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Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,
São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108010610

© in this compilation Cambridge University Press 2009

This edition first published 1872
This digitally printed version 2009

ISBN 978-1-108-01061-0 Paperback

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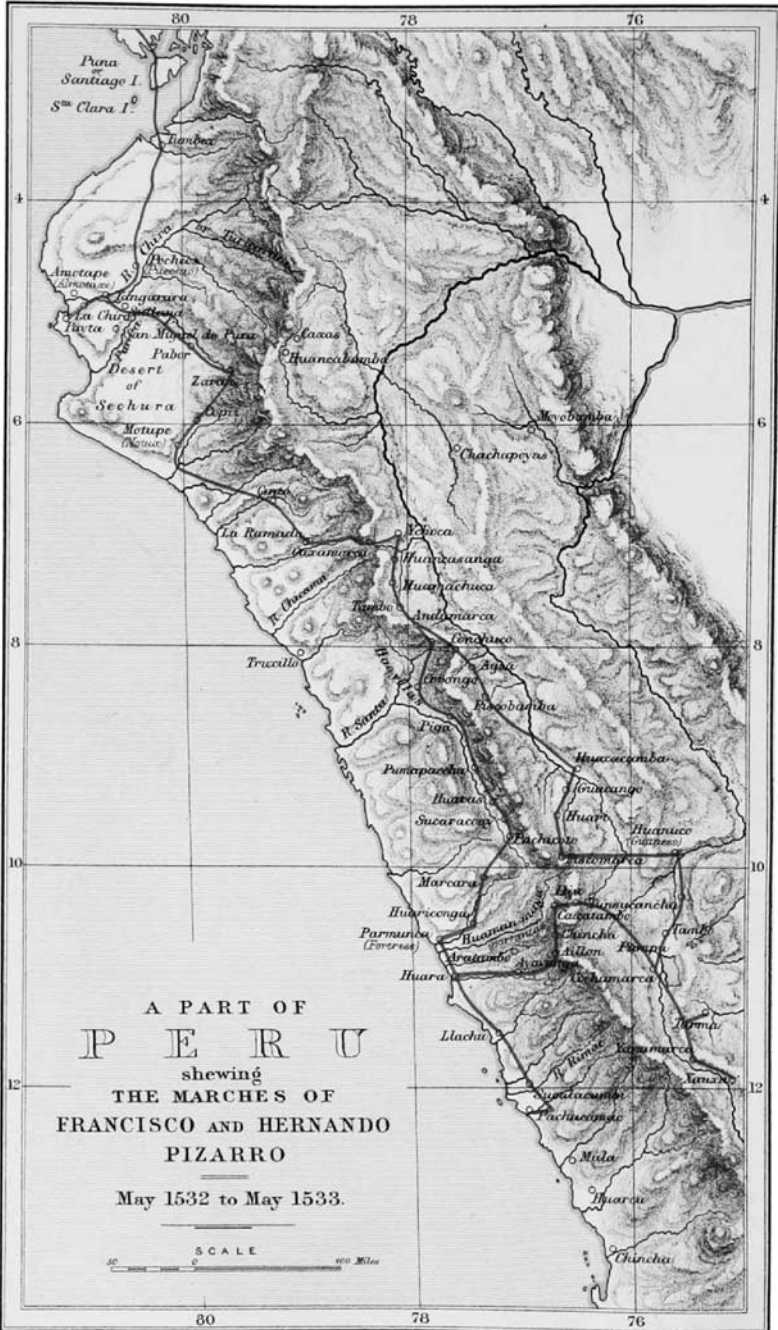
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REPORT OF FRANCISCO DE XERES, SECRETARY TO FRANCISCO PIZARRO.

II.

REPORT OF MIGUEL DE ASTETE ON THE EXPEDITION
TO PACHACAMAC.

III.

LETTER OF HERNANDO PIZARRO TO THE ROYAL AUDIENCE OF
SANTO DOMINGO.

IV.

REPORT OF PEDRO SANCHO ON THE PARTITION OF THE
RANSOM OF ATAHUALLEPA.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED,
With Notes and an Introduction,

BY

CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, C.B.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

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INTRODUCTION.

FRANCISCO DE XERES, the Secretary of Pizarro, wrote his account of the early days of the conquest of Peru, on the spot, by order of his master. He sailed from San Lucar, with Pizarro, in January 1530, was with the conqueror in his voyage, in his march along the Peruvian coast and across the Andes, and was an eye-witness of the events at Cassamarca, down to the murder of the Ynca Atahuallpa. He returned to Seville on July 3rd, 1534, after an absence of four years and a half, with the first instalments of gold. His friends lived at Seville, and I gather from Argote de Molina¹ that he came of a respectable family settled at Ubeda; but nothing is known of himself personally, beyond what can be deduced from his narrative.

The narrative of Xeres appears to have been printed at Seville in 1534, the year of his return, but this first edition is extremely scarce. The second edition, which was very carelessly printed, appeared at Salamanca in 1547, and is also very rare. The

¹ *Nobleza de Andalucia* (Sevilla, 1588), p. 66. Argote de Molina gives the arms of the Xeres family. *Vert, in base waves of the sea azure and argent, on them a tower argent and fastened to it a boat with its oar or. On a bordure gules eight St. Andrew's crosses or.*

third, and best known Spanish edition, was published at Madrid, in the collection of Don Andres Gonzalez Barcia,² in 1749. The work was translated into Italian by a native of Tudela, named Domingo de Gaztelù, who was Secretary to Lope de Soria, Ambassador to Venice for Charles V, and published at Venice in 1535. A second edition of the Italian version was published at Venice, in the collection of Ramusio,³ in 1556. Purchas gives a very brief notice of it, in his *Pilgrimes*;⁴ and Ticknor mentions the work in his history of Spanish literature.⁵ It is much quoted by Robertson, Prescott, and Helps, in their accounts of the conquest of Peru. A careful French version was published at Paris, by M. Ternaux Compans,⁶ in his series of works on Spanish America, in 1837; but no complete English translation has hitherto been made.

As the account of an intelligent and observant eye-witness, the story told by Francisco de Xeres, of the most stirring episode in the wonderful history of Spanish conquests, is exceedingly interesting. Some portions of the story, here and there, are told in more detail by Herrera and other compilers, but, in reading their versions, we miss the feeling that the author was an actor in the deeds he narrates;

² "*Historiadores Primitivos de las Indias Occidentales*," iii, p. 179.

³ *Ramusio*, iii, pp. 378-98.

⁴ *Purchas, Pilgrimes*, iv, pp. 1491-94.

⁵ *Ticknor*, i, p. 521.

⁶ "*Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique*" (Paris, 1837). H. Ternaux Compans.

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and thus, in Xeres, there is a freshness and reality which no other published account of the conquest can impart. Xeres himself relates the proceedings of the Governor Francisco Pizarro. But he has given much increased value to his work, by embodying in it the report by Miguel Astete, another eye-witness, of the expedition of Hernando Pizarro, to the famous temple of Pachacamac. This remarkable journey of Hernando in quest of gold, undertaken by a mere handful of men into the heart of an unknown land, is as attractive to the imagination as the incredible audacity of Francisco's enterprise. Xeres and Astete were both eye-witnesses, and their detailed narratives combine to record the incidents of two of the most surprising marches in the history of Spanish discovery.

The letter of Hernando Pizarro to the Royal Audience of Santo Domingo,⁷ which follows the narrative of Xeres, was written when that ruthless conqueror was on his way to Spain, with the king's share of the spoils. It goes over exactly the same ground as the Reports of Xeres and Astete, it is peculiarly valuable as containing the observations of the man of highest rank in the expedition who could write, and the slight variations between the accounts of Xeres and Pizarro, in relating the same incidents, are particularly interesting. One very odious peculiarity of Hernando Pizarro was, that he habitually

⁷ In the "*Historia General*" of Oviedo, cap. xv, lib. 43. Reprinted in the "*Vidas de Españoles célebres, por Don Manuel Josef Quintana*" (Paris, 1845), p. 180.

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tortured the Indians when he wished to obtain information from them. Yet on the three occasions on which he mentions having applied the torture, in this letter, he was told lies. One would have thought that so acute an observer would have discovered that this was a very inefficient method of conducting the operations of an Intelligence Department. The fourth document in this volume is the Report of Pedro Sancho on the distribution of the ransom of Atahuallpa;⁸ in which he gives the amounts received by each of the conquerors.

Hernando Pizarro and Miguel de Astete give us the first account of the temple of Pachacamac on the Peruvian coast, which was afterwards described by Cieza de Leon and Garcilasso de la Vega, and the real significance of which is not fully understood, and has been a good deal exaggerated. The subject is one which may appropriately be discussed in an Introduction to the narratives of Hernando Pizarro and Astete; and the following remarks will perhaps invest them with some additional interest.

The famous temple on the Pacific coast has usually been supposed to have been the only temple to the Supreme Being in Peru; and it has even been suggested that, as such, it is older than the time of the Yncas, and that they adopted this worship from another people. Mr. Prescott⁹ says that no temple

⁸ From the inedited work of Francisco Lopez de Caravantes. It is reprinted in the "*Vidas de Españoles célebres, por Don Manuel Josef Quintana*" (Paris, 1815), p. 185.

⁹ *Prescott*, i, p. 85.

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was raised to Pachacamac, the Creator of the World, save one only which took its name from the Deity Himself; that it existed before the country came under the sway of the Yncas, and was a resort of pilgrims from remote parts of the land; and that these circumstances suggest the idea that the worship of this Great Spirit did not originate with the Peruvian Princes. Mr. Helps¹ also says that a temple to Pachacamac existed before the time of the Yncas, and that they artfully connected this Deity with their own religion, making out that the Sun was his father, and thus strengthening themselves by alliance with this primæval Deity. Rivero adopts the same view, namely that the Gods *Con* and *Pachacamac* were early deities, whose temple was on the sea-coast, and that the Yncas cunningly adopted their worship, saying that these gods were sons of the Sun.² There is no adequate authority for these theories, and they seem to have arisen from a misapprehension of the story as told by early writers.

The inhabitants of the Peruvian coast, called

¹ *Helps*, iii, p. 498. The name of *Con*, given by Mr. Helps, from Las Casas, as the father of Pachacamac, has originated in some blunder among the Spanish writers. It is not an Ynca word at all, and the legend concerning this *Con* has no connection whatever with any Ynca people. See also *Gomara, Hist. de Las Indias*, cap. cxxii. The prefix *Con* is found in the names applied to sacred things by the coast people, and it lingered still longer in the valleys of Huarochiri. Its meaning is now lost, but it belonged to the coast language. Thus there was a god in Huarochiri called *Coniraya*, and the general name of all small stone idols in Huarochiri was *Conopa*. See *Avila MS*.

² *Antiguedades Peruanas*, p. 144.

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Yuncas by their Ynca conquerors, were an entirely distinct race from the people of the Andes, with a language differing both in its vocabulary and grammatical construction. After long and fierce wars they were conquered by the Yncas, their language was superseded by Quichua, many were sent as colonists into the interior, Ynca colonists settled on the coast, and the nationality of the Yuncas was destroyed. Very little can now be learnt respecting them. The coast valleys were densely peopled, as is shown by the fact of ruined towns being always found on the verge of the desert, so as not to encroach on the cultivatable area. They had brought the art of irrigation to a high state of perfection, and they adorned the walls of their buildings with richly coloured paintings. We have no dictionary of their language, but we have a grammar and vocabulary by Carrera,³ and a few specimens of one of its dialects preserved by Bishop Orè.⁴ Of the nature of their religion we know still less. Avila has recorded some curious traditions,⁵ and it would seem, from the proceedings of Arriaga, the extirpator of idolatry, that they were much addicted to sorcery and fortune-telling.⁶ Their gods were made to give

³ *Arte de la lengua de los valles del Obispado de Truxillo; por Don Fernando de la Carrera* (Lima, 1644).

⁴ The *Mochica* spoken once in the valleys of Huarco (Cañete), Runahuanac (Lunahuana), and Chinchu. "*Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum; por Lu. Iovicum Hieronymum Orerium*" (Neapoli, 1607).

⁵ In his narrative of the errors, false gods, and other diabolical rites of the Indians of Huarochiri. MS. in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, B. 35.

⁶ "*Extirpacion de la idolatria de los Indios del Peru; por Pedro*

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out oracles, and the shrines became rich and important, in proportion to the credit they attained in forecasting events. Thus, there was a famous oracle in the valley, thence called *Rimac*, or “the Speaker”, by the Ynca conquerors ; and a still more renowned one was the fish-god in the city, afterwards called by the Yncas *Pachacamac*, to which pilgrims resorted from all parts of the coast. But this fish-god was not Pachacamac, nor was the word Pachacamac known to the people of the coast before they were conquered by the Yncas. It is an Ynca word, and is wholly foreign to, and unconnected with, the coast language. The priests of the fish-god, it would seem, became famous as fortune-tellers, ; their shrine was resorted to by pilgrims from distant valleys, and a large city grew up around it, on the margin of the sea, and of the rich vale of Lurin. The name of the deity has not been preserved, but it certainly was not Pachacamac.

In course of time the coast valleys were conquered by the Yncas, who gave them Quichua names. Nasca, Pisco, Runahuanac, Pachacamac, Rimac, Huamau, etc., are all pure Quichua names. It seems clear, therefore, that, when the Ynca Garcilasso tells us that the coast lord Cuismanco had adopted the worship of Pachacamac from the Yncas, and had built a temple to him, in which however he placed the fish and fox-gods of the Yncas, that his ideas were con-

José de Arriaga” (Lima, 1621). The old fanatic says that he punished sixty-three wizards, in the coast valleys.

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fused.⁷ He assumed that there was a worship of Pachacamac because the place had received that name; but the fish and fox-gods are a clear proof that a Supreme Being was not worshipped there. In short the word Pachacamac had nothing to do with the religion of the coast people. The worship of the Supreme Being, under the names of Pachacamac⁸ (*Creator of the World*) and Pachayachachic⁹ (*Teacher of the World*), formed a prominent feature in the religion of the Yncas. The names occur, and have the first place, in nearly all the ceremonial prayers of the Yncas given by Molina.¹ When the Yncas conquered the coast-city of the fish-god, they assigned to it the name of Pachacamac, for some reason that has not been preserved, possibly on account of its size and importance.

The Yncas frequently named places after their deities or sacred festivals. Thus, besides this *Pachacamac*, we have another at Tumbamba, and *Vilcañota*, *Vilca-pampa*, *Vilca-cunca*, *Huaca-chaca*, *Huacapuncu*, *Raymi-pampa*, and many more.²

⁷ *Comm. Real.*, Pt. 1, lib. vi, cap. 30. Herrera is still more in the dark. He says that the Yncas believed in a Creator of all things called Viracocha, to whom they built a very rich temple called Pachiamac. Dec. v, lib. iv, cap. 4.

⁸ From *Pacha* (the world) and *camac* the participle of *Camani* (I create). See *G. de la Vega*, 1, lib. ii, cap. 22; and lib. v, cap. 12.

⁹ From *Pacha* (the world) and *Yachachic*, participle of *Yachachini* (I teach). See *Acosta*, lib. v, cap. 12; *G. de la Vega*, Pt. 1, lib. v, cap. 18; and *Molina MS*.

¹ *Relacion de las fabulas y ritos de los Yncas, hecha por Christoval de Molina*. MS. at Madrid, B. 35.

² *Vilca* is a sacred place, *Huaca* an analogous but more comprehensive term, and *Raymi* the great festival of the Sun.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01061-0 - Reports on the Discovery of Peru

Edited by Clements R. Markham

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But they never built any temple to Pachacamac, and there never was one to that deity, except at Cuzco. On the summit of the lofty hill, overhanging the town of Pachacamac, they erected a temple of the Sun, which was approached by three wide terraces. Rivero states³ that the temple of the Sun was not on the top of the hill, but Cieza de Leon⁴ distinctly asserts that the loftiest part was set aside as a temple of the Sun. Astete also says that, adjoining the "mosque" (that is, the temple of the fish-god), there was a house of the Sun, situated on a hill, with five surrounding walls. Hernando Pizarro tells us that the store-rooms of gold and the convents of women were at the foot of the hill, and that the chief priest and the building containing the fish-god (devil, as he calls it) were on the terrace platform above. Higher up there were two other wide terraces, and the temple of the Sun was on the summit.

The Yncas built a temple of the Sun on the hill top; though, in accordance with their usual policy, they allowed the wooden fish idol to remain in its shrine below; which they even condescended to consult as an oracle, from conciliatory motives. But its importance waned after the Ynca conquest, the pilgrims fell off in numbers, and the town began to lose its citizens. When Hernando Pizarro arrived in 1533, the greater part of the outer wall had fallen, and there were many houses in ruins. Here is an additional proof that this was not a temple to

³ *Antiq. Per.*, p. 291.

⁴ See my translation, p. 253.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-01061-0 - Reports on the Discovery of Peru

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the Ynca deity Pachacamac, “the only temple in Peru dedicated to the Supreme Being”. If such had been the case, its importance would have increased, and not diminished, after the conquest by the Yncas, in whose prayers the Creator ever had the first place. There is no reason for supposing that pilgrims ever resorted to the shrine of the fish-god from any part of the empire of the Yncas, except the coast valleys; and the diversity of skulls alleged to have been found among the ruins is sufficiently accounted for by the presence of *mitimaes* or colonists, and by the marches of Ynca armies.⁵

The conclusions I have formed are, that the worship of Pachacamac, the Creator of the World, was a part of the Ynca religious belief; and that it was wholly unconnected with the coast Indians; that there never was any temple to Pachacamac at the place on the coast to which the Yncas gave that name, for some reason now forgotten; that the natives worshipped a fish-god there under a name now lost, which became famous as an oracle, and attracted pilgrims; and that, when the Yncas conquered the place, they raised a temple to the Sun, on the summit of the hill commanding the city of the fish-god, whence the glorious luminary could be seen to descend behind the distant horizon, and bathe the ocean in floods of light. These conclusions are supported by the writings of Garcilasso de la Vega and Cieza de Leon, and by the report of Astete; and they agree with all that is recorded of

⁵ See my translation of *Cieza de Leon*. Note, p. 252.

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the religious belief of the Yncas, and with the few facts that can be gathered, from various sources, touching the Yuncas or coast Indians.

The present Editor examined the ruins of Pachacamac, in much detail, in 1853 and again in 1854, and made a plan of them. He again visited them on the 19th of February, 1860, accompanied by an Irish chieftain and two Englishmen. We ascended the terraces on horseback to the platform of the temple of the Sun; where the old Catholic chieftain broke out in praise of the Yncas. We reminded him of their heresy, but he repeated, as he drained his sherry flask, "Here is to the Yncas! God rest their souls in peace!" We rode back through the narrow streets to Lurin, and, in memory of the event, one of our party wrote the following lines, contrasting the Catholic Hernando Pizarro of the sixteenth, with the Catholic Hibernian of the nineteenth century.

The sunlight glanced from helm and spear
 Upon the terraced height,
 And awe-struck crowds had gathered round
 Beneath the temple bright.

High on the ruined altar stone
 The iron conqueror stood,
 And o'er the broken idol held
 Outstretch'd the holy rood.

And as he preach'd God's truth, his brow
 Darker and darker grew,
 And the people feared the bloodstain'd man,
 And they feared his bloodstain'd crew.

For his speech was cruel and fierce to them,
 And hard to understand,

As he cursed the children of the Sun,
 The rulers of the land.

* * * *

Full many a year is passed and gone
 Since that strange scene befell,
 Of many a tale of blood and woe
 The silent ruins tell.

We stood upon the temple wall,
 And fierce the sunlight beat
 Upon the sand that compassed round
 The city at our feet.

The ruin'd terrace gardens told
 Of splendour passed away,
 And bleaching in the Sun, the bones
 Of Priest and Warrior lay.

Then one who held the ancient creed
 Of him who preached of yore,
 And bowed before the self-same sign,
 The cross the conqueror bore.

Raised high the wine cup in his hand,
 "We'll drink the noble dead!
 The Princely Rulers of the land!
 God rest their souls," he said.

As through the silent streets below
 We rode among the dead,
 We mused which held the faith of Him
 Whose blood for all was shed.

Or he who cursed the Pagan Kings,
 And bade their empire cease,
 Or he who prayed above their graves,
 "God rest their souls in peace".

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-01061-0 - Reports on the Discovery of Peru
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A TRUE ACCOUNT
OF THE PROVINCE
OF CUZCO,

Called New Castille, conquered by *Francisco Pizarro*,
captain to His Majesty the Emperor,
our Master.

Dedicated to His Majesty the Emperor by

FRANCISCO XERES,

Native of the most noble and most loyal town of Seville, Secretary
to the said Captain in all the Provinces and Countries
conquered in New Castille, and one of the first
conquerors of that country.



SALAMANCA:

1547.

Second Edition.