The Indigenous Peoples of the Barú River Valley: Mapping Petroglyphs on the FCRE, Locating Sites Outside the FCRE, and Interviewing Huaqeros.

Andrew Sachs
Pitzer College. December 2006.

Almost none of what is known or speculated about the indigenous peoples who once inhabited the Barú river valley has been put to text. Moreover, most of what is thought to be known is mere speculation. This is because these natives had all died of European germs and diseases that reached them before the Europeans themselves. An estimated 400,000 to 500,000 people were living in what is now Costa Rica when Columbus arrived in 1502. There were also an estimated 19 chiefdoms that each spoke different languages. They communicated through one common language of the central inhabitants called Huetar (1). One thing is certain, these people were here, cultivated land, hunted, made beautiful works of art from stone and clay, formed communities with rituals and customs, buried their people in the mountains and valleys below, and lived here for far longer than any European descendents have. All of this they did while leaving behind nothing more than their graves and artwork. One rarely hears of anyone uncovering an indigenous trash dump. What are often found in this region are petroglyphs, or indigenous rock drawings that appear etched into the rock, and indigenous graves that are marked in a variety of ways. Such evidence of indigenous presence in this region is abundant at the Firestone Center for Restoration Ecology. My efforts in this project centered on identifying, marking, and mapping known petroglyph sites on the property as well as identifying other sites in the surrounding area. In an effort to discover more about the history of these peoples I interviewed a host of local “huaqeros” or gravediggers, some of whom dug graves on the FCRE some 30 years ago. The contents of my findings are illustrated in this report in the hopes that it will aid in future research.

My first objective in this project, as mentioned, was to identify, mark, and map as many existing petroglyphs on the FCRE as possible. This took much longer than anticipated as I discovered more petroglyphs almost daily in the first weeks. The most recent count I have is 34, give or take a few. I say this because some sites that contained multiple rocks in close proximity to one another could have easily been whole at one time. In such cases I marked the site as one. In other areas I labeled neighboring rocks as separate sites either for their size or apparent differences. There are at least two sites on the mountain where neighboring petroglyphs appear on rocks that have no evidence of ever being part of the same whole. These rocks were labeled as separate sites. Another factor in the uncertainty of this petroglyph count is that some sites were much clearer than others. I marked all sites that had any possible evidence of displaying a clearer rock art image at one time. For this reason there is a maximum of two sites that might never have been actual petroglyphs. Regardless, all marked sites contain the same blue or red tape, most often tied to a bamboo stick in the ground or a nearby tree trunk.

Mapping and identifying what we have is the first step to conservation. I worked on three types of maps: One with the use of a GPS device (A), which had a possible error of 5 meters on every site, another starting from one petroglyph and continuing to every
other in a connect-the-dots fashion (B), and the final, which I feel is the most useful, one done manually with plotted points in relation to their nearest trail and written descriptions in a key for each point (C). It should be mentioned that the entire time I mapped the marked petroglyphs I continued to find new ones, therefore every map has a different number of points and only the manual map has all the final sites. Yet no map is complete as I’m sure there are many more petroglyphs to be found on the property.

Map (A) GPS: Data points in machine with Cristian. Hopefully they can be retrieved or this map is rendered useless other than to see how some of the petroglyphs are spaced out on the property.
Map (B) Connect the dots- points yet to be plotted. I did not have access to a computer program that would enable me to draw this map, but the numbers are here for the map to easily be drawn. All numbers in the line column with parenthesis signify petroglyphs. This means that this map covers very accurately about 25 petroglyphs on the property, for two of these sites contain two petroglyphs each (28, 29). Number 1 on this map is A on Map (C) and 25 on this map is site Q on Map (C).

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Map (C) Estimated locations in relation to trails and other landmarks with descriptions of each site and its whereabouts.

Key:
A. Down below outdoor classroom in direction of the ocean about 5 paces. Appears to be half of a larger whole.
B. Large rock, just off the main road to the right as you’re walking from the outdoor classroom up toward the ponds. 5 tree trunks growing from the same point are directly beside it. One corner of it is broken off with designs in it and is lying on the ground next to it.
C. This is further off the main road from B by about 6 paces. Contains one large spiral in the center. The rock is about a yard long.
D. This is 10 paces from C down the hill a bit further to the left. It’s large and appears to be of a different type of rock from the others.
E. 15 paces off the trail to the right on the crest of the hill as you’re walking up past the first pond on your left.
F. This is 4 paces from the left side of the trail parallel with E. It’s flat and low to the ground.
G. Large, on the trail coming up the North Loop almost to the top before the cleared lot. Good possibility for more petroglyphs in this area.
H. Just off to the right of extension of main road.
I. Up left of road from H. Lines not clearly drawn.
J. Up road from I. five paces on the left. Piece broken off lying next to it. Very clear, deep lines.
K. Next to J closer to the road. Very faint, on a big rock, and looks as though it’s about to fall into the road.
L. Large, about 25 paces up from K. Clearly visible, can’t miss it. Was traced by Fall 2006 group.
M. Directly above L distanced by less than a foot, but do not appear to have been joined at one time as all lines on both faces stop before reaching the edge.
N. In path up to Hooch and top of the ridge. Likely to have more lines hidden under ground.
O. Further up the path a short distance on the left side.
P. Above Hooch 20 meters. Large and steeply angled. Contains distinct horizontal lines. Currently next to a large bamboo clump. Many say it looks like a fish. One huaqero, or gravedigger I brought up on the property said that one man allegedly found 24 pieces of gold in a circular grave right in front of this “fish”.
Q. Big split rock of a denser, lighter colored variety than others. Up left toward ridge from P.
R. There are two at this site. Located on same ridge as Q in the direction of Hacienda Baru. One is split into four pieces with a tree growing between it.
S. Can be found following the ridge through the bamboo on the right. Close to R.
T. Further into the bamboo about 40 paces toward the west paralleling the ridgeline. Rock about 2.5 feet wide and a foot tall.
U. Further paralleling the ridgeline still back another 10 paces or more. Very faint markings, possibly never was a petroglyph.
V. There are two here where the path going SE on the Hacienda Baru side of the Hooch splits in two. This is the path that goes down toward the bananas from the ridge with the Hooch on the left.
W. Further down the trail, having stayed to the left on the split, W is a stunning large drawing with straight lines connecting circles and a corner broken off, but right beside it.
X. Up behind W some 15 feet with a faint spiral in the back.
Y. 7 feet from X continuing back behind it.
Z. A low profile petroglyph with at least 4 circles, back behind Y. Can also be found by taking the right hand trail at the split at site V.
1. Almost parallel with W if you go perpendicular to the trail into the bananas (opposite direction of Hacienda Baru). Mid-way down. Small, containing only a spiral.
2. On the left hand side of banana trail going toward the outdoor classroom. Contains a distinct, radiant circular design like a sun.
3. Mid-way down in the bananas and perpendicular to the trail, parallel with 2.
4. Big boulder at the end of Banana trail. Much exfoliated, difficult to see.
Indigenous use of the FCRE- Sachs, 2006

5. Just after Banana trail going toward the outdoor classroom. Small and low profile. Almost flush with the ground.
6. Big one off 8 paces from the trail to the left if going down toward outdoor classroom. One of the biggest, most intact sites found thus far.

My photos of the petroglyphs on the FCRE are as follows: Taken both at day and night, the night shots with controlled side lighted were the greatest success. There were some rocks on which I saw almost nothing during the day and multiple motifs by night. Even parts that seemed entirely exfoliated by day were clearly visible proper night lighting. Here are my photos:

Site A on Map (C)

Unmarked on map. On access road ¾ of the way up. Left side. (Day)
Indigenous use of the FCRE- Sachs, 2006

Site B on Map C. (Day)

Site B on Map C (Night).
Indigenous use of the FCRE- Sachs, 2006

Site B on Map C (Night).

Site C on Map C (Night)
Indigenous use of the FCRE- Sachs, 2006

Site L on Map C (Day)

Site L on Map C (Day)
Indigenous use of the FCRE- Sachs, 2006

Site L Map C (Night)

Site L Map C (Night)
Indigenous use of the FCRE- Sachs, 2006

Site L Map C (Night)

Site M on Map C (Night)
Indigenous use of the FCRE- Sachs, 2006

Site Q on Map C (Day)

Site R on Map C (Night)
Indigenous use of the FCRE- Sachs, 2006

Site R on Map C (Night)

Site R on Map C (Night)
Indigenous use of the FCRE- Sachs, 2006

Site W on Map C (Day)

Site W on Map C (Night)
Indigenous use of the FCRE- Sachs, 2006

Site Z on Map C (Day)
While I spent the majority of my time on this project identifying, mapping, and photographing the petroglyphs on the FCRE, I did get to see and hear about other indigenous petroglyph and artifact sites in the area. One of the most clearly visible petroglyphs in the region is in front of the El Baru “Parada turistica” in Platanillo. It was moved there from another location, but is one of the most accessible examples of such rock art. Many people in Platanillo claim it is an indigenous map of tribes and cemeteries. Whatever its significance, it wasn’t made leaning against the chimney of a bar in Platanillo, but leaves a stunning reminder for all who see it of those who lived here before.
Another apparent collection of petroglyphs is in a restaurant on the way to Platanillo from Barú called “Paraiso Tropical”. Apparently if you find the owner he’ll take you around and show them to you. Right near there, across the street from the restaurant is a dirt road that goes down to the small town of Libano. There on a grassy, rock covered knoll down along the river lies some incredibly unique rock art. Here are some pictures of what I saw:

Here is the man who led me to this spot, a man who claims to have ridden along this river countless times on horseback some 40 years ago. He said the area we were on sometimes floods over in heavy rains and is often an island of sorts. Before I could even get a picture of one of these images as it was he started scraping with a wire brush. This is a perfect example of the general lack of education Ticos often have about how to best treat and respect indigenous artifacts. Here’s a closer look at what was on this rock:
Indigenous use of the FCRE- Sachs, 2006

Another petroglyph site directly adjacent to the Firestone Center:

Here’s the spot to the north of FCRE One of three boulders.
The best site in this region for viewing indigenous artifacts in this region is in a town called “Las Tombas”, which is situated south of Tinamaste in the valley along Fila Tinamastes. The road down there is the first right after the bar as you’re going toward San Isidro. It’s called Las Tombas because a large part of the valley in which the town’s residents occupy is full of indigenous cemeteries. Many driveways in Las Tombas are lined with indigenous stone pillars and most houses have at least a hand full of stone basins on their property. A classic use for them is a trough for animal feed. Petroglyphs can also be found this region, such as this one clearly visible outside the town’s soccer field:

Here is some other evidence for previous indigenous presence in Las Tombas:
Indigenous use of the FCRE- Sachs, 2006
Photo (1) is a line of pillars and rocks that were common in entranceways to small villages or clusters of houses. A consistent ring of rocks between each house would complete the circle in which the houses were built. This was done to keep out evil spirits.
Photo (2) shows two pieces of stone slab, once part of the same whole, now used as a path to the house over a muddy area. The owners of this property told me this was over a tomb in which they found some impressive things. Unfortunately I can only describe them due to the fact that my camera has no flash and it was night time. I highly doubt they showed me everything they had, for my host father swore he’s seen more than what we saw that night. They did have an impressive ocarina in the shape of a human with red and black paint on it. I couldn’t believe it when they let my little host brother play the thing. Among other things they had some stone hatchet heads. This was the first set of treasures I saw from this region, prompting further investigation.

My first interview with a “huaqero”, or grave digger was in Las Tombas. I went there with my host father to see who might be available to talk. This first interview went well, for I was introduced by my host father, an acquaintance and fellow Tico. He started off by talking about the type of paint the indigenous peoples used, which he called “urava”. While not having grown up in this area, he was well aware of the myths that surround indigenous sites in the area. One such myth is that the biggest tomb in the area (of the king with the golden crown), has a stone tiger facing in its direction. There are also alleged spirits that guard the gold in this tomb. When I doubted the fact that there were ever really tigers in this area he proceeded to go into a half hour story about how a tiger used to eat the torros where he grew up. He certainly meant Jaguar I now know. Whenever anyone refers to a “native tiger” they mean Jaguar.

When I asked about the types of things he’s found in graves he could only give me a limited response because he claims to have only ever excavated two graves. He did talk about his brother in law who he claims is a much more experienced huaqero. Among the things he mentioned found in graves are gold eagles, gold frogs, and jade. He said black jade is even sometimes found. This huaqero was very superstitious and recounted stories of people getting terrible stomach or headaches after excavating a grave. Another story talked of snakes replacing gold right before the eyes of the huaqero.

I asked the man to describe an excavation of his and proceeded to tell me that the graves he’s worked with have been marked with four marker stones on top. These stone are smooth river stones, clearly out of place, for the location of a panteon, or indigenous cemetery, is typically at higher altitudes. Here’s a picture of some at the FCRE:
Once the man found these marker stones he dug down about a foot to the first layer where he says there where 100 river stones covering the entire area of the grave. The next level the man reached was chest high. There he found two things. In one corner was a stone hatchet head and in the opposing diagonal corner was a stone “tiger” or Jaguar head painted bright red. He concluded that this man was most definitely a hunter, but claimed nothing else was found at the side. When recounting this story to other huaqeros they found this hard to believe, for when a well marked grave contains a hatchet and a sculpture it often contains gold.

This man told me that indigenous families were buried very close to one another, which seems logical, but I wondered how he knew if he’d only dug up two graves. The biggest motivation for him to dig them up seemed to be in order to prevent other people from getting to them first and robbing things from his land. The last interesting thing that he touched on was that back when people were digging up graves more frequently in the region, men would trade their gold findings for guaro (liquor) at the bar.

My second interview was with the brother in law of the first huaqero I interviewed. His name is Roman Alvarez Roderigez, a host father in the Pitzer program and a resident of Platanillo. He grew up in Lagunas a short distance from the Firestone Center. Interestingly enough he used to dig graves on the FCRE with his father, who was of half indigenous blood (Roman Alvarez). Immediately upon arriving at his house he started telling me about a liquid that his older brother and father found one day in a tomb. He said it was in a ceramic vase with a lid, and full to the brim. His story was that his father put the vase of liquid on the shelf next to the coffee in the kitchen. Then one day a few years later the chickens were pecking at it so he threw it at them. (This was back when it was common on the farm for chickens to get in the house). The vase shattered and the liquid spilled all over a rock. Two days later the rock had turned to sand. In turn the man believes that the indigenous peoples of this area used that liquid and their fingers to make the petroglyphs. When I asked why his father threw the liquid he had no response other than it was instinctual, for he just went to grab something to throw at them. He went on to explain that this was at a time (60’s) when everyone had indigenous artifacts in their homes and dogs ate out of bowls they found in graves.

I recently ran into a guy who after hearing the story of the liquid said that he believes he knows of such a liquid that glass etchers use and it doesn’t hurt one’s hands. This man said that if it can erode glass it can do the same to stone. He believes the liquid has a base of Hydrochloric Acid. I searched on the internet for something like it, but my search was to no avail.

In continuing to discuss petroglyphs, Roman mentioned that he believes they’re maps and that the spirals and circles in them are tribes or cemeteries. He said the tribes were made in circles to keep out bad spirits, and that they would fill the spaces between the homes with rocks to complete the barrier from these spirits. Pillars, he says, signified the entrance to the circle of homes. He also said that a stone sphere exists at Laporcela restaurant in Dominicalito, but it has a cut down the middle. This cut he believes was done by the indigenous peoples at the death of a chief.

The conversation intrigued Ramon, as he continued to spit statements at me such as how amazing it was that these peoples could make 24K gold when we can’t make more than 18K. While I don’t know if that’s true I follow his train of thought in that these peoples were extremely clever and probably more advanced scientifically than we
could ever imagine. Roman also marveled in the thought of these peoples living here for thousands of years and no trash dump of theirs is to be found. He also said he believes these indigenous people only lit a fire for cooking once a day, that women built the houses, and that men hunted and made all the ceramic artifacts and rock art.

Among the things this man has found in graves, pottery was just the beginning. In all his times excavating he’s found 18 pieces of gold, many of which were in graves on the FCRE. Sculpted animal forms he’s found in ceramic and gold have included scorpions, fish, eagles, which he says the Indians believed were like gods, and other birds. All of these artifacts have long since been sold, so he says. As far as the orientation of these graves he said all the ones he’s excavated have had an east to west orientation, always facing east. He said there is only gold in a man’s tomb, never in a female’s and where there are hunting weapons in the tomb there is often gold, because the man likely died with some wealth.

Other objects Roman’s found in huacas have been a myriad of different ceramic pieces; one apparently with a big face wrapped around half of it that he described as looking like a china man. The colors of this 1.5 foot long ceramic piece were red, black, and skin color. He mentioned finding a ceramic woman about a foot long, two golden eagles connected at the wings, a 10gram gold eagle, a 17gram gold eagle, some small 1-2gram gold eagles, and some round gold pieces similar to coins with drawings on them of snakes and scorpions. The interesting thing about these gold eagles was that he said they were always flat, and were never perfectly symmetrical. He thinks they had to have used molds to make these gold figures and they were always found up around the head of the grave, for they were worn in necklaces and jewelry. One particularly interesting piece of jewelry he said he found was a complete jade necklace with 16 pieces total and a “colgante” or main center piece containing the face of an indigenous person. The next object he mentioned finding was a matate or indigenous grinding stone in the form of a jaguar that he called a “piedra tigre”. Where these are found there’s always gold he said. This was of particular interest because I remembered hearing of one of these being found on the FCRE when they were re-doing the access road. It would be interesting to see what else lies near that site.

In another interview with an experienced huaqero I learned that some huaqeros have been known to cut their hands and sprinkle their blood on marker stones to ensure they would still be there when they returned. On a similar note this person mentioned a story of his grandfather when after finding a ceramic bowl in a farm field threw his hat on the ground- the belief there being that if one drops an article of their clothing the tomb won’t disappear. Granted these are all superstitions, but they add to the overall mysticism of indigenous sites in this area.

The fourth huaqero I interviewed was the oldest of them all. He introduced me to a metal tool he made to poke the ground to find top stones and to probe beside the grave once he had dug to its greatest depth. He said he never found anything directly in the center of the grave. Most of the things he found were diagonally out from the corners of the grave or a meter out either side in the center. I found this very interesting because he has excavated graves in an area further inland north of San Isidro called Pene Blanca. He said most graves were about chest deep, but some ranged as deep as three meters. Almost always, however, children’s graves were much shallower.
He never excavated in the mountains, only in the valley and therefore never found gold. The belief is that the higher up the grave is the wealthier the person is. Indeed there is evidence produced by the National Museum of Costa Rica that suggests that in the chiriqui period (800 A.D – 1500), indigenous societies in Costa Rica were socially very stratified.

The most interesting thing I heard from this man was that he had found on two occasions, ceramic vases full of liquid. He maintained a similar story to the other that one accidentally broke on a rock and the next day the rock had a big groove in it. Both of these huaqeros no nothing of one another and yet have remarkably similar stories. Other things this man found were equally interesting as he discussed finding different ceramic containers filled with different powders and dusts. One grave he uncovered contained 12 pieces of ceramics with cooking pots stained black from fire. Also among his findings were ocarinas in the shape of fish, birds, and jaguars. At the end of our interaction he gave me his berretta or metal probing tool as a parting gift. This I hope will remain at the Firestone Center to go in a display case with other findings.

My fifth interview with a huaqero was again in Las Tombas. This man started off by saying how large of an indigenous town Las Tombas likely was. He said it was very probable that all grave sites were very well marked when colonialists came and that they likely robbed a good many of them. The first huaqeros were allegedly active in the 1940’s and 50’s. Very few them had any interest in ceramic objects and therefore threw away all that were found. Las Tombas is practically one giant cemetery, as it appears most of the people lived closer to Diamante falls as the ground is more hard-packed and dense there.

He said he himself has excavated over 150 graves and said it’s impossible to generalize about graves because one almost never finds one panteon similar to another. Generally graves are marked in one of three ways, however. One is with top stones that can be large enough to cover the entire grave. Another is with markers as discussed previously, one river stone in each corner. The third way is less visible and requires close examination of the soil. Many graves, particularly in lower regions are marked purely with what’s known as “tiestos” or little pieces of broken ceramics that are mixed in with the soil. Along with these bits of pottery are often little pieces of charcoal.

This man gave me an extensive list of animal figures he seen on ceramics, often in the legs supporting a “tinaja” or pot. These animals included coatis, monkeys, anteaters,
Indigenous use of the FCRE- Sachs, 2006

fish, jaguars, turtles, and birds. He described a common characteristic of some of the fancier ceramic bowls he’s found. This feature involves a hollowed out leg with a ceramic ball inside that moves up and down. Here’s an example:

![Ceramic Bowl](image)

The most incredible story that came out of this huaqueros mouth was not about a grave, but about a stone sphere. Apparently his father used to own a property in Las Tombas that went clear up to fila Tinamastes and contained an enormous stone sphere on top of the ridge. This sphere was supposedly 2.5 meters tall and 98% round. It could very well have been the sphere that the national museum quotes as being the biggest one ever recorded. In any event his father sold this sphere to a man from San Jose over 40 years ago. He sold it for 50 colones at a time when 8 colones equaled one dollar. The giant tractor that pulled the stone off the mountain was apparently spinning in the mud trying to move it from its place. This man still claims he knows exactly where it was. That could be an important thing to keep in mind, especially if this sphere is ever located. After all, how easy could this thing be to hide?

My final official interview with a huaqero was by far the best. It turned out to be the guy who actually dug up the liquid on the same ridge of the Firestone Center. His name is Adonai Alvarez Roderigez the brother of Roman and the 9th child of legendary huaqero Roman Alvarez of Lagunas. He began by explaining to me that a panteon contains at least 20 graves. He said he hadn’t done any grave digging in 30 years or more, but that when he was 15 or so he dug graves every day except Sundays for an entire year. Many of these graves, or at least some of biggest ones, were on the FCRE. He grew up in Lagunas which is a mere three kilometer walk along the mountain ridge. He said he and his father and brothers would find a ridge that had indication of a huaca, typically river stones, and then would proceed to excavate an entire width of the ridge and two meters down as to not miss a single grave.

Adonai said that the deeper the grave was the more valuable things there were. Some graves he found had gold in them and nothing else. Many sites however contain what are known as “piedra galleta” which are located in the bottom of the grave and often in close proximity to objects of the deceased. He found 10-15 plates and ceramic pots in some and nothing in others. The bottom 30 cm was where he found everything in the grave. Once he got to that point he would carefully excavate the site with his machete. A
normal grave was 2-3 meters deep, so a good bit of digging was required before the tedious work at the bottom was to be done. Among the gold objects he found, the majority were eagles, but others included spiders, shrimp, lobsters, and figures of people. One eagle he found weighed 40 grams. Two other incredible pieces that he uncovered were a jade Indian with gold horns and a 59 gram gold figure with a body of an eagle and a vampire head. The latter was sold for 12,000 colones. A third unique object he found was a set of gold bells, and actually found these on 5 separate occasions in groups of 1, 2, or 3. Almost all of these objects, like many others in Costa Rica at this time, were taken to a Soda in San Jose called Soda Diamante. It functioned as a black market trading post of indigenous artifacts for decades. This is where countless objects from the FCRE were sold and lost forever.

When Adonai described the story of the liquid that eroded rock, it was a little different than the way his brother had explained it weeks before. This time the story was that a large vase of the liquid was uncovered, enough to fill three bottles full. The man’s father filled one glass bottle full of it with the intention of having it tested in a lab. The rest he threw to the ground. When the chickens came in the house pecking at it he accidentally grabbed it and threw it at them. It still doesn’t seem logical, but it makes one even more curious as to what this liquid was, and if anyone has it.

I went up with Adonai and Roman to the top of the Firestone center to see what they would remember of their digging days some 30 years ago. They not only identified a large number of existing gravesites, but pointed out areas where they had uncovered fortunes; the spot where they found a nearly 1 ounce eagle bodied vampire made of gold, and a spot where one man, Alvaro Meza, uncovered 25 pieces of gold in front of petroglyph P on map C.

A spot not far from where the gold eagle/vampire was found is apparently where many people have claimed to hear strange noises at night. I also learned some other important history about the Firestone center and got the names of all the previous owners, one of which was this man’s godfather. The first owner’s name was Pedro Lescano who got it from the government in the 1940’s; Then Vivian Edwardo Guternas Moreno who bought the farm in 1965. Eladio Gamboa owned it next for a short time before selling it to Gonzolo Quiroz who died and whose kids sold the property to Diane Firestone.
My final adventure involving huaqueros involved an actual excavation. I met someone in Las Tombas who said they were going to be excavating a grave and I asked if I could watch and observe. The following series of pictures illustrates the process:

An adjacent endeavor next to the same large pillar. Galleta stones.

Top stones found. Charcoal in the dirt.

Tiestos Part of stone basin uncovered.

Galleta stones A ceramic pot emerges
Indigenous use of the FCRE- Sachs, 2006

The artifact.

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