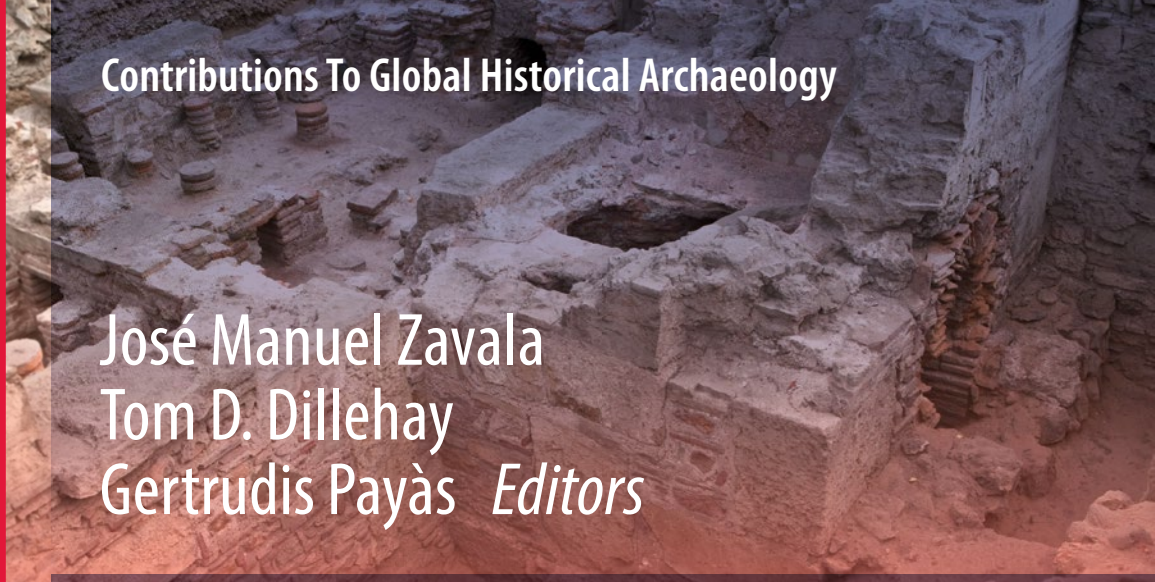

Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology

José Manuel Zavala
Tom D. Dillehay
Gertrudis Payàs *Editors*

The Hispanic-Mapuche *Parlamentos*: Interethnic Geo-Politics and Concessionary Spaces in Colonial America

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Contents

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Chapter 1
Introduction

José Manuel Zavala and Tom D. Dillehay

Abstract This brief introduction defines *parlamentos* as a political process and specifies here the research problem under study and outlines the interdisciplinary nature of the ethnohistory, linguistics, and archaeology of *parlamento* treaties between the Spanish and the Mapuche during the colonial period. It also describes the organization of the book and the contexts of each chapter.

Keywords Mapuche · Hispanic · *Parlamento* · Colonial

The expansion by conquest or trade of one society into the occupied territory of another and the construction of new settled landscapes by this society is colonization. Colonialism, on the other hand, involves the social, cultural, political, and economic relationships established between the colonizer and the colonized and the forms of domination, subjugation, power, status, gender, ethnicity, and resistance that result from these relationships (e.g., Osterhammel 2005; Gallaher et al. 2009; Fernández Lizcano 2005; Montón-Subías et al. 2016). Both anthropological histories and historical geographies have examined the material and discursive processes of colonization and colonialism and have identified the opportunities for many different kinds of relationships to emerge between outsiders and the indigenous people they encountered and in different ways colonized throughout time and place in the Americas. These studies have revealed complex, differentiated, colonializing and colonialized identities, shifting and ambiguous political relations, social pluralities, and mutating and distinctive modes of colonization.

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In the Americas, colonialism resulted in complete or near complete dominance by European powers, especially by the expansion of the Spanish throughout vast areas of the New World (e.g., Merriman 1918; Kamen 2004). This expansion generally resulted in hierarchy, surveillance, and control, and in most of Latin America and the Southwestern part of the USA, a *reducción* system demographically shifted or reduced indigenous populations to settlements where they could more easily be controlled by the Spanish Crown. However, there were pockets of prolonged resistance in the Americas, perhaps best exemplified by the Pueblo revolts in the North American Southwest, the Lacandon Maya of Yucatan, and the Araucanians or Mapuche of south-central Chile (Fig. 2.1). In fact, it was often difficult for Spain to stretch its political and religious control in many parts of the Americas. In the southwestern and western regions of the USA, for instance, the Spanish fought with the Comanche, Ute, and other indigenous groups who resisted control for decades, and the later settlements in Texas and California exposed more of the Crown's difficulties in administering those areas (Weber 2005). Yet, more so than any indigenous ethnic group in the Americas, the Mapuche south of the Bio Bio River, an area known as the Araucania, successfully resisted permanent Spanish rule and occupation for nearly three centuries (e.g., Bengoa 2003; Dillehay 2007; Zavala 2008; Throughout the past several centuries, the native population of central and south-central Chile has been called by several different names, including Auca, Reche, Araucanos or Araucanians, Originarios, among others, and later, the Mapuche. Since these people today are called Mapuche, we employ this term throughout the book to cover all historical periods). The result was a scant material and written record of Spanish activity in the Araucania compared to other areas best known for missions, towns, and forts, such as in most of Mesoamerica and the Andes. Small towns were built in the Araucania, but they were rapidly destroyed by the Mapuche and then abandoned by the Spanish, and for long periods of time there was no Spanish presence and thus little to no Spanish material and archival record left behind. In short, the Mapuche case is one of several instances of long-term negotiation of frontier areas that Europeans in the Americas either were not powerful enough to dominate for decades or were fiercely resisted for prolonged periods by dense, relatively well-organized, indigenous populations. Mapuche history is a combination of these two conditions. Unlike the Comanche, Ute, Pueblo, and others, the Mapuche were characterized by dense agricultural-based populations along the interior of the Pacific coast and in the central valley that were locally centralized politically, and on the level of small to paramount chiefdoms (see Dillehay 2007, 2015). Moreover, once gold was discovered in the Araucania in the latter half of the sixteenth century, the Spanish began to send more troops, clergymen, and other personnel to attempt to control the Mapuche primarily for labor in gold mines. This often led to the settlement of a relatively large number of Spaniards and their allied native groups in some areas, but their presence was short-lived and intermittent, with decades of virtually no conflict nor Spanish penetration into the Araucania.

In looking beyond colonialism and resistance, the *parlamento* was a cultural institution that not only was directed at treaty-making between the Spanish and the Mapuche but at incorporating many Mapuche traditions of diplomatic negotiation

and at economic and social repercussions for both parties. The legal aspect, the ratification of the "treaty," even if short-lived for only a few months or years at a time, which usually was the case, was only one part of the *parlamento*. Throughout the centuries, it often became a hybridizing social, political, and economic event of the first order for both the Spanish and the Mapuche; it constituted a privileged place of transcultural contact and communication. That is, the political and linguistic boundaries of the Mapuche and Spanish *parlamentos* were constantly negotiated and eventually able to absorb many of the diverse cultural influences between them, with the physical and cultural boundaries of both parties serving as active sites of ethnic intersection and overlap, which supported the creation of in-between identities such *as criollos*, *mestizos*, *indios amigos*, and *indios enemigos*.

The hybrid institution of *parlamento* was thus created as time and event progressed, in part based on contingency experienced by both parties as they negotiated. As a new hybrid organization, this institution essentially was caught in between the two dichotomous cultural spheres of the Mapuche and the Spanish, each with differing values of political negotiation. To retain its hybridity and to survive in the long run, both parties continuously created and sustained organizational authority by establishing congruence with the specific values from their respective cultures. As presented in this book, this view of a hybrid institution is one aligned with concepts of flux, transition, and contingency of shifting expressions of negotiated power set within a deeply contested and contradictory context of political, and on the part of the Mapuche ritual, traditions. As Homi Bhabha has written, authorized power in a hybrid setting "does not depend on the persistence of tradition; it is resourced by the power of tradition to be reinscribed through conditions of contingency and contradictoriness" (Bhabha 1994, p. 2).

Specifically, this book reports the principal results of research carried out in the present region of the Bio Bio River and the Araucanía, a territory occupied from pre-Hispanic times by the Mapuche people and which was, from the middle of the sixteenth century, the scene of Spanish attempts at colonization which continued until the end of the Colonial period in Chile into the second decade of the nineteenth century. More specifically, the book focuses on the complementary historical, linguistic, and archaeological evidence for indigenous resistance and resilience in the specific form of *parlamento* political negotiations, or attempted treaties, between the Spanish Crown and the Mapuche south of the Bio Bio River from the late 1600s to the early 1800s (e.g., Bengoa 2003; Goicovich 2002; Zavala 2008; Zavala and Payàs 2015; Zavala and Dillehay 2010). Armed conflict, the rejection of most Spanish material culture, and the use of the indigenous materials and the Mapudungun (Mapuche) language at *parlamentos* were obvious forms of Mapuche resistance. There also was Spanish resistance to Mapuche resilience and later territorial expansion into Argentina, for instance. As discussed throughout the book, both sides engaged in many changing strategies of negotiation and accommodation over the centuries, to such an extent that it is often difficult to determine the difference between violent acts of resistance and subtle socio-cultural forms of resilience, with power relations between the two sides often waxing and waning. Furthermore, what was often interpreted as armed conflict and resistance by the Spanish may have

been viewed differently by the Mapuche, who may have seen these struggles as a normative process, as part of a continued assumption of their own independence.

The Mapuche resistance south of the Bio Bio River in the face of the first Spanish territorial domination lasted nearly 50 years (1550–1598). After the Spanish abandonment of this territory,[1] a military frontier existed, the "Chilean Frontier" or "*La Frontera*," which during more than two centuries was organized on the basis of a widely scattered network of military and missionary outposts. A Spanish presence, including *parlamentos*, south of the Bio Bio River after 1598, the frontier, was a line of demarcation and at the same time an axis of articulation between both parties which had as a principal, but not exclusive, point of reference, the Bio Bio River, the largest and most geographically important river in Chile. What makes this river so important is that it cuts communication by land between the northern and southern parts of the country, and at the same time, it joined the coast of the Pacific Ocean with the interior, due to navigation on the river in its middle sector near Nacimiento. The Bio Bio River receives the waters of several tributaries, which rise in the Cordillera of the Andes and its headwaters in a kind of fan, creating many river valleys particularly apt for human occupation and circulation. The fluvial complex of the Bio Bio and its tributaries made it possible to link the high country, the Andean valleys, with the plains and valleys of the lowlands, linking each with the other.

On this frontier, it was the Spanish army and the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), who were the most relevant actors in the policies of advancing colonization or containing the indigenous population, which, according to circumstances, the Spanish authorities tried to implement with different results. The Spanish army in Chile was created by royal order in 1602 with a contingent of 1500 professional soldiers (Concha 2016, p. 184). It was maintained with varying fortune until the end of the colonial period, financed by the treasury of the viceroyalty of Peru (the real situado or royal subvention).

The first Jesuits arrived in Chile in 1593 and from 1605 (see Chap. 4) their presence can be detected in the Araucanía; in 1612 they began to found missions under the protection of the frontier fortifications around which the "friendly Indians" (*indios amigos*) were settled and who acted as auxiliaries or allies of the Spanish army. Not content with this, the Jesuits quickly set up the *misiones de correrias* (short-term missionary expeditions), which were annual expeditions for evangelization into the interior of Mapuche territory south of the Bio Bio River during the summer seasons to give the sacraments (baptism, marriage, extreme unction) and to catechize. The members of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), the principal missionaries from 1593 to 1767, were expelled from all of the Spanish dominions in 1767, and in

[1] An aspect of this study that we implicitly refer to is that of territory and territoriality either as a Mapuche political or demographic unit of study. Territoriality is a geographical expression of social complexity and can be defined as "the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence or control people, phenomena and relationships by delimiting and asserting control over a geographical area" (Sack 1986, p. 19). The notion of territory is, fundamentally, a reification of the locales and landscapes that "give rise to a feeling of belonging and rootedness and familiarity, which is not born just out of knowledge, but of concern that provides ontological security" (Tilley 1994, p. 26)

the case of the Mapuche/Hispanic frontier, they were replaced by the Franciscans with less success, principally in the missions of the *indios amigos* (allied Indians), until the end of colonial rule (1818).

It is on this frontier stage that the actions of the military and evangelizing clergy constituted the framework of the Spanish system of relations with the independent Mapuche[2,3] society, within which the concept and activity of the *parlamento* arose and developed as the principal institution of contact between both groups. The *parlamento* can be understood generically and abstractly as a solemn and massive public assembly in which the highest authorities of both politically autonomous, but opposed, parties expressed their points of view, deliberated these, and came to agreement (see Chap. 2 for a discussion of the presence of the Mapuche institution *coyagtun* whereby indigenous *caciques*, leaders, from different groups came together in a ritual which included the expression of all views as well as sacrifices and offerings to make war or peace and the importance of drinking and feasting for ritual validation and how the European tradition of negotiation and treaty-making was able to accommodate the *coyagtun*). Furthermore, in the case that concerns us here, what makes the situation (the *parlamento*) distinctive is that the "parties" which met on a seemingly equal footing to negotiate peace came from very different cultural worlds, and they did so in a historical and colonial context in which one may suppose that the Spanish exerted great superiority and domination over the Mapuche. How can this be explained? This question is part of what motivated us to investigate the themes covered in this book.

To undertake the study of such a relative cultural materiality as were the temporary congregations of opposing and different societies which happened centuries ago in particular places poses an epistemological and methodological problem which is not easy to solve and constitutes an important challenge for scientific investigation. This book seeks to make a contribution which requires increasingly a collaborative and interdisciplinary methodology to focus on the different aspects of a polyfacetic and plural human activity where the certainties of the past such as the unity of narration in the historical sources are called into question by the point of view of those who remained in the background of the written accounts: Indians, women, children, interpreters, etc.

The material record of the *parlamentos* is written on paper and archaeologically expressed on the land, and includes the recovery of small pieces of materiality from which we have attempted to reconstruct an integral and interpretive vision of these frontier assemblies. For this purpose, we have brought together three disciplinary perspectives, which with greater or lesser success, we have directed toward the

[2] Independent: not incorporated in the classic structures of hispano-colonial domination such as the *encomienda* (system based on forced labor brought from different places), the concentration of residence in settlements (*reducciones*), and conversion to Christian belief and lifeway by evangelization.

[3] Father Luis de Valdivia defines coyagtun: "is like the parliament in France." *Memoria como se han de entender las provisiones de los indios de Chile y algunos tratos particulares que entre ellos tienen…* (Zavala 2015, p. 59)

parlamentos: archaeology, history, and linguistics. It is probable that we have not achieved a complete interdisciplinary perspective; each one of these views offers feedback to the other two and vice versa.

Set in this context, the book is structured in three parts, each corresponding to one of the three main disciplines of complimentary research: historical, archaeological, and linguistic mediation. The study of the past of a people requires as many disciplines as can contribute something, which includes the material record, the analysis of written accounts from both a historical and ethnohistorical viewpoint, the observation of human behavior and the analysis of ontological and linguistic frameworks, and the use of the latter in interpreting the written record. The first part, under the direction of José Manuel Zavala, presents the research problems and the archival material. The second part, under the responsibility of Gertrudis Payàs, interprets the linguistic dimensions of the research, translation of the diplomatic meetings, and their cultural meanings. The third part, largely written by Tom D. Dillehay, provides results of the archaeological research and the cultural material of *parlamentos*.

The historic register has been the starting point of our research. The *parlamentos* in so many formal acts of diplomatic character (peace treaties) according to the Spanish legal tradition were written up with details, and there was a deep political component and written account which provides information about their preparation, development, and consequences. The historical study presents the first manifestations of *parlamentos* held between the Mapuche and the Spanish in 1593, corresponding to the presence of the Jesuit Luis de Valdivia in the period between 1605 and 1617. There follows a detailed study of the Parlamento of Quillin 1641 and 1647, which addresses the last *parlamento* period between 1771 and 1803. At the end of our work, we counted 59 *parlamentos* (see Table 2.1), which took place within the boundaries and interior of the Araucania between 1593 and 1803. We have registered more detailed accounts for the great majority of these events. These accounts are preserved in Spanish and Chilean archives, principally in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville and in the Biblioteca Nacional de Chile in Santiago. These historical sources provide rich ethnographic information, which allows us to highlight not only the society that created these sources but also the Mapuche.

The first part of this book thus presents a historical and an ethnohistorical perspective and is divided into four chapters. The first deals with the antecedents and origins of the *parlamento* and looks for its roots in both societies, in the Spanish tradition of treaties and in the Mapuche tradition of public assemblies (*coyagtun*). The second chapter is centered on the first written account that we have about the *parlamento* meetings, dating from 1593. This is a detailed analytic description that emphasizes the character of agreement that these *ultimata* (*requerimientos*) implied. In Chap. 4, we take up the period of the great Jesuit effort to convert the *parlamentos* into principal instances of frontier relations, which corresponds to the work of Father Luis de Valdivia between 1605 and 1617. Finally, in Chap. 5 we present the period of the apogee of the *parlamentos* which covers the greater part of the eighteenth century.

In the second part, the role of linguistic mediation in the Spanish-Araucanian diplomacy is analyzed, as is the linguistic aspect of the *parlamentos*, more particularly with reference to the communication and interpretation of the two languages. In this way, Chap. 6 explains how the term "*parlamento*" acquired a new and particular meaning in Chile and ends by designating the principal event in Mapuche-Spanish diplomacy, which is the subject of the book. The establishment of the minutes of the *parlamento* meetings and character of translational evidence also is analyzed. Finally, with Chap. 7, we explain how the linguistic interpretation functioned in the *parlamentos*, who made up the teams of interpreters, what were the functions they fulfilled, and what skills or competence we may infer from the documents. Lastly, this part also describes and defines the roles and responsibilities of the different types of linguistic mediators (i.e., military, church, and civil) and the mechanisms of linguistic mediation highlighting the extent and significance that this model had acquired by the end of the colonial period.

The third and final part of the book takes up the archaeological study of the *parlamentos* in four chapters. In Chap. 8, the research goals and methodologies used for locating *parlamento* sites are presented; the next three Chaps. 9–11 describe the archaeological and geographical characteristics of sites and the interpretations made from laboratory analysis of recovered material and from reading the geo-political landscape of *parlamento* sites. It is important to understand that the location and description of the archaeological sites and the material culture they contain address the geo-political nature of the *parlamentos*. That is, location of *parlamentos* reflects a topographical and spatial compromise between the Mapuche and the Spanish, whereby the geographical position reflects specifically chosen places that were easily accessible, demographically neutral because no existing indigenous settlement was there, and there was ample space for the two negotiating parties to be separated by distance for the sake of reducing potential conflict between them. The archaeological record reveals a minimal Spanish presence at these sites with the exception of one or two cases, suggesting that the Mapuche were largely in control of the meetings in their own territory.

In summary, the general theoretical orientation of this entire book is based on interdisciplinary communication, in the sense that *parlamentos* are by definition spaces of communication between different societies and their study can only be done by taking into account the two groups involved in these relationships, the indigenous people and the Spanish. Despite the limitations inherent in the historical, archaeological, and linguistic records, it is crucial to unite the three in order to achieve a more complete understanding of the Mapuche past. The divergent lines of linguistic, archaeology, and historical archives converge to provide multiple and new kinds of complementary evidence about the Mapuche. Thus, the attempt here is to take an interdisciplinary approach to the research problems, one whereby the "central aim is for our historical imagination to be guided by both our anthropological perspective and our attention to materiality [the material record]" (Wilkie 2000, p. 15). That is, the method is to recognize that each of these records offers insights into different "scales of temporal and social resolution" (Wilkie 2000, p. 20) about the nature of the interaction between the Mapuche and the Spanish, the level and

content of their socio-cultural organization, and the *parlamentos* between them. This interdisciplinary study and interpretation thus was directed to finding points of connection and divergence between these two cultural worlds, the strategies used by each against each other, and how their influences and perceptions were mutually opposed.

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Part I
Ethnohistory of *Parlamentos*

Chapter 2
Origin of the Spanish–Mapuche *Parlamentos*: The European Treaty Tradition and Mapuche Institutions of Negotiation

José Manuel Zavala

Abstract This chapter investigates the origin of the Hispano-Mapuche *parlamentos*, identifying their background in the political–cultural traditions of both worlds, the European and the indigenous, and analyzes the first forms of negotiation and diplomacy practiced in America and more specifically in Chile. It is concluded that the parliaments had their origin in the combination of European and indigenous traditions, which necessarily occurs when trying to reach understanding and compromise between two radically opposed and culturally differentiated worlds.

Keywords Spanish–Indian Treaties · Hispano-Mapuche *parlamentos* · *Coyagtun* · Requirement

Parlamentos were peace accords between the Spanish authorities and independent indigenous groups, principally the Mapuche,[1] in south-central Chile and Argentina. There are records of at least 59 meetings held between 1593 and 1803 in 26 different locations to discuss peace for the region south of the political frontier at the Bio Bio River in Chile (see Table 2.1: List of *Parlamentos* and Fig. 2.1). Neither those encounters held far from the Toltén River to the south in the area of the *gobernación*

[1] We designate as *Mapuche* all the historic groups who spoke Mapudungun, including the Pewenche of the Andean highlands. In the present book, the names *Mapuche* and *Araucanian* are equivalent, although the second term is no longer used in modern Chilean anthropological literature.

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Table 2.1 Spanish-Mapuche *Parlamentos* in the Araucanía, 1593–1803

No.	Date	Location	Days	Spanish representatives	Mapuche representatives	Total Mapuche
1	1593-09-27	Quillacoya	[3]	Gvrn. Martín García Oñez de Loyola	17 caciques	17 + ?
2	1593-09-29	Rere	1	Gvrn. Martín García Oñez de Loyola	12 caciques	12 +?
3	1593-09-30	Taruchina	1	Gvrn. Martín García Oñez de Loyola	14 caciques	14 + ?
4	1593-11-22	Imperial (town of)	1	Gvrn. Martín García Oñez de Loyola	4 caciques	4+?
5	1605-03-20	Concepción (town of)	1	Gvrn. Alonso García Ramón; F. Luis de Valdivia	21 caciques	21 +?
6	1605-04-24	Paicaví (fort of Santa Inés de Monterrey)	1	Gvrn. Alonso García Ramón; F. Luis de Valdivia	53 caciques	53 + ?
7	1605-05-01	Lebu (fort of Sta Margarita de Austria)	1	Gvrn. Alonso García Ramón; F. Luis de Valdivia	9 caciques or Main Indians	9 +?
8	1605-05-08	Arauco (fort of Sn Ildefonso de)	1	Gvrn. Alonso García Ramón; F. Luis de Valdivia	47 caciques	47 + ?
9	1605-05-15	Santa Fe (fort of Sta. Fe de la Paz)	1	Gvrn. Alonso García Ramón; Father Luis de Valdivia	11 caciques	11 +?
10	1605-05-16	Yumbel (fort of Sta Lucía de)	1	Gvrn. Alonso García Ramón	1 cacique-*toki* principal +3 Main Indians	4 + ?
11	1605-05-17	Rere (Fort of Buena Esperanza, Estancia del Rey)	1	Gvrn. Alonso García Ramón; F. Luis de Valdivia	49 caciques	49 +?
12	1608-10-07	Conuco (*Estancia*)	?	Gvrn. Alonso García Ramón	21 representatives (17 are caciques)	21+ ?

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

No.	Date	Location	Days	Spanish representatives	Mapuche representatives	Total Mapuche
13	1612-[06-14]	Catiray (Ñancu)	1	F. Luis de Valdivia	Around 15 ulmén (caciques)	50+?
14	1612-11-10	Paicaví (next to the fort of)	1	F. Luis de Valdivia	Several caciques	+ de 200
15	1612-11-17	Arauco (fort of Sn Ildefonso de)	1	Gvrn. Alonso de Rivera, F. Luis de Valdivia	18 caciques	18+?
16	1612-12-07	Paicaví (old fort of)	1,5	Gvrn. Alonso de Rivera, F. Luis de Valdivia	15 caciques + 7 messengers	+ de 63
17	1617-08-[beginning]	Nacimiento (fort of)	[1]	F. Luis de Valdivia	2 cacique(1st meeting), several (2nd meeting)	+ de 200
18	1617-08-20	Nacimiento (fort of)	1	F. Luis de Valdivia	4 caciques	4 + ?
19	1617 [sept.?]	Nacimiento (fort of)		F. Luis de Valdivia	6 caciques	6 + ?
20	1617-10-14	Nacimiento (fort of)		F. Luis de Valdivia	12 caciques	12 + ?
21	1641-01-06	Quillín (valley of) + Repocura and Imperial	1+2	Gvrn. Fco. López de Zúñiga (Marquis of Baides)	65 + 162 caciques	2016
22	1647-02-24	Quillín (valley of)	1	Gvrn. Martín de Mújica	*Friendly*: 13 *toki* + caciques and Mn. *Enemies*: 36 *toki* + 39 caciques	4450
23	1649-[11?]	Nacimiento (near the settlement of)		Gvrn. Alonso de Córdoba y Figueroa	?	Many
24	1651-01-27	Boroa (outside the fort of)		Gvrn. Antonio de Acuña y Cabrera	7 *toki* + 137 caciques	Many
25	1662-12-03	Lota (regiment of Sta Maria de Guadalupe y Benavides)	1	Gvrn. Ángel de Peredo	30 identified caciques	1546 + ?

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

No.	Date	Location	Days	Spanish representatives	Mapuche representatives	Total Mapuche
26	1663-01-11	Yumbel (Regiment and barrack of Sn Felipe de Austria y Nta Sñra de la Almudena)	2	Gvrn. Ángel de Peredo	18 identified caciques + Mn. and messengers.	Many
27	1663	Imperial		Gral. *Comisario* Simón de Sotomayor	25 caciques	25 +?
28	1665-03-01	Concepción (town of)	2	Gvrn. Francisco Menenes	15 caciques	15 +?
29	1665-03-09	Concepción (town of)	1	Gvrn. Francisco Menenes	27 caciques	27 +?
30	1665-04-07	Concepción (town of)	2	Gvrn. Francisco Menenes	34 caciques	34 + ?
31	1665-07-24	Concepción (town of)		Gvrn. Francisco Menenes	4 caciques	4 + ?
32	1671-01-10	Malloco (area and fields of)	1	Gvrn. Juan Henríquez	Main Rebel Caciques	?
33	1682 [by the end pf]	Puren (settlement of)		Gvrn. José de Garro	? Caciques	?
34	1683 [early nov.?]	Imperial (town's remains)		Gvrn. José de Garro	? Caciques	?
35	1692-12-16	Yumbel (close to the settlement and regiment of Sn Carlos de Austria)	1	Gvrn. Tomás Marín de Póveda	300: *toki* grals. and Mn. caciques.	Many
36	1693-11-03	Concepción (at the town's public square)	1	Gvrn. Tomás Marín de Póveda	63 identified caciques	1563
37	1694-12-15	Choque-Choque (Field of)	1	Gvrn. Tomás Marín de Póveda	219 caciques	1055
38	1698-12-20	Purén (Meadows of Sn Juan de)	1	Presbyter Joseph González de Rivera	397 Main caciques	3000 aprox.
39	1707-[05?]	Purén	?	Gral. *Maestre de Campo*	900 caciques	5000 aprox.

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

No.	Date	Location	Days	Spanish representatives	Mapuche representatives	Total Mapuche
40	1716-01-01	Tapihue (field)	?	Gvrn. Juan Andrés de Ustaris	All the *toki* and caciques	?
41	1724-10-21	Concepción (town of)	1	*Maestre de Campo* Manuel de Salamanca	15 caciques and 6 messengers	21+?
42	1724-11-03	Nacimiento (fort of)	1	*Maestre de Campo* Manuel de Salamanca	1 Main cacique, 28 caciques	29+?
43	1724-12-11	Concepción (town of)	1	*Maestre de Campo* Manuel de Salamanca	1 Main cacique, 32 caciques	33+?
44	1725-01-20	Concepción (town of)	1	*Maestre de Campo* Manuel de Salamanca	11 caciques	11+?
45	1726-02-13	Negrete	2	Gvrn. Gabriel cano de Aponte	156 caciques	156 + ?
46	1735-10-13	Concepción (town of), "cosmito" field [today Penco]	1	Gvrn. Manuel de Salamanca	181 caciques	181 + ?
47	1738-12-08	Tapihue (field of)	1	Gvrn. Joseph Manso de Velasco	374 caciques	374 + ?
48	1746-12-22	Tapihue	3	Gvrn. Domingo Ortiz de Rosas	203 caciques	+ de 2200
49	1756-12-13	"Salto" of the Laja River, at its northern bank plains		Gvrn. Manuel de Amat y Juinent?	?	?
50	1759-01-19	Concepción (town of)	1	Gvrn. Manuel de Amat y Juinent	?	?
51	1760-02-14	Santiago (town of), at the Palace	1	Gvrn. Manuel de Amat y Juinent	36 caciques	36 + ?
52	1764-12-08	Nacimiento (settlement of), at its Field	3	Gvrn. Antonio Guill y Gonzaga	Gvrn. Caciques and caciques	?
53	1771-02-25	Negrete (field of)	4	Gvrn. Fco. Xavier de Morales	164 caciques	+ de 1300

(continued)