



Upper Perené Arawak Narratives of

History, Landscape, & Ritual ELENA MIHAS



**Upper Perené Arawak Narratives  
of History, Landscape, and Ritual**



# Upper Perené Arawak Narratives of History, Landscape, and Ritual

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**ELENA MIHAS**

With Gregorio Santos Pérez  
and Delia Rosas Rodríguez

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*For my husband, Peter Andrew Mihas*



Ayenkitsarini opoña ovairopaye aipatsiteka, aisaitzi  
amitapintajeetari: Iyenkitsari irashi asheninkaite saikatsiri  
katonko parenini.

—**Gregorio Santos Pérez and Delia Rosas Rodríguez**





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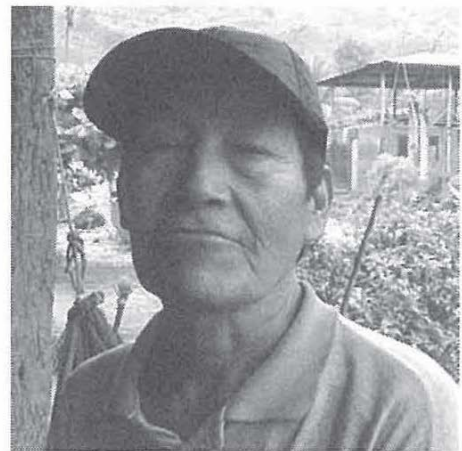
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1. *(top left)* Gregorio Santos Pérez with his wife, Dora
2. *(top right)* Daniel Bernales Quillatupa
3. *(middle left)* Ines Pérez de Santos and Moises Santos Rojas
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5. *(bottom left)* Ruth Quillatupa Lopez
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7. *(top left)* Bertha Rodríguez de Caleb
8. *(top right)* Victorina Rosas de Castro with her child
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14. (top right) Fredi Miguel Ucayali

15. (middle left) Victoria Manchi de Martin, Raul Martin Bernata, and Luis Mauricio Rosa

16. (middle right) Alberto Pérez Espinoza

17. (bottom) Manuel Rubén Jacinto with his wife





18. *(top left)* Cristobal Jumanga Lopez
19. *(top right)* Abraham Jumanga Lopez
20. *(middle left)* Otoniel Ramos Rodríguez
21. *(middle right)* Frida Thomas Huamán
22. *(bottom)* Luzmila Machari Quinchori





23. *(top left)* María Virginia Lopez

24. *(right)* Livia Julio de Quinchori

25. *(middle left)* Carmen Pachiri Quinchori

26. *(bottom left)* Almacia Benavidez Fernandez

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## INTRODUCTION

### *Objective, Method, Data, and Structure*

This book is a result of sixteen months of linguistic fieldwork among Peruvian Upper Perené Arawaks from Chanchamayo Province, Peru, spanning a period of five years. My first, short visit to Chanchamayo Province occurred in 2008, followed by a series of long-term fieldwork periods in subsequent years. The research project began with a utilitarian purpose of fulfilling the requirement for a doctoral degree in linguistics but eventually morphed into an ethnographic-documentary study that attempts to provide a broad perspective on the Ashéninka Perené world as described by the indigenous speakers. The text selections in this anthology constitute a self-portrayal of the natives' ways of thinking and living, both in the past and present.

This study also takes into account existing ethnographies of indigenous Amazonian people, including academic publications about Ashéninka/Asháninka subsistence patterns; social, religious, and cultural life; and ecological adaptation (e.g., Anderson 2000; Bodley 1970, 1972, 1973; Chevalier 1982; Elick 1969; Gow 1991; Hvalkof 1989; Lenaerts 2006b, 2006c; Narby 1989; Rojas Zolezzi 1994, 2002; Santos-Granero 1998, 2002a, 2002b, 2004a, 2004b; Santos-Granero and Barclay 1998; Sarmiento Barletti 2011; Varese 2002; Veber 2003, 2009; Weiss 1973, 1974, 1975). These accounts offer critical insights and anchoring reference points, necessary for providing the sociocultural context for the Upper Perené narratives and placing the collected texts within pan-Amazonian symbolic discourses. It should be noted that the speakers of Ashéninka and Asháninka varieties are often

thought of as a culturally homogenous group, which must have made acceptable the academic convention of writing the two names with the slash, *Ashéninka/Asháninka*.

This ethnographic-documentary work is decidedly text focused, comprising fifty-eight native texts with accompanying translations and detailed commentary. As such, its research framework is closely aligned with the discourse-centered approach to language and culture (Sherzer and Urban 1986; Sherzer 1987) in that it treats Upper Perené language in use as reflective (and constitutive) of the native society's events and practices (see Basso 1985, 1987, 1995; Graham 1995; Oakdale 2007; Sherzer 1990, 2004; Urban 1991; Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012). The anthology's ethnographic texts, which "constitute a society's verbal life" (Sherzer 1987: 306) emerging within a range of documented speech behaviors, are used as leads for an exploration of the broadly defined themes of Upper Perené native history, landscape, and ritual symbolism.

The documentary project's main objective of making public minimally cleaned-up data has been attained inasmuch as the material in this collection has been gathered, transcribed, and translated by several Upper Perené Indian authors themselves. In addition, the content of the volume was discussed by the contributors, their family members, their neighbors, and the cadre of tribal governance multiple times, to ensure general approval of the project's ultimate product. This book is a collective effort by many Upper Perené Arawaks; the contributors' names prominently appear at the beginning of each text and their pictures appear in the acknowledgments section. The published material comes as close to "the real history" and "direct publication by Indians themselves" (Lévi-Strauss 1978: 37) as could be done in the current community context.

With regard to the research methods, I relied on close obser-

vation, interviews, and documentation, which included audio and video recording, transcription and translation of collected materials, and archiving data with local research organizations and international digital archives. The purpose of my fieldwork among Upper Perené Arawaks was to study their language and culture. Over the course of the project, I filled five thick notebooks with copious notes on what I observed or overheard and what people told me. I also asked my primary language consultants to help me build a multigenre corpus of audio and video recordings of Ashéninka Perené speakers from various native communities. The fifty-plus-hour corpus includes recordings of over fifty speakers from twelve villages, typically made in their homes. About a third of the collected texts have been transcribed in Ashéninka Perené and translated into Spanish.

These recordings were commonly made in group settings, as loosely structured interviews in which speakers were asked to share their perspective on a suggested issue, such as landownership, horticultural techniques, herbal healing, sorcery, or shamanism, to name a few, in the presence of their family members or neighbors. The audience would sometimes ask questions to clarify certain points or give their input on the matter discussed. It was not uncommon for the interlocutors to stray from the main subject and engage in an issue of more pressing concern to them. Such interviews were recorded with many speakers on a regular basis, during a number of fieldwork seasons, which gradually alleviated the speakers' initial tension and discomfort in the presence of the recording equipment and linguist outsider.

Language difficulties were a concern at the initial stage of fieldwork, since my knowledge of Ashéninka Perené was basic and I needed a great deal of direction and language interpretation from my primary language consultants in my work with other speakers. As my language skills got better, I assumed more

responsibilities within the language-consultant team and documentary project as a whole and began working with speakers without mediation, using both Spanish and Ashéninka Perené. The rule we adhered to during our recording sessions, followed religiously, was expressed by the phrase *Piñaavaite añaaniki!* (Speak our language!). Eventually my comprehension level became advanced enough for me to be included in speakers' conversations, although my speaking ability still lagged behind and I relied on Spanish to drive home my point. The speakers I worked with were comfortable conversing with each other in my presence and were fond of quizzing me on the language. At some point they began to introduce me to others with the phrase *Oyotziro añaani* (She knows our language). I was often addressed by males as *chooki* (sister) and by females as *entyo* (sister), two kinship terms that refer to the ego's siblings.

The anthology's texts, which amount to about four hours of recording time, were transcribed in Ashéninka Perené and translated into Spanish by three primary consultants, Gregorio Santos Pérez of Villa Perené, Delia Rosas Rodríguez of Bajo Marankiari, and Daniel Bernales Quillatupa of Bajo Marankiari, who were "felt to be better models of . . . speech than others" (Bloomfield 1927:439). The accuracy of transcriptions and translations was checked by other consultants at least once, and in many cases, twice. The English translations are my own, based on my study of Ashéninka Perené and Spanish interpretations by my language consultants. Verification of the accuracy of English translations, if needed, can be easily performed, since most of the original recordings are annotated and archived in three digital archives: Archive of Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA), University of Texas at Austin; Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR), SOAS, University of London; and the Language and Culture Research Centre archive, James Cook University,

Queensland, Australia. The archives provide unrestricted access to the deposited collections.

Selection of texts for this anthology presented a challenge, considering the sheer number of recorded performances, which exceeds two hundred. Two factors were influential in the decision as to which texts were to make the cut: the speakers' recommendation, and the availability of comparable published materials in Ashéninka Perené with translations in English. When making the decision about what should be included I consulted those speakers who significantly contributed to the documentary project, some of them being in a leadership position in the community. Most of them are truly concerned about the erosion of traditional ways of living and are alarmed by the disregard of linguistic and cultural heritage that is characteristic of the younger generations. The need to maintain the old customs and traditions, seen as a way of staying true to the native identity, is emphasized in many collected texts, sending an important message to the narrators' younger kinfolk.

This book would not be possible without a first of its kind, bilingual Ashéninka Perené–Spanish publication that came to fruition at the speakers' initiative and with grant support from the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme. This storybook, titled *Añaani katokosatzi parenini* (The language of Alto Perené; Mihas 2011), consists of eighty-three Ashéninka Perené texts, with translations in Spanish. The book was intended to serve the needs of bilingual teachers, parents, and schoolchildren. After the precedent was set, the speakers suggested that a future Ashéninka Perené–English text collection should honor the native community's wish to make public texts that offer native perspectives on local history and cultural traditions. A few texts from the Mihas 2011 publication also appear in this book. The scope of issues broached and the method applied in both



books is very similar: narrators consistently make multiple references to spiritual forces and rituals and landscapes associated with them. They place special emphasis on explaining the meaning of the events and situations described and pointing to their causes.

This book is an opportunity to make public individual indigenous accounts of local history, some of which have been passed down from grandfathers to their grandchildren as part of the family tradition (Vansina 1985:17–18). The surviving grandchildren are now in their seventies. Their stories, once recorded and written down, have become “permanent . . . testimony” (Vansina 1985:63), reaching as far back as the mid-nineteenth century. In view of the dearth of published multithemed Ashéninka Perené accounts accompanied by translations into English, it was an especially compelling task to include illustrations of spiritual, mortuary, and cannibalistic aspects of past indigenous cultural practices, a gap that this comprehensive anthology aims to fill. This anthology considers essential the documentary requirement and includes texts that may perhaps cast native culture in an unfavorable light, such as narratives about killing and eating children or executing women alleged to be witches.

The book consists of three thematic parts: history, landscape, and ritual. Each part includes performances recorded from various speakers and centers on the original texts, accompanied by English translations and detailed notes and prefaced by a general introduction that draws on both my fieldwork notes and scholarly ethnographic accounts by other students of Amazonian peoples. The first part, “History,” explores themes of resistance, armed violence, indigenous displacement, slavery raids, endo-warfare, implantation of Adventist religion, and persecution of witches. The second part, “Landscape,” deals with the places and spaces central to Ashéninka history, namely Tzivia-

rini (the Salt River), Ashiropanko (the Iron House), and Manitzipanko (the Jaguar House; La Boca del Tigre in Spanish). The final part, “Ritual,” is concerned with performances involving ritual specialists (shamans and herbalists) and mundane rituals practiced by ordinary folks.

In terms of genre, this ethnographic collection makes distinctions among narrative, song, chant (a repetitive song performed by more than one person), and oratory. These four are distinguished in the Ashéninka Perené language: narrative is *kinkitsarentsi*, song is *pantsantsi*, chant is *vishiriantsi*, and oratory is *kamenantsi* (literally “advice,” “instruction”). Ashéninka Perené speakers do not differentiate between mythological and historical tales, both types being lumped into the category of *kinkitsarentsi* (narrative; *cuento* in Spanish). Only a few recorded Ashéninka Perené myths are included here because of space limitations and because there is an ample body of work detailing pan-Kampan mythological themes (Anderson 2000; Weiss 1974, 1975; Santos-Granero 1998; Rojas Zolezzi 1994; Torre López 1966; Kindberg et al. 1979; Varese 2002). Most selected texts are reminiscences of past events or accounts handed from grandfathers to grandchildren as part of a personal family tradition. Some texts are eyewitness accounts.

The ritual songs presented here used to be sung while dancing and playing panpipe music. Oratory is represented by a collection of “lectures” or traditional advice given to an intimate audience of boys and by incantations or prayers directed to spiritual forces, written down from memory by the language consultants.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND CURRENT SOCIOECONOMIC SITUATION

Ashéninka Perené, also known as Upper Perené or Alto Perené in scholarly literature, is a highly endangered Amazonian Arawak language, spoken by approximately one thousand speakers in Chanchamayo Province in central-eastern Peru. The extant ethnic population exceeds fifty-five hundred people (Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2013).

The speakers refer to themselves as *katonkosatzi* (upriver people) or *parenisatzi* (river people). Another autodenomination is *ashaninka* or *asheninka* (our fellow man). In Spanish orthography, the middle vowel in the language name is marked by the diacritic acute symbol. Most literate Ashéninka Perené speakers dislike the use of the diacritic in writing, especially in the term “Ashaninka,” and so this collection does not use the diacritic.

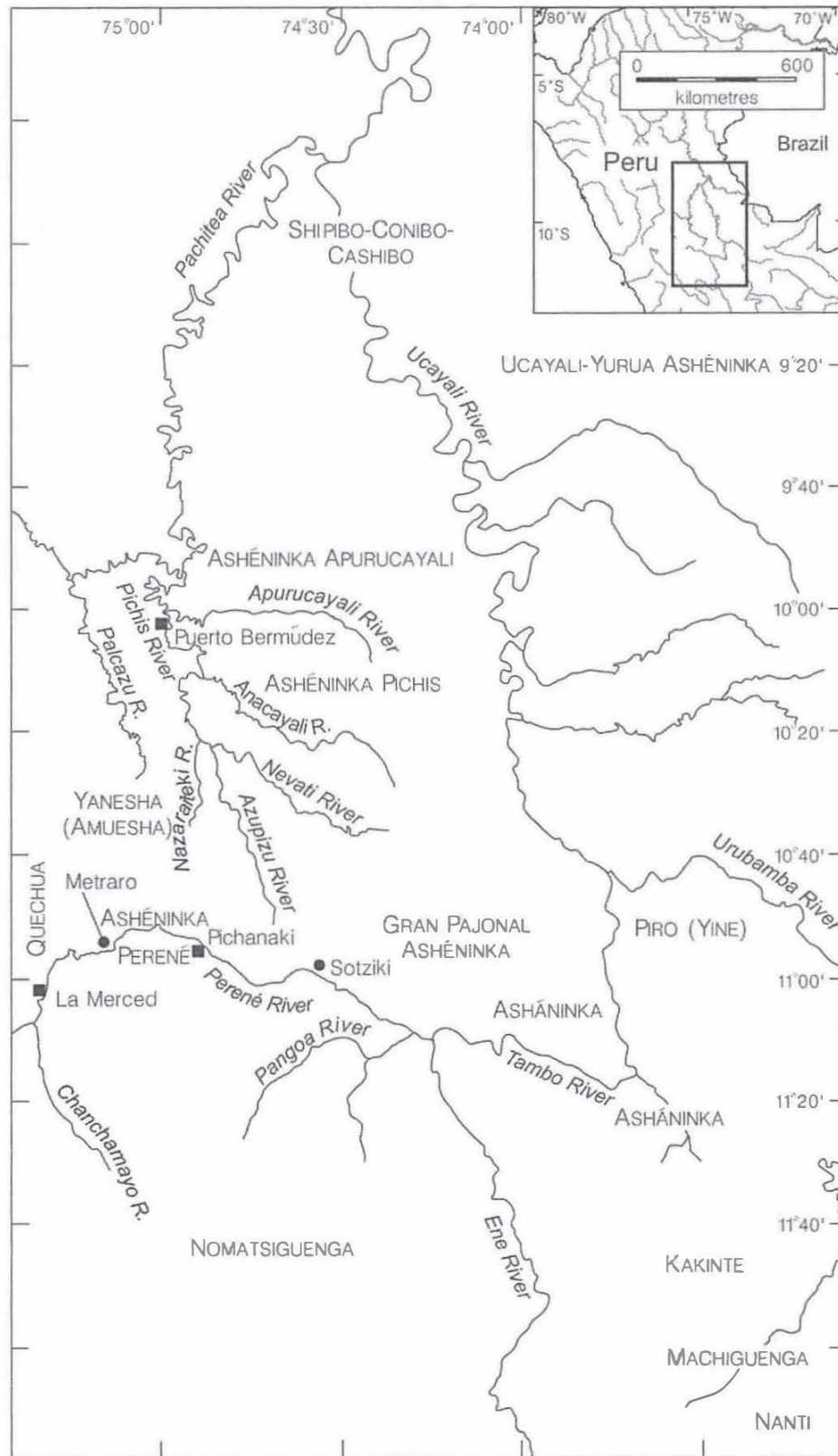
When speakers use Spanish to describe themselves, they say “Ashaninka del Alto Perené” (Ashaninka from the Upper Perené River). In this book, the terms “Ashaninka” (note the absence of the diacritic), “Ashéninka Perené,” and “Upper Perené Arawaks” are used interchangeably.

The term “Ashéninka (or Ashéninca) Perené” is commonly employed in scholarly literature (e.g., Aikhenvald 1999:68, 2012:35, 351; Anderson 2000: 42–45). This designation has been introduced by linguists from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (see the SIL online language database, [www.ethnologue.com](http://www.ethnologue.com)). Another common term is “Ashéninka del Alto Perené,” preferred by Peruvian linguists (e.g., García Salazar 1997; Heise et al. 2000; Romani Miranda 2004).

The language is considered to be closely related to other members of the Northern branch of the Kampan (aka Campa) subgrouping of Arawak, composed of varieties of Ashéninka

(Pichis, Ucayali, Apurucayali, Pajonal), Ashaninka (Tambo-Ene), and Kakinte (also spelled Caquinte; Michael 2008: 218). Map 1 shows the location of Ashéninka Perené neighbors. The Upper Perené River is flanked by the settlements of Yanesha in the northwest, Ashéninka Pichis in the north, Ashéninka Gran Pajonal in the northeast, and Asháninka Tambo-Ene in the east and south. Map 1 also illustrates other areas inhabited by speakers of Kampan languages: Ashéninka Apurucayali, Kakinte, Machiguenga, Nanti, Nomatsiguenga, and Ucayali-Yurúa. A cluster of Panoan-speaking populations is found in the map's north section, and the Arawak-speaking Piro (Yine) are in the west section. The area of Quechua-speaking Andean highlanders is located to the east of the Perené valley.

There are thirty-six Ashéninka Perené settlements, all located in the Upper Perené valley, at the foot of the central eastern Andes and on the western fringe of the Amazonian jungle. Approximately half of the villages are hidden in the hills on both sides of the Perené River, while the rest are located on the Perené valley floor. The hillside villages are connected by narrow gravel roads or footpaths that can accommodate a motorbike or a passenger vehicle. The villages on the valley floor typically lie close to the central highway that runs from Lima to Satipo. The most populous settlements along the highway are Pampa Michi, Santa Ana (which has become a mestizo town), Bajo Marankiari, and Pucharini. During the last twenty years, Pichanaki has been transformed from a small Ashéninka Perené settlement on the Pichanani River into a major mestizo-populated urban center and bustling commercial hub for organic green coffee producers of the Perené valley. Map 2 illustrates the location of Upper Perené settlements. The names of the communities are spelled in agreement with the conventions used in the *Atlas de comunidades nativas de la Selva Central* (Benavides 2006).

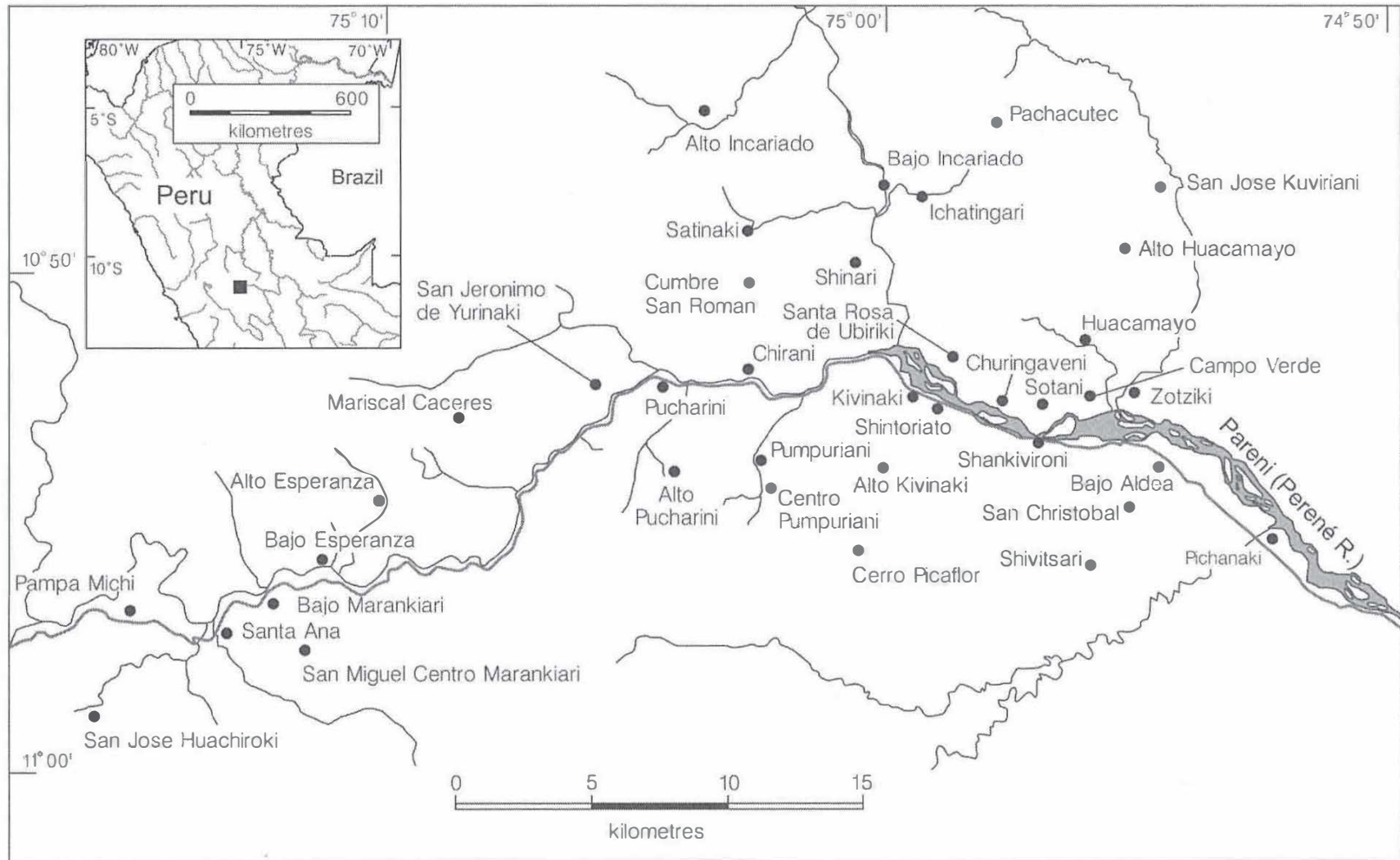


1. Area inhabited by speakers of Kampan languages and other neighboring groups. By Adella Edwards.

The Perené River, formed at the confluence of the Chanchamayo and Paucartambo Rivers, flows in a southeasterly direction at elevations ranging from four hundred to six hundred meters above sea level. The Perené empties into the Tambo River where it joins the Ene River. The junction is located ten kilometers downstream of the village of Puerto Ocopa. For some of its length, which is 165km, the Perené cuts through narrow, towering canyons, but for the most part the meandering river flows through flat, open land. At some locations the river has moderate-sized floodplains shaped by annual floods that occur during the rainy season, which lasts from November to April. The Upper Perené River is notorious for its turbulent currents and whirlpools in its main channel.

The valley hillside, which is referred to as *ceja* (eyebrow) (Lathrap 1970:34), once had extensive areas of tropical premontane forests occurring roughly from five hundred to fifteen hundred meters above sea level, much of which has long been deforested and is now used in slope-farming systems.

Arawak-speaking hunter-gatherers have been present in the area for a long time, possibly for millennia (Aikhenvald 2013; Hornborg and Hill 2011:13; Lathrap 1970:177). Their subsistence economy combined hunting, fishing, gathering, and horticulture (Rojas Zolezzi 1994:85). In the past, hunting with a bow and arrow was a major male occupation. The common hunting method was to build a hunter's shack (*ivankoshita*) out of palm fronds, then wait for the game to approach and shoot it at close range. The valued game animals included *samani* (paca; *Coelogenus paca*), *kintori* (tapir; *Tapirus americanus*), *kitairiki* (collared peccary; *Tayassu tajacu*), and *shintori* (white-lipped peccary; *Tayassu pecari*). The most prized game birds were turkey-like *tsamiri* (razor-billed curassow; *Mitu mitu*) and *sankatzi* (Spix's guan; *Penelope jacquacu*), as well as the smaller



2. Upper Perené Ashaninka settlements. By Adella Edwards.

birds *kentsori* (gray tinamou quail; *Tinamus tao kleei*) and *konsaro* (dove species; *Leptotila verreaxi* or *rufaxila*).<sup>1</sup> In modern times, game animals and birds have become so scarce that they have ceased to be a major source of protein for the local population, and game is no longer hunted.

Unlike hunting, fishing has remained a major subsistence pursuit, regularly practiced by both men and women. The so-called hydrocentricity of Upper Perené Arawaks' socioeconomic ecologies is associated with their "deeply entrenched and indissoluble connection to riverine . . . environments" (Hornborg and Hill 2011:10), which is evident in the consistent exploitation of water features. There are two manual techniques used to catch fish. The manual type of fishing is possible only in the dry season, when the water is clear. In shallow water, catching fish by hand is done by turning over stones and quickly grabbing a small fish species, *jetari* (*carachama*; *Aphanotorulus unicolor*). Another technique simulates the way bears catch fish, as a person crouches in the water with his or her body fully submerged, with eyes wide open, in search of the fish species *chenkori* (*huasaco*; *Hoplias malabaricus*).

In addition, fish are caught in the river with the help of special paraphernalia. Male fishermen can use arrows to pierce fish in the water, for example, *shima* (*boquichico*; *Prochilodus nigricans*), which requires special skill. Men, women, and children commonly catch small fish with a hook, for example, *kovana* (*lisa*; *Leporinus trifasciatus*) and *shiva* (anchoveta; *Knodus breviceps*). This type of fishing is possible during the whole year and is done in the water pools with slow-moving or stagnant water called *osampana* or *osanteña*.

In the water pools, people also fish with a hand fishnet, *kitsari*. Small water streams called *nijaateni* are suitable for fishing with fish traps called *shimperi* (a fence fabricated from



a woven plant mat attached to wood planks), or *tsiyanarentsi* (a conical trap with a wide funnel-like opening), which is done in combination with the application of vegetable poison *vako-shi* (*huaca*; *Clibadium remotiflorum*) or *koñapi* (*barbasco*; *Lonchocarpus nicou*). Catching fish with the *shimperi* requires creating a small dam of stones, constructed in the area where the stream pool empties into the stream, so that an artificial “waterfall” is created. The *shimperi* or *tsiyanarentsi*, positioned below the dam, prevent fish from swimming into the stream’s current. The small brooks and streams are also places to look for *pomporo* (land snail; *Strophocheilis popelairianus*), *totziroki* (*churo*, aquatic snail; unidentified), and *kito* (*camaron*, a crustaceous species; *Macrobrachium amazonicum*).

Horticulture used to be of the swidden, slash- and-burn type, with one plot of land, called *ovaantsi* (*chacra*) being planted and another, called *ovaantsiposhi* (*purma*), left fallow. Males would do the arduous and time-consuming tasks of clearing the land and planting polycultural cultigens, while women would weed and harvest the crops. Due to the rapid deterioration of soil quality caused by the extensive method of its exploitation, the *ovaantsi* had to be abandoned within a few years of its use for long-term fallowing, and the family would look for another plot to clear.

Nowadays, all land suitable for cultivation in the Upper Perené valley is taken, and the native population has switched to “permanent, fixed-field agriculture” (Whitten 1985:31). To maintain soil fertility, fertilizers and crop rotation are used. The indigenous crops best suited for soils in the humid tropical climate are *shinki* (maize; *Zea mays*), *machaki* (beans, various genera), *koritzi-koritya* (sweet potato; *Ipomoea batatas*), *inki* (groundnuts/peanuts; *Arachis hypogaea*), and a variety of tubers, such as *mavona* (yam; *Dioscorea trifida*), *shoñaki* (sweet cornroot

or dale dale; *Calathea allouia*), *impari* or *pitoka* (taro; *Xanthosoma sagittifolium*), *poi* (yam-bean; *Pachyrhizus erosus*), and the staple crop *kaniri* (sweet manioc; *Manihot esculenta*), “one of the most productive and least demanding crops ever developed by man” (Lathrap 1970: 44). Sweet manioc is also known as yuca or cassava. A variety of other plants were originally grown for household needs, but now they are planted essentially for commercial purposes: *pariantzi-parentzi* (plantains; *Musa species*), *mapocha* (papaya; *Carica papaya*), *tzivana* (pineapple; *Ananas comosus*), and *potsotzi* (annatto; *Bixa orellana*). Some families plant commercial crops of *kajai* (coffee; genus *Coffea*) and *kimito* (cacao; *Theobroma cacao*). Upper Perené farmers either directly sell the harvested crops at local or regional markets or contract with wholesalers from Lima.

In the old times, gathering was a regular activity, popular with both sexes. The documented corpus provides evidence that *shitovi* (mushrooms), all sorts of *chochoki* (wild fruit), and *incha-shi* (medicinal plants) were routinely collected during daytime walks into the forest. The following wild fruits were harvested, depending on the time of the year: *shevantyoki* (*uvilla*; *Pouroma cecropiifolia*), *intsipikiritoki* (*naranjillo*, or little orange; *Solanum quitoense*), *maasheroki* (granadilla; *Passiflora ligularis*), *tsirintsiki* (*uvas del monte*, or mountain grapes; unidentified), *shaaki* (*ungurahua*; *Oenocarpus bataua*), and *meronki* (*chimiagua*; *Perebea chimicua*). Nowadays, gathering pursuits are largely forgotten. Even older-generation individuals struggle to identify the wild fruits they collected in their youth. Adult speakers in their forties and older still maintain a robust knowledge of medicinal plants (see Lenaerts 2006c; Luziatelli et al. 2010), but forest walks for the purpose of herb gathering are mostly practiced by herbal specialists and healers.

The Upper Perené kinship system is characterized as ego-

focused and nonunilineal (cognatic), that is, it includes a person's kin, beginning with his or her father and mother, without emphasis on patrilineal or matrilineal descent. Genealogies are shallow, consisting of three to four generations. It is not uncommon for Upper Perené Arawaks to lack knowledge of their great-grandparents, and even their grandparents (see Bodley 1970:65).

Upper Perené Arawaks are endogamous in that they tend to marry within the Kampan group and beyond, but within the geographical boundaries of the Perené valley. My observations show that the pool of potential mates comprises Yanesha, Ashaninka Tambo-Ene, Ashéninka Pichis, Machiguenga, Nomatsiguenga, Shipibo, and Andean Quechua-speaking highlanders. Marriages with mestizos are common as well, but newlyweds are often asked to leave the community, out of fear that a mestizo spouse could make land claims damaging to the community or, in the case of a mestizo husband, sell his property rights to outsiders. An example of a native community governed by this rule is Pumpuriani, whose chief, Frida Thomas Huamán, vigorously defends the villagers' land rights.

Two group terms capture the main distinctions made with regard to fellow speakers: *no-shani-nka* [1SG.POSS-be.same-NMZ] (my kindred/family), applied to an "overlapping network of kinsmen" (Bodley 1970:66) of sometimes twenty-five or more people, and *a-shani-nka* [1PL.POSS-be.same-NMZ] (our fellows), which includes all Kampan populations.

Polygyny once was common among headmen, but nowadays it is very rare. Overall, excessive pursuit of women and multiple sexual hookups are frowned upon, being described as *ochaa* (lack of sexual restraint; in Spanish, *fornicación*). Adoptions were routine, especially in the old times of high adult mortality. For adopted kin, the verbs *tsika* (adopt) or *pira* (domesticate) are

used, for example, *otsikatana* o-tsika-t-an-a [3NMASC.S-adopt-EP-DIR-REAL] (she adopted [her]).

Marriage preferences used to be based on two major subdivisions in kinship relationships: “nuclear-like” kin and “classificatory” kin, the latter forming a pool of potential mates. According to Rojas Zolezzi (1994:88), the Upper Perené kinship system is of the Dravidian type. It distinguishes between “cross-cousins” and “parallel cousins,” based on the perception that siblings of the same sex are be much closer than siblings of the opposite sex. For example, female ego’s father’s brother, *pavachori* (nonvocative form *niritsori*), and mother’s sister, *nanaini* (nonvocative form *nonirotsori*), are regarded as potential parents; their children are both “parallel cousins” and potential siblings. In contrast, father’s sister’s children and mother’s brother’s children are “cross-cousins,” seen as potential mates. Mother’s brother, *koko* (*nokonkiri*), is referred to as potential father-in-law, while father’s sister, *aiyini* (*nayiro*) is referred to as potential mother-in-law (Bodley 1970:56; Chevalier 1982:259–65; Rojas Zolezzi 1994:88–91). Among the present-day Upper Perené Arawaks, this system is completely disregarded. In fact, some scholars question whether the cross-cousin marriage was ever a “preferential” marital arrangement among Ashéninka/Ashaninka populations. For example, cross-cousin marriages constituted less than 1 percent of the eight hundred marital unions in Bodley’s survey in the Ashéninka Pichis and Ashaninka Tambo areas in the 1960s (Bodley 1970:71).

The indigenous pattern of social organization was based on small, dispersed settlements, *nampitsi*, of self-sufficient extended families under the nonhereditary leadership of a local headman, called *jevare* *jev-a-ri* [lead-REAL-REL] (leader) (Lehnertz 1974:31). Currently this pattern has been replaced with

nucleated settlements built around a school (and often a church). These are called in Spanish *comunidad nativa* (native community). In Ashéninka Perené, a speaker will refer to his or her native community with *noyomonirateka* no-yomonira-te=ka [1SG.POSS-community-POSS=DEM] (my community) or *nonampi* no-nampi [1SG.POSS-community] (my settlement).

In the old times, social power was vested with three important institutions: the *pinkatsari* (regional leader), *ovayeri* (warrior), and *sheripiari* (shaman) (Rojas Zolezzi 1994:224; Vilchez 2008). The headman, called *pinkatsari*, was a recognized leader of higher authority, in comparison with a *jevare* (local leader). The *pinkatsari* was a supreme leader in that he was known to possess common wisdom and knowledge of the forest and to be a good hunter and warrior, but most of all, he demonstrated a great power of persuasion in his public speeches (Rojas Zolezzi 1994:225). The *pinkatsari* was also expected to have a good knowledge of *ivenki* (magic plants), community rituals, the movement of the stars and planets, and changes in the seasons so as to be able to give advice on matters of planting, harvesting, and other subsistence pursuits; his prestige and eloquence were put to test during the resolution of internal conflicts within the area of his control (Rojas Zolezzi 1994:226).

Currently, the tribal chief's role has changed to that of being a strategist who facilitates or sometimes determines the socio-economic orientation of his community in the market economy and that of being a liaison or legal representative of the *nam-pitsi* in its dealings with the outside world of the state, private businesses, and political organizations. For example, on behalf of his community, Fredi Miguel Ucayali, the chief of Pampa Michi, negotiates with travel agencies to arrange for a regular flow of tourists from Lima, who buy native crafts and bring money to the village. The tribal chief of Bajo Marankiari, Osbaldo Rosas,

oversaw the construction project of building a few cabins on the Playa Remanso, the Perené riverbank. The cabins are now advertised on the community's website as a tourist destination.

The vanished institution of *ovayeri* *ov-a-ye-ri* [kill-EP-DIST-REAL-REL] (the one who kills, or warrior) served the function of the swift rebuttal of a territorial threat posed by an enemy. Note that the verb root *ov* can express either the meaning of eating or the killing sense, but verbs are distinguished on the basis of the reality status endings that signal their membership in different lexical classes. The verb “eat” belongs to Class A, for example, *ivaka* *i-v-ak-a* [3MASC.S-eat-PERV-REAL.A] (he ate), whereas the verb “kill” is from Class I, for example, *ivaki* *i-v-ak-i* [3MASC.S-kill-PERV-REAL.I] (he killed).

The *ovayeri* were recognized as such on the basis of their experience in combat and the number of people they killed (Rojas Zolezzi 1994:230; Macera and Casanto 2009). The *ovayeri* were propelled to the leadership role during times of military conflict with *kisanintantzinkari* *kis-a-nint-ant-tzinkari* [be .angry-EP-DIM-EP-CUST-NMZ.MASC] (those who are angry, or enemy). The enemy were Panoans (Shipibo, Conibo, Cashibo) and the Arawak-speaking Piro (Yine) (Rojas Zolezzi 1994:228). These antagonistic groups were called *ovantzinkari* *ov-ant-tzinkari* [kill-CUST-NMZ.MASC] (those who kill, or killers). The enemy status was also accorded to the Kampan populations of the valleys of the Tambo, Ene, and Ucayali Rivers or of the uplands of Gran Pajonal (Great Grasslands). In colonial times, Spaniards and colonists fell into the enemy category as well. Part 1, “History,” includes the text *Tsika okantakota ovayeritantsi* (About the Craft of War), by Daniel Bernales Quillatupa, about the *ovayeri* training and their code of behavior.

Arguably, it was the shaman, called *sheripiari* *sheri-pi-a-ri* [tobacco-convert-REAL-REL] (the one who is intoxicated by to-

bacco) (Shepard 2002:210), who was the central figure of the Upper Perené social organization (Varese 2002:162). The exact meaning of each morpheme and their English equivalents are still being debated by academics. Native speakers translate the term into Spanish as *él que chupa tabaco* (the one who consumes tobacco). In drug-induced nocturnal flights, shamans resolved conflicts with the outside world while mediating between the supernatural owners of the forest and the river and the souls of dead people; they also resolved interpersonal conflicts while diagnosing and treating sick people. In a shamanistic trance, a shaman “saw” the disease-causing minor infractions or evil deeds committed by his folk and identified ways of redressing the harm done. Part 3, “Ritual,” presents an in-depth discussion of Upper Perené shamans’ mystical powers and their impact on the community’s life.

In spite of the loose social structure, solidarity and social networks were created “through marriage ties, residence rules, ritual gatherings, commerce, and political alliances” (Santos-Granero 2002a:30). Long before Upper Perené Arawaks came into contact with Spaniards, they had repelled constant attempts “at invasion and annexation” (Descola 1992:121) by Quechua-speaking populations from the Andean highlands (Varese 2002:40). Upper Perené Arawaks controlled salt extraction and trading networks with their Arawak and non-Arawak neighbors, including Panoan populations of Conibo, Cashibo, and Shipibo (Tibesar 1950; Brown and Fernandez 1992:177). There was also small-scale trade with the Inca Empire (Benavides 1986:33; Varese 2002:39).

Among the adjacent ethnic groups, Amuesha (Yanesha), located to the northwest of the Upper Perené valley, historically have been the Upper Perené Arawaks’ closest ally and friend. Weiss regards them as “virtually identical with the Campas in

their material culture” (1975: 232). Mixed Campa-Yanesha settlements and marriages are a long-standing tradition. The Upper Perené pagan worship of the stone divinity Yompiri and sacred fires is attributed to the influence of Yanesha (Santos-Granero 2004a; Weiss 1975: 272–73).

In contrast, the Kishiisatzi (Pajonal Campa; Pajonalinos in Spanish) were fearsome neighbors who occupied a vast territory of the Gran Pajonal, to the northeast of the Perené valley. In general, all Campa men were characterized as “master bowmen and . . . courageous and ferocious warriors” (Weiss 1974: 386), but the aggressiveness and warfare skills of Kishiisatzi were unmatched. Upper Perené language consultants would always emphasize the superior athleticism, ruthlessness, and outstanding scouting and shooting skills of their Kishiisatzi neighbors. On the basis of his ethnographic study, Varese indicates that war expeditions of Pajonalinos involved “kidnapping of women, family revenge, and territorial defense against members of other linguistic groups or members of one’s own tribe”; in the rubber boom period, Pajonalino raids into the Perené valley were “stimulated” by the slave trade (2002: 21–22).

However, the most formidable threat loomed from the Arawak-speaking Shimirentsi (Piro) and Panoan Conibo residing in the Ucayali River basin. Both were called *ovantzinkari* (killers). Language consultants translate the word into Spanish as *asesinos* (assassins). These Amazonian peoples were culturally very close, “while [they] differed markedly from Campa/Machiguenga” (Gow 1991: 32). Crucially, for both Piro and Conibo, wealth came from war expeditions, and both were notorious for raiding Campa settlements. Conibo warriors were recognized as “renowned pirates and slave traders” (Santos-Granero 2009b: 24). Each Conibo raid was a well-planned and masterfully executed military affair, aimed at capturing slaves and



taking booty. Raided villages were burned down and their male defenders were killed (Santos-Granero 2009b:56–61). Piro and Conibo often served as missionaries' guides, using the opportune moment to pillage Campa villages and take women and children as slaves (Amich 1854:98, 100).

Missionizing attempts, initiated by Jesuits in the late sixteenth century, turned into a sustained evangelizing campaign in the mid-seventeenth century, when a network of short-lived missions, called "ephemeral occupation attempts" by Santos-Granero and Barclay (1998:21), was established by Franciscan friars in the Chanchamayo-Perené area. Accompanied by raging epidemics among converts and constant bloody revolts and uprisings, the biggest under the leadership of Juan Santos Atahualpa in 1742, the missionizing effort came to a halt in the mid-eighteenth century (Lehnertz 1974:149–50; Métraux 1942; Tibe-sar 1952). The Ashaninkas' violent repudiation of the imposed Franciscan order was directly motivated by the friars' condemnation of the indigenous lifeways, such as polygyny, use of ethno-medicine for healing purposes, coca chewing, and manioc beer drinking (Veber 2003:192; Varese 1996:61). Other factors of a spiritual order played a prominent role in the failure of missionization. Veber points out that the primary objective of the resistance movement was "purification" and restoration of the "physical and mental health of the people" (2003:195). The indigenous rejection of mission life was also predicated on "epidemics, corporal punishment, the uncongenial discipline of mission life, assertions of control over Indian children, and relentless hectoring by monks" (Brown and Fernandez 1992:181).

When the Upper Perené area was eventually reconquered by the Peruvian military a century later, a steady flow of Andean colonists followed. Their settlement had been encouraged by the friars and the state, with the objective of stabilizing the area

around the missions, but the colonist influx greatly increased after the recapture of the region by the military. In addition, the massive importation of European, Asian, and non-Andean Peruvian immigrants, initiated by the Peruvian state, made irreversible the concomitant displacement of the native population. By 1890 most of the Ashaninkas who inhabited the Chanchamayo and Paucartambo valleys and had survived the military “pacification” and armed scuffles with the colonists were displaced (Santos-Granero and Barclay 1998:234). Bodley (1972:222) reports that fourteen thousand “agriculturalists” had arrived in the Chanchamayo valley by 1907; in 1927 eighteen hundred more colonists were settled there.

The establishment of the British-owned Peruvian Corporation in 1891, with its headquarters in Pampa Whaley, heralded an era of the forceful, profound conversion of the Upper Perené valley into a market-oriented coffee-growing region. The Peruvian Corporation occupied over five hundred thousand hectares of what used to be communal Ashaninka land, turning it into *cafetales* (coffee plantations) and *pastizales* (pastures). The area invaded by the corporation became known as the Perené Colony (Barclay 1989). Ashaninkas were allowed to stay on the condition that they work for the company. About five hundred indigenous workers were employed by 1913 (Bodley 1972:222; Brown and Fernandez 1992:184; Chevalier 1982:210).

In the context of the military invasion, colonist occupation, and native population decline, few nonviolent options for defense of land rights were left for the dispersed and demoralized native population. One was through participation in the Perené Colony’s land partitionings. To ensure that the indigenous population remaining on the company’s land (especially those who lived close to the company’s headquarters in Pampa Whaley) was concentrated in a nucleated settlement, making them avail-

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able to serve as subcontracted coffee producers, in the late 1940s the company allotted fifteen hundred hectares in the Río Vayós area to one hundred Ashaninka families. Ashaninkas came into possession of small lots in the community of Mariscal Cáceres, an average 8.8 hectares per family, in comparison with an average 37.8 hectares per Andean landowner (Santos-Granero and Barclay 1998:236).

Another way to resist eviction from the land was to buy an individual lot from the Peruvian corporation. Some Ashaninka families residing in Marankiari, Pumpuriani, Pucharini, and a few other villages followed this route in the 1950s. To obtain guaranteed access to the ancestral land, Ashaninkas also sought affiliation with the missions of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church (e.g., the Metraro mission), which was acting on their behalf within the Perené Colony in the 1920s and 1930s. Later on, many Indian Adventists chose to move to areas with less colonization pressure, for example, to the Pichis valley (Narby 1989:65). In the 1970s and 1980s the remaining Upper Perené Arawaks took advantage of the 1974 Native Communities Law (Decree Law 20653) to establish native communities, which were granted land titles. Due to the unprecedented colonization pressure, in 1989 the newly formed Upper Perené native communities constituted only a fraction (23 percent) of the total number of registered *comunidades nativas* in the region of Selva Central, which encompasses Chanchamayo, Oxapampa, and Satipo Provinces (Santos-Granero and Barclay 1998:245).

To ensure their survival, the Upper Perené Ashaninkas made a conscious choice to participate in the cash economy by turning to the production of extensive crops of *naranka* (citrus fruit), *pariantzi* (bananas), *tzivana* (pineapple), *kimito* (cacao), and *kajai* (coffee). Currently the native population is well integrated into the regional market economy as agricultural pro-

ducers or seasonal laborers. For local indigenous populations, commercial agriculture is reported to be a critical means of obtaining cash and access to market goods (Santos-Granero and Barclay 1998:254). The rapidly increasing degree of household market incorporation and dependence, with concurrent orientation of native communities toward commercialization, has had a significant impact on the views of those in individual households (Narby 1989; Peralta and Kainer 2008). The dynamic of cultural change appears to be directly stimulated by “the fervor to develop and the allure of money and market goods” (Henrich 1997:340, 348), evidenced in many recorded texts from the Ashéninka Perené corpus.

Undeniably, the cumulative effect of colonization-related agents of change has fueled the current entrepreneurial spirit and material aspirations of the Upper Perené Ashaninkas. Among such agents of change are exposure to the metal tools and iron-tool manufacturing technologies supplied by Franciscans, the individualistic Adventist work ethic, and the example of “civilized” Andean colonists making the best of their access to Western goods (Santos-Granero and Barclay 1998:243). Nonetheless, native sociocultural reproduction remains fairly strong in spite of the unyielding pressure exerted by the Peruvian state, the colonist society, and Seventh-Day Adventist missions (Martel Paredes 2009; La Serna Salcedo 2012).

## **BELIEFS**

Ashaninka society has a high degree of certainty about its own ways, which, in combination with its “unassailable self-assurance” (Hvalkof 1989:144), may account for the autochthonous cultural tenacity noted in many scholarly studies (Weiss 1975:234; Elick 1969:235–37; Bodley 1970:183). The texts collected here reflect

the intransigent Ashaninka cosmos, including their distinctive beliefs and ideas about humanity and divinity. The premises of Ashaninka ideas about the world and themselves are rooted in the indigenous Amazonian conceptual frameworks of “animism” (Descola 1992) and “perspectivism” (Viveiros de Castro 1996, 1998). In particular, animistic indigenous thought embraces an idea that “natural beings possess their own spiritual principles and that it is therefore possible for humans to establish with these entities personal relations,” that these entities “have human dispositions” and “behaviors” (Descola 1992:114).

According to Viveiros de Castro (1998), perspectivism, as a projection of animism, is the indigenous theory about the way human and nonhuman beings see themselves and others. For example, from an Ashaninka point of view, humans see themselves as humans, animals as animals, and spirits as spirits. However, they also believe that animals (especially predators) and spirits see themselves as humans and humans as animals (prey). Thus the point of view (or perspective) makes the difference between the bodies understandable only from the outsider’s viewpoint (Viveiros de Castro 1998:478). This dependence on the other’s view of oneself for one’s own body image entails an assumption of bodily temporality, instability, and transformability.

Moreover, indigenous ontology insists that ex-humans lost their human form due to a voluntary or involuntary bodily metamorphosis that is “taken for granted and thus is seldom singled out for comment” (Wilbert and Simoneau 1992:31). Most often, people are transformed into animals, which is not surprising considering that in hunting societies animals are “the strategic focus of the objectification of nature” (Descola 1992:115).

The Ashaninkas possess a deep-seated belief that humans are perpetually hunted by demonic entities that practice elaborate killing methods on Ashaninka individuals. These convic-

tions are rooted in a conception of the universe as consisting of two “mutually antagonistic” ontological “domains” (Descola 1992:121). The domain of “positive value” includes Ashaninkas, genetically related Kampan ethnic groups, certain animal and plant species and their masters, and divinities such as Pava and Tasorentsi, while the “negative value” domain is comprised of the outsiders (*chori* [Andeans] and *virakocha* [whites]), some animal and plant species, and spiritually evil entities, grouped under the term *kamari*, including *kamari matsi* (demonic human witches) (Descola 1992:121; Weiss 1975:282–308). Among the “negative value” entities are *matsi* (a human witch), which feeds on the flesh of unsuspecting victims when they are asleep; the demonic *peyari* (a forest bone spirit in the form of a game animal, usually a deer), which kills males by an act of copulation; and *kiatsi* (a siren-like river creature in the form of an anaconda or an armadillo), which kills by wrapping her prominent antenna-like whiskers around the individual’s lower limbs and dragging him into the water depths, to name a few.

In spite of long contact with outsiders and the sustained and intensive Christianization of Upper Perené Arawaks since the 1920s, the indigenous ontological beliefs remain “an extraordinarily resistant cultural bloc” (Lenaerts 2006a:554). This is evidenced in the fundamentally unchanged ritual production, which may exhibit elements of “mimetic appropriation” of Christian symbols, with the obvious purpose of using “the Other’s” “powers for their own benefit” (Santos-Granero 2009a:488). For example, expert herbal healers, including my two language consultants, may use “mimetic” symbolic gestures (a sign of a cross) and ritual objects (a candle) while treating a patient. Nonetheless, those are elements of cosmetic nature, which essentially adorn the rock-solid foundation of indigenous ontology.

**NARRATORS**

The texts chosen for this anthology are grounded in the actual performances of thirty Ashéninka Perené speakers (fifteen women and fifteen men), most of whom were contracted as language consultants for the entire duration of my fieldwork periods. All were paid the hourly rate of a Peruvian schoolteacher (eight to twelve, in some cases fifteen, Peruvian soles), with the payment made at the end of each meeting. The book contributors come from nine villages (Bajo Marankiari, Pampa Michi, Santari, Ciudadela of La Merced, Mariscal Cáceres, Pucharini, Pumpuriani, Churingaveni, and Pampa Silva/Villa Perené). Of those, the youngest consultants are Frida Thomas Huamán and Carmen Pachiri Quinchori, both born in 1976, and the oldest are Julio Castro Shinkaki (born in 1928) and Livia Julio de Quinchori (whose exact age is unknown, but her relatives believe her to be a centenarian). All narrators, except Elena Nestor de Capurro, are fluent bilinguals. Six consultants have good education; five men are college-trained bilingual teachers, and one woman finished high school. Others either have basic literacy skills or are illiterate. Most of the consultants' households combine commercial and subsistence agricultural production. A few have jobs in the public education sector. Many consultants from Bajo Marankiari and Pucharini are members of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church. It has become customary that most consultants from Pampa Michi, Bajo Marankiari, and Pampa Silva/Villa Perené would meet with me regularly in their homes during my annual fieldwork seasons.

The history of the language consultant team begins in 2009, with the establishment of its core, which includes Gregorio Santos Pérez and his wife, Dora Meza, Delia Rosas Rodríguez, Raul Martín Bernata, and Daniel Bernales Quillatupa. I met Gregorio

Santos Pérez, fifty-three, through a mutual acquaintance in 2009. Gregorio was raised in Bajo Marankiari, where his parents still reside, and moved to Santa Ana less than twenty years ago. A bilingual teacher who was trained by SIL missionaries and has the equivalent of a master's degree in elementary education, Gregorio stands out due to his many talents and passion for language work. He is an excellent narrator, a skillful transcriber and translator, and a thoughtful analyst of his language's grammar. My linguistic work has greatly benefited from Gregorio's hypotheses and interpretations. In the past, Gregorio traveled extensively in the area, due to his various teaching assignments. Nowadays he makes short trips, either at my request or on his own initiative, to Upper Perené communities to record and write down speakers' narratives. We have become good friends, forging a truly collegial intellectual partnership. Gregorio belongs to a small group of local bilingual teachers who have been advocating for official recognition of their mother tongue by the Peruvian state, so far unsuccessfully. Gregorio's wife, Dora Meza de Santos, a homemaker, was been my guide and companion on many trips to remote Upper Perené villages in 2012–13. Dora was born in Mariscal Cáceres, but at an early age, after her mother's death, she was sent to the mestizo town of Santa Ana to be schooled in Spanish. Two of the couple's eight children (the oldest) are fluent in the Ashéninka Perené language; others are semipassive or passive speakers. The four selected texts recorded by Gregorio are his recollections of ritual practices associated with taking a wife and fishing, along with two other stories he heard from his mother and a fellow woman, one of which deals with intertribal violence and the other a story about the forest spirit *peyari*.

Delia Rosas Rodríguez, forty-six, is another major contributor to the project. She was among the first female language con-



sultants; I recruited her in Bajo Marankiari in 2009 while I was walking door-to-door in search of Bertha Rodríguez de Caleb, the chief's mother, recommended to me by Gregorio Santos. A meticulous and skillful transcriber of the collected texts, Delia did a lot of behind-the-scenes work to ensure that the book project came to fruition. Delia has good Spanish literacy skills and is a quick study. In 2010 she learned how to use the digital recorder, video camera, and laptop and, at my request, did video and audio recordings of seven Ashéninka-speaking villagers and transcribed and translated most of the recorded texts. Thanks to her impeccable work ethic, intelligence, reserve, and competitiveness, Delia has moved to a position of leadership within the team, which is not always taken well by males. Delia was born in Bajo Marankiari and has resided in the village most of her life. As a teenager, she traveled to Lima in search of work. In Lima she finished high school and did one year of college coursework, and she also worked as a house maid for a number of years. Nowadays Delia runs a small business from her house, selling snacks, bottled beer, and canned light drinks to the villagers. She has two daughters; the older daughter is fluent in the language, the younger is a passive speaker. Two texts by Delia are included in this anthology. One is a chief's speech on the occasion of a villager's death, which she heard as a young woman, and another is a prayer to the stone divinity that Delia wrote down on the basis of her mother's and stepfather's recollections.

My first Ashéninka Perené language teacher, Raul Martin Bernata, sixty-one, has lived most of his life in Pampa Michi. As a retired paramedic, he possesses an advanced knowledge of medicinal plants. Raul knows many native myths and is well-versed in Ashaninka history. His weather-beaten notebook contains dozens of myths scribbled in elaborate Spanish. Initially we would meet a few times a week, but after our team's member-

ship dramatically increased, we switched to one weekly meeting. During his attempts to recruit language consultants in Pampa Michi, Raul often expressed to me his disappointment at the entrepreneurial aspirations of his fellow villagers who rejected his offer to collaborate on the language project. The reason, he explained to me, is unrealistic expectations of high monetary gains, which the documentary project has never promised to deliver. Raul's wife, Victoria Manchi de Martin, fifty-four, is the mother of eleven children and a skilled artisan who creates handicrafts for sale, using traditional techniques and materials. Victoria is a proficient native-language speaker from the Bajo Marankiari provenance. She has regularly participated alongside her husband in discussions of the native language's use, its grammar, and its lexicon. Raul's contribution to the anthology is a myth about the origin of the landmass in the middle of the Perené River, located across from the village of Villa Progreso. Victoria and Raul were also the enthusiastic audience for Elena Nestor's and Luis Mauricio Rosa's performances.

Daniel Bernales Quillatupa (Aroshi), fifty-one, is one of the principal contributors to the book project. As an employee of the local Department of Education, he had overseen the work of bilingual teachers in Chanchamayo Province for nearly a decade before being promoted to the position of bilingual specialist in the adjacent Satipo Province. Currently he is a coordinator with the Programa de Educacion de Logros de Aprendizaje (PELA) at the Ministry of Education in Lima. Born and raised in Bajo Marankiari, educated in an SIL-run college, Daniel has excellent Spanish and Ashéninka literacy skills and a vast knowledge of indigenous culture. Daniel is also a talented artist, and he drew illustrations for this book. The nature of his work was such that he was away on business trips during the week, so he mostly worked independently, recording other speakers and transcrib-

ing and translating the recorded texts. As a high-ranking state employee, Daniel is in favor of the use of the pan-regional “normalized” alphabet for native languages introduced by the Peruvian Ministry of Education in 2008. In contradistinction, other consultants, along with tribal and political authorities, prefer the alphabet designed specifically for the Upper Perené population. Despite the disagreement on the Ashéninka Perené alphabet design, Daniel has contributed five selections to this text collection: a description of the menarche rite; two accounts by his grandfather, one about shamanistic training and one about warrior training and lifestyles; traditional advice given by his father and mother when he was a child, written from memory; and two incantations, about how to chase away rain and how to have a good fishing expedition, which he heard from his kinfolk in his youth. The selections are spelled according to the writing conventions approved by the 2013 language consultant meeting.

The mother of Daniel Bernales Quillatupa, Ruth Quillatupa Lopez, seventy, is a very articulate and talented narrator who commonly injects her philosophical comments into narratives and conversations. I had only sporadic contact with Ruth, since it had been resolved early on that her son, Daniel Bernales, was better suited for making extensive recordings and transcriptions of Ruth’s speech. Born and raised in Bajo Marankiari, Ruth possesses a vast knowledge of local history and past customs. Ruth has a quick wit and a critical mindset, along with a nostalgic view of the traditional Ashaninka lifeways, evident in her reminiscences of the salt extraction and the witnessed persecution of alleged witches. In addition to these two narratives, she contributed a story about how her fellow men came into possession of fire and one about the origin of Manitzipanko (the Jaguar House), the cave located in the towering canyon of the Perené River, eleven kilometers downstream from Santa Ana.

Elena Nestor de Capurro, seventy-four, has lived all her adult life in Pampa Michi. She is illiterate and essentially monolingual. In my last two fieldwork seasons, Elena frequently mentioned to me that her collaboration is largely motivated by the desire to be in the book, saying *pisankinatakotena* (write about me) and that she expects me to bring her a copy, *pamakinaro san-kinarentsika* (bring me the book). To Elena, publication of her contributions is a matter of creating a memorable legacy for her family and being acknowledged by her fellow men as a bearer of the long-standing storytelling tradition. Elena is an incredibly talented performer who has a knack for impersonating the characters in her profoundly entertaining stories, exemplified by the selected story about the creatures inhabiting the Pampa Michi hills. Her knowledge of native songs and dances is unmatched. Elena's ritual song "Mavira", presented here, was sung at the end-of-the-year festival in Pampa Michi. Elena is the widow of the former chief and founder of the native community of Pampa Michi, Augusto Capurro Mayor Kinchori. After his death, their daughter Gloria Nuria became prominent in the community as its representative in the regional governance system.

Luis Mauricio Rosa, sixty-three, is a fine narrator who knows a great deal about Ashaninka history and traditional skills. A nice and unassuming man, he tends to respectfully agree with his brother-in-law, Raul Martin, when we have group discussions in Pampa Michi. However, when no authoritative figure is present, Luis comes to life, providing insightful input on language issues under consideration and narrating stories whose elaborate plots and entertaining dialogues impress other speakers. Luis lives alone in the remote village of Santari, in the hills overlooking Santa Ana. He is constantly on the move in search of jobs. Luis often visits with his sister and brother-in-law in Pampa Michi. His specialty is construction of houses with thatch-woven roofs,

which requires a unique skill. His expertise is in demand since the numbers of knowledgeable builders are dwindling. Luis's contribution to this anthology is two stories, one about the origins of Ashaninka burial practices and another about the *mavira* festive ritual practices.

Fredi Miguel Ucayali, forty-eight, is the current chief of Pampa Michi. He lost his parents early in his life and was raised by his grandparents. Fredi started but didn't finish the college coursework necessary to become an elementary school teacher, but he was able to land teaching jobs in bilingual rural schools. He became politically active in his thirties and ran for the chief's office in Pampa Michi. During the early phase of the language project, the chief's deep-seated distrust of outsiders prevented him from establishing a working relationship with the language consultant team associated with a gringa (white woman), but eventually Fredi relented. Fredi's hobby is collecting framed pictures of himself, which he hangs on the outside walls of his house. Once I asked the chief what he would like me to bring him as a gift next time I come back, and he requested his framed portrait. Fredi is an articulate and effective orator who strongly advocates for traditional Ashaninka values. He is also knowledgeable about herbal healing and provides services to both his fellow men and mestizos as a *curandero* (healer). Fredi's recollection of his grandfather's story about the military conquest of the Upper Perené area in the second half of the nineteenth century is a riveting addition to this anthology.

Bertha Rodríguez de Caleb, seventy-two, is a gold mine of cultural information about her fellow men's ways of living. Bertha was born and lived most of her life in Bajo Marankiari, although as a young woman she resided for a while in the small community of San Pablo, not far from Puerto Bermúdez, in the Pichis River area. Her first husband died from cholera at twenty-six,

and the widow with three children had to scratch out a living while bouncing from one native community to another. The soft-spoken and slightly built Bertha has a gentle disposition and is always willing to walk the extra mile to do her language-consulting job right. She was one of the first women to agree to participate in the documentary project. Bertha has six children; three of them live in Bajo Marankiari. Her youngest child, Osbaldo Rosas Rodríguez, is the current chief of the village. Bertha's eyewitness account of the ritual for mass-cleansing of alleged witches in the village of Nazaraiteki (San Pablo), a story about the establishment of the village of Bajo Marankiari, a commentary on the local headman Apinka, and a ritual song dedicated to the solar divinity Pava provide illuminating glimpses of the history of her people.

Bertha Rodríguez de Caleb's daughter, Victorina Rosas de Castro, fifty-three, and her husband, Gerardo Castro Manuela, fifty-five, were both born in Bajo Marankiari. Victorina is a skilled crafts maker and the mother of six children. The flamboyant and articulate Victorina excels when she performs as a narrator or as an analyst of her mother tongue. In one of our conversations she admitted to me that her biggest regret is not having finished college, although she briefly attended two teacher training institutions; she would have made an excellent teacher. My contact with Victorina's spouse, Gerardo, was limited due to his frequent absences from the community. Gerardo is a former chief of Bajo Marankiari and a retired bilingual teacher. He was educated in an SIL-run teacher-training college and worked for many years as a bilingual teacher in elementary schools in Ashéninka-speaking communities. He still signs up for occasional teaching jobs in remote communities. Gerardo has a comprehensive knowledge of indigenous history. This book includes Victorina's rendition of her mother-in-law's capture by Ashaninka slave

raiders and Gerardo's story of a local temple-forge called Ashiropanko (the Iron House).

Gerardo's father, Julio Castro Shinkaki, eighty-five, is a transplant from the *kirinka* (downstream) area and was one of the founders of the village of Bajo Marankiari in the 1930s. In spite of his advanced age, he is economically independent, toiling on his *chacra* most of the day, although recently he has been having memory problems. Julio is perhaps the last standing witness to the process of radical changes in the Upper Perené physical and sociopolitical environment of the last seventy years. Julio's insights into the indigenous place-naming practice and the history of some place-names are central to the "Landscape" section of the book.

Ines Pérez de Santos, sixty-nine, was born in Bajo Marankiari and lived most of her adult life in the village. Her older son, Gregorio, introduced me to Ines in 2009, offering an opportunity to videotape his mother's healing techniques. Since then I have been a frequent visitor in her house. As the principal breadwinner of the family, Ines provides room and board to her youngest sons and a daughter, their numerous children, and occasional visitors and patients. Both Ines and her husband, Moises Santos Rojas, seventy, who is a thoughtful and thorough interpreter of his kinfolk's past life experiences, earn their living as herbalists. Ines has a broad network of clients who recommend her services to others and spread the word about her superior skills in folk medicine. Ines and Moises are active members of the Seventh-Day Adventist church in Bajo Marankiari and often make allusions to biblical commandments in their narrations. Ines is an articulate and captivating narrator and a language expert whose judgments on grammar issues and comments on cultural events and artifacts are taken by others with deference. The couple's selected reminiscences of encounters with shamans and alleged

witches, along with comments on *ovayeri* (warriors), the *mavira* festival, the masters of animals, *maninkaroite* (invisible women), and evil spirits are included in this anthology.

Alberto Pérez Espinoza, sixty-seven, is Ines's brother. He is an excellent fisherman and a smart gatherer of plant and aquatic life that could be used as food. Alberto spends his days on the river, fishing and gathering, and in the evenings he helps his wife, Bertha Yupanki, with making traditional handicrafts. Alberto is an artful narrator who enthusiastically shares his knowledge of traditional stories. His narrative about the origin of sweet manioc is included in this collection.

Abdias Caleb Quinchori, seventy, the husband of Bertha Rodríguez, was elected chief of Bajo Marankiari in the past. At present, he toils in his vegetable garden and makes brooms, fire fans, and other household objects for sale. Abdias served on the project's editors' team and also recorded a number of stories for the project. His source of knowledge comes from the family oral tradition. One of his grandmother's stories about ritual cannibalism, a commentary on the local strongmen Apinka and Marinkama, and his reflections on the cause of his infirmity are included in this book.

Paulina García Ñate (she is not certain of her date of birth but guesses that she is in her early seventies) is a talented singer and a knowledgeable consultant. Paulina's roots are in Alto Koyani, a small community with deeply rooted native ritual practices in the Pichanaki uplands. Although she has lived for decades in Bajo Marankiari, villagers always stress the fact that she hails from a different location and is not a member of the local Adventist community. Paulina lives with her daughter and grandchildren close to the beach and makes her living by selling peanuts and other produce harvested from her small vegetable garden, which she maintains in the floodplain area of the



river. Paulina joined the consultant team on her own initiative in 2009. Her main contribution to the project was recording songs and providing detailed explanations of occasions on which they are sung. Four of her ritual songs are included: two give thanks to the solar and lunar deities, and another was sung by a ritual specialist during the shamanistic treatment of his patient. Paulina heard the song from her shaman grandfather when she was a young girl. Paulina's fourth song, about *ovayeri* (warriors), also is a childhood memory of her home village's ritual practices.

Cristobal Jumanga Lopez (deceased in 2012 at the age of sixty-two) and his brother Abraham Jumanga Lopez, seventy-three, were born in the Adventist mission of Nevati, in the Pichis River basin. Their adult years were spent in Pucharini, where the brothers' families currently reside. The families' main occupation is growing cash crops. The Jumanga family is known for its political clout, earned during the years of Abraham's son's service as the chief of Pucharini and his son-in-law's term as president of CECONSEC (la Central de Comunidades Nativas de la Selva Central), the main political organization in the area. Both brothers are distant relatives of Dora Meza de Santos, who was instrumental in their recruitment. The brothers' recordings were made in the summer of 2010, outside their family compound in Pucharini. The younger Cristobal was the more reserved and articulate of the two. He knew hundreds of traditional stories. Being a seasoned storyteller, he possessed the talents of a fine performer. Told in his inimitable high-pitched voice, at a brisk pace, his witty and imaginative stories held his audiences in rapt attention. One story included in this collection describes the bodily transformations of three brothers performed by the solar divinity Pava. Another story is based on Cristobal's grandfather's account about a temple where the sacred fire was worshipped, located in the headwaters of the Perené River.

Cristobal's feisty and vivacious brother Abraham contributed a commentary about place-naming practices. Abraham insists that many place-names in the Upper Perené area owe their origin to an Ashaninka woman called Tzivi (Salt person), who later was transformed into tiny beads of salt.

Manuel Rubén Jacinto, seventy, is a well-respected Adventist church leader in Pucharini. His parents come from the highlands of the Gran Pajonal. He was born in Chivanari, in the Upper Perené valley, and lived nearly all his life in Pucharini. My interactions with Manuel occurred on a few occasions when I visited the community in 2011 and 2013. Manuel is a thoughtful and knowledgeable storyteller. His historical account about the Gran Pajonal warrior Marinkama and his lost battle in the Upper Perené valley is included in this book. Manuel's story was recorded in 2011, outside Cristobal Jumanga's house in Pucharini.

Frida Thomas Huamán, thirty-seven, is the current chief of the small native community of Pumpuriani, located in the uplands of the Perené valley. I met Frida in 2012 when Dora Meza de Santos and I were canvassing the village in search of elders willing to share with us their memories of old customs and traditions. In contrast to the lukewarm reception from other villagers, the chief was quite enthusiastic about the opportunity to participate in the book project. The energetic and assertive Frida, who was born and raised in the village, is an ardent supporter of Ashaninka land rights and intends to keep her village free of outsiders by not allowing the settlement of married couples with a non-Ashaninka spouse. This collection contains the transcript of Frida's explanations of her deceased grandfather's shamanic healing practices, recorded in 2012, outside her house in Pumpuriani.

Luzmila Machari Quinchori, forty-six, is a professional healer from Pumpuriani who specializes in *chonkantsi* (steam bath

treatment). She was trained to administer steam bath treatments in Puerto Bermúdez, in the Pichis valley, and earns her living by receiving patients in the Pumpuriani area. Accompanied by Dora Meza de Santos, I made a few recordings of Luzmila after the Pumpuriani chief had recommended her as a good pick for a consulting job. In the 2012 recording, *Antavairi aavintantzinkaro* (Healer's work), Luzmila shares her perspective on the disease epidemiology and restorative effects of steam bath treatments.

María Virginia Lopez, seventy-three, was born in Mariscal Cáceres. She is a well-reputed healer, trained in Puerto Bermúdez. I ran into María by accident when Bertha Rodríguez de Caleb hired her to administer a steam bath treatment in her Bajo Marankiari house. When the 2010 recording of María's steam bath treatment was made, she was living in the native community of Ciudadela in La Merced. Currently her whereabouts are not known. This collection includes the transcript of a steam bath treatment that she administered to Abdias Caleb Quinchori, a resident of Bajo Marankiari, at his house, in the presence of his family members.

Carmen Pachiri Quinchori, thirty-six, is a crafts maker who lives in Ciudadela, the multilingual native community of La Merced. Ciudadela residents largely make their livings by sales of crafts or herbal remedies and heavily depend on tourist traffic. Crafts making is a tough business for Ciudadela's Ashéninka families, including Carmen's, due to stiff competition from the nonlocal Shipibos, outstanding artisans and assertive vendors of traditional crafts who live next door. Carmen became interested in the book project during one of my visits to the community in 2012, when I was working with a speaker of Ashéninka Pichis. In the spring of 2013 we met on a regular basis to make recordings of Carmen's stories, many of which she heard as a

little girl from her grandmother, Livia Julio de Quinchori, from Mariscal Cáceres, who essentially raised her. Carmen is married to a Machiguenga native, Percy Bustamonte Quinchimori, the current chief of Ciudadela. They have three children; the oldest is a fluent speaker of Machiguenga. Carmen's story about *kiatsi*, the demonic owner of the Perené River, is included in the collection.

Almacia Benavidez Fernandez, seventy-two, of Pokinkaro, was recommended to me as a successful Ashéninka healer by her gringo apprentice, a former librarian of Polish extract who had worked with her in the hope of mastering the basics of herbal healing. He thought that she might be interested in talking about her profession on camera. However, when I was introduced to her in her home in La Merced in the spring of 2013, Almacia was clearly more attracted to the idea of sharing her vast knowledge of myths, which she had picked up from her centenarian mother, who lives in the Puerto Bermúdez area. One of Almacia's stories about the Armageddon-like earthquake and flood in the Pichanaki area is part of this anthology.

In this book I also used texts that were independently recorded and transcribed by my primary consultants. The data providers for the texts collected by Daniel Bernales Quillatupa included his mother, Ruth Quillatupa Lopez, and his long-time friend and colleague Otoniel Ramos Rodríguez, fifty-two, from Churingaveni. Gregorio Santos Pérez collected data from his father-in-law, Elías Meza Pedro, sixty-eight; Clelia Mishari, seventy-three; and Livia Julio de Quinchori (age unknown), from Mariscal Cáceres. The selected stories by these authors include a commentary on the place-name Pichanaki (Otoniel Ramos Rodríguez), reflections on ritual practices of giving thanks, and commentary on the strongman Apinka (Clelia Michari, Livia Julio de Quinchori, and Elías Meza Pedro). Elías Meza Pedro's

story *Imoro Naviriri* (The Naviriri Hole), about a deep indentation in the form of a crater, found in the uplands of Metraro, not far from Mariscal Cáceres, was recorded and transcribed by me, during my trip to Mariscal Cáceres in 2012.

### **STORYTELLING TRADITION AND ITS VITALITY**

The Ashéninka Perené storytelling tradition is rigorously constrained by the orally transmitted repertory of native texts. Descriptions of the ancient past are basically mythological accounts perpetually recycled among Upper Perené storytellers. The myths exhibit a considerable degree of variability, but the common threads involve plots, occasions, themes, and characterizations, vividly revealed in the traditionally narrated adventures of the culture hero and trickster Naviriri the Transformer and his grandson Poiyotzi (sometimes called Kirii) and in numerous folk stories. According to Weiss, it is inevitable to collect “various, partially overlapping fractions” of a group’s heritage materials (1975:227). A great deal of variation in the details of the recorded traditional stories is to be expected, due to the oral nature of the transmission mechanism. Nonetheless, the invariant core of traditional accounts is firmly anchored in the landscape features associated with a described event. For example, the well-known place of Naviriri’s death, Imoro Naviriri (the Naviriri Hole), is located not far from Mariscal Cáceres; the cave in which a shaman-turned-cannibal was shut away, called Manitzipanko (the Jaguar House; its Spanish equivalent is La Boca del Tigre, “the Tiger’s Mouth”), is eleven kilometers downstream from Santa Ana.

Historical accounts of modern times are more overlapping in their scene settings, sequencing of episodes, plots, and characterizations, perhaps due to the accuracy of personal testimony,

which remains relatively unaltered by oral transmission within the short time span of the tradition. Although it is common to see “expansion or contraction of descriptions, omission or addition of detail” (Vansina 1985:53), it is unusual to find in the collected corpus eyewitness accounts fused with hearsay evidence. Historical accounts of modern times are always specific with regard to the physical location of the reported event. Minimally, event locations are described with the help of terms of the absolute orientation system that designates the riverine horizontal axis as *katonko* (upstream) and *kirinka* (downstream) and the mountain’s vertical axis as *tonkari* (up) and *otapiki* (down).

Delivery skills vary from performer to performer. Performance features are more often observed among male narrators, who make use of facial expressions, gestures, rising intonation, louder voice volume, and higher pitch at the climactic moments, while females tend to speak in a casual manner, in a subdued and measured voice, without explicit dramatization of the described events. Pointing and descriptive gestures, wherein hand movements schematically depict the reported action, are often employed during the performance to clarify the point.

A notable performance feature is the pervasive use of ideophones, that is, single expressive words that depict the speaker’s sensory experiences (Nuckolls 1995). There are over 150 ideophonic expressions in the Upper Perené language variety, evoking perceptions of hitting, cutting, light being emitted at regular intervals, daylight gradually advancing at sunrise, smoke from the fire billowing into the air, body ache, and many other actions and states (Mihas 2012). A unique function of ideophone use is the heightened “involvement” of the interlocutor, resulting in his or her better understanding of the narrator’s message (Nuckolls 1992). Ideophones are called “foregrounding” devices in discourse, in that their expressivity and artistic delivery are bound

to keep the audience engaged. An alphabetically organized list of Upper Perené ideophones used in this collection is located in the appendix.

Ideophone and depictive-gesture coupling is a pervasive performance feature, aimed at evoking a particular imagistic scene in listeners' minds. Apart from the ideophonic-gestural depiction, the narrator's performance typically includes the speaker's gaze focused on his or her own hands (Mihas 2013).

Other factors affecting the performance are the setting and receptiveness of the audience. A blaring TV or boom box in the vicinity will dull any performer's enthusiasm very quickly. Or domineering individuals from the audience, who condescendingly interject with unsolicited corrections, will have a stifling effect on the performer. On the other hand, friendly feedback and quick questions are appreciated. The audience's feedback comes in the form of the validation responses *je* (yes), *aja* (affirmative reaction to the interlocutor's statement), *tema ari* (is that so?), and *aritakitaima* (maybe, perhaps); the expressions of doubt *irotakitaima* (is that right?) and *omaperotatya* (is that true?); expressions of surprise (*iye* or *iyo*) and of compassion (*atyama*, *iyama*, *ñaamisa*); and the refutation expressions *te* (no), *te, kaari* (no, this is not so), and *tetya* (not at all.)

The conventional structures of both traditional stories and historical accounts include the opening formula *nonkinkitsata-kotero* (I will tell about) and the closing formulas *ari okaratzi* or *ari ovirapaki* (that's all). Other common stylistic devices are the temporary adverb *iroñaaka* (now, at present), which often indicates the end of a sustained episode; the sequencing adverbs *opoña* or *ipoña* (then, afterward); the contemporaneous adverbial forms *ikanta* or *okanta* (in the meantime); interjections; and the reportatives *ikantzi* (they say), *ankante* (we'll say, so to speak), and *akantavetakiri inkaranki* (as we said before). These

structures typically laud the performance of Ashéninka Perené narrators.

Contemporary oral literary traditions have been in decline among Upper Perené Arawaks. Traditional storytelling is falling into disuse because of an accelerated shift to Spanish. The waning of oral performances is also linked to Adventist spiritual restrictions that prohibit some forms of entertainment, including weekend beer parties. In the past, oral performances were regular informal events carried out at beer parties among adults, which included dancing, singing celebratory chants, and telling stories (Weiss 1974:397). Stories were also narrated to children before bedtime (Anderson 2000:59). Women sang lullabies to babies as well as ritual songs honoring the sun and the moon (Weiss 1975:470). On formal occasions, such as tribal gatherings in the communal house, speeches were made and chants were performed. Shamanistic curative performances were known to include ritual singing (Weiss 1973:44–45). Currently, some extant literary oral traditions are still maintained on an individual basis in more traditional households, but native public discourses have become commodified and are displayed mainly for tourist consumption, when village leaders orate and chant and dancing groups of women or youth perform before tourists.

#### **EXPRESSION OF INFORMATION SOURCE AND THE NARRATOR'S VIEWPOINT**

Among Upper Perené Arawaks, it is expected that the information source will be identified explicitly when giving an account of past or present events. The sensory channel (visual, acoustic, tactile, “gut feeling”) engaged in the process of the lived sensory experience is invariably specified when a piece of information is shared with an addressee. The means that speakers use for



this purpose are the lexical verbs *ñ* (see), *kim* (hear/taste/smell/sense), and *yoshiri* (sense, intuit) and the bound marker *-amampi* (have intuitive suspicion that something bad is going to happen). The parenthetical verb *koñaaro* (appear clearly) is used in accounts of visions, whether experienced in a dream or in an awakened state. The hearer-eyewitness parenthetical *ñaakiro* (you've seen it) refers to the addressee's visual past experience, which was shared with the speaker.

Verbal reports are accorded a significant role in social interaction; they directly specify the source of information via the quotative verb *kant* (say), as in *ikantzi/okantzi* (he/she says). The reportative parentheticals *ikantziri/akantziri* (they say) and *no-kantziri* (I say) are also commonly used, the former making reference to the collective experience of the unidentified source, the latter referencing the speaker's concrete personal experience. In the case of absence or paucity of personal sensory experiences, a variety of other devices are utilized to express the speaker's uncertainty about the accuracy of the volunteered proposition, such as the verb *kimi* (seem) and clitics encoding doubt, general expectations, and assumption (*=ma*, *=tyami*, and *=ratya*, respectively).

The parentheticals are manipulated as a stylistic device. For example, the parenthetical verb *ñaakiro* (you've seen it) has a dramaturgic effect, serving as an invitation to the addressee to relive anew the reported event. The use of the parentheticals *ikantziri/akantziri* (they say), especially when used without the marker of assertion *=kia*, creates a distancing effect when the speaker does not guarantee that the statement is accurate.

Information flow is not restricted in Ashéninka Perené society. Regardless of the recipients' social status, information is marked for source and exchanged in the same fashion. For example, the abovementioned inventory of tools for marking the

information source applies to ritual incantations addressed to supernatural beings like Pava (solar deity) or Tasorentsi (a powerful figure endowed with supernatural powers).

At the core of all information-source meanings is the speaker's viewpoint. In particular, objective or credible information sources are those over which the speaker has exclusive authority, which are directly experienced. These are encoded via the perception verbs, the parenthetical self-reportative *nokantziro*, the parenthetical verb *koñaaro* (appear clearly in a vision), and the intuitive suspicion marker *-amampi*, which directly attaches to the verb root. In contrast, subjective or noncredible information sources are those for which the speaker is not responsible, which are not directly experienced. These are encoded by the grammatical markers of inference, assumption, and general expectation (=ma, =ratya, and =tyami, respectively), the hearsay parentheticals *ikantziri/akantziri* (they say), and the verb *kimi* (seem).



## ORTHOGRAPHY

Ashaninka is an official language in lowland Peru where Kampan languages are spoken. A standardized pan-regional alphabet was approved in 2008 by the Peruvian Ministry of Education for the Ashéninka/Ashaninka bilingual schools; it uses the grapheme <b> for the bilabial approximant /w/ and the grapheme <t> for two different phonemes, the alveolar stop /t/ and the alveolar affricate /ts/. However, Upper Perené speakers, following the previous writing tradition, are accustomed to using the grapheme <v> rather than <b> for the bilabial approximant /w/ and the grapheme <tz> for the unaspirated alveolar affricate /ts/. The texts presented in this collection rely on the writing conventions used by the literate native speakers and approved at a language consultant meeting in April 2013.

The palatal glide is considered here to be an allophone of the non-stress-bearing high front vowel when it occurs in the same syllable with /a/, forming the rising diphthong [ja] (Hualde 2005:54). In writing, the glide is expressed as <i>, e.g., *piarentsi* (manioc beer).

The assimilatory palatalization process is restricted to the alveolar stop /t/ and nasal stop /n/ in contexts where they are followed by the diphthong /ia/. The resultant palatalized allophonic segments are encoded in the following way: the combination <ty> marks the alveo-palatal stop, while the symbol <ñ> marks the palatal nasal stop. Note that both the alveo-palatal stop and the palatal nasal stop are phonemic in the language.

### VOWELS

- i Spanish i; when followed by a, becomes the palatal glide [j],  
as in *riachuelo* (small river)
- ii elongated i
- e close to Spanish e; can be articulated in the range from Spanish  
i to Spanish e
- ee elongated e
- a Spanish a
- aa elongated a
- o articulated in the range from Spanish o to Spanish u
- oo elongated o

### CONSONANTS

- p Spanish p
- t Spanish t (unaspirated)
- k Spanish k
- ty similar to the first consonant in English *tune*
- ts aspirated affricate, similar to the word-final consonant in  
English *hats*
- tz unaspirated affricate, similar to the middle consonant in English  
*pizza*
- ch Spanish ch
- sh English sh
- s Spanish s; when followed by i, can be articulated as a voiceless  
alveolar sibilant which has a whistling quality, but similar to sh
- j English h
- m English m
- n English n
- ñ Spanish ñ
- v Spanish v, as in *viuda* (widow)
- r Spanish r, as in *frio* (cold)
- y English y, as in *boy*

## ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
3	third person
-	symbol for an affix boundary
=	symbol for a clitic boundary
A	subject of transitive verb
ADV	adverbial
AUG	augmentative
CL	classifier
CUST	customary
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional
DIST	distributive
EP	epenthetic
HAB	habitual
IMP	impersonal
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
MASC	masculine
NMASC	nonmasculine
NMZ	nominalizer
O	object of transitive verb
PERV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PROG	progressive
REAL	realis

lxxviii *Abbreviations*

REAS	reason
REL	relativizer
S	subject of intransitive verb
SG	singular
STAT	stative

## SYNOPSIS OF TEXTS

The texts presented here address the following themes:

Texts 1–4: Mythic beginnings of primordial times.

Texts 5–13: The dramatic developments of modern times, inter- and intratribal violence, armed resistance to the colonizers, and the slave trade.

Texts 14–15: The conversion of the displaced and demoralized Upper Perené Arawaks to the Adventist strain of Christianity, and the persecution of witches.

Text 16–18: Upper Perené landmarks associated with the worship of sacred fires.

Texts 19–20 Tziviari (The Salt Hill), a well-known Upper Perené location where salt used to be extracted by many Kampan and non-Kampan pilgrims.

Texts 21–23: Renowned Upper Perené landmarks with mythic origins.

Texts 24–25: Place-naming practices of Upper Perené natives.

Texts 26–34: Spiritual beings who inhabit the environs of the Upper Perené homeland.

Texts 36–37: Place rituals, exchange rites, and ritual use of *ivenki* plants.

Texts 38–40: Prayer, incantation, and ritual behaviors.

Texts 41–44: Upper Perené calendrical rites.

Texts 45–47: Feasting and festival rites.

Texts 48–50: Rites of passage.

Texts 51–58: Affliction rituals, particularly shamanistic interventions, and the role of the herbal healer in treating afflicted fellow men.