

THE INCAS

of Pedro de Cieza de León

Translated by Harriet de Onis

Edited, with an Introduction, by

Victor Wolfgang von Hagen

NORMAN : UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA PRESS

CHAPTER 31 (LXXX)

Of the site of this city [Huánuco], the fertility of its countryside, and the customs of the natives, and of a beautiful lodging or palace in Huánuco el Viejo constructed by the Incas.

108

THE SITE of this [new] city of León de Huánuco¹ is good and held to be very salubrious, and praised for its temperate nights and mornings. Because of its good climate people there live healthy. Wheat is produced there in abundance, and corn. There are vineyards, and figs, oranges, citrons, lemons, and other fruits that have been brought from Spain, as well as the native products, and all the vegetables of Spain. In addition there are large banana groves, so it is a good city, and it is believed it will grow better each day. In the country many

¹ Pedro de Cieza de León: "In connection with the founding of the city of León de Huánuco, it should be pointed out that when the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro founded on the plains and sands the rich City of the Kings, all the provinces that at the time were subordinate to this city served it, and the residents of the City of the Kings held encomienda over the caciques. And as Illatope the tyrant, with his kin and other Indian vassals, was making war on the natives of this province and devastating the settlements, and there were too many *repartimientos*, and many of the conquistadors had had no Indians assigned to them, the Marquis wished to do away with such handicaps, and satisfy them, giving Indians also to some of the Spaniards who had followed Don Diego de Almagro, whom he was trying to win over, contenting them all for they had worked for and served His Majesty, and give them certain benefits from the land. And in spite of the fact that the council of the City of the Kings tried by complaints and in other ways to prevent what he was doing against the interests of his government, the Marquis appointed as his representative Captain Gómez de Alvarado, the brother of the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado, and sent him to found a city in the provinces called Huánuco. Thus Gómez de Alvarado set out, and after certain incidents with the natives, founded the city of León de Huánuco, at the spot he judged most suitable, to which he afterwards gave the name of republic, setting forth the standards he judged advisable for its government. When this had been done, and a number of years had elapsed, the new city was abandoned because of the uprising of the natives throughout the kingdom. A few years later, Pedro Barroeta rebuilt the city, and finally, with powers from Master Cristóbal Vaca de Castro, after the cruel battle of Chupas, Pedro de Puelles went to take charge there, and the city was permanently settled, because Juan de Varagas and others had captured the tyrant Illatope. So although what I have set down took place, I can say that the founder was Gómez de Alvarado, for he gave the city its name, and if it was abandoned, it was of necessity and not choice, and he held it so the Spanish settlers could return to their homes. The city was founded and settled in the name of His Majesty, with authorization of the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, governor and captain-general of this kingdom, in the year of Our Lord 1539."—Chapter LXXIX [1553], "Which deals with the founding of the [new] city of León de Huánuco and who its founder was."

The Palace in Huánuco el Viejo

cows, goats, mares, and other livestock are raised, and it abounds in partridge, turtledoves, pigeons, and other fowl, and falcons to hunt them. In the woods there are some pumas, and bears, and other animals, and highways run through most of the settlements under the jurisdiction of this city and there were well-furnished storehouses and lodgings of the Incas.

109

In what is known as Huánuco [The Old] there was an admirably built royal palace, made of very large stones artfully joined. This palace or lodging was the capital of the provinces bordering on the Andes, and beside it there was a temple to the sun with many vestals and priests. It was so important in the times of the Incas that there were always over thirty thousand Indians to serve it. The stewards of the Incas were in charge of collecting the regular tributes, and the region served this palace. When the Lord-Incas ordered the headmen of these provinces to appear at the court of Cuzco, they did so. They tell that many of these tribes were brave and strong, and that before the Incas brought them under their rule many and cruel battles were fought between them, and that in most places the villages were scattered and so remote that there were no relations between them except when they met for their gatherings and feasts. On the hilltops they built their strong places and fortresses² from which they made war

² León de Huánuco (settled in 1539) is on the upper reaches of the Huallaga River, an Amazon tributary under 5,000 feet altitude. Huánuco el Viejo is fifty miles east on an elevation 12,156 feet above sea level. The ruins of Huánuco, located in the old province of Huamalíes are immense (see detailed plan); the plaza alone, which holds over eight buildings, of which one, "El Castillo," has been often figured, the great square measures 675 feet x 950 feet and is approached by three flights of steps; it is surrounded on all sides by buildings. The over-all measurement of Huánuco is 2,100 feet x 1,900 feet; the structures number more than a thousand. It is fully possible that the inhabitants numbered the "30,000" given by Cieza.

Huánuco was inhabited by other Andean tribes, namely the Yachas, before its conquest by Topa Inca after 1470; it is fully probable that the buildings, which have many non-Inca architectural features, embody some of the structures of this conquered tribe. A massive report, written in 1562 by Iñigo Ortiz de Zúñiga, for the Viceroy to determine why the Indians, living under encomienda to Gómez Arias Dávila—a grant given to him by La Gasca—were not producing the amount of tribute for His Majesty's government that they had in the time of Inca rule, is now ready for publication by the editor.

Huánuco was first seen by the party of Hernando Pizarro on the last day of March, 1534, as they returned through it on the way to Cajamarca with the gold from Pachacamac for the ransom of Atahualpa; "we reached Guanaco [Huánuco] . . . over a road the greater part of which was paved on account of the snow . . . this town is large . . . it is situated in a valley, being three miles in circuit."

The editor is not fully certain that Pedro de Cieza visited Huánuco personally; he

THE INCAS

110

on one another at the slightest pretext. And their temples were located in convenient places for their sacrifices and rites; . . . [yet] beneath their general blindness, they believed in the immortality of the soul. These Indians are intelligent, and they show it in their answers to questions put to them. The native chieftains of these people were never laid in their graves alone, but accompanied by living women, the most beautiful of them, as was the case with the others. And when these chieftains were dead and their soul had departed their body, these women buried with them in those great vaults which are their tombs await the fearful hour of death to go and join the dead man. They consider it a great good fortune and blessing to leave this world together with their husband or lord, thinking that afterwards they will serve him as they did on earth. And for this reason they believe that the woman who died quickly would the sooner find herself in the other life with her lord or husband. This custom has its root in what I have described on other occasions, which is that they see (so they say) the devil in the fields and lands, pretending to be the dead man, accompanied by his wives and the other things that were put into the tomb with him. Among these Indians there were those who were augurs, and studied the stars.

Ruled by the Incas, these people observed the rites and customs of their overlords, and built orderly settlements, and in each there were storehouses and royal lodgings, and they went better attired, and spoke the general language of Cuzco, in keeping with the law and edicts of the Lord-Incas, who ordered that all their subjects should know and speak it.

The Conchucos and the great province of Huaylas, Tarma, and Bombón [Pumpu], and other villages, some large, some small, serve this new city of León de Huánuco, and they are all rich in provisions, and there are many savory, nourishing tubers for food. In olden times there were innumerable flocks of llamas, but the wars have so decimated them that of the many they once were, so few now remain that if the natives did not tend them carefully to have wool for their

did not say he saw it all, only that for things he did not see, he obtained information from those whose judgment he could trust: "this history of what I saw and experienced, and from reliable information I received from persons whose word could be relied on." However, his information was exact. (See von Hagen, *Highway of the Sun* [Chapter XI, "The Road to Chachapoyas"]; and C. R. Enock, *Andes and the Amazon* [London, 1907], 229-336.)

Bombón and Chinchay-cocha Lake

clothing, they would have a hard time. The houses of these Indians, and even those of the others, are of stone with a thatch roof. All wear ribands and insignia about their heads for identification. Even though evil has had great power over them, I have never heard that they were guilty of the abominable sin of sodomy. To be sure, as happens everywhere, there are bad among them; but if the practices of these are known, they are despised and looked down on as effeminate, and they treat them almost like women, as I have written.

In many parts of this region great lodes of silver have been found, and if they work them, they can mine a great deal.³

III

to here
for this page

CHAPTER 32 (LXXXIII)

Of the lake of Bombón [Pumpu], of Chinchay-cocha, which is presumed to be the source of the great La Plata River.

THE LAY OF this province of Bombón [Pumpu] makes it strong, and this is the reason why its inhabitants were very warlike. Before the Incas could dominate them, they had great difficulties and many battles, until finally (according to many of the older Indians) they won them over to their rule by gifts and promises. In the territory of these Indians there is a lake over ten leagues in circumference. This land of Bombón is very level and extremely cold, and the mountains are some distance from the lake [of Chinchay-cocha].¹ The

³ That there were "great lodes of silver" was proved true when in 1569 an Indian named Aarí Capcha found, while herding his llamas, that when he built a fire against a rock to keep out the cold of the *puna*, the melted rock had turned into a silver ingot. Thus were the Cerro de Pasco mines discovered, which between 1630 and 1898 produced \$565,000,000 worth of silver ore.

¹ Chinchay-suyu was one of the four directions, the term given by the Incas to all that Andean area north of Cuzco, until reaching Quito. The lake (now Laguna de Junín), the second largest, is thirty-six miles long and lies at 12,940 feet. The Chinchays, (we do not know what they were called before being incorporated into the Inca realm) defended themselves from fortified islands erected offshore. Huayna Capac, who finally defeated them, is said to have brought balsas all the way from Tumbes to reach and defeat them. The Incas built a large city, complete with sun temple and royal tambo; they raised a suspension bridge to cross the Mantaro River which drains the lake. It was an important hub of communications; out of the plaza went three roads (see map), and Hernando Pizarro passed through there on March 11, 1533, taking the lateral at Huaura on the coast, that joins with the Royal Road in the Andes (Huaura,

Of the manner and fashion in which the city of Cuzco is built, and the four highways that lead from it, and the great buildings it had, and who was the founder.

143

THE CITY of Cuzco is laid out on rough terrain, surrounded by mountains on all sides, between two small brooks, one of which runs through the middle of it, because it has been settled to both sides. To the east there is a valley which begins at the city itself, so the waters of the brooks that run through the city flow out of it westward. Because of the cold climate of this valley there are no fruit-bearing trees except a few *molles*. To the north of the city, on the hill closest to it, there is a fortress [Sacsahuamán],¹ which by reason of its size and strength was once a mighty building, and it still is, even though the greater part of it is in ruins. But the powerful foundations still stand, and the main pillars. To the east and north lie the provinces of Anti-suyu, which are the dense forests and mountains of the Andes, and the largest part of Chinchay-suyu, which includes the regions in the direction of Quito. To the south lie the provinces of the Colla and Cunti-suyu, of which the Colla lies between the east wind and the austral, or that which navigators call the south, and Cunti-suyu south-southwest. One part of this city is known as Hanan-Cuzco and the other as Hurin-Cuzco, where the principal nobility and the old families lived. In another section stands Karmenka Hill,² where at inter-

¹ The fortress of Sacsahuamán, overlooking Cuzco on the Anti-suyu (or jungle) road, was without doubt one of the most gigantic single structures ever built by the American Indian. It was begun by the Inca Pachacuti sometime after 1440, when he undertook to build Cuzco after the attack by the Canchas (see Chapter 46 below). It was more than eighty years in the building and, according to native historians who still used the quipu, more than 20,000 workmen were engaged in the work. It was completed about 1520 in the reign of the Inca Huayna Capac, not many years before the arrival of the Spaniards. (See *Guide to the Ruins of Sacsahuamán*, by Victor W. von Hagen.)

² Karmenka, a section of Cuzco which stood on the hill that marked the beginning of the long Chinchay-suyu road had a gateway called *Huaca-puncu*, the "holy gate," the first shrine at which the Indian traveler on this road made his devotions "so that the Inca road would not collapse or be destroyed," writes Pedro de Cieza. At the

THE INCAS

144

vals there are small towers which they used to study the movement of the sun, to which they attached great importance. Midway between the hills, where most of the inhabitants resided, there was a good-sized square [*Huayka-pata*] which they say was a swamp or lake in olden times, and which the founders of the city filled in with stones and mortar and made as it now is. From this square four highways emerge; the one called Chinchay-suyu leads to the plains and the highlands as far as the provinces of Quito and Pasto; the second, known as Cunti-suyu, is the highway to the provinces under the jurisdiction of this city and Arequipa. The third, by name Anti-suyu, leads to the provinces on the slopes of the Andes and various settlements beyond the mountains. The last of these highways, called Colla-suyu, is the route to Chile. Thus, just as in Spain the early inhabitants divided it all into provinces, so these Indians, to keep track of their wide-flung possessions, used the method of highways. The [*Huata-nay*] river that flows through this city is spanned by bridges.

Nowhere in this kingdom of Peru was there a city with the air of nobility that Cuzco possessed, which (as I have said repeatedly) was the capital of the empire of the Incas and their royal seat. Compared with it, the other provinces of the Indies are mere settlements. And such towns as there are lack design, order, or polity to commend them, whereas Cuzco had distinction to a degree, so those who founded it must have been people of great worth. There were large streets, except that they were narrow, and the houses made all of stone so skillfully joined that it was evident how old the edifices were, for the huge stones were very well set. The other houses were all of wood, thatch, or adobe, for we saw no trace of tile, brick, or mortar. In many parts of this city there were splendid buildings of the Lord-Incas where the heir to the throne held his festivities. There, too, was the imposing temple to the sun, which they called *Curicancha*,³ which was among the richest in gold and silver to be found anywhere in the world.

It is well known among the Indians that this temple [of Curi-

place where this *Karmenka* stood, a church, *Santa Ana*, was erected from the beautifully cut stone of the holy gate.

³ *Curicancha* (the "golden enclosure"), temple of the sun, was, it has been affirmed by archacology, the oldest, wealthiest, and most sacred of Inca shrines. For a full historical and architectural description of it, see John H. Rowe, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco*, Peabody Museum Publications, Vol. XXVII, No. 2.



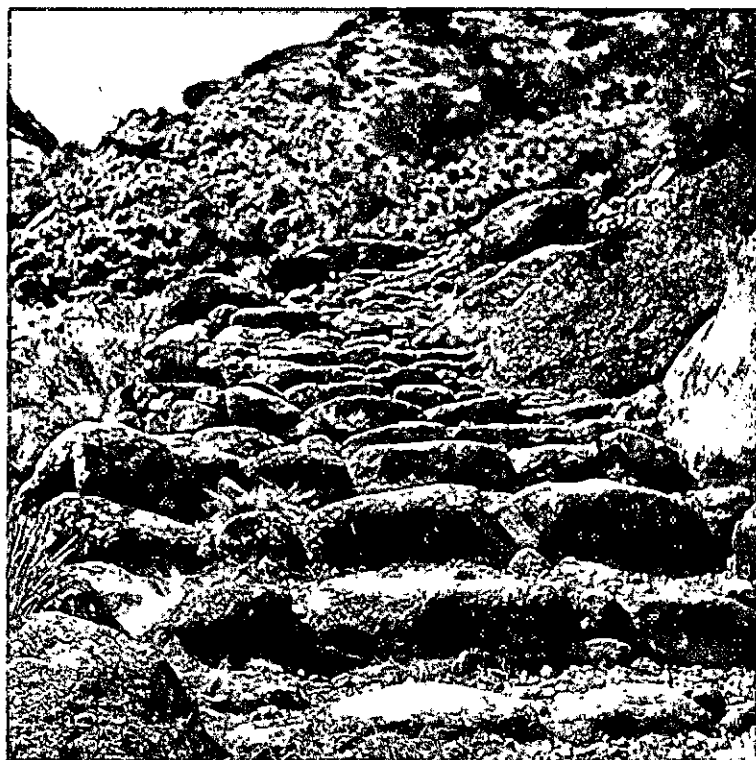
"It is five leagues from this valley of Anta to the city of Cuzco, and the great highway runs through it. The water of a river that rises near the valley forms a deep bog which would be very difficult to cross without a broad and solid highway such as the Lord-Incas ordered built." The ancient causeway of Anta still is used and the bogs are still there.



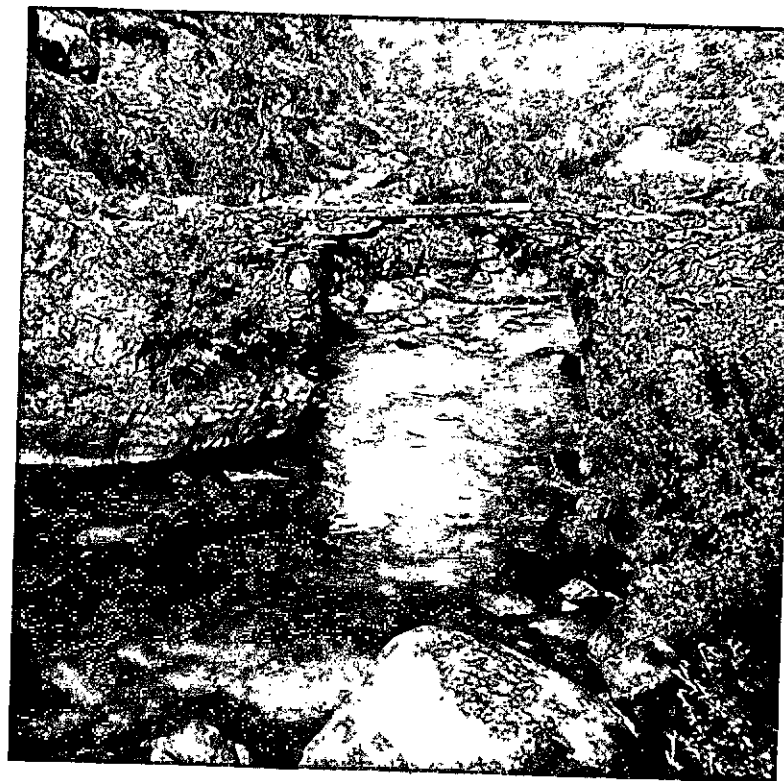
"Eight leagues from Abancay one comes to the Apurímac River, the largest crossed between here and Cajamarca. There are two great platforms on which to lay the bridge." The "bridge of the great speaker" from an engraving in E. G. Squier's *Peru*.



"Some of the mountains so sheer and barren that the road had to be cut through the living rock"—like this main road through Pisac.



"And in other places the incline [of the highway] was so steep and rough that they built steps from the bottom to ascend to the top, with platforms every once in a while where people could rest."



"I doubt there is record of another highway comparable to this running through deep valleys, over high mountains, through piles of snow, quagmire, living rock, and across turbulent rivers." A stone Inca bridge beyond the mountains of Macusani.



"They used, as they went by the way, to cast stones on the highways, on the hills and tops of mountains, and these are called *apachetas*. These are piles of stones which are built up at every mountain pass; they carry the stone for a little way before arriving, [then] deposit the stone on the *apacheta* and leave their tiredness behind." A massive *apacheta* on the Macusani Inca road.



"The Incas devised a series of posts along all the highways every half-league. And in each of them two Indians (*chasquis*) were stationed, and when a message had to be sent out to Cuzco or anywhere else, a runner set out and at full speed ran half a league without stopping and passed the message to the next, who set out at full speed. Thus in a short time the news could be carried a thousand miles." A modern "*chasqui*" making a test run over the Royal Road of the Incas near Tarma.



"The great coastal highway which the Incas ordered built across the desert; although in many places this road is now ruined and destroyed, it still reveals what a splendid thing it was." The Inca coastal road going through the desert near Saña.

cancha] is as old as the city of Cuzco itself; however, the Inca Yupanqui [Pachacuti], son of Viracocha Inca, added to its riches and left it as it was when the Spaniards entered Peru. Most of its treasures were taken to Cajamarca for the ransom of Atahualpa, as we shall tell when the time comes. And the *Orejones* relate that after the conclusion of the dubious war between the inhabitants of Cuzco and the Chancas, who are now the lords of the province of Andahuaylas, in the victory he won over them Pachacuti achieved such widespread renown and esteem that from all sides chieftains came to render him fealty, and the provinces brought him great tribute of gold and silver, for in those days there were great mines and richest lodes. Seeing himself so opulent and powerful, he decided to ennoble the house of the sun, which in their language they call *Indehuaxi* and to which they gave the name of *Curicancha*, as well—which means "fenced with gold"—and endow it with riches. And that all who see or read this may know how rich the temple of Cuzco was, and the prowess of those who built it and did such great things in it, I shall give an account of it as I saw it and what I heard from many of the first Spaniards, who had it from the three⁴ who went to Cajamarca and saw it, although what the Indians tell is so complete and so true that no other proof is needed.

This temple had a circumference of over four hundred feet, and was all surrounded by a strong wall. The whole building was of fine quarried stone, all matched and joined, and some of the stones were very large and beautiful. No mortar on earth or lime was employed in it, only the pitch which they used in their buildings, and the stones are so well cut that there is no sign of cement or joinings. In all Spain I have seen nothing that can compare with these walls and the laying of the stones except the tower known as the *Calahorra*, the bridge of *Córdoba*, and a building I saw in *Toledo* when I went to present the

⁴ Martín Bueno, Francisco de Zárate, and Pedro de Moguer were sent in March, 1533, by Francisco Pizarro from Cajamarca to hurry up the flow of gold from Cuzco, but they, carried as gods in golden litters, behaved in so forward a manner that the Inca officials loaded them with gold and returned them to Cajamarca. They were perhaps the only Christians to see Cuzco before its fall. Hernando de Soto—the same De Soto who met with death and glory on the Mississippi River—was sent with one Pedro del Barco to Cuzco, although this is disputed by one of Peru's foremost scholars (see Raúl Porras Barrenechea, *Las Primeras Crónicas de la Conquista del Perú*). The whole episode is related by Garcilaso de la Vega in *Comentarios Reales de los Incas* (Part II), I, chap. 31.

First Part of my Chronicle to the Prince, Don Philip,⁵ which is the hospital built at the orders of the Archbishop of Toledo, Tavera. Although these buildings somewhat resemble those I have mentioned, they are finer, that is to say, as regards the walls and the cutting and laying of the stones, and the fence was plumb and very well laid. The stone seems to me blackish and rough and of excellent quality. It had many gates, and the gateways finely carved; halfway up the wall ran a stripe of gold two handspans wide and four fingers thick. The gateway and doors were covered with sheets of this metal. Inside there were four buildings, not very large, fashioned in the same way, and the walls inside and out were covered with gold, and the beams, too, and the roof was of thatch. There were two benches against that wall, which the rising sun fell upon, and the stones were very skillfully perforated, and the openings set with precious stones and emeralds. These benches were for the Lord-Incas, and if anyone else sat there, he was sentenced to death.

There were guards at the doors of these houses whose duty it was to watch over the virgins, many of whom were daughters of the leading nobles, the most beautiful and comely that could be found. They remained in the temples until they were old, and if any of them knew a man, she was killed or buried alive, and he suffered the same fate. These women were called *mamaconas*,⁶ they did nothing but weave and dye woolen garments for the service of the temple and make chicha, which is the wine they drink, of which they always had great vessels.

In one of these houses, which was the richest, there was an image of the sun, of great size, made of gold, beautifully wrought and set with many precious stones. It [this house] also held some of the statues of the Incas who had reigned in Cuzco, with a vast store of treasure.

Around this temple there were many small dwellings of Indians

⁵ Apparently Pedro de Cieza de León was brought to Philip, prince of Spain (1527-98), just before his ascension to the throne. This was in the last months of 1552. Cieza's *Primera Crónica del Perú* (First Chronicle) is dedicated to the Prince, who became Philip II, king of Spain, Sicily, and Naples.

⁶ They were chosen as young girls, for their beauty and perfection, and sent to the houses of the Chosen Women, where, under the guidance of the *mamaconas* ("mothers"), they learned fine weaving, cooking, and attendance on the sun temples. Some of the *mamaconas* were sworn to perpetual chastity and served the "Sun"; others prepared food and drink for the Inca; some became his concubines. The Chosen Women were selected at the age of ten; they were considered fortunate.

who were assigned to its service, and there was a fence inside which they put the white lambs and the children and men to be sacrificed. There was a garden in which the earth was lumps of fine gold, and it was cunningly planted with stalks of corn that were of gold—stalk, leaves, and ears. These were so well planted that no matter how hard the wind blew it could not uproot them. Aside from this, there were more than twenty sheep of gold with their lambs, and the shepherds who guarded them, with their slings and staffs, all of this metal. There were many tubs of gold and silver and emeralds, and goblets, pots, and every kind of vessel all of fine gold. On the other walls there were carved and painted other still greater things. In a word, it was one of the richest temples in the whole world.

The high priest, called Vilaoma [Villac-umu],⁷ dwelt in the temple, and aided by the priests, performed the ordinary sacrifices with great ceremony, in keeping with their custom. The general feasts were attended by the Inca to witness the sacrifices, and these were carried out with great celebration. Within the house and temple there were more than thirty bins [made] of silver in which they stored the corn, and the contributions of many provinces were assigned to this temple. On certain days the devil appeared to the priests, and made them vain answers of the sort that he gave.

Many other things could be told of this temple which I omit because it seems to me that what has been said suffices for an understanding of what a great thing it was. For I make no mention of the silverwork, beads, golden feathers, and other things which, if I were to describe them, would not be believed. And, as I have said, there are Spaniards still alive who saw most of this, which was taken to Cajamarca for the ransom of Atahualpa, but the Indians hid much, and it is buried and lost. Although all the Incas had contributed to the aggrandizement of this temple, in the days of Pachacuti he so enhanced it that when he died and Topa Inca, his son, ruled the kingdom, it was in this state of perfection.

Most of the city was settled by *mitimaes*, and the great laws and statutes had been enacted, after the Inca custom, which were obeyed by all, both as refers to their vain observances and temples as well as their government. It was the richest city in all the Indies, as far as we can gather, for the treasures assembled for the glory of the Incas

⁷ See note 2, Chapter 57 below.

had been collected there for many years, and none of the gold and silver brought into it could be removed, under penalty of death. Sons of all the provincial chieftains came to live at this court with their pomp and service. There were numbers of silversmiths and goldsmiths who worked for the Incas. In the main temple there lived a high priest called Vilaoma. Today there are very good, turreted houses, covered with tiles. Although this city is cold, it is very healthy, and the best provisioned in the whole kingdom, and the largest, where the most Spaniards hold an encomienda of Indians. It was founded and settled by Manco Capac, the first of the Inca lords. And after ten Incas had succeeded him in the rule,⁸ it was rebuilt and refounded by Francisco Pizarro, governor and captain-general of these kingdoms, in the name of the Emperor Charles V . . . in the month of October of 1534.

As this was the main and most important city of this kingdom, at certain times of the year the Indians of the provinces came there, some to construct buildings, others to clean the streets and districts, and [to do] anything else they were ordered. Near to it, on either hand, there are many buildings which were lodgings and storehouses, all of the design and structure of the others throughout the kingdom, although some are larger, some smaller, some stouter, than others.

As these Incas were so rich and powerful, some of these buildings were gilded, and others were adorned with plates of gold. Their forebears considered a hill near this city, which they called Huana-cauri, sacred, and there, it is said, they made sacrifice of human blood and of many llamas. And as this city was full of strange and foreign peoples, for there were Indians from Chile, Pasto, and Cañari, Chachapoyas, Huancas, Collas, and all the other tribes to be found in the provinces we have described, each of them was established in the place and district set aside for them by the governors of the city. They observed the customs of their own people and dressed after the fashion of their own land, so that if there were a hundred thousand men, they could be easily recognized by the insignia they wore about their heads. Some of these outlanders buried their dead on high hills, others in their houses, and others in their fields, with living women

⁸ According to modern researchers, there were thirteen historical Incas, ending with Atahualpa (who was never actually "crowned" as Inca, but served as such). (See Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest," *Handbook*, II, 202-203.)

and the things they had prized most, as has been told before, and much food. And the Incas (as I can gather) did not prohibit any of these things, provided they all worshiped the sun, which they called Mocha, and did it homage. In many parts of this city there are large buildings under the ground, and in the bowels of it even today paving stones and pipes are found, and an occasional jewel and piece of gold of that which they buried. Without doubt there must be great treasures buried in the area of this city, of which those now living have no knowledge. As so many people lived there, and the devil held such sway over them, with the permission of God, that there were many wizards, augurs, and idolators. Nor is the city wholly free of such relics, especially as refers to witchcraft. Near this city there are many temperate valleys where there are orchards and gardens, both of which flourish, and much of the produce is brought to the city to be sold. Abundant wheat is now harvested, from which bread is made. In these places to which I refer many oranges and other fruit trees of Spain are raised, as well as the native ones. In the river which runs through the city there are mills, and four leagues away one can see the quarries from which they dug the stone for their buildings, an impressive sight. Aside from the foregoing, many fowl and capons are raised in Cuzco, as good and fat as those of Granada, and in the plains and valleys there are herds of cows and goats and other livestock, both that of Spain and the native. Although there are no orchards in this city, the vegetables of Spain do very well.

CHAPTER 45 (ii: XXVIII)

Which deals with the other temples which, aside from this, were considered the most important, and their names.

MANY WERE THE temples in this kingdom of Peru, and some of them were held to be very old, for they had been founded before, long before, the Incas reigned, both in the uplands of the mountains and in the . . . plains. During the reign of the Incas many others were built where they performed their sacrifices and observed their feasts. Inasmuch as to list one by one the temples to be found in each prov-

these two fortresses there, which were found already built at so little cost. And with this, I shall return to my subject.

156

CHAPTER 47 (ii: XIV)

*Of the great wealth the Incas possessed and held,
and how sons of the nobles were always ordered to
be at their court.*

IN VIEW of the great wealth we have seen in these regions, we can well believe that what the Incas were said to possess is true. I am of the opinion, as I have said many times, that there is no kingdom in the world so rich in precious ores, for every day great lodes are discovered, both of gold and of silver. And as gold is washed from the rivers in many of the provinces, and silver is found in the mountains, and it all went to a single Inca, he could hold and possess so much wealth. It amazed me that the whole city of Cuzco and its temples were not of solid gold. For what impoverishes princes and keeps them stripped of money is war, as we have a patent example in what the Emperor [Charles V] has expended for this purpose from the year he was crowned until now.¹ Possessing more silver and gold than any king of Spain from Don Rodrigo to himself, none of them was as hard up as His Majesty, and if he had no wars and remained in Spain, with the nation's revenues and what has come from the Indies, all Spain could be as full of treasure as was Peru in the days of its Incas.

I make this comparison to point out that had all the Incas spent only on their own adornment and for the beautifying of the temples and the service of their palaces and lodgings, for the provinces provided all the men, arms, and supplies needed for war, and if they paid any of the *mitimaes* in gold for their services in some war they considered difficult, it was little and could be taken from the mines in a

¹ Charles V (Charles I to the Spaniards) was the son of Queen Juana the Mad and Archduke Philip the Fair. Born in 1500, his consuming interest was to become Holy Roman Emperor. His wars with France, within Italy, and in the Lowlands kept the imperial treasury constantly strained. His struggles with Turks and the Barbaresques evaporated the whole of his golden patrimony from the American conquests, and he was forced to borrow money from the German bankers, the Fuggers and Welsers.

single day. As they esteemed silver and gold so highly, they ordered it mined in many parts of the provinces in great quantity, in the way and manner I shall describe.

Accumulating such a fortune, and with the heir being obliged to leave the possessions of his predecessor untouched, that is to say, his house, his household, and his statue, the treasure piled up over many years, so that all the service of the king's house, even water jars and kitchen utensils, was of gold and silver; and not only in a single place, but in many, especially the capitals of the provinces, where there were many gold and silversmiths engaged in the manufacture of these objects. In their palaces and lodgings there were bars of these metals, and their garments were covered with ornaments of silver, and emeralds and turquoise, and other precious stones of great value. And for their wives there was even greater luxury in their adornment and for their personal service, and their litters were all encrusted with silver and gold and jewels. Aside from this, they had a vast quantity of ingots of gold, and unwrought silver, and tiny beads, and many other and large vessels for their drinking feasts, and for their sacrifices still more of these treasures. And as they observed and held to that custom of burying treasure with the dead, it is easy to believe that in the obsequies and burials of these Incas incredible quantities of it were placed in the graves. Even their drums and chairs² and musical instruments and arms were of this metal. And to glorify their state, as though all this I have described were not enough, it was a law that none of the gold or silver brought into Cuzco could be removed, under penalty of death, which was immediately carried out against any who contravened it. With this law, and so much coming in and none going out, there was such an amount that if, when the Spaniards entered, they had behaved differently and had not so quickly displayed their cruelty by putting Atahualpa to death, I do not know how many ships would have been needed to carry to Spain the vast treasures lost in the bowels of the earth, where they will remain, for those who buried them are now dead.

As these Incas held themselves in such high esteem, they ordered that all year long sons of the lords of all the provinces of the kingdom should reside in their court to learn the manners of it and see its

² This was the golden stool (*osñio*); only the Inca and his governing blood-relatives were permitted it.

157

THE INCAS

158 majesty, and understand how the Inca should be served and obeyed when they came into the rule of their fiefdoms. When those of certain provinces departed, their place was taken by those from others. As a result of this system, the court was always very splendid and full, for, aside from these, the Inca was always surrounded by many nobles of the *Orejones* and elder men of wisdom [*amauta-cuna*] with whom he consulted what should be planned and ordered.

CHAPTER 48 (ii: XVII)

Which deals with the manner in which the Incas carried out their conquests, and how in many places they made arid lands fertile, and the way in which they accomplished this.

ONE OF the things most to be envied these rulers is how well they knew to conquer such vast lands and, with their forethought, bring them to the flourishing state in which the Spaniards found them when they discovered this new kingdom. Proof of this is the many times I recall hearing these same Spaniards say, when we were in some indomitable region outside these kingdoms, "Take my word for it, if the Incas had been here it would have been a different story." In a word, the Incas did not make their conquests any way just for the sake of being served and collecting tribute. In this respect they were far ahead of us, for with the order they introduced the people thrived and multiplied, and arid regions were made fertile and bountiful, in the ways and goodly manner that will be told.

They always tried to do things by fair means and not by foul at the beginning; afterward, certain of the Incas meted out severe punishments in many places, but they all tell that they first used great benevolence and friendliness to win these people over to their service. They set out from Cuzco with their men and weapons, and traveled in careful manner until they were close to the place they were going and planned to conquer. There they carefully sized up the situation to learn the strength of the enemy, the support they might have, and from what direction help might come, and by what road. When they

How the Incas Made Their Conquests

had so informed themselves, they tried in every possible way to prevent them from receiving succor, either by rich gifts or by blocking the way. Aside from this, they built fortifications on hills or slopes with high, long stockades, each with its own gate, so that if one were lost, they could retire to the next, and so on to the topmost. And they sent out scouts of their confederates to spy out the land and learn the paths and find out whether they were waiting for them, and where the most food was. And when they knew the route by which the enemy was approaching and the force in which they were coming, they sent ahead messengers to say that the Inca wanted them to be his kin and allies, and, therefore, to come out to welcome him and receive him in their province with good cheer and light heart, and swear him fealty as the others had done. And so they would do this willingly, he sent gifts to the native rulers.

159 In this way, and with other good methods they employed, they entered many lands without war, and the soldiers who accompanied the Inca were ordered to do no damage or harm, or robbery or violence. If there was a shortage of food in the province, he ordered supplies brought in from other regions so that those newly won to his service would not find his rule and acquaintance irksome, and that knowing and hating him would be one. If in any of these provinces there were no flocks, he instantly ordered that they be given thousands of head, ordering that they tend them well so that they would multiply and supply them with wool for their clothing, and not to venture to kill or eat any of the young during the years and time he fixed. And if there were flocks, but they lacked some other thing, he did the same. If they were living in hills and wooded places, he made them understand with courteous words that they should build their villages and houses in the level parts of the sierras and hillsides; and as many of them were not skilled in the cultivation of the land, he had them taught how they should do it, urging them to build irrigation canals and water their fields from them.

They knew how to provide for everything so well that when one of the Incas entered a province in friendship, in a little while it seemed a different place and the natives obeyed him, agreeing that his representatives should dwell there, and also the *mitimaes*. In many others, where they entered by war and force of arms, they ordered that the crops and houses of the enemy be spared, the Inca saying, "These

256 large amounts of gold have been washed, and this happened when I was in Cuzco. In Pomatambo and in other parts of this kingdom fine tapestry is woven, for the wool of which it is made is of such excellent quality and the colors so good that it excels that of all the other kingdoms. There are many rivers in this province of Cuntisuyu; some of them are spanned by bridges of twisted withes, like those I have described. There are also many of the native fruits and many orchards. And deer and partridge, and good falcons to hunt them.

CHAPTER 86 (xcv)

Of the mountains of the Andes and their great forests, and the huge serpents to be found there, and the bad habits of the Indians who live in the remote regions of the mountains.

THIS CHAIN of mountains known as the Andes is believed to be one of the largest in the world. They run from the Strait of Magellan, as is borne out by those who have seen them, all through this kingdom of Peru, and cross more lands and provinces than can be enumerated. They are full of high peaks, some of them covered with snow, and some of them volcanoes. These sierras and mountains are very difficult of access because they are so densely wooded and because it rains there most of the time. The earth is so shaded that one must proceed with great care, for the roots of the trees jut out of the ground all along the mountainsides, and the hardest work is to clear a path for the horses.

It is told by the *Orejones* of Cuzco that Topa Inca crossed these mountains with a great army, and many of the peoples living there were hard to conquer and bring under his rule. On the flanks that slope toward the Southern Sea, the natives were of good intelligence, and they all went clothed, and were ruled by the laws and customs of the Incas. But of those on the side that slopes toward the other sea, to the east, it is a known fact that they are of less intelligence and understanding. They raise much coca, a plant highly prized by the Indians, as I shall relate in the next chapter.

As these mountains are so vast, it can well be believed, as they tell, that there are many animals to be found there, such as bears, jaguars, pumas, tapirs, wild pigs, and lynx, and many other kinds. Some of the Spaniards have seen serpents the size of logs, and they say of them that, despite their size and ferocious appearance, even if one sits on them they do no harm, nor do they attack anyone. In Cuzco, when I was talking about these serpents with the Indians, they told me something I shall set down here, because they assured me that it was indeed true. This was that in the time of the Inca Pachacuti, the son of Viracocha Inca, certain captains set out at his orders with a large army to visit these Andes and bring such of the Indians as they could under the rule of the Incas. And when they were deep in the mountains, these serpents killed most of the troops that had set out with the aforementioned captains, and the Inca took this great loss very much to heart. When it became known, an old witch told him to let her go to the Andes, and she would cast such a spell on the serpents that they would never again do harm. She received permission, and went to where the disaster had occurred; there, working her spells and saying certain words, she changed them from the fierce wild creatures they were to the harmless, inoffensive things they now are. This may be one of their fictions or fables; but the fact remains that these snakes, for all they are so large, do no harm.

These Andes, where the Incas had lodgings and palaces, were, in parts, thickly settled. The land is very fertile, and corn and yuca do well there, and other tubers they plant. There are many and delicious fruits, and most of the Spaniards living in Cuzco have already set out oranges, limes, figs, grapes, and other plants of Spain, aside from which there are large banana groves and delicious, fragrant pineapples. Deep in these mountains and forests they say there are people so uncivilized that they have neither houses nor clothing, but live like animals, killing birds and beasts with arrows for food, and recognize no lords or leaders, but live in groups in caves or hollow trees, some in one place, some in another. They also say that in most of these places (although I have not seen them) there are large monkeys that live in the trees, and that, at the instigation of the devil, who is always seeking ways to make men commit more and greater sins, these people cohabit with them; and they say that some of them bring forth monsters whose heads and private parts are like those of

men, and the hands and feet like those of monkeys. They are, it is said, small of size and monstrously shaped, and covered with hair. In a word, they would seem to resemble (if it is true that they exist) their father, the devil. They even say that they cannot talk, but utter only squeals or frightening howls. I do not affirm this, but at the same time I know that many men of understanding and reason, who know that there is God, heaven, and hell, have left their wives and befouled themselves with mules, bitches, mares, and other animals, which it grieves me to state, so this [what they say of these animals] may be true.

When I was on my way to Charcas in the year 1549 to visit the provinces of that land, carrying with me letters from President La Gasca for all the mayors asking them to assist me in learning and finding out the most important things of these provinces, we tented one night—a hidalgo of Málaga, one López de Moncibay,¹ and I—and a Spaniard who was there told us that he had seen one of these monsters dead in the woods, and it was of the shape and appearance that was told. And Juan de Varagas,² a resident of the city of La Paz [Chuquiabo], told me that in Huánuco the Indians had heard the howls of these devils or monkeys. So there is knowledge that this sin has been committed by these benighted creatures. I have also heard for a fact that Francisco de Almendras,³ who used to live in the city of [La] Plata [Chuquisaca], caught an Indian woman and a dog in this sin, and ordered the woman burned. And aside from this, I have heard from Lope de Mendieta⁴ and Juan Ortiz de Zárate⁵ and

¹ Inigo López de Moncibay was an *old* conquistador, one of the *regidores* of La Paz. He had first been a partisan of Gonzalo Pizarro, but seeing the direction of the political wind in 1547, he volunteered to deliver letters to Pedro de la Gasca, then encamped at Jauja. He went over to the King's cause, as La Gasca taunted Gonzalo Pizarro: "... he volunteered to deliver the letters ... in order to escape your power." (La Gasca Papers, Henry E. Huntington Library Collection.)

² Juan de Varagas (or Vargas), "a veteran conquistador in these parts" (Cieza), a native of La Huguera, Spain, was involved in most of the conflicts of the civil wars. He was famed for having captured Illa Tupac, one of Manco Inca's captains, near the redoubt of Vilcabamba in 1544.

³ Francisco de Almendras, a violent and active partisan of the Pizarros, was at the capture of Atahualpa, and on the eighteenth of June, 1533, received his share of the loot: 181 marcos of silver (*marco*=mark, one-half pound, valued at that time at 101,615 pesos) and 4,440 pesos of gold. He settled in Charcas, became *regidor* of Chuquisaca (afterwards Villa de la Plata and now Sucre, in Bolivia), executed enemies of Gonzalo Pizarro, and in turn was murdered—despite his plea that he be spared because of his large family—on June 16, 1545.

⁴ Lope de Mendieta in Pedro de Cieza's time was one of the magistrates of Villa de

other residents of the city of La Plata that they heard from their Indians of a woman in the province of Aulaga [Lake Poopó] who gave birth to three or four monsters sired by a dog, which lived only a few days. May it please Our Lord God, though our transgressions are so many and so great, not to permit such horrendous and abominable sins.

CHAPTER 87 (xcvi)

How throughout most of the Indies the natives were given to the habit of chewing plants or roots, and of the highly prized plant, coca, which is raised in many parts of this kingdom.

EVERYWHERE that I have traveled in the Indies I have noticed that the natives find great pleasure in keeping roots, twigs, or plants in their mouth. In the vicinity of the city of Antiocha [Antioquia in Colombia] some of them chewed small coca leaves, and in the province of Arma, other plants, and in Quimbaya and Ancerma they cut slivers from a kind of small tree that is soft-wooded and always green, and keep them between their teeth all the time. In most of the tribes under the jurisdiction of the cities of Cali and Popayán they keep leaves of the small coca I have spoken of in their mouth, and dip out of little gourds they carry a mixture they prepare, which they put in their mouths and chew it all together, and do the same with a kind of earth that is like lime. All through Peru it was and is the custom to have this coca in the mouth, and they keep it there from morning until they go to sleep, without removing it. When I asked some of the Indians why they always had their mouths full of this plant (which they do not eat, but only keep between their teeth), they said that with it they do not feel hunger, and it gives them great

la Plata. He was a nephew of Diego de Zárate of the Board of Trade in Seville, fought at the battle of Chupas (1544) with the rank of captain, and later became magistrate of La Plata.

⁵ Juan Ortiz de Zárate was the son of the Oidor (Judge) Zárate who came out from Spain to order the affairs of Peru. He took part in the murder-execution of Francisco de Almendras and later was a member of the City Council of La Plata.