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Biblioteca Andina

PART ONE

THE CHRONICLERS, OR, THE WRITERS OF THE SIXTEENTH  
AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES WHO TREATED OF  
THE PRE-HISPANIC HISTORY AND CULTURE  
OF THE ANDEAN COUNTRIES

BY

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS



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TO

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND

DON JOSÉ DE LA RIVA-AGÜERO Y OSMA  
MARQUIS OF MONTEALEGRE DE AULESTIA

FROM WHOM, IN THE PAST, I HAVE LEARNED MUCH OF  
WHAT LITTLE I KNOW OF OLD PERU, AND WHOM I HAVE  
LONG REGARDED AS BEING THE PERSONIFICATION  
OF THE ARISTOCRATIC TRADITION IN THAT, TO US,  
SLIGHTLY UNDERSTOOD COUNTRY, I DEDICATE WHAT-  
EVER OF GOOD THIS PIECE OF WRITING MAY CONTAIN





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Pictorial title-page of the First Edition in English of Zárate.  
By courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library.



# BIBLIOTECA ANDINA

## PART ONE

### THE CHRONICLERS, OR, THE WRITERS OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES WHO TREATED OF THE PRE-HISPANIC HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE ANDEAN COUNTRIES

#### INTRODUCTION

The present piece of writing is the initial portion of a lengthy projected work which I hope to complete little by little as time goes by and to offer for publication to The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences. My object is, in essence, a very definite and simple one, namely, to give to my fellow students a guide which will indicate the general content of the vast literature relative to the ancient history and civilization of the peoples of the Andean area.

It will be well, perhaps, to define this term. By it I mean to designate the territory now occupied by the republics of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, together with the southernmost portions of Colombia, the westernmost of Brazil, and the northernmost of Argentina and Chile. The territory in question is vast and variegated; it is, however, historically a unit in the western world by reason of the fact that it was once occupied by the mighty Inca empire whose rulers stamped it indelibly with an individuality which it will never lose. The term *Andean area* is an arbitrary one, but it will serve us better than would the ancient designation of *Ttahuantinsuyu*, or The Land of the Four Provinces, by which the territory was described under the Incaic régime.

My *Biblioteca Andina* when, D. V., completed at length, will list and describe all that I shall have been able to discover of the works, ancient and modern, wherein the history and polity of the Andean area in the days prior to the Spanish Conquest are discussed. The present Part One is but a fraction of the projected whole. At present my outline for the entire work is as follows:

PART ONE. The Chroniclers, or, the Writers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries who treated of the Pre-Hispanic History and Culture of the Andean Countries.

Supplement I. A Descriptive List of Maps made before 1700.

Supplement II. The Writers of before 1700 who dealt with the Native Languages.

Supplement III. Addenda and Miscellanea.

PART TWO. The Eighteenth Century Writers.

Supplement I. Maps made in the Eighteenth Century.

Supplement II. The Eighteenth Century Writers on the Native Languages.

Supplement III. Addenda and Miscellanea.

PART THREE. The Nineteenth Century Writers.

Supplement I. Maps made in the Nineteenth Century.

Supplement II. The Nineteenth Century Writers on the Native Languages.

Supplement III. Addenda and Miscellanea.

PART FOUR. The Modern Writers—since 1900.

Supplement I. Modern Maps.

Supplement II. Modern Writers on Languages.

Supplement III. Addenda and Miscellanea.

Supplement IV. The Freaks and the Quacks who have written concerning the Pre-Hispanic History and Culture of the Andean Countries.

Supplement V. Final Addenda and Corrigenda.

Before going on to the series of bio-bibliographies which will occupy the greater part of this writing, I wish to indicate briefly the materials which are most generally useful in this field of research.

Foremost among them come the works of three Spanish bibliographers whom I will discuss in chronological order.

Don Antonio de León Pinelo was born of a distinguished family in Lima during the 1590s. He was well educated in that city and afterwards he travelled widely in Peru and Mexico. After that he went to Spain where he pursued with intensity his bibliographical researches, issuing the first edition of his *Epitome* in Madrid in 1629. A reproduction of the frontispiece of it appears in Plate One. He enjoyed excellent standing at Court and was

an official of the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies. He was also *Cronista Mayor* of the Indies, a post conferred upon him by Philip IV in recognition of his services as an historian. In 1653 he became an *Oidor* or Judge of the *Casa de Contratación* or India House at Seville. He died in that city in July of 1660. Editions of his bibliographical work may be cited thus:

1629 *Epitome/ de la/ Biblioteca/ Oriental i Occidental, Nautica/ i Geografica./*  
 Madrid, Juan González. Small folio.

This edition gives in brief compass the contents of León Pinelo's magnificent library which comprised works in more than forty languages, including Quechua and Aymará (more correctly Colla), the two chief tongues of the Andean area.

1737- *Epitome/ de la/ Bibliotheca/ oriental, y occidental, nautica,*  
 1738 *y geografica: /*  
 Madrid, Francisco Martínez Abad. Three volumes.  
 Folio.

This edition was much enlarged and improved by the Marquis of Torre Nueva. It is a magnificent example of the best kind of Spanish erudition. I have used the excellent copy of it which is in the New York Public Library. The material relative to Peru will be found in volume II, columns 641-654.

This is not the place in which to discuss Don Antonio de León Pinelo's many other writings. I shall content myself, therefore, by remarking that he is one of the most interesting intellectual figures in the field of Spanish letters.

Equally important was Don Nicolas Antonio y Bernart. He was born in Seville in 1617. He received the best education possible in that day. In 1639 he began to write a book upon the Proper Names in the Pandects, but after he had progressed far with it he learned that the subject had already been fully treated by Don Antonio Agustín, Archbishop of Tarragona. He determined to turn this blow to good account. He began to compile an inventory of all the Spanish writers who had worked from the time of the Emperor Augustus onwards, to the end that others might be spared superfluous toil. For a long time he lived in retirement in the Monastery of San Benito in Seville, making occasional journeys to Madrid. He was well known to Philip IV and esteemed highly by him for, in 1654, the King appointed him to be his General Agent at the Court of Rome and also Agent of



the Spanish Inquisition. At this period he also acquired a number of rich benefices, lay and clerical, which provided him with sufficient wealth to permit his forming a library of thirty thousand volumes, a truly enormous one for those days. He remained in Rome until 1677 and in that year went back to Spain to be an official of the Royal Council under Charles II. He died in Madrid in 1684.

Editions of his bibliographical work are:

1672- *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus* and *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*.  
1696 Rome. Four volumes. Folio.

The two later volumes, those of the *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, covering the period from 1500 to 1670, are the ones which concern us.

1783- *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus* and *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*.  
1788 Madrid, Joaquín Ibarra. Four volumes. Folio.

This enlarged and improved edition, magnificently printed and presented, is the one which I have used, employing the copy in the New York Public Library.

The third bibliographer, Don Antonio de Alcedo, of whose life I have been able to learn very little, was born in Quito in 1735. His father was Don Dionisio de Alcedo Ugarte y Herrera and was also a well-known writer. Don Antonio was a celebrated military man in his day, in addition to being a geographer and a bibliographer. The best part of his life was passed in Spain, and he died in Madrid in 1812.

Works of his that have been extremely useful to me are:

1786- *Diccionario geográfico-histórico de las Indias Occidentales*  
1789 *ó América*.

Madrid, B. Cano and other printers. Five volumes. Folio.

1812- *The Geographical and Historical Dictionary of America*.

1815 Translated by G. A. Thompson.

London. Five volumes. Folio.

These two editions of the monumental work of Don Antonio de Alcedo y Herrera are indispensable to the student of Andean history. I have frequently found that they can be usefully supplemented by consultation of a less known work which may be cited thus:

*Il Gazzettiere Americano contenente un distinto ragguaglio di tutte le parti del Nuovo Mondo.*

Livorno, i.e., Leghorn, 1763. Three volumes. Folio.

- 1807 *Bibliotheca/ Americana./ Catalogo/ de los Autores que han escrito/ de la America/ en diferentes Idiomas./ Y/ Noticia de su Vida y Patria./ años en que vivieron, i/ Obras qe. escribieron./ compuesta/ por/ El Mariscal de Campo D. Antonio/ de Alcedo, Gobernador de la/ Plaza de la Coruña./ Año de 1807./*

This work is, so far as I know, unpublished. I have used the manuscript of it owned by the New York Public Library to which my attention was kindly drawn some years ago by my friend, Dr. Victor H. Paltsits. The New York manuscript consists of loose leaves, written upon on both sides, enclosed in a handsome leather binding. Señor Palau y Dulcet, of whom presently, cites a manuscript in two volumes with the same, or nearly the same, title. It was sold in Paris in 1861. I know nothing of the present abiding place of the two-volume manuscript. The New York manuscript has been extremely useful to me.

Comparable in point of time, but not in point of usefulness, to these three is a work which may be cited thus:

ARANA DE VARFLORA, FERMÍN:

1791 *Hijos de Sevilla/ ilustres en santidad, letras,/ Armas, Artes, ò Dignidad./*

Seville, Vazquez é Hidalgo.

The copy of this work used by me is that in the Library of Congress. The real name of the author was Fernando Diaz de Valderrama.

Modern bibliographers are numerous. Those who have helped me most in my present work are:

BACKER, AUGUSTIN AND ALOYS DE:

1890- *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus.*

1909 Edited by Father C. Sommervogel.  
Paris and Brussels. Ten volumes.

GRAESSE, JEAN GEORGES THÉODORE:

1859- *Trésor de livres rares et précieux.*

1869 Dresden, Geneva, London, and Paris. Seven volumes.

MEDINA, JOSÉ TORIBIO:

1898- *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena.*

1899 Santiago de Chile. Three volumes. Folio.

1898- *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana.*

1907 Santiago. Seven volumes. Folio.

1904- *La Imprenta en Lima. (1584-1824)*

1906 Santiago. Four volumes. Folio.

The writings of Don José Toribio Medina are very numerous and always of the highest scholastic standard. It is to be lamented

that the paper upon which they are printed is such that in the steam-heated library of our day it is rapidly falling into dust. Let us hope that, before it is too late, some wealthy individual or learned society will have the honour of providing funds for the republication of all of Sr. Medina's works in suitable style.

MENDIBURU, MANUEL DE:

1874- *Diccionario histórico-biográfico del Perú.*

1890 Madrid. Eight volumes.

PALAU Y DULCET, ANTONIO:

1923- *Manual del Librero Hispano-Americano.*

1927 Barcelona. Seven volumes. Small folio.

An astonishing and invaluable reference-book which does immense honour to the erudition and perseverance of its author.

TORRES SALDAMANDO, ENRIQUE:

1882 *Los antiguos Jesuitas del Perú.*

Lima.

It is now time for me to mention another class of works which have aided me much, namely, Library Catalogues. I have no hesitation in saying that the *Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library*, published in two volumes of two parts each, Providence, 1919-1923, has served me most faithfully. I have been helped, too, by the catalogues, whether in book form or on cards, of the New York Public Library, of the Harvard University Library, of the Yale University Library, of the Library of Congress, of the British Museum, and of the National Library of France.

Still another kind of aid is to be derived from such works as:

LECLERC, CHARLES:

1878 *Bibliotheca Americana.*

Paris.

MAGGS BROTHERS:

1922- *Bibliotheca Americana.*

1927 London. Six volumes.

These two catalogues of celebrated dealers are full of scholarly data and useful auxiliary information. Incidentally, they are interesting as showing what half a century has done to book-prices in this field of collecting.

VINDEL, PEDRO:

1910 *Bibliografía Gráfica.*

Madrid. Two volumes.

This compilation, by one of the greatest booksellers in Spain, has valuable illustrations of title-pages.

At still other times I have been aided by such works as these:

DORSEY, GEORGE A.:

1898 *A Bibliography of the Anthropology of Peru*.  
Field Museum.  
Chicago.

This compilation—it is nothing more—has the distinction of being the most comical bibliography of Peru that there is, for it is a veritable museum of ludicrous mistakes and misprints. Nevertheless, it has its uses.

MOSES, BERNARD:

1922 *Spanish Colonial Literature*.  
Hispanic Society of America.  
London.

This strange little book, which has the aspect of trying to look like a prayer-book and not succeeding very well, was, I believe, the one ewe lamb of the evanescent London office of the Hispanic Society of America. Although it is marred by many errors and omissions, it is decidedly useful in many particulars, and is often cited in these pages.

Again, I have not been too proud to use encyclopaedias. I hope that this avowal on my part will not lead anyone to describe my knowledge as encyclopaedic. Among the publications of this sort which have served me most are the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, published by the house of Espasa in Barcelona, a very remarkable and complete piece of work. Also, Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1887-1889, six volumes) edited by James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, has been of great help to me. Less useful in this connection, but sometimes consulted, have been *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and *La Grande Encyclopédie*.

Finally, scattered and voluminous, but always important, writings of four great savants have stood me in good stead on many an occasion. The savants in question are: Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, Don Manuel González de la Rosa, Sir Clements Markham, and Don José de la Riva-Agüero y Osma, Marquis of Montealegre de Aulestia, one Spaniard, two Peruvians, and an Englishman. In close proximity to these four stand two other Peruvians, Dr. Carlos A. Romero and Dr. Horacio H. Urteaga, both of Lima. They have done much valuable publishing and have thrown welcome light upon the lives of certain writers.

In concluding this brief Introduction I wish to express my gratitude for all the help shown to me by the librarians and officers of the New York Public Library, the John Carter Brown Library, the Library of Yale University, the Harvard College Library, and the Library of Congress, in all of which treasure houses of knowledge I have received infinite kindness and assistance. At the same time, even at the risk of being considered a nuisance, I ask all of them, as well as all other librarians and all scholars, booksellers and bibliophiles in general, to send me, when occasion arises, materials suitable for inclusion in the later portions of this *Biblioteca Andina*, and also *corrigenda* for this First Part.

## THE AUTHORS

### ACOSTA, FATHER JOSÉ DE:

Acosta was born at Medina del Campo about 1540. His parents were people of quality who were able to afford their five sons a good education. Joseph and at least one of his brothers entered the Society of Jesus, then but lately founded by Iñigo López de Recalde.<sup>1</sup>

Joseph de Acosta, like so many of the people of his day, attained intellectual strength very early. When only fourteen years of age he made his novitiate in the Society of Jesus, and during the next eighteen years he devoted himself to a study of all the available authors, sacred and profane, classical and modern.<sup>2</sup>

In 1568 the Society of Jesus set up its Peruvian province. An insufficient number of missionary fathers was sent out to Peru, and in the next year, 1569, Father Acosta, accompanied by Father Andrés López and a student-brother, Diego Martínez, was despatched thither. Our author and his companions journeyed from San Lúcar de Barrameda, which port they left on June 8th, 1569, to the Canary Islands, thence to Cartagena de Indias, where they paused for a time. They next went to Nombre de Dios, on the Isthmus, and from there they made their way to Callao by sea, reaching that port on April 27th, 1570.<sup>3</sup> The last stage of the long journey was filled with interest for the good missionary for the reason that he found the tropical zone to be cool, nay, cold,

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<sup>1</sup> Better known as Saint Ignatius of Lóyola. See:

SEDGWICK, HENRY DWIGHT:

1923 *Ignatius Loyola*. New York. Chapters xix and xx, especially.

BRUCKER, PÈRE JOSEPH:

1919 *La compagnie de Jésus*. Paris.

<sup>2</sup> Our information regarding Acosta's life is drawn chiefly from his own statements. Various writers have martialed these data into consecutive accounts, important among them being:

Markham, in his Introduction to the Hakluyt Society's edition of Acosta, noted below in this article.

TORRES SALDAMANDO, ENRIQUE:

1882 *Los antiguos jesuitas del Perú*. Lima. Pp. 1-19.

It should be noted, in passing, that Torres dates Acosta's novitiate 1553, not 1554; but Backer, the recognised authority for Jesuit biographies, gives the latter date (I, columns 31-38).

<sup>3</sup> Torres, *op. cit.*; Markham, *op. cit.*

rather than hot. Modern travellers who chance not to have read of this fact, repeat his astonishment.<sup>4</sup>

Arrived in Peru, Father Acosta began a period of great and creditable activity. He inaugurated the chair of Moral Theology at the new Jesuit college in Lima very soon after his arrival. His travels in Peru began almost at once. Between 1570 and 1574 he visited Pariacaca, at an elevation of 14,000 feet, Huarochirí, Lucanas, Soras, Collahuas, and other localities in the highlands of central Peru. He tells us, in Bk. III, Chapter ix, that he was much affected by the thin airs of the heights, suffering the common malady of *soroche* or mountain sickness. Anyone who has experienced it will sympathize with him.

In 1572 he went to Cuzco, Chucuito (on Lake Titicaca) and La Paz. While at the latter place he was summoned to the presence of the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo who was then at Chuquisaca (the modern Sucre). The ruler of Peru was preparing to invade the country of the wild Chiriguanos, an undertaking that had the most unsuccessful outcome, and Father Acosta accompanied the viceregal expedition as far as the Pilcomayo River. Then he turned back, directing his steps to Potosí, and for some months he devoted himself to preaching in that city.

In October, 1574, he returned to Lima. For more than a year he occupied the chair which he had founded. In the middle of 1575 he was made rector of the College of San Pablo, and on January 1st, 1576, he became Provincial of the Jesuits in Peru, being the second holder of that important post.<sup>5</sup>

Acosta's life in Lima was one of varied activity. Peru was dominated at that time by the sombre figure of its Viceroy, Don Francisco de Toledo, and with him Father Acosta had contact extending over several years. He seems never, fortunately, to have fallen into intellectual or moral thralldom to Toledo, and the

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<sup>4</sup>"I felt so great cold, as I was forced to go into the sunne to warme me; what could I else do then, but laugh at Aristotle's Meteors and his Philosophie, seeing that in that place and at that season, whenas all should be scorched with heat, according to his rules, I, and all my companions were a colde? In truth, there is no region in the world more pleasant and temperate, than vnder the Equinoctiall. . ." (Acosta, History, Bk. II, Ch. ix, p. 90 of Markham's edition.)

<sup>5</sup>Markham, *op. cit.*, omits some of the details here given and dates the going of Acosta to Lima as 1579. Torres is more accurate, and I have followed him as well as Acosta himself.

vivacious independence of his spirit is manifested by such matters as his participation in the casting of a great bell for the fabrication of which a deformed tree, needed as fuel, was cut down in spite of—or because of—the fact that the natives had long held it to be a *huaca* or object of veneration.<sup>6</sup>

At this same period the Viceroy was having trouble because of the incursions upon his coast of Sir Francis Drake. In 1579, Toledo sent Captain Don Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *q. v.*, in pursuit of the English invader. Our author had lengthy conversations with the pilot of the punitive expedition, gaining from him valuable information about the Pacific Ocean and the shores thereof from the Straits northwards to Peru.<sup>7</sup>

During the reign of Toledo in Peru, as will be made clear on later pages, much history was written, and much made, in that country. The Viceroy himself was profoundly hostile to the old imperial family of the Incas, and he did all that he could to obscure their fame and vilify their name. In this ignoble work he had the aid of Sarmiento and others; but our author stood out against the anti-Inca tendencies of the day, as did also Polo de Ondegardo, *q. v.*, and Molina, *q. v.*, with the former of whom Acosta was well acquainted through his writings and perhaps also, to some extent, personally, for it seems likely that the last years of Polo's life were spent at Potosí, where he died in extreme old age and very rich in 1575.<sup>8</sup>

In 1581 Don Martín Enríquez, a younger son of the Marquis of Alcañices, became Viceroy of Peru in succession to Toledo. Don Martín made his state entry into his capital on May 4th, 1581, and three weeks later Dr. Don Toribio de Mogrovejo, the first Archbishop of Lima, was installed in office. These two men were of the highest type of Spanish colonial officials, for the Viceroy had served with credit in Mexico, as Viceroy, during a reign of twelve years, and the new Archbishop was of a noble virtue so great as to win him the merited honour of sainthood.

The most important act of the new régime in Peru was the

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<sup>6</sup> Acosta, History, Bk. V, Ch. v., p. 308, Markham's edition.

<sup>7</sup> Acosta, History, Bk. III, Chs. x-xiv, inclusive, pp. 134-146 of Markham's edition.

<sup>8</sup> He may, however, have lived in La Plata, otherwise Chuquisaca, the modern Sucre, not in Potosí. In any case, however, it is quite possible that Acosta knew him personally. See article on Polo de Ondegardo, below.



holding of the justly celebrated Third Council of Lima. The Viceroy died in March, 1583, but the Council did not hold its last session until October 18th, 1583. Father Acosta took a very active part in the meetings, for he was historian of its proceedings. Father Cristóbal de Molina, of Cuzco, was also present, and it is likely that our Acosta knew him. The proceedings of the Council were forwarded to Rome, where they received the papal approval in 1588, and then to Spain where the royal approval was given them in 1591, with a promptitude which must have deeply flattered all concerned.<sup>9</sup>

At the end of 1583 Acosta sailed from Callao for New Spain. He was called to Spain in 1585 by Philip II. During the latter part of his life he lived principally in Madrid and in Salamanca, but he also made a journey to Rome where he published, in 1590, a theological work.<sup>10</sup> His last years were spent in Salamanca, in the house of the Society there. He died on February 15th, 1600, only sixty years of age, but worn out by his immense and respect-compelling labors in America.<sup>11</sup>

So far as we are concerned at present, the only work of Father Acosta that needs study is his *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*.

The History is one of the greatest books in the whole field of Andean bibliography. Because of this fact, I shall here study it at considerable length, hoping thereby to induce students to give it greater attention than has, of late, been the fashion.

The final form of the History was preceded by an issue of Books One and Two in Latin, as follows:

1588 *De natvra novi orbis libri dvo.*  
Salamanca, Guillelmus Foquel.

This publication appeared soon after Acosta's return to his native country. It is of excessive rarity, and I have never seen a copy of it. It is cited, however, by Palau. Markham (Introduction to his edition, pp. ix-x) tells us that this first publication

<sup>9</sup> The proceedings were finally published at Madrid, in 1591.

<sup>10</sup> The theological works of Acosta all date from the period after his return from America. They are cited by Palau y Dulcet in his great *Manual del librero*.

<sup>11</sup> In addition to the authorities already cited, I have drawn upon: Leclerc, Mendiburu, Antonio, León Pinelo, Alcedo, Brown Catalogue, Maggs, and others.

was prepared at Madrid in the first months of 1588 and that it was dedicated to Philip II. There were re-issues of this Latin version of Books One and Two at Salamanca, 1595 (according to Antonio and to Markham), and at Cologne, 1596 (according to Palau).

The Brown Catalogue cites the following:

- 1589 *De Natura/ Novi Orbis/ Libri duo,/ et/ de Promulgatione/  
Evangelii, apud/ Barbaros,/ sive/ de Procuranda/  
Indorum Salute/ Libri Sex./*  
Apud Guillelmum Foquel./ M.D. LXXXIX. Salmanticae.

This, no doubt, is really the 1588 edition bound up with another work, for, according to the Brown Catalogue, the Colophon reads: Salmanticae./ Apud Guillelmum Foquel./ M.D. LXXXVIII.

This work in Latin, important because it was written in Peru while the author was engaged in his missionary activities in that country, was quickly followed by the History as we know it. Important editions thereof are as follows:

- 1590 *Historia/ natural/ y/ moral delas/ Indias, en que se tratan  
las cosas/ notables del cielo, y elementos, metales, plantas,  
y ani-/ males dellas: y los ritos, y ceremonias, leyes, y/  
gouierno, y guerras de los Indios./*  
Seville, Juan de León. Quarto.

This is the first edition of the entire History. It is a somewhat rare book. The copies seen and used by me are those in the British Museum and in the John Carter Brown Library.

This first edition is addressed to the Most Serene Infanta, Doña Isabella Clara Eugenia de Austria, daughter of Philip II. On page 535 there is evidence that the book was put into its final form at Madrid during 1588 and 1589, for it appears to have been finished on February 21st, 1589, at Madrid.

- 1591 *Historia/ natural y/ moral de las/ Indias./*  
Barcelona, Jayme Cendrat. Octavo.

This second Spanish edition was dedicated to The Most Illustrious Lord Don Enrique de Cardona, Governor for His Majesty in the Principality of Cataluña.

My data on these two editions are drawn from Palau, Markham, Vindel, Torres Saldamando, Leclerc, and the Brown Catalogue.

Acosta's work was one of those which early attracted the attention of readers in lands beyond the borders of Spain. In this, if in nothing else, it resembles the work of Bishop de las Casas,

*q. v.*, and also that of the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *q. v.* Early translations of Father Acosta may be noted as follows:

1598 *Histoire/ natvrelle/ et morale/ des Indes, tant Orientalles/ qu' Occidentalles./ . . . Composée en Castillan par Ioseph Acosta, &/ traduite en Francois par Robert/ Regnault Cauxois./ Dedié au Roy./*  
Paris, Marc Orry.

This French version by Regnault Cauxois was re-issued by the same printer in 1600 and 1606.

The year 1598 saw also a Dutch version of the History, brought out at Harlem by Jacob Lanaertz and printed for him by Gillis Rooman. Also, in 1598, there appeared a German version, brought out at Cologne by Johann Christoffel.

My data on these editions are drawn from the Brown Catalogue and from Palau y Dulcet and from Leclerc.

1604 *The/ Natvrall/ and Morall Historie of the/ East and West/ Indies./ . . .*

Written in Spanish by Ioseph Acosta, and translated/ into English by E. G./ London/ Printed by Val: Sims for Edward Blount and William/ Aspley. 1604.

This first edition in English is met with fairly often. The copies utilized by me have been those in the Chapin Library, Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, and in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island.

There was no re-issue of the English version until modern times. Markham tells us that E. G., the translator, was Edward Grimston who came from Essex and Yorkshire gentry. He was a soldier who fought in France during the 1550s and was imprisoned in the Bastille for a time, having been made a prisoner during the fighting around Calais. He did a good deal of historical work with reference to the Netherlands and to France in addition to translating Acosta. He died, at the age of about ninety-eight, some time after 1608.

The notes which I have given will serve to indicate to the student the main facts of the early editions of Father Acosta. The later editions, in several languages, are numerous; but it seems to be unwise to attempt here to set them all down. For ordinary purposes the modern investigator will find it best to use the issue brought out by the Hakluyt Society, as follows:

1880 *The/ Natural & Moral/ History of the Indies,/ by/ Father Ioseph de Acosta./*

This is a re-issue of Grimston's translation enriched with Notes

and an Introduction by Clements R. Markham. Hakluyt Society, London. Two volumes.

Volume One is The Natural History, Books I to IV, inclusive.  
Volume Two is The Moral History, Books V, VI, and VII.

The contents of the History are extremely valuable. The work is lengthy, being divided thus:

Book One . . . . .25 chapters.	Book Four . . . . .42 chapters.
Book Two . . . . .14 chapters.	Book Five . . . . .31 chapters.
(These two Books were written in Peru.)	Book Six . . . . .28 chapters.
Book Three . . . . .27 chapters.	Book Seven . . . . .28 chapters.

In order to whet the appetite of the student, I will here note down a few of the salient points that occur in the course of the seven Books of the History, citing the pages of Markham's edition.

Bk. I, Ch. xiii, pp. 37-39, Peru is declared not to be Ophir.

Bk. I, Ch. xxii, pp. 64-66. Atlantis is said not to have been a former home of the American Indians, and Acosta here questions the seriousness of Plato with regard to Atlantis.

Bk. I, Ch. xxiii, pp. 66-69. The Indians are declared not to be descendants of the Jews.

Bk. I, Ch. xxiv, pp. 69-70. Extremely sane constructive criticism. The following passage merits quotation: "But we may iudge . . . that these Indians came by little and little to this newe world, and that by the helpe and meanes of the neerenesse of lands, or by some navigation; the which seemes to mee the meanes whereby they came, and not that they prepared any armie to goe thither of purpose; neyther that they have been caried thither by any ship-wrackle or tempest, . . . for these Regions being so great, as they containe Nations without number, we may beleeve, that they some came to inhabite after one sort, and some after an other. But in the ende I resolve vpon this point, that the true and principall cause to people the Indies, was, that the lands and limits thereof are ioyned and continued in some extremities of the world, or at the least were very neere. And I beleeve, it is not many thousand yeares past since men first inhabited this new world and West Indies, and that the first men that entred, were rather savage men and hunters, then (sic) bredde vp in civill and well governed Common-weales; and that they came to this new world, having lost their owne land, or being in too great numbers, they were forced of necessitie to seeke some other habitations; the which having found, they beganne by little and little to plant, having no other law, but some instinct of nature, and that very darke, and some customes remaying of their first Countries. . ." (Pp. 69-70.)

What more can modern Science say?

Bk. I, Ch. xxv, pp. 70-72, speaks of the Indians' own accounts of their origins, and says that their memories do not go back with sureness more than 400 years; page 71, speaks of the god Viracocha and links him with Tiahuanaco, implying that that site is of very great antiquity. The ancestors of Mango Capa migrated thence to the Cuzco region and to Paccari-tampu.

Book Two is filled with a great variety of geographical data.

Bk. III, Ch. xviii, pp. 156-159, speaks of Peruvian rivers, of which Father Acosta crossed twenty-seven, and never by fording. He gives a vivid description of the natives' devices for traversing streams.

Book Four is rich in data relative to the economic life, the food and the commerce of the natives of Peru.

Book Five contains much information about the native religions.

Book Six is filled with valuable information about Peru and Mexico. In this Book we find Father Acosta's account of Incaic history and polity. Important passages are:

Bk. VI, Ch. xix, pp. 426-428. Acosta tells us that his account of Incaic history will be based upon the Indians' "Quippos and registers." He goes on to classify Indian states as follows: a. Monarchies, like Peru and Mexico; b. Communities governed by the voice of many, but with elected chiefs in war-time; c. Nomadic anarchy such as that of the Chunchos and the Chiriguanas. Speaking of the Incas, p. 427, he says: "It appears by their registers, that their government hath continued above three hundred yeeres, but not fully foure, although their Seignorie for a long time was not above five or six leagues compasse about the City of Cusco."

Bk. VI, Ch. xx, pp. 429-430, makes out the Incas from Manco Capac down to Viracocha, inclusive, to have been mere do-nothings.

Bk. VI, Ch. xxi, pp. 430-433, declares that Pachacuti Ynca Yupanguí was the builder of the empire and that he began his career by vanquishing the Chancas.

Bk. VI, Ch. xxii, pp. 433-435, would have us believe that Guaynacapa was the greatest of all the Incas.

It is well to note in passing that Acosta's account of Incaic history shows the influence of the school of Toledo, Sarmiento de Gamboa and their followers. It lacks, however, all their bitterness and vindictiveness, being written, as is the whole History, in a spirit of serene criticism and of intelligent curiosity.

Bk. VI, Ch. xxviii, pp. 444-447, gives a delightful account of the dramas, songs and dances which were one of the features of court-life under the Incas.

Book Seven deals altogether with Mexico, and for students of that country's history and polity it is forever of the greatest value.

To summarize my impressions of Father Acosta and his History, I will say this: He was a man of the most lofty intelligence coupled with a burning faith in the best ideals of his Order. He was a man entirely free from the vulgar superstitions and vagaries of his age; and at the same time he entirely lacked the hateful intolerance which has too often characterized missionaries both ancient and modern. His disposition and mentality being what they were, and his opportunities for first-hand observation having been of the most extensive variety, it is not to be wondered at that his History should be one of the greatest of the chronicles of Peru.

#### ANDAGOYA, PASCUAL DE:

Andagoya, although a very early writer, was by no means an important one for the student of the pre-Hispanic period in the Andean area. Nevertheless, as I shall point out in due course, it is worth while to say something about him.

Pascual de Andagoya was born of gentle parentage in the province of Alava, Spain, about 1490. In 1514 he went to America, and he was living at Darien, on the Isthmus, very soon after the discovery of the South Sea or Pacific Ocean by Don Vasco Nuñez de Balboa. At that time rumours respecting a great and wealthy empire far to the South were floating about in the Isthmian settlements. Some of the reports were so definite as to enable natives there to model in clay animals resembling a cross between sheep and camels—that is the animals seemed so to the Spaniards who, of course, knew nothing as yet of llamas.<sup>1</sup>

Andagoya, still a young man, no doubt possessed his share of youthful ardour and curiosity. These rumours appealed to his imagination, and in 1522 he fitted out and commanded an expedition which ventured down the west coast of South America to some now unidentifiable point on the littoral which to-day belongs to Colombia. At the southernmost end of his journey he found definite and stimulating information regarding the empire of the Incas, and on his return to Panama he associated himself with Don

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<sup>1</sup> See:

ANDERSON, C. L. G.:

1911 *Old Panama and Castilla del Oro*. Washington.

Francisco Pizarro and Don Diego de Almagro. Shortly afterwards he fell seriously ill, and he remained an invalid for some years, with the result that his work was continued by Pizarro, Almagro and their associate Fernando de Luque.

Eventually Andagoya regained his health. In 1536 he was at Quito, and two years later he was *adelantado*, or governor, of Popayán. While performing his duties in that post he quarrelled with Don Sebastián de Benalcázar, also an associate of Pizarro, who had conquered the kingdom of Quito for the King of Castile.

Perhaps this quarrel hurt his standing to some extent, for one gets the impression that, when he returned to Spain in 1543 or 1544, he was rather under a cloud. It was a passing shadow, however, for later on, in 1546-47, he returned to Peru as one of the two councillors of the President Don Pedro de la Gasca, his colleague in that post being Don Pedro Hernández de Paniagua. It is significant that he should have been given a post so close to the person of the pacificator of Peru, for from that fact we can fairly deduce the degree of importance which he enjoyed as an authority in Peruvian affairs in his own day.

We may be fairly sure that Andagoya remained in close attendance upon Gasca until, in 1548, when they were both at or near Cuzco, Andagoya suddenly died.<sup>2</sup>

The Narrative of Andagoya was primarily a political document intended to make known to the King of Castile and to others how Don Pedro Arias de Avila, commonly called Pedrarias Dávila,

<sup>2</sup> This brief account of Andagoya's life is drawn from:

Markham, in the edition cited below.

Cuervo, in the edition cited below.

Dorsey, Bibliography.

Means, in his Introduction to Pedro Pizarro.

HELPS, SIR ARTHUR:

1848-1852 *The Conquerors of the New World and their Bondsmen*. London. Two volumes. This work was issued anonymously, but the name of the author is well known.

1855-1861 *The Spanish Conquest in America*. London. Four volumes.

FISKE, JOHN:

1892 *The Discovery of America*. Boston. Two volumes.

Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, Bk. II, Chs. i and ii.

MARKHAM, CLEMENTS R.:

1892 *A History of Peru*. Chicago.

Fernández de Navarrete, in the edition of 1829 cited below.

Governor of Panama, was conducting himself. Incidental to the main theme is the material provided by Andagoya on the subject of Incaic history and on that of exploration and discovery.

The Narrative was written about 1540, or a little earlier, when Andagoya was living in what had been the most northerly and most lately conquered portion of the Incaic realm. This fact explains, I think, the extreme inaccuracy of his account of Incaic history. He begins the line of the Incas with Viracocha, whose antecedents are for him a complete mystery. It is altogether natural, however, that the people of Quito and the country around it should never have heard of the earlier Incas and should know only of the last of the line, those who encompassed their own subjection.

Pascual de Andagoya is an outstanding example of the very early chronicler who, in spite of his nearness to the pre-Conquest state of affairs, is nevertheless of but slight value as an authority.

Editions of the Narrative, the original of which is in the Archives of the Indies, at Seville, are as follows:

- 1829 *Notable relación . . . de los sucesos de Pedrarias Dávila en el Reyno de Tierra Firme o Castilla del Oro . . . y de lo ocurrido en el descubrimiento del Mar del Sur.*  
 Edited by Don Martín Fernández de Navarrete in *Col. de los viages y descubrimientos. . .*, III, pp. 393-457.  
 Madrid.
- 1865 *Narrative of the proceedings of Pedrarias Davila in the province of Tierra Firme or Castilla del Oro, and of the discovery of the South Sea and the coasts of Peru and Nicaragua.*  
 Edited by Clements R. Markham.  
 Hakluyt Society. London.
- 1891 *Notable relación. . .*  
 Edited by Don Antonio B. Cuervo in *Docs. ineds. sobre la geog. y la hist. de Colombia*, II, pp. 79-125.  
 Bogotá.

It is interesting to note in passing that a still earlier and still less informative account of Peru appears in the 1534 and subsequent editions of Benedetto Bordone's *Isolario*. It is to be found at the end, under the title of *Copia delle Lettere del Prefetto della India la noua Spagna detta, alle Cesarea Maesta rescritte* (Venice, 1534, and later editions). It tells only of the first contact between the Spaniards and "Atabalico."



## ANONYMOUS LETTER OF 1571.

Among our sources of information is a document which is entitled thus:

*Copia de Carta/ que según una nota se hallaba en el archivo general de Indias, y que/ hemos rectificado con otra que tenemos á la vista, donde se trata el/ verdadero y legitimo dominio de los Reyes de España sobre el Perú, y/ se impugna la opinión del Padre Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas./*

The document is to be found, so headed, in the *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, vol. XIII, pp. 425-469, Madrid, 1848, edited by Don Miguel Salvá and Don Pedro Sainz de Baranda.

The editors state that the authorship of the Letter is not known. It opens with "Excmo. Señor," showing that it was directed to some very high official of the Crown. It is dated thus: "*En el valle de Incaí á diez y seis de marzo de mill y quinientos y setenta y uno.*"

The anonymous author starts out to prove:

- 1st, That it was wrongful to acknowledge that the Incas were true and legitimate lords of these kingdoms, *i. e.*, Peru.
- 2d, That their rulership of these kingdoms did much harm.
- 3d, That the King (of Castile) is the sole rightful lord, and that he has every right to conduct mining operations in these kingdoms.

This quaintly naïve statement of the author's purpose is followed by a bitter tirade against Bishop de las Casas and all his works. The author charges him with the crime of impugning the King of Castile's sovereignty in the Indies (pp. 426-434).

Next, in connection with his first and second points, the author proceeds to give his version of Incaic and pre-Incaic history. It may be summarized thus:

Viracocha, the eighth Inca, was the first one of the dynasty to go forth conquering from Cuzco, where all his predecessors had been content to maintain a small and modest state. In succession to him Pachacuti Inga Yupangui, Topa Inga Yupangui and Guainacapac built up the great empire which the Spaniards found (p. 445).

Pachacuti was a tyrannical ruler who caused his son, Topa Inga, to slay his younger brother, Capac Inga, for the reason that

the latter had done so much conquering that his father, Pachacuti, feared lest he pretend to independent rulership (p. 446).

The pre-Incaic social conditions are described by the author as those of *behetría*, general confusion. Each head of a family ruled his own house and his household. As time went on wars became more and more common and *Cinche Conas*, valiant men, were chosen as war-chiefs, but their lordship was of a temporary character only, for when peace was restored they were retired from office. It was to their interest, therefore, to make warfare a permanent thing, and in time it came about that villages allied themselves together against other villages and valleys against other valleys, so that permanent lordships came into existence.

To Topa Inga our author ascribes the creation of the Incaic hierarchy in the form that the Spaniards found: *curacas*, *guaranga*s, *pachacas*, in short every sort of lord, for before his time there were none of them (pp. 447-449).

The remainder of the document is taken up with casuistical argumentation upon political matters relative to Spanish rule in Peru. In the account of Incaic history which I have just outlined we see the anti-Incaic influence of Toledo, exercised with bitterness and injustice, as well as inaccuracy, which makes this document very different in spirit and in matter from, let us say, the History of Father Acosta. No doubt is possible that this letter was intended for the use of Toledo and that it was addressed to him.

#### ARRIAGA, FATHER PABLO JOSÉ DE:

Pablo de Arriaga was born of noble parentage at Vergara de Vizcaya about 1562. Having received his early education in the Jesuit college in Madrid, he was admitted to the Society of Jesus on February 24th, 1579. He went to Peru in 1582 or in 1584, at which time he had already had some experience of teaching in the Jesuit colleges at Ocaña and at Belmonte, in Spain.

After his arrival in Lima, Father Arriaga continued to study, and he won the degree of doctor. In 1588, the Viceroy Don Martín Henríquez de Almansa appointed him to be the first rector of the College of San Martín which, since its foundation in 1582, had been subordinated to the College of San Pablo, but which was

now made an independent institution. Of this educational establishment our author was rector during three separate periods which made a total of twenty-four years of service in that post. In 1612 he went to Arequipa as rector of the Jesuit college there, and he remained in that city until 1615. All of this indicates that he was one of the outstanding educators of his Order in that day.

But I am anticipating a little, for his career as an instructor of youth in Lima was interrupted, between 1601 and 1604, by a journey to Europe. He accompanied Father Diego de Torres Bollo, and he returned with him to Peru. He travelled first of all in Spain, and later he went to Rome. His earliest writings, of a purely ecclesiastical nature, date from this period.<sup>1</sup>

We do not know just how Father Arriaga became interested in the question of idolatry which was so troublesome to the clergy of Peru. The pre-Christian cults had not vanished into thin air as so many of the other elements of the ancient civilization had done. Indeed, it was painfully apparent to the authorities, both lay and spiritual, that a recrudescence of pagan practices was common throughout the country. Father Arriaga was not only a churchman of distinguished merit as a scholar, but he was also a renowned instructor of youth—and what else were Indians but grown children? He was the very man needed for crushing the old religions, for to him the paramountcy of Catholic Christianity was the most important thing on earth. In his eyes, the old native forms of worship were altogether obnoxious, calling for complete destruction. Since this was so, it is an irony of history that he should have become the one who tells us the most about those ancient devotions, and so, although their bitter foe, the one who perpetuates their memory.

Just as, half a century earlier, the political persecution of the old imperial family of the Incas by the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo had brought about the writing of a number of books which will be found mentioned in these pages, so now did the religious persecution, sponsored by the Viceroy Don Francisco de Borja y

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<sup>1</sup> They are:

1604 *Tratado de la perfección religiosa.* Valladolid.

1606 *Manual de oraciones y avisos.* Rome.

This second work was brought out in Lima later on, thus:

1608 *Directorio espiritual para ejercicio y provecho del Colegio de Sant Martín en Lima en el Piru.* Lima, Francisco del Canto.

Aragón, Prince of Esquilache, cause the composition of the works of Fathers Arriaga, Avendaño and Avila, as well as others of less importance.

The Viceroy's zeal to extirpate idolatry in his realms took the somewhat materialistic form of iconoclasm almost unbalanced in its fervour. On April 18th, 1619, Esquilache wrote to Philip III to report that, between 1615 and the date of his letter, no less than 10,422 idols had been wrested from the Indians with his approval, not to mention 1,365 mummies of ancestors or founders of clans and villages.

Esquilache worked largely through priests who made what we of to-day might call intensive field studies of the problem. Of these Father Arriaga was the most important. He was still in the full vigour of middle life, and he appears to have travelled indefatigably throughout Peru between the years 1612 and 1621. In his journeys he studied every aspect of the people, and especially of their religious life. Although his attitude towards the practices which he was combating naturally made him intolerant with respect to them, it did not fill him with hostility towards the Indians themselves as it might have done a less admirable man. He and his colleagues made it plain, after a time, to the Viceroy and to the Archbishop Lobo Guerrero that the idolatrous practices could best be crushed through educational methods. One important result of this was the foundation of the College of San Borja, at Cuzco, in 1619, by the Viceroy Prince of Esquilache. This college was destined to the education of Indian youths of chiefs' families.<sup>2</sup>

In 1621, after years of the most arduous labour, Father Arriaga published his justly celebrated *Extirpación de la idolatría del Pirú*. Although the work had the enthusiastic approval of Archbishop Lobo Guerrero, it was savagely attacked by Friar Francisco de la Serna, Provincial of the Augustinians, who, on May 9th, 1622,

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<sup>2</sup> I do not know the original name of this college, and so I give it the name under which it is best known in history. This name commemorates the Viceroy's kinsman, Francisco de Borja, Duke of Gandia, who, in 1671, was canonized by Pope Clement X. See:

Markham, *History of Peru*, pp. 194-196.

MEANS, PHILIP AINSWORTH:

1919 *The Rebellion of Tupac-Amaru II, 1780-1781*. HAHR, II, pp. 1-25. Especially, p. 14.

wrote a letter to the Council of the Indies in which he charged, among other things, that Father Arriaga did not know Quechua and so could not write wisely concerning the beliefs of the Indians whose language it was. Father Calancha, although he belonged to the Order which made the attack, impugns the charge against Arriaga. Indeed, the *Extirpación* abounds in proof that our author did know Quechua.

The general character of Father Arriaga was that of a priest of great piety and of austere life. His death was consistent with his course on earth. In 1622 he set forth on a second journey to Spain, in order to attend to some business for the Society of Jesus. He reached the Isthmus safely and embarked on the galleon *Santa Margarita*, which was one of the vessels in the Silver Fleet of 1622. On September 6th of that year, the Fleet being then not far from Havana, a terrific storm arose and nearly all of the ships were lost. Father Arriaga spent the final hours of his life in giving the last rites of the Church to all who were on board his ship. When at last she foundered, he went down beneath the waves.<sup>3</sup>

The *Extirpación* has been through the following editions:

1621 *Extirpación/ de la/ idolatria/ del Piru./*  
Lima, Geronimo de Contreras.

This edition is rare. It was addressed to the King in his Royal Council of the Indies. It has been said that this book, as printed, is not the whole work as written by Father Arriaga. This point seems to demand investigation.

<sup>3</sup> My data on the life of Father Arriaga are drawn from:

Alcedo.

Medina, *Imprenta en Lima*, I, pp. 108-109, 159-162.

Romero, in the edition cited below.

Jiménez de la Espada, in his Letter to the Count of Toreno, 1879, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

Mendiburu, I, p. 375.

Torres Saldamando, *Jesuits*, pp. 119-122.

Backer, I, columns 577-578.

Palau y Dulcet, I, p. 119.

Means, Introduction to Pedro Pizarro, pp. 108-109.

The Brown Catalogue.

MESSIA, FATHER ALONSO:

1632 *Catálogo/ de algunos/ varones insignes/ en santidad de La Provincia del/ Peru de la Compañía de/ Jesus./* Seville, Francisco de Lyra Barreto. Quarto. Pp. 17-18.

- 1910 *Extirpación, etc.*  
 Edited by Pedro Arata.  
 Published in facsimile of the 1621 edition by the *Junta de Historia y Numismática*. Buenos Aires.
- 1920 *La extirpación, etc.*  
 Edited by Drs. Carlos A. Romero and Horacio H. Urteaga,  
 in *Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Peru*, 2d ser., I. Lima.

The most important impression that we get from Father Arriaga's work is the two-fold one that immense numbers of local cults of great age were still flourishing in Peru seventy-five years after the advent of Christianity and that those cults were in many cases degenerate forms of the ancient worships.

Albeit the entire work is of singular interest to the philosophic student of human vagaries, certain chapters of the *Extirpación* are more important to the investigator of early Andean history than are others. The most outstanding are the first ten chapters wherein the nature of the idolatrous practices is set forth with an astonishing wealth of detail. No study of the subject can ever be authoritative that does not rest upon these parts of Father Arriaga's book.

The remaining ten chapters are less interesting to the historian of ancient times in the Andes because they deal chiefly with the methods whereby the priesthood can combat paganism.

Of Incaic history, as such, Father Arriaga's work contains no trace.

#### ATIENZA, FATHER LOPE DE:

We know nothing of the life of this writer beyond the fact that he flourished and wrote between 1580 and 1585.<sup>1</sup>

Father Lope de Atienza wrote an unpublished work which has the following title:

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<sup>1</sup> It is barely possible that he may be identical with the Father Juan de Atienza, of the Society of Jesus, who was present at the Councils of Lima in 1582 and 1591 and who died in Lima on November 1st, 1592. (See Mendiburu, I, p. 405.) But a strong argument against such an identity is the fact that, as we shall see, he does not declare himself, upon his title-page, to be a Jesuit.

*Compendio historial del estado de los Yndios/ del Piru, con mucha doctrina y cosas nota-/bles de ritos costumbres é inclinaciones q. e/ tienen, con otra doctrina y avisos para los/ q. e viven entre estos Neofitos: nuevamte/ compuesto por Lope de Atienzo, Clerigo/ Presbitero, criado de la Ser. ma. Reyna Da./ Catalina de Portugal, Bachiller en Cano-/nes. Dirigido al Ill. mo S: or Lic. o D. n Juan/ de Ovando, del Consejo de Estado, Presidente/ del Real Consejo de Yndias./*

The New York Public Library possesses a copy of this work bound into a thick folio entitled *Miscelanea del Peru*. That volume formerly belonged to Lord Kingsborough and it bears his arms stamped in gold upon the rich morocco binding. The copy therein of the *Compendio historial* was made by or for Don Juan Bautista Muñoz who wrote a brief note upon the reverse of the title page reading as follows: "*Hice sacar esta copia de un tomito en 4. o MS. encuadernado en pergamino viejo de la Biblioteca de la Catedral de Palencia.*"

In the same Library there is also another but less excellent, albeit more complete, copy made for the late E. G. Squier in 1867. It formerly belonged to Mr. Wilberforce Eames and passed from his possession into that of the New York Public Library in 1912. Notations upon this copy state that the original Ms. is in the Muñoz Collection in the Royal Academy of History in Madrid. The orthography of the Muñoz-Kingsborough copy is obviously closer to that of the original than is that of the Squier-Eames copy. Therefore my quotations are based upon it.

The importance of the *Compendio* lies in two characteristics of which I shall speak in turn. The first is that it presents us with an extreme form of the Toledan concept of ancient Andean history. Written either in the last years of the reign of Don Francisco de Toledo, or else after the return of that malevolent personage to Spain, it clearly shows us the absurd lengths to which Toledo's mode of interpreting Incaic history eventually led irreflective writers. This is the first characteristic.

It will be well to expatiate upon it a little. In Chapter One we are told that "Tambotuco," otherwise known as "Tieciviracoche," which means foam or grease of the sea, came forth from some stones near Cuzco and later took the name of "Mango capainga." He showed himself to the people for the first time in a miraculously constructed house of the Sun which stood where the convent

of Santo Domingo now stands, in the city of Cuzco. This personage conquered some of the neighbouring tribes, but his seven successors, whose names our author does not give, citing instead the work of Diego Fernández, *q. v.*, were sluggards who did no conquering. At length, however, "Topainga yupangui" came to the supreme power; he is mentioned thus by our author:

"... this man (Topainga yupangui), perceiving the extent of the territory governed by these barbarous tribes, and bearing in mind the coming of Tambotuco Mango Capainga as related by the ancients, determined to enlarge his Lordship and Principality. And, in order the better to do so, he made use of a Trick which, when it was put into execution, accomplished all that he had hoped. He spread abroad the report that Mango-Capaynga had come by order of the Sun, whom those people held and still do hold in the same reverence and respect which we Catholic Christians give to the true Sun of Justice, Christ our blessed Lord, all of which will be treated of later. He was fearful lest the Sun be angry with them because they had not recognized Tambotuco as they ought, nor did they obey the orders which he, Topainga, so urgently gave them in the name of the Sun whose kinsman he was and whose own parents were not known. The people agreed with much fear, trembling and reverence to obey him and serve him, ascribing to him the Princely office as to one greatly superior to all others, for in the time before his name became so celebrated, each province had as its ruler a chief who served as Governor, whom the people regarded as their head, and to whom they paid tribute, holding themselves to be his vassals."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>"... este (Topainga yupangui) entendiendo el termino que en su gobierno tenian estas gentes barbaras, y considerando la venida de Tambotuco Mango Capainga por noticia de los antiguos pretendió ampliar el Señorío y Principado, y para mejor salir con su intento, usó de una Cautela tal, q. e puesta en egecucion, los obligó a todo lo q. e pretendia, hechó fama q. e la venida de Mango-Capaynga habia sido por mandado del Sol, á quien ellos tenian y al presente tienen la reverencia y respeto, como adelante se tratará. q. e los Catolicos Cristianos tenemos al verdadero Sol de Justicia Cristo nro bien y Señor, temiendo no se enojase el Sol con ellos por razon de no haver reconocido en el tiempo que devian à Tambotuco, ni obedecer al presente lo que Topianga con tanta instancia en nombre del Sol les decía y mandava como pariente de aquel cuyos padres no era conocidos, acordaron cada qual con mucho temor temblor y reverencia, obedecerle y servirle, atribuyendole el Principado con extremo notable entre todos los demas, por q. e en aquel tiempo antes que su nombre fuese tan celebrado, generalmente cada provincia tenia pa. su gobierno un principal como Governador á quien como cabeza acudian, a este entendian y tributaban reconociendole vasallage. . ."



In this passage we find traces of several myths all mixed up together, with a great confusion of proper names and of personalities. It is of interest chiefly because of the fact that it shows the garbled form of Incaic myths received by Spaniards of Toledo's time and later who, through ignorance of Quechua or through lack of contact with members of the Incaic caste, could not hear the folk-tales in their original forms.

Furthermore, in Chapters Two and Three, Father Atienza shows us additional evidence of Toledanism run to extremes. He would have us believe, so far as his involved and obscure style allows one to glimpse his meaning, that though the Incas were tyrants their neighbours elected to be ruled by them rather than by their weak local chiefs. The empire was speedily built up, therefore, by "Guainacava" or Huayna Capac to whom Atienza ascribes the distribution of Incaic culture throughout the Andean area.

The second characteristic of the two mentioned above is this: Atienza's chapters Three to Ten, inclusive, are full of interesting and trustworthy information concerning the customs and institutions of the people both before and after the Conquest. Chapter Five is especially valuable for the reason that it contains one of the best accounts that we have of the wearing apparel and the personal adornments of the various classes in ancient times.

In short, the *Compendio historial* of Father Atienza is a work of slight value from an historical point of view, but one of considerable importance as a descriptive document in connection with the material culture of the Andean peoples. We have no direct evidence that the author travelled widely in Peru, but his account of the civilization there implies that he did so or that, at the very least, he closely questioned persons who had journeyed far and seen much.

#### AVENDAÑO, FATHER HERNANDO DE:

Hernando de Avendaño was born in Lima about 1577. There is some doubt as to his parentage, for some state that his father was Don Diego de Avendaño, a Knight of Santiago, and others affirm that the father was Gaspar de Avendaño and the mother María González Henríquez.

At any rate it is certain that our author was ordained a priest

in 1604 and that thereafter he served three Indian parishes in succession, one of which was San Pedro de Casta, in the province of Huarochirí, and another, probably, in or near the city of Guamanga, the modern Ayacucho. Various letters of his to the King are extant, and they show him to have been a diligent and zealous proselytizing missionary.<sup>1</sup> His talents early brought about his being called to Lima, and he was living there at least as early as 1617. He found enthusiastic patrons in two successive Archbishops of Lima, Arias de Ugarte and Villagómez, as well as in the Viceroy Marquis of Mancera. Archbishop Arias, who was one of the best of the Limenian archbishops, wrote two letters to the King, Philip IV, the one dated May 13th, 1633, the other January 27th, 1638. In both of these documents Archbishop Arias de Ugarte speaks very praisingly of Father Avendaño, whom he had made archdeacon of Lima cathedral. In 1641 and 1642 our author was Rector of the University of San Marcos, and in 1650, despite advancing age, he made another extensive field study of the prevalent idolatrous practices. He died in Lima in 1656, having lately been elected Bishop of Santiago de Chile, albeit he never took possession of his See.<sup>2</sup>

Two writings of Father Avendaño have come down to us. One of them, dated at Lima April 3d, 1617, is a brief but informative account of some of the religious practices prevalent in Peru at that time.<sup>3</sup> As noted above, Father Avendaño lived in the province of Huarochirí where idolatrous customs survived in degenerate form. While there, no doubt, the churchman's ire was aroused, much as was that of Father Arriaga, and he made a study of native religious institutions with a view to destroying them. This work of Father Avendaño's is a very useful supplement to the more extensive book of Father Arriaga.

Better known, because published during our author's lifetime is:

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<sup>1</sup> These letters are in the Archives of the Indies, and they are printed by Medina in the place mentioned below, as are various other documents relative to Avendaño.

<sup>2</sup> Information regarding the life of Father Avendaño is drawn from: Jiménez de la Espada, in his Letter to the Count of Toreno, 1879, p. xxxii.

Mendiburu, I, p. 410.

Medina, *Imprenta en Lima*, I, pp. 375-383.

<sup>3</sup> It is printed by Medina, *Imprenta en Lima*, I, pp. 380-383.

1648 *Sermones/ de los misterios/ de nvestra Santa/ Fe Catolica,  
en lengva/ Castellana, y la general/ del Inca.*  
Lima, Jorge López de Herrera.

This quaint book is dedicated to the Most Illustrious Lord Doctor Don Pedro de Villagómez, Archbishop of Lima, who was the successor of Arias de Ugarte, and it is sometimes found bound up with the *Carta pastoral de exortación é instrucción contra las idolatrías de los Indios del Arzobispado de Lima* by Villagómez.<sup>4</sup> In addition to being useful as texts for the study of Quechua, the Sermons contain no small amount of folklore and of information regarding the habits of the people of Peru in that day. Of historical importance, for the pre-Hispanic period, they have none.

#### AVILA, FATHER FRANCISCO DE:

This writer forms one of the triumvirate who especially distinguished themselves for their efforts to stamp out the vestiges of ancient religions in Peru. Like Arriaga and Avendaño, Father Avila unconsciously provided posterity with a treasure of information regarding the old faiths of the people in that land; and like theirs, his work is indispensable to all who seek to appraise the intellectual character of the ancient Andeans. Of the three, he was the earliest to understand the necessity—from Holy Church's point of view—of crushing the pagan cults.

Avila was born at Cuzco, probably about 1565. He was a foundling, but, according to himself, of noble blood, though how he can have known this is by no means clear. His life is not well known to us, unfortunately. It is certain, however, that about 1573, and for some years thereafter, he was being educated by the Jesuits, in their college at Cuzco. From about 1592 to 1596 he was living in Lima, and in the latter year he received the degree of doctor from the University of San Marcos. In 1597 he became parish priest of the village of San Damián in the province of Huarochirí, up in the mountains behind Lima, a post which he held until 1606, in which year he received from the King a benefice at Huánuco. In 1618 he became a Canon of the cathedral in

<sup>4</sup>The two works are rare, especially together. That of the Archbishop was printed by Jorge López de Herrera, of Lima, in 1649. The present writer owns the two, both in good form.

La Plata, anciently Chuquisaca, the modern Sucre. To judge by a letter from the Archbishop of La Plata to the King, under date of May 13th, 1633, he was charged with certain grave offenses, from which charges he was completely exonerated. Some time afterwards he became a Canon of the cathedral in Lima. He was celebrated for his sermons in Quechua, and on his death he left a sum of money to support the giving of such sermons. He died on September 17th, 1647, and the great folk of Lima, headed by the Viceroy, attended his funeral.<sup>1</sup>

Two of Father's Avila's writings are important for us in the present connection. They are as follows:

- 1608 *Tratado y relación de los errores, falsos dioses y otras supersticiones, y ritos diabólicos en que vivian antiguamente los Indios de las provincias de Huarocheri, Mama y Chaclla, y hoy tambien viuen engañados con gran perdición de sus almas.*
- 1611 *Relación que yo el Dotor Francisco de Avila, presbitero, cura y beneficiado de la ciudad de Huánuco hice por mandado del Señor Arzobispo de Los Reyes, acerca de los pueblos de Indios de este arzobispado, donde se habia descubierto la idolatria y hallado gran cantidad de ídolos que los dichos indios adoraban y tenian por dioses.*

These two writings, and especially the later one, must have had an important part in awakening the ecclesiastical authorities to the prevalence of idolatry. Both remained unpublished until modern times. The only one of Father Avila's writings to be brought out early was:

- 1648 *Tratados/ de los Evangelios,/ que Nvestra Madre la/ Iglesia propone en todo el/ año. . .*  
Lima, Florián Sarmiento Rendón.

This work is primarily of religious interest. I have never seen it, knowing it only through Medina's mention of it. Possibly it contains additional data on the life of Dr. Avila for, as it was

<sup>1</sup> Our knowledge of Avila's life is drawn from:

Medina, *Imprenta en Lima*, I, pp. 115-116, 383-389, where a number of documents and data will be found printed;

Jiménez de la Espada, in his Letter to the Count of Toreno, 1879, pp. xxxii-xxxiii, where an informative letter from Avila to the King, in 1610, is quoted.

Modern writers who speak of Avila include:

Markham, in the 1873 edition cited below:

Dorsey, 1898, p. 67;

Mendiburu, I, pp. 411-412.

published after his death, it is quite likely that it contains some sort of a memorial of him.

It is well to bear in mind that our author was not the only Francisco de Avila who flourished and wrote in those days. No less than five others are cited by Palau y Dulcet, none of them, fortunately, in any way connected with Peru.

Modern editions of the 1608 and 1611 writings, respectively, exist and are easily accessible. They are:

1873 *A narrative of the errors, false gods, and other superstitions and diabolical rites in which the Indians of Huaro-chiri lived in ancient times.*

Edited by Clements R. Markham as the third of the *Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas* issued by him through the Hakluyt Society, London.

1904 *Relación que yo, etc.*

Printed by Medina in *Imprenta en Lima*, I, pp. 386-389. This is a transcript of the original Ms. of the 1611 *Relación* in the Archives of the Indies.

Of the two writings, that of 1608 is the more important for us. Its interest for the historian lies chiefly in the fact that it clearly shows the number and nature of the cults which were far more ancient than the Sun-worship of the Incas. It also throws some light on the history of the pre-Incaic peoples of Huaro-chirí, making it evident, as Markham has pointed out, that they came originally from the coast. All of the legends given by Avila are pre-Incaic; indeed, he makes no mention at all of the Incas.

The work stops abruptly in the eighth chapter.

While on the subject of iconoclasts, it is well to mention in passing that Father Luís de Teruel, of the Society of Jesus, also worked against idolatry, partly in association with Father Aven-daño, and wrote a book entitled *Tratado de la idolatria de los Indios*, cited by León Pinelo, but lost to sight at present.

#### BACCI, OR BACCIO, ANDREA:

This writer appears to have been born at San Elpidio, near Ancona, in Italy, about 1524. He became, in due course, a practising physician of considerable repute, but in spite of a good income from his profession he became involved in debt from which he was finally extricated by Cardinal Ascanio Colonna. Later,

Pope Sixtus V also protected him by making Dr. Bacci his private physician. Our author never went to America, nor did he, so far as one can find out, ever leave Italy. He died at Rome on October 24th, 1600.<sup>1</sup>

The sole claim of Dr. Bacci to the honour of figuring in the list of the chroniclers of Peru lies in the fact that in his book about thermal springs he gives a good description, in Latin, of the natural features of Peru and, still more important for us, he gives a terse but valuable version of the legends relative to very early times upon the coast of that country.

Because of its rarity and significance, I will quote that passage here. It runs thus:

*"Nam hisce iudicijs recentiores consentiunt historiae, in quibus nouarum terrarum omnes inuentores vno ore adfirmant esse perpetuam apud illas gentes famam, appulisse olim ad litora Perú iuncea (vt tradunt) remigijo gygantes vastissimos homines. Qui post ingentes regni illius, ac terrarum direptiones, ac stupra & neces hominum miserabiles, tandem ad extinguendam suam libidinem, nephandam alterum cum altero venerem, & quasi in Dei contumeliam exercentes, diuinam in se iram consciuisse."*

This tale of giants who came by sea in vessels with oars to the coast of Peru and who, after arriving there, imposed their rule upon the people whom they scandalised and debauched by their nefarious and unnatural practices, occurs in other writers, notably Cabello de Balboa and Montesinos. In the form given here the legend dates from at least as early as 1571, that being the year in which the first edition of Bacci's book appeared. It is a little hard to know from what source Bacci, in Italy and far removed from Peruvian affairs, could have got his data. On the whole it seems most likely that Cieza de León was the informant of Bacci, for in Chapter lii, of Part One, of his Chronicle, he speaks of the giants in the same general terms as our author.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> These few details of Bacci's life are drawn from:

Espasa;

Grande Encyclopédie.

<sup>2</sup> They are also mentioned by Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *q. v.*, in Book III, Ch. lxvi, of his work, described below in its place. It is very improbable, however, that Bacci ever saw the work of Gutiérrez, for it was unpublished until modern times. Cieza, on the contrary, circulated widely in times anterior to 1572. So did Zárate, whose Book One, Ch. v, contains data on the giants.

Dr. Bacci's book is of the greatest rarity. No mention of it is made by Palau y Dulcet, Maggs, Leclerc, Markham, Vindel, René-Moreno, or anyone save the two encyclopaedias already cited. From them we learn that *De Thermis* was brought out first at Venice in 1571, and that there was a second edition of it there in 1588. The copy of the work used by me is of the edition brought out in Rome in 1622. It belongs to the John Carter Brown Library, in Providence, but I can find no mention of it in the Brown Catalogue.<sup>3</sup>

#### BENZONI, GIROLAMO:

By way of variety we are now to study the life and the writings of an Italian, almost the only non-Spaniard to appear in the long roster of the chroniclers of Peru. Girolamo Benzoni was born in Milan in 1519, as he tells us himself in the opening of his *History of the New World*.

In 1541, being curious to see the newly discovered Western World, he set forth from Milan and, going by way of Medina del Campo, he went to Seville. From there he went down the Guadalquivir to San Lucar de Barrameda, then the principal port for voyagers to the Indies. His route into the New World lay through the Canary Islands and Hispaniola.

Between 1542 and 1556 he travelled widely in the American possessions of the King of Castile. How he managed to avoid being excluded therefrom by the numerous official restrictions against the circulation of foreigners (non-Castilians), we do not know.

Benzoni returned to Italy soon after 1556. The latter part of

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<sup>3</sup> The Giant-question, intimately associated with the early pre-Incaic history of the Coast, is one which will have to be carefully studied some day. Allow me, in passing, to mention a few of the materials for such a study:

#### ALEXANDER, HARTLEY BURR:

1920 *Latin American Mythology*. Vol. XI, of *Mythology of All Races*, Boston. (Marshall Jones Co.) Especially, pp. 204-209, 366.

#### BANDELIER, ADOLPH F.:

1905 *Traditions of Precolumbian Landings on the Western Coast of South America*. In *American Anthropologist*, n. s., VII, pp. 250-270.

#### SAVILLE, MARSHALL H.:

1907-1910 *Antiquities of Manabí, Ecuador*. New York. Two volumes. Especially, vol. I, p. 9.

his life is not known to us. His work brought him considerable fame and, we may hope, some worldly profit. He was still living, probably in Venice, in 1572, for in that year he dedicated the second edition in Italian of his History to Senator Scipio Simoneta, of Venice, who was, apparently, a patron of his.<sup>1</sup>

Our author travelled very widely in America and had many opportunities for making first-hand investigations. It is to be deplored that he was of a superficial and rather frivolous nature that prevented his providing us with solid materials, albeit his work, if we regard it merely as something for our entertainment, is not impaired by those qualities of his.

The History is divided into three Books, which are not subdivided into chapters. There are quaint illustrations, wood-cuts, scattered throughout the narrative. These occur in the 1572 edition, and Admiral Smyth repeats them in his 1857 edition.

Benzoni's material relative to Peru is scattered through Books Two and Three. It is curious reading for the student, partly because of the immense triviality of most of the subject-matter, partly because of the Italianate orthography of the proper names, but chiefly because of the extremely ludicrous illustrations. In Book Three (pp. 180-185 of Smyth's edition) there is an interesting account of the transactions between Pizarro and Atahualpa, in which the author shows himself not at all sympathetic to Pizarro, whom he does not scruple to call a murderer.

In the latter part of Book Three, from page 240 onwards of Smyth's edition, there are some interesting bits of information concerning Indian navigation, religion, dress, and metal-working. These are, for the historian, the most valuable sections of the History.

In spite of its comparative insignificance, the work of Benzoni enjoyed a great reputation in the decades following its publication. It early appeared in French, German, Flemish and Latin, as well

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<sup>1</sup> Materials for the life of Benzoni are found in:

Alcedo;

Smyth, in the edition cited below;

Dorsey, 1898, pp. 71-73;

Means, in Introduction to Pedro Pizarro, 1921, p. 87;

Palau y Dulcet;

The Brown Catalogue;

Leclerc, pp. 14-15;

But Benzoni himself is our chief informant concerning his life.



as in its original Italian. Apparently it never was translated into Spanish, perhaps because of the hostile tone which pervades it wherever the doings of the Conquistadores are in question.

Among the editions of Benzoni may be noted the following:

- 1565 *La Historia del/ Mondo Nuovo/* . . .  
Venice, Francesco Rampazetto. Quarto.

The John Carter Brown Library possesses a copy of this edition.

- 1572 *La Historia del/ Mondo Nuovo/* . . .  
Venice, Tini fratelli. Octavo.

This was the edition used by Admiral Smyth for his translation.

- 1578 *Novae Novi/ Orbis Historiae,/* . . .  
Geneva, Eustathius Vignon.

This translation into Latin was made by Urbain Chauveton, and it circulated in this and numerous later editions, making the name of Benzoni well known.

- 1579 *Histoire/ Nouvelle/ du Nouveau Monde,/* . . .  
Geneva, Eustace Vignon.

Urbain Chauveton also prepared the French version of the work of Benzoni.

Numerous other early editions of Benzoni exist, in several languages, but it seems superfluous to cite them here.

The student will find it most convenient to use this edition:

- 1857 *History of the New World,* . . .  
Edited by Rear-Admiral W. H. Smyth, for the Hakluyt Society, London.

The title-page of this edition is embellished by a portrait of Benzoni, taken from the 1565 edition, showing him to be a beaky-nosed old fellow with a bifurcated beard.

#### BETÁNZOS, JUAN DE:

Among the earliest, and at the same time most informative, writers on pre-Hispanic Peru is Juan de Betáños. He was born, probably in Galicia, about 1510, and nothing is known of his early years. Nor is it certain whether he went to Peru in 1531 with Pizarro or whether he went there in 1534, with Don Pedro de Alvarado. However, it is certain that he was settled at Cuzco by 1540.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Garcilaso, *Royal Commentaries*, Bk. VII, Ch. xi.

In 1542, after the violent death in Lima of the Marquis Pizarro, our author married that nobleman's former light o' love, Doña Angelina, a sister of the usurper Atahualpa. Through his royal wife Betáncos became well versed in Incaic lore as preserved in the bastard branch of the fallen dynasty. His knowledge of Indian affairs brought it about that the Viceroy Marquis of Cañete appointed him as one of the envoys to the refugee Inca Xairi Tupac Yupanqui at his court in the wilds of Vilcapampa, and that later the Governor Don Lope Garcia de Castro sent him in like capacity to negotiate with the Inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui.

The last years of Betáncos are shrouded in obscurity, but we do know that he died at Cuzco on March 1st, 1576.<sup>2</sup>

The *Suma y narración de los Incas* was written in 1551 at the order of the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza who had lately arrived from Mexico to be the second Viceroy of Peru.<sup>3</sup> Circumstances prevented Betáncos from publishing his work, chief among them being the death of his patron, the Viceroy, his own residence in a country where no printing-press existed, and various political vicissitudes of the times. The original manuscript of Betáncos, divided into two parts, was owned by Father Gregorio García, *q.v.*, in the first years of the XVIIth century, and in 1607, in the first edition of his great work on the Origin of the Indians, García used it a great deal, acknowledging his indebtedness to it.

At present we possess but a part of the *Suma y narración de los Incas*. Our acquaintance with it is derived from a manuscript in the Library of the Escorial, under the signature of L. 1. 5. It is entitled thus:

*Suma y narración de los yngas que los yndios/ llamaron Capac cuna que fueron señores en la ciudad del/ cuzco y de todo lo ella subieto que fueron mill leguas de tierra/ losquales heran desde el rrio de maulle que es delante de chile/ hasta de aquella parte de la ciudad*

<sup>2</sup>I have used for my life of Betáncos the following materials:

Jiménez de la Espada, in his Letter to the Count of Toreno, 1879, pp. xi-xiii; also in the edition of 1880 cited below;

The *Proemio* to the 1729 edition of Father Gregorio García, *q.v.*;

García also used Betáncos personally for the 1607 edn.

Markham, *Incas of Peru*, pp. 4-5;

Mendiburu, II, p. 43;

Angulo, in 1924 edition, cited below;

Antonio, I, p. 662;

Alcedo.

<sup>3</sup>See the end of Chapter xiv of the *Suma*.

*delquito. Todo loqual/ poseyeron y señorearon hasta quelmarques donfrancisco/ picarro logano e conquisto e puso de Vaxo del yugo edominio/ Real desumag. enlaqual suma secontiene las vidas y he/ chos de los yngas capac cunapasados. Agora nueba mente traducido errecopilado de lengua yndia delosnaturales/ delperu por Juan debetancos Vecino delagran ciudad del/ cusco Laqual Suma ystoria Va diuidida endospartes./*

When I examined this manuscript, on May 20th, 1927, I found a notation upon it, perhaps by Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, perhaps of an earlier date, which informs us that this manuscript is only a copy of the original which belonged to the Licenciado Castro and was burned in Madrid in the "Año de 74." One would like to know who this Castro was and whether the year were 1574 or 1674 and why or how the original was burned.

Two editions, based upon the Escorial manuscript, exist as follows:

- 1880 *Suma y narración de los Incas* . . .  
 Edited by Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada.  
*Biblioteca Hispano-Ultramarina*, II.  
 Madrid.
- 1924 *Suma y narración de los Incas* . . .  
 Romero, with an excellent biographical note by Friar Domingo Angulo.  
*Col. Libs. docs. refs. hist. Peru*, 2nd ser., VIII.  
 Lima.

As Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada has pointed out, the work has a pronounced Indian atmosphere, being, indeed, a rendering into Spanish of materials presented to the author in Quechua. Probably Doña Angelina gathered data from among her kinsmen of that bastard branch of the Incas to which she belonged for the use of her student husband.

The accounts of pre-Incaic times given by Betáncos are vague, but less so than those of Garcilaso de la Vega, to whom, on the score of background and attendant circumstances, he may be compared. Our author tells us that in the first period all was darkness and chaos. Then, from a lake in the Collasuyu (presumably Lake Titicaca), there emerged the portentous figure of Con Tici Viracocha, who created the first race of men. These early people had Tiahuanaco for their chief place, and for a time they flourished there. Later on, however, this early population offended Viracocha, and he demolished it. After a time a second

race was created which eventually spread throughout Peru. In due course the Incas rose to power at Cuzco, but for a long time, according to our author, their kings were mere do-nothings, in which his account of Incaic history is comparable to those of las Casas, *q. v.*, Fernandez de Palencia, *q. v.*, and other forerunners of the Toledan school of writers.

From the reign of Viracocha Inca onwards, Betáncos is more nearly in accord with Garcilaso, albeit he is sadly mixed in his use of proper names. The most important part of his book, as we now have it, is his account of the Chanca war in Chapters vi to x, inclusive. It can be studied to great advantage in conjunction with those of Garcilaso, *q. v.*, and of Cabello de Balboa, *q. v.*

#### CABELLO DE BALBOA, FATHER MIGUEL:

Although his work is almost unknown to students, it is nevertheless true that Father Miguel Cabello de Balboa is one of the greatest of the chroniclers of Peru, one of the very greatest in fact. Because of this, and because much of our information is derived from himself, speaking in the little-known manuscript of the *Miscelánea Antártica* which is owned by the New York Public Library, I take particular pains to set forth here all that I have been able to learn about Father Cabello's career.

Cabello de Balboa was born in the delightful old town of Archidona which lies on a sun-blessed hillside in the province of Málaga. The modern voyager who jogs along the railway line from Bobadilla to Granada will see it on his right, some five miles away, a pleasant hill-town, much the same now, no doubt, as it was in his day. The date of our author's birth is not known with certainty, but the probability is that it took place about 1535. Neither do we know the names of his parents beyond the fact that his own name would seem to indicate, by its form, that they were of noble, or at any rate of gentle, station.

In those days spirited lads often began their active life at fifteen or so. Witness, for example, the immortal poet, Garcilaso de la Vega; witness his cousin, the Inca of the same name; witness, finally, Pedro de Cieza de León. It is certain that our author was just such another for, by the time of his coming to America, he had already served his king in the wars in France, and he had also seen a great part of the Old World. He tells us, quite

specifically, that his going to the New World, in 1566, was the result of his natural inclination to see as much as possible of this earth. At that time he had already given up soldiering and had become a priest.

His first place of residence in America was Santa Fé de Bogotá, capital of the Kingdom of New Granada, now Colombia. There he began his historical studies, apparently, to judge from his own account of the matter, on his own initiative. His curiosity regarding the history of the Indians was awakened, leading him to talk on that subject with sundry friends of his whose opinions he respected. Among others he consulted Don Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, Adelantado of Santa Fé, who sent him off to talk with a certain erudite monk, Friar Juan de Orozco, then an inmate of the Franciscan convent in Santa Fé.<sup>1</sup> The friar had already written a good deal concerning the early history of the Indians, and he had come to the conclusion that they were descended from Noah through Shem and through Ophir, great-grandson of Noah. To this opinion Father Cabello subscribed, and he clung firmly to it ever afterward.

But, as in the case of Father Fernando Montesinos, *q. v.*, who also held this opinion, the extreme fundamentalism, if one may so phrase it, of Father Cabello's learning did not prevent his doing, in after years, some very valuable research-work.

In 1576, Father Cabello was living at Quito. There, as was his wont, he discussed the matters which so greatly interested him with the Bishop, Friar Don Pedro de la Peña y Vásquez, of the Order of Santo Domingo.<sup>2</sup> The worthy prelate was willing enough to concede that the Indians might spring from the loins of Ophir, but he could not agree with Father Cabello in the belief that they reached America by way of the great India of the East. In order to win the Bishop completely over to his way of thinking, Father Cabello made a map by means of which he at length convinced the prelate that the ancestors of the Indians had verily reached America by way of the islands scattered in the sea between India and the New World. The map, which must have been a quaint affair, is unfortunately lost to us.

<sup>1</sup> All my efforts to find out something about Orozco have been in vain.

<sup>2</sup> See:

GONZÁLEZ SUÁREZ, ARCHBISHOP FEDERICO:

1881 *Historia eclesiástica del Ecuador*. Quito. Pp. 240-265.

Encouraged by the interest displayed by Bishop de la Peña, whose chaplain he became for a time, Father Cabello de Balboa began to write his history in a tentative form at Quito. But it was not until the year 1582, when he was living in Lima, that he began to put his materials definitely into the form of a book. Before doing so, he had been in consultation with Dr. Diego López de Zúñiga and with Dr. Benedicto Arias Montano, both of them intelligent men much esteemed in Lima at that time. Father Cabello was delighted to find that Dr. Arias Montano gave the Indians the same origin that he did. This corroboration spurred on our author to such an extent that he finished his *Miscelánea Antártica* at Lima on July 9th, 1586.

Such, in brief outline, was the story of our author up to the time when he completed his great work. His opportunities for observation were immense; he even made a voyage of exploration, so he tells us, into the Province of Esmeraldas, and of it he wrote a report addressed to the King. It may be that some day this report will come to light again.

The subsequent career of Father Cabello is related by Dr. Romero.

In 1594, having in the meantime lived chiefly in Lima, our author was at La Plata, in the Province of Las Charcas. He set out from there, by order of the Viceroy Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, on May 17th of that year and he went down into the country of the savage Chunchos in order to indoctrinate them. On September 11th, 1594, from San Adrián de Chipoco, in the Chuncho country, he wrote a very remarkable letter to the Viceroy.<sup>3</sup> He also wrote an account of the Chunchos which is said to have been a book on that subject. It may even have been printed, about 1602-1603, for it is referred to, with praise, in the First Part of the *Parnaso Antártico de obras amatorias* of Don Diego Mexía de Fernangil, published in Seville in 1608.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> This letter will be found printed in *Juicio de límites entre el Perú y Bolivia*, edited by Victor M. Maurtua, vol. VIII, pp. 140-146. Madrid, 1906.

<sup>4</sup> An extract of the book about the Chunchos was published from a manuscript copy existing in the Archives of the Indies. It was edited by Jiménez de la Espada, in *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, II, pp. cxii-cxv, Madrid, 1885.

It is evident that Father Cabello de Balboa ranked with Cieza de León, Sarmiento de Gamboa, Cobo, and Garcilaso de la Vega as a traveller, as a field-worker, and as an historian. Like them, he was no mere library-scholar; he knew by personal observation the peoples and the countries of which he wrote. Indeed, the group named form, to my mind, a very distinctly leading quintet among the chroniclers of Peru, with such writers as Acosta, Betáncos and Calancha coming very close to them in general importance.

The man was versatile. Father Cabello was justly renowned in his own day as an unusual literary personage. He appears to have written two comedies, entitled *El Cuzco* and *Vasquirana*, for the Anonymous Poetess whose *Discurso en loor de la Poesía* precedes the *Parnaso* of Mexía, mentioned above, speaks of him thus:

La Volcanéa horrificá terrible,  
y el militar Elogio, y la famosa  
Miscelánea, que al Inga es apacible;  
la entrada de los Mojos milagrosa,  
la comedia de el Cusco, y Vasquirana,  
tanto verso elegante, y tanta prosa,  
nombre te dan, y gloria soberana  
Miguel Cabello, y ésta redundando  
por Hesperia, Archidona queda ufana.

As a poet, our author himself displayed great talent, albeit he is now represented, so far as we know, only by one sonnet. It precedes, with others, the poem called *El Marañón* by the mine-owner Don Diego de Aguilar y Córdoba, of Huánuco, who wrote and revised his work between 1578 and 1596, at his home in Huánuco.<sup>5</sup>

The sonnet runs thus:

La casta abeja en la florida vega  
con susurro süave y bullicioso  
para su laberinto artificioso  
de varias flores el manjar congrega.  
No menos a la adelfa el gusto alleja  
que al romero y al cárdamo oloroso,

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<sup>5</sup>Data on Aguilar will be found in:

Cejador y Frauca, III, p. 141.

Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de la Poesía Hispano-Americana*, II, pp. 141-144.

porque todo lo vuelve provechoso  
después que a su sutil boca se apega.  
Igual te juzgo, cordobés ilustre,<sup>6</sup>  
después que renació de tu memoria  
el Marañón, de sangre y muerte lleno;  
que de su obscuridad sacaste lustre,  
y de su vituperio tanta gloria,  
que en bálsamo conviertes su veneno.

Of the later years of this truly remarkable man we know nothing, not even the date of his death.

The only one of the writings of Father Miguel Cabello de Balboa that can interest the student of early Andean history is the *Miscelánea Antártica*. It is unfortunate that this great book is known only through Ternaux-Compans's French version of it, cited below. As published by that editor, who ought to have done far better by the public than he did, the work of Cabello is exceedingly trivial. The work as it really is, however, possesses great importance, and in order to know it thoroughly one must study the manuscript which is in the New York Public Library. On doing so, the investigator will find a thick volume of some 800 pages of fine writing. It is divided into three Parts, of which Part Three contains the materials of importance for Peru. Dr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, of the New York Public Library, thinks that the manuscript is a copy of the original made between 1700 and 1725, the reason for his belief being that the handwriting is of that period. I have sought in all the likeliest places in Spain for the original manuscript, but I could find no trace of it. I am inclined to think that the New York manuscript alone now represents what Cabello really wrote. In this belief, I am actively engaged in preparing an Annotated Abstract of the Part Three of the New York manuscript in which will be set forth all the materials relative to ancient Andean history that it contains. The student possessed of the Abstract will be able really to appreciate the greatness of the *Miscelánea Antártica*.

It will be well now to indicate, however briefly, the general character of Part Three of the *Miscelánea*.

The first eight chapters of Part Three are taken up with characteristic vagaries concerning volcanoes, the Apostles, geography, and various other ill-assorted subjects. In Chapter Nine, how-

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<sup>6</sup> A reference to Córdoba, the birthplace of Aguilar.



ever, our author begins his real service to posterity, for he gives an extremely picturesque and vivid account of the fabled origin of the Incas and of their gradual march, under the leadership of the King Mango Capac, from Pacaritambo (as he calls it) to Cuzco. This, remember, is the tale as set forth in the fables or legends of the people.

In Chapter Ten he gives us the history of the founding of the Inca dynasty as set forth in the royal *quipus* or knot-records. According to him Incaic history begins in the year of Our Lord 945. At that time a family consisting of four brothers and four sisters dwelt in the bleak highlands and regarded disdainfully the humble, plodding shepherd-folk around them. At length they resolved to make themselves great, if not by right or by force, then by guile. In order to accomplish their purpose, the four sisters prepared special raiment for the use of all the small group, raiment of gay colours and resplendent with spangles of burnished gold. Having completed their preparations, the eight conspirators slipped away from their old home and neighbours and, by hidden roads that were seldom used, they journeyed, always by night, to certain abandoned buildings in a little village some five leagues from Cuzco. On the day after their arrival, they rose early and, donning their resplendent raiment, walked out into a little market-place hard by their lodging. The people gathered there looked up in astonishment, and, playing cunningly upon the credulity of the onlookers, the splendidly clad Incas told the assembly that they were children of the Sun who had sent them to rule over the land and its inhabitants. In this way the deceivers won moral ascendancy over the folk in the market-place, and with this for a beginning, Incaic history ran its course, accompanied by a liberal measure of treachery, bloodshed, and general depravity, until Cuzco was at length founded.

In Chapters Eleven, Twelve and Thirteen, Father Cabello de Balboa gives his version of the history of the Incas during the reigns of Sinchiruca, Lluquiyupangui, and Capacyupangui (the spelling is that of our author). In the matter of these early reigns Father Cabello stands between the rationalistic school, headed by Garcilaso de la Vega, *q. v.*, and the irrationalistic or Toledan school, headed by Sarmiento de Gamboa, *q. v.*, the former of which makes each successive ruler do a little conquering and a little internal organizing, the latter of which crowds all conquests

and all internal growth into the reigns of the Inca Pachacutec and his successors.<sup>7</sup> But Cabello is much nearer to Garcilaso than to the Toledan School.

In addition to telling us in his special, decidedly attractive way, of Inca history, Father Cabello throws much light on the internal development of the Incaic state. He also gives us very ample information about the court life of the Incas, in which connection he can be studied to special advantage if what he says be compared with what Father Morúa, *q. v.*, has to say on the same subject.

Chapters Fourteen and Fifteen contain a wonderful account of the war against the Changas or Chancas by the Inca Viracocha. It is one of the three most important accounts of that epochal strife, its rivals being the account given by Garcilaso de la Vega and that given by Betáncos, *q. v.*

In Chapter Fifteen, also, we have an amazingly valuable account of a religious assembly held by the Inca Yupanqui, who is the Pachacutec of most other writers. He stands forth as a man of monumental intellect, as the sapient skeptic, who, not content with the seen, quests ever the unseen and, by force of sheer intelligence succeeds in discerning it, if dimly. The material provided us by Father Cabello in this connection is of absorbing interest, and it, again, can best be used in conjunction with similar material given by Morúa.

Not only is Father Cabello de Balboa of great value for the history of the Incas, but also he stands with Calancha, *q. v.*, as an historian of the early coast peoples. In Chapter Seventeen he gives one of the lengthiest, sanest, and most detailed accounts that we have of the peopling of the coast and of the history in long pre-Incaic days of the states there. The material supplied by our author in this connection is redolent of authenticity; it is obvious that he must have gathered it directly from the people whose ancestors' deeds and accomplishments he so fully describes. If Father Cabello de Balboa, Father Calancha, and Father Montesinos, *q. v.*, be taken together, perhaps with supplementary study

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<sup>7</sup> The contrast between these two schools of history will be found carefully analyzed in:

MEANS, PHILIP AINSWORTH:

1917 *An Outline of the Culture Sequence in the Andean Area*. International Congress of Americanists, XIX, pp. 236-252. Washington, D. C.

of Father Lizárraga, *q. v.*, the student will have all the best materials for an history of the early states upon the coast, all that is to say, of those now available. In a recent talk with my learned friend, Major Otto Holstein, whose work in the Trujillo district is of the greatest value,<sup>8</sup> I learned that there is a deal of tremendously valuable literary material awaiting the student's examination in the various monasteries and archives of Trujillo and its neighbourhood. Let us hope that some men or women among the rising generation of Peruvian investigators will make it their business to delve deeply into these unexplored masses of source material.

The language of Father Cabello, as it stands in the New York manuscript, if verbose is also vigorous and vivid. He has managed to infuse more lifelikeness into the innumerable personages whom he mentions than does any other chronicler, with a possible exception of Betáncos. They are neither the little-tin-gods-on-wheels of Garcilaso nor the demons of ferocity shown us by Sarmiento; rather, they are as red-blooded, as prone to sin and to folly, or as apt to rise to moral heights and to deeds of splendour, as are persons whom one sees around him every day.

Owing to the fact that, at the time when he wrote the *Miscelánea Antártica*, Father Cabello was far better acquainted with the northern half of the former Inca empire than with the southern, his account of the conquests of the later emperors in northern Peru and in the Quito region bulks perhaps unduly large in proportion to his narrative as a whole. In connection with the northern campaigns Cabello tells us of a remarkable voyage made by Tupac Inca to two islands called Hagua Chumbi and Nina Chumbi.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> HOLSTEIN, MAJOR OTTO:

1927 *Chan-Chan: Capital of the Great Chimu. Geographical Review*, January, 1927, pp. 36-61.

<sup>9</sup> Sarmiento, *History of the Incas*, Chapter xlvii, tells the story in much the same way as Cabello. Markham, in his notes to Sarmiento's text, identifies these islands with the Galápagos Islands. Jiménez de la Espada, in *Las Islas de los Galápagos y otras más á poniente*, an article printed in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid*, vol. XXXI, pp. 351-402, Madrid, 1891, recoils from this identification to some extent, but Miss Ruth Rose, in Chapter xvi of William Beebe's *Galápagos: World's End*, New York, 1924, finds no difficulty in accepting it. José A. Bognoly and José

Finally, the work of Cabello, in the *Miscelánea Antártica*, is embellished by a delightful story of the loves of Quilaco Yupanqui and Curi Coyllur.

In short, the *Miscelánea Antártica*, as it stands in the New York manuscript, is a first-rank source for knowledge of ancient Andean history. Its principal defect, aside from the vast amount of irrelevant material which it contains, and which my Annotated Abstract will avoid, is a vagueness in the orthography of proper names. Clearly Father Cabello never mastered Quechua, the tongue of the Incas and of the highland Indians in general. Consequently his rendering of place-names and personal names is often lamentably inaccurate.<sup>10</sup>

There is no edition of the *Miscelánea Antártica* as a whole. The only editions of it are partial, and may be set forth thus:

1840 *Histoire du Pérou*.  
 Edited by Henri Ternaux-Compans.  
 Paris.

This is an inadequate piece of work, representing but a fraction of the whole book, and doing that very badly. That a scholar so erudite as Ternaux Compans could have allowed such an abortion to go forth with his name on it is a most extraordinary thing.

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Moisés Espinosa, in their book, *Las Islas Encantadas ó el Archipiélago de Colón, Guayaquil*, 1905, also are cautious about accepting the historicity of Tupac Yupanqui's alleged voyage to the Galápagos Islands.

On July 4th, 1915, Sir Clements Markham, knowing that I contemplated a serious study of Incaic history, wrote me a delightful letter in which he re-affirmed his belief that Inca Tupac Yupanqui *did* reach the Galápagos Islands. For myself, considering the enterprising nature of the Inca and the navigating abilities of the people of Guayaquil, whose *balsas* are extraordinary craft, I see no reason for not believing as Sir Clements did.

<sup>10</sup> My account of Father Cabello's life is drawn chiefly from a study of the New York manuscript. He is also mentioned by: Antonio, II, p. 132; León Pinelo, II, título XVII, column 716; Alcedo.

From these three we learn that the original manuscript of Cabello de Balboa belonged at one time to the Count-Duke of Olivares, minister to Philip IV, at another to a Madridian lawyer, Don Andrés de Brizuela, of whom I have been unable to learn anything at all, and later to the Monastery of Monserrat, in Madrid, which was suppressed some time after 1807.

In passing, I should mention that the New York manuscript formerly belonged to Henri Ternaux-Compans, who used it for his miserable edition of Cabello, and later it came into the hands of James Lenox, of New York, who purchased it from Obadiah Rich. With the rest of Lenox's treasures it passed into the New York Public Library.

- 1920 *Historia del Perú bajo la dominación de los Incas.*  
 Edited by Drs. Carlos A. Romero and Horacio H. Urteaga  
 in *Col. libs. docs. refs. hist. Peru*, 2d ser., II.  
 Lima.

This is a translation into modern Spanish of the French version by Ternaux-Compans. The translation was made by Señorita Delia Romero. Considering the extreme badness of the material with which they had to work, the makers of the Lima edition have done remarkably well.

#### CALANCHA, FATHER ANTONIO DE LA:

This much-neglected writer was born at Chuquisaca, the modern Sucre, in 1584. His parents, whose eldest son he was, were Captain Francisco de la Calancha and his wife, Doña María de Benavides. Captain de la Calancha was a native of Andalucía, but his celebrated son was a creole of the finest type, in which he resembles the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. Captain de la Calancha was a man of substance, being *encomendero*, Crown-grantee, of Ambana, in the province of Larecaja.

Our author's childhood was passed at Chuquisaca, and it may be assumed that his education had a decided pietistic tinge for, in 1598, he renounced his worldly inheritance in order to become an Augustinian monk. Soon after making his novitiate he was sent down to the Augustinian College of San Ildefonso at Lima in order to complete his education. He later won the degree of Doctor of Theology at the University of San Marcos. He was renowned in his day both as a preacher and as an educator, in which respect he is comparable to Father Acosta. At different times he was rector of the Augustinian College of San Ildefonso in Lima and prior of his Order's convents in Arequipa, Trujillo, and Lima. He journeyed very widely through Peru, both Lower and Upper, and he ever followed, with indefatigable spirit, the same missionary path that was trodden at about the same period by Cobo, Arriaga, Montesinos, Oliva, and Ramos-Gavilán.

He began the writing of his *Coronica Moralizada* at Lima, about 1630.<sup>1</sup> The last years of his life he gave to literary labour and to work among the nuns and monks of his Order. He was a founder, and the chaplain, of the Convento del Prado, for descalced Augustinian nuns, an association which he maintained during the

<sup>1</sup> See Part One, Book IV, Chapter xix.

last fifteen years of his life. He died very suddenly, when preparing to say Mass, on the morning of March first, 1654.<sup>2</sup>

Although he, like all churchmen in that day, steadfastly opposed the continuance of the pagan cults which still flourished throughout Peru in degenerate form, Father Calancha was also an indefatigable collector of information respecting the native peoples, their history, their customs, and their polity. He was a man of vast, albeit ponderous, learning, the natural outcome of which is the presence, in the *Coronica Moralizada*, of a fund of precious information not to be found elsewhere.

Father Calancha, in his character of a zealous missionary, wrote various monographs on ecclesiastical subjects. It is well to mention the chief of them in passing:

1629 *De Immaculate Virginis Mariae conceptionis certitudine*.  
Lima. Quarto.

This work is cited thus by Palau y Dulcet, II, p. 15. But Medina, *Imprenta en Lima*, I, pp. 265 ff., and Riva-Agüero, *op. cit.*, p. 236, aver that this work was merely an approbationary letter addressed on August 29, 1628, to Friar Pedro de Perea, Bishop of Arequipa, who inserted it in a work of his own, directed to Philip IV, which was printed by Jerónimo de Contreras, in Lima, in 1629.

1653 or 1655 *Historia del Santuario de Copacabana y del del Prado*. Lima.

This work is variously titled, by Riva-Agüero, by Medina, by Ballivián y Róxas, *Archivo Boliviano*, Paris, 1872, p. 512, by René-Moreno. As Riva-Agüero has pointed out, it is really either one or two separately paged sections inserted into the 1657 continuation by Father Bernardo de Torres, of Calancha's work.

<sup>2</sup> My sketch of Father Calancha's life is drawn from:

Riva-Agüero y Osma, *Historia en el Perú*, pp. 231-236, where a number of sources are cited.

RENÉ-MORENO, GABRIEL:

1905 *Bolivia y Perú*. Santiago de Chile (2d and improved edition).  
Pp. 1-84.

Mendiburu, II, pp. 117-118.

Alcedo;

Antonio, II, p. 106 (very inaccurate).

León Pinelo;

Dorsey, 1898, pp. 84-85.

Means, Introduction to P. Pizarro, 1921, pp. 114-116.

Moses, pp. 304-307.

Two writings, one ascribed to Calancha, the other certainly his, are especially interesting to the student of ancient Andean history.

One of the earliest Spanish rulers of Peru was the Licentiate Don Cristóbal Vaca de Castro, who governed the country in the stormy years following the assassination of the Marquis Pizarro.<sup>3</sup> At the behest of the Emperor Charles V, Vaca caused some investigations to be made into the subject of native history. It seems that there was some slight uneasiness in the imperial mind concerning the ethics of the Spanish conquests in America. True, the celebrated Bulls of Alexander VI, in 1493, had specifically granted certain parts of the New World to the King of Castile, but rude doubts had been expressed in divers quarters as to whether the Borgia were truly qualified to make disposal of something that was not his. These doubts had been echoed in Charles's conscience frequently enough to occasion that august sovereign a measure of moral discomfort. He therefore gave orders that studies be made in order to find out whether or no the Incas were as great interlopers and usurpers as he was; thereby did the Emperor begin a series of official researches which was continued by himself and his son at intervals during nearly thirty years and which was actively participated in and forwarded by several Viceroyes, namely, Don Antonio de Mendoza, Don Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, and by Don Diego de Acevedo y Zúñiga, Count of Nieva, culminating, in Philip II's time, in the work of the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo, *q. v.*

At present, however, we are concerned only with the *informaciones* or reports which were drawn up for Governor Vaca de Castro. They appear never to have been printed in his day nor, as they originally stood, at any other time. Presumably they were preserved in the viceregal archives or in some other depository, or, and this is more likely, they were preserved at Cuzco, where they were originally drawn up. At any rate, someone named "Fray Antonio" collected the reports in 1608, taking the *informaciones* compiled by the various Quipu-Camayocs in Vaca's time and welding them into a work entitled *Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los Incas*. To the original reports was added, in the *Discurso*, material bringing the history down until after the

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<sup>3</sup> He was Governor and Captain-general of Peru 1541-1544.

conquest period. "Fray Antonio" signed this document at Cuzco on March 11th, 1608.<sup>4</sup>

The contents of the *Discurso* may be summarised thus:

After speaking of the *quipucayamayocs*, keepers of the knot-records,<sup>5</sup> in their character of historians, the document goes on to say that before the Incas there was a condition of *behetría general* or general confusion, each village having its own *curaca* who ruled it. There were many wars between neighbouring villages, chiefly about arable lands and hunting grounds. There was usually a fortified hill-top near each village that could be used as a citadel when so required. The weapons then in use were slings, small lances with copper points, small hammers with heads of copper or of worked stone having shafts some four palms in length. These were the arms of the mountain folk, who also had the pleasant custom of hurling boulders down from heights upon their foes below. On the coast arrows, darts, and *macanas*, or clubs, were used.

In the midst of this confusion appeared the first Inca, Manco Capac, who came out of Caparitambo<sup>6</sup> five leagues from Cuzco.

The account of Incaic history is in general not widely divergent from that given by Garcilaso, Cieza, Cobo, Cabello, and Montesinos. True, there are minor divergences from all of these writers, but the general trend of the story is one of gradual growth from very small beginnings to empire. This is important, for we must remember that, although the date of the *Discurso* is

<sup>4</sup> Editions of it exist as follows:

1892 *Una Antigualla Peruana*. Edited by Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada. Madrid.

This edition is very rare, as the number of copies issued was small.

1920 *Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los Incas*. Edited by Dr. Horacio H. Urteaga. *Col. libs. docs. refs. hist. Peru*, 2d ser., III. Lima.

The modern student will find this excellent edition the best one for general use.

It is well to note in passing that the original manuscript of the *Discurso* is in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, under the signature Leg. J. No. 133.

<sup>5</sup> For information regarding the *quipus* and the *quipucamayocs*, see:

LOCKE, L. LELAND:

1923 *The ancient Quipu or Peruvian Knot Record*. New York.

<sup>6</sup> Thus the Lima edition; it should be Pacaritambo.



1608, the material upon which it is based is much older, dating from 1544, and that consequently the presence here of a rational, gradual type of historical development on the part of the Incaic empire proves once and for all that neither Garcilaso nor Cieza fabricated their versions of that history.

A curious point in the *Discurso* is this: Although Viracocha Inca is declared to have conquered that part of the Andean region where the Chancas dwelt, and much other territory besides, no mention by name of that redoubtable people occurs.

Still another curious point is this: Into the midst of an account of Viracocha's reign is injected a highly significant contradiction of what was said earlier about pre-Incaic Peru. Much is said about the coastal kingdom of Chimo Capac, universal lord of the shore-country, whose realm is declared to have extended from Nasca to beyond Piura, and perhaps even as far as Puerto Viejo (in modern Ecuador). The Chimo kingdom was declared by the Quipu Camayocs to have existed long before the Incas, and to have been extremely wealthy and well governed. The Chimo had vassals under him some of whom were women-chiefs called *Tallaponas* or *Capullanas*.

The *Discurso* declares Pachacutec Inca to have been a very great conqueror and ruler, much as Garcilaso and others of his school do. The document recalls Cabello in that it describes the conquest of the kingdom of Quito as having been a matter of great difficulty for the Incas.

The remainder of the *Discurso* has to do with the conquest period, and so does not at present interest us.

Having given some idea of the contents of this very interesting document, I will now set forth the reasons for believing that it was compiled by Father Antonio de la Calancha y Benavides. They are as follows:

1. It was written in Cuzco in 1608, at which time he was there.<sup>7</sup>
2. It is signed by "Fray Antonio."
3. It is fundamentally the same, albeit in simpler form and on a smaller scale, as the historical parts of the *Coronica Moralizada*.

On the whole, therefore, although we have no proof which a Court of Law could accept as conclusive, I am quite sure that the *Discurso* is the work of our author, who made a wise use of the materials which came in his way.

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<sup>7</sup> Riva-Agüero, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

It is now necessary to examine the greater and better known *Coronica Moralizada* itself.

Editions of this work exist as follows:

- 1638 *Coronica/ Moralizada/ del orden de/ San Avgvstin en el/ Peru, con sucesos/ egenplares en esta/ monarquia./*  
Barcelona, Pedro Lacavalleria. Folio.

This edition is sometimes accompanied by an extra-sized engraved title-page with designs and scenes by Erasmus Quellin and Petrus de Iode. The title is given a little differently on the engraved title-pages, reading thus:

*Chronica/ moralizada del/ Orden de. S. Avgvstin/ En el Peru, con sucesos ex-/ emplares vistos en esta/ Monarchia/ . . .*

The engraved title-page exists in the copies of this edition seen by me in the John Carter Brown Library, in the Yale University Library, and in the New York Public Library. Plate II is reproduced from the Yale copy.

- 1639 *Coronica/ moralizada/ etc.*  
Barcelona, Pedro Lacavalleria.  
Very similar to the First Edition of the work.
- 1653 *Histoire/ du Peru aux Antipo-/ des . . .*  
Tolose, F. Boude. Quarto.

This translation into French was made by a Father of the Province of Tolose (Toulouse) of the Order of Saint Augustine. It is exceedingly rare. The engraved title-page, embellished by decorations made by I. Seguenot, gives the title as here expressed. The printed title-page gives it thus:

*Histoire/ dv Peru,/ Partie principale/ des Antipodes, ou Nouveau/ Monde./ . . ./ Le tout recueilly par vn P. de la Prouince de Tolose du mesme Ordre:/ de la Chronique moralisée du R. P. Anthoine de la Calancha,/ Docteur Augustin en l'Vniuersité de Lima & imprimée/ en Espagnol a Barcelone l'an 1639.* This title-page is reproduced in Plate III.

There are no modern editions of the work, so far as I know.

The *Coronica Moralizada* is divided into four Books, each of which contains many chapters. The Chronicle is an immensely verbose compilation filled with long stretches of moralizing, of ill-arranged classical lore, of widely diversified miscellaneous learning, and of occasional lurid passages. In spite of these qualities, and in spite of the exaggeratedly *culterano* style in which it is written,<sup>8</sup> the Chronicle contains a treasure of scientific data which

<sup>8</sup> Culteranism or Gongorism or Conceptism is the Spanish analogue for *préciosité* in French, Marinism in Italian, and Euphuism in English litera-

the modern investigator too seldom seeks to explore. Indeed, of contemporary historians the only ones who have adequately used the Chronicle have been Markham, Bingham, Leland Locke and Uhle in English, and Riva-Agüero y Osma in Spanish.

In the hope that it will awaken investigators' minds to the importance of the Chronicle of Father Calancha, I will give here brief notes on some of his more important chapters:

Book One, Chapter 4, folios 25-32.

Discussion of the origin of the name *Peru*.

Chapter 6, folios 35-42.

Chapter 7, folios 42-46.

Discussion, deeply Biblical in character, but still very well worth while examining, of Indian origins.

Chapter 14, folios 89-94.

A general description of the pre-Incaic period. There is extended reference to the myths about Viracocha whom Calancha, citing Acosta, associates with Tiahuanaco.

Book Two, Chapter 10, folios 363-368.

Chapter 11, folios 368-374.

Much material relative to idolatry. It can be used to great advantage in conjunction with the writings of Arriaga, Avendaño, and Avila.

Chapter 19, folios 406-416.

An account of Pachacamac, and of the missionary labours there of Friar Antonio de Baeza. Calancha tells us that the chief of Pachacamac, at the time of the Conquest, was named Saba. On folios 409-414 he gives us some extremely valuable information concerning the history of Pachacamac, which was duly utilized by Uhle in his great work on the archæology of that site. (Philadelphia, University Museum, 1903.)

Book Three, Chapter 1, folios 545-549.

Chapter 2, folios 549-557.

ture. Whatever the absolute relations between these tendencies in the several tongues may have been, they all had for a fundamental motive a wish to get out of the vulgar or popular way of expressing thoughts, a wish to build up a mode of expression that should not be "understood of the people." To gain that end, writers in all the languages named developed an extraordinary flamboyancy of diction which at last so over-loaded their sentences with ornamentation as almost to conceal the very thought that they were seeking to express. It was, so to speak, rococo writing, spiritually akin to rococo architecture of the kind so greatly favoured at that time.

From an historian's point of view these are the two most important chapters in the Chronicle. They are crammed with extraneous detail and halted by many digressions, yet they contain invaluable data on the pre-Incaic history of the coastal peoples and especially of the Chimo and his subjects. Only Cabello de Balboa surpasses Calancha as an authority on this phase of early Andean history.

- Book Four, Chapter 1, folios 783-792.  
Chapter 2, folios 792-800.  
Chapter 3, folios 800-806.  
Chapter 4, folios 806-812.  
Chapter 5, folios 812-818.  
Chapter 6, folios 818-826.  
Chapter 7, folios 826-831.  
Chapter 8, folios 831-837.  
Chapter 9, folios 837-842.

These nine chapters relate in great detail, and with much authority, the events of late Incaic history in the days of the Spanish conquest. They were very largely drawn upon by Bingham in *Vitcos, the last Inca Capital*, (Worcester, Massachusetts, The American Antiquarian Society, 1912.) Anyone who wishes to study the downfall of the Incaic system will do well to master thoroughly the contents of these chapters.

In conclusion I must mention one point that has not been touched upon by me until now. There is a great contrast in literary style between the simple and straightforward language of the *Discurso* and the extremely florid, obscure, and diffuse verbiage of the Chronicle. It is hard to believe that they could have been written by the same man, yet, as I have shown, it is exceedingly probable that they were. A possible explanation has occurred to me. The *Discurso* was written in Peru in 1608. Culturism did not begin to take on vigour until after Luis de Carrillo y Sotomayor (1583-1610) and Luis de Argote y Góngora (1561-1627) had got in their deadly work. Naturally, it took some time for the new fantastical mode of expression to find its way to far Peru, but we may safely assume that it was there by 1640, or soon afterwards. Calancha was just the type of man who would hail it with delight, for his was an aristocratic spirit, in that he instinctively associated himself with the venerable and grandiose rather than with the modest and popular elements in the world about him. How it came about that he sent his ponderous book all the way to Barcelona to be published, when there were already

adequate printing-presses in Lima, I do not know. It would not surprise me if he were moved thereto by a snobbish wish to enjoy the *cachet* of being published in Spain instead of, more modestly, in the colony. Nor would it astonish me if, some day, it were shown that he personally took the book to Barcelona and there saw it through the press, albeit at present there is no indication that he did so.

#### CASAS, BISHOP BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS:

This justly celebrated author was born in Seville in 1474. His birth was noble, for his father, Don Pedro de las Casas, belonged to a family which had been noble in France prior to 1252 and which, since that time, had been prominent among the noble houses of Seville. Comparatively little is known of the boyhood and young manhood of Bartolomé de las Casas, or Casaus, beyond the fact that he received as good an education as was possible in those days. By 1500 he had won the degree of *Licenciado* at the University of Salamanca, at that time one of the best universities in the world.

The father of our author, Don Pedro de las Casas, was an associate and friend of Don Cristóbal Colón. He went with that adventurous navigator to America on his second voyage, 1493-1496. Although it has been stated that Bartolomé also went to America on that voyage, the chances are that he did not, for from it his father brought back an Indian lad, native of Hispaniola, as a gift to his son. Thus early in life did Bartolomé come into contact with Indian servitude, albeit, we may assume, in exceedingly mild form. Nor was the young Hispaniolan long in slavery, for Queen Isabella was furious that Columbus should have countenanced the bringing to Europe as servitors of a number of her new subjects, and she ordered that they all be returned to their homes by Don Francisco de Bobadilla, who went out to Hispaniola in 1500 to replace Columbus as Governor. Casas himself tells us that his Indian lad went back with the rest, no doubt with the hearty approval of his master.

The question of whether or not Bartolomé went to America earlier than 1502 is of no great importance for us. In that year,

on February 13, he did sail for the New World, on board one of the ships in the imposing fleet of Don Nicolás de Ovando, arriving in Hispaniola in the latter part of April, 1502.

During the next eight years he continued to live in Hispaniola, leading the life of a gentleman-adventurer. He had a friend and associate, Don Pedro de la Renteria, with whom he was in a fair way to make a large fortune based, as were all fortunes in that time and country, upon the forced labour of Indians.

In 1510, however, after the arrival of the first Dominicans, both Casas and Renteria became convinced of the unrighteousness of the allotment system, and Casas not only gave up all his worldly interests but also accepted ordination at the hands of the Prior of the Dominicans, Friar Pedro de Córdoba. Our author had the signal honour of being the first Christian priest to be ordained in the New World.

From that time onward Casas was indefatigable in his championship of the Indians' cause. Both in his long journeys to and in America and in his laborious sojourns in Spain and at Court did he constantly seek to create public opinion adverse to oppression of the natives of America. So far as Charles V and Philip II were concerned, he succeeded wonderfully, but getting their subjects to follow their wishes was something which he never succeeded in doing.

Naturally, during his very long and very arduous life he made grave mistakes of fact and of judgment. Nevertheless, the fundamental moral splendour of his nature, his eagerness on the side of right, his tremendous power of voicing righteous indignation, shine through all his works. When he died, in July, 1566, at the convent of Atocha, in Madrid, he was as near to being a true saint as an erring human being can be, although Holy Mother Church has never honoured herself by canonizing him.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> My account of Casas's life is based upon:

REMESAL, FRAY ANTONIO DE:

1619 *Historia/ De la Prouincia de S. Vicente De Chyapa/ y Guatemala. . .* Madrid, Francisco de Angulo. Book II, Chs. x-xxiii, inclusive, pp. 59-94; Book III, Chs. i-iv, inclusive, pp. 95-110.

Antonio, I, pp. 191-193;

Alcedo.

ROBERTSON, WILLIAM:

1777 *The History of America*. London. Two volumes.

The question of whether or no Friar Bartholomew ever went to Peru must now engage our attention.

Father Remesal<sup>2</sup> states that, between the middle of 1531 and March 1532, Father Bartolomé de las Casas, accompanied by Friar Bernardino de Minaya and Friar Pedro de Angulo, who were Dominicans like himself, did go to Peru from Realejo, in Guatemala. The purpose of the journey was to prevent the setting up in Peru of the customs attendant upon slavery. In order to strengthen their hands, Casas and the two other monks went armed with a special *cédula* or royal order won by the Apostle of the Indies at Court in the year 1530, a *cédula* strictly enjoining Pizarro and Almagro not to enslave the Indians. To serve the *cédula* upon the two conquerors was the chief purpose of Casas and his associates.

To continue, always according to Remesal: The three monks reached Realejo, having come thither from Santiago de Guatemala, and there they found a ship loading supplies destined to Pizarro and Almagro in Peru. There was a delay of twenty-four days before they could embark upon her because, apparently, a part of the supplies consisted of human freight, a class of merchandize which the good monks could not countenance, nor would they ride in the same ship with it. At last, however, they reached Peru and served the *cédula* on the two captains, Pizarro and Almagro, who not only promised solemnly to obey it, but also published it to their army, to the accompaniment of much official jubilation upon drums.

Having accomplished this major purpose, Casas set about a secondary sort of business, namely, treating with the newly appointed Bishop of that land, Friar Vicente de Valverde, and with

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DAVILA PADILLA, FRAY AGUSTÍN:

1596 *Historia/ de la Fvndacion/ Y discurso de la Prouincia de/ Santiago de Mexico . . .* Madrid, Pedro Madrigal.

HELPS, SIR ARTHUR:

1867 *The Life of Las Casas.* London.

GUTIÉRREZ, CARLOS:

1878 *Fray Bartolomé de las Casas.* Madrid.

FABIÉ, ANTONIO MARÍA:

1879 *Vida y escritos de Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Obispo de Chiapas.* Madrid.

Jiménez de la Espada, in the 1892 edition cited below.

<sup>2</sup> Remesal, *op. cit.*, Bk. III, Ch. iv, p. 105.

the vicar-general of those Dominicans who were with the army of Pizarro, as to the introduction of the Dominican order into Peru and as to the foundation there of convents of that order. This project, however, had to be postponed because the land was all in a tumult as a result of the death of "the great lord Atabaliba." Therefore the three monks turned their faces towards New Spain, or Mexico, and they reached Realejo again after two months of 1532 had gone by.

Among the modern writers who have accepted the historicity of this tale are Gutiérrez, Fabié, MacNutt, and, in an earlier work, myself.<sup>3</sup> To His Excellency Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada belongs the credit for showing quite incontrovertibly the falsity of Remesal's statements.<sup>4</sup> He has shown that Casas never went to Peru at all, and that his pretended voyage can be disproved by any or all of the following facts:

1. Pizarro spent all of 1531 and the first half of 1532 in Tumbez and its vicinity, but Almagro did not arrive in Peru until February, 1533. Consequently, Casas and the two conquerors could not possibly have had dealings in Peru at the time when the Friar was said to have been there.

2. Valverde did not become a bishop until 1535, and consequently the devout Casas could not have consulted that rascally murderer as he is said to have done, in 1531-1532. Incidentally, the picture of those two having dealings of any kind is replete with sardonic humour, for the death of Valverde was typical of his life—he was murdered by the abused Indians whom he held by gift of Pizarro at Oropesa, in 1543.

3. Atahualpa was not seen by Pizarro until they met at Cajamarca in November, 1532, at which time, with the connivance of Valverde, the usurping monarch was captured. But his death did not take place until August, 1533. Consequently, the land could not have been filled with tumult when Casas was there; at any rate not on that account.

4. There is no evidence that Casas obtained from the Emperor Charles V a special *cédula* such as that mentioned by Remesal.

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<sup>3</sup> Gutiérrez, *op. cit.*; Fabié, *op. cit.*; and MacNutt, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-188. Means, in Introduction to Pedro Pizarro, pp. 89-90, says that "he (Casas) is said to have visited Peru. . ."

<sup>4</sup> In the 1892 edition, cited below.



True, there was a royal order, forcefully phrased and of the clearest meaning, prohibiting in general terms the enslavement of the Indians.<sup>5</sup> There was also a law in which it was strictly forbidden to use the Indians to carry burdens, either with their consent or without it.<sup>6</sup> But neither of these two laws meets the circumstances required by Remesal's narrative.

To these arguments suggested by Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, I would like to add a fifth and a sixth of my own, thus:

5. In 1529 Charles V had received Pizarro at Court and in all probability had come to a verbal understanding with him as to the conditions under which Peru was to be added to the possessions of the Crown of Castile. But the Emperor was called away to his Central European realms before the matter could be formally set down in writing, and the signing of the famous *Capitulación* or Agreement with Pizarro therefore devolved upon the Regent, Queen-Mother Juana, sometimes dubbed *la Loca*, the Mad. She signed that portentous document at Toledo on July 26th, 1529. Pizarro sailed for Peru in January, 1530. It is in the highest degree improbable that a churchman could have obtained any such *cédula* as that postulated by Remesal. The Emperor and his Mother were dealing directly with Pizarro in those days, and in any case the Emperor was in Germany at that time, so that to see him Casas would have had to go thither, of his doing which there is no evidence.

6. Finally, let me offer these facts: Casas was appointed to be Bishop of Cuzco in 1543, *vice* Valverde lately murdered by his outraged vassals. Casas refused this appointment, but accepted,

<sup>5</sup> This *cédula* appears in Book IV, Título II, ley i, of the *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias* (the 1791 edition used by me). This law was given first by Charles V, in Granada, November 9th, 1526. It was reiterated on August 2d, 1530, at Madrid, and several times thereafter down to 1548. The true first edition of the *Recopilación* appeared at Alcalá de Henares in 1543 and, although that edition was withdrawn from circulation, it may well be that Remesal had access to it. Jiménez de la Espada's point that he could not have known the Laws of the Indies is not, therefore, well taken. The great editor shared the common belief that the edition of 1681 was the first one. Palau y Dulcet also cites editions of 1548, at Alcalá, one of 1585, at Madrid, and one of 1603, at Valladolid, any one of which could have been known to Remesal. (See Palau y Dulcet, VI, pp. 223-224.)

<sup>6</sup> Book VI, Título XII, ley vi, given by Charles V at Toledo December 4th, 1528.

when pressed, the labour-demanding and poverty-stricken See of Chiapas, to which he was consecrated on Wednesday, July 4th, 1544, at Seville.<sup>7</sup> I come now to my point: It is a moral certainty that, had Casas known the pastoral possibilities waiting for him in Peru, and had he known personally the many attractive and admirable qualities of the Indians there, he would have leaped to take the proffered charge. That he did not take it indicates, to my mind, that he had no personal knowledge of the country.

Although our author did not go to Peru in person, he may well have acquired sound information concerning it, for his unique personality, and his unique position in the Church, as *Apostle of the Indies*, as well as his influential standing at Court, where he had the private ear of Charles V and later of Philip II, undoubtedly made it possible for him fully to inform himself of all that was known in Peru as to the early history of that country. He could not have added greatly to his information by going thither in person during the tumultuous days of the Conquest.

The work of Bishop de las Casas which most concerns us is:

1550, approximately: *Apologética historia sumaria . . . destas Indias occidentales y meridionales. . .*

This voluminous work was originally intended to be a part of a *Historia general*. Casas was engaged upon it at intervals during a long stretch of years, from 1527 onwards. The original manuscript is now preserved in the Royal Spanish Academy of History, in Madrid. Prescott possessed a copy of it which was probably lost in the Boston fire of 1872, and other copies are to be seen in the Library of Congress and in the New York Public Library. The date which I here ascribe to the work is only approximate and is suggested by the fact that Casas read the *Historia Apologética* to the Council of the Indies at Valladolid in 1550. (MacNutt, pp. 288-289.) It was ordered by Bishop de las Casas that no one should have access to this manuscript until forty years from the date of his death, but in spite of this prohibition Herrera y Tordesillas dipped into it prior to 1601 and helped himself generously to the treasures of information there. (MacNutt, pp. xxiii-xxv.) To us this fact is of interest because it demonstrates that a contemporary reliance on the sagacity and trustworthiness of Casas existed.

The *Apologética Historia* remained in manuscript until modern times albeit, as I have said, Prescott and others had copies made from it for their use. Editions exist as follows:

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<sup>7</sup> Helps, *op. cit.*, Chapter xi; MacNutt, *op. cit.*, Chapter xv.

- 1875- *Historia de las Indias.*  
 1876 Edited by the Marquis de la Fuensanta del Valle and Don José Sancho Rayón.  
 In *Col. docs. ineds. p. hist. España*, vols. LXII-LXVI, inclusive.  
 Madrid. Five volumes.  
 1877 *Historia de las Indias.*  
 Edited by Don José M. Vigil.  
 Mexico. Two volumes.  
 1909 *Apologética historia de las Indias.*  
 Edited by Don Manuel Serrano y Sanz.  
 In *Nueva Bib. Autores Esps.*, vol. XIII.  
 Madrid.

This last edition is by far the best one of the whole *Historia*.

The work, even though it was originally meant to be but a part of a still more extensive book, is very voluminous. Naturally, therefore, only certain portions of it are of interest to us. These are:

Chapters lvi-lxix, inclusive, pp. 143-158 of the 1909 edition.

Early times are here discussed very much in detail. This section is of considerable value from the historical angle.

lxviii-lxix, pp. 175-181. Ancient governments and commerce.

cxxxi-cxxxii, pp. 348-351. Temples and ceremonials.

cxl-cxli, pp. 370-375. Priesthood and religious matters.

clxxxviii, pp. 494-496. Sacrifices.

ccxlvii, pp. 646-648. Customs of the folk of Pasto.

ccxlviii-cclii, pp. 648-662. Incaic history.

ccliii-cclx, pp. 662-679. Incaic culture in general.

cclxi, pp. 679-681. Later Incaic times.

Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada utilized a part of this material in order to draw up a consecutive account of ancient Peru which should be in the language of Friar Bartholomew. The resultant publication is extremely valuable to the student, albeit misleading, even with the prefatory and incidental material provided by Jiménez, for of course our author never wrote a book constructed as is that with which the great Spanish editor has presented us. The edition in question is as follows:

- 1892 *De las antiguas gentes del Perú.*  
 Edited by Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada.  
 In *Col. libs. esps. raros o curiosos*, vol. XXI.  
 Madrid.

The chapters in this book may be coördinated with the chapters of the original work, cited above, as follows:

I equals chapter lvi of the original;	
II, lviii;	XV, ccxlix;
III, lx;	XVI, ccl;
IV, lxv;	XVII, ccli;
V, lxxviii;	XVIII, cclii;
VI, lxix;	XIX, ccliii;
VII, cxxi and cxxvi;	XX, ccliv;
VIII, cxxxii;	XXI, cclv;
IX, cxxxiii;	XXII, cclvi;
X, cxl;	XXIII, cclvii;
XI, cxli;	XXIV, cclviii;
XII, clxxxii;	XXV, cclix;
XIII, exciv;	XXVI, cclx;
XIV, ccxlviii;	XXVII, cclxi.

It is much to be regretted that Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada did not present a greater part of the pertinent material listed on page 340. Still, as it stands, *Las antiguas gentes del Perú* is valuable.

Chapter One of the book deals with the ancient buildings and cities in the kingdom of Quito. It is based on the writings of Xeres, *q. v.*, and Cieza de León, *q. v.*, and it has but slight value. Besides that, Jiménez gives us but a part of it. Chapters Two to Six, inclusive, describe the material and social and military aspects of Incaic civilization in a manner that is informative but which lacks the flavour of a first-hand narrative. Chapters Seven to Thirteen, inclusive, contain a wealth of material concerning the religious ideas and the sacerdotal arrangements of ancient Peru in Incaic times. From an historical standpoint one of the most important chapters in the book is Fourteen. In it we are told that for a period of five or six hundred years Peru was divided up into many states of varying sizes each ruled by a kindly and wise king or lord. Every state had its own laws, customs, and language, and there was but little relationship and commerce between them at first. Little by little, however, warfare came into being; fortresses were built; rivalries arose. In the highlands slings were the chief weapons of offense, and shields were used for defense. On the coast arrows were known, and darts thrown with a device to give greater speed. The points were made of palm or of bone. In the coastal valleys the lords made their palaces on hills or, if there were none, they made artificial hills by

causing vast amounts of earth to be piled up. In Chapter Fifteen our author gives an account of the pre-Incaic polity of the chiefs in Peru, and of the institutions of their small states.

With Chapter Sixteen we come to Casas's account of Incaic history. He makes the first seven Incas, down to "Pachacuti," mere *fainéants*. In Chapters Sixteen to Twenty-four, inclusive, Casas ascribes to Pachacutec the building up and inward strengthening of the Inca empire. He gives a very detailed account of the Incaic polity and civilization. In Chapter Twenty-five we are told how Pachacutec first chose his son Amaro to succeed him, but how the choice was later shifted to Tupac Yupanqui, a younger son. In Chapters Twenty-six and Twenty-seven the reigns of the Incas Tupac Yupanqui and Huayna Capac are very sketchily treated.

For us, on the whole, the chief value of this publication of a part of Casas's writings lies in his account of pre-Incaic times. In that connection he is to be compared with Cabello and Calancha, particularly with the *Discurso* of the latter author.

#### CIEZA DE LEÓN, PEDRO DE:

Nothing is known as to the antecedents of this very important author. He was born in the town of Llerena, some nineteen miles from Badajos in Estremadura, about 1519. In 1534 he went to America. His first adventures befell in the New Kingdom of Granada, now Colombia, where his long and honourable career as a soldier had its beginning. Although from an early age he was the intimate associate of the rough and oftentimes depraved soldiers of the conquest, Cieza's character never lost the traits which, shining through his written words, endear him to us of to-day. He was humane, generous, diligent, and, above all, sagacious.

As early as 1541, at Cartago in the Cauca Valley, he began to keep a journal in which he set down all that passed before his eyes, and he kept it with great scrupulosity during many years of soldiering. The general trend of his movements was southward, and in 1547, at Popayán, he joined the forces which Don Pedro de la Gasca was assembling for the purpose of crushing the rebellious Don Gonzalo Pizarro. After enlisting in the army, Pedro de Cieza again moved southwards, this time with more rapidity, but not with less profit to posterity. His route led through Pasto, Quito, Tumebamba, the Coast, Lima, Xauxa or Jauja, and

Guamanga (the modern Ayacucho), ending up, for the time being, with what must have been a stirring march from the valley of Andahuaylas down to Cuzco, along the backbone, as it were, of the dead Inca empire. During 1550 he lived at Cuzco for a time, and also made journeys down to the southern provinces, as far as Charcas, at the behest of Gasca. Toward the end of the year he went down to Lima, and there, on September 8th, 1550, he finished the First Part of his celebrated *Crónica del Perú*. The Second Part was also well advanced towards completion at that time, for he had made special studies in connection with it during his sojourn in Cuzco.

In 1551 or soon after that year, Pedro de Cieza went back to Spain. Inasmuch as the frontispiece of the first edition of his writings describes him as a *vezino de Sevilla*, a citizen of Seville, we may safely assume that he settled in that city, and that he spent his last years there. It is not known when and where he died.<sup>1</sup>

As planned by its author, the *Crónica del Perú* was to have been of truly monumental scope, as follows:

- Part I. The divisions and description of the provinces of Peru.
- Part II. The government, great deeds, origin, policy, buildings, and roads of the Incas.
- Part III. The discovery and conquest of Peru by Pizarro, and rebellion of the Indians.
- Part IV. Book I. War between Pizarro and Almagro.  
Book II. War of the young Almagro.  
Book III. The civil war of Quito.  
Book IV. War of Huarina.  
Book V. War of Xaquixaguana.
- Commentary One. Events from the founding of the Audience to the departure of the President.
- Commentary Two. Events to the arrival of the Viceroy Mendoza.

Of this general table of contents Cieza himself gives the original

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<sup>1</sup> Our chief informants concerning the life of Captain Don Pedro de Cieza de León are himself, first of all, and after him Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada and Sir Clements Markham, in their editions, cited below, of his works. Brief articles concerning him appear in:

Antonio, II, p. 184;

Arana de Varflora, No. 4, pp. 56-57;

Alcedo.

León Pinelo.

draft in his Prologue to the First Part. Markham gives it as above in his edition of the Second Part.

It is well to note in passing that Part Three is lost to us, but Part Four, Books I, II, and III, the Wars of Las Salinas, Chupas, and Quito, respectively, have all been translated by Sir Clements Markham, and issued by the Hakluyt Society in their unequalled series of materials. Books IV and V, and the two Commentaries, are still lost.

At present we are concerned only with Part One and Part Two. In order to fix in the student's mind just why these portions of Cieza's *Crónica* stand in the very front rank of our sources for ancient Andean history, I will run over a few of our author's remarks on his methods of working.

He early formed the habit of writing down things and events soon after they had come to his notice. (Dedicatory letter to Philip, Prince of the Spains, preceding Part I.) His descriptions of the country are eloquent with the results of personal observation which is heightened in value by the extremely lofty intelligence of this author. He apparently never set down things of which he was not sure. When some of his papers and journals were stolen at the time of the battle of Xaquixaguana, against Gonzalo Pizarro, he greatly regretted the loss because it necessarily curtailed his account of the country described therein. (Part One, Ch. v.) A general idea of the closeness with which he questioned the leading natives about their history and institutions and with which he studied the monuments visible throughout the country can be gained from reading his passages concerning the Collas and concerning Tiahuanaco. (Part One, Chapters c, cii, civ, and cv.) He particularly questioned the Indians as to the state of affairs prior to the Incas. (Part Two, Chapter iv.) The celebrated and lofty temple to Viracocha at Cacha, also called Racche, especially called forth his energies as an investigator.<sup>2</sup> (Part Two, Chapter v.) Finally, in the early part of 1550, at Cuzco, he made a special study of the history of the Incas, having

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<sup>2</sup> Good modern descriptions of this temple will be found in:

SQUIER, E. GEORGE:

1877 *Peru: Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas*. New York. Pp. 402-404.

BINGHAM, HIRAM:

1922 *Inca Land*. Boston. Pp. 129-132.

as his preceptor an Inca named Cayu Tupac, one of the surviving descendants of Huayna Capac, who was introduced to him by the Corregidor of Cuzco, Captain Juan de Saavedra. (Part Two, Chapter vi.)

In short, Pedro de Cieza worked with as great care as a man could. This fact, coupled with his personal abilities as an observer and a writer, made him the outstanding figure that he is among the chroniclers of Peru.

Of our author's voluminous Chronicle the only portion that was published in his lifetime was Part One. Editions of it are very numerous, in several languages, but some of the most important are as follows:

1553 *Parte Primera/ Dela chronica del Peru. Que tracta la demarc- / cion de sus prouincias: la descripcion dellas. Las/ fundaciones de las nuevas ciudades. Los ritos y/ costumbres de los indios. Y otras cosas estrañas/ dignas de ser sabidas. Fecha por Pedro de Cieza/ de Leon vezino de Seuilla./ 1553.*

This edition has a title-page embellished by an ostentatious royal coat of arms that occupies more than half of the space. The format is folio. The colophon reads:

*Impressa en Seuilla en casa de Martin/ de montesdoca. Aca- bose a quinze de/ Março de mill y quinientos y/ cinquenta y tres años.*

This first edition is exceedingly rare. I have used the copy in the John Carter Brown Library, that in the National Library, Lima, and that in the British Museum. See Palau y Dulcet, II, pp. 198-199.

1554 *Parte Primera/ de la Chro- / nica del Peru, . . .*  
Antwerp, Juan Steelsio. Octavo.

Two other publishers, Juan Bellerio and Martín Nucio, both brought out octavo editions of this First Part at Antwerp in the same year. The three issues are very much alike, and very confusing to bibliographers. It is well to note in passing that Markham, in his English rendering of Steeltz's title-page, mistranslates *vezino de Sevilla* as *native* of Seville, which has fostered the belief that our author was born in the city by the Guadalquivir, which is not so.

The First Part was early translated into Italian and issued thus:

1555 *La prima/ Parte de la/ Cronica del/ grandissimo/ Regno del/ Peru . . .*  
Rome, Valerio and Luigi Dorici. Octavo.

This translation was made by Augustino de Craualiz, to use the spelling on the title-page.



Oddly enough it appears that the First Part has never been translated into French. An English edition purporting to be the First Part was brought out, however, as follows:

- 1709 *The/ Seventeen Years Travels/ of/ Peter de Cieza,/ Through the Mighty Kingdom of/ Peru/ and/ the large provinces of/ Cartagena and Popayan/ in South America;/ From the City of Panama, on the Isthmus,/ to the Frontiers of Chile./*  
London.

This translation was made by John Stevens. It is not very satisfactory for the reason that many of the chapters are clipped and telescoped together in the most arbitrary fashion.

In general, the student will prefer to utilize the modern editions of Parts One and Two. They are as follows:

- 1864 *The Travels of Pedro de Cieza de Leon, A. D. 1532-50, contained in the First Part of his Chronicle of Peru.*  
Edited by Clements R. Markham, for the Hakluyt Society.  
London.
- 1880 *Segunda Parte de la Crónica del Perú.*  
Edited by Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada.  
Madrid. (*Biblioteca Hispano Ultramarina*, II.)

This edition is based upon a manuscript in the library of the Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo del Escorial. The title of the Ms. reads thus:

*Relaçion dela sucesion y gouierno de los/ yngas señores naturales que fueron/ delas prouincias delperu y otras/ cosas Tocantes A aquel reyno para/ el Illmo señor don Juan Sarmiento/ Presidente del consejo real deyndias./*

It is under the signature L. 1. 5., in the same volume as the Mss. of Betáncos and Santillán, q. v.

- 1883 *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru.*  
Edited by Clements R. Markham, for the Hakluyt Society.  
London.  
Based upon the 1880 edition.

In general it may be said that Cieza's First Part is mainly geographical and descriptive and that the Second Part is chiefly of historical interest. Our author gives us a definite glimpse of conditions existing prior to the rise of the Incas. In this he stands in the group of which Cabello and Calancha are such conspicuous representatives.

According to Cieza there was first a period when general con-

fusion prevailed; that was followed by an era in which great wars were waged and states of varying size came into being, both in the mountains and on the coast. Cieza also makes it clear that the worship of the god Viracocha or Ticiviracocha greatly antedates the Incaic period and is a property of the Colla folk in the basin of Lake Titicaca. (Part One, Ch. xxxviii; Part Two, Chs. iv and v.) Respecting ancient times in the coast valleys Cieza gives us extremely interesting data based upon his own observations and studies and also upon information given to him by Friar Domingo de Santo Tomás, who was well versed in Quechua and composed a grammar of that tongue.<sup>3</sup> (Part One, Ch. lxi.) This chapter of Cieza's can be used advantageously in conjunction with the already indicated passages of Cabello and Calancha on the same subject.

Regarding Tiahuanaco, which Cieza emphatically declares to be much more ancient than the Incas, we gain from our author invaluable information. Among other things he tells us that the grand edifices erected at Cuzco by the Incas were directly inspired by the much older buildings which they saw when they reached Tiahuanaco during the course of their conquering career. (Part One, Ch. cv.)

Incaic history as related by Cieza runs more or less in the same channels as it does in the pages of Garcilaso, *q. v.* We are told that Sinchi Roca was a great builder and embellisher of Cuzco. He himself had his own sister, whom Cieza fails to name, for a wife and queen, but when the chief of Zañu, a neighbouring town, came and vehemently demanded the hand of the heir, Lloque Yupanqui, for his daughter, Sinchi Roca, though reluctant, did not dare to refuse the proffered alliance. (Part Two, Ch. xxxi.) In this we have a decided indication that Sincha Roca, a pacific prince, was not very strong, but that he devoted himself to strengthening his realm, still small, within, as a preparation for later expansion.

The Inca Lloque Yupanqui, son of Sinchi Roca, brought his father-in-law, the lord of Zañu, to Cuzco with his people, and they

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<sup>3</sup> SANTO THOMAS, FRAY DOMINGO DE:

1560 *Gramma/ tica, o Arte de la/ Lengua general de los Indios de los Reynos del/ Peru. . .* Valladolid, Francisco Fernández de Córdoba. Octavo.

A very rare work, of which copies seen by me exist in the British Museum and in the John Carter Brown Library.

were settled in Hanan Cuzco, the upper or western part of the city, the lower or eastern part remaining the possession of the Inca and his immediate subjects. (Part Two, Ch. xxxii.) Mayta Capac, the son of Lloque Yupanqui, conquered some of the tribes in the vicinity of Cuzco, notably the Alcaviquiza tribe. (Part Two, Ch. xxxiii.) Capac Yupanqui, heir of Mayta Capac, conquered the Condesuyos, in the country north of Cuzco, and put them under the Incaic system of polity. He then spent much time in improving the city of Cuzco and in enriching the temple there. After that he received as friends and voluntary associates all the people in the region west of Cuzco as far as Andahuaylas. These were the Quechuas, whose mortal enemies were the formidable Chancas, their neighbours. (Part Two, Ch. xxxiv.) The successive Incas, Inca Roca, Inca Yupanqui and Viracocha, continued the policy of their forebears, slowly increasing their realms, repressing insurrections, and consolidating their holdings as they went along. (Part Two, Chs. xxxv-xli, inclusive.) The later reigns are described in such a way as to accord, in the main, with all the other chroniclers.

The foregoing indications of Cieza's history of the Incas will serve to show that he belongs definitely to the school of Garcilaso de la Vega, the main characteristic of which is to ascribe to the early Incas the foundations and the preparatory growth of the Incaic realm. The opposing school, that of Sarmiento de Gamboa, *q. v.*, tends to crowd all the events of Incaic history into the last few reigns.<sup>4</sup>

Nor does the resemblance between Cieza and Garcilaso stop there. Like the Inca historian, Cieza is informative on many points, for he has enriched his narrative with chapters on a score of pertinent subjects. A few of them are the following:

Part Two, Chapter xii, contains valuable data on the *quipus*.

Part Two, Chapter xvi, describes the royal hunts.

Part Two, Chapter xviii, relates to the system of tribute.

Part Two, Chapter xxi, gives an account of the post-runners.

Part Two, Chapter xxvi, tells about the temple of the sun at Cuzco.

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<sup>4</sup>On the contrast between the two schools, see:  
MEANS, PHILIP AINSWORTH:

1917 *An Outline of Culture Sequence in the Andean Area*. Int. Cong. Am. XIX, pp. 236-252. Washington.

Altogether, it is safe to say that Captain Don Pedro de Cieza de León is one of the two most important chroniclers of Peru, his sole equal being the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, of whom we shall speak in due course.

#### COBO, FATHER BERNABÉ:

Father Cobo's writings derive their very great importance partly from the fact that he travelled more widely in America than any other chronicler and partly from the fact that, as a man, he was a scrupulous observer gifted with crystalline intelligence.

Bernabé Cobo de Peralta, to give him his full name, which he himself used very rarely, was born in the small village of Lopera, not far from Jaén, in 1582. His father was Don Juan Cobo, of an excellent family of that locality, and his mother was Doña Catalina de Peralta, also of distinguished family. Don Juan died when his son, Bernabé, was a lad, but Doña Catalina survived her husband by some years, and lived at Lopera on the income derived from her estate, which consisted of olive-orchards and house-property.<sup>1</sup>

In 1596, when only fourteen years of age, Bernabé left his home and his mother forever. In this he recalls Don Pedro de Cieza de León, *q. v.*, and many others of those days. Joining a fleet that sailed in that year, he went to Santo Domingo and then on to what is now Venezuela and Colombia, in which countries he wandered extensively during two years, questing the mythical land of El Dorado about which his young head had been filled with wild tales by mendacious mariners.

In the early part of 1599 he arrived in Lima, at the age of seventeen.<sup>2</sup> Almost at once he went to school in the aristocratic Jesuit College of San Martín, with which Father Acosta had been so closely associated. Naturally enough, the Society of Jesus

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<sup>1</sup> The holograph documents supporting these statements are fully cited and quoted by Don Manuel González de la Rosa in his edition of Cobo's *Historia de la fundación de Lima*. (Lima, 1882.) Although that work has nothing to do with pre-Hispanic history I cite it here. It was written between 1630 and 1639, during Cobo's sojourn in Mexico. The introductory material and the notes with which Don Manuel González de la Rosa enriched his edition of it are our most important source in modern writings for information concerning Father Cobo.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Nuev. Mun., Bk. IV, Ch. i. He there says that he was in Lima in the sixty-fourth year of the city's foundation, 1535 plus 64 being 1599.

found in the lad just the type of personality that they desired for their membership. In 1601 he became a novice of the Society, and thereafter, by the regular stages established for the purpose, he advanced in the Society until he had received full orders. For us the ecclesiastical details of his career have little importance beyond that of implying that he received the best education that the times could afford.

From 1599 to 1609 Cobo lived in or near Lima. Even in those days he had a passion for historical research and for naturalistic studies, a passion which sometimes interfered seriously with his scholastic program as a student-priest.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, from our point of view, his time was far from being wasted, nor were events of excitement and interest lacking during those ten years. He made a journey to Guaura, north of Lima, in 1600. He was in Lima during the great earthquake of November 24th, 1604, at which time he was officiating at the Jesuit church in the capital city. And he made some experiments with *cocos de Chile*, probably cocoa-nut palms of some kind, which he planted in Lima in 1608.<sup>4</sup>

The years 1609 and 1610 saw him in Cuzco and its vicinity where he was engaged in matters appertaining to the work of the Society. In 1610 he also made a journey southward to Chuquiabo, more correctly Chuqui-apu, the modern La Paz.<sup>5</sup>

We now lose sight of Father Cobo for several years, although it is almost certain that he spent them in Lima. At any rate he was there in Lent, 1614.<sup>6</sup> From 1615 to 1618 Father Cobo travelled extensively in the southern parts of the Viceroyalty of Peru, visiting Juli, Potosi and Oruro, at all of which places the Society had houses. He also visited Cochabamba and revisited La Paz at this period.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Don Manuel Gonzáles de la Rosa, *op. cit.*, tells us that a document in the suppressed National Archives of Peru states that Cobo *satisfecit medio-criter* in some Jesuit examinations in 1615.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. Nuev. Mun., Bk. VII, Ch. xl; Bk. II, Ch. xx; Bk. VI, Ch. lxii; Bk. X, Ch. xx, as a general reference for the period of ten years.

<sup>5</sup> Hist. Nuev. Mun., Bk. III, Chs. xviii and xxxiii; Bk. IX, Ch. li; Bk. X, Chs. iii and xx.

<sup>6</sup> Hist. Nuev. Mun., Bk. II, Ch. xvi; Bk. VIII, Ch. xiv; Bk. X, Ch. xxxviii.

<sup>7</sup> Hist. Nuev. Mun., Bk. II, Ch. x; Bk. III, Chs. xxxvi and xxxviii. González de la Rosa, *op. cit.*

From 1618 to 1626 Father Cobo seems to have divided his time between the Jesuit establishments at Arequipa and at Pisco. During this period he visited several parts of the southern coast, notably Camaná and Ica, as well as travelling more or less constantly in that region generally.<sup>8</sup> On his journeys through the high altitudes he suffered severely from *soroche* or mountain-sickness, but it never seems to have held him back from the performance of his duties. In 1626 he went to Huamanga, by way of Ica, on his way from Pisco to Lima, a roundabout route which he must have taken for some special purpose.<sup>9</sup>

Whether or not the sea-journey which Cobo made from Lima to Trujillo in 1627 was a part of his voyage to Mexico I do not know; but at any rate it is certain that he was in Guatemala in 1629, on his way to Mexico.<sup>10</sup> His sojourn in New Spain was no less active and laborious than his life in Peru had been. He made a journey to Vera Cruz and he deeply studied the country and its people. He dated his *Historia de la fundación de Lima*, dedicated to the learned lawyer Dr. Don Juan de Solórzano y Pereira, at Mexico on January 24th, 1639.<sup>11</sup>

Not until 1641, apparently, did Father Cobo begin his journey back to Peru. He went slowly, as was the custom in those days, passing from Mexico City to Tehuantepec in 1641. He spent some time in Guatemala City during 1642, and in the same year journeyed by sea from Nicaragua to Peru.<sup>12</sup>

Finding himself once more in Lima, or perhaps in Callao, Father Cobo threw himself into the formidable task of writing his monumental *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*. For eleven years he concentrated upon it, finally completing the great book on July 7th, 1653. The lateness of the date has caused some modern writers to undervalue the *Historia* as a source, but, as I shall show presently, this is not a valid criterion in the present case. At the time of his death, in Lima, on October 9th, 1657, Father Cobo was indubitably one of the very greatest men who had ever trodden the soil of

<sup>8</sup> Hist. Nuev. Mun., Bk. II, Chs. x, xv, and xvi.

<sup>9</sup> Hist. Nuev. Mun., Bk. II, Ch. x; González, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> Hist. Nuev. Mun., Bk. VI, Ch. vii; Bk. VII, Ch. xxiii. González, who did not know the *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, gives 1630 as the date of Cobo's going to Mexico.

<sup>11</sup> Hist. Nuev. Mun., Bk. I, Ch. xv; Bk. III, Ch. xxxiii; Bk. XI, Ch. iii.

<sup>12</sup> Hist. Nuev. Mun., Bk. II, Ch. iv; Bk. VII, Ch. liv; Bk. VIII, Ch. i.

America; he was great as a churchman, as an historian, as a naturalist, and as a traveller. Hail to his memory!

Both of the extant writings of Cobo are very excellent pieces of work. His *Historia de la fundación de Lima* has already been mentioned several times. For students of the colonial period it is of great value, but it does not at the moment concern us.<sup>13</sup>

The great work, for us, is the *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*. The mere fact of his having travelled so widely would not alone have prepared Father Cobo for the writing of a book of the highest historical and scientific importance and of outstanding literary merit as well. The learned author himself knew this—none better. Indeed, so keenly alive was he to the importance of his task that he took pains to point out in his Prologue his reasons for believing himself to be able to perform it. His reasons are:

First, “. . . my natural inclination to know and to scrutinise the secrets of the lands in which I have dwelt, the more so that I have experienced the sundry climes to be found in the two hemispheres of this New World, for in the one and in the other have I resided many years. Consequently, I have had opportunity to inquire into and to contemplate in an unhasty manner the nature of these regions and of the rare fruits which they produce. . .”

Second, there was the fact that he arrived in the Indies within a century of their first settlement by Spaniards. “. . . For that reason I had occasion to know some of the first settlers, particularly in this kingdom of Peru, into which I came in the sixty-eighth year after its being conquered. And I knew almost all the sons of the conquerors of it and not a few of other provinces. Besides, I know a great many of the Indians who still remembered the time when the Spaniards entered the land. With them I have conversed a long time, and they were able to tell me much of what they had seen. . .”

Third, he, like all of his Order, or nearly all, was a man of scholarly habit well used to employ to the best advantage such knowledge as is set forth in books. He was well versed in the literature of his subject as it stood in his day.

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<sup>13</sup> In addition to the citations already given, I list here some other references that have value for those who wish to study Cobo's life. They are:

Alcedo, who mistakenly dates his death 1687.

Antonio, I, 187.

León Pinelo.

Backer, II, Col. 1254.

Torres Saldamando, 1885, pp. 98-108.

Mendiburu, II, p. 396.

Moses, pp. 307-312.

Fourth, there was the circumstance that he spent forty years in writing, or in preparing to write, his history, beginning it in 1612, while he was in Upper Peru, and writing of each region while he was present in it, in order that he might attain the highest possible degree of accuracy.

To these four considerations must be added the character of the man himself. He was obviously a scholar and a gentleman as well as a noble priest and a scientist whose powers of observation and of memory were almost phenomenal. Indefatigable, fired with a laudable curiosity, quite free from the superstitions and prejudices of his time, devoted to the quest of truth for truth's sake, he was all that the perfect historian, naturalist, and geographer should be. In addition to that, he had a delightful sense of humour which occasionally adds a charming human quality to his pages.

The only edition of the *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* is a modern one which may be cited thus :

1890— *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*.

1893 Edited by Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, for the *Sociedad de Bibliófilos Andaluces*.

Seville. Four volumes. Quarto.

This excellent edition is now somewhat rarely met with. My copy is number 177, issued originally to Sr. Don José Romero y Romero. A colophon at the end of the fourth volume states that printing was finished on October 20th, 1895, at the press of Enrique Rasco.

Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada was nearing the end of his life of scholarly labour when he prepared this great publication, and as a consequence of his poor health he found himself unable to give it the introductory material that he had hoped to provide. Nevertheless, it is a work which will always greatly redound to his honour, for its invaluable notes, and to that of the Society which brought it out, because of its general excellence as a book.

The original manuscript, holograph, is in the Muñoz collection in The Royal Academy of History in Madrid.

Although in general our author has received a fair degree of recognition from modern writers,<sup>14</sup> I think it but fair to examine

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<sup>14</sup> Among the writers of recent times who have cited Cobo may be mentioned José Antonio Cavanilles who, in his botanical writings, about 1799-1800, gave high praise to Cobo and named a plant in his honor. More recently still, Cobo has been cited by:



with some care the contents of the *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*. Here, then, is a brief résumé:

Book I contains seventeen chapters and occupies pages 13 to 105 of Volume I. In it the universe, the creation of the world, the climates, the elements, and the continents are treated in general terms, always with a notable lack of superstition and credulity, albeit, as is natural in a priest of that day, the biblical conception of the origin of life is closely adhered to.

Book II contains twenty-one chapters and occupies pages 107 to 226 of Volume I. In it are treated the chief geographical features of America as a whole, with especial reference to those of Peru. The chapters vii to xvi, inclusive, pp. 137-190, which deal particularly with the Andean region, give the best general account of the coastal, mountain, and forest zones that we possess, whether ancient or modern. Any description of the environmental facts of Peru must, to be valid, draw heavily upon this part of our author's book. Again, chapters xx and xxi, pp. 213-226, give a valuable account of the earthquakes of Peru.

Book III is made up of forty-five chapters which occupy pages 227 to 328 of Volume I. In this book are extensively treated such matters as minerals, mines, and metals. From the historian's point of view its interest is only incidental; but from the standpoint of a naturalist it is of the greatest value.

Book IV contains one hundred and eight chapters and occupies pages 329 to 438 of Volume I. It deals with American plants of value as food and as raw-materials for the use of mankind. Of especial interest are chapters iii (maize), pp. 340-346; iv (*chicha* or maize-beer), pp. 347-349; xiii (potatoes), pp. 360-362; and lvi (tobacco), pp. 402-405. But all of the other chapters are extremely valuable as well.

BANDELIER, ADOLPH F.:

1910 *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*. New York.

BEUCHAT, H.:

1912 *Manuel d'Archéologie Américaine*. Paris.

1918 *Manual de Arqueología Americana*. Translated by Domingo Vaca. Madrid.

ALEXANDER, HARTLEY BURR:

1920 *Latin American Mythology*. Volume XI of *The Mythology of all Races*. Boston.

JIJÓN Y CAAMAÑO, J.:

1919 *La Religión del Imperio de los Incas*. Quito.

JIJÓN Y CAAMAÑO, J.; and LARREA, CARLOS M.:

1918 *Un Cementerio Incásico en Quito y Notas acerca de los Incas en el Ecuador*. Quito.

LOCKE, L. LELAND:

1923 *The ancient Quipu or Peruvian Knot-record*. New York.

Book V has eighty-seven chapters which fill pages 439 to 521 of Volume I. They describe the nature and the uses of the shrubs of America, and, for the historian, possess an interest of a secondary nature.

Book VI contains one hundred and twenty-nine chapters and occupies pages 5 to 126 of Volume II. All the trees and fruits of America, with especial emphasis on those of Peru, are described, thus providing the student with rich materials wherewith to form a concept of the basis in nature of the ancient economic life of the Andeans.

Book VII has fifty-five chapters and takes up pages 127 to 192 of Volume II. In it are treated the fishes and marine animals of America.

Book VIII is made up of fifty-nine chapters, pages 193 to 240 of Volume II. It gives valuable information about the birds of the New World, particularly of those of Peru.

Book IX consists of seventy-one chapters, pages 241 to 340 of Volume II. The insects and animals of Peru and of other parts of America are here described with a wealth of detail.

Book X contains forty-five chapters, pages 341 to 456, and it tells what animals and plants have been introduced from Spain into America, and with what success. It is a book full of interest for the student of the colonial period as showing a part of the good side of the Spanish régime.

Book XI, containing twenty chapters and occupying pages 5 to 108 of Volume III, brings us at last to the subject of Man in America. The first nine chapters treat of the general aspect, character, and dress of the natives of the New World. Chapter x is entitled *En que se dividen en tres clases todas las naciones de indios*. It occupies pages 53 to 57 of Volume III. The gist of it is that, although all the natives of America were barbarians, still there were three distinct grades of barbarity among them. The lowest and most widespread grade includes those who have slight, if any, social polity and who wander about aimlessly living as best they can, usually in closely related or clan groups. The Chichimecs in Mexico and the dwellers in the forests of eastern Peru and of Brazil represent this grade. The second grade was made up of peoples like those of Chile and of Tucuman, who had a well established government by chiefs and lived in more or less extensive communities made up of numerous families. The third grade was made up of the great and highly organized monarchies such as those of Mexico, the Chibchas, and the Incas. Although Cobo fails to cite Acosta by name, it is very clear that this sociological classification of his was largely inspired by Book VI, Ch. xix, of the latter's *Historia Natural* which I cited above on page 294. It was a failing of our author, almost the only failing he had, to make use of other writers' labours without expressing due credit to them.

In Chapter xi, pp. 57-63, and in Chapter xii, pp. 63-67, the origin of the Indians is treated with singular sagacity. Cobo concludes that the Indians were all of one lineage and that they arrived in America before the deluge, being then in a rude state of culture. They came, so he says, from Asia by way of the northern route through Siberia and Alaska (to use modern proper names). In Chapters xiv to xx, inclusive, pp. 72 to 108, Cobo successfully refutes all other theories. In Chapter xvii, p. 89, he cites Acosta by name, with reference to the modernity of the mariner's compass and the consequent improbability of the settlement of America as a result of navigations thither in ancient times.

Book XII has thirty-seven chapters and fills pages 109 to 298 of Volume III. In it we have Cobo's invaluable treatise on Incaic history and polity. In Chapter i, pages 109 to 114, our author describes the state of Peru prior to the Incas. In so doing he clearly indicates that Tiahuanaco was the seat of an advanced civilization in pre-Incaic times, a civilization represented also by ruins elsewhere in Peru. It is true that he babbles a little about giants, but that is of no great moment to us.<sup>15</sup> He goes on to say that, just before the rise of the Incas, a general confusion prevailed out of which certain chiefs, in the Collao and elsewhere, were beginning to raise themselves.

In Chapter iii, pages 121-127, the myths relative to the advent of the Incas are set forth in detail. This is followed by Chapters iv to xvii, pages 127-191, in which Incaic history is carefully set forth. The important point for us here is that Cobo belongs very emphatically to the rationalistic school of which Garcilaso de la Vega and Cieza de León are shining examples. That is, he makes the growth of the Inca empire a gradual affair, not the work of one or two rulers. The rest of this book is taken up with an account of the polity of the Incaic state, an account of the greatest importance.

Book XIII contains thirty-eight chapters and occupies pages 299 to 346 of Volume III and pages 5 to 151 of Volume IV. In this book the ancient cults and religious institutions are fully treated.

I regret that now I must record a fact which does not redound to our author's credit. In Book XIII, Chapters xiii to xvi, inclusive, pp. 9-47 of Volume IV, he gives a very important account of the religious subdivisions radiating from Cuzco. The discredit for Cobo lies in the fact that it is lifted bodily, but without acknowledgment, from one of the writings of the Licentiate Polo de Ondegardo, *q. v.*, and also, in part, from the *Relación de las guacas* of Father Molina, of Cuzco, *q. v.*, equally without acknowl-

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<sup>15</sup> Allow me to call attention to the very valuable notes on archæological sites printed by Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada on pages 111 and 112 of this same chapter.

edgments. It is inexplicable to me how a man of Cobo's generally noble character could have failed so greatly in ordinary generosity as to omit all mention of the two authors to whom he owed his information.

Chapter xix, pp. 65-74, contains a most useful description of Tiahuanaco in which it is clearly shown to be of pre-Incaic age. Indeed, Cobo specifically says, p. 70, that the Incas used the edifices there, made many centuries before their time, as models for their own constructions at Cuzco.<sup>16</sup>

The remainder of Book XIII is taken up with such matters as feasts, sacrifices, rites, and witchcraft in pre-Hispanic Peru.

Book XIV, the last of the *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, has nineteen chapters and occupies pages 153 to 240 of Volume IV. It deals with the language, customs, military life, sciences, dress, architecture, handicrafts and so on of the Andeans before the Spanish conquest. In its own way it is one of the most valuable books in the *Historia*.

Such, very briefly stated, as is necessary here, is the significance and content of Cobo's great work. I have no hesitation in placing it at the very forefront of the great Chronicles of Peru, and I urge all students to use it constantly.

#### CÓRDOBA Y SALINAS, FRIAR DIEGO DE:

This writer, like his brother Friar Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba,<sup>1</sup> was a Limeñan aristocrat who won a good standing in the literary world of Lima in his day. He was a Franciscan, and a man who was appreciated by the Archbishop Villagómez. Unfortunately I have been able to find little definite information about Friar Diego's life. Probably he was born in the 1590s, and he may have died in the 1650s. There is no evidence that he travelled far from Lima, but there is much evidence in his writings that he had read widely in the books published before his time.

<sup>16</sup> "Lo cierto es que no hay memoria desto (of the age of Tiahuanaco) entre los indios, porque todos confiesan ser obra tan antigua, que no alcanza su noticia. En lo que conforman es en que muchos siglos antes que los Incas comenzasen á gobernar, estaban ya edificados; antes es fama entre los mismos indios, que los Incas hicieron las grandes fábricas del Cuzco y de las otras partes de su reino por la forma y modelo deste." (P. 70.)

<sup>1</sup> Riva-Agüero, *Historia en el Perú*, 1910, pp. 268-273, has made it quite clear that they were brothers in spite of the different arrangement of their names.

The earliest book of Córdoba y Salinas is of purely historical and ecclesiastical interest. It is his work on Friar Francisco Solano<sup>2</sup> whom the Franciscans were eager to see canonized.

For us, however, two later writings of Friar Diego are more important. They are:

1650 *Teatro de la/ Santa iglesia Me/ tropolitana delamuyno-/ ble Ciudad delos Reyes, llamada comun mente Lima,/ Emporio y corte real delos estendidos Reynos y Pro- uincias del Peru.*

Original manuscript, inedited, and signed by the author, is in the New York Public Library. It bears the date of Saturday, March 5th, 1650.

1651 *Coronica de la Religiosissima Provincia de los Doze Apostoles del Peru, de la Orden de N. P. San Francisco. . .*  
Lima, Jorge López de Herrera.

It might seem, at first glance, that the *Teatro* was intended to be included in the *Coronica*. But such was not the case. On the contrary it was written at the special behest of Archbishop Villagómez, who destined it to insertion in an ecclesiastical history of the Indies that was being compiled under the patronage of Philip IV. In obedience to a royal order related thereto, the Archbishop instructed our author to prepare the *Teatro* for that purpose.<sup>3</sup>

For us, in the present connection, the most important chapter of the *Teatro* is Chapter xiiiij, entitled *Descripcion del Arcobispado de los Reyes y en general de las tierras del Peru*, folios 76 verso to 82 verso. It speaks of the Incaic roads somewhat interestingly, citing Garcilaso and Zárate. He also quotes at some length a writer whom he calls Juan Botero Benes, who gives a brief account of the royal highways of the Incas, comparing them favourably to the public works of the Egyptians and of the Romans.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *La vida y milagros del Apóstol del Perú . . . Fr. Francisco Solano.* Lima. 1630.

Reissued, with additions by Friar Alonso de Mendieta, at Madrid, by the Imprenta Real, in 1643 and again in 1676.

I have never succeeded in seeing any of these editions. I know of them only through Riva-Agüero, *op. cit.*, and Palau y Dulcet, II, p. 295.

<sup>3</sup> See Riva-Agüero, 1910, p. 269.

<sup>4</sup> This Juan Botero Benes is no other than the Italian Giovanni Botero whose well known book has never, so far as I know, ever been cited by modern writers on Peru. Editions of it exist as follows:

In this same chapter, folios 79 v. to 81 r., is a fairly interesting description of the ancient temples of Peru. This is followed, folios 81 r. to 82 r., by an account of Pachacamac. Córdoba draws upon Acosta, Betáncos, Gregorio García, Garcilaso and others in a way to show that, if not at all an original investigator, he was at any rate well versed in the literature of the day.

Of the *Coronica* I cannot speak from personal observation for up to the present (April, 1928) I have never seen it. Riva-Agüero tells us that it is heavy and stilted in style and much inferior to the *Coronica* of Calancha.<sup>5</sup> To judge from the citations of Medina and of Leclerc, who give the ponderous title of the work at great length, one of the subjects treated in the book is: *La riqueza, poder, culto, y política de los Reyes Ingas*.<sup>6</sup>

To sum up I may say that Friar Diego is one of those obscure seventeenth century churchmen who, browsing in the no doubt disorderly libraries of their convents, occasionally managed to bring out a book not altogether lacking in value and interest. As chroniclers such are, naturally, far below the field workers, the Ciezas, Garcilasos, Cabellos, Cobos, Acostas, and Calanchas of this field of bibliography.

1592-1593 *La Prima e Seconda Parte delle Relationi universali*. . . Rome. Two volumes.

This is the first edition. I have never seen it. Palau y Dulcet cites it, however, I, p. 257.

1594-1595 *La Prima Parte (and La Seconda Parte) delle/ Relationi/ universali*. . . Bergamo, Comin Ventura. Two volumes.

This edition exists in the John Carter Brown Library. Other Italian editions appeared at Venice in 1597 and 1600 and at Turin in 1607.

1599-1600 *Relaciones Vniversales/ Del mundo*. . . Translated into Spanish by Licenciado Diego de Aguiar. Valladolid, Diego Fernández de Córdoba y Oviedo.

The foregoing citations are based upon Palau. Maggs, Pt. III, p. 38, gives a résumé of the contents of Botero's work. It has never been my good luck to see it, but from the description in the Maggs catalogue I gather that the book contains a great deal of material on America, and particularly on Peru.

This same writer is cited by Garcilaso, Pt. L, Bk. IX, Ch. xiii, where Córdoba may have culled the data.

<sup>5</sup> Riva-Agüero, 1910, p. 270.

<sup>6</sup> Medina, *Imprenta en Lima*, II, pp. 269 and 327, III, pp. 8-12.

Leclerc, p. 660. (He sold his copy in 1878 for 1,000 frs. or about \$200. The *Coronica* would fetch much more than that now.)

## ESTETE, MIGUEL DE:

Miguel de Estete was born about 1510 at Santo Domingo de la Calzada, a small town some twelve miles west of Nájera in Old Castile. Nothing appears to be known of his parents and of his early years.

The date of his going to America is not known, but it is certain that he went to Peru with Pizarro and that on November 16th, 1532, he was one of the Spaniards who attacked the Inca Atahualpa as he was being borne through the plaza of Cajamarca in his litter. On that occasion Estete won a certain sort of distinction by snatching the *borla* or fillet of sovereignty from the usurping brow of the ill-fated monarch. On June 18th, 1533, our author was rewarded for his part in the Conquest by the receiving of a share of the ransom of the Emperor whom, literally, he had de-crowned. His reward was substantial, a comfortable fortune in those days, consisting of 362 marks of silver and 8,980 pesos of gold.

Estete seems to have found some difficulty in settling down in the newly conquered kingdom of Peru. In 1535 he lived for a time in the city of Cuzco; but in June, 1537, he was a *vecino* or citizen of the City of the Kings (Lima).<sup>1</sup> In 1539, when Don Alonso de Alvarado founded the city of Huamanga at the site now called Huamanguilla, Estete was one of the original citizens of the new settlement. In the next year it was moved to the present site where, under the name of Ayacucho, Huamanga still flourishes. There, our author gained distinction by endowing, out of his considerable wealth, one of the six private chaplaincies attached to the church of Huamanga.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He so describes himself in a document dated June 13, 1537, which exists in the Archives of the Indies at Seville. The document is an account of the merits and services at the time of the Conquest of Don Francisco de Ampüero and of his wife, Doña Inés, daughter of the Emperor Huayna Capac and half-sister to Atahualpa. As so often happens, there is some confusion as to the name of Ampüero, for Garcilaso de la Vega, *q. v.*, calls him Martín de Ampüero and calls his wife Doña Inez Huayllas Nusta, adding that she was one of the Indian mistresses of Pizarro and mother to his daughter Francisca Pizarro who later married her uncle, Hernando. (Royal Commentaries, Bk. IX, Ch. xxxviii.) Cieza, however, calls him Francisco de Ampüero. (War of Quito, 1923, pp. 89-90.)

<sup>2</sup> This is made clear by the *Relación* of the City of San Juan de la Frontera de Guamanga, dated December, 1586, which is printed by Don

He was still living at Huamanga in 1557, for in that year the Inca Sayri Tupac passed through his city and Estete then thought to give him pleasure by presenting to him the *borla* or fillet which he had snatched from Atahualpa twenty-five years before, but as Sayri Tupac belonged to the elder and legitimate branch of the imperial family it may be doubted whether he took much interest in the fillet of the bastard and usurper who had so greatly wronged his closest kin.<sup>3</sup>

We know nothing of the last years of Estete, nor the date of his death.<sup>4</sup>

The writings of Don Miguel de Estete are of some value because he was an early eye-witness of events and conditions in Peru. He travelled widely in the more northern part of that country, with Cuzco as his southernmost point, and he participated in some of the leading events of the Conquest. In 1534 and 1535 he made a brief visit to Spain, perhaps to supervise the printing of his Report on the expedition to Pachacamac, which was inserted into the book of Xerez, *q. v.*, and was printed in Seville in 1534.

The writings of Estete are two, and perhaps three, in number, as follows:

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Marcos Jiménez de la Espada in *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*, I, pp. 105-138, Madrid, 1881. See especially, par. 35, p. 130, and notes by Jiménez therefrom dependent.

<sup>3</sup> The journey of the young Inca Sayri Tupac from Vilcapampa to Lima was one of the most picturesque events of the early colonial period. The journey was made by the wish of the Viceroy Don Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, who was anxious to see the rightful Emperor of Peru residing mildly and harmlessly in Cuzco under the aegis of Spanish overlordship. In all this Don Juan de Betáncos, *q. v.*, took an active and an important part, albeit his wife belonged to the bastard branch of the imperial family. For very interesting data on all this, see:

BINGHAM, HIRAM:

1912 *Vitcos, the last Inca Capital*. Worcester, Mass. American Antiquarian Society. Pp. 18-23.

<sup>4</sup> Data for the life of Don Miguel de Estete are to be found in:

Mendiburu, I, pp. 377-378.

Jiménez de la Espada, in his Letter to the Count of Toreno, 1879, p. ix, and in the *Relaciones geográficas* already cited.

Markham, in edition of 1872, cited below.

CAPPA, FATHER RICARDO:

1889-1897 *Estudios críticos acerca de la dominación española en América*. Madrid, 20 vols. III, pp. 322-329.

Larrea, in edition of 1919, cited below.



- 1534 *La relaciō del viage que hizo el señor capitan Hernando pizarro por madado del señor gouernador su hermano desde el pueblo de Caxamalca a Parcamay de alli a Xauxa.*

As explained above, this document is inserted into the midst of Xerez's narrative and is found in the edition of that writer which was made by Bartholomé Perez, at Seville, in July, 1534.

- 1534b *La conquista del Peru.*  
Seville, Bartholomé Perez. Folio.

It is my present opinion, subject to revision on the presentation of valid contrary evidence, that this very quaint document is by Don Miguel de Estete. Reference to this item is made by:

MERRIMAN, ROGER BIGELOW:

- 1918- *The Rise of the Spanish Empire.*  
1925 New York. Three volumes.  
III, pp. 614-615.

Don Enrique de Vedia, in his notes to the 1853 edition of Xerez, *q. v.*, ascribes this work to Xerez. He thinks that it was an initial publication of Xerez's work. It bears the date of April, 1534, only three months prior to the issuance, by the same printer, of Xerez's book as we know it, which includes also, as already explained, Estete's *Relacion*. I think, however, that *La Conquista del Peru* is the original form of Estete's report and that, for some unknown reason, only an abbreviated version of it was included with Xerez's definitive publication. My reasons for thinking so are: First, its style is much like that of Estete in his known writings. Second, there is no reason why, if it be by Xerez, there should have been two such different editions so close together in time, this earlier one being barely twelve folios in length, and that of Xerez's definitive work being some four times as long.

The only copy known to me of this possible writing of Estete is that in the New York Public Library. But Don Enrique de Vedia states that a copy of it was owned by the Rt. Hon. Thomas Grenville and that he willed it to the British Museum. I have been unable to find any mention of it in that institution's catalogue, however.

- 1535(?) *Noticia del Peru.*

A paper drawn up for the inspection of the Royal Council of the Indies. It was later given to Don Alonso de Santa Cruz who, by a Royal order given at Valladolid on July 7th, 1536, was named Cosmographer Royal. On the death of Santa Cruz in 1572, this and a vast number of other papers passed into the *patronato* section of the Archives of the Indies, where it now is.

Modern editions of Estete exist as follows:

1872 *The Narrative of the journey made by . . . Hernando Pizarro . . . from the city of Caxamalca to Parcama, and then to Xauxa.*

Edited by Clements R. Markham.

Hakluyt Society.

London.

The *Narrative* is inserted into Markham's edition of Xerez, *q. v.*, in exactly the same manner as we find it in the 1534 edition of Xerez.

1919 *El Descubrimiento y Conquista del Peru.*

Edited by Don Carlos M. Larrea.

Quito.

This is a splendid edition, in transcript and in facsimile, with important introductory material and terminal notes, of the 1535 Ms. cited above.

No modern edition is known to me of the 1534, b, writing which I have ascribed above to Estete.

The writings of Estete are entirely devoid of historical importance so far as the pre-Hispanic period in Peru is concerned. The student of Incaic institutions and civilization will, nevertheless, find their incidental worth considerable, for they contain accounts of the country and of the polity and material culture of its people in the very moment of the Conquest as observed and written down by an intelligent man. In the matter of his description of Pachacamac, which he calls Parcama, and also Pachalcami (in the 1534 edition), Estete ranks with Calancha and Cobo. The *Noticia* is especially rich in data on the political and social state of Peru in the days of the Atahualpa.

Estete, then, was a very early writer whose descriptive value is considerable.

#### FERNÁNDEZ, DIEGO:

This writer is far more important for the period of the Conquest than he is for the pre-Hispanic period of Peruvian history. Nevertheless, for reasons which I shall set forth presently, I feel justified in including him here.

Diego Fernández, often styled *el Palentino*, was born at Palencia about 1510. Nothing appears to be known of his parentage, early years and education. He went to Peru about 1540 and served actively in the Civil Wars that befell there in the middle decades of the XVIth century. His *Historia del Perú* is of the first importance for students of the Conquest but it is of trivial interest only for us. I cite it here only because Atienza, *q. v.*, refers his readers to it for the names of the Incas, and because the quarrel between Fernández and Santillán, *q. v.*, gives our author a certain small niche in the hall of the chroniclers of ancient Peru.

Editions of Fernández exist as follows:

1571 *Primera, y segvn/ da Parte, de la Historia/ del Peru, . . .*  
Seville. Hernando Diaz. Folio.

This edition is somewhat seldom met with, owing to the fact that the Royal Council of the Indies forbade its circulation among the general public (Palau, III, p. 197). I have used the copies existing in the New York Public Library and in the John Carter Brown Library.

1913- *Primera parte de la Historia del Peru.*  
1914 Edited by Captain Don Lucás de Torre.  
Madrid. Two volumes.

The book had a high official standing, as is made clear by the fact that it was written at the behest of Don Francisco de Tello y Sandóval, of the Council of the Indies, and by the fact that it was dedicated to Philip II. In view of this character of officialdom which surrounded it, it is interesting to note that it belongs to the Toledan school, so far as its account of pre-Hispanic times in Peru is concerned.

Fernández, in Part II, Book III, Chs. iv and v, folios 123-127 of the 1571 edition, gives his version of Incaic history. He says nothing of the pre-Incaic period, and he makes all the Incas down to and including Viracocha, the eighth Inca, mere sluggard kings who did little or no conquering. According to him, "Pachacoti" and "Topa Inga Yupangue" did all of the empire-building.

In Part II, Book III, Chs. vi-xi, folios 127-130, our author gives some exceedingly brief and superficial accounts of Incaic institutions.

The importance of the foregoing is this: Fernández, like Casas, *q. v.*, gives a Toledan account of Incaic history. Yet we may be

sure that he left Peru before Don Francisco de Toledo became a dominant figure there. Indeed, the *Historia* of Fernández, although not published until 1571, was written before 1558 or 1559, that being the date of Santillán's furious attack upon it.<sup>1</sup> It becomes evident, then, that Toledo was by no means the founder of the Toledan school of historical writing, for not only Casas and Fernández, but also Atienza, *q. v.*, give his version of events, or something very like it, without any inspiration visibly derived from him.

Nothing is known of the last years of Fernández, nor of the date of his death.<sup>2</sup>

#### GARCÍA, FRIAR GREGORIO:

Very little is known of this writer's life. He was born at Cozar in the kingdom of Toledo, probably about 1575. Nothing appears to be known of his parentage, up-bringing and early years. He joined the Order of Saint Dominic and spent twelve years, probably 1592 to 1604, in the missions of that Order in America. I do not know whether he ever visited Peru. The date of his return to Spain must have been not later than 1604, because we know that he wrote his *Origen de los Indios* in the convent of his Order at Baeza after his return and we know also that the various preliminary documents that accompany his first edition are dated in 1605 and 1606.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See the materials provided by Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada in his introduction to Cieza's *Guerra de Quito*, and by Captain Torre in his introduction to Fernández.

<sup>2</sup> See:

Antonio, I, p. 283.

León-Pinelo.

Alcedo.

Dorsey, 1898, p. 107.

<sup>1</sup> Let me cite especially the *Aprobación* of Father Alonso de Aguilera, Prior of the Convent of Santo Domingo at Osuna, who describes our author as a *morador en el Convento de Santo Domingo de Baeza*—an inmate of the Convent of Saint Dominic at Baeza. This document is dated on the last day of January, 1605, and would seem to imply that Friar Gregory had been in residence at Baeza during some time.

The last years of Father García appear to have been passed quietly at Baeza, where he died in 1627.<sup>2</sup>

Father García is notable for his bibliographic erudition. No doubt his travels helped him greatly in the forming of his opinions, which were further clarified and ordered by his wide reading. Among the books which, in his first edition, he cites are those of Casas, Garcilaso, Betáncos, and Cieza. Don Andrés González de Barcía, in the preparation of the second edition, that of 1729, cited below, used at least three times as many authors as did Father García himself. Still, the fact remains that our author was a man of great erudition.

The *Origen* is a work in which the then current theories of the source of the American race are studiously examined. The conclusion reached by the author is that numerous Old World peoples, both of Europe and of Asia, contributed to the settlement of America at different times and by different routes.<sup>3</sup> This is followed, in Book V, Chs. vii and viii, by the two excellent chapters in which Father García collects and compares the myths of the Peruvian Indians respecting their own origins. These two chapters are useful to all who seek to study Andean mythology.

Editions of García exist as follows:

1607 *Origen de/ los Indios de el/ Nvevo Mvndo, e Indias/ Occidentales./*

Valencia, Pedro Patricio Mey. Octavo.

This first edition is very rare. It is of interest because it represents the book as Father García wrote it. I have consulted the

<sup>2</sup> Authorities for the life of Father García include:

Antonio, I, p. 544.

León Pinelo.

Alcedo.

SOLÓRZANO Y PEREIRA, JUAN DE:

1629-1639 *De Indiarum Iure*. . . Madrid. 3 volumes. Folio.

Volumes I and II are in Latin; Volume III is translated into Spanish in condensed form by Don Gabriel Solórzano Paniagua y Trexo, a kinsman, no doubt, of the author, and it contains much the same material as the first two volumes, but in very succinct language. García is referred to in Vol. I, p. 58.

Mendiburu, IV, pp. 16-17.

Leclerc, p. 61.

Maggs, Pt. I, p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> Book IV. Ch. xxv, of the 1729 edition.

copies owned by the Harvard College Library and by the John Carter Brown Library.

1729 *Origen/ de los Indios/ de el Nuevo Mundo,/ e Indias Occidentales./*

Madrid, Francisco Martínez Abad. Folio.

This edition is due to the scholarly diligence of Don Andrés González de Barcía Carballida y Zúñiga who has greatly augmented the original number of the bibliographical citations. This edition is, consequently, the more sought after of the two.

#### GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, EL INCA:

On both sides the ancestry of this supreme chronicler of Peru was highly distinguished. This fact is biologically important, and it is in no way limited by the trifling circumstance of illegitimacy.

His father was Captain Don Sebastián García Lasso de la Vega, third legitimate son of Don Alonso Henestrosa de Vargas, Lord of Valdesevilla and of Sierrabrava. Don Alonso was descended from that romantic knight, Don García Pérez de Vargas, who so valiantly aided the King Saint Ferdinand in the reconquest of Andalucía. Don Sebastián García Lasso de la Vega, being a younger son, took a name derived from his ancestry on the side of his mother, who was Doña Blanca de Sotomayor y Suárez de Figueroa, whose ancestry was fully as illustrious as that of her husband.<sup>1</sup>

The mother of our author was the Princess (*Ñusta*) Doña Isabel Chimpu Ocllo, a niece of the Emperor Huayna Capac and a granddaughter of the Emperor Tupac Yupanqui. She was a respected concubine of Captain García Lasso de la Vega, who had come to Peru in 1534 with Don Pedro de Alvarado and who had won fame and wealth there because of his deeds at Puerto Viejo

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<sup>1</sup> Those interested in tracing the ancestry and quarterings of Captain García Lasso de la Vega will find ample materials and references in:

RIVA-AGÜERO Y OSMA, JOSÉ DE LA:

1908 *Exámen de la Primera Parte de los Comentarios Reales de Garcilaso Inca de la Vega.* Lima.

1910 *Historia en el Perú*, pp. 32-216.

*Elogio*, in 1918-1920 edition of Garcilaso, cited below.

See also Markham's Introduction to the Hakluyt Society's edition, edited by him.

and at Cuzco. Her son, our author, the great chronicler, was born at Cuzco on April 12th, 1539.<sup>2</sup>

Captain García Lasso de la Vega was a man of substance in the Cuzco of those days. He had a balconied house in Cuzco, on one of the chief squares, a situation very excellent for the reason that the balcony afforded an admirable view of the bullfights occasionally held in the square.<sup>3</sup> He was also fortunate enough to possess, as a reward of his labours in the Conquest of Peru, a number of very lucrative estates. These were: A *repartimiento* (estate with Indians) at Muyna, five leagues south of Cuzco; a *repartimiento* at Cotanera in the province of Cotabambas; another at a place in the Quechua country, called Huamanpalpa; another at Tapac-ri, south of Cuzco; and finally, a coca-plantation at Havisca, east of Cuzco, in the low-country.<sup>4</sup>

The Captain and the Princess Isabel Chimpu Ocllo lived on a splendid scale, generous, not to say prodigal, in the matter of hospitality. It is said that, in the days of their good fortune, it was a daily custom of theirs to receive over one hundred guests at their table and to provide huge numbers of friends with mounts from their capacious stables.<sup>5</sup> It is of interest to note that the guests of the house represented all that was most distinguished in the hybridized Cuzco of that day. Thither came the bluest-blooded and the most intelligent of the conquerors and also, apparently on the same terms, the various Incas who were related to the Princess and who, like her, had escaped the persecution of the usurper Atahualpa.

Nor was the son of the Captain and of the Princess Chimpu Ocllo in want of more youthful companionship. As a lad he seems to have had a singularly jovial time of it, for he tells us of running and jumping contests between himself and Don Francisco de Pizarro, a son of the Marquis by a daughter of Atahualpa. He also mentions such sports as hawking with his schoolfellows,

<sup>2</sup> Commentaries, Pt. II, Bk. III, Ch. xix; Bk. IV, Ch. xlii.

<sup>3</sup> Commentaries, Pt. I, Bk. VII, Ch. xi.

<sup>4</sup> Commentaries, Pt. I, Bk. II, Ch. xxvi; Bk. II, Chs. xii and xiv; Bk. IV, Ch. xvi.

<sup>5</sup> The Marquis of Montealegre de Aulestia mentions, in this connection, a letter of the Viceroy Marquis of Cañete in which the opulent hospitality and mode of life of the Captain is described. (See Riva-Agüero y Osma, *Elogio*, p. ix, in vol. I of the 1918 edition cited below.)

and playing in the already much ruined fortress of Sacsahuamán where he and his mates explored the labyrinthine underground passages with the aid of a skein of wool which they unwound as they went along; also pilfering luscious grapes which his father had entrusted to him, and which were to have been distributed, in the name of the grower, his friend Don Bartolomé de Terrazas, among the chief gentlemen of Cuzco.<sup>6</sup> To these boyish pleasures was added, on occasion, a touch of satire. Atahualpa was generally detested by the Incas of Cuzco, and more especially by the kindred and friends of the Princess Chimpu Ocllo, because of his cruel and abominable conduct toward them. It so happened that, when cocks and hens were introduced into Cuzco from Spain, the voice of the rooster, made more than usually unmelodious by the thin airs of the highlands, seemed to the lads of the city to resemble the name of their hated foe. Accordingly they initiated the custom of answering every cock-crow that they heard by singing the loathed name of Atahualpa in such a way as to imitate the rooster's call. Our author tells us that he, and his school-fellows, sons of the conquerors by Indian women, "sang the word through the streets, in company with the little Indian boys."<sup>7</sup>

In general, then, the years of our author's youth were happy and normal. His schooling was somewhat haphazard, however, as teachers were both rare and of unstable character in those days. Finally, however, a good Canon of the Cathedral of Cuzco, the Licentiate Don Juan de Cuellar, undertook the education of a group of mestizo lads, sons of noble and wealthy citizens of Cuzco. He read Latin with them for two years amidst the tumultuous events of the time, and he was so well pleased with his pupils that he greatly lamented the fact that he could not send a dozen of them to study in the University of Salamanca. Nevertheless, the good Canon did not perfect his scholars in Latin, because the performance of his duty at the Cathedral necessarily occupied the greater part of his time. This imperfection of his classical instruction caused our author to rejoice greatly that the Jesuits, with their wonderful educational ability, had entered Peru.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Commentaries, Pt. I, Bk. VII, Ch. xxxviii; Bk. IX, Chs. xxv, xxxvii and xxxviii.

<sup>7</sup> Commentaries, Bk. IX, Ch. xxiii.

<sup>8</sup> Commentaries, Pt. I, Bk. I, Ch. xxviii.



The even tenor of the young Inca's boyhood was interrupted several times by vicissitudes of divers kinds. The Captain became badly involved in the uprising of Don Gonzalo de Pizarro, with the result that, for three years, he was deprived of the income from his estates, during which time the Princess and our author had to live on the kindness of friends.<sup>9</sup> This trick of fate was as nothing, however, in comparison with the misfortune of the Captain's marriage to a wealthy Spanish lady of quality, a misfortune, that is to say, for the Princess and her children. The young Inca remained with his father, but the concubine and her other children had to be put away in order to make room, in the house where they had so long lived, for the new mistress of the hearth. Of his step-mother the Inca never speaks kindly, indulging, indeed, in occasional jibes not of the best taste at her expense.<sup>10</sup>

The date of Captain García Lasso's marriage is not easy to fix. It must have been about 1552 or early in 1553 because, on the night when the rebellion of Francisco Hernández Girón burst out, Sunday, November 12, 1553, the marriage was already a fact. That evening was made memorable to Cuzco society by the marriage of Don Alonso de Loaysa, nephew of the Archbishop of Lima and of the Cardinal of Seville, to Doña María de Castilla, of distinguished Spanish family. While the festivities were at their height, Hernández Girón entered the banqueting chamber with a naked sword and made directly for the Corregidor of Cuzco, Don Gil Ramírez Dávalos. The jollification was turned into a scene of confusion and rapine, which was ever after remembered by all present.<sup>11</sup>

Final, and truly epochal, calamity for our author was the death of his father in 1559, from natural, not from the then more customary violent, causes. Soon thereafter the young Inca came into touch with the Licentiate Don Juan Polo de Ondegardo, *q. v.*, at that time Corregidor of Cuzco. This diligent and worthy investigator and official had lately discovered the mummified bodies of the Incas Viracocha, Tupac Yupanqui and Huayna Capac, to-

<sup>9</sup> Commentaries, Pt. II, Bk. IV, Ch. xx.

<sup>10</sup> The most interesting one is at the end of Ch. i, of Pt. II, Bk. II, of the Commentaries. It is subtle—read with care.

<sup>11</sup> Commentaries, Pt. II, Bk. VII, Chs. ii and iii.

Fernández de Palencia, Pt. II, Ch. xxiv.

Montesinos, *Anales*, 1553.

gether with those of Mama Runtu, queen of Viracocha, and Mama Ocllo, mother of Huayna Capac and wife of Tupac Yupanqui. These mummies were shown to the lad by Polo<sup>12</sup> and they seem to have made a profound impression upon him.

The state in which the young Inca found himself after his father's death was not enviable. His mother, whom he tenderly loved, had been set aside. Her own people were ruined and impoverished, first by the persecution of Atahualpa, later by the circumstances of the Conquest. True, the Inca was possessed of the coca-farm of Havisca which his father had settled upon him,<sup>13</sup> but the income from that was not sufficient for his needs. He resolved, therefore, to go to Spain in order to obtain there reward for his father's services and compensation to his mother for the loss of her own family's property. His hopes of accomplishing these purposes were based upon the knowledge that he had near kinsmen of great influence in Spain.

He left Cuzco, where his mother and many friends were still living, on January 20, 1560. He made a visit to the estate of Don Pedro López de Casalla, a citizen of Cuzco, at Marca-hausi nine leagues north of Cuzco, arriving there on the 21st of January. Passing by Huarco, renamed Cañete in honour of the Viceroy Marquis of Cañete, he reached Lima. Thence he went to the Isthmus and thence again to Spain, by way of Cartagena, arriving there early in 1561.<sup>14</sup> From Seville where, presumably, he landed, he made his way to Montilla near Córdoba, the seat of his kinsmen, on his father's side. Chief among them were Captain Don Alonso de Vargas, elder brother of Captain García Lasso de la Vega; and Don Alonso Fernández de Córdoba y Suárez de Figueroa, Marquis-consort of Priego and Lord of Aguilar de la Frontera. These two men were of great weight in the Spain of that day, Vargas because he had fought in the armies of Charles V with great honour during thirty-eight years, and Priego because of his distinguished military career in Flanders and because of his wealth and rank.<sup>15</sup>

To the credit of these two soldiers and gentlemen let it be said that they accorded to their young relative from across the seas

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<sup>12</sup> Commentaries, Pt. I, Bk. III, Ch. xx; Bk. V, Ch. xxix.

<sup>13</sup> Commentaries, Pt. I, Bk. IV, Ch. xvi.

<sup>14</sup> Commentaries, Pt. I, Bk. IX, Chs. xxvi and xxix; Bk. I, Ch. xiii.

<sup>15</sup> See Riva-Agüero, in the *Elogio* already cited, p. xxi.

every kindness, aid, and hospitality. The young man spent some months at Montilla with his kind kinsmen, departing for Madrid at the end of 1561.<sup>16</sup>

At the capital he had the advantage of meeting and knowing various prominent *Indianos* and *Peruleros*, as men returned from the Indies and from Peru were then called. Chief among them, from a bibliographical standpoint, was the Bishop of Chiapas, Friar Bartolomé de las Casas, *q. v.*, with whom he had some contact at Court.

The Inca now set about presenting his petitions to the Crown, through the Council of the Indies. His demands included reward for his father's services and a restitution of lands to his mother. Everything was going well, if very slowly, with the matter when, by ill chance, a cantankerous lawyer, the Licentiate Lope García de Castro, found a passage in the work of Diego Fernández de Palencia, *q. v.*, in which the Captain García Lasso de la Vega was shown to have been a partisan of the rebel Don Gonzalo de Pizarro.<sup>17</sup> The Inca made every effort to show that this charge was false, that his father had been a prisoner, not a partisan, of Gonzalo, and that his loyalty to the Crown had never wavered.<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately for the petitioner, Philip II was at the moment very hard up—possibly the bills for the building of the Escorial were worrying him—and in the charges made by García de Castro he found plausible excuses for refusing every request made to him by the Inca.<sup>19</sup>

Perforce, to gain his living, the Inca took up a military career, as a gentleman-soldier under the command of his kinsman and friend the Marquis-consort of Priego. He served from 1564 to 1574, now in Spain, now in Italy; sometimes he was under the

<sup>16</sup> Commentaries, Pt. II, Bk. IV, Ch. xxiii.

I do not understand why Sir Clements Markham thought that our author was ill received by his great Spanish kinsmen. (*Incas of Peru*, Ch. xvii.) It would not have been surprising if they *had* received him coldly, but it redounds to their credit that, necessitous though he was, and illegitimate, they received him kindly and treated him well.

<sup>17</sup> The work of Fernández was not published until 1571, but the contents of the Ms. must have been accessible to properly qualified persons, such as García de Castro and Santillán, *q. v.*, from 1559 onwards.

<sup>18</sup> A large part of the Second Part of the Commentaries is given up to the refutation of García de Castro's and Fernández's slurs upon the loyalty of Captain García Lasso.

<sup>19</sup> Commentaries, Pt. II, Bk. V, Ch. xxiii.

command of his uncle, Priego, sometimes under that of the Prince Don Juan of Austria. They both thought highly of him, and his career as a soldier was very creditable, for he was promoted to be Captain in 1568, and he later received two commendations from Philip II and two from Don Juan.<sup>20</sup>

Between 1574 and 1590 the Inca went through a period of considerable growth and change. He perfected his education, studying in Seville under the Maestro Pedro Sánchez de Herrera, reading every serious and informative book that he could find, and especially devoting himself to belles-lettres, philosophy, and history.<sup>21</sup> At this period also he undertook and successfully carried through a truly overwhelming task, overwhelming, that is, considering the conditions of travel and transportation in those days. He obtained from the Pope permission to disinter the body of his father, and to bring it to Spain for burial in the church of San Isidro at Seville.<sup>22</sup> At this same period, again, he passed through a pietistic phase serious enough to lead to his taking the minor orders of priesthood.

In this period he was, in reality, if half unconsciously, preparing himself for a literary career that was destined to glorify his last years and to make his name immortal—so far as aught that is human can be so. Wherever he might be—at Seville, at Granada or at Montilla with his kinsmen, Vargas and Priego—he gave himself to study and to thought on serious subjects. The outcome of it all was his serious entry into the realm of letters.

The first book that came from his pen was called *Los tres Diálogos de Amor*. It was a translation of a work by Leon Abarbanel, a Jew, who had written it in Italian about 1540.<sup>23</sup> As it is

<sup>20</sup> These data are derived from Riva-Agüero, *Elogio*, p. xxiii, where he cites various contemporary documents.

<sup>21</sup> Commentaries, Pt. I, Bk. IX, Ch. xxxi; Pt. II, Bk. I, Chs. ii-iv, incl. La Florida, Pt. I, Bk. II, Ch. xx; Bk. III, Ch. x.

<sup>22</sup> Commentaries, Pt. II, Bk. VIII, Ch. xii.

<sup>23</sup> The first edition is called *Dialogi di Amore* and it was brought out at Venice in 1541 by the house of Aldus. The John Carter Brown Library has a copy of it. The first edition in Spanish was a translation by Juan Guedalla and was brought out in Venice in 1568. It is a wonder that the detractors of Garcilaso, of whom more anon, have not tried to prove that the Inca used this earlier translation as a "trot." As a matter of fact, our author was well able to do his own translating from the Italian because, during his sojourn in Italy, he had thoroughly mastered the language and the literature of that peninsula.

entirely of literary, not at all of historical, interest I shall not discuss it further here.

With the year 1590 Garcilaso definitely entered upon old age and the era of scholastic tranquillity in which his best work was accomplished. In that year he had already lost his two kinsmen and protectors, Don Alonso de Vargas and the Marquis of Priego; in that year, too, he moved from Montilla to Córdoba, where he established himself in the "poor rented house" where his last years were spent.

Somehow or other the impression has become general that the Inca's old age was passed amid extremely modest, not to say squalid, surroundings. As a matter of fact, however, he was very well off, and most comfortable in his old age. I spent some time in searching for his house at Córdoba in May, 1927, and I came to the conclusion that it was quite possible that he had inhabited a certain small but very charming house in one of the lesser squares of the town. The building in question is popularly known as *la casa del Indio*, and if it was not in reality his residence, it might well have been. The front is of a rich tawny colour and is embellished by graceful windows encased in white marble or some other white material. Within is a delightful irregular courtyard, reached by a wide doorway and arched passage. The *patios* of Córdoba are exquisite in their flowery snugness enriched by beautiful decorations, and this one, before it fell to its present commercial uses, must have been of a charm uncommon even in that city.

So much, of course, is mere guess-work; but it is a certainty that the Inca lived well. He had a number of servants, and also a slave named Marina de Córdoba to whom he gave liberty in his will; he had also a decent amount of silver plate and a very complete equipment of household goods of excellent quality; finally, he had *escrituras de censo*, apparently something in the nature of securities or annuities, amounting in value to three or four thousand ducats, no mean sum in those days. Of these *escrituras* the chief one, for two thousand eight hundred ducats, had been arranged in the Inca's behalf by his uncle, the kind Marquis of Priego, who had so steadfastly befriended him.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> We learn of these matters from the Will, the Codicils, and the Inventory which were published by Don Manuel González de la Rosa in the *Revista Histórica*, III, pp. 261-295, Lima, 1908. The documents were found in the Archivo de Protocolos of the Cabildo in Córdoba by Don Ricardo

In comfortable and serene surroundings, then, the Inca began his period of literary activity. His first historical work was begun about 1590 and work upon it continued during a number of years. It was a history of the expedition of Soto to Florida.<sup>25</sup> Although its value as a source for the early history of Florida has been called in question,<sup>26</sup> its merit as literature has always been recognized by competent judges, in spite of the stupid sneers of Ticknor, that mid-Victorian Bostonian who was spiritually incapable of comprehending a man of the Inca's calibre.<sup>27</sup>

For us, however, the most interesting work of the Inca is his *Comentarios Reales*. His fame was first made general by the *Diálogos de Amor*, and its proportions were sufficient to encourage him to proceed with his two historical works in spite of occasional lapses from good health.

No man could possibly have been better fitted to become the historian *par excellence* of the Incas. From his father he inherited a gallantry of spirit and a love of justice, and from his gentle mother a passionate interest in the early history of Peru. His memory, although he himself at times mistrusted it,<sup>28</sup> was of uncommon tenacity, even after forty years of exile in a land

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Gómez y Sánchez, archivist. He transcribed them with care and sent them to Dr. González, who sent them on to Lima for publication.

In the connection under discussion I wish to mention a passage in a letter from the late Sir Clements Markham to me, from London, November 6th, 1915. He says, "I had a copy of his (Garcilaso's) very interesting Will, which I translated and sent the original to Lima, hoping they would have printed it, but they never did." I do not know whether the publication of the Will cited above had or had not any direct connection with Sir Clements' sending of the same material to Lima for publication.

<sup>25</sup> The first edition may be cited thus:

1605 *La Florida/ del Ynca./ Historia del Adelanta-/ do Hernando de Soto, Governador y capi-/ tan general del Reyno de la Florida, . . .* Lisbon, Pedro Crasbeeck.

This work is addressed to The Most Serene Prince, Duke of Braganza.

<sup>26</sup> By Bancroft, in vol. I., of his *History of the United States*, cited by Riva-Agüero, 1910, p. 44, who, however, sustains the historical value of the Inca's book.

<sup>27</sup> GARCÍA CALDERÓN, VENTURA:

1914 *La Literatura Peruana*. In *Revue Hispanique*, No. 80, pp. 305-391. Paris.

On p. 307 Dr. García Calderón hails *La Florida* as a prose epic comparable to *La Araucana* of Don Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga.

<sup>28</sup> Commentaries, Pt. I, Bk. VIII, Ch. xi.

distant from his native soil. He was unsurpassed as a master of Spanish narrative prose. Finally, he was a man of singularly well-rounded education, of the highest intelligence, and of complete integrity of purpose.<sup>29</sup> No wonder, then, that for more than three centuries he has been our chief authority for Incaic history. No doubt he will remain so indefinitely.

Circumstances which favoured the greatness of Garcilaso as an historian included the fact of his being a perfect example of the *mestizo*, of the creole, of the mixed-blood. He commingled in his veins the noblest blood of Spain and the imperial blood of Ttahuantin-suyu. At the same time, his character and mentality were compounded of nicely balanced traits derived from the best of both races. Regarded either as a Spaniard or as an Inca he was admirable; regarded as a combination of the two he was perfect.

Added to these inherited characteristics in his individual nature were extraneous influences which contributed no less well to his formation as an historian. He was a man whose whole life was sweetened and strengthened by innumerable deep friendships. No woman, except his mother, seems ever to have played a rôle of consequence in his career—he was the happy bachelor in perfection—but men friends of great worth and of long-lasting loyalty he had by the score, from childhood onwards throughout his life. To these friends of his early years, and especially to one of them, I shall recur in a moment.

His motives for undertaking the preparation of the *Royal Commentaries* are very clearly set forth by himself. "Influenced by a desire to preserve the antiquities of my country, or the few that

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<sup>29</sup> Yet he has been accused of plagiarism, falsification, and I know not what other crimes against literary good-faith. The writings in which he is so charged include: Don Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo (cited by Riva-Agüero, 1910, p. 54, and in Ch. ix of Menéndez's *Historia de la poesía Hispano-Americana*, Madrid, 1913, vol. II, pp. 145-149); Don Manuel González de la Rosa, *El Padre Valera primer Historiador Peruano*, in *Revista Histórica*, II, pp. 180-199, Lima, 1908, where he accuses Garcilaso of having plagiarized the work of Father Valera, *q. v.*; *Los 'Comentarios Reales'*, in *Rev. Hist.*, III, pp. 296-306, Lima, 1908, where, with unnecessary bitterness, and under the manifest dominion of an inferiority complex of the most virulent description, he reiterates his charges.

All the charges made against Garcilaso have been invalidated and disproved by Riva-Agüero, *op. cit.*, who has firmly reestablished the Inca in his preëminent place at the forefront of the chroniclers of Peru.

have survived, that they might not be entirely lost, I undertook the excessively laborious task which this work has been to me, as far as I have gone, and which the rest will prove to be."<sup>30</sup> He states elsewhere that another motive was a wish to please his half-caste relatives and friends and his Indian kinsmen by setting down memorable facts relative to the history of Peru.<sup>31</sup>

It is not possible to tell exactly when he began definitely to prepare himself for the writing of his great work. In early youth he learned at his mother's knee all that she and her Inca kinsmen and friends could tell him of ancient times in Peru. He graphically describes this part of his training in Chapter Fifteen of Book One, and a sympathetic reading of what he says there will convince any reasonable person that the talk of the Incas and Pallas (ladies) who came to pay their respects to the Princess Chimpu Ocllo must have made an indelible impression upon his young receptive mind.

Long years thereafter, when he had been in Spain during decades of time, he painstakingly supplemented this long-possessed knowledge with new information derived from old friends in distant Peru with whom he corresponded.<sup>32</sup> Chief among them was Father Diego de Alcobasa, who was almost as a brother to him, their fathers having been loyal and devoted friends. To him Garcilaso owes his description of the ruins at Tiahuanaco,<sup>33</sup> and other parts of his narrative. Especially important as a source for historical information was a letter dated at Cuzco on April 16th, 1603, in which the descendants of the Incas then living sought the intercession at Court of Don Melchior Carlos Inca, of Don Alonso de Mesa, and of the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, for the purpose of gaining from Philip III relief from the tributes and exactions to which they, as also the common Indians, were then subjected. With this letter went a number of documents of historical importance, particularly a genealogy of the Incas elaborately painted on white China silk. The Inca, having studied the contents of these materials, passed on the petition and its adjuncts to Don Melchior, who was resident with the Court at Valladolid.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Commentaries, Pt. I, Bk. VII, Ch. viii.

<sup>31</sup> Commentaries, Pt. I, Bk. VIII, Ch. xi.

<sup>32</sup> Commentaries, Pt. I, Bk. I, Ch. xix.

<sup>33</sup> Commentaries, Pt. I, Bk. III, Ch. i.

<sup>34</sup> Commentaries, Pt. I, Bk. IX, Ch. xl.



There is no use in multiplying evidence of the Inca's painstaking preparations for his writing of the Commentaries. It is more important now to determine, if possible, the date when he began to write his immortal book.

On July 2d, 1596, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, sacked the city of Cadiz on behalf of his royal mistress, the redoubtable Elizabeth. The Jesuits in residence there found it advisable to move out of town for a while, if they could, and in the confusion many of them lost their papers. Among those so affected by the sack was Father Blas Valera, *q. v.*, who had the misfortune to lose a part of his manuscript history of Peru. After his death, all that was left of the work was given to Garcilaso, by Father Maldonado de Saavedra, S.J., a friend and neighbour of our author. The presentation was made at Córdoba in 1600, and it is fair to assume that it was the factor which led to the inception of the Inca's work upon the Commentaries.<sup>35</sup>

Having once set out upon the sea of labour he pushed rapidly onward, and by 1603 he had already advanced to Book Seven of Part One. (See Chapter Twenty-five thereof.)

The last years of the Inca were passed in well-to-do tranquillity, marred by ill-health, at Córdoba. His death took place on April 22, 1616, but a short while after he had completed work upon Part Two of the Royal Commentaries.<sup>36</sup>

Editions of the Royal Commentaries are very numerous and are to be found in several languages, an honour which the Inca shares with Casas, Cieza, and Zárate. Important among the editions are the following:

1609 *Primera Parte de los/ Commentarios/ reales,/ que tratan del ori-/ gen de los Yncas,/ reyes que fue-/ ron del Peru, de su idolatria, leyes, y/ gouierno en pa y en guerra: de*

<sup>35</sup> Commentaries, Pt. I, Bk. I, Ch. vi.

<sup>36</sup> In addition to the authorities and documents already cited, let me mention certain others which are useful to the student of Garcilaso's life and works:

FITZMAURICE-KELLY, JULIA:

1921 *El Inca Garcilasso de la Vega*. Oxford.

Means, in Introduction to Montesinos, 1920, pp. xiii-xvi, and in Introduction to P. Pizarro, 1921, pp. 101-102.

Moses, 113-125.

Dorsey, 1898, pp. 133-135.

*sus vidas y con- quistas, y de todo lo que fue aquel Imperio y/ su Republica, antes que los Españo- les passaran a el.*

Lisbon, Pedro Crasbeeck. Folio.

This volume is dedicated to the Princess Catharine of Portugal, Duchess of Braganza, whose husband was a patron of the Inca's literary works.

1617 *Historia/ general del/ Peruv./ Trata el Descubrimiento del;/ y como lo ganaron los Españoles. . .*

Córdoba. Widow of Andrés Barrera. Large folio.

This volume, popularly called the Second Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Incas, is dedicated to the Most Pure Virgin, Mary, Mother of God.

1633 *Le/ Commentaire/ royal,/ ov/ l'Histoire des Yncas,/ Roys dv Peruv;/ . . .*

Escritte en langue Peruuienne, par l'Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega, natif de/ Cozco; & fidellement traduite sur la version Espagnolle, par I. Bavdoin./ . . .

Paris, Augustin Courbé. Small folio.

It is amusing to note that M. Baudoin evidently had the erroneous idea that the work was originally composed in Quechua. Nevertheless, this French version of Part One is excellent. It is dedicated to Prince Louis of Bourbon, Count of Soissons. It was reissued a number of times, an especially beautiful edition being that richly illustrated one printed at Amsterdam in two volumes by J. F. Bernard in 1737.

1658 *Histoire/ des/ Guerres civiles/ des espagnols/ dans les Indes;/ . . .*

Escritte en Espagnol par l'Ynca Garcilasso/ de la Vega;/ et mise en François, Par I. Bavdoin./

Paris, Simeon Piget.

Baudoin's version of Part Two.

I do not cite other French versions, notably that of T. F. Dalibard, Paris, 1744, 2 vols., in detail for the reason that Baudoin's is by far the best.

1688 *The/ Royal/ Commentaries/ of Peru,/ Translated by Sir Paul Rycaut.*

London, Miles Flesher for Christopher Wilkinson. Tall folio.

This edition, of the Two Parts, is quaint rather than scholarly, for Sir Paul omitted important passages of the original work and mistranslated others. It is even worse, from a work-a-day point of view, than the early English version of Cieza, *q. v.*

- 1723 *Primera Parte de los Comentarios Reales. . .*  
 Edited by Don Gabriel de Cárdenas y Cano, pseudonym of  
 Don Andrés González de Barcia Carballido y Zúñiga.  
 Madrid, Oficina Real, a costa de Nicolás Rodríguez Franco.

I have never seen this edition; it is cited by Leclerc, p. 452, and by Palau y Dulcet, VII, p. 126. They aver that Part Two was issued under like auspices in 1722.

The two best working-editions of the Inca's great and ever-useful Commentaries are:

- 1869— *The First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas.*  
 1871 Edited by Clements R. Markham.  
 Hakluyt Society.  
 London. Two volumes.

This edition is a masterpiece of scholarly research and of editorial skill.

- 1918— *Los Comentarios Reales de los Incas.*  
 1920 Edited by Dr. Horacio H. Urteaga, and preceded by the  
*Elogio del Inca Garcilaso* by Don José de la Riva-Agüero.  
 Lima. Five volumes.

This edition, with its excellent coloured frontispieces, is the most convenient one for students who desire to make use of both Part One and Part Two.

After due consideration I have decided that it would be superfluous to indicate the general content of the Inca's work in the manner employed for less renowned writers. He stands at the forefront of the chroniclers of Peru, and his work is well known to all who have any knowledge whatever of the subject. It is almost a Bible for Peruvianists, and rightly so. I will content myself, therefore, with saying that the one grave defect of the work is its omission of all reference to the pre-Incaic period save by implication in treating of Tiahuanaco and of the coastal states. This blemish arises, of course, from the purely Incaic character of the author's background—his Inca kinsmen had no interest in fostering the memory of the peoples whom they had subjugated.

In spite of that one lack, the Commentaries is an astounding work, one to which the student must look first of all for data on the history, customs, manners, rites, belief, material culture, war-

fare, and every other phase of Incaic civilization. There is not one aspect of his subject that the Inca neglected. To him, finest flower of two noble races, I make my most profound reverence.

GUTIÉRREZ DE SANTA CLARA, PEDRO:

This writer was born in the New World, in either Cuba or in Mexico, between 1518 and 1525. He was the son of Don Bernardino Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, a distinguished official in Cuba and in Mexico, a friend and associate of Don Pedro de Alvarado and of Don Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and, especially, of the Viceroy of Mexico Don Antonio de Mendoza who, in 1551, became Viceroy of Peru.

It is possible that Don Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, our author, was a mixed-blood and a bastard, for very few Spanish ladies of quality, or even Spanish ladies of pleasure, were in Cuba and in Mexico at the time of his birth, and the chances are that his mother was one of those native charmers to whom the Spanish conquerors were wont to look for amatorial pleasures. If his mother was, as I fancy she must have been, she had reason to be proud of her son, for he was a man of intelligence and discernment, as well as of a laborious and painstaking disposition, which won for him a conspicuous place among the chroniclers of Peru.

The year 1544 finds Don Pedro in Peru as a soldier in the company of Captain Pablo de Meneses. As Don Manuel Serrano y Sanz has pointed out,<sup>1</sup> he was very obscure as a follower of Mars, for no one, not even Cieza, mentions him in the sundry accounts of the Civil Wars. He was certainly in Peru for some years, until 1548 at the shortest. He finally went back to Mexico and died there at an advanced age, about 1603.<sup>2</sup>

Because he was an intelligent man who went to Peru very early and travelled widely there, visiting Huánuco, Cuzco, Tiahuanaco and other places, it is natural that Don Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara should have written a valuable book.

In Book III, Ch. xlix, of his *Historia*, Don Pedro gives his

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<sup>1</sup> In his Introduction to the edition cited below.

<sup>2</sup> Don Pedro is our chief informant concerning himself. The data assembled by Don Manuel Serrano in the edition cited below tell us all that we know of him.

version of Incaic history, prefacing his remarks with an expression of hope that the reader will pardon his digression from the tragi-comedy of the Civil Wars.

There is no mention of a pre-Incaic period. "Mango Inga Capalla" was the first Inca. He came forth from an island called Titicaca in the middle of a great lake in the province of Atun Collao. With his base at the Lake he subjected the *curacas* or chiefs round about to his will. "He was married to an Indian woman called Mama-Ocillo, daughter of a great *curaca*, his vassal, and she was very beautiful, albeit some say that she was his sister."<sup>3</sup>

The curious point about Gutiérrez's narrative is that he considers the early Incas, Manco Capac, Sinchi Roca, Lloque Yupanqui, Mayta Capac (whom he calls "Yndimayta Capac Ynga"), Capac Yupanqui ("Capac Yupangue Inga"), Inca Roca ("Ynga Roca Ynga"), Yahuar Huacac ("Yaguarguac Ynga Yupanqui"), Viracocha, and Pachacutec ("Pachacoti Capac Ynga Yupangue") not to have been lords of Cuzco at all, but rather of a small realm having the city of Atun Collao for its capital. Not until Pachacutec won the battle of Quispicanche against the *curaca* of Cuzco did the Inca become lord of that city; and he, Pachacutec, died of his wounds in the battle, or rather soon after it, at Urcos. Tupac Yupanqui ("Topa Ynga Yupangue") is described<sup>4</sup> as an intrepid warrior king who built a new city called Annan Cuzco over against old Cuzco and who pursued the chief of old Cuzco and slew him in vengeance for the death of his father, Pachacutec. Tupac Yupanqui and Huayna Capac ("Guaynacapa Ynga") were the creators of the Incaic empire as the Spaniards found it.

This version of Incaic history is, I think, most unusual. In a way it is of the Toledan school, although it greatly antedates the Toledan period in Peru, but its chief peculiarity is the lateness with which it makes the Incas arrive in Cuzco, in which it assembles that version which is given by Molina of Santiago, *q. v.*

There are some data of archæological and descriptive interest in Book III, Chs. li and lii and liv-lxvi. The style of the author

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<sup>3</sup>"... fue casado con una yndia llamada Mama-Ocillo, hija de un curaca gran señor vasallo suyo, que era muy hermosa, aunque otros dizen que era su hermana. . ." (Bk. III, Ch. xlix.)

<sup>4</sup>Book III, Ch. l.

is extremely obscure, which makes it a difficult matter to cull from his work the points of value to the student.

The original manuscript of Gutiérrez is entitled *Quinquenarios* and it is preserved in the Provincial Library of Toledo. The date of it is hard to determine, certainly prior to 1603, and probably, in the parts relative to the Incas and to the native institutions, customs, archæology, etc., of Peru, dating from the 1550s.

There is no early edition of the *Quinquenarios* or *Historia* by Don Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara. It has been brought out in recent years, thus:

1904- *Historia de las Guerras Civiles del Perú.*

1910 Edited by Don Manuel Serrano y Sanz.

*Col. libs. docs. refs. hist. América*, vols. II, III, IV and X.  
Madrid.

From this edition the Fifth Book of the *Quinquenarios* is missing.

The chief interest for us in the work of Gutiérrez de Santa Clara lies in the strange confusion in which, at that early date, the Spanish investigator found the native myths respecting the origin of the Incas.

#### LIZÁRRAGA, FRIAR REGINALDO DE:

This writer was born at Medellín, in Spain, about 1540. Like so many others, he went to America when very young, reaching Quito as early as 1555. Some little time later he went to Lima and there, about 1560, he took the Dominican habit.

We know very little about his life in the time that followed beyond the fact, made evident in his writings, that he travelled extensively in Peru, both along the coast and in the more southerly parts of the mountain region, as well as in the provinces of Tucuman and Chile, during a period of fifty years and more.

In October, 1599, he was consecrated in Lima as Bishop of the Chilean diocese of La Imperial. He did not go to his see, however, until the end of 1602 because there was a great deal of trouble there between the Spaniards and the Araucanians, trouble not at all attractive to the new Bishop who, truth to tell, had to be rather severely chided in Royal *cédulas* before he could be induced to journey to his post of duty.

In 1606, answering some complaints addressed to him by the Bishop of La Imperial, Philip III made him Bishop of Paraguay. Bishop Lizárraga arrived at Asunción in the middle of 1608 and remained there until his death in 1611 or 1612.<sup>1</sup>

Most of Bishop Lizárraga's writings were of an ecclesiastical character and so do not at present interest us. His *Descripción y población de las Indias*, however, does demand our attention.

Two manuscripts of this work are known. The one, which is certainly the original, is in the library of the University of Saragossa where, on Saturday, May 14th, 1927, I had the privilege of examining it. The handwriting of the manuscript is early 17th century, but opposite to the first page is a note in mid-18th century writing that reads as follows: "En 15 de oct<sup>re</sup> del 1735 se empezó â Copiar este Thomo, y se concluyô a 3 de nov<sup>re</sup> del mismo año, y la Copia se hizo â pettiz<sup>on</sup> del s<sup>or</sup> Don Joseph Man<sup>l</sup> de Gaspar y Segovia fiscal de esta Rl Audz<sup>a</sup> por encargo que a esta le hizo el M. Ilte s<sup>or</sup> Don Andres Gonzalez de Barcía Consejero del de Castilla—y la Copia la Sacô Joseph Tobed."

The copy to which reference is made in the note cannot have been very careful and accurate as it was made in less than three weeks. I am inclined to think that it must be this copy which is now in the National Library in Lima, the one which served Dr. Romero for his text. That copy bears evidence of hurried and rather unintelligent labour.

The *Descripción* has been published as follows:

- 1907 *Le Descripción y Población de las Indias.*  
 Edited by Dr. Carlos A. Romero.  
 In *Revista Histórica*, II, pp. 269-383, 459-543.  
 Lima.
- 1908 *La Descripción*, etc.  
 Same as foregoing, but issued as a book.
- 1909 *La Descripción y Población de las Indias.*  
 Edited by Don Manuel Serrano y Sanz.

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<sup>1</sup> Most of our knowledge of Lizárraga is gained from himself, in his writings. But see also:

Dr. Carlos Romero, in the Lima editions cited below.

Mendiburu, V, 27-28.

Moses, pp. 428-434.

Medina, *Literatura colonial de Chile*, II, pp. 37-80.

Alcedo.

In *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, XV, pp. 485-660.  
Madrid.

This edition is the most satisfactory one; it is based upon the original manuscript at Saragossa.

The work of Lizárraga is divided into two Parts, the first of which is geographical and descriptive, the second historical and ecclesiastical.

In general the tone of Lizárraga is gossipy and superficial, expressive of a mentality by no means profound, but nevertheless he does give some valuable data.

In Part One, Chapter Six, he says that the people of *Lampuma*, corruptly called Puná, were bellicose cannibals and they killed and ate Bishop Valverde. He adds that they were great users of *balsas* (rafts) and skilled fishermen, and that they also made very fine *chaquira de oro* (sequins or spangles of gold). The neighbouring town of Tumbes, so he says, was once well peopled, but the population greatly fell off, because of the drunken brawls and orgies that were too frequently indulged in there. The folk of Tumbes used formerly to make even better *chaquira* than they of Puná.

The most important chapter in the whole work is Part One, Chapter Eighteen, in which Lizárraga tells us of the immense ruins round about Trujillo. He makes it clear that the rich and powerful lords who built them were pre-Incaic, and that their civilization was high. Furthermore, he puts forth the original and unique theory that those lords also constructed the pre-Incaic ruins near Guamanga<sup>2</sup> and likewise those at Tiahuanaco. He arrives at this really most interesting conclusion by a line of reasoning which is plausible and, in part, archæologically valid.

In Part One, Chapter Sixty-five, there is an excellent, if brief, account of a stone wall which extended across the highway at the Pass of Vilcañota and separated the domains of the Incas from the Collao.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The modern Ayacucho. The ruins to which he refers are those of Vilcas-Huamán or possibly those of Vinaque.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Bingham speaks interestingly of this wall in *Inca Land*, Boston, 1922, pp. 117-119. See also note 45 in my work, *A Study of Ancient Andean Social Institutions*, Trans. Conn. Acad. Arts and Sc., 1925.



In general it may be said that Bishop Lizárraga was one of those men who travelled widely without observing carefully. In this he resembles Benzoni, *q. v.*, although he is considerably more informative than the Italian. I consider Lizárraga a third-rate chronicler, but nevertheless one who is occasionally useful.

LÓPEZ DE GÓMARA, FRANCISCO:

The writer was born on February 2d, 1511, at the town of Gómara, near Soria, in Old Castile. Nothing at all is known of his parents and antecedents.

Becoming a priest about 1530, he went to Rome in 1531 and probably remained there and elsewhere in Italy for some years thereafter. In 1540 he was at Venice in the train of Hurtado de Mendoza, son of the Count of Tendilla, but we do not know whether or not he had been back to Spain in the meanwhile. During October and November, 1541, he was present at the ill-fated Spanish siege of Algiers, and at that time he made the acquaintance of Don Hernando Cortés, Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca and Conqueror of Mexico. In a short while he entered the service of Cortés, as chaplain, confidant, and apologist. At that period the Marquis was endeavouring, with but slight success, to obtain from Charles V some material rewards for his extraordinary deeds in Mexico. This entailed a deal of tiresome and costly attendance at Court, then in residence at Valladolid. In 1544, defeated by circumstance, the Marquis dejectedly withdrew to Seville, where he lived most of the time until his death on December 2d, 1547. López de Gómara probably remained in close attendance upon his patron during all this time. After the death of Cortés he went back to Valladolid, where he continued to dwell until 1552. In that year his History was published for the first time, and soon after that López de Gómara met a distinguished soldier of Peru who had lately arrived in Valladolid. They encountered one another in the street, and a most uncomfortable—for the historian—conversation ensued, because the soldier gave him the lie direct about some of his statements.<sup>1</sup>

In 1553 the authorities forbade the circulation of López de

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<sup>1</sup> See Garcilaso, Commentaries, Pt. II, Bk. V, Ch. xl.

Gómara's book and soon thereafter he retired into very private life. He died between 1557 and 1566.<sup>2</sup>

The editions of López, in several languages, are very numerous. Inasmuch as they have lately been carefully described by Mr. Henry Wagner,<sup>3</sup> there is no need for me to cite here more than a few of them, in every case drawing upon materials provided by Mr. Wagner, to whom my thanks. Some of the early editions, then, are as follows:

1552 *La istoria de las Indias,/ y conquista de Mexico.*  
Saragossa, Agustín Millan. Folio.

The Colophon states that printing was finished on Christmas Eve, 1552. The Royal privilege accompanying the work is dated at Monzón, October 7, 1552, and was granted by Prince Philip as Governor-general of Aragon for a period of ten years. Mr. Wagner states that a map of the New World should go with this edition but that the two copies seen by him, those in the National Library in Madrid and in the British Museum, lack it. He himself has a perfect copy, which is the only one in these United States so far as he knows.

1553 *Primera y segunda parte de la his-/ toria general de las Indias. . .*

Really a re-issue of the 1552 edition, and by the same printer, but at the cost of Miguel Capila, bookseller. Of this issue the John Carter Brown Library has a copy.

1553b *Hispania Victrix/ Primera y segvnda Par/ te de la historia general de las Indias. . .*  
Medina del Campo, Guillermo de Millis. Folio.

Colophon states that printing was finished on August 20th, 1553. There are no maps in this edition. Copies of it are found in the John Carter Brown Library, in the Library of Congress, and in the New York Public Library.

There were at least three editions, all of them in octavo, brought out at Antwerp in 1554 by three printers or publishers, namely,

<sup>2</sup> The best account of López de Gómara's life is that of R. B. Merriman in his edition of López's *Annals of Charles V*, Oxford, 1912.

See also:

León Pinelo, I, column 589.

Medina, Biblioteca Hispano-Americana, I, pp. 259-276.

Mendiburu, IV, pp. 143-144.

WAGNER, HENRY R.:

1924 *Francisco López de Gomara*. Berkeley, California.

Alcedo states that he was born in Seville.

<sup>3</sup> Wagner, 1924.

Juan Bellerio, whose printer was Juan Lacio, Martín Nucio, and Juan Steelsio, who also had Juan Lacio for his printer. In view of this complicated situation one wonders if there were not some curious dealings in the book trade of Antwerp in 1554, particularly so when one remembers the editions of Cieza, *q. v.*, brought out there by these same publishers in the same year in the same format and general style.

López de Gómara shares with Casas, Cieza, Garcilaso and others the honour of early translation into other languages. There were two editions in Italian in 1556, by the brothers Dorici, of Rome, the translator being Augustino de Cravaliz; there was an edition in French at Paris, by Michel Sonnius in 1568, the translator being M. Fumée, Sieur de Marly le Chastel; all of these editions were reissued a number of times or else were followed by other translations and other issues. The earliest edition in English of any portion of López's *Historia* was one in 1578, by Henry Bynneman of London, of the part referring to Mexico, the translator being Thomas Nicholas. The title given in the first English edition was *The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the VVeast India, now called new Spayne. . .* It was re-issued by Thomas Creede, of London, in 1596.

I am skimming through the editions of López because Mr. Wagner has lately treated them so extensively and also because López himself is, from our present viewpoint, a minor writer who does not deserve a great amount of space in these pages. The most satisfactory working editions of those sections of the *Historia* that are useful to us are as follows:

- 1749 *Historia/ de las/ Indias.*  
In *Historiadores/ primitivos/ de las Indias Occidentales,*  
Edited by Illmo. Don Andrés González Barcía. Vol. II.  
Madrid.
- 1849 *Historia general de las Indias.*  
Edited by B. C. Aribau.  
In *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles,* vol. XXII.  
Madrid.

Referring now to the 1749 edition of López, that edited by González Barcía, I shall briefly present what our author has to say concerning ancient Andean history.

Peru is treated in Chapters One Hundred and Eight to One Hundred and Ninety-five, inclusive, pp. 99-182. In Chapter One Hundred and Nineteen, p. 111, López tells us that the Incas origi-

nated in "Tiquicaca," which means Isle of Lead, and that they were led thence away by "Zopalla," otherwise known as "Viracocha," which means Grease of the Sea, who conducted them through the waters. He took up his residence at Cuzco and fought with the people of the neighbourhood, and even with some who dwelt far off, imposing his rule upon them. The Incas "Topa," "Opanguy," and "Guaynacapa" were also great rulers.

In Chapter One Hundred and Twenty, pp. 111-112, López describes the Court of "Guaynacapa." He speaks of a wonderful golden garden on an island near Puná, and of numerous richly wrought golden things that were used as embellishments for the imperial palaces.

In Chapter One Hundred and Twenty-one, he treats of religion, stating that human sacrifice was very common and mentioning eunuchs who were employed to keep guard over the consecrated women.

In Chapter One Hundred and Twenty-two, López gives his version of pre-Incaic history. There were two creations of mankind, the first by Con, who declared himself to be a Son of the Sun, and who came from the North. By his will alone he created mountains and valleys and also men and women, providing them with plentiful fruits. Some of the people later angered him and in punishment he rendered their land, the coast, sterile and rainless. Only out of pity did he leave them the rivers by means of which they could, with toil, irrigate their fields. Pachacamac, the Creator, also a Son of the Sun and of the Moon, came along after a time and exiled Con, turning his folk into cats with black faces. He made a new race of people who, out of gratitude, built a great temple in his honour at Pachacamac which soon became celebrated throughout a wide territory. It was a very rich shrine until the Spaniards under Pizarro destroyed and despoiled it.

In Chapter One Hundred and Twenty-three Cuzco is described as being very splendid and rich.

In Chapter One Hundred and Twenty-four the customs of the people of Cuzco are told of in a somewhat interesting manner.

To conclude my account of López de Gómara I will say this: He was a chronicler who never went to America, whose knowledge was altogether based upon hearsay, and who was accused, by some of his own contemporaries, of telling lies. The incident of the returned soldier at Valladolid is typical of the attitude of authori-

ties who knew Peru of their own personal knowledge. At the same time, it is interesting to note that his account of Incaic history is much more nearly of the Toledan type than it is of the Garcilaso type, or of the type of Cieza, *q. v.*, López's own contemporary. Indeed, the contrast between Cieza, who did travel widely in Peru, and López, who did not, is full of significance.

#### LÓPEZ DE VELASCO, JUAN:

This writer was a protégé of Don Juan de Ovando, of the Council of the Indies. With Ovando's help and encouragement, he studied the affairs of the Indies and the geography of the New World. Exactly when he began the task is not known, but he was engaged upon it in 1569. In that year, or soon after, López de Velasco received the sum of 200 ducats for his work upon the book described below. In October, 1571, he was appointed, through the influence of Ovando, as *Cosmógrafo-cronista de las Indias*, an office which he held for exactly twenty years. Between 1571 and 1574 López de Velasco composed his *Geografía y descripción universal de las Indias*, using therefor official information and data that were put at his disposal. The dedication of the work, to Philip II, is dated at Madrid on September 1st, 1574, and on November 27th, 1576, López asked further aid of Philip II, which was granted him on January 11th, 1577, in the form of a grant of 400 ducats to enable him to finish his book.<sup>1</sup>

The *Geografía* was first published by Don Justo Zaragoza in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid* for 1894, but it was re-issued in book form, as follows:

1894 *Geografía y descripción universal de las Indias.*  
 Edited by Don Justo Zaragoza.  
 Madrid.

It is an extensive book of some 800 pages which has for us only slight interest. On page 476 we find mention of some ruins near the River Vinaque which are said to be very old and to be different from those which the Incas made.

<sup>1</sup> Such scanty information as we have about López de Velasco is derived from Don Justo Zaragoza, in the edition cited below, and from Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada in pp. lxx-lxxvii of volume I of the *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*.

On pages 477 to 485 the history of the Incas and the aspect of Cuzco are briefly mentioned, but without any taint of Toledanism, although an official writing at that special time might reasonably be expected fairly to reek with it.

On page 505 is a short description of the Lake of Chucuito or Titicaca which includes brief mention of the Uru Indians and of the floating bridge across the Desaguadero River.

Beyond this, the work of López is without great value for us.

#### MATIENZO, JUAN:

This writer, whose name is sometimes given as Juan Matienzo de Peralta, was born in Spain, probably about 1530. Nothing appears to be known of his antecedents, and nothing is known of his earlier years beyond the fact that he must have received a good education, for his learning is made evident by his possession of the degree of *Licenciado*, and particularly by his writings, and by his career.

On July 2d, 1557, the Royal Council of the Indies, in session at Valladolid where the Court was in residence, made recommendations to Philip II concerning the personnel of the new Audiencia of Charcas, at that time in the process of formation. The name of our author appears in the list of those whom the King was urged to appoint as judges in the new body.

The appointment, one of rare felicity, was duly made, and on January 25th, 1560, the Licentiate Matienzo sailed from San Lúcar de Barrameda. First spending six months in Panama, he went on to Lima where, on February 5th, 1561, he was formally presented with the staff of an *oidor*, judge, of the Royal Audiencia. He remained in the City of the Kings, as Lima was still fondly called, during some months thereafter, engaged upon official business. Not until September 7th, 1561, did he at length solemnly inaugurate the Audiencia of Charcas, at La Plata, anciently called Chuquisaca and known to-day as Sucre. From that time forward he made his home in that pleasant city, of which he was perhaps the most noteworthy and respected inhabitant.

On two occasions, however, the Licentiate Matienzo went away from home on official business. In 1565 he went to Cuzco in order to scrutinize the acts in office of Dr. Cuenca, a judge of the

Audiencia of Lima who was at that time serving as Corregidor of Cuzco. During his stay in the ancient capital, our author communicated by messenger with the Inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui, then in refuge in Vilcapampa, and later he went personally to treat with him respecting the matter of the Inca's submission to Spanish overlordship. The desired end was attained. Titu Cusi Yupanqui became a Christian and a subject of the King of Castile, many of his relatives following his example. He lived in peace for the remainder of his days, although his brother and successor, Tupac Amaru I, later broke the peace which had been made.

Again, in 1572-1573, Matienzo left his home in order to accompany the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo, *q. v.*, on his journey through the southerly portions of the Viceroyalty of Peru. He was, therefore, almost inevitably well acquainted with Father Acosta, *q. v.*, the Licentiate Polo, *q. v.*, and Captain Sarmiento, *q. v.*, who, with himself, formed a brilliant group of ethnologists in attendance upon that impenetrable and sombre man, Don Francisco de Toledo y Figueroa. It is significant that only two of the group, Sarmiento and Matienzo, should have fallen in with the false historical notions and policies of Toledo, the two others retaining that independence of judgment and that integrity of purpose which ought to characterize scholars, judges, and gentlemen.

The death of our author occurred at La Plata on August 15th, 1579, while he was serving as President of the Royal Audiencia of Charcas.<sup>1</sup>

Two of the writings of Matienzo are celebrated among lawyers in Spain and Spanish America. The earlier work of this kind,

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<sup>1</sup> Our principal informant concerning Matienzo is Don Roberto Levillier who, in his monumental work entitled *La Audiencia de Charcas* (Madrid, 1918), gives a valuable sketch of Matienzo's life as well as many of his letters. Very important also are the stimulating Prologue to that book written by Don Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín and the Prologue to the 1910 edition cited below, written by our author's descendant, Don José Nicolás Matienzo. See also:

Alcedo.

Antonio, I, p. 740.

León Pinelo.

Mendiburu, V, pp. 217-218.

Moses, pp. 467-471.

*Dialogvs Relatoris et Advocati Pintiani Senatvs*, was brought out in Rome in 1558, and the second, some legal *Commentaries*, was brought out posthumously in 1580, at Mantua.<sup>2</sup>

More important for us are certain of the Letters of Don Juan Matienzo, and, above all, his *Gobierno del Perú*. Those of the Letters which interest us are the following:

20 October, 1561, a letter to the King, dated from La Plata. In this letter there are some valuable data respecting the savage Chiriguanos whom the Incas vainly tried to subjugate and whom even the great Toledo failed to subdue in 1572.

28 November, 1567, to the King, dated from La Plata. In this letter Matienzo asks that his book, called *Gobierno del Perú*, be examined with a view to granting royal license for publishing it.

16 May, 1573, a letter to the King, possibly written while on the march with Toledo. Further data concerning the Chiriguanos are given and recommendations are made about the best mode of waging war against them.

14 October, 1576, a letter to the King, from La Plata. This document contains further mention of the *Gobierno del Perú*.

4 January, 1579, a letter to the King dated from La Plata. Our author asks that the repressing of the Chiriguanos be placed entirely in his hands, provided, however, that the Viceroy Toledo agree thereto. Presumably Matienzo was in good health when he made this suggestion, for he must have known well how great activity he would be called upon to display. In August of that same year he died, we may suppose with some degree of suddenness.<sup>3</sup>

The most important contribution to ancient Andean history made by Matienzo is, of course, the *Gobierno del Perú*. It was written for the purpose of displaying the true character of the Indians and of their institutions and polity, the hope of the author being that the resultant knowledge of these things might help to save the Indians from oppression by their own chiefs and by their new Spanish masters.<sup>4</sup>

In his letter of October 14th, 1576, Judge Matienzo reminds the

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<sup>2</sup> The John Carter Brown Library has a copy of this work. See also: Palau y Dulcet, V, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> All of these Letters will be found in Don Roberto Levillier's great work, already cited.

<sup>4</sup> These points are made clear by the Letter of November 28, 1567, cited above and printed by Levillier in pp. 236-239 of his great book already mentioned. Incidentally, this same Letter furnishes us with the date of the *Gobierno del Perú*, showing us that it was completed in 1567.



King of his sixteen years of faithful service as an *oidor* and then goes on to state that, eight years before, he had sent to the King, in his Royal Council of the Indies, the book entitled *Gobierno del Perú*. In it, so Matienzo says with much truth, he set forth all the principal facts relative to the Indians and their institutions; moreover, he made many constructive and practical recommendations most of which were afterwards put into effect by the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo.

Turning now to the book itself, I shall speak of it briefly. According to Don José Nicolás Matienzo, the editor of the 1910 edition cited below, the work consisted of four Books or Parts. Referring to Nicolás Antonio and to Mendiburu, Señor Matienzo informs us that his ancestor's manuscripts were formerly in the possession of Don Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado, of the Royal Council of Castile, and that afterwards they were lost. Why they should have been in the hands of a Councillor of Castile, not of the Indies, we are not informed.

Of the four original Parts or Books only Parts One and Two are now known to be extant. The British Museum possesses a manuscript volume which purports to be the original work—or the first half of it. The New York Public Library has another manuscript volume of Parts One and Two. This last-mentioned volume seems not to be generally known to students. It bears a notation by the late Adolph Bandelier in which he implies that it is the original.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Victor H. Paltsits and I lately examined the New York Library manuscript and we convinced ourselves that, if it is not the original, it is at any rate a 16th century transcript therefrom. Inasmuch as Bandelier's notation was made in 1904 and inasmuch as his printed citation of the New York manuscript was made in 1910, it may fairly be assumed that he knew nothing of the British Museum's manuscript, for that was not generally known about until Don José Matienzo's publication of it in that same year of 1910. Personally I do not know which of the two manuscripts is the original; the point is one which I urge someone to study with care.

The only edition of Judge Matienzo's book may be cited thus:

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<sup>5</sup> See:

BANDELIER, ADOLPH F.:

1910 *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*. New York. P. 140.

1910 *Gobierno del Perú/ obra escrita en el siglo XVI/ por el/ Licenciado Don Juan Matienzo/ oidor de la Real Audiencia de Charcas.*

Edited by Don José Nicolás Matienzo.

*Facultad de Filosofía y Letras.*

Buenos Aires.

In Chapter One of Part One Matienzo speaks very briefly of the Incas and their history. The founder of the empire was "mango Capa" who had seven successors in office. They built up a realm which extended from Pasto to Chile, a distance of more than 1300 leagues. He gives no details of the history of the dynasty, the whole tenor of the chapter being that the Incas were tyrants and oppressors of the people. He mentions some of the cruelties of "Atapalipa" and implies that they were typical of Inca methods in general. He concludes with the dictum that the Incas "did not govern through just laws but rather through their appetite and self-will and although these yngas were natural Kings of Perú they were also tyrants on account of their evil ways."<sup>6</sup>

Throughout the remainder of the two Parts of the *Gobierno del Perú* that have come down to us Judge Matienzo speaks always in a belittling and contemptuous tone whenever he mentions the Indians and their native rulers. In short, we have here a work of extreme Toledanism, but one written in 1567, before ever Don Francisco de Toledo set foot in Peru.

Only the fact that Judge Matienzo was an intelligent man and a conscientious colonial official who made some study of the natives of the country where he was stationed justifies the somewhat extended notice that I give him here. In my summary I shall give further attention to him for the reason that he typifies certain harmful tendencies in Andean historical writing.

MOLINA (OF CUZCO), FATHER CRISTÓBAL DE:

This writer and the following one, who had the same name and lived in the same period, share the distinction of having caused more gnashing of bibliographers' teeth than any other of the chroniclers of Peru.

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<sup>6</sup> "No gobernaban por leyes sino por su apetito y voluntad y aunque estos yngas fueron Reyes naturales del Perú pero fueron tiranos por sus maldades."

The first to suspect that there were two men both called Father Cristóbal de Molina was Don Tomás Thayer-Ojeda, a well-known Chilean historiographer. He, in the 1913 edition of his work cited below, first called attention to the facts, and in 1916 Dr. Don Carlos Romero, of Lima, further clarified the situation by publishing, with valuable preliminary materials, the works of both Molinas.

Hereafter I shall follow the example of other recent writers and shall refer to these two authors as Molina of Cuzco and Molina of Santiago respectively. Our present subject is Molina of Cuzco.

Nothing is known of Molina of Cuzco's parentage save that he was born in the old capital of the Incas very soon after the arrival there of the Spaniards. His mother was probably an Indian. Between 1545 and 1550, when he was still very young, he entered the priesthood. Later he became parish priest of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, a church attached to the Natives' Hospital in Cuzco, and in return for his faithful discharge of the duties attaching to that post he received the miserable stipend of one hundred and fifty *pesos* per annum.

Father Molina was writing at Cuzco during the days of Viceroy Toledo's regicidal sojourn there, yet he seems to have had little contact with the great man. He, Molina, finished his *Relación* in 1573, and dedicated it to Don Sebastián del Artaún, Bishop of Cuzco from July 28, 1573, to his death on October 9, 1583, at Lima. Molina seems to have led a serene and studious life at Cuzco until 1582, when he went to Lima with his Bishop to attend the Third Council of Lima which had been convoked by Archbishop Mogrovejo, and after the death of Bishop del Artaún at Lima our author appears to have gone back to his duties in Cuzco and to have lived there until some indeterminate date after 1591.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Our knowledge of Molina's life is derived from himself and from certain contemporary documents which are cited and quoted by Dr. Romero in the edition of 1916, cited below. We also owe much to material provided by Markham in the 1873 edition, cited below, and in other writings of his. Don Tomás Thayer-Ojeda, in the 1913 edition cited below, throws much light on the two Molinas. See also:

THAYER OJEDA, TOMÁS:

1920 *Las biografías de los dos "Cristóbales de Molina" publicadas por el escritor peruano don Carlos A. Romero.*

Father Molina was a man well prepared for writing about the Indians and their institutions. Not only did he have ample opportunities for contact with them in his parish work, but also he had a chance to study them in 1575 and 1576 when, by nomination of Toledo,<sup>2</sup> he took part in a general inspection of the Indians in and around Cuzco. The work was in charge of the *Alguacil Mayor* or Chief Constable, Don Sancho Verdugo, but it was Toledo's special wish that Father Molina participate in the work.

Writings of Father Molina of Cuzco known to exist or to have existed may be enumerated thus:

1575 *Relación del origen, vida y costumbres de los ingas, señores que fueron de esta tierra, y cuantos fueron y quien fueron sus mugeres, y las leyes que dieron y guerras que tuvieron y gentes y naciones que conquistaron.*

This work is apparently lost. It is mentioned not only by Molina himself, but also by Father Cabello de Balboa, *q. v.*, who utilized it in writing the Third Part of his *Miscelánea Antártica*.

1578 *Relación de las guacas.*

Apparently also lost. It was written for Bishop del Artaún and it may be that it, like one of the writings of the Licentiate Polo, *q. v.*, was used, without acknowledgments, by Father Cobo, *q. v.*, in treating of the native religions.

1579 *Relación de las fábulas y ritos de los Incas.*

The date ascribed to this work, like those of the two earlier ones, is guess-work on my part. The present *Relación* was dedicated to Bishop del Artaún and it seems to me that it is quite likely to have been completed somewhat before the journey of that prelate to Lima. It is the only one of the writings of Molina of Cuzco that has been published. There are four known manuscripts of it in existence, as follows:

1. The original Ms., in the National Library, Madrid.
2. A copy thereof made by or for the late F. C. Coronel-Zegarra, a Peruvian bibliophile, which is now in the National Library, Lima.
3. A copy of the original now in the Morla-Vicuña collection in the National Library, Santiago. It was this copy that

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In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, XXXVI, pp. 1-46, Santiago.

Moses, pp. 139-144.

<sup>2</sup>The Viceroy's order is dated at Arequipa, November 6, 1575, and is published in *Revista de Archivos y Bibliotecas Nacionales*, I, pp. 41-45, Lima, 1898.

was used by Sr. Thayer-Ojeda for his 1913 edition, cited below.

4. A copy made by or for the late Mr. W. S. Beebe on March 10, 1868, and deposited in the Yale University Library by Miss Frances D. Beebe. This copy bears an indication that the original Ms. is among the papers of the Licentiate Polo de Ondegardo in the National Library, Madrid.

Editions of the writing of Molina of Cuzco now known to be extant are as follows:

- 1873 *The Fables and Rites of the Yncas.*  
 Edited by Clements R. Markham, in *Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas*, pp. 1-64.  
 Hakluyt Society.  
 London.
- 1913 *Relación, etc.*  
 Edited by Don Tomás Thayer-Ojeda, in *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, V.  
 Santiago.
- 1916 *Relación, etc.*  
 Edited by Drs. Horacio H. Urteaga and Carlos A. Romero.  
 and preceded by a Biography by Dr. Romero, in *Col. libs. docs. refs. hist. Perú, I.*  
 Lima.

The published work of Father Cristóbal de Molina of Cuzco is of great value to the student of ancient Peruvian festivals and religions. Month by month the festivals of the year are described with a great fulness of detail. Those who are interested in the Quechua language and in the intellectual and aesthetic sides of the ancient Andean character will find most valuable the several prayers in Quechua with which Father Molina has enriched his narrative. There is material here for the student of native American calendars also, and one who is at all acquainted with the calendar-systems formerly prevalent in Mexico and Central America, and even among the Muisca of Colombia, cannot fail to be impressed by the backwardness of the Andeans in developing a serviceable time-measure. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of ritual, the months of the Incás were full of interest, and the study of them presented by our author shows clearly that the underlying principle of the Incaic polity was—Honest toil lightened by occasional festivity.

## MOLINA (OF SANTIAGO), FATHER CRISTÓBAL DE:

This writer was the son of Don Mateo Hernández de Molina and Doña Catalina Sánchez and he was born in a small town called Legamiel near Huete in Spain in the year 1491.<sup>1</sup> It is not known when he became a priest, but we do know that he travelled in Spain, Flanders, and Italy before coming to America. In 1532 he was in Santo Domingo, and he arrived at Panama on April 4th, 1533. The Licentiate Don Gaspar de Espinosa, who, seven years earlier, had been a strong but secret financial backer of Pizarro and Almagro in their project to explore and conquer Peru, was fitting out an expedition to reinforce Pizarro, then in difficulties with Almagro. To this expedition Molina adhered.<sup>2</sup>

July, 1535, found him one of the three churchmen who were incorporated in the army which Don Diego de Almagro led down into Chile. That enterprise was unfortunate in every way, and the return of Almagro with his surviving followers to Cuzco in 1536 was far more felicitous than any part of the expedition to Chile, for it put an end to the siege of Cuzco by Inca Manco. Molina of Santiago, as we must call him, spent nearly two years in Cuzco after that, and he undoubtedly had many opportunities for studying the customs and history of the Incas at a time when they were but slightly influenced by the Spaniards.

After the death of Almagro in July, 1538, Molina went down to Lima, and from there, on June 12, 1539, he wrote a letter to the Emperor Charles V in which he briefly set forth his merits and services. He is lost to sight, so far as known extant documents go, until 1551. Presumably he was living in Lima all that time, and it may be that careful search in archives will reveal papers

<sup>1</sup> He might have called himself Hernández de Molina y Sánchez, which would have saved modern bibliographers a world of puzzlement, but in those days the rules of personal nomenclature were not fixed as they are now in Spain. Data on his antecedents and career are given in:

MEDINA, JOSÉ TORIBIO:

1906 *Diccionario Biográfico Colonial de Chile*. Santiago.

<sup>2</sup> Data on this part of Molina's career are found in a deposition which he made on March 4th, 1552, at Lima, on behalf of the son of Espinosa and concerning that adventurer's services. It is printed by Don José Toribio Medina in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile*, VII, p. 202, Santiago, 1895. Dr. Romero, in the 1916 edition cited below, avers that Molina made a journey to Spain between 1533 and 1535. I see no shadow of authority for this pretended voyage.

concerning him at this period. In 1556 he went with Don García Hurtado de Mendoza to Chile.<sup>3</sup> The remainder of his life was spent in Santiago where he held important posts in the Church and where he indulged a lively temper by rather coleric brawls on ecclesiastical matters. He died at Santiago in 1578, very old and not in his right mind.<sup>4</sup>

The *Relación* by Molina of Santiago was written in Lima between 1552 and 1556, and those paragraphs of it which refer to ancient Andean matters are based upon information gained by him during his travels and especially during his stay in Cuzco and its region between 1536 and 1538. The full title of the work is:

*Relaçion de muchas cosas acaesçidas en el Perú, en suma, para entender á la letra la manera que se tuvo en la conquista y poblazon destos reinos, y para entender quanto daño y perjuicio se hizo de todos los naturales universalmente de esta tierra, y cómo por mala costumbre de los primeros se ha continuado hasta oy la grand vexaçion y destruiçion de la tierra; y si Nuestro Señor no trae remedio, presto se acabaran los mas de los que se quedan; por manera, que lo que aquí trataré, mas se podrá dezir destruiçion del Perú que conquista ni poblazon.*

Manuscripts of the work are on record as follows:

1. The original Ms., in the Archives of the Indies. It is without the author's name, but as it is known that only one secular clergyman went with Almagro to Chile in 1535-36 and that his name was Cristóbal de Molina the lack is easily supplied. The celebrated historian, Don Diego Barros Arana, states that, in 1782, when the Archives were still at Simancas, Don Juan Bautista Muñoz saw it and had a copy of it made.
2. Muñoz's copy, now in the Muñoz collection in the Royal Academy of History, Madrid.

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<sup>3</sup> Don García was son of Don Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, and Viceroy of Peru. By nomination of his father he became Governor of Chile in 1556, and with him to that country went not only our author but also the far more celebrated Don Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga, author of *La Araucana*. Don García was but twenty-two in 1556, but, except for a little cruelty, not amiss in that age, he did very well, albeit Don Alonso de Ercilla did not think so. Years later, in 1590, when he in his turn was Marquis of Cañete, Don García Hurtado de Mendoza became Viceroy of Peru, and ruled that country well.

<sup>4</sup> This sketch of Father Molina of Santiago's life is based upon materials provided by Sres. Thayer-Ojeda and Romero in the places already cited in the previous article.

3. A copy of the Muñoz copy of the original made for Prescott who cites the work as anonymous.
4. A copy of Prescott's copy of Muñoz's copy made for Don Miguel Luís Amunátegui through the kindness of the Chilean minister in Washington, Don Manuel Carvallo.
5. A copy of the original Ms. made by Sr. Barros Arana in 1859 and now in the National Library, Santiago.

Editions of the *Relación* are on record as follows:

- 1873 *Relación*, etc.  
 Edited by Don Diego Barros Arana.  
 In *Sud-América*, I.  
 Santiago.  
 Said to be a very bad edition. I have never seen it.
- 1895 *Relación*, etc.  
 Edited by Don José Toribio Medina.  
 In *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile*, VII, pp. 428-482.  
 Santiago.
- 1916 *Relación*, etc.  
 Edited by Drs. Horacio H. Urteaga and Carlos A. Romero.  
 In *Col. libs. docs. refs. hist.* Peru, I, pp. 104-215.  
 Lima.

As the full title shows, this work is of interest for the colonial period rather than for the pre-Conquest period. It is fundamentally a plea for fair play on behalf of the Indians. Nevertheless, it contains some valuable descriptions of Peru as it was soon after the Spaniards arrived in the country and of the harm wrought there by the invaders. Some of the pages in it might almost have been written by Bishop de las Casas, *q. v.* The account of the roads, storehouses and so on which the Incas had is especially valuable.

Incaic history as reported by Molina of Santiago runs as follows:

"Inga-Viracocha" was the first of the line. He came forth from Lake Titicaca declaring that he was son of the Sun and went to the site of Cuzco where he built houses of stone, a temple to his god, and the fortress. At the same time he instructed the people in all the arts of living and formed their polity. Our author conjectures that he must have been some person from Europe, Africa or Asia who came very long ago to that land bringing with him the



civilization of the country whence he came. Our author, therefore, is comparable to Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *q. v.* Further on he tells us that the history of the Incas is so obscure that he does not venture into more details, but that, when the Spaniards entered Cuzco, the people still remembered an Inga lord called "Zupa-Inga Yupangue" who had built up an empire that reached as far as the Straits of Magellan on the south and to Quito on the north. "Guainacaba," his son, succeeded him. He did some further fighting and conquering in the extreme north, and he died at Quito knowing that the Christians were coming. He left two sons, "Guáscar" and "Atabalipa," who afterwards fought with one another.

It is apparent, therefore, that Molina of Santiago, who wrote long before Toledo came to Peru, was yet a Toledan. To this point I shall return later.

The *Relación* of our author has some merit for its accounts of Indian rites and customs, as well as for the descriptions already mentioned. On the whole, however, it is a work of decidedly secondary importance.

#### MONTESINOS, FATHER FERNANDO:

This writer, one of the most discussed and most misunderstood of the chroniclers of Peru, was born at Osuna, in Spain, about 1600. Exactly when he went to the New World is not known, but he was certainly there by 1628, for in that year he made a rather exciting journey up the River Chagres on the Isthmus of Panama.

He went to Peru in 1629, almost certainly in the capacity of chaplain to Don Luís Jerónimo de Cabrera y Bobadilla, Count of Chinchón, and Viceroy of Peru from 1629 to 1639. The fact that he held that position, probably at the time of his going to Peru and certainly after his arrival there, implies that he had taken orders, and we know that he was also a Licentiate. We may safely assume, therefore, that his education was excellent for those days.

At some time after 1629 Father Montesinos was secretary to the Bishop of Trujillo, and also Rector of the Jesuit Seminary in that city. Whether the Bishop whom Father Montesinos served was Friar Ambrosio Vallejo, Bishop from 1630 to 1635, or Don Diego

de Montoya y Mendoza, Bishop from 1639 to 1640, I do not know.<sup>1</sup>

The sequence of his moves is lamentably obscure and confused. We know that at one time he was *cura* in Potosí and that while there he became intensely interested in mining, so much so that he gave up his ecclesiastical benefice in order to dedicate himself to historical and mineralogical studies. We may safely guess that, in connection therewith, he acquired a solid fortune, for on two occasions thereafter he held the office of *visitador*, or scrutineer of official acts, which was commonly entrusted only to wealthy men not easily to be corrupted through their self-interest.

Father Montesinos travelled widely in Peru, visiting Arica and the coast in 1534, and settling down in Lima from 1636 to 1639, where he dwelt in very comfortable circumstances. To this period belong two of his writings, the one on metals and metallurgy,<sup>2</sup> the other a careful and rather horrible descriptive account of an anti-Jewish *auto de la fé* celebrated in Lima on January 23, 1639.<sup>3</sup>

For us the interest of these works is purely incidental: they serve to indicate clearly that our author was a man of some consequence in the Lima of his day.

<sup>1</sup> According to the article on *Trujillo* in Thompson's *Alcedo*, the Bishopric of Trujillo was often *sede vacante* for long periods. From that article, also, we learn that Bishop Vallejo's predecessor, Bishop Corní, a native of the city, was the son of a metal founder there. It is not inconceivable that this may have had some bearing on Montesinos's interests, as I shall point out presently.

<sup>2</sup> Medina, *Imprenta en Lima*, I, pp. 312-313, cites it, but apparently without having seen it. He refers to León-Pinelo, II, col. 779.

<sup>3</sup> Medina, *Imprenta en Lima*, I, pp. 315-317, describes the first edition, which is very rare indeed, a copy existing in the British Museum and another having been formerly owned by the late Henry Stevens. Mr. Stevens described it in his *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 173. The first edition was brought out in Lima by Pedro de Cabrera in 1639. Better known is the second edition, entitled *Auto/ de la fe/ celebrado en/ Lima a 23. de Enero/ de 1639./* It was brought out in Madrid in 1640 by the *Imprenta del Reyno*. The John Carter Brown Library has a copy of it, and details concerning it can be gathered from: Vindel, *Bibliografía Gráfica*, under No. 711; Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana*, II, p. 424; Maggs, *Bibliotheca Americana*, 1922.

A very rare item connected with this same *Auto de la fé* is:

*Discurso/ que en el insigne/ auto de la fe, celebrado en/ esta Real ciudad de Lima, aueinte y tres de/ Enero de 1639. años:/ predico el M.R.P.P. Joseph de Zisne/ ros. . .* Lima. Geronymo de Contreras.

After a time of literary activity, Father Montesinos gave up his comfortable home in Lima and, in 1642, made a journey to Cajamarca, an arduous undertaking in those days and even now of considerable difficulty.

Soon thereafter Father Montesinos returned to Spain where he became vicar of Campana, a small village some thirty miles from Seville. In 1644 Father Montesinos addressed a *Memorial* to the King in which he besought his liege to reward his services with some preferment wherewith he could live commodiously in Lima for the rest of his days.<sup>4</sup> His petition did not meet with success, and he died in Spain without ever returning, so far as we know, to Peru. The date of his demise is not known with any degree of certainty.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The *Memorial* is in the British Museum and is very interesting.

<sup>5</sup> Sources of information concerning the life of Montesinos include:

Jiménez de la Espada, in 1882 edition cited below.

Markham and Means, in 1920 edition cited below.

Ternaux-Compans, in 1840 edition cited below.

Mendiburu, V, p. 341.

Moses, pp. 328-329.

Medina, *Imprenta en Lima*, I, pp. 312-313, 315-317. (At the latter place Don José Toribio Medina prints a document signed by Philip II at Lisbon on December 24th, 1581, in which leave is given to Hernando de Montesinos to go to Peru in order to look after some property there. This cannot possibly refer to our author, albeit Sr. Medina seems to think that it does, but it may well refer to some near kinsman of his. We know that our Montesinos had a nephew, Don Francisco Montesinos, who, in 1637, made a journey to the montaña of Tarma and brought thence to his uncle's house in Lima some savage Indians of that region. The Hernando de Montesinos of the King's document may have been the father or an uncle of our author.)

See also materials in the Brasseur-Pinart-Yale Mss. cited below, and also in:

MAFFEI, EUGENIO; and, RUA Y FIGUEROA, RAMÓN:

1871-1872 *Apuntes para una Biblioteca Española de libros, folletos y artículos, impresos y manuscritos, relativos al conocimiento y explotación de las riquezas minerales y a las ciencias auxiliares*. Madrid. Two volumes. Vol. I, p. 482.

(I know this work and passage only through citations by Medina and by Palau y Dulcet.)

The only sixteenth century writer that I know of who commented upon Montesinos was Friar Manuel Rodríguez and he spoke praisingly of him, in *El Marañón y Amazonas*. Madrid 1684. Alcedo merely enumerates some of his writings.

We now arrive at the thorny question of Montesinos's importance as an historian of pre-Hispanic Peru. In the present connection the only one of his works which interests us is his *Memorias antiguas historiales del Perú*, for neither the two works already mentioned—both of them entirely outside of the range of native history—nor his *Anales del Perú*—which deals with post-Conquest times and was finished in Spain about 1644, have any bearing upon our present theme of study.

The discussion of Montesinos's merits and demerits as an historian can best be opened by quoting a passage in the already mentioned book of Maffei and Rua Figueroa. It runs thus: "Father Rodríguez, in *El Marañón y Amazonas*, says that no one was better versed in the antiquities of Peru than Montesinos. He possessed numerous manuscripts which he bought in Lima from the estate of the Bishop of Quito, Don Luis López, and this circumstance, coupled to that of his having examined the archives of Trujillo, Lima, Potosí, etc., make him pass for a truthful and trustworthy author, however much, in our opinion, some of the statements in his *Memorias del Pirú* may appear to be mistaken. He must have taken them, without sifting them, from the jumbled and confused mass of knowledge represented by the Peruvian chroniclers and commentators of the XVth century, not all of them well educated, and still fewer dispassionate in their opinions."<sup>6</sup>

This passage suggests several lines which may well be followed. In the first place his purchase of the manuscripts formerly owned by Bishop López is distinctly interesting.

Don Luis López de Solís was fourth Bishop of Quito, and he ruled that see from 1593 until his death in 1600. To judge by the account of him given by Archbishop González Suárez, his

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<sup>6</sup> I copy textually the language of this passage as it stands in Medina, *Imprenta en Lima*, I, p. 317:

"El padre Rodríguez, en *El Marañón y Amazonas*, dice que ninguno conoció mejor que Montesinos las antigüedades del Perú. Poseyó numerosos Mss. que compró en Lima de la propiedad del obispo de Quito don Luis López, cuya circunstancia y el haber registrado los archivos de Trujillo, Lima, Potosí, etc. le hacen pasar como autor verídico y fehaciente por más que, en nuestro concepto, aparezcan equivocadas algunas de sus noticias insertas en las *Memorias del Pirú*, que debió tomar sin depurarlas, del enmarañado y revuelto arsenal de los cronistas peruanos del siglo XV (sic), no todos instruidos, ni menos desapasionados."

successor—after some centuries—in office,<sup>7</sup> he was a prelate of singular worthiness. For us, however, the importance of the purchase of his manuscripts by Father Montesinos turns upon the character of Bishop López as an historian rather than upon his character as a churchman. Regarding the former point I find no helpful information in the pages of Archbishop González; on the contrary, I find a confusing statement to the effect that when he died, in Lima, Bishop López bequeathed all his books to the Convent of the Augustinians in that city, to which also he presented a rich tapestry destined to the embellishment of the chapel of the Christ of Burgos.<sup>8</sup> Altogether, therefore, I am a little skeptical of the historical importance of the alleged purchase by Montesinos of the manuscripts of Bishop López de Solís.

The second point raised by Señores Maffei and Rua, namely, the uncritical use by our author of earlier writers, is far more important.

The great thing to remember about Montesinos is this: He was but a repeater who re-uttered things said by persons earlier and more authoritative than himself. Chief among those who gave Montesinos his information was Father Blas Valera, *q. v.*, who had written with rare sagacity many years before.<sup>9</sup>

From the writings of Valera our author borrowed very extensively, but without acknowledgments. In this he differed greatly from the Inca Garcilaso, who also made copious use of materials derived from Father Valera, but with many acknowledgments.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that Montesinos *did* draw upon Valera, who was an authority of the first importance. He may also have made observations on his own account during his journeys through the Andean region. Finally, he may have consulted such published works as those of Cieza de León, *q. v.*, Garcilaso de la Vega, *q. v.*, Zárate, *q. v.*, and others. Furthermore, we have a passage in Book I, Chapter iv, of the *Memorias* in which

<sup>7</sup> GONZÁLEZ SUÁREZ, ARCHBISHOP FEDERICO:

1881 *Historia eclesiástica del Ecuador*. . . Quito. Pp. 329-359.

<sup>8</sup> González Suárez, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

<sup>9</sup> See the Introductions to the 1920 edition of Montesinos by the late Sir Clements Markham and by P. A. Means. See also:

PATRÓN, PABLO:

1906 *La veracidad de Montesinos*. Revista histórica, I, pp. 290-303. Lima.

Montesinos clearly indicates that he did make investigations into the history of the country and its people and that he did buy some books—whether those of Bishop López or of another person is not shown—at a public auction.<sup>10</sup>

The trouble was, however, that Montesinos was rather a fool at times. When we compare him with his co-religionists, Acosta, *q. v.*, Cobo, *q. v.*, Oliva, *q. v.*, and Valera, *q. v.*, we find that his mentality is far below the level of that limpid sagacity which is their chief characteristic. He assumed that the date of the Creation was historically fixed at 4004 B. C., and that the universal deluge occurred in 2200 B. C. Not content with that, he sought to invest the personalities of Noah and his grandson, Ophir, with historical validity, and finally he declared that Peru in particular and America in general were peopled by Ophir and his followers.

These absurdities have seriously obscured the true importance of the *Memorias antiguas* of Montesinos. But we must not let them blind us to the fact that, underneath all his vulgar credulity, Montesinos was the preserver of a definite body of entirely authentic folklore derived from unimpeachable sources by Father Valera and others. In the introductory matter which I inserted in the Hakluyt Society's edition of the *Memorias* an effort was made to strip away the nonsense contained in the book and to lay bare the solid material therein. It was shown that the ancient history of Peru as contained in the *Memorias* agrees remarkably well with what other early writers and modern archæology have to tell us. I am not aware that my views in this connection have been disputed.

Manuscripts containing the writings of Father Montesinos are on record as follows:

1. Three volumes of manuscripts in the writing of Father Montesinos and embodying, we may suppose, *all* of his historical writings, both the *Memorias* and the *Anales del Perú*. These volumes were in the Monastery of San José, in Seville, which belonged to the Barefooted Friars of Our Lady of Mercy. The volumes were copied for Don Juan Bautista Muñoz through the interest of the powerful Minister, Don José de Galvez. The copy was made in the summer of 1785 by Friar José de San Antonio Abad who tampered with the text in copying it and was severely reprimanded therefor by Galvez.

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<sup>10</sup> See pp. 1-2, note, of the 1882 and 1920 editions, cited below.

2. A manuscript proceeding from the library of the University of Seville and consisting of a quarto volume of 215 leaves containing the *Ophir de España, Memorias historiales y políticas del Perú*, in three Books. Markham describes it fully in his Introduction to the Hakluyt edition, and Jiménez still more so in his Introduction to the 1882 edition. This manuscript differs in the number of its chapters from that of the San José Monastery.

3. A manuscript in the handwriting of Montesinos for the most part. Formerly it belonged to Don Serafín Estévez Calderón, and now it is in the National Library in Madrid, under the signature Ms. J-189, folio. Don Marcos Jiménez gives the title in full (1882, p. xxi) but briefly stated it runs: *Memorias/ Antiguas i Nuevas del/ Piru/*, and it contains both the *Memorias* and the *Anales*. Don Marcos considered this manuscript to be the best of these three.

4. A manuscript in the Muñoz collection now preserved in the Royal Academy of History in Madrid under the signature A-155. This is probably the copy made by Friar José de San Antonio Abad, for Muñoz, as related above under No. 1.

5. A manuscript volume in the Yale University Library. This volume contains Parts One and Two of the *Memorias*. It was made for the celebrated Maya scholar, the Abbé C. E. Brasseur de Bourbourg, and later belonged to Alphonse Pinart, coming into the possession of Yale in 1888. This is attested by the bookplates in the volume and by the citations given by Medina, *Imprenta en Lima*, I, p. 316. I do not know from what manuscript the present one was copied for the Abbé.

6. Another manuscript in the Yale University Library, entitled *Libro segundo de las memorias antiguas historiales del Perú*, and accompanied by a translation into English thereof. This manuscript was made for and belonged to the late William S. Beebe, and was presented to Yale in 1915 by his daughter, Miss Frances Dorothy Beebe. The phraseology of this manuscript is widely different from the language of Jiménez's edition. To compare the openings of the two, double columns may be used:

*Jiménez's version.*

Capítulo Primero.

Del modo con que al principio se introdujo el señorío y mando entre los Indios del Pirú.

Después de haber Ophir poblado la Hamérica, instruyó á sus hijos y nietos en el temor de Dios y observancia de la Ley natural. Etc.

*Beebe manuscript.*

Capitulo 1º.

Como se introdujo el señorío y mando en los Indios del Peru.

La multiplicidad de personas que ya no cabian en la Armenia y el precepto de Dios al patriarcha Noe y los suyos de poblar el mundo, obligo a sus nietos y descendientes a separarse. Etc.

I do not know from what original the transcript made for Mr. Beebe was taken.

7. A manuscript volume in the New York Public Library containing Books I and II of the *Memorias antiguas historiales, y políticas del Perú*, and also *Los Annales del Perú*. This volume came to the late James Lenox from the late Obadiah Rich, and a pencilled note within the cover states that it was this manuscript which served Prescott in his labours.

Editions of the *Memorias* may be cited thus:

1840 *Mémoires historiques sur l'ancien Pérou*.  
Edited by H. Ternaux-Compans.  
Paris.

An exceedingly poor edition based upon the bad copy of which I speak above under Nos. 1 and 4.

1870 *Memorias antiguas historiales y políticas del Perú*.  
In *Revista de Buenos Aires*, vols. XX, XXI, and XXII.  
Buenos Aires.

I take this citation from Medina, *Imprenta en Lima*, I, p. 316, as I have never seen this edition.

1882 *Memorias antiguas historiales y políticas del Perú*.  
Edited by Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada.  
In *Col. libs. Esps. raros o curiosos*, XVI.  
Madrid.

Based upon Book II of manuscript No. 2, cited above. The dedicatory epistle to Ilmo. Sr. Don Cesáreo Fernández Duro serves as an Introduction and is of great importance, albeit by no means a model of clarity.

1920 *Memorias antiguas historiales del Peru*.  
Edited by Philip Ainsworth Means and enriched by an Introduction by the late Sir Clements Markham, K.C.B.  
Hakluyt Society.  
London.

A translation of the 1882 edition.

As Jiménez de la Espada has pointed out, Father Montesinos planned originally to give the world a mighty work almost equal in scope and pretension to *Los Comentarios Reales* of Garcilaso, to the *Historia Natural y Moral* of Acosta, to the *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* of Cobo, and to the *Miscelánea Antártica* of Cabello de Balboa, *q. v. omnes*. It was to be called *Ophir de España* and was to consist of Part One, the *Memorias antiguas*, and Part Two, the *Annales del Perú*. To date only Book II of Part One has been



printed, and all of Part Two.<sup>11</sup> I have seen Book I in the Bras-seur-Pinart-Yale manuscript cited above and can testify that it is of no great importance. It covers more or less the same ground as that which Acosta and Cobo go over with much greater thoroughness and wisdom and it contains a precious deal of nonsense to boot. I have never had an opportunity to examine Book III, which is wanting in the just-mentioned manuscript. Part Two, the *Annales*, deals with post-Colombian history, and is of considerable importance.

Turning now to Part One, Book II, the published portion of the *Memorias antiguas*, I shall briefly point out why it is a very valuable source of historical importance.

The published portion, then, of the *Memorias*, shows us in some detail the general trend of pre-Incaic and Incaic history in Peru. True, many of the events are misplaced, and many facts are wrongly reported. Nevertheless, the substance is fundamentally sound, and of peculiar value as showing the history of the Andeans over a long period of time, their wars, their social and political development, and their culture in general. Much has been said against Montesinos on the score of his gullibility and imprecision, his editors and translators being among the sharpest of his critics. Yet he has always had his defenders, notably Father Manuel Rodríguez, almost a contemporary of his, and a writer already cited above. In later times, too, Montesinos has had champions, among them that much-neglected writer John D. Baldwin, who, in 1872, was among the first to give Father Montesinos a due credit for his labour.<sup>12</sup> Against this favourable notice must be set the depreciatory comments of Prescott, in the 1840s, and Squier, in the 1870s. Even so, modern writers, including Uhle, Beuchat, Markham, Bingham, Means, Jijón y Caamaño, Riva-Agüero, Nordenskiöld, Rivet, Locke, W. G. Mortimer, Wiese, and H. B. Alexander, always make a point of consulting Montesinos.

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<sup>11</sup> *Los Annales del Perú*, edited by Don Víctor Maúrtua, Madrid, 1906, 2 vols.

<sup>12</sup> BALDWIN, JOHN D.:

1872 *Ancient America, in Notes on American Archæology*. New York. On pp. 261-276 there is a really admirable critique of the published portion of Montesinos—represented in those days solely by Ternaux-Compans's 1840 edition.

As Sir Clements Markham has said, Father Montesinos was a literary pirate. But, because he pillaged richly laden vessels from whose holds he extracted treasures of folklore and of history, as well as much rubbish, he managed to bring to port many priceless bits of information half hidden under a mass of trivialities. It is to be hoped, therefore, that one day we shall be given a definitive edition of his writings *in toto*, an edition based upon a careful comparative study of all the available manuscripts, ancient and modern, in which his writings are embodied. This edition, if it is to be truly definitive, will be subjected to the same critical processes that I strove to apply to my translation of Book II of the *Memorias*, a process whose purpose is that of stripping away the foolish passages resultant from Father Montesinos's vulgar credulity and absurd enslavement to the Old Testament in order that the authentic and significant historical material preserved by him may be clearly revealed.

#### MORÚA, FRIAR MARTIN DE:

Like so many others, this writer is his own biographer for, in the last analysis, all, or nearly all, of our knowledge concerning him comes from himself.

He was born at Azpeitia in the noble province of Guipúzcoa, close to the western end of the Pyrenees. The probable date of Morúa's birth is 1560 or thereabouts. In due course he joined the Order of Our Lady of Mercy and, in pursuit of his missionary calling, went to America. His priestly career there is very slightly known beyond the fact that his name is associated with two cures of souls on the shores of Lake Titicaca, the one being Capachica and the other Huata. Don Carlos Romero, of Lima, made diligent but unsuccessful efforts to learn more about him from his latter-day co-religionists, the Mercedarians of Cuzco. The late Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada believed that Morúa was at one time archdeacon of the cathedral in Cuzco and *comendador* of the convent of la Merced in that city. He finished his *Orígen é Historia de los Incas* at Cuzco in 1590. Of his life after that time we know nothing.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Antonio, II, pp. 106-107.  
León Pinelo.

The full title of Morúa's work is: *Historia del origen y genealogia real de los Reyes Incas del Peru, de sus hechos, costumbres, trajes, y manera de gobierno*. Manuscripts of the work are on record as follows:

1. The original manuscript, titled as above, found by Don Manuel González de la Rosa in the mother-house of the Jesuits, at San Ignacio de Lóyola. As the author was not a member of the Society of Jesus it is somewhat odd that his original manuscript should be there.

2. A copy of the Lóyola manuscript, in the Muñoz collection at the Royal Academy of History, Madrid.

3. Dr. González de la Rosa's copy of the Lóyola manuscript. I do not know where it is now.

4. Sir Clements Markham's copy of González de la Rosa's copy. This manuscript was used by Sir Clements for his translation (still unpublished) of Morúa's work, and was frequently used by him while writing "The Incas of Peru." He afterwards sent it to Lima, where it came into the hands of Dr. Urteaga.

5. A new copy of the original Lóyola manuscript, secured by Dr. Urteaga through the Superior of the Jesuits in Lima, Father Ignacio del Olmo.

Editions of the book exist as follows:

- 1911 *Origen e historia de los Incas*.  
 Edited by Don Manuel González de la Rosa.  
 Lima.

Dr. González died before he could complete the publication of this edition. The text leaves off in Part II, Ch. ii, p. 40. This editor used or consulted manuscripts 1, 2, and 3, mentioned above.

Jiménez de la Espada, in his Letter to the Count of Toreno, 1879, p. xxxviii.

González de la Rosa, in edition of 1911, cited below.

Romero, in edition of 1920, cited below.

SALMERÓN, FRAY MARCOS:

- 1646 *Recerdos historicos/ y politicos/ de los Servicios que los Generales y/ Varones Illustres de la Religion de Nra. Señora de la Mrd . . . han echo a/ los Reyes de España. . .* Valencia. Bernardo Nogues, en casa de los herederos de Chrysostomo Garriz.

Alcedo departs from the generally accepted authorities on this author, for he declares that he was born at Guarnica in the province of Vizcaya. He also gives the title of Morúa's work differently from the usual form, calling it *Historia general de los Quipos de los Yndios, y otras antigüedades del Perú con muchos Retratos y dibujos*. This work was written, according to Alcedo, in 1619, and the Ms. belonged at one time to Don Lorenzo Ramírez del Prado. It is even possible that the work thus cited by Alcedo is distinct from the one which is discussed below.

1922 *Historia de los Incas Reyes del Perú.*

Edited by Drs. Horacio H. Urteaga and Carlos A. Romero.  
*Col. libs. docs. refs. hist. Peru, 2d series, IV.*  
 Lima.

This edition is by far the most convenient for the scholar of to-day. It is based upon manuscripts 4 and 5, mentioned above.

The book is valuable, on the whole, but strangely streaked with folly, gossip, and contradictions. The work is divided into three Books (or Parts) containing various chapters some of which are blank, as though the author had not yet composed them. The most interesting points in the *Historia* are these:

Book One, Ch. i. The Viceroy Toledo is said to have found out that, in the period preceding the rise to power of the Incas, there was a condition of chaos in which each *ayllu* or tribe had its own small village and local chief of the patriarchal type. Warfare was general, and the summits of hills were fortified for military purposes. The fields and pastures of the *ayllu* lay close to the village.

Book One, Ch. ii. A very garbled, but nevertheless interesting version of the Tampu Toco myth.

Book One, Ch. iii. Garbled versions of the Titicaca and resplendent youth myths of the origin of the Incas. "Mango Cápac" established Sun-worship as the state religion, but every tribe had its own *huaca* or idol in addition. Mango Cápac married his sister, "Mama Vaco," and their son, Sinchi Roca, was the heir.

Chapters iv-vi, inclusive, which ought to treat of the reigns of Sinchi Roca, Lloque Yupanqui, and Maita Cápac, are blank.

Book One, Ch. vii. Cápac Yupanqui, the fifth Inca, was not only a bellicose ruler but also a very intelligent one. By pure reasoning he came to the conclusion that the Sun, so regular in its movements, was but a messenger of some other and greater God. He, the Inca, therefore founded the worship of Pachacamac the Creator, to whom he addressed eloquent prayers. This material should be studied in conjunction with analogous data in Cabello de Balboa, *q. v.*

Chapters viii-xiii, inclusive, an account of Inca history in no wise important. It agrees, in the main, with that of Garcilaso.

Chapters xvi-xxii, inclusive, are rather quaint, for they contain the lives of the *coyas* or queens.

Chapters xxiii-xxvi, inclusive, are blank.

Book Two. This Book is chiefly taken up with the lives of prominent Incas, not all of whom are models of bravery and virtue.

Book Three, Ch. i. Some generalities regarding the appearance and mode of life of the Incas. They held it to be vile to eat twice

from the same vessel, and they made a complete change of raiment four times a day, never using the same garment twice. Their progresses through their realms were made with much pomp.

Book Three, Ch. ii and Ch. iii, an account of the splendour of the Incas' palaces and of the litters in which they travelled. The post-runners, *chasquis*, are mentioned, and it is stated that a message could be borne from Cuzco to Quito in 15 days.

Book Three, Ch. iv. Morúa, in this chapter, gives one of the harshest estimates of the Indians' character ever known. He ascribes to them every known form of vice and vileness, allowing them no good traits whatever. This passage is followed, however, by a more valuable one in which the schools of the Incas are described.

Book Three, Ch. v. A very interesting account of the governmental hierarchy of the Incaic state and of the privileges and duties of the divers ranks in it.

Book Three, Ch. vi. A brief account of the rules of inheritance in the Incaship. This is followed by a quaint passage in which the orgiastic and bibulous character of life at the Inca court is emphasized. This again is followed by a statement to the effect that each Inca felt in honour bound to extend his dominions and that as a result warfare for conquest was almost incessant.

Chapters vii to xx contained important data on customs, government, and general civilization of the Incas. These chapters can well be studied in conjunction with analogous chapters in Garcilaso and Cobo and Cieza.

Book Three, Ch. xxi. An important chapter from the historical standpoint. It is stated that there was a pre-Incaic state which extended from Vilcanota down to Chile. At the former place was a wall, no doubt that to which Lizárraga, *q. v.*, made reference. The chief of this great state was Jauilla, and other chiefs of his dynasty were named Tocai Cápac and Pinan Cápac. They all ruled before the Incas, and had for a captain a man named Choque Chuman.

Chapters xxii and xxiii deal with internal polity of the Incas—storehouses, punishments and so on.

Book Three, Ch. xxiv. More about the *chasquis*, or post-runners. The runners covered, by relays, 15 or 16 leagues a day.

Chapters xxvi to xxviii, inclusive, tell about *tambos*, roadhouses, about bridges and about boundary-stones. Chapters xxix to xxxiv, inclusive, tell about roads and about Inca marriages. Chapter xxxv is blank.

In Chapters xxxvi to xliii, inclusive, Father Morúa gives his account of the *acllas* or consecrated women. It is an important series of data. He speaks of eunuchs as being used as guardians of the women. López de Gomara, *q. v.*, does likewise.

The remainder of the book is of no great importance.

Morúa is, in fact, a valuable, but unreliable, writer of the second rank. His self-contradictions are innumerable, and in some of his chapters, especially those dealing with the splendour of the Inca court, he is carried away by his imagination. It will be well, however, for the careful student always to see what Morúa has to say on any given point.

#### NIZA, FRIAR MARCOS DE:

This writer, whose real family name is not known, was born at Nice, then a part of the Duchy of Savoy, about 1500. He became a Franciscan and, in 1530 or 1531, set out for Mexico in order to engage in missionary work there. Arrived at Hispaniola, he heard news of the discovery of Peru, and he changed his plans, being desirous of going to the newly found country. He went to Peru with Don Sebastián de Benalcázar in 1531 and, like Estete, *q. v.*, was present at Cajamarca, in November, 1532, when the Emperor Atahualpa was captured. For his services in the Conquest of Peru he received 195 marks of silver and 3,330 *pesos* of gold.<sup>1</sup> It is said that he became the first head in Peru of the Franciscans, but there were no convents of that Order in Peru until, in January, 1535, the Franciscan monastery at Quito was founded.<sup>2</sup> It is probable that, with the exception of the months spent at Cajamarca, between the capture of the Emperor Atahualpa and his death, *i. e.*, from November 16, 1532, to August 29, 1533, Niza never enjoyed a peaceful moment in which he could study the history and antiquities of the amazing country in which he found himself. In general the times were very turbulent, as far as possible from being propitious to studious research. Yet it is averred by Father Juan de Velasco, *q. v.*, in Part II of this

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, one Juan de Niza is recorded as being so recompensed. See Markham's edition of Pedro Sancho's list of the doles made from the ransom of Atahualpa, in *Reports on the Discovery of Peru*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1872. It seems to me that, in spite of the different name, this must have been our Niza, for it is hardly likely that there should be two of the same patronymic in Peru at that time.

<sup>2</sup> See:

#### JIJÓN Y CAAMAÑO, JACINTO:

1919 *Exámen crítico de la veracidad de la historia del Reino de Quito del P. Juan de Velasco, de la Compañía de Jesús. Bol. Soc. Ec. Est. Hist. Am.*, I, pp. 33-63. Quito. (Especially pp. 43-46.)

Bibliography subsequently to appear, that Niza wrote a very important work on the pre-Hispanic history of Quito.

It has been fairly demonstrated by Sr. Jijón<sup>3</sup> that Niza must have left Peru before 1535 and that it is probable he did so in December, 1534, following Don Pedro de Alvarado to Mexico, as Father Velasco avers that he did. His subsequent career in New Spain and in our own Southwest is of some literary importance, but not germane to our present field of study. He died in Mexico on March 25th, 1558.<sup>4</sup>

This writer, in a word, is half-mythical so far as Peru is concerned. That is, his sole claim to being ranked among the chroniclers of Peru is based upon Velasco's citation of him as author of a work entitled *Conquista de la Provincia de Quito* and of various others none of which has ever been seen by modern eyes. When, and if, they are ever discovered it will no doubt become necessary to devote more space to Friar Marcos (or Juan) de Niza.<sup>5</sup>

#### OLIVA, FATHER JUAN ANELLO:

This writer, who is best known under the Spanish form of his name rather than under the Italian form of Giovanni Anelio Oliva, was born in Naples in 1572. Nothing is known, apparently, of his parentage. He was a pupil in the college of the Society of Jesus at Naples, where he came into contact early in life with the well-known Father Mutio Vitelleschi to whom, long years afterwards, he expressed his gratitude in a dedicatory epistle.<sup>1</sup> He made his novitiate in the Society of Jesus in November, 1593, and in 1597, apparently in part through the influence of Father Vitelleschi, he went to Peru in the southerly portions of which country he worked for many years as a missionary. Places where he

<sup>3</sup> Jijón y Caamaño, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Jijón y Caamaño, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> In addition to works already cited, see:

Mendiburu, VI, pp. 53-55.

Appleton, IV, p. 526.

Alcedo states that he was with Don Sebastián de Benalcazar only a short time.

<sup>1</sup> It is dated at Lima, May 20th, 1631, and will be found in the 1895 edition, cited below.

laboured were numerous, including Oruro, Julí (on Lake Titicaca), Chuquisaca (or La Plata, now Sucre), Potosí, and Arequipa. His later years, from 1630 onwards, were spent in Lima and Callao. In 1636 he became rector of the Jesuit college in the latter city, but we do not know how long he remained in that post, for he died at the Jesuit college of San Pablo in Lima on February 5th, 1642.<sup>2</sup>

There exists a certain amount of confusion regarding the literary and historical work of Father Oliva, but at any rate it is clear that he planned an extensive work to bear the title of *Vidas de varones ilustres de la Compañía de Jesús de la Provincia del Perú*. It was to be divided into four Books only one of which had to do with ancient times in the Andean area, the rest being concerned, as the title implies, with the lives of noteworthy Jesuits. Book One is entitled *De los Reynos del Peru; Reyes que tuuo, descubrimiento y conquista dellos por los Españoles; . . .* Editions of it exist as follows:

- 1857 *Histoire du Pérou*.  
 Edited by H. Ternaux-Compans.  
 Paris.
- 1895 *Historia del Reino y Provincias del Perú, de sus Incas Reyes, Descubrimiento y Conquista por los españoles de la Corona de Castilla. . . .*  
 Edited by Don Juan Francisco Pazos Varela and Don Luis Varela y Orbegoso.  
 Lima.

There is a considerable difficulty in stating clearly what manuscripts there are of the work of Father Oliva. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the situation is this: The British Museum is said, by Torres Saldamando, to possess an autograph copy, com-

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<sup>2</sup> Authorities for the life of Father Oliva include:

Alcedo, who calls him Angelo de Oliva.

León Pinelo, II, columns 761 and 832.

Mendiburu, VI, p. 147.

Ternaux-Compans, in 1857 edition, cited on this page.

Pazos Varela and Varela y Orbegoso, in 1895 edition, cited on this page.

Torres Saldamando, *Jesuitas*, pp. 107-111.

Palau y Dulcet, V, p. 347.

Means, in Introduction to P. Pizarro, pp. 112-113.

Backer, V, column 1883.



plete, in manuscript of the *Varones Ilustres*.<sup>3</sup> There is another manuscript, also complete, which has had, apparently, a vagrant career, for Torres Saldamando, writing in 1882, states that the circumstances concerning it are as follows: It is a manuscript in two volumes, quarto, that proceeded originally from the archives of the Jesuits in Lima. That Order, it will be remembered, was suppressed in 1767, but whether the manuscript of Oliva appeared in the world then or whether later on, I do not know. On the whole, however, it does not seem likely that the manuscript was moved from San Pablo in 1767, for that establishment was turned over, apparently *in toto*, to a new religious organization which had nothing to do with the suppressed Society of Jesus.<sup>4</sup> At any rate, we know that the first volume of the manuscript was carried to France in the early part of the nineteenth century by M. Chauvette des Fosses, who was presumably an official of some kind, and that, on his death, it was purchased by Ternaux-Compans. Characteristically he misused the manuscript, basing his exceedingly bad French version of 1857 upon it, and subsequently he sold it at auction, on which occasion it was bought by Don Manuel González de la Rosa. He subsequently bought the second volume of the manuscript from a syndic of the Congregation of San Felipe Neri, which was the organization that received the college of San Pablo and its incidental property. Thus Dr. González became possessed of the whole work. He was not a wealthy man, however, and it is fair and reasonable to assume that, after 1882, when Torres Saldamando was writing, he sold the two volumes of Oliva to Dr. Don Felipe Varela y Valle, who was the owner of it when Señores Pazos and Varela made their 1895 edition of the First Book.

<sup>3</sup> Torres Saldamando, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

It is Add. Mss. 25,327 and is entitled *Historia del Perú*. How anyone can say that it is complete I do not know, for, although it does have *Libro primero. Introducción á las Vidas de Varones Ilustres de la Compañía de Jesús*, folios 22-223, there is no trace of Books II, III, and IV. See:

GAYANGOS, PASCUAL DE:

1875-1881 *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Spanish Language in the British Museum*. London. Three volumes. II, pp. 469-470.

\* See:

*Coleccion/ de las aplicaciones que se/ van haciendo de los Bienes, Casas, y Co-/ legios que fueron de los Regulares de la/ Compañía de Jesus, expatriados de estos/ Reales Dominios*. Lima, 1772-1773. Two volumes. Pp. 1-24.

The conclusion of this long tale is this: Ternaux-Compans based his bad French version on the same material that Señores Pazos and Varela used for their excellent Spanish edition of Book One.<sup>5</sup>

The work of Father Oliva is divided in four Books of several chapters each, and these, in turn, contain each one a number of sections.<sup>6</sup> The passages which interest us are found in Chapters One and Two. In Section 2 of Chapter One there are some interesting comments on the natural features of Peru and its climate in connection with which our author corrects a mistake of Juan Botero's to the effect that winter begins in October and lasts until April. This same Botero, it will be remembered, was cited by Córdoba y Salinas, *q. v.*, and by Garcilaso, *q. v.*, in another connection. Oliva, by the bye, cites the Inca with frequency and quotes him at considerable length.

In Chapter Two our author gives us his version of Inca history. He starts out by criticizing Garcilaso on the score of an undue readiness to over-emphasize the fabulous origin of Manco Capac.

<sup>5</sup> There are no real editions of any part of Oliva prior to 1857, but at least one mythical edition is to be found mentioned in bibliographical literature. Antonio is responsible for the myth of the 1632 edition, at Seville, of which Palau speaks in volume V, page 347. All the *aprobaciones* and the *licencia* which precede the 1895 edition are dated in March, 1631, at Lima, and Oliva's dedicatory epistle to Father Vitelleschi is so, likewise. As Torres has pointed out, the cause of the myth is the fact that Padre Alonso Messia, cited as an authority for Arriaga, *q. v.*, published his *Catálogo de algunos varones insignes en santidad . . .* in Seville in 1632.

Dr. González de la Rosa, in a note on page 199 of volume II of the *Revista Histórica*, Lima, 1907, gives further data about the manuscript of Oliva formerly owned by him. He tells us that its present abiding-place is the National Library of Peru, where it has been since 1900, and that the Lima edition of the work represents only the Introduction.

<sup>6</sup> That is to say the material is arranged thus in the 1895 edition. Having regard for the extreme badness of the editorial judgment of Ternaux-Compans, as evidenced in his French versions of Cabello de Balboa, *q. v.*, Montesinos, *q. v.*, and Xerez, *q. v.*, I profoundly distrust his version of Oliva, which is merely divided into chapters. The Spanish edition of Señores Pazos Varela and Varela y Orbegoso, on the other hand, seems to me trustworthy, although one wishes that it were better printed. In passing, I would mention that their statement, on the title-page, that the work was written in 1598 is to me inexplicable in view of the fact that the preliminary documents all bear the date of March, 1631. It may be, of course, that they had some good reason to believe that the work was begun in that year, which is entirely credible.

He then goes on to say that he has read all the histories that he could find and that he has consulted the *quipu-camayoc-cuna* or keepers of the knot-records. Moreover, and this is very significant, he has consulted the writings of Padre Blas de Valera, *q. v.* According to him, so Oliva avers, the rule of the Incas lasted between five and six hundred years, beginning a little after 900 A. D. Before that time, according to Garcilaso, the people of Peru lived scattered in confusion throughout the country, wearing for the most part "only such raiment as they brought with them from the wombs of their mothers."<sup>7</sup>

This conception of pre-Incaic polity is rejected by Oliva who prefers to hold fast by the beliefs uttered by Catari, a chief and quipu-camayoc of Cochabamba, descendant of knot-record keepers and chroniclers of the Inca kings. According to this worthy many Indians did live in a state of social chaos before the rise of the Incas, but many others dwelt in some sort of communities, with chiefs and leading men to guide them. At last the Incas made good their rule, introducing their special forms of polity, religion, and culture generally.

The opinions here presented are set forth in the opening passages of Chapter Two, in a species of introductory passage preceding Section One: The descent of the first Inca, Manco Capac, is then traced with a wealth of singularly charming detail and in a manner not to be found in any other of the early chronicles. Oliva derived his materials from the already mentioned quipu-camayoc, Catari, descendant of Illa who invented the quipu and who was the first keeper of the knot-records; he derived further knowledge from some antique papers given to him by Dr. Don Bartolomé Cervantes, sometime prebendary of the cathedral of los Charcas at Chuquisaca.

Because the story related by Father Oliva has every appearance of being authentic folklore, and because, in addition to being delightful, it is very little known by modern writers, I briefly retell it here as best I may. Here it is:

After the great Deluge, by one route or another, the ancestors of the Indians reached Caracas<sup>8</sup> where they made a halt for a time.

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<sup>7</sup> P. 19 of the 1895 edition.

<sup>8</sup> The place meant may be Caracas in Venezuela, but it seems more likely that Caragues on the coast of Ecuador was intended.

After a while they began to multiply and to spread out through all parts of Peru, which name Oliva applies to South America in general. Some of the people went to a place called Sumpa, which the Spaniards called Santa Elena,<sup>9</sup> and there they made a great settlement under the benevolent rule of a chief named Tumbe or Tumba. After years of felicity this chief became desirous to discover new lands. Accordingly he sent off an expedition under the command of a captain of his with orders to report at the end of a year what they had found. No news was ever received of the expedition, and after a time Tumbe, now a very old man, died of grief, thinking that some terrible disaster had overtaken his emissaries. The old chief, before dying, bade his people, and in particular his two sons, Quitumbe and Otoya, to seek for those who had gone forth.

Soon after their father's death, however, the brothers quarrelled regarding the rulership and Quitumbe, although he was the elder, decided that peace would best be preserved and his father's commands obeyed if he retired from his birthplace at Sumpa, taking his own followers with him.

Quitumbe went southwards to some delightful plains beside the sea where he made a settlement which he named Tumbes in honour of his father's memory. He had left behind him his wife, Llira, who was pregnant by him and so preferred not to leave Sumpa. She was willing enough to let Quitumbe go, however, because he had given her his promise to return to her within a certain period.

In due course Llira gave birth to a son whom she named Guayanay, the Swallow. At the time when he was born Quitumbe was in the south and was sending exploring parties down the coast as far as the Rimac valley, his purpose being partly to find traces of the people sent out by Tumbe and partly to discover what sort of country there might be in that direction.

Otoya, the younger brother of Quitumbe, remained meanwhile at Sumpa as sole ruler. He gave free rein to the natural viciousness of his character and at length so outraged his subjects that a plot was made to kill him. He heard of it, however, and barbarously slaughtered the conspirators. Just then some hideous giants appeared on the scene, huge men of abominable wickedness, who came by sea in *balsas* or rafts. Their vices were so heinous that

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<sup>9</sup> On the Ecuadorian coast.

at length they were destroyed by fire from heaven after having made the lives of Otoya and his people unbearable during a considerable time.<sup>10</sup>

Quitumbe, meanwhile, remained at Tumbes forgetful of his wife Llira. He had a wandering career in his later years, for he migrated with his people from Tumbes to La Puna, where they stayed for a time on account of the excellent maize and fields for husbandry. Thence they moved on to Quito, a town which Quitumbe established and designated with his name. From there he sent forth some of his followers to settle in the south, in the regions of Cuzco and los Charcas, but he himself, after a while, moved down to the coast again where he founded the town and temple of Pachacamac, making agriculture and settled society possible by means of elaborate irrigation works. There Quitumbe died, leaving behind him a second son, Thome, who was very bellicose and who was the first of the warlike chiefs of the coast-country.

Llira, the wife whom Quitumbe had abandoned at Sumpa, had in the meanwhile become furiously angry with her ungrateful husband. Taking her son, Guayanay, with her, she went up into the mountains of Tancar<sup>11</sup> where, bathed in tears, she besought Pachacamac and the Sun to avenge her upon Quitumbe. Her prayer was answered by a sign from heaven in the form of a tempest of thunder and lightning followed by a swift and complete clearing. Out of gratitude she wished to sacrifice Guayanay, her beautiful son, but he was snatched from the very pyre by an eagle which carried him to an isle in the sea where he dwelt until he was an exquisite lad of twenty-two. Being of an adventuresome spirit, like his forebears, he made a raft and went to the mainland. He was captured there by some voyagers in canoes who haled him along to their chief. After some enquiry concerning the youth's history, the chief determined to sacrifice the lad to his gods at an impending festival. The daughter of the ruler, however, fell in love with him and rescued him. Together Guayanay and his deliverer, the beautiful maiden Cigar, fled to the isle where he had grown up, and they lived there in complete happiness for many

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<sup>10</sup> Baci, *q. v.*, gives an account of these same giants, discreetly putting it in Latin.

<sup>11</sup> Perhaps Tarma. Ternaux-Compans has Jancar, perhaps Jauja.

years, having many children of whom their heir was their son, Atau.

Thome, half-brother of Guayanay, was lord of the coast and of Quito during all this time. He was a stern, but a just, ruler; he particularly frowned upon adultery, always punishing those guilty of it with death. A son of Thome committed the forbidden sin and fled from his father's wrath, arriving after a time at the isle where Atau was ruling a small group of people. The son of Thome joined them. After a time Atau died of old age, and he was succeeded by his heir Manco, from whom sprang the dynasty of the Incas.

In this account of the peopling of Peru practiced interpreters of folklore will find much to delight them. One fears, however, that those unpracticed in such matters will also be for trying their hands at it, but that cannot be helped.

Incaic history proper as set forth by Oliva agrees in the main with the version of Garcilaso, the chief variations being in the matter of proper names. There is relatively little incidental material concerning the cultural aspects of Incaic history, but nevertheless it is always worth while to consult Father Oliva if one wishes to describe the rise to imperial power of the great dynasty that ruled from Cuzco.<sup>12</sup>

#### ORÉ, BISHOP LUIS GERÓNIMO DE:

This writer is one of the least known and least often cited of the chroniclers of Peru. He was born at Huamanga, the modern Ayacucho, about 1554. His father was Don Antonio de Oré y Río and his mother was Doña Luisa Díaz de Rojas de Oré. This worthy couple were distinguished people in the Peru of their day, for Don Antonio was *Corregidor* of Huamanga. They had a large family, including our author and his three brothers, as well as a number of daughters, but strangely enough all of the children of Don Antonio and Doña Luisa joined the Church, the lads as Franciscan monks, the girls as nuns.

Our author, Don Luis Gerónimo, had the advantage, rare in

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<sup>12</sup> Father Oliva is important as being one of our few sources of information concerning Father Blas Valera, and will be mentioned prominently in my article on that writer.

those days, of prolonged travel in Europe. He was in Rome in 1605, when Pope Paul V (Camillo Borghese) was just beginning his stormy period upon Saint Peter's throne. Just previous to his going to Italy, Father Oré had been in Spain, where he had much interested himself in the sending of missionaries of his Order to Florida. In 1604 he had published a *Relación de los mártires que ha habido en la Florida*, a work of some interest for that part of American history. The fact that he, a Peruvian born, wrote about Florida puts him in the same class as the Inca Garcilaso, *q. v.*, with whom, at Córdoba in 1612, he had friendly and sympathetic contact.

In 1620, as a reward for his missionary labours and for his then much valued pietistic works, Father Oré was appointed by Philip III to be Bishop of Concepción, in Chile. He left Spain in that same year and went to his diocese by way of Lima. His last years were spent laboriously at his post of duty, and he died there in 1627.<sup>1</sup>

Father Oré's work on Florida lies beyond our present field of enquiry and so also do his devotional and apostolic writings. Still, because the latter were highly esteemed in their day, it will be best to name them here:

*Tratado sobre las indulgencias*, published at Alessandria, in Piedmont, Italy, in 1606.

*Relación de la vida y milagros del venerable padre Fray Francisco Solano de la Orden San Francisco*, published at Madrid in 1613.

*Corona de la Sacratísima Virgen María*, published at Madrid in 1619.

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<sup>1</sup> My materials for the life of Bishop Oré are drawn from:

Appleton, IV, p. 585.

Moses, pp. 434-439.

Mendiburu, VI, pp. 163-164.

Alcedo.

Antonio, II, p. 43.

León Pinelo, II, column 727.

Córdoba y Salinas, *Crónica*, Bk. I, Ch. iii.

Medina, *Literatura colonial de Chile*, II, pp. 80-105.

*Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena*, I, pp. 83-90, 101-107, 113-117, 123-124, and 127-132.

*Imprenta en Lima*, I, pp. 49-53.

POLO, JOSÉ TORIBIO:

1907 *Luis Jerónimo de Oré*.

*Revista Histórica*, I, pp. 74-91. Lima.

Of the works of Father Oré which interest us there are two, which I shall now describe. Editions of them may be cited thus:

- 1598 *Symbolo/ Catholico India-/ no, en el qual se declaran los/ misterios dela Fé contenidos enlos tres Symbolos Catho-/ licos, Apostolico, Niceno, y de S. Athanasio./ Contiene assi mesmo vna descrip-/ cion del nueuo orbe, y delos naturales del. Yvn orden de enseñarles la doctrina/ Christiana enlas dos lenguas Generales, Quichua y Aymara. . .*

Lima, Antonio Ricardo. Quarto.

This exceedingly rare book is one which I have seen only once, for a short period, in the British Museum. It is described, however, by Medina, with a wealth of incidental material, in *Imprenta en Lima*, I, pp. 49-53, and in *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena*, I, pp. 83-90. As the title is very long and somewhat erratically punctuated with full stops, there has been a disposition on the part of the divers bibliographers, cited by Don José Toribio Medina, to ascribe more than one work to Father Oré under the date of 1598. In truth, however, he issued but one book in that year, and of it there never was, so far as I know, a later edition. The title-page of that work is reproduced in Plate IV.

- 1602 *Ritual ó Manual de párrocos.*  
Naples.

I take this citation from Hervas and from Viñaza. This edition seems to me to be mythical or, at the least, of superlative rarity. See:

HERVAS, ABATE LORENZO:

1800- *Catálogo de las lenguas conocidas.*

1805 Madrid. Six volumes. I, pp. 244-245.

VIÑAZA, EL CONDE DE LA:

1892 *Bibliografía Española de Lenguas indígenas de América.*  
Madrid. P. 56.

*A priori*, of course, there is no reason why Father Oré could not have issued such a work; it might well be that it was an early form of his later and well-known book now to be cited. As cited by Viñaza, Oré here figures as Bishop of Huamanga, which he never was; nor was he a Bishop at all until 18 years after this.

- 1607 *Ritvale, sev/ Manvale/ Pervanvm,/ et forma brevis admini-/ strandi apud Indos sacrosancta Baptismi, Poe-/ nitentia, Eucharistiæ, Matrimonij, &/ Extremæ unctionis Sacramenta./*

Naples, Apud Io. Iacobum Carlinum, & Constantinum Vitalem.

Quarto.



This book is also very rare. Medina describes it in *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena*, I, pp. 101-107. Viñaza cites it on p. 69. Palau y Dulcet cites it in vol. V, p. 372. I have never seen any copy of it save that in the British Museum. There is no modern edition, so far as I know.

Of the two works in question, the *Símbolo Católico* of 1598, and the *Rituale seu Manuale* of 1607, the former is for us the more important. Although it is a book of distinct pietistic flavour and purpose, it contains, as its title implies, a certain amount of material valuable to the student on ancient Andean history. In Chapter vii, folios 22 to 30 verso, there is a description of the coast. According to Father Oré, that region had the generic name of *Yuncapata* or Hot Country. In his day the population there was decreasing, but the wealth of the nobles and merchants of Lima was very great. There is, unfortunately, no material on the pre-Incaic period of the coast, nor any of great importance on the Incaic period. The description of the natural features is not without interest, however, of an auxiliary sort. In Chapter viii of the *Símbolo*, folios 30 verso to 36 verso, Father Oré gives a very dry description of the mountain region and its cities, mines, etc. In Chapter ix, folios 37 to 42 verso, our author gives us a legend of the creator-god who lived and wrought at Tiaguanaco. He further reports that there were deluge-myths at Ancasmarcha, Cañaribamba and elsewhere in the highlands. According to him the Incas originated on an island in Lake Titicaca and moved thence to Pacaritambo near Cuzco. Thence, by having recourse to a stratagem of the shining mantle type, they moved to Cuzco under Manco Capac and set up their rule, as Sons of the Sun.

The *Rituale seu Manuale* is chiefly interesting from the standpoint of linguistics. It is a Catholic book of rites in Spanish, Latin, Quechua, and Aymará. Furthermore, on pages 385 to 418 there is a *Compendio de la doctrina Christiana* destined to the use of missionaries and of parish clergy in all parts of Peru. The languages in which it is set forth are, besides Spanish, Quechua, Aymará, Puquina, Mochica, Yunca, Guaraní, and the Brazilian dialect. As a text for the study of those idioms it is of great value, and incidentally it shows that our author was a man of truly great erudition.

On the whole, then, Oré's importance is chiefly of the incidental type, partly because of his accounts of the environment, but chiefly

because of his rich and varied linguistic materials. His historical matter is of slight value, being very scanty, and not the product of prolonged and careful inquiry into the antiquities, customs, and polity of the ancient Andeans.

PIZARRO, PEDRO:

This writer was born in Toledo about 1515, of gentle family, his father being a brother to Captain Don Gonzalo Pizarro, father of the Marquis Pizarro.

In 1530 Pedro Pizarro, still a lad, went to America as a page to his cousin, Francisco. From that time onward he took part in the chief events of Peru, and after the suppression of Fernández Girón's rebellion, in 1554, he settled down to a life of commodious ease at Tacna and Arequipa, in both of which places he had lands and property. He composed his *Relación* at Arequipa in 1570-71. He married twice, and had a considerable number of descendants, both legitimate and otherwise, from whom proceed various persons of quality now flourishing in southern Peru and in Bolivia.<sup>1</sup>

The manuscript of Pedro Pizarro's *Relación* is in the National Library, Madrid. Editions of it are on record as follows:

- 1844 *Relacion del Descubrimiento y Conquista de los Reinos del Peru.*  
 Edited by Don Martín Fernández de Navarrete.  
 In *Col. Docs. ineds. Hist. España*, V, pp. 201-388.  
 Madrid.
- 1917 *Relación. . .*  
 Edited by Drs. Carlos A. Romero and Horacio H. Urteaga.  
 In *Col. libs. docs. refs. hist. Peru.*  
 Lima.
- 1921 *Relation of the Discovery and Conquest of the Kingdoms of Peru.*  
 Edited by Philip Ainsworth Means.  
 Cortes Society.  
 New York. Two volumes paged *seriatim*.

The Introductory material of this edition was disordered after I had turned over the manuscript to Professor M. H. Saville, and he omitted to re-arrange it again. I could not do so because I

<sup>1</sup> Alcedo barely mentions him.

Antonio, II, p. 228, gives a brief notice of him.

Romero, in the 1917 edition, cited on this page.

Means, in the 1921 edition, cited on this page.

was in Peru while the book was going through the press. The bibliographical material, which I had hoped would be very useful, was much injured by the careless treatment that the manuscript received after it had left my hands and by the inclusion of certain irrelevant material, out of alphabetical order and not authorized by me. As a result of all this, the aspect of the bibliographical portion of the Introduction to this sole English version of Pedro Pizarro is unscholarly and confusing, and I have long been much ashamed of it, albeit when the work left my hands it was in good shape.

Although, in a general way, Pedro Pizarro belongs to the same group as Estete, *q. v.*, Sancho, *q. v.*, and Xerez, *q. v.*, whose writings are primarily of descriptive rather than historical value, he does give us a brief glimpse at Incaic history.<sup>2</sup> This is natural considering the fact that Pizarro wrote nearly forty years after the Conquest and so had time in which to pick up a certain amount of Incaic lore, which none of the other three did have.

It should be noted, however, that he made his home away from the centre of Incaic culture in regions which probably were not added to or consolidated with the empire until the days of Viracocha. It is not surprising, therefore, that Pedro Pizarro should aver that he, Viracocha, was the first Inca. So he *was*—the first Inca with whom the ancestors of the folk in the part of Peru known to Pedro Pizarro had dealings.

For the rest, the Relation of Pedro Pizarro is very interesting and valuable as a description of the state of Peru at the time of the Conquest.

#### POLO DE ONDEGARDO, JUAN:

This author, strangely enough, bears the name of neither of his parents, for he was the legitimate son of Don Diego López de León and Doña Jerónima de Zárate, both of them highly connected and estimable people. As did the father of the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *q. v.*, he chose for his own use *apellidos* derived from relatives of his.

His birthplace was either Salamanca or Valladolid, but the date of his birth is not known; probably it was about 1510. His education must have been an excellent one, for he received the coveted

<sup>2</sup> Pages 192-201 of the 1921 edition.

degree of Licentiate, probably from the University of Salamanca, and he was highly reputed in his day as a jurisconsult of great sagacity and entire integrity.

It is probable that he went to Peru about 1545 and he there held the high office of *Oidor*, Judge, of the Royal Audiencia of Lima. He was in that post during the rising of Don Gonzalo Pizarro, that bold adventurer who was not quite bold enough to make himself King of Peru, and he was one of those *Oidores* who acknowledged the supremacy of the rebel leader. Polo seems to have been, if not a turncoat in the contemptible sense, at any rate a man able to revise his political opinions with a view to getting more butter on his bread, and in April, 1548, he had gone back to the royalist side, for we find him under the leadership of President Gasca at the battle of Sacsahuana on April 9th of that year. Nor did his military career stop there, for in March, 1554, he fought against the rebel Hernández Girón at the battle of Chuquina, a defeat for his leader, Don Alonso de Alvarado.

At different times the Licentiate Polo varied his martial experiences with administrative ones. Gasca, in 1548 or soon after, made him Corregidor of los Charcas, where he remained for some time. His services against Hernández Girón were rewarded by his appointment as Corregidor of Cuzco. In this post he was when the Inca Garcilaso knew him, during the year 1559,<sup>1</sup> and it was then, in all likelihood, that he became interested in Indian antiquities and history. It came about in a curious way that is worth recounting. Two Viceroyes in succession, Don Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, and Don Diego de Acevedo y Zúñiga, Count of Nieva,<sup>2</sup> were causing studies of Peruvian antiquities, history and economics to be made, the former for the general purpose of acquiring knowledge useful to the administration, the second for the special purpose of appraising the value of the *encomiendas* of Peru in connection with the then vexed question of whether or not they should be perpetuated by the King in return for substantial payment by their holders. The inquiry was an elaborate one, and in the course of one part of it the Licentiate Polo discovered the mummified bodies of the Emperors Viracocha, Tupac Yupanqui and Huayna Capac, as well as those of two

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<sup>1</sup> Commentaries, Bk. III, Ch. xx; Bk. V, Ch. xxix.

<sup>2</sup> Cañete ruled from 1556 to 1560 and Nieva from 1560 to 1564.

Empresses. They were found enclosed in what Polo calls *jaulas de cobre*, cages of copper, which modern archæologists would very much like to see. What manner of wrapping could so be described it is hard to imagine, but it is safe to say that the handiwork of it must have been remarkable.

No doubt these finds had a powerful stimulating effect upon the lively intelligence of Polo. He was a man of judicious and moderate temperament, not prone to dash off on a tangent, such as treasure-hunting, but one very likely to study deeply the civilization represented by the well-preserved imperial persons whom he had found. The natural outcome of the discovery made by him was that, in his wide journeys throughout Peru in connection with official business, he kept his eyes open to every sort of evidence concerning the natives and their ancient polity.

The latest of his journeys, so far as we know, was that which he made in the train of the Viceroy Toledo, *q. v.*, when that saturnine and ominous personage made his ill-judged incursion into the country of the Chiriguanos, in 1572. Polo died at La Plata, the modern Sucre, in November, 1575.<sup>3</sup>

The Licentiate Polo de Ondegardo was a man who was both intelligent and compassionate. He associated with rabidly anti-Incaic persons such as the Viceroy Toledo, *q. v.*, and with coldly practical lawyers such as the Licentiate Matienzo de Peralta, *q. v.*, without being in any way contaminated by them as an historian, for he never lost the serenity of judgment and the love of fair play that characterize all his writings so far as the Incas are concerned. The life led by our author was active and varied, partly military, partly administrative, and partly legal in character, yet he managed to find time for a considerable amount of literary work, and four of his writings are of importance for us. They are as follows:

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<sup>3</sup> Jiménez de la Espada, in his Letter to the Count of Toreno, 1879, pp. xv-xvii.

Markham, in 1873 edition, cited below; also in *History of Peru*, 1892, passim; also in Winsor, I, pp. 260-261.

Romero and Urteaga, in editions of 1916 and 1917, cited below.

Means, in Introduction to P. Pizarro, 1921, p. 95, gives a very inaccurate notice of Polo, but see Means, 1925, pp. 451-452, for a better one.

Moses, pp. 135-139.

Mendiburu, VI, pp. 155-159.

1. *Tratado sobre los errores y supersticiones de los Indios*. Printed in *Confessionario para los curas de indios* brought out by Antonio Ricardo in Lima, 1585, folios 7-16.

2. A *Relación* which Polo completed at Cuzco on June 26th, 1571, having prepared it in connection with the already mentioned inquiry begun by the Viceroy Count of Nieva as to the perpetuating of the encomiendas. The original manuscript is in the National Library, Madrid, under the signature of T. 9.

3. *Carta de los adoratorios y zeques del Cuzco*, of which a number of copies were made at the time of its composition. It was purposed to combat the continuance of idolatry, and the various monasteries of Lima were given copies of this document for use in connection with their work. Such a copy, or perchance it is the original manuscript, exists in the National Library, Lima.

4. A *Relación* addressed to the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo in 1571. This work exists in manuscript in the National Library, Madrid, under the signature of B. 31.

Of these four works of Polo only the first was ever printed in the century in which he lived. Modern editions of these works of his exist, however, as follows:

1872 *Relacion de los fundamentos acerca del notable daño que resulta de no guardar a los indios sus fueros*.  
*Col. docs. ineds. del arch. de Ind.*, XVII, pp. 1-177.  
Madrid.

A printing of work No. 2 on the list given above.

1873 *Of the Lineage of the Yncas, and how they extended their Conquests*.  
Edited by Clements R. Markham, in *Rites and Laws of the Yncas*, pp. 151-170.  
Hakluyt Society.  
London.

This is an English translation of No. 4 on the list above.

1916 *Los errores y supersticiones de los indios*. . .  
And,  
*Relacion de los fundamentos acerca del notable daño que resulta de no guardar a los indios sus fueros*.  
Edited by Drs. Horacio H. Urteaga and Carlos A. Romero, in *Col. libs. docs. refs. hist. Peru*, III, pp. 3-43 and 45-188, respectively.

These are items Nos. 1 and 2 in the list given above.

1917 *Relacion de los adoratorios de los indios en los cuatro caminos (zeques) que salian del Cuzco*.  
And,

*Relacion del linaje de los Incas y cómo extendieron ellos sus conquistas.*

Edited by Drs. Horacio H. Urteaga and Carlos A. Romero, in *Col. libs. docs. refs. hist. Peru*, IV, pp. 3-44 and 45-94, respectively.

These are items Nos. 3 and 4 in the list given above. At the end of the first document in this volume the editors inform us that it has been printed directly from Cobo, vol. IV, Chs. xiii and xvi. The correct citation is Book XIII, Chs. xiii to xvi, inclusive. One could wish, moreover, that the editors had sought through the libraries and archives of Lima for one or more of the manuscripts of Polo's *Relacion de los adoratorios* known to exist there. They might, also, have used the manuscript in the National Library of Peru for a text or for purposes of comparison.

There is no need, I think, to describe the contents of these four writings with any great particularity. Their titles make sufficiently clear the nature of their subject-matter. Nos. 1 and 3 on the list can best be utilized in conjunction with the works of Arriaga, *q. v.*, Avendaño, *q. v.*, and Avila, *q. v.*, and, so used, they will be of great use to the student of ancient Andean religions. This study will also be forwarded by consultation of such writers as Garcilaso, *q. v.*, Morúa, *q. v.*, and Ramos, *q. v.*

No. 2 on the list, printed as the second document in the 1916 edition, is of value in connection with any study of the social and administrative polity of the Incas. It can be used especially well in conjunction with Matienzo, *q. v.*, who was an associate of Polo, but a man of less serene and tempered judgment.

For the historian of ancient times in the Andes, No. 4, dealing with the lineage of the Incas, is of special importance. The Licentiate Polo de Ondegardo makes a point at the beginning of this document concerning the two divisions of Cuzco into Hanan and Hurin Cuzco, Upper and Lower Cuzco. He goes on to say that, in early days, the Incas ruled but a very small state reaching to Urcos on the south and Yucay on the north, giving their homeland a length of some eleven leagues or thirty-three miles. He avers that the history of the early period is preserved in the *quipus* or knot-records, and in a record which he calls that of the *Pururunas*—which means False Men. The Canas and the Canches, near neighbours of the Incas on the south, were paid to go to war in the army of Pachacutec Inca when he fought against the Chancas and defeated them. The Lake of Villcañota, to use Polo's

spelling, was the southernmost limit of Incaic influence until the successor of Pachacutec began conquering the Collao, which lay beyond it. Polo attributes the ease and rapidity of the Incas' conquests, once they began, to the lack of unified resistance among their opponents; each tribe, so he says, merely defended its own, without leaguings with others in a general hostility to the Incas. The latter, on the other hand, consolidated their conquests as they proceeded and quickly piled up an irresistible strength. To my mind this conception of the Incaic conquests is of extreme sanity and value.

In the remainder of this document the Licentiate Polo gives some very valuable data concerning the social and economic polity of the Incas, mentioning, among other things, the *mitimaes* or transferred colonies, the tribute paid by male subjects of a certain age, and the *chasquis* or post-runners. Regarding the last-mentioned he gives some interesting figures. "They say that from Cuzco to Quito, a distance of five hundred leagues, a message was sent and another returned in twenty days. I can believe this, for in our wars we have sometimes used these *chasquis*, and as it was an ancient custom, they readily made the arrangement. In this way letters have been brought from Cuzco to Lima in three days, a distance of a hundred and thirty leagues, over a very bad road. The Yncas also used these *chasquis* to bring up fresh fish from the sea; and they were brought up, in two days, a distance of a hundred leagues. They also have records in their *quipus* of the fish having sometimes been brought from Tumbez, a distance of more than three hundred leagues."<sup>4</sup>

It appears, therefore, that the Licentiate Polo de Ondegardo is an important writer of the second rank. As an authority on certain points—religion, sociology, economic polity, and communications—he is of great weight. But he is not in the same class with Cabello, *q. v.*, Garcilaso, *q. v.*, Cobo, *q. v.*, Cieza, *q. v.*, and Sarmiento, *q. v.*, who give us extensive and elaborate narratives touching upon every aspect of the history and civilization of pre-Hispanic Peru. One suspects, however, that if he had ever had the opportunity to write a work similar in scope and purpose to theirs he would have done so.

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<sup>4</sup> Markham's edition, 1873, p. 169.



## RAMOS GAVILÁN, FRIAR ALONSO:

Materials for the life of this writer are very scarce and altogether derived from his own utterances. He appears to have been born in Peru about 1580. In due course he became an Augustinian. He worked for many years as a missionary of his Order, the scene of his activities being the country around the southern end of Lake Titicaca. About 1618 or soon after that, he appears to have moved down to Lima where he wrote, or at any rate concluded, his *Historia*. There he came into contact with his celebrated co-religionist, Father Calancha, *q. v.*, and with Don Francisco de Borja y Aragón, Prince of Esquilache and Viceroy of Peru, who caused the *Historia* to be read by Friar Luis de Bilbao. The written approval of Bilbao was given at Lima on November 16th, 1620, and it was followed by the Viceroy's licence to print, dated at Callao on December 10, 1620. Another friend, or perhaps one should say patron, of Father Ramos Gavilán was Dr. Don Alonso Bravo de Saravia y Sotomayor, to whom, on January 23, 1621, Father Ramos dedicated his book. Of the last years of Friar Alonso Ramos Gavilán nothing is known.<sup>1</sup>

The first edition of Ramos Gavilán's work is:

1621 *Historia/ del Celebre/ Santuario de/ Nvestra Señora de  
Copa-/ cabana, y sus Milagros, è Inuencion de la/ Cruz  
de Carabuco.*

Lima, Geronymo de Contreras. Quarto.

A very great rarity, one of the rarest books in our field. I know of only two copies of it, that in the British Museum, which is badly mutilated, and the excellently conditioned copy in the Hispanic Society of America, New York. Of this copy there are available photostatic facsimiles issued by the Society.

Preceding the text in this edition is a wood-cut of the celebrated Virgin of Copacabana and underneath it appear two rather felicitous punning stanzas by Father Calancha which run thus:

<sup>1</sup> Alcedo.

Antonio, I, p. 43.

León Pinelo.

TORRES, BERNARDO DE:

1657 *Crónica*. . . Lima. P. 239.

Mendiburu, VII, pp. 47-48.

Medina, *Imprenta en Lima*, I, pp. 244-246.

MONTALVO, FRANCISCO ANTONIO:

1683 *El Sol en el Nuevo Mundo*. Rome.

Dos milagros mas veran  
 En tu obra peregrina,  
 Donde en toda paz estan  
 Vna Paloma diuina  
 En manos de vn Gauilan.

Y por que el otro veamos  
 Para gloria mas crecida,  
 En Autor, y libro hallamos  
 Al fruto, y arbol de vida,  
 Colgado de vuestros Ramos.

Medina cites a version in Latin published in Rome in 1656.

Modern editions of the *Historia* exist as follows:

1860 *Historia de Copacabana*. . .  
 La Paz.

An abstract made by Padre Rafael Sans from a copy of the original edition that lacked the first seventeen pages. It is a crude little edition, but rather rare.

1886 *Historia de Copacabana*. . .  
 Edited by Father Rafael Sans.  
 La Paz.

An improvement of Sans's original abstract of 1860.

As can readily be guessed from the title of the book the subject-matter is mainly of a pietistic character. But, as in the case of Father Oliva, *q. v.*, there are many passages which are interesting to us in the present connection. They all occur in Part One, because Part Two concerns itself only with the religio-historical aspects of the shrine of Copacabana, in the post-Conquest period.

In Chapter One Father Ramos makes some observations upon the fish and birds and natural features of the Lake of Chucuyto, which we call Titicaca. He especially mentions the totora reed which grows along the banks of the Desaguadero River and of its usefulness as a food for animals and as a material for *balsas* or rafts. He also mentions the hill of Sirocani, hard by Copacabana, where the Inca maintained a place for the punishment of rebels. Those who resisted his commands were hanged by their feet until such a time as the buzzards or condors had picked all the flesh from their bones.

In Chapter Two our author explains that the term Inca or Inga was the title of the king in early Peru, just as the ruler of Egypt was styled the Pharaoh and the monarch of Persia was called the Soldan. He goes on to give two myths respecting the first Inca, Manco Capac, the first of which represents him as issuing from a window at Tambo or Pacaritambo seven or eight leagues from Cuzco. The second myth is of special interest if we compare it with the material provided by Father Oliva, *q. v.* It runs thus:

A chief who ruled near Cuzco had two sons, the elder in appearance like the other Indians, the younger, whose mother died in bearing him, blond and fair-complexioned. Astonished by his younger son's looks, the father consulted with a great wizard who was a friend of his, and they entered into an understanding concerning the boy. When the chief died, his elder son succeeded him, for the younger was being brought up, in accordance with his father's plan, by the wizard, in great secrecy, which was shared only by an Indian woman who acted as nurse to the child. As he grew to manhood, the lad became very beautiful, and the wizard, aided by the nurse, trained him to play the rôle of Son of the Sun. When the young man reached the age of twenty years, they arrayed him in resplendent garments made of bright-coloured feathers and strewn with little plates of gold which glittered gorgeously when the sun shone upon them. At the proper moment the wizard displayed the lad upon a hill above Tambo where his shining apparel attracted the attention of the Indians below who were celebrating a festival with an orgy of drinking. Well drilled in his part, the young man made the wondering people a speech in which he proclaimed himself Son of the Sun, and they, credulous always, but especially so at that moment from drunkenness, accepted him as divinely sent to be their king.

In Chapter Three Father Ramos Gavilán gives us his version of Inca history. It stands about midway between the school of Toledo and Sarmiento and that of Garcilaso, for, according to our author, Sinchiroca and Lluquiyupangue, the second and third Incas, were do-nothings who ruled from Cuzco but, apparently, without being unquestioned lords of that town. The fourth Inca, Maytacapac Inga, was a valiant man who not only completely mastered Cuzco but who also imposed his rule on the Indians round about. Capacyupangue Inga, Ruca Inga, and Yaguarguac Inga Iupangue, the fifth, sixth and seventh Incas, were also do-nothings. Viracocha Inga, the eighth of the line, although he is said to have been a friend of war, seems to have done nothing in particular towards conquering additional territory. The ninth ruler, Pachacuti Inga, conquered the country as far as Vilcas near Guamanga and subjugated many chiefs of great importance. He also began the great fortress of Cuzco. He was succeeded by the tenth Inca, Topa Inga Iupangue, who conquered all the country from Quito down to Chile. Finally, the eleventh ruler, Guayna-

capac Inga, added Pasto, Cayambi, and Rurarupa to his dominions and also completed the fortress of Cuzco, begun by his grandfather. He consolidated and improved the organization of the empire, but divided his realms between his sons, Guascar Inga and Atabalipa Inga, who were fighting one another when the Spaniards entered the country.

Chapter Four opens with a fusilade of Biblical citations which leads up to a brief account of the going of Topa Inga Iupangue to the island of Titicaca. There was a shrine on that island dedicated to the Sun. In pre-Incaic days it was the most important thing among the Colla Indians. An old man who, since childhood, had been a minister of that shrine, went to Cuzco and invited the Inca to go there for a visit to the Temple. The Captains of the Inca, informed of their Lord's plan by one of his concubines, opposed his going thither because he had many, to them, more important affairs to attend to. The Inca had his way, however, and paid his visit to the shrine on Titicaca. From that time forward the island of Titicaca and its temple were held in high esteem throughout the empire.

In Chapter Five our author tells us of the planting of trees and of the other improvements introduced on the island of Titicaca by Topa Inga Iupangue after his visit there. These included a coca-plantation maintained for the benefit of the Sun and a number of sumptuous buildings, houses and towers. It is sad to note, however, that the coca-plantation was ruined by a landslip which precipitated the top of a hill down upon it and caused the death of many people.

The latter part of Chapter Six contains some very interesting data concerning infant sacrifices and other ceremonies of the Sun-cult as practiced at the shrine on the island of Titicaca.

Chapters Seven to Eleven, inclusive, are taken up with an account of the Cross of Carabuco and of the possibility that a Disciple may have gone to America centuries before Columbus. It is a subject of much fascination, but one beyond the scope of the present monograph.

In Chapter Twelve we are told that Topa Inga Iupangue had representatives of forty-two Indian tribes brought from their homes in order to populate the island of Titicaca and the peninsula of Copacabana. The Inca also placed the governorship of the district in the hands of Apu Inga Sucso, a grandson of Viracocha

Inga. This Inga Sucso was grandfather of Apuchalco Yupangue whose grandsons Don Alonso Viracocha Inga and Don Pablo were chiefs there in Ramos Gavilán's time. These records are interesting as showing the long-continued tenure of office enjoyed by some of the native chiefs and their families. This same Chapter contains a number of valuable data concerning the priesthood in Incaic times.

Chapter Thirteen contains a variety of information. We are told that *titi* means copper, lead, or tin, and that *caca* or *kaka* signifies a large rock, so that Titicaca means *the large rock of copper, lead, or tin*. Our author goes on to tell us that the Incas regarded idleness—on the part of the people—as the root of all evil, and that for this reason they kept them constantly employed upon buildings and public works. One of the constructions at Titicaca was an artificial plain upon which were erected some store-houses and a labyrinth called Chingana in the middle of which was a beautiful garden. There were fine trees and shrubs that embellished some baths destined to the use of the Sun and his ministers, all of which marvels were reached through a gateway called *Kentipuncu*,<sup>2</sup> supplemented by two other gates called Puma-puncu, gateway of the puma, and Pillcopuncu, gateway of hope. Distinct traces of these gates and of all the dependent structures mentioned by Father Ramos Gavilán are still to be seen.<sup>3</sup>

In Chapter Fourteen there are many valuable data concerning the idolatrous religion of the Incas and the ceremonies connected therewith.

Chapter Fifteen is of no interest to us, but in Chapters Sixteen and Seventeen there are further data, of great importance, on the subject of religion and rites in Inca times.

Chapters Eighteen and Nineteen give us one of the best

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<sup>2</sup> *Kentipuncu* or, more correctly, *Qquente-puncu*, means Gate of the Humming-bird. *Qquente*, humming-bird, *puncu*, gate. For an account of the Chingana or Chincana, see:

BANDELIER, ADOLPH F.:

1910 *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*. Hispanic Society of America. New York. Pp. 225-232.

<sup>3</sup> In reading Bandelier's account of these things one must discount that writer's well-known "discouragistic" mode of treatment. I have seen the things described by Ramos Gavilán and by Bandelier, and I found that they were decidedly impressive, far more what our author says that they were than Bandelier implies.

accounts that we have of the so-called Virgins of the Sun, with emphasis upon the large establishment of these consecrated women set up by the Inca on the island of Titicaca. We learn that each province had a house of such women in its chief town. There were older women, called *Mamaconas* who instructed the novices, in age from eight to fifteen or sixteen, in their duties. At the end of their novitiate the girls were taken out and either offered as sacrifices to the Sun<sup>4</sup> or else they were taken to the Inca in order that he might give them as wives to his Captains and to other important men whom he wished to favour. The maidens in the house at Titicaca were divided into three classes, the *Guayruro* or most beautiful damsels, the *Yuracacla* who were somewhat less beautiful, and the *Pacoaccla*, who were still less lovely. Each class had an abbess who oversaw the conduct and, above all, the constant work of the girls, for here too was observed the Incaic principle that idleness is the root of all evil, with the result that the chosen women were perennially employed in spinning, weaving and other female tasks. The products of their industry were, with justice, highly esteemed by the Inca and his subjects, and they still delight all who see them because of the marvelous weaving and colouring which they display. The head Mamacona, to use the term employed by Ramos, was especially revered as wife of the Sun, and she took a prominent part in the public ceremonies of the state religion.

Chapter Twenty to Twenty-three, inclusive, contain a great variety of data on the ceremonial and social life of the Incas and their subjects.

The calendar of the Incas is discussed at some length in Chapter Twenty-four. This material will be especially useful if studied in conjunction with that provided by Cabello de Balboa, *q. v.*, Garcilaso, *q. v.*, Montesinos, *q. v.*, Betanzos, *q. v.*, Cobo, *q. v.*, and the two Molinas, *q. v.*

Chapters Twenty-five to Twenty-seven, inclusive, give us further information about the religious institutions of the Inca empire, and especially about the three chief temples, those at Titicaca, Cuzco, and Pachacamac.

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<sup>4</sup> This may or may not mean that they were slain; it is quite possible that it merely means that they became permanent inmates of the *accla-huasi*, house of the chosen women, and, in time, *Mamaconas*, which term signifies simply Mothers or Matrons.

In Chapter Twenty-eight there is much material relative to the island of Coata and of the adulatory of the Moon thereon. It is interesting to note that Father Ramos associates the name of this island, Coata or Coyata, with the title *Coya* borne by the chief wife of the Inca, for, as she was empress on earth, so was the Moon in the heavens.

Chapters Twenty-nine to Thirty-three, inclusive, continue the same general trend of materials, special interest being given to this part of the work by the inclusion here of two documents wherein Charles I of Castile and Queen Juana, his mother, made legitimate and ennobled all of the descendants of Don Cristóbal Vaca Topa Inga, son of Guaynacapac. The documents are dated at Valladolid, April 1st, 1544, and May 9th, 1545. Don Cristóbal, before his baptism, was known as Paullo Topa Inga.

This brings us to the end of Part One of the *Historia* by Father Ramos Gavilán. Part Two deals with the post-Conquest period, which does not concern us at present.

I have treated the content of Part One with some particularity because of the value to the student of the materials therein and because of the rarity of the book. It is a work of great importance, especially for the student who may be interested in the Incaic period in the region of Lake Titicaca. The author, although prone, like his co-religionist Father Calancha, to be verbose and to drag in Ovid, the Bible and other ill-assorted representatives of Old World literature, was an intelligent and an observant man who knew very well whereof he wrote. The principal defect of the work from the historian's point of view is its almost complete lack of any notice of pre-Incaic times, and its ascription of the whole Incaic period in that region to the reigns of Tupac Yupanqui and Huayna Capac.

#### ROCHA, DIEGO ANDRES:

This author was born in Seville in 1607. Nothing seems to be known about his early years until, in 1627, he went to Lima where he studied for some time in the Jesuit College of San Martín. Later on he became a student in the University of San Marcos, receiving the degree of Bachelor in 1637 and that of Licentiate in 1640. He specialised in Canon law and at one period he was professor of a branch of that subject in San Marcos. Subse-

quently he became an *Oidor* of the Royal Audiencia of Quito, and in 1666 he was made a member of the Royal Audiencia of Lima. He was the author of a number of learned works on Law and political matters, four of them written in Latin and one in Spanish, and published in Lima between 1653 and 1677. In short, he was a man of very decided importance in Peru during the period of his living there, a man, moreover, who had ample opportunities for study and for reflection upon many topics. In the course of his official work he saw certain important parts of the former empire of the Incas, notably Lima and Quito, and he may have made journeys into the interior of which we are not informed.

The only one of the Licentiate Rocha's books that interests us was issued in the last years of his life. It may be cited thus:

- 1681 *Tratado único, y singular del origen de los indios occidentales del Piru, Mexico, Santa Fe, y Chile.*  
Lima. Manuel de los Olivos's press, for Joseph de Contreras. Quarto.

This first edition is very rare. It is dedicated to Dr. Don Joseph del Corral Calvo de la Vanda, a colleague of the author in the Royal Audiencia of Lima.

The *Tratado del origen de los Indios* was reissued thus:

- 1891 *Tratado único y singular del Origen de los Indios del Perú, Méjico, Santa Fe y Chile.*  
In *Col. Libros raros o curiosos que tratan de América*, vols. III and IV.  
Madrid. Two volumes.<sup>1</sup>

The Licentiate Rocha was a man of ponderous learning, as I have said, but of sterile and futile learning so far as ancient Andean history is concerned. Indeed, he is mentioned here only because his work on the origin of the Indians is sometimes bracketed with the far greater book of Father García, *q. v.*, on the same subject. I wish to show that to mention them thus together as though they were on a parity of importance is to insult the one and to flatter the other.

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<sup>1</sup> See:

Enciclopedia Espasa, LI, p. 1122.

Mendiburu, VII, p. 116.

Palau y Dulcet, VI, p. 304.

Leclerc, p. 146.

Antonio, I, p. 266.

Alcedo.



Briefly stated, the Licentiate Rocha's thesis is that the Indians of Mexico were descendants of The Lost Ten Tribes of Israel and that the Peruvians were sprung from Spaniards who came to America in the time of Tubal, son of Japhet, son of Noah. Of these two notions only the first has ever "caught on" to any great extent. It was started on its disastrous career by Father Diego Durán in his *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España*, and it has done a vast deal of mischief in the period between its launching and the present time.<sup>2</sup>

In short, this book, though reputed to be important, is but a bit of folly, not at all to be compared with the great work of Father García nor with the still greater one of Father Acosta.

#### ROMÁN Y ZAMORA, FRIAR JERÓNIMO DE:

Logroño, on the River Ebro, was the birthplace of this writer. His parents were people of quality, Don Martín de Román and Doña Inés de Zamora, his wife. Probably the date of our author's birth was 1536.

In due course, after a tempestuous and disorderly youth, he joined the Augustinians, being admitted to the Order at Haro, some twenty miles from Logroño, and later on he lived for some time in the monastery of San Agustín at Dueñas. His disposition, in those days, was inclined towards idleness, for which fault he received a severe reprimand from one of his superiors with the result that, thenceforward, he was industrious and energetic.

Friar Jerónimo de Román was one of the few chroniclers of Peru who never personally visited the country of whose history they wrote. He travelled widely in Spain, however, both geographically, for he knew well many parts of the peninsula, and socially, for he was intimate at Court and also well acquainted with the lowly.

This fact of his detachment from the American scene had a curious bearing upon his work, for, although he was writing of

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<sup>2</sup> Father Durán's manuscript, dating about 1585, is preserved in the Royal Library in Madrid, according to Palau, III, p. 94. The curious are referred to Alexander F. Chamberlain's article on The Lost Ten Tribes of Israel theory in *Handbook of the American Indians*, I, p. 775, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1912, and to "*The Prosaic vs. the Romantic School in Anthropology*" by Herbert J. Spinden in "Culture," a small book brought out in New York by W. W. Norton & Co., in 1927.

Andean ancient history at the very period when the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo, *q. v.*, and Captain Don Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *q. v.*, were carrying on their nefarious literary campaign against the fallen Inca family, he, Father Román, entirely failed to share the taint of their prejudices. Dwelling, as he did, far from the sombre and vindictive influence of the great Viceroy, our author was quite naturally exempt from the passionate hatred which so marred Toledo's record as an historian. Our author lived, for the most part, in close proximity to the Viceroy's master, Philip II, whose trusted friend and adviser he was, and from this situation resulted his possession, at the earliest possible moment, of every particle of news that came to Court from Spain's America.

In those days the King of Castile was constantly receiving visitors from his possessions in the New World—officials, adventurers, soldiers, merchants, clergymen, petitioners of many types, and so on—who, in their several ways, could tell of every aspect of American affairs. No doubt our author would be present at their interviews with the King and afterwards would take them to his own sanctum, there to pump them dry of every drop of practical knowledge concerning America that they had. Besides all that, he diligently consulted the historical works published in his day and earlier. These considerations, taken together, and added to the man's own sanely progressive temperament, more than counterbalanced any disadvantage arising from his not having been in America. On the score of general intelligence and of soundness of judgment, he stands in the same class as Fathers Acosta, Cobo, and Ramos.

Because of the liberality of his ideas and the generally advanced quality of his mentality, Father Román was continually running foul of the more reactionary forces in the state, and against the Holy Inquisition in particular. The Holy Office was constantly opposed to his writings, as I shall explain later on.

Friar Jerónimo de Román y Zamora died comparatively young, in 1597, being at the time of his death an inmate of the Augustinian monastery in Medina del Campo.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Alcedo gives a brief note, but makes no mention of the *Repúblicas*.

Antonio, I, pp. 600-601.

León Pinelo.

Means, in Introduction to P. Pizarro, p. 104.

Moral, in 1897 edition, cited below, and Orvenipe in the same edition.

Father Román was a prolific writer, but most of his works were of a religious and devotional character that places them beyond the scope of our present interest. His *Repúblicas del Mundo*, however, is of considerable importance for us. There are editions of it as follows:

1575 *Repúblicas del mundo divididas en, XXVII. libros.*

Medina del Campo, F. del Canto. Two volumes. Folio.

Because of the hostility of the Holy Inquisition, this first edition was largely destroyed soon after being printed. Consequently, copies of it are exceedingly rare. The Library of Congress happily possesses a copy of it, however. In Part One we find the Hebrew, Christian, Northern, Venetian, Genoese and various minor "Republics"; in Part Two we find the Gentile, Indian, Turkish, Tunizian, and Fezian "Republics."

1595 *Repúblicas/ del Mundo./*

Salamanca, Juan Fernandez. Three volumes. Folio.

Doubt as to the exact date of this second edition arises from the fact that, although all three title-pages give 1595, the Colophons of Parts II and III give 1594 and that of Part II gives the printer's name as Diego Cosio, albeit the colophon of Part III gives Fernández. At least, so I find it in the copy used by me, which is the one in the New York Public Library.

This edition was more successful than the first because the author took pains to adapt it to the requirements of the Holy Office beforehand and furthermore to dedicate it to King Philip II, all of which, with charming candour, he states upon his title-pages.

In this edition the *República de los Indios Occidentales* is divided into three Books, which occupy a portion of Part Three, in volume III. The title-page of this volume is reproduced in Plate V.

As these editions are recondite, the student will find it more convenient, perhaps, to use the modern edition which may be cited thus:

1897 *Repúblicas de Indias. . .*

Edited by D. L. d'Orvenipe, with a biographical sketch by Friar Bonifacio Moral.

In *Col. libs. raros o curiosos que tratan de América*, vol. XIV and XV.

Madrid. Two volumes.

The portion of the *Repúblicas del Mundo* which interests us is found in Part Three of the second edition wherein it bears the special title of *República de las Indias Occidentales*. It is divided into three Books which, in that edition, occupy a goodly propor-

tion of the third volume, their foliation being as follows: Book One, folios 125-151; Book Two, folios 151, verso,—171, verso; Book Three, folios 172-191, verso. In the first edition, and in the re-issue of it which is the third edition of those noted above, only Part Three appears. It may be said, therefore, that the second edition, that of Salamanca, 1594-95, is the sole publication, so far as I know, of the whole work. The *Repúblicas del Mundo*, as it appears there, is one of those compendious works whose field is the world, in which it resembles the *Miscelánea Antártica* of Father Miguel Cabello de Balboa, *q. v.*

Concentrating now upon the said Part Three of the whole book, that is the *República de las Indias Occidentales*, I will give some idea of its contents.

Book One concerns itself with the religions and with the sacerdotal institutions of ancient Peru and ancient Mexico. For us only the chapters referring to the Andean area are important. In Chapter Three (folios 129 v.-130 v. of the Salamanca edition) Román informs us that, in very early times, temples and adatories were usually made in remote or lofty places. The people were wont to regard almost any imposing cliff, large rock, or strangely-shaped stone as a god. When the Incas rose to power, they introduced a higher type of religion, and they generalized the concept of a god who made heaven and earth, sun, moon and stars and all the world. They, the Incas, called this creator-god *Conditibaracocha* (correctly Con Tici Viracocha) or Maker of the World. The Sun was held to be the chief servant of this god and the mouthpiece through which he spoke to men. The greatest of the Incas, Pachacuti, when making his conquests, always enquired as to the local cults, and he laughed greatly because of the vast number of various and ridiculous deities whom the peoples worshipped. He persuaded his new subjects to give up the more ludicrous of their deities, although he permitted them to retain other members of their pantheons, but he always stipulated that they were to regard the Sun as the chief god because of the great good that he did to mankind. Accordingly, he built at Cuzco a sumptuous temple in honour of the Sun, and he placed therein an image of gold with a human face and shining rays; moreover, he commanded that, in every province, there should be built a fane in honour of this god.

In Chapter Five (folios 132 v.-133 v. of the Salamanca edition)

Father Román says that the pre-Incaic temples were built in desert plains and that they were low and dark, with small, ugly, gloomy chambers. The great king Pachaquiti Inga (*sic*) introduced a much more grandiose and sumptuous style of temple in connection with the worship of the Sun. The temples made by him had four concentric walls, the outermost one being twenty feet or more in height<sup>2</sup> all made of adobe. Apparently the inner walls were progressively lower than the outer until the innermost was reached which hardly rose above the level of the ground.<sup>3</sup> Inside the four walls were the buildings of the temple, having many windows and many embellishments of gold in the shape of animals. The roofs were cunningly wrought of wood, and there were richly woven hangings of wool and of cotton. Between the first and the second walls were dwellings for the priests and also store-rooms for the service of the temple. A vast supply of fine vessels in gold, and every sort of magnificent thing that could be needed for the maintenance of the temple, was kept constantly at hand. The two greatest temples were that of Cuzco and that of Pachacama.

In the last part of Chapter Seven (folios 135-136 of the Salamanca edition), Father Román says that very little is known of the organization of the Peruvian priesthood beyond the fact that the chief priest was called Vilaoma (properly, Villac Umu). The reason for our ignorance, says our author, is that great havoc was wrought by the Spaniards among the priests when the conquest was going on.

A part of Chapter Eight (folios 136 v.-137) is given up to an account of the consecrated women. Their order was founded by *Pachaquiti Inga*, according to Román the first Inca, who bade them attend to the service of the temples. Every three years the king or, in his absence, his *Toerico*<sup>4</sup> or governor, called together all the maidens in his province and chose four or five of the most beauti-

<sup>2</sup> He says five *estados* or more in height, and the *estado* is about five feet.

<sup>3</sup> ". . . el cual (the fourth wall) quedaba llano sin levantar tapia que sobrepusase el suelo."

<sup>4</sup> The *tucuiricuc* was governor only in a special sense, however. True, he was an official of the highest rank in the administrative hierarchy of the empire, but he seems to have had a roving commission, one that required him to be vigilant over his inferiors on behalf of the Inca. Indeed, the title means He-who-sees-all. He did not have a definite territorial jurisdiction, nor headship over a fixed number of households. See Means, 1925, pp. 452-453.

ful and the most noble of marriageable age to be brides of the Sun, in which quality they remained—theoretically—virgins. Others, slightly less beautiful and somewhat less noble, were married off to the King or to the Tocuiricuc, and others were given in wedlock to the sons of great vassals of the Inca and to other men whom he wished to favour.<sup>5</sup> This process being completed, the corps of the Sun-maidens was recruited with girls over ten years of age and of noble blood. According to Father Román, the general term for the virgins was *Mamacona* which, so he says, means *Señoras madres*, and he goes on to say that they kept to their vows of chastity, wherein they differed from their congeners in Rome.

There follows a long stretch not pertinent to the present monograph until Chapter Twenty-one is reached. We are told therein that, in pre-Incaic times, there was no human sacrifice in Peru, for the times were simple and, so says Román, therefore good. The Incas introduced a greater degree of elaboration into the ceremonials and sacrifices, and in their time the custom arose of sacrificing children to appease the gods in times of plague or other special distress.

In Book Two Father Román discusses the modes of government and the form of polity that prevailed in New Spain and in Peru.

In Chapter Ten (folios 162 v.-163 v. of the Salamanca edition), we are informed that the name *Perú* comes from that of *Piura*, which was the native name of the first Spanish settlement in the country, San Miguel de Piura, and that the corrupt form of *Piru* stands about midway between the forms *Piura* and *Perú*. Our author goes on to tell us that there were two distinct cultural periods in pre-Hispanic Peru, the earlier of which lasted for many centuries and terminated some six hundred years before his time or, in other words, in the middle of the tenth century A. D. At this time there was no general overlord, but there were many petty kings who, in general, were simply the most important men of their respective villages. They made it their business to punish adulterers and other evil-doers, but their power, in the beginning, was not great. Little by little war became general, however, and the custom grew up of building villages on lofty places that they

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<sup>5</sup> This material is especially interesting if compared with data provided by Garcilaso, *q. v.*, and Ramos Gavilán, *q. v.*

might be defended more easily. The weapons in use in the highlands at this time were slings for offense and shields for defense. The sundry petty kingdoms traded with their immediate neighbours, but not to distant localities, for there was a great diversity of language at this time. The folk in the mountains wore little or no clothing in those days.

On the coast a greater degree of civilization prevailed. The people went clad and had arrows as well as darts hurled with a throwing-device. The kings of the littoral were richer, more splendid and more powerful than those of the highlands. They were wont to build their palaces on the highest places they could find or, failing that, to cause huge amounts of earth to be piled up into artificial hills whereon they erected their buildings. The labour performed upon these works was regarded as tribute. The chiefs, when feeling themselves near death, were wont to select their successors from among their sons or other near kinsmen.

Inca history is set forth in Chapter Eleven (folios 163 v.-165 v. of the Salamanca edition). Father Román, whose spelling of proper names is quaint, relates how three brothers called Ayarudio, Ayarancia, and Ayarmango, and their respective sister-wives, Maragua, Mamacora, and Mamaoclo, set forth from certain caverns at Pacaritango and, living in chastity as brethren ought to do, went all six, now advanced in age, to the hill of Guaynacauri hard by the spot where Cuzco later stood. There the two eldest couples vanished and were never seen again, and it was believed that they had been snatched up into heaven, for which reason the hill of Guaynacauri was ever afterwards revered. Ayarmango and Mamaoclo, left alone, went on to Cuzco where they managed in some manner not specified to impose their rule upon the few inhabitants there.

The names of the Incas and of their wives, as given by our author, run thus:

Cinchiroca Inga, married to Mamacoca, daughter of a neighbouring chieftain.

Lluchi Impangi, married to Mamacaguapata, daughter of the lord of a village called Mas, three leagues from Cuzco.

Indimaythacpac, married to Mamachiancha, daughter of the lord of Sañe, one league from Cuzco. This Inca was lord of all the villages which had given their daughters to previous Incas, and so he began to grow in power.

Capac Yupangi, married to Indichigua, daughter of the lord of Yarmacha, near Cuzco.

Ingaroca Inga, married to Mamamicay, daughter of the lord of Guayllaca in the valley of Yucay.

Yaguargua Caci Inga Yupangi, married to Mamachiguia, daughter of the lord of Ayarmacha, a village near Cuzco.

Viracaha Inga, married to Miamarunto Caya, daughter of the lord of Ancha in the valley of Xachizaguana, four leagues from Cuzco.

This king was much beloved by his vassals, for which reason a certain lord was jealous of him. He, the jealous lord, assembled four petty chiefs and made war against the Inca, giving battle near the village of Mechina. The Inca won a complete victory and became lord of the lands of all his defeated foes.

Pachacuti Capac Inga Yupangi, married to Mamahana Guarqui, daughter of the lord of Chucu, near Cuzco, was the most distinguished and valiant of the sons of Viracaha Inga. During his father's lifetime, Pachacuti had a war with Guamanguaraça and Aucosguaraça, two brothers who were warlike lords in the valley of Andagualas, thirty leagues from Cuzco. They had been building up a strong empire and it now became necessary for them to vanquish the Incas of Cuzco. The old Inca was timid and fled away to Caquiaxacaguana, leaving Pachacuti to handle the situation. He defeated the two brothers in a tremendous battle, took them prisoners, and added their dominions to his own. The old Inca, returning now to Cuzco, gave up all claim to power, and abdicated in favour of his valiant son, Pachacuti, although he was not the eldest son. The new Inca then proceeded to conquer the whole of Peru and to create the empire that the Spaniards found, for his successors, Topa Inga and Guaynacapac, did very little and are just barely mentioned.

In Chapter Twelve (folios 165 v.-166 v.) Father Román tells of the arrangements for the internal administration of the empire that were made by Pachacuti after he had begun to reign on his own account. He it was, according to our author, who instituted the divisions of *Hanacuzco* and *Hurincuzco*, Upper Cuzco and Lower Cuzco, each divided into a number of wards in which people related to one another were settled. The whole empire was divided in like manner. The Inca's titles were *Capayga*, Sole Lord, and *Indichuri*, Son of the Sun.<sup>6</sup>

In Chapter Thirteen (folios 116 v.-168) Father Román gives

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<sup>6</sup> Correctly, *Sapa Inca* and *Intip Churi*, respectively.



an account of Pachacuti's further administrative measures. He caused a sort of census to be made of all his subjects; he made colonies of people in newly conquered districts, using for the purpose people already accustomed to be ruled by him; he fortified the frontiers of the realm and placed garrisons at strategic points.<sup>7</sup> Finally, he put the official hierarchy of the empire into its final shape. There were *padiacas* (*pachacas*) or centurions in charge of one hundred men, *i. e.*, heads of households, *guarangas* (*huarancas*) in charge of one thousand, and *huños* (*hunos*) in charge of ten thousand. Highest of all was the *toctrico*, to whom reference has already been made above. Of the officials no rank save the highest had power of life and death, and even the *tucuiricuc*—to use the correct term—did not venture to condemn to death any errant chief without the approbation of the Inca.

In the remainder of the chapter there is a series of valuable data concerning the roads, the *tampus*, or inns, and the *chasquis*, or post-runners. So perfect was the service provided by the runners that fresh fish could be carried from Tumbez up to Quito in twenty-four hours for the Inca's table. Father Román then goes on to tell of the various customs and pomps of the Inca's court, of punishments that were meted out to traitors, of the golden litter in which the emperor made his journeys.

Chapter Fourteen (folios 168-168 v.) gives an account of the Inca's laws, which were severe but just; adultery, grand larceny, and homicide were punished by death, petty larceny and mendacity were punished by lesser chastisements such as flogging, shearing the hair, and so on. Wizards and sorcerers were castigated with special cruelty because they caused sterility in women and impotence in men, and their torture took place, not at the scene of their crimes, but at Cuzco, where the Inca was with his court. If a lord of the blood royal committed some crime for which he merited death, he was not killed but was incarcerated for life in a fortress near Cuzco called *Biubilla*.<sup>8</sup>

In Chapter Sixteen (folios 170 v.-171 v.) there is a very good description of the knotted cotton cords, or *quipus*, on which

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<sup>7</sup> Although Father Román does not specifically say so, it is almost certain that Machu Picchu was one of the frontier citadels established by Pachacuti.

<sup>8</sup> Correctly, Pimpilla.

records were kept. They were numerical in character, with a different colour for every kind of thing enumerated.<sup>9</sup>

Book Three is less important than the two earlier Books. It deals with customs, rites, and such matters, more than half of its length being given up to the things of New Spain. In Chapter Four, however, there are some interesting data concerning the marriage customs of the Peruvians, and in Chapters Twelve and Thirteen their puberty ceremonies—called “knighthood” by some writers, including our author—are well described.

On the whole one may say that the *Repúblicas de Indias* is an extremely informative work by a man of high intelligence. It is marred, not by passion, prejudice, or superstition—as so many writings in that day were—but by a lack of personal experience, on the author's part, of conditions and circumstances in America. Because he never came into personal contact with the Quechua tongue, nor with other native American languages, Father Román's rendering of proper names is outrageously inaccurate; because he never had an opportunity to talk with the people of whose history he wrote, he accepted without question the Toledan version of Incaic history, cramming almost the whole of the process of empire-building into the reign of Pachacutec, but failing, to his credit let it be said, to inject the tone of bitterness, which distinguishes the work of Toledo and of Sarmiento, into his work; because he never travelled for weary days through the vast bleak highlands of Peru and through the hot, parched sea-shore wastes of that country, he had no really vivid notion of the geographical grandeur of the Inca empire, albeit he does tell us, with some eloquence, too, of the roads and messenger-service which held the enormous realm together. Yet he does so in such a manner that one knows instinctively that he has never *seen* the wonders of which he writes, that he is cosily ensconced in his armchair in a comfortable monastery library in Spain, receiving all his knowledge second hand—just as that other great writer, Prescott, did.

In certain ways, of course, second-hand knowledge is as good as first-hand, particularly as regards institutions, laws, and material

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. LOCKE, L. LELAND:

1923 The Ancient Quipu or Peruvian Knot Record. American Museum of Natural History. New York. P. 38.

culture. In connection with points such as those, the writings of Father Román are valid and important, and for that reason I have treated him at great length.

SANCHO DE LA HOZ, PEDRO:

Little is known about the early years of this writer. He was in Peru by 1533, and on June 17th of that year, at Cajamarca, he drew up a detailed report of the distribution of Atahualpa's ransom.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, after the departure to Spain of Francisco de Xerez, *q. v.*, he became Scrivener-general of the Kingdoms of New Castile and secretary to Don Francisco Pizarro. In that capacity he wrote, at his chief's behest, his *Relación*, completing it at Xauxa, the modern Juaja, on July 15th, 1534. The latter part of his career, which ended with violence about 1548, had Chile for its principal theatre.<sup>2</sup>

Editions of Sancho's chief work include the following:

- 1625 *Relations of Occurents in the Conquest of Peru after Fernand Pizarros departure.*  
In *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, IV, pp. 1494-1497.  
London.

A quaint rendering of the material, well worthy of being read by the curious.

- 1849 *Relacion . . .*  
Edited by Don Joaquín García Icazbalceta.  
Mexico.
- 1916 *Relacion. . .*  
Edited by Drs. Horacio H. Urteaga and Carlos Romero.  
In *Col. libs. docs. refs. hist. Peru.*  
Lima.
- 1917 *An Account of the Conquest of Peru.*  
Edited by Philip Ainsworth Means.  
Cortes Society.  
New York.

<sup>1</sup> See:

*Reports on the Discovery of Peru.* Edited by Clements R. Markham. Hakluyt Society. London, 1872. Pp. 131-143.

<sup>2</sup> Romero, in edition of 1916, cited below.

Espasa, *Enciclopedia*, article on Sancho de la Hoz.

The original manuscript of Sancho is, I believe, lost. The first printing of the document is the Italian version which was published by Giovanni Battista Ramusio whose well-known collection of voyages was published several times in Venice in the 1550s. All subsequent editions of the work are based upon that version or upon translations from it.

Sancho stands in the group of writers who vividly describe for us the Inca empire as it was when the Spaniards entered it. Other members of the group are Estete, *q. v.*, Pedro Pizarro, *q. v.*, and Xerez, *q. v.* His *Relación* is of little historical importance so far as the ancient civilization of Peru is concerned, but the glimpse which he affords us of its state in 1532-1533 is so important that it is impossible to omit mention of it here.

SANTA CRUZ PACHACUTI-YAMQUI SALCAMAYHUA, JUAN DE:

Very little is known concerning the life of this writer, beyond what he himself tells us. He naïvely remarks that he was a native of the towns of Santiago de Hananguaygua and of Huringuauiguacanchi de Orcusuyo, but he fails to tell us how his parents and he managed it. He goes on to say that his birthplaces lie between Canas and Canchis in the Collasuyo and that he was a legitimate son of Don Diego Felipe Condorcanqui and of Doña María Guayrotari, and he traces back his ancestry, proudly styled legitimate, through a line of Christianised native notables. He wrote of early history in Peru as it was preserved among the upper-caste natives in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

An Account of the Antiquities of Peru by Santa Cruz Pachacuti-yamqui Salcamayhua is a work that was much esteemed by the late Sir Clements Markham and by the late Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, but personally I have never been able to grant it a high place among the older authorities on our subject. It starts off with an account of pre-Incaic times and tells of a period prior to the birth of Christ during which four or five armies, arrayed for war, came up into Ttahuantin-suyu, or Peru, from the country south of Potosí. The invading hordes peopled the land and, during an era which lasted for "a vast number of years" it gradually became overpopulated so that wars and strife resulted and demons called Hapi-ñuñus stalked through the

country-side doing every kind of mischief. Then came a night in which the people heard the Hapi-nũñus flying away with laments, crying out "We are conquered, we are conquered, alas that we should lose our lands:" Our author explains this naïvely by saying, ". . . it must be understood that the devils were conquered by Jesus Christ our Lord on the Cross on Mount Calvary." He then goes on to tell of a bearded man with long hair who went through the land some years afterwards performing many miracles. He was called *Tonapa Uiracocha nipacachan*, or Tonapa, steward of Uiracocha, but he was undoubtedly the glorious apostle St. Thomas.

So far so good, and the student of myths will find the material of our author interesting to this point. But from now onwards his narrative is merely a jumble of superstitious and cabalistic nonsense with, however, a thread of common sense running through it. That thread is our author's account of the reigns of the Incas. According to him, *Pachacutiŋgayupangui* and his successors were the builders of the empire, in which assertion of Santa Cruz Pachacuti's we see conjoined the influence of the Toledan school and the influence of ancestral pride. To an otherwise trivial narration of Incaic history some importance is given, however, by the insertion of a number of prayers, pronouncements, and objur-gations in Quechua. These have never been translated into any European tongue, for both Markham and Jiménez avoided such an appalling task, but there they stand, still waiting for some student of Quechua who shall be at once dextrous enough and energetic enough to render them into Spanish, English, French or some other modern tongue.

The original manuscript of our author's work is preserved in the National Library, Madrid, together with the papers of Father Avila, *q. v.*

Editions of it exist as follows:

- 1873 *An Account of the Antiquities of Peru.*  
 Edited by Clements R. Markham.  
 In *Rites and Laws of the Yncas*, pp. 67-120.  
 Hakluyt Society.  
 London.
- 1879 *Relacion de antigüedades deste reyno del Pirú.*  
 Edited by Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada.  
 In *Tres Relaciones de Antigüedades Peruanas*, pp. 231-328.  
 Madrid.

SANTILLAN, FERNANDO, (OR HERNANDO), DE:

Nothing appears to be known about the parentage and early years of this writer. That his education must have been a good one is made evident by his possession of the coveted title of Licentiate and by his renown as a Judge.

In 1550, after the departure from Peru of President Don Pedro de la Gasca, he was an *Oidor* of the Royal Audiencia of Lima, in which body the government of the country was vested until, in September, 1552, Don Antonio de Mendoza, who had served nobly and brilliantly as Viceroy of Mexico, arrived to assume the arduous duties of that same office in Peru. His health was poor, however, which was a great misfortune, for otherwise he would have given Peru the just and firm direction which was so greatly needed. Unhappily he died, in July, 1552, having reigned less than a year, and once more the Royal Audiencia assumed control of the country. 'Control' is, perhaps, too strong a word, for the rule of that august body was far from being absolute. It was a time when discontent seethed in the hearts of many, discontent which finally found expression in the rebellion of Captain Don Francisco Hernández Girón. To know the causes of that uprising we must go back a little, to the rule of Don Pedro de la Gasca. He had been sent to Peru to quell the truly formidable revolt headed by Don Gonzalo Pizarro who had very nearly succeeded, between 1544 and 1548, in making himself independent King of Peru. Having overcome and slain Gonzalo, Gasca proceeded to distribute rewards and riches among those who had aided him, but his mode of doing so caused a vast deal of dissatisfaction in many quarters, especially in the breast of Hernández Girón. That astute malcontent, finding Peru ruled only by a bench of Judges, rose in rebellion in 1553, and it took the entire power of the Royal Audiencia, aided by that able general Don Jerónimo de Loaysa, Archbishop of Lima, to put him down. Indeed, they did not succeed in doing so until the end of 1554.

In spite of the fact that Judge Santillán performed his duties in this emergency in a most conscientious manner, he made many enemies, chief among them his colleague, Judge Don Melchor Bravo de Saravia, and the Archbishop. The trouble seems to have arisen out of acrimonious discussions as to the best methods of repressing Hernández Girón's insurrection.

The rule of the Royal Audiencia was terminated in June, 1556, by the arrival of a new Viceroy, Don Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete. He extinguished the last embers of Hernández Girón's flare-up, and at the same time despatched an expedition to Chile under the leadership of his son, Don García Hurtado de Mendoza. Our author went upon this enterprise as military counsellor to the young nobleman in command.

In 1564 Judge Santillán left Lima by command of Philip II and went to Quito in order to establish a new Audiencia and to be the first President of it. Matters went ill with him in his new post, and in a few years' time he was forced to return to Spain under a cloud, being accused of grave malfeasance in his high office.

He composed his *Relación* in Spain, about 1572, in order to justify himself and his conduct in office. He won the countenance and favour of Don Juan de Ovando, President of the Royal Council of the Indies, through whose influence he was restored to good standing.

Being now a widower, he entered the Church and, in January, 1573, was appointed Bishop of La Plata. But he died in Lima, in 1575, while on his way to his see.<sup>1</sup>

Our author was a man of crystalline intelligence and of sharply mordant wit. His enemy Fernández de Palencia, *q. v.*, to whose book he made sixty-eight objections, accused him of being a sleepy-head, in contrast with that other enemy of his, Archbishop Loaysa, who is said by Fernández to have been an incorrigible player of chess. As these charges were made in the course of the unseemly bibliographical squabble between the two men to which I referred in my article on Fernández, they should not be taken too seriously. My own impression of Judge Santillán is that he was a clever man who travelled widely in Peru and who probably made careful note of what he saw.

Santillán's original manuscript, signed by him, but having no title, is in the library of the Escorial, under the signature L. j. 5., folios 307-345, and there I saw it, in May, 1927. It has been published but once, as follows:

1879 *Relación*.

Edited by Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada.

In *Tres Relaciones de Antigüedades Peruanas*, pp. 3-133.

Madrid.

<sup>1</sup> Jiménez de la Espada, in his Letter to the Count of Toreno, 1879, pp. xl-xliii.

The form of this document differs considerably from that of the other writings studied in these pages. In effect it is a series of answers to questions which are posed in a questionnaire drawn up by order of Prince Philip at Valladolid on December 20th, 1553. The rulers of Castile, and especially Philip II, were addicted to the practice of firing broadsides of questions at their administrative officials in the New World. They were not merely the fruit of an idle curiosity on the part of the sovereign, however, but rather were the product of a sincere desire for reliable information concerning those vast, varied and distant realms which from 1492 to the present day have never been seen by any member of the Spanish royal family. One of the most important questionnaires ever issued, and one which stimulated the greatest amount of research, was that of Philip II, given at San Lorenzo el Real (the Escorial) on May 25th, 1577, which caused the preparation of many of the *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, edited in four volumes by Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, 1881-1897.

The questionnaire which Don Hernando de Santillán set out to answer consists of sixteen questions nicely calculated to elicit a great deal of historical information regarding the native peoples of Peru and their institutions. Our author did not adhere very closely to the form implied by the questionnaire, for his *Relación* in reply thereto contains one hundred and twenty-two paragraphs, most of them interesting to us. Inasmuch as the work of Santillán has now become rather inaccessible, the volume in which it was issued now being out of print and hard to find, it will be well to indicate briefly the contents of the *Relación*.

In Paragraph One we are informed that Incaic history was preserved by means of songs that were passed along by word of mouth from generation to generation and by means of the *quipus*, or knot-records.

Paragraph Two relates the Pacari-tampu myth and the founding of Inca rule in Cuzco, with its religion, polity, and customs.

The successive Incas, as set forth in Paragraph Three, were as follows: Pachacoch, Viracochay, Yupangui or Capac Yupangui, Inga Yupangui, Topa Inga Yupangui, Guayna Cápac, Guascar Inga, and Atabaliba. The rule of the dynasty began somewhat more than two hundred years before the time of writing, which would date it about 1350. The memory of these successive rulers was preserved among the natives of the provinces which they



conquered because of the necessity of setting aside houses, lands, and women for the use of the conquering lord.

Paragraph Four tells us that before the Incas there was no general government but that, as a rule, each valley or province had its *curaca* or chief who had minor chiefs under him. Neighbouring provinces were very often at war, usually for the sake of winning desirable agricultural and grazing lands. In the course of time some *curacas* built up very extensive states, as did the lord of the Valley of Trujillo, called Chimo Cápac, who came to rule over the greater part of the Yungas, *i. e.*, the coast; as did likewise another lord, he of the Chocorvos, named Hasto Cápac, who mastered certain provinces adjacent to those of the Chimu. But these were individual exceptions to the general rule of small states, each with its own language and polity, which continued to prevail until the Incas set up their admirable government.

Paragraph Five affirms that Cápac Yupangui was the first Inga who did any conquering on a large scale and that he subjected the country between Cuzco and Pisco, and from there to Lucanas, whence he returned to Cuzco in order to consolidate and organize his conquests.

Paragraph Six tells us that Topa Inga Yupangui, son of Cápac Yupangui or of Inga Yupangui, conquered the mountain country as far as Chachapoyas, organizing it afterwards, as his father had done. Furthermore, captains and troops of his conquered Chile as far as the River Cachapoal, beyond which dwelt the Pormacaes who were not worth conquering. In all that southern region mines were exploited, roads were built, and works of irrigation were constructed.

Guayna Cápac, son of Topa Inga Yupangui, succeeded his father, according to Paragraph Seven, and he conquered as far as Quito, where he died, leaving schism in the empire, for Cuzco declared in favour of Guascar and Quito in favour of Tabaliba. When the Spaniards entered the country the two were at war.

Paragraphs Eight to Ten, inclusive, tell of the methods whereby the Ingas consolidated and organized their conquests. In conquering new territory they always began by sending an embassy to the *curaca* thereof in order to give him a chance to come into the empire peacefully on good terms. Many of them accepted, receiving presents of gold and fine cloth from their new liege as

a reward for their good sense. This agrees perfectly with what Garcilaso de la Vega, *q. v.*, tells us of the Incas' methods, but it was written long before his Royal Commentaries were published, and we have no indication that there was any personal contact between the Inca and Judge Santillán, albeit both were in Spain at the time when our author was writing.

Continuing, then, with the account of the Incas' methods of organizing their possessions, we find that Topa Inga Yupangui divided the empire up into four parts or kingdoms. This he did in consultation with all the lords of the realm, whom he assembled at Cuzco and entertained with festivals before coming to serious business. The four parts were: Chinchaysuyo, from Vilcacongá along the coast to Quito; Collasuyo, from Urcos to los Charcas; Andesuyo, from Abisco throughout the highland wastes of the Andes; and Condesuyo, from Cuzco to Arequipa and including all the country that lies in that direction.<sup>2</sup> Boundary stones were set up to mark the limits of the divisions. Each *suyu* was placed under the rule of an official called *Cápac* who was directly responsible for all the affairs of his jurisdiction and who discussed the most important of them with the Inga through the mediation of another official who was a secretary or minister of the sovereign.

Below the *Cápac* came a hierarchy of officials; the *Tocricoc* ruling a *guamam* (*sic*) of forty thousand *vecinos*, *i. e.*, heads of households; the *Huño* who usually ruled a whole valley and had under him an indeterminate number of *curacas de guaranga* or lords of a thousand heads of households; and the *curaca de pachaca* who was lord of one hundred heads of households. The duties, powers, and privileges of the officials were nicely calculated for each rank, culminating in those of the *Tocricoc* whose authority and obligations were very extensive, exceeded only by those of the *Cápac* and of the Inga.

In Paragraph Eleven our author describes the categories into which the people were divided from the point of view of their

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<sup>2</sup> These definitions of the *suyos* or *suyus* or *suyu-cuna* which combined to form *Ttahua-ntin-suyu*, the Land of the Four Provinces or Quarters, differ considerably from the standard ones according to which Cuzco was the apex and centre of the empire, the hub from which the lines dividing the *suyus* spread out like spokes. Cieza, Cobo, Garcilaso and other writers give the more generally accepted definition of the *suyu-cuna*.

ages and resultant abilities as workers. Somewhat illogically, it would seem, he begins with the oldest group, called *Puñucloco*, those fit only for sleeping, who were sixty years old and upwards. Then came the group called *Chaupiloco*, from fifty to sixty years of age, who engaged in the lighter forms of agricultural labour. Next were the class called *Pouc*, from twenty-five to fifty years of age; upon them fell all the hard work, all the paying of tribute, all the soldiering, and all the labour of the state generally. The *Imanguayna* followed, from twenty to twenty-five years old; they worked, but at tasks less arduous than those of the next oldest class. The fifth age-group was that of the *Cocapalla*, from sixteen to twenty, which also performed light tasks, particularly, as the name implies, that of working in the coca plantations. Then came the *Pucllagamara*, from eight to sixteen years old. The *Tatanrezi* were from six to eight years old. The *Machapori* were from four to six. The tenth class, not named, was from two to four years of age. The *Sayoguamarac* were less than two years of age, and the twelfth and last class, called *Moxocapari*, were the new-born babes.<sup>3</sup>

Paragraphs Twelve to Seventeen, inclusive, relate details of the laws, marriage-customs, and such matters under the rule of the Incas.

The succession of the Inca is treated in Paragraph Eighteen. The ruling monarch chose from among his legitimate sons the

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<sup>3</sup> Judge Santillán arranges this material very badly and also garbles the Quechua nomenclature outrageously. Arranged in logical order, with their names correctly written and translated, the age-categories are as follows:

*Mosocapari*, a new thing which is carried about.

*Saya-huamrac*, a child, standing.

*Macta-puric*, a lusty youth going about.

*Ttanta-raquizic*, a receiver of bread made from maize.

*Pucllac-huamrac*, a youth who plays.

*Cuca-pallac*, a picker of coca.

*Ima-huayna*, almost a youth.

*Puric*, one who moves about, *i. e.*, at the Inca's command.

*Chaupi-rucu*, one who is half old.

*Puñuc-rucu*, an old man sleeping.

In making these translations I have consulted:

GONZÁLEZ HOLGUÍN, DIEGO:

1608 *Vocabulario de la Lengua general de todo el Perú llamada lengua Qquichua, o del Inca*. Lima.

See also Means, 1925, p. 456, and citations there.

one best suited to succeed, and he proclaimed him his heir while he still lived, training him in the field for the duties that would be his. Sometimes, especially among the late and post-Conquest Incas, a counter-heir was set up by the *orejones* or nobles of the realm.

The succession of the *curacas* is described in Paragraph Nineteen. The lord of the province or valley, *i. e.*, either the *Tocricoc* or the *Huño*—it is not clear which, chose a new *curaca de pachaca* from among the members of the *pachaca* or group of one hundred households. When a *curaca de guaranga* died, the higher officer whose duty it was selected from among the *curacas de pachaca* under him one to take his place. Into the filling of these offices, therefore, the hereditary principle entered very little. Moreover, a certain possibility existed for an exceptionally able man to rise from being a simple *puric* or head of a household to being a *curaca de pachaca*, a *curaca de guaranga* or even, granted the good-will and countenance of the *Tocricoc*, higher still. But, as Santillán points out in Paragraph Twenty, in actual practice the new official was almost always chosen from among the sons or nephews of the decedent official.

In Paragraphs Twenty-one to Twenty-five, inclusive, Judge Santillán tells us of the property-laws of Incaic times and of the harm wrought among the native people and their *curacas* since the conquest by the introduction of such elements as law-suits and *encomenderos* or land-owners who, though Spanish, have made it a rule to interfere greatly with the native social system.

Paragraphs Twenty-six to Thirty-three, inclusive, deal with religion, sacrifices, rites and such matters.

The manner in which the consecrated women were chosen, and the *yanaconas* or household servants of the imperial court, is described in Paragraphs Thirty-four to Thirty-seven, inclusive.

In Paragraphs Thirty-eight to Fifty-nine, inclusive, the native practices anent the paying of tribute and the economic life of the state are examined in a most interesting and informative manner, without rancour, prejudice or uncharitableness of any kind.

In the remainder of the *Relación*, Paragraphs Sixty to One Hundred and Twenty-two, inclusive, Judge Santillán gives to the King his matured opinion as to the best and fairest means of adapting the Incaic social and economic system to the needs of Spanish administration. He urges, among other things, that the

Indians be not forced to pay their tribute in money, but rather that they be allowed, as in olden days, to pay it in merchandise or in the products of their lands. The mines, however, should be worked by Indians dwelling near them, whose tribute shall be paid in labour. Judge Santillán is especially averse to the proposed perpetuating of the *encomiendas*, but he examines the matter judicially, presenting both the pros and the cons to the attention of the King.

The *Relación* by the Licentiate Judge Don Hernando de Santillán is a remarkable and trustworthy report by one who was not only a great lawyer but also a great man, great in the one capacity because his spirit was truly magnanimous and judicious, and great in the other because he was compassionate as well as intelligent.

#### SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA, CAPTAIN PEDRO:

Captain Don Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa is one of the two ominous figures whose names have cropped up from time to time as this series of studies has proceeded on its appointed course. As a navigator he is worthy of honour; of his deserts as an historian it will be possible to judge after examining his work.

Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa was born in 1532 at Alcalá de Henares. His parents were Don Bartolomé Sarmiento, a gentleman born in Pontevedra, Galicia, and a Biscayan lady of Bilbao whose maiden name was de Gamboa. The boyhood of Pedro was spent at Pontevedra, in a region redolent of traditions of the sea, of voyages, adventures and discoveries. In 1550, when only eighteen, he began his varied career, serving in the armies of Charles I, in the European wars of that day. In 1555 he gave up soldiering and went to Mexico where he sojourned for some time, going on to Peru in 1557, by way of Guatemala.

Being a man of intelligent curiosity, and well educated withal, he early became interested in the antiquities and history of the country in which he found himself, and during his first eight years there he studied them with some assiduity. It is my private conviction that, at that period, he had in him the makings of a first-rank historian of early Peru, an historian, that is, unblemished by prejudice and political self-interest. Those were the days when the good Viceroy Marquis of Cañete was endeavouring in a conciliatory and fair-minded manner to bring the remnants of the

imperial house of Peru into honourable vassalage to the Crown of Castile. He partly succeeded, it will be remembered, but the death of the Inca Sayri Tupac at Yucay in 1560 and the death of the Marquis of Cañete himself in the following year put an end to that phase of Incaic-Castilian relations.

Nevertheless, the study of the Indian question, involving, of course, the study of Incaic history, was in the air, and, moreover, Castile's new master, Philip II, was still sufficiently young and unwearied to be inquisitive concerning his American realms and the history of his native subjects therein. It came about quite naturally, therefore, that Sarmiento, during his years in Peru, should make a painstaking investigation of Peruvian antiquities and legends.

With the coming of the new Viceroy, Count of Nieva, in 1561, a period of enlarged activity began for Sarmiento. He was a close friend of the young ruler of Peru and he held, in all likelihood, some post of considerable importance either in the vice-regal household or else in the administration. This felicitous time was ended, however, on the night of February 20th, 1564, by the murder of the Viceroy, Count of Nieva.

A new ruler came, the Governor Lope García de Castro, and with him came the Holy Inquisition, into whose hands Sarmiento presently fell. He was charged with dealing in black magic, necromancy, astrology and other hokus-pokus of that kind. His trial was a monument of sacerdotal folly, and our unfortunate author, who had really done nothing of an anti-religious nature, was sentenced to hear Mass on May 8, 1565, in the cathedral of Lima, stripped naked and holding a lighted taper in his hand. To modern minds it would seem that the Inquisitors who pronounced such a penance were far more sacrilegious than he whom they were punishing had ever dreamed of being. There were other articles in his sentence, too, but of them all I will mention only that in which he was banished from the Indies forever. But powerful influences were brought to bear upon Paul IV (Giovanni Pietro Caraffa), celebrated for his opposition to the Spanish influences at the papal Court, and the banishment clause was modified, and, subsequently, it was stricken out.

Those were days when Philip II and the more sanguine of his servants were still on the lookout for possible additions to the colonial empire of Castile. In 1567 a naval expedition to the

West was organized under the patronage of the Governor of Peru, the Licentiate Lope García de Castro. Sarmiento de Gamboa was admitted by him into the Royal service and was offered the command of the exploratory fleet which was to be sent forth. Sarmiento cannily declined the proffered honour, begging that the command be given to a youthful nephew of García de Castro, Don Alvaro de Mendaña. He thus assured to the enterprise the enthusiastic support of the Governor, yet he did not greatly lessen his own authority, for he was appointed Captain of Mendaña's own ship, the *Los Reyes*, and a certain directive power was reserved to him by special stipulations. The other ship of this small fleet was the *Todos Santos*, commanded by Captain and Camp Master Don Pedro de Ortega. The two vessels sailed from Callao on November 19th, 1567, their avowed purpose being to find the islands of Nina-chumpi and Hahua-chumpi which Incaic lore, already well known to Sarmiento, reported to have been visited by the Inca Tupac Yupanqui, a century or so earlier, as described by Father Cabello de Balboa, *q. v.*

Sarmiento and Ortega got along about as ill as two men in such a situation could. Young Mendaña wavered between them, favouring now one, now the other. As a result of disunity of command the fleet went much farther west than was originally intended, stumbling by accident upon the Solomon Islands. From that point the fleet turned eastward again, to a disquieting accompaniment of increasing recriminations among the three highest in command. In January or February, 1569, the ships put in to Realejo, on the coast of Guatemala, to undergo a much needed refitting. Because of Mendaña's avowed intention to bring grave charges against his colleague, our author, before his uncle, the Governor, so soon as ever Lima should be reached, Don Pedro wisely decided to avoid official injustice by separating from the expedition at Realejo. Mendaña and the rest of the expedition returned to Peru, arriving at Callao on September 11th, 1569.

The reign in Peru of García de Castro was very near its end, for, in November, 1569, a far greater man, Don Francisco de Toledo, *q. v.*, began his long reign as Viceroy of Peru. When Sarmiento learned of his advent there, he returned to Lima. From the beginning he stood high in the favour of his new master, in whose service he was from 1571 onwards during the reign of Toledo in Peru.

The period which now opens is the most important in the life of Sarmiento so far as our present interests are concerned. Toledo invited him to accompany him on his journeys in the southerly parts of the viceroyalty, the same honour being extended also to Acosta, *q. v.*, Matienzo, *q. v.*, Polo, *q. v.* and others. The mind of the Viceroy went through two distinct phases regarding the policy to be pursued towards the Incas, phases which will be mentioned at greater length in my article on Toledo. The second of these phases, which may fairly be called vengeful, is the one with which Sarmiento is mainly associated. The judicial murder of the young Inca Tupac Amaru I, towards the end of 1571, is the culminating event of this period of the joint careers of Sarmiento and Toledo. As Sir Clements Markham has truly said, "Pedro Sarmiento was aiding and abetting in this cruel and atrocious crime. He was unrelenting and felt no remorse; for nine years afterwards he advised the King to continue the persecution of the surviving members of the Inca family." Vindictiveness towards the fallen Incas is the chief note in a report written by Sarmiento on April 15th, 1581,<sup>1</sup> showing that his animosity towards an extraordinary family which never did him any injury whatever continued unabated during many years.

In short, it is not too much to say that Sarmiento wished to see the great tree of the Inca family torn ruthlessly from the soil where it had flourished so long and so honourably and that he hoped that it would be utterly destroyed. This was the spirit of the man to whom Toledo entrusted the task of preparing an elaborate official history of the Incas.

The remainder of Sarmiento's life is without interest to the student of ancient Andean history. In 1573 he invaded the country of his master's enemies, the Chiriguanos, and soon after that he fell into the clutches of the Inquisition which, as on a former occasion, charged him with dealing in necromancy. In November, 1575, he was imprisoned for a time, but Toledo stood by him and presently rescued him from his persecutors, retaining

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<sup>1</sup> See Markham's Introduction to the *Narratives of the Voyages of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa to the Straits of Magellan*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1895, pp. xviii-xix. The Report here referred to is among the *Papeles Históricos* of the Count of Valencia de Don Juan, and Markham translates a short passage from it.



him in his rank of Captain and placing him high in the favour of the viceregal court.

Such was his position when, in February, 1579, Drake dashed into the Bay of Callao and greatly perturbed the inhabitants of that port and of the proud City of the Kings upon the Rimac, hard by. Toledo placed him in charge of the fleet which presently pursued Drake towards Panama, but without capturing the bold buccaneer. In that same year the Viceroy placed him in command of a fleet which was ordered to proceed through the Straits of Magellan, with a view to fortifying them against such piratical incursions as that of Drake, and then to sail on to Spain. Sarmiento left Lima on October 11th, 1579, passed through the Straits of the Mother of God, as he now dubbed the Straits of Magellan, between January 22d and February 24th, 1580, and arrived in Spain on August 19th, 1580. He went at once to the Court, then at Badajoz, where Philip II received him in an amicable manner and listened attentively to his recommendations concerning a settlement to be made at the Straits. The King appointed him to be governor of the new colony, and for some years thereafter his time was chiefly taken up with the affairs of the settlements at the Straits, all of which necessitated long journeys along the Atlantic coast of South America.

On August 11th, 1586, Sarmiento, then on his way to Spain from South America, was captured near the island of Terceira by some English navigators of piratical tendencies. They tortured him very prettily, and we may hope that a memory of the Plaza in Cuzco at the time of Tupac Amaru I's murder was floating in his mind at the moment of his suffering. At the end of August, 1586, Sarmiento arrived with his captors at Plymouth, where he was kept in captivity for some days. On September 14th he was taken to Hampton Court, and the next day to Windsor Castle, where the Queen then was. There he was taken in charge by the owner of the ships which had captured him, who was no less a personage than Sir Walter Raleigh. By him he was presented to Queen Elizabeth, and she conversed with our author in Latin during more than two hours. He also talked with Lords Burleigh and Howard. The Queen evidently found him interesting and confidence-inspiring, for she entrusted him with an informal conciliatory message to his sovereign and, on October 30th, 1586, let him depart with a passport and a present of money and pearls. Queen Elizabeth's message did not reach its destination until after the

little episode of the Invincible Armada, for our author was kept a prisoner in southern France during a long while on account of a rather obscure difficulty into which he fell there.<sup>2</sup>

The last years of our author are shrouded in obscurity. It is not absolutely certain that the Pedro Sarmiento who was associated with the Ronquillos in the conquest of Tidore, the base for that expedition being Manilla de las Filipinas, was our author but it seems probable that it was he. If so, he was still living in Manilla in 1608.<sup>3</sup>

It is no part of my purpose to discuss here those writings of Captain Don Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa which deal with his navigations, surveys, observations and kindred subjects. Yet, out of fairness to the man, one must remark here, again, that, regarded as an explorer and as a scientific seaman, he was admirable, worthy of all honour and praise. His accounts of the Straits of Magellan were far more full and more accurate than those of any of his predecessors,<sup>4</sup> which fact alone entitles him to be highly regarded as a navigator.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Narrative* signed by Sarmiento at the Escorial on December 15th, 1589, and printed by Markham in the *Narratives* already cited, 1895, pp. 209-351.

<sup>3</sup> Markham, in the edition already cited, and in the 1907 edition cited below.

Pietschmann, in the 1906 edition, cited below.

Medina, in his *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en Chile, Santiago, 1890*, two volumes, II, p. 310.

Mrs. Zelia Nuttall in *New Light on Drake*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1914. Pp. 56-59.

Moses, pp. 125-135.

Certain older writers have dealt with Sarmiento, including:

Alcedo.

Antonio, II, p. 237.

Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, in his *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, Madrid, 1609, pp. 167-169.

Antonio de Morga, in his *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, Mexico, 1609, Ch. iv.

Juan de Miramontes Zuázola in *Armas Antárticas*, canto XVIII.

Edition of Don Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, Quito, 1921. Two volumes.

The poem is dedicated to Don Juan de Mendoza y Luna, Marquis of Montes Claros, Viceroy of Peru.

Mendiburu, VII, pp. 250-254.

<sup>4</sup> His predecessors were: Magellan, 1520; Jofre de Loaysa and Sebastián del Cano, 1526; Alcazava, 1535; Ladrilleros, 1557; and Drake, 1578. See Markham's Introduction to the 1895 edition already cited.

At present, however, only Sarmiento's *History of the Incas* concerns us.

Taken in conjunction with the writings of Toledo, *q. v.*, the History by Sarmiento is the perpetuation in literary form of the great Viceroy's vengeful phase. It was compiled during the summer of 1571-1572, at Cuzco, and was finished in the end of March, 1572. This phase of Toledo's activities immediately ensued, it will be observed, upon his unrighteous murder of the Inca Tupac Amaru I.

Preceding the History proper is a very important Introductory Epistle addressed to the King and signed by Sarmiento at Cuzco on March 4th, 1572. In it our author specifically mentions Friar Bartolomé de las Casas, *q. v.*, and he sets himself up in deliberate opposition to him as an historian. Sarmiento's object is to justify the rule in Peru of the House of Hapsburg in the person of Philip II, which justification was made desirable by the fact that Casas "gave a handle to foreigners, as well catholics as heretics and other infidels, for throwing doubt on the right which the kings of Spain claim and have claimed to the Indies."

Elsewhere in this same Epistle Sarmiento eulogises his patron, the Viceroy Toledo, and at the same time explains to the King what his historical method has been. As the passage in question is of the utmost significance, I will transcribe it here from Markham's translation. It runs thus:

" . . . The Viceroy proposes to do your Majesty a most signal service in this matter, besides the performance of all the other duties of which he has charge. This is to give a secure and quiet harbour to your royal conscience against the tempests raised even by your own natural subjects, theologians and other literary men, who have expressed serious opinions on the subject, based on incorrect information. Accordingly, in his general visitation, which he is making personally throughout the kingdom, he has verified from the root and established by a host of witnesses examined with the greatest diligence and care, taken from among the principal old men of the greatest ability and authority in the kingdom, and even those who pretend to have an interest in it from being relations and descendants of the Incas, the terrible, inveterate and horrible tyranny of the Incas, being tyrants who ruled in these kingdoms of Peru, and the *curacas* who governed the districts. This will undeceive all those in the world who think that the Incas were legitimate sovereigns, and that the *curacas* were natural lords of the land. In order that your Majesty may, with the least trouble and the most pleasure, be informed, and the rest, who are of a

contrary opinion, be undeceived, I was ordered by the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo, whom I follow and serve in this general visitation, to take this business in hand, and write a history of the deeds of the twelve Incas of this land, and of the origin of the people, continuing the narrative to the end. This I have done with all the research and diligence that was required, as your Majesty will see in the course of the perusal and by the ratification of witnesses. It will certify to the truth of the worst and most inhuman tyranny of these Incas and of their *curacas* who are not and never were original lords of the soil, but were placed there by Tupac Inca Yupanqui, the greatest, the most atrocious and harmful tyrant of them all. The *curacas* were and still are great tyrants appointed by other great and violent tyrants, as will clearly and certainly appear in the history; so that the tyranny is proved, as well as that the Incas were strangers in Cuzco, and that they had seized the valley of Cuzco, and all the rest of their territory from Quito to Chile by force of arms, making themselves Incas without the consent or election of the natives."<sup>5</sup>

This long quotation sufficiently well displays the mood in which Sarmiento set about the perpetration of what is nothing less than an historical and literary crime. Whatever faults the Incas may have had, being human, they were certainly far from being the monsters of evil which Sarmiento, in his infamous and derogatory attack, portrays.

How a man of great intelligence, who had long studied the history of the native Andeans, could bring himself to write such an abominably unjust and inaccurate account of a great but fallen dynasty we can only conjecture. On the whole, it seems most likely that Captain Don Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa was not simply a rough-and-ready old sea-dog; but that he was something of a courtier and a good deal of a place-hunter to boot. Very probably he felt that his personal ambitions could best be served by currying favour with Toledo at any cost, even at that of the Incas' reputation. Only in this way can I explain his complacency in making himself a pliant tool ready to Toledo's hand in the Viceroy's nefarious literary attack upon the shattered imperial family.

But not much harm was done by Sarmiento and other writers of his stamp, after all. His own work remained unpublished until the present century. In spite of his brazenly mendacious and very adulatory Epistle to the King, his History was suffered to

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<sup>5</sup> Quoted from Markham's edition, 1907, pp. 9-10.

remain in obscurity and not permitted to be spread abroad through Europe in opposition to the writings of Bishop de las Casas.

The original manuscript of Sarmiento's *History* is embellished with elaborate borders, armorial devices, and other artistic contrivances intended to make it worthy to be seen by the royal eyes for whose inspection it was prepared. Indeed, from an aesthetic standpoint, it is a most attractive piece of work, and one wonders that artists capable of making the sundry adornments were to be found in Peru at that period; one suspects that the decorations were the work of native craftsmen whose former rulers were so much maligned in the book that they were called upon to beautify.<sup>6</sup>

The outer binding of the manuscript is of red silk and the inner of green leather, but whether or not it was so encased in the beginning I cannot say. In some manner not now known King Philip II's manuscript copy of Sarmiento's *History*—the only known copy of that work—made its way into the library of the celebrated bibliophile Abraham Gronov or Gronovius<sup>7</sup> which was sold in 1785. At that time the Sarmiento manuscript was purchased by Göttingen University, in whose possession it has remained.

The original title of the work is:

*Segunda par/ te Dela hiss/ toria general/ llamada yndica; la ql/ por mãdado dl Ex. mo S./ dõ franco d toledo virrey/ gobernador y capt gene/ ral dlos rreynos dl piru/ y mayordomo dla casa/ Ral d castilla cõpuso./ el capt po sarmjento De/ gamboa./*

Sarmiento intended to add thereto a First Part in which the natural features of Peru were to have been discussed, and a Third Part in which the history of the Conquest was to have been described. It is a great pity that—so far as we know—the First Part was never written, for Sarmiento's undoubted ability as a

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<sup>6</sup> Sir Clements Markham, in the Hakluyt Society's 1907 edition, provides us with reproductions of some of the pages of the original manuscript. My surmise that the ornamentation therein is native handiwork is corroborated to some extent by an inlaid panel in my possession. It was originally the front of a desk or of a chest of about the same date as the manuscript. The workmanship in this inlay resembles, in a general way, that in the embellishments of the Sarmiento manuscript, and I am sure that the inlay was made by Indians at Cuzco, acting under Spanish influence.

<sup>7</sup> Abraham Gronovius, 1694-1775, was a Dutch classicist. He was sometime librarian of the University of Leyden and is remembered for his editions of Pomponius Mela and of Tacitus. His father, Jakob Gronov or Gronovius, and his grandfather, Johann Friederich Gronov, were also famous in the same field in their day.

navigator and explorer would have enabled him to give an admirable account of the geography of Peru. Nor was the Third Part ever written, but we may suppose that that is no great loss.

Editions of Sarmiento's History are only two in number, and may be described thus:

- 1906 *Geschichte des Inkareiches.*  
 Edited by Richard Pietschmann.  
 In *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, IV, No. 4.  
 Berlin.
- 1907 *History of the Incas.*  
 Edited by Sir Clements Markham, K.C.B.  
 Hakluyt Society.  
 London.

There are seventy-one chapters in the History of the Incas.

Chapters One to Eight, inclusive, are concerned with pre-Incaic times. Among the interesting points in this part of the book is Sarmiento's conjecture concerning Ulysses, whom he mentions as wandering in a carefree manner "from island to island until he came to Yucatan and Campeachy. . ." The proof of his being there is that the word *Teos* signifies God in the language of Greece and in that of New Spain. Or, at any rate, so says Sarmiento. Interesting also is his reference to Philip II as "the unconquered Felipe II," but that was in 1568, and the little joke off Plymouth Hoe befell twenty years later. In Chapter Six our author turns to more serious matters and describes briefly the native mythology of Peru. He tells of Viracocha Pachayachachi, Creator of All Things, who made a number of gigantic images of stone in order to see whether it would be well to make real men of that size. He then created men as they now are, and they lived in darkness in the world which he had created. But they quarreled among themselves so that Viracocha grew angry and destroyed nearly all of them with a deluge called *uñu pachacuti*. The Incas of Cuzco held, however, that all men had perished in the great flood and that after it Viracocha created a new race of human beings.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> At any rate so says Sarmiento on p. 13 of Markham's edition, but he contradicts himself, because on p. 30 he says, "Some of the nations, besides the Cuzcos, also say that a few were saved from this flood to leave descendants for a future age." The "Cuzcos" are, of course, the Incas.

Sarmiento, in Chapter Seven, avers that everything was destroyed in the flood, *uñu pachacuti*,<sup>9</sup> but that Viracocha Pachayachachi preserved Taguapaca and two other servants of his to help him in the creation of a new race. With his three henchmen Viracocha went to the island of Titicaca, the Rock of Lead,<sup>10</sup> and there he presently ordered the sun, moon and stars to come forth in the heavens in order to give light to the world, and it was so.<sup>11</sup> Soon thereafter Taguapaca rebelled and was bound blaspheming upon a *balsa* which bore him down the Desaguadero River, after which he was not seen again for a long time.<sup>12</sup>

Leaving the island with his two remaining servants, the god Viracocha went to Tiahuanacu. There he sculptured and designed on a great piece of stone the many nations which he intended to create. He then bade his two servants to commit to memory all the names and destined homelands of the nations, after which he sent them northward, the one along the ridge of the Maritime Cordillera, the other along the ridge of the Cordillera Oriental, so that the highlands lay between their respective routes. By these roads they went, calling the nations into being in the name of Ticci Viracocha Pachayachachi.

When all that was done, the god inspected his newly made people, and at Cacha, in the vale of Vilcamayu, near Cuzco, he wrought a miracle with fire from heaven against some of them who were plotting against him, for which they, terrified by the hot marvel of it, besought his forgiveness, and he accorded it. He then went on, with his two servants, travelling northwards and

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<sup>9</sup> Markham's translation of the term is interesting: *uñu* means water; *pacha* means the world; *cuti* means overturned; *in toto* the term signifies "the world overturned by water." I shall revert to this point on another page, below.

<sup>10</sup> This is in accordance with Ramos Gavilán, *q. v.*

<sup>11</sup> I preserve almost exactly the phraseology of Sarmiento at this point because it is obviously an Andean echo of the Book of Genesis, a point to which I shall revert later.

<sup>12</sup> Material for the study of Taguapaca's identity and significance, and of his relations to Viracocha, will be found in Cobo, Cieza, Santa Cruz Pachacuti, *q. v.*, *omnes*, and others of the early writers. Also see:

Alexander, 1920, pp. 232-242.

LAFONE QUEVEDO, SAMUEL A.:

1892 *El culto de Tonapa. Revista del Museo de La Plata*, III, pp. 323-379. La Plata, Argentina.

performing many miracles, until at last the three vanished over the sea to the west of Manta (on the Ecuadorian coast). After some years Taguapaca came back again, giving out that he was Viracocha, but the people soon became aware of the falsity of his pretension.<sup>13</sup>

In Chapter Eight Sarmiento gives us his account of the period between the going of Viracocha and the rise of the Incas. During the time in question, an era 3,519 years in length—for Sarmiento is very precise in such matters, as we shall see—the land was well filled with people who dwelt in loosely organized tribes each of which had two parts called *Hanansaya* and *Hurinsaya*, or Upper Division and Lower. But these divisions had no significance; they were merely, at that period, “a way to count each other, for their satisfaction. . .” Warfare became frequent during this period, and as a result of it arose certain war-chiefs whose office was purely military and whose authority ceased as soon as peace supervened. They were called *sinchi-cuna*, valiant men, and did not in any way partake of the character of lords. The people “. . . succeeded in preserving, as it is said, a simple state of liberty, living in huts or caves of humble little houses.” The *sinchi-cuna* continued to perform their duties until they were replaced by the *curacas* and other officials set up by Tupac Inca Yupanqui. Or, at any rate, so saith Sarmiento.

In Chapter Nine our author informs us that, before the arrival of the Incas in the Valley of Cuzco, there were already tribes in possession of it. The same statement is made, with individual variations as to names and numbers, by Cieza, Cabello, Betáncos, Santa Cruz, Cobo, Garcilaso (who merely implies that the Valley was already peopled when the Incas arrived in it), Montesinos (who does likewise), and other early writers. Of the six tribes mentioned by Sarmiento as being in the Valley before the advent there of the Incas three were native to the soil and three had come thither at a later, but still pre-Incaic, time.

Our author then goes on, in a most interesting fashion, to tell

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<sup>13</sup> Were I a professed interpreter of myths, I would say that in this yarn we see all that Sarmiento thinks to be good for us of the folk-memory of the Tiahuanaco empire still current in his day, which, taking its rise at the southern end of Lake Titicaca, gradually spread, if not its political power, at any rate its cultural influence, northwards throughout Peru and into Ecuador. See Markham's note, p. 37.



of the means whereby the traditions of the Incas were preserved in spite of the lack of a proper sort of writing. There were the *quipus* or knot-records; there were specially trained historians whose office and function was transmitted from father to son; and there were painted boards, richly embellished, upon which events were depicted. These last were religiously treasured in the Temple of the Sun at Cuzco for the use of the Inca and his historians.

In Chapters Ten to Fourteen, inclusive, Sarmiento gives us the standard myths about Pacari-tampu and about the coming thence to Cuzco of the Incas under the leadership of Manco Capac. This part of his narrative is marred by slurs and recriminations anent the "tyranny" of the first Inca and his associates, but otherwise it is an adequate presentation of the material.

In Chapter Fifteen Sarmiento tells of the reign of the second Inca, Sinchi Rocca (to use his spelling). By nomination of his father, but not by election of the people, he ruled over the six tribes—Huallas, Alcabisas, Sauaseras, Culunchima, Copalimayta, and Antasayas—from the time of Manco Capac's death in 665 to his own death in 675. It thus appears that Sinchi Rocca, who was one hundred and twenty-seven years old when he passed from this vale of tears, was even more unfortunate than the late Edward of England in the matter of coming at an advanced age to kingly power. Sarmiento, it may be said, in passing, mentions Polo's discovery, at Bimbilla, of Sinchi Rocca's body, "among some bars of copper."<sup>14</sup>

In Chapter Sixteen Sarmiento tells of the reign of the do-nothing Inca Lloqui Yupanqui, who ruled from 675, when he was twenty-one, to 786, when, at the age of one hundred and thirty-two, he died. Or so saith Sarmiento.

In Chapter Seventeen the reign of Mayta Capac is described. He had a considerable amount of internecine strife with his

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<sup>14</sup> See my article on Polo de Ondegardo.

I take this occasion to call attention to the name of the second Inca or, more accurately, the first who has the appearance of historicity. Sinchi Roca, as his name implies, was merely a *sinchi* or temporary war-chief of the kind described by our author. Like the great Genghiz Khan, he founded a great empire, in spite of extremely modest antecedents on his own part, for, to begin with, he was but a small chief of a tiny nomadic and pastoral society.

subjects and neighbours, the pre-Incaic tribes of Cuzco; but eventually he got the upper hand of them. He did not, however, go beyond the confines of the Valley of Cuzco, although he did receive visits from the chiefs of distant nations. He died at the age of one hundred and twelve years, in 890. Or so saith Sarmiento.

The reign of Ccapac Yupanqui, the fifth Inca, is related in Chapter Eighteen. He was not the legitimate heir of his father, for there was an older son, Cunti Mayta, whom the father disinherited because he had an ugly face. Rightly or wrongly, Ccapac Yupanqui reigned, and he did a little conquering round about Cuzco between the time of his accession to power at the age of fifteen and his death, in 980, at the age of one hundred and four. Or so saith Sarmiento.

Inca Rocca, sixth ruler of the dynasty, is discussed in Chapter Nineteen. He started out by conquering Muyna, Pinahua, and Caytomarca, all of them places not far from Cuzco, to the south and west. He also constructed some irrigation works, using for the purpose the waters of Hurin-chacan and Hanan-chacan. But afterwards he gave up these activities in order to devote himself to pleasures and banquets. His wife was Mama Micay, daughter of Soma Inca who was *sinchi* of Pata-huayllacan. His eldest legitimate son was Titu Cusi Hualpa, otherwise known as Yahuar-huaccac, and he had four other famous sons of whom Vicaquirau Inca was the most celebrated. He, in conjunction with his cousin, Apu Mayta, later did much conquering, for a later monarch, as shall be told in its place.

The Inca Rocca died in 1088, at the age of one hundred and three. Or so saith Sarmiento.

In Chapters Twenty to Twenty-two, inclusive, we are told the strange tale of Titu Cusi Hualpa, *alias* Yahuar-huaccac, He-who-weeps-blood. His mother, Mama Micay, although she married Inca Rocca, had been previously betrothed to Tocay Ccapac, *sinchi* of Ayamarca. When her people, the Huayllacans, broke their troth, the Ayamarcas began to wage war against the Incas, and during the strife Mama Micay gave birth to Titu Cusi Hualpa. By means of a treasonable plot, Tocay Ccapac stole the child, with whom he became furiously angry because of the stoutness and pride with which the child proclaimed himself to be the son of Mama Micay by the Inca Rocca. Tocay intended to slay him, but

the lad, in his rage, wept tears of blood, and he cursed his captor so roundly that the death-sentence was annulled, or rather was modified from murder to slow death by hunger. To that end he was sent away to some shepherds whom Tocay instructed as to the youngster's dietary, judging it nicely in such a way as to ensure his perishing of inanition.

But Tocay Ccapac had reckoned without taking thought of an injured concubine of his, named Chimpa Orma, daughter of the *sinchi* of Anta. She so arranged matters that her kinsmen of Anta rescued the young prince from the shepherds. They of Anta, in their turn, agreed to send the boy to his father if he would grant them certain honours and privileges, to which he agreed.

In Chapter Twenty-three the reign of the Inca Yahuarhuaccac is recounted. Although he ruled for ninety-six years, perishing at the age of one hundred and fifteen in 1184, we may suppose (although Sarmiento does not here specify the year) he did nothing of note after he came to power. Or so saith Sarmiento.

The beginning of the reign of Viracocha Inca is told of in Chapter Twenty-four. He was a younger son of his father, his elder brother having been murdered by the Huayllacans, who seem to have been a treacherous crew. In his youth this eighth Inca was known as Hatun Tupac Inca, but after a visit to the shrine of Ticci Viracocha at Urcos, where he had a nocturnal visitation from the god, he was known as Viracocha Inca. Sarmiento would have us believe that, up to this time, the Incas' rule had been a tenuous and vague affair, endangered, moreover, by the unceasing discontent of the ruled, who but waited for an opportunity to break out into open rebellion. Stimulated by the god whose name he took, Viracocha Inca resolved to subjugate the greatest possible number of tribes, caring not what force and cruelty he used.

In Chapter Twenty-five we are told how Viracocha, aided by his kinsmen, Apu Mayta and Vicaquirau Inca, built up, with great cruelty, a neat little realm having Cuzco for its center. He also invented cloths and embroidered work called *Viracocha-tocapu*, or brocade. There was plenty of time for these activities because he ruled for one hundred and one years, having succeeded at the age of eighteen. Or so saith Sarmiento.

I have been at some pains thus to present the gist of Sarmiento's *History* to this point because I wish to call attention to his method

and to the resultant worthlessness of his interpretation of Incaic history during the early reigns. He would have us believe that, up to the time of Viracocha's death, the Incaic realm was but a small spot on the map, with Cuzco for its nucleus.<sup>15</sup> He tells us little or nothing concerning the material culture of the Incaic state at this time, and his account of the social polity is very incomplete and faulty. All this results from his ulterior purpose, which is twofold, namely, to show that the Inca Empire was the creation of Inca Yupanqui or Pachacuti, the ninth Inca, and his successors, and to show that Pachacuti was a usurper, having been raised to the Incaship by the famous captains Apu Mayta and Vicaquirau Inca, with the consent of the legitimate sons of Viracocha, but against that monarch's will. Sarmiento's pretence that Pachacuti was a usurper is, of course, vitiated by his own utterance, for a prince who comes to a throne, though a younger son, with the consent and support of the normal heir and his other brothers certainly cannot be called a usurper.

In Chapters Twenty-six to Forty-seven, inclusive, Sarmiento gives his account of the career of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, beginning with his conquest of the Chancas and proceeding through the building up of the empire to about one half of its ultimate extent. In his wars Pachacuti was aided by various kinsmen and captains of his, including his own son, Tupac Inca Yupanqui. The great Inca ruled one hundred and three years, dying in 1191.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> See Means, *An Outline of Culture Sequence in the Andean Area*, Int. Cong. Am., XIX, pp. 236-252, Washington, 1917, for maps pertinent to the subject in hand.

<sup>16</sup> Sarmiento, at this point, apparently gets badly snarled up in his dating. It is only fair to say, however, that the date of 1191, in the 1907 edition, may not be Sarmiento's fault. According to a note on p. 93 of Pietschmann's edition, the last part of the date is written in a hand not like Sarmiento's usual writing. According to himself the dates run thus:

Manco Capac began in 565 and ruled until 665.

Sinchi Rocca ruled from 665 until 675.

Lloqui Yupanqui ruled from 675 to 786.

Mayta Ccapac ruled from 786 to 890.

Ccapac Yupanqui ruled from 890 to 980.

Inca Rocca ruled from 980 to 1088.

Yahuar-huaccac ruled from 1088 for 96 years, until 1184.

Viracocha Inca ruled from 1184 for 101 years, until 1285.

Pachacuti ruled from 1285 for 103 years, until 1388.

Tupac Inca Yupanqui ruled from 1388 for 67 years, until 1455.

Huayna Capac ruled from 1455 for 60 years, until 1515.

In Chapters Forty-eight to Fifty-four, inclusive, we have Sarmiento's account of the reign of Tupac Inca Yupanqui, with mention of his conquests and of his voyage by sea to the islands of Avachumbi and Ninachumbi (as our author spells them), which voyage is also mentioned by Father Cabello de Balboa, *q. v.* To this same Inca Sarmiento attributes the conquest of the southern part of the Peruvian coast, the conquest of Chile, and that of the portion of what is now northwestern Argentina which fell under Incaic rule.

The reign of Huayna Capac is treated of in Chapters Fifty-five to Sixty-two, inclusive. The empire was well nigh complete when he received it, but he did add Chachapoyas and some other outlying districts to his possessions, and his captain, Yasca, waged a not brilliant war against the Chirihuanas.

Chapters Sixty-three to Seventy, inclusive, deal with the interne-cine strife between Titu Cusi Hualpa Inti Illapa, otherwise known as Huascar, and Atahualpa.

The book closes with various documents attesting the truth of the History and with a list of forty-two descendants of the Incas who, acting under the aegis of the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo, swore by God our Lord and by the sign of the cross "that no other history that might be written could be so authentic and true as this one." Of these witnesses I shall speak when writing of Don Francisco de Toledo.

Some may think that I have devoted to Sarmiento de Gamboa more space than his importance warrants, but on the whole I do not think so. In him, and in his master, culminated a definite historical tendency which was adapted by them to an iniquitous political purpose. For that reason I have felt it needful to examine it at some length, which examination will be supplemented by what I have to say concerning Toledo.

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These are the correct dates if, for the sake of argument, we accept Sarmiento's figures for the lengths of the Incas' reigns. He loses track of this himself, however, and dates the death of Tupac Inca Yupanqui 1258 (at the end of Chapter Fifty-four). But in Chapter Sixty-two he says that Huayna Capac, son and successor of Tupac Inca Yupanqui, reigned but sixty years and died at the age of eighty in 1524. The last parts of these dates have also been tampered with in the Ms. but it may have been done by Sarmiento himself just before the Ms. was sent to Spain.

TOLEDO, FRANCISCO DE:

At long last we are come to the giant figure of the great Viceroy whose sombre shadow has cast itself from time to time over these pages as they proceeded upon their course. Mayhap, now that we are face to face with him, he will become less portentous in his general bearing and significance than he has hitherto seemed to be; mayhap matters will develop contrariwise so that one who has appeared to be a malevolent man and a ruthless slayer of kings will swell into the proportions of a fiend of fury illimitable. Let us see which.

Singularly little appears to be known about the early years of Toledo beyond the fact that he was a younger son of the third and a brother of the fourth Count of Oropesa. His mother, Doña María de Figueroa, was a daughter of the Count of Feria. Our viceroy-regicide-author was a third cousin once removed to His Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty Philip II, both being descended from Fadrique Henríquez, High Admiral of Castile; he was likewise closely related to that other high-born murderer, Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alva.<sup>1</sup>

The antecedents of Toledo were, therefore, of the most aristocratic; indeed, the only one of the chroniclers treated in these pages who can rival him in the article of blue blood is the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *q. v.*, who, in every other respect, stands poles apart from him.

Philip II, possessing a somewhat less complicated series of kingdoms than his father had had to govern, was able to concentrate upon his American realms a somewhat greater proportion of

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<sup>1</sup> There is a quaint French doggerel about Alva which describes him to a nicety. It runs thus:

D'un Monarque cruel Ministre impitoyable,  
Vainqueur du Portugal, bourreau des Pays-Bas  
Amateur des gibets autant que des combats,  
Et du sang innocent toujours insatiable.

It occurs under a portrait of Alva painted by Adrian vander Werft and engraved by Peter à Gunst. The portrait, oddly enough, is not a caricature, but rather shows a distinguished countenance with large and rather bovine mild eyes. The note of hostility is sounded, however, by the wolf-skin, with ravening head, upon which the portrait is displayed, by the fire-brand, lash, sword, gun, and skulls which rest beneath wolf-skin and portrait.

the royal attention. Matters had been going anything but well in Peru since the Conquest, and the King was consequently on the hunt for a man capable of 'pacifying' the country or, in other words, of crushing out of it all power to resist oppression. I do not mean to imply by this that the monarch intended to be harsh to his new subjects, for the royal *cédulas* of his and other reigns are eloquent of quite opposite intention; but I do mean to imply that Philip fully intended to establish in Peru, and throughout his American possessions, absolute monarchy on the then generally prevalent European plan. He, without knowing it, was seeking for a servant who would do for him all and more than Richelieu did eighty or so years later for his cousin of France.

Finally Philip found a man after his own heart—a convinced absolutist possessed of an invincible will. Accordingly, in July, 1568, Philip appointed this man, Don Francisco de Toledo y Figueroa, to be Viceroy of Peru.

In March, 1569, after an interval devoted to intensive study of Peruvian affairs as viewed from the steps of the Hapsburg throne, Toledo sailed from Spain and, with the stately deliberation customary in those days when the travels of the mighty were concerned, he journeyed to Peru by way of the Isthmus, arriving at Payta, then in a deplorable condition of disrepair, which he immediately sought to remedy, towards the end of September. Thence he, with his considerable following and household, went inland to Piura, which city he found to be almost depopulated owing to adverse economic and political conditions. After a sojourn at Piura, in which salutary reforms were instituted, the Viceroy began his slow, reflective, investigatory progress southwards overland, and he reached Trujillo at the end of October. Thence onwards again, by way of Arnedo, now called Chancay, whence he sent ahead the greater part of his retinue that they might make ready in Lima for his fitting reception, he proceeded, arriving at his capital, into which he made a gorgeous state entry, towards the end of November, 1569.

After some months in Lima, Toledo resumed his travels through his viceroyalty. Let it be said to his credit that he took more pains personally to know the land, its people, and its problems than any ruler of Peru has taken since his day. He followed, whether consciously or not I cannot say, the example of the Incas who always inaugurated their reigns by a careful inspection of

their dominions intended to strengthen their power by supplying them with accurate knowledge. That Toledo afterwards turned his information to bad uses, in some cases, is beside the present point.

On his journeys in southern Peru, between 1570 and 1573, the Viceroy was often accompanied by learned men versed in the history of the country. Among his associates of this kind were Father Acosta, *q. v.*, the Licentiate Polo, *q. v.*, the Licentiate Matienzo, *q. v.*, and Captain Sarmiento, *q. v.* The influence exercised by the first and second of these was for the good; that of the third was good, but less so than in the first and second instances; that of the fourth man was slight, for the reason that he was but a pliant reed in the hands of his master who wove him as he would. To this point I shall return presently.

In order fully to comprehend the career of Don Francisco de Toledo y Figueroa as Viceroy of Peru we must now turn back thirty years or more and consider as briefly as possible the history of the Inca family since the Conquest. It runs thus:

The Inca Huayna Capac had, besides innumerable other children, four legitimate sons, viz.: Titu Cusi Hualpa Inti Illapa, better known as Huascar, who succeeded his father as sovereign of Cuzco and of the southern two-thirds of the empire; Manco; Paullu; and Titu Atauchi.

After Huascar had been slain by order of his bastard half-brother, Atahualpa, Inca Manco succeeded to the Inca-ship and was crowned at Cuzco, under the patronage of Pizarro, on March 24th, 1534. He later escaped from Spanish tutelage and, after an unsuccessful but gallant siege of Cuzco, which was relieved by Almagro, he retreated with his followers to Vitcos in Vilcapampa. There he maintained a rude barbarian court until, in 1544, he was killed in a brawl over a game of bowls by a Spanish renegade to whom he had given asylum. Manco had married the Princess Ataria Cusi Huaracay, his niece, daughter of the Inca Huascar, and by her he had two legitimate sons, Sayri Tupac and Tupac Amaru I. The marriage of Ataria and Manco was a pagan wedlock, but it was later legalized by a retroactive bull of Paul III, in the time of the Viceroy Marquis of Cañete, 1555-61. A legitimate daughter of this pair was the Princess Tupac Usca, who was subsequently baptized under the name of María, and who married Don Diego Ortiz de Orué, about 1560. In addition to these three



children by his wife-niece, Inca Manco had an illegitimate son, Titu Cusi Yupanqui.

At this time in Peruvian history the *Ñustas* or Princesses of the Inca house were numerous and many of them either married or set up housekeeping with the chief gentlemen among the conquerors. Such were the Princess Francisca, daughter of the Inca Huayna Capac, who married Don Juan de Collantes and so became an ancestress of Bishop Fernández de Piedrahita, the celebrated historian of New Granada; the Princess Isabel Chimpa Ocllo, a niece of Huayna Capac, who was concubine to Captain García Lasso de la Vega and mother of his famous son, the Inca Garcilaso, *q. v.*; the Princess Inéz, who was concubine to the Marquis Pizarro and bore him a daughter, Doña Francisca, who married her uncle, Hernando Pizarro, when he was very old, in spite of which fact she had children by him from whom descend the Marquises de la Conquista; and the Princess Angelina, daughter of Atahualpa, who was likewise a concubine of the Marquis Pizarro and who, after his death, married the writer Don Juan de Betáncos, *q. v.* There were many others, besides.

In view of these domestic arrangements, it is almost rational to conjecture that Heaven was giving to Castile a second chance to establish in Peru an aristocracy compounded of the old imperial blood native to the country and of gentle blood brought in from Spain. The first chance so to do had come—and gone—in the time of Don Gonzalo Pizarro, 1544-1548, but the second chance, better, if anything, than the first, came in the days of the good Viceroy Marquis of Cañete. Through the intervention of kinswomen of the Inca Sayri Tupac, then ruling in proud if parlous independence at Vitcos, Cañete finally persuaded Sayri Tupac to come forth from his eyrie and to dwell as an honoured Christian vassal of Philip II at Yucay where the Inca received a lucrative estate. On January 6th, 1558, the Inca Sayri Tupac was formally invested, at Lima, with the mediatized Inca-ship, the ceremony being performed by the Viceroy Marquis of Cañete, acting on behalf of his master, Philip II.

The success of this move may be gauged by the brilliant marriage of Sayri Tupac's daughter, the Princess Clara Beatriz, who was joined in holy matrimony to Don Martín García de Lóyola, brother, or at any rate near kinsman, of Saint Ignatius of Lóyola. Don Martín, although he was later, in Toledo's time,

instrumental in working a terrible injury upon the Inca house, was on the whole an honourable man and a zealous vassal of his King. His daughter, Doña Ana María de Lóyola Coya, went to Spain in 1622 and was there created Marchioness of Oropesa and Yucay by Philip III. She later married Don Juan Enríquez de Borja, son of the Marquis of Alcañizes and related to the ducal house of Gandia.

The significance for us of all these results of Cañete's benevolent and propitiatory policy towards the Incas is this: It becomes evident that the bluest blood in Spain was well content to blend itself with the imperial blood of Ttahu-ntin-suyu. At the time of his going to Cuzco, where he sojourned for a year or more, from January, 1571 to March, 1572, Toledo ought to have taken his cue from his more imaginative predecessor. That he failed to do so is one of those tragedies that alter the course of history.

After Sayri-Tupac's defection to Christianity in 1557, the Inca-ship of pagan Vitcos was seized by Manco Inca's bastard son, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, who continued to hold it for thirteen years. The rightful Inca, Tupac Amaru I, was meanwhile kept a prisoner in the Acllahuasi or House of the Chosen Women.

Prince Paullu Inca, third son of Huayna Capac and full brother to Huascar and Inca Manco, had married his sister, Mama Usica, and their son was christianized under the name of Don Carlos Inca. To him was married a lady of gentle or noble Spanish family but born in Peru, whose name was Doña María de Esquivel. Don Carlos and Doña María were dwelling in the Colcampata palace on the outskirts of Cuzco in 1570. They were wealthy, respected, and resigned to Castilian Catholic civilization, in which they presented a sharp contrast to their still pagan kinsman, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, Inca of Vitcos, by usurpation.

At about the time that Toledo arrived in Cuzco, in the last days of 1570, Doña María de Esquivel gave birth to a son, Don Melchor Carlos Inca. On Epiphany Sunday, January 6th, 1571, the baby was christened in the church of San Cristóbal hard by the Colcampata palace on the slopes of Sacsahuamán. The Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo acted as godfather, and all the christianized Incas from Cuzco and round about were invited to the ceremony and the attendant jollifications, which were made as splendid and lavish as possible. It is said that even the pagan Titu Cusi and the rightful Inca, Tupac Amaru, were present, in disguise, having

stolen down to Cuzco from their mountainous retreat at Vitcos. A brilliant contingent of the leading Spaniards in Cuzco were also present in compliment to the Viceroy and Doña María.

It is by no means certain, of course, that Titu Cusi was present at the christening of his infant kinsman or that, if he were present, the ritual and pageantry there beheld by him lured his pagan mind towards Catholicism. But it is certain that soon after the ceremony in question he sent an invitation to the Viceroy to provide him with missionaries who would indoctrinate him and his still Sun-adoring relatives. A mission was accordingly formed consisting of Friar Juan de Vivero, Prior of the Augustinians, and Friar Diego Ortiz, whose joint duty it was to convert the usurping Inca to Christianity. With them, in the quality of political emissaries, went Don Atilano de Añaya, Don Diego Rodríguez de Figueroa, and Don Francisco de las Veredas. The group was well chosen, for Vivero had already had conspicuous success in such work, having been the priest who converted Inca Sayri Tupac, and the three lay members of the mission were all serious-minded but affable persons of quality. Besides these principal members of the party there was a *mestizo* interpreter, Pedro Pando, and a suitable number of lesser lights, servants, and so on. Nor did this imposing embassy go empty-handed to the wilderness court of the usurping Inca; on the contrary, their master sent them laden with gifts of velvets, brocades, linens, wines, raisins, figs, and almonds which were intended, we may suppose, to instill in the pagan monarch's mind some idea of the material benefits to be secured by his conversion. In such matters not the methods, but the results, were deemed important.

It is not at all clear what Toledo's object was in all this. Can so astute a man have imagined that, first by ingratiating himself with the Christian branch of the Incas, and then by winning the attention and confidence of the pagan branch through conversion and the payment of homage to the King of Castile, he could gain absolute control over the native population, using their hereditary lords as ostensible rulers? Or was he merely playing for time, seeking a tranquil period in which to look about him and decide upon his final course of action? In view of all that happened later, of which immediately, I am inclined to think that the second suggestion is the more valid, the more so that Inca power was by

now but a semblance of a shadow, a fact which so acute a man as Toledo could not have failed to perceive.

After the arrival of the Viceroy's embassy at Vitcos there were long delays and parleys, there were objections and debates. With it all, the would-be evangelists made little progress with Titu Cusi's conversion. At length, however, he promised to go to Cuzco in order to pay homage to the Viceroy as representative of the King of Castile; but directly thereafter he fell into a fit of obstinacy, regretting his promise and procrastinating indefatigably about his fulfilment of it. Finally, all of the envoys save Friar Diego Ortiz and the interpreter Pedro Pando became utterly disgusted and so returned in dudgeon to Cuzco, where they made such a report to the Viceroy concerning the Inca and the game of politics as played at his Court that Toledo was seriously nettled, holding that his authority had been mocked—as it most certainly had been—by the wily Indian King.

It chanced that very soon after this Titu Cusi Yupanqui fell grievously ill at Vitcos, thereby creating a very delicate ecclesiastical situation due to the fact that his chief nobles, in fear lest he die, besought Father Ortiz to persuade this powerful new God of his to save the Inca. But Titu Cusi Yupanqui died almost at once in spite of the supplications of the good monk, and the native nobles, infuriated by this against the, to them, impostor God, incontinently slew Father Ortiz and Pedro Pando in a most cruel manner.

Immediately thereafter, these same Inca lords led forth from the Acllahuasi, where hitherto he had been kept, the youthful Tupac Amaru, and they proclaimed him their sovereign. They then proceeded to invest him with all the time-honoured insignia of his office and to seat him in state upon the *tiana* or throne. It was done with all possible stateliness and panoply, but the pomp was made pathetic by its futility and its vain reminiscences of days gone by.

Naturally enough, these events infuriated Toledo in his turn. To them I ascribe the fixation of his mind in a mood of permanent detestation directed against the imperial family as a whole. When, shortly afterwards, Don Atilano de Añaya, returning to his embassy to the Inca Titu Cusi, of whose death he was ignorant, was slain by the Indians at Chuqui-chaca, it became absolutely

incumbent upon the Viceroy to avenge him ruthlessly, for Añaya represented royal authority, much as he did himself.

Toledo therefore instituted military proceedings. The most active soldier on the Spanish side was the already mentioned Don Martín García de Lóyola who, after some sharp fighting, finally captured Tupac Amaru I in the Urubamba Valley on October 4th, 1571. In the war that was terminated by the capture many leading Indians were slain, chiefly members of or adherents to the old imperial family. All who survived were gathered into a large village called San Francisco de la Victoria de Vilcapampa where they were subjected to a process of hispanization.

The young Inca, Tupac Amaru I, was taken to Cuzco. There he was "instructed in Christianity" by priests who were willing to lend themselves to the same pious fraud that had been practised upon Atahualpa forty years before. At the same time, charges were trumped up against the Inca which it is both needless and depressing to follow. During the period ensuing upon his capture, Tupac Amaru was held prisoner in the fortress of Sacsahuamán. At that same time, Don Carlos Inca, formerly so high in the Viceroy's favour, fell into disgrace and saw his Colcampata palace sequestered by Toledo's order, because he, Don Carlos, had hidden his cousins, the pagan Incas Titu Cusi and Tupac Amaru, in his house while his child, Don Melchor Carlos Inca, was being baptized under the sponsorship of the Viceroy.

The trial and condemnation to death of Tupac Amaru I were a judicial murder if ever there was one. It was chiefly forwarded by the false testimony and connivance of an unscrupulous Judge, Dr. Gabriel de Loarte, and of a hideously immoral mixed-blood henchman of Toledo's, Gonzalo Gómez Jiménez. This vile person was later summarily garroted in prison by his master's order, partly as a means of preventing the spread of information about the scandalous immorality prevalent in the Viceregal household, but chiefly because the Viceroy did not want it known that all the evidence given by Gómez Jiménez against Tupac Amaru and other members of the imperial family was either quite false or else greatly perverted.

Tupac Amaru I was condemned to death in accordance with Toledo's wishes and in the face of the opposition expressed by all the most respectable Spaniards in Cuzco. On November 8th, 1571, the plaza of the ancient capital was the theatre in which the

culminating scene of the tragedy was enacted. In the presence of an enormous crowd of Indians who wailed their anguish at beholding their liege upon the scaffold until, with a silent gesture, he bade them keep their peace, Tupac Amaru I was beheaded. Afterwards, the furious prohibition of Toledo notwithstanding, the body was given as splendid a funeral as possible, one of the staunchest Spanish friends of the murdered Inca, Friar Agustín de la Coruña Gormaz y Velasco, Bishop of Popayán, saying the pontifical Mass, and all the religious Orders of the city attending in full force. But the head of the young Inca, having been struck from his body by the executioner, was set up on a pike in the Plaza by order of the Viceroy, and there it became the object of the silent adoration of a multitude of Indians who came by night and knelt grieving before it.

During the ensuing months, that is, until March, 1572, Toledo was passing through a second phase of his policy concerning the Incas. It was the phase in which, at his behest, Captain Don Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *q. v.*, and the Viceroy himself were exerting their considerable literary powers in order permanently to blacken the character of the entire Inca dynasty and of all its surviving members. To this phase I have already made extended reference in treating of Sarmiento; I shall revert to it presently when discussing the writings of Toledo himself.

From March, 1572, to the end of that year or the early part of 1573, the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo y Figueroa went through a third phase in his relations with the Indians, a phase in the course of which, I am glad to say, his furious figure was made to look thoroughly ridiculous. It befell thus:

Dwelling beyond the confines of the old empire of the Incas was a backward but bellicose people known as the Chiriguanos. Because their country was exceptionally impenetrable and because their own nature was of the fiercest description, the Incas had never succeeded in dominating them. Nevertheless, the Chiriguanos seem to have had a strong feeling for racial solidarity, and as a consequence Toledo's murder of Tupac Amaru I created great indignation among them.

In the middle of 1572, the Viceroy being at Chuquisaca, alias La Plata and now called Sucre, thirty Chiriguanos came to him and, after the inevitable preliminaries, feigned conversion to Christianity. The Viceroy and all his pompous retinue were

delighted by this easy spiritual victory and showered the supposed converts with every kind of honour. But when the joke began to pall upon the Chiriguanos, they decamped in such a manner as to make the Viceroy and the jubilant priests of his court look entirely absurd.

Thereupon Toledo unwisely decided, in his fury, to invade Chiriguano-land. He prepared horses, arms, and all manner of cumbrous, ostentatious, and useless paraphernalia in order to lend to his expedition that ponderous dignity which, so he judged, would most impress his barbarian foes. It was upon this journey that he was accompanied by Acosta, *q. v.*, Matienzo, *q. v.*, and Polo de Ondegardo, *q. v.* But it is Garcilaso who tells best the outcome of the invasion:

“. . . The Viceroy came back as a fugitive, having left behind all that he had taken with him, that the Indians might be satisfied with their captures, and leave him to escape. He came out by so bad a road that, as the beasts were unable to drag the litter in which he travelled, the Spaniards and Indians had to carry him on their shoulders. The Chirihuanas followed behind, with derisive shouts, and cried out to the bearers to throw that old woman out of the basket, that they might eat her alive.”<sup>2</sup>

From 1573 onwards to September, 1581, Toledo busied himself with the introduction of Spanish institutions into Peru—including the Holy Inquisition and the *auto de fé*. He also systematically adapted the surviving native institutions such as the various grades of chiefs, the payment of tribute, and the post-runners, to Spanish uses. This last branch of his activities would have been righteous enough had it not been for the spirit which informed it, a spirit of exploitation and of dogmatism, not of compassion. Furthermore, Toledo instituted a number of sound and laudable measures, such as the paving of city streets, the laying out of towns, and, perhaps greatest of all, the providing of Lima with a water-supply system which was for three centuries as good as, if not better than, any thing of the kind in Europe. The fountain which he constructed at La Atarjea, near Lima, as the source for Lima's water, is still in use and still admirably salubrious.

A wonderful man, on the whole, was he, if a devilish one. As an administrative genius he has never been surpassed in Hispanic

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<sup>2</sup> Garcilaso, Commentaries, Pt. I, Bk. VII, Ch. xvii.

America, for the government which he set up lasted almost unchanged during two hundred and fifty years. Had he been a man of heart as well as a man of head; had he fostered the human and natural resources of the country instead of merely exploiting them; had he possessed imagination enough to see the good that would have come from a careful and temperate blending of native with Spanish elements—he would have gone down in history as one of the greatest rulers the world has seen.

Instead of that, however, he returned to his King in 1582 to receive a merited rebuke from the Royal lips, from the shame of which he died, a broken man, some two years later.<sup>3</sup>

The writings of Don Francisco de Toledo are voluminous.

<sup>3</sup> My account of the Viceroy Toledo's life is drawn from a multiplicity of sources, including:

ENRÍQUEZ DE GUZMÁN, ALONSO:

1862 *Life and Acts of Don Alonso Enríquez de Guzmán*. Edited by Clements R. Markham. Hakluyt Society. London.

OCAMPO CONEJEROS, BALDASAR DE:

1907 *Account of the Province of Vilcapampa and a Narrative of the Execution of the Inca Tupac Amaru*. Translated by Sir Clements Markham from a Ms. in the British Museum, of date 1610. Hakluyt Society. London. (In the same volume as Sarmiento, 1907.)

A very important letter from Don Lope Diéz de Armendáris, an *Oidor* of the Audiencia of La Plata, to Philip II under date of September 25th, 1576, from La Plata, is printed by Don Roberto Levillier, in his *Correspondencia de la Audiencia de las Charcas*, Madrid, 1918, pp. 33-385. Señor Levillier has also published *Correspondencia de la Audiencia de Lima*, Madrid, 1922, in which there is a very important *Prólogo* by Don José de la Riva-Agüero. Finally, Don José Toribio Medina, in his *Imprenta en Lima*, vol. I, pp. 174-187, prints a number of documents emanating from Toledo which throw much light on his career and personality.

Modern writers of whom I have made use include:

Jiménez de la Espada, in his Letter to the Count of Toreno, 1879, pp. xviii-xxix. Also in 1882 edition cited below.

MOSES, BERNARD:

1914 *The Spanish Dependencies in South America*. London and New York. Two volumes. I, pp. 318-337.

LEGUÍA Y MARTÍNEZ, GERMÁN:

1921 *Don Francisco de Toledo*. In *Mercurio Peruano*, VI, pp. 86-101. Lima.

BINGHAM, HIRAM:

1912 *Vitcos, the Last Inca Capital*. American Antiquarian Society. Worcester, Mass.



Quite naturally, in the circumstances, a large proportion of them is of an official character—laws, regulations, and so on. In a sense, of course, these documents are not in truth ‘writings’ of the great Viceroy; but they certainly are his work in the same sense that the *Code Napoléon* is the work of the first Emperor of the French. If ever a definitive biography of this exceptional statesman shall come to be written, all of these many documents will have to be gathered from the scattered volumes in which they now lie half forgotten and, in every possible case, will have to be collated with the original manuscripts so that at long last the entire intellectual output of Don Francisco de Toledo may be made accessible to the public.

Although the task at which I hint lies beyond the field of my present endeavours, I feel bound to indicate here the principal official writings ascribed to Toledo. I have already indicated where certain of his Letters may be found transcribed and printed; now I add the following indications:

*Párrafos de carta del Virrey Don Francisco de Toledo á S. M., sobre el modo inconveniente como se hacen las concesiones para nuevas conquistas y descubrimientos.*

Written in 1577, place and day not specified.

(In *Juicio de Límites entre el Perú y Bolivia*, IX, pp. 74-81. Madrid, 1906.)

*Carte del Virrey del Perú D. Francisco de Toledo á S. M., sobre diversos asuntos.*

Written from Los Reyes, *i. e.*, Lima, April 18th, 1578.

(In *Juicio de Límites*, I, pp. 105-135. Madrid, 1906.)

MEANS, PHILIP AINSWORTH:

1919 *The Rebellion of Tupac-Amaru II, 1780-1781.* In *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, II, pp. 1-25.

1920 *Ciertos aspectos de la Rebelión de Túpac Amaru II.* Lima.

TITU CUSI YUPANQUI, DIEGO DE CASTRO:

1913 *Murder of the Inca Manco. . .* In same volume as Cieza's *War of Quito*. Edited by Sir Clements Markham. Hakluyt Society. London.

A very important document in the handwriting of the middle of the Seventeenth Century and entitled *Virey D. Francisco de Toledo* is preserved in the National Library, Madrid, under the signature J. 113. In it are given very valuable details as to Toledo's antecedents and the circumstances surrounding his appointment as Viceroy of Peru. It is printed in *Documentos inéditos del archivo de Indias*, VIII, pp. 212-293, Madrid, 1867.

This document is chiefly of an official character, but it contains some paragraphs of interest to us of which mention shall be made presently.

*Ordenanzas del virrey D. Francisco de Toledo para los oficiales reales de Guamanga y caja de Guancavélica.*

Written at Chupas, January 24th, 1571.

(Original Ms. in National Library, Madrid, -J. 56. The document is printed in *Documentos inéditos del Archivo de Indias*, VIII, pp. 462-484. Madrid, 1867.)

*Memorial que D. Francisco de Toledo dió al Rey nuestro Señor del estado en que dejó las cosas del Pirú despues de haber sido en él virey y capitan general trece años, que comenzaron el de 1569.*

(In *Col. docs. ineds. p. hist. Esp.*, XXVI, pp. 122-161. Madrid, 1855).

This edition is a very bad one, full of errors and misprints. The document was re-issued, with improvements, by Don Sebastián Lorente, in *Relaciones de los Virreyes y Audiencias que han gobernado el Perú*, Lima, 1867, vol. I.

Students desirous of consulting this *Memorial* would best use a recent issue of it:

*Colección de las Memorias o Relaciones que escribieron los Virreyes del Perú acerca del estado en que dejaban las cosas generales del reino*, edited by Don Ricardo Beltrán y Rózpide, Madrid, 1921, vol. I, pp. 71-107. See also the very important *Antecedentes* by Sr. Beltrán on pp. 7-70 of this same volume.

The *Libro de Provisiones Reales* of Don Francisco de Toledo will be found printed, together with interesting preliminary material by Sres. R. Palma, C. A. Romero, and A. Ulloa, in *Revista de Archivos y Bibliotecas nacionales*, vol. I, entregas i and ii, Lima, 1898.

Finally, the reader is referred to a book now in preparation entitled *Don Francisco de Toledo y su tiempo*. The author is the celebrated Argentine historian and diplomat who is cited in these present pages, His Excellency Don Roberto Levillier.

In order fully to appreciate Toledo's attitude toward the general subject of Incaic civilization and its history, we must take into consideration the fact that Philip II and Toledo jointly evolved the pretty and constructive idea of forming a Museum of the Peruvian Indian. Apparently it was to be established in Spain, presumably at the Court, for the entertainment of the monarch in some moment of special lassitude. Philip, pursuant of this notion, said, with characteristic weariness and patronage, in a letter to

Toledo, "in regard to objects that may be found and taken from the *huacas*, if there are any that seem to you to be of noteworthy quality, good enough to be seen here, you may send me them." The Viceroy, in response to this hint, replied in a letter from Cuzco of March 1, 1572, that he had tried to find curiosities worthy of being housed in the "armories and boudoir" of His Majesty and that he was sure that in Peru there had been discovered and was being discovered every day a quantity of curious and beautiful things which would fill the vaults of the royal ward-room, where, indeed, he, the Viceroy, had already seen many rare things from the Indies. Later on, in a letter to the King from Cuzco, October 9th, 1572, Toledo spoke of the celebrated golden image of the Sun which had been the chief ornament of the great Temple of the Sun at Cuzco and which was later awarded to a gallant Conqueror, Don Mancio Sierra de Leguizamo, who soon thereafter lost it at cards, which loss so impressed him that he never gambled again. The Viceroy, in the letter referred to, suggested that the image, which had been captured with the Inca Tupac Amaru, be sent to His Holiness the Pope as a sign that the King was fulfilling his obligation anent the conversion to Christianity of the Indies.<sup>4</sup> His reason for deeming this a suitable course was that the image of the Sun was the focal point of paganism in Peru and that it was fitting consequently to send it as a prisoner, so to speak, to the Head of Christendom.

In the letter of April 18, 1578, already referred to above, Toledo tells the King about a great map that he is having made. It includes, so he says, the whole of South America and it is based on every possible evidence that he has been able to collect from the *Caciques* and *Corregidores* scattered throughout the Kingdom of Peru. He states that in connection with the work, which has been going on for nearly five years, he has collected all the known chronicles of Peru and that he has made notes upon them in which truth and falsity are each pointed out. He goes on to say that, in the same connection, he sent to His Majesty much literary material and many paintings in which Indian history was set forth, dealing with the rites and polity of the natives before they were tyrannized

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<sup>4</sup> On this series of points compare Jiménez de la Espada, in his Letter to the Count of Toreno, 1879, pp. xviii-xxi. Also, on pp. 926-928 of the magazine *Inca*, vol. I, edited in Lima by J. C. Tello, 1923, Jiménez gives some interesting data on this point.

over by the series of twelve Yngas, and then, in turn, dealing with the tyrannical government and conquests of the twelve Yngas, from Mango Capac to Guascar, during eight hundred years, and with the period of the Conquest by the Spaniards.

This letter undoubtedly is a retrospective reference to the History of Sarmiento, albeit the viceregal memory is somewhat blurred as to the plan of that work. The reason for my extended reference to this letter is that it shows clearly that Toledo's attitude toward the Incas remained fixed as it was in 1572—for him they were still 'tyrants' and all the rest of it.

We may now rightly consider the documents of Toledo in which Incaic history and institutions are treated. It does not necessarily follow that these documents were actually written by the great Viceroy, for he had secretaries, scribes, and so on for such work, but they will be found to be strongly infused with his personality and his prejudices, and therefore may, in a special sense, be regarded as his handiwork.

The most important documents of this kind have been published under the general title of *Informaciones acerca del señorío y gobierno de los Ingas*, the editor being Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada.<sup>5</sup> The original document in manuscript is in the Archives of the Indies in Seville. It bears the general title of: *Esta es la informacion y probanza que por mandado de S. E. se hizo del origen y descendencia de la tiranía de los Ingas de este Reyno, y del hecho verdadero de cómo ántes y despues de esta tiranía no hubo Señores naturales en esta tierra; la cual informacion se cita en el cuaderno del Gobierno, y es sobre el derecho de los cacicazgos.*

First comes the *Relacion sumaria de lo que se contiene en la informacion de la tiranía de los Ingas*. This is Toledo's own personal corroboration of Sarmiento's History. In it he states that, up to the time when Topa Inga Yupanqui tyrannically subjected these kingdoms to his will, there was no general lord in the land, nor was there any fixed form of government, for every one lived and wrought as he willed. There were temporary officials called *Suanche*, i. e., *Sinchi*, who led the fighters in the constant wars that were fought between villages claiming the same fields and pastures. This was the situation in the land when Topa

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<sup>5</sup> In *Colección de libros Españoles raros o curiosos*, XVI, pp. 177-259. Madrid, 1882.

Inga Yupanqui, father of Huayna Capac, built up and tyrannized over the empire. Toledo then goes on to speak of the vast deal of wealth which was buried with the dead Incas and chiefs, and of various matters touching upon the institutions of the native civilization, and upon some of the vices and customs of the people. He winds up by assuring the King that he has every right to be sovereign of Peru in place of the intrusive tyrants who formerly ruled the country, that he has every proper title to the lands and riches of the former tyrants, and that, as the King is in truth the legitimate sovereign of Peru, everything pertaining to its government must be in his hands.

This naïve pronouncement was signed by Toledo at Cuzco on March 1, 1572.

I shall now present some salient features of various *Informaciones* which follow the one just mentioned.

The first of them was given at Concepción de Xauxa, *i. e.*, the modern town of Jauja, on November 20, 1570. The informant or witness, as he is styled in the document, was Don Alonso Poma Guala, son of Guamachi Guala and grandson of Xauxahuaman, both of them sometime *caciques* appointed by the Inga who conquered that region. Don Alonso was a native of Tuna in the province of Lurinhuanca whose chief was Don Carlos Lima Illa. He, Don Alonso, was ninety-two when he gave his testimony. It ran, in substance, thus: The land of Xauxa was conquered by Topa Inga Yupanqui, son of Pachacuti Inga Yupanqui. Being very old at the time, Pachacuti sent his eldest son Capa Yupangue (*sic*) from Cuzco with orders to conquer the country as far as Vilcas, but to go no further. The son disobeyed, and so Pachacuti sent his second son Topa Inga with orders to slay him in punishment for his disobedience. The second son did so, and subsequently went on conquering the country as far as Quito. Further on this venerable Indian authority states that the first Inca was Manco Capac; the second was his son, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui; the third was his son Tupac Inca Yupanqui; the fourth, Capac Yupanqui, brother of Tupac, who slew him; the fifth was Huayna Capac, son of Tupac Inca; and the sixth was Huascar, son of Huayna Capac.

All this was confirmed by other Indian chiefs, Don Diego Lucana, head of the Cañari, Chachapoyas and Llaguas colonies established in the province of Lurinhuanca, who was eighty-five

years old; and by Don Francisco Poma Cao, ninety-five years old, chief of the *pachaca* of Santa Ana de Lurinhuanca, who added that Manco Capac had been lord of his native village and that he had gone conquering thence to Cuzco, but that he, Cao, did not know where the native village of Manco Capac was. Two other Indian worthies, Don Hernando Apachua, ninety-four years old, and Alonso Cama, eighty-three, also confirmed the *Información* of Poma Guala.

Now follows an *Información* given at Guamanga, *i. e.*, the modern Ayacucho, on December 14th, 1570. The informant was Don Antonio Guaman Cucho, chief of the village of Chirua, son of Paucar Asto and grandson of Asto Guaman. He stated that Tupac Inga Yupanqui sent his brother Capac Yupanqui to conquer from Cuzco northwards and that, because the brother went too far, he slew him in the valley of Vilcacongá. He added that Viracocha Inga had come forth from the hole (*agujero*) of Tampu Tocco. A second informant was Don Baltasar Guaman Llamoca, son of the chief cacique of the Soras. He confirmed the death of Capac Yupanqui without mentioning where it took place. He added that Pachacuti was the son of Manco Capac, but he did not know whether or not those two personages were lords of some villages, nor did he know whence they came.

Now follows a group of forty-five baptized Indian notables and worthies from central and south-central Peru who gave an *Información* at Cuzco on March 13, 1571. It is a pity that Don Marcos Jiménez does not give us the text of this document, but the list of the informants is decidedly interesting.

This list is followed by a like one of thirty-six Indians who gave an *Información* in the valley of Yucay on March 19, 1571. Some brief notes on some of these informants are in order. Pedro Astaco, a native of Cachec, eighty years old, was son of Llacta Chaperi, a servant of Tupac Inga Yupanqui. That ruler made him, Llacta Chaperi, *curaca* of Huallpa in the district of Cuzco, in Yucay (*sic*), but afterwards Guayna Capac, having consulted with his gods and with the sun, who told him that neither Llacta Chaperi nor any kin of his should be *curacas*, took away the post from him. Pedro Pongo Xiuc Paucar, a native of the village of Anta, had a grandfather who was uncle to Pachacuti Inga Yupanqui whose father, in turn, was Huiracocha, for the sister of the said grandfather of the informant was wife to the said

Huira Cocha and mother of the said Pachacuti Inga. Don Diego Mayna or Moyna Yupanqui, another informant, one hundred years old, was also descended from Huira Cocha and from Pachacuti.

We must now consider an *Información* given at Cuzco on January 4, 1572. It affirms that before the Ingas tyrannized over the country there were no lords, but only *Zinches* whom the people never recognized as lords. With the assistance of the interpreter Gonzalo Gómez Ximénez, of Judge Gabriel de Loarte, and of the Viceroy's secretary Don Alvaro Ruiz de Navamuel, a group of Indians descended from three of the pre-Incaic tribes of the Cuzco Valley testified to the correctness of this statement.

Finally, we must consider the fact that, on January 14, 1572, at Cuzco, Ruiz de Navamuel, acting for Toledo, caused a number of Indian informants to appear before Judge Loarte, the Corregidor Polo de Ondegardo, *q. v.*, and some of the leading Spaniards in Cuzco. Expressing themselves through the medium Gonzalo Gómez Jiménez, the thirty-seven informants swore to the correctness of the prepared statement that was read out to them. This was the same procedure that had been followed in connection with the History by Sarmiento de Gamboa, *q. v.*, which latter work had forty-two Indian affirmants. They testified to the correctness of the History at Cuzco on February 29, 1572, before Toledo himself, Judge Loarte, and Secretary Ruiz de Navamuel, Gómez Jiménez being interpreter on this occasion also. A comparison of the two lists of affirmants is interesting, the one being the thirty-seven who, on January 14, 1572, gave their approval to the *Informaciones* prepared by Toledo's order, the other list being that of the affirmants who approved Sarmiento's *History*, on February 29, 1572. The lists are not the same, but in both the informants are grouped in accordance with their *ayllus* or lineages, the Inca who founded each *ayllu* being named. Certain names appear on both lists: Don Alonso Puscon is of the *ayllu* of Cinchi Roca and is forty-five years old on the earlier list, and on the latter he is forty years old. Don Diego Cayo Hualpa is of the *ayllu* of Lloque Yupanqui on the earlier list, and on the latter of that of Sinchi Rocca; on both he is seventy years old. And so on, and so on. A long list of similar discrepancies could be compiled were it worth while.

I feel, however, very strongly that enough evidence has now

been presented to prove the utter worthlessness of the *Informaciones* of Toledo and, consequently, of the History of the Incas by Sarmiento. In both cases the basis upon which the structure of false testimony, reared by Toledo's will, rests is the evidence of numerous broken-spirited, baptized Indians who were densely ignorant of the truth concerning Incaic history and who constantly contradicted themselves and one another. They were cowed by the martial strength of the Viceroy's government and by the new spiritual terrorism which Catholic Christianity had put in the place of the old cults; they were unable to speak to their questioners directly because of the barrier of language, and consequently they had to talk through the mediation of an unscrupulous blackguard, Gómez Jiménez, to a ruthless and prejudiced audience—Toledo and Loarte; finally, most of them were in extreme old age when senectitude must have beclouded their memories considerably, and some of them harboured grudges against their former rulers.

History based upon materials such as these is worse than useless; it is positively noxious to anyone who seeks to know the truth.

#### VALERA, FATHER BLAS:

There is doubt as to the date of this author's birth, and as to the name of his father. One version states that he was born at Chachapoyas in 1551, son of the Don Luís de Valera and of an Indian woman; another avers that he was born in 1540, at Cajamarca, son of Don Luís de Valera and of a lady of the Court of Atahualpa; still another version is that the father of Blas Valera was Don Alonso and his mother an Indian woman baptized as Francisca Pérez.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of these versions the first is supported by Backer, in vol. VIII, Column 402; by Torres Saldamando, in *Jesuitas*, pp. 20-23; and by:

POLO, JOSÉ TORIBIO:

1907 *Blas Valera*. In *Revista Histórica*, II, pp. 544-552. Lima.

The second is supported by Dr. González de la Rosa in the very important article cited at length below, on page 502; and by Sir Clements Markham, in *Incas of Peru*, pp. 12-14 and 303-305.

Garcilaso, *q. v.*, in the Royal Commentaries, Part II, Book I, Ch. xxv, gives the father's name as Alonso.

Don José de la Riva-Agüero y Osma, in *La Historia en el Perú*, pp. 13-32,



My own belief in this matter is that Blas Valera was a natural son of Luís Valera and of an Indian woman, Francisca Pérez; that he was born in 1551 at either Cajamarca or at Chachapoyas; and that he received a good education, at a college in the city of Trujillo, including not only his maternal Quechua, but also Latin, Castilian, history, and other subjects not then generally taught to the young. On page 98 of the 1895 edition of Oliva there is an important reference to the Trujillo period of our author in which it is said that, as a boy, he was studying Latin in that city and that he then saw and studied some papers written by Father Don Vicente de Valverde who, it will be remembered, had been so deeply implicated in the capture and subsequent death of the usurping Inca Atahualpa. This passage strongly favours the supposition that 1551 is the correct date of Valera's birth, which would make him a boy of from ten to seventeen years during the Trujillo period.

We now leave moot points and come to certainties.

In 1568 the young man was living in Lima, and in November of that year he was there admitted as a novice to the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits, under the leadership of their first Provincial in Peru, Father Jerónimo Ruíz del Portillo, had but lately established themselves in that country and had barely begun their missionary labours there. The record of Blas Valera's entry into the Society as a novice is preserved in the National Archives in Lima and is printed by Dr. Polo in his already cited article. Opposition to the entry of Valera to the ranks of the Jesuits was made on the grounds of his illegitimacy and of his mixed blood; but it was over-ridden because of his knowledge of Quechua, of Latin and of Indian ways, all of which would tend to make him not only a good priest but also a catechist acceptable to the Indians as one of their own race.

In 1571, his novitiate completed, he was sent with Fathers Alonso de Bárcena and Bartolomé de Santiago up to Cuzco in order to inaugurate Jesuit missionary work in that district. He remained in those parts until 1582. That was the very period when Toledo, *q. v.*, was carrying on his iniquitous persecution of

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and pp. 61-113, speaks at length of Valera and his works, saying that Chachapoyas was in the confines of Cajamarca, as such things were then understood, and that the Inca had mistakenly translated the Latin name *Aloisius* as meaning Alonso instead of as meaning Luís. The work of Valera used by the Inca was written in Latin, be it understood.

the Incas. It is likely that Valera, who seems to have had slight contact with the Viceroy, was out of sympathy with the brand of history being manufactured under Toledo's patronage. Father Molina of Cuzco, whom Valera cites as an authority, was also out of sympathy with it to some extent, for he always speaks of native institutions in just and measured terms.

Being a man of intelligent curiosity and, at the same time in deep accord with the native people whose blood ran in his own veins and whose language he had learned from his Indian mother, Valera was inevitably drawn into an independent and fair-minded examination of ancient history and of the culture and polity of the peoples of Peru. It is likely that the well-informed Indians of his acquaintance talked to him with a freedom and veracity which they never displayed before Toledo's official questioners.

Following his long years in Cuzco Father Valera passed other years, between 1582 and 1590, in travelling very widely in Peru. He visited the celebrated Jesuit establishment at Juli, on Lake Titicaca, memorable because the first printing-press in Peru was set up there in 1579. Father Valera also visited the famous shrine at Copacabana, described by Ramos Gavilán, *q. v.*, Chuquiapu or La Paz, and other places in the southern part of the Viceroyalty. Then, after a brief sojourn in Lima, our author travelled in the north of Peru, visiting Huánuco, Cajamarca, and Quito.

In 1590 or 1591 Father Valera left Peru for ever. He went to Cádiz where he made his home in the Jesuit house until, in July, 1596, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, brilliantly sacked and pillaged Cádiz on behalf of the Virgin Queen. To his credit be it said that he gave the Jesuits permission to depart from the city with their papers and other possessions. It appears, however, that the Jesuits did not make the most of this generous permission.

The death of Valera took place at Valladolid on April 2, 1597.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> In addition to authorities already cited, consult:

León Pinelo.

Antonio.

Alcedo.

Markham, in his Introduction to the Hakluyt Society's edition of Montesinos.

Means, in the same edition, and in Introduction to P. Pizarro, 1921, pp. 106-107.

Of the older writers, Garcilaso, *q. v.*, and Oliva, *q. v.*, make reference to Father Valera.

Father Valera was preëminently fitted to become an important historian of ancient times in the Andes. He had learned the general language of the Inca, called Quechua by him, at his mother's knee; he had received an excellent education, including Latin, European and classical history, and correct Castilian; he travelled widely throughout Peru within sixty years of the Conquest; and last, but far from least, he was in the confidence of both the natives and the Spaniards to a degree that a full-blooded Castilian could never be.

Because of this circumstance certain sources of information were open to him that no other historian of his time, so far as we now know, ever saw. Such sources included the *quipucuna* or knot-records still preserved by surviving Incaic officials at Cuzco, Xaquixahuana (the modern Zúrite, near Cuzco), Chincha, Tarma, Pachacamac, and other places;<sup>3</sup> they included also such esoteric and authoritative information as that possessed by high-caste Indian friends of our author, persons like Don Luís Inca, Don Diego Roca Inca, Don Juan Collque, and Don Sebastián Nina Vilca, *curaca* of Huarochirí. It is a pity that we have not more definite knowledge of the personalities of these individuals, but at any rate it is safe to conjecture that they were of a different calibre from the abject forty-two who, terrorized by Toledo and Loarte, gave their approval, through the distorting mediation of Gómez Ximénez, to the History of Sarmiento de Gamboa, *q. v.*

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<sup>3</sup> Mr. Leland Locke, in his work on the *Quipu*, already cited in these pages, has shown that most if not all of the now extant *quipucuna* are of a mathematical rather than a narrative character. He presents much evidence from old writers, including Cieza, to support his opinion. He is undoubtedly right, *so far as he goes*, but he does not go far enough. Baron Erland Nordenskiöld, in *The Secret of the Peruvian Quipus* and in *Calculations with Years and Months in the Peruvian Quipus*, both in *Comparative ethnographical studies*, Gothenburg, 1925, has gone a little further, showing that some of the *quipucuna* had a magical and others a calendrical significance. But even yet the whole truth about the knot-record of the Incas is not told, for, in view of the fact that not only Valera, but also writers like Cabello, *q. v.*, drew upon the *quipucuna* for historical information, as I have said above, we must acknowledge that there once were knot-records of a narrative character. It is probable that they were jealously guarded by the officials in whose care they were and that they were hidden away during the early days of the Spanish régime lest they fall into unfriendly hands such as those of Toledo and his crew. Only to such a one as Father Valera would they be freely disclosed.

The writings of Father Valera known to have existed are three in number, as follows:

1. A work in elegant Latin generally referred to by the Spanish title of *Historia del Perú*. It is probable that this book was written in Peru and that Father Valera took it with him to Spain in 1590 or 1591 intending there to publish it. But he never did so and, after the sack of Cádiz, during which a part of it was lost or destroyed, he died. Then, in 1600, at Córdoba, what was left of the book was given to the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *q. v.*, by a Jesuit, Father Maldonado de Saavedra. Garcilaso says, on this transaction, what follows: "I shall now offer the authority of another distinguished author, a priest of the holy Society of Jesus, named Father Blas Valera, who wrote a history of that empire in most elegant Latin, and who was able to have written it in many languages, for he had the gift of learning them. But it was the misfortune of my native country, which perhaps did not deserve to be written of in such a manner, that his papers were lost in the ruin and pillage of Cadiz by the English in 1596. He himself died soon afterwards. I received the fragments of papers which were rescued from the pillage, and they caused me regret and sorrow at the loss of those which were destroyed. More than half were lost. . ."

The only parts of the *Historia* now preserved, so far as we know, are those which Garcilaso quotes, with scrupulous acknowledgments, in his Commentaries, from which the passage just given is taken. (Pt. I, Bk. I, Ch. vi.)

2. A work in Spanish entitled *Vocabulario histórico del Perú*. This work was also with Valera's papers at Cádiz, but it was saved. In 1604 it was taken to the Jesuit house at La Paz, by a member of the Society named Father Diego de Torres Rubio, who was himself a student of native matters. Or it may be that it was Father Diego de Torres Bollo who carried the Ms. to La Paz. At any rate, it was not Father Diego de Torres Vázquez, albeit Oliva, in the 1857 edition, says that it was. The *Vocabulario* seems to have been alphabetically arranged, complete, however, only down to the letter H. Oliva gives a number of quotations from it, and describes it slightly. On it Montesinos based his long list of the kings. It is to be hoped that some day this work will be found, perhaps in one of the Jesuit colleges, at La Paz or elsewhere.

3. A work entitled *De los indios del Perú, sus costumbres y pacificación*. It is mentioned by León Pinelo, Antonio, and Alcedo.

The point of departure for any discussion of the writings of Father Valera must be an article by the late Don Manuel González

de la Rosa.<sup>4</sup> In it he sets up the claim that the *Historia del Peru* of Valera was received entire by Garcilaso, *q. v.*, who proceeded to plagiarise it in a most shameless and contemptible manner. The foundations of this claim are: 1. That the English under Essex at the sack of Cádiz behaved with singular generosity towards the non-combatants in the town, and especially towards the Jesuits, for whom a ship was provided in order that they might go away in peace. 2. That Garcilaso, in quoting or citing Valera, sometimes says that the latter wrote at length (*largamente*) on this or that subject, a fact which, according to Dr. González, proves that the whole *Historia* was before the Inca's eyes.

Dr. González found these two bases sufficient justification for proclaiming the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega a plagiarist. He was wrong, totally wrong, in doing so, for the following reasons: 1. The English under Essex so completely wrecked Cádiz in 1596 that the town had to be rebuilt. It may or may not be true that they permitted the women and the Jesuits to depart with their possessions—very probably they did so permit them—but it must be conceded that, in any case the general confusion was inevitably great enough to make the loss of papers and manuscript books a perfectly natural consequence of the invasion. 2. The mere fact that Garcilaso speaks of Valera as having written *largamente* on any point simply goes to show that Valera probably did just that in the very portions of his Ms. which came at last into Garcilaso's hands. 3. The acknowledgment made by the Inca to the Jesuit mestizo historian is of the most candid and generous description, quite in accordance with the character for uprightness which the Inca bears. Besides that, he cites Father Valera by name twenty-one times. 4. Father Valera is the man to whom we owe most for the slight knowledge which we have of pre-Incaic history in the highlands. Garcilaso is dumb on that subject, and it is to Montesinos, *q. v.*, that we owe our all too scanty acquaintance with Valera's ideas on the matter of pre-Incaic times.

On the subject of the *Vocabulario histórico* of Valera, Dr. González speaks much more sanely. He points out that Father Oliva, *q. v.*, knew and used the Ms. of that work after its arrival

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<sup>4</sup> GONZÁLEZ DE LA ROSA, MANUEL:

1907 *El Padre Valera primer historiador Peruano*. In *Revista Histórica*, II, pp. 180-199. Lima.

in La Paz in 1604, brought thither by Father Diego de Torres. Indeed, Father Oliva mentions and quotes the *Vocabulario* at least four times. One such passage, which I translate from the Lima, 1895, edition of Oliva, runs thus:

“Capac Raymi Amauta was a king of Peru who had these three names and was a very wise philosopher. He ruled for forty years in the time of the fourth sun before the birth of our Lord, and he found out about the Solstices and called them by his own name of Raymi, and he wished that the December Solstice be called Capac Raymi or major Solstice because in Peru the longest days of the year occur then, and he wished the June Solstice to be called Ynti Raimi vel sullo (*sic*) or Raymi of the minor Solstice, for then come the shortest days of the year in Peru. This king made the year begin with the December Solstice, for up to that time it had commenced with the March equinox. Finally, the Peruvians called the month of December Capac Raymi in memory of this King who was the thirty-ninth King of Peru.”<sup>5</sup>

Dr. González goes on to say that Montesinos, in mentioning as he does a manuscript written under the auspices of Bishop López de Solís of Quito, to which, so he says, he owes much information, was merely using the Bishop's work as a cloak to conceal his true indebtedness to Father Valera's *Vocabulario*.<sup>6</sup> This seems to me a guess in the dark. Why should a man like Father Montesinos, gullible, perhaps, but not mean-spirited, wish to do any such thing? It seems to me that the manuscript to which Montesinos refers in that place was really exactly what he says that it was, and that he may have used the *Vocabulario* also but without knowing who the author was or whence the work came. In any case, the evidence of Father Oliva makes it clear enough that there was a work by Father Valera, of an historical nature and entitled *Vocabulario histórico*.

We are now come to the most interesting and valuable, because most constructive, part of Dr. González de la Rosa's article. He makes it quite plain that the third work of the three that Valera is known to have written was partially published by Don Marcos

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Oliva, 1895, pp. 70-71. Montesinos also makes this King the 39th, but gives his reign no fixed number of years.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 2 of Jiménez de la Espada's edition of Montesinos and pp. 1-2 of the Hakluyt Society's edition, with the note there.

Jiménez who, not knowing the author's name, called the work anonymous.<sup>7</sup>

Dr. González de la Rosa's proofs that the just cited *Anonymous Relation* is the work of Father Valera are as follows:

1. The known history of the Ms. of the Anonymous Relation is that it was formerly the property of Herr Böhl von Faber, who was for many years German consul at Cádiz and who died in that city in 1836. The Consul was much interested in literary matters and in historical subjects, and he formed an admirable library. His daughter, Cecilia Böhl de Faber, was a sort of Spanish George Eliot who, under the pseudonym of *Fernán Caballero*, wrote a number of moralizing, but then popular, novels in the middle decades of the last century. The Ms. of the Anonymous Relation passed from the library of Herr Böhl von Faber into the National Library in Madrid, where it now is. The known history of this Ms. should be taken in conjunction with the mention of Valera's third work by León Pinelo in 1629. If the two are one work, or rather, if the Anonymous Relation is a part of the work mentioned by León Pinelo, there is but a gap of two hundred years to be bridged, at either end of which gap the work in question is located in Cádiz.

2. The Anonymous Relation says that the name of the first settler of Peru was *Pirua Pácaric Manco Inca* and that, after his death, he went up into the sky to the house of the god *Pirua* (the planet which we call Jupiter) who was the guardian god of Peru, by order of *Illa Tecce*, the Creator. Montesinos calls this same personage *Pirua Pacari Manco* or, for another name, *Tupac Ayar Uchu*, and says that he adored the Creator, whom he called *Illatici Huira Cocha*, and that he was succeeded by his son *Manco Capac*.

3. The Anonymous Relation says on page 178 that *Pachacuti Inga*, seventh of this name, lord of Pacari Tampu, restored Cuzco to imperial greatness, built the city anew, commanded the people to worship the Sun after *Illa Tecce Viracocha*, and founded a great temple in honour of the Sun, providing it with priests and with virgin priestesses. Montesinos, on pages 63-65 of the 1920 edi-

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<sup>7</sup> *De las costumbres antiguas de los naturales del Pirú*. Edited by Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada. In *Tres Relaciones de Antigüedades Peruanas*, pp. 137-227. Madrid, 1879.

tion, speaks of *Tupac Cauri Pachacuti*, seventh of this name, in more or less the same general terms.

4. Oliva, on page 66 of the 1857 edition and page 71 of the 1895 edition, mentions three other pre-Incaic kings as having been listed by Valera in his *Vocabulario*. They are *Capac Yupanqui Amauta*, forty-third king, *Cuius Manco*, sixty-fourth king, and *Capac Lluqui Yupanqui*, ninety-fifth king. Montesinos is in agreement as to all of these three, albeit he varies slightly their numeral order in the series.

5. On pages 219 and 220 of the Anonymous Relation the author reveals himself as a Jesuit. In connection therewith he mentions the founding of the Indian town called *Cercado* near Lima, a foundation accomplished in 1570, albeit Jiménez in his note on page 220 misdates it 1617. It will be remembered that Father Valera was in Lima in 1570, going through the period of his novitiate.<sup>8</sup>

6. On page 226 of the Anonymous Relation, the author says that important Jesuit missions were established in Arequipa, Juli, Chuquiabo (La Paz), Chuquisaca (Sucre), Potosí, Tucuman, Chile, and Quito. He does not mention that of Cuzco. Is it because modesty forbids him to mention a work in which he was a very leading participant? He adds that, though it is twelve years since there were Jesuit missions in Guánuco and Chachapoyas, the good that the Society formerly did there still lasts. Dr. González avers that Father Oliva gives 1578 as the date of the Jesuit mission in Chachapoyas. But I have combed Oliva's pages vainly, using the 1895 edition, for any such remark, and I can only conclude that it must have existed only in the manuscript of Oliva, which was once owned by Dr. González. Assuming, however, that the date, 1578, is correct, it follows that the author of the Anonymous Relation was writing in 1590 or 1591, which is exactly the time of Father Valera's arrival in Cádiz with his papers.

7. On pages 142 to 146 of the Anonymous Relation the author refutes Polo's assertion that human sacrifice was practiced in Peru under the Incas. He does so with considerable acerbity, his tone being that of an outraged member of the race against which the charge was made by the Spanish judge and author. This passage in the Anonymous Relation is longer than, but in essence

<sup>8</sup> This date of 1570 is given by Oliva on page 203 of the 1895 edition.



very similar to, a passage quoted from Valera by Garcilaso in Book Two, Chapter Ten, of the Royal Commentaries.

It appears certain, in short, that the Anonymous Relation, as we have been calling it, is the work of our author, Father Blas Valera, and that, consequently, it spent the period of two hundred years between León Pinelo's mention of Valera's third work, in 1629, and its appearance in the library of Herr Böhl von Faber at Cádiz in 1836, lurking in the dark of some monkish archives in the city where its author died.

As such let us examine it briefly.

The subject-matter of the *Relación de las costumbres antiguas de los naturales del Pirú* is primarily religious in character, with very little reference to ancient history. The beliefs, rites, sacrifices, temples, ministrants, economics, and other matters appertaining to the ecclesiastical establishment of Incaic times and earlier are fully described, the account of the chosen virgins being especially interesting. (Pp. 178-189.)

Following this, there is an excellent account of the public morality, and the laws, of the Incaic régime. The paragraphs, pages 205-207, on the natural character of the Peruvians show that they varied much in temperament from province to province and from environment to environment, precisely as they do to-day.

In view of the nature of this present writing, I can not well say more here concerning this Relation. It is, certainly, the work of Father Valera, and as such is of great value. It is to be regretted that we know of his major works only through the unsatisfactory *Memorias antiguas* of Montesinos and through Oliva, for in this *Relación de las costumbres* very little is said of pre-Incaic times.

In conclusion I would like to speak of one point which has been made by Dr. González in an article of his.<sup>9</sup> He stands by his opinion that Garcilaso merely plagiarized Valera. To this I cannot agree, but I do agree that, in his writings, if we could but find them all, Valera is wholly opposed to the Toledan school of history, exactly as is the much maligned<sup>10</sup> Inca historian. It

<sup>9</sup> GONZÁLEZ DE LA ROSA, MANUEL:

1908 *Los "Comentarios Reales" son la réplica de Valera a Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa.* In *Revista Histórica*, III, pp. 296-306. Lima.

<sup>10</sup> For a masterly defense of Garcilaso see the *Elogio* by Don José de la Riva-Agüero y Osma, already cited in my article on Garcilaso, *q. v.*

would be very strange if such were not the case, for both had native mothers and a resultant sympathy with the native race of the Andes.<sup>11</sup> In contrast to them, Toledo and Sarmiento represented all the new forces that had come into the country to oppress and exploit the natural inhabitants thereof. In this limited sense only, do I hold Dr. González to be right.

XEREZ, FRANCISCO DE:

This author was born in Seville in 1504. His father was Don Pedro de Xerez, a citizen of that town. Like Cieza de León, *q. v.*, Garcilaso de la Vega, *q. v.*, and so many others in that age, Francisco de Xerez began his career very tender in years, going to the Indies in 1519.

His first ten years in the New World were spent in Middle America or in the islands of the Caribbean. In 1530 he became secretary to Don Francisco Pizarro, who was sorely in need of an assistant of that kind by reason of his own illiteracy, and he remained in that responsible and important post until he went back to Spain in 1534. Thus he witnessed from the very centre of command the opening years of the Conquest of Peru, a fact which automatically makes him an authority of the highest rank on that period of Andean history.

Nothing is known of his subsequent career, nor of his death, so far as I am aware.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Don Antonio de León Pinelo, in speaking of Father Valera, gives us a hint which may prove valuable. He says that a passage from Valera's Ms. is quoted by Father Alonso de Sandóval in his book on the Ethiopians. This work was issued first at Seville in 1627 and again at Madrid in 1647 (Palau, VI, p. 440). The British Museum has both editions complete, but thus far I have been able to see only the mutilated copy in the Yale University Library which lacks the second volume—for the 1647 edition was in two volumes. I hope that in this way the student will come at a passage of Father Valera's writing not quoted by Garcilaso nor otherwise known to Americanists in general.

<sup>1</sup> Jiménez de la Espada, in his Letter to the Count of Toreno, 1879, pp. x-xi.

ARGOTE DE MOLINA, GONZALO:

1588 *Nobleza de Andaluzia*. Seville.

Arana de Varflora, 1791, pp. 62-63 of Número II.

Antonio, I, p. 499.

Our author is remembered for his *Verdadera relación de la Conquista del Peru*. Editions of it important for the student include the following:

- 1534 *Verdadera relacion de la conquista del Peru/ y prouincia del Cuzco llamada la nueva Castilla: Conquistada por el magnifico/ y esforçado cauallero Francisco piçarro hijo del capitan Gonçalo piçarro cau/llero de la ciudad de Trugillo: como capitan general de la cesarea y catholica/ magestad del emperador y rey nro señor: Embiada a su magestad por Francisco/ de Xerez natural de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Seuilla secretario del/ sobre-dicho señor en todas las puincias y conquista de la nueva Castilla y vno/ delos primeros conquistadores della.*

Seville, Bartolomé Perez. Folio.

This edition had the approval of the Inquisitors of the archdiocese of Seville. It was printed in July, 1534, immediately after Xerez's return from Peru. The verses at the end of this edition contain some slight data on the life of Xerez and, as Don Enrique de Vedia pointed out in his edition of Xerez, cited below, they are probably the work of Don Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdéz, the celebrated historian, who was a friend of our author. The title-page of this first edition is reproduced in Plate VI.

- 1535 *Libro pri/ mo de la Conqvista/ del Peru & prouincia del Cuzco/ de le Indie occidentali.*

Venice, Stephano da Sabio.

This translation into Italian was made by Don Domingo (or Dominico) de Gaztelú. He was ambassador from Charles V to the Venetian Republic. In view of his official connection with the monarch to whom the work was addressed, I see no reason for surprise in the fact that the Italian edition now being discussed was published in March, 1535. The late Henry Harrisse, in a holograph notation in the New York Public Library's copy of the 1534 edition, seems to find it difficult to understand how this speed could be explained. But when we remember that Charles V was in a chronic need of funds and that Venice was then one of the richest creditor nations in Europe, we can very readily see how Charles felt impelled to have his newly discovered Peruvian empire and all its wealth made known to the Venetians as soon as possible—so that his credit in that quarter might be correspondingly bolstered up. This edition is dedicated to the *Serenissimo*

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Alcedo gives a brief notice.

Vedia, in edition of 1853, cited below.

Ternaux-Compans, in edition of 1837, cited below.

Markham, in edition of 1872, cited below.

Romero, in edition of 1917, cited below.

*Principe messer Andrea Gritti*, who was one of the principal personages of the watery city-state.

1535b *Libro primo*, etc.

Milan, Domino Gotardo da Ponte.

Probably a pirated edition of the foregoing. It is inferior to the Venetian edition, and is less often seen in collections and sales.

1547 *Conquista del Peru./ Verdadera relacion/ dela conquista del Peru y prouincia del Cuzco lla/mada la nueua Castilla. . . .*

Salamanca, Juan de Junta.

For data on these and other old editions see:

Palau y Dulcet, VII, p. 234.

John Carter Brown Library Catalogue.

Maggs, 1922, p. 30.

Modern editions of Xerez useful to students, although in varying degrees, are:

1837 *Relation véridique de la conquête du Pérou et de la province du Cuzco, nommée Nouvelle-Castille.*

Edited by Henri Ternaux-Compans.

Paris.

This edition is bad, but a little better than some other editions by Ternaux-Compans. It is based on the Salamanca edition of 1547.

1853 *Verdadera Relacion*, etc.

Edited by Don Enrique de Vedia.

In *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, II, pp. 319-343.

Madrid.

A thoroughly scholarly piece of work, this edition used to be the best and most accessible Spanish edition of the *Relation* by Xerez.

1872 *Narrative of the Conquest of Peru.*

Edited by Clements R. Markham.

In *Reports on the Discovery of Peru*, pp. 3-73.

Hakluyt Society.

London.

The best edition, of course, for English-speaking students.

1917 *Verdadera relacion*, etc.

Edited by Drs. Horacio H. Urteaga and Carlos A. Romero, in *Col. libs. docs. refs. hist. Peru*, V, pp. 1-121.

Lima.

The Narrative of Xerez is one of the most authoritative documents that we know of touching upon the discovery and conquest of Peru. It is so for the twofold reason that the writer was an

eye-witness of all that he describes, from the sailing from San Lúcar de Barrameda in January, 1530, to the close of the *Narrative*, and that he was an honestly intentioned man who sought to tell the truth.

From the standpoint of the historian of ancient Andean civilization this work is chiefly interesting because of the material it affords for visualizing both Spanish and Andean material culture as they were constituted in northern Peru at the moment of their collision. Pizarro, after some preliminary severities in the Chira and Piura Valleys, set out at the end of September, 1532, to seek for *Atabaliba*, who was at war with the young Cuzco son of the old Cuzco (for thus does Xerez refer to Atahualpa, Huáscar, and Huayna Capac, respectively). In so doing, Pizarro passed through much interesting country and saw some important towns, all of which Xerez describes. During an interval of rest upon the way Pizarro wrote to the citizens of the town of San Miguel de Tangará, in the Chira Valley, the first Spanish settlement in Peru, and “. . . gave them an account of the land and of the news from Atabaliba; and he sent them the two vases in the form of fortresses, and cloth of the country from Caxas. It is wonderful how highly this cloth is prized in Spain for its workmanship. It is looked upon more as silk than as wool.<sup>2</sup> The cloths are enriched with many patterns and figures in beaten gold, very well embroidered. . .”

Such passages as this abound in the Narrative, as do many references to towns, fortresses, and other evidences of a very intensive occupation of the country. There is a vivid description of the town of Motupe, which Xerez miscalls *Motux*, wherein human sacrifice was practiced for the delectation of the local idols and of the dead.

The invaders marched through populous and fertile valleys, those of the Motupe and of the Leche Rivers, sleeping each night in walled houses that had been used by the old Cuzco.<sup>3</sup> At one place the Captain Hernando Pizarro swam a swollen river to a big Indian village where he was lodged in a walled fortress. Then, by

<sup>2</sup> The finest vicuña cloth is indeed as fine as silk, and it is infinitely more impressive from a technological point of view than any woolen cloth known up to that time in Europe.

<sup>3</sup> As Markham points out on page 33 of his edition, Xerez and Hernando Pizarro never use the word Inca, apparently because it was not known to them.

having recourse to torture, he learned from an Indian chief that *Atabaliba* was awaiting the Spaniards with hostile intentions. Soon Francisco Pizarro with his main force—less than two hundred men and less than forty horses—joined Hernando in the fortress. They made further enquiries of a Chief for whom they sent. From him they learned that *Atabaliba* was waiting with five tens of thousands of warriors at his back. This huge force astonished them, but did not daunt them. After a few days of rest Francisco Pizarro despatched an Indian to *Atabaliba* with a message offering him fraternal friendship. Thereafter, he and his followers continued their slow, careful march towards *Cajamarca*. They were well into the mountains before the answer came back from *Atabaliba*. It was pacific in tone and was reinforced by a gift of ten sheep, *i. e.*, llamas. Pizarro then proceeded to pump the messengers to the best of his ability, receiving for his pains an extremely lucid account of the wars between *Atabaliba* and the young *Cuzco* which Xerez gives *in extenso*. The account of *Atabaliba*'s prowess was couched in terms calculated to fill the leader of the invaders with fear. It did impress him, but it did not cow him, and he proceeded to cap it with an account of how much greater than *Atabaliba* was his own Lord, the Emperor, "Lord over all the world, who has many servants who are greater lords than *Atabaliba*." In fact, he put up a magnificent bluff.

The account given by Xerez of events at *Cajamarca*, or, as he calls it, *Caxamalca*, after the arrival of the Spaniards there on Friday, November 15th, 1532, is extremely important.<sup>4</sup> It is, in essence, an account of the ruination of a great empire. Because it is so, it falls into the same class with the works of Pedro Sancho, *q. v.*, Pedro Pizarro, *q. v.*, and Estete, *q. v.* A part of the work of the last-named chronicler is, indeed, inserted in the body of Xerez's Narrative in such a way that it almost forms an integral portion of it.

#### ZÁRATE, AGUSTÍN DE:

This writer is a man of whom we know very little, and most of that little proceeds from himself. His *Historia* is dedicated to Prince Philip in his quality of "King of England," and the dedicatory epistle which precedes the first and second editions, cited below, is full of data interesting for us.

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<sup>4</sup> Pp. 44-69 of Markham's edition.

Therein we learn that, after fifteen years as Secretary of the Royal Council of Castile, he was sent, at the end of 1543, by Charles V, to Peru and Tierra Firme in order to carry out a general inspection of the accounts and official acts of the officers of the royal treasury. He sailed in the fleet by which the Viceroy Don Blasco Nuñez Vela went to America, and he arrived in Peru in the early months of 1544. Finding the land in a turmoil, he decided that he would write about all that came to his attention. He began his self-appointed task, but he soon found, as so many others have done in like circumstances, that he could not write clearly of what he saw unless he went back to the times antecedent to the era in which he found himself plunged. Presently, too, another sort of difficulty made itself felt by him, that arising out of political danger. He tells us that he dared not do his writing in Peru, because had he done so he would have stood in peril of his life. Gonzalo Pizarro's redoubtable Master of the Camp, Francisco de Carvajal, had promised to kill anyone who ventured to write of his misdeeds. Therefore, so Zárate tells us, he brought such notes, diaries, and other materials as he had ventured to gather in Peru, back to Europe with him, and there he composed his History. Nor was it his first intention to publish it while events recorded therein were still contemporary actualities, for, as he truly says, a history of situations participated in by persons still living is sure to give offense, some deeming themselves maligned, others opining that the praises of their deeds are too briefly worded. Zárate intended, so he tells us, to postpone the publication of his book not merely the nine years recommended by Horace, but ninety years. His plan was radically altered, however, by the fact that Prince Philip condescended to read his manuscript during the voyage which His Highness made from la Coruña to England at the time of his infelicitous matrimonial invasion of Britain. The Prince,—or should we follow Don Agustín and say the King of England—liked the work so much that he ordered Zárate to publish it at once. This our author did on arriving at Antwerp, whither he had been sent to supervise the royal mint. Quite appropriately he dedicated the resultant volume to Philip, dating his epistle to that effect at Antwerp, March 30, 1555.

So much seems to be plain enough. True, our author does not clearly say how long he remained in Peru, but he does aver that

he was there in days when Francisco de Carvajal, whom he does not honour by naming, referring to him simply as the Master of the Camp of Gonzalo Pizarro, could have compassed his death. Carvajal's death did not take place until after the battle of Sacsahuana, April 8, 1548, so we are justified, on Zárate's showing, in believing that our author was in Peru for some time, but previous to that date.

But, thanks to the researches of Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, we now know that Zárate left Peru in June, 1545, a little more than a year after his arrival there.<sup>1</sup> He was a timid soul, apparently, averse to being garrotted.

The literary integrity of Zárate has been called in question by Don Marcos<sup>2</sup> who avers that the earlier books of the *Historia* were based upon the writings of Rodrigo Lozano, a citizen of Trujillo in Peru, and of others. But as Zárate quite frankly acknowledges this in his first and second editions, I feel that he was proceeding with due regard for the credit of Lozano.

Editions of the *Historia* are numerous, some of the more important being the following:

1555 *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Peru, con las Cosas naturales que señaladamente alli se hallan, y los sucesos que ha auido.*

Antwerp, Martin Nucio. Octavo.

This first edition is very rare.

1577 *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista de las Provincias del Peru, y de los sucesos que en ella ha auido, desde que se conquistò, hasta que el Licenciado de la Gasca Obispo de Sigüenza boluio a estos reynos: y de las cosas naturales que en la dicha provincia se hallan dignas de memoria.*

Seville, Alonso Escribano. Small folio.

This second edition is better made, on the whole, than the first. It contains an interesting *cédula* of Philip II, mentioned above, that throws some light upon the author.

1581 *The strange and delectable History of the discovery and Conquest of the Provinces of Peru, in the South Sea.*

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I of Jiménez's edition of Cieza's *Guerra de Quito*, Madrid, 1877, wherein the contemporary documents found by him are quoted.

<sup>2</sup> In his Letter to the Count of Toreno, 1879, p. ix.

Alcedo.

Antonio, I, p. 179.



*And of the notable things which/ there are found: and also of the bloudie/ ciuill vvarres vvhich there happened/ for gouernment.*

London, Richard Ihones.

This translation was made by T. Nicholas. Three years previously Nicholas had translated that portion of López de Gomara, *q. v.*, which refers to New Spain or Mexico and had dedicated it to Sir Francis Walsingham. In his letter of dedication Mr. Nicholas gives a most amusing account of a meeting between himself and Zárate on the highroad near Toledo. The Spanish chronicler was then seventy years old and very rich, having a fortune of 30,000 ducats in silver and gold at the *Casa de Contratación* in Seville, besides a yearly income of 12,000 ducats from lands and properties in Peru, not content with which he, in spite of his advanced age, was on his way to sue the King for authority to explore a part of Peru that lay over toward Brazil. (A ducat was worth roughly \$2.00.) The title-pages of this edition are reproduced in Plates VII and VIII.

There was an edition in Italian, translated by Don Alfonso Ulloa and published at Venice in 1563 by Gab. Giolito de'Ferrari. Also there was an edition in Dutch, Antwerp, 1564. These two translations must have been based upon the 1555 edition, cited above. A good translation into French was made by Broë, Seigneur de Citry de la Guette, who used the initials S. D. C., about 1700. It went through many editions, both in Paris and in Amsterdam, of which one of the best is:

1774 *Histoire/ de/ la Découverte/ et/ de la conquête/ du Perou,/ Paris (Compagnie des Libraires). Two volumes. Duodecimo.*

This edition contains a map and thirteen quaint plates. In the French version, of whatever edition, there are seven Books, just as there are in the Spanish editions.

So far as I am aware there is no good modern edition of Zárate's *Historia* in any language.

The material interesting to students of ancient Andean history is found in Book One.

In Chapter Five thereof Zárate gives us some interesting reports of the ancient legends relative to giants that abounded in the region of Point Saint Helena, on the coast of Ecuador. Each one of these formidable beings was wont to eat thirty Indians a day,

and their general cruelty and depravity was so great that the people of ordinary stature were in mortal terror of them. When the Spaniards arrived at Puerto Viejo, which is in that same general region, they saw huge images of a man and of a woman giant. The giants were finally destroyed by an angel sent from heaven for the purpose, and their bones were seen by Lieutenant-governor Captain Don Juan de Olmos, a native of Trujillo, who was ruling Puerto Viejo, in 1543, and who made a special journey to the valley to which the angel had lured the wicked giants in order to destroy them.

At the end of this same Chapter, Zárate speaks of the difficulty in ascertaining the facts of Indian history. The native people had no sort of writing, not even the picture-writing used in New Spain. They were entirely dependent upon memory, feebly aided by "certain cords of cotton which the Indians call *Quippos* wherein numbers are denoted by knots of divers forms which designate ones, tens, and so on up the length of the cord, each kind of thing counted having its special colour in the cord." Our author goes on to speak of the *Quippo Camayos* or officials in charge of the knot-records.

In Chapter Six Zárate gives an account of the people of the Island of Puná, at the mouth of the Guayaquil River. They were often at war with the neighbouring people of Tumbéz, on the mainland. The Puná people were rather more skillful as navigators than most of the American peoples, for they had large *balsas* or rafts propelled by oars and by sails. Some of them were large enough to carry fifty men and three horses, and the Spaniards made some use of them, although there was always the danger that the Indian sailors would slyly cut the lashings that held the logs together and so precipitate their unwanted passengers into the sea. The weapons of the Puná people consisted of slings, spear-throwers, bludgeons, and axes of silver and copper. They had many lances tipped with impure gold, and both sexes wore many jewels and rings of gold. The lords lived in great style and had household utensils made of gold and silver. Their servitors and women-keepers were eunuchs whose noses were slit. On a small isle nearby there was a house with a garden in which all the plants were of silver and gold.

Then follows a long passage in which the natural features of the coast-country are commented upon somewhat superficially.

Zárate then goes on to say that the Indians of the coast are divided into three groups: the Yungas, the Tallanes, and the Mochicas. Each province has its own language, but the chiefs and nobles all know the language of Cuzco as well as their own because Guaynacaua, father of Atabaliba, ordered them to learn it, and to send their sons to his court the better to become instructed in the tongue of Cuzco. The real reason for his order, according to our author, was the wish to have the sons at Cuzco as hostages for the good behaviour of the chiefs.

Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine are mainly geographical in character and of no great moment. Acosta, *q. v.*, Cieza, *q. v.*, and Cobo, *q. v.*, all tell the same facts much better than does Zárate.

In Chapter Ten our author tells us of Inca history. In early times there were many *Curacas* or Chiefs—for *Cacique* is a Caribbean term—throughout the land who, in times of peace maintained their people well and, in times of war, led them to battle. Then, from the Lake of Titicaca in the Collao, which is eighty leagues in circumference, came forth a bellicose people called *Ingas* whose hair was cut short and who bored their ears in order to put golden plugs in the holes so that little by little the ear-lobes were enlarged. The leader of these people was called *capalla Inga*, which means Sole Lord, but others say that his name was *Inga viracocha*, which means foam or grease of the sea, and they called him so because he came out of the water of that lake.

These *Ingas* commenced to settle the city of Cuzco, and from there they went forth, subjugating the land and making it tributary to themselves. Their sign of lordship was a fringe of red wool. The law of succession was vague, the strongest son taking his father's place and ruling with tyranny and violence so that their right lay in their arms, as it were.

At length the sole lordship came to *Guaynacaua*, whom our author declares to have been the real creator of the empire, the greatest organizer of its polity, and the most energetic builder of roads.

In Chapter Eleven we are told of further deeds and accomplishments of Huayna Capac, and of the splendour of his court, his lavish reconstruction of the Temple of the Sun at Cuzco, and of his greatness in general. He was very terrible in his punishment of chiefs who rebelled against him, as in the case of a lord named *Chimocappa* who ruled one hundred leagues of coast and who

rebelled against the Inca, for which he was conquered and slain, and his people were thenceforward forbidden to carry arms.

In this same Chapter Eleven we are told that *Guaynacana* and his father gave orders that large flocks of cattle, *i. e.*, llamas and vicuñas, should be maintained and that a certain proportion of them should be dedicated to the use of the Sun. Gold was much esteemed because it was used for the household utensils of the King and chief people. It was used also for the state seat of the King, and for the ornamental images with which his palaces were embellished. A great cable was made of it in honour of Huáscar.

In Chapter Twelve our author gives a brief account of the conquest of Quito by Huayna Capac. He goes on to say that the legitimate sons of that monarch were *Guascar Inga*, *Mango Inga*, *Paulo Inga* and others, but that, after the conquest of Quito, he married the daughter of the last King of Quito and by her had *Atabaliba*, whom he loved better than his other children. When the Spaniards entered the country, Huayna Capac was already dead, and a civil war was going on between Atahualpa and Huáscar.

The remainder of Zárate's book is given up to the history of the conquest and settlement of Peru by the Spaniards. It is of great importance, but lies beyond our present field of enquiry.

Whether or not Zárate was a man of strict literary integrity, he was at any rate the earliest writer to give us even a glimpse at Incaic history. His account of the material culture and the institutions of pre-Hispanic Peru is at once one of the best and one of the earliest that we have. He is, therefore, an author whom the student should always consult.

## SUMMARY OF IMPRESSIONS

Long ago, Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, in his Introduction to Casas's *Antiguas Gentes del Perú*, pointed out that most of the writers who have dealt with pre-Hispanic Andean history have fallen into one or the other of two groups or schools. One of these schools, which had Captain Don Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa and his master, the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo y Figueroa, for its chief exponents, tends to ascribe to the later Incas, *i. e.*, Viracocha, Pachacutec, Tupac Yupanqui, and Huayna Capac, all the credit for the creation and organization of the Incaic empire and its amazing cultural accompaniments. This school, which, for convenience's sake, I have called the Toledan school, includes many chroniclers of weight and of worth, as well as others, altogether less important as historians. The other school, which has the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega for its most distinguished member, and which, therefore, I call the Garcilasan school, tends to make the growth of the empire a slow, gradual, and reasonable development from small beginnings to a grand culmination.

Of the chroniclers studied in these pages the following belong to the Toledan school: Acosta, Andagoya, Atienza, Betáncos, Casas, Fernández de Palencia, Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, López de Gómara, Matienzo, Molina of Santiago, Polo de Ondegardo, Santa Cruz Pachacuti-yamqui Salcamayhua, Sarmiento, Toledo, and Zárate.

It will be seen at once that there are certain writers in this group who flourished before the reign in Peru of Don Francisco de Toledo, 1569-1581. The chief contrast between them and those other writers who were more or less directly influenced by Toledo lies in the fact that the earlier authors of the school lacked the virulent vindictiveness invariably displayed by the Viceroy's henchmen. Another and less constant contrast is that the earlier members of the school were almost entirely ignorant of Quechua, the official language of the empire, and were, moreover, conversant only with the northern parts of Peru—the territories, that is to say, most lately added to the empire, wherein the followers of Atahualpa were dominant at the time of the Conquest; whereas the later Toledans were to a greater or a less extent acquainted with Quechua and with the lore of the legitimate members of the

Inca caste. The significance of this contrast is that the earlier writers of the Toledan school wrote honestly enough, but were unreliably informed as to their subject matter; whereas, on the contrary, the later writers deliberately falsified Incaic history as, inwardly, they knew it to be, doing so from the basest political and personal motives.

Matienzo, however, stands by himself in this connection, for he was a writer who, although slightly antedating Toledo, yet spoke vindictively of the native peoples and of their rulers. The explanation of this seeming contradiction lies, I think, in the passage quoted on page 395, wherein he averred that the Incas were natural lords of the country but that they were evil tyrants. His antipathy to the Incas had an economic and a political basis, rather than an intellectual one, for his aim was to make Peru a paying proposition for the benefit of his master, Philip II, and he perceived that the surviving fabric of Incaic polity was the chief obstacle to the execution of his purpose. Consequently, his *Gobierno del Peru* must be regarded as the product of a mind which, consciously or unconsciously, turned upon the principle of *Inca delendus est*. It follows from this that his work, and all others conceived in like spirit, is of slight value as an historical document, albeit incidental descriptive material of great value may well be included therein.

In the case of Sarmiento and in that of Toledo we find the vindictiveness of Matienzo greatly increased, and added to it we find an elaborate falsification of well-known facts. Their writings were, in essence, malevolent political propaganda disguised as serious historical literature. Obviously very little if any trust can safely be reposed therein.

I do not wish to imply that there were *no* historians of credit among the Toledans. The Licentiate Polo de Ondegardo, for one, was an intelligent and an honourable man who approached his task as an historian in a compassionate and reflective spirit. He wrote without malice of the Incas and of their polity with the result that he is by far the most respectable member of the Toledan school, with Father Atienza as his only rival in this respect. Polo and Atienza between them provide us with the sole plausible explanation of the alleged quick growth of the Inca empire, for Polo would have us believe that a lack of unified resistance was the secret of the empire's rapid rise and, at the same time, Atienza

tells us that the strength and dependability of the Incas' rule were such that neighbouring peoples were drawn away from allegiance to their own less able local chiefs and were attracted into the empire by their wish to be well governed. Although one need not accept these two arguments as conclusive proof of the rapid growth of the empire, he must at any rate admit the sanity of the reasoning in them. Indeed, it is not too much to say that even in Garcilaso's version the rise to widespread power of the Inca family is surprisingly speedy, and that these two arguments may well serve to explain and support it.

Let me now speak briefly of some of the other members of the Toledan school. Father Acosta was a man of limpid sagacity and of the most commendable intentions as a writer, but most of his career in Peru befell in parts of the country not added to the empire until the time of the Inca Viracocha or later. Don Pascual de Andagoya was a writer who knew Peru so early that he simply could not learn with accuracy the history of the native civilization there. Casas never went to Peru and so was not able to write at first hand of the history and institutions of that country, having to depend for his information upon such garbled and undependable rumours as came his way. The same may be said of Fernández de Palencia and of López de Gómara. Four other writers, although they had no direct contact with Toledo, are yet Toledans, but in a very special manner. These are Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, Molina of Santiago, Pedro Pizarro, and Zárate, all of whom make Viracocha the founder of the Inca dynasty and its establisher in Cuzco. It is not difficult to explain how they arrived at such a strange notion of native history. The opinion set forth by them inevitably prevailed among the inhabitants of regions beyond the limits of the relatively small realm which Viracocha had inherited from his forebears. To such people Viracocha Inca *was* the first of his house, for he was the first to rule over their tribes. True, Molina of Santiago lived for a time in Cuzco where, had he been prepared by birth and training so to do, he might have uncovered veritable Incaic lore. But he was a Spaniard and an aristocrat, the very type of man to whom members of the Incaic caste did not open their minds and hearts. For the rest, his career in Peru had for its scene regions not added to the empire until after Viracocha's day. Gutiérrez, a military adventurer, was still less likely to come at the sources of authentic Incaic history, and in any case,

his career, also, chiefly befell in the more lately added parts of the empire where, inevitably, the memory of the early Incas was faint in the popular memory. Pizarro may be characterized in the same terms. Finally, Zárate was in Peru for but a short while, and he was no more than a Spanish bureaucrat who knew no Quechua.

In short, the Toledan school is one which is invalidated, so far as the narration of pre-Hispanic history in the Andean area is concerned, either by unreliable information or else by political prejudice. Sarmiento's *History of the Incas* is an aggregation of its imperfections, for it is a curious medley of statements curiously reminiscent of the Book of Genesis, of violent inspired vituperation, and of misinformation wrung from terrorized survivors of the Incaic administrative system.

Let me now turn to the Garcilasan school, the members of which are: Cabello de Balboa, Calancha, Cieza de León, Cobo, Garcilaso, Montesinos, Morúa, and Román. It will be observed at once that every one of these writers is important in a high degree, and that all of the four leading chroniclers—Cabello, Cieza, Cobo, and Garcilaso—belong to it. Every one of those men was a great traveller and a skilled observer, and their chief had the additional advantage of hearing Incaic history discussed by persons most likely to possess trustworthy information concerning it. All things considered, I have no hesitation in saying that these writers are the most reliable informants that we have concerning Incaic history.

Certain writers fail to fit with nicety into either of the two schools. Such are Córdoba y Salinas, Oré, Ramos Gavilán, and Santillán. In general, however, it may be said that they conform more nearly to the Garcilasan than to the Toledan mode of interpreting pre-Hispanic history. Then, too, there are two other groups who fail to conform, the one made up of purely descriptive writers like Estete, Sancho de la Hoz, and Xerez, the other of writers whose interest lay almost wholly in the field of religion and popular customs. This last group includes Fathers Arriaga, Avendaño, and Avila.

Since Dr. Max Uhle, the father of modern Andean archæology, began his labours some thirty-five years ago, the interest of students has been drawn more and more to the question of the pre-Incaic history and culture of the Andean area. The great writers of the days before 1890, chief among them Robertson,



Prescott, and Squier, seldom gave a thought to any possible earlier Andean civilization. Markham bridged the gap from their day to ours, and the scope of his inquiries widened as knowledge grew broader. Bearing all this in mind, I have sought here to show which of the writers discussed throw light on the period prior to the Incas, and I find that a considerable group do so, including: Bacci, Betáncos, Cabello, Calancha, Casas, Cieza, Lizárraga, López de Gómara, Montesinos, Morúa, Oré, Román, Santa Cruz, Santillán, Sarmiento, and Valera. With the help of materials provided by them, the student will be able to master the whole literary side of pre-Incaic history, and he will inevitably find it a valuable complement to the results of modern archæology.

Indeed, that is what all of the literature here discussed can be, if properly used. The native peoples of the Andean area had no writings of their own, but, as several of our chroniclers make clear, they did have records in the form of quipus and of painted boards, and they did have an important body of folklore largely historical and narrative in nature.

This brings me to my final point. There was formerly a tendency among specialists in this field—Sir Clements Markham had it very strongly—to ascribe greater importance to the earliest writers than to those who came later merely on the ground of their comparative nearness in time to the Inca empire as it was in its splendour. I deprecate this tendency. For one thing, the mental calibre, the reasoning powers, and the skill in observation of the first writers were oftentimes inferior to those of the men who came later. For another thing, in the days just after the Conquest, the traditional awe of the Inca dynasty was still deeply rooted among the Andean peoples, so much so that the Indians inevitably tended to keep their mouths shut and so to render esoteric most of the popular lore concerning the history and polity of the lately shattered Incaic civilization. As time went by, however, this esotericism gradually decayed, and the Indians became more and more permeated with Hispanic culture and with its attendant drudgery, losing in a corresponding degree their reluctance to discuss those ancient times that came more and more to offer them a source of solace and of pride under oppression. At the same period, too, a more intellectual type of writer was arriving in Peru, men who could patiently and intelligently investigate the source material and the surviving institutions about them in a spirit not remote from that of modern science. Thus it comes

that, of the seven most important chroniclers—Cabello, Calancha, Cieza, Cobo, Garcilaso, Montesinos, and Román—only one, Cieza, was writing on Peru within a generation after the Conquest. Valera, whose lost histories may even at this late day be found, stands by himself, in this connection, a mysterious and alluring figure which seems to promise a wealth of desired knowledge but yet withholds it by persisting in shrouding itself in the shadows of the unknown.

We owe to Dr. Romero, of Lima, the publication of some very definite evidence in support of the contention that comparative remoteness in time from the period of the Conquest does not necessarily deprive of authority a document or a book on the subject of native institutions. The news of the canonization of Ignacio de Lóyola reached Cuzco on Sunday, May 2d, 1610, and its advent gave rise to prolonged jubilation under the patronage of the Jesuits and of both the ecclesiastical and the lay authorities generally. An account of the festivities, which lasted twenty-five days, was published in Lima, by Francisco del Canto, in 1610.

For us the interesting feature in these festivities is this: The Indians of Cuzco, numbering 30,000 adult males, seized upon the occasion to celebrate the glorious history of their own race under cover of homage rendered to the newly created Saint. Nearly all of the parishes of Cuzco managed to infuse into their ceremonial visits of congratulation paid to the Jesuits a decided indigenistic tinge which would greatly have astonished Don Iñigo López de Recalde, now Saint Ignatius, if he could have beheld it. In the various parochial processions to the Society's church in the Plaza Mayor there were many representations of this or that phase in Inca history, participated in, for the most part, by kinsmen of those who had acted in the original events. On one day, for example, four hundred Cañares, descendants of those Cañar Indians who had formed the imperial body-guard under Huayna Cápac, gave a magnificently gorgeous sham-battle in the Plaza; on another day, there was presented, with every splendid fitting accurately in its proper place, a series of personages emblematical of the eleven Inca kings, in every case a descendant or near relative of the original character.<sup>1</sup> It is true that the order of the

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<sup>1</sup> The document published by Dr. Romero gives the names of the Incas thus: "Topacinchixoca," "Mangocapac," "Capacloquiupangui," "Ingarocac," "Maitacapac," "Apositinca," "Yarariuacal," "Biracochainca," "Pachacuti," "Topainca," and "Vainacapac."

various rulers had become somewhat confused, and the forms of their names more so, but there was plentiful evidence that the later reigns and rulers were still very clearly remembered by the people. Each of these "Incas" was borne in his litter gorgeously adorned with feathers, and each passed in turn before the Corregidor, to whom a slight inclination of the head was made, the Corregidor and his attendant gentlemen replying by doffing their hats. The costumes were all in the antique style and of the richest native materials, great care being taken, apparently, to make them historically accurate.<sup>2</sup>

The significance for us of all that relates to these festivals lies here: They make it clear that numerous direct descendants of the Incas and of other tribes of the empire still were living in Cuzco in 1610 and that, in the hearts of all of them, memory of ancient times was carefully preserved. It follows, therefore, that any Spaniard who was friendly to and congenial with upper-class natives, even at so late a day, could easily receive from them authoritative accounts of the pre-Hispanic history of the country and its institutions. Such information would, of course, be very different in spirit and in content from the "official" reports extracted from the terror-stricken provincial chieftains whom the henchmen of Toledo forcibly examined. I do not doubt that the narratives of Cobo, Cabello, Valera, Montesinos, Calancha, Morúa, Ramos, and others are largely based upon native lore of the same validity and antiquity as that which informed and penetrated with truth the festivals held in Cuzco in 1610.

Such are the chroniclers of Peru, and such the significance of their writings. The authors studied here do not constitute the entire list of those who might rationally have been included. Giovanni Botero Benes, the compatriot of Bacci and Benzoni who are here discussed, has written interestingly of our subject. Famous writers like Don Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas and Father Juan de Torquemada might well have been examined here but have been, at any rate for the present, omitted because their writings concerning Peru seem not to be of the first rank. Other writers, notably Father Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba, have

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<sup>2</sup> See:

ROMERO, CARLOS A.:

1923 *Festividades del tiempo heroico del Cuzco*. Inca, I, pp. 447-454.  
Lima.

been left out for the present because I have never been able to see their books and so cannot write of them knowledgeably. I hope, however, in the Supplement to this Part One, to include a study of Father Salinas and of his *Memorial de las Historias del Nuevo Mundo*, Lima, 1530, of which the only copy known to me is that in the British Museum. Again, an author of undoubted worth, the Indian Don Felipe Huamán Poma de Ayala, whose *Nueva Cronica* I briefly described some five years ago,<sup>3</sup> has been passed over here because I am in hopes that a good edition of his book will soon be published, making his quaint work accessible to the student.

In conclusion, let me beg of librarians and students that they send me such corrections and additions as may be possible for them. It will be readily understood, of course, that this series of bio-bibliographies is directed primarily to the archæologist and the historian rather than to the bibliophile. For that reason I am far more interested in hearing of American collections which possess this or that book herein described as rare than I am in receiving news of editions not mentioned by me. I am especially eager for information concerning books which treat of ancient Andean history, whether printed or in manuscript, that may have escaped my notice altogether, for there remains the possibility of including them in the Supplements of this *Biblioteca Andina*, thereby enabling it to perform its task in the fullest possible fashion.

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<sup>3</sup> *American Anthropologist*, vol. 25, pp. 397-405, 1923.





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 (HERE, *Chronica*) *Moralizada*

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# SYMBOLO CATHOLICO INDIA-

NO, EN EL QVAL SE DECLARAN LOS  
mysterios dela Fé contenidos en los tres Symbolos Catho-  
licos, Apostolico, Niceno, y de S. Athanasio.

CONTIENE ASSI MESMO VNA DESCRIP-  
*cion del nuevo orbe, y de los naturales del. Y un orden de enseñarles la doctrina  
Christiana en las dos lenguas Generales, Quichua y Aymara, con  
un Confessionario breue y Catechismo dela communion.*

TOD LO QVAL ESTA APPROBADO POR  
los Reuerendissimos señores Arçobispo delos Reyes, y Obispos  
del Cuzco, y de Tucuman.

COMPUESTO POR EL PADRE FRAY LVTS  
*Hierony no de Orè, predicador dela orden de sant Francisco, dela  
prouincia delos doze Apostoles del Piru.*

SANCTA MARIA SVC.



CON LICENCIA.

Impresso en Lima por Antonio Ricardo. Año 1598.

*Acosta de Pedro Fernandez de Valençuela.*

TITLE-PAGE OF ORÉ'S *Symbolo*

Taken from Medina, Imprenta en Lima





















































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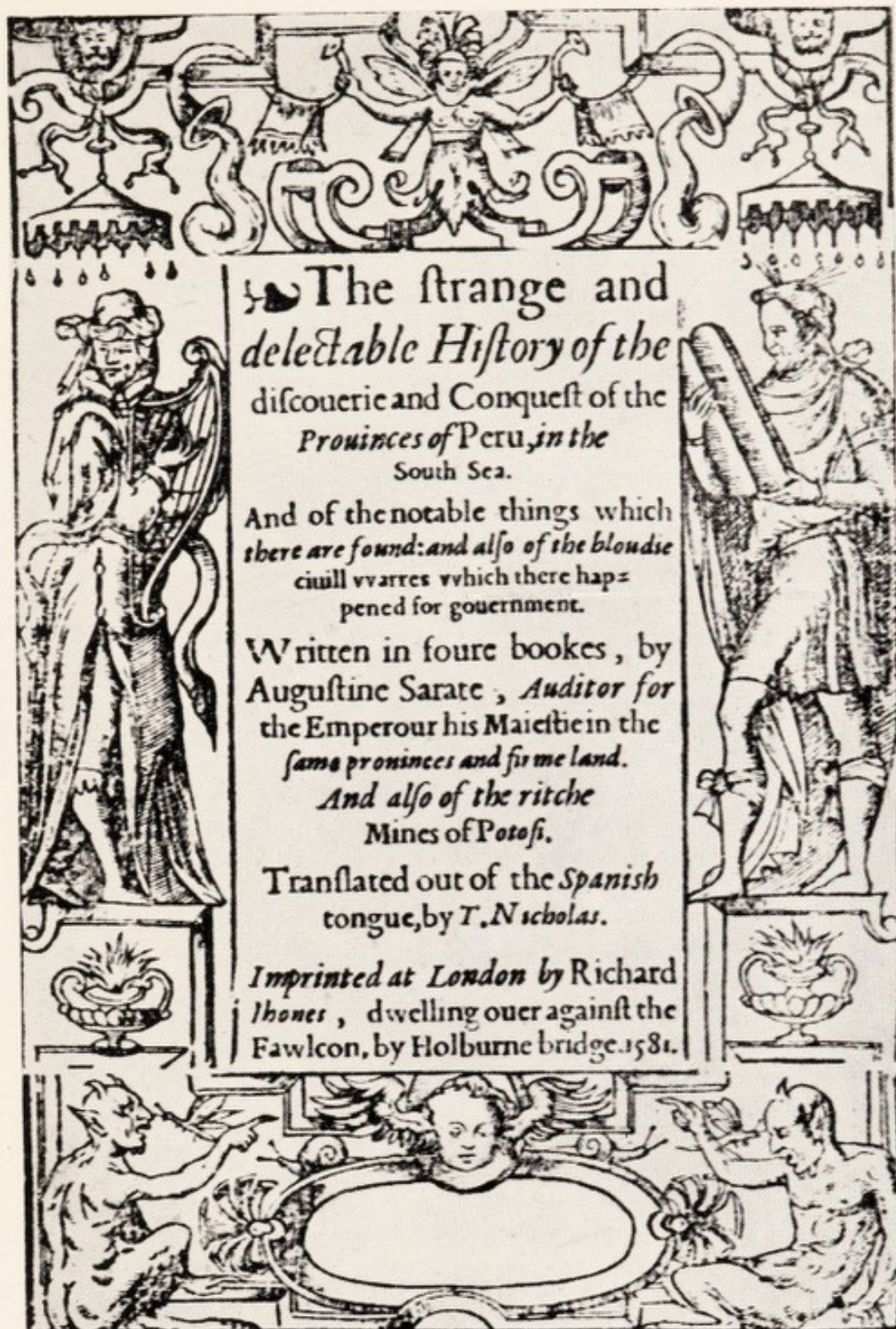
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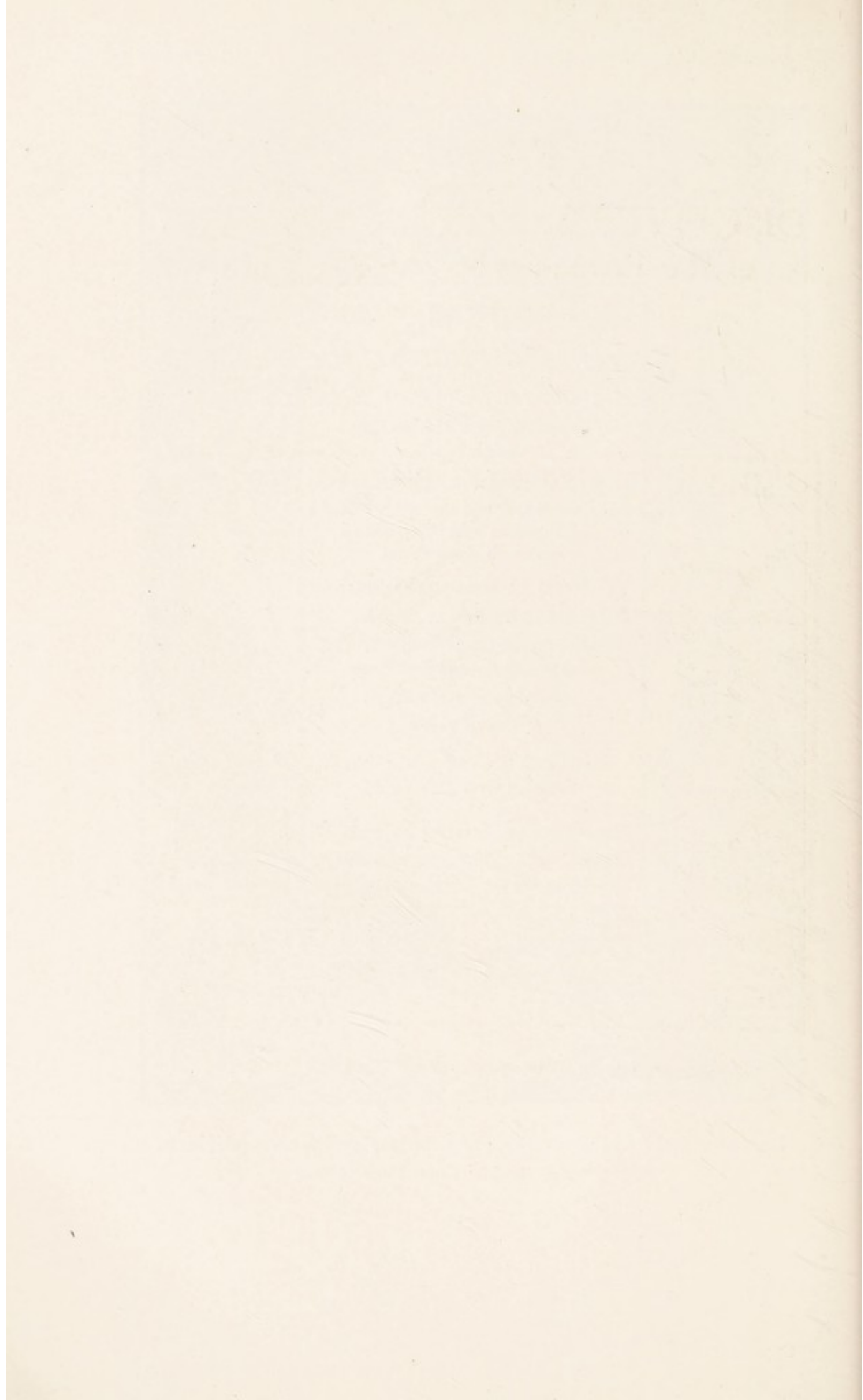




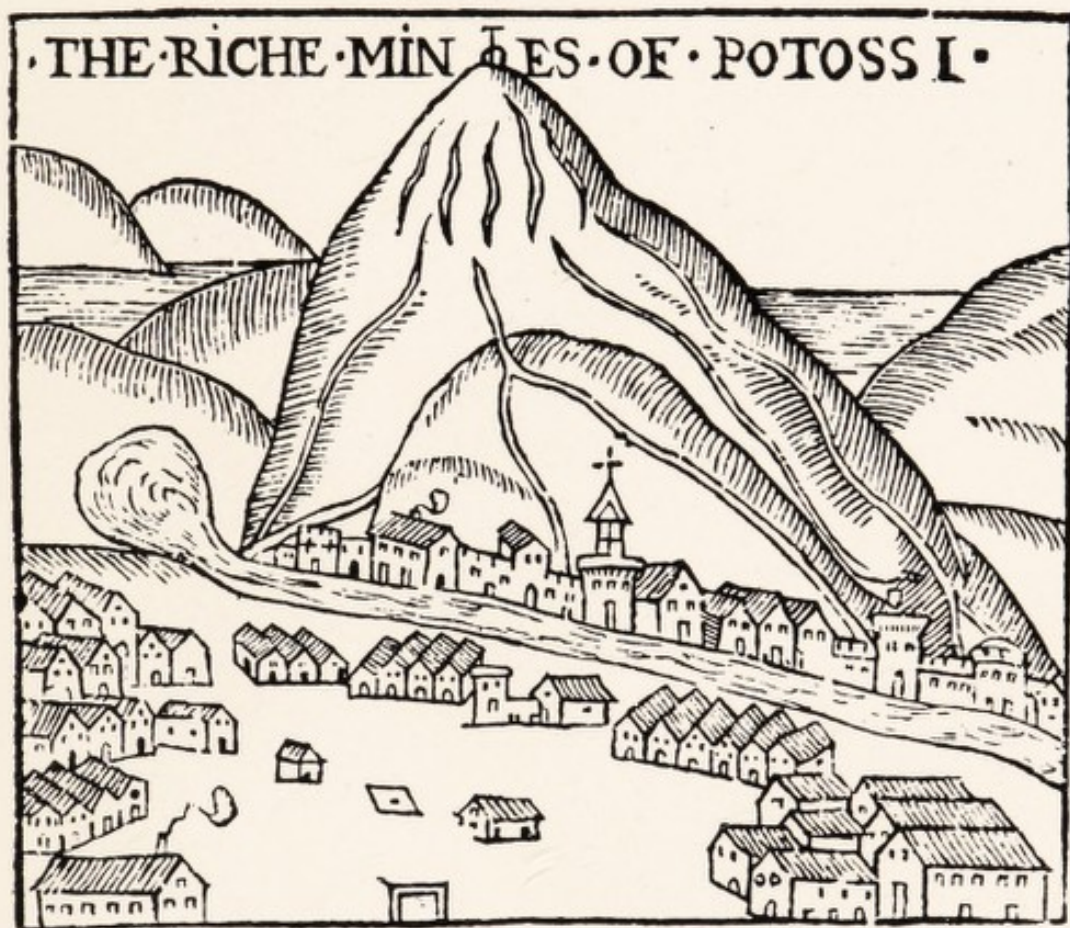


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THE  
DISCOVERIE AND CONQVEST  
of the Prouinces of *P E R U*, and  
*the Nauigation in the South*  
Sea, along that Coast.  
*And also of the ritche Mines*  
of *P O T O S I*.



Imprinted at London by Richard Ihoncs. Febr. 5. 1581.

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