

SPECIAL MEETING,

Held at the Scottish Corporation Hall, Crane Court, Fleet Street,
London, on Friday, 9th May, 1873.

DR. R. S. CHARNOCK, F.S.A., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and confirmed.

Elections announced :—

Fellows, C. H. E. CARMICHAEL, Esq., M.A.; W. C. S. CLAPHAM, Esq., L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S.; A. L. ELDER, Esq., F.R.G.S.

Local Secretaries, T. MITCHELL, Esq., H.M. Consul, St. Petersburg; PROFESSOR CHARLES WELLS, Constantinople; DR. JULIUS SCHWARZ, Pesth.

The Honorary Foreign Secretary read the following paper :—

NOTES ON THE KITCHEN-MIDDENS OF SÃO PAULO,
BRAZIL, AND THE FOOTPRINTS OF ST. THOMAS,
alias ZOMÉ.

By CAPT. RICHARD F. BURTON, F.R.G.S., V.P.L.A.S.

THE immense Kitchen-middens of the Brazilian coast have been wholly neglected by travellers. I believe myself the first foreigner who called attention to these pre-historic deposits, and who sent home specimens of stone implements such as are contained in all of them.

It is not improbable that the whole coast, from the Oyapoc and the Amazons to the Plata and beyond, is studded with shell-mounds, which in places rise to the rank of hillocks. On the bay of Rio de Janeiro I heard of them at the Ilha Grande. The monographer Fray Gaspar da Madre de Deos,* *Memorias para a Historia de Capitania de São Vicente, hoje Provincia de São Paulo, &c., &c.* (first published in 1747), informs us that they served for lime since the country was discovered, that they do not extend north of the Bertioga sea-arm (on the contrary they exist about Ubatuba), but stretch down the coast to Cananéa, and to the Province of Sta. Catharina. A local history of the Southern Province of Paraná,

* This author was born at Santos in 1730. His house is still shown in the Rua de Santo Antonio; it is a low solid construction with projecting eaves, massive corbels, and the latticed balconies of Malta; it is church property, and when I saw the tenement it was occupied by Sr. Antonio de Lemos. The monographer of his native province was a Benedictine, and a most laborious as well as an exact writer: I found that he had overhauled all the documents of the Carmo at Santos. He died in 1802, and was buried in the church of São Bento, in the south-western part of the town. He is believed to have left the MS. of a second volume: unfortunately it has disappeared—probably stolen.

which unfortunately disappeared from my small collection, gives a long and detailed account of them, and, indeed, their importance as the only depôts of lime in a granitic region renders them not likely to be neglected by the native authorities, who know the country well.

The Portuguese call them *Ostreiras* (oyster beds), the "Indian" name is *Sambaquê*, or *Sambaquí*, bearing the same signification. As in Africa the cold weather drove elephants and other luxurious beasts from the high interior to the coast, so the exceedingly sensual semi-nomades of the Middle Brazil employed themselves during summer in hunting upon the inner plateau, averaging, like the Aram of Syria, some two thousand feet above sea level, especially in May, June, and July: during winter they followed their game to the lower and milder regions, where they built ranchos among the mangrove grounds, and eked out their scanty and irregular fare, while the animals were breeding, with the fish, the oysters, and the muscles which formed the staff of life of many an Ichthyophagic family. Each household occupied its own heap upon the banks of some sweetwater streamlet, and thus the *Ostreiras* are often apparently double. Those who died during the winter were buried, as will be seen, among the fragments of their feasts.

The antiquity of these *Kjökken-möddings* is at once apparent from their size: the lower strata also are almost petrified by long-continued heat and pressure. The stone implements are rude to the last degree, serving only to smash or open shells, and contrasting strongly with the beautifully-finished weapons used for fighting. And it must also be borne in mind that upon this part of the coast the "Indians," such as the Goyaná (plural *Goyanázes*) of Santos and the *Carijós* of Cananéa have been extinct for nearly three centuries. It is impossible to divine when the foundations of the heaps were laid, and thus I am justified in calling them "pre-historic."

Around the Bay of Santos there are or rather were about twenty of these deposits. They are noticed by Fr. Gaspar as follows :— "Tanta he a antiguidade d'estas *Ostreiras* (assim he chamão na Capitania de S. Paulo, os Indios as denominavão *Sambaquê*) que a humidade pelo decurso dos tempos veio a dissolver as conchas de algumas d'ellas, reduzindoas a huma massa branda, a qual petrificando se pouco a pouco com o calor, formou pedras tão solidas, que he necessaria quebralas com marrões ou alavancas, antes de as conduzirem para os fornos onde as resolvem em cal. D'estas conchas dos Mariscos que comerão os Indios, se tem toda a cal d'esta capitania desde o tempo da fundação até agora, e tarde se acabarão os *ostreiras* de Santos, S. Vicente, Conceição, Iguape, Cananéa, etc. Iguacs montinhos se encontrão na praia que vai da villa da Laguna ás Torres na Provincia de Santa Catharina. Na major parte d'ellas ainda se conservão *inteiras* as conchas, e n'algumas achão se machados (os dos Indios erão de seixo muito rijo), pedaços de panellas quebradas e ossos de defuntos, pois que se algum Indio morria no tempo da pescaria, servia de cemiterio a *Ostreira* na qual depositavão o cadaver, e e depois o cobrião com conchas." Of the remaining *Sambaquês*

I visited all the most important. Before describing them, however, it may be as well to give a short topographical view of the far-famed bay.

The traveller from Rio de Janeiro, after running along the continental island of Santo Amaro, which appears to be part of the coast, turns its south-western projection, the fortified Punto Grosso, fronting the Punta de Mondubá, on the western mainland, and finds himself opposite what appears to be the *embouchure* of a mighty river, some seven miles broad. A few yards of progress shows him that the old Rio de Santo Amaro de Guaimbé, now the Barra de Santos, is a marine outlet composed of two arms. Its western is the Rio de São Vicente, picturesque and classical, but useless: its present shallow bar will not admit the smallest craft, and I have reason to believe that the level of the land has here risen. The eastern is the Santos River proper, which leads up to the town, forming between it and the mainland a broad and winding sea-arm, which receives and conducts to the Atlantic the sweet-water drainage of the tall hill-curtain on the north.

Fast locked in the embrace of two strong arms lies Santos Island, which books call the Ilha de São Vicente. There was till lately a hot dispute whether this stream or the Bertioga water is the place first visited on January 2, 1532, the fête of St. Vincent, by Martin Affonso de Souza, the explorer and first donatory of the coast. Even to mention the arguments *pro* and *con.* would occupy far too much space. At any rate, the western stream has succeeded *per fas et nefas* in keeping the name. The fine strip of sand which, backed by low vegetation, faces the sea is the Praia do Embaré; here the Santistas have built small villas and cottages, and flock during the summer to enjoy the sea-bath, and shoals of fish abound. About the middle of the island, and forming a crescent with the hollow to the south, is an excellent landmark, the hill of Monserrate, quarry-gashed, green-clad, and surmounted by a useless white-washed chapel, and a useful signal staff. Evidently in geological ages this lumpy ridge of gneiss rock, granite boulder, and felspar clay was the only breakwater of the sea which washed the feet of the semi-circular Serra of the mainlands, and the rest of the island was formed long afterwards by its *débris* and by the dash of the waves.* And as the western part of the island is rising, so I believe the eastern to be subsiding; these secular oscillations of land should be verified, and carefully be studied before laying out hydraulic and other public works.

We now run up to Santos River some six miles to the town, and bend to the east, to the north-east, and finally to the north-west. As we progress the eye falls upon the grandiose amphitheatre of mountains:

* In 1857 the following borings were made by Mr. Neate, C. E., at the Custom-house pier, Santos:—

Surface humus	.	.	.	.	6 to 16 feet.
Good sandy silt	.	.	.	.	14 to 24 "
Silty clay	.	.	.	.	16 to 27 "
Soft clay	.	.	.	.	46 to 66 "
Gravelly sand	.	.	.	.	26 to 41 "

wall-like to the west, peaked to the north, and falling into a gap on the east, shaggy and rankly forested to the summit, and generally tipped with heavy clouds, it forms the back-ground of the bay. Here we have—

A serra altiva, que os cabeços ergue
Calvos, arrepiados, ou cingidos
De donosas palmeiras.

JOAQUIN NOBERTO.

This is the Serra do Mar or da Terra Firma, a prolongation of the Brazilian eastern ghauts, whose section about Rio de Janeiro, the Serra dos Orgãos, is much admired. The maximum height about Santos may be 3500 feet.

The sweep of the noble amphitheatre induced the Goyanázés inhabitants to call the island Endoaguassú or the "great mortar" (formed of a tree-trunk). Like all the tribes of these parts, they gave names as picturesque as they were musical; some of them are the most beautiful and expressive that can be imagined, and we have only to regret when one falls into disuse. Hans Stade (cap. 14) who corrupts the word to Iwawasupe, justly makes the mortar formed by the Serra rim with the hills of Santos Island. Fray Gaspar, followed by Varnhagen (vol. i. 141) gives Euguaguaçu with its Portuguese equivalent Pilão Grande or Monjolo; the first word, however, should be Endoa, Endua, or Indoa (in Gonçalves Dias). Varnhagen also is hardly justified in asserting that the great mortar is derived *de um destes engenhos primitivos que alli havia*. The moderns, combining the semi-circular rim of this "hole-in-the-wall" with the perpetual downpour from clouds condensed by the cold mountain-tops, compare the formation with another article of domestic use. The simile suits perhaps even better, but it is decidedly unsavoury. In Hans Stade, also, we find the settlement of São Vicente called "Orbioneme," which after writers travestied to Orpion, and, not having the fear of the French before their eyes, to "Morpion." "Não sabemos porque," says Varnhagen: in Purchas, however (v. 1242), we find Warapisumama, and we may trace part of the root to Guara, the Ibis, of which many were here killed. It will not be necessary for me here to describe the complication of bays, points, streamlets, and sea-arms which divide Santos Island and town from the mainland.* During our visits to the Sambaqués we shall learn enough of them.

The first Kitchen-middeus which I visited were in the shaggy and lofty island of Santo Amaro, which forms the left bank of the Santos River. They are chiefly upon the shores of the Bertioga, a riverine sea-arm dividing the island from the mainland. The large heaps of Berbigões (the venus shell) nearest the western mouth, have now mostly been removed for lime-burning, and the implements and bones have been hopelessly dispersed. Further on is another morne or earth cliff which has long supplied my friend M. Porchat with lime.

* There is a hydrographic chest of Santos harbour, by Admiral Campbell, of the Portuguese navy. No plan of the town was published in my day, but the municipal chamber has one on a large scale, (signed) C. A. BRESSEN.

It is shown by a Ranch or thatched shed. At the edge to the north-west side the layers of oysters and venus appear mixed with pebbles and brown humus, the rest of the surface is covered with dense second growth, and I found it difficult to measure the size or the cubic contents of the deposits which now (after seven years) are probably all removed. This Sambaqué had as usual an Indian name, and skulls of the old inhabitants were taken from it to be destroyed. The smaller oysters are said to yield excellent lime. Further west again, on the northern bank of the Lagoa de Caete, the half-way house in the centre of the Bertioga channel, is the *Ostreira* of Colonel Candinho Albuquerque. He digs his shells from the southern slope of a hill near the water; the fragments are hoed out mixed with earth, kneaded together with water till they become balls the size of 68 prs., kiln-dried, and burnt when wanted. The heaps are notably double, intended for two families. Finally, I heard of huge collections on the right bank of the Rio de Uriri, a small stream from the continental side falling in near the eastern mouth of the Bertioga; according to my informants, they have been worked for years without perceptible diminution.

Two "Indian" hatchets were sent to the unhappily defunct Anthropological Society of London, which were found two or three feet below the level of the soil in a Morro (cliff) upon the Ilha do Bernabé. This islet is conspicuous from Santos, the town rising to the north of the river-like harbour which is formed by the mangrove-bearing surface streams that drain the coast. It was known of old as the Ilha dos Padres, because occupied by the Jesuit missionaries; now it is called after the Commendador Bernabé, a wealthy merchant of Santos, who here spends two months during the year. You land from your canoe at a mass of boulders covered with cockles and other shells; from that point a paved Calçada or ramp leads to a terraco upon which, about 180 feet above sea level, stands the large white house, five-windowed and red-roofed. The garden is in a wild state, but it still bears the most delicate white roses.

Re-embarking, we crossed a widening of the water to the north called the Lagoa de Santa Rita, a regular duckpond in the cold season, when game abounds. It is the estuary of a bright little stream from a spur of the Northern Serra, rolling over white sand, and much affected by shipping. Its name is written "Gerubatuba," "Jeribatuba," and in sundry other ways, but it simply means *Jeri*, a parrot, and *ubatuba*, a place of canes. In another half-hour we passed the Round Stone (Itapoan), and disembarked at Santa Rita, an old plantation of the Benedictines, who had a chapel on the height to the left. Originally this place of worship was called *Madre de Deus*; it was built by the proprietor of the *Eugenho d'Agua* (water mill), *Pero de Goes*, first donatory of the *Capitania dos Guatacazes*, afterwards of *São Thomé*, containing fifty leagues of coast between *São Vicente* and *Espirito Santo*. The *Madre de Deus* afterwards became *N^a S^a das Neves*, perpetual mists taking the place of ice and snow, which are much wanted at Santos. Its beautiful situation attracts to it many canoe pilgrimages on Sundays,

and festivals with bands and abundant rockets, and it is "chie" to return carrying branches of the huge Brazilian *murtas* (myrtles).

Santa Rita has now been converted into a brick manufactory belonging to M. Francisco de Mendez Netto, and the amount of progress is shown by the bricks being stamped "Clayton & Co.'s Patent." The factor, M. Antonio José da Silva Campello, an intelligent Portuguese from *Minho e Douro*, showed me the establishment and gave me two fine Indian hatchets. They were found when digging clay for bricks in an argillaceous cliff two or three feet below the actual surface of the ground. My collection from Santos Bay was presented to the Anthropological Society of London (alas, departed!) and to various friends. For the refuse of the collection the sum of three guineas each was offered, and during my absence from England Mr. Cutter, naturalist, became the possessor, I believe, of eight.

On Sunday, December 3, 1865, I set out in a four-oared boat, accompanied by M. João Baptista da Silva Bueno to visit the coffee grounds, tree plantation, and lime hills of his brother, superintendent of the Customhouse, Santos. The islet rises to the north-west of the Santos sea-arm; it is composed chiefly of red boulder-clay, and from afar it shows above the shore line of mangroves towering like a saddleback, with a house and garden in the fork or seat. Rowing some fifty minutes we came to a kind of bay, known as the *Caniú*—"Cancó" being the older form. It is about a mile broad, and it discharges the river *Cascoeiro* (bank, *i. e.*, of mangrove), which, flowing south-west, completes the insulation of Santos. We passed several deeply-laden canoes which were hurrying down stream: the wind threatened to blow from the north-west, and many have been drowned in the lagoon. This is quite a local meteor. The hot, damp, light air of the Santos "mortar" rises bodily and must be supplied by colder currents either by the *Viraçao* (sea breeze), or by the cool draught from the mountains, which average 3000 feet above sea level. Thus, travellers making the coast from the interior plateau 2000 feet high find no west wind till they have descended 300 to 500 feet into the basin. A mangrove islet on the left shows the remains of a "Casa forte" or stone house built by the old Portuguese against the *Bugres* ("Indians"). In less than two hours we had covered the two leagues (eight miles) separating Santos from the Ilha do Cascoeiro. The plantation can be seen from the higher parts of the town, a house between two low hummocks, and surrounded by lusty second growth, where grass grew within the owner's memory. To the right, black dots run up the gentle slopes which face the south: these are the tea plants. The neighbouring hill is rough with tall coffee and leek-green with sugar. At the southern portion of "Bark Island" the north-west end of the Santos sea-river forks; a league to the north-east, conducts to *Mogy*, the station of the Santos and São Paulo railway, built at the foot of the great incline. On the left is the *Cubatão* stream, a league and a half long, to the bridge upon the new mule-road leading to the capital.

It must not be confounded with the Cubatão de Mogy, *alias* Rio Piassaguera. The word is explained by Fr. Gaspar (p. 68), "Portos a que chamam cubatões." Here Martin Affonso de Souza landed to explore the interior, and the first name was Porto das Armadias (of canoes). It afterwards belonged to the Jesuits of Santos college, and took the title of Porto de Santa Cruz.

We landed on the south of the island in a cloud of mosquitos and sandflies which particularly affected the shelter of the boatshed. Here also is a lime manufacture supplied by a sambagué hard by, the first of the three. Traces of the oysters still remained, but the greater part of the deposit had been burned for use. We carefully inspected the large tea plantation, saw the leaves gathered and toasted in the iron pan, and drank the infusion made upon the spot. It had a curious perfumed taste, and I asked if any herb had been mixed with it. The host replied no. Some, however, employ for the purpose a small white flower (Flor do Imperador?), and others adulterate it with the leaves of an indigenous tea plant called Jubão. They describe it as bearing a small blue blossom with five petals (??). Tea is considered to be a growth indigenous to the Brazils, and Labat tells us that it grows wild in the Antilles. The subject is too extensive for the slightest description in this paper, but the world has not heard or tasted the last of Brazilian tea.

After a copious breakfast we set out towards the north-western part of the Cascoeiro Island led by Senhor João with the sturdiest step for a septuagenarian. Here were the ruins of an old lime-kiln, which, many years before the birth of our guide, had drawn its supplies from the Ostreira hard by. The mound began from the mangrove-grown shore, and gradually rose to a height of nearly 200 feet; the length and breadth were some 2800 feet; so it is easy to calculate the cubic contents. The decay of ages had clothed the rugged surface with a coat of brown humus, and here and there a tall tree rose from the thick bush and scrub.

A section of the mound shows the oyster and other shells scattered in layers separated by earthy matter; there is no regularity, and the spoils of the sea are apparently tossed about without thought—in fact thrown away after use. In places the superabundant heat and moisture have formed a compact conglomerate of which blocks weighing fully half a ton were shown to us. They contained the remains of crabs and crayfish, whilst large fishbones and spines appeared scattered amongst the shells. Sundry skulls have, it is said, been taken from this mound, and our guide had a theory that the natives burned their dead in the oyster heaps, but never among the Berbigões (bivalves, chiefly the Venus). We found only one fragment of a calvaria, whose thickness rendered it worthy of a trip to No. 4, St. Martin's Place. A broken hatchet of dark stone was picked up, and a pebble, which was ground down evidently for the purpose of opening shell-fish, was detected by our guide. He showed me also what he called Pedra' Tauna (for Ita una, the latter syllable contracted from pitua, meaning the black, not, as I thought at the time, grinding stone, from the Arabic Tâhún, a millstone), porous,

black, carefully rounded,* and brought, it is supposed, either from the Mogy River or from the Cachoeira of Cubatão. Several of these stones, weighing half a pound, in number from nine to fourteen, are always found deposited at the head and feet of the skeletons. Evidently they are instruments of domestic work, probably grain crushers, deposited for the use of the ghost. It is hardly probable that the Tupis had souls or spirits.

We then crossed a shallow water to a similar mound, but not so large. Our host believed that the families had their separate camping-places where they built the huge Tabas, or sheds of poles and matting, which composed their villages. This is by no means improbable.

We then turned towards the north-east of the island, and found another shell-deposit quite equal to the largest yet seen. As usual, it was covered with scrub, and the torrential rains had cut here and there dwarf cliffs, which were not easy to climb. We picked up some human bones, and the rounded stones before mentioned, but we failed to find an entire cranium. This mound is also double, a streamlet dividing it, and on a mangrove island at the other side of the Mogy River a similar hillock was pointed out.

Concerning these Sambaquês, Senhor João remarked that at the arrival of the Portuguese they were found ready made, showing the work of many ages. Moreover, they suggested that the native tribes must have been more numerous than is generally supposed. Besides the evidence of the oyster mounds (to which I attach small importance), he pointed out that the whole country about the Bay of Santos was wholly deficient in the true old "Mata Virgem" (virgin forest), which proves that it has once been cleared. The uneducated cannot believe that such mounds were the handy work of men, and attribute them to the (Noachian) Deluge, or to some other such apocryphal convulsion. Even educated men have advocated this absurdity in writing.

During my residence at Santos, I often attempted to find the Pegadas,† or footsteps of St. Thomé, so often alluded to by Simão de Vasconcellos, the old Jesuit historian,‡ and other reverend writers. At one time there was a regular pilgrimage to these foot-prints, which are described as dinting the rocks upon the shore of S. Vincent. All my labour, however, was in vain: some of the old men had heard of them, but the site was clean forgotten. The holy, be it observed, die twice—once in the flesh, and then in memory.

The ecclesiastical writers were of opinion that the command, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations," had literally been carried

* Some are apparently water-worked.

† I am doubtful whether the word should be pronounced Pégadas or Pegádas.

‡ Lib. II. *Cronica da Companhia de Jesus*. This book begins admirably, reproving with true philanthropy the brutality of civilization, and quoting the will of Paulus "Papa Tertius," datum Romæ, Anno 1575. Quarto nonas Junii (June 9), Pontificatus nostri anno tertio. Then it proceeds to deny that the offspring of a slave girl by a monkey, born at Cabo Verde, had a rational soul; and, lastly, it falls into the quaint superstitions about St. Thomas, quoting some fifty-five authors in support of the opinions advanced.

out in the New as well as in the Old World. St. Thomas was chosen for the Brazil, chiefly it would appear on account of his being somewhat faithless and hard of belief (John xx. 24—29), "quia infirmior erat et infidelior aliis." Vasconcellos, after duly reproving the "Grande canalha de feiticeiros,"* thus adduces "an argument of greater profession." Some one of the Twelve must have preached the Glad Tidings to every creature even in America (Matthew xxviii. 19, Mark xvi. 15); we know that it was not St. Peter or St. Paul, &c., &c., &c. Ergo, it could have been none but St. Thomas. Then who, asks Varnhagen, reached Australia?

Near Itapuan, on the shore of St. Salvador de Bahia, are, or rather were, certain prints, especially a left foot often submerged, attributed to the sceptical memory of him who gave origin to the still popular saying, *vêr para crêr*. There are few things more interesting in the edifice of Christianity than the little old blocks of fetishism, idolatry, and heathenism generally, which time and tradition have incorporated with the newer material.

As regards the "Magnalia Dei," the footsteps, Vasconcellos† mentions two to the north of São Vicente, prints of a right and left foot going towards the sea, and so well marked that both appeared to have been pressed down at the same time. The same writer mentions two others at a place three leagues from Bahia, called S. Thomé or Toque-toqué. The latter word, meaning a tide-rip or sound of water, was derived from a healing fountain, which, like that set free by Moses's staff, owed miraculous existence to the Apostle, "de sub cuius pede fons vivus emanat." Vasconcellos candidly admits that he saw no foot-print there, but he proves that there had been, or rather that men had said there had been. Near Parahyba he speaks of a smaller foot-print accompanying a larger, and the former may have been that of São Thomaz, who, according to St. Chrysostom, accompanied São Thomé, the apostle, and he adds that certain letters, illegible to ecclesiastics, were to be seen sculptured on a stone. Possibly they were *bonâ fide*: on the other hand, they may have been mere *dendrites*, infiltrations of ferruginous particles, like the giant characters on the Gávea Mountain near Rio de Janeiro, and on the Serra de S. Thomé das Letras in Minas Geraes, which has been represented as a real Wady Mukattab.

Father Antonio de Santa Maria Jaboatam, the Franciscan, writing in 1761,‡ mentions many such steps at a place seven leagues from Pernambuco, and called the Goyahu de Baixo. The left print is distinct, as if stamped by a signet, and near it is the trail of a child some five years old, which is shrewdly conjectured to be the apostle's

* These "doers," i. e. fetishmen, were termed in the north Carybes or Caribes, from Carai, wise, cunning, or from Cary and Mbae, thing; hence the Portuguese and other whites were called Carybas "hommes archives," and hence probably our Carib. Further south they were Pagés (of this word more presently); and further south again Abarés (fathers).

† *Cronica de Companhia de Jesus do estado do Brazil. Pelo Padre de Vasconcellos.* Lisbon, 1628, in folio. Republished at Rio de Janeiro, 1864.

‡ Novo Orbe Serafico Brasilico on *Chronica dos Frades Menores da provincia do Brazil.* Republished in Rio de Janeiro, 1858.

anjo de guarda (Guardian Angel).* Similar marks are also reported at Itioca Island in Rio Bay. Itajirú shows the rocks scored by the staff of St. Thomas in order to melt the hearts of his audience. This place is near Cabo Frio, also a classical site amongst the Red Men. Vasconcellos (i. 78) tells us how during the golden age two brothers and their families anchored off and settled at the Cold Cape. Their wives having quarrelled about a parrot which spoke like a human being, the younger brother wandered forth to the river now known as La Plata, and populated Buenos Ayres, Chile, Quito, Peru, and other trifles.† Ten leagues within the Reconcavo of Bahia is also the miraculous road of Mairapé—"caminho de homem branco," by which St. Thomas fled (Vasconcellos, ii. 28). Thus also, the Cross at Guatuleo in New Spain, which that "insigne heretic," (pestilent heretic) Francisco Draque (at any rate better than his German form "Drek") could not burn even when tarred and feathered, was a gift of St. Thomas.

These padda,‡ as they are called by the Hindoos, are found in every lime-stone country with which we are acquainted. Buddha has the honour of them in India, and in Ceylon he is in partnership with Adam. Throughout Sind and Afghanistan they are attributed to Ali, and to Mohammed close to Damascus, where he never was. The last which I saw were at Reppen Tabor, near Trieste: this is a foot-print of the Madonna. It is passing strange that these venerable personages never show their traces or themselves to any but their votaries, when others are in far greater need of their visits.

But, to pass from this perilous theme, Vasconcellos tells us that the wild people, showing him the foot-prints, said "Pay, § Sumé

* It is hard to say what race or what faith invented the poetical system of Guardian Angels. Possibly the highly imaginative old Greeks own the best claim to have introduced it with other innovations amongst the Jews. The seven Amesha Spentas, the allegorical names of the Good God's supreme qualities, became our archangels; under them were hosts of Yazatas (Ministers), Fravashis (protectors of mankind), and other minor officials.

† A longer account of this legend which is variously given by authors will be reserved for a future paper.

‡ To this Sanskrit root we must refer our nursery word "pud," through pied, pes, and ποῦς. Sardinia is popularly derived from Saad or Sarad, translated "trace of a foot;" and hence the Greek name Ichnousa (ἰχνοῦσα) from its resemblance to Ichnos (ἰχνοσ) a foot-print.

§ In the "lingoa geral" of the Tupi-Guarani race Pay is a father, a lord, and hence a monk or priest; Pay abaré guassú (great-chaste-father) became the title of Jesuits and Christian prelates. The old missionary Yves d'Evreux, who by the by proposes Saint Barthélemy as the Apostle and Guardian Saint of Brazil, distinguishes (p. 328) between Pai (Padre) and Pagi, also written Piage, Page, Beye, (Caribs of Western Islands), Piache (Orinoco), Pawa (United States), and many other ways. These he calls mediators between man and spirits (ghosts?), and surgeons, doctors, and barbers: no small honours to the knights of the strop. Thus he translates Pagi Ouassou (Wású) grand barbier, opposed to "barberot." These people represented the Fetish men, the medicine men, and the rain-makers of the negro race; they healed the sick by their breath, caused showers, predicted futurity, and slew the enemies of those who fee'd them. "Ce sont les plus grands imposteurs de la terre," says an old author, "que sil avoient la cognoissance des lettres comme nous avons, ce serait assez pour achemer de tromper et séduire ce miserable peuple." All races naturally call the holy men of other races imposters.

pipuera (poquera?) angâba ac. *i. e.*, Father, Sumé has placed his foot here! Now, says the Jesuit, evidently Sumé in their language is Thomé in ours. This "begging the question" explains the whole error.

The tradition of a white man, or white men (Nobrega found traditions of two "Sumi" in the Brazil), bearded to the waist and robed in white garments to the ankles, who appeared upon the coast, of course miraculously, and who taught the rude aborigines a certain progress in civilization, is a tradition general throughout the South American coast. We cannot but admit that, stripped of its marvels, the legend is based upon fact. The Berbers and the peoples dwelling upon the western shores of the Atlantic must have reached the east coast; the Malays, the Chinese, and the Japanese the west coast. I say *must*, because the elements compelled them to realize the visions of Aristotle and Strabo, of Seneca and Raymond Lull. The great whorl of the North Atlantic, passing southwards down the African coast, crosses the Equatorial waters and washes the northern portion of S. America, whence it returns to Europe as the Gulf Stream; it was this oceanic river which, carrying Pedr' Alvez Cabral out of his reckoning, landed him on the island of Vera Cruz (the Brazil) on April 22, 1500.

The primary pelagic elements of the North Pacific similarly form an immense irregular oval, whose longer axis lies east-west, flowing by Japan to California and Central America, whilst there is a corresponding circulation in the South Pacific. Thus, long before the official discovery of America by Columbus and his followers, the New World had been visited not only by those whose names are embalmed in history, but by many a shipwrecked sailor and traveller. But, as the ancients voyaged in small and feeble parties without women who could perpetuate their race even for a few generations, east-away Europeans, Asiatics, and Africans were at once absorbed into the greater numbers of the indigens. To this, rather than to the imaginations of poets, or to the mere superstitions of peoples, I would refer the well-known legends of Atlantis, Antillia, and the Septem Citade, St. Borondon (Brandan), Madoc's Country, White-land, Estotiland, Drogeo, Hy Brazile, and Icaria. I do not mention Helluland, Markland, Vinland, and Ireland the Great, which were real explorations. The New World, like the Canary Islands,* has been often discovered, and as often forgotten.

This mysterious visitor, who became St. Thomas, is generally known as Zomé, or Pay Zomé (Father Zomé), and his history would fill a volume. According to the curious fragment *De la légère croyance des sauvages Austraux*, dating from the sixteenth century,† Monan or Maire Monan was the Prometheus of the race who

* Well known to the Greeks, Romans, and Berbers, the Fortunate Islands were not officially re-discovered till the early fourteenth century. Varnhagen (ii. 451) finds an analogy between the Berbers, Guanches, and the so-called "Indians," but "man everywhere does the same thing under the same circumstances."

† By André Thevet (*Cosmographie universelle*). See also the Fragment d'une Théogonie Brésilienne recueilli au XVI^e Siècle; Une fête Brésilienne, &c. &c. Par Ferdinand Denis. Paris, Techener, 1851.

created fire, and placed it between the shoulders of the *aigh* (sloth). One of his many descendants was a great Caraïbe and Pagé called Soumay, a white-bearded and continent man, who loved the Angatouren (Xe Angaturam, I am virtuous), and who taught his numerous followers the grandeur of heaven, the courses of the sun and moon, the existence of Cherrypycoouares (immortal ghosts), the use of foods, medicines, and poisons, nostrums for swiftness in the chase and fierceness in fight, abstinence from certain meats, the virtue of removing all the hair except that on the head, and the cure of piau, or running sores. He had two sons—1st, Temenduaré, or Tamendouaré (from Timandouar, "he recollects"), in more modern parlance "Tamandaré;" and 2nd, Ari Coute (Agitated Ari or Day). The two having quarrelled, the latter caused a deluge, which will be described in a future paper.

Southey considers "Zomé" identical with Zemi, a divinity or divine person known to the Caraïbes (Tupis) of Hayti; and Enciso the geographer informs us (1519) that the savages of Cuba (also Caribs or Tupis) adored the "idol Sumi." Mr. W. Bollaert (p. 22 *Antiquarian Researches*) found amongst the Chibchas (Muyscas) of the Bogotá (Bacuta) table-land a demigod called Xue (Shue) or Zuha,* who came from the East and spent his life in teaching and civilizing mankind: he finally disappeared at Sogamoso. His beard was long, his hair was tied up in a fillet, and his dress was the ancient garb of the country, a collarless tunic, and a mantle fastened by the ends at the neck. Charlevoix (lib. vi.) mentions in Paraguay and Peru a Pay Zuma, or priestly Zomé, which he has doubtless perverted to Pay Túmá, with an eye to St. Thomas; possibly, however, Túmá may have been a corruption of Tamoyo, or Tamoi, grandfather, regenerator of peoples. He is also called Pay Abara, or father who lives in chastity, and the usual tales are recounted (lib. vii.) about the road, the rocks, and le cimetièrre de Pay Zuma. The first Spanish settlers were told by the Indians of the Cuyo province, Chile, that a white man with a long beard formerly preached to their ancestors a new and philosophical religion. He stood upon a rock, still called the stone of St. Thomé, and as a proof of authenticity they showed the impression of human feet, and the figures of animals who came to hear the sermon. M. Denis believes that P. Yves d'Évreux† alludes to Zomé where the "Indians" say to him "nos pères nous

* Associated with him were Nemquetaba (=Nemterquetaba, *alias* Chinzapogua, the envoy of God) and Bochia, who formed the celebrated cataract in the mountainous region of Tequendamá, New Granada. Mr. W. Bollaert, quoting Bradford, adds, "The Mexican deity sometimes called the God of Air, the Pyzome (Pay Zomé) of Brazil, Viracocha of Peru, and Bochia of New Granada, are represented as white men with venerable flowing beards. The latter lived and legislated two thousand years amongst the Moscas or Muyscas ('men' or 'people') of New Granada, and suddenly disappeared." I must doubt the dictum of my learned friend Mr. Bollaert that the so-called "Red Man" was the creator of his own state of civilization. The similarity between the governments of Japan and the Chibchas has often been remarked.

† Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil fait durant les années 1613 et 1614 par le Père Yves d'Évreux, &c. &c., par M. Ferdinand Denis. Leipsic and Paris. A. Franck, 1864. See pp. 448-9.

ont laissé, de main en main par tradition, qu'il estoit venu iadis un grand Marata du Toupan (Apostle of God),” and conjectures Marata to be derived from Mair, or Mair, a stranger.* Varnhagen tells us† that Sumé arrived at the island of Maranhão, and disappeared as the savages were about to sacrifice him. The Tupinambis preserved a tradition that their forefathers, quarrelling about the stranger, shot at him arrows which returned and slew the archers, whereupon the forest opened for Zomé, who, declaring that he would return at a future time, disappeared. At S. Vicente the tradition was that he walked into the sea, and, to make the legend complete, the “big canoes” of the Portuguese explorers should have been mistaken for the return conveyances of the truant god.

The benefactor of the Tupi race, who, according to some, preceded Zomé, was Tamandaré, popularly called the “Indian Noah,” and connected with some local deluge (*Vasconcellos, Noticias do Brazil*, p. 47). He saved himself and his family by climbing up a Pindoba palm tree, which touched the sky. All lands have preserved traditions of a deluge, because floods have occurred in all lands, and the last deluge becomes universal because among savages and barbarians the few miles near home represent the whole world. Everywhere, therefore, in South America we find traditions of a white man who, like the Triptolemus of the Old World, immortalised himself by teaching agriculture, the most useful of arts, and especially the manipulation of Manioc, a food which none but a god could invent or barbarian would use. Thus, M. Botelho de Oliveira sings—

A mandioca que Thomé sagrado
Deu ao gentio amado.

The mystery of fermenting liquors unknown to purely savage and isolated races is more likely to have come from abroad than to have originated at home. Finally, the roughly-incised cuttings and figures sometimes called hieroglyphics, which are found, to quote no other places, upon the mountain of Anastasia and near the river Yapura of the Pará province, hardly belong to a race so unalphabetic. Travellers mostly hold Quetzalcoatl of Anahuac, Bochica of New Granada, and Manco Ccapac of Peru, Zomé of the Brazil and elsewhere, to be mythical beings. I, on the other hand, would rather believe in a succession of involuntary visits from the Old World, east and west, beginning in the early days of navigation, and that some of the strangers more favoured by fate than the rest left their names in the land. We may safely repeat with the author of *Caramuru* :—

Mas na memoria o tempo não acaba
Que a prégara Sumé, santo Imboaba.—iii. 80.‡

* Ruiz de Montoya deduces it from “Márá, ?” “What is there?” and says it was applied even to Christians.

† Lenda mytho-religiosa Americana, &c. Agora traducida por uno Paulista do Sorocaba. Madrid, 1853. I have not seen this brochure of 39 pages in 8vo.

‡ Meaning a European. Primarily a feather-legged fowl. See my *Highlands of the Brazil*, i. 110.

Humboldt, *Ansichten*, and other places,* opines that in Peru there was an older civilization than that of Manco Ccapac whilst Rivero and Von Tschudi (Peruvian Antiquities) show that distinct races like the Aztecs, Toltecs, and Olmecs of Mexico dwelt there before the foundation of the Ynea kingdom. These two authors prove that there were legendary invasions of foreign hordes from the Andes and the Brazil, and that forts were built for the protection of the frontier; hence, probably, the Zumi, who accompanied or who was a disciple of the traditional hero-god, the “illustrious Yuca” (*i.e.* Lord) Manco Ccapac, who afterwards became the supreme deity of the Empire of the Sun. This Western Romulus, with his wife Mama Oello Huaco, is supposed to have arrived in Peru about A.D. 1000, when Christianity was introduced into Iceland, and to have founded or restored the Quichua Empire, with Cuzco, its capital, and to have descended into earth (A.D. 1021) near Lake Titicaca. Others place the event somewhat later, or 400 years before the arrival of Francisco Pizarro (A.D. 1532). Cortez found the Mexican Aztecs ready to receive white men from the East, holding them to be natives of the sun region, and Montezuma related to him the legend of Sumé. The bearded and black-robed Quetzalcoatl of the Aztecs (Toltecs?), corresponding with the Zamna of Central America, is translated literally “twin” (*Didymus*) and secondarily “god of the air;” his worshippers knew the cross long before the arrival of Spaniards, and in their City of Cholula there was a temple dedicated to the Holy Cross, which suggests the sacred Tau of Egypt.

The Iberian explorers of the New World naturally expected to find in it traces of an apostle, and, expecting to find them, they found them. So Cieza de Leon (chapt. 98) declares of a figure in the temple of Huiracocha (Peru), “Some said this might be the statue of some apostle who arrived in this land.” The same giant-deity of Peru who rose from a lake and was worshipped there two centuries before the foreign invasion is also supposed to be St. Bartholomew. Quetzalcoatl is variously interpreted as Noah and St. Thomas. Monau is Prometheus; Tamandaré is of course Noah pure and simple. These legends are very properly preserved by the Brazilian poets, such as Fr. Rita Durão, but we do not like them so well in prose.

The same principle which banished St. Matthew to Æthiopia and St. Thomas to America, also sent the latter to Hindostan, and made him, as we are assured by the apocryphal “Gestes of St. Thomas,” the apostle of the “Gentoos.” The Chaldean breviary of the Malabar Church assures us that by St. Thomas were “the errors of idolatry banished from among the Indians” (p. 89, *Preliminary Essays to Cathay and the way Thither*, by Col. Henry Yule, C.B., London, Hakluyt Society, 1866), and the Nestorians or Christians

* See the remarks of M. Jacquemart, p. 214 *Histoire de la Céramique*, Hachette, 1873, upon an antique Peruvian vase. “No one,” says a critic, “can study this powerful head, combining the elements of a partially extinct type of feature with a striking refinement and depth of expression, without wondering afresh what could have been those ancient races and that ancient civilization of America which perished in conflict with our more vigorous modern nations.”

of St. Thomas, called by old ecclesiastical historians "Thomites" or "Thomceans," still exist in Malabar. Their founder first preached at Cranganore (Malabar), where the Jews of the tribe of Manasseh are supposed to have settled, and to have grown black men under the influence of climate.* Like St. Bartholomew, he converted the pagans by many miracles. After his martyrdom he appeared, as the fashion was in such matters, to Xiphoro and Susan, and his shrine was at Mailapur, the modern Madras. Barbosa and others relate a tradition that his right arm protruded from the tomb, and long resisted all attempts to cover it. The Portuguese viceroys of India strove hard, but in vain, to find his body, till it was discovered by Duarte de Menezes, with singular consolation to the king and universal joy to Christendom.

There are, alas! men rationalistic enough to explain St. Thomas in India by Mar Toma, a Syrian bishop, buried in Coromandel, and they thus treat the apostle as he treated his Master. These reprehensible persons evidently think with Voltaire, "Je suis de l'avis de St. Thomas Didyme, qui voulait mettre doigt dessus et dedans."

DISCUSSION.

The thanks of the meeting were unanimously voted to Capt. Burton for his paper.

Mr. CHURCHILL cited from Ziegenbelg, *Genealogie der Malabarischen Götter*, Madras, 1867, p. 188, the case of Captain Pole, who fell in battle in 1809, and was buried in a sandy desert. A few years after he became an object of worship, and brandy and cigars were offered to his manes.

Mr. KAINES, alluding to that portion of Captain Burton's paper in which the traces of white men in Brazil were miraculously accounted for by the natives, said that it was natural for the rude and uncultivated mind so to explain whatever appeared unusual, and that to account for such things in a normal natural mood indicated a very advanced stage of civilization and culture. Every true thinker was aware of this—his intellectual infirmity, namely, of explaining natural phenomena in other than natural ways—and disciplined himself constantly by logical and scientific methods and processes, that he might counteract or exterminate it.

Mr. LEWIS said that a bas-relief of two figures performing some rite before a Roman cross was discovered by Stephens and Catherwood at Palenque (*Incidents of Travel in Central America*); the Roman cross also formed the ground-plan of the sepulchral dolmen known as Wayland Smith's Cave, in Berkshire. With respect to Europeans having visited South America before Columbus, it was

* Bishop Heber was the first to publish this "ethnological" peculiarity, and many others have followed him. The expatriated Jew cannot form a synagogue without a congregation of ten male adult free souls, so he buys the requisite number of serviles, circumcises them, manumits them, and derives the required spiritual benefits. The "black Jews of Malabar" are descended from Hindu outcasts and slaves, while the same origin may be assigned to all the "black Portuguese" Christians who rejoice in such names as Albuquerque and Menezes.

asserted that a Welsh Prince named Madoc discovered America in 1160, returned in 1164, and again departed with three thousand colonists in eighteen ships. This statement was generally ignored, but he saw no reason why it should be, as it rested on as good authority as any other portions of Welsh history, and was in no way improbable in itself. It was true that no trace of the colony had been discovered, but, as they had often questioned the possibility of the European races sustaining themselves in America without continual supplies of fresh blood, this would not surprise them; moreover, the colonists might have been lost at sea. Southey had written a poem on the subject.

The Honorary Foreign Secretary read the following paper

ON HUMAN REMAINS DISCOVERED BY SIGNOR CESELLI AT CAPRINE, NEAR ROME.

[COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. PIUS MELLA, D.D., F.L.A.S.]

At a distance of twenty-seven kilometres north-north-east of Rome, and east of Nomentum (Mentana), are, as is well known, a group of hills which are known under the names of Corniculi or Corniculani. These were supposed by Sir W. Gell to mark the site of the ancient Latian city Corniculum, which is frequently mentioned in Dionysius and Pliny. This identification has been disputed by others, but, as this point is irrelevant to the subject of the present paper, it need not be here discussed. The neighbouring locality of Monticelli, two kilometres distant, was selected by Nibby as the representative of the ancient Corniculum, and this view appears to be adopted by Signor Ceselli.

The territory of Monticelli is divided into four divisions, one of which is termed Caprine, where there are many quarries for extraction of the travertine, which is preserved in the locality in large beds, the stratification of which is generally horizontal. Fissures intersect these beds, through which flow streams of water charged with bicarbonate of lime, which deposits in the well-known manner characteristic of travertine in all parts of the world.

In one of these *sentine* there was met with in the earlier days of the present year (1873) a block in which the incrustation had almost formed a homogeneous mass with walls of the real travertine. There were found in this mass four crania and some human bones, a few fragments of hand-made pottery marked (*cotti*) on the outside, some arrow-heads, a *hâche*, and a scraper, all of flint, the lower jaw of an ox, and some deer bones and charcoal. Examination of the remains did not solve the question whether they were interred, as Signor Ceselli seems to have anticipated, facing the east. The skulls were so closely attached to the travertine that it was not possible to measure them or to indicate to what race they belonged. There is, however, a possibility that they may be soon removed from the matrix, when Signor Ceselli promises to inform us. He further hopes that this examination will demonstrate whether these skulls belong to the