

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 143

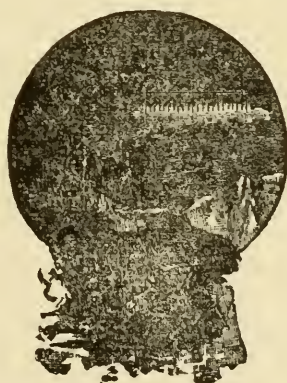
HANDBOOK
OF
SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

Volume 4

THE CIRCUM-CARIBBEAN TRIBES

Prepared in Cooperation With the United States Department of State as a Project
of the Interdepartmental Committee for Scientific and Cultural Cooperation



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1948

PART I. CENTRAL AMERICAN CULTURES

CENTRAL AMERICAN CULTURES: AN INTRODUCTION¹

By FREDERICK JOHNSON

Central America may be defined culturally as the region extending from the Atrato and San Juan River Valleys in Colombia nearly to the western boundary of Honduras (map 1). It has a fundamental unity in what may be a basic cultural tradition or cultural substructure. This basic culture has a distinctly South American cast, and the region marks the northern limit of culture complexes which were probably derived from South America. The region has, however, been exposed to influences from the north, that is, the Meso-American cultures. The continuing stream of cultural diffusion from both the north and south has produced a strong overlay of foreign elements which gives many local cultures a superficial similarity to those of neighboring regions. These tend to obscure the basic cultures.

GEOGRAPHY

The culture area of Central America is not coterminous with a geographical province.² Central America includes several portions of a larger geographic region which extends north to the "Great Scarp" of Oaxaca, México, and south to the northern terminus of the Andes, the eastern slopes of the Atrato River Valley. This region is part of the Antillean Mountain System and is distinct from the great Cordilleras of North and South America. The Antillean System comprises a series of east-west trending crustal folds, which have given rise to the present river valleys and ridges of northern Honduras and central Nicaragua. A major vulcanism of Pleistocene and Recent date has modified the topography, particularly of the western termini of these earlier mountains, and a series of volcanoes welded into a number of gigantic pedestals are distributed in a great arc between Tehuantepec and Costa Rica. A smaller, sigmoid-shaped arc of volcanoes, of lower altitude, begins with the Cordillera de Tala-

¹ This introduction incorporates data furnished by Stone, Kirchhoff, Strong, Stout, and Lothrop.

² The archeological and ethnological subdivisions do not always coincide with geographical divisions, although they are designated by geographical names. Cultural and geographical terminology has been correlated so far as possible, but discrepancies remain.

manca in Costa Rica and continues eastward, following the Cordillera de San Blas and the Serranía del Darién in Panamá. The vulcanism closed a portal connecting the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific, now the area included in the Nicaraguan Lowland. Other changes in level and the deposition of volcanic materials formed the Isthmus of Rivas, cutting off from the sea the basins of Lake Managua and Lake Nicaragua. The consequent rise of the levels of the lakes turned the drainage into the San Juan River Valley, leading to the Caribbean Sea. (Cf. esp. Ricketson, 1940; Schuchert, 1935.)

Along the Caribbean coast, Lowlands of varying width have been formed. These are flood plains, alluvial fans or areas of little or no slope, which have been built up by the deposition of materials eroded from the Uplands. The Lowlands bordering the Pacific—the Pacific Borderlands—are less extensive, being composed largely of deposits of volcanic material and recent alluvium.

The orogeny of the region has been one of the principal factors in the development of a number of areas which can be classified according to their topography and other general features. The mountain masses divide areas affected by the warm moist winds of the Caribbean from those dependent upon the winter winds and summer monsoons characteristic of the Pacific Ocean in these latitudes. This general condition is partially obscured by a complication of factors which have not yet been thoroughly studied. The climate of different areas and even of restricted localities is influenced by the topography, particularly the orientation of the mountains with respect to prevailing winds. Even this characteristic is subject to exceptions, the nature of which varies in the different areas.

The Caribbean coast and the Uplands of Central America which drain into the Caribbean Sea differ greatly from other areas because of the highly specialized environment. This area is covered with a dense tropical forest. The moist winds from the Caribbean bring a rainfall of 100 to 200 inches a year. Some areas have even more precipitation. The so-called dry season is really a period of less rain. Depending upon circumstances, especially upon the orientation of the slopes toward the prevailing winds, the rainfall varies slightly in different areas but has a negligible effect on the significant features of the environment.

PANAMA

Darién.—Darién is the area between the Atrato River Valley and the gap in the backbone of the Isthmus of Panamá, the site of the Panamá Canal. The two ranges that comprise the central structure of Darién lie close to the Caribbean coast and the western shore of the Golfo de Urabá. The southeasterly extremity turns inland to form the western side of the lower reaches of the Atrato River. The southern end of the Serranía del

Darién becomes lost in a plain. West of this, paralleling the Pacific coast of Colombia, lie the hills which are the northern extremity of the Cordillera de Chocó.

The southern and western slopes of the two ranges are drained by the westerly flowing Río Chepo, also called Río Bayano, and the Río Chucunaque-Tuira, which empty into the Golfo de San Miguel. The watersheds of these two relatively large systems comprise the major part of the area of the region. The valleys are of low relief; they have been described as plains. The Atrato River Valley, draining into the Golfo de Urabá, is wide and also of low relief. Toward the south, above the headwaters of the Atrato, the character of the relief continues, but the gradient dips to the south and the San Juan River runs southward to enter the Pacific at Punta Charambira in Colombia.

Darién is covered, for the most part, by several types of tropical forest. Onshore winds bring moisture from the warm Caribbean resulting in a rainfall varying between 100 and 200 inches a year. The northern slopes of the mountains and most of the interior valleys are covered with a dense tropical forest. Dry and wet seasons follow in regular succession over the entire area, but they are much more marked in the drier area bordering the Pacific coast, where offshore winds blow part of the year. In the latter area the distribution of the tropical forest is irregular, but the vegetation is lush, owing to large quantities of water caught in the poor drainage.

Western Panamá.—West of Darién an expanse of savanna borders the Pacific and extends as far as the mountains of Chiriquí, Panamá. The environment of this area is similar to all lands occupying the Pacific side of Central America. The climate is largely determined by accidents of location with respect to winter winds and summer monsoons, which bring out clearly marked dry and wet seasons. With the exception of local areas where the topography and other features affect the rainfall, these savannas and the Pacific coast in general support areas of semideciduous or scrub forest, between which grasslands flourish. The climate, though hot, is favorable, and the inhabitants could live above bare subsistence levels.

Between the Lowlands of the coast and the higher parts of the Uplands lies an area of hills and low ridges which topographically are part of the mountain systems. The environment of this little-known zone is very complex, but it appears to be analogous to that of the savannas. The cool nights, the occasional rains during the dry season, and possibly the specialized fauna and flora make it hospitable to human occupancy; at least some sections have, in the past, supported a relatively large population.

The Isthmian Tropical Forest.—This area extends westward from the Panama Canal, a very arbitrary boundary, to the Nicaraguan Lowland. It includes the Caribbean watershed which, in Panamá, is clearly bounded by the divide separating it from the Pacific slopes. The inland boundary

in Costa Rica is very irregular and hard to fix. It follows the limits of the Caribbean drainage, excepting some areas on the upper reaches of some of the larger rivers.

The area is divisible into a Coastal Lowland zone and an Upland zone. The Coastal Lowland is largely a poorly drained alluvial plain, much of it swampland, especially along the shore, behind the barrier beaches and along the meandering and irregularly flooding rivers. Except for occasional intrepid travelers, the Panamanian Lowland has not been explored since the Spaniards lost interest in the area. A section of the Lowland, west of the Laguna de Chiriquí, sometimes called the Talamanca Plain, has been reclaimed. Strong onshore winds cause heavy surf to beat against the barrier beaches and to form sand bars blocking the river mouths. Navigation by canoe is hazardous if not impossible on the sea, but water travel is possible in the Laguna de Chiriquí and in the lower reaches of the rivers.

With the exception of sections of Costa Rica, very little is known of the Upland zone. This area is marked by steep slopes and deep valleys in which swift rivers flow through rocky channels. In general, the climate of the Uplands is healthier than that of the Lowlands.

Discussion and interpretation of the significance of the population pattern of the Isthmian Tropical Forest began in the 16th century, but the characteristics and necessities of life are still poorly understood. At the time of the Spanish conquest, when the aborigines did not have steel tools, it seems almost certain that very large areas of it had been cleared, and it appears to have been inhabited by a relatively large population. As a rule the headquarters of the several divisions of the population were located in the Uplands. Furthermore, there are vague suggestions of seasonal migrations of at least a portion of the population between the coastal Lowlands and the Uplands. After the Conquest, the characteristics of the occupancy of this area changed. The population became smaller and more sedentary, and much of the cleared land reverted to impenetrable jungle. For several reasons, not the least of which was the forbidding environment, the Spaniards concentrated their attention only upon the ports of entry and the lines of communication to the Pacific watershed, where, from their point of view, life was easier. From the time of its abandonment until a very few years ago, the Tropical Forest had been neglected by Europeans and remained an area in which refugee tribes could exist unmolested by their erstwhile conquerors.

THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS

The mountains between the Province of Chiriquí and the Nicaraguan Lowlands may be divided into a number of subareas.

Southern Costa Rica.—This subarea includes the Cordillera de Talamanca and its eastward extension into the Province of Chiriquí, the Cordillera Brunquena, and the various basins and lowlands which lie within the

mountain system and which border the Pacific coast. The most important basin is a structural depression drained by the Río Diquis. The northern portion of this basin, called the Valle General, is drained by the Río General and the Río Cabagua, tributaries of the Río Diquis. The Terraba Plain occupies the southern and eastern portion of this depression bordering the Cordillera Brunquena, through which the Río Diquis has cut a narrow canyon. To the south lies the Peninsula of Osa, a hilly region running in a southeasterly direction to form the Golfo Dulce. The peninsula is nearly cut off from the mainland by a low swampy area.

The north shore of the Golfo Dulce is hilly and the slopes rise abruptly from the coast. To the east, however, lies an area of Lowland savanna and swampland, which extends eastward along the Pacific coast of Panamá. The short valley of the Río Coto and its tributaries opens onto these Lowlands and meanders across them to its mouth on the Golfo Dulce. The Lowland is interrupted by the hills surrounding the Pico Burica and the low ridge running south to Punta Burica.

Central Costa Rica.—This is an area of relatively high altitude. Northeast of Cartago and San José, four great volcanic cones, varying in altitude from 9,120 to 11,220 feet (2,779 to 3,409 m.), stand in a row, their bases merged into a massive volcanic pedestal. Between these and the mountains to the south lies the intermontane basin known as the Meseta Central. This basin, lying at an altitude between 2,000 and 4,000 feet (about 650 to 1,300 m.), is complex in structure and its surface is distinctly hilly. The southeastern part of the Meseta is drained by the Río Raventazon, which empties into the Caribbean north of Puerto Limón. The northwestern part of the Meseta Central is drained by the Río Grande, which enters the Golfo de Nicoya a little southeast of Puntarenas. The Cordillera Volcánica, extending in a northeasterly direction from the Meseta Central, gradually decreases in altitude until, in Nicaragua, it forms only a hilly belt between Lake Nicaragua and the Pacific.

The Nicoya Area.—This area lies to the south of the Cordillera Volcánica, from which it is separated by the relatively wide and low valley of the Río Tempisque, which empties into the head of the Golfo de Nicoya. The Peninsula de Nicoya is a range of hills to the south of this valley, running in a southeasterly direction to form the Golfo de Nicoya. The western margin of the area, fronting the Pacific, is composed of a low range of hills.

The climate of all the southern or Costa Rica Highland area is exceedingly complex. Over most of the region the influences of the Pacific Ocean cause a dry and a wet season, but the differences between these seasons are not always extreme. Certain regions, particularly along the northern and eastern boundaries, are affected by trade winds from the Caribbean. Climate also varies with altitude and with the orientation of slopes in relation to prevailing winds and the sun. One slope of a valley

may receive abundant rains, while a nearby slope is infertile because little or no rain falls upon it. The General Valley, the Terraba Plain, and the Meseta Central are well-watered, fertile areas. The Lowland areas bordering the coast are very wet, having meandering rivers and most of them being poorly drained. Some of them are covered with mangrove swamps. The semideciduous and scrub forests of the Uplands give way to areas of lush vegetation in the wetter sections of the Lowlands.³

THE NICARAGUAN HIGHLANDS

This region lies north of the Nicaraguan Lowland. It is closely related, geologically, to the Guatemalan Highlands, though not so high, and is composed of a volcanic plateau with the highest elevations in the south. The steep escarpment of the plateau faces toward the Lempa River Valley of El Salvador and continues southward bordering the Golfo de Fonseca and the northeastern side of the Nicaraguan Lowland. The east-west pattern of the folded and faulted structure of the mountains is obscured by volcanic deposits in the south, but the older structure is revealed in the north. The easterly pointing spurs dip beneath the sea along the north coast of Honduras. The Bay Islands are, presumably, peaks of these submerged ranges. The Highlands are characterized by steep-sided mountains rising above high intermontane basins and plateaus.

The climate and vegetation patterns of the Northern Highlands are complex chiefly because extreme ranges of altitude are combined with a wide variation in the orientation of the slopes in relation to the prevailing winds and the sun. "In valleys and basins or on mountain slopes which are protected from the rain-bearing winds, the oak-pine forests, characteristic of the tierra templada and the tierra fría, may descend as low as 2,000 feet (about 650 m.). No parts of the country are high enough to be above tree line; but there are extensive savannas in relatively high places, such as those east of Tegucigalpa" (James, 1942, p. 689). In the eastern sections of the Nicaraguan Highlands, where the warm, moist winds from the Caribbean are forced to rise over the eastern slopes, the rainfall is very heavy and the forests are exceptionally thick. On the lower slopes of the mountains there is a drier belt, but the rainfall is sufficient to support a tropical rain forest. At high altitudes in Nicaragua the rainfall is more moderate and the temperature lower, permitting the growth of the oak and pine forests. These highlands mark the southernmost distribution of North American species of pines.

THE NICARAGUAN LOWLAND

This is a structural depression which runs in a northeasterly direction from the Caribbean Sea. The Tropical Forest extends up it nearly to San Carlos, where Lake Nicaragua empties into the Río San Juan. The forest

³ For a brief description of the environment, cf. James, 1942.

also covers sections of the valleys of tributaries of the San Juan, particularly those which drain the southern watershed of the Lowland. The northern side of the Lowland has a drier climate, perhaps because the orientation of the adjoining slopes produces local "rain shadows."

THE EASTERN COASTAL PLAIN

This area in Nicaragua is the largest lowland plain in Central America. It is an alluvial plain, poorly drained by the meandering rivers which cross it. Huge portions of it are swampland unfit for human habitation. The people build their villages on natural levees bordering the rivers or upon the low rises near the coastal lagoons. The coast has a complicated series of sand bars and barrier beaches, behind which there are extensive lagoons. The latter fostered the development of a partially maritime existence among the coast dwellers. The Upland slopes, facing the Caribbean, support the heaviest tropical forest in Central America. This did not, however, prevent the people from inhabiting the river valleys in great numbers.

THE NORTHERN COASTAL PLAIN

This is a fringe of Lowland in Honduras which skirts the spurs of the mountains and extends for varying distances up the river valleys. It receives great quantities of moisture from the Caribbean and supports a tropical forest. It is probable, however, that less rain falls here than elsewhere on the Caribbean coast. These Lowlands are composed of alluvial deposits washed off the slopes or deposited at the mouths of the rivers. Though of limited extent, they are usually poorly drained and dotted with swamps. The adjacent Uplands also support a tropical forest, which extends inland to a very irregular line where the "Caribbean" and "Northern Highland" environments meet. For reasons not yet well known, the tropical forest occurs also in some of the northerly and higher sections of the Honduran Plateau.

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY⁴

THE CUNA-CHOCÓ DIVISION⁵

At the time of the Conquest the Darién region was inhabited by tribes speaking dialects belonging to two languages which the Spaniards named *Coiba* and *Cueva*. The meaning of these names in terms of existing dialects or tribes is not clear; perhaps *Coiba* was a larger linguistic category. *Cueva* may now be extinct, having been spoken by a tribe which is no longer extant. On the other hand, elements of *Cueva* may be present in the dialect spoken by the modern San Blas *Cuna*.

The Chocó Group.—The designation *Chocó*, as a tribal name, does not occur in the early literature, though Oviedo y Valdés (1851-55, vol. 4,

⁴ The locations of the Central American tribes are shown on map 2.

⁵ The data on the *Cuna* and *Chocó* are briefed from a manuscript submitted by D. B. Stout.

p. 121) mentions a chief named Coquo, and the name Chocó was applied to a province in 1575 (Wassén, 1935, p. 42).

Beginning with Balboa in 1511, the Conquistadors made a series of explorations through various parts of the *Chocó* area. In most cases they were driven back by the *Chocó*, who were to be feared because of their poisonous weapons and perhaps also for their cannibalism. Successful entry of the country was not accomplished by Europeans until 1654, when missionaries established themselves there. They remained until 1687, and their work was carried on for a time by neophytes. Latterly, the *Chocó* have been a peaceful people; in fact, during the 19th century they were described as more docile and less jealous of their independence than the neighboring *Cuna*.

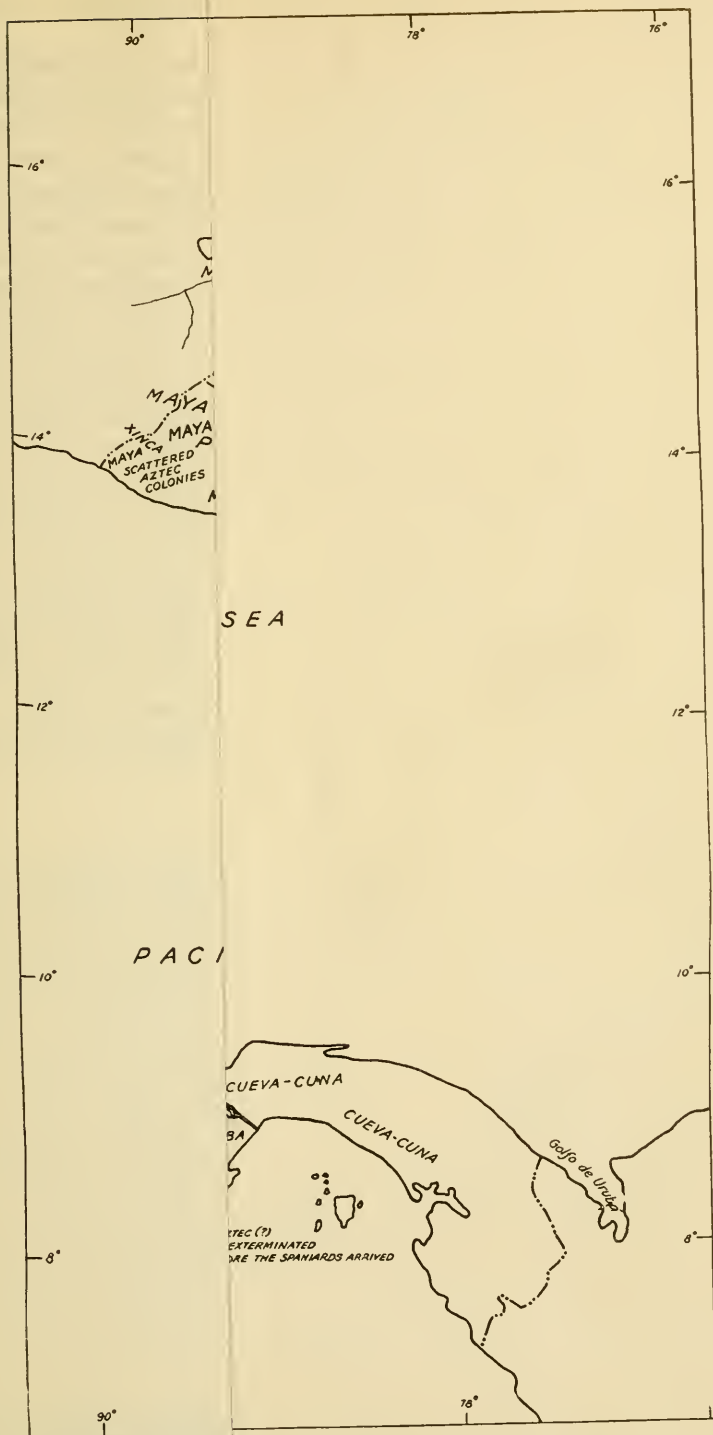
The *Chocó* have remained aloof from the influences of the Europeans. They have never been employed away from their homeland in large numbers, nor have they engaged in trade of commercial proportions. Negroes were introduced into the area very early and they have mixed with some of the *Chocó*. These Negroes have replaced the Indians along the lower courses of the rivers.

The *Chocó* of modern times are composed of three groups: (1) The *Northern* or true *Chocó*, (2) the *Southern Chocó*, and (3) the *Catio*. The *Northern Chocó* appear to be the most populous of the three. They dwell on the lower courses of the rivers flowing into the Golfo de San Miguel and along the rivers of the Pacific coast of Colombia. There is a concentration of this group on the Río Baudó and on the Río Saija. The *Southern Chocó* are concentrated about the Río San Juan, particularly on the Río Docordó and on the Río Micay. The *Catio* dwell in the eastern parts of the Atrato River valley.

The *Cuna* Group.—The *Cuna* are divided into two sections. The mainland *Cuna* inhabit the headwaters of the rivers on the Pacific slope of eastern Panamá, several small settlements in the lower Atrato Valley, and the eastern shore of the Golfo de Urabá. The San Blas *Cuna* inhabit the small islands along the Caribbean coast between the Golfo de San Blas and Cabo Tiburón. Throughout the historic period the area occupied by the *Cuna* has been steadily shrinking. The land vacated in the south and about the Golfo de Urabá has been taken up by Negroes and *Chocó*.

European and Negro contact began to affect the *Cuna* culture in 1540, and many Indians were enslaved. To escape this some of the *Cuna* retreated up the river valleys. Meanwhile bands of escaped Negro slaves settled on the borders of *Cuna* territory, where their descendents may still be found.

Contact with Europeans was continued during the 17th and 18th centuries, when English and French pirates were based on the *Cuna* islands. Of significance also is the Scotch Darién Colony and the French Colony which existed between 1690 and 1757 at Concepción. After the treaty





MAP 2.—The native tribes of Central America. (Prepared by Frederick Johnson.)

of 1790 the *Cuna* lived at peace with the Spaniards. Subsequent to 1821 the government of New Granada accepted in principle their independence.

About the middle of the 19th century an extensive trade in tortoise shell, ipecac, vegetable ivory, and rubber developed. At the present time trade flourishes though it is largely restricted to coconuts. Formerly, *Cuna* men shipped aboard the English and American ships, which came at irregular intervals. Now, however, a regular trade is maintained by companies established at Colón, and the *Cuna* men have gradually given up the sea to work on the mainland.

No missions were established among the mainland *Cuna* between the 17th and 19th centuries. In 1907 Catholic and Protestant missionaries were finally established among the San Blas *Cuna*. They opened schools, which were later augmented by government-supported schools. Some of the pupils have continued their schooling in Panamá City and Colón. This educational activity was interrupted in 1925 when one faction of the San Blas *Cuna*, encouraged and guided by an American, staged a revolution and attempted to form an independent government. Since then the reservation boundaries and laws, first established in 1915, have been clarified. The Panamanian Government has reservation offices at two islands, but the San Blas *Cuna* have title to the island and a strip of the coast. They possess the power to withhold from outsiders permission to buy, settle, or establish businesses on their island.

THE TALAMANCA DIVISION⁶

The Guaymí Group.—The term *Guaymí* was first loosely applied to the people living in the vicinity of the Laguna de Chiriquí. By 1578 the people inhabiting the Miranda Valley on the Río Cricamola were identified as the *Guaymí* tribe, and soon after it was noted that they also inhabited the area to the east as far as the Río Calovebora. The Indians on the southern, or Pacific, slopes of the Cordillera were not identified as *Guaymí* until 1631, when this term was applied to Indians living in Guabala and San Felix. A more definite record of *Guaymí* living in the environs of the village of Chiriquí was made in 1638.

During the 16th century small groups of *Guaymí* broke off from the main tribe and moved westward to various locations along the Caribbean slopes of the mountains. These groups were allied for varying lengths of time with other tribes, e. g., the *Terraba*. During the first part of the 17th century the Spaniards moved as many groups of *Guaymí* as they could conquer to southwestern Panamá. Later, other tribes were moved from the Tropical Forest area to the Pacific coast, and the *Guaymí* moved

⁶ The information about the *Guaymí* was obtained by Frederick Johnson during 1932 and 1933. The two expeditions to Panamá and much of the subsequent research were carried on under the auspices of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University. The information presented here is briefed from an unfinished manuscript and is published by courtesy of the Museum.

eastward into the central part of the coastal Lowlands of Chiriquí. Since this time the *Guaymí* have been, in fact still are, withdrawing into regions as remote as possible from European settlements.

Recent studies have tended to emphasize the opinion of former students that the *Guaymí* inhabited the savanna area at the time of the Conquest. There is no proof of this, because the tribes inhabiting the savannas cannot be classified in such detail. Several different languages were spoken in the savannas, but there is no proof that any one of these was *Guaymí*. The distribution of *Guaymí* on the savannas, based on vocabularies obtained since the beginning of the 19th century, may well represent only the location of descendants of *Guaymí* who were moved to the many mission towns during the 16th and 17th centuries. It is probable that some of the people indigenous to the savannas spoke languages related to *Guaymí*, just as they possessed a number of culture traits common to the whole region.

The present-day *Guaymí* are composed of the *Guaymí* proper and a mixture of numerous groups who have fled from European domination. The people occupy most of the northern and sections of the southern slopes of the Cordillera, particularly of the Serranía de Tabasara. In general the *Guaymí* do not frequent the coastal regions in large numbers or, if they do, they do not occupy them for long periods of time.

The modern boundaries of the *Guaymí* are indefinite, for this group is surrounded by peoples of mixed blood who are under more direct control of the Panamanian Government. In general the *Guaymí* are found between the Panamá-Costa Rica boundary and the longitude of Santa Fé, Province of Veraguas. Mixed but unclassifiable groups, some of whom acknowledge their aboriginal descent, are found scattered about Chiriquí and Veraguas, particularly on the Asuero Peninsula.

Pinart's (1885, p. 438) identification of subtribes of the *Guaymí* is substantially correct. It is likely that these subtribes are the remnants of aboriginal sociopolitical divisions.

The *Mové* have their headquarters in the Miranda Valley and on the Río Cricamola. They also live on the Caribbean slopes of the mountains between the Laguna de Chiriquí and the Río Belén. Scattered members of this group may be found in the Highlands of Chiriquí and on the Pacific slopes of the Serranía de Tabasara.

The *Murire* live in the eastern sections of the Serranía de Tabasara and are said to inhabit sections of the Caribbean coast and Upland as far east as the Río Coclé del Norte. Strongly Hispanicized remnants live in the eastern sections of the Pacific watershed. In the west, the *Murire* and *Mové* either occupy neighboring localities or else representatives of one group live among the others.

The *Muoi* have practically disappeared as a unit if present information can be trusted. At one time they lived about Chorchá and along the Río

Fonseca in the Province of Chiriquí, a location to which they may have migrated after 1600.

The Talamanca group.—*The Dorasque.*—In contrast to some linguistic classifications this tribe, politically and socially, was apparently closely allied to the *Changuena* at the time of the Conquest. This relationship may be followed through the incomplete records into the latter part of the 19th century. In the 16th century the *Dorasque* were living between the *Changuena* and the *Guaymí*. Boundaries mentioned are the Río Guarano and the Río Cricamola. Following the conquest the *Dorasque* joined the *Changuena* in order to combat the Spaniards and to protect themselves from the raids of the *Mosquito* and the English buccaneers. The attacks of the latter are said to have resulted in a retreat into *Terraba* territory and an amalgamation or at least a federation with them. Finally, the combined *Terraba* and *Dorasque-Changuena* retreated to the former home of the *Changuena*. After this the movements of the *Dorasque* are obscure until the very last records of them. The *Dorasque*, allied with some *Changuena*, were to be found south of Cerro Horqueta, on the Río Chiriquí and in the environs of Caldera, Potrero de Vargas, Dolega, and possibly Guabala. Dolega was an ancient mission of the *Dorasque*. It is doubtful if any true *Dorasque* are alive today.

The Changuena.—This tribe was said by the early Spaniards to be located in the mountainous region southwest of Almirante Bay, along the Río Robalo, and about the headwaters of the Ríos Changuena, Bun, and Puan. Andrade (1709) says that they numbered about 5,000. A few *Changuena* were reported living in their native region by Gabb (1875, p. 486). In 1900, a few families, said to be "*Chelibas*" and closely related to the *Changuena*, were living to the north of the Volcán de Chiriquí on the headwaters of the Changuinola River. Other *Changuena* moved to the Pacific coast with the *Terraba* and *Dorasque*. They are said to have settled in regions northeast of Burica and the Golfo Dulce. They are now extinct or inextricably mixed with the *Bribri*, *Terraba*, and *Guaymí*.

The Terraba.—The *Terraba* lived in the Lowlands and lower Uplands between the Ríos Sixaola and Changuinola. They also occupied some of the islands at the mouth of the Laguna de Chiriquí. The *Tojar*, either a subtribe or a name synonymous with the *Terraba*, lived on the island of Tojar as late as 1763. The *Terraba*, particularly a subgroup called the *Quequexque*, were said to occupy lands adjacent to *Guaymí* territory. Some of the *Terraba* were removed to a mission in southeastern Costa Rica, now the village of Terraba. Other groups migrated in company with the *Dorasque* and *Changuena*.

The Boruca.—Doris Stone (1943) correctly notes that the modern *Boruca* are probably composed of a mixture of tribes indigenous to the

Terraba Plain and neighboring regions. Probably, also, the tribe includes increments from tribes moved into the region in the 16th and 17th centuries. The early information is equivocal. The *Boruca* may be the descendants of the *Coto*, who were enemies of the *Quepo*. On the other hand, the *Boruca*, first identified as a tribe living in the environs of Pico Burica, may have counted the *Quepo* and *Coto* as subtribes. This latter alignment is used here because the earliest information which has come to hand implies some such political organization. The language of the *Boruca* has been classified with that of the *Dorasque* and *Changuena*. That of the *Quepo* has been linked, at least by implication, with the *Guetar* language. The data prevent the construction of any satisfactory conclusion. (Peralta, 1901, p. 130; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 201; Stone, 1943.)

The Bribri.—The origin of the name *Bribri* is obscure. It first appears in the literature of the 19th century, and it may have been derived from *Viceita* or some equivalent form. In 1709 it was suggested that the 7,000 *Viceitas* could be removed to Boruca, but nothing concerning the outcome of this proposal has come to light. Nothing is known of their early home. Gabb (1875, p. 486) places the *Bribri* on the east side of the Río Coen, where they occupied all the Lari, Uren, and Zhorquín River Valleys. The same author says that the term *Biceita* was not known as a tribal name in 1875. Peralta (1890, p. 70) says that the Río Sixaola flows, from its sources to the sea, through the territories of *Cabecares* and *Viceitas*.

The Cabecar.—It is impossible to identify this tribe in the earlier documents. It is probable that, like the *Bribri*, they were closely related to the *Guetar*, although some authors claim that their language was distinctive (Pinart, 1900; Lehmann, 1920). The first definite record of their location was made by Gabb (1875, p. 486), who says that the *Cabecar* lived between the frontiers of civilization and the western banks of the Río Coen.

The Central Costa Rica group.—*The Guetar.*—The *Guetar* were named for a chief, Huetar, who lived to the north and east of Punta de Herradura. In addition to Huetar himself, the records mention four other chiefs who controlled political divisions of varying sizes and importance. These chiefs were named Garabito, Guarco, Pacaca, and Asseri. The actual political system and its divisions are obscure and puzzling. It is possible, though believed by some to be doubtful, that there was a strong intertribal organization even before the Conquest. The territory ruled over by the chiefs mentioned above extended from the eastern shore of the southern section of the Golfo de Nicoya across Costa Rica to the Caribbean. On the Caribbean coast the *Guetar* inhabited the area extending from the vicinity of Port Limón northward to the region about the mouth of the Pacuare River.

The Northern Costa Rica group.—*The Voto.*—"These Indians occupied the valleys of the San Carlos, Pocosal and Saraqui Rivers. To the south they extended to the Cordillera Central, and probably across these mountains into the Province of Alajuela" (Lothrop, 1926 b, p. 16). The *Voto* were a separate tribe, but they were tributary to the *Guetar* chieftain Garabito. Doris Stone (correspondence), following Gabb (1875), says that the *Voto* "continue today as the *Rama* in Nicaragua." Remnant groups may have been absorbed by the *Rama*. At the present writing, however, the only way to distinguish the two tribes is through detailed linguistic analysis, and until this has been accomplished Gabb's statement must remain tentative.

The Suerre.—The *Suerre* lived on the Atlantic coast of Costa Rica behind the Laguna de Tortuguero and around the mouths of the Ríos Raventazón and Pacuare. Four chieftains were said to be members of this tribe, but nothing is known concerning them. They were named Suerre, Chiuppa, Camachire, and Cocori.

The *Guetar*, *Voto*, and *Suerre* tribes were conquered very early, and members of other tribes, particularly from southern Costa Rica, were moved into their villages. The languages of the three tribes were closely related to those spoken in southern and eastern Costa Rica. The known characteristics of their culture indicate the same close relationship with the tribes to the south. These three tribes had, however, little if any formal relationship with their neighbors. The existing records have been summarized by Lothrop (1926 b), the principal source of the preceding notes.

The Corobici.—The *Corobici* take their name from a chieftain encountered by Gil González Davila. In early Spanish times the *Corobici* lived along the southern shores of Lake Nicaragua between the Río Frío and the Cordillera Volcánica. Some claim they inhabited the Solentiname Islands in Lake Nicaragua; others say that the people on these islands were a branch of the *Rama*. Probably the *Corobici* occupied a tongue of territory extending westward across the Cordillera de Tilleran and through the valley of the Río Tenorio to the northern shore of the Golfo de Nicoya. As the Spaniards conquered the country the *Corobici* retreated to the plains about San Carlos. Later, as *Guatuso*, they occupied the inaccessible region about the headwaters of the Río Frío and perhaps also the valleys of the Ríos Zapote, Guacalito, and Cucaracha to the west (Rivet, 1924, p. 681). Apparently separate enclaves, which may have been either indigenous or fugitive groups, were to be found in the region between Bagaces and Esparata. About the middle of the 18th century these groups raided and plundered the countryside, but they were driven back to the north across the Cordillera. Between that time and about 1860 the *Guatuso* lived in comparative seclusion in the upper sections of the Río Frío Valley. Recent exploration and conquest of the valley has resulted

in the decimation of the *Guatuso*. Some were captured and sold as slaves in Nicaragua. (Lothrop, 1926, b; Conzemius, 1930; Fernández, 1889, pp. 622-640.) At the present time remnants of the *Guatuso* live in upper sections of the Río Frío.

Some students do not agree with the location and implied relationships given above. Lines (1938 a) states that the *Guatuso* were originally *Guetar* and that, because they were neighbors of the "Chontal" and "Chorotega," their "race" has become very mixed. Conzemius (1930, p. 105) implies that the *Corobici* are different from the *Guatuso*, and he believes that the latter are descendants of the people who live in Aranjuez and El Garabita. These two towns and the descendants from the original inhabitants are now believed to be *Guetar*. A note by Conzemius to the effect that some *Guatuso* on the Río Frío are actually *Rama* Indians may well be due either to recent undocumented wanderings of the latter or to variations in the interpretation of linguistic data. The early data cannot be interpreted in this way.

Doris Stone (correspondence) quotes the statement by Oviedo y Valdés to the effect that the *Corobici* inhabited the Chara and Pocosí Islands in the Golfo de Nicoya, and she is led to suspect that the Nicoya Peninsula was once *Corobici* territory. This suspicion is not based upon records made during the Conquest or later, for it is recorded that this territory was occupied by the *Orotiña* during and subsequent to the 16th century. In this case, Oviedo's statement refers only to the islands. The delimitation of the habitat of the prehistoric *Corobici* depends upon the discovery, on the peninsula and elsewhere, of cultural material which may be identified as the product of *Corobici* industry.

The Rama.—The records indicate that the *Rama* probably lived on the Caribbean coast of Nicaragua between Bluefields and the Río San Juan. Some authors believe that their southern border lay at the Río Punta Gorda. The location of the northern boundary is by no means certain. At the present time the principal settlement of *Rama* is on Rama Key in the Laguna de Bluefields. A few scattered settlements are found between this island and Punta Gorda. Conzemius (1930, p. 94) says that the language is spoken by about 270 persons.

The former western boundary of the *Rama* is indeed vague. They appear to have inhabited the San Juan River Valley and probably sections of the hinterland to the north. The *Melchora* (Squier, 1852, p. 79; 1853 a, p. 94 f), a group of unknown origin, were probably *Rama* living in the middle reaches of the Río San Juan. Vague suggestions of the existence of political units justifies the assumption that the *Rama* were confined to the area east of Lake Nicaragua. There is the possibility that *Rama* families, or small enclaves of this tribe, have lived among the *Guatuso* since the middle of the 18th century, if not before. (For arguments identifying *Rama* groups in northwestern Costa Rica, cf. Conzemius, 1930.)

THE CARIBBEAN DIVISION: EAST COAST⁷

The information from the accounts of the first conquerors and the few colonists of this region is exceedingly small in quantity, and it is equivocal. Some references employ the term "*Chontal*," but it is impossible to know whether these refer to enclaves of "foreign" origin or whether this term was applied by early writers to the ancestors of the present population. The Lowlands and the lower Uplands of the hinterland were inhabited by peoples now called the *Mosquito* and *Sumo*. Unfortunately, the records made previous to the end of the 17th century supply information for but a small section of the Mosquito coast. Early information about the inland peoples is practically nonexistent.

The Mosquito coast was discovered by Columbus on his fourth voyage. Between that time and the middle of the 17th century the country was only occasionally visited by Europeans. The coast became a refuge for the English buccaneers who, after the middle of the 17th century, established themselves at Cabo Gracias a Dios. The ensuing alliance between the English and Indians resulted in the expansion of the territory of the local tribe at the expense of its aboriginal neighbors. Effective raids, particularly against Spanish settlements, were made along the coast as far south as the Laguna de Chiriquí. As a consequence of this alliance the aboriginal culture was profoundly modified.

By 1688 the buccaneers were masters of the Mosquito coast and they made the *Mosquito* chief governor general of it under the jurisdiction of the English Government at Jamaica. Before long the English established a protectorate over the coast and even sent troops there in 1744. Spain protested this action, and following the treaty of 1786 England evacuated the territory. Spain was, however, unable to establish effective control in the region.

In 1821 the English protectorate was renewed. The *Mosquito* Chief was crowned King in 1825, and it was claimed that his territory extended from Cabo Gracias a Dios to the Laguna de Chiriquí. Later the southern boundary was relocated at the Río San Juan. The *Mosquito* King ruled until 1860 when, through the intervention of the United States, the English ceded part of their territory to Honduras and the remainder to Nicaragua. A section lying between the Río Hueso and the Río Rama, extending inland to longitude 84° 15' N., was set aside as a reservation governed by the natives under Nicaraguan sovereignty. The population of this reservation was composed for the most part of English-speaking "Creoles," the mixed descendants of Jamaican Negroes and *Mosquito* and some *Rama* Indians. The majority of the aboriginal groups lived outside the reserve. After a long series of difficulties the Nicaraguan Government, in 1894,

⁷ The following information is a rearrangement of data submitted by Kirchoff. Data from manuscripts by Doris Stone and Frederick Johnson have been added.

took possession of the reservation incorporating it into the republic as the Department of Zelaya, now the Department of Bluefields.

The Mosquito group.—The account of the fourth voyage of Columbus and the few 17th century descriptions of the Mosquito coast are difficult to evaluate in terms of the more adequate later descriptions. It is probable that *Mosquito* were living between Cabo Gracias a Dios and the Río Wawa. Either the inhabitants of much of the coast to the south were unknown or else early descriptions of them have been lost. The first satisfactory record was made by Exquemelin in 1672. He found them divided into two subtribes, one located at Cabo Gracias a Dios and the other at "Mostique" (Sandy Bay?). Contemporary writers (e. g., Raveneau de Lussan, 1689; "M. W." in 1699 [1752]) mention the wreck of a slave ship, in 1641, which freed about 200 Negroes. These took refuge among the *Mosquito* at Cabo Gracias a Dios, and, as has been emphasized by many writers down to the present day, they were largely responsible for the primary introduction of African traits into the culture of the Mosquito coast.

Some 150 years after Exquemelin's observations (1672) the *Mosquito* occupied all important river basins between Cabo Gracias a Dios and the Río San Juan. They had also disrupted the distribution of the fugitive populations who had attempted to settle in the Lowland regions between the San Juan and the Laguna de Chiriquí. By the beginning of the 19th century bands or subtribes of *Mosquito* were identifiable. Today 5 of these, with a population of about 15,000, are known. These appear as distinct political units, but their languages may differ only slightly. Attempts to point out differences in their ethnology (cf. esp. Conzemius, 1932) are significant, but further detailed study in the field is necessary before they may be fully accepted.

Inevitably, most of the *Mosquito* have mixed with Negroes. Latterly, mixtures between the Indian-Negro-European populations and the *Mosquito* have been frequent. The strongest mixture of Negro blood has been observed among the *Baldam* and *Cabo*. The *Baldam* were first known about Sandy Bay, but a part of the group has migrated to the Laguna de las Perlas. The *Cabo* live along the coast between Sandy Bay and the Río Grande. The *Mam* moved to the Río Patuca, absorbing some of the indigenous *Paya* and driving the remainder to the west. The *Wanki* remained in the valley of the Río Wanks and, according to Conzemius, they are moving up the river. By 1932 they had reached the town of Bocay. The *Tawira* live a short distance from the Coast, between Sandy Bay and the Río Grande. The *Mam* and *Wanki* call the *Mosquito* living south of Cabo Gracias a Dios "Tawira" (heavy-haired). The *Cabo* and *Baldam* call themselves "True Mosquito."

The Sumo group.—*Sumo* is a generic name given by the *Mosquito* to a number of tribes speaking a language closely related to *Mosquito*. They

now number between 3,000 and 4,000 people, and they occupy the lower Uplands and upper sections of the river valleys west of the Caribbean coast in Honduras and Nicaragua. Almost nothing in the 16th-century documents can be construed as a description of the *Sumo*, and, as a matter of fact, little was known of them until the very last of the 17th century. Beginning with the 18th century, the increasing amount of information, principally from travelers' accounts, defines 10 subtribes of which 6 are now either extinct or combined with other groups.

Some *Twahka* live in five villages located in Honduras along the middle reaches of the Río Patuca. These are slowly being absorbed by the *Mosquito*. Other members of the *Twahka* have migrated to Nicaragua, where they live in the lower reaches of the Ríos Waspuk, Lakus (*Lecus?*), Wawa, Cuculaya, Hamaco, and even Prinzapolca and Río Grande. The closest linguistic relatives of the *Twahka* are the *Panamaka*, who prefer to call themselves "*Twahka*" (= *True Sumo*).

The *Panamaca* live along the tributaries of the Wanks River. Relatively pure groups have been found on the Ríos Bocay, Pis Pis, and Kwabul (?). Two groups of *Panamaca* have moved to the upper reaches of the Río Prinsapolca and the Río Grande.

The *Bawahka* were expelled from the Ríos Wawa and Cuculaya by the *Twahka*. They live today on the Río Banbana.

The *Ulwa*, the southernmost *Sumo*, live today along the upper reaches of the Río Grande and the Río Escondido. It is likely that other unrecorded enclaves are still extant. Early knowledge of this tribe in eastern Nicaragua is scanty. They were probably neighbors of the *Rama*, occupying a stripe of territory between Lake Nicaragua and the coast. They also occupied sections of southern Jinotega and were distributed to the west along the northern slopes of the Nicaraguan Lowland, extending through Honduras into eastern El Salvador (Ponce, 1873, vol. 1; Squier, 1860 a). They occupied the western parts of their territory in company with *Chorotega*, *Nahuatlan*, and possibly even *Lenca*, *Matagalpa*, and other groups.

Owing to continuous wars with the *Mosquito*, the *Kukra* have only recently been exterminated as a subtribe, but individuals still live in their native haunts, i. e., about the Laguna de Bluefields and on the Corn Islands. The *Yosco*⁸ lived on the Río Tuma in territory which was invaded by the *Panamanca* and *Ulwa*. Tradition has it that the *Yosco* were killed off because they were sodomites. The *Prinsu* lived on the lower Río Prinsapolca, a region now inhabited by the *Tawira*. The *Tunla*, speaking a dialect resembling *Bawahka*, were a mixture of *Prinsu* and *Tawira*. The *Boa* formerly lived on the upper Río Kewaska (?), and the *Silam* and the *Ku* inhabited the valley of the Río Waspuk.

⁸ It is believed by some that the *Yosco* language differed from other *Sumo* dialects (cf. Mason, I. A., 1940; Johnson, 1940).

THE CARIBBEAN DIVISION: NORTH COAST

North Coast group.—*The Paya.*—Stone (1941, etc.) advances the idea that the term "*Taia*" recorded by Columbus is an early spelling of the modern term *Paya*. The territory of the *Paya*, she believes, lay between the Aguán River Valley and the Wanks River and extended southward to the Olancho and Jamastran Valleys. The date of the establishment of these boundaries corresponds with the settlement of the country following the Conquest. It is possible that there was a southward drift of the *Paya*, who took refuge in the interior from the Spanish attacks on the coast. Possibly the interior boundaries were modified by this movement. More conservative interpretations locate the early *Paya* along the coast between the Patrum and Wanks Rivers.

Conzemius (1927–28) lists the towns of El Carbón and El Dulce Nombre (Culmí), saying that 250 to 300 *Paya* Indians may be found in each. Also, 30 *Paya* live in El Payal, on the Paulaya River, and 40 Indians live in Puskira, located on the Plantain River 15 km. (about 10 miles) from the coast. Stone (1941) accepts Squier's statement that the *Seco* on the Tinto River were a band of *Paya*. If these are the *Seco* mentioned by Young (1842) they should be located on the Río Sico (*Seco*), a tributary of the Río Negro (also called Tinto) in northeastern Honduras. The descendants of the *Seco* of the Río Sico are to be found in the neighborhood of El Carbón (Conzemius, 1927–28). Stone (1941) also says that the *Towka* were probably *Paya*. Conzemius believes that these people were *Sumo*, as their name suggests. The identification of the original inhabitants of Catacamas is difficult. Stone believes that they were *Paya*, and Conzemius says that they may have been *Sumo*.

In 1921 there were a few more than 600 *Paya* (Conzemius, 1927–28). At the end of the 18th century Ramón de Anguiano estimated that there were 10,000 to 12,000 *Paya*. This estimate seems to be greatly exaggerated. Sapper (1899) estimated 825. Kirchhoff believes that Fray Espino was referring to *Paya* when he said, in 1674, that he settled 6,000 in 7 villages. It is probable that Espino was referring to *Jicaque*.

The Jicaque.—Stone (cf. esp. 1941) has, through recent interpretations of the documents, thrown new light upon the "*Jicaque Area*." She has emphasized the possibility that the term *Jicaque* is of *Nahuatlán* origin and that it was used as one of the "terminos provinciales," as were such terms as *Chontal*, *Pupuluca*, and, to a more limited extent perhaps, *Lenca* and *Paya*. In her opinion *Jicaque* was applied to peoples speaking languages and having cultural traditions which differ from the present-day *Jicaque*. This opinion depends largely upon the interpretation of Vázquez (1714–16), from whom later writers drew much of their material.

In later times the term *Jicaque* was used by anthropologists to designate the language spoken by the inhabitants of Yoro, southern Atlantida, and Cortés. Because of difficulties with tribal terminology it is still impos-

sible to trace the history of the people now called *Jicaque* back into proto-historic times. However, Von Hagen (1943) has attempted to identify earlier groups. He locates more recently extinct groups and completely Hispanicized remnants in the Sierra de Omoa, the Ulua-Chamelicón Valley, and in the Departments of Yoro and Atlantida. He also accepts 18th- and 19th-century identifications of the *Jicaque de Palmar* and the *Jicaque de Yoro*. The *Jicaque* tribe, which he names *Torrupan*, left the town of Yoro in 1865 and moved to their present location on the Montaña de la Flor.

THE NORTHERN HIGHLAND DIVISION

The Matagalpa group and tribe.—Information concerning the *Matagalpa* is limited. They spoke a language related to *Ulva* and *Sumo*. At the present time knowledge of them is confined almost exclusively to their language. The early information indicates that the language was spoken in northwestern Nicaragua and southwestern Honduras. An enclave speaking a language related to *Matagalpa*, usually called *Cacaopera*, was identified soon after the Conquest in northeastern El Salvador. Remnants, strongly Hispanicized, have been reported near Cacaopera in eastern El Salvador. Other groups have been located along the Nicaraguan-Honduran frontier, around the Pantasma Valley, near Esteli in Nicaragua (Stone, correspondence), and at Lislique. Another group has been located near the town of Matagalpa.

The Lenca group.⁹—The term *Lenca* first appears in the chronicle of Padre Francisco Vázquez (1714–16), who uses the reports of a Franciscan friar, Padre Espino, to recount the conquest of the Honduran Province of Teguzgalpa (Tegucigalpa). Vázquez designates certain Indians as members of the *Lenca* nation, e.g., *Paraka*, but at the same time includes the *Jicaque* as speaking the *Lenca* tongue. He makes the following significant statement, however: “. . . the *Lenca* Indians of confused language, and treacherous character and inconstant” (Vázquez, 1714–16, lib. 5, trat. 1, cap. 7, p. 447). Squier (1858) was the first to apply this term to the Indians in southwestern Honduras, particularly those around Quajiquiro, in the present Department of La Paz, and in Intibucá. The language of these people differs from the idiom of the *Paraka* and other people who are still found in parts of eastern Honduras. We must, therefore, accept *Lenca* as a general term to cover a number of different peoples and dialects, both those of definite interrelationship and those which may have only remote if any connection with one another.

Words ending in “-ique,” “-quin,” “-guara,” and “-gua” are *Lenca* (Squier, 1908; Lehmann, 1920). The former distribution of the *Lenca* can be traced fairly accurately by the place names on the present-day maps of Honduras and El Salvador. At the present time we designate as *Lenca*

⁹ This section was written by Doris Stone.

the Indians inhabiting the mountainous regions of the Departments of La Paz, Intibucá, southern and southeastern Gracias in Honduras, and the northeastern portion of the Republic of El Salvador.¹⁰

Tribal divisions, population, and distribution.—The *Lenca* seek high country and isolated peaks and hillocks, cultivating their cornfields in the small sloping cavities of the hillsides and in the Upland narrow valleys. Each community is formed by a separate tribe, often with a slight difference in dialect (Squier, 1858; also personal observation of the writer). Today, unfortunately, the language has almost entirely disappeared, surviving only among the elders in the more remote towns, e. g., Quajiquiro. The villages in the *Lenca* area receive their names from the tribes inhabiting them.

La Paz, according to the Honduran Government statistics, has 18,589 pure-blooded Indians: 8,861 males and 9,728 females. The chief pure-Indian towns in La Paz are: Gualazara, Muyén, Guascupusca, Chinacla, Ato Viejo, Santa Elena, Mata Palo, Pitahayas, Barrancarai, Aguanquetérique, Quajiquiro, Sabana Larga, Tepanguare, Lepaguare, Ranteca, Chichicaste, Guaspopolo, Guidinmani, Chiderique, Orovila, Sigamani, Choacapa, Inchulile, Guanga, Guascotoro, Pule, Upa, Apacilina, Guiracaray, Suyate, Kukinca, and Yarula.

Opatoro, Cacaoterique, Puringla, and Cabañas (formerly Similatón) have also a large Indian population, although some Hondurans live in the townships.

Intibucá has 32,707 Indians: 15,669 males and 17,083 females. The pure-Indian towns are: Semane, Chogola, Malguare, La Silimaní, Guascotoro, Monquecagua, Quiaterique, Misiure, Oloas, Siquire, Yace, Chupucái, Segua, Cangual, Jagua, Cacauchagua, CacaHuatal, Masaya, Cotala, Yamaranguila, Jiquinlata, Coloraringua, El Talquekzal, Kiragüira, Guatateca, Cosongra, Cirisma, and Dolores, the former Yolula. Intibucá, the town, has Honduran inhabitants, and their number seems to be increasing. In addition to this, a portion of the community, called La Esperanza, is completely Honduran, which quite naturally influences the life of the indigenous side. A street is the dividing line between the two towns. Many of the Indians from Intibucá have moved to Yamaranguila to be more to themselves.

Gracias has a total of 5,659 Indians. Gracias, however, was at one time very heavily populated by Spaniards. The Departamento is a meeting ground for the *Chorti* from Copán and Ocotepeque, with the remnants of what were possibly the ancient *Pipil*, who are still found around Ocotepeque. Only the southeastern part of the Department is occupied by *Lenca*, the exact number of whom is not known. In this section some

¹⁰ Ponce (1873), among others, describes a tribe named *Poton* who inhabited southeastern El Salvador. The identity of this group is not clear. That they were a discrete unit seems certain. Their language has been identified as *Maya*, *Ulva*, *Nahuatlan*, and *Lenca* by different authors, but as yet no satisfactory decision can be made.—FREDERICK JOHNSON.

of the towns can be classed as *Lenca*, e. g., Cerquin, Congolón, Tixila, Gualcixe, and Guanajulque.

In El Salvador most of the towns on the northeastern frontier have some *Lenca* inhabitants.

THE MESO-AMERICAN DIVISION¹¹

There have been at least four migrations from the north into Central America of peoples known as Meso-Americans (Kirchhoff, 1943). To these may be added the possibility of a less extensive but significant tendency of the *Lenca* to push southward. The consequences of the migrations were that when one group replaced another in a restricted area repercussions were felt over the length and breadth of the land. Although the first of these movements began during the middle of the Christian Era, they were continuing at the time of the Spanish Conquest. The tribes herein discussed were thus in a state of flux, and so, to a lesser degree perhaps, were their indigenous neighbors.

The mapping of the tribes in this division is particularly difficult. Discussions of their location are many and few agree (cf. Lehmann, 1920; Johnson, 1940; Stone, 1940 b, 1941). As these Meso-American immigrants carved living space for themselves out of lands formerly owned by indigenous peoples, their territory inevitably changed with the fortunes of their conflict with indigenous tribes. The scene of this struggle, when first viewed by the Spaniards, was inevitably a complicated one: Peoples speaking several languages and possessing different cultural traditions were trying to exist as local entities, though occupying neighboring towns scattered over the countryside without regard for linear boundaries. The "aboriginal" population had been fragmented through the conquests by waves of people with different cultural heritages.

The present location of a few of the remnants of these peoples is shown on map 2. Most of these tribes are extinct, at least as units identifiable with those recorded in the 16th and 17th centuries. Remnants have taken refuge in regions on the fringes of the modern population, which is relatively heavy in this area. These remnants are strongly Hispanicized and, to some extent, mixed with other Indian populations, which were moved into the region during early Colonial resettlement programs or which were attracted to it because of economic motives, the region recently having been almost completely Europeanized.

The Chorotega group.—The tribes of this group, named with terms which probably designated dialects, were the descendants of the first definitely identifiable migration from the north. Their language is related to that spoken by the *Otomi*, *Popoloca*, *Mazateca*, and *Chiapanec* of México. *Choluteca* was spoken along the northern shores of the Golfo de Fonseca. *Manque* was spoken in the area between Lake Managua

¹¹ This section combines data contributed by Doris Stone and Frederick Johnson.

and the Pacific. Stone (correspondence) has identified an enclave speaking *Mangue* near Quepos in Costa Rica, but its "tribal" identity is not revealed. *Nagrandan* and *Dirian* are two enclaves speaking some form of *Mangue*; they are named after chiefs. The *Orotiña* occupied the Nicoya area, extending westward to Lake Nicaragua. They also were discovered on the north shore of the Golfo de Nicoya west of Puntarenas.

The Maribio group.—The second migration ended when a tribe, whose language was first called *Maribio* and later named *Subtiaba*, settled in the area about León in Guatemala. After the Conquest the *Subtiaba* were reduced to a few survivors living to the east of their 16th-century home. Squier obtained a vocabulary from *Subtiaba* remnants living about the town of Subtiaba. The *Maribichicoa* were a group which split off from the *Subtiaba* during a famine which occurred before the Conquest.

The Nahuatlán group.—The third and fourth migrations to this area were composed of peoples speaking several forms of *Nahuatlán*. These people brought with them some of the historical and other traditions of their parent nation and the penchant for incorporating their contemporary history into their extensive folklore. The earliest of these migrations brought the *Nicarao* who, by the end of the 11th century, had settled on the Isthmus of Rivas. Of the other enclaves, the time of arrival can be determined only in the case of those groups which arrived just before the Spanish Conquest. The *Nahuatlato* lived on Punta Consequina until 1586, when they were moved to the towns of El Viejo and Chinandega. The *Desaguadero*, apparently a commercial colony, lived on the delta of the Río San Juan. The identity of the *Bagace* is not certain, but apparently some people spoke *Nahuatlán* near that town. The *Sigua*, with members of the *Terraba* and other tribes, occupied the Island of Tojar and part of the delta of the Changuena River. Other small groups speaking *Aztec* or *Pipil* but lacking specific names have been identified in various parts of Honduras and Nicaragua. Their approximate location is indicated on the map.

CLASSIFICATION OF TRIBES IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Division	Group	Tribe	Subtribes and Synonyms
Cuna-Chocó ...	Chocó	Northern or True Chocó	Cholo, Empera, Emberak, Citará, Paparo, Andaguada.
		Southern Chocó	
		Catío	
	Cuna	Mainland Cuna.....	Cunacuna.
		San Blas Cuna	Chucuna, Tule, Mandinga, Bayano, Chepo, Chucunaque, Paya, Caiman.

Division	Group	Tribe	Subtribes and Synonyms	
Talamanca ...	Guaymí	Northern Guaymí ...	{ Murire, Muoi, Move, Valiente, Culantro, Nuite, Norteño, Bukucte, Artieda, Chaliva. (For additions, cf. Lehmann, 1920, and others.)	
		Southern Guaymí ...	{ Protohistoric and early historic enclaves located in the savanna area. (Cf. Lothrop, 1937.)	
	Talamanca ...	Dorasque ¹	Dorasque ¹	{ Dorace, Dorado, Irabalo, Chiriluo, Suasimi, Chumulú, Dolega, Thorasque.
			Changuena	{ Changuina, Chaliba ² Shelaba. ²
		Terraba	Terraba	{ Tojar, Techí, Tirub, Tirribi, Techbi, Tichbi, Depso, Norteño, Quequexque, Terrebe, Brururau.
			Boruca	{ Burica, Brunka, Quepo, Burucaca, Turucaca, Coto.
		Bribri	Bribri	{ Blancos, Valientes, Biseita, Veceita, Biceyta, Abicetava, Talamanca, Urinama, Tariaca, Pocosí, Lari, Uren.
			Cabecar	{ Cavecara, Coen, Chirripo, Tucurriqui, Estrella.
		Central Costa Rica	Guetar	{ Guarco, Garabito, Pacaca, Asseri, Huetar, Brusela (?).
		Northern Costa Rica	Voto	Barba.
	Suerre		{ Chiuppa, Camachire, Cocori.	
	Corobici		{ Guatuso, Los Tices (?).	
	Rama		Melchora.	

¹ Some authors classify the *Dorasque* with the *Guaymí* on the basis of scanty linguistic evidence. Equally acceptable data indicate that this tribe originally had political if not closer relationships with their other neighbors. The arrangement here does not deny the validity of classifications based on other types of data.

² These terms are also used as synonyms for the *Sigua*, a colony speaking *Nahuatlán*.

Division	Group	Tribe	Subtribes and Synonyms
Caribbean Low-land: East.	Mosquito	Mosquito (early name for tribe)	Meskito, Missko, Moscos, Miskito, Moustiques, Moustiquais, Muskitoe, Mustic, Sambo.
		Mam	Cueta.
		Wanki	
		Baldam	Baymuna.
	Sumo	Kabo	
		Tawira	
	Twahka	Sumu, Smu, Simu, Zumu, Soomoo, Soumou, Soomu, Smoo, Smou, Simou.	
		Taga, Tagua, Taguaca, Tahua, Teguaça, Teuko, Tao, Touco, Thuaco, Tuaco, Toca, Towka, Toaka, Tauzzka, Tauachka, Tukaca, Towcka, Tauca, Towa, Tuaca, Twaxka, Twa'ka, Tocka, Tawasca, Tuaca, Tucoa, Laku, Coco, Wasabane, Pispí.	
		Panamaca	Panamaga, Ponamaka, Pnamaka.
		Bawahka	
		Ulva ^a	Ulwa, Ulua, Culoua, Ulawa, Ulba, Uluwa, Vulva, Vulwa, Vulua, Wulua, Woolwa, Gaula.
		Kukra (extinct)	Kukara, Kokora, Cookra, Cukra, Kokra, Cucura, Cookera, Cockerack, Cackera.
		Yosko (extinct)	Yusku, Yusko.
		Prinsu (extinct)	Prinzu, Prinzo, Prinzo, Prinsoo.
		Tunla (mixed group)	Tungla, Tungola, Tongula, Toongla, Tonga, Tumbala, Tumba.
Boa (extinct)		Poa, Pua.	

^a It is possible that the *Ulva* should be classified as a group as well as a tribe.

Division	Group	Tribe	Subtribes and Synonyms
Caribbean Low-land	North coast...	Paya	{ Poya, Poyer, Poyai, Popya, Pawyer, Pahaya, Seco.
		Jicaque	{ Xicague, Cicaque, Hicague, Ikake, Taguaca, Taupane (?), Torruapan.
Northern Highlands.	Matagalpa	Cacaopera	
	Lenca ⁴		
	Chorotega	Choluteca	
Meso-American		Mangue	Nagrandan, Dirian.
		Orotiña	Nicoya, Orosi.
	Maribio	{ Subtiaba Maribichicoa	
	Nahuatlan	{ Nicarao Nahuatlato Desaguadero Bagace	
		Sigua	{ Cigua, Segua, Chichagua, Shelaba.
	Pipil Aztec		

⁴ The organization of the *Lenca* is not understood. Peoples inhabiting different towns could be classified as tribes and named after the towns. However, until the relationship of these towns is known it seems better not to list them here.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alba, C., 1928; Andagoya, 1865; Anderson, 1914; Andrade, 1709; Angulo, 1862; Avila, [1524]; Bancroft, 1874-76, 1883-90; Bard, 1885; Berckenhagen, 1894; Berendt, 1876; Blessing, 1899; Bonilla, J., 1702; Brinton, 1895; Captain General of Guatemala, 1742; Cardenas Palomino, 1684; Carrión, 1648; Ceballos, 1610; Col. Doc. Inéd. Amer., 1864-84; Col. Doc. Inéd. de Colombia, 1891-94; Conzemius, 1921, 1927-28, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1932; Coronado, 1564; Costa Rica-Panamá Arbitration Documents, 1913; Criado de Castilla, 1575; Dampier, 1699; Davidson, 1935; Diego y Gutiérrez [1534]; Edwards, 1823; Espinosa, 1514, 1516, 1519; Exquemelin, 1678 (1893); Fernández, 1881-1907, 1889; Fernández Ferraz, 1892; Fernández Guardia and Fernández Ferraz, 1892; Flores, 1611; Gabb, 1874, 1875; Gagini, 1917; Garret y Arlovi, 1711; González y Gutiérrez, [1540]; Habel, 1878; Hackett, 1916; Harrower, 1925; Haya Fernández, 1719; Heath, 1913, 1927; Irias, 1853; James, 1942; Johnson, 1940; Juan and Ulloa, 1748; Kirchhoff, 1943; Lade, 1744; de Laet, 1640; Landecho and San Millan, 1559; Lara, 1912; Lehmann, 1915, 1920; Lines, 1938 a; Lothrop, 1926 b, 1937, 1942; Lutz, 1922; MacNiel, 1886; Maldonado, 1662; Margil, 1703; Mason, J. A., 1940; Matamoros, 1675; "M. W.," 1752; Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55; Pavon, 1578; Pector, 1888-89; Peralta, 1883, 1890, 1892, 1901; Pim and Seeman, 1869; Pinart, 1885, 1887 a, 1887 b, 1900; Pinedo, 1709; Pittier de Fábrega, 1895, 1898, 1903, 1938 a, 1938 b, 1941; Ponce, 1873; Prince, 1913 a, 1913 b; Quiroga, 1535; Raveneau de Lussan, 1689; Rebullida, 1698; Requejo Salcedo, 1908 (1842); Ribera, 1571; Ricketson, 1940; de Rivera, 1569;

Rivet, 1911, 1924; Royal Cedula, 1521, 1740; Ruiz de Campos, 1631; Sáenz, 1675, 1676; Salinas y de la Cerda, 1651; Sandoval, 1638, San Francisco y Rios, 1703; San José, 1697; San José and Rebullida, 1699; Sapper, 1899; Schuchert, 1935; Seeman, 1853; Semano, 1536; Skinner, 1920; Sójo, 1605; Squier, 1852, 1853 a, 1856, 1858, 1859, 1860 a, 1860 b, 1908; Stewart, 1942; Stone, 1940 a, 1940 b, 1941, 1942, 1943; Strong, 1935; Strong, Kidder and Paul, 1938; Termer, 1914; Thomas and Swanton, 1911; Urcullu, 1763; Vázquez, 1714-16; Villacorta Calderón, 1942; Von Hagen, 1943; Wassén, 1935; Young, 1842.