

that time *Dada Patēōlo* and his wife *Mū-pōsip* were living as well as *Yōbādur*, *Yoduba*, *Kūnūa*, *Ūiōpīrya*, and *Tūlapali*. These men fought at Rio Cartí to defend their country. At Mandinga or Mandí lived *Dada Achiyōbit*, and at a place by the name of *Kinkal* they fought also against the Spaniards from Mandi.

Dada Palikua also lived at Rio Cartí, and after these *dadas* came their sons. Among other *dadas* who lived at the time of the Spaniards were *Niglīp*, his son *Ūigun*, *Tūlapālikūa*, *Nāgibāler* and *Ilap*.

Igūakun's sons were: *Sekagun*, *Arigūnabāler*, *Dad-Cunūabaler*, and they lived for many years (*purburgana*) . . .¹ . . . these along the river at a place called *Uainega* far from the sea.

At *Kinkimūrru* the *dadas* fought against the Spaniards. They even fought at *Uaisaylamūrru*. *Dada Achuyopit* fought with his people at *Kingal* to defend his village. They made themselves a protection out of planks and waited eight days for the Spaniards.

At *Uaisaylatup* they fought even against the Spaniards². It was there that the Spaniards took the Indians out to the islands in order to maltreat them. It is said that they did it in this manner: When the Spaniards had caught the Indians they took them out to the islands. There they put into the womens' genital parts gunpowder which later exploded. They even placed the Indians naked in front of the women and gave them the order that they should look at each other's sexual organs. If they turned their heads they were whipped. The little boys and girls were burned. At times they were flung into the sea in turtle shells. This was in one instance the salvation of two girls in the midst of the Spaniards.³

¹ Here follows: «el otro *Iap*: *Ariūikka*, el otro *Dada*. *Pārk-kūtta* el hermano *Kūiban*, *Inayārpippe*, *Cūrip*, *Pailibe*, *Ibulibe* . . .». ED.

² Cf. Wassén, 1938, p. 24. ED.

³ H a y a' s text reads: «estas palabras fueron con las dos señoritas que salvaron en el medio a los Españoles», to which P é r e z has added «ellas supieron de estas maldades». ED.

When these [the Spaniards] had left the island the *dadas* went there to wait for the Spaniards, and when they came there for the second time they began to fight against the Indians, who fought with bows and arrows and killed all the Spaniards. But of the Indians only *Dada Simi* died.

On the island *Uichutup* there lived *Nële Sibü* (y es el *Taimgana*) and when he saw that the Spaniards took possession of his land he said to his people: »We must take refuge down under the sea». And he thought out a secret way to make the land on which they lived sink down. And so they did this and sank all their people, up to a hundred souls. They took with them all their belongings, even their animals, down under the sea.

At *Ūkuptumma* even our *dadas* fought against the Spaniards. Here our people used to catch turtles, and when they were there the Spaniards came, but as our *dadas* believed that there existed some friendship they did not want to fight against the Spaniards, but were killed by them.

And when our *dadas* ate their morning meal worms appeared on the plates but they ignored the meaning of this. When they had finished their breakfast they went to the river to bathe and while they were bathing the Spaniards came from where they had been hiding and when they saw that the Indians had gone into the water they leaped forth against the Indians and killed them with their machetes. Only one was saved, with a great wound in his head.¹ He fled to *Nabagana* and notified the other *dadas* of what had taken place.

During the war two Indian girls were taken prisoners and carried to Spain to be shown to the king there. When the king saw the strange women he regretted what had happened and gave the order to the soldiers that if they continued to maltreat the unfortunate Indians he would punish them by doing the same thing to them that they had done to the Indians. Thus the villages got peace.

¹ One of the Indians was a *nële*, according to Pérez.

After a number of years had gone *Dada Ūigun* set off to Panama to negotiate with the vice king who was there.¹

This place (Porto Bello) was governed by the Spaniard *Tūgusaila*. He was a good ruler and he punished the white people who treated the shiftless Indians in *Ūkuptumma* badly. Sr. Oroteu[?] who lived in *Akuatual* thereafter led the others on a raid to rob the Indians of their possessions, those who came to fish for turtles».

e) *Geografía de Aidirgandi*. (GM. 31.27.28. f.):

»*Situación*: La región de *Aidirgandi* está situada muy cerca de la playa. Al Norte está *Aküasis*,² al Sur con el *Ibedi* el afluente de *Uküpa*. Al Este con el *Tapnaigal*, y al Oeste con el *Nikkeya*.

Relieve: Hay varias montañas como son: el *Sálsip*, *Ilagan*, *Nakiigal* etc.

Clima: El clima de la región de *Aidirgandi* es muy salu-dable al día y por la noche.

Hidrografía: El Río de *Aidirgandi* termina en *Ilagan*, *Nūngandi*. El curso *Sálsip*, el *Nūngandisenik* terminan en *R. Sīadi*, el *R. Tāpnādi* termina en *Nīagal*,

Costas y arrecifes: *Nikkeya*, *Taimīgal*, *Mōroгалu* [*mōro* = tortuga], *Aidirgandi* y *Ūrsuigal* y un arrecife que es *Aküasis*.

Flora y fauna: Tanto la flora como la fauna se extienden hasta el *Ibedi* y *Nabasdi*, allí se encuentran algunas especies de animales de como monos y otros y hay clases de aves, en cuanto a la flora se cultiva todas clases de plantas.

Población: La región de *Aidirgandi* tiene 43 habitantes como son: 12 hombres, 15 mujeres, 5 niños y 11 niñas.

Nombres de sus gentes: 1. *Kīlsāpin*, 2. *Simón Pedro*, 3. *Aitūmmat* [gran amigo], 4. *Dick*, 5. *Charli arabat* [Robert], 6. *Sīpu*, 7. *Sāli-idin* [Sally], *Edikinye*, *Mestūr* [= maestro].

¹ ». . . en este sitio y de allí trasladó para Puerto-Bello en este pueblo. ». Not clear whether the narrator refers to *Dada Uigun* or the «vice king» in the matter of the moving. ED.

² *sis* from *sīchī*, black. IZI.

Costas y ensenadas: Los nombres de los lugares de la costa de Oeste a Este: *Aküayá*, *Títisnac* (playa), *Yānigal* [*yānu* = chanco de tropa], *Akuana*, *Ūēpgandimur* (punta), *Ūēpgandiya* (ensenada), *Nalukinya* [= un pez], *Argupkinya*, *Cuadi*. En la orilla de la *Isla Túpac*, *Ulalmurru* (punta) donde está el pueblo, *Acuadi*, *Ūrtukmurru*, *Sāngandinac*, *Mamnāimurru*, *Kūārgüatsükun*, *Tūrgapsükun*, *Tiakubnakua*, *Tia*, *Akuasiskal*, *Ūküpsüi*, *Ōkopükak*, *Ōkopsükun*, *Akānya*, *Yātögepsüit*, *Yātögetkiālet*.

Clima: El clima de *Túpac* es saludable por [lo] general.

Población: La población de *Tupac* es 80 habitantes, hombres 22, mujeres 34, niños 14, niñas 10.

Historia de sus habitantes:

En la *Isla de Túpac* se cuenta que habitaron primero desde el año [1803] por sabios *Yātūlilel* y *Pailip* de año [1857] se trasladaron a *Caiman*. Después vinieron otros y poblaron por años y hasta 1899 se poblaron de nuevo a la isla que se construyeron 4 casas los señores que subieron a la isla son: *Inayögabalel*, *Inakāliplel*, padre Manuelito, *Inamegüaplel*, *Māntekiñe*, *Īnakīppi* estos señores vinieron de *Nābagandi*. Ellos vinieron para guardar sus fincas y la isla y cuando Panamá independizó estos señores cogieron enseguida la bandera panameña. Casi todos los habitantes son ricos y cuando construyó la escuela en Narganá estos señores mandaron sus nietos para la escuela y educaron a los señores Lonnie Davis, Ernest Green y Charles Slater. En el año 1925 también entró en la guerra para quitar la esclavitud y entonces nombraron a los señores *Inapínyape* y *Ōlopardin* que murieron en el mes de Febrero. Todos los habitantes del pueblo son de la misma familia. El dueño de la isla es el Manuelito.

GM. 31.27.21.

El *R. Cūādi* desemboca en el mar y termina en el cerro . . . y el afluente del *Nābagandi* *Sūrsayladi* [*sur* (= *sulu*) = mono]. Nombres de sus afluentes: *Tupgandi* que va a la derecha del río y termina en el cerro *Īkogandigal*, otro afluente es el

Siadi y termina en donde está el afluente de *Sātsardi*, *Kūāndi* que va a la izquierda del río. Otro afluente es el *Pōnsipūdi*, que va a la derecha termina al afluente de *Sursayladi* este río es el tamaño de su principal.

El afluente de *Pōnsipūdi* es el *Tianñārtūmma* que va a la izquierda de su principal y va muy lado del *Cuadi*. Y los demás son muy pequeños lo mismo del principal que un poco arriba del *Pōnsipūdi* está el *Ibe* y los demás son muy pequeños.

Los nombres de los habitantes del Tupac:

1. *Manuel Maria*, 2. *Mandipigiñe*, 3. *Igūatīnāidi*, 4. *Olonigligiñe*, 5. *Ōlōidigiñe*, 6. *Igūārlu*, 7. *Īgūaokdinape*, 8. *Olodigigiñe*, 9. *Pigdigigiñe*, 10. *Māñipikiñe*, 11. *Escala*, 12. *Ernest*, 13. *Mañuelito*, 14. *Māndiedigiñe*, 15. *Ōloyōpigdigigiñe*, 16. *Ōlopigiñe*, 17. *Ōlodinaidipippil*, 18. *Mānepigdi*, 19. *Sāli*, 20. *Īgūaniktināpi*, 21. *Ōloaidigiñe*.

Arrecifes: *Akuasūi*, *Akuāilet* al llegar al pueblo al lado del pueblo *Esnāsakua* [= ancla], *Akuapālat*, *Castupkua*, *Tiakua* y otros al lado del *Cūādi*.

El R. de *Nābagandi*: El Río de *Nābagandi* desemboca en el pueblo del mismo nombre y termina en el monte. . . . »

II. Organization of the Family and Community; Social Relationships.

1. Marriage and the Organization of the Family.

A Cuna boy does not propose marriage to a Cuna girl. Neither does she choose a husband for herself. This is arranged by her father in council with the older members of her family. The custom is that the girl's father goes to the father of a boy whom he knows to be industrious, who has a good canoe, and preferably some well taken care of cultivated fields. Neither the girl nor the boy is informed that plans are afoot for their marriage. If the father of the girl gets a consent to his proposal and both families have

furthermore agreed, a couple of strong men get hold of the boy and take him to the home of the bride-to-be. Then they fling him into a hammock and place the girl on him. In the villages on the San Blas coast all the way from Cartí to Tupile the young man is carried by six howling men. In the other villages within *Nēlē's* district he is carried as a prisoner between two men. In this way *Pérez* himself has been carried to his wife. The young man sits only a moment in the hammock, then gets up and goes and bathes.

The second day the father-in-law-to-be goes to look for the boy. If the boy does not wish to marry he hides himself. When the father-in-law gets hold of the boy he takes him home to his, the father-in-law's, house and puts him in the hammock with the girl. The boy sits there a little while, after which he goes to his own home.

The third day the same thing is repeated with the difference that he remains a little longer. The fourth day the same ceremony is gone through with again and the boy stays until midnight. The fifth day the father-in-law again looks for the boy and takes him to the girl. He lies the whole night with her in the hammock. Neither of them may sleep and neither may approach the other. If one should sleep he is waked up by the other. One who sleeps will not live long.

The next morning the boy goes to fetch wood and thus the marriage is completed. If he should touch the girl before he has fetched the wood he is likely to injure himself while chopping it.

In earlier times the boy had to serve a whole year as farm hand for the father-in-law before he was allowed to marry the girl. He was sent out into the forest to hunt certain animals to show that he was a good hunter and could take care of a wife and children.

Marriage is called *ōmenŕikuet* which means »to have a woman«. One also says *kāgalēget*, the meaning of which I

do not know. Amusingly enough it is also called *sūlupküne* which means »eagle eating».

It is presupposed that the girl, if she has not been married before, is a virgin. As a rule the boy has not had anything to do with girls either.

In some of the villages the whole marriage ceremony is carried out from one day to another.

Sometimes it occurs that a boy goes directly to the father of the girl he wants for his wife. This is probably a modern custom. If the father gives his consent the ceremony with the abduction must however be gone through. No one can evade this; even an older man who, for example, marries a widow and who arranges his marriage by the method of direct negotiations, must be caught and taken to his bride-to-be's home. If he starts living with her without having gone through this ceremony it is supposed to be very bad form.

Before I go further I must explain what is meant by *sāka*. It is generally one's father-in-law who is called *sāka* but if his father-in-law is alive it is the latter who is *sāka*, that is to say, the head of the family. In certain cases even one's wife's uncle or great uncle can be *sāka*, and as we shall see from the following, sometimes even a brother-in-law. The members of a large family generally live in one house all together. If a family is so large, that there is not sufficient room in one house they have two, but they keep together as one family. With this latter arrangement there is always a smaller, separate, building for the kitchen.

It is the *sāka* who divides up the work among the men in the family. He decides, for example, that one day everybody should work in a certain one's field, another day in another's field, and so on. If the *sāka* is thoroughly able-bodied and yet does not take part in the work himself he can not put in any claims for help when he needs it. All the men in a family are owners of their own fields although all major work in them is carried on cooperatively.

To go back to the young man. There are no gifts at all from his family to hers. Similarly, his relatives receive no compensation from his wife's family, but instead, they lose one unit of working power. The young man is now under his *sāka*'s jurisdiction. This is true also of an older man who marries, even if he is a chieftain. In such a case his word can have much weight in village affairs but within the home he must obey his *sāka*. Thus it is a question when one marries whether one can come into a pleasant family and not fall in with an altogether too despotic *sāka*. It happens, and not so seldom, that a young man gets along very well with his wife but can not endure her family. Among the Cuna songs there is one a man sings when he takes the medicine which will make him angry with his wife, if he, because of unpleasant family conditions, wants a divorce, but still loves his wife. Similarly there is a medicine which helps to reconcile husband and wife when they have quarreled. It is supposed to be excellent.

By marrying off his daughters a father increases the working strength of the family. It is therefore an important economic resource to have daughters. Unfortunate is the man who has only sons. He faces the possibility of being entirely alone in his old age.

A Cuna Indian in Ustúpu had had some argument with his wife's family and had gone away to the nearby village Ailigandi. There he drank water in which he had put cockroaches. This was in order to forget his wife, whom he loved. When his friends discovered this they teased him. *Nel* contended that this was no real method against love but that someone had tricked him into using this medicine.

Divorces are very usual. They are called *ome mīet* which means »leaving the woman«. One of the reasons that many Cuna Indians have signed on on foreign ships and have gone out into the world is that they have been unhappy in marriage. There are men and even women who have been married seven to nine times. The family of even a

woman tries to find a husband for her. When a man disagrees with his wife or her family he goes away. The marriage is however not dissolved. If he really wishes a divorce he carries away all his possessions, rifle, tools and so forth, which he has in his wife's house. If the wife wishes a divorce she quite simply throws her husband out with all his belongings. If a man who has been divorced from his wife regrets this and wants to come back, all the members of her family assemble, and he stands by one of the foundation poles of the house, *puara*. Her family asks why he left his wife and he answers that he knows he has behaved badly. Each one of the men then comes and takes him by the forehead and beats his head hard against the foundation pole.

If one has been married several times it is supposed to be the first wife one has to live with in the next world.

Unfaithfulness within marriage is not unusual and is an ordinary reason for divorce. If a man has been betrayed, he kills neither his wife nor her lover. P é r e z knows of no cases of »jealousy-drama». On the other hand he has told me about a Cuna Indian in Irgandí, who wanted to marry a certain girl whose father did not want him as his son-in-law. He lay in ambush for the father and killed him. The young man was later killed by the relatives of the one he had murdered.

If a woman should happen to be in love with a man who does not love her, she burns a larva of a sphinx-butterfly *ninís*. With the ashes of this mixed with red dye, *mágéba*, she paints her nose.

It happens very seldom among the Cunas that a girl has a lover before she marries. The girls marry generally as soon as they are mature. It never happens that a girl marries without having had her first menstruation. Sometimes it happens that her father delays for several years the wedding feast at which the girl's hair is cut off, and so it happens that she gets out of control. If this has led up

to her having a child her hair is cut off without any special ceremonies. She can now only be married to an older man.

Widows sometimes allow themselves one thing and another. If a widow should happen to become pregnant and it cannot be her dead husband who is the father of the child, she takes some abortive medicine.

Since the widow gives the family a chance to bring in new working strength the family guards her virtue, and she has less freedom than when her husband was alive. It is not demanded of her, if she is young, that she should remain unmarried for a long time. She can, without it seeming unconventional, marry again after some months.

Occasionally it may involve some risk to marry a widow. If a man does not wish his wife to remarry after his death, he drinks, or bathes in, water into which he has boiled cutting or stinging objects such as snakes' teeth, knife-blades, wasps, or the like. A man who marries the widow of such a man will contract some sort of internal illness. This illness is called *ürriḡāna*, or *pīlagana*. At Huala on the upper Rio Chucunaque there are several dangerous widows of this kind. The woman herself does not become ill, but she is a carrier of the illness. In order to be cured of this she must consult a medicine man. *Néle* has discovered the medicine that should be used.

There are other widows, too, that are dangerous. When, for example, a man has taken human life, the internal parts of his body undergo some sort of change and he falls ill. The illness passes on to his wife without her showing any symptoms whatever of the illness. If another man subsequently marries her, he catches the same disease as her first husband.

During the rebellion which in 1925 the Cunas instituted against the Republic of Panama, a number of Negroes were killed by the Indians. Some of these Indians have since died, and it entails a great deal of risk to marry any widow of theirs.

Not only is marriage forbidden between brothers and sisters, but also between cousins, or at least it is very infrequent. Nor may a Cuna Indian marry his niece. Formerly Cunas were not allowed to marry any of their relatives. Pérez has been unable to furnish any detailed information touching this restriction. Adopted children may marry the children in the family which has adopted them.

A very strict endogamy prevails among the Cunas. Few men marry outside the village where their mother's family lives. Only girls who have no near relatives may marry outside their own village. It may happen, on the other hand, that the whole family moves from one village to another.

The Cunas uphold most strictly their racial purity. There do exist various Cuna Indians who have married Misquito women but they all live in their wives' native land, that is to say, the Nicaraguan coast. So far as Pérez knows, in the sections where the Cunas have preserved their independence, there is not a single Cuna Indian who is married to a woman of another tribe, still less to a woman of another race. There are no children in existence who have been born of illegitimate relationships between Cuna women and men of other races. Before the rebellion of 1925 there were some children who had been born of Cuna Indian women and Panamanian Negro police, but the Indians killed them in order to preserve the racial purity. The women who were pregnant with Negro children were forced to have abortions.

The only other noteworthy example of any intermixture of foreign blood which one knows of among the Cunas originates from the beginning of the 18th century when several Frenchmen lived among them. These Frenchmen were, as I have mentioned, killed, but their children by Cuna women were allowed to live (see page 4). *Néle* is said to be a descendant of one of these Franco-Cunas.

When Cuna Indians are divorced the children stay with the mother's family. The father has, or at least had in the past, no responsibility towards them. When a wife dies the

husband moves back to his mother's home, and the children stay with the wife's family. The Cunas have the idea that the children belong to her family. This does not interfere with the fact that the children have a right to inherit from the father as well as the mother. The wife and husband on the other hand never inherit from one another. If the wife owns land and is divorced from her husband, the man has no right to this land at the wife's death, even if he has cultivated the ground. If a marriage is childless the husband's property goes to his family and the wife's to hers, with the parents having the preference over the brothers and sisters. If the children are unmarried when either of the parents dies, they live in joint possession of the property. Each child has the job of cultivating the land certain months. When one of them marries the property is divided.

An orphan is sometimes brought up by a childless couple as if he were their own. If he is a boy the man helps him, when he is old enough, to clear the land for planting. The foster parents may, during their lifetime, give him or her some of their land, but the adopted child has no inheritance rights.

It happens sometimes that a person unjustly appropriates land, especially land belonging to children who can not protect their own rights. Such injustices can be straightened out long after they have taken place.

If the *sāka* dies the large-family is divided up, the arrangement made depending very much on the family's size. Some times two or three of the family units stay together. We may take an example: In the diagram (fig. 5 A) we see given the married members of X's family.

If 1 dies, 3 becomes the head of X's family. 3's brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law may remain but may possibly build their own homes. If 4 should die and 3 remarry, 3 would move to his new family. 15 and 16 are free to remain but may possibly build their own homes. If the family is not dissolved the eldest among the men becomes the *sāka*.

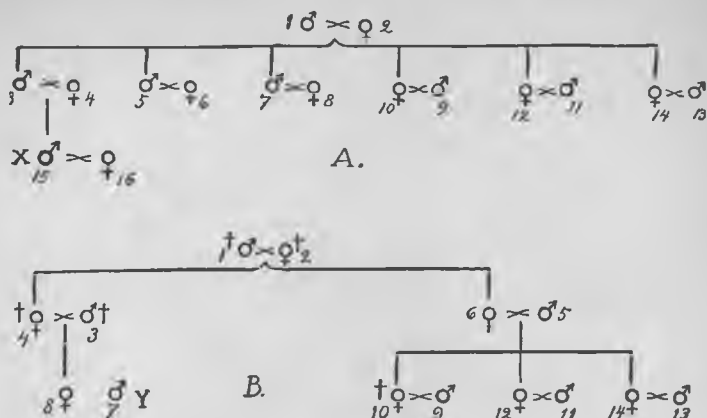


Fig. 5. Diagram showing different cases of the division of the large families at the death of the *saka*. See text pp. 35—36.

We may take another example. In figure 5 B are given the married members of Y's family (Guillermo Haya).

1, 2, 3, and 4 are dead. Y's wife (8) has been brought up by her aunt and uncle (6 and 5). In this family the uncle is the *saka*, and Y may not establish his own household before 5 is dead. If he dies the large-family is broken up, or if the family still wishes to live together, Y himself becomes the *saka*, subject to his being the oldest, otherwise the oldest among the men who are married to Y's wife's cousins.

In Narganá they have tried to do away with the large-family system, but the attempt did not turn out well. For the larger clearings in the virgin forest it is necessary for several men to work together under common leadership.

The cooperation within a large-family as a rule means a great deal. It is indeed true that each and every one owns his own fields. That is the case with women as well as men, but it is obvious that all share with each other the products of the earth and the spoils from the hunting and fishing expeditions.

Besides his nearest relatives an Indian can naturally, like anyone else, have his own friends, to whom he is not bound

by any tie of blood. Such a friendship, which may not necessarily always be so sincere, may be sealed with certain ceremonies. Two persons can enter into a bond of friendship in the following way: One party invites another into his hut and asks him to be seated. A meal consisting mainly of hens' eggs and a savoury meat dish has been prepared. The host sets before his guest a plate on which the food is served up in two portions. He then addresses the other with a string of friendly phrases, wishing him a long life and that he may make a long journey, and that upon his return he will let the speaker hear of all that he has seen and experienced on his journey. This he repeats four times. Thereupon the guest stands up and addresses a similar speech to his host, who in the meantime has sat down. He then places the dish in front of the latter, and they proceed to eat the food in this manner, that each hands to the other of the portion that is nearest to him. Both say friendly things to each other, the host beginning by wishing his guest all happiness in his domestic relations, and expressing the hope that on some future occasion he himself may have the pleasure of sitting down at a feast and drinking chicha with his visitor. The latter then expresses himself in the same vein. This is repeated four times. What is left of the repast is pressed upon the guest.

If the meal which they have eaten together has consisted of peccary, *yānu*, then they are »peccary-friends», *aiyānu*, and by this appellation they subsequently address one another. In the same way they become »tapir friends», *aimōli*, if they have eaten flesh of the tapir. If they have eaten eggs, they call each other *ainabdulu*. It is always only one main dish that the »foster-brothers» in this manner partake of together.

In a similar way a man can become friends with a woman. This has nothing whatever to do with carnal affection. Women, too, may in this way enter into a bond of friendship with each other. A person may possess any number of bond brothers or sisters.

When a Cuna Indian visits another village, he is invited to put up with a friend of this category. And if he has killed a specially fine animal of a larger kind, or been lucky in his fishing, he invites his friends of his home village to his house to eat with him, or he sends them part of his spoils.

This sort of bond-friendship cannot be entered into with a member of one's own family, nor even with a distant relative.

The work in the Cuna family is divided up between the sexes in the following way:

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	
Clearing the land	+	—	
Sowing	+	(+)	Formerly +
Harvesting	+	(+)	» +
Carrying wood	+	+	
Carrying water	—	+	
House building	+	—	
Preparing food	—	+	
Fishing	+	(—)	Seldom
Hunting	+	—	
Basket weaving	+	+	(Men and women do different kinds)
Making <i>sianāla</i> , incense burners	+	+	
Other pottery	+	+	
Canoes	+	—	
Stools and other wood work	+	—	
Weaving	+	+	
Paddling	+	+	
Spinning	(+)	+	
Medicine making	+	(+)	
Carrying loads when on the move	+	—	formerly + ¹

¹ There has been a move towards lightening this responsibility for the women.

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Laundry	—	+
Sewing	+	+
Cutting out <i>molas</i> (women's garments)	+	+

It is worthy of note that basket weaving, ceramics, spinning, and weaving are carried on by men as well as women among the Cunas in spite of the fact that ceramics especially is not often men's work.

Much work is done by the two sexes together. Early in the mornings the Indians drink a little cocoa or nowadays sometimes coffee, after which the men likely go out and fish. The main meal is eaten when the fishermen come home. If they have gotten a big catch they send some of it to other families. As a rule they do not keep fish from one day to another unless they are to be smoked and used as provisions when the Indians go out to work in the fields or go hunting. The climate, which makes impossible the keeping of fish and meat any considerable length of time, forces the Indians into a sort of communism.

The Indians usually go hunting alone. The evening before, one is supposed to tell where one is planning to go so that the family will be able to look for the hunter in case of an accident. In this connection one uses a great deal of circumlocution, so that the animals shall not be informed of the plans. The most important spoils of the hunt are peccaries. When anyone has found the tracks of these animals he does not continue with the hunt on his own account, but goes home to the village and tells what he has seen, whereupon a great number of Indians gather for a common hunt.

Even some of the handwork is done cooperatively. If an Indian for instance needs several stools to sit on, he gives a *chicha* party and those invited help with the carving out of the stools.

The Cuna system of marriage makes polygamy difficult. A man can not easily move in with two families. There are rare cases of a person's being married to two sisters. There is such a marriage in the village of Ustúpu. In the village of Narganá there was a man who was married to two women living in different houses. This unusual marriage came about in this manner: the man was first married to the one, was divorced from her, and married to the second. When the first wife wanted him back, he again took up marital relations with her without leaving the other.

I have mentioned something about the rights of ownership of land and about inheritance. We should remember that there were formerly only two kinds of land, that which had private owners and that which was »no man's land«. To this has been added in recent times such land as is cultivated cooperatively by the men in a village and which is the property of the village. All land which is covered with coconut palms nowadays has owners. In earlier times there were also coconut plantations which belonged to God, where everybody could reap the harvest. According to the Jesuit Gassó it was not proper to climb up these palms but one could gather the coconuts which fell to the ground.

One can obtain the right of possession for a piece of land by cultivating a formerly uncultivated section. This then becomes the property of the first man who cultivated it, and of his heirs. Pérez' father has for example near Tigre a section now grown up in woods. It was Pérez' grandfather who cleared this tract. No one can take possession of it. On the other hand another person may borrow it in order to grow corn and bananas but not trees such as cocoa-trees. The conception of leasing is unknown.

That a person can retain the right of ownership for a piece of land which he has cleared, even after he has deserted it, and the fields have grown up again, Pérez considers to

be a rather recent arrangement. Formerly no one owned any land other than that which he cultivated, and he owned it only as long as he worked it. It is quite a recent custom for some of the Indians to mark off a section lying near their own acres, by means of paths, with a view to taking it over in the future.

Land may even change ownership by means of purchase. Formerly cultivated, but now deserted, land sells at around three dollars an acre. A tract containing about three hundred abundantly producing coconut palms sells at around seventy dollars. Such purchases have been made naturally only in recent times.

Fishing and hunting are open to everybody, everywhere, with the exception, in certain cases, of the catching of turtles.

A person may own land without having the right to cultivate the same. When the Cuna Indians migrated more generally to the coast they took possession of the islands. Pérez has such an island where he and his brothers and sisters have the right to catch the turtles which go up on land to lay their eggs; but where other Indians have done the clearing and have planted coconut palms, it is they who are the owners, not Pérez. The island belongs to Pérez and his brothers and sisters, but they have, so to speak, forfeited their right to cultivate it since it has been cleared by another person.

One can not speak of poverty and riches among the Cunas, since there is so much cooperation among them, but there does exist, however, a not inconsiderable difference in the extent of land owned by different people as appears in the following economic statistics compiled in 1929 by the Cuna Indian, Guillermo Haya, from Isla de Tupac and from Nabagandi. The statistics do not indicate any difference in the property of husband and wife, which has been combined and treated as one unit.

Agricultural Statistics compiled by Guillermo Haya in 1929.

Owner	Fields under cultivation (manus)	Fields of coconut palms	Number of coconut palms	Aguacate trees	Maney trees	Cacao fields	Number of cacao trees	Mango trees	Marilla trees
<i>Isla de Tupac. (No. of the original document, GM. 31.27.8).</i>									
Manuel Maria	30	12	4950	5	—	3	400	12	4
Īgūaūēktinappe	16	2	500	10	5	3	300	12	12
Hernees Green	7	6	1360	6	—	2	100	10	—
Olotigikinya	6	7	840	7	3	1	60	10	4
Maniwīktikinya	7	7	3240	7	5	3	256	1	5
Chiāle (Charli?)	12	6	1860	5	4	3	480	12	2
Īgūatinakti	10	3	540	2	2	2	280	2	1
Mantipekinya	14	5	660	7	3	2	300	60	7
Oloyōbiktikinya	100	8	2900	12	2	2	500	10	8
Īgūayaktikinya	200	12	4920	40	4	5	500	10	40
Olonīkilikinya	11	8	730	10	2	1	100	4	6
Olīdikinye	9	6	760	7	—	1	40	8	8
Manuelito	24	12	4800	4	4	3	200	4	2
Ōlopārdin	5	5	540	5	2	2	300	5	6
Ōloāpikinye	10	6	1450	12	4	3	130	10	20
Mantiakinye	14	10	3900	15	6	3	400	40	24
Ōlopiṭtekinye	10	3	420	5	—	—	—	4	2
<i>Nabagandi. (No. of the original document, GM. 31.27.9).</i>									
Īguaebikinye	25	7	1800	100	5	1	30	5	18
Ōlomaktikinye	15	9	2540	30	3	4	290	10	10
Īnasūpīlikinye	25	4	280	4	—	5	500	4	10
Ōlopiṭdikinye	12	7	298	6	2	2	200	3	2
Olotīktinappi	20	6	400	—	—	1	400	—	—
Mantiakinappi	25	6	2120	1	—	3	200	5	3
Mantiakpinappi	10	6	720	4	—	1	20	3	—
Ōlonāsīpīlel	11	5	800	4	—	2	220	6	4
Tīdānūppi	14	5	1400	12	1	1	120	12	4
Ōloedikinye	22	13	3020	7	4	1	70	1	4
Pāyōdekinye	18	12	1180	1	—	1	—	10	1
Chali	—	3	580	10	—	1	120	1	—
Aisāpin	25	15	4060	3	1	3	120	1	3
Olotwīenikinye	5	4	1000	4	—	—	—	2	3
Kīlu	—	10	2100	—	—	—	—	—	—
Frank	12	11	5500	10	—	2	90	30	12
Ōlopiṭelikinye	4	4	360	—	10	2	400	4	15

Manuel Maria was the richest man in Tupac. I visited this Indian, who is now dead, in 1927, and his home gave the impression that he was well off, judging by the fact that one saw a great many clothes, tools, rifles and so forth. Such an Indian as Olopardin who has comparatively small fields, is in need and sickly. Some of the other Indians whose land is less extensive, are only youths. The richest person in Ustúpu is Maninayndigiña. His riches lie in coconut palms.

The administration of justice within the Cuna community is in the hands of not the state but the family. I have already recounted one murder. The murderer was killed by a member of the murdered man's family and thus the case was considered closed. The principle of justice is here an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. When a person has wounded another he must pay a fine. The family of the injured man decides the amount. The chief does not interfere in the affair. The other inhabitants of the village help the offended family, not officially at a gathering at the meeting house, but through general public opinion. Thefts are rather rare. If anyone has stolen anything, something of corresponding value is taken from the thief. Pérez has never heard of a case of suicide among the Cunas.

We have seen that the Cuna community consists of many large-families whose chief is a *sāka*. The members of such a family are all related on the mother's side. This must contribute towards giving the woman a very strong position within the Cuna community. It is the organization of this community which I shall treat in the next section.

2. Organization of the Community.

In order to give an idea of how the Cuna community is organized I shall explain what chieftains and others in official positions there are in the village of Ustúpu.

First we have *Néle*, who is *sailatūmadi*, that is to say, highest chief of one of the two Cuna parties. *Néle* was elected High Chief and successor to Colman in 1927 by the chiefs in all the villages affiliated with his party. Until then he had been chief of the greater part of the Indians in Ustúpu. I say for the greater part since there are in Ustúpu some eighty Indians who are followers of Inapáquina and who do not acknowledge *Néle* as their High Chief or as their village chief. The chief of these Indians, who furthermore have an organization similar to *Néle's* party, is Yaigun. He has formerly been chief of all of Ustúpu.¹

Néle in Ustúpu is, to judge by all appearances, a man of character. I have already told about the rôle he played in the war for independence in 1925. Contrary to the majority of other Cuna chieftains, he has always refused to receive any title or uniform from the Panamanians. A Cuna Indian, Charlie Aspinwall, has had a considerable influence upon *Néle*. Aspinwall, who has now been dead many years, had spent much time in the United States. He always urged *Néle* not to accept subsidies from the Panama government, not to accept gifts if he wished to preserve his independence. In 1931 *Néle*, accompanied by some twenty Indians, visited Panama to negotiate with the government. When this government wanted to pay *Néle's* hotel bill, *Néle* explained that he would take care of that himself.² When the former High Chief, together with Aspinwall, was on the visit in Panama, Colman requested fifty pesos of the President. Aspinwall was so angry over this lack of pride that he refused to accompany him further.

¹ Cf. Wassén, 1938, p. 24 et seq. ED.

² According to the information I received during my visit to the Cunas in 1935 this would no longer hold true. *Néle* as well as other chieftains among the Cunas receives some sort of support from Panama. ED.

Néle lives by his own efforts. He as well as all the other officials of the village, except schoolteachers, are entirely without pay.

The nearest translation for *néle* is Seer, and the word is used even with a connotation of holiness. It is thus more like a title. *Néle's* name I do not know. Pérez has never wished to tell me what he is called. I have written a special chapter about *Néle* in Ustúpu in his capacity as Seer [See pages 80—89]. Here I will only point out that it is merely a coincidence when a chieftainship is held by a person who is a Seer. This is borne out by the fact that *Néle* in Ustúpu, besides having great knowledge in the spiritual field, is a man with strong political influence and tremendous efficiency, because of which he was chosen chief.

It is very difficult to form an opinion of the lawful extent of a high chief's powers, since I do not know to what degree his power depends on the respect his own personality inspires. In Anachucuna, which belongs to Inapaguia, when in 1927 I wanted to buy some objects from the Cuna Indians living there, nobody would sell me anything as they did not have any authorization from their High Chief. This shows that the High Chief there has great power. The same thing would have happened in Ustúpu if *Néle* had refused to grant a similar request.

Néle represents his party officially, as for instance at the negotiations with the Panama government. Both as High Chief and as chief for the village he gives advice. He constantly sends committees to the other villages and they present *Néle's* advice at the council houses. If a chief in such a village refuses to obey *Néle* he cannot do anything to force the chief to carry out his order. The chief does not prosecute the crimes which are committed. The prosecution of crimes is not the village's affair but that of the family concerned.

N é l e is, as I have said, High Chief for a number of villages, as well as the first chief over the greater part of the village of Ustúpu. To the latter office he has been elected by all the men in the village. In the same way are elected also the second chief *sailaābirrginedi*, and the third chief *sailapipi*. At the election there is generally no opposing candidate for the reason that actually no one wants to be chief. Such a position carries with it a great many obligations which take time from the daily work. A person who has not several sons-in-law to help him with the work, cannot take over such a task. The chiefs are therefore always older men. We can most accurately compare the position of the chiefs among the Cunas with the unpaid honorary official positions in our communities, even though these positions among us are, because of our vanity, more sought after. The same thing applies for all the other official positions among these Indians. The officials other than chiefs have, however, as a rule, less weighty duties.

The second chief, *sailaābirrginedi*, is in Ustúpu Olomayli. He takes over *N é l e*'s position when the latter is away but acts exclusively in the capacity of village chief. The third chief, *sailapipi*, is Olopiginape. These were chiefs in 1927 when I visited Ustúpu, and when *N é l e* made an official visit onboard my »koster« boat »Olga«, they accompanied him.

The chiefs are elected for their lifetime but may at any time be impeached. Sometimes they themselves tire of the positions. Colman, who was High Chief before *N é l e*, resigned the chieftainship because of senility.

Now I shall take up the other officials, beginning with the *ārgārgāna*, or speakers, *sunmaket*, as they were formerly called. There are eight or ten of them. When the chief makes a speech in the council house, since he generally speaks in figurative language they must explain what he says to the others. When a delegation, *onmaket*, is sent from one village to another, it may consist, for example, of one

chief and two or three *ārgārgāna*. They arbitrate in the disputes generally arising among the families regarding the boundaries between fields. They occupy themselves also with other local questions in the village, though always according to the chief's orders.

The *ārgārgāna* are elected by the men. It is not merely a matter of election since the position of *ārgār* entails a great deal of work. Those who are elected but do not want the position, resign. *Argārgāna* are as a rule younger men.

Thus we come to the *sūarribgāna*. There are usually in Ustupu around forty of them and they are elected at a gathering in the council house. They carry sticks as tokens of their dignity. They are responsible for order in the villages. When anyone has done anything wrong he is taken by them to the chief. When a delegation comes from another village these gentlemen must receive it at the landing place. They take care of the visitors' canoes, see to the food for them, and are their guides. They are members of the delegations sent to other villages. Furthermore they see to it that at meetings those present listen properly to what the chief has to say. As a rule the *sūarribgāna* are younger men.

In addition we have the *nainusailagāna*. There are usually about ten of them and they are chosen in the same way as the above. They give advice to the people when spring comes and it is time to clear the land. They see to it that everybody works. When it is a question of fields which belong to the whole village it is the *nainusailagāna* who supervise these properties and divide up the work on them.

Furthermore we have the *ūsailagāna*, of which there are two. When a person sees that his canoe is out of order he reports this to the *ūsailagāna*, then he goes off to the forest in order to fell the tree of which he will make his new canoe. If there is much else to do, it can happen that the *ūsailagāna* say to him: »Now we cannot work on your canoe.» If he finds out that he can get help he begins with his family to hollow out his canoe. When it is half finished he goes again

to the *ūrsailagāna*, and they give notice of this in the village, and decide on a day when everyone together will go to the forest to fetch the canoe.

The tree which is suitable for canoes one has to look for far inland, and therefore it is necessary to have many people to transport the canoe out to the river.

The best material for canoes is *pīnuūāla*, a kind of cedar; *īkchiūāla*, a rough sort of cedar; *nūbnuūāla*, a prickly type of tree having white wood; and *ūrūāla*, cedar. The *ūrsailagāna* are responsible for the canoes' being satisfactory.

The men in the village of Ustúpu have made and presented to *Néle* and *Pérez* the canoes they now have.

We have in addition, the *negsailagāna*. Of these there are from two to four. When a person sees that his house is old and dilapidated he turns to the chief, who calls on the *nēgsailagāna*. The chief tells them that a person has reported to him that his house needed repairing. The next day the *nēgsailagāna* look up that person and find out more about the thing. Later on they explain at a meeting in the council house that the people must gather together material for a new house and he tells each and every one what he must fetch from the forest. When the house is under way the *nēgsailagāna* supervise the work to insure its being well done and when the house is finished it is turned over to the person in question as his own property.

We have also the *ígarsailagāna*, of which there are eight to ten. It is they who have the supervision of the paths and roads. For example when the weeds have grown up too high they report this to the chief and at a meeting the work of clearing the roads is assigned to some of the men. This is carried out under the direction of the *ígarsailagāna*.

A person cannot afford to shirk these common tasks, for the simple reason that he himself will one day need help, for example in transporting a canoe to the river, and if he has been uncooperative he may have to stand there without any possibility of getting his canoe to the water. Thus one

must be careful not to go against the general public opinion. He who in a little community becomes disliked for lacking a spirit of cooperation has an unindurable position.

We have still other officials in the Cuna community, such as the two *innasaila*. They have the task of taking care of the preparations for feasts. When a girl reaches puberty her father informs the *innasaila* that now they may begin their work. They then turn over to the father, at the village's expense, a sack containing sugar, and they inform the village that each and every one must go and fetch ten to fifteen pieces of sugar-cane, and that they are to go out and fish so that there will be an abundance of food for the feast. They further inform the people that wood and food products must be brought from the mainland.

It is an important function which the *innasōbedi* and his pupils fulfill. It is he who directs the chicha brewing and mixes and tastes the chicha to see that it has the right flavor. *Néle* has been an *innasōbedi*. At present the position is held by *Olopiginappe*.

It is a quite recently developed office which the *sāki-sailagāna* fill. It is these who have the supervision over the expensive turtle nets which belong to the village. *Ustúpu*'s community treasury is managed now by *Olodebinappe*.

Besides all these officials who have their special tasks there are three persons who give advice to the others. For this the wisest men are generally chosen. The three advisers in *Ustúpu* are now *Olodebiligiña*, *Innapīgilippe* and *Olodebinappe*. They are appointed by the village chief. Among them *Olodebiligiña* is famous as a speaker. He was the leader of the war for independence in 1925. Such advisers are found only in *Ustúpu* and it is supposed to be a modern institution.

Thus we see that there are many official positions in the Cuna community. Nothing prevents one person from holding several of them.

The school in Ustúpu is a quite recently established institution. It was founded in 1930 and is now under the direction of the Cuna Indians, Samuel Morris and Frank Wilbur. They have around a hundred pupils, all boys. There they learn reading, writing and arithmetic as well as some geography and history, Spanish and English. Religious instruction is not included. The school teachers are paid for their work as they have no time to fish and carry on agriculture. They are paid by means of small fees collected from each pupil. The village as such also contributes to the school. Samuel Morris has gotten his training in a school in Panama; Frank Wilbur has been in a mission school in North America. In Ustúpu there is even instruction in carpentry, which is under the direction of Ignacio Gonzales and Anibal Iglesias, who received their education in Panama in «La Escuela de Artes y Oficios». Even the teachers of carpentry have a salary which is paid by the village.

It is the schools as well as several other necessarily cooperative projects which have forced the villages to arrange some communal resources. This is supposed to be an altogether recent idea and is unknown outside the villages which are under *Néle's* direction. Formerly even in these villages all land was either private property or «no man's land». The Indians in Ustúpu, as well as other villages which belong to the same party, have common fields. These lie farther away from the village than the private properties. At the time of the clearing of the land and the harvest of the common fields all the men of the village participate. A number of men in due turn, under the leadership of the above-mentioned *nainusailagāna*, take care of the crops. Here coffee, aguacates, corn, bananas, ñames, mandioc, cocoa and so forth are grown and these products are sold mainly within the villages, and to some extent even in Colon.

In Ustúpu the Cunas have on a little island a large chicken

farm which belongs to the village. The care of this is taken over by the members of the village, in turn. Even Pérez and, in fact, *Néle*, have done their service on the chicken farm. As I have mentioned even the large expensive turtle nets belong to the villages' common property. The turtles which are caught in these nets belong to the village. Those which are harpooned are private property. In 1927 there were caught in Ustúpu over a thousand turtles, with a value of between three and five thousand dollars.

In Ustúpu there are four small stores which are owned by the village. ~~These~~ ^{those} who run them are called *ibyasaila*, and they serve in turn as salesmen. For this they receive remuneration. Every day the collector goes around and gathers up the earnings. Some of the young people who have gone to school in Panama take care of the bookkeeping. The articles on sale are bought in Colon by a delegation or from the traders who with their ships cover the San Blas coast. The most important articles are salt, cloth, kerosene, sugar, tools, pipe-tobacco, cord, gunpowder and birdshot, fish-hooks and so forth. In Ailigandi the Indians have three stores and there are similar ones in the other villages. In the villages which follow *Néle* there is no store with a private owner. The earnings from the stores go to the villages' common treasury.

The purchasers pay partly in dollars and partly in coconuts and such products. Many of the customers are the villages' own inhabitants. Often Indians come even from Huala in order to do business in Ustúpu. They bring red dye, *māgeba*, rope for hammocks, *kassbak*, cocoa and black wax, *mātu*. Three clumps of *māgeba* the size of an egg come to five cents, about 4 fathoms of rope about the same, a clump of wax the size of a man's hand costs 10 cents, and an *armu* of cocoa, 40 cents. An *armu* is a cubic measure corresponding to about 4 pounds of cocoa beans. The Indians in Huala even use the roots of Raicilla *inasili*, which is supposedly the same as *Ipecacuanha*, in their trading trans-

actions. It costs two dollars a pound. Placing a money value on articles is naturally a recent custom and such a value is perhaps not always adhered to when articles are exchanged by bartering. Much direct trading is carried on even between the visiting Huala Indians and the inhabitants of the village of Ustúpu. According to Pérez the latter give the former rather many gifts. When the Indians from Huala go to Inapaquíña's village, Sasardi, there is a certain competition in the selling of their articles. There is no one market where the Indians come together from different villages for trading.

The existence of stores depends upon the Indians' being able to sell their products to the white people. Buyers come from Colon, mainly sent out by the two business firms, Colon Import, and Compañía Alianza. The most important articles which these firms deal in are coconuts, tortoiseshell and cocoa beans. Of less importance are tagua, raicilla, aguacates, bananas and oranges. The last named fruits, as well as several others, could be sold more extensively if the Indians did not have the superstition that the trees would cease to bear if they sold these kinds. The buyers pay partly in articles and partly in dollars. The Indians at Rio Bayano take bananas to Panama City to sell them.

The common treasury is used to pay for not only the school instruction but also for the furniture and lamps in the council house, gramophones, typewriters and so forth. In Ailigandi, which is considered the capital, although the High Chief lives in Ustúpu, they have built a great council house called *Ibeorgun Nēga*, the furnishing of which has been paid for partly by the combined villages. The Cunas have gone so far as to give contributions for scientific research out of their common funds. Pérez was sent in 1925, together with some other Indians, at the instigation of *Néle* and at the expense of the village of Ustúpu, to Cartagena in order to look up in the libraries there books and manuscripts treating the Cunas' history. The writings they

were seeking Pérez found instead in Gothenburg and he has with great zeal copied the most of them with a view to being able to share with his countrymen the result of his work.

All the villages' common affairs are handled in the council house. For business which mutually concerns the villages the people meet as a rule in Ailigandi's council house, *Ibeor-gun Nēga*, but they may also meet in another village. There are no definite days for these meetings. A gathering in a village in which only the inhabitants of that village participate, is opened by the first chief who sings what he wishes to say. The second and third chief do not speak. Afterwards the oldest of the *ārgārgāna* speaks, after which he gives the floor to the second *ārgār* and so on to the other Indians. Finally the three advisers speak. It is only the first chief who sings. As the second chief may not express himself, *Olo mayli*, who is the second chief in *Ustupu* and who loves to talk, has contemplated resigning from his position. A meeting begins as a rule around 9 A. M. and adjourns around noon. In a meeting in *Ustupu* *Nēle* is apt to narrate stories about the tribe's history and to tell legends.¹ No refreshments of any kind are served in the council house.

At a meeting for the combined villages, first the High Chief speaks, in a singing manner, after which he gives the floor to the most outstanding of the chiefs present. He then gives the floor to another chief, and so on. Afterwards the chiefs give the floor to the other Indians. Only the chiefs sing their speeches. When the meeting is interrupted for food the visitors are taken in groups by the *sūarribgāna* to the different houses of the village where they are treated to refreshments. They naturally go in single file with a *sūarrib* first, then one of the *ārgārgāna*, then the chiefs, and finally the rank and file. If Pérez goes with *Nēle* as

¹ The interruptions for story telling are in order to refresh the listeners for the serious discussions. ED.

his secretary, he always goes first, with *Néle* following. In the council house they are very careful about the placing of the people. The chiefs are always given the places of honor.

Special meetings are held for the women. In these the married women and those who are of marriageable age take part. Even young girls may be present but do not take part in the discussions. The men are represented by the chief of the village, a couple of *ārgārgāna* and two *sūarribgāna*. The chief sings about how the women should take care of their homes, how they should wash, receive guests and so on. An *ārgār* gives the floor to the women who wish to speak.

When the chief speaks there are certain persons who see to it that everybody is quiet and that nobody sleeps. This is true at all gatherings.

It is difficult to form an opinion regarding the tie which joins a number of Cuna villages to form a small state. *Néle* is, as I have mentioned chief of the larger Cuna party. His power, everything considered, is dependent upon his own personality and is scarcely fixed by any rules. Besides the High Chief there is no one person who can be considered a representative for all the Indians affiliated with *Néle's* party. If there were, it would in such case be *Pérez*, who is *Néle's* secretary and, as such, countersigns all papers which are sent out from *Néle*.

In the villages affiliated with *Néle* the chiefs are elected by the men of these villages. When the village has had an election a delegation goes to *Néle* in order to have the results confirmed. Up to now he has always given his confirmation but he has the power of veto. From one village a man once came to *Néle* with the request that he, *Néle*, should appoint a chief, but *Néle* explained that that was for them to choose. This, however, is a newer way of doing things. *Colman*, *Néle's* predecessor as High Chief, appointed the chiefs in the other villages, and *Inapaquín* still does this. The chiefs in *Arquia* do likewise.

*Appendix to the foregoing section.*¹

The Cunas distinguish between *sābdur machi*, which does not produce fruit, and *sābdur*, which does. They believe that among orange seeds there are found both masculine and feminine varieties. The masculine ones are longer.

One chooses from the corn, kernels of the same color. One also tries to find the largest seeds. Different colored corn is grown in different fields. At the time of the sowing *sābdur* is mixed in with the corn in order to insure a good harvest. The corn must lie in water two days before it is sown so that it will take root more easily. Among the corn is sown a plant which is used as fish poison.²

There is a scarcity of land suitable for cultivation of corn on the San Blas coast, that is to say, land which lies near the villages. It is not all land that is suitable for corn and where one has raised this crop the land must be allowed to rest for three years. Sometimes the tender corn plants are ruined by earth-worms. *Nasua* is also a troublesome corn thief. On the other hand, it seems that apes do not do any damage to this crop.

The Indians do not want to have their cultivated tracts so far away that they have to remain over night there.

Ears of corn which have grown together are not eaten by the women.

In the trees from which much fruit falls the Indians build themselves hunting cabins, from which they can kill the animals when they come to feed on the fruit under the trees.

During hunts in the forest the men go naked down to the waist. When P é r e z had been using shoes every day for some time he found it difficult to go barefooted in the woods. The Indians who are accustomed to it can run cross-country anywhere without any ill effects. Wooden

¹ From scattered notes on the material culture. A special section treating this was planned but never written out by Nordenskiöld. ED.

² Barbasco, *Tephrosia toxicaria*, (?). ED.

sandals are used among the Cunas when they gather the fruit from the *nālup*, a prickly palm, as among the Chocós.

In order to catch tapirs one digs near the corn fields deep pitfalls with a pointed stake in the middle. These are covered over well with leaves.

Pérez' grandfather was the first to burn pine wood (tamarack?) in the fields as a protection against chanchos (hogs) and other animals. Such wood is sometimes found among the things washed up on the San Blas coast. As this idea has proved to be excellent it has been taken up by other Indians.

The foundation poles of a house can be very old. In Narganá there are some which are from Pérez' great grandfather's house. The roof must be renewed about every fifteen years. In the stretch from Cartí to Tupile they use for this the leaves of the palm *uërruk*, and from Tupile to Urabá, *soso*. The roofing lasts not more than about eight years. In Arquia they use platanillo, *tágarr*.

3. Feasts.

With appendix: *Description of the Objects Used at the Feasts.*

This chapter Nordenskiöld never had time to put into shape, for which reason what follows here must be fragmentary. In addition to the original documents on feasts published here, see Section B II with the descriptions of feasts given there together with drawings and texts (pp. 238—256). Among the texts made by Pérez regarding the Cuna collections in the Gothenburg Museum there is considerable information on the use of the feast-objects. This information has been added at the end of this section where the various objects are also illustrated. ED.

They no longer hold feasts or more involved ceremonies in connection with the birth of boys, their arrival at puberty, and such things. On the other hand they have feasts in connection with boring through the partition in the nose and the lobes of the ears of the little girls, and later they

have two feasts, when the girls reach marriageable age. It is *Ibeorgun* who has taught the Cunas how they should celebrate these feasts. The first feast for a girl is *morrsurba*, when the nose is bored. The first of the menstruation feasts when the girl's hair is cut to half length around her head, is called *innamutikit*; the second menstruation feast, when the hair is cut entirely off, is called *innasuit* or *innakobet*.

The feast when a little girl has her nose bored and her ears stuck is called *morrsurba*. P é r e z' daughter, S i p p o r (White), was born the 25th of July, 1925, and this feast was held the 21st of August.¹ They had collected for the feast a quantity of material for baskets, pieces of wood, and so forth. The feast began with the guests setting to work to make toys and other things for the girl.

P é r e z has described in more detail such a feast which he took part in at Arquia. The girl whose nose was to be bored was about one year old, thus older than the child usually is at the celebration of this feast. They had made out of cloth an enclosure in the hut. The feast began at 2 o'clock in the morning. Those who were going to do the boring were then within the enclosure or *sŭrba*. There were five of them, a leader and four assistants. They had prepared large jars containing chicha and bowls containing meat. The father of the child sat in the middle of the house and invited those present to have meat and chicha. The girl was sleeping, not within the *sŭrba*, but outside. During the progress of the feast her nose was bored. Since she did not wake up from this treatment it is likely that they had given her some drug. The hole in the partition in the nose was made with a darning needle and then through it was run a thread of cotton, which was tied together into a ring. After about a year this thread was replaced by a gold ring. All the women without exception within *N é l e's* district

¹ This child died during P é r e z' return journey from Gothenburg to San Blas in the autumn of 1931. ED.

have gold rings in the nose.¹ The small girls wear rings almost as fine as a thread, the older ones have larger and heavier ones.²

Cuna Description of the First and Second Menstruation Feasts.

The typewritten original is catalogued *GM.31.27.24.* and carries the legend »The Indian Custom (the feast)«. The description has been made by Abelardo Galindo from the dictation of Iguatiogiña. The latter lives in Ailigandi and is himself a *kantule*; the former was born in Narganá and has lived since his marriage in Cartí. Iguatiogiña, in the introduction, counts up eight *kantules* of which he is the last and whose traditions and songs are preserved from generation to generation. The text is published without change from the original English except for certain corrections inserted by Pérez. ED.

G. M. 31.27.24.

(P. 1) »Before in olden time the *Cāmib* was living in the river of *Yoo* [= *Yeye*]. So this man when he reached at *Yoo* river and then he began to teach his own people about the history of *Camib*. The first man was learned this history from *Camib* his named [*Tāsie*], second man [*Köse*], third [*Uñpe*], fourth *Nāsi*, fifth *Inakiapalel*, sixth Jim, seventh [*Igüatāknakilel*], eight [*Igüatiokiña*]. So the first man *Camib* was put eight generations.³

Now I am going to tell you how we do and how we make out our feast or holiday. You see we called first [*morrsürba*], this is when a woman get a baby and we make out a feast for

¹ This statement should be to some extent modified from what I myself had the opportunity to observe in 1935. ED.

² As late as Wafer's time the Cuna men wore gold decorations in the nose the shape of half moons. Just when this custom was completely done away with I do not know. It is never mentioned in their traditional stories. It is said of *Ibeorgun* that he exhorted the Cunas to place rings in the noses of the women, but nothing is said to the effect that the men should wear anything similar.

³ According to Pérez, *Camib* lived before *Ibeorgun*. The people mentioned here are the last who preserved this tradition.

a baby, and we took juice of ripen planted¹ for to drink, only a day we make happy for him and we danced.

But the man didn't drink for a child, they pay or to give something nice.² And after that the girl was growing big and then a girl was a lady. When she was a lady and then we going to find a leaf for to make [*sūrba*]. The girl was going in it, she stays four days in *sūrba* and then a man find a [*sābdur*] The *sābdur* is a tree and we took a fruit and then we washed all the girl body for to make black skin. So this is the first way how Camib do his holiday. And after that we going to find all the kind of foods for to eat in a feast. When we enough our food and then we find every one bananas for to make ripen, when all ripen and that we put in the fire and we took only a juice of bananas and we put in the jugs. When in two days ago and we put a sugar cane; and also we find a food before our feast. When in the days of drink we let know all of our people and we saying the our holiday was coming tomorrow about 12 o'clock and let in come every one to the feast for to make happy rejoice and dance for the girl. When they all come to the feast house and we drink first water to wash mouth and after we start to drink and named eight man; so this men have each eight big cups, and they goes where the jugs are in here there are bananas juice, when they all filled his cups and carry to the *Camib* or *Cantul*³ when they drink every one stand and give him salute to each man, the second man also go forth to drink and gave same men and salute also. When they all passed drink the first man and every one drink more than two hundred men was drinking. Four times they drink over and over. When they passed this four times we put a big cloth in the midst of the house; the young lady are beside her mother and another side her aunt.

¹ Ripe bananas.

² Those who are not present must send a gift to the child.

³ They also call a *kantule camib*, as *Camib* was the first who knew this

Her aunt have a cup in his hand there was a water in it, and her mother have a cup, also in it there are a chicha. So the girl father comes to drink water and after chicha; after that his folks comes to drink too. And after every one to drink. When these men was passed all and then after women comes also. When they all passed the men and women and then they comes out in the street where the sea shore. And all big men have a flute in his hand¹ and his golden hand stick.² When they reached at sea shore they all bathed and then come again to the house of feast and the *camib* was begin to sing about the dance. And the men was dancing around where the *camib* or *cantul* was singing and also women, but some don't drink, they are watching and seeing where they are dancing, because they are glad to see them, and we some drink hard, all the day where are dancing until night, you see what we do our feast in here, so you see you are the same, when in your holiday you are all happy and rejoice. Why we do not want the Spanish police to spoil our good ways, because gods gave me this holiday too. All big nations have a great time, so the Indians are the same.

(P. 2) When a month ago before feast passed and then comes a big feast, this time is more happy than the small time.

Innasuit, the second menstruation feast (see drawings figs. 6—9).

When we start to make a feast, we find first all the kinds of foods. When we have sufficient our food and then the time of chichas comes. And then we put planted for to make ripen, when they all ripen and we put in a big pot for to boil and then we took only juice of planted.

The juice of planted we put in jugs when in two days ago we tasted a little for to know when is the day of drink.

¹ Here is meant several different kinds of flutes. See fig. 10.

² The *kantules* and chiefs have sticks with gold heads and gold rings in the middle.

When the day of drink and then the owners of a girl let knows *Camib* or *Cantul*, to morrow about 12 o'clock our happy time comes so the girl of a father are knowing all the big men he has a golden stick in his hand. And then Cantul comes and his secretaries, another we called [*kānsüet*] and [*tisēt*]. You see *tisēt* are two men another [*śīanal-tāket*]. When they find those men and then find another four men do carry the chichas cup where the big men are; after he find another who will make head of a hammock, after two men come again who make [*nāsʔs*]¹. You see Cantul have many men for to aid after. And after he called two women, these are a girl cutting hair. When they all mentioned those people and comes his wife too. When the time at 12 o'clock and his dwellers of a chicha called all the people, for to comes at the Cantul house, first go every one to Cantul because Cantul is the head of all. And then they goes where the house are going to smoke. They not go to the house of a feast; when they all get the smoke house,² each of them took his seats and also women. But the girl of a father brought long smoke to give at Cansuet and [*tisēt*]. They gave smoke at Cantul nose, when they not give smoke they die soon. So the aid of Cantul give him smoke; and also they paint at the nose, this paint we called Saptul.

The owners of a chicha are calling to Cantul, let us go to the feast house and he called over and over until the times comes, when they are hungered they gave him a drink and also they eat food too. They eat wild pig, wild turkey, tarphoon, all the good meat.

At 6 o'clock the Cantul said, my time are finish to stay in here, so they all goes to the river for to bathe. When they goes to the river they have a light in his hand it is not a pure light, but we called *ācha*³ or *kūinūk*. His big men as Cantul, Cansuet and [*Tisēt*] and each of them have a flute

¹ Gourd rattles.

² They go first to one house to smoke, then to the feast house.

³ *achakuala*, torch made of wild bee wax.

in his hand all the kind of a music have too when they all come and in the street they begin to start to play music when they all bathe and then comes to the house of a feast, and they took each seat again; because they have a own seat.¹ It is a night time so every people comes at the feast more than who hundred men and the owners of chicha said let us paint our face again, and we paint every one when we are paint² and then Cantul and his workers comes where the chicha are. They first drink at the boat or canoe, only Cantul, Cansuet and the [*tiset*] drink first but his men beside are drinking too.³ But the Cantul stop an hour drinking over and over. When they finished they took seat again. So the Cantul and his men goes to bathe again and also they play his music. And they comes against his seat, but they are comes get drunkard; when at midnight every one get drunkard just like a rum. But the Cantul and his men and the cutter hair of a girl⁴ was [drinking] yet and they drink over and over; who make the head of a hammock.⁵ When they all done this hammock and then Cantul said don't drink any more and let us go to bathe again, and they bathe and they come again. And then Cantul said that I play the flute [*kammu*] is near by the jugs and bring to me to cut them. And also they drink for him too, you see it is not a day but a night only.

Until early morning the *camu* or flute are all fixed and then washed at the water or made cleaned; when they cleaned they carry to the girl house where the girl are going to cut

¹ Each one has his own chair. It goes badly for *Kantule* if anybody takes another's place.

² »The owner of the feast» is the girl's father. He comes with the piece of *mâgeba*-dye and paints *Kantule*'s face, after which he gives bits of the same dye-material to the other men. In the same way the girl's mother proceeds with *Kantule*'s wife and then with the other women.

³ First one drinks out of a little gourd.

⁴ The woman who cuts off the girl's hair is called *iedi*.

⁵ It is a special person who makes the main cords for the hammock which the girl has made for *Kantule*.

the hair, in here they make a medicine. And then they gave to Cantul, but Cantul was begin to play the flute, every one heard when Cantul was playing four different ways he singing; when Cantul was finished his way and then he called his pupils to help him. But his pupils was singing another way too, when in 3 o'clock Cantul said let us go to bathe and let us change another shirt, when they all change and then comes again. He said again let us sing again and he stand in the midst of a house he start to sing and then his people are going to dance around where the Cantul are singing and the women are dance too, every body make a great noice; but Cantul said let us lay down in hammock and he start again to sing about the child life he sing long time and then sing about the cut hair, but Cantul told the hair cutter we called [*iet*]¹; so the [*iet*] goes where the girl are, only women goes there, but the Cantul was singing all the night. And in the morning Cantul said let us go bathe again and they (P. 3) went and men women and also they change another shirts. This make two days ago and then Cantul said let us drink chicha agin, but Cantul was singing about the name of a girl, and I gave the name for her.² And Cantul called to *Iet* (hair-cutter) and the hair cutter comes to Cantul and she gave him a cup of chicha and Cantul does the same. And then she brings him a dove³ for the Cantul, but the *Iet* is finish her work and she all cut the hair of a girl at 6 o'clock the Cantul is done his way, about 15 ways Cantul done his way or songs, and then Cantul sing again for to dance. We say the spirit of a girl goes to heaven; so this spirit we took back again why we sing for the last time four way we sing again and then we all finished until 9 o'clock p. m.

Sou you see God made for us a good time too. But now Panama want to spoiled our those way. We don't want

¹ = *iedi*, the cutter of hair.

² The girl here gets a new name.

³ The pigeon is roasted.

left at all this our own history; you see our old, old grandfather does before our children was born. So we never forget these ways.

Finished the feast.»

Additional Cuna Document with Description of the Feast for the Girl.

The following description is a copy of the original, written in long-hand, *GM.31.27.27*, a fragmentary writing on what *Ibeorgun* taught the Cunas. Here is given only the beginning with the description of the feast. The end is of little value and contains only a list of a great many names of rivers. ED.

«When a man get female child born to him, and he must make a chicha for her. And when the chicha is ready he called for all her relatives to come to chicha house; but in chicha house they also made a [*morrsurba*] for the little baby (that means they made a little corner or room for her to hide there). And they then started to drink a chicha, and when they become [boozy], they will started to blow a flute and all kinds of musican for her, and then they making a rejoice for her, and when they doing that. Then the little baby come to small room what they made for her, and her mother, grand mother, and her relatives come to small room too. And they bore a nose for her to put a ring in it. And when they did that, then the chicha time will over; that is what *Ibeorgun* said to the people in remote time, and from this we never forget in these days, and also we doing the same in these days. And after that when a girl become young maid and also they make a chicha for her too, and also they make a rejoice for her too, but first they bathe her four days with the salt water and after that they make a chicha for her. And after that we call the young maid [*yæe*] and [*yāgūa*] (that means young maid). And after that they made another chicha for her, that is to cut her hairs. But first they store a food for the chicha, all kinds of foods is to be find, tarpon, snaper, and also all kinds of wild pigeons

is to be found and when they store all foods, and then they cut a bananas for to make a chicha, and in six days the bananas will be ripe, and when its ripe they will put in a canoe and in next day they will only took the juice of it and cooked in the fire. And when its cooked they will putted in a clay pots or jugs and in two days time they will taste a chicha, if it is fit for to drink, and first they squeeze a cane to mixed with it, and three times they will mixed the cane with it, and then they taste again. And when it is fit for to drink and in next day they will started to drink a chicha in the night, and also camtule is there too. (Camtule is the chief of the feast). And in next day the camtule will start to sing and Camtule has a long flute in his hand to blow it and also the people blowing small flutes and so forth, and they blowing all kinds of musicans and also they making a rejoicing for her, and when the man get drunk and they lay him in the hammock to sleep, and when he wake up again from sleep, and then he will go again to chicha house to drink again; but they don't fight to one another, they drinking a nicely among their people; (chicha they call that Innā and Capirr) and then they cut a hairs for the young maid. That is what Ibeorgun taught the people in remote time. And in these days we doing the same as in olden time . . . ».

Text for the Drawings Showing the Placing of Officials and Guests at the Second Menstruation Feast.

Together with Pérez, Nordenskiöld made some sketches showing the placing of the guests and officials at the puberty feast for girls. These drawings have been made and published here with the explanations which Pérez gave in regard to the placing and naming. ED.

Fig. 6. — The Second Puberty Feast for Girls, Innasuit.

The drawing shows the placing for the first feast day. The *sūrba* with the girl is in another hut and the placing there is shown by the drawing in fig. 9.

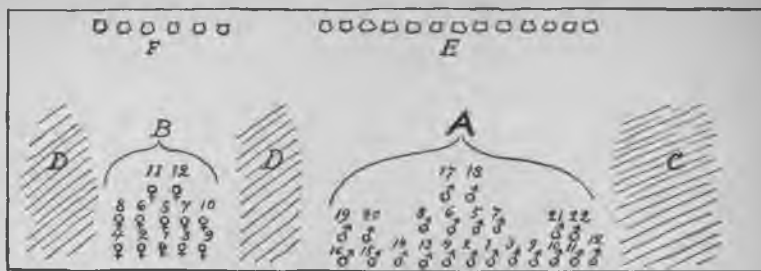


Fig. 6. Placing of the guests at the second puberty feast for the girl (first feast day). Explanation in the text.

A = The placing of the male officials.

1. *Kantule*, singer and feast leader.
2. *Kantulyārbālīti*, does the same as *kantule*.
- 3—4. *Sienārtākket*, take charge of the incense burners, *śianala*.
- 5—6. *Kansuet*, use *ūārsūit*, tobacco in long twists.
- 7—8. *Tisēet*, ditto.
- 9—16. *Esappingana*, assistants to *Kantule*.
- 17—18. The girl's father and another relative who gives the feast. If the father or mother of the girl for any reason cannot take part, other relatives are appointed who take their roles.
- 19—20. *Nokdakēdi*, they who serve the chicha.
- 21—22. *Kāspāknonsāēt*, those who make the cords which support the hammock.

B = The placing of the female officials.

1. *Kantulōme*, the wife of *Kantule*.
2. *Kantulyārbālītiōme*, the wife of the corresponding male official.
- 3—4. The wives of the *sienārtākket* (A 3—4).
- 5—6. The wives of the *kansuet* (A 5—6).
- 7—8. The wives of *tisēet* (A 7—8).
9. *Iedi*, the woman who cuts off the girl's hair.
10. *Iedisedi*, the assistant to *iedi*.
- 11—12. The mother and another relative.

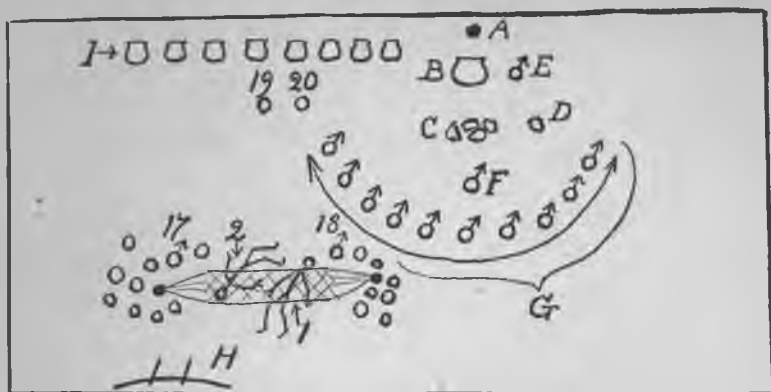


Fig. 7. The placing of the participants in the agouti-dance during the menstruation feast.

C = The place reserved for male guests who are not officials.

D = Places for female guests who are not officials.

E = Vessels containing inna, chicha for the men.

F = Vessels containing inna for the women.

Fig. 7. The Placing at the Agouti-dance which May Take Place During the Menstruation Feasts.

As is mentioned in the texts of Ibeorgun's rules for the feasts (p. 257) various dances are given at the puberty feasts. There are mentioned among others the tapir-, wildhog's-dance, and so forth. This drawing shows the set-up during the ūchāe(agouti)-dance.

In the hammock the *kantule* (1) and the *kantulyārbaliti* (2) recline with their flutes, *kammumala*.

A = a foundation pole for a house.

B = vessels with chicha.

C = the meat of the agouti.

D = the head of the agouti.

E-F = the leaders of the feast.

G = a half-circle of men who dance back and forth. Only men may dance here.

H = bow on which *Kantule* and his colleagues hang their flutes when they go and bathe, which is often, during the progress of the feast.

I = row of vessels containing chicha.



Fig. 8. Interior of the gathering place in Kaynora immediately after a puberty feast.

Photograph by S. Linné, 1927.

Around 17 (the father of the girl) and 18 (another relative) sit grouped the honored guests, indicated here by circles. 19 and 20 are servers of chicha, *nokdakedi*.

It is *Kantule* who gives the order when this part of the feast shall begin.

In fig. 8 is shown a picture of the gathering-hut in Cai-nora where one sees the hammock in which the *kantules* have sat at the puberty feast, and around this, the stools for the guests of honor. On the opposite wall one can see

a row of *mete*, pottery vessels for the chicha. These vessels the Cunas buy from Sinú in Colombia.

Fig. 9. *The Placing of the Women around the Girl in the Súrba.*

As is pointed out in the explanation for fig. 6 the girl *yāe* is placed during the second part of the puberty feast in a *súrba*, which is private from the feast house. The women who assist are placed thus:

A = The girl in a hole in the floor. Compare the text page 241.

B = *Iedi*, the woman who cuts the girl's hair.

C = The girl's mother.

D = *Iedidisedi*, assistant to *iedi*.

E = Benches for the other women.

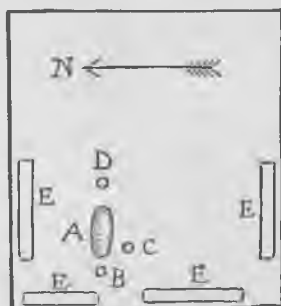


Fig. 9. (See text).

Appendix: Ruben Pérez Kantule: Description of Objects used at the Feasts.

The following original texts in Spanish in Pérez' handwriting have been taken out of the catalogue for the Cuna collection in the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum. During his visit to Sweden, Pérez went through the whole catalogue and left further written information on the names, uses etc., of the objects. The Spanish text is given here without corrections in grammar but with a translation. The catalogue number for the objects is given together with the figure references. All the objects belong to the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum. ED.

Fig. 10 A. Catalogue number 27.27.1349, from Kaynora.

Object:

«Gancho de hamaca «kas-chi» ó «kas ákhe». Es de palo balsa «ukur-uala» que se usan durante la última fiesta de la muchacha; para subir la hamaca en donde cantan los *Kantulgana*. Se pone colgado el techo de la casa de la fiesta en donde está la hamaca. Es pintado por un hombre especial «ukur-ual-maket», balsa pintador. Pinta también la tabla de la pared.»

Translation:

The hook, »kas-chi» or »kas ákke» for the hammock [hammock-kas]. It is made of »balsa wood», *ukur-uala*, and is used during the last feast for the girl in order that the *kantulgana* can come up into the hammock where they play. It hangs in the ceiling of the feast house. It is painted by a special man, »ukur-ual maket», the painter of »balsa». He also paints the wall boards. [See fig. 12].

Fig. 10 B. Catalogue number 27.27.1189, from Cuepti.

Object: (the text refers to 27.27.873., a rattle of the same type from Rio Caimanes):

»Sonajero, »nasisi». Es una calabaza llena de semillas secas de la planta »ná» y tiene un mango para sostener cuando están tocando. Usan las mujeres para pacificar ó hacer dormir a los chiquitines (los nenes ó bebés) y también usan los *kantulgana* durante su fiesta junto con la flauta »kammu». Cuando está tocando la flauta al mismo tiempo agita también el sonajero que tiene en la mano derecha».

Translation:

Rattle, *nasisi*, made of a gourd filled with dry seeds from the plant *na* and equipped with handle. Used by the women to quiet the small children and to get them to sleep, and by the *kantulgana* during the feast, along with the flute, »kammu». When they blow the flute they simultaneously shake the rattle which they hold in their right hand.

[The rattle which a *kantule* uses with his flute, *kammu*, must have a handle of deer's bone. The rattles for toys are made with a simple wooden handle. A feather hat is also part of the *kantule's* outfit. Such hats I have brought back to the Gothenburg Museum (GM. 35.15.17¹ and 22.) This type of hat is called *kandulkankurgin*. ED.]

¹ Wassén, 1938, plate I.

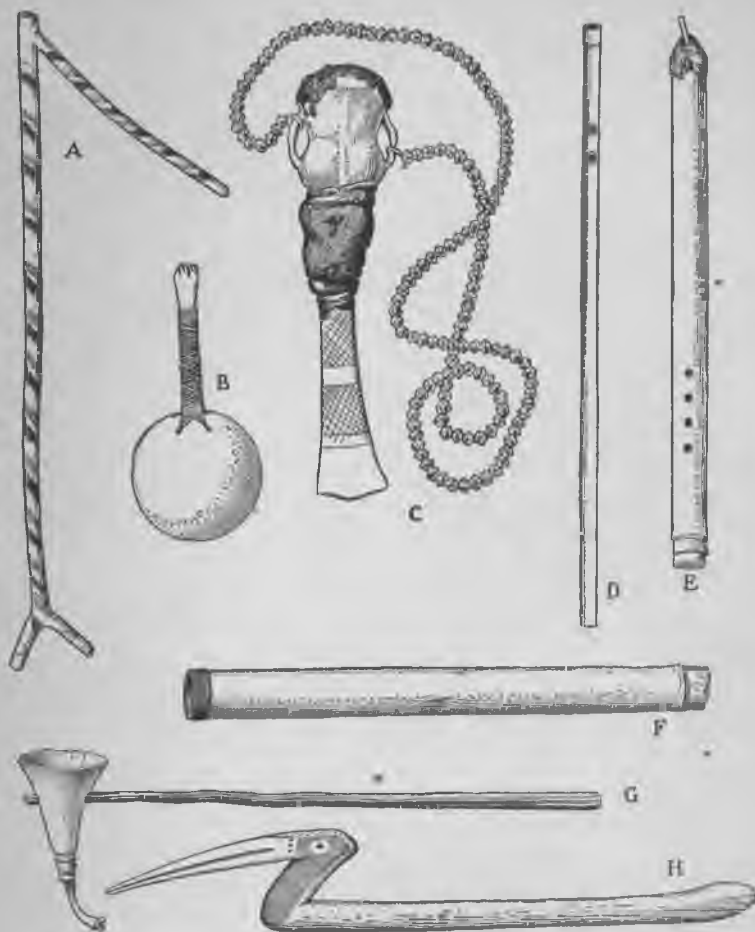


Fig. 10. Objects used at the feasts. Further description in the text.
 A, Hook for the hammock. *GM.27.27.1349*, Kaynora. Scale, 1/9; B, Gourd Rattle. *GM.27.27.1189*, Cuepti. Scale, 1/6; C, *Tede*-flute. *GM.27.27.1217*, Kaynora. Scale, 1/3; D, Long flute, *kammú*. *GM.27.27.1206*. Scale, 1/9; E, *Supé*-flute. *GM.27.27.1221*, Ustúpu. Scale, 1/9; F, *Kuli*-flute. *GM.27.27.1212 a*, Kaynora. Scale, 1/6; G, *Nog-sui* for chicha drinking. *GM.27.27.1351*, Kaynora. Scale, 1/3; H, Head of pelican carved in balsa wood. *GM.27.27.1296*, Kaynora. Scale, 1/9. Coll Nordenskiöld.

Fig. 10 C. Catalogue number 27.27. 1217, from Kaynora.

Object:

«Flauta, *ñedenono*». Hecho de la cabeza de armadillo y hueso de águila (véase 1220). [1220]: «Flauta, *ñede*». Esta flauta está hecho de la cabeza de armadillo y el hueso de águila emplastado en cera negra. Tocaban en fiesta pero los que no habían tocado esta flauta son prohibidos de tocar. Según dicen que si han tocado esta flauta cualquiera que no acostumbrado de tocar el alma de armadillo va a perseguir al alma del hombre que ha tocado esta flauta.»

Translation:

Flute «*ñedenono*» or «*ñede*». Made of an armadillo skull and bone of an eagle attached with black wax. One plays this at feasts, but amateurs are not allowed to play it. This according to the saying that if a beginner blows a *ñede* the soul of the armadillo will haunt his soul.

Fig. 10 D. Catalogue number 27.27.1206. «Cuna».

Object:

«Flauta larga, *kammu*», tiene en su base dos agujeros a dos ó tres centímetros de distancia unos de otros. El que toca lo hace sonar colocándolo a un lado de la boca con la ayuda de la lengua se hace vibrar. El *kammu* es el instrumento que usan los *kantulgana* durante la fiesta de la cortada de los cabellos de la muchacha cuando está cantando y usan también sonajero, «*nasisi*». Para usar los *kammugana* en la fiesta no se usan los que usaron en la otra fiesta sino hacen durante los primeros días de la fiesta.»

Translation:

Long flute, *kammu*. This has at the base two holes at two or three centimeters' distance from each other. He who plays it makes it sound with the help of his tongue placed to one side of the mouth. *Kammu* is the instrument which the *kantulgana* use during the feast for cutting the hair of the girl. They also use at that time the *nasisi*-rattle. The *kammugana* which are used at a feast have not been used before and are made during the first days of the feast.

[According to a notation by Nordenskiöld whole rows of old flutes hang in the *kantule* cabins and may be used for beginners to practice on. ED.]

Fig. 10 E. Catalogue number 27.27.1221, from Ustúpu.

Object:

»Flauta, »*süpe macheret*» (*süpe-macho*). Este instrumento se compone de una caña hueca como de pulgada y media de diametro a la cual va adherido mediante un emplasto de cera negra en forma cónica y una pluma de guaco que funciona como boquilla; y por otro extremo tiene un agujero. Lleva cuatro agujeros al lado superior y uno al inferior. Los tocan durante la fiesta y durante la diversión. Estas se pueden tocar por dos personas, una flauta cada una, y llaman el *supe macho* y *supe hembra*. Solamente tocan los hombres.»

Translation:

Flute, »*supe macheret*» (*supe-male*) This instrument consists of a hollow tube $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter in which is fastened, by means of a piece of black wax of conical shape, a quill pen made of a »*guaco*», which functions as an opening. In the other end there is a hole. The flute has four holes on the upper side and one on the under side. One plays it at feasts and also just for pleasure. Two people can blow their flutes, respectively, and the flutes are called »*male-supe*» and »*female-supe*». Only men play them.

Fig. 10 F. Catalogue number 27.27.1212. a, from Kaynora.

Object:

»Flauta, *kuli*, Este instrumento de música se compone de una caña hueca como pulgada y media. A uno de los extremos abierto y el otro cerrado. Esta flauta no se puede tocar solo sino eligen varias personas que pueden ser diez, doce, ó seis. Usan durante la fiesta y también en cualquier día.»

Translation:

Flute, *kuli*. This instrument consists of a hollow tube about one and a half inches in diameter, open at one end

and closed at the other. One does not blow this instrument alone but selects several people, it may be ten, twelve or six, who blow together. It is used at feasts or whenever they wish. [The museum's specimen consists of six tubes or pipes. ED.]

Fig. 10 G. Catalogue number 27.27.1351, from Kaynora.

Object:

»Nog-sui» para tomar *inna* ó chicha cuando están tomando durante la fiesta. La usan cuando empiezan de tomar en los primeros días de la fiesta (fiesta para cortar los cabellos de la doncella) por los *Kantulgana* (musico oficial). Hecho de una pequeña fruta de calabazo con un mango de palitos de la palma negra.»

Translation:

»Nog-sui» used to drink *inna* or chicha from, during the feast. It is the *kantulgana* (the official musicians) who use these during the first days of the feast at which the young maiden's hair is cut. It is made of a little gourd. The handle consists of a little peg of black palm wood.

Fig. 10 H. Catalogue number 27.27. 1296, from Kaynora.

Object:

»Cabeza de pelícano, »*korkinono*». Hecho de palo balsa, *ukuruala*. Se usan los hombres solamente durante la tomada de la chicha, *inna*. Se desafía uno a otro para tomar juntos la chicha de las totumas grandes llenas de chicha. Si uno ha aceptado el desafío, entonces se colocan dos totumas grandes en los extremos de este palo (totumas entonces llevan hilos para colgar) y entonces se ponen juntos y gritan y toman juntos. Es un simple diversión. Después de haber pasado la fiesta el palo ya no usan.»

Translation:

»*Korkinono*», head of the pelican carved in balsa wood, *ukuruala*. Used only at chicha drinking. One person challenges another to drink chicha out of the large *totumas*, which are filled with it. If the person accepts the challenge two large *totumas* (equipped with string to hang by) are hung up, one at each end of this figure. Then the people gather, yell, and drink together. The whole thing is a game. After the feast is over the figure is not used anymore.

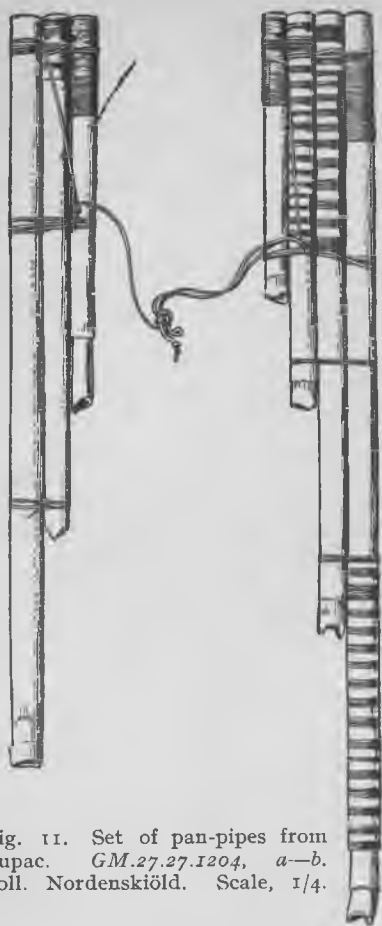


Fig. 11. Set of pan-pipes from
Tupac. GM.27.27.1204, a—b.
Coll. Nordenskiöld. Scale, 1/4.

Figure 11. Catalogue number 27.27.1204, a—b, from Tupac.

Object: (The text refers to 27.27.1207 a—b, a similar set of pan-pipes from Cueptí. The picture here given from Izikowitz, 1935, fig. 249.)

«Flauta de pan, »kammu purri». Son instrumentos que no se tocan solo, sino usan en pares por dos hombres. Estos hacian un total de cuatro instrumentos, pues cada uno de ellos se divide en

dos, unidos entre si por la cuerda que el tocador podia colgar del cuello cuando no está tocando. Una de los dos secciones tiene cuatro tunos o carrizos, y la otra tres, haciendo siete carrizos para cada tocador. Usan para diversión en fiesta y en cualquier día por la noche.»

Translation:

Pan-pipes »*kammu purri*». These instruments are not used one at a time but in pairs, by two men. Consequently that means four instruments, as each one consists of two joined by a string which the one who plays can hang round his neck when he is not playing. One of the two parts has four tones or pipes, the other has three. Each player thus has seven tubes. Used at feasts and otherwise during the evenings.

Fig. 12 A—B. Catalogue number 27.27.883. a—b, from Rio Caimanes.

Object:

883 a. — »Palo de balsa, »*ukurual makalet*» dibujado de tres personas, una casa y el animal manatí.»

883 b. — »Palo de balsa, »*ukurual makalet*» dibujado de hombres, casas, manatí, animal y un vapor.

Este palo ó madera se pone en la pared de la casa de fiesta para que el músico oficial ó *kantule* nombran durante su canto los animales dibujados en la madera. El original debe ser desde seis brazas de largos y dos jemes (media de la mano) de ancho cada uno. Se colocan uno al frente donde están los hombres y la otra al frente donde están las mujeres. Y son pintados por hombres especiales que se ocupan de pintar estas clases de palos durante la fiesta.»

Translation:

883 a. Board of »balsa» wood, »*ukurual makalet*» painted with three people, one house and a sea-cow (manatí).

883 b. Ditto painted with people, houses, manatí (sea-cows) animals and a steamboat. This board is attached to the wall in the feast house so that the *kantule* during his song shall be able to mention the animals painted on the board. The originals should be at least six fathoms in length

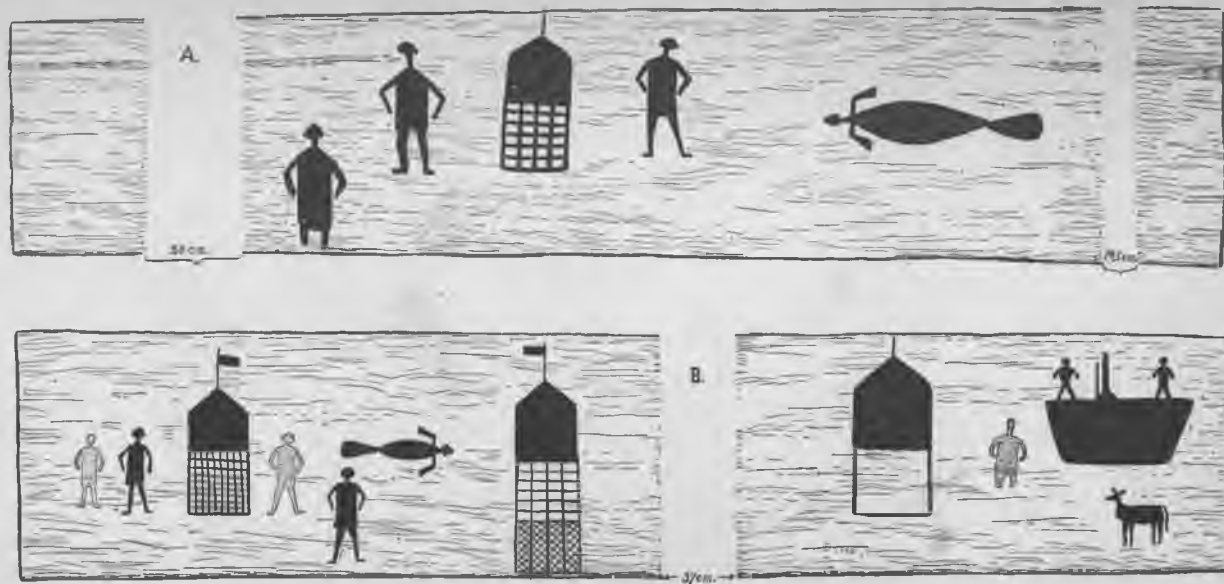


Fig. 12. Painted boards of «balsa» wood. GM.27.27.883 a—b, Rio Caimanes. Length of the originals 126 cm.
Coll. Nordenskiöld.

and two »span» in breadth. They are placed one in front of the men's place, the other in front of the women's. They are painted by special men [Cf. the text for fig. 10 A], who do this work during the first feast days.

[In the catalogue there is a further note on these painted boards: In the boards are fastened small pegs on which the feast leader and his wife hang calabash bowls and so forth. ED.]



Fig. 13. Incense burner. *GM.* 27.27.1422, Ustúpu. Coll. Nordenskiöld. Scale, 1/5.



Fig. 14. Incense burner from Rio Caimanes. *GM.* 27.27.869. Coll. Nordenskiöld. Scale, 1/5.

Fig. 13. Catalogue number 27.27.1422, from Ustúpu.

Object:

»*Sia-nala*», vasija para zahumar al enfermo y usar durante la fiesta para zahumar a los *Kantulgana*.»

Translation.

»*Sianala*», incense burner which is used for the sick [at the illness incantations], but also during the feasts as incense burner for the *kantulgana*. [Another type of incense burner is shown in fig. 14].

4. Social Forms and Salutations.

As an addition to the foregoing section on family organization there follow here some notes by Nordenskiöld on, among other things, forms of greeting, the information for which has been given him by Pérez. ED.

Pérez has told the following about a visit in Arquia: We started off, I and five others. When we came to Arquia we found that there was a meeting going on in the village and a chief from Paya was there. The meeting (village meeting) was held up river and we started off to the council house. When we got there everybody came out to shake hands with us and we were invited to take our place among them. When we went in the village's chief began to talk with our chief. The latter told about everything that had happened in our village and the chief from Arquia thereafter repeated his speech. Then our chief asked how everything was going with the chief in Arquia and this chief told then all the news of Arquia, which our chief repeated after him. When a delegation arrives its chief sings what he wants to convey. These songs are improvised.

About greetings or salutations Pérez has given this information:

Upon entering a house one uses the word *naa*. When one leaves a house one says *tegimala* = good-bye. Come in = *toge*.

If a man meets somebody he says *nuekine* and the latter answers *nuekine* = how do you do? When one takes one's departure one says *tegimalhueloe* = I will see you again, and the other answers *ai tegimalhueloe* = my friend, good-bye.

When several people are sitting together and talking and one interrupts to take his leave, he asks of each one, »What are you going to do tomorrow?«.

If two Indians meet in a forest they always greet each other with some words. If several younger Indians are walking together with an older one and they meet a person,

the younger ones go on past him and the older one stays and greets him. If two couples meet (a man and his wife meet another man and his wife, for instance) it is the women who carry on the salutation ceremony.

Sometimes it may happen that up to a hundred people come on a visit to one village. They are entertained by the village collectively and even neighboring villages may help out. It is expected however that the visitors bring with them sugar and rice, which are not products of the country.

When a man and a woman walk together the woman goes first.

When a younger man walks with an older one the younger goes first. If a young man is out in a canoe with an older one, his father-in-law, for example, the father-in-law steers and the younger man takes care of, for example, the harpoon.

III. Political Leaders and Documents.

As a preface to a little biography of the Cunas' present greatest political leader, *Néle de Kantule* of Ustúpu, written by the Indians, is here inserted an exposition, written by Norden-skiöld and gone over by Pérez, which gives the significance of the «néle»-institution. This would otherwise have appeared in the section «Medicine Men» (D III). ED.

1. Nēles.

Among the Cunas there are several classes of medicine men. These may be *nēles*, *inatulēdis* and *absōgēdis*, as well as those who are learned in certain medicine songs such as *śiaigala*, *kaburrigala*, *ākūalēle*, etc. I shall here speak of the *nēles*.

It is possible to become an *absōgēdi*, *inatulēdi*, etc., by studying, but *nēles* are born, not made. It is the old women who by certain signs are able to tell if a child

has been born a *nēle*. The sons of a *nēle* may be able to learn magic songs, medicines, traditions, and so on, but they cannot learn how to become seers. It is the last-mentioned capacity that is the chief characteristic of the *nēles*. What is first and foremost required of them is therefore to be able to see the cause of illnesses, not to hunt up the medicines that are applicable. Even women may be *nēles*. The great mythic Heroes were *nēles*, and God is a *nēle*. Certain stones are called *ākūalēle*. This is because the spirits in these stones are clairvoyant, and thus able to discover the whereabouts of souls that have been carried off by evil spirits. The rank and file of the Indians are not always acquainted with the exact meaning of »*nēle*» or »*lēle*». Once, for example, Pérez was surprised to hear an Indian singing about a fish *lēle*. This because it is quite erroneous to speak of *ualēle*, seeing that fish are not clairvoyant.

It may happen that when a child is born a *nēle*, its father does not wish it to grow up into that calling, and therefore uses certain medicines to annul this gift.

As I have said, a person is born a *nēle*. At the same time it is necessary that he bathe in medicine of many different kinds in order to develop his power of clairvoyance. The fragrant plants which are used for these baths were planted even before the time of the first *nēles* who had neither father nor mother but came down to the earth with the mist on a gold plate. This has been told by the great mythic Hero *Ibeorgun*.

A *nēle* also has to be assisted by an *absogēdi*. In a large house are collected a number of wooden figures inherent with tutelary spirits, called *sūār-nūchu*. The *absogēdi* chants a magic song, and the *nēle's* soul sets out in the company of the tutelary spirits for the abodes of the evil spirits with the purpose of selecting good teachers for himself from among their number, and to make friends with the evil spirits and to make the acquaintance of them all. It is not the benev-

olent spirits but the evil ones that are the *nēle*'s tutors.¹ *Nēle* of Ustúpu, when a young man, on four occasions journeyed to the abodes of the evil spirits. If he had made only two journeys more, he would have visited them all. If a *nēle* has not had the assistance of an *absogēdi* he may make a mistake when diagnosing the cause of an illness. *Nēle* of Ustúpu used to have as his tutor the demon *Nugar-uelchur*, who appears in elephant shape, but latterly this demon has moved farther eastwards. Nowadays *Nēle* has another tutor who however is not so good.

Besides the *Nēle* of Ustúpu, Pérez knows seven more *nēles* in the villages on the San Blas coast. There is also a woman in Ustúpu who is a *nēle*. She is called *Nēlegua*. She is very learned. When *Nēle* himself is ill, sick people are sent to her. There are many that come from other villages to learn songs and medicines from her. The pupils use picture-script when learning the songs. No *nēle* has the power to discern the maladies from which the members of his own family may be suffering. Therefore, when a child of *Nēle*'s falls ill, the cause of the sickness is explained by *Nēlegua*, and when one of her family is ailing she calls in *Nēle*. A *nēle* cannot cure himself. When *Nēle* of Ustúpu once had a persistent headache it was found very difficult to cure him as he himself knew all the medicine songs. Eventually a man was found who was able to cure him by means of a medicine song that was unknown to *Nēle*. His *kürgin* (i. e. his natural gifts), is unlike that of ordinary people.

Of all the *nēles* of the present time it is *Nēle* of Ustúpu who is most learned. Therefore, when on the San Blas coast *nēle* is spoken of without any specification as to which *nēle* is referred to, it is always he who is meant. The *Nēle* of Ustúpu knows much more about the traditions and ancient history of the Cuna tribe than any other *nēle*.

¹ Such evil spirits as are the friends of *nēles* are also called *ponigana*.

There are a great many things that *Nēle* of Ustúpu knows. He is able to see what illness is affecting any person who comes to consult him. When he examines a sick person he seats himself facing the patient and looks at him. He sees right through him as if he were made of glass. *Nēle* sees all the organs of the body. He is also able, with the assistance of the *nūchus*, to give his verdict as to what illness a patient whom he has not even seen is suffering from. *Nēle* can foretell how long a person is going to live. It is of the greatest importance that he is able to say when and how a person's soul is carried away by evil spirits.

Even in other ways *Nēle* is able to see things that are taking place at a distance. Once when he was on a journey he told his companions that an accident had happened in his village and, rightly enough, a small girl had got out into water that was too deep for her and had drowned. *Pérez* is therefore firmly convinced that *Nēle* of Ustúpu is clairvoyant. He has occult powers and so have the rest of the *nēles*, thanks to the *nūchus* the tutelary spirits. *Nēle* of Ustúpu has the power of finding things that have been lost. In order to test the powers of *Nēle* some youths of Ustúpu had hidden away a gold coin which they then told him they had lost. *Nēle* was not to be deceived, however. By the help of the *nūchus* he found out that the young men thought they might be able to trick him. *Nēle* is also an interpreter of dreams. It is to him that the Indians go in order to find out if their dreams mean sickness, good luck, bad luck or just nothing.

As is well known, burning *ají* (Spanish peppers) develops a smoke provocative of most terrific coughing. Nevertheless *Nēle* can get down under a bed-cover inside which he is burning *ají* without being in any way distressed by the smoke. This he is able to do because he knows the incantation about the origin of the *ají* plant. In the same way certain individuals are able to grasp red-hot iron, catch hold of venomous snakes, etc., by reason of their knowing

the origin of iron and of venomous snakes. At Tikantiki there is a boy of fourteen who is able to enter into a burning fire because he knows how fire was created. On many occasions Pérez has seen persons able to hold red-hot iron in their hands as well as to tame snakes.

Nēle of Ustupu is exceedingly well versed in botanical knowledge. If to him are brought the seeds of any plant whatever, he will readily describe the plant to which the seeds belong. It is he who has discovered that a very small dose of the sap of the manzanilla tree is an exceedingly valuable aperient. Of still greater importance is it, that *Nēle* knows how plants originated. There are many others who know medicines but are ignorant as to how the medicines were created by God. Thus he, *Nēle* is also an *inatūlēdi*. Even the incantations and songs of the *absogēdis* are known by him.

Nēle is able to pay visits to the nether world. There he has seen that in the second layer things are exactly the same as here, with the exception that its mountains are not so high as ours. The third layer is also like our world except that the landscape is flat. Farther than that he cannot penetrate. The great *nēles* of the past have penetrated into the fourth layer.

To *Nēle* the evil spirits pay visits. Thus, for example, an evil spirit may come to him and offer him medicine and the incantation embodying the origin of woman. Knowledge of these things confers upon *Nēle* the power of commanding the love of women. Ten years ago *Nēle* was able to attract women merely by concentrating his thoughts to that end. The *nūchus* have power to make evil spirits appear before *Nēle*.

Nēle has many pupils — though formerly their number was much greater — whom he instructs in medicinal arts. They cannot, however, as has already been said, become *nēles* merely by studying. Among the Cunas, saliva hardly plays any part at all, either as medicine or at the

incantations. Illnesses are never sucked out, contrary to the practice obtaining among many other Indian tribes. When a pupil of *Nēles'* is a dullard at learning medicine songs and the like, he is, however, given medicine into which, saliva from *Nēle* enters as an ingredient to some slight extent. *Nēle* of Ustúpu has had even as many as forty or fifty pupils at the same time. They come from all parts of the Cuna territory. Nowadays he cannot spare the time to attend to so many but turns the newcomers over to one or another of his senior ex-pupils.

The *nēles* of the old days possessed much greater powers than those of the present time. Of this I shall give one or two instances. Those at the top of the profession were called *nānēlegana* because they used the *nāsi*, the gourd rattle. They were born with it. The last of these *nēles* lived on Rio Perro. A *nānēle* could make his rattle sound in the air although held by no human hand. At first it was thought there was no way in which a *nānēle* could be killed. But a *nēle* disclosed the fact that if one only watched when a *nānēle* happened to be in mid-stream when bathing, and then smashed his rattle, that would mean his death. At Irgandi a *nānēle* thus met his death in consequence of his wife's carelessness. She had let her husband's rattle fall to the ground so that it broke, and when the *nānēle* returned home, he suddenly died. This happened sixty years ago. Under the *nānēle* just referred to the father of *Nēle* of Ustúpu studied medicine. Nowadays there are no *nānēles*. The *nēles* of today are called *ūlubnēle*. Pérez is unable to explain the meaning of *ūlub*.

In the old days the *nēles* were able to dive into the sea into the middle of a great whirlpool, and then stay below water for four days. The last one capable of this feat was *Pawa* who, according to Pérez, lived in Wafer's time in the Narganá district.¹

¹ See p. 124 in this work and Wassén, 1938, pp. 72—76. ED.

Formerly the *nēles* were able to send venomous snakes on the track of their personal enemies, and they could kill a person by sending a disease to attack him. According to Pérez it was a great *nele* who dealt out to the Scotch people the diseases that speedily put an end to the colony that in 1698 they had established at Nueva Caledonia on the San Blas coast. The great *nēles* also possessed power to call down lightning and cause floods. They could fell trees by means of incantations.

Merely by thought concentration they were able to break off the branch to which a parrot nest was attached, thus making the nest fall to the ground. Similar things appear to have occurred even recently. *Nēle* of Ustúpu once visited a man living at Arquia who by mere concentration of thought was able to cut things in two. Once *Nēle* wished to get down a coconut in order to drink its milk, but as he was not quite as young as he used to be, and of somewhat stout proportions, he did not care to climb the palm tree. The man said: »Let us make the coconut drop down instead of climbing for it«. He stood up and stared at the coconut. Only his lips moved. For the space of three minutes he kept his gaze fixed on the coconut, and then suddenly it fell to the ground. On another occasion the same man by the mere power of his mind cut the uneven leaves with which a hut was thatched. The result was just like a gust of wind cutting off the leaves, after which they appeared in an orderly, straight row. This man refused to impart his tricks to anyone else, for, he said, there are bad men who, if they knew the secret, might do evil things and even cut people's throats. Of *Nēle* of Ustúpu it is related — although Pérez is not certain if it is correct — that by thought concentration he once cut a rope. To cut an object by means of thought concentration is called *tinsayla*, and the incantation is called *tinsaylaigal*, and it originates from the first *nēles*. One calls on the *tinsayla* through incantations and he comes and does the cutting. It is by

bathing in medicine made of an insect, *t̃in*, which bores in wood, that one in this way can learn how to cut off something merely by thoughts. The *t̃insayla* is the chief of these insects.

Formerly the *n̄les* could communicate with each other through merely concentrating, and this was true even when they lived in villages which were located far from each other. These messages came with the wind and were understood only by the *n̄les* themselves.

Formerly — and perhaps even nowadays — it would happen that a *n̄le* received visits from the wild animals of the forest. The *n̄le* then went into a partitioned part of the hut and sat down and bent his thoughts on the origin of the animals, and then he sang. An old man has told P é r e z that once he assisted *n̄le* I g u a s a l i on Rio Perro (Irgandi) in making fire for fumigation with tobacco (*uarsuit*). Then a jaguar, snarling, came along and went right through the house into the *s̄urba* where the *n̄le* was sitting. All those who were present saw the jaguar and understood that it was not a spirit but a real jaguar. After the jaguar came some peccaries. These approached only as far as the outside of the house. Some dogs barked, and the peccaries went away again. The old man had told P é r e z that at first he did not believe that *n̄les* in this way were able to call up the larger animals, but this time he had seen it himself and knew it was true. In the same way there were *n̄les* who received visits from the caymans.

Shortly before P é r e z' departure from his home, *N̄le* in the village of Cuidi had said that he could entice down to the coast herds of peccaries. The Indians in Cartí had made preparations for *N̄le* to sing. He had supposedly planned to sing about the origin of the peccaries. P é r e z does not know how it turned out.

When the *n̄les* are out in the forest the wild animals never do them any harm.

The *nêles* do not appear to have been able to change themselves into jaguars or other animals.

In a special chapter I have spoken of the great *nêles* of the beginning of time, the mythic Heroes. In spite of all that the *nêles* have performed and what they have been, and still are, able to achieve, the Cunas have never worshipped them as gods. Their work has not been the creation of anything new. Creation is something which God alone has the power to bring about.

What I have told from P é r e z' stories about *nêles* contains much which naturally seems to us unlikely. This does not alter the fact that P é r e z, as well as the average Indian, believes fully and firmly in *N ê l e's* great knowledge and his power over the spirit world.

I also believe that *N ê l e* in Ustúpu is himself absolutely convinced of his own connections with the spirit world and of his ability to find out, with the help of these connections, about the souls which have been carried away, and so forth. He, as well as most medicine men, is to all appearance no faker. For him the world of dreams is reality. Many a time he probably has unconsciously confused cause and effect. A coconut for example, has fallen to the ground when he needed it and he has ascribed this wonder to his desire for it. It is the case with him as well as with his associates that a situation about which he as Seer has been right, may be explained quite differently in a case when it turns out he was mistaken. He forgets the times when he has chosen to cut down something with his thoughts and it has not worked. For mistakes and failures he has found substitute explanations. One such natural explanation has probably simply been that the person in question has broken a taboo. Also it is often explained in this way when a medicine has failed to take effect.

Among the Indians there is surely very much related about *N ê l e* which he himself has never claimed to have

done, but which he, looking out for his reputation, has not denied. In this way his power grows.

That the *neles* could do more in former times than now, and still more in very remote ages, is quite natural. So it has always been and so it always will be as long as the Cuna Indians still live in their old world of ideas.

Pérez' respect for *Nēle* in Ustúpu is unlimited. He always begins his explanations with, »*Nēle* says», or »*Nēle* knows». We must remember that Pérez ever since his childhood has lived in a milieu which has been completely dominated by the idea of the medicine men's power and their connections with an invisible world. The years when he was at school in Panama have not shaken his childhood faith.

2. Fragmentary Biography of Nele de Kantule in Ustúpu¹.

The diagram showing *Nēle's* family tree (fig. 15) has been worked out by Nordenskiöld with Pérez' spelling of the names. A copy of the Indian manuscript dealing with this made by Pérez during his stay in Sweden, is used as the basis for the biography published here. No original appears to have been saved among the collections and the copy is unfortunately not annotated. The biography is here published without changes and without translations from the Spanish text. ED.

»Un resumen de la vida de *Nēle* de Ustúp.

Quintup era de Paya que vino a *Puturgandi* con su señora *Aneda* que ella era adivina, quien trabajó de exterminar las *píryas* que existían en las costas de la región de su residencia.

La hija de estos fué *Iguailisop* fué su esposo *Pailipilel* también de Paya. La hija de este matrimonio fué *Cunhuadil* y fué casada con *Nipilel*, otra hija de *Pailippilel* fué *uaidakuna* que casó con el señor *Uikulel*, el hijo de este matrimonio fué *Inaüilippe*.

¹ Cf. Wassén, 1938, p. 24 et seq. ED.

Y el hijo de *Nipilel* fué *Inauelippe* que casó con *Iguanaidili*. El hijo de este matrimonio fué el dr. *Néle*.

Néle nació en el pueblo de Puturgandí que queda en la desembocadura del río de Puturgandí (por los años 1870) en su tiempo de infancia murió su madre, como es el adivino el padre de él ocupó de hacer bañar su hijo en las medicinas para desarrollar las vistas. Bañó primero en su pueblo natal con las medicinas buscadas de distintas partes entre todos en la cercanía del pueblo de Ucupsenik. Después fué también

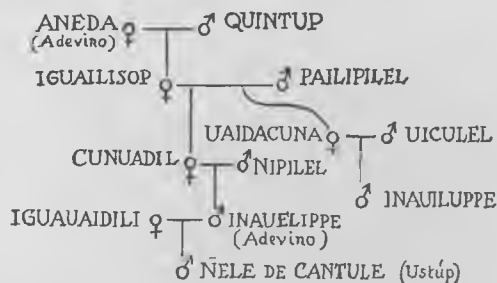


Fig. 15. Diagram of the family tree of *Néle* of Ustúp.

para bañar de nuevo al pueblo de Sasardi que estuvo tres meses. Estuvo también tres veces con el *absogeti* que él cantó sus canciones para *Néle*, que *Néle* gastó su plata en estas canciones.

Los primeros caciques de Puturgandí fueron: *Inaigilel*, *Uigudunilel*, que en el tiempo de estos señores estuvo en Bogotá el cacique de *Ogelel*. Cuando era ya de 15 años hubo un gran terremoto que hecho muchas desgracias en la región (de todas partes) de San Blas. Cuando todavía existía su padre casó con la hija de *Kisban* que estuvo ocho años con él y después construyó otra casa para su familia.

Desde muy temprano ya era el curandero de Puturgandí y a la vez adivino. El cacique de ese tiempo era *José* en donde llegan a la casa de su cacique los indios de Caimán, de Arquia, de Paya a visitar al jefe del lugar. Entonces

oyó que un señor de aquellos pueblos narrando las tradiciones de su raza que este señor era Diogracia. Quiso aprender las tradiciones y fue con el mismo señor que estaba haciendo su visita con sus familias y con su cacique era de Caimán.

Estuvo por los pueblos de Arquia, Caimán buscando a los hombres que sabían las tradiciones antiguas, encontró con los señores *Esú*, *Inayoga* y *Oluit* el hermano menor de *Esú* que todos son de Paya.

Hizo sus estudios por nueve años. Después de la muerte del cacique *José* nombraron al señor *Yagun* como cacique del pueblo y en el año de 1903 las gentes pusieron de cambiar un lugar adecuado para servir de pueblo, entonces trasladaron todos a la isla de Ustúp. Cuando pasados diez años en esta isla estuvo un incendio que todas las casas fueron quemadas, al verse este desastre el jefe del pueblo puso a construir las casas en otra isla, pero el señor *Nēle* no quiso ir a otra isla y fueron entonces que partieron sus gentes algunos fueron a lado del jefe y otros al lado de *Nēle*.

Los que quedaron con el *Nēle* estuvieron sin jefe y entonces nombraron a *Nēle* el *saila* de ellos era en el año 1918».

2. Speeches by High Chief Simral Colman.

Simral Colman, who was *Nēle de Kantule's* predecessor as High Chief, died in 1929. He is known as the Cunas' great orator and *Ruben Pérez* has copied some of his speeches in order to be able during his trips to the different villages to quote in his talks telling phrases from *Colman's* lectures. The original was written in pencil in Spanish by *Pérez* and is part of *GM.31.27.2*. It bears the title, «Copia de algunas palabras importantes de S. Colman.» As has been pointed out by *Nordenskiöld*, Colman was strongly influenced by Christianity, of which fact there is evidence in many places in his speeches.¹ I have placed the

¹ *Nordenskiöld* has made the following note on *Colman's* speeches: «*Colman* was, as we see by his speeches, strongly influenced by Christianity. He speaks much about Jesus, who otherwise is never mentioned in the songs and the culture myths I know from the Cunas. *Colman* had studied under a Cuna Indian, *Aravito*, in *Tapalisa*

speeches in this section of the Cuna publication for the sake of the political information and allusions they contain, seen from the Indians' viewpoint. The circumlocution which Colman has used in certain sections in order to make what he says incomprehensible to the uninitiated, is of great interest; for example, women are called flowers, and so forth. For these circumlocutions see Norden skiöld's chapter, »Word Taboos and Figures of Speech», page 373. Further speeches by Colman have been published in Wassén, 1938, in which is also to be found another version of the speech given as a) here. ED.

a) *Speech given in Ailigandi January 17th, 1926.*

Synopsis. Colman warns against jealousy and bragging. One chief can presumably in certain respects have better ideas and more authoritative opinions than another. At the beginning of this new year he emphasizes the importance of ones following his decrees regarding justice and so forth.

What Colman has told about the various *neles'* visit to the underworld and its different layers unfortunately does not appear in the fragmentary notes on the speech.

At the end of the speech there is a hint of Colman's age and illness. He says himself that he can no longer give long talks but prefers to let his messages reach the villages by means of letters which his secretaries write from his dictation. Iguanicdipipi himself wishes to go to Ailigandi, but for the present he, Colman, can not let him go. ED.

»Señores y Señoras:

Deseo que ustedes me oyeis mis palabras.

Para los jefes de los pueblos.

Quiero que no envidian unos a otros que están gobernando a los otros pueblos que residen en sus respectivos pueblos. Consejando a sus gentes y a sus mujeres y que no digan que yo soy mas grande de los demás jefes. Señores, ustedes saben muy bien que cada persona ha aprendido unas cosas diferentes que los otros. Algunos tienen más ideas que los

and this Aravito was strongly influenced by Christianity. Later he studied a long time under another of his countrymen, Cupi, who knew much about the Cunas' history. As a speaker he was very famous. Colman had, however, more interest in Gods' and Jesus' words than in the Indians' own tradition.» ED.

demás jefes. Cuando ustedes digan que somos más fuertes que los demás pueblos y que ningunos pueden arrebatarlas mis pensamientos. Uno de ustedes van presentar unos los que saben más ideas que ustedes y entonces van regatear a otro y así puedes quedar vencidos por las opiniones de ellos. Por eso no quiero que digan que soy como hierro y ninguno pueden arrebatar mi pueblo, porque tenemos también muchos pensamientos para discutir contra mis enemigos. Así dijeron grandes *nēles* en la época pasada, diciendo que yo soy el jefe mas grande de los más.

Fíjate ahora el jefe Inapaquiña, Charles Robinson y Inatoiquine¹ están hablando así, yo soy más grande de todos los jefes de San Blas. Así que no hagamos mismo grandes.

Hoy día estamos en el año de 1926 y ya hemos pasado de los años que han pasado. Por eso te digo en este año, yo puso las nuevas leyes, en estas leyes dicen que no andamos más en el camino, ni tampoco decir yo soy más grande de esta costa. No te sacan sus palabras falsas delante de los superiores ustedes los entendieron que yo digo que Vds pueden estar quieto debajo de los superiores. Estas palabras quiere decir, que no hablan más en mentiras para sus gentes y para sus mujeres, que no andan más con mal camino y no piensan con las ideas. Yo sé que todos los pueblos de la costa tienen grandes hombres como son *inadulet̃di*, *camudulet̃di* y etc. etc. Todos estos hombres que saben estas leyes pueden hablar pocas palabras cuando está haciendo la reunión yo creo que algunos tienen también ideas. Ejemplo si un hombre que sabe medicinas puede ser un hombre grande. Porque estamos viendo cuando uno está enfermo, ya el médico va buscar la medicina. También los médicos tienen alumnos, si el médico no piensa a enseñar a sus alumnos sus alumnos no lo pueden ayudar tampoco y todos lo mismo como *siadulet̃*, *camudulet̃* etc. etc. Así el jefe Colman está hablando con sus gentes. Así que ustedes van

¹ A chief in the village of Tupile.

hablar lo mismo como el jefe. Puede hablar con buenas ideas para sus gentes. Después esto entonces grandes *neles* dicen a otros vamos hacer una prueba y entonces el uno iba a [Negabillipakkese]¹ otro [Negabillinelgua]² y otro [Negabillipabakkese]³. Otro *nele* está muy quieto no quiere hablar con estas pruebas.

El *nele Cubilel* vió *Negabillipakkese* y éste dijo que el vió Dios y entonces el *nele Cubilel* se llamaron todas sus gentes las mujeres y hasta todos sus niños y les dijeron todos los que ha visto en *Negabillipake kine*[= en]⁴

... Las cosas van quedar otra vez en desorden para ustedes. Por ahora no podemos mandar *Iguanikdipipi*⁵ para su pueblo; porque él solo está ayudando a nosotros para escribir las cartas por el intérprete de los escribientes en *Ailigandi*; porque yo sólo los doy mis ideas para escribir en cartas para los otros pueblos. Ustedes saben muy bien que yo no puedo hablar largo para mis gentes y para mis escribientes por eso sólo yo hablo entre medio del señor [*Igua*] *Nicdipipi*, que el llevan para los demás. Si tengo otro como él con mucho gusto nosotros mandaremos a él para su pueblo, para aconsejar más a ustedes en las buenas palabras. El mismo quiere venir para su pueblo, pero nosotros no permitimos de mandarle por ahora. Querremos que piensen solo con las palabras de Jesús Cristo».

b) *Speech to the «Soldiers» («para los soldados»)*. (No date).

Synopsis. The beginning of the speech is not known. Colman urges in the name of Jesus tolerance towards others, and that one shall not kill people like animals, and that one shall love even people of another race, even ones enemies. He does not believe that God created only us to live happily here on the earth. Colman points out further that one should not bear a grudge against an-

¹ Location of the fourth layer.

² Location of the sixth layer.

³ Location of the eighth layer.

⁴ Here some pages are missing in the paper Pérez wrote. ED.

⁵ Second chief in *Ailigandi*.

other who has better ideas. »Envy becomes the death of the envious.» He wants the people to think over his words about this carefully, not only to say that they have heard them, but to act according to them. Those who only hear in order to forget are like animals who think for only one day at a time, but there are even wise animals, such as the dog and the white man's horse.

Colman exhorts the people furthermore to obedience to the chiefs and other officials. He himself is now sick and can no longer travel round in the villages so that people may see him and hear his words. He can only send letters conveying what he wants to say. He has even heard some evil things spoken about him but he does not bother about that. With his second chief Iguanidipipi, he strives to do good for his people. All the chiefs ought to learn God's word as well as the knowledge the old wise men have left to the Cunas. If they do not understand this they are not suited for giving advice to their people and to their women.

Everybody should work together for the common good. »You know, gentlemen, that our body has two hands and that one helps the other to lift a heavy thing. But we also have a heart, liver, stomach, lungs and entrails. These help our body to function well during our whole life. Thus each and every village has several people who help the village and these are the ones who know the medicines. No one of these should talk against another. One should defend everything in his land, yes, even the fish in the sea and the insects.»

After further exhortations to obedience to the chiefs he urges chivalry towards the women. One shall not fight with ones women, or other relatives, not go in for divorce and not beat ones wife. »The flower (woman) which we have is our life and our happiness during life. Without flowers we live in sorrow and very alone.»

»— — — que dejó en esta tierra para nosotros. Jesús estuvo también en esta tierra y predicó sobre las palabras de su padre Dios. El dijo a las gentes que quiero que amen ustedes unos a otros y que no maten como animales las personas que tienen mismas caras, cabellos y la sangre y que aman también los que pertenecen de otras razas y lo mismo sus enemigos. No sienten el dolor en sus corazones cuando uno los hablan contra ustedes, no creas que Dios solamente crió a nosotros para vivir feliz en esta tierra. Mi gran padre crió todas las cosas en la tierra y los dió también las vidas para algunas cosas y

para otras dió Dios las memorias para dominar a todas las cosas y dió también los sentidos para sentir el dolor y para tener feliz en unos días. No envidies a otros que tienen mas cosas que ustedes y siguen también con el ejemplo de ellos para que hagamos las cosas como ellos que tienen mayor número de las cosas. Después de haber hablado todo algunos hablan con otras personas acerca de Jesús, diciendo que este habla muy bien para nosotros, pero algunos hablan contra Jesús diciendo que este hombre quiere tolerar nuestros caminos que tenemos y quiere coger nuestro pensamiento para que busque algunos soldados para ayudar a él por eso cuando seguimos de andar con el pensamiento de él; él convertirá como rey nosotros. Pero como Jesús no siente el dolor cuando un pueblo no ayuda a él y cuando no los dan el alimento para él, y el Jesús sigue más de hablar con las fieles palabras que el tiene en su memoria. Así anduvo Jesús en la tierra y salvó algunas personas contra los demonios y algunos fueron principales cabezas de los pueblos y siguieron también por el ejemplo de Jesucristo. Así, pues queremos también que siguan con el ejemplo de mis gentes que hablan bien en su pueblo. Porqué ellos llevan mis palabras para ustedes.

Querremos que sean hombres de pensamiento profundo, lo mismo las mujeres y muchachos. Como nosotros tenemos una sola idea y un solo camino, queremos que tengamos un orden fijo para mis hijos y para mi tierra que hemos sacado para ella una bandera.

No envidies a los hombres que tienen mas ideas que ustedes, por el contrario siguen con sus ejemplos. Así estamos viendo que algunos envidian a otros que tienen más pensamientos que ellos. Los que piensan con ese ejemplo es muy malo para ellos; porque la habladera de este modo se decaen más en las malas tentaciones. La envidia se forman la muerte para los envidiosos dicen algunos hombres de gran pensamiento. Así es que no queremos que nuestras gentes envidian a otros, porque un día se van a buscar la muerte para sus hijos y para su tierra que es la madre de nosotros. La

manera más correcta para nosotros es siguiendo por un orden fijo que lleva la disciplina para todas las gentes de diferentes pueblos los oyen bien mis palabras que son suaves para ellos. No queremos también que unos digan solamente por la boca, que ahora ya se entendió bien las palabras buenas; al presente de uno lo da un consejo bueno. Sino que piensen cada día por las buenas que hablo uno. Así es que se entiende mejor; para que no olvide más. No llevan las fieles palabras por un día, porque los que piensan así son los animales riada más que tienen sus cerebros para unos días; pero algunos animales tienen buenos cerebros para atender a sus amos.

Los animales de estas clases son el perro por ejemplo y los caballos de las huacas y otros más.

Yo Simral Colman de mayor edad quiero que ninguno habla contra su jefe; porque he puesto para el bien de ustedes sus jefes en cada pueblo¹; no levantan las palabras entre el medio de las gentes que están haciendo una conferencia seria para ustedes sin permiso de sus jefes para hablar maldades para los oyentes. Antes de pronunciar sus palabras deben pensar antes de los demás; si ustedes se pronuncian sin antes de haber pensado bien. Quiero que respeten sus jefes, sus arcales, sus fiscales y sus pájaros² cuando están hablando por el bien de la patria, por el bien de sus familias y por el bien de sus enemigos. Yo como estoy muy enfermo, no veré mas sus mujeres y sus niños y ellos no oyerán más mis palabras y no verán mi cara que no la vió mi cara antes cuando en el tiempo de haber andado en cada pueblo. Ahora solamente estoy mandando mis pocas palabras por el medio de las cartas.

¹ During the revolution in 1925 some village chiefs had been friendly to Panama and were replaced by others who had been appointed at a congress where Colman was chairman. As everybody valued and respected him he could name the people he wished to be chosen as chiefs.

² Colman uses the word *sikui*. «Birds» is what they call those who can speak Spanish or English and can serve as interpreters for the other Indians.

Ahora estoy oyente algunos están hablando contra mi, pero yo no siento dolor en mi cuerpo; por el contrario estoy pensando solo en Dios para mis enemigos. Y quiero solo de mantener mi tierra y también tuya, sin dificultad para todos que viven en este mundo.

Estoy pensando solo por el camino de Jesucristo que tuvo, cuando estuvo en la tierra y yo estoy haciendo el ejemplo de este hombre, caminando en medio de sus enemigos, a veces me tiraban las piedras contra mi, a veces me mofaban, a veces me amaban y me nombraban con falsas palabras.

Así también estuvo antes de nosotros los grandes hombres en esta tierra, por eso quiero que todos oyen mis pocas palabras; porque todavía estoy vivo, por eso mi pensamiento llegan en sus oídos y hasta los oídos de los muchachos.

Pero yo también su servidor *I g u a n i k d i p i*¹ estoy andando para el bien de todos los hombres de San Blas. Quiero que los jefes de los demás pueblos aprenden también las palabras de Dios y de los *ibeleles*² también para sus gentes. Si los jefes no aprenden estas cosas, sus pensamientos serán muy reducidos para aconsejar a sus gentes y a sus mujeres. Ustedes saben muy bien que en el pueblo de Ailigandi y en el pueblo de Ustúp hay hombres que saben bien las palabras de Dios y las de *ibeleles*. Quiero que aprenden estas cosas como ustedes aprendiendo las medicinas, las *sillaigalas*, las *camuigalas*. De este modo tienen los caminos para los jefes de los pueblos de aprender de como se aconsejan a las gentes. Así estamos haciendo en mi pueblo algunas mis gentes. Ustedes vieron en sus propios ojos uno lo que aprendió de este modo, cantando para ustedes para los otros pueblos sin terminar su pensamiento cuando cante para las gentes. Así quiero que todos hagan lo mismo que estuvo el chief *C o l m a n* también el chief *N ē l e*. Por eso ustedes ven que estos pueblos sus gentes piensan bien y tienen también muchos pensamientos para hablar después de haber cantando su

¹ Second chief in Ailigandi.

² Here similar to «sabios», wise men.

primer jefe. Nuestro jefe supremo dijo para mí que no vaya así pues no puedo venir a sus pueblos a hablar para ustedes, pero es suficiente para ustedes mis pocas palabras que mandando para ustedes mis pocas palabras.

Querremos que hablen bien para sus gentes y para sus mujeres sobre la tierra que estamos sacado en el medio de la pelea. Antes ustedes saben los pensamientos tienen mi tierra como pertenece a ellos pero en este año hemos arrebatado todos los diablos¹ que tenían agarrados en sus manos nuestra tierra para negociar con los otros extranjeros. Debemos trabajar juntos para la tierra. Ustedes señores saben que tenemos en nuestro cuerpo dos manos una a otra los ayudan cuando con una sola mano no pueden levantar las cosas pesadas. Tenemos también el corazón y el hígado, el estómago, los pulmones y los intestinos. Estas cosas ayudan a nuestros cuerpos a funcionar bien durante toda la vida. Así cada pueblo tienen varios hombres que ayudan al pueblo, estos como los que saben las medicinas *sillaigales*, *curquinigalas* los *arcales* y varios jefes como tenemos así. No queremos que ninguno hablan contra unos a otros hasta los que no saben nada ayudan el pueblo cuando su pueblo está en peligro. También tenemos siempre una equivocación general en cada pueblo y debemos decir a los que equivocados en una cosa inmediatamente para los que cayeron en la responsabilidad. Debemos hablar con el ayudamiento de las plantas que están en la tierra las flores² sembradas en las calles de nuestros pueblos y plantas olorosas que tenemos cada casa debemos defender las minas de oro, de hierro, de plomo y todas diferentes clases de metales que se encuentran en nuestra tierra, los ríos que corren en todas partes de la tierra y los peces que se encuentran en los mares y hasta los insectos. Estos todos pertenecen a nosotros y debemos atrincharlos para que [los ladrones] no roban mis cosas en el medio las tinieblas. No piensan solo en las comidas en las camisas y la fumadera de

¹ Here Panamanians are meant.

² Circumlocution for women.

las pipas hasta los chiquitines que fuman que conocemos. Por eso queremos que tengan una profunda idea para la tierra. Querremos que aman sus jefes que ustedes tienen y oigan bien a sus jefes. Los jefes tuyos son sus suegros por eso aconsejan a ustedes con el modo de hacer bien los trabajos y pescar bien para las mujeres y de criar bien sus chiquitines que tienen; también lo aconsejo a ustedes en las palabras de Dios; pero algunos de ustedes no oyen los que uno lo aconseja a ustedes en las maneras buenas.

Que vergüenza serán los hombres que no oyen los que hablan en buenas palabras que la salida de la conferencia ya está peleando con su mujer como los perros a verse otro pasando cerca de él ya aullan para morderlos.

No queremos también que ustedes pelean con sus mujeres, ya sea, con sus padres, ya sea con sus mujeres, ya sea con sus hijos o ya sea con sus parientes y de sus amigos y que no divorcian a sus mujeres, y que golpean a sus mujeres; porque cuando hagan estas cosas ustedes tendrán un gran castigo por las manos de los hermanos de su mujer que ustedes tienen. No crees que las mujeres no tienen los que van ayudar cuando uno lo castiga con los palos. Ustedes saben muy bien hasta las cosas que no tienen vidas, nosotros ayudamos cuando uno quiere romperlas. La flor¹ que tenemos es la vida de nosotros y las alegrías durante nuestra vida; sin la flor unos viven con tristeza y en mucha pereza».

c) *A Speech »para las mujeres», to the Women.*

(Time and place of its delivery not given).

Synopsis: C. says as an introduction that he has come, at the request of their chiefs, to spread their ideas as well as to express his own opinions. The great *nēles* gave good advice even to the women and told them to plant cotton in order that they should have clothes, hammocks, and so forth. All children are not born with the same gifts. If a child learns anything evil during its growing up it becomes a bad child. Formerly the great *nēles* never gave their

¹ = the women.

children bad advice and the women were capable and versatile. Now this has changed and the chiefs say that the women train their children poorly. Colman points out further that parents should feel ashamed of having bad children. Therefore the parents should set a good example, should not lie, and so on. Colman expresses finally the hope that his speech will benefit them and adds that others will come who will say the same things that he has said.

»Señoras:

Vengo para su pueblo para ver ustedes para ver sus hijos y para ver su pueblo, vengo por el orden de nuestros jefes. Yo como he aprendido durante en el tiempo de mi infancia una lengua de las huacas y poco de inglés y lo mismo mis amigos que aprendieron también la lengua extranjera por el bien de la patria y por el bien de ustedes. Estoy antes no pensaba en las cosas que dejaron nuestros abuelos y cuando vine al pueblo de Ailigandi he vido las palabras que dejaron mis grandes hombres. Y como nosotros sabemos de traducir bien las palabras de los jefes, por eso los jefes me mandaron para traducir las palabras de ellos. Así pues, estoy andando para el intérprete de los jefes y dando para ustedes la idea de ellos y la mía también.

Los grandes *nêles* cantaron también para sus gentes y para sus mujeres en las palabras buenas. Uno de estos *nêles* dijo así: que siembran bien los algodones en sus terrenos para las mujeres, para que ellas hagan los vestidos de algodón, las hamacas y hilar los algodones para hacer hilos que enseñan bien de hilar los algodones de hacer hamacas y coser bien los vestidos, hacer las bolsas para sus padres, para llevar las pólvoras y los utensilios de las escopetas a sus hijas y también que consejan sus niñas en buenas palabras.

Señoras y Señores: Nosotros sabemos cuando nace un niño ó una niña llega con sombrero¹ puesto que puso la abuela en la casa de ella; algunas llegan con el sombrero de aprender de hilar algodón, de coser vestido, de hacer diferentes cosas, de pescar, de aprender bien todas las cosas para durante toda

¹ = *kürgin*, see page 363.

su vida. Pero ustedes cuando canten para sus babies se canten para ellos de este modo: »Ahora usted es pequeño, pero cuando usted grande, usted va ser como los hijos de otros, andando con mentiras, con hacer robar las cosas, de pelear contra mí, contra sus parientes y contra otros y para las niñas diciendo que usted va ser como sus hermanas peleando contra su mamá, de andar en las tinieblas como las niñas ajenas andando por los malos jóvenes. Oigan bien, como ustedes al principio de su vida aconsejaron con malas maneras a sus niños; por eso sus niños siguen con sus malas palabras que aconsejaron cuando estaban pequeños. Cuando ustedes ven que sus niños ó niñas peleando con otros, ustedes siguen de aconsejar de este modo: Como usted ya sabe pelear conmigo y sabe de hablar con los mayores; así pues cuando uno quiere pelear, que sigan peleando con uno cuando quiere pelear con ustedes. Así, pues, como creen ustedes que va ser sus niñas una buena mujer cuando crece. Pero los grandes *nêles* no aconsejaron sus niñas de esta manera, solo las mujeres de esta época aconsejaron de ser sus niñas las mujeres sabedoras de todas clases de trabajos. Y lo mismo sus niños, por eso en el tiempo antiguo las mujeres fueron sabedoras de todos trabajos. Pero ahora no sabemos de aconsejar nuestras niñas, nuestros muchachos, nuestras criadas y nuestros vecinos.

Ahora, los jefes dicen que aconsejan mal sus niñas como ustedes aconsejando muy equivocado por ahora, así yo estoy viendo también todas las gentes de San Blás.

Quiero que no sean ambiciosas, no sean envidiosas y que aman bien las personas cuando llegan en su casa y que [den] las cosas a los pobres a sus enemigos porque ellos van hablar sobre ustedes diciéndoles, que esta niña ó mujer es muy buena y nombrarán los nombres de sus padres, de sus madres, de sus hermanos, de sus familias; pero cuando ustedes siguen de andar con malas compañeras ellos hablarán contra ustedes y contra sus padres y ustedes darán para sus padres la vergüenza, la gran pena el nombre de sus parientes. Yo no estoy

esta reunión diciéndo pues estos muchachos quieren que hagan como él las cosas malas y lo formarán tumultos contra mí. Pero ustedes oyen que estoy hablando de buenas palabras creo que hago ustedes sentir felices después de nosotros. Después de nosotros vendrán otras gentes para aconsejar lo mismo que yo».

4. Diverse Political Correspondence.

Among the Cuna documents there are found a great many which illustrate excellently, for one thing, the strong feeling for political independence from Panama which exists among the Indians, and at the same time reveal a great striving for the attainment of a higher civilization through improved instruction and so forth. Most of the letters from *Nēlē* express solely the desire for teachers in the Indian villages. These letters as well as the others have been preserved in copies made by *Nēlē's* assistant at that time, Ruben Pérez Kantule. He, Pérez, took with him on his return trip to Panama from Gothenburg most of the copies. In cases when the original may still be found in Gothenburg a special indication of this is made. The letters have been left by *Norden skiöld* unannotated but he had had the intention of including them in a section of the work on the Cunas' modern history. That the atmosphere between the Indians and the Panama government, between the time just after the rebellion of 1925 and on until the passing of the laws regarding the Indian reservation, on December 12, 1930, (See page 112) has been very tense, can be seen plainly enough in the first three anonymous letters to *Nēlē* (?) from an intelligence officer in Colon. ED.

a) *Anonymous Letter from Colon to San Blas.* Dated March 8, 1929. Typed page, GM. 31.27.13.

»My dear friend;

I recieved your letter and the other paper today. I will not say so much here as you will understand from reading the letter I am sending to the chiefs. I have learned a few things here in Colon but not much. The Government people are keeping everything a secret. I do not know why, no one here knows about the San Blas girls struck on the head. They sure have some brave soldiers to go beating women

diciendo tampoco que los pueblos de Ailigandi y Ustúp tienen sus mujeres andando con una manera más excelente que los demás pueblos sino también llevan su equivocación. Cuando ustedes aconsejan mal a sus niños y niñas ustedes verán cuando ya ellos están grandes, siguen cosas perversas en su casa, haciéndole de llorar a ustedes como ellos peleando con otros hasta pueden golpear a ustedes con sus malas ideas que ustedes han dado para ellos. No hablan con mentiras para sus compañeros y no hablan contra sus amigos, contra sus padres y contra a nadie; porque hablando de este modo ustedes encontrarán sus enemigos con las palabras mentirosas. Si ustedes no hablan de este modo nunca buscarán sus enemigos durante su vida y todos amarán a ustedes como aman a sus parientes. Debemos amar unos a otros, debemos dar a los otros cuando piden algo, debemos hablar con buenas maneras para sus compañeros.

Yo creo que unos de ustedes hacen muchas mentiras contra sus parientes, diciendo que mis familias haciendo llorar a mi en otras casas algunas van a otras casas llorando diciendo falsas palabras contra otros.

Algunas hijas de ustedes pueden decir a ustedes usted también pelea con otros como ustedes creen que yo no hago pelear; tu me enseñó porque he visto a usted también haciendo mentiras cuando yo era pequeña. Lo mismo hagan sus muchachos cuando ustedes no aconsejaron en buenas maneras también hablar contra ustedes. Cuando están borrachos ustedes viendo unos de sus muchachos no saben de borrachar como otros muchachos que andan bien durante la bebida de chichas. Yo sé muy bien ustedes pueden decir su hijo borracho bien yo también quiero de este modo pero ahora mi hijo se borracho muy mal. A veces quebraban sus cosas que él tiene y a veces disparaban la escopeta para matar uno.

Yo no sé si estoy dando para ustedes buenas ideas para bien de ustedes para bien de sus hijas; yo creo si estoy dando malas palabras ustedes hablarán contra mi cuando salgan de

in the head with a club. I also know that they want to catch you. So take no chances. Stay away from the islands. The Panquiaco¹ is here now but is going back in a few days to San Blas. Now get word to all the chiefs to hide their flags and guns if they have any, and when the police intendent comes if they say a thing is so and so let the Indians say yes. Do not argue with them or give them any chance to abuse the people, then see if they will try to pick a fight without any cause. Tell the people not to fight, now. It seems some one told the Government that the San Blas people were going to start a revolution and no doubt they are pretty near wide awake and rather *care* on the subject. Now when the boat goes back up there if they start to abuse the people send me a messenger to tell me the news, keep record of dates and places. Try and find out how many San Blas men, how many boys, 18 years old, how many women and children there are. Just an estimate, not exactly, but try and guess as close as you can. When you send me a letter put the name Jefferson on envelope but tell the messenger boy my right name until he can keep it in his mind so he can ask to find me when he gets here. We must not use names in writing, so if letters are taken away from boys no names can be found. Let us hope for better times for the Indian people. First we will use our thinking powers to see if a way can be found.

As ever a friend».

- b) *Anonymous Letter from Colon to the Chiefs in San Blas.* Two typed pages, GM. 31.27.16. Dated March 8, 1929.

(This paper is referred to in the foregoing letter to the chiefs.)

»To persons in authority,

I am glad to be informed of all that is done in the San Blas country. I found out about the Government boat going there. Some one started a talk that the Indians was

¹ A Panamanian gun-boat. ED.

going to start a revolution. There must be some bad people who want to cause trouble so that the Government will treat the Indians so bad that they will try to fight and in doing so cause the Government to kill and starve and take the Indians country away from them. It is hard to believe that the big head men of the Government know how low and brutal the small officers and police are treating the Indians, and not doing anything about it. I think it must be some citizens who want the Indians country to have so they can make much more money of it, so they make much trouble between the Indians and Government. But if it is the big people of the Panama Government trying to get Indians to fight so they can take everything from them. It is best for the Indians not to start trouble. Don't fight. The Indians have not arms to fight with and war will only cause women and children to suffer more. The people who do not win in a war loses everything and are in a worse fix than before. I know the Indian people have waited a long time for a proper Government where they could trade with other people, governed by themselves, and keep the Cuna race pure and not mixed with other races. The good heart of the Indian is proved by the fact that they have given heed and believe all the promises that has been made to them and lived from year to year keeping their part of the agreement but, on the other side, seeing that none of the promises made were fulfilled, nothing done, they have grown tired and their hearts heavy. I think that it is best to do what the Panama Government says if they do not continue to trouble the Indians just now, and later on try to get the police taken away, and the Indians have their tribal Government, but now while this trouble is on, the Panamanians have bad feelings and are mad, so I do not think it will be good to put in a memorial until things are quiet. I will copy the one you sent. Then I must see and talk with some Indians in authority about the wherewithal to employ a lawyer to represent the Indians. After the present trouble is quiet

it might be fixed so I could talk to some of the head chiefs and then we could plan better what road to walk to get better times and peace for the Cuna people. I would like to see chief Colman and Nêlê as they are ones who are working so hard for their people. Word has been sent in writing to newspapers in the United States, telling about the poor way that the Cuna people are being governed, and all things going on will be told, even though the government thinks to keep it hidden because the San Blas country is far from where educated people lives. Let us rest a while and see if things will quiet while we plan to do something, and not tire until a way is found.

It is my opinion that the following plan should be spoken of by only those Indians who have the good of the Cuna tribe at heart, it is known far and wide in other countries that gold exist in the San Blas country — if it were removed it would help to take away the value of the land which makes the San Blas country so valuable to the eyes of other people, the riches of any country it is a curse if its people are not strong enough to defend it, laws of the Government are easily changed and no doubt any gold found and brought to the attention of the Government would be confiscated, all of it, or part of it.

There is only one plan I can think of and that would be to take out the gold and turn it over secretly to some one who is not a citizen of the Government to sell and depose it in a bank where on such amounts as would be needed from time to time to help gain the Indian freedom or to hold up his rights could be drawn, this have to done by an arrangement of the head chief, and only the older men whose heart are for their people and country should know about it for secrecy the whole thing would be failure and those taking part would get into serious trouble — it might be possible with enough money that the Indians could get a representative to plead for them and get the conditions they want restored to them — at least worth trying, and plan would

be to buy territory of land large enough to take care of the tribe, this might be done I do not know yet, in any case it is necessary to have a lawyer or more than one lawyer who will honestly take care of the Indian interests and see that they are not cheated in any agreement — these matters should be brought before a council of the wise men of the tribe, who can think wisely and try to find what is best.

The lawyer spoken to proposes to let the chief assisted by his secretary and council prepare a memorial setting forth complaints, stating whatever unjust treatment the Indians has received, also making clear just what terms the people would be satisfied with, then make a memorial in proper form from the one the chief prepares after just finding out what the laws are for the Indians by the Government, and what their rights are. This memorial then be taken to the president and other heads of the Government in order to determine just how favorable they will take it and to speak for the Indians and to find out if it is worth while to continue in the same way, or if not getting anything he will try some other way.

Nothing more to say.

A friend true and faithful».

c) *Letter signed M. G. to Nēle(?)*. Typed page, dated May 8, 1929. *G.M. 31.27.18.*

»Dear Friend,

Your messengers arrived yesterday. I was very glad to hear from you. At the present time I am so busy I do not even get enough sleep, but in a few days I will not have so much work and then I can write you a very long letter, talking about the matter so dear to you of the San Blas people and I will also get busy and find a market for the bananas, and I will find out by talking to the big people here in Colon to see if there is not some way so that business people can come to you and buy your turtles and bananas

and anything you people have to sell. But first you must tell me, if there is now any ships that come to your country to trade besides the boats of the Colon Importing Company. I thought the United Fruit Company bought bananas from San Blas, if it is not so tell me in your next letter. If they do not buy, tell me why they do not if you know. I am going to take some time to find out about what we can do about school. I cannot tell you much yet but will later on hold your children and some of your Indian boys who can read and write and figure to count and teach them as much as you can until we can find out more what can be done about getting them in school, or making a school for them. I have copied the memorial and when you can get it fixed to employ him on the case we can have it drawn up in proper form. But some time before time I must see you and have a long talk with you for the head chiefs the Government thinks the Indians are all satisfied. I do not know when the Panquiaco will go to San Blas. But you must work very quietly and keep peace, so you will not be bothered or offer anybody excuse to take your countrymen from you. 'Till there are some ways found to help yourself to better living and greater knowledge which I know will come to all of yours people. You can tell your chiefs that they are thinking right already, because the highest aim of any people is to learn and be wiser, and that is what San Blas is trying to do. It only remains to find the way they can do that. Let us pray that a door is opened to the Indian that he may be free to live as he wishes.

I will write you a longer letter soon, and if I find anything you should know I will send a messenger to you. I will let you know about the schools.

Be careful and don't get caught as you are needed.

Greeting to all your chiefs as friends on earth and brothers under God.

Truly Yours
M. G.»

d) *A Plea Setting forth the Desires of the People of San Blas, R. de P.*

(Original title for GM.31.27.14., two typed pages.)

»Prior to the year of 1900 the Cuna people were under Columbian rule and gave allegiance to that flag. For all time the Indian was unmolested and lived in happiness with plenty for their needs and without conflicts or strife with the Government.

Since the change of Government we have at many times been mistreated by small officials and representatives of the Panamanian Government. We believe that we have never had proper representation. It is hard to believe that the higher officials of the Government would allow such mistreatment if they knew our true code of justice and the inside workings of our tribal life.

About ? years after Panama became a republic police were established in Porvenir. We were then told that they were put there to protect us from people who might steal our property or otherwise molest us.

At a time when Sr. Umberto Patrio was intendencia, for the most trivial offense against his wishes, the Indians were beaten, dragged through the dirt and suspended by the feet. The police established a club and held dances. Women were forced to come into the building and dance. When they objected they were dragged in or put in jail and fined and were assaulted. An Indian Pisca was speaking at a council, a policeman came in and spoke to him. The speaker asked the policeman not to interfere in the council. The policeman shot him dead.

Sr. Patrio was succeeded by Sr. Andraes Mujica. His rule for unjustness, atrocity and cruelty was worse than that of the former Intendencia. An Indian village was burned to the ground by the police because some one told a lie to the affect that the Indians were threatening to fight. Two Indians were on a village named Rio Azucar.

They started firing weapons and killed two Indians and wounded an other. They tied others with rope around their necks and drug them over the ground and threw them in cayucos and took them to Narganá to jail. The reason for this attack was that the people were ordered to take off the costumes worn by the Cunas and to quit wearing golden ornaments in the ears and nose. The Indians objected to this and asked to not be forced to wear the costume prescribed by the Government. During this time appeals were sent for help until finally in desperation the Indians rebelled.

Sr. Mujica was succeeded by Sr. Louis Hernandez, whose rule was considered just with the exception that the Indians were not allowed to gather cocoanuts or catch turtles at many places in the San Blas territory.

The present Intendencia Sr. Avanno's rule is similar to that of Sr. Hernandez. There is no complaint as to inhuman treatment, but there are about - - - keys owned by Indians who are not allowed to gather the coconuts or other products of their respective keys. Negroes living in Porvenir are allowed to hunt turtles and gather the fruits from the keys mentioned. The negroes lie to the Intendencia, saying »the Indians try to kill us», thereby causing trouble and casting discredit upon the Indians.

We the Cuna People lived many years in peace. Peace among ourselves and with our neighbours of other blood. The right to live under our own customs and laws is the dearest to our hearts. We do not want to intermingle in marriage with other races. We have never intruded our customs or religion on others. We have deep in our hearts that same love for our land that every human has for the land of his birth. Like all Indian peoples we cannot so suddenly educate ourselves to take our place as a community in a government whose greater masses have had thousands of years for advancement. It is true we have emerged from the primitive in heart and mind, but we have not had the financial resources to educate ourselves or the sudden adaptability to exploit

or take advantages of the natural resources of our country. Give us time and privilege and we will establish our schools and educate our young as tradesmen and in the things necessary to the progress of a state. We ask to do these things in our own way. We have boys and girls in different schools, and in a short time if allowed we would make a concerted movement toward the uplifting of all our people.

For the accomplishment of our desires we beg: That military and civil offices held by people of other races be withdrawn; That the land in whole which has always been ours, and the natural resources of said land be left to our own use, and that a treaty be made or a grant in writing be given by the Panamanian Government to the Cuna people to above affect, to last for all time. Wherein we promise all that is fair and just to continue to recognize the flag and give allegiance to the Panamanian Government. 'To not allow foreign enterprise to exploit our resources nor allow any operations on our soil that would be to the disadvantage of the Panamanian Government».

e) *Diverse Correspondence Concerning the Republic of Panama's Law 59 of December 12, 1930, Regarding the Reservation of the Cuna Indians' Land for the Natives.*

This law, through which Panama's National Assembly guarantees a clearly defined section as belonging to the Cuna Indians, which section shall not be given away or rented, follows here:

»Ley 59 de 1930¹
(de 12 de Diciembre)

Sobre Reservas Indígenas.

La Asamblea Nacional de Panamá

Decreta:

Artículo 1. — Declárense reservas indígenas las tierras baldías de la costa atlántica comprendidas entre la cima

¹ The text follows a copy, *GM.31.27.11*, brought to Sweden by Pérez.



Fig. 16. Photograph of High Chief *Nēle* of Ustúpu and his Indian delegation with the representatives of La Federación Obrera de Panama. Taken in Panama in August 1930. *Nēle* is sitting in the center of the picture and the Indian at his right is Olonipikinye, chief in Cartí. Back of them is *Nēle*'s secretary, Pérez.

de la cordillera y la ribera del mar y entre los ríos Carreto, por el este y Cartí Grande por el oeste, y las islas que demorran a lo largo de la costa de San Blas comprendidas entre los setenta y siete grados y treinta y cinco minutos ($77^{\circ} 35'$) y los setenta y ocho grados cincuenta y cinco minutos ($78^{\circ} 55'$) de longitud occidental.

Artículo 2º. Las tierras de que se trata en el artículo anterior serán poseídas en común por las tribus aborígenes que las habitan sin que puedan ser enajenadas ni arrendadas.

Dada en Panamá a los nueve días del mes de Diciembre del año de mil novecientos treinta.

El Presidente,

(fdo) Carlos Guevara.

El secretario,

(fdo) Antonio Alberto Valdés.

República de Panamá

Poder Ejecutivo Nacional.

Panamá 12 de Diciembre de 1930.

Publíquese y Ejecútese.

(fdo) F. H. Arosemena.

El secretario de Gobierno y Justicia,

(fdo) Daniel Ballén.»

During the discussion of this law the Indians had taken an active part through delegations sent to the authorities in Panama (fig. 16) as well as through letters to the President. The following papers give a good picture of the Indians' demand for respect for their native land.

The Cuna Indians Define their Demands. Dated Panama, August 13, 1930.

(From a copy in Pérez' possession).

»Pliego de motivos presentados por los jefes de la Circunscripción de San Blas al excelentísimo Señor Presidente de

la República por conducto del Señor Secretario de Gobierno y Justicia:

Señor Secretario de Gobierno y Justicia,
E. S. D.

Señor Secretario:

Por el digno conducto de Usted hacemos llegar ante el Excelentísimo señor Presidente de la República nuestras justas aspiraciones a fin de que sean consideradas de conformidad.

Somos indígenas oriundos de los 45 pueblos de Circunscripción de San Blas y hemos venido a la Capital de la República a exponer nuestros puntos de vista en relación con nuestra situación de San Blas.

[Exponemos] señor Secretario, que por la falta de relaciones armoniosas entre las autoridades constituidas y nosotros en el año 1925 se suscitaron los hechos sangrientos de ese entonces en nuestra región, cosa ésta que lamentamos.

Después de esos sucesos entonces el Secretario de Gobierno y Justicia, Doctor Carlos L. López, celebró con nosotros una especie de tratado en el cual se hacía constar entre otras cosas que seríamos tratados y considerados al igual que todos los demás conciudadanos y cual no habrá sido nuestra decepción al ver que se cometen injusticias con nosotros y si reclámamos no somos atendidos por las autoridades de ese lugar. En tal virtud y estimando la continuación de este estado de cosas no es lo que deseamos resolvimos atender y considerar las indicaciones de los actuales dirigentes de la Federación Obrera de la República y después de largas deliberaciones llegamos a la conclusión que lo más conveniente era trasladarnos a esta ciudad a fin de tener un entendimiento con las altas autoridades del País.

Después de haber consultado y recibido largas explicaciones relacionadas con nuestros derechos y deberes acordamos presentarnos ante las autoridades panameñas y presentarlo

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nuestro reconocimiento y a la vez pedir a estas que se nos reconozcan y respeten los siguientes derechos garantizados por nuestra constitución y leyes relativas, a saber:

- 1:0 Respeto y garantía de nuestros derechos individuales tan amenazados por la falta de comprensión de las autoridades administrativas de nuestra región.
- 2:0 Garantía para el goce del derecho del sufragio, hoy impedido por la falta de libertad en ese derecho.
- 3:0 Que se legisle en el sentido de que se dicten leyes tendientes a declarar inadjudicables todas las tierras dentro de la Jurisdicción de la Circunscripción de San Blas, a fin de que queden como reservas y así sea para los indígenas y poder nosotros adquirir parcelas que pueden ser herencia que dejemos a nuestras familias.
- 4:0 Que se haga buena escogencia entre los empleados que han de ir a prestar sus servicios en esos lugares procurando por todos los medios posibles que estos sean honrados, sobrios y respetuosos con nuestras mujeres ó hijas y a la vez sean lo suficiente inteligentes a fin de que sean también un factor en la armonía que debe existir desde este momento entre gobernados y gobernantes.
- 5:0 Que se restablezcan las becas para estudios de indígenas en los distintos colegios de la Capital; y
- 6:0 Que se nos permita cosechar y vender nuestros frutos con libertad, lo cual no podemos hacer hoy por la intervención de las autoridades, quienes no respetando los derechos sobre las propiedades heredadas de nuestros antecesores nos impiden el uso del fruto y en cambio se adueñan de ello y disponen a su antojo hasta el extremo de obligarnos a que vendamos por el precio que tienen acordado entre las autoridades y los compradores.

Secretario: nosotros confiamos en que Ud. interpondrá sus buenos servicios a fin de que nuestra solicitud tenga una resolución favorable. También queremos aprovechar esta

oportunidad para presentarlo nuestro reconocimiento al Excelentísimo señor Presidente de la República, Don Florencio Harmodio Arosemena, por los buenos consejos que tuvo a bien darnos en el sentido de que no nos dejásemos explotar, y a la vez dejar constancia aquí lo agradecido que lo estamos también a los dirigentes de la Federación Obrera de la República por sus buenos servicios prestados en beneficio nuestro sin ningún otro interés que el de que se arregle este asunto satisfactoriamente y la defensa al proletariado en general.

Panamá, 13 de Agosto de 1930.

(fdo) Oloolopiquiña de Ustúpu, Chochí de Ailigandí; Manuel Hernández de Tupile; Susso de Murro; Iquaidile de Urgandí; Iguaniquiñe de Ocupa; Simón Pedro de Aidrigandí; Iguaniopiliquiñe de Mayugandí; Guagua Suili de Tigandíquí; Iguaniopiliquiñe de Tigre; Olo... de Urgandí; de Mormaquetupo; Mastibaquiñe de Nusatupo; de Ubicantupo; de Molatupo; Tibín de Tupile; Olonobiquiñe de; Olotibiliquiñe de Ustúpo».

Letter from Nêle and the Chief Inapaquiña to the President in Which They Thank Him for the Attention Which He and the Secretary of State, Have Given the Indian Affairs.

(From a copy in Pérez' possession).

La Comarca de San Blas, 8 de Septiembre de 1930.

«Señor don Florencio Harmodio Arosemena,
Panamá.

Excelentísimo señor:

Los que la presente suscribimos jefes superiores de la Circunscripción de San Blas, Nêle y Brigadier Inapaquiña de común acuerdo y en representación genuina

de los indígenas oriundos de San Blas, venimos por este expresarnos a su excelencia el jefe del Estado, don Florencio Harmodio Arosemena, nuestra gratitud por todas las atenciones de que hemos sido objeto de parte de las altas autoridades del país, y en particular de él y su digno Secretario de Gobierno y Justicia, Don Adriano Robles, de su promesa comenzada a cumplirse ya que hemos visto que uno de los asuntos recomendados a la Asamblea Nacional ha sido el que se legisle en el sentido de señalar una zona de la región de San Blas dedicada a reservar territorial para nosotros.

Ojalá, pues, esa recomendación fuera lo suficiente ante los Honorables Diputados a fin de que convirtieran en una positiva realidad nuestras aspiraciones.

Señor Presidente: nosotros le rogamos una vez más que interponga sus buenos oficios a fin de conseguir que los padres de la Patria [obren] en el sentido indicado por Usted, ya que ese acto tendría el aplauso no sólo de nosotros sino del país entero ya que proceder se ajustaría a la equidad y la Justicia.

Los actos patrióticos por si mismo son reconocidos y este caso estaría el nuestro. Consecuentes con esas ideas hemos querido mantener nuestro regocijo hasta que el Excelentísimo señor Presidente, nos traigais la noticia de que hemos sido favorecidos, y entonces todos nosotros con los corazones henchidos de placer ver al protector nuestro y por quien le dejaremos a nuestros hijos asegurados el suelo que los vió nacer.

Somos sus seguros servidores y amigos

Nele y Inapaquiña.

Esta copia por E. Morales».

Letter from the Chief Charles Robinson in Narganá to President Arosemena, in which he points out

that two villages, Assucuno and Armila, would come outside the Indian territory if the boundary were drawn according to the proposed law.

(From the copy in Pérez' possession).

Panamá, 29 de Octubre de 1930.

»Excelentísimo Señor Don

Florencio H. Arosemena,

Presente.

Excmo señor:

Observo que en el proyecto de Ley por el cual se dispone declarar reservas indígenas las tierras baldías las comprendidas en la Circunscripción de San Blas, ya como en ese proyecto se dice que los límites serían comprendidos entre la cordillera y ribera de mar y entre los ríos Carreto por el Este; Carti Grande por el Oeste; y las islas que demoran a esa demarcación quedarían fuera de esas tierras las poblaciones Assucuno y Armila.

Ahora bien, si el límite se extiende al río Armila en vez del Río Carreto, quedarían comprendidas dentro de la Jurisdicción de la reserva las mencionadas poblaciones. El otro límite debe ser a los límites del Distrito de Santa Isabel donde queda situada una piedra negra que es el lugar donde siempre se ha tenido como límite entre San Blas y Santa Isabel.

Quedaría muy agradecido Excmo señor el que Usted hiciera reformar este proyecto de Ley en ese sentido.

De Usted muy obsecuente servidor,

Charles Robinson».

f) Letters from Nele de Kantule to Panama's President and other authorities regarding school matters in the Cuna villages.

(All from copies in R u b e n P é r e z' possession, made from originals).

Ailigandi, 14 de Abril de 1931.

«Sr. Secretario de Gobierno y Justicia,
Panamá.

Respetable Sr.:

Lo hacemos recordar a Ud. sobre las becas que se encuentran vacantes en los Colegios de Artes y Oficios y en el Instituto Nacional.

Deseamos llenar esas becas por jóvenes inteligentes que realizarán una obra buena en sus estudios.

Beca vacante de S a m u e l M o r r i s lo ocupará A b e l a r d o P é r e z en el Instituto Nacional.

Beca vacante de V i c t o r A v i l a lo ocupará R o d r i g o P o r r a s en el Artes y Oficios.

Su seguro servidor y amigo

Cacique
N é l e d e C a n t u l e
Secretario
R u b é n P. K a n t u l e».

Ailigandi, Abril 14 de 1931.

«Sr. Presidente de la República
Ricardo J. Alfaro,
Panamá.

Respetable Dr.:

Como todos los países civilizados tienen sus hijos que saben hablar dos ó tres idiomas para que puedan ejercer el puesto de comercio.

Así mismo nosotros los oriundos de esta comarca deseamos nuestros hijos vayan instruyendo y progresando por esa vía de estudios. Ya que tenemos jóvenes indígenas capacitados ó mejor dicho graduados de E. E. U. U. para ejercer el puesto de maestro inglés.

Esa solicitud lo hacemos a Ud. para que haga un estudio de ella creo que saldrá favorable que nos conteste.

Damos a la lista a los jóvenes que aspiran ser el maestro inglés son:

Isaac Ossa, Federico Filos, Francisco Díaz, Andrés Arias.

Agradeciendo nuestros deseos por anticipado.

Su Seguro Servidor

Cacique.....

Néle de Cantule.

Secretario

Rubén P. Cantule.»

Editor's Appendix to Part A: Lionel Wafer's route across the Isthmus of Panama in 1681 according to explanations given by Ruben Pérez Kantule.

During Ruben Pérez' stay in Sweden in 1931 he read with great interest George Parker Winship's excellent edition of »A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of Panama by Lionel Wafer» (Cleveland 1903, Reprinted from the original edition of 1699). Pérez could give from Wafer's description and his personal knowledge of the Cuna Indian territory a most interesting commentary on Wafer's route of travel from the Pacific side to the Atlantic during some months in 1681, an expedition Wafer has so well described in his book. Pérez felt that he was able to say almost exactly what way Wafer had followed. He did this in the form of oral exposition for Norden skiöld and from this the latter made notes on a copy of »Mapa de la Republica de Panama», scale 1: 500,000, year 1925. Outside these small notes on the map Norden skiöld left nothing regarding this except a little paper with some information hastily jotted down. He never wrote anything in manuscript form about what Pérez had told him in this connection.

As it seems to me to be of a certain interest to include also this detail of the research results reached during the cooperation with Pérez I have therefore wished to put into shape the material available. In this connection I have had as reference, in addition to the original notations, which however, were not entirely clear, a letter from Pérez of September 24, 1937, containing detailed information.

W a f e r used in his original edition »A map of the Isthmus of Darien and Bay of Panama«, which had been used earlier by William D a m p i e r for his *New Voyage around the World*.

I might here call attention to Winship's words in his introduction (p. 19): »D a m p i e r's first volume was illustrated with five maps, one of which represented the Isthmus of Darien, with a dotted line showing his route across in 1681 and the different stopping places during that journey. This map was afterwards used to illustrate W a f e r's narrative, and it is reproduced in the present volume. In examining it, the reader should recollect that the route marked on it is that of D a m p i e r and the main body of his companions, and not that traversed a few months later by W a f e r«.

On the map in fig. 17 W a f e r's route has been marked, according to Pérez' idea of it, with small arrows. W a f e r began the trip at Rio Congo at Golfo de San Miguel, followed R. Congo, and went over to R. Cañaza. The place where the chief *Lacenta* lived, which is described by W a f e r (p. 53) and which V i c e n t e R e s t r e p o assumed to be located at the junction of R. Sabalo and the Cañaza (p. 53, note), corresponds, according to Pérez, to the village Pirya at the junction between the Upper Bayano and the Cañaza. Pérez in 1936 visited the village Pirya in order to study this question and found that W a f e r's description exactly corresponded to the geographical conditions of the place. Between *Lacenta's* village or Pirya and Narganá Viejo or the village of *Pawa* is located the high mountain