

*Comparative Ethnographical
Studies*
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10

AN HISTORICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL  
SURVEY OF THE CUNA INDIANS

BY

ERLAND NORDENSKIÖLD †

IN COLLABORATION WITH THE CUNA INDIAN, RUBEN PÉREZ KANTULE

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ARRANGED AND EDITED FROM THE POSTHUMOUS MANUSCRIPT AND NOTES, AND
ORIGINAL INDIAN DOCUMENTS AT THE GOTHENBURG ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUM

BY

HENRY WASSÉN



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Preface.

At his death in 1932 Baron Erland Nordenskiöld left a rather extensive and uncompleted manuscript on the Cuna Indians. In the capacity of his successor as head of the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum I have felt it my duty to see to it that this manuscript was finished and published.

The one to whom I could with full confidence turn over this responsible task was Dr. Henry Wassén. Wassén had for six months daily assisted Nordenskiöld and the Indian Pérez during their work and discussions at Dalbyö and at the Gothenburg Museum. In this way Wassén had become most intimately associated with Nordenskiöld's thoughts and plans and had come to be very familiar with the manuscript and with the extent to which various sections were or were not completed. As to the latter there are given detailed indications in the introductions to the different parts.

In order that Wassén should have additional possibilities for working into the Cuna conditions as well as the chance to acquire text material which would complete what had already been collected, I felt that it was best for him to visit the Cuna Indians at various of their settlements, which he did in connection with his expedition to Western Colombia in 1934—35. A more detailed account of the text material which was the result of this trip has been given by Mr. Wassén in part 6 of the publication, *Etnologiska Studier*, which I edit, (Göteborg 1938, pp. 1—178) in a thesis carrying the title »Original Documents from the Cuna Indians of San Blas». To all those who have contributed towards making this trip possible, thus also assisting in pushing for-

ward the plans for the publication of the *Nordenskiöld* work, I wish to extend my heartiest thanks.

Upon *Wassén's* return to Sweden in April 1935 the immediate problem was the laying of the necessary financial basis for the preparation of the manuscript and, later, the printing of it.

Dr. Olof Arrhenius, of Stockholm, was the first who came to our assistance. He was successful in 1935 in getting some aid from a benefactor who wishes to remain anonymous. I would like at this point to extend my warmest thanks to *Dr. Arrhenius* and the anonymous donor who made it possible for us to get under way with the editing of the work.

During the progress of the work *Dr. Arrhenius* has assisted us still again and the Museum has also received worthwhile financial aid from *Mr. Emil Dickson*, of Sparreholm, *Mr. Robert Dickson*, of Göteborg, *Consul Hans Elliot*, of Panama, *Mrs. Anna Pauli*, of Djursholm, and General Consul *G. Sandström*, of Göteborg. To all of these benefactors who have made it possible for *Nordenskiöld's* posthumous Cuna manuscript finally to be edited in a worthwhile manner, I wish to extend both the Museum's and my own heartiest thanks.

The Curators of *Kungl. och Hvitfeldtska Stipendieinrättningen*, of Göteborg, have allowed us to use the thousand crowns which were left from an amount earlier set aside for *Nordenskiöld* for the Cuna work, as remuneration to *Baroness Olga Nordenskiöld* who turned over the manuscript to the Museum. I want herewith to thank the Curators for this assistance.

I also want to express my sincere thanks to those who have made the printing of the manuscript possible. First I want to mention the management of the Humanistic Foundation of Stockholm, which in 1938 contributed three thousand five hundred crowns towards the printing. Likewise I

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wish to thank most heartily the Carnegie Corporation of New York for their contribution of six hundred dollars. In this connection I want to thank especially Dr. A. V. Kidder, of the Carnegie Institution, Division of Historical Research, for the great interest he showed and the help he gave Dr. Wassén in putting our request before the Corporation. Mr. Robert Dickson of Göteborg has also made contributions towards the printing and I wish therefore to thank him still again.

Finally, it gives me great pleasure to express my warmest and heartiest thanks to the editor of the work, who has constantly devoted unsparing energy and most painstaking and conscientious effort to the task of putting the posthumous manuscript into final shape.

Göteborg, October 1938.

Walter Kaudern

Director, Göteborgs Museum,
Ethnographical Department.



Fig. 1. The Cuna Indian, Ruben Pérez Kantule. Photograph taken in Panama immediately before his trip to Sweden in 1931.

Editorial Chapter.

In 1927 Baron Erland Nordenskiöld, with his wife, Baroness Olga Nordenskiöld, their son Eric, and the Swedish ethnographer, Dr. Sigvald Linné, visited the Cuna Indians on the Isthmus of Panama. The expedition had previously occupied itself mainly with the Chocó Indians in western Colombia from whose tribes living in the North down as far as the upper reaches of the River Docordó, rich ethnographical material was brought back to the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum.

The Cuna Indian part of Nordenskiöld's expedition had to be quite short. According to his own statements in his work, *»Indianerna på Panamanaset»* (p. 192 and 266), the departure from Colon took place the twenty-seventh of May and the return to that city the second of July. The chief reason that the expedition had to be cut short was that Nordenskiöld was taken seriously ill and because of a virulent inflammation in the leg, had to be for some time at the hospital in Panama City before he could undertake the return journey to Sweden.

During his visit to the San Blas coast Nordenskiöld had his eyes opened to the interesting mental culture of this tribe. He, for one thing, seriously went in for a closer investigation of the picture-writing peculiar to these Indians, about which there had previously been no detailed writing, but to which some attention had been called through the notes of Padre Gassó, and, the year preceeding the expedition, through references in the works by the American biologist Reginald Gordon Harris (see bibliography). Nordenskiöld was the first to seek seriously to penetrate the thought-world which lies back of the songs and incantations which the picture-writings are an expression of. He brought home from the expedition a collection of Cuna documents consisting of texts written by the Indians partly in our form of writing and partly in picture-script. Only a few of these, had, however, been translated in detail. This material was also published by Nordenskiöld, with indications that rather extensive allowances should be made for mistakes, in Vol. 7: 1—2 of his series, *»Comparative Ethnographical Studies»*.

Nordenskiöld was himself aware of the great difficulties, due to the lack of knowledge of the Cuna language, in getting really close to the Cuna material. I can here quote his own words from the introduction to a lecture on the religion of the Cuna Indians: *»Because of my illness I regret to say I was able to translate and study*

more closely only a few of these (picture-writings). This had to be remedied somehow. I therefore invited a very intelligent Cuna Indian, Ruben Pérez Kantule, to come and spend some time in Sweden; Pérez accepted and has now been in Sweden six months».

It was written by Nordenskiöld in the autumn of 1931. Six months was actually as long as the Indian's visit lasted. He arrived the twentieth of May and left the twenty-sixth of November, 1931. I have written up this visit and the work done in connection with it in a French paper¹ and have there pointed out the great significance in the fact that Pérez, upon his arrival at the Gothenburg Museum, by whom he had been officially invited,² was equipped with very significant Indian documentary material. It is in large measure this which lays the basis for Nordenskiöld's work which is published here. But I can again use Nordenskiöld's words:

»When Pérez came to Europe he brought with him very valuable manuscript material, which to a great degree completed my collections. This consists in the first place of songs, incantations,

¹ Wassén, 1932.

² It was at Nordenskiöld's initiative that Pérez was invited to make the visit to Sweden, and the arrangements for this were made possible through the generous contributions of several of Nordenskiöld's personal friends and of benefactors of the museum. The head of the Johnson Line of Stockholm, General Consul Axel Axelsson Johnson, arranged free passage for Pérez from Panama to Gothenburg and return. Mr. Carl A. Ström, at that time manager of the Balboa Restaurants, was responsible for equipping him for his travels and stood also for the expenses involved in the formalities of leaving for a foreign country. The expenses connected with Pérez' stay in Sweden and of equipping him with numerous gifts to be used in exchange for Indian specimens were taken care of financially through the assistance of Kungl. och Hvitfeldtska Stipendieinrättningen of Göteborg; and of Mrs. Anna Pauli, of Djursholm, and General Consul Gustaf Sandström, of Göteborg. Along with mentioning these points I would like also to use this opportunity to thank, most sincerely, on the behalf of the Ethnographical Museum, all those who have assisted in this research undertaking.

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descriptions of the symptoms of illnesses, and prescriptions, written in the Cuna language and mainly in our system of writing. Pérez has written down these things from the dictation of old medicine men and others, who have them preserved in picture-writing. Only in exceptional cases has Pérez actually copied the picture-writing. The Indian manuscripts we have later translated together, and he has annotated them. In this way I have now assembled very valuable material illuminating the subject of the Cuna Indians' ideology.

Besides the manuscripts in Cuna, Pérez brought along a great many notes in Spanish and English made by him and other Cuna Indians from the dictation of their High Chief and Great Seer, *Néle*. These deal with the traditions and history of the Cunas, and are also of great interest. We may have through them, among other things, access to what the Cunas still know of the Spanish conquest of their land and of the French colonization of their section in the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is very interesting to compare these narrations handed down by word of mouth with what we read in the contemporary diaries of Europeans. In this way we get a glimpse of the value of the oral traditional material as historical documents. A few of the manuscripts in Spanish and English are furthermore valuable for the understanding of the Cunas' religious ideas.»

Nordenskiöld's native assistant in putting into shape the Cuna material, Ruben Pérez Kantule, (figs. 1—2), was, upon his arrival in Sweden, according to his own statement, twenty-four years old. His official position in the Cuna community was at that time Secretary to *Néle de Kantule* in the village of Ustúpu, where Pérez likewise lived.

Nordenskiöld has in his notes some little references to Pérez' character, which I am fortunate enough to be able to supplement with my own observations from working with these two men as the former's scientific secretary. I cite the notes here, as they at the same time illustrate the point that Nordenskiöld regarded with a critical eye both his material and its exponent. He was, as early as the expedition in 1927, already fully conscious of the fact that Pérez belonged to the Cuna youth who had studied in Panama.

Nordenskiöld has made a note of the fact that

Pérez lacked imagination, which he considered a fortunate circumstance. Nor was Pérez inquisitive. In spite of the wholly new conditions which confronted him in Sweden, the questions he asked could probably be counted



Fig. 2. Pérez Kantule at work cataloguing the Cuna collections at the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum, September 1931.

on ones fingers. When he did ask about anything it as a rule had to do with nature, the plant world, or such matters. For instance he once asked Nordenskiöld about the *Oxalis* leaves, which close up towards evening, and whether the grass lawns in Gothenburg were covered with snow in the winter. Nor did Pérez make requests of any

kind, at least not until just before he was to start on his return trip, when he needed to supply himself with gifts and articles for bartering. Nordenskiöld has jotted down as noteworthy the fact that Pérez once asked for an illustrated paper where the larva — pupa — butterfly development was pictured. This was evidently of interest to him.

Nordenskiöld has written of Pérez that he had a fear of saying anything that was not right. From my own experience I can underline that statement. »Anuiskuli», »No sé», »I don't know», was a very usual expression with Pérez, when he was unable to explain something. One can even see evidence of this in the texts. In many instances the translation of a Cuna word is missing, where Pérez naturally, if he had wished, could have made up an explanation. This he did not do. In writing his commentaries for the Museum's catalogue on Cuna specimens he honestly stated the fact when his knowledge was insufficient. As an example of this may be given his note to GM.27.27.1381, bark of the *igua*-tree, used for medicinal purposes: »Una corteza de un árbol »igua-uala». Usan como medicina (no puedo explicar por falta del conocimiento).»

As for the Indian collections in the Gothenburg Museum, aside from the Cuna, Pérez showed little noticeable interest in them. On the other hand he interested himself to a great degree in the considerable literature on the Isthmus of Panama which was placed at his disposal. He copied with great energy most of the old writings in order to be able to give lectures about them upon his arrival home. In the same way he had at his own home copied the medicine songs and other documents which he had with him when he came to Sweden. Nordenskiöld saw a connection, and probably rightly, between his bent for copying and his lack of imagination. He was not creative.

Regarding the questioning method with the Indians and his opinion of his work with Pérez, as well as the distri-

bution of knowledge in the Cuna community, Norden-skiöld has himself written down what he thought:

»When I asked Pérez questions I found that there was much which even this unusually intelligent Indian, interested as he was in his people's culture, had not thought of, although one should almost have expected this, for though he had had long discussions with *Néle* about the Cunas' traditions and concepts, he had not covered everything. It is therefore most inadvisable to do research on the history of religions by means of questions. If one is not careful one can so put a question that one wakes the Indian's interest in his own replying to it, and though he actually does not know the answer, he says something which he thinks is probably true. One has through questioning got the Indian to give an explanation, where he formerly contented himself with the fact. It is clear that Pérez in the first place, when he had wished information, had turned to *Néle* and, in addition, to some one of the older Indians who were medicine men or who knew certain songs and traditions. It is evident that the knowledge of these men can cover very different fields and their statements can be varying, not to say contradictory. Different medicine men can be specialists in different evil spirits. It is obvious that there is no single Indian who knows all medicines, evil spirits, sagas, traditions, and so forth. When I, together with Pérez, went through the notes made by Slater from the dictation of an *absogédi* in Ailigandi, it was clear that there was much that was new to him. In these notes one gets a great deal of information about where the protective spirits come from, of which Pérez had not previously wished, or been able, to give any indication. This naturally does not prevent Pérez' comments on these notes from being very worthwhile, as they are, for the most part, about things with which he was already familiar.

To ask a Cuna Indian, for example, »Do you believe that a human being has a soul?» is absolutely naive. The question cannot be answered with yes or no. We find in the chapter on the soul, *pūrba*, the description of a complicated concept. The answer to a question when it is a matter of ideology is to be taken with caution. It is another matter if the question leads to Pérez' telling what he has done himself in this or that circumstance.

When one discusses anything with Pérez one understands how knowledge is distributed among a few individuals in the Cuna community, and not in such a way that one can know everything. *Néle* knows the most but his knowledge embraces more than anything else the traditions and medicines. On the other hand he does not understand, for example, picture-writing. *Absogédis'* knowledge is also

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limited to a certain field. *N é l e* knows the *absogédi*-song also. Certain persons know only certain songs.

When we study the Cuna Indians' concepts we must distinguish between the great mass of beliefs and what the Great Seer *N é l e* and the thinking people believe. The Cunas have thus a great many sagas of the usual type such as the story of how they got fire, and the story of the world tree, in which animals take part, speak and behave like people. For *N é l e* and the thinking Indians these stories do not belong to any special field of knowledge, but are more or less known by all the Indians and have no further significance. They don't believe as the great masses that these mythic Heroes in the shape of animals have actually existed. It is first with *Ibeorgun* and his followers that this tradition begins as the real history of this people. *Ibeorgun* does not change himself into an animal and he never does anything which is supernatural. He and his followers are reformers and inventors, who build up the Cuna culture, concoct medicines, improve the language, introduce the puberty feasts, and so on. The only supernatural thing which is told about *Ibeorgun* and the earlier mythic Heroes of this type is that they have come down from heaven and that they have no earthly father or mother.

The Cunas have beautiful stories, rich in imagination, which tell about the wandering of the human soul after death to the kingdom of the dead. Even these are for *N é l e* only stories which he tells to the common Indians, in order to have them believe in them and have their morals built up by them, but he himself does not believe them. Regarding the fate of the soul after death *N é l e* has himself only a vague idea. He confesses to the specially initiated that he doesn't know where the human souls go when they die. »Nobody knows the soul's fate after death», *N é l e* has said.

Thus we see that we must here draw up a distinction between what the more educated Indians look upon as knowledge and what the great masses of Indians believe. We must, however, remember that among the individuals with special religious interests there are found significant divergences in belief. Even if the more educated Cuna Indians are skeptical of the tales about the Indian paradise, still they, as well as the common Indians, believe in God. Their God has made everything and it is he who punishes his people with illnesses and death. All Cuna Indians believe in evil spirits as the cause of illnesses. It is God who sends out these evil spirits and it is with them that the medicine men fight for the life of human beings. They receive help from the medicines, which are the powers which radiate from the spirits in trees, plants, stones, and so forth. *N é l e* has help even from the evil spirits themselves. With the protective

who have tried to explain to themselves how that can be. Most of them content themselves with the superficial facts and don't think of the reasons. When one who is eager to learn wants an explanation, he turns in most cases to *Néle*, who evidently has thought over the problems and who is the main one to carry on the traditions. It is *pūrba* that people, plants and animals and certain stones have, but it would not be correct to translate *pūrba* merely as soul. The dead person is *nagība*, but *nagība* is not identical with *pūrba* although it is *pūrba*, or more correctly *pūrbagana* (plural), which has made *nagība*. But more of that later on. Here I have only wished to point out the difference between the ideas of those initiated in religious wisdom and the ideas of the great masses, between those who think and those who simply do what everyone else does.

When we study a primitive people's culture we should not deceive ourselves into thinking that they tell us everything just because they tell very much. Pérez could really not remember either his father's or mother's name. On the other hand, he could tell us what his great grandmother was called.»

In regard to Pérez' own family Nordenskiöld left the family trees on the father's and mother's side respectively, which were made out by Pérez (fig. 3 A—B). I might add that just after Pérez' return he divorced his wife in order to marry, according to his statement, an educated woman, who would be able to help him as secretary. The new wife is called Olympia Filos and belongs to the group of schooled Cuna youths. In connection with the divorce Pérez had to move from Ustúpu to Narganá where he now lives. Beyond this, Pérez' family history has for the present no further interest here.

As to the information that Pérez knew the names of his great grandmother but neither that of his father nor mother, it might be added that he never revealed whether he himself had any Indian name. For his father's ancestry he showed an exceptionally good memory, as is evidenced by the following name list:

Pérez

Kantulpipi¹

¹ The little *Kantule*.

spirits' help the medicine men fight the evil spirits and in this connection the songs play a very important role. The medicines have not only the task of fighting evil spirits. They are used in all of life's situations. A woman who is going to give birth to a child must take medicines. The great mass of Indians do not reflect as to why they use this or that medicine which they get from the medicine men. They use it because they believe in the wise man or woman they have gone to. Back of the medicine men's prescription there does indeed lie great experience and even perspicacity. If a woman, for example, is pregnant, her husband must not use as medicines plants which have thorns, because this might hinder the birth. If an Indian wishes to have a beautiful voice he should gargle with water into which has been laid the ashes of a bird which sang unusually well.

Even if an initiated Indian is skeptical about such cultural matters as the story of the stolen fire, the world tree, and so on, he is, at any rate, as was said before, convinced that God has created everything and that in this connection the menstruation of the first woman played a tremendous rôle. It is of this and his own body that God has made men, animals, and plants. Here we have wisdom which is concealed from most of the Indians, wisdom which is only possessed by the few. It is thus certainly not all Indians who know, for instance, how the different kinds of turtles have been made from the menstruation of the first woman. Here we meet with the ideas which the more intelligent Indians believe in but which the ordinary members of the tribe know nothing about.

The Cuna Indians have a peculiar idea about a power *Mû* which forms the fetus in the womb of the mother and which gives it its characteristics, or talents, *kûrgin*. A person can have *kûrgin* for hunting a certain kind of animal, for learning languages, for seeing snakes, and so on. Here we have an idea which appears to be general and is not held only by a few individuals. This connects with the fact that almost every person seeks by taking medicine to influence his own *kûrgin* in a certain direction.¹

There are a great many places called *pîrya* where the evil spirits hover. At one of the places for example the demon *Nugaruetchur* stays. This monster has a long trunk. Only the great *nēles* may visit *pîryas*, whose existence all believe in. At the same time the Indians fear *pîryas*.

All the Cunas believe that animals, plants and stones, as well as people, carry out actions as if they had souls, but it is only a few

¹ Pérez told me that he had bathed very much in medicine in order to develop his *kûrgin* for studying, and he was rather convinced that the method had been successful.

Iguawuaynippe †
 Inatinippe †
 Machi-Gologua †
 Pasuba †

The last named, Pasuba, came from Rio Bayano. Machi-Gologua got his name from the fact that his skin was a clear yellow. He is spoken of as a member of the Cuna Indian deputation which in 1870 presented a petition to the Colombian authorities in Bogotá¹.

I have already written about the reason for Pérez' trip to Sweden. His stay in Gothenburg was quite short. In order

to get quiet surroundings for work Nordenskiöld with his family and Pérez left the city as early as the first of June, for his country place, at Dalbyö, off the coast of Sörmland. From this point on I too was associated with this work, since I, as assistant to Nordenskiöld, was to begin the copying of the collected Cuna documents to be treated. These copies were later in turn corrected for language, annotated, and translated, by Pérez and Nordenskiöld.

The stay at Dalbyö occupied three months. It was here that I, personally, had the opportunity to develop a firm friendship with Pérez, as well as to hear him narrate the animal stories which I later published.²

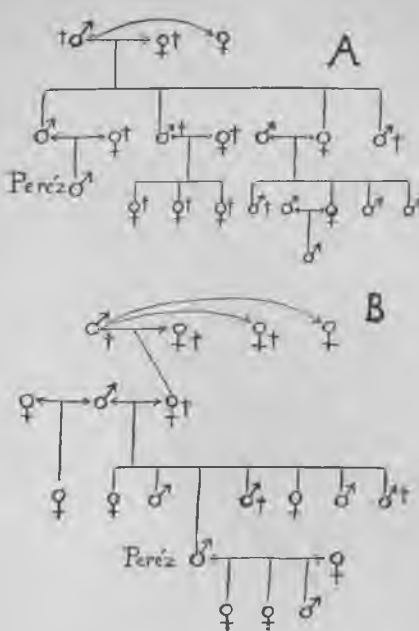


Fig. 3. Pérez' descent on his father's (A) and his mother's (B) side.

¹ See S., H. A., 1873, p. 312.

² Wassén, 1934:a and 1937.

Pérez as a rule retired late. In the evenings he always wrote down in his diary what had happened during the day, and if he was too tired to complete everything at that time, he filled in what was missing, at the latest, the next morning.

I must tell about one of the systems Nordenskiöld applied in collecting material, as it has a bearing upon the final form taken by the manuscript. I refer to our custom of assembling after dinner in the drawing-room for conversation. Pérez used as a rule to join in on some certain topic on which he would talk at great length. Sometimes Nordenskiöld would break in with questions and lead the conversation further along the lines he found most interesting, but generally he did not interrupt. He did, however, make frequent notes on small, loose slips of paper which he had provided especially for that purpose, and the following day or at the most suitable opportunity he would systematically cross question Pérez, using his notes as a basis for what he asked. In the preparation of this manuscript, I have had to try, among other things, to fit several hundred such slips and scattered notes into the places in the manuscript where, according to the subject matter, they belong.

In August Nordenskiöld invited to his country place another of his pupils, Dr. K. G. Izikowitz, who was given the task of going through the copied material from the standpoint of phonetics. He was occupied with this work also after our return to Gothenburg and up until Pérez' departure. Generally speaking, the texts published here, all included, can be considered to have been gone through by Izikowitz and Pérez, for pronunciation and accentuation.

In connection with the question of language I must here say a word or two about the work put in by Pérez on the vocabulary. In the beginning he went at this job with

great enthusiasm, gradually with less and less, and finally with none at all, as he evidently got tired of writing it out.

During the last part of P é r e z' stay in Gothenburg N o r d e n s k i ö l d went to Paris and the continent on a lecture tour. Consequently he had no opportunity to see P é r e z again, since by the time he returned P é r e z had already gone back to his home.

After his return home from his travels abroad until his illness in March 1932, N o r d e n s k i ö l d was intensively occupied with the completion of the Cuna work. This was however, at the time of his death on the 5th of July, 1932, in a far from complete form, which fact is brought out more clearly by what follows.

The title used for the whole work I have chosen myself. N o r d e n s k i ö l d had, according to a notation he left, and to other papers, considered the title: »The History of an Indian Tribe over a Period of 300 Years», which he later changed to »400 years». His intention was, as he pointed out in several lectures, which in the last years always treated of the Cunas, to follow the Cunas' history from their discovery to our own time and to place the facts brought out in relation to the Cunas' own traditions, this to be done through thorough studies of actual sources. This historical section was, however, never written. What N o r d e n s k i ö l d wrote in 1928 about the discovery of the Cunas I have quoted from one of his works (see pages 1—7). No more were the other parts of the manuscript left in publishable shape. No final arrangements had been made. N o r d e n s k i ö l d himself had, however, considered a so-to-speak »readable» part, and another part with documentary material. The »readable» part he had time partly to complete in manuscript, and already during P é r e z' stay certain chapters had been written out, which were translated into English as well as read though and discussed with P é r e z. However, constant additions and changes came to be made later on in these sections, and these I had to work in, in order to

bring out the final version. Some of these chapters were published in part by *Nordenskiöld*. I have indicated this at the beginning of the respective sections.

The present arrangement of the work is my own. Because the manuscript was not entirely completed and its comparative part entirely unwritten it has remained for me to put into shape all of the material from the standpoint of contents. Naturally there may be differences of opinion as to how one or another text should be placed, and it is also possible that certain repetitions appear. The latter is often due to the fact that *Nordenskiöld* used the same text examples to illustrate different points.

In the editing I have as a rule rewritten every line both of the Cuna texts with interlinear translation as well as the other texts, and have worked in the footnotes. Unsigned footnotes are by *Nordenskiöld*, or by him and *Pérez* together. Single footnotes by *Izikowitz* are signed IZI. My own notes are signed ED (itor).

Nordenskiöld never referred in his manuscript to the catalogue numbers of Cuna original documents but says only, »I have a picture-writing», and so forth. A part of the original documents were never catalogued until after *Nordenskiöld*'s death. In order to make possible and to facilitate an otherwise time-wasting, and for the uninitiated, difficult, searching of originals in the Gothenburg Museum I have given for the respective texts catalogue numbers with statements of number of pages, kind of writing, alternative versions, writer's name and so forth, so far as it has been possible.

Regarding the Cuna texts with Spanish interlinear translation it has only been possible for me to copy directly the translations made by *Nordenskiöld* in cooperation with *Pérez*. A summary of each text in English would have been desirable, but I was for financial reasons able to accomplish this only in certain cases.

Certain details in the manuscript notes are so incoherent that they have been left out. This applies however only occasionally to more important details. Such an exception is the case of some statements about the Cunas' counting system which unfortunately does not seem to have been put into final shape by N o r d e n s k i ö l d and P é r e z.

All in all, it can be said about the material that it is rich, but nevertheless lacks much. N o r d e n s k i ö l d writes himself: »The material from the Cunas which I now have at my disposal appears to be very worthwhile, but as has come out from the discussions with P é r e z it is however only a poor part of what exists among them to be collected. There are great numbers of songs of all kinds, calendars in picture-writing, enigmatic picture-writings resembling the old Aztec ones, wooden tablets with picture-writings carved out in relief and so on. All this according to P é r e z. During the next few years we no doubt shall see what can be found here. Constantly much material is lost — because every medicine man takes his notes with him to the grave, and his songs only survive if they are copied by his followers while he is alive.»

Regarding the transcription of the Cuna texts in this book the Spanish sound values have been adhered to. For further details regarding this point, see the introduction to the word list in Part G.

In the printing of this book the following system of typography has been used:

Names of people of a non-mythological character, that is, for example authors, Indians who have furnished material, etc. are printed with spaced letters. Example: N o r d e n s k i ö l d has made a note... The description has been made by G a l i n d o from the dictation of I g u a t i o g i ñ a.

Names of people of mythological character, as well as words in the Cuna language, with the general exception of known geographical names, are italicized. Examples: *Ibe-*

orgun, tule, nēle etc. We have a special case in regard to the word *nēle* (seer), for although it is actually a title it is used also as the given name for the famous *nēle* now living in Ustúpu. Thus it is written in spaced italics, i. e. *N é l e* of Ustúpu was born to be a *nēle*.

In all the texts, explanations placed within parentheses by the Indians themselves are left in parentheses, while on the other hand explanations inserted by the author and the editor are placed within brackets. Example- . . . *māgēb* (también *nīlba*) [= hilo de algodón].

References to books are made in the notes as a rule only by giving the author's name and the year; for more complete information the reader may turn to the references.

Finally, I should like to use this opportunity to say that it is the kind cooperation of Dr. W. K a u d e r n, Director of the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum and Publisher of »Etnologiska Studier», which has made it possible for me to bring out, in the spring of 1938, my own text material from the Cunas. As I have mentioned in the introduction to that work, it would not have been possible from the standpoint of either finances or space to burden Norden-skiöld's already extensive work with my additional material. As to the documentary material which I brought back to Sweden it is to be looked upon as a complement to this posthumous work, to the author of which I shall always feel tremendously indebted.

Elsewhere Dr. K a u d e r n extends his thanks to those who have made the publication of this work financially possible. As editor I wish to express my sincere thanks to Dr. K a u d e r n for the confidence he has shown me in placing in my hands the work of getting out this book, as well as for the great interest he has shown in working to have this undertaking brought to completion.

I want also to give my hearty thanks to Mrs. M a r y F r o d i for the translation into English of the greater part of the manuscript as well as for the keen interest taken in

reading the proofs. I am also indebted to Mr. Nils Janhelt of the Guatemalian Consulate in Göteborg who has been so kind as to correct in the proofs those parts of the Spanish text which were not originals that had to be left uncorrected. Last but not least, I want to thank the artist, Mr. Axel Hjelm, who has done the illustrations. All have, each in his own field, and with the greatest interest and willingness, endeavored to facilitate the work for me.

Göteborg in July 1938.

Henry Wassén.

Part A.

The Country and Communities of the Cuna Indians.

The section of Nordenskiöld's work published here is in large measure incomplete, inasmuch as the author had not finished or arranged in a complete unit all the material. Here as well as in all other places in this work I have, however, followed the principle of publishing if possible all the material. Aside from the changes in spelling of names and so forth, these texts have here the same form they had in the original except for the correction of the original copies carried out in cooperation with Ruben Pérez Kantule.

As has been said before Nordenskiöld never had time to put into shape for his Cuna work the information on the tribe's history and politics for which he had planned a special chapter. In order to make up for this to some extent and to give the history of the tribe's settling on its present land as Nordenskiöld had presented it, I have chosen to give here as an introduction some pages in translation which appear in Nordenskiöld's Swedish work from the 1927 expedition: *»Indianerna på Panamanäset»* (Stockholm, 1928). The translation is taken out of certain parts of the aforementioned work, an English version of which had been planned but was never carried out. ED.

Nordenskiöld, 1928: a, p. 103 et seq.

»Before proceeding further I ought to tell briefly of the history of the Cuna Indians. Not many minor tribes in America have lived through so many remarkable things since the time of the discovery as the Cunas.

The regions around the Gulf of Urabá constituted Spain's first actual colony on the American mainland. As early as

1501 the San Blas coast was traversed by *Bastidas*, who there found the *Cuevas*, a people related to the *Cunas*. From them he obtained pearls and gold. All the »dress« that the men wore consisted of a penis cover of gold. Accompanying *Bastidas* on his travels was the renowned cartographer *Juan de la Cosa*, who on a later journey was killed by Indians in the neighborhood of the Gulf of Urabá. Near Rio Tarena was established in 1510, *Sa. Maria de la Antigua*, a place which was even made the seat of a bishop, the first on the American continent. It was from here that *Balboa* set out when he discovered the South Pacific Ocean, and it was not far from here — at *Acla*, or, more correctly, *Aylatihualla* — that he after his execution was buried. One of the principal chiefs of the *Cunas* told me that he knew the spot where *Balboa* was buried, and it is not impossible that he spoke the truth. The discoverer of the Pacific really deserves a monument over his grave.

As early as in 1524 the Spaniards abandoned *Sa. Maria de la Antigua*, Panama then becoming the capital, and the traffic across the Isthmus first went via *Nombre de Dios* and later on via *Porto Bello*.

After this, the Indians on the Gulf of Urabá and on the San Blas coast were for a time left in peace. It is quite possible that at this time the *Cuevas*, who were enfeebled by wars and probably also through disease, were ousted from the territory by the *Cunas*, who came from the region of the Pacific.

In the beginning of the 17th century the Spaniards made efforts at subduing the *Cunas*. A big expeditionary force was fitted out from Cartagena, but was entirely unsuccessful. Towards the end of that century *Drake* made a futile attack on Panama. As for himself, it is said that he found his last resting place in a leaden coffin at the bottom of the sea, off *Porto Bello*. In these regions it is hardly

probable that he and his people came into contact with the Cunas.

During the 17th century, however, the Cunas made the acquaintance of Europeans other than the Spaniards. Dampier and other English pirates visited their coastlands, and in 1698 there was founded, on the initiative of Patterson, the famous Scottish colony in Darien, which, though launched with abundant means and equipment, however ended as an utter failure. For some time the Scotchmen subsisted only on the Cunas' charity.

At the close of the 17th century, and in the beginning of the 18th, numbers of Frenchmen, for the most part Calvinists, settled among the Cunas, married Cuna women and had children by them.

Those Scotchmen, Englishmen and Frenchmen must have had considerable influence upon the culture of the Cunas. From that time we find the practice among the Cunas of shipping onboard sailing vessels and voyaging far and wide about the world. The religion they heard about was not only Catholicism but also Calvinism, and traces of this are met with in present-day Cuna religion. Catholic monks have, it is true, endeavored to influence the Cunas from the Pacific side, but on the Atlantic side missionary activity never appears to have been of much importance. Dating from the year 1640 there exists a very exhaustive account of Cuna religion and myths written by father Adrian de Santo Thomas.¹ Strangely enough, these latter correspond more closely to what we know of the Chocó Indians than with what I have recorded in the case of the Cunas.

In conjunction with the visiting or settling by Englishmen, Scotchmen and Frenchmen on the San Blas coast, there evidently was taking place an emigration by the Cunas from the interior to the coast. The coastal region began to attract these Indians who, like the Chocó, lived mainly along the banks of the rivers. They evacuated more and more the

¹ See Salcedo, 1908 (1640). ED.

Pacific side of the Isthmus and went over to its Atlantic side. They lost interest in the regions about the Gulf of Urabá, and the main body of the tribe settled on the San Blas coast on the upper reaches of the rivers Chucunaque and Bayano.

As the Cunas moved away in the direction of the Atlantic, their old territory was taken possession of by Negroes and Chocó Indians. As to the latter, they have in some localities lost ground while in others they have undoubtedly extended their occupation.

In the beginning of the 18th century the Spaniards appear to have tried again to bring the Cunas into subjection. In this they were, however, unsuccessful, and in 1741 concluded a peace treaty with the Cunas. In this treaty were also included the French Huguenots who were living with Cuna women.

In the peace agreement the Indians expressly stipulated that no Negroes, mulattoes or zambos were to live in, or pass through, their territory. Their motive in this was probably their fear of miscegenation. But on the other hand they apparently entertained no objection to the intercourse between their women and the Frenchmen. In the middle of the 18th century the French language was fairly commonly spoken among the Cunas, and there is mentioned among other things a chief named J u a n S a u n i, who was the son of a Frenchman and a Cuna woman. On occasions the Frenchmen assisted the Cunas; thus in 1712 the Spanish village of Santa Cruz de Cana was sacked by eighty Frenchmen and three hundred Cunas. The commander of this marauding expedition was the Frenchman C h a r l e s T i b o u.

In 1757 the remaining Frenchmen were killed, it is said at the instigation of Englishmen who had supplied the Cunas with arms. Towards the end of the 18th century the Spaniards again occupied part of the Cuna territory, but had to evacuate it in 1790.

Thus it will be seen that French, and possibly also other European, blood has entered into the racial composition of the Cunas. Miscegenation with Negroes, on the other hand, has not taken place. The blacks have always been held in the most profound contempt by the Cunas.

During the 19th century the canal project set its mark on Panama affairs. Both the Chocó and the Cunas then came into contact with engineers of American, English and French nationality, who were seeking for the most practicable route for the canal. None of these people ever experienced any difficulties from the Cunas excepting that permission to traverse their territory was occasionally refused them.

When Spain lost her colonies on the South American Continent, the Isthmus of Panama fell to the lot of Colombia. The Colombians never succeeded in subjugating the Cunas, but then they can hardly be said to have made any serious efforts at suppressing the liberty of the Indians. On one occasion Colombian soldiers were badly defeated in Cuna country.

In 1904, when with the support of the United States, Panama declared its independence, a large portion of Cuna territory came under its dominion. At first the Cunas stated their intention of being Colombian citizens, and even for a time flew the Colombian flag. They did not realize that Colombia was not in a position to maintain any claims against the strong republic of Panama.

During 1907—1910 there lived among the Cunas a Jesuit, Padre G a s s ó, whose treatises on their religion, habits and customs are by far the best work that has been written about them. I can here do no more than supplement that distinguished writer's admirable work. Padre G a s s ó is rumored to be dead. I have been told that he resigned from the Order of Jesuits. It is also said that he was murdered and stripped of his belongings somewhere in Central America. Of the greatest importance to science would be

the recovery of his manuscripts, in particular his Cuna dictionary of 20,000 words.¹

Also in later years a good deal has been written about the Cunas, especially by North Americans. I will here mention one name only, that of the distinguished biologist, Dr. H a r r i s.

The latest occurrence worthy of note in the history of these Indians was when, in 1925, a considerable section of the tribe, after instituting a massacre on all Panamanians within their territory, proclaimed the independent republic of Tule, whose flag is a blue swastika on orange ground with red borders. This republic is still in existence, and Panama authority does not carry within its territory. In Panama it was commonly maintained that the revolt had been instigated and engineered by a North American gentleman named M a r s h. Thanks to North American protection, the Cunas escaped being punished by the Panamanians. A punitive expedition of such a nature would only have led to the Indians retreating into the fastnesses of the mainland, and

¹ From what Padre José M. Berengueras, C. M. F., missionary of Narganá, has been so kind as to tell me in a letter of the 1st of Sept. 1937, P. Gassó's manuscript for the dictionary can now be found in the catholic mission at Narganá. P. Berengueras writes as follows: «En la misión católica de Narganá se guarda el original del Vocabulario del P. Gassó: lo conseguí de manos del P. Martínez que acompañó a Mons. Junguito en la visita pastoral a Narganá en 1912. Dicho P. Martínez, sacerdote secular, fué amigo del P. Gassó, y al irse para España en 1929 me obsequió el vocabulario que me ha servido mucho. Es un ensayo, pues apenas llegan a 800 los términos: ni hay orden alfabético perfecto. Sin duda que el Padre Gassó proyectaba algo más grande, pero al abandonar la misión, todo pereció.»

Nordenskiöld evidently had the idea that the word list included 20,000 words, an obviously exaggerated figure, from P. Gassó's own words in Vol. XVIII of «Las Misiones Católicas» (Barcelona 1910), p. 165: «Ya tengo escrita la Gramática, y el Diccionario, pienso será de 20,000 voces, está para terminarse». A certain part of the word list is evidently included in the vocabulary with which P. Berengueras concludes his work *Rudimentos de Gramática Karibe-Kuna*, Panama 1934. ED.

there the Negro soldiers would indubitably have got the worst of it if they had ventured in. The word *tule* means »man» in the Cuna language, and occasionally one sees this tribe called Tule Indians. For my own part, however, I always heard them call themselves Cuna, or, strange to say, Caribe-Cuna. It is also usual to call them, after the name of the coast they inhabit, San Blas Indians.

Since the revolt of 1925 the Cunas are divided into two large groups, one comprising those who consider themselves independent and whose High Chief is *Néle* — whom I shall tell of in the following — and those who acknowledge the suzerainty of Panama, under their High Chief *Inapáquina*¹. In addition there are some Cunas living in Colombian territory. *Inapáquina* will fly the Panama flag, but allows no Panamanians to settle in his district.

The political situation — if I may use that expression — now obtaining between the majority of the Cunas and the Panama Government is of a nature to call forth some apprehension as to a new conflict.

The independent Cunas are at the present time endeavoring to consolidate their position in every way. They are exceedingly anxious to be considered a civilized people, and they take keen interest in other countries. The circumstance that we, as we shall see, were so well received by them that they actually tried to help us along in our work, was probably to some extent due to their wish that we should make propaganda for their cause.

It is to be hoped that the tenacious struggle that the Cunas for more than four hundred years have been putting up for their liberty will not have been in vain. Among the leading men of Panama there are many who take a very reasonable view of the Cuna problem. And the Colombian authorities' policy towards the Cunas is very humane.»

¹ Died June 1938. ED.

I. Geography and Population Statistics.

1. Territory of San Blas.

(See the Indian Map in fig. 4).

This document embraces a closely written typed page catalogued as 31.27.19, in the collection of Cuna documents in the Gothenburg Museum. The document gives the Indian geographical names and is published here with the translations of the words placed within brackets [...] as worked out by Pérez and Nordenskiöld. The original gives only the names in the Cuna language. There is no indication as to who has made the word list but it could very well be some of the youths who have had a little schooling in geography. ED.

»*The situation:* The region of San Blas is bounded to the North of Sea Carribean by the South of Bayano river and Chucunaque river, by the West of Escribano and East of Point Sasardi.

a) *The Mountains of San Blas:* There are plenty names of the mountains of our territory and we only write in this book the following; but you will see in the maps:

Yarduma [Cerro grande], *Porgalet*, *Sardingan*, *Camugal*, *Ibepiryal* [Cerro de roca], *Panegayal*, *Yalinayal*, *Sësyälugā-gangal*, *Ürdiyal*, *Oboyal* [Cerro de casa de maíz-öbu], *Uāgunyal*, *Amagunyal*, *Siapurguiyal*, *Irguiyal*, *Yānuyal* [Cerro del chanco del monte], *Yarsuisuit* [Cerro puntiagudo], *Mogui-ryal* [Cerro nube], *Sapiganyal* [Cerro de árboles], *Udirpiyal* [*udirpi* = una palma], *Canyar*, *Sursaylayal* [*sur*, *sul* = mono; *sayla* = cabeza = Cerro de cabeza de mono], *Piryayal* [Cerro de *pirya*¹], *Cāmuyal* [Cerro de caña de flauta], *Mārgāluyal* [Cerro de trueno], *Achuyal* [Cerro de perro], *Acuayal* [Cerro de piedra], *İbedōn*, *Nābgialyal* [Cerro de *nābgial*²], *Siglikalu* [Casa de *sigli* = pavo del monte], *Sabduryal* [Cerro de *sabdur* = albahaca], *Uerrüknaiyal* [Cerro de *uerrük* = una planta], *Igugandiyal*, *Ācuamātar* [Piedra chaca], *Māgebyal* [Cerro de

¹ Actually whirlpool. Place where there are evil demons. ED.

² A plant with thorns.

māgeba = Genipa], *Yartumayal* [Cerro grande]¹, *Mētemuryal* [Cerro de vasiya], *Inayal* [Cerro de medicina], *Īlāganyal* [ilā = una palma], *Yārsēnik* [Cerro pequeño], *Kansipyal* [kansip = una planta], *Ganiyal*, *Tugiyal* [tugi = una planta], *Salsip* [una planta], *Ākuāsēlyal* [Cerro de escorpión], *Uđirpiyal* [= una palma], *Nonoryal*, *Cuamugandiyal*, *Tēmaltākeyal* [Cerro de donde se ve el mar], *Ibegandiyal* [Cerro de rocas], *Yarūzūē*, *Niayal* [Cerro diablo], *Ibēdiyal* [Cerro de ibēdi], *Siayal* [Cerro cacao], *Sōsganyal* [sōs = una palma], *Cheyal*, *Apual* [apu = un pez], *Guālugunyal* [Cerro camote], *Ūēūēyal* [Cerro de pulgas], *Abolyal*, *Ibesipna* [Roca blanca], *Āgun*, *Surgileyal* [Cerro de mono brincado], *Cuyal* [Cerro de piojo], *Ila Poṣa*, *Sūchiryal* [sūchir = hormiga], *Narbaganyal* [una planta], *Ugaganyal* [una planta], *Pinuegandiyal* [una planta], *Uaigalyal* [Cerro del camino de los españoles], *Kalu Ohuāgāndiyal* [ohuāgāndi = una planta], *Yaldadad* [Cerro vertical].

There are no valleys in our coast but only there are the following: the Valley of *Mandinga*, the Valley of *Carti senik* [pequeño], the Valley of *Urgandi*, the Valley of *Nargana*, and the Valley of *Ucupṣa* or *Playon grande*.

b) *The Rivers of San Blas*: The principal rivers of San Blas are:

Ūrsutōgediūāl [Rio entrada de canoa], *Argansikediūāl* [Rio de mano cortar], *Ūlalsukgundiūāl* [Manzanilla-bahía-río], *Nabagandiūāl*, *Surgundiūāl*, *Mandi* [Mandinga, Sp.], *Īnadiūāl* [Río medicina], *Pūnorgandiūāl* [pūnor = una planta], *Nēlgaldiūāl* [Río del Nēle flaco],² *Acuadiūāl* [Río de piedra], *Carti tummat* [Calati? grande], *Carti senik* [C. pequeño], *Irigandiūāl*, *Ailigandiūāl* [Río de mangle], *Urgandiūāl* [Río de cayuco], *Naibediūāl* [Río de culebra], *Upukidiūāl*, *Masalgandiūāl* [masal = caña brava], *Titumadiūāl* [Río de agua grande], *Uērrukgandiūāl* [uērruk = una palma], *Mardiūāl*, *Nūdiūāl* [Río de paloma], *Kuepdiūāl* [Río de una

¹ Compare with the first name in the list. ED.

² According to tradition a thin *nēle* lived here.

tribu *Cuebdi*], *Yānuūādididiūāl* [Río de *yānu* = chanco de tropa], *Nargandiūāl* [*nala* = bambú], River Diablo, *Ōrdiūāl* [Río oro], *Cūpnadiūāl*, *Napsadiūāl* [Río de barro], *Tigantiki* [Agua fuerte], *Acuatunsil* [Piedra redonda],¹ *Tituma* [Agua grande], *Magebgandiūāl* [Río de *māgēba*], *Aidirgandiūāl* [Río de piedra de moler], *Ukupa* [Playon grande, *ukupa* = playa], *Ibenadiūāl* [Río de roca], *Irgandiūāl*, *Pingandiūāl*, *Ukupsenik* [Playa pequeña], *Uānūkgandiūāl* [Río de *uānuk* = una palma], *Kuīpgandiūāl* [Río de *kuiba* = un árbol], *Okopgandiūāl* [Río de coco], *Sūkdīūāl* [Río de cangrejo], *Sangandiūāl*, *Sangandisenik*, *Kuiti* [Mosquito], *Sugandiūāl* [Río de *su* = un árbol], *Apudiūāl* [*āpu* = un pez], *Puturgandiūāl* [Río de una tribu *Putur*], *Punorgandiūāl* [Río de *punor* = una planta], *Nabagandiūāl* [Río de *naba* = calabazo], *Tordiūāl*, and *Kuādiūāl*.

c) *The Points* [peninsulas] of San Blas: The points of the San Blas coast are the following:

Ūrsudoge [Entrada de canoa], *Porgalet*, *Kinmurru*, *Leklomurru*, *Iskarmurru*, *Uarmurru*, *Uskarmurru*, *Nonomurru*, *Uasaylamurru* [Punta cabeza españoles], *Kinkimurru* [Punta de escopeta], *Urualmurru* [Punta cedro], *Miryamurru* [Punta sábalo], *Osimurru* [Punta piña], *Uērrukgandimurru* [Punta de una palma *uērruk*], *Nudiualmurru* [Punta del Río de paloma], *Manimurru* [Punta de plata], *Ustupmurru* [Punta de machango], *Sulemurru* [Punta *sule* = conejo pintado], *Niamurru* [Punta diablo], *Metemurru* [Punta olla], *Ūpgisūkgunmurru* [Punta de *ūpgi* = una planta], *Magebgandimurru* [Punta de Río *māgēba*], *Uskuargansukgunmurru* [Punta de *uskuar* = una planta], *Aidirmurru* [Punta de piedra de moler], *Uichupmurru*, *Nurmurru*, *Ibena* [Peña], *Golepir*, *Usilyarmurru*, *Monomurru*, *Kuīpgandimurru*, *Mūrrutuma* [Punta grande], *Uesalmurru* [Punta cuchara], *Nusmurru* [Gusano punta], *Kīppinmurru*, *Ulaltupmurru* [Isla de punta

¹ There is at that place a stone which through erosion by water has been shaped like a large mushroom.

de manzanilla], Mosquito point, *Nabagandimurru* [*naba* = calabazo], *Uṣṣgandimurru*, *Mirsipusukgunmurru* [Sábalo blanco-bahía-punta] and *Sasardimurru* or *Sasardi Point*.

d) *The Islands of San Blas*. The Islands of the San Blas by the West to the East:

Ustúp [Isla machango], *Kaikirkol*, *Niatup* [Isla del diablo], *Nugaruesetup* [Isla del elefante = *nugaruṣṭchur*],¹ *Miryatup* [sábalo], *Masargantup* [Isla de caña brava], *Asueltup* [Isla anzuelo], *Nalunega* [Casa de *nālu* = un pez], *Narasgantup* [Isla de limón], *Āritup* [Isla iguana], *Ubigantup*, *Igotup*, *Acuatup* [Isla de piedra], *Suktup* [Isla de cangrejo], *Yāntup* [Isla de *yānu* = chanco de tropa], *Tupile*, Isla gallinazo or *Mulatup*, *Ubgigantup* [Soledad?], *Naibetup* [Isla de culebra], *Guanitup*, *Salal*, *Mormagetup* [Isla de coser], Río Sidra or *Urgandi* [Río bote], *Nusatup* [Isla de ratón]² *Tupsuit* [Isla larga], *Kuaryatup* [Isla de *kuarya* = ave de rapiña], *Morpeptup* [Isla de cambombia = una condra grande], *Naptup* [Isla de calabazo = *naba*], *Madununutup* [Isla de *madun* podrido³], *Esnantup* [Isla de ancla], *Gāniltup* [Isla de gallina], *Kuikalatup* [Isla de mosquito], *Saputup* [Isla de sapo, Sp.], *Ōkopsibutup* [Isla de coco blanco], *Sugar* [Isla de Sucre],⁴ *Korkitup* [Isla de pelícano], *Iskaltup* [Isla de una especie de iguana], *Panetup* [Isla de *pane* = pájaro], *Tiatup* [Isla de pozo], *Ortuṭtarṣoguat* [Oro isla doble]⁵ *Piryatup* [Isla de remolino], *Kalubir*, *Ukupsui* [arena larga], *Sipattup* [Isla de escarabajo — un insecto que come los cocos], *Okopukip* [Cocos abundantes], *Niakalubir* [Isla dia-

¹ This animal is said to have existed in earlier times.

² One of the islands at Narganá with a bridge built by the Indians connecting it with the main island. ED.

³ *Madun*, a drink prepared from bananas. Presumably somebody has left on the island a vessel containing *madun*.

⁴ A man employed in the service of Spain, by the name of *Sucre*, was killed here.

⁵ It is said that pirates or buccaneers buried gold here when they were in danger of being caught.

blo?], *Uisutup* [Isla de *uisu* = planta], *Huacasaylatup* [Isla cabeza español], *Akuatargan* [Piedras quebradas], *Ganilkinitup* [Isla del gallo colorado], *Namaketup* [Isla de canción],¹ *Rio Azucar*, *Tupil*, *Tigre*,² *Pugatup* [Isla de *puga* = un pez], *Niatup* [Isla de diablo], *Aritup* [Isla de iguana], *Capes* [Isla de cabeza], *Canirtup* [Isla del gallo], *Abakitup* [Isla de boa], *Okopnagatup* [Isla de coco cerca], *Urbirlitup*, *Achutup* [Isla de perro], *Yantup* [Isla de chanco de tropa], *Dächeretup* [Isla de abuelo viejo], *Yalatumatup* [Isla de cerro grande], *Milaguir*, *Ilestup* [Isla de inglés],³ *Suletup* [Isla de conejo pintado], *Acuaseret* [Piedra vieja], *Mono* [Sp.], *Kingar*, *Nutup* [Isla de paloma], *Okopkili* [Coco picado], *Chichiltup* [Isla de *chichir* = una hormiga negra pequeña], *Cuaryatup* [Isla de *kuarya* = *Ailigandi*; *aili* = mangle], *Tuptarpoguat* [Isla doble], *Sosgantup* [Isla de *sosgan* = una palma], *Nutupgua* [Isla pequeña paloma], *Kainora*, *Mammitup* [Isla zapote], *Wuastup*, *Urartup* [Isla manzanilla], *Upsangantup* [Isla algodones], *Ukursibu* [Arena blanca], *Kuitup* [Isla mosquito], *Aritup* [Isla de iguana], *Tuppak*».

2. Population of San Blas.

There are given below the population statistics for various Cuna villages in 1929 compiled at the instigation of Pérez, who was at that time secretary to *Néle de Kantule*. The original, a typewritten folio page, is catalogued *GM.31.27.22 a*. The names of the villages are given here in the same order as that in which they appear in the original. In Nordenskiöld's outline there is no more exact information as to the bases on which the statistics have been compiled, or as to what degree of accuracy can, under the circumstances, be counted on.

The fact that the Indians have included the only family at *Nutupgua* speaks for a certain exactness. ED.

¹ A *Néle Pawa* sang on this island in order to liberate it from a *pirya* (whirlpool with evil demons), which existed nearby. It was at about the time of *W a f e r*.

² Presumably not Spanish.

³ An Englishman was killed here.

<i>Villages</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>
Ubgigantup ...	30	33	40	31	134
Nonotup	15	10	8	10	43
Oroztup (arroz-)	5	6	4	8	23
Aritup.....	50	61	71	41	223
Ailitup	10	15	9	5	39
Narasgantup- tumat	71	82	23	89	265
Narasgantup- senik	50	64	51	61	226
Carti-Sugtup ...	499	545	409	402	1855
Yantup	450	483	410	380	1723
Carti-Tupile ...	391	429	551	571	1942
Mulatup	133	147	101	126	507
Uarsotupkua ...	3	5	7	10	25
Nurtup	3	3	5	3	14
Sukuinguatup	1	2	3	2	8
Ubgigantup	103	111	99	109	422
Mormaketup ...	50	53	44	39	186
Rio Sidra or					
Urganti	444	461	387	371	1663
Nusatup	41	50	40	36	167
Kaniltup.....	2	2	5	6	15
Cuepdí	40	53	43	57	193
Tigre	450	451	500	585	1986
Tigantikí	400	411	201	300	1312
Makepgandí ¹ ...	61	77	33	41	212
Aidirgandí ¹	27	35	21	16	99
Ucuppa ¹	25	33	20	18	96
Irgandí ¹	37	41	29	28	135
Playon Chico ...	405	465	309	369	1548
Tupile	391	411	345	325	1472
Ailigandi	633	699	576	651	2559

¹ These names are marked «costa malsana» in the outline, which can also explain the low figures. ED.

Villages	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	
Nutupgua ¹	2	5	5	0	12	
Achutup or						
Caynora	102	121	62	51	336	
Cuiti or Mos-						
quito	40	53	25	18	136	
Ustúp or Putur-						
gandi	601	652	563	528	2344	I. 300 ²
Nabagandi	41	49	25	31	146	I. 1000 ²
Tuppak or Isla						
del Pino ...	23	31	20	15	89	
<hr/>						
	5629	6149	5044	5333	= 22155	

3. Names of Mountains, Reefs, and "Piryas".

The following document is in the original a paper written in pencil about a) the names of the places an *absogēdi*-medicine man ought to know, since in fact illnesses can come from all of these places, b) reefs, c) enumeration of the names in the songs for different «*pīryas*», whirlpools where there are evil spirits. The paper is written by one of the Cuna Indians from Playon Chicó and is catalogued as GM.31.27.10. ED.

a) *Los nombres de cerros.*

»*Aküäser yāla* [Cerro de *aküäser* == alacrán], *Sūgyāla* [Cerro de cangrejo = *sūga*], *Ūerosoiyāla*, *Sigligāryāla* [Cerro de hueso de *sigli* = pavo del monte], *Īyālmürri*, *Nabgī-āryāla* [*nabgīal* = una planta], *Metētiyāla* [Cerro de Río cántaro], *Ūskūargandiyāla*, *Ūerosogunyāla*, *Sūgtiyāl* [Cerro de Río cangrejo], *Īlapopa*, *Sakpāgyāla*, *Cāchiganāyāla*, *Kāni-garyāla*, *Negagānyāla* [Cerro de pueblo], *Ācuamūryāla* [Cerro piedra punta], *Ūāguūngaryāla*, *Sāngāngūnyāl*, *Kartōtto yāla*

¹ Refers to a family near Caynora.

² The letter *I* indicates chief *Inapāquiñā*. Not clear whether the 300 are included in the sum or should be added. For the following village evidently an addition of one thousand persons is to be made for *Inapāquiñā*. Most of the other villages recognize *Nēle* as High Chief. ED.

[Cerro *kálu* pequeño], *Agtükāntiyala* [*agtük* = un árbol], *Tisibiyala*, *Píryayala* [Cerro de *pírya*], *Neganargānigaryala*, *Uagūbgandiyal*, *Ūtūtīyal*, *Asūegantiyala* [*āsūe* = aguacate], *Ūkūrpilitiyala*, *Ūakūpgāntiyala*, *Sēgargāntiyala*¹, *Ūērogantiyala* [*ūērog* = una palma].

b) *Arrecifes*.

Sipitūp ākūa [Arrecife de isla cepillo], *Akūapiton* [Arrecife pequeño], *Ūtūronpírya ākūa*,² *Nūsupírya ākūa* [Arrecife de *pírya* gusano], *Yalatela ākūa* [Arrecife de *yalatela*.]³ *Tigōg ākūa*, *Ūlartūp ākūa* [Arrecife de isla de manzanilla], *Milagir akua*, *Achuyāākūa* [Arrecife de *achuyā* = león del mar], *Akūaolo* [Arrecife pequeño], *Akūa okanyalel*, *Akūa sipkāna* [Arrecife de piedras blancas], *Akūa tarpogūa* [Arrecife doble], *Akūa pūkik* [Arrecife mucho], *Akūa ologana* [Arrecifes pequeños], *Akūa pūpūrmāka* [Arrecife que evapora], *Pane ākūa* [Arrecife gaviota], *Tiatūp ākūa* [Arrecife de isla pozo], *Ūchībyala ākūa*, *Pīngāndi ākūa* [*Pīngāndi* = nombre de un lugar], *Tūya ākūa*, *Narūaligar ākūa*.

c) «*Píryas*».

The following names of *píryas* are those which appear in the songs. There are in addition ordinary names for them. On the subject of *píryas* Nordenskiöld has written the following from notes by Pérez. ED.

The *píryagana* are places where wild animals live. In the mangrove swamps are such *píryas*. When one approaches such a place the water becomes full of movement and sharks and sea lions come forth which attack and eat up the one who has dared to go to the *pírya*. In the bay of Puturgandí there is «*Pírya-tamnadi*», which no one has been able to visit. When one nears the place, one hears something like

¹ Of *segar*, the tree which is used to make fire.

² The reef where driftwood piles up.

³ *Yalatela* = the fish «yellow tail», Scotch-English name which the Cunas learned from the Englishmen on the coast. IZI.

thunder. Only *Néle* has seen it in a dream when his soul has been on a journey. There he saw many bones of all sorts of sea animals.

Nūgaruetchur, who resembles an elephant, lives in one *pírya*. The Cunas say that mosquitoes do not suck blood in order to drink it themselves but that they are sent out by this evil spirit to fetch blood for him to drink. *Nūgaruetchur* is also called *Ihui*. If one fells a tree near the place where this demon's power holds sway, one hears something like the scream of a pig under the earth. *Nūgaruetchur* sucks even human blood. It is told that one man set out for the *pírya* where *Nūgaruetchur* exercised his powers, the demon stretched up his trunk and sucked out the man's blood, whereupon the man became as if transformed into a tree trunk, and when some of his family came to him and touched him they found he was dead.

Before the San Blas coast was inhabited by people, there were *píryas* everywhere, and no one could stay there either on the mainland or on the islands. When the Cunas settled there the *nēles* put an end to these *píryas*.

Nūgaruetchur was the teacher of *Néle* in Ustúpu. He was an excellent teacher and taught *Néle* how one should fight against illnesses.

Küanili pírya, *Mātāli pírya*,¹ *İsmāka*, *Ārāli*, *Uāgasibu*, *Kāgangūāli*, *Mūmūsmāka*,² *Ūāūāmāka*, *Ōina* [una planta de la costa], *Yāyāna*, *Maikūakūna*, *Pōkūna pírya ūla*, *Ūkūbkūāli pírya ūla*, *Kōgolili*, *Kārpangūāli pírya*, ese se llama *Escarpan* [= Escribano cerca de Sta. Isabel], *Ūilāla*, *Ūrōka*, *Tuēnāgūa māka*gūa, *Sebyāli*, *Pibirmāka* [*pibir* = da vuelta], *Kūnūali*, *Niagūāli*, *Pōgigūāli*, *Nāsargūāli*, *Achulili*, *Obakāli*, *Nakamāka*,³ *Ūāūmāka*, *Tūrbamāka*, *Ūichukūāli*, *Kōgokūāli*, *Pānēla*, *Tirmāka*,

¹ The word *pírya* in the original appears after every name. In order to save space it is omitted in the following. ED.

² This means that the water in the whirlpool seems to boil.

³ This means when the waves come from two directions and drive against each other.

Kālūbkūāli, *Sūidakāli*, *Tiagūāli*, *Ēgēgūāli*, *Aibāna*, *Pūgakūāli*, *Āktādāli*, *Pūkkigūāli*, *Āgnālimāka*, *Īīmāka*,¹ *Ūēlukālikūna*, *Kāpāngūālikūna*, *Ūachina*, *Kūtalina*, *Tūrbāna*, *Elōpkūāli*, *Kūlina*, *Sūpeli*, *Kāmumāka*, *Obāna*, [temal oba = yerbas del mar], *Tāgulili*, *Nūsunāna*, *Titēna*, *Itigūāli*, *Māniākūakūna*, *Pīrya de Bayano*, *Tūināli* (al frente Panamá),² *Pāglelekūna*, *Kūāchīchilākūna*, *Ūkūpkūlikūna*, *Apinakūna*, *Kāpāngūālikūna*, *Ūagāsībokūna*, *Ūāgasīptōdogūāli*, *Kokorguali*, *Ākūalili*, *Inegunchīchikūna*, *Sūglele*,³ *Pūpūrmōk* [pūpūrmāka = evaporando], *Agtūvamāka*, *Kīngargūāli* [Lugar en Bayano que se llama Kīngar], *Kūgāna*, *Pūgaūāli*, *Ībenūsēlunāksui*, *Māsargūāli*, *Chōsonīni*, *Nūsēlutīmāka*, *Sālulu*, *Mōgli*, *Agelili*, *Mākūsikīrmāka*, *Kūbyāli* [= negro], *Ūēgāli*, *Misigūāli*, *Silūna*, *Tīrbīgūāli* [tīrbi = redondo], *Ūāsēna*, *Sōglāna*, *Nālūpkūā*, *Pūnurgūāli*, *Amūna*, *Nuseluīmāka* [nuselu = arena; imaka = sonora], *Ansūina*, *Agpīrya mākakūna pīrya*, *Nāsīlismāka*, *Nālūluina*, *Aramāka ākūasimākūna*, *Yūrgūāna*, *Īrmāli āknasīla*, *Nūsūna*, *Pārūna*, *Ninirgūāli*, *Tāpargūāli*, *Māgūāna*, *Aipirgūāli pīrya*».

4. Geographical and Historical Information on a Number of Cuna Villages.

These writings have been made by the Cuna Indian Guillermo Haya in Ustúpu, one of *Nēle de Kantule's* secretaries. Original documents *a—g* were typed by Haya and sent by him to Pérez during the latter's visit to Sweden. Likely they were written primarily upon the request of *Nēle*. The documents are stamped with the «*Ibeorgun Nega*»-stamp (fig. 18). The explanations which accompany them are by Pérez. The writings follow here in the order in which they are catalogued in the Gothenburg Museum. *h* in the original is written by hand.⁴ ED.

¹ *itimakala* = Sp. cortada.

² *tūināli* = serpent.

³ *sukku* = sawfish.

⁴ The spelling in this write-up of the villages is furthermore completely the same as in the original. ED.

a) *Geografía de Ucūpa* (GM. 31.27.28. a):

»*Situación*: La región de *Ucūpa* está situada al Norte con el mar, al Sur con el monte *Temaltaqueyar*, al Este con la región de *Irgandi* y al Oeste con la *Aidirgandi*.

Límites: La región de *Ucūpa* limita al Norte con el mar *Uichupmurcua* y *Nungandi*, y al Este con el *Ibenadihual*.

Relieve: La relieve de la región de *Ucūpa* por lo general es muy baja y casi todas son llanos. Las principales montañas de la región de *Ucūpa* son *Acuaselyar*, *Udirbiyar*, *Puteyar*, *Nororyar*, *Cuamudiganyar*, *Pacayar*, *Escoronega*.

Clima: El clima de la región de *Ucūpa* es muy saludable por el día y por la noche.

Hidrografía: El río que corre por el *Ucūpa* se llama el *Ucūpa*. En este gran río terminaron al monte *Inapisuyar* o *Achuyar*, además hay otro río que se llama *Ibegandihual* en este río termina al Este el *Pīrya*.

Costa y Islas: La costa de la región de *Ucūpa* es muy arenosa. Los nombres de las costas son: al Oeste y al Este *Tapnaical*, *Ocophuled*, *Uichupmursenik*, *Uichupmurtummat*, *Ucupanakca*, *Nurmur*, *Sosical*, *Ucupapalquinett*.

Flora y fauna: La región de *Ucūpa* se cultiva variedades de frutas como cocos, mameyes, aguacates, etc.

Población: La población de la región de *Ucūpa* es de 57 hombres y 22 mujeres, 11 niños y 4 niñas.

Los nombres de las personas:

1. *Icuaihtiliquinye*; 2. *Icuanikkiquinye*; 3. *Tiwiwi*; 4. *Icuadihinquippiler*; 5. *Maniwiakbilibiquinye*; 6. *Icuadihipdilibiquinye*; 7. *Oloacnippe*; 8. *Maninukdiquinye*; 9. *Machi*; 10. *Icuanakdi*; 11. *Oloyoqui*; 12. *Olodihuktinappi*; 13. *Icuadiwiquippiler*; 14. *Icuakdali*; 15. *Machihualdad*; 16. *Susu*; 17. *Chali*; 18. *Icuadiactipipiler*; 19. *Tiwinnipiler*; 20. *Icuadihiktipipiler*».

b) *Geografía de Irgandi*. (GM. 31.27.28. b):

»*Situación*: La región de *Irgandi* está situada al Norte, con el mar, y al Sur con el monte *Sūrsūtryār* ó *Témaltā-*

keyār [mar ver monte], al Este con *Uküpseni* y al Oeste con la *Ücūpa*.

Límites: La región de *Irgandí* al Norte con mar y al Sur con Monte *Suirsuiryār* y al Este con el Golfo de *Píngandí*, y al Oeste *İbenatiūal*.

Relieve: En *Irgandí* hay varios cerros como *İbenāyāla* [*ibena* = roca], *Sügdiyāla*, *Ürsūmaiyār* [= canoa], *Escóroyār*, *Poyār* [*pō* = niebla], *Sīgliyār* [*sīgli* = pavo del monte] ó *İksiyār*, *Nāpkīālyār* [= una planta], *Níayār*, *Yārūēūe*, *Āküāndiyār*, *Tūpkörtikityār*, *Sūtrsūiryār*, *İbegandí* [= roca] *Üdirbiyār* [= una palma], *Pūkiyār* [= una planta], *Pūkiyārsūit* [*sūit* = largo].

Hidrografía: El río que corre en la región de *Irgandí* es el Río *Irgandí* donde existe el pueblo, termina hasta el corre *Üdirbi* el río *Píngandí*.

Clima: El clima de la región de *Irgandí* es muy saludable por el día y por la noche.

Población: La población de *Irgandí* es de 88 habitantes.

Historia antigua del pueblo de Irgandí: Los primeros habitantes habitaron en el Río *Piryadí* en un lugar que se llama *Maryagandí*. El río *Piryadí* es uno de los afluentes de *Madungandí*. Su jefe fué el *Nēle Nagāna Cūnhūasālīplel*, y su segundo fué *Āpsökēt* [= *absogēdi*].

Su población fué de 100 habitantes. Trasladaron al monte *Yārūēūe* para huir por los españoles, y después se trasladaron a *Húandi* y poblaron en este lugar. En *Húandi* el *nēle* dijo a sus gentes: «Vamos a abrir el río»¹ y poco a poco vinieron a desembocadura a establecerse en el año 1821 y limpio el Río.

Primero habitaban al Oeste del Río que es el lugar muy bien pavimentado. Cuando tuvo el terremoto el lugar quedó pantano, y trasladó al Este que hoy queda (*Pāliogīnye Cantul*) y el *nēle* murió en este lugar y su sucesor fué *Inatīrbilel*, *Cānūpe*, *Öloyākīnye*. El sucesor de *Oloyākīnye* ... en

¹ *Pérez'* interpretation of *Haya's* text: «que cortara la desembocadura del río».

este *Saguila* donde independizó a Panamá. Cuando murió *Píua* trono *Igüanügnappe* su segundo *Nasikinye*, *Oloüibo* también es un gran hombre. Cuando el *Igüanügnappe* [murió] sucesor fue *Negobántür*».

c) *Geografía de Niatúp*. (GM. 31.27.28. c):

»*Situación*: La región de *Niatúp* está situada al Norte con el mar y la Isla de *Pugatúp*, al Sur con la región de *Mädüngandi*, al Este con la región de *Magegandi* y al Oeste con la región de *Tigre*.

»*Límites*: La región de *Niatúp* al Norte con el mar Atlántico y la Isla de *Pugatúp*, al Sur con el monte *Poyar*, al Este con la punta de *Metëmür* [mète = tinaja], y al Oeste con la *Tumba*.

»*Relieve*: La relieve de *Niatúp* hay varias montañas. Entre ellas son: *Yärtümmat*, *Üdribyar* y los demás se citan *Tēmaltekeyār*, *Tämyāla*, lo que está al río *Sürküleyar*, al Oeste son *Kānikaryār*, *Küllagantiyār* [külla = un árbol], *Síadiyār* [sía = cacao], *Māgepyār*, al Este del río *Nügnüpyār* [= una planta] y *Mūlaganyar* [= gallinazo].

»*Hidrografía*: Los ríos de *Tigantikí* son *Tumba*, *Mogorgandí* ó *Cängüñküa* [= una planta], *Achüya* [= lugar del perro], *Tíornēga* [tior = una planta, nēga = casa, lugar], *Tāgunēga*, *Acuadüñsil*, *Titüma*, *Kāptiibēna* [ibēna = roca], *Sársip*, *Sücünhüāla*.

»*Costas y arrecifes*: Los nombres de las costas y puntas son: *Tumba*, *Kängüñküasücün* [sükün = bahía], *Achüya*, *Tíornēga*, *Takusükün*, *Ursükün*, *Tigantikíüküp*, *Mürüküak*, *Niamuru*, *Mirtarküeasükun*, *Yaugnēgasükun* [= tortuga], *Acuadüñsilükun*, *Titümasükun*, *Ibégansükun*, *Sársipsükun*, *Metëmür*, *Sükünhüāla*.

»*Islas*: Las islas de la región de *Tigantikí* son: *Niatup*, *Akuapibyölesüit*, *Pugatúp*, *Herreratup* [Sp.], *Tämtüp*.

»*Los arrecifes*: *Tülupāküa*, *Pugatüpāküa*, *Niatüpāküa*, *Kängüñküaküa*, *Aküasüi*, *Tagüsukunāküa*, *Aküaoroküa*, *Aküachichi*, *Aküasibu*.

Clima: La región de *Tigantikí* tiene un clima muy salu-
dable y fresco.

Población: La población de *Tigantikí* es de 228 habitantes,
son 78 hombres, 99 mujeres, 60 niños y 44 niñas ».

d) *Geografía de Carti.* (GM.31.27.28.d):

»*Situación:* La región de *Carti* está situada al Norte con
el mar del Caribe, al Sur con el distrito de Chepo, al Este
con la región de *Ürgāndi* y al Oeste con el distrito de Santa
Isabel.

Límites: La región de *Carti* limita al Norte con el mar,
al Sur con el monte *Üdirbiyāla*, al Este con el *Esādi* y al
Oeste con el *Ürsudoge*.

Relieve: Hay varias montañas entre ellas son: *Yārtumma*,
Porkāletyar, *Sārtīnganyār*, [= una planta], *Mētesi* [*mēte* = olla],
Kāmmuyār [*kāmmu* = bambú], *Ibebiryāla* [*ibebir* = rocas],
Udirbiyāla [= una planta], *Pāneyār* [= un ave], *Sesyāla*
[= langosta], *Kāliganyāla*, en el Río *Mandinga* también hay
varios llanos.

Hidrografía: Los ríos de *Carti* de Oeste a Este son los
siguientes: El río *Ürsudoge*, *Üküpti* [*üküp* = arena], *Nāpsāti*
[*nāpsa* = barro], el Río *Porcalet*, *Algansiketiūal*. Estos ríos
son los que quedan al Oeste del Porvenir. *Ulalsükuntiūal*
[= manzanillo], *Nēglokuichitiūal*, *Tórdi*, el río *Nābagana*, además
hay tres ríos cerquita de este río, son *Mētedi*, *Ärriti* [*ärr* =
iguana], *Sürgun* y el río *Mandí* ó *Mandinga*, *Mördi* y el
Nelgūlatiūal. Siguiendo al Este esta el río *Nārgāndi*, *Por-
norgandí*, *Mördi*, *Akuatiūal*, *Cārtitiūal*, *Cārtisenik* [*senik* =
pequeño], *Ailigantiūal* [*aili* = mangrove] y el río *Esādi*.

Costas, Islas y Arrecifes: Los nombres de las costas de
Oeste al Este son: *Ürsudogue*, *Üküptumma*, *Porcalet*, *Argan-
sike*, *Mānisükun*, *Ökoppīrya*, [*ököp* = coco], *Ustūpsükun*
[*sükun* = bahía], *Aküāmātersūit* [*ākūa* = piedra], *Uerüksükun*,
Oinagantupsükun, *Aküāyā* [= lugar de piedra *yā*], *Kūnmūru*,
Ulalsukkunya, *Mórpēpsükun* [una clase de caracol], *Sārdingan*,
Nēglokuichit, *Achusailasükun* [perro — cabeza], *Sükuntarbōguat*

[= doble], *Nikesükun* [*nike* = un ave], *Nëglomürü*, *Ärdinäk*, *İspermürü* [*isper* = un árbol], *Ülalmürü*, *Achuya*, *Mirdinäk*, *Äküanän* [= metate].

Sükungana: [Bahías]: *Nargandinak*, *Tiklonak*, *Üsküamuru*, *Ürtüknak*, *Palsükun*, *Üaisaylamürü*, *Kinkimürü*, *Tigütür*, *Ürüalmuru*, *Täbusükun* [*täbun* = un pez], *Miryamürü*, *Mırya Sülëdi* [= un animal del monte], *İköölo*, *Ösimürü* [*ösi* = pine apple], *Pıryaganti*, *Üepgansükun*, *Sülsailati*, *Sardinsukun* y *Esadi*.

Los nombres de las islas: *Üstüp*, *Oınacantup*, *Üelüeltup*, *Küügalatup*, *Mānitup*, *Nālunëga*, *Kaigircol*, al frente de Porvenir *Oköpsibutup*, *Nidırbitup*, *Mırya*, *Kāgantup*, *Tiātup*, *Köletup*, *Mıryaüāla*, *İskartup* [*iskar* = especie de iguana], *Küügalatup*, *Üaisailatup*, *Niātup* [*nıa* = diablo], *Achutup*, *Achutüppippi* [perro pequeño isla], *Körgitup*, *Ököptup*, *Ökop-tüppippi*, *Achutüptumat*, *Pānetup*, *Pānetüppippi*, *Nānutup*, *Tāp-kālatup* y *Māsargantup*. Además: cerca de los pueblos hay varias islas entre ellas son: *Ököptup*, *Achüertup* [*achüer* = anzuelo], *Äritup*, *Naibetup*, *Üpgigantup*, *Örostup* [*oros* = arroz], *Tüpölo*, *Ailitup*, *Nārasgantup* [*nāras* = limón], *Nārasgantupippi*, *Äküatup*, *Nōnomürü*, *Süktup*, [= cangrejo], *Yāntup*, *Tüpıl*».

Historia de la región de Cartí. (GM. 31.27.28. e):

Guillermo Haya's Spanish text, which is in places difficult to understand, has been here put into English, in connection with which Pérez' additions and corrections have been inserted. ED.

»Five centuries ago the Indians in Cartí fought with *pilas*, who lived there. The ruler of these Indians was *Aibāna*,¹ who lived up by the Cartí river. With several thousand men he fought against *pilas* in order to gain possession of that section. They fought for several years. Then the Spaniards came to the San Blas coast to look for gold. At

¹ By *pilas* the Chocó Indians are meant. It is interesting to find the word *haipana* (*jaibana*) — sorcerer, medicine man — used among the most northern as well as the southern groups of the True Chocó in Colombia (the Catío and Indians living at Río Saija). See Wassén, 1935, p. 41. ED.