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The Ordáz and Dortal Expeditions in  
Search of El-Dorado, as Described  
on Sixteenth Century Maps

(WITH TWO MAPS)

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THE ORDÁZ AND DORTAL EXPEDITIONS IN SEARCH  
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CENTURY MAPS

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I. OVIEDO'S HUYAPARI MAP

In the second volume of Oviedo's "Historia General y Natural de las Indias,"<sup>1</sup> there is a facsimile of a small map illustrating several early explorations of the Orinoco or Huyapari<sup>2</sup> River (see fig. 1).

This map is Oviedo's own work,<sup>3</sup> and is plainly drawn but bears no date. It contains, however, various historical and descriptive legends, which enable us to establish the year when it must have been made.

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<sup>1</sup> Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia. 1852.

<sup>2</sup> No doubt the names Orinoco and Huyapari, or Juyapari and Oya-pari, are of Indian origin; cf. Oviedo, II, lib. XXIV, cap. III, p. 216<sup>a</sup>. Orin-oco plainly contains the Betóya word "oco" ("water," "river"). Humboldt says it is a Tamanaco word; cf., for example, Oyap-oc(o), Sinar-uco (oco), Guarico, Orit-uco, Tin-oco, Guarit-oco, Urit-uco, and many other similar names of rivers in the great Orinoco basin.

<sup>3</sup> Loc. cit., cap. XV, p. 265<sup>b</sup>, "Porque la pintura califica mucho y dexa mejor entender las cosas de la geographia, juntamente con la verdadera relacion dellas, *quise poner aqui la figura* del rio de Huyapari, y los rios que en él entran." "Because a drawing enables us to understand more clearly the geography of a region I have here inserted a map."

This was written at the close of the year 1541, or, perhaps, in 1542; cf. loc. cit., cap. XVI; and cap. XV, where Oviedo states explicitly: "The governor Dortal himself told me . . ." [and a few lines below] "where six years ago this governor had ordered his lieutenant, Alonso de Herrera, with 200 men . . . to sail up the river Huyapari."

See also, "Historia corographica, natural y evangelica de la Nueva Andalucia, provincias de Cumaná, Guayana y Vertientes del Rio Orinoco; dedicada al Rei N. S. D. Carlos III." Por el M. R. P. fr. Antonio Caulin dos vezes Provincial de los observantes de Granada, etc., Madrid, 1779, p. 150<sup>b</sup>.



Two of these inscriptions refer to the exploring expedition of the famous conqueror Diego de Ordáz<sup>1</sup> which set out from Paria on June 23, 1532. With 280 men, 18 horses, and one mule he arrived at the Indian village of Huyapari.<sup>2</sup>

The first legend, on the right of the Indian village depicted on the map, runs thus: "El pueblo grande de huyapari E a dos leguas a tierra adentro q(ue) do En seco la canoa gra(n)de de de ordas" ("The large village of Huyapari is situated two leagues inland from the Orinoco River"—to which Oviedo added mention of the accident to Ordáz's large canoe after his return from the expedition in search of the Meta-El Dorado<sup>3</sup>—"Ordáz's large canoe remained [here] on dry [land]").

The second legend, above the mountains in the upper right-hand part of the map, reads: "Esta sierra no la pudo pasar ordas por El foE yndisposicion del agua E se torno por El mismó rio abajo a la mar desde aquesta montaña." ("Ordáz could not pass this chain of mountains<sup>4</sup> [by the river, on account of] the bad condition of the water<sup>5</sup> and from this mountain he returned down the same river to the sea.")

And, to the west of the mountains on the map, we read: "A Esta parte o del otro cabo desta peña no an pasado xpianos" ("To this side, or the other end of this rock, Christians had not [yet] come").

These two inscriptions unquestionably refer to the disastrous expedition up the River Orinoco to the "rapids," near the mouth of the Meta, undertaken by Ordáz in the second half of the year 1532, and this evidently led Harrisse<sup>6</sup> to believe that the map was

<sup>1</sup> Native of Castro Verde in the Kingdom of León. Herrera: *Historia General*, etc., Madrid, 1601, Dec. IV, libro X, cap. IX, p. 275. We see him as early as 1515 in Cuba; cf. "Probanza hecha á petición del almirante D. Diego Colón," etc. Villa de San Salvador, Febrero 16, 1515; in "Colecc. Docs. Inéditos" ["De los Pleitos de Colón," II], 2d serie, T. núm. 8. Madrid, 1894, pp. 61-87.

Herrera: Dec. II, libro VI, cap. XVIII, ". . . i que Diego de Ordás reconoció el Bolcàn de Tlascala [Popocatepetl], cosa para los Indios mui admirable" (edit. of 1726) (" . . . and that Diego de Ordás explored the Tlascala volcano, a feat greatly admired by the Indians").

<sup>2</sup> Properly termed Aruacay, according to Oviedo, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Oviedo, loc. cit., pp. 217-218; especially p. 218<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> It means that they could not overcome the powerful and rapid currents produced by the narrowing of the river-bed between the mountains.

<sup>5</sup> The low level during July and August.

<sup>6</sup> "Cartographia Vetustissima," No. 200 (sic), instead of 202; in "Discovery of North America," etc., London, 1892, pp. 588-589.

made in that same year. But it can easily be shown that this date is irreconcilable with all known historical events.

Above all, I would observe that the author of the sketch-map could not have learned all those details of Ordáz's eventful exploring expedition before early in the spring of 1533, as it was not until that time that Oviedo met at Santo Domingo Gerónimo Dortal, the treasurer, and several other members of the Ordáz expedition, from whom, according to his own statement,<sup>1</sup> he obtained information concerning the vain attempt to reach the Meta-El Dorado. Therefore, even if the map bore no further indication as to the time when it was made by Oviedo, the only acceptable date, from this fact alone, would be the year 1533.<sup>2</sup>

Fortunately, however, there are other legends on the map relating to several expeditions up the River Orinoco after the ill-fated voyage by Ordáz, which prove that Oviedo's map must have been made ten or twelve years after the date suggested by HARRISSE, the foremost authority on American cartography.

Students of early American history cannot help wondering how it was possible that HARRISSE took no notice at all of the inscriptions connected with the expeditions of Alonso de Herrera and Governor<sup>3</sup> Gerónimo Dortal, the former treasurer of Ordáz's enterprise.

After the unsuccessful attempt to discover the long sought Meta-El Dorado by sailing up the Orinoco, Ordáz was compelled to leave the village of Huyapari for Cariaco, where he established a small fort,<sup>4</sup> which he named Sant Miguel de Paría. Thence he went to Cumaná, a province on the mainland opposite the pearl island, or "Cubagua," where he expected to meet Herrera, his lieutenant, with the rest of the expedition. Finally Ordáz and Dortal reached the town of Nueva Caliz in Cubagua, where they found Alonso de

<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit., cap. IV, p. 224<sup>b</sup>, "Despues vino á esta cibdad de S. Domingo el thesorero Hieronimo Dortal, del qual y de otros que en todo lo que es dicho se hallaron fui informado . . ." ("Afterwards came to this city of Santo Domingo the treasurer Herónimo Dortal, by whom, and by others who were present at all that is said. I was informed . . .").

<sup>2</sup> This assertion is corroborated also by the following statement: ". . . cansados [companions of Ordáz] de sus trabaxos se passaron con los otros de Cubagua, porque avia dos años que padescian desde que salieron de España . . ." (" . . . Tired of these troubles, they went with these others of Cubagua, because two years of suffering had passed since they left Spain . . ."). Loc. cit.

Ordáz set sail from San Lucar de Barrameda on October 20, 1531; loc. cit., cap. II, p. 212<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Only after 1533.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps on September 28, 1532.



Herrera imprisoned by order of Governor Antonio Sedeño. The same fate met Dortal, and Ordáz, weak in health, weary and powerless, sailed in May, 1533, for Santo Domingo and thence to Spain, where he intended to protest at court against Sedeño's illegal interference with the projected settlement on the coast of Cumaná, which Sedeño arbitrarily claimed was within his jurisdiction. Ordáz died during the voyage across the ocean.<sup>1</sup>

Gerónimo Dortal, after being released from prison, addressed a letter to the Emperor, "giving him an account of his services rendered in the government of Cubagua and asking him for mercy."<sup>2</sup>

Early in the summer of 1533 Dortal was in the town of Santo Domingo, where he met Oviedo; and in the following autumn he was in Spain "asking for the same position formerly held by Ordáz."<sup>3</sup> That he was most successful in his "claim," is proved by the letters patent entered into between him and the Crown, on October 25, 1533.<sup>4</sup> By virtue of this land-grant, or "capitulación," he was appointed governor of Paria. Early in 1534 he organized the new expedition, and on August 18, 1534,<sup>5</sup> set sail from San Lucar de Barrameda. In the autumn of the same year he was again in Paria.

Alonso de Herrera, after his release from prison by order of the royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo, was in charge of the fort of San Miguel of Paria, and immediately recognized Dortal as governor and superior, notwithstanding his solemn pledge of faith to Antonio Sedeño.<sup>6</sup>

Shortly after his arrival, Dortal equipped a new expedition for the purpose of searching for the famous Meta-El Dorado, under the

<sup>1</sup> Oviedo, cap. IV, p. 224<sup>a</sup>—Herrera, Dec. V, libro I, cap. XI, p. 24 (ed. of 1728), ". . . and other people said he died in Castile . . ."

<sup>2</sup> Dated from the pearl island (Cubagua), January 28, 1533; in "Colecc. Docs. Inéditos," Tomo XII. Madrid, 1869, pp. 46-48.

A further proof that Oviedo could not have learned before February, 1533, what happened to the expedition.

<sup>3</sup> Oviedo, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Archivo General de Indias, 139-1-2, Tomo III<sup>o</sup>, ff. 59-61 r.

<sup>5</sup> Oviedo, at that time also in Spain, met him again in Seville, cf. loc. cit., cap. VII, p. 236<sup>a</sup>, ". . . yba por procurador desta nuestra cibdad de Sancto Domingo y desta Isla Española . . ." ("I have been there as procurator of this our city of Santo Domingo and of this island of Hispaniola").

<sup>6</sup> ". . . con quien quedó concertado en Cubagua, . . . porque le prometió de la hazer alcaide de la fortaleza que avia de hazer en la isla de la Trinidad . . ." (" . . . with him he had made arrangements . . . because he promised to appoint him alcaide of the fort which he intended to establish on the island of Trinidad"). Oviedo, loc. cit., p. 232<sup>a</sup>.

command of the intrepid but unscrupulous Alonso de Herrera. The itinerary of Herrera's ill-fated voyage is described on Oviedo's map as follows:

"Este Es vn estero por donde entro alonso de herrera El qual Entra En El rio de Huyapari E hazenle Estos rios q(ue)s dicho." ("This is a swamp where Alonso de Herrera entered and which empties into the River Huyapari; it is formed by the aforesaid rivers.")<sup>1</sup>

Further, in the angle formed by the Huyapari and Carranaca rivers, we read: "Rio de carranaca por El qual Entro alonso de herrera E passo adelante E deste (!) Este rio hasta El estero de Meta por El grande huyapari ay XXXVII leguas" ("River Carranaca where Alonso de Herrera entered and went farther on and from this river to the Meta swamps, up the great river Huyapari, it is 37 leagues").<sup>2</sup>

Facing the mouth of the swamp there is the following legend: "Rio de meta por donde Entro alonso de herrera con la armada de geroni (sic) no (!) dorsal E le mata rou" ("River Meta, where Alonso de Herrera entered with the fleet of Gerónimo Dortal; and they killed him").<sup>3</sup>

Finally, the last legend to be considered in connection with this disastrous exploring expedition appears at the left of the Tinoco River on the map. The legend reads: "Aqui mataro[n] a al<sup>o</sup> de herrera E teniente del gou<sup>o</sup> dorsal y has ta aqui llego despues El dicho dorsal y hallo yndicios veros de la muerte del dicho he rera E se hallo

<sup>1</sup> The affluents are as follows: "R. de tinoco, R. de Nirua, R. de pao, R. dela portinguesa, Rio vininio, R. gutaguanari.

<sup>2</sup> The elegia IX, canto I, of Juan de Castellanos' "Elegias de varones ilustres de Indias," does not at all refer to Herrera's expedition in 1535, as is erroneously asserted by the trustworthy Chilean writer José Toribio Medina, "Notas" to "El Desenbrimiento del río de las Amazonas," pp. 273-274.

<sup>3</sup> Oviedo, II, cap. IX, p. 245", "from the Gulf of Paria to the village of Caburutu, 150 leagues; from San Miguel de Neveri, a small town founded by Dortal in 1536, on the coast of Maracapana, to the said village, 40 leagues; and from San Miguel to the mouth of the river Huyapari, 120 leagues of sea-coast."

<sup>4</sup> Loc. cit., libro XXIV, cap. VII, p. 240".

Medina, l. c., settles the matter in a very summary manner, saying flatly: "Verificada en 1535, fue dirigida a las regiones que se extienden al norte del Amazonas" (sic ! !) ("Organized in 1535, [the expedition] was directed to the regions situated to the north of the Amazon River").

<sup>5</sup> He was wounded with a poisoned arrow, cf. loc. cit., and see p. 247", where is given a detailed account of the preparation of urari, or curari, by the Carib Indians.



vna cana pailla E otras cosas E vn jarro de estaño" ("Here they killed Alonso de Herrera, lieutenant of Governor Dortal; and to this place came afterwards the said Dortal and found true marks of the death of the aforesaid Herrera; and there were found among other things, a little bell and a tin-cup").<sup>1</sup>

This legend, of course, refers, as will be shown later, to two chronologically distinct expeditions into the interior of the country.

In 1536, about a year after Herrera's death, Governor Dortal organized a second exploring expedition,<sup>2</sup> in the course of which he discovered the domain of the female cacique Orocomay, an independent community of Indian women, similar to those described by Father Gaspar de Carvajal in the narrative of the discovery of the River Amazonas by Francisco de Orellana in 1542.<sup>3</sup>

This social phenomenon, not always correctly interpreted by writers,<sup>4</sup> has not yet been observed in South America, but in the "Kulturkreis" of the Carib-aruáque.

The domain of Queen Orocomay is located on Oviedo's map between the Huyapari and the Barraucas, an affluent of the Carranaca River, and is given the following legend: "P[or] aquí están los pueblo[s] E señorio de la Reyna (!) orocomay la qual no se sirue<sup>5</sup> sino de mugeres" ("Here are the villages and domain of Queen Orocomay, who employs only females").<sup>6</sup>

During this voyage Dortal had to contend with a mutiny led by Alderete and Aguilar, two of his officers; and he was finally compelled to return to the coast, where a new danger threatened him.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Oviedo, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> "Y segund el mismo Hierónimo Dortal me dixo . . ." (" . . . and according to what I was told by H. Dortal himself . . ."), loc. cit.; cap. X, p. 247<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> "Descubrimiento del Río de las Amazonas, según la relación hasta ahora inédita," etc., de Fray Gaspar de Carvajal. Sevilla, MDCCCXCIV, pp. 66-67.

<sup>4</sup> "Zur südamerikanischen Amazonensage." Von Dr. R. Lasch; in "Mitteil. der K. u. K. Geogr. Gesellsch. in Wien." 190, pp. 278-280. Dr. G. Friederici "Die Amazonen Amerikas." Leipzig, 1910.

<sup>5</sup> The verb has in this combination a double meaning.

<sup>6</sup> Oviedo, II, libro XXIV, cap. X, p. 247<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> El mismo año [15]36, venido Ortal á quejarse de los suyos que se le alzaron, é de 170 leguas tierra adentro le mandaron con los oficiales Reales á la costa de la mar . . ." ("The same year, 1536, Ortal came to complain about his men who had revolted against him and obliged him, together with the Royal officers, to return 170 leagues from inland to the coast"); cf. "A la Sacra Real Magestad del Emperador nuestro Señor, los oidores de su Real Audiencia de Santo Domingo á 31 de Diciembre de 1538," in "Colección de Docs. Inéditos." Tomo I. Madrid, 1864, p. 553.

Antonio Sedeño, as we have already seen, hostile ever since the time of Ordáz to any attempt at colonizing on the opposite shores of the mainland, had unexpectedly landed on the coast of Maracapaná, with the unmistakable intention of seizing Dortal, his hated rival. Dortal, however, having been informed in time, by some friends, of Sedeño's presence at the town of San Miguel, fled to Cubagua; and shortly after to Santo Domingo, where he notified the "Audiencia" of the armed invasion of that peaceful colony. The Royal Court ordered him, accompanied by Johan de Frias, "juez de comision," to return to his settlement, November, 1536.<sup>1</sup>

Sedeño died in the meantime near the River Tiznados.<sup>2</sup>

At the beginning of the year 1540, Dortal led his second reconnoitering expedition into the interior of Venezuela.<sup>3</sup>

The two legends relating to his last expedition are as follows: "De aqui partio El gou<sup>or</sup> hieronimo dortal E atra uesto todos Estos rios hasta q[ue] llego al rio grande de huyapari E fue adonde mataron a alonso de herrera su teniente al qual El avia Enviado por El rio de Huyapari y fue Entre El estero de çarranaca y Meta y se voluio a la mar" ("From here Governor H. Dortal started and crossed all these rivers until he reached the great river Huyapari; and he went to the place where A. de Herrera, his lieutenant, was killed, whom he had ordered [to go] by the river Huyapari; and it happened [Herrera's death] between the swamp of Çarranaca and Meta; and he (Dortal) returned to the sea").

The second inscription relates the capture of Juan de Argüello, one of the principal instigators of the above mentioned seditious movement against Dortal. It reads: "Junto a este rio En el pueblo de Catalina prendio geronimo dortal a Ju<sup>a</sup> de arguello E lo hizo ahorcar por sus meritos" ("Near that river (the Guarico), in the village of Catalina, G. Dortal seized Juan de Argüello, and had him hanged according to his merits").

<sup>1</sup> Oviedo, II, libro XXIV, cap. X, p. 249<sup>b</sup>; and cap. XII, p. 253 ss; cap. XIII, p. 259<sup>a</sup>. ". . . Dortal . . . me certifié en presençia de algunos hombres preñcipales . . ." ("Dortal . . . told me in the presence of some leading men . . .").

<sup>2</sup> Caulin, op. cit., p. 159. Rio de los Tiznados means: "river where they found tattooed Indians."—Carbajal, p. 70—"they came painted black all over (tiznados), for this reason we called that place province of the negroes."

<sup>3</sup> Oviedo, cap. XIV, p. 262<sup>b</sup> ". . . en el mes de junio de 1541, avia mas de un año que no se sabia del gobernador Dortal" (" . . . in June, 1541, it was more than a year since they had had news of Governor Dortal").

This act of summary justice, notwithstanding the fact that Argüello was a notorious thief,<sup>1</sup> was, however, considered as exceeding the power of the governor, and Dortal was dismissed shortly afterward. He married in the town of Santo Domingo in 1546.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, special mention should be made of the inscription concerning El-Dorado, which is, of course, also on Oviedo's map, connected with the Inca Empire: "Detras destas sierras d[e]l Rio de Huyapari Esta[n] muy grandes llanos lo qual se tiene por cierto q[ue]s la tierra del peru E los yndios dizen q[ue] detras destas sierras ay grandes Riquezas. E mucho oro" ("Beyond these chains of mountains of the river Huyapari, there are vast plains which are believed to be the land of Peru, and the Indians say that beyond these chains of mountains there are great treasures, and much gold").

The influence of El-Dorado<sup>3</sup> and other similar traditions of genuine Indian origin,<sup>4</sup> on the cartography of South America during the second half of the sixteenth century, has not yet been studied with the care and attention which such an important historical and geographical question deserves.<sup>5</sup>

On the map, generally ascribed to Sir Walter Raleigh,<sup>6</sup> and made about 1595,<sup>7</sup> we can see El-Dorado, Epuremei,<sup>8</sup> and that wonder-city of Great-Manóá placed in the very vicinity of the legendary "Lake

<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit., p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit., cap. XVI.

<sup>3</sup> Synonymous with which are: Machifaro, or Machipalo; Epuremei, Eupana, La gran ciudad de la Manoa, which presumably gave origin to the legend of the lost Inca cities somewhere in the virgin forests beyond the Andes.

<sup>4</sup> Notwithstanding the corrupt and often exaggerated form in which most of these traditions came to us, the principal elements are, after all, more or less identical in the different versions.

<sup>5</sup> A special chapter will be reserved for this most interesting question in my work on the "Origin and Development of the Early Cartography of America."

<sup>6</sup> Reproduced by Paul Vidal de la Blache, "La Rivière Vincent Pinzon," Paris, 1902.

<sup>7</sup> The map mentioned in the "ofício" of the Duque is Raleigh's chart, but not that of capitão André Pereira, as is erroneously believed by several Brazilian historians; cf. "Annales da Bibl. Nac. do Rio de Janeiro," Vol. 26. Rio de Janeiro, 1905; "Documentos para a historia da Conquista e Colonisação da costa de leste—oeste do Brazil" (separate), pp. 179-183.

<sup>8</sup> Very often named also Evpana; cf. the planisphere of Bartholomeu Velho, 1561, on parchment, 4 sheets. Florence, Reale Instituto de Bellas Artes. Reproduced by Barão de Rio Branco (José da Silva Paranhos), "Frontières entre le Brésil et la Guyane Française." "Atlas." Paris, Lahure, 1900, No. 14.

of Manóa." The latter is undoubtedly identical with the mythological "Lake of Parima"<sup>1</sup> in the Carib-aruáque traditions.

Notwithstanding its roughly sketched character, Oviedo's map of the Huyapari River is a very important historical document, which, for that early time, shows fairly exact knowledge of the hydrographic conditions in the interior of the present Republic of Venezuela, especially in the western region, between longitude 67° and 69°. Most of the names given to rivers and places on his map are still in use, particularly those along the coast, and also the names given to the islands by the first discoverers between 1498 and 1500.<sup>2</sup>

In conclusion, there can be not the slightest doubt, I believe, that Oviedo's Huyapari map was drawn after 1542.

## II. THE SPANISH ANONYMOUS MAP, ABOUT 1560

The map shown in figure 2 was first reproduced in facsimile by the editor of the "Cartas de Indias," with the following title: "Mapa de los rios Amazonas, Esequibo ó Dulce y Orinoco y de las comarcas adyacentes" ("Map of the rivers Amazon, Esequibo or 'Dulce' (sweet water river) and Orinoco; and the adjoining parts"). We need not take up the question as to whether or not it is reproduced in the original size or whether the original contains the title given above.

The map bears neither name of the author nor date. Judging from the handwriting and from some of the inscriptions relating to different historical events, it was doubtless made in the second half of the sixteenth century. And therefore, I think, the year 1560, ascribed to the map by the editors of the "British Guyana Boundary Arbitration,"<sup>3</sup> was accepted also by the learned Brazilian historians Barão de Rio Branco<sup>4</sup> and Dr. Joaquim Nabuco.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The great Paro, meaning a powerful Indian chief, and sometimes "great river," or "lake," also plays an important part in the Indian traditions of Northwestern Bolivia and Eastern Perú; and it is, of course, etymologically, related to *Pari*-(i)ma; Huya-pari, Machi-paro, and others.

Ima, or ema, in Aruáque signifies "mouth of a river"; cf. Abur-ema (Chiriqui) discovered by Columbus on his fourth voyage (1502-1504).

A river termed Aburema is mentioned also by Henri Coudreau "La France Equinoxiale," etc. II. Paris, 1887, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Third voyage of Columbus, 1498.

First voyage of Hojeda (-Cosa-Vespucci), 1499-1500.

First voyage of Guerra-Peralonso Niño, 1499-1500.

<sup>3</sup> "Venezuela." Baltimore, 1898. Atlas, No. 76.

<sup>4</sup> Loc. cit., No. 13.

<sup>5</sup> "Frontières entre le Brésil et la Guyane Anglaise." "Atlas." Paris, 1903, No. 4.







The author, surely a Spanish professional chart-maker, used for the compilation of the map, at least as far as concerned the rivers *Ēsequibo* and *Orinoco*, data which he must either have obtained direct from explorers of these rivers, or else he may have simply copied an original chart to which, presumably, he afterwards added several of the inscriptions.

The fancy representation of the course of the Amazon River, on the contrary, was, ostensibly, depicted from one of the numerous derivatives of the Sebastian Cabot *Mappa Mundi* of 1544.<sup>1</sup>

Two of the legends relate to the Ordáz expedition in 1532. The first is placed, approximately, in the region which on Oviedo's map is occupied by the Indian village *Huyapari*, and runs as follows: "esto q[ue] mo Ordas. año. 1536" ("This was burned [by order of] Ordáz in 1536"). This refers to that shameless outrage committed by Ordáz before he started up the *Orinoco*, in the village of the Indian chief *Baratu-baro*.<sup>2</sup> For some trifling reason the cruel discoverer ordered the village to be burned, and over 120 of the defenceless Indians perished in the flames.<sup>3</sup>

The second legend, at the foot of the chain of mountains in the interior, and to the left of the rapids, where Ordáz was compelled to abandon his project, reads: "Aquí llegó ordas co[n] sus naujos y no pudo passar por vn salto q[ue] el río haze e[n] la sierra y voluiose año 1536<sup>4</sup> murio en la mar camjno de Castilla" ("Ordáz reached this place with his vessels and was unable to sail farther, on account of a fall formed by the river in the mountains, and he returned, 1536. He died at sea on the voyage to *Castille*").

That the dates of the historical events are the chart-maker's weak point, can be seen also in the following inscription which refers to *Orellana's* memorable voyage down the Amazon River in 1542: "Año de 1546<sup>4</sup> baxo este río abaxo Orillana. mas q[ue] mjll leguas y fue a españa y bolujo co[n] la gouernacio[n] do[n]de se p[er] dio co[n] todos los qu[e] co[n] el yua[n] por entrar por el río a riba(!) q[ue] es gra[n] parte anegadizos e auja salido este del peru co[n]

<sup>1</sup> Diego Homen, 1558. British Museum, Add. MSS. 5415A, reprod. by Rio Branco, loc. cit., No. 11. Diego Homen; 1568, *ibid.* No. 17<sup>a</sup>; Atlas of Bartolomé Olives, Vatican, Codex Urbinas, 283; *ibid.* No. 15.

<sup>2</sup> It is a very interesting fact that names of Indian chiefs and of rivers are often identical, as f. i., *Baratu-baro*, *Juan-ico*, *Tari-pari*, or *Turi-pari*, and so on.

<sup>3</sup> Oviedo, II, p. 216.

<sup>4</sup> Originally, "1536!" See the emendation on the accompanying photograph of this map.

go[n]çalo piçarro q[ua]n[do] descubrió la canela<sup>1</sup> y muriero[n] de ha[m]bre la mayor p[ar]te de los q[ue] co[n] el fuero[n]” (“In the year 1546 [instead of 1542] Orellana sailed down this river<sup>2</sup> over 1,000 leagues, and went to Spain; and having been appointed governor he returned to this river, where he, with all his companions, almost perished in sailing up the river, which in great part is marshy; and he had started from Perú with Gonzalo Pizarro, when the latter discovered the province of cinnamon; and most of those who went with him died of hunger”).

Gonzalo Pizarro left Quito at the close of February, 1541, for the “pais de la canela.”<sup>3</sup> On February 2, 1542, Orellana and his companions reached the Curaray, an affluent of the River Napo, and on Sunday, February 11, began the voyage down the river at present called “de las Amazonas.”

The latest geographical datum in the anonymous map is the legend on the coast of the present Brazilian Guyana, which briefly relates the fate of the Portuguese colonizing expedition led by Luis de Mello in 1554: “Ano (!) de 1554. dia de S. Martin.<sup>4</sup> Se perdio. en esta costa al est. ala boca del marañon. Luis de Mello. portugues co[n]. 600. ho[m]bres q[ue] lleuaua en. 6. naujos sin torm[ent]a sino q[ue] surgiero[n] a la noche en. 7. braças. y de noche baxo el agua y q[ue]-daro[n] en seco” (“In the year 1554, on St. Martin’s day, Luiz de Mello, a Portuguese, was lost on this coast, westward of the mouth of the Marañón, and with him 600 men in six vessels; [they were lost] not in a gale, but on account of anchoring at night in seven ‘braças’ (each of 2.20 m. of water), which on the following night ebbed, leaving them on dry land”).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>“El País de la Canela.” Por D. Márcos Jiménez de la Espada; in “El Centenario.” Revista Ilustrada, etc. T. III. Madrid, 1892, pp. 437-457 (illustr.).

<sup>2</sup>Carbaxal, op. cit., p. 55, “. . . y nos dijo como entre ellos habian dos mujeres blancas, y que otros tenian indias y hijos en ellas: estos son los que se perdieron de Diego de Ordás . . .” (“And told us that there were two white women among them (Indians); and that others (Spaniards) have Indian women and children with them. They are those who were lost on the Ordáz expedition”); cf. Castellanos, l. c., where he relates the shipwreck of J. Cornejo.

<sup>3</sup>Another version of the “El-Dorado.”

<sup>4</sup>Probably November 11.

<sup>5</sup>For further details, see F. A. de Varnhagen (Vizconde de Porto Seguro), “Historia Geral do Brasil.” Second ed. (Wien, s. d.), tomo I, p. 261; and cf. also “Tractado Historico,” etc., by Gabriel Soares de Souza, whose account, in part, differs from that of the former.

Interesting observations on the topography of the coast northward of the mouth of the Amazon, or Marañón, are contained in the legend placed on the coast of the "tierra de paragotos<sup>1</sup> amigos de Aruaecas":<sup>2</sup> "toda esta costa hasta la yslandela trinjdad como corre es baxos de arena y lama. y anegadi zos. 20 leguas la tierra adētro. q[ue] no ay puerto<sup>3</sup> p[ar]a nauio grande. ni au[n] p[ar]a verga[n]tin sino co[n] gra[n] difficultad" ("Along this coast as far as the island of Trinidad, there are shallows of sand and mud, and swamps, extending over twenty leagues inland; there are no seaports for large vessels, and even small ones can enter only with great difficulty").

"Guyana. ay oro guanj" ("Guyane. There is gold *guani* [low carat]"), reads a legend placed in the valley formed by two short chains of mountains situated between the rivers Cuyramo and Caroni, two southern tributaries of the Orinoco.

About four degrees north a long chain of mountains runs from the Orinoco uninterrupted, in a southeasterly direction across the interior, almost to the northern mouth of the Amazon.

The region where on other maps is generally shown the legendary lake of Manóia, is here occupied by the following inscription:

"esta sierra viene del reyno y del peru es alla en el peru rica de plata en el reyno de oro. y por aqui esta lo q[ue] dice[n] el dorado" ("This chain of mountains extends from the kingdom [of New Granada] and from Perú; in Perú it is rich in silver; and in the kingdom it is rich in gold; and this is what they call El-Dorado").

This strange geographical conception, a result of the influence of the Indian legend on early American cartography, prevails on most maps made in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Oto is the typical termination of Carib clan-names; cf. Cumanag-oto; Puruc-oto and many others.

<sup>2</sup>"Arruans," as quoted by Goeldi, is incorrect; cf. "Memorias do Museu Paraense de Historia Nat. e Ethnographia." I. "Escavações archeologicas em 1895." [Pará] 1900, p. 34, 2d ed., Pará, 1905, l. c.

Goeldi is a genuine representative of the Tupi-mania.

<sup>3</sup>Therefore the stereotyped observations of "anegadizos" "no visto" "visto de lexos" on the early American maps.

<sup>4</sup>And even on several original charts of the seventeenth century, as on those made by the brothers João and Pedro Teixeira. The most interesting graphic representation of El-Dorado appears on a manuscript chart of the lower course of the Amazon River, drawn by one of the Teixeiras, about 1625 to 1630. The photographs in original size of that as yet unpublished chart are preserved in the Schuller Collection at the Library of Congress, Washington. Neither of the modern bibliographers furnishes exact data on these two Portuguese cartographers.

Finally, there is a legend concerning early communication between the Amazon and Esequibo rivers, probably by the headwaters of the latter and those of the Rio Branco, an affluent of the Rio Negro: "Yayua caciq[ue] Aruaca Año. 1553, subio por el rio de es[e]quibo arriba co[n] 4. piraguas. y las passo a cues tas la sierra y dio a la otra v[er]tie[n]te en otro Rio y por el fue a dar en el rio gra[n]de de las amazonas. y hallo ta[n]ta ge[n]te q[ue] se bolujo" ("Yayua, Aruáque chief, in the year 1553 went up the Esequibo with four piragua,<sup>1</sup> and carried them over the mountains; and on the other side he reached another river, by which he went down to the great Amazon; and he found [there] so many people, that he returned").

The geographical nomenclature, especially the names of the rivers between the Amazon and Orinoco, differs materially from that of other maps of the same period.

Starting from the northern mouth of the "Amazónas," or Marañón, we find there the following rivers: R.[io] Cureti (Corrent-ine);<sup>2</sup> R. Beruisca (Berbisce?); R. Magnay . . . (?); R. Mirari; R. Capaname; R. duce (!) (Esequibo); R. Baruma, cacique caçurama);<sup>3</sup> R. Moruca, cacique gumapõyma y Aruare cacique; R. Guaynj (Wa-*ini*, We-*ene*), cacique Jeraya coyma; R. Guayanepc; and R. Barimea (Bari-ma), cacique orejón (=long ear).

The Aruáque there occupy the shores, and the interior of the country is inhabited by the Carib(es). The line traced from the mouth of the river Barima to the Berbisce seems to indicate the border of their respective habitats.

So many details on a relatively early map strengthen the belief that the anonymous author must have had before him original information, probably obtained from one of the El-Dorado expeditions,<sup>4</sup> undertaken in the second half of the sixteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> Canóa and pirágua are two genuine Carib-aruáque words, notwithstanding all said against this view by Professor Leo Wiener, of Harvard University.

<sup>2</sup> Ine, ene, in Aruáque, "water," "river"; papam-ene is the Aruáque name for the Amazonas. Pinzón in 1500 learned the name "Maria-(Paria)," or "Marina-(Parina)-tam-balo (=palo =falo =paro =faro), which seems to be the Carib designation for that river.

The origin of the name Marañón from the Portuguese Maranhão is unsupported.

<sup>3</sup> On that river probably was situated the village of the chief mentioned above.

<sup>4</sup> Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla; 139-1-2, Tomo IIIº: "De oficio. Rio Marañón—Desde 20 de Maio de 1530 hasta 21 de Febrero de 1539"; and especially: 139-1-1, Tomo 1º and Tomo IIº; cf. also the pen sketch map, of about 1550, 145-7-7. Ramo 5.