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The Darién Gold Pendants of Ancient Colombia and the Isthmus

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Precolumbian metallurgy on the American continents represents more than three thousand years of continuous production. The technology of metalworking was developed during the first millennium B.C. in the central Andean area of South America corresponding to present-day Peru. Metallurgical knowledge was established in southwestern Colombia by the latter half of the first millennium B.C., reaching the Central American isthmus by the time of Christ and the Mesoamerican area some centuries later.

In the context of the rich and diverse inventory of Precolumbian metallurgy and of continuous contact among different cultural areas, a particular category of objects linked numerous communities that lived and developed complex societies in an extensive area of the American continents. This phenomenon is represented by the so-called Darién pendants, a specific kind of ornament consisting of anthropomorphic figures adorned with distinctive ceremonial regalia. Local variants of this iconographic representation were manufactured and used from northern South America (Colombia) to Yucatán (Mexico) during a period that extended from the last centuries B.C. to the seventeenth century A.D.

The largest number of Darién pendants were produced in western and northern Colombia. During many centuries, the Darién region, on the border between the present republics of Colombia and Panama, served as an important route for contacts between northern South America and the Central American isthmus and the exchange of metallurgical knowledge. The name “Darién” was introduced for the first time in 1950 by Carlos Margain, based on the origin of a number of metal objects that had been found in the Pacific region of Colombia south of the Darién area.¹ The name is commonly used in the literature on Precolumbian metallurgy, including works that refer specifically to these figures.²

A number of stereotypic diagnostic features identify the anthropomorphic figures known as Darién pendants (Figures 1, 2): two semispherical upper headdress ornaments;

winged appendages at the sides of both ears; a face with animal features, such as a protruding snout and a turned-up nose; a loincloth; schematic legs and feet; and two staffs held by the figure that usually end below the mouth. As the figures went through different stages of schematization, their numerous variants included some of the diagnostic features of Darién pendants in spite of the local technical, stylistic, and iconographic preferences.

This study is based on an examination of more than two hundred Darién pendants from different regions of Colombia in the collection of the Museo del Oro del Banco de la República in Bogotá. It also includes nine objects in The Metropolitan Museum of Art and some examples with recorded provenances that belong to other museums (see Appendix).

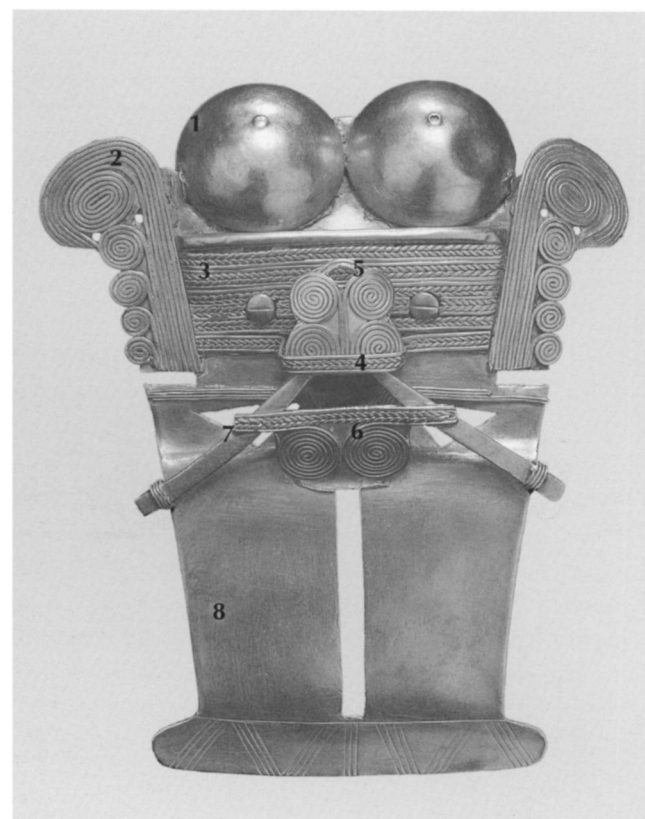
Study of Darién pendants is unfortunately limited by the lack of archaeological context for most of the objects. However, with a large group of diverse pendants from a wide area, it has been possible to obtain a good deal of information from the objects themselves through a systematic examination of their stylistic, iconographic, and technical features, as well as the different combinations of these characteristics in their association with particular regions. This study demonstrates the presence of patterns or types that can be linked specifically to local metallurgical work from different geographical areas and time periods. In addition, the results of more than thirty years of research carried out on the extensive collection of Precolumbian metalwork belonging to the Museo del Oro (33,947 objects at present) have made it possible to establish distinctive characteristics of the various regional styles and to link them to cultural developments as reconstructed through archaeological research in these gold-working areas.

In the context of the development of Precolumbian metallurgy in Colombia and the Central American isthmus—the so-called Intermediate Area—Darién pendants tell a story covering more than a thousand years, from the production of the oldest items at the time of Christ in southwestern Colombia and their subsequent diversification during the

1. Early Darién pendant (Type 2) shown in Figure 17, with diagnostic features indicated: 1. upper headdress ornaments; 2. lateral head ornaments; 3. face; 4. mouth; 5. nose; 6. loincloth; 7. staff; 8. legs



2. Highly schematic Darién pendant (Type 8b; see Figures 48–51). Cast gold. Museo del Oro, Bogotá (6030). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf. Diagnostic features: 1. upper headdress ornaments; 2. lateral head ornaments; 3. face; 4. mouth; 5. nose; 6. loincloth; 7. staff; 8. legs



first centuries A.D., until the late period, after A.D. 1000, when Darién pendants were mass-produced in northern Colombia, the only region where the motif survived until the Spanish conquest.

In Amerindian societies, metals were not valued as a source of material wealth. Metal objects—and craft objects in general—were charged with religious meaning, and they represented a symbolic language based on mythical principles that guided ritual activities, social relationships, and every aspect of human life. The information provided by Darién pendants offers interesting insight into the constant interaction and symbolic communication among ancient communities. Different metallurgical traditions merged to give origin to these stereotypic human figures, whose widespread production and use extended beyond the boundaries of local cultural areas and worldviews.

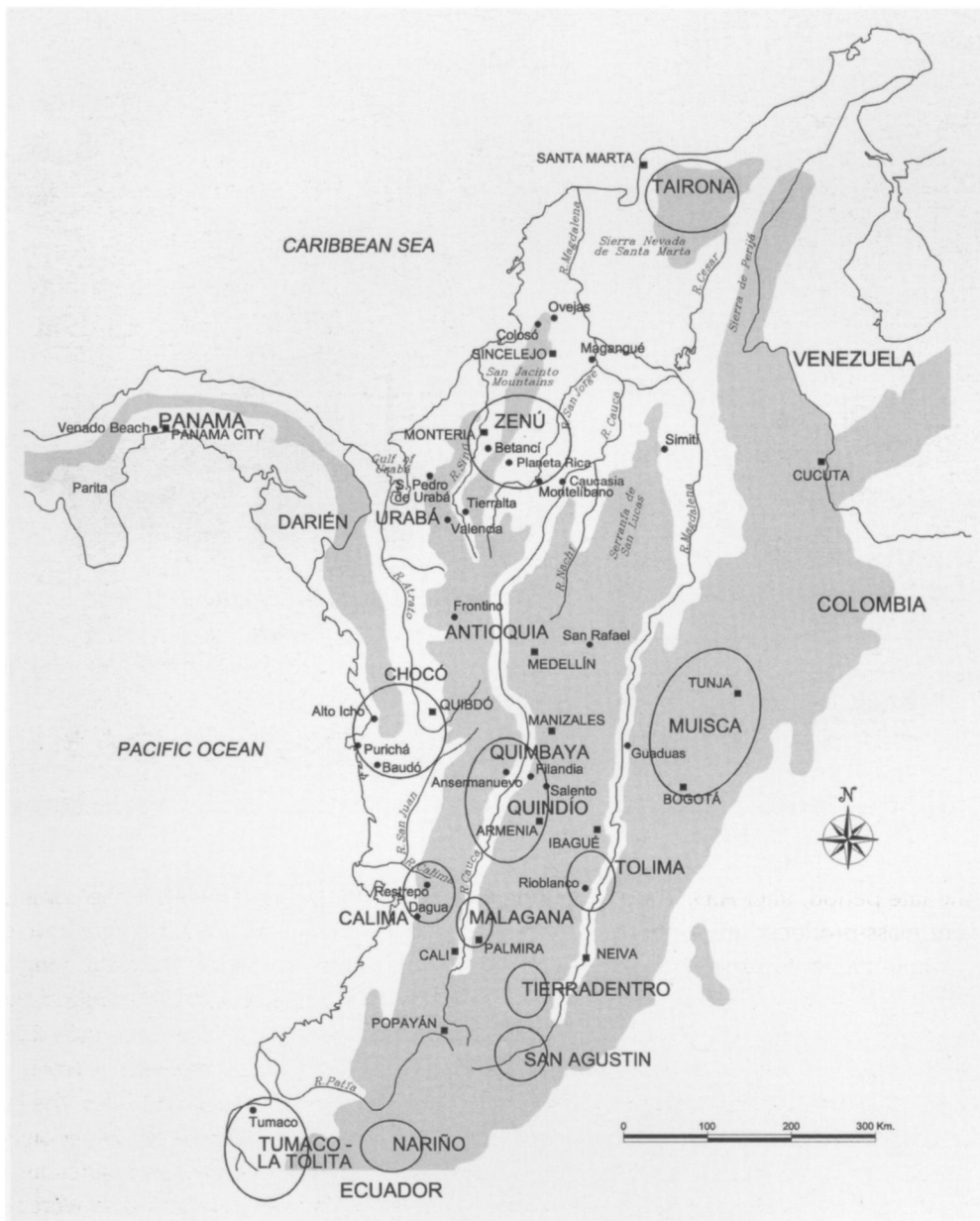
THE DEVELOPMENT OF DARIÉN PENDANTS AND THE EARLY METALLURGICAL TRADITION OF SOUTHWESTERN COLOMBIA (100 B.C.–A.D. 800)

The oldest items related to the so-called Darién pendants are a number of metal pendants representing male humans wearing ritual ornaments, which belong to an important cultural development centered in southwestern Colombia

during the period 100 B.C.–A.D. 800. In the communities in this area of considerable biodiversity, there developed a consolidation of ranked societies. From the jungles and mangrove areas of the Pacific coast, to the rugged and cold highlands of the Western and Central Mountain Ranges of the Andes in Colombia, to the temperate or warm valleys drained by the Cauca and Magdalena Rivers, the inhabitants transformed the landscape in the process of organizing their settlements and practicing intensive agriculture. They exploited the area's rich sources of gold and were responsible for an outstanding metallurgical production. The cultural areas involved are known as Tumaco–La Tolita, Calima, Malagana, Quimbaya, Tolima, San Agustín, Tierradentro, and Nariño (Figure 3).³

In their basic technology, the southwestern Colombian objects that conform to the early metallurgical tradition are strongly related to the metallurgy of the central Andes, which shows a preference for shaping metal by working rather than by casting.⁴ The early southwestern metallurgy favored producing large hammered ornaments decorated with embossed designs from high-grade gold. Sheets of gold were also used to form three-dimensional objects by assembling the sheets and fitting them together with small gold nails and folded metal tabs or by using heat to bond the metal parts. However, the metalworkers of southwestern Colombia also employed gold-copper alloys, usually known as *tumbaga*, preferring alloys high in gold content.⁵ *Tumbaga*

3. Map of the gold-working areas of Colombia (drawing: Luis Guillermo León and Melba de León)



was used for casting objects by the lost-wax technique. As we will see, this technology was perfected especially in the Quimbaya area, and its influence was widely felt.

The production of the earliest Darién pendants and related objects was linked particularly to the Calima area around the upper Calima and Dagua Rivers in the Western Mountain Range, the Chocó district toward the Pacific lowlands, the Quimbaya area in the mountainous region of the middle Cauca River, and, to a lesser extent, the Tolima area centered on the middle reaches of the Magdalena River. However, it is in the first of these regions, Calima, where a group of anthropomorphic figures can perhaps be identified as the forebears of Darién pendants. They belong to the Yotoco period, which, according to available radiocarbon dates, covers the years 100 B.C.–A.D. 800.⁶

The “Ancestors” of Darién Pendants

Among the numerous objects of early metallurgical production in the Calima area, we can identify two groups of human figures whose characteristics merged to give origin to the particular items known as Darién pendants. In one group, a few small anthropomorphic pendants show the semispherical headdress ornaments, the staffs, and the animal features that are typical of Darién pendants. In the other, a number of realistic Yotoco adorned human figures display an attitude and body shape that represent a prototype reproduced in Darién pendants of the early period, although those figures do not include the diagnostic features of Darién pendants.

Several small anthropomorphic figures (2–3.5 cm high) that were probably used as centerpieces of necklaces might

4. Early Darién pendant (Type 1), Calima area, Yotoco period (100 B.C.–A.D. 800); Restrepo, Valle del Cauca. Cast *tumbaga*, H. $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (2.1 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (5425). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



5. Early Darién pendant (Type 1), Calima area, Yotoco period (100 B.C.–A.D. 800); Restrepo, Valle del Cauca. Cast *tumbaga*, H. $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (2.1 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (6200). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



represent one of the oldest patterns of Darién pendants (Type 1; Figures 4, 5, 16 no. 2). They are from the Calima heartland (Restrepo), although one (see Figure 16 no. 2) is said to have come from the Colombian Pacific watershed (Chocó). One of these figures (Figure 4) was found at the site of San Salvador (Restrepo) among numerous grave goods that included ornaments in the most characteristic Yotoco

style, such as diadems, nose ornaments, ear plugs, breast-plates, and other objects made of beaten gold.⁷ These small Darién figures are solid castings in *tumbaga*.⁸ They are adorned with two semispherical headdress elements, in one case (Figure 5) decorated with lines and dots, which are supported by wires cast in one with the piece. In their hands, the small personages carry two staffs (rattles?) with

6. Anthropomorphic figure, Calima area, Yotoco period (100 B.C.–A.D. 800); Restrepo, Valle del Cauca. Cast gold, H. $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. (6 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (26632). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



7. Nose ornament, Calima area, Yotoco period (100 B.C.–A.D. 800); Restrepo, Valle del Cauca. Hammered gold, H. $8\frac{5}{8}$ in. (21.9 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (16637). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



globular ends; they also wear Yotoco-style breastplates and ligatures around the legs. Two figures (see Figure 4) have animal features represented by a flat nose with two holes and pointed ears figured by short projecting triangular devices with incised decoration. José Pérez de Barradas interpreted these traits as indicating the face of a vampire.⁹ A third pendant (Figure 5) shows different animal features, such as a triangular projecting snout that is common on other types of Darién pendants, described below.

To understand the development of Darién pendants, we must consider some realistic Yotoco human figures concentrated in the Calima area. These figures represent male personages of consistent patterns with standardized technological, stylistic, and iconographic features. They belong to the local gold production, which appears to have been tied to the particular social order and worldview of people of the Yotoco period. The anthropomorphic figures are lost-wax castings of high-grade gold and, to a lesser extent, of gold-rich *tumbaga*. They show distinctive stereotypic features, such as legs shaped with protruding knees, flat feet with parallel lines depicting the toes, loincloths modeled in high relief, and a rigid appearance. These personages usually carry staffs or other ceremonial objects in their hands. Some of them are standing, but others appear to be in a crouched position, which is indicated by a bend at the knees, ankles, and hips. Some of these naturalistic figures (Figure 6) have typical Yotoco-style adornments, such as large circular ear ornaments, crescent-shaped nose ornaments, and heart-shaped breastplates (Figures 7–9). These personages usually hold staffs in their hands, although there are a few representations of musicians, such as a man playing a drum. A good number of these objects are solid castings, but in some cases, the body of the figure is solid while the headdress was open worked.

A common representation (Figures 10–13), of which two examples can be seen at the Metropolitan Museum, is that of a man wearing a Yotoco-style diadem (Figure 14) complemented by a crescent-shaped nose ornament and a branched element that covers the chest and has projections ending at both sides of the head. In one hand, these personages usually hold a staff with lateral protrusions (or sometimes a lance), and in the other hand they carry an element that has been interpreted as a shield, an animal skin, or a palm leaf.¹⁰

Another common type of Yotoco human figure (Figure 15), recently named “Wrinkle Face” by Warwick Bray, represents a naked man holding two simple staffs.¹¹ These personages have a nonhuman mouth, a prominent nose formed by spirals, a protruding chin, and lateral branched head ornaments.

The Yotoco anthropomorphic figures have a concentration in the Calima heartland, and a few related objects have



8. Breastplate, Calima area, Yotoco period (100 B.C.–A.D. 800); Restrepo, Valle del Cauca. Hammered and repoussé gold, W. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (21.9 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (6718). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



9. Breastplate, Calima area, Yotoco period (100 B.C.–A.D. 800). Hammered and repoussé gold, H. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (22.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1979 (1979.206.507)

10. Yotoco anthropomorphic figure with ornaments, Calima area. Cast gold, H. 5 3/8 in. (13.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1979 (1979.206.547). Identification of ornaments: 1. diadem; 2. nose ornament; 3. chest-head ornament; 4. palm leaf, animal skin, shield (?); 5. staff; 6. hand; 7. loincloth

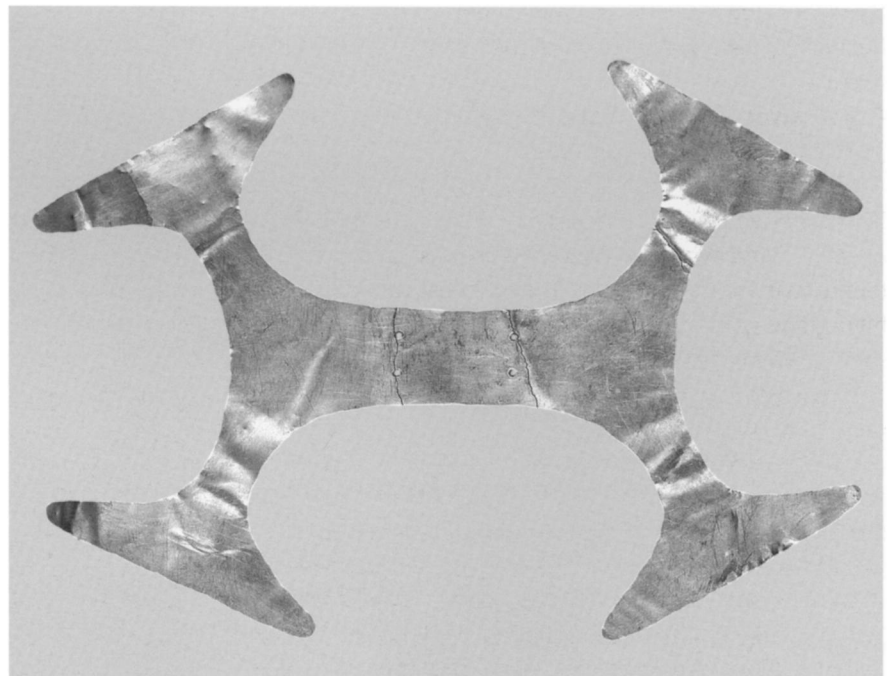


11. Yotoco anthropomorphic figure with ornaments, Calima area. Cast gold, H. 2 in. (5.1 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (7469). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf

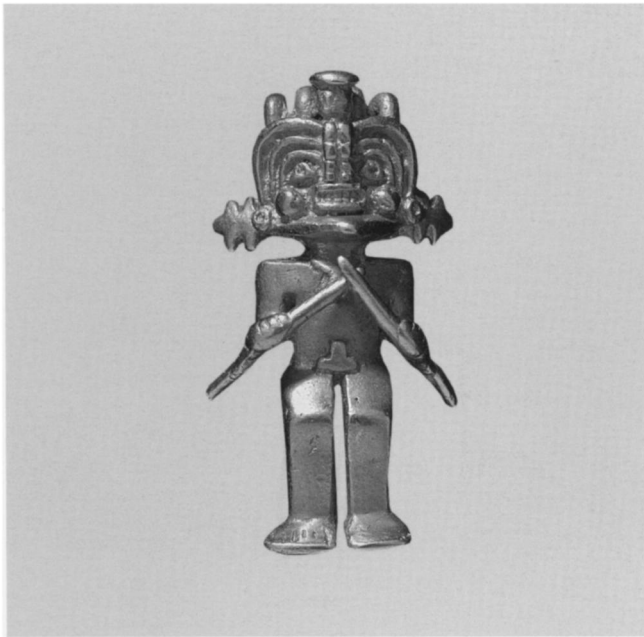
been found outside this region. One pendant from the Malagana area, on the flatlands of the Cauca River valley near the modern city of Palmira, closely resembles the Yotoco "Wrinkle Face" prototype.¹² However, it is undoubtedly a local version belonging to the Malagana culture,



12 (front view) and 13 (side view). Yotoco anthropomorphic figure with ornaments, Calima area; Restrepo, Valle del Cauca. Cast gold, H. 2 3/4 in. (7.1 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (6700). Photographers: Rudolf Schrimpf and Juan Mayr



14. Diadem, Ricaurte, Belalcázar, Cauca. Hammered gold, H. 7 in. (17.8 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (28919). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



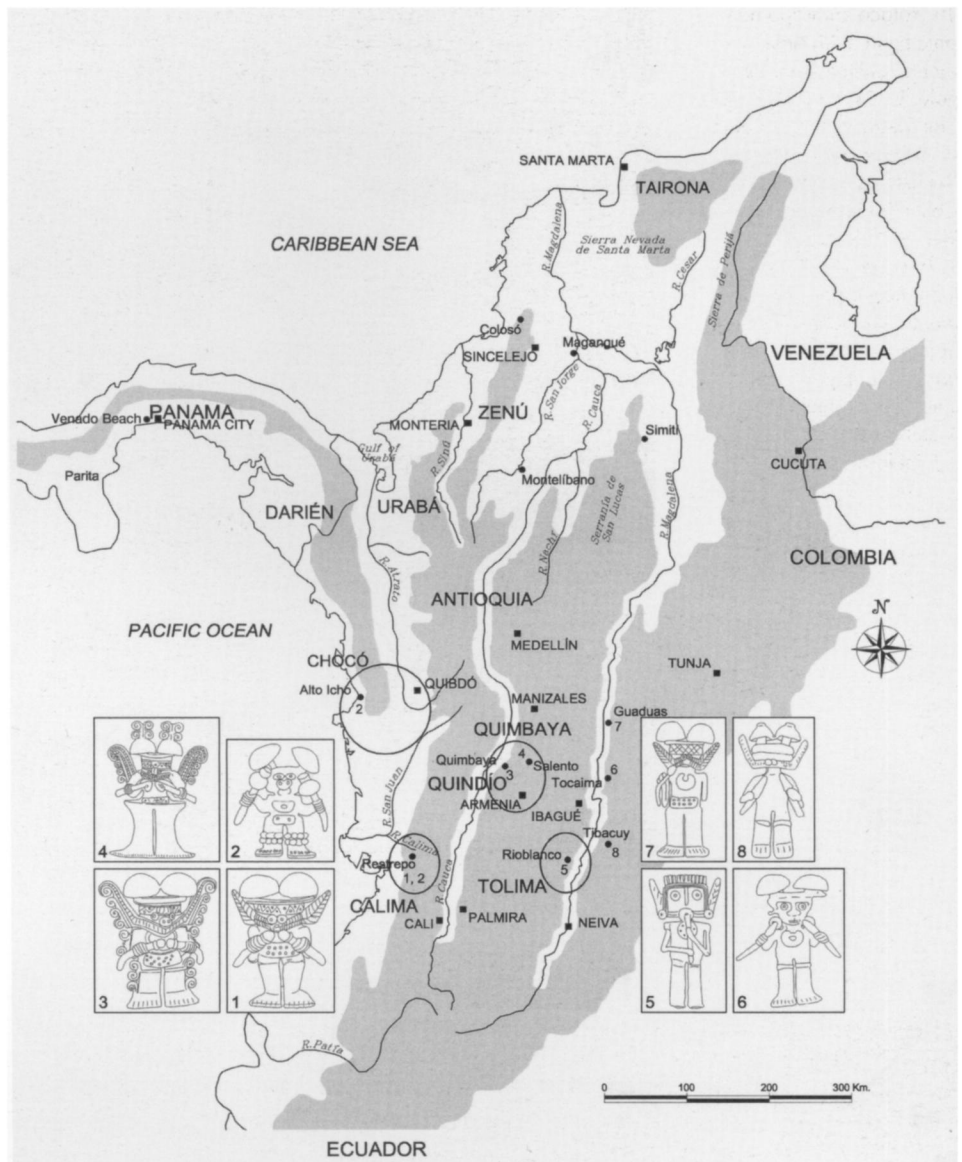
15. Anthropomorphic figure, Calima area, Yotoco period (100 B.C.–A.D. 800); Restrepo, Valle del Cauca. Cast gold, H. 1 7/8 in. (4.8 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (26635). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf

which, according to present evidence, developed toward the end of the last century B.C. and covered the first three or four centuries A.D.¹³

Early Darién Pendants in Southwestern Colombia

A distinctive pattern of Yotoco-related Darién pendants (Type 2) is linked to small Type 1 items and to the Yotoco human figures described above. The recorded provenances correspond to the Calima heartland and to the middle Cauca River valley, while some have been found in the Tolima region and adjacent areas (Figure 16).

These pendants (Type 2; Figures 17–20) are represented by a number of objects belonging to the Museo del Oro collection and two in the Metropolitan Museum, apparently found near the Calima River. They are lost-wax castings in high-grade gold or a gold-rich *tumbaga*, and they usually show the bent legs and the crouched position that recall the Yotoco anthropomorphic figures from the Calima area. The personages wear Yotoco-style breastplates and have several diagnostic elements related to those of Type 1, such as the thick loincloth decorated with incised dots, the staffs (rattles?) with globular ends, and the two hollow semispherical headdress ornaments supported by cast wires. They also show a headband decorated with a triangle-and-dot pattern and two long feather-shaped lateral devices with incised lines that form a herringbone pattern, which are a development of the short triangular ears of Type 1 figures. The defining characteristic of the face is a protruding triangular snout that shows two rows of teeth, bulbous eyes, and a nose



usually represented by two pellets and sometimes by a raised metal piece. This representation has been interpreted as the face of a crocodile by Federico Medem and José Pérez de Barradas, who refer to this type of figure as the “crocodile god.”¹⁴ Ernesto Restrepo Tirado believed that they are representations of men with vampire features.¹⁵ In fact, bats, vampires, and crocodilians are also represented in other archaeological materials, especially ceramics, corresponding to the early cultural developments of the Calima area.¹⁶

A few Yotoco-related pendants that are linked to the pattern represented by Type 2 have been found in the middle Magdalena River valley (Tolima area) and in the neighboring temperate slopes of the Eastern Mountain Range (Tocaima, Tibacuy, Guaduas; Figure 16). Early metallurgy of the middle Magdalena River drainage belongs to the tradition of southwestern Colombia, and, according to

16. Map of the provenance in southwestern Colombia of early Darién pendants, ca. A.D. 1–500 (drawing: Luis Guillermo León and Melba de León)



17. Early Darién pendant (Type 2) related to Yotoco metallurgy, southwestern Colombia. Cast gold, H. 2½ in. (6.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift and Bequest of Alice K. Bache, 1966, 1977 (66.196.20)



18. Early Darién pendant (Type 2) related to Yotoco metallurgy, southwestern Colombia. Cast gold, H. 2½ in. (5.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1979 (1979.206.558)



19. Early Darién pendant (Type 2) related to Yotoco metallurgy, southwestern Colombia. Cast gold, H. 2⅝ in. (6.7 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (6420). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimppf



20. Early Darién pendant (Type 2) related to Yotoco metallurgy, southwestern Colombia. Cast gold, H. 1¾ in. (4.5 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (33736). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

archaeological information, it is associated with a particular type of incised ceramic wares,¹⁷ which have been dated at neighboring sites to the third century A.D.¹⁸ One pendant from Rióblanco (Figure 21) has a typical Tolima-style human face and is linked to Type 2 Darién pendants by its technology and its lateral feather-shaped ornaments. It represents a man holding an object that can be interpreted as a musical instrument. Other pendants from the slopes of the Eastern Mountain Range are local versions that follow the basic pattern of Type 2. These solid objects, cast in high-grade gold or gold-rich *tumbaga*, include the semispherical headdress ornaments and/or the lateral feather-shaped devices, while the staffs (rattles?) have elongated ends (Figures 22–24).

The influence of Darién pendants and of early southwestern metallurgy on the western slopes of the Eastern Mountain Range preceded the development on its cold high plateaus of a regional style particular to the Chibcha-speaking Muisca people, who inhabited this mountainous area until the Spanish conquest. According to radiocarbon dates associated with Muisca metal objects, the earliest manifestations of this metallurgy go back to the seventh century A.D.¹⁹

The Darién pendants of Types 1 and 2 and their variants were models that influenced the diversification of the theme. In the first stages this process took place in the Calima area itself and the middle Cauca River valley, and then it spread to the northwestern cultural areas.

The Calima–Quimbaya Relationship

The production of other types of Darién pendants is contemporary with the early southwestern metallurgical tradition and particularly indicates a relationship between the Calima area and the middle Cauca River region. During the first centuries A.D., this area witnessed the development of Early Quimbaya metallurgy, with local metalworkers perfecting such techniques as solid and hollow lost-wax casting using gold-copper alloys²⁰ and depletion gilding.²¹ While the links between Quimbaya and the other cultural areas of southwestern Colombia are evident, its metallurgy has a strong character of its own and has become famous for its realistic human representations with heavy-lidded eyes, multi-strand necklaces, and ligatures around the arms and legs (Figures 25, 26).

The heartland of Early Quimbaya metalwork was the Central Mountain Range in the middle reaches of the Cauca River in the present Colombian departments of Quindío, Caldas, and Risaralda, with a northern extension to the rugged country of Antioquia, also drained by the Cauca River (see Figure 3). The production of Early Quimbaya metallurgy belongs to the period between the first and fifth centuries A.D., according to dates obtained from the clay and charcoal casting cores of Early Quimbaya ornaments in the Museo del Oro and the Museo de América, Madrid,²² and from archaeological contexts that included metal objects in the region of Antioquia.²³ Early Quimbaya objects have also been found in the middle Magdalena River valley.²⁴



21. Darién pendant related to Type 2, middle Magdalena River, ca. A.D. 1–500; Rioblanco, Tolima. Cast gold, H. 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (9.8 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (6238). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



22. Darién pendant related to Type 2, Eastern Mountain Range, Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–500; Guaduas, Cundinamarca. *Tumbaga*, H. 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (8 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (337). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



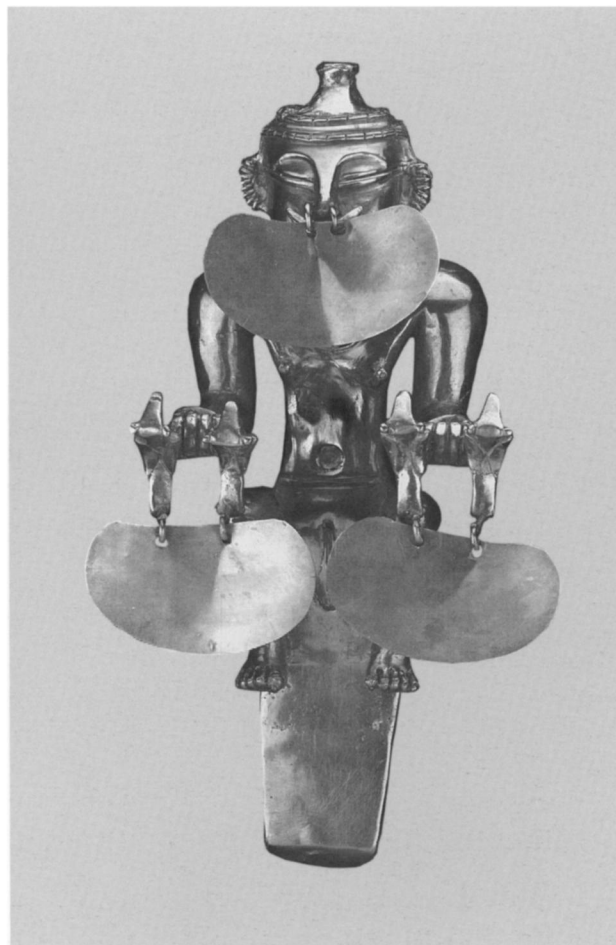
23. Darién pendant related to Type 2, Eastern Mountain Range, Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–500; Tocaima, Cundinamarca. Cast gold, H. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (9.5 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (28914). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



24. Darién pendant related to Type 2, Eastern Mountain Range, Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–500; Tibacuy, Cundinamarca. Cast gold, H. 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (4.8 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (25623). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



25. Early Quimbaya lime container. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 9 in. (22.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Jan Mitchell and Sons Collection, Gift of Jan Mitchell, 1991 (1991.419.22)



26. Early Quimbaya figure, Puerto Nare, Antioquia. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (27 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (32852). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf

27. Darién pendant (Type 3) related to Yotoco metallurgy, southwestern Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–500. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 2¼ in. (5.6 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (4663). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



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28. Darién pendant (Type 3) related to Yotoco metallurgy, southwestern Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–500. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 3 in. (7.6 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (7342). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



28

29. Darién pendant (Type 3) related to Yotoco metallurgy, southwestern Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–500. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 3¾ in. (8.5 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (6031). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



29

30. Darién pendant (Type 3) related to Yotoco metallurgy, southwestern Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–500; Quimbaya, Quindío. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 2½ in. (6.5 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (3065). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



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There is evidence of contact between the inhabitants of the middle Cauca River valley and those of the Calima area during the development of Early Quimbaya metalwork. Yotoco objects have been found in the former area, and Yotoco and Quimbaya metallurgy share certain specific shapes, such as pins with elaborate heads with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic decoration, and ear plugs, although those have local characteristics. The regular use in Yotoco metallurgy of casting techniques and of alloys with different amounts of gold and copper was probably encouraged by the relationship with the Quimbaya area.²⁵

Patterns of Darién pendants that were produced in the context of the Calima–Quimbaya relationship show an increased schematization of the human figure. The distinctive technical, stylistic, and iconographic characteristics suggest that these patterns derive from Yotoco-related proto-

types, with the introduction of some features that are closer to Early Quimbaya preferences, such as the intensification of the use of gold-copper alloys and depletion gilding, and of decoration formed by cast filigree spirals or incised designs of squares. However, these Darién pendants have their own diagnostic features and identity, and they were produced alongside the regional styles.

A particular variety of Darién pendants (Type 3; Figures 27–30) that represents an elaboration of the Yotoco-related masked personages with feather-shaped lateral head ornaments (Type 2) is represented by a number of examples in the Museo del Oro collection; similar figures were reported in the Quindío district by Luis Arango Cano.²⁶ The objects were cast using the lost-wax technique, and the group includes some items made of high-grade gold with a small amount of silver, as well as objects of *tumbaga* with important



31



32



33

amounts of copper.²⁷ These pendants show some Yotoco-related features, such as the decorated loincloth, the shape of the legs—though they are more schematic—and the Yotoco-style breastplates. They also have a headband and two upper semispherical ornaments, which are usually decorated with branched devices of cast wires (Figure 28) or are transformed into two elements shaped like double-spouted jars (Figure 29). This double-spouted jar form, typical of Yotoco pottery, was also popular in other regions of southwestern Colombia during the period of high development of the local cultures in the first centuries A.D.²⁸

The Darién figures of Type 3 have an animal face with a protruding triangular snout that shows one or two rows of teeth, a nose that is usually figured by a metal piece with two holes or an elongated pellet, and two rounded eyes. The projecting side ornaments—an elaboration of the feather-shaped devices, but they introduce a substantial change in their shape and decoration: they are adorned by scrolls, spirals, or square designs formed by incised parallel lines, which pertain more closely to Early Quimbaya metallurgy. The combination of the particular shape of the nose and the lateral head ornaments (ears?) on the pendants of Type 3 has been interpreted by Anne Legast as representing traits of a leaf-nosed bat (*Phyllostomidae* family).²⁹

The Middle Cauca River Area and Diversification

Different patterns of Darién pendants have been found in the middle Cauca River area, both in the Quimbaya heartland and in its northern extension to the mountains of Antioquia (see Figure 3). Some of them have Yotoco features, while others are distinctive of the middle Cauca region and represent a process of diversification character-

ized by further schematization of the human figure and a strong tendency to use gold-copper alloys and depletion gilding.

A first group of Darién pendants from the Quimbaya heartland (Salento, Quindío, Ansermanuevo; Type 4; Figures 31–33) can be seen as a development of the masked figures of Type 3. They show some Yotoco elements, such as the shape of the loincloth and Yotoco-style breastplates, and they also incorporate the decorated headband, the two hollow semispherical devices supported by cast wires, and the animal face with a triangular projecting snout. The objects are made of gold-copper alloys with high copper content,³⁰ and some of them show traces of depletion gilding. The greater schematization of the human figure is especially apparent in the treatment of the legs, which are represented by a single metal plaque with curved sides and a vertical groove in the center; a bend in the upper leg suggests a crouched position. The staffs have spiral ends, and the upper semispherical devices are decorated with cast filigree spirals or branched ornaments that usually show incised designs of squares.

The northern Quimbaya region of Antioquia has produced additional and unique patterns of Darién pendants. Type 5 is represented by a figure in the Museo del Oro that was found in the region of Frontino (Figure 34) and by a similar object in the National Museum of the American Indian of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., apparently found in the Sinú River area in northwestern Colombia.³¹ The one in the Museo del Oro was cast in a copper-rich alloy (51.5%).³² These figures have schematic legs, two hollow semispherical headaddresses supported by thick metal wires, a snout with two rows of teeth and a protruding nose, and triangular lateral headaddress ornaments

31. Darién pendant (Type 4), Quimbaya area, middle Cauca River, ca. A.D. 1–800; Ansermanuevo, Valle del Cauca. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 2¾ in. (7 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (3492). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

32. Darién pendant (Type 4), probably Quimbaya area, middle Cauca River, ca. A.D. 1–800. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 3⅞ in. (9.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1979 (1979.206.500)

33. Darién pendant (Type 4), Quimbaya area, middle Cauca River, ca. A.D. 1–800; Salento, Quindío. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 2⅞ in. (7.3 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (351). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



34. Darién pendant (Type 5), northern Quimbaya area, ca. A.D. 1–800; Frontino, Antioquia. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 6½ in. (16.5 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (417). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



35. Darién pendant (Type 6), northern Quimbaya area, ca. A.D. 1–800; Toro, San Rafael, Antioquia. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 4¾ in. (12 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (414). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



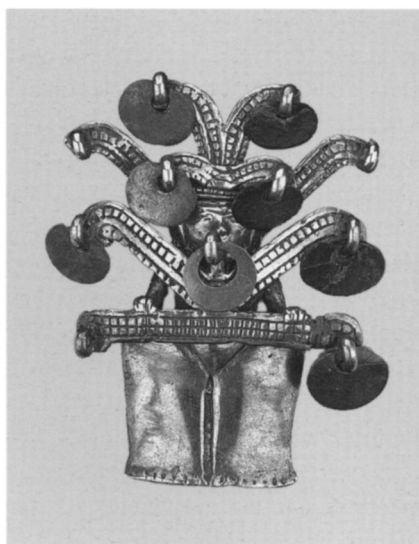
36. Darién pendant related to Type 6. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 2¾ in. (7 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (22609). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

decorated with parallel cast wires. The personages hold a horizontal bar with four schematic birds, a device that resembles those on some Early Quimbaya figures (see Figure 26).

Another variety of Darién pendant (Type 6) that is characteristic of the region of Antioquia shows a clear hybridization with Early Quimbaya iconography. One specimen belonging to the Museo del Oro was found in San Rafael,

on the eastern slopes of the Central Mountain Range (Figure 35), and similar pendants were reported by Manuel Uribe Angel.³³ Made of an alloy with a high copper content (39% in the case of the Museo del Oro item),³⁴ they show traces of depletion gilding. These pendants represent naked men with realistic human faces related to Early Quimbaya anthropomorphic representations. They wear elongated nose ornaments, rings around the ears, and multiple-strand

37. Figure related to Darién pendants, Quimbaya area; Quindío. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 3⅞ in. (8 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (3064). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



37

38. Figure related to Darién pendants, Quimbaya area; El Caimo, Armenia, Quindío. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 3⅝ in. (9.2 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (25664). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



38

39. Figure related to Darién pendants, Calima area; Cisneros, Dagua, Valle del Cauca. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 2¼ in. (5.7 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (15450). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



39



40



41

40. Pendant, International Group, ca. A.D. 1–900; Panama. Cast gold, H. 2½ in. (6.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Jan Mitchell and Sons Collection, Gift of Jan Mitchell, 1991 (1991.419.21)

41. Anthropomorphic figure, International Group, ca. A.D. 1–900; San Pedro de Urabá, northwestern Colombia. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 3⅝ in. (9.2 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (31923). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



42. Pendant, International Group, ca. A.D. 1–900; Panama. Cast gold, H. 1⅜ in. (3.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Jan Mitchell and Sons Collection, Gift of Jan Mitchell, 1991 (1991.419.20)

necklaces, which are also common on the human representations in Early Quimbaya metalwork. The highly schematic body is formed by a flat plaque, the legs are separated by a vertical groove, and the toes are represented by parallel incisions. Another pendant, of uncertain origin, is linked to Type 6 in its Quimbaya-related features and schematic legs (Figure 36). In his hands, the personage holds two flasks of a particular shape that is also typical of Early Quimbaya metallurgy.

The middle Cauca River valley has also produced some anthropomorphic figures made of gold-copper alloys, whose iconography is related both to Yotoco metallurgy and to some variants of Darién pendants. A particular pattern of Darién-related pendant that belongs to the Quimbaya heartland is represented by highly schematic figures with joined legs, a human face, and laterally projecting devices with multiple danglers (Figure 37), which recall some Yotoco figures (Figure 39). Two objects of this pattern belong to the Quimbaya treasure, an outstanding group of Early Quimbaya metalwork found in two graves in the district of Filandia (Quindío) and now housed in the Museo de América in Madrid.³⁵

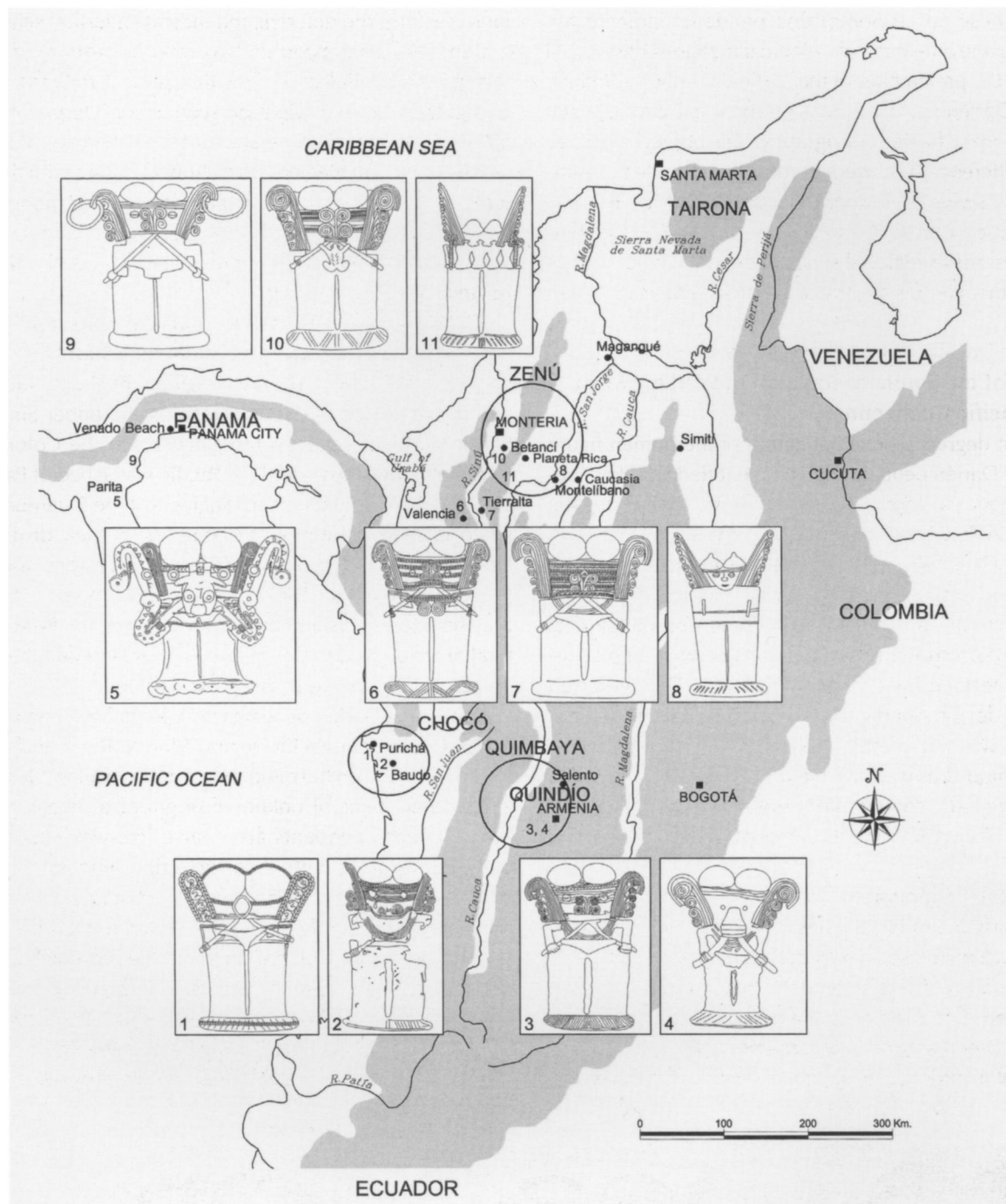
Another group of figures from the Quimbaya area is represented by four items made of an alloy with a high copper content, which belong to the Museo del Oro (Figure 38).³⁶ These figures have schematic legs formed by a flat plaque that recalls some Darién pendants. The personages hold a horizontal bar with elongated danglers, their faces have bird features, and the headdress is formed of spirals and scrolls.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE EARLY NORTHERN REGIONAL STYLES (ca. A.D. 1–900)

The production of Darién pendants and their distribution during the early centuries A.D. must be understood in the context of a gradual diffusion of metallurgical knowledge. Different influences merged to stimulate the metalwork production in northern Colombia and the Central American isthmus. On the one hand, we can trace the influence of the early metallurgical tradition of southwestern Colombia—with its preference for using high-quality gold and for working metal to shape—and the production of particular categories, among them highly schematic Darién pendants of high-grade gold. The mountainous areas and the Pacific corridor of western Colombia were permanent routes for the multiple contacts between these regions and northern Colombia and Panama.

On the other hand, we can follow the extensive influence of a technology that was perfected in the middle Cauca River area during the production of Early Quimbaya metallurgy, with its preference for lost-wax casting, gold-copper alloys, and depletion gilding, and the distinctive iconographic features that characterize this group of works. This influence is also evident in the production in northern areas of Darién pendants with Quimbaya-related features that were cast using gold-copper alloys. The Cauca River connected the mountainous regions of western Colombia and the northern Caribbean area, and its inhabitants had contacts with the Pacific region.

43. Map placing schematic Darién pendants, ca. A.D. 1–900 (drawing: Luis Guillermo León and Melba de León)



These processes were related to particular categories of metal objects that have been found in an extensive area from central Colombia to Costa Rica. The list includes, among other items, double spiral pendants, various Quimbaya-related anthropomorphic figures, Darién pendants, human figures with recurved headdresses, animals with a raised tail, and two-headed birds. These categories belong to the distinctive groups of works produced before A.D. 900 that Bray defined as the Initial Group and the International Group (Figures 40–42).³⁷ The earliest items from central and western Colombia might belong to the last

centuries B.C., since the casting core of an International Group zoomorphic pendant found in the region of Antioquia was dated to the third century B.C.³⁸ The Initial Group was already established in Panama and Costa Rica by A.D. 400, although the earliest manifestations must go back to the beginnings of the Christian era. The International Group has a temporal distribution corresponding to A.D. 400–900.³⁹

The popularity of Darién pendants and their decline before A.D. 900 were linked to the history of the International Group, and their production followed two different trends with specific distribution and technological choices. As we

will see, these anthropomorphic pendants indicate the influence of the different technological traditions mentioned above and the preferences of the particular cultures. In fact, although Darién pendants and International Group metal objects share a basic iconography, the objects do have regional differences and were produced alongside the earliest regional styles of northern Colombia and the isthmus that flourished during the first centuries A.D. From their early stages, these regional styles defined a “metallurgical province” that contrasts with the southwestern areas.

Schematic Darién Pendants of High-Grade Gold: The Influence of the Southern Tradition of Working Metal and the Pacific Connection

The highest degree of schematization of the human figure reached by Darién pendants can be identified as a development of some patterns described above that show the Calima–Quimbaya connection and that were diversified in the middle Cauca River area. This refers especially to Type 3 and 4 pendants, distinguished by lateral head ornaments formed by spirals, an animal face with a protruding snout that might correspond to crocodilians or bats, and schematic legs formed by a single flat plaque. The preferred technology for producing these Darién pendants of high-grade gold was the combination of lost-wax casting with some techniques of working metal, which demonstrates a link with the early southwestern metallurgical tradition in which the Colombian Pacific area played an important role.

As for the iconography, some Darién pendants of unknown origin can be identified as transitional between middle Cauca patterns and most schematic versions (Type 7; Figure 43 no. 4). These objects have some features that resemble those of middle Cauca pendants, such as schematic legs, lateral winged head ornaments with spirals, and the shape of the upper semispherical devices. However, the

facial features are different and indicate a further schematization. We can recognize two eyes, a protruding snout formed by parallel cast wires that project forward, and a triangular nose that might be seen as an interpretation of a bat’s nose leaf. The personages hold two simple staffs and wear several elements that show a rupture with the patterns of Darién pendants already described. Among these are the multiple-strand necklaces and the triangular loin-cloth, which replace the ornaments typical of the Yotoco-related patterns.

The most characteristic iconographic pattern of the highly schematic Darién pendants (Type 8) indicates the relationship of the middle Cauca River region with the Pacific area, and the influence of those regions on the upper Sinú and San Jorge River valleys—the gateways to the Colombian Caribbean lowlands—and the Pacific watershed of Panama (Figure 43). The pendants belonging to Type 8 can be classified in several subgroups according to their distinctive technological and iconographic features in association with their place of origin. Although these divisions are arbitrary, they help to understand the transformation in different cultural areas of the patterns of Darién pendants and the technological preferences in their manufacture.

Schematic Darién pendants of Type 8a have been found in the Colombian Pacific region (Baudó River and upper Atrato River) and in the middle Cauca River valley (Quindío), while some items of unknown origin also belong to this pattern. These pendants are coarse lost-wax castings in high-quality gold with a considerable amount of silver (Figures 44–47).⁴⁰ The hollow semispherical headdress ornaments are slightly flattened or tilted toward the front, and they are usually placed on top of the head without cast wires to support them. However, one pendant from the Pacific area (Alto Icho, Chocó; Figures 46, 47) shows two vertical cast wires adhered to the back of the figure, which simulate the supports of the semispherical devices. The

44. Highly schematic Darién pendant (Type 8a), western Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–900; middle Cauca River, Quimbaya, Quindío. Cast gold, H. 2 in. (5.2 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (5124). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

45. Highly schematic Darién pendant (Type 8a), western Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–900; Pacific area, Baudó River, Chocó. Cast gold, H. ca. 4 1/8 in. (10.5 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (5895). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

46. Highly schematic Darién pendant (Type 8a), western Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–900; Pacific area, Alto Icho, Chocó. Cast gold, H. 5 1/4 in. (13.4 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (8231). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

47. Reverse of Figure 46. Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



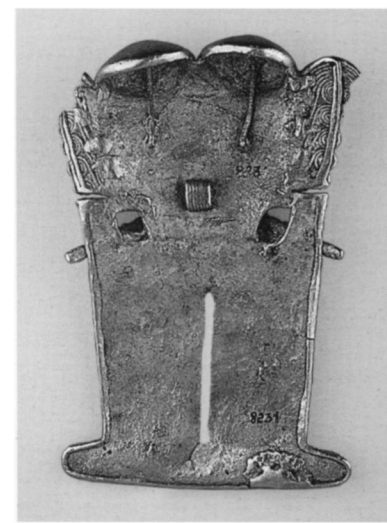
44



45



46



47

48. Highly schematic Darién pendant (Type 8b), north-western Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–900; upper Sinú River, Valencia, Córdoba. Cast gold, H. 6¾ in. (17.1 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (33081). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



49. Highly schematic Darién pendant (Type 8b), north-western Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–900. Cast gold, H. 3⅓ in. (7.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Alice K. Bache, 1977 (1977.187.16)

faces of the figures belonging to Type 8a are decorated with horizontal cast wires, the rounded eyes have a slit in the middle, the nose is formed by spirals, and the mouth is represented by a band of parallel wires that projects out from the face. The flat arms are not separated from the body, but they are clearly indicated by cut-out triangles or lozenges

on the main body of the figure. These personages wear multi-strand necklaces and a distinctive loincloth represented by an elongated triangular device whose lateral ends are attached to the staffs the figures hold. The highly schematic legs are formed by a single plaque, and the lower zone, representing the feet, has rounded edges.



50 (front view) and 51 (back view). Highly schematic Darién pendant (Type 8b), northwestern Colombia, ca. A.D. 1–900. Cast gold, H. 4½ in. (11.5 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (6419). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



52. Highly schematic Darién pendant (Type 9), western Colombia, Pacific area, ca. A.D. 1–900; Purichá, Chocó. Cast gold, soldered elements; H. 4½ in. (11.4 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (6815). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



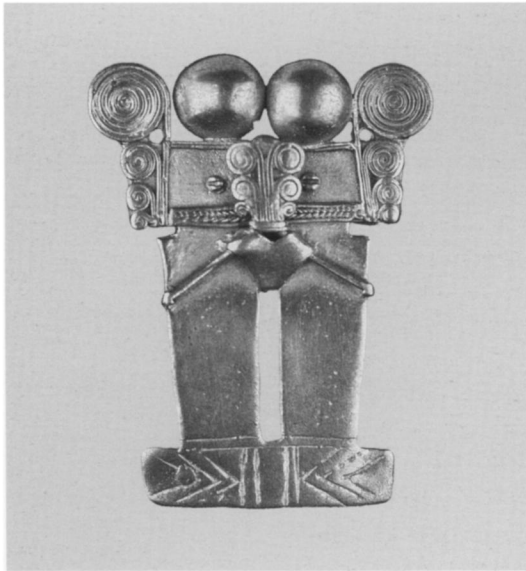
53. Highly schematic Darién pendant (Type 9), western Colombia, Pacific area, ca. A.D. 1–900; Quibdó, Chocó. Cast gold, soldered elements missing; H. 5⅝ in. (14.2 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (11680). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

A variation of the highly schematic gold Darién pendants (Type 8b; Figures 43 nos. 6 and 7, 48–51) is represented by a number of specimens from the transitional area between the Western and Central Mountain Ranges and the Caribbean lowlands. The recorded provenances include the upper Sinú River (Tierralta and Valencia) with an extension to the middle reaches of the river in the Caribbean lowlands (Betancí), the middle San Jorge River drainage (Montelíbano), and the lower Cauca River valley (Caucasia). Several pendants in the National Museum of the American Indian that were apparently found “on the east bank of the Sinú river”⁴¹ are related to this pattern, as are some objects in the Museo del Oro and two of unknown origin in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 49).

These pendants are cast in high-grade gold or a gold-copper alloy.⁴² The highly schematic legs occasionally have a bend that recalls the crouched position of the various Darién pendants from southwestern Colombia described above. Some items do not include a representation of the arms, while in other examples the arms are suggested by cut-out triangles or lozenges on the main body. The multi-strand necklace is represented by a few cast wires placed horizontally on the shoulders and the chest. A few pendants have a triangular elongated loincloth, but the most common representation is that of a horizontal device of cast filigree with two hanging spiral ornaments; one object found near Betancí, in the middle reaches of the Sinú River, has a loincloth in the shape of a frog (Figure 43 no. 10).

This particular variant (Type 8b) includes a number of items that show two wires on the back of the figure that represent the supports for the semispherical headdress ornaments (Figure 51). Usually the supports were made as part of the original wax model of the figure, which was then cast in a single piece. However, in a couple of specimens, the main figure was cast, but the supporting wires were probably soldered to the back. This combination of techniques, which deserves a detailed analysis, would show both the distant influence of the early metallurgical tradition of southwestern Colombia and a technological relationship of the Type 8b pendants to another unique pattern (Type 9) represented by two items found in the Pacific area.

The schematic personages represented on Type 9 Darién pendants (Figures 52, 53) have a lozenge-shaped nose, and the upper semispherical headdresses are tilted forward and are surrounded by braided wires; the lateral headdress devices have four raised circular decorations, which are also bordered by these wires. The main figure of a pendant found in Purichá (Figures 52, 43 no. 1) was cast in high-grade gold with some silver but with no traces of copper,⁴³ while the eyes (now missing) and a separate piece that includes the loincloth, the staffs, and the nose were joined to the main figure using a gold-copper-alloy solder of a pink color. A similar pendant from Quibdó (Figure 53) was also cast in high-quality gold and still has the marks at the points



54

54. Schematic Darién pendant (Type 8c), Caribbean Colombia; Sinú River area, Betancí, Córdoba. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (7.2 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (21025). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



55

55. Schematic Darién pendant (Type 8d), Caribbean Colombia; San Jacinto Mountains, Hacienda Vilut, Ovejas, Sucre. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (3.3 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (29002). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



56

56. Schematic Darién pendant (Type 8e), Caribbean Colombia; San Jacinto Mountains, Ovejas, Sucre. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (7.2 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (25134). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

where the piece that formed the loincloth and the staffs (now missing) was soldered to the main body.

The influence of western Colombian metalworking in areas toward the Caribbean region is also apparent in what may be local production, in the Sinú and San Jorge River drainages and neighboring zones, of some specific variants of Darién pendants. Some items follow the pattern of Type 8 but introduce different features, while others belong to new patterns. Indeed, the general pattern of one pendant of high-grade gold found in the region of Betancí, in the middle Sinú River area (Type 8c; Figure 54), matches the prototypes of western Colombia. However, this pendant introduces variations in the upper semispherical headdress ornaments, which are tilted toward the front, and in the shape of the "feet," which show squared borders and incised decoration forming a herringbone pattern. The loincloth is attached to the staffs, following a pattern that exists in some pendants from western Colombia (Type 8a).

A couple of unique and atypical pendants from the mountains of San Jacinto, in the northern region of the Caribbean lowlands, probably dating before A.D. 900, anticipate the popularity of local and distinct versions of Darién pendants, which, as will be seen below, differentiated this region during the later period. These atypical pendants (Types 8d and 8e) are made of gold-rich *tumbaga* and show a basic pattern related to other schematic Darién pendants (Type 8). They also include particular features such as a triangular raised nose (Type 8d; Figure 55) or the bird-shaped loincloth of the pendant of Type 8e (Figure 56), which represents an interesting variation of the triangular loincloth with elongated sides. The conical shape of the headdress ornaments of this pendant is also found on the unusual specimens from the Caribbean lowlands described below.

The upper Sinú and San Jorge River areas have produced a few different gold pendants (Type 10; Figure 43 nos. 8, 11) that show some stylistic relationships with the Type 5 pattern belonging to the Antioquia and Sinú regions (see Figure 34). The technology used for Type 10 pendants also suggests an influence from the Pacific area during an early period. The pendants have schematic legs, conical and hollow semi-spherical headdresses, and triangular ornaments at each side of the head. One, in the collection of the National Museum of the American Indian, apparently found "on the east bank of the Sinú river" (Figure 43 no. 11),⁴⁴ holds a bar with schematic birds that recalls some Early Quimbaya representations. A pendant from Montelíbano, in the San Jorge River drainage (Figure 43 no. 8), has a human face and shows traces of a now-missing device that was soldered to the main body.

The presence in the Sinú and San Jorge River areas of these variants of Darién pendants related to middle Cauca River and Pacific versions is not surprising, since the upper Sinú River was a zone of permanent contact between the communities of the Pacific area and the inhabitants of the Caribbean lowlands.⁴⁵ On the other hand, the Cauca River flows through the mountainous area of Antioquia before entering the districts of the Caribbean lowlands, which are drained by its effluent, the San Jorge River. In the transitional zone, archaeologists have detected settlements dated to a period between A.D. 700 and 900 that produced the distinctive brown incised ceramic wares that are related to Early Quimbaya metalwork⁴⁶ and, nearby, the vestiges of important settlements of the Zenú people, who were responsible for a long cultural development in the Caribbean lowlands.⁴⁷

The Darién pendants of the Sinú and San Jorge River areas described above did not mix and form hybrids with

the earliest groups of objects produced in Zenú metallurgy in the Caribbean lowlands—the Early Zenú (Figure 57) and the Planeta Rica groups—that were already in use by the time of Christ. This metalwork belongs to the long cultural development of the Zenú people, which reached its peak between A.D. 400 and 900. The Zenú transformed the landscape of the seasonally flooded lands in the lower Sinú, San Jorge, and Cauca River drainages with artificial canals that covered 500,000 hectares; numerous metal objects have been found in the burial mounds built by these communities.⁴⁸ In Betancí (Sinú River) and Montelíbano (San Jorge River)—two areas that produced Darién pendants—large cemeteries of artificial mounds have yielded a high number of metal objects belonging to Zenú metallurgy, which, in its earliest stages, was influenced by southern traditions.

Early Zenú and Planeta Rica metal objects have a strong local character, but they also show the effect of the International Group as well as particular technological orientations. Early Zenú metallurgy reflects the influence of Early Quimbaya metalwork in its preference for casting techniques, depletion gilding, cast filigree work, and alloys with high gold content⁴⁹ for staff heads (Figure 57) and other hollow and heavy objects, as well as the distinctive cast filigree earrings. The Planeta Rica group includes a larger number of hammered objects and some items that were made by joining several previously shaped pieces, probably using some kind of solder.⁵⁰ This type of technology, which was

not common in the northern metalworking areas, shows a distant relationship with the early southwestern metallurgical tradition, as well as influence from the Pacific watershed and western Colombia, which are also evident in the Darién pendants described above.

Some schematic Darién pendants have been found in Panama, where the early local metalwork was flourishing during the first centuries A.D. A pendant corresponding to Type 8a from western Colombia was found in the area of Venado Beach on the Pacific watershed of eastern Panama (Figure 43 no. 9). This item might be contemporary with the early Venado Beach metallurgy, whose temporal distribution corresponds to A.D. 500–700. The early metallurgy at Venado Beach includes objects related to the Initial and International Groups and also the Openwork Group, which has been identified as one of the earliest styles of the isthmus.⁵¹ This last group, with its preference for the use of cast filigree ornamentation (Figure 59), shows an interesting relationship with Early Zenú metallurgy in this technology and decoration.

Several Darién pendants that have been found in the region of Parita in the Azuero Peninsula of central Panama,⁵² among them one at the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 60, 43 no. 5), have a basic schematic pattern that relates them to Colombian prototypes. However, these are local versions that have a number of appurtenances in the style of the Parita Assemblage (Figure 61), a local group related to the Conte tradition of central Panama, whose development



57. Staff head, Colombian Caribbean lowlands, early Zenú. Cast gold, H. 4¾ in. (12.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1979 (1979.206.920)



58. Cast filigree earrings, Colombian Caribbean lowlands, Zenú. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 1½ in. (3.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift and Bequest of Alice K. Bache, 1974, 1977 (1974.271.58, .59)

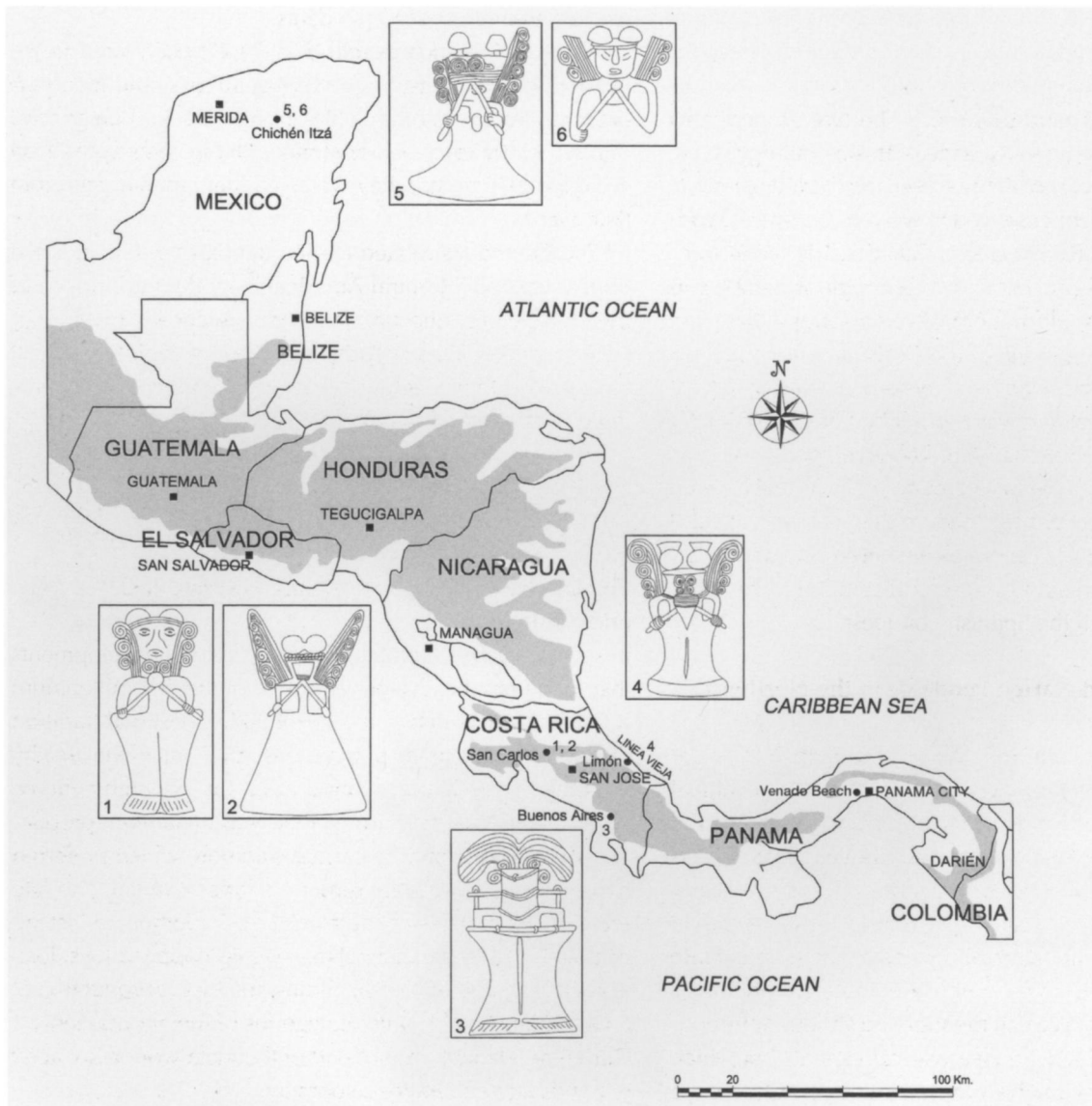


59. Pendant, Openwork Group, Venado Beach, Panama. Cast gold, H. 1¾ in. (4.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1979 (1979.206.1372)

60. Darién pendant, Parita, Pacific area, Panama. Cast gold, H. 4½ in. (11.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift and Bequest of Alice K. Bache, 1966, 1977 (66.196.33)



61. Pendant, Parita, Pacific area, Panama. Cast gold, H. 3⅛ in. (7.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift and Bequest of Alice K. Bache, 1966, 1977 (66.196.34aa)



62. Map placing Darién pendants in Costa Rica and Maya territory (drawing: Luis Guillermo León and Melba de León)



63. Darién pendant. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 1¾ in. (4.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Alice K. Bache, 1977 (1977.187.29)

extended from A.D. 700 to 1500.⁵³ The Darién pendants might correspond to an early stage of this metallurgy.

The distribution of the highly schematic Darién pendants described above is concentrated in western Colombia, with an extension to the Pacific area of Panama. The reconstruction of the cultural processes in these regions has shown that this was a very old pattern of relationships that goes back beyond the beginning of the Christian era.⁵⁴ The particular pattern of schematic pendants represented by Type 8 was a popular model that was reproduced and modified by different cultures which had already developed their own regional styles during the first centuries A.D. As will be seen below, this was also the basic pattern that was adopted and modified with the addition of new technological and stylistic features in one region of northern Colombia where the theme survived until the Spanish conquest.

Quimbaya-Related Darién Pendants in the Northern Cultural Areas

Other Darién pendants that were produced in Central America before A.D. 900 have a distribution and technical and stylistic characteristics that differ from those of the highly schematic pendants described above. These objects were produced in the context of the influence of Early Quimbaya metallurgy that is apparent in the widespread adoption of its specific technology and in the manufacture of distinctive categories, which are included in Bray's International Group. We can mention the various anthropomorphic figures, which are clearly local variants but which show similarities with the naturalistic Early Quimbaya

personages. Their distribution extends from Panama to Yucatán (Mexico), with a special concentration in the Atlantic watershed of Costa Rica, where they can be dated to the period between A.D. 500 and 900.⁵⁵

The Quimbaya-related anthropomorphic figures frequently hybridized with Darién pendants and with figures adorned with recurved headdresses. These particular Darién pendants also show a concentration in Costa Rica (Figure 62), while two items were found in the sacred Cenote of Sacrifice of Chichén Itzá in Maya territory.⁵⁶

The Darién pendants from Costa Rica (Figure 62) are lost-wax castings in gold-copper alloys. Their technology, iconography, and decoration recall some items from the middle Cauca River area in Colombia and the traits of Early Quimbaya anthropomorphic figures. However, the pendants are likely to have been manufactured in Costa Rica, for they conform to different patterns. It is interesting to note that one object of unknown origin housed in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 63) includes some features related to those of the Central American pendants.

The Darién pendants found in the Chichén Itzá Cenote of Sacrifice were cast in gold-copper alloys, and their particular patterns are unique (Figure 62 nos. 5, 6). In general terms, their traits show more links with the items from Costa Rica, suggesting that they were probably manufactured in that area.⁵⁷

The Quimbaya-related Darién pendants and associated objects found in Central America show the importance of the Caribbean connection in the transference of metallurgical knowledge. These pendants are part of the International Group, and their decline coincides with the waning production of those works by A.D. 900.

THE LATE PERIOD: A LOCAL SURVIVAL OF DARIÉN PENDANTS (A.D. 900–1600)

The Decline of Darién Pendants in Western Colombia and the Isthmus

In southwestern Colombia, the long cultural developments that identified this extensive area from the first millennium B.C. were replaced by A.D. 700–800 by a cultural tradition that corresponds to the populations still living in the area by the time of the Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century. This new cultural tradition is linked to metalwork production that differs from the earliest tradition, which preferred high-grade gold and the direct working of metal. The late metalwork practices of southwestern Colombia are instead distinguished by the general use of gold-copper alloys, lost-wax casting, and depletion gilding and by the production of a large number of smaller categories of metal ornaments.⁵⁸ Darién pendants were not part of the metalwork associated with this late cultural development.

64. Darién pendant, Tairona, Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, northern Colombia, ca. A.D. 1000–1500; Don Diego River, Santa Marta, Magdalena. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 2¾ in. (7 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (30199). Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



In northern Colombia and Central America, the early regional styles evolved or merged with late metalwork production, which lasted until the Spanish conquest. The late regional styles not only demonstrate strong local characteristics, but they are also linked by common technological preferences for gold-copper alloys, lost-wax casting, and depletion gilding, although the production of hammered objects in high-quality gold existed in some regions. In the majority of these cultural areas, Darién pendants disappeared from the inventory of the metallurgy, with the possible exception of some isolated items. A pendant found in Panama has a basic shape that can be matched in Colombia,⁵⁹ but it includes ornaments in the form of saurians and serpents, which are in the Veraguas–Gran Chiriquí style that developed in western Panama and eastern Costa Rica. The earlier manifestations of that regional style can probably be traced to a period about A.D. 500–800, although it had a long history that lasted until the Spanish conquest.⁶⁰

In the Caribbean lowlands of Colombia, the period between A.D. 1000 and the Spanish conquest was a time of diversification for Zenú metallurgy. A large number of cast filigree earrings (Figure 58), staff heads, and other objects made of gold-copper alloys as well as hammered ornaments of high-grade gold were produced in extensive areas of the lowlands and were buried in cemeteries of artificial mounds that belong to later periods of the Zenú people.⁶¹ Darién pendants were not included in the late Zenú metalwork of the lowlands, and neither were the bird-shaped pectorals or the animals with a raised tail that go back to the International Group and which were present in the early aggregations of Zenú goldwork.

In the vicinity of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, in northeastern Colombia, the Late Tairona regional style devel-

oped after A.D. 1000, and its roots can be traced back to the Early Tairona or Nahuanje metallurgy that was already in production by the early centuries A.D.⁶² Late Tairona metallurgy shows a preference for surface-enriched objects cast in gold-copper alloys. These have a strong local character and a complex iconography that was tied to the local social order and the cosmology of the Chibcha-speaking groups whose culture consolidated between A.D. 1000 and the Spanish conquest.⁶³ A unique Darién pendant found in this area (Figures 64, 65 no. 7) belongs to Late Tairona metalwork. It shows a typical Tairona face adorned with an elongated nose ornament, a lip plug, and lateral appendages with zoomorphic figures that are seen on a large number of ornaments belonging to this regional style. Darién pendants were not integrated into Late Tairona work, and the isolated example must be a local copy of the numerous pendants produced during the late period in the neighboring San Jacinto area, with which the inhabitants of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta were in permanent contact.⁶⁴

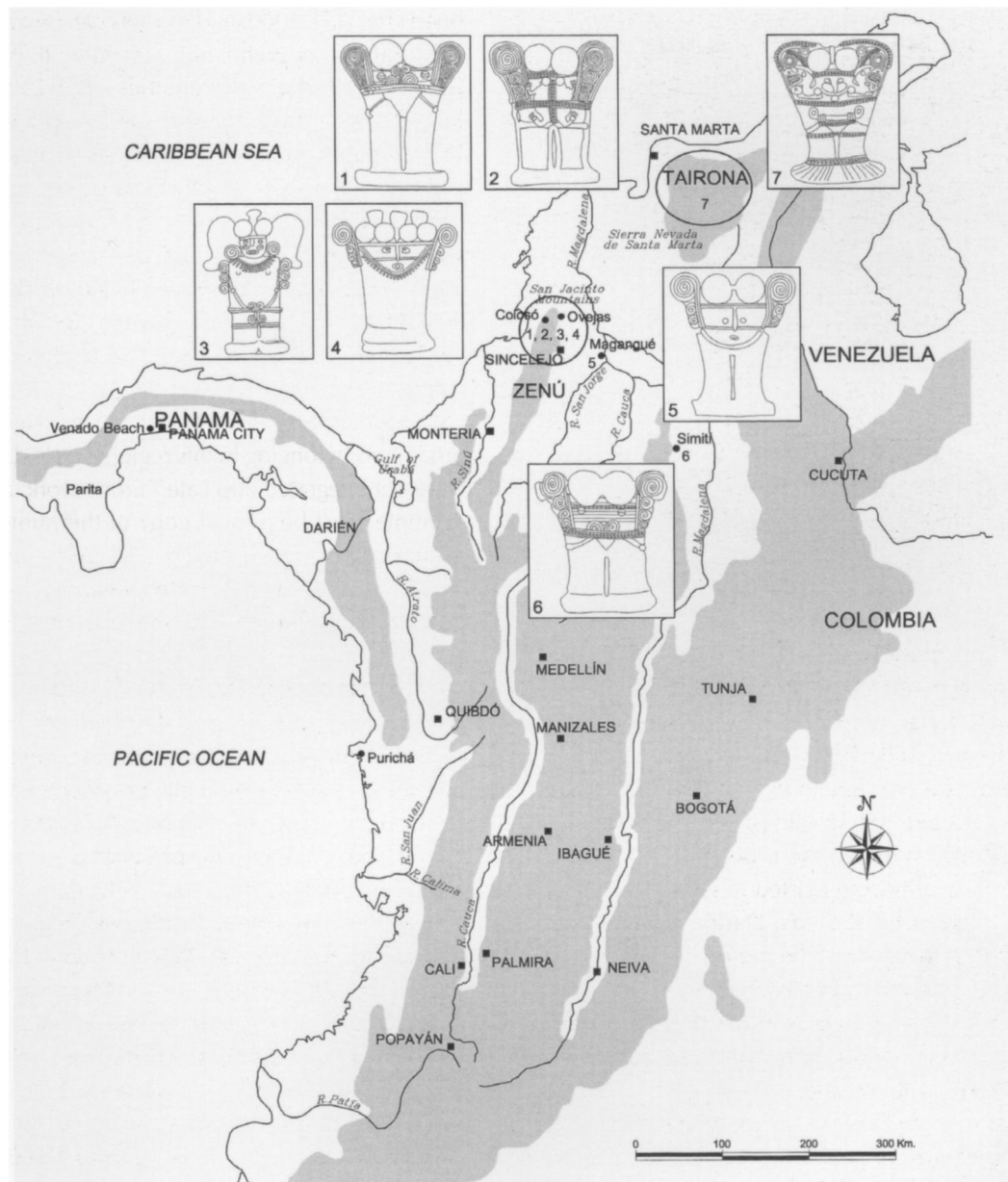
Darién Pendants in the Land of Copper

The origins of metallurgical development in the mountains of San Jacinto, which separate the lowlands from the Caribbean coast of Colombia, are poorly known. However, these origins appear to go back to A.D. 900, since the metallurgy of the area shows the presence of categories related to the International Group, such as Darién pendants and figures with recurved headdresses (see Figures 66–70). As we have seen, a few atypical Darién pendants found in this area suggest the early influence there of southern metalwork traditions (see Figures 55, 56).

The presence among the metalwork objects developed in the San Jacinto area⁶⁵ of staff heads, cast filigree ear ornaments, and other categories shows the influence of Zenú metalwork, although the San Jacinto objects have a good number of local features. Archaeological and historical research has demonstrated that there also existed an old pattern of relationships between the San Jacinto area and the Sinú and San Jorge River drainages.⁶⁶

The aggregation of San Jacinto works shows a long-lasting regional style that was still in use after the Spanish conquest, as indicated by the seventeenth-century date associated with a Darién pendant.⁶⁷ The urns and the shaft graves grouped in cemeteries in the hills of the San Jacinto range contain numerous metal objects found in association with pottery, shell ornaments, and, occasionally, glass beads and iron weapons of Spanish origin.⁶⁸

Ornaments related to the San Jacinto group, including Darién pendants, have been found in the neighboring lower Magdalena River region, where there is also evidence of metalwork production after the Spanish conquest. Sixteenth-century documents describe centers for specialized metal-



65. Map placing late Darién pendants, northern Colombia, ca. A.D. 1000–1600 (drawing: Luis Guillermo León and Melba de León)

workers in the lands of the Malibú people, who occupied this area between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D. Archaeological research has traced the Malibú influence in neighboring regions, such as the lower San Jorge and Cauca River drainages and the mountains of San Jacinto.⁶⁹ In fact, San Jacinto metallurgy reflects the multi-ethnic situation in the region: the long-lasting influence of the Zenú and Malibú traditions as well as contact and exchange with the Tairona area during the later period.⁷⁰

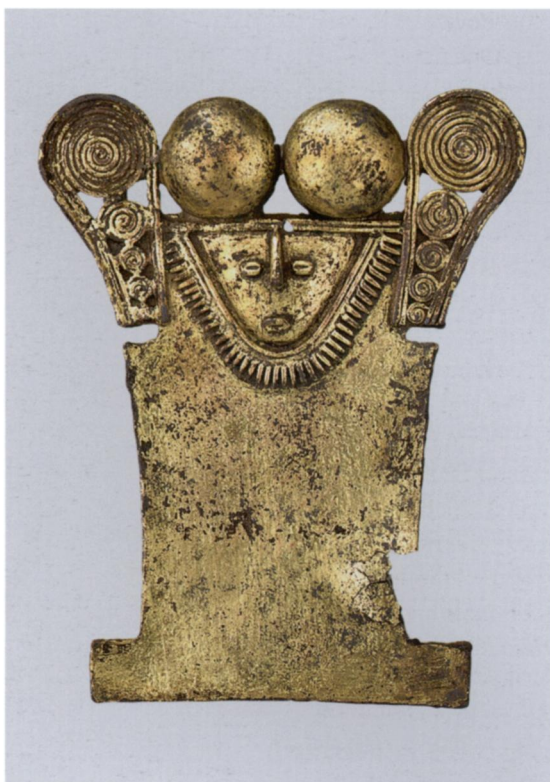
The aggregation of San Jacinto metalwork shows particular emphasis on the use of copper mixed with small amounts of gold and silver and on lost-wax casting.⁷¹ The matrix of the metal is usually heavily corroded, and, although some objects still have a gilded surface, in the majority of cases it looks badly worn.⁷²

The numerous Darién pendants from the San Jacinto area (Figure 65; there are eighty items with recorded provenance in the Museo del Oro collection) were especially concentrated in the local districts of Colosó and Ovejas, with an extension to the lower Cauca and Magdalena River drainages (twenty-three of the items), where other categories belonging to the San Jacinto assemblage are also common. The San Jacinto Darién pendants belong to well-defined highly schematic groups whose origins can be found in the earlier objects from the middle Cauca River area, the Pacific area, and, especially, the Sinú and San Jorge River regions. However, the San Jacinto pendants also reflect the orientation of local metallurgy, for they were cast in *tumbaga* with much copper and small amounts of gold⁷³ using the lost-wax method. New iconographic features and different types

66. Darién pendant (Type 11), San Jacinto Mountains, northern Colombia, ca. A.D. 1000–1600; Colosó, Sucre. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (11 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (17631).
Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



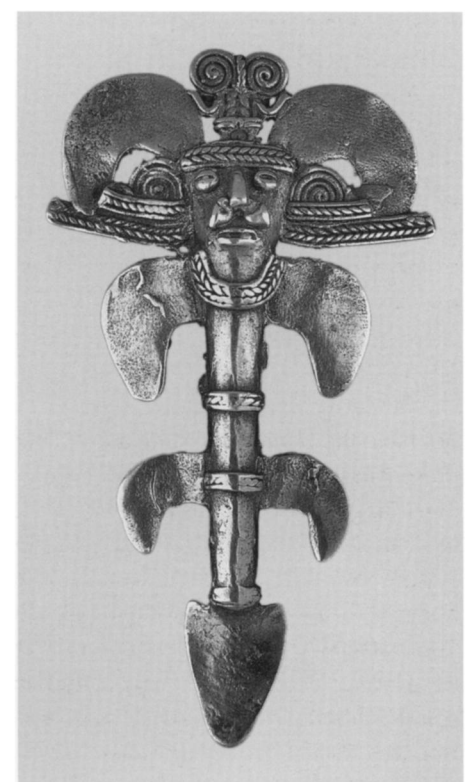
67. Darién pendant (Type 11a). Cast *tumbaga*, H. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (10.7 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (21132).
Photographer: Rudolf Schrimpf



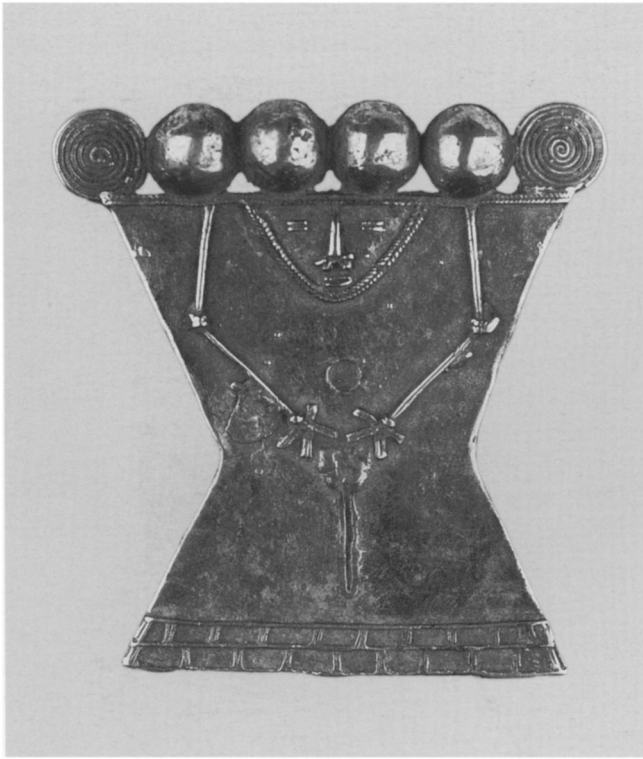
68. Darién pendant (Type 13), San Jacinto Mountains area, ca. A.D. 1000–1600. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (9.2 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (22427). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



69. Darién pendant (Type 14), San Jacinto Mountains area, ca. A.D. 1000–1600. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (8.5 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (33618). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



70. Anthropozoomorphic figure, San Jacinto Mountains area, ca. A.D. 1000–1600; Colosó, Sucre. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (9.8 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (22334). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



71. Darién pendant (Type 15), San Jacinto Mountains, ca. A.D. 1000–1600; Ovejas, Sucre. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 3¾ in. (9.5 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (25133). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

72. Darién pendant (Type 16), San Jacinto Mountains, ca. A.D. 1000–1600. Cast *tumbaga*, H. 4½ in. (11.5 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (22424). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

of pendants were also developed and added to the repertoire, suggesting that the Darién pendants were adapted to a local assemblage which was tied to a particular social order and worldview.

The iconography of the largest group of pendants belonging to San Jacinto metallurgy (Type 11; Figures 65, 66) is related to that of Types 8b and 8c from the Sinú and San Jorge River areas. Some of the features, such as the frontal position of the upper semispherical ornaments and the shape of the lower body, recall specimens of Types 8c and 8d found in the Sinú River area and the San Jacinto mountains that probably belong to an earlier period (see Figures 54, 55).

The flat schematic legs of Type 11 Darién pendants do not have the bend suggesting a crouched position that was present in some schematic pendants from western Colombia. The triangular loincloth is common, although it is small and lacks the lateral extensions that appeared in other variants. A number of specimens have a loincloth represented by horizontal cast wires and two hanging spiral-shaped devices. The staffs, when present, are simple and schematic. The nose is usually represented by one or two sets of juxtaposed spirals, although in several examples it is replaced by a realistic frog (Type 11a; Figure 67). In one case, the lower part of a frog's body replaces the loincloth on a human figure (Figure 65 no. 2). It is tempting to speculate that, in the case of the San Jacinto Darién pendants, the typical spiral-shaped nose could be the schematization of this animal. The upper spirals, which might represent the eyes of a frog, are usually

surmounted by two cast wires forming a triangular pattern that can be interpreted as a mouth. Additionally, in the pendants with a spiral-shaped loincloth, this device resembles the body and the schematic legs of a frog. One pendant with a frog-shaped nose has conical upper headdress ornaments (Figure 67).

Another pattern of San Jacinto Darién pendants, Type 12, is represented by two items that have a similar basic shape but introduce such new elements as bottle-shaped upper headdress ornaments and a triangular nose that recalls the old pattern possibly linked to a leaf-nosed bat.⁷⁴ Pendants of Type 13 demonstrate another step in the schematization of the human figure, for the lower part of the body is limited to the schematic plaque that represents the legs (Figures 65 no. 5, 68). These pendants include a realistic human face and sometimes a necklace with elongated beads reminiscent of a kind of shell bead found frequently in the archaeological sites of the San Jacinto area. The three items belonging to Type 14 maintain the schematic shape of the legs, and they show some variation in their iconographic features (Figures 65 no. 3, 69), although they are all related by the recurved winged headdress ornaments that recall some figures belonging to the International Group (see Figure 40). This form of headdress ornament was included in the San Jacinto assemblage and was modified following local technical and stylistic preferences (Figure 70). Two items belonging to Type 15 (Figures 65 no. 4, 71) have four semispherical headdress ornaments and a human face. They wear nose ornaments with lateral appendages, a typical feature in the

San Jacinto metalwork assemblage, and one item shows a necklace with elongated beads (Figure 65 no. 4). Finally, one figure (Type 16; Figure 72) has a unique style of headdress, one decorated with cut-out triangles. This design is common among other objects of San Jacinto metalwork.

The San Jacinto group, with its assimilation of Darién pendants, represents the last interpretation of this old pattern of human figures, and it is the only case in which the pendants were produced in abundance, merging with other influences on a regional style that developed a strong character of its own and managed to survive even after the Spanish conquest.

DARIÉN PENDANTS' PAN-AMERICAN ROLE

During the period of expansion of Darién pendants in Colombia and Central America, between the time of Christ and A.D. 900, the codification of diagnostic features identified an unmistakable personage, regardless of the variants that demonstrate selection of stylistic patterns and iconographic elements as well as the distinct technologies of particular cultural areas.

Darién pendants maintained their identity during a long period without merging with local metalwork assemblages, suggesting that the subject of the pendants themselves was not precisely tied to local worldviews or mythologies. Indeed, regional styles were linked to particular systems of beliefs and social organizations as expressed in local iconographies. Shared symbols are important in social communication and in the determination of cultural identity. Beyond the distinctive expressions of local mythologies, constant and basic lines of thought are recognizable: this phenomenon relates to the very nature of mythology as a way of explaining the world in terms of multiple analogies and transformations. Thus, it is possible to find central principles associated with the essence of mythical thought. Darién pendants, with their stereotypic diagnostic features, might represent a synthesis of symbols linked to a basic "Pan-American" symbolic framework that supported different local mythologies.

The widespread and long-lasting use of Darién pendants suggests that the iconography of a stereotypic personage—whether priest, shaman, *cacique* imbued with sacred power, ancestor, or mythical being—was recognized by people distinguished by different cultural heritages and ideologies. The diagnostic features of Darién pendants might represent a common means of communication, some sort of symbolic lingua franca that went beyond the particular expressions of the local worldviews.

According to the mythical interpretation of the world, all the elements of reality—the natural world, the cosmos, and humanity—are intimately linked, and living beings are

formed by the same properties as part of a multidimensional reality. In a ritual context, people can be transformed into other beings in the cosmos, such as animals, deities, or ancestors. Men are able to identify with a mythical condition and with the ancestral world by means of meditation and dreams and with the use of hallucinogenic drugs, masks, ritual ornaments, music, rhythmic chants, and dance that induce altered states of consciousness. In collective rituals directed by the religious specialists, humans enter other dimensions of reality, recalling their origins to ensure social reproduction.

Ritual elements have specific symbolic associations guided by these principles. Darién pendants depict ceremonial paraphernalia linked to the world of transformations and to the search for equilibrium expressed during ritual occasions. The personages represented are frequently shown in a crouching position, which, for many Amerindian communities, has a connotation of wisdom and stability and allows men to establish a link with the axis mundi.⁷⁵ The posture of the figures also recalls that of the dancers during ritual occasions. Additionally, the staffs in the form of rattles (*maracas*) held in the most naturalistic representations on Darién pendants remind us that music is a ritual language, with multiple associations related to social norms. Music also contributes to inducing particular mental states in participants and to communicating with the ancestral world.⁷⁶ The two semispherical devices on the upper headdress, one of the most distinctive features of Darién pendants, have been interpreted by some authors as representations of mushrooms associated with hallucinogenic drugs.⁷⁷

Darién pendants show an animal face—a mask or a transformed man—symbolizing the metamorphosis that imbues men with powers linked to the properties and abilities of particular species in an altered reality. The representation of masked men, probably with the features of crocodiles, bats, and vampires, might indicate the old and long-lasting importance of these animals for the people living in an extensive territory. In addition to the many local interpretations of the symbolic and cosmological aspects of these animals, it is common to find a widespread interest in the ability of bats to dominate darkness and with their relation to the underworld and to life transformations and regeneration. To give just one example, for the Uwa people of the Eastern Mountain Range of Colombia, bats are associated with the souls of the dead that return to the paths of origin. In caves, the souls "feed on smoke and sleep hanging from the rock walls," while they replenish their strength and go through a process of transformation leading to rebirth.⁷⁸ The cosmological importance of crocodilians prompted their popularity in the iconography of Precolumbian objects over extensive areas and their survival in contemporary traditions. Thus, for the Zenú people of Caribbean Colombia, the most important of

the lower world's water spirits is the golden alligator, which supports the world and protects humanity.⁷⁹

The role of Darién pendants as a widespread codified symbolic communication might be responsible for their wide distribution before A.D. 900. The iconographic features of the pendants represented basic principles belonging to the mythical interpretation of the world that went beyond the boundaries between cultural areas and local world-views. The various local features of the pendants and the technical preferences in particular areas show the ways in which different cultures interpreted these principles. We can see the contrast among the high-grade gold pendants from the Colombian Pacific area, the wider range of metal compositions of the Yotoco-related items, and the preference for *tumbaga* with important amounts of copper indicated by the middle Cauca River examples. These technological choices, which must reflect the strong relationship of technology to specific systems of beliefs, are also guided by primary symbolic principles that guided the use of metals and that are related to cosmological cycles and the cycle of development of humans.

Some basic symbolic principles define the primary cosmological associations of metals. These are related to the inherent properties of metals as expressed in visible or perceptible qualities, such as color, odor, brilliance, and texture. In ancient Colombia, gold and copper were the dominant metals. On a symbolic level, they represented opposing yet complementary properties. The association of gold with immortality and with brilliant yellowish hues as the expression of male generative power and the fertilizing energy of the sun is a universal concept among ancient and non-Western societies.⁸⁰ Copper is related to mortality, to humanness and the reddish hues of blood, to female properties, and to transformations. On a cosmological level, these qualities are linked to the cycle of the moon, which represents the full process of life development, decline, and regeneration. Each phase in this cycle is related to a particular stage in life transformations and to distinctive colors, which, in the mythology of the Desana people of the north-west Amazon, are referred to as "copper colors."⁸¹ Thus, copper is related to the waxing moon—with the reddish colors of blood and the initial development of the human embryo, and the green colors of vegetation growth—and to the waning moon, which, among the Desana, is associated with blackened-red hues, identified as "copper colors," and to strong odors corresponding to illness, decay, and putrefaction.⁸² Copper symbolizes the development and decline of human life as expressed in its basic reddish hues and in its multicolored transformations through tarnishing and oxidation.⁸³

Particular interpretations of these principles according to local mythologies and systems of beliefs might be respon-

sible for the variations in the selection of specific metals and technologies. In the case of Darién pendants, the preference for high-grade gold in the production of pendants from the Pacific region was probably related to the presence of rich alluvial deposits in the rivers that flow to the Pacific Ocean. In addition to the availability of the raw material in this choice of metal, the symbolic properties of gold, as the immortal metal related to the life-giving energy of the sun, were probably dominant for the people living in this land of gold.

In contrast with the Darién pendants from the Pacific region, examples from other areas demonstrate the increasing importance of copper and, especially, of *tumbaga*. In Early Quimbaya metallurgy, the techniques related to gold-copper alloys were perfected, and their influence was felt over extensive areas. In the northern regions, even in the San Jacinto area where copper was dominant, objects contain small amounts of gold. At a symbolic level, *tumbaga* represents the mixture of the male and female qualities of gold and copper. To initiate the embryonic development that would result in the gold-copper alloy, the fertilizing influence of gold had to be added to the copper, which has an inherent potential for transformation. Through this metallurgical process, people reproduced the cosmological process of the transformations of the moon, which begin with the fertilizing influence of the sun during the phase of the new moon. The alloy of gold and copper represents the union of male and female properties, the combination necessary to ensure the continuity of life, with the metals seen as embryos or seeds that produced the germ of life through metallurgical transformations. This combination of metals thus stands for an act of creation similar to the cycle of human development and to cosmological cycles. The gold-copper alloy also symbolizes the union of the human and the divine—of mortality and immortality—an absolute unity.⁸⁴

As we have seen, the Quimbaya area was where *tumbaga* was used in greater quantities in manufacturing Darién pendants. The symbolic relationships of gold, copper, *tumbaga*, and their metallurgical transformations guided the emphasis these local cultures placed on making spectacular *tumbaga* items. Early Quimbaya metalwork is characterized by large, heavy, polished objects that represent adorned human beings holding ritual paraphernalia. They have been found in graves perhaps of people who had a special role in local communities. In her study on Quimbaya metallurgy, María Alicia Uribe suggests that these metal objects served primarily to legitimize the power and prestige of local leaders.⁸⁵ Such personages—priests, shamans, or *caciques*—developed symbolic and ritual functions to enable them to ensure the permanence of social life and of the cosmological cycles. The symbolic properties of manufactured objects,

including the elements of *tumbaga*, were probably linked to this justification of power.

The symbolic associations of the role of local leaders can probably be extended to every Indian community, for these people directed the various rituals that served to ensure the continuity of social life. However, in the social relationships practiced in different cultures, we can trace some variations in the specific emphasis placed on the function of metal. Thus, for example, the emblematic nature of Early Quimbaya metallurgy contrasts with that of San Jacinto metallurgy, which developed in a later period. In the San Jacinto area, a large number of small, intensively used, portable objects were produced. There, Darién pendants were integrated into a regional style for the first time, and these numerous pendants reflect the particular social orientation of San Jacinto metallurgy. Darién pendants as well as other items belonging to the San Jacinto assemblage had a restricted distribution that covered the San Jacinto heartland and neighboring regions such as the drainages of the lower Cauca and Magdalena Rivers.

The symbolic essence of gold, copper, and gold-copper alloys can be related to the emphasis in the popular use of the metal objects in these regions. Spanish chronicles and documents of the colonial period describe how the peoples of these areas prized objects of copper and *tumbaga*, especially nose ornaments, that a bridegroom offered to his father-in-law during a marriage ceremony.⁸⁶ Such ornaments represented women, social identity, and the marriage alliance permitted by social rules that ensured the permanence of the society as a whole.⁸⁷ Historical sources report that the Indians distinguished the origin of the objects by their particular shape, as well as by their color and their smell, and that different communities were known for producing distinctive categories and shapes of ornaments made from specifically prescribed amounts of gold and copper.⁸⁸ This suggests that people could identify the color and odor of the metal combinations associated with different communities. An alloy with specific amounts of gold and copper might represent the correct and balanced mixtures of male and female properties, which, at a symbolic level, identified a particular community.⁸⁹ Matrimonial exchange included the idea of the right combination of odors. Among the Desana, for instance, marriage alliances that are correct according to exogamic rules are interpreted as a good combination of odors, while the incompatibility of partners is described as having a “contaminating odor.”⁹⁰

The smell of copper and *tumbaga* has sexual and gender connotations and is associated with particular animals. Among the Desana, the odor of copper is related to that of a toad, which represents female fertility and procreation.⁹¹ The association of frogs and toads with female sexuality is common in the mythologies of the indigenous groups of

Caribbean Colombia, among them the Zenú people and the Kogi of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.⁹² These associations recall the importance of frog representations in various archaeological materials of Caribbean Colombia, of the frog-shaped nose of some Darién pendants from the San Jacinto area, and of numerous copper and *tumbaga* nose ornaments showing local variations of standardized forms that have been found in extensive regions of Caribbean Colombia.⁹³ We can mention as well the large number of nose ornaments with two lateral upturned “legs” that have been found in the San Jacinto area and that are depicted on local anthropomorphic figures, including Darién pendants (Figures 69–71). Although we cannot affirm that these nose ornaments represent a schematization of the legs of a frog, their shape reminds us of the features of this animal, and such an interpretation would accord with the symbolism of frogs. Additionally, the social importance of nose ornaments recalls particular gender and sexual connotations, which, in the case of metal ornaments, deserve further study. For example, for the Uwa the nose is related to male sexuality and the ears to female sexuality.⁹⁴

The use of copper and *tumbaga* objects in the particular context of matrimonial exchange was widespread on the American continents and included different types of ornaments. The ancient Taíno of the Caribbean islands used ear ornaments as “bride price” during marriage alliances; they appreciated the dark red color and the smell of such ornaments made of the gold-copper alloy that they called *guanín*.⁹⁵ Among the indigenous people living in the North American northwest coast, the various uses of copper objects included their function in the context of marriage relationships. Among the Kwakiutl, for instance, the women accumulated “coppers,” the most important of metal items for these people. Coppers, or bride wealth, were offered to the future husband. By giving coppers, the woman’s family group symbolically bought the rights to the future children,⁹⁶ the coppers serving as substitutes for children. In general, the coppers were individuals—“people”: they had names, and they were described in terms of smell and texture.⁹⁷

Darién pendants were also “people.” The coppery matrix of the metal, subject to heavy corrosion, recalls the humanness of copper, its feminine associations, transformations of embryonic life, and the mortality of human beings. However, the presence of gold, which made a brilliant yellowish surface possible, introduced the complementary male feature of divine immortality. These pendants were probably used as emblems evoking basic mythological principles related to balance and continuity of life.

The Darién pendants that belonged to late cultural developments in Caribbean Colombia were probably used in activities related to social and political alliances, which might also have involved nose ornaments, other metal



73. Shell ornament in the form of a Darién pendant, Caribbean Colombia; Canalete, Córdoba. H. 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (6.1 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (K19). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez



74. Shell ornament in the form of the legs of a Darién pendant, Caribbean Colombia; San Jacinto Mountains, Carmen de Bolívar, Bolívar. H. 2 in. (5.1 cm). Museo del Oro, Bogotá (K436). Photographer: Clark Manuel Rodríguez

items, and objects of different materials, such as the frog-shaped shell beads that are particularly abundant in the San Jacinto and neighboring areas or the shell ornaments in the form of Darién pendants (Figures 73, 74) that are occasionally found in the Caribbean area. Copper, *tumbaga*, shell items, nose ornaments, frogs, anthropomorphic figures—all are linked by a basic symbolism that follows the integrative orientation of mythical thought.

The widespread phenomenon represented by Darién pendants allows us to explore some possible explanations for their extensive distribution and for the local differences in their manufacture. The “birth” and diversification of Darién pendants by the time of Christ correspond to the development of local cultures associated with spectacular metalwork that lasted until A.D. 800–900. These early regional styles were probably tied to the prestige and social functions of local leaders, who had the right to be buried with large quantities of emblematic metal ornaments. This tendency is suggested, for instance, by the rich funerary offerings in the Calima River area, by the Quimbaya treasures uncovered in the Quindío region, by the numerous metal objects buried in the Zenú funerary mounds, and by the rich content of the Coclé graves in Panama. During this period, the Darién pendants that were produced alongside the early regional styles over large areas acted as a common means of symbolic communication.

With the consolidation of the late regional styles in Colombia and Central America after A.D. 900, there was a change in the primary orientation of metallurgical produc-

tion. Chiefs, priests, and shamans also had a particular power that was imbued with cosmological energies and that gave them the right to use sacred ritual objects. However, in this period, popular use of numerous metal items during ritual occasions and in social alliances becomes more evident. Thousands of smaller, portable objects were produced in this context. The fluctuation in emphasis that guided the production and use of metal objects is reflected in the diminishing distribution of Darién pendants and in the mass production of objects belonging to the distinctive metalwork of the San Jacinto area. These differences, however, are linked by a primary and basic principle: the search for balance between opposing and complementary qualities, which must be reproduced by humans to encourage the continuity of life in society, nature, and the cosmos.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- MMA The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
 MO Museo del Oro del Banco de la República, Bogotá, Colombia
 NMAI National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
 DOAKS Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.
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- Falchetti 1993
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NOTES

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2. Pérez de Barradas 1965–66; Charles Bolian, "Seriation of the Darién Style Anthropomorphic Figure," in *Variation in Anthropology: Essays in Honor of John C. McGregor*, ed. Donald W. Lathrap and Jody Douglas (Urbana: Illinois Archaeological Survey, 1973), pp. 213–32; Ana María Falchetti, "The Goldwork of the Sinú Region, Northern Colombia" (M.Phil. thesis, Institute of Archaeology, University of London, 1976); Falchetti 1979.
3. Plazas and Falchetti 1983; Plazas and Falchetti 1985.
4. See Heather Lechtman, "Traditions and Styles in Central Andean Metalworking," in *The Beginning of the Use of Metals and Alloys*, ed. Robert Maddin (Boston, 1988), pp. 344–76.
5. Clemencia Plazas and Ana María Falchetti, "Technology of Ancient Colombian Gold," *Natural History* 28, no. 9 (1979), pp. 37–46; Plazas and Falchetti 1983; Plazas and Falchetti 1985.
6. See Warwick Bray, "Craftsmen and Farmers: The Archaeology of the Yotoco Period," in *Calima and Malagana: Art and Archaeology in Southwestern Colombia*, ed. Marianne Cardale Schrimppff (Bogotá: Pro Calima Foundation, 2005), pp. 98, 101.
7. See Pérez de Barradas 1954, pp. 52–53, 125.
8. There are a few preliminary studies of the physical and chemical mineralogical composition of Darién pendants. X-ray Fluorescence Analysis (XRF) was carried out on one pendant (Departamento Técnico Industrial, Banco de la República, Bogotá; Plazas 1998) and on two fragments, which were also analyzed using Atomic Absorption Spectrophotometry (AAS) (Scott 1982). The inductively coupled plasma-mass spectrometry (ICP-MS) technique was employed to examine the elemental composition of one fragment (Scott 1998). Fire Assay (FA) analysis of sixteen objects from different regions of Colombia, carried out years ago (Casa de la Moneda, Banco de la República, Bogotá) was published by José Pérez de Barradas in 1954 and 1965–66. These results can be considered a first approach to our understanding of the wide range of gold-copper alloys employed to manufacture the pendants in some areas and the use of high-grade gold or mainly copper in others. However, Darién pendants deserve a systematic metallurgical analysis that should be carried out on samples selected from different patterns of pendants associated with particular areas and periods.
The FA analysis of two small Type 1 pendants (MO 6199, 6200) indicates 54–84% gold content, 5–7.5% silver, and 32.8–8.6% copper; Pérez de Barradas 1954, pp. 25, 180, 272.
9. Pérez de Barradas 1954, p. 189.
10. It is worth mentioning the similarity of these accessories with the ritual paraphernalia used by the contemporary Embera shamans (*jaibaná*) of western Colombia during healing rituals. See Erlend Nordenskiöld, "Les rapports entre l'art, la religion, et la magie chez les indiens Cuna et Chocó," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, n.s., 21 (1929), pp. 141–58; Henry Wassén, "Notes on Southern Groups of Chocó Indians in Colombia," *Etnologiska studier* (Göteborg) 1 (1935), pp. 35–182; Luis Guillermo Vasco, *Jaibanás, los verdaderos hombres* (Bogotá: Biblioteca Banco Popular, Fondo de Promoción de la Cultura, 1985).
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16. Anne Legast, *La fauna en el material precolombino Calima* (Bogotá: Fundación de Investigaciones Arqueológicas Nacionales, Banco de la República, 1993); Marianne Cardale Schrimppff, "Cazando animales en el bestiario cosmológico: El cocodrilo en el suroeste de Colombia y en regiones vecinas del Ecuador (800 A.C. a 500 D.C.)," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines* 35, no. 3 (2006), pp. 409–31.
17. Julio César Cubillos, "Arqueología de Río Blanco (Chaparral, Tolima)," *Boletín de arqueología* (Instituto Etnológico Nacional, Bogotá) 1 (1945), pp. 519–91.
18. Sandra Mendoza and Nubia Quiazua, "Exploración arqueológica en el municipio de Tocaima, Cundinamarca," *Boletín de arqueología* (Fundación de Investigaciones Arqueológicas Nacionales, Banco de la República, Bogotá) 5, no. 3 (September 1990), pp. 3–29; Alvaro Botiva, "Registro de una tumba prehispánica en el municipio de Suárez (Tolima)," *Boletín de arqueología* 11, no. 1 (1996), pp. 3–34.
19. Ana María Falchetti, "Orfebrería prehispánica en el altiplano central colombiano," *Boletín Museo del Oro*, no. 25 (September–December 1989), pp. 15–16; Falchetti 1993, pp. 49–53; Plazas 1998, pp. 57–59.
20. The analysis of ten examples of Early Quimbaya metallurgy (XRF, AAS, FA) showed the predominance of alloys with 36–78% gold content and 11–35% copper. Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, p. 48; Plazas 1998, p. 20.
21. Plazas and Falchetti 1983; Plazas and Falchetti 1985.
22. Plazas 1998, p. 30; María Alicia Uribe, "Orfebrería, ideología y poder en el Cauca medio: Una mirada diacrónica a la metalurgia en las sociedades prehispánicas del centro occidente colombiano," in *Metalurgia* 2007, pp. 255–56.
23. Gustavo Santos and Helda Otero de Santos, *El Volador: Una ventana al pasado* (Medellín: Departamento de Antropología, Universidad de Antioquia—Secretaría de Educación Municipal, 1994). This metallurgy is associated with characteristic brown incised wares; Karen Bruhns, "Stylistic Affinities between the Quimbaya Gold Style and a Little Known Ceramic Style in the Middle Cauca Valley, Colombia," *Ñawpa Pacha* 7–8 (1970), pp. 65–84; Clemencia Plazas, "Tesoro de los Quimbayas y piezas de orfebrería relacionadas," *Boletín Museo del Oro*, no. 1 (May–August 1978), pp. 21–34. These wares have been dated to a period ranging from the first to the fifth centuries A.D.; Neyla Castillo, "Complejos arqueológicos y grupos étnicos del siglo XVI en el occidente de Antioquia," *Boletín Museo del Oro*, no. 20 (January–April 1988), pp. 16–34; Neyla Castillo, "Reconocimiento arqueológico en el Valle de Aburrá," *Boletín de antropología* (Departamento de Antropología, Universidad de Antioquia, Medellín) 9, no. 25 (1992); Luis E. Nieto, "Asentamientos prehispánicos en el suroccidente antioqueño: Municipio de Armenia," 1991, manuscript, Fundación de Investigaciones Arqueológicas Nacionales, Banco de la República, Bogotá; Gustavo Santos, "Una población prehispánica de Antioquia representada por el estilo Marrón Inciso," in *El Marrón Inciso en Antioquia*, exh. cat., Museo Nacional de

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 25. Plazas and Falchetti 1983, pp. 10–12; Plazas and Falchetti 1985, pp. 48–49.
 26. Luis Arango Cano, *Recuerdos de la g.uaquería en el Quindío* (Bogotá: Tamayo, 1924), p. 2, pl. 10.
 27. The analysis (FA) of three objects gave the following results: MO 6031: 82% gold and 8.8% silver; MO 3065 and 4663: 80% and 53.8% gold, 4.4% and 18.7% silver, 12.5% and 21.2% copper; Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, p. 109.
 28. This vessel shape had a long and old history in southern regions, such as the Ecuadorian and Peruvian archaeological areas of the Central Andean region.
 29. Legast, *La fauna* (as in note 16 above), pp. 93–94.
 30. The analysis (FA) of four items in the Museo del Oro (351, 3492, 6422, 3494) showed an addition of 18.8–48.8% of copper; Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, pp. 109–10.
 31. Kelemen 1944, vol. 2, pl. 216b.
 32. MO 417 (FA); Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, p. 110.
 33. Manuel Uribe Ángel, *Geografía general y compendio histórico del Estado de Antioquia en Colombia* (Paris: Victor Goupy and Jourdan, 1885), pl. X, figs. 2, 8.
 34. MO 414 (FA); Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, p. 110.
 35. Plazas, "Tesoro de los Quimbayas" (as in note 23).
 36. See Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, pls. 55, 63. The analysis (FA) of four objects (MO 3491, 3493, 7215, 3063) showed a wide range of alloy types: 38–77.5% gold content, 3.5–43.2% silver, and 2.2–48.5% copper; *ibid.*, pp. 109–10.
 37. Cooke and Bray 1985, pp. 41–43; Bray 1992, pp. 34–39.
 38. Plazas 1998, p. 30.
 39. Cooke and Bray 1985, pp. 41–43; Bray 1992, pp. 34–36.
 40. According to the analysis (FA) carried out on three items, one object (MO 80) has some copper (5.5%). The two others (MO 5124 and 5895) showed 83–83.5% gold and 11–12.3% silver; Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, p. 109.
 41. Dockstader 1967, pl. 9.
 42. Analysis (FA) on two objects (MO 6030 and 6419): 78–82% gold, 4.2–11.6% silver, 14.2–0% copper; Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, p. 109.
 43. 81.6% gold, 16% silver (FA); Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, p. 109.
 44. Dockstader 1967, pl. 10.
 45. Ana María Falchetti, "El territorio del gran Zenú en las llanuras del Caribe Colombiano: Arqueología y etnohistoria," *Revista de arqueología americana* (Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Mexico), no. 11 (July–December 1996), p. 34.
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 47. Clemencia Plazas and Ana María Falchetti, *Asentamientos prehispánicos en el bajo río San Jorge* (Bogotá: Fundación de Investigaciones Arqueológicas Nacionales, Banco de la República, 1981), pp. 89–97; Plazas et al. 1993, pp. 97–113.
 48. Plazas and Falchetti, *Asentamientos prehispánicos*; Clemencia Plazas, Ana María Falchetti, Thomas van der Hammen, and Pedro Botero, "Cambios ambientales y desarrollo cultural en el bajo río San Jorge," *Boletín Museo del Oro*, no. 20 (January–April 1988), pp. 55–88; Plazas et al. 1993.
 49. The FA analysis of fourteen objects (Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, pp. 173–74) and the XRF analysis of four items (Departamento Técnico Industrial, Banco de la República, Bogotá; Plazas 1998, pp. 20–21) showed a wide range of alloy types, with 38–89% gold and 1.5–27% silver. The copper addition is less than 20% for twelve objects, between 20% and 30% for two objects, and more than 50% for two objects.
 50. Falchetti 1993, pp. 19–21; Falchetti 1995, pp. 212–19; Falchetti 2000, pp. 138–39.
 51. Cooke and Bray 1985, p. 42; Bray 1992, pp. 40–41.
 52. Leo P. Biese, "The Gold of Parita," *Archaeology* 20, no. 3 (1967), pp. 202–8.
 53. See Bray 1992, pp. 44–45.
 54. Warwick Bray, "Across the Darién Gap: A Colombian View of Isthmian Archaeology," in *The Archaeology of Lower Central America*, ed. Frederick W. Lange and Doris Z. Stone (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), pp. 305–38.
 55. Bray 1992, p. 36.
 56. See Carlos Balsler, "Los objetos de oro de los estilos extranjeros de Costa Rica," in *XXXVI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, España, 1964: Actas y memorias* (Seville: ECESA, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 391–98, fig. 1; Carlos H. Aguilar, *Colección de objetos indígenas del Banco Central de Costa Rica*, Serie historia y geografía, no. 13 (Ciudad Universitaria Rodrigo Facio: Universidad de Costa Rica, 1972), p. 67; Samuel K. Lothrop, "Metals from the Cenote of Sacrifice, Chichen Itzá, Yucatán," *Memoirs of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology* 10, no. 2 (1952), p. 95; Donald Ediger, *The Well of Sacrifice: The Recovery of the Lost Maya Treasures of Chichén Itzá* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971), p. 51; Warwick Bray, "Maya Metalwork and Its External Connections," in *Social Process in Maya Prehistory: Studies in Honour of Sir Eric Thompson*, ed. Norman Hammond (London and New York: Academic Press, 1977), pp. 389–90; Falchetti, "Goldwork of the Sinú Region" (as in note 2 above), pp. 167, 170; Falchetti 1979, pp. 24, 26.
 57. Bray, "Maya Metalwork," p. 390; Falchetti 1979, p. 24.
 58. Plazas and Falchetti 1983, pp. 23–26; Plazas and Falchetti 1985, p. 53; Leonor Herrera, "La orfebrería tardía de la región Calima," in *Metalurgia* 2007, pp. 247–80.
 59. Bray 1992, p. 40, fig. 3.5.
 60. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
 61. Falchetti 1993, pp. 21–26; Falchetti 1995, pp. 223–36; Falchetti 2000, pp. 141–45.
 62. Falchetti 1987, pp. 10–12; Falchetti 1993, pp. 33–38; Warwick Bray, "Gold, Stone, and Ideology: Symbols of Power in the Tairona Tradition of Northern Colombia," in *Gold and Power in Ancient Costa Rica, Panama, and Colombia: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 9 and 10 October 1999*, ed. Jeffrey Quilter and John W. Hoopes (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2003), pp. 322–27; Juanita Sáenz Samper, "Continuidad y cambio cultural en la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta: Una visión a través de la orfebrería," in *Metalurgia* 2007, pp. 181–92.
 63. Clemencia Plazas, "Forma y función en el oro Tairona," *Boletín Museo del Oro*, no. 19 (May–August 1987), pp. 25–33; Falchetti 1987.
 64. Falchetti 1987, pp. 17–18.
 65. Falchetti 1995, pp. 236–49; Falchetti 2000, pp. 145–47.
 66. Fernando Montejo and Sneider Rojas, "Acercamiento a la dinámica cultural prehispánica en el bajo río Sinú y sur de la Serranía de San

- Jerónimo" (B.A. thesis, Departamento de Antropología, Universidad Nacional de Colombia Bogotá, 1995), pp. 203–10; Falchetti, "El territorio del Gran Zenú" (as in note 45), pp. 7–41.
67. MO 28282, B.P. 350 ± 60 (A.D. 1600 ± 60); Plazas 1998, p. 50. The analysis was carried out on a small piece of cotton thread that, due to corrosion, had adhered to the loop at the back of the figure.
68. See Gonzalo Correal, "Exploraciones arqueológicas en la Costa Atlántica y Valle del Magdalena," 1975, manuscript, Fundación de Investigaciones Arqueológicas Nacionales, Banco de la República, Bogotá; David Behar, "Excavaciones arqueológicas en las fincas Padula y Emperatriz (Bolívar)" (B.A. thesis, Departamento de Antropología, Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, 1976), pls. XVII, XI, XXVII; Falchetti 1995, pp. 241–44.
69. Plazas et al. 1993, pp. 123–24.
70. Falchetti 1993, pp. 26–33; Falchetti 2000, pp. 145–48.
71. Metallographic examination of two samples showed a coarse dendritic structure in a cuprite matrix; Scott 1982, vol. 2, p. 381; Plazas 1998, table 5.
72. Scott 1998, pp. 88–94; Falchetti 1995, p. 236.
73. The analysis of a Darién pendant and of several fragments belonging to this group shows the use of copper with smaller amounts of gold and silver. MO 28282: 15% gold, 1% silver, 84% copper (XRF; Departamento Técnico Industrial, Banco de la República, Bogotá; Plazas 1998, table 5); fragment: 18.89% gold, 4% silver, 53.2% copper (AAS; Institute of Archaeology, University of London; Scott 1982, vol. 2, pp. 381–82); fragment: the copper (matrix) was mixed with a small amount of native gold alloy (amount of gold at 21,100 ppm, and silver at 5,800 ppm; ICP-MS; Museum Research Laboratory, Getty Conservation Institute, Getty Center, Los Angeles; see Scott 1998, pp. 89–90).
74. See Falchetti 1995, fig. 43D.
75. Roberto Pineda Camacho, "Los bancos taumaturgos," *Boletín Museo del Oro*, no. 36 (January–June 1994), pp. 3–39.
76. See Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff, *Goldwork and Shamanism: An Iconographic Study of the Gold Museum of the Banco de la República, Colombia* (Bogotá, 1988), pp. 55–58.
77. Pérez de Barradas 1954, p. 300; Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, p. 129; Richard Evans Schultes and Alec Bright, "Ancient Gold Pectorals from Colombia: Mushroom Effigies?" *Botanical Museum Leaflets* 27, nos. 5–6 (1979).
78. See María Elena Márquez, *Los indios Tunebo y su cosmogonía* (Caracas: Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Centro de Lenguas Indígenas, 1981), p. 179; Ann Osborn, *Las cuatro estaciones: Mitología y estructura social entre los U'wa* (Bogotá: Colección Bibliográfica, Banco de la República, 1995), pp. 40–41; Ana María Falchetti, "The Transformation of the Seed: Ritual Offerings and Trade among the Uwa of Colombia," *Journal of Latin American Lore* 21, no. 1 (2001), p. 136.
79. See Sandra Turbay, "Los animales en la tradición Zenú," in *Costa Atlántica colombiana: Etnología e historia*, ed. Sandra Turbay and Amparo Murillo (Medellín: Universidad de Antioquia, 1994), pp. 233, 236; Falchetti 2000, pp. 137–38.
80. See Mircea Eliade, *Herreros y alquimistas* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1974).
81. Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff, *Desana: Simbolismo de los indios Tukano del Vaupés*, 2d ed. (Bogotá: Procultura, Presidencia de la República, 1986), pp. 96–97.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
83. Ana María Falchetti, "The Essence of Transformations: Some Thoughts on the Symbolism of Copper Metallurgy in the Andean-Amazonian Context," paper presented at the 66th Annual Meeting, Society for American Archaeology, New Orleans, April 18, 2001; Falchetti 2003, pp. 347–53.
84. Falchetti, "The Essence of Transformations"; Falchetti 2003, pp. 353–61.
85. María Alicia Uribe, "Mujeres, calabazos, brillo y tumbaga: Símbolos de vida y transformación en la orfebrería Quimbaya Temprana," *Boletín de Antropología Universidad de Antioquia* (Medellín) 19, no. 36 (2005), pp. 61–93; Uribe, "Orfebrería, ideología y poder en el Cauca medio" (as in note 22 above), pp. 247–80.
86. Antonio Medina, Francisco Gómez Rondón, and Alonso Bermúdez, "Relación de San Miguel de Las Palmas de Tamalameque" (1579), *Cespedesia* (Cali) 45–46, supp. 4 (1983), pp. 186–87.
87. Falchetti 2003, p. 362.
88. Armando Martínez, "Un caso de alteración aurífera colonial en el bajo Magdalena," *Boletín Museo del Oro*, no. 23 (January–April 1989), p. 48; Esteban Martín, "Declaración de una lengua" (1534), in *Nectario María: Los orígenes de Maracaibo* (Maracaibo: Universidad del Zulia, 1959), p. 496; Lucas Fernández de Piedrahita, *Noticia historial de las conquistas del Nuevo Reino de Granada* (1688; Bogotá: Revista Ximénez de Quesada, Editorial Kelly, 1973), vol. 1, p. 343.
89. Falchetti 2003, pp. 361–64.
90. Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff, "Desana Animal Categories, Food Restrictions, and the Concept of Color Energies," *Journal of Latin American Lore* 4, no. 2 (1978), pp. 272–73.
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93. Falchetti 2003, p. 362.
94. See Osborn, *Las cuatro estaciones* (as in note 78 above), p. 190.
95. Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias* (1561; Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1965), vol. 2, p. 240; Juan de Torquemada, *Veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia indiana, con el origen y guerras, de los Indios Occidentales, de sus poblaciones, descubrimiento, conquista, conversión y otras cosas maravillosas de la misma tierra* (Madrid, 1723), vol. 2, p. 427.
96. Franz Boas, "Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the U.S. National Museum for 1895* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1897), pp. 358–59; Franz Boas and George Hunt, "Ethnology of the Kwakiutl," *35th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution (1913–1914)*. Washington, D.C.: G.P.O., 1921), pp. 699–702.
97. Boas, "Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," pp. 348–50; Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D. Hall (1950; New York, London: W. W. Norton, 1990), pp. 44–45; Martine de Widerspach-Thor, "The Equation of Copper," in *The World Is as Sharp as a Knife: An Anthology in Honour of Wilson Duff*, ed. Donald Abbott (Victoria: British Columbia Provincial Museum, 1981), pp. 157–74; Jay Miller, *Tsimshian Culture: A Light through the Ages* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), pp. 153–54.

APPENDIX: DARIÉN PENDANTS FROM COLOMBIA

Type	Collection inv. no.	Area	Provenance	Figure no.	References
1	MO 5425	Calima	Restrepo, Valle del Cauca	Figure 4	
1	MO 6199	Calima	Restrepo, Valle del Cauca	see Figure 4	
1	MO 6200	Calima	Restrepo, Valle del Cauca	Figure 5	
1	MO 7753	Pacific area?		see Figure 4	
2	MO 6420		unknown	Figure 19	
2	MO 6511		unknown	see Figure 19	
2	MO 33736		unknown	Figure 20	
2	MMA 66.196.20	Calima	Calima River	Figure 17	
2	MMA 1979.206.558	Calima	Calima River	Figure 18	
related to 2	MO 3494	Quimbaya	Ansermanuevo, Valle del Cauca	see Figures 17–20	Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, pl. 66
related to 2	MO 6238	Tolima	Ríoblanco, Tolima	Figure 21	
2	MO 337	Eastern Mountain Range	Guaduas, Cundinamarca	Figure 22	
related to 2	MO 28914	Eastern Mountain Range	Tocaima, Cundinamarca	Figure 23	
related to 2	MO 25623	Eastern Mountain Range	Tibacuy, Cundinamarca	Figure 24	
2	MO 29305		unknown	see Figure 22	
3	MO 3065	Quimbaya	Quimbaya, Quindío	Figure 30	
3	MO 4663		unknown	Figure 27	
3	MO 7342		unknown	Figure 28	
3	MO 6031		unknown	Figure 29	
4	MO 3492	Quimbaya	Ansermanuevo, Valle del Cauca	Figure 31	
4	MO 351	Quimbaya	Salento, Quindío	Figure 33	
4	MO 6422		unknown	see Figure 31	Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, pl. 80
4	MMA 1979.206.500		unknown	Figure 32	
5	MO 417	Quimbaya	Frontino, Antioquia	Figure 34	
5	NMAI	Caribbean lowlands	Sinú River	see Figure 34	Kelemen 1944, vol. 2, pl. 216b
6	MO 414	Quimbaya	Toro, San Rafael, Antioquia	Figure 35	
related to 6	MO 22609		unknown	Figure 36	
7	MO 6032		unknown	Figure 43 no. 4	
7	MO 6794		unknown	see Figure 43 no. 4	Pérez de Barradas 1965–66, pl. 78
8a	MO 80	Quimbaya	Quindío	see Figure 44	
8a	MO 5124	Quimbaya	Quindío	Figure 44	
8a	MO 5895	Pacific area	Baudó River, Chocó	Figure 45	
8a	MO 8231	Pacific area	Alto Icho, Chocó	Figures 46, 47	
8a	DOAKS	Pacific area	upper Atrato River valley	see Figure 46	
8a	MO 6936		unknown	see Figure 44	
8b	MO 33081	upper Sinú River	Valencia, Córdoba	Figures 48, 43 no. 6	
8b	MO 32527	lower Cauca River	Caucasia, Antioquia	see Figure 48	
8b	MO 16115	middle San Jorge River	El Anclar, Montelíbano, Córdoba	see Figure 48	Dockstader 1967, pl. 9
8b	NMAI	Sinú River	east bank of the Sinú River	see Figure 48	
8b	MO Archives	upper Sinú River	Tierralta, Córdoba	Figure 43 no. 7; see Figure 48	
8b	MO Archives	Caribbean lowlands, middle Sinú River	Betancí, Montería, Córdoba	see Figure 48	
8b	MO Archives	Caribbean lowlands, middle Sinú River	Betancí, Montería, Córdoba	see Figure 48	
8b	MO Archives	Caribbean lowlands, middle Sinú River	Betancí, Montería, Córdoba	see Figure 48	
8b	MO 6419		unknown	Figures 50, 51	
8b	MO 6421		unknown	see Figure 50	
8b	MO 6030		unknown	Figure 2	
8b	MMA 1977.187.16		unknown	Figure 49	
8b	MMA 1974.271.33		unknown	see Figure 2	
8c	MO 21025	Caribbean lowlands, middle Sinú River	Betancí, Montería, Córdoba	Figure 54	
8d	MO 29002	San Jacinto mountains	Hacienda Vilot, Ovejas, Sucre	Figure 55	
8e	MO 25134	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre	Figure 56	
9	MO 6815	Pacific area	Purichá, Chocó	Figure 52	
9	MO 11680	Pacific area	Quibdó, Chocó	Figure 53	
10	MO Archives	middle San Jorge River	Montelíbano, Córdoba	Figure 43 no. 8	
10	NMAI	Sinú River	east bank of the Sinú River	Figure 43 no. 11	Dockstader 1967, pl. 10
11	MO 23435, 23436	lower Cauca River (Caribbean lowlands)	Guaranda, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 29558, 29559	lower Cauca River	Guaranda, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 30086	lower Cauca River	Guaranda, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 32640	lower Cauca River	Guaranda, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 20402	lower Cauca River	Majagual, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 21111–21114	lower Cauca River	Majagual, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22696, 22697	lower Magdalena River (Caribbean lowlands)	Magangué, Bolívar	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22728	lower Magdalena River	Magangué, Bolívar	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22730	lower Magdalena River	Magangué, Bolívar	see Figure 66	
11	MO 21079–21081	lower Magdalena River	Simití, Bolívar	see Figure 66	
11	MO 16672	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	

Type	Collection inv. no.	Area	Provenance	Figure no.	References
11	MO 16686	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 17034-17036	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 17631	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	Figure 66	
11	MO 17721-17723	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 18974	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 19308-19310	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 20206, 20207	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 20581	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22333	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22466-22469	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22486, 22487	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22527	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22615, 22616	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22663, 22664	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 23474	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 23600-23602	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 24299-24301	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 24550, 24551	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 28534	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 23917-23923	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 24281	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 24980	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 25528, 25529	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 32017	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 23439-23443	San Jacinto mountains	Toluviejo, Sucre	see Figure 66	
11	MO 21025-21028		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 21267, 21268		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 21378-21381		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22092		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22376-22378		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 22425, 22426		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 23287-23292		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 23818, 23819		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 26330-26337		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 28263-28273		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 28282		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 29652, 29653		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 29844		unknown	see Figure 66	
11	MO 29968		unknown	see Figure 66	
11a	MO 21331	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	Figure 65 no. 2; see Figure 67	
11a	MO 21332	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 67	
11a	MO 21355	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 67	
11a	MO 24279	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre	see Figure 67	
11a	MO 21132		unknown	Figure 67	
11a	MO 21133		unknown	see Figure 67	
12	MO 21354	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre		see Falchetti 1995, fig. 43D
12	MO 24982	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre		
13	MO 22729-22731	lower Cauca River	Majagual, Sucre	see Figure 68	
13	MO 22729	lower Magdalena River	Magangué, Bolívar	see Figure 68	
13	MO 22731	lower Magdalena River	Magangué, Bolívar	see Figure 68	
13	MO 20580	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 68	
13	MO 22618-22620	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 68	
13	MO 22667, 22668	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	see Figure 68	
13	MO 25630, 25631	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre	see Figure 68	
13	MO 21383		unknown	see Figure 68	
13	MO 22375		unknown	see Figure 68	
13	MO 22427		unknown	Figure 68	
13	MO 22428-22433		unknown	see Figure 68	
13	MO 26338, 26339		unknown	see Figure 68	
14	MO 24827	San Jacinto mountains	Colosó, Sucre	Figure 65 no. 3	see Falchetti 1995, fig. 42D
14	MO 24280	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre		see Falchetti 1995, fig. 42B
14	MO 33618		unknown	Figure 69	
15	MO 25133	San Jacinto mountains	Ovejas, Sucre	Figure 71	
15	MO 21382		unknown		see Falchetti 1995, fig. 43B
16	MO 22424		unknown	Figure 72	
	MO 30199	Tairona	Don Diego River, Santa Marta, Magdalena	Figures 64, 65 no. 7	
Darién-related	MO 3064	Quimbaya	Quindío	Figure 37	
Darién-related	MO 25664	Quimbaya	El Caimo, Armenia, Quindío	Figure 38	
Darién-related	MO 3491	Quimbaya	Ansermanuevo, Valle del Cauca	see Figure 38	
Darién-related	MO 3493	Quimbaya	Ansermanuevo, Valle del Cauca	see Figure 38	
Darién-related	MO 7215	Quimbaya	unknown	see Figure 37	