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On the Ancient Indian Tombs of Chiriqui in Veraguas (South-West of Panama), on the Isthmus of Darien

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XII.—*On the Ancient Indian Tombs of Chiriquí in Veraguas (South-west of Panamá), on the Isthmus of Darien.* By WM. BOLLAERT, F.R.G.S., Corr. Mem. Univ. Chile, of the Amer. Ethno. Soc., of the Ethno. Soc., London, etc.

COLUMBUS, on his last voyage, discovered the north coast of a region on the main land of America called Veraguas.\*

It was on the north coast of Veraguas, where the Spaniards met for the first time with pure gold; the natives wearing large plates of it suspended from their necks; they had likewise ornaments of gold of a low standard called *guanin* (most probably a natural alloy of gold and copper), rudely shaped, which were likened to eagles, but were rather of the sacred *guacamayo* or parrot.

Very soon gold mines were worked in this district at a place called Chiriquí, which means the Valley of the Moon.

The bocas or mouths of the Chiriquí lagoon are in the Atlantic, the Chiriquí country extending across the isthmus to the Pacific.

In 1606, Fray Hernandez† had reduced or brought together some of the natives of Veraguas, having baptized six hundred and twenty-six, and founded two settlements near Alanje, now Santiago de Veraguas, which is in about 8° 15' N. and 81° W.

He found six languages spoken among the reduced Indians.‡ Measles broke out and destroyed three hundred and fifty, when the rest dispersed. He notices the names of the following tribes inhabiting the mountains: the Cothos, Borisques, Dorazques (Dorachos), Utelaes, Bugábaes (Bugaba, their country), Zunes, Dolegas, Chagres, Zaribas, Dures, and others.

The Abbé B. de Bourbourg, who extracts from Torquemada, gives the following as to the more ancient people of the isthmus, in his translation of the *Popol Vuh*, containing the traditions of Guatemala.§ He says: "The Caribs came from the Nahuatl, or early Mexican family, a portion of the Nahuatl giving rise to the Chorotecas and Nagradans of Nicaragua." I think it probable that the Dorazques or Dorachos may have descended from these Chorotecas, as well as other tribes hereabouts.

\* Verahua appears to have been the name of the chief here. Inland is the Cordillera of St. Cristobal, from which, it is said, both oceans can be seen, and that Veraguas, or to see both waters, may take its name from this circumstance. Another derivation has been given, viz., that the waters of the Atlantic here are green, and so called by Columbus Verdes-aguas.

† See Acostas Compendio de la His. de N. Granada.

‡ See Vocabularies in my Ethnology, etc., of South America, Trübner, 1860.

§ Trübner, London, 1861. See my paper on the "Popol Vuh", in *Trans. of Royal Society of Literature*, 1863.

I shall have to refer to two, if not three, periods in regard to the history of this country; the more early monuments may be of Chorotecan and another origin; the later of the Dorachos and kindred nations. However, when the Spaniards discovered the country, the early civilizations had been long lost,\* and the people of Darien, it is said, participated in the institutions then existing in Cuba and Hayti. Their habitations then were chiefly of wood; the residence of a chief† was called a "palenque";‡ that of Comagré, the Queri or Saki, was five hundred paces long by eighty broad.

In 1855, I assisted my friend Mr. John Harrison Smith, F.R.G.S., long resident in Panamá, to prepare some observations on Chiriquí for the Geographical Society, when it was observed that the aborigines never failed to leave valuable remains in their burial places of birds, beasts, etc., of gold; and gave David, the capital of Chiriquí, in 8° 17' N., 80° 30' W.

Dr. Seemann, in his *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Herald*, who enters into the history of the isthmus, was good enough to give me drawings of some of the pottery found at Chiriquí, as well as a drawing of a very interesting sculptured stone, the "Piedra Pintal", still existing at Caldera. The latter I have figured in my work on South American Ethnology, etc.§

Dr. Seemann observes, that these parts were inhabited by a large tribe, the Dorachos, at the time of the conquest, and where still are found their tombs. Monuments and columns are also

\* As to the civilization spoken of, it was peculiar to themselves; and each great region, as North America, Mexico, Central America, Bogotá, Quito, Peru, and Chile, had, I conceive, worked out its own independently, and in the more early stages without connection.

† CACIQUE. It has been, and is still, customary to call Indian chiefs "Caciques". Now chief, in the language of Bogotá, is *Zagui*; in a portion of the isthmus it is *Sako* and *Quevi*; among the Caras, who were the conquerors of Quito, it was *Scyri*; among the Inca Peruvians, *Curaca*; among the Aracanos, *Ulmen*. Cacique was not the term for a chief among the Caribs, or other people of the West India islands. It was whilst translating Ursua and Lope de Aguirre's "Search for the Dorado", written in 1560-1, for the Hakluyt Society, 1861, I found it stated in the glossary, that the term Cacique came originally from Masagan, one of the Moorish kingdoms of Africa, and taken to the New World by the Conquistadores. Cacique, then, comes from the Arabic word shiek, for a chief.

‡ PALENQUE. This name has been given to some ancient ruins in Yucatan, said to be the name of a village near to them, but that the original name of the place of the ruins is not known. As the term "Palenque" is used in this district of Chiriquí, to the south of Yucatan, for the residence of a chief, it is possible that in Yucatan the term might have been used for a palace, the residence of a king or chief.

§ Antiquarian, Ethnological, and other Researches in New Granada, Ecuador, Peru, and Chile; with Observations on the Pre-Incarial, Incarial, and other Monuments of Peruvian Nations, 8vo, Trübner, London, 1860.

met with covered with figures, representing natural objects, differing from either the hieroglyphs of Mexico or Central America. At Caldera, five leagues north-north-east from David, lies a block of granite, the "Pietra Pintal", fifteen feet high by fifty feet in circumference; every part is covered with figures, representing the sun, a series of human heads, scorpions, hieroglyphs, etc. This sculpture is attributed to the Dorachos. [I should refer this to a much older race, and intended to commemorate some portion of their history.] The characters are an inch deep; on the weather side they are nearly effaced. An enormous time must have elapsed before the granite could thus be worn away; and a much higher antiquity has to be assigned to these figures than to many other monuments in America. Several columns are seen in the town of David, where they are used for building purposes; the characters on them differ from those on the "Piedra Pintal", by being raised and considerably smaller.

In November 1860, a paper was read before the American Ethnological Society, by Mr. Bateman, on the Chiriquí tombs (he had previously described those of Bugába, south-west of "El Volcan", which is 11,000 feet above the sea). He commences with the "huacas\* guacalis", or tombs of Boquete, the entrance to which district is between the rivers Cochare and Caldera. Following the Caldera, many signs of tombs are observed. Progressing, he found a small gold image of the human figure, and a collection of more than three hundred circular (topped) tombs, where a little gold was found, but some images of stone were met with.

Behind "El Volcan" is a "Potrero" or cattle farm; this was thickly covered with graves, regularly built; the body had been laid on the natural hard bed of clay, the side lining formed of flat stones, and covered with large flat stones. In the neighbouring forest were discovered stone quadrates (most probably basaltic prisms), or upright stones of four inches (wide) by twenty inches in length, thirty inches apart, around the edge of some quadrangular graves. A large tomb was opened ten feet deep, marked by five round stone pillars fourteen inches in diameter and from five to six feet in length, three to four feet of which were in the ground; in this was found a plate of gold four inches in diameter, and the small figure of an ant-eater. Stone hatchets or *celts* were found here.† The pottery was all small, rude in shape and mate-

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\* This is the word for a tomb, or anything sacred in Quichua, and introduced by the Spaniards from Peru.

† *Celts*. The existence of *celts* was considered so important, that my friend Mr. Blake drew up a separate paper about them, which was read on the same evening that this was read.

rial; small basins standing on their feet, each of which contained a small pellet of clay.

North of El Volcan, Mr. Bateman came to another farm, where he found more graves. Entering a forest, he arrived at the tombs marked with pillars of basalt,\* moss-grown, and bearing the marks of extreme age, running in a line some 2,000 feet north and south. Some of these pillars were four feet above ground, whilst others were nearly out of sight. Much broken pottery was seen in one grave, of a different quality than heretofore observed. It was thick, and finely glazed on both sides (qy. polished). Such quantities would lead to the supposition that the pottery had been broken and buried with the body. In one tomb two bodies had been buried side by side, a small row of pillars marking it as a double grave; there were no signs of human remains, only a black loamy earth showing the original positions of the bodies. The pottery found here was large and fragile.

In San Miguel, near San José de Bugába, a pillar was met with covered with hieroglyphs† (now in possession of the American Ethnological Society). From a grave of the quadrangular form were taken three teeth, a small piece of bone of a rib, and three pieces of the skull of a human body; but the last so tender that they crumbled at the touch and by exposure. The bodies were all placed north and south.

Some of the graves of Bugába had gold in them, others none. Some contained as much as three pounds weight; whilst others, in close proximity, although containing more pottery, and that of a higher order, contained no gold. In these tombs were found figures in gold of the alligator, shark, jaguar, and other animals; also stone celts and stone arrow-heads, which would lead one to suppose that this was the burial-place of warriors, and that their

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\* Mr. Otis, in his *Illustrated History of the Panamá Railroad*, New York, 1861, says: "The whole of this region gives unmistakable evidence that great and comparatively recent volcanic forces have been used in the formation of this basalt. There is no continuity of the mountain ranges; conical peaks rise up on every side; perfect marine shells and corals are found on their very summits; and the strata of the rocks exposed by the cuttings of the railways are *all* volcanic." As regards Chiriquí, here is a well known volcano. Mr. Otis, at p. 120, gives a very interesting drawing of a "basaltic cliff" on the Panamá Railroad, observing: "At about a mile from the summit, the road passes along the side of a huge basaltic cliff, the great crystals of which, nearly a foot in diameter, and from eight to twelve feet long, lie at an angle of 40°. It is one of the few known examples where the natural perpendicular which basalt formations assume (so beautifully seen in Fingal's Cave, and along the Palisades of the Hudson) has been so rent and displaced."

† Dr. Duprée informs me that one of these pillars was rudely carved so as to represent a human figure.

courage was compared to that of the animals found in the graves. Gold plates only were met with (no marks of the hammer visible on them) in some graves; these plates were four to eight inches in diameter, very thin and even in thickness, each punctured with two holes for the purpose of suspending from the neck. What have been called grinding stones were found also; this, if a piece of household furniture, would lead one to suppose that only women were buried here. A copper figure was met with covered with a film of gold. Mr. Bateman supposes they understood the art of alloying gold with copper.

The mountains are now inhabited by Indians termed "Valientes", or fighters; they are at present under the government of two brothers, said to have been somewhat educated by Jesuits. The palenques, or residences of these chiefs, are on the Atlantic slopes. The Indians of the Pacific side hate these Valientes of old Chiriquí.\*

On the trail from David to Bocas del Toro, is a large boulder covered with hieroglyphs; also graves marked with pillars of stone. [This may be the "Piedra Pintal".]

At the September meeting of the same society, Capt. Dow's collection was exhibited, consisting of a circular vessel ten inches in diameter, supported by five human figures (a caryatides) standing on a narrow circular foot, carved in stone and hollow, thought to be a chafing dish of sacrifice. These received the name of mills and maize grinders. Chipped flints (not flint) used as tools for carving stone also found of a chisel form (celts).

A tracing was presented from Mr. Bateman, from a rock eight miles west of El Volcan, of a figure made up of circles, found on a boulder of lava at S. Miguel at Chiriquí; it is two feet in diameter. The boulder is irregular in shape, and appears once to have been covered with hieroglyphs, but they are so indistinct as to prohibit them being copied.

Mr. Bateman sent for exhibition the following objects in gold: a cricket, frog, sea-shell, a man two ounces in weight, jaguar five ounces, alligator eight ounces and a half (the largest and heaviest object discovered), and a circular plate an ounce and a half. He supposes that these were cast at one pouring, and had been formed on moulds prepared with an extraordinary amount of false coring.

Mr. Squier, who was present at that meeting, believed the alloy of gold and copper (guanin) was natural. The low standard of

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\* These last chip the sides of their teeth to a point. This they may suppose to add beauty or give the teeth greater facility to tear the food. Some believe it acts as a charm against disease, particularly against the small-pox.

such objects was a subject of complaint by the early Spaniards; and Gil Gonzales de Avila, in a letter to the King of Spain, giving an account of the conquest of Nicaragua, speaks of a large quantity of these relics from the vicinity of the lagoon of Chiriquí, which he sent to the king by Andres Cerezeda, treasurer of the fleet. "I send your Majesty", he writes, "17,000 pesos (of gold\*) from 18 to 12 quilates (carats) fine; also another sort of gold of hachos (hatchets) of lower standard, weighing 19,363 pesos (of gold), which the melter of Tierra Firme found to contain 200 maravedies value to each peso; also 6,182 pesos of cascabelas (like hawk's bells), which they say have no standard."

Five lots of gold found in the recently opened graves gave as follows to the assayer in New York.

	Carats fine.	Value.
1 Gold plates .....	21 $\frac{1}{2}$ .....	1388,99 dollars.
2 " images .....	21 $\frac{3}{8}$ .....	398,27 "
3 " " .....	16 $\frac{3}{4}$ .....	506,52 "
4 " " .....	14 $\frac{1}{4}$ .....	70,44 "
5 " " .....	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ .....	358,64 "

$$£560 : 12 : 0 = 2802,86$$

I examined five circular gold plates from Chiriquí, weighing 73 $\frac{9}{10}$ ; they were whitish, and appeared to contain silver. I found the better sort of gold objects to be of specific gravity 17.44; those with copper or guanin, specific gravity 11.55.

The following is from the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, 1860. "Two persons, Ignacio Guerra and Victorio Pitti, found during the autumn of 1858, ancient tombs at Bugába, some oval, others triangular at top, containing gold objects and pottery. In some of the tombs was a little hair; there was also met with the enamel of a tooth, but no bodies. These two kept their discovery to themselves, and got out a lot of gold; but, in 1859, they were discovered and betrayed. Thousands now flocked to the spot, when some £10,000 worth of objects in gold were soon extracted from the graves. A plate is given with a drawing of a gold fish-hawk with a fish in its mouth, a puma, and a bell surmounted by a jaguar. Much pottery was met with, representing human figures, vases like turtles, and one with a jaguar painted on it."

Dr. Wm. Duprée, long a resident in Panamá, forwarded to me lately a collection of Chiriquí antiquities. These were unfortunately lost at sea by the vessel being wrecked; however,

\* The peso of gold, according to Prescott's researches, is worth £2 : 12 : 6 = 11 dollars 67 cents; but his Spanish translator Ramirez (*Conquest of Mexico*) makes it only 2 dollars 93 cents. Oviedo says the peso of gold has the same value as the castellano. At the price of £2 : 12 : 6, the remittance to the king of these antiquities would be worth £111,339.

through the kindness of my friend Mr. John Power, F.R.G.S., of Panamá, I am enabled to present drawings of much of the lost pottery, as well as of many of the gold objects. Mr. Power has been good enough to put his original notes of his visit to Chiriquí into my hands, from which I make extracts.

The Chiriquí tombs were discovered in numbers between the 1st and 15th June, 1859, but for many years before gold objects had been found, principally at Bugábita, one league and a quarter north-west of Bugába. The first who found a rich tomb were Roberto del Cid and Ignacio Guerra.

On July 12th, 1859, there were 1,500 persons at work, digging up graves.

From David to Bugába it is six leagues; Pueblo Viejo one league; over the mountains to the plain of Bugábita, a quarter of a league, here are four Indian huts. The plain is a mile square, and surrounded by mountains; in the centre is a mound of stones, thought to be artificial, four to five yards high, and all around it are the "huacas de deposito," or tombs containing gold.

Outside (the "huacas de deposito") are the "huacas de sepultura," or tombs without gold; these are covered with flat stones. The others are marked with stones laid on the surface, in the form of circles, crosses, five stones, one at each corner and one in the centre, half-circles, three horizontal lines, and circles with four stones equidistant on the outside rim of the circle.

All manner of forms of animals of the New World in gold found, but none of the Old World.

The objects are met with apart from each other in the graves. With the gold figures is found the finest pottery; the objects called mill-stones (caryatides), in the form of animals; also tools (chisels) of hard stone, and hatchets or celts.

At the period of Mr. Power's visit, in August 1859, 250 lbs. weight of gold had been extracted from Bugábita, two-thirds being good gold, the remaining third of guanin gold, value about £12,500. The yield lasted from the beginning of July to the end, and from that time fell off.\*

The tombs of San Miguel gave a little gold; Saratoba none; Volante and San Andres none; Camaron very little; Bajo Boquete are "huacas de deposito," and private property.

The Indians believe these graves to be those of their ancestors, and show no repugnance on having them opened.

Tombs exist in all parts of Chiriquí, on the Pacific slope, and

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\* March 1862. Dr. Duprée, who has just arrived from Panamá to this country, informs me that last summer fresh tombs were discovered, from which had been extracted gold objects to the value of £16,000; and that it would appear the whole of this portion of the Isthmus of Darien was one large cemetery.



on the islands, but mostly in the mountains. Mr. Power observed no particular position of the graves or of their contents. The finding of vases was no indication of gold.

Some graves opened were fifteen feet deep, others not over five feet. Some bones and a skull found, which crumbled to dust on exposure.

There are eighteen streams between David and Bugábita; a dangerous one to ford is the Rio de las Piedras, or river of the rocks. At the river Jacú Mr. Power saw a stone with a sun engraved on one side, a moon on the other.

The fine pottery is called "Urabá," the name of the river from which such potter's earth comes; the other is the "losa blanca," or white pottery.

It was rumoured there were indications of gold mines at St. Felis. Gold was found at Burica, in the stream at Wagners.

#### DESCRIPTION OF MR. POWER'S DRAWINGS OF GOLD OBJECTS.

PLATE I. From Bugábita, grotesque figure of a man, weighed nine ounces and a half. This was the largest and heaviest figure found up to September 1859. It was purchased for £3, but worth £34.

PLATE II. From Bajo Boquete, near the river Caldera, male figure playing on a pipe and ginging a bell, of solid gold, weighed over six ounces.

PLATE III. A gold woman, two ounces, contains two gold balls, one on the head, the other in the body.

PLATE IV. 1. Probably a fish. 2. Head of an Indian of wrought gold, hollow, with four small stones inside, the face of pure Indian type, half an ounce. 3. Portion of a frog, thickly gilt on copper; it is much corroded, gilt on the inside also. 4. Shell, full size. 5. Two views of gold frog. 6. An animal.

PLATE V. 1. Puma, six ounces and a quarter. 2. Lizard, three ounces and an eighth. 3. Tapir (of guanin), four ounces. 4. Bells, five-eighths of an ounce, six pennyweights. 5. One of the so-called "eagles," rather the sacred parrot.

PLATE VI. 1. The best piece of Indian manufacture yet seen, it is a deer's head. 2. Gold bell (of guanin), full size, surmounted by a deer. 3. Three frogs joined together.

PLATE VII. 1. Curious human figure, full size, four ounces and a half, and flat, the hands grasping two serpents, which protrude from the lower part of the body. 2. Deer, two ounces and a half, and full size. On this plate is an agate barb of an arrow and a stone celt; also an earthen whistle with human head, and an earthen cup, quarter size.

PLATE VIII. Clay whistling figure.

*Pottery from Bugábita.*

PLATE IX. 1. Dark-brown tripod. 2. Red, with figure of a monkey. 3. Rudely-formed figure of a man. 4. Three-legged basin, hollow legs, with balls. 5. Vessel with handles. 6. Red vessel with human figure.

PLATE X. Fine specimens of pottery, and a whistle.

PLATE XI. 1. Vase, painted red and black. 2. Red vase, hollow legs, with balls inside. 3. The same. 4. Yellow, hollow legs, with figures. 5. Yellow and red. 6. White and yellow.

PLATE XII. 1. Vase, red ground, design of a star, etc., in black and white. 2. Three views of a tassa, whole width six inches; colour, black and red, white stripes; represents a tortoise, and stands on four legs, and about three inches high. 3. Carved ornaments in stone. 4. A painting, full size.

*Hieroglyphs.*

PLATE XIII. Vase painted with what has been called hieroglyphs; height, four inches; colour, brick-red. The figures are carefully copied from the original; they differ, though intended to represent the same form.

PLATE XIV. Vase, four inches and a half in height; colour of the figure outside black, shaded red.

PLATE XV. Vase, diameter sixteen inches; figure red, outline black.

PLATE XVI. Vase, four inches high; the outside lines black, inside red. These four, I suppose, are of Doracho origin.

PLATE XVIIa. If we go from Chiriquí along the isthmus easterly, crossing the river Atrato, we come upon a country called Zenu: old Spanish writers say the people here had an idea of writing; I have seen no example. South-west from Zenu, and to the north of Bogotá, is Tunja. Rivero and Tschudi, in plate xxxiii of the Atlas to their great work on *Peruvian Antiquities*, give a drawing of an ancient war-club found at Tunja, represented in xix of the present series. On this club are four figures, approaching somewhat to the character of those found at Chiriquí, and may be about the same date.

I have said in my work on *South American Antiquities*, that there appears to be a resemblance of the figure (a) on the club to Cuhupqua of the Chibcha or Muizca Calendar, which represents, among other objects, the numeral 7. In the case of the club, the figures on it may have represented the name of the owner. These and other figures representing the numerals 1 to 10 and 20 are the only examples of writing that has come to my knowledge from New Granada, formerly the kingdom of Santa Fé de Bogotá, but which a few months since has been changed to "the United States of Colombia."

It is said that at Timaná, south of Bogotá, there are hieroglyphs in stone.

There is the pentagonal Chibcha Calendar, with marks like these, II, III, III; these are said to mean 2, 3, 3, and that  $2 + 3 = 5$ , or  $2, 3, 3 = 8$ , or that at the 8th Chibcha year the moon was intercalated by Sahuza, or 8.

There are also three figures, called "dedos" or fingers by Duquesne; Humboldt calls them pieces of wood: they have each three transverse lines, or rather notches, signifying 3, 6, or 9 years, which has to do with the intercalation of Quilhicha ata, the numeral 11 according to Jomard. For details on this subject I refer to the plate and explanation at p. 49 of my work on *South American Antiquities*.

Whilst on this subject, I may add that in the state of Vera Cruz, in Mexico (see *Brantz Mayer*, ii, 193), the ruins of Mapilca are described, consisting of a city, pyramids, and sculptured stones. The granite stone represented in the drawing is twenty-one feet long, covered with figures, something like those on the Chiriquí pottery. Thus, all these I have adverted to, from Chiriquí, Tunja, Bogotá, and Mapilca, may have had a common origin. We may probably include the hieroglyphical and figurative writing contained in the cartouches, particularly as seen on the ruins of Palenque, Copan, and neighbouring regions.

Messrs. Squier and Aubin are at present engaged on an extensive work on these and kindred subjects connected with Central America.

PLATE XVII. Copy of a reversed impression of a series of circles on a stone near San Miguel, one-eighth the original size. The stone from which this is taken is on the western side of the hill. Much of the inscription is buried under ground. This may be of Chorotecan origin, as well as the sculptures on the "Piedra Pintal" at Caldera, described by Dr. Seemann.

PLATE XVIII. This looks as if manufactured out of some dark volcanic stone. It is in the form of a puna. Height, eight inches and one-tenth; width, six inches and one-fifth. The ornamental carving not quite alike on both sides. Such have been called mill-stones, maize-grinders, and ovens for cooking the tortillas, or cakes of maize. I am not prepared to give any opinion as to what it and similar ones were really intended for.

PLATE XIX. Of same general character as the above, eight inches in height, fourteen inches in diameter. This approaches what may be called the American classical. It is hollow, and the top is supported by two human figures, and two with heads of animals, something like the Caryatides, and deserves some attention from antiquarians.

DESCRIPTION OF MR. POWER'S AND DR. DUPRÉE'S COLLECTIONS  
OF POTTERY.

Carved stone figure (maize-grinder?) with head of puma. Rollers of stone are said to have been found with them.

Same as above, but of siliceous pottery. There are six figures, three of men, three men's bodies and heads of birds, of the caryatide character.

Eight vessels, some with handles and rude representations of animals, pointed at bottom to stand in hot embers. One painted with birds and monkeys.

Six vessels, with three feet, different sizes, as if having been used. The new ones have shorter feet. One with charcoal in it.

Three whistles. Three stone celts. A spindle-wheel of earthenware.

Volcanic stone figure of a puma, very ancient, a foot and a half long by one foot broad.

Two pieces of pottery with three long legs, ornamented with fish; they are hollow, and have little balls inside.

Various pieces of pottery, rounded at bottom, some slightly pointed; also a concave vessel on three legs, for holding probably the rounded ones when taken from the fire; others ornamented with the frog in particular,—man with folded arms. One like a bottle of the present day.

A caryatide, supported by three figures, probably females.

Two small figures in a sitting position.

Figures of monkeys, pumas, birds, etc., forming whistles.

A small double vase, (a polish given to the clay by rubbing). This is what I conceive has been called glazing.\*

In December, 1859, I exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, a large collection of gold objects from Chiriquí, and stated that at Bugába the ground was covered with forest, and it was by the falling of a large tree growing on the top of a mound that the tombs were discovered. I described the following objects:—bats, frogs, alligators, hideous and obscene figures, the guacamayo, or parrot, human figures, puma, tapir,† hawks' bills, parrots' heads with human body, grotesque human figures, and a bird with four heads.

All these were cast hollow, and had either one or two rings, so

\* The greater portion of the Chiriquí pottery, stone vessels, and celts, are in the British Museum.

† In the "Popol Vuh", the tapir is called a sacred animal, and seen on the sculptured monuments of Uxmal, Palenque, Chichen-Itza, etc.; and that the blood of this animal enters the flesh of chiefs. The elephant is said to be found figured at Uxmal (?). Remains of fossil elephant and mastodon are found all over the New World.

that they might be suspended in a temple, or round the neck of the dead body.

Some writers in the United States say that these objects have unmistakable signs of Chinese character. This is not my opinion.

I also mentioned the existence of monuments covered with hieroglyphics, discovered in 1851 on the island of Muerto, or of the dead, or the west coast of Chiriquí.

I regret to say that nearly the whole of the above lot of gold found its way into the melting pot as "old gold." However, I am enabled to exhibit on the present occasion the following, preserved by Dr. Duprée.

1. Head, probably of alligator, top of head ornamented with scroll work, eyes protruding, and has something like the moustache,—two inches high.

2. Broad ring; may be an earlet, an inch and a half in diameter.

3. Body of human figure; head may be of frog; two and a half inches high.

4. Curious human figure in a sort of frame-work, with scrolls. The left hand supports a vase-like vessel, the other hand drawn up to right side of frame; very fine gold; three inches high.

5. Of guanin, or copper-gold, three inches long. The head is of the guacamayo, or sacred parrot; has double comb, four feet, like the frog, and thick turned-up tail. All these objects have rings for the suspending them.

6. Four frogs, joined together.

7. Plain circular plate of gold, with two perforations for suspending; eight inches in diameter.

These objects are rough-cast (excepting the plate), the exteriors bulge out, and they have been burnished bright by hard stones.

Here then in a region, this of Chiriquí, between the province of Panamá on the east and Costa Rica on the north-west, we have a magnificent tropical country, particularly on its coasts; volcanic table-lands, with their attendant volcanic ranges of mountains, succeed, including the beautiful prismatic arrangement of basaltic outbursts.

In the higher portions European grain grows luxuriantly, and the horses and cattle of the old world thrive. It was just such a country, being plentifully supplied with animal and vegetable life, that masses of the Indians would congregate in.

From the remains just discovered of hieroglyphs carved in hard stone, we may conclude that other stone remains are hidden by the dense forests that cover a great portion of the land, awaiting the footsteps of the enthusiastic explorer. I think I perceive in the Dorachos a great tribe, among others, the remains of a portion of the Chorotecan nation of Nicaragua. A tree falls

which had grown on the top of a tumulus, and, in tearing away the ground in which it had sprung up, discovers a tomb containing figures of gold. Search is now made, and nearly the whole district is found to be covered with ancient tombs, some marked with prisms of basalt, and not unlike our own grave-stones. Gold figures of men, women, and animals are brought to light; curious—may I be allowed to say classical—sculptures in stone, some of which I have ventured to class with the caryatides; pottery, some of elegant form, others with hieroglyphical figures painted on them; celts, stone arrow heads, wheels, or perforated disks, used for spinning and other things; these, we may suppose, are of Doracho origin, and may be from five to seven hundred years old.

However, the carvers of such monuments as the "Piedra Pintal" were an earlier race, probably Chorotecan. There are other sculptures on stone in this region pointing to a still earlier period.

All these works of art appear to me to have been the result of civilizations peculiar to this race, and not in any way imported from the old world.

One celt has been found with the rest, apparently indicating by its rough degree of workmanship, a nation existing long prior to the Dorachos, and was in a lower state of civilization.

I may mention, that some of the Indians of the New World are accustomed to preserve with care past monuments of their ancestors, and it is possible that the celt may have been thus buried as a sacred object in a tomb of much later date than of the original manufacture.

#### OBSERVATIONS ON THE EXISTENCE OF GOLD IN THE ISTHMUS OF DARIEN.

As I have spoken rather largely as to the quantity of gold found in this portion of the Isthmus of Darien, I will now give the positions of some of the spots whence it has been so abundantly extracted, and where at present met with; also the reasons why more of the precious metals are not raised now hereabouts.

When the Spaniards conquered the country, they obtained from the natives gold in the shape of ornaments and figures of deities. The next thing to discover was, whence came the gold. This was soon accomplished, and it was found to be in two states—that of stream gold from the river, and from veins in the rocks.

At one of the first places visited, figures in copper were met with, and crucibles to melt this metal.

At another spot the metallic objects were of an alloy (probably a natural one) of gold and copper, known as *guanin*;\* and the

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\* In this region the gold is found alloyed with copper, but in the country of Bogotá it is alloyed (naturally) with silver.

natives told the Spaniards, that further south they would obtain pure gold. This was found to be the case at the river Veraguas.

At Cariari in particular, much fine gold was found in the shape of circular plates, coronets, forms of "eagles," parrots, etc. Near to this, the gold mines of Belen were soon worked; these had been abandoned for many years, when not long since an English and American Company worked them; their labours were not satisfactory, but no cause has been assigned.

I now come to the district of Chiriquí and its lagoons (about 9° N., 82° W.) on the Atlantic, and the continuation of it west to the Pacific, which bears particularly upon the subject of this communication. The gold mines of Tissingal, which gave the name of "Costa Rica" to a portion of this country, was one of the richest ever worked by the Spaniards. This mine is not far from the "Volcan of Chiriquí," in the range of the spurs of the Cordillera, forming the northern limits of Burica.

About 1851-2 an Indian from the vicinity of the said volcan came to the town of David, and sold two lumps of gold, weighing a pound each. The rich mines of Estrella, in this direction, are often spoken of. The Mosquito Indians, who were formerly in continual warfare with the Indians of Chiriquí, finally overthrew them, destroying their mines, the precise spots of which are not now known.

Gold has been found in the mountains of Chiriquí, the various plains and streams which run into the Atlantic, as also into the Pacific, particularly at Guanabano and Charco Azul.

On the road from Costa Rica to Burica an extensive quartz formation has been discovered; here reside the Terrora Indians, who grind the rock, and extract gold.

Approaching Panamá, the first Spaniards found large quantities of gold at Penanamé, about 8° 36' N., 80° 26' W.\*

At the base of the "Saddle of Veragua," twenty-two geographical miles north-east from Penanamé, are the old gold mines of San Antonio, at the head-waters of the river Chagres.

Passing Panamá are the plains of Pacora,† where gold-dust is found of twenty-two carats fine; and in the adjoining streams of the Chepo,‡ an exploring party, in 1849, is said to have procured from each pan-full of earth about one shilling's worth of gold, and that one person, in one day, got out five ounces of gold.

\* Said to contain from four to five thousand souls in its district. Here are cattle and other farms. San Juan de Penomomé, so called from its chief; in Ulloa's time the Indians here retained the use of the bow and arrow, at which they were dexterous; they were brave.

† Our Lady of Pacora, in Ulloa's time, was inhabited by Mulattoes and their descendants. Vol. i, 134.

‡ San Cristobal de Chepo takes its name from the chiefs Chepo and Chepauri.

So much gold (as well as pearls) was collected by the Conquistadores about Panamá, that they called the country "Castilla del Oro,"—a golden Castile—the main sources then being the mines of Guerrero in Veraguas; the gold washings of Santa Maria, fifteen leagues from Santiago de Veraguas (thirty-six leagues from Panamá); the mines of the Escudo de Veraguas; the washings in the Rio Veraguas, and in the ravine of San Juan, near Cañazas. Gold was abundant in the ravine of San Francisco de la Montaña, on the river San Bartolomeo, also in the ravines of Isabel and Sangijuela. Silver was worked at the farm of Hato, near the town of Chepo.

Fitzroy, in the Geographical Society's *Journal*, 1853, says, that the repeated aggressions of the Buccaneers in this auriferous district, where abundance of gold, produced by black slave-labour, after the aborigines had been diminished in numbers by oppressive cruelties, induced Spain to close and abandon the mines for a time (early in the eighteenth century), even those famous ones in the mountain of Espirito Santo, near Cana ( $7^{\circ} 38' N.$ ,  $77^{\circ} 31' W.$ ), from which alone more gold went through Panamá in a year than from all the other mines of America put together. These mines of Cana were sacked in 1702 and 1712 by the English, in 1724 by the French, and by the Indians in 1727.

When the Indians had been terribly reduced, and the remainder had fled to their mountains and forests, African negro slaves were imported for working the gold mines. Very many of these ran away, joining the Indians. These obtained the name of Cimarrones,\* savages, or wild ones, and were hunted down by the Spaniards. The first expedition against the Cimarrones was about 1555; they retaliated upon their former Spanish masters, who travelled over the road, from Nombre de Dios (on the Atlantic) to Panamá, robbing and killing all who fell into their hands; thus, it would appear, it was only by new shipments of negro slaves that the work in the mines could be continued. Then came the plunderings of the Buccaneers, the closing of the mines, the re-working of them; but with the long war of independence and separation from Spain, nearly all mining operations ceased, and this state of things has continued, in this district, up to the present time.

The following are the main obstacles for the re-working of the mines:—

1. No forced labour, either of Indian or Negro, can be obtained. Slavery is abolished in New Granada.

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\* From which comes Maroon. See my translation of "The Expedition of Pedro de Ursua and Lope de Aguirre in Search of El Dorado and Omagua", for Hakluyt Society, 1861.



2. That portion of the mixed population of Indian and negro, constituting the Zambo, will not work for any white man or company for the wages that could be afforded, when he can work more profitably on his own account, and at his own will and pleasure.

3. Much of the rich gold country is occupied by warlike Indians.

4. No white man, if taken there as a labourer or miner, would work any time for others, when he could so easily work for himself.

5. The wretched political state of the whole country is most unfavourable to European or home enterprise.

6. The climate generally is most detrimental to the health of the white man.

The scattered Zambo population of the Isthmus, when they require European goods, as hatchets, &c., wash the sands in the streams of their respective districts, and can always obtain the requisite quantity of gold to pay with, making their purchases at Colon or Panamá.

However, the real and profitable enterprise of the Isthmus is the Panamá Railway, which is in the hands of a New York Company, and pays about a twelve per cent. dividend.\*

The following were the imports of New Granada in 1860,—its estimated area being 480,000 square miles:—

Gold .....	5,000,000
Silver and emeralds .....	1,000,000
Pearls and pearl shell.....	800,000
Tobacco.....	3,500,000
Straw hats (Panamá hats).....	1,400,000
Peruvian bark, coffee, hides, dye woods, cocoa, } India-rubber, cotton, ivory nuts, balsams, sugar, } flour, maize, etc. ....	2,550,000

£2,846,000 = 14,250,000

Professor OWEN said he participated in the interest felt by ethnologists in all that related to the early history of the different races of our species, and deprecated any discouragement at being baffled in these researches, as hitherto we had been. When, after getting a little way back into past time, we seemed to lose our way in the primitive darkness, one thought had struck him in the examination of the relics exhibited by Mr. Bollaert in connection with his natural history pursuits: it would seem that, whenever an aboriginal artist imitated or represented the forms of animal life, it was of species living in his own district. In the present case, the figures were strictly of South or Central American forms; and he was particularly struck

\* In the construction of this railway, it has been reported to me that some 2,500 lives of people of all nations, including many Chinese, have been sacrificed, although the greatest care was taken of the labourers by the railway company.

with the ornamentation of the Chiriquí pottery, where there were frequent indications of large batrachians, having the physiognomy of *Bufo Chilensis* and *Ceratophrys*. In America, the largest living aboriginal mammal was the tapir; and this creature was unmistakably represented on the pots. It might be objected that there was a tapir also in Sumatra; but the distinctive parti-colour of that species was not here indicated. Deer are always attractive as objects of chase to aboriginal peoples. In Central and South America, the genus *Cervus* is feebly represented by small species, resembling the young or 'brockets' of the larger kinds, with small, simple, or bifurcate antlers; such antlers, which are characters of immaturity in the old-world *Cervidae*, were retained by the adults of *Cervus paludosus*, *Cerv. campestris*, and *Cerv. nemoralis* of South America. And the simple forms and small proportions of the antlers of one or other of these species were faithfully represented in the ceramic sculpturing and ornamentation of the old Chiriquí artist. He had never seen the grand 'attire' of the elk or old red-deer of primitive Celtic hunters.

There were also representations of feline animals; and, among these, where the character and colour of the markings had been given or preserved, those characteristic of the ocelot, a peculiarly American form, might be detected. A rude nomadic race of hunters might be supposed to carry with them, in their migrations, ideas of the largest and most remarkable of the wild animals of the continent they had left; and in the representations of animal forms connected with their burial and other ceremonies, and preserved in relics of the kind now exhibited, one should not be surprised to find such forms so indicated: but nothing of the kind was here apparent—no hint was thus given that the Chiriquí race had migrated from any other part of the world having animals distinct from the South American ones. The primitive nature of the weapons discovered in some of the tombs, of which Mr. Blake had given so good a description, seemed to indicate a people as little advanced as those of the stone-celt period in Europe. But the conditions of the country for affording any harder material for weapons must be considered. The only metals which the Chiriquís had at hand appear to have been gold and copper. Of the former they had left evidence of their skill in working. But the conditions of an age of bronze and an age of iron, succeeding that of stone, as indicated by the celts, were wanting in the land of the Chiriquís. Moreover, an inference from one kind of weapon may deceive, if there be not good proof that no other kind were in use at the time. A rude weapon may merely indicate the social status of the man who wielded it: another contemporary chieftain may have had them of a higher and better manufacture. The old stone celt may have continued in use by the ruder sort, after the higher class had procured for themselves metallic weapons. It would be premature, at least, or hazardous, to infer from the celts discovered in some of the burial places of the Chiriquí, a like antiquity with the races of the stone period in Europe. If it can be proved or made probable that the celts were in use by the people who made the pottery and wrought the gold, we have evidence of their belonging to a more advanced stage or later age. In conclusion, Professor Owen remarked that all the facts brought forward and discussed on the present occasion left us still in the dark as to the main question of the origin of the Chiriquís. They threw no light upon the question of whence they came; seemed rather to indicate that they had not migrated from any historically older part of the world; and any further glimpse at this mainly interesting circumstance could only be got by examination of the physical, especially osteological and dental, characters of the men who made the celts, manufactured the pottery, and wrought the gold ornaments.

Dr. SEEMANN said that the first discussion on the Chiriquí relics occurred

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ten years ago, upon his reading of a paper before the Archæological Institute, detailing his discovery of these tombs. His belief in respect to the "Piedra Pintal" was that the figures were not made by the Durachos, but by an older people. That people (the Durachos) had not long been extinct; and, from the descriptions of natives wearing gold eagles or bats, it is evident that this race was seen by Columbus in his fourth voyage, and wearing such ornaments as are found now in their tombs. Although the people existed at the time of the discovery of America, no bones or skeletons are found, and only black earth remains in the tombs. There is another class of tombs, which are very rarely opened. These are large mounds covered with great boulders. They contain neither pottery nor any ornaments, but in them grinding-stones are found: such grinding-stones are never met with in those which contain the elegant pottery. His idea was, that these were the graves of the common people, and the others those of the wealthy. Tombs occur all over Chiriquí, in such numbers as to indicate that the country was once densely inhabited. He believed that the Durachos were connected with Mexico, as they had so many habits in common with the inhabitants of that country. Drinkers of chocolate, he believed they came from north of the Isthmus Panama. Although now cultivated on the south, before the conquest the cacao was only known north of the isthmus. The Aztecs on the north, and the Peruvians on the south, would have met at this isthmus; and that they knew each other is certain, because the information received where the Spaniards crossed the isthmus has been recorded. It was said that there was a rocking stone and Druidical remains to the north of Chiriquí, but he had never visited the place.

Mr. J. EVANS would offer no opinion on American antiquities. The remarks which had fallen from Dr. Seemann appeared to indicate that the relics found in the Chiriquí tombs might not be of such vast antiquity as had been supposed. Mr. Blake had pleaded for the possible high antiquity of some celts which had been found in Chiriquí; but he could not agree to there being any close analogy between these stone tools and the fossil flint implements. The specimens from Mr. Sass's collection, laid on the table by Mr. Blake for the inspection of the Society, were from the bed of the Thames; and the differences between them and those of the Drift period were also very conspicuous. One point was remarkable in the American case, namely, the association of stone implements with gold ornaments. As a rule, the gold in the antiquities of all nations was purer or more alloyed in proportion to their antiquity. There was, as civilization increased, a strong tendency to make the same amount of show with a less amount of the real metal; and the gold ornaments from Chiriquí were of very base metal, indicative of their belonging to a late period in their acquaintance with gold among the people who formed them.

Mr. LUKE BURKE wished to ask Mr. Bollaert and Dr. Seemann for some account of the character of the Chiriquí tombs, as it would be interesting to see whether they presented any points of comparison with tombs in other parts of the world. It was interesting to know that the relics found in them resembled some found in Ireland, as this was not a solitary case of affinity between the antiquities of Europe and America. On the contrary, affinities were rather the rule than the exception. American antiquities had, indeed, a special physiognomy; but this would not prove them of exclusively native origin, for an equal speciality marks the monuments of Egypt, India, and China, where, nevertheless, the evidences of frequent foreign intervention are unequivocal. If we follow up the history of pyramidal structures from the temple-mounds of North-western Europe and the valley of the Mississippi, to the Teocallis of Mexico and Central America, the terraced, graded, and smooth pyramids of Egypt, and other pyramidal

structures in India and Java, it was easy to trace in these works a community of idea and origin, and evidences of even many intercommunications between the New World and the Old. Similar results were presented by the study of other classes of antiquities, especially by those termed Cyclopean. Structures in this style are found in Peru, and with all the characteristics of an introduced idea; for we find no trace there, as elsewhere in America, of the *primitive* Cyclopean, consisting of walls of large uncut blocks of stone; but we have the *secondary* and long subsequent style, consisting of unstratified walls of carefully cut and accurately fitted irregular polygons, put together without cement: and the identity in style between these monuments and those of Greece and Italy is often so complete, that drawings from them might be mistaken, by the most practised eye, for representations of Classic ruins. He also wished to know whether the pillar stones alluded to bear any resemblance to those which surround the mounds of our Celtic regions.

Mr. BOLLAERT, in reply, said the Chiriquí tombs were from three to five feet deep, as was stated in the paper: some were covered with slabs. Dr. Seemann had alluded to mounds. It was probable that these graves are from seven to eight hundred years old; and if mounds once existed over them, they are now level with the ground. For his part, he did not trace any connexion whatever between these Chiriquí antiquities with those of the Old World, neither could he be brought to think that there was any connexion between the ancient monuments of the New World with those of the Old; and he looked upon the Red Man in North and South America as a separate race of mankind. Mr. Bollaert also alluded to well marked and distinct periods in the existence of the inhabitants of the several great divisions of the Red Man in the United States, Mexico, Central America, New Granada, Quito, and Peru. In the latter country he particularized the ruins at Tia-Huanacu, near to Lake Titicaca, these indicated pre-historic and pre-Incarial times, and apparently of better workmanship than the works of the Incas at Cuzco; here, at an elevation of nearly 13,000 feet above the level of the sea, in a spacious Andean table land, were still to be seen a tumulus over 900 feet in length and 100 feet in height; on it colossal sculptured statues about 17 feet in height by 4 feet in diameter, and around the tumulus other stone statues; a wall encompassed the mound, one of the stones of which weighed about 300 tons; ranges of pilasters some 20 feet in length; residences, palaces, or temples 300 to 500 feet in length; four large square stone sets of seats, called by some the hall of justice, each a square of 27 feet by 5 feet thick; but the most wonderful, if we can give full credit to Alcobaca, who communicated the information to Garcilasso, namely, of a court 90 feet square, its walls 9 feet in height, a hall 45 feet long by 22 feet broad; the said court, walls, pavement, hall, stone thatch, portals and thresholds, "all this is of one mass of stone only." This monolith would give a weight of between 8,000 and 9,000 tons. And lastly, among other stone remains, is the now broken monolithic portal, sculptured in bas-relief on its eastern face; this portal appears to stand on a flat foundation, and if so would have been cut from a mass of some 600 tons.

Mr. POWER had in 1856, for the first time, out of curiosity opened one of the tombs in Chiriquí; not in the expectation of finding gold, but of getting ordinary antiquities to send home to his friends. The grave was slightly rounded on the surface, and marked by two stones. The Indians worked at the excavation without compunction, and with feelings perfectly irrelevant of any care for the remains of their ancestors. He was obliged to watch them closely, as they had a knack of catching up the gold and hiding it. They worked with only their trousers, and were more like

monkeys than human beings. The grave was of four stones laid flat, under which there were no bones, but only black earth. All the human remains met with were two teeth. In digging round the grave, they found pottery such as that on the table exhibited by Mr. Bollaert. He had seen graves with pillars at Bugaba, something like those in Ireland; but these mounds seem to be formed of decomposed vegetation. On one occasion, being twelve miles from Chiriquí in a canoe, happening to mention he had with him bones from some of these graves during a storm, immediately he was regarded as the jumbo, and had only the choice of throwing these relics overboard, or of going over himself. In Chiriquí hundreds of celts of various forms might be had for merely the trouble of collecting them.

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XIII.—*Note on Stone Celts, from Chiriquí.* By CHARLES CARTER BLAKE.

FIVE stone "celts" have been submitted to me from the collections of antiquarian objects from the Chiriquí, formed by my friends, William Bollaert, Esq., F.R.G.S., Corresponding Member University of Chile, &c., and William Duprée, M.D., F.R.G.S., of Panamá.

No information has been given to me respecting the locality, condition, or probable age of these "celts." I understand, however, that they were obtained from the same graves in Chiriquí whence have been derived the various objects wrought in gold, and moulded in pottery, some of which have lately been described in the United States, and in this country by Mr. Bollaert.

All the "celts" exhibit the well-known scalpriform sharpening of the larger end, and are sharpened laterally by a succession of blows, producing lateral facets, analogous to those of the cut flints which have been found at Abbeville,\* at the Kjökkenmöddings in Denmark,† and in various European localities, and which probably belong to a period antecedent to the known historical epoch.

Four of the celts, marked B 2, B 3, D 1, and D 2, are composed of the porphyritic stone, found in great abundance on the Isthmus of Darien. One only, marked B 1, is hewn more roughly than the others, from an indurated clay, and closely resembles some of the European carved flints.

B 1 (measuring four inches and four-tenths) is of a tapering acuminate form, the lateral facets being so deep, and so widely extending across the "celt," as to have produced a more or less salient ridge, extending longitudinally along the median line of the

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\* Prestwich, *Philos. Transact.* 1860. Evans, *Archæologia*, 1860, 1862.

† Lubbock, in *Natural History Review*, October 1861.