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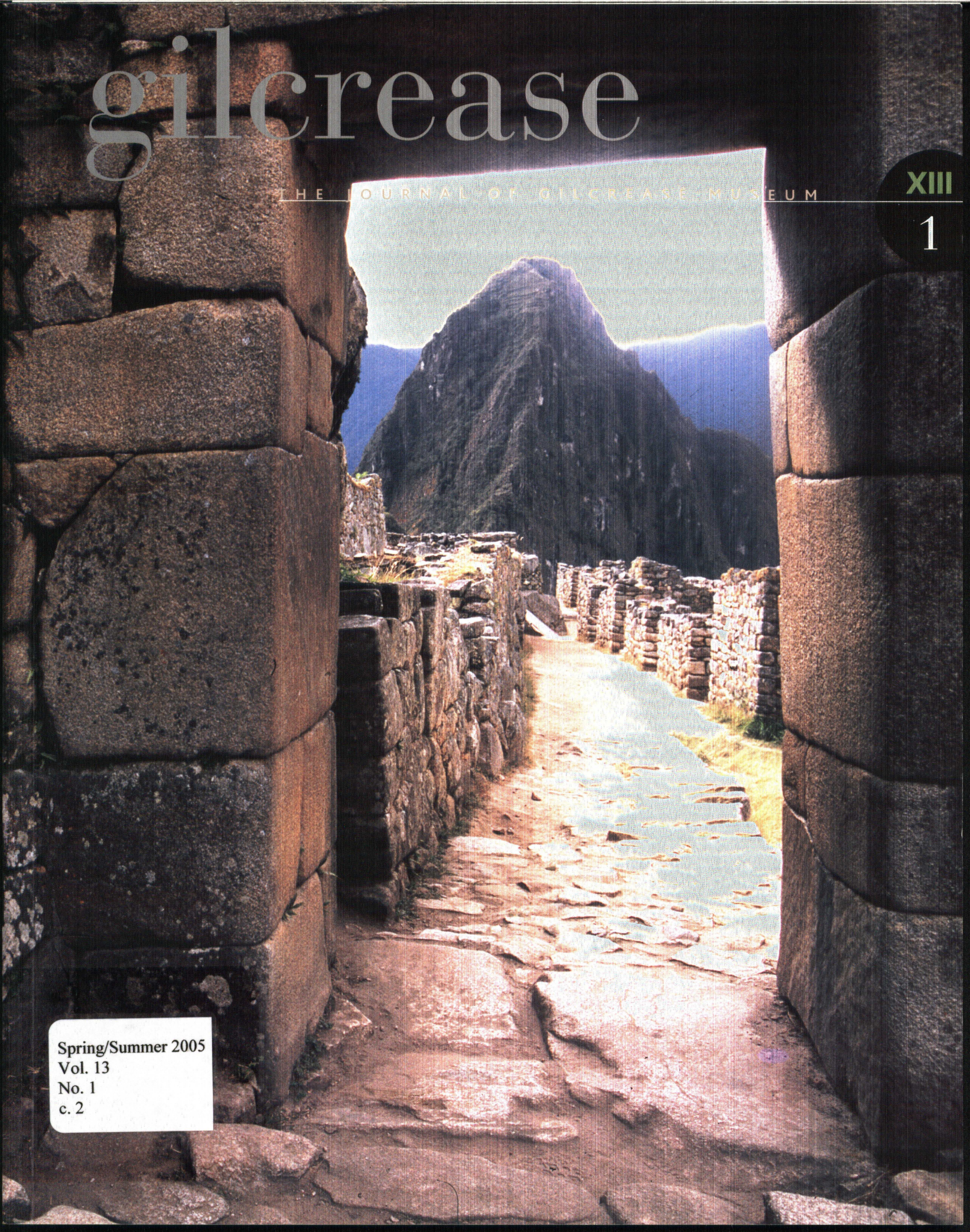

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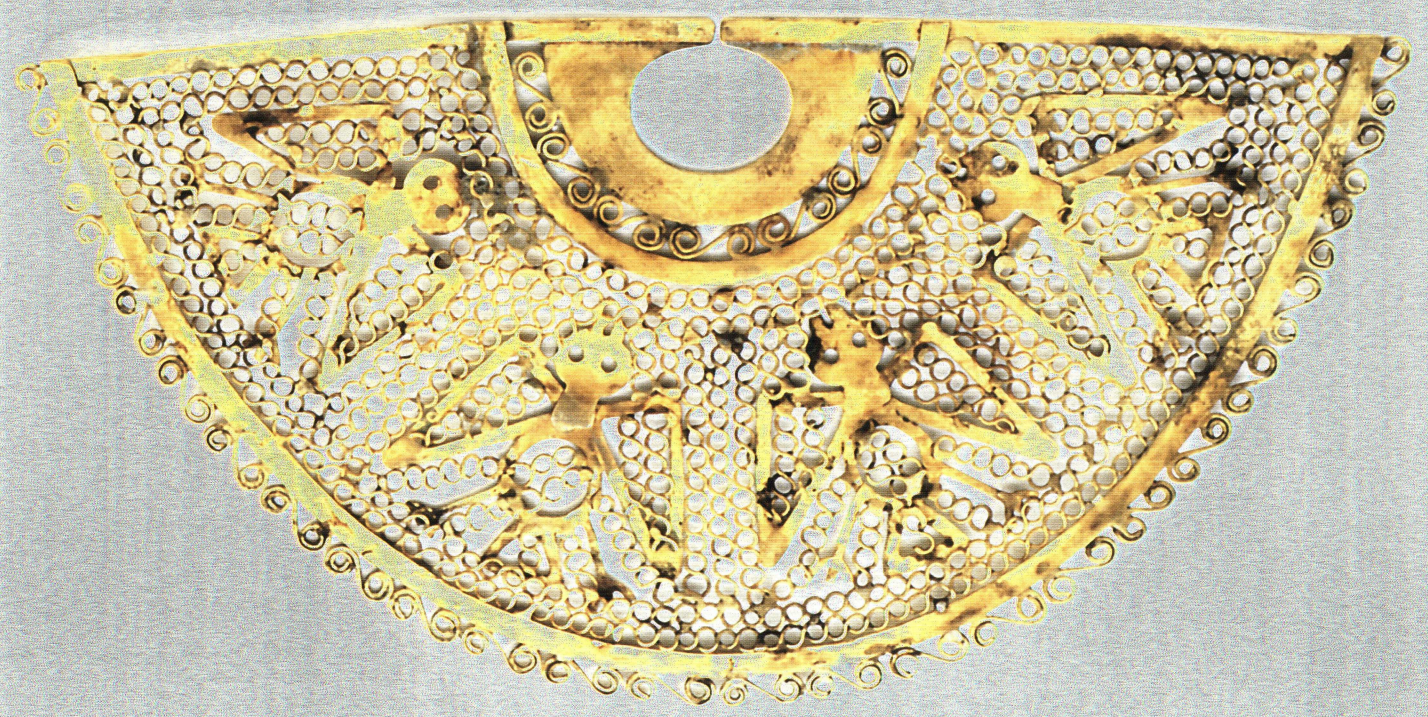





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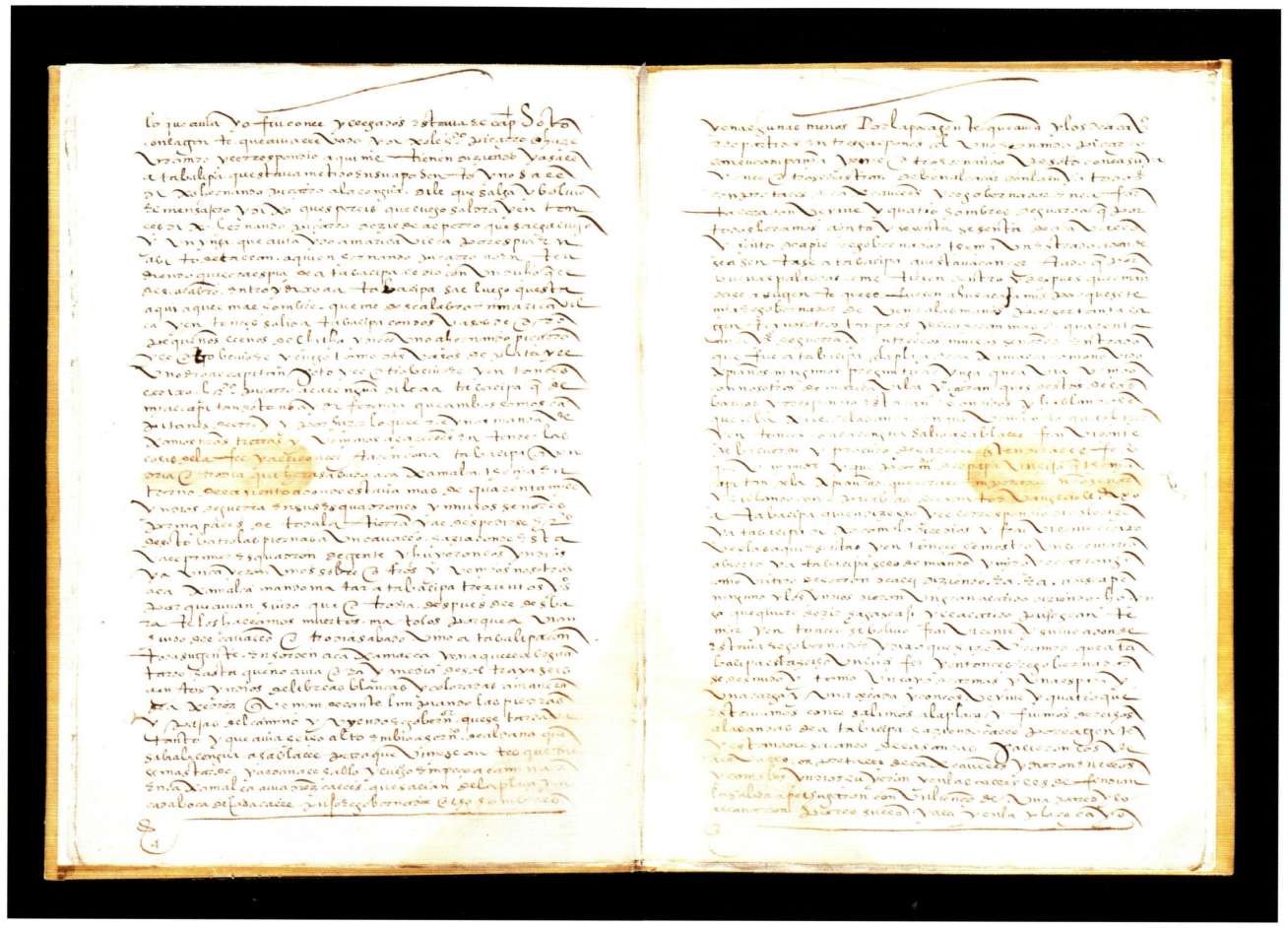

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Page One: Carved wooden face, Huari, A.D. 800 – 1100. Wood, pigment. TL 2004.233.45. Gift in honor of Andrew Wolov, 2004.

Page Two: Filigree nose ornament, Peru, A.D. 100 – 200. Gold. 56.235. Gift in honor of Andrew Wolov, 2003.

Page Three: Double-spouted vessel, Nasca, Peru, 200 B.C. – A.D. 600. Earthenware, 54.20117. Gift in honor of Andrew Wolov, 2003.

Above: Pages from *Relation of the Discovery of Peru*, Diego de Trujillo.

Facing: Stirrup effigy vessel, Moche, A.D. 100 – 300. Earthenware, TL2004.344.4. Anonymous gift, 2004.

Page Six: Machu Picchu. Photo by Duane Birkey. ©Duane Birkey.

# peru

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RANDY RAMER

# HIRAM BINGHAM AND MACHU PICCHU

## THE MAKING OF AN EXPLORER AND HIS LOST CITY



When he arrived in Peru in July of 1911, the thirty-five-year-old Hiram Bingham was poised for greatness — while he did not know it yet, events of coming days would completely reshape his life. The cloud forest of Machu Picchu was barely a dream as Bingham waited on what may have seemed the edge of the earth for the "enduring moment" of his life to unfold. It would be formed from his own initiative, from a characteristic determination, and from good fortune.

On the morning of July 24, 1911, Bingham sat in his tent high in the Cordillera Vilcabamba region of Peru and waited for a light rain to pass. He opened his expedition journal and jotted in it some Quechua place names he had heard while making local inquiries along the trail out of Cuzco:

*Maccu Picchu*
*Huaynapicchu*

As the rain diminished, he left the expedition camp and started up the mountain path that in only a few hours would forever change his place in the world. He had no idea that the words he had written would endure to record what, for him would be that moment Che Guevara called "the crowning of all his purest dreams as an adult child."

Celebrated by his admirers as a gifted writer and historian, derided by his critics as a publicity-seeking opportunist, Hiram Bingham was an American original. Student, missionary, scholar, aviator, soldier, politician, businessman, and father of seven sons, he lived a life of never-ending restlessness. His discoveries, observations, and public service, however, could never fully satisfy an unforgiving need to prove himself. Bingham was forever open to possibility. He maintained an enthusiasm for achievement, for adventure, to do that which had not yet been done, driven in a quest to make his name in a world of men and "manly" pursuits.

HIRAM BINGHAM III WAS BORN IN HONOLULU, HAWAII, IN 1875, THE SON AND GRANDSON OF PROMINENT MISSIONARIES.

*Right: Bingham at the age of four.*
*Below, Bingham as a young pastor at the Palama Mission in Honolulu.*
*Facing: the family home, Gilbertina, in Honolulu.*





Hiram Bingham III was born in Honolulu, Hawaii, in 1875, to a family of prominent missionaries. His grandfather, Hiram Bingham I, had arrived in the Pacific some fifty years before to lead the first Protestant mission to the islands. The first Hiram Bingham would go on to become one of the most eminent figures in the 19th-century history of the region. In his day he was dubbed "King of Hawaii" for his role in developing the first Anglo-American–style legal, educational, and governmental systems in the Pacific. Through the sheer force of an indefatigable New England will, it was the Reverend Bingham who ultimately initiated an "official commitment to the Christian religion" by leaders of the indigenous Hawaiian population. His son, Hiram





Bingham Jr., was equally dedicated to a calling in the Pacific. The younger reverend extended his father's work well beyond Hawaii, to the Gilbert Islands of Micronesia. There, he developed a written form of the Gilbertese language and eventually produced a native translation of the Bible.

Hiram Bingham III grew up in the formidable shadow of his family name. His boyhood in paradise was marked more by an awareness of the accomplishments of his forebears than by the wonders of his tropical surroundings. An only child, he was instilled as a youth with an overwhelming sense of religious obligation and with the expectation of continuing the family tradition of privation and self-sacrifice. Except for a small stipend earned from service at the Protestant mission, his family lived in virtual poverty. Mission life was dreary and restrictive, made worse by the "short stick his father kept within easy reach" to be used "whenever he failed in any minor observance of the daily rituals." As the boy fluctuated between "his fear of hell and his fear of his father," home life eventually became more than he could bear. The world beyond the ocean was brimming with possibility. Young Hiram developed a desperate need to escape.

As the trades ship *C.W. Bryant* awaited its departure from Hawaii to the mainland United States, the boy's need took the form of desperate action. The morning had begun as any other, Hiram leaving his mission settlement home for a day of study at the Punahou prep school in Honolulu. That afternoon, however, when his father arrived to retrieve him, the boy was nowhere to be found. Reverend Bingham was startled to learn that his son had never shown up for class. The frantic father then learned that Hiram had stolen away to the harbor with a classmate. Young Bingham had purchased a new suit of clothes and booked passage to the mainland with money saved for his education. He was determined to earn his fortune in New York City as a newsboy in the "Horatio Alger tradition" and ultimately to become a missionary in Africa, where he would "engage in good works."

MISSION LIFE WAS DREARY AND RESTRICTIVE, MADE WORSE BY THE "SHORT STICK HIS FATHER KEPT WITHIN EASY REACH" TO BE USED "WHENEVER HE FAILED IN ANY MINOR OBSERVANCE OF THE DAILY RITUALS."

Just as Hiram's plan for a new life was unfolding, the ship's departure was unexpectedly delayed, and Reverend Bingham appeared dockside to retrieve his rebellious son. A fellow missionary's wife wrote to a friend that "Mr. Bingham, we hear, is prostrated—we felt as if it would kill him, weak as he is. It is dreadful to think that such a boy has so deceived his parents. I believe he got the fancy from books he has read."

The boy was never punished for his actions. Hiram Bingham's life would take a different turn. His chance at freedom had come and gone, and he saw that could not escape his father or his name. Instead, he applied himself toward getting an education. Freedom would indeed come to him from books but in what way he did not yet know. For the remainder of his youth, he worked diligently at his studies. Escape from the family name would only be found by making a name for himself.

IN THE COMING YEARS, Bingham's studies eventually took him away from home, first to Andover and then Yale University where his father had gone well over a generation before. Hiram's college days were characterized by hard work and self-denial, the latter made easier by a lack of money for even the most basic of necessities. The young man earned his way by selling books door to door and by tutoring "rich men's sons." Despite his financial difficulties, life was finally beginning to reveal its possibilities. Bingham eventually joined a fraternity and began participating in social gatherings in New Haven. He attended parties with an expanding circle of friends and hesitantly confessed to his parents that he had even attended local dances. School ultimately came first, however. Bingham proudly excelled in school debates, leading Yale in the defeat of Harvard for the first time.

Even during his years away from home, the Bingham family calling remained firmly fixed in the young man's mind. In a letter written as Bingham neared the completion of his undergraduate degree at Yale, Hiram declared to his parents a devoted "purpose to save souls for Christ." He went on to thoughtfully proclaim a "strong call to be a medical missionary in China." His devotion to his parents ultimately urged his return home upon graduation in 1898. By that summer, Hiram had fully given in to their influence, becoming pastor of the small Palama Mission, serving the poor in the inner city slums of Honolulu.

At the age of twenty-three, only a few months into missionary life, Hiram Bingham's course was about to change. On December 3, 1898, the barkentine *Archer* set anchor in Honolulu harbor. Aboard the expansive chartered yacht was the Alfred Mitchell family of New London, Connecticut, on extended holiday in the islands. While at Yale, Hiram had met the Mitchells and attended parties in their home. There he had been modestly acquainted with the Mitchells' daughter, Alfreda. To Hiram, her arrival would become more than mere happenstance; it would ultimately become a revelation.



*Alfreda Mitchell, left, aboard the Archer, circa. 1898.*



Alfreda Mitchell was the twenty-three-year-old granddaughter of Charles Tiffany, founder of Tiffany and Company and the Tiffany family fortune. Hers was a world of wealth and privilege Hiram had never known. Bingham's piety, intelligence, and reverent demeanor intrigued her. For him, Alfreda's quiet intellect brought about feelings that were fundamentally unfamiliar to the young missionary's limited social experience. In a balmy Hawaiian paradise, only days before the end of the Mitchell family's five-month stay in Honolulu, Hiram and Alfreda were privately pledged to one another.

While Bingham had always felt inadequate against the family name and its demand toward religious service, Alfreda had fostered an insecurity that was brought about by the over-protective environment of her childhood. The Tiffany wealth had allowed her to travel the globe, yet she had never been seriously schooled, her education deferred to a series of governesses and tutors. Her calm and quiet demeanor appealed to young Bingham, however, who understood the shyness she could never fully escape. Alfreda's parents were against their relationship from the very beginning. As a suitor, Hiram had few if any prospects. He knew that mission work would never be able to provide an acceptable standard of living to the Mitchells or even to satisfy his own developing aspirations.



*Hiram and Alfreda Bingham at Princeton.*

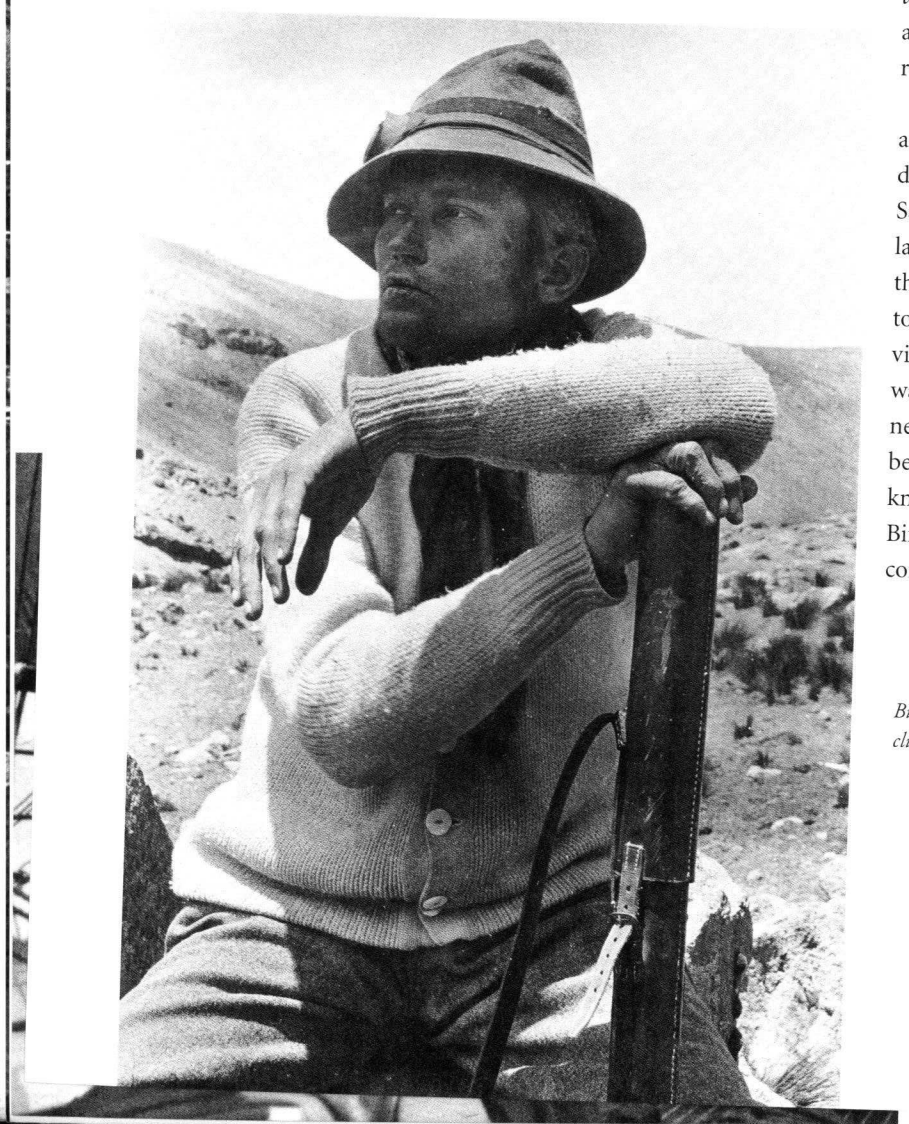
In Alfreda's absence, Hiram became determined to return to the mainland. Not long after her departure, he left work at the mission, citing poor health, and took a job instead as a chemist for the American Sugar Company. In a matter of months, he had saved enough to book passage to California. He convinced his parents that he needed to continue his education. Without confessing that he had lost interest in the ministry, he arrived in San Francisco with a letter of introduction from his father to the Pacific Theological Seminary in Berkeley. Instead, he enrolled at the University of California at Berkeley for graduate study in history. His parents were heartbroken to learn that Alfreda had now become the "major premise of his life." Yet, while the Binghams were greatly discouraged by Hiram's new direction, Alfreda's father, a "free-thinking Darwinian," had begun to look at him much "less unfavorably." Mrs. Mitchell was even more encouraging, indicating that if Bingham "earned his M.A. he might indeed be able to have his 'A.M.'"

Hiram and Alfreda were married in the Mitchells' Connecticut home on November 20, 1900, only months after Bingham received his master's degree at Berkeley. By that time, he had already begun working toward a doctorate at Harvard. During the next five years, Bingham's personal life changed rapidly as his professional ambitions continued to expand. When he received his Ph.D. in 1905, he was the father of three sons. Even with his newfound obligations, he remained restless. The

Bingham family was in constant movement, from one home to another, as Hiram pursued every opportunity for professional advancement. He had decided on a career in teaching and eventually accepted an invitation from then president of Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson, to become preceptor in history and politics.

CHARACTERISTICALLY, BINGHAM SOON GREW TIRED OF TEACHING. Ever restless, he decided instead to pursue research on a biography of Simon Bolivar. His interests had become focused on South America, a region largely untouched by North American scholars. At the time, no comprehensive biography existed of the great Libertador who had less than a century before led the colonies of South America in gaining their independence from the Spanish Crown. Bingham had decided to physically retrace the route of Bolivar's military campaign. While he remained on the Princeton faculty, Hiram took a leave of absence from his duties to make the 1,000-mile trek by horse, mule, train, and foot from Caracas to Bogota. While his full biography on Bolivar would ultimately never be written, the expedition across Columbia and Venezuela would mark a fundamental change in Bingham's professional identity. Somewhere along the Bolivar trail he had begun to think of himself increasingly less as a scholar and academic. In a letter written to his father as he began the long journey from Caracas in 1907, Bingham's thoughts were clearly shifting from research. "I feel the Bingham blood stirring my veins as I start for little known regions," he wrote, "as nearly all my Bingham ancestors for ten generations have done before me."

By the expedition's end the following spring, Bingham's ambitions toward a career solely of teaching continued to diminish, despite his receiving an appointment as a lecturer of South American history at Yale only a week after his return. His restlessness continued. Bingham immediately set about writing an account of his journeys he later called *Journal of an Expedition across Venezuela and Columbia.* In true Bingham fashion, he also began making plans for a second trip to the "little known regions" of South America.



*Bingham at the base camp after the Coropuna climb. Photo by Herman Tucker.*

Bingham was able to use his growing experience to great advantage and was subsequently appointed as a United States delegate to the 1908 Pan-American Scientific Congress in Santiago, Chile. The Congress was the first of its kind, formed largely to improve political relations between the nations of the Western Hemisphere. While the committee had planned to meet for only a few days, Bingham decided to extend his visit for a six-month tour of the continent. Among his plans was an overland journey by mule from Cuzco to Lima over a network of roads built by the Incas some four centuries before. The mountains of the eastern Cordillera of Peru were known for their extensive pre-Columbian ruins, yet Bingham's interests were still focused elsewhere. His primary concern remained fixed on the colonial history of the region



and his route through Inca land allowed for a visit to Ayacucho, the site of Bolivar's defeat of the Spanish in 1824. Accompanied by Clarence Hay, whose father John Hay had been Secretary of State under Theodore Roosevelt, the intrepid Bingham found himself in the heart of the Inca Empire. As they made their way through the ranges and valleys of the Cordillera, the expedition passed from one set of ancient ruins after another. Bingham, however, was only slightly impressed.

The expedition's arrival in the city of Abancay midway through the journey would ultimately initiate a change in Bingham's professional interests. Government officials in Lima had called for the local prefect to persuade the American professor and his scientific expedition to examine a complex of nearby ruins in the Apurimac valley, west of the Vilcabamba range. The ancient city of Choqquequirau was rumored to be the last capital of the Inca Empire, founded as the remaining Incas fled during the Spanish conquest. Known as the "cradle of gold," the city had long been the focus of treasure hunters, and the Peruvian government wanted a professional estimate of its archaeological value. Perhaps flattered by their request, Bingham eagerly accepted. The two day journey to Choqquequirau is colorfully detailed in *Lost City of the Incas* where Bingham draws on Kipling's "The Explorer" to describe the major turning point of his career. "Those snow-capped peaks in an unknown and unexplored part of Peru fascinated me greatly. They tempted me to go see what lay beyond. In the ever famous words of Rudyard Kipling there was 'Something hidden! Go and find it! Go and look behind the ranges! Something lost behind the ranges —

*Something lost and waiting for you. Go!"*

While Bingham had no formal training as an archaeologist, he quickly determined that Choqquequirau was not the last Inca capital as had been long believed. The scant ruins consisted of only a few crumbling storage buildings, and in his estimation, could not possibly have been the famed Inca city. The question lingered with him upon his return to his job as lecturer at Yale where he began teaching courses in Latin American history. Ever restive, Bingham continued to develop projects that would elevate his status in the academic community. He soon began working on an account of his second expedition, later called *Across South America,* as his home life continued to compete with his ambitions. Now the father of five little boys, Bingham began making plans for yet another expedition. When a sixth child died at birth in late 1909, Hiram's need to get away only increased. His third son Alfred later wrote, "Where he went was less important than that the locale be unexplored and far from home." At that time, Bingham prepared an entry for the 1910-1911 *Who's Who in America,* his first in the record of status and success in early 20th-century American life. His detailed biography of accomplishments, positions, and publications began quite simply:

*Hiram Bingham, explorer.*

His transformation was almost complete. Hiram Bingham's journey from academic to adventurer that had taken form on a high trail in Peru was quietly yet utterly revealed to the world. His choice of profession seems obvious but, until that time, he had remained uncertain of his life's direction. It was the culmination of efforts, fears, and ambitions that had driven him since he was a young man. As an explorer, he could claim "unknown regions" as his own professional domain. He could test himself against physical hardship in the pursuit of knowledge and establish his own successes against the long-formidable challenge of the Bingham name. His identity was virtually set. He only needed someplace to explore.



*The city gate, Machu Picchu, as photographed by Hiram Bingham and published in the April 1913 issue of the National Geographic Magazine.*

After several months, Bingham finally happened on a plan that could satisfy him both professionally as well as personally. While he had proposed a number of projects that would "break new paths in the jungle," all were ultimately set aside due to inadequate financial backing. His need to prove himself would be satisfied with a third trip to South America, this time to determine the height of Mt. Coropuna in southern Peru. At an elevation of well over 20,000 feet, the mountain was believed by Bingham, and many others, to be the tallest in South America (Mt. Aconcagua is the actual apex). He wanted to do something that had not been done. The challenge of the yet unconquered peak was too appealing for Bingham to ignore. In order to measure Mt. Coropuna, he would first have to climb it.

By the end of the year 1910, only months before his unexpected arrival at the terraces of Machu Picchu, Bingham was still not certain of the full scope of his "exploration" plan. Even to his own way of thinking, mountain climbing was not enough to justify a full scientific expedition, especially if he was not even a recognized mountaineer. With the coming of the new year, his plan, nevertheless, continued to take form. While looking at a map of the Coropuna region, Bingham inadvertently noticed that the mountain was only about a hundred miles south of Choqquequirau, the "lost city" of the Incas he had visited during his last passage through South America. His mind became filled with possibility as he recalled the "hidden lands behind the ranges" in the wilds of Peru. The expedition plan would eventually become a perfect alignment of Bingham's own ambition and a quest for scientific understanding. Just as his identity as an explorer had emerged in the region of the Cordillera Vilcabamba, it was there that Bingham's professional designs would also be confirmed.

At that time, a great deal of the Vilcabamba region remained unknown to the larger world. Just as Bingham was convinced that Choqquequirau was not the lost Inca capital, he also believed that if such a city existed, he himself could find it. He immediately threw all his energies into a plan that seemed to him quite simple: organize a small contingent of experts to find lost ruins of the Incas and climb South America's highest mountain, all in a single season. In January of 1911, Bingham's plan continued to develop with only a few complications that were easily solved by his driving ambition. When he could not secure financial backing, he called on his Yale classmates for funding. His boyish enthusiasm and natural charisma many found hard to resist. Bingham would not be deterred. His contingent of experts, the "naturalist," the "surgeon," the "geologist," and others consisted largely of friends and acquaintances. Through his own determination, Bingham's third expedition was soon well on its way to the heart of the Vilcabamba and into the pages of a history that he himself would write.

On July 14, 1911, just days out of Cuzco, Bingham made a simple note in his expedition journal. "Sub-prefect drunk. Huinapichu." Since his arrival, Bingham had made inquiries about Inca ruins and where they might be found to nearly everyone he met. He was particularly interested in the Urubamba River valley on the eastern side of the Vilcabamba range. He had been told by the rector



*Machu Picchu gate. Photo by Duane Birkey.*

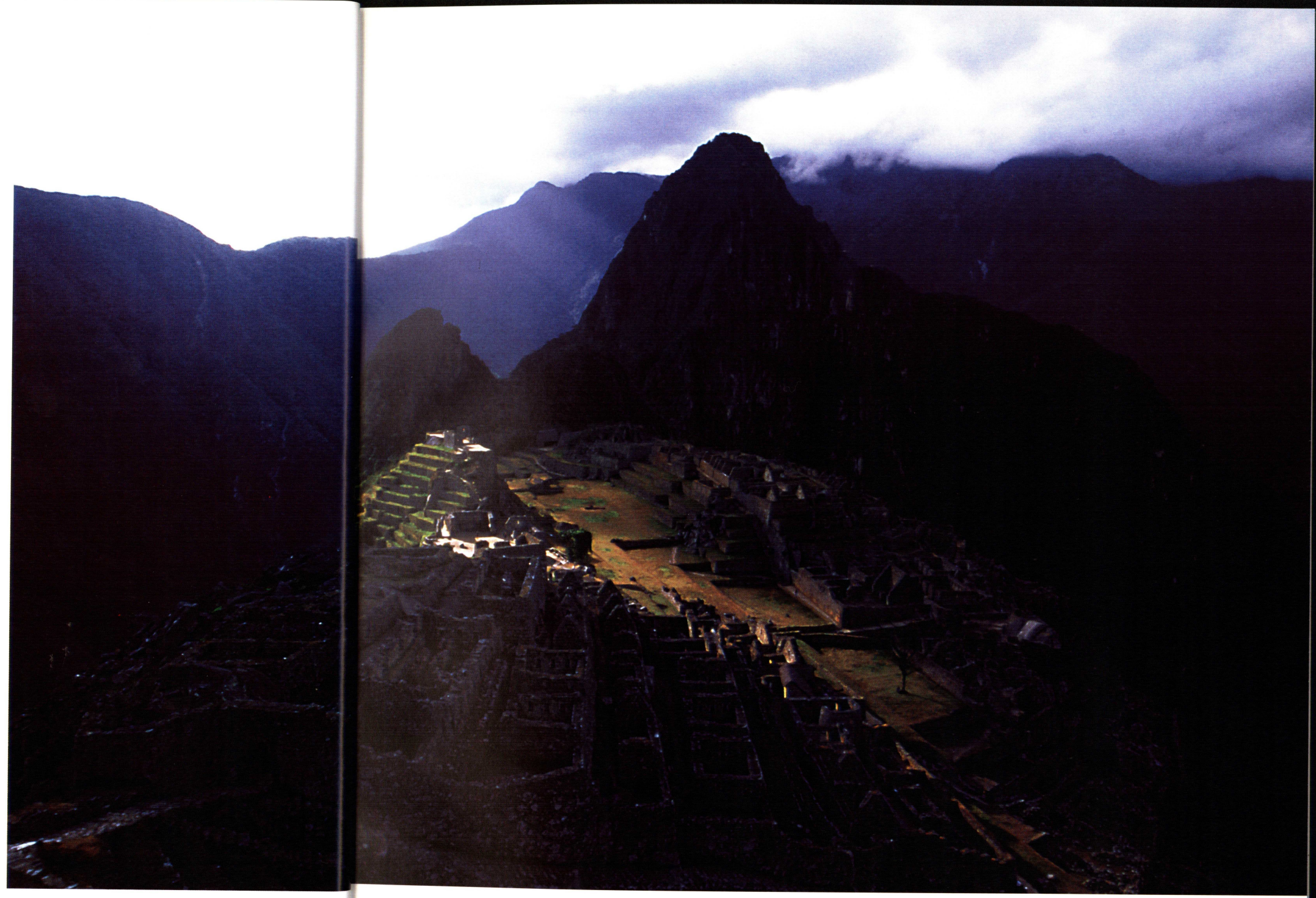
of the University of Cuzco to expect significant ruins in the region. Specifically, Bingham was told to consult a tavern owner in the Urubamba canyon named Melchor Arteaga, who had detailed information about local Inca sites. On July 23, the expedition arrived at Arteaga's home at Mandor Pampa. The tavern owner told Bingham about some ruins on the cliffs above the river. The next morning he scribbled two place names — "Maccu Picchu" and "Huaynapichu" — in his journal. He then approached Arteaga about taking him to the site.

Bingham asked where the ruins were and Arteaga pointed to the top of the mountain beside them. Bingham offered to pay him. The tavern owner declined saying "it was too much of a climb for such a wet day." With the guarantee of a Peruvian silver dollar for his efforts, he finally agreed. The other members of the expedition declined Bingham's invitation to visit the ruins. "No one supposed that they would be particularly interesting," he later wrote. "No one cared to go with me."

ON JULY 23, THE EXPEDITION ARRIVED AT ARTEAGA'S HOME AT MANDOR PAMPA. THE TAVERN OWNER TOLD BINGHAM ABOUT SOME RUINS ON THE CLIFFS ABOVE THE RIVER. THE NEXT MORNING HE SCRIBBLED TWO PLACE NAMES — "MACCU PICCHU" AND "HUAYNAPICHU" — IN HIS JOURNAL.

Bingham and Arteaga headed off on the trail to the Urubamba River, followed by Sergeant Carrasco, Bingham's military escort assigned by the Peruvian government. The three men crossed the roaring Urubamba on a precarious makeshift bridge and began the 2,000-foot ascent to the top of the ridge. Bingham and his companions climbed eagerly until noon when they stopped at a grass-topped house along the trail. The house was owned by a family of sharecroppers who made a living from growing crops amid centuries-old Inca ruins nearby. Bingham had not planned a long trek and so had no provisions. The Indian family offered a lunch of sweet potatoes which was gratefully accepted, and the three travelers paused on the mountainside, now 1800 feet above the low rumble of the Urubamba. As they rested, the tavern owner told Bingham that the ruins were just over the next rise, but, tired from the climb, he would remain behind in the shade. He sent along a young boy instead, one of the farmer's children, to lead Bingham the rest of the way. In the heat of the afternoon sun, the boy, the soldier, and the explorer started off on the rocky slope of a trail. Their climb took them immediately past several flights of Inca stone terraces. But Bingham had seen similar ruins since the journey out of Cuzco. His 1948 memoir provides a colorful if not romantic account of the events that immediately followed: "So we patiently followed the little guide along one of the widest terraces . . . and made our way into an untouched forest beyond. Suddenly, I found myself confronted with the walls of ruined houses built of the finest quality of Inca stone work . . . The little boy urged us to climb up a steep hill . . . Surprise followed surprise in bewildering succession . . . Suddenly we found ourselves standing in front of the ruins of two of the finest and most interesting buildings in ancient America. Made of beautiful white granite, the walls contained blocks of Cyclopean size, higher than a man.

*The sight held me spellbound.*



*Machu Picchu. Photo by Duane Birkey.*

Bingham stood in the overgrowth as a world of opportunity opened before him. The walls of Machu Picchu and its peak Huayna Picchu remained silent as he began a short reconnaissance of the ruins. Bingham took a few notes and sketched a crude map. He set up his camera and took several pictures of the site. After only a few hours, he called an end to the survey and the small party began the slow descent back to the Urubamba. The following morning, despite what he had seen, Bingham was eager to move on. A few days later, he finally wrote his wife about the discovery: "I started to tell you yesterday about my new Inca City, Machu Picchu. It is far more wonderful and interesting that Choqquequirau. The stone is as fine as any in Cuzco! It is unknown and will make a fine story."

*"It is unknown and will make a fine story. . ."*

As the expedition continued its trek through the Vilcabamba, Bingham rarely gave Machu Picchu a second thought. Even as the party continued to survey a number of significant ruins, his main goal remained the climbing of Mt. Coropuna, certain that the achievement would give him the fame he craved. When his own readings indicated that Coropuna was not the apex of the continent after all, Bingham realized that it would not bring him the notoriety or sense of accomplishment he wanted. He immediately began to focus his energies in new directions. By the end of the expedition, Bingham's "fine story" had yet to take form. While he would go back to Machu Picchu the following year, his "new Inca city" would wait for him until his understanding of its historical relevance and potential as professional capital continued to expand.

Back among the comforts of "civilization," Bingham finally sat down to evaluate the experiences of what came to be called the Yale Peruvian Expedition of 1911. Even as he began to analyze his findings, Bingham still thought of Machu Picchu as merely one of several ruins he had explored. His interest in the Incas, however, continued to build. When the National Geographic Society approached him about funding further explorations, Bingham eagerly accepted. The following summer, the Peruvian Expedition of 1912 Under the Auspices of Yale University and the National Geographic Society took to the field in the Vilcabamba. While he later wrote that the expedition's initial goal was a systematic excavation of the site, research at Machu Picchu was still only a marginal objective. Almost from the beginning, the 1912 Expedition was marred by setbacks and complications. Bingham was constantly engaged in political turmoil in Lima negotiating excavation rights with the Peruvian government. Machu Picchu eventually became a high point of the season. Toward the end of the expedition, he spent days happily photographing the ruins which were being cleared of their dense overgrowth.



*The April 1913 issue of The National Geographic Magazine provided an artist's rendition of how the city gate at Machu Picchu might have been closed.*

Bingham's photographs would greatly benefit his designs toward notoriety and acclaim. The National Geographic Society asked him to record his findings for publication and eventually devoted their April 1913 edition to Bingham's work in South America. The elaborate exposé, "In the Wonderland of Peru," would soon bring the attention Bingham had long desired. That same month, he also contributed a lengthy essay on Machu Picchu to *Harper's Magazine.* Bingham's exploits immediately sparked the public's interest. The explorer found himself suddenly famous. Bingham's photographs of Machu Picchu captured the public imagination like nothing before. The *National Geographic Magazine* included an exclusive fold-out poster of the ruins. Bingham's panoramic image alone would eventually become, what writer Hugh Thomson called, the "pin-up of 20th- century archaeology."

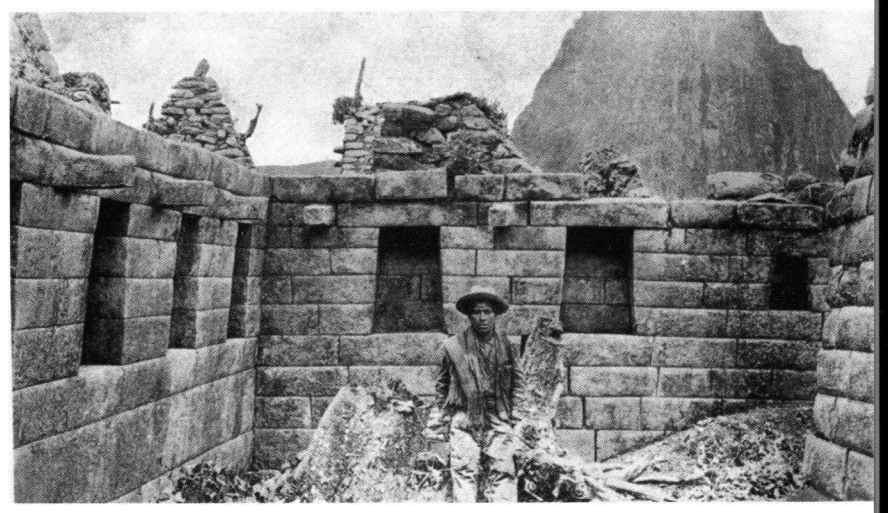
To an ever-intrigued American public, Hiram Bingham and Machu Picchu became virtually synonymous. The explorer and his "Inca city" were immediately cast upon the world stage with the likes of contemporary explorers Roald Amundsen and Robert Peary. Bingham reveled in the spotlight. His "fine story" about the discovery of Machu Picchu became utterly absorbed by the public's appetite for mystery and adventure. Bingham would court popular interest in his "lost city" for the remaining years of his long life. For decades, he would draw on it, always shaping events to suit the popular mind. From the beginning, Machu Picchu's "discovery" by Bingham was central to

TO AN EVER-INTRIGUED AMERICAN PUBLIC, HIRAM BINGHAM AND MACHU PICCHU BECAME VIRTUALLY SYNONYMOUS.



the tale. His journal entries from the time, however, indicate that his designation as discoverer was perhaps more tenuous than was commonly known. Indeed, during his first hours at the site in 1911, Bingham came across charcoal markings on an Inca wall that read "Agustín Lizárraga, 1902." He later wrote in his expedition journal "Agustín Lizárraga is the discoverer of Machu Picchu." Lizárraga and his brother lived in the Urubamba valley at the San Miguel bridge. It was clear to Bingham that the ruins were known to those living in the region, especially since many of its terraces were being used by local farmers.

While his early writings indicated the roles of Lizárraga and others in the discovery, Bingham was more than willing to give the public what it wanted, a lost city and the explorer who found it. In his thoughtful introduction to the re-release of *Lost City of the Incas,* Hugh Thomson sums up Bingham's contribution to American life: "In a country which had previously been too busy discovering itself to pay much attention to the rest of the world, Bingham's find made him both a pioneer and an instant celebrity at the same time. In the very year that Scott and Amundsen were racing for the South Pole, Americans were delighted to have a sensational discovery and an explorer hero of their own. The Hollywood persona of the adventurous archaeologist in search of lost tombs stems largely from him."



*Masonry at Machu Picchu, from the April 1913 issue of The National Geographic Magazine. Photo by Hiram Bingham.*

Only years after his expeditions to Machu Picchu, Bingham went on to explore new horizons. He became a military aviator serving as commander of flight training at Issoudon, France, during World War I. Upon his return, he quickly made his name in politics as a delegate to the Republican National Convention and within a few short years was elected lieutenant governor, then governor, then United States Senator from Connecticut. But in spite of all these accomplishments, Bingham was always proudest of his days in the Cordillera Vilcabamba as a young man. He returned to Machu Picchu only once, for the dedication of the Hiram Bingham Highway in 1948. His last book, *Lost City of the Incas,* was published the same year. Bingham died in Washington, D.C., in 1956 and was buried with full honors at Arlington National Cemetary.

THROUGH HIS WRITINGS AND ACHIEVEMENTS, Bingham would become an icon of 20th-century popular culture. While his observations on the archaeology of early Peru were often over-reaching, they remain thoughtful interpretations within the given understandings of the day. Now commonly referred to as the "scientific discoverer" of Machu Picchu, Bingham's fine story continues to engage and inspire even many years after its first telling. Today, nearly a century after first achieving notoriety, Bingham himself has become a social artifact. His drive, curiosity, and ambition are combined in a uniquely American form. Throughout his life, he was always on the move, always doing, searching new horizons, seeking fame and fortune against a formidable landscape. The explorer and his lost city have become metaphors of the American experience. They will forever represent an age when the possibilities and wonders of the world seemed unlimited, a time when the earth's mysteries could be solved with only a determined will and earnest effort. Hiram Bingham and Machu Picchu remain etched in the collective imagination where they continue to resonate among all the purest dreams within the American mind.

Unless otherwise noted, all quotes in this essay are from the 1989 memoir *Portrait of an Explorer: Hiram Bingham Discoverer of Machu Picchu* by Bingham's third son Alfred Mitchell Bingham.

RELATION OF THE DISCOVERY OF

# PERU



Diego de Trujillo's eyewitness account of the conquest of the Inca by Spaniards in 1532 was lost for nearly four centuries. In the 1940s Thomas Gilcrease acquired Trujillo's original account. It remains one of the most exceptional documents in the Gilcrease Museum Library.

THE CONQUISTADOR DIEGO DE TRUJILLO took part in the Spanish conquest of the empire of the Inca in 1532. Almost forty years later, Trujillo was requested to dictate his eyewitness account of the events by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo for his Informaciones, a formal compilation of documents on the history of Peru. Trujillo's manuscript, one of only a few firsthand accounts, begins by stating his is a "True relation of the land which we discovered with the Governor Francisco Pizarro of this kingdom of Peru from our arrival at Panama, in the year 1530."

Diego de Trujillo was born in Pizarro's hometown of Trujillo, Estremadura, Spain, around 1505. Apparently of an impoverished background, Trujillo was among the more than 200 soldiers of fortune recruited by Francisco Pizarro in 1529. Trujillo is mentioned in a number of chronicles and histories of the Peruvian conquest. He would have remained one of the many anonymous soldiers but for his long life and his written account of the conquest. According to Trujillo's narrative, he was involved in many dangerous missions – to Catamez, to Puná, to Caxas with De Soto, to capture Atahualpa with Hernando Pizarro, and the first advance toward Cuzco. Following the Spanish victory Trujillo was noted as a resident of the city of Cuzco. He then traveled with Pizarro to Lima with the intention of returning to Spain with his wealth. He had received a foot soldier's share of Atahualpa's ransom, 158 marks of silver and 3,330 pesos of gold. Pizarro authorized his departure but, displaying his confidence, entrusted Trujillo to oversee Pedro de Alvarado's return to Guatemala.

Trujillo lived eleven or twelve years in the province of Estremadura. He returned to Peru in the mid-1540s only to find the Spaniards in the country engaged in civil war. With the restoration of power to the Spanish Viceroy, Trujillo settled in Cuzco with a small encomienda and

became a constable. His holdings gradually improved, and he obtained an appointment to Cuzco's governing council. He also gained respect as one of the "first conquerors", and, as years passed, appreciation grew for the deeds he recounted. Among those who listened to Trujillo was Garcilaso de la Vega, who would later write a monumental two-volume history of Peru. As he grew older, Trujillo was known for his benevolent attitude toward the native people of Peru. Remarkably, he was a tutor and warm host to the grandchildren of the Inca Emperor, Atahualpa. He was also known for his devotion toward the Pizarros, primarily to Francisco. In December 1575 Diego de Trujillo died in Cuzco, having participated in the demise of one civilization and the formation of another.

In 1948, the Peruvian historian Raúl Porras Barrenechea published a translation of Trujillo's manuscript based on an 18th-century copy found in the Biblioteca Real in Madrid. Thomas Gilcrease subsequently acquired the original manuscript. It remains one of the Gilcrease Museum's most distinguished documents. Here, for the first time for readers of the *Gilcrease Journal,* is a complete English translation of the document. Paragraph breaks and other typographical elements have been inserted in the translation to aid the reader.

*Arnoldus Montanus, De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld: of Beschryving Van American en 't Zuid-Land Amsterdam, 1671. 2476.175.*






# Diego Trujillo's *Relation of the Discovery of Peru*

Translated from the Spanish by G. F. Barwick
Annotations by Sarah Erwin

*True relation of the land which we discovered with the Governor Francisco Pizarro of this kingdom of Peru from our arrival at Panama, in the year 1530.—*

*In this year, while the armada was being fitted out, which occupied eight months, the men brought from Spain by Francisco Pizarro were distributed, part of them in Nata and the greater part in the island of Las Perlas with Hernando Pizarro, and in other islands. —*

*Those who were with Francisco Pizarro in the first discovery of the coast and the island of El Gallo did not wish to come, saying that it was wretched land, and those who came with him came to die, and so some of those who came with him from Spain remained behind. —*

AT THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1531 we set sail from the island of Las Perlas, to the number of 250 Spaniards and with us three Dominican Friars, namely Fr. Reginaldo and Fr. Vicente de Valverde and Fr. Juan, and having set out we arrived with very good weather, in six days at the bay of San Mateo, for never such a voyage was seen. We took as pilot Bartolome Ruis, who was certainly of much service in the expedition. We were about ten days in the bay recruiting the men. Many Indians came down by the river in canoes to reconnoitre us but they would never come on shore.

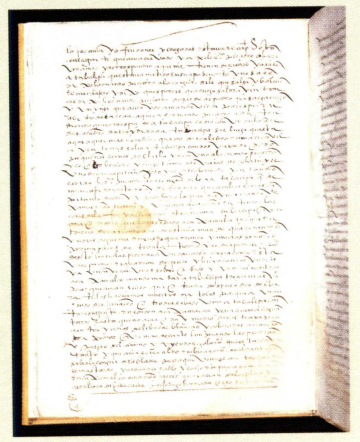
This land of the bay is mountainous country and subject to frequent showers. There was abundance of wild fruits, such as guavas, guayabas, caimitos and eggs; having left the bay we arrived, after four leagues, at a

## Francisco Pizarro

Francisco Pizarro was born in Trujillo de Extremadura, 140 miles southwest of Madrid. The illegitimate son of a distinguished professional soldier, Pizarro probably served in military campaigns in Italy before sailing for the Indies in 1502. Although he became a rich citizen of Panama, Pizarro chose to risk everything to search for a kingdom of enormous wealth rumored to lie far to the south. In 1524 he formed a partnership with Diego de Almagro and Father Hernando de Luque to search for gold in the land of Biru. His first expedition was unsuccessful. A second expedition was organized in 1526, and Pizarro returned to Panama with gold, llamas, and a few natives of Peru. In 1529 Pizarro, then in Spain, won approval for additional explorations. He also secured for himself the right of conquest, the governorship of the new lands, and the title of captain-general for life. Pizarro returned to Peru in 1532, and by August of the following year he had captured the royal capital of Cuzco.



Pizarro founded Lima as the new capital, secured his position, and opened the way for Spanish culture and religion to dominate South America. Within a few years Pizarro and his partner Almagro were at odds over the distribution of lands. Almagro was eventually defeated and executed in 1538. A group of Almagro's followers, bitter over their harsh treatment, killed Francisco Pizarro in his palace in Lima. At the time of his assassination in 1541, Pizarro was one of the richest men in the Indies.



*Armor breastplate, Spain, 16th century. 66.140.*
*A page from Relation of the Discovery of Peru by Diego de Trujillo.*

deserted village called Catamez, where there were guayavas and wild cherries in abundance, and deep wells where they drank and the water was drawn up by spirals, there were mosquitos and showers of rain; it also is mountainous country. From there we reached a large village on the coast also deserted, which was called Cançe; it contained a quantity of earthenware and of fishing nets; there were maizefields in which the maize was not yet formed, but we eat it nevertheless, on account of the lack of food. This country was without fresh water which caused much suffering, and, as we were going without a guide, in order to ascertain where we had to go to halt, the governor sent Captain Escobar inland across the hill to see if he could procure an Indian; I went with him and we reached a dry ravine without water, and we saw smoke and went in the ravine towards the dawn watch in order to get to the ranch, and it rained so heavily that night that a torrent poured down the ravine and one soldier was drowned while others escaped by swimming.

We entered the ranch and there were three or four Indians there; they had their shelters on the tops of tall trees, like stork's nests and skipped about like cat-monkeys. We took an Indian but there was no means of understanding him nor he us; we brought him to the camp and by signs, after more than a fortnight, he gave us information of inhabited land further off and where there was food, for we did not seek anything else except to find a source of food.

We came further coasting along and found that from an inlet of the sea there fell a stream of fresh water, which pleased us greatly for we were in such need of water. Thence we went marching up to the rivers of the Quiximis, where rafts were constructed to cross it; and while there in great difficulty about food and fresh water, for the rivers had fresh water very much higher up, Bartolome Ruis arrived with the ship and boat, and there they gave us a ration of maize flour, half a cuartillo of flour apiece. Having crossed the two rivers, each a quarter of a league wide, we found plenty of camotes [kind of large potato] and a quantity of manioc whereof we made much casava, and there was abundance of guayavas and other fruits and thus the men were greatly strengthened.

In this country there was another river in front which was wider than the others, and in to it and into the others they threw a mare tied to the raft, and then let the horses loose and thus they crossed. We sent over on the rafts those who could not swim, and the saddles of the horses, so that scarcely anyone had to carry it by hand.

When everyone had crossed this river, we went along the bank and came upon some swamps where there were quantities of crabs which had eaten manchineel [tree with highly poisonous sap] and that night all the men were ready to die through having eaten the poisonous crabs.

We now got information of Coaque, a large village and very rich in gold and silver and emeralds and many other stones of various colours and beadwork of gold and silver and bone, and thickly populated; and this night, the men being in the condition I mention, they sounded the trumpet to go and attack that village of Coaque. And this was done and the chief was taken and kept prisoner for a long time.

There was a great quantity of white cotton clothing; it was a village of big cabins; it contained numbers of idols and drums; there was abundant food of maize and fruits; there was plenty of sweet basil of Castile and of capsicum. The Indians were strong and warlike; the village contained three hundred very large cabins. It is a rainy country with heavy thunderstorms; and there are great serpents and large toads and very wet soil, and when there was no longer any food three soldiers eat a snake and two of them died and the third, who smothered it with garlic, did not die, but lost all his hair and was so bad that he did not recover his senses for a long time.

In this village 18,000 pesos were taken in gold, and some inferior silver. The governor at once dispatched Bartolome Ruis and Quintero with two the ships, one to Nicaragua and the other to Panama with the gold which they conveyed in order to bring back men, and we remained in that village more than eight months. During this time a number of men died of sicknesses and of pimples, which attacked the Spaniards there.

After the ship went to Panama there came at once to this village of Coaque Pedro Gregorio, a merchant, who brought plenty of dried beef, bacon and cheese from Canary Island, and brought men, of whom are still living; Pedro Diaz of Guamanga, and Juan de la Torre of Arequipa and Yssasaga who lives in Lima, the rest who went are dead. From the ship which went to Nicaragua came immediately Sebastian de Benalcaçar in a ship and brought a few men, namely Morgo Vejo de Quinones and Alonso Perez de Bivero, and Hernando Beltran and Alonso Maraver and Diego Ozuelos and Martin Bueno and Miguel Astete and others, of these not a single one survives.

In this village of Coaque no one recognized emeralds except Fr. Reginaldo, who collected more than a hundred odd and sewed them up in a jacket and returned from there to Panama in Pedro Gregorio's ship, and he died



## Climate



*Palm tree, from Les Singularities de la France Antarctique, Autrement Nommée Amerique, by André Thevet, 1558. 2475.147. Corn, from Delle Navigationi et Viaggi Raccolte da M. Gio. Battista Ramvsio, Volume Terzo, by Giovanni Battista Ramusio, 1606. 2575.3027.*

The Inca Empire was unique in its wide range of ecosystems ranging from 22,000-foot snow-capped peaks to high deserts to huge stretches of tropical Amazon jungle. The country has three main climate zones – the mountains, the coast, and the jungle. There are two main climate seasons – a dry season from April to October and a wet season from November to March.

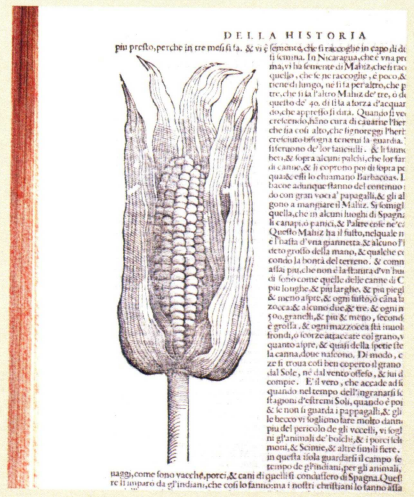
In the mountains during the April to October season, the countryside is green and lush, while the skies are often blue and sunny. In Cuzco (in the mountain zone) daytime temperatures vary between 65 and 75 degrees, while nighttime temperatures often drop to below freezing.

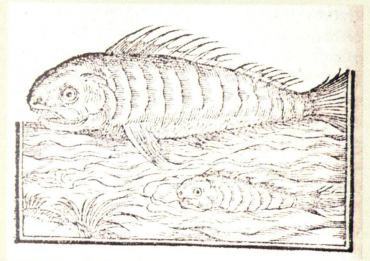
In Lima and Paracas, in a coastal desert where rainfall is rare, temperatures are usually between 70 and 80 degrees. In Lima days are overcast most of the year due to the Humboldt Current. Coming southward from Antarctica, it meets the tropical El Nino Current from the north to create the garua, or coastal fog.

The climate in the Amazon Basin is generally warm and humid throughout the year. It can also be unexpectedly cool, with temperatures in the 60s, due to the breezes that blow down from the Andes.

## Food

The Inca diet was primarily vegetarian. In addition to the staple potato, their diet included avocados, beans, manioc (the root of the cassava plant from which



*Fish from Les Singularities de la France Antarctique, Autrement Nommée Amerique, by André Thevet, 1558. 2475.147.*

tapioca is derived), quinoa (a high protein grain-like seed of a plant similar to spinach), sweet potatoes, and tomatoes. Maize was grown as a food crop and was also used to make chicha, a popular beer-like beverage. Fruits such as banana, cherimoya (similar to an apple, with soft pulp and leathery skin), guavas, guayabas (similar to pears in taste and about the size of a golf ball), lucuma (a nut-like fruit), papayas, pineapples, and plantains were plentiful. Also abundant was capsicum (cayenne pepper). Stews and porridges were eaten, with guinea pigs, duck, and occasionally llamas as sources of meat. Coca, a mild narcotic stimulant, was restricted to use by the Inca elite and priests. It was used to induce magical powers for predicting the future and as offerings to the gods.

## Inca Society

The Inca Empire was organized as a rigid hierarchical, feudalistic society. Beneath the Inca were four major classes of citizens. First were the royal family, nobles, religious leaders, and military leaders. Next were the governors of the provinces of the empire. These people had the power to organize troops, to establish law and order, and to collect tribute. Following the governors were local officials who were responsible for less important judgments. The lowest and largest component of the society were the peasants, who were farmers and herders.

## Disease

The Spanish Conquistadors brought with them infectious diseases unknown in the Western Hemisphere. Among the most destuctive was smallpox. In 1525 the Inca Empire was devastated by a smallpox epidemic. The ruling Inca, Huayna-Capac, and his natural heir, Ninan Cuyuchi, both died of disease. Another son, Huascar, was chosen as the new ruler. Civil war then erupted between Huascar and his half-brother, Atahualpa. When Francisco Pizarro arrived in 1532, Atahualpa was recently victorious, but the empire was weakened by years of civil war created by the smallpox outbreak.

there, and they took the emeralds from him and we afterwards handed them all over to His Majesty. —

At this time the governor set at liberty the cacique of Coaque and he at once rebelled with all his men and burned the village for us so that there remained but one big cabin where we all took refuge and defended it so that he should not burn it for us; and on hearing that the cacique had gone with his people to certain hills, the governor took an Indian who knew where they were and with some men went in search of him on foot for horses could not go. And they took the Indian who was their guide and while crossing a river the guide threw himself into it and was drowned as they were crossing on a raft, and so the governor and the men came back without doing anything.

The ships from Panama and Nicaragua having already arrived we set out from Coaque with most of the men sick and went up to Cape Pasao, and not being able to get round the point we made our way across the hill and reached the village of Pasao and went on until we reached the bay of Los Caraques, suffering great want of fresh water; and there they put all the sick in a ship and sent them to a village called Charapoto, which is in the province of Puerto Viejo, taking with them three sound men, in order that they might be cured; and the governor with all the remaining men went up to the bay until he reached a village called Tocogua, and from there he went forward to a village in the same Province of Puerto Viejo, whereof a rich widow was mistress.

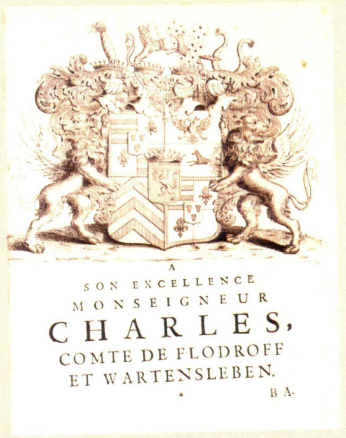
We were in this country of Puerto Viejo more than two months; there was maize and fish and wild fruit, papayas; there was syrup made from maize. It is a dry country and by the sun cracks are made in the ground; and in some parts it is hilly country, and there is cacao like that of Mexico, though but little.

Having left Puerto Viejo we arrived at Picuaça and at another harbour which is called Marchan, and from there an incursion was made under captain Benalcaçar into the interior. I was in it; and there we found the first lucumas that had been seen and abundance of caimitos [tree or its fruit] and wild ducks. The men were encouraged and we returned to the coast and from there we marched on through some dry wastes without water along the sea coast; and from there the governor sent Diego Maldonado, formerly of Nata, to find water, because through lack of it the men were already at death's door, and the governor had determined to turn back had it not been for Hernando Pizarro, who said no, not even if they should all die.

### Hernando Pizarro

Four of the Pizarro brothers took part in the invasion of Peru. Hernando Pizarro joined his half-brother Francisco's third expedition to Peru and was an important person throughout the conquest. Hernando was the first Spaniard to negotiate with Atahualpa, the first conquistador to journey into the heart of the Inca Empire on his trip to Pachacamac, and was the first to return to Spain with treasure and details of the conquest. In 1536, again in Peru, he befriended Manco Inca, who had been imprisoned and abused by the other Pizarro brothers. Hernando allowed Manco Inca to leave Cuzco, only to fight against the Inca leader's forces in defense of the city for the next year. He next fought against Diego de Almagro's troops in Cuzco. After being captured and released, Hernando returned to defeat and execute Diego de Almagro.

Considering his standing at court, Hernando was sent to Spain to explain events in Peru and the actions of the Pizarro family. Hernando Pizarro was imprisoned for twenty years; released in 1560, he never returned to Peru.




*Histoire des Incas. Volume 1, by Garcilasso de la Vega, 1737. 2576.2104.*



*Ship, from Les Singularities de la France Antarctique, Autrement Nommée Amerique, by André Thevet, 1558. 2475.147.*

Juan and Gonzalo Pizarro were both known for their abuse of the native peoples of Peru and for stealing wives from Manco Inca. Juan, a fierce fighter, was killed in 1536 during the battle for Sacsahuaman. Gonzalo eventually became Governor of Quito and led a disastrous expedition to the Amazon River in search of the mythic city of El Dorado. In 1545 he led a rebellion against Spain and the New Laws written to protect native peoples. Gonzalo Pizarro ruled Peru until he was defeated and executed by the new Spanish representative.



And the men who went forward discovered a small lake of green water, and there we refreshed ourselves with water, but some pigs which Hernando Pizarro brought from Panama trampled it so much that what we drank was mud, except those of us who arrived first with Diego Maldonado.

And from there we went to the point of Santa Elena where were the bones of the giants. We found that the men of that country had all gone to sea on rafts, with their wives and children and all their belongings and they would never come ashore. And there we were very hungry and it helped us greatly that as the men were at sea and left the villages uninhabited, and at night the dogs howled, we went to hunt them, and with these dogs we sustained ourselves with food, and had it not been for them we should have endured much suffering.

And from there we went to a province called Odon, in the Guancavilcas, a country abounding in food; we were there a fortnight to recruit the men and the sick.

And from there we came to the pass of Guaynacava, and it was thus called because Guaynacava entered through it when he conquered the island of La Puna, and there came out thence the lord of the island, who was called Tumbala, with many men and rafts and received us with great feasts and rejoicings, and he made a plot that while our men were going in the rafts in the middle of the strait the bindings should be undone and that we should all perish there except the raft in which the lord of the island was going with the governor; and as the feasts they made were so excessive the governor said to Sebastian de Benalcaçar I do not like the look of such feasts; and therefore he ordered that the lord of the island with other chief men of the island should remain with him on shore and that they should go by another road, and thus the men crossed without danger and the rafts came back at once and took the governor and the rest who remained with him.

We landed at a village called El Tucu, and the strait was a league and a half across. And from there we crossed the island to a village called El Estero, and in that village we found a tall cross and a painted crucifix on a door, and a little bell hanging; it was accounted a miracle; and forthwith there came from the house more than thirty boys and girls saying blessed be Jesus Christ, Molina, Molina.

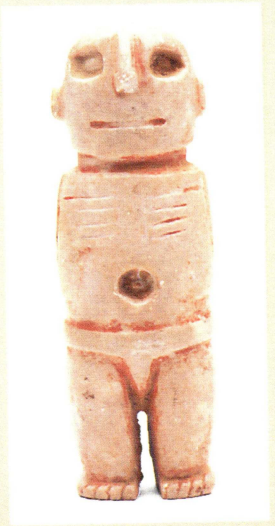
And the reason of this was that at the time of the first discovery two Spaniards remained with the governor in the harbour of Payta, one of them named Molina and the other Gines. This Gines the Indians put in a village called Cinto because he looked at a wife of a cacique, and

### Bones of giants

Legends among the Incas recounted stories of a race of giants, all male, who came by sea on rafts made of reeds. They were described as beardless, misshapen, clothed in animal skins, and the height from their knee down was that of a fully-grown man. Because of their evil ways, they were all killed by thunderbolts from heaven. In 1543 Lieutenant Governor Juan de Olmos ordered excavations in the area where the natives claimed the giants were destroyed. Ten years later in a publication written by Pedro Cieza de Leon, it was claimed that teeth, large rib bones and other bones, including skulls of these giants, were discovered. When Trujillo wrote his account in 1571, he would have been familiar with this story, now known as the Guayaquil giants of Ecuador.

### Hernando de Soto

Hernando de Soto, arriving in the Western Hemisphere while in his teens, was involved in the exploration of Panama, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Peru. In 1532 Francisco Pizarro made him second in command as he journeyed to Peru. Following De Soto's discovery of the road to Cuzco, Pizarro appointed him ambassador to visit Inca Atahualpa. De Soto was a central figure in the battles that led to the capture of Cuzco. Returning from the expedition to Cuzco, he was displeased to learn of the execution of Atahualpa. Discontented with the actions of the Pizarros, De Soto returned to Spain in 1536 with his share of the plunder taken from the Incas – about 18,000 ounces of gold. Just two years later he left his noble lifestyle, gaining governorship of Cuba and authorization of his own command from King Charles I. Attempting to conquer and colonize the region that is now the southeastern United States, he died of fever on the Mississippi River in 1542.



*Human effigy. Chavin, Peru 900 – 200 B.C. Stone. 61.107602*

Molina came to the island of La Puna, and there the Indians kept him for their captain against the Chonos and those of Tumbez, and a month before we arrived the Chonos killed him in a fight at sea.

The people of La Puna greatly regretted his death, and these Indians of La Puna had taken from the Indians of Tumbez three idols of gold, each the size of a boy of three years, and they had more than six hundred slaves, from the Indians of Tumbez, men and women. And the governor sent to call the chiefs of Tumbez and when they came he made them friends with those of the island, and made them restore the idols of gold and the slaves they had taken from them and they took them away to their own country.

HEREUPON came **Hernando de Soto** from Nicaragua with two ships and brought a number of men and horses and supplies, and of the men he brought to the island there remain alive in Guamanga Diego Gavilan and Manuelo and no more in the kingdom.

With Hernando de Soto came the first woman who came to this kingdom, her name was Juana Hernandez. In this island there was maize in abundance and deer and wild fruit.

The Indians rose up in war and made many attacks on us, and killed some Spaniards and wounded Hernando Pizarro in the leg with an arrow and wounded other Spaniards. So after this the governor sent to Tumbez to the caciques to send him rafts in order to get out of the island and to convey the property and pass to Tumbez; and so they sent four rafts with men to navigate them. And in one went the property of the governor, and in it went Alonso de Mesa, citizen of this city and Antonio Navarro, citizen of Lima, who was a servant of the governor, and in another went the property of Hernando Pizarro, and with it Andres de Bocanegra; and in another went the property of Captain Soto and with it went Juan de Garay and in another went the property of the King's Officers and with it was a certain Riquelme.

And when they reached the coast of Tumbez the Indians killed the three Spaniards who went in the three rafts but did not kill Mesa or Navarro, because they entered an estuary, and the Indians plunged into the sea and left them, and so they escaped.

Thereupon the governor set out from La Puna with all the men in two ships and we got to Tumbez, and found the Indians in rebellion; and our camp was formed close to the **fortress** of Tumbez, and in the course of a few days the governor sent Captain Soto to make war against the Indians of Tumbez who were in a fort up the river. I went with him and we surrounded the Indians about twenty leagues from Tumbez and when they were surrounded Çacalame, who was chief of them all, came to make peace with our men and we returned to Tumbez, and the Governor, in his Majesty's name, pardoned them all. And while we were in Tumbez twenty more men came there from Nicaragua and with them Fr. Zedoco, a Franciscan Friar, who is now in Quito.

From Tumbez we proceeded by the road on the sunny side to reach Pohechos, where we remained some time, and there the Cacique of Pohechos rebelled and the Governor sent Captain Benalcaçar. I went with him to a fort and we made peace and so he remained in his village.

In this incursion the Indians killed a certain Juan de Sandoval, of Estremadura, a youth; neither the Cacique of Pohechos nor his people killed him but other Indians when he lost his way in a predatory excursion.

From this village of Pohechos we came to Tangarara where the Governor settled a village of Spaniards, and while he was settling it he sent Captain Benalcaçar to inflict chastisement on those Indians who killed Sandoval. I went with him and we reached a fortress where Piura now is, and we remained there until the Governor came, and from there we came to a village called Çarran which is six leagues from Piura, and we were there a month, and then it was not known that there was other inhabited country, but only the plains and that the mountain range was all ice and snow; neither was there news of Atabalipa.

And from that village of Çarran we saw a road which seemed to go over a range, and the Governor sent Hernando de Soto with forty men; and I went with him to follow that road until we saw where it was going to end.

And we began to find inhabited country, and at the end of twenty leagues we came upon a village called Caxas with large buildings, and it was one of Atabalipa's captains, with more than two thousand Indian warriors. And in that village there were three houses of women secluded who were called **Mamaconas**, and when we entered and the women were brought out into the square there were more than five hundred; and the Captain gave many of them to the Spaniards.

The captain of the Inca became very arrogant and said, "How dare you do this when Atabalipa is only twenty leagues from here, for not a man of you will be left alive."

Then Captain Soto wrote to the Governor all that took place and of the arrogance of that Indian; and the Governor replied that they should bear with that Indian






*Detail from Atlas Maior, America, by Joan Blaeu, 1663. 3076.31.*

### Engineering

The Incas are recognized for their architecture and engineering works. Their architecture employed finely worked stones, without the use of mortar. The stones were fitted together so well, that a knife blade could not be inserted between them. This fine stonework was reserved for the more important buildings erected by the state. The highest concentration of high quality Inca stonework is found in Cuzco, Machu Picchu, Ollantaytambo, and other highlands sites. Near the coast, structures were built mostly of adobe.

On the mountainsides in many regions the Inca built elaborate terraces to increase food production. Irrigation systems, including drainage systems and canals, were also utilized to expand agricultural production in highland areas. The Incas used simple digging sticks and plows. Elevated subsistence levels led to a growth in the Inca population.

### Roads

Within the empire the Inca constructed over 14,000 miles of roads to create a system of transportation and communication rivaling that of the Roman Empire. The network of roads connected the rulers with those ruled. The constantly maintained system advanced communication and transportation. Armies, ceremonial processions, and all types of natural resources traveled these roads efficiently linking Cuzco to the mountain peoples and lowland desert dwellers.

A high road crossed the higher regions of the Cordillera from north to south and another, lower north-south road crossed the coastal plains. Shorter crossroads linked the two main highways together in several places. The roads were built to withstand the extreme natural forces of ice, wind, flood, and drought. Suspension bridges were constructed to cross the many steep ravines of the Andes. According to Pedro Cieza de Leon, an early chronicler of Inca culture, the terrain was formidable. His account states that the road system ran "through deep valleys and over mountains, through piles of snow, quagmires, living rock, along turbulent rivers; in some places it ran smooth and paved, carefully laid out; in others over sierras, cut through the rock, with walls skirting the rivers, and steps and rests through the snow; everywhere it was clean swept and kept free of rubbish, with lodgings, storehouses, temples to the sun, and posts along the way." Today, many miles of the roads still exist in remarkably good condition.






*Left, from A Relation of a Voyage to Guiana Describing the Climate, Situation, by Robert Harcourt, 1612. 2576.2009. Above, Virgin Mary, Tripartitio del Christanissimo y Consolatorio Doctor Juan Gerson de Doctrina Christiana, by Jean Carlier de Gerson, 1544. 5345.823.*

### Mamaconas

Certain young girls of nine or ten were selected for their beauty and intelligence to be "chosen women," Residing in special residences called acclahuasi, they were trained in cooking, spinning, and weaving of fine cloth. Most became Mamaconas, the Virgins of the Sun, or concubines of nobles or the Sapa Inca himself. As Virgins of the Sun they prepared ceremonial food served to the nobility at the Festival of the Sun. Occasionally some Mamaconas were sacrificed by strangulation to appease the gods.

in all his arrogance and should make it appear that we were afraid of him, and thus keep guard of him by dissimulation, and should bring him to Çarran where the Governor was; and so we took him to Çarran, where everything was ascertained about Atabalipa and where he was.

And from there we came through a village called Lala, and through Çinto and through Motupe; a dry country without water where great hardship was suffered from thirst. And marching on we reached Çana which is a large town and containing plenty of food and **native clothing** with which storehouses were filled. We came upon a large river, and it was large because the Indians had discharged all their drainage into it. We sent across on calabash rafts those who could not swim and the saddles of the horses and such property as there was. In this place a few Spanish fowls were found and all white.

From there we took the mountain road and arrived at a stronghold without opposition from anybody, and from there we came up to a village fifteen leagues from Caxamalca where we stayed twenty days; and there Atabalipa's captain, whom we brought from Caxas, asked leave to go to Caxamalca to see Atabalipa and said that he would come back in a week.

He returned within the period he fixed and found us eight leagues from Caxamalca and brought a present to the Governor which was sent him by Atabalipa, who was at the baths, a league from Caxamalca; and the present was some ducks skinned and filled with wool, which looked like decoys to kill bustards, and when asked what it meant he replied; Atabalipa says that in this fashion he dares to put all your hides if you do not restore to him all that you have taken in the country. And then the Governor sent another present to Atabalipa by a Talecin Indian named Guachapuro, and sent him a Venitian goblet and buskins and shirts of holland and pearl beads; and the Governor remained in that place until the messenger returned.

And from there we went on marching carefully because there was a gorge where Atabalipa wanted to send men to kill us there, and he did not do it because the Inca who was coming with us said to him: "Do not send, let them come for I will deliver them up to you, all and everyone, because they are only afraid of me and also because you must not kill three of them." These were the blacksmith and the barber, who made men into youths, and Hernand Sanchez Morillo who was a great gymnast, and as the Inca knew us all he told him this, and so we reached Caxamalca one Friday at midday and Atabalipa was at the baths a league away.

Forthwith on that very day, the Governor sent Captain Soto with twenty horsemen to visit Atabalipa, and he went into the apartments where he was and was there until it was very late, and as he did not come out the Governor was suspecting that they might have killed them, so Hernando Pizarro went with infantry and cavalry to find out what was happening. I went with him and when we arrived Captain Soto was with the man he took with him, and Hernando Pizarro said to him; "What are you doing?" and he answered: "They keep me here saying Atabalipa is just coming out, whereas he was settled in his apartment and does not come out."

Hernando Pizarro said to the interpreter: "Tell him to come out:" and the messenger returned and said: "You are to wait and he will soon come out," and then Hernando Pizarro said: "Tell the dog to come out at once." And an Inca who had been to Maricavilca as a spy, in the dress of a Talecin whom Hernando Pizarro, not knowing that he was a spy of Atabalipa, struck and wounded in the head, went in and said to Atabalipa: "Go out at once for here is that bad man who wounded me in the head in Maricavilca."

And then Atabalipa came out with two small **vessels of gold** full of maize syrup, and gave one to Hernando Pizarro and drank the other himself; and then he took two vessels of silver and gave one to Captain Soto and the other he drank himself; and then Hernando Pizarro said to the interpreter: "Tell Atabalipa that there is no difference between me and Captain Soto, that we are both the King's captains and have to do what the King commands us; we left our countries and came to instruct you in the matters of the faith." And they there arranged with Atabalipa that he should come the next day, which was Saturday, to Caxamalca.

He had around the place where he was more than forty thousand Indian warriors in their squadrons and many principal chiefs of the whole of that country. And on taking leave Hernando de Soto struck the legs of a horse in the direction of the first squadron of men and the Indians fled and even tumbled one over another, and when we reached Caxamalca Atabalipa ordered three hundred Indians to be killed because they had run away, and the day after the tumult we found them dead. He killed them because they had fled from the horse.

On the next day, Saturday, Atabalipa came with all his forces in array to Caxamalca, and in that league he loitered until there was not an hour and a half of sunlight left; he brought six hundred Indians in red and white uniforms like chessmen, who came in advance clearing away the stones and sticks from the road.



### Clothing

The clothing worn by the people of Peru varied according to social position. Nobility wore garments of especially fine woven cloth. Some contained the intricate tocapu patterns – geometric designs – that were also used in tapestries. Typically men wore loose cloaks over tunics that extended slightly above their knees, and women wore ankle-length skirts with braided waistbands. Both men and women wore grass shoes or leather sandals.

Inca clothing was made from cotton in coastal regions and from wool in the highlands. In Peru domesticated cotton balls dating to 2,500 B.C. have been found. Wool was from both the llama and the alpaca. The wool from the vicuña was reserved for the nobility.

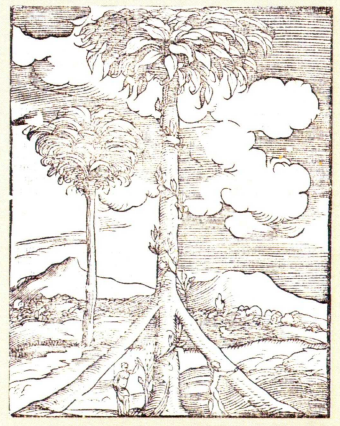


### Metallurgy

The Andean region of Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador was the center of metallurgy for all of South America. Along the west coast Inca artisans used gold and silver objects for personal adornment and for ceremonial uses. Gold and silver were abundant, but were used for decorative purposes, not monetary value. The nobility amassed enormous riches that accompanied them, in death, in their tombs. To the Inca, gold was "the sweat of the sun" and silver, "the tears of the moon." Metal smiths also worked with copper and bronze to make tools and weapons. The Spanish collected thousands of items and melted them into gold bars and silver ingots to be sent to Spain.

### Breadth of Inca Empire

The empire that the Inca built was one of the largest and most advanced kingdoms on the American continent before the arrival of the Europeans. It controlled about 350,000 square miles that included peaks of the Andes and then extended to the Pacific Coast and the Amazon basin. The political center of the empire was in what is now Peru, and its territory included parts of present-day Ecuador, Bolivia, northern Chile, and northwest Argentina.



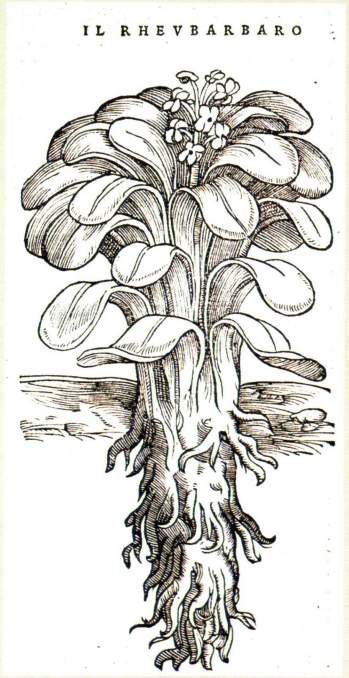
*Left, Ornament. Chavín. 900 – 300 B.C. Gold. TL 2004.233.33. Gift in honor of Andrew Wolov, 2004. Above and facing page, illustrations from Delle Navigationi et Viaggi Raccolte da M. Gio. Battista Ramusio, Volume Terzo, by Giovanni Battista Mausio. 2575.3027.*

### Villages

In an Inca village the highest point was reserved for religious purposes. This place provided the best access to the sun, which represented their most important god, the Sun God. The six major gods of the Inca represented the sun, moon, sea, earth, and thunder/lightening. Pachamama was the earth god and mother of all humans. The Inca had shamans who believed in animal spirits living on earth. The condor depicted heaven, the anaconda depicted the underworld, and the puma was the brother who resided on earth.

### A Prayer to the Inca God Viracocha

*O most happy, fortunate Creator, you have compassion on men and take pity on them! Behold your people here, your children, poor, unfortunate, whom you have made and given life; take pity on them and let them live safe and sound with their children and descendants; guide them in the ways of good health and let them not perceive or think about bad and harmful things; let them live for a long time and not die in their youth; let them eat and drink in peace.*



And the Governor, seeing that he loitered so much and had come to a halt, sent Hernando de Aldana, who knew the language to speak to him so that he might arrive before it was much later, and Aldana spoke to him and he began at once to move on. In Caxamalca there were ten streets which ran from the square, and at each entrance of each street the Governor placed eight men and in some fewer because of the few men he had, and the cavalry were distributed in three store sheds ["Galpones" = Native wood, hence store sheds], in the first Hernando Pizarro with his company, and in the second Hernando de Soto with his, and in the third Sebastian de Benalcaçar with his; all the horses with breastplates of bells, and the Governor in the fort with twenty four men on guard. We were in all a hundred and sixty horse and a hundred foot.

The Governor had a room in which Atabalipa was to sit and it was arranged that by good words they should get him inside and that afterwards he should order his men to go to their dwellings, for the Governor was afraid of coming to blows, as those men were so many and ours so few; for they were more than forty thousand Indian warriors and among them many chiefs.

When Atabalipa had come into the square of Caxamalca and did not see any Christians he asked the Inca who had come with us from Maricavilca and Çarran: "What has become of those bearded men?" and he answered: "They must be in hiding"; and suggested that he should alight from the litter in which he came, but he would not do so.

And then, with the interpreter Fr. Vicente de Balverde came out to speak to him and tried to make him understand the object for which we came, and that by command of the Pope a son he had was Captain of Christendom, who was the Emperor our lord; and while telling him words of the holy gospel, Atabalipa said to him: "Who says that?" and he answered: "God says it." And Atabalipa said: "What do you mean by God?" and Fr. Vicente said to him: "See the writings here"; and then shewed him an open breviary, and Atabalipa asked him for it and looked it and flung it about a quoit's throw distant saying: "Ea, Ea, not one must escape;" and the Indians gave a great shout saying: "Ho! Inca!" which means, let it be done, and the shout caused great fear, and then Fr. Vicente turned back and went up where the Governor was and said: "Act, Sir, for Atabalipa is become a devil."

And then the Governor took off his coat and took a coat of mail and a sword and a dagger and a helmet and, with the twenty four of us who were with him, we sallied out to the square and went straight to Atabalipa's litter, making a way through the men, and while dragging him from the litter the horsemen with the trappings of bells came out and attacked them, and as the Indians fled and they stopped them from getting out of the streets they pressed against the wall between the bastions and threw it down flat, and there and in the square such numbers fell one over another that many were suffocated, so that of eight thousand Indians who died there more than two thirds perished in this manner; the pursuit of the Indians was pressed that afternoon for more than half a league.

Atabalipa got into the fortress and asked if they were going to kill him, and they told him, No, because the Christians would kill in that rush but not afterwards, and they made him understand that he would go to Quito, to the country which his father left him.

And for this purpose he ordered a cabin full of gold and so he sent to this city from Caxamalca for it, and they carried it off with them. And after the gold was given they said that he was collecting men at the river of Lavanto, and that he was gathering them there in order to kill the Christians. And the Governor sent Soto to the river of Levanto to see if it was true. I went with him and there was no such thing, but as the Indians of Xauxa were enemies of Atabalipa they falsely imputed this to him.

At this time the Governor sent Hernando Pizarro to Pachacama with seventeen men, I went with him and from there we came to Xauxa and brought Chalcochima and returned to Caxamalca, and there we found **Diego de Almagro** who had come from Panama with men in considerable numbers, and of those who came with him there are still living Manao Serra and a certain Juan Monedero and Juan Ronio in Guamanga, and no more.

And soon afterwards the King's officials notified the Governor that he was to kill **Atabalipa,** because if he remained alive the King would lose a large amount of money because he was such a warlike Indian.

And so they killed Atabalipa and after he was dead we left Caxamalca and came to Guamachuco which is twelve leagues from there and three more to Andamarca where they killed the Inca Guascar, and from there we came to Guayedo and from there to Bonbon; all this without war with Indians; and from Bonbon came Diego de Almagro with men to Xauxa, where he had war with the Indians.

And soon after we reached Xauxa the rest of the men had come with the Governor, where he had been a certain time, until the Governor sent Hernando de Soto with forty horse to discover the way to Cuzco. I went with him and we proceeded to Vilcas where Atabalipa's captains were with many warriors and the warriors had gone for a





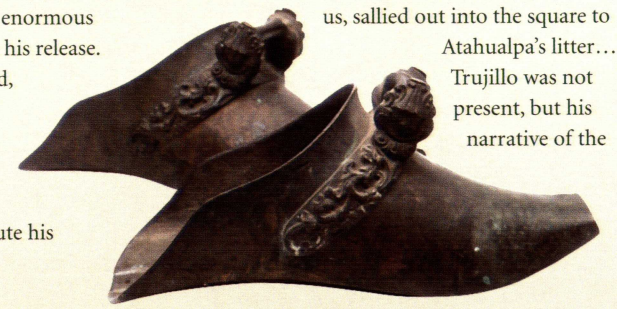
*From Defensa de la Vnica Proteccion y Patronazgo de las Españas perteneciete al Glorioso Apostol Santiago el Mayor, by Juan de Oñate, 1526. 2457.626.*

### Diego de Almagro

Diego de Almagro was one of Francisco Pizarro's original partners. During the failed first expedition to Peru, Almagro lost an eye during a skirmish with hostile natives. Almagro, one of Pizarro's most trusted commanders, was also with him on the second and third expeditions. Almagro fought loyally with Pizarro for many years but eventually turned against Pizarro. An ambiguously worded royal decree had awarded Pizarro authority over the land 270 leagues south of the original landing point for the conquistadors, near the island of Puná. Almagro was granted the land beyond that of Pizarro. There was no indication of how the distance was to be measured over the high Andes. Ownership of the royal city of Cuzco, which was in the southern region, was thus constantly in dispute. In 1535 Almagro led an unsuccessful expedition to search for additional treasure. Encountering incredible hardships, he marched south through the freezing cordillera of the Andes, probably as far as Coquimbo in present-day Chile, and then back north through the desert wastes of Atacama. Upon his return, Almagro, believing Cuzco was within his jurisdiction, seized the city and ruled it for over a year. The Pizarro brothers were not about to relinquish their claim on the ancient capital, and war between the Spanish factions ensued. Almagro's forces were eventually defeated and Almagro was captured. Although promised that he would be spared, Diego de Almagro was garroted by orders of Hernando Pizarro in 1538. Almagro's Panamanian son, who was also Diego de Almagro (known as Almagro the Lad), inherited his father's rights. Later the youth nominally headed the revolt that began with the assassination of Francisco Pizarro. In 1542 he was captured and executed by the new governor, Vaca de Castro.

### Atahualpa

Atahaulpa was the Inca of Peru at the time of the Spanish invasion. Following the deaths of Inca Huayna Capac and his appointed heir, the lords of Cuzco selected Huascar, next eldest surviving son as ruler. Atahualpa, the second eldest son of Inca Huayna Capac, was governing the northern part of the empire at the time of his father's death. Huascar agreed to share the kingdom with Atahualpa on condition that Atahualpa pay homage to him and not make conquests outside his domain of Quito. Armies of Atahualpa and Huascar fought at numerous locations within the empire. This civil war had just ended as Pizarro's forces traveled into the interior of the country. Atahualpa, captured by the Spanish, offered to pay an enormous ransom to secure his release. While imprisoned, fearing more internal rebellion, he ordered his followers to execute his brother Huascar.



Honoring his part of the ransom agreement, a 22 by 17 foot room was filled once with gold and twice with silver. After the ransom was paid, Pizarro ordered Atahualpa to be tried and executed. Sentenced for the murder of his brother and for encouraging rebellion, Atahualpa was executed in the main square of Cajamarca in June 1534.

Trujillo describes the fateful confrontation with Atahualpa and his army, "And then the Governor [Pizarro] took off his coat and took up a coat of mail and a sword and a dagger and a helmet and, with twenty-four of us, sallied out into the square to Atahualpa's litter…" Trujillo was not present, but his narrative of the Inca ruler execution was direct, stating that Atahualpa was to be killed "because if he remained alive, the King would lose a large amount of money…"



*Strangulation, from Narratio Regionum Indicarum Per Hispanos Quosdam, by Bartoloem de Las Casas, 1598. 2475.263. Left: Stirrups, Spain, 16th century, brass. 66.345.*


PERVVIÆ
Hanc bestiam quæ a quibus-
dam Haute & a Tecupimambuis
tijs Brasiliæ populo Hay vocatur
nemo ut scribunt vel edentem
vel bibentem nunquam vidit
hinc quidam opinantur eam
neque cibum capere neque
potu ali quequi alio alimento
quam hausti aeris viuere
OMAGNA
PAGVANA
PICORA
ANA
PARANA
ACVTTA
BRASI
LIA
CARIBANA
NOVA ANDALVSIA
REGNVM
BOGOTA
Popaiana
El Pongo
Moxos prouin-
cuchos pr
Capricomi
Rio grande de Conderillo
Rio de Paraguay
Rio Paraguay
Rio Paitrana
Rio Pilcomayo
Rio de los Topajos
Rio de las Amazones
Rio Negro
Rio Dulce
Rio Magdalena
Laguna del dorado
Paraguate
Asumption
Chiquitos
Chuquisaca
Potosi
La Plata
Cusco
Guaca
Quito
Cartago
Tocaima
Tunxa
Tunja
Timana
Antioquia
Popayan
Pasto
Cali
Antiocha
Mariquita
Maracaybo Lacus
Tibiari
Binorina
Cocharas
Carcarines
Chane
Tratambare
Mayna
Aimuriisamo
Rio Paucermayo
Maragnon fluuius
Vel Oregliano
Rio Negro
Picora
Chiremos
Rio de Ingouryo
Rio de los Topajos
Humos
Rio Zoriyano
Rio de las Amazones
Rio de S. Juan
Rio de Abres
Rio Domilla
Rio de S. Paulo
Rio de S. Miguel
Rio de S. Francisco
Rio de Todos los Santos
Rio de Vincente Pinson
Rio de Canapu
Costa Brauua
Rio de Caribes
Rio de Canoas
Rio de Apalolera
Rio de Manthama
Rio de Canoas
Rio dos Fumos
Rio do Brazel
C. do Norte
Rio de los Quixos
Rio de Tripuios
Rio Pett
Rio de los Mozos
Rio de Pilcomayo
Rio de S. Barbara
Rio de los Reyes
Rio de Cauca
Rio de Magdalena
Rio de los Remedios
Rio de los Cocos
Rio de los Barbudos
Rio de los Bagres
Rio de los Bonitos
Rio de los Papagayos
Rio de los Micos
Rio de los Micos
Rio de los Mic

about a stone's throw from it, the Indians attacked us suddenly and of forty horse which we were they killed five, namely, Hernando de Toro, and Miguel Ruiz, and Francisco Martin and Marquina and Juan Alonso, and wounded seventeen, and those who did us most damage were the three hundred Indians who wanted to come to us in peace, for this was known for certain.

And that night we were in great trouble because it was snowing, and the wounded complained greatly about the cold; and the Indians said that they had surrounded us, and many fires were all around; "We do not wish to kill you by night, but by day, and to amuse ourselves with you."

And at midnight in Limatambo the trumpet sounded an alarm, and it encouraged us so much to hear it that we attacked the Indians, and they who must also have heard the trumpet, understanding that it was help coming to us, at once put out the fires and marched to Cuzco, and the darkness was so great that the removal of their camp was only perceived from the noise.

And thereupon arrived Diego de Almagro with twenty horse, and next day came the Governor with the rest of the men, and we marched on with the wounded. And on the middle of that hill Chilche, who is now Cacique of Yuca, came out to us with three Canares Indians and said: "Who is the Captain of the Christians", and they pointed out the Governor; and he said; "I am come to serve you, and I will not be false to the Christians to the day of my death", and he has remained true to this day.

And then on the same hill lower down came Mango Inca with two or three other **Orejones** and brought a coat and shirt of yellow cotton; and Chilche said to the Governor: "This is the son of Guaynacava and is fleeing from Atabalipa's captains".

And so we marched to Cuzco and half a league before we reached it Indians made many attacks upon us and by a blow with a thin spear they pierced through the leg of Rodrigo de Chaves and killed his horse.

And thus we entered Cuzco where forthwith the part of the Christians was taken by the Canares and Chapoyas Indians, who would number about fifty one with another.

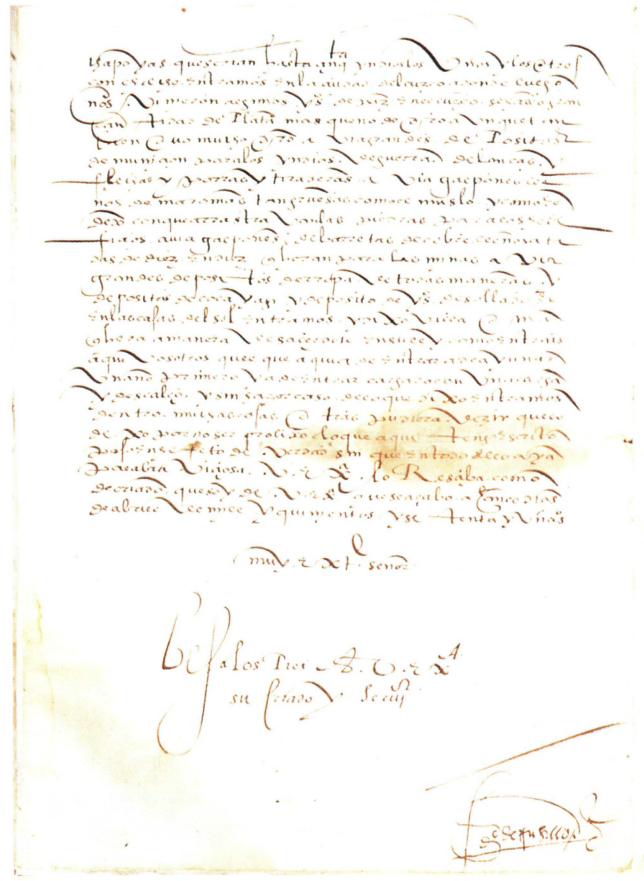
With Chilche we entered the city of Cuzco where some Indians soon came to us peaceably. In Cuzco was found a great quantity of silver more than of gold, although there was also much gold; there were great stores of munitions for the Indian warriors, lances, arrows, clubs, and slings; there were store-sheds ["Galpones"] full of ropes [grass ropes] as big as the thigh and as the finger, with which they dragged the stones for the buildings; there were store-sheds ["Galpones"] full of little bars of copper tied up in tens, which were for the mines; there were great stores of clothing of all sorts; and stores of coca and capsicum; and a deposit of flayed Indians.

We entered the houses of the sun, and Villacoma, who was a kind of priest in their religion, said: "How is it that you enter here? he who is to enter must first fast for a year, and must enter laden with a burden and barefooted"; but without heeding what he said we went in.

Many other things I could tell which I omit in order not to be prolix. What I have written here actually and truly took place, and there is not a false word in the whole of it. May your Excellency accept it as from Your Excellency's servant.

*Ended on the 5th of April, 1571.*
*Very Excellent Señor,*
*Your Servant and Servitor kisses the feet of*
*Your Excellency.*

*Diego de Truxillo*





### Orejones

Within the Inca society, only nobles were allowed to wear large ear spools. The Spanish, encountering numerous regional chiefs wearing these large items of adornment, labeled them Orejones. The actual translation of the word means big ears.



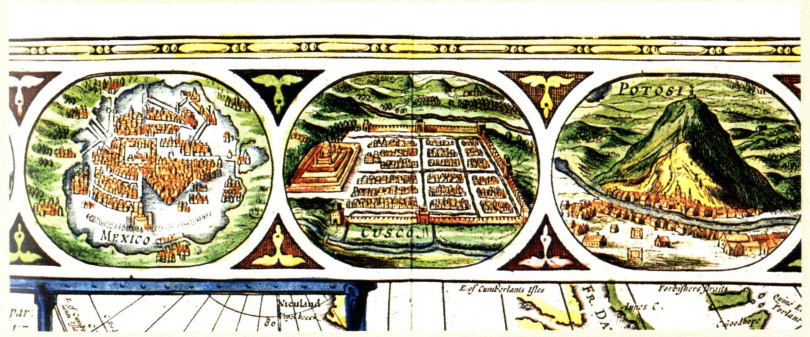
*Earspool frontals. Chavin, Peru. 900 – 200 B.C., stone and shell. 84.3144a & b. Gift in honor of Andrew Wolov, 2003.*

### Cuzco

The city of Cuzco claims the distinction of being the oldest continuously inhabited city in the Americas. It was the religious and administrative capital of the far-reaching Inca Empire. For those within the empire, it was the equivalent of Mecca; every person of importance throughout the kingdom tried to visit Cuzco once in his lifetime. Located near fertile agricultural lands in the Vilcanota and Urubamba valleys and well watered by many glacial-snow fed streams, Cuzco was prosperous and beautiful.

### Years of Inca Ascendancy

The Incas expanded their dominance over neighboring tribes under the rule of their first historic leaders. At its height the Inca Empire was relatively short-lived, lasting only about 100 years. The leader Pachacuti and his army began conquering neighboring people in the Cuzco region about 1438 A.D. Cuzco, which emerged as the richest city in the Western Hemisphere, was the center of Inca life and the home of its leaders. The city fell to Pizarro's troops in 1533.




*Detail from Atlas Maior, America, by Joan Blaeu, 1663. 3976.31.*

### Agriculture in the Andes

Inca farmers also made use of natural fertilizers. In the coastal areas, guano (nitrate-rich droppings of birds) was plentiful. In the highlands, farmers used the remains of slaughtered llamas as a fertilizer. Inhabitants of the Andean region cultivated more than half the agricultural products eaten in the world today. These include more than twenty varieties of corn and 240 varieties of potato. Corn was cultivated up to an altitude of 13,500 feet. It was then eaten fresh, dried, and popped. Of special importance to the Inca, the potato proved able to withstand heavy frosts as high as 15,000 feet. At these heights, the alternately freezing night temperatures and the heat of the day would freeze and dry the potatoes until all the moisture had been removed. The Incas then reduced the potato to a light flour.

### Peru Today

The country of Peru is as large as Spain, France, and Britain combined or almost twice the size of the state of Texas. Much of the land, however, is not suitable for agriculture. Only about two percent is not too wet, too dry, too high, or too steep for farming. Today more than seventy percent of the country's population is urban. The economy of the country includes agricultural production of cotton, sugar, and rice. Peru is also a major producer of copper and other nonferrous metals, such as lead, zinc, silver, and gold. Other industries include fishing, lumber, and light manufacturing.

RANDY RAMER

# PORTFOLIO

## THE ANCIENT CULTURES OF SOUTH AMERICA

The earliest inhabitants of South America were migrating bands of hunters and gatherers that arrived more than 10,000 years ago. During the next several millennia, these bands continued their migration until their range had spanned the entire continent. By 2500 B.C., these ancient people had begun settling into small, sedentary villages of farmers and fishermen along the coasts of modern day Ecuador, Chile, and Peru.

Advances in farming eventually encouraged the development of larger, more complex societies. Among the earliest of these cultures, the Chavín, emerged around 900 B.C. in the northern Andean highlands. Their major city, Chavín de Huantar, included massive, elaborately-carved stone buildings and temples. Chavín culture flourished until around 300 B.C. when smaller, more localized cultures began to appear. During the next centuries, a number of societies rose and fell throughout the highlands and along the Pacific coast. Major cultures from this time period include the Paracas, Nazca, Moche, Chimú, and Inca civilizations.



Llama Effigy (Conopa)
Inca, A.D. 1450 – 1532
Stone, 61.107601
Gift in honor of Andrew Wolov, 2003

Llamas and alpacas were first domesticated over 5,000 years ago in the central Andes. Stylized stone conopas depicting these camelids emerged much later and were used ritually during Inca times. The opening at the back allowed for the insertion of corn, animal fat, or other organic substances used in offerings to maintain the health and fertility of the animal by its keeper.





Owl Effigy Vessel
Chimú, A.D. 1100 – 1400
Earthenware, 54.3928

Chimú culture began around 1100 A.D. as a confederation of communities along the northern coast of Peru and into Ecuador. The Chimú constructed intricately-planned cities with elaborate temples, civic buildings, and monuments. The archaeological site of Chan Chan was once one of the largest urban centers in pre-Hispanic South America, maintaining a population in the tens of thousands. Chimú culture continued until its decline around 1470 with its eventual dominance by the Inca Empire.



Llama Effigy (Conopa)
Inca, A.D. 1450 – 1532
Stone, 61.9430



**Human Effigy**
Inca, A.D. 1450 – 1532
Gold, 56.52

Human figurines of gold and silver were used in elaborate burial rites and sacrifices by the Inca. These small, hollow effigies were made to depict both males and females. They were often dressed in intricately detailed clothing including finely-woven textiles, headdresses and other accessories before interment with the dead or sacrificial victim.



**Effigy Vessel**
Chavín, 900 – 200 B.C.
Earthenware, 54.20115
Gift in honor of Andrew Wolov, 2003

The development and use of pottery marked an important transition in the early cultures of Peru. This Chavín ceramic vessel depicts a seated man with a mortar and pestle possibly engaged in the preparation of substances used in healing.





**Bird Effigy Plate**
Inca, A.D. 1450 – 1532
Earthenware, TL2004.69.2
Promised Gift of Dr. Patrick D. Lester, 2004

Ceramic designs are often used by archaeologists to gauge shifts in cultural influence over time. This ceramic dish with its duck-like representation is typical of those used in the Cuzco region during the reign of the Incas.



**Whale Effigy Vessel**
Nasca, A.D. 200 – 400
Earthenware, TL2004.233.46
Anonymous gift, 2004



Feather Tunic (back)
Chimú, A.D. 1100 – 1400
Feathers, cotton cloth, 84.3147
Gift in honor of Andrew Wolov, 2003





Feather Tunic
Chimú, A.D. 1100 - 1400
Feathers, Cotton cloth, 84.3147
Gift in honor of Andrew Wolov, 2003

This feather tunic or poncho was used in pre-Hispanic times as an emblem of rank, authority, and esteem. While its fish and owl imagery speaks to the wearer's social status, the tunic's physical properties reveal the extensive nature of early Peruvian economics and trade. Its cloth foundation is made from cotton harvested along Peru's southern Pacific coast while the feathers of its delicate overlay were gathered in the rain forest of the Amazon basin.

Textile Fringe
Proto-Nasca, Peru, 300 – 100 B.C.
Wool, natural dyes, 97.302
Gift in honor of Andrew Wolov, 2003







**Chica Cup**
Inca, Peru, A.D. 1450 – 1532
Gold, 56.11

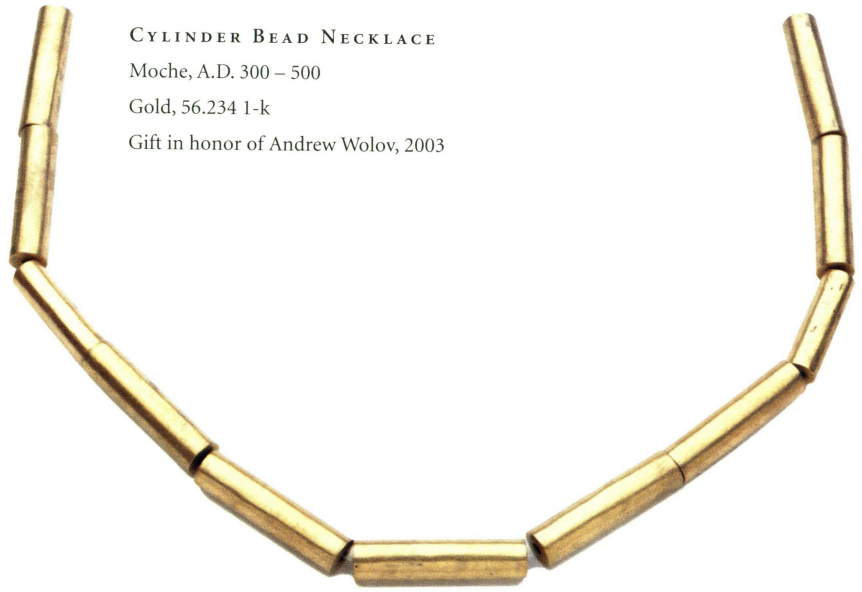
Small cups of gold were used in the ritual drinking of chicha, a fermented corn drink made by the Incas. Aquillas were typically made in pairs and were given as symbols of favor by the ruling elite. Gold cups of chicha were formally presented to Francisco Pizarro's captains, Hernando De Soto, and Hernando Pizarro during their first encounter with Inca ruler Atahualpa in 1532.

**Arm Band**
Peru, A.D. 1450 – 1532
Gold, 56.222



**Bird Effigies**
Chavín, Peru, 900 – 200 B.C.
Stone, 84.3145a-f
Gift in honor of Andrew Wolov, 2003





**Cylinder Bead Necklace**
Moche, A.D. 300 – 500
Gold, 56.234 1-k
Gift in honor of Andrew Wolov, 2003



**Ear Ornament**
Chavín, 900 – 200 B.C.
Shell, 90.2858
Gift in honor of Andrew Wolov, 2003

**Painted Cup (Kero)**
Inca, ca. A.D. 1700
Wood, TL2004.69.3
Promised Gift of Dr. Patrick D. Lester, 2004

Painted wooden cups or keros were used by the Incas in the centuries immediately following the Spanish conquest. Keros of the corn beer chicha were often used during Colonial period ceremonies as a public display of Inca identity. The cups often depict well-known events from Inca history and mythology.



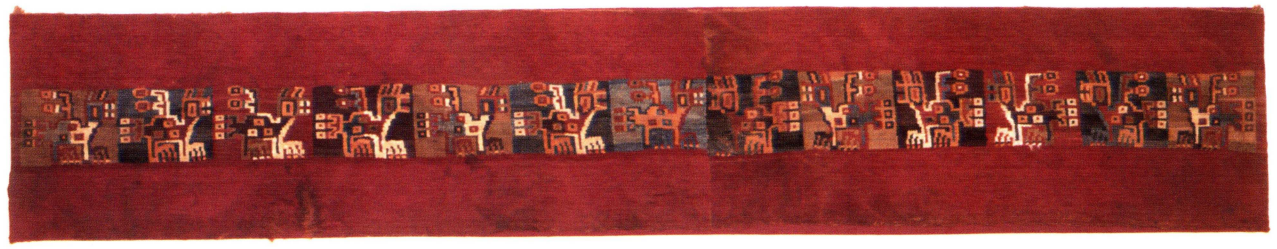


**Flute**
Huari, A.D. 500 – 800
Wood and cotton, 84.3146
Gift in honor of Andrew Wolov, 2003



**Double Jar**
Peru, A.D. 500 – 1000
Earthenware, 54.7726





**Textile Strip**
Paracas, 300 – 100 B.C.
Wool, 99.286
Gift in honor of Andrew Wolov, 2003

Fine weaving has been an important part of Peruvian culture since ancient times. This woven band was once part of a larger textile, possibly a mantle or tunic. The stylized animal depictions reflect the Paracas interest in felines.

**Textile Sling**
Peru, A.D. 1200 – 1450
Wool, 90.288
Gift in honor of Andrew Wolov, 2003



SARAH ERWIN

# PORTFOLIO

# EMPERORS OF THE INCAS

Translations by Rita Willis

Inca royal paintings were often used as a way of remembering, recording, and honoring the past. They are also remarkable representations of the convergence of Spanish and Inca culture and traditions. This series of twelve portraits, known as Emperors of the Incas, illustrates the Inca rulers who reigned before the Spanish conquest of Peru in 1532. The portraits were painted between the mid 18th and early 19th centuries when depictions of the royal leaders of the past were a significant feature of Inca society.

The colonial period (1542-1824) in Peru was a time of dramatic change for native peoples. The Spanish rule of Peru was marked by war, civil unrest, and cultural conflict. While this series reflects the European painting tradition of the time, it also maintains a strong display of Inca identity. Each painting includes a brief description of the Sapa Inca, meaning Sole Ruler. Compiled through centuries of oral tradition, the descriptions were transcribed in Spanish, as the Inca had no written language of their own. The royal portraits were extremely important in Inca history, providing hereditary ties for elite families who claimed vital links to the royal line. The portraits were displayed in colonial Inca homes as proof of noble descent.

Royal portraits were important symbols in the ongoing sociopolitical struggles between Peru's indigenous population and the Spanish Crown. After the unsuccessful rebellion lead by Jose Gabriel Tupac Amaru in 1780, all symbols of Inca identity were strictly forbidden. Inca royal paintings were banned until 1824, when Peru finally won independence.

The author-artist and the history of these portraits are unknown. It can be surmised that the author was an intellectual person, knowledgeable of both European and Inca culture. Evidently familiar with European prints in the middle 1700s, he included elaborate depictions of styles of attire and heraldic objects fashionable at the time. He also followed the tradition of incorporating architectural elements that related to his subjects as part of the background. The accuracy of his illustrations implies that these were probably done from his own observations. The sites incorporated, although widespread, were accessible through the Inca road system, still in use during the Colonial era. The author clearly knew Inca oral history, and there is much similarity to the work of noted writer Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala.

The exact medium has not been determined – all twelve could be watercolors, most with a heavy coat of natural resin varnish. In those that appear unvarnished, the medium looks dry and does not have the traits typical of watercolor. It is possible that the portraits were done in solvent-thinned oil paint and then covered with resin varnish. Both the paint and varnish could be from native, not European, sources.

Thomas Gilcrease acquired these works in the 1940s, but there is no record relating where they were purchased. This set of paintings offers a unique combination of text and images. Separately, the text and images are interesting; together they provide remarkable documentation that otherwise has been found only in the account of Guaman Poma. It is interesting to consider that this work, created to validate the heritage of the Incas, does more to document the blending of the Incan and Hispanic cultures.

It should be noted that in archaic Spanish (as well as other languages) spelling and abbreviations varied greatly. Often a V and U were used interchangeably. In this document, the word for sister is written with several different spellings—Chimbo, Chinbo, and Chinvo. According to different historians and authors, there are variations concerning the spelling and number of Inca Emperors. The writer of this document extends the numbers of rulers to fourteen; however, numbers seven and nine are omitted.




I



MANCO CAPAC INCA

*Manco Capac Inga I. This great empire began with this Monarch who was imaginatively called Son of the Sun and of the Cave Pacarictamvo by his mother, Mama huaco, and then was acclaimed King of all the region of Cuzco. He married his own mother to assure the purity of the Royal Blood. According to his annals he lived 160 years. His son succeeded him.*

Manco Capac was the first of the Inca dynasty and the legendary founder of Cuzco. Known as Son of the Sun, he is depicted with the sun above his left shoulder. A coat-of-arms, reflecting the influence of Spanish heraldry, appears in this and eight other of these portraits. Manco Capac's coat-of-arms contains a tree crowned with the same headgear that the leader is wearing. Manco Capac has large red earspools, royal knee fringes, feline-head sandals, and is carrying a mace. The background depicts mountains on one side and a terraced landscape on the other side. Agricultural plantings are growing on the terraces.
Legend recounts that the people later known as the Inca were first a small group of warlike people who lived near Lake Titicaca in southeastern Peru sometime before the 13th century. According to Inca myth, Manco Capac, along with four brothers and four sisters, emerged from caves in the earth. Then, around the year 1200, he led ten clans north conquering the fertile Cuzco Valley. To establish a royal Inca bloodline, Manco Capac married within his family. He and succeeding emperors extended power through marriage alliances and victory over neighboring groups.

## SINCHIROCA INCA

*Sinchiroca Inga II. The Peace-loving. With enlightenment and moderation he extended his empire. He imposed a law against the idleness of the Indians. He lived 155 years. The sister queen his wife Mama Chinbo Vrma. During his time our Savior Jesus was born. His son succeeded him.*

This portrait includes headgear, earspools, knee fringes, and sandals similar to the first Inca. Sinchiroca, however, carries a larger mace that is held in both hands. His coat-of-arms contains a geometric, not representational, symbol. The foreground includes several yellow, red, and white flowering plants. There is no indication of masonry. The reddish color of the construction may indicate the rammed earth. It is on two levels, the lower containing three openings and the upper having one taller doorway or niche. Considering the importance of identifiable locations in Inca ideology, this might be Pachacamac, located about twenty-five miles southeast of the present day city of Lima. One of the holiest shrines in the central Andes, the site's name came from the deity, Pacha Camac (meaning he who vitalizes the universe). The main temple at the site was dedicated to Pacha Camac and held a famous oracle. After the expansion of the Inca Empire, Pachacamac remained an important religious shrine, also becoming an administrative center.




II





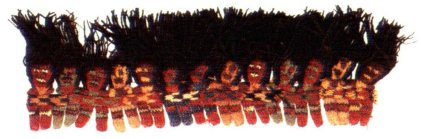
## LLOQVIYVPANQUI INCA

*Lloqviyvpanqui Inga III. The Famous. Although his fame is hollow, he did conquer with valor and mercy the great provinces of the Ayaviris, Collas and Chucuitos. He lived 150 years. His wife the Sister-Queen was Mama Cora Ocllo. His son succeeded him.*

With headgear, cloak, and sandals similar to the first two portraits, Lloqviyvpanqui differs in being shown wearing black britches. Knee-length tunics accompanied by the royal knee fringe were more authentic than these somewhat European style pants. He is also clearly looking to the side, not at the viewer. According to some oral traditions, Lloqviyvpanqui was so ugly that people fled when they saw him. He is above Cuzco, standing in front of the fortress Sacsahuaman (meaning satisfied falcon). The fortress-temple could accommodate the entire population of the unwalled city of Cuzco. It was protected by three massive terraced walls built in a zigzag style to separate attacking forces.




III



## MAYTACAPAC INCA

*Maytacapac Inga IIII. The Melancholy. He conquered the Charcas as far as the famous Hill of Potosi. He made the celebrated bridge of Apurímac for his conquests. He had 50 sons. He lived 120 years. The Sister-Queen his wife was Mama Chinvo Yachi Vrma. His son succeeded him.*

Standing with arms crossed, Maytacapac's portrait seems to depict the type of Hercules figure that he is in Inca legend. He was reportedly born with teeth and at one year of age had the physique of an eight year old. Some accounts attribute deeds of honor to this leader, which were accomplished much later. Maytacapac wears black britches, as did his father. Added to his outfit are feline-head ornaments at his knees. He stands in a generic rolling landscape, adorned with a tree and flowering plants.




III





## CAPAC YVPAQUI INCA

*Capac Yvpaqui Inga V. The Greedy. He discovered and hoarded great riches. He conquered the Aymaraes and Quichuas and other provinces of the mountain range and valleys. He commanded that those who died be buried with their Jewels. He lived 140 years. His Sister-Queen was Mama Chimbo Cahua. His son succeeded him.*

This portrait does not include a coat-of-arms, but Capac Yupaqui is the first to be depicted with a shield. He also has a feline emblem at the shoulder. He is noted as the first Inca to conquer lands outside the area of Cuzco lands and to exact tribute from other tribes. Although it is not possible to identify Capac Yupaqui as a real person in history, this is near the time that Inca legend is beginning to become history.
The text accompanying this portrait states that Capac Yupaqui lived to the age of 140. Although well beyond what would be considered a normal lifespan, the ages given for these leaders represent a patriarchal age. These ages support later Inca tradition that the reign beginning with the Cuzco dynasty roughly corresponded with the Christian era and worked toward the time of the Spanish conquest. The unidentified author of the Gilcrease document and writer Guaman Poma, perhaps using a common historical tradition, both recorded similar ages and royal genealogy.




V



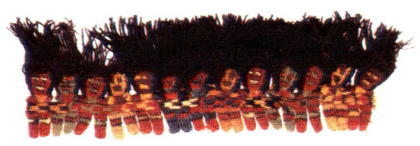
## YNCA ROCA INCA

*Ynga Roca Inga VI. The Arrogant. He was so prolific that they say he had 600 children. He did not appoint a tutor for his heir. He founded public schools. He took part in the conquest of the chunchos. He lived 154 years. The Sister-Queen his wife Mama Culi Chimbo. His son succeeded him.*

This portrait again depicts the Inca with traditional red earspools, cloak, feline-head sandals, and mace. His white shirt is decorated with repeated colors of gold, black, red, and turquoise. He is wearing the four-tiered hat including feathers, which were worn by Incas while at war. An engraving in the 1720s by Alonso de la Cueva depicted this style of headgear. It eventually became linked with the royal family and was copied often in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. With one exception, all of the portraits in the Gilcrease manuscript are wearing this style of headgear. Garcilaso de la Vega, the son of a Spanish conquistador and an Inca princess, wrote of the rise and fall of the Inca Empire. Recounting oral tradition, Garcilaso wrote that Inca Roca founded a four-year school for boys of high birth. Study included religion, history, and Quechua.




VI





## VIRACOCHA INCA

*Viracocha Inga VIII. The Conqueror. He was white and like a Spaniard. He wished that only one God that he said was over and beyond the Sun be worshiped. He made a law against adulterers and fornication. He lived 124 years. He conquered eight provinces. The Sister-Queen was Mama Runtu Cayan. His son succeeded him.*

Viracocha Inca is depicted against an expansive landscape with stark mountains in the background and flowering plants underfoot. His costume is similar to earlier portraits, with the royal fringe added at his knees. When Viracocha Inca was a prince, he claimed to have seen the creator, known as Viracocha, in a dream. Upon becoming the Inca, he took the name of Viracocha Inca. Noted for his light skin, he considered himself predestined for greatness. During his reign, the Incas' domination expanded to an area of about twenty-five miles around Cuzco.




VIII



## INCA YVPANQUI INCA

*Inca Yvpanqui. Inca X. The Good. He mastered the Cordillera. He discovered the province of the Mojos. He began the work on the great fortress of Cuzco. He established grand temples and convents for virgins. The Sister-Queen was Mama Chimbo Ocllo. His age is not known because some confuse him with his father. His son succeeded him. The robes and royal insignia were painted as well as the hair covering on the head, the sandals on the feet and the balls of thread on the cheeks.*

Better known as Pachacuti, this ruler in reality created the Inca Empire. During a thirty-year period, he began the systematic conquest of more than a hundred surrounding cultures. Eventually his empire extended almost the entire length of the Andes Mountains. Pachacuti is portrayed wearing the traditional clothing befitting the supreme monarch. In addition to the red earspools, cloak, shirt, and feline-head emblems at his shoulder and ankles, Pachacuti is wearing the black britches seen in only three other of the portraits. Of special interest is the architectural detail shown behind Pachacuti. Responsible for the construction of many towns, he expanded the capital city of Cuzco and maybe even designed several of the ornate temples and palaces. This might represent Cuzco or Vilcashuaman. Of second most importance in the empire, Vilcashuaman was an administrative and religious center, including the Temple of the Sun and Moon. The inclusion of rocks randomly scattered between the lower and upper walls implies that, when the artist viewed the site, it was already in a ruinous condition.




X





## TOPA YUPANQUI INCA

*Topa Yvpanqvi Inca XI. The Wise Conqueror. He conquered the equatorial provinces as far as Quito. He made a law against those who lie. He established the Royal Council. According to his annals he lived 200 years. The Sister-Queen Mama Ocllo was his wife. His younger son succeeded him as the older ones had previously died.*

Topa Yvpanqui or Tupa Inca was a great general, who personally led his troops in battle. Continuing his father's expansion, he extended the empire from northern Ecuador to central Chile. His portrait is somewhat unusual in the simplicity of the attire. Both his shirt and cloak are white with red trim and he carries a shield. No coat-of-arms is in the sky and this is the only portrait that is not full length. The landscape in which Topa Yvpanqui is shown includes a terraced field and the three caves of Puma Orco. The caves relate to the creation legend in which Manco Capac, along with his brothers and sisters, emerged from the earth.

Topa Yvpanqui worked to create a unified nation. He greatly expanded the network of roads and undertook a massive building program. Temples, palaces, forts, and grain storehouses were constructed.




XI



## HUAINA CCAPACC INCA

*El Emperador Huaina Ccapacc Inga XII. The Great. He ruled from the boundaries of Chile to the new Kingdom of Granada. He lived 89 years and died in Quito. At the end of his reign the first Spanish ship arrived on his coast. Succeeding him were his sons, Huascar in Cuzco and Atahuallpa in Quito.*

The text of this portrait adds the title of Emperor and describes Huaina Ccapacc as The Great. His depiction also stands out as the most unusual of the group. He has been placed on a pedestal, holds a pike not a mace, and a moon is on his shield as well as in the sky. His white shirt is decorated with a red pattern and his black britches are highlighted with distinct ornaments at the knees. These could be the same feline-head emblems that appear in other portraits or might represent skulls. Most unique is Huaina Ccapacc's headgear – appearing to be a three-tiered type of castle. A similar image, representing the fortress of Sacsahuaman that stands above Cuzco, is an element of the coat-of-arms granted by the Spanish in 1540. The architecture in the background is similar to that found in Cuzco. However, since Huaina Ccapacc is associated with expansion of the empire into the Ecuadorian region and the text mentions that he died in Quito, it is probable this is a depiction of Quito. Huaina Ccapacc was the last of Incas to rule an undivided empire. That empire extended from present-day southern Colombia through Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia into northwestern Argentina and northern Chile. While in the north, the Emperor received the first report of fierce, white, bearded strangers. He never encountered the Spaniards. Soon after the news of their arrival, an epidemic of smallpox swept across the Inca Empire. With no immunity to this new disease, thousands died – including Huaina Ccapacc.




XII





## TOPA CVSIHVASCAR INCA

*Topa Cvsihvascar Inga XIII. The Ill-fated. Son of the Sister-Queen Mama Raua Ocllo. Misfortune came with his brother Atahuallpa. He was defeated by him, and by his order killed in Jauja around the year 1533. He had no male child.*

Known as Huascar, he was appointed emperor by the lords of Cuzco following his father's death around 1525. He soon proved to be an intemperate, unreliable, and cruel leader. Huascar demanded that his younger half-brother Atahuallpa, who was governing the northern part of the empire, travel to Cuzco. Fearing treachery, Atahuallpa refused and forces of the two were engaged in civil war. The internal struggle weakened the country at a most ill fated time. Initially Huascar's forces were successful, even capturing Atahuallpa, although he quickly escaped. Huascar's armies were ultimately defeated and he was led as a captive to face Atahuallpa in Cajamarca. By this time, however, Atahuallpa himself was a captive of the Spanish. Fearful of the appearance of a rival Inca, Atahuallpa ordered Huascar killed. Huascar is shown with traditional earspools, shirt, cloak, and mace. His coat-of-arms is representational not geometric. The foreground includes an abundance of blooming plants, but the background does not depict the mountainous region of Cuzco. In the somewhat dark portrait Huascar seems to be standing on an island.




XIII



ATAHVALLPA INCA

*Atahvallpa Inca XIIII. The Last. The Defeated. Son of Mama Chachapoya, Queen of Quito, acclaimed as King of Cuzco. The unfortunate monarch was defeated and made prisoner by the conquistador Don Francisco Pizarro, and afterwards beheaded in Cajamarca. It is found that he was baptized and was called Don Juan Atahuallpa in the year 1533.*

Atahuallpa was the son of an Ecuadorian woman and the great emperor, Huaina Ccapacc. In Quito, with armies of famed veterans of the northern wars, he proclaimed himself King of Quito, a separate state from the Inca Empire. Defeating an army sent north, Atahuallpa's generals marched toward Cuzco. Victory in a final battle, in which more than 150,000 were killed, left Cuzco open to Atahuallpa's army. The lords of Cuzco suffered for their support of Huascar. Atahuallpa interrupted his journey toward the capital city to see the strangers who had reappeared. Little concerned over a force of about 170 men, Atahuallpa was deceived and captured by Francisco Pizarro. In an attempt to redeem his life with an immense ransom, the Inca filled a room once with gold and twice with silver. After many months of captivity, Atahuallpa was tried for the death of his brother and for encouraging rebellion and was strangled in 1533.

The Inca who never ruled from Cuzco is depicted wearing the traditional royal knee fringes and red earspools. Atahuallpa's dress includes a brown shirt and white cloak. A feline ornament is on his sandals, at his shoulder, and on the coat-of-arms. Like Huascar he is on a plain, but a fruit tree has replaced many of the flowering plants. Guaman Poma did not acknowledge Atahuallpa as a legitimate Inca.




XIIII







## VERTEBRATE HEARTS

by Mirko Lauer
Translated by Michael L. Smith

How can the wind
bring the yellow dust from Mongolia, foam
from the coasts of Peru,
tears from Pisa
all to the same place? How can the joys and
sorrows
of such different places be gathered together?

The bonfires burn among the chestnut trees,
the clouds circle in the sky,
the rain runs over the paving stones,
all in the same garden.

Men listen and the kindling says nothing, bursts into
pieces, murmurs, yields, opens its resonant glow,
in branches, delays, in small avalanches of gray cinders,
offering oranges to the young and wringing memories
from the old.

The banks of clouds in the sky announce the end of the
third fu and the heats of the Autumn Tiger;
the silences of the swimming pools and the archaic drone
of the large-leafed ventilator
bring down a harvets of pages printed
in the premature spring.

Curving before the eyes, useless strike of water over stone,
the rain reveals texture, wets lichen, launches rafts,
and the women run down the paths
avoiding, with their arms held high, the gleaming crown
of fertility

and thus the clay, dust, and ashes stir,
turning beauty into beauty and time into time;
and thus the meanders of the Po, the gorges of the
Sunhua, the cascades of the Lethe
engage in flooding the earth and draining it.

Silence opens its wings and folds them,
and thus the words strike against the hoarse walls
with impressions of love and death,
searching for doors and craving graffiti with mixed
consequences.

Loyalties and silences are sought, perceived, and lost
like words of love in the storm.
*Tout dit que pas ne dure fortune. Ashes & Silences said*
*Hernandez.*
*Youth ignores how pain tastes.*

*But it loves to roam autumn fields*
*to roams the autumn fields*
*& write new verses*
*wringing melancholy from itself.*

*But now I know well how pain tastes,*
*& when I'm going to name it, I'll say Stop,*
*Stop is all I'll say. Or maybe nice weather. Cool autumn.*

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