

**A Manuscript by a Peruvian Indian
Poma de Ayala**
at the Royal Library of Copenhagen.

In 1908 Dr. R. Pietschmann, Director of the Göttingen University Library, discovered a unique manuscript at the Royal Library of Copenhagen. Dr. Pietschmann in 1908 and 1912 called the attention of Americanists to this work, which was composed by a Peruvian Indian, Don Felipe Huaman Poma de Ayala, and entitled "El primero i nueva coronica i buen gobierno". The manuscript is still in the possession of the Copenhagen Library where it is preserved with all the appreciation it deserves.

The author is an Indian of most distinguished Peruvian descent; his paternal ancestors for generations were rulers ("Ccapac Apo") in the district of Chinchaysuyo in northern Peru, forming the dynasty of Yarovilleca Allauca-Huanuco. His mother was a daughter of that famous Inca, Tupac Inca Yupanqui, the tenth of Incas. Poma de Ayala finished his work in 1613, having collected material and written for about 26 years. It consists of 1179 pages, treating of subjects concerning the history of Peru from the earliest time. A section of the work contains ordinances issued by Tupac Inca Yupanqui; furthermore an enumeration of the age-groups into which the population was divided, and of feasts and daily life throughout the year at the time of the Incas. A very interesting section is the one treating the abuse and encroachment of the clerical and secular Spanish officials upon the unfortunate native population of Peru; this is probably the part of the book which has been the author's main reason for starting the great work. It was his purpose to present his book to the Spanish king, hoping that the latter from reading it might derive some knowledge of the ill-treatment of the Indians by his officials, and take steps to improvement of the conditions.

What distinguishes the work of Poma de Ayala above all other

contemporaneous writings, are the illustrations by the author. The manuscript contains a large number of full-page pen-and-ink illustrations which furnish a splendid material for the study of daily life amongst Peruvian Indians of high and low rank, before and about the time of the conquest.

The language used by the author is a mis-spelled 16th century Spanish with a rather superficial treatment of the simplest grammatical rules, and interspersed with Quichua-passages of varying length. The text-samples on pp. and of this paper will give an idea of the style, as will the manuscript-page reproduced in fig. 11.

A map of Peru and Ecuador on pp. 983—984 of the manuscript is of geographical interest (pl.). It shows rather crudely the Inca roads between Cuzco and the provinces of the empire; the author's list of *tambos* along these roads is reproduced on pp. of this paper (fig. 12). The city of Cuzco is shown in the centre of the map. Above it one of the rulers of the empire, Tupac Inca Yupanqui, is kneeling with his wife. In each of the four great divisions of the empire, Chinchaysuyo, Andesuyo, Collasuyo, and Condesuyo, the local ruler is shown together with his wife. To each of these ten persons a full-page illustration and a text-page is devoted in the manuscript.

The text of the map runs as follows:

"Map of the Indies.

You must know, that the whole empire had four kings, four divisions. On the right hand, where the sun sets, Chinchaysuyo; above the mountains, until the North Sea, Andesuyo; where the sun rises, on the left hand until Chili, Collasuyo; until the South Sea, Condesuyo. The said four divisions again were divided into two sections: Hanancuzco Incas where the sun sets, Chinchaysuyo; Lurincuzco where the sun rises, on the left hand, Collasuyo. And in this way the great city of Cuzco, the chief city and capital of this kingdom, stands in the centre. And you must know, that the whole kingdom is regulated and measured, a thousand five hundred miles long, and a thousand miles broad. And you must know, that this kingdom is very much folded like a ruffled collar. There is a place with a curve (of a river? Literally "a place of a flight", or "a projection"); the descent to the river is four leagues, and the ascent four other leagues. In all parts are many more. There are the said cities and towns, boroughs and villages of the Indians, and provinces. Half of the kingdom until the North Sea we have conquered and much more; the Indians of Chile and the Arauquas

and Mosquitos, who are quarrelling with the kingdom of Guinea. Almost everything the kings Incas have subjected. Where there are more riches of gold, is amongst the Indians of the forest-regions; and on the other side, in the mountains of the Indians of Huarmiauca-Anquuallo, there are riches of silver, and they are prolific and warlike Indians as are the Chiriguanos. But we cannot go there, because in the rivers are alligators and serpents and poisonous snakes, lions, tigers, ounces, and many other animals, and rough ground and forests. The Incas cunningly subdued this people of the forest.

Politics, Rule and Government.

In every city and town, borough and village and province, marked with landmarks and distinguished by their high-roads and their paths and bridges and rivers all over the country, measurements had been made and ordinances given by the king, Ccapac Apo Tupac Inca Yupanqui, and by the princes, knights, and by the great lords, most excellent gentlemen, his second person and his Viceroy Ccapac Apo Huamanchaua Yarovilleca Allauca-Huanuco, and by other princes, governors, commanders, judges, corregidores, *tocticoc* (=overseers), *alcaldes*, *caumihua* (=spies). And they had laws and ordinances in this kingdom. All the politics, and the law and the justice in the right service of God Our Lord, and of the Holy, Christian, Catholical Faith, and in the service of the Royal Crown of His Majesty, tend to the good government, the increase and the preservation of the Indians of this kingdom".

The portrait of Tupac Inca Yupanqui is reproduced in fig. 1; the text runs:

"The Tenth Inca, Tupac Inca Yupanqui.

He had his dark blue helmet *umachu*, *umachu*, *mascapaycha*, *anaspacra*, his *champi* and *uallcanca*, and his bluish mantle, and his shirt of *tocapu*, and four bands around his legs. He was a very elegant man, tall of stature, very wise and friendly. He kept peace and friendship with the great lords, and he liked feasts and banquets. He liked to honour the principal ladies, and he was a very great warrior. He was an enemy of liars; for a liar he ordered the person to be killed. He was the first who ordered the royal roads and bridges to be erected. And he installed post-runners, *hatunchasque* and *churochasque*, and inns. And he ordered, that there should be corregidores (*tocticoc*), constables (*huatacamayoc*), presiding hearers of the counsel of this kingdom of Ttahuantinsuyo (*camachic*). And he had adviser (*yncap rantin rimac*), attorney and

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helper (*runayanapac*), secretary (*incap quipocnin*), writer (*ttahuantinsuyo quipoc*), accountant (*hucha quipoc*); and he erected other offices. And every year he conversed with the idols (*huacas*); and with the help of the Devil he knew all Castile and Rome and Jerusalem and Turkey. And he gave orders to erect landmarks all over this kingdom around the pastures and *chacaras* (=farms) and forests, and to reduce the villages. And he honoured the great ladies, and showed much mercy and gave great alms. And he ordered the said ancient ordinances to be preserved, and later on he issued other ordinances. And he began to arrange his property, the common goods and the stores with much account and *quipus* all over the kingdom. In addition to his father's conquests he conquered half of what was left, Huanuco-Allauca, Chinchaycocha, Tarma, the entire Cordillera de Lima, Hunohuayllas, one million of Indians. Conchuco, Caxatambo. And he was married to Mama Oello, and he died at Cuzco two hundred years old of pure age. He died eating and sleeping; he did not feel Death. And during his life, Ccapac Apo Huamanchaua, descendant of Yarovilleca Allauca-Huanuco and grandfather of Ccapac Apo Don Martin de Ayala and of his son, the author Don Felipe Huaman Poma de Ayala, ruled for fifty years. And this Inca had legitimate infant children: Apocamac Inca, Inca Urco, Auqui Tupac Inca, Uiza Tupac Inca, Amaru Inca, Otoronco Achachi Inca, Tupac Huallpa, Mama Uaco, Cusi Chimbo Anahuarqua, Raua Oello; Huayna Ccapac was the youngest. And he had other bastard sons and daughters (*auquiconas* and *ñustaconas*). The ten Incas reigned for a thousand four hundred and ten years. Huayna Ccapac succeeded". — Addition at the bottom of the page: "Ccuri Oello was the youngest daughter".

Fig. 2 shows the portrait of Tupac Inca Yupanqui's Coya or wife. The text is the following one:

"The Tenth Coya, Mama Oello Coya.

She was a very marvellous and beautiful woman, round of body and small, and she had a tiny little face. She was merry of heart, but she was sensitive, and very much jealous of her husband. She was a friend of property. And she had her *lliclla* (=mantle) which was yellow at the middle with *oquechunbisuyo* (=grey and brown stripes) at the borders, and her blue *acxo* (=undermantle, skirt) trimmed with ribbons. And this lady always had eighty years old Indian women as chambermaids and servants; and as lackeys she had old Indians. And in all her house, which was called Mamaconas

and Pachacas, all was to talk and to eat and drink with them. And she was married to Tupac Inca Yupanqui, and she had infant children, Uiza Tupac Inca, Tupac Inca Yupanqui, Raua Ocllo, Anahuarque; the three virgins and maidens died. Amaru Inca, Otoronco Achachi Inca, Tupac Huallpa Inca; the youngest of all these was raised to King or Inca, Huayna Ccapac Inca. And her husband had many bastard children, *auquiconas* and *ñustaconas*; and he governed and left ordinances, and erected landmarks. And her husband died with pure age; they say that he had a hundred and fifty bastard children. And she was a very rich woman; she had much finery, and she died at Cuzco a hundred and fifteen years old. She left her property for poor old men and women; she divided it".

The most interesting of the four other rulers on the map is the Ccapac Apo of Chinchaysuyo (fig. 3), the grandfather of the author.

His text is the following:

"The Twelfth Captain, Ccapac Apo Huamanchaua, Chinchaysuyo.

Second person of the Inca, grandfather of the author of this book. He was Captain-General of the Chinchaysuyos and of the entire kingdom, and lord and prince and major, brave captain. He conquered the entire province of Quito and Nobo Reyno (=Bogotá) with Huayna Ccapac Inca. His life ended. — Huanbotoma Quichua, Aymará Aruni, Lucana Huanacari, Sora Huacralla, Andamarca Cacyanap, Angara Chauayhuaman, Huanca Alanaya, Chuquillanqui Chinchaycocha-Huayanay. And there were other captains whose names are not written, because it would be prolixity. These captains went to the conquest of Tomi, Cayambi, Quito, Cañaris, Latacunga, Puruhuay, Chachapoya, Huancavelica. They finished the conquest and incorporated the districts, these illustrious Chinchaysuyo-captains from the time which came after Tupac Inca Yupanqui".

This account of Huayna Ccapac's campaign in Ecuador and northern Peru is continued in the text about the other Ccapac Apos. The names mentioned are those of the captains and the provinces whence they came.

Fig. 4 shows the wife of the Chinchaysuyo-ruler; she has got the following text:

"The First Lady, Ccapac Huarmi Poma Huallica, Chinchaysuyo.

This lady and queen, before she became Inca, and after, was a very magnificent and beautiful woman, who ruled the kingdom

very well. And she was the wife and lady of Ccapac Apo Huamanchaua, the second person of the Inca. She was of the house of Yarovilleca Allauca-Huanuco, grandmother of the author. The said lady was the foremost in all the kingdom, and after this lady were other principal ladies called Chuquitimta Astocarhua, Carhuaquillpoc Huamanchisque, Huamancha Pomachuray, Pariama Huamanchunbe, Lancuchuqui, Mayhua Pomachuray, Maglla Pariahuanay, Suyoma, Ahuama, Collquetimta Carhuachuray, Citcama Chumbicuti, Quillama Mizahuarmi, Besides these ladies there were other principal ladies. May His Majesty have mercy on them in this kingdom".

About the Ccapac Apo of Andesuyo (fig. 5) Poma de Ayala says:

"The Thirteenth Captain, Ccapac Apo Ninarhua, Andesuyo.

The said captains went with Huayna Ccapac to the conquest of Tomi, Quito; and they were other captains, called Otoronco, Ucumari, Rumisonco, Anticucillo, Antinina, Quiru Amaru, Antizupa, Chupayoc Anti, Yscaycinca Anti, Llatan Anti. In addition to these there also were other captains. The said Huayna Ccapac with dignity commanded the naked men; he had them in his service merely in order that they might eat the Indian rebels, and therefore this people ate many principal men. And these Indians still remain infidel in their villages; they have not yet been conquered. And there are many Indians. On the other side there is a mountainous country until the North Sea at La Margarita. There are many Indians, gold and silver and cattle-herds and infidel Indians. The country must still be explored".

His wife is fig. 6:

"The Second Lady, Ccapac Mallquima, Andesuyo.

This lady certainly is of good figure and most beautifully white, more than a Spanish lady, but she wears a loin-cloth, and some tribes are naked or in skins; this is the nature of both men and women. And they eat human flesh, but everybody is painted red and smeared all over the body with *mantur* (=a red pigment). And they are wandering in the forests, and they are Indians to be conquered. But in such forests there cannot be conquered. And other ladies are called Ahuamana, Cucarmana, Cucamallquima, Tazama, Ahuama, Loroma, Supama, Tirania, Ahuaparia, Pillcochalluama, Piscoma. And there are many other Indians in each village of the forest country; on the opposite side are many people and rich country with Indian infidels called Ancauallo-

Huarmiauca, and where they say that there is much gold and silver".

Fig. 7 is the third Ccapac Apo.

"The Fourteenth Captain, Mallco Castillapari, Collasuyo.

He went to the conquest of the province of Tomi, Huancavelica, Quillaycinca, with the said Huayna Ccapac, and with other captains from Hatuncolla, Puquinacolla, Charca, Cana, Pomacanche, Quispillacta, Cauñas, Callauaya. The said captains Hilasupa, Champimallco, Chuntamallco, Hatuncolla, Anocarahila, Otoronco, Quiruhualca, Soncomallco, Huilachunta, Auquisuri, Surimallco. These captains took part in the said conquest, and they died during it. Some of them returned to their villages and lands and died there; the great-grandchildren of some of the captains are still staying at Quito and Tomi where they conquered. They are staying there in order to remember and to multiply. They are called *mitimaes*, strangers amongst the Indians".

On fig. 8 the Collasuyo-ruler's wife is shown.

"The Third Lady, Ccapacumi Tallama, Collasuyo.

This lady was very marvellous and beautiful; with pure corpulence she became ugly. All the people of this tribe are fat and lazy, incapable, pusillanimous, but rich people; they call themselves Colla Ccapac. They are rich in silver from Potosi, and in gold from Carauaya, the first gold in the whole kingdom. And they are rich in herds of cattle and guinea-pigs, and in Castilian cattle: sheep, cows, pigs. And they are rich in *papa*, *chuño*, *moraya* and *quinua*, but poor in maize and wheat and wine. And they are called Ccapac Colla, Mapa Colla, Poquiscolla. And they are big dolts, and therefore all the fat, greasy, lazy beasts of men and women only want to eat and to sleep. And there were other ladies: Tallahuarmi, Cayuma, Huizama, Chumbima, Cucama, Anama, Chuquitimta, Timtayaca, Tallatimta, Pacllama, Pulloma, Zurima. Besides these ladies there were other ladies in the provinces of the Collas, Canas, Canches, and Charcas".

The fourth Ccapac Apo, fig. 9, has the following text:

"The Fiftieth Captain, Mallco Mullo, Condesuyo.

This captain and the others went to the conquest of Caxamarca, Quito, Tomi, Chachapoya, Latacunga, Huancavelica, until Nobo Reyno. They went with Huayna Ccapac, and they subdued and dethroned two great Inca kings called Apu Pinto and Huayna Pinto,

and they killed all the hostile captains. And those who were with the said Inca, were: Nina Quiru Mallico, Rumisonco Mallico, Rumiñau Mallico, Manacutana Mallico, Huizatoma Mallico, Apocuri Mallico, Acapana Hila, Runtocongá Hila, Coropuna Mallico. These famous and most brave captains went to the conquest, and they died, but some of them came back to their houses and villages; their sons are principal chiefs, and some of them are still poor".

Mallico Mullo's wife is seen in fig. 10.

"The Fourth Lady, Mallico Huarmi Timtama, Condesuyo.

This lady was very beautiful and very much esteemed, because she was wealthy, although the country is very poor; the district of Arequipa having no gold, or silver, or cattle. But in Coropunaconde they have cattle, and the others support themselves on *agi* (=Chili-pepper) and cotton, which is brought from the *yungas* (=hot valleys) and *llanos* (=coast plains). And they are Paltaconde, Hatunconde, Cullahuaconde, Cuscoconde, Alcatoro, Huaynacoto, Pomatambo; these are *condes* (=provinces), and in them are other ladies called Timtacarhua, Timtachuray, Churama, Auzama, Cusima, Yllama, Ayayama, Anyama, Chuquipana, Panallo, Sequema, Pucima, Pomatimta, Caruama, Mulluma, Cutima. There were other Indians, wives of the principals of the Condesuyos, but they have not been written. May mercy be bestowed upon them. And they are children of the great men of this kingdom".

A careful study of Poma de Ayala's work leaves an impression of great reliability upon the reader's mind. Where his writings appear to be unable to stand critique, the reason seems to be the author's desire of glorifying the native race of which he originated, just as is the case in Garcilasso de la Vega. The illustrations furnish an invaluable material for the study of Peruvian Indian culture. — It is to be hoped, that a carefully commented translation of this interesting work may be published. A photographic facsimili-edition will not be sufficient for study-purposes, as the queer Spanish utilized by the author and the Quichua-passages render the work practically inaccessible to anybody except linguistic scholars.
