

*Colección*

# *Curinán*

*Hernán Jaramillo Cisneros*

MOTIVOS  
DECORATIVOS TRADICIONALES  
EN LOS TEJIDOS DE IMBABURA



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## INTRODUCCION

De las fajas que usan las mujeres indígenas de Imbabura, tomamos los diseños que se publican en esta segunda edición de "Motivos decorativos tradicionales en los tejidos de Imbabura". Parte de este material ya se publicó en los volúmenes 48 y 49 de la colección "Pendoneiros", que editó el Instituto Otavaleño de Antropología, pero sigue inédito lo que debía aparecer en el Nº 50 de esa serie.

Con respecto a la primera edición, hemos realizado una selección diferente de los motivos, los clasificamos de otra manera y el formato del libro permite mayor facilidad en su manejo.

La recopilación del material se hizo entre 1976 y 1980. Con ese fin recorrimos toda la provincia de Imbabura, entrevistamos a cientos de tejedores, y, también, acudimos a personas que nos permitieron tomar los motivos de las fajas de su uso diario o de las que forman parte de sus colecciones. Nuestro trabajo, esencialmente, consistió en trasladar los motivos al papel, de conformidad a las normas del diseño textil: una columna de cuadrículas representan un hilo de la urdimbre y una línea horizontal a una pasada de la trama. Cada vez que un hilo de la urdimbre pasa sobre uno de trama, el cuadro correspondiente va en color negro, mientras que los que quedan en blanco representan la trama

- Algunos tejedores conservan en su poder muestrarios antiguos, de donde se han tomado los diseños para las fajas actuales. A pesar de que no hay un término de referencia para determinar la época desde la cual se conservan estos motivos, es evidente, en cambio, que en cada faja está presente el saber y la creatividad colectivos, que se ha transmitido de padres a hijos, por muchas generaciones.▲

- Aunque ha pasado poco tiempo desde que se hizo la investigación, es notorio que se han producido cambios notables en el uso de los motivos decorativos, que han sido reemplazados por frases o nombres tomados de cualquier publicación. Esta actitud, que se ha generalizado, la realizan inclusive tejedores analfabetos, que desconocen el significado de los que "escriben" en las fajas que tejen. Por esta causa están por desaparecer los motivos decorativos de creación de la propia comunidad, en tanto que las fajas se adornan con nombres de ciudades, de políticos nacionales, con marcas de productos industriales o con frases incoherentes.◡

En las fajas antiguas, que se las hacía por encomienda, lo usual era poner el nombre de la dueña de la prenda. Dos ejemplos de esto encontraremos, en las páginas finales, en la parte correspondiente a motivos diversos.

En el mapa de la provincia de Imbabura señalamos los principales lugares donde se tejen la fajas. A este oficio se dedican, de manera preferente, los adultos, los ancianos y personas físicamente incapacitadas para otras labores. Los jóvenes, para quienes esta actividad no es rentable, emigran a buscar otras posibilidades de trabajo fuera de la comunidad, sea como peones agrícolas de temporada en las haciendas de la misma provincia o del litoral, o como peones de construcción en diferentes ciudades del país. En Imbabura, tejer es actividad exclusivamente masculina, aunque en el caso de las fajas si es posible encontrar unos pocos casos de mujeres que tejen.

El proceso de trabajo comienza con la compra de la materia prima: hilos blancos de algodón para la urdimbre y para la trama de la base del tejido e hilos de orlón, de colores vivos, para los dibujos de la faja. Estos materiales se los compra a comerciantes especializados en la venta de sobrantes de las fábricas textiles o en el aprovechamiento y reciclado de los retazos de la confección de suéteres, que deshilados sirven para el tejido de las fajas. Así se consigue mantener baja la inversión en materia prima, que si fuese adquirida de otra forma haría disminuir la bajísima utilidad que obtiene el tejedor en cada faja.

Entre todos los artesanos textiles de la provincia, los tejedores de fajas son los de menores recursos económicos, su posibilidad de comprar materias primas se reduce a contar con lo necesario para unas cuantas fajas, que debe venderlas al fin de la semana de trabajo, con el propósito de comprar hilos para otra semana más. Con algún excedente, adquiere alimentos y lo más necesario para su humilde existencia.

Hasta unos años atrás el tejido de las fajas se hacía con hilo de algodón y de lana. En ese caso el artesano teñía los hilos de lana de acuerdo al gusto de la persona que encomendaba el trabajo. Ahora que se teje con hilos de orlón, el uso de colores está más limitado a lo que es posible conseguir en los sitios de venta, aunque los preferidos por las mujeres indígenas son: azul, morado, verde, rojo, anaranjado, fucsia, etc.

La urdimbre se prepara sobre un rústico banco de madera, que tiene seis clavos convenientemente distribuidos, o en el suelo donde se coloca pequeñas estacas de madera, con la misma disposición que en el banco de urdir. Mientras los clavos en los extremos del banco determinan la longitud de la faja, los demás sirven para separar en pares e impares los hilos blancos y en grupos los

de color, con el propósito de facilitar -posteriormente- el tejido. El ancho de la faja, tiene relación con el número de vueltas que se haya dado con los hilos alrededor de los clavos del urdidor, esto es, por el número total de hilos que tenga la urdimbre.

Los hilos blancos y de color se urden simultáneamente. Los blancos forman el tejido de base de la faja, con ligamentos en tafetán, mientras los de color son suplementarios y sirven para hacer los dibujos. Estos hilos de color no forman parte de la estructura principal del tejido. >

Con la urdimbre lista, se coloca en su respectivo lugar las partes del sencillo telar de cintura: los **cumiles**, a los extremos de la urdimbre; los **cru-ceros**, en los sitios por donde debe pasar la trama: uno o varios **inguiles**, sirven para agrupar los hilos de color que forman parte de un dibujo, cuyos ligamentos se repiten de manera continuada, o para separar los hilos del tejido de base en pares e impares. Son complementos del telar: la **callúa**, de madera dura en forma de espada, que sirve para apretar cada pasada de la trama, con el fin de dar mayor consistencia al tejido; el **escogedor de colores**, de hueso o de madera, que tiene como función ayudar a separar los hilos de color que forman parte de un dibujo; la **fúa**, varita cilíndrica de madera sobre la que se envuelve la trama, para pasarla de un lado al otro del tejido; la **huashacara**, cinturón de cuero que sujeta la urdimbre por uno de sus extremos, por medio del cumil; el **aro o trabilla**, pieza de madera o un cuerno de venado que, amarrado en un pilar de la casa, sostiene por medio del segundo cumil, el otro extremo de la urdimbre. El conjunto completo, o sea todo el telar de cintura, es conocido por los indígenas como **arma de tejer** o simplemente como **arma**.

→ Entre los tejedores de fajas la inversión en su equipo de trabajo es mínima. El telar, como acabamos de ver, se reduce a unas pocas piezas de madera que las confecciona el propio artesano. Solamente la callúa exige un poco más de trabajo para su elaboración y pulimento.

« Únicamente en la parroquia Natabuela, del cantón Antonio Ante, los tejedores de fajas emplean un telar vertical, basado en el de cintura pero con ciertas modificaciones. En este caso, no es el tejedor quien mantiene tensados los hilos de la urdimbre; y, tampoco el telar se encuentra sujeto a un punto fijo, sino que es fácil trasladarlo de un sitio a otro, según el deseo del tejedor de trabajar en el sol o la sombra. «

→ Para hacer los dibujos, el tejedor selecciona los hilos suplementarios que deben quedar sobre la trama, a cada pasada de la misma. Por eso los motivos aparecen en el lado derecho de la faja, con preponderancia de forma y color que

en el envés.

En el caso de los diseños geométricos, que se repiten a lo largo de toda la faja, los tejedores colocan una serie de inguiles que los van levantando en cierto orden, conforme se repiten los ligamentos de cada figura. Los inguiles, así, hacen las veces de los lizos del telar de pedales.

Fuera del motivo central, en los dibujos aparecen una serie de puntos que corresponden a los hilos de la urdimbre que el tejedor va sujetando con la trama, con el fin de que no queden largos ligamentos sueltos, que deterioran rápidamente el tejido. Con estos hilos, a veces, se forma figuras secundarias en relación al motivo principal.

El aprendizaje del tejido de las fajas comienza con la confección de "cintas", que usan las mujeres indígenas para envolver su cabello como si estuviera trenzado. Estas cintas no llevan motivos decorativos sino listas de color que van a lo largo de toda la urdimbre. Cuando se pasa al tejido de las fajas, necesariamente hay que contar con una que sirva de muestra, pues, de allí se copian las figuras. Con algún tiempo de práctica, los motivos se graban en la mente del tejedor y puede repetirlos sin tener el muestrario a la mano. Es en esta etapa cuando se puede hacer innovaciones o cambios, o se imagina nuevos diseños, como los vehículos que se muestran en las páginas finales, como señal de que la creatividad subsiste en la época presente y que hay otros valores que inspiran a los actuales artesanos.

\*El tiempo para hacer una faja va de tres a diez horas, esto depende de varios factores: la habilidad o práctica del tejedor, la mayor o menor complicación de los diseños y el empeño que pone en hacer mejor su trabajo.

Se hace una diversidad de dibujos en cada comunidad de tejedores. Para esta edición los clasificamos en: geométricos, animales y aves, humanos, diversos. En este último rubro hemos agrupado una serie de motivos: estrellas, lo que parece ser representaciones de plantas, vivienda, el sol, símbolos religiosos, indefinidos, vehículos e inscripciones. Junto a cada figura se indica el lugar, con su respectivo cantón, donde fueron recopilados.

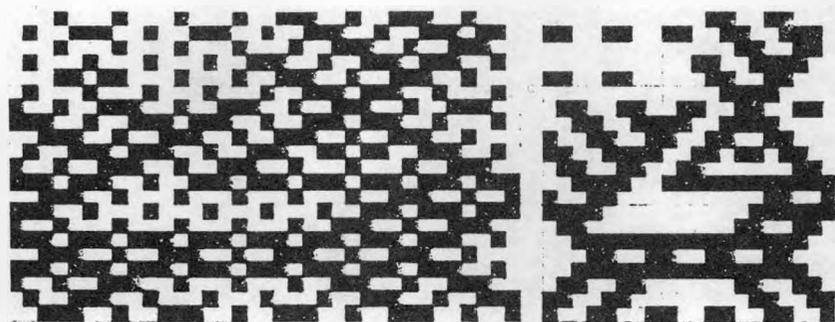
—Respecto al significado de cada diseño, parece haberse perdido con el paso del tiempo, pues los tejedores no conocen lo que representa cada motivo o dan variadas interpretaciones, conforme al lugar donde se hace la consulta.

Una vez terminadas las fajas, se las vende en la feria semanal de tejidos en Otavalo. La comercialización es hecha por las esposas o hijas de los tejedores, en un lugar de la plaza donde se congregan para ofrecerlas a las mujeres indíge-

nas que las adquieren para su uso o a comerciantes que las vuelven a vender en otras provincias de la serranía ecuatoriana.

La faja o **chumbi** (en quichua), es parte indispensable de la indumentaria indígena femenina. Se la lleva envuelta en la cintura sobre otra más ancha llamada **mama chumbi**, para sostener el **anaco**, tela rectangular que se lleva a manera de falda. Las fajas miden entre 2,70 y 3,30 m. de largo, el ancho varía entre 3,5 y 5,0 cm. Las más anchas llevan, a más de los motivos decorativos principales, ciertas figuras laterales, a modo de grecas. Todas las fajas tienen flecos en un extremo, lo que deja ver que no se ha pasado la trama hasta el final de la urdimbre.

Los motivos se los presenta en el sentido en que fueron tejidos, siguiendo la dirección de la urdimbre. Por razones de una mejor comprensión lo hacemos sin los hilos del tejido de base. En la parte central de la faja se alternan un hilo de la base y un suplementario, como en la figura de la izquierda, en tanto que en la figura de la derecha tenemos sólo el motivo decorativo.



♣ Desde que se publicó la primera edición, los diseños se los ha visto reproducidos en pequeños tapices, hechos en telar de cintura por tejedores de la comunidad de Agato y puestos a la venta en el mercado de Otavalo. Dicen los artesanos, que estos motivos tienen buena acogida por quienes buscan originalidad y algo realmente representativo de los valores culturales indígenas de esta región. ♣

Pero ante los violentos cambios señalados líneas arriba, vale preguntarse: ¿Qué es lo que va a suceder con estos motivos en unos años más? ¿Se perderá para siempre este conocimiento que representa la creatividad y el ingenio de anónimos artesanos indígenas? Consideramos que estas manifestaciones, al igual que cualquier otro hecho cultural, puede desaparecer si han perdido la función para las que fueron producidas. Si este es el caso del material que presenta-

mos, es nuestro deseo que se conserve un testimonio de la capacidad imaginativa y técnica de artesanos que sin contar con conocimientos teóricos de diseño, lograron una enorme riqueza de expresiones, con sólo unos cambios en la disposición de los hilos en el tejido. No hay duda que para llegar a esto, los tejedores acumularon la experimentación de muchísimas generaciones de artesanos.<sup>4</sup>

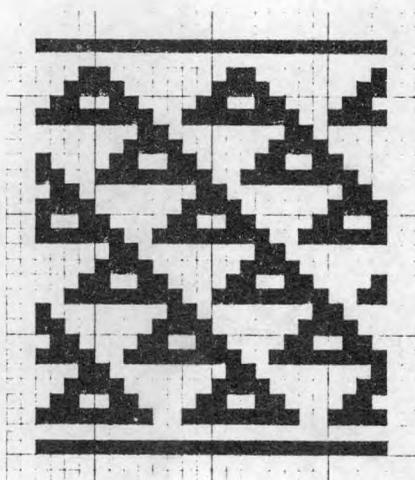
Nuestra admiración a los indígenas quichuas de Imbabura, creadores de la serie de motivos que aquí se muestran. Para ellos hemos recopilado este material, para que lo vuelvan a utilizar cuando busquen más a profundidad sus raíces y afirmen mejor sus auténticos valores culturales.

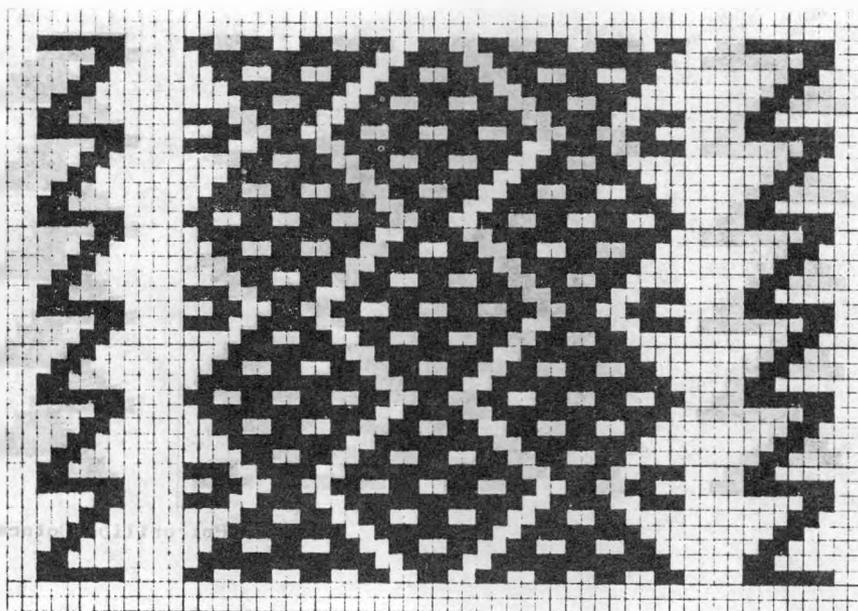
Otavalo, enero de 1988



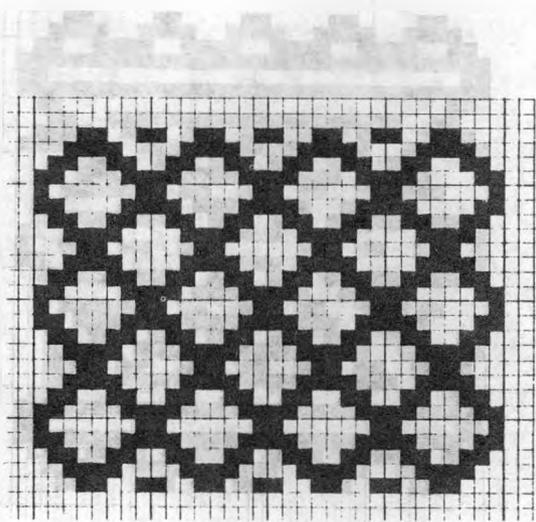
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# MOTIVOS GEOMETRICOS

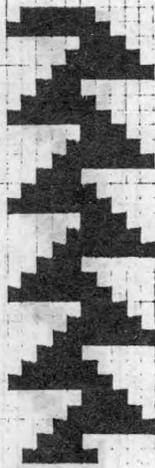
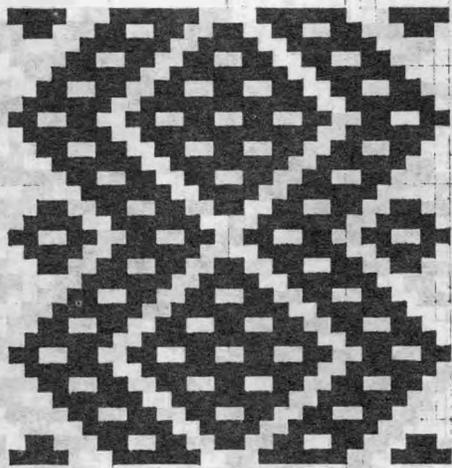




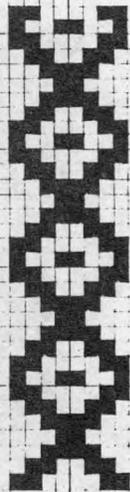
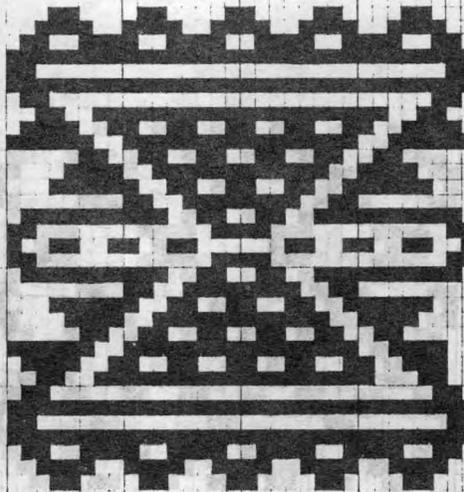
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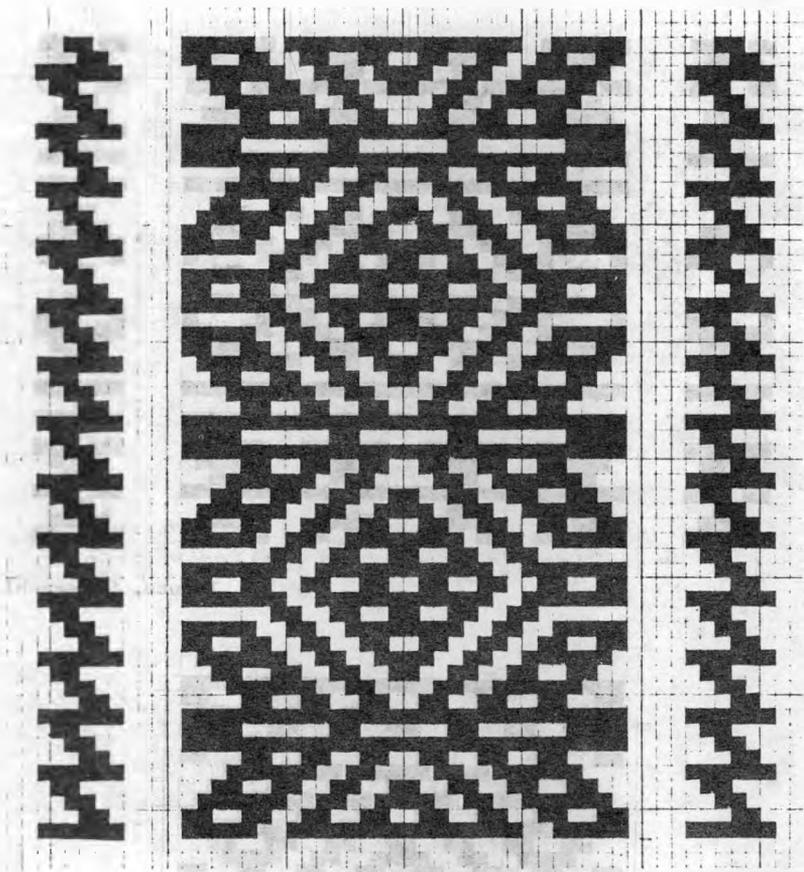
**Andrade Marín, Antonio Ante**



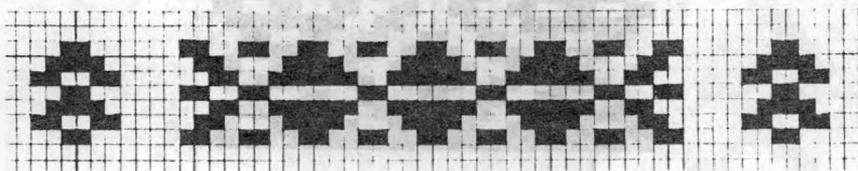
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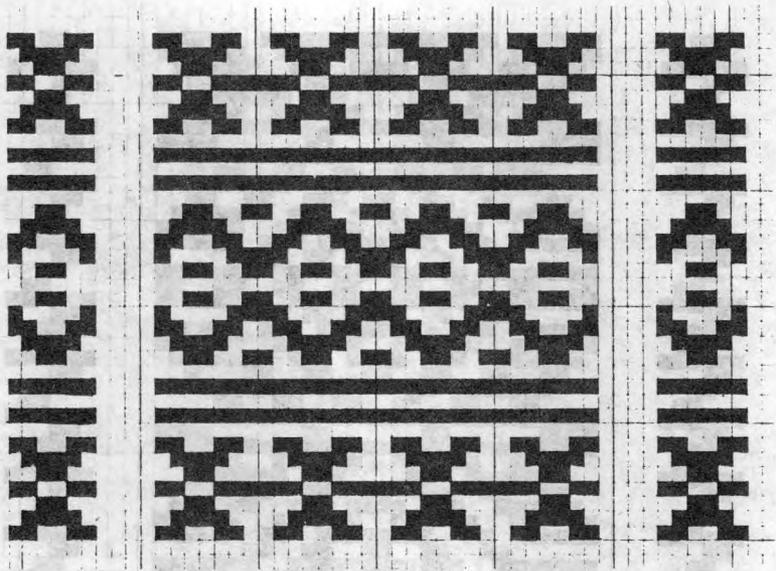
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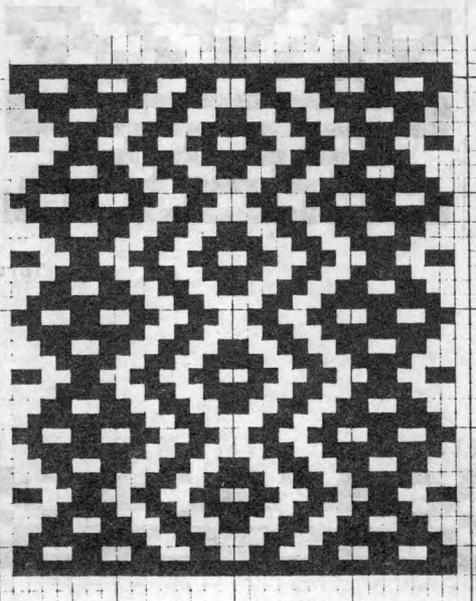
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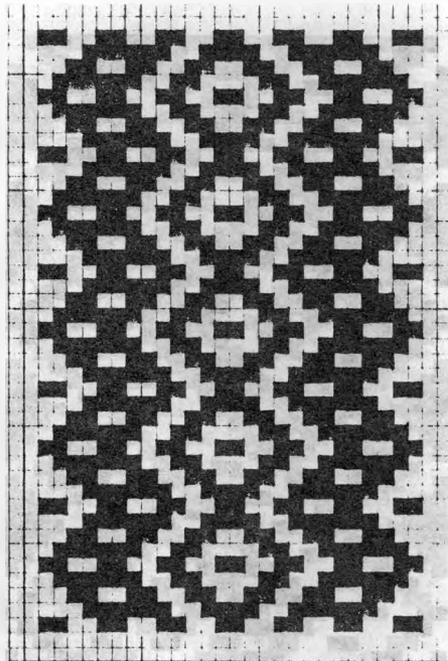
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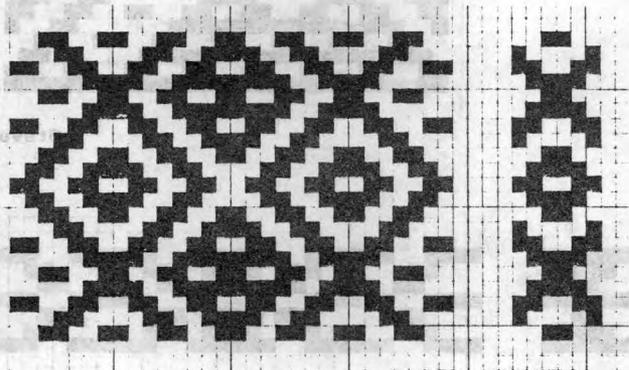
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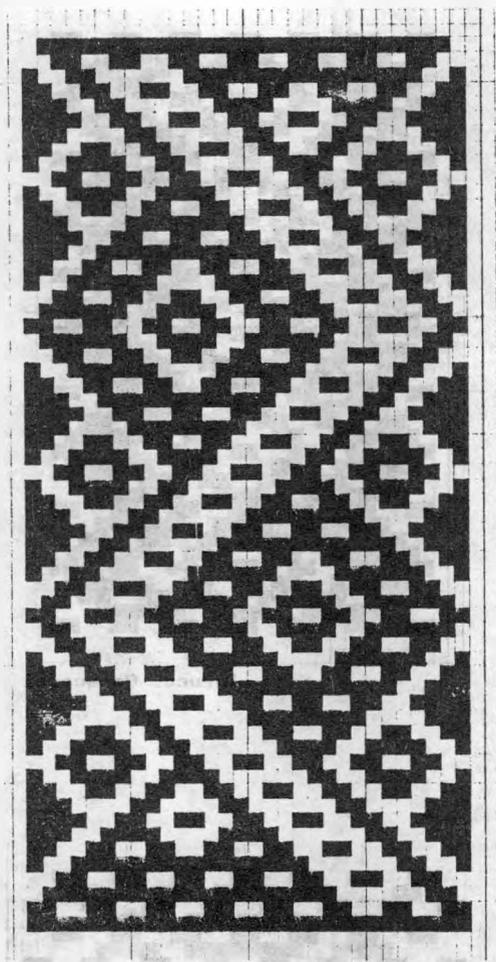
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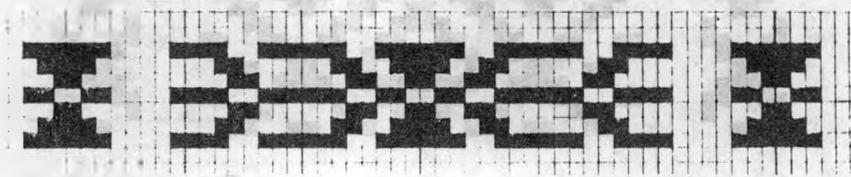
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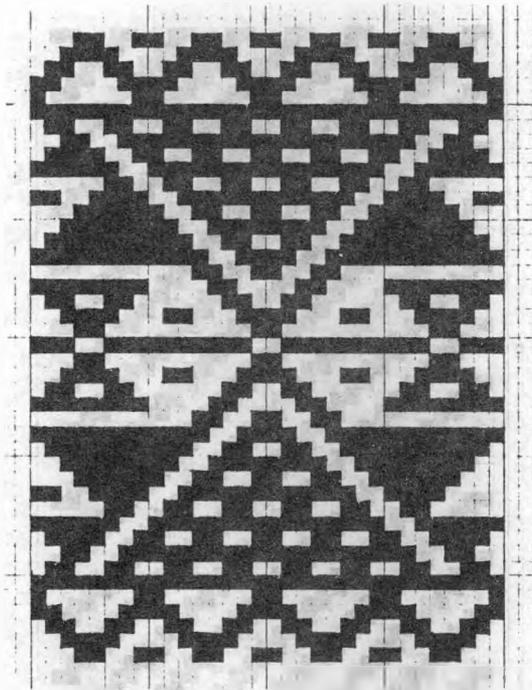
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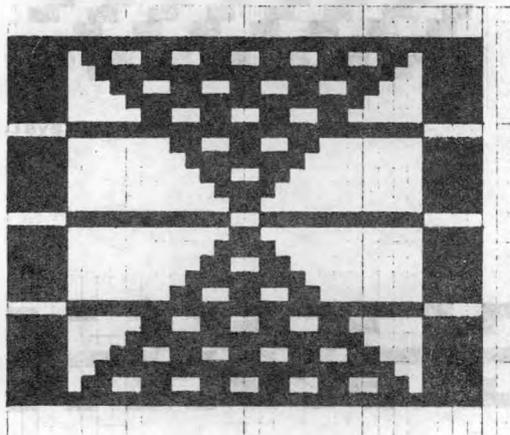
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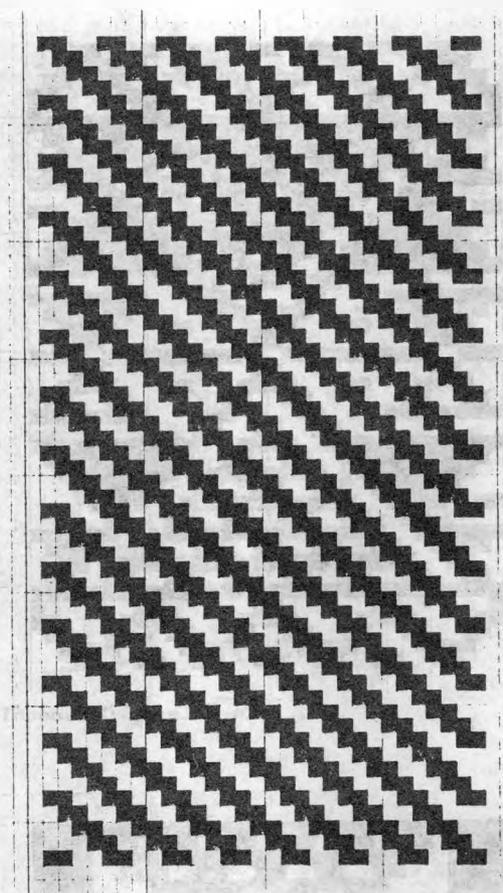
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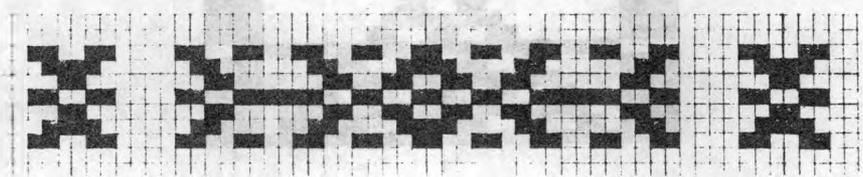
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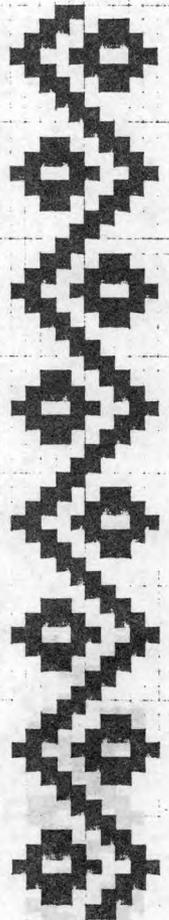
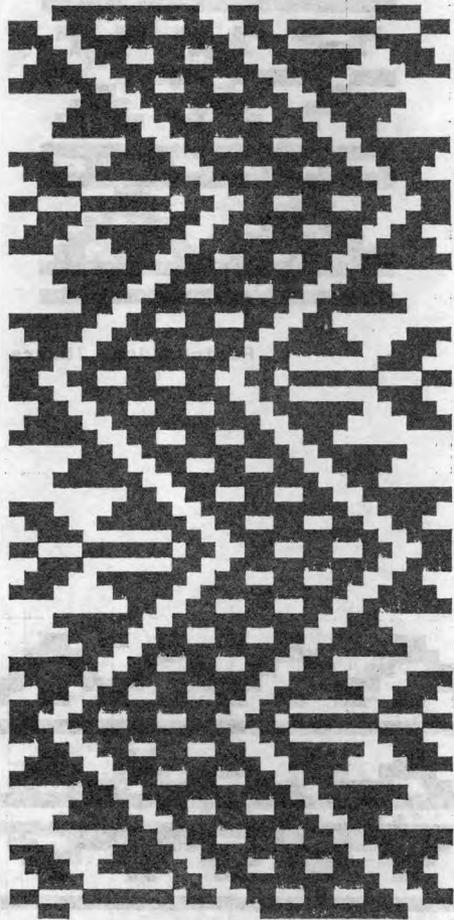
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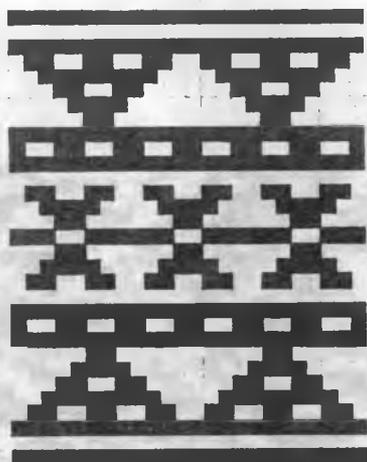
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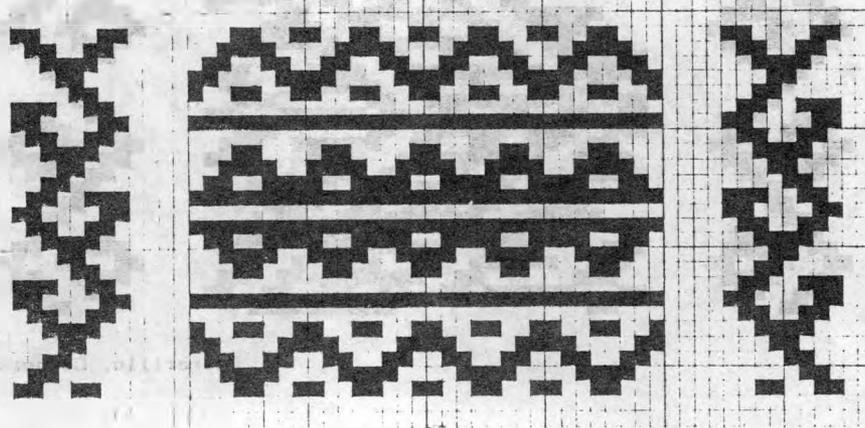
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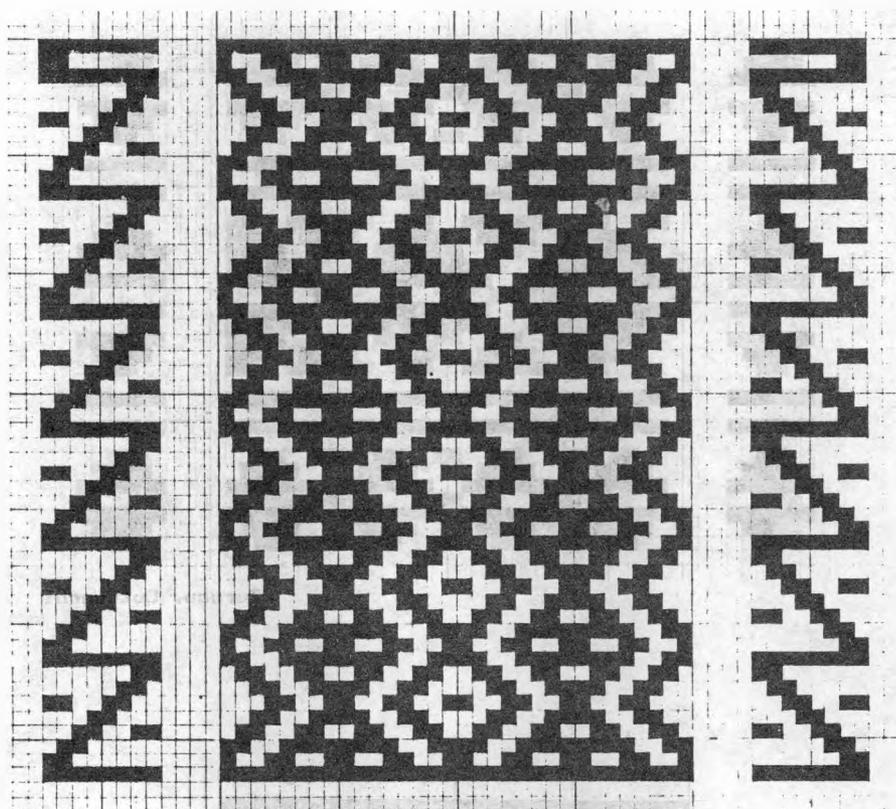
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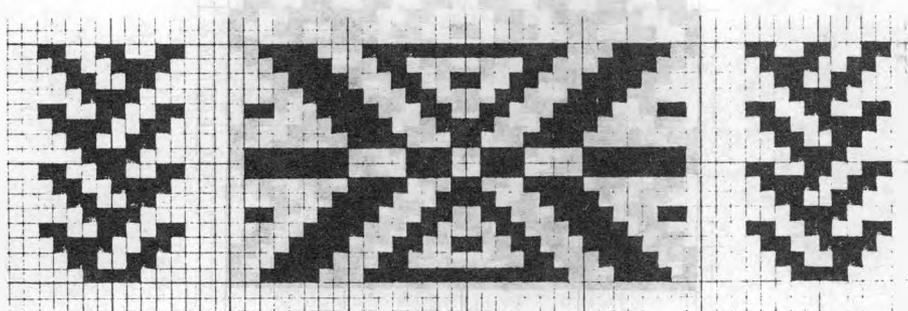
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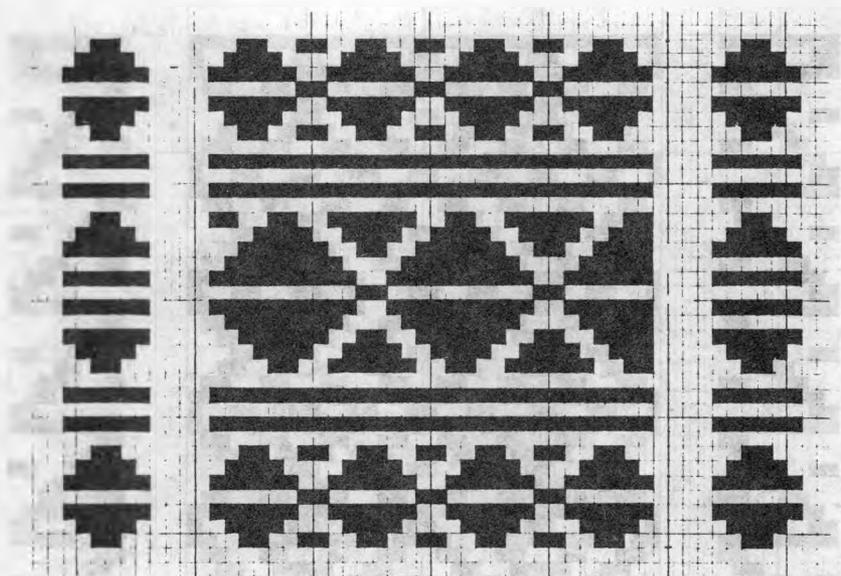
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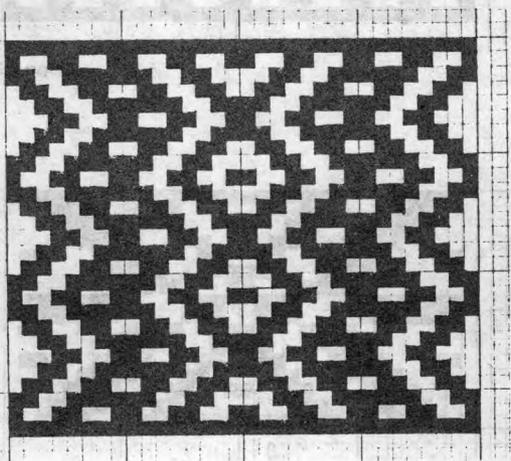
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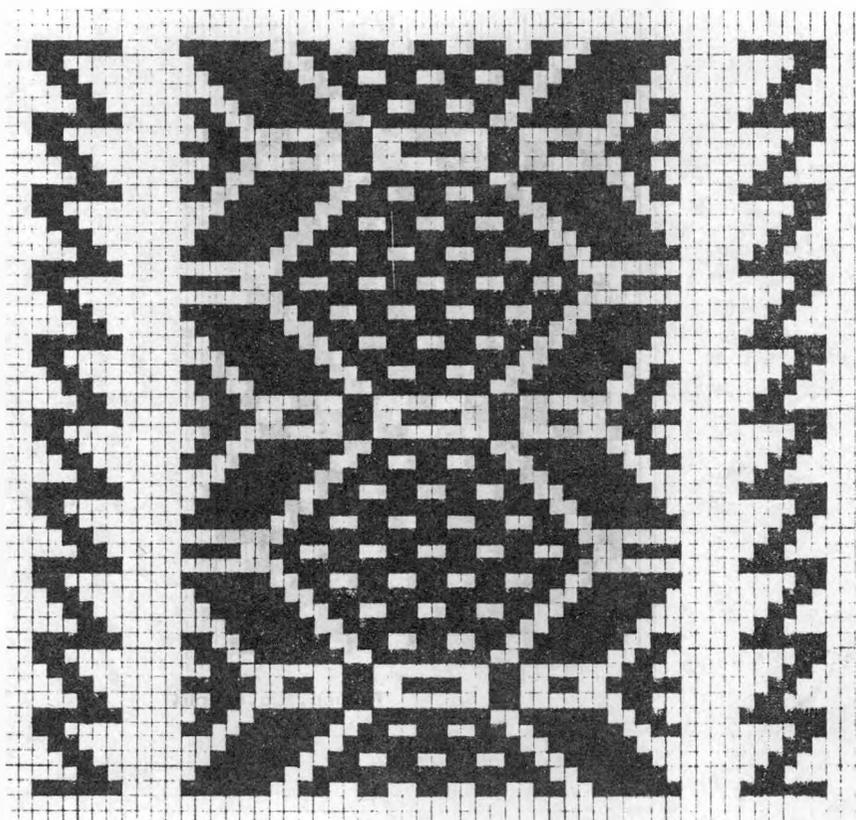
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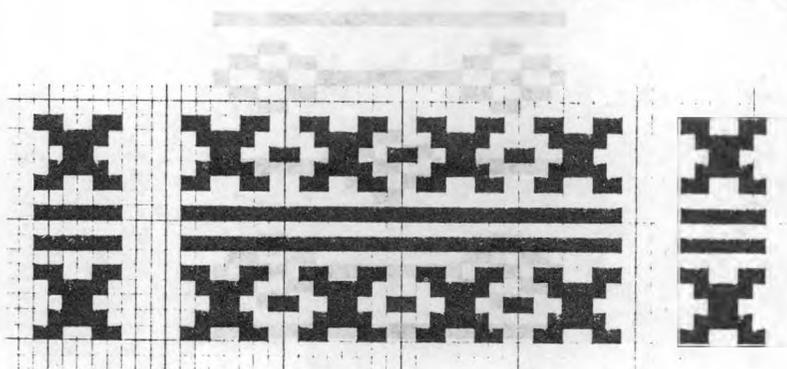
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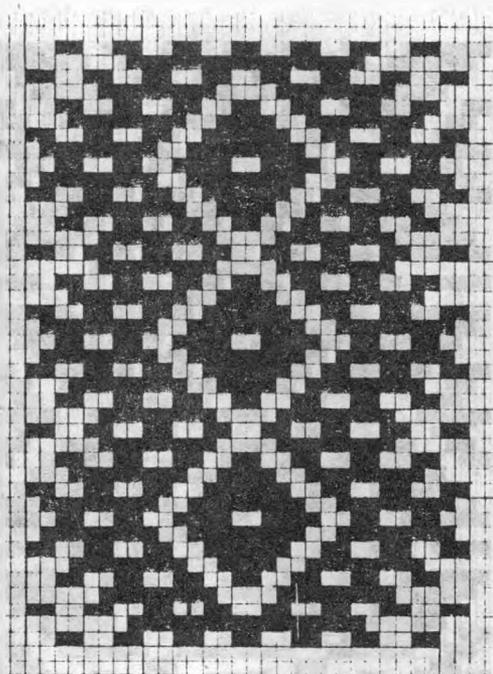
La Compañía, Otavalo



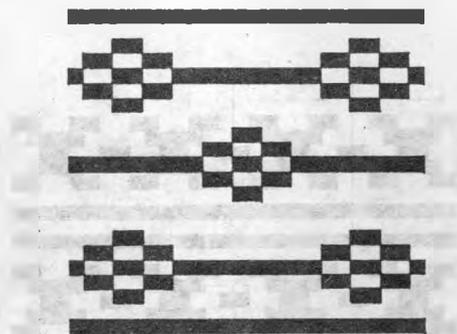
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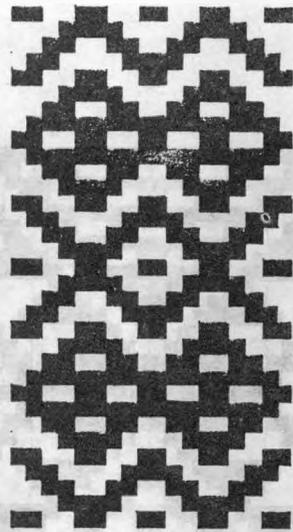
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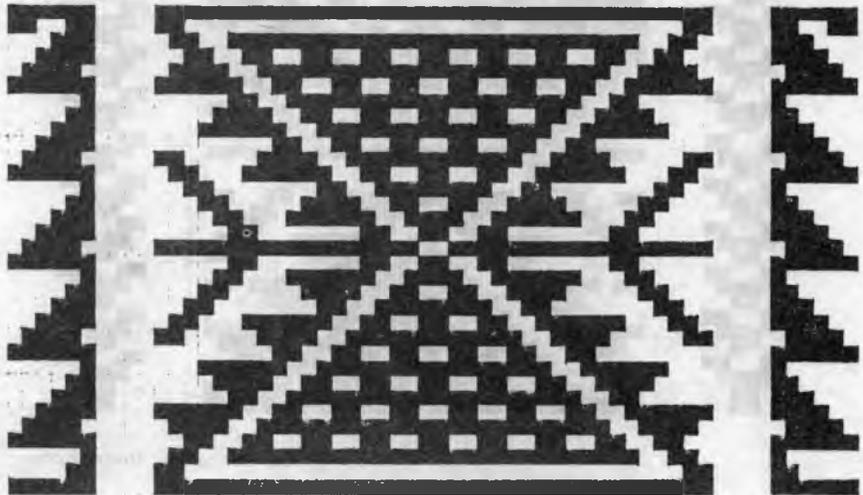
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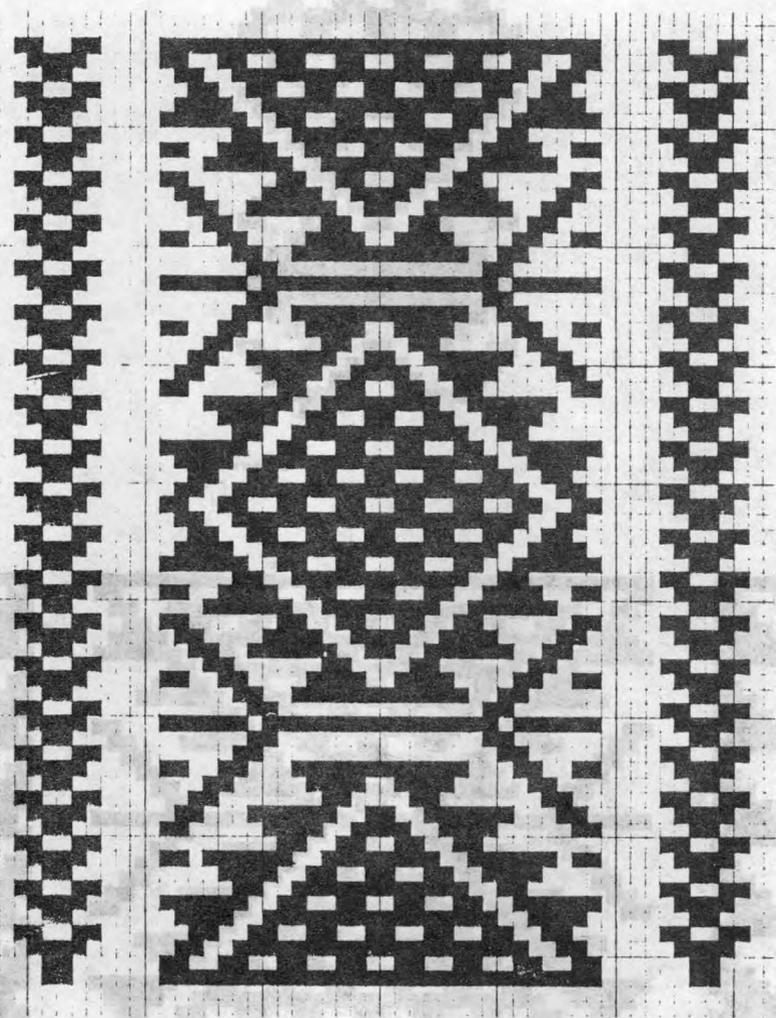
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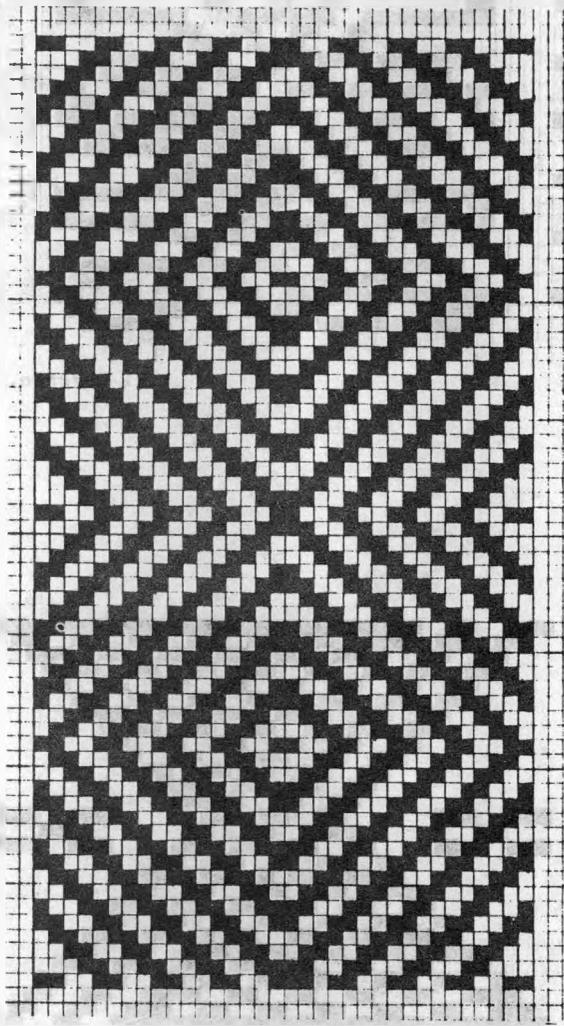
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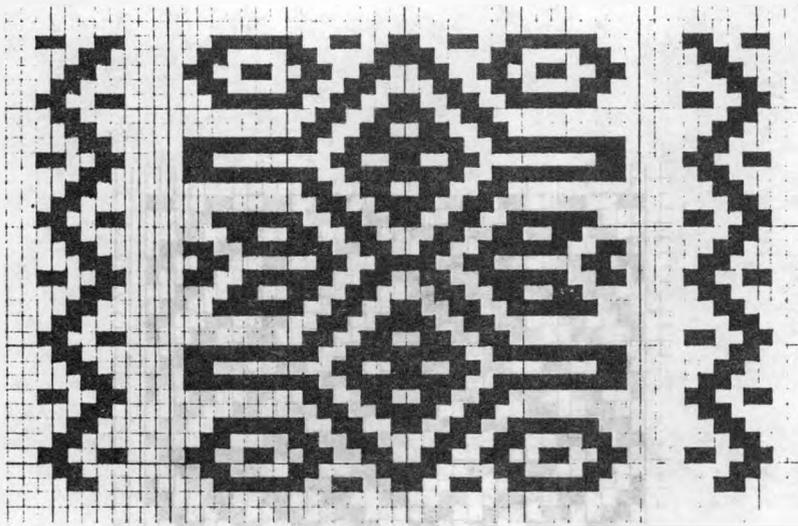
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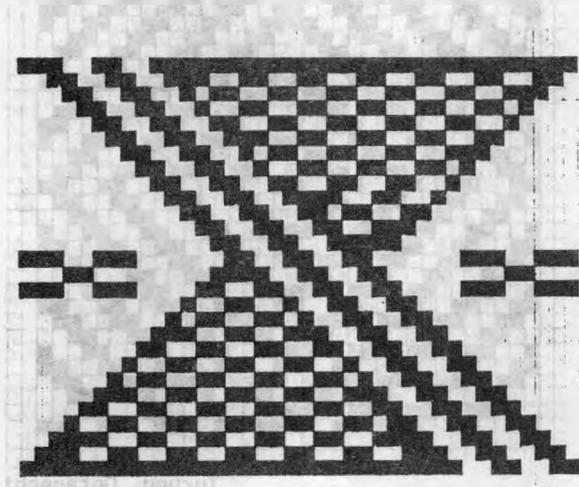
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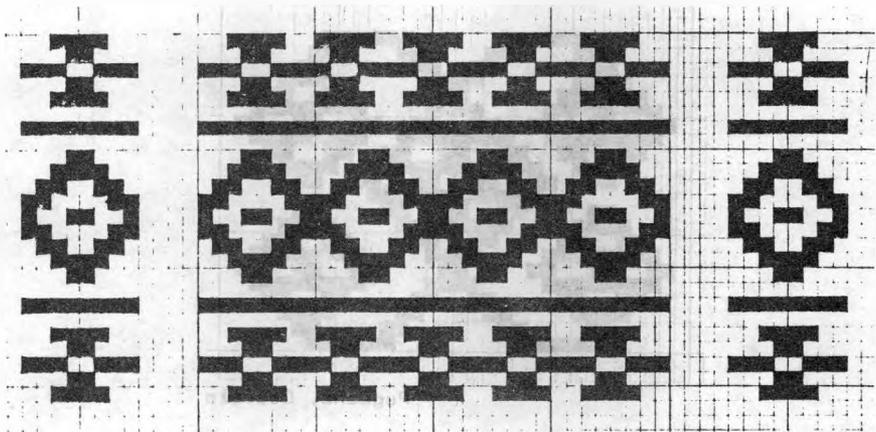
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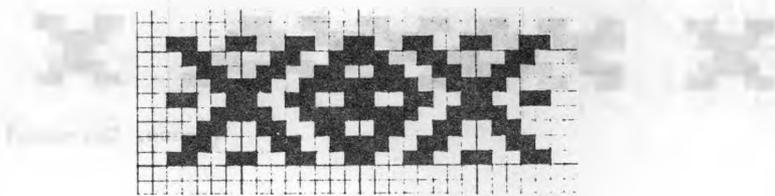
**El Cercado, Cotacachi**



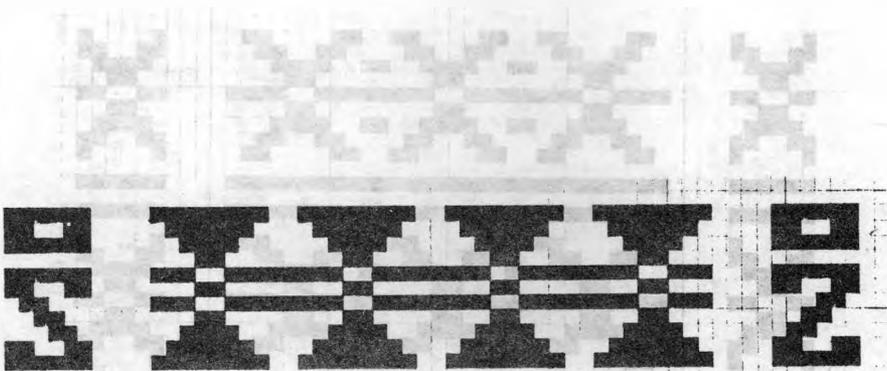
**Puca Huaycu, Ibarra**



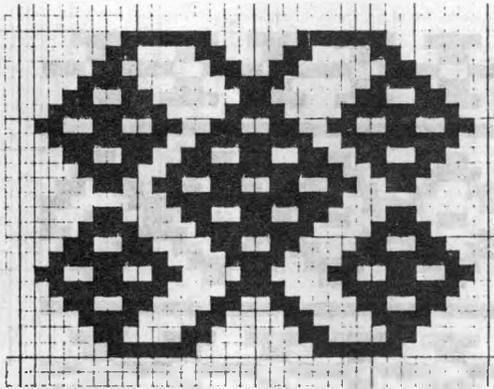
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



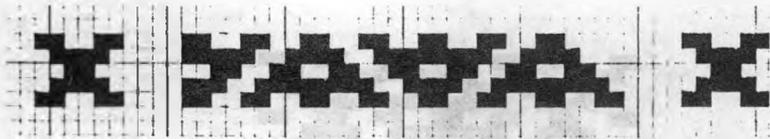
Peguche, Otavalo



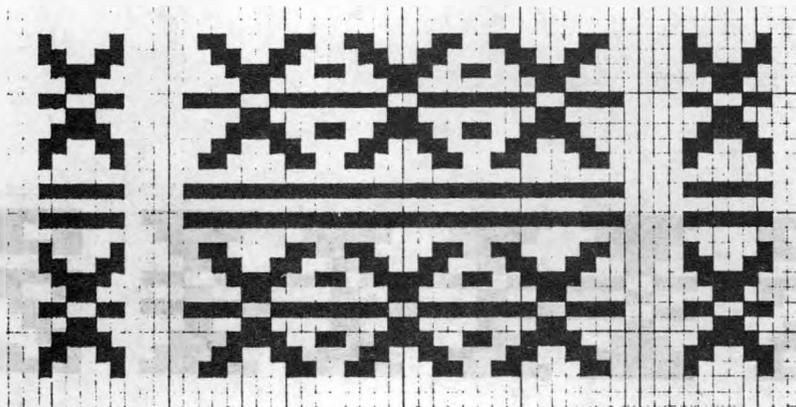
Turucu, Cotacachi



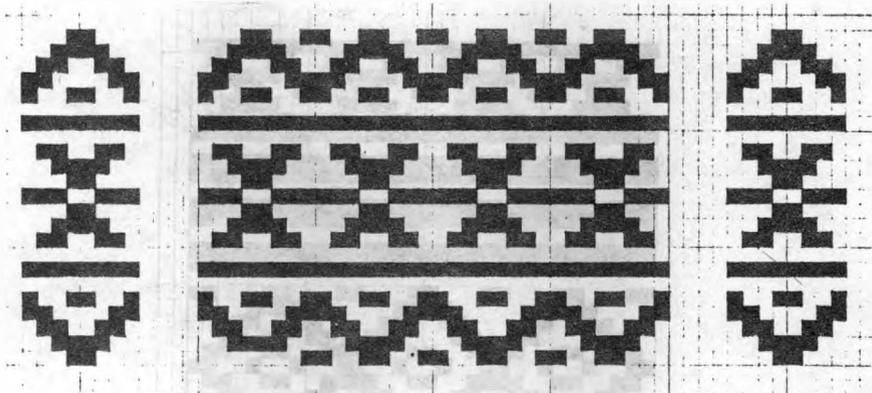
Peguche, Otavalo



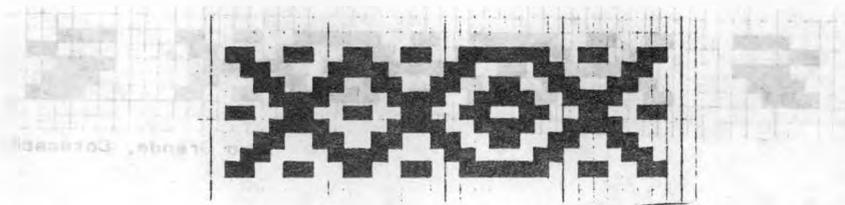
Turucu, Cotacachi



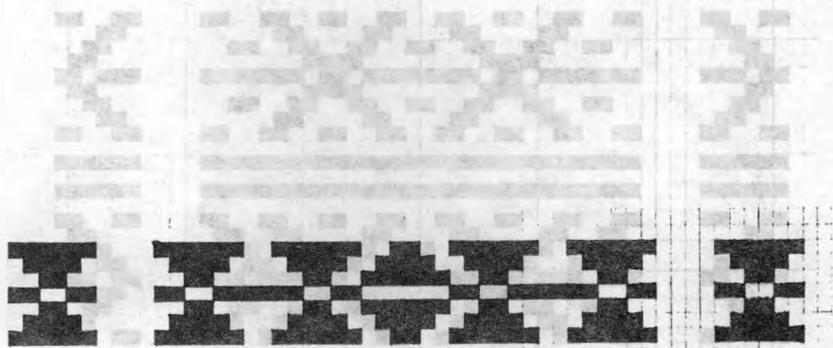
Turucu, Cotacachi



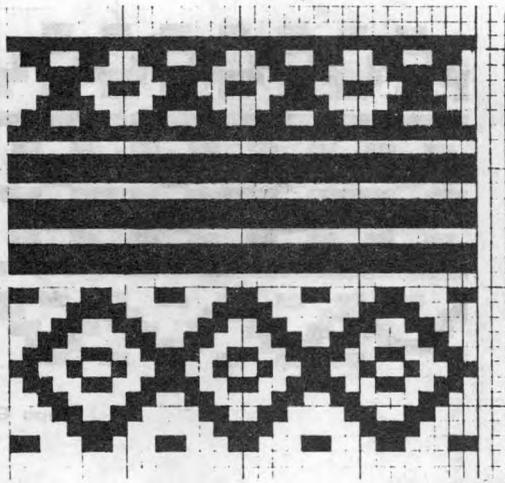
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



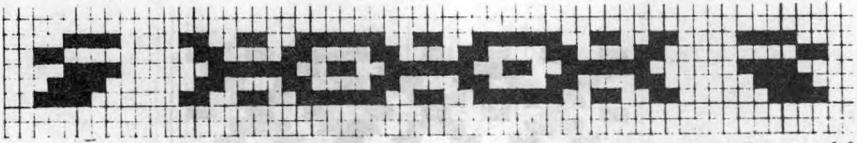
Otavalo



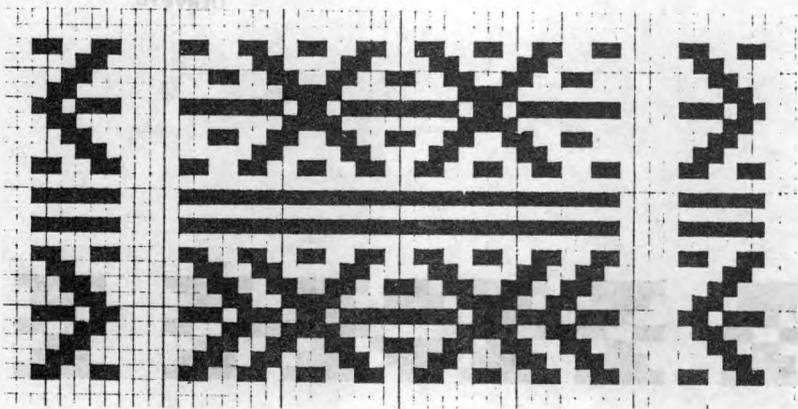
El Cercado, Cotacachi



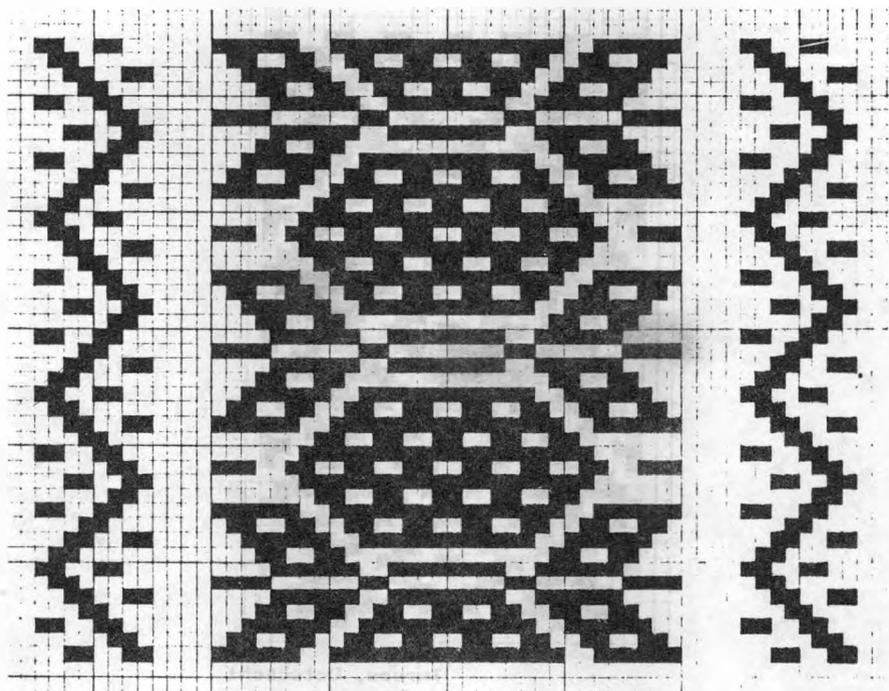
Chaltura, Antonio Ante



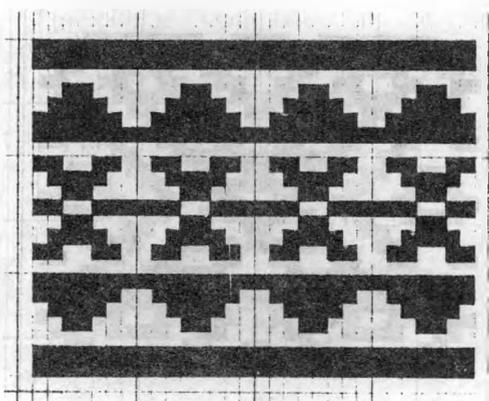
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



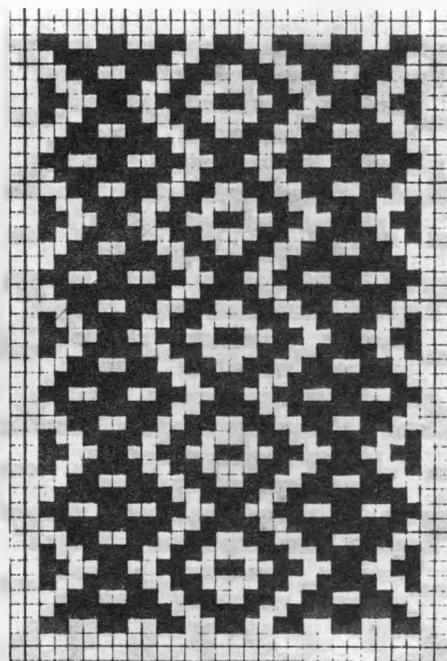
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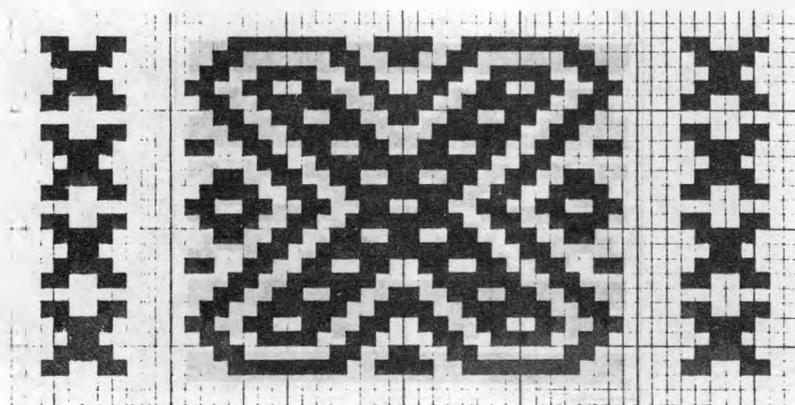
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



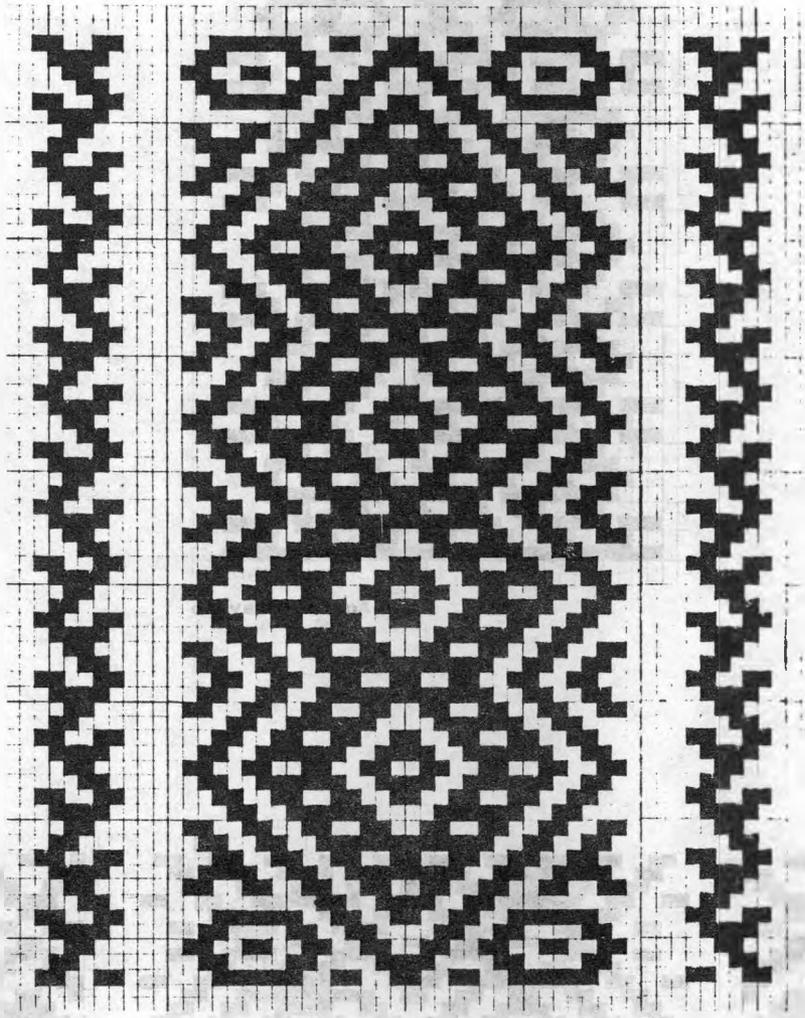
La Calera, Cotacachi



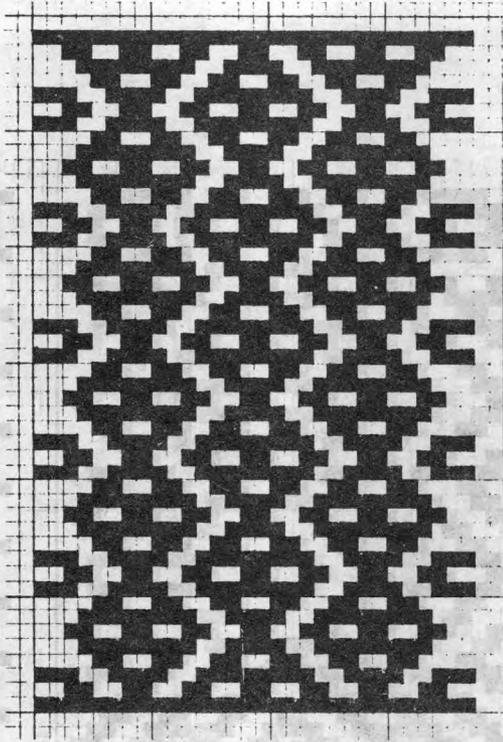
Turucu, Cotacachi



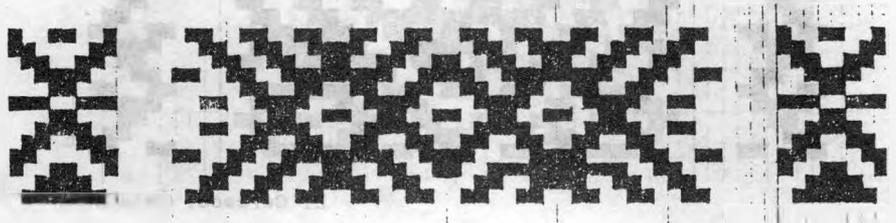
Turucu, Cotacachi



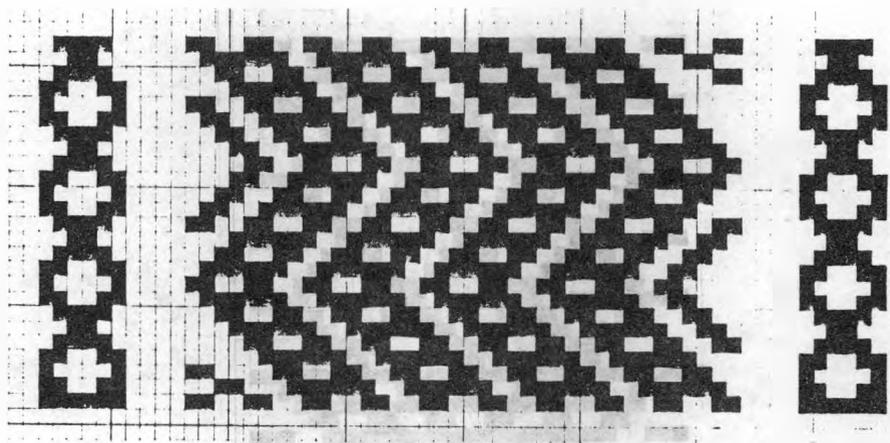
El Cercado, Cotacachi



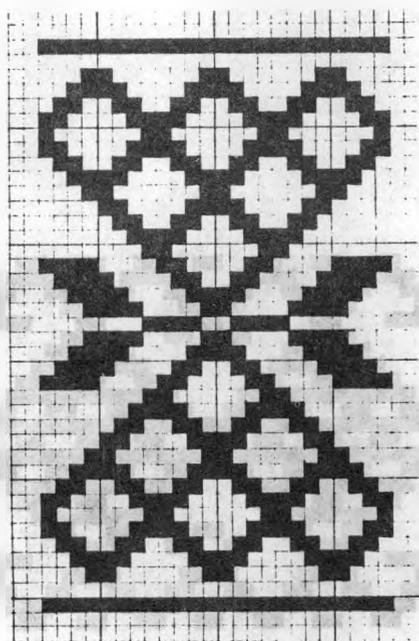
Agato, Otavalo



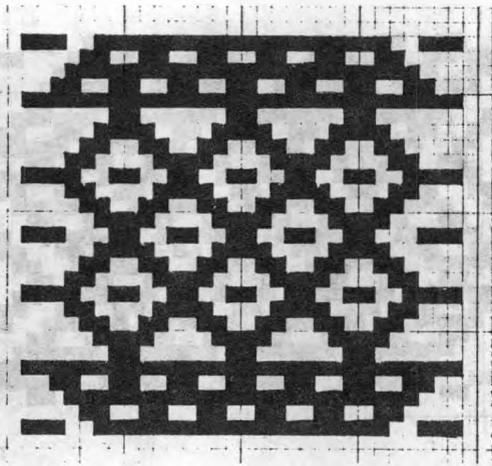
Peguche, Otavalo



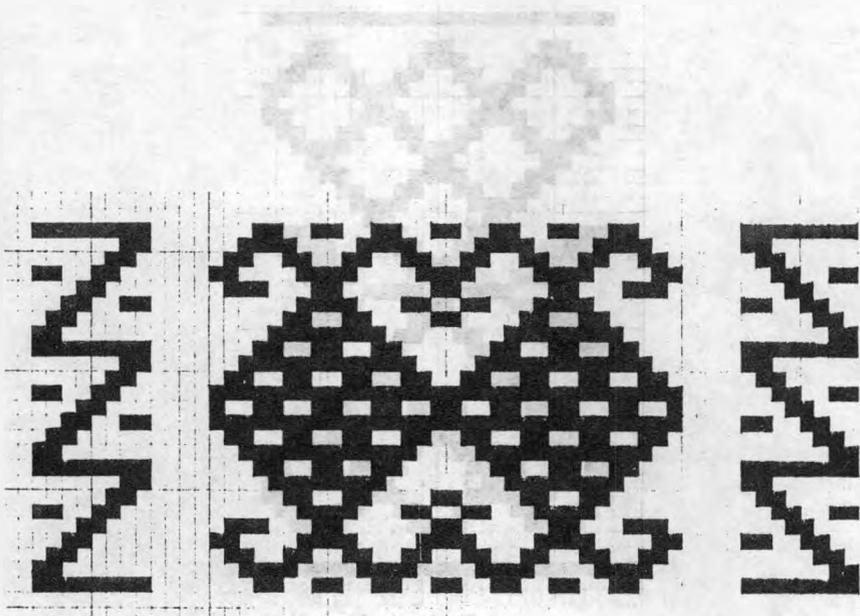
Turucu, Cotacachi



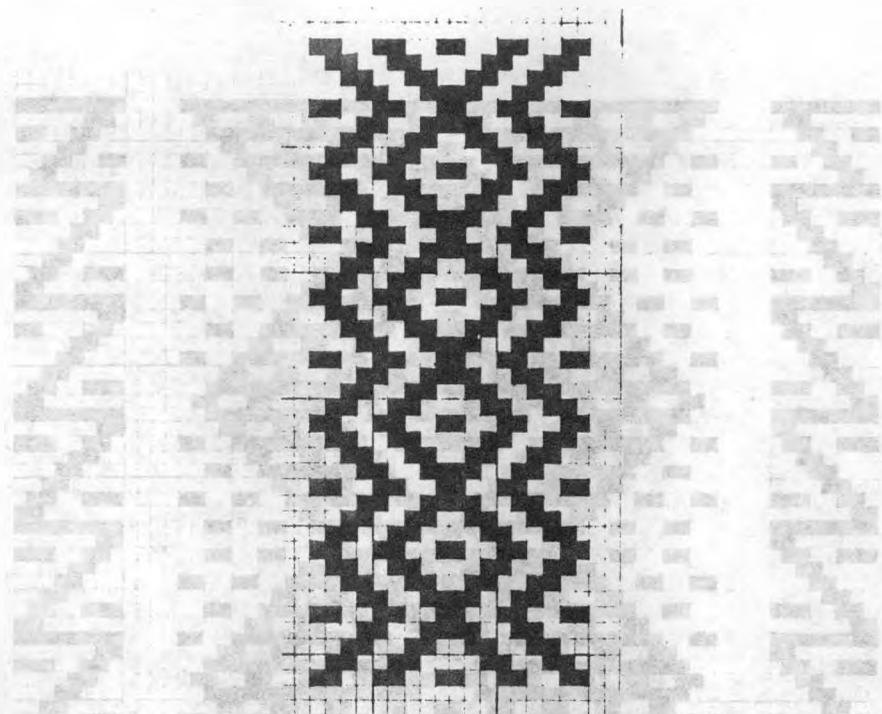
Paniquindra, Ibarra



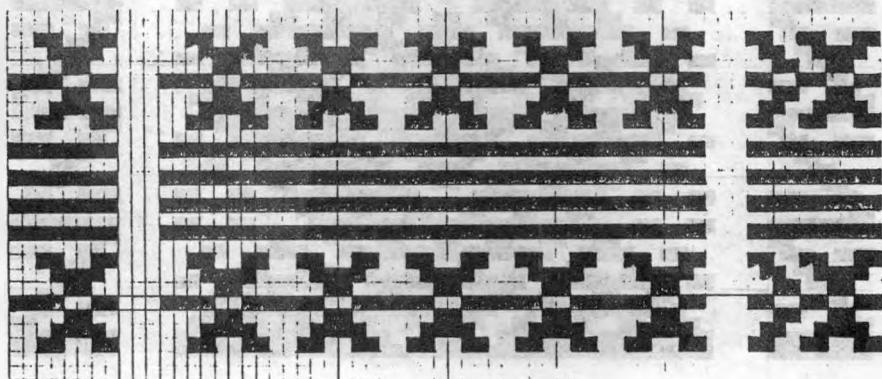
Peguche, Otavalo



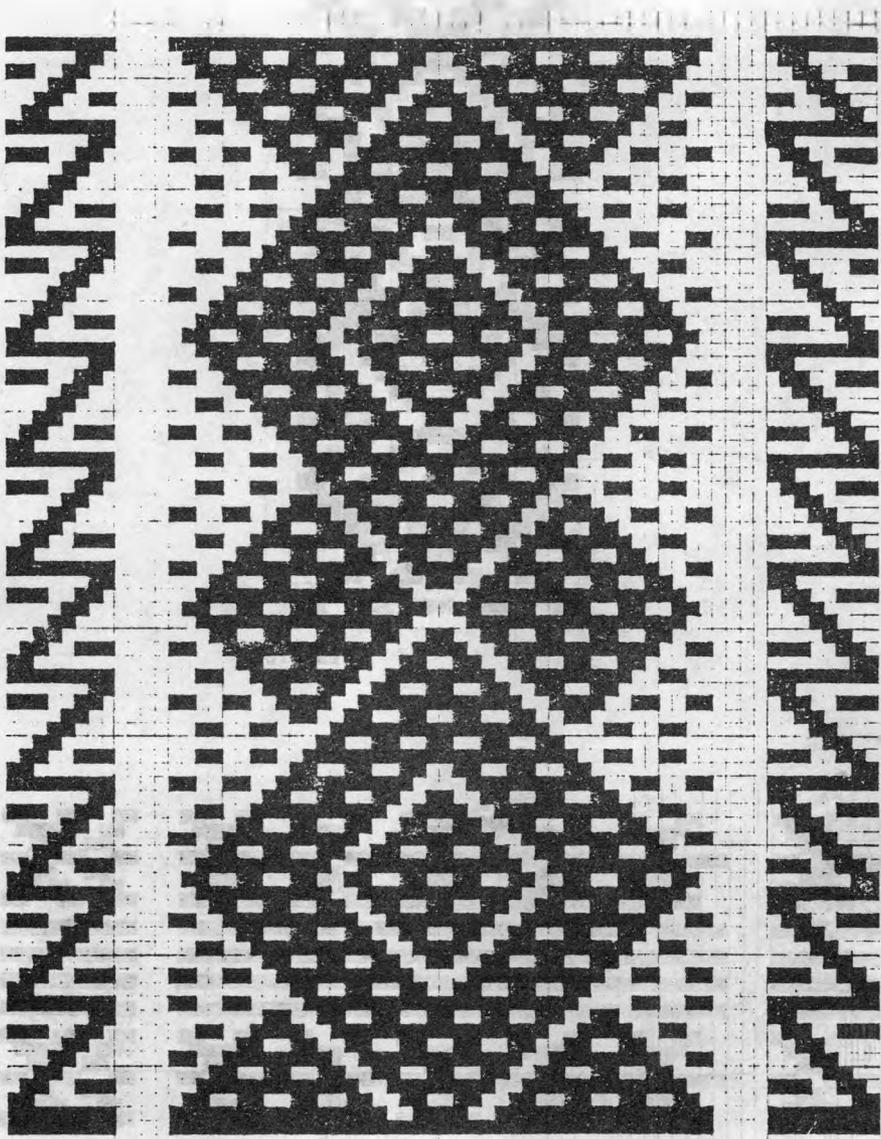
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



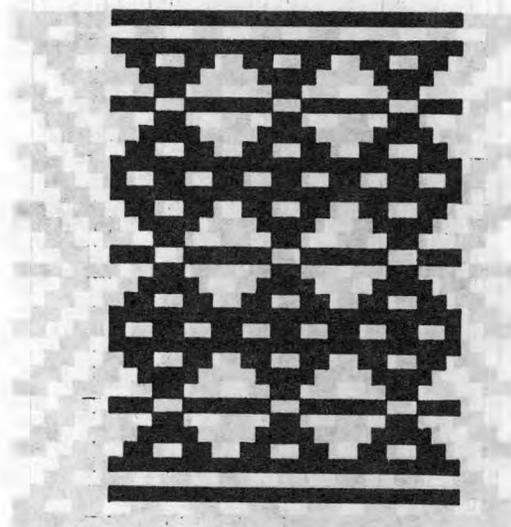
Otavalo



Turucu, Cotacachi

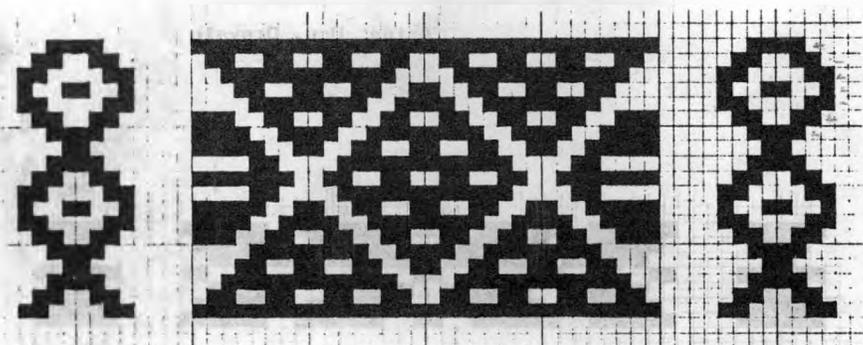


Pechuche. Otavelo



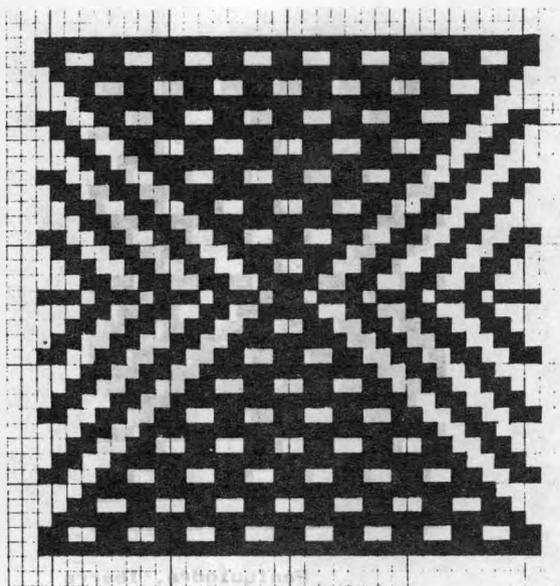
Peniquindra, Ibarra

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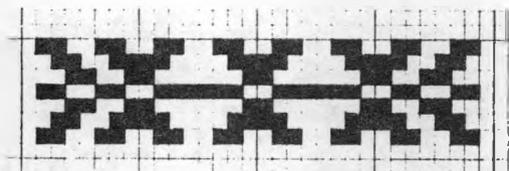


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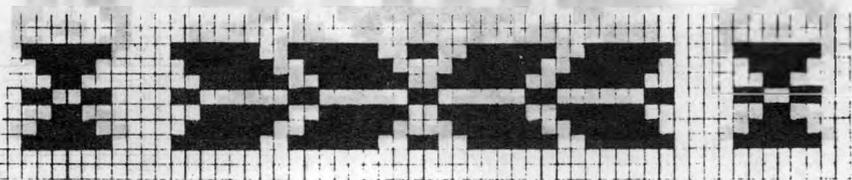
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



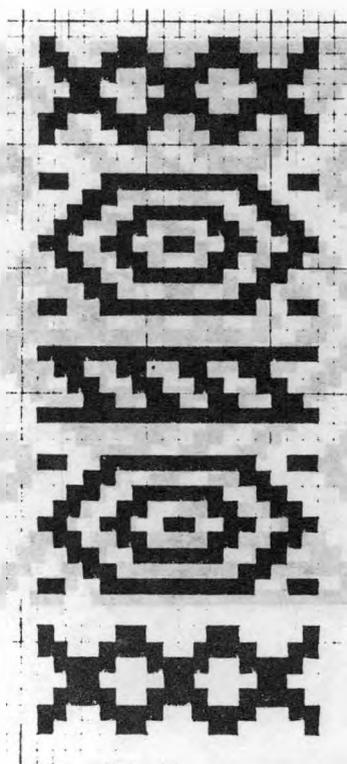
**Aguelongo Chiquito, Antonio Ante**



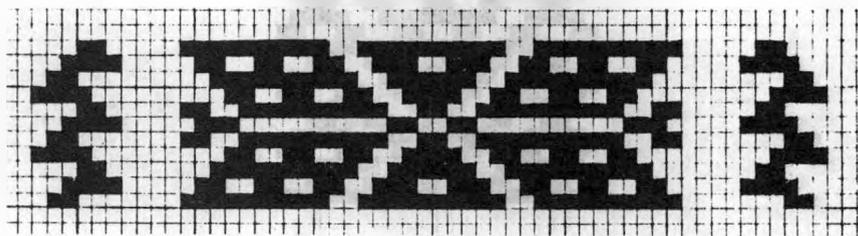
**Arias Ucu, Otavalo**



**Topo Grande, Cotacachi**

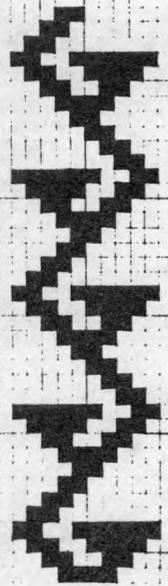
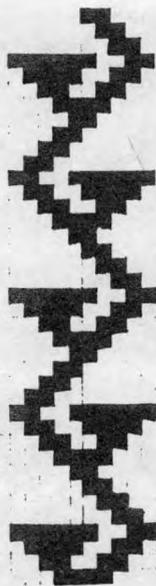


Otavelo

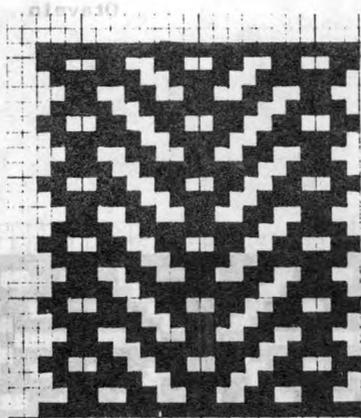


El Corral, Cotacachi

Topo Grande, Cotacachi

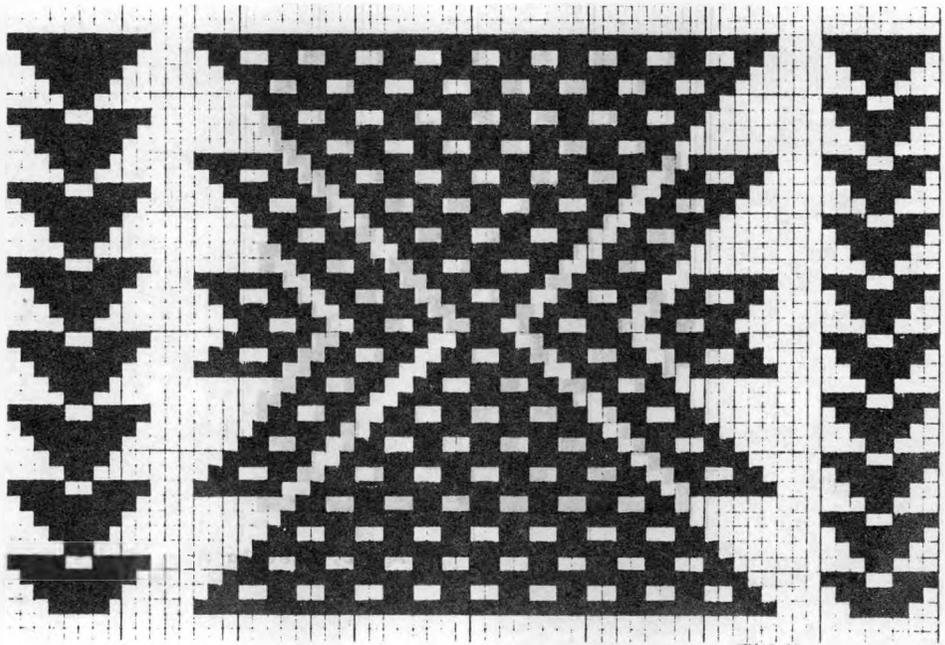


Potreriillo, Cotacachi

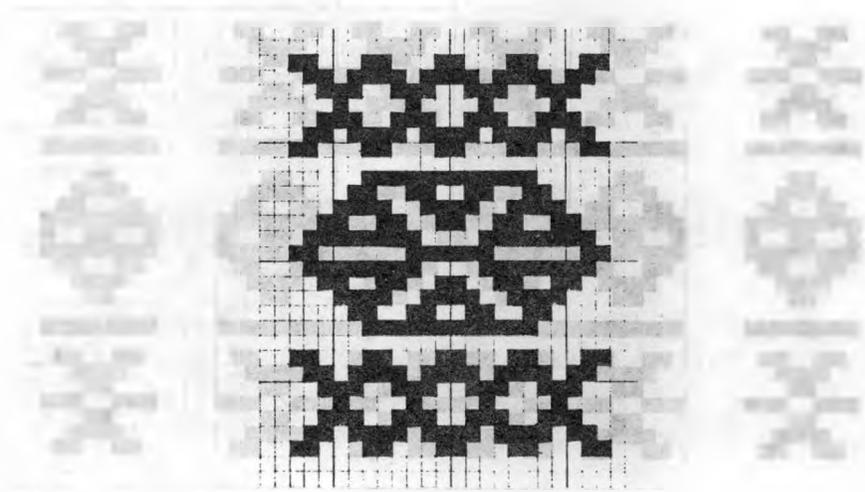


Topo Grande, Cotacachi

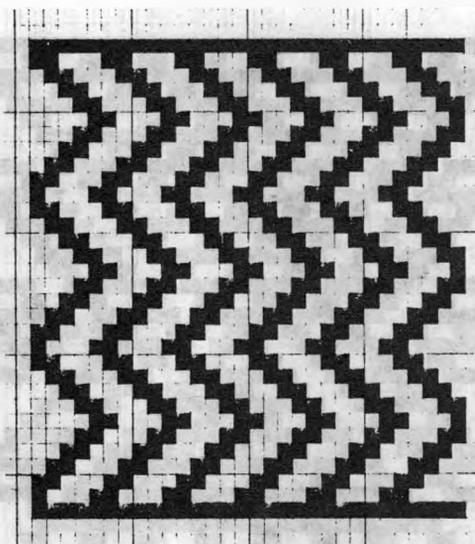
El Cercado, Cotacachi



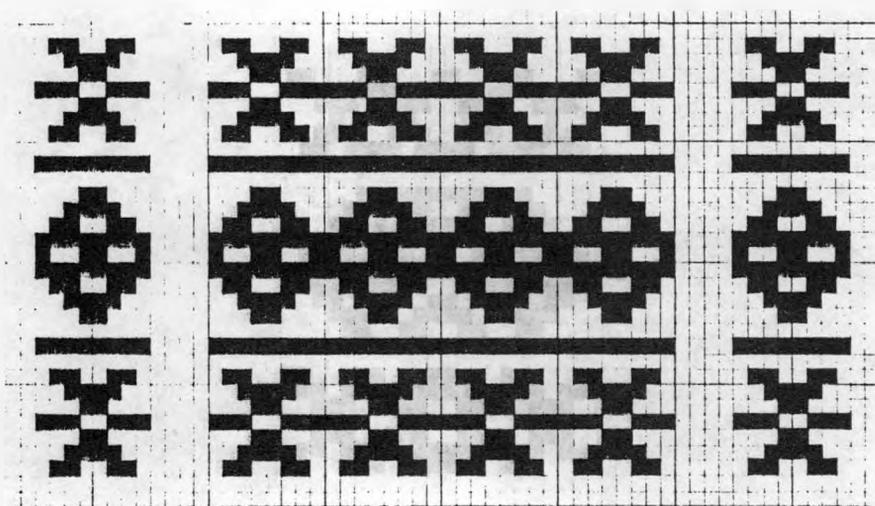
Turucu, Cotacachi



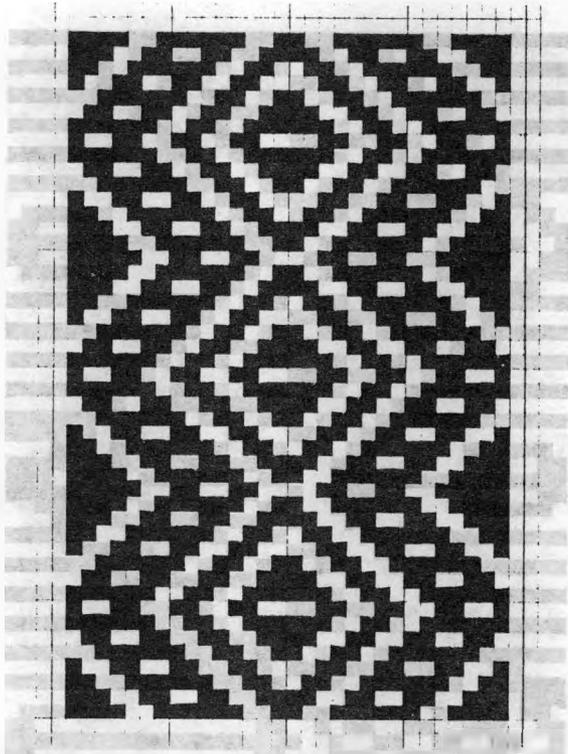
Los Ovalos, Antonio Ante



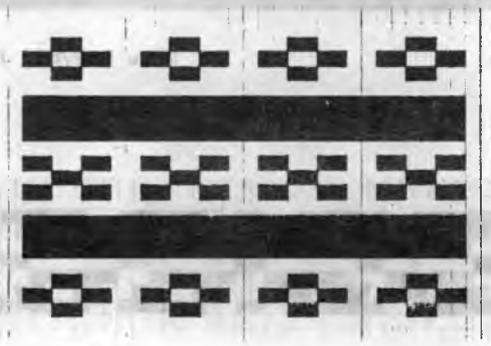
Agato. Otavalo



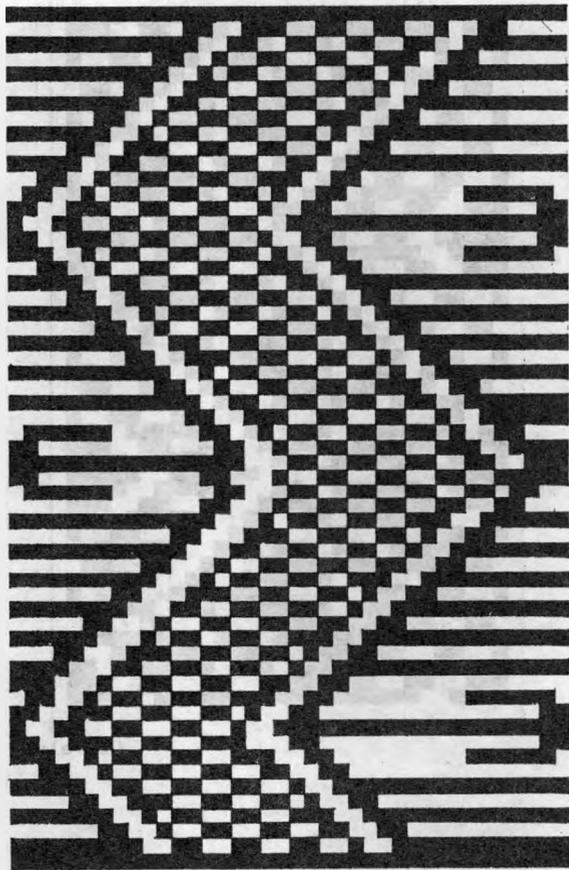
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



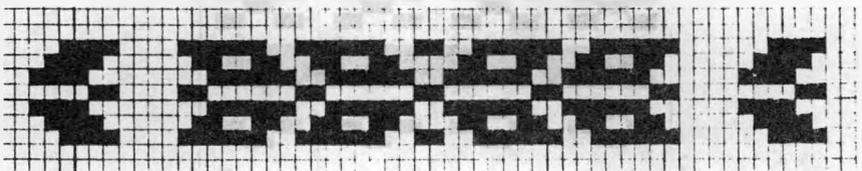
Otavallo



Otavallo

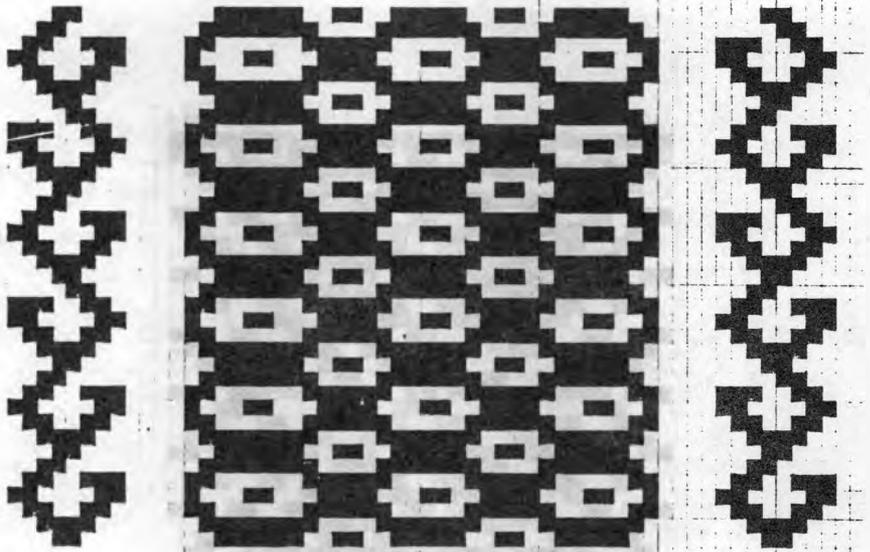


Puca Huaycu, Ibarra

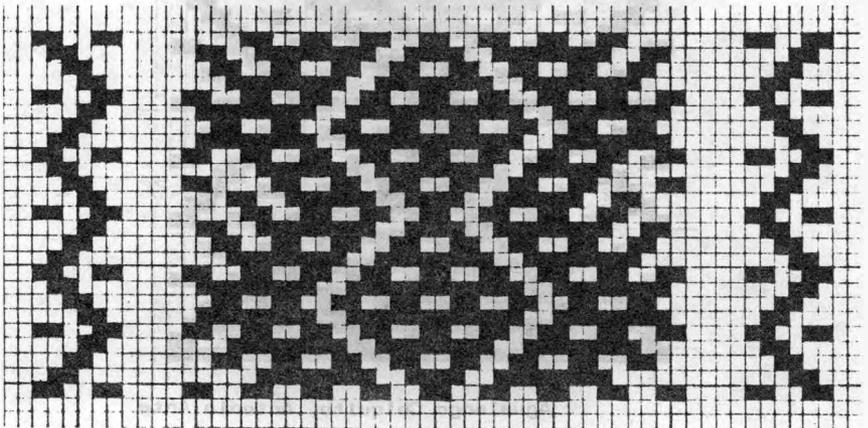


elivuzo

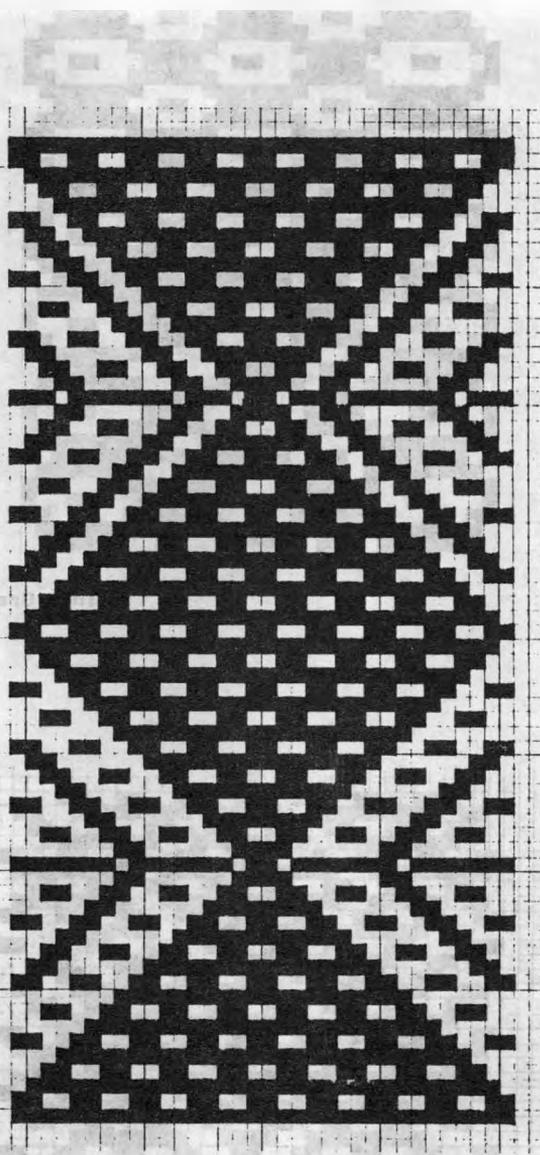
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



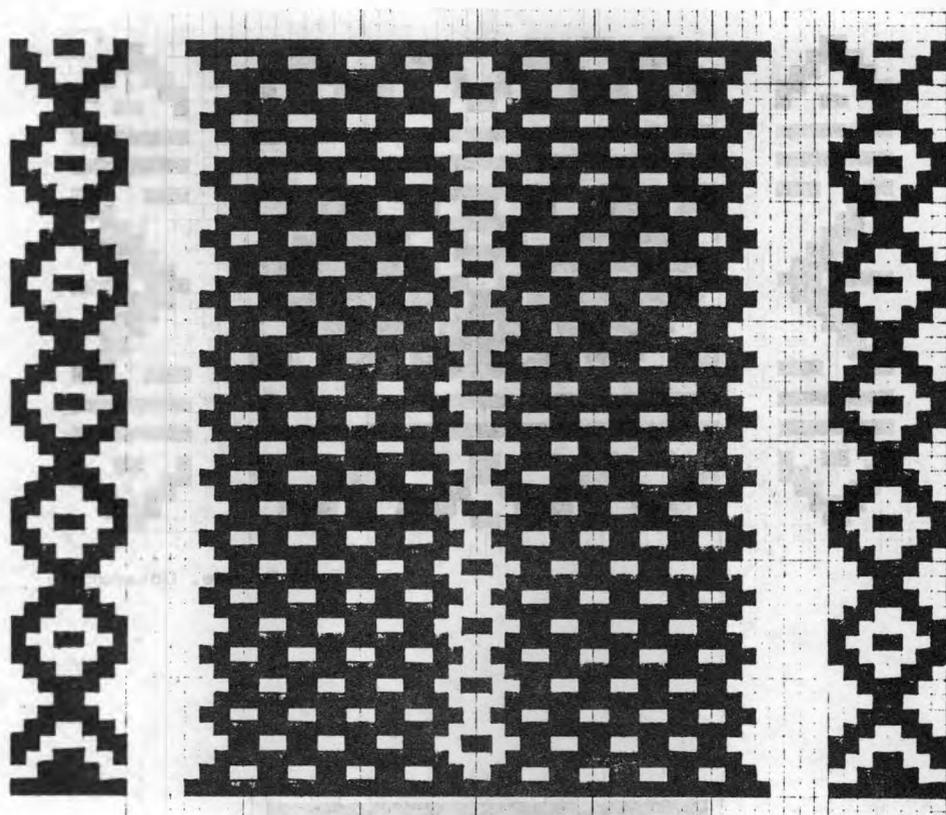
**Topo Grande, Cotacachi**



**Topo Grande, Cotacachi**



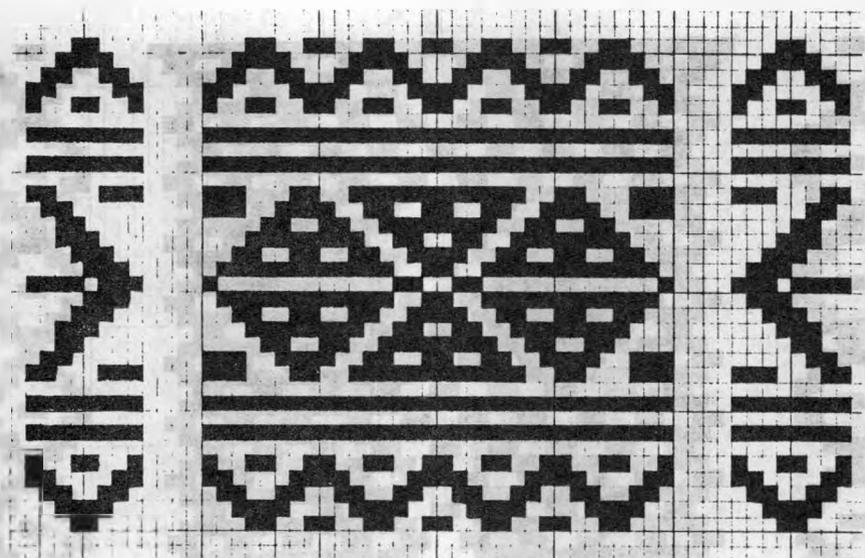
Agualongo Chiquito, Antonio Ante



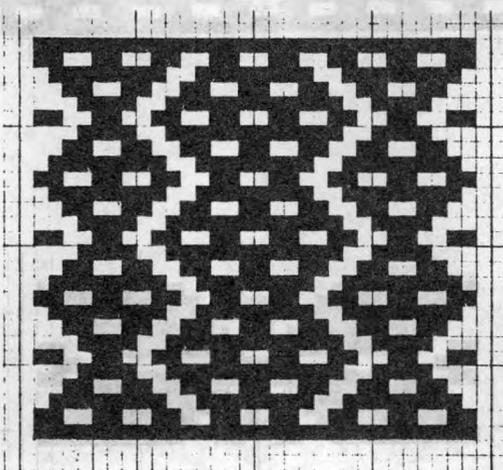
Peguche, Otavalo



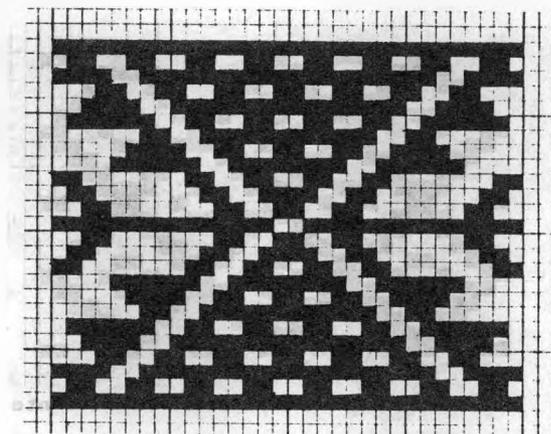
El Cercado, Cotacachi



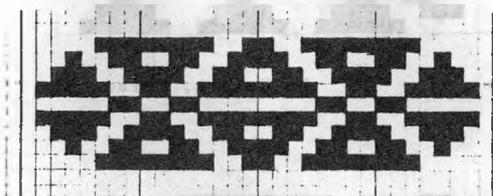
**Topo Grande, Cotacachi**



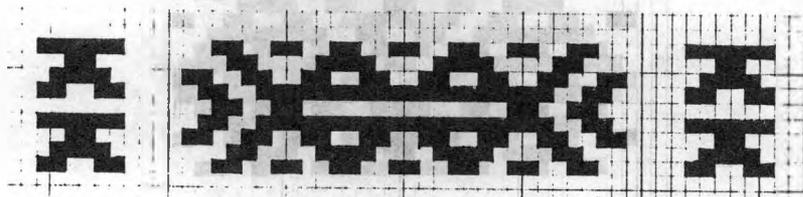
**Andrade Merín, Antonio Ante**



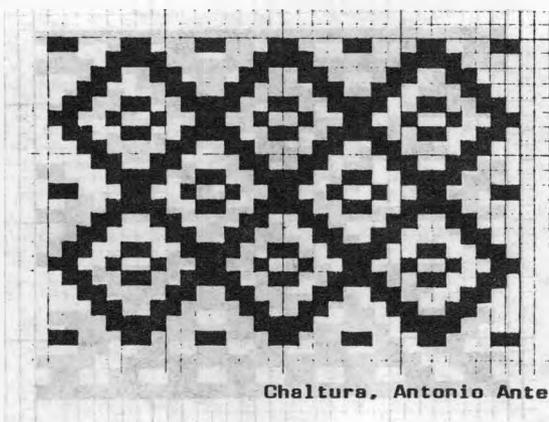
Andrade Marín, Antonio Ante



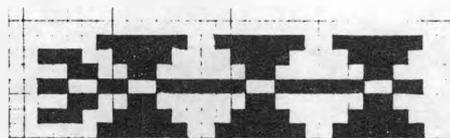
Peguiche, Otavalo



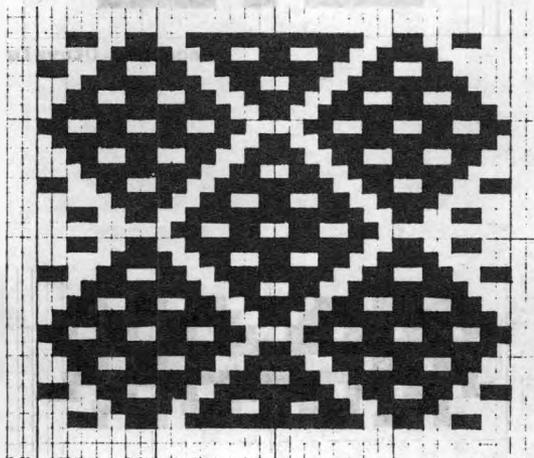
El Cercado, Cotacachi



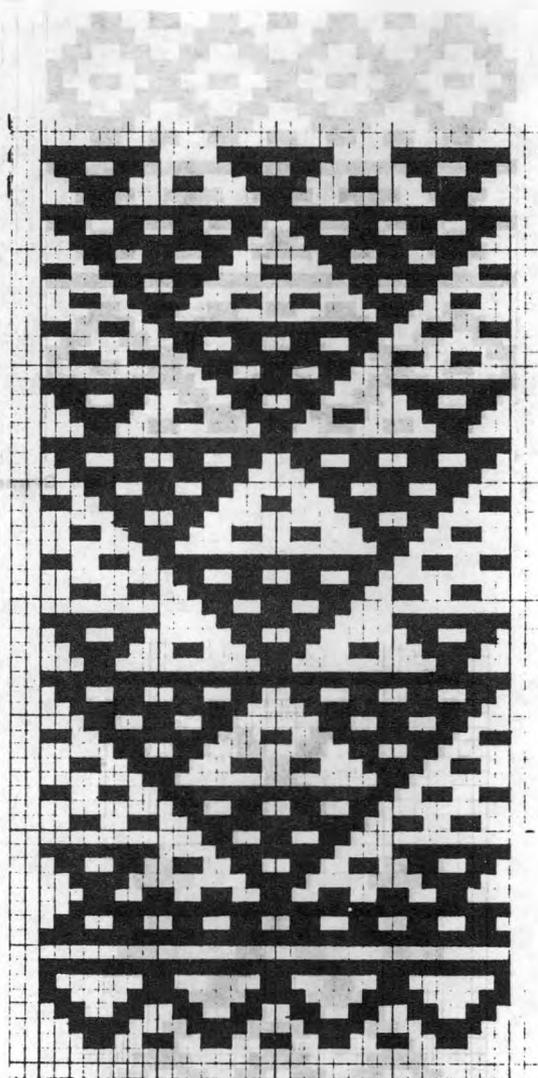
Chaltura, Antonio Ante



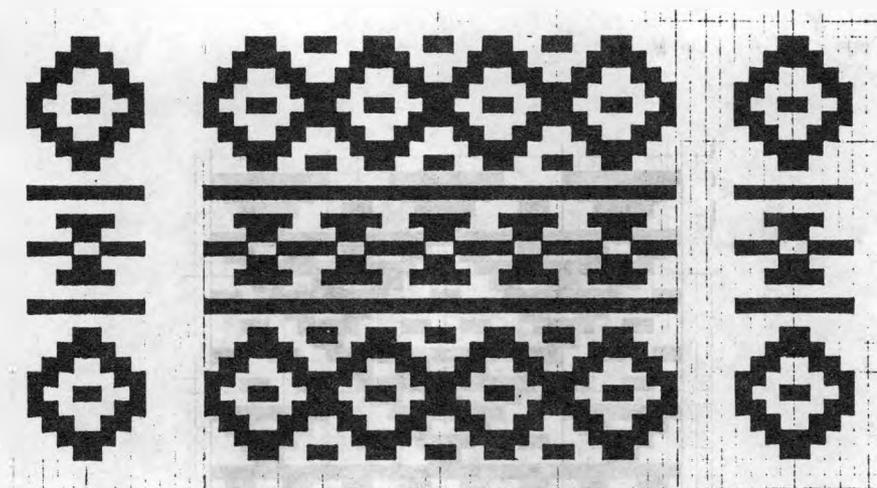
La Calera, Cotacachi



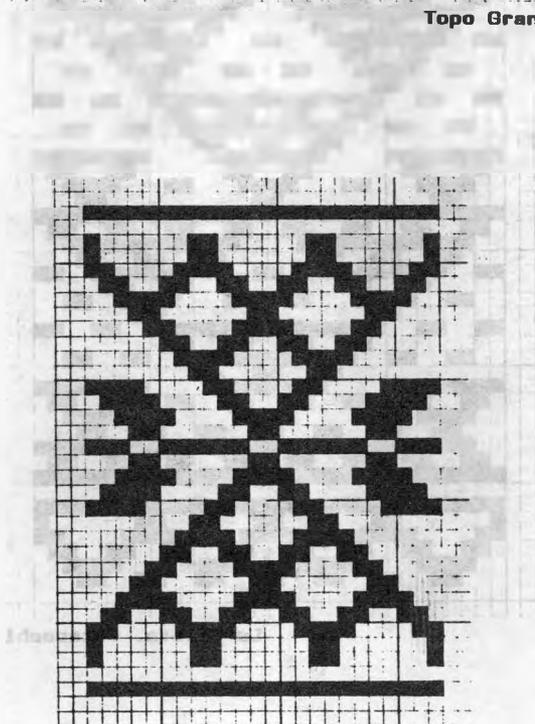
La Calera, Cotacachi



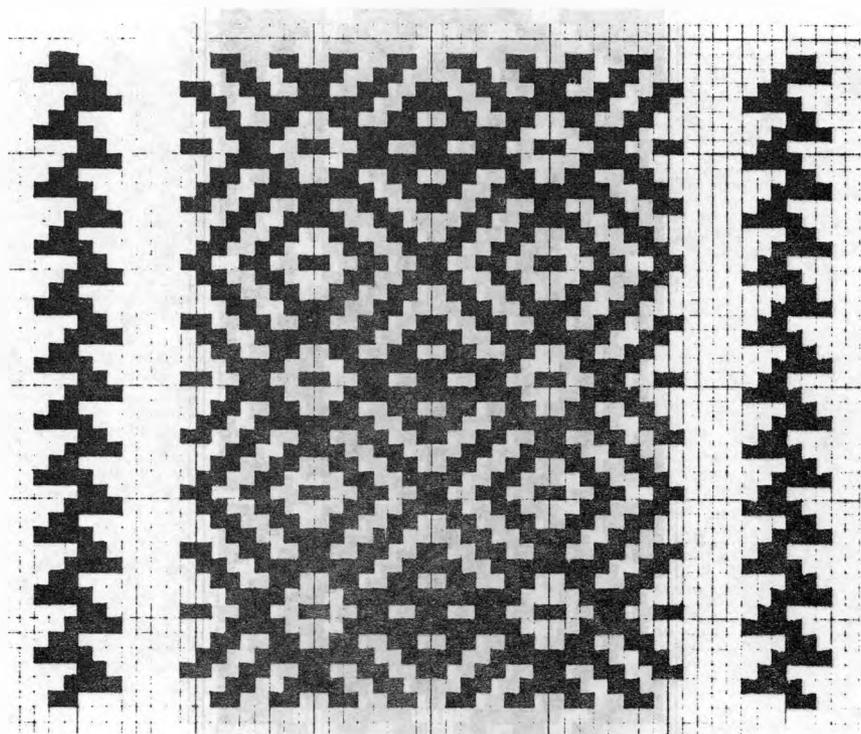
La Calera, Cotacachi



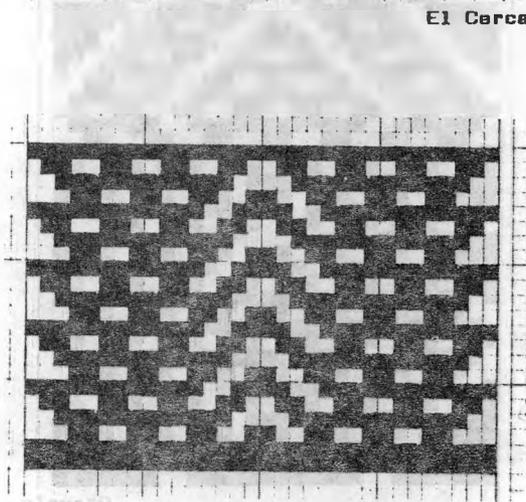
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



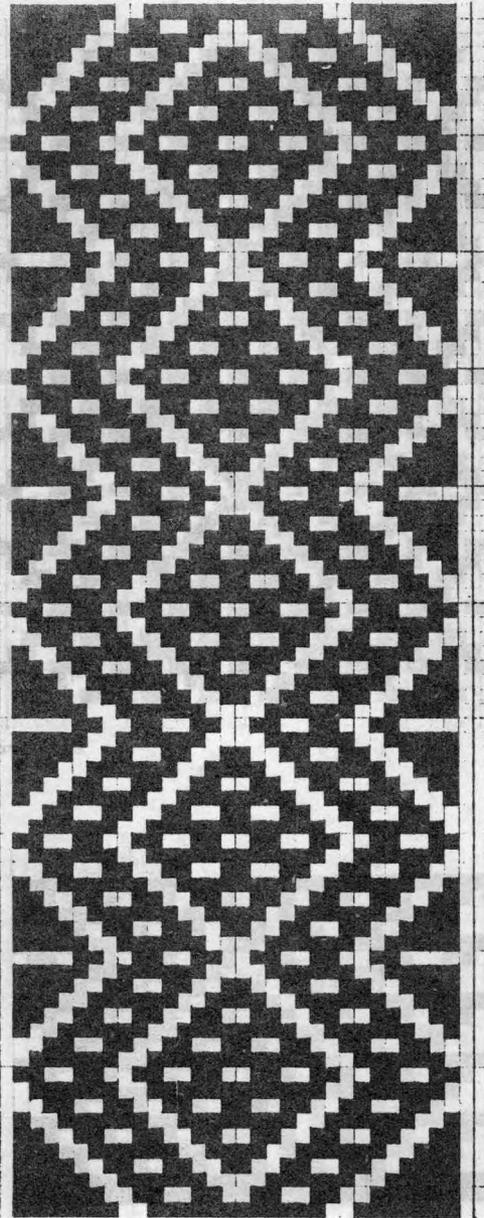
Paniquindra, Ibarra



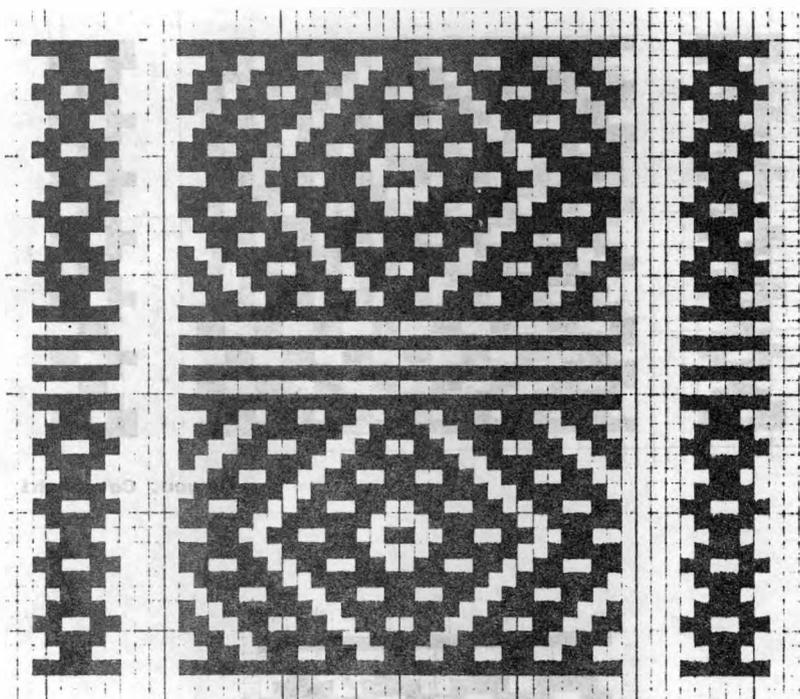
El Cercado, Cotacachi



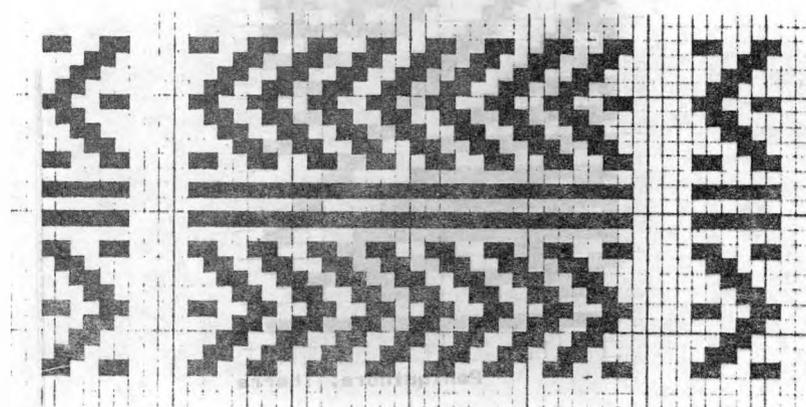
La Compañía, Otevalo



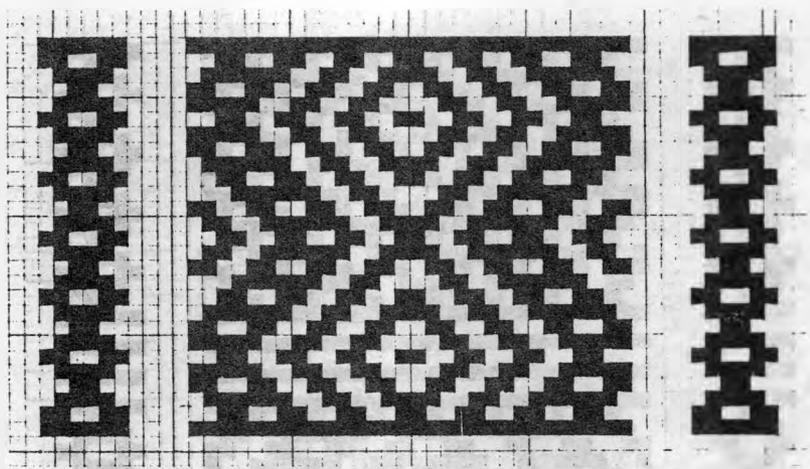
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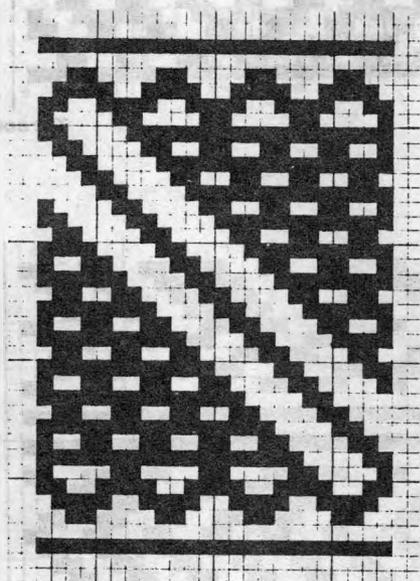
Turucu, Cotacachi



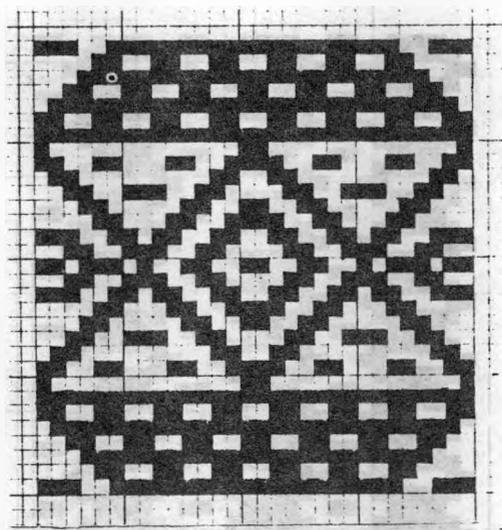
Turucu, Cotacachi



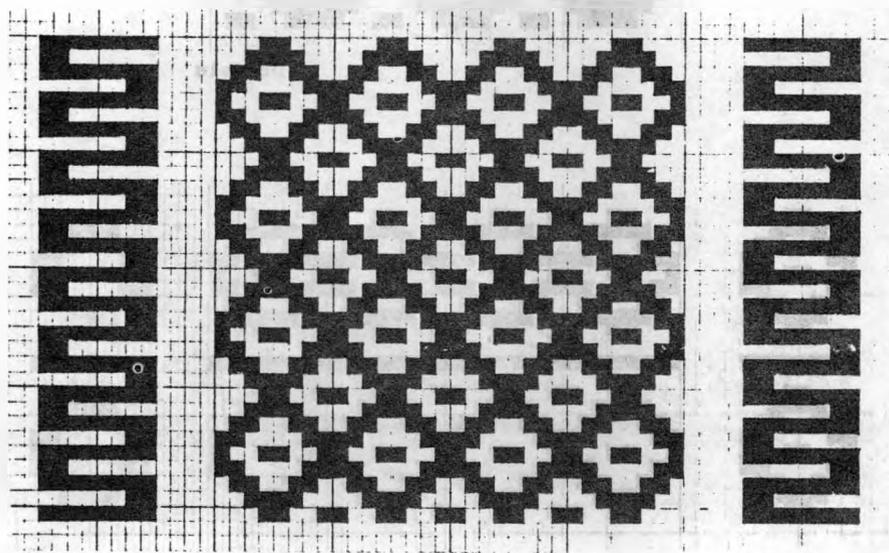
**Turucu, Cotacachi**



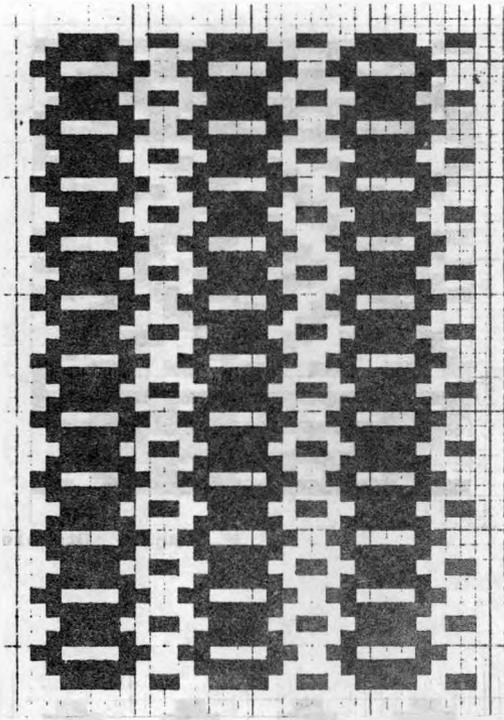
**Paniquindra, Ibarra**



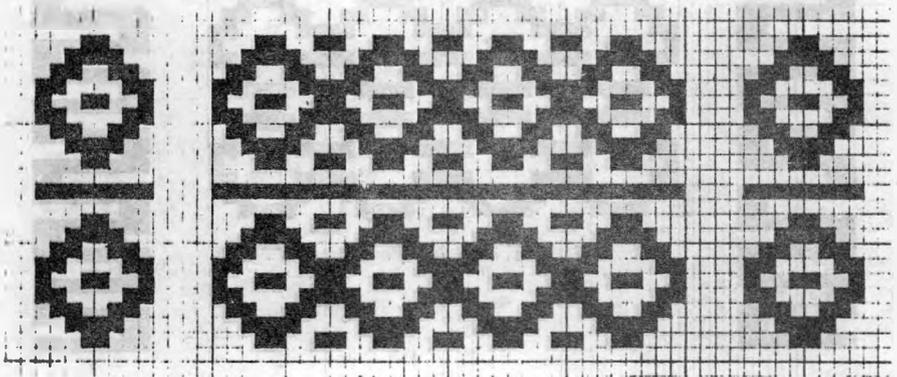
Agato, Otavalo



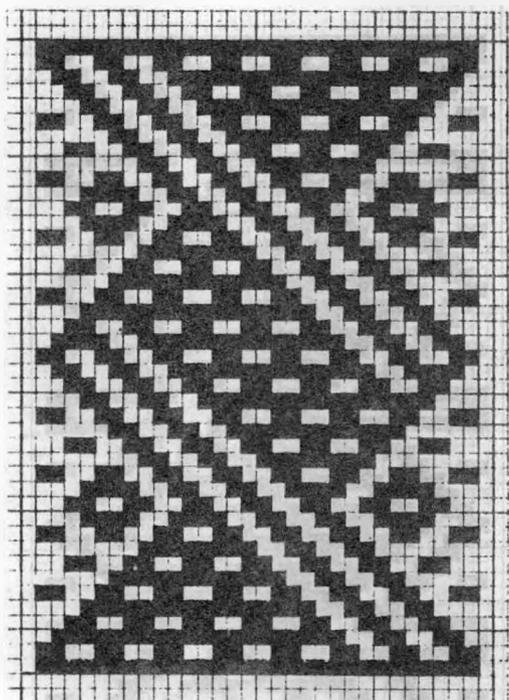
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



Otavalo

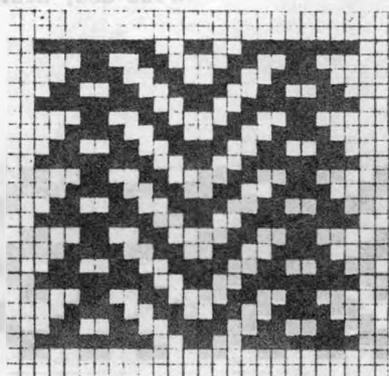


Topo Grande, Cotacachi

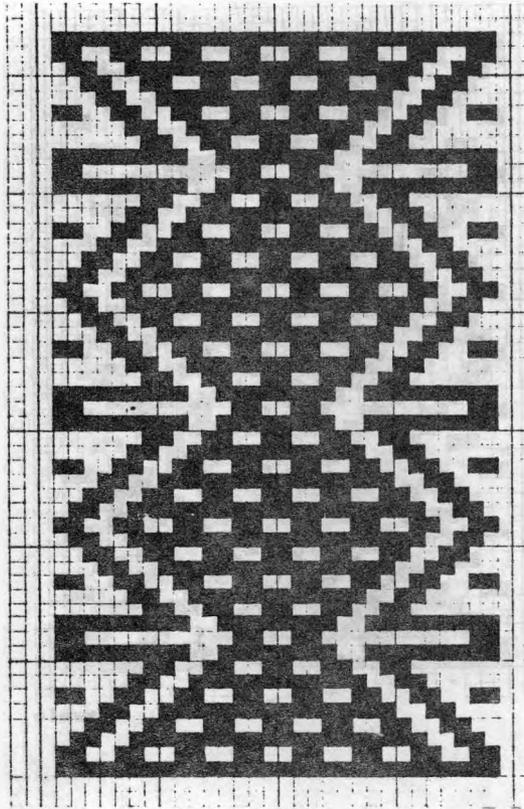


**Aries Ucu, Otavalo**

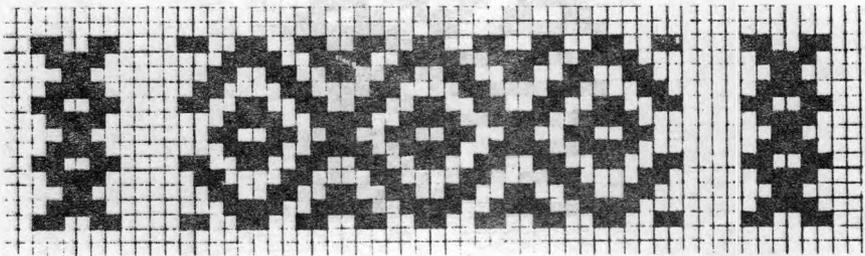
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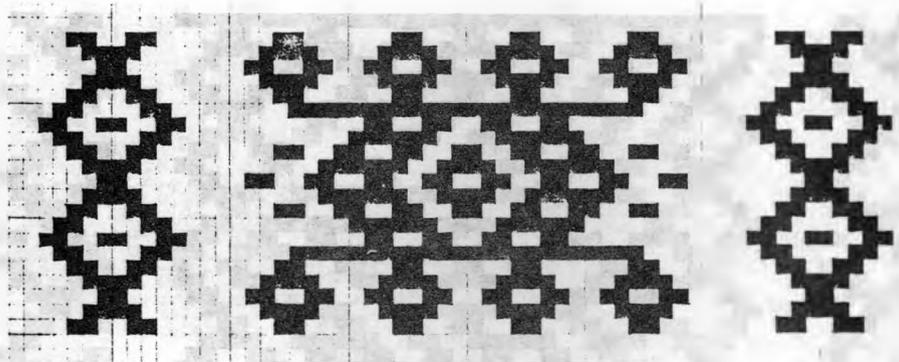
**Turucu, Cotacachi**



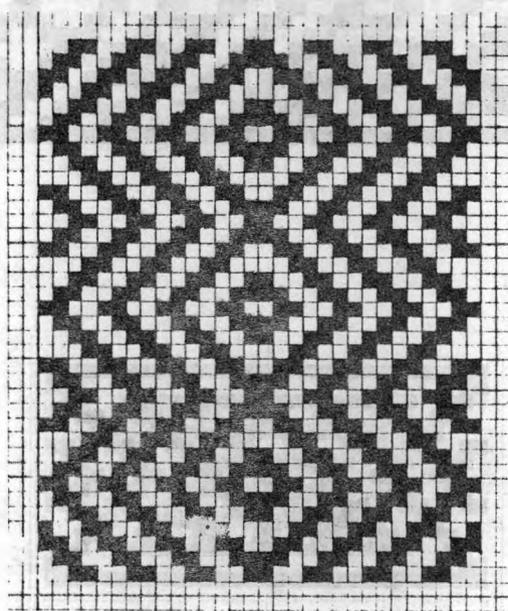
Arias Ucu, Otavalo



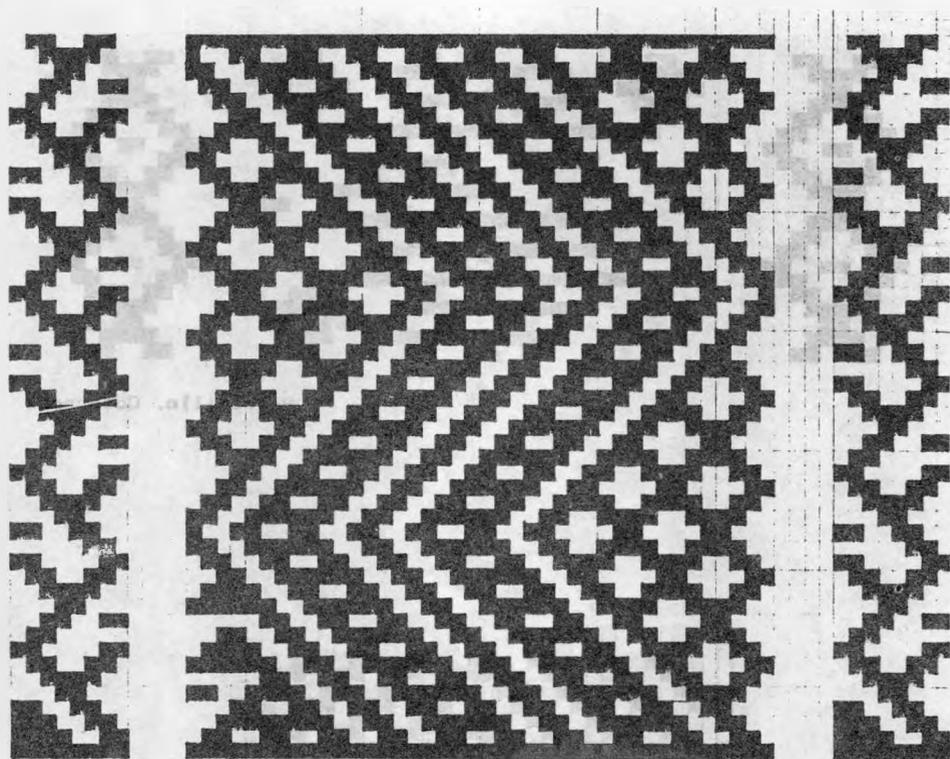
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



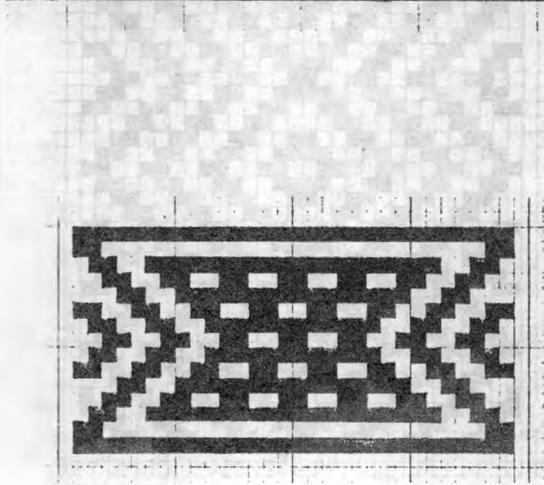
Potrerillo, Cotacachi



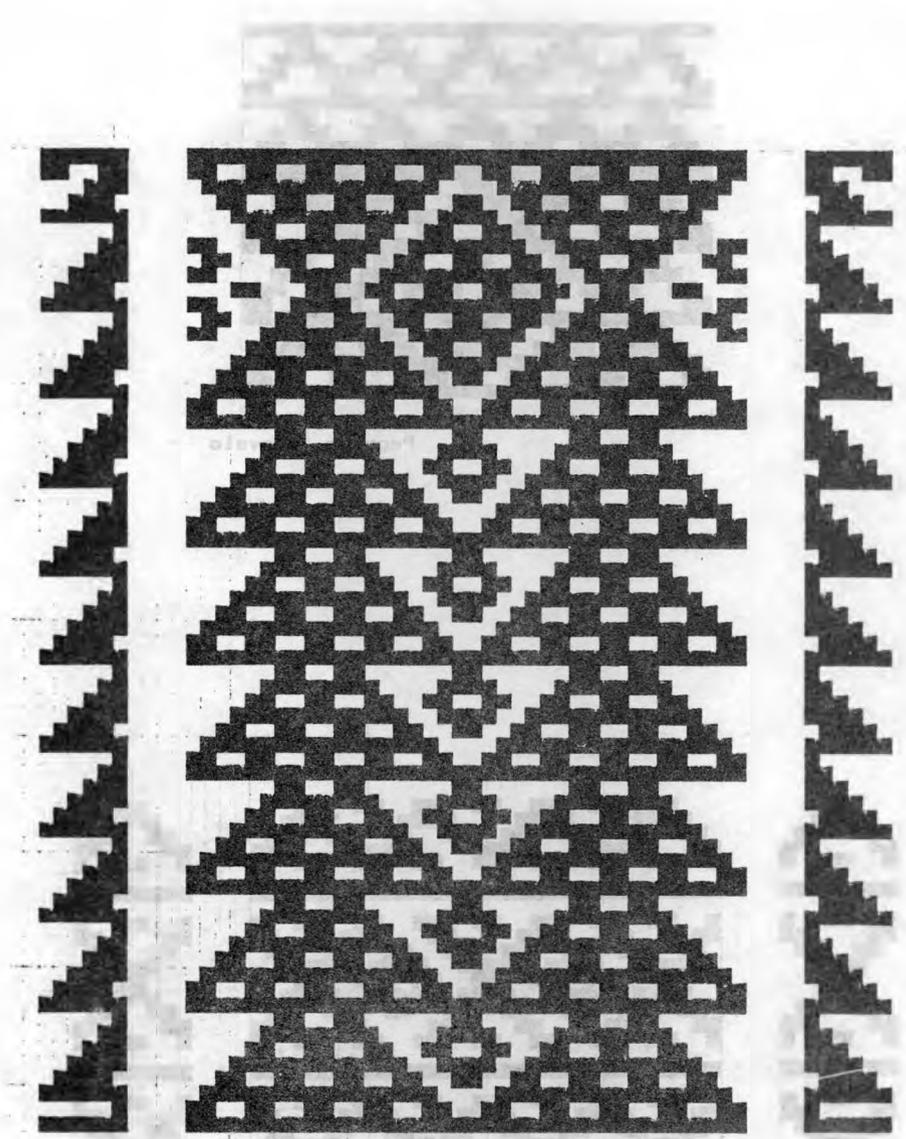
Turucu, Cotacachi



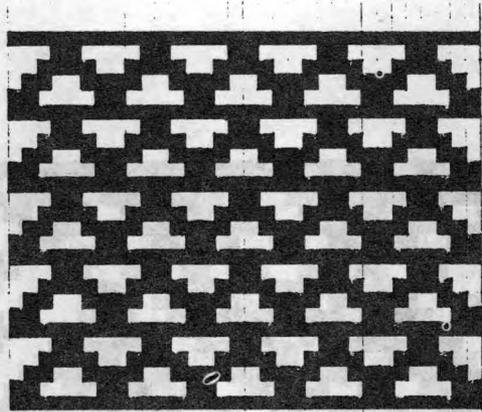
**Peguiche Otavelo**



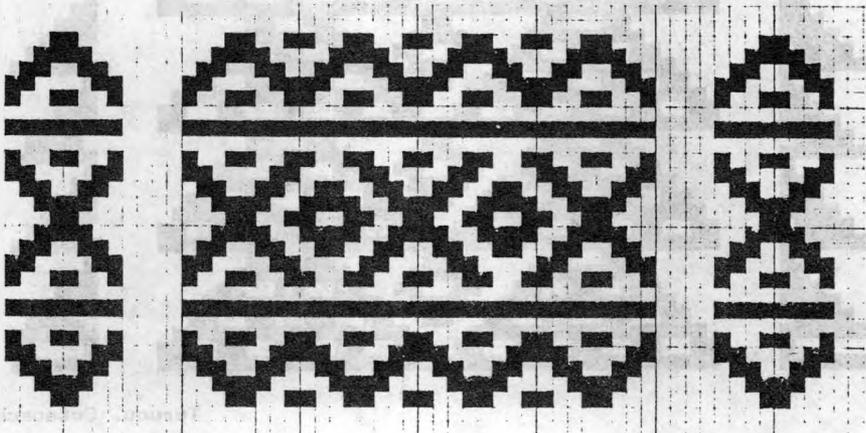
**Peguiche, Otavelo**



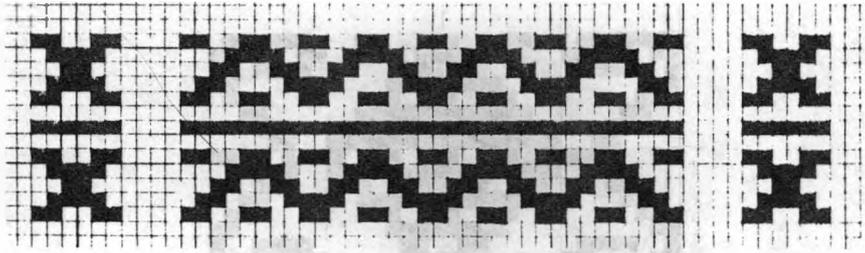
Turucu, Cotacachi



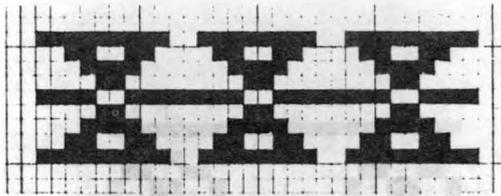
Peguche, Otavalo



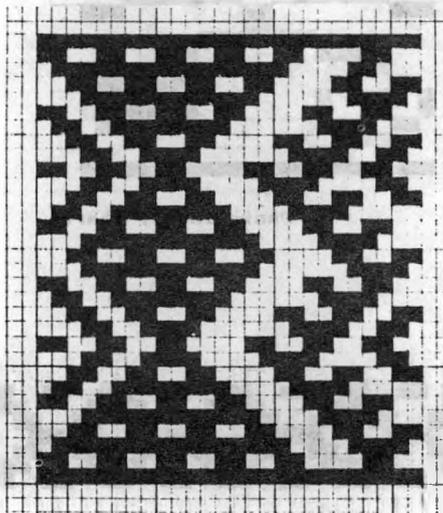
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



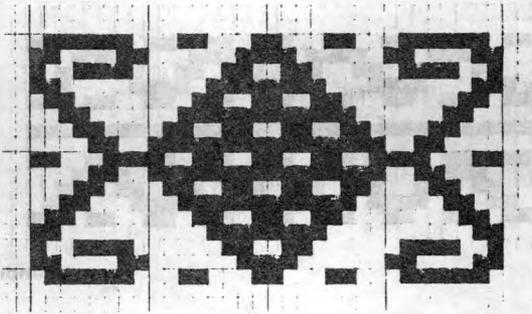
**Topo Grande, Cotacachi**



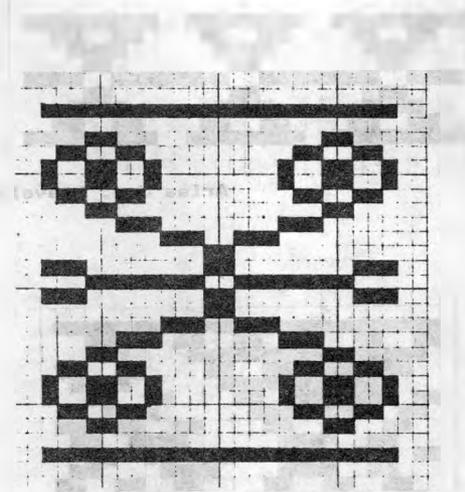
**Arias Ucu, Otavalo**



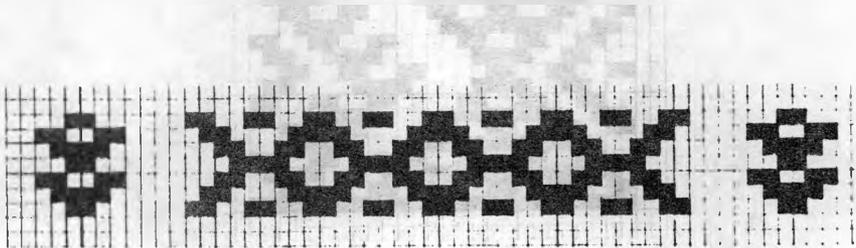
**Ilumán, Otavalo**



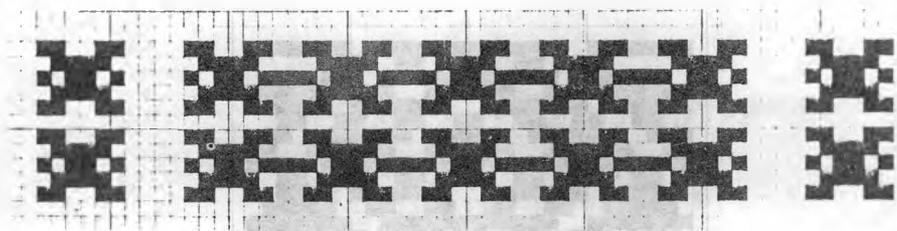
**Imentag, Cotacachi**



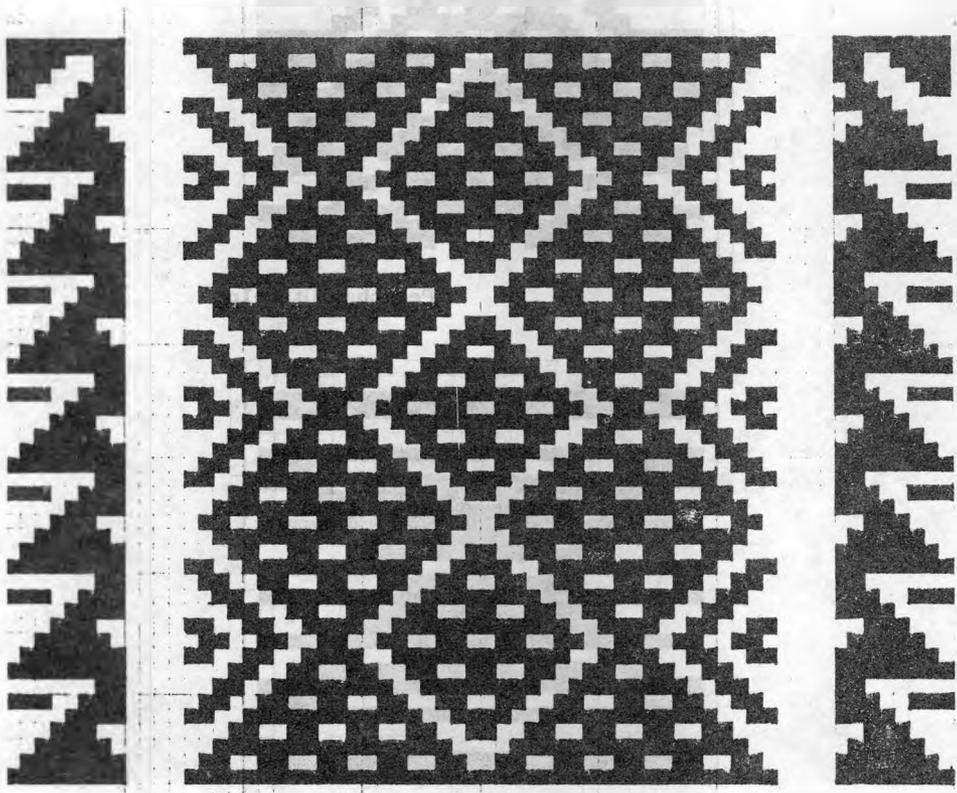
**Paniquindra, Ibarra**



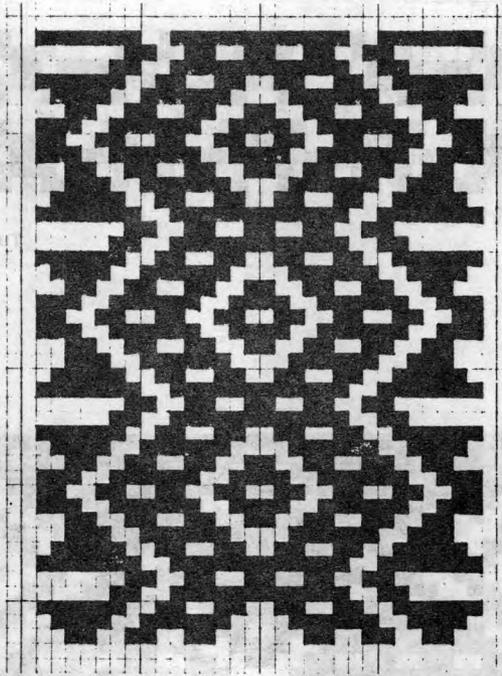
**Topo Grande, Cotacachi**



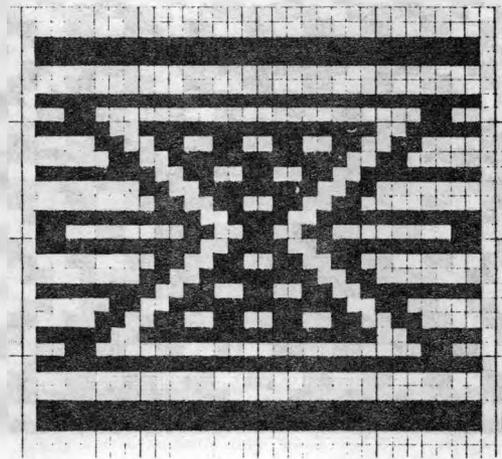
Turucu, Cotacachi



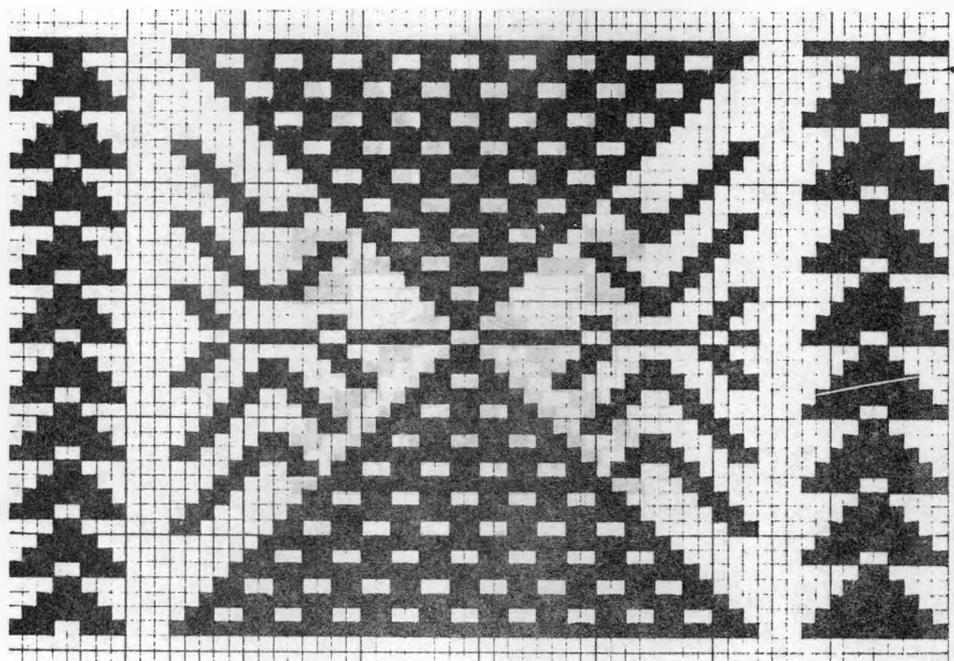
Peguiche, Otavalo



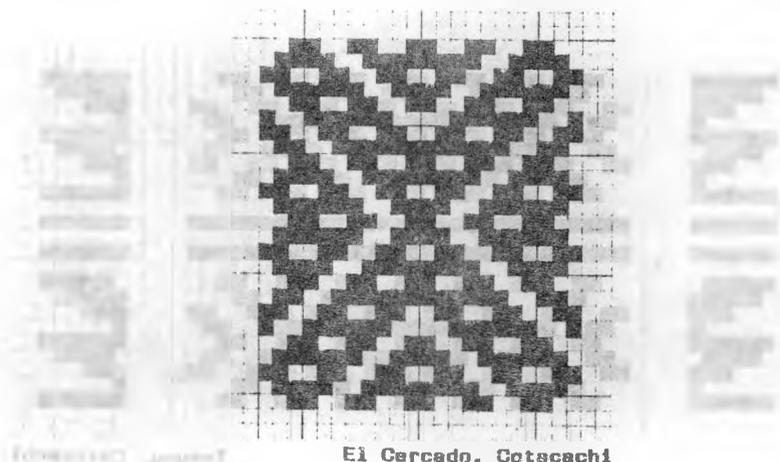
**Peguche, Otavalo**



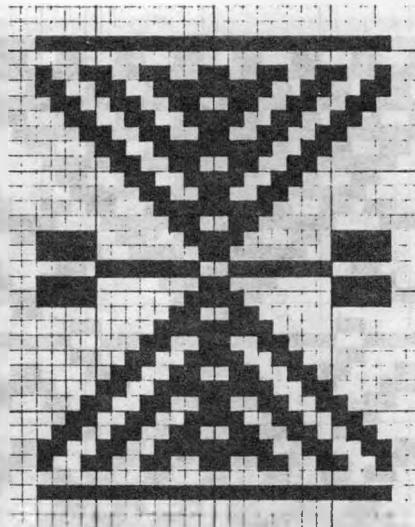
**La Calera, Cotacachi**



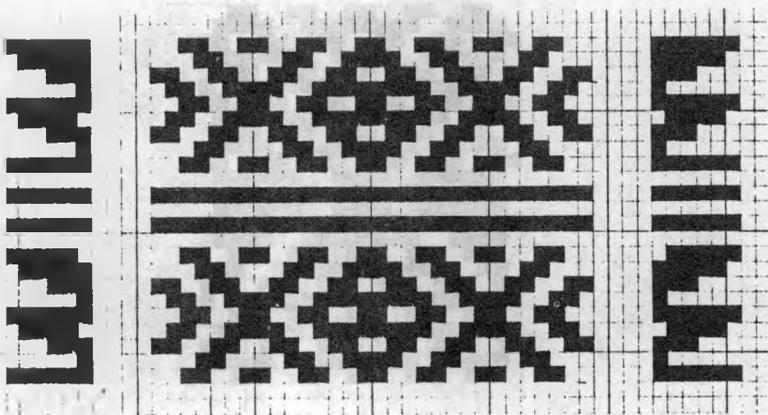
**Turucu, Cotacachi**



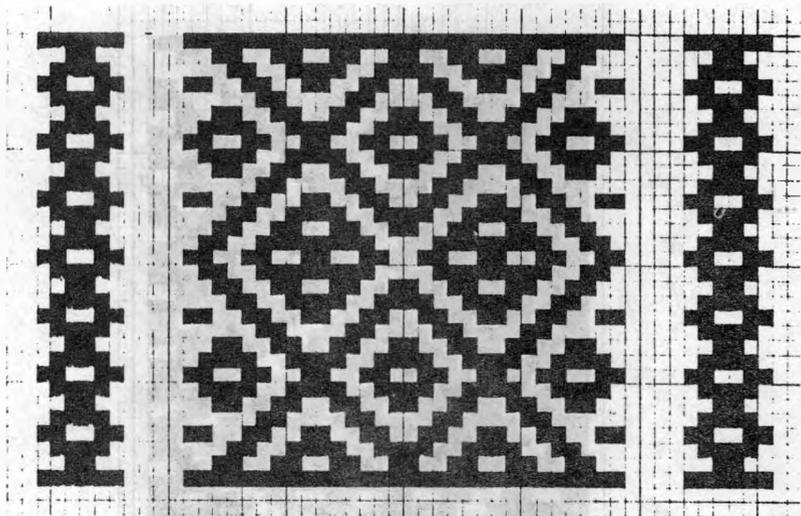
**El Cercado, Cotacachi**



Paniquindra, Ibarra



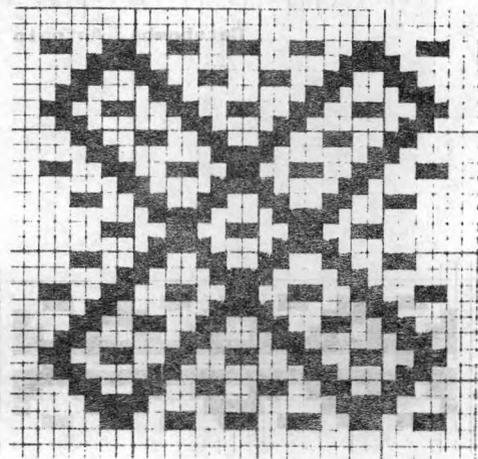
Turucu, Cotacachi



Turucu, Cotacachi

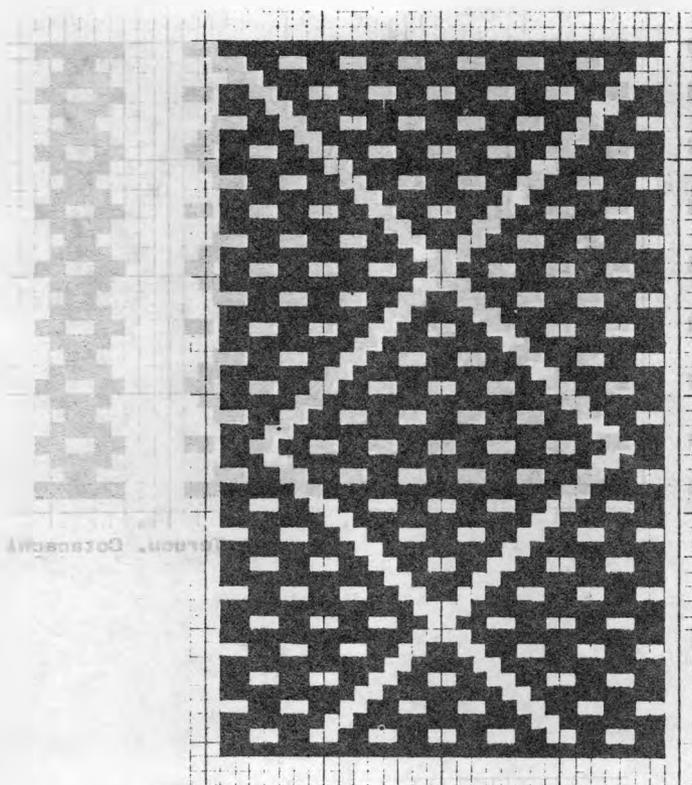


OTAVELA

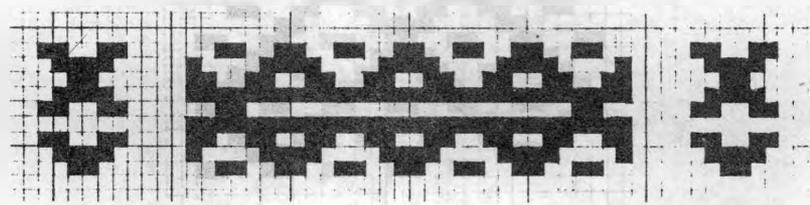


OTAVELA

Otavelo

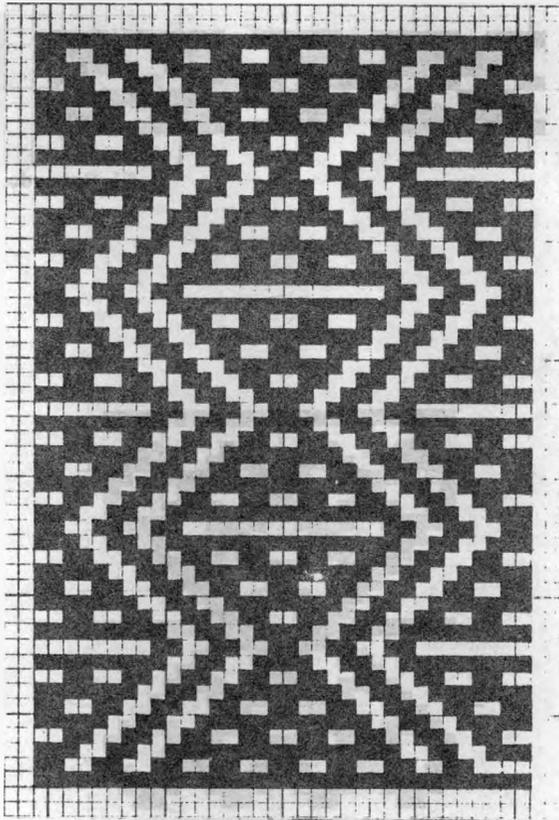


Catabamba, Antonio Ante

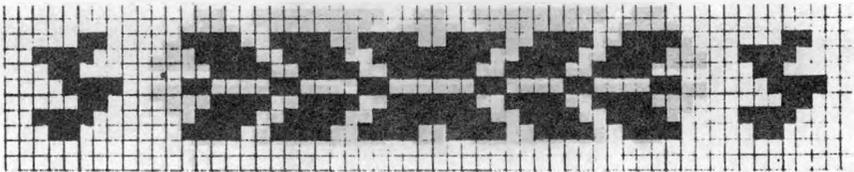


El Cercado, Cotacachi

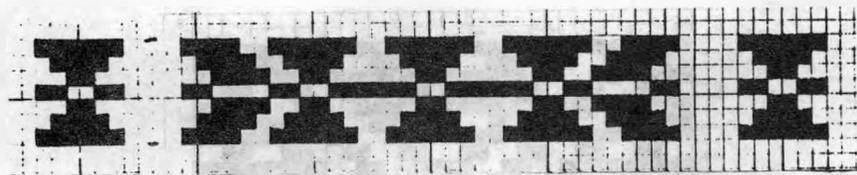
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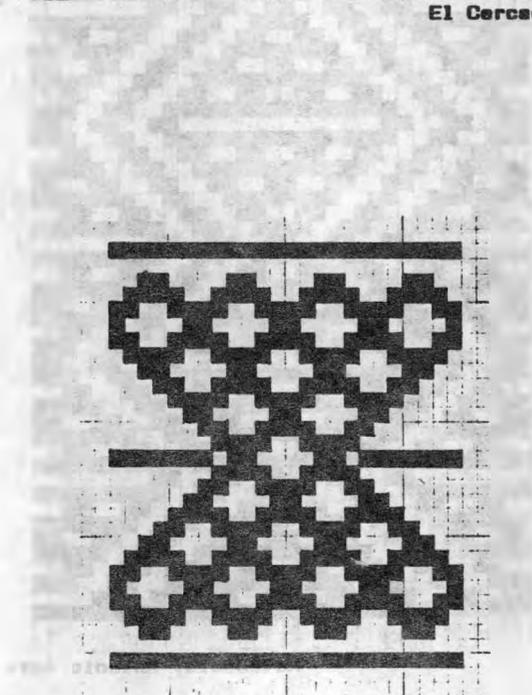
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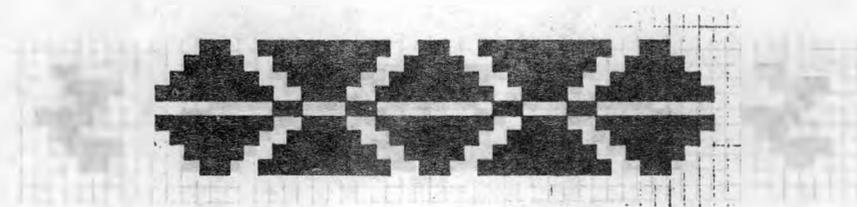
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



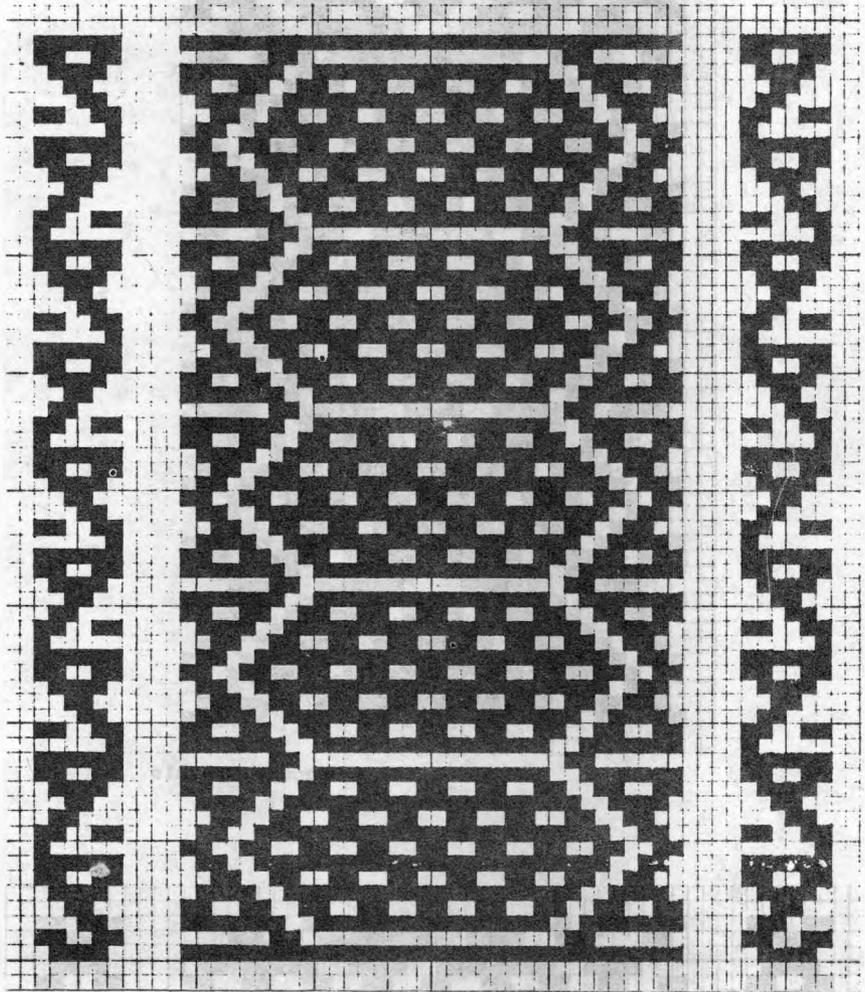
**El Cercado, Cotacachi**



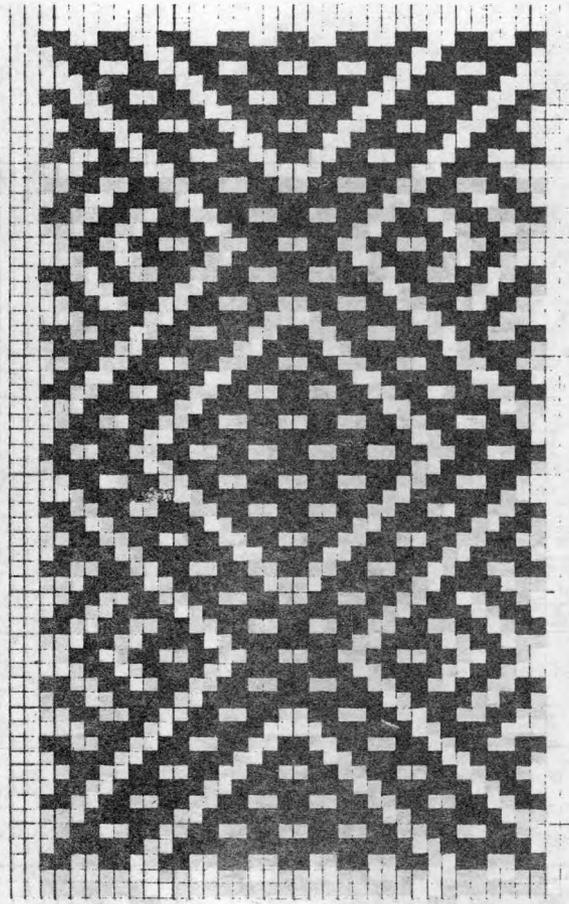
**Paniquindra, Ibarra**



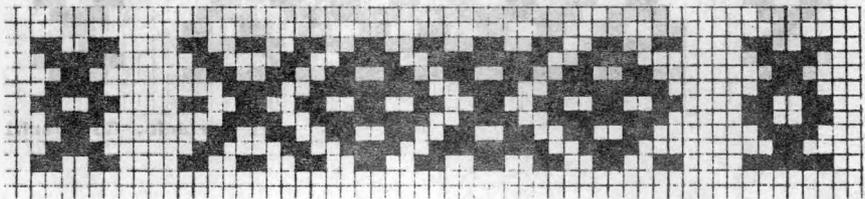
**Puca Huaycu, Ibarra**



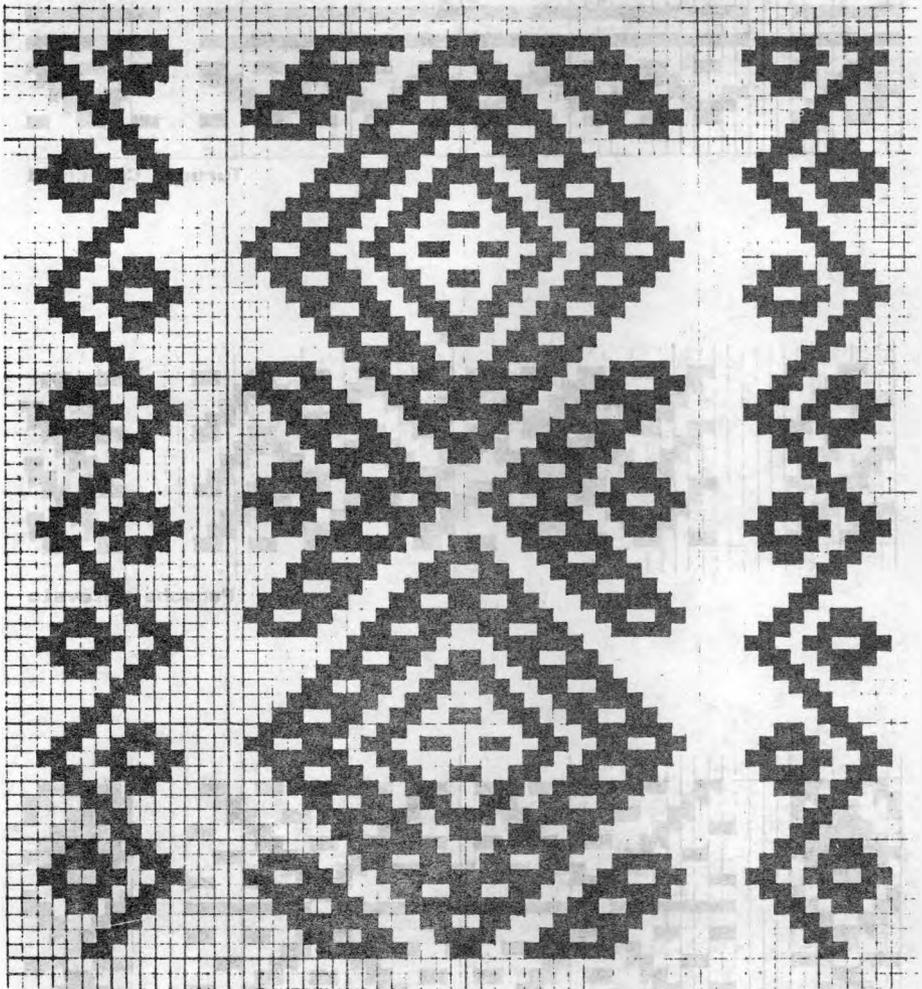
El Cercado, Cotacachi



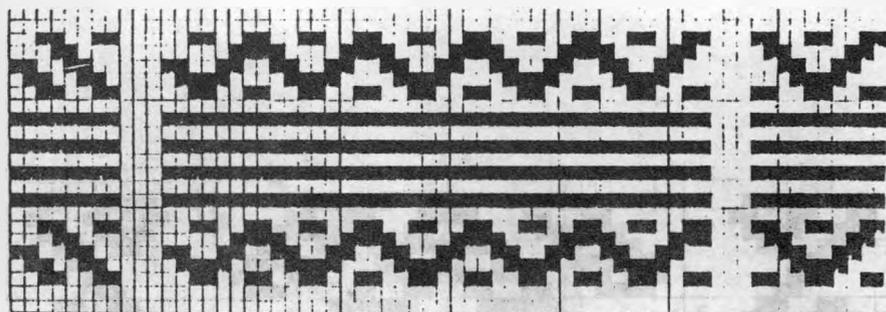
Pagucho, Otavalo



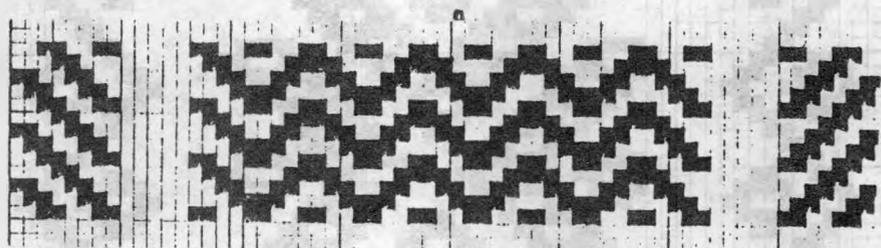
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



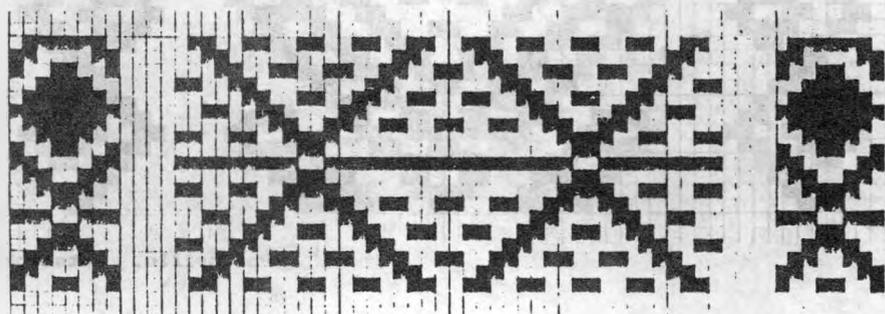
Potrillo, Cotacachi



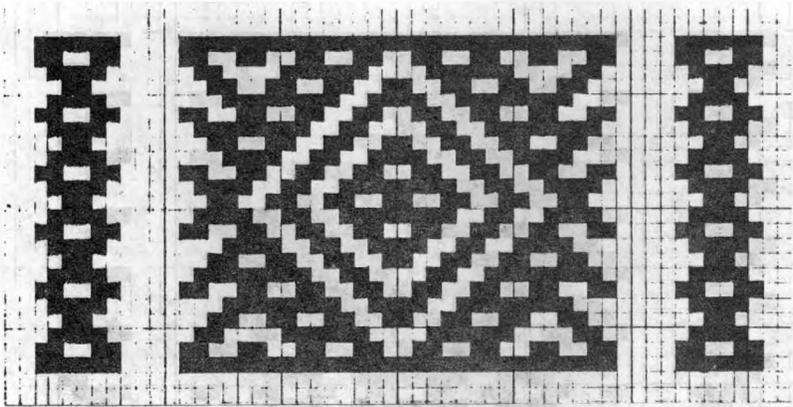
**Turucu, Cotacachi**



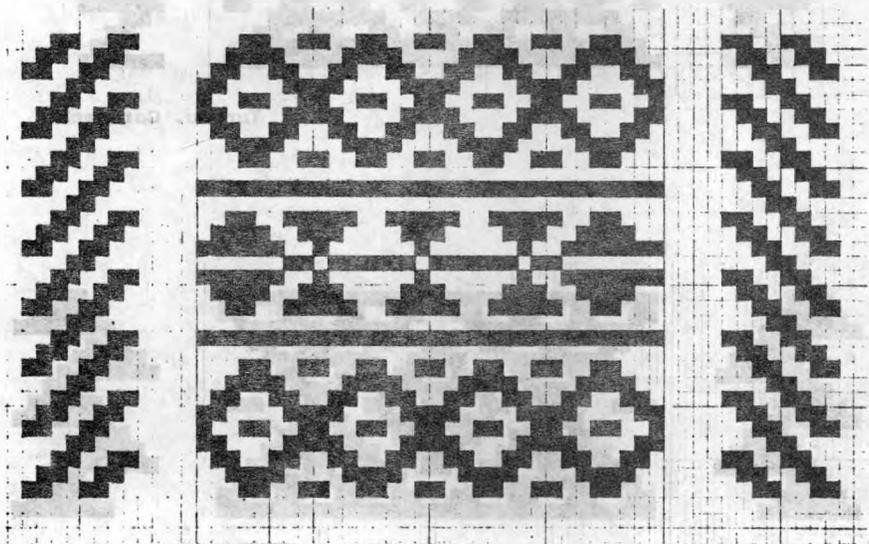
**Pegucho, Otavalo**



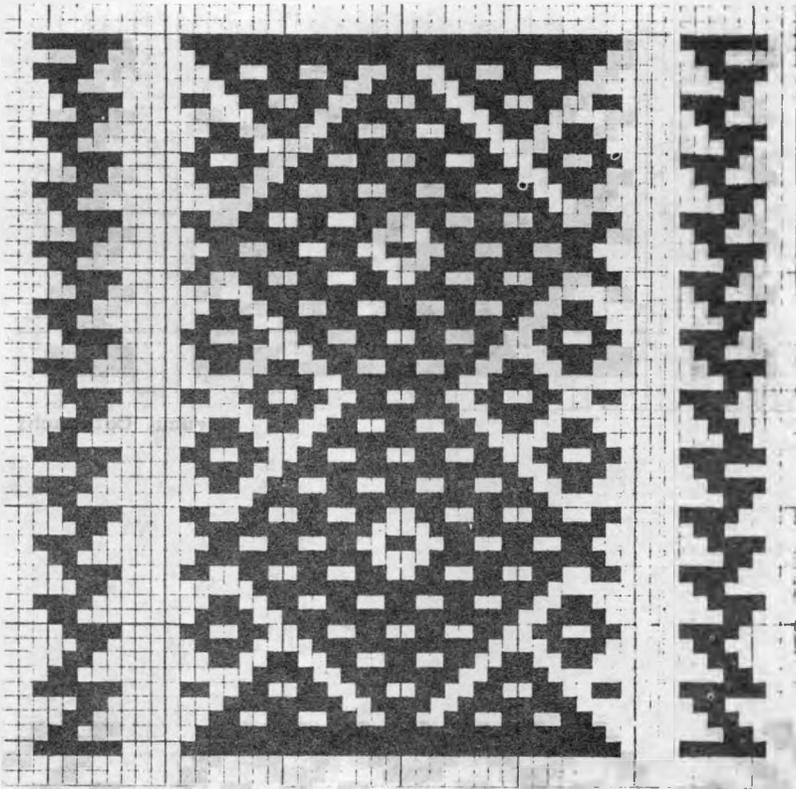
**Pegucho, Otavalo**



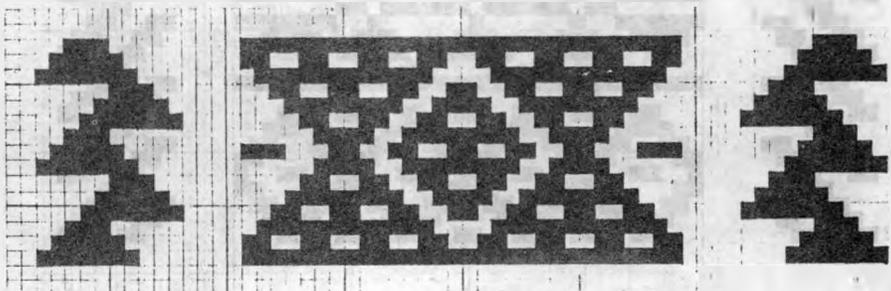
Turucu, Cotacachi



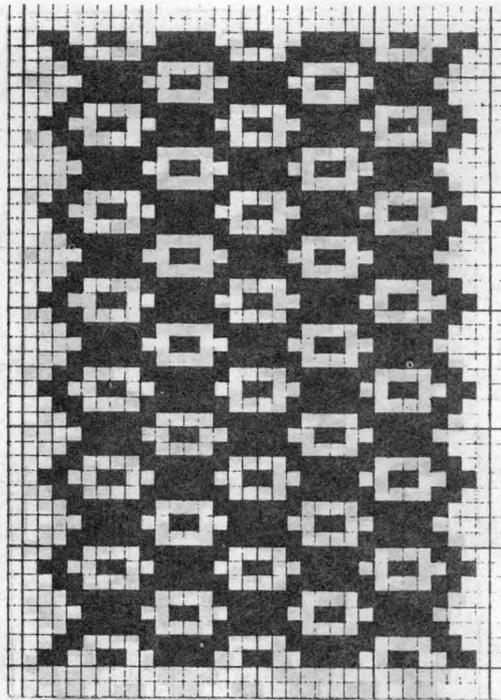
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



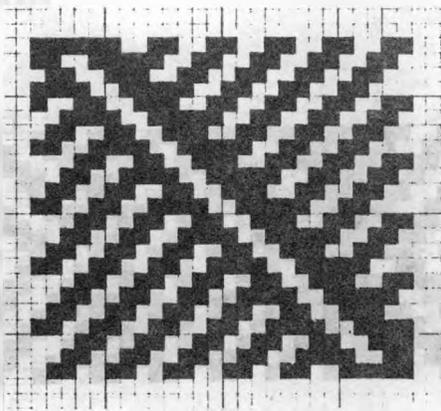
Turucu, Cotacachi



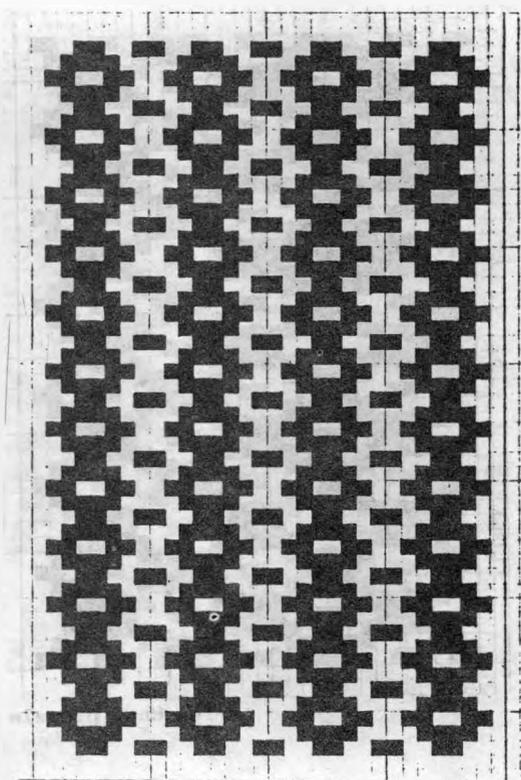
Potreriillo, Cotacachi



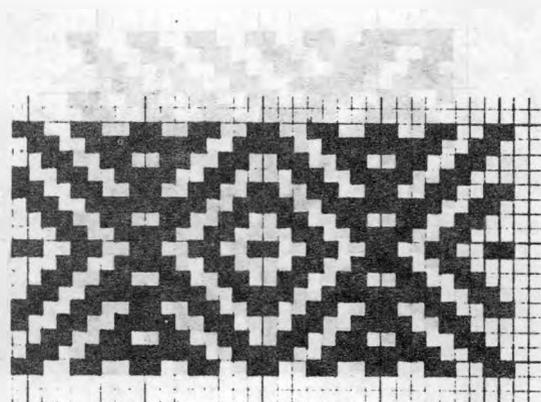
Arias Ucu, Otavalo



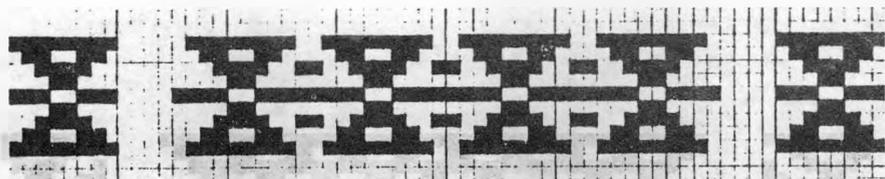
Imantag, Cotacachi



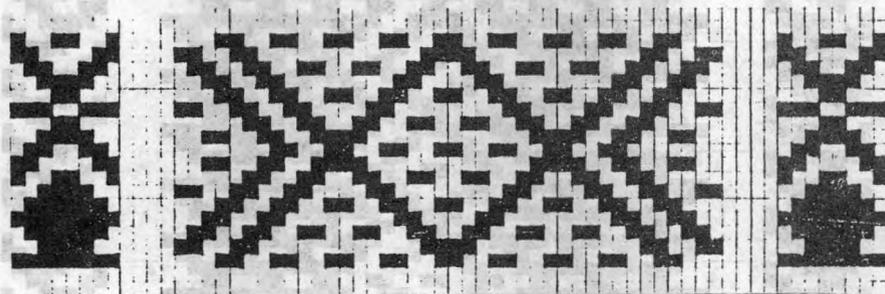
Otavelo



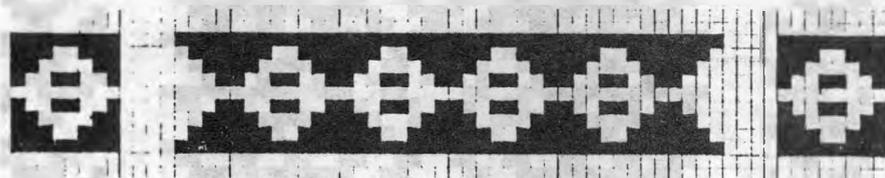
Aguelongo Chiquito, Antonio Ante



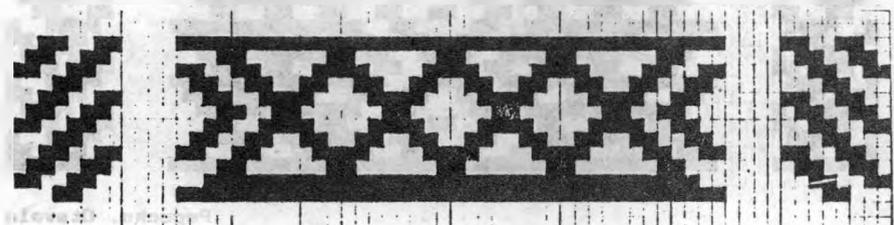
Peguche Otavalo



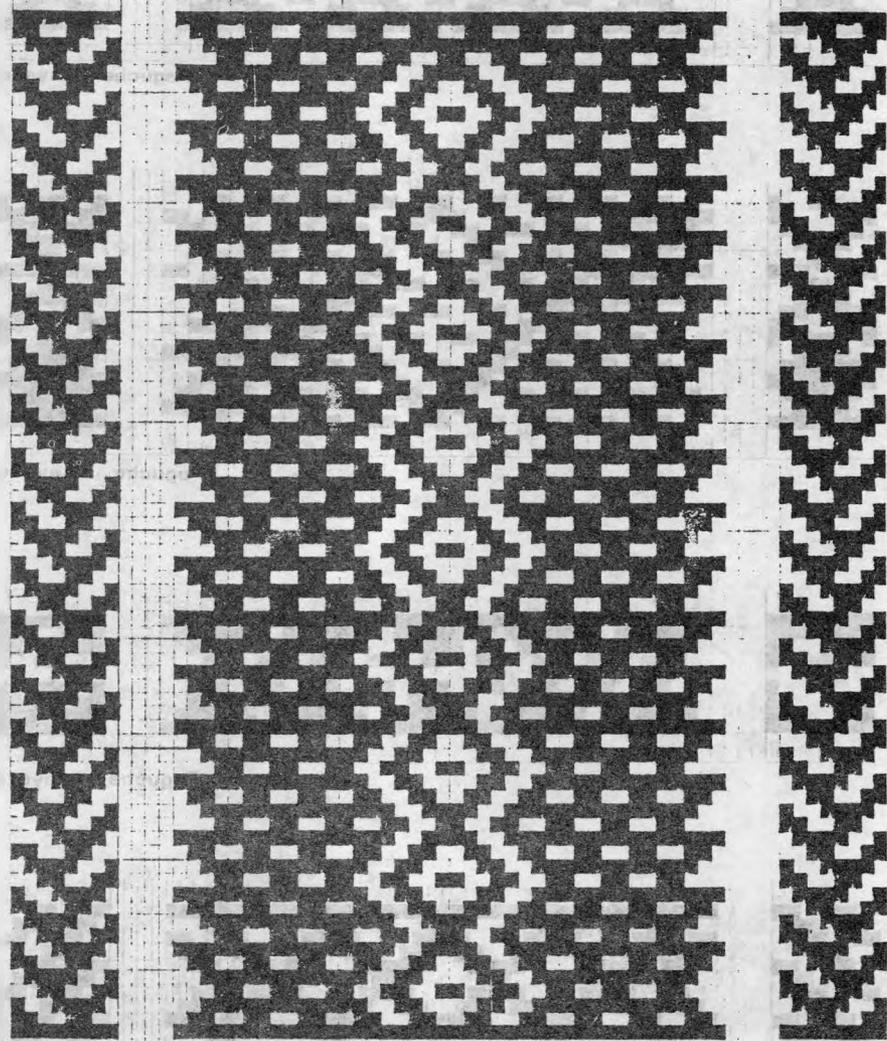
Peguche, Otavalo



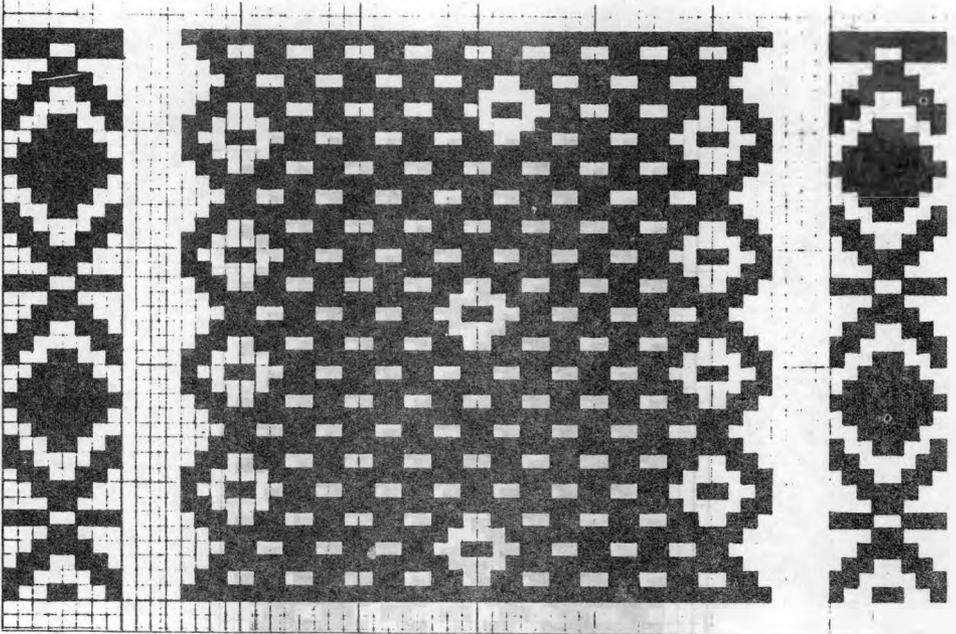
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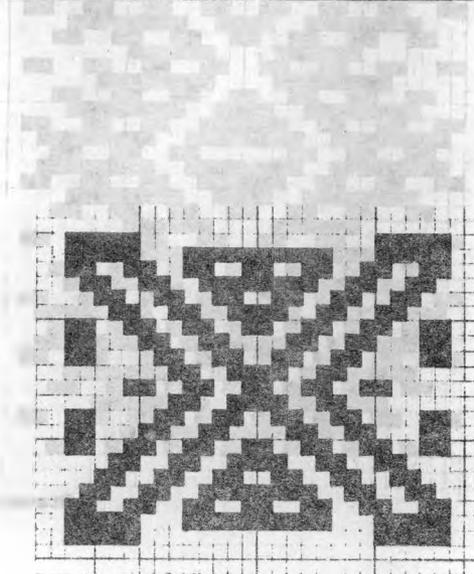
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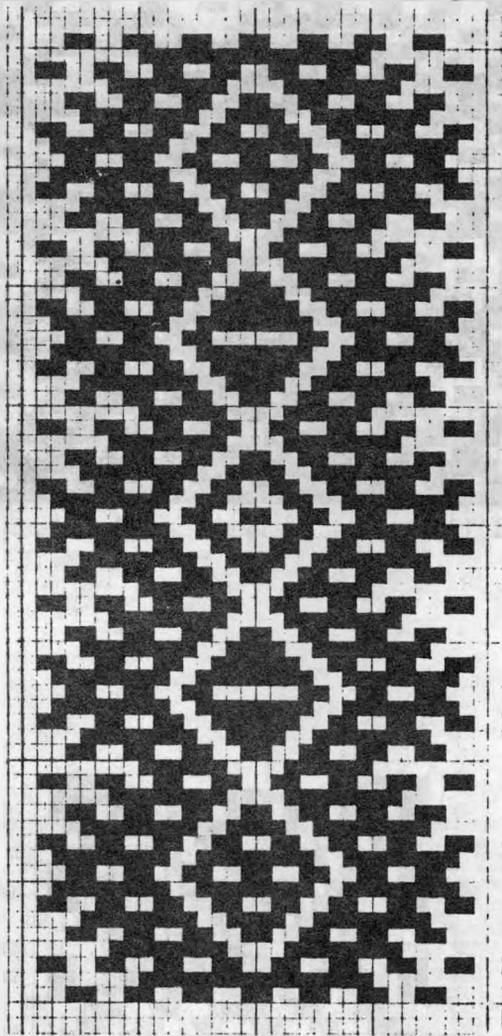
Pegucho, Otavelo



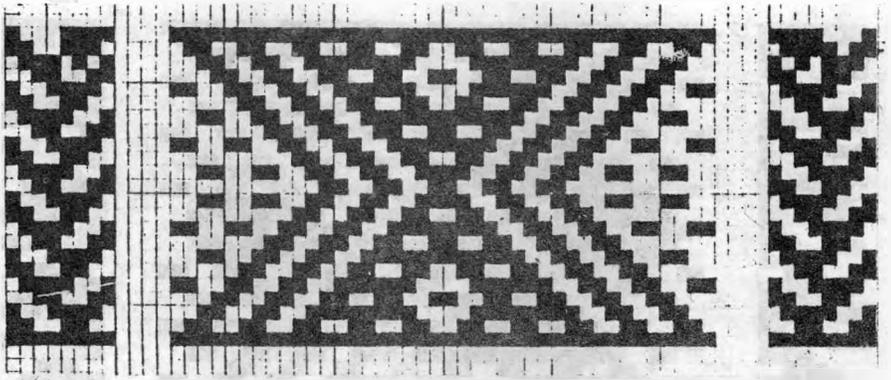
Peguche, Otavalo



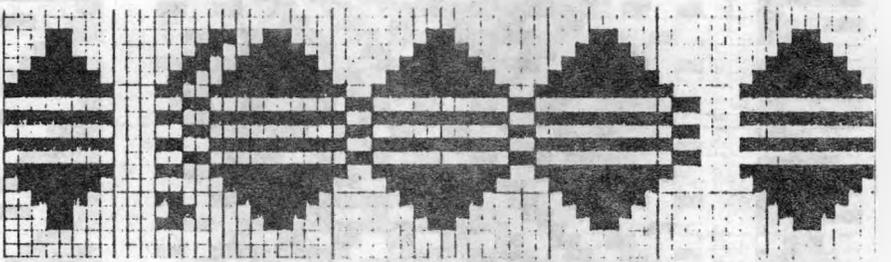
Inentag, Cotacachi



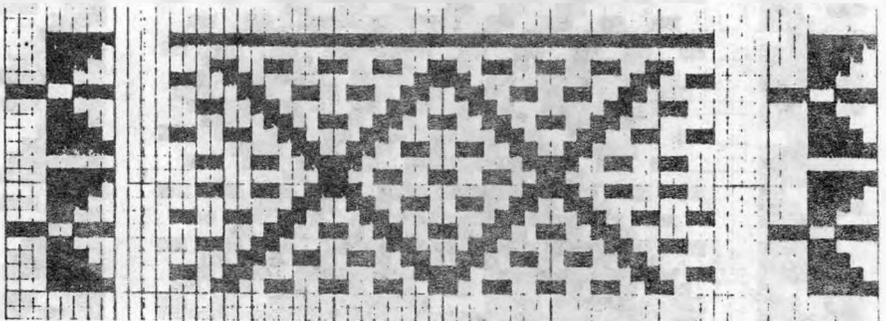
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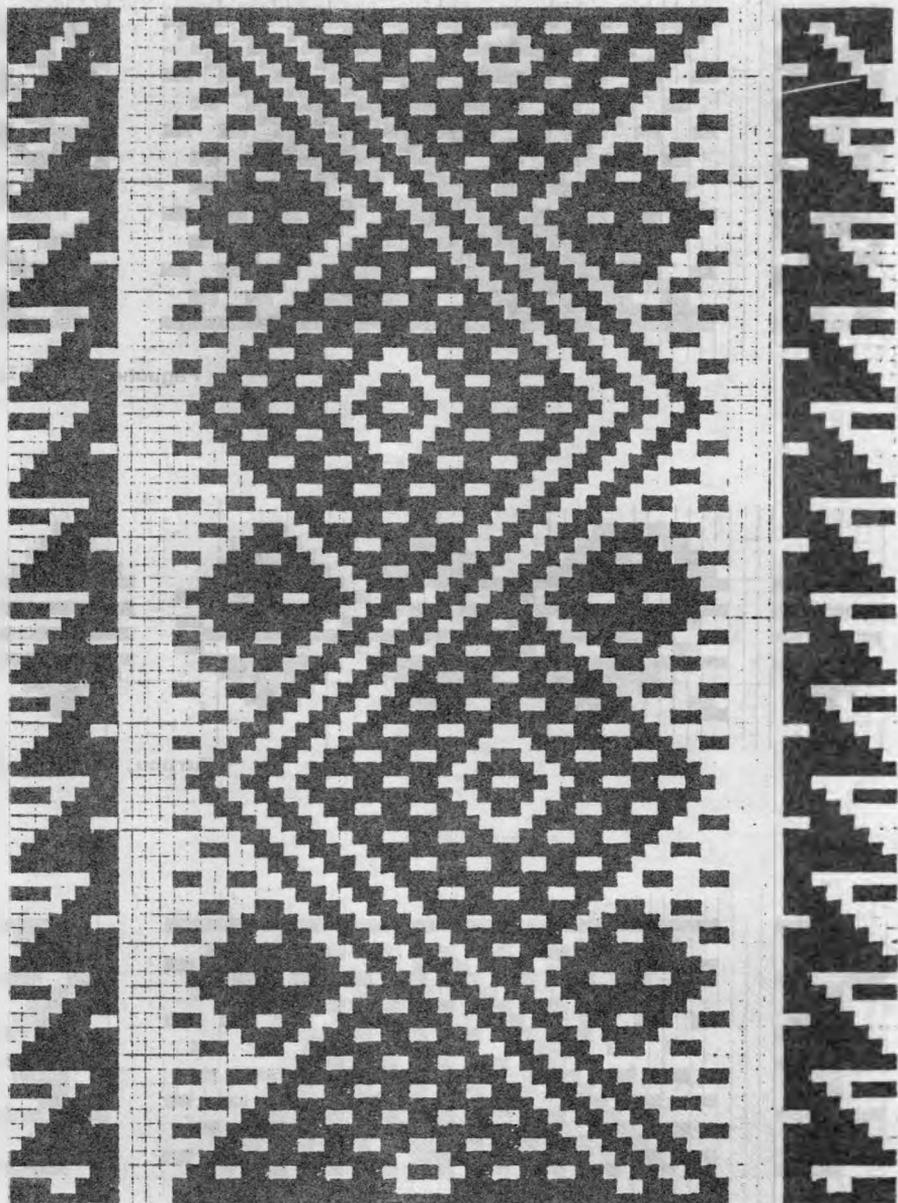
Peguche, Otavalo



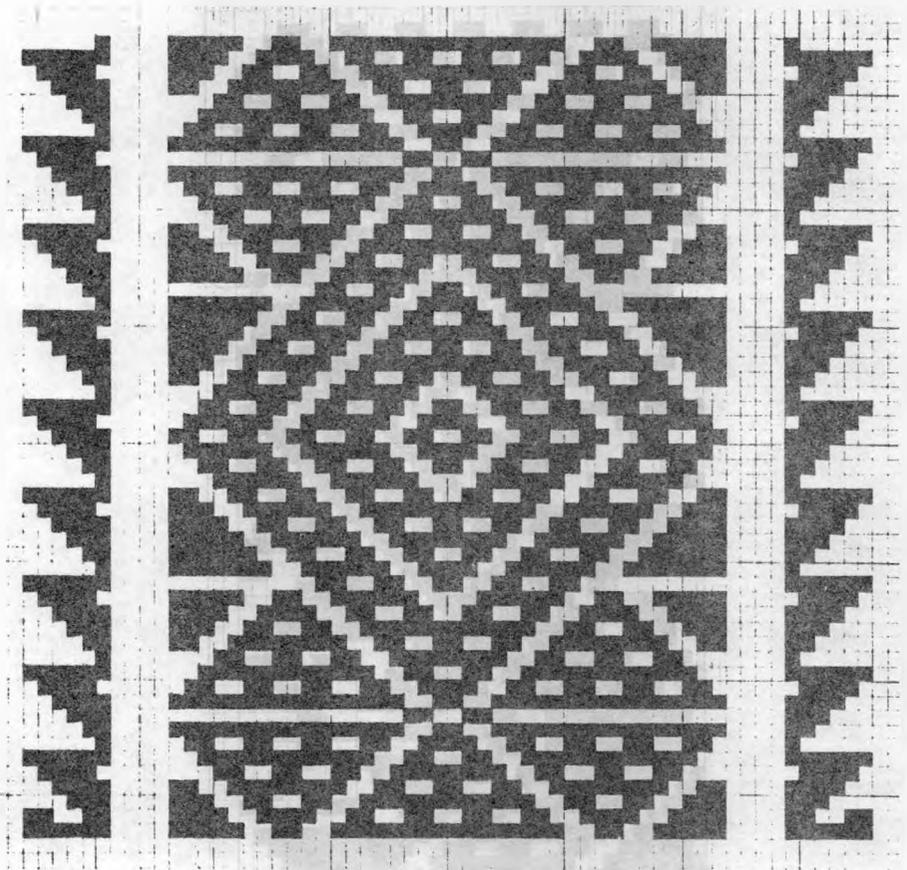
Turucu, Cotacachi



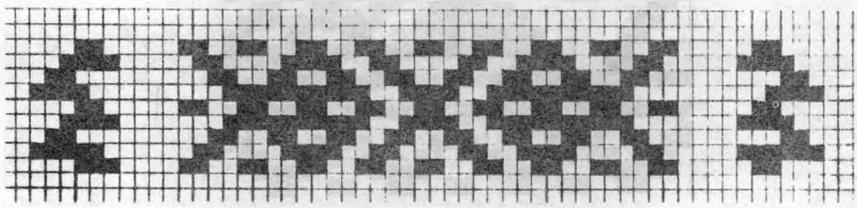
Peguche, Otavalo



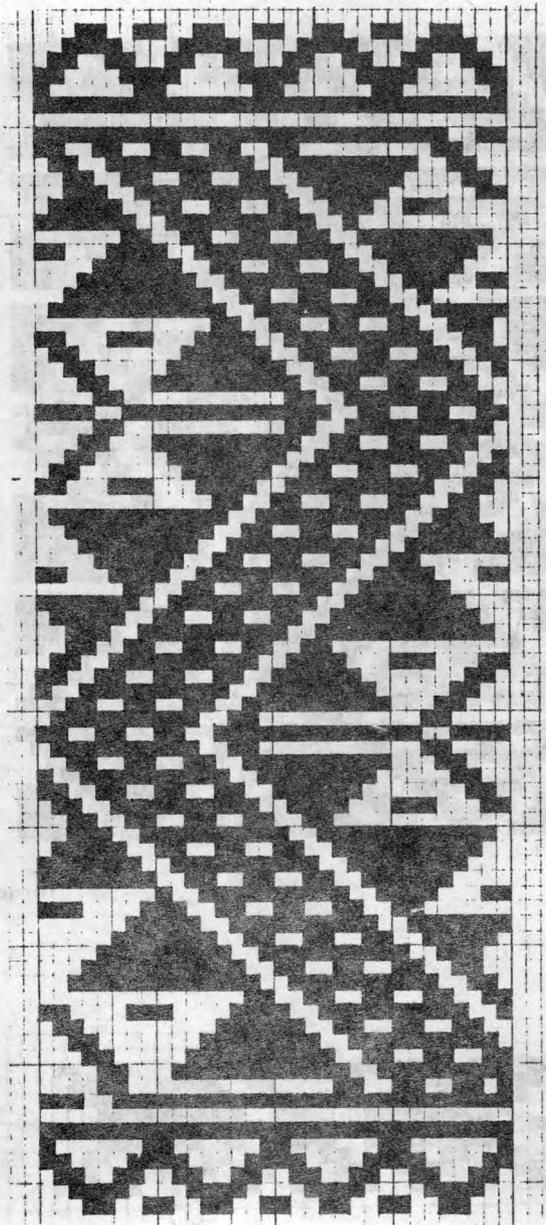
Peguche Otevale.



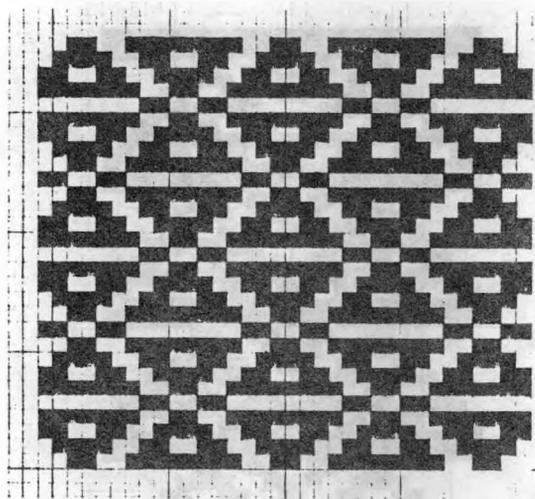
**Turucu, Cotacachi**



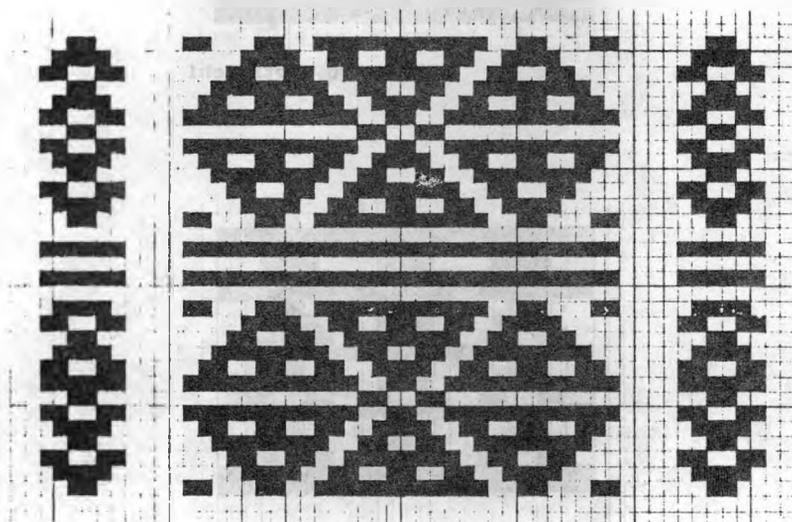
**Topo Grande, Cotacachi**



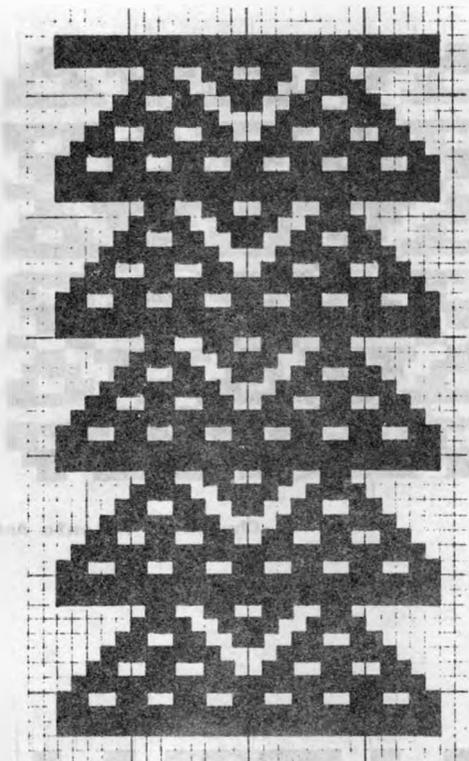
La Calera, Cotacachi



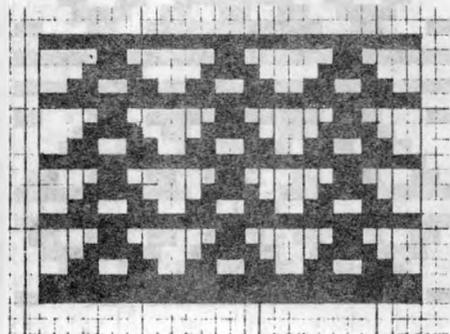
Chaltura, Antonio Ante



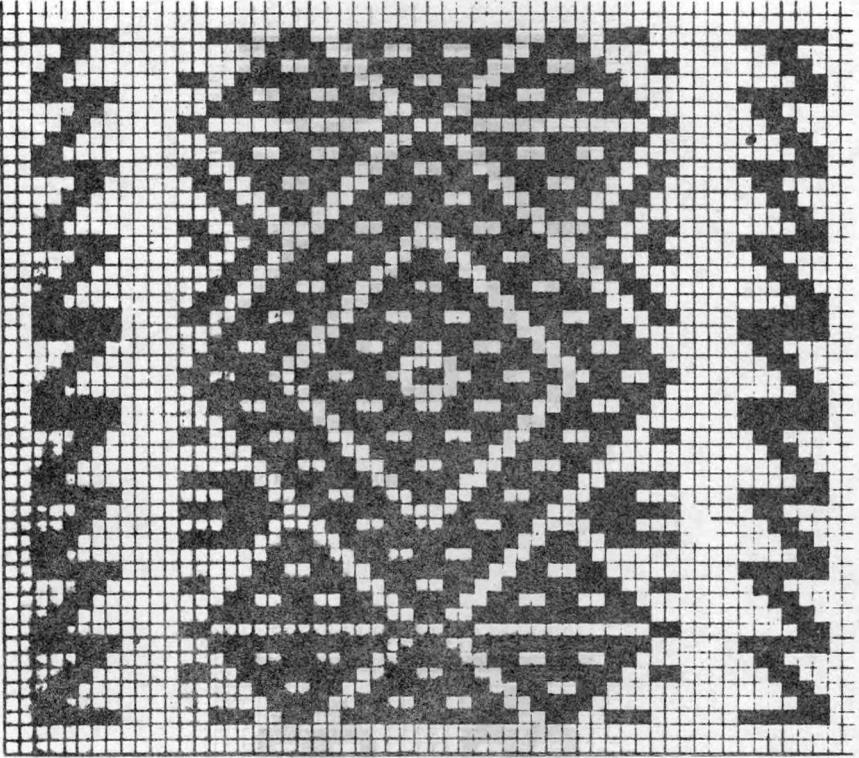
Turucu, Cotacachi



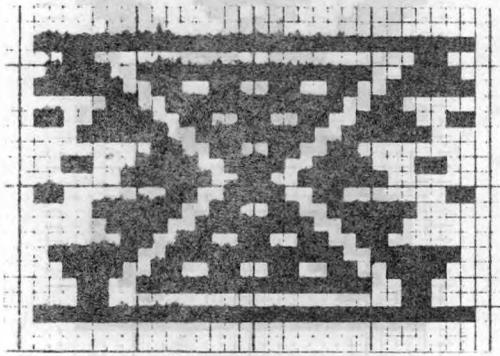
Imentag, Cotacachi



Pegucho, Otavalo

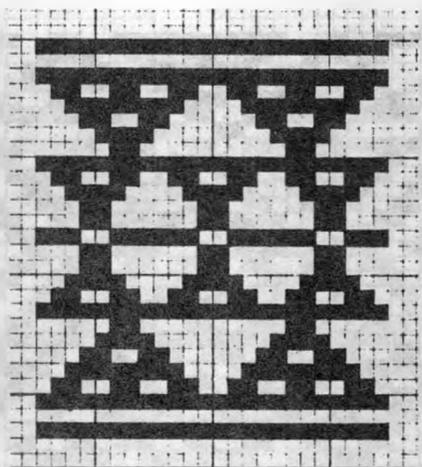


Topo Grande, Cotacachi

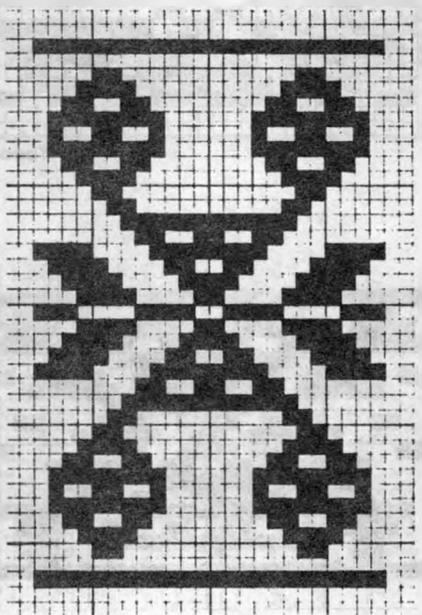


Pantallón, Ibarra

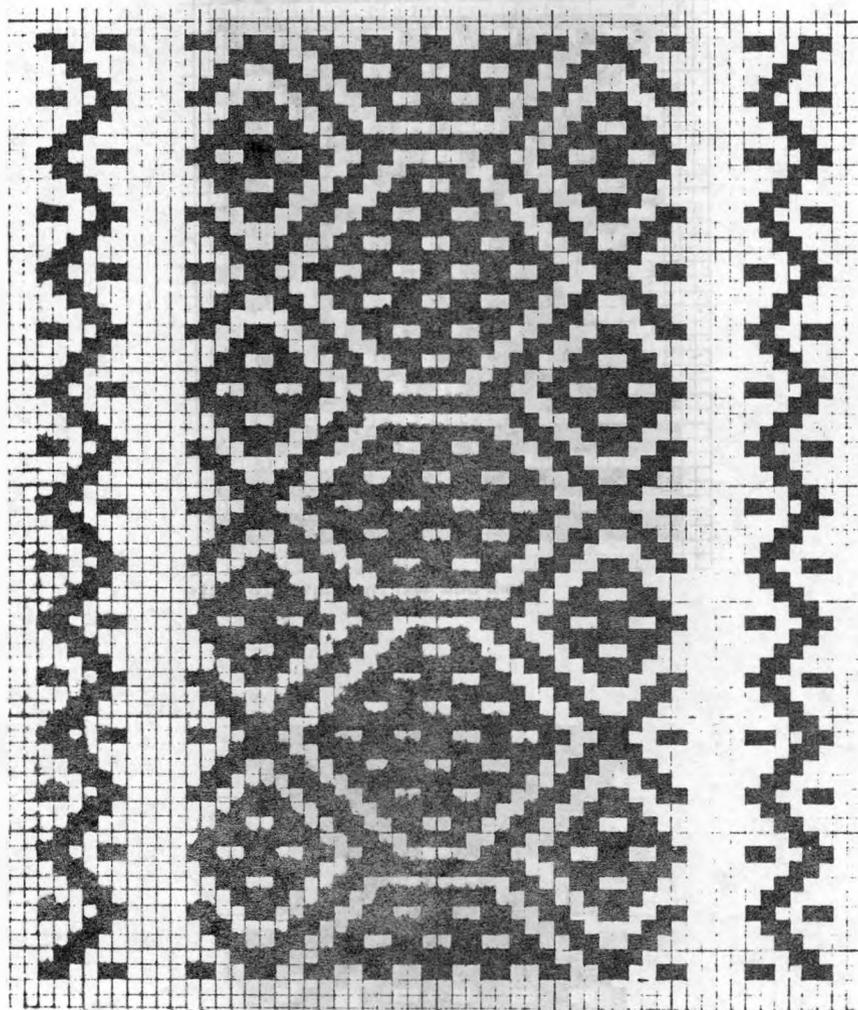
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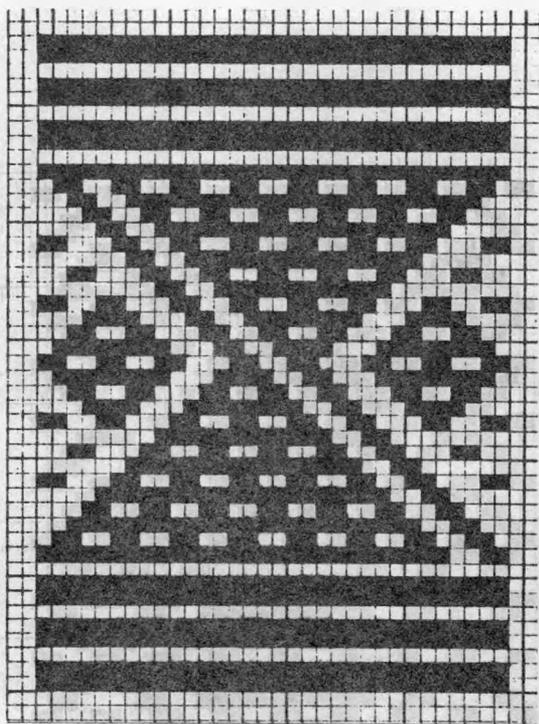
Peniquindra, Ibarra



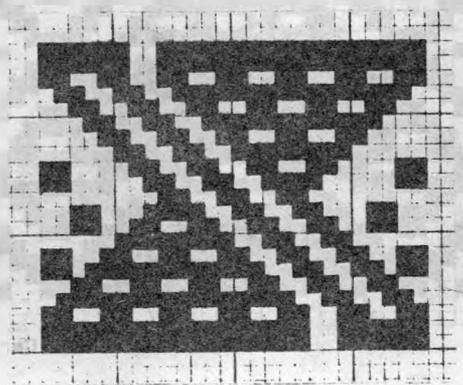
Peniquindra, Ibarra



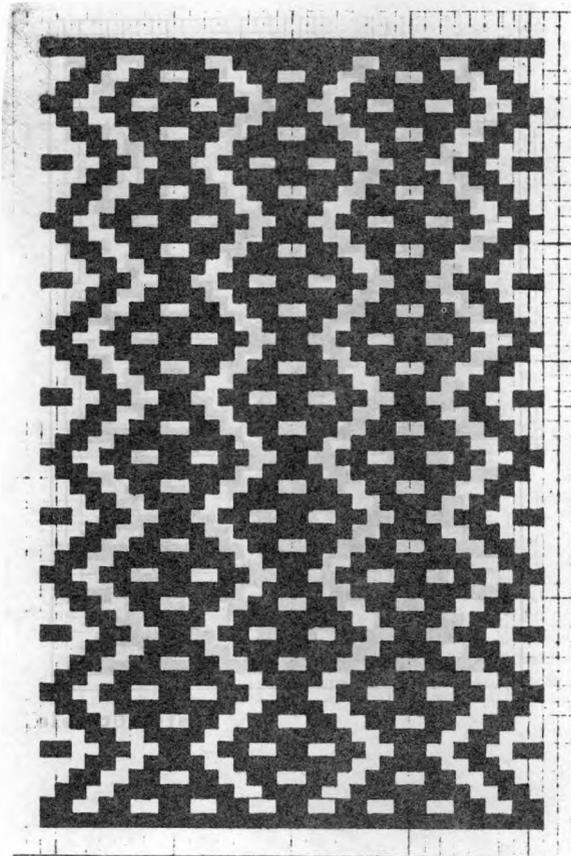
El Cercado, Cotacachi



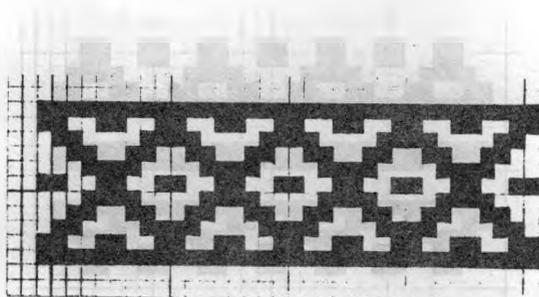
**Andrade Marín, Antonio Ante**



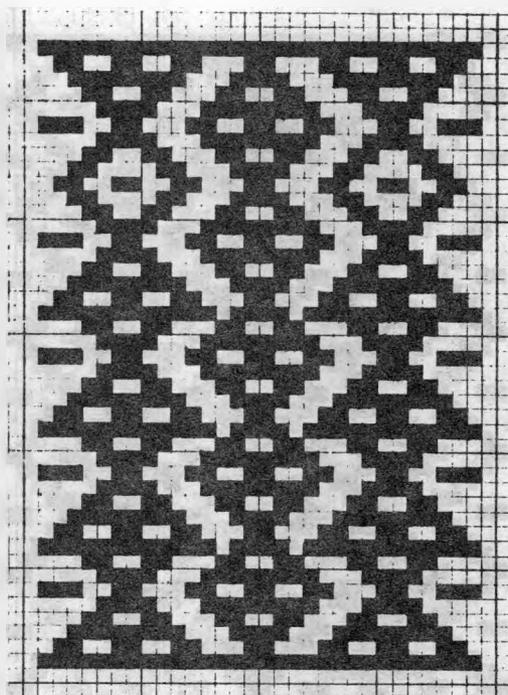
**Imentag, Cotacachi**



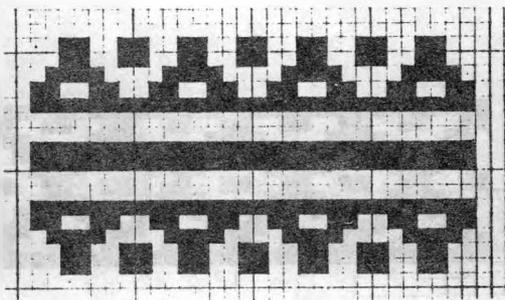
Otavalo



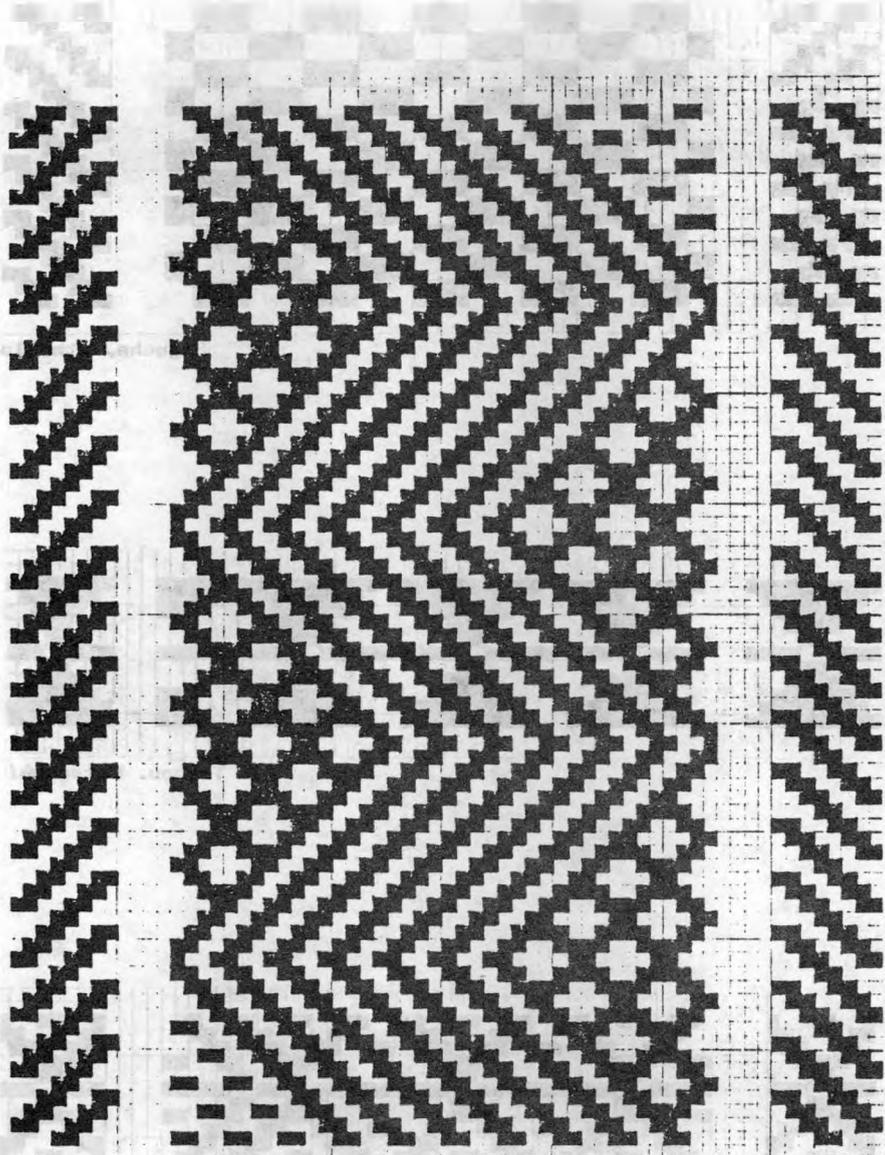
Pegucho, Otavalo



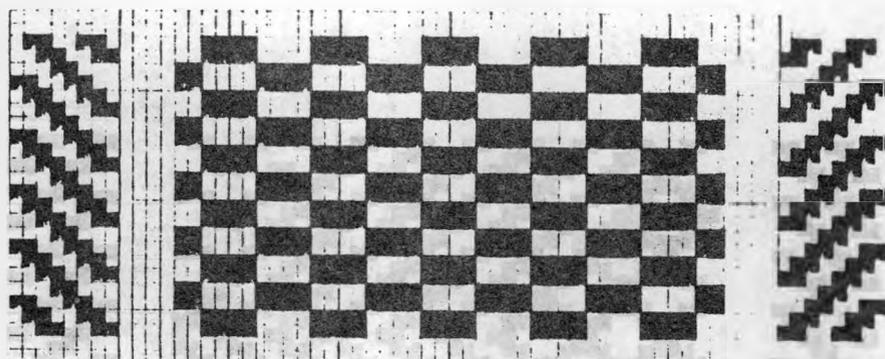
Agato, Otavalo



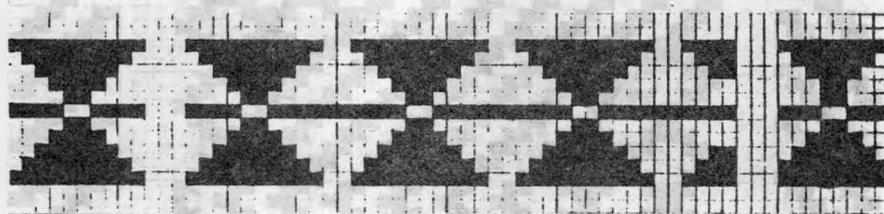
La Calera, Cotacachi



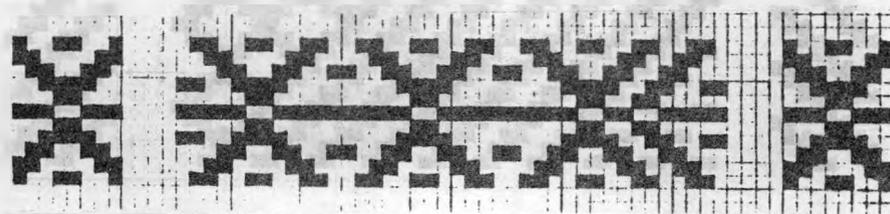
Peguche, Otevelo



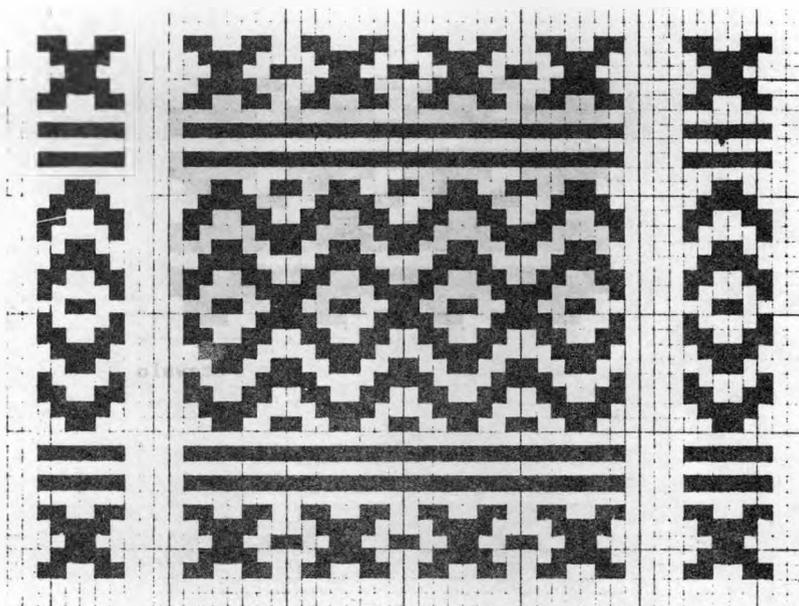
**Peguche, Otavalo**



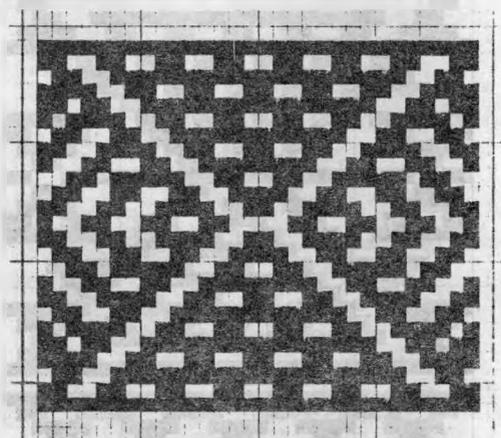
**Turucu, Cotacachi**



**Peguche, Otavalo**

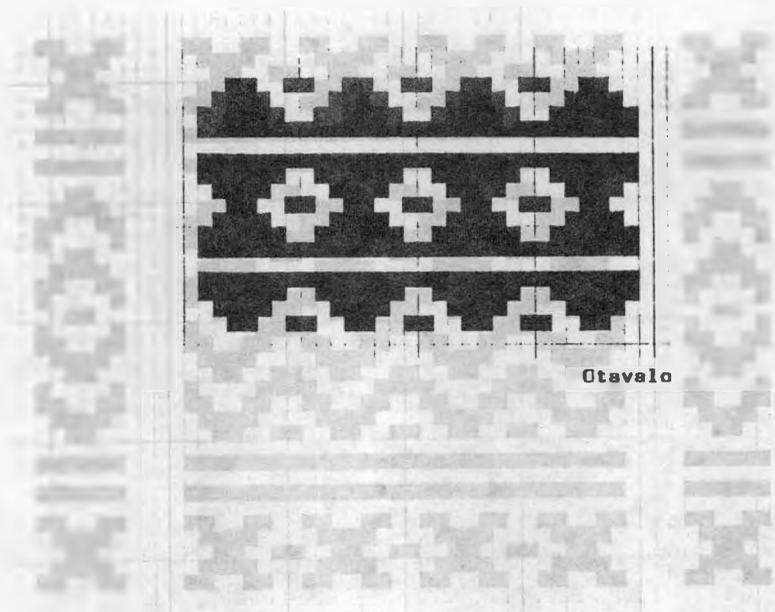


Turucu, Cotacachi

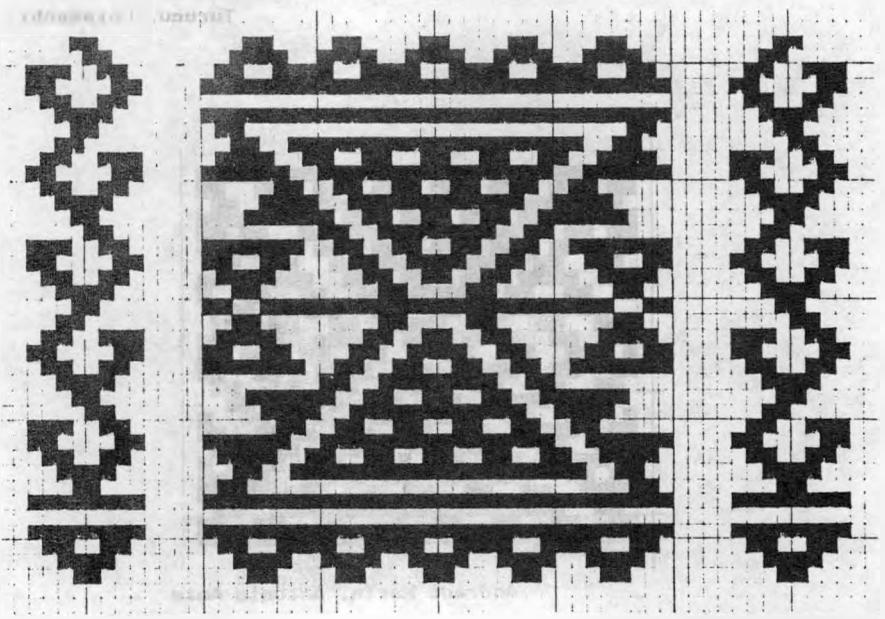


Andrade Marín, Antonio Ante

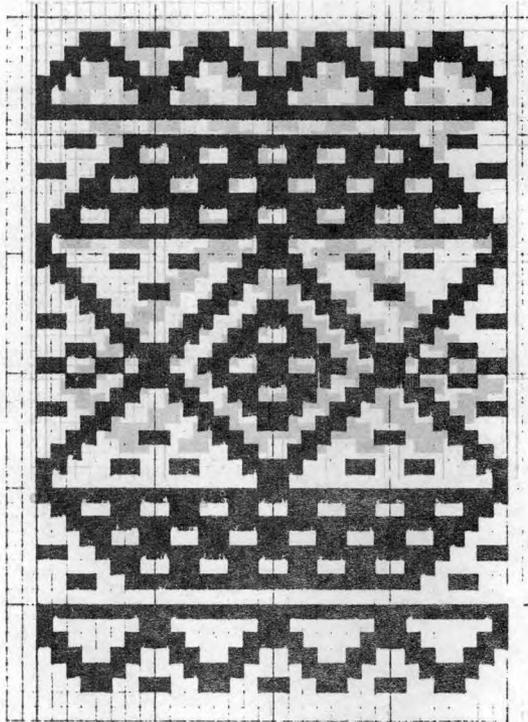
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Otavalo



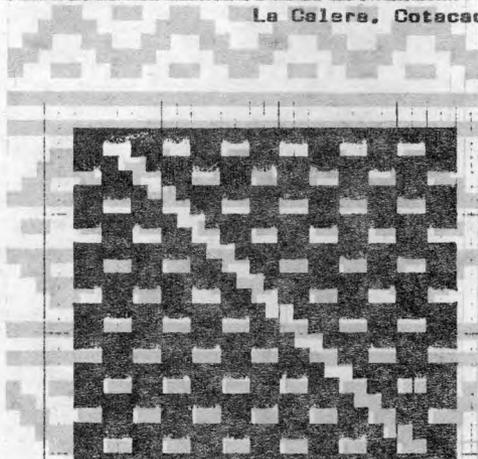
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



La Colera, Cotacachi

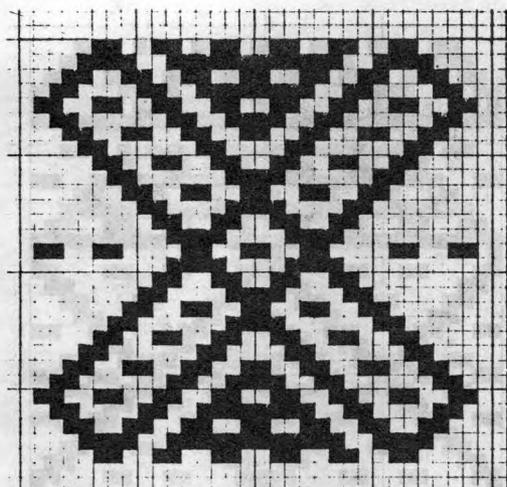


Tubo Grande, Cotacachi

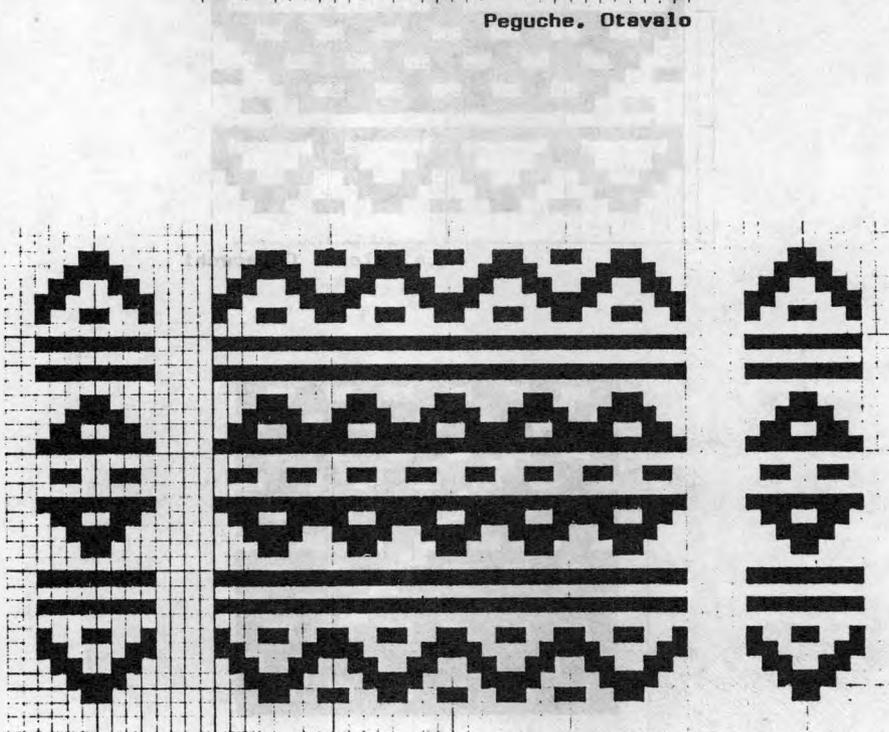


Peguche, Otavalo

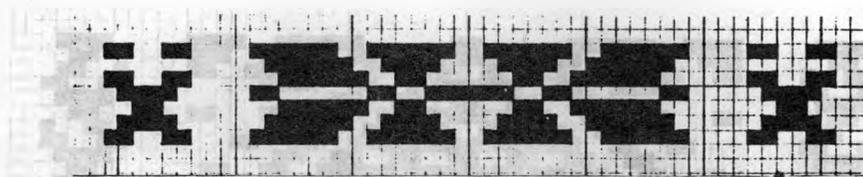




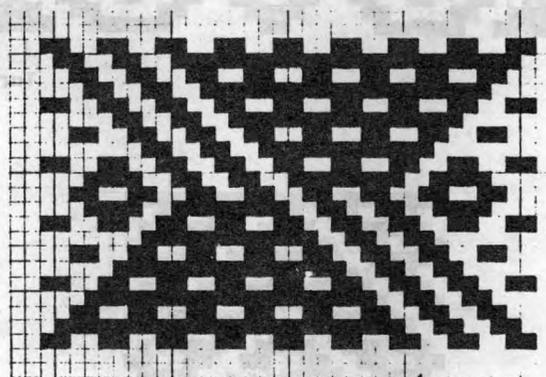
Peguiche, Otavalo



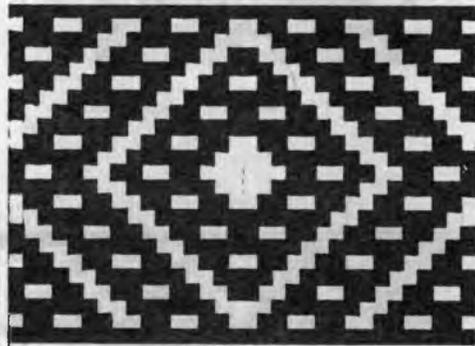
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



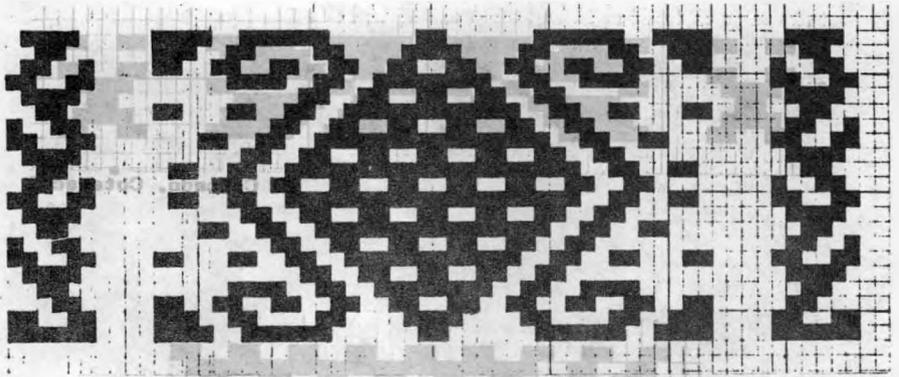
**El Cercado, Cotsacachi**



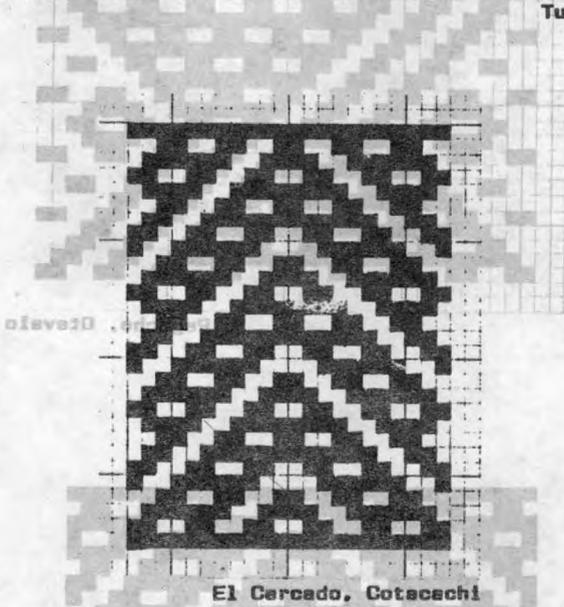
**Peguiche, Otavalo**



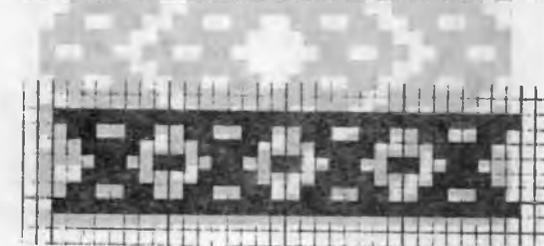
**Andrade Marín, Antonio Ante**



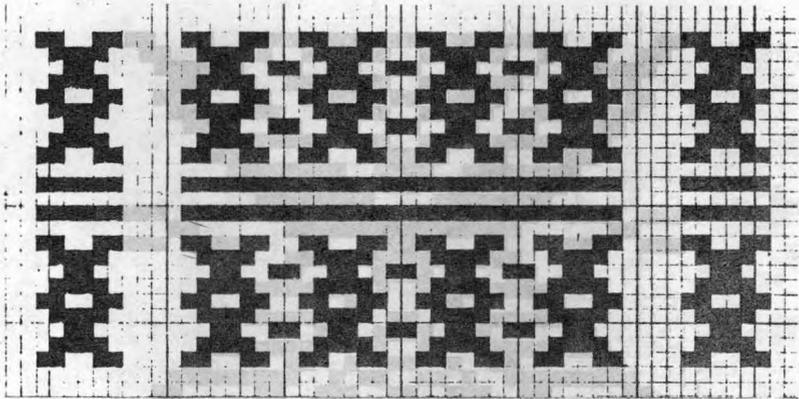
Turucu, Cotacachi



El Cercado, Cotacachi

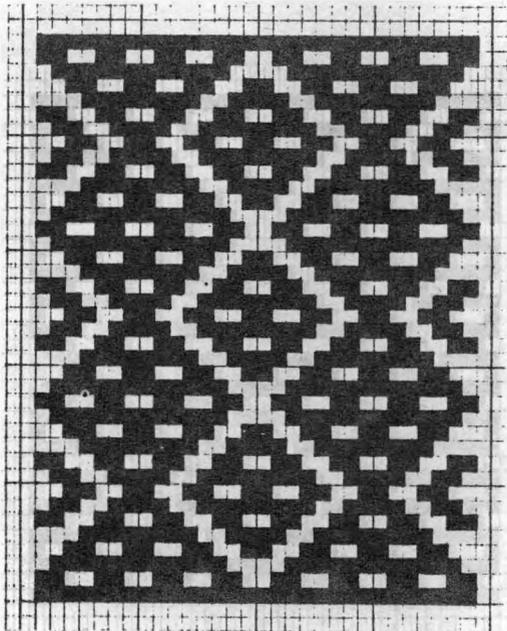


Andrade Merín, Antonio Ante

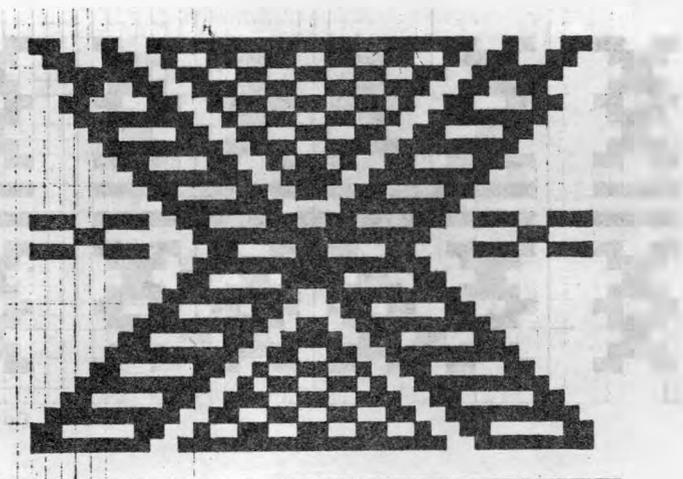


Turucu, Cotacachi

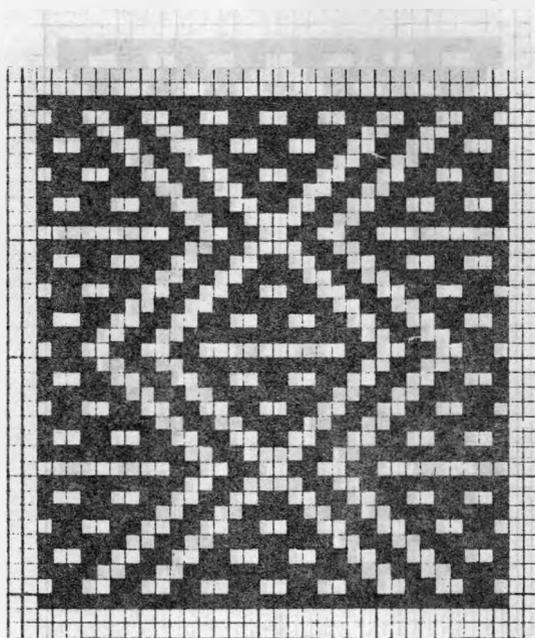
Pusa Itayacu, Ibarra



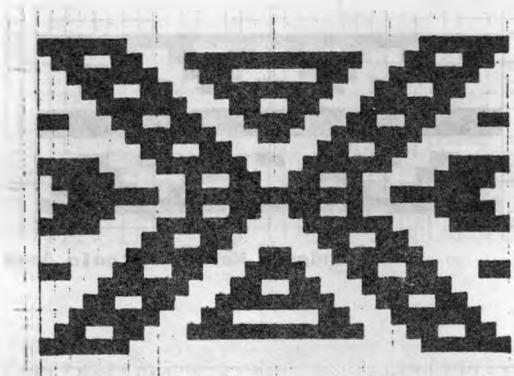
Arias Ucu, Otavalo



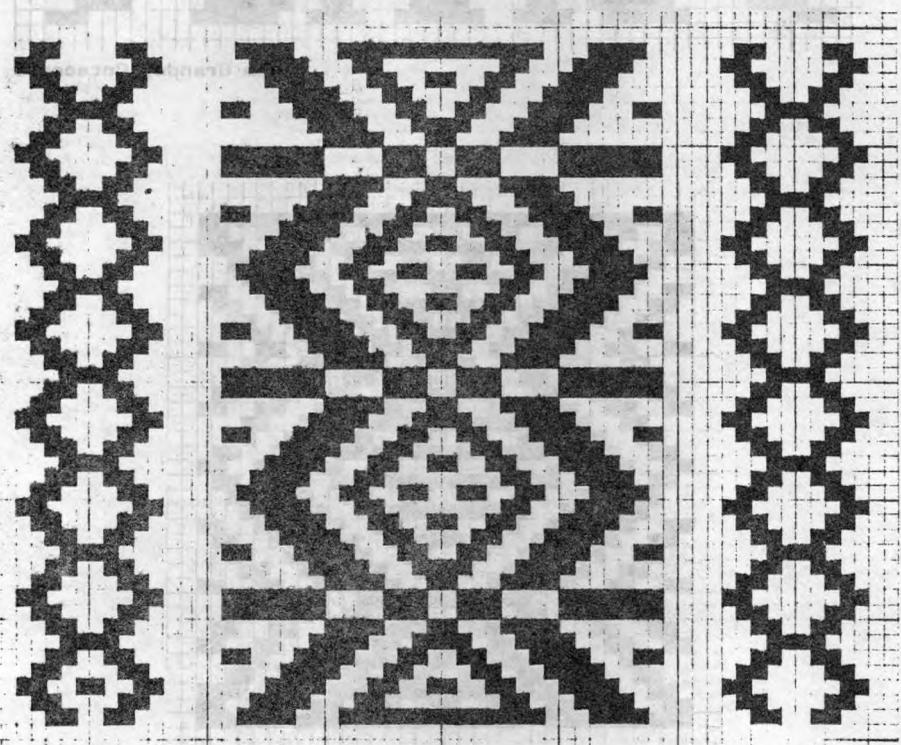
**Puca Huaycu, Ibarra**



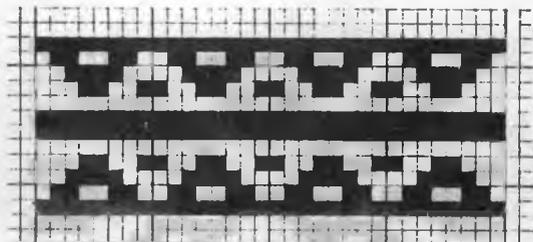
**Andrade Marín, Antonio Ante**



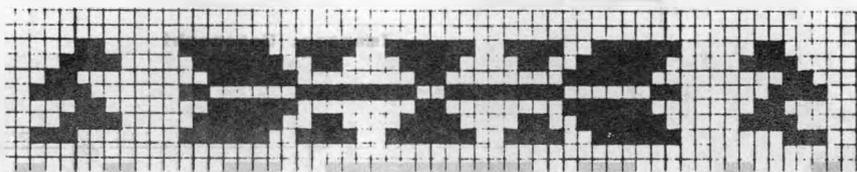
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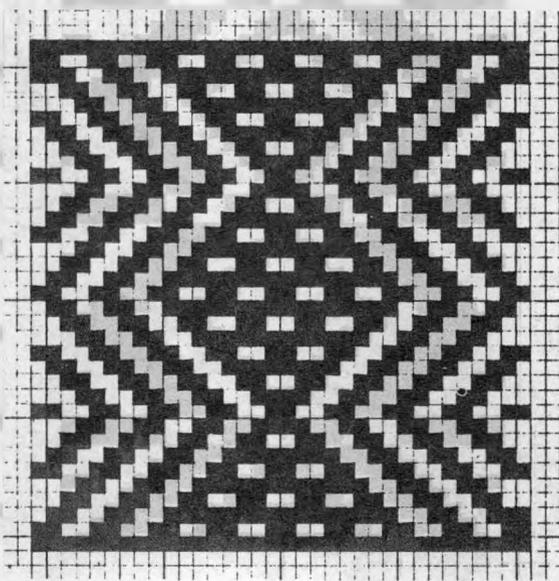
**Potreriillo, Cotacachi**



**Andrade Marín, Antonio Ante**



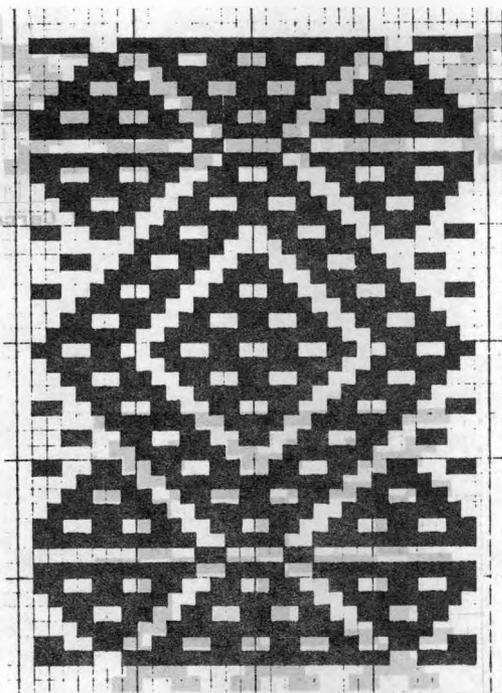
**Topo Grande, Cotacachi**



**Natabuela, Antonio Ante**

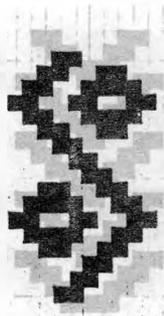


Potreriillo, Cotacachi

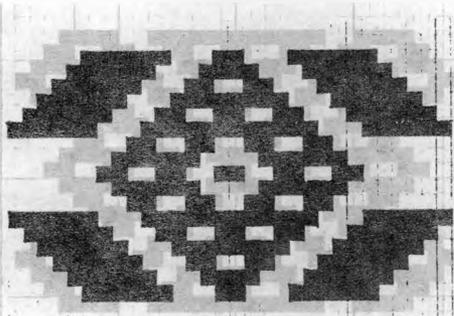


Andrade Marín, Antonio Ante

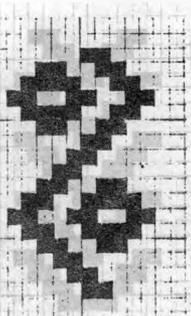
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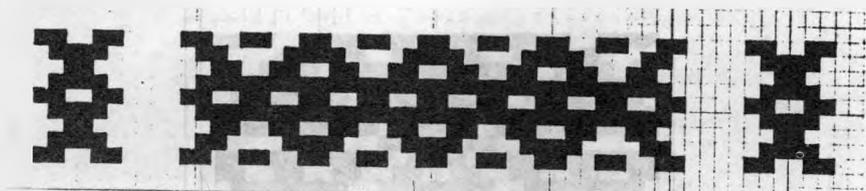


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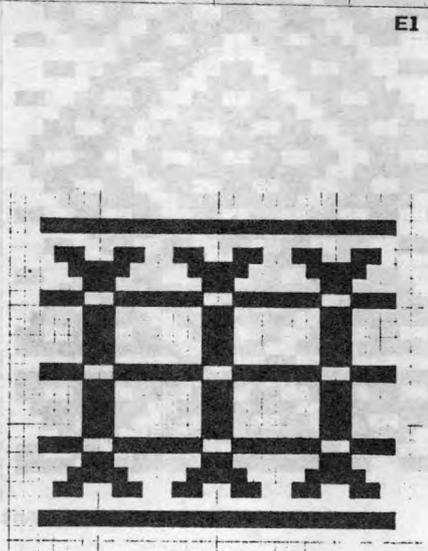


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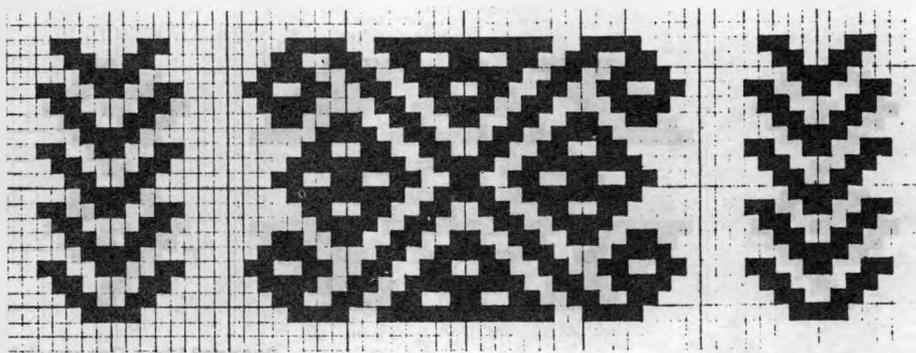




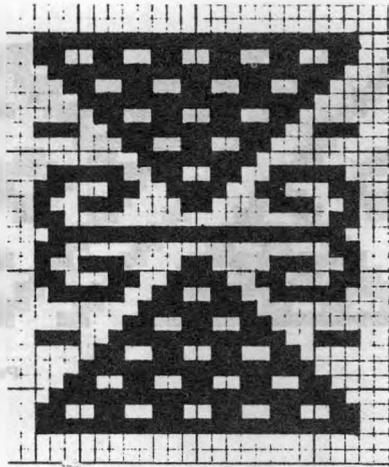
El Cercado, Cotacachi



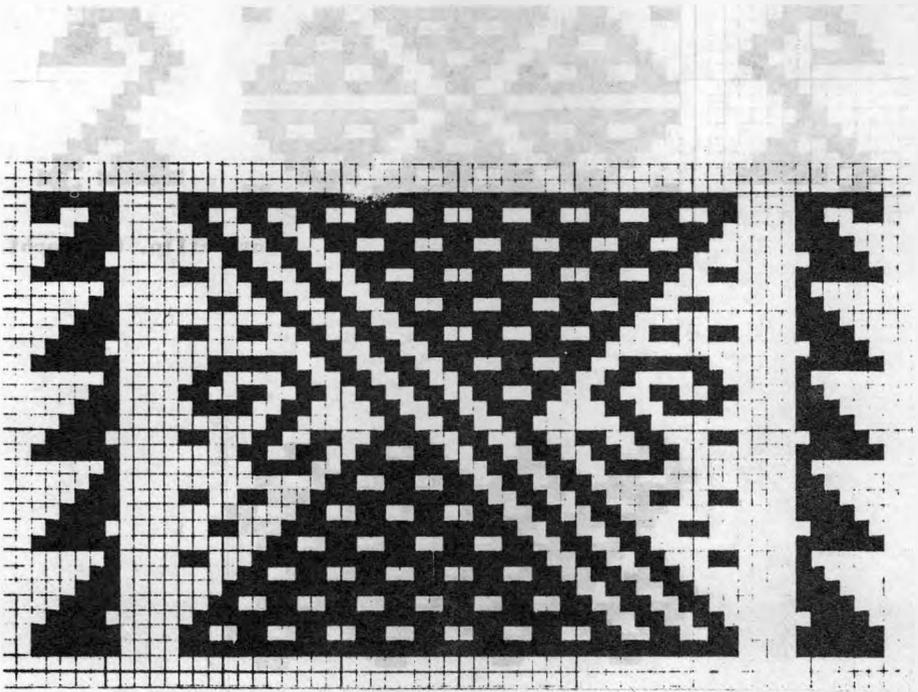
Paniquindra, Ibarra



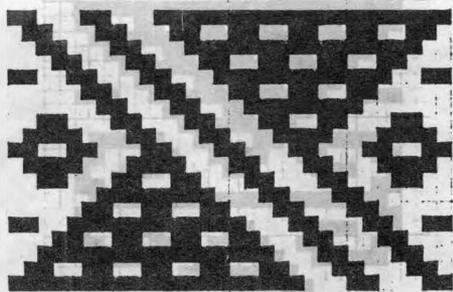
Potrерillo, Cotacachi



**Los Ovalos, Antonio Ante**



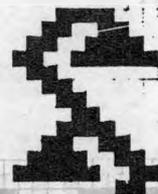
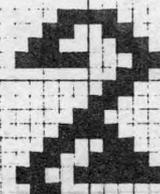
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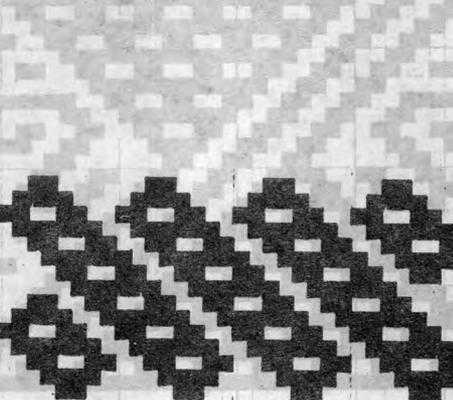
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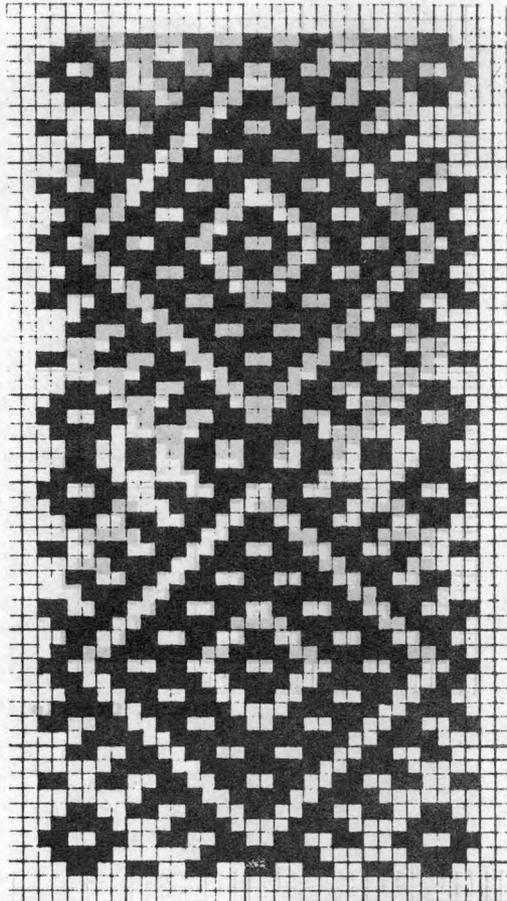
Los Ovarios, Antonio Ariza



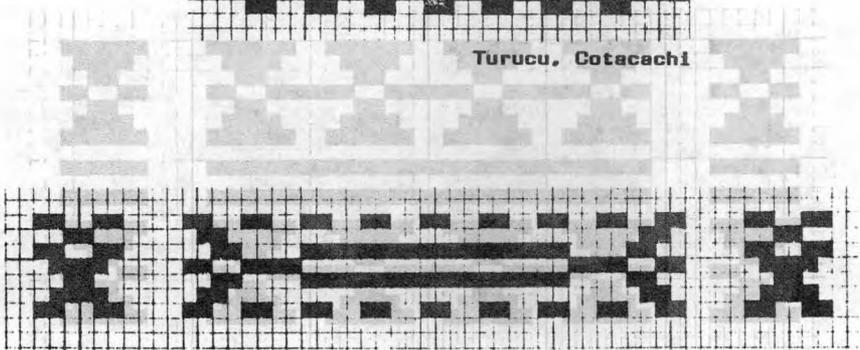
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Imantag, Cotacachi

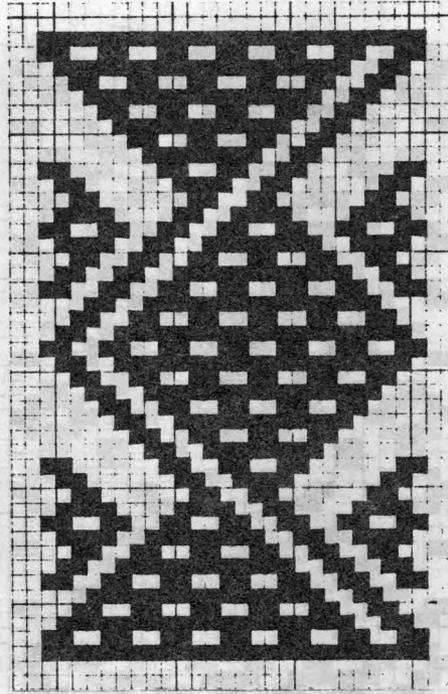


Turucu, Cotacachi

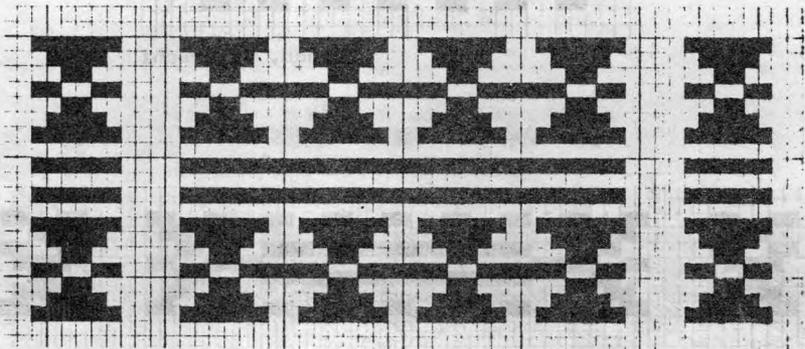


Turucu, Cotacachi

Topo Grande, Cotacachi

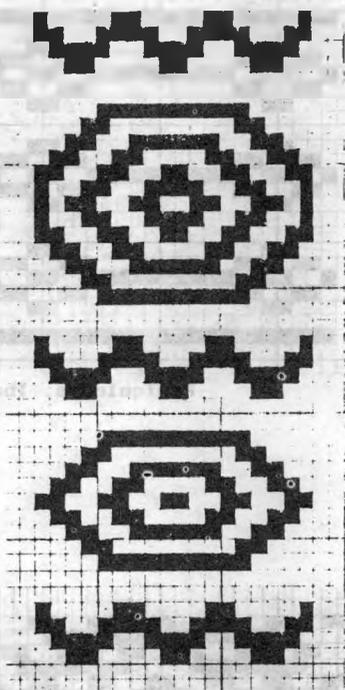


Ilumán, Otavalo

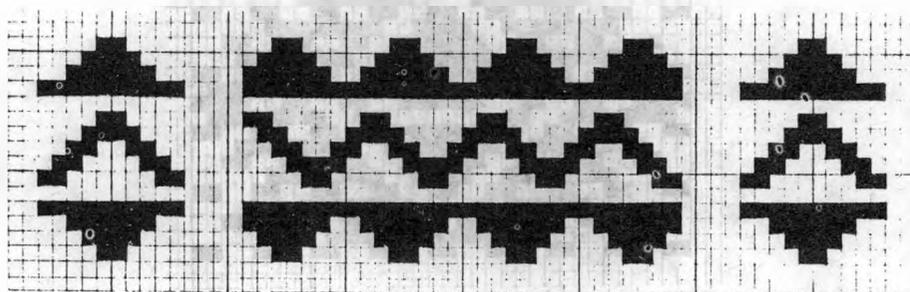


Toro Grande, Cotacachi

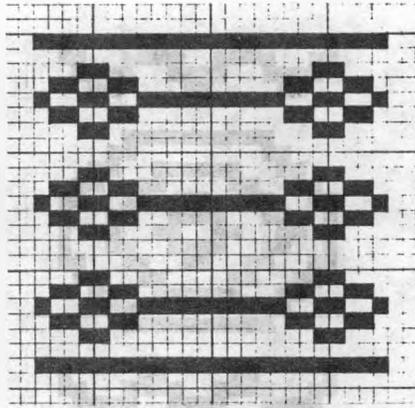
Turuco, Cotacachi



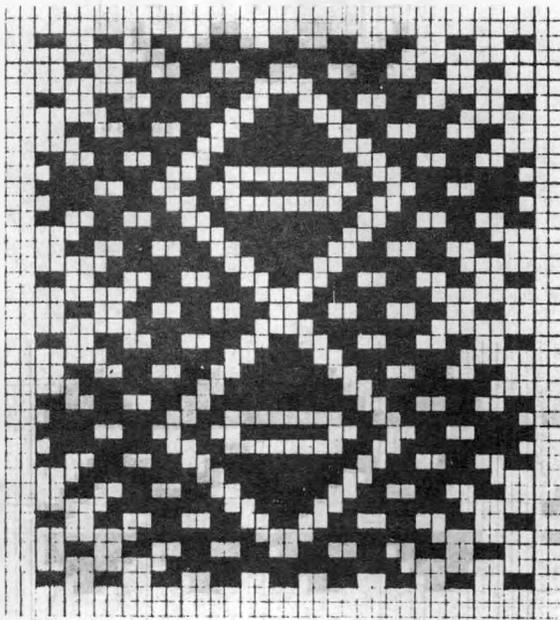
Otavalo



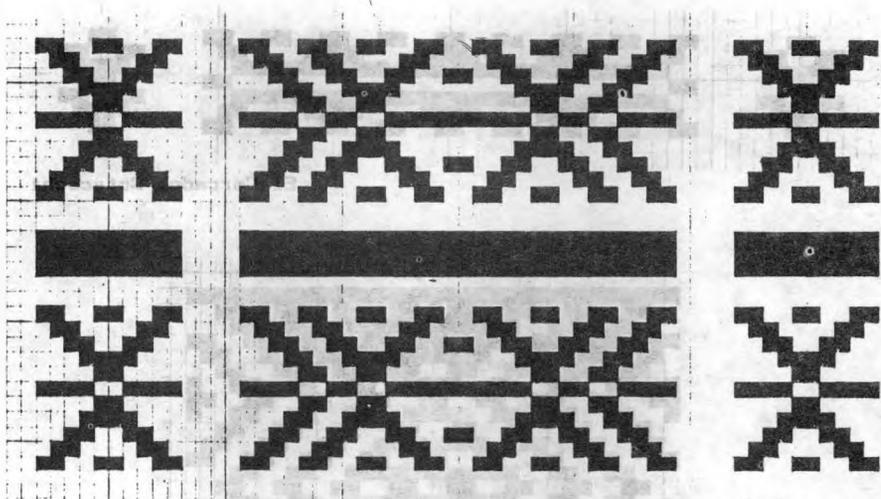
Potrerillo, Cotacachi



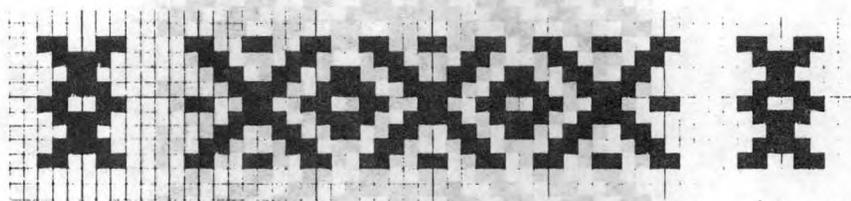
Paniquindra, Ibarra



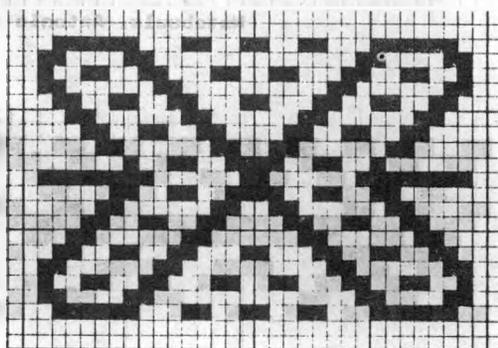
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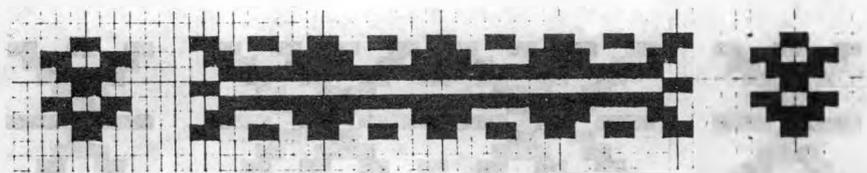
Potrerillo, Cotacachi



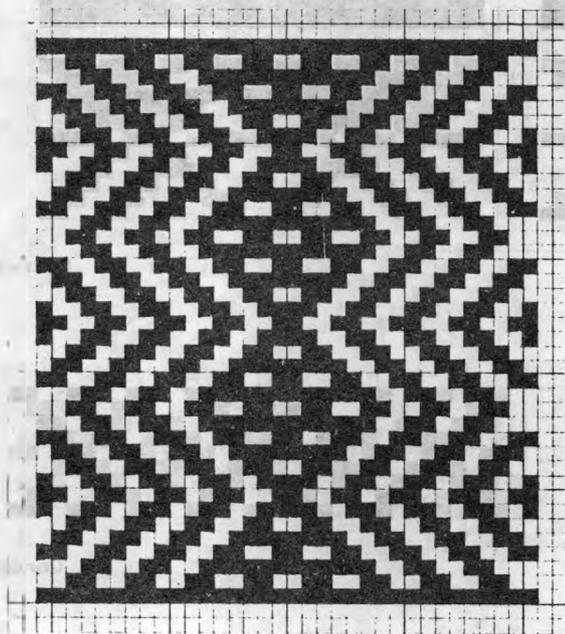
El Cercado, Cotacachi



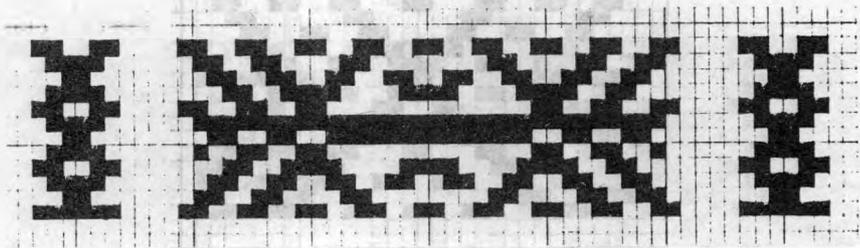
Agato, Otavalo



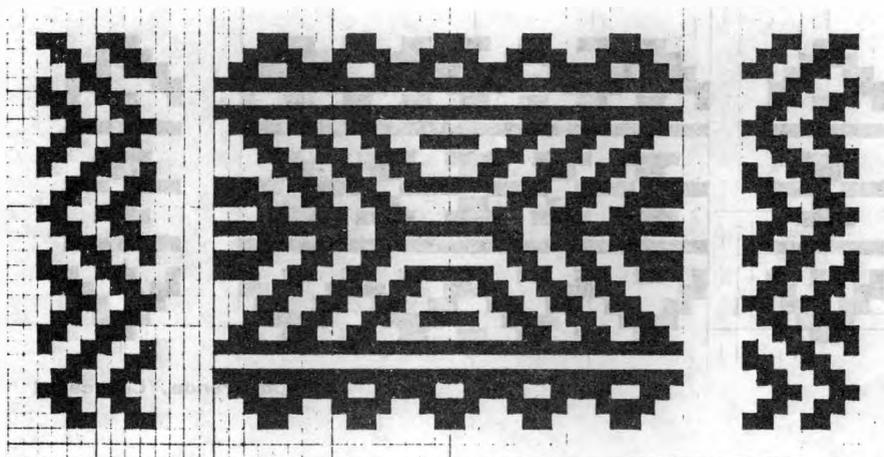
El Cercado, Cotacachi



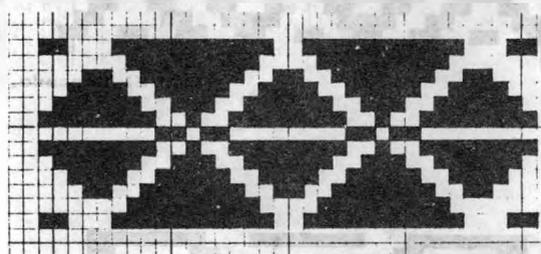
Natabuele, Antonio Ante



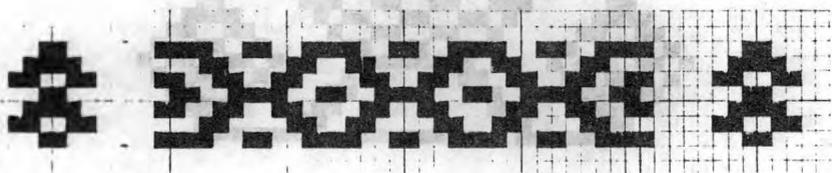
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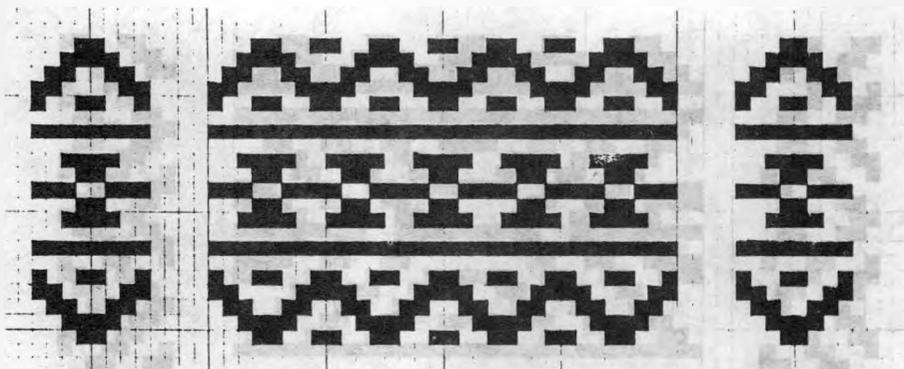
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



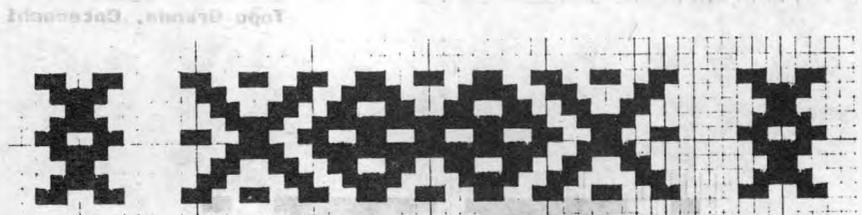
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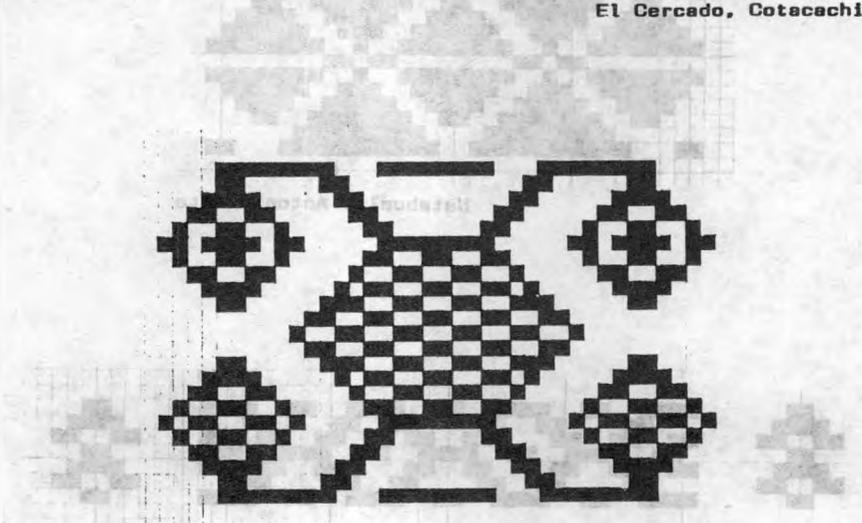
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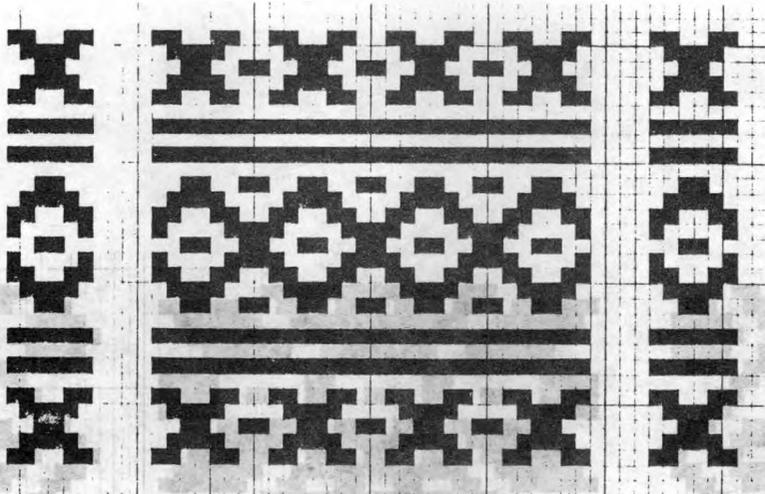
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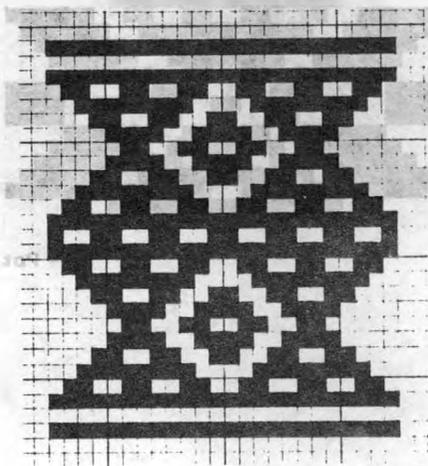
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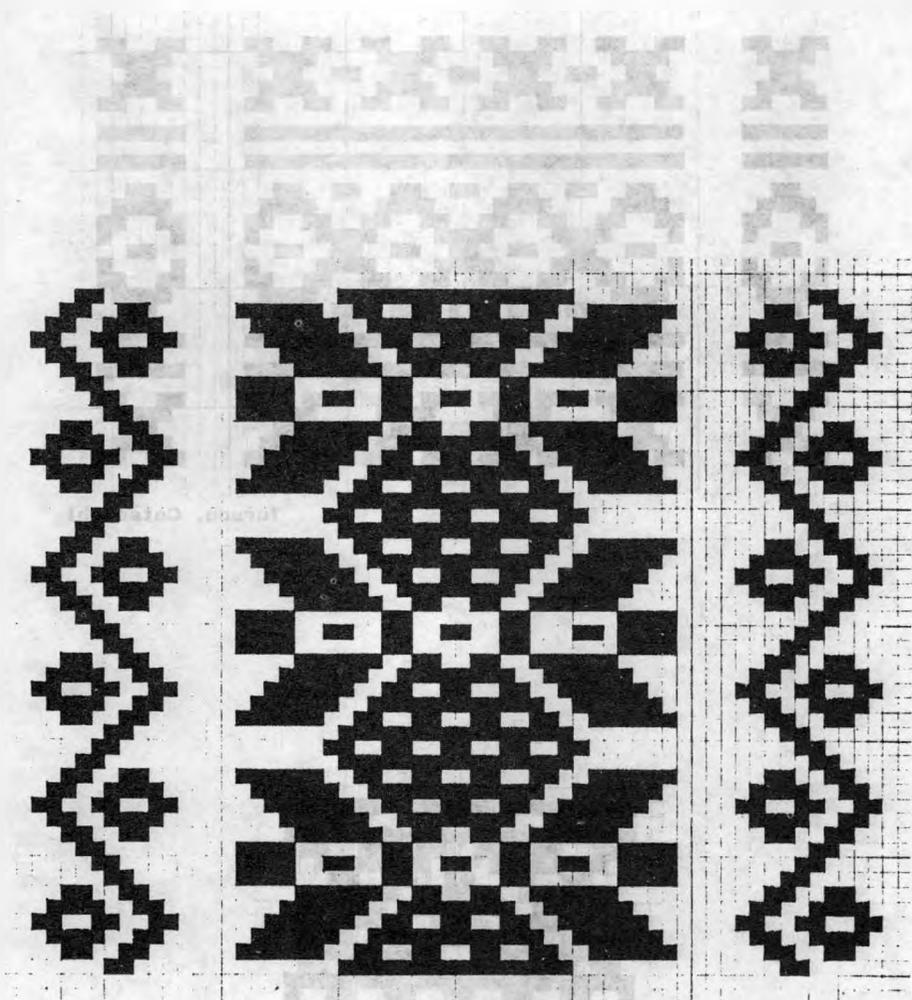
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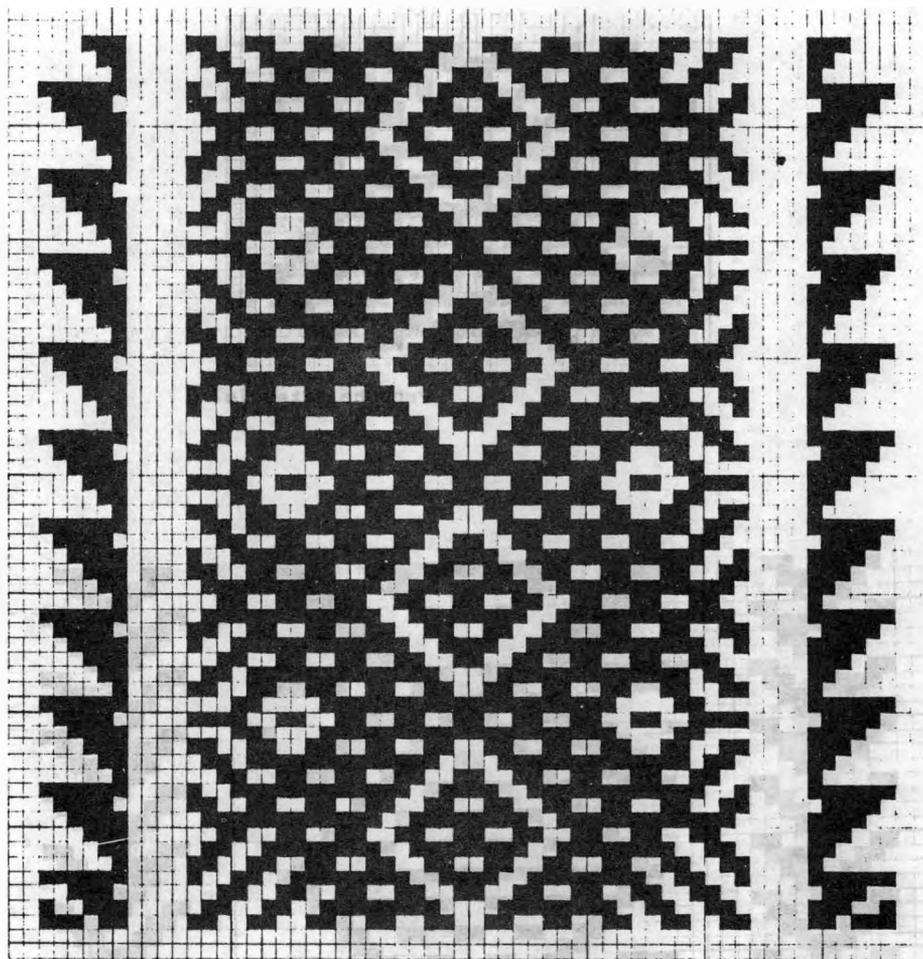
Turucu, Cotacachi



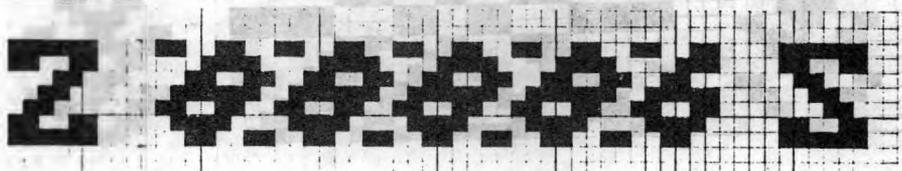
Paniquindra, Ibarra



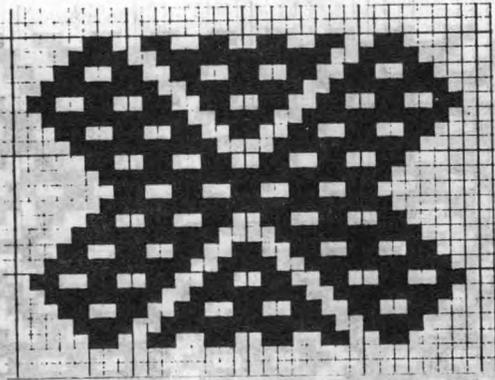
Potrерillo, Cotacachi



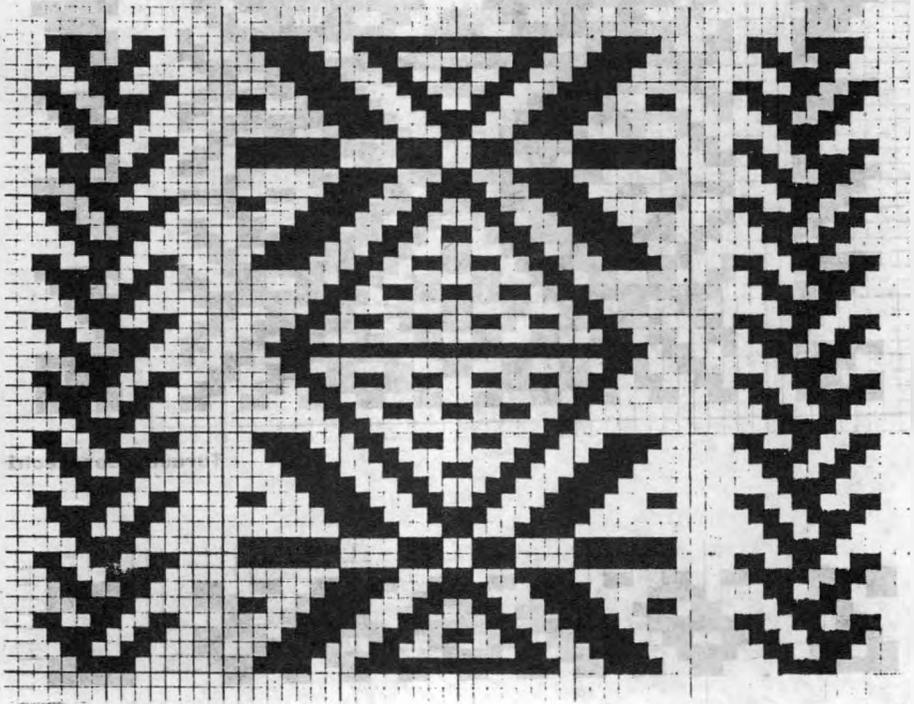
Turucu, Cotacachi



Turucu, Cotacachi

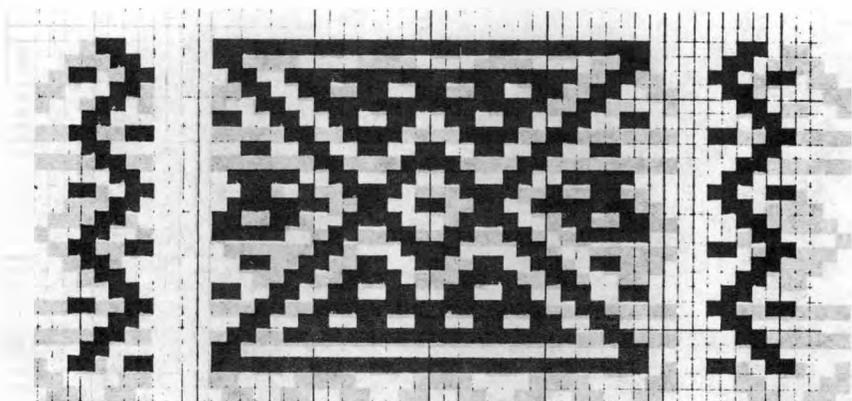


Peguiche, Otavelo

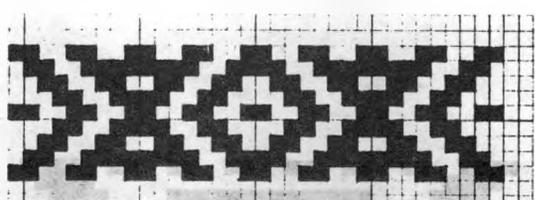


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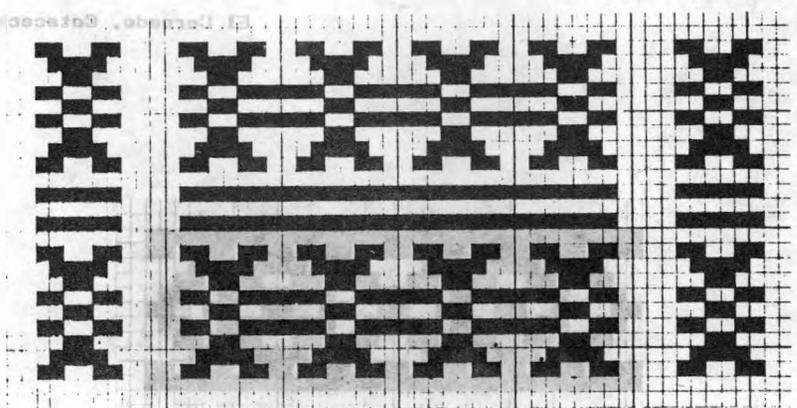
Potrerrillo, Cotacachi



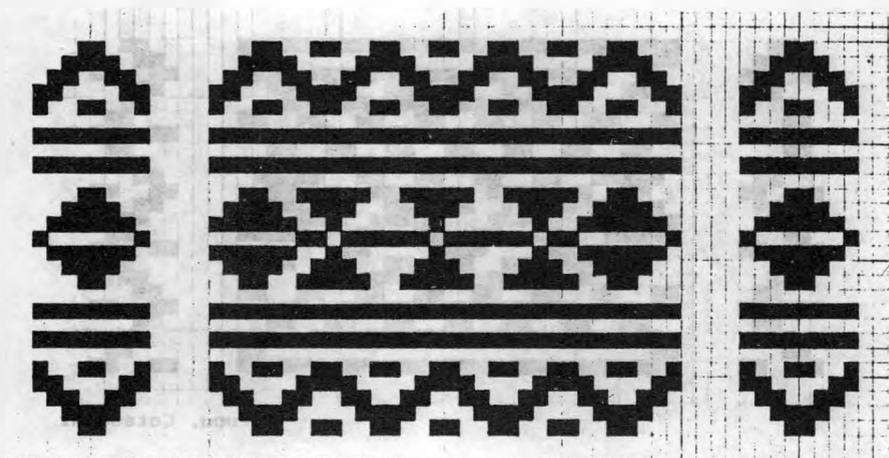
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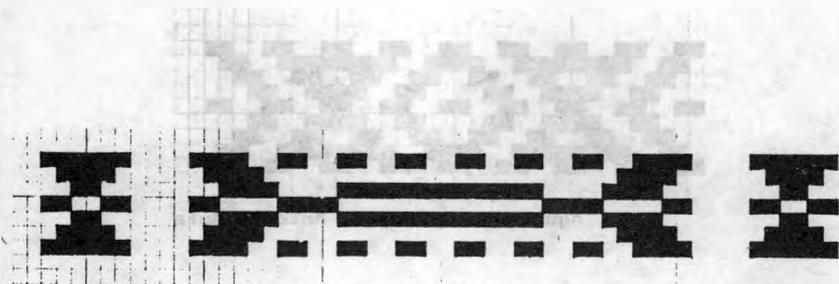
Agualongo Chiquito, Antonio Ante



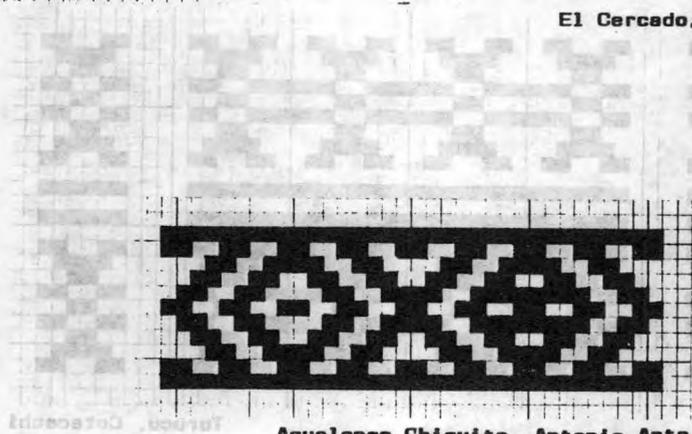
Turucu, Cotacachi



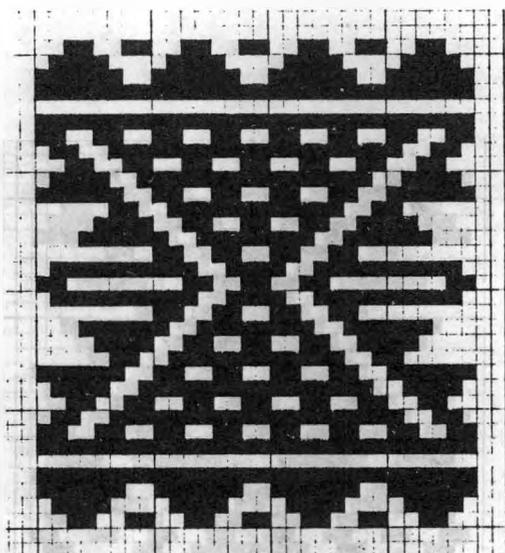
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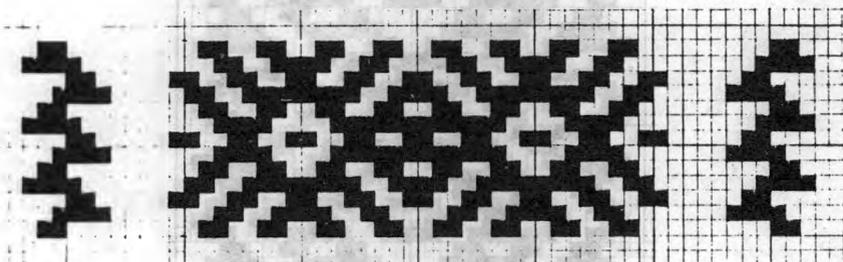
El Cercado, Cotacachi



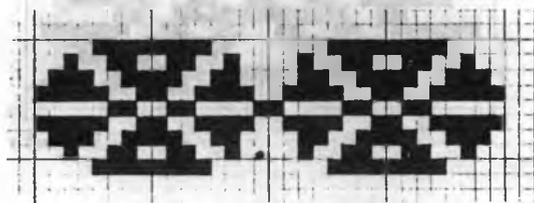
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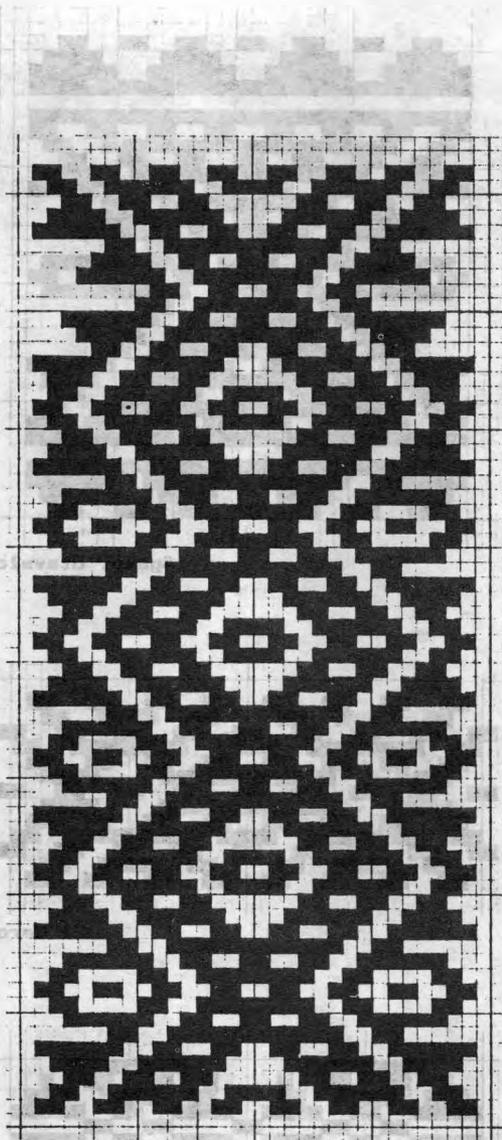
**Agato, Otavalo**



**El Cercado, Cotacachi**

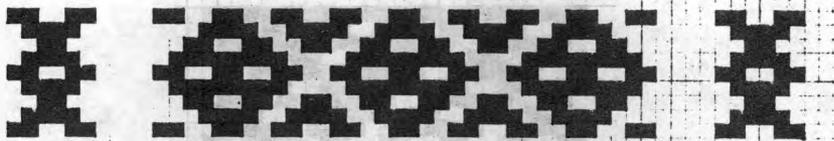


**La Compañía, Otavalo**

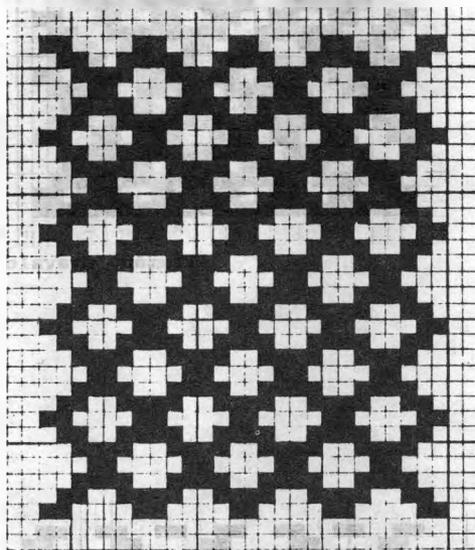


Agato. Otsevalo

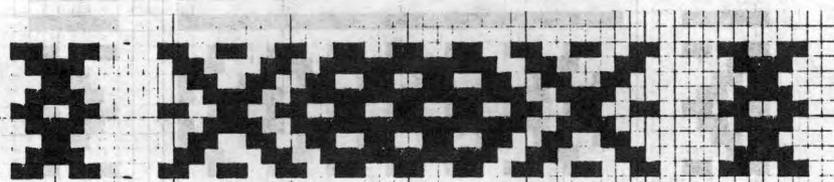
La Compañía, Otsevalo



El Cercado, Cotacachi

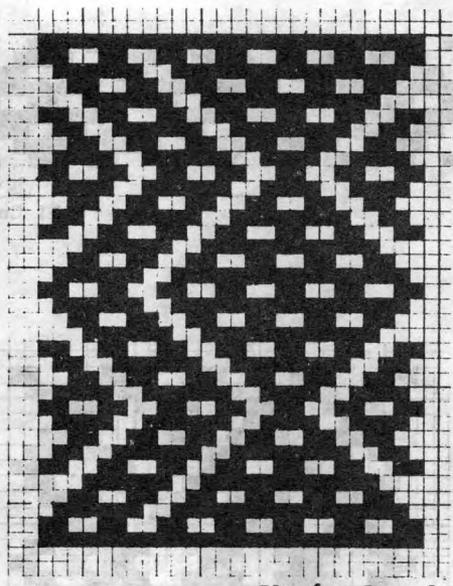


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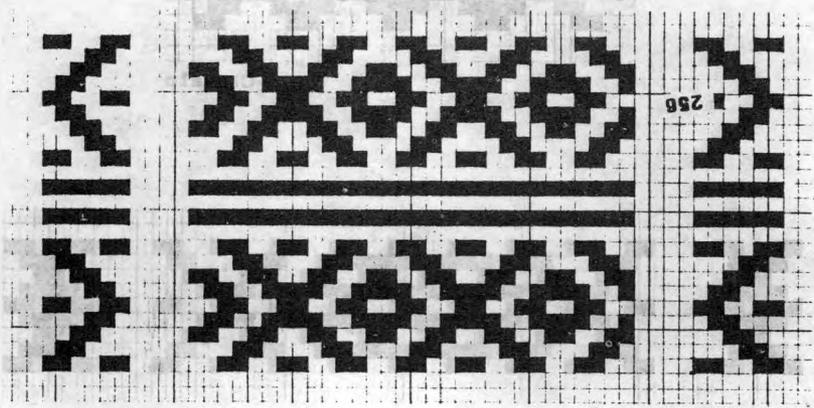


El Cercado, Cotacachi

Ilumán, Otevalo



Ilumán, Otevalo

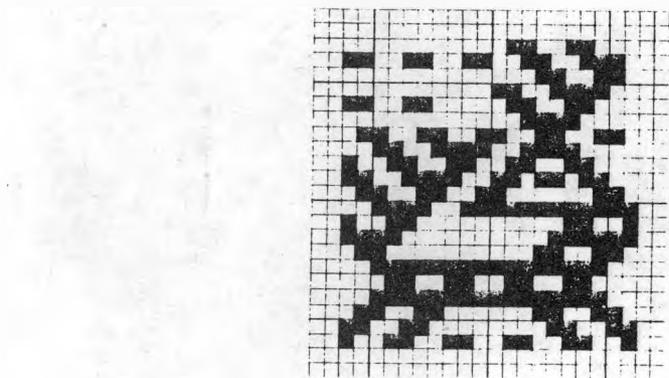


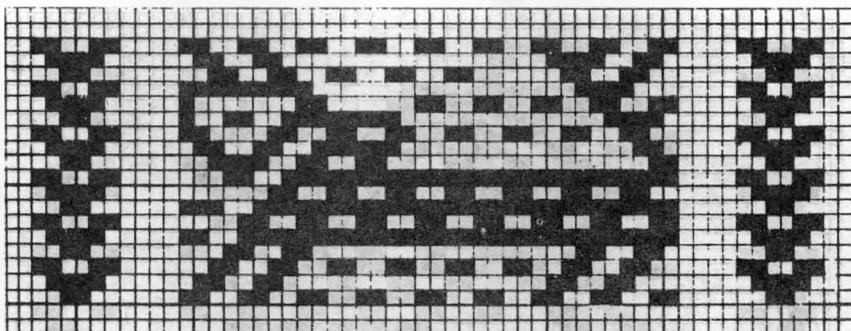
Turucu, Cotacachi

## MOTIVOS DE ANIMALES Y AVES

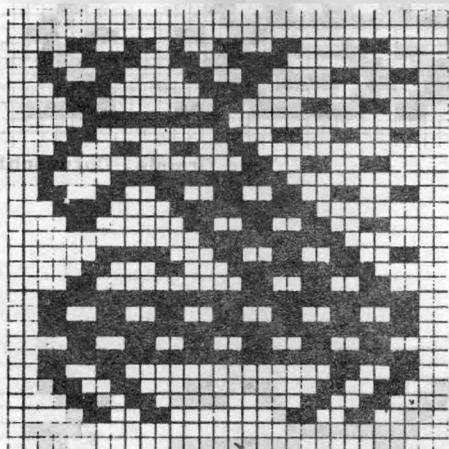
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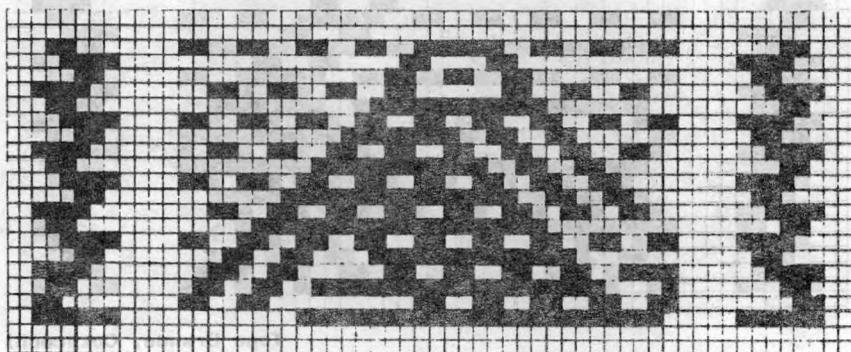




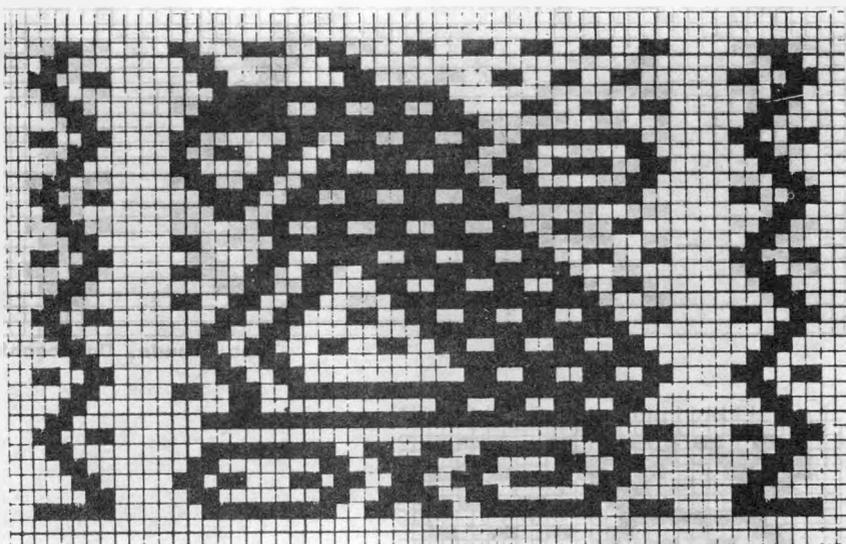
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



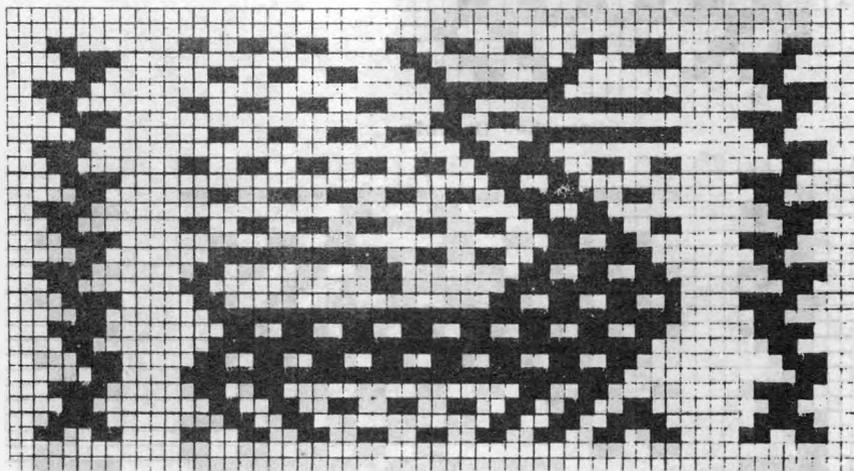
Peguche, Otavalo



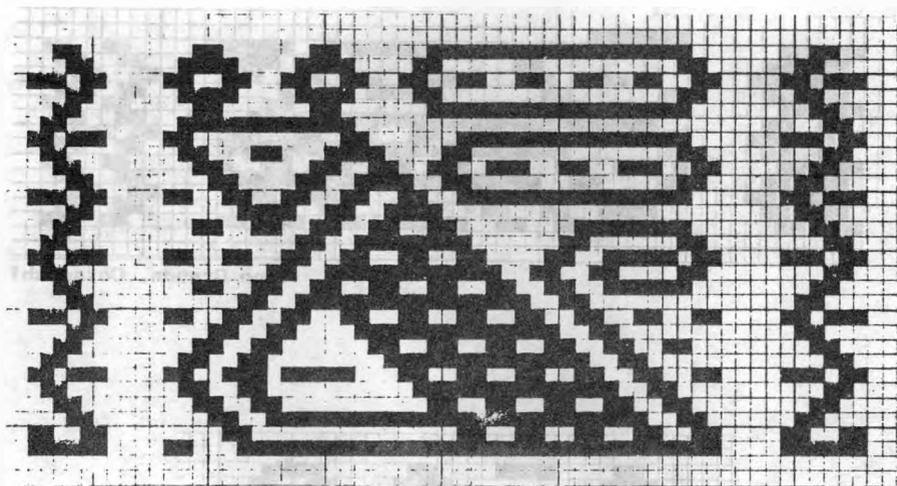
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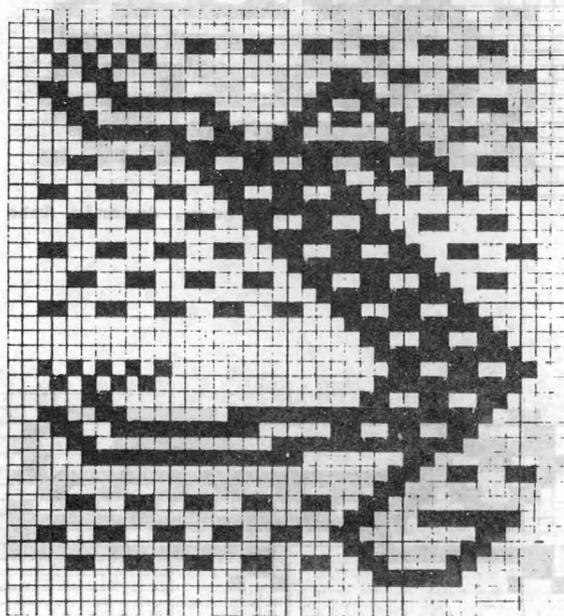
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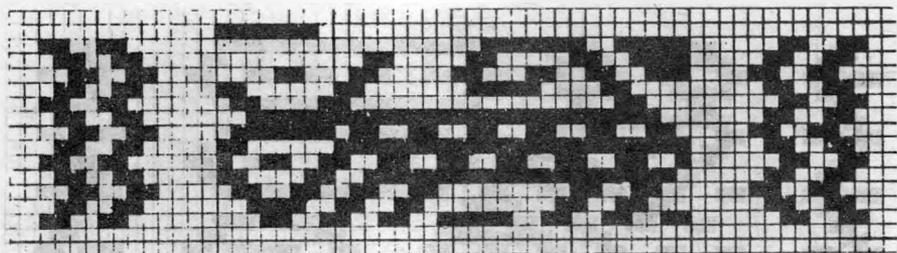
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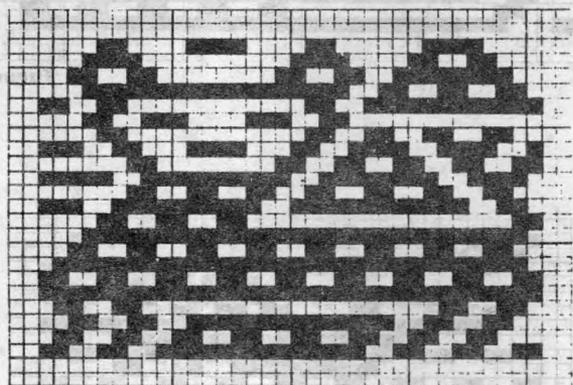
**Turucu, Cotacachi**



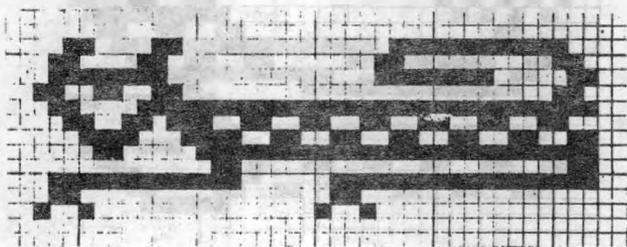
**Camuendo, Otavalo**



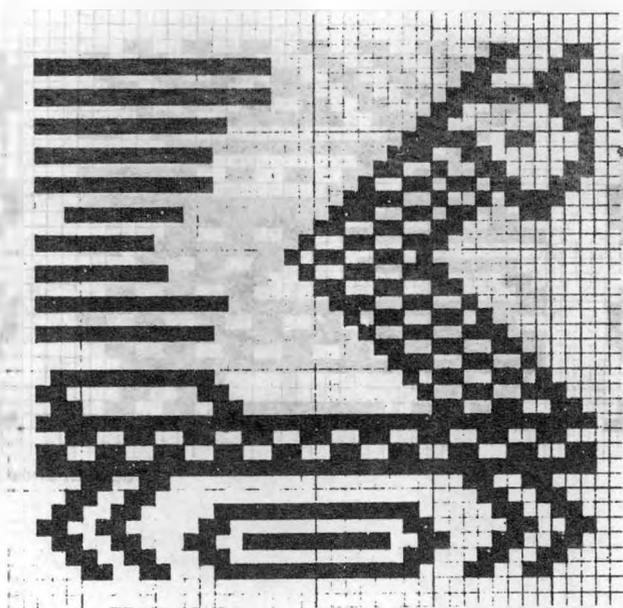
**Topo Grande, Coteachi**



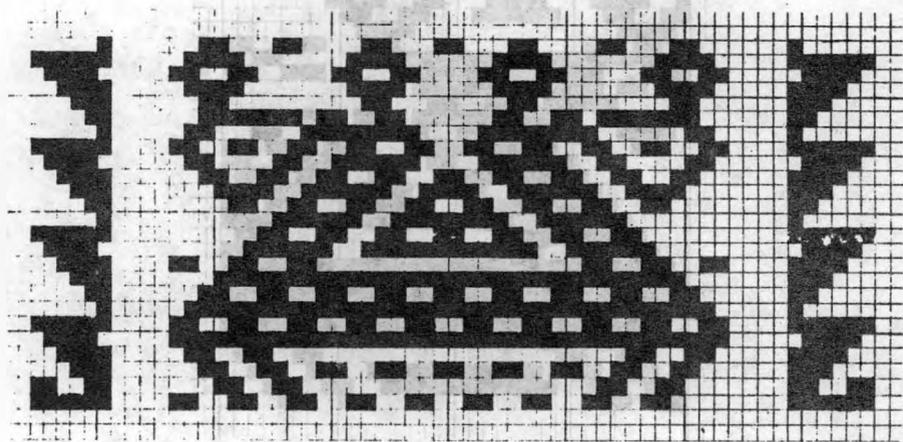
**Chaltura, Antonio Ante**



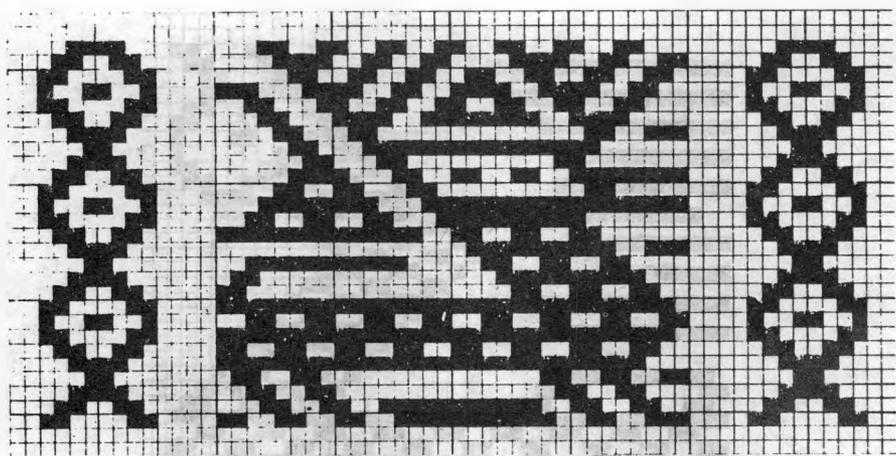
**Puca Huaycu, Ibarra**



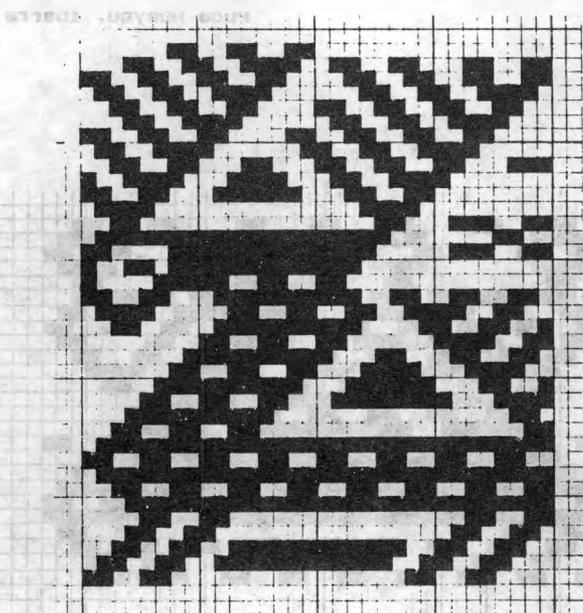
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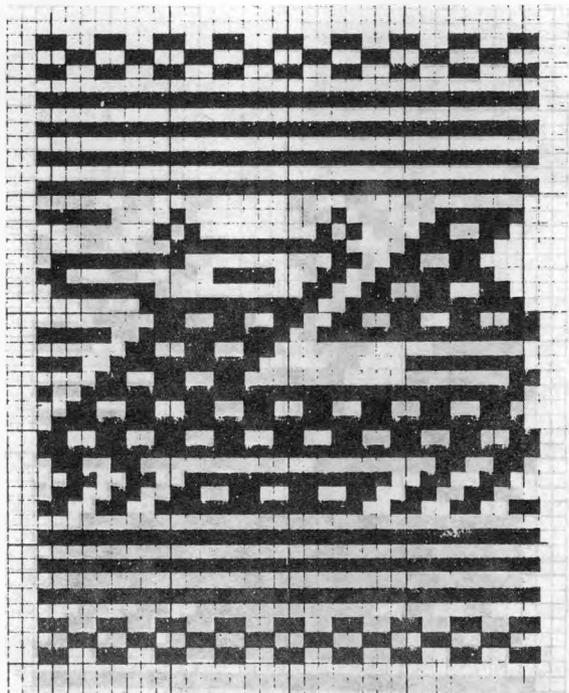
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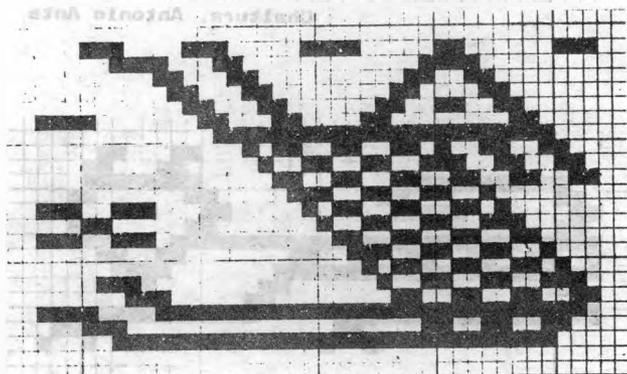
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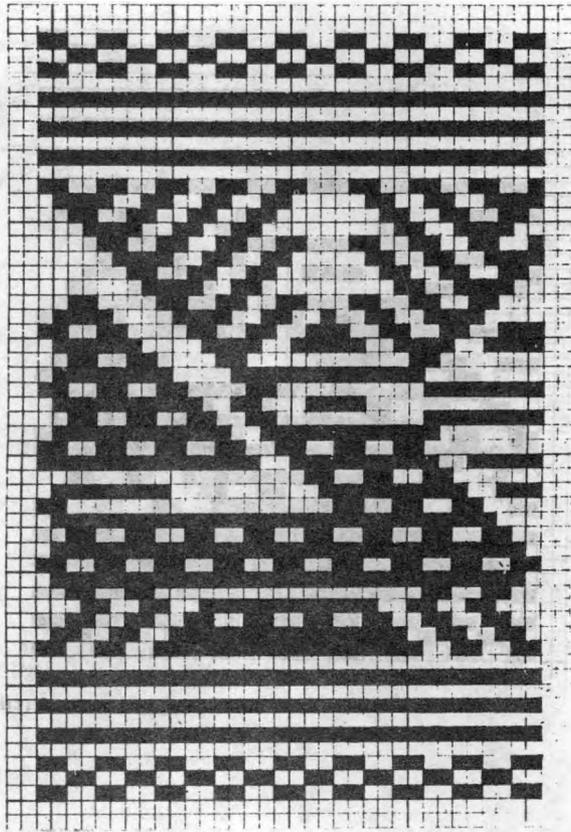
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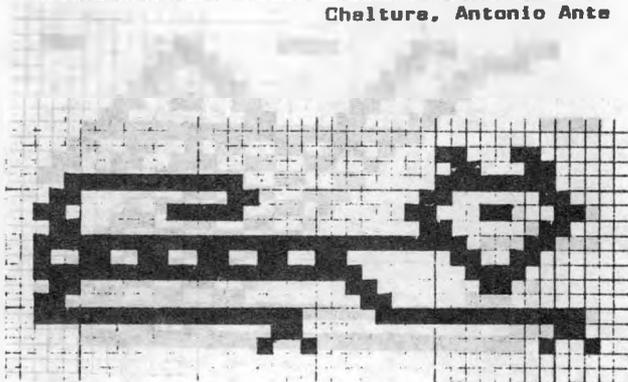
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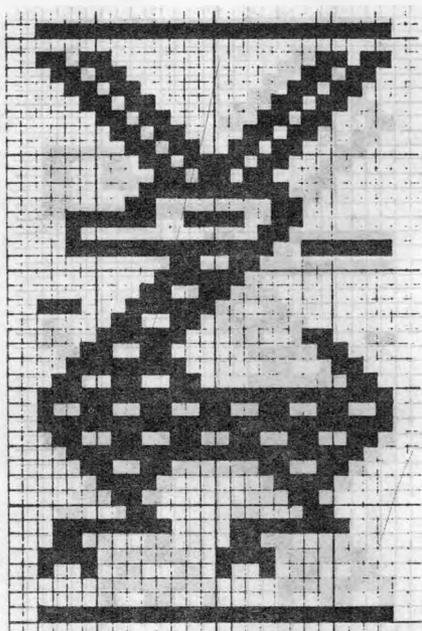
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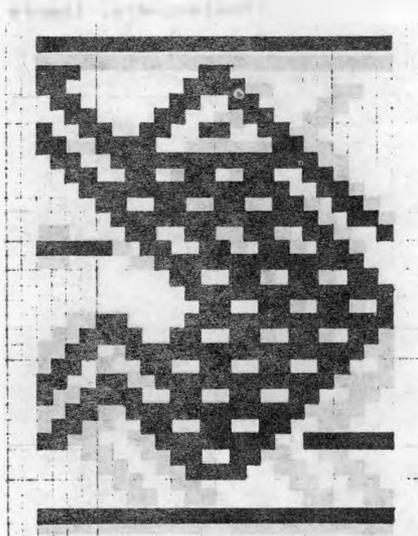
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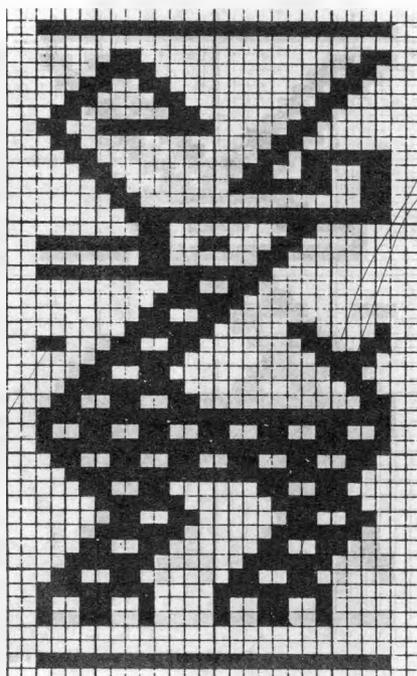
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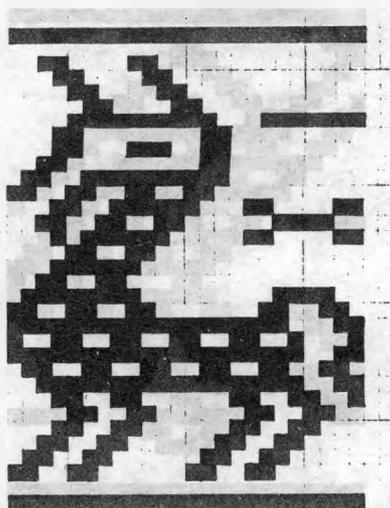
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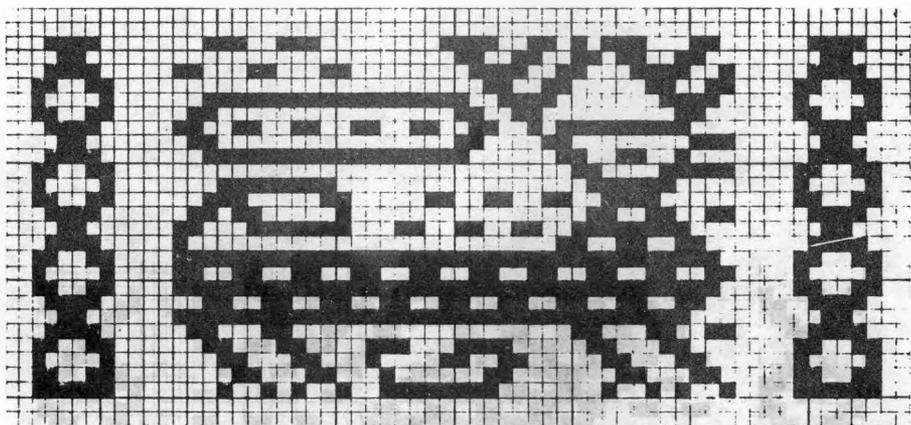
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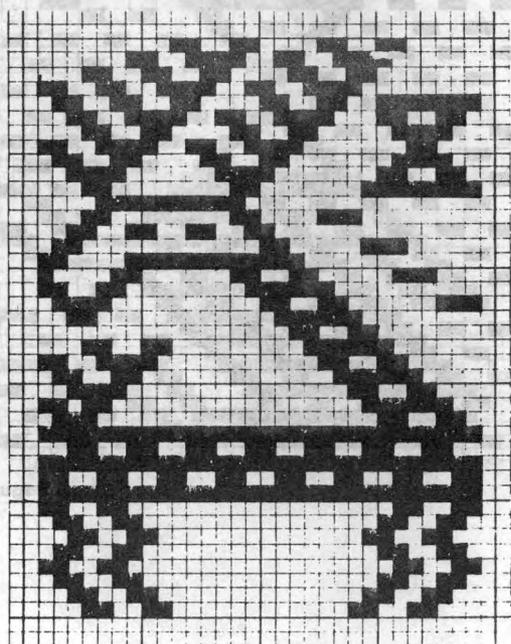
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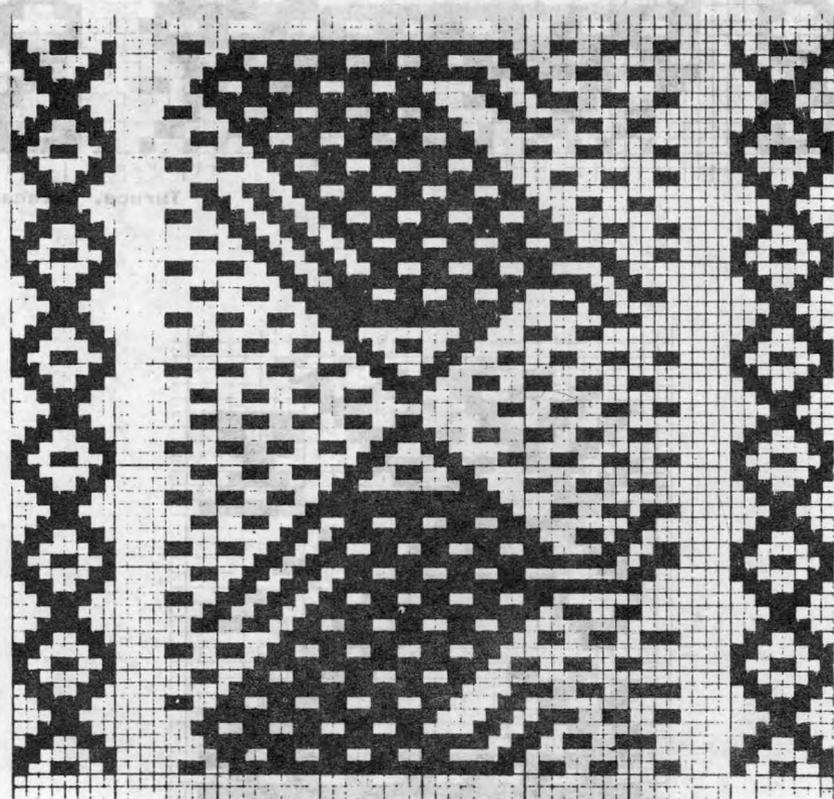
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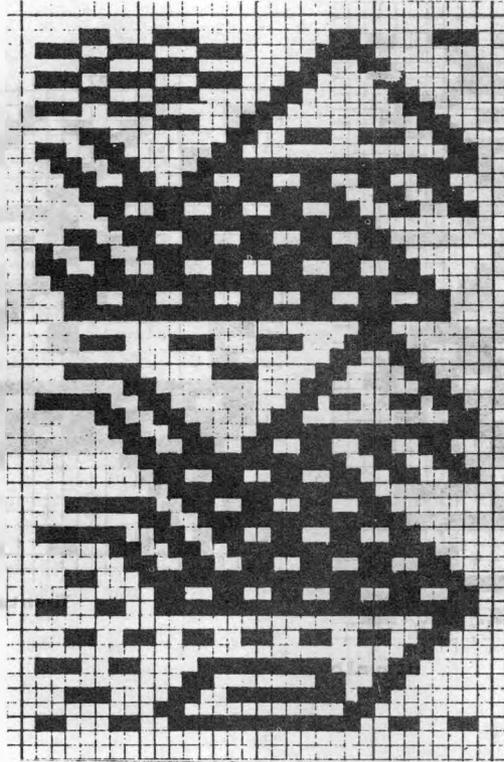
Turucu, Cotacachi



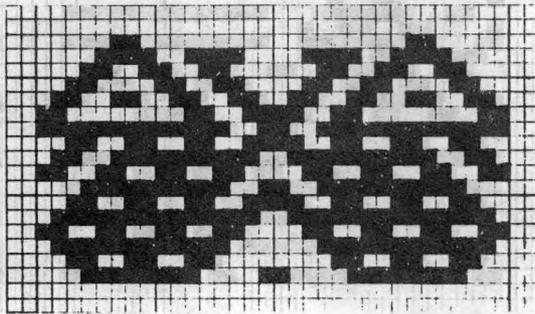
Peguche, Otavalo



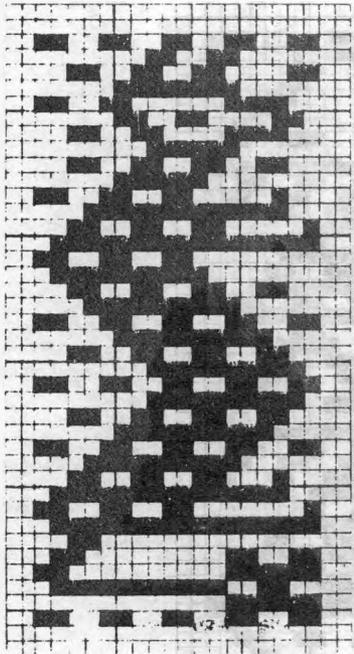
Peguiche, Otavelo



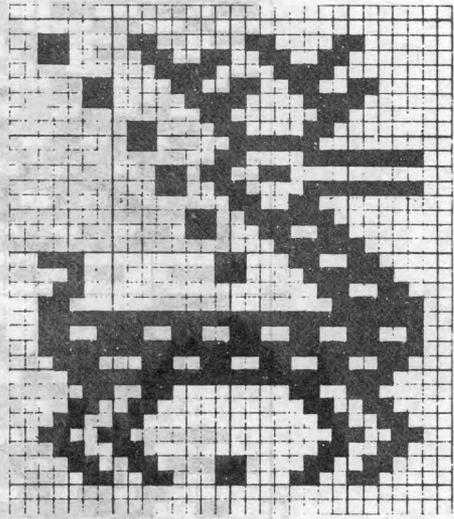
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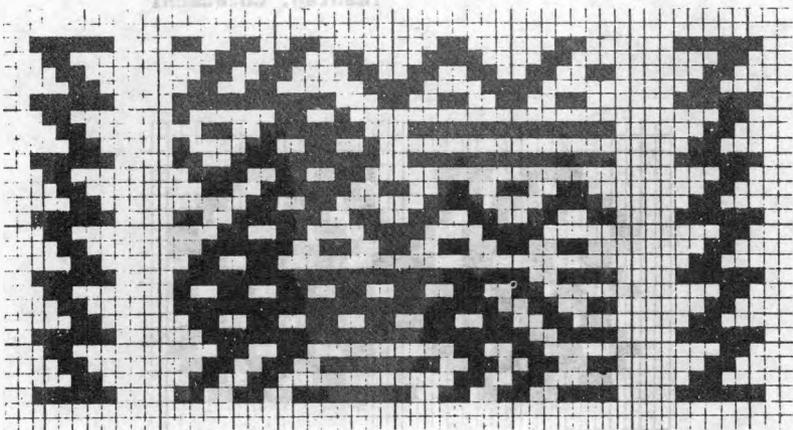
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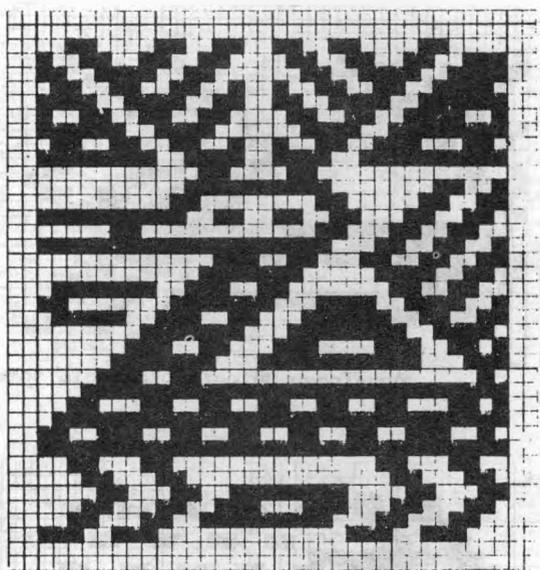
Otevalo



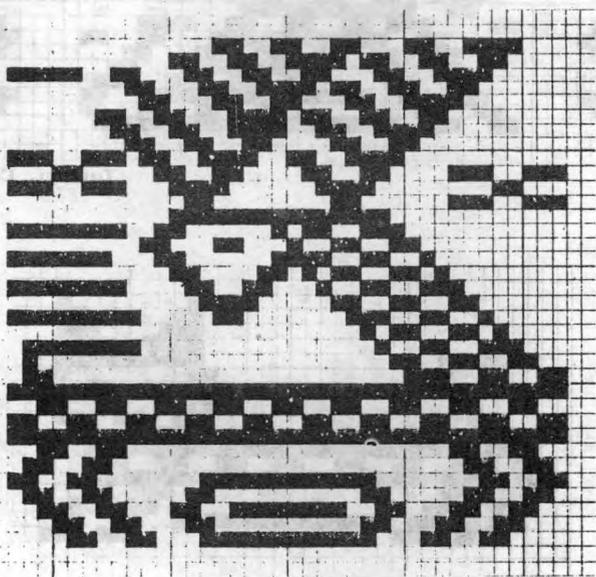
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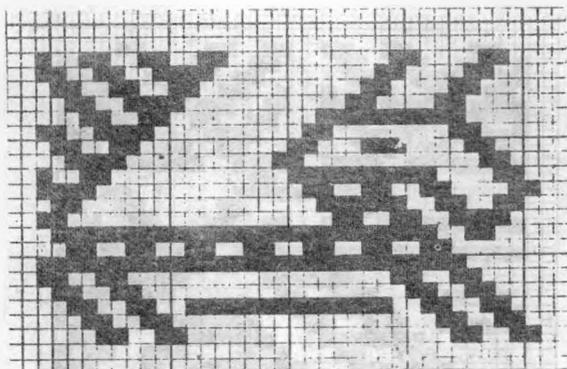
Turucu, Cotacachi



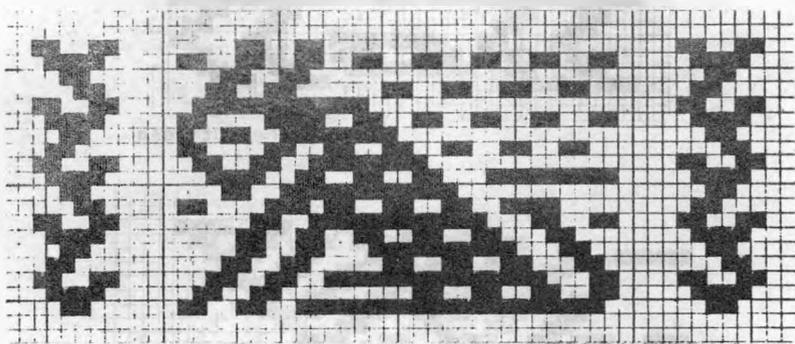
**Peguiche, Otavalo**



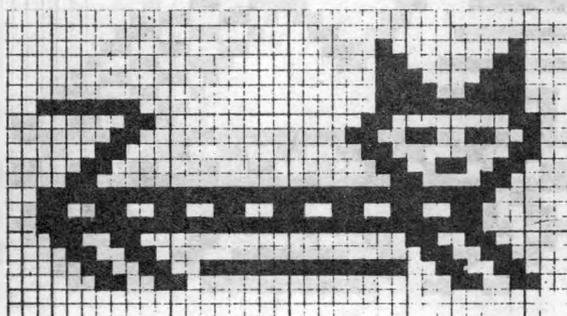
**Puca Huaycu, Ibarra**



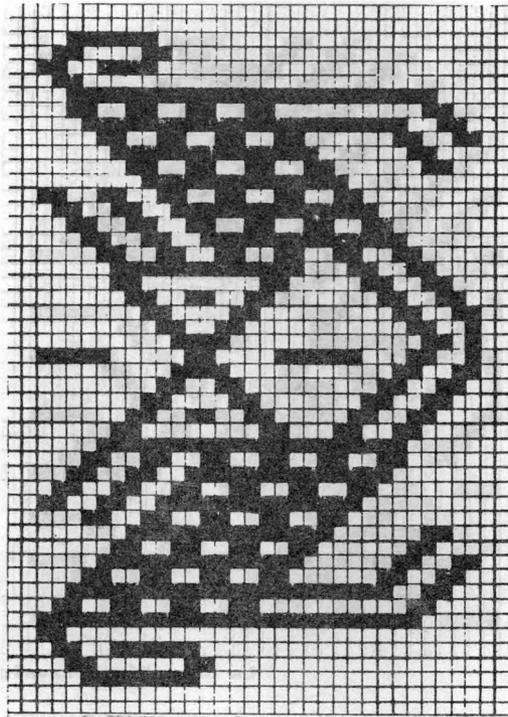
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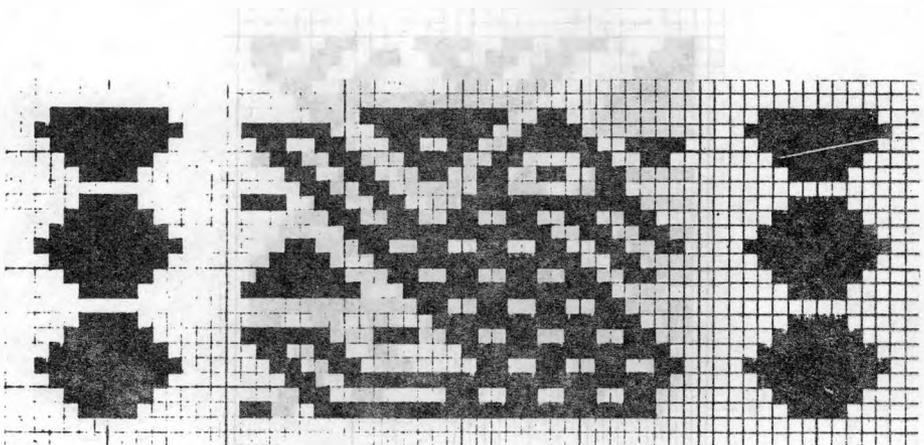
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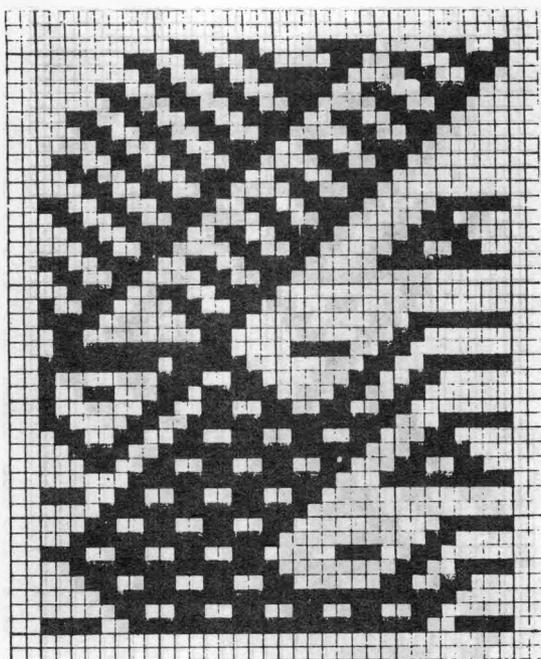
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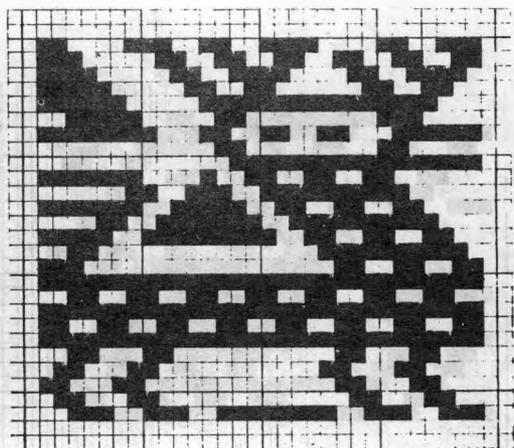
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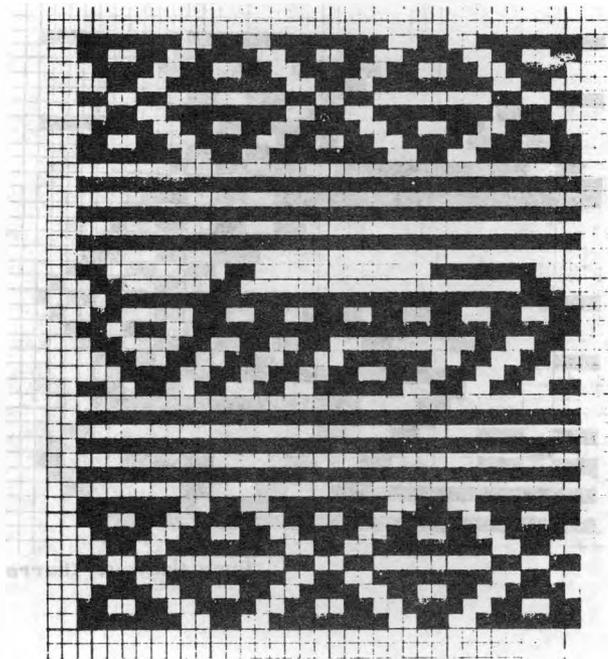
Potreriillo, Cotacachi



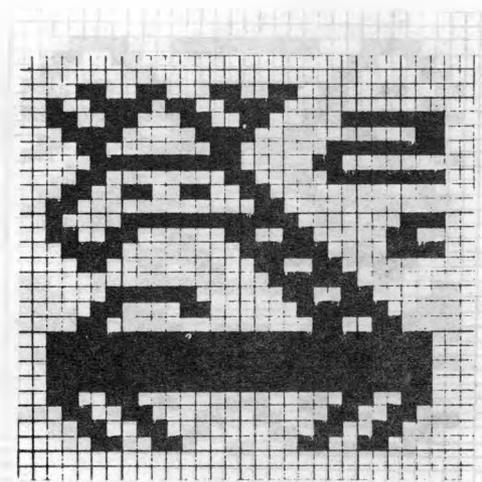
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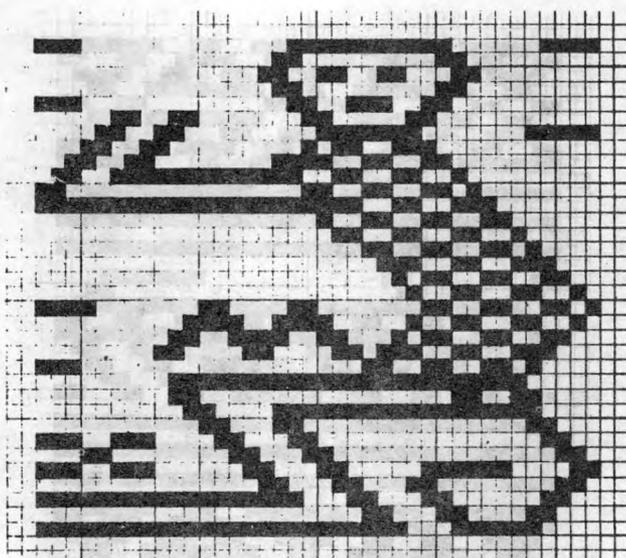
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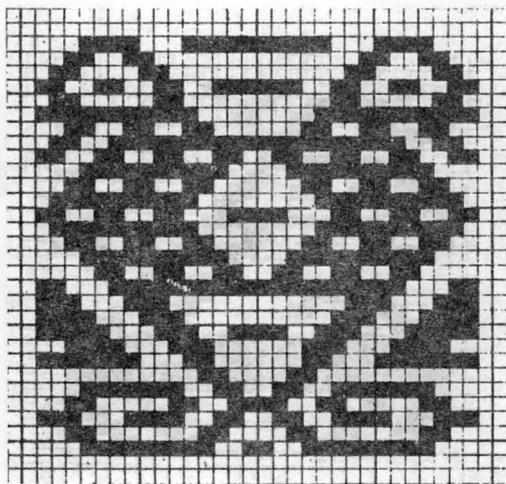
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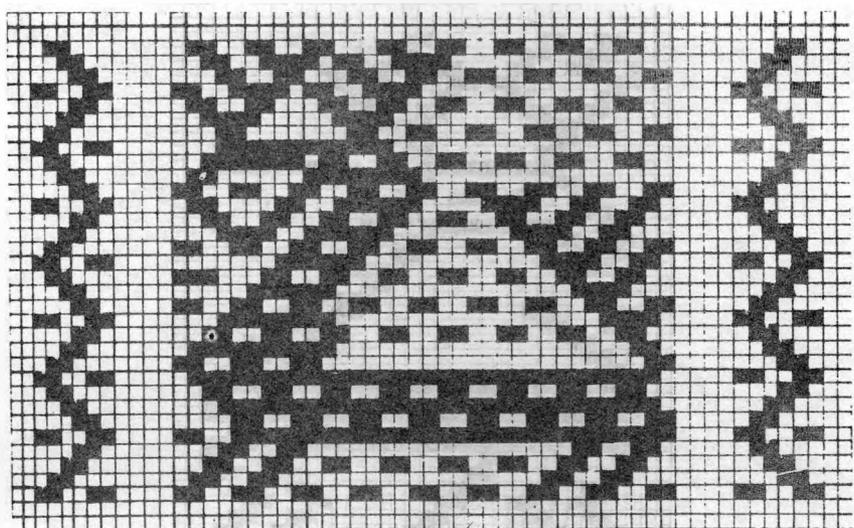
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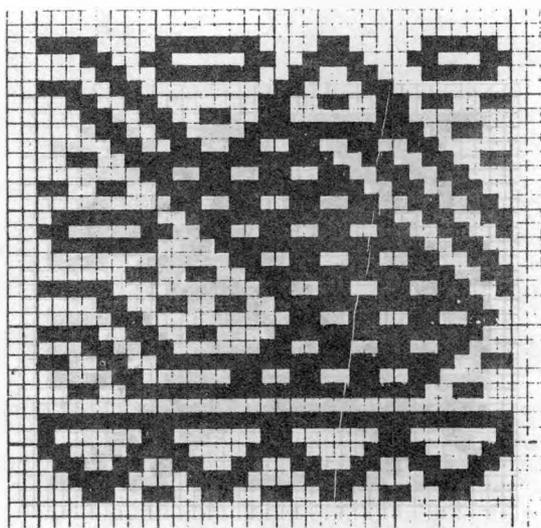
Puca Huaycu, Ibarra



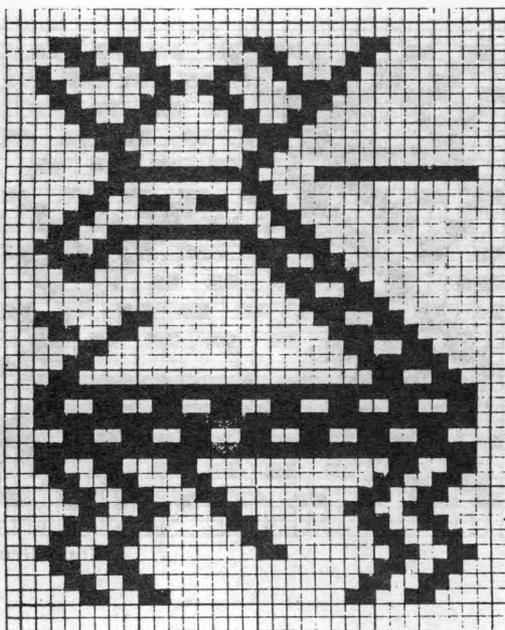
La Calera, Cotsacachi



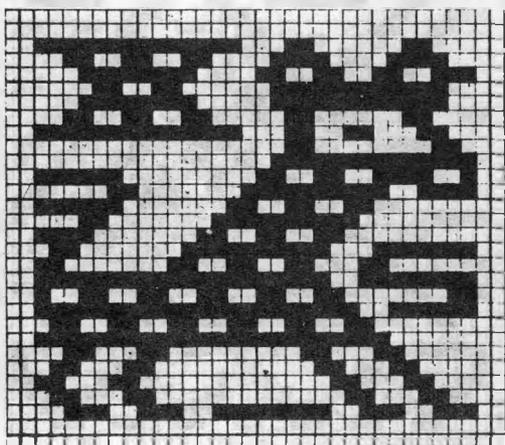
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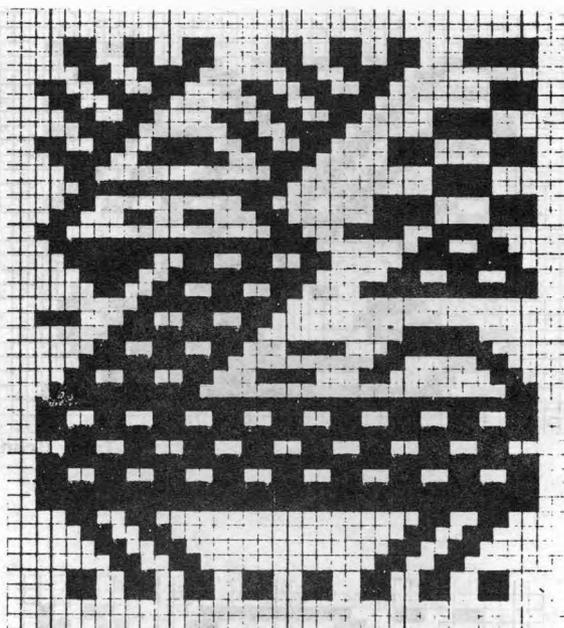
La Calera, Cotacachi



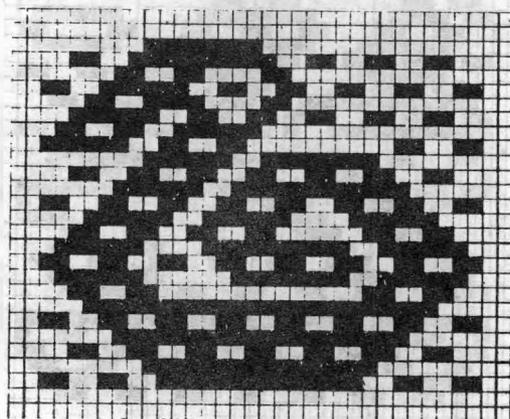
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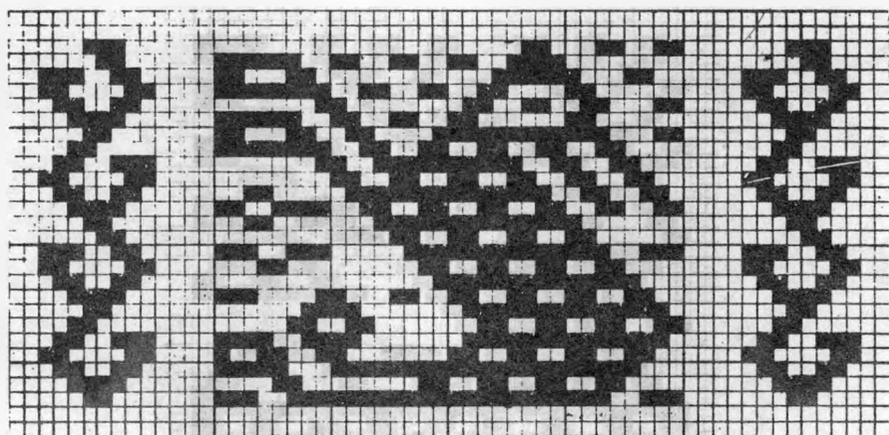
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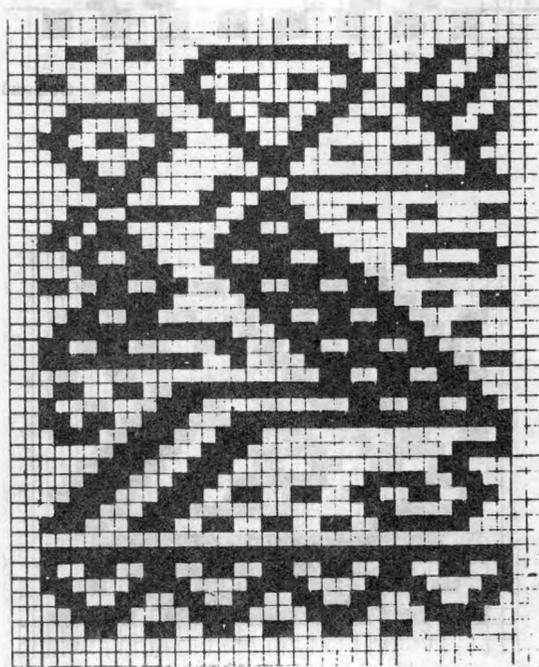
Otavelo



Arias Ucu, Otavelo

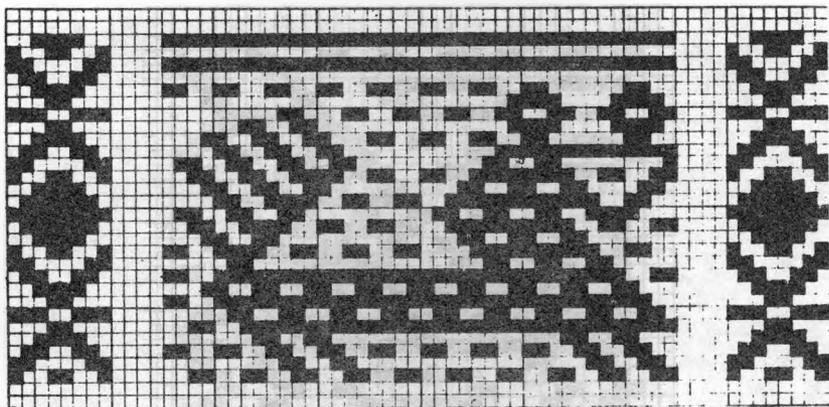


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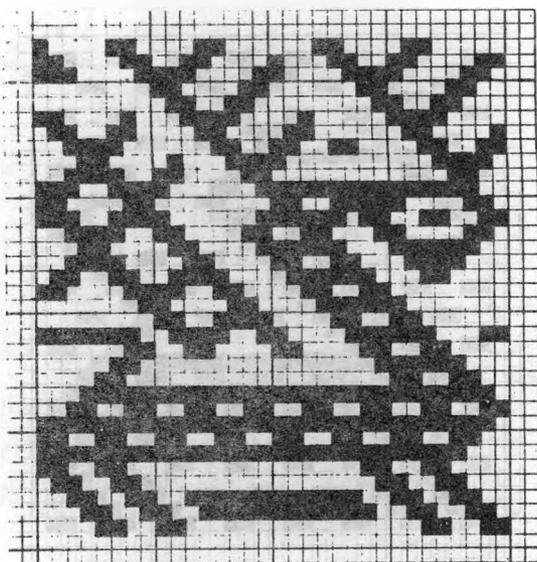


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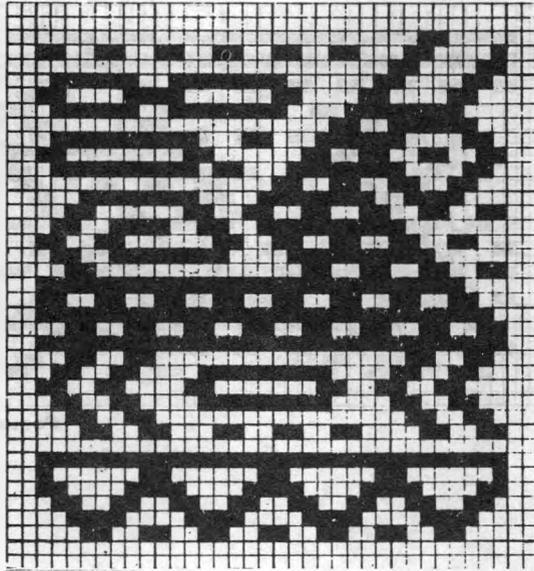
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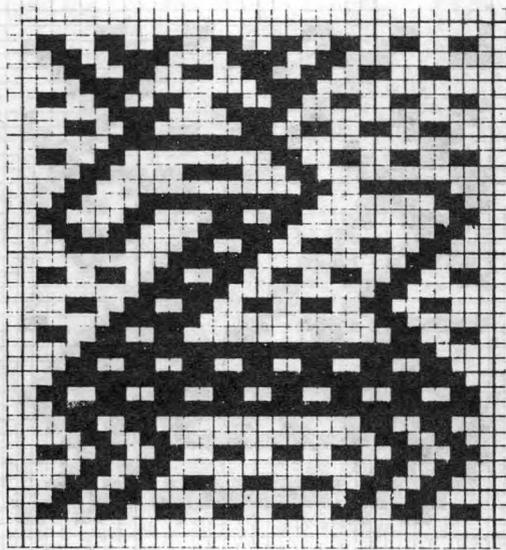
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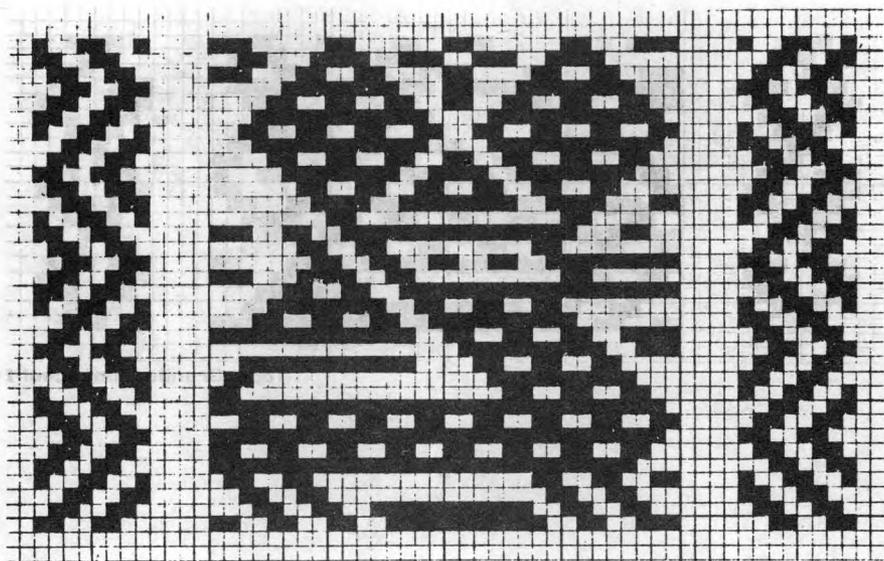
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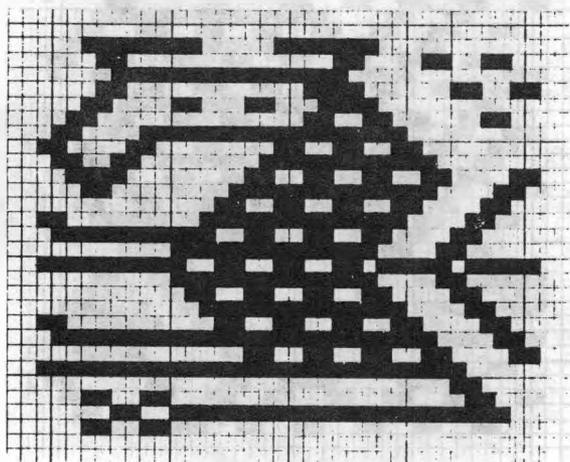
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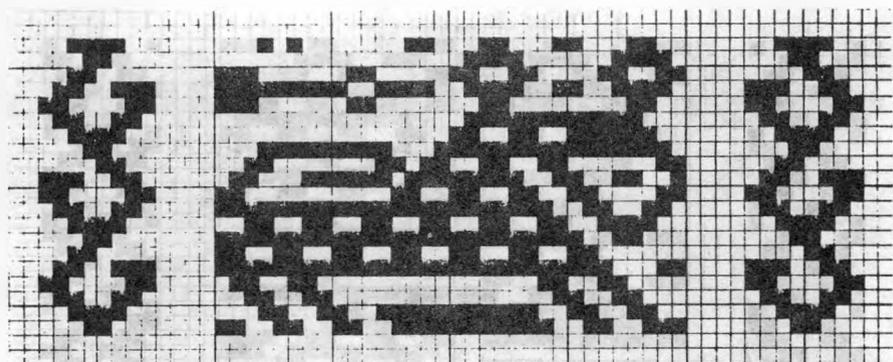
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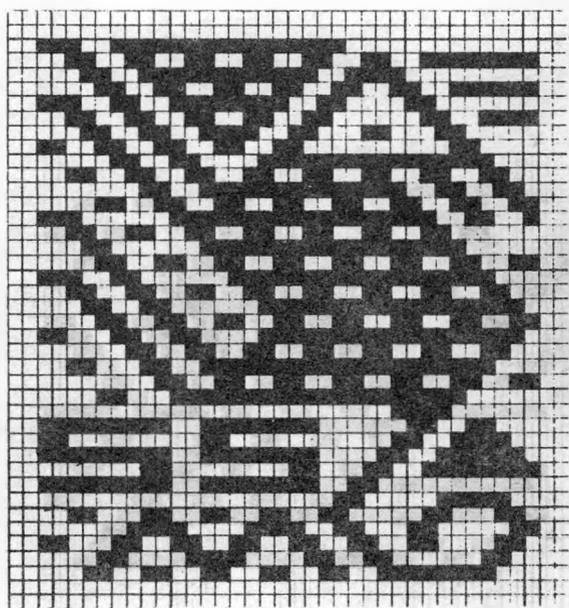
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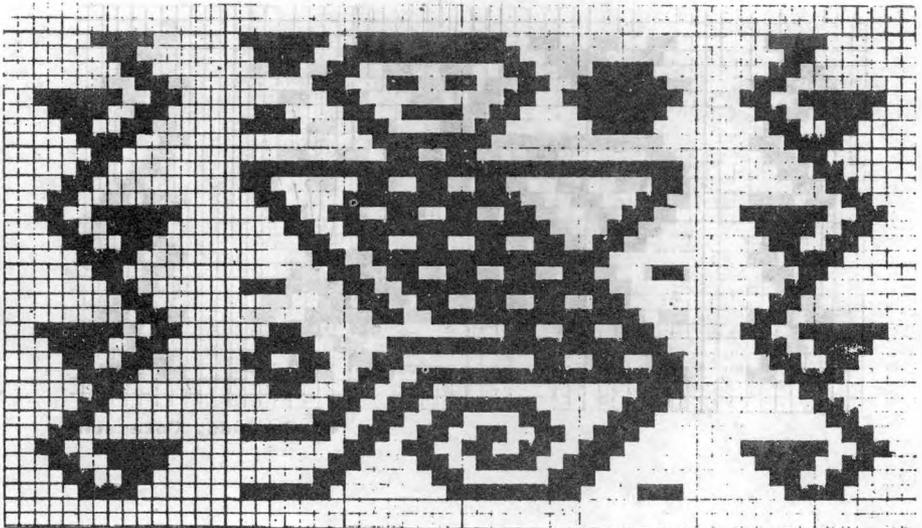
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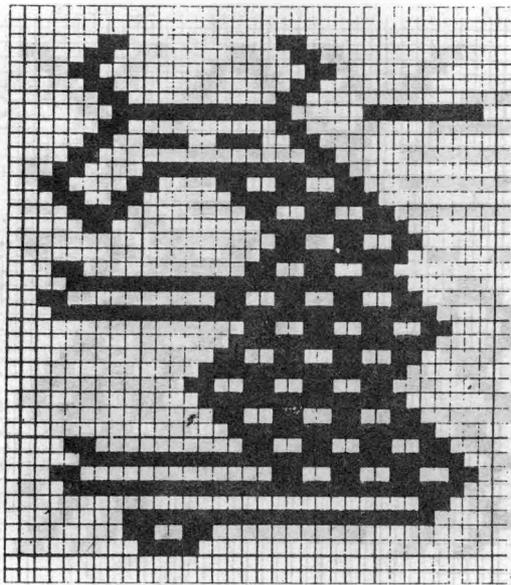
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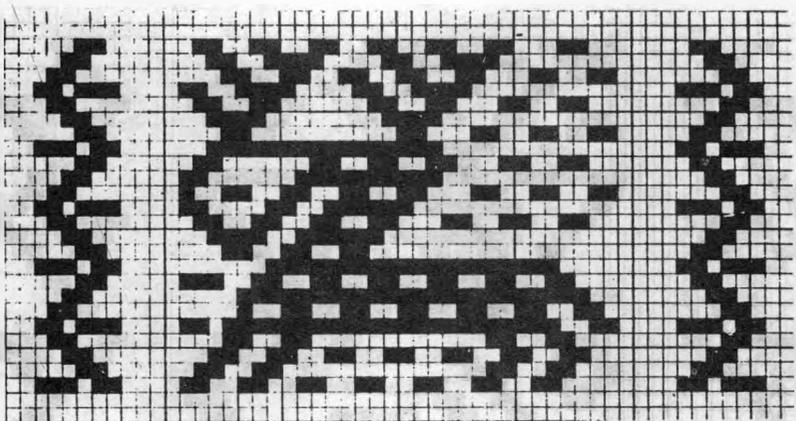
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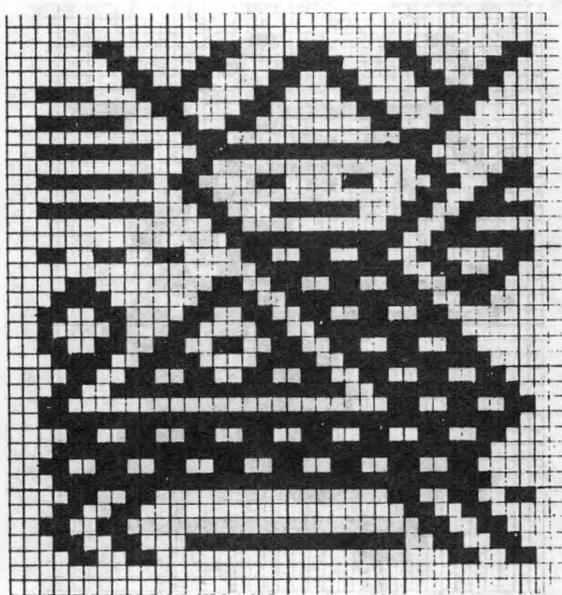
Potreriillo, Cotacachi



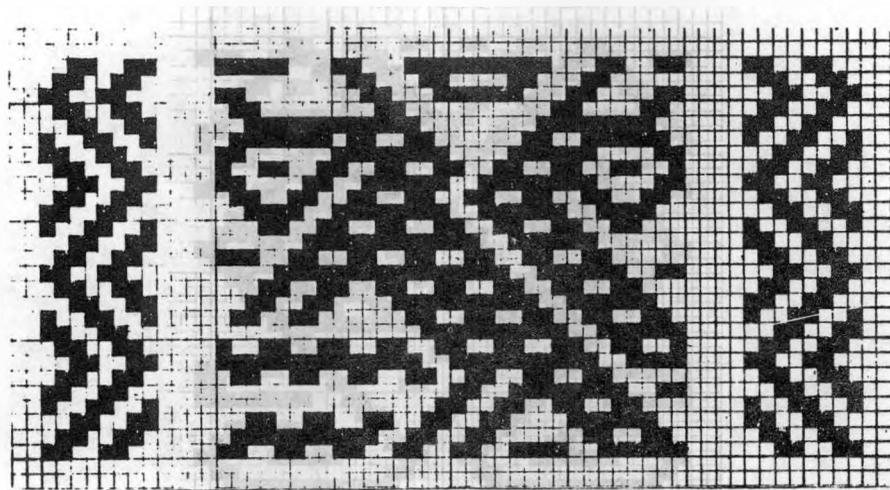
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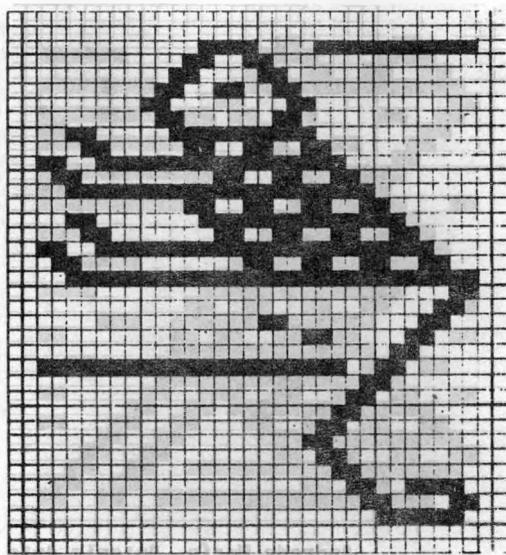
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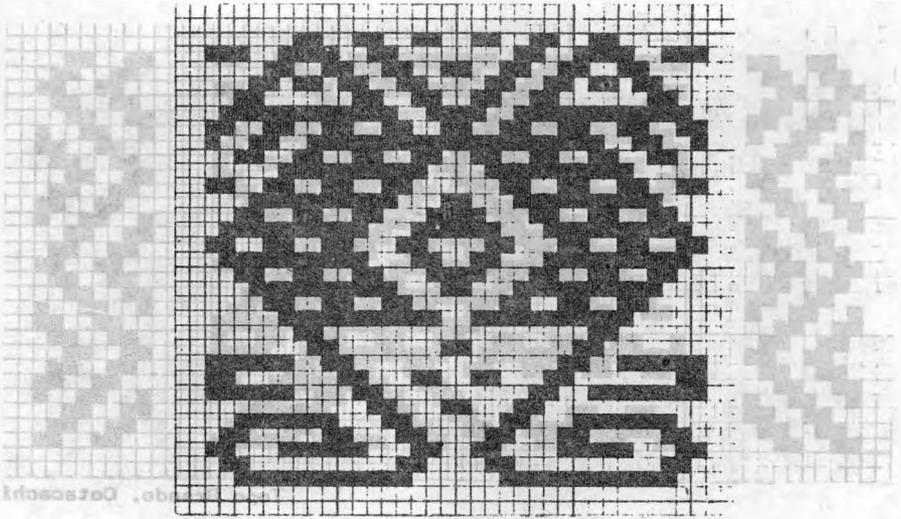
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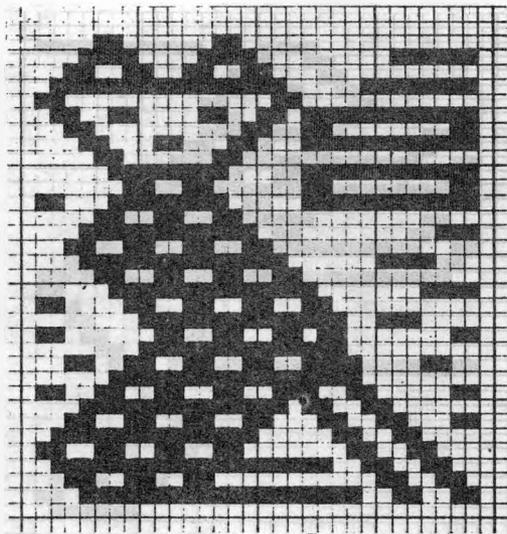
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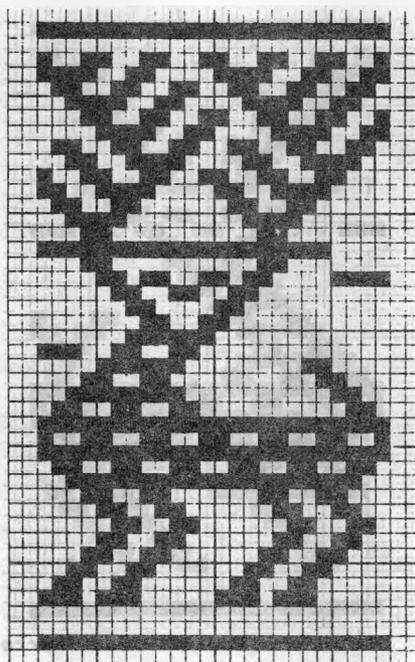
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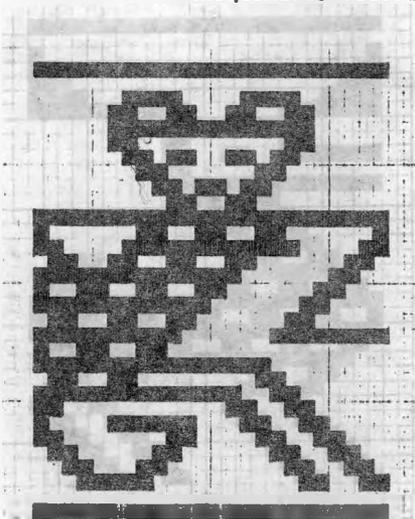
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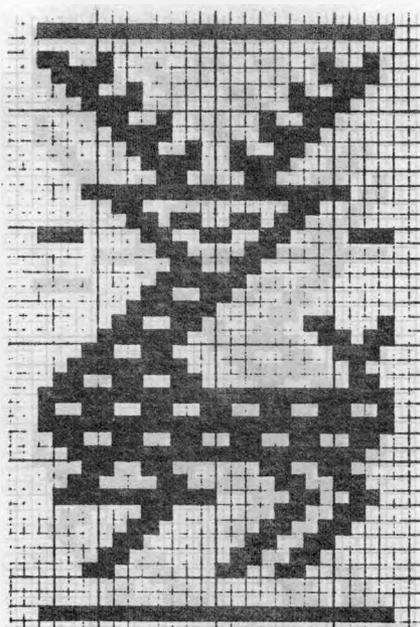
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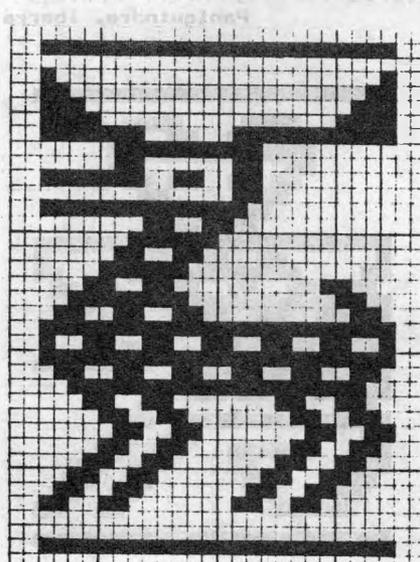
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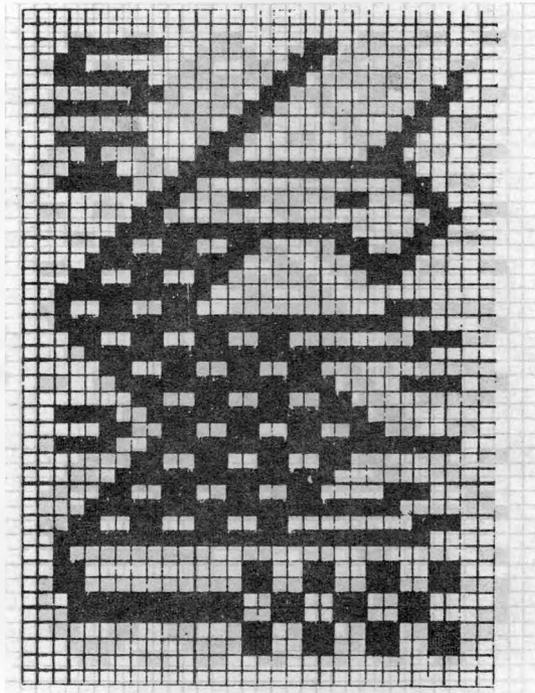
Paniquindra, Ibarra



Paniquindra, Ibarra

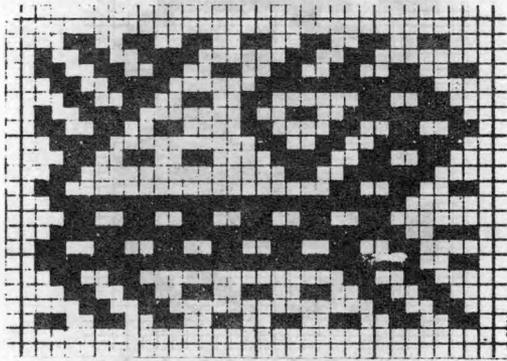


Paniquindra, Ibarra



La Catedral, Cotacachi

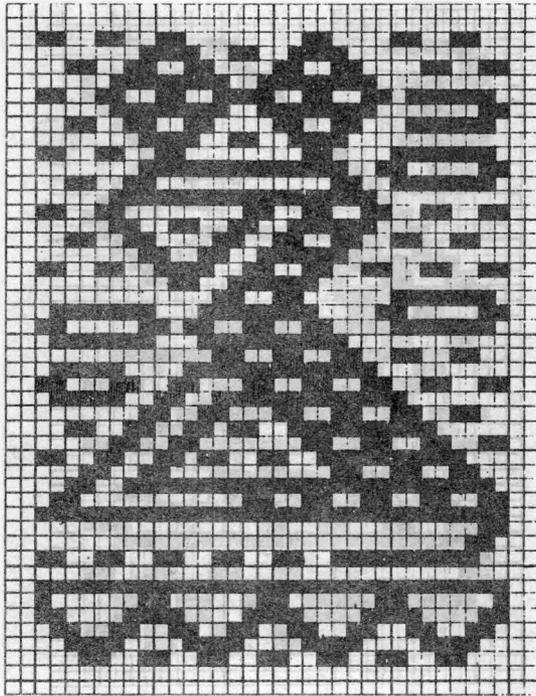
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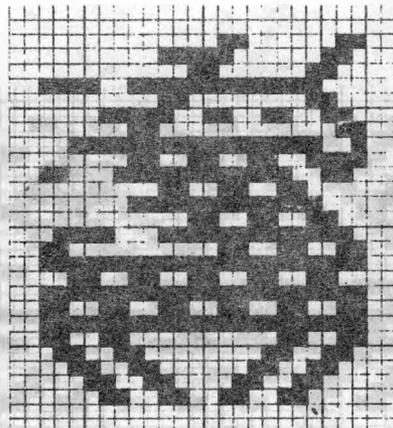
San Juan, Otavalo

Arias Ucu, Otavalo

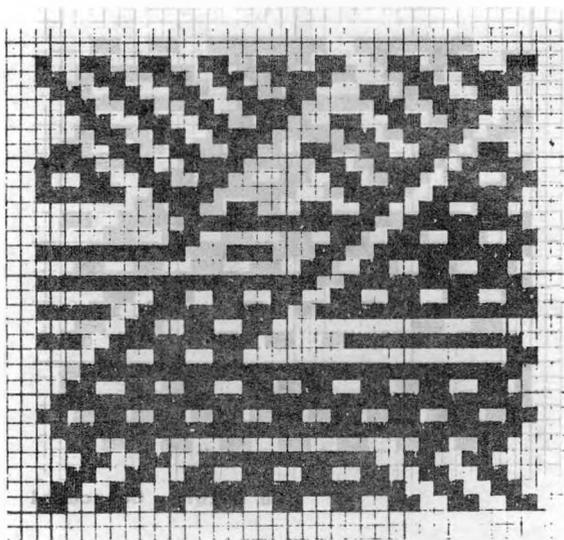
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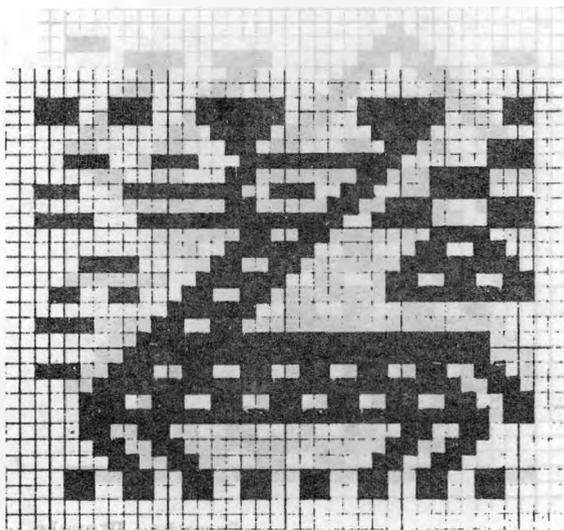
La Celera, Cotacachi



Los Ovelos, Antonio Ante

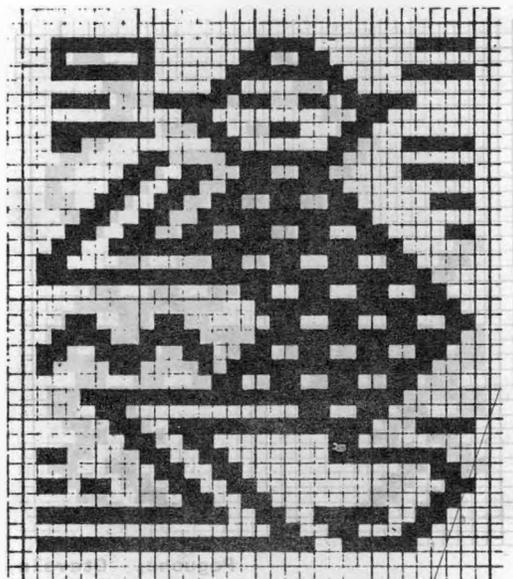


**Chaltura, Antonio Ante**

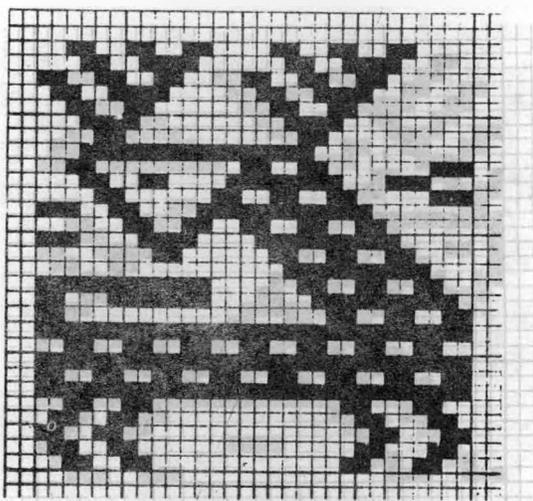


**Otavallo**

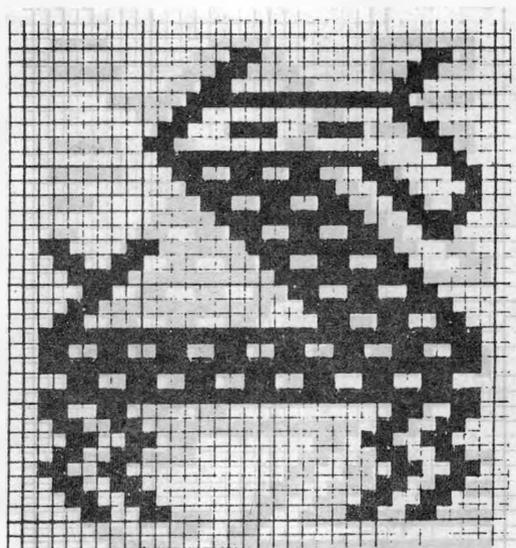




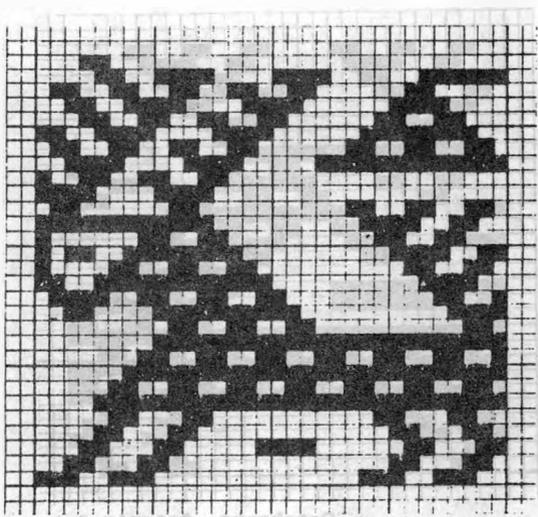
Andrade Marín, Antonio Ante



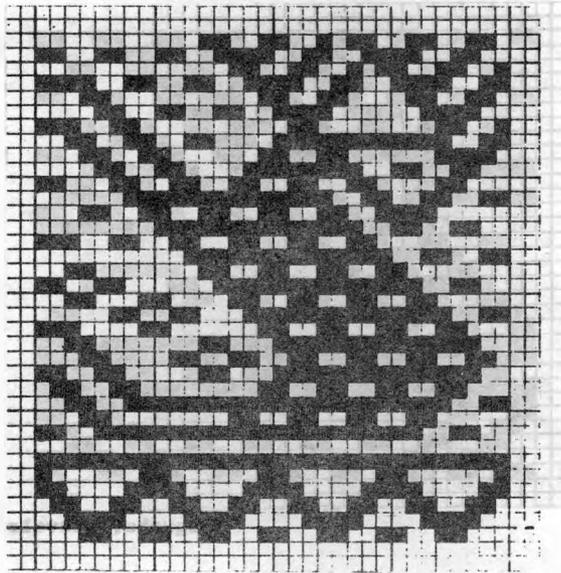
Costabomba, Antonio Ante



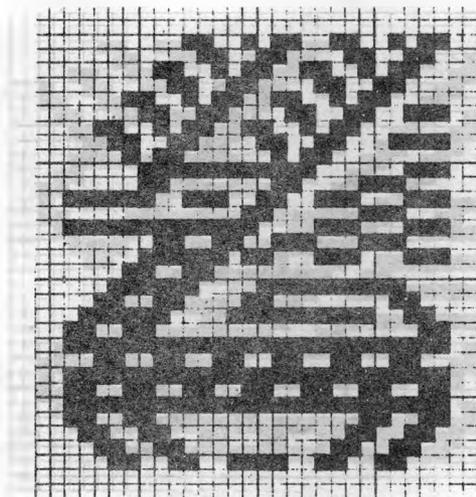
Peguche, Otavalo



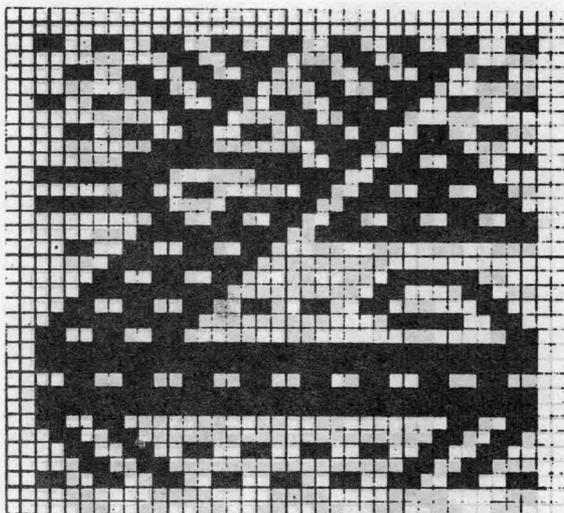
La Compañía, Otavalo



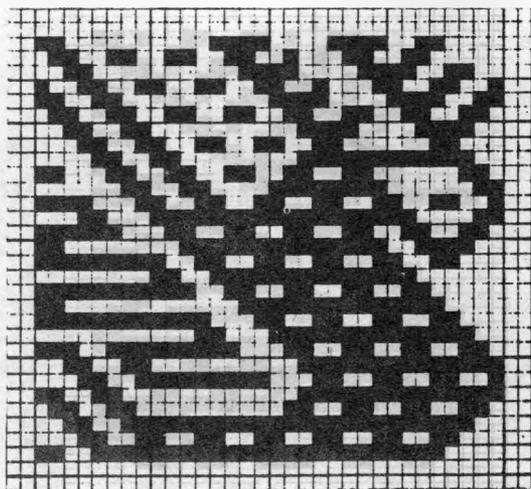
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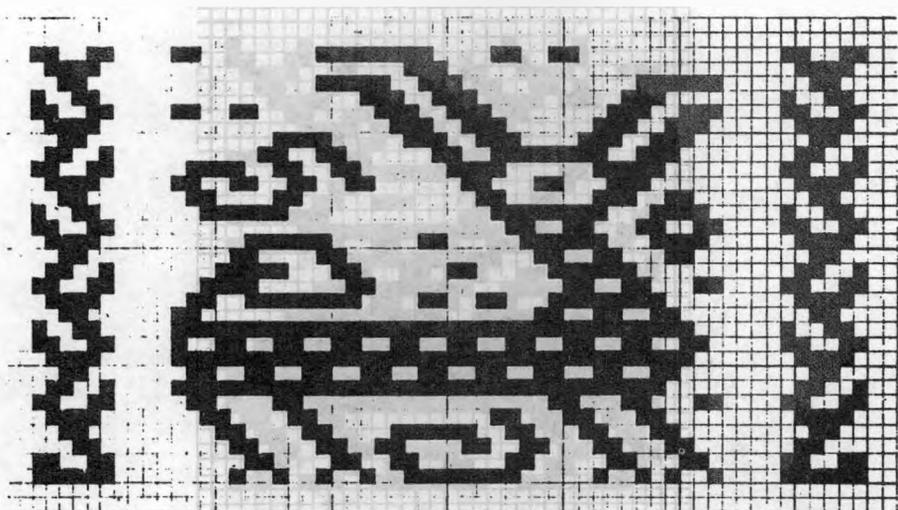
Peguiche, Otavalo



**Peguiche, Otavalo**

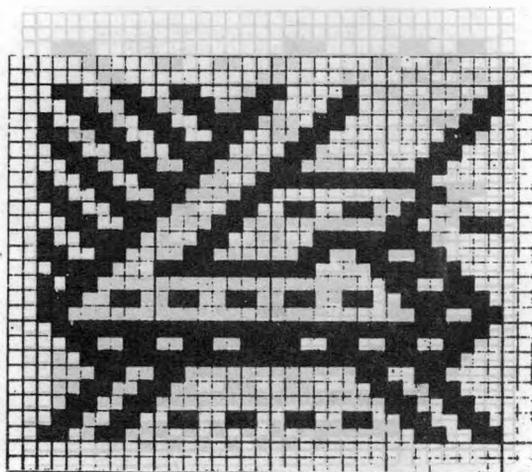


**Andrade Merín, Antonio Ante**



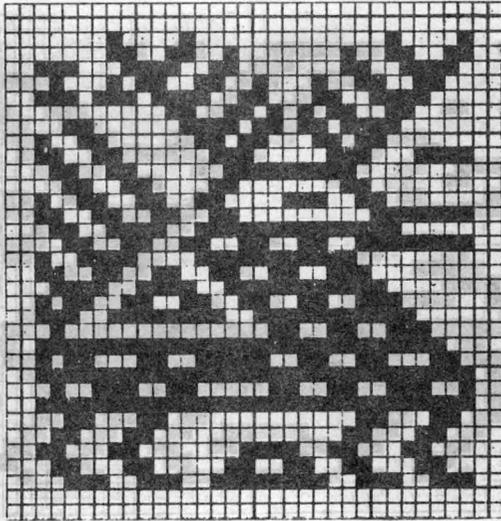
otavalo otava

**Turucu, Cotacachi**

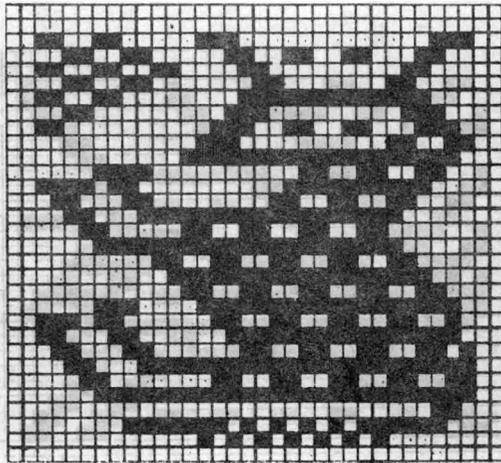


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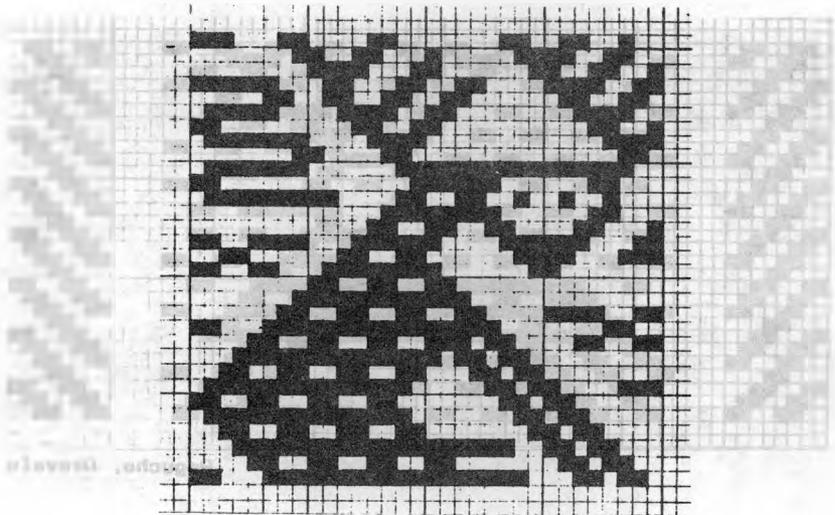
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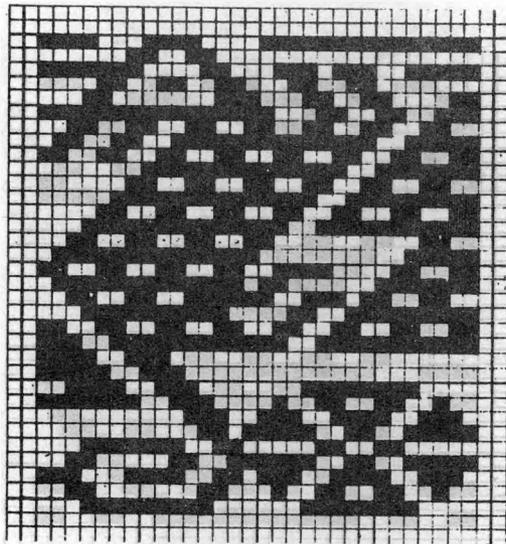
Ageto, Otavalo



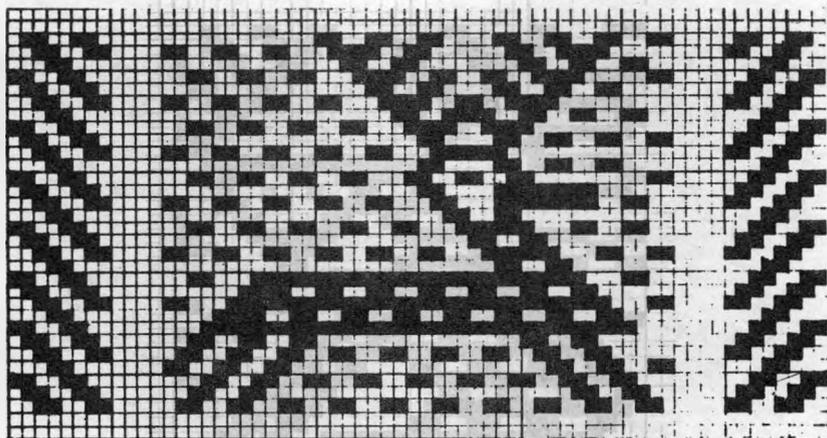
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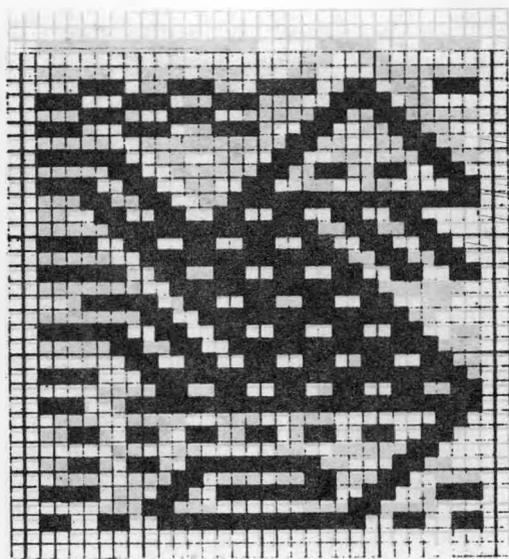
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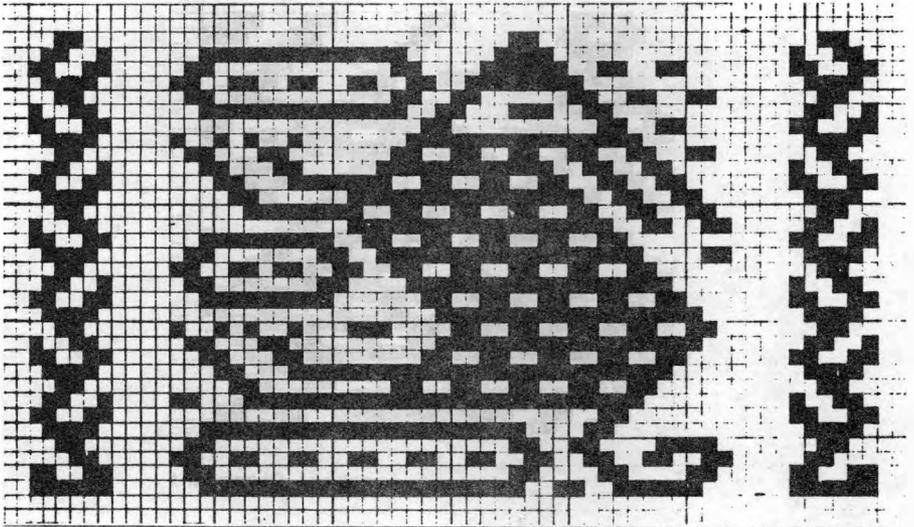
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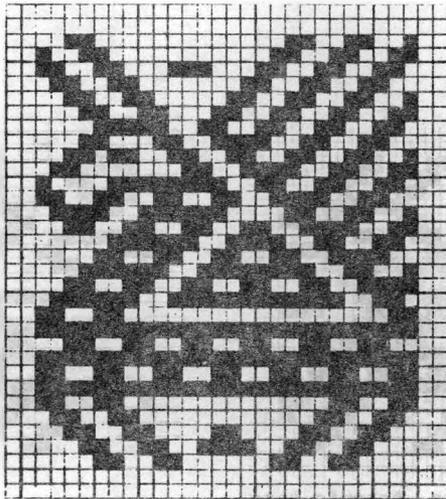
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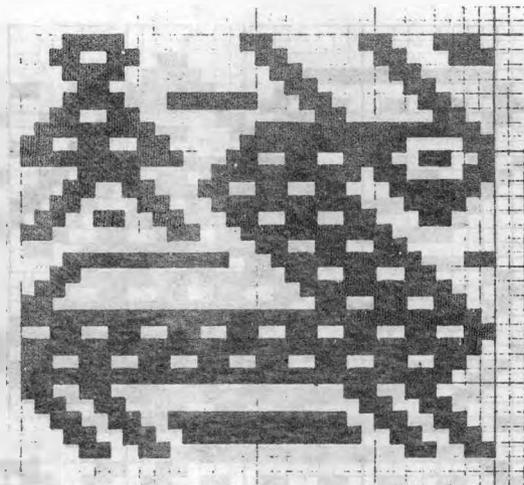
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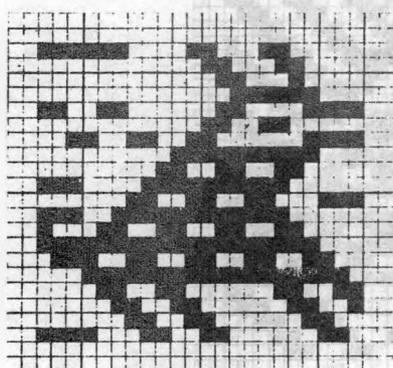
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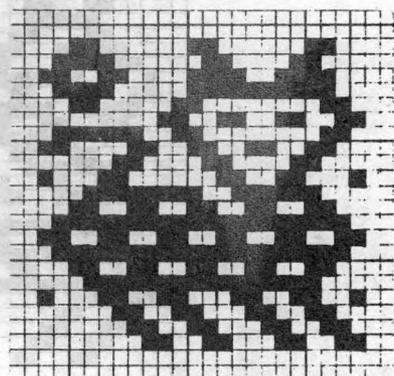
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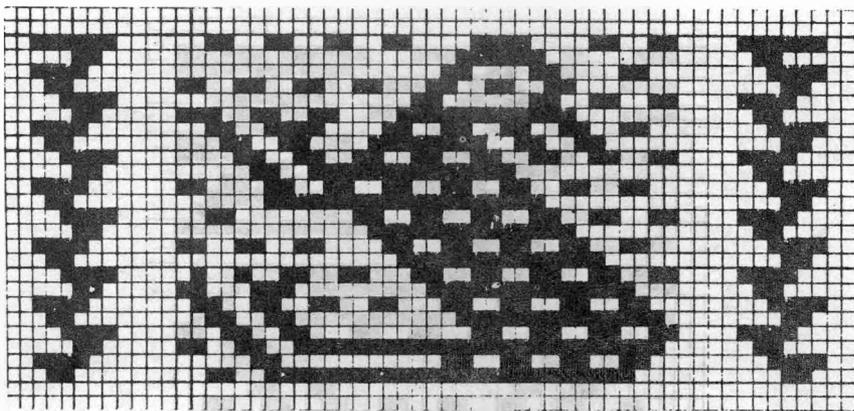
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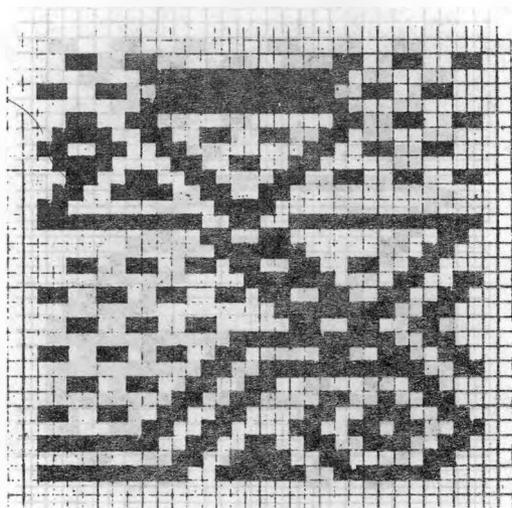
**Los Ovelos, Antonio Ante**



**Tiumén, Otavalo**

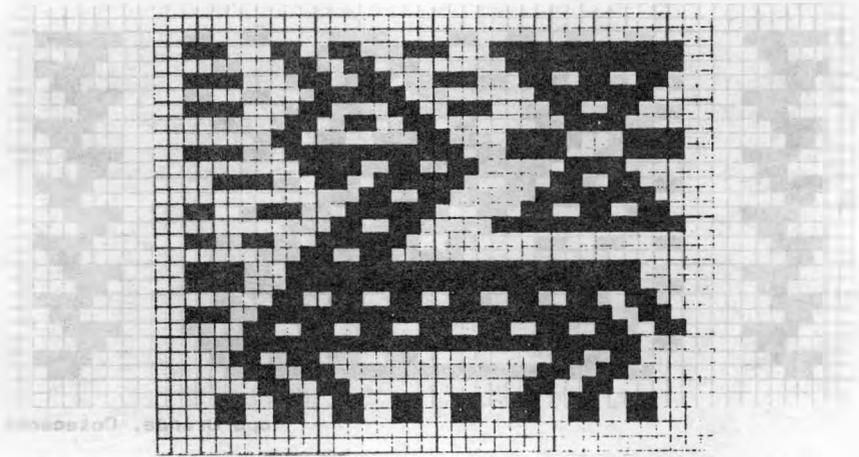


Topo Grande, Cotacachi

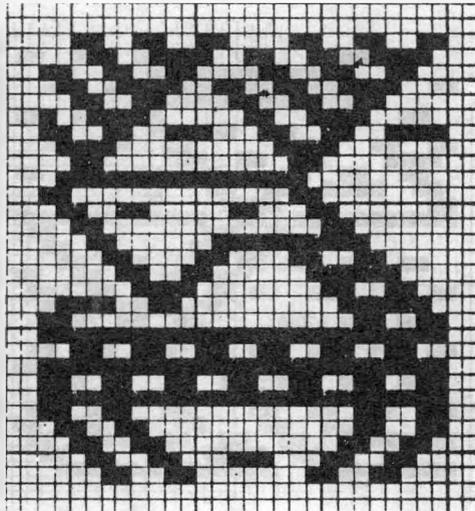


niavovj

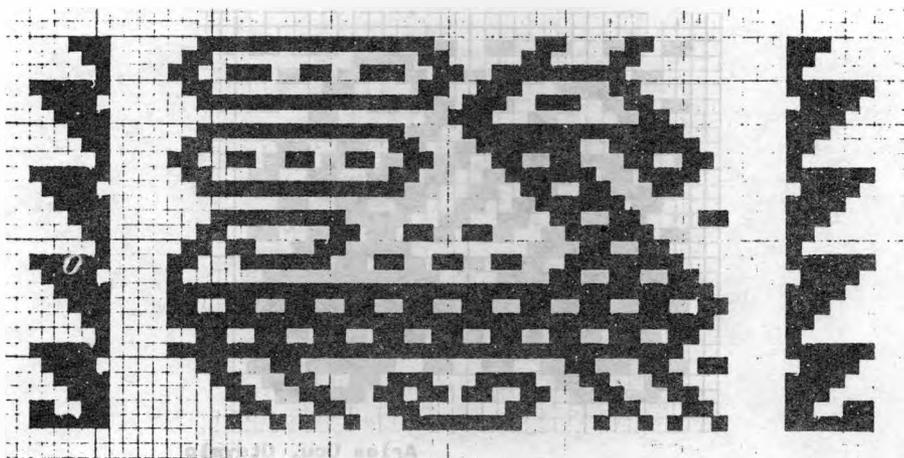
Arias Ucu, Otsvalo



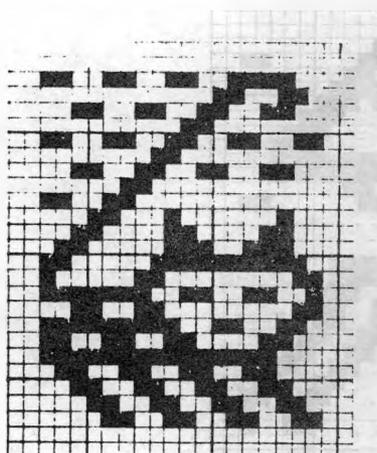
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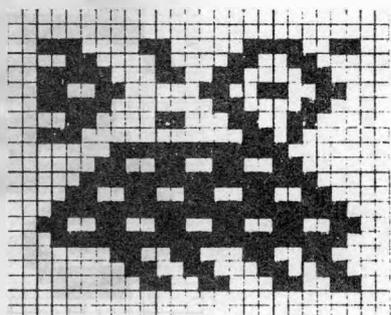
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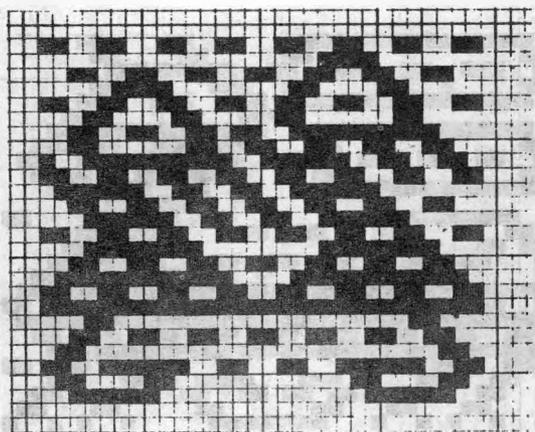
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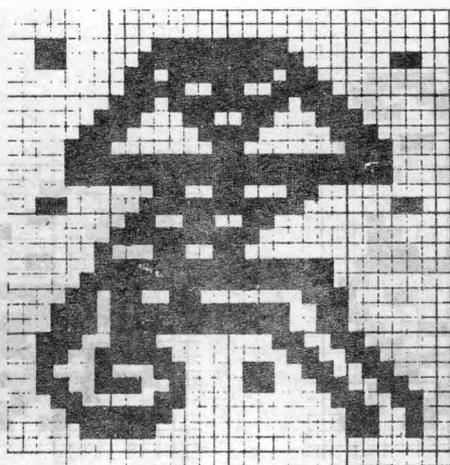
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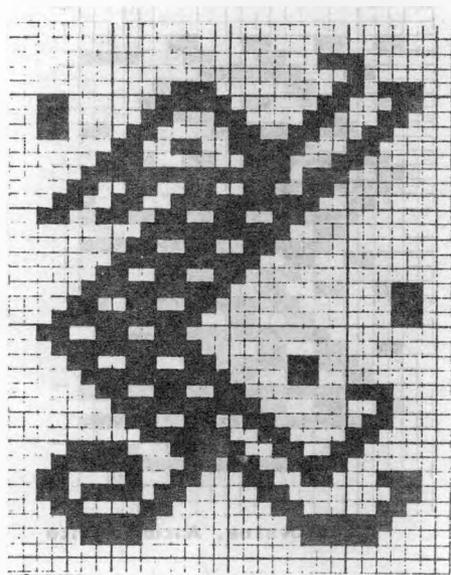
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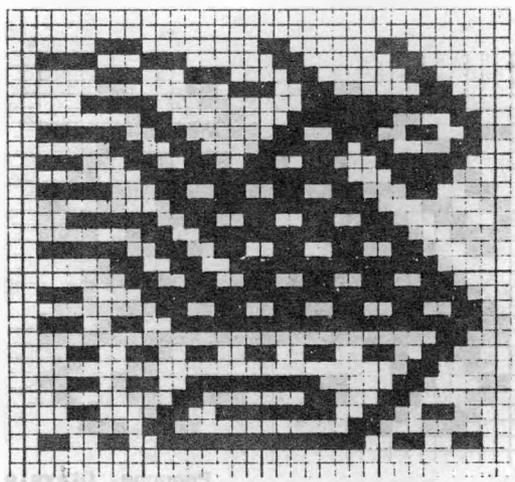
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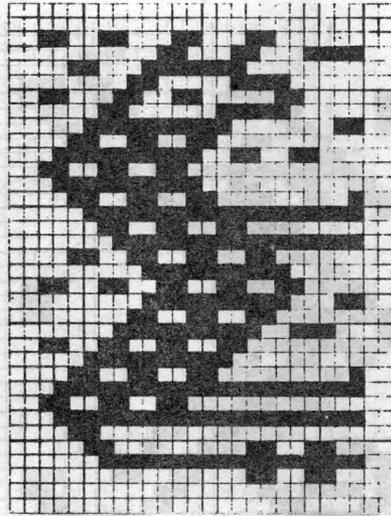
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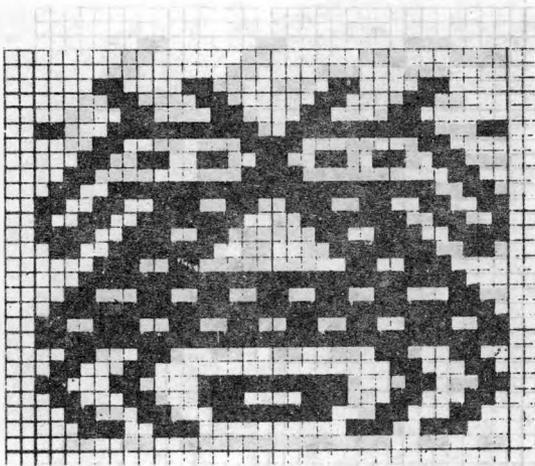
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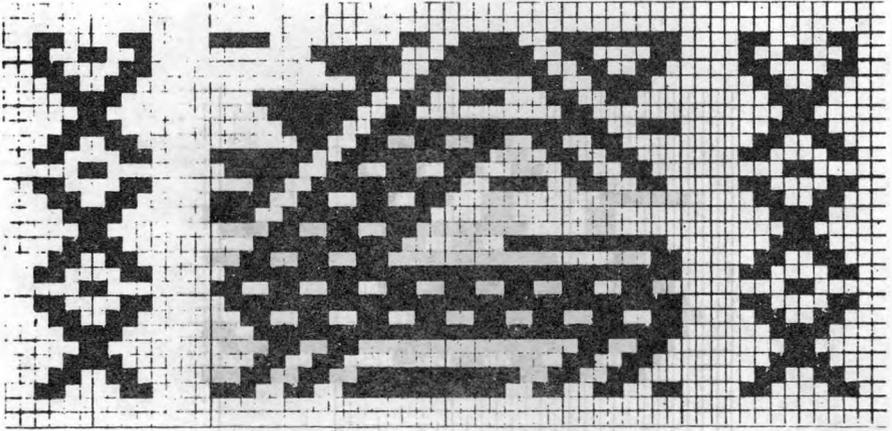
**Pegucho, Otavalo**



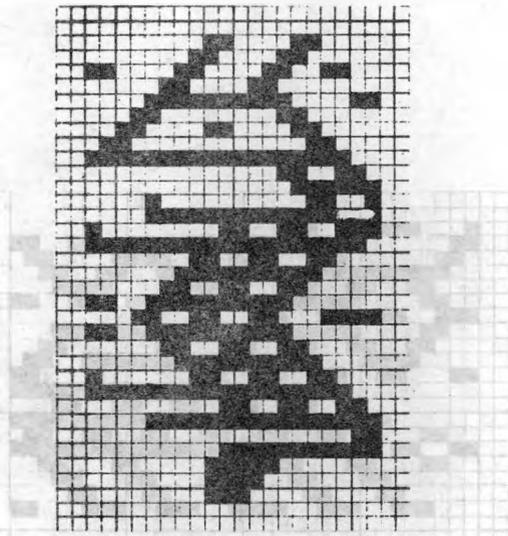
Los Ovelos, Antonio Ante



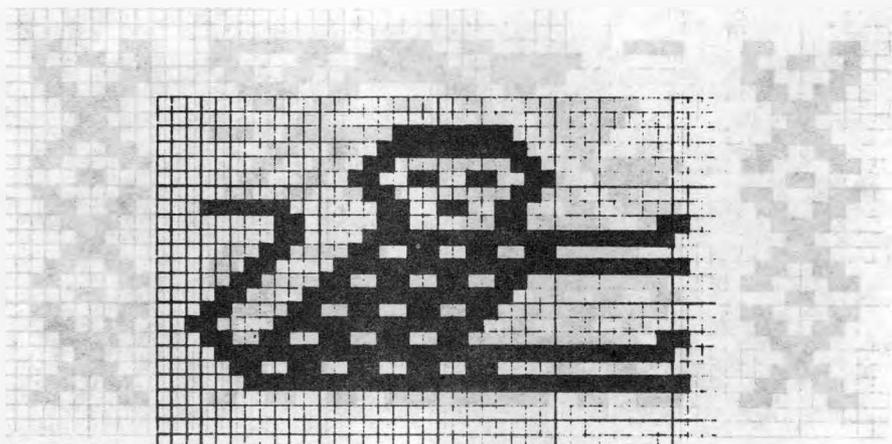
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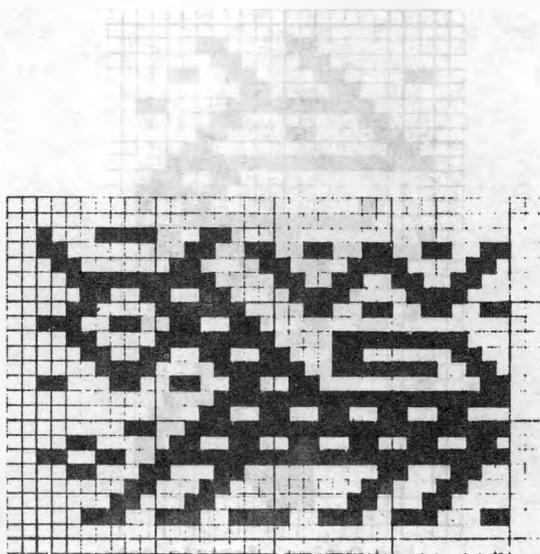
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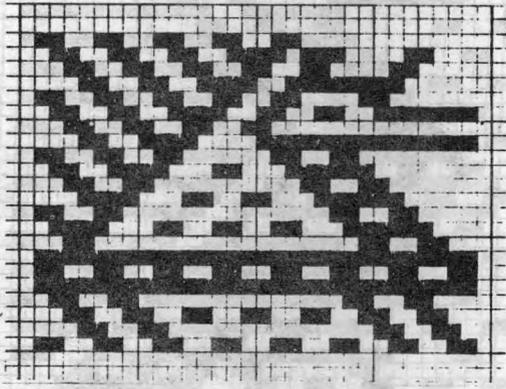
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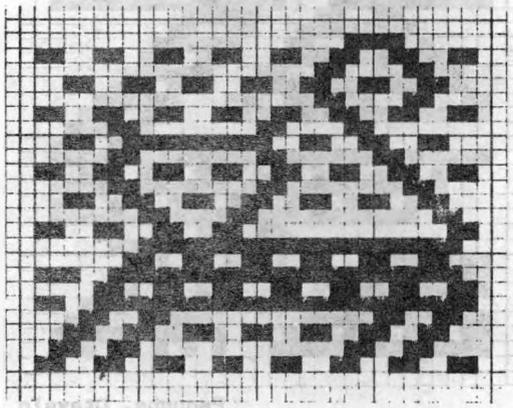
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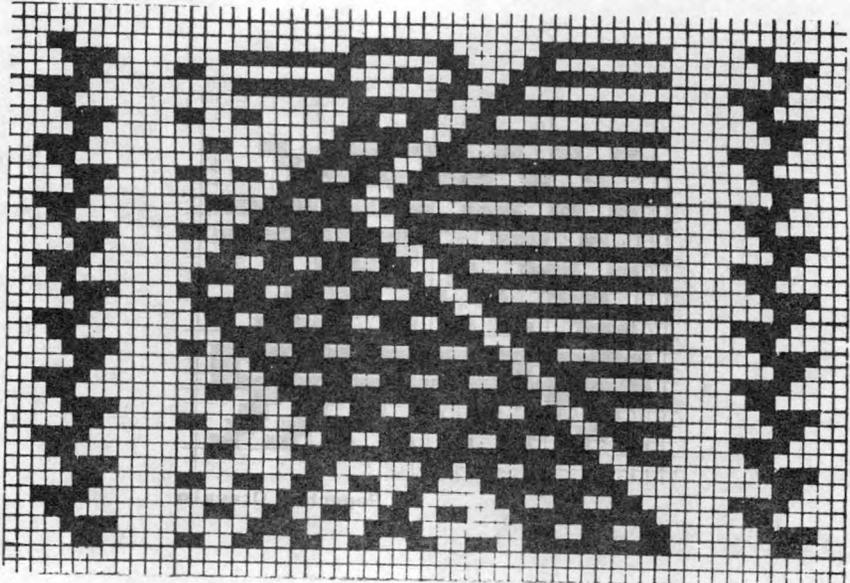
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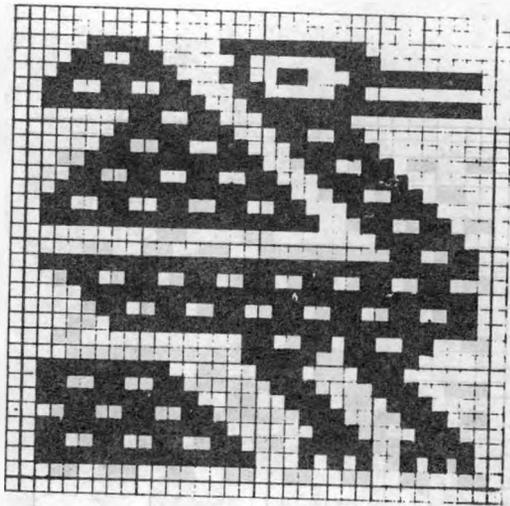
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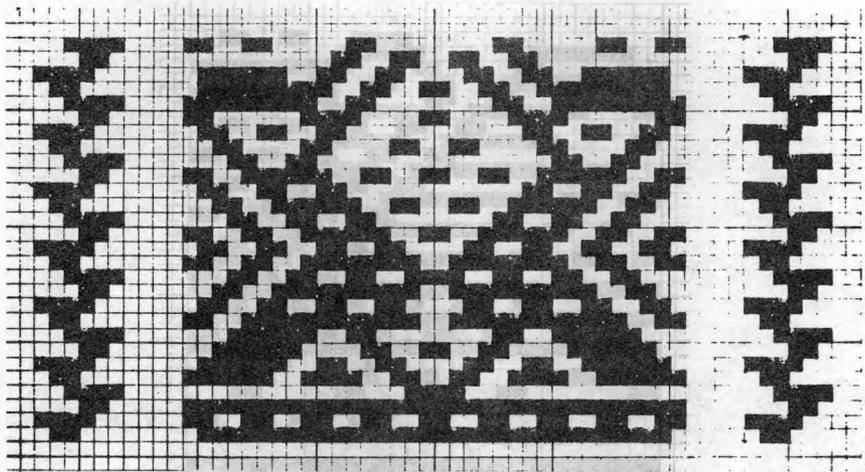
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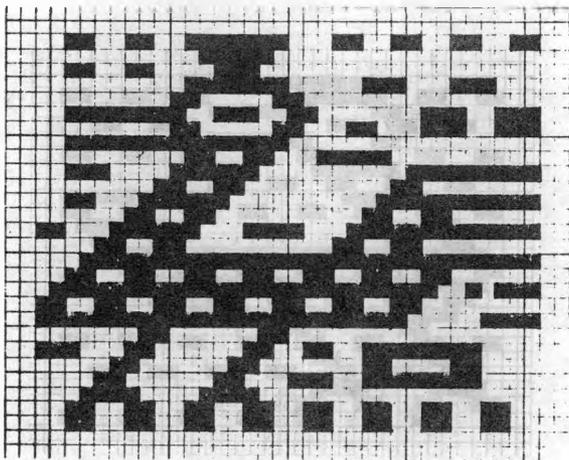
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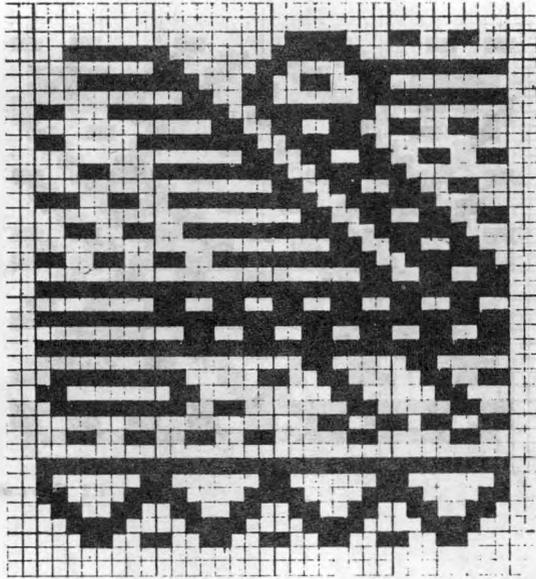
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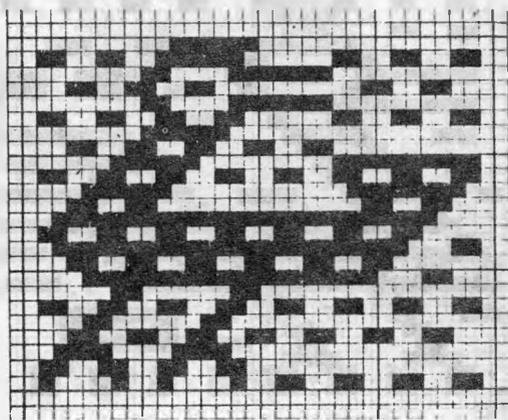
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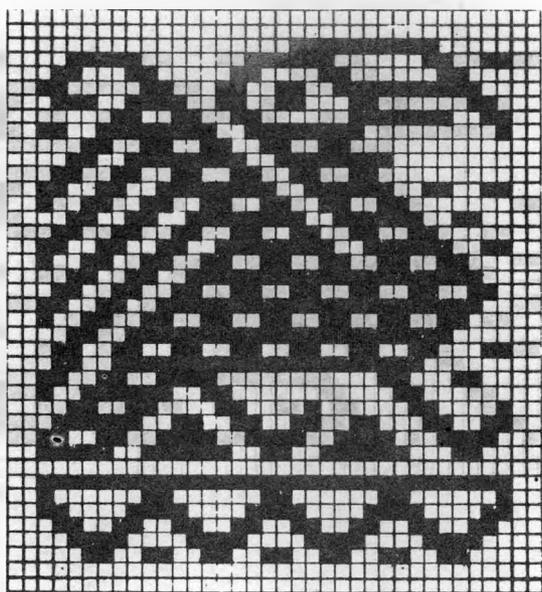
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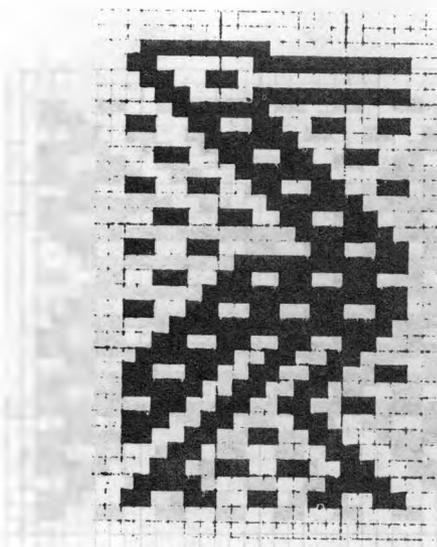
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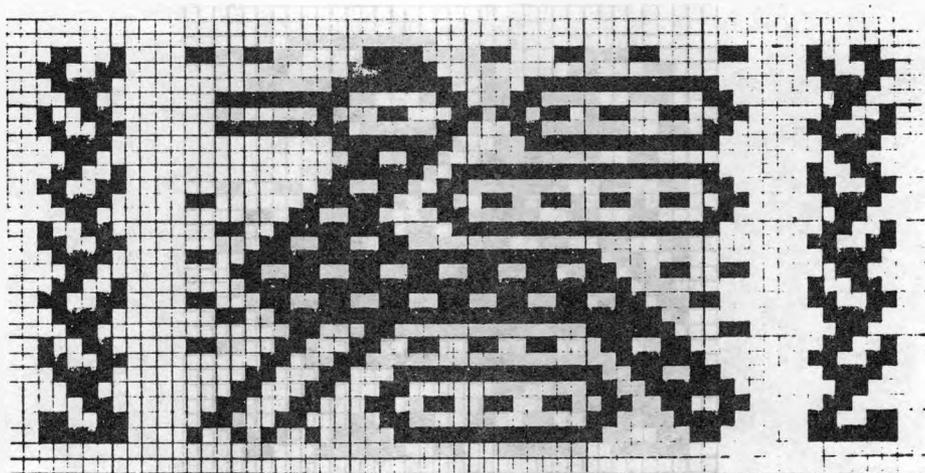
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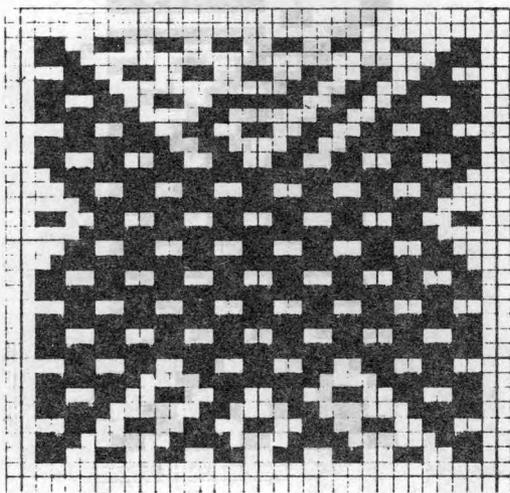
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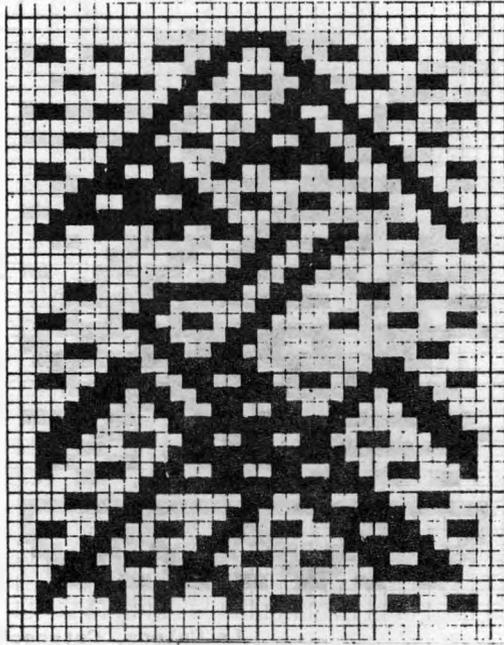
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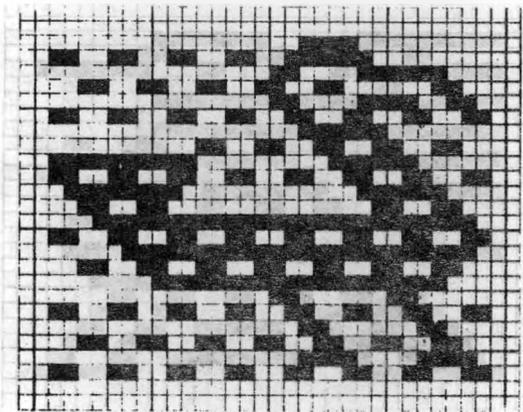
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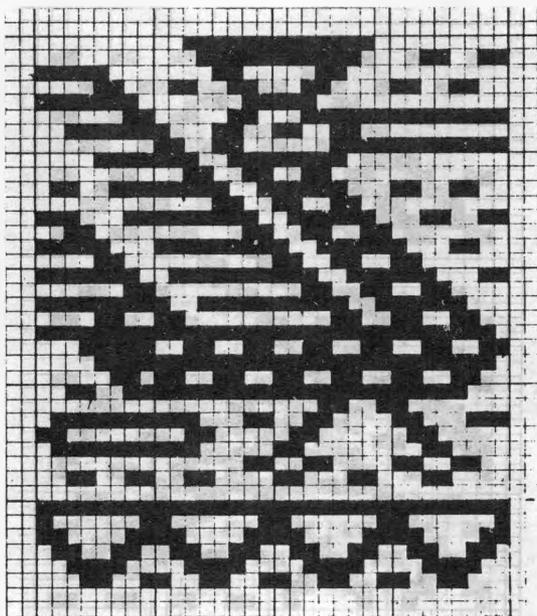
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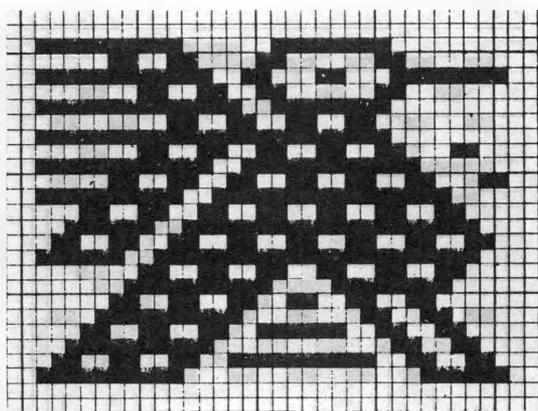
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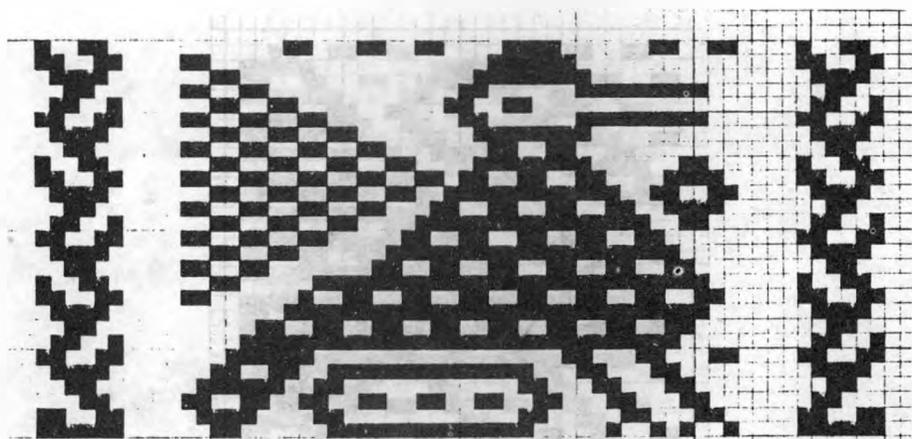
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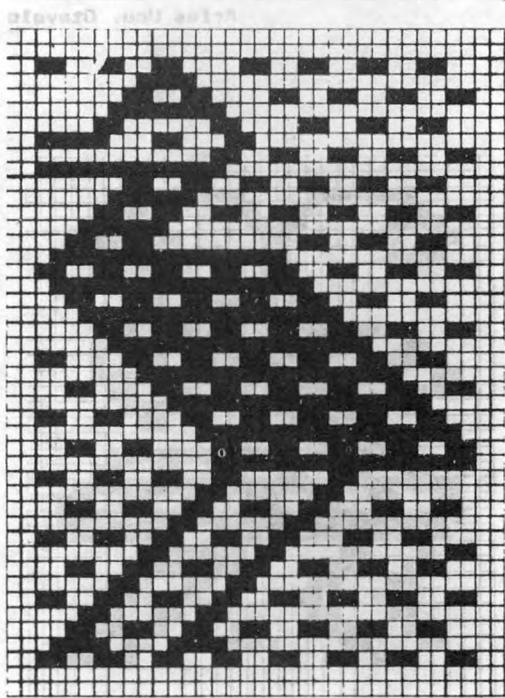
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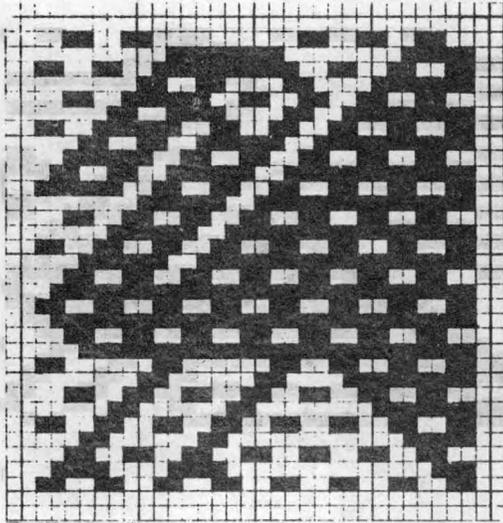
Andrade Marín, Antonio Ante



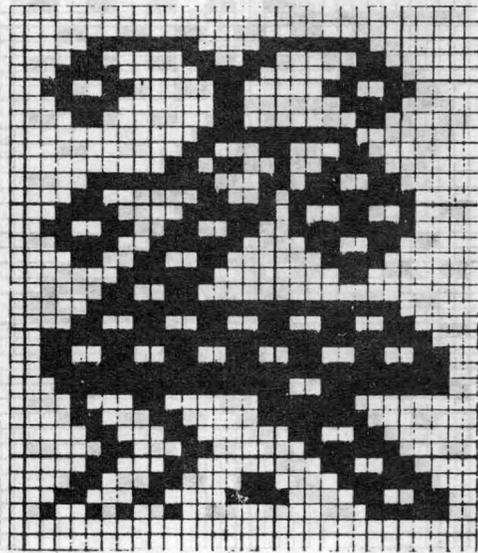
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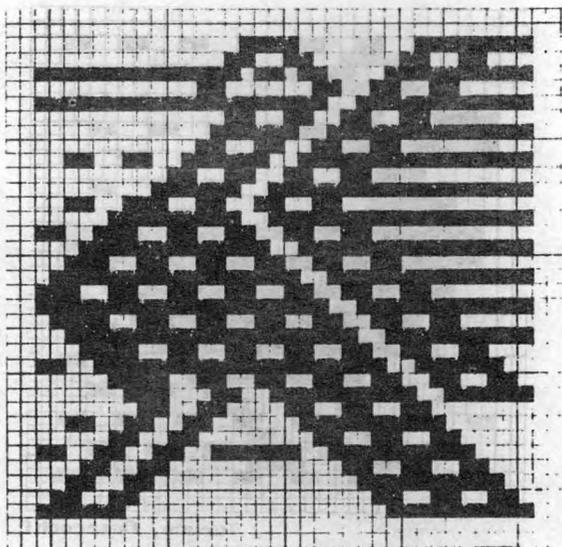
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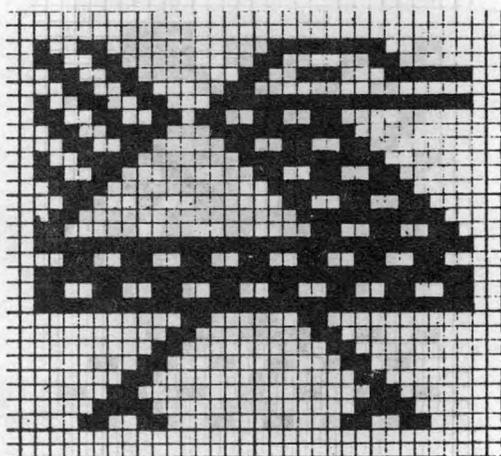
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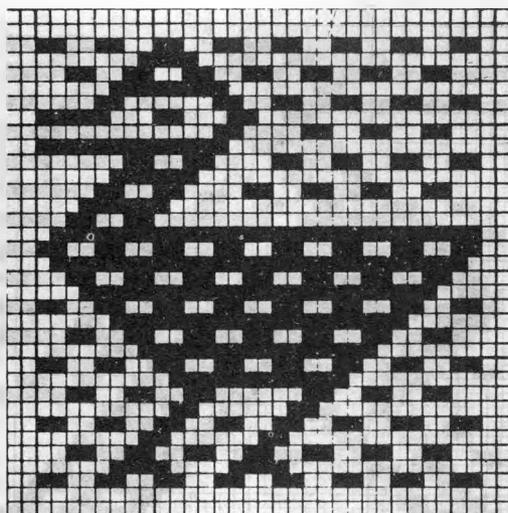
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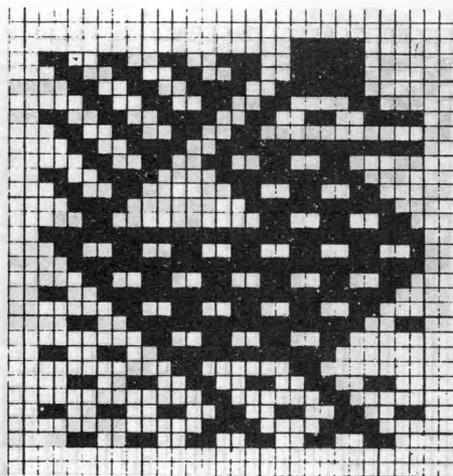
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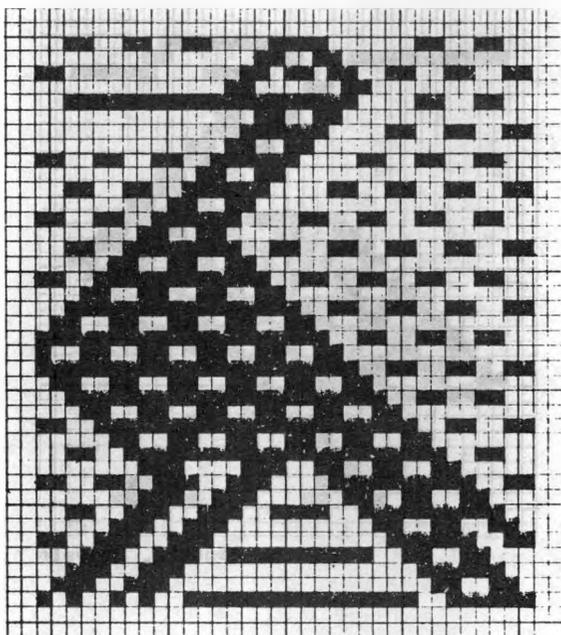
Peguche. Otavalo



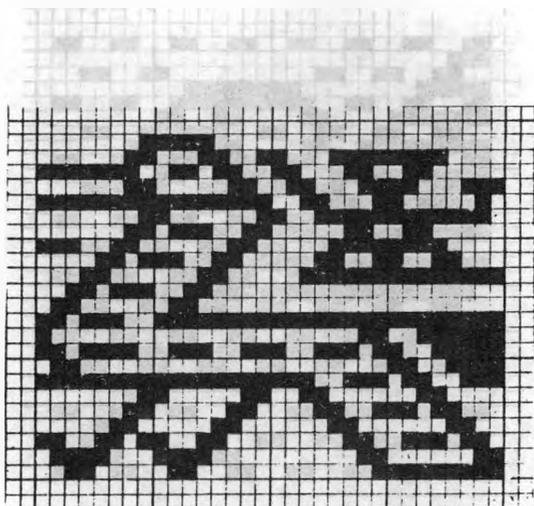
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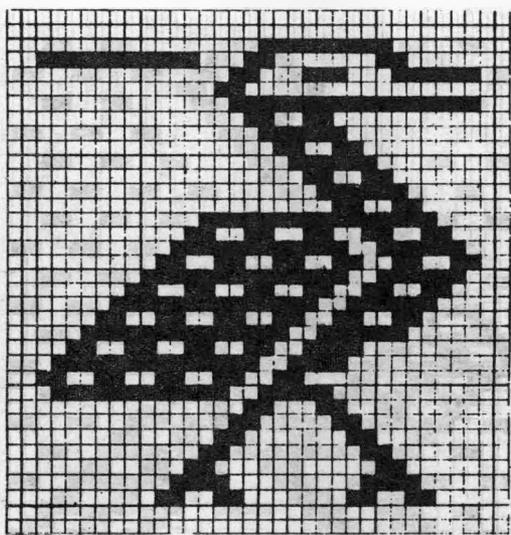
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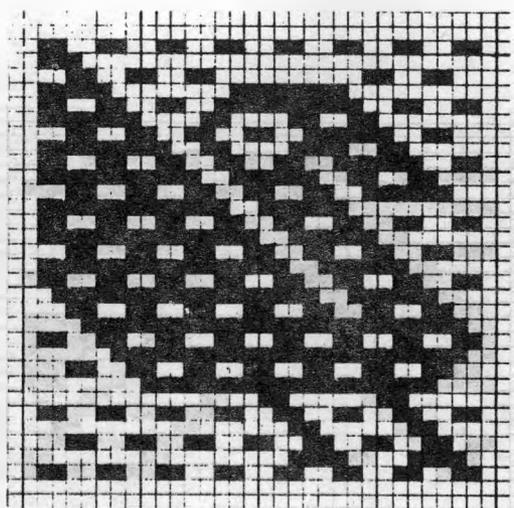
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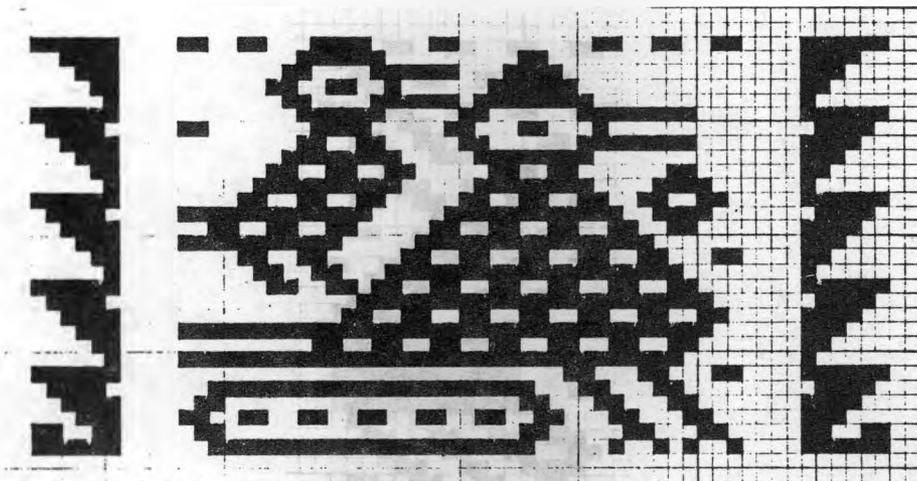
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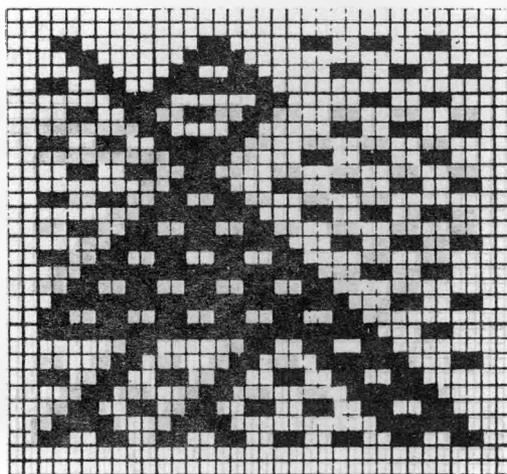
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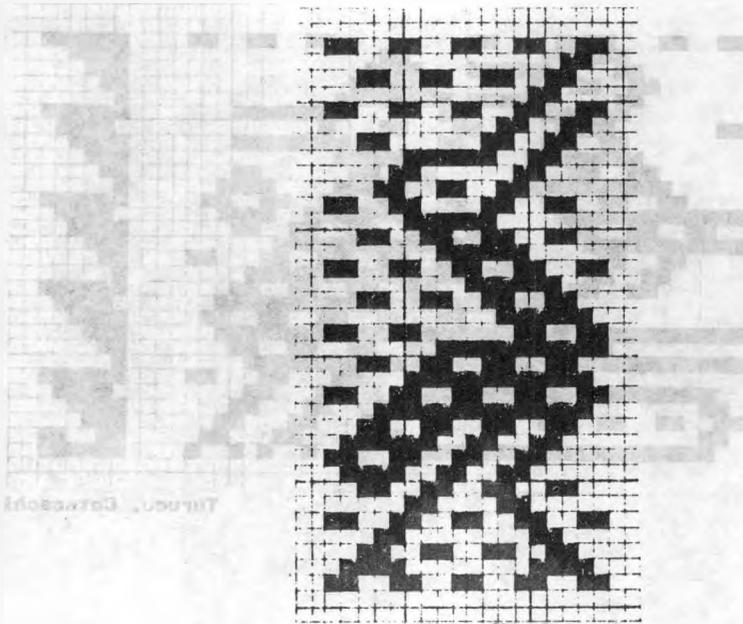
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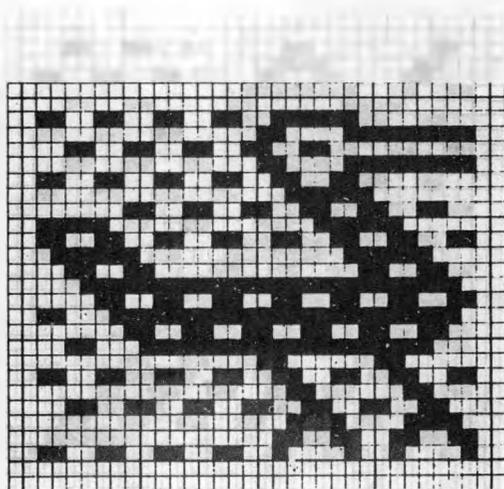
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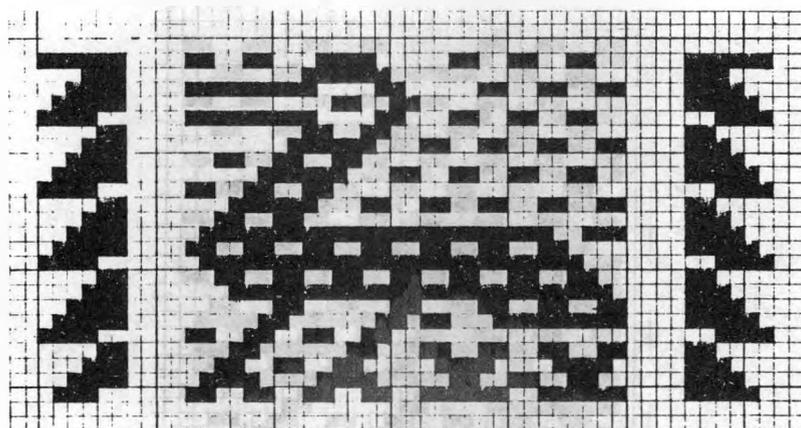
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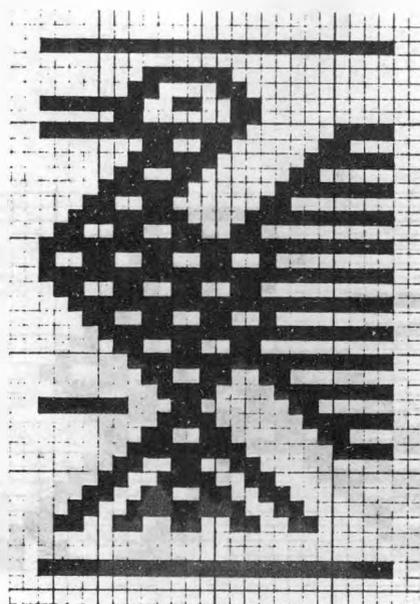
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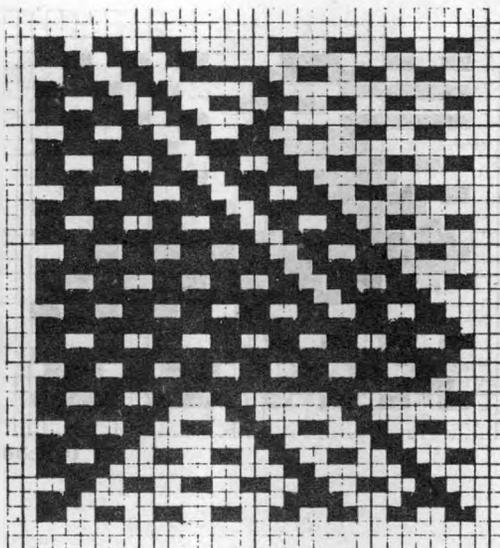
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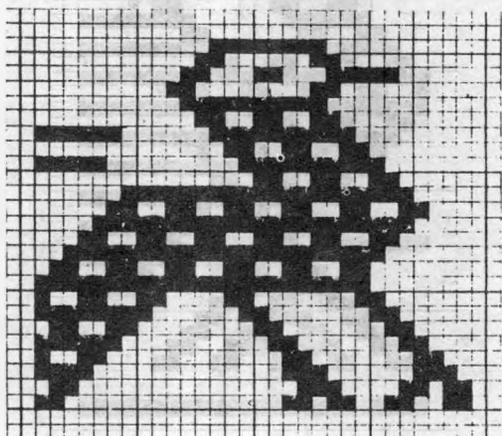
**El Cercado, Cotacachi**



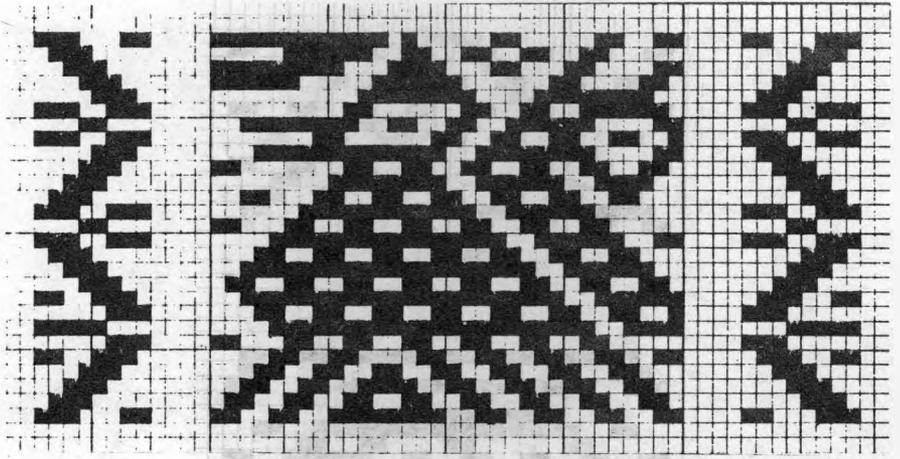
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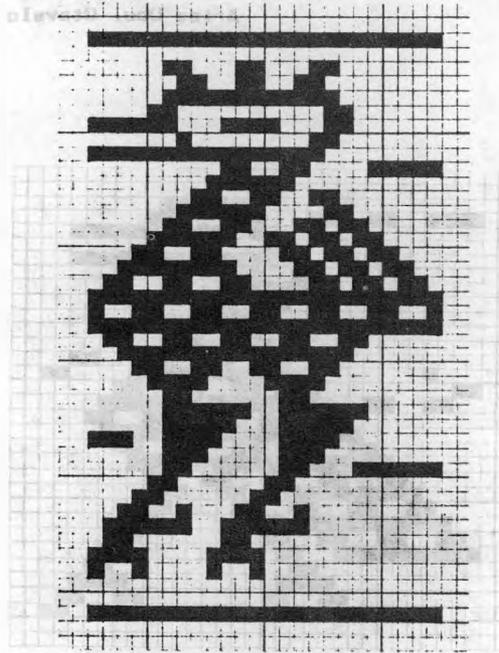
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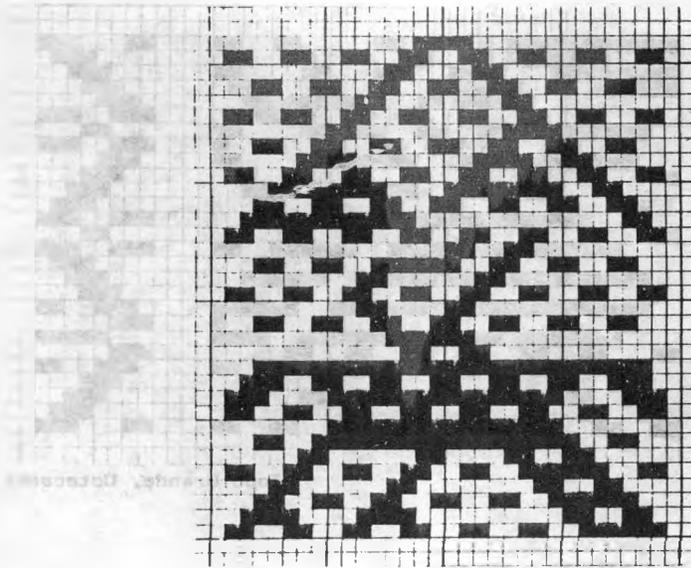
Catabamba, Antonio Ante



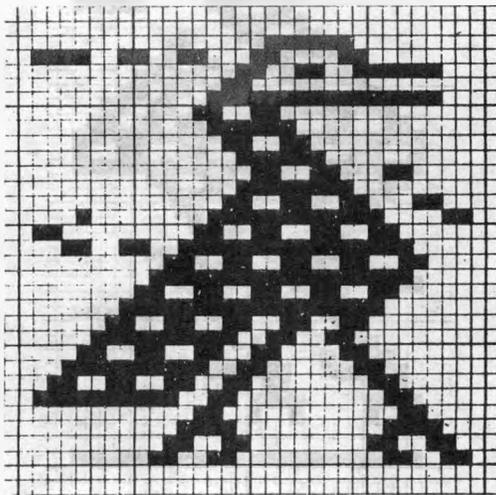
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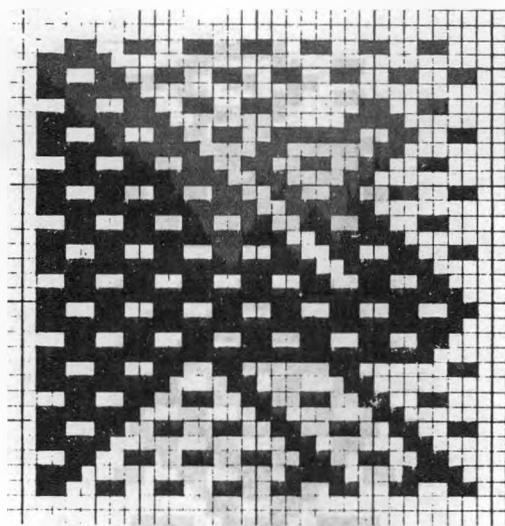
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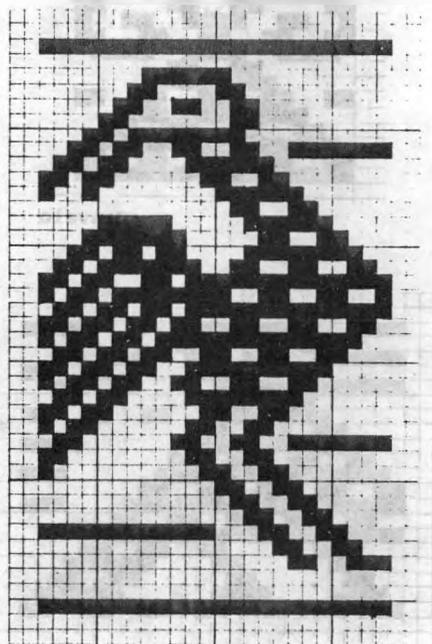
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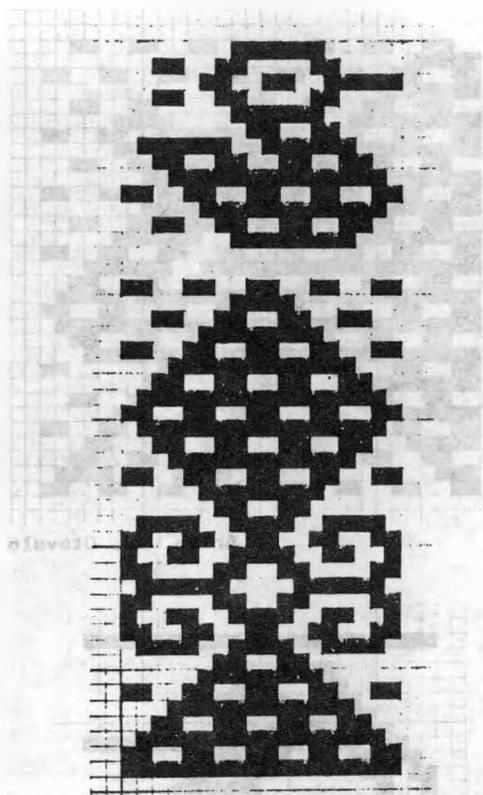
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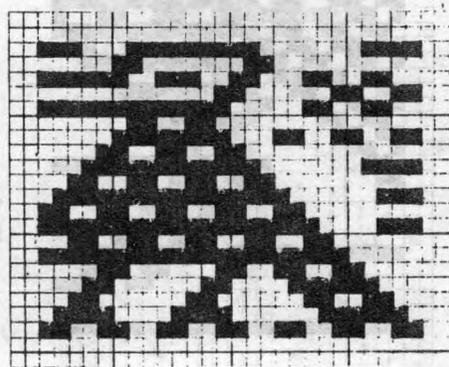
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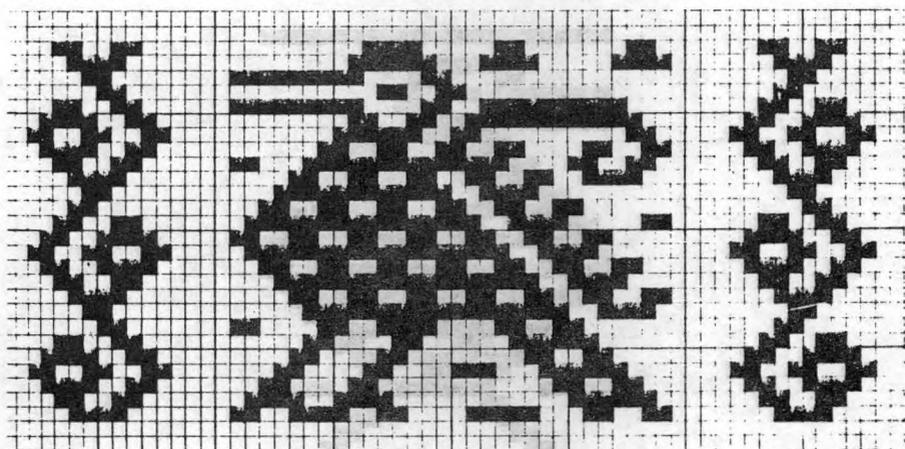
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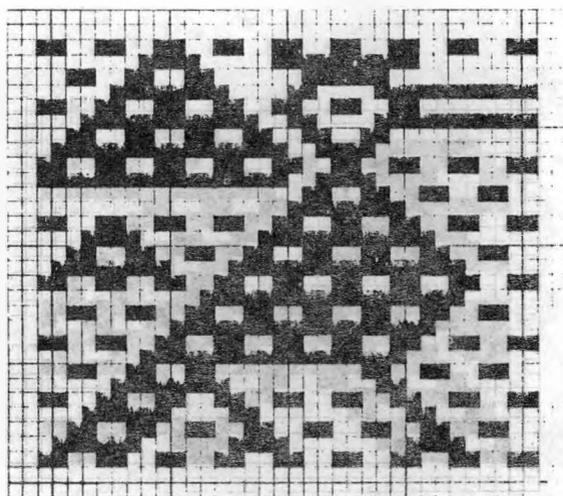
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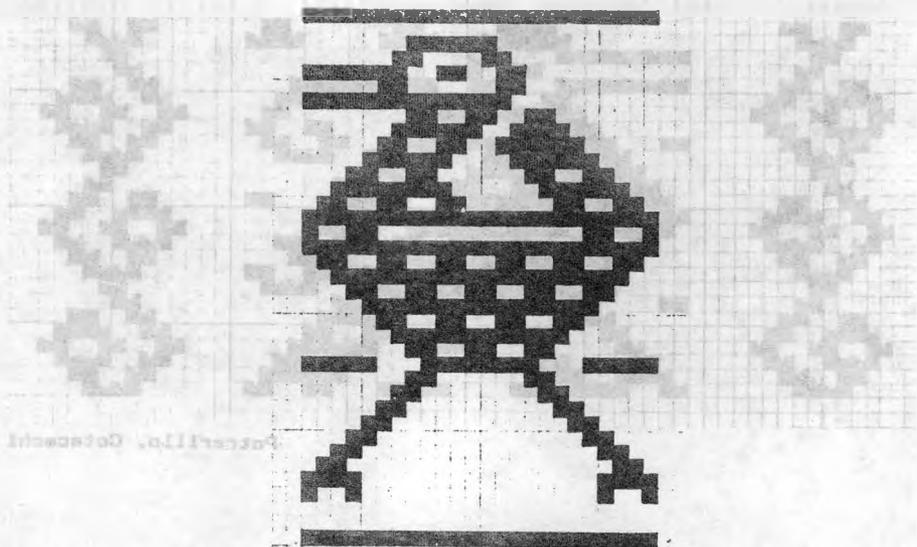
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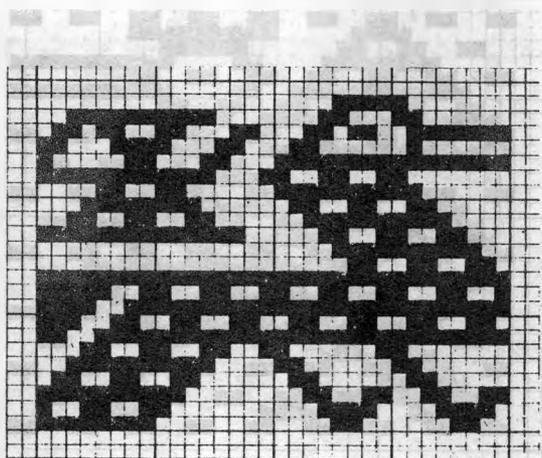
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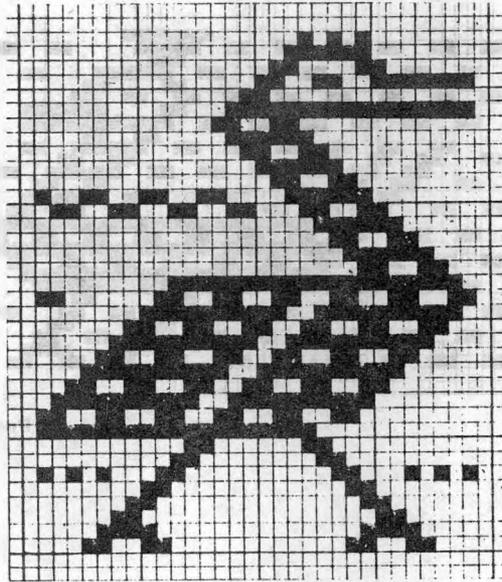
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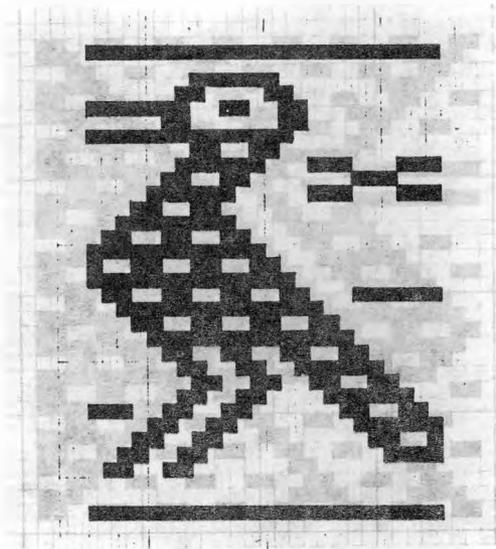
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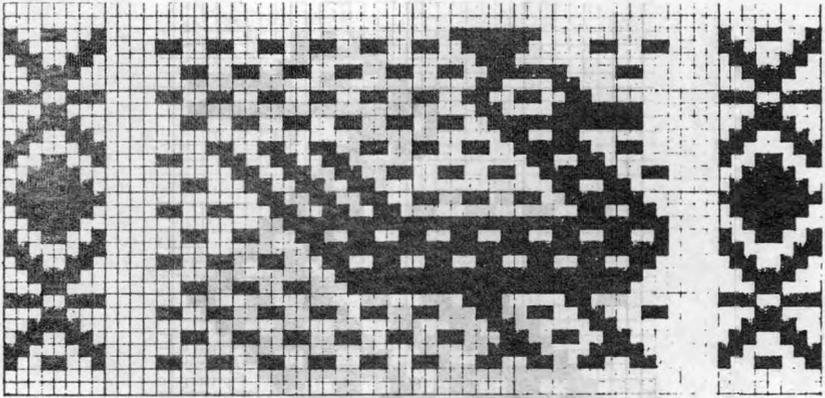
La Compañía, Otavalo



Peguche, Otavalo



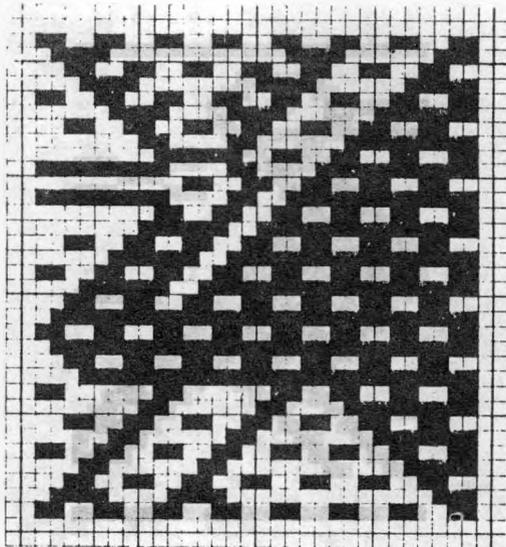
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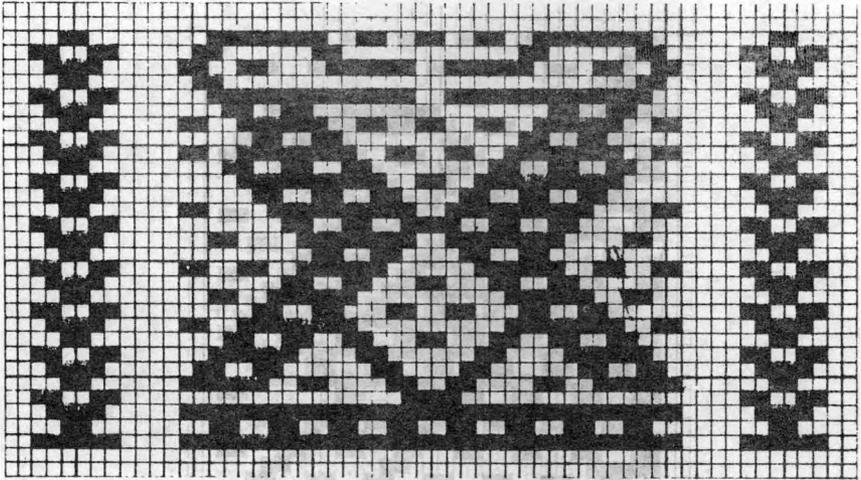
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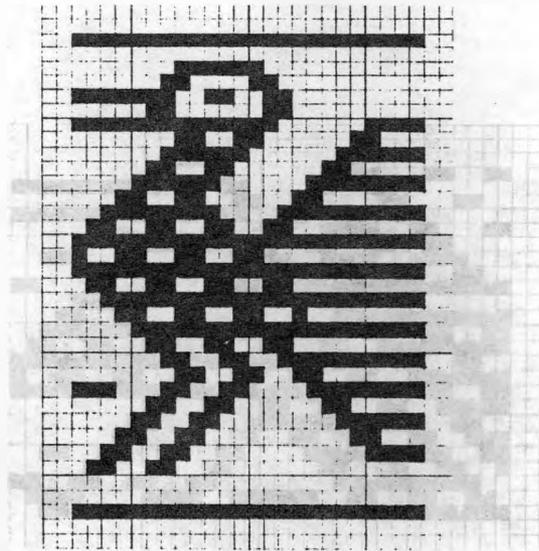


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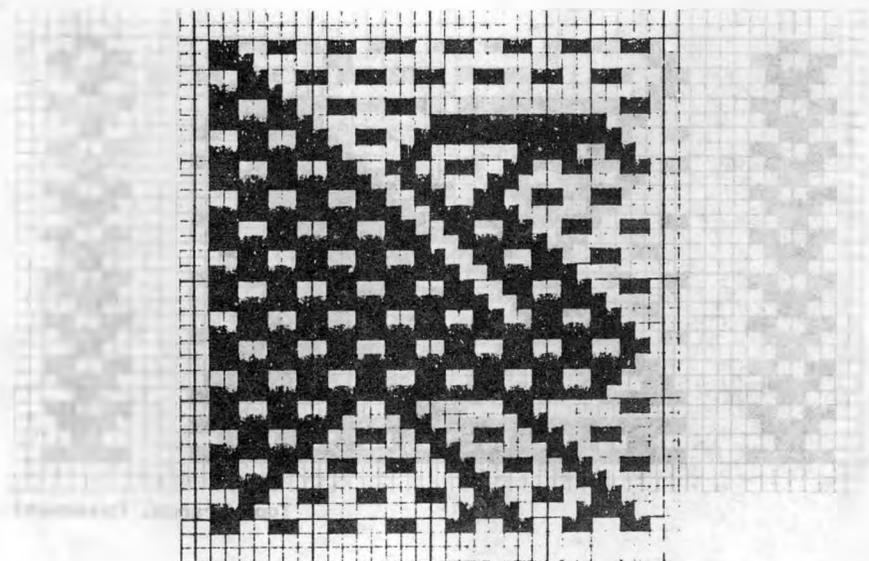


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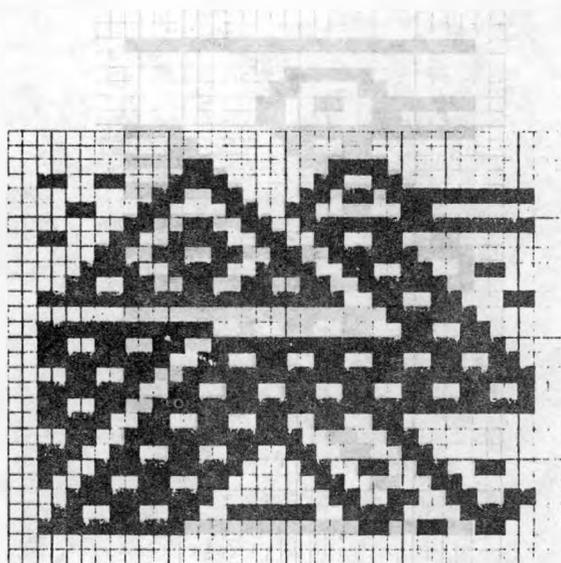
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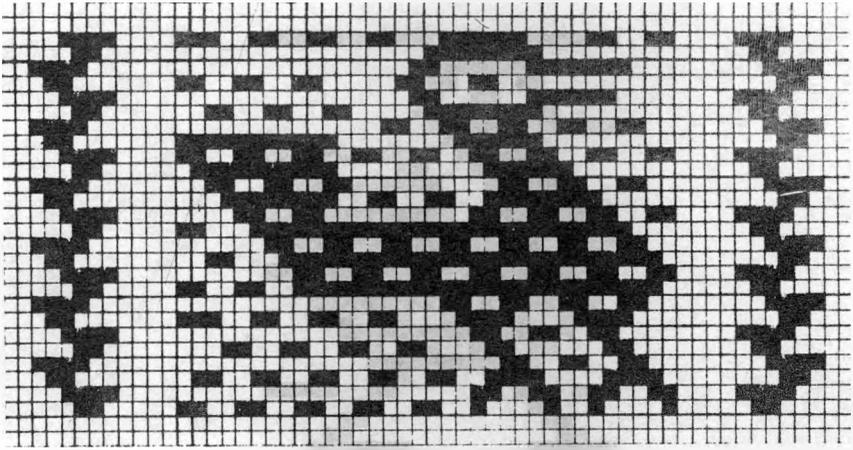
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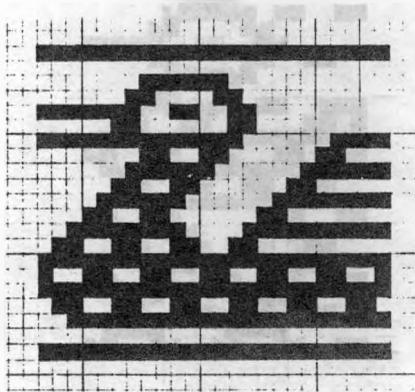
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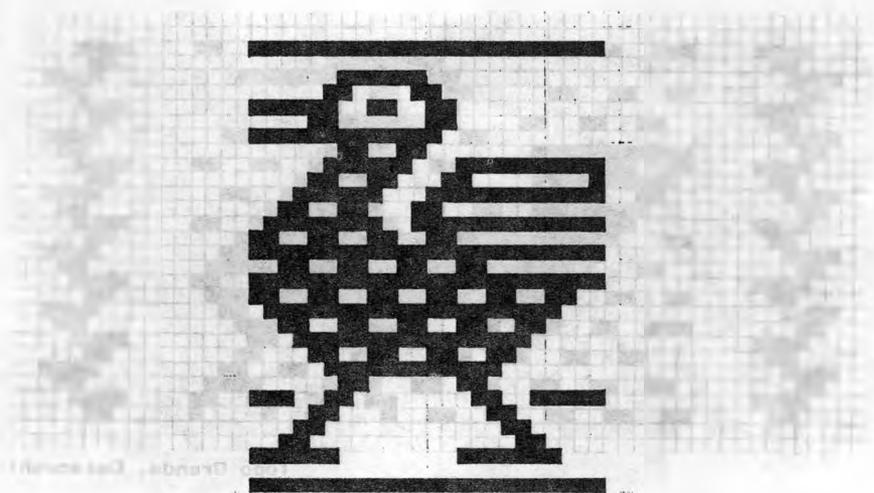
Natabuela, Antonio Ante



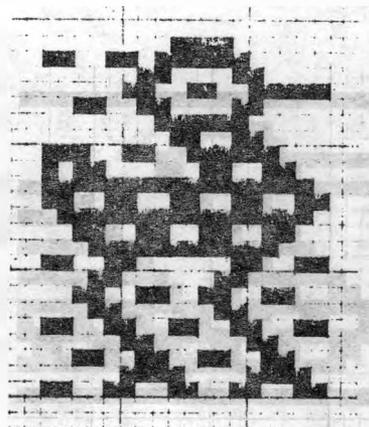
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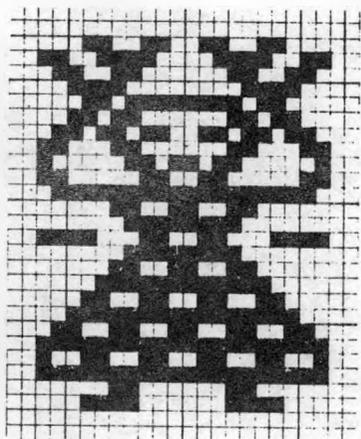
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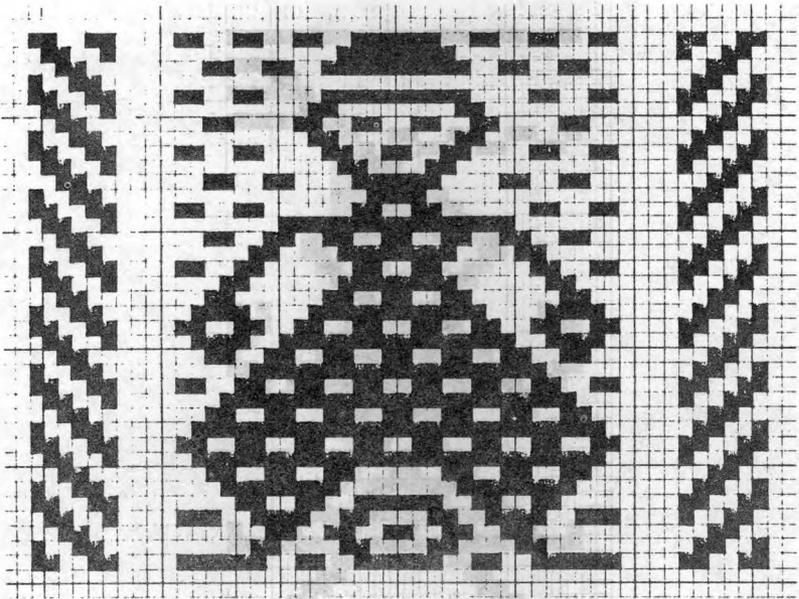


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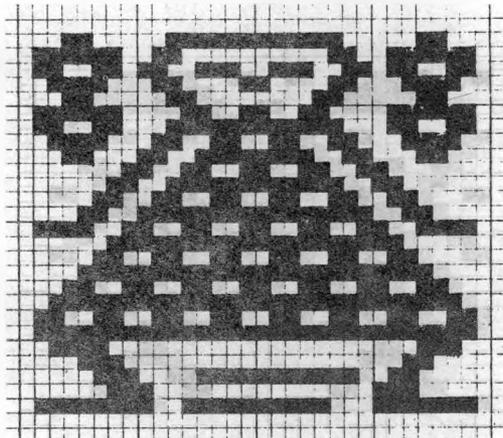
## MOTIVOS HUMANOS

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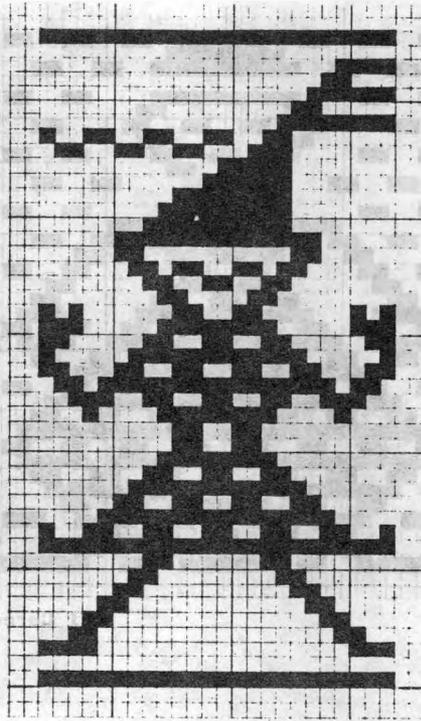




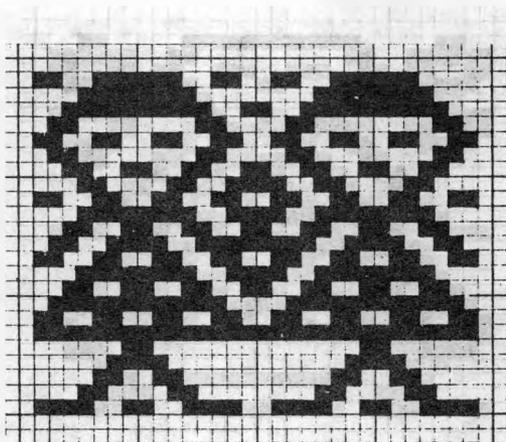
**El Cercado, Cotacachi**



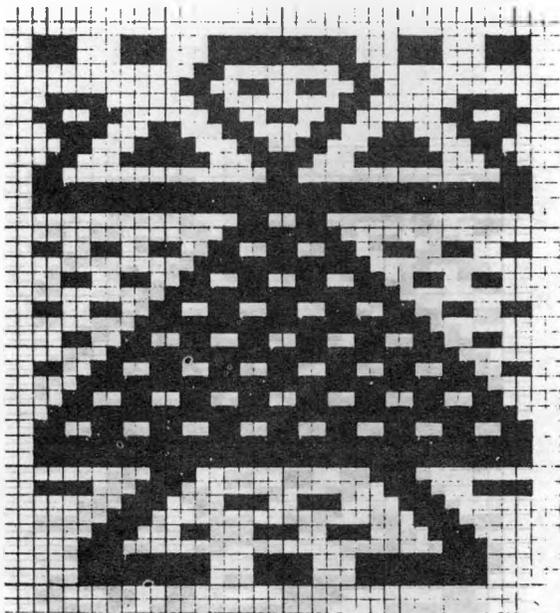
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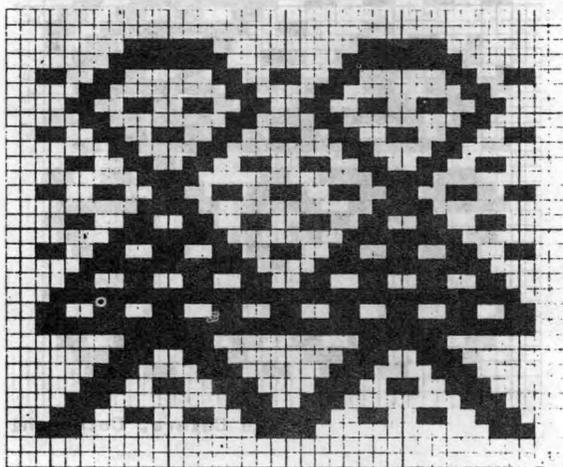
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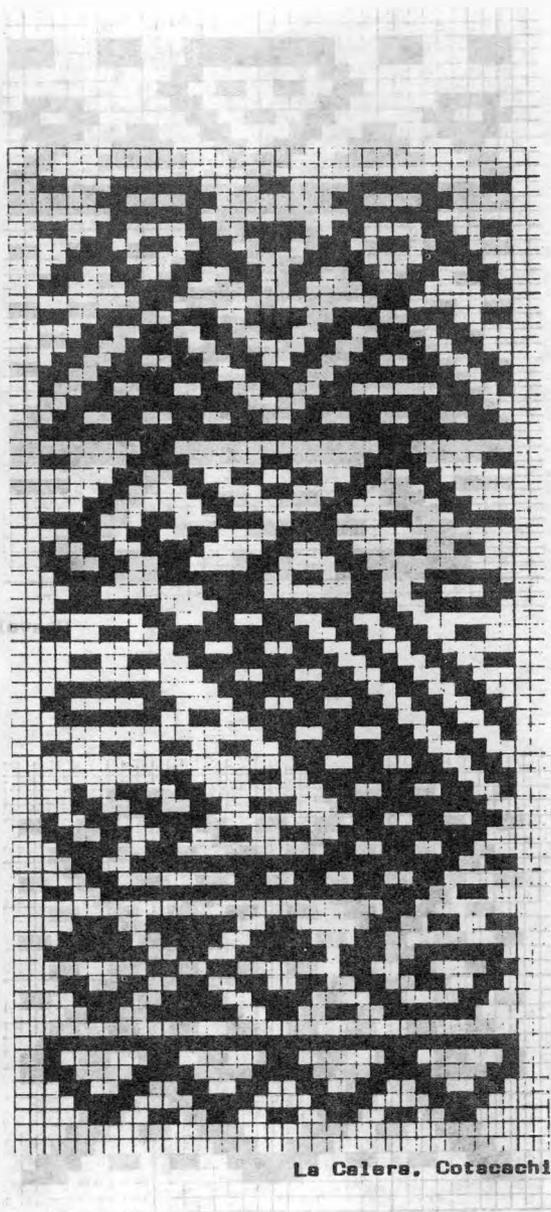
**Arius Ucu, Otavalo**



Otavaio



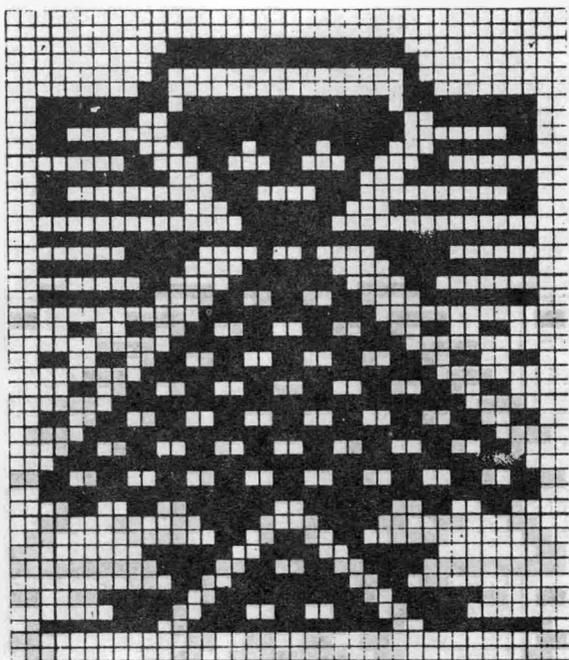
Camuendo, Otavaio



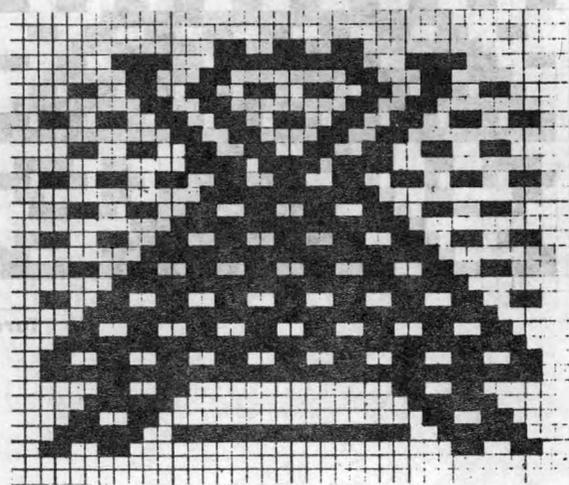
La Calera, Cotacachi



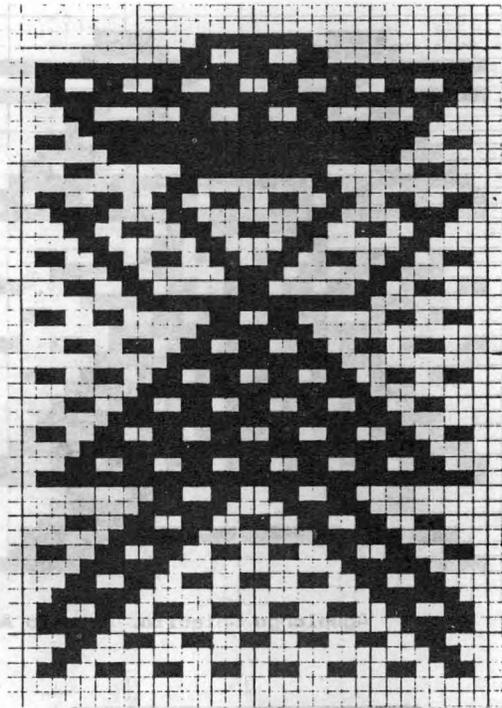
Turucu, Cotacachi



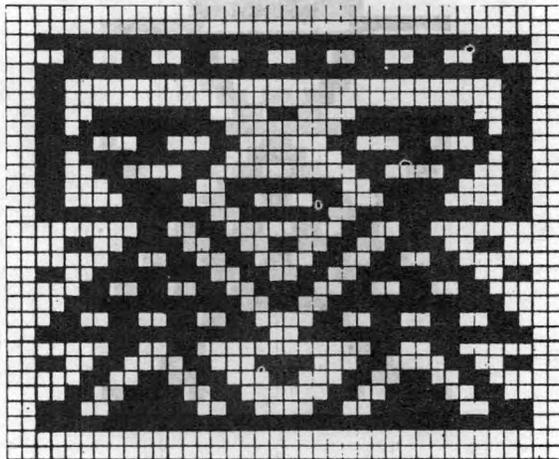
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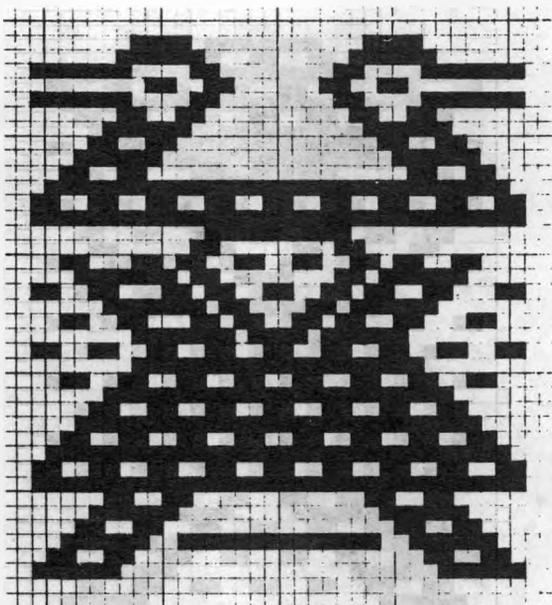
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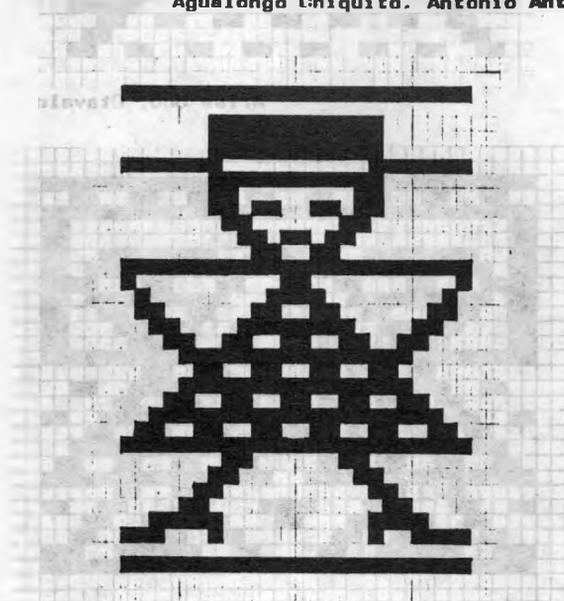
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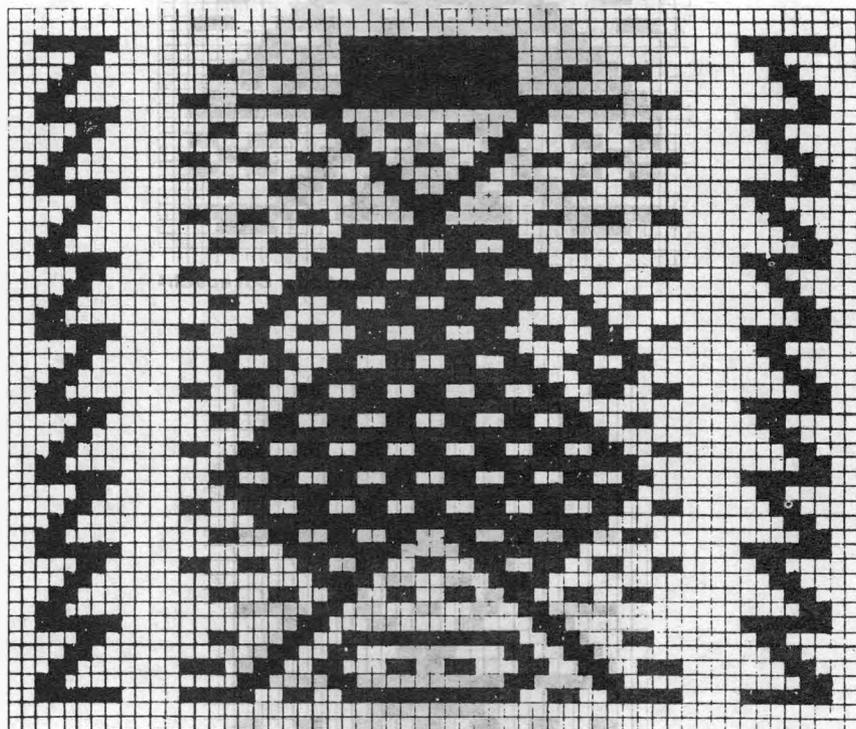
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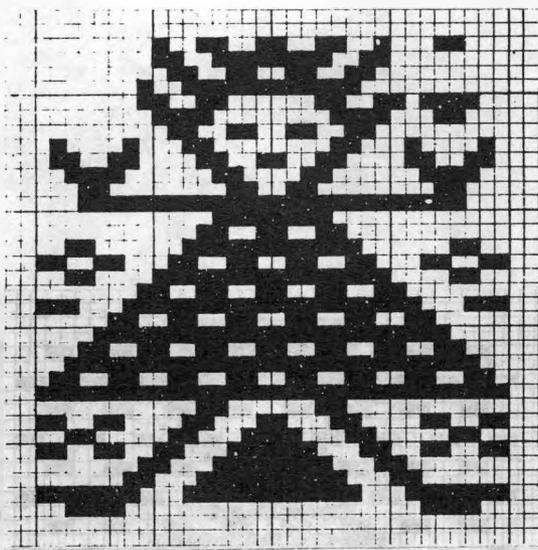
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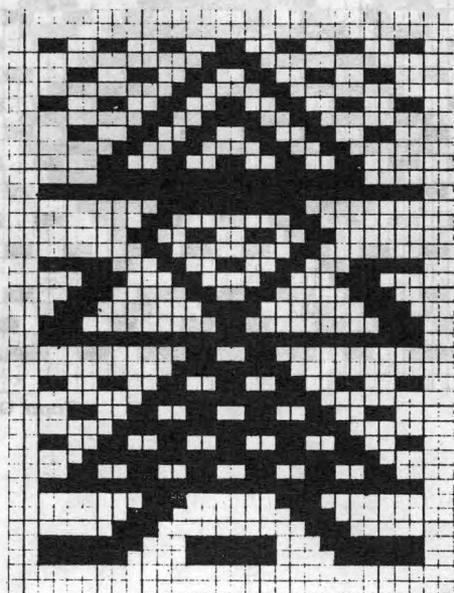
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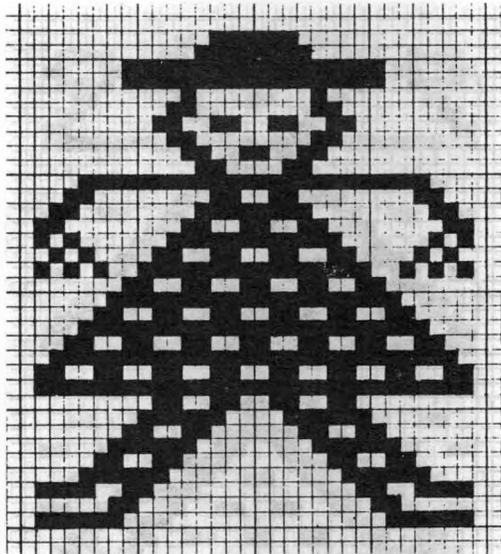
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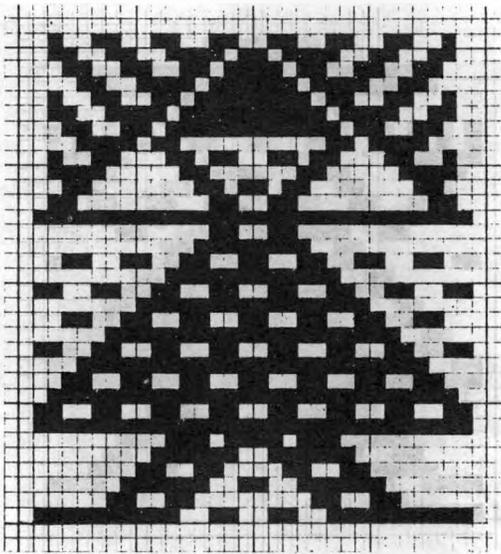
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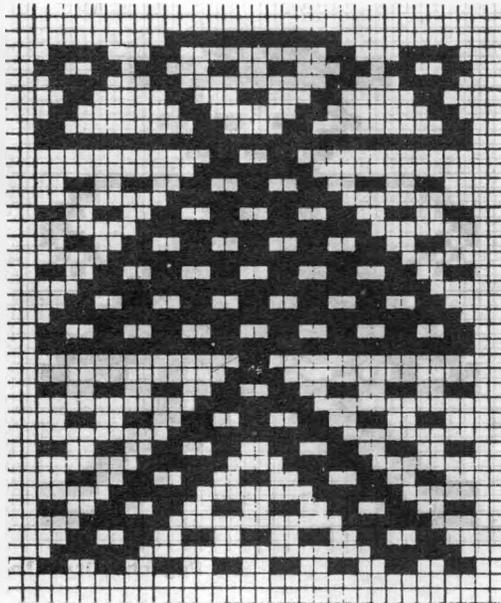
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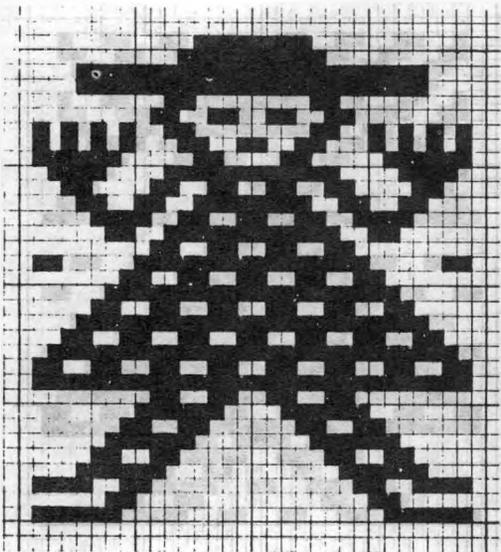
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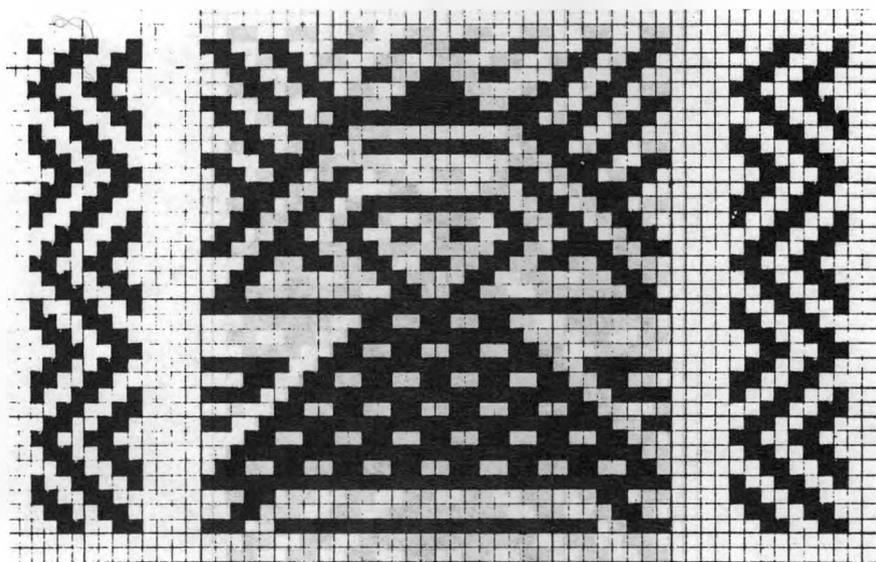
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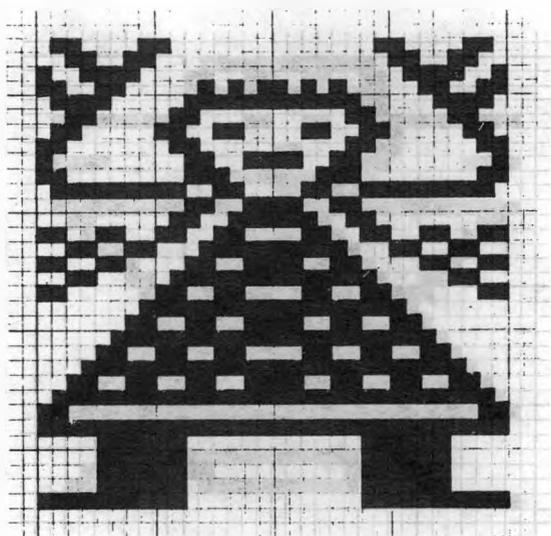
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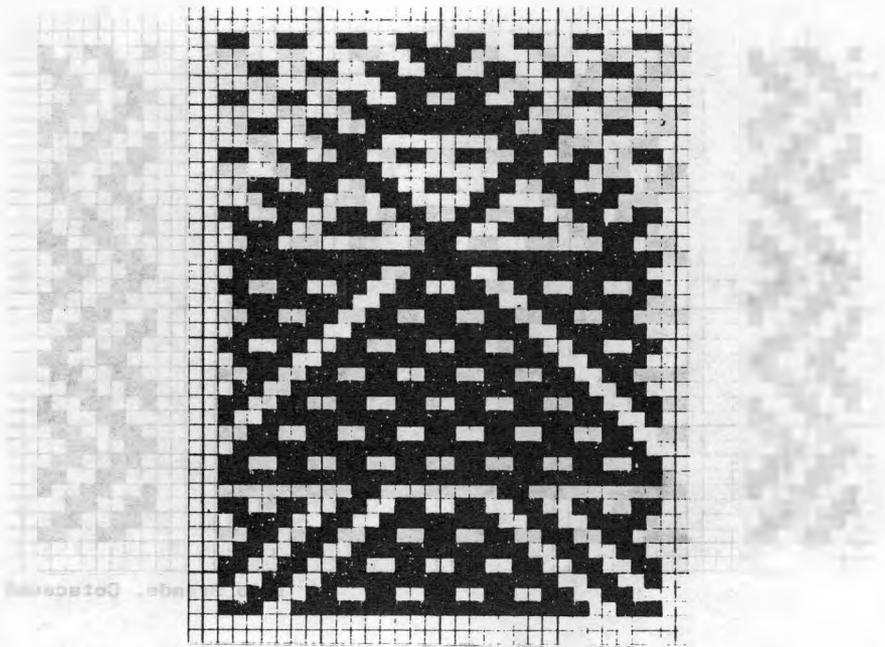
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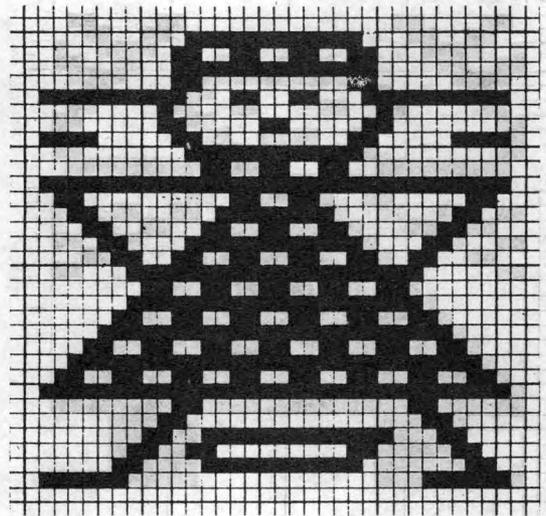
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



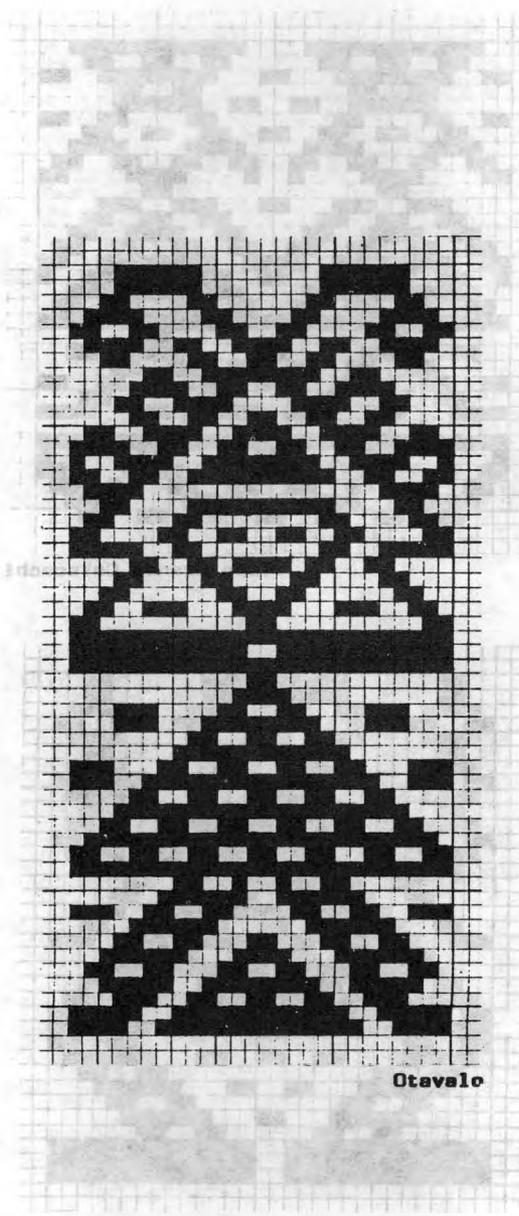
Peguche, Otavalo



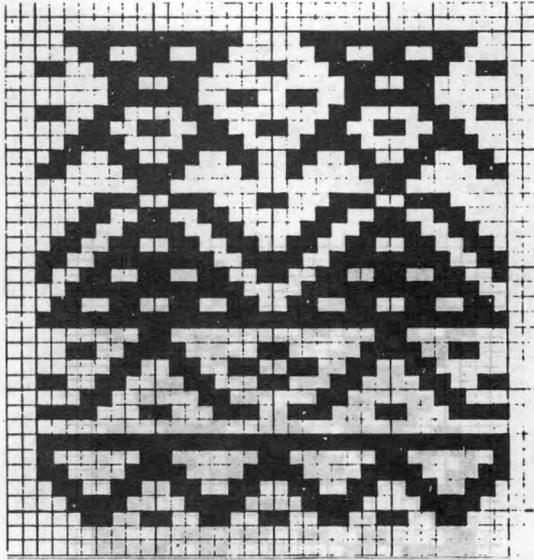
Otavallo



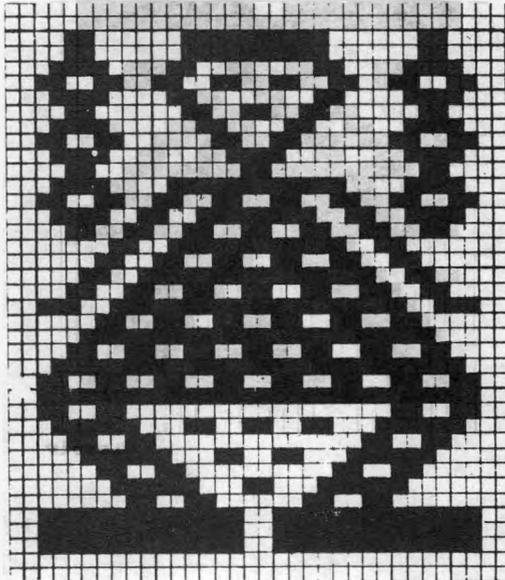
Andrade Marín, Antonio Ante



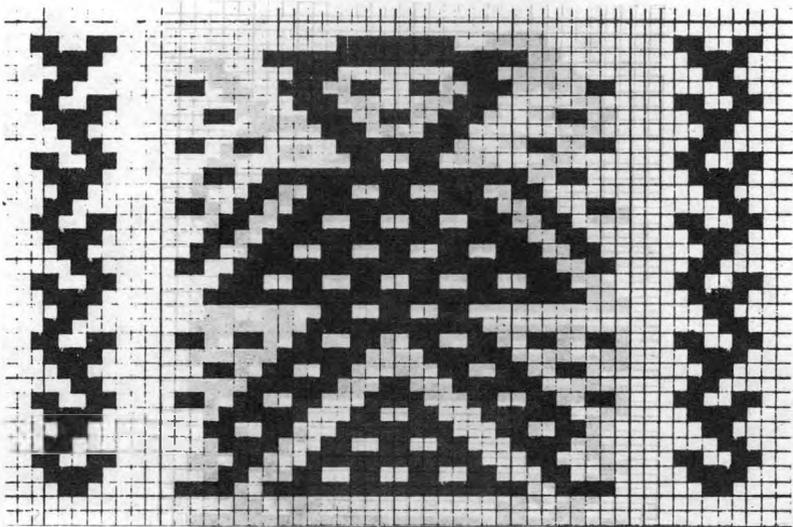
Otavalo



**Topo Grande Cotacachi**

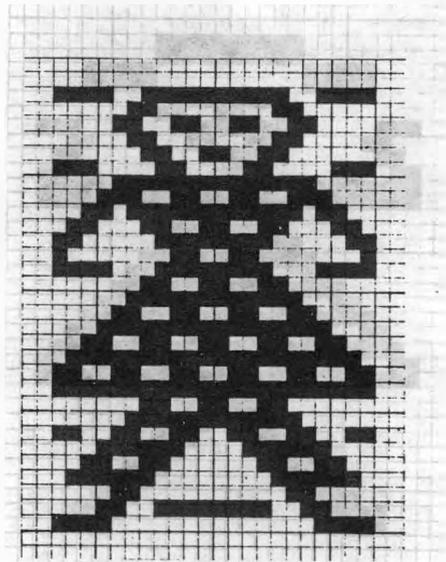


**Turucu, Cotacachi**

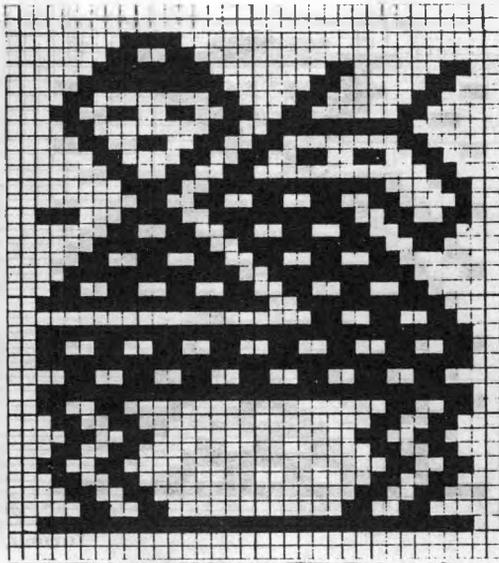


Turucu, Cotacachi

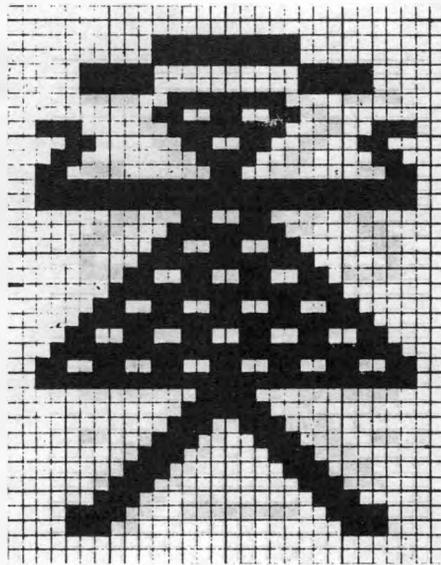
Figura, Ovaleto



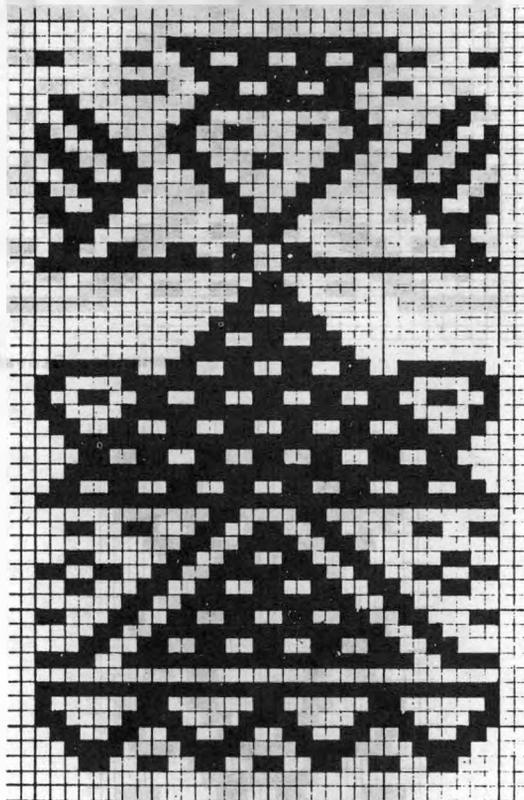
Los Ovalos, Antonio Ante



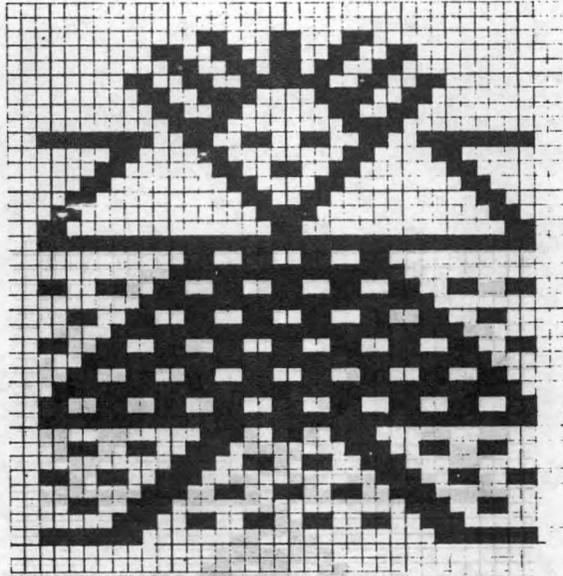
Peguche, Otavalo



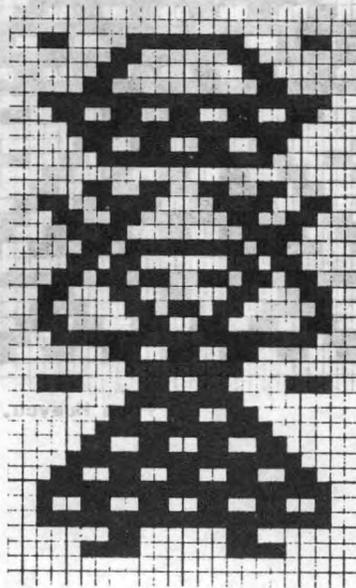
Imantag, Cotacachi



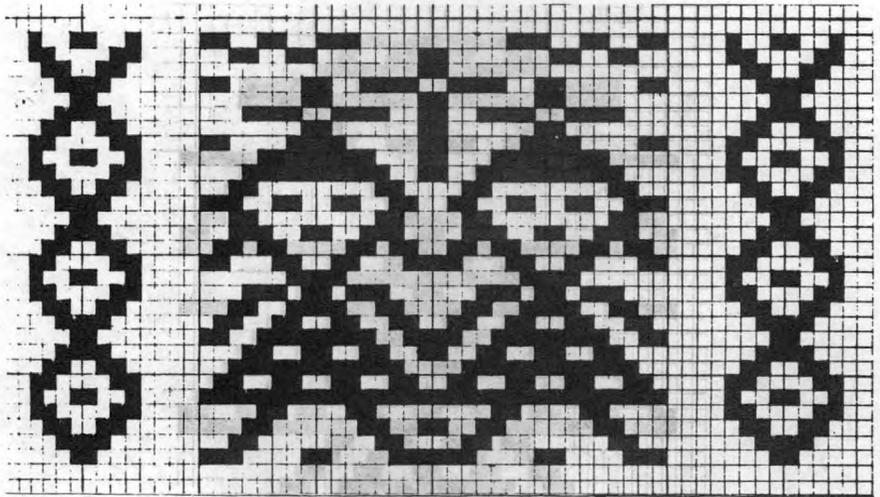
Puca Huaycu, Ibarra



**Camuendo, Otavalo**

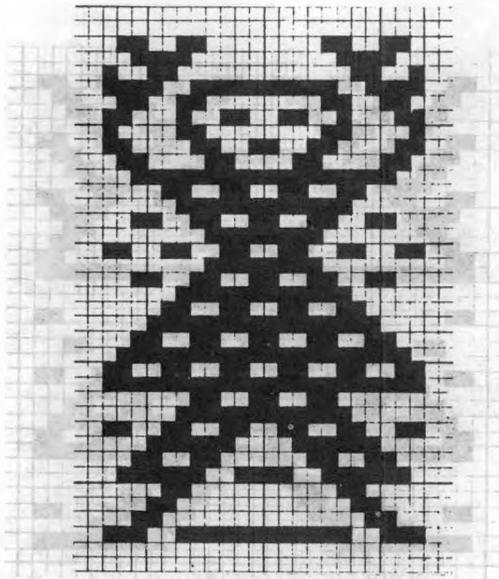


**Los Ovalos Antonio Ante**

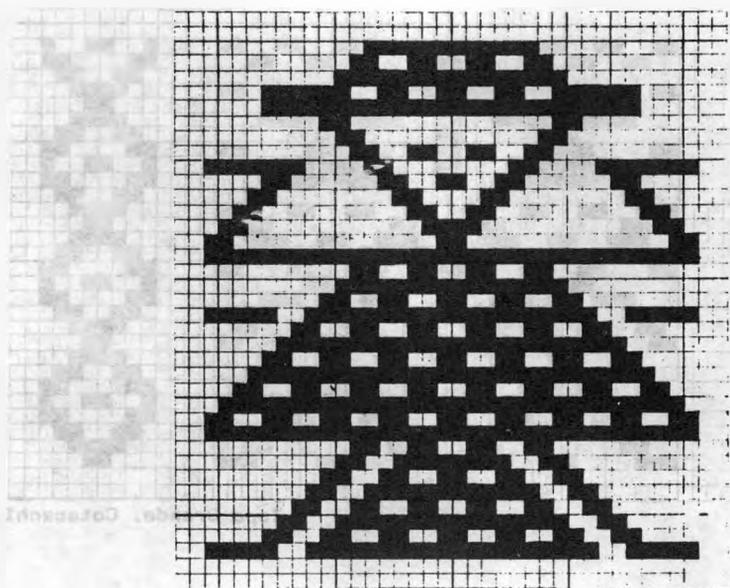


Topo Grande, Cotacachi

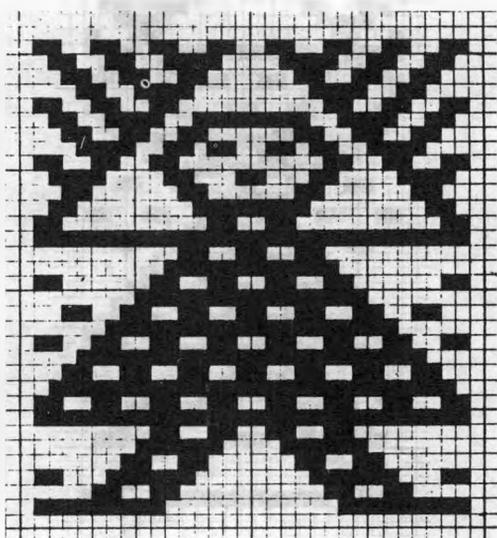
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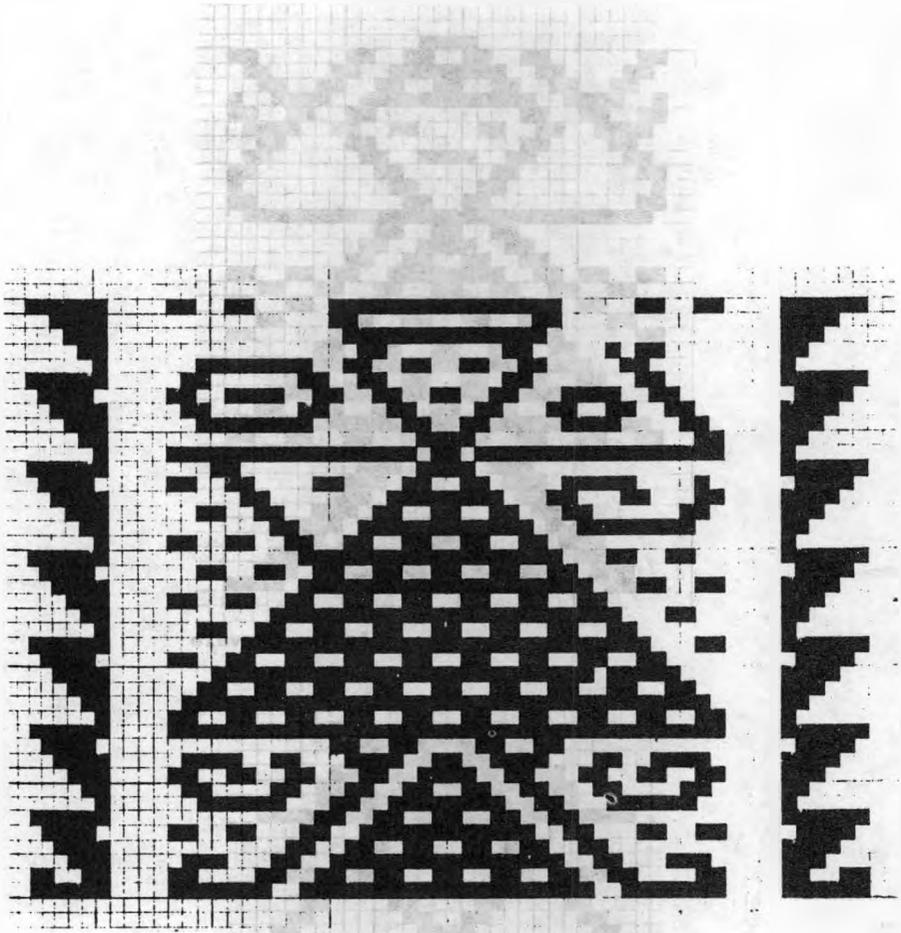
Los Ovalos Antonio Ante



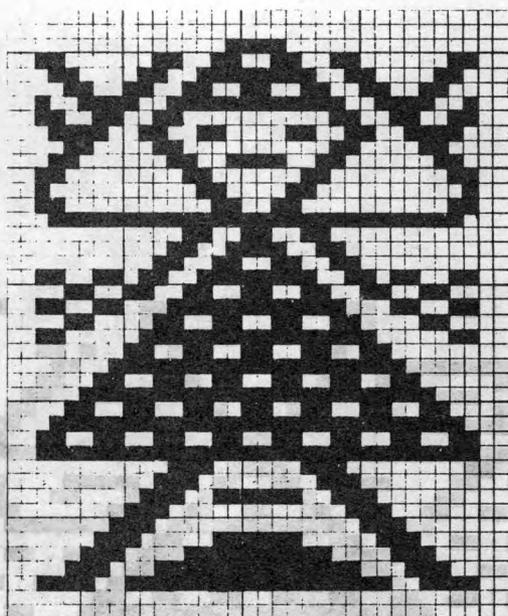
Cauendo, Otavalo



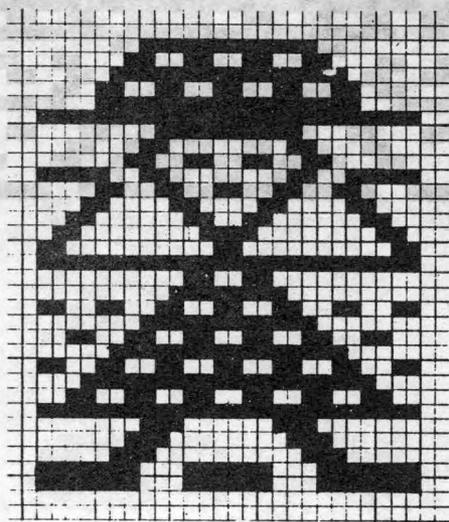
Andrade Marín, Antonio Ante



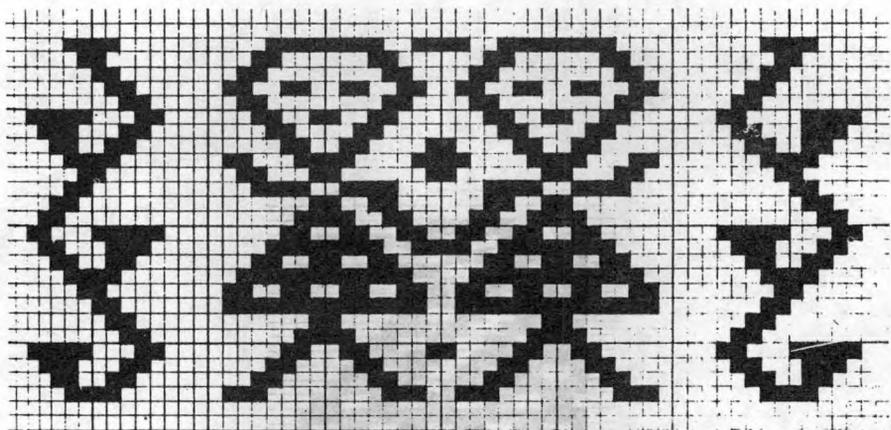
Turucu, Cotacachi



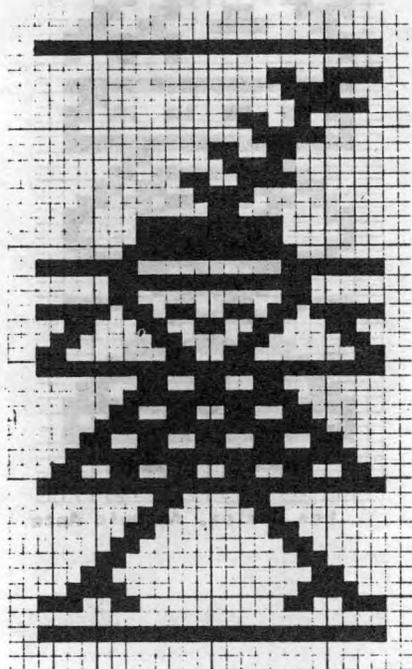
**Agato, Otevalo**



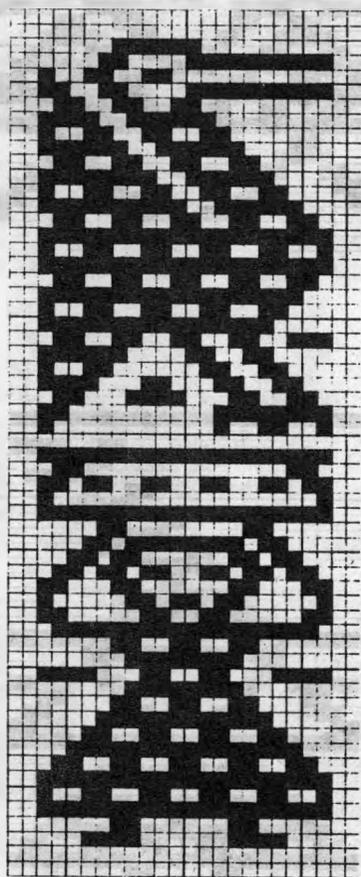
**Peguche, Otevalo**



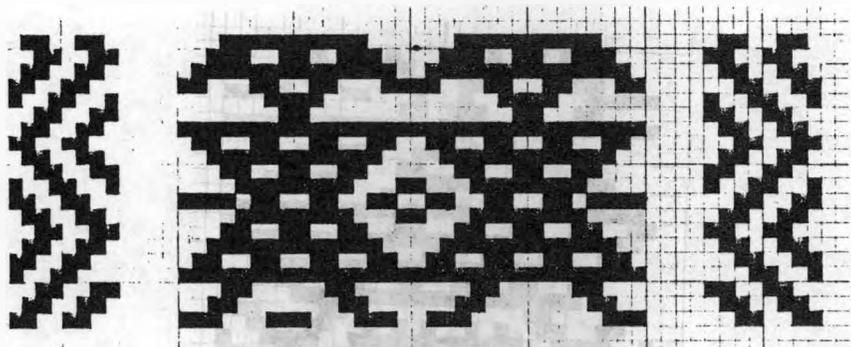
Potreriillo, Cotacachi



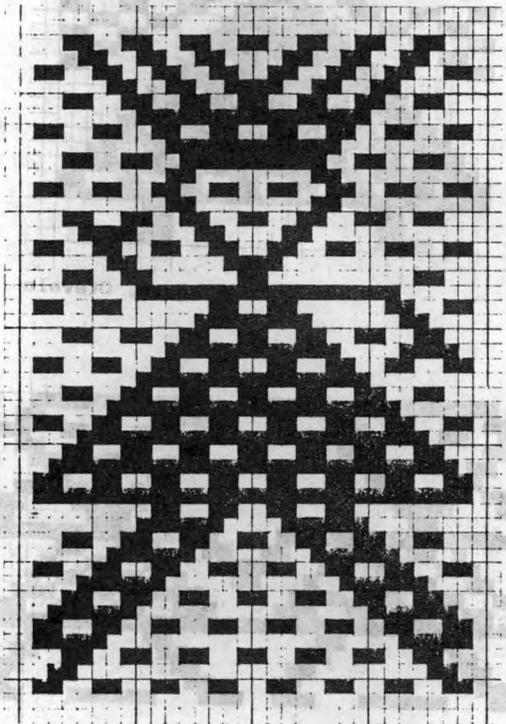
Paniquindra, Ibarra



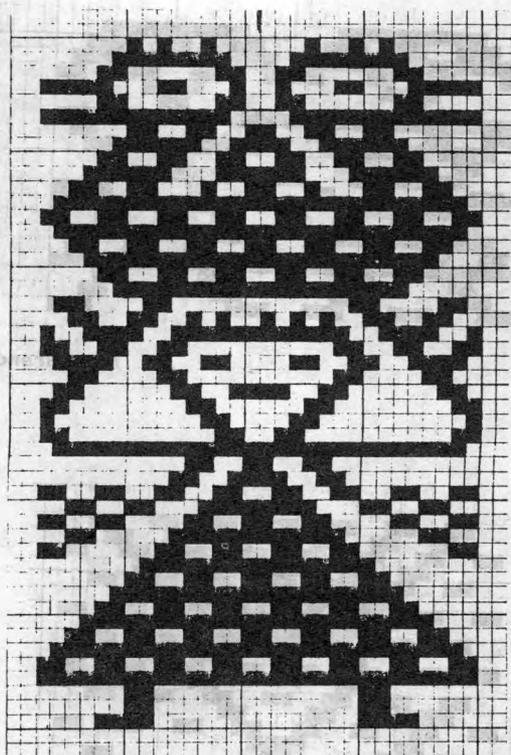
Los Ovejos, Antonio Ante



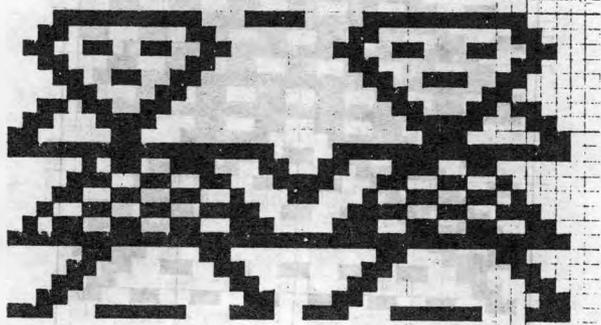
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



Arias Ucu, Otavalo

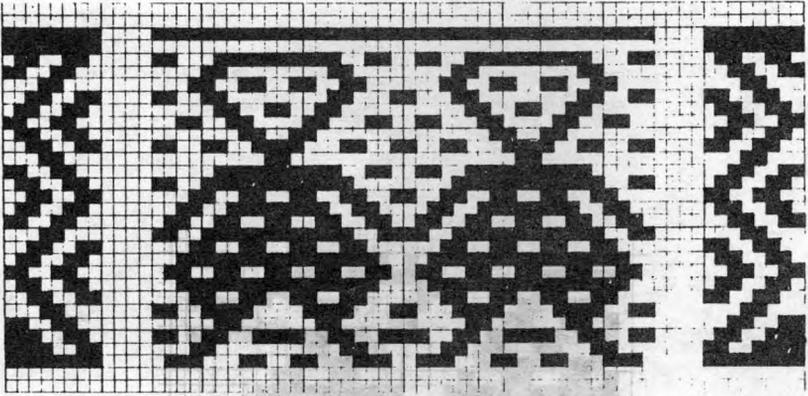


Agato, Otavalo

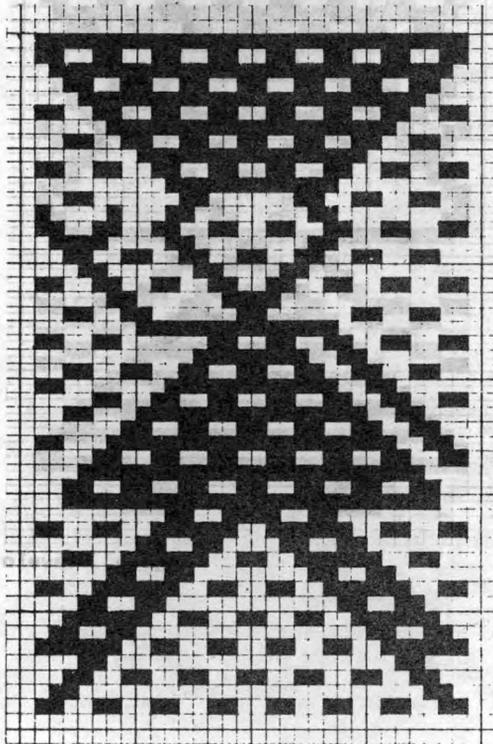


Agato, Otavalo

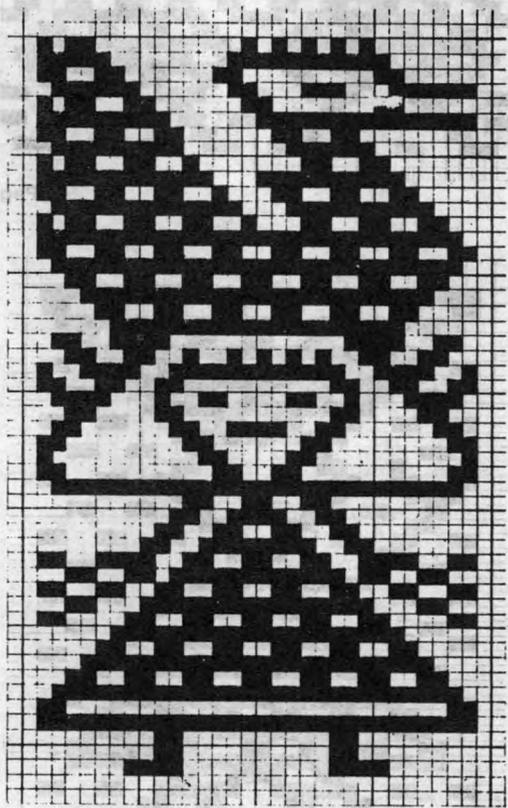
La Calera, Cotacachi



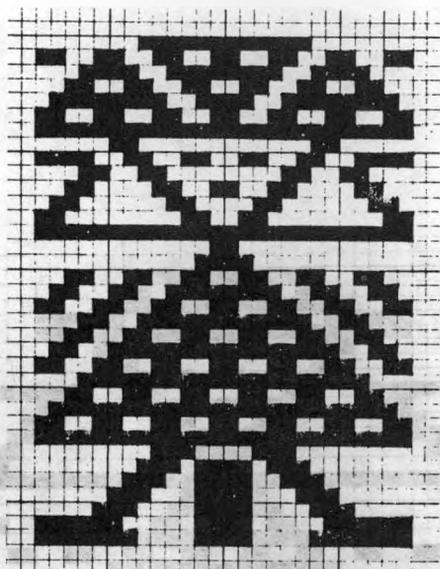
Peguiche, Otavalo



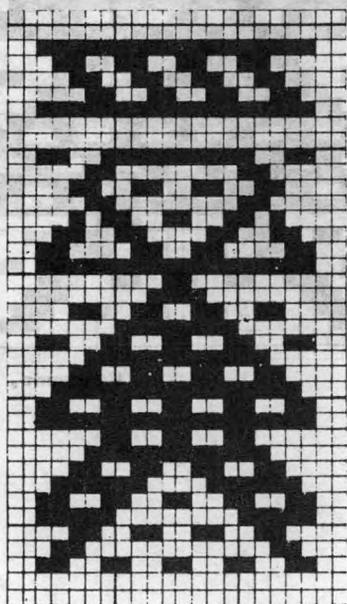
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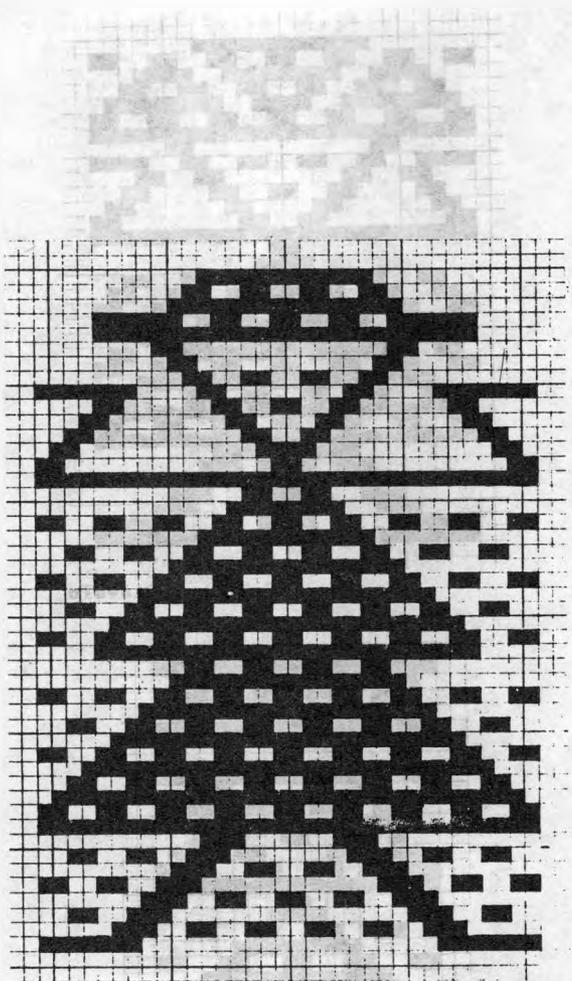
Agato, Otavelo



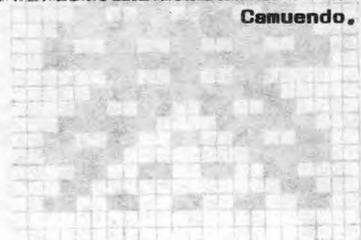
**Peguche, Otavalo**

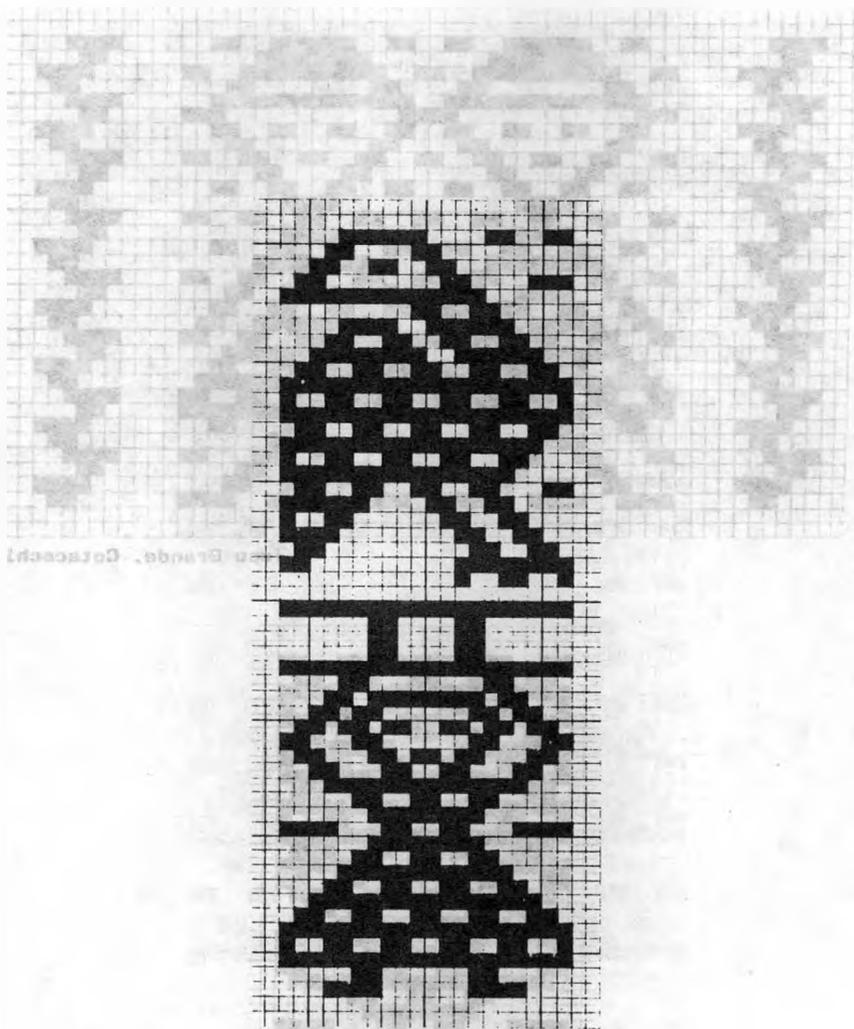


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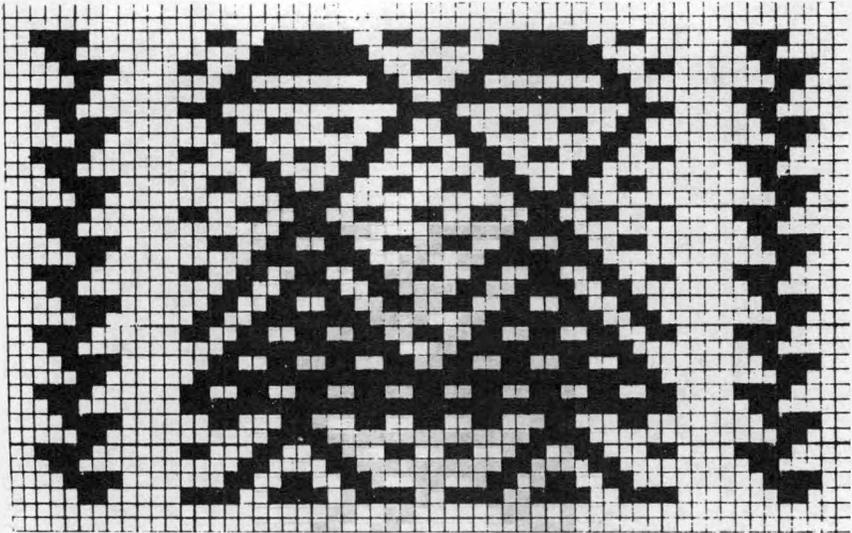


**Camuendo, Otevalo**

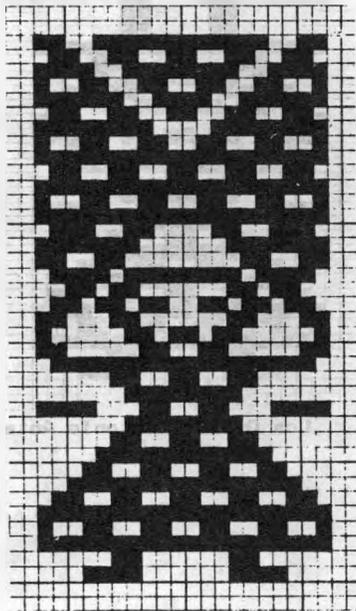




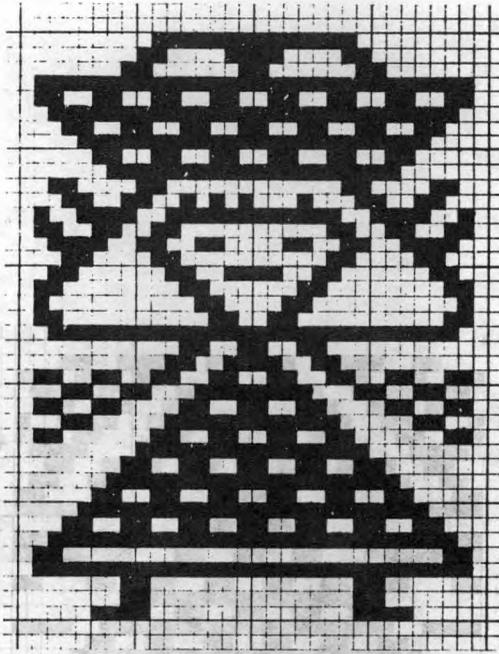
**Los Ovalos, Antonio Ante**



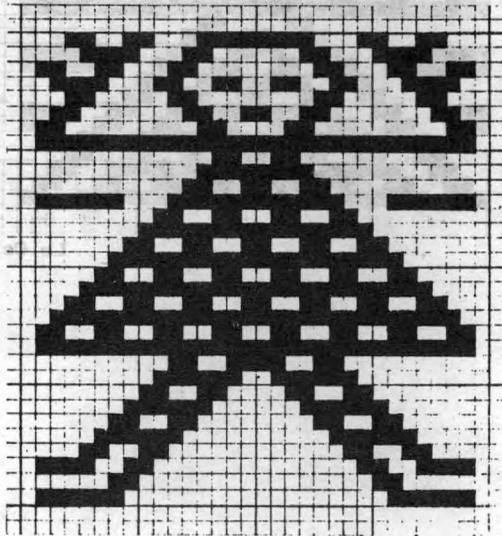
**Topo Grande, Cotacachi**



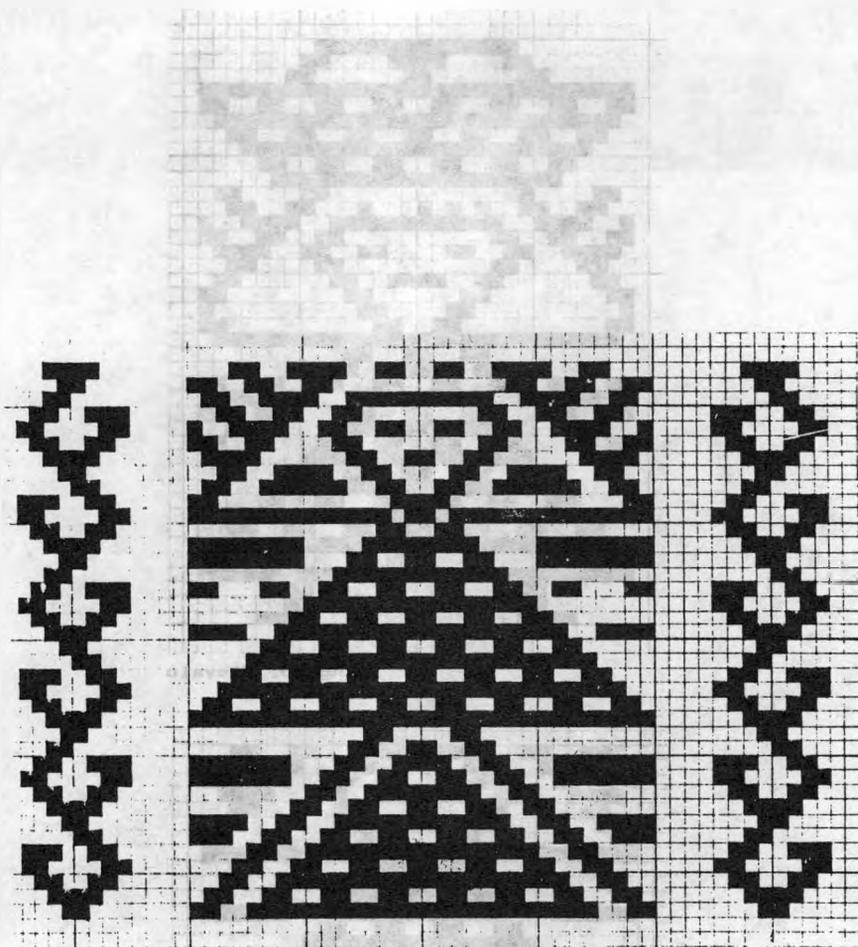
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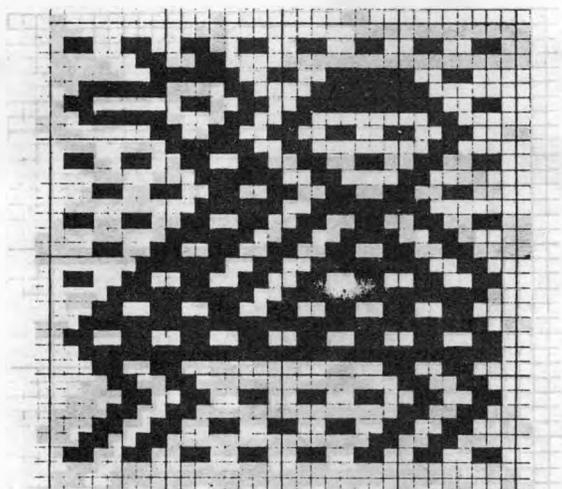
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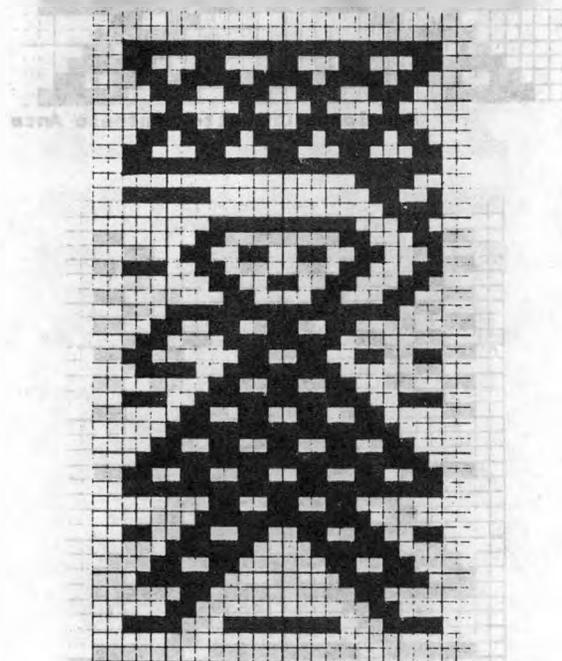
**Pagucho, Otavalo**



**La Calera, Cotacachi**

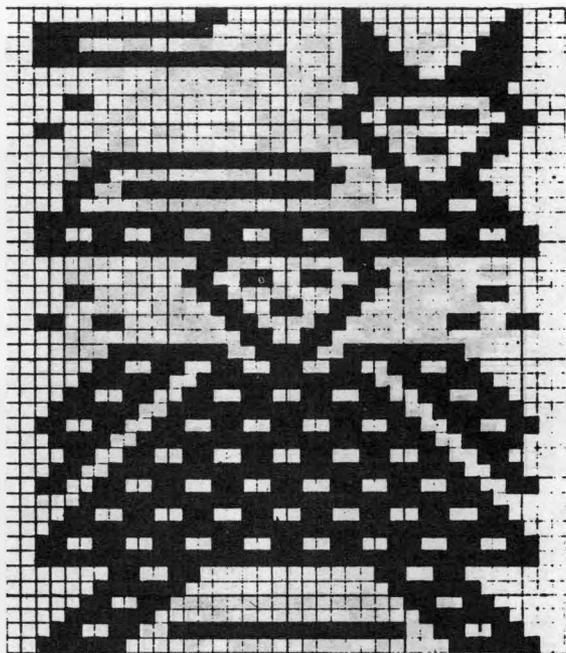


**Arias Ucu, Otavalo**

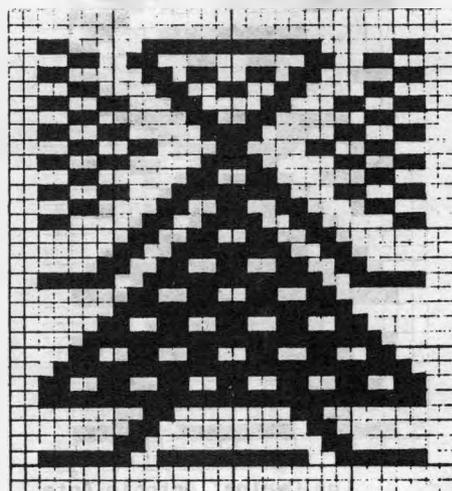


**Los Ovalos, Antonio Ante**

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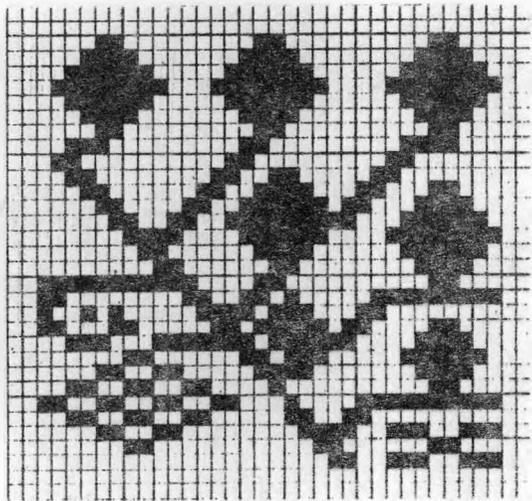
**Aguelongo Chiquito, Antonio Ante**

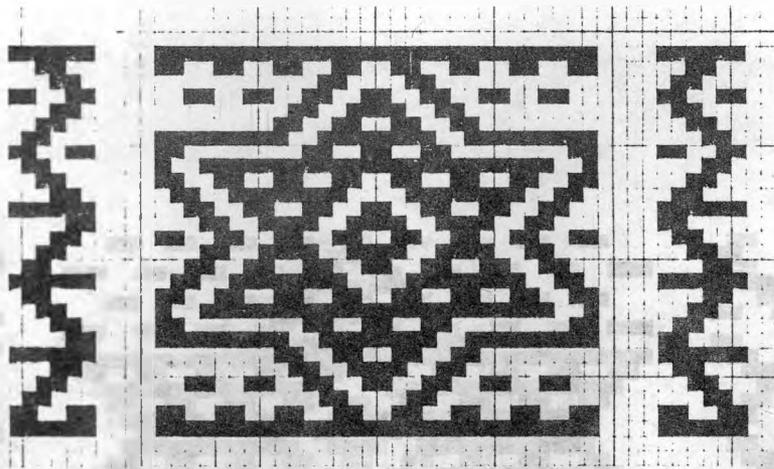


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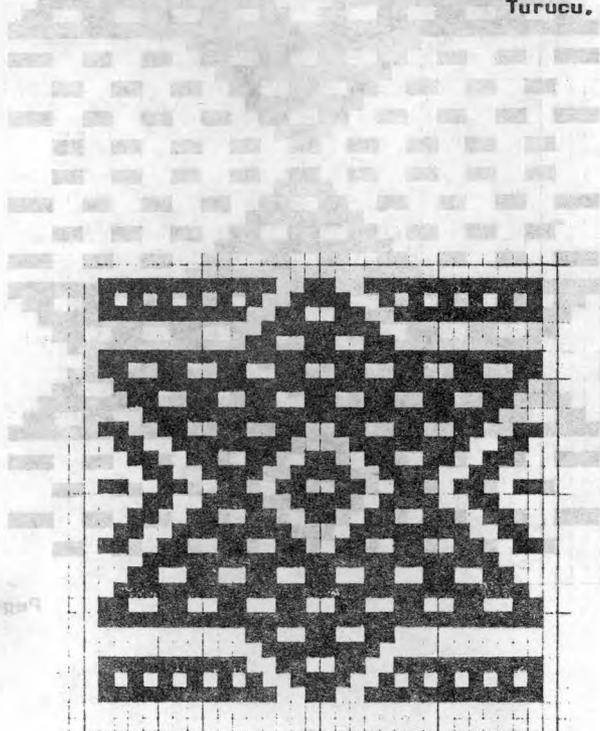
## MOTIVOS DIVERSOS

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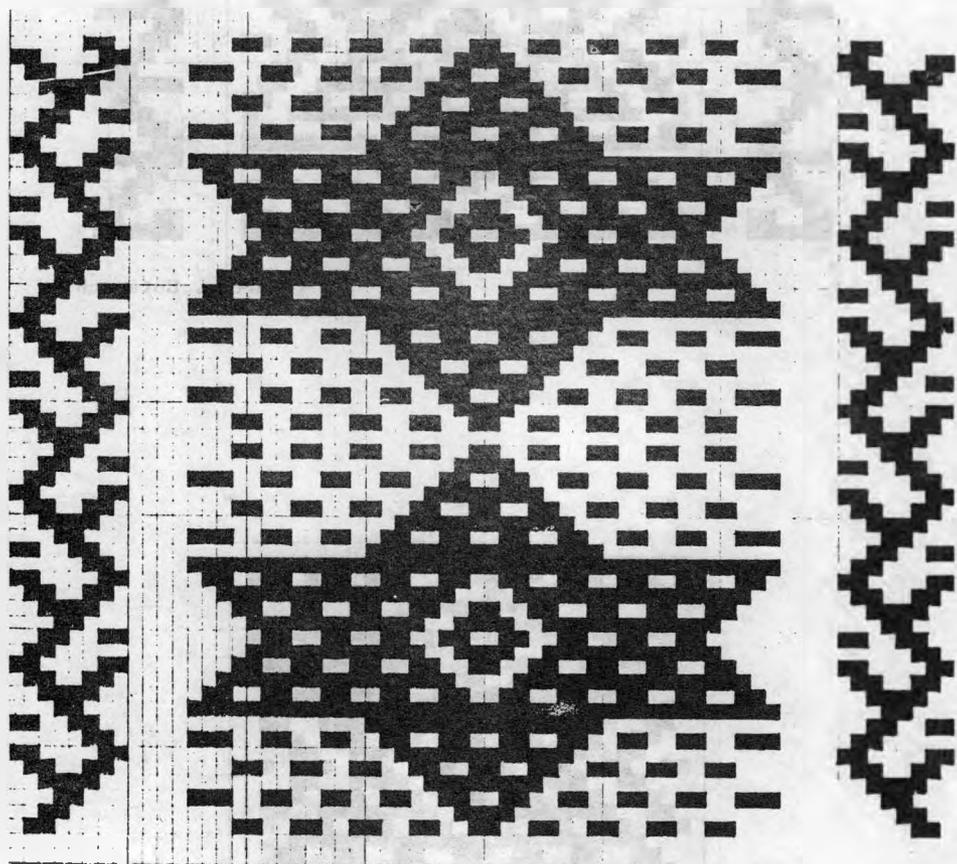




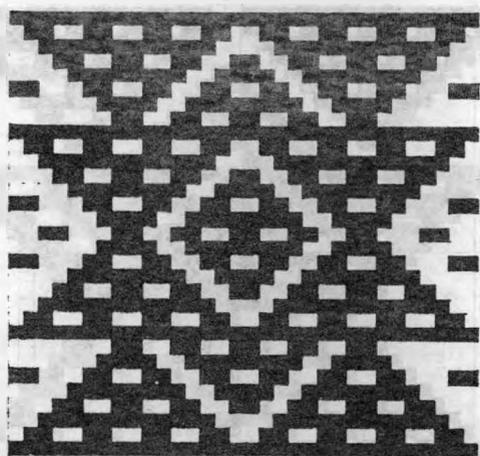
Turucu, Cotacachi



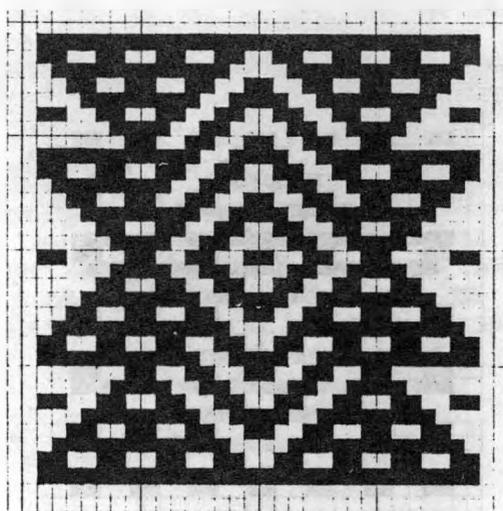
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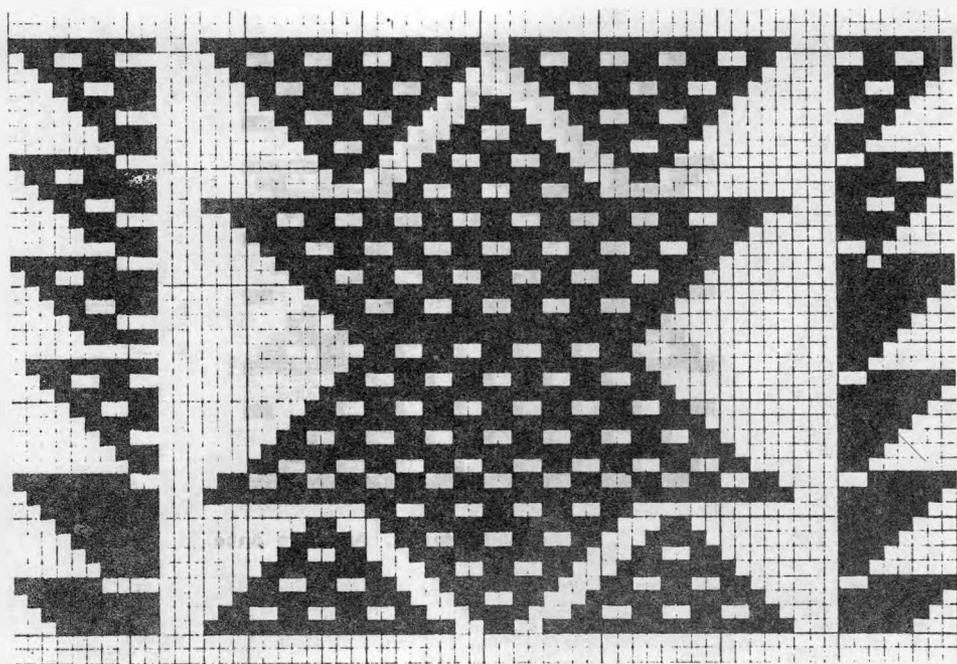
Peguche. Otavelo



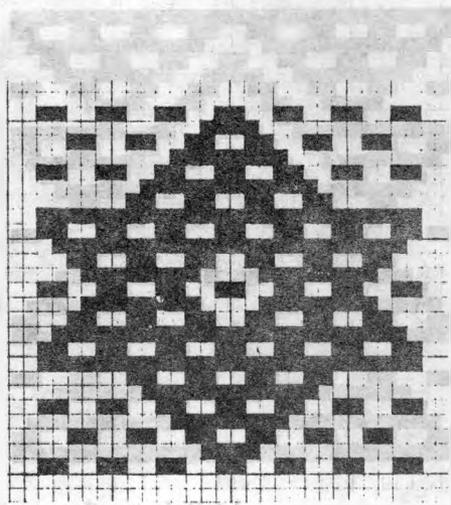
Andrade Marín, Antonio Ante



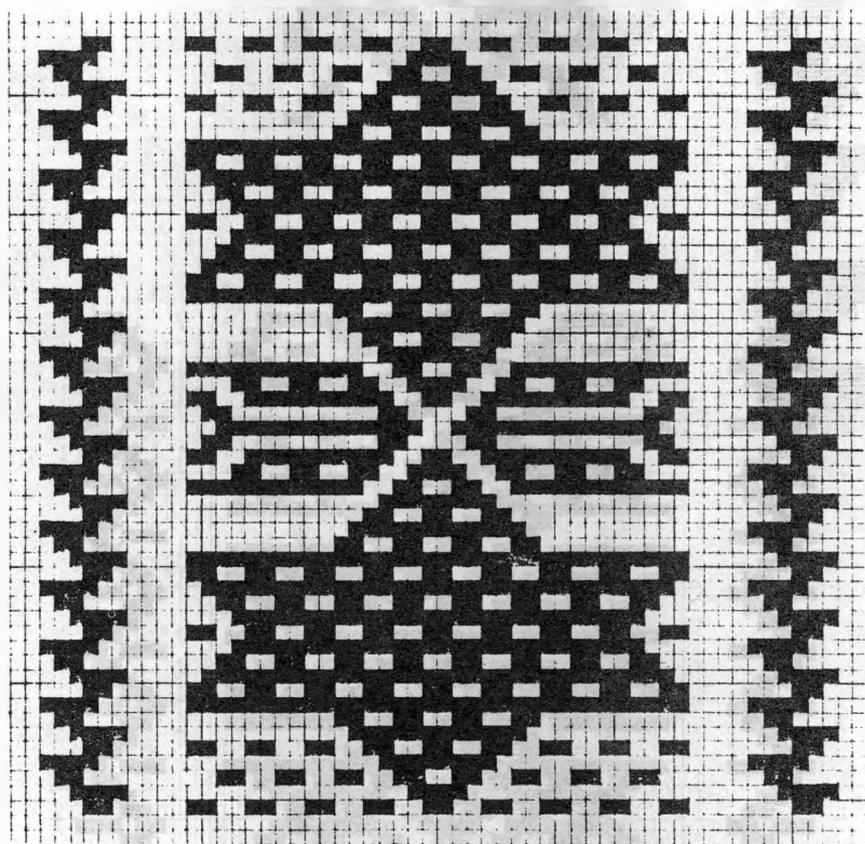
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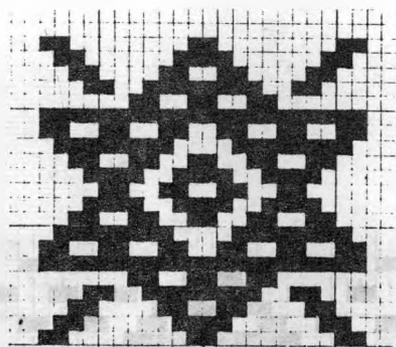
Turucu, Cotacachi



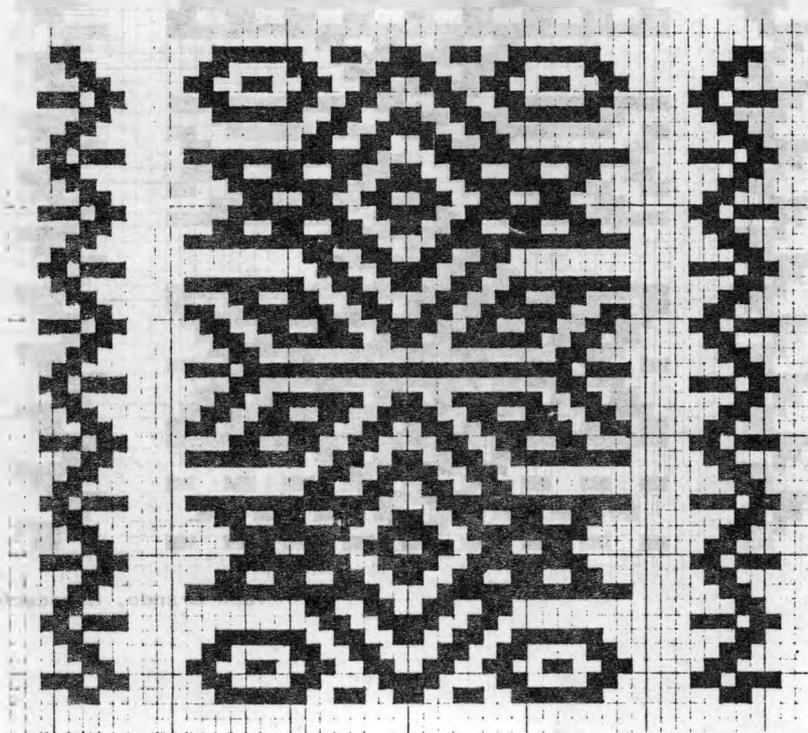
Peguche Otavalo



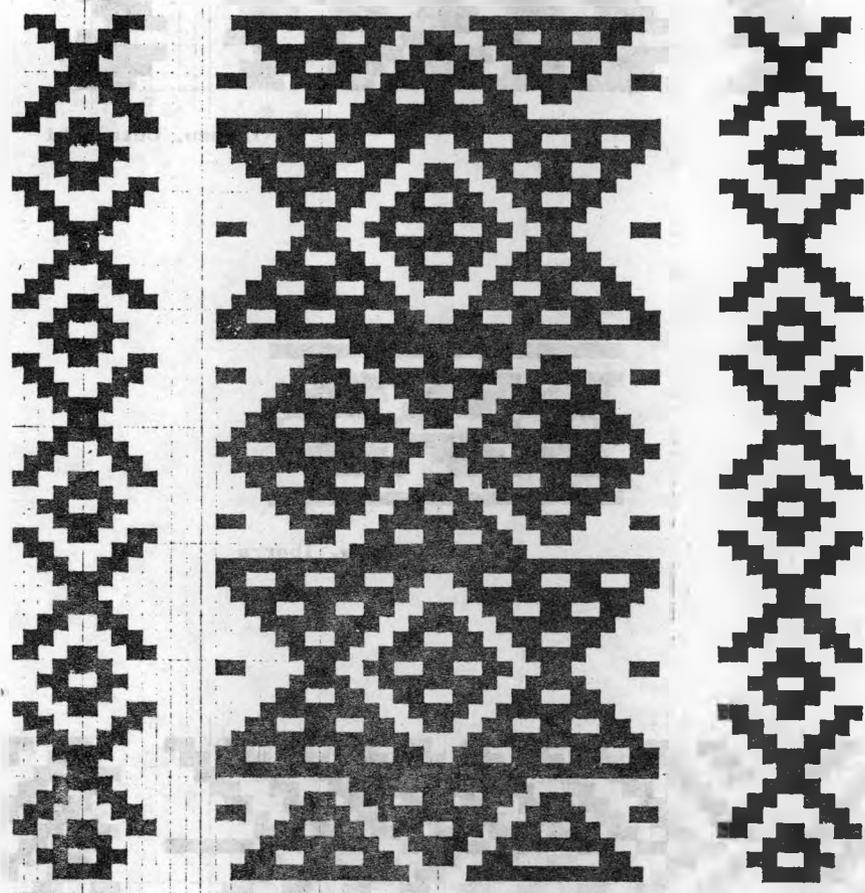
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



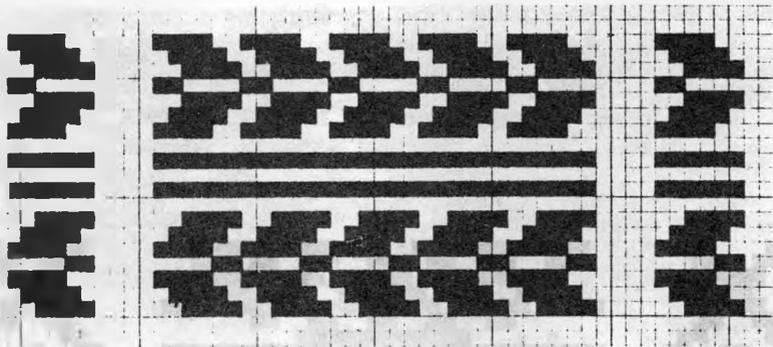
**Ilumán, Otsvelo**



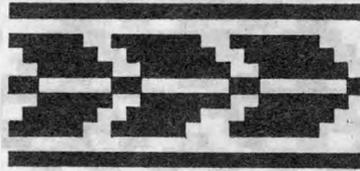
**El Cercado, Cotacachi**



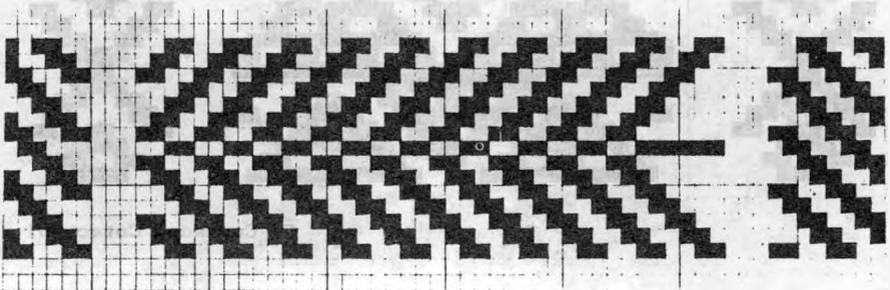
El Cercado, Cotacachi



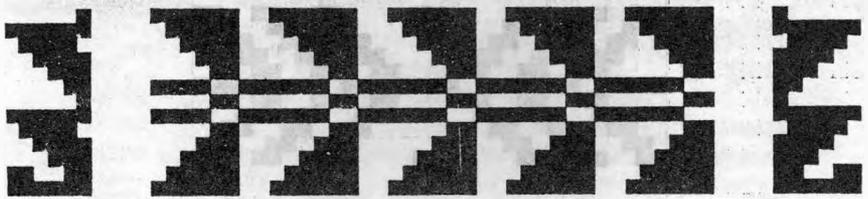
Turucu, Cotacachi



Paniquindra, Ibarra

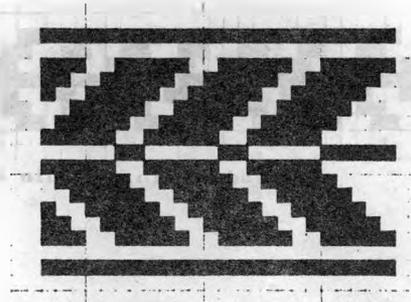


Turucu, Cotacachi

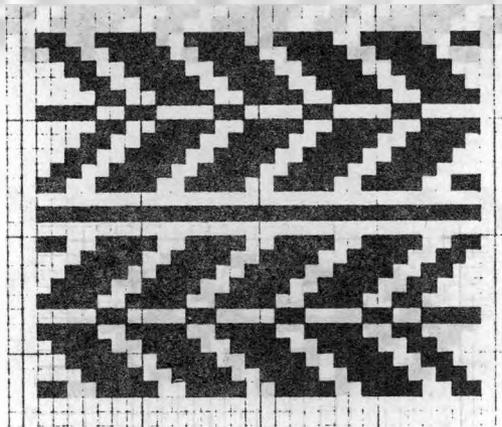


Pequeno Otavalo

Turucu, Cotacachi

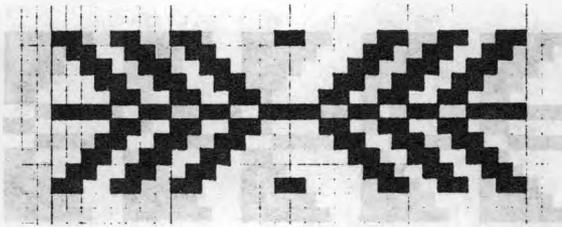


Paniquindra, Ibarra

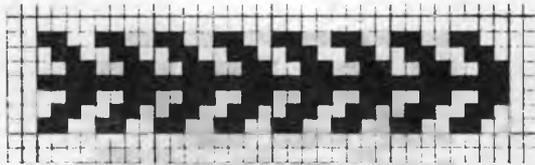


Pequeno Otavalo

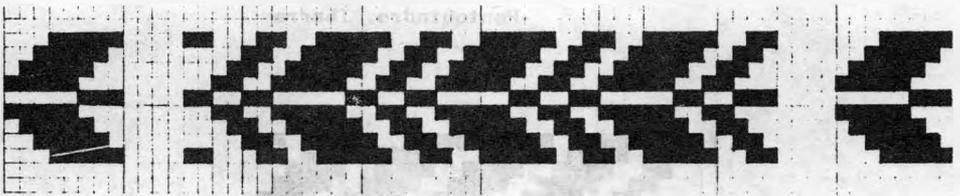
Otavalo



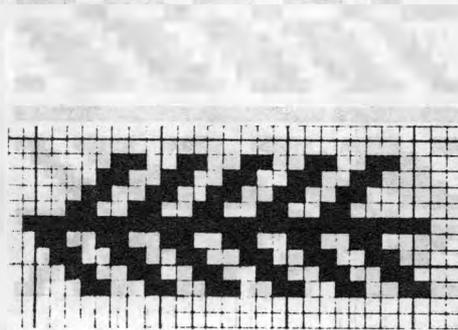
Peguche, Otavalo



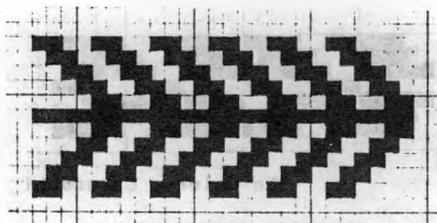
Andrade Marín, Antonio Ante



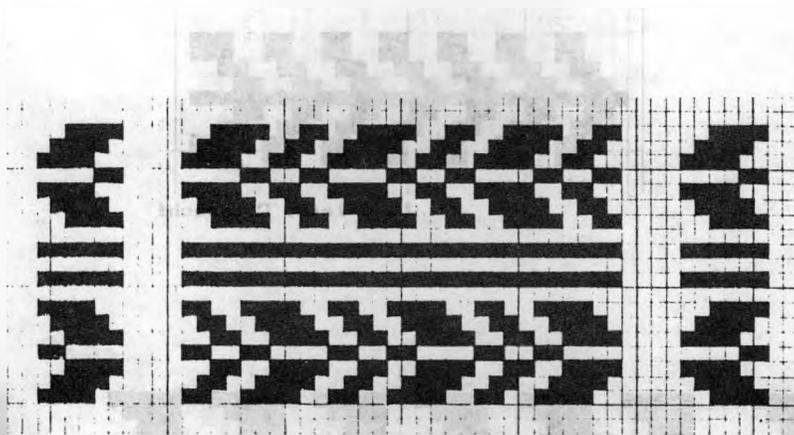
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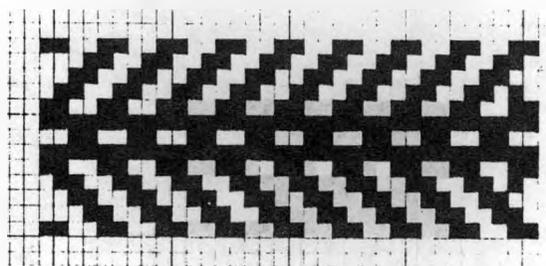
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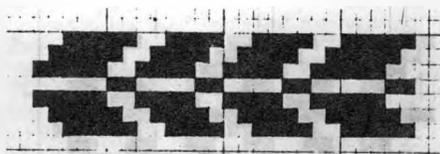
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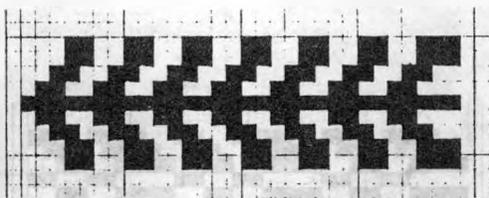
Turucu, Cotacachi



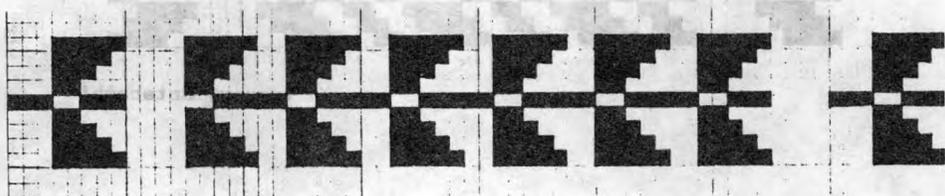
Peguche, Otavalo



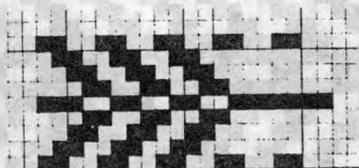
La Calera, Cotacachi



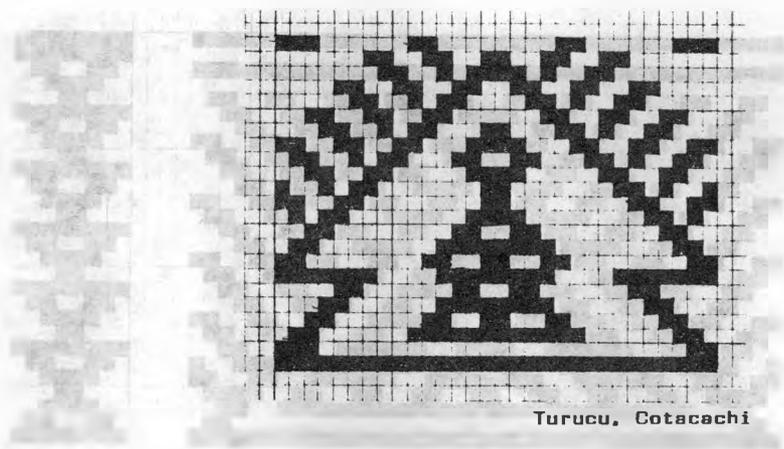
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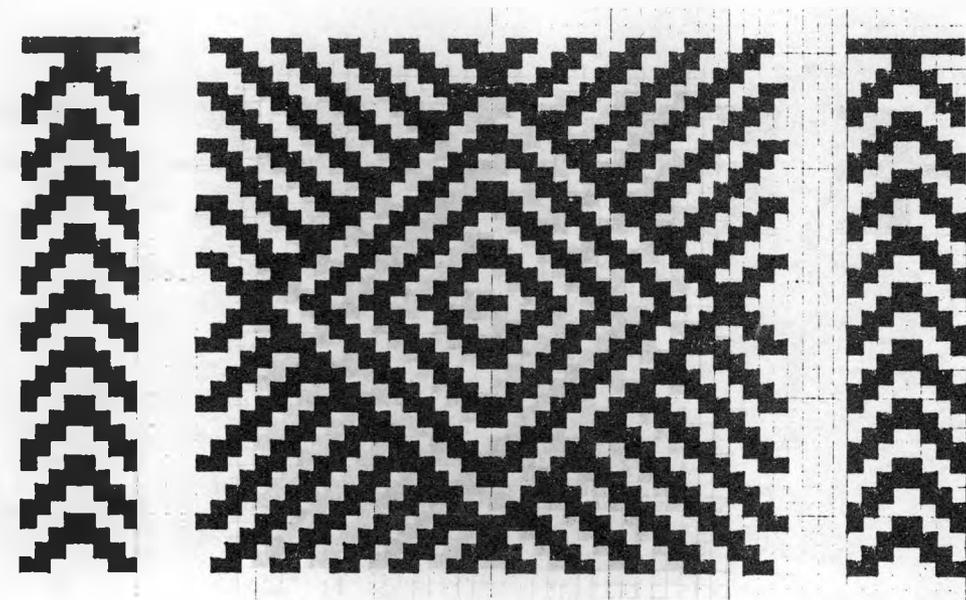
Peguiche, Otavalo



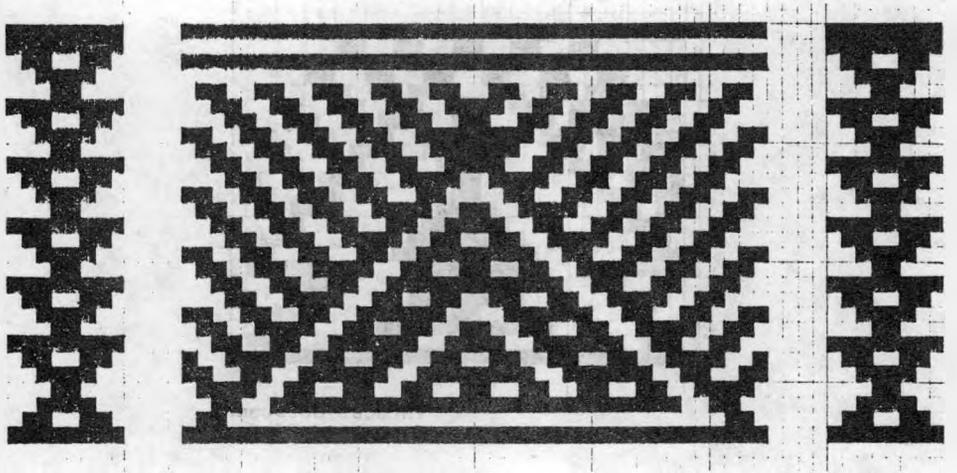
Los Ovalos, Antonio Ante



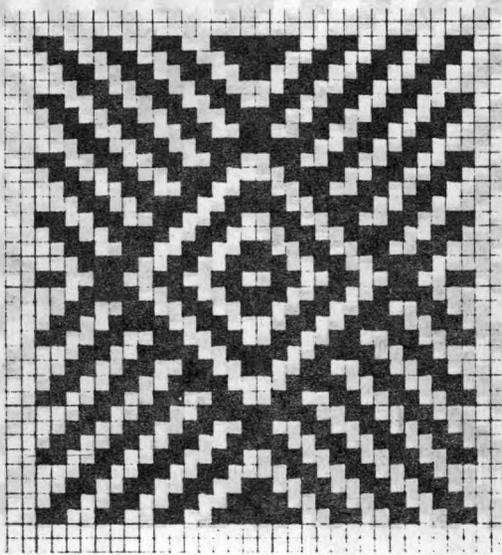
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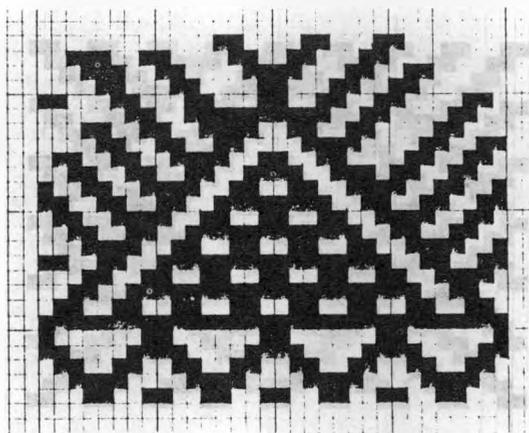
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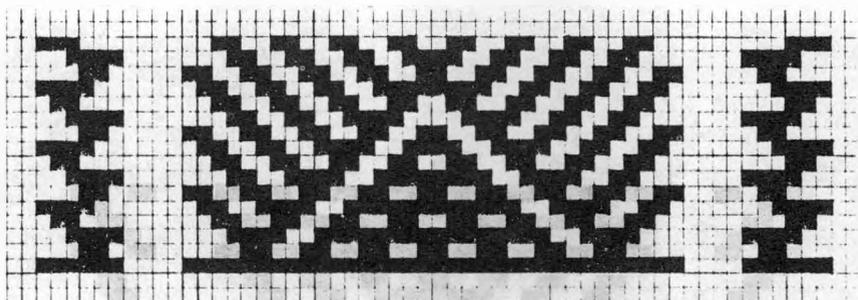
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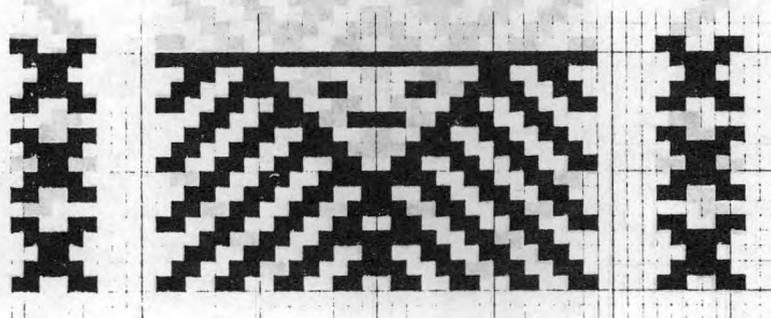
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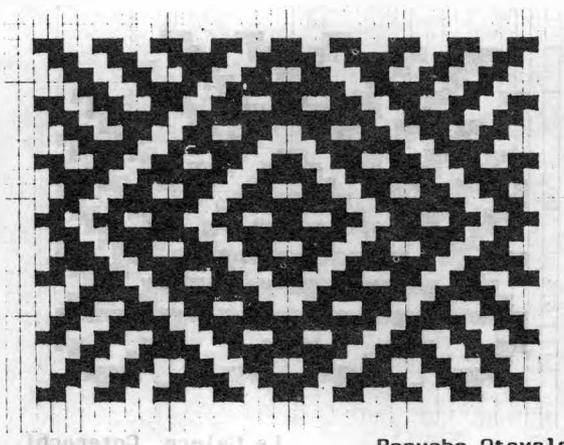
La Calera, Cotacachi



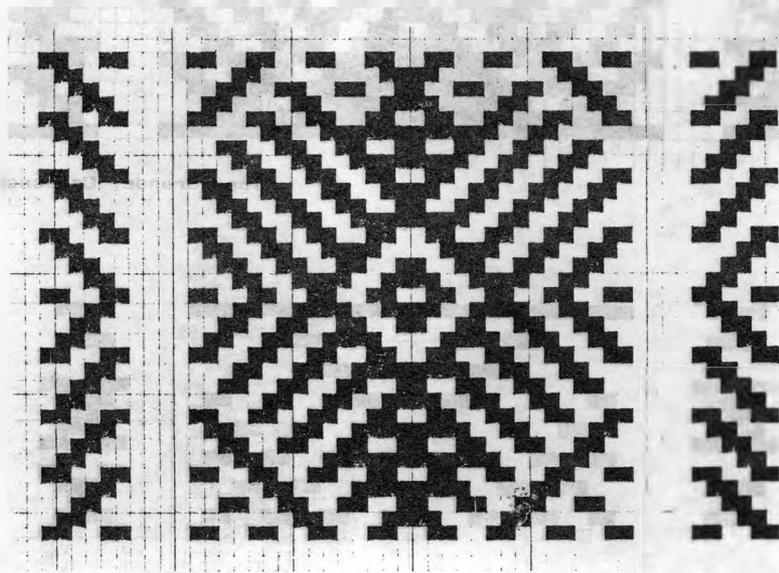
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



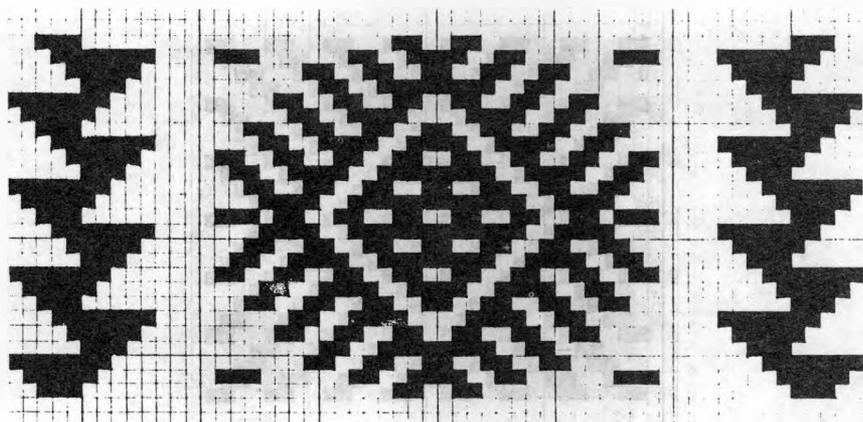
Turucu, Cotacachi



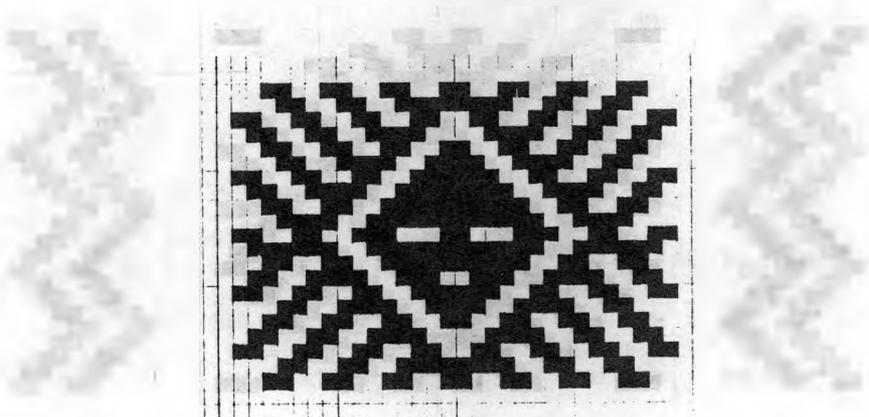
Peguche Otavalo



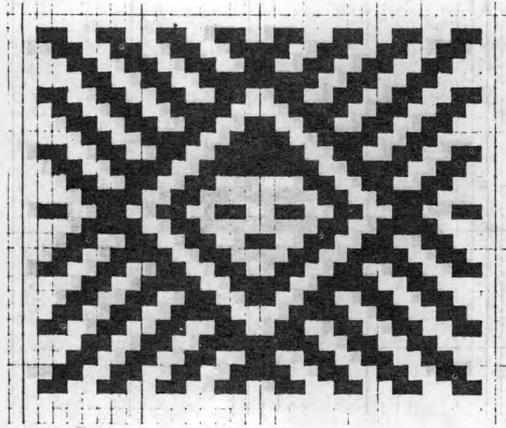
Tucuru, Cotacachi



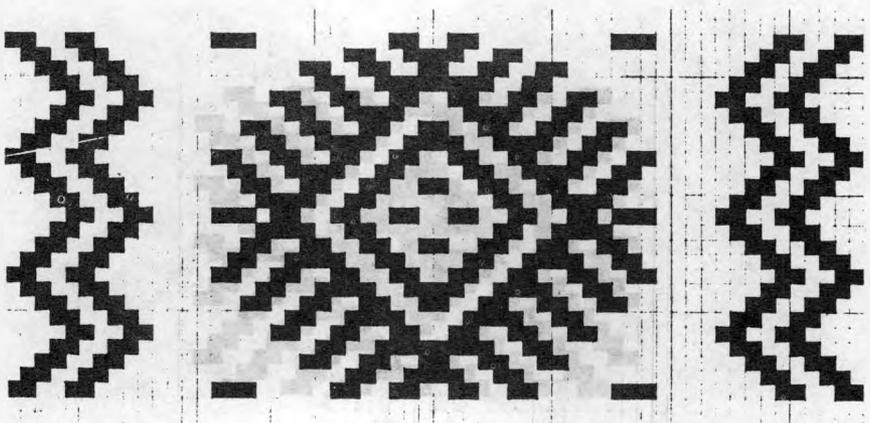
Potrerillo, Cotacachi



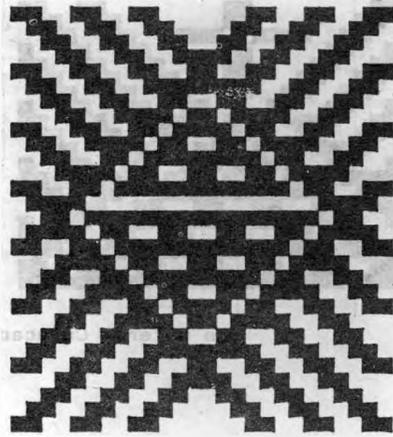
Otavalo



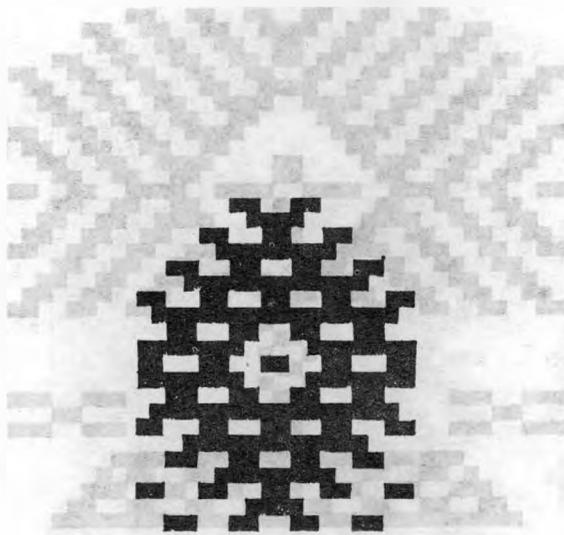
Otavalo



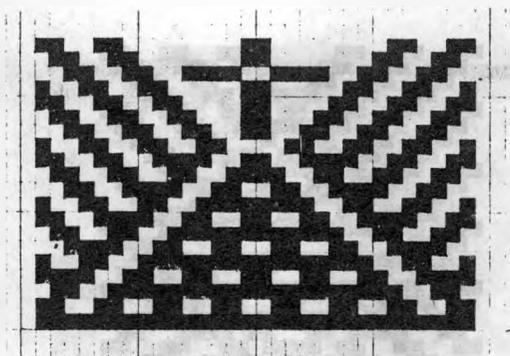
Potrерillo, Cotacachi



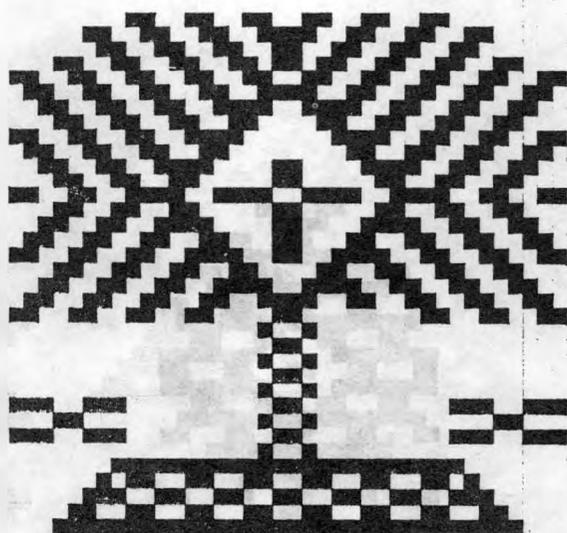
Imantag, Cotacachi



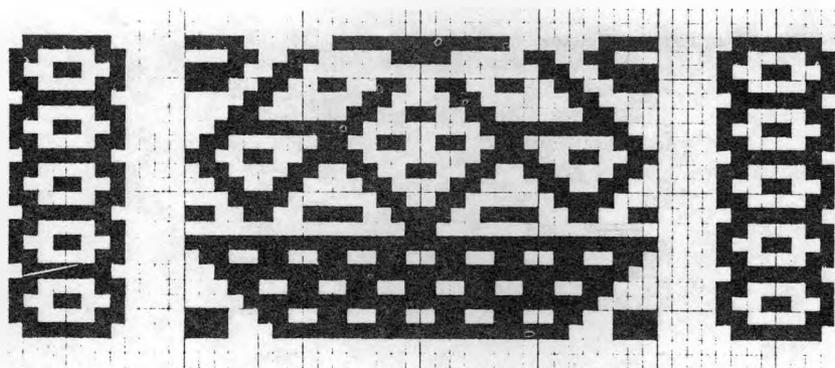
Otavalo



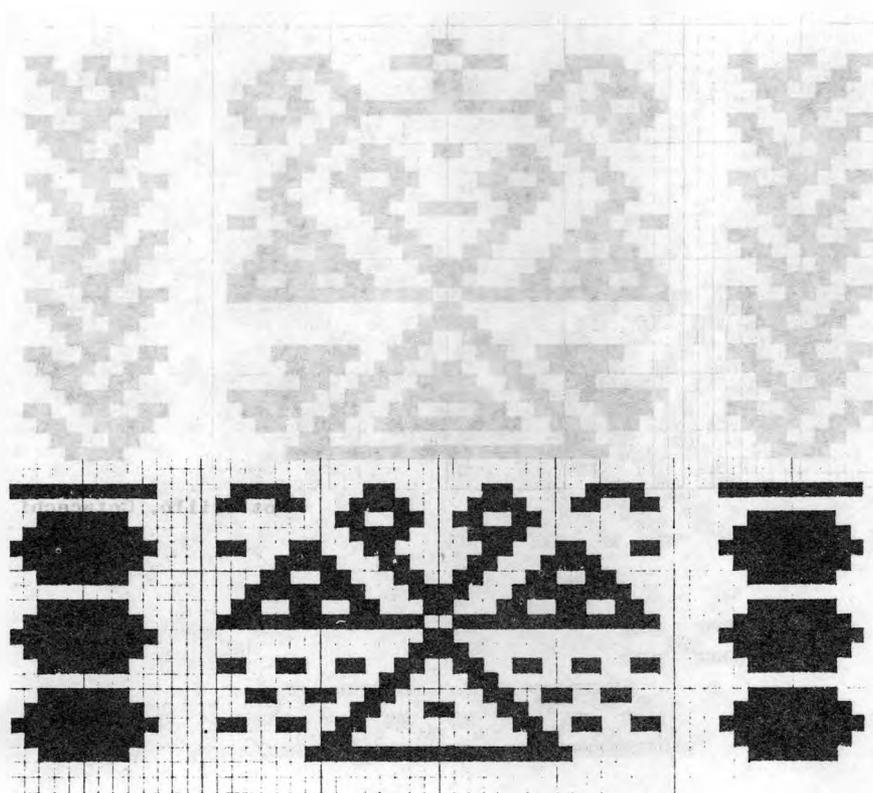
La Calera, Cotacachi



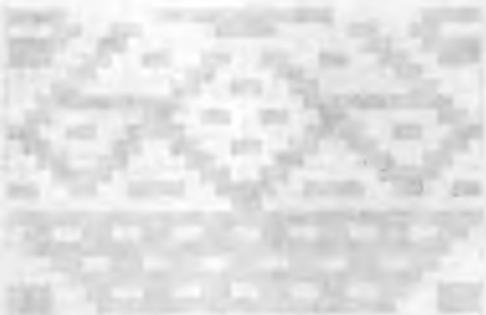
Puca Huaycu, Ibarra



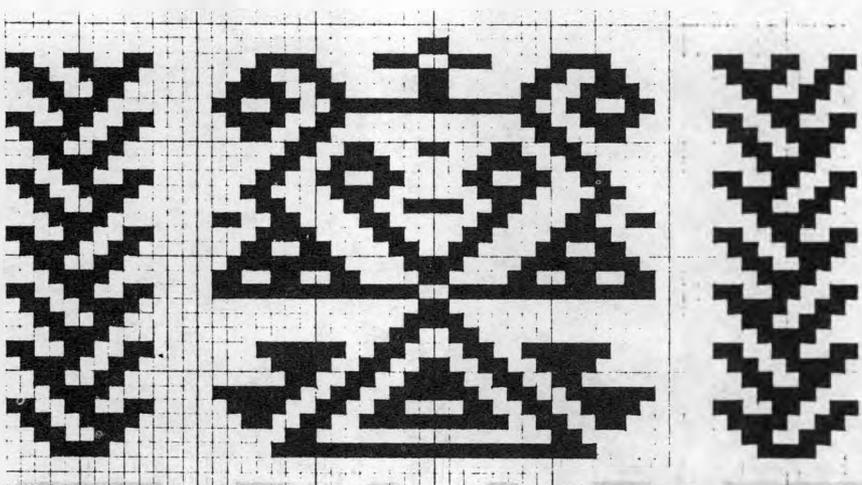
Topo Grande, Cotacachi



Potrerillo, Cotacachi



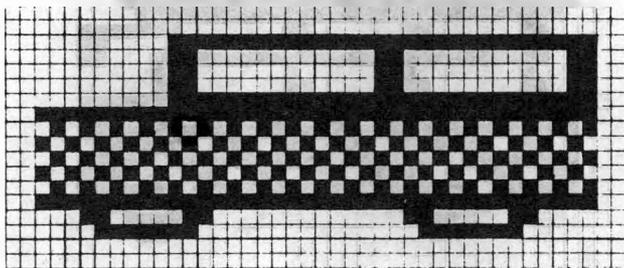
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Potreriillo, Cotacachi

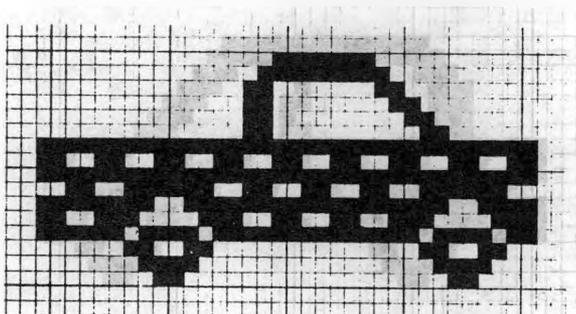


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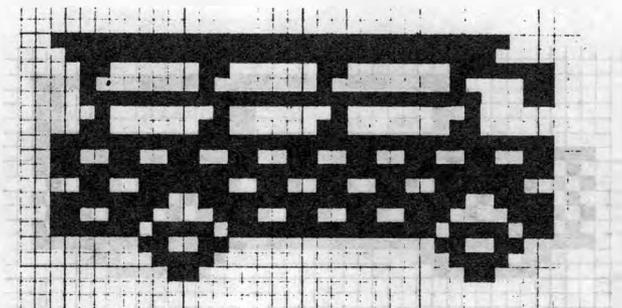
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**Peguiche, Otavalo**



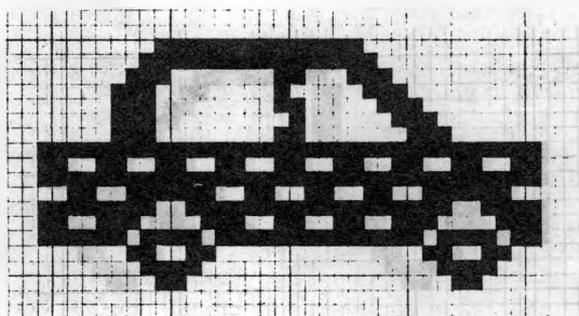
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**Camuendo, Otavalo**



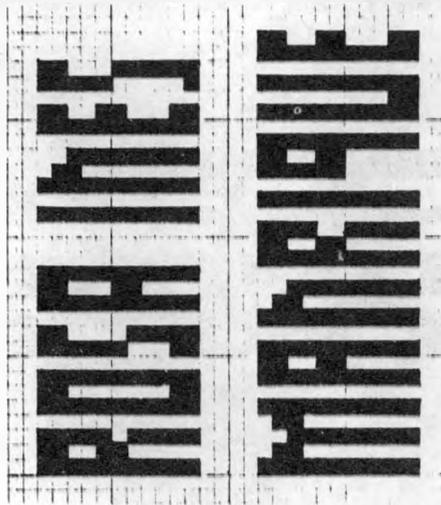
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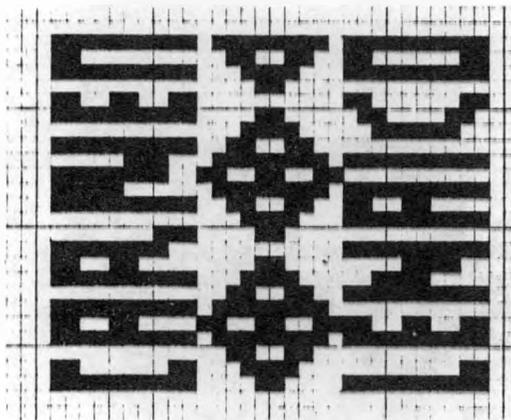


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