Anuario Colombiano de Historia
Social y de la Cultura 28, 2001

CONVERSATIONS ACROSS TIME AND SPACE: CLASSICAL TRADITIONS IN THE ANDES[1]

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On a June night in 1557, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, courtier, soldier, imperial official, man of letters and historian, lay on his deathbed, clasping in his hands the key to the fortress of Santo Domingo of which he had

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[1] For knowing the answers to many questions, finding and passing on useful information and for their friendship, I thank Clifford Ando, Javier Barrios and Peggy Liss. Sadly, Rob Loomis, whose learning is equalled by his generous willingness to share it, is leaving Ann Arbor. I will miss him greatly and am very grateful that he was still here while I was writing this paper. I would also like to thank the staff of the Clements Library for making reasearch in the Library such a lovely experience.

Aspects of the classical tradition in the Americas are discussed in Wolfgang Haase and Meyer Reinhold eds., *The Classical Tradition and the Americas. Volume I: European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition* (De Gruyter, Berlin-New York 1994). See especially Haase's introductory essay. Teodoro Hampe Martínez ed., *La tradición clasica en el Perú virreinal* (Fondo editorial Universidad Nacional de San Marcos, Lima 1999) is both excellent and extremely useful. For Spain, Maria Rosa Lida de Malkiel, *La tradición clasica en España* (Editorial Ariel, Barcelona 1975) remains important. Angel Gómez Moreno, *España y la Italia de los humanistas. Primeros ecos* (Gredos, Madrid 1994); Ottavio di Camillo, *El humanismo castellano del siglo XV* (Fernando Torres, Valencia 1976); di Camillo also wrote the essay "Humanism in Spain," in Albert Rabil Jr. ed., *Renaissance Humanism. Foundations, Forms, and Legacy, volume 2. Humanism Beyond Italy* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 1988) pp. 55-108; Chiara Continisio and Cesare Mozzarelli eds, *Repubblica e virtú. Pensiero politico e Monarchia Cattolica fra XVI e XVII secolo* (Bulzoni Editore DATE), see in particular, for Spain, Julio A. Pardos, Virtud complicada, pp. 77-91; Jose Maria Maestre Maestre, Joaquin Pascual Barea and Luis Charlo Brea eds., *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clasico. Homenaje al profesor Luis Gil* vols. 1-3 (Gobierno de Aragón, Cadiz 1997).

been commandant, alcaide, during the preceding thirtyfour years.[2] His life had been long and eventful. In his youth, he had served in the household of the Infante Don Juan, son of Ferdinand and Isabel, at whose side he witnessed the capture of Granada. After the Infante's premature death in 1498, Oviedo spent some time in Italy. Long afterwards, he was still exchanging letters with some of the eminent Italians whom he had met during those years.[3] In 1514, he sailed for the Indies. Like so many others, he failed to make his fortune, but in 1532, the emperor Charles V appointed him as royal historian, and in January of the following year, he became *alcaide* of Santo Domingo. From this vantage point he observed the many comings and goings across the Atlantic and gathered material for his *General and Natural History of the Indies*, which had reached, by the year of his death, the impressive length of fifty books.[4]

Oviedo's model and inspiration for this work was the Elder Pliny, Roman imperial official, soldier and polymath.[5] In about 78 AD, Pliny dedicated his

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Passages from original sources are cited by book and chapter (at times, for ease of reference, I add page numbers), and where applicable, by section or line. I supply details of editions of classical texts only when they are not available in the *Loeb Classical Library* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass.), which gives the original text with English translation on facing pages. All translations are my own. In places, I adjust translations to their context in this paper, for greater clarity.

[2] Claudio Miralles de Imperial y Gómez, Del linaje y armas del primer Cronista de Indias, el madrileño Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Revista de Indias* 18 (Seville 1958), pp. 117-126, at p. 124, transcript of a contemporary account of Oviedo's death and the appointment of a successor.

[3] See Antonello Gerbi, *Nature in the New World. From Christopher Columbus to Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo* (Pittsburg University Press, Pittsburg 1985, hereafter *Nature*) pp. 163-181; for some episodes, see Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (vols. 1-5, Biblioteca de autores españoles [hereafter *BAE*] vols. 117-121, Madrid 1959) ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso (hereafter *Historia*), book 2, chapter 1 p. 14, talking with Giovanni Pontano in Naples, in 1500; book 10, chapter 5 p.31 and book 17, chapter 19 p. 149, quoting verses by his acquaintance the poet Serafino dell' Aquila; book 49, preface, style of Pietro Aretino; book 50, chapter 30 p. 415, admiring Bembo's Latin; see further, book 5, chapter 11, p.139a; book 33, chapter 29, p. 142b; chapter 37 p. 181; book 34, preface, mentioning writings by Leonardo Aretino; book 29, chapter 30, p. 335b, correspondence with Cardinal Bembo; see also book 47, chapter 9, p. 160a.

[4] For an account of Oviedo's life, see Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso, in his edition of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias* vol. 1, pp. vii-clxxv.

[5] On Pliny, see Gian Biagio Conte, *Latin Literature. A History* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1994), pp. 497-529. This admirable work may be consulted throughout about Roman authors here mentioned. Another useful work of reference is eds. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* Third Edition (Oxford University press, Oxford 1996, hereafter *Oxford Classical Dictionary*). Oviedo owned an impressive library; for a list of the likely content, see E. Daymond Turner, Los libros del alcalde. La biblioteca de Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Revista de Indias* 31 (1971), pp. 139-198.

Natural History, a monumental summary of the knowledge of his time about the order of the cosmos and everything in it, to the Emperor Vespasian, or so Oviedo thought.[6] Pliny's words of dedication evoke his devotion, indeed reverence, towards the bearer of the highest Roman dignity, but they also speak of his heartfelt admiraton for the emperor's qualities of mind and heart. These sentiments anticipate exactly Oviedo's feelings towards Charles V,[7] who in the eyes of many contemporaries, was the direct successor of the Roman emperors of classical antiquity.[8] In addition, Pliny's programme of writing a work that would be useful in practical terms matched Oviedo's aims and circumstances perfectly. Where Pliny left no volume he could lay hands on unconsulted,[9] Oviedo in his turn gathered reports from the Caribbean, Central America, and Mexico, from Venezuela and the Rio de La Plata, which appear in his pages alongside further reports that chronicle the tempestuous and tragic history of the Andean region during the years that he served as *alcaide* of Santo Domingo.

Those years witnessed the Spanish invasion and conquest of the empire of the Incas. Oviedo heard the tale from various onlookers and participants.[10] Informants described how Francisco Pizarro and his men, among them his brothers Hernando and Gonzalo, fell in with the Inca emperor Atahuallpa in Cajamarca, and then captured, imprisoned and finally executed him, in July 1533. Not long before the Inca died, Francisco Pizarro's friend of many years, Diego de Almagro, had arrived with reinforcements. But soon the friendship between the two men came to naught in the rush of competition for wealth and power that consumed the invaders once the Inca imperial fabric began to fall apart. In 1538 Diego de Almagro was defeated by Gonzalo Pizarro and was mercilessly executed. Three years later, the deed was avenged when followers of Almagro's son murdered Francisco Pizarro in his own house and took control of Peru. Reports of these events that Oviedo heard in Santo Domingo

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[6] Or possibly, according to Oviedo, the emperor Domitian, see Oviedo, *Historia* book 2, chapter 1. Actually, the work is dedicated to Vespasian's son, the future emperor Titus.

[7] Oviedo was aware of this parallel between Pliny and himself, see his *Historia general y natural* book I, chapter 1, p. 14.

[8] Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas. The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (Yale University Press, New Haven 1993); see also, José Antonio Maravall, *Carlos V y el pensamiento político del Renacimiento* (Instituto de Estudios Políticos, Madrid 1960).

[9] In the first book of the *Naturalis historia*, Pliny provides a table of contents, chapter by chapter, of each of the remaining 36 books, and also, for each book, a list of Greek and Roman authorities whom he consulted; Oviedo echoed this arrangment, albeit somewhat cursorily, *Historia general* book I, chapter 1. See also, Pliny, *Naturalis historia* preface 13.

[10] See below n. 113.

led the Council of the Indies in Spain to intervene on the side of the Pizarrist faction,[11] which resulted in the execution of the Younger Almagro in 1542. Meanwhile in Spain, searching of consciences about the appalling suffering that the invaders were inflicting on the Indian populations of the Americas moved Bartolomé de las Casas, Dominican friar and bishop of Chiapas in Mexico to pressure the Crown into issuing a set of "New Laws" protecting the Indians, and Blasco Nuñez Vela, a devoted servant of Charles V, was sent to Peru as viceroy to implement the Laws. Whereupon many of the invaders, by now comfortably established on grants of land that had been assigned them by Francisco Pizarro, rallied round his brother Gonzalo, made war on, and killed the Viceroy. Shortly before news of this disaster reached Spain, Pedro de la Gasca had been appointed, with extensive powers, to recover Peru for the crown. La Gasca was a man more of the pen than of the sword, and his prudent diplomacy suceeded where force on its own had failed. The disorders of Peru were not over, but a state of relative peace was gradually established, with a line of viceroys succeeding each other, beginning with Antonio de Mendoza, in September 1551.

Meanwhile, Oviedo, hearing and reading about all this in Santo Domingo, contemplated the fearful destinies of his countrymen. How was it that Pizarros and Almagros, men at the peak of power and possessing fortunes that exceeded even the legendary riches of king Midas,[12] had come to such terrible ends? Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro: they had started out as exemplary friends, like Damon and Pythias of old, whose readiness to die for each other, so Oviedo read in the Roman epitomator Valerius Maximus, had softened even the heart of the cruel tryrant Dionysius of Syracuse.[13] And yet, in the case of Pizarro and Almagro, Oviedo felt, it would have been better had

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[11] Historians in what came to be the sixteenth century mainstream expressed this reality more cautiously; for the contrary view, favouring the Almagrist side, see *Documentos Gasca y Pizarro* Part I, number 18, a *relation* by Alonso de Medina.

[12] Oviedo, *Historia* book 48, preface, p. 212 b, referring to the story of Midas as told by Ovid, *Metamorphoses* book 11, lines 90-193.

[13] Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem* ed. C. Kempf (Bibliotheca Teubneriana, Stuttgart 1966) 4,7,7 with Oviedo, *Historia* book 46, Proemio. Valerius Maximus was popular in Oviedo's day, and several translations and editions circulated, including Valerio Maximo, *De las hystorias romanas y carthaginenses ... En romance* Seville, Juan Varela 1514 (F.J. Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal 1501-1520* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1978, number 963); *Valerius Maximus nuper editus. Index copiosissimus rerum omnium, & personarum, de quibus in his libris agitur*, Venetiis in aedibus haeredum Aldi et Andreae soceri, 1534.

they never met; indeed, it would have been better had the Pizarros not been born, given that Peru could not be at peace with any of them alive.[14] Diego de Almagro, by contrast, was a living example of the kind of virtue that in ancient times had transformed Rome from a tiny rural settlement into the capital of a world empire. Like some of Rome's kings and the great dictator Quinctius Cincinnatus, Diego de Almagro was the "son of a peasant and grandson of other peasants ... tillers of the land, men who live by their sweat and labour."[15] But at the same time, he was a leader of men, the only one of the *conquistadores*, in Oviedo's estimation, who consistently accomodated the interests of his followers and of His Majesty before and above his own.[16]

"I am amazed," Oviedo wrote, "and often debate with myself the cause of such bloody histories (as those of Peru), and am stunned at the evil ends reached by the majority of these governors of the Indies."[17] In one sense, the reason lay in the nature of human affairs, which were changable. Oviedo himself had witnessed, in Europe alone, the destruction of the kingdom of Naples, the fall of Lodovico Sforza despot of Milan, the accidental and utterly unexpected death of Charles de Bourbon during the siege of Rome, and the capture of Granada by the Catholic Kings.[18] Beyond all that, many other "reversals of human affairs and revolutions of states"[19] that had occurred in classical antiquity came to Oviedo's mind, and he also reflected on the absence of Aristotelian or any other kind of prudence in the lives and actions

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[14] Oviedo, *Historia* book 46, chapter 1; book 49, chapter 6; book 49, chapter 9, respectively; cf. 49,9 Oviedo's prayer "que esta secta pizarrena se acabe."

[15] Oviedo, *Historia* book 47, preface, hijo de un labrador y nieto de otros ... agricolas e hombres que por sus sudores e trabajos viven. For the poverty of Cincinnatus, mentioned by Oviedo, see Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et dictorum* 4,4,7 under the heading "on poverty," and, for the passage from Augustine that Oviedo mentions, Augustine, *City of God* 5,18; The three Roman kings Oviedo mentions, Tullus Hostilius, Servius Tullius and Tarquinius Priscus, appear in Valerius Maximus as examples of "men of humble birth who became famous," *Factorum et dictorum* 7,4,1-3; Valerius Maximus and Augustine took their information from the longer narrative of Livy, whom Oviedo had also read, see Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I,23-31; 35-48; III,26,8.

[16] Oviedo, *Historia* book 47, chapter 1.

[17] Oviedo, *Historia* book 48, preface, p. 211 ab, Estoy maravillado y conmigo solo muchas veces disputando la causa de tan sangrientas historias como son aquestas, e no poco admirado de tan malos fines como han hecho la mayor parte de estos gobernadores de Indias.

[18] Oviedo added to the list the death of Cesare Borgia and the death of Charles de Bourbon during the sack of Rome, see *Historia* book 48, chapter 2. See further on this passage, Gerbi, *Nature* pp. 180-181.

[19] A powerful phrase, Oviedo, *Historia* book 48, chapter 2: las mudanzas de las potencias humanas y revoluciones de estados.

of the conquerors of Peru.[20] Oviedo did not live to describe in detail how Pedro de La Gasca defeated Gonzalo Pizarro, the "enemy of his homeland," although he sensed that "this war, worse than civil war, and no less hellish," was drawing to a close.[21] The term "enemy of his homeland," *hostis patriae*, recurs frequently in the political discourse of the later Roman republic, and the words "war, worse than civil war" recall the opening line of Lucan's epic poem the *Pharsalia*, which describes the civil war between Caesar and Pompey.[22] It was worse than civil war, Lucan was suggesting, because Caesar and Pompey were linked by ties of marriage, just as Pizarro and Almagro, as Oviedo had stressed, were linked by ties of friendship.

This same topic also interested the soldier historian Pedro Cieza de León, who spent the years between 1535 and 1550 in South America. Among other revealing episodes, Cieza recorded a conversation between Diego de Almagro and an aged Spanish lawyer. Given that the vexations that partisans of Pizarros and Almagros were inflicting on each other were "no less than if (the

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[20] Oviedo, *Historia* 48, preface, un lobo ... el qual, sin ponerse a la muerte, cobdicinado lo que no puede haber por su sustentación, se apacienta de tierra, e comporta su hambre como puede, hasta que Dios le provee de lo que le falta de mejor mantenimiento. See Pliny, *Natural History* book 8, 22, 34, 83; book 10, 73, 93, 199.

[21] Oviedo, *Historia* 49,15: esta guerra mas que civil e no menos infernal." This line from Lucan (see below) had been cited earlier to describe the civil conflicts in the Peninsula during the reign of Juan II, see Angel Gómez Moreno, La *Questión* del Marques de Santillana a Don Flafonso de Cartagena, *El Crotalón* 2 (1985), pp. 335-363, at pp. 349; 351, cf. 352. Possibly, Oviedo was aware of this earlier application of the Roman past to contemporary circumstances.

[22] Bartolomé de Las Casas (cf. below at nn. 124 ff.), as was his custom, subverted an existing discourse to make a point of his own: in Peru, the "public enemy" to beware of was each and every one of Spaniards, not just one group among them, see his *Doce dudas* (in Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Obras Completas 11.2.* ed. J.B. Lassegue O.P. with J.Denglos (Alianza Editorial, Madrid 1992), chapter 30, p. 144, citing *Digest* (in *Corpus iuris civilis* vol. I, *Institutiones. Digesta.* eds. P. Krueger and T. Mommsen, Weidmann, Dublin-Zurich 1972) 45,15,24. The way in which Las Casas and others, including Francisco de Vitoria, deploy Roman legal texts, as distinct from the legal traditions of the medieval *ius commune* (cf. below n. 139), is an important and very obscure topic that merits study. On "guerra mas que civil," see also Francisco López de Gómara who echoed the phrase in his *Historia general de las Indias* (Edición facsimilar Comision Nacional del V Centenario del Descubrimiento de America Lima 1993, ed. Franklin Pease. The facsimile is of the copy, now owned by the Biblioteca Nacional in Lima, that belonged to Garcilaso de la Vega the Inca. Hereafter *Historia*) chapter 142: con la vitoria y prendimiento de Almagro enriquecieron unos y empobrecieron otros, que usanca es de guerra, y mas de la que llaman civil. The passage was cited by Garcilaso de la Vega, *Historia general del Perú* (hereafter *Historia general*; this work is part two of the author's *Comentarios reales de los Incas*, hereafter *Comentarios*; both works are edited by Carmelo Saenz de Santa Maria as part of Garcilaso's *Obras completas*, *BAE* vols. 132-135, Madrid 1965) book 2, chapter 39.

opponent) were the infidel, or another nation,"[23] the lawyer pleaded for moderation:

> The wars that are most feared and that are fought with the greatest cruelty are civil wars. No enemy of Rome, not Hannibal, Pyrrhus, or any other nation, ever placed her in such straits as did her own citizens, and those enemies, in all the wars that were fought in the course of sevenhundred years did less harm to Rome that did Sulla and Marius, and the great Pompey and Julius Caesar in the civil wars... If thus now, having served His Majesty for so many years, you turn yourselves into authors of civil wars in your old age, what do you think you will gain from them, other than this, that once you are all dead, you will have become murderers of each other?[24]

Earlier, the lawyer had endeavoured to make clear to Hernando Pizarro that there could be no real victors in civil wars.[25] But all to no purpose, for soon Almagro was dead and his sons's followers murdered Francisco Pizarro. Here also, Cieza perceived a Roman antecedent; for just as Caesar had resolutely refused to listen to friends who warned him of the conspiracy against him, so did Pizarro, and both died nobly.[26] Caesar was derided as a tyrant by his assassins,[27] and so was Pizarro.[28] Caesar's death so far from ending civil

[23] Pedro Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú. Cuarta parte. Vol. I, Guerra de Las Salinas* (ed. Pedro Guibovich Perez, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima 1991, hereafter *Crónica* IV,1) chapter 20, p.90, no se avian menos con ellos que si fuesen ynfieles o de otra nacion.

[24] Cieza, *Crónica* IV,1 chapter 20, pp. 93-94.

[25] Hernando Pizarro was at the time Almagro's prisoner; see Cieza, *Crónica* IV,1 chapter 19, see p.89 quedando Hernando Pizarro muy deseoso de que se concertasen con ... don Diego de Almagro: but this was only so as to gain his freedom. Once that was achieved, Hernando Pizarro acted on his implacable hatred of Almagro, and was instrumental in Almagro's death.

[26] Cieza admired Francisco Pizarro as a man of great valour deserving of everlasting glory; see Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Cuarta Parte. Vol. II. Guerra de Chupas* (hereafter *Crónica* IV,2) chapter 31, p. 118: facing his assassins, el anciano governador no dexava con su denuedo de querer que la fama que nunca muere, tuviese un punto de menoscabar el gran valor con que su persona se adornava; tan animoso y fuerte de coraçon se mostrava ... But Pizarro was lacking in wisdom and letters: how else could he have failed to learn from the story of Caesar's death that he ought not to discount the many warnings he received of the coming danger? See Cieza, *Crónica* IV,2, chapter 30.

[27] For Caesar's death, see Suetonius, *Divus Julius* 81-82; also Plutarch, *Caesar* (in *Plutarch's Lives* ed. and tr. B.Perrin, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass. 1986, volume 7) 63-66; Agustin de Zárate read and imitated Plutarch, see *Historia* 4,9; 5,4. The passage was appreciated by Garcilaso, *Historia general* 3,7 p. 183b: Augstín de Zaráte como tan buen historiador, imitando al gran Plutarco, semeja estos dos famosos y desdichados españoles mal pagados del mundo el uno al otro ...

[28] Zárate, *Historia* 4,8, "Muera el tyrano ...;" Cieza, *Crónica* IV,2, chapter 31, on "death to the tyrant." See also chapter 30, p.112, comparing the murder of Pizarro to that of Julius

conflict at Rome, broadened its scope, and the same happened in Peru, especially once Gonzalo Pizarro, after eliminating the Younger Almagro, made war on the viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela. In Rome, Cieza reflected, the defenders of the republic had thrown in their lot with Pompey, believing, in their simplicity, that he "only fought for the common good; but God only knows what he would have done had he been victorious instead of being vanquished." In Peru, by contrast, Gonzalo Pizarro was victorious. People wanted to believe that he would represent their interests, but he, "having more time than did Pompey to make clear the intentions that he carried in his tyrant's heart, demonstrated what these intentions were."[29]

Peru was only an outpost in the Spanish empire where the sun never set, but the resonances that Oviedo and Cieza discovered between the history of Rome and that of Peru contributed towards endowing the history of Peru with grandeur and a certain exemplary quality that it retains to this day. This was not only a matter of juxtaposing events and personages, but also, more importantly, it was a matter of comprehending something of the nature of political events, of the interaction between circumstance and character.

Historians who wrote about these events contrasted Mexico, where the New Laws, with some modifications, were introduced gradually and peacably,[30] with Peru, where Nuñez Vela aroused opposition before he even set foot in Lima by short sightedly insisting on immediate and complete implementation.[31] In the same way, Alexander the Great's general Polydamas, so Cieza had read in Quintus Curtius and Arrian, blindly carried out his king's command to murder Parmenio and his sons: the charge caused Polydamas

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Caesar. With all that, the precedent of Julius Caesar described as tyrant by his assassins is likely to have been less important to those who killed Pizarro than the precedent of Castilian juridical thinking; see, on tyranny, *Las Siete Partidas del sabio rey don Alonso el nono glosadas por el Licenciado Gregorio López* (Benito Cano, Madrid 1789) II,1,10, and note the commentary.

[29] Cieza, *Crónica del Peru. cuarta Parte. Vol. III. Guerra de Quito* ed. Laura Gutiérrez Arbulu, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima 1994 (hereafter *Crónica* IV,3), chapter 23, pp. 66-67.

[30] Cieza, *Crónica* IV,3 chapter 19, mentioning Antonio de Mendoza; in greater detail Diego Fernández, *Primera y segunda parte de la historia del Perú* (Seville 1571; ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso (*BAE* vols. 164-165, Madrid 1963; hereafter *Historia*) I,1,2-5.

[31] Oviedo thought that the viceroy, for all his stern devotion to the Crown, had been swept away by the pomp and circumstance of being received in Lima like "our lord the emperor."

For they placed him under a baldachino of cloth of gold, aldermen and community leaders carried his rods of office, and while he rode on horseback, they walked on foot, ... so that, apart from his ambition and desire to occupy a high estate, the celebration augmented in him the passion for power... instead of fostering the modesty with which prudent men temper their pleasures. (Oviedo, *Historia* 49,7 p.248a).

"much sorrow, but attending only to what the king had ordered, Polydamas struck down Parmenio, thereby placing himself in very great difficulty."[32] In either case, Cieza thought, delay would have been preferable to such unbending adherence to the royal will. For it was thanks to Nuñez Vela's intransigence in promulgating the New Laws that many inhabitants of Lima and Cuzco, in sheer dread that they would soon become destitute, gathered around Gonzalo Pizarro even though they would have preferred to stay on the King's side.[33]

There was another quality that Nuñez Vela lacked, that could have been acquired by patient perusal of the ancient historians and would have served Peru well, and this was the art of dissimulation.[34] The Roman consul Fulvius Flacchus, Cieza thought, possessed it in ample measure. He had been sent by the Senate to punish the city of Capua for defecting to the side of Hannibal in the Second Punic War, and wisely awaited the appropriate time to carry out his mandate.[35] As Plato had taught, one should act bearing in mind the likely outcome of one's actions.[36] Nuñez Vela, however, failed to do this, he did not know how to wait and, as Oviedo had also understood, he was too proud to dissimulate.[37] The course he chose, accordingly, led him straight to his death,

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Cieza also reflected on the passion for power, the impulse that Augustine in the *City of God* had decried as the besetting sin of the Romans; Augustine adopted the term passion, or lust for power, *libido dominationis*, from the Roman historian Sallust (whose work, like the *City of God*, was readily available when Cieza and other historians of Peru wrote), see S. MacCormack, *The Shadows of Poetry. Vergil in the Mind of Augustine* (University of California Press, Berkeley 1998), pp. 194-195). Cieza described this passion as *ynsaçiable codiçia de mandar*, see Cieza, Preface to *Crónica* IV,1, and thought it was at work in the Peruvian civil wars, but in a more general non-specific manner than did Oviedo; cf. below n. 86.

[32] Cieza, *Crónica* IV,3 chapter 33, p.92

[33] Cieza, *Crónica* IV,3 chapter 33, pp.92-93.

[34] See Cieza, *Crónica* IV,3, chapter 39, where Cieza puts into the mouth of the *oidor* Cepeda the following advice (pp. 105-106): muchas vezes los prinzipes disimulan con los subidtos asta ver tienpo convenible para esecutar el castigo...

[35] Cieza, *Crónica* IV,3, chapter 19. For Capua, see eds. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* Third Edition (Oxford University press, Oxford 1996) s.v. Capua. Cieza probably read the story in Appian, *Hannibalic War* (in ed. and tr. H. White, *Appian's Roman History* Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass. 1972, vol. IV), or in Livy, *Ab urbe condita* (*From the Foundation of the City*) especially Book 26, *passim*.

[36] Cieza, *Crónica* IV,3, chapter 39; the context is Nunez Vela's arrogant treatment of the *oidores* of the Audiencia of Lima. Possibly the passage Cieza had in mind is from the biography of Plato in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of eminent philosophers* III, 80.

[37] Oviedo, *Historia* 49, chapter 8, p. 248, the viceroy "no quiso dissimular." See also the advice of the licenciado Cepeda, who urged Nunez Vela to delay promulgation of the New Laws: *Crónica* IV,3,33 Muchas vezes los principes disimulan con los subditos asta ver tiempo convenible para esecutar el castigo.

which provided yet another "testimony of the savagery with which civil wars are fought, and of the crimes committed by those who chose to follow the cruel ensigns of Pizarro."[38]

The tenor of events in Peru finally changed with the advent of Pedro de La Gasca, a man of significant learning who, as Cieza understood well, possessed a truly penetrating intelligence and was a consummate practitioner of the art of dissimulation.[39] Hence, over a period of some months, he was able to win over some of Gonzalo Pizarro's staunchest adherents without striking a single blow, and in due course, he gained control of Peru.[40] This evaluation of La Gasca's skill at dissimulation and of his consequent success was shared by Diego Fernández[41] whose *Historia del Perú* was published in Seville in 1571. Some twenty years had elapsed since Oviedo and Cieza had finished writing, and the import of classical antiquity for historians of Peru, and indeed for historians at large, had shifted. Also, the times themselves had changed. When Cieza asked himself why, in the last resort, "there has been so much uproar and dissension in this new empire of the Indies," he offered this explanation:

> It is because His Majesty and those of his excellent Council have entrusted the government of the provinces to men without letters, many of whom have no integrity or stature to administer justice. Note that of old, the Romans who with

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[38] Cieza, *Crónica* IV,3, chapter 169, p. 523.

[39] Zárate, *Historia* 6,7, commenting on La Gasca's "prudencia y secreto," his ability to win support thanks to the "gran comedimiento y crianca con que hablava y tratava a todos ...con no perder punto de su dignidad y autoridad;" Cieza, *Crónica* IV,3 chapter 188, on La Gasca: he is "de muy claro entendimiento, manoso en grande estremo, bastantissimo para medios y uno de los que mejor con dissimulacion supieron hazer sus hechos."

[40] In the final battle, between La Gasca and Gonzalo Pizarro, Roman precedent also had a voice. See Agustín de Záárate *Historia* 7,7: when the battle of Xaquixaguana was clearly lost, el capitan Juan de Acosta dixo a Goncalo Picarro: Señor, demos en ellos, muramos como Romanos. A lo qual dizen que respondió Goncalo Picarro: Mejor es morir como christiano. The story is also in the Relación anónima de los disturbios ... en el Perú a consecuencia de unas ordenanzas atribuidas a fr. Bartolomé de las Casas y ... muerte de Gonzalo Pizarro, in *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubirimiento, conquista y colonización de las posesiones españolas en América y Oceania* vol. 3 (Madrid 1865), pp.514-526 ast p.524. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Historia general* (above n. 29) 5,36 also tells the story, which has the ring of truth. In 1562, a planned revolt was discovered in Cuzco, and ferociously punished, in which the conspirators proposed to hacer quatro consules como en el tiempo del senado rromano de manera que si matassen a uno quedasen los demas para governar, porque no fuese lo de hasta aqui que en perdiendose la caveca se desperdiguan los demas, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Justicia 1088 fol. 1v.; cf. fol. 15.

[41] known from his native city of Palencia as "El Palentino;" this is how Garcilaso referred to him.

> their wisdom ruled the world, would not ever have entrusted any public office to a man who was not wise and educated in the law.[42]

By the time Cieza left Peru, however, the *conquistadores*, "men without letters," who had been in control so far, were already being replaced by members of a new elite, men "educated in the law." Pedro de la Gasca was among the vanguard of these adminstrators with highly trained minds.[43] This political transformation, which affected all parts of the Spanish empire and also the Peninsula, changed the tenor of historical writing.

Oviedo and Cieza had formulated specific analogies between the history of antiquity, especially of Rome, and the history of Peru. These analogies were designed to help the reader understand and remember the sequence and nature of events: to grasp what happened, why it did, and why it mattered. Diego Fernández also included such analogies in his *History*.[44] Beyond that, however,

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[42] Cieza, *Crónica del Peru. Cuarta Parte. Vol. II. Guerra de Chupas* ed. Gabriela Benavides de Rivero (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Lima 1994) chapter 30, p. 112. I translate the original freely: ha sido por proveer Su Magestad, e los de su alto Consejo, el govierno de las provincias a honbres syn letras, e a muchos que no tienen ser ni linaje de administrar justicia; porque antiguamente los romanos, que mandaron con su saver el mundo, no dieran cargo de república a honbre que no fuera savio e jurisconsulto por nenguna cosa... Cieza goes on to observe that Francisco Pizarro was valiant but not wise. The Incas were wiser in their government than the Spanish, see Cieza, *Crónica del Peru. Segunda parte* ed. Francesca Cantu (Pontificia Universidad Católica, Lima 1986, hereafter *Crónica* II) chapter 13, about the gran prudencia of Inca government by the mas savios, entendidos y esforcados, men who were chosen to govern in their maturity, not during the years of irresponsible youth. Cf. on Cieza's views about the Incas, below at notes 115-117; 172. The growing role of men with a university training in Peru was noticed by Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias* (Zaragoza 1555, facsimile ed. F. Pease Lima 1993; there is a modern edition by Pilar Guibelalde, Barcelona 1965; but in this edition, the chapters are not numbered, and there are some significant differences from the 1555 edition. A scholarly edition of Gomara is badly needed; hereafter *Historia general*) chapter 186, observes about the battle of Xaquixaguana, that no other battle had in it as many *letrados* as did this one.

[43] Teodoro Hampe Martínez, Don Pedro de la Gasca y la proyección del mundo universitario Salmantino en el siglo XVI, *Mélanges de la Casa Velazquez* 22 (Madrid 1986), pp. 171-195.

[44] For example, Fernandez, *Historia* 1,1,10: Nuñez Vela made himself, immediately upon arrival, as unpolular in Lima as Tarquin the Proud had been in Rome. The analogy is apt: Tarquin was driven from Rome, and Nuñez Vela in due course was constrained to leave Lima. See Livy *Ab urbe condita* I,56,4-60,2; the story was often retold, for example by Eutropius, *Breviarium* (translated with an introduction and commentary by H.W. Bird, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool 1993), I,8. In *Historia* 2,3,2 Fernández discusses the government of Chile, where Garcia de Mendoza is encouraging Spaniards to take wives or bring their wives from Spain, by way of encouraging more peaceful ways of life. This lesson, Fernández points out, comes from the Romans cuando por legitimas mujeres tomaron con robo y engaño las castas sabinas: que fueron causa para que el furor e ira de los miseros padres y hermanos se mitigase. The ultimate source of this oft repeated story is Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I, 9-13.

he was the first of the historians of Peru to write in the light of learned considerations about the nature of political life in general. In part, this shift in direction was brought about by Fernandez' subject matter: the cosmic struggle between Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro, who had inspired those grand comparisons with Caesar and Pompey, was being continued in the next generation, but among lesser men. This led to a shift in narrative strategy among the historians of Peru. Livy, and to a lesser degree Sallust, Plutarch, and Diodorus, who had inspired Cieza and his contemporaries, made of history the "teacher of life," in Cicero's famous saying,[45] precisely because their accounts of great men and notable events were instructive in the here and now. Fernández and his contemporaries, by contrast, looked not so much for stories from the past, as for general principles. They found these in Tacitus, who wrote about the first century of Roman imperial rule. He described himself as the historian not of memorable events or individuals, but of a period devoid of greatness that "abounded in disasters, was pitiless in battles, riven by discord, and cruel even in peace."[46] It was Tacitus' capacity for dispassionate observation as for example, about the pluses and minuses of dissimulation, that appealed to Fernández. Dissimulation was a virtue, in the emperor Tiberius as much as in Pedro de la Gasca. Indeed, it was indispensible: without it, La Gasca could never have brought peace to Peru. But it also was a vice, a form of hypocrisy and a means of deceiving others as much as oneself,[47] as the emperor Tiberius did in many of his transactions with the Roman senate, and as some Peruvian opponents of the New Laws did in their dealings with the Viceroy Blasco Nunez Vela:

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[45] Cicero, *De Oratore* (On the Orator) 2,36 historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vestustatis ... "History the witness of the times, the light of truth, the life of memory, the teacher of life, and messenger of antiquity ..." The passage was alluded to by Cieza, *Crónica* I, prohemio p. 14; also Diego Fernández, *Historia* preface to Philip II; Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Perú* ed. M. Ballestero-Gaibrois (Coleccion Joyas Bibliograficas. Biblioteca americana vetus I, Madrid 1962, hereafter *Historia*) preface to the reader.

[46] Tacitus, *Histories* I,2 opus adgredior opimum casibus, atrox proeliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace saevum.

[47] See Ronald Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford University Press, Oxford 1958), pp. 423 and 429, for example of negative and positive dissimulation, respectively, in Tacitus. Regarding the latter, Syme cites Tacitus, *Annals* 4,71,3, nullam aeque Tiberius, ut rebatur, ex virtutibus suis quam dissimilationem diligebat; eo aegrius accepit recludi quae premeret. "Tiberius valued none of his virtues, as he considered them, more highly than dissimulation; all the more vexed was he when something he had suppressed was revealed."

"their spirits were poisoned..., but they covered this passion with a crafty and false dissimulation."[48]

Fernández stood at the very beginning of the Tacitist movement in Spain.[49] By the time that, in the early seventeenth century, Antonio de Herrera was writing his *General History of the Indies*, parts of which were translated into Latin, English, Dutch and German, and several times reprinted, the influence of Tacitus was ubiquitous. It is ubiquitous in Herrera. Effectively, he produced a double narrative: an account of events in the Americas arranged, in the manner of Tacitus, as annals, and a running commentary on this account consisting of quotations likewise from Tacitus.[50] Herrera derived much of his material from Cieza's histories of the Peruvian civil wars, which were not published until the nineteenth century. But there is not a trace here of Caesar or Pompey, nor yet of Alexander the Great, or of anyone else from among Cieza's cast of characters from the ancient world.[51]

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[48] Fernández, *Historia* 1,1,9 pp.15b-16a, tenían los animas tan empozoñados como está dicho, todavía cubriendo esta pasión con una mañosa y fingida simulación ... For La Gasca's dissimulation, see 1,2,21, p.128a; also, on related qualities 1,2,24, p.132a, secrecy; 1,2,25, p. 133b, prudence; 1,2,82, p.219a, concealment of feeling. Also, 1,2,28, p. 140b, a transaction that is to remain concealed.

[49] In effect, to the best of my knowledge, he has not been recognized as a Tacitist before, and predates the onset of Tacitism in Spain as commonly described. On this topic, see Jose Maravall, La corriente doctrinal del Tacitismo politico en España, in his *Estudios de historia del pensamiento español. Serie tercera. El siglo del barroco* (Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, Madrid 1984), pp. 73-98; Francisco Sanmarti Boncampo, *Tacito en España* (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, Barcelona 1951), is still of some use; so is Kenneth Schellhase, *Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1976), except that, like so many others, he all but ignores Spain. As for the beginning of Tacitism in Spain, note Arnaldo Momigliano, *The Foundations of Modern Historiography* (University of California Press, Berkeley 1990), p. 124: "Machiavellian Italy led the Tacitist movement, and Spain, France, and Germany followed - I venture to believe - in this order." Momigliano did not discuss the issue further, but I think the order he posits, although it contradicts the existing scholarly consensus, is right. Future work on Tacitism can still usefully begin with Giuseppe Toffanin's classic, *Machiavelli e il "Tacitismo"* (Guida Editori, Napoli 1971, first published in 1921).

[50] On Scoto, see Arnaldo Momigliano, The first political commentary on Tacitus, in his *Contributo alla storia degli studi classici* (Rome 1979), pp.36-59.

[51] Herrera observed that, since arbitration between Francisco Pizarro and the elder Almagro was unlikely to work, "war seemed safer to Almagro than a dubious and suspect peace," while in the margin he printed the dictum from Tacitus, "In a suspect peace, war is safer;" see Antonio de Herrera, *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas y tierra firme del mar oceano* (4 vols., Madrid 1601-1615; the work is subdivided into Decades, books and chapters, and I cite it accordingly; hereafter *Historia general*) 6,3,3: sobre todo, era cosa mas segura la guerra, que una paz dudosa y sospechosa, with et in pace suspecta, tutius bellum, Tacitus,

Like all other historians who wrote about the Peruvian civil wars, Herrera criticized the intransigence of Blasco Nuñez Vela in implementing the New Laws: the Viceroy's literal minded devotion to his King's every behest lacked political acumen. This much had been observed before by others, but Herrera added a new dimension. Quoting Tacitus, he commented: "Good reason of state requires that in obeying the prince, we do not endanger his kingdom."[52] Throughout Europe, reason of state was the order of the day during most of the seventeenth century. It meant, *inter alia*, that in the very last resort, the end justified the means, and that the virtue of prudence, praised by philosophers from Aristotle onwards, found one of its finer modes of expression in the art of dissimulation. Herrera put it in a nutshell:

> Dissimulation enshrines a certain evident virtue which participates to a degree in prudence, the queen of all the moral virtues; persons of wisdom and good sense, not the ignorant and vulgar, will know how to use it, for they comprehend times, opportunities and the nature of those with whom they interact.[53]

In Peru, however, things were understood differently. How differently, begins to emerge from the *General History of Peru* which is the second part of Garcilaso de la Vega's *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*. Garcilaso, a

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Histories 4, 49, 1. Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia general* chapter 139 attributes to Pizarro exactly the opposite saying, "era mejor mala concordia que prospera guerra." The difference is an indicator of the extent of the Tacitist impact on Herrera, and also, perhaps, of historiographical partisanship not long after the civil wars ended.

[52] Herrera, *Historia general* 7,7,14, La buena razón de estado pide que por obedecer al principe no se le ponga su reyno en peligro. The quote from Tacitus (somewhat garbled in Herrera) is *Annals* 2,78: haud ignavo ad ministeria belli iuvene Pisone, quamquam suscipiendum bellum abnuisset. "The young Piso took an active part in preparing for war, even though he disagreed with war being begun." Another, more tightly woven link with Tacitus is *Historia general* 7,7,20: Gonzalo Pizarro, planning to oppose the Viceroy Nunez Vela, is ensconced in Cuzco, a remote and affluent city that affords the budding rebel good protection. Herrera quotes Tacitus, *Annals* 3,43 Apud Aeduos maior moles exorta quanto civitas opulentior et comprimendi procul praesidium. "Among the Aedui trouble came in a more serious form, since the city was wealthier (than was the city of the Treveri), and military might to suppress (the revolt) was far away," the context being that a revolt among the Treveri had just been suppressed by the Roman legions stationed nearby on the Rhine. So: Herrera envisioned the Peruvian coast and Lima as analogous to the Rhine with the Roman legions, and with nearby Trier (the city of the Treveri), while Cuzco was the equivalent of the rebellious city of the Aedui.

[53] Herrera, *Historia general* 7,6,3 La disimulación contiene en si un no sé de aparente virtud, que participa algo de la prudencia, Reyna de todas las virtudes morales, de la qual no saben aprovecharse los ignorantes y groseros sino los cuerdos y sagazes, que conocen los tiempos, las ocasiones, y la naturaleza de los hombres con quien tratan. Similarly in *Historia general* 5,6,1.

contemporary of Herrera, was born in Cuzco in 1540 and spent his adult life in Spain, but his thoughts and ideas remained rooted in the Andes.[54] Growing up as the son of the *conquistador* Garcilaso de la Vega and an Inca royal lady, Garcilaso the historian had ideas about the Peruvian civil wars that diverged radically from those of everyone else. Like his father, who abandoned the side of Gonzalo Pizarro at the last possible moment,[55] Garcilaso the historian was a Pizarrist and thought that Diego de Almagro had needlessly exposed Peru to years of bloodshed and civil war.[56] But unlike Herrera and other historians who had written about Peru, Garcilaso communicated his judgements by implication, rather than explicitly.

In concrete, tangible terms, he wrote his history, as he repeatedly stated, merely to serve as a commentary on the work of those who had gone before him, and quoted them extensively.[57] Where thus Herrera's *History* took the shape of a commentary on Tacitus, Garcilaso's was a commentary on earlier historians of Peru.[58] On the surface, therefore, Garcilaso offered no more than modifications of what had been known and understood earlier. But that was not the whole story. Everyone who wrote about the Peruvian civil wars worried about how to explain why they happened: comparisons with Caesar and Pompey, analogies with events recounted by Tacitus, and scrutiny of the passions that motivate human action[59] all

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[54] Garcilaso maintained contacts in Peru throughout his life, see *Comentarios reales* 9,40 p.384 a; *Historia general* 8,21 p.174; for the power of attorney given by the Incas of Cuzco to Garcilaso, Melchior Carlos Inca, Alonso Fernández de Mesa and Alonso Marquez de Figueroa, see Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Lima 472, Poder de los Yngas, 1603.

[55] Unlike other historians, Garcilaso admits no faults in Francisco Pizarro, who, as he saw it, could "never ever be sufficiently praised," diremos otras excelencias de este caballero nunca jamas bastantemente loado, see Garcilaso de la Vega, *Historia general* 3,8 p. 186a.

[56] Garcilaso de la Vega, *Historia general* 2,22; see also 2,31.

[57] On the meaning of "commentary" in this context, see Jose Durand, El nombre de los Comentarios Reales, *Revista del Museo Nacional* 32 (Lima 1963), pp. 322-332. The *Historia general* was published posthumously, and its title appears not to derive from Garcilaso himself, since in *Historia general* 8,19 p. 171b, he refers to "los libros de esta segunda parte de nuestros Comentarios."

[58] The third major historian whom Garcilaso refers to in the *Historia general* was Francisco López de Gómara, who, in his view, denigrated the achievements of the conquerors of Peru, see for a brief but important assessment, Raul Porras Barrenechea, *Los Cronistas del Perú (1528-1650* ed. Franklin Pease (Banco de Credito del Perú, Lima 1986), pp. 190-198. Garcilaso also quoted and commented on Blas Valera, e.g. *Historia general* 2,30; Valera figures prominently in the *Comentarios reales*.

[59] Cf. above n. 44; below n. 80.

figured in these explanations,[60] and Garcilaso mentioned these matters also.[61] But the ultimate cause that he perceived of the civil wars was not so much a political as a human one: this was the force of discord which worked like an evil genius among both Incas and Spaniards. In classical myth, Discord had generated strife among the gods and from there descended to human beings, as in the Trojan war, which caused countless deaths, and lasted for ten years,[62] just as the Peruvian civil wars did. It was Discord that led the Indians of Peru to align themselves on one or the other of the warring sides, and later, she proceeded to create enmity between the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela and the Spaniards whose valour had gained the land for the Crown in the first place.[63] Finally, after having worked clandestinely in people's souls, Discord, "walking in the squares and running through the public streets," became embodied in the pernicious talk of partisans, thereby making war between the viceroy and the Spaniards of Peru inevitable.[64]

Perhaps, in creating his figure of Discord, Garcilaso was thinking of the description of Rumour, or even of the infernal goodess Alecto in Vergil's *Aeneid*, a book that he had in his library.[65] For it was Rumour hissing unseen from the rooftops who set in motion the tragedy of Dido and Aeneas, and later

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[60] Except for Tacitus: I can see no trace of Tacitus in the work of Garcilaso, even though he owned a copy of the historian's works, see Jose Durand, La biblioteca del Inca, *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispanica* 2 (1948), pp. 239-264, see p. 256, number 129. But perhaps there is one exception to this absence of Tacitus in Garcilaso. In *Historia general* 5,39, p. 391b, he claims to be writing the truth "sin pasión ni afición," which is perhaps a translation of Tacitus' famous "sine ira et studio," *Annals* 1,1.

[61] E.g. Garcilaso, *Historia general* 2,19 p. 111a, como el gobernar y mandar sea tan deseado de los ambiciosos; 2,31, on conflict between Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro over wielding power: este oficio no sufre que haya mayor, ni aun igual; 3,19 on ambition, envy, greed, avarice, anger and pride, along with discord and tyranny gathering to stop the preaching of the Gospel in Peru; 5.30, p. 373 b, on the rift, considered disastrous by Garcilaso, between Gonzalo Pizarro and Francisco de Carvajal: como sea cosa natural aborrecer la compania en el mandar y reinar.

[62] among the many ancient sources for this famous story, one that Garcilaso might have known (if he did not use one of them many retellings that were pubished in the Renaissance) is Hyginus, *Fabulae* (ed. H. I.Rose, Leyden 1967), 92.

[63] Garcilaso *Historia general* 2,38, p. 161b; 4,5, p. 231a.

[64] Garcilaso, *Historia general* 4,6, p. 232a, No se satisfizo la discordia de haber entrado en lo interior de los animos del visorrey y de los oidores si no se mostraba a descubierto, porque su gusto es pasear las plazas y correr las calles públicas ...

[65] See José Durand, La biblioteca del Inca, *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispanica* 2 (1948), pp. 239-264, p. 261, number 186. On personifications in ancient epic, see D.C. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic. Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition* (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1991), pp. 142 ff.

on, it was Alecto who incited Trojans and Italians, peoples destined to live together and intermingle in harmony, to a murderous war.[66] Rumour and Alecto in Vergil led people to do what perhaps they would have done anyway, but they will now do it more vigorously and with more disastrous effect. Similarly, Discord in Garcilaso made disaster inevitable by sharpening negative emotions beyond any possibility of appeasement, and by deepening the rift between Indians and Spaniards, who, like Vergil's Italians and Trojans, were destined to form a new nation.

Where thus other historians looked for the cause of the Peruvian civil wars in political circumstances and processes that could be documented in other places and times, Garcilaso viewed matters in a more personal way by investigating the inner characteristics of the principal agents in his story, heightened as these had become by the epic force of Discord. Garcilaso's ideosyncratic manner of deploying voices from classical antiquity in his narrative[67] is part and parcel of his historical vision.[68] He thereby differentiated his convictions from those of the university educated professional elite whose members were by this time running the Spanish empire,[69] and some of whose views were represented by Herrera. Garcilaso thus suggested to his readers that Gonzalo Pizarro, who was executed by La Gasca as a rebel against his King, could equally well have been described as the King's loyal vassal.[70] In accord with this conclusion, Gacilaso composed

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[66] Vergil, *Aeneid* 4, 173-188. Rumour, in the context of the fourth book of the *Aeneid*, sets in motion the tragedy of Dido.

[67] For further examples, see Sabine MacCormack, The Incas and Rome, in José Anadón ed., *Garcilaso Inca de la Vega. An American Humanist* (University of Notre Dame,Notre Dame 1998), pp. 8-31.

[68] A copy of Oviedo's *Historia de las Indias* was in Garcilaso's library, see Jose Durand, La biblioteca (above n. 87), p. 103, number 103. Garcilaso also owned two works of Oviedo's friend Pero Mexia (see La biblioteca p.251 number 79; p. 252 number 82; p. 258, number 155, with Oviedo, *Historia* 49, chapters 10 and 14, on Oviedo's friendship with Mexia). Regarding Garcilaso's purpose of writing something useful for "princes, kings and monarchs," see *Historia general* 3,19. The Greek historian Polybius (in Garcilaso's library, La biblioteca p.259 number 168) also thought history is useful for statesmen, see Polybius, *History* 3,31.

[69] See Richard I. Kagan, *Students and society in early modern Spain* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1974), pp. 77-105; Jean-Marc Pelorson, *Les Letrados. Juristes castillans sous Philippe III. Recherches sur leur place dans la société, la culture et l'état* (Ouvrage publié avec le concours de l'université de Poitiers 1980). Garcilaso shared this vantage point with the diplomat and historian Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, on whom cf. Sabine MacCormack, History, Memory and Time in Golden Age Spain, *History and Memory* 4 (Tel Aviv University 1992) pp. 38-68, at pp. 53-57.

[70] For a perfect statement of the Pizarrist case, made by Garcilaso's Gonzalo Pizarro before his execution, in dialogue with La Gasca, see Garcilaso, *Historia general* 5,36, and contrast the description of the same episode by Herrera, *Decadas* 8,4,16.

an epitaph for Gonzalo Pizarro and the other *conquistadores*, in which he evoked the celebrated "Praise of Spain" by Isidore of Seville, but applied it to these men's homeland,

> the province of Extremadura, noble mother, who has produced and raised heroic sons, who have gained the two empires of the New World, Mexico and Peru ... To extoll the greatness of such a homeland, it is sufficient to point to her famous sons whose heroic deeds will praise and glorify the mother who has given such sons to the world.[71]

Garcilaso's old-fashioned view point, in which human and ethical criteria dominated over political ones and over reason of state, was shared in Peru, whose people were, after all, the recipients, not the practitioners of reason of state, and therefore had special grounds to be critical of it.[72]

A further more far-reaching dimension of Garcilaso's work may also have appealed to some of his Peruvian readers. This was that he considered the Inca past in light of the same critera, and described it in the same terms as the past of Spanish Peru. Ever since Thucydides, whose *History of the Peloponnesian War* Garcilaso had in his library,[73] Greek and after them Roman historians had not merely described the deeds, but also the words and indeed the thoughts of their characters. Important events were preceded by and gave rise to speeches by the principal participants, which Thucydides regarded as integral parts of the event in question and therefore reported in some detail.[74] Most historians of the Indies, conscious as they were of classical models, followed the practice of Thucydides, Polybius, Livy, Sallust and Tacitus, but, for the most part, they only reported speeches by Spaniards. In Garcilaso's pages, however, Inca rulers,

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[71] Garcilaso, *Historia general* 5,43 p. 401b: la provincia llamada Extremadura, madre extremada, que ha producido y criado hijos tan heróicos, que han ganado dos imperios del Nuevo Mundo, Mejico y Perú.... Y para loa y grandeza de tal patria, bastara mostrar con el dedo sus famosos hijos; y las heroicas hazañas de ellos loarán y engrandecerán la madre que tales hijos ha dado al mundo. Compare Isidore of Seville, *Las historias de los godos, Vandalos y Suevos* ed. and tr. by Cristobal Rodriguez Alonso (León, Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidro 1975), p. 168.

[72] The context is the execution of Tupa Amaru, see Antonio de la Calancha *Corónica moralizada del orden de San Agustin en el Perú* (Barcelona 1639, ed. and published by Ignacio Prado Pastro, Lima 1974-1981) book 3, 33 p. 1586.

[73] José Durand, La biblioteca (above n. 79) p.258, number 152.

[74] Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* I,22,1-22 juxtaposing speeches and deeds. See further on this passage, Charles William Fornara, *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome* (University of California Press, Berkeley 1983), pp. 142-168. As Fornara points out, Herodotus, who predates Thucydides, also has speeches, but the prestige, and thus the influence of Thucydides was greater.

Andean lords and their subjects joined the ranks of the famous Greeks and Romans of the distant past, and of Spaniards of a much more recent past, as men capable of reflection and of reasoned, well ordered political discourses.[75]

The Incas as described by Garcilaso were practical people. They created a calendar, knew how to cure diseases, and were able to measure the distances across their vast empire. Hence,

> they understood much about geometry, because they needed it to measure their lands, settle disputes, and distribute fields. But they did this in practical terms, not by heights and degrees, or by any other speculative method; rather, they did it with their cords and stones, with which they count and divide.[76]

Perhaps, in this assessment of the cultural attainments of the Incas, as distinct from those of the Spanish and other Europeans, Garcilaso had in mind Vergil's description of the Romans, who were so very different from the speculatively inclined and artistic Greeks:

> Others shall mould the living bronze with gentler hand,
> I do believe it, and carve from marble the living
> features.
> They plead a more persuasive case, and with the compass
> trace
> the movement of the sky and tell the rising of the
> stars.
> But you, oh Roman, be mindful to govern the nations
> with sovereign sway,
> this is your calling, engrafting fair conduct on
> peace time,
> to spare the conquered and resist the proud.[77]

As Garcilaso often reiterated, it was precisely by sparing the conquered and resisting the proud that the Incas had won and retained their empire.[78]

This same observation had been made, over fifty years earlier, by Cieza in the second part of his *Crónica*, which described the Inca empire.[79] Like Garcilaso, Cieza thought about the Romans when explaining the cultural and

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[75] A notable example is Garcilaso's *Historia general* 1.19-26, about the Inca Atahuallpa's speech and inner reasoning in response to Vicente de Valverde's *requerimiento* at Cajamarca.

[76] Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales* 2,26 p.77b, with 2, 21-25.

[77] Vergil, *Aeneid* 6,847-853.

[78] Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales* 2, 18-20; 3, 2-7, etc.

[79] Cieza, *Cronica* II, chapter 17.

political achievements of the Incas.[80] In his day, he was a pioneer. Earlier writers had composed brief accounts of the Incas that were embedded, as an ethnographic excursus such as historians in classical antiquity had written,[81] within the principal narrative, which was about the civil wars. Cieza saw things differently[82] in wanting to produce a narrative that, as he expressed it, "was free of rhetoric and ... comes accompanied by the truth."[83] This amouted to including in his history of Peru not just the civil wars of Spaniards, but also, on an equal footing, the Incas. It was in seeing that the Incas had created not only an empire, but also a civilization that Cieza differed from most of his contemporaries. Indeed, he was convinced that the rule of the Incas was preferable to any system of government that the Spanish could ever establish.[84]

Where thus, when Cieza was writing about Spaniards in Peru, his examples from classical antiquity served to make clear what should have been avoided and what could have been done better,[85] when he wrote about the Incas, he adduced parallels from classical antiquity to highlight the excellence of Inca statecraft and administration. Neither the roads constructed by Alexander the Great, nor the excellent Roman road that crossed Spain equalled the extraordinary Inca road system with its rest stations, distance markers and store houses for

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[80] Evidence produced in Sabine MacCormack, History and Law in Sixteenth-Century Peru: The Impact of European Scholarly Traditions, in S.C. Humphreys ed., *Cultures of Scholarship* (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 1997), pp. 277-310.

[81] See for example: Zárate, *Historia* I, 4-15; Gómara, *Historia* 119-129; Diego Fernandez, *Historia* 3,3,5-11; Klaus E. Müller, *Geschichte der antiken Ethnographie und ethnologischen Theoriebilding. Von den Anfängen bis auf die byzantinischen Historiographen* 2 vols. (Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1972-1980), see on Herodotus vol. 1, pp. 105-115, and similarly throughout. More recent work has focused on very different questions, see, for a notable example, Francois Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus* (University of California Press, Berkeley 1988).

[82] But Cieza shared certain concerns with Oviedo and other historians of the Indies. Above all, like Oviedo, he was convinced that people who had never been to America wrote about things American in igonrance and out of prejudice, see Cieza, *Crónica* I, Prohemio del autor p. 14: lo que pido es que en pago de mi trabajo, aunque vaya esta scriptura desnuda de rhetorica, sea mirada con moderación, pues a lo que siento, va tan acompañada de verdad. La qual subjeto al parecer de los doctos y virtuosos: y a los demas pido, se contenten con solamente la leer: sin querer juzgar lo que no entienden. In *Cronica* II chapter 22 p.63, Cieza corrects a statement by Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia de las Indias*: en estos descuydos caen todos los que escriven por relación y cartapacios sin ver ni saber en la tierra donde escriven.

[83] Cieza, *Crónica* II Prohemio del autor, fol. 6v.

[84] Cieza, *Crónica* II chapter 12, p. 33, con la buena orden y justicia que ay, se restaurarian y multiplicarian para que en alguna manera buelva a ser este reyno lo que fue, aunque yo creo que sera tarde o nunca.

[85] Cf. above at notes 33; 41; 45; 47-51.

supplies needed by travellers that Cieza and others admired in the Andes.[86] The impartiality and speed of Inca justice rivalled that of Rome, and Inca religion, given that the Incas were pagans, was in many ways more reasonable than the pagan religions of classical antiquity.[87] Cieza shared these views with Bartolomé de Las Casas, the moving spirit behind the New Laws, whom he probably met in Seville on his return to Spain in 1551.[88] Las Casas appears to have made use of Cieza's work.[89] Even though Cieza was first and foremost a historian, while Las Casas wrote for the purpose of defending the rights of Indians against his fellow Spaniards, the two men shared the conviction that Inca statecraft matched or rivalled the best that Europe had produced.[90] The

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[86] Cieza, *Crónica* II chapter 64; see also chapter 15, observing that the Emperor Charles V was not in a position to construct roads such as the Incas had; *Cronica* I chapter 37 mentioning a road across the Alps constructed by Hannibal; but Livy *Ab urbe condita* 21,32,6-38,5 says nothing about such a road.

[87] For Inca justice, see MacCormack, History and Law (above n. 112) pp.291-297; for religion, Cieza, *Crónica* I chapter 50, about Greeks, Egyptians and Romans; see also chapter 4, p.35 and chapter 38 p.124, comparing *acllas* to Roman Vestal Virgins.

[88] Miguel Maticorena Estrada, Cieza de León en Sevilla y su muerte en 1554. Documentos, *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 12 (Seville 1955), pp. 615-674, at p. 55: the *Crónica* II, about the Incas, and *Crónica* III, about the *Descubrimiento y conquista del Perú* are to be given to Bartolomé de Las Casas, for publication; the remainder of his historical work is to be withheld from circulation for fifteen years: Cieza thought that the events described were too close in time and too controversial to be discussed in public.

[89] I follow the suggestion of David Lupher, who in a letter of July 16, 1999 writes, after quoting Cieza, *Cronica* II chapter 63, about Inca roads compared to the Roman road in Spain (cf. above n.119): "What especially interests me is how similar this passage is to Las Casas' account of the same road in the *Apologética historia* ch. 262, where he dismisses the Roman road from Spain to Italy as a contemptible thing (*asco es todo*) in comparison to this Inca road. This, of course, gets us into the interesting question of Las Casas' access to the *Señorío* [i.e. *Crónica* II]. Cieza, of course, willed that the MS of it go to Las Casas, but it seems not to have done so. But his dying wish implied that Las Casas had an interest in the MS - and why not some familiarity with it?" See also R. Marcus, Las Casas Péruaniste, *Caravelle. Cahiers du monde hispanique et luso-brésilien* 7 (1966), pp. 25-41; Isacio Pérez Fernández, *Bartolomé de Las Casas en el Perú. 1531-1571* (Centro de estudios rurales andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas, Cusco 1986).

[90] 'Las Casas' categories came, in large part, from Aristotle's *Politics* and *Nicomachean Ethics*, and differentiated three aspects of the virtue of prudence, which were the regimen of oneself, the ordering of the family, and the governance of society, see Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Apologética historia sumaria* ed. Edmundo O'Gorman (Instituto de investigaciones históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México 1967, hereafter *Apologética*) chapters 40-41 for a survey of the programme of the book. See also O'Gorman's very helpful summary of the argument, pp. xxxvi-lv. Lewis Hanke, *All Mankind is One. A Study of the Disputation Between Bartolome de Las Casas and Juan Gines de Sepulveda on the Religious and Intellectual Capacity of American Indians* (Northern Illinois University Press, De Kalb 1974) explores some aspects of 'Las Casas' Aristotelianism.

story that both of them told was therefore a story of loss: the Inca past was infinitely closer in time than the Roman past, but it was equally irretrievable.

Like Cieza, Las Casas deployed his knowledge of classical antiquity to explain the Incas,[91] but he did so more systematically; in effect, he built a framework for the comparative study of cultures.[92] His criteria of civilized and political life came from Aristotle and other ancient authors, and he began, as Aristotle had done, with the city as the foundation of civilized human coexistence.[93] From Quito, Cuzco, Lima and elsewhere, Dominican missionaries[94] wrote to him about Inca architecture, about professional specialization among Andean populations, about manners and customs, legal precepts, religious beliefs and the gods. Las Casas himself assembled matching materials from ancient texts, and consulted the historical narratives of scholars from Spain writing in the vernacular. There were, furthermore, humanistic encyclopedias focusing on different aspects of antiquity: as for example the treatise on the ancient gods, their priesthoods and cults, by Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus, which Las Casas incorporated into his review of American indigenous societies.[95]

The classificatory schemes that Italian humanists had developed to shed light on classical antiquity recur in Las Casas, who adapted them to his Aristotelian framework.[96] In the light of examples from the ancient world and

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[91] He was well read both in the ancient texts themselves, and also in scholarship of his own day bearing on these texts. See, on the ancient texts, the three articles by Bruno Rech, Las Casas und die Autoritaten seiner Geschichtsschreibung, in *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 16 (1979), pp. 13-51; Las Casas und die Kirchenväter, *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 17 (1980), pp. 1-47; Las Casas und das Alte Testament, *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 18 (1981), pp. 1-68.

[92] Antony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man. The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1982).

[93] Cf. below at notes 211-233.

[94] "Los nuestros," as Las Casas keeps describing them, for example, Las Casas, *Apologética* chapter 262, p.624, expressing concern that knowledge about the Americas remains imperfect por no del todo perfectamente por los nuestros se haber alcanzado los secretos de aquellas lenguas, o también por no se haber hecho tanta diligencia como convenía ...

[95] E.g. Las Casas, *Apologética* I, 625; 679; 701; II, 120, 162, 164; Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus, *De Deis Gentium varia et multiplex Histolria, Libris sive Syntagmatibus XZVII comprehensa* (Basle 1560 and several other editions).

[96] See for example, Las Casas, *Apologética* chapters 129-133, on funerary customs of the ancient world and New Spain, with citations of ancient texts and of Alexander ab Alexandro *Genialium dierum libri sex, varia et recondita eruditione referti: nunc postremum infinitis mendis quibus antea squallebat liber pulcherrimus quanta fieri potuit diligentia perpurgati atque in*

the Americas, he discussed the social and political roles of farmers and shepherds, architects, masons and carpenters, weavers and silversmiths,[97] as well as warriors, priests[98] and men of substance,[99] in order to demonstrate that the Incas, as well as the Mexicans, had constructed societies that were perfectly tuned to foster virtue and well-being.[100] He accordingly compared the Inca ruler Pachacuti, founder of the Inca empire as the Spanish invaders saw it in 1532, to the Roman king Numa Pompilius who, according to Roman tradition as recorded by Livy, had formulated some of Rome's earliest laws.[101]

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pristinum nitorem restituti (Parisiis apud M. Sonnium 1586; for the passage Las Casas had in mind, see Book 3, chapter 7, fols. 127v-134v. the theme is picked up again when Las Casas discusses Peru, chapter 249, drawing a comparison with Rome, p. 570. For a similar method of organizing information, see the Jesuita anonimo, *Relación de las costumbres antiguas del Perú* (in ed. Francisco Esteve Barba, *Crónicas peruanas de interes indígena*, *BAE* vol. 209, Madrid 1968, hereafter *Relación*) and José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* ed. E. O'Gorman (Fondo de Cultura Económica, México 1940, hereafter *Historia*), Book 6, going from calendars to writing and memory systems, government, architecture, and trades; cf. below n. 135.

[97] Las Casas, *Apologética* chapter 65, with chapter 46, outlining the explanatory project.

[98] Las Casas, *Apologética* chapters 71-74. The analysis of society (that of the Incas) by means of listing and describing the professions and trades practiced in it recurs in Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del nuevo mundo* ed. Francisco Mateos (*BAE* vol. 92, Madrid 1964), book 14, chapters 8-16. These chapters are embedded within an overall description of customs and rituals. The classificatory systems employed by historians of the Indies merit study.

[99] Aristotle, *Nicomachaean Ethics* 4,2; 9,8, on magnificence and self-love, cited by Las Casas, *Apologética* chapter 69, p.363. The context described by Las Casas removes Aristotle's observations some considerable distance from their original intent.

[100] The classificatory scheme employed by Las Casas, based in part on Aristotle and in part on certain sub-fields of classical scholarship current in his day, were employed once more in Jerónimo Román, *Repúblicas del mundo*, Medina del Campo 1575. Román, who was not an Aristotelian, rearranged and reproduced much of Las Casas' material, subdividing it into separate republics, those of the Hebrews, Gentiles, Indies, etc. The work fell foul of the Inquisition, largely for what Roman said about the Hebrew Republic. He published an amended version in 1595.

[101] Las Casas, *Apologética* chapter 251, p. 580-581, with Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I,19-21. Deeds of peace were much appreciated in the wartorn sixteenth century, even by Machiavelli, who in his commentaries on Livy, considered Numa to have been of greater benefit to Rome than the first founder Romulus. See Machiavelli, *Discourses*, tr. Leslies J. Walker (Routledge, London 1975), I,11, 3-6, with Philip Jacks, *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity. The Origins of Rome in Renaissance Thought* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1993), pp. 177-179. Las Casas *ibid.* praises Pachacuti for settling religious before secular matters, where perhaps he had in mind the criticism by Augustine, *City of God* 6,3-4, of the Roman scholar and antiquarian Varro, who, in his *Antiquities* discussed human matters first, and then matters concerning the gods and religion. This issue seems also to have occupied the Jesuita anónimo. In his *De las costumbres antiguas de los naturales del Perú* (ed. Esteve Barba in *Crónicas peruanas de interés indígena* (*BAE* vol. 209, Madrid 1968, hereafter *Costumbres*), religious precede secular matters. The Jesuita anónimo did his best to make the Incas look like Romans; *inter alia*, he attributed

The comparison is emblematic of Las Casas' overall argument. Roman law remained one of the sources of law in sixteenth century Spain and Europe,[102] and Las Casas himself repeatedly appealed to it as binding on his Spanish contemporaries.[103] Inca statutes about which he learnt from his fellow Dominicans in Peru, so Las Casas suggested, were endowed with the same binding quality.[104] In administrative terms also, Las Casas viewed Pachacuti's Inca empire as comparable to Rome, and described Inca provincial officials, the *tocricocs*, in Roman terms as legates and pro-consuls,[105] who had performed their tasks infinitely more successfully than their Spanish successors were doing in the present.[106]

Beyond determining whether and how the Incas practiced the political virtues, Cieza, Las Casas, Garcilaso and all the others who wrote about the Andes were confronted with a further equally intractable problem, which was to shed some light on the origin of the Incas,[107] which amounted to trying to understand Inca myths of origins.

The Incas thought that the world as they knew it had been created at Lake Titcaca by the Maker Ticsi Viracocha and that later their own ancestors, three or four pairs of brothers and sisters, had come forth from a mountain cave at Pacaritambo, the "Inn of the Dawn," and made their way to nearby Cuzco. One of the brothers was sent back to the cave and ended up being immured there, and another was transformed into a stone and became a deity. The third brother Manco Capac and his sister consort Mama Ocllo settled in Cuzco

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to Inca priests a head dresse that is almost identical to one of Roman priests depicted in Guillaume Du Choul, *Discorso de la religione antica dei Romani, insieme un altro Discorso della castrametatione & disciplina militare, bagni & essercitii antichi di detti Romani ... tradotti in toscano da M. Gabriel Simeoni* (Lyons 1569) see p. 236 with Jesuita anónimo p. 161. As regards the estimation of religious over secular matters, however, one could also attribute this order to the Zeitgeist, since it is very frequently observed: see, for example, the *Siete Partidas* (above n. 40) and other legal compilations.

[102] Manlio Bellomo, *The Common Legal Past of Europe 1000-1800* (Catholic University of America Press, Washington D.C. 1995), pp. 97-101; 203-235; see also, Jose Manuel Pérez-Prendes y Muñoz de Arraco, *Curso de Historia del Derecho Español* (Servicio publicaciones facultad derecho, Universidad Complutense, Madrid) pp. 639-661.

[103] For example, with great insistence, in *Doce Dudas* (above n. 29).

[104] See Las Casas, *Apologética* chapter 258; whether the laws reported here give an accurate impression of Inca law is a separate question, cf. MacCormack, above n. 112; the Jesuita anónimo, *Costumbres* p. 177a also thought the laws of his very Roman Incas merited being observed in the present; for a more pragmatic statement of the same project, see below at n. 209.

[105] Las Casas, *Apologética* chapter 252 p. 586.

[106] Las Casas, *Apologética* chapter 261,p. 622 with the statement (apparently a quotation), ipsi iudices nostri erunt.

among people who were already living there. He was the earliest forbear of the Inca rulers, who described themselves as "sons of the Sun" and propagated the cult of their divine ancestor throughout their empire. Some Spaniards, among them Cieza, read this story as explaining the origins of Inca imperial sovereignty, while others thought that it proved that from the very beginning, the Incas had been usurpers and tyrants, warlords who displaced other more peaceful people from their homes.

This political issue was accompanied by a historiographical one because early modern Europeans found in the Andes no real equivalent to writing and therefore believed that Andean people had forgotten much of their past, or had confused different narratives with each other.[108] Earlier historians writing about peninsular Spain had already reflected on the perception that writing compensated for the fragility of memory, and that history, to be worthy of the name, must be recorded,[109] must become a book like the books by Thucydides, Sallust, Caesar, Livy and Tacitus, from whose pages history spoke equally and objectively to all its readers about what had happened, in the words of the Andean historian Joan Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui, "in the gentile times."[110] This expectation rested on the credo, going back to classical antiquity, that

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[107] The speculation that is most appealing to modern minds was by José de Acosta, *Historia natural* book 1, chapters 20-21, suggesting that there must be some kind of land bridge between Asia and America, which the first inhabitants of the American continent crossed. But note that this idea, commonly attributed to Acosta alone, was first developed by Juan López de Velasco, *Geografía y descripción de las Indias* ed. M. Jiménez de la Espada (*BAE* vol.248, Madrid 1971) p.2, dismissing, as Acosta also does, the idea that America has something to do with Plato's Atlantis.

[108] Cieza, *Crónica* II, chapter 32 p.97 on contradictory accounts of the Inca "dynasty;" see also chapter 8, p. 21 Reydome de lo que tengo escripto destos yndios, yo quento en mi escritura lo quellos a mi contaron por la suya, y antes quito muchas coasas que anadir una sola; chapter 9, p. 24 on remembering and forgetting.

[109] See Alfonso X, *Primera crónica* prologue, taking up large parts of the prologue of Rodrigo Ximenez de Rada, *Historia de rebus Hispanie sive historia Gothica* ed. Juan Fernandez Valverde (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio mediaevalis vol. 72, Brepols, Turnholt 1987).

[110] Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua, *Relación de antiguedades deste reyno del Pirú* eds. Pierre Duviols and César Itier (Institut Francais D'Etudes Andines - Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas, Cusco 1993), fol. 3r, tiempo de las gentilidades; similarly, the author of the Huarochiri cycle of myths and histories looks back to ancha naupa pacha, "very ancient time, see Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste, *The Huarochiri Manuscript. A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion* (University of Texas Press, Austin 1991, hereafter *Huarochiri Manuscript*), chapter 1,3. Frank Salomón, La textualización de la memoria en la América andina: una perspectiva etnológica comparada, *América indigena* 54 (1994), pp. 229-261.

history can and ought to be true.[111] Truth was the "soul of history" and, as historians of Peru and of the Incas stated in the footsteps of their ancient models, the pursuit of truth must always be preferred over the facile appeal of creating a pleasing narrative.[112]

But this was easier said than done. Not only were the ancient Andean stories not always compatible with each other, but they also contained episodes that were simply not credible. Garcilaso himself expressed dissatisfaction with the "thousand absurdities" of the Pacaritambo story[113] and accordingly omitted mentioning the fate of the two brothers who were lost on the way from Pacaritambo to Cuzco. Las Casas by contrast did write about the two brothers, just as Cieza had done, and pointed out that the problem posed by their supposed disappearance was far from new. For Romulus the founder of Rome, who, according to Livy, had also mysteriously disappeared at the end of his life, was believed by his followers to have ascended to heaven,[114] just like one of those brothers. Other narratives comprising an element of miracle extended even into the more recent Inca past. Las Casas was thus not entirely happy to learn that the Inca Pachacuti had reportedly said "that the Sun had no sons other than himself, and he himself had no father other than the Sun". Yet, Pachacuti's assertion resembled that of the Roman king Numa Pompilius, who pretended to be married to the divine nymph Egeria, by whose inspiration he claimed to be drafting his laws,[115] just as Pachacuti claimed that his mandates were in effect the mandates of the Sun. Methodologies that had been developed in classical antiquity for endowing ancient mythic stories, "historical fables," as Garcilaso called them,[116] with some kind

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[111] cf. Arnaldo Momigliano, History in an Age of Ideologies, *American Scholar* 51 (1982), pp. 495-507.

[112] For Cieza, see above n. 115; also, Zárate, *Historia* Preface to Prince Philip, mentioning Cicero and the elder Pliny, and the phrase la verdad, que es donde consiste el anima de la historia (p.3); Fernandez, *Historia*, Preface to Philip II, stressing the teaching function of history.

[113] Garcilaso, *Royal Commentaries* 1,18 p.30b, mil disparates.

[114] Las Casas, *Apologética* chapter 250, p. 574 with chapter 107, p. 567, citing Livy, *Ab urbe condita* book 1, chapter 16.

[115] Las Casas, *Apologética* chapter 251, p. 581, (Pachacuti) decia quel sol no tenía otro hijo ni el tenía otro padre sino al sol. Y asi, cuanto hacía y ordenaba, decía que lo hacía y ordenaba y mandaba el sol. For Numa Pompilius and Egeria, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15, 482-484; *Fasti* book 3, lines 151-154 and lines 275-296; book 4, lines 669-670. Cf. above n. 138.

[116] Garcilaso, *Royal Commentaries* I,18 p.31a fabulas historiales.

of historical meaning were thus redeployed in early colonial Peru.[117] This process of rendering the mythic past recognizable in historical terms occurred not only in works of learning but also in documents prepared for litigation and personal advancement, and not only in Cuzco, but throughout the Andes.[118]

The Greek and Roman past resonated in Peru both in historical writing and in the more informal context of numerous official enquiries that were initiated by bureucrats, viceroys and the crown. For all their seeming pragmatism, the questions that were asked in such enquiries are the outcome of a long rhetorical tradition, going back to Aristotle, and more immediately, to the late antique Roman empire, when the Rhetor Menander wrote a manual instructing students how to compose panegyrics, celebratory speeches for delivery during civic festivals. Among Menander's topics was the praise of cities, where he developed a list of themes about the climate, natural resources, customs, religious observances, myths and histories of any given city that recurs in the questionnaires that were circulated in the name of Philip II.[119] These themes, translated into questions helped to awaken voices in Spanish Peru that Menander could not possibly have imagined, voices, furthermore, that had so far not been heard. Historians collected their evidence mainly Cuzco, where, they felt, the most well informed people, all of them Incas, resided. The Crown, by contrast, sent questionnaires everywhere and wanted to hear from everyone. Information collected in Cuzco was thus confirmed and supplemented, or corrected and sometimes contradicted, by information from elsewhere. The

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[117] These were learned transactions, that were of interest to a scholarly minority, but they had significant practical outcomes. For in the course of "historical fables" being converted into history, mythic places like Pacaritambo, and legendary characters, like Manco Capac, were located in space and time with such incontrovertible force that they could figure in litigation for economic and social privilege, see Gary Urton, *The History of a Myth. Pacariqtambo and the Origin of the Inkas* (University of Texas Press, Austin 1990).

[118] see for example, Archivo de Indias, Seville, Charcas 56, of 1638, don Fernando Ayra de Arriutu petitions for a coat of arms on the basis of his family's kinship with the Incas and services to them, and his own services to the Spanish.

[119] the parallels between Menander and the royal questionnaires are worked out in a magnificent article by Victoria Pineda, La retórica epidíctica de Menandro y los cuestionarios para las Relaciones Geograficas de Indias, in press. I thank the author for allowing me to read this article before its publication. For Menander on the praise of cities and regions, see, apart from Pineda's article, *Menander Rhetor. Edited with Translation and Commentary by D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson* (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1988), Treatise I, 344-367; the topic also recurs, more episodically in Treatise II, 369-370; 387-388; 426-430. Cf. Sabine MacCormack, Latin prose Pengyrics: tradition and discontinuity in the Later Roman Empire, *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 12 (Paris 1976), pp. 29-77, especially pp. 30-33.

Inca splendour that was remembered by people throughout the Andes thus echoes very similar memories from Cuzco, but at the same time people recalled traditions and events that had nothing to do with the Incas.[120]

The Roman empire that Menander thought about was a world of cities, and the preoccupation with cities that the Romans shared with the Greeks[121] lived on in medieval and early modern Spain[122] and the Americas.[123] Cieza, who took this continuity for granted, thus compared the cities that the Spanish founded in Peru to Alexander the Great's Alexandria, Dido's Carthage and the Rome of Romulus.[124] Some of these cities, for example Lima, were new foundations, but many others, like Cuzco, were refounded by the *conquistadores* in the name of Charles V.[125] When in the mid-seventeenth century, the Jesuit Bernabé Cobo wrote about the foundation of Lima by Francisco Pizarro in the name of His Majesty, he praised its pleasant healthy air and mild climate, as well as its favourable geographical location, and its buildings, much as

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[120] The deeds of Pariacaca and of his "children" are recounted in Frank Salomon and J. Urioste, *Huarochiri Manuscript* (above n. 184). Attention to la manera y orden de hablar de estos naturales (cf. above n. 200) is also manifest in the study of Quechua in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Domingo de Santo Tomás had praised Quechua for being elegant like Latin, and had arranged his *Grammatica* to follow the model of Antonio Nebrija's Latin grammar. The Quechua grammar by Diego González Holguin, by contrast (*Gramática y arte nueva de la lengua general de todo el Perú, llamada lengua Qqichua o lengua del Inca*, Lima 1607, revised reprint 1842, n.p.) presents the language independently of Latin. Accordingly, in the introduction, Gonzalez Holguin advocated learning Quechua not because it resembles Latin, but because the Holy Spirit gave the Apostles the gift of languages, to speak to all people (*Acts of the Apostles* 2,1-21), and Quechua was one of those languages.

[121] Not that they meant the same thing by the concept, see Clifford Ando, Was Rome a *polis*? *Classical Antiquity* 18 (Berkeley 1999), pp. 5-34.

[122] Richard Kagan, Clio and the Crown: Writing History in Habsburg Spain, in Richard L. Kagan and Geoffrey Parker eds, *Spain, Europe and the Atlantic World. Essays in honour of John H. Elliott* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1995), pp. 73-100.

[123] the best work on this topic remains Richard Morse, Introducción a la historia urbana de Hispanoamerica, *Revista de Indias* 32 (Seville 1972), pp. 9-53.

[124] Cieza, *Crónica* I, chapter 2 p.27. See also *RGI* 1, p. 134, from the "Relación general de las poblaciones espanolas del Peru hecha por el licenciado Salazar de Villasante," c. 1569, about "dos pueblos de indios que yo poble; el uno esta ... antes de entrar en la ciudad (de Quito) ... a este puse el nombre Villasante, como yo; el otro esta dese cabo a un cabo del prado que se llama Anaquito; a este puse nombre Velasco, por fundarle en tiempo que era visorey el conde de Nieva que se llama Velasco. Honours claimed by the king were thus being claimed, on a smaller scale, by his officials.

[125] Horacio Urteaga, *Fundación española del Cusco y ordenanzas para su gobierno. Restauraciones mandadas ejecutar del primer libro de cabildos de la ciudad para el virrey del Perú Don Francisco de Toledo* (Talleres Gráficos Sanmarti, Lima 1926).

Menander had advised.[126] Addressing issues that were specific to the questionnaires of the Crown, Cobo also wrote about the city's name, its jurisdiction and the administrative district it controlled.[127] Lima's steets were laid out by Pizarro himself to intersect at rectangles, making a chessboard pattern that was inspired, however indirectly, by real and imagined city plans of classical antiquity.[128] In Cuzco, the preexisting Inca city made it impossible to create such a streetplan. But Cuzco's climate, its natural resources, and flora and fauna were commended by seventeenth century local patriots in the familiar fashion.[129]

The Andean historian Guaman Poma likewise was acquainted, if distantly, with the ancient Mediterranean typology of city foundation, climate, geographical location, natural resources and local customs.[130] He thus titled his section about Peru's cities with the words:

> All the cities and municipalities and villages founded by the Inca kings, and later Don Francisco Pizarro and Don Diego de Almagro, captains and ambassadors of the Lord King and Emperor Don Carlos of glorious memory founded them. And some cities were founded by the most excellent lords viceroys of this kingdom.[131]

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[126] Bernabé Cobo, *Fundación de Lima* in his *Obras* ed. Francisco Mateos (*BAE* vol. 92, Madrid 1964, hereafter *Fundación*) book I, chapter 2 pp.287-288; chapter 7. Possibly, apart from the Crown questionnaires described above, Cobo also had in mind the work of the Roman architect Vitruvius, *De architectura libri decem* (for an edition and German translation see C. Fensterbusch, *Vitruv, Zehn Bucher uber Architektur*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 1964), or one of his Renaissance followers.

[127] Cobo, *Fundación* book I, chapter 3, p. 290; chapters 4-5.

[128] Cobo, *Fundación* book I, chapter 8; see further Valerie Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest. Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1535-1635* (Cambridge University press, Cambridge 1990), chapter 2; Teresa Gisbert, José de Mesa, *Arquitectura andina 1530-1830* (Embajada de Espana en Bolivia, La Paz 1997), especially pp. 124-125 with fig. 101, for further chessboard designs.

[129] Vasco de Contreras y Valverde, *Relación de la ciudad del Cuzco 1649* ed. Maria del Carmen Rubío (Imprenta Amauta, Cuzco 1983); Juan Mogrovejo de la Cerda, *Memorias de la Gran Ciudad del Cusco, 1690* ed. Maria del Carmen Rubío (Rotary Club Cusco 1983).

[130] Guaman Poma, *Primera Crónica* p. 982, describing his mapa mundi, providing some measures of distances and a survey of the political condition and resources of the region depicted. There is a problem in the pagination of the manuscript between Guaman Poma's p.983-984 (the mapamundi) and the unpagniated text that follows, without a page number in the transcription. Cf. Rolena Adonro's description of the codex, in this edition, p. xliii.

[131] Guaman Poma, *Primera Crónica* p. 996.

City by city, the old themes emerge: climate, jurisdiction, flora, fauna, crops and foods, customs and religious observances. In 1552, the printer Froben of Basle published an edition of an illustrated manuscript of the *Notitia dignitatum*, an adminstrative survey of the late antique Roman empire, with an accompanying study by Alciati.[132] Guaman Poma appears to have seen this or some similar book, for several of the drawings accompanying his descriptions of cities relate only distantly to the place in question, but do resemble cities and fortifications depicted in the *Notitia*.[133] In the case of Riobamba, Guaman Poma used a different model, but one that also echoes classical antiquity, and does so somewhat more realistically. For here, he drew a perfect chessboard style street plan, such as Pizarro had laid out for Lima, and such as was mandated for the resettlement towns of the later sixteenth century.[134] In his picture of Cuzco, by contrast, Guaman Poma accomodated Inca buildings that no longer existed alongside recently constructed Christian ones, all within a pattern of squares and rectangles that is formed by Cuzco's streets and colonnades and by the river Huatanay. This pattern, although equally remote from Greco-Roman and from Inca concepts of urban space, is nonetheless imbued with both.[135]

Such is the nature of conversations, that there is a give and take in them. We have listened to a series of intimate face to face conversations between individuals, as when Oviedo talked with the great men from Peru who passed through Santo Domingo,[136] or when Cieza and Betanzos, each in his own distinct way, talked with the Incas of Cuzco to learn about their past, or when Las Casas and missionaries from Peru and Mexico exchanged news about their experiences. There were also the conversations among supporters of Gonzalo Pizarro that Garcilaso as a child overheard in his father's house, and

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[132] *Notita utraque cum Orientis tum occidentis ultra Arcadii Honoriique Caesarum tempora, illustre vetustatis monumentum ... praecedit autem D. Andreae Alciati libellus, De magistratibus civilibusque ac militariis officiis, partim ex had ipsa Notitia, partim aliunde sumptus ...* (Froben, Basileae MCLII).

[133] Compare Guaman Poma, *Primera Crónica* pp.991; 999 (Atres and Loja) with the illustration in the *Notitia* for the Correctoi Apuliae et Calabriae; other domed structures surrounded by walls depicted in the *Notitia* could also be adduced. More distantly, Guaman Poma pp. 1019; 1021; 1063 (Zana; Puerto Viejo; Misque) with *Notitia* for Dux Mogontiacensis.

[134] See Matienzo, *Gobierno* Part I, chapter 14, p. 50.

[135] Guaman Poma, *Primera Crónica* pp. 995; 1051 (Riobamba and Cuzco respectively).

[136] See Oviedo, *Historia* 48, preface p. 212 ab, about Pizarro and Almagro: Al uno e al otro de estos governadores conoscí, e fui su amigo, e conversé sus personas, e les vi pobres compañeros, e los he visto tan prosperos e ricos, que su fama e inauditas riquezas atronaban el mundo.

the other conversations that Garcilaso, slightly older, had with his mother's kinsfolk, when they told him about Inca history and government. And then there were the grand conversations between the living and the dead and between cultural traditions that span distances of time and space, as when Cieza thought back to Caesar and Pompey in order to explain the Peruvian civil wars, and when Herrera, writing about the same subject, mirrored those wars in the words and ideas of Tacitus. Each of these conversations ranged far from its origins, yet those origins remained discernible in all their multiplicity within the new world of experience and discourse that came into existence out of the actions and the spoken and written words of the participants.