

This is because his soul has been stolen from him just at that spot and still remains there. Dreams are very serious symptoms of illness. A girl of Narganá used to dream a great deal about people that had passed away. Pérez took along to *Nēle* a *nūchu* which the girl held in her hands a few minutes. *Nēle* declared that it was evil spirits and not deceased persons that the girl had visions of, and added that she must bathe in a certain medicine or she would lose her reason.

In one's dreams it is possible to acquire knowledge in many fields. There are on Rio Bayano Indians with a very fair knowledge of Spanish although they have never travelled outside their district. This knowledge they have acquired merely through using certain medicines which have had the effect that in their dreams they have learnt Spanish. There are Cuna Indians who with the souls of certain animals for their tutors have learnt medicine songs in their dreams. The language employed in these songs, which in part is very different from everyday language, appears to be the language of those animals. In order to get into touch in one's dreams with the souls of such animals one has to have recourse to medicines. While taking a course of medicine of this kind one must not disclose that fact to anyone else. A Cuna Indian named *Iguanigtélegina* was preparing himself to become an *absogedi* — a disease-dispeller — and his tutor gave him medicine to put in his bath-water, which he accordingly did. When after that he went to sleep he dreamt that the tutor visited him, and when he awoke he already knew all the songs of the latter. Carelessly enough he told a friend about what he thus had seen, and subsequently, when dreaming, he only saw his tutor a great distance away.

It may be dangerous to take medicine in this way for the purpose of acquiring knowledge of some kind or other in one's dreams, if one is not thoroughly versed in the proper application of the medicines. There was once an Indian

named *Nabigiña* who desired to learn medicine songs and to that end procured for himself several kinds of the birds that the Cuna Indians make use of in acquiring knowledge of medicines, songs, and legends as to the origin of animals, mankind and plants. Among these there was a bird called *kiga*, an inhabitant of the great forest. This bird will scream above the head of, or close to, a person who is in danger of venomous snakes, jaguars, or the like. These birds are eaten by those who are in quest of knowledge. Before an Indian who is taking medicine eats one of these birds he recites a kind of incantation in which he explains to the bird's soul exactly what he wishes to learn. When Pérez wanted to improve his powers of eloquence he ate one of these birds after *Néle* had addressed a few words to the bird's soul. Especially sought after are parrots that know a few words of Spanish or English. If one eats one of these parrots one easily learns the language in question in one's dreams. A parrot that knows many foreign words is worth as much as ten dollars.

To return to *Nabigiña*, in his dreams he saw women — i. e. the souls of the birds — come to him. The women taught him songs and tribal legends. After a month of medicine-taking and dreaming, *Nabigiña* had become learned in many fields and, with the help of the above-mentioned women, was also able to discover when anyone stole his possessions or spoke ill of him. *Nabigiña* became quite a changed man and went about like one half-witted, saying that he had a wife somewhere else. Then the *Néle*, by the help of the tutelary spirits *nūchus*, discovered the dangerous dreams to which *Nabigiña* was subject and related them to all the people of the village in order to make him bathe in the proper kind of medicine so as to put an end to this dreaming, as well as to make known to the villagers that dreams of this kind are very dangerous. The people of the village rose up against *Nabigiña* so as to give him a fright and to make him disclose his dreams,

which he did. He was compelled to bathe in certain medicines to stop his dreaming in that way, and *Nabigiña* bathed in them and was all right again after a month.

From the souls of the birds whose bodies he had eaten, *Nabigiña* had in his dreams learned several songs. While he was asleep, he was told by the above-mentioned women that his brother and sister-in-law had stolen maize out of a maize barn of his in the forest. He accused his brother of this, and the latter confessed that he was guilty of the theft.

Nēle has said that among the birds there are some that, like the *kigagana*, are dangerous to eat, and that it is from them that one gets evil dreams.

A dangerous dream was also dreamt by *Pérez'* grandfather. In his dream he saw a large ship entering the bay and then coming alongside the quay. From the boat a very handsome woman stepped ashore and came up to him bent upon love-making. On repeated occasions he dreamt the same thing. Every day he used to walk down to the beach, and even occasionally far out in the water, in order to see if the ship was coming, and now and again he asked other Indians whether they did not see a ship coming in, but they saw no sign of it. An *inatulēdi* of Narganá gave him some medicine which cured him.

Pérez' grandfather related his dream to his grandson and advised the latter to let him know in good time if he were troubled with dreams of a similar nature. In the old days the Cuna Indians used to give poison to those who were subject to dreams of this description. Occasionally they burned them. It is related that very long ago there was a woman who repeatedly had a similar dream, only that in her case it was men who visited her, and the village where she lived collapsed into the ground and was swallowed up. Therefore the Cuna Indians made a practice of killing people who habitually dreamed in this fashion so as to prevent any similar disaster from recurring.

It may appear strange that individuals having dreams of such danger to themselves should make them known to their tribesmen. But they do this in order to cast off the incubus of the dreams by which they are possessed.

There are dreams that are still more sinister. These are the ones one dreams about sorcerers, male or female, *tule-kunédi*. To *Néle* there arrived a sorely afflicted patient, a man who had been put under a spell by a male sorcerer of Cartí. This man vomited blood, and *Néle* declared that he could not save him because it was too late. Some time later *Néle* dreamt that the sorcerer in question came to murder him with a knife, but that the tutelary spirits, the *núchus*, stepped in and saved him. *Néle* said that without their intervention the sorcerer would have made an end of him. He did not make it clear whether it was only the soul of the witch that sought to murder him.

At Ailigandi there was a man who was born to be a *néle*, but who had not bathed in medicine and consequently was not properly a seer. It was the women who had attended at his birth who knew that he was a *néle*. Several persons dreamt that this *néle* came to them with murderous intent, or that he gave them something to drink and that they subsequently fell ill. Thus they knew that the man was an enchanter. Of the evil attaching to him he had himself no notion. Although the elders were strongly against it, he was clubbed to death by the young men of the village.

If anyone dreams that he is being murdered and that he is unable to defend himself, he dies without awakening. How one can know of a case like that Pérez has not explained. A sorcerer may occasionally fail in his designs. On one occasion *Néle* told Pérez that while he was asleep someone by some means or other had administered to him a dangerous medicine, but this had not taken effect.

The Cunas do not fear the soul of a deceased magician. It is while he is alive that he is dangerous.

No harm will come to one if one dreams that one commits

murder oneself. This only means that one is going to shoot some big animal.

The Cuna Indians believe that certain dreams forebode bad luck. If, for instance, one dreams that one loses a tooth, or about snakes, or that some part of the house comes tumbling down, this is to be taken as a warning of an approaching death in the family. If one dreams that one is walking about in the other world it means death to the dreamer within four days. Once a Cuna Indian who was very ill lay unconscious for a long period. When he recovered consciousness he related that he had visited the other world, and when four days had passed he died. Dreaming of being intoxicated is a portent of approaching illness. Anyone dreaming of falling down a hole in the ground will die soon after. Dreams concerning high winds and rain are forerunners of bad news. If one dreams that one is carrying fish-hooks about it means that one will encounter snakes. Dreaming about marriage may prove fatal; in the dream, woman symbolizes the grave.

All dreams are not ill-omened. If one dreams of a person who is far away, the dreamer is in his thoughts. Thus Pérez, on the 4th of July [1931] here in Sweden, dreamt of *Néle* away on the San Blas coast, so it may be supposed that the latter just then was thinking of Pérez. Dreaming about finding silver coins presages luck in sábalo fishing. This is because sábalos have silvery scales.

If one places in the hand of dead person nits, eye-lashes, and hairs from one's own head, then one will meet, after a few months, the same person again in one's dreams. *Néle* appears, however, to be in some doubt as to whether it really is the departed himself that is thus seen again. He is inclined to the belief that the form of the deceased in this case has been assumed by an evil spirit. *Néle* seems to a be little skeptical also in other matters. *Nélegua*, the woman *néle* of Ustúpu, once gave out that in a dream she had gone to a place where she had seen all sorts of large

animals and big buildings. *Nēle* bluntly declared that it was all lies.

In Ustúpu, the most famous by far of dream interpreters is *Nēle*. It is to him that the Indians come for information as to whether their dreams mean illness, good fortune or bad, or nothing whatever.

XII. The Concept of God.

This section is compiled from an article by Nordenskiöld 1932 a and additional notes written out in the form of a rough draft. An interpretation of »The song of the female shell» included in the newspaper article as evidence of the Cuna Indian resignation as a prominent characteristic in their religion, is again found in this work in Section F II, beginning on page 650. ED.

The Cuna Indians believe in a God who has created everything. They believe in evil spirits which cause illnesses, and that it is God who sends out these evil spirits against which the medicine men must fight for the lives of human beings. This they do with the help of medicines and protecting spirits, which are also God's work. For them as well as for the Christians, God is the source of both good and evil. The Cunas never speak of any demon powerful enough to fight with God.

In the Cuna myths God is not interchangeable with the mythic Heroes. About the latter it is never said that they are creators. The mythic Heroes discover, invent, and teach. It is they, but not God, who teach mankind morality but this morality comes from God. The Cunas never give any account of God in human or animal form visiting human beings. God is never said to be identical with the sun. When a Spaniard, according to what has been related by the Seer, *Nēle* of Ustúpu, asked a great medicine man: »Is the sun also God?» the latter answered: »Yes, he is a great light which lights up the world. God has placed the sun in the heaven in order to shine in the day time.»

The Cuna Indians speak most of all about God as the crea-

tor of everything. Their art of healing is based on the creation myths. At the incantations they always go back to a creature's or an objects' origin and this they find through learning to know how the thing in question was created by God, whether it happens to be a medicinal plant, a stone, a bird, or something else. The strength in the incantation when it for example has to do with a medicine, lies in ones knowing how God created this medicine. It is by knowing how God made the snakes that one can tame them. It is by knowing how God created the protecting spirits, *núchus*, that one can induce them to help a sick person against the evil spirits.

The Cuna Indians never request help from God when any one of their relatives is sick. It can happen however, that a Cuna Indian in danger calls upon God's name. This Pérez considers to be possibly a result of the Christian influence, which no doubt is correct. Sacrifices to God are never made. When a Cuna Indian is out gathering medicines he speaks thus to the tree from which he is taking bark: »God has created you for our help.» *Núchus* are also the work of God. Similarly it is God who has built up the obstacles which protect people against the evil spirits. Even these spirits are, however, God's work and it is God who sends them out when he wishes to punish a person with sickness or death. Thus it is, in the Cunas' ideology, mainly in connection with the history of creation that God plays a great rôle. If we read, for example, a description of how the turtles were created we find that it gives the impression of something entirely original. It is as usual the original mother who gives birth to everything and God who is the father. In the same way God has created other animals and plants. In the stories about the realm of the dead God also appears as the one who punishes the people for their sins. Here one also has reason to suspect the Christian influence.

In the outlines for speeches which are given here among the documents the Christian influence is quite conspicuous.

These notes originate with an Indian who was strongly influenced in this direction.

The great question here is this: Have the Cuna Indians had a conception of God before they heard about Christianity? This question I would like to answer thus, that ideas about a creating God who is the father of people, animals, plants, etc. did exist, but the ideas about a God to whom one may turn with entreaties for help and who punishes sinners, is of Christian origin. The opinion that I have arrived at may seem to be very subjective but so far as that goes I can strongly emphasize that in the documents in which God appears as the father of plants and animals there are no elements, or at the most only a few, which reveal any Christian line of thought. The idea that God's seed makes *Olotililisop* pregnant is certainly purely Indian as well as the idea about the significance of her various kinds of menstruation.

It is very typical that *Néle* is supposed to be skeptical about whether the descriptions from the realm of the dead harmonize with the truth, while on the other hand he is absolutely convinced of God's existence and of the fact that He has created everything. Thus we see that it is apparently the concepts which are most Indian which he finds most convincing.

God is never interchanged with the mythic Heroes, not even with *Ibelele*. The mythic Heroes never create anything new. In the old myths they could change things but could not create them. The mythic Heroes, who are considered historical, could only discover and invent and teach. It is they and not God who teach morality to mankind.

In the most of the Cunas' stories and songs God is called *Diolele*, which appears to come from the Spanish *Dios* and the Cuna word *lele* — Seer (adevino). When Pérez pointed out the similarity between *dio* and *dios* to *Néle* of Ustúpu the latter claimed that it was only a coincidence. »The good spirits, *núchus*, who do not know Spanish, say *diolele*, when I meet them in dreams», *Néle* has said to Pérez.

God is also called in the songs simply *Papasaila*, father-chief. The word for God given by G a s s ó, *Papachunati*, P é r e z is not familiar with, nor the name *Chicuna* for God which we find in these territories even as early as in I, a s C a s a s' writings. This does not necessarily mean that the Cunas have not had this name for God. The Cunas have several names for the same mythic Heroes. An animal can have many names which still are not known by all Indians.

That the Cuna Indians call God *Dirolele* does not necessarily mean that it was first through the Spaniards that they got their idea of God. The Cunas always say *olo* from the Spanish *oro*, gold; they have naturally known gold before the discovery of America. They have, in fact, even been rich in gold. Their aboriginal word for gold is possibly *kungi* but this is only a supposition, because nowadays all of them say *olo* — gold has been so much longed for — just as God has been so much spoken about.

In the myths and in the stories about the mythic Heroes it is never stated that God has in any way come into direct contact with people as long as they have lived here on the earth. When one of the mythic Heroes, *Néle Sibú*, made a visit to the kingdom of the dead he was with God. The visit is described in the following way: »I just came to God, who lives in the eighth layer, and I greeted God and when I had greeted him four times he turned towards me. He sat on a stool and he said: 'Have you come?' I answered: 'Yes'. After this I greeted God's wife. I greeted her four times and she answered in the same way.»

Néle of Ustúpu, who looks upon the story of *Néle Sibú* as a saga, says that no living person has met God. When an Indian claimed that he in dreams had seen God clad in a robe of gold, *Néle* said that it was not God he had seen but an evil spirit who had taken God's shape. In the picture-writings God is represented as a person with feathers on his head. He is never pictured as bigger or more outstanding than a mortal. When a man from Huala said that God looked like

a *nôle* the others began to laugh. They evidently thought that he had said something very stupid. No one knows how God looks. We cannot conceal ourselves from him. He knows everything.

God is never mentioned in the myths, stories, and songs as the one who forgives the sins of mankind. On the other hand it is said that he sees everything and punishes the very least transgression. He does not help people directly but only by means of what he has created for their protection.

God punishes. The world has been destroyed three times as punishment for peoples' sins. The first time was through storm, the second time through darkness, and the third through a great flood. About the first destruction of the world it is told among other things that it was a punishment sent because the people had not followed God's teaching.

When God is described as the God of wrath one must reckon with the Christian influence. One should, however, remember that the Cunas in their stories never cite any episode out of the Bible. In all the material I have from the Cunas the Bible is mentioned only as a medicine for making the tongue active. One takes some pages out of a Bible, preferably out of the middle of the book, and burns them to ashes; these ashes are laid in water with which one gargles. In this way one can learn to read more easily. The expression, »God's way», which we meet in the myths, seems to come from Christianity. Likewise such expressions as »belief in Good», and »God's word». In the journey to the kingdom of the dead, »the narrow way» and »the broad way» are mentioned. This is naturally from relatively modern times. One single time there is mentioned a saint, Santo Frio, who sends hail down on to the earth. This saint is even identified with the Holy Mother. It is the only time the Virgin Mary is mentioned in the texts. The woman who, on the other hand, is constantly spoken of, and who plays a tremendous rôle in the Cuna Indians' ideology is *Olotililisobi*,

the original mother, who gives birth to everything in a most highly realistic way. She is God's wife. I shall return to her later.

Jesus is mentioned in a quite recent speech by a chief, Colman. Possibly one also sees Jesus in the following which is related in a culture myth: »When a child was born without a father they killed it or buried it alive. When they did this there came a man who was called *Nuskesu* and told them not to do this. If you do this evil thing in this way God will punish you. God has marked out a straight road which we shall follow.» The crucifixion is never mentioned.

Trains, telephones, and other modern inventions are spoken about as existing in the kingdom of the dead. To judge from everything, new ideas have during the influence of the white people, been adopted into the old stories. It is the same way with the Christian ideas. If we should try to eliminate all of this sort of thing, which seems to us to come very definitely from the Christian influence, we would find that it gives an impression, as to contents, of a newer and less significant addition, even though it now, through its moral precepts, is significant for the Indians. It is, however, not entirely impossible that the concept of God among the Cunas, even in so far as it now appears to us to be Indian, is something which, as it were, has grown into the Indian ideology during the four hundred years that the Cunas have been in direct or indirect contact with white men.

As we have already stated, it is God who has created everything. It was he who created the first woman. How this took place is described in different ways. In one version it is said that he made her of his blood and his soul. This first woman is the original mother, who gives birth to people, animals, plants, etc. God is the father of all these things. This is as we have said a line of thinking which we constantly come upon among the Cunas. The idea of the original mother is certainly here

aboriginal. It is found among Indians who after the discovery of America have not had any connection with the Cunas. These Indians imagine that everything has in a natural manner sprung from her womb without there being mentioned anything about fatherhood. Is it possible that the Cunas, when they have learned to know the Christian idea about a creating God, have kept their old ideas about the original mother and have then for the first time assumed that there even existed an original father whom they identified with Christian God? This line of thinking has in such an event later been carried through with great consistency. The original father becomes, as well as the original mother, the origin of everything.

If the concept of God among the Cunas in so far as we mean by this the original father who together with the original mother has created everything, is a post-Colombian idea, it has so worked out that a number of functions of the original mother have been transposed to the original father.

If we suppose that the concept of God as we find it among the Cunas has a Christian origin, we find, however, that it is now very different from what the missionaries taught. They have certainly not spoken about God as the father, in a realistic sense, of the first turtles, the first apes, etc.

We must also remember that only a few of the Cuna Indians have been, or are, Christian. Except in the most recent years, the Cunas have not had any contact with Protestant missionaries, and even this recent Protestant missionary project has been rather insignificant, for which reason the Indians have never taken it seriously. Catholic missionaries have, on the other hand, ever since the seventeenth century, and perhaps earlier, tried to convert the Cunas to Christianity. Their missionary work has not had any significant effect and they have as a rule limited themselves to the outer boundaries of the Cuna territory. An important influence may have come from the French Huguenots who, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, lived among the

Cunas, intermarried with Cuna women and had children by them. It may be from them that the Cunas have gotten their austere concept of God as one who first and foremost is concerned with punishing the sins of human beings, and the fate-stressing concept of God, which is so excellently expressed in the song about the mollusc which God has predestined to be food for human beings and whose shell has been given by God to the hermit crab for his abode (p. 650).

That the concept of God among the Cunas in such a large measure stands as such an independent idea and that the Cunas are so unfamiliar with much of Christianity while they at the same time have adopted some parts of it, may come from the fact that what missionaries and others have had to tell about God has reached most of the Cuna Indians at second or third hand. They have not exchanged their old ideas for new but they have taken, as it were, out of the new, that which fitted in with their beliefs, at the same time as they have stood by their old faith. The concept of God has helped them to find an explanation of the world, which perhaps they had lacked before, or which formerly seemed hazy to the more informed and more thinking among them.

When any stranger asks a Cuna Indian: »Is the sun your God?» He may answer, »Why, yes», for the purpose of getting rid of the person who is making the enquiry or in order to fool him. The sun is God in so far as the Cunas would not be able to live without it, but the sun has never created anything. A Cuna Indian might very well answer that the plants are *his* God meaning by this that without them he would not be able to live.

I have already spoken about the original mother's, and God's, part in the creation. I shall here speak further about this.¹

¹ The following concluding part of this chapter was never completely written out by Norden skiöld. What is published here should therefore most rightly be taken merely as notes added by Norden skiöld which I nevertheless have judged worthy of being printed. ED.

If we go through the texts which treat of the creation we find that it is God and the original mother *Olotililisobi* who are the acting parties. The mythic Heroes have nothing to do with the creation.

Of God's first appearance the Cuna Indian Slater says only: »God came from under the earth for himself. And then he stood up from under the earth and he started to thought himself how to make a woman.»¹ How much Slater has bungled the original text I do not know.

Slater gives a thorough description of the creation of the original mother:

»Because he [God] could not stayed by himself; and whether he take palm of his hand to make a body of woman that he can compose the world. That time earth was without form and [in] darkness. But god claimed that if he take him palm of his hand could not do because a hand will hurt a woman and if he take bottom of his feet would not do because the feet he will kick a woman. That time the earth was without form and firmament. And then God started to thought himself that if he take a heart that will do; because the heart is memory to the woman and then he take heart of string that which is gone down straight to bladder, that which will make a woman way to come out of womb to form a child. And he take kidneys bladder, lungs, womb and liver. And then he take a soul to form of a white cloth. And then he spread out the white cloth on the table and then he put every things in it. And then he found a case to put every things in it and a key to lock every things in it. And then he carried into the four empty house and hide these and then God lay down on the bed and waiting for her to come to him. And then on 12 a clock in the night

¹ Nordenskiöld, 1930, p. 30. This account, according to later notes by Nordenskiöld, has been dictated to Slater by Iguanikdipipi, the second chief in Ailigandi. The account comes presumably from Simral Colman, the High Chief who was strongly influenced by Christianity. ED.

some one came crying and saying »Where is are you father? And on four days God heard a some one crying inside the case of the empty house. And then he took a key to opened the case. When he opened the case. The child come from the womb and then she stood on the God key hole; and then she came upstairs and come crying and saying. »Where is my father»? God said: »here am I.» And then she came and lay down with him on the bed. And then God [said] to her My dear child my dear daughter and my dear wife and you is my heart and then I will name by the heart because you come forth of my heart and he called her name *Puna Olocueguintile.*»¹

In the remaining documents the original mother is called *Olotililisop* (. . . *sobi*) and according to Pérez *Olokunguindili* was her daughter. *Olotililisobi* is the mother of everything in the natural sense. This is described, by Slater in paraphrases. It is told how the first woman sees souls of different colors, white souls, yellow, black, dark, spotted, green souls, etc. and when she has done this she gives birth to offspring. A table is spoken of on which God spreads out white souls, etc. If one knows that the different colored souls mean menstruation of different kinds, that the table is the woman's womb and that the white soul which is spread out upon it is God's seed the whole thing then becomes comprehensible in quite another way. One understands how the Cunas have imagined the origin of everything here in the world to be the first woman whom God created and that God is the father of everything and this in the most realistic sense.

In the same way it is *Olotililisobi* who gives birth to the turtles and other animals, which is illustrated by a special incantation. Even there God is the father in the natural sense.

In the stories about the mythic Heroes which I have, *Olotililisobi* appears only in the wandering through the

¹ Nordenskiöld, 1930 pp. 30—31.

realm of the dead, this in connection with the soul's getting a new body. This is given in the following way in *Nele's* version of the visit of the mythic Hero *Paylibe* to the kingdom of the dead:

»After a fairly long spell of travelling, they finally arrive at a house. It is within this that they begin to examine the character of the deceased. There appears a woman named *Ólotilisóbi*. With a bell she summons the workers. They arrived by means of a lift, and she says to them: 'Confine this person!' They then shut him up in a very costly golden chest. Before shutting him up in the chest they impregnate him with all sorts of fragrant perfumes. They close the chest in which they have laid the deceased, and when the chest has been closed *Ólotilisóbi* seats herself upon it. When she gets up, the lid of the chest is at once opened, and the soul of the deceased arises attired in clothes of gold and with golden shoes and hat, even his body being of pure gold.»¹

We here no doubt are confronted with the concept of a certain kind of bodily resurrection. The soul acquires a new body of gold. We should probably interpret this story thus, that the golden chest here symbolizes *Olótilisóbi's* body in which the soul is shut up in order to be reborn. This is a kind of explanation which the Indians give for the fact that the dead hunt, eat, drink and bear children.

The significance of the father and even of the mother in the creating of the fetus is actually very subordinate. It is from *Mū* that all natural traits come. I have assumed that *Mū* and the original mother are in some measure the same person or belong to the same group of persons. It is *Mū* who makes the fetus in the womb and gives it its characteristics. One asks oneself: what then are the functions of

¹ »The Journey through the Next World» by Nele. Norden-skiöld, 1930, p. 43.

the mother and father? The womb is compared, characteristically enough, to a box in which the fetus is formed. In the creation myths it is the form and color of the menstruation which is the deciding factor in what is born. What is the father's role? Is the idea that the father plays any role at all new and foreign to the Cuna ideology? In this case the following version should be from recent times: »Then the tutelar fetches a very sumptuous chest, and inside it there are cups with semen hominis and female ova. When *Pálihuiturtúmadi* touches these, they turn into children and from the chest issue sounds as if from wailing babies. Thus Our Lord created the earth and the human race.»¹

The question is, whether the significance of the original father in the creation is now in some measure greater in the Cunas' ideology than it was before the Cunas came into connection with the white people, and got from them a great many ideas.

When *Nële de Kantule* relates the story of the creation, God is given a more prominent part than in the incantations. The significance of the original mother does not appear in the same way as more outstanding. This is also true in the version of the creation which I have given in 1930, p. 3: »According to the *Nële* it was... etc.» The original mother is not mentioned there at all.

Also in another description of the creation which has been recorded by a Cuna Indian from *Nële's* dictation God has a more dominating role than in the incantations even if the original mother is also mentioned in it.

Might we imagine that the Cunas originally have had a story of creation without God, without any fatherhood, in other words, that the idea of the original mother is old but

¹ »The Creation of the World according to Charles Slater». Nordenskiöld, 1930, p. 47.

the original father is something new, something later arrived at? From the Christians they have heard the creation spoken about as it is presented in the Bible. They have not straightway accepted this version but have possibly found a more satisfying explanation of the world through not representing creation as something accomplished by a virginal original mother. They have inserted a father into the myths without otherwise changing them. They have in this way also arrived at an explanation for the origin of the original mother.

The different versions of the creation myths among the Cunas and the greater significance of fatherhood in the versions which have not been preserved in the form of texts or in picture-writings, point to the fact that the conception has been shifted so that the original father has at least been given a more important role than he had earlier.

The way in which the original mother is created out of parts of God's body gives no little impression of having been borrowed from Christianity. If the original father here were a recent idea, a great deal of the creation myth would have to be a new version in the old style. We thus see that we here are confronted with a problem which is anything but easy to solve.

The original mother plays a very important part in the ideology of the Kagabas. A medicine man, Miguel N ol a v i t a, has related a story about her to P r e u s s which tells that she is the mother of people, thunder, rain, rivers, trees, animals, plants etc. just as *Olotililisobi* is. From this we may conclude that the idea about the original mother here is very old. If this idea is common, even as to the details, among the Cunas and the Kagabas it must stem from a pre-Colombian time as these Indians have not had any connection with each other since the Spaniards in the beginning of the sixteenth century took possession of the coast between Santa Marta and the Gulf of Urabá.

XIII. The Realm of the Dead, and Ideas about Life
after Death, with the "Nalub nacruz igala"
song in the original.

The following synopsis of the contents of the song, «*Nalub nacruz igala*» has been published in Swedish by Nordenskiöld in 1931. The additional notes to the manuscript, made by Nordenskiöld, have however been worked in here. The text of the song, with Pérez' and Nordenskiöld's interlinear translation, follows here immediately after the English text. ED.

There are found among several Indian tribes accounts of the journey to and through the realm of the dead. In all of these the soul is confronted by dangers and difficulties which must be overcome. It is the underlying thought which runs through all of them. Certain motifs appear again in widely different places such as, for example, that dogs should be helpful to the soul at the fords, the «crashing rocks» motif, and so forth. The help from dogs is not mentioned in the Cuna version, but there is at any rate an element of this idea there, in that, as among the Talamanca Indians, who believe in help from this source, the Cuna Indians believe that one should not treat dogs badly. The rocks which crash together and crush the wandering soul have among the Cunas their counterpart in the scissors which, although they must be post-Colombian, reappear among a people living so far off from the Cunas as the Chiriguano. The thread which is changed into a bridge and which among the Cunas has the same name as the umbilical cord, and which is used for the laying of bridges, has its counterpart among the Chibchas in the vessels of cobweb.¹ The fragrant flowers along the road to paradise we see again among the Guarayu and the Chiriguano,² the beautiful birds among the Talamanca Indians,³ etc.

¹ Pedro Simon: 1891, p. 283.

² Bernardino de Nino: 1912, p. 141.

³ Wm. M. Gabb: 1875, p. 501.

The underlying idea in the stories about the kingdom of the dead is the same all the way from the Pueblos in North America to the Chiriguano in Northern Argentina. If one reads and compares line by line, for example, Cardús' detailed descriptions of a Guarayu Indian's wandering through the realm of the dead and the story from the Cunas, one finds, it is true, different details, but so many points in common that one must conclude they have a common origin. The stories tell of rapids which one must cross, dangers of many kinds, marvellous flowers and birds, and finally the Cuna Indian comes to *Diosayla* and the Guarayu to the original father. The Guarayu Indian's soul is punished if he has been evil, but one is not told what exactly is meant by evil. When the Cunas are punished it is for sins, according to the Christian conception of sins, but this is no doubt a new and foreign addition to the legend.

In «*Nalub nacruz igala*» we follow the dead person to the beginning of the great river which leads to the kingdom of the dead. *Nalub* is a palm tree and the rest of the name of the song comes from the fact that there are laid on the dead person four small crosses made of palm wood. «*Nalub nacruz igala*» has been dictated to Pérez by Iguatienigí in Cartí. The latter has learned the song in Cutí near Arquia in Colombia. It is sung by «some one who knows it», who begins when the dead person is still in the home and who continues to sing while the departed is carried to the grave.

The singer begins by relating that the dying man lies in the hammock and says to his wife: «I feel that the illnesses have conquered me. Go to the medicine man.» The wife takes out two feet of cloth and a string of glass beads and goes to the medicine man and says: «I come in order that you shall give medicine to me for my husband». «That is good», says the medicine man and she hands over to him the cloth and the glass beads.

The medicine man carefully investigates his medicine box,

takes out bark, grinds it and hands over the extract to the wife of the sick man after which she returns home.

The sick man takes the medicine and wonders in a melancholy fashion if it will do any good. He says that he feels that the illnesses are putting an end to him because he is not able to eat anything nor can he drink chicha. Turning to his wife he says: »I leave you, I go. I wonder how you are going to behave yourself after I am dead? I believe that you are going to marry again. The illnesses have made my body decay. They have eaten my body».

The sick man dies suddenly. He has no consciousness of what is taking place around him. He does not move the hammock. His body changes into *nagibe*. The dead man's souls leave his body. The hairs's souls go away, the souls of the fingers, the souls of the heart, the souls of the tongue likewise. The soul stands at the end of the hammock and weeps. It mourns because it cannot return to the body. The tears drop, the tears trickle.

The soul says: »The illnesses have eaten my body. I leave my house. I shall no longer live in my house, I shall no longer live with my wife at my side».

The wife says: »I weep for you. I mourn for you.» The tears drop and the tears trickle. You paddled me on the sea in this world, you hunted peccaries for me. Now you hunt peccaries no more. Evil illnesses are the cause of your body's decaying. Countrymen coming from far away will come no more on a visit. Female friends coming from far



Fig. 27. Cuna wood carving representing a dead person who is being carried away in his canoe. *GM.35.*

15.79, Ustúpu(?).
Coll. Wassén. Scale
1/4.

away will come no more on a visit. You have changed yourself into *nagibe*».

On the middle of the fire she puts water to boil and in the water she puts fragrant herbs such as *olonuknup* and *olobisep*.

The family lift the dead man and place him on the shroud. He is unconscious of the world. They bathe him with the boiled water. They put on him a white shirt, they put on him trousers, they put a tie on him. They paint his face, they draw on his face. They comb his hair and put a hat on him. His perspiration¹ has run down on the ground.

They lift up the dead man. He seems alive. They carry him to his hammock. They place him in the middle of the hammock. They put a cloth over him. They place his trousers (all his clothes) with him. They tie up the hammock with a cord *olokuĩlotuba*. On top of the dead man they place eggs and bananas. Under the dead man they set a chest containing his belongings. Under the dead man they lay his rifle, his boxes of gun-powder, ammunition, small machetes, suspenders, etc.²

The women weep and moan. The bats weep over the dead man. They cheep over the dead man. The doors weep over the dead man. The bats say to each other: »This deceased one we shall not recover. With this dead man we have lived, in the same house. Now we shall never more live in the same house as this departed. »The bats weep, the bats cheep. »I am going to change houses, the dead is no more», they cheep. »The dead man has no house for me longer. The sun is going to burn me. Before, this departed kept a place for me to live in. Now this dead man is not going to keep any living place for me any more.» The bats weep over the deceased, they cheep.

The women say (to the wife): »Look up the one who knows the song (*masarĩgal*)». The wife goes out through

¹ Literally the word given is blood.

² This »etc.» means that Pérez was not able to translate some of the words.

the middle of the door of her house. She goes in through the singer's (*nēletulupalikua's*) door. The singer lies in his hammock. (The dead man's) wife says to the singer: »Will you get ready the pegs for me?» The singer answers: »Yes, that is good.» She returns.

The singer calls on his wife and asks her to get the water ready. She pours in the water. The singer takes off his old trousers. He bathes in the water. The singer dresses himself in a white shirt and black trousers. He puts on a necktie and hat. »I will walk up God's road», he says.

The singer goes out through the middle of the door and goes into the dead man's house. He sits down on a stool below the dead man's hammock. The singer thinks about the way of the dead, about how God has created *masartule* in order to carry the dead to the next world.

The singer asks to have coarse cloth spread out under the dead man's hammock. He asks to be given the pegs of caña brava (*masar*) and to be given hard pegs of chonta-palm, *ilahuala*. He asks to be given a little knife, feathers, wax, glass beads, white glass beads and red dye-stuff, *māgēba*. The singer cuts off the pegs. He cuts them of equal length. Bits of the pegs fall in the middle of the coarse cloth. The feathers he fastens and ties on to the pegs. He places the glass beads on the pegs, he places the white glass beads on them.

The singer paints the pegs in a spiral design with *māgēba*. The painting will be changed into shirts. The singer places the pegs under the dead man in the hammock. The singer asks for cocoa beans. The singer changes the pegs to souls.

The pegs are given life, they are changed into protecting spirits, *masartule*. They are eight men and three women. The singer *nēletulupalikula* begins to sing, speaking to the *masartule*: »The souls of the dead man are ready to rise up. You shall not leave any soul. If you leave any soul behind it will cause a lot of noise».

The singer says to the *masartule*: »If (the dead man) has quarreled with his wife you shall not leave this soul (this quarrel) behind. All the souls of the dead man's possessions you shall collect together for the dead man. You shall make all the souls rise», says the singer to the *masartule*.

The grave diggers come. The belongings of the dead man are placed in the middle of the canoe. They untie the dead man's hammock. The bats cry and cheep. »The dead man we shall not have any longer among us, so it is.» The door weeps over the dead one. »The dead man will not step in any longer, so it is.»

They carry the dead man to the canoe. Evil spirits of different kinds gaze upon him. The *masartule* say to the dead man: »Why are you afraid?» They brandish their sticks in order to defend the dead man. (They say further): »I am the last *nelepalibelele*, I am brave. Venus used me in war (for his arrows), he became brave.» Close to the dead man they take out the headdresses, they make them shine, they make them gleam. The dead man is placed in the middle of the canoe. The caymans (their souls) see the dead man. They move their tails in different directions. The rockfish (their souls) see my dead one.

»Why are you afraid?» say the *masartule* moving their sticks, making them shine, defending the dead man. They take out the headdresses, they make them shine, they make them gleam. The sharks (their souls) see my dead one. The *masartule* move their sticks, they make the sticks shine. The dolphins (their souls) see my dead one. The *masartule* move their sticks, they make them shine. In the same way the *masartule* defend the dead man against the sirens, the turtles and against other evil spirits.

The seabirds catch small fish and eat them. The *masartule* move their sticks. They make their sticks shine in order to defend the dead man. They explain that these fish eat the evil spirits. The pelicans which fish with a silver net

see my dead one. The *masartule* move their sticks, they make their sticks shine in order to defend the dead man.

They travel over to the river with the canoe. They paddle, the sea foams, they make small whirlpools with the paddles, the sea moves. The bird *tintule* sees my dead one. »It is nothing remarkable, it belongs to the *kilukneduhilele*. You have become invisible. You are like the wind. You have become a spirit», say the *masartule*.

Here the Heroes live. They see my dead one. The *masartule* move their sticks. They make the sticks shine in order to defend the dead one.

The canoe goes up the river. The souls of the elephants¹ see my dead one. The *masartule* move their sticks. They make their sticks shine in order to defend the dead one. The *masartule* lift up their hats. The hats shine, the hats gleam close to the dead one. »Why do you wish to cry?» In order to defend the dead one they move their sticks. The sticks shine.

The bird *dítisaila* sees my dead one. It represents God's soul. From his body God has created this bird. From his heart's soul God has created it and therefore it knows everything. It sings. It alone sees God's river.

»The dead man goes under the earth to the fourth layer», say the *masartule* to the dead man. »You can make out the father's gold river. If the illnesses had not made you as you are now you could not in this way see God's river», say the *masartule* comfortingly to the dead man. »I am not returning home with you». »Why do you wish to weep?» say the *masartule*. »God's river you have already seen. You see that God has created the gold river for the benefit of his grandchildren.»

God's rivers look like gold, the rivers shine, the rivers gleam. When one goes up God's rivers they look like stuff of gold, the gold sand shines, the sand gleams like gold.

¹ There are possibly fossil mastodon bones in the Cuna Indians' territory.

When one goes up God's rivers they look like stuff of silver, the silver sand shines, it gleams like silver.

On the shore of God's river there is a gold thread which connects with the gold burial house. A silver thread crosses the river to the gold burial house. By the shore of the gold river grow wide-leafed plants (platanillos) of gold. They (their leaves) whistle in the wind like crickets. They bend in the wind, clear down to the ground. On the shore of God's river grow groups of higuerones (trees) of gold. Their fruits are round. When the wind blows they fall. »If you have sneaked in the darkness many times (to others' women)» say the *masartule* to the dead man, »the fruits will fall on your head, they will split open your head. This is nothing of importance. It is only the souls of the women (with whom you have slept).»

When the wind has calmed down and the fruits hang more securely on the tree the canoe continues up the river. When they have passed the fruits fall again. The canoe continues up the river. The river sings like a cricket. The river sings like a great cricket. The foam of the river looks like gold. The river's foam sings like a great cricket. The canoe goes up the river without stopping. One sees on the river (the shore) small *ulutuġku* trees. They look like beautiful women. »Who is it coming?» ask the women. The inquiring women are painted red in the face with *māgēba*. »If you, after the medicine man's death, have lived with his wife you will be embraced by one of the women and she will be changed into a tree which flies up into the air with you. If you have not lived with the medicine man's wife these women will not punish you. You are going to be able to travel up the river without difficulties. This is nothing of importance. It is a picture of women (with whom one has slept) which is changed in this way».

The rest of the song Pérez has unfortunately not recorded. In the song a great many things are spoken of, which the departed takes with him into the grave, but not everything

is mentioned there. Pérez once asked an Indian why he had a lot of small clay vessels hanging from the ceiling and he said that he collected these so that they could be buried with him and he would not need to buy such vessels in the next world. A miniature canoe, *ulachui*, is one of the objects to be taken to the funeral. But it is not buried with the dead person but instead is tied by the shore of the river near

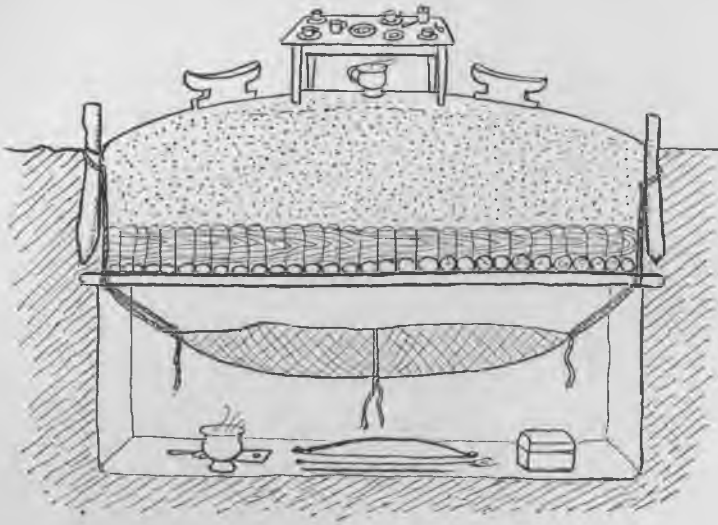


Fig. 28. Diagram of a Cuna grave drawn by Pérez. *GM-31.27.33*.

the place of burial. In this canoe the departed is to travel the great river *Ubigundiual* which is the way to the realm of the dead. A *kantule* is buried with his musical instruments. Even the picture-writings follow the departed into the grave.

The Indians have a custom of putting on the head of the dead person a calabash, as a kind of cap. It is in order to protect him against the woodpeckers, *sal-ly*. In order in the kingdom of the dead not to be attacked by these one shall during one's life have taken home eight woodpecker nests and reared the young. If the body wears on its head a

calabash the dead person will do the same in the realm of the dead.

Everything which the dead person has with him in the grave does not belong to him. When someone has died Indians put bows and miniature arrows, small canoes and other things in the dead man's hammock. One Indian may say, for example to the dead man, as he places some arrows beside him: »Take these along to my son». The dead person hears everything which is said by the people who are near his corpse; this is how he knows who is to have the arrows. All of these things are placed later with the departed in the grave. When he comes to the realm of the dead and meets anyone from the home village who has died before him, the latter asks if his family has not sent him some gifts, and if the newly departed has something to hand over he knows he is not forgotten. If a person can take with him his own things to the kingdom of the dead he can naturally just as easily take with him presents for those who have died earlier. This is a completely logical line of thought. It is the souls of the objects which the dead person takes with him as gifts.

The gifts to friends in the next world are made in the house of mourning or at the burial place. It is not good form to have the burial proceed too rapidly. It should take from about ten o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon.

The Cuna Indians who live on the islands off the San Blas coast have their own burial places on the mainland. It is only in the case of the plateau-like, large Isla del Pino that the burial place is on the island itself. The burial place consists of one or more huts, each one belonging to a family. In such a hut one sees wooden benches and incense burners of fired clay. All the members of the family are buried there, even stillborn children and fetuses. For the last two there is a special song. In Arquia on the mainland the dead are buried near their houses. In earlier times a number of Cunas

are supposed to have been buried in the very hut where they have lived.

In the burial houses on the coast they dig a deep rectangular grave for each dead person (see fig. 28). In each end of this there are two stanchions and between these the hammock is tied. Over the hammock a roof is built of poles above which leaves and earth are piled. The dead person in the hammock thus hangs free in the burial room on the floor of which the articles he is to have with him are placed. Gradually the hammock falls down and the grave is filled up. The articles in the grave are never renewed. The departed has gone away and the articles' souls have done likewise. The burial huts are repaired about once a month by the family of the departed.

When the departed is carried away from his hut and has been buried the hut is smoked out with Spanish pepper. This is not in order to frighten the dead person so that he will not haunt the place but instead is to keep off the evil spirits. Even around the burial places evil spirits, *uannia*, are hovering. If a person during his life has eaten an armadillo he runs the risk of having such animals dig down into his grave to disturb his bones.

Nalub nacruz iga.

Nombre de una palma cruz lección

GM.31.27.6. The Original consists of twenty-five pages, in a notebook, written in ink by Ruben Pérez. The translation to Spanish written by Nordenskiöld in cooperation with Pérez. ED.

<i>Innatōnāibe</i> ¹	<i>ūrūedūle</i>	<i>āpigāēmai</i>	<i>pōgāchialale</i>	<i>ūrūedūle</i>
Hombre	enfermedad	sintiendo	hamaca en	enfermedad
<i>ībekūēmai</i> ²	<i>Innatōnāibe</i>	<i>ūrūedūle</i>	<i>mōlapītar</i>	<i>yoemegisāre</i>
casado está	Hombre	enfermedad	camisa	vistiendo está

¹ Owner of the *inna*. The sick person.

² It says that the man is married to the illness, that is to say, he is severely ill.

<i>pōgāchipīllip</i>	<i>uāuan</i>	<i>makemai;</i>	<i>pōgāchipīllip</i>
hamaca	movimiento	haciendo	hamaca

*kiklimakemai*¹.
movimiento haciendo.

<i>Ūrūedūlegandi</i>	<i>anki</i>	<i>ōpinemakemai</i>	<i>nāāndrūtoge.</i>
Enfermedades	me a	venciendo están	me siento.

<i>Ūrūedūlegandi</i>	<i>tarkūēna</i>	<i>āniēgemai</i>	<i>ipisogeuāli.</i>
Enfermedades		no me están quitando	no puedo decir.

<i>Anga</i>	<i>tūlalelēibēkuadi</i>	<i>takkenāe</i>	<i>naūālepunguā</i>	<i>kā</i>
Mi para	(el) curandero	a ver vaya	(su) mujer	para

sūnnamakemai. *Uālepunguadi* *sūnnamakke* *īnsoāpisōkinī.*
diciendo está Mujer diciendo está bien.

<i>Umōla</i>	<i>taligīākuēn</i>	<i>sūekuīch(i);</i>	<i>uīnī</i>	<i>salatakīakuēna</i>
(de) género	braza una	cogiendo	cuentas	sartijas unas

*sūekuīch(i)*².
cogiendo.

<i>Ūālepungua</i>	<i>talkuīchikude</i>	<i>ūālepungua</i>	<i>arpīlideye.</i>
Mujer	se levanta	mujer	se marcha.

<i>Īavi/tārba</i>	<i>noēnae</i>	<i>ūālepungua</i>	<i>kīnīēnāe</i>	<i>īaūālapaliye.</i>
Puerta medio	sale	mujer	se va	camino por (el).

<i>Tūlalelēibegua</i> ³	<i>īavi/tārba</i>	<i>tokenae,</i>	<i>Tūlalelēibegua</i>
(El) curandero	(de) puerta medio	entra	curandero

<i>ūakila</i>	<i>tarkūichi</i>	<i>kūtapiye</i>
al frente	se pone	

<i>Ūālepunguadi</i>	<i>tūlalelēibegua</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>sūnnamakālī.</i>	<i>Panka</i>
Mujeres	curandero	para	diciendo	mi para

<i>tūlalelēdi</i>	<i>odimīkke</i>	<i>pie</i>	<i>andi</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>sunnabē</i>	<i>tanīkki.</i>
medicina	(me) reúne	quiero	yo	vos	quiere	por eso vengo

<i>Tūlalelēibegua</i>	<i>kolemai</i>	<i>apisogini.</i>
Curandero	diciendo está	está bien.

<i>Ūālepunguadi</i>	<i>umola</i>	<i>tabucamola</i>	<i>talikiakuēn</i>	<i>ukkekuichi;</i>
Mujeres	género	blanco	braza una	entregando está;

<i>uini</i>	<i>salatkiakuēna</i>	<i>ukkekuichi.</i>	<i>Tūlalelēibegua</i>
cuentas	sartija una	entregando está.	Curandero

¹ Another kind of movement.

² The woman brings these things to the medicine man.

³ Owner of the medicine.

ina ulu tartakkali ina ulu taksiksaye.
 medicina caja se pone a ver medicina caja registrando está.

Tulalele ukka ibeireri paka tulalele ukka
 Medicina corteza piedra moler con medicina corteza

irrkolesikisaye.¹ Tulalele abālisāgan aisūrrmakesikisaye
 (de) medicina jugo cayéndose está

olonōganūkkusegāye. Uālepungua tarkūichi kūali
 de la copa centro en (el) Mujer de levantarse puso

tulalele abālisāgala.
 (de la) medicina jugo para

Uālepunguadi tulalele abāliśa kā aipiliali; tulaleleibēgua
 Mujer medicina jugo con se marcha (del) curandero

īavitarba noenae posunbasetōgenae. Innatōnaibēgua
 (de la) puerta sale (en su) casa a entrar va. (el) enfermo

ka tulalele nōgagan pi ukkekuichi ye. Innatōnaibedi
 para medicina copas solo entregando (el) enfermo

tulalelegandi eapigaoediyobi ūālegemaiye.
 medicinas pensando si hacen efecto melancólico está.

Ūrūedūlegandi anki nuetalopinemake andiitōgeye. Ībemimiryōgan
 Enfermedades mi a acabando están yo siento Comidas

ogiamakkemekisaye innagir palikuena itōgemai
 dejado está chicha de maíz sin probando está

ipisōgeūaliye. Na ūālepungua ka sūnnamakkemai
 así decir puede (su) mujer para (con) diciendo está

na pemele naeye.
 te dejo (me) voy

Na ūālepungua ka sūnnamakkemai īgi pan solapa
 Mujer para diciendo está como mi después

kūtodipe. Ukamala paitdidi ibeguona be epinsāeye.
 andarás gente otro casarás vos creo

Ūrūedūle abaisegan kūapiñe na ūlukka isode
 Enfermedades malas razón por mi mi cuerpo va pudrir

ye, na ulukka ani kunnuideye. Kebe innatonaibe
 mi cuerpo me comido Entonces (el) enfermo

¹ It is said that a noise is heard from the bark on the grinding stone.

keb diopñāgñen kūkūmekisāye nega¹ talpāliññisi
 entonces murió instantáneamente casa ya no tiene

kusapiesuli.
 conocimiento

Palitalkōgo chapiesuli pōgñchi pitalpogilemaige. Innatōnaibekuadi
 no decir más sin cama movimientos está (del) enfermo

nāgibegatalpeulūkkadi cudeye.
 (en) *nagibe* (difunto) su cuerpo (se) convirtió

Nāgibēdi e pūrbalelegan aīñiemai.
 difunto sus sus almas saliendo

e sayligeapurbagan aīñiemai.
 sus cabellos almas saliendo

e kīnekīnemālatdi aīñiemai.
 sus partes saliendo

e gōnupurbagan² aīñiemai.
 sus dedos almas saliendo

e kūēgipurbagan aīñiemai.
 su corazón almas saliendo

e tiñtapīlipurbagan aīñiemai.
 su lengua almas saliendo

e pūrbaleledi kūichicutapiye ūkāchi tukkupāli, e pūrbalele
 su alma se paró hamaca extremo en su alma

pinangamakekūichi.
 llorando está

Pinoskomakekūichi ūlukka ki tal pāliupogoeyobi
 sollozando está cuerpo en quiere entrar

pīnangamakekūichi pīnōskomakekūichi
 llorando está sollozando está.

Tālatubnis yāmakekūichi tālatubnis drkūānekūichi ye.
 lágrima goteando está lágrima cayendo está.

Ūrūedule abaisegan ani ūlukka cunnucīdeye ibetiññgi
 Enfermedades malos mi cuerpo comido ?

piakuleali āngamākaliye.
 ? triste.

¹ That is to say, from all things surrounding him.

² *gomo* = nail in ordinary speech.

Pósunbapi talóbeenae, pósunba kǎale tal palimegenae
 Casa dejar voy casa en no viviré más

ipi sogeǎaliye.

Ūalepuṅgua pósunba kǎale pali yǎlapali megenae
 mujer (en) casa con al lado no viviré más.

ipisogeǎale ye.

Ūalepuṅguadi tal pepa pinangamainae pinosgomainai.
 Mujer ti por llorando está sollozando está.

Talatubnis yǎmākenai, talatubnis arǎkǎanenaeye.
 lágrima goteando lágrima cayendo.

Mātoanatoana nukuóǎirsǎekǎichi panga tāensuliǎaliye.
 agua salada remando para mi así hacia.

Talahǎelcūna diǎala, pali pūnaǎāegan¹ kīne
 de este mundo (el) río en chanchos de tropa en el

ilekǎekǎichi ani tāensuliǎaliye.
 cazaba mi por así hacia.

Pānga pūnaǎāegan ki talilekǎenae ipisogeǎali ye.
 mi para chanchos de tropa cazará no más.

Ūrǎedǎle abaisegan cūapinne pe ūlukka talǎide.
 Enfermedades malas (la) culpa por tu cuerpo fué podrido.

Pese kilumala pǎnatōlagande pese pālūpogenae
 vos a paisanos lejanos vos a entrará

ipisogeǎaliye².
 no más.

Āmmamāla pǎnatōlagande pese pālūpōgekǎichikǎe
 Paisanas lejanas vos a entrará

ipisogeǎaliye.
 no más.

Ānital nāgibeka tal kudesogekǎaye.
 difunto se convirtió.

¹ Now *yānu*.

² He will not receive any more visits from countrymen coming from far away.

<i>Olotikarkūa</i>	<i>takali</i>	<i>olotikarkūa</i>	<i>yainikui</i>
agua hervida	preparando	agua hervida	en el centro ?
<i>ōlonūgnup</i> ¹ ,	<i>ōlobīsep</i> ² ,	<i>ōlokōke</i> ³	<i>urpenikki.</i>
			puso

<i>Nāgibēlele</i>	<i>aitōali,</i>	<i>kebe</i>	<i>mōlaúrūana</i>	<i>pikinatalkāesiye.</i>
(al) difunto	levantar	entonces	sudario	echado en.

<i>Nēga</i>	<i>sunnāpali</i>	<i>ūisīkusapīesali</i>	<i>aidigesikisaye</i>
del mundo		conocimiento no	está sentado

<i>mōlaúrūana</i>	<i>nūkkū</i>	<i>kīne.</i>
sudario	centro	en.

<i>Olotikarkūakīne</i>	<i>abanukesikisa</i>	<i>mōlauruana</i>	<i>ābalakīneye.</i>
Agua hervida en	bañando está	sudario	centro en.

<i>Ūmōlatābukamōla</i>	<i>yōāsae sigisāye.</i> ⁴
Camisa blanca	vistiendo está.

<i>Ūmōlanailamōla</i>	<i>yōasāe sigisāye.</i>
Pantalón	vistiendo está.

<i>Ūmōlamūsūēna</i>	<i>naisikke sigisāye.</i>
Corbata	poniendo está.

<i>Ibekīkagūamākkatule</i>	<i>kīne</i>	<i>ākugala</i> ⁵	<i>narsobesigisāye;</i>	<i>ākugala</i>
<i>māgēba</i> ⁶	en	cara	pintando está	cara

narmakesigisāye.
dibujando está.

<i>Sailikia tal</i>	<i>pemīkesigisāye.</i>	<i>Olokūrgina</i>	<i>siesigisāye.</i>
cabellos	peinando está.	sombrero	poniendo está.

<i>Eabālisagan</i>	<i>aisūrmakesigisā</i>	<i>nēgapilliūlūbal</i>	<i>e abalisagan</i>
sus sudores	derramando está	tierra abajo	sus sudores

aidemaiye.
bajando está.

¹ *Olonūgnup*, a fragrant plant with which the dead body is washed before it is dressed and taken to the grave. This washing is done by the family. Even a person who has died from a highly contagious disease is washed.

² Fragrant plant.

³ A plant.

⁴ It says that they dress the dead.

⁵ Now *ūāgar*.

⁶ *Genīpa*.

<i>Nāgibēlē</i> difunto	<i>aitōlēāli</i> , levantando	<i>nāgibēlē</i> difunto	<i>nāgana</i> vivo	<i>takediyobi</i> , parece
<i>uūkachi/se</i> hamaca a (la)	<i>nāgibē</i> difunto	<i>aitōenaiye</i> . cargando.		
<i>Uūkachi</i> hamaca	<i>abālatdise</i> en el centro	<i>nāgibēlē</i> difunto	<i>mēgenāeye</i> . acostado.	
<i>Umolakiagana</i> telas	<i>ampakuemai</i> poniendo	<i>nāgibēlē</i> difunto	<i>pīlisegaye</i> . encima a(1).	
<i>Umolanaigan</i> pantalones	<i>ampakuenae</i> poniendo	<i>nāgibēlē</i> difunto	<i>pīlisegaye</i> . ¹ encima a(1).	
<i>Olōkūīlotuba</i> ² (el) hilo	<i>nāgibēlē</i> difunto	<i>kinagaenāeye</i> ³ amarrando está	<i>nāgibēlē</i> difunto	<i>sāpurenāeye</i> . ⁴ amarrando.
<i>Ibealāgūasibu</i> huevos	<i>ampakuenāe</i> poniendo	<i>nāgibēlē</i> difunto	<i>pīlisegaye</i> . ⁵ encima.	
<i>Ibenilāligan</i> ⁶ plátano	<i>ampakūenāe</i> poniendo	<i>nāgibēlē</i> difunto	<i>pīlisegaye</i> . encima.	
<i>Nāgibēlē</i> difunto	<i>pīlinubāli</i> debajo	<i>pīladola</i> ⁷ extranjero	<i>ōloulugan</i> ⁸ baúl	<i>ampakuenāeye</i> . poniendo está.
<i>Nāgibēlē</i> difunto	<i>īpikūagan</i> ⁹ cosas	<i>ampakuenāeye</i> . poniendo está.		
<i>Ibekūtepāgan</i> ¹⁰ escopetas	<i>ampakuenae</i> poniendo está	<i>nāgibēlē</i> difunto	<i>ulubaliye</i> . abajo.	
<i>Ibeupina</i> pólvora	<i>baregan</i> barriles	<i>ampakuemai</i> poniendo está	<i>nāgibēlē</i> difunto	<i>ulubaliye</i> . abajo.
<i>Ibegūagualisākugan</i> plomos	<i>ampakuemai</i> poniendo está	<i>nāgibēlē</i> difunto	<i>ulubaliye</i> . abajo.	

¹ They lay all the dead man's clothes in his grave.

² See fig. 21 a. *Olokūīlotuba* is used to tie around the dead man in his hammock.

³⁻⁴ Words only used in songs.

⁵ Hen's eggs are laid in the hammock of the dead.

⁶ Now one says *masi*.

⁷ Now *uaka*.

⁸ *ulu* = box (trunk).

⁹ All the things the dead man used.

¹⁰ Now *kingi*.

*Ibetintuli*¹ *totokūagan* *ampakuemai* *nāgibēlēle* *ulubaliye.*
machetes pequeños poniendo está difunto abajo.

Ibepanelagan *ampakuemai* *nāgibēlēle* *ulubaliye.*
? poniendo está difunto abajo.

Ibematulagan *ampakuemai* *nāgibēlēle* *ulubaliye.*
? poniendo está difunto abajo.

Ibemātulekinūagan *ampakuemai* *nāgibēlēle* *ulubaliye.*
? poniendo está difunto abajo.

Ibetōpekuankinūagan *ampakuemai* *nāgibēlēle* *ulubaliye.*
? poniendo está difunto abajo

Ibesaipilagan *ampakuemai* *nāgibē* *ulubaliye.*
tirantes poniendo está difunto abajo

Nāgibē *ūālepūnguagan* *pīnangamaide,* *nēgaūlukarkālīmaide,*
difunto mujeres llorando están ruido haciendo

bel *ōlōle*² *nēgaūlumēsenāeye.*
con ruido ronco haciendo

Punakotītiyigan *nāgibē* *pīnale* *pīnangamaide*³;
murciélagos difunto para él llorando están;

*kalachūchukolemamai*⁴ *nāgibē* *pīnale* *ye.*
silbando están difunto para él

Tuleuelitasailagan *nāgibē* *pīnale* *pīnangamakeyōlakīye.*
puertas difunto para él llorando están.

Punakotitiyaigan *oimakenai* *nāgibē* *dipālīnīkuenāe*
murciélagos conversando están difunto no tendría más

īpisogeūāliye.

Ānidi *nāgibē* *pāka* *pōsunbadi* *ībekuamai* *sulīūāliye.*
nosotros difunto con casa así vivíamos antes

Ānidi *pali* *nāgibē* *pāka* *pōsunbadi* *ībekūenae* *īpisōgeuali*
nosotros difunto con casa viviremos no más

Punakotitiyaigan *oimaide,* *kalachūchukolemaiye.*
murciélagos llorando silbando

¹ Now *estinu*.

² A noise is heard like *soor-r*.

³ The bats of the house weep because the owner is taken away.

⁴ A sound heard from the bats.

Andi ūsayla tiokuaenaetailesunna nagibe sulikūstaile,
 nosotros casa cambiaremos difunto no teníamos más
kalachūchukolemamai.
 silbando

Nagibe sūlikūstaile anga usayladi tippilenae tātalele āpinniye.
 difunto no tiene más mi para casa quemara sol por

Nagibēdi anga olopīlidi apinkanikin suliūaye.
 difunto mi para lugar sosteniendo antes así

Nāgibēdi anga pal olopīlidi pālāpinkāe īpisōgeūaliye.
 difunto mi para lugar sostendrá no más

Punakotitiyaigan nāgibe ka pinangamākenanai,
 murciélagos difunto para llorando están

kalachūchakōlemaiye.
 silbando están

Ūālepunguagan oimakali, nēle tulupalikūaibe dītakkenāeye.
 mujeres diciendo nēle que sabe canción van a ver

Ūālepungua aipilide na pōsunba iavi tārba nōenaeye.
 mujer se marcha su casa puerta medio saliendo está

Nēletulupālikuaibe¹ pōsunba iavi tārba tōgenae.
 cantor casa puerta medio entrando está

Nēletulupālikuaibedi aidigemai pōgachi yālākūāle.
 cantor acostado está hamaca en

Ūālepunguadi sunnamakali nēletulupālikuaibe kala.
 mujer puso hablar cantor para

Panga nēle pāliibeūala panga ōdimake pīeanti besunnāpēētani.
 mi para palitos mi para reunir quiero vos quieréis

Nēletulupālikuaibe napalimaiemai inchoṇāpisoguniye.
 cantor contestando así está bien

Ūālepunguadi aipilialiye.
 mujer vuelve de nuevo.

Nēletulupālikuaibe tina ūālepūnguase kōlekuīchi anga
 cantor mujer a (1a) llamando está mi para

īāūalaabalisa² dītakurgeye.
 agua prepara

¹ The one who knows how to sing *masarigal*.

² *iaula abalisa* — river, perspiration (literally blood). Here water is meant.

<i>Uālepunguadi</i> mujer	<i>īāuālaabalisa</i> agua	<i>mursāekūichiye.</i> llenando está.	
<i>Neletūlupālikuaibedi</i> cantor	<i>umōla</i> camisa	<i>īchákua</i> vieja	<i>eāsuaesekūichi</i> quitando está
<i>umolanailamola</i> pantalón	<i>īchákua</i> viejo	<i>eāsuaesekūichiye.</i> quitando está.	
<i>Iāuālakine</i> (el) agua en	<i>ābalukkekuichi</i> bañando está.		
<i>Neletūlupālikuaibedi</i> cantor	<i>umōlatalukkamola</i> camisa blanca	<i>yōasāekūichiye.</i> vistiendo está	
<i>Umōlanaila</i> pantalón	<i>kūpchīchimōla</i> negro	<i>yōasāekūichi.</i> vistiendo está.	
<i>Umōlamūsūēnamōla</i> corbata	<i>pinaisikkekūichi.</i> poniendo está.		
<i>Neletūlupālikuaibedi</i> cantor	<i>olokūrgina</i> sombbrero	<i>sīekūichiye.</i> poniendo está.	
<i>An tina</i> yo	<i>Dioigalābali</i> Dios camino en	<i>an yo</i> yo	<i>dīainākuenāe</i> subir voy <i>sōgekūichiye.</i> diciendo está.
<i>Neletūlupālikuaibedi</i> cantor	<i>aipiliāli</i> se marcha	<i>napōsunba</i> su casa	<i>īāvitarba</i> puerta medio
<i>nōekūichiye.</i> saliendo está.			
<i>Neletūlupālikuaibedi</i> cantor	<i>kin̄yētāge</i> ha ido	<i>nāgibe</i> difunto	<i>pōsunbase</i> casa a (1a)
<i>togekūichiye.</i> entrando está.			
<i>Neletūlupālikuaibedi</i> (el) cantor	<i>nāgibe</i> difunto	<i>pōgāchi</i> hamaca	<i>ulubāli</i> abajo
<i>aidīgesikisāye</i> puso a sentarse			
<i>olokānakine.</i> (1a) silla en.			
<i>Piñiyetol</i>	<i>īūāla¹</i> camino	<i>bāli</i> en	<i>kūāgetub</i> nervios de corazón
<i>ākalkukusapiesuli</i> cambiar sin			
<i>aidīgesikisāye.</i> sentado está			

¹ That is to say, the path of the dead.

<i>Kūagetub</i> nervios de corazón	<i>ikaesikisāye</i> pensando	<i>piniyetol</i>	<i>ūālabaliye</i> . ¹ camino en.
<i>Nāgibe</i> difunto	<i>pōgāchi</i> hamaca	<i>ulubali</i> abajo	<i>neletūlupālikuaibedi</i> cantor
<i>āmola</i> tela			
<i>sōmekua</i> gruesa	<i>nīkkole</i> ² - <i>sigisāye</i> ³ . pidiendo está.		
<i>Nelepālibeuala</i> , palitos ⁴	<i>nīkkolesigisāye</i> . pidiendo está.		
<i>Tūlemalsoso</i> palito duro ⁵	<i>nīkkolesigisāye</i> . pidiendo está.		
<i>Ibetīntūletōtōkūa</i> cuchillo pequeño	<i>nīkkolesigisāye</i> . pidiendo está.		
<i>Tūlasālikūrgina</i> ⁶ plumas	<i>nīkkolesigisāye</i> . pidiendo está.		
<i>Ībenīnnerkūakīnūatula</i> cera	<i>nīkkolesigisāye</i> . pidiendo está.		
<i>Olonīrbakkiūaisību</i> hilo blanco	<i>nīkkolesigisāye</i> . pidiendo está.		
<i>Neletūlupālikuaibedi</i> cantor	<i>noūīnī</i> cuentas	<i>nīkkolesigisāye</i> . pidiendo está.	
<i>Neletūlupālikuaibedi</i> cantor	<i>noūīnī</i> cuentas	<i>ūaisību</i> blancas	<i>nīkkolesigisāye</i> . pidiendo está.
<i>Neletūlupālikuaibedi</i> cantor	<i>ībekikkagūāmākatūle</i> <i>māgēba</i>	<i>nīkkolesigisāye</i> . pidiendo está	
<i>Neletūlupālikuaibedi</i> cantor	<i>nelepālibeūāla</i> palitos	<i>kīamakesigisāye</i> . cortando está	
<i>Nelepālibeuala</i> palitos	<i>ītdimiesigisāye</i> , cortando está	<i>bēla</i> <i>uulup</i> con mismo	<i>sākūale</i> . tamaño

¹ The meaning is that the one who sings starts to think about the path of the dead. He thought of how God has created *masalgana* to bring dead people to the other world.

² (*nīk*)*hole* = to call.

³ The singer asks for a cloth to work on.

⁴ of *masar* = arrow reed (caña brava).

⁵ of *ilauala* = the chonta palm wood.

⁶ They are called this because the feathers are to be changed into the hats of the *masartule*.

<i>Nelepālibeuala</i> palitos	<i>molaurgana</i> pedacitos	<i>kakkarmakemai</i> cayendo están	<i>molasomëkkua</i> (la) mola gruesa
<i>nūku</i> centro	<i>sega</i> a	<i>ye.</i> cantor	<i>Neletūlupālikuaibe</i> cantor
<i>nēlepālibeuala</i> palitos	<i>kā</i> para		
<i>tūlasālīkūrgin</i> plumas	<i>ūātinnesigisāye,</i> atando está	<i>ūisōpesigisāye.</i> amarrando está	
<i>Neletūlupālikuaibedi</i> cantor	<i>nēlepālibeuala</i> palitos	<i>kā</i> para	<i>nouīni naisikkēsīgīsāye.</i> cuentas poniendo está
<i>Nouīni</i> cuentas	<i>ūaisibu</i> blancas	<i>naisīgīsāye.</i> poniendo está	
<i>Neletūlupālikuaibe</i> cantor	<i>nēlepālibeuala</i> palito	<i>kā</i> para	<i>mōlařoali</i> vístiendo
<i>ībekikkagūāmākatūle</i> <i>māgēba</i>	<i>bē</i> su	<i>mola</i> camisa	<i>kakūali,</i> convertido
		<i>bega</i> vos	<i>mola</i> camisa
<i>pīrgimākāliye.</i> ¹ pintando			
<i>Neletūlupālikuaibe</i> cantor	<i>nagibe</i> difunto	<i>pogachi</i> hamaca	<i>ūlubali</i> abajo
			<i>nēlepālibeuala</i> palito
<i>ōgirmākkaliye.</i> poniendo			
<i>Neletūlupālikuaibedi</i> cantor	<i>nēlekēlīkua</i> cacao	<i>nīkkolesīgīsāye.</i> pidiendo está	
<i>Neletūlupālikuaibedi</i> cantor	<i>nanēlepālibeuala</i> palitos	<i>ākkōloaliye.</i> ² convirtiende está	
<i>Nelepālibeuala</i> palito	<i>tūloaliye.</i> dando vida	<i>Nelepāliblele</i> ³ <i>masartule</i>	<i>kasāaliye.</i> se convierte
<i>Māchi</i>	<i>Olonāruālibe</i> ⁴	<i>kasāaliye.</i> se convierte	
<i>Māchi</i>	<i>lēle</i>	<i>Ōloikdili</i> ⁵	<i>kasāaliye.</i> se convierte
<i>Māchi</i>	<i>lēle</i>	<i>Ōlotikūi</i> ⁶	<i>kasāaliye.</i> se convierte

¹ The spiral-formed painted ornaments on the little sticks are changed into shirts.

² The singer changes the pegs to souls.

³ *masartule* = helping spirit.

⁴⁻⁶ Names of the *masartule*. There are eight men and three women.

<i>Māchi</i>	<i>lele</i>	<i>Ōloekasuali</i> ¹	<i>kasāaliye.</i> se convierte
<i>Māchi</i>	<i>lele</i>	<i>Māniēkasuali</i> ²	<i>kasāaliye.</i> se convierte
<i>Māchi</i>	<i>lele</i>	<i>Māsošo</i> ³	<i>kasāaliye.</i> se convierte
<i>Māchi</i>	<i>lele</i>	<i>Oloainikālilele</i> ⁴	<i>kasāaliye.</i> se convierte
<i>Māchi</i>	<i>lele</i>	<i>Māniainikālilele</i> ⁵	<i>kasāaliye.</i> se convierte
<i>Punaŭaga</i> mujer	<i>Oloŭdili</i> ⁶ »	<i>kasāaliye.</i> se convierte	
<i>Punaŭaga</i> mujer	<i>Olotikūi</i> ⁷ »	<i>kasāaliye.</i> se convierte.	
<i>Punaŭaga</i> mujer	<i>Mānitikūi</i> ⁸ »	<i>kasāaliye.</i> se convierte	
<i>Nēletūlupālikuaibedi</i> cantor		<i>pālimaiyesigisāye.</i> empieza a cantar	
<i>Nēlepāliblele</i> <i>masartule</i>	<i>ŭanāesigisāye.</i> consejando		
<i>Nāgibe</i> difunto	<i>pūrbalēlegan</i> almas	<i>ārgūatdēmāladi</i> lo que cayeron	<i>pālionākkoe</i> están listas
<i>ansogepūkkūamālanāye.</i> para hacer subir.			
<i>Kūēna</i> Ningūn	<i>pūrbalēledi</i> ⁹ alma	<i>ōpētakinemalaye</i> no debe dejar	<i>nēlepāliblele</i> <i>ŭanāesigisāye.</i> <i>masartule</i> consejando. ¹⁰
<i>Nāgibe</i> difunto	<i>pūrbalēledi</i> alma	<i>ōpētakinemalaye</i> no debe dejar	<i>ōpētakinēbetākēle</i> dejamos si acaso
<i>negapilidi</i> lugar	<i>ōtūloedi</i> ruido	<i>kūdo</i> hará	<i>sūliŭāye.</i> ¹¹ así será.
<i>Nēletūlupālikuaibedi</i> cantor	<i>nēlepāliblele</i> <i>masartule</i>	<i>ŭanāesigisāye.</i> consejando está.	

¹⁻⁸ Names of the *masartule*. There are eight men and three women.

⁹ Here it is said that the deceased has many souls.

¹⁰ It is the singer who gives »advice».

¹¹ If we leave behind a soul of the dead it will make a noise.

Ŭalepunguase ūrue dule onīdedimālatdī purbalēlegan kūēna
 mujer a bravo lo que hizo almas ningún
 [enfermedad]

opētakinemālaye.
 dejamos si acaso

Pela kalipi pūrbalēlegandi odimakenāe nāgibekāla.
 todo para cosas almas reunir haciendo difunto para.

Pela kāla pūrbalēlegandi ōnakkoe ansōgepūkkuamālanaye
 todo para almas hacer subir nosotros estamos diciendo

Neletūlupālikuadi nēlepālibelele ūanāesiye.
 cantor masartule aconsejando está.

Nāgibekala oloūlupīli nukkumaketule kūichikūekūichi.¹
 difunto para tumba cavador vinieron.

Nāgibe ipikūāgan aidēmai māniēsaūlu nūkkusegaye.
 difunto cosas poniendo cayuco centro a(l).

Nāgibe kāla uukachi esiglealikuye.
 difunto para hamaca soltando.

Nāgibe kāla punakōtītiyāigan oimaide
 difunto para murciélagos ruido haciendo

pīnangamakkenānai kāla chūchukōlenanai.
 llorando están para silbando están.

Nāgibe dipālinīkkūemāla ipisogeualiye.
 difunto tendrá más nosotros así será.

Tuleuēlitasayla nāgibe ka pīnangamakekūichi
 puerta difunto para llorando está.

Nāgibedi pālinīkkumala ipisogeuali ye.
 difunto no entrar más así será.

Nāgibeka aipīliali māniēsaūlusēga.
 difunto llevaron cayuco al.

Tulenākkūarkūasgatūlegan pāni nāgibe apitākāli.
 Espíritus malos mi difunto puso a ver.

Nēlepālibelele nāgibe ūanaāli ipisūna ūlale pāni
 masartule difunto aconsejando por que razón vos

¹ There are special persons digging the graves. Such a digger = *nab-gisett*.

<i>pina</i> tenga miedo	<i>tobekükuepie.</i>	<i>Apinkāgiāūāla</i> ¹ palo	<i>ōtaryemai</i> golpeando	<i>kāgiūāla</i> palo
<i>pippimākemai</i> movimiento haciendo		<i>nāgibe</i> difunto	<i>irūaleye.</i> para defenderlo.	
<i>Tulenākūpuglugan</i> Espíritus malos		<i>pāninagibe</i> mi muerto	<i>apitāgali</i> puso a ver	<i>apinkāgiāūāla</i> palo
<i>ōtaryemai;</i> moviendo	<i>kāgiūāla</i> palo	<i>ōpippimakemai</i> moviendo	<i>tūlegala</i> espíritus malos	<i>ūkkusalumusi-</i>
<i>likūālelegan</i>	<i>pāni</i> mi	<i>nāgibe</i> difunto	<i>apitākali</i> puso a ver	<i>apinkāgiūāla</i> palo
<i>ōtaryemai</i> moviendo	<i>kāgiūāla</i> palo	<i>ōpippimākemai.</i> moviendo.		
<i>Maitulegan</i> diablos	<i>pāni</i> mi	<i>nāgibe</i> difunto	<i>apitāgali</i> puso a ver	<i>īpisūnna ulale</i> por que razón
<i>pani</i> vos	<i>pinakīglīkupie</i> tenga susto	<i>īpisunna</i> por que razón		<i>ulalepanietobekugūepie,</i> tienes miedo
<i>āpinkāgiūālagan</i> palos		<i>ōtaryemai</i> moviendo	<i>kāgiūālagan</i> palos	<i>ōpippimakemai</i> moviendo
<i>nāgibe</i> difunto	<i>irūāgualē ye.</i>			
<i>Andi</i> soy	<i>Nelepālibelele</i> <i>masartule</i>	<i>sūitūkkunapīe</i> el último	<i>nātāpi</i>	<i>kīngitūleandīsōge</i> soy valiente
<i>nātāpi.</i>				
<i>Nelepūgasūlele</i> Venus	<i>anki</i> mi en	<i>talpīlodedi</i> ² guerra hizo	<i>anki</i> mi en	<i>māchotedi</i>
<i>andīpie</i> se hizo valiente	<i>natāpiye.</i>			
<i>Nāgibe</i> (del) difunto	<i>sīkkipīe</i> cerca	<i>tula</i> hacia	<i>salikūrgina</i> sombrero	<i>onīemāi tula</i> haciendo salir
<i>salikūrgin</i> sombrero	<i>pīppimakemai</i> brillar haciendo	<i>tulasalikūrgina</i> sombrero		<i>neūamakemaiye.</i> flameando está.
<i>Manīesaūlu</i> cayuco	<i>nukkuabālatdise</i> centro en el	<i>nāgibe</i> difunto	<i>megenāe.</i> va acostarse.	

¹ A tree.² Now the word *pela* is used for war. Venus used the *masal* to make arrows when fighting against the evil spirits.

Kilulēleūluntāli *sūnnakōlenai* *ani* *nāgibe* *apitakali.*
lagarto está mi difunto (que) puso a ver.

*Ulūga mūglilēgenai.*¹ *Ulūga mūglimakkenai.*² *Ulūga sanilēgenai.*³

*Ulūga sanimakkenai.*⁴ *Ulūga mūllulekenai.*⁵ *Ulūga mūllumakenai.*⁶

Cāmmigan *aidenai.*⁷ *Cāmmigan* *ainasimakenai.*⁸ *Cāmmi*
patas patas pata

uurmakēnai *Cāmmi argobenai.*⁹
 haciendo ruido. pata

Ēsapūnnākīūālagan *surmailēgenai.*¹⁰
 cola

Ēsapūnnākīūālagan *sūllemakenai.*¹¹
 cola

Ēsapūnnākīūālagan *neūamakenai.*¹²
 cola

Ēsapūnnākīūālagan *ātamakenai.*¹³
 cola

Ēsapūnnākīūālagan *ūēūlēgenai.*¹⁴
 cola

Kilulēlenītirpāgilele *pani* *nāgibe* *apitakesiye.*
 raya mi difunto está viendo.

Ipisunnaūlale *panipinatobe* *kukuepiemaiye.*
Por que razón miedo tienes

Apikāgiaūālagan *ōtaryēmai* *kāgiaūālagan* *pīppimakemai*
 palos mover haciendo palos brillar haciendo

nāgibe *īlūāleye.*
difunto defendiendo.

Tūlasalikūrgina *oniemai* *tūlasalikūrgina* *pīppimakemai*
sombrero salir haciendo sombrero brillar haciendo

tūlasalikūrgina *neūamakemai* *nāgibe* *sīkīpiye.*
 sombrero flamear haciendo difunto hacia.

¹⁻⁹ Movements of the cayman. No equivalent words can be found for translation to Spanish.

¹⁰⁻¹⁴ Different movements of the tail of the cayman. There are no Spanish words for them.

<i>Kiluululelenālililelegan</i> ¹	<i>pani</i>	<i>nāgibe</i>	<i>apitakkenai</i> ² .
tiburones	mi	difunto	viendo están
<i>Apikagiūālagan</i>	<i>otarēymai</i>	<i>kāgiaūālagan</i>	<i>pīppimakemai</i> .
palos	haciendo	movimiento	palos brillar haciendo
<i>Kiluululelūagilele</i> ³	<i>pani</i>	<i>nāgibe</i>	<i>apitakkenai</i>
buefo	mi	difunto	viendo está
			contra palos
<i>otarēymai</i>	<i>kāgiaūālagan</i>	<i>pīppimakemai</i> .	
viendo mover	palos	brillar	haciendo
<i>Kilulelansūilele</i>	<i>sailigi</i>	<i>sūilegemai</i>	<i>pani</i>
sirena	cabello	largo está	mi
			difunto
<i>apitakemai</i>	<i>api</i>	<i>kāgiaūālagan</i>	<i>otarēymai</i>
viendo está	contra	palos	mover haciendo
			palos
<i>pīppimakemai</i>	<i>nāgibe</i>	<i>īruāle</i> .	
brillar	haciendo	difunto	para denfenderlo
<i>Kilūlēleammakūnuanānāgan</i>	<i>pani</i>	<i>nāgibe</i>	<i>apitakali</i>
tortugas	mi	difunto	viendo está
			contra
<i>kāgiaūālagan</i>	<i>otarēymai</i>	<i>kāgiaūālagan</i>	<i>pīppimakemai</i>
palos	mover	haciendo	palos brillar haciendo
<i>nāgibe</i>	<i>īruāle</i> .		
difunto	para defender		
<i>Kilūlelemūtūlegālakilululēle</i> ⁴	<i>pani</i>	<i>nāgibe</i>	<i>apitakali</i>
	mi	difunto	viendo está
			contra
<i>kāgiaūālagan</i>	<i>otarēymai</i>	<i>kāgiaūālagan</i>	<i>pīppimakemai</i>
palos	mover	haciendo	palos brillar haciendo
<i>nāgibe</i>	<i>īruāle</i> .		
difunto	para defender		
<i>Kilūlelemūtūlegālanālululēle</i> ⁵	<i>pani</i>	<i>nāgibe</i>	<i>apitakali</i>
	mi	difunto	viendo está
			contra
<i>kāgiaūālagan</i>	<i>otarēymai</i>	<i>kāgiaūālagan</i>	<i>pīppimakemai</i>
palos	mover	haciendo	palos brillar haciendo
<i>nāgibe</i>	<i>īruāle</i> .		
difunto	para defender		

¹ Now *nāli* is the word used.

² These are the souls of the animals which are found along the way where the dead person is brought in the canoe.

³ Now *uagi*.

⁴ Sea animal.

⁵ A fish.

*Kilūlēlemūtūlegā*¹ *ūūūstūlegan* *pani* *nāgibe* *apitakali*
sardinas mi difunto viendo está

api *kagīaūālagan* *otaryēmai* *kagīaūālagan*
contra palos mover haciendo palos

pīppimakemai *nāgibe* *īruāle.*
brillar haciendo difunto para defender

*Esauālakirrikirrile*² *tulamakenai* *mūtulegala* *ūūūstūleki*
pescando mar animal sardinas en

īlekūenai *api* *kagīaūālagan* *otaryēmai*
comiendo están contra palos mover haciendo

kagīaūālagan *pīppimakemai* *nāgibe* *īruāle.*
palos brillar haciendo difunto para defender

*Esauālapanelatūlegan*⁴ *tulamakenai* *mūtulegala* *ūūūstūleki*
pescando mar animal sardinas en

īlekūenai/pūlusāenai.
comiendo/están

*Uēdina*³ *kilukūēdulīlē/ka* *tulamakenanai* *na* *nāgibe*
estos espíritu malo para pescando mi difunto

ūanali *īpisūnnaūlale* *panikiglikuenae.*
consejando por que razón tienes susto

*Esaualakorinasailagan*⁵ *tulamakenai* *manisaki* *pa* *pūrdigenai*
pelícanos pescando plata red con sabullando está

pani *nāgibe* *apitakali* *api* *kagīaūālagan* *otaryēmai*
mi difunto viendo está contra palos mover haciendo

kagīaūālagan *pīppimakemai* *nāgibe* *īruāle.*
palos brillar haciendo difunto para defender

Tūlaūercūnadiūal *se* *pega* *māniesaulu* *pākēmai.*
río a(1) vos para cayuco cruzando está

Ibēkāmigan *ōpīnyēmai* *mūpīli* *ūēmai* *mūpīli*
canaletes remando están mar echando agua mar

pikāmūmakemai *mūpīli* *pīōūiryēmai*⁶
haciendo pequeños remolinos mar

¹⁻² Sea birds.

³ Sea animal.

⁴ Refers to the birds which are fishing for the evil spirit.

⁵ Now *kōrgi*.

⁶ Another movement.

Tūlauerkūnadiuala *kākase* *māniesaūlu* *pākēmai.*
 río orilla a cayuco cruzando está

*Uluakatintūle*¹ *pani* *nāgibe* *apitakēsi.*
 a mi difunto está viendo

Ūedi *kīlukūedulilele* *ipitūlakūa* *ipiākāla* *pepinnisa*
 Este espíritu malo animales no de otra clase tu criado

petakeūāli *nāgibe* *talūanāekūichi*².
 te veas difunto aconsejando está

Pani *pepīnyetula*³ *kā* *kūsaūēye.* *Pani* *pinyetula* *uāga*
 mi a vos para convertido mi a
*sibuga*⁴ *kūsaūēye.*
 convertido

Pani *puruasayla* *kā* *kūsaūēye.*
 mi a viento para convertido ha

Pani *tātaniāsayla*⁵ *kūsaūēye.* *Nagibe* *ūanāali* *kūaye.*
 mi a convertido difunto vos aconsejando está

Ēsaūāla *ūlukka* *tāputāpugan* *nega* *ībekūesi* *pani*
 pájaro garzas espíritus viviendo está mi a
nāgibe *apitakkēsi* *api* *kagīaūālagan* *otaryēmai*
 difunto viendo está contra palos moviendo

kagīaūālagan *pīppimakēmai* *nāgibe* *īruale.*
 palos brillando muerto para defender

Tūlauerkūnadiuala *papēga* *nākkūēmai.*
 río vos para subiendo está

Kīlu *īūinasaylagan* *pani* *nāgibe* *apitakali* *api*
 elefantes espíritus a mi difunto viendo está contra

kagīaūālagan *otaryēmai* *kagīaūālagan* *pīppimakēmai*
 palos moviendo está palos brillando está

nāgibe *īruale.*
 muerto para defender

¹ Martín pescador?

² These are the animals of the evil spirit.

³ An invisible thing.

⁴ Invisible thing.

⁵ *tata nia sayla* signifies a spirit, father devil chief.

<i>Tūlasālikūrgina</i> sombreros	<i>oniemai</i> echando	<i>tūlasālikūrgin</i> sombreros	<i>pīppimakemai</i> brillar haciendo
<i>tūlasālikūrgina</i> sombreros	<i>neūamakemai</i> flamear haciendo	<i>nāgibe</i> difunto	<i>sīkipi.</i> hacia
<i>Īpisūnnaūlale</i> por que razón	<i>pani</i> mi a	<i>pīnāngakuepiena</i> quiere llorar	<i>nāgibe</i> difunto para defender
<i>kagīaūalagan</i> palos	<i>otaryemai</i> moviendo	<i>kagīaūalagan</i> palos	<i>pīppimakemai</i> brillando
<i>Ulukka</i> ave	<i>tīttilisayla</i> ⁴ mi a	<i>nāgibe</i> difunto	<i>apitakesi.</i> viendo está
<i>papapūrba</i> Dios (el)	<i>sogesi</i> ¹ alma representa		
<i>Papa</i> Dios	<i>abagan</i> cuerpo	<i>pīnnisa</i> creado	<i>sogeye</i> ² representa
<i>pinnisa</i> creado	<i>sogesīsāye</i> ³ representa	<i>Papa</i> Dios	<i>kūēgi</i> corazón
<i>Kala</i> Cantando	<i>tīttilitalkōlesiye.</i> está	<i>Papa</i> Dios	<i>īūala</i> camino
<i>Nāgibe</i> difunto	<i>kā</i> para	<i>pi</i> solo	<i>palitakesi</i> ⁴ viendo está
<i>Nēgapilipīkke</i> capa	<i>ūbogenāe</i> entrando	<i>sēga</i> a (la)	<i>peka</i> vos para
<i>Nēpalibelele</i> masartule	<i>na</i> su	<i>ūbogenāe.</i> entrando	<i>ūanāekuīchiye.</i> consejando está.
<i>Ūedi</i> Este	<i>papa</i> Dios	<i>olodīūaladi</i> oro río	<i>mākkilesa.</i> ve
<i>Papa</i> Dios	<i>Olodīūala</i> oro río	<i>se pega</i> a vos para	<i>aideenāe.</i> baja

¹ *Ulukka tīttilisayla* represents God's soul. It is said that God created this bird out of his own soul. Now it is called *kika*. This birds gives warning when danger threatens.

² This bird was formed out of God's body.

³ *Kuegi*. This bird God has created out of the soul of his heart. Because of this the bird knows everything that happens. It is not eaten, only used as a medicine when they try to acquire more knowledge.

⁴ This bird is only looking at God's river (way).

Ŭegi ŭrŭēdŭlegan pesaesuli sōgena.¹
así enfermedades vos si no ha hecho

Ŭegi pe Papa Olodiŭaladi tākkenae ipisogeŭalinaye.
así vos Dios oro río no vería de este modo

Nelepalibelele na nagibe ŭanaalikuye.
masartule su difunto aconsejar puso.

Andi pega posŭnba nase palipirienae ipisogeŭali.
yo vos para casa a (la) no volveré

Ipisŭnnaŭlale paniga pīnanga tarkŭkŭepie na
por que razón mi para quieres llorar su
nagibe ŭanalikuye.
difunto aconsejando está.

Papa Olotiŭala pani tŭisaŭe na nagibe
Dios oro río vos ya has visto su difunto
ŭanali.
consejando.

Papadi mŭchiŭagan tŭ olodiŭala nŭegan mēsisa
Dios nietos antes oro río buenos ha colocado
petikesŭliŭaye.²
tu has visto.

Papa iŭaŭalagan ainækŭemai pel olotakketiŭobi.
Dios ríos subiendo con oro parecido

Iaŭalagan aitakkarmākemai.
ríos brillando están.

Iaŭalagan aipippimakemai.
ríos luciendo están.

Papa iŭaŭalagan ainækŭemai pela oloaupīligana
Dios ríos subiendo está con oro de polvos

kŭale oloaupīligana aipippimakemai oloaupīligan
parecido oro polvos luciendo están oro polvos

aitakkarmākemai pel olo kŭale.
brillando están con orò semejante.

¹ The illnesses will not attack you. This is said by the *masartule* in order to console the dead.

² You have seen that God has placed the gold river here for the benefit of his »children».

<i>Papa</i>	<i>iaüālagan</i>	<i>ainākküemai</i>	<i>pela</i>	<i>māniaupiligan</i>
Dios	ríos	subiendo	con	plata polvos
<i>küāle</i>	<i>māniaupiligana</i>	<i>aitākkarmākemai</i>		<i>māniaupiligana</i>
parecido	plata polvos	brillando están		plata polvos
<i>aipippimākemai</i>	<i>bel</i>	<i>māni</i>	<i>küāle ye.</i>	
luciendo están	con	plata	semejante.	

<i>Papa</i>	<i>iaüāla</i>	<i>yālabali</i>	<i>oloütubagan</i>	<i>pākenāe</i>	<i>nega</i>
Dios	río	al orilla	oro palabras hilo		en contacto con

ōlopinarkābanegase.¹
oro cementerio a(1)

<i>Māniütubagan</i>	<i>pakenai</i>	<i>nega</i>	<i>ōlopinarkābanegase.</i>
plata palabra hilo	cruzando		oro cementerio

<i>Papa</i>	<i>iaüālagana</i>	<i>aināküemai</i>	<i>pel</i>	<i>ōloūrua</i>
Dios	ríos	subiendo está	con	oro platanillo
<i>tānaküāle</i>	<i>ōlourūasaylagan</i>	<i>aipinenai</i>	<i>pel</i>	<i>ōloiōbi.</i>
semejante	oro platanillo	moviéndose	como	de oro
<i>Olopūrua</i>	<i>āpīni</i>	<i>uruāsaylagan</i>	<i>urmākenai</i>	<i>bel</i>
oro viento	por	medio platanillo	silbando	como

kaliliküāle.
cigarra como.

<i>Olopūrua</i>	<i>āpīni</i>	<i>uruāsaylagan</i>	<i>īmakenai</i>	<i>pel</i>
oro viento	por medio	platanillo	haciendo	como
<i>ōlolokūāle</i>		<i>Ōlouruāsaylagan</i>	<i>akiemai</i>	<i>ōlopūrua</i>
cigarra (grande) como		oro platanillo	acostando	oro viento

pāliye.
por(el)

<i>Papa</i>	<i>iaüālagan</i>	<i>ainākküemai</i>	<i>pel</i>	<i>ōlosūugana</i>
Dios	ríos	subiendo está	con	oro higuerones ²

küāle.
parecido.

<i>Papa</i>	<i>iaüālagan</i>	<i>ainākküemai</i>	<i>ōlosūusaylagan</i>	<i>pūlamaide</i>
Dios caminos	(ríos)	subiendo	oro higuerones	grupos están
<i>olosūu</i>	<i>eūnigan</i>	<i>dirbimaide</i>	<i>eūnigan</i>	
oro higuerones	sus frutas	redondos están		sus frutas
<i>kūāmumaide.</i>	<i>Olopūrua</i>	<i>negapalimaide</i>	<i>takedipali</i>	
redondos están	oro viento	soplando	cuando	

¹ On the shore of the river there is a gold thread which leads to the cemetery.

² A big tree.

sūueūinigana *pa* *kākkarmakemai*, *sūueūinigana*
 higueros frutas con cayendo están higueros frutas
pa *argūānemaī*¹
 con cayendo están.
Tūlañerkūnanēgākine *pule* *pani* *negasichikūāle*
 la tierra en mucho de mi obscuridades
tulumaide. *Nelepalibelele* *nanāgibe* *ūanāekūichiye.*
 entrando de secreto *masartule* su difunto consejando está.
Pani *negasichikūāle* *tūlumakesōge* *kūāle* *kī*
 vos (en las) obscuridades has andado así en
tetegūa *apimailegōe* *kūte* *kī* *tetegūa*
 (ella tu) cabeza golpearán (las frutas) así en (ella tu) cabeza
apitāryōe *kūte.*
 quebrarán así.
Ūedi *īpiākālele* *pētu* *pinnisa* *petakeuāliye.*
 Este no es otra cosa vos ante criado vos va ver
Ūedi *uālepūngua* *ablis suliūaye.*
 este mujer (la) sangre solo es (de)
Sigūa *ōlopūrua* *pōgikūemaidikīne* *olosūueūinigan*
 Un poco oro viento calmando en oro higueros frutas
pōgikūemaidikīne *īgūāulusūi* *nākkūenāe* *pāni* *solapali*
 detenidos un poco canoa subiendo mi de después
ōlosūueūini *pāli* *kākkarmakemai.*
 oro higueros fruta otra vez cayendo está.
Īgūāulusūi *panga* *nakkūemaiye* *papa* *īaūālala*
 canoa para mi subiendo está Dios río
yālabāli. *Bela* *kālilikūāle* *īaūāla* *īmakemaiye.* *Bela*
 en el con cigarra ruido río haciendo con
ololokūāle *īaūāla* *īmakemaiye.*
 cigarra (grande) ruido río soñando está.
Olomakku *selegemai* *bel* *olotākediyobi.*
 oro espuma (del río) llevado está con oro parecido
Bel *ololokūāle* *olomakku*
 con cigarra (grande) ruido oro espuma (del río)
īmakemaiye.
 soñando está.

¹ For different ways of moving ones eyes, as well as for how trees, fruits, animals and so forth move, the Cuna Indians have a lot of special verbs, which cannot be translated to European languages.

*Iguaülusui*¹ pega *nakkuemai* pega *naikükusapie*
Cayuco largo vos para subiendo vos para detener

suli *bega* *iguaülusui* *nakkuemaie*.
sin vos para cayuco largo subiendo está.

Papa *iaüala* *yālabāli* *ūlutūkkūala*² *totokūagan*
Dios río en el pequeños

sūnapāntu *koleküichi*.
antes de mi parado están.

Uālepūngan *nūégana* *tīkediyoibi* *pani* *nāgibe*
mujeres bonitas parecidas mi muerto

tal āpūtākeyōlaki.
viendo paradas.

Ibi *nāgibe* *āngi* *ainākkūetanidibe* *ulutūkualepūngan*
cual difunto mí en quien es que viene » -mujeres

oimaide.
diciendo

Ulutūkualepūngan *oimaide* *bel* *ibekīkagūamakātule* *kī* *ākū*
» -mujeres hablando con *māgēba* en cara

nārsōpalepi.
pintadas todas

Tūlauērkūnanēgakine *pani* *tūlaleleibēgua* *solapali* *uālepūngua*
en la tierra vos curandero después mujer

ibekūde *sōgele* *pani* *ūlutukuuālapūngan* *palikāokūaye*³.
vivido si has vos » -mujeres va a abrazar

Tūlaleleibēgua *solapali* *uālepūngua* *ibekūde* *sūtīle* *kī*
(del muerto) curandero después mujer vivido no en

pāni *ūālēgosūli* *pāni* *nūetarainākgōe* *kuie*.
a mí castigar no a mí bueno subirá así

*Ulutukkuūāla*⁴ *īpiākāla* *bētū* *pīnīsapatākeūāli* *ūēdi*
no otra cosa vos ante fué criado esta

uālepūngua *pūrba* *tārkuichikūde* *sūliūāye*.
mujer imagen está convertido así

¹ A canoe without keel resembling those which the Chocó use.

² A tree.

³ If after the medicine man's death you have lived with his wife and you try to embrace a woman she will be changed into a tree and this tree will be taken up in the air by a wind.

⁴ A tree.

Part D.

On Illnesses and their Treatment, Medicine Men, Prescriptions and Medicine Songs.

Nordenskiöld did not have time to put into any final order this large section of the Cuna manuscript, which fact is evident from the «notations concerning medicines» in the following. The largest part, the various prescriptions, he had planned to assemble in a special section with pure Cuna texts but I have in presenting the material followed the principle which I have used throughout, of placing the Cuna texts with the sections to which they belong from the standpoint of contents. They are therefore published in succession at the end of this chapter.

In two less extensive studies Nordenskiöld has himself earlier treated in a preliminary way the parts belonging to this part of the Cuna material. They are: «*Cuna Indian Conceptions of Illnesses*» (1928 c), and «*Faiseurs de miracles et voyants chez les Indiens Cuna*» (1932 c).

To Nordenskiöld's short chapter on illnesses I have included as an appendix some data of value in this connection from the report of a Survey of Health conditions in several towns of San Blas Intendencia which was compiled by the U. S. Army Medical Research Board, Apr. 29—May 4, 1936. The research brought out among other things the point that the percentage of malaria infected was significant even on the islands, a fact which does not appear from Nordenskiöld's text. ED.

I. Illnesses.

The Cunas make a distinction, as we shall see from what follows, among the numerous illnesses or, more correctly, illness demons. With which of our illnesses these should be identified it is not easy to say. In great sections of the mainland malaria is a virulent plague and it is surely in order to avoid this that the Indians to a great extent settled on

the islands off the coast. When the Indians in Ailigandi during the rebellion of 1925 moved to the mainland in order to be able to save their women and children by hiding them in the forests in case of an attack from the Panamanians, many were taken sick and in six months a hundred and forty people had died. The Indians made a similar migration from Ustúpu to the mainland but they were not able to last out more than six days.

The migration from the coast to the islands has had great significance hygienically and has in large measure contributed to the salvation of the Cuna tribe.

Defective individuals are seldom seen. P é r e z knows of only one man on the San Blas coast who is blind. He has never seen a cross-eyed person. There are several who have become one-eyed through accidents. There is one man who is a deaf-mute and one woman who through illness has become mute. In the village of Ailigandi there are three idiots and in Ustúpu one.

P é r e z knows of three epileptics, one in Cartí, one in Ustúpu and one in Tupile. It is said of this illness, which comes from the wind demons (it is treated exhaustively in one of the documents) that if a person faints and does not receive medicine he will faint again and again throughout his life.

Whether cancer exists among the Cunas P é r e z does not know. He has never, among the Cunas proper, seen any attack of illness which he considered to have been appendicitis, of which he first learned in Panama City where it is frequent among white people, half-breeds and Negroes. A Cuna Indian in Narganá who had been long in Panama was taken sick with appendicitis when he was home on a visit. He was sent to Panama where he was operated upon. If it is correct that appendicitis does not exist among the Cunas in their native country it is a point of great interest. It should be investigated more thoroughly. The Cunas who live in Panama appear to be very susceptible to tuberculosis.

Venereal diseases contracted in Colon or Panama do exist but they are said to be cured very successfully by *Néle*. The latter claims to have cured a gonorrhea case in fourteen days. Struma is unknown. Of the intestinal worms, pinworms and ascarids are found, but not tapeworms.

*Appendix: Extracts from »Report of San Blas Medical Survey».*¹

»The Intendencia of San Blas is a strip of land two to ten miles in width from seashore to coastal mountain range and extends from Pto. Obaldia at the Colombian border to the Province of Colon at the San Blas Gulf and Madinga Bay. Along its shores are many islands, all flat coral formation except Pinos Island near Sasardi, which is a small hill separated from the mainland by a narrow strait.

Many of the islands near the shore are covered with mangrove without any dry land. The tidal flow in such is probably sufficient to prevent mosquito breeding, but in many areas mangrove extends from the shore for considerable distances toward the higher ground inland and thus should afford breeding places for such species as *A. tarsimaculata*, a known malaria vector. Streams from the mountains also offer facilities for mosquito breeding, especially for these species which prefer shaded water.»

»*Hygiene and Sanitation.* — The personal hygiene and

¹ This survey of health conditions among the Cuna Indians was made April 29—May 4, 1936. The report, signed by George R. Callender, Lieut. Colonel, Medical Corps, President of the Board, has been kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Fred McKim, Executive Office, The Panama Canal, who having been asked by the Admiral of the Special Service Squadron of the U. S. Navy, Rear Admiral George J. Meyers, acted as guide and contact man with the Indians. Mr. McKim has through repeated and thorough studies an extensive experience with the Cuna population and their current conditions. I am very grateful to him for this material. E.D.

sanitary practices indicated above¹ certainly do not favor the spread of intestinal diseases, though such could, and according to the rather uncertain symptomatology given by the Nele de Cantule, have occurred. It is difficult to conceive how hookworm and schistosomum could flourish under these conditions as their life cycles would be interrupted in many ways. Insect-borne diseases are in a different category, for though there appears to be little opportunity for mosquito breeding on the islands, unless it were *Aedes* species in the water gourds, the habit of going to the mainland with its streams and marshes, before dawn and returning after dark, offers abundant opportunity for the transmission of insect-borne diseases. Considerable numbers of these Indians serve as mess boys at Army posts and while there many pick up diseases in mainland villages and the cities of Panama and Colon.

Examinations made and Specimens Collected. — Blood smears and blood slides were taken from volunteers in the villages Sasardi, Portogandi, Tigre, and Narganá. Blood smears were taken and spleens palpated by Major C. R. Glenn, on a later trip from the villages of Perme near Pito, southeast of Sasardi from Pinos Island, and from Porvenir. Cigarettes and candy presented after examination and taking specimens resulted in obtaining the necessary volunteers.

At Sasardi, Portogandi, Tigre and Narganá the spleens of boys 3 to 15 years of age were felt, while eyes and teeth were examined, and vaccination scars recorded. An accident to the plane eliminated a contemplated second day at Portogandi and prevented a more thorough survey there. The

¹ This refers to a previous passage in the report where it says: »Houses are laid out with considerable regularity and the spaces between, narrow alleys to 20—40 foot streets, are kept immaculately clean. Even the dejecta of dogs is picked up on leaves as soon it is noticed and is then thrown into the ocean. Bathing is in thatched shelters in or near houses or on the beach. They also enter the ocean to defecate and throw into it trash, garbage, and other offal. When at the farms on the mainland such materials are buried or thrown into dense jungle.» ED.

table appended shows the incidence of infection with malaria, filaria, Chagas' disease, syphilis, and yellow fever immunity as found in the examination of a relatively small number of these people. [Table not printed here. ED.].

Protection against smallpox appears to be fairly good at Narganá and Portogandi but less than half those examined at Sasardi and Tigre showed recognizable scars.

About 75 per cent of children between three and ten years of age show granular lids, especially the lower, though there was little blepharitis. This condition was not seen in infants and gradually decreased with increasing age, leaving a pale palpebral conjunctiva as though the submucous coat was thickened and vascularity decreased. No definite trachoma was seen. It is possible that the greater exposure to sea water as age progresses serves to eradicate the condition. No definite cause was evident.

The large jaws give plenty of room for the teeth. The teeth of the primary dentition are often widely separated. These show an unusually large amount of caries. The second dentitions, though often starting with many teeth in poor alignment, eventually are, for the most part, even and show little caries. Attrition changes are evident from the third decade on and are noticeable in the incisors and cuspids but scanty in the bicuspid and molars.

Periodontoclasia was noticeable by its absence though in men 50 to 60 gingivitis with swollen purple gums and little retraction was rarely seen. Older men showed considerable staining of the teeth. Smoking is universal from babyhood when they can get the weed, though little smoking was seen unless we produced the smokes.

Malaria. — Practically all the parasites found were *P. vivax*. This corresponds more closely with what is found in islands like Puerto Rico than the findings in the natives in and around the Canal Zone, where the proportion of *P. falciparum* is much higher. Malaria is known to be rather

prevalent in Darien and these people can easily receive their infection on the mainland¹.

Filariasis. — Filariasis is known to be frequent in Darien and San Blas as well as in other parts of the Isthmus. In San Blas big legs are reported, especially in the vicinity of Playon Chico, but no manifest filarial disease was seen by the Board.

Chagas' Disease. — The incidence of Chagas' Disease is about that already determined for interior villages in Panama by the survey now under way by the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory and the Army Medical Research Board. Species of triatoma are scattered rather widely so far as present information shows.

Syphilis and Venereal Diseases. — There is little evidence of venereal disease. No stigmata of syphilis in the form of scars, eye or tooth changes were seen. No blind eyes were seen that were not accounted for by accidents.

The three single-plus Wassermanns are suggestive of infection but only one full positive was found. This case, however, was a man 26 years of age or about the age when these people hire out as mess boys and are away from their homes. Due to the small numbers examined, there are no significant differences in disease incidence in the various towns.

Yellow Fever. — The yellow fever mouse protection tests were done by Dr. J. H. Bauer of the Yellow Fever Laboratory, International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation, through arrangements made by Dr. P. J. Crawford, representative of that Division in Panama.

The positive test in the child of 9 is of great interest and to lesser degree the positive results in two persons age 25 and one age 21, for no authentic reports of yellow fever originating in Panama have been made since 1907. The proximity

¹ Mr. McKim writes me that the malaria must be a very benign type, since the Indians are seldom sick enough to take to their hammocks. E.D.

to Colombia, where at least the jungle type of yellow fever is known to be present, makes it reasonable that there should be an extension of the disease to neighbouring Darien and San Blas.

Summary.

A Survey of health conditions, including certain laboratory examinations of a relatively small group of people, indicate:

- a. An infection with malarial plasmodia, almost entirely *Plasmodium vivax*, of at least 49 per cent.
- b. An incidence of Chagas' Disease of about 3 per cent.
- c. The presence of syphilis but not obvious evidence of an appreciable incidence of venereal disease.
- d. An incidence of filariasis (Ozzardi type) of 15 per cent.
- e. A positive mouse protection test for yellow fever of 32 per cent, including one child of 9 years, indicating the presence of this disease within the past few years.
- f. Inadequate smallpox protection, especially in the smaller towns.
- g. Absence of evidence of trachoma, though granular conjunctivitis is common in children from 3 to 10 years of age.»

II. Notations Concerning Medicines; Baths, Hygiene, etc.

A bird similar to the kingfisher was originally the head of one of *Ibelele's* arrows. This arrow-head was changed into a bird. Therefore the Cunas use this bird as medicine. They burn it to ashes and place a little of the ashes below the point of the harpoon or the arrows. They also eat the bird in order to become skilful. When P é r e z was small he also ate such a bird. The red variety is not used because it is dangerous, it causes vomiting. The large variety is not used either for then it would become a pest. They use only the kind with a white breast. They should eat these

birds when Venus is visible in the sky. Venus is a good hunter.

Pérez believes firmly in the value of the medicines of the Cuna Indians, even in those designed for hunting. A real investigation would probably show that many of them are of some value.

The belief in medicines however is not so strong among the Cunas who have been out in the world. Pérez has told about how one of these became converted. Charles Robinson, the chief in Narganá, was once taken very sick and one of his two wives went to an *inatulēdi* and requested him to come and help the sick man. The man showed her his healing materials, quoting Robinson who had said that »all these rotten medicines are no good» and refused to give her any help. When he saw that the woman began to weep he however made ready a little medicine which she was allowed to take home to her husband. The latter took the medicine and became well and from then on even Robinson has believed in the medicines of his people.

Ideas about fever. »*Otammi poet*» means to make cool. One uses certain medicines in the baths and explains it thus: with the medicine the coolness goes into the water. It is not the water which becomes cold but by this process the fever is made to go down. Even *pūrba* has fever, likewise *kūrgin*.

Diagnoses. Every symptom of illness is regarded as having a different cause and must be treated in a special way. Pérez has heard of a hundred and twenty symptoms for the same illness. *Nēle* takes no payment for a diagnosis, only for the materials of healing. It is a new idea that the *absogēdis* should receive payment.

One must pay in order to become a medicine man but a son does not pay his father if the latter is already a medicine man.

Sometimes the medicine man comes with a pupil to a sick person. The pupil may sing and the medicine man sits silently beside him. When the Indians are learning songs they use picture-writings, but eventually the pupil is required to recite the song without the help of the picture-writing. All of Pérez' prescriptions are translations from picture-script. When Pérez pointed out to three medicine men that their versions of the *ākūālēle* song were different, each one maintained that the others did not have the right version. Each insinuated, as is often the case with those who profess to know a great deal, that the others were less talented than he.

In order to be recognized as an *īnatulēdi*, *absogēdi* etc. one must undergo a thorough examination. Bits of bark of all different kinds of trees, seeds, etc. are mixed together by the teacher and it is up to the pupil to identify each one and to tell how it is used. If the pupil passes the examination the teacher makes public the fact that he is now a competent medicine man.

An Indian who was bitten by a snake developed some kind of decomposition in the foot so that the toes fell off. He lived like this for thirty years and went to various medicine men but none could cure him. He went even to a Chocó medicine man by the upper Rio Acandi.

An Indian who had both hands cut off above the wrists was completely healed by *Nēle* and the other medicine men. A young man who had broken his arm so that the bone stuck out could not, on the other hand, be helped by the Cuna medicine men. He was taken to Panama.

About the taking of much medicine. *Inanāsu* is a very poisonous root, and an uncle of Pérez' mother used too much of this in order to vomit, and she died. The same thing happened to an uncle of Pérez. The root is used as dog poison. It is never poison for wild animals.

A woman in Ustúpu was very brunette and in order to become more blond she bathed too much with a medicine

prepared from the fruit of the balsa tree and the wood from the same kind of tree. Before this she had had children of ordinary color but now she had white ones (albinoes).

Boiled water with plants added to it is used for painful wounds. Coconut fat is used as a laxative.

In Ustúpu there is an eye specialist. He bathes the eye with water into which certain herbs have been laid after having been ground and filtered. A cloth is used as a filter. It is in order to give sharper sight (*ibla* eye, *okannoe* give strength). Even rose water is used for the eyes. The thorns are used against rheumatism.

Necklaces are used with medicines only in cases of illness. Generally necklaces are only for decoration.

Arrow reed, *masar*, is used as a medicine for catching fish. Bits of this are placed in the water when one bathes. When an American warship ran aground on the Cuna coast the Indians took everything from it that could possibly be used as medicine. A bullet or shot which has killed an animal is medicine. It gives strength. One places the lead in water and drinks the water. A usual Cuna idea is that if one places a medicine in water the water takes the strength of the medicine even if the medicine is completely insoluble in the water.

A strange idea is that the evil spirits both cause illness and offer to the *nēles* the material for fighting against it. It is the evil spirits who are the *nēle's* teachers. We see here that the Cunas do not draw any sharp line between the good and evil spirits.

Among the medicines possessed by the Cuna Indians there is also one against indolence. Of this medicine, *īgli*, we have a sample at the Gothenburg Museum (27.27.1369). It is prepared by the Indians from the nests of industrious ants, and also from the ants themselves. Pérez knows in the village of Playon Chico an old man who, when he was newly married, was very lazy. His wife got him to bathe in »lazybones medicine», and after that he became a hard

worker. Now, in his old age he is one of the most energetic farmers of the village. *Igli* is also used as a medicine in the garden plots; we would call it a sort of fertilizer.

The steam bath (sweat bath) is called *ñae*. One looks for pieces of iron and stones which are placed in the fire in order to be heated red hot. When the iron is glowing one puts it in a vessel containing water which is placed under the sick person. One has before this constructed a *sūrba*, a smaller enclosure which keeps the steam in. This form of steam bath is used against different illnesses as for instance rheumatism, and even laziness. In addition to this it is used against fever of long duration. It is said that it is a good thing to perspire much in a steam bath. He who does not perspire much dies early.

When one is taking medicine baths one should not have sexual relations. The same thing applies in the hunting for turtles. One should even refrain from working.

Sometimes an Indian can bathe in medicine even as long as six months. He stays, in this event, in the enclosure in the hut arranged for the baths and he goes out only at night. He takes several baths a day. P é r e z had bathed a whole month when he was trying to expand his congested *kūrgin*. As a bath tub one uses a large wooden trough. Young children are put directly into the trough. Adults stand beside the trough and splash the water over themselves with a totuma. The water is fresh and for use on the islands must be brought from the mainland.

If a child does not bathe every day (before?) the sun comes up he will not grow. One should not take part in a drinking party without having first bathed. Grown people bathe in the fresh water of the rivers but the children play and swim in the salt water. The children learn to swim very early. According to P é r e z, his daughter S i p p o r was able to swim at the age of three. P é r e z has told about a shipwreck outside Porto Bello where the Indians were in the



Fig. 29. a, Medicine man's stick with b, detail of the carving. *GM.27.27.13II*, Cueptí, Coll. Nordenskiöld. Scale, a, 1/10.

water two hours and all saved themselves by swimming. The women as well as the men are excellent swimmers.

In Huala the Indians have their movements in the river¹. In the villages on the coast it is the same as on the islands.

Medicine mens' sticks. To the medicine singers' equipment there belongs sometimes a carved stick, *kappolet*. Pérez writes about such a one, *GM.27.27.13II* (fig. 29) from Cueptí: »This kind of stick is used only by the men who know certain songs which are used to find out about an abducted human soul. For this end the stick must be of the same kind of wood as those which are used in the wooden figures, *núchus*. They carry the sticks exclusively when they are invited to sing in a case of an attack of illness. They never use them when they take a walk or do other things or when they sing for their pupils, nor when they go off to the forests to hunt for medicines, that is, if the singer knows medicines.» The sticks which are used in this way are always decorated with human figures, never

with representations of animals such as one sees on the sticks of the police.

¹ Cf. Lionel Wafer, 1903, p. 138: »When they would go to Stool, they choose always to go into the River, both Men and Women; having a great Sense of Shame as to that particular: And in general, they are both a modest and a cleanly People.» ED.

Various Cuna Medicines at the Gothenburg Museum.

27.27.1377, from Cueptí. »Suar-kuá», a hard wood from a palm called *utirbi*. Used as medicine for strengthening the body. The wood is ground on a grindstone and is mixed with water which is drunk.

27.27.1374, from Cueptí. »Muskua kual-lu», the juice of a tree formed into lumps. Used as medicine for wounds and for other sicknesses.

27.27.1371, locale not given. »Achu/nono», head of jaguar. Used as medicine for several different illnesses.

27.27.1271, from Ustúpu. »Nabsa», fired clay which is used as medicine.

27.27.1389, from Cueptí. »Baila úkka», bark of a balsam-like tree. Used as medicine for headache and for other illnesses. The bark is ground and is placed in water with which the head is bathed.

27.27.1391, from Tupile. »Nía arsantuba», the evil spirits' ladder, liana. This liana is used as medicine for broken bones.

27.27.1407, from Cueptí. »Napa-machi», earth son. A white clay. It is used as medicine for, among other things, giving strength in harpooning, and even as fertilizer. They find this clay on the river shores.

27.27.1408, locale not given. »Muskua», juice of a tree. Used for wounds.

27.27.1413, locale not given. »Kõe pebe», deer horn. Used as medicine to give long life. They grind a little of it on the grindstone.

27.27.1406, from Cueptí. »Olpurru», clay which the Indians use as medicine and even as fertilizer for plants to make them grow luxuriantly and bear much fruit. Appears generally along Rio Bayano but is rare at the coast.¹

¹ This clay which is white in color, as well as a sample of »igli» which is brown, *GM.* 27.27.1370, (see page 488) has in regard to its possible fertilizing value, been analysed by the expert in agricultural chemistry, Olof Arrhenius, Ph. D., Stockholm. In a letter of December 22,

27.27.1386, from Cueptí. »Kala sáppi ukka», »bone-tree-bark», also called »ikuikinit». A bark which is used to get out fishbones which have stuck in the throat. It is ground and placed in water which is drunk.

27.27.1301, 1302, (fig. 28), from Ustúpu. Figures of turtles carved in wood. Of these Pérez writes: »Figures of turtles which the Indians use as medicine. They bathe

themselves with these figures which they make themselves. A man can own as many as a hundred small figures made of different kinds of wood which one finds along the coast, and the bathing is carried on in order to acquire skill in turtle hunting.»

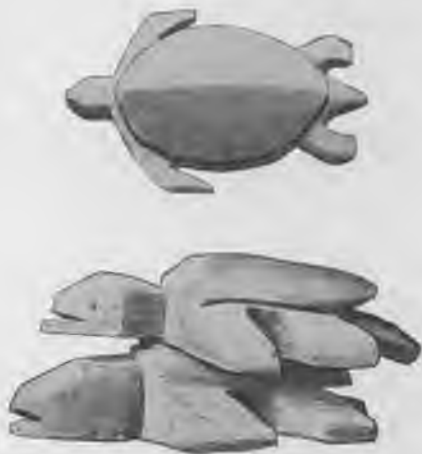


Fig. 30. Turtles carved in wood. Above, GM.27.27.1302, below 27.27.1301, both from Ustúpu. Coll. Norden-skiöld. Scale, 1/2.

[These figures of turtles for »medicinal» use should not be confused with the turtles carved in wood which are used as decoys during the turtle hunt, the latter

known as *sakkimorro*. Pérez from whom I acquired the specimen shown in fig. 31, GM.35.15.10, had several of

1931, he writes: »The *white clay* contains: 7.6% water, 76.0% silica, 16.4% alumina, a trace of calcium, a trace of iron, 0.01% $P_2 O_5$. The *brown clay*: 38.8% loss on ignition, 43.2% silica, 14.8% alumina + iron oxide (around 3% $Fe_2 O_3$), 1.5% calcium oxide, 0.7% magnesium oxide, 1.1% potash, 0.1% $P_2 O_5$. The brown clay appears to be a lump of fertilizer with some alumina (alum earth) baked in. The white clay we first thought was kiselguhr but apparently it is a somewhat fine siliceous sinter from some source, or something similar. I cannot imagine that this material has any medicinal effect (fertilizing effect) for plants. I would sooner call it magic.» ED.

these hanging on his wall. A specimen of these «tortugas de balsa» is shown by G a r a y, 1930, p. 21. The use of such decoy turtles is thoroughly described by G a s s ó in «Las Misiones Católicas», Vol. XX, p. 135: «La pesca de la tortuga tiene á los más de los indios entretenidos. Ponen una red rectangular de unos 20 metros de larga por tres ó cuatro de ancha: un ángulo á un palo de balsa muy liviano, el ángulo correspondiente en la misma línea, átanlo á una tortuga hecha también de palo de balsa que se llama tortuguilla, que representa la hembra. Ese lado de la red queda

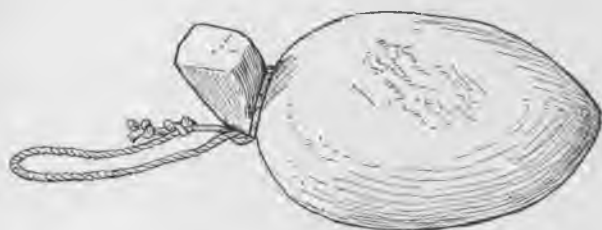


Fig. 31. Decoy turtle of wood. *GM.35.15.10*, Narganá. Coll. Wassén. Scale, 1/8.

pues á flor de agua, suspendido de la tortuguilla, por un extremo y del palo por el otro, el lado opuesto recalca dentro del mar. Viene el macho, y aun hembras, á jugar con la fingida hembra ó tortuguilla, con lo que se enreda por poco que se descuide la verdadera tortuga en las zambullidas que da con la tortuguilla. Al principio no se da por entendida, y siguiendo el juego, sigue el enredo, hasta que le es imposible el menearse». ED.]

27.27.1359—1365, from Ustúpu. Fossil teeth of giant sharks. Used for different illnesses.

III. Medicine Men.

N o r d e n s k i ö l d has written in a note: »There is no hierarchy among the medicine men of the Cuna tribe. No medicine man commands another. The *nēles* have the greatest reputation but their standing is tremendously dependent upon their personal qualifi-

cations. *Absogēdis* can also have a very great influence. There are so many *inatulēdis* that their position can not be so important.»

Regarding the different kinds of medicine men, for information on *nēles* the reader is referred to pages 80—89. The *absogēdis* have as their task expelling epidemics. Oluigegīña of Ailigandi is such an expeller of plagues and it is he who has related the following to the Cuna Indian Charles Slater. After this there follows a less extensive account by Nordenskiöld, dealing with *inatulēdis*, the third type of medicine men. ED.

I. *Absogēdi*.

The following record has been made by Charles Slater from the dictation of Oluigegīña of Ailigandi. It is catalogued as GM. 31. 27. 25, and covers three typewritten pages with the text »The Indian Custom (How to stop sickness)». The translation to Swedish which is the basis of the clarified text given here was made by Nordenskiöld in cooperation with Pérez. They had to omit small parts because they could not understand the meaning at times in Slater's somewhat incomprehensible English. ED.

Original text.

Clarified text.

(P. 1)

»Now panamian people saying about us that we are never knowing anything, only living like a dog or an animal. So well I am going to tell you now. And if we don't know anything we couldn't live in this land amongst our people and I will never know my customs. And now we are going to tell you about my ancient fathers stories and where they came from. Well, one of my doctors *Calib* came from east the river name Paya and he descended from heaven and came down to this earth and he knows *hapsoget* (mean stopper

Now the Panamanians say about us that we do not know anything and that we only live like dogs or other animals. Well I shall tell you now. And if we did not know anything we should not be able to live in this land and I should never have learned to know [our] customs. Now I shall tell about my forefathers' traditions and about where they came from.

[*Nīle Kālib*] came from the east from Rio Paya. He came down from heaven to the earth¹. He was *absogēdi*, that is, he knew how to stop fever. He

¹ *Kalib* was the son of *Ologankungilel* and he did not come down from heaven. He lived before the arrival of the Spaniards in America, around 1400. Note by Pérez.

Original text.

fever), *inatulet* (medicine man), *Nacpe-inatulet* (who know the medicine of snake), *camutulet* (the chief of the feast), and he knows every thing when he came from heaven. And when he became old and he get a son name *Equasaliplél*, so he change his words to his son, and he change a *hapseget* to his son; so when his father die and he left after his father like him. And when *Equasaliplél* became old and he also change the *absogeto* to *Hua-gun* so left the *hapseget* words after *Equasaliplél*. And then one of a man name *Nuguipalél* in the river Mosquito and he learn a *hapseget* to *Huagun* and he always go to him and he got the *hapseget*. So the *hapseget* came slowly to the seashore. But first time they was living in the river. So *Nuguipalél* knows *hapseget* as well as his teacher, and he can catch an alligator and drag to the shore.

And one man came from Portogandy name Jacob and he also learned *hapseget* from *Nuguipalél*, and he also left *hapseget* words after his teacher, so you see the words coming slowly to our people never the words coming ending. And then

Clarified text.

was also *inatulédi*, that is, he understood medicines. Furthermore he was *naibe/inatulédi* that is an expert in healing methods for snake bite. He was also *kamutulédi*, feast leader.

He knew everything when he came from heaven. *Kálíb* grew old and he had a son [*Iguasaliblel*]¹ and he taught the son to be an *absogédi*. So *Kálíb* died. *Iguasaliblel* also grew old and he had taught *Uagun* to be *absogédi* after his death. After *Uagun* a man by Rio Mosquito, *Nuguipalél* became *absogédi*. In this way the knowledge of how to be an *absogédi* gradually reached the [Atlantic] coast but first they had lived by the rivers.²

Nuguipalél knew *absogédi* as well as his teacher and he could attract an alligator on the shore.³

¹ *Iguasaliblel* was the brother, not the son, of *Kálíb*, according to Pérez.

² It is interesting that here as in other stories there is confirmation of the Cunas' migration from the Pacific to the Atlantic side of the Isthmus of Panama.

³ Refers to the fact that he had the power of attracting wild animals.

Original text.

Jacob change *hapsogēt* to his son name *Equasalipilel*, but this man was lived in Ailigandi, so he also left the *hapsogēt* words after his father, and he also knows *hapsogēt* as well as his father and he know *hapsogēt* as his father, and he can catch every things with a life. And the *Equasalipilel* change the *hapsogēt* to his son name *Oluigeguiña*. And now this same man still living in Ailigandy and he is the chief of Ailigandy. So he left the *hapsogēt* words after his father, so he knows as well as his father do. And now you see this *hapsogēt* words never came ending, still going on, but first we told you about coming on to our men.

And now I am going to tell you about how the *hapsogēt* works [are]. Well, first and when a man hewn down big trees somewhere in river or in the sea-shore or near bank of river; you know that devil or some disease live in the big trees, because the string or line of an animal is there, so when they hewn down this tree and then devil will come vex or some kind of fever and then he will cause big sickness came amongst us; and then our children started to died. And when the big tree

Clarified text.

An Indian, Jacob¹ of Puturgandi, learned how to be an *absogēdi* from *Nuguipalel*. Jacob's pupil was *Iguasalipilel* and after him his son *Oluigeguiña* became *absogēdi*. He now lives in Ailigandi and is the leading chief there. And you see how the *absogēdi* tradition has not ceased but has been carried on the whole time.²

And now I shall tell you how *absogēdi* work. When anyone chops down large trees anywhere by the rivers or by the sea shores it may happen that some illness lives in these trees and that evil spirits come out who cause us to be sick and our children to die. When a large tree falls, elephants,³ pumas, sea-lions,

¹ Jacob lived approximately between 1850 and 1879 according to Pérez.

² The translation of this part has been condensed.

³ In other words, the elephant-like demon.

Original text.

fell down the lions, elephants, sealions and alligators will coming out from this tree and then these animals will cause big sickness come among us and will give us all kind of fever. And then we will start to help our place and to stop the sickness. And we will do and make an image for a *hapsoget*. And we will build 50 images for *hapsoget*, and then we will put by rows just like soldiers. And then we put a *ina* (*inna*) or food of fever for the animal and after that *siyanal* and *huarsaet* and *pipa-saet* (smoker) eight men going to look for *siyanal* and eight men *huarsaet*, and eight men *pipasaet*.

And then for *hapsoget* the hammock to lay in. And then *hapsoget* will come to the house where they put [the images] and all the people will come to the same house. And *hapsoget* will start to sing for image to catch the animal that cause sickness. And after that another image will come from mountainis, the hard woods just like iron wood, and *hapsoget* call for that woods to hold a brain for image to come to the sickness house and don't make weak to stand before a devil or some other fever, and he will sing 6 days for image, and on seven days another great man

Clarified text.

alligators, and others animals cause sickness among us and give us all kinds of fever. Then we try to stop the illnesses. We then carve fifty figures for the *absogēdi* and stand them up in rows like soldiers. And then certain herbs are brought, and *sianala* the incense burner, and *uarsaet*, the tobacco rolls for smoking, and pipes. Eight people take care of the incense burner, eight smoke with tobacco and eight blow smoke on the others with the pipes.¹

After this the *absogēdi* comes to the house where the wooden figures [*nūchus*] are arranged. The men of the village are also assem-

¹ They blow the smoke out through the small end of the pipes into the faces of those present.

Original text.

will come to image, and these men call *caubi* another *hacque-pantuba* that's to take up a clothes string for devil; and another woods, that's pretty near to go to devil house for image. And another men will come to image *Ipinilamalti*, *Canaseet*, *Suarhapoleiseet* and so forth and carries clothes for Doctors to go to the devil house; and now I told you about the *habsoget* road how it goes well you see that *habsoget*, he can stop sickness when the sickness coming out. So you see that our ancient father words we are never forgetting at all still remembering it, only God left this words for us in this land; but now Panamanian people speaking about us, that we are never knowing anything (P. 2) in this land. And if I know not anything I couldn't tell you about this words. And when the *hapsoget* sing for the image and from east will come just like an angels to the image and these angels will help the image to stand before the devil that cause sickness. And when the *hapsoget* called for *neles* (that means called for all doctors). And when all *neles* come to the *hapsoget*, and then he will start to go to the *pony* house (that means to go to the house of devils and face the devil chief that which cause sickness). And the *hapsoget* go

Clarified text.

bled there. The *absogedi* lies in a hammock. Then he begins to sing for the [*nūchus*] so that they shall catch the demons which cause the illness. With his song he calls the *pūrbagana* (souls)¹ of the hard kinds of wood so that they will make his brain strong. And when he has sung for six days »the souls» of *kaubi* = Spanish pepper and [*akkepandub*] (= ?) come to him.

Other souls come with clothes for the *absogēdi* which he is to wear when is goes to the abode of the evil spirits.

When all these spirits have come the *absogēdi* goes off to the abodes of the evil spirits in order to meet their chiefs. The *absogēdi* goes off surrounded by eight thousand spirits. He

¹ See page 345 on *pūrba*.

Original text.

fell down the lions, elephants, sealions and alligators will coming out from this tree and then these animals will cause big sickness come among us and will give us all kind of fever. And then we will start to help our place and to stop the sickness. And we will do and make an image for a *hapsogēt*. And we will build 50 images for *hapsogēt*, and then we will put by rows just like soldiers. And then we put a *ina* (*inna*) or food of fever for the animal and after that *siyanal* and *huarsaet* and *pīpa-saet* (smoker) eight men going to look for *siyanal* and eight men *huarsaet*, and eight men *pīpasaet*.

And then for *hapsogēt* the hammock to lay in. And then *hapsogēt* will come to the house where they put [the images] and all the people will come to the same house. And *hapsogēt* will start to sing for image to catch the animal that cause sickness. And after that another image will come from mountainis, the hard woods just like iron wood, and *hapsogēt* call for that woods to hold a brain for image to come to the sickness house and don't make weak to stand before a devil or some other fever, and he will sing 6 days for image, and on seven days another great man

Clarified text.

alligators, and others animals cause sickness among us and give us all kinds of fever. Then we try to stop the illnesses. We then carve fifty figures for the *absogēdi* and stand them up in rows like soldiers. And then certain herbs are brought, and *sianala* the incense burner, and *uarsaet*, the tobacco rolls for smoking, and pipes. Eight people take care of the incense burner, eight smoke with tobacco and eight blow smoke on the others with the pipes.¹

After this the *absogēdi* comes to the house where the wooden figures [*nūchus*] are arranged. The men of the village are also assem-

¹ They blow the smoke out through the small end of the pipes into the faces of those present.

Original text.

himself by the image and about eight thousand image will go to the devil house and the *haposget* will go in the middle of image, before the *haposget* going, he will name himself *Hapisua purpalilel nele gana ogarryeguitsi*, that means he sending the image by tropps and tropps to the devil house. And then image will carry a drink for the devils. And that I call a *ina* and all the nets carriers and bearers will go to the devil house, but they carry it secretly a *chicha* to the devil house, and go to the big tree where it hewn down, and then the image will start to catch the lions in nets, and when they set a nets near by big tree to catch lions, wolfs strong devils and so forth, that which cause sickness among our people. And when they caught all the devils in nets and after they tied them in chains and ropes.

And now look I know everything as well as anybody races in this world, and if I never to knowing at all, I couldn't help my homes, so only God left this word for us, and also God gave you another words to your people too. So only Panamanian want us to make us as an animals but they can't make us to animal too, because we knows every thing as well as Panamanian people. So only Panamanian people telling your people about us that we are living just like a wild people

Clarified text.

changes his name and calls himself , this means that he sends *nūchus* in great numbers to the abodes of the evil spirits.

The *nūchus* carry with them medicine for the evil spirits. They carry with them a net and they go to the tree which is chopped down. They set out the net to catch pumas, wolves and the other evil spirits which cause sickness among us. They catch them and tie them with chains and rope.

And see I know everything as well as any other people in this world. If I did not know anything I should not be able to help my people. In this way God taught us this and God even taught us more. The Panamanians want to make us like animals but they can not make us like animals because we know everything just as well as the Panamanians. The Panamanians tell your people that we live like wild men but they do not know our ways and customs. I believe that they would like to

Original text.

lives; but they never knows our customs. I think that they want us as a poor people, but I think I knows everything as well as Panamanian people knows. So they can't make us a foolish people.

And now I am going to tell you over again. And then he will started to go under the earths for the devils what he caught from nets. And then he will sing for image like that:

*Kilu*² *ōlogānagān* *kā*
 oro asiento para

ūbogenai. *Kilu māniagān*
vamos a entrar. » plata asiento

kā *ūbōgenae* *neleūīkūā-*
para vamos a entrar »

*nelegān*³ *kā* *ūbōgenae.*
» para vamos a entrar

*Nēleānsūenelegān*⁴ *kā*
» para

āktenae *nēga* *ūlubāli;*
vamos a bajar tierra debajo de(la)

*Ibepākpīli*⁵ *sūnākōletāe*
» está

negapīlikēnāsa *ūbōgenae.*
la primera capa vamos a entrar

Clarified text.

have us a poor people but I believe that I know everything just as well as the Panamanians. So they can not make fools of us.

And now I shall tell you again. And so he goes under the earth for (?) the evil spirits he caught with the net and so he sings for the *nūchus* the following:¹

»To *Kilu* the evil spirits' chief who sits on a chair of gold shall we go in. To the evil spirits' chief who sits on a chair of silver shall we go in. To the elephants shall we go in. To the sirens shall we go down under the earth. They are in the earth's first layer. In the earth's first layer

¹ The song is an example of an *absogēdi* song. The translation to Spanish was made by Pérez. The notes are a translation of Pérez' notes in Spanish. ED.

² Chief of the evil spirits.

³ The elephant's soul («alma del elefante»). Here is meant the aforementioned elephant-like demon.

⁴ Siren.

⁵ The name of the underworld's first layer.

Original text.

Kīlu *olgan* *kā*
 » oro asiento para

ūbōgenai, *Kīlu mānilāgana*
 vamos a entrar » plata asiento

kā āktenāe negapīlikenāsa.
 para vamos a entrar primera capa

Neleūikūānelegan *kā*
 » para

ūbōgenae, *Neleānsūenelegan*
 vamos a entrar »

kā āktenae negapīlikenāse
 para vamos a bajar primera capa

āktenai. *Kīlu* *kālu*
 vamos a bajar » pueblo

sūnakolede Ibeōlonūpili,¹ *kālu*
 está » pueblo

Ibedōkiapili,²
 »

and I told you this word in Indian language.

And the *haposget* can go four *pilis* under the earth. So you see, God left us bestest words in our place. So Panama can't make me as foolish people then.

And when I go four *pilis* under the earth, and then I reached that big river under the earth. The river name *Oloupicuntiwala* and then I name the place *Olocuna-pirya sunagolesi*. And in *Olocunapirya* one of the king fishes live. It is name was *Oloinpalinele*. And in the river

Clarified text.

shall we go in. To the evil spirit who sits on a gold chair shall we go in. To the evil spirit who sits on a silver chair shall we go down in the first layer. To the evil spirits' village which is in the second layer and to the evil spirit's village which is in the third layer shall we go down ».

The *absogēdi* can go down to the fourth *pīli* [= layer] in the underworld.

And when I went down to the fourth layer in the underworld I came to a great river. Its name is [*Oloubigundinal*] and the place by the river is called *Olocunapirya*. There *Oloinpalinele*, the fish chief lives.

¹ Name of the second layer in the underworld.

² Name of the third layer in the underworld.

Original text.

another *pirya* was there. And I call this by my language...¹

Well you see that *hapsoget* is the leader of a image. He can lead a image to *pony* house and he can make image go down under the earth four [*pīlis*] and to catch lions, elephants and so forth. That cause sickness, *hapsoget* can go to the big *calus* and under the earth, but now Panamanian people speaking about us that we are never knowing anything, but *hapsoget* can make the thunder to roare and can make river floods, and can make hurricane to come to our house, and anything want to come he can make it by singing for image. So, now panamanian people never know about us that we are know about *hapsoget*, medicine and so forth. And if our people never know anything I can't help my children from sickness. So only panamanian people want molest us for that reason they telling lies against us.

And now I am going to tell you about *hapsoget* how he going to great *calus* for *ponis*. And one *calu* stand in the east name *Calu Ibacqui*. And then *hapsoget* going there for *ponis* and to lock them there, and don't make them come out again, to cause sickness. And he carry there what he catch in nets. So he

Clarified text.

You see that the *absogēdi* is the leader of the [*nūchus*]. He can carry the *nūchus* to the evil spirit's house. He can get the *nūchus* to go down to the fourth layer under the earth in order to catch pumas, elephants and others which cause illness. *Abso-gēdis* can go to the great *kālus* under the earth. And yet the Panamanians say that we do not know anything. An *abso-gēdi* can make the thunder sound. He can make the rivers overflow. He can make the hurricane come to our houses and all this he can cause by singing for the *nūchus*. The Panamanians do not know what we know of *absogēdi* medicine and other things, and if our people did not know anything we would not be able to help our children against the illnesses. It is only Panamanians who want to trouble us. For this reason they lie about us.

Now I shall tell you how the *absogēdi* go to the evil spirit's great abodes (*kālus*). A *kālu* lies in the east. It is called *Kālu Ibakki*. And the *absogēdi* goes there in order to hunt for the evil spirits and close them in there so that they cannot come out again and cause illness. He carries there what he has caught

¹ Here follow in the original three lines with Cuna words which were entirely incomprehensible to Pérez.

Original text.

carring lots of *ponis* there. So he put *ponis* in *Calu Ibacqui* and lock them there just like a prisoners. (P. 3) And now you see *hapsogei* can hold lions, elephants and alligators. And lock them in great *calus*. And now for instance you see your people can catch great lions, whales, sea-lions and tigers. When you catch them, your people carry animals to United States and lock them in iron cage can't come out again. So is the same with *hapsogei* but he can do it by spirit to catch animals. So Panamanian people boaster themselves and teaching us that we never knowing anything from my born, but if I don't know anything, I wouldn't live in this land for my children, but God left us different language from you.

And now I am going to tell you all how our people working in our coast. And when I lock all *ponis* to *Calu Ibacqui* and after that we stay quiet and peace among us. And after that all the places became cool and cold, and then the sickness is over, and we people never going to take sickness again, but first the place was hot and the *poni* is hot too. So he gave us great sickness again for their homes and vexed for their homes, so

Clarified text.

in the nets. In this way he carries there great numbers of *ponis* and so he places the evil spirits in *Kālu Ibakki* and closes them in there like captives. And now you see that an *absogedi* can catch pumas, elephants and alligators and close them up in great *kālus*. You know that the white people can catch lions, whales, sea lions and tigers and carry them to the United States and lock them up in iron cages so that they can not get out again. The *absogedi* does the same thing but it is with the help of the spirits that he catches animals. The Panamanians boast and teach us that we know nothing from our birth but if I did not know anything I should not live in this land for my children. But God gave us another language different from yours.

And now I shall tell you how our people work on our coast. And after I had shut up all the evil spirits in *Kālu Ibakki*¹ we lived in peace and quiet. After this all the places became health-

¹ In the east. Chief for all *kālus*. Also called *Ibesaila*. Cf. Wassén, 1938, p. 124 et seq. ED.

Original text.

hapsoget can cease a sickness from our children, so we stopping sickness from *hapsoget*. And now we are working by our road too. So I don't want anybody to stop me from my things what God left us in this land, but now panamanian people want lost these words from us but my ancient fathers left us *hapsoget* for me.

And my great ancient father name *Iplel* and that is a sun name from ancient time when he was human being. And we got *hapsoget* from that man. So only God left this words for *Iplel* to learn, so my words never came ending from our ancient fathers and coming on changing to our grand fathers and to us.

And now I am going to change another words for you but now I letting to know how I am working in here for my people in *hapsoget* but what only God left for us in this words, and now I am going to tell you in above, how I go there for my image: Well, first I will make a step to go up above. And then I will go up and with the image as a how »Jesus Raise» to heaven, as I raise above anything will hold me, I will raise just as I have wings. And then I will reach one *pili*. In one *pili* lives *guiplo*, *guiplo* red and *guiplo* white. And then I will go to two *pili*. In *Timoguirpuguipa*

Clarified text.

ful and cool and so the sickness is over and we never become sick any more. But first the place was hot and the evil spirits were also hot. . . .

And my great ancestor was [*Ibelele*], and this is the name of the sun when it was a human creature. It was this man who taught us *absogedi*. God taught *Ibelele* and thus my words come from my great ancestor and they have not been changed since then.

Now I shall tell you something else. Now I shall tell you how I go up with my helping *nũchu*. First I take a step to go up and then I go up with the *nũchu* just as Jesus went up to Heaven and when I go up nothing can hold me, I step up as if I had wings. Then I come to the first *pili* [one of the layers of which Heaven is imagined to be composed. There are eight of these layers]. In this the red and the white *guiblo* live. Then I continue to the second *pili*. In *Timogir - pugiba*¹ [which means »water-cloud-much»] live the evil spirits [*Kuedule*] and [*Iguali*]. Then I continue to the third

¹ *ti* (water) — *mogir* (cloud) — *pugiba* (plenty of).

Original text.

lives *ponis Cuetuli* and *poni Equali*. In two *pili* lives *Timo-guirpuguipa*. And then I will go up again to three *pili*. In three *pili* lives *Tusi* and I will call it by my words or song *Guilu Egopaguilu*. And then I will go up to four *pilis*. In four *pili* lives red *Purrrhuaecala* but *hapseget* call by his song *Guiluguilapa saguila*. And the men going up with this *purrrhua* his name is *Machi Olo-tehuiguinya*, parrot *Oleolegan* raising up this *purrrhua*, and feeling happy they raising with this *purrrhua*. And now you see, we know every thing in this land what God left for us.

And now I am telling you about my works. So I can make image to speak and sing, but now panamanian people speaking about us that we don't have any senses and head and that we lived as a dog, chickens and so forth, but they think that they know things more than us, but we know things as well as they know. But we only can't read and write, but we only give things in our heads, so we never forgetting what our ancient fathers left for us in this earth. So we living after our ancient fathers as our ancient fathers know *hapseget*.

But now hear again: we have a *Padri* for all things. Anywhere

Clarified text.

layer. There *Tusi* lives whom I call in my songs *Gilu egobagilu*.¹ Then I continue to the fourth layer. This is the red winds' way (*puruaigala*) but the *absogedi* call it *gilu-gilaba-saila*. The illness which lives on the way of these winds is *Machi olotewigiña*. It is the parrots, *oleolegan*, which set the winds in motion and which are happy when they set them in motion. Now you see we know everything in this land which God gave us.

Now I shall tell you more about my work. Thus I can get the *nūchus* to speak and sing but still the Panamanians say about us that we do not have any sense nor any talents and that we live like dogs, chickens and other animals. They believe that they know more than we do but we know about things as well as they. We can not read and write. We keep everything in our heads so we never forget what our ancestor left for us here on the earth. We thus live as did our ancient forefathers, as in the time when they knew *absogēdi*.

But now listen again. We have one father² for everything

¹ According to Pérez it is this evil spirit which causes boils.

² = an origin, *sailagan*.

Original text.

we want to go for image we can go. If I want to go far up in the blue sea I can go there for image and I can go under there too, when any time a may got headache when any time we can speak for him or sing for him to stop his headache when any time man got sick I can stop by sing for image. So we have every things in this earth what God left for us and also Jesus in this earth suffered for us and going among evil men. Sometime they will destroy him and so forth, for that reason Jesus suffered in this earth and want us be live among ourselves and going with our customs. But now only panamanian people want us to change our customs and our walks. But only God gave us a rule to walk so I don't want to lost my words, and we want be ourselves. And now that's all I can say to you this road, but this road is long to speak with it. If I tell you all but only pick big words. This road speaking all kinds of things in it. And now I am going to close this road that's my real custom».

Clarified text.

and wherever we want to go with the spirits' help we can go. If I want to go far out on the blue ocean I can do it with the help of the spirits and I can also go down in the sea. When a man gets a headache we can speak and sing for him in order to cure his headache. When a person has become sick we can cure him by singing for the helping spirits. So we have everything on this earth as God gave it to us. Jesus also suffered for us and went among bad people for us. Sometimes they wanted to kill him, for this reason Jesus suffered here on the earth. We wish to live for ourselves and we wish to preserve our old ways and customs, but now the Panamanians would like to have us change our customs and ways. But God has given us a law to follow and I will not lose my words and we want to be ourselves. —

2. *Inatuledi.*

There are among the Cunas a great number of *inatuledis*.¹ Even a *néle* or an *absogedi* can be an *inatuledi*. It is only a question of knowledge. The *inatuledis* are the tribe's actual

¹ There are also female *inatuledis*. The one shown in fig. 32 was according to Nordenskiöld (1928, a. p. 224) such a medicine woman in Ustúpu. ED.

medicine men. If one enters such an Indian's hut one finds there a well-equipped pharmacy. There are quantities of different kinds of bark and other parts of plants, bits of old pottery vessels,¹

The *inatulēdis* have gardens where they cultivate all kinds of rare medicinal plants. Several of these *inatulēdis* requested Pérez to bring back with him from Sweden seeds which they planned to sow in their cultivated plots. Remarkably enough, the Cunas try to protect their plants from extermination. Certain trees may not be chopped down but the bark may be taken off carefully. Certain herbs, are, like

the trees, the property of the village and the Indians look after the conservation of them. If an *inatulēdi* wishes to gather plants in the region of another village he must ask for special permission and the village will send along with him someone to check up on his activities.

A medicinal plant must not be gathered without ceremonies, for in that case it would have no power. The medicine man must know the incantation about the plant's origin, how God has created it. He must name the illness against



Fig. 32. Female *inatulēdi* from Ustupu.
Photograph by S. Linné 1927.

¹ The enumeration in the manuscript was not completed by Nordenskiöld. ED.

which the medicine is to be used so that the spirits of the medicine, *ibeualepungan*, will know it. The same plant may as a matter of fact be used in several different illnesses. When one takes the bark off a tree one cuts out a rhomboid-shaped piece and one takes only four pieces of each tree, one in the east, one in the west, one in the north and the last bit in the south. So that the illness will not be contracted by the medicine man, the sick person gives him some glass beads which he wears while he is trying to cure the patient¹. The same line of thinking we see in the following. When a father is treating his own child, the latter gives something of his own to his father. This the father keeps or wears while he is giving the medicinal treatment. This is so that he himself will not become sick. The same thing is observed in the case of a mother who is taking care of her child herself or in the case of a man who is trying to cure his wife.

The *inatulēdis* get many medicines from far away by buying them from other Indians. Deer antlers for instance are very important as medicines. At the coast they buy them from the Indians at Rio Bayano. A medicine man must pay as much as three dollars for these antlers as he can make money by using them. Another Indian who can not earn anything by using them may buy them for twenty cents. He will use them only as a hanger for clothes in the hut. This line of thinking perhaps seems quite strange to the reader but it is wholly logical in a community where purchases are often in the form of exchange of gifts.

If an ordinary uninformed Indian hears two *inatulēdis* talking botany he understands nothing, because they use special terms for the plants, known only in their profession. Pérez has related that when he was to make some notes on certain medicines from the dictation of an *inatulēdi* he could not grasp the meaning of any of it because the terms

¹ Cf. Wassén, 1938, p. 150. ED.

the man used for the plants were not those which are used in everyday speech. I shall give a few examples:¹

»Naibe tu ñgala opúret»
Culebra antes camino deshacer

Prescription for preventing snake bites.

(By an *inatuledi* of Ailigandi. Prescription written in longhand by Pérez in *GM.31.27.3*. Price \$ 6:—).

Itu ñna sie
Antes medicina pone

Súlenarkütt ó naibeürtüle,
Una hierba (Sp.) misma hierba, [nombre más científico]
sābdur, kábūr, kasāngūa (tībye) y el agua sera sābdur.
» » una clase de ají

Se pone en su cáscara y pinta en el pie, puede bañar.

The meaning of this prescription is that one shall paint the foot with water in which has been put a special »snake herb», and also *sābdur*, as a protection against snake bite. The foot is thus made invisible. One can even make a cut in the foot and inject the medicine there.

Súlenarkütt is also given with its »scientific» name: *naibeürtüle*. The word for *sābdur*, which plays such an important part, is in »scientific» form, *ābnukkāsappi*. The usual word for aguacate, alligator pear, is *asue*; an *inatuledi* calls it *inadérrgua*.

An *inatuledi*, if he is in good standing, has a number of pupils. *N ē l e* has, as I have mentioned, many pupils in his capacity of *inatulēdi*, but as *nēle* he may not have any.

¹ The rough draft has not been developed by N o r d e n s k i ö l d. The referred to example with comments was to have been taken however from the prescriptions which follow, for which reason I have included it. ED.

IV. Prescriptions and Medicine Songs.

1. Medicine for Curing Hemorrhage.

This description embraces three and a half pages in pencil in *GM.27.27.1444*. The original bears the title «La medicina para la cura de la hemorragia de la nariz» and is recorded by Pérez from the dictation of an *inatuledi* in Ailigandi. Later, in rewriting it, Pérez crossed out «de la nariz» and the prescription should therefore not be considered as applicable only for nose bleed.

The Spanish of the original has been retained with whatever corrections Nordenskiöld and Pérez have together made for the sake of further clearness. The notes have been written by Nordenskiöld at times in Spanish, at times in Swedish. I have put them into English here. Explanations introduced into the text are placed within brackets.

Nordenskiöld has written in a note regarding this description of a sickness: «When this is told to the pupil the medicine man sits the whole time with his back turned towards him so that the children of the pupil will not be taken sick. The medicine man did not want to teach Pérez everything as the latter was very young and the instruction treats of dangerous illnesses which might possibly attack him. The payment should be made in the form of a red object, never a white one. The object should have the color of blood. The master and the pupil are always alone». ED.

Enfermedad.

1. *Tāda* *igālabali* *salukñit* *kādi* (*tāda* *ulu*
 Sol camino por papagayo rojo para sol canoa
 yākkine).
 adentro.

Primero. Busquen las cucarachas (*iskūil*) que se encuentran en las casas. 2°. Busquen también las del monte que generalmente [se] encuentran en [el tronco] del plátano que busquen bastante. 3°. *Māgeb* (también *nīlba*) [= hilo de algodón].

Cuando ha buscado estos deben ponerse en fuego (*tībye*) [hacer ceniza] y después se mezcla con *māgeb* para hacer colorado.

Tratamiento: se pone en la perfil de la nariz todos los días haciendo también varios golpecitos en la frente con hilo de vela [que una mujer parida¹ ha dado al *inatuledi*].

*El consejo que se da para la medicina.*²

Tāda īgala/bali o tāda ūlu/yākkine sālukinitti
Sol camino por (Sp.) sol canoa adentro papagayo colorado
[ō] āsmie sayla se kōte. Te ūrūedūle Ibelel³ petūla
[Sp.] elefante al llama. Esta enfermedad Ibelele te ha
ūuanāekuichi petūla ebede ani solamūchūp ani tonaibegan
consejado te ha dejado mi después mi hombre
pāli penetake/kala, pāli penesūe/kala āni tonaibegan kāl
por ayudar para por coger para mi hombre para
ūrūedūlegan pāli ōsāyenāe pāli mūmākenāe nā pé
enfermedades por para quitar por para sanar yo vos
bee ūrūedūlegan tū īūala isobenāe⁴ ūrūedūlegan tū
quiero enfermedades antes camino mal hacer enfermedades antes
īūala egūanēnāe, ūrūedūlegan tū īūala obūrre nāe
camino va quitar enfermedades antes camino enredar va
na/pé/bee ye. Ibalēle petūla ūuanāekuichi petūla ebede
yo vos quiero Ibelele te ha aconsejado te ha dejado
mala kebe īla/guena pe/tūla ūuanāe ībisōgeūatiye⁵.
primera vez una te ha aconsejado no digo.
Pāto Diōleledi pe/tūla ūuanāekuichi pe/tūla ebedemalaye,
Ya Dios te ha aconsejado te ha dejado

¹ After a woman has given birth to a child and has convalesced she gives to the *inatuledi* who has helped her with medicines a ball of cotton thread in payment.

² This «advice» is given to the medicine before it is prepared and again before it is used by the one who is sick. This kind of «advice» to the medicines or, more correctly, to the medicines' souls, is very significant among the Cunas. When an *inatuledi* gathers plants or other medicines he gives «advice» to their souls. He gives this «advice» to each separate medicine and when they are mixed he repeats the «advice» to the whole thing.

³ *Ibelele* left behind «advice» for helping human beings against illnesses.

⁴ The medicine is to make the way bad so that the evil spirit will not come.

⁵ «It is not the first time I have advised you». The verb here is negative.

āni solamūchūppi āni tonaibegan pāl pēnetākekāla pāl
 mi después mis hombres por ayudar para por
pēnesūkāla āni tonaibegan kāl ūrūēdūlegan pāli
 coger para mis hombres para enfermedades por
ōsāyenāe pāli mūmakenāe na/pé/beēye te ūrūēdūlegan
 para quitar por para sanar yo vos quiero a enfermedades
tū iūāla isobenāe ūrūēdūlegan tū iūāla ēguanēnāe
 antes camino mal hacer enfermedades antes camino quitar va
ūrūēdūlegan tū iūāla obūrrenāe na/pé/bēē ye.
 enfermedades antes camino enredar va yo vos quiero

2. *Tada ūlu/yākkīne salukīnīt kadi.* [Vómito de
 Sol canoa adentro papagayo rojo para
 sangre]

Nōtūlu¹ nōtūl/kīnīt nōtūl kōrdikit, nōtūl sībugūat,
 rojo » amarillo » blanco

nōtūl sāgo², nōtūl ālūlūgūat (la flor de buenas tardes).
 » » colorado

Kuamakkalbi y también puede [usar las] raíces rallándolas.
 bolas en todo. [Se toma en agua].

3. *Tada ūluyākkīne salukīnīt/kadi.* [Vómito de sangre].
 Sol canoa adentro papagayo rojo para.

Nārtūl (kūku)³ nārtūl/kīnīt, nārtūl/yāigūat, nārgūsep⁴,
 » » rojo » pequeño »

nārgūsep sēnikgūat. Estas son sus flores, *kuamakale*
 » pequeño. bolas en

haciendo tomándolo.

¹ A flower.

² Two-colored.

³ A liana. *Nārtūl* is the «scientific» name of this; *kūku*, the ordinary name. If the word *nārtūl* is used with an Indian who is untaught he does not understand the meaning. This was the case with Pérez when he was learning.

⁴ A liana.

4. *Abin nīnnilamake* (sangre) [Para el interior. Vómito de
Para coagular sangre.]

Kūnnu, morkūnnu, mārgis¹, kuābēu², kuābēu
Caucho, una clase de caucho

arrūtūcārruāl/kūt, īkol³, īkolkiskōrdikit⁴, mūtu.
iguana pescuezo parece cera

Estos se corten sus cortezas para tomar rallando o bien sus
leches *kuāmakkale* también tomando.
bolas en

5. *Pāl Ōsibōet* (sangre). [Vómito de sangre. Tuberculosis.]
Para hacer blanco

Cuando el enfermo está con tos solo debe tomar *naras*
(limón) en varias botellas hasta que cure y si está sin tos
debe tomar mezclado con estas: *mōlisānbālu,*
carne de sal vaca,

sinsānbālu, ūñābālu, sīnbūnubālu⁵
chanchito carne sal, pescado sal, chanchito cola sal y sal en
saquitos. Estos [se deben] llevar en botellas.

6. *Kāūbi/nāgakīne salu sayla pūrppūrrut⁶ kādi.*
Ají cerca papagayo jefe tos para
[Tos sangrienta]. *Bīsep, bīsep/sībugūat, kōke, nōbal,*
āchueyāla. Estas son las flores o raíces *kuāmakkale*, haciendo
bolas en
tomando.

7. *Kāūbi/sayla nāgakīne sālupūrppūrrut⁷ kādi.*
Ají pie cerca » para

¹ A tree with mildly poisonous sap.

² Tree with sap.

³ Tree of which one makes bark cloth.

⁴ Like the foregoing, but with yellow sap.

⁵ All these are kinds of salt which are bought.

⁶⁻⁷ Names of illnesses. A kind of cough.

*Bātsal*¹ *bātsal mōlinākūt*,² *bātsalniskāgasāetdi*,³ *bātsalūin-sibkiūt*,⁴ *bātsalūālkinni*,⁵ *bātsaldisligua*,⁶ *bātsalpātuāgarkūt*,⁷ *bātsalcābārbat*,⁸ *ūgurgālu*,⁹ *ūgurgālūtūmmat*,¹⁰ *tūpgāle*,¹¹ *tūpgālbūrriguat*,¹² *nāraskīya*.¹³ Se buscen las raíces de dichas plantas, después ralle (*ebīne*), haciendo tomándolas.

8. *Pūllinērguakīne* (o en 5, 4, 3, 2, 1) *tunan pūrpūrrut*¹⁴/*kādi*.
Capa sexta en para

<i>Morkauk</i> ,	<i>morkāuk</i>	<i>kōrdikit</i> ,	<i>morkauk</i>	<i>kinit</i> ,	<i>morkauk</i>
Jabón	jabón	amarillo	jabón	rojo	jabón

<i>chichit</i> ,	<i>morkāuk</i>	<i>bārbāt</i> ,	<i>morkāuk</i>	<i>ūryaēnūket</i> ,
negro	jabón	rayado	jabón	para lavar bote

<i>morkāuk</i>	<i>sībuguat</i> ,	<i>morkāuk</i>	<i>selel/leget</i>	<i>selel/leget</i>	<i>sūūit</i>
jabón	blanco	jabón	duro	jabón	duro

(en barra) *kuālu/sību* (vela), *tūbebīne* (cera) *kuālu/uāuūt*.
perfume

Primero se haga caliente, se puede mezclar con un poco de limón tomándolo por la mañana y por la tarde.

Ūētkādi. [Fever diagnoses.]

- I. *Tāda olokūrgin ūēt*¹⁵ *se kōteye*.

Sol oro sombrero calor al llamo

Todo el cuerpo en estado caliente.

- II. *Tāda kūrgintōtōgūa ūēt sē kōteye*.

Sol sombrero pequeño calor al llamo

- III. *Tāda sōsayla pūrba*¹⁶ *ūēt se kōteye*.

Sol fuego jefe » calor al llamo

¹⁻⁸ Shrubs. *Bātsal* may be said to form a family of plants. They have the same odor. The varieties are distinguished by the flowers and the variation in leaf form. The palms do not form such groups. Among bananas, *tagar*, many species are distinguishable by the size of the leaves and by the flowers.

⁹⁻¹⁰ A shrub, and larger varieties of it.

¹¹⁻¹² Lianas.

¹³ Plant with long leaves. The white people are said to use it for tea.

¹⁴ A kind of cough.

¹⁵ A name of a fever.

¹⁶ *Pūrba* means the fever which comes from the sun. In the same way one can use the expression that one feels the fire's *pūrba* if one sits near a fire.

- IV. *Táda sōsayla būrru sayla pūrba ūet sē kote.*
Sol fuego jefe jefe » calor al llamo
Calentura con tos.
- V. *Táda tigarsayla pūrba ūet sē kúteye.*
Sol jefe » calor al llamo
Calentura con evaporación de cabellos.
- VI. *Táda tigar kōrdikit sayla pūrba ūet.*
Sol amarillo jefe » calor
Calentura con sudores.
- VII. *Táda ūa sayla pūrba ūet sē kōteye.*
Sol humo jefe » calor al llamo
Calentura con evaporación en todo el cuerpo, manos y pies frios.
- VIII. *Táda ūa ārrat pūrba ūet sē kōteye.*
Sol humo azul » calor al llamo
- IX. *Táda ūa chichit pūrba ūet sē kōteye.*
Sol humo negro » calor al llamo
- X. *Táda ābkīla sayla pūrba ūet sē kōteye.*
Sol jefe » calor al llamo
Calentura con partes secas y piernas frias.
- XI. *Táda ābkīla sayla tōtōgua pūrba ūet sē kōteye.*
Sol jefe pequeño » calor al llamo

Medicinas.

*Tiōpsāpi*¹ (*kīksāpi*)², *palutūlisāpi* (*tīnku*)³, *palutūlisāpikīnit* (*tīnkukīnit*), *īnadērgua* (*āshue*)⁴, *īnadērguakatukīnit* (*āshue kātukīnit*), *sūrmassāpi* (*suamālsua*)⁵, *sūrmassāpi tūmmat* (*sirual*), *ābnūkkasāpi* (*sābdur*), *ābnūkkasāpimachi* (*sābdur machi*), *sūa kīya*, mismo *sūa kīyabūrsiguat*, *tīōptūba* (*kīktuba*), *tīōptūbabūrriguat* (*kīktūba-būrriguat*), *tīkuatūb*,⁶ *tīkuauīntūb*⁷ *nūskitūba*⁸, *nuskitub ābeībet*⁹,

¹⁻² Here and in what follows there are given first the «scientific» name, and within parenthesis the ordinary name, for a great number of plants used for medicinal purposes. The «scientific» names are used exclusively by the *īnatulēdis*, and an *īnatulēdi* who does not know many of these does not enjoy any sort of reputation. In the songs other names appear.

³ Tree with thorns.

⁴ Alligator pear.

⁵ Tree with yellow fruit.

⁶⁻⁹ Ordinary names.

*kōekuktub*¹, *sūūtūba* (*bātsaltūba*), *sūūtūbuāl-lo-lōōt* (*bātsal-tubual-lo-lōōt*), *sūū tūbkīnit* (*bātsaltub kīnit*), *sūtubūalsichit* (*bātsalūalsichit*), *sūūtubualtūtūūt* (*bātsaltubualtūtūūt*).

2. Medicine for a Quick Tongue.

The original of this description of a medicine is written by Pérez in ink and is dated Ustúpu, July 18, 1925 (*GM.31.26.7*, p. 130). There appear also the drawings in color by Pérez which are reproduced here and which show the ingredients (see plate XV B). Here is given first Pérez' original Spanish followed by Nordenskiöld's comments, which are a translation of the original. ED.

»Cūabin ōlōlomāket
[lengua para hacer ligereza]

Medicinas: 1. *Inapūntukkolo* (*nīdirsākkankit* ó *ūel-ūel kūa-binkit*). 2. *Sūg-sūp kūapōgūa* ó *sīkūigōlo*. 3. *Sālal kūapōgūa* ó *sīkūikāntūle*. 4. *Kīngotūp*. 5. *Āskae* ó *ībakae*. 6. *Īgūatūrbakit* (*āskae*). 7. *Īgli* [hormiga] *sola* (*āskae*). 8. *Ūar* [hoja de tabacco]. 9. *Kabūr ēānakīnit*. 10. *Dios carta* ó *historia carta mala* [= libros de historia]. 11. *Māgēba*.

Manera de buscar: *Inapūntukkolo* [una planta] *ē sana* (sufruta); después matan dos pájaros *sūksup* y dos *sālal* convirtiendo en polvo por el calentamiento del fuego. Después busque el bejuco *kīngotūp* que no son curva y que bajan hacia la tierra verticalmente, cortan primero la parte baja, después arriba y por último la parte que está al arriba del árbol. Busque *āskae*, *īgūatūrbakit*; *īglisōla* que solo usan las bolitas que pegan mucho en las ropas. *Ūar* (tabaco) busque sus hojas blandas y también sus flores unas de color rojo y otras de color blanco. El noveno *kabūr* que son que encuentran entre medio de las ramas y por último las hojas de Biblia y Historias que están en las mitades del libro. Estas se reducen en polvos.

Manera de usar: Los números 1,2 y 3 se usan para hacer de mover ligero la lengua en toda dirección que necesiten.

¹ A liana. Ordinary name.

El número 4 se usa para que no equivoque y para que solo va en una sola dirección cuando hable. Los números 5, 6, 7, y 8 se usan para que todas las palabras se queden en la mente. El número 9 sirve para introducir bien en la mente y número 10 las cosas que necesiten para aprender sea una historia bíblica ó una historia general ó una ciencia cualquiera y 11 para colorear un poco el polvo. Usan poniendo en una vasija, sea una botella con agua y haciendo en ella las gárgaras; también poniendo como una cruz en el pecho por la noche y en la lengua.

Es prohibido de comer los animales grandes como los animales del monte y pescados y cosas picantes. Solo comerá los pequeños pescados y bebidas que no tengan sabor agrio etc. durante el uso del remedio.»

This is a medicine for giving a quick tongue and is used for instance when one wishes to learn quickly a foreign language. It was used three years ago [in 1928] by a brother of P é r e z. First are enumerated ten different kinds of medicines as well as a dye material which we see reproduced here in the picture (plate XV B). Among these can be noted pages out of the Bible or some other historical book and certain birds and plants.

First one hunts for the fruit of a plant *īnapūntukkōlo*, after which two *sūksup* and two *sālal* birds are killed. These are burned to ashes. After this one looks for pieces of a certain liana, *kingotŭp*, which does not twine round but grows straight down to the earth. One first cuts off the lowest part then cuts higher up and finally up in the tree. Next one looks for a plant *āskae*. Then one searches for soft tobacco leaves and also red and white tobacco blossoms, also Spanish pepper and, finally, leaves of the Bible and historical works torn out from the middle of the book. These pages should be burned to ashes.

1, 2 and 3 are used in order to make a person able to move his tongue in all directions as he wishes. Number 4 is used so that one shall not make a mistake and so that the

tongue shall only go in one direction when one speaks. Numbers 5, 6, 7 and 8 are used for making all words remain in the mind, number 9 in order to fix a thing firmly in the memory. When one wants to learn something out of the Bible or out of general history or in any science one should use number 10. Number 11, that is, *māgeba*, is used only to give color to the other medicine. The medicines are placed in a bowl or a bottle with water and with this mixture one is to gargle. With the medicine one paints oneself also on the breast at night. One also paints the tongue.

When one is taking a course of medicine it is forbidden to eat the meat of large land animals and fish. One must not use sharp seasonings. The only things allowed are small fish, and drinks which do not have a sour taste.

3. Medicine for Lost Potency.

The original is one page written in ink by Pérez, GM.31.27.3. ED.

»*Pūrba ebiet*¹ (Precio \$ 6.)
» fortificar

*Mārgis, künnu, mörkünü, isper, iköl, ikolkiskördikit, sūū, (poquito), kūābēu, kūābēu ārrituc cārgit*², *mōli nūnistup, nūnistupa mōttor, nābkituba*³, *māma*⁴, *tārgūa* [otoe], *ōpono, sīmu tummati, māni sūālgūt, tūgiyarsikūt*⁵, *sárkitup, kālītup*⁶, *ūāsapēpe*⁷, *kōepēpe*⁸, *nāpa kūsi*⁹.

¹ *Pūrba* should here be translated as potency. If a man or woman does not wish to have further sexual relations it is said that the person in question has lost his or her *pūrba*. The prescription given here is applicable both for men and women, and is believed to give new strength.

² Different trees.

³ Different kinds of liana.

⁴ Yuca.

⁵ Different plants.

⁶ Lianas.

⁷⁻⁸ Deer horn.

⁹ A kind of earth.

Deben buscar sus leches y la yuca deben buscar del tamaño de la verga y otoo también y una mazorca [de maíz] se hacen en polvo y lo mismo yuca y otoo entonces se mezcla con las leches y forman en bola.¹

II. *Kũba kualu*,² 8 arboles de distintas clases y se corta un pedazo [de] la corteza para q' salga la leche y se debe cortar a alto de la falda. Esto se forma en bolas, para hacerlas duras deben poner en el sol y despues se corta de cuarto pedazos. Para hacer tomar a \$ 6:—.»

4. Sore Throat.

The original of this description is four pages written in pencil by Pérez, *GM.31.27.3*. ED.

I. »*Tāda* *ũluyākkĩne* *sō* *sayla* *yā*.³
Sol cayuco adentro fuego jefe llaga.

En la garganta interior muy rojo parece picada (*āārare*) y sale por la boca la saliva. *Medicina*: *ĩgũa sōgũn*⁴,
sōpmās *sōgũn*, *baila ũala* *sōgũn*, *ailiũala sōgũn*,
 carbón bálsamo carbón mangle carbón
sour *sōgũn*, *mũgiũr* *sōgũn*.
vapor carbón carbón

Se pone en la garganta *ōlikũagũa*.⁵

II. *Naibetotōkũa* *yā* *kĩmunaibi*. Dolor de
Culebra pequeña llaga garganta dolor.
garganta con llaga.

Medicinas: *Caña*, *nāa*, *caña pũrigũāt*, *tĩbyāle*,
 caña de azucar pequeña en cenizas

y también usa para *kārmēl*⁶ que está en los bebes.

¹ One scrapes off some of this ball and drinks it in water.

² *Kũba*, a tree, *kualu*, its sap.

³ A sickness, *ya*, which is carried in the sun's ship.

⁴ Coals from *ĩgũa* wood.

⁵ One mixes the coals with water and paints the aching part of the throat with this. For this purpose cotton is wound round a little peg.

⁶ Inflammation of the lips of young children.

- III. *Pirya* *tārbogi* *tūku*¹ *kāmu* *naibitse* *kote*.
 Remolino dos » garganta dolor llamo
 Rojizo hasta la boca y olor hediondo. *Medicinas:*
*Tūkkamūkiit*² que está en las raíces de los mangles, otro
*aratkiit tailege*³ que está en el mangle. *Tibiyale* [= se
 hace ceniza].
- IV. *Ākūa* *nūsū* *kāmu* *naibit*. Dolor en la
 Piedra gusano garganta dolor.
 garganta y parece que una cosa [es pinchando] en la
 garganta. *Medicinas:* *pōksimas*⁴, *pōksimas/ārat*,
 » azul
pōksimas/kordikit, *ailiūal* *nūskūnmāit*, *ailiganbali*
 » amarillo mangle picada mangles en
nūs/kāmugān. *Kūāmākālet*.
 gusano agujeros. Hacer bolas.
- V. *Pīlinergūākī* *poni* *tiūrgāla* *payōpit*
 Capa sexta en enfermedad parecido
 (pareciendo que espinas pinchando la garganta, dolor se-
 guida). *Medicinas:* *Kalasāpi*⁵, *kālasāpi* *sibūgūāt*,
 » blanca
*nābkīal*⁶ *ārat*, *nābkīal* *sibūgūāt*. Se buscan las
 » azul » blanco.
 cortezas y se rallan y se pone en la garganta y de *nābkīal*
 se buscan sus puntitas tiernas y entonces se mezcla con él.
- VI. *Mūgāna* *sū* *pili* *ūlubali* *pōni* *ūru* *ībedi*
 capa enfermedad germen dueño
kāmu *naibit*. Parece las hormigas picando la
 garganta dolor
 garganta hasta la boca queda rojizo lo mismo en los
 nenes (*kārmēl*), dolor seguido. *Medicinas:* *Sāpi* *sitsilgalu*

¹ A fish.² A polyp. *Tūk* (the name of a fish) - *kāmu* (throat) - *kūt* (resembling).³ A blue polyp.⁴⁻⁶ Plants.



Fig. 33. *Uinsobalet*, Modern decoration of blue, red and yellow glass beads to be worn on the breast. GM.35.15.51, Tigre, San Blas. Coll. Wassén. Scale, Ca. 1/2.

(corteza), *sápuł nātsa sāpi* (corteza), *sichil/ũ*
 hormiga nido
sũit, ĭgli ũ seigli ũ (arieras de cabeza
 largo [de] *igli* nido » nido
 blanca y [su nido] situa[da] arriba [en los árboles].
Tibyale [= se hace ceniza].

- VII. *Kāmu naibit nũe opĩne.*
 Garganta dolor bien mal (vencido)
Medicinas: Ōlo, ōlosantu, ōlotāla(ōlpístōl)¹, mǎnĩa,
 oro oro en cruz
mǎnĩatāla. Se pone estos en agua y se bebe.

¹ A kind of decoration which men and women wear hanging on the breast. [It is similar to the different colored decoration of glass beads shown in fig. 33 which is to be used *hanging on the breast*. (Cf. L o t h r o p, 1937, fig. 105 and p. 133). In an *ōlpístōl* the plate, however, is of gold with beads of gold or shell hanging down from it. E.D.]

VIII. *Naibenāyāli naibe kāmū naibiti kāmū naibiti*
 culebra culebra garganta dolor garganta dolor
 (*kūālul kūālul nai*). Medicinas: *Naibe/ūrsāpi*,
 manchas blancas están.

sēdrōn, ūtūtpūnnu, mānusnāntūb, ūgunaibetūba,
ūēgotūba (etc. amarillo picante).

Se busca tallos y se ralla y hace *ōl/líkūa* [mojado] y se
 pone en la garganta.

IX. *Pīrya yā kāmū naibiti. Medicinas: Pīrya*
 remolino llaga garganta dolor.

(piedra en el mar)¹, *pīrya tōtogūāgūāt, īnaaipūtta(pūpūtta)*
 pequeña

[= esponja], *nālīmette* (parece paila en el mar).² *Tībyāle*

[= se hace ceniza].

5. Medicine for Facilitating Child-birth.

The original with the title »Los nombres de la caja» covers three
 pages in pencil written by Pérez in *GM.31.27.2*. ED.

I. Enfermedad: *īgal*³ *ōsuilōet*.

camino limpiar

Medicinas son los palos puntiagudos. Están en una canasta y
 tienen grabados el I. Del mismo para *īgal* *ōsuilōet* y
 camino limpiar

īgal *ōnāpet* (ensanchar). Se usan los tubos⁵ ó
 camino agrandecer

cosas huecas como *kūitucāmu*⁵ *putecāmu* etc. y están en una
 canasta. Del mismo el *ācha/kuālu*⁶.

abeja miel

¹ Round stone in the sea.

² Sea rose? Sea plant as large as a soup plate.

³ Vulva.

⁴ Here lianas are meant.

⁵ A hollow plant.

⁶ The honey is scraped off and placed in the bath water.

2. Enfermedad: *Mūsirnāknunmake* [dolor de cadera].
 » : *Mūsirnākualet-lemai* [dolor de cadera].
 » : *Naibe āpigani* (īgar). Dolor en la cadera y no se puede parir.

3. Enfermedad: *Oteet*. [= Hacer bajar].

Medicinas: piedras duras de todas clases que son pesadas y se ponen en una vasija con agua. Del mismo para *opine* o sea hacer volcar y se usa piedras con *ākūanūsa* [= piedra cristal] y se [pone] en [la] misma vasija con agua. Del mismo *ākūanūsa* y otras para bajar el feto y para volcar se usa *ākūalēle* y muñecas (*nūchu*). Se baña las muñecas en agua boca abajo y se pone así mismo en la vasija o se ralle hacia boca abajo. [Se baña con el agua].

También para bajar y volcar [el feto] se usan los mismos [colocándolos] en una canasta y se ata una sogá y por *nakupir* [= armazón de la casa] se hace bajar y subir ocho veces y después se coloca en la vasija [con agua. Se baña].

Y también se usan las monedas y oros para bajar y volcar [el feto] y se pone en la misma vasija [para bañar] ó en una vasija haciendo tomando.

4. Enfermedad: *Pōāchu tsichāgi pāligan*.¹ No se puede venir á la luz.
 dragón

5. Enfermedad: *Tiual/tínagua*.² El camino está seco y para camino seco

mojar se usa el No. 5 y así se queda el río hecho.

6. Enfermedad: *Tiual sībugāt nōni*. Para evitar se usa Camino blanco³ venia el No. 6.

¹ Name of an illness which hinders the delivery.

² The way = vulva. Dry vulva.

³ A white discharge.

7. Enfermedad: *Poāchu simutūbalet¹ cānikki*. Medicina: detiene
dragón

ōteet kādī se usa el No. 7. Se usan semillas
hacer bajar para
de *kuīnmēte kūāgūa*.²

6. Against Evil Dreams.

Poni tu īgal opūrrēt. (Sueño malo). Precio \$ 12.00.
(sueño) lección quitar

The original is composed of two and a half pages written in ink by P é r e z in *GM.31.27.3.*, and has been recorded by him from the dictation of an *īnatulēdi* in Ailigandi. ED.

1. Sueño viendo gato y perro, *sūūītoge* [= medio loro parecido]. *Ītu pī nīga³ pīgōe. Ītu nīga pīgōe*
antes solo » pone antes » pone (mas).
Māmgalkūt⁴, kālū 8 en medio,⁵ sākkuktūba, āsgōgatūba,
āsgōgatub ūāūa, nikkītūbal. Se baña 4 veces. Se hace 4
cruces [de esas plantas] y *sākkuk* debe buscar 8 y [los forma]
como pata de perro.

Tāda īgāla se pīkale. Ītu kūrgin omūsmūsmāke⁶.
2. (del) sol camino (al) hasta antes cerebro evaporar
Sōgla, [se corta de] 8 árboles grandes, *sōgla pūrigūat,*
» pequeño
mutu, mutu nūchukuāguat
pequeño , se bañan 4 veces.

¹ Moves on the navel.

² A tree whose fruits resemble vessels and are used for preserving salt.

³ Regarding *nīga* see page 360. One may say that a person can have so much *nīga* around him that the *pōnis* can not press in and he therefore does not dream any more.

⁴ A climbing plant.

⁵ One hunts in the centre of a group of eight trees.

⁶ Means that it hangs like smoke around the head during the medicine bath.

3. *Itu kingitūrgan*¹ *ūrbe.* *Siknūgal, yānsatūāla, ārārūāla,*
antes pone
*mōgorūāla, nāba (ikō)*², *māski, āchikalkiit* (signūgal delgada).
Se bañan 4 veces.

4. *Itu naku sayla ūrbe. Tāgar é/nākū,*
antes jefe pone platanillo su »
nāku tāgar, nāku tāgar ūāūā, keskesnākutāgar, turbasūit
(pulpa delgada), *nārbākua, yōkso* ó [Sp] *ūetalnūgalkiit, siūāl,*
ésāna, siūāl ^{sitchit} *ūrua kāsib, yāla ūrua, nū ūrua* [= ūrua de
negro
paloma], *sērgan urua, naiual sana, māsikūātu*³. Se bañan 4 veces.

5. *Itu ōrsāl sayla ūrbe. Pīrpīgal/kīit, kikki nūsakīit,*
antes flecha jefe pone
pīrpīgal/kīit-kīit, kartūk, kartūk ōsikiit ésāna, kīptūrnūgal
ó [Sp.] *ēsikiit, ēsikiit pūrrigūat.* Se baña [con ellos].

6. *Kāl kūrigin ēārmake*⁴. *Mūla ābgankiit, inatūrba*
para cerebro deshacer
*opanālet, mūla ābgankiit ūāūā, sērmu, kábūrkiya, ugāka, ākuakat*⁵,
nīrba,⁶ *nīrba ārat, nīrba kīit, uīntub*,⁷ *uaitub*,⁸ distintos *kuamāke*
hojas tiernas todas⁹.

7. *Kā/kūrigin pāl ēārmake.* *Nībar, yāla nībar,*
Para cerebro otra vez deshacer
naiual, nūs-naiual, todos *ēōskon*,¹⁰ raíces, lava la cabeza y
todos hilos con esta.

¹ Plants with thorns?

² Thorn.

³ The end of a cluster of bananas.

⁴ The brain should be softened up so that the illness may slip out.

⁵ Bulb of *huaga*.

⁶ Cotton thread.

⁷ A kind of thread.

⁸ Ball of thread.

⁹ The leaves from these plants are formed into different balls.

¹⁰ A certain part of the plants.

- 8 *Kā ɪbya/tub opurre.¹* Arriba del río pequeño
para ojo nervio deshacer
naɪual, nusnɪual, hace pequeñas cruces, *níbal, yálaníbal,*
káttep, káttep kōrdikit, kabūr, kāsāngūa, todos hacen cruces,
se lavan los ojos.

7. For Boils.

This description covers in the original four and half pages written in ink by Pérez in *GM.31.27.3*. ED.

1. *Túsi² kalalūkki bayobūt yopōgan oniemai bel yopōbi.*
reumatismo parecido bolas saliendo con bola
[*Medicinas*]: *Īla³, ūkuūāla³, īrsu³, kūāmūūal³.*

Modo de buscar: Se buscan lo que encuentran como *túsi* en el tronco cerca de las raíces. Se corta primero la parte exterior, [después] la parte interior (que es blanda). *Modo de usar*: Se cocina la parte interior con parte exterior. [Con] agua cocida se lava y la parte blanda se hace en bolas, *kūamake* [en bolas].

2. *Pīlīpākekine túsi kūārbet kāmiga oākkoe.*
Capa cuatro en » decir
[*Medicinas*]: *Níbal, yalaníbal, naɪual, nūsnaiūal⁴, tīngukia*
(ó *sāpikabi*) *tīngukia/senīkgūat⁵.*

Modo de buscar: Se buscan las raíces que quedan en Este, Oeste, Norte y Sur ó *csantīnnagūāt* [seco]. Se hace caliente y se usa poco caliente lavando el *túsi*.

3. *Tāda ígala bali túsi kīngūtule sekōte pēl/māli*
Sol camino en » arco-hombre se llama con pie

¹ So that this dream shall not return.

² Boil. The name of the illness. Even boils are thought of as being caused by evil spirits.

³ A palm.

⁴ Those named here are different plants.

⁵ A tree.