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BETWEEN ORELLANA AND ACUÑA: A LOST CENTURY IN THE HISTORY OF THE NORTH-WEST AMAZON

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Abstract

This study reviews the history of the Napo Valley between 1580 and 1636. Between these dates major changes occurred in the character, size and distribution of native groups. It has generally been assumed that Spanish contacts in this region were limited, but documentary evidence from the *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville and from the Jesuit archive in Rome indicates that between 1580 to 1636 several expeditions were mounted into Coca, Aguarico, and Napo valleys, and some may even have penetrated the Amazon. The most notable were the expeditions commissioned by Alonso de Miranda between 1618 and 1622. The documentary evidence provides new information on native groups in the Napo Valley, especially the Omagua, and also shows that as late as the early seventeenth century substantial populations still inhabited the headwaters of the Upper Amazon. However, they suffered a marked decline as a result of the expeditions and slave raids conducted between 1618 and 1622.

Key words: *Napo Valley, Upper Amazon, Omagua, Jesuits, Spanish expeditions, slave raids, native populations, cultural change.*

ENTRE ORELLANA Y ACUÑA: UN SIGO PERDIDO EN LA HISTORIA DEL NOROESTE DE LA AMAZONÍA

Resumen

Este trabajo estudia la historia del valle del Napo entre 1580 y 1636. Entre estas fechas el carácter, tamaño y distribución de los grupos indígenas cambiaron, pero las causas de estos cambios han sido obscuras puesto que ha sido presumido que había muy pocos contactos con los españoles. Sin embargo, los documentos del Archivo General de Indias en Sevilla y del archivo de los jesuitas en Roma indican claramente que entre 1580 y 1636 hubo varias "entradas" a los valles del Coca, Aguarico y Napo, y tal vez algunas hayan penetrado al río Amazonas. Las "entradas" más importantes fueron las ordenadas por Alonso de Miranda entre 1618 y 1622. Estas fuentes suministran nuevos datos sobre los grupos indígenas en el valle del Napo, particularmente los Omaguas. Las fuentes indican también que todavía en la primera parte del siglo diecisiete había poblaciones grandes en los afluentes del Alto Amazonas, pero que disminuyeron bastante a causa de las "entradas" llevadas a cabo entre 1618 y 1622.

Palabras claves: *Valle de Napo, Alto Amazonas, Omagua, Jesuitas, entradas españolas, esclavitud, población indígena, cambios culturales.*

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ENTRE ORELLANA ET ACUÑA : UN SIÈCLE PERDU DANS L'HISTOIRE DU NORD-OUEST DE L'AMAZONIE

Résumé

Cet article étudie l'histoire de la vallée du Napo entre 1580 et 1636. Entre ces dates le caractère, la taille et la répartition des populations indigènes changèrent énormément, mais les causes de ces changements restent obscures du fait de contacts apparemment limités avec les Espagnols. Pourtant les documents de l'*Archivo General de Indias* de Séville et l'archive des jésuites à Rome indiquent clairement qu'entre 1580 et 1636, il y eut plusieurs expéditions dans les vallées du Coca, Aguarico et Napo, et peut-être même de l'Amazone. Les plus importantes furent les expéditions menées par Alonso de Miranda entre 1618 et 1622. Ces sources fournissent des données nouvelles sur les populations indigènes du Napo, particulièrement les Omaguas. Elles révèlent aussi qu'au début du dix-septième siècle il y avait encore de grandes populations sur les affluents du Haut-Amazone, mais qu'elles souffrirent un déclin sensible à la suite des expéditions esclavagistes menées entre 1618 et 1622.

Mots-clés : *Vallée du Napo, Haut-Amazone, Omagua, jésuites, expéditions espagnoles, esclavage, changements culturels, populations indigènes.*

Little is known of Spanish activities in the headwaters of the north-west Amazon in the century between Francisco de Orellana and Gaspar de Carvajal's transcontinental venture of 1541 and 1542 and the journey downriver of the Franciscans, Domingo de Brieva and Andrés de Toledo, in 1636. The latter was followed by the expedition upriver of the Portuguese, General Don Pedro de Texeira, which on its return journey was accompanied by the Jesuit fathers, Cristóbal Vázquez de Acuña and Andrés de Artieda (1). In 1560 Pedro de Ursúa and Lope de Aguirre's expedition also traversed the continent, but it entered the Amazon from Peru via the Marañón by-passing the mouth of the River Napo. Ethnohistorical studies have indicated that major changes occurred in the character, size and distribution of native groups in the Napo Valley between 1542 and 1636 (Golob, 1982: 173-74; Myers, 1992a: 129-39, 143; 1992b: 85-86; Newson, 1995: 330-34; Oberem, 1967-1968: 149-59; Porro, 1992: 177-82; 1994: 79-94; Reeve, 1994: 110-16). In particular they have noted that the native population had declined and moved away from the major river banks, while intertribal warfare and slavery appear to have increased. Nevertheless, the causes of these changes have remained obscure. It has been suggested that Old World diseases may have penetrated the region carried from the highlands by Spanish exploratory expeditions or passing through native population chains (Myers, 1988: 61-81; 1992a: 137-39; Newson, 1992: 104-107; 1995: 330-31). While the spread of Old World diseases remains a distinct possibility, it has generally been assumed that during this period Spanish contacts in this region were minimal.

Throughout the century the frontier of Spanish settlement in the north-west Amazon headwaters was the *gobernación* of Quijos and until 1578 there was a strong Spanish presence in the region. Between 1559 and 1563 four towns were founded —Baeza, Avila, Archidona, and Alcalá del Río— and *encomiendas* were distributed. A major rebellion occurred in 1578 that resulted in the destruction of Avila and Archidona and left many Spaniards dead. Subsequently, until 1604 the region was poorly administered by lieutenants of the absentee governor, Melchor Vázquez de Avila. During this period the province slipped into economic and demographic decline to the extent that the Crown considered the suppression of the

(1) Due to their exploratory, political and ethnographic significance accounts of these expeditions have been extensively researched. See: Acuña, 1891; Chaumeil & Chaumeil, 1981; Cruz, 1885; Díaz, 1986; Gil Munilla, 1954; Heaton, 1934; Ortiguera, 1968; Oviedo, 1959, 5 lib. 50: 373-402; Palmatary, 1965.

gobernación. As the province of Quijos languished, it has generally been assumed that territories further east remained unexplored. Indeed Father Samuel Fritz, a Jesuit who worked among the Omagua in the late seventeenth century, doubted that Indians in the Napo Valley had had contact with Spaniards before they were encountered by Acuña in 1639 (Edmundson, 1922: 49). Nevertheless, documents from *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville and from the Jesuit archive in Rome indicate clearly that prior to that date several expeditions had been mounted into Coca, Aguarico, and Napo valleys, and that some may even have penetrated the Amazon itself. Most notable were the expeditions commissioned by Alonso de Miranda between 1618 and 1622. In 1620 Miranda petitioned the Crown for support for expeditions of conquest that would result in the establishment of a new *gobernación*. Since the support was not forthcoming, it has generally been assumed that the expeditions did not materialise and that the Napo Valley remained unexplored (Oberem, 1967-1968: 157). However, it is clear from Miranda's petition and those of later governors of Quijos that *entradas* had already taken place or were in progress. These petitions were accompanied by the testimonies of Spaniards and Indians who had participated in the *entradas*. These unpublished documents provide new evidence for the culture, location and size of native groups, especially the Omagua, in the Napo Valley in the early seventeenth century. The early history of northwest Amazon headwaters has been sketched by Oberem (1967-1968; 1980), Rumazo González (1982) and Taylor-Descola (1986), but these authors do not appear to have been aware of the documents relating to these *entradas*. These new sources suggest that as late as the early seventeenth century substantial populations still inhabited the Amazon headwaters, and that the changes witnessed between 1540 and 1636 were relatively late and were due in part to expeditions and slave raids conducted between 1618 and 1622. Since the period prior to the rebellion in 1578 is well-documented (Newson, 1995: 271-83, 325-34; Oberem, 1980: 61-95; Porras, 1961: 26-30; 1974: 24-109; Rumazo González, 1982: 1-134, 187-234), the paper will focus on the period from 1580, when it is assumed Spanish interest in the region languished, and in particular on the accounts of the expeditions in the early seventeenth century.

1. SECULAR AND ECCLESIASTICAL ACTIVITIES 1580 TO 1615

Following the rebellion in 1578 the Quijos region languished into economic and demographic decline. It was judged that the immediate cause of the rebellion had been a *visita* in 1577 by Licenciado Diego de Ortegón that aimed to punish and rectify excessive exactions of tribute and labour (AGI AQ 77 Ortegón 1.2.1577), but instead resulted in even greater oppression as *encomenderos* increased levies to meet the fines imposed (AGI AQ 76 Bishop of Quito 28.1.1580; AQ 8 Barros 20.3.1588). However, it is clear that the rebellion occurred against a background of deteriorating Spanish-Indian relations, that stemmed at least in part from the governor's absence. In 1561 Melchor Vázquez de Avila had been given proprietary rights over the jurisdiction for his life and that of his son and grandson. However, he was a wealthy *encomendero* of Cuzco who resided in Peru and he showed little interest in administering the *gobernación* of Quijos in person, preferring to govern it through unsalaried lieutenants (AGI AQ 9 Bedón de Aguero 10.3.1598; Rumazo González, 1982: 113-22). This meant that until his death in 1604 there was little official support for major exploratory expeditions, but that *entradas* were often conducted by his *tenientes* as a means of enhancing

their incomes (AGI AQ 9 Ibarra 8.5.1607). The *Audiencia* tried in vain to insist that the governor live in the region and argued that the jurisdiction should be annexed to the *Audiencia* of Quito (AGI AQ 9 Venegas de Cañaveral 11.4.1584, AQ 8 Barros and Moreno de Mera 1.3.1591, AQ 9 Altamarino 15.4.1601, AQ 9 Ibarra 8.5.1607; Rumazo González, 1982: 235-41) (2). It was not until the death of Vázquez de Avila's successor, Rodrigo Manuel Vázquez, that in 1615 the Crown appointed a new governor, Alonso de Miranda. However, between 1578 and 1604 several little known exploratory and missionary expeditions were conducted which throw light on the character and extent of Spanish penetration into the Amazonian headwaters and on the native populations they encountered.

2. EARLY EXPLORATIONS IN SEARCH OF THE OMAGUA

Following the suppression of the Quijos rebellion, in 1579 Agustín de Ahumada was appointed governor for four years, since Viceroy Francisco Toledo judged that the rebellion had been caused by the failure of the absent governor, Vázquez de Avila, to control exactions by *encomenderos* (AGI EC 912A ff.22r-23v Toledo 7.12.1579; RGI 3: 102-103). Ahumada was received as governor in Baeza in August 1580, but he was soon accused of abusing the rights of *encomenderos*, of conscripting Indians to serve on expeditions, and of forcing them to weave cotton cloth to the value of 12,000 pesos. He was recalled to Quito by the *Audiencia* to face criminal charges, and was subsequently fined and removed from office (AGI AQ 8 R18 N49 Lic. Venegas de Cañaveral 11.4.1584, EC 912A ff. 6r-11r 27.3.1584; Oberem, 1980: 90-91; Rumazo González, 1982: 235-36).

In his appointment as governor, Ahumada had been encharged with conducting an expedition among the Omagua who had been "discovered" by Rodrigo Miño in 1580 or 1581. Their province was described as being only eight days from Avila and the "richest in people and gold that has been seen" (AGI EC 912A f.9 Fiscal con Ahumada 1584; RGI 2: 218 Ahumada 25. 10.1582; see also CDI 19: 547-49). Although Ahumada appears to have conducted some expeditions, there was some dispute at the time as to whether they were among unpacified groups and whether he had encountered the Omagua. Two *vecinos* of Avila, Mateo Sánchez and Juan de Ribera, claimed that Ahumada had not conducted an expedition to the Omagua, but had only visited the part of Quijos that had been pacified where he had enslaved some Indians (AGI EC 912A ff. 6r-11r Sánchez and Ribera 27.3.1584; Oberem, 1967-1968: 154). However, nearly 40 years later in 1620, Francisco Moreno, the *escribano público* of Baeza, claimed he had accompanied Ahumada's expedition "through many parts of the province of Omagua" (AGI AQ 50 N32 ff. 50-51 Moreno 17.1.1620), while the parish priest of Alcalá del Río, Melchor Velázquez de Obando, similarly testified that he had been in the province of Omagua with Ahumada and other captains (AGI AQ 50 N32 f. 38 Velázquez de Obando 17.1.1620). The testimonies presented by Ahumada himself suggest that he had enlisted 50 men and a priest and had spent seven months leading an expedition aimed at establishing one or two towns, but that he had been forced to withdraw due to shortages of food and the hot climate. They go on to state that subsequently he dispatched his campmaster, Francisco de Paniagua, with 25 well-armed men to explore another part of

(2) For reasons unknown, but possibly because Vázquez de Avila possessed a close relative on the Council of the Indies (Phelan, 1967: 26; Rumazo González, 1982: 118), or because of jurisdictional conflicts between the Viceroy and *Audiencia* of Quito, he remained in office (Rumazo González, 1982: 235-42).

the region and discover the province of Omagua. Paniagua himself claimed to have discovered the route to the province, ascertaining that at the junction of the Napo and Coca there were more than 3,000 Indians (AGI EC 912 A ff. 29v-50v Testimonio de Ahumada 30.1.1584; AGI PAT 126 R8 Información de los meritos y servicios de Francisco de Paniagua 1582). Finally, Ahumada himself later claimed that he had spent 2,000 pesos on the expedition which, although it had failed to locate the land he sought, had identified the route and brought back more than 2,000 Indians many of whom were fugitives who had previously been converted (RGI 3: 103). In conclusion it seems as though direct contact with the Omagua had not been established and that, according to Paniagua, the expedition had not proceeded as far as the mouth of the River Coca.

Subsequently, there were conflicts between Vázquez de Avila and the *Audiencia* over the administration of the *gobernación* of Quijos. The *Audiencia* wished to see the appointment of a new governor to halt the region's decline, but Vázquez de Avila continued to hold the post and insisted on his right to appoint *tenientes,* including Joseph Villamor Maldonado (AGI EC 917A Villamor Maldonado con el Dr. Barros 1589; Rumazo González, 1982: 237-40). Villamor Maldonado had been involved in the establishment of Avila, Alcalá del Río, and Archidona, and in the punishment and pacification of the Indians after the uprising (AGI AQ 47 N13 Información de oficio y parte Joseph de Villamor Maldonado 7.2.1584, AQ 50 N 41 f.3-4 Información secreta de los meritos y servicios de Don Juan de Sosa 1622). It is unclear whether he ever exercised the office of *teniente* to which he was appointed in 1589, but he spent most of his life trying to pacify Indians in the region (Acuña, 1891:7). The abovementioned Francisco Moreno claimed that after having accompanied Ahumada, he had served for two years as a soldier with Villamor Maldonado on *entradas* among the Omagua. Moreno testified that,

> "hay mucha cantidad de provincias y en ellas muchos naturales y de diferentes naciones y lenguas y ser la tierra muy fertil de pesquerías y otros ganados monteses y la tierra produce mucha pita, cacao, y canela y otras frutas de regala y vido este testigo que muchos de los indios que salían a guerrear y defender sus tierras traían al cuello patenas de oro orejeras y narigueras"... (AGI AQ 50 N32 f.51 Moreno 16.1.1620)

Even when governors or *tenientes* were appointed, the administration was clearly ineffective. No secular inspection was conducted between 1578 and 1600 (AGI AQ 9 Real cédula 29.4.1600), but concern over the rapid demographic and economic decline of the region prompted a number of ecclesiastical *visitas.* About 1595 Father Lobato de Sosa was commissioned by Bishop López de Solis with a *visita* of the Quijos region (AGI AQ 25 Lobato de Sosa, no date), and in 1597 it was visited by the Dominican provincial, Father Pedro Bedón de Aguero (AGI AQ 9 Bedón de Aguero 10.3.1598). Finally, in 1600 the Crown ordered a secular inspection (AGI AQ 9 Real cédula 29.4.1600). It is not known who conducted the last *visita,* but it had been completed by 1603 (AGI AQ 9 Ibarra 15.4.1603), and the information collected may have been incorporated into the well-known description of the region written by the Conde de Lemus y Andrade in 1608 (RGI 1: 75-85 Lemus y Andrade 16.2.1608). Taken together these accounts reveal that excessive tribute and labour demands continued which contributed to population decline, migration, and social unrest. About 1590 Captain Salazar led an expedition of 60 Spaniards to Baeza with the aim of pacifying the region (Ordóñez de

Cevallos, 1902: 399; Rumazo González, 1982: 216-22). It was accompanied by Pedro Ordóñez de Cevallos, who had been appointed as parish priest of the Coca Valley and who sought to pacify the Indians by peaceful means. He paid for considerable quantities of gifts and drew up detailed contracts specifying the Indians' obligations and the treatment they might expect from Spaniards (Ordóñez de Cevallos, 1902: 399-412). Father Ordóñez de Cevallos conducted two *entradas* among the Cofán and claimed to have established eight villages with 4,000 souls. At the same time he noted that further east there were 5,000 converted "Maguas" and 200 unconverted "Omaguas", and nearby 3,000 Coronado (Ordóñez de Cevallos, 1902: 406). Nevertheless, mounting Indian hostility provoked by ill treatment forced the Spanish to withdraw, and it was not until 1599 that new efforts to convert Indians in the Quijos region were made, this time by the Jesuits (ARSI NRQ 12 I ff.24-35 Letra annua 1606).

3. FIRST JESUIT ENCOUNTERS

Scarcely had the Jesuits established a College in Quito in 1586, than they began missionary work among the unconverted. They focussed first on the Quijos region believing it to be the door to large populations further east. Beginning in 1599 Father Rafael Ferrer spent a couple of years reconnoitring the province of Cofanes alone before he was helped by Brother Antón Martín. Together they worked not only among the Cofán, and their neighbours the Coronado and Pu, but also the Omagua who were described as bordering on the Indians of Avila (ARSI NRQ 12 I f.4v-6r Ferrer 3.11.1604) (3). On June 29, 1603 the mission of San Pedro de los Cofanes was formally established with an initial population of 3,000 drawn from five tribes (Heredia, 1940: 9; Velasco, 1979 3: 260). By the end of the following year two other missions had been founded, Santa María and Santa Cruz, drawing together dispersed groups from the Duino and Payamino rivers on the one hand and the Azuela and Aguarico rivers on the other, such that the three missions contained about 6,500 souls (Jouanen, 1941, 1: 100-101; Velasco, 1979, 3: 261) (4). In January 1605 Ferrer reported that the Cofán numbered 15,000 to 20,000, which included the Pu and Ica "who are all Cofán" (ARSI NRQ 12 I ff.6r-6v Ferrer 27.1.1605). The latter were neighbours of the Coronado who in turn lived near the Omagua. At that time a few Omagua had been baptised, but it appears that contacts with them had not been extensive. Two months later he reported to the Provincial of Peru that on leaving the last Indian village under jurisdiction of Avila he had encountered some "humaguas" asking for baptism and offering them fish and honey (ARSI NRQ 12 I ff.6v-11r Ferrer 20.3.1605). He reported that,

> "son estos humaguas indios de alguna policía por que andan vestidos y sus mantas y camisetas son de mucha estima no sólo por ser de dura sino por las muchas y hermosas pinturas que en ellas pintan de pinzel las quales son de tanta dura como la misma ropa, traen las cabezas hombres y mujeres unas coronas como de clérigos quise saber el origen deste uso y sólo me dijeron que era propio de la nación; no hallé que tuviesen uso de ídolos ni hechicerías aunque tenían nombre propio con que llamaban a dios y otro con que nombra

(3) Accounts of Ferrer's activities vary in the dates given, the number of entradas conducted and the personnel involved.

(4) Jouanen gives the date of the foundation of San Pedro as 1604. Ricuarte (1938: 17) claims that Santa Cruz was on the Aguarico and Santa María on the Payamino.

> al demonio, no supieron darme razón de los nombres por que ellos solo entienden en comer y beber y en traerse bien vestidos según su posibilidad"... (ARSI NRQ 12 I ff.6v-11r Ferrer 20.3.1605)

Subsequently Ferrer went to the district of Ambocagua (5), in the jurisdiction of Baeza, where he met some Coronado who were establishing *chacras* two and a half leagues from Antaragua in order that they could be instructed by the priest of Ambocagua. He noted that the Coronado were very warlike and had continual wars with the Simbocagua who had already been converted. According to Ferrer the Coronado numbered 12,000 to 14,000 souls or more (ARSI NRQ 12 I ff.6v-11r Ferrer 20.3.1605). He commented that the Coronado possessed large settlements on the banks of the Coca River. He was aware that the Coca River eventually entered the Marañón, but at that time had not proceeded further downriver. Rather in the annual letter for the following year he reported that from there he had proceeded up the Coca to the village of Tangipa where he met some Cofán seeking baptism (ARSI NRQ 12 I ff.24r-35v Letra annua 1606) (6).

A number of Jesuit writers claim that Ferrer undertook several extended exploratory expeditions either alone or in the company of the newly recruited Father Fernando Arnulfini (Barnuevo, 1942: 9; Jouanen, 1941, 1: 102-103; Maroni, 1988: 210; Velasco, 1979, 3: 262-65). Possibly beginning as early as 1605 it was claimed that they had explored the Aguarico and Napo valleys and baptised some Coronado, Omagua, Abijira and Encabellado, some of whom had been taken to Quito. Velasco suggests that Ferrer discovered Lake Quequeya (lake Cuyabeno?) just south of the equator and continued as far as the Putumayo (Velasco, 1979, 3: 264).

Jesuit activities were interrupted by renewed attempts to establish a permanent Spanish presence in the Cofán region. In the early 1590s some Cofán had been baptised, presumably by Pedro Ordoñez de Cevallos, but subsequently ill treatment caused them to rebel and oppose any *entrada*. They had developed such a hatred for the Spanish that they called them "tensi", meaning the devil (ARSI NRQ 12 I ff.24r-35v Letra annua 1606). In 1582 the Cofán had destroyed the town of Ecija, but in 1595 it was re-established with a garrison of 100 soldiers by Captain Juan Galindez, the *teniente* of Popayán (AGI EC 923A Autos de la población del pueblo de Ecija 17.4.1595, EC 923A Residencia y pleitos de los indios sucumbios, 1601; Friede, 1952: 203; Jouanen, 1941, 1: 103; Velasco, 1979, 3: 266-67). These soldiers began reconnoitring the region capturing Indians to serve in the town, some of whom had been converted by Ferrer. *Encomiendas* were not distributed immediately, possibly because its citizens were enjoying the unregulated use of Indian labour to pan local gold placers and were selling others as slaves, conditions which provoked a rebellion by 45 caciques and left 1,000 Indians dead (AGI EC 923A ff7r-8v Carvajal, no date, ff.221r-222r Candia 28.1.1598, ff.229r-229v Gómez no date (1598?)). When *encomiendas* were eventually distributed, the *repartimiento* of 3,100 Indians was disputed on the grounds that the Indians should not have been allocated on a quantitative basis but by *casas* and *principal* since this reflected the local settlement pattern and socio-political organization (AGI EC 923A ff. 59v-66r Repartimiento de Hoyos 4.10.1597, ff.98r-98v Memorial, no date). The revised *repartimiento*

(5) Ordóñez de Cevallos (1902: 403) describes the Cofán village of Ambocagua as the "last village of the Coca".

(6) Tangipa is also mentioned by Ordóñez de Cevallos (1902: 403) as being a Cofán community located in the Coca Valley.

allocated 329 houses, each of which contained an extended family (*parentela*) of between 10 and 15 Indians (AGI EC 923A ff.98r-98v Memorial, no date, ff.193r-207r Repartimiento of Rojas 6.10.1598). The Indians distributed were generally referred to as Sucumbios and Coronados, but small numbers of Chufia were also involved, as well as the houses of two Omagua *principales* called Anina and Vinori.

The heated disputes between the settlers of Ecija over the distribution of *encomiendas* may have been the stimulus for Captain Pedro de Palacios to explore further afield. He was a seasoned soldier who had been involved in expeditions since the time of Ahumada. According to Father Ferrer, in 1607 Palacios and some soldiers arrived in the Cofán region fleeing from some *encomienda* Indians who had killed and wounded some of them (ARSI NRQ 14 ff.65r-65v Ferrer 9.7.1608). They were well received and in 1608 established the town of San Pedro de Alcalá with a secular priest (ARSI NRQ 14 ff.65r-65v Ferrer 9.7.1608; Barnuevo, 1942: 9-12; Maroni, 1988: 211-12). Further *entradas* to capture Indians for panning gold and to boost the work force of the town, provoked unrest amongst the Indians who were fearful of losing their lands and of being submitted to "miserable service, subjection and tribute" (Barnuevo, 1942: 10). They felt betrayed by the Jesuits who they believed had invited the soldiers into the region, and by 1609 they had fled to the mountains, and had attacked and wounded some soldiers. Meanwhile Ferrer continued to work in the province of Chichigue until he was martyred in 1611 for what was seen as his betrayal (Barnuevo, 1942: 10-11; Chantre & Herrera, 1901: 28-31; Heredia, 1940: 9-11; Jouanen, 1941, 1: 104-106; Velasco, 1979, 3: 268-70). The Indians fled and the remaining Jesuits were recalled to Quito.

Meanwhile, further north an exploratory expedition had been conducted by Juan de Sosa, the *teniente* of Popayán (AGI AQ 50 N41 Información secreta de los meritos y servicios de Don Juan de Sosa 1622; Maroni, 1988: 122-23). In 1609 Sosa claimed to have explored 200 leagues along the valleys of the Caquetá and Putumayo in the company of 12 soldiers and 100 "indios amigos" whom he had supplied with weapons and food. On the "island" between the two rivers he encountered "seños, tamas, atuaras, acanecos and meguas", then in 1611 turning south along the Orellana River (the Napo?) he discovered the provinces of the "aricana, ycaguates, chillivinas, maynas, napalaques, bubuaques or vaques and others" (7). Furthermore, he had heard that four days downriver to the east were "a large number of Indian provinces and people wearing great riches of gold, silver, and feathers in such large numbers that it was not fitting to proceed with so few people because of the great risk". He then returned to report his findings, sending a map and detailed account of the provinces to the Crown. Unfortunately, these documents have not been located. Subsequently, he was preparing for another *entrada* aimed at establishing some towns, when he was promoted to the *corregimiento* of Potosí.

Prior to 1615 it would appear that expeditions had not penetrated far to the east. Those conducted from Ecija appear to have ventured the farthest, though the Jesuits may also have explored the Aguarico and even reached the Putumayo. Meanwhile expeditions do not appear to have penetrated the Napo Valley beyond its junction with the Coca, and contacts with Omagua do not appear to have been extensive or sustained, though expeditions were

(7) Bellier (1994: 12) notes that many Tucano names end in -guaque or -huaque, and given their location, the napalaques, bubuaques or vaques were probably Tucano.

clearly bordering on Omagua territory. So far the groups most affected by slaving expeditions, either as auxiliaries or captives, appear to have been the Cofán and Coronado.

4. THE EXPEDITIONS OF ALONSO DE MIRANDA

While the Jesuits were working in the province of Cofanes, in 1604 Melchor Vázquez de Avila finally died. The Governor had received the title for three lives, but his death had been preceded by that of his son Diego Vázquez de Arce. Hence in 1608 his grandson, Rodrigo Manuel Vázquez, succeeded him, but he died before leaving Spain (Rumazo González, 1982: 241). In the interim, however, the latter had appointed a *teniente*, Pablo Durango Delgadillo, who had distributed vacant *encomiendas* without licence (AGI PAT 147-2-3 Servicios y meritos. Durango Delgadillo 2.4.1615, AQ 10 Miranda 15.3.1617; AMQ Morga cedulario f.58 19.10.1619). These included the *encomiendas* of Uaycachin, which was allocated to one of his relatives, Pachamama to Agustín Lagarto, two to Sebastían Díaz, and others to González Candileja, Juan de Palacios, Graviel Machacón, Jusepe Machacón, Antonia Barba. The Palacios and Machacón families had long been involved in expeditions aimed at pacifying unconquered groups and capturing Indians to boost *encomiendas*, and it was not long before they were seeking support from the new governor.

In 1615 the Crown appointed Alonso de Miranda as governor of Quijos, but he did not arrive in the region until March 13, 1617. On arrival he found that only five of Baeza's 21 *encomenderos* lived in the town, and he attributed the revolts by Indians around Avila and Archidona and the Jívaro attack on the Sevilla del Oro to the absence of effective administrative control (AGI AQ 10 Miranda 15.3.1617). He requested the *Audiencia* to order absent *encomenderos* to reside in the region. Although the Crown issued a *cédula* to this effect in 1619, the *Audiencia* suspended the order arguing that there were good reasons why the region's *encomenderos* had been given permission to live in Quito (AGI AQ 10 Real cédula 31.8.1619, Audiencia 25.4.1621). Meanwhile Miranda claimed that excessive exactions by *encomenderos* had caused many Indians to flee, some to Peru and Nueva Granada, and others to join hostile native groups.

4. 1. Accounts of Miranda's expeditions

Between 1618 and 1622 Alonso de Miranda commissioned four or more expeditions into the Napo Valley. Accounts of these expeditions appear in testimonies presented by Miranda and two subsequent governors of Quijos, Alvaro de Cárdenas and Vicente de los Reyes Villalobos. The three sets of testimonies, which are all located in the Archivo General de Indias, were presented in 1620, 1623, and 1630, and are referred to here as "Miranda", "Cárdenas", and "Reyes Villalobos" respectively (AGI AQ 50 N32 ff. 29-64 Petición de Alonso de Miranda 16.1.1620; AQ 31 Información de las provincias descubiertas de los Cofanes 23.6.1623; AQ 88 Información sobre las entradas que Alonso de Miranda.. hizo 1630). It is exceptional to have three sets of substantial accounts that refer to the same events, and their value is enhanced by the fact that the three governors had different aspirations, so that the testimonies do not duplicate each other, but rather provide different perspectives on the same episode.

Spanish conquistadors and royal officials generally sought to enhance their status and income through royal favour or by exploiting native populations. The first forays into

unconquered territories were often financed by private individuals who anticipated some reward for the money and effort they had expended and any physical hardship they had endured. The Crown was favourably impressed by exploratory activities that sought to expand territorial control especially where gold and silver were to be found and where there were large native populations that represented new sources of tribute and labour or potential converts. Testimonies were therefore designed to create a favourable impression on the Crown and ensure that recompense was forthcoming. The larger and more sophisticated the populations, the greater the likelihood that the Crown would support further expeditions and bestow privileges, such as titles or *encomiendas*, on their participants. However, not all those who participated in preliminary *entradas* were enthusiastic to pursue further expeditions of conquest, particularly if the task appeared difficult and the anticipated rewards insufficiently attractive. As in this case, views on the merits and difficulties of pursuing further expeditions often differed.

The first of the three governors, Alonso de Miranda, having undertaken two *entradas* into the Napo Valley at his own cost, presented testimonies aimed at gaining Crown support for further expeditions that would result in the establishment of a new or expanded *gobernación*. The witnesses themselves, all of whom had participated in the expeditions, also hoped to benefit in the form of *encomiendas*. Their testimonies are therefore enthusiastic about the size and number of Indian provinces encountered. Subsequently, Alvaro de Cárdenas, clearly disappointed with his appointment as governor of Quijos and mindful of the difficulties of bringing these territories under effective administration, produced testimonies, some from the same persons, that emphasised the high cost of Miranda's expeditions both in monetary terms and in Indian lives. These testimonies focus on the enslaving activities of the expeditions and say little about the native groups encountered or their size. Finally, Reyes Villalobos, who succeeded Cárdenas, encouraged by the accounts of large native populations made a more modest petition for support for further expeditions in which he also included the testimonies of Spaniards and Indians who had been involved in the *entradas*.

The three petitions together contain the testimonies of sixteen witnesses, all of whom participated in the expeditions (Appendix 1). The testimonies in the Miranda and Cárdenas petitions are all from Spaniards, whereas four of the nine presented by Reyes Villalobos were made by leaders of Cofán communities. Most of the Spaniards were *vecinos* of Alcalá or Ecija who were keen to boost their *encomiendas* or acquire new ones. Among them were members of the Palacios and Machacón families who for several decades had been actively involved in expeditions of conquest, and the parish priest, Melchor Velázquez de Obando, who had often accompanied them. Since many witnesses were already familiar with the area and some had spent over a year on expeditions, their testimonies were clearly based on first-hand experience. In some cases the information they provide appears very reliable. For example, there is a striking correspondence between the Omagua pottery described by witnesses and that found in archaeological sites. On the other hand descriptions of other aspects of native culture and population estimates cannot be taken at face value, but need to be interpreted in the light of attempts to impress the Crown. It is also clear that by 1630 some of the detailed knowledge pertaining to the names of Indian groups had been been lost. Further comments on the reliability of the evidence will be made in considering the distribution, size and character of native groups.

The individual witnesses differ between the three petitions. Several testified twice, but none three times. While the three governors are likely to have selected witnesses who would support their particular cases, the choice also seems to have been affected by the age, and therefore the availability, of those who had been involved in the expeditions. The five witnesses aged 40 and above in 1620, did not testify in 1630, but two of the remaining three did so. However, these two, Juan de Palacios and Martín de Campos, were not witnesses in 1623. While one might suspect that Cárdenas had reasons for not including them, more likely this reflected their status and availability, for at that time both were young soldiers who remained in the Napo Valley after their captains had been recalled to testify ("Reyes Villalobos", f.18v, 20v). By 1630 many of those who had captained the *entradas* had died, and possibly for this reason Reyes Villalobos decided to include them and the Cofán leaders. Since Reyes Villalobos would have selected Indian witnesses to support his case, their testimonies do not differ significantly from those of Spaniards.

Before analysing the ethnographic and demographic information contained in the three sets of testimonies, these sources will be used to reconstruct the chronology of the expeditions into the Napo Valley.

4. 2. The first two entradas

In mid-1618 when Alonso de Miranda was in Baeza he received letters from Alcalá del Río, notably from Captain Pedro de Palacios and Graviel Machacón, seeking authority to conquer the surrounding province of Cofanes, as well as the provinces of the Encabellado, Omagua, Iquito, Abijira, and many others ("Miranda", f.47). Miranda himself claimed that the stimulus for his involvement was that the Coronado had revolted killing five Spaniards and some Indians (AGI AQ 50 N 32 f.25 Miranda 28.4.1620; Miranda, 1988: 441). The two accounts are not inconsistent. Miranda agreed to support the expedition and himself participated in two *entradas*. On the basis of this experience, on December 20, 1619 he petitioned the Crown for rights of conquest that would enable him to establish a new *gobernación*. To support his petition he included the testimonies of eight Spaniards who had been involved in the *entradas*, many of whom were citizens of Alcalá ("Miranda", ff.29-64. See App. 1).

According to the testimonies, Miranda had supplied the expeditions with arms, including gunpowder, lead shot, harquebuses, padded armour and other defensive weapons customary in the area, as well as food and clothes for the soldiers, and knives, machetes and clothing for their Indian allies. Accompanied by Francisco Moreno and the soldiers, Miranda left Baeza for Alcalá del Río, where he met with Pedro de Palacios, Francisco Bermúdez, and other *encomenderos* from Alcalá, as well as Manuel de Lima, Gerónimo de Prado, Alonso de Morales, Francisco de Tinoco and other soldiers who had come from Ecija. Manuel de Lima had brought 50 Indians from his *encomienda*, and others had provided canoes. Francisco Moreno was left in Alcalá with orders to send help if necessary.

On the first *entrada* Miranda pursued the Coronado 80 leagues down river from Alcalá del Río where he caught up with them on the banks of the Marañón [Napo], noting that nearby was a province of "indios de guerra" (8). He sent the women and children back

(8) Throughout the testimonies the Napo River is generally referred to as the Marañón. The distance given suggests that it could not have been the Marañón, and was almost certainly the Napo.

to Alcalá and he conscripted the men to accompany the soldiers on an *entrada* into the province of "umaguas". After a few skirmishes he captured 300 of them who later served as Spanish allies (AGI AQ 50 N 32 ff.25-26 Miranda 28.4.1620; Miranda, 1988: 441). Ten months later he conducted another *entrada* which revealed the presence of eleven or twelve provinces on the banks and tributaries of the Marañón [clearly the Napo], with the Omaguas, Yquitos, Ycaguates, Abixiras, Cucayares, Quitomires, Maguas, Yuripara, Yurisunis, and Saparas being specifically mentioned by Miranda (AGI AQ 50 f. 26 Miranda 28.4.1620; Miranda, 1988: 441). Governor Miranda himself spent about six months in the region trying to pacify the Indians by offering them gifts of machetes, knives, scissors, and needles, but often the soldiers were involved in skirmishes with large hostile populations armed with poisoned weapons. Miranda claimed to have pacified the "umaguas" and "yquitos" and witnesses testified that he had established a garrison or *real* in Omagua territory at the confluence of the Aguarico and Napo under the command of Francisco Bermúdez (AGI AQ 50 N32 ff.25-27 Miranda 28.4.1620, "Miranda", ff.37, 44; Miranda, 1988: 441). A church had also been built there with intention of bringing in priests ("Miranda", f.50).

On the basis of these two *entradas* Miranda petitioned the Crown for support to undertake further expeditions of conquest ("Miranda", ff.29-34 20.12.1619). He reported that he had undertaken two *entradas* among the Omagua, Encabellado, Abijira and others, and had pacified a large part the province of Omagua at great cost and risk to life. He suggested that the Crown should create a new *gobernación* extending for 150 leagues from the Cofanes which was the eastern limit of the *gobernación* of Quijos. However, he argued that because it was necessary to enter through the latter region, he should be appointed as governor of Quijos for six more years and be assigned an *encomienda* of 100 Indians whose income would pay for munitions and supplies. He requested the title of *adelantado* and control of the newly-created *gobernación* for three lives, seeking the authority to establish five towns each with 100 *vecinos* and to distribute lands and *encomiendas* for three lives. Other privileges he sought included the title of *marqués* and an income of 20,000 *ducados*. In forwarding the petition to the Crown, the *Audiencia* commented that it was not very favourably disposed towards it, notwithstanding that it contained important information on the existence of large populations and that the governor was prepared to undertake the expeditions at his own expense (AGI AQ 50 N 32 ff.21-22 Audiencia 18.4.1620).

While the petition may have been bold, the reports of the existence of large populations seem to have impressed the authorities. Indeed the Crown was sufficiently interested to request the *Audiencia* for more information about the lands and peoples Miranda claimed to have pacified, and whether the area should or should not be attached to the *gobernación* of Quijos (AGI AQ 214 L.1 ff. 66-70 7.6.1621, 17.6.1621). It also enquired how Miranda had conducted himself, commenting that it regarded as exorbitant his request for 20,000 *ducados* income and the title of *marqués*.

4. 3. Further entradas

Meanwhile the *entradas* continued. Soon after Alvaro de Cárdenas assumed the post of governor of Quijos in 1622, he compiled a report on the state of the jurisdiction, which included the testimonies of several captains who had taken part in the *entradas* and who had been recalled to Alcalá to give evidence at Miranda's *residencia* ("Reyes Villalobos", f. 17r, 20v

and Appendix 1) (9). The five witnesses, three of whom had headed the *entradas*, were asked to give account of the provinces that had been discovered in the previous five years, those who had taken part, at whose cost, what towns had been founded, and how many "piezas" or slaves had been taken. They testified that four *entradas* had been conducted: by Pedro de Palacios, Francisco Bermúdez, Juan de Robles (under commission from Graviel Machacón, Miranda's *teniente*), and lastly by Machacón himself ("Cárdenas"). The testimonies presented by Reyes Villalobos in 1630 elaborate that Captain Bermúdez reported the existence of many more people and provinces downriver, to which Miranda dispatched Graviel Machacón with soldiers and Indian allies where he pacified the Abijiras who composed a "provincia muy grande y de infinidad de indios" ("Reyes Villalobos", f. 22r). According to one witness Machacón also led an expedition towards the Putumayo where he encountered 200 Seño whom he later employed on an *entrada* among the Megua ("Reyes Villalobos", f. 23v). He was about to embark on the conquest of the Encabellado when he was recalled to Alcalá to testify at Miranda's *residencia*.

4. 4. Cardenas' petition

The testimonies presented by Cárdenas provide few details on the Indian populations encountered, but indicate clearly that an ulterior motive of the expeditions was to capture Indians to boost the *encomiendas* of frontier towns. Machacón and Bermúdez estimated that in the foremost three *entradas* 300 "piezas" had been taken, 20 to 22 of whom had been appropriated by governor Miranda who had transferred them to Baeza. Other witnesses suggested that the Governor had taken a *quinto* of those captured, and that the rest had been divided between participants in the *entradas*, who had taken them back to Alcalá, Baeza, or, as in the case of Manuel de Lima and Francisco Tinoco, to Ecija. Since the earliest *entradas* were conducted among the Omagua, they are likely to have comprised a significant proportion of those enslaved. Indeed in 1620 Miranda had captured 300 slaves, but by then had only conquered the Omagua and Iquito (AGI AQ 50 N32 f.25 Miranda 28.4.1620; Miranda, 1988: 441). By 1623 only 30 to 40 of the 300 captured were still alive, the rest having died of sickness or fled. Cárdenas maintained that in three *entradas* 1,000 Indians had been captured and settled in Los Cofanes, but by 1626 only six remained, many having been taken to Quito and sold as slaves (AGI AQ 31 Cárdenas 2.3.1626). Even though it was acknowledged that some slaves had been taken, witnesses testified that in fact most Omagua had been returned to their lands where they had been instructed in the Catholic faith by the Jesuits. Although one might be sceptical of such statements, it is clear that many Omagua captured in the early *entradas* remained in the Napo Valley and served as faithful Spanish allies on later expeditions (AGI AQ 50 N32 ff.25-26 Miranda 28.4.1620; Miranda, 1988: 441). In 1623 Graviel Machacón claimed to be paying for six or seven soldiers to defend 50 Omagua who were serving as Spanish allies ("Cárdenas"), while Francisco Bermúdez based at the garrison established in Omagua territory had spent over a year conducting *entradas* in the company of fourteen Spaniards and 200 Indian allies ("Cárdenas"), many of whom are likely to have been Omagua.

(9) According to Rumazo González (1982: 250), Miranda's *residencia* was conducted by Cristóbal de Troya, but no evidence of it has been found.

The Omagua were not the only native group involved in *entradas*. Those Spaniards involved in the early expeditions launched from Alcalá conscripted Indians from their *encomiendas*. The majority were probably Cofán, although some Coronado may also have been employed. In 1630 the four Indian testimonies presented by Reyes Villalobos all came from leaders of Cofán communities ("Reyes Villalobos", ff. 25r, 26r, 26v). The employment of Indian auxiliaries in overtly military operations among other groups would have exacerbated traditional hostilities and created new grounds for conflict (Golob, 1982: 183-74; Reeve, 1994: 111). In 1647 the Franciscan, Laureano de la Cruz, observed 50 Omagua near the mouth of the Napo on their way to attack and rob the Encabellado and Runo upriver (Cruz, 1885: 185). While this may have been "their custom", as Cruz suggests, conflict is likely to have increased with the involvement of the Omagua in Spanish slave raiding. It is significant that Machacón had to pay for the defence of the Omagua who were serving as allies in the Napo Valley. The demographic impact of the *entradas* would have been considerable. As indicated above, over 1,000 Indians were taken as captives to Spanish towns, and many of those employed as soldiers would have died in conflict. Since an objective of the *entradas* was to acquire slaves, it is not surprising that no group appears to have been pacified without the use of force. The extended periods over which the *entradas* were conducted suggests that they must have taken a heavy toll of native soldiers and local populations alike.

The destabilizing effects of the *entradas* militated against peaceful conversion. When Miranda returned to Quito to submit his petition, he enlisted the help of the Jesuits (10). In 1621 fathers Simón de Rojas and Humberto Coronado, accompanied by brother, Pedro Limón, left to work among the Omagua. That year they settled 100 families at San Juan de los Omaguas in the province of Omagua, located by Pedro Limón between the River Quebeno and the confluence of the Napo and Aguarico (Barnuevo, 1942: 13; Maroni, 1988: 216). At the same time they ascertained that the province of Abijira possessed "muchos millares de indios" and enough to justify the establishment of a new town, and that the Encabellado formed a "gran provincia". Nevertheless, after little more than a year they decided to withdraw, judging that it would be impossible to undertake conversions due to the shortage of personnel and while soldiers were subjugating the Indians by force of arms (Maroni, 1988: 217). In 1630 it was estimated that together the Jesuits and the parish priest of Alcalá, Melchor Velázquez de Obando, who had accompanied the *entradas*, had baptised over 1,000 souls ("Reyes Villalobos", ff. 17v, 20r, 22r).

The testimonies submitted by Cárdenas describe the negative aspects of Miranda's *entradas*, but he did petition the Crown for financial support to undertake further expeditions of conquest that would result in the establishment of some new towns. To facilitate this he sought the post of governor of Popayán because of the ease of entry through that jurisdiction (AGI AQ 31 Cárdenas 2.3.1626). Again the Crown referred the issue back to the *Audiencia* requesting further information particularly on the *entradas* that had been conducted hitherto. At that time any interest the *Audiencia* showed in pursuing new conquests focussed on Esmeraldas on the Pacific coast, rather than on the Oriente (Phelan, 1967: 28). By 1626 Cárdenas was arguing that the administration of Quijos could be undertaken by a *teniente* (AGI AQ 31 Cárdenas 2.3.1626), while setting his sights on the *gobernación* of Popayán, and

(10) One of Miranda's sons was a Jesuit and he seems to have favoured the order (AGI CONT 544 R18 Autos sobre los bienes de Alonso de Miranda 1636).

later the *corregimiento* of Paita or Ica (AGI AQ 31 Cárdenas 12.5.1630). To soldiers on the ground who had remained in the Napo Valley after their captains had been recalled to testify at Miranda's *residencia*, it appeared that the new governor was not interested in mounting expeditions of conquest ("Reyes Villalobos", ff. 17v, 20v). As a result they soon became dispirited and retired to the frontier towns, undoubtedly taking some captive Indians with them.

Wherever the blame lay for the lack of official interest in the Quijos region, it meant that between 1622 and 1630 major expeditions into the Napo Valley ceased. However, smaller scale *entradas* from the frontier towns appear to have continued. When the Franciscans began working there in 1632 they found *vecinos* from Sucumbios conducting expeditions among the Seño and Becaba in search of fugitive *encomienda* Indians, and in 1635 Captain Juan de Palacios was absent from Alcalá on a similar mission (Cruz, 1885: 148, 152).

4. 5. Reyes Villalobos' petition

In 1630 Vicente de los Reyes Villalobos tried to reawaken Crown interest in mounting expeditions. In his petition he included the testimonies of nine witnesses, four of them leaders of the Cofán communities of San Pablo, Ejende, Doe and Nucal, who together with their subjects, had been drafted to serve on the expeditions (Appendix 1). Unlike the testimonies submitted by Cárdenas which focus on the expeditions' enslaving activities, these accounts include more substantial ethnographic descriptions, particularly of the Omagua, as well as fuller information on the *entradas* undertaken between 1620 and 1622 after Miranda had submitted his petition. Reyes Villalobos' petition for support and rewards was similar to that of Miranda ("Reyes Villalobos", ff.9v-10r) and similarly it fell on deaf ears. As well as requesting the governorship of Quijos for 20 years with a salary of 3,000 *ducados*, he sought the title of governor and captain general of the conquered area for three lives. In addition he requested the authority to conscript 100 Indians from Los Quijos and to found three towns and distribute *encomiendas*, including one of 300 Indians for his son.

In 1630 Jesuits led by Father Francisco Rugi, in the company of Juan Sánchez and Simón de Silva, were preparing to renew missionary efforts among the Omagua, and indeed for this purpose had travelled to Baeza (Barnuevo, 1942: 14). It is not clear whether this was on their own initiative or prompted by Reyes Villalobos who clearly anticipated Jesuit participation in the proposed expeditions ("Reyes Villalobos", f. 9v). In any case their efforts were frustrated, because Reyes Villalobos would not permit them to enter alone, and the president of the *Audiencia*, Antonio de Morga, who looked more favourably on the Franciscans, refused to provide military support (Barnuevo, 1942: 14; Maroni, 1988: 217). As a result they were forced to return to Quito.

5. NATIVE GROUPS IN THE NAPO VALLEY

Of the three sets of testimonies, those presented by Reyes Villalobos provide the most detail on the location, size and culture of the inhabitants of the Napo Valley ("Reyes Villalobos"). Unless otherwise indicated the following discussion is drawn from these testimonies. As with many testimonies drawn up for official purposes, the accounts of witnesses are very similar, but since they are not presented in a question and answer form,

they do vary to some degree. All witnesses commented on the location and size of particular groups, but none of them, including the Indian witnesses, distinguished between the native cultures present. Hence the culture of only one group is described in detail and although it is not specifically identified, it is clearly the Omagua. This was the group with whom the Spanish had most intense contacts. Not only did the Spanish employ the Omagua as allies on *entradas*, but the Jesuits founded a mission among them and the garrison that the Spanish used as an expeditionary base was established in Omagua territory. The following account will focus first on the location and size of groups encountered, and second, on the character of Omagua culture as revealed by the various testimonies.

5. 1. Geographical distribution of native groups in the Napo Valley

Over twenty groups are named in the various testimonies (see Appendix 2), but most are merely listed and cannot be located precisely. Furthermore, those testifying in 1630 noted that they were unable to recall the names of all the Indian groups they had encountered, since it was seven years since the expeditions had taken place. In 1620 Miranda indicated the

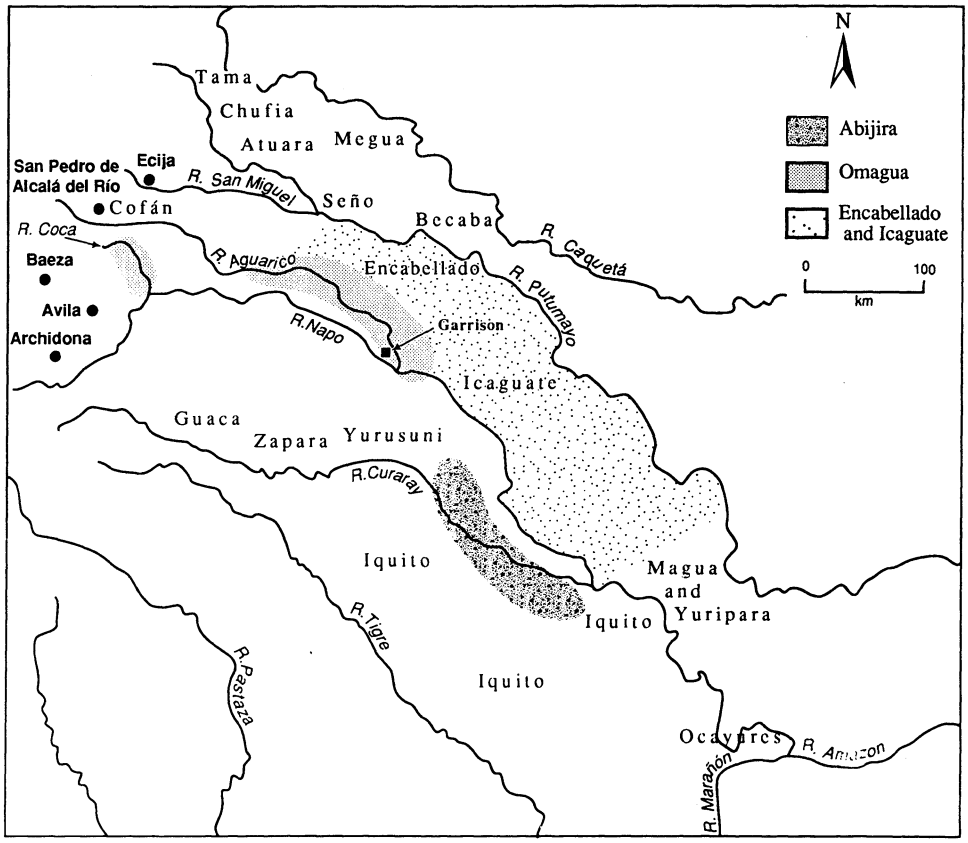

Fig. 1 - Native Groups in the Napo Valley in the Early Seventeenth Century.

distances of the major groups in terms of days or leagues from the garrison established at the junction of the Napo and Aguarico (AGI AQ 50 N32 f.26 Miranda 28.4.1620; "Miranda", ff.37-38; Miranda, 1988: 441). The distances were calculated on the basis of travel by river from the *real*. Although the general direction was downriver, it is clear that many groups were located on tributaries of the Napo rather than its banks, so that those noted as living further from the *real* cannot be assumed to be living further down the Napo. In the 1730s Father Pablo Maroni estimated that it took fifteen to sixteen days to travel downriver from Santa Rosa on the Napo to the Marañón (11). This included eight days from the mouth of the Aguarico to the Marañón, the mid-point being the mouth of the Curaray (Maroni, 1988: 116-20). Since the most distant group mentioned by Miranda was only eight days from the garrison, it would appear that the first two expeditions at least had not entered the Marañón. The following account will briefly describe the location of the major groups mentioned by witnesses.

5. 1. 1. Omagua

The earliest *entradas* were mounted from Alcalá del Río down the Aguarico, and the first province encountered was that of Omaguas "que corre mucha tierra" followed by the provinces of the Encabellado, Iquito, Abijira and Zapara ("Miranda", f. 43). Once the Omagua had been pacified, a garrison was established in Omagua territory at the confluence of the Aguarico and Napo ("Miranda", ff.36-37), and this was used as a base for later expeditions which employed the Omagua as auxiliaries.

In addition to the province of "Umaguas" located near the confluence of the Aguarico and Napo, Miranda distinguished the province of "Maguas y Yuripara" which was located five days from the garrison (AGI AQ 50 N32 f.26 Miranda 28.4.1620; Miranda, 1988: 441), which would place them between the Curaray and Marañón. The Magua could have been Yurimagua, who were distinct from the Omagua and celebrated a cult reminiscent of the Yurupary feasts involving sacred flutes found among some Tucanoan groups (Bellier, 1991: 13; Edmundson, 1922: 61; Goldman, 1948: 792; Métraux, 1948: 704). The similarity between the terms the "Yurupary" and "Yuripara" is also highly suggestive. However, when Father Samuel Fritz worked among the Yurimagua at the end of the seventeenth century, they were living well down the Amazon, beyond the Omagua, between the Jutai and Juruá rivers (Edmundson, 1922: 55, 75; Métraux, 1948: 704).

Alternatively, the "Magua" may have been related to the "Maguas" who in the sixteenth century were found in the Coca Valley downriver from los Quijos (AGI AQ 82 Diego de Ortegón 1.2.1577; Ordóñez de Cevallos, 1902, lib. 2 cap. 33: 406). It is generally believed that attempts to involve them in gold panning in the River Sunu in the early seventeenth century resulted in some fleeing to the lower Napo and Amazon (Acuña, 1891: 116; Maroni, 1988: 220; Oberem, 1967-1968: 158). The precise date of their movement is uncertain, but it is possible that some had fled before Miranda's expeditions took place, perhaps provoked by the Quijos rebellion or the *entradas* of Captain Pedro de Palacios that frustrated Jesuit activities in the Coca Valley in first decade of the seventeenth century. Alternatively, if the Magua and Yuripara were Omagua, they could represent the remnants of the Omagua province of Aparia Menor observed by Orellana and Carvajal that many

(11) Maroni (1988: 116) implies that the journey dowriver did not vary during the year, but that the journey upriver could take 40 days or more according to the seasons, taking the longest between April and August.

scholars have located near the confluence of the Curaray and Napo (Chaumeil & Chaumeil, 1981: 67; Evans & Meggers, 1968: 106-107; Gil Munilla, 1954: 98-300; Heaton, 1934: 61; Newson, 1995: 100-101). However, over 20 years ago Lathrap raised the possibility that the province was located further upriver near the junction of the Aguarico and Napo (Lathrap, 1972: 17-19; Palmatary, 1965: 24) (12). The documentary evidence presented above supports the proposition that a populous and extensive group of Omagua existed around and to the west of the confluence of the Napo and Aguarico. Also, it is here that Napo phase archaeological sites dated from AD 1168 to AD 1480 (±180) are concentrated. The ceramics from these sites are identical to those described in the Reyes Villalobos' testimonies and in other historical accounts of the Omagua (Evans & Meggers, 1968: 6; Lathrap, 1970: 151-54).

The suggestion that the province of Aparia Menor may have been located near the junction of the Aguarico and Napo is not inconsistent with Orellana's observations when they are reinterpreted in the light of the travel times noted above. In 1542 the journey from Aparia Menor to the mouth of the Napo took nine days from February 2nd to 11th (Heaton, 1934: 411-15), which given that it generally took only four days from the Curaray to the Marañón, would place the province well upriver from the Curaray towards the mouth of the Aguarico. It is possible that the location of the group had moved during the preceding century, but most likely any migration would have been downriver to escape Spanish enslaving raids, rather than upriver as was to be the case when the Portuguese began to penetrate the upper Amazon in the late seventeenth century (Reeve, 1994: 123). In conclusion, the evidence presented suggests that the province of Aparia Menor may have been located further upriver than previously thought, possibly around the confluence of the Aguarico and Napo rivers.

5. 1. 2. Encabellado and Icaguate

Although the names Encabellado and Icaguate were both used to embrace the entire group of Tucanoans who lived north of the Napo River, they are distinguished consistently by witnesses. The former with only one exception are mentioned first, suggesting that they were located further upriver than the Icaguate. Indeed the Encabellado and Mancosaes were later described as being the nearest provinces to Alcalá ("Reyes Villalobos", ff. 17v, 21r), while the Icaguate were found only ten leagues from the garrison (AGI AQ 50 N32 f. 26 Miranda 28.4.1620; Miranda, 1988: 441). Thus the Encabellado were probably located nearer the Aguarico and the Icaguate further down the Napo, as indeed later ethnographic accounts suggest (Steward, 1948: 738). A number of witnesses noted that they were on the point of undertaking an *entrada* among the Encabellado when they were recalled. This suggests that the Encabellado may not have been pacified until Franciscans began working among them in the 1630s. Given their proximity to the frontier towns and the garrison and that, as will be shown below, they comprised a very populous group, who later proved relatively easy to convert, it is curious that they were not the target of early expeditions. They lacked gold and may have been regarded as less 'civilized' than Omagua, but this would apply to the majority of groups in the region.

(12) In fact the celebrated nineteenth-century historian, Marcos Jímenez de Espada, had also been convinced that Aparia Menor was located further up the Napo towards the Coca River (Jiménez de Espada, *Ilustración Española y Americana*, 22 August 1894: 110 cited *in:* Heaton, 1934: 63-64).

5. 1. 3. Other Tucanoan groups

Other Tucanoan groups cannot be located precisely but only by reference to their neighbours. As noted above the Mancosaes are generally mentioned along with the Encabellado, and they were clearly neighbours, if they were not related. Others groups mentioned that have later been identified as Tucanoans include the Seño and Tama (Espinosa Pérez, 1955: 76-77; Steward, 1948: 737) (13). One witness testified that the Seño lived near the San Miguel River and that 300 of them had been employed in an *entrada* among the Megua ("Reyes Villalobos", f. 23v). In 1609 Juan de Sosa had reported that these three groups —the Seño, Tama, and Megua— were living on the "island" between the Putumayo and Caquetá rivers (AGI AQ 50 N41 Información secreta de los meritos y servicios de Don Juan de Sosa 1622). In the 1630 testimonies these groups are commonly mentioned with the Becaba, who in 1633 were encountered by Franciscans similarly between the Putumayo and Caquetá rivers eight days downstream from the Seño (Cruz, 1885: 148-50). At that time they were considered to be less numerous than the Seño. Similarly Acuña noted that the "Seños, Becabas, Tamas, Chufias and Rumos" lived north of the Napo and had constant wars with the Encabellado (Acuña, 1891: 113) (14).

5. 1. 4. Abijira

The Abijira were mentioned by all witnesses. They were one of the first groups to be encountered and were subject to a special *entrada* by Graviel Machacón. Miranda in his petition to the Crown reported that there were three groups of Abijira, of increasing size, two, three and eight days from the garrison (AGI AQ 50 N32 f.26 Miranda 28.4.1620; Miranda, 1988: 441). Most likely these were representatives of the same group who lived inland from the southern bank of the Napo and had been contacted through exploring the river's southern tributaries. In 1647 Laureano de la Cruz noted that their settlements were located two to three leagues from the river and continuous for 50 leagues (Cruz, 1885: 157). Possibly related to the Abijira were the Yurusunis described by Miranda as five days from the *real*. Acuña's account places the "Iurufunes" between the Abijira and Zapara (Acuña, 1891: 113), and the relatively long distance suggests that they may have been encountered after the Abijira by travelling up the Curaray. In 1740 Magnin referred to "Yarusunos de Archidona" (Magnin, 1955: 97), and some have argued that they may have been Quijo (Mercier, 1985: 51; Porras, 1974: 136). However, they are generally considered to be Abijira, and Espinosa Pérez suggests they may have been a branch of the Abijira who had contacts with the Quijo via the Curaray (Espinosa Pérez, 1955: 73; Velasco, 1979, 3: 463).

5. 1. 5. Zapara and Iquito

These two groups lived south of the Napo. The Iquito were one of the first groups to be pacified by Miranda, and they were later described as "gente belicosa y vestida" ("Reyes Villalobos", 22r). There were apparently two provinces of Iquitos, one located three days from the *real* and the other further down river called "Quitomires" where the Indians lived

(13) In the seventeenth century the Tama were living in the Caguán-Caquetá valleys (Bellier, 1994: 14; Pineda Camacho, 1980-1981: 329-31).

(14) Velasco (1979, 3: 463) refers to the Tama, Becaba and Negua [sic] as Aguaricos.

in large villages (AGI AQ 50 N32 f. 26 Miranda 28.4.1620; Miranda, 1988: 441). According to the priest who accompanied the *entradas*, Velázquez de Obando, both provinces possessed over 20,000 Indians, and were called Yquitos grandes and Yquitos chicos ("Miranda", f. 37). Acuña located them between the Napo and Curaray (Acuña, 1891: 113). They may have corresponded to the two Iquito groups on the Tigre and Nanay that were distinguished by Jesuits in the eighteenth century (Chaumeil, 1992: 313).

The province of Zapara was described by Miranda as "very large" (AGI AQ 50 N32 f. 26 Miranda 28.4.1620; Miranda, 1988: 441). The Zapara were mentioned by most witnesses and Acuña located them next to the Iquito (Acuña, 1891: 113). Nearby may have been the Guaca, who were listed by Captain Graviel Machacón next to the Zapara ("Reyes Villalobos", f. 37), and who it has been suggested were Oa (Steward & Métraux, 1948: 634; Taylor-Descola, 1986: 299).

5. 1. 6. Groups whose affiliation is unknown

The Guatee ("Cárdenas"), who were mentioned by only one deponent, and the Ocochas (Ocuchos) were listed next to or between the Tama and Becaba, and they were probably also Tucanoans. Laureano de la Cruz identified the Aguanatios (Amanantios, Amanatios, Anaguatios) as Omagua (Cruz, 1885: 185). They are generally mentioned next to the Ocayures (Ocayares, Ucayares) who reportedly possessed gold (AGI AQ 50 N32 f.26 Miranda 28.4.1620; Miranda, 1988: 441), as did the Omagua. Both groups may have been Omagua, and since they generally appear further down the list after the Iquito, most likely they would have been located on the lower Napo. Indeed Captain Francisco Bermúdez commented that downriver from the province of Ocayures even the largest boats could navigate ("Reyes Villalobos", f. 22r). This probably referred to the Marañón, thereby suggesting that the Ocayures were located near the mouth of the Napo. Witnesses testifying about provinces beyond the Ocayures only claimed to have heard about them ("Reyes Villalobos", ff. 18v, 25r), which suggests that the expeditions had not penetrated the Marañón and Amazon.

The Mansos, mentioned by only one witness, most likely received their name from the Spanish who found them more submissive than other groups. Velasco suggests that the Pegua were Quijos (Velasco, 1979, 3: 330), but the affiliation of the Coporates, Buichos and Lanangochos ("Cárdenas") remains unknown. The first group was generally referred to adjacent to the Iquito.

The soldiers testified that Indian informants had described two other provinces beyond the region they had explored. Captain Juan de Palacios had been told that,

> "más abajo de la provincia de los ocayares al lado de mano derecha yendo el río Marañón abajo hay una provincia fundada en tierra de sabana y que es la gente en mucha cantidad y la mayor que ellos han visto y que la gente muy briossa y rica y que hay carneros de la tierra y gallinas y otras aves caseras con que se sustentan y que las casas de sus viviendas son muy curiosas y embarradas y que el oficio que tienen son todos plateros que batan oro y que es tan grande la ciudad que en seis dias la atreviesan y que destas joyas han corrido de mano en mano de que han participado los naturales destas provincias"... ("Reyes Villalobos" ff. 18v-19r; see also ff. 21r, 22r, 23v, 28r)

Others witnesses noted that they had short hair and wore clothes made from llama wool. These descriptions suggest a group with highland affiliations, but this would contradict the province's clearly stated location on the right bank of the Marañón. It is possible that it was the gold-working province of Curuziraris described by Acuña that was located 28 leagues downriver from the mouth of the Yurúa on the Amazon (Acuña, 1891: 129-37). Gold was not mined there, but obtained by trade from the Caquetá and Uaupés through the upper River Negro (Porro, 1994: 84). Comments that suggest a highland affiliation may have been made to impress the Crown of the 'civilized' character of the group and thereby gain support for further expeditions.

Further downriver from the gold-working province witnesses had heard that there was,

> "otra provincia de tan solamente mujeres y que estas vivían sin hombres y que por sus tiempos se la juntaban con indios de otras provincias para sus juntamientos y que estando cierto tiempo juntos se volvían cada cual a su provincia y al tiempo y quando parían las dichas mujeres el padre llevaba el hijo y la madre la hija cuyas armas son flechas con que ofenden y se defienden".... ("Reyes Villalobos", f.19r; see also ff. 22r, 23v, 25v)

This description is clearly a replica of the classical legend of the Amazons (Hemming, 1978: 90-91, 119-20), that repeats Gaspar de Carvajal's account of 1542 (Díaz, 1986: 85-86). It seems likely that a province did exist where women were involved in fighting, but their identification as Amazons was clearly fanciful. Father Samuel Fritz posits that they may have been Yurimagua (Edmundson, 1922: 60). Several witnesses also noted that there were other provinces nearby where people went naked and were cannibals.

5. 2. The size of populations in the Napo Valley

Without exception witnesses testified that the Napo Valley and its tributaries were highly populated. However, it is important to remember that the testimonies were presented with the aim of gaining Crown support for further expeditions and therefore may have been exaggerated. Nevertheless, the witnesses had extended first-hand experience in the region and the precise estimates that some provide for individual groups suggests that they had some basis in reality.

In 1620 Miranda claimed to have discovered ten or twelve provinces, but he did not specify the size of their populations (AGI AQ 50 N32 f. 26 Miranda 28.4.1620; Miranda, 1988: 441). However, the parish priest of Alcalá del Río, Melchor Velázquez de Obando, who accompanied the early *entradas* and had first explored the region over 30 years previously with Agustín de Ahumada, provided more specific accounts. He testified that he had been involved in the discovery of,

> "las provincias de homagua abixires encabellados y otras muchas provincias que hay por este río del Marañón abajo como es una grande provincia de homaguas de muchos naturales y dos provincias llamadas los yquitos una de yquitos grandes y otra de yquitos chicos ambas a dos provincias demas de veinte mil indios otra provincia llamada los guacas otra los saparas otra los abixires donde hay mas de diez mil indios otra provincia de los encavellados

> [sic] de mas de cinquenta mil indios y otra de ycaguates otra de mançocaes otra de becagias [Becabas?] otra de senos otra de meguas otra de tanho y otra yrrasunis y la provincia de las amazonas en todas los quales hay mucha cantidad de naturales todo por este río del Marañón y quebradas que entran en el"... ("Miranda", f. 37)

With the exception of the province of the Amazons, all groups are known to have lived in the vicinity of the Napo Valley. The accuracy of the particular estimates may be disputed, but Velázquez de Obando's long-term familiarity with the region and the fact that he was able to specify the size of individual groups, suggests that they are likely to have been of this order of magnitude. It is interesting to note that he makes no estimate of the number of Omagua.

The *Audiencia* was impressed by the population estimates, for although it did not support Miranda's petition, it admitted that the reports concerning the existence of large Indian populations were important (AGI AQ 50 N32 ff. 21-22 Audiencia 18.4.1620), and indeed the Crown was sufficiently interested to seek further information (AGI AQ 214 L1 ff. 66-70 7.6.1621). In reply the testimonies submitted in 1630 noted that the region explored contained either 100,000 or 150,000 Indians ("Reyes Villalobos", ff. 17r, 18r, 20r, 21r, 22r, 23v). According to the location of groups described above, the region would have comprised the Napo Valley and its tributaries between the Curaray and Putumayo. One witness concluded that the region was, "another new Peru", containing more people and producing gold and cotton ("Reyes Villalobos", f.16r). The more general nature of these later estimates probably reflects a loss of detailed knowledge over time, for they are consistent with the earlier figures. At present it is difficult to judge how far these estimates may have been exaggerated, but the fact that witnesses' testimonies were based on a detailed knowledge of the region and that they were keen to participate in further expeditions suggests that in the early seventeenth century the Napo Valley was still highly populated.

5. 3. Omagua culture in the early seventeenth century

The fullest details on the culture of Indians inhabiting the Napo Valley are to be found in the testimonies of witnesses presented by Reyes Villalobos ("Reyes Villalobos"). Nevertheless, these testimonies, including those made by Indian witnesses, are very similar, so reference will not be made to individual accounts, but rather a general description of Omagua culture will be presented. Unless otherwise indicated, the descriptions are taken from these testimonies. There is insufficient space in this paper to undertake a criticial evaluation of the observations in the light of later documentary evidence and more recent ethnohistorical research. However, it is important to note that the testimonies were made to impress the Crown, such that references to sophisticated populations and to features which suggest affiliations with highland societies, especially in Peru, should not be taken at face value, but considered in the light of other available evidence. On the other hand there seems little reason why observations on native susbistence should not have been fairly accurate.

The land was described as very fertile and abundant in date palms, game and fish. A great variety of vegetables and fruits was cultivated. The Indians were said to subsist on maize, peanuts, beans, and a variety of roots. Manioc was made into bread and wine, as were other fruits and vegetables. Although the Spanish would have been more familiar with seed

crops, the fact that they are mentioned first and are individually named suggests they played a significant, if not predominant role in subsistence. Most of the agricultural labour was undertaken by women and like other subsistence activities it was concentrated in the summer. The seasonal organization of labour impressed the Spanish who judged the Omagua to be very prudent. In the summer the land was cleared by burning and the lowering of the river allowed fish to be caught in pools using *barbasco*. At this time food was collected and stored for winter. Storage techniques are not described, but most likely in common with groups on the Amazon they stored maize and manioc bread and flour in their homes (Oviedo, 1959, lib. 49 cap. 3: 240-41), and preserved manioc by burying it for up to several years, apparently preferring to eat it in a half putrified state (Edmundson, 1922: 50; Meggers, 1971: 140-41). The game and fish may have been dried, smoked, or even stored in turtle or manatee oil, as it was downriver. Game, including birdlife, was considered abundant, a few noting that it was to be found in the "montaña" or "monte". They used traps, pits, snares, spear-throwers and blow-guns with poisoned darts, and hunting was said to be easy. Witnesses also noted that they raised wild birds and animals in their homes.

The climate was described as very healthy, being not too hot or too cold, and free of mosquitos and other insects. Witnesses testified that the soldiers who participated in the expeditions had never been afflicted by disease. When they had become ill it was because they had been forced to live off the land, especially when they had ventured overland and had been unable to carry supplies because of the weight of their weapons. They described the Indians as "grandes comedores", and observed that because they ate well and the land was healthy, there were many children and they lived to an old age, which was variously estimated at between 70 and 80 years.

Among the goods manufactured by the Omagua were textiles and pottery. The women spun and wove cotton cloth, which was painted and used for clothing. The Spanish were impressed by their 'decent' clothes, which they often wore with gold jewellery and *chaquira*, noting that in other provinces nearby people went naked. The witnesses observed that for fiestas they also had feather clothes and headdresses, but none commented on the Omagua practise of head-deformation. The Omagua may have obtained their gold jewellery from the Quijo or a highland group (Métraux, 1948: 694; Oberem, 1974: 355), but the witnesses maintained that it had come from the abovementioned gold-working province located downriver from whence it had passed from hand to hand to the Omagua. Several witnesses claimed to have had such gold earrings and nose ornaments in their hands. Another noteworthy manufacture was pottery. The pottery they used for eating was described as very unusual, glazed with black and red and covered with coloured varnish (15). This description fits exactly modern accounts of Omagua and Cocama pottery (Lathrap, 1970: 151-54; Métraux, 1948: 695-96). Although the Omagua traded their manufactures (Acuña, 1891: 116, 119), this is not mentioned.

Omagua settlements were described as large in number and size. The Omagua lived in "barrios" composed of large boat-like houses (16), which is consistent with other

(15) "Reyes Villalobos", f. 28r says "la losa en que comen es muy curiossa vidriada de negro y colorado y sobre el varnis muy pintado". See also f.20v.

(16) "Reyes Villalobos", f 19r "vido muchas y grandes poblaciones por sus barrios en casas mas fundadas de naves y bien cubiertas y mucha infinidad de indios".

contemporary descriptions of multifamily households (Cruz, 1885: 186-88). One witness noted that they lived on high land ("Reyes Villalobos", f. 18v). The houses were described as strong and well covered, and the settlements well laid out. The roads by which they travelled from province to province were described as good, wide, and better maintained than the *caminos reales* of Peru. Canoes were also used, but they navigated close to the river banks, because water in the main river channel was deep and fast-flowing. Plentiful supplies of cedar and brasilwood existed for the construction of canoes and boats.

Each "barrio" was governed by a leader ["capitán"] appointed by the chief of the province, who at that time was the son of Grancayro ("Reyes Villalobos", 19r). These leaders had the authority to impose punishments including the death penalty. One witness suggested the penalty could even extend to a whole lineage ["generación"]. Witnesses were impressed by their good government, which they likened to that of Christians, noting that their leaders were highly respected and that they lived in peace. This clearly referred to internal relations, because the inhabitants of the Napo Valley were generally regarded as very warlike, though sources are silent on the sources of conflict and between whom warfare was waged. Although conflict was fuelled by Spanish *entradas*, the seasonal nature of warfare and the large repertoire of weapons employed suggests that previously it had been a regular feature of native life. Wars were conducted in the summer and the weapons used included lances and darts made of fire-hardened palm wood with points and barbs that could pass through any shield or armour if it was not very strong. Other weapons included clubs with two cutting edges which they used as broadswords, and spear throwers that could reach 400 to 500 paces. For defensive weapons they used shields of tapir hide bearing their leaders' insignia. Later Acuña (1891: 119-21) and Fritz (Edmundson, 1922: 48-49) both noted that the Omagua possessed slaves whom they had captured in war or whom they had traded for iron tools or clothing. Hence the Omagua may have acted as brokers between the Spanish and native groups supplying the latter with prestige goods in return for slaves. It is interesting that in contrast to the accounts by Acuña and Fritz which indicate the widespread incidence of slavery, the Reyes Villalobos' testimonies make no mention of the existence of slaves within Omagua society. It is possible that at that time those captured by the Omagua passed to Spanish control, or that witnesses failed to note their presence because, as later noted by Acuña and Fritz, the Omagua showed great affection towards them.

Few observations were made about the native religion except that they possessed a "casa del sol". This was described as being a very large house, like a church, covered with various coloured feathers, to which people from surrounding provinces periodically took offerings of cloth, jewellery and precious stones.

6. CONCLUSION

As late as the early seventeenth century substantial native populations still existed in the north-west Amazon headwaters. Although Old World epidemics may have afflicted Omagua populations prior to this time, eye-witness accounts suggest that between 100,000 and 150,000 Indians may have still occupied the Napo Valley and its tributaries. Only with the *entradas* commissioned by Alonso de Miranda in 1618 did Spanish expeditions extend beyond the mouth of the Coca as far as the Marañón. These expeditions disrupted existing social relations, enhanced intertribal warfare, and resulted in large numbers being enslaved

or killed in conflict. It is clear that these *entradas* had a major impact on the size and distribution of the native groups, and contributed to the demise of the once populous Omagua in the Napo Valley.

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AQ Audiencia de Quito.
EC Escribanía de Cámara.
PAT Patronato.
CONT Contratación

AMQ Archivo Municipal, Quito.

ARSI Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome.
NRQ Provincia Novi Regni et Quitensis.

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Appendix 1

Witnesses Testifying on Miranda's Expeditions.

		1620 (1)	1623 (2)	1630 (3)
Melchor Velásquez de Obando	parish priest of Alcalá	*	*	
Graviel Machacón	captain, teniente general	*	*	
Juan de Robles	alcalde ordinario of Alcalá	*	*	
Francisco Moreno	escribano público of Baeza	*		
Martín de Campos	vecino of Alcalá	*		*
Juan de Palacios	captain, encomendero of Alcalá	*		*
Manuel de Lima	alcalde ordinario of Alcalá and Ecija	*		
Gerónimo de Prado	escribano público y del cabildo of Alcalá and vecino of Ecija	*		
Francisco Bermúdez	captain, alcalde ordinario of Alcalá		*	*
Andrés Viejo	alcalde ordinario of Alcalá		*	
Dionissio Rivera	vecino of Alcalá			*
Thomas Lorenzo de Quiros	vecino of Alcalá			*
Don Juan Bocache	gobernador y cacique principal de la provincia de los Cofanes			*
Don Cristóbal Ejende	cacique principal of pueblo y valle de Ejende			*
Don Domingo Dica	cacique principal of Doe			*
Don Joseph Humbato	cacique principal of Nucal			*

(1) AGI AQ 50 N32 ff. 29-64 Petición de Alonso de Miranda 16.1.1620.

(2) AGI AQ 31 Información de las provincias descubiertas de los Cofanes 23.6.1623.

(3) AGI AQ 88 Información sobre las entradas que Alonso de Miranda.. hizó 1630.

Appendix 2

Native Groups Named by Witnesses.

1620 (1)	1623 (2)	1630 (3)
Omaguas (Homaguas)	Omaguas	Omaguas
Yquitos	Yquitos	Yquitos
	Yquitomires	Yquitosmires (Yquitosmiris)
Abixiras (Abixires)	Abixiras	Abijiras
Encabellados (Encavellados)	Encabellados	Encabellados
Ycaguates (Ycguataes)		Ycaguates
Yrusunis (Yrrasunis)	Yrucunis	Yurusunis (Yurasunis)
Mançocaes (Mancosaes)		Mancosaes
Guacas		
Saparas	Saparas	Saparas
	Ucayares	Ocayures (Ocayares, Ucayares)
Becabas (Becaguas, Becagias)		Becabas
Seños		Seños
Meguas		Meguas
Tamas (Tanho)		
		Peguas
Ocuchos		Ocochas
Mansos		
Guatees		
Buichos		
	Coporates	Coporates
	Lanangochos	
	Anaguatios	Amanantios (Aguanatios, Amanatios)
Amazonas	Amaconas	

(1) AGI AQ 50 N32 ff. 29-64 Petición de Alonso de Miranda 16.1.1620
(2) AGI AQ 31 Información de las provincias descubiertas de los Cofanes 23.6.1623
(3) AGI AQ 88 Información sobre las entradas que Alonso de Miranda..hizó 1630.