

THE HISTORY OF THE GUAYQUERÍ;

AN APPROACH TO THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF
NORTHEASTERN VENEZUELA.

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Introduction

A major problem in the study of South American Indian groups is that of determining who they are, where they live, and what happened to them during the historic period—from the time they are first mentioned to the present. A satisfactory answer to this problem, or series of problems, tells us something about the nature of the groups and of their relations with their neighbours, and leads us to the additional problems of cultural history, the solution of which would be of great value in leading to an understanding of the particular region and of considerable benefit to the science of anthropology in general.

This paper, based on materials in the University of California library, deals with some of the activities of the Indians of northeastern Venezuela—north of the Orinoco and east of lake Maracaibo—during the period between 1498 and the present.

Northeastern Venezuela was the first mainland region of America to be visited by Spanish explorers and is the subject of a large body of literature, including a considerable number of superior sources. Caulín, Herrera y Tordesillas, Oviedo y Baños, Gumilla, Rionegro, and Alexander von Humboldt have written large amounts of specific material about this area and its aboriginal peoples. The majority of these sources are

undigested, and are not correlated with those pertaining to the surrounding areas; consequently ethnological knowledge of the region is in a considerable state of confusion. Northeastern Venezuela is, therefore, one of the areas least known to the professional anthropologist.

The chief difficulty in dealing with the tribes of this region lies, not in the lack of information, but in the lack of precise information about any particular group. The historic practice in dealing with the area has been to write down the names of every tribe known between Caracas and Guiana, and to try to write a general description that will cover them all. Insufficient attention is therefore given to the linguistic and cultural differences which may have existed, and to the changes which may have occurred within any given group over a period of time. Since some fifty tribes have been noticed in this area during the historic period, this sort of treatment tends to confuse rather than enlighten the reader. The authors of articles in volume 4 of the Handbook of South American Indians, although they usually have attributed data to some particular tribe and date, have not succeeded in bringing order from this confusion. They have followed the old practice of discussing all tribes at once and have also associated material written in all periods. All tribes are mentioned, but none is adequately placed as to time, space, or culture. The resultant hundred or two hundred scraps of information about twenty to fifty different tribes constitutes a useful index to the literature but scarcely presents a coherent account of the ethnology of the region.

A list of historic tribes may readily be assembled by referring to volume 4 of the Handbook of South American Indians.(1) This aboriginal population is today represented by several known groups of survivors, including a good many Warrau (Guarauno) in the Orinoco delta, a few Chaimas in the highlands southeast of the city of Cumana', scattered groups of "Caribs" in the llanos north of the Orinoco and, probably, Spanish speaking Guayqueri on the island of Margarita. Recent studies of the Warrau have been made by Pinilla and by Turrado Moreno; Crucent has paid some attention to the "Caribs"; the Chaimas are best known from Humboldt's account written at the beginning of the nineteenth century.(2) These three groups seem to warrant further study.

The archaeology of the region is being worked out by Crucent, Howard, Kidder II, Osgood, and Rouse.(3) What is chiefly lacking at present is a more coherent account of the culture history of the tribes of the area. This paper suggests a method by which such an account may be achieved, and presents some material illustrating the method suggested.

The method proposed is to select "key" tribes (i.e., those that seem to have played important parts in the history of the region), and to trace the activities of such "key" tribes from the first European contact to their extinction or to their present habitat and condition. It would be logical to follow up such treatment with ethnographic and linguistic studies of surviving groups and, where possible, with attempts to link the historic tribes with the archaeological record.

The "key" tribe selected for a first trial of this method is the Guayquerí of the island of Margarita, a hundred miles west of Trinidad (see map). Although ethnographical material is exceedingly scant, and it appears that linguistic data are entirely lacking, other factors make the Guayquerí a useful group to consider. They appear in the historic sources from 1498 to 1916; they cooperated with the Spaniards and played an important historic role in the region; they illustrate some of the kinds of migrations undertaken by South American tribes; and their time-space distribution presents at least one puzzling problem. Let us, therefore, try to find out whether an orderly presentation of the known history of one "key" tribe may guide us toward ordering the data for the little-known northeastern Venezuela region.

Habitat of the Guayquerí

The earliest explorers of "Tierra Firme" left no record of the use of the tribal name "Guayquerí". The term first appears in two separate regions; on the island of Margarita, in the year 1557; and on the river "Coaheri" (probably the Cofedes or the Portuguesa), where "Guayoari" were encountered by Nicolaus Federmann in 1530.(4) Federmann's "Guayoari" (note different spelling) may have been a different people and will be treated provisionally as a separate group.

Archaeology of Margarita

The evidence collected by deBooy indicates that the natives of Margarita usually did not live in permanent villages. Only one large shell-mound was found, at Gire-gire; this differs in content from surface sites elsewhere on the island. The peoples of the island were fishermen and gatherers of shell-fish. They also ate turtles, and peccary and deer, which may have been brought from the mainland. Cactus seems to have been a native plant and it appears that the inhabitants cultivated cassava, cooking their bread on clay griddles (except at Gire-gire). Their pottery included shallow trays and globular pots which were probably undecorated except for incising on a few pieces, and small pottery heads like those found by Fewkes on Trinidad. Biconical stone objects were found, as well as massive stone axes which deBooy describes as of the "Guiana" type, a few stone "amulets," and some worked conch shell "lips." DeBooy located arrowshaft rubbers and one chipped stone point, but believed the natives employed the poison spine of the sting-ray. Remains of one cannibal feast were found at Gire-gire, also some painted pottery fragments. DeBooy postulated that these had been brought in by cannibal raiders; probably from the lesser Antilles—a conclusion supported by the historical evidence. DeBooy concluded that a number of Margaritan traits resembled specimens from the Carib islands to the east, but that there was no evidence to indicate that the Margaritans were cannibals or speakers of a Carib language.(5) There is no indication of any pre-pottery phase like that found on the peninsula of Araya.(6) The impression of eastern affinities is strengthened by the fact that the

Margarita material resembles that from the south coast of the peninsula of Paria rather than that of the neighborhood of Barcelona.(7)

Physical Type of the Guayquerí

We have no early physical description of the Guayquerí; Humboldt, however, clearly distinguishes them from their nearest 19th century mainland neighbors, describing them as being lean and muscular, taller than the tubby Chaima and "Caribs" of Cumaná, and the best looking of the New World peoples after the Caribs of Guiana.(8) Here again we have a suggestion of eastern affinities.

Name and Language of the Guayquerí

The tribal name appears in a number of different spellings, all of which would be pronounced alike. These include Guaycari, Guayquerí, Guaikerí, Gaiquerí, Guayquirí, Guaichiri, Vaichiri, Uaiqueri, Wikiri, Waikeri, Ouikeri and Uiquerí.

The spelling "Guaycari" is used to describe a group found in 1530 on the river Cojedes. This spelling is employed only by Federmann, and his group may be different from all the others.

"Guayquerí" is the usual spelling for the natives of Margarita for all periods. "Guaikerí" and "Gaiquerí" appear to be alternative spellings for the same group.

"Guaiquiri" is an 18th century spelling applied by Gumilla, Ubrique, Surville, and by the map published by Ramos Perez, for those groups living near the Orinoco south of the Caracas region. There is no evidence that the "Guaiquiri" were in any way a separate group. Some may have been descended from the natives of Margarita—others from Federmann's "Guaycari."

Gilij gives "Guaichiri" as the Spanish name for the group; "Vaichiri" as the native name for themselves. "Ch" is, of course, the Italian equivalent of Spanish "k" or "qu." He places them somewhat vaguely on the "lower Orinoco." There is no reason to suppose them a separate group. "Uaiqueri" probably represents borrowing from Gilij.

"Wikiri" is Raleigh's spelling, "wi" being the English equivalent of Spanish "guay." The name is mis-applied by Raleigh and by Schomburgk, for when Raleigh's context permits specific application it is evident that he is applying that name to the Cumanegotos. "Waikeri," "Ouikeri," and "Uiquerí" are probably adaptations of Raleigh's spelling or of Gilij's.

For the purposes of this paper it is assumed that all groups except Federmann's are descendants of the natives of the island of Margarita. The spelling "Guayquerí" will be employed except when referring to Federmann's "Guaycari."

The origin of the name is not known. Humboldt writes that some of Columbus' men, on his third voyage, encountered some Guayqueris who were harpooning fish. The Europeans asked, in the language of Haiti, who they were, and the Indians, thinking they meant to ask what instruments they were using, answered "Guaíke, guaíke," which meant "pointed pole." (9) Humboldt does not document this and the tale does not appear in earlier sources; apparently it was native tradition in 1800. I have found no vocabulary including any word like "guaíke," and neither "harpoon" nor "pointed pole" is a term appearing in any vocabulary I have examined.

Rivet assigns the Guayquerí language to the Cariban family. (10) He presents no evidence for so doing in the article cited and so far as I know there is no existing vocabulary for the Guayquerí language. It is true that in 1525 the Licenciado Marcelo de Villalobos described the natives of Margarita as "Caribs, and warlike" ("Que eran Caribes, i de Guerra") (11), but this constituted an accusation of cannibalism and was intended to serve as a pretext for the invasion of the island and the enslavement of its inhabitants. It has no significance as evidence of linguistic affiliation when used in this context. The same source — Herrera y Tordesillas — reports that in 1520 the Margaritans were specifically described as not being "Caribes," that is, not subject to enslavement as cannibals and enemies of the Spanish crown. (12)

About the year 1800, Humboldt wrote that the old men told him that for a century no Indian of Margarita or of the Guayquerí quarter of the city of Cumaná had known how to speak any language but Spanish, but that they thought their native language was a dialect of Guarauno (Warrau), the language of the natives of the Orinoco delta. (13)

It seems definitely improper to assign Guayquerí to the Cariban family, and rather unsafe to assert that Guayquerí was a dialect of Guarauno on the basis of native tradition alone. Material collected by Oviedo y Baños indicates that in the 16th century some Guayqueries of the cacique class had relatives living on the coast near Caracas, and that Guayquerí and some of the languages of the Caracas region were mutually intelligible. (14) These languages (Arbaco, "Chuspa") are even less known, however, than is Guayquerí.

In summary we may say that the Guayquerí evidently occupied the island of Margarita at the time of the Spanish contact. Available evidence indicates that they were not related to the Indians of the adjacent mainland. There are some rather tenuous indications of cultural and linguistic affiliation with Trinidad and the Orinoco delta; these are counterbalanced by somewhat firmer evidence of social and linguistic relationship with peoples of the Caracas region. In the absence of vocabularies we cannot assign the Guayquerí language either to the Cariban or the Warrauan group.

Guayquerí History

First Spanish Contact.

Which European first saw the Guayqueríes and which European first set foot on the island of Margarita, is not clear. Columbus visited the Paria region on his third voyage, in 1498. Hojeda, Vespucci, Peralonso Niño, Luis and Cristóbal Guerra and, probably, Pinzon and Juan de la Cosa, followed in 1499 and 1500. Probably Niño and the brothers Guerra were the first to trade with the natives of Margarita, Coche, and Cubagua. They received a considerable quantity of pearls in exchange for knives, mirrors, and other articles.(15)

This small island group attracted immediate interest as a principal source of the pearls found in the possession of the natives occupying the Venezuela coast between Coro and the mouth of the Orinoco. These pearl beds were a rich prize, and the king of Spain soon began to suspect that those engaged in pearl fishing were defrauding the crown of part of the royal fifth. Therefore he ordered a group from Española to establish a royal colony on Cubagua in 1509. Cubagua (Sp. "water-wat?") was and is very sterile. There were few trees and no "iervas," no birds except sea birds, and no animals except a few rabbits. The island was "all plain and no water." The natives painted themselves ("andaban los Naturales muy pintados") and ate oysters. Water was brought a distance of seven leagues, from Cumaná, in canoes, and wood had to be ferried one league, from Margarita. The Spanish settlers imported Lucayen Indians from the Bahamas for the pearl-fishing, "because they were such good swimmers." These Lucayens were valued at 150 ducats each.(16)

Apparently the Spaniards received little coöperation from the natives of the Margarita-Coche-Cubagua group in the deep-water fishing for pearls. However there is no indication of open conflict. Instead, the natives of Margarita subsequently became one of the most important allies of the Spaniards in this area, and Cubagua became the most important Spanish colony in the region. Probably the "natives" of the latter islet were only visitors who went back to Margarita or to the peninsula of Araya, which is almost as barren as Cubagua and probably was sparsely inhabited. Subsequent events suggest that leaders of the Spanish and the Guayqueríes must have arrived at a mutually satisfactory arrangement, and that Spaniards began to marry Guayquerí women at an early date.(45)

If pearling was the first industry of the Cubagua colonists, slave-raiding was the second. By 1520 the Spanish king had been persuaded to issue a decree permitting the enslavement of Indians who ate human flesh. Such people were called "Caribes," a term which was liberally re-interpreted to include any Indian group that offered resistance or who looked like useful slaves. The natives of Margarita, who probably were not cannibals in any case, somehow

escaped this stricture. In 1520 the Licenciado Rodrigo de Figueroa declared by judicial order that all the Indians of the islands not inhabited by Christians were "Caribes," except those of Trinidad (sic, there were cannibals on Trinidad), Lucayos (Bahamas), Barbudos (Barbados), Gigantes (Curacao), and Margarita.(17) Evidently these were the groups that were cooperating with Spanish authorities at that time.

First settlement on Margarita.

The town of Nueva Cadiz, Cubagua, was elevated to the dignity of self-government in 1521. Margarita was formally settled in 1525, when Marcelo de Villalobos got permission to "discover and populate" the island. He took with him from Española two priests, and built a fort on the island, in order to defend himself from the natives "que eran Caribes, i de Guerra" (meaning that he had to think up some excuse to put down on his application). Actually the Indians of Margarita were "treated as vassals of his Majesty, free, and industrious in affairs of the Catholic faith."(18) It must have been at about this time that a Spaniard of elevated birth, Don Diego Fajardo, married the Indian cacica afterwards known as Doña Ysabel.

Apparently Doña Ysabel lived on Margarita, at least after marriage. She is the first individual definitely described as a Guayqueri. The following account of the activities of Doña Ysabel, and of her son, Francisco Fajardo, is mainly derived from the work of Oviedo y Baños, who ransacked the archives at Caracas to assemble the best existing account of the early history of the north coast of Venezuela.(19)

Doña Ysabel is described as being a Guayquerí cacica, and as having Guayqueri vassals on the island of Margarita. Her grandfather was the cacique of Maya valley, on the Venezuelan coast northwest of lake Valencia, and in 1555 her uncle was living two leagues from the Chuspa valley, near the Cabo Codera. She was well-known to the caciques of the various tribes occupying the region near the present city of Caracas, and her son, Francisco Fajardo, heard of the beauties of the Caracas region from her. All this suggests that in the early part of the 16th century there were close ties between the Indians of Margarita and those of the coast near Caracas, for it appears that their languages were mutually intelligible and that there was intermarriage between groups, at least in the cacique class. There is, however, no early record of coast Indians calling themselves, or being called, Guayqueríes.

Doña Ysabel's son, the half-Guayquerí mestizo Francisco Fajardo, determined to explore and, if possible, to conquer the beautiful Caracas region described to him by his mother. He set out in two piraguas in April, 1555, with three Spaniards and twenty of his mother's Guayquerí vassals. He landed at Chuspa, where,

because of his knowledge of the language, he made friends with several caciques. His ostensible purpose was that of trading and he obtained jewels ("joyas"), gold ornaments, hammocks, and some provisions. Two years later he returned to the Chuspa region with his mother and a larger force, including one hundred Guayquerías from Margarita, one hundred vassals (probably Piritú Indians) of the Christian cacique Don Juan Caballo of Piritú, three "natives" (probably mestizos) of Margarita, and one Portuguese.

Two historical verdicts are available on Francisco Fajardo: the close-range one of the Relación de Caracas, prepared under the direction of governor Juan Pimentel in 1572; and the long-range view of Oviedo y Baños, first published in 1725. The Relación de Caracas credits most of Fajardo's successes to his mother's high prestige with the coast Indians, and to her services as interpreter. Fajardo is depicted as having little soldierly acumen and as having little decisive importance in the winning of the Caracas region for Spain. (20) Oviedo y Baños, on the other hand, while in general agreement as to the events that took place, makes Fajardo appear as an ideal conquistador: a man whose manner charmed the Indian caciques and whose command of Indian languages made friends rather than enemies, so that it was not often necessary for him to fight.

Fajardo was not popular with Spaniards—since he was genetically part Indian, and was very successful in dealing with the Indians—and he was finally murdered by Alonso de Cobos, a jealous rival. The writer of the Relación de Caracas may have shared this prejudice. Oviedo is much more detailed and probably represents a better estimate. To continue with Oviedo's account:

On his second voyage, in 1557, Fajardo renewed friendly relations with the caciques at Chuspa, and then moved a few leagues westward to found a settlement on the coast at Panecillo. There his Guayquerías and Piritús built some houses of "straw" (pajas), while Fajardo visited governor Collado at Borburata. The latter gave him the title to the entire coast from Borburata to Maracapana, with the right to establish towns and to conquer the region.

Fajardo's people had differences with the native Indians at Panecillo and a split developed within the latter group. Some of the caciques wanted to ask the "Spaniards" to go away, while others wanted to drive them out by force. Fajardo's party built a fortification near the shore and his Guayquerías and Piritús defended themselves with skill and courage. They engineered at least one successful night sortie, when they succeeded in killing a large number of the Panecillo Indians, but lacked sufficient force to drive them out of the neighborhood. The local Indians, finding they could not overcome the defenders of the fort, poisoned the sources of water. Doña Ysabel was among those who perished. Fajardo managed to repair his piraguas and retired to Margarita.

In 1559 Fajardo set out again, with eleven Spaniards and two hundred of his mother's Guayquerí vassals. Avoiding Chuspa and Pancillo he found a friendly cacique at Carvao and set out overland to Valencia to ask additional troops of the Governor. He encountered the warlike Arvacos on the heights of Lagunetas (Lagunillas, near modern San Pedro de los Teques). These people were present in large numbers and were drawn up to give battle, but because he could speak Arvaca and through the respect borne his mother, Fajardo managed to make friends with their leaders.

At Valencia Fajardo was given thirty men and the title of Lieutenant-general. He proceeded to establish friendly relations with the Cucuisas and with the Teques, Taramainas, and Chagaragatos—tribes then living around the valley of San Francisco, now Caracas. In 1560 Fajardo founded a town which he called Collado, in honor of the governor, located in the port of Caraballeda. In the same year he discovered gold mines in Teque country, six leagues southwest of present Caracas. This was his downfall. Governor Collado had him arrested and revoked his powers. As there were no real charges he was soon released and put in command of a garrison at San Francisco (now de Leon de Caracas). Others were then given the task of conquering the province.

The Teques resisted seizure of their gold mines and, in 1561, Lope de Aguirre, a freebooter, appeared on the scene, creating disunity among the Spaniards of the Caracas region. The Indian nations, under the general leadership of the Teque cacique, Guaicapuro, combined to drive all Spaniards out of the province. They bottled up Fajardo at San Francisco by opposing him with armies of up to 7700 warriors, and annihilated every force that tried to support him. Fajardo, accompanied by his mother's Guayquerías, retreated to Collado, then to Borburata, and at last to Margarita at the end of 1562. This was his last campaign; he was murdered in 1563 or 1564.

For several years thereafter no Spaniard was able to control any part of the Caracas region. Expeditions led by Narvaez and Bernaldes in 1563 and 1564 were beaten and routed. The Teque power was not broken until 1567, when they were defeated at the Battle of San Pedro by Francisco de Losada.

The Guayquerí had stood by Fajardo during this entire period, and were regarded as loyal allies of the Spanish crown for another two and one half centuries. When Juan de Salas of Margarita set out to help Losada in the re-conquest of the Caracas region in 1567, he took one hundred Guayquerías with him. Some of these had been with Fajardo, and at least fifty of them "served with great valor in whatever offered afterward."(19)

It is not unlikely that "whatever offered afterward" may have included some part in Diego de Cerpa's ill-fated expedition against the powerful Cumanagotos who lived east of the river Unaré. This sortie took place in 1569, when Cerpa (also written Zerpas) landed at the mouth

of the río Salado (probably the Guatapanare) with a force of four hundred men, including some noblemen and some veterans of European campaigns. The Cumanagotos and their allies lured Cerpa some distance into the interior, where, employing "clouds of arrows" and making efficient use of their macanas (hard-wood sword-clubs), they killed Cerpa and 186 of his people in "less than half an hour." (21) The cited accounts of Caullín and of Oviedo y Baños make no mention of Indian allies in connection with Cerpa's expedition, and it may have been that he was foolish enough to attack the well-organized, warlike Cumanagotos without Indian auxiliaries; however, references made to the "Wikiris" by Sir Walter Raleigh suggest that some Guayqueríes may have taken part in this campaign. Raleigh writes that in 1569 Cerpa was overcome and killed and that his forces were slaughtered or put to flight by the "Wikiris." One of Raleigh's methods of gathering information was to put into small Spanish settlements and furnish the inhabitants with liquor. Perhaps he secured a garbled version in this way, or—through lack of knowledge of Spanish—placed the Guayquerí with the wrong party. Raleigh's knowledge of the geography and peoples of Venezuela was very poor; elsewhere he gives "Sayma" (evidently the Chaima Indians) as the name of a "Wikiri" village on the río Arco, and reports that the savannahs on the north bank of the Orinoco stretched at the same level to Cumaná and Caracas. (22)

Guayquerí warriors may also have been with Garci-gonzalez and with Cristóbal Cobos in their 1579 and 1585 campaigns against the Cumanagotos, although only coast Indians are mentioned and this would appear to mean Piritús and Palenques.

In 1581 a terrible plague struck the Caracas region, wiping out "whole nations of Indians" and perhaps reducing the Indian population of that area by as much as nine-tenths. By that time too, "Carib" raiders, infiltrating the Orinoco and its tributaries, had become a serious nuisance as far west as the outskirts of the town of Valencia. (23) These two different disasters seriously disrupted Indian life in the whole of northeastern Venezuela at the end of the 16th century. Some peoples (as the Arbacos) may have become extinct; others ceased to be of any military or political importance; still others were scattered, with some small groups fleeing to the Orinoco and others being settled at missions or on encomiendas.

Guayquerí in the 17th century.

During the 16th century a "Guaycarí" group was reported southwest of lake Valencia. "Guayqueríes" were also reported on the island of Margarita, and, as Spanish auxiliaries, in the Caracas region (see map locations 1530, 1557, Chuspa, Valencia, San Francisco de Leon de Caracas). In the 17th century "Guayquerí" appear over a wider area and in several new roles. Some of those of Fajardo's social class may have secured the logical benefits of their loyalty to the crown. Dávila lists a number of Indian encomenderos, though without supporting tribal affiliation. (24) Others apparently shared the fate of other groups who had offered the Spaniards less cooperation. Some became encomienda Indians,

and at least one group found it necessary to flee to the Orinoco.

The island of Margarita is scarcely mentioned in 17th century sources. Evidently the pearl fishing beds had been greatly reduced in economic importance—perhaps this reduced the island to a minor role. We find only that in 1630 Juan Urpin took troops from Margarita to aid in pacifying the region around the river Unaré.(25) Some of these probably were Guayquerí auxiliaries.

Guayquerí are definitely reported in Cumaná. In 1678 an anonymous missionary wrote that loyal Guayqueries and a few encomienda Indians lived among the Spaniards on the Cuman coast, while Indians of all other tribes were dispersed in groups of two or three thatched huts and resisted being resettled in towns. (26) This probably refers to the city of Cumaná, for later accounts mention a Guayquerí quarter in that city. The Cumaná coast had been the scene of heavy slave-raiding in the early part of the 18th century. Guayqueries may have been imported to repopulate the region, and to aid the Spaniards—first in pacifying the local natives, and then in defending the Araya-Paria area against 17th century raids by French and Carib raiders.

A few Guayquerí, probably descendants of some of Fajardo's people, remained near Caracas. Between 1637 and 1666, Guayquerí are listed as encomienda Indians in the following localities:(27)

Antimano, five miles southwest of Caracas (1637a on the map).
Twenty-four adults, three youths, seven boys.

Maiquetía, near La Guaira (1637b on map). Numbers not given.

The Littoral of the valley of Patanemo, near Puerto Cabello (1637c on map).

Rivers Urituco and Conoropa or Corócoro, jurisdiction of San Sebastian de los Reyes, southwest of lake Valencia (1637d on map).

In about the year 1657 fifteen Guayquerí men, with their women and children, came "out of the llanos" to the river Guayrico (Guarico, south of lake Valencia) (1657 on map), where they told the missionaries that "Caribes" had massacred their relatives and that they were fleeing to the river Orinoco.(28) This group may have been descendants of some of Fajardo's people. An alternate suggestion is that they could have been remnants of the "Guaycari" seen by Federmann southeast of Barquisimeto (1530 on map), for Carib raiders may equally well have attacked that group. Simon reports that parties of 400 to 600 Caribs raided from Trinidad and the Orinoco as far as Valencia, Barquisimeto, Tocuyo, Guanguanare, and Barinas. (29) Simon did not date this information, but he recorded it about 1623, and it conforms with that given by Oviedo y Baños for the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries.

18th century missionaries.

By 1700 the conquest of the coast was complete. Many Europeans and Negros had immigrated or been imported to the coastal cities and most of

the coastal tribes had become "mestizos," "mestizos bagos," "Indios libres," or "Indios dispersos." Many of the Indians who had retained their tribal affiliations had fled to the Orinoco or had been settled in mission towns. The 18th century was the time of maximum missionary activity. The interior of northeastern Venezuela had been divided between the Capuchins (south of Caracas and from Araya-Paria to Guiana), the Observantes (from the Unaré drainage south to the Orinoco), and the Jesuits (western tributaries of the Orinoco, including the Apuré).

Margarita had become completely unimportant by this time. As of 1713, groups of Guayquerí are again reported as living among the Spaniards on the Cumaná coast, also on the peninsula of Araya.(30) Apparently these groups had retained their freedom by virtue of loyal service to the crown, and these were the only Guayquerí north of the Orinoco who appeared to possess anything like a strong and "going" society. Other 18th century groups were scattered from near Caracas to south of the Orinoco (see map: 1700, 1720, 1723, 1734, 1744, 1745, 1778, 1799). Some of these were in missions with other tribes, some were living as "wild" Indians.

One of these groups was found living near Cabruta in about the year 1720.(31: 1720 on map) Capuchin missionaries settled these people "en las mesas Calabozo," probably at the Mission Vicaria Santísima Trinidad, which was founded in 1723 and in 1758 had 320 Indians, including Guayquerí and "indios dispersos"(32: 1723 on map) Other mission groups were at Altagracia de Iguana (1734 on map, a few Guayquerí and Arocaymas) and at San Miguel Arcangel de la boca del Tinaco (1744 on map, Guayquerí, Mapueyes, Tamenacos, Guamos, and "indios libres").(33) Those at Iguana must have had some connection with Fajardo's people. The other two groups could equally well be remnants of Federmann's "Guaycari."

As of about 1741, Gumilla places a group of "wild" Guayquerí on the "caño de Uyapi," where they lived with the Palenques.(34) His map indicates that this would be in the curve of the Orinoco opposite the mouth of the river Caura (1745 on the map). Elsewhere Gumilla writes that what is probably the same people had only fifty men and that they reported that they had once been numerous and warlike, but that the "Caribes" had defeated and enslaved them. These Guayquerí had come from under the padres Observantes and are described as very miserable and subservient to the (Jesuit) missionaries. Gumilla also offers one of the very few authentic looking scraps of ethnography for this or any Guayquerí group:

For forty days before they marry off their daughters they make them fast rigidly; the daily ration is three pieces of fruit of the Muriche (Mauritia species), three ounces of cazabe (manioc bread), and one jarro of water, so that on the wedding day they look more like dying persons (moribundos) than brides. A cacique explained that anciently, when a woman menstruated, everywhere she set foot things dried up. If a man stepped where she had stepped, his leg would shrivel.

And, having studied out a remedy, they concluded that the woman should be dried out so as not to contain poison and be dangerous.(35)

Caulin's map, drawn by Luis de Surville in 1778, places the "Guayquerí nation" in the sierra de Maygualidá, south of the Orinoco (1778 on the map). No supporting evidence is offered and this seems too far south; however, Humboldt mentions Guayquerí as being south of the Orinoco and in this general region near the end of the century (1799 on the map).(36) Humboldt thought this group might be different from the Guayquerí of Margarita and Cumaná and, although most of the evidence seems to indicate that beginning in about 1600 Guayquerí filtered south from the Caracas region to the Orinoco, he may have been correct in this guess, for some of these 18th century groups could have been remnants of Federmann's "Guaycari."

Turning away from churchmen we come to the royal surveyor, Cesar Perez Ramirez, who visited some seventy towns in Nueva Andalucía and Nueva Barcelona in the years 1782 to 1784. Ramirez reports that town Indians were living in poverty and often were abused by their masters. Indian servants in Cumaná were being defrauded of their pay, and the salt and aguardiente monopolies were paying wages that were below the standard set by royal ordinance. He particularly stresses unfair treatment toward the loyal Guayqueríes of the towns of El Socorro (de los Cerritos) and of Altagracia (Nra. Sra. de Altagracia).(37)

The Guayquerí in Humboldt's time.

By 1800 the Spanish empire in the New World was on the verge of disintegration. One symptom noticed by the travellers who visited Venezuela at this time was a considerable amount of smuggling, mostly through the corruption of customs officials. It is not apparent that Indians were much involved either in smuggling or in preparations for the coming rebellion against Spain.

Clearly defined Guayquerí groups were present on Margarita, on the peninsula of Araya, and in their own quarter of the city of Cumaná on the south side of, and separated from other quarters by, the river Manzanares. Cubagua was almost uninhabited; there was no sign of its 16th century town, Nueva Cadiz. Coche was the principal pearl fishery of the region at this time and the Indians of Margarita, according to F. Depons, were required to work there three months of the year. F. Depons estimated that 2000 of the 14,000 inhabitants of Margarita were Indians; Humboldt places the number of Guayquerí on Araya and at Cumaná at another 2000, a total of 4000. This makes the Guayquerí the fourth most numerous Indian people of Venezuela at this time, their numbers being exceeded by Cumanagotos, Chaimas, and Warrau.

On approaching Margarita, Humboldt's ship encountered two piraguas containing eighteen Guayquerí each, a party that had set out from Cumaná to obtain cedar wood for building from the Cabo San José. They had

coconuts and fish in their piraguas, also an armadillo shell and a cup made from a tropical fruit. Humboldt was delighted both with these tropical products and their Indian owners. The head man of one of the piraguas was easily persuaded to come aboard and became pilot of Humboldt's ship, evidence that the Guayquerí had no fear or suspicion of Europeans who appeared to be friendly. This man became interested in Humboldt's scientific pursuits and for more than a year accompanied him in his travels in Venezuela. Humboldt was thus able to learn quite a lot about Guayquerí attitudes and beliefs and some of these he recorded.

The native tradition accounting for the name "Guayquerí" and that linking their language to that of the Warranau have already been mentioned (in the section on name and language) as has Humboldt's comment differentiating them from neighboring coastal peoples as to physical type. At this time those Guayquerí living on the north side of Margarita considered themselves superior to other Guayquerí, claiming less intermixture with the mainland Chaima. Humboldt also observed that the island Guayquerí differed from those of the continent in their pronunciation of Spanish.

In addition to forced pearl fishing on Coche, the Margarita Indians practised a little agriculture, hunted turtles, and caught "immense quantities of fish, which they salted and sold throughout the continent and neighboring islands." The Guayquerí were the most skillful and intrepid fishermen of the region and only they well knew the fishing banks that border the islands of Coche, Margarita, Sola, and Testigos, and stretch more than 400 leagues from Maniquares to the Bocas de Dragos.

The Guayquerí quarter of Cumaná city was frequented by the "most estimable" people of both sexes, who came in the afternoons and on moonlight nights to bathe, lounge, gossip, and smoke in the cooling waters of the river Manzanares. (38)

After Humboldt. The island of Margarita, which F. Depons had noticed as strategically valuable in any military or naval operation against Tierra Firme, played a fairly prominent part in the rebellion against Spain. Royal forces took the island in 1815 but were soon driven out. In 1816 Bolívar held a conference on the island, at the town of Santa Ana, later called El Norte, and in 1817 defenders of the island drove off a numerically superior force of Royalists. If the Indians, despite forced work in the pearl fisheries, were still loyal to the Crown, they must have suffered then, and since, as a result of the collapse of the Spanish empire and the setting up of republics with consequent withdrawal of the king's protection.

Two 20th century visitors, the English geologist and geographer Leonard Dalton and the archaeologist Theodore deBooy have contributed our most recent knowledge of the Guayquerí. DeBooy, who visited Margarita about 1914, believed that a large proportion of the inhabitants were of "pure Guayquerí blood." Both Indians and Spanish-Americans were industrious people, scratching out a living on their barren island by means of a little agriculture, by keeping a few goats,

by burning charcoal, and by hiring themselves out as pearl fishers. They also cured large quantities of fish. (39) Dalton confirms deBooy's impression that many of the inhabitants of Margarita seem to be Guayqueries, describing them as "of strangely Mongoloid appearance." Dalton also visited Cumana, probably between 1900 and 1910, but says nothing of the continued presence of a Guayqueri quarter in that city. (40)

The foregoing has been a resumé of existing knowledge of the "Guayqueries" of the island of Margarita. The "Guaycaries" encountered by Niels Federmann (and by him only) somewhere southeast of Barquisimeto in 1530 have usually been considered as a separate group. However, since the dispersion of the "Guayqueries" of Margarita in the 17th and 18th centuries (see map, especially 1657, 1720, 1725, 1744) suggests the possibility that there may be some confusion of identity, therefore it seems advisable to present a summary of our knowledge of Federmann's group.

Federmann describes his "Guaycari" as follows: "When I had come to the stream called the Coaheri, which was held by six hundred Guaycari Indians, a coal-black people whom I shall describe further along, I sent to the Cacique or master of this same nation, which had its settlement another half mile from this water, (for) they only had their fishing-huts by the stream and also (held) their market (there) with the Caquecios Nation who lived here and there buying fish from, and (supplying) fruit and wittles to, the Guaycari Nation, who only fished and who ruled these waters, and who also lived here together with them. These two Nations lived here in a peaceable manner, although each remained in separate pueblos or settlements of their own, and therefore had need of each other. (41)

Federmann did not furnish his promised description; however we have here the information that the "Guaycaries" were "coal-black," meaning darker than their neighbors, and that they were fishing people who had established a symbiotic relationship with the agricultural Caquecios (usually written "Caquetios"). Elsewhere Federmann writes that at this place, probably on the Cojedés or another affluent of the Portuguesa, he met the worst and most obstinate people he had ever experienced. He does not call them cannibals, though several neighboring peoples are so classified by him. It is clear that the Guaycaries and their Caquecios neighbors were not afraid of Federmann's soldiers from the fact that they refused to furnish food without payment and, after only a few days, drove him out of their country.

We have not sufficient cultural or linguistic data to arrive at any sure answer to the puzzling problem of Federmann's "Guaycaries," however it is possible to construct three generally different hypotheses to account for their presence southeast of Barquisimeto in 1530 and their subsequent disappearance from the records.

1. That they were different from the Guayquerí of Margarita and that they became extinct.

2. That they were different from the Guayquerí of Margarita and that they came to be (or always should have been) known under another name. Kirchhoff asserts that the Guaycari became the western Guamo, (42), but an examination of the sources cited by him fails to support this conclusion. The majority of his sources list the Guaycari (but not under that spelling) as separate from the Guamo, and, in fact, must be referring to some of the groups already mentioned in this paper as having been noticed in the Orinoco drainage during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. Rowe has suspected, on geographical grounds, that Federmann's Guaycari came to be known as the Barinas, but has been unable to locate sufficient material about the Barinas to warrant any formal statement. A third alternative under this general heading is the hypothesis that Federmann's Guaycari were shattered by "Carib" raiders in the last part of the 16th and early part of the 17th centuries, whereupon they became some of the Guayquerí already mentioned in this paper, perhaps those indicated by some or all of the numbers 1657, 1700, 1720, 1723, 1744, 1778, 1799, while other groups originated on Margarita and filtered down toward the Orinoco in the 17th and 18th centuries.

3. The third hypothesis which may be considered is that the "Guaycari" and the "Guayquerí" originally were members of the same group, an affiliate of the Warrau of the Orinoco delta. This would be based on similarity of the names, the fact that both groups differed from their neighbors, and Humboldt's report that 19th century Guayqueries considered their language to be related to Warrau. There is almost enough material to tempt one to suggest a series of migrations earlier than, but parallel to, those of the "Caribs" in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries in this area. However the evidence is too slight and it would be necessary to include too many speculations. Pending the discovery of additional cultural or, preferably, linguistic material, it is better to treat the "Guaycari" and the "Guayquerí" as two separate groups.

Summary and Conclusions

Ethnographic data on the Guayquerí are extremely scant; linguistic material seems to be altogether absent. Yet the written record is one of the longest (1498 to 1916) for any New World group. An examination of this written record has enabled us to set up a sketch of the history of one of the Indian peoples of northeastern Venezuela—a sketch into which information about other tribes can be fitted.

Northeastern Venezuela was first seen by Europeans in 1498. Early Spanish activities included trading with the natives, pearl-fishing near Cubagua, and slave-raiding on the Cumana coast. The Guayquerí of Margarita were evidently receptive to Christianity and were liked by the Spaniards. They became important allies of the crown, assisting materially in the conquest of the Caracas region and probably also the region

around the river Unaré. The native Indians of these two regions were extremely resistant to Spanish incursions. They did not break and run when temporarily bested but merely retreated a little way to where they would re-form for new battles. On several occasions they drove the Spaniards out altogether. Even Cerpa's relatively large force (400 people, including some veterans of European campaigns) was unable to stand up to the Cumanagotos—possibly because Cerpa had neglected to mobilize Indian auxiliaries.

Indian resistance in the Caracas region finally was broken by military force in 1567; the task of pacification was completed by another white man's weapon, disease, in the form of the plague of 1581.

At the end of the 16th century the ethnological picture was complicated by the incursions of numerous, warlike "Caribs," who paddled their canoes up the Orinoco and its tributaries as far as the outskirts of Valencia, Barquisimeto, Tocuyo, Guanaguanare, and Barinas. This represents a part of one of a series of migrations of South American peoples, including those of the Tupi-Guaraní, which began at, or some time before, first European contact and took the peoples involved towards the interior of the South American continent.

The 17th century picture includes continuation of "Carib" incursions, completion of the Spanish domination of the coast, immigration of additional Europeans and negro slaves, and the beginnings of well-organized missionary activity. Some native peoples, including some Guayquerí, were on encomiendas; others were missionized; still others, including some Guayquerí, moved towards the Orinoco. Some Guayquerí remained on Margarita, and some were resettled in the Cumaná region, perhaps to resettle the area partially depopulated by the earlier slaving raids.

The 18th century marks the climax of missionary activity in Venezuela. Non-mission Indians, however, were living in fragmentary groups all the way from near to the coast to the Orinoco.

At the beginning of the 19th century Humboldt summarized the Indian ethnology of northeastern Venezuela as follows: Cumanagotos, including other peoples speaking Cumanagoto, in the Piritú missions of the Unaré drainage; Chaimas, including some others, in the sierra of the modern states of Sucre and Monaguas; Warrau, in the Orinoco Delta; "Caribs," in the llanos north of the Orinoco; and Spanish-speaking Guayqueríes on Margarita, Araya, and in their own quarter of the town of Cumaná. It seems probable that some of these same peoples can be found in substantially the same regions today.

The part played by the Guayqueríes in this historical sequence may be summarized briefly. They probably were present on Margarita from pre-Columbian times to the present day. Some of them are represented as having genetic relatives on the continent near Caracas in 1555. They were present from time to time as expeditionaries in the Caracas area from 1555 to 1567 or later, perhaps until 1581 or 1600. Probably they also took

part in expeditions against the Cumanagotos and others in the Unaré region between 1569 and 1630. Some of them seemingly were transplanted to Araya and Cumaná early in the 17th century; they were free and respected in their own quarter of the town of Cumaná until at least 1800. They were found here and there in the Caraças region as 17th century encomienda Indians. Some Guayquerías were noted as being wandering, shattered fragments of tribes moving toward, and perhaps beyond, the Orinoco in the 17th, 18th, and perhaps early 19th centuries. Some groups were settled in missions, others continued to live as "wild" Indians.

Like most, if not all South American groups, the Guayquerías were deeply affected by European contact. Their earliest response was to cooperate with the European invaders; later some of them scattered over an expanded area toward the center of the continent. In a reversal of the usual form, and for unknown but guessable reasons, those Guayquerías who happened to stay on Margarita or near the coast apparently made fairly good adjustments to European settlement, and fared rather better than those who went into the interior. If two or more of the scattered groups represented by numbers (really dates) on the accompanying map could be located and identified, they might present an interesting study in differential culture change. To found such a study on a firm basis, however, one would have to show that such scattered groups were once the same or very similar to one another. This again raises the puzzling problem of the identity of Federmann's "Guaycari," but the discovery of geographically separate groups might be attended by circumstances that would help to clarify their relationships.

In conclusion, it may be said that the method suggested in this paper appears to offer a productive approach to the ethnology of northeastern Venezuela, or of any other region where there is a large and reasonably reliable historical literature. The study of any group that has a long historical record can be made to yield useful information.

What remains to be done insofar as northeastern Venezuela is concerned, is to assemble material on other, and probably more productive "key" groups, such as the Chaima and the Warrau, together with a much more detailed scrutiny of some of the llanos tribes. Kirchhoff's "Otomac" is a fine job, (43) but should be expanded to include at least the material assembled by Rosenblatt. (44)

A coherent account of the Indian history of this region, such as can be assembled by the device of following the activities of "key" groups, can be of great assistance to the science of anthropology. In some cases it may be possible to link the historic record to the archaeology, in others to surviving groups.

The method employed in this paper makes it possible to collect the kind of information that will warrant intensive ethnographic and linguistic study of the northeastern Venezuela region.

MAP SHOWING THE HISTORIC
LOCATIONS OF GUAYQUERÍ AND
GUAYCARI GROUPS; KEY

(The numbers on the map—1530, 1557, etc.—refer to the date at which certain groups were first reported in certain localities. For routes of expeditionary forces and for the significance of other map locations, refer to the text. Only Federmann uses the spelling "Guaycari" (see 1530)).

- 1530 The "Guaycaries" on the river "Coaheri," which is probably the Cojedes or another tributary of the Portuguesa. It was estimated to be 122 meils south (really southeast) of Coro, and 50 meils south (or southeast) of Barquisimeto. The "Guaycaries" may be a separate group. Federmann, 1859, pp. 57, 81.
- 1557 Isla Margarita: vassals of Doña Ysabel Fajardo (Oviedo y Baños, p. 234).
- 1637-1666 Encomienda Indians in the Caracas region (Davila, T. 1, pp. 32, 108, 143, 331, 334):
- 1637a: Antimano, 13 men, 11 women, 3 youths, 7 boys.
 - 1637b: Maiquetía.
 - 1637c: Littoral of valle Patanémé.
 - 1637d: River Urituao, Conoropa or Cerocoro, jurisdiction of San Sebastian de los Reyes.
- 1657 Río Guayrico, evidently the Guarico. A wandering group of 15 men with their women and children (Rionegro, 1918, p. 15).
- 1678 Cumaná. Living among the Spaniards on the coast in a friendly manner (Rionegro, 1918, p. 77).
- 1700 East of the River Cuchivero (Ramos Perez, Lámina 3a).
- 1713 Peninsula of Araya—situation like Cumaná in 1678 (Rionegro, 1918, p. 114).
- 1720 Wandering group, with the Mapoyes, near Cabruta (Rionegro, 1918, p. 282).
- 1723 Mission Vicaría Santísima Trinidad on río Guarico in villa Todos Santos de Calabozo. Three hundred and twenty Indians, including Guayqueríes and "indios disperses" (Ubrique, in Rionegro, 1929, pp. 104-105).

- 1734 Mission Altagracia de Iguana, vicaría San Sebastian de los Reyes. A few Guayqueríes and Arocuaymas (Ubrique, in Rionegro, 1929, pp. 104-105).
- 1741 Caño de Uyapi, living with the Palenque (Gumilla, T. 1, pp. 158-159).
- 1744 Mission San Miguel Arcángel de la boca del Tinao, vicaría D. V. San Carlos de Austria. Three hundred and seven Indians, including Guayqueríes, Mapueyes, Tamanacos, Guamos, and some "indios libres" (Ubrique, in Rionegro, 1929, pp. 104-105).
- 1778 Sierra de Maygualida (on map drawn by Luis de Surville in Caulín, 1779).
- 1799a Between the Caura and the Cuchivero, near Altagracia (Humboldt, 1941, T. 2, pp. 202-203).
- 1799b Banks of the Erevato, north of the sierra de Maygualida (Humboldt, 1941, T. 2, pp. 202-203).

Notes

- (1) Hernandez de Alba, pp. 475-480.
Kirchhoff, pp. 481-494.
- (2) See bibliography for studies by Pinilla, Turrado Moreno,
Humboldt.
- (3) See Handbook of South American Indians, v. 4, for material and
references on the archaeology of Venezuela and the Antilles.
- (4) Oviedo y Baños, p. 234.
Federmann, 1859, p. 57.
- (5) deBooy, pp. 1-28.
- (6) Rouse, pp. 342-344.
- (7) Kidder II, pp. 424-425.
- (8) Humboldt, T. 1, pp. 271-272.
- (9) Humboldt, T. 1, p. 388.
- (10) Rivet, p. 662.
- (11) Herrera y Tordesillas, T. 2, dec. 3, lib. 7, cap. 2, p. 210.
- (12) Herrera y Tordesillas, T. 2, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 5, p. 258.
- (13) Humboldt, T. 2, pp. 202-203.
- (14) Oviedo y Baños, pp. 225, 227, 253.
- (15) Navarrete, T. 3, p. 13.
Caulín, p. 122.
- (16) Herrera y T., T. 1, dec. 2, lib. 7, cap. 9, p. 189.
- (17) Herrera y T., T. 1, dec. 2, lib. 10, cap. 5, p. 258.
- (18) Herrera y T., T. 2, dec. 3, lib. 7, cap. 2, p. 210.
- (19) Oviedo y Baños, pp. 225, 227, 253, 370, 376-381, 387, 433.
- (20) In Rionegro, 1926, pp. 1-19.
- (21) Oviedo y Baños, pp. 488-491.
Caulín, pp. 160-161.

- (22) Raleigh, pp. 24, 38, 70, 107, 109.
- (23) Oviedo y Baños, pp. 581, 583-584.
- (24) Dávila, index to volume I.
- (25) Ruíz Blanco, p. 68.
- (26) Rionegro, 1918, p. 77.
- (27) Dávila, T.1, pp. 32, 108, 143, 331, 334.
- (28) Rionegro, 1918, p. 15.
- (29) Simón, T.1, p. 194.
- (30) Rionegro, 1918, p. 114.
- (31) " , 1918, p. 282.
- (32) " , 1929, p. 104.
- (33) " , 1929, pp. 104-105.
- (34) Gumilla, T.1, pp. 158-159.
- (35) " , T.2, pp. 56-58.
- (36) Humboldt, T.2, pp. 202-203.
- (37) Perez Ramirez, pp. 200-204.
- (38) Humboldt, T.1, pp. 271, 272, 273, 388, 398.
T.2, pp. 157, 202, 203.
Depons, 1807, V.2, pp. 261, 272-273.
- (39) deBooy, pp. 6-7.
- (40) Dalton, p. 182.
- (41) Federmann, 1889/1557, p. 57. Translated by Margery McCorkle with advice from Robert H. Lowie. This translation and analysis differs somewhat from that of Kirchoff (1948, p. 464) therefore the text of the 1859 edition of Federmann is presented for comparison:

Da ich aber zu dem gesagten wasser, so Coaheri ge-
heissen, khame, und enthalb bei sechs hundert Indios
Guaycaries, welchs ein kohlschwartz volck als hernach
dern art auch wirt folgen, fande, beschicket ich den
Cacique oder herren, derselben Nation, welcher bei an-
derhalb meil vom wasser seine flecken hat, und allein

ihre vischeuser bei diesem wasser haben, und auch da-
 selbst ihre merckt halten, dann die Nation Caquecios,
 so enthalb und her enthalb wohnen, kauffen ihnen solche
 visch, umb frucht und essende speiss ab, dann die Na-
 tion Guaycaries, allein dem vischen obligen, und das
 wasser herrschen, und also unthereinander gemischt
 wonen. Dise zwo Nation wonen fridlich, doch iede in
 sondern Pueblos oder flecken für sich selbst, und dar-
 um das eine Nation der andern bedarff.

- (42) Kirchhoff, p. 464.
- (43) Kirchhoff, p. 439-444.
- (44) Rosenblatt (see bibliography).
- (45) Herrera y Tordesillas (T.1, dec.2, lib. 1, cap.8, p.13) writes that
 in the year 1515 the Spaniards helped the natives of Cubagua to
 repel an attack by raiding "Caribes," adding that the Cubagua
 Indians felt extremely grateful.

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