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An attempted functional analysis of Cashibo religion

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AN ATTEMPTED FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF CASHIBO RELIGION

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Tessmann (1930) gives a sketch of Cashibo religion including several texts. Steward's Handbook includes only a few statements on Cashibo religion drawn chiefly from Tessmann and Izaguirre. Girard compiled a summary of three periods of mythology using as sources his informant work, information from Tessmann and comparisons with material collected from other tribes. Cashibo religion today cannot be functionally equated with that in the cultural matrix described by Tessmann, summarized by Steward and analyzed by Girard. These men used informants or other sources but did not actually live in the tribe to see the religion functioning in cultural and social context. In the thirty-five years since Tessmann's ethnography drastic changes have taken place in Cashibo social structure. Soon after Tessmann's visit Cashibos suffered subjugation, relocation, decimating epidemics, deprivation and encroachment by whites. Cultural shock resulting from these traumatic events gives fertile field for a functional interpretation of Cashibo religion whether from the viewpoint of personal needs as per Malinowski or group needs and network of social relations as per Radcliffe-Brown. On both levels needs are great and constant readjustments in the social system are evident through this period of rapid change.

We give a brief summary of some of the pertinent beliefs and practices from more recent field work with additions and corrections of previous ethnographies and show how these beliefs and practices figure in daily life of the people in the broader view of Radcliffe-Brown, though personal needs fit in as elements of the higher-level group social system. Some basic elements of religion are dieting, diagnosing and curing illness, chants, shamans, feasts and a type of cargo cult ideas with increasing

materialism. The author's viewpoint is that many attempts at describing functions result in conjecture and use of imagination and often do not reflect a true scientific method unless used very cautiously. Thus much ethnographic material is included which the author only attempts to analyze functionally in the light of earlier ethnographies, a historical or diachronic viewpoint, linguistic clues from being a fluent speaker of the language and five years' experience with this tribe. In spite of all this background, accurate functional analysis cannot be accomplished until more definite methods of separating conjecture from fact and "etic" from "emic" data are devised.

Beliefs: Gods

Cashibos believe that the sun is the high God, añ nuu xaroc "he who burns us" also called Nucñn Papa "Our Father" and Nuguibu ~ Nucñn Hibu "Our Owner." He was the great creator of man. Tessmann is probably in error considering that this creator might be a female since all Cashibo areas today indicate that he was a man as opposed to the moon who is called Nucñn Tita "Our Mother." The sun (bari) has been equated with the Christian God by many elderly Cashibos. The moon seems to be less feared and called on for help in men's chants (noo bana) when relatives are ill or enemies feared. There are a few lesser gods of the heavens (nai) such as the god of lightning. One chant praising the god of lightning tells how he rattles the walls of his metal house and speaks (canacan bana - "lightning talk" - thunder).

These gods figure in creation myths, are occasionally mentioned in other myths and chants but very seldom in everyday life. Creation myths serve to explain the existence of all things but is a diminishing factor as elderly men who can adequately transmit the myths are few and literate young people learn to read Spanish Biblical accounts.

Secondary to the sun and moon deities Cashibos revere the Incas who were gods come to earth born supernaturally in the peanut sack of one of the Cashibo ancestors. Incas are listed

as ancestors in the kinship system along with nucēn chaiti "our great-grandfathers" and nucēn rara "our old ones." They lived among the Cashibos, invented the metal ax and set their machines whirring to make useful tools. An adopted young man named Mari Caxēnañu Cacē "Aguti with Worms" killed the Incas. When a leader (tucuricu "brave man") saw they were killed, he told the rest of the people and they did away with the assassin. Shipibos believe in the stingy Bluebird Inca who was killed, but also the Black Inca who lives on the Yavarí River, the Urubamba Inca, the Para Inca at the mouth of the Amazon, the Red Inca and the Inca Dios. Cashibo Incas remain much more generalized and remote historically than Shipibo ones. Possibly these ~~myths~~ referred to the more advanced Quechua Indians who came down into Cashibo area from the mountains through the Boquerón pass, but this seems doubtful since the Cashibos originated on the lower Ucayali River or the Amazon and not in this area. The myths probably antedate the time of the early Spaniards. Tessmann states that the term Inca means "white man." Cashibos today believe that the Incas and Cashibo ancestors were white, tall and robust. This may be an attempt to identify with the white man because of feelings of social and economic inferiority particularly since the encroachment of mestizos into their areas.

The Inca gods figure in prominent myths which were transmitted through the institution of men's rites. Now that men's rites are discontinued and elderly men to transmit the myths accurately are few, texts collected from three different age groups within the last decade (teen-agers, middle-aged literate men, old men) vary considerably in linguistic form. Those of the older men are detailed and repetitious, approximating closely details and facts of Tessmann's Spanish translations. Those of the middle-aged Spanish-speaking men retain details but omit much repetition. Those of the young men omit repetition and many details. There is a natural linguistic difference because of age difference, but lack of the word-for-word memorization through the medium of the men's rites has resulted in loss of much of this detail.

Even more than creation myths the Inca myths are the cornerstone of many building blocks in the Cashibo social structure. The Inca gods were the fountainhead of the ancestral river or roots of the ancestral tree. Tessmann documented several totemistic features which are much less clear-cut today. Only a few days in the Cashibo tribe today would be enough to prove the great emphasis on ancestors in all types of chants and in general speech. Though ancestors undoubtedly played an important part in the ^{earlier} culture of the people and in general social structure, particularly in kinship and ^{social} relationships, subjugation and civilization with its accompanying emotional trauma have placed present activities in the category of ancestor worship. Cashibos who saw dozens of their close relatives killed or sold into slavery now spend much time chanting about the Incas, ancestors and deceased relatives.

The Incas invented metal axes and machines by which they gave manufactured goods to the Cashibos. They also taught them how to domesticate tapirs. The importance of these activities in the social structure will be seen in following sections on the tapir feast and cargo cult-type ideas.

Beliefs: Spirits

Cashibos believe both humans and animals have souls. Animals used to be people and then went up to heaven. People's spirits or souls are called hushin (Lower Aguaytia, San Alejandro) ~ yunshin (Upper Aguaytia, Sungaruyacu.) The bëru hushin "eye spirit" is that image visible in men's eyes, and is that which goes to heaven when men die. The term rara itsi "other great ones" is also used in the first two areas, probably coinciding with the term caripa used in the latter two areas, speaking of an apparitional soul of a deceased relative. The apparition looks and dresses just as the person did when alive, makes sounds like sighing or talking, comes back where the person lived and bothers people who did him harm as a human. The spirits usually appear at night outside the houses or in the forest when men are hunting. Other spirits called utano "lean-to enemies" live in

the jungle. There are also spirits of rocks, trees and rivers which receive a minimal degree of emphasis in myths and daily practice. Girard discusses symbolism of and belief in the boa. My experience in the Cashibo tribe does not reveal as great a preoccupation with the boa as Girard leads to believe. The Aguaruna and Shapra tribes to the north and other lowland tribes refer to the boa much more often than Cashibos. Cashibos live in a headwaters area where water is swift-flowing and there are few and small boas as compared to the lowland swamp and lake areas where they are a constant danger. A Cashibo young ~~father~~ with a small child picked up a six-foot boa and played with it resulting in no cries of alarm coming from his elders. They fear snakes in general and feel that only their enemies send snakes to bite men through magic, therefore concern themselves about preventive magic due to the many poisonous snakes in the area. Probably in their early history when living in lowland areas they emphasized more beliefs concerning the boa as do other tribes in those areas, and the boa symbol of which Girard speaks is only a survival of earlier beliefs. The bacáinu "water spirit" or "water tiger" lives in deep areas of the river as a cross between the form of a pig, claws like a tiger and some characteristics of a boa. This spirit is a threat to the Indians when they travel in canoes, especially at night.

The terms for spirits are linked with various illnesses, e.g. baca ñunshinan hacë "river spirit's doing" (sore throat), maca pabitan ñunshincë "spirited ear" (ear ache), ruanan ñunshincë (sore tongue), chuna otano hacë "spider monkey spirit's doing" and hoë putu ñunshincë "tapir rib spirited" (sore ribs). Evil and defective people are also considered affected by evil spirits. A wife who is overly-interested in extra-marital affairs or who threatens to leave her husband for someone else is said to be ñunshincë "evil-spirited." Thus evil spirits serve to account for an explanation of illness and deviant behavior.

Tylor would be pleased to see the extent of Cashibo animistic beliefs. Total Cashibo religion seems more concerned

with placating evil spirits than in praising and worshipping the sun, moon, Incas and lesser deities. Very possibly this is a reversal of the original emphasis before culture change since subjugation of the tribe. Decimation of the tribe through tuberculosis, measles and other epidemics makes the people more conscious of the many dead relatives and ancestors whose spirits inhabit each area.

Practices: Dieting

The samacama hōocō uni "great dieting men" were on special diets for as long as a whole year. They ate only ñuma "very small fish", shapi "crabs" and roasted green bananas, all fed to them by orphan boys who also dieted. These young men of about 35 years did not see women, kept their heads and faces covered with a cloth until they became very pale, did not chant noo bana chants and did not work. They drank no ayahuasca or other special drink. They were not medicine men but simply showed evil spirits to people or disposed of these evil spirits. When the spirits appeared at night they tied them and by morning there were only rats or possums there. Rats, possums and frogs are spirits of dead people but not necessarily evil spirits. One informant said that women's spirits are rats and birds, men's spirits are possums and other animals. Dead men's spirits wail to birds with designs on them. All animals are men's spirits who gather under the xanūn papa "lupuna trees", huge trees which the Cashibos do not cut down when clearing for a garden because they fear the evil spirits surrounding them. Good men turn into good animals like birds. Bad men's spirits reincarnate into animals such as the jaguar. Activities of the "great dieting men" have been partially taken over by present shamans.

Today these full-time dieting men do not exist but dieting remains a very important part of Cashibo life. A Cashibo woman who is pregnant has a very restricted diet. She is allowed to eat the meat of certain birds and fish only. Her husband is also on diet during his wife's pregnancy and until the child is two or three years old, with fewer restrictions after the child is

born. It is considered taboo for him to touch or kill a tiger, snake or lobo during this time. He cannot eat turtle eggs or cameleon's eggs because they will cause the baby to have diarrhea. A baby might also be pale and anemic, become afraid, cry, have fever or even die if his father eats the wrong foods. Taboo meats are tapir, deer, majás, turtles, huasa monkey and martin monkey. Some young Cashibos have learned a few of the basic facts about germs, bacteria and hygiene but still retain strong belief in the efficacy of dieting or avoidance of taboo foods. Generally classified taboo foods (meats) are called ñusa which simply means "inedible," such as snakes, possums, the white alligator, etc.

Food taboos usually involve a belief that certain qualities of the animal or fish or bird ~~will~~ pass on either to the person eating that meat or to his child like a type of sympathetic magic but most likely considered simply cause-and-effect relationship in the minds of Cashibos. This same type of diet goes into effect when a close relative is ill though he may be far away, for distance makes no difference in effects. Thus a person who is ill needs to have all his close relatives (parents, siblings, grandparents, offspring) told about his illness in order that they might abstain from eating that meat which causes his illness. Any relatives who refuse to diet cause disruption of the social ~~relations~~ and may later be accused of witchcraft if the person dies.

Practices: Magical Chanting

The head of each household has the responsibility of guarding his nuclear or extended family from evil spirits and illness. The most common method is a combination of chanting and tobacco smoking. The chanting is called banoti "talking toward" when, previous to puffing on his pipe, a man chants over the bowl of the pipe, which is a carved wooden bowl with a bone stem. Each man grows his own tobacco leaves at the edge of the clearing near his house. After chanting and puffing on the pipe, he

inhales smoke, blows it over the head, chest or stomach of the sick person and rubs the affected area. Cashibo men smoked tobacco before they were civilized but women have never smoked.

The above family practice is one phase of chanting by men or women called xuñcati "to blow ritually, to witch." This is a special type of chanting and blowing which works magic for a wide range of reasons, both bad and good:

<u>anún caná xuñcacé</u>	to keep lightning from striking
<u>anún nsté bétuaxamiti</u>	to make the day clear up
<u>anún xéqui upiti cooti</u>	to make corn sprout well
<u>anún runún pitima</u>	to keep from being snake-bitten
<u>anún ŋuu hati</u>	to ensure bagging game when hunting
<u>anún hinsincé hitima</u>	to keep from becoming ill
<u>anún ŋuu hunánti</u>	to make know things
<u>anún rašmicé hati</u>	to make uncivilized people be civilized
<u>anún ŋuu hunánmamiti</u>	to keep man from finding out something
<u>anún bacéntima</u>	to keep a woman from becoming pregnant
<u>anún xanu chuminti</u>	to make a woman become thin, emaciated
<u>anún uni mananua chacáti</u>	to make man fall from height
<u>uni iín chacati xuñcati</u>	to make a tree fall on a man
<u>anún runún piti</u>	to make a snake bite a man

The full list of occasions for xuñcati would be impossible to include, but divides into preventive or negative magic and positive magic to accomplish an end. In each case Cashibos are not able to control natural elements (lightning, weather, plant growth, animal or snake behavior) and activities or states of other people (pregnancy, health, knowledge.) When individuals feel fearful concerning natural phenomena, need for control over natural processes or revengeful toward enemies they find confidence and relief in this ritual, and most often the rite is performed in behalf of a family group or a larger social unit and has the same effects as on an individual basis. All older men practice xuñcati. When one of their relatives is ill, especially if he is snake-bitten, these men take turns blowing and chanting ritually over him. Some xuñcati is actually hexing but the

practitioner does not necessarily drink ayahuasca or have visions.

Practices: Shamans and Medicine Men

A man who works vengeance, poisons or casts evil spells on men is known as nubũ uni "vengeance man" or muñanocũ uni "one who reciprocally poisons." The poison muũ, also called roo "medicine" can be felt as far away as one hundred meters. It gives the sensation of wasps stinging and causes fever (nami hitsiscũ "hot body"). He may put poison in tobacco and give it to the man on whom he works vengeance or use a packet of tobacco and poison wrapped together called rumũ coocũ. The poison is called hicãra and makes the tobacco have an abnormal smell.

A shaman may also employ a cũxpãn, a small poison arrow. It has been described as one foot long, a couple of inches long and also invisible. He throws this small poison arrow at another man. The poison on the arrow has such potency that it does not need to touch the other man but simply falls near him and he is poisoned.

The Cashibo medicine man roo hunãnocũ uni "man who knows medicine" or shaman drinks ayahuasca today, a practice learned from the Shipibos, Cocamas and mestizos. He is also called niishi xãacũ uni "one who drinks ayahuasca" in the Lower Aguaytia area. Young men are taught by the older practitioners who introduce them to the nũcũ nũtũ "other (spirit) world." In the other world, a land of colorful visions produced by the ayahuasca, Cashibos see and become owners of gold, clothing, cars, airplanes and wives, all things which they would like to own in the real world. Here their ambition colors their visions. In the other world practitioners see men's spirits, call them, put them in a small invisible box (compared to a suitcase by one informant) and lock them up. Because he is deprived of his spirit the bewitched man becomes ill, or else the shaman is then able to diagnose and control the infirmities of the spirit. The medicine man inspires fear and respect even though he may have the reputation of being a good man since at any time he may use his power for evil. A novice is always instructed in the importance of

using his "profession" only for curing those who are ill, not for working revenge on enemies. There is usually only one main medicine man for each area, and he is considered a shaman by other areas. The medicine men of Upper and Lower Aguaytia have had their clientele enlarged to include mestizos also for which they receive substantial remuneration and prestige. None of the shamans are considered abnormal mentally. The practitioner retains less purely Cashibo religious flavor as communication with other parts of the jungle improves and new ideas of the profession are exchanged between tribes and with mestizos. In the face of high incidence of tuberculosis, internal parasites, anemia and psychological disorders from fear of poisoning by enemies Cashibos look to their medicine men for personal attention, assurance and positive therapy to relieve mental stress. The medicine man functions as a leader of the community. At the village of Puerto Azul a medicine^{man} was elected "mayor" of a caserio in the first democratic-type elections held there.

Practices: Ritual Bathing

Ritual bathing is an important institution in Cashibo culture where type anxiety is concern for health. Both men and women give ritual bathings with jungle leaves, roots or flowers in water for preventive and curative reasons as well as to obtain other desired results. The women specialize in this practice which serves to give an active way of combatting the illness and allaying fears of the family involved. The bather gathers leaves from the jungle, strips the patient of clothing in his house, mixes the leaves (roots, or flowers) with water and rubs it over the patient. This ritual cleansing is tied in with ideas of sympathetic magic in the particular body area concerned. Dozens of jungle materials are used for cures or preventives. This practice serves to alleviate fears and to give active combat of illness and evils caused by evil spirits without involving payment to a shaman or taking heads of households from their work. Several women usually bathe a patient ritually. When the patient recovers, the women feel that their bathings effected the cure collectively and yet each one takes pride individually.

Practices: Chants

A most outstanding element of Cashibo culture is that of chants. Men's and women's chants play an important part in the psychological and religious life of the people. They serve as an emotional outlet whether the emotion be love, fear, anger, hatred, worship, sadness or grief. They can be classified as ritual, for certain types are obsessive, repetitive activities. The rhythmic forms are learned^{as} early as three years of age by little girls but not until after puberty by the young men. Many chants are not religious, but most contain recounting of names of ancestors often including the Incas. They are used in prayer and praise, in placation and in petition on an individual level or on a group level, usually with one or two individuals representing the group. Some chants are memorized word for word, others are composed to fit the local occasion. All use symbolic and circumlocutory expressions.

Practices: Tapir Festival

The Cashibo tapir festival seems to be a form of revivalistic nativism of the rational type. This festival was not included in Tessmann's ethnography. It is one of a number of activities practiced in the attempts at revitalization after cultural upheaval and deprivation.

On a hunting trip Cashibos often kill a full-grown female tapir having a very young offspring. They take the young animal, whether male or female, and raise it as a domestic animal. The Inca gods, after being born in a peanut sack, taught the Cashibos this important practice. Thus it has a solid foundation in mythology and was a previous practice though for some reason Tessmann did not learn of its existence. Cashibos practice domestication of many other wild animals and birds but only the wild hogs and tapir are killed with much accompanying ritual, that accompanying the tapir killing being most elaborate.

During the time the tapir is growing up it is like one of the family and is treated with much indulgence. Cashibos feed

it whenever it comes near the houses but also allow it to forage in the jungle after it is of good size. When it is grown the owner makes elaborate preparations for the day when it will be killed, usually in the month of September or October. He plants sugar cane, native potatoes, yuca, bananas and other crops. The women plant another kind of native potatoes and sweet potatoes. When the crops are almost ready the owner builds a very large house in which to hold the feast. He sends for relatives, particularly siblings who live far away in other villages, but also invites cross cousins (brothers-in-law) and maternal uncles. Women clean the ground of roots and grass and enlarge the clearing, sweeping it smooth so dancers will not stub their toes. The men make bows, arrows and feather crowns. Women make pauti adornments (see Girard for descriptions.) At the appointed time the people gather dressed in native adornments. Men who own cushmas wear them. Women dance separate from the men, usually holding hands in a circle. The owner does not dance but may go hunting while the others dance. There is a test of endurance for the men such as seeing who can carry fire the longest in his hands. Everyone feasts on great quantities of food prepared by the women. Leaders and older men eat or drink first, then all the young men and boys. The women pass around the cooked food, ripe bananas, yuca and other foods laid out on leaves.

Focal point of the feast is killing the tapir. Women wail and stroke heads mutually (mapatsananti) for the animal as if he had been a person, similar to that mentioned by Tylor for the Siberians. The men line up and each says special chants like prayers. They then kill the tapir, cut it up, cook it and everyone eats the meat except the owner and his family. This seems to be a type of fertility festival at the end of dry season and beginning of the rainy season to insure good crops for the next year or as a type of firstfruits. The sacrificial aspect of the feast is very apparent, though I do not believe it involves a re-enacting of parricide in the manner that Freud describes.

At a time when cultural unity was at a low ebb, disintegration taking place rapidly and threatening to completely wipe out the small groups, this feast was revived. It has served to bring about a certain amount of unity as all work together to prepare the area, as visitors come from other areas and all enjoy feasting together as a larger group reminding people of days when the tribe was more numerous. Colorful crowns, cushmas and bows and arrows are symbols of the colorful and vigorous culture which is theirs. They take pride in themselves and their activities bring new motivation to keep the culture alive in spite of pressures from outside to become completely mestizoized. Conflicts and oppositions are forgotten and the community is united in this effort.

Practices: Effigy Festival

When a number of persons die from illness such as tuberculosis or measles, Cashibos talk together and decide to make an effigy called a cuanxán. They tie sticks together, make a head and face, put a cushma and pauti adornments on it, then attach cuttings of women's hair with sticky bees' wax. One man carries the effigy while the rest of the people in the village march and dance in single file. They wail and stroke heads. Men bring their bows and arrows, women bring their machetes. Then the men become very angry and want to kill, but someone in the group gathers all the weapons and hides them to avoid any killings. This feast functions as a release for pent-up emotions at a time when people feel mixed remorse and anger toward their enemies who caused the deaths. Possibly the effigy becomes the center of worship, standing for the deceased relatives.

A Type of Cargo Cult Ideas

As mentioned previously, the Inca gods play an important part in Cashibo mythology. Here follows a portion of text from one informant concerning the Incas:

"After he opened (the peanut sack) the Inca men were born. They settled together and went to work causing their metal axes to ring like the sound of machines. Men had been without things (manufactured goods), just completely without. My ancestors caused the Incas to be born (created) from inside a peanut sack. Absolutely no one, neither Cashibos' relatives nor other peoples' relatives (other tribes and whites) had things."

The "things" mentioned here refer to manufactured goods of metal, cloth, paper and plastic or anything not native to the jungle. The word manë refers to these types of materials:

<u>chupa</u> "cloth" (hand-spun, woven)	<u>manë chupa</u> "plastic"
<u>nunti</u> "canoe"	<u>manë nunti</u> "airplane on pontoons"
<u>ruë</u> "stone ax"	<u>manë ruë</u> "metal ax"

Thus surrounding the myth are many hints of elements of a cargo cult: worship of ancestors, people without manufactured goods, the coming of ancestors who invented and manufactured goods. Handing down this myth from generation to generation has kept before the Cashibos the idea of getting things when they are without necessities. It also gives a type of Messianic ideas. Odicio capitalized on this when he civilized the tribe. He secured the help of the Peruvian government by asking and receiving truck loads of merchandise which he used to convince many of his tribesmen to submit to him and become civilized (raëmicë). Those who were not convinced died. All who acceded were re-located on the Lower Aguaytía River to learn civilized ways, where they were given clothing, machetes, axes and other small trinkets. At first this satisfied many Cashibos that their hopes of seeing the return of the Inca with many "things" was perhaps taking place. Later many became disillusioned by the lack of freedom, seeing fellow tribesmen sold into slavery to the mestizos, individuals separated from their relatives and homelands. Bitterness came to those who had seen dozens of un-submitting relatives shot down. As Odicio grew older and more mellow, and as the hold of the white man became looser now that the Cashibos conformed outwardly to civilized ways, they

wandered back to their original lands. Many older men of 50-60 years in each area retain this bitterness today. These men have not been able to reach a period of revitalization but continue in a state of disillusionment and cultural distortion, continually looking back to the "good old days" of the cultural steady state when the tribe was strong, numerous and vigorous.

Cashibos recognize that Odicio's activities included many elements of their Inca stories. Leaders in each area have since re-enacted the Odicio activities in order to re-capture the beginnings of material prosperity under Odicio in the hopes that the movement will continue. They have secured grants of goods from the government in Lima which aided in temporarily constructing a new image of Cashibo society when deaths from tuberculosis, personal disillusionment, rise in witchcraft and personal animosities seemed to be completely blocking revitalization. Thus far Cashibo leaders have simply exploited this manner of gaining power and prestige with the people, vying to see who can attract the greatest following.

Members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics entered the Cashibo tribe in 1946, the first of a series of thirty-one tribes to be entered in the Peruvian jungle by 1965. Since it was the first tribe entered in Peru, Cashibos received much publicity, ^{many} gifts to tribespeople. Much activity centered on them. Once again there is evidence that the miricang "Americans" fulfilled Cashibo cargo-cult-type hopes. The Americans fit into their Inca story pattern. They were strong, large, vigorous people who gave medicines, machetes, clothing, axes and other merchandise. For about six years two S.I.L. workers analyzed the language, wrote simple primers in Cashibo, organized literacy classes, trained teachers for the Cashibo-Spanish bilingual schools and began Bible translation. There was a good response to the Christian gospel message which seemed to help coordinate revitalization and provided a new image for Cashibo society placing pride in Cashibo heritage but helping tribe members partake of the material goods of mestizo or civilized culture.

Circumstances took the two S.I.L. workers away from the tribe for about five years except for an occasional short visit about once a year leaving the tribe practically abandoned. During this time tuberculosis and epidemics of illnesses again took their tolls. Outside material help and spiritual counseling was cut off. Cultural transformation had only gained a beginning foothold but had not become routinized. The strong effects of intolerable stress and disillusionment felt from conquest by Odicio and resultant social disorganization began to recur as once again they felt "without things." Witchcraft was on the rise, quarrels arose, former villages were abandoned as each family group lived in a separate clearing, usually in small temporary-type houses. Christian converts lost interest during this time. The tapir feasts seem to have been revived at this period. The older generation wanted a revival of old culture; young people wanted a greater integration into mestizo way of life. Cashibos feel keenly the material and social difference between their culture and the culture of the mestizos. They have mixed feelings of inferiority and superiority. Deeply they are proud of their original colorful culture and social order but also want to share the material progress of the whites.

Whether these are cargo-cult ideas or simply materialism as opposed to animism or Christianity is not completely clear.

Ethics

Taylor's statement that "the moral element is little represented in the religion of the lower races" is not true among Cashibos. They have a strong sense of moral ethics in spite of cultural disintegration. They condemn dishonesty and expect punctuality and fulfillment of obligations. There is a tying together of moral codes and mythology. As in the case of the Australians, "the most important part of the moral code is that which concerns the conduct of the individual in relation to members of his lineage." Cashibo chants and häsšti bana "counseling words" contain much material on how to treat members of one's immediate nuclear or extended family and also one's in-laws

under different normal circumstances and circumstances of stress. A grandmother holding her baby grandson will chant concerning how he will not mis-treat his in-laws, a situation which is considered ideal. Cashibo beliefs concerning ideal treatment of both lineal relatives and in-laws are at present much out of tune with practices. Culture change has produced so many effects of individual stress that there is a wide gap between what their religion recommends and what they actually do. Women who have suffered marriage to men old enough to be their grandfathers sometimes now prefer to break religious tradition and follow the common-sense method by encouraging daughters to leave their elder husbands and elope with young men. In spite of the gap between belief and practice, the belief prevails and persists.

Summary and Conclusion

At the time of their subjugation or forced culture change Cashibo religion was in many ways forced underground. Most of the rituals of the crises of life were abolished or changed. Chants were suppressed. Standardized individual and group response in religious belief and ritual became disorganized. After return to their original areas individuals were able to practice bruñcati (private magical chants) and other chants even though many group patterns and responses were changed. Rites of birth, puberty and marriage were reduced to extreme simplicity. Rites of death retain much of previous ritual though in the context of burial instead of cremation.

Cashibo religion suffers from broken patterns which the people struggle to re-pattern in a new setting including mestizo elements of culture. Lack of institutionalized manner of preserving myths places this responsibility on individual family heads. These are often at a loss for a hearing since their religious belief and practice represents a way of life not in accord with the actual state of affairs of life under mestizo influence. Images of cosmic order projected on the plane of human experience continue to affect kinship relations but even in this area powerful clashes between Cashibo and

mestizo social organization distort or invalidate the original images. When the materialistic desires of young men and women become strong enough, they lose motivation to continue levelling practices and ^{do not} fit into existing Cashibo kinship and social order. Older people still cling to myths and religious beliefs of their original culture and social structure to foster feeling of personal identity and social cohesion. Some have withdrawn to hunting, fishing and garden work and try to ignore social conditions. Some few have found feelings of personal worth, spiritual peace and material prosperity in Christianity. The majority lack revitalization and suffer fears of witchcraft, reprisal, illness and death for the religion they knew in a vigorous society has not made a positive adjustment to meet the many personal and group needs compounded by multiple blows to Cashibo culture and social structure.

FOOTNOTES

¹The Cashibos are a small tribe numbering about 1,000 people of the Pano language family group in the Central Peru jungle area. The author did field work with the Cashibos during the periods September, 1958 to December, 1960 and July, 1962 to January, 1965 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Phonemic alphabet of Cashibo is as follows, including phonetic quality where pertinent: a, b (ɓ), c, ch, e, ɛ (ɛ), h (?), i, m, n, ñ (ɲ), o (ɔ), p, qu, r, s, sh, t, ts, u (u), x (χ).

²I do not seek to add to or criticize Girard's analysis in the area of mythology but concentrate more on general beliefs and ritual.

³The myths and stories told to me have been tape-recorded, written down and analyzed from the now-phonemicized Cashibo language. The number of same myths told and similarity of details in Tessmann's record compared to mine is striking though I did not see Tessmann's record until after recording and analyzing my texts. This similarity of myths from the elderly men holds true in spite of the great alteration in cultural patterns since the tribe was forcefully civilized under Odicio, illustrating the principle that behavioral patterns alter first, or that ritual alters before myth.

⁴Text from informant Poloponti of the Shambuyacu (Lower Aguaytia) area, a man about 50 years old.

⁵Tylor, Sir Edward Burnett. Religion in Primitive Culture. New York, Evanston, and London: Harper & Row, 1958, p. 52.

⁶Ibid. p. 11.

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