

BALTASAR DE OCAMPO

An Account of the Province of Vilcapampa
and a Narrative of the Execution of the
Inca Tupac Amaru (1610)

translated by

Sir Clements Markham, K.C.B. (1907)

In parentheses Publications
Peruvian Series
Cambridge, Ontario 1999

To the most excellent Lord Don Juan de Mendoza y Luna, Marquis of Montes Claros,¹ lieutenant of the King our Lord, Viceroy, Governor, and Captain-General in these kingdoms and provinces of Peru and Chile, the Captain Baltasar de Ocampo, his servant, desires eternal felicity.

My age and white locks do not require that I should now treat of long past histories of bloodshed, but rather that I should seek for pleasant rest whereby I might finish my worn out life. In the service of the royal person of Philip II, our Lord and natural King, the true original transmitted to the third of that name, I have served in this country for more than 44 years, on all the occasions that the times and events have offered, seeking generally to be among the first to serve my King and Lord as a loyal vassal with my proper person, arms, horses and servants at my own cost, nor have I been rewarded or remunerated for such services. Although it is more than two years since I came to this coast to give an account to your Excellency of my condition and to make known my great necessities owing to having disposed of my property by employing it in the way that I have said, I have before and do now present to your Excellency's person my memorials and proofs. Finding myself broken and altogether ruined, without any hope or remedy whatever, I ventured to kiss your Excellency's hand, and verbally to give you an account of the city and province of San Francisco of the Victory of Vilcapampa, its origin and beginning, with information respecting it, as well as a rough estimate of the time occupied in its discovery. Your Excellency, having derived some pleasure from my narration, ordered me to put it in writing. Thinking that in doing so I should perform an agreeable service to your Excellency, I endeavoured that the memoir should consist of a narration of the memorable occurrences of those golden times, striving in all things to offer the truest history of the events that I am able to remember. For it is just that a Prince (such as your Excellency) should receive a frank account without any concealment whatever. May your Excellency receive it as a benign, amiable and most

Christian Prince, from your servant who, in all things, desires to serve and please you. And I pray that your Excellency will not dwell upon the rustic style and language, but on the sincere, frank, and pure intention which animates me. So when I should suffer from hunger (more than I suffer at present) and, seeking help for God's sake, if I receive no other reward than kind words and acceptance, I shall remain well paid, and shall understand that I deserve nothing from God, from his Majesty, from his Excellency, nor from other men. This being granted, may your Excellency be served by passing your eyes over this writing and description of that land, that by chance it may have a pleasant sound in the ear of your Excellency whom may the Almighty Majesty of God preserve for many prosperous years, with the highest felicity of greater estates and lordships as your Excellency merits, and this your servant desires for you. Most excellent Lord

the servant of your Excellency
who kisses your feet and hands
Baltasar de Ocampo Conejeros.

Description of the province of San Francisco of the victory of Vilcapampa. How intelligence was obtained of it, of its discovery, of the defeat of the Inca Tupac Amaru, of his death, and other mournful events.

May it please you, most excellent Prince, to give a favourable inclination, as of a pleasant taste on the palate, to my earnest desire to please you in relating this true history. If in anything I am faulty in what I say, it will not be from a want of desire to give complete satisfaction, but by reason of my limited understanding, being unable to reach a higher standard, as in my letter I have represented to your Excellency. And so I begin.

The Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo being in the city of Cuzco, in the beginning of the year 1571, Don Carlos Inca, a resident in that city, legitimate son of Don Cristóval Paullu Cusi Tupac Inca and of Doña Catalina Usica Coya his wife, was leading a marital life, as he always did, with Doña Maria de Esquivel his legitimate wife, native of Truxillo of Estremadura, in the kingdom of Spain. She having conceived, and the time having been completed brought forth a son in the fortress of the city of Cuzco.²

This caused great pleasure and rejoicing in the city, because Carlos Inca and his wife had been married for many years, and had never before had a child, the blessed fruit of their marriage. For the baptism of the infant its parents sought in the city for a godfather of sufficient rank, the Inca Don Carlos being grandson of Huayna Ccapac, the universal sovereign of these lands, in his time. They requested and besought the Lord Viceroy, Don Francisco de Toledo, that he would do them a signal favour by honouring them with his Excellency's presence and authority, in taking their son to the baptismal font, and being his godfather and their gossip.³ They also requested that he would think it well that Doctor Friar Pedro Ordoñez y Flores, his chaplain and confessor of the order of Alcantara (brother of Don Pedro Ordoñez y Flores, formerly Apostolic Inquisitor of these kingdoms and now Archbishop of the new kingdom of Granada) should perform the baptismal service in the parish church of San Cristóval of the Colcampata, which is adjoining to the said fortress

The said Lord Viceroy consented, with pleasure, to be godfather to the child, and gossip to its parents. On the day of the baptism, which was

Epiphany Sunday, the 6th January of the said year 1571, when the child received the name of Melchior, there were festivals, rejoicings, fireworks, dances, and many newly invented and costly conceits, which they well knew how to get up very admirably at Cuzco in those days.⁴

Invitations were sent out over all the land for more than forty leagues round Cuzco, and there assembled for the occasion all the Incas of the following parishes:

ACCHA (Paruro province)
ANTA (cap. Anta province)
ANTAHUAYLLAS, (La Chica)
ARAYPALPA (Paruro province)
ATARAS
CHINCHERO (near Cuzco)
COLCHA (Paruro province)
CONCACALLA
CUCHARAYPAMPA
EQUEQUO
CUZCO
HUANUQUITI
HUAYHUACUNCA
MARCO
PACCARI-TAMPU (Quispicancha province)
PACOPATA
PALPA
PAMPACUCHU
PARCOS
PARURO (cap. Paruro province)
PILPINTO
PISAC (Calca province)
POCORAY
PUQUIURA
QUIQUISANA (Quispicancha province)
RIMAC-TAMPU (Anta province)
SAN SALVADOR
SAN SEBASTIAN (CUZCO cercado)

SAN GERONIMO DE CORAMA
SURITE (Anta province)
URCOS (Quispicancha province)
URUPAMPA (cap. of Urubamba province)
XAQUIXAHUANA
YAURISCA (Paruro province)
YUCAY (Urubamba province)

All these are places where Incas reside. Canas, Canchis, and Collas were also invited, and men of all other nations that could be got together. Among the rest there came to the christening Titu Cusi Yupanqui Inca and his young brother Tupac Amaru Inca, who came from the province of Vilcapampa. They were infidel idolaters who worshipped the Sun, believing that he was the maker of all things, and they had an image of gold and a sanctuary. When these two last Incas saw the grandeur, majesty, and sumptuousness of the Christians, and that divine service was celebrated with such authority, and beheld the congregations of Christians assembled for public worship; as men of good understanding they were deeply impressed, and easily deduced the sanctity and excellence of the Christian law.

Titu Cusi Yupanqui had the desire to enter the bosom of our holy mother church, and to be converted to our sacred catholic faith. The respect and reverence which the Lord Viceroy received from all his subjects appeared good to the Inca, who saw his person guarded by halberdiers. The Inca proposed in his heart to be a Christian, that he might realize his majesty and high rank, and feel that he was respected and esteemed in the land as its lord. As soon as the festivities, which lasted for many days in Cuzco, were concluded he retired to his native land of Vilcapampa with his brother Tupac Amaru Inca. Being a man full of ambition (a vice which is usually dominant in the characters of tyrants), he put his young brother into the House of the Sun with the chosen virgins and their matrons, a most ancient custom among all the rulers of these kingdoms before the arrival of the Spaniards. This younger brother was the natural and legitimate lord of these lands and grandson of Huayna Ccapac. But the elder brother, by his management and cunning, kept him secluded and imprisoned on the ground of his

want of experience, usurping the government for himself. This Titu Cusi Yupanqui then sent ambassadors to the Lord Viceroy in the city of Cuzco, saying that he was very desirous of becoming a Christian, owing to having seen the grandeur and majesty displayed by the Christians in matters connected with divine worship.

As he was the Lord Inca of that land, he requested his Excellency to have the kindness to send him ministers who would instruct him respecting the holy catholic church; as well as some persons who would teach and explain to him the rules of urbanity and courtesy that, after he had been instructed and trained, he might come to the city of Cuzco and offer obedience to his Majesty, and to his Excellency in his royal name.

Don Francisco de Toledo, full of joy and delight, called together the prelates of the monastic orders, with the members of the cathedral chapter and the magistracy of the city, and the words he spoke to them showed his pleasure. He gave them all to understand (like so prudent a Lord) the arrival of the new message which the Inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui had sent by his ambassadors, and that he would much like to send some religious priests to instruct the Inca, as well as some secular persons to accompany them, so that he might also be taught the customs of a court, and he trained in all things that were due to his position as the Inca. Each one of the prelates of the religious orders offered to appoint one or two monks from their convents.

Finally the persons chosen for this good work were the Father Friar Juano de Vivero,⁵ at that time Prior of the Convent of St Augustine, and Friar Diego Ortiz⁶ (whom they afterwards martyred). The Lord Viceroy sent, as his Ambassadors, a citizen of Cuzco named Atilano de Añaya, a grave gentleman with an affable address and versed in the language of the Indians; Diego Rodriguez de Figueroa as Chief Magistrate, conferring upon him the privilege of bearing that staff of office during his life; and Francisco de las Veredas, public notary, a very courteous and discreet cavalier; that they might minister to the said Titu Cusi Yupanqui, and instruct him. As mayor-domo and master of the household a *mestizo* native of Cuzco, named Pedro, Pando, was chosen, a great talker in their language. This was in the year 1571.

After the festivals on the occasion of the baptism of Don Melchior Carlos Inca, son of Don Carlos Inca and Doña Maria de Esquivel his wife

(whom God pardon), to whom his Majesty the King our Lord has shown great favours, including the habit of Santiago and 10,000 ducats of rent in Spain, the embassy set out. Don Francisco de Toledo sent with it many presents such as velvets, brocades, and linen for the adornment of the Inca's person and house; as well as provision of wines, raisins, figs and almonds, with other valuable things which were all joyfully received by Titu Cusi Yupanqui. He showed them to his principal courtiers as the gifts which the Lord Viceroy had sent by his ambassadors. He ordered all his vassals to show respect and hospitality to those who had brought the presents, as persons coming from so great a prince. The interpreter Pedro Pando explained to him that they should treat the Priests with honour, respect and veneration because they were ministers of another great Prince who was the Lord of Heaven. On earth they were Ministers of His Holiness the Roman Pontiff. He said that they had come, at the will of the Viceroy and in the service of God our Lord, to catechize, indoctrinate, baptize, say mass, and publicly preach the evangelical law; so as to bring them to our holy catholic faith. For, he told them, the Inca had hitherto been a slave of the devil, worshipping the Sun which was one of God's creatures, not a creator but created for the good of men. He gave them to understand that their religion was idolatry. Such were the hills, the *huacas*, and the *apachitas*,⁷ which are heaps of stones made by the Indians on certain great cliffs and rocks. They have a custom of throwing the *coca*, which they hold in such estimation, on these heaps, carrying it in their mouths solely with the object of offering it on the said *apachitas*. They say that they leave there all the fatigue of the road. Others leave their *usutos*, which in our language means shoes. He went on to say that the said Fathers, and the others who were in Christendom, were respected, revered, and esteemed, and held in great veneration by the Kings and great Lords, because they were ministers of God, and did not occupy themselves in anything but the sacred work of the King of Heaven, that they were people who were held in such estimation by all the princes and powers of the earth, that they went down on their knees in their presence, and kissed their hands. He added that they had such influence with God that they received him in their hands from heaven, when they put him on the altar. They are consecrated with holy oil, and are permitted to treat familiarly with the Lord of heaven and earth,

which the Emperor and all the other Monarchs in the world cannot do. They are blessed by all because they themselves bless the people and pardon by the authority of Almighty God, absolving and cleansing men from their sins and confessing them as the lieutenants of Jesus Christ, the Lord and Creator of all things in the universe.

As I have already said, this said province was discovered in the year 1571, through the same Titu Cusi Yupanqui having, God permitting, sent his ambassadors. He had seized and usurped the lordship of Tupac Amaru Inca, the natural and legitimate Lord of that land (he being a bastard) having no right. For the true Lord was the said Tupac Amaru Inca, his brother. Being a youth without experience his illegitimate brother oppressed him, and imprisoned him with the chosen virgins and their matrons in the House of the Sun, where he was when the Lord Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo sent his embassy. The ambassadors persuaded Titu Cusi Yupanqui, with loving words and rich presents, to leave that province of Vilcapampa and come to the city of Cuzco to offer obedience to his Majesty, and to his Excellency in the royal name, as the said Inca had proposed to do through his envoys. He determined to comply but, owing to a fit of obstinacy, he delayed his departure for some time, putting it off from one day to another. The Father Friar Juan de Vivero, seeing the perversity of the Inca, returned to Cuzco with Atilano de Añaya, Diego Rodriguez de Figueroa, Chief Magistrate, and Francisco de las Veredas. The Father Friar Diego Ortiz and Pedro Pando remained with the Inca.

The returning ambassadors reported what had taken place to his Excellency, who was piqued, as it appeared to him that the Inca was making fun of his person and authority. He ordered the Father Friar Juan de Vivero and Diego Rodriguez de Figueroa to go back with the wand of royal justice, that as chief magistrate he might overcome all difficulties, and bring the matter to a conclusion. He also sent Atilano de Añaya to administer the affairs connected with the Inca's property and person.

While these departures and returns were being arranged, Titu Cusi Yupanqui fell ill and was on the point of death. When the Indians saw his danger they said to the Father Friar Diego Ortiz that, as he was the Minister of God, he must ask Him to cure the said Inca of that infirmity. He replied that he would do so every day, and that if it was His pleasure

God would restore him to health, and if not all would be in conformity with His will. For His Majesty knew what was best for the salvation of souls. For the Inca, at his own request, had been baptized by the Father Friar Juan de Vivero in the said province of Vilcapampa, receiving the name of Don Felipe Titu Cusi Yupanqui. As a baptized Christian the Fathers said a mass everyday. The chapel in which they performed these services was near my house and on my own land in the place called Puquiura, near the metal works of Don Cristóval de Albornoz, formerly Precentor of the cathedral of Cuzco.

Affairs being in this state, the Inca died. When his chief people and captains saw that the Inca Don Felipe Titu Cusi Yupanqui was dead, and that the prayers and sacrifices of the said Father Friar Diego Ortiz were of no avail, an Indian named Quispi, who is still living, came to the said Friar, and asked him why his God had not cured the Inca if he was so powerful? and, without giving the Father time to answer, the Indian struck him. Our Lord permitted that his hand and his arm up to the shoulder should wither. It is dried up to this day, and the Indian knew his sin. The Friar went down on his knees, and turned the other cheek to the smiter. He received another blow and they tied his hands behind his back and dragged him along. They opened a place under the beard with a kind of knife which they call *tumi*, and fastened a rope in his mouth by which they dragged him, making him suffer an unheard of martyrdom. The blessed Father took it smiling, with his eyes raised to heaven. His age was 33, a man of holy life and fame, for he had performed many and great miracles in that province, as well on women as on children and other persons. His body remained fragrant, being placed in a box of cedar, lined with crimson satin, in the tabernacle of the convent of St Augustine, in the city of Cuzco, on the gospel side of the principal chapel of the transept. On the same day they killed the interpreter Pedro Pando with unheard of cruelties, like barbarous people without laws or beliefs.

After they had performed certain ceremonies which the Incas had established on the occasions of the interment of the Lords of that land, which they called *Purucaya*⁸ in their language, meaning the honours only shown to the Incas, they brought out the insignia of their Sovereigns. These were:

TUMI – The battle axe
CHUQUI – The lance
CHIPANA – Bracelet
LLAUTU – The fringe
YACOLLA – Robe
ACHIHUA – The parasol of various colours wonderfully worked
HUALLCANCA – The shield
USUTA – The shoes
DUHO⁹ – The throne
MASCAPAYCHU – The crown
HUANTUY – The litter.

Carrying each of the insignia in the hands of the greatest lords in deep mourning, with muffled drums, and sounds of grief, they proceeded to the House of the Sun, where was the Inca Tupac Amaru, the true and legitimate Lord, brother of the now deceased Titu Cusi Yupanqui. Tupac Amaru was with the *Acllus* or selected women. These *Acllus* were women chosen for the service of the Sun, under the *Mama-cunas*, who were matrons to keep guard over them, for they were very beautiful.

The said Inca Tupac Amaru was there in the fortress of Pitcos, which is on a very high mountain whence the view commanded a great part of the province of Vilcapampa. Here there was an extensive level space, with very sumptuous and majestic buildings, erected with great skill and art, all the lintels of the doors, as well the principal as the ordinary ones, being of marble, elaborately carved.

They took the Inca Tupac Amaru out of this place, and did him homage as their natural Lord, telling what had happened with respect to the Father Friar Diego Ortiz and Pedro Pando. I am unable to tell your Excellency what then happened. When tidings came that people were coming from Cuzco to act as spies,¹⁰ seven captains went out along the road to that city. One was named Puri Paucar. With him there was a native of the valley of Xauxa, a Huanca Indian of a very warlike tribe. I do not remember the names of the other five captains. They guarded the bridge of Chuqui-chaca, over the Vilcamayu river, which is the key to the province of Vilcapampa.

The Ambassador Atilano de Añaya, with the Friar Juan de Vivero and Diego Rodriguez de Figueroa, was coming a second time to the province of Vilcapampa, with an embassy to Titu Cusi Yupanqui, who was dead. Friar Juan de Vivero and Diego Rodriguez de Figueroa, being in the town of Ollantay-tampu, which is on the road to the bridge, received certain tidings of what had happened there, which caused them not to wish to enter with the Ambassador, and they required further news before they went on. But Atilano de Añaya, being a sober-minded man, affable in his intercourse with the Indians, did not desist from continuing the prosecution of the duty assigned to him by the Viceroy. He proceeded to the bridge of Chuqui-chaca: he intended to pass the night there, as there was a house for him to lodge in, and pasture for his horses. After he had put in order all that he brought as presents and provisions for the Inca, he saw the Peruvian captains approaching with hostile determination and ready for war. Before they could arrive an Indian came apparently to warn him of what had happened. Not trusting them, he ordered a negro servant to saddle a good mule, gave him a token of gold, with orders to return quickly to the city of Cuzco and deliver it to Doña Juana Machuca, his wife, as a sign that she would never see him again, because this was the warning he had from the Indian who had disappeared, by which he knew that it was an angel sent from heaven. The negro went.

The captains came to where the Ambassador was, who gave them to eat and drink, receiving them with much kindness, and giving them presents. After they had received this hospitality they killed him as a return for it. He thought it better to suffer death than to fail in the execution of the orders he had received from his prince. For he could have escaped with his negro, but he did not do so.

Three days afterwards the negro arrived with the sad news of the death of the Ambassador, and of what had happened to the blessed martyr Diego Ortiz and to Pedro Pando. When the Viceroy was informed, he called together the magistracy and municipality of the city of Cuzco, to assemble in the palace where he lodged. He announced the sad news that had arrived of the death of the priest and the others, declaring that he would despatch a warlike force to punish those who had taken part in the events described in my narrative.

After the consultation with the said officials he adopted the resolution to prepare an armed force with captains and officers. He nominated Martin Hurtado de Arbieto¹¹ as general, a citizen and magistrate. of the city, a leading knight and one of the conquerors. The Camp Master was Juan Alvarez Maldonado,¹² also a citizen of Cuzco and governor of the province of the Chunchos. As Coadjutor of the council of war he named his nephew, Don Geronimo de Figueroa. The captains were Martin Garcia Oñez de Loyola,¹³ captain of the Viceroy's guard, and knight of the order of Calatrava; Captain Ordoño Ordoñez of Valencia, a citizen of Lima, who went as captain of artillery; the Captain Juan Ponce de Leon, a citizen of Huamanca and brother-in-law of the general, who was Provost Marshal; Captain Don Juan Palomino;¹⁴ Captain Don Gomez de Tordoya;¹⁵ Captain Don Antonio Pereyra; Captain Mancio Sierra de Leguisano;¹⁶ Captain Don Alonso de Mesa,¹⁷ Lord of the town of Piedra-buena; Captain Martin Dolmas, a Knight of Santiago; Captain Martin de Meneses, and Captain Julian de Umuran. The general and his captains, with their camp in order, marched from Cuzco down the valley by Yucay and Ollantay-tampu to the bridge of Chuqui-chaca and province of Vilcapampa. The Captain Gaspar de Sotelo, uncle of the President of Charcas Don Diego de Portugal, a very leading knight and native of Zamora, with Captain Nuño de Mendoza, a citizen of Cuzco, entered by way of Curahuasi and Huamancay,¹⁸ to stop the way if by chance the Inca should wish to fly by it to the province of Antahuaylla, where he might take shelter. Thence he might take refuge in the valley of Maya-marca, very near the province of the Pilcones,¹⁹ very warlike Indians inhabiting an extensive tract of country, which I shall mention presently.

The force which marched from Cuzco by way of the valley of Yucay, reached the Chuqui-chaca bridge. Here they found Tupac Amaru Inca prepared, having been taken out of the House of the Sun, with his camp formed. Our troops had an encounter with his people, though the river was between them. For with four shots from our small field guns, and the arquebuses of the soldiers, the Peruvians were routed, and were obliged to retreat to their camp. Our men then occupied the bridge, which was a measure of no small importance for the royal force. For the enemy did not remember to burn and destroy the said bridge. God

permitted this, because of the great trouble the Spaniards would have had in making one over the very full river. Leaving some of our men to guard it, and to forward supplies to the front, the rest of the force continued the pursuit, the Inca and his people being routed and in flight. The road was narrow in the ascent, with forest on the right, and on the left a ravine of great depth. Our troops could not advance in formation of squadrons, but only two and two.

The Captain Martin Garcia Oñez de Loyola, who was in the vanguard, was advancing alone like a good and well-armed captain, when an Inca captain, named Hualpa, came out of the forest without being seen by anyone, and tackled our captain with such an embrace that he could not get at his arms, the object being to hurl him down the ravine. He would have been dashed to pieces and hurled into the river, but an Indian servant of the captain, named Corillo, who is still alive, with property in the valley of Yucay, and who was then with him, drew Loyola's sword from the scabbard and, with much dexterity and animation, killed the Indian Hualpa, who was thus vanquished and failed in his evil intent. To this day the place where this happened is called "the leap of Loyola."

Continuing the pursuit the troops arrived at a place called Onccoy, where there are some wide and fertile open spaces. Here there were herds of cattle, and llamas with their lambs; at which the captains and soldiers were contented and delighted on finding supplies of meat for the camp. Continuing in pursuit of the enemy, many prisoners, both captains and common people were taken. Being pressed to say what road the Inca had taken, they replied that he had gone inland towards the valley of Simaponte; and that he was flying to the country of the Mañaries Indians, a warlike tribe and his friends, where balsas and canoes were posted to save him and enable him to escape.

Having received this information, the Spaniards held a council of war, at which Captain Martin Garcia Oñez de Loyola was appointed to continue the pursuit. He accepted and went on with 50 soldiers. Loyola overtook the fugitives, capturing the Inca and many other prisoners. None escaped, because detachments were stationed all round. Only two Spaniards were killed. One was called Ribadeneira, but there is no memory of the name of the other.

The Inca and the other Indians were collected and brought back to the valley of Hoyara. Here the Indians were settled in a large village, and a city of Spaniards was founded. It was called San Francisco of the Victory of Vilcapampa for two sacred and honest reasons. The first was because the victory was on the 4th of October, 1571, the day of San Francisco, the second being the name of the Viceroy to whom the victory was due. Great festivities were held in the city of Cuzco when the news of the victory arrived.

This city was founded on an extensive plain near a river, with an admirable climate. From the river channels of water were taken for the service of the city, the water being very good. Owing to the discovery of important silver mines in the hills of Huamani and Huamanape, the site of the city was moved nearer to the mines, to the Villa-rica de Argeta, which was founded by order of Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, and Viceroy of these kingdoms. By assent of the municipality formed in the said city of San Francisco of the Victory, four priests became members of it. One was Don Cristóval de Albornoz, Precentor of the cathedral of Cuzco. It was decided by the governor that the site of the said city should be moved to that of Villa-rica de Argeta, which was at the place called Onccoy, where the Spaniards who first discovered this land found the flocks and herds. In this municipality it was resolved to send a procurator-general to obtain permission and the good will of Don Luis de Velasco,²⁰ who was at that time Viceroy. For the negotiation there was sent as Procurator myself, Baltasar de Ocampo, and I came to the city and treated with the said Viceroy. The change of site appeared convenient for the service of God our Lord and of his Majesty, and for the increase of his royal fifths, as well as beneficial to the inhabitants of the said city. Having examined the capitulations and reasons, the said Don Luis de Velasco granted the licence to move the city to where it is now founded, ordering that it should have the title and name of the city of San Francisco of the Victory of Vilcapampa, which was its first name. By this change of site I, the said Baltasar de Ocampo, performed a great service to God our Lord and his Majesty. Through my care, industry and solitude a very good church was built, with its principal chapel and great doors. For previously there was only a small chapel in the city, with barely room for the citizens and miners, while the

Indian *mitayos* were exposed to sun or rain. The sacrament is now placed on the high altar, and on the occasion of this divine worship our Lord was served by ordaining that affairs should be in much prosperity for the common good, and that there should be a large increase of the royal fifths, as will presently be mentioned. For until our conquest all was idolatry and worship of the devil, at which the majesty of God was greatly offended. The martyr, Father Friar Diego Ortiz, had destroyed many sanctuaries from which devils were seen to come out, unable to resist the prayers, exhortations and exorcisms offered up by the said Father, and the fumigations with which he tormented and afflicted them.

After the General Martin Hurtado de Arbieta left off using cords, he began the foundation of the city and named citizens to receive *encomiendas*, among whom he divided more than 1500 Indians for personal service. Until he should make his report to Don Francisco de Toledo he placed things in martial order, leaving a garrison of more than 50 soldiers in that city. He then marched to Cuzco with the Inca Tupac Amaru and his captains, who were prisoners. On reaching the archway of Cuzco, which is the entrance to the city of Cuzco, he marshalled all his troops. The said governor Juan Alvarez Maldonado, as Master of the Camp, chained Tupac Inca Amaru and his captains together. The Inca was dressed in a mantle and doublet of crimson velvet. His shoes were made of wool of the country, of several colours. The crown or headdress, called *mascapaychu*, was on his head, with fringe over his forehead, this being the royal insignia of the Inca, in the same way as a crown is used by kings. So they proceeded in triumph over their victory straight to the palace where the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo then lived. It formed the houses of Don Tristan de Silva y Guzman and Juan de Pancorvo Celorigo, citizens of the city of Cuzco. They are the principal and best houses in the city, as Doctor Alonso Perez Marchan, President of Guadalajara, can inform your Excellency, for he lived in one of them.

In form of an ordered force, the General and his captains marched there in triumph, and presented their prisoners to the Viceroy. After his Excellency had felt the pleasure of conquest, he ordered that the Inca and his captains should be taken to the fortress which is in the parish of San Cristóval of the Colcampata, where the Viceroy's uncle, Don Luis de Toledo, was castellan. This fortress consisted of grand and majestic

houses belonging to Don Cristóval Paullu Inca, citizen of Cuzco, father of Don Carlos Inca, and grandfather of Don Melchior Carlos Inca, who was born there. Don Carlos Inca was despoiled of them in order that they might be converted into a royal fortress and barrack for the city guard. The pretext was that he had Titu Cusi Yupanqui and Tupac Amaru Inca, his first cousins, concealed in his house without reporting their presence, at the time of the baptism. These houses commanded a view of the whole city of Cuzco and its parishes, and of more than four leagues of the valley beyond, as far as the *tampu* of Quispicancha, on the road to Potosi.

This fortress was owned by his Majesty for many years, but after a lawsuit respecting the houses, brought by Don Melchior Carlos Inca against the crown, it was decreed that they should be restored to the said Don Melchior Carlos Inca,²¹ and they were restored.

To return to our history: at the end of some days after the triumph, having considered the evidence respecting the deaths of the Father Friar Diego Ortiz, of Pedro Pando, and of the ambassador Atilano de Añaya, the Doctor Gabriel de Loarte,²² Magistrate of this court, who was then Governor of the city of Cuzco, sentenced the homicidal captains to be hanged, and Tupac Amaru Inca to be beheaded.

The sentences were executed. The captains were led through the streets to the place of execution, while the town crier proclaimed their offences. Three died in the public streets, and two at the foot of the gallows, because they had been tortured in prison until they were dying. Notwithstanding their condition their bodies were taken to comply with the law, while two, namely Ccuri Paucar and the Huanca Indian were hanged when still alive.

At the end of two or three days, after being taught and catechized, Tupac Amaru was baptized. This was done by two monks of our Lady of Mercy. One was the first Creole who was born after the seige of Cuzco, named Friar Gabriel Alvarez de la Carrera, son of a soldier of the first conquest, and the other Friar Melchior Fernandez. They spoke the language so well that they excelled the Incas themselves, especially Friar Gabriel Alvarez de la Carrera. To this day no other has been found who could speak with such grace and eloquence. In short the Inca was converted, for the two religious were such great adepts in their office, that they fed the Inca, as it were, with a spoon.

The Inca was taken from the fortress, through the public streets of the city, with a guard of 400 Cañari Indians, having their lances in their hands. The Cañaris were great enemies of the Incas. He was accompanied by the two monks, one on either side, by Father Alonso de Barzana, of the Company of Jesus, and by Father Molina, preacher to the Indies and priest of the hospital of our Lady of the remedies. They went along teaching and saying things of much consolation to the soul, until they reached the scaffold, which was reared on high in the centre of the great square, fronting the cathedral. Here they got down, and the fathers remained with the Inca, comforting his soul with holy preparation.

The open spaces, roofs, and windows in the parishes of Carmenca and San Cristóval were so crowded with spectators that if an orange had been thrown down it could not have reached the ground anywhere, so closely were the people packed. The executioner, who was a Cañari Indian, having brought out the knife with which he was to behead Tupac Amaru, a marvellous thing happened. The whole crowd of natives raised such a cry of grief that it seemed as if the day of judgment had come, and all those of Spanish race did not fail to show their feelings by shedding tears of grief and pain.

When the Inca beheld the scene, he only raised his right hand on high and let it fall. With a lordly mind he alone remained calm, and all the noise was followed by a silence so profound that no living soul moved, either among those who were in the square or among those at a distance. The Inca then spoke with a self-possession unlike one about to die. He said that now his course was run, and that he merited that death. He besought and charged all present who had children, on no account to curse them for any bad conduct, but only to chastise them. For when he was a child, having angered his mother, she had put a malediction on him by saying that he would end by being put to death and would not die a natural death: and it had come true. The Fathers Carrera and Fernandez rebuked him, saying that his fate was the will of God and was not due to the curse of his mother. As these Fathers were, like St Paul, so eloquent in their preaching, they easily convinced him, and he repented of what he had said. He asked them all to forgive him, and that they would tell the Viceroy and the Magistrate that he would pray to God for them.

Things being in this state along the principal streets, the most reverend Friar Don Agustin de la Coruña,²³ Bishop of Popayan, who was one of the famous twelve Augustine Friars who were the first to enter Mexico preaching the gospel; Father Friar Gonzalo de Mendoza, Provincial of the order of our Lady of Mercy; Father Friar Francisco Corrol, Prior of St Augustin in this city; Father Friar Gabriel de Oviedo, Prior of San Domingo; Father Friar Francisco Velez, Guardian of San Francisco; Father Friar Geronimo de Villa Carrillo, Provincial of San Francisco; Father Friar Gonzalo Ballastero, Vicar Provincial of the Order of Mercy; and Father Luis Lopez, Rector of the Company of Jesus, all went to the Viceroy. They went down on their knees and besought him to show mercy and spare the life of the Inca. They urged that he should be sent to Spain to be judged by the King in person. But no prayers could prevail with the Viceroy.

Juan de Soto, chief officer of the court and a servant of his Excellency, was sent on horseback with a pole to clear the way, galloping furiously and riding down all kinds of people. He ordered the Inca's head to be cut off at once, in the name of the Viceroy. The Inca then received consolation from the Fathers who were at his side and, taking leave of all, he put his head on the block, like a lamb. The executioner then came forward and, taking the hair in his left hand, he severed the head with a knife at one blow, and held it on high for all to see. As the head was severed the bells of the cathedral began to ring, and were followed by those of all the monasteries and parish churches in the city. The execution caused the greatest sorrow and brought tears to all eyes.

They carried the body of Tupac Amaru to the house of Doña Maria Cusi Huarcay, the Inca's mother and aunt, for brother was married to sister in heathen times. Afterwards, by a bull of Pope Paul III, the marriage was ratified by Friar Geronimo de Loaysa, first Archbishop of Lima, being then Viceroy Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete and Chief Guard of Cuenca. On the next day, after mass, the body of the Inca was interred in the high chapel of the cathedral, the services being performed by the chapter. Pontifical mass was said by the Bishop Agustin de la Coruña. The epistle was read by the Canon Juan de Vera, the gospel by the Canon Estevan de Villalom. All the religious of the city attended the funeral, and each one said his vigils and joined in

the singing at the mass, in presence of the corpse. There had been a great council before he was baptized, when on the point of being taken out to be beheaded. Now there was a universal feeling of sorrow; and the masses were sung, with the organ, as for a Lord and Inca.

On the 9th day all the funeral honours were repeated, the religious coming to join in the vigils and masses of their own accord; from which it may be inferred that the Inca is with God our Lord.

When the head was cut off, it was put on a spike, and set up on the same scaffold in the great square, where the execution had taken place. There it became each day more beautiful, the Inca having had a plain face in life. The Indians came by night to worship the head of their Inca. At last, one night, towards the dawn, Juan Sierra²⁴ came to his window and saw the idolatries practised by the people. He reported it to Don Francisco de Toledo, who then ordered the head to be taken down and buried with the body. This was done with no less solemnity than on the occasion of the interment of the body. Thus the inconvenience of the Inca's head being worshipped by the people was avoided. In this city there is a monk of our Lady of Mercy, named Father Nicolas de los dichos, who witnessed all I have here related, touched it with his hands, trod there with his feet, and heard everything. Your Excellency can well inform yourself from him, as he possesses a very good memory, and is an excellent authority on all these events, being an eye-witness of good repute.²⁵

Returning to our subject, which is to give an account to your Excellency of the disposition of the land and the government of the province of Vilcapampa, I have to inform your Excellency that this land covers more than 300 leagues, with much fertile and fairly level spaces. The discovered and conquered part is suited for the cultivation of sugar cane in the valleys, with an annual rent making a large sum of money. For one inhabitant alone, named Toribio de Bustamante, has an annual rent, free of all demands, of \$10,000. He is a man who has built two houses in Cuzco for God and his servants, a grand thing, much to be admired. One is a monastery for bare foot Franciscans, all complete with ornaments necessary for the performance of divine service. The best part of his labours is for the adornment of the church; for all wood work for the doors, windows and chapels is of very fine cedar from the province

of Vilcapampa. At present he is building a convent for Dominican nuns of our Lady of the remedies which, when finished, will not be less curious and perfect than the monastery for the bare foot Franciscans. These are heroic works, worthy of praise throughout the world, he having been a soldier who arrived very poor. Yet he has done such good work that many nobles and grandees of Spain could not have shown more generosity than this soldier. He had been kept a prisoner for more than two years by the savages on the island of Dominica, and was many times in danger of his life, especially when his captors had their drinking bouts. But it pleased God that a fleet of Castille should come to the island, and boats came on shore for water. He ran shouting to the Spaniards, with nothing on but plantain leaves, and thus he escaped to perform works so lofty and worthy that they deserve eternal memory. All this has happened from his being a citizen of San Francisco of the Victory of Vilcapampa.

Besides this soldier there are others who have factories of much grandeur and richness. The province is important both for its size and fertility. For this reason it may be understood why this land was chosen by the Incas, it being the richest and most opulent in all Peru.

This province has farms for coca, lands for wheat, barley, potatoes, *yucas* and all kinds of vegetables, and many hills containing rich lodes of silver, besides the mines on the hill of Huamani and Huamanape. A very great quantity of silver was taken out of these mines in the time of the Marquis Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza,²⁶ and of Don Luis de Velasco,²⁷ which largely increased the royal fifths of his Majesty. There have been years when they have yielded to the royal treasury over \$30,000, with only 300 Indians subjected to forced labour; this being the total amount of labour for the mines, factories, and to cut wood and make charcoal. The 200 from the province of Andahuaylas the great,²⁸ of the royal crown, and the 100 of the province of Chumpivilcas from the *encomienda* of Don Diego de Vargas de Carbazal were taken away as your Excellency well knows. The 200 of Andahuaylas were transferred to the quicksilver mines of Huancavelica by order of the Count of Monterey,²⁹ who was not informed of the great injury this would cause to the royal fifths, and to the settlers and owners of mines in this province. The information should have come from the Governor and the royal officers

of Cuzco, where the fifths were calculated by provision of the Viceroy, that they might have an annual account of the fifths. Serious losses have been the result, of which your Excellency may satisfy yourself by calling for a return from the royal official judges of Cuzco, of the fifths for each year. The truth will then be known.

There is in this province, most excellent Lord, a report concerning great treasure in a *huaca* of the Incas of which there are expectations that it will be discovered, our Lord being served, together with a ravine yielding gold, called the ravine of Purumata. From this place the Spaniards have already taken a great quantity of very fine gold. Four years ago a nugget was found the size of a hen's egg. When the Camp Master Diego Garcia de Paredes was Governor he took to Spain a purse full of bits of gold, including the one just mentioned, that the King might see them. These riches are not found owing to the want of Indians; and it is desired beyond measure that, in the time of your Excellency, favoured by the help of your Excellency in granting some Indians for the province, great riches may be found. It will be the most important thing that has happened in this kingdom, for by it all these Indies and our Spain may return to that opulence and grandeur they enjoyed at the beginning, when these provinces of Peru were first discovered. There then went to Spain very powerful men by reason of their estates and possessions. When necessitous knights came to them to ask for charity, they gave it with minds greater than those of most men, not considering whether they or their children would be losers; and they gave \$3000 or \$4000 to the necessitous, thinking nothing of it.

In these days a man's wealth is well placed, when he is not considered poor, and performs deeds worthy of praise. There was a knight, a citizen of Cuzco named Don Luis Palomino, who, having given a soldier as a present (Doña Mayor Palomino his sister being a maiden) a very handsome harpsichord, this cavalier gave in return 2000 *cestos* of *coca* placed in Potosi, at a time when coca was worth \$12 to \$14 the *cesto*. For this soldier rose from great poverty, but went back to Castille very rich and influential.

The same knight performed another piece of magnificence, publicly in the great square, being then an ordinary magistrate of the city of Cuzco. Being on horseback a soldier came to him and besought him to order an

official to return his sword which he had taken from him on the previous night, and offered to let him have it back for a mark, which he did not care to pay. The good knight told him that such things were perquisites of the officials, and he took his own sword with a belt embroidered in gold and pearls, and all the fittings of silver gilt, and gave it to the soldier that the official might not lose his perquisite on the other sword, though this one was worth an ingot of silver. When the minister of justice saw the magistrate's very munificent act, he returned the soldier's sword without demanding any fee, and the soldier restored the rich sword to its master. These things deserve to be recorded in history and kept in eternal memory, for there is nothing that shines so brightly as a generous mind doing a good work. As the theologians say, a good work has four effects on him who performs it. The first is to make him good as the act he has performed is good. The second is to cure the vices which would lead him to act in a contrary way. The third and greater effect is to make him deserve grace and glory. The fourth is to give satisfaction for the pain he may have to suffer in this world or in purgatory. I could tell your Excellency many other things about the prodigality of citizens in this kingdom, but I leave them in order to avoid prolixity.

The province of Mañaries, most excellent prince, is one of Indians friendly to our Spanish nation. The people are fair and well disposed, amatory both men and women, the latter being very beautiful. All are well and honestly dressed. Their country is very pleasant and fertile, with extensive grounds, suited for growing all kinds of fruits, and corn, excellent for sugar cane, with delightful rivers of sweet water, abundant pastures for flocks and herds, and of great extent. The soldiers who enter it will do so without shedding blood, skirmishes and encounters being unnecessary, for they will be received with affability, love, and charity. Though they will have their arms, death, cruelties and atrocities should not occur as in former times, for they will be given what they want without resistance. The occupation of this province would cause a large extension of the royal patrimony and sovereignty.

The reason that I am moved to say this is that I was an eye-witness. After the pacification of the province of Vilcapampa and the foundation of the city, when all the Indian population had become peaceful and quiet, two captains with only two soldiers, named Captain Anton de

Alvarez and Captain Alonso Suarez, with Pedro Gudiño, a Portuguese, and another soldier whose name I do not remember, penetrated into the country of the Mañaries. The people received them with much willingness and love, giving them plenty of food, *vacas de anta* (tapirs), peccaries, which have their navels on their backs, turkeys, ducks and other game, fish in great quantity. They were also regaled with *yuca*, *mani*, maize toasted and boiled, many delicious fruits of that land, especially from trees planted by the Indians yielding *paltas*, *guayavas*, *paccays*, quantities of almonds much larger and better than those of Castille, and trees of cacao.

The Indians showed themselves to be so affable and friendly that the four Spaniards brought an image of our Lady on canvas and, to commend them to God, they ordered the Indians to construct a small chapel. They did this, placed the picture in the chapel, and set up a great cross outside, on a heap of stones, and other smaller crosses inside. Here they prayed and commended themselves to God every morning and also in the afternoons. Seeing this devotion the Indians came to the chapel to perform acts of prayer, raising their hands to heaven and striking their breasts. The Spaniards rejoiced to see them so friendly and so desirous to become Christians. When these four soldiers went back to the province of Vilcapampa, the principal chief, called *Apu*, which means lord or governor, prayed that they would receive them as their vassals; and if they wanted to enter the province of Pilcosones with arms, they could easily do so, as it was near. The chief gave his word that he would assist them in an enterprise against these warlike Indians. There were two reasons for this invasion. One was to make them Christians that they might know the word of God; and the other was to stop the injuries done by the Pilcosones to the Mañaries.

After more than eight years the governor, owing to this report, wrote to Don Martin Henriquez, Viceroy of these kingdoms,³⁰ asking for permission to go in person to discover these provinces of the Pilcosones and Yscaysingas, concerning which the Mañaries gave information to the said captains Anton de Alvarez and Alonso Saurez. He reported that he could raise a force, and he recapitulated certain reasons for the enterprise being of service to his Majesty.

About a hundred soldiers were raised in the city of Cuzco and neighbouring valleys, besides mestizos, mulattos, and free negroes. With these an entry might be made, for the Spaniards are very good soldiers. Starting on our enterprise from the valley of Quillapampa, we descended the river in balsas and canoes made with great trouble and cost, which appeared like an armed fleet. After having navigated for four or five days, we lost them at some rapids formed in the turns which the river makes, on rocks and shoals, the Captain Anduaca, and several Spaniards, Indians, and mulattos being drowned. There were lost also the cash belonging to the Governor, the ornaments of the Father Pedro de Cartagena of the Company of Jesus, brother of Don Fernando de Cartagena, a citizen of Cuzco; and of Dr Montoya Romano, of the said Company. The soldiers also lost much property. We landed on a beach and held a council of war.

It was agreed that we should make a road through the forest with wood knives and axes. We suffered from hunger, exposure and cold, our clothes being torn to pieces by thorns on the trees, and we were left without any covering or food. For it is a wild country without road. If a hundred friendly Mañaries, who had been apprised by the Governor that he was coming to conquer the Pilcosones, had not come to our rescue we should all have perished.

Coming in search of us with two of their chiefs, they brought us succour, and put us on the Inca road to the land of the Pilcosones, with supplies.

If your Excellency would be served that in this time of your government all that land should be conquered with little cost to his Majesty, you might nominate a General, Camp Master, and Officers. With all my grey hairs and advanced age I would take order to join the expedition. The roads in the jurisdiction of the city of Huamanca being open, the conquest would be easy, and the virile energy which God has given me, combined with industry and the experience I possess, would ensure the enterprise having a better result than before.

Treating of the Pilcosones I say, most excellent Lord, that we received information from a Pilcosone Indian, named Oparo, that we had arrived near their settlements. But he was treacherous, deserting us in the night. We were in a convenient place where we made a good fort, with

trenches, bastions at the angles, and loopholes in all parts whence to discharge the arquebuses. The Pilcosone came with great demonstrations of peace, simulating profound humility, and bringing provisions for the camp. He promised the Governor obedience, and embraced him with smiles and professions of content. He also embraced me as Camp Master. In this kingdom it is the custom to give this title to principal and meritorious soldiers, there not being over many such in the militia. When we least expected it, one day at two in the afternoon, they gave us a volley of arrows and darts. They hit the Governor badly, and other soldiers, who went to guard the door of the fort, where he had stationed himself as a spirited and valiant knight.

The Governor was made into a San Sebastian with arrows that stuck in his *escuapil*. This is harness made of cotton cloth well stuffed with wool until it resists as well as steel. With a partisan in his hand (being a large man) he did more even than Mucius Scaevola, wounding and killing with great valour and elevation of his knightly spirit; showing him to be Hurtado and Mendoza by the heroic deeds which are worthy of eternal memory.

We were warned by the Mañaries of the great risk we ran from being so reduced in numbers and without resources. The shipwreck we suffered in the river caused the loss of property and supplies, and the death of soldiers. We were torn by the forest, in want of food and the means of nourishing our bodies. The enemy was numerous. In the village called Hatun Pilcosone alone they were in overpowering force. For great and small had taken up arms, sending notice throughout the province, and they were a very warlike people.

It was, therefore, resolved to raise the camp, and retreat in all haste by the Inca road which the Mañaries had shown us. Leaving their province on one side, we entered our own, more that the Fathers of the Company might be placed in safety than from fear of our own lives. If we had not suffered such great losses of powder, shields, and muskets, we did not doubt that we should have conquered those people, even if they had been much more warlike than they were. According to the information we collected, and from a sight of their farms and cultivation, and of the many flocks, and the lay of the land, it appeared to us that they were a hill people, in a country of very great mineral wealth, and

that there were also people of the valleys where there was a marvellous climate for the cultivation of grains and sugar cane. It is land with abundant streams of water, and a great river having quantities of fish.

Returning to our campaign, most excellent Lord, if we had not been rescued and guided by those friends, not a single one of us would have come out alive, owing to the overpowering numbers of our enemies, who would have inflicted cruel deaths upon us without sparing one. God our Lord delivered us from that danger.³¹

It is eight years, most excellent Lord, since we were visited by the worst calamity it was possible for us to suffer, over and above the misfortunes and labours this city has had to endure, caused by the necessity for changing the site which has already been mentioned. In this province there are many factories all peopled by African slaves, whose disposition is soul-less, without God or conscience. We saw six Spaniards and one priest (nephew of the precentor Don Cristóval de Albornoz), engaged in a great conflict, the commencement of a general rising of negroes of all the factories in the valleys of Quillapampa, Hondará, Amaypampa and Huayupampa.³² They were working in concert with the negroes of Cuzco, Arequipa, and Huamanca, that they might enter into that land and convert it into another Vallano, of which your Excellency will have had notice. I received warnings as Magistrate of the Holy Brotherhood, a post I then held, and had done for 14 years with orders from the Viceroy, Marquis of Cañete and Don Luis de Velasco, which I now submit. I had ordered the imprisonment of a woman, wife of a negro highwayman, and of another Indian woman who was apprehended in a sugar cane farm, by my order, because they had murdered their two Indian husbands and a free mulatto, robbing them of their clothes and their provisions in the farms where they were killed. The actual murderers were an Indian Pilcosone named Francisco Chichima, and a negro slave of the widow of Melchior del Pero, who had a factory there.

I had them in irons, and threatened that next day they would be quartered unless they told me where were their husbands. The negress, fearing death, and having seen justice executed on the others that same night, the captain Nicolas de Ormachea being with me, a person who possessed a large estate, she called to him, and begged him to ask me not

to quarter her if she told a truth which involved the lives of all the owners of factories and mayor-domos, besides many others. I went to where the prisoners were secured, and asked the said captain Ormachea what the negress had told him, although I had heard everything. He answered that she was a drunken lying creature who did not know what she was saying. In order to find out the truth I used flattering words, telling her that if she would speak the truth I would not only release her, but also give her liberty in the name of his Majesty. She then told me that, in the middle of that night, all the negroes of Ormachea and of Toribio de Bustamante, and those of the widow of Melchior del Pero and of all the other factories in the valleys of Hondará, Amaypampa, and Huayupampa, had conspired among themselves, and, with the negroes of the cities of Cuzco, Arequipa, and Huamanca, to rise that night.

This they actually did, burning the houses and factory of Toribio de Bustamante, whom they intended to have killed. That night they killed 24 Indians and a chief who came to put out the fire. Then they intended to kill Toribio de Bustamante, and four Spaniards and a priest who were with him. Next, at midnight, they would attack Captain Ormachea and all that were with him.

Asking her how she knew this, she declared on oath that on Sundays and festivals when the negroes assembled for drinking bouts, they talked in their mother tongue, and went about to collect arms and stores of maize, *mani*, and *oca* which they had in granaries in the forests.

Using good diligence I sent the tidings to the Governor Diego de Aquilar y de Cordova at Vilcapampa by two Indians who were very well paid, and two negroes born in the house. The latter never appeared again, for they were killed and thrown into the river. But the Indians, knowing the country, reached Vilcapampa and gave the message. As soon as succour arrived we made a wooden fort, in which we assembled a number of Indian natives, posting sentries that we might not be taken by surprise. Here we were besieged for 30 days, defending ourselves with muskets and other arms. The Indians pointed out to us the direction from the top of the fort, without showing their faces. The Governor Don Diego de Aquilar y Cordova sent 50 well armed soldiers with their muskets, ammunition, and a good supply of cheese, biscuit, dried mutton, maize, and other things; also a number of friendly Indians with

bows and arrows. With this we were able to raise the seige and put down the mutiny. For certain reasons given by Toribio de Bustamante, who was then building the bare foot monastery at Cuzco, the negroes cutting cedars and other trees for the work, justice was only executed on eight or ten of the ringleaders, and on the Pilcosone Indian, Francisco Chichima, who was one of the murderers, and the most bellicose Indian we ever had to do with in our time. His valour was such that the negroes themselves chose him as their captain, and obeyed his orders, though generally Indians were down-trodden by the negroes, with ill-treatment both of word and deed. So that the Indians called the negroes their lords, and the negroes called the Indians dogs. Such was the bravery of this Francisco Chichima that, being alone, and the negroes so many, he was their captain and chief, and they obeyed him in all things, and feared him like death.

To this city of Vilcapampa, when it was first peopled, there came the monks of our Lady of Mercy and founded a convent. They were given land for building and for sowing. They built a living house and a church where they said mass. They were more than 15 years established there, being the Fathers Friars Juan de Rivas, Francisco Guerrero, Nicolas Gomez, and Gonzalo de Toro Cavallero. As they had no servants, nor labourers to cultivate the land, nor even one to bring them a jar of water, they agreed in council to abandon that place, leaving the ornaments, chalices, bells, and images in charge of a secular priest. They went from that province to Cuzco, and to this day the church is there. Though they have tried to return four or five times, for great devotion is felt for these fathers, being the first monks, servants of our Lady, who planted the faith in these kingdoms of Peru, Chili, Tucuman, Paraguay, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra, but as they had no servants, they did not come back for fear they should die of hunger. The other religious communities saw that the fathers of our Lady of Mercy had given up the place, and no others have come lest they should be in the same straits as the said fathers. Hence this city remains with only a parish church. The inhabitants cannot hear mass early as they would wish, but only when it is said in the parish church. This is an intolerable grievance which ought to be remedied. The monastery of our Lady of Mercy should be re-established, for it would be a great boon to the citizens. If your

Excellency would order some servants and labourers to be granted, the desired result could be secured.

All that I have written until now, most excellent Prince, is what I have been well able to recollect respecting things far back but within my weak memory. I understand that I have related the events nearly as they happened, but describing only the soul of those things which are most pleasant to hear about. I am well able to describe the parades, reviews, and other imitations of war which took place in the city of Cuzco previous to the despatch of that expedition, and to depict to your Excellency the great and celebrated festivals which took place, including bull fights, tournaments, and other displays.³³ There were imitations of Moorish castles, forests of very lofty trees that seemed to reach the sky, set up in the great square of Cuzco. Among the trees were fastened tigers, lions, bears, peacocks, tapirs, large and small monkeys, armadillos, ferrets, ducks of varied plumage, macaws and parrots green, red, blue, brown and yellow, talking parrots of different kinds, small paroquets, and other birds of many colours, large and small. They were subtly fastened in the trees, and all made such resounding music as enchanted every one. There was a fountain from which mountain girls and others drew their jars of water. Then the Moors issued from their castle and captured the girls. Then, after the tournaments, all the knights made skirmishes against the Moors, taking them prisoners and releasing the Christian captives. The show was very pleasant and delightful for those who witnessed it from the windows and balconies, as well as for those who saw it standing in the square. Don Francisco de Toledo jousted with canes on that day, which added much to the pleasure and enjoyment of the people. It was the day of St John the Baptist. The costumes and liveries were very costly, adorned with gold and silver, very rich harness inlaid with pearls and precious stones. The bars within which the knights made mimic war were adorned with silver. There came forth 48 knights from among the most distinguished in the kingdom. The Lord Viceroy was on the most beautiful horse for prancing and speed, yet the safest, gentlest, and most loyal that was ever born of a mare. They called it the hobby of the silver feet, for it had white marks from below the knees, and one on the forehead, which added to its beauty, all the rest of the body being dark chestnut, with the finest tail

that ever was seen in a horse. As the Viceroy's companions there came the following knights:

Ayala, Gonzalo Mexia de, second son of the Count of La Gomera (the elder),
Barrasa, Francisco de, the Viceroy's Chamberlain,
Berrio, Juan de,
Berrio, Miguel de,
Carbajal, Pablo de,
Carrasco, Pablo Alonso, now of the order of Santiago,
Castilla, General Geronimo, of the order of Santiago,³⁴
Davila, the Governor Melchior Vasquez,
Dolmos, Captain Martin, of the order of Santiago,
Esquivel, Captain Rodrigo de,
Figueroa, Don Geronimo, the Viceroy's nephew,
Frias, General Geronimo de,
Grado, Captain Francisco de,
Loaysa, Captain Alonso,³⁵ cousin of the Archbishop of Lima,
Loaysa, Don Geronimo,
Maldonado, the Governor Juan Alvarez,
Manuel, Pedro Nuñez,
Marañon, Don Geronimo, a much esteemed knight,
Mendoza, Captain Nuño de,
Meneses, Captain Martin de,
Nocedo, Pedro Castilla de,
Orozco, Sancho de, brother of the Loaysas,
Pacheco, Captain Geronimo,
Palomino, Don Luis,
Pancorvo, Juan de, citizen of Cuzco,
Pereyran, Captain Don Antonio de,
Quinos, Captain Juan de,
Salas de Valdas, the Factor Juan de, brother of Cardinal Don Fernando de Valdas, Archbishop of Seville,
Sanchez, Miguel, the Treasurer,
Silva, Don Juan de, of the order of Santiago,
Sotomayor, Juan de, of the order of Santiago,

Suaso, Lope de,
Tordoya, Don Gomez de,
Umaran, Captain Julian de,
Valençuela, Gonzalo Hernandez de, son of Miguel Sanchez,
Valveorde, Francisco de, of the order of Santiago,

and other very distinguished knights whose names I cannot remember, all the rest being citizens of Cuzco. There were also others of the household of the Viceroy, and representatives of other cities, people of condition.

There came out, at the turn into the square, six cavaliers attired as very ferocious demons, and behind their horses there were other demons made of paste, seated in their saddles with very short stirrups, looking as if they had been born on horseback, going shoulder to shoulder. These also tilted with the cane lance. Next came a boy aged twelve years, dressed in the finest brocade, with the mitre of a bishop made of cloth of silver, with gloves made in the city, and many rings of emeralds set in gold, on his fingers. He went along, on a mule, giving benedictions, with his face behind and his back in front. Further back there came six sheep in the dress of choristers, mounted on horseback, with singing books in their hands. They were made to give out groans by means of cords, raising and lowering the song according to the ideas of those who had charge of the affair. Next came I know not how many satyrs very well attired, and last came a *Hirco* dressed all in crimson, with his shirt and cloak of a black colour, bordered with velvet, and a cap of the same. He had a crown of gilt paste, and a gilt sword. Many servants followed.

After having paraded round the square, they took up their positions in order for entering the lists. The game then commenced, the Viceroy coming first, who only ran three courses. He then dismounted and went up to the *corredor* of Diego de los Rios, a citizen and principal cavalier. From thence his Excellency witnessed the tilting. Afterwards they let out a most ferocious bull, one of the bravest I ever saw, which took charge for a long time. At last it went in among the trees where it saw the wild beasts. It attacked the tiger with great impetus and fury. As the beast was tied up very short it could not well use its claws, nor take advantage

of its superior quickness; but it defended itself, also taking the offensive, until the bull was so tired and baffled that it gave up the encounter and came out again into the square, where it was irritated by the bull baiters until darkness put an end to the amusements and rejoicings. For a long time people talked of nothing else.

One would wish, most excellent Lord, to have the eloquence of that great orator Cicero, and the wisdom of Solomon, so as to be able to shape this history into a neat and pleasant style, and in language so that all the world would be pleased with it. I must be satisfied if your Excellency will receive it with your benign consideration, and excuse the faults which I have made, numerous as they must be. I supplicate that it may be thus received. If I have been prolix in my narration, I submit that I may be pardoned because in a history of the events which have occurred in this kingdom I could do no less; this requiring the cream of the truth. There is, in this city, an old monk of the order of Mercy, as I have said before, who was an eye-witness of all these things, and heard them with his ears, and touched them with his hands. I have made bold to mention him, because your Excellency could get from him some more particulars, as he is younger than I am, and would remember things that I have forgotten. I have done my duty without stating anything that is unauthentic, or that may be wide of the truth. I have eschewed fabulous things for fear of losing the esteem of sensible men, for this course is advantageous, though the vulgar may not think so. For my straightforward procedure I await your Excellency's full approval, and hope for it. For besides having served their Majesties the Kings our Lords, your Excellency will have performed one of the most meritorious acts of mercy that can be done in this life, by recognizing my loyal service, in having given the flower of my youth to my Kings and Lords, until these last years which find me in poverty and old age. For this approval may our Lord grant to your Excellency the greatest felicity in this life, and in the life to come may you find eternal rest for ages and ages.

Amen.

Notes

1. The third Marquis of Montes Claros was grandson of the first Marquis, who was a younger son of the third Duke of Infantado. He was Viceroy of Mexico from 1603 to 1607, and he came by sea from Acapulco to Callao to take up the appointment of Viceroy of Peru, owing to the death of the Count of Monterey, the former Viceroy. Solorzano praises him as a model of rectitude and prudence. In December, 1615, he gave up charge to the Prince of Esquilache and returned to Spain, where he received other high appointments.

2. That is, the palace of the Colcampata, at the foot of the fortress.

3. "Gossip": from "God" and "sib," a relation through baptism. In Spanish the word used is *Compadre*, the relationship between the parents and the godparents, and of the godparents to each other.

4. On an eminence called *Carmenca*, on the other side of the *Huatanay* stream to the fortress of *Cuzco*, there is a suburb with a small church dedicated to *Santa Ana*, possessing an altar of massive silver richly embossed. Most interesting paintings of the end of the 16th century line the walls, representing the procession of *Corpus Christi* in about the time of the Viceroy *Toledo*. The dresses give a correct idea of the appearance of the assembly at the christening of *Melchior Carlos Inca*. First march the four religious orders of *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, *Augustines*, and *Mercedarios*, followed by the "*Santissimo*" under a canopy. Then an old cavalier in black with the insignia of the order of *Alcantara*, perhaps *Toledo* himself. Then follow people of each parish of *Cuzco*, drawing their patron saints in triumphal cars, and headed by principal *Inca* nobles in full ancient costume. On the head is the *chuccu* or head-dress with crimson fringe and plumes of feathers. Round the neck is a broad collar of several colours with a long yellow fringe. The tunic is of white cotton covered with ornaments, and confined round the waist by a very broad belt of richly worked cloth. On the breast there is a golden sun. Garters confine the pantaloons above the knee, which are of black cloth. The shoes are also of black cloth. *Pumas'* heads of gold, set with emeralds, on the shoulders, secure a long scarlet mantle with full white sleeves bordered with wide lace. There is a *Ñusta* or princess heading the procession of her parish, in one picture, with nearly the same

dress but bare-headed, and a boy in front carrying her head-dress. The concluding picture represents the return of the "Santissimo" to the cathedral, with the whole Inca family looking on, magnificently dressed with huge plumes of egret's feathers on their heads. Heads and shoulders of the crowd are grouped along the lower parts of the pictures, Spaniards in black cloaks and broad sombreros mingling with Indian men and women in characteristic dresses.

5. Juan de Vivero was a native of Valladolid, of an ancient Galician family, descended from Froila, King of Oviedo. He took the habit of St Augustine at Salamanca, and went out to Peru in 1557. He went to Cuzco and was the founder and first prelate of the Augustine monastery there, in 1559. The Marquis of Cañete committed to Vivero the duty of converting the Inca Sayri Tupac, and the baptism took place in 1558. Vivero accompanied the Viceroy Toledo in his visitations. His services were appreciated by Philip II who offered him a bishopric, which he declined. He returned to Spain and died at Toledo in 1577.

6. Diego Ortiz was born near Seville, and came to Peru in 1560 as an Augustine friar. He was occupied for years in teaching and catechizing the Indians. When the Spaniards occupied Vilcapampa, the body of Ortiz was buried in the church they built, but in 1598 the Augustine friars removed it to Cuzco. Father Fulgencio Baldani wrote a life of Diego Ortiz in Italian.

7. *Apacheta* or *pacheta* was a heap of stones at the summit of a pass.

8. General mournings on the death of an Inca.

9. This form of the word is corrupt. It should be TIANA.

10. *Chapas* or *caunihuas*. *Chapa* or *Chapatiyoc* is a sentry. The word is also used for a spy. *Caunihua* is not in Holguin or Mossi.

11. Martin Hurtado de Arbieta was a Biscayan. He served under Centeno against Gonzalo Pizarro and was wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Huarina. He escaped and was with Gasca at the rout of Sucsahuana. He also served against Giron. He founded a new city in Vilrapampa. He was a magistrate of Cuzco.

12. Alvarez Maldonado was a citizen of Cuzco. He led an expedition into the montaña of Paucartampu; and was followed by Gomez de Tordoya. A dispute arose between the two expeditions and they fought a desperate battle. The wild Chunchos fell upon the survivors and killed

Tordoya. Maldonado escaped by way of Caravaya, and returned to Cuzco. Leon Pinelo is said, by Antonio, to have written a *Relacion de la jornada de Alvarez Maldonado*, 1617.

13. Don Martin Garcia Oñez de Loyola was a native of Guipuzcoa, of the same family as Ignatius. He had seen some service in Europe, and went out to Peru with the Viceroy Toledo, as the captain of his guard. After the Vilcapampa campaign he married the Inca Princess Beatriz Clara Coya, niece of Tupac Amaru, her dowry being an estate in the valley of Yucay. In 1579 Loyola was Governor of Potosi, and acquired great wealth. He raised 200 men and went with them to Chile; where he was appointed Captain-General, in 1592. He was killed by the Araucanian Indians who surprised his camp in 1598. By the Inca Princess he had an only daughter, Ana Maria Coya de Loyola, who was born at Cuzco. She went to Spain in 1622 and was created by Philip III Marchioness of Oropesa and Yucay, with remainder, in default of children, to the heirs general of her uncle Tupac Amaru. She married Don Juan Henriquez de Borja, son of the Marquis of Alcanizes and of a daughter of Don Francisco de Borja, Duke of Gandia. Ana had three children, Juan Marquis of Alcanizes and Oropesa and descendant of the Incas, Alvaro, and Francisca married to the Marquis of Peña Alba. In the church of Copacabana at Lima there is a picture of the marriage of Loyola with the Inca princess.

14. If this is the same Juan de Palomino whose name often occurs in the civil wars of the conquerors, he must have been well advanced in years.

15. Gomez de Tordoya is the same cavalier who was at the battle of Chupas, and made the disastrous entry into the forests of the Chunchos.

16. Mancio Sierra de Leguisano was one of the first conquerors and a first settler at Cuzco in 1534. He received a golden sun as his share of the spoils, which he gambled away in one night. When he was elected a Magistrate he left off gambling, and never touched a card again. He served in the defence of Cuzco. He married an Inca Princess, Doña Beatriz Coya, and had a son Juan. But his memory is chiefly worthy of praise because, in his will, he recognized the virtues of the Indians and denounced the cruelties of his own countrymen. His son was a schoolfellow of the Inca Garcilasso de la Vega.

17. This must have been the son of Alonso de Mesa, the conqueror who came to Caxamarca with Pizarro. The father was a native of the Canary Islands. He received 135 marcs of silver and 3350 pesos of gold out of Atahualpa's ransom. He became a citizen and had a house in Cuzco. He behaved with great gallantry during the siege, and at the battles of Salinas and Chupas. He did good service in the campaign against Gonzalo Pizarro and also opposed Giron. The son Alonso went to Spain, and co-operated with the Incas Garcilasso de la Vega and Melchior Carlos in an effort to obtain concessions for the Inca family.

18. Abancay?

19. Further on he has Pilcosones.

20. Don Luis de Velasco, afterwards Marquis of Salinas, was Viceroy of Mexico, whence he was transferred to Peru in 1595, relieving the Marquis of Cañete. He was Viceroy of Peru from 1595 to 1604, when he was relieved by the Count of Monterey. In 1609 he was created Marquis of Salinas by Philip III.

21. Melchior Carlos Inca went to Spain to seek justice for himself and his family from the King. The Inca Garcilasso de la Vega, the historian, and Alonso de Mesa the younger, co-operated with him. He came with a complete pedigree of the Incas in 1603. He died, without obtaining any of his requests, at Alcala de Henares, leaving a son who died young.

22. Gabriel de Loarte had been a judge at Panama and Quito, and was one of the four first criminal judges in the Audience of Lima, in 1570. He came with the Viceroy Toledo to Cuzco. He acted as the Viceroy's accomplice in preparing false charges against Tupac Amaru. Having perpetrated this crime he was sent to Huancavelica to seize the quicksilver mine for the government, the owner being robbed, and appealing to the Council of the Indies.

23. Friar Agustin de la Coruña y Gormaz was a native of Coruña, son of Hernando de Gormaz and Catalina de Velasco. He took the Augustine habit at Salamanca in 1524, and went to Mexico with other friars in 1533, where he was Prior of several convents and Provincial in 1560. He returned to Spain to urge the better treatment of the Indians, and was consecrated Bishop of Popayan where he went to reside. But in 1567 he had to go to Lima to be present at the second Council, and he afterwards assisted the Viceroy Toledo in his visitation, and the preparation of his

“Ordinances.” He did all in his power to prevent the murder of Tupac Amaru, and returned to his diocese declining to be longer associated with Toledo. He died at Timana, in 1590.

24. See note 16.

25. The judicial murder of the Inca Tupac Amaru was a blunder as well as a crime. King Philip II seems to have heard of it indirectly, most probably through the ecclesiastical dignitaries who protested against it. Judging from the narrative of Sarmiento the Viceroy kept silence. Philip resented the action of Toledo, who was disgraced on his return.

Tupac Amaru was the legitimate son of Inca Manco, grandson of Huayna Ccapac, and the rightful Sovereign of Peru.

Dr Justiniani, the descendant of this Inca's sister, had a portrait of Tupac Amaru in 1853 with these words under it— *Ccollanap Pachacamac ricuay auccacunac yahuarniy hichascancuta* (Creator of the world behold how my enemies spill my blood).

The youthful Inca had two little daughters, Juana and Magdalena, who found a refuge with Dr Loaysa, the Archbishop of Lima. Juana married the Curaca of Surimani named Condorcanqui. Their descendant José Gabriel Condorcanqui, Cacique or Curaca of Surimani and Tungasuca, was born in 1742. He established his claim to the Marquisate of Oropesa, before the Royal Audience of Lima in 1770. Taking the name of Tupac Amaru he led the Indian revolt in 1780, and suffered death by torture in the great square of Cuzco on May 18th, 1781. Two of his sons were put to death with him, and the youngest was sent to Spain and died in prison.

26. Viceroy from 1590 to 1596.

27. Viceroy from 1596 to 1604.

28. Andahuaylas is an extensive and fertile valley on the road from Ayacucho to Cuzco. Ocampo calls it “the great” to distinguish it from Andahuaylas “the little,” a village south of Cuzco, now called Andahuaylillas.

29. Viceroy from 1604 to 1607, and predecessor of the Marquis of Montes Claros to whom Ocampo addresses his narrative.

30. Viceroy from 1581 to 1583, the successor of Toledo.

31. The Mañaries and Pilcosones were two forest tribes near the skirts of the mountains, between the rivers Vilcamayu and Apurimac in their

lower courses. The Mañaries are mentioned by Sarmiento as occupying country near the banks of the Tono. I have not met with the name of Pilcosones in any other writer.

32. Huayupata?

33. These festivities are in the wrong place. They were celebrated before the Viceroy Toledo became "an execrable regicide" as the Inca pedigrees call him.

34. Geronimo Castilla was a native of Zamora. He was a magistrate of Cuzco and owned the estate of Asillo in the Collao. His name occurs frequently in the civil wars. His descendant was created Marquis of San Juan de Buena Vista.

35. Alonso de Loaysa, nephew of the first Archbishop of Lima, was concerned in the civil wars, and went through strange adventures, especially on his wedding day at Cuzco, when the house was attacked by the rebels under Giron. His uncle the Archbishop was a native of Talavera of good family. Another uncle was Archbishop of Seville, and another confessor to Charles V.