kaburrigala*, *siaigala* and *masarigala*,¹ which God had said. It comes from God's mouth that we here on the earth should learn to help one another. This man came with much knowledge and he said that God had sent him to the earth to mankind. *Ibeorgun* made speeches constantly for the people and said that God had given him his knowledge. And he wished to give the people the ability to speak because at that time they could not say brother. *Ibeorgun* taught them that they should say *kargüenatti* for brother, *öm*. for sister.² They should call an aunt's husband *tukso* and God up there in heaven *Diosyala*, the earth which feeds us we call *papa*. When a wife has died and the husband marries another woman he shall, if he has a daughter, call her *huapun* or *huapa* and if he has a son, he calls him *kapalu* or *sammor*. If a person has a man-servant or maid-servant he shall say *sapka*. This is also called *nía* and now we say *agüedi*. When a boy or a girl is born he or she is called *uëla* and *uäsa*. This is old, good language. For grandfather one shall say *dada* and for great grandfather *dada-tummat*. For the brother of *dada* one says *dadolo*. Grandmother is *Müu*, great grandmother *Müu-tummadi*. For a sister to *Müu* one says *Mü-ukua*. For uncle one says *Kilólo* or *Kilu*. The daughter of my uncle we shall call *amma* or *am-mor*. And *Ibeorgun* said to the Indians that this world where God has placed us we shall call *Nap-kua-na*, because we are in the middle of the world, we are in *Kuna*. We walk upright on the surface of the earth, *ukurmakke*, that is to say, we walk on the earth.

When we have a daughter and we wish to get a husband for the girl who has no husband, the girl's father goes to the young man's father in order to request the young man to marry the girl. The father of the girl informs his father

¹ *igal* which means way, is the last name for great many medicine songs. ED.

² The meaning is not clear. ED.

pone en la hamaca el joven y traen también la joven y la ponen encima del joven y le dicen a la joven y lo aconsejan a la joven que sea amigo con él, y que le lava bien la ropa del joven que [lo] dieron y que tenga [listo] con tiempo cuando tiene comida, y que [lo] recibe bien cuando viene del trabajo y al siguiente [viene] un hombre a la joven a aconsejarla. Ha venido aquí [para decir] a esta joven para que trabaje y para que busca leñas, y todas clases (P 2) de uso de la casa. Y sigue aconsejando el jefe a los que se han casado si la mujer se enferma ó el marido se enferma también se sienten como [tenía también la enfermedad en] su cuerpo, y la mujer lo mismo pensará como el hombre cuando él se enferma. Nosotros aquí casamos como yo hablo aquí y entonces el suegro [viene] a aconsejar el joven que se ha casado [y] le dice: »Yo te he pedido para criarte para trabajar conmigo, es como tener un sirviente, y le dice otra vez que no trabajes de su cuenta, yo le doy una regla para que sirvas o trabajes para la joven, yo soy el dueño de la casa. Usted no podrá llevar la joven a otra parte, le dice el suegro a su yerno, uno no puede despartar de su suegro, así nosotros nos casamos, los indios.

El *Ibeorgun* habló a su gente que aquí en la tierra Dios nos ha puesto, hombres de tierra, que Dios ha dicho que respetaran a los ancianos, que cuando viene un anciano viejo por el camino, que pase primero el anciano por el camino y después siguiera el joven por el camino. Así le dijo *Ibeorgun* a los indios, que cuando vienen algunas personas y amigos llamará, en seguida, venga. Aquí siéntese aquí en esta silla y los recibiera muy bien con mucho cariño. Dios ha dicho a nosotros que somos gente, que no somos animales. *Ibeorgun* ha aconsejado a los indios. Cuando en tiempo antiguo habló *Ibeorgun* a los indios, que unos nacemos fuera de la gracia de Dios porque nosotros somos hombres de la tierra, los jóvenes deben respetar a los ancianos y a las ancianas y que respetaran a la madre y al padre, porque de él nacemos nosotros, si el padre y

(Corresponding to pp. 128, 130)

and grandfather and his mother and his grandmother as well as all the brothers, and the father of the young man likewise informs his father and grandfather and his brothers and mother and grandmother, when they are to take the young man to the girl's house. They are to fetch him with gayety, saying: »We take you to the girl in order that you shall work, sow edible plants for the girl, and fetch wood.« They are to go into the house and place the boy in a hammock and they shall take the girl and lay her on the boy and say to the girl that she shall be friends with him and that she shall wash his clothes properly, and that she shall have the food ready on time, and that she shall receive him well when he comes from work. Then a man shall come in order to give advice to the girl. He says, »I have come to say to you that you shall fetch wood and everything that is needed for the house.« (P. 2) And then the chief shall say to those who are married: »If the wife or the husband is taken sick the other shall feel as if he had the illness in his own body.« In this way we are to marry. Then the father-in-law shall come and advise the youth who has married and he shall say: »I have requested you to work with me as if you were a servant.« And so he shall say again: »You shall not work on your own account. I give you an order that you shall serve and work for the girl. I am the master of the house. You may not take the girl to any other place.« One shall not leave his father-in-law. This is the way we are to marry.

Ibeorgun said to his people that God has placed us here on this earth. God has said that we are to respect the old; when an old man comes along the road the old man is to go first and the young one after. Thus said *Ibeorgun* to the Indians, that if any people and friends should come we should at once greet them. We should ask them to sit down, we should receive them hospitably. God has said that we are people not animals.

.....[The meaning not clear]

The young should respect the old and they should respect

la madre nos van aconsejarnos no debemos hablar, oír nada más la voz de nuestra madre y nuestro padre. Dijo *Ibeorgun* que cuando hay algunas personas en el medio del camino no pases sin pedir permiso, primero [pides] permiso a los señores [y después puedes pasar]. Si pasa usted sin pedir permiso, cuando hay algunas personas por el camino, será de formarse un vagabundo [sin educación]. *Ibeorgun* dijo a sus gentes, que cuando nace un niño o una niña [y] su madre no está casada o está rebuscada con un hombre que no es su marido eso lo llaman *Nappasudegua* o *Nia*, así lo llaman entre nosotros. Cuando nace uno de esos [no deben] matarlos [y] no deben enterrarlos, porque Dios ha dicho, que si matamos esos niños derramamos [nuestra] sangre en la tierra, así es que es malo a matar los niños que no tienen [padre]. *Ibeorgun* dice que Dios ha dicho así. Entonces *Ibeorgun* dijo a los indios que cuando una niña da la regla, que ya va hacer joven, debemos refrescar a la niña y bañarla y entonces vino «*Olokickadir* [y] *Wicudun*» [*Uigudun*] que son sabedores de hacer tinajas, entonces dijo *Ibeorgun* podemos hacer una fiesta o chicha, cuando hace esa chicha debemos a madurar los plátanos para dar una alegría o hacer una fiesta para la Señorita cuando el plátano ya está maduro entonces lo mezcla con agua para hacer bastante entonces se ponen con la tinaja hasta que [está fuerte] con ese lo emborracha a nosotros cuando es listo a tomar esa chicha, entonces se ponen [los sombreros] de plumas de las aves los indios. Lllaman eso «*Turbun* o *Calup*». [Toman parte en la fiesta] multitudes de gente. Así comienza la fiesta o chicha de indios. Eso lo dejó Dios para nosotros. Entonces *Ibeorgun* dijo a sus gentes que cuando nacen los niños o que cuando está la mujer embarazada deben antes hacer una casa aparte, para cuando se enferma para dar a luz un niño no poder dar la luz en [la misma] casa porque es muy mal dijo Dios [de] enseñar [como pasa el parto] a los [pequeños] inocentes, y dijo *Ibeorgun* que para llamar a la mujer ó acostarse con la mujer que no se

(Corresponding to p. 132)

their father and mother, because from them we are born. If our father or mother gives us advice we should not speak but only listen to our father's and mother's voice.

Ibeorgun said that when we meet anybody on the road we should not go by without asking permission. Only when we have asked permission may we pass. If you go by without asking permission when you meet anyone on the road you behave like a tramp without any upbringing.

Ibeorgun said to his people that when a boy or girl is born and the mother is not married or has had some connection with a man who is not her husband the child may be called *nappasudegua* or *nia*. When any such child is born we ought not to kill him and we are not to bury him for God has said that if we kill these children we shed His blood.¹ It is thus not right to kill children who have no father. *Ibeorgun* said that God has said so.

Ibeorgun said to the Indians that when a girl has her first menstruation so that she has become a woman, we should refresh her and bathe her. Then *Olokikadir* and *Uigudun* shall come, they who are skilful in making pottery. *Ibeorgun* said: »We are to make a feast and drink chicha.» When we make this chicha, we should ferment the ripe bananas in order to be gay and to make a feast for the girl. When the bananas are ripe we should mix them with water so that we shall have much, and then it must stand in a pottery vessel to become strong. When this is ready we are to drink ourselves drunk with it. Then we are to place on our heads the hats with feathers. These we ought to call *turbun* or *kalup*. Many people are to take part in the feast. Thus began the Indians' chicha feast. This God gave to us.

Ibeorgun said to his people that when a child is to be born or a woman is pregnant we are to build a little house off to one side where she can give birth to the child. She can not bear the child in the hut where she lives because God has said that it is very wrong to teach the small innocent

¹ Christian influence.

acuestes de día, porque es muy malo, que Díos ha puesto la noche para dormir ó para acostar con la mujer. La [fuerza que nos hace dormir en la] noche llamamos [*kapsus*]. La mujer llamamos *San-hua*. *Ibeorgun* dijo que nuestras *San-huas* trabajaran también como nosotros como de cocinar, cultivar el maíz, cortar los plátanos y lavar la ropa nuestra; y el hombre debe de trabajar en el monte, debe sudar para conseguir los alimentos y para tumbar los árboles grandes, para hacer rosales, para cultivar las plantas que alimentamos. [Esto] *Ibeorgun* estaba aconsejando a los indios en el tiempo antiguo. Esta es nuestra ley que dijo el *Ibeorgun* que en ese tiempo vino a enseñar también a nosotros que en el mundo la mujer *Olanadili* [inventó *pirbi*] de cuatro clases para hacer hilos, camisas y hamacas. Estas cuatro clases de *pirbi* se llaman [*kin-gui pirbi*, *pircua-pirbi*, *pirbi-oret*, *pirbi-suit*]. Para teñir el algodón o para dar distintos colores (**P. 3**) en este tiempo también descubrió los jugos de algunas plantas, para hacer colores vivos; como *Nisal* (achiote), *Malina* y otras para teñir el algodón; y para hacer las vasijas se usaron las varias clases de tierras como: *Malina napa*, *Iguana-napa*, *Ibena-napa*, *Tulina-napa*, estos son los colores de barro y también se usaron para teñir tela de algodón. También el *Ibeorgun* enseñó a las gentes de hacer hilos por medio de las fibras de algunas plantas, así en este modo nuestros antepasados usaron la ropa tejida por ellos mismos, usaron las fibras [*ohua*], *cuiba*, *tisquela*, *huasqui* etc. En otros lugares donde habitan también hacían plumas de las aves para usar como vestidos para cubrir sus cuerpos. Esos hacen muy bien trabajados. Esto nos ha dado Dios. En este tiempo *Ibeorgun* también inventó el uso del metal (oro) para hacer las vasijas, platos, cucharas, y los alzamuros para el uso de nuestras mujeres. Por tal razón [todavía] nuestras mujeres siguen de usar alzamuros. Cuando una niña [nace] dijo *Ibeorgun* [debemos hacer una fiesta y hacer] *In-na* o [*Cabirr*] que llamamos la chicha. Se hace una [*morrsurba*]. En tiempo de la

(Corresponding to p. 134)

children how birth takes place. *Ibeorgun* said that one shall not lie with his wife in the daytime because that is very wrong. God has decided that one shall lie with his wife at night. The power that makes us sleep at night we call *kapsus*. The wife we should call *sanua* — now we call her *ome*.

Ibeorgun said that our wife shall also work as we do, she shall cook, raise corn, cut bananas and wash our clothes. The man is to work in the forest and get food and fell the large trees where there are to be cultivated fields. All this knowledge *Ibeorgun* taught people in olden times. He told them also that a woman *Olonadili* discovered four kinds of *pirbir* in order to spin thread to make cloth and hammocks. These four kinds of *pirbir* are called: *kingi-pirbit*, *pirkua-pirbit*, *pirbi-oret* and *pirbir-suit*. (P. 3)

In order to give different colors to cotton she also discovered the plant dyes such as *nisal* (achiote, bija), *malina* and others. To be used in the making of pottery she discovered several kinds of clay such as *malina napa*, *iguana napa*, *ibena napa*, and *tulina napa*, which are different colored clays, and they are used even for dying cotton cloth.¹

Ibeorgun trained his people to make threads of plant fibers and in this way our ancestors used clothes which they had made themselves, and they used fibers such as *ohua*, *kuiba*, *tiskela*, *uaki*² etc. In other places where they lived they even used bird feathers to make clothes with which to cover their bodies. These they made very carefully. God has given us this. At that time *Ibeorgun* also discovered the use of gold for making bowls, plates, spoons and nose rings for our women. For this reason our women still wear nose rings today. *Ibeorgun* said that when a girl is born we should arrange a feast and brew *inna* or *cabirr* which is our word for chicha. A *morrsurba*³ should

¹ The cotton threads are placed in this clay in order to be dyed.

² Not used any more.

³ Enclosure in the hut.

fiesta se mete en la *Molsurpa* la niña recién nacida, con su madre, abuelas y todas sus parientes y los habitantes del pueblo empiezan de tomar chicha y [están todos muy alegres]. Esto lo hace para hoyear la nariz de la niña recién nacida, para poder introducir después el alzamuro. Dice *Ibeorgun* que *Ibelele* nos ha dejado [este] costumbre para nosotros de poner en la nariz de nuestras mujeres el oro. Y cuando la niña que ha nacido se desarrolle ó se ha hecho una señorita, entonces hacemos a la niña a bañar o darla un baño por cuatro días con agua salada y agua fresca del río y cuando bañamos la niña llamamos a ella *Yae* ó *Yaa-gua* que significa señorita. Cuando vamos a cortar el pelo de la señorita dijo *Ibeorgun* tenemos que buscar los alimentos para hacer un festín; que buscar pescados, saínos, pavos silvestres, y muchas clases de animales comestibles. Debemos hacer también la chicha para tomar por dos ó tres días para hacer una fiesta para ella en el tiempo de la cortadura de los cabellos. Eso *Ibelele* ha dejado para nosotros aquí en la tierra. Viene desde antiguamente para nosotros. Hacemos la chicha para la señorita o para cortar su pelo, la chicha lo llamamos nosotros «*inna*» o «*Cabir*».

El nombre [del] pueblo de donde vino el *Ibeorgun* [llamamos] *Abyayala*. Todos los indios antiguos eran nacidos en *Abyayala* o *Abia*. [Este pueblo se llama también *Yoneca Tacargun* o *Cualagun*]. Esos son los nombres de pueblos que habitaron primero los Cunas. El río *Tuilewala* [se llama así porque] en *Purgana* vivió *Tat Tuile*. Entonces *Ibeorgun* [se puso a nombrar todos los afluentes de *Tuile* que son]: *Rio Samiganti*, *Rio Suknawala*, *Rio Yavis*, *Rio Tuppis*, *Rio Ucurgandi*, *Rio Metedi*, *Rio Ucuanadi*, *Rio Candi*, *Rio Tugues*, *Rio Elidi*, *Rio Sandi*, *Rio Ucurcandi*, *Rio Nusacandi*, *Rio Tupcandi* [Río Isla], *Rio Metedi* [R. Cántaro], *Rio Carcacarti*, *Rio Siadi* [R. Cacao], *Rio Tarcuacandi* [*tarcua* — una planta], *Rio Esmetti* [R. Olla], *Rio Puppurcanti* [*puppur* — una planta], *Rio Socupti*, *Rio Peubir*, *Rio Morti*, *Rio Wala*, *Rio Eslocandi* [R. Caimito], *Rio Arquidi* [*arquidi* — pez: boca

(Corresponding to pp. 136, 138)

be made and at the time of the feast the new-born girl is put inside this with her mother, her two grandmothers, and all her relatives. And the inhabitants in the villages begin to drink chicha and are all very happy. This they do in order to bore through the nose of the new-born baby in order to put in the nose ring. *Ibeorgun* said that *Ibelele* has given us this custom of placing a gold ring in the nose of our women. And when the girl has developed and has become a young maiden, then we bathe her for four days in salt water, and in fresh water in the river,* and when she has been bathed she is called *yae* or *yaagua* which means maiden. And *Ibeorgun* said that when we are to cut the hair off the maiden we should seek out food in order to give a feast. One must search for fish, *s a í n o s*¹ wild turkey and all the edible animals. And we should also prepare chicha to drink during two or three days at the feast for the girl at the time of the hair cutting. This *Ibelele* has given us here on the earth. It is an old custom among us. We make chicha in order to cut the maiden's hair and we call chicha *inna* or *cabirr*.

The village from which *Ibeorgun* came we call *Abyayala*. All the first Indians were born in *Abyayala* or *Abia*. The village is also called *Yonega Tacargun* or *Cualagun*. It is the name of the village which the Cunas first inhabited. *Rio Tuilewala* [*Tuilehuala*] is called that because *Dada Tuile* lived in *Purgana*. And *Ibeorgun* now gave names to all the tributaries of *Tuile*: *Rio Samiganti* . . . *Rio Acua* (*Rio Piedra*), *Rio Sauluqui*, and thus ends the great river *Tuilewala*.

Taimdi (*R. Caiman*) is an arm of the river *Wala* and this *Taimdiwala* has its source at *Tup̄pacyala*. There is a lake on this great mountain which is the source of the rivers *Madugandi* and *Nargandi*, a tributary to *Rio Bayano*. Here on the mountain *Tupac* these and many other rivers have their sources. Other rivers where we formerly lived are

¹ *Dicotyles labiatus*.

abajo], *Rio Acua* [R. Piedra], *Rio Sauluquí* hasta aquí termina el gran río de *Tuilewala*. [El] brazo de río *Wala* es el siguiente: *Taimdí* [R. Caiman] y ese *Taimdiwala* [su cabecera se termina en] *Tuppacacyala*. [Este] gran cerro tiene un lago encima donde [están todas las cabeceras] de los ríos de *Madungandi* [R. *Madungandi* — R. Bayano] y *Nargandi* [un afluente de Río Bayano]. Las cabeceras terminan allí en el cerro de *Tuppac* y muchos mas ríos tienen en *Tupac*. Otro río que habitamos en tiempo antiguo [son los ríos] *Pinugana* [*pinu* — un árbol], *Molicanti* [R. Anta], *Rio Sarracanti*, *Rio Yavi* [R. Yavisa], *Rio Captí*, *Rio Cuinnurcanti* [*cuinnur* — nombre de una planta], *Rio Cupé*, *Rio Toladí*, *Rio Purpurganti*, *Rio Pae*, *Rio Cué*, *Rio Sototule*, *Rio Punstí*, *Rio Cunhua* [*cunhua* — un insecto], *Rio Surti* [*sulu* — un mono], *Rio Aglidi*, *Rio Tugladi* [y] *Rio Satecanti* [*sate* — un árbol]. *Carkinnit-cana* es un lago grande en este lago hay mucho *Purpur* [*purbur* — lobo] y muchas clases de animales peligrosos. Al mismo tiempo dijo el *Ibeorgun* que más tarde o [en el] porvenir habitarán muchas otras partes y lugares [que he mencionado para ustedes]. Vendrán en el porvenir los hombres sabios y Doctores para [vivir en los lugares que he indicado para Ustedes]. En eso tiempo *Ibeorgun* ya tenía 50 años de vivir aquí en esa tierra para enseñar a los ignorantes hombres; por eso Dios lo había mandado [a la] tierra a enseñar a los que no saben para que conocieran el bueno que hizo Dios para nosotros aquí en la tierra. Como tenía 50 años de vivir aquí en esa tierra y había enseñado muchos cantos de Dios que nos había mandado con el *Ibeorgun*, entonces el *Ibeorgun* mandó un señor que se llama [*Dada Makeargüenatti*] por un lugar se llama *Alüca* y lo avisó que más tarde vendrán muchos Doctores y muchos sabios y vendrán también muchos pájaros bonitos que cantan su voz de Dios; y que [reinará en la tierra una extensa neblina de color (P. 4) *sibu* y *pogortikitti*] [neblina amarilla] o humo amarillo y *Poarratti* o humo azul y humedad colorada, *poquinitti*; que reinará en ocho días la [ne-

(Corresponding to pp. 138, 140)

Pinugana . . . , *Rio Satecanti*. *Carkinnit-cana* is a great lake, and in this lake are many *purpur* (= otters) and many kinds of dangerous animals. And at the same time *Ibeorgun* said that further on in the future the Cunas would inhabit many other places which he spoke about.¹ In the future wise men will settle in the places I have told you about.

Now *Ibeorgun* had already lived on the earth for fifty years in order to teach the ignorant people. God had sent him to the earth to instruct the ignorant so that they should learn to know what the good God has done for us here on the earth. Then *Ibeorgun* had lived fifty years on the earth and had taught mankind many songs which God had sent with him. *Ibeorgun* sent a man by the name of *Dada Makearguenatti* to a place called *Aluca* (in Darien) in order to tell the people there that later many *nēles* would come. Also many beautiful birds would come who would sing beautifully with the voice of God. (P. 4)

And there would come a great mist over the earth, mist of a white color (*sibu*), yellow mist (*pogortikitti*), blue mist (*poarratti*) and red mist (*pokinitti*). The mist would prevail for eight days here on the earth but then it would be clear, and he said to them that they should build their houses beside different rivers and they should plant flowers and fragrant herbs and clean up well round the houses. Before the arrival of the *nēles* there would be an extensive mist prevailing everywhere. When they saw the mist they should watch and listen carefully around the house. If they heard the crying of a new-born baby they should seek out the child, but it should be a virgin who should bring up the child. And thus such a child came down to the earth.

¹ Cf. the maps in fig. 4 and pl. 1 A for the section from which the place names here are taken. It is the tract from which the Cunas consider that they have originally come, and where the events mentioned in the myths have taken place. The migration out to the Atlantic coast they believe was comparatively recent and the settling on the islands is, we know, very recent.

blina] aquí en la tierra, que después que clare el tiempo y que le dijo también que sembrara plantas de distintos árboles, que tienen buen olor y que cultivan *sia* (cacao) y buenas flores de olor, y que criará unas niñitas jovencitas y que por la noche oyera tranquilo, por medio de la noche o por la madrugada vendrá un niño, oyeras un grito de llorar por su aldea. Entonces la señorita fué a buscar el recién nacido donde había el oro como forma de un palo, cuando vió el chiquito en un plato de oro y allí en el plato había un animal feroz que es un león. Ese león tenía todos sus útiles que va usar en su vida [que] son los siguientes: *Sianala*, *Cammu*, *Carrizo*, *Siklipunnu*, *Muttu*, *Hua-arra*, *Huarso*, *Estinni*, *Cose*, *Noga-mattar*, *Sikqui*, *Tango palo*, *Cuchillo*, *Totuma*, *Totuma-chicas* y todo esto vino cuando nació el niño en antiguo tiempo. Entonces la jovencita trajo el niño a su casa y le dijo que no comiera pescados grandes y que comiera pescados chiquitos para criar el niño, y entonces la jovencita le dado mamar en su teta de todos los días. Crecía muy pronto el niño, y le daba baño con un olor de buenas clases de hierbas y flores. Por eso había sembrado las plantas buenas para darle el baño, y en cada año había de nacer ocho de ellos [y venían de la misma manera que] el primero. Ya cuando eran jóvenes fueron jefes. [El primero de esos *neles* que vino a este mundo] se llama *Tiegun*, y el 2º *Cubiler*, el 3º *Huagun*, el 4º *Pailibe*, el 5º *Masartummi*, el 6º *Palipil*, el 7º *Uagilel*, el 8º *Nel-sibu*, 9º *Olocanakungilele* y vino también una mujer [del mismo modo que] los varones que se llamó *Punahuagaolona-kediryai*. Todos esos llamamos *Ibeleles* porque han venido con muchos [conocimientos]. Ellos sabían todo lo que Dios ha mandado para la tierra. Estos *Ibeleles* han sido Doctores muy grandes que conocían cuando pasaba algo [en otra] parte. Si alguna persona de mal pensamiento [venía para matar a] ellos [en seguida lo sabían. Si alguno] venía a robar o hacer un daño de otra persona ellos lo sabían en seguida. Estos hombres que Dios ha mandado para esta

(Corresponding to p. 140)

They found it on a gold plate in a tree and with the child they also found a wild puma. This puma had with him everything which he needed, in other words the following: *sianala* [incense burners, see figs. 13—14] *kammu* [flute], *car-rizo* [Spanish word for flute], *siglipunnu* [the tail of the sigli-bird to clean the flutes with], *muttu* [black wax] *hua-arra* [= *huarsuit*, tobacco-rolls], *hwarso* [a tree from which the Cunas get wood], *estinni* [knife], *kose* [big calabash bowl], *noga-mattar* [small calabash bowl], *sikki* [calabash spoon], *tango palo* [white tree-]; and all this came when the child was born in olden times. And so the young girl brought the child to her hut to bring it up, and they told her not to eat big fish but to eat small ones instead. And she nursed the child from her breast every day.¹ The baby grew very rapidly and she bathed it in fragrant herbs which she had planted for this purpose. And every year eight children would be born the same way as the first. They were chiefs even when they were very young. The first of these *nēles* who came to this world was called *Tiegun*, the second *Cubiler*, the third *Huagun*, the fourth *Pailibe*, the fifth *Masartummi*, the sixth *Palipil*, the seventh *Uagilel*, the eighth *Nēle Sibū*, the ninth, *Olocanakungilele*:² and a woman came even in the same way as the men and she was called *Pūnaūāgaōlonakediryai*³. These we call *ibeleles*, which means wise, because they have come with knowledge. They knew everything which God had created on the earth. These *ibeleles* were great *nēles*. They knew everything that happened in other places. If anyone came with the evil intention of killing someone they knew it ahead of time. If anyone came to steal, or injure another person, they knew this ahead of time. These men which God had sent to the earth were very wise. They knew how to cure all illnesses

¹ She took medicine in order to be able to nurse when she was only a virgin.

² *Olo* = gold, *kana* = one who knows, *kungi* = gold, *lele* = wise.

³ *Punauaga* = woman, *Olonakediryai* = her name (*olo* = gold).

tierra han sido muy sabios. Ellos sabían cuando uno [estaba] con [una] enfermedad grave y curaban radicalmente [las enfermedades] usando medicina de un solo árbol para todas las enfermedades, es porque ellos sabían el secreto de las medicinas. Cuando un niño moría ellos podían levantar de nuevo de la muerte, sólo usando la hoja de [*Sābdur*]. Ellos lo hacían del modo siguiente: primero buscaban la hoja tierna de *Sāpdur*, agua fresca y una tela fina. Ponían la tela encima del muerto y el agua echaban sobre la tela. Después llevaban la tela afuera lo traían otra vez a la casa donde estaba el muerto y lo hacían de nuevo del mismo modo. Este se hacía cuatro veces de la misma manera. Entonces llamaban al muerto, diciendo «levántate» y en seguida se despertó el niño de la muerte y vivía otra vez. Así en la época de los *leles* no [morían] muchos niños; y así [la gente se] multiplicaba enormemente en la tierra.

Todos los grandes *Leles* ó *Neles* que vivieron en tiempos pasados [han sido] grandes sabios, ellos podrían traerse los animales salvajes a la casa para hacer hablar como los hombres para que oyeran sus gentes. Entonces [han sido] los tigres, leopardos [tigrecillos], leones, lobos, jaguares y etc. Estos animales mansaban en seguida y [se ponían a] conversar con estos animales; porque estos *Ibeleles* sabían muy bien los secretos de los animales y por eso los mansaban instantáneamente. Cuando soplaban grandes huracanes podían calmarlos y los mandaba por otro camino; y también cuando venía un terremoto grande [*Nego-bandur*] podían impedir también de destruir sus lugares. Cuando los grandes *nēles* estaban haciendo así, entonces llamaron a sus gentes, que vengan en [la] casa de reunión para oír unas palabras de ellos y cuando llegaron a la casa, entonces comenzaban a cantar en el medio de sus gentes y comenzaba soplar el viento del Este con mezclado de lluvias, y también habiendo de Oeste, Norte y Sur. Esto tres veces lo soplaron los vientos entonces, el último se soplaron más duro con la lluvia, Este, Oeste, Norte y del Sur, y cuando están so-

(Corresponding to p. 142)

with a medicine, and they used the same medicine for all the illnesses because they knew the medicines' secrets. When a child died they could wake it from the dead and they used for that only some of the leaves of the *sābdur*. They did it in this way: first they looked for the leaves of the *sābdur*, then for fresh water and a fine cloth.¹ They laid a piece of weaving over the dead child and poured the water over it. Then they took the weaving away but took it the second time to the house with the dead child and again did the same thing. This was repeated four times in the same way. Then they called to the dead child and said, »Rise up!« and the child woke up from death and went on living. Thus at the time of these *neles* not many children died. Human beings increased tremendously on the earth.

All the great *neles* who lived in the olden times were wise men. They could attract to their hut wild animals and get them to speak like people, for the people to hear. There were tigers, leopards, pumas, otters, jaguars and many more. And these animals became tame and the people spoke with them because these *ibeleles* knew the secret of the animals very well and for this reason the animals immediately became tame. When great hurricanes blew the *neles* could quiet them and send them another way and even when there was a mighty earthquake (*negobandur*) they could prevent it from destroying their living places. When the great *neles* did this they first called their people together in the council house to hear some words and when the people had come to the house the *neles* began to sing in the midst of them, and an east wind mixed with rain began to blow. Then it even began to blow from the west, the north, and the south. Each and every wind blew three times. The last time it blew harder and it rained. And when these winds blew some people came crying from Heaven and when they came into the house they screamed. They who came were dead. Some

¹ Here is meant a *mola*, a woman's garment.

plando estos vientos [venieron] unos hombres llorando del cielo y cuando entraron a la casa se [ha hecho] un grito como los hombres que venían [han sido] muertos, uno [había muerto] hace 5 u 8 años, [otro hace] 10 años, [otro hace] 15 años ó sea de 20 años. Los muertos [principiaban de hablar sobre] hombres que murieron hace varios años. Después de 5 días el Doctor preguntaba a los muertos, como usted, se murió? Entonces [un] muerto hablaba y decía cuando me he muerto me iba por un río grande que queda por abajo de la tierra. Entonces el [*paliwitur*] vino a buscarme y me llevaba por un camino largo, [*Paliwitur*] o sea *Masartule* significa que es hombre que sabe muchas cosas y también se llama ángel. También nos enseña en donde están mis vegetales y que están sembrados, para que no se pierdan, y es ángel que me lleva a un río que se llama [*Olo-ubigundihuala*] ó [*Tulasgundihuala*] como usted sabe que nuestros grandes Doctores o *nêles* sabían muchas cosas en estos tiempos, uno [podía hacer relámpagos] y también cuando se cae en el agua del mar viene un pescado grande para salvar su vida y lo lleva a la tierra. Porque todos los animales de pescados salvajes que se habitan en el mar son amistades de *nêles* como son los siguientes: la ballena, tiburones, [león del mar], (P. 5) lagarto, bufeos y etc. también ellos saben a sacar un gran temblor y le pongan un lugar muy terrible.

Y también aquí nosotros tenemos unos grandes hombres: como el *Absoquet* uno que sabe este camino, por ejemplo, si un pueblo que estaba llena de enfermedades (nosotros decimos que un lugar está bravo) ó sea se salieron varias clases de *ponis* y este le deben las enfermedades para nosotros. Entonces el hombre que sabe [*Absoguedigala*] se canta sobre los *ponis* para que se quiten las enfermedades. También [*Absoguedi*] se canta sobre a llamarse todas las clases de animales y hasta diferentes *ponis* (*ponis* llamamos como espíritu de diablos). Entonces los animales y *ponis* vinieron todos a la casa de [*Absoguedi*], y se agarraron todos

(Corresponding to pp. 144, 146)

had been dead from five to eight years, others ten years, others from fifteen to twenty years. The dead ones told about others who had been dead a long time. After five days *Nēle* asked the dead people how they died. Then one of the dead said: »When I died I travelled on a great river which is under the earth. Then *Paliwittur* came and took me a long way. *Paliwittur* or *Masartule* means one who knows much and he is also called angel. He taught me also where my fields were, so that they should not be lost. He took me to a river which is called *Oloubigündiūala* or *Tulasgündiūala*. Yes, as you know, our great *nēles* knew much in those days. Some could cause lightning. When they themselves fell into the water a great fish came to save their lives and to carry them to the land. Such animals as whales, sharks, sea lions, (P. 5) dolphins, alligators, and others were friends of the *nēles*. The *nēles* could even cause earthquakes and make a place very formidable.

We have here also some great men as *absogēdis* who know what to do, for example if a village is full of sickness (we say that the place is evil) and there have come forth various kinds of evil spirits, because they cause the sicknesses among us. Then the *absogēdi* sings, he who knows the *absogēdingala*. He sings about the evil spirits to make the sicknesses go away. In the same way the *absogēdi* sings in order to call to him all the different kinds of animals and different kinds of evil spirits (we call *ponis* the spirits of the devils). Then all the different animals and evil spirits come to the *absogēdi's* house and he gets hold of them and then the sicknesses cease. Now they sing only with the spirit but in the time of the great *nēles* they showed us this personally. When we first lived in connecting houses the great *nēles* could go down under the earth and stay there with their wives for four days and then come again on the earth. There were no illnesses at that time, nobody died and the villages grew fast and were filled with people.

Long ago we lived on great plains, *kuna*, and still today

estos animales. Después de eso se acabaron las enfermedades. Pero ahora este cantan con espíritu, y en el tiempo de *nēles* nos mostró muy personalmente. Como nosotros vivíamos antes en casa y entonces los grandes *nēles* iban debajo de la tierra y andan y duran por debajo de la tierra cuatros días iban con sus hembras y después se salen otra vez afuera de la tierra. En esta época no hay enfermedades y también no hay de muertos y así que los pueblos están muy crecido bastante de hombres.

Antes ellos vivían en grandes llanuras se llaman *cuna*, nos llamamos llanuras ahora hasta hoy nos llamaremos *Nabcuanatule* o sea *Kungilele tule*, quiero decir que nosotros se habitan un lugar de bajas o sea llanos en aquellos tiempos que las gentes que viven en planos o en llanuras que se llaman así: [*kũñe tule, sãũi sãũi tule, pãgi pãgi tule, akuapir tule, tulãgi tule, nargũasca tule, kôbep tule, tagar tule, piski tule, niska tule, kômes tule, pane tule, igli tule, úcũpsĩgatule, kũi tule, astũpin tule, ũma tule*], entonces los grandes *nēles* los dijeron a sus gentes que yo he nombrado estos diferentes personas, no hablan como mismo sino se usan diferentes lenguas, como *kĩgue tule, sãũi sãũi tule* y etc. y etc. y las personas de *kungilele* se usan propias lenguas como hablamos hasta hoy.

Después estos los grandes *nēles* o sea doctores les dijeron a sus grandes gentes que venga todos y vamos hacer una reunión y entonces ellos vinieron a la reunión los van hacer una conferencia [en un pueblo] que se llama *Yeye*. Entonces el *Nēle Tiegun* el dice a sus gentes grandes, que vamos a buscar los trabajos de Dios y quien va a buscar los trabajos de Dios y vamos a durar 7 años más para buscar el trabajo de Dios y entonces se despertaron a cada pueblo. Hasta llegar 7 años entonces *Tiegun* los llamaron otra vez a sus grandes gentes y el *Tiegun* les preguntaba sus gentes quien fué a buscar los trabajos de Dios. *Tiegun* dijo, yo sí he encontrado un poco trabajo de Dios angeles que llamamos (*Paliwitul*) y entonces *Tiegun* dijo Dios puso dos a dos que me miras des-

(Corresponding to p. 146)

we call the people *Nabkuanatule*¹ or *Kungileletule*.² And the people who lived on the plains were called this: *Kuiñetule*, and so forth.³ and the great *nēles* said to their people that they had told the different ones not to speak the same language but instead, different languages such as *kigue tule*, *sahwi sahitule*, etc. and the *Kungilele* people used their own language, which we still speak today.

Then the great *nēles* or doctors said to their people that they should assemble and all the people came together in the council house in the village *Yeye*, where they were to hear a speech. And *Nēle Tiegun* said to the other *nēles*, »Let us try for seven years to find out about God's work«, after which each one went to his own village. After seven years *Tiegun* called them together again and asked them who had been finding out about God's work.⁴

Tiegun said, that he had come upon some of God's work, the angels, which we call *paliwitul*, and *Tiegun* said that God had placed them in groups of two to look at him (*Tiegun*): they were the chief of the winds, the chief of the earthquakes, the chief of the rain, etc. When the people

¹ *Tule* means people. ED.

² See note 2, page 141. ED.

³ Here are enumerated seventeen names of Cuna tribes. The last of these have been translated by Pérez. In No. 17 *Uma* = mono colorado; No. 16, *astupin* = *Nasua socialis*, cuatí; No. 15, *Kui* = mosquito; No. 14, *úcopšigatule* = un insecto; No. 13, *igli* = hormiga de tropa; No. 12, *pane* = un pájaro; No. 10, *niska* = platanillo. ED.

⁴ The Cupas have long stories about what each and every one of these *nēles* has seen. I have only four of these and none of them is complete. *Tiegun* and *Organ* investigated the underworld where the evil spirits who cause illness and death, live; *Nēle Sibú* and *Pailibe* visited the kingdom of the dead. *Salupip* has explained how God has created all the different kinds of animals but his story I do not know. Nor do I know what many of the other *nēles* had to relate.

In *Tiegun*, *Nēle Sibú*, etc., we have a type of mythic Hero unlike either *Ibelele* or *Ibeorgun*. Each one has a definite task. They do not discover anything new. They investigate the secrets of the underworld and the kingdom of the dead for human beings; they relate for them how creation has taken place. [Cf. WASSÉN, 1938, pp. 69—98. ED.]

pues de nosotros, como el Rey de Vientos, el Rey de Temblor, el Rey de lluvias, y etc. Cuanto las gentes se pasaron, entonces ellos van hacer maldad, y el *Tiegun* dice si usted va a maldad, Dios te castigará pero algunos de ellos se pasaron con maldad. Entonces le mandaron grandes murciélagos y mosquitos como tamaño de loro y este cuando se pica una a dos veces iba a morir.

Este es el tiempo de *Piler*. Los hijos de *Piler* son los siguientes: • *Cāna*, *Inūe*, *Cūchuka*, estos hijos se llaman [*Olocunālilel*, *Pūgur*], y los hijos de estos [*Oloopanilel*, *Olosūakinyalilel*, *Olotugurcunalilel*, *Olocungūalilel*] y estos se dividen en todas partes. Como estos hombres no se camina bien y no se oye las palabras de Dios nada más ellos se ocupaban en sus trabajos. Cuando un niño ha nacido, o sea nacido sin padre lo mataban estos los enterraban vivo debajo de la tierra cuando estaban haciendo así entonces un hombre descendía se llama *Nusquesu* y este le dicen a las gentes no se hagan así, si usted están haciendo las maldades Dios le puso un castigo nada más Dios puso un camino recto para nosotros los hombres que van hacien [?] el Jefe en aquellos tiempos son los siguientes: [*Olotubikinyalilel*, *Igarobāndur*, *Oloalikinyalilel*, *Oloueliplel*] y entonces otro hombre vino que se llama *Olonitalipipilel*, y el otro *Mucabayay* estos son los hijos de *Māgo*, cuando *Olonitalipipilel* entró en la [*surba*] entonces él comenzó a cantar y le cambió el otro nombre que se llama [*Olotūāligipiler*]. Después el [*Olotūāligipiler*] se paró un hijo que se llama [*Olouaipipilele*] este hombre que era sabio que sabe muchas cosas. Después de *Olouaipipilele* se paró el hermano de este, *Mas Iguaogināpiler* los hombres de *Olouaipipiler* son los siguientes o del [*Udursuniplele űigar*, *purgaliler*, *olouaipipiler*, *tānacūpna*, *mago Iguakiñapiler*], como *Olouaipipiler* es lo que ayudaron a las personas que se habitan en diferentes ríos y también se cuidaron que se hablan con maldades y se corrigen que se hablan mal este hombre que se sacan o nos enseña a nuestros costumbres, hay algunos que están enceloso a *Olouaipipilele*, por que él sabe muy bien las cosas y me enseña bien

(Corresponding to p. 148)

went past they wanted to do evil, and *Tiegun* said if you do anything evil God will punish you, but even so some of them sinned.

Then he sent upon them bats and mosquitoes as big as parrots, and when they stung a person once or twice he died. At that time *Piler*¹ lived. His sons were *Kana*, *Inue*, *Kuchuka*, and *Kana's* were *Olokunalilel*² and *Pugur*, and the others' sons were *Olopanilel*,³ *Olosuakinyalilel*⁴, *Olotugurkunalilel*⁵ and *Olokungalilel*⁶, and these settled in many places. They did not behave themselves well, nor did they listen to God's word nor did they work. When a child was born without a father they killed it or buried it alive. When they did so, a man came down who was called *Nuskesu*⁷ and he told them not to do this. If you do evil in this way God will punish you. God has marked out a right way for us which we should follow.

The chiefs at this time were *Olotubibikinyalilel* (the agouti), *Igarobandur* (the jaguar), *Oloalikinyalilel* (the tapir) and *Oloueliplel* (the peccary). Then another man *Olonitalipipilele* came and *Mukabayay* (= *Olokanayay* in the Moon Ship = the Moon). These were *Mago's* children.⁸

Olonitalipipilele went into the *sūrba* and began to sing and changed his name to *Olotūaligipiler*.⁹ Thereafter a son was born who was called *Oloūaipipilele*. He was very wise and knew very much. After *Oloūaipipilele* his brother *Mas*

¹ *Olopilipilele* in *Nēle's* story about the creation.

² The white ape?

³ The ant-bear.

⁴ An ape which is now called *sulu*.

⁵ An ape *uma*.

⁶ An ape *ulul*. In «Organ» *Olopanilel* is mentioned as *Masalaipan* the son of *Kana*. *Inue* is said to be *Olopanilel's* uncle as well as *Olokunalilel*.

⁷ = Jesus. Cf. p. 437.

⁸ According to *Nēle* the son of *Olopilipilele* (*Piler*) and brother of *Kana* and *Inue*.

⁹ Mentioned in the Moon Ship as *Venus' father*. The Moon is *Venus' mother*.

en nuestro camino, [será] gran *nēle* y también; así que hay las personas (**P. 6**) que no le gustan el jefe de ellos, las gentes que no lo querrian a *Olouaipipilele* son las siguientes: [*Uacuatumagimākegña, Tolanergua, Uanapiscua, Masaragban, Olohuelipipilele, Oloedīnāpipilele, Olonūknicalilel*]. Y estos hombres que [he] nombrado se habitan a un lugar y *Olouaipipilele* se vivía también aparte. Los jefes de hombres maldades son: *Masaragban*, ellos hicieron una cárcel grande, esta cárcel era de fuego para meterse los prisioneros. Como va la gente de *Masar Agban* se pusieron una cárcel en el camino, que las gentes de *Olouaipipilele* se pisan en este camino. Esta cárcel era un hilo grande, si las personas que pisan se agarran al pie con el hilo y el hilo pasa arriba; y la otra iban a poner en un palo, lo pisó y el palo le dará un trompazo y se muere con este. Pero las gentes de *Olouaipipilele* son muy buenos por que *Olouaipipilele* está hablando con su gentes que no debemos caminar o andar con las palabras maldades como perros, gallinas pero las gentes de *Olouaipipilele* se obedecían las palabras de Dios cuando las gentes de *Olouaipipilele* fué agarrado por *Masaragban* le dió un trabajo para limpiar el camino del otro pueblo y entonces [*Masaragban*] hicieron un hueco muy profundo este hueco está en el camino y es el que hace por la noche cuando las gentes de *Olouaipipiler* iban a cortar plátano en este camino entonces esos gentes se metieron o se cayeron en el hueco que está cubierta con las hojas y no se puede salir más para arriba y va morir adentro del hueco uno por uno algún día iba otro hombre por el camino y oye uno que está llorando y entonces lo sacaron de allí del hueco. Así se castigaban las gentes de *Olouaipipiler* por *Masar Agban* pero las gentes de *Masar Agban* cuando viene al pueblo de *Olouaipipilele* ellos no se castigaban sino le daban buenas bebidas, comidas o buenas dormidas por que el *Olouaipipilele* siempre aconsejó a sus gentes que no lo hagan nada a las gentes de *Masaracban*, si nosotros se castigaban las gentes de este hombre Dios no los ayudaríamos, solamente Dios nos ayudamos. También *Masaracban* iba debajo de

(Corresponding to pp. 148, 150)

Iguaöginyapiler was born. *Olōūaipipilele*'s followers were these: *Udur* [*Udule* = the planet Mars? mentioned in the Moon Ship], *Suniblele* [a star or a planet, mentioned in the Moon Ship], *Uigar* [a star or a planet mentioned in the Moon Ship], *Purgaliler*, *Olokaipipiler*, *Tuna Kupna* [one or two names?] and *Mago Iguakinapiler*.¹

When *Olōūaipipilele* helped those who lived beside the different rivers and guarded them against bad habits, there were some who were jealous of him. He had great knowledge and taught us well what we should do. He was even a great *nēle*. (P. 6) Those who did not like *Olōūaipipilele* were: *Uđkūatūmagimakégua*, *Tōlanērgua*, *Uanapiskua*, *Masar Akban*, *Olōūelipipilele* (the peccary), *Olōediñapipilele* [= perico ligero, the sloth, mentioned in Organ as *Oloopanilel*'s brother] and *Olonūknikalilel* [*sigli*? = wild turkey]. These men lived in one place and *Olōūaipipilele* in another.

The chief of the evil people was *Masar Akban*.² These people made a great prison. It was of fire and was meant for their captives. *Masar Akban*'s people made a trap along the way so that *Olōūaipipilele*'s people would not be able to pass. This trap was a long rope. If a person stepped on it he was caught by the leg and a log fell down and killed him. But *Olōūaipipilele*'s people were very good, because *Olōūaipipilele* said to his people that they were not to use dirty words and were not to behave like dogs and chickens. *Olōūaipipilele* obeyed God's word.

When *Olōūaipipilele*'s people were captured by *Masar Akban* they were made to clean the road to the other village. *Masar Akban*'s people dug a deep hole in the night and when *Olōūaipipilele*'s people went to get bananas they fell into the hole, which was covered with leaves, and they could not get up and would have died there, if a man who went

¹ See Wassén, 1934 a, bottom of p. 6, and note 2. ED.

² This *Masar Akban* is not the same *Akban* who is mentioned in connection with the deluge.

tierra a poner quemarse las gentes de *Olouaipipilel*. Como *Olouaipipilele* tenía un sirviente que se llama [*Olotiegipilel*], y *Olouaipipilel* dijo a *Olotiegipilel* que se vaya a *Dada Cuchuca* y allí usted va vivir unos días con él, después usted va a *Masaracban* y entonces díle a *Dada Cuchuca* que *Masaracban* está bravo contra usted y también *Olotiegipilel* vino a *Dada Cuchuca* y dijo también a *Dada Cuchuca* que *Masaracban* también bravo contra usted y entonces a *Dada Cuchuca* les llamaron a sus ocho que vengan a visitarme y entonces ellos se fueron a *Dada Cuchuca* y *Dada Cuchuca* se cogieron y metieron a la cárcel del fuego y se quemaron o se fritaron todos después esto llamó a *Olouaipipilele* a *Dada Cuchuca* pero *Dada Cuchuca* tenía sus hijas bonitas hermosas y simpáticas entonces el *Dada Cuchuca* lo mandaron a sus hijas para *Olouaipipilele* para agarrarse su pensamiento y *Olouaipipilele* entonces se enamoraba con ellas y él dijo a la mujer que quiere casarte conmigo y la mujer dijo que sí. Entonces *Dada Cuchuca* le llamo a *Nēle Olouaipipilele* que venga a casa y al llegar de la casa. Entonces el *Dada Cuchuca* se agarró a *Olouaipipilele* y también lo quemaron con la cárcel del fuego. Pero *Ibelele Olouaipipilele* conoció la [*pūrba*] del fuego, y así que no se puede quemarse. Él anda ocho veces en el medio del fuego y cuando *Olouaipipilele* estaba en fuego, entonces las gentes de *Olouaipipilele* se reconoció su jefe que estaba en el fuego. Y las gentes de él fueron a rebuscarse su jefe; estos son los siguientes [*Olel, Udule y Pugsu*]. Y el *Olouaipipilele* dijo a *Dada Cuchuca*, que se meten también en el fuego, porque este es tuyo y entonces se metió también en el fuego. Y *Dada Cuchuca* se quemó y entonces [*Pugasu*] se corrió a donde las hijas de *Dada Cuchuca* y se cogieron todos y lo metieron en el fuego. Como en estos días, que nosotros estamos haciendo lo mismo como nuestros grandes *neles* han pasado en ese tiempo.

Olokanipipilel comunicó el doctor *Olouaipipiler* para hacer la guerra y el señor *Olouaipipilele* dijo que esperar, que el llamará cuando ya está listo; el *Olouaipipilele* hizo mantarlas,

(Corresponding to pp. 150, 152)

along the road had not heard them crying and helped them up out of the hole.

In this way *Masar Akban* mistreated *Oloüaipipilele*'s people but when they came to *Oloüaipipilele*'s village they were not mistreated but instead were given good drinks, good food and good places to sleep. *Oloüaipipilele* always said to his people that they were not to do evil to *Masar Akban*'s people because if they treated them badly God would not help them. It is only God who helps us.

Masar Akban went down into the earth to burn *Oloüaipipilele*'s people. *Oloüaipipilele* had a servant who was called *Olotiegipilel* and he said to him that he should go to *Dada Kuchuca* to live some days with him, after which he should go to *Masar Akban* and say to him that *Dada Kuchuca* was angry with him. *Olotiegipilel* visited *Dada Kuchuca* and said to him that *Masar Akban* was angry with him, and then *Dada Kuchuca* called for his eight men to visit him and then they went to *Dada Kuchuca* who took hold of them and put them in the fire-prison and they burned and all of them died. After that *Dada Kuchuca* called on *Oloüaipipilele*. *Dada Kuchuca* had beautiful and attractive daughters. He sent his daughters to *Oloüaipipilele* to coax out of him his plans. *Oloüaipipilele* fell in love with one of them and he told the woman that he would like to marry her and she agreed to his proposal. *Dada Kuchuca* then invited *Nele Oloüaipipilele* to come to his house and when he came *Dada Kuchuca* took hold of him to burn him in the fire-prison but *Ibelele Oloüaipipilele* knew the fire's *purba* and could therefore not burn. He changed himself into the sun. He walked eight times through the fire. When *Oloüaipipilele* was in the fire his people recognised him and they tried to find out about him. They were *Olel*, *Udule* and *Pugsu*. *Oloüaipipilele* said to *Dada Kuchuca* that he should also go into the fire because it was his, and so even he went into the fire. *Dada Kuchuca* burned and then *Pugsu* [Venus] ran to the place where his daughters were, got hold

pasarla y diferentes clases de viruli y *hirsu huala* y *naba huala* y *hucu huala*, *naki huala* para hacer la guerra contra los *poni*; inventó algodón inventó *mutu nisar* y *magueva*, *sabdurri*; y hecho *icup huala*; entonces el hijo de *Olaicanipipilele* vino donde el *Olouaipipilele* el le dijo. Que todavía no está listo, entonces hizo preparar las flechas entonces *Punahuaga Punyaysob* lo que hecho flecha y le pidió el algodón, para en la *morra* y para poner en las cabezas y para amarrar la flecha entonces el *Olouaipipilele* inventó las medicinas poner en la punta de la flecha; y para poner el mismo para salvar la vida; entonces se pusieron una *surba* o un cuartito para guardar las medicinas y las flechas entonces entró el *Iguaoguiñapipilele* se entró el *surba* para ponerse el baño, estuvo ocho días en el *surba* entonces el dijo a sus familias que el ya iba salir del *surba* por que ya había terminado de bañarse con las medicinas que estaba bañándose y le dijo a sus hermanos para el *Orcunalilel* dijo su hermana para el *Olouaipipilele* entonces *Olouaipipilel* le dijo el consejo al *Orcunalilele* para que ayudaba le suplicó *tiburri* y *tinsayla* v *cammusayla* entonces *Orcunalilele* le cambiaron el nombre de *Cammiip* (P. 7) y *Olouaipipilele* fué donde *Olocaniler*, *Olouaipipilele* uniformó su vestido y puso el cuello collar de [*tede*], fué allá en la casa y encontró la mujer sola *Punahanga Olopunalisop* y le preguntó por el marido contesta la mujer que está arriba en el piso, y el fué a ver a él entonces *Olouaipipilele* que entrara al *surba* contesta *Olouaipipilel* que no entre; el primero entonces entró en *surba* *oloicanilel* cantaba en *surba* entonces salió *Oloicanilel* y entró *Olouaipipilel* comenzó y también cantar y bajaba su espíritu y *Olouaipipilel* se iba entrando en la tierra entonces llamó a *Camib* para que ayudara y sacar de la tierra entonces *Camib* llamó a viento de *Queli-purhua* para ayudar y sacar a él. Vino toda clase de vientos y lo sacó. Entonces el *surba* de *Oloicanilel* separó por el viento *Queli-purhua* entonces el *Oloicanilel* le invitó a *Olouaipipilel* para ir al *Aupir-ri* y entonces fueron y desnudaron en la orilla de *Aupir-ri* entonces el *Oloicanilel* le dijo a *Olouaipipilel* que fuera primera en la orilla,

(Corresponding to p. 154)

of them all and pushed them into the fire. In our time we do the same as our great *nēles* did at that time.¹

Oloikanipipilele informed *Oloūaipipilele* that he wanted to carry on a war but *Oloūaipipilele* said that they should wait and that he would call on him when he was ready. *Oloūaipipilele* had the arrow shafts of »caña blanca» [arrow reed] and the arrow heads of palmwood assembled² in order to wage war against the evil spirits, *ponis*. Furthermore he invented cotton, wax (*muttu* = cera negra) and the dye plants *nisar* (*achiote*), *māgeba* and *sābdur* [Genipa] and the tree *ikub*.

Oloikanipipilele's son came to *Oloūaipipilele* and he said that he was still not ready. He had a woman, *Punauaga Punyasob*, get ready the arrows and asked for cotton to make head bands [*morra*, turbante que los hombres tienen en la cabeza], and to fasten the arrow heads. *Oloūaipipilele* discovered medicines which one should paint the arrow heads with, some of them poisonous, some of them medicines which would make the arrows go straight, and some which would save life, in other words prevent the arrows from wounding.

So they made ready an enclosure in the hut, a *sūrba* in which they kept the medicines and the arrows.

Then *Iguaokiñapipilele* [Venus?] went into the *sūrba* to bathe. He stayed eight days in the enclosure and then he said to his family that he would go out for he had finished bathing in the medicine and he said to his brothers that they should bring to him *Orkunalel* and to his sister that she should bring *Oloūaipipilele*. Then *Oloūaipipilele* taught the incantation to *Orkunalel* so that he would help him. He asked for *tiburr*, *tinsayla*, and *kammusaila*. Then *Orkunalel* changed his name to *Kamib*. (P. 7).

Oloūaipipilele went to *Oloikanilel*. *Oloūaipipilele* put his

¹ That is to say, walk through fire.

² *hirsu uala*, *naba uala* and *uku uala*, are different palms with black wood. *Naki uala* is a type of hard wood.

entonces vino descuidado empujó en el río y desapareció en el fondo del río. Entonces *Olouaipipilel* pensó en secreto o llamó a *Yarpisaylagan* y *Tetesaylagan* y apareció otra vez sobre la tierra entonces *Olouaipipilele* también lo tiró al río a *Oloicanilel* y desapareció como una piedra pesada, entonces el desaparecido hizo mover la tierra que llamamos temblor y a poco a poco se hacía más fuerza, entonces el *Oloicanilel* se hundió al ocho [*pilis*] (o capas) de allí quedó permanecido por eternidad. Después el *Olouaipipilel* se fué a la casa de *Oloicanilel* para buscar la mujer de *Oloicanilel* para casar con *Olopunalisop*; entonces él subió en el plato dorado con la mujer y subió arriba del [*Pilikuénsacca*] y de allí encontró el jefe de *Hu-huasiga* se llama *Olo-sic-sic-cakilel* y encontró el *Maquebsayla*, *Nisalsayla*, *Nabasayla*, *Ilasayla*, *Irsusayla*, etc. etc. (*mutusayla*, *saptulsayla*). Después se subió mas alto del *pilis pocua* y encontró a los *ponis Iguali* y *Poni guetuli* y de había muchas clases de sillas y de muchas clases de patos y fué a otra vez al *pilipaccua* y en éste encontró *Sohua-sohua*. Y el doctor *Olouaipipilel* va a donde está el viento al arriba del firmamento para todas estaciones de los vientos. Y los espíritus que están en arriba de nosotros y encontró un río *Olotihuar* un río de oro, y *piseptihuala*, *achueryala tihuar*, *novar tihuar*, *coque tihuala*, *nunubtihuala*, y de esos ríos hay muchos de árboles [*sābdur*], es un árbol que tiene semilla y que esas semillas da color negro, blanco y amarillo y muchas clases de colores, que hay por las orillas del río del oro y en otros más ríos que están nombrados también hay *sabdurtuvaledi* estos mismos, á los árboles vienen terribles animales como leones, tigres, se *saptur*[?] esos lo llamamos [*achusimutuvaledi*] y [*alli*] hay muchas electricidades de esos animales para hacer una lluvias bien puede decir que llueve sobre la tierra, que el *nēle Olouaipipilele* que se encontró en el río de oro muchas regaderas de [*tibuibu*] o cataratas del cielo y que encontró muchas tasas o barriles de aguas y allí siguió *Olouaipipilele* se encontró un el final del río *Olotiual* un espíritu santo frío que llueve como hielo S:o frío que está en forma de mujer que

(Corresponding to pp. 154, 156)

clothes in order and put on a necklace of *tēde* (fig. 10 C). Then he went to the house and found *Punauaga Olopunalisop* alone and asked where her husband was and she answered that he was upstairs.¹ *Oloūaipipilele* went up to *Oloikanilel* who asked him to go into the enclosure, but he said no. *Oloikanilel* went in then and sang. And a spirit who was friendly toward him floated above him and touched the enclosure. Then *Oloikanilel* went out and *Oloūaipipilele* went in. And he began to sing. And the spirit which was friendly to him came there. *Oloūaipipilele* went into the earth and he called on *Kamib* that he should help to take him up out of the earth. *Kamib* called on the wind *keli-pūrua* to help to take him up. All kinds of winds came and took him up. The wind *keli-pūrua* blew over *Oloikanilel's surba*. Then *Oloikanilel* invited *Oloūaipipilele* to go with him to a place in the middle of the river *Aupirri*. They set off for that place and undressed on the shore of the river. *Oloikanilel* said to *Oloūaipipilele* that he should go first to the shore. He did not suspect any foul play and *Oloikanilel* gave him a push and he sank in the river and rested on the bottom. *Oloūaipipilele* thought in secret what he should do and he called on the chief of the eels *yarbisaylagan* and on *tēde-sailagan* and so he came up again to the surface.

Now *Oloūaipipilele* threw *Oloikanilel* into the river and he sank like a heavy stone. He who had sunk rocked the earth and caused what we call an earthquake, and this became more and more violent. *Oloikanilel* sank to the eighth layer in the underworld and there he remained for ever.

After this *Oloūaipipilele* went to *Oloikanilel's* house to look up his wife *Olopunalisop* and so he married her.

Then he went with the woman on a gold plate up to *Pilikūénsakka* [the first layer of heaven's eight layers] and there he met the *uasiga*-chief *Olosiksikkalilel* and also *mā-gēbsaila*, *nīsalsayla* [*nīsāl* = urucú], *nabasayla*, *ilasayla*, *ir-*

¹ They had buildings on poles as a protection against snakes.

Dios lo ha puesto allí en ese río de oro, *Olotihual*, allí está la madre purísima *Nanaolonubibisop* que Dios de cielo allí vino a bañarse y siguió el *nele Olouaipipilel* para *Pilli attale* que hay esta *Machiolocaiquinuilele* y siguió *Olouaipipilele* a *pilinercua* que se encontró el Rey de nazario y siguió al *Pilli-cukile* que es séptimo, el rey de *Topsar* y siguió para el *Pilli-baabakka* que es el octavo *olopac-cuculor* y el rey grande que Dios lo ha puesto allí y hasta allí termina el final de espíritu santo, el final es forma como una tinaja o como el fondo de la tinaja se ve el mundo y allí en ese final hay un rey de hormigas que no puede uno pasar allí hasta que no muera uno, y hasta allí conoció el *nele Olouaipipilele* espirituales que volvió a bajar en seguida con el *olopate* o sea silla de plato de oro que volvió para la tierra el *Olouaipipilel* que como aquí en la tierra había muchas leyes de Dios que había puesto de aquí en la tierra. Reyes se presentaron . . .¹ el *Olouaipipilele* y quitó todos los reyes que había *olouaipipilele* estando en casa que venía mujer, y que venía cantando, *palihualacuculihuacobeti*, *palihuala cuculihualacobeti* que venían cantando engomao [?] se llama *hacha momortule* que venía vestida de ropa puesto de azul y al momento el *olouaipipiler* que entró en el *surba* para saber la mujer que había venido *punahuagaologugurtilisob*, que esa mujer ha visto el *paluhuala* que de allí hay de ese árbol había, plátanos, que allí había tierra, y había agua salada y agua dulce que había peces en el agua y que muchas de animales de agua y de tierra y dijo al día siguiente el *olouaipipilel* a sus gentes la mujer que ha venido que siempre venía cantando por cuatro tiempo que venía diciendo *Palihualacuculihualacobeti* (P. 8) la mujer esa. Y entonces dijo *olohuaiipipilele* a sus nietos y sus sobrinos, y su familias que en el pie del tronco del árbol había, *pirilla* o un remolino que había muchas gentes, en esa epoca, y dijo *olohuaiipipilele* que vamos a tumbar el árbol de *palu*, para buscar los que hay allí y todos los días iban cortar el árbol de

¹ Four or five unreadable words. ED.

(Corresponding to pp. 156, 158)

sursayla [chiefs for different palms] and others, such as *multusayla* [chief of black wax] and *sābdursayla* [chief of *sābdur* = *Genipa*].

Then he went still higher up to *Pilipokua* [second layer] and there he met the evil spirits *Iguali* and *Guetuli* and there were many kinds of chairs and many kinds of »patos» and then he went up to layer *Pilipakkua* and there he met *Soua-soua*. And *Nēle Olōūaipipilele* went there where the winds are (above the firmament) in order to learn to know the different kinds of winds and all the spirits which live above us, and he came upon *Olotiual*, a golden river, and the *Bisep*-river, the *Achueryala*-river, the *Nobal*-river, the *Koke*-river, and the *Nunub*-river and at these rivers there were many *sābdur*-trees. It is a tree which has seeds and these are black, white, and yellow, and of many other colors. There trees grow by the golden river and on the shores of the other rivers. There is also found *sābdurtuvalēdi*.¹ To these trees fearful animals come, such as pumas, and jaguars. *Sābdur* from these trees we call *achusimutuvalēdi*.

There is much electricity from these animals, for causing rain on the earth. *Olōūaipipilele* found many waterfalls at the golden river where the water falls like rain, and he found many cups or barrels containing water. From there *Olōūaipipilele* continued and at the mouth of the golden river he met a spirit Santo Frío which rains down like ice. Santo Frío has the form of a woman and God has placed her at this golden river *Olotiual*. Most holy mother *Nanaolonubibisop* is also there. God in heaven also comes there to bathe.

Olōūaipipilele continued now to the layer *Piliattale* [the fifth layer] where *Machiolokaikinuilele* is, and *Olōūaipipilele* continued to *Pilnercua* [the sixth layer] where the »Rey de Nazario» is. From there he continued to *Pili-kukile* [the seventh layer]. The chief there is *Topsar*. Thus he con-

¹ It is a kind of *sābdur* but it is an herb which grows on the ground.

paluhuala para tumbar cuando iba al día siguiente que iban ellos que venían unos animales terribles y que siempre venía a chupar o lamer, la parte cortada del árbol cuando lameaba la parte cortada del árbol los animales siempre quedaba lo mismo sano, lo mismo que antes que entonces *olohuaipipilele* entró en una *surba* para conocer, que es lo que anda al pie del árbol de *paluhuala* y al día siguiente que amaneció y dijo a sus gentes que al pie del árbol que todos los días venían unos animales feroces que un león, y una culebra grande que la barriga mide diez y seis 16 metros la barriga de la culebra. Y como todo los días venían los animales al tronco del árbol y entonces le dijo a su hermano *Iguaoguiñalilel* que fuera a matar a los animales, que estuvieron al tronco del árbol *Paluhuala* y fué el *Iguaoguiñalilel* a esperarlo al pie del árbol y estando allí. No demora bastante, que vinieron los animales feroces, como de león y lo mató demora un poquito vino otro la culebra y lo mató también, y en seguida vino otro el sapo y la mató también y cuando había matado todos estos animales y entonces siguió cortando el árbol de *Palu-huala* y los pedazos que caían encima del *pirya* o remolino se volvían de peces que no servían para comer ya cuando se había para tumbar el árbol cuando ya va tumbando que no se pudo caer al suelo se enredó en los hilos de las nubes, y que ya no puedo caer al suelo, y entonces dijo el *Olohuaipipilele*, que bien iba a cortar el hilo que ha enredado, dijo *Olohuaipipilele* a sus sobrinos, que subieran muchos y no pudieran subir o no se pudieran alcanzar arriba a cortar hilos entonces se puso a llamar a *Nikircua Oloiknipipillel* que subiera al *Paluhuala* para cortar el hilo que está enredada entre las nubes y fué y subió a cortar con una hacha entonces poco rato el *Palu-huala* se cayó para el suelo, pero antes de tumbar el *paluhuala* *Olowahipipillel* puso una *saki*, o sea unas redes, *olosakqui*, *manisakqui*, de los dos cada una, cayó el árbol encima del *olosakqui* y *manisakqui*, para recogerles las cosas que hay encima del árbol que había y entonces con seguida se formó el mar, y que como había

(Corresponding to p. 158)

tinued to *Pili-Baabakka* [the eighth layer]. *Olopak-kukulor* is the great chief whom God has placed there, and here is the end of the holy spirit. The end has the form of a pottery vessel and one sees the earth as the bottom of a pottery vessel.

There the ants' chief is. And there one can not go before one dies. As far as that point *Oloūaipipilele* learned to know these spirits and then he went down again on the gold plate, or on a chair in the form of a gold plate, and returned again to the earth.

And when *Oloūaipipilele* stood in the house a woman came and as she came she sang: *Pālu-ūāla kūkuliūāla kobeti, Pālu-ūāla kūkuliūāla kobeti*.² She is called *Achamommor* [a blue butterfly. This woman is called also *suchu*] and was dressed in blue. And *Oloūaipipilele* went in to the *sūrba*. And the woman who had come was *Pānaūāgaōlokū-kurdilisop* [see p. 165, note 1] and she had seen *pālu-ūāla*, the tree in which there were bananas, earth, salt water and fresh water, fish and many animals from sea and land. The following day *Oloūaipipilele* said to his people that the woman who had come had sung *pālu ūāla kūkuliūāla kobeti* (P. 8) four times and he said furthermore to his nieces and nephews and members of his family that at the foot of the trunk of this tree there was a *pīrya* or whirlpool. There were many people at this time and *Oloūaipipilele* said: »Let us fell the *pālu-ūāla* tree and see what we can find in it. And they went every day in order to fell the tree but every day when they had gone away there came some wild

¹ In the chronicle there immediately follows the motif of the felling of the world tree *Pālu-ūāla*. The Spanish and English versions (see p. 158 and 172) supplement each other. Both have formed the basis for the versions which I have published with comparative notes. See WASSÉN, 1934 a, p. 3—5 and 21—25 as well as 1934 b, pp. 249—261. The notes given here are taken from my works. ED.

² *Palu* (salt) *uala* (tree) *kukuliuala* (another name for the same tree) *kobeti* (drinking). For the explanation of this song see note on p. 165. ED.

muchas cosas de comestibles de alimentaciones, y fueron y corrieron a buscar a recoger al plátano, yuca, otoes, ñames, maíz, y etc; y peces como pargo, sábalo, corvina, y muchas clases de peces, que había, y este *Olohuaipipilele*, que buscó para nosotros que fué y este gran jefe de nosotros que Dios lo había mandado para tierra *olohuaipipilele*, vino de nuestro gran padre que Dios lo había mandado y nos vino enseñar en *Absoquet*, [*Caubi-sayla*, *Ina-sayla*, *Sia-sayla*, *Acua-nele-sayla*, *Masar-sayla*], que en esto *Olouaipipilele* como vino a la historia que nos vino a publicar a decirnos que antes, Padre eterno Jehová, que como Dios había venido en la tierra, *Olouaipipilele* entonces mandó al infierno a los reyes malos que había sobre la tierra, porque ellos decían que eran muy grandes aquí en la tierra y que *Olouaipipilele* quedó solo que ya estaba limpia la tierra, y entonces *Olouaipipilele* en un *olocachi* o hamaca de oro y entonces *Olouaipipilele* dijo a los reyes que enterrados al infierno y le digo al que están en el infierno, que yo te mando para [*calusayla*], que estarás todo el tiempo de su vida que un espíritu maligno que por labor de o mando de Dios Uds. saldrán sobre la tierra y entonces *Olouaipipilele* estaba aconsejando los reyes mandado al [*calusayla*] que aconsejó todos los desterrados al infierno. El árbol de *Paluhuala* que hablamos en nuestros grandes madres antigua época que nos viene a nacernos nosotros, aquí el *Paluhuala* que hablamos es secreto o en un espíritu y entonces que terminó el *Olohuala* su trabajo en la tierra, que Dios lo mando llamar que termina de trabajar aquí en la tierra. Y cuando subió al cielo, le llamó *Olouaipipilele* y cuando subió al cielo se cambió el otro nombre, y le llamó *Nele-Tipilel* que después que ha ido para el cielo; vino a la tierra nueva gente para vivir en tierra, se llaman [*Máchisāquikipiler nēlenātuliler*, *Oloñituliler*, *Iguaōgñalilel*, *Nelpuna*], que eran doctores grandes que [vinieron] a la tierra, y que estos doctores [son] muy grandes que [vinieron] a la tierra, que estos Drs. [son] muy sabedores [son] muy poderosos, que Dios lo había mandado, que pueden

(Corresponding to p. 160)

animals who licked the chopped part of the tree and where they licked, the chopped part became whole again. *Oloūai-pipilele* then went in to the *sūrba* in order to see who it was that had come to the tree and the following day at dawn he said to his people that it was all the great and dangerous animals which had come to the tree. It was a puma and a giant snake which measured sixteen meters around the middle. And as these animals continued to come to the tree he said to his brother *Ekúakinyalilele* [another name for *Púgsu* = Venus] that he should go to the foot of the tree and kill the animals there. And *Ekúakinyalilele* went off and waited by the tree. And it was not long before the wild animals came. First it was a puma which he killed. Then a little time went by and a snake came, which he killed. Then came a great toad and he also killed him. And when he had killed all these animals he continued to chop down the *pālu-ūāla* tree. And the pieces which fell into the *pīrya* or whirlpool were changed into inedible fish. When the tree was chopped through it still could not fall to the ground. It had hung itself up in the tufts of cloud. And *Oloūaipipilele* said to his nephews and nieces that they should climb up and chop off the tufts of cloud but they could not get up. He then called on *Nikirgua* [a little squirrel] or *Oloikuiipipilele* to climb up and do it. And he climbed up with an axe and in a short time the tree began to fall. But before this *Oloūaipipilele* had placed there a net of gold (*olosaki*) and a net of silver (*manisaki*) and the tree fell over these nets and everything which was found in the tree could be caught in them. Thus the sea was formed and there was much that was edible in the tree, and everyone ran and looked for bananas, yuca, oatoes, ñame, corn, and so forth, for themselves, and fish such as »pargo», »sábalo», »corvina». And *Oloūaipipilele* who had gotten all this for us was our great chief whom God had sent to the earth. God had sent our great ancestor to instruct us in *absogēdi*, *kaūbi-saila* [the origin of Spanish pepper], *ina-saila* [the

llamar grandes y terribles huracanes que pueden volar un pueblo al aire, que sopla un viento recio, que estos Drs. lo saben, se dicen el viento, *olopurhua*, y después de esos Drs. poderosos, que [vinieron otros] a la tierra, que se sellaman *Tada Carban*, que es el Dr. bien puede decir *Nele Carban*, *Nele Agban* y estando en *Nele Carban* y el *Nele Agban*, que la gente que vivían sobre la tierra se volvieron andar mal con insolencias como unos perros y como los animales y se portaban muy mal con su mala conducta y se había olvidado todas las palabras de Dios que le han dejado para ellos y entonces Dios quiso castigar con un diluvio grande para (P. 9) quitar todas las gentes que vivían olvidado a su palabra y habían andado con todas maldades en la tierra por eso Dios lo habían castigado con un gran diluvio entonces en dos años después que pasaba el diluvio vino un hombre con las leyes de Dios que se llama *Ibeorgun* este hombre vino enseñar todos la Historia de antigüedad dijo. Que como había venido Dios en este mundo? y como había venido el Padre Eterno (Gehova). Entonces dijo que yo va seguir con la nueva Testamento. Así dijo el *Ibeorgun* después pocos días después entonces lo bajaron otros *nêles* que se llamaban *Nele Tiegun* y otro *Nele Cubiler* y ademas vinieron *Tulicana* y *Cuktircana*. Nos desapartaron para otros ríos que nos vino a poblando en cada río y se encontró *sahuisahui tulegan*, *kihue tulegan*, que este *Nele Tulicana* nos desapartó por otros trecientos personas para habitar en el lugar *Tupgandi* que se poblaron tres pueblos en *Tupgandi* y el pueblo que establecieron *Nisargana*, el jefe se [llama] *Tat Colo*, y fueron apartados para el Río Duques, que poblaron allí tambien y que arriba del río o el final del Río *Huanati* y que el jefe se llama *Nele Nilu* y que desapartaron y que se apartaron para otros rios se llama el Río *hurtinaca sugunneha sogubti*, el nuevo nombre de ese río se llama *Tat kintup* que siempre en tiempo de época que se bajaban el *niistulegan* en ese lugar o sea la gente de las estrellas y que quemó ese lugar y que desapartó otros para poblar el río *Mordi* el lugar pobló se

(Corresponding to p. 162)

origin of chicha], *sia-saila* [the origin of cocoa], *ákūanēle-saila* [the origin of *ákūanēle* or *ákūalēte*, a kind of magic stone] and *masar-saila* [= *masartule-saila*, see p. 449].
 [incomprehensible]

And *Oloūaipipilele* sent all the evil chiefs who were on the earth to hell. They said that they were very great here on the earth. But *Oloūaipipilele* was left alone and the earth was clean and *Oloūaipipilele* talked with the chiefs he had sent to hell from an *olocachi* or hammock of gold and said: »I say that you are in hell and I sent to *Kalusayla* [the chief mountain where the evil spirits live] and through all your lives you shall be evil spirits. But through God's work or at his command you may be able to come to the earth. And *Oloūaipipilele* gave advice to all the evil chiefs that he had sent to *Kalusayla* and he gave advice to all those who had been deported to hell. The *Pálu-ūāla*-tree of which we speak is our original mother who has borne us. We speak of this in secret and to ourselves.¹

¹ This sentence belongs to the myth about the world tree in the foregoing. With reference to the fact that the original mother, *Olotililisobi*, plays a very great role in the Cuna world of imagination, even to the wording of the song which the woman sang when she came to *Ibelele*, I might quote in translation what I have written about this idea in my treatise on the world tree motif in some Indian myths (1934 b, p. 252): »It seems to me justifiable to imagine the word *Pálu-ūāla* (the name of the mythical tree) as identical with *Pānaūāga*, the first part in the woman's name and furthermore the term for woman. This appears even more clearly if one looks at the other name of the tree, which is *Kúkuli-ūāla* where we see that the syllable *kukur* appears, which syllable we also find in the woman's whole name, *Pānaūagaōlökúkurdilisop*. *Olo* is nothing other than the Spanish *oro* for gold, which word has been taken over by the Cuna language. *Dilisob* is an epithet for woman. From this it follows that the name of the original mother and of the mythical world tree are identical in the text, that is to say, when the woman in the myth appears singing and pronouncing the name of the tree, it is of herself that she is speaking. I will not say only from this that the Cuna Indians have imagined the original mother as a world tree containing fresh and salt water, all kinds of fruits and animals etc. in the crown. But they have substi-

llama *Morna* y el jefe *igligan* y en el lugar *Arkidi* se poblaron también en el lugar *Kinadi* y se apartaron para *Huargan tihuala*, que poblaron el se llama *Huguib* se pobló. Doscientos y vino poblar otro, para en el Río *Taimti* y el lugar [*Yärpiwāla*] que bino *Neleyarpicananusibucana*, y apartaron para otros ríos para el Río *Cuinubti* el jefe se llama (*Agli-piler* de *Kūinūpti*) y fueron poblado para el Río *Nargandi* se llama el jefe [*Aidukunapaler* y *Yaikunapaler*] son los jefes del Río Cañaza. Y fueron poblado para el Río *Madungandi* o Río Bayano el jefe de ese lugar del río se llama *Wigudur Nēle Cantule* que el lugar de ese río se llama *Morbebdubgua* adonde se poblaron el pueblo a donde se habitaron los indios que el *Nēle Wigudur* se llamo por que a visto los antiguos padres que estuvieron en antigua época o que vieron sobre la tierra por eso llamo *Wigudur Nēle Cantule* que estos *nēles* que vivian en diferentes lugares de los ríos que reconocieron las minas de oro, y minas de plata, y minas de cobre, y minas de hierro, minas de sal y muchas clases de minas que había en las montañas o en la serranías, y que estos *nēles* conocieron las minas por primera vez y conocio los oros y que llamo *olo yala* por que esta tierra o cerros de oros y que como ya estan poblados el pueblo y que habían también muchas gentes que indios *aquepirtule*, *nalaquepirtulegan*, *pugui-puguitulegan*, *sahuisahuitulegan*, que esos indios siguieron peleando con mis nuestros padres, *achusedo* con *tamin* y *alas* y es flechas y arcos, que peleaban con nuestro padre que antes de España que como siempre estaban con revoluciones civil y que como con las revoluciones civil que tenían con los indios de mis nuestros padres, y que en eso vino España a este lugar de Centro América que estando los *nēles* *Iguab*, *Olocana*, *Ogeler*, *Cuani*, *Nihue*, *Naluoguināpi*, *Tinape*, *Caliler*, *Olohuihuihidur*, *Caapipiler*, y el último *Iguasalipler*.

Y entonces vino España adonde los indios y que en esa época dijo los *nēles* que los hombres que han venido de España són los españoles extranjeros de otra tierra son

(Corresponding to pp. 162, 164)

And God commanded *Olōūaipipilele* to end his work here on the earth. And before he went up to Heaven he was called *Olōūaipipilele* but when he went up there he changed his name and was called *Nēle Tipilel*.

And now other people came to live on the earth. They were called *Máchisāguipipilel*, *Nelenatulilel*, *Oloūtulilel*, *Iguaogiñalilel* [name of *Púgsu* = Venus] *Nelpuna* [means »adivino«]. And these were great *neles*, they were very powerful and knew much. God had sent them. They could call forth fearful hurricanes which could blow a village up into the sky with a strong wind, *ōlopurua* [the gold wind] whom they knew. And after these powerful *neles* others came to the earth. It was *Dada Karban* or *Nēle Karban* and *Nēle Akban*. But the people began in their time to act badly and crudely like dogs and animals and they behaved very badly and they had forgotten all of God's words. Therefore God wished to punish them with a great flood, (P. 9) so as to be rid of all the people who had forgotten his words and who had done everything evil on the earth. Therefore God punished them with a great flood. But two years after the deluge a man came with God's laws. He was called *Ibeorgun* and he came to instruct the people in all of the old history, how God had come to the world and how the eternal father (Jehova) had come.¹ Thereafter he said that he would continue the New Testament. This *Ibeorgun* said. A few days later other *neles* were lower-

tuted for the name of the original mother the name of the world tree. »The *Pālu-ūāla* tree of which we speak is our original mother who has borne us. We speak of it in secret and to ourselves.»

I have furthermore in the above-mentioned treatise quoted the version of the world tree myth which Adrian de Santo Thomas got from the Cunas and which we find in Salcedo's *Relación Historica y Geográfica de la Provincia de Panamá*, p. 126. We have in these different stories evidence of a nearly three-hundred-year-old legend among the Cunas. ED.

¹ God and Jehova are here the same.

hombres blancos y que tienen barbas y pelos en todo su cuerpo, dijo los grandes *nēles* a sus gentes, que entonces llamo *tule signicati tampe tule* que venía de muy lejos de aquí por los lados de que hay muchos hielos o nieves, dijo los grandes *nēles*, que como nunca habían visto los españoles que vinieron, que vinieron por primera vez al Centro de América. Y que entonces en aquella época que llamamos *huaga* entonces en esta época vinieron los españoles que llamamos extranjeros y vinieron a llenar el Centro América que hoy en día llamamos la América Central algunos indios le gustaban las ordenes de los españoles que daban a los indios y que ellos seguían siempre los mandados de los españoles, nosotros en esta época pescabamos con el [*acuaaduba*] y cazábamos con las flechas y con *pudi* y los jefes indios no querian los ordenes de los españoles en esta época los destruyeron los indios que habitaban en este territorio; y entonces los españoles que vinieron a establecer en estos lugares de los indios entonces los españoles fueron poblados en esos lugares de los indios para trabajar las minas de oros, que los indios cambiaban sus prendas por un paquete de fósforos y por unos botones que en esa época los españoles hacían muchos engaños a los indios por las prendas, los españoles le dijo a los indios que, que significa el río rosado y amarillo y negro; que esto significa que los son de oro que tiene minas de oro, minas de hierro y minas de cobre y todas clases de minas. El jefe de los indios se llama *Iguab*. Y los españoles dijo al jefe *Iguab* que adonde venía Dios y el le contestó que Dios está en el cielo, y los españoles volvió y le preguntó que queria el sol y el *Dada Iguab* lo dijo que el sol (P. 10) era luz grande que alumbraba el mundo que Dios lo ha puesto en el cielo que al día alumbraba para darnos el trabajo que debemos de hacer, puede hacer nuestros padre y vuelve repitir el español al *Dada Iguab* que, que era la tierra y el volvió decir la tierra es como nuestro padre por que en la tierra nacemos. El español le dijo que es la lluvia? Indio *Iguab* le contestó que la lluvia es hecha de *Simuduba*

(Corresponding to pp. 164, 166)

ed down from Heaven: *Nēle Tiegun* and *Nēle Kubiler* and furthermore *Tulikana* and *Kuktirkana* came. They took us to other rivers. We inhabited every river and came upon *sahuisahyi tulegan* and *kihue tulegan* [Indian tribes]. *Nēle Tulikana* took three hundred people from one river to live in *Tupgandi*. The population of three villages inhabited *Tupgandi*. And the chief of this village which *Nisargana* founded was called *Tat* (= *Dada*) *Colo* and they inhabited *Rio Duques*, up river, as well as at the mouth of *Rio Hunati* where the chief was called *Nēle Nilu*. And they deserted this one and settled by other rivers, by the river *Urtinaga sugunnega sogubdi*. According its new name this river is called *Tat kintup*. At that time *Nistulegan*, or the star people, were lowered down to this place. And this place was burned and deserted. Others inhabited *Rio Morti*, the place called *Morna* and the chief *Igligan*. And they inhabited the place *Arkidi* and likewise the place *Kiknadi* but deserted this for *Hurgandihual* where they inhabited *Huguib*. Two hundred came to settle at the place *Yārpīwila* at *Rio Taimdi* with *Nēle Yarbikananusibugana*. And they moved to other rivers, to *Rio Cuinupti*, where the chief was called *Aglipiler*. From *Cuinupti* they inhabited *Rio Nargandi* where the chiefs were called *Aidukanapaler* and *Yaikunapāler*. They are the chiefs of *Rio Cañaza*. And they settled at *Rio Madingandi* or *Rio Bayano*. The chief of this place was *Wigudur Nēle Kantule*, and the place was called *Morbedubgua*. He was called *Nēle Wigudur* because he had seen the ancient fathers who were living in the olden times and who looked out over the earth. These *nēles* lived in different places by the rivers and they were the first who knew about the gold mines, the silver, copper, iron, salt, and many kinds of mines which were found in the mountains. And they called it *Oloyala*, the Gold Mountain. And there were even many other people, the Indians *Akkepirtule*, *Nalakepirtule*, *Pugui-puguitule*, *Sahuisahuitule*, and these Indians continued to fight against our ancestors. They fought with *achusedo*

la lluvia nació como nosotros hemos nacido, la catarata de agua es hecho de pulmones de Perro; así dijo los doctores grandes de antigua; entonces los españoles le dijo otra vez al indio de quien hecho la tierra? el *Iguab* le dijo al español Dios al principio formó la tierra esta forma le dijo el *Nële Iguab* el dios formó su *ablisa* o [*epurba*], entonces eso formó para mujer; era muy blando o *tuttucua* entonces Dios lo tiró para el cielo y convirtió [las] nubes de destintos colores y cerranillas y sobre esta formación de tierra se vino parecer los árboles de todas clases, de allí vino un viento temboroso y se cayeron todos árboles que había parecido sobre esta tierra entonces la tierra se volvió otra vez moverse y mezclarse los árboles desaparecieron para la tierra se vino convertirse de carbón y pólvoras y minas de oro [y] de hierro, por eso de todas partes hay minas de oro y entonces vino parecer este árbol que hoy está sobre la tierra y cuando este árbol se echó las frutas entonces vino parecer los animales sobre esta tierra sí dijo el *Nële Iguab* entonces el *Iguab* le dijo al español que el ya sabía que viene entrevistar a él porque viene a ver a él lo dijo el indio que nunca ira donde el le dice el indio al español por la culpa de diablo o el diablo te ha metido en el corazón por este viene para estos lugares para engañarme. Entonces el español le dijo a *Iguab* esto lo voy a trabajar la mina de oro y a mi me pertenece a mi dijo el español a los indios que el iba a trabajar el oro y el indio *Iguab* le dijo a los españoles que el oro era de Dios; y el español le pido el oro al indio *Iguab* el oro, *Iguab* era un hombre que saber tallar el oro, entonces los españoles querian trabajar las minas de oro. *Iguab* no quiso que los españoles trabajara en las minas y no quiso a enseñarlos las minas de oros y los españoles viendo que los indios no querian a enseñando a ellos las minas, y capturó al indio *Iguab* con una cadena de hierro que hasta que muriera, que cuando murió el *Iguab* en los manos de los españoles y los indios le enseñó las minas a los españoles ya estando mucho tiempo de sacando la mina de oro y vino la revolución los españoles con

(Corresponding to pp. 166, 168)

[a kind of weapon], *tamin*¹ and *ala*² as well as with bows and arrows. Before the Spanish time our ancestors always carried on internal feuds and during the progress of one of them the Spaniards came to the place in Central America where at that time there were *Nēle Iguab*, *Nēle Olokana*, *Nēle Ogelele*, *Nēle Kuani*, *Nēle Nihue*, *Nēle Naluoginapi*, *Nēle Tinape*, *Nēle Yalikalilel*, *Nēle Olohuihuidur*, *Nēle Kapipilel* and finally *Nēle Iguasalipler*.

And now the Spaniards came to the Indians' land and at that time the *nēles* said that the men who had come from Spain were Spaniards, foreigners from another land. »They are white and have beards and hair over their whole body». This the *nēles* said to the people. They called the Spaniards *tule signicati tampe tule* [Cf. page 185, notes 1—2] as they had come from far away and in their land there was much snow and ice. This the great *nēles* said who had never yet seen the Spaniards, when they for the first time came to Central America. And we call the Spaniards, the foreigners who came to Central America, *huaca*. And some of the Indians liked to take orders from the Spaniards and followed their commands. We fished at that time with *akuaduba*³ and hunted with bows and arrows and blow tubes (*pūdi*). The chiefs did not like the Spaniards' commands. They ruined the Indians in that section. And the Spaniards came and settled down on the Indians' land in order to work the gold mines. And in exchange for the gifts of friendship from the Indians they gave them a box of matches and some buttons. The Spaniards cheated the Indians very much with their gifts at that time. And the Spaniards asked the Indians what it meant that the rivers flowed red, yellow, and black. It was because they had gold, iron, and copper, mines, yes, all kinds of mines. The Indians' chief was *Iguab* and the Spaniards asked *Iguab* where God lived and

¹ Lance of wood which is used by the Indian police.

² A lance somewhat differing from the preceding one.

³ Sling. Used now only as a toy.

los indios que los españoles hacían a los indios cuándo lo capturaban a los indios lo cortaban la mitad y las mujeres también que le cortaban la cabeza y muchas cosas le hacían a los indios, que lo amarraban con sogas y lo tendían al sol. Y entonces los españoles mandaban a uno de sus gentes para adonde los indios para hablar con los indios, entonces fué a ver los indios uno de los pueblos indios y le saludaba; y hablaba con buen manera y le decía así, que cada vez si le venia ver una garza, es un diablo si ver venir cuervo o avestruz, son diablos; le decía así los españoles los indios entonces el se vuelve ir otra vez para adonde ellos — — —.

(P. 11) GM. 31. 27. 26. b.

When you go in. In the end of this earth there are a king ants and nobody was passing there. Until this earth *Olouaipipilele* saw the place and then he came back down in the earth and he came down again in the golden plate (*olopate*). When *Ibelele Olohuaipiler* came on this earth he beat all of his people and he send all the big men under the earth these are speaking very hardness. And after that he saw a one woman coming and she was singing coming like that: *Palu-uala, cuculiualagopeti, Paluualala cuculiualagopeti*. This woman was coming a drunkard and also carry a one fish and she was singing and singing her named *Punahuaga-Olocurcudilisop* and also we called *Acha mommor* (butterfly). But *Ibelele Olohuaipipiler* build the *surpa* and to make find out the woman life. And on next day *Ibelele Olohuaipipiler* said to his people you see the woman was coming singing yesterday, she [showed the] *Palu-uala* we called salt tree in the top of this *Palu-uala* there were a earth planted plantation, salt water, sweet water, fishes and all kinds of animals fowls and vegetables. And a woman always come four times singing over and over. And then *Olohuaipipiler* find his nephews as: *Yanu, Uedal, Astupin*, and so forth and *Olohuaipipiler* said to his families when you reached at the root of *Palu-uala* there are *Olopirya*. So the

(Corresponding to pp. 168, 170)

he answered that God was in Heaven. And the Spaniards asked if even the sun was god to him and *Iguab* answered that the sun was a great light (**P. 10**) which lit up the world, that God had placed it in Heaven to give us light by day so we could do our work. And when the Spaniards asked what the world was, *Iguab* answered that the world was like our father because on it we were born. The Spaniards asked what the rain is. *Iguab* answered that the rain is made of *simuduba* [the umbilical cord?], the rain was born as we are born, the water-river is made of dogs' lungs. So said the great *neles* in olden times. And the Spaniard again asked the Indians: »Who created the earth?» And *Iguab* answered him that God first gave the earth its form from his blood (*ablisa*) and his soul (*e purba*), he even took bits of woman.¹ The earth was in the beginning very loose, or *tuttukua*, but then God threw it up to Heaven, where it was changed into clouds of different colors, and they were formed into bullets and in this way the earth and the mountains were made, and on the earth all kinds of trees came to grow. But a frightful wind came and all the trees were blown over. The earth again began to move and to mix itself, the trees disappeared from the earth and changed themselves into coal and gun powder and iron mines, therefore also are there gold mines everywhere. And afterwards the trees which are now found on the earth came, and they bore fruit. And the animals came to the earth. This *Iguab* said. *Iguab* said furthermore to the Spaniard that he knew very well that this one would come and see him but that he himself never would have gone to the Spaniard's land. The Indian said to the Spaniard that it was through the work of the devil that he had come to the Indians' tract to deceive him. The Spaniard said to *Iguab*, »I shall work the gold mines», but *Iguab* said: »It is God's gold.» The Spaniards asked *Iguab* for gold because he knew how to work gold but *Iguab* did not wish to have the Spaniards work his gold

¹ Compare the English version, page 187.

grand sons of *Olohuaipipiler* are went to the root of this trees, and they are cutting his roots. But in a days they only cut a one span or we called a *mattar*, and on next day they went again at the roots of the *Palu-uala*, when the reached at the roots they saw just the same as before, but *Olohuaipipiler* said to his men some animals comes to this trees. And then *Olohuaipipiler* went to the *surpa* again, he knews what kinds of animals went to this tree or the roots. So he said the big tigers, serpents and heads of frogs went to lick those trees. So why *Palu-uala* don't fall down. And then *Olohuaipipiler* called to *Equa-o-kin-ya-liler* you must go to this tree and keep guard; those animals are went to lick the trees cut. And then *Equaokinyaliler* guard and waiting the big animals are went to the trees. When he was waiting and then big tigers comes and he slew him, and after that another comes is the serpent and slew again. And so the last one is the big Frog and kill him again. When they all detryed these animals, and then they started to cut down again. But the piece of a tree was dropping at the *Olopirya* was turning with the bad fishes and something can't eat. After that and then *Palu-uala* was fall down, he caught enter string of clouds, we say *Mogwirtupguigalesa* and *Olohuaipipiler* said to his servant, who go to the top of the *Palu-uala*, and cut the string of the clouds, but they went up and they couldnt reached at the top of the three only half of the trees they went all. And then *Olohuaipipiler* told to *Oloienipipiler* or we called *Nicguir-cua*, you will go for me at the top of the tree and cut the string of the cloud, but he went to the tree as a lightening and he took a small hatched at his back, when he arrived at the top, he begin to cut down, and then heging falls down, *Olohuaipipiler* before the tree falls he put a golden net and two silver nets for to hold the salt water. So in that time was been to the sea and them make a great ocean. When the tree falling down and then the people of animal was running to find different kinds of vegetables, as planted bananas, yucas,

(Corresponding to pp. 170, 172)

mines and did not want to show them where they were. When the Spaniards saw that he did not want to show them the gold mines they took him prisoner and they put him in iron chains, and there he died, and when *Iguab* died at the hands of the Spanish, the other Indians showed the Spaniards the mines, and the Spaniard stayed there a long time and worked the mine and obtained gold. So came the Indians' rebellion against the Spaniards because when the Spaniards took the Indians captive they cut them in two and they even decapitated the women. They did many evil things to the Indians, tied them with ropes and stretched them out in the sun. And when the Spaniards sent any one of their people to speak with Indians he then went to see an Indian village and he greeted the people there and spoke sweet words and said that every time they saw a heron, a raven, or »avestruz»(?) it was devils. So said the Spaniards.¹

GM. 31.27.26.b. (P. 11)

At the end of this world there is an ant king and there no one could pass. *Olōūaipipilele* came that far and then he came back to this earth on the gold plate (*olopate*).

When *Ibelele Olōūaipipilele* came down to the earth he vanquished all enemies and he sent all the great men who spoke hard words down under the earth. And after that he saw a woman come and as she came she sang thus: *Pālu-ūāla kūkuliūāla kōbeti, Pālu-ūāla kūkuliūāla kōbeti* (See notes pages 161, 165). She came drunk and she carried a fish and she sang again and again. Her name was *Pānaūā-gaōlokūkurdīlisop*, and we called her also *Achamomor* (butterfly). But *Ibelele Olōūaipipilele* built a *sūrba* to find out where the woman had come from. And the following day *Ibelele Olōūaipipilele* said to his people: »The woman who came singing yesterday showed the *Pālu-ūāla*-tree or, as we

¹ For the interpretation of this text see the explained, definitely more complete English text, page 191. ED.

potatoes and so forth and also fishes as tarphon and many different kinds of fishes and also fruit trees and so forth, so you see *Olohuaipipiler* is our chief, because he found all kinds of things as before now. But now today we are living in our customs of our great *Nēle- Olouaipipiler*. As *Olouaipipiler* came in here our great father and he gave us or taught us in *Hapsoget*, *Caupisaylagan*, *Innasayla*, *Siasayla*, *Acuanelsayla*, *Masal-sayla*. So now we are using this road in these days as our customs, because he left for us. And also he came in here to find the Jehovas way, how he came in this earth. You see he is the same came down in this earth because he is the powerful of God. God gave his power to the *Olouaipipiler*. And then *Olouaipipiler* caught bad kings, and they all send them over under the earth he put the place of peace. When in time of peace and then he called *Olouaipipiler* to the kings of *ponis* and he gather all his people and then he put a hammock to sing for the kings of *ponis* and also he put *Tulpun* hat and *Salupip-piba* hat, but the people of *ponis* was hearing and watching him, and *Olouaipipiler* was began to sing in a golden hammock (P. 12) for the king of *ponis*, and he said to them now you must hear me and I am going to give you a different *calus*, and don't think any way and don't do the things yourself. But the different kings of *ponis* was hearing was he said to them you must live be still and quiet in your each of *calus*. Only God sent make out you but yourself you can't come out from the *calus*. You see *Palu-uala* is mean our grandmother life or our land where we now lives that is talking only about in secret words.

And then *Olouaipipiler* said to his men, now my time is at hand and I am going to heaven, when he died and got the heaven, and then he called another named *Nēle Tipiler*. And after *Olouaipipiler* died and came another great men down on this earth, so these *nēles* are following: *Machi Saguiipipiler*, *Natuliler*, *Nēle Uituili*, *Olouituliler*, *Nēle Equaokinyaliler*, and after these *nēles* then comes *nēles'* wife or *nēles'*

(Corresponding to p. 174)

say, the salt tree. In the top of *Pálu-ũāla* are fields, salt water, fresh water, fish and all kinds of animals, birds and vegetables.» And the woman always came four times and sang again and again. And *Olōũaipipilele* said now to his nieces and nephews, *Yānu* [*Dicotyles torquatus*], *Uedal* [*Dicotyles labiatus*], *Astupin* [*Nasua sociales*] etc. from his family: »At the foot of *Pálu-ũāla* you will find *Olōpírya*» (the gold whirlpool) so they went to the foot of the tree and began to chop there. In one day they could chop a hand's breadth (*matar*). Next day they went again to the tree and it looked the same as before. But *Olōũaipipilele* said to his men that it was some animals that had come to the tree. And *Olōũaipipilel* again went to his *sūrba* and there he found out what kind of animals had come to the tree. It was great jaguars, snakes and the chief of the frogs that came to lick the tree. Therefore the *Pálu-ũāla* tree could not fall. And then *Olōũaipipilele* called upon *Ekúakinyalilele* [*Venus*] and said: Now you must go to the tree and keep watch. These animals come to lick the chopped part of the tree. And *Ekúakinyalilele* watched and waited until the great animals came to the tree. When they came it was the great jaguar, and he killed him, and so the snake came and he killed him as well. And last came the great frog and he killed it. Now he had killed all these animals, and they began to fell the tree again. The bits of the tree which fell into *Olōpírya* were changed into inedible fish and when *Pálu-ũāla* was about to fall it caught in the tufts of clouds, we say *mōkirtupgigalesa*,¹ and *Olōũaipipilele* said to his servant that he should climb up the tree and cut away the wisps of cloud. They tried but could not come more than half-way up the trunk of the tree. *Olōũaipipilele* said then to *Oloikuipipilele* or *Nikirgua* that he should climb up to the top and this he did, like lightning, and he had with him a little axe and when he had come up he began to chop and

¹ *mōkír-* *tup-* *gigalesa*
cloud string in the caught.

sisters. So these *nēles* are great men too. And they can do anything also. He can make out a great wind to blows to another place, so this people can go away from this golden winds. And after these *nēles* and then came another great *nele* is the name *Dada Nēle Carban* next come *Nēle Acban*. In that time the earth was been full of evil things, and the people couldn't walk very straightly and every one was doing, vexed talking with the bad words and so forth. In that time, and then came a great flood upon this people, because they not obey the Gods words, so he punished to them. When the flood was passed on the earth, and then came another great *nele* again. *Ibeorgun* came first on this earth. You see that I told you before history about *Ibeorgun* so now is a *Ibeorgun* came new and he was beginning to find in these time. Just like the time of Jesus Christ. Before we used our old history, but now we going to [speak] about a New History or New Testament. So our grand fathers or *nēles* was begin to teach us, what they did before us our ancient fathers. And after *Ibeorgun* came the sons of *Nēle* as: *Tuligana* and *Cugdirgana*. In the *Tacargun* river we departed on any kinds of rivers, because on this river our great ancient fathers was residence. So *Tuligana* separated us on each rivers of this coast. When they all departed those people and then they saw a different people was living there as: *Guihue* people, *Sauisau* people, *Acquebir* people and grand fathers came first in the *River Tupgandi* and the end of this river a place called *Nisargandi*. So in this river our grandfathers was living there the head of this people is called *Colo*. And he established three cities on this river *Tupgandy*. And one city was populated in *Nisargandy* another in *Siatinac*. He have three hundred souls. And after that another grandfathers come from the *Duques* river. The end of this river we called *Hu-ua-nati* river; so in this river there a *Nēle Nilu*, and he established a city too. And after that came to the river of *Sobcupdi* and way up to the river a place called *Urdinac* and *Sobcupna*

(Corresponding to p. 176)

the tree began to fall. Before the tree fell *Olouaipipilele* put up a gold net and two silver nets to hold the salt water. On this occasion the sea was formed. When the tree fell the animal people came running to find all sorts of fruit, such as bananas, yuca, potatoes, etc., as well as fish such as tarpoon and many other kinds, and fruit trees, etc. As *Olōūaipipilele* gave us all this you see he is our great *nēle*. And now we live according to the ways our great *Nēle Olouaipipilele* instructed us in. He came to our ancestors and taught them *Absogēdi*, *Caupisaylaigal*, *Innasaylaigal*, *Acuanelesaylaigal*, *Masarsaylaigal*. (cf. pp. 163, 165). We now follow these customs which he gave us. And *Olōūaipipilele* came down here to find Jehova's way with the power of God which God gave to *Olōūaipipilele*. And *Olōūaipipilele* captured evil chiefs and sent them all to the underworld, here on earth he got peace. During this time *Olōūaipipilele* sent messages to the chiefs of all the *pōnis* and he sang in a hammock for them and he had placed on his head the *tulpun* hat and the *salupip-bipa* hat. He began to sing for the *pōni* people from his gold hammock (P. 12) and they heard him and watched him. He said to them: »I shall give you different *kālus* where you shall live in quiet, each in his own *kālu*. Only God can let you out of there, you yourselves can not come out from *kālus*.¹ *Pālu-ūāla* is our original mother who has borne us. We speak of this in secret.» [Cf. the explanation page 165].

Then *Olōūaipipilele* said to his men: »My time has come. I go now to Heaven.» And he died and came to Heaven and there he called on a man by the name of *Nēle Tipilele*. And after *Olōūaipipilele's* death other great men came down on the earth. They were the following *nēles*: *Machisagwipilele*, *Natulilele*, *Nēle Uituili*, *Oloutulilele*, *Nēle Ekuaokinyalilele* [see page 177] and then their wives and sisters came. These *nēles* were also great men. They could also do every-

¹ By this is meant that the evil spirits or illnesses could only be sent by God.

the head of this town is named *Dada-Kintup*. This river we called before *Sobcupna* and now in this time we called *Sop-cubdi*. And also in this place there are coming down the stars, of people. And after that another our grand father come on the river of *Mordi*; in the end of this river a place called *Morna* the head of this place is named *Icligana*. A *Morna* we called old name but now we called *Mordi*. And then comes another grand father and they reached at the river *Arquiti* and the end of the river was called *Quicnadi*, in there was populated a place. Another our grand father came at the river of *Huala* his named *Uquip*. He have a more than two hundred souls. And another came in the river of *Taimdi* on the end of this river is placed called *Yarbi-uila* in there are established a village the head of this place is named *Yarbigana*, *Nusipugana*, *Neldodo-achugana*. And another grandfather was going to *Quinupdi* river the head of this people *Aclipipiler* and in the river of *Nargandi* *Actucunabaler*, *Yaicunabaler* are establishing the place. And in the river of *Mantungandy* there are living a *Dada-Nele Uigu-dun* or *Cantule* the place are where the established are living is called *Mor-pep-tuo-gua*. So these *nēles* are living with a different rivers they knowing this land have a gold mines, copper mines, iron and so forth. When our grandfathers living in that time and then they made a war against the people of *Puguipugui*. And our grand father used a *damín* or *alas* (spears) we [use] this sword, in these things they fight to them. And also we called a mountain, *Olo-yala* or golden mountain, because they have rich in gold. When our grandfathers was making a war with (P. 13) against the people of *Sauí-sauí*, *Quihue* and *Acquebir tule*.

And in that time a spain men comes to this land. There was living a *Nēle Equap*, *Nēle Olgan*, *Nēle Oqueler* [*Nēle Nñue*, *Nēle Kuāni*, *Nēle Nāluokināpi*, *Nēle Olüi-ui-tup*, *Nēle Tinape*, *Nēle Yālikaliler*, *Nēle Cāpipiler*] and the last *nēle* [*Igüasālipler*] and he is a young boy. When spain men

(Corresponding to p. 178)

thing. They could make a strong wind change its direction and blow in another place. And after these *nêles* came other great *nêles* by the name of *Dada Nêle Karban* [cf. *Ibeorgun* page 257] and after that *Nêle Akban*.¹ The earth was then full of wickedness and the people could not go straight and everybody spoke wickedly with ugly words and so on. At that time a great flood came over the people since they had not obeyed God's word, therefore God punished them. When the flood was over still another great *nêle* came. *Ibeorgun* came first on the earth. I related to you before the history of *Ibeorgun*, so this *Ibeorgun* came down and began to discover things as in Jesus Christ's time. Before that we used our old history but now we shall speak about our new history or the New Testament.

Our great ancestors or *nêles* began to instruct us in what our forefathers had done. And after *Ibeorgun* came other *nêles*: *Tuligana* and *Kukdirgana*. From the *Takarguna* river, which was our forefathers' abode, we spread out over all kinds of rivers. *Tuligana* separated us and placed us at the different rivers on the coast. And also other people lived there such as the *Guihue*-people, the *Sauisau*-people and the *Akkebir*-people. And our forefathers came first to the river *Tupgandi* and at the mouth of this river *Nisargandi* was located. There our forefathers lived and the chief of these people was called *Colo*. And he founded three communities by this *Tupgandi* river. One was *Nisargandi*, and one *Siatinac*. He had three hundred subjects. And after this others of our forefathers came from the river *Duques*. The mouth of this river was called *Huunati River*. There *Nêle Nilu* lived and he also founded a community. And after we came to the *Socupdi* river where the place *Urdinac* was located, a little way up the river where the chief was called *Dada Kintup*. Formerly we called the river *Sobcupna* and now *Sobcupdi*. And the star-people even

¹ Here it is evident that *Masar Akban* and *Nêle Akban* are not the same person.

comes to this land my great *nele* said: you see these men came in there; it is come from another land, they are white men, because these men are living another land. But some said, it is not a spaniard man, they come down from heaven. But the big *neles* said my biggest *neles* said like before. There are another kind of people was living another land, so they are that men. And then he called *Huaca Tampetule* or *Tule-Signicat*. But the *neles* don't want to see them, and they don't want to speak to them. So some *neles* are went to the rivers, because they don't like to see those people. And then spaniards come to this land and filled up this land. But our great Doctors don't like to summit with them. And then some of his men started to summit with spaniards. But the great Doctors was saying to their people; do not summit with the spaniards. These men only came to us to took our land from us, and to took all our wonderful things from us. But their men wouldn't listen to their great doctors to not summit with spaniards, and then afterwards spaniards began to make our grand father slaves from them. That time our grand father has a sling and arrows for to shoot wild animals. And then Spaniards began to build a houses among our grand fathers; and then they began to searched coal mines, iron mines, gold mines, and copper mines and oil mines, and then they bought gold stones for one matches, and only for one buttons from my grand fathers; so they started to picked up the gold in the rivers and in the valleys. And then afterwards one of the spaniards went up to visited Doctor *Iguap*. And then he went up to his house and met him there. And he said to great Doctor, where God is living? and then *Iguab* said to him, he is in Heaven, and what is the sun is God too? But great *nele* said to him yes, he is my God also, and what is the earth-but he also said to the spaniard, and also he is my God too; and then spaniards said to him again. And how is it the river floods, but *Iguab* said to him, the river floods red, yellow and black. But Spaniards said to him

(Corresponding to pp. 180, 182)

came down there. And then our forefathers came to the river *Mordi*. At the mouth of this river the place *Morna* is located, with the chief *Igligana*. *Morna* is the old name, now we say *Mordi*. Another of our forefathers thereafter reached the river *Arquiti* where they inhabited the place *Kiknadi*. Another of our ancestors *Uquip* came to the river *Huala*. He had more than two hundred subjects. Another came to the river *Taimdi* and at the mouth of this river there is the place *Yarbi-uiala* where a village was founded under the chiefs *Yarbigana*, *Nusipugana* and *Neldodo-achugana*. Another of our ancestors set out for the *Quinupdi* river. The chief there was *Aklipipilel*. In the *Nargandi* river *Aktukunabaler* and *Yaikunabaler* built. And at the river *Matungandi*, *Dada Nêle Ugudun Kantule* lived. This place which was inhabited there was called *Morpeptuogua*. These *nêles* lived by different rivers. They knew the country and they knew that it had gold mines, copper mines, iron and so on. Our forefathers began war at that time against the *Pugui-pugui*-people. And our ancestors fought against them with *damin* and *alas* [See p. 171] [See original. The meaning is not clear].

And we called a mountain *Oloyala* or the golden mountain as it was rich in gold. Our ancestors began a war against the *Samsau*-people and the *Akkebir*-people. (P. 13)

At that time a Spaniard arrived in this country. The *nêles* of those days were the following: *Igăp*, *Olocăna*, *Ogeler*, *Nihue*, *Kuăni*, **Năluokînape*, *Oloiuriutup*, *Tinape*, *Yaligaliler*, *Caapipiler* — all with «*nêle*» preceding their names — and *Iguasaliblele*, who was then a young boy. When the Spaniards arrived in the country the paramount *nêle* said. »You see those men that have come here. They come from another country. These men are white because they are natives of a country different from ours.» But some of his people said: »They are not Spaniards, they come from heaven». The great ones among the *nêles* said that it had already been stated by those in the highest places that

again for what reasons the river floods so, and then great Doctor *Iguap* said to him, because gold mines, iron mines and copper mines is there up in the river, for that reason the river floods so because the God putted golds, irons, copper, and etc. He putted these things for to defended the earth. And then Spaniards said to him again, and where is rains comes from to this earth, but *Nēle Iguab* said to him again. God putted the rains in heaven and makes it fall down to this earth. And God made the rains out of umbilicus, and now look, when you came from your mother womb, and how you came, and don't you come out having a umbilicus with you? and then dogs of umbilicus and umbilicus of us, God made the rains out of this; and the clouds passes over us and turned on water and comes to rains and fall down to this earth, and then spaniards said to him again. Who made this earth? but the *Iguab* said to him God made this earth for me. He took all of his best things in his souls and to compose the world, and first God took his heart, liver, bowels and so forth, and these things God compose out of this and made this earth. But first time she was growing up and growing up soft every day and afterward she fall down, and afterward abundance of fogs came down from heaven to this earth. And these fogs were began to turn over and over and afterward he became just like a small hills, and after that they came together, and then after that again. God putted a hardest woods in this earth and these woods hewn down* from terrible hurricane and these woods God made to defend the earth from falling or to make it hard, and then God invent these woods into coal mines, iron mines, copper mines, gold mines, salt mines, oil mines, silver mines and powder mines and so forth, so I know for that reason all parts of this earth his all kinds of mines of there. And then *Iguab* said to him again, and after that God putted a soft woods in this earth that we could hewn down for fire woods. And when all these trees began to bear fruits and (P. 14) after that God invent a

(Corresponding to p. 182)

there exists a race of people who are different and live in a different country. These must therefore be the people thus referred to, they said. Therefore our people called the strangers *Huaca Tampetule*¹, and also *Tule Signikat*². The *nêles* refused to see them or to speak to them. Some of the *nêles* betook themselves to the rivers of the interior because they hated the sight of the strangers.

Later on the Spaniards arrived in numbers in this country of ours and settled down in it, but our great medicine men refused to treat with them. Some of their people, however, remained behind to receive the Spaniards. The great *nêles* told their people: »Do not enter into any agreement with the Spaniards. These men have only come to take our country away from us, and to rob us of all the wonderful things we possess». But the people did not listen to their great *nêles*. And then the Spaniards began to make slaves of our ancestors. In those days our ancestors had slings, bows and blow-guns, with which they killed their game. Eventually the Spaniards built their houses on the sites where our ancestors lived, and then they began to look for coal mines, iron mines, gold mines, copper mines and oil wells. They traded with our ancestors and got their valuable possessions in return for things like a box of matches or a button. Then they began washing for gold in the rivers and the valleys.

One of the Spaniards set out to visit *Nêle Iguap*. He looked him up in his dwelling. He then asked the great *nêle*: »Where does God live?» and *Iguab* answered him: »He is in heaven». Then the Spaniard asked: »Is the sun also a god?» The *nêle* answered: »Yes, he is also my God. When the Spaniard asked what the earth was, the *nêle* told him that the earth also was his God too. »How do the rivers flow?» the Spaniard asked. *Iguab* replied »The rivers flow red, yellow and black». Then the Spaniard asked him

¹ The Cold-Men.

² *sige* means beard. The Bearded Men.

beasts in this earth and last we came to his earth. That is what I knew about my spirit, he said to spaniards. And then *Iguab* said to him again but before time I knew about your people that you people was living in another land, but I never thought to go to your place and to [take] lands from you. But now you came to my land and to searched of us. But first ~~time~~ God sends down a devils to the earth just like of abundance of rains. And these spirits entered in your body and spoiled your hearts, and by these spirits you came to my land and you people filled up my lands and to [take] my lands from me, and to stole my precious things from me, so you came to me to fool me in this land and to held my lands from us. And then another spaniard came to him, and said to him, this land mine, but *Iguab* said to him it is not yours, it is belong to God; and then spaniards said to him again tell me where is gold mines lying, but he wouldn't let him know about him, and then spaniards hold him in his hand and hold the hand with iron chain, and said to him, tell me about the mines where it is, but he wouldn't told him, but afterwards he started to turned the iron chain little by little, but he wouldn't told him, and afterwards his hand cut off from the iron chain, and then he was died from the spaniard. And after *Iguap* and his men started to told the spaniard about the goldmine, and then began to show the spaniards the gold mines, and then spaniards saw lots of gold there, and then they started to cut the gold with hatchets, and then one of the spaniards threw his hatchet at the gold, but his hatchet fell at his knees and he get sore knees. And then the spaniards started to treated my grand fathers with a heavy burdens or with a cruelty. But at that time many of our grand fathers was submit with spaniards, so they started to turned against with one another, and they will laid the spaniards to another tribes by a night and when the cock crow's time comes, and they will attacked them and kill them, and then spaniards started to cut our grand fathers fingers one by one and afterwards

(Corresponding to p. 184)

again, »Why do the rivers flow so?» Then *Iguab* answered him: »Because away up where the rivers come from there are gold mines, iron mines and copper mines, which God has created. He created them so as to keep the earth together.» Further the Spaniard asked him: »Where does the rain come from that falls to the earth?» *Néle Iguab* answered him: »God created the rain in the heavens and makes it fall down upon the earth. God created the rain from the umbilical cord. When you emerged from your mother's womb, how did you come forth? Did you not emerge along with an umbilical cord? From the dogs' umbilical cords¹ and ours, God created the rain. The clouds sail above our heads and change to water, and this turns to rain which falls upon the earth.»

The Spaniard then asked him: »Who created this earth of ours?» *Iguab* replied: »God made this earth for me. He took all the best components of his souls and used them for building up the earth. First of all God took his heart, then his liver, then his stomach, and so forth, and of all this created this earth. To begin with, the earth grew of a consistency that became looser and looser every day until it collapsed, and then a multitude of vapors of various colors descended from heaven upon the earth. These vapors travelled round and round, and then formed small lumps, and then finally they mingled all together. And thereupon God planted trees of extreme hardness in the ground, and these trees were blown down by a terrific hurricane. These trees were created by God in order to keep the earth from subsiding, and so as to make it hard; subsequently God changed these trees into coal mines, iron mines, copper mines, salt mines, oil deposits, silver mines, gunpowder mines, etc. It is because of this that in all parts of the earth all sorts of mines are found.»

Further *Iguab* told the Spaniard: »Later on God planted

¹ One version gives this as lungs. See p. 173. Pérez does not know this myth in any more detailed form.

they will cut off all, and then they cut our grand fathers belly and cut it opened, and also they will cut old women bellies opened and they will kill one baby for her and put him inside of the woman belly. And then they began to cut down all my grand fathers in this land and then they will kill one baby and took off all his things and put before the sun to dry. That is what the spaniards did with our grand fathers and they started to punish the land owners. And then spaniards began to do, they will send one great spaniard to a tribe. And when he get there he will speak nicely to the tribes, and he will told them, if you don't submit with me some day you people going to destroy. And now look, you see storks, wild ducks, and all those wild fowls. Their are Ghosts, so they will kill you; and when he spied all the places of tribe, he will came to his men again, and by night he will went up again to some tribe and at the cock crow times comes, they will attack the tribe, and cut their bodies to pieces, and when our grand fathers having a feast time; they will also caught them and cut down them to pieces. And cutting down all the women and only taking pretties young maid for their wives, and they will sold young maid to a reached spaniard cost at 30 dollar gold. And then they will hold some as a prisoners, and these our grand fathers will work for them to clean roads and work in hard things. And then they catch one great man name [*Tigñap*] as a prisoner he was a great Doctor too. And that time our grand fathers was scattered to all parts of the rivers to try escape from spaniards, and to hide from them. And then they putted a *Nêle Ticunap* with a horses or made him sleeps with horses, and in next day they will go to him, and they will ask him if you made a horse as your wife, but he will answered no and then the spaniards will beat him with a whip as many times as [they] want, they want our grand fathers make the horses as his wife and if our grand father said to him yes, I made the horse as my wife, they will began to laugh for him. So they want only

(Corresponding to p. 186)

in the ground trees of softer wood, which are suitable for us to use as fire-wood. All these trees subsequently became fruit-bearing, (P. 14) and thereupon God created the animals that live upon this earth, and lastly we ourselves were put upon it. This is what I know of the creation of the world».

Again *Iguab* spoke: »Before your arrival I knew of your people who live in another country, but it never occurred to me to go there and take the country from you. But now you have come to our country to seek us out. But it is on account of the devil that you carry in your heart that you have come here to defraud me. God sent devils down upon the earth like a fierce downpour of rain. These devils entered your body and blasted your heart, and thanks to these demons you came to my country, and your people filled up my land and ousted me from it and robbed me of my valuable possessions. This is the way you approached me for the purpose of cheating me out of my country.»

Again, another Spaniard came to him and said: »This country belongs to me», but *Iguab* answered him: »This country is not yours, it belongs to God».

The Spaniards repeated to him the question: »Tell us, where are the gold mines!» But he would not tell them. Then the Spaniards laid hold of him, tied his hands together with an iron chain, and said to him: »Tell us where to find the gold mines!» But he refused to tell them anything.

Then they gradually tightened the iron chains upon him, but could not make him reveal to them the locality of the mines. And so they cut off *Iguab's* hands and he bled to death.

When *Iguab* was dead, his people told the Spaniards where the gold mines were, and guided them to the spot. There the Spaniards saw great quantities of gold, which they dug up with hoes, and one of the Spaniards struck for the gold with his hoe, but the hoe hit his knee so that he was injured.

After that the Spaniards began to compel my ancestors to carry heavy loads and treated them with cruelty. At

play with our grand fathers, so that time our grand fathers having a heaving burdens from spaniards. And they caught all the great men of tribes and killing them to pieces. And then they will catch a woman, and make her naked, and then they will putted two sticks tied and then they will put her head inside of the sticks and put her down, but her back ■ up, and then they call for negroes to do evils things with her until she died. And then they will do another kinds with them. And then they will held another woman and man and they will found a nails, and nailed these naked persons both (P. 15) their feet and they will sit down naked together, looking at one another steady, and if they turned their faces a little, they will start to beat them with the whips as many times as they want, so they want only to look at one another steady at their secrets. That is what spaniards did with our grand fathers. But I want to know if they really know about the Bible or not, they seems to me to day they never know God words and if they know God words, they will never gave my grand fathers a heavy punishment. And then spaniards put a water on the fire, when the water was hot and then he put a rope in it and beat them to do the rope. So our grand fathers was running to the forest to afraid the spaniards people. So you see spaniard people made our grand father just like an animals. When my old grand fathers knews the spaniards was coming and they must flee away to the forest and there they coming to sleep. Some spaniard hold the indians and tied up and then they threw away and then they going to died, and some women and men catch from them and made naked and tied them between the big trees. So you see in that time spaniard people was fooling us and just make like as a dog or animals. So you see in these days our grand fathers have a great sorrowful and some sleeps in the forest or in the rivers. When spaniard saw the indians and hold then and cut their ears. Some times his mother and sons, brother and his sister or friend of his

(Corresponding to p. 188)

that time many of my people had submitted to the Spaniards, and there was intertribal fighting. During the nighttime the Spaniards would be guided to the village of some other tribe, and, at the hour when the cocks begin to crow, this tribe was attacked and wiped out.

The Spaniards, in the old days, cut off the fingers of our tribesmen, one finger at a time, until they had cut them all off. They also slit up the stomachs of our people. They cut open the belly of an old woman, and then they killed one of her children and put it into the open wound. Then they took to slaughtering people wholesale all over the country. They killed a baby, cut out its entrails and dried them in the sun.

This is what the Spaniards did to my ancestors, when they punished the land-owners. They would send someone of importance among them to visit some tribe or other. When he got there he would speak in a friendly way to the Indians and say to them: »If you do not submit to us, your people will some day be destroyed. Look at all those storks, wild ducks, and all the other wild birds. They are evil spirits that eventually will kill you all off.»

When he had spied out all the villages of the tribe he returned to his men, and, in the early morning at cock-crow, they would attack some village community, annihilate it, and cut up the bodies of the people into small pieces. When our people had been celebrating some feast, the Spaniards made onslaught on them, and then they cut their bodies to pieces. They killed most of the women, only reserving the handsomest among the young girls to become their concubines. They used to sell young girls to moneyed Spaniards at thirty gold dollars each. Some of our people they kept as prisoners to work at road-making or other heavy labor.

The Spaniards once made a captive of a man of note named *Ticunap*. At that time, in order to escape the Spaniards and to hide away from them, our people had scat-

wife are tieding and make naked and threw them away. When the spaniard people was fooling like that our fathers. And then our big *nêles* said why the spaniards people make us like that. But *Iguasalipler* said they are not a person, they were a *nia* or pure devil people. Because they looks likes. They are not knowing the God words, but we are know the God words. Because God send us in here and also they send them down too; so we are the sons of God and they are same sons of God. But now they are killing our people, and make us flee away to the mountains. And *Iguasalipler* said to his people, you see these people that are coming from another place or land they thinks that we lived in a stolen land. No, we not living in here in a stolen land; but now spaniard came after us and they are taking away from us our land. So we seen those people don't know the land was in here. But now they are destroying one by one our men. And *Nêle Iguasalipler* said to his people, you see our land have much gold so we called a »golden people«. And the spaniards never forget to catch our people, so they are continuing to kill our men one by one. Because our great *nêles* told us we are born in here, just like without the end of the world. And *Iguasalipler* said to his people you see Spaniard are never forget to slew our fore fathers, and always when they saw a indian they hold him, and then afterwards when any spanish big mens comes and then the indians gave a woman for them. For to make love the indians. So the spaniards started to look for the gold, so they do and searched all the gold mines that where are laying there. And spaniard came to establish the village in *Acandi*, *Acla*, *Cupnadi*, *Calet*, in *Calet* lived *Dada-Calen*, so why this place called [*Kalet*]. So the spaniards people was founded all the villages of this coast.

When the spanish people was been looking or picking the gold mine and then came out again a Civil-war amongst the indians. In *Icocri* place was lived *Dada-Fransoa* with his little son *Miguana* and another side of the river they lived

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tered in all directions. They shut up *Néle Ticunap* along with a horse. In the morning they asked him if he had used the horse for a wife. When he answered them in the negative, the Spaniards gave him repeated floggings. They wished that our people would use horses for wives, and should an Indian then tell them that he had done so, they would laugh at him and mock him. It was a way they had of just making sport of our people. Thus our ancestors suffered greatly under the Spaniards. They captured all our leading men and cut them in pieces.

One of their customs was to capture a woman whom they would strip naked and then they would tie her head down to the ground so that her back part was raised. Then they made Negroes rape her until she died. They would take a man and a woman and nail their feet to the ground making them sit naked (P. 15) face to face and steadily look at each other. If either of them turned his head he would be flogged with a whip. Their tormentors wished to see them gazing at each other's genital parts. That is the way the Spaniards treated our ancestors.»

Here *Néle* interrupted his narrative and said: »I should like to know whether the Spaniard really knew the Bible, for it appears to me that they could not have known the word of God. If they had known it, they would never have treated my ancestors so cruelly.» Then he went on with his tale.

The Spaniards put water on the fire to heat and when the water was hot they put a rope in it and beat them with the rope. Therefore our ancestors ran to the forest out of fear of the Spaniards. So you see the Spanish people treated our forefathers just like animals. When my old ancestors knew the Spaniards were coming they had to flee away to the forest, where they slept. Some Spaniards got hold of the Indians and tied them up and then they threw them away and they died. And some women and men were caught by the Spaniards who tied them naked be-

Dada-Tugue-huarpoguat, his sons named *Machi-Cala* and *Huanu*. And then came a French man to build a house near where the indians are. So *Dada-Fransoa* gave his daughters to french man for to married. And then *Dada Fransoa* and *Tugue-huarpoguat* are growing be a big men, because they are a Captain of this french people. But the sons of *Dada Fransoa* never know anything when they are growing, there are brothers in law of french man. So this man was fooling to his brother in law. Sometimes they went to the boat and when in the sea they beat at the rope, because they do not know how to be a sailors and how to put the ropes so this boat are went far of the Cartí side to buy a *tu-gui*, coffee, cocoa beans, raicilla and so forth. Because they have a big shops in the *Ecocri* place so the sons of *dadas* are went a manservant to his brother in law. And then *Miguana* are went to cleaned dirt by the side of the house, if he not going to clean a place, his brother in law show the rifle or beat (P. 16) him or make punishment. After that the french people build the jails in *Dada Tugue-huarpoguat* place, and also they put in the town of *Dada Fransoa*. And also they build the club houses for to dance, so the French men was beginning to dance with the indian women and also changes their dresses. And they began to mistreat or punish the Indians with heavy penalties, when any our grandfathers spoke against the french people they will hold him and put him in jail. So the sons of *Dada Fransoa* grow up to young men now. When they are dancing at the night and the french people begin to fool around the indian women, so some of our grand fathers daughters began to bare a sons from the french people. So the sons of *Dada Fransoa* and *Tugue-huarpoguat* sons they began to talk about to shoot their fathers, because they are saying, you see, our brother in law was made us fool, and also he made us his man servants so let us shoot our fathers, it is the best way for us to kill our fathers. And then one of the *Dada* or our grand fathers was living in the river, so this

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tween the big trees. So you see at that time the Spanish people were deceiving us and treating us just like dogs or other animals. You see that in those days our ancestors had much sorrow and some slept in the forests or in the rivers. When the Spaniards saw the Indians they got hold of them and cut their ears. Sometimes an Indian's mother and sons, brother and sister or friend of his wife were tied naked and thrown away. When the Spanish people were treating our ancestors like that our great *nêles* asked why the Spaniards were doing these things to us.

And our great *nêles* wondered why they (the Spaniards) treated the Indians in this way. *Iguasalipler* said: »They are not human beings. They are evils spirits or downright devil-men. They look like it. They do not know God's word, but we know God's word. God sent us here, but he sent them too. Thus we are the sons of God, and they are also the sons of God. But now they are killing our people and compelling us to take refuge in the mountains.» And *Iguasalipler* said to his people: »You see those people who have come from another country: they believe that we are living in a stolen country. No, we have not stolen the country we are living in. Now the Spaniards are after us and they are going to rob us of our country. We saw that those people did not know the land in here. But they began destroying our men one by one. And *Nêle Iguasalipler* said to his people: »You see our land has much gold, so we are called 'a golden people'«. And the Spaniards never forgot to catch our people and they continued to kill our men one by one, because as our great *nêles* told us we were born in here just as if it were outside of the end of the world. And *Iguasalipler* said to his people, »You see the Spaniards would not stop slaying our forefathers and always when they saw an Indian they would get hold of him, and when any important Spanish men came the Indians would have to give them a woman for them to make love to.

As you are aware, our country is very rich in gold. And

our grand father was coming out to the seaside and he went to each places to sing for those people. He was singing to those people like that: »your people see some day, or your going to hear the big hurricanes the great earth quake, the great rains, and many thundering going to fall down upon your places. Your people will going to see these things very soon to come to pass». And also they did not know what *Dada-Mol-Colo* mean, but he was singing for them that some day your people going to see civil war broke out in some places. And they did not know before the civil war was comes out for them. And then the sons of our grand fathers as *Miguana*, *Machicala*, and *Huanu* was began to spoke about to make out civil war, so they are big police of these french and these three are submit with french, and these men sons saying to his brother in law, I am going to visit some of my indians, only we are going to see our people, and you must heard in a house, so they went to the mountain to see his people, and saying to his men, now let us make a war against those foolish french people, and also they went to the Carti side and let them know these people and saying to them. I am going to make you people for to fight with those frenches people. When they reached back of their home and then they first [went to] their fathers houses. And then they knocked at the door so their fathers opened the door and at once they slew them each. So they began to whistle to their people, so every one came around the place and they all destroyed the cities. At that time there was living one french young man from apart from those frenches, but he was living quiet and peace among your fore fathers. So our fore fathers only save this young french man. And then *Miguana* said to him, if you please write a letter for me, and write all about what frenches did with us, because you saw us with your own eyes. And then young french wrote a letter for him all about the frenches what they did first time with them. And then he sent a letter to Cartagena he sent to Bogota, but as the young

(Corresponding to pp. 192, 194)

that is why we are called the gold people. Thus the Spaniards began to look for gold, and the end they had located all the gold mines. And the Spaniards built villages at *Acandi*, *Acla*, *Cupnadi*, and *Calet*. At *Calet* or *Carreto* there lived *Dada Calen*. In this way the Spaniards founded all the villages on the coast.

The Spaniards sought out and worked the gold mines. Then a civil war broke out among the Indians. At *Icocri* lived *Dada Fransoa*¹ with his little son *Miguana* and on the other side of the river lived *Dada Tugueuarpoguat* and his sons *Machi-Cala* and *Uanu*. A Frenchman came and built his house near the Indians. *Dada Fransoa* gave his daughter to the Frenchman in order that he should marry her. *Dada Fransoa* and *Tugueuarpoguat* now became powerful men because they were chieftains to these Frenchmen. But *Dada Fransoa's* sons did not know when they grew up, that they were brothers-in-law to the Frenchman. This man treated his brothers-in-law badly. Sometimes they went to the boats, and when they came out on the sea he beat them because they did not know how to be seamen, nor how to handle the ropes. This boat sailed as far as to *Carti* to buy *tu-gui*, coffee, cocoa beans, raicilla and other things. They had a great store at *Icocri*, and there the Frenchman forced his brother-in-law to become a servant. *Miguana* was sent to clean outside the house and if he did not clean his brother-in-law threatened him with the gun, beat or punished him. (P. 16)

The Frenchmen built a prison at *Dada Tugueuarpoguat's* place and also in *Dada Fransoa's* village. They also built a clubhouse for dancing and the Frenchmen began to dance with the Indian women and changed the women's way of dressing. They began to mistreat and to punish the Indians severely. When some of our forefathers spoke against the Frenchmen they were caught and put into prison.

So *Dada Fransoa's* sons grew up to be young men. When the Frenchmen danced at night they began to fool round

¹ Francois?

french man was going, he said to *Miguana* and I am going to spend my days five months and I am going to come back to you as I found a good road for you, and I am going to hoist yellow flag. But he send the letters all parts of the world and he made every nations to know about them sufferings from frenches, and then young french returned back to *Miguana* with a yellow flag hoisting in the boat mast, and then *Miguana* said to his people, a young french is coming to us again. And then he arrived to forefathers again. And then he said to our forefathers and I saw all vice kings, and I let them know about your troubles what you got from french men but the frenches king never know about his men what they doing to your people. But now no troubles will come to you again and I found a little protections for your people; so peace among your people for many year, because I let all vice kings know about yours troubles and your burdens. So the place became quiet for our grand fathers and *Morgolo* came out from his hide to his people again. And then he said to his people, but before time I was singing for your people some day you people going to hear thunder roaring, plenty rains will come, lightening storms, and so forth, and I told you these things before that civil war. And then *Morgolo* was singing in parables to his peoples about french people. And now the place was become quiet a little time for you people. And still pelicans steps and wild fowls steps in our places (P. 17) and still wild fowls feet pat and its messes in our place. So some day they will come back again to our place and filled our places again as before, so we after to let the river floods and washed all these wild fowls feet pat and its messes, and you people washes these things from river floods and then we get happy time and eternal life among our people, and if we don't do so and then pelicans, storks and wild fowls will come again to our place. That means negroes will come again to their places and after that one priest came to our fore fathers and to warned our grand fathers to stayed quiet and make

(Corresponding to pp. 194, 196)

with the Indian women, and some of our forefathers' daughters had children by the Frenchmen.

Dada Fransoa's and *Tugueuarpoguat's* sons began to speak of shooting the fathers of these children. They said, »You see that our brother-in-law makes fools us and he forces us to be servants. Let us shoot these Frenchmen, it is best that we kill them.« At that time one of our forefathers' *dadas* lived by the river, and when he went out to sea, he went to every place to sing for the inhabitants. He sang in the following manner: »One day you are going to see or hear a great hurricane,¹ a great earthquake,¹ great rainstorms² and much thunder³ strike your villages. Your people are soon going to see this happen.« They did not understand what *Dada-Mol-Colo* [*Morgolo*] meant. He sang for them, that one day civil war would break out in some places. They did not know about this before. Our forefathers' sons, *Miguana*, *Machi-Cala*, and *Uanu*, began to talk about starting a civil war. These three were great policemen and submitted to the Frenchmen, and said to their brother-in-law, »We are going to visit some Indians, we are only going to visit our people.« So they set off to the mountains to meet their countrymen, and they said to them »Let us make war on these stupid Frenchmen.« They set off to Cartí and notified the people there, »We come to urge you to fight against the French men.«

Then they came home, and went first to their fathers' house. They knocked at the door, and their parents opened it and they killed them. They whistled for their people and they all came forth and destroyed the villages. At that time there lived a young Frenchman apart from the other Frenchmen, but he lived quietly and peacefully among our forefathers, so they spared only this young man.

Miguana said to him, »Will you be so kind as to write

¹ Here war is meant.

² Bows and arrows.

³ The sound of bows and arrows.

no civil war again. And make a christianity, but one of our grand father got up and took a razor from priest, and cut the priest balls off and then he died and then one of my grand father escaped away from that, and went up far of the river, but they thought the priest come to them to fool them. So that is why our forefathers kill a priest; but you know first time always spaniards came up to our grand fathers to fool them. And then one a spaniard came up to our grand fathers; and covered all his body with a leather, but his eyes only could be seen, and then one of our grand fathers that submit with spaniards tell to our grand fathers you can't kill this man, because he have a hard leather on it, and then one of my grand father get up and took his arrow and shoot him and cut off his head and then another spaniards came up and have a steel on his body and also his eyes only could be seen, and also one of my grand father said to his people, now you can't kill this man he just like a God but he came up to my grand fathers to fool them, and when the spaniard spoke to them good and my grand fathers will listened to him good and then one of my grand father get up and took his arrow and shoot him again, and also his head cut off; and they thought the priest come to them as to fool them as before the spaniards did. That is why one of my grand father cut the priest balls and he died, and then one of my grand father run away to hide himself from spaniards and he first living in a river name *Cuti*, and then afterwards went again to river *Tanela* and cross to river *Caiman* and to *Tuargui* and to river *Nalupnati* and he live there, and make himself a home there, and then in three years time spaniards found him and kill him too, and then civil war began again. And then doctor *Iguasalipler* began to warned his son in law. Now I am going to send you to Bogota to visit Vice-king his son in law named *Camturtuma*.

Because *Iguasalipler* thought himself that God made every things has a kings, thunder has a kings, storms has kings, earthquake has kings and every things in this earth have

(Corresponding to p. 198)

a letter for me about everything that the French have done to us, for you have seen it with your own eyes.» The young Frenchman wrote a letter for him about what the French had done to them. He sent the letter to Cartagena and to Bogotá, and when this young Frenchman went away, he said to *Miguana*, »I shall be gone for five months and I shall come back to you when I have found a good way for you, and I shall hoist a yellow flag.» He sent the letter to all parts of the world in order that all people should know how the Indians had been treated by the French. At last the young Frenchman came back to *Miguana* with the yellow flag hoisted on the mast of the boat and *Miguana* said to his people, »The young Frenchman is coming back to us», and thus he came to our forefathers again. He said to our forefathers, »I visited all the vice-kings and I told them about your difficulties with the French, but the French king did not know what his people had done to you. But now there will be no more difficulties; I have found a little protection for your people.» Then there was peace among our folk for many years for he let all the vice-kings know about our difficulties and our hardships. Thus the place became quiet for our ancestors and *Morgolo*¹ came out from his hiding place to his people again. And he said to his people »Before this happened I sang that one day you should hear thunder, much rain should fall, there would be lightning, storms and so on.² I told you this before the civil war.» Thus *Morgolo* sang in parables to his people about the French. Then the place was quiet for a little time. (P. 17)

As before pelicans and wild birds³ invaded our districts and fouled them. Some day they will come back to our places and dirty them up as before. Then we shall let the rivers

¹ A chief who had not submitted to the French and who lived in the interior of the country.

² Cf. p. 199.

³ Means foreigners.

kings, God made; so he thought that those spaniards have kings too; because he knows when any time he want stops sickness he can go to the head of disease and can stop sickness, so he found a plan from this, and then he said to his son in law, now I am going to send you there to wipe out civil war or to stop the fight that our grand father having with spaniards; he thought that may the heads of spaniards don't know about his men and I think you to spend there about one year and going to come back to me. And he was there about one year and came back to his land. So he stop it the fight with the spaniards and all the places got peace from the spaniard people. But the peace only been for twenty years for the indians. And after the peace over the doctor *Iguasalipler* was died. And then after that the head-men of *Iguasalipler* ruled the land and these men are: *Yaitar*, *Tunacalip*, *Tunapiler*, Harry Michael, and *Huagun*; the first chief of tribe is named *Yaitar*, their chief city is *Tup-pa* (in the river *Tuile*) and when they want to have a conference they must make his conference in that city. And in the village of *Cuti* live as chief *Tiidur*. And in *Acandi* lives *See-gui-shis* chief. And those heads men been to *Tuppa* to make a conference about their affairs, because the Panama vice-kings doing more bad treatment with the indians; and in the conference they said to one another we must send again our heads men to the vice-kings of the Bogota; because they not know about his people that doing here against us. And they remembered the words of Captain Tumas that said. The vice-kings told to him that my people can't do any more the bad treatments before him. But they not send their men to the vice-king and went to the Pinogana vice-king [their] interprete is José Vilacruz and then the spaniards told to him you must count for me the cocoa-beans trees, coffe trees, alligator pears trees, and also you must count for me (P. 18) the fat pigs that you have in your place, the good dogs and don't put near your house the sugar cane because these smell sweet and could make the

flood¹ over and wash away the dirt that these wild birds have left, and our people shall have it clean again through the rivers' flooding. And so we shall have good times and eternal life among our folk, and if we don't do so the pelicans, the storks and wild birds will come again. This means that Negroes will come again to these places.

Later a priest came to our people and told them to live in peace instead of to make civil war, and to become Christians. But one of our forefathers took a razor from the priest and cut off his scrotum. The priest died and my ancestor escaped and betook himself far up the river. They believed that the priest came to them in order to swindle them. It was therefore that our ancestor killed the priest. You know that in olden times all the Spaniards came to our ancestors in order to deceive them. Once a Spaniard came to our forefathers and his whole body was covered with leather. Only his eyes could be seen. One of our ancestors who had submitted to the Spaniards said to our people, »You can not kill this man because he is dressed in hard leather.« One of our men stepped forward, took his bow and arrows and shot him, and cut off his head. Then another Spaniard came who had steel on his body and with him too, one could see only his eyes. Again one of our men said to the people, »You can not kill that man. He is like a god.« But he had come to my forefathers to cheat them, and when he spoke with them in a friendly way they listened willingly to him. Then one of my forefathers stepped up, took his bow and shot him, and cut off his head. And they believed that the priest had come to them in order to deceive them in the same way as the Spaniards did. It was therefore that my ancestors cut off the priest's scrotum, so that he died. Then the one of my ancestors who had mutilated the priest fled to hide himself from the Spaniards. First he lived by a river which is called Cutí. Later he went to the river Tanela and after that to Rio Caimanes and later to Tuargui and thence to Nalupnati

¹ Means to have a revolution.

insects to come near the house to spoil your good things. And the Indians began to count their things; but *Huagun* told to José Vilacruz I not count my fruit trees because when I was in my farm a bird called me and gave it to me this idea, the spaniards means that we must count our men, woman, children and our head men to let them know to kill us; that's why I never count my fruits trees. And then José Vilacruz said to *Huagun* I have a mistaken for you, but you only understand what I say. And now you must be a head chief for us, because you have plenty ideas to tell the truth. And then *Huagun* became the chief [of] the tribe after *Yaitar* and after José Vilacruz resign their employment. And in the place of *Sasardi* live the *Dada Piwic* and in *Carreto* lived *Quipán* he is the chief of the indian of the coast, and in the river *Nabagandy* lived *Dada Oryatup*. And then chief *Quipán* called to all the chiefs of the coast to held a congress with their chiefs to find the protection for their land. They held the congress in the place of *Carreto* he said to his chief; we must find the protection for our land, for that reason we must send our men to the Colombian Government to talk about the affair, they held the congress with four hundreds members in *Carreto* (near *Perme*), but in that time they have no young boys who know the spanish language to talk with the Government, but they not found their interprete and went their homes without the news. Those chiefs are the chief of *Sasardi*, *Nabagandi*, *Portogandi*, *Ailigandi*, *Nargana*, *Carti* etc. etc. And after all went to their places one came to the *Carreto* by the *Pinogana* this knows very well the spanish language; and then *Quipán* said to the man I want you to be our interprete and we no having any interpretes we are thinking to go to *Bogotá* to talk with the Government. Then he said to *Quipán*, yes I will go for you his name was *Antonio Tul-lu*, and they went to *Quibdó* and was been for a month and came back to his place *Carreto* and he made another congress with their people and told to his people. I was been to *Quibdó*

(Corresponding to p. 202)

where he remained. After three years the Spaniards found him and killed him and so the Indians started a rebellion again.

Thus *Iguasalipler* spoke to his son-in-law: »I shall send you to Bogotá to pay a visit to the vice-king.« The son-in-law was called *Camturtuma*.

Iguasalipler believed that God had created a king (chief) for everything. Thunder has a king, the storms have one, the earthquakes have one, and so it is for everything on the earth. He therefore also believed that the Spaniards had a king. *Iguasalipler* knew that every time he wanted to stop a sickness (epidemic) he could go to the chief of that illness. So he said to his son-in-law: »Now I shall send you to put an end to the war which we are fighting with the Spaniards.« He believed that the chiefs of the Spaniards did not know what their men were doing. He said that he thought that the son-in-law would have to be on the journey for one year before he could come back to him.

After one year he came back to his country. Thus the war with the Spaniards ceased and all the villages made peace with them. The peace lasted only twenty years. When it ended *Iguasalipler* died. After him the chiefs for the country were *Yaitar*, *Tunacalip*, *Tunapiler*, *Harry Michael* and *Huagun*. The first chief was called *Yaitar*. Their leading village was *Tuppa* by *Rio Tuile* and when the Indians had a common gathering they held it in this village. In the village *Cuti*, *Tiidur* was chief, and in *Acandi*, *See-gui-shis*. These chiefs set off for *Tuppa* in order to hold a meeting because the vice-king in Panama¹ treated the Indians badly. At the meeting they agreed that they again must send their chief to the vice-king in Bogotá because he did not know how badly his people were treating them. They remembered Captain Tuma's words. The vice-king said to him: »My people can no longer mistreat you.« But they did not send

¹ There naturally did not exist any vice-king. Every high official among the Spaniards is here called vice-king.

and now we found for you the liberty and Title for our land and the government gave me the land by the east to Punta Arena we called *Ucup-tum-ma* in Colombia territory and by the west to Escribano we called *Escarban* near the Santa Isabel and the people get feel happy when they heard their freedom some says the chief is telling lies for us. And then *Quipan* sent his son-in-law with two other fellows to the Punta arena to watch or to catch the turtle, but these men was been killed from colombian and only saved Antonio-Tul-lu. That's why some of their people don't believed the words of *Quipan*, because the fight began to enter again in the land and they said again we must find another chiefs to send it again to the Colombian Government and then they began to fight against to colombian people and fought about forty years with those men. And after *Quipan* or *Quipanyo* he get name like that when he was been at Quibdó (*Quipanyo*) the indians held another congress and they find another interpretate his name *Pánsu* he know well the spanish language and he born in *Madungandi* or Rio Bayano. But some men are talking against *Pánsu* and that are in the year 1845. In that time the colombian people began to find our products in the mountains, and some came full of big canoes and arrived in *Nabagandi* key but the indians killed them all; and some came to the *Narganá* key but the died also in the hands of the indians and so forth.

You see for many years ago we are suffering by the strangers men in our land. This suffer came when Cristopher Columbus was discovered this land in the year of 1492. In that time we begin to get heavy burdens with those ignorance people;

And after *Pánsu* came another who was been too to Bogotá to talk with Colombia president this is *Ogeler*; he went by himself to the Government to find the liberty for his land and he was born in *Ongi* (Cholo) village in Colombia territory near the river Atrato. And he not found the liberty for the country. And then came another his name

(Corresponding to pp. 202, 204)

their men to this vice-king but went to the Pinogana vice-king. Their interpreter was José Vilacruz and the Spaniards said to him: »You must count up for us the cocoa trees, coffee bushes and alligator pear trees.² (P. 18) You must also count up the fat pigs which you have and the good dogs. And he said to them that they should not plant sugar cane¹ near the huts because [it smells] sweet and [may] attract insects³ to the house and they will spoil your good things. The Indians began to count up all their possessions, but *Uagun* said to José Vilacruz: »I do not count my fruit trees because when I was on my farm a bird [*kikka*] came to me and explained to me what I should do. The Spaniards mean that we must count up our men, women and children and our chiefs so that they will know how to kill us, it is therefore that I never shall count my fruit trees. And then José Vilacruz said to *Uagun*: »I have misunderstood you, only you understand what I say. Now you must become high chief for us, because you have many true things to express. So *Uagun* became chief after *Yaitar* and José Vilacruz had resigned from their offices.

At Sasardi, *Dada Piuic* lived and *Kipan* lived in Carreto. He was the chief of the Coast Indians. At Navagandi, *Dada Oryatup* lived. So *Kipan* called on all the chiefs on the coast to hold a meeting in order to find protection for their land. They held the congress at Carreto. He said to the other chiefs: »We must find protection for our land and for this we must send our men to the Colombian government to speak about this.« They held the congress with four hundred participants in Carreto (near Perme). But at that time they had no young boys who knew the Spanish language so that they could talk with the government. They found no interpreter and returned home again without any news. These chiefs were the ones in Sasardi, Navagandi, Portogandi,

² Notice that nothing is said about coconut palms.

¹ Means women.

³ Foreigners.

Inanakinya he liveth in *Sasardi* village he been the highest chief of the San Blas Coast in the year of 1880. And he told also to his people we must find our liberty for our country, because this country is belong to us ad we are the first who put the feet in this country.

And then they went to Bogotá with his secretaries Fernando y Ayarza. (P. 19) In that time the president of Colombia is the señor Rafael Nuñez; he said to Inanakinya: before that you must learn first my laws and you must put the schools in your own land to educate your young fellows and then we will give you a liberty and title for your land, because this land is belong to you and you must tell me when some of our men do bad things with your people. That's why you must watch good my men when they reached your places, but they not find too the liberty for our land; and in that time the Conservador and Liberal is fighting in the Panama territory for their president. And in that time our chief Simral Colman and Doctor *Néle* was studying the history of our ancient fathers. And when Panama separated from Colombia the Inanakinya still living in the San Blas and stayed quiet when Panama began to find their Independence in 1903. You see make a many years ago we are asking to find our liberty for our land. And then Inanakinya went again to the new nation to ask for the liberty when was sitting in the seat Dr. Manuel A. Guerrero as a new President of Panama Republic, and then Amador Guerrero told to Inapakinya you must bring your things that Colombia Government gave it to you as wearing shirts, hats etc. And when he told his people about the Amador Guerrero what he said to him, but some of his men don't like that words but some like it. And this man Inapakinya at that time he don't like that words already. So he told his uncle, don't go back to Panama, but go to Colombian Government, he says that Panamanian still they are spaniards, but colombian is not. And then Inanakinya went back to Bogotá and then Colombian Go-

(Corresponding to pp. 204, 206)

vernment hold him, and put Ailigandí, Narganá, Cartí etc. When they had all returned home a man came to Carreto via Pinogana. He knew Spanish very well. Then *Kipan* said to the man:» I wish to have you for our interpreter. We have none and we plan to go to Bogotá to speak with the government.» The man answered *Kipan* that he would go on his behalf. His name was Antonio Tullu, and they went to Quibdó and were away a month, and when they came back to Carreto, *Kipan* arranged another meeting with his people and said to them:» I have been to Quibdó and now we have gotten freedom for you and the deed of possession for our land. The government gave me the land from Punta Arenas (which we call Ucup-tumma in the Colombian section) in the east, and to Escribano in the west, which we call Escarban, near Santa Isabel. The people were very happy when they heard about their independence. Some said, however, that the chief lied. So *Kipan* sent his son-in-law with two other Indians to Punta Arenas to keep watch and to catch turtles, but these men were killed by the Colombians. Only Antonio Tullu got away. It was therefore some of the Indians did not believe *Kipan's* words, because there was strife again in the land. They said that they must get hold of another chief and send him to the Colombian government. Then they began to fight against the Colombians and they fought against them for about forty years. And after *Kipan* or *Kipanyo* — he was called so after he had been in Quibdo (*Kipanyo*) — the Indians held a new congress and they found another interpreter by the name of Pánsu who knew Spanish very well and who was born at Madungandi or Rio Bayano. Some men spoke against Pánsu and it was in the year 1845. At this time the Colombians began to find our natural resources in the mountains, and some of them came in big canoes to the Nabagandí Key, but the Indians killed them all. And some of them came to the Narganá Key, but they also died at the hands of the Indians.

You see how we have suffered for many years through him in a prison and then he died there from his nehpew words. And also his interpreter died with him too. And then Colman became a chief after him, and then Colman went up to see President Dr. Manuel A. Guerrero and to spoke with him. And then Amador Guerrero said to him, do not take any notice of Colombian Government, for they don't know how to treat you people right, so I want you to believe my Government, mine is better read, I know how to treat you indians people, for the Colombian government will never help you indians, for he don't know how to treat you people right already. For I know to treat you people right.

Now then he said to Colman, when any time at my men come around your coast, he will tell you lie, but not to take a notice of him, for you will know that I will not send him to tell a lie to you people. In the time of Amador Guerrero he gave me a good idea, like how I gave him for not to forget it for time to come. This is waning of today in this year for this couple years we have a living in sadness in this coast. For the past time of the Colombian Government was ruling over us, for the Panama government told Simral Colman, you people having living in sadness and in darkness. For you people why have a take a notice of colombian people. Now I spoke to you, for I will never gave you indians blood shed that have been before, for now I will never make a more blood shed in the Republic of Panama, for a hundred years. For you going to have a living and reduce the time that we did have like how we should look forward for a better future; now panaman people can open their eyes, like how God give us five senses, eyes to look, nose to smell, hands to feel, ears to hear and the head for idea and a sharp ideas to hold our plans and righteousness and to hold the same rightness like others for the rights time we should go and get for our children the Panama government have spoke to Colman the president of Panama in this day 1904, have gave me sense to know for our rights.

(Corresponding to pp. 206, 208)

the foreigners in our land. This suffering came when Christopher Columbus discovered our country in 1492. At this time we began to bear heavy burdens.

After Pánsu there came another who had been in Bogotá to speak with the president of Colombia. He was Ogeler. He went on his own account to the government to get independence for his country. He was born in the village Ongi (Cholo) in the Colombian section near Rio Artrato. He did not get independence for the country. Later another one came. His name was Inakiña. He lived in the village Sasardi and was the greatest chief on the San Blas coast in 1880. He also said to his people: »We must find independence for our land, because this country belongs to us and we were the first to set foot upon it.

He went off to Bogotá with his secretaries Fernando and Ayarza. (P. 19) At that time Rafael Nuñez was president of Colombia¹. He said to Inanakiña: »You must first learn my laws and found schools in your own land in order to train your young people and then we shall give you independence, and the deed for your land, because this land belongs to you, and you must inform me if any of our men treat your men badly. Therefore you must guard my people when they come to your villages.» But they got no independence for our country.

At this time the conservatives and the liberals were fighting for the president in the Panama district. At this time Simral Colman and Doctor Nēle studied our ancestors' history. When Panama separated from Colombia, Inanakiña was still living in San Blas and he kept quiet when Panama in 1903 began to seek its independence. You see that since long ago we have sought independence for our country. So Inanakiña again went to the new people to ask for independence. Doctor Manuel A. Guerrero was then president of the Republic of Panama and he said to Inanakiña: » You must in accordance

¹ Lived from 1825—94. Was president 1880—82, and 1884—95. HD.

In this I spoke for the past time to come. That is what [he] told Colman the president of Panama, Manuel Amador Guerrero, the first president of Panama will never no more make any attempt on darkness, and violence of any kind for you will carry a law for liberty and a hundred year liberty. For new we leaved the Colombian government. For now this time to lived quiet, and to sleep in a good time, when your indians was living in colombian time you people never did have a good rest, and you people always lived in a sadness for the past time, for the richness of the Colombian Government is only to himself alone. Now you gain and to be noble for your children; in this land you people will go and a good fortune to live good happy life, that is what Manuel Amador G. said to Colman in the year of 1904. And you people will go and get some things in this your land to gain. For the Colombian government never did gave you hand to get richness do no one like it, this was before we spoiled [this] and [got] life fortune for our children, but the Panama government found to give a liberty to the post and richness. The Colman was a chief from this coast region of the San Blas indians this favorite time and pass and finish. Where have we born in the (P. 20) middle of the money and that is why we know about money in this Republic we are going to gain life fortune, how than this loosing for all our children of this place and just to think how long your people have been here. And here and so you is the only people and the ruler of this territory, M. Amador Guerrero said to chief Colman and then the President of Panama died. And then after that plenty of negroes came and fishing on out in our cays, for in [these keys] we have cocoa nuts trees and those negroes go snicking around to steel our nuts from the [keys] and when they found themselves into in our place always want to take away all our things without anybody knowing it for them think those things their own, and when the month came for to keep watch turtle and those negroes

(Corresponding to pp. 210, 212)

with what Colombia recommended to you arrange it so that you wear clothes (wear shirts, hats, etc.)» Inanakiña told his people what Amador Guerrero had said to him, and some of his men did not like what Guerrero had said but others approved of it. But this Inapakiña¹ even at that time did not like these words. He said to his uncle:» Don't go back to Panama but go instead to the Colombian government». He said, »The Panamanians are still Spaniards but the Colombians are not.» So Inanakiña went again to Bogotá and the Colombian government held him and put him in prison, and later he died there as a result of his nephew's advice that he should go there. Even his interpreter died. Then Colman became chief after him and Colman visited the president, Dr. Manuel A. Guerrero, and spoke with him. Amador Guerrero said to him, »Don't bother about the Colombian government for they do not understand how to handle your people in the right way. I desire to have you depend upon my government, for mine is better. I know how one should treat your Indians. The Colombian government will never help you Indians for they do not understand how to treat your people properly. I know how to treat your people right.» Later he said to Colman, »Whenever any of my men come down to your coast and lie, don't pay any attention to it because you know that I never will send down anyone to lie to your people.» And Amador Guerrero gave me a good thought, and I gave him one as well, not to be forgotten in the future. But my good impression (of him) now tends to disappear. We now have many years filled with troubles on this coast. In former times when the Colombian government ruled us the Panamanian government said to Simral Colman: »You live in sorrow and darkness, because you bother with the Colombian people. Now the president of Panama speaks to you for I will never

¹ Inanakiña was Inapakiña's uncle. The latter succeeded him as chief. ED.

always came and take away our things and to make a steal in the [keys], where is no Indian in it, and that time I told him not to let anybody entered into our coast any more, and he never did right for us; and now this time when the president Belisario Porras came and then chief Colman converse with him again. And now I want to put official in Porvenir (*cai-kir-col*) just to keep of watch for those negroes to come into our coast and to steal our things in our lands that is why Colman putted from his order and for his idea is not get sacrifice his people from them; but just to keep watch, that is why he made agreement made between Panama president that is not for to make to gave us a violence and penalties and not to drag us in any case of a fall. And then Porras said to Colman. If you want establish schools in your villages, but he said to him »no«, for we people not know how to rule those schools, for we never did born with schools, and then he told him I would like for you to put a school in Panama and put our children there, and those is should learned and then president gave him an answered and will be found. And I will put a schooling for your children in Panama to get then, for you people staying in darkness that is to good to pay to get in your children, and when you people gain in this coast came all the settlement he can to find out get truth about the indian, that if they really don't want no schools in their places. First he came to Cartí and asked a chief there, if he don't want to put school in his place, but the chief give then answer »no« for we don't want school, for we don't know what will happened with us later, we would be in penalties in them for we don't know how to rule those thing so from Cartí he came to Nargana, but the Nargana chief said to him, yes, I want to put school in our village, so president Porras seen that, he said to himself I will put one there. So from Nargana and he came to Playon Chico, and told the chief the same, and they gave him answered »no« for we don't want no school, for latter

(Corresponding to pp. 212, 214)

more have it that the Indians shall shed their blood, I will never more have any bloodshed in Panama in the next hundred years. Now you shall live and, as well as we, forget the time that is [past] and look forward [to] a better future. Now the Panamanian people can open their eyes. God gave us five senses; eyes to see with, nose to smell with, hands to feel with, ears to hear with, and head to think out sharp ideas for carrying out our plans and fair play and the same justice for all our children.» Thus spoke the Panama government through their president to Colman that day in 1904. He gave me a feeling for our rights which I have already mentioned. This is what Manuel Amador Guerrero, the first president of Panama said to Colman: »Darkness will never more envelop you, nor strife, for you shall now have a law for a hundred years' freedom. Now we have left the Colombian regime. Now there has come a quiet time when you can rest. Formerly your people lived in constant trouble because the Colombian government upheld the idea that all riches belonged only to them. Now you can earn a living and have good conditions for your children. In this land your people shall find the chance to have a good and happy life.» Thus Manuel Amador G. spoke to Colman in 1904. »And your people shall be able to make their living in their own land. You could never do that under the Colombian government, because it never gave you a chance to earn anything when it did not wish to. That was before we changed this situation and paved the way for a better way of life for your children and made room for freedom and riches.» Colman was a chief of the San Blas Indians on the coast, whose good times have gone by and are finished. (P. 20) »We have been born in the midst of riches and therefore are used to money in this republic, and we are going to make money, — why then this loss for all our children? Only think how long your people have been here, how your people are the only ones who have been here and have been masters over this section.» This

we will be and minister, for we think born been and misery, for God giving us his right to lived with one another, for you people know that when man don't know had think after learned first and that is how we are living in this world before when we died, we all after forget in this lived, and from Playon Chico he came to Tupile, but this chief made answered, yes, I want to establish school in my village, and then Dr. B. Porras and the Simral Colman that if they want school, I would established by the government laws. But have been speaking of this for they big bad did want no school. So from Tupile he came to Ailigandí, for we in here we don't want no school established in our village, from here he came Portogandí and they answered the same. For they don't want no schools neither, so from there he went back to Colon.

That giving me an idea that I have been thinking for the past time, we have telling me, and chief Colman have told the president, that we don't want no school should be established in this coast, for we did want it in Panama or in Colon.

For I did not know what was going to happen with us, when they started put schools like how today they having mistreating us and to kill some of our indians, so that is why we did not want no schools in this coast, for I really did know how they was going to mistreat us our people first time, in this coast. For I been bearing for so many years that they have been mistreating us our people in this coast the police men. So we got tired of getting mistreat for they was having giving us heavy penalties, and then God saw us that we getting heavy burdens from police men, and then I believed God called us and then we have got up, we have got up to see if we could stop them from our punishment what they gaving to us, for we saw that they was going to finish our indians and that is what Panama people say we cannot see their civilisation. I cannot make corresponded them what they have learning us is not fair to see those

(Corresponding to p. 214)

is what Amador Guerrero said to the chief Colman, and afterwards the president of Panama died.

[After this] there came crowds of Negroes who fished on our keys and there we had coconut palms and these Negroes sneaked round there to steal our nuts. And when they found themselves on our [land] they always stole our things without anybody knowing about it, just as if the things were their own, and always at the time of the hunt and the watch for the turtles the Negroes came to steal when the Indians were not around. And now Colman had a conversation with the president Belisario Porras¹ and asked him never to let anyone come in to our coast but he was never just to us. The president said that he wanted to place guards at Porvenir (*Kairkirkol*) to keep a look-out for the Negroes who came to our coast to steal in our land. But Colman did not want to sacrifice his people for this. He wanted to have a guard but he did not want to drag us into strife and penalties or to expose us to any risk; it was therefore that he made an agreement with the president of Panama. And then Porras asked Colman whether he wanted to found schools in the villages but he said no, because we had not [had] any schools and we did not know how we should manage them. Then Porras said that he wished to found a school for our children in Panama. . . »I want to found a school in Panama for your children to go to because your people still remain in ignorance. It is good to pay and to enter your children.» So he travelled along the coast to find out the real truth about whether the Indians wanted schools or not. First he came to Cartí and asked the chief there if he wanted a school in that place, but he answered no: »We do not want any school for we do not know what may happen to us later, we might get into difficulties over them, as we do not know how we should manage

¹ According to Sapper, 1927, p. 460, and 1931, p. 313, this president, by a clever manoeuvre, was successful in winning the Cuna Indians who were still on the Colombian side over to the Panamanians. ED.

police men treating us like beasts. When all schools was established in some of our villages, and our villages was go quiet for a couple years, and them police men began to fool our people and to fool around with our women, and when we jealous for our wife, they will hold us and put us in prison, and we have to pay the police to come out from jail, and they began to force us to works in hard things, to carried heavy rocks to the schools houses, and when we have a headache, and that will never sorry for us, and they will make us still work in hard things, and they started to beat us with chains and ropes, and they began to build club houses to dance with our wives and with our daughters, and if we don't make us our wife to dance they will put us in jail for that (P. 21). And then they began to talked to our people that we don't have owners to help us from our punishment. And they began to took off our women nose rings and ear rings but police men would go for her, and drag her to the house and took her nose rings and break the rings into pieces. But they started to mistreat us the same as like how they grand fathers mistread our fore fathers too. So the police began to mistreat us just like a beast, then was a man happened in Playon Chico as follows; and then all the Indians was in congress amongst themselves, and they was discussing over his children, saying, this always those police in a hurry to send our children to school, and that is why the police have kill an Indian by name, Oloinkike, and police by name Juan Castillo, and after that put his son in jail, so we and want to find out what kind of law that should be, for been put his son in jail after his father died, after that man died and was suicide in Tigre place. So that is why you don't know about police, how they dis us in our coast, for we got heavy suffering from them. And then will happened with a women the same the same and when they put her in a jail they will asked her for a kiss for just a bad words. They will say to her, if you don't give me, I am not going to let you out some of your women will do then they

(Corresponding to p. 216)

these things.» From Cartí he went to Narganá and there the chief said to him that he would like to have a school and president P O R R A S said that he would locate a school there. From Narganá he went to Playon Chico and to the chief there he said the same thing, but the chief answered no. — — — [Incomprehensible]

From Playon Chico he went to Tupile where the chief answered in the affirmative and Dr. P O R R A S said to C O L M A N that if they wanted the school he could eventually found one according to the laws. [incomprehensible].

From Tupile he went to Ailigandi but there they did not wish to have a school, nor in Portogandí where he went afterwards. From there he travelled back to Colon.

This gives me an idea which I have thought of recently. We discussed the matter and C O L M A N said to the president that we had not wished to have schools on our coast but rather in Panama or in Colon. For I knew what would happen to us if they began their schools, just as they now have treated us badly and killed some of us, therefore we did not want schools on our coast. I knew they would treat our people badly. For many years we have had to bear the fact that they have treated us unjustly, the policemen on this coast. We have become worn out with it and with their heavy punishment and God saw how we suffered under the burdens of the police and therefore I believe that God called us and we arose in rebellion. We rebelled to see if we could stop them punishing us. We saw that they tried to annihilate us Indians. That is what Panama means when they say that we can not see their civilization. I can not get them to understand that what they teach us is not right, these police treated us like animals, However, when the schools were founded in some of our villages and it had been quiet for some years the police began to flirt with our women and when we became jealous because of our women they caught us and

will let her out. So they lead our women in darkness and sins to God. For that time we don't want their custom what they will punish us and if we don't want their custom that will us in a jail. So you people really don't know nothing about Panama police what they have been doing with us for a couple years ago. That time some of your people helping the police, but not our Indians. That is not any law, but they law only calls for penalty who have done bad with us. So I cannot realize the law they had for they only find a penalty to faithful indians. So all you last contray against us, and they will bound us with ropes, and they will put us in jail just like as they wanted, and they will play with us, and they will hang a rope, and then they will put our men their his head down and their feet up. And that is the law we get in our coast from police men. But they will find a good person to put in jail. In Tigantiqui it happened again. A man jealous for his wife, so they got a little vex with one another, and then the police have heard about that and as they came by night, then the Indians [asked] why these police came by night if they want to know about this matter, why they don't come by day. And when the police came by night, the police came in rough way, and they began treating us like a dog, and then next Indian trying to help his country fellow and he shoot the police, but the police men get kill, and he only got wounded. And then does police men returned back to Porvenir, to get more police men to kill indians, but the head Indian said to his men, not to trouble to the police men. If we trouble them nobody going to help us. And then police men came and burn the Indian village and one Indian was got kill too. And plenty money was lost to them. And after that then the police men started deal with Indian again, and then they went to Rio Azucar by night to hold up Indian again because they want to hold a Indian, because they told a lies to the police men. And then the Indian said why we don't come by day and why they by night and then some of Indians got shoot. And then they hold up Indian and put them in jails.

(Corresponding to p. 218)

threw us into prison and we had to pay the police in order to get free. And they began to force us to do hard labor and to carry heavy stones to the schoolhouses. If we had a headache they took no notice of it but we had to work hard just the same and they began to beat us with chains and ropes and they began to build club houses where they could dance with our women and our daughters and if we would not let our wives dance they put us in prison. (P. 21) And they began to speak to our people and say that we did not have anybody who could help us. They began to take off our women's nose rings and ear rings and the police dragged our women to the police house and took the rings from their nose and broke them into pieces. They began to treat us unjustly in the same way as their ancestors had treated our ancestors. They treated us like animals and then a man happened to come to Playon Chico and there all the Indians held a congress for themselves and they discussed their children and they said: »These police are always in such a hurry to send our children to school.« It is therefore that a policeman by the name of Juan Castillo killed an Indian by the name of Oloinkike after which he put the Indian's son in prison. We should like to know what law it is that permits a son be put in prison after the father has been killed. And then this man (the son) committed suicide in Tigre. You do not know this about the police, what they did to us, how we suffered because of them. After that the same thing happened with a woman. When they put her in prison they asked for a kiss. They said to her that if they did not get kisses they would not let her out and then some of our women gave them kisses, so that they could go free. Thus they led our women to darkness and sin. When we did not like their customs they wanted to punish us and put us in prison. You do not really know what the policemen of Panama did to us some years ago. At that time some people helped the police but not the Indians. There was a law for

Then all the Indians said to themselves. If a government told the police men did us like that? but some the Indians said, I don't think so. We Indian only thinking in this way. And then we will send a letter to Panama to the President telling about his police men matter, and he will never help us from our sufferings what we getting from his men, and he will only help the police men more than us and our Indian getting suffering from the panamian police men and sitting in a darkness and in a violence, nobody couldn't let us out from our penalties, and some of our people crying to God to help. And then God sent his mind to us, and then we began to plant our minds, and then we began to say to one another, we if is not a men and if we don't got hands to fight with, let us be a men and then we be got up and make a revolution against men of the Panama and then we chase the police men from our villages to their home. And now Panamian people still worring over us, and then never forget us, and now we forget their buisness, and we only friend among ourselves and they still putting our men in jail and still our people leaving their home afraid police men. And those police men learned our men to robe the things with one another, and those men learned our women to do evil, but before time we was living among ourselves quiet and peace to one another, and we was never trouble one another, and now Panamian people still telling lies against us to your people, for we hope not a heaving burdens come again to us, for we suffer already, for we were brutaliesed we were maimed we were killed, we were ravaged in every way from Panamian people, but we have feeling souls, passions, hopes and desires like any other race in the world. So we only want peace among ourselves, and we want only rule by our own flag like other race. We have always been on the peace, for we are not a wild people among ourselves so from long time we were peace among ourselves but sometime panamanian will tell you lies that we are going to fight against them, but we have no standing arms and navies to fight against them. That's all we can say at present».

(Corresponding to pp. 220, 222)

those who did us harm. I can not imagine [what this law was], because they only punished reliable Indians. They were all against us and they tied us up with rope and threw us into prison as they wished and played with us so that they hung our men with rope with the head down and the feet up. And it was that law which we got in on our coast along with the police. And they found a good person to throw into prison. It happened in Tigrantikí that a man who was jealous because of his wife had gotten into trouble with another. And when the police heard about this they came in the night but the Indians asked why they came in the night instead of in the daytime. And the police who came in the night came in an atrocious way and treated us like a dog and the other Indians tried to help his comrade and shot at the policemen, one of whom died, but the Indian himself was only wounded. And the police returned to Porvenir in order to get more police to come to kill the Indians, but the chief of the Indians calmed his men. »If we make trouble with the police we will not get anybody to help us«, said he. And the police came and burned the Indian village and an Indian was killed and much of value was destroyed. After that [the] police again began to occupy themselves with the Indians, and they went by night to Rio Azucar to arrest an Indian who had lied to the police. And the Indians wondered why they did not come during the day and why they came during the night, and some of the Indians were shot. And they arrested an Indian and threw him into prison. Then all the Indians said to themselves: »Has the government told the police to behave like this?« But some of the Indians said: »We do not believe it. We believe that we ought to send a letter to the president of Panama and tell how his police are acting, but he will never help us but will help his police more than us.« Our Indians suffered from outrages at the hands of the Panamanian police, no one could escape from their crimes and some of our people called on God for help. And when God answered us we began to come to some decision (»to plant our minds«)