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Pedro de Cieza de Leon

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No. LXVIII.

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THE
SECOND PART
OF THE
CHRONICLE OF PERU.

BY
PEDRO DE CIEZA DE LEON.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED,
With Notes and an Introduction,
BY
CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, C.B., F.R.S.

LONDON :
PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

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DEDICATION.

TO

ANDRES AVELINO CACERES

(General of Brigade in the Peruvian Army),

And to his gallant companions in arms, now heroically defending their native country against fearful odds, I dedicate this edition of the narrative of that scholarly soldier, Pedro de Cieza de Leon, who warmly sympathised with the people of the land of the Yncas, advocated their cause, and denounced their wrongs.

The natives of the valley of Xauxa, descendants of the Huancas mentioned by Cieza de Leon, have suffered most cruelly from the inroads of the Chilian soldiery, and on this classic ground the brave Caceres and his little army have striven to protect these people from robbery and outrage. Cieza de Leon mentions a fact relating to the Huancas of the Xauxa valley, which gives us a high estimate of their civilization. The cruelties and robberies of the Spanish conquerors, whose deeds are now outdone by their Chilian imitators, would have led to the complete destruction of the natives if it had not been for the excellent order and concert of their polity. They made an agreement among themselves that if an army of Spaniards passed through any of their districts, and did such damage as would be caused by the destruction of growing crops, by the sacking of houses, and other mischief of still worse kinds, the accountants should keep careful records of the injury done. The accounts were then examined and checked ; and if one district had lost more than another, those which had

suffered less made up part of the difference ; so that the burden was shared equally by all.¹

It is among the descendants of these Huancas that the Chilians are now committing havoc. With the Peruvians, with the men who are fighting in the noblest of all causes—the defence of their Fatherland—with General Caceres and his companions in arms, must be the hearty sympathies and best wishes of all who hate wrong and love patriotic devotion. Through that devotion, through the sacrifices and self-denials entailed upon the unfortunate people of the land of the Yncas, may be seen those rays of light which break the black cloud now hanging over the country and the race described by Cieza de Leon in the following pages.

May his narrative excite the interest of many readers, and so enlist sympathy for the descendants of that people whose story he tells so well.

¹ See p. 34.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE present volume, which has been selected for issue by the Hakluyt Society, contains the Second Part of the *Chronicle of Peru*, by Pedro de Cieza de Leon. The First Part formed one of the Society's volumes for 1864, having been translated from the Antwerp edition of 1554.

When I translated and edited the First Part, no other had been printed. I then had reason to believe that the author completed the second and third parts of his Chronicle, and that one of these parts had come into the possession of Mr. Lenox of New York, in manuscript. I lamented the disappearance of the Second Part, and referred to it as one of the greatest losses that had been sustained by South American literature.¹

It has now been discovered that the manuscript narrative which Mr. Prescott frequently refers to, in his *History of the Conquest of Peru*, as "*Sarmiento*", and which he considered to be one of the most valuable of his authorities, is in reality the Second Part of the work of Cieza de Leon. Mr. Prescott quotes the title in his critical notice,² "*para el Illmo Señor Dñ. Juan Sarmiento, Presidente del Consejo Rl. de Indias*", and assumes that this Don Juan Sarmiento

¹ Introduction, p. xviii.² *History*, i, p. 161.

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was the author, who, after having travelled in all parts of Peru and diligently collected information from the Ynca nobles, subsequently became President of the Council of the Indies. In reality, the word *para* means “for”, and not “by”, and the manuscript is simply addressed to Dr. Sarmiento, who never crossed the Atlantic in his life, and who only held the post of President of the Council of the Indies for twenty months.¹

Mr. Prescott made much use of both parts, and considered them to be works of great merit. If what he says in praise of the author he supposed to be Sarmiento,² is added to what he says of Cieza de Leon,³ it will at once be seen that the latter, really the only author, is a very important authority indeed.

It is with a feeling of reverential regret that the present editor refers to any mistake, even one so slight as this, of the illustrious American historian. Some of my brightest and happiest memories are of the ten days I spent at Pepperell with Mr. Prescott, when I was on the eve of commencing my studies in the land of the Yncas. He it was who encouraged me to undertake my Peruvian investigations, and to

¹ The Spanish editor accounts for Mr. Prescott's mistake by supposing that the person employed to copy the manuscript had written *por* (by) instead of *para* (for). But this is not so, as Mr. Prescott himself quotes the word *para* (i, p. 161). The Spanish editor refers to a life of Sarmiento in the *Historia del Colegio Viejo de San Bartolomé Mayor de la celebre Universidad de Salamanca*, 2d edicion, Primera Parte, p. 336.

² *Conquest of Peru*, i, 160-62.

³ *Ibid.*, ii, 297-99.

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persevere in them. To his kindly advice and assistance I owe more than I can say, and to him is due, in no small degree, the value of anything I have since been able to do in furtherance of Peruvian research.

The evidence that the work attributed by Prescott to Sarmiento is in reality the Second Part of the *Chronicle* of Cieza de Leon is quite conclusive. There are no less than ten occasions on which the author of the Second Part (Prescott's "Sarmiento") refers to passages in his First Part, which occur in the First Part of Cieza de Leon.¹ In one place there is a reference in the Second Part to the actual number of the chapter in the First Part.² In the Second Part, the author mentions having gone to Toledo to present the First Part of his *Chronicle* to the Prince Don Felipe;³ and this statement is equivalent to having signed his name. For only one First Part of a chronicle relating to the Indies was dedicated to the Prince, namely that of Cieza de Leon. The author of the Second Part also mentions having been to Bahaire, near Cartagena, and to the province of Arma—places visited by Cieza de Leon, and mentioned in his First Part.

The manuscript of the Second Part was preserved in the library of the Escorial,⁴ in a bad copy dating

¹ *Cronica*, ii, pp. 25, 44, 45, 51, 131, 160, 173, 180, 193, 212.

² *Ibid.*, ii, p. 212, reference to chapter liii (liv in the incorrectly numbered Antwerp edition) of the First Part. See my Translation, p. 192.

³ Page 84.

⁴ *Biblioteca de Escorial*, códice L, j, 5 from folio 1 to 130 inclusive.

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INTRODUCTION.

from the middle, or end, of the 16th century. The first sheet is missing, and the second begins in the middle of a sentence towards the end of the third chapter. Thus the two opening chapters and part of the third are lost.

The text of the Escorial manuscript has been printed by two accomplished scholars—the Peruvian Dr. Manuel Gonzalez de la Rosa in 1873; and the Spaniard Don Marcos Jimenez de la Espada at Madrid in 1880. Both, independently, detected the mistake of Prescott as soon as they began to examine the text critically. The text was reprinted by Dr. de la Rosa with scrupulous care; the spelling, imperfect punctuation, and capricious use of capitals in the manuscript being very carefully preserved. But instead of retaining the manuscript numbering of chapters, Dr. de la Rosa omits the fragment of chapter iii, and calls the fourth chapter, chapter i. An edition was printed off by Mr. Trübner, but soon afterwards Dr. de la Rosa left London for Peru, without completing the editorial work. So that this edition of the second part of Cieza de Leon has never been editorially completed or published, and remains on Mr. Trübner's hands.

Don Marcos Jimenez de la Espada, to whom the student of Peruvian history is so much indebted for other precious editorial work, delayed his publication of the text of the Second Part of Cieza de Leon, because he had heard from Don Pascual de Gayangos that the learned Peruvian, Dr. de la Rosa, was engaged upon the same work. It was not until

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1880 that the edition of Espada was published at Madrid.¹ The Spanish editor has corrected the spelling and punctuation, and has supplied many useful notes. Five copies appear to have been made of the Escorial manuscript. One, very carelessly executed, is in the Academy of History at Madrid. The second was in the collection of Lord Kingsborough, from which was copied, through Mr. Rich's agency, the one supplied to Mr. Prescott, which is the third. The fourth and fifth are those from which the versions of Rosa and Espada were printed.

In the Prologue to his First Part, Cieza de Leon announced the plan of his great work :—

PART I. The divisions and description of the provinces of Peru.

PART II. The government, great deeds, origin, policy, buildings, and roads of the Yncas.

PART III. Discovery and conquest of Peru by Pizarro, and rebellion of the Indians.

PART IV. *Book I.* War between Pizarro and Almagro.

Book II. War of the young Almagro.

Book III. The civil war of Quito.

Book IV. War of Huarina.

Book V. War of Xaquixaguana.

Commentary I. Events from the founding of the Audience to the departure of the President.

Commentary II. Events to the arrival of the Viceroy Mendoza.

PART I of this very complete Chronicle of Peru was published at Seville in folio, by Martin Clement

¹ *Biblioteca Hispano-Ultramarina. Segunda Parte de la Crónica del Perú*, que trata del Señorío de los Incas Yupanquis y de sus grandes hechos y gobernacion, éscrita por Pedro de Cieza de Leon. La publica Márcos Jimenez de la Espada. Madrid, Imprenta de Manuel Gines Hernandez, Libertad, 16 duplicado, bajo, 1880. Pp. 279, and xi of Introduction.

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in 1553. A second edition, in duodecimo, was printed at Antwerp by Jean Steeltz in 1554;¹ and another independent edition, also at Antwerp and in the same year, by Martin Nucio. In 1555 an Italian translation, by Agostino di Gravalis, appeared at Rome, and was reprinted at Venice by Giordano Ziletti, in 1560. A third Italian version was published at Venice in 1566. An English translation by John Stevens came out in London in 1576. The latest Spanish edition forms part of the second volume of the *Historiadores Primitivos de Indias*, in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (vol. 26), and is edited by Don Enrique de Vedia. It was published at Madrid in 1853. Lastly, the Hakluyt Society issued a translation in English in 1864.²

PART II remained in manuscript until 1873, when the Peruvian editor, and in 1880 the Spanish editor, printed their versions. An English translation is now, for the first time, issued by the Hakluyt Society.

PART III, and *Books I and II* of PART IV, are still in manuscript and inaccessible, but Don M. J. de la Espada knows that they exist and where, although he has not seen them.

Book III of PART IV long remained inedited. The manuscript is in the Royal Library at Madrid,

¹ This was the edition used by Prescott; and by me in translating the First Part for the Hakluyt Society.

² Don M. J. de la Espada says of the Hakluyt Society's volume:—"Edicion muy bella. Bien anotada en la parte geográfica y de historia natural, en la historica y biografica con los comentarios de Garcilasso y las decadas de Herrera."

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and is in handwriting of the middle of the 16th century. It includes the war of Quito, and is divided into 239 chapters. A copy of this manuscript was included in the collection of Don Antonio de Uguina, on whose death it passed into the possession of M. Ternaux-Compans of Paris. Afterwards Mr. Rich obtained it, and sold it in 1849 to Mr. Lenox of New York for £600. At length this *Book III* of Part IV was printed and edited in 1877, with an interesting and very learned introduction by Don Marcos Jimenez de la Espada.¹

Books IV and V of PART IV, and the two *Commentaries*, are not known to be in existence; but they were written, for Cieza de Leon refers to them in his Prologue as completed.

Mr. Prescott was mistaken in supposing that Cieza de Leon only completed the First Part.² He worked so diligently, and with such ability, and sound judgment, that he was able to finish the whole of the grand work he had projected. He is thus the greatest and most illustrious among the historians of Peru. So that his fate has been peculiarly hard. For more than three centuries his First Part only

¹ *Biblioteca Hispano-Ultramarina*. Tercero libro de las Guerras Civiles del Peru, el cual se llama la Guerra de Quito, hecho por Pedro de Cieza de Leon, Coronista de las cosas de las Indias. Madrid, 1877. Prólogo por M. J. de la Espada, pp. cxix. La Guerra de Quito, pp. 176. Apendices, pp. 120.

² "The First Part, as already noticed, was alone completed. The author died without having covered any portion of the magnificent ground plan which he had confidently laid out."—*Conquest of Peru*, ii, p. 298.

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has been credited to him. His most valuable Second Part, though used and highly appreciated by Mr. Prescott, was attributed to an obscure lawyer who never was out of Spain in his life. One book of his Fourth Part has also at length been edited, but all the rest of his work still remains in manuscript. The accomplished Spanish editor, Don Marcos Jimenez de la Espada, was influenced in his labours and researches by a generous zeal to repair, in some degree, the great injustice which has been done to the memory of Cieza de Leon.

In my Introduction to the First Part, I gave some account of the author, all indeed that could be gathered from the part of his work then accessible; and I said that he was supposed to have been born in Seville.¹ This is an error. The Spanish editor has pointed out the authority for believing that the place of his birth was the town of Llerena in Estremadura.² In my former Introduction I suggested

¹ So says Fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Cordova, in his *Memorial de las Historias del Nuevo Mundo Piru* (Lima 1630), but without giving any authority.

² Herrera gives Llerena as the birthplace of Cieza de Leon (Dec. vi, lib. vi, cap. 4; and Dec. vii, lib. ix, cap. 19). In the latter of these two passages, in the first edition, the word is printed *Erena*, an error which is repeated in the editions of Antwerp and of Gonzalez Barcia. Piedrahita (lib. iv, cap. 2) repeats that Cieza de Leon was a native of Llerena. The town of Llerena is nineteen leagues east of Badajos, at the foot of the Sierra de San Miguel. It was taken from the Saracens in 1241; and in 1340 Alfonso XI assembled the Cortes at Llerena. Besides Cieza, it produced the Holguins, and Juan de Pozo, the watchmaker who placed the *giralda* on the tower of Seville.

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from the dates, and from the company in which we find him immediately on landing in America, that young Cieza de Leon, then a boy between 13 and 15, sailed from his native land in one of the ships which formed the expeditionary fleet of Don Pedro de Heredia, who had obtained a grant of the government of the region between the river Magdalena and the gulf of Darien. This fleet left Cadiz in 1532, and arrived at Cartagena in 1533. But the Spanish editor has shown that there are difficulties in the way of this conclusion, and Cieza himself is slightly contradictory in the matter of dates. He, however, mentions having seen the treasures of Atahualpa at Seville, when they arrived from Caxamarca,¹ which was in 1534. Señor de le Espada, therefore, concludes that our author did not sail for America until 1534, and that he embarked with the ships of Rodrigo Duran, which anchored at Cartagena in November 1534. At all events he was in San Sebastian de Buena Vista in 1537,² and was with the first Spaniards who opened a road from the north to the south sea. Thence he accompanied Pedro Vadillo in his expedition up the valley of the Cauca to Cali, and then joined Jorge de Robledo, who established towns in this Cauca valley, and conquered some of the cannibal tribes. It was at this time, in 1541, when at Cartago in the Cauca valley, that our author conceived a strong desire to write an account of the strange things that

¹ See my Translation, p. 335.² My Translation, p. 40.

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were to be seen in the new world.¹ “Oftentimes when the other soldiers were reposing, I was tiring myself by writing. Neither fatigue, nor the ruggedness of the country, nor the mountains and rivers, nor intolerable hunger and suffering, have ever been sufficient to obstruct my two duties, namely, writing, and following my flag and my captain without fault.” In 1547 he joined the President Gasca in his march to Cuzco, and was present at the final rout of Gonzalo Pizarro. After a residence at Cuzco he undertook a journey southwards to Charcas, under the special auspices of Gasca, and with the sole object of learning all that was worthy of notice. Returning to Lima he finished his First Part on September 8th, 1550. He says he was then thirty-two years of age, and had passed seventeen of them in the Indies.

The Second Part was also nearly completed before Cieza de Leon left Peru, because he mentions having shown most of it to two learned judges at Lima, Dr. Bravo de Saravia and the Licentiate Hernando de Santillan. The latter was himself the author of a valuable work on the government of the Yncas,

¹ Mr. Robert Blake White, who has travelled in the valley of the Cauca, read an interesting paper on the “Central Provinces of Colombia”, at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on February 26th, 1883. He afterwards read the First Part of the Chronicle of Cieza de Leon, and was struck by the accuracy with which the soldier-historian described that same region which Mr. Blake White travelled over more than three hundred years afterwards. The English explorer was much interested in the perusal of the work of his Spanish predecessor.

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which also long remained in manuscript. It was first printed in Madrid in 1879, having been edited by Don Marcos Jimenez de la Espada. From incidental notices in the Second Part, we learn how diligently young Cieza de Leon collected information respecting the history and government of the Yncas, after he had written his accurate yet picturesque description of the country in his First Part. He often asked the Indians what they knew of their condition before the Yncas became their lords.¹ He carefully examined the temple of Cacha, and inquired into the traditions concerning it, from the intelligent native governor of an adjacent village.² In 1550 he went to Cuzco with the object of collecting information, and it was arranged by Juan de Saavedra, the Corregidor of that city, that one of the surviving descendants of the great Ynca Huayna Ccapac, an intelligent and learned native named Cayu Tupac, should confer with him. At the very time when Cieza de Leon was diligently studying the history of the Yncas under the guidance of this Peruvian "Pundit", the young Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega, then eleven years of age, was at school in the same old city of Cuzco, learning Latin under the good Canon Cuellar. The two historians must often have seen each other, the little half-caste boy playing in the streets with his schoolfellows, and the stately young Spanish soldier studying carefully with his noble Ynca friend. Cieza de Leon explains the

¹ Page 2.² Page 7.

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plan of his Second Part, which was, first to review the system of government of the Yncas, and then to narrate the events of the reign of each sovereign. He weighs conflicting evidence, and gives the version which appears to him to be nearest the truth, sometimes also adding the grounds of his decision. He spared no pains to obtain the best and most authentic information; and his sympathy with the conquered people, and generous appreciation of their many good and noble qualities, give a special charm to his narrative.

Cieza de Leon is certainly one of the most important authorities on Ynca history and civilization, whether we consider his peculiar advantages in collecting information, or his character as a conscientious historian. His remarks respecting the Ynca roads and system of posts, on the use of the *quipus*, on the system of colonists, and on the ceremonial songs and recitations to preserve the memory of historical events, are of the first importance. He bears striking evidence of the historical faculty possessed by the learned men at the court of the Yncas. After saying that, on the death of a sovereign, the chroniclers related the events of his reign to his successor, he adds :—"They could well do this, for there were among them some men with good memories, sound judgments, and subtle genius, and full of reasoning power, as we can bear witness who have heard them even in these our days."¹

Students owe much to the labours of Don Marcos

¹ Page 32.

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Jimenez de la Espada. He has not only edited the text of the Second Part of Cieza de Leon, and his *War of Quito*, but also the hitherto inedited narratives of Betanzos, Molina, Salcamayhua, Santillan, and an anonymous work, all of great importance with reference to the history and civilization of the Yncas. These additions to our knowledge are sufficient to show us how much there is to learn before anything approaching to a correct appreciation of this interesting subject can be attained. The future historian who will at last achieve this task, must be intimately acquainted with every part of the Yncarial empire, must be a thorough Quichua scholar, must have closely studied all early Spanish writers, and must possess the critical faculty to enable him to assign its proper weight to the varied evidence given by many different authorities. The present useful labour of editing and indexing will prepare the way for the future work. It is the accumulation, sorting, and preparation of the materials with which the noble edifice will some day be built.

The Index of the present volume is classified on the same principle as those in the volumes of Garcilasso de la Vega, Acosta, Molina, Salcamayhua, Avila, and Polo de Ondegardo. The student is thus able to see, without trouble, the Quichua words and the names of places and persons which are mentioned by each author. His studies will in this way be much facilitated, especially if he undertakes the task of weighing the respective value of facts and opinions given by different writers. Such an inves-

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tigation is one essential step towards the comprehension of the history and civilization of the Yncas. A more important inquiry refers to the assignment of traditions, customs, beliefs, and words to the different races which were comprehended in the Yncarial empire. But this can only be attempted by students of the native languages. It is from Peru itself—from learned and painstaking Peruvian scholars—that we must look for future real progress in this most interesting field of research. Republican Peru has already produced many eminent writers who have devoted their talents to historical studies, and to the elucidation of the archæology and philology of their native land. The names of Rivero, Paz Soldan, Palma, Zagarra, Barranca, Mujica, and others, at once occur to the mind. Peru, in her undeserved misfortunes, has shown that her sons can fight bravely for their beloved fatherland. In literature, many of her sons have shed lustre on their country's history. In no christian land is there warmer family affection; in none is there truer and more cordial hospitality. Those who know Peru best, most deeply regret her misfortunes, and most heartily desire her future welfare.

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NOTE

ON

THE ANCIENT YNCA DRAMA.

THE reference of Cieza de Leon to the songs and recitations at the court of the Yncas suggests the question of the existence among the ancient Peruvians of a drama, or system of representing historical and other events by means of dialogues. This, therefore, seems a suitable opportunity for examining what light is thrown on the question in the works which, in a translated form, have been issued by the Hakluyt Society; and for considering the most reasonable conclusion to be derived from the materials now within our reach.

At page 32 of the present volume, Cieza de Leon says that the most learned among the people were selected to make known historical events by songs and recitations, which were handed down from memory. This is the germ of dramatic representation, which might be expected to attain fuller development; and that it did so is clear from the evidence of other historians. Garcilasso de la Vega says:—"The *Amautas*, or philosophers, were not wanting in ability to compose comedies and tragedies, which were represented before their kings on solemn