

THE PIZARRO FAMILY ENTERPRISE IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY PERU

by

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ABSTRACT

THE PIZARRO FAMILY ENTERPRISE IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY PERU

The thesis studies the entrepreneurial organization built by Francisco Pizarro to conduct government and private exploitation of Peru, with emphasis in the period that begins with the conquest, in 1532, and ends with Hernando Pizarro's death in 1578. Even though the theme is innovative, it responds to a long historiographic development that has been nourished from complementary perspectives: one traditional; the other, social; the last, ethnohistorical.

The private character of the conquest company and the political support it received from the Spanish Crown, allowed Francisco Pizarro to take the highest ranking positions in the *gubernaciones* of New Castile and New Toledo after his victory. Likewise, he became the biggest user of the land's human and natural resources, which he shared with his brothers and followers. The original, small organization grew until two parallel structures existed side by side: a political structure, whose goal it was to rule the colony, and an entrepreneurial one, which would fulfil Pizarro's private interests. The people that formed this organization linking public with private interests, is given special consideration. But the relationship of mutual interest established with representative sectors and individuals of Indian Peru, is also posed.

An important part of the research is the review of those properties that made up the patrimony of the Pizarros. European financial and technological resources were added to native labour to exploit *encomiendas*, mines, and other productive centres throughout Peru, especially in the Charcas region. The thesis ends with the eradication of the last activities of the Pizarros during the government of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo. As an epilogue, mention is made of the royal grants obtained by the descendants of the conquerors of Peru, and their successors in Spain.

In addition to presenting new historiographical topics, some debatable ones which have been argued over for centuries are also touched upon. In contrast with some other works that deal with the earliest decades of Spanish presence in the Andes, this research bases its analysis on first-hand empirical information, as obtained basically from contemporary manuscript sources.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------|---|
| ACC | Archivo de los Condes de Canilleros (Cáceres) |
| -AT | -Asuntos de Trujillo |
| AGI | Archivo General de Indias (Seville) |
| AGS | Archivo General de Simancas |
| -DC | -Diversos de Castilla |
| -E | -Estado |
| AHP | Archivo Histórico de Potosí |
| -CR | -Cajas Reales |
| AHPUV | Archivo Histórico Provincial y Universitario de Valladolid |
| -JR | -Juan de la Rúa |
| -FR | -Francisco Ruiz |
| AMT | Archivo Municipal de Trujillo (España) |
| ANB | Archivo Nacional de Bolivia (Sucre) |
| -EP | -Escrituras Públicas |
| -LAACH | -Libros de Acuerdos de la Audiencia de Charcas |
| -RC | -Reales Cédulas |
| BNP | Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (Lima) |
| CDIAO | <i>Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía</i> |
| CDIHCh | <i>Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile</i> |
| CDIU | <i>Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar. Segunda serie</i> |

| | |
|--------|--|
| FaP | Doña Francisca Pizarro |
| FP | Francisco Pizarro |
| GP | Gonzalo Pizarro |
| HC | The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress |
| HP | Hernando Pizarro |
| n. | número |
| r. | ramo |
| R.C. | Real Cédula |
| RR.CC. | Reales Cédulas |

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This thesis is the result of a long period of work, occasionally interrupted by personal and professional matters. Long ago now, when my wife and I were preparing to leave for England in pursuit of a Ph.D., María Rostworowski let me know, with her usual generosity, that I should "take a look at some legajos on the Pizarros" in the Archivo General de Indias of Seville. The subject matter of this dissertation surfaced from their reading.

During all these years I naturally and constantly had the Pizarros in my mind, and frequently talked about them with colleagues and friends. But although these exchanges were productive --and I hold the most vivid recollections of them all-- it is to my chagrin that here I may name but a few. Even so, all of them played a vital part in the preparation of this work.

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INTRODUCTION

Francisco Pizarro and the conquest of Peru have been the subject of various kinds of studies, ranging from fictitious narratives to invaluable historical studies. A common theme to them all is perhaps a desire to explain the events which shook the Andes in the sixteenth century, and made its people fall under Spanish rule. Religious, military, political, and cultural topics --even love!-- related to the invasion, conquest, and colonization of Tahuantinsuyo have thus been broached. Curiously enough, the entrepreneurial side has so far not received adequate treatment. This was what allowed valiant Europeans to get together and command enough resources to dominate other men who heroically defended their gods, families, and lands from them. It is this entrepreneurial side, and the political relationship the conquest company had with the Spanish Crown, what lets us understand the fact that the early colonial government be dominated by Francisco Pizarro, his relatives, and followers.

The conquest of Peru was based on a private entrepreneurial organization, which raised the financial and military resources to carry out such a far-reaching task. To meet the problems posed by the invasion of Tahuantinsuyo, and its subsequent colonization and exploitation, this organization had to be considerably strengthened. The original, small organization grew until two parallel structures existed side by side: an entrepreneurial one, which would fulfil Francisco Pizarro's private interests, and another, political one, whose goal it was to rule the colony. In Peru both structures turned out to be closely linked, for both satisfied the private interests of Pizarro and his followers.

What at first had been little more than a small group of followers, became a host of hundreds of Europeans serving

Pizarro. Their role was twofold. On the entrepreneurial side, they had to direct and collect what thousands of Indians --whom the Spaniards divided between themselves in encomiendas-- produced, as well as the administration of the productive and mercantile units spread out all over the land of the Inca. As regards government, trustworthy individuals were appointed to various political and municipal offices, and also to maintain relations with the imperial bureaucracy, both in the metropolis and in Peru.

The topic I will address in this thesis is a study of the entrepreneurial organization formed by Francisco Pizarro, for Peru's government and economic exploitation, from the 1532 invasion to the death of Hernando Pizarro in 1578. It is true that the conquest of Peru, in general, and Pizarro's role in it, in particular, have already been examined right from the moment they happened, five centuries ago, using quite different approaches and with varying degrees of passionate involvement, so it would certainly be naive to pretend absolute originality in a topic so widely explored. There are, however, some new points which do appear after a detailed historiographical study.

In fact, many of the chroniclers and later writers do furnish data on Pizarro and his Peruvian years, in varying styles and degrees of reliability and personal involvement in their narrative. The best known, Pedro de Cieza de León and Garcilaso Inca de la Vega, give us an account of pre-Columbian Peru and the Spanish conquest. Cieza, soldier and "príncipe de los cronistas," furnished the exact facts as he saw them on the field, basing his narrative on documents, personal observation, and interviews. Having arrived to Peru after the Civil Wars, his opinion on the actions of Pizarristas and Almagristas was dispassionate and thus provides a good scale for modern historians. Garcilaso was personally acquainted with the first generation of offspring the conquistadores had, and his life and dreams were similar to them. However, the Inca felt compelled to justify both Inca society before the arrival of the Spaniards as well as

the actions of Captain Garcilaso, his father, during Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion. Thus, Garcilaso's story has a practical end, but once that is taken into account, his insight into Peruvian society remains unsurpassed.¹

It was in the sixteenth century that Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo wrote his *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, with a more elaborate handling of historical narrative made using primary sources.² Although his dislike for Pizarro is well known, Fernández de Oviedo had the merit of preparing a synthesis based on the available documentation, and on the testimonial of many participants, highlighting the heroic side of the Spanish adventure in America. In other words, he gave a panoramic view that placed the Pizarrista adventure in the wider context of the Spanish-American enterprise.

A change in the historiography took place in the nineteenth century, with an objective narrative of the history of the conquest as its goal. William Prescott stressed the deeds of the Castilians, with an epic tone in his well-researched books on the conquests of Mexico and Peru.³ The work of Sebastián Lorente, a Spaniard living in Peru who greatly admired the pre-Columbian civilizations, was

1. Pedro de Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú. Primera parte* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú and Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1984); Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Segunda parte*, ed. Francesca Cantù (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú and Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1985); Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Tercera parte*, 2d ed., ed. Francesca Cantù (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú and Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1989); Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Cuarta parte*, vol. 1: *Guerra de las Salinas*, ed. Pedro Guibovich Pérez (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú and Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1991); *Obras completas del Inca Garcilaso de la Vega*, ed. Carmelo Sáenz de Santa María, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vols. 132-35 (Madrid: Atlas, 1965).

2. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vols. 117-21 (Madrid: Atlas, 1959).

3. William H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1847); John Hemming's *The Conquest of the Incas* (London: Book Club Associates, 1973) is a worthy successor to Prescott, balanced in its approach and prepared using all important published sources.

published shortly after. In contrast with Prescott, Lorente not only presented the conquest as an invasion, but also admitted the Indians soon stopped seeing the Spaniards as gods, and more as dangerous enemies.⁴ Manuel de Mendiburu would point out shortly after that Spaniards went to the New World "a invadir y conquistar naciones inocentes y felices," and had thus gone to the "usurpación del territorio americano."⁵

Interest in the subject was renewed in the early twentieth century. The approach and documentation used since then mark out a new milestone in the study of conquest, which have ever since been used as a starting point for historical research. This thesis is based on such previous research, and so up to a point follows from much of it. Two main currents may be detected: the first one, which for want of a better label I will call traditional --usually genealogical, biographical, and Hispanic in character-- ethnohistoric the other. In the traditional one we should remember those who contributed to the study of the conquistador's life, from his birth in Trujillo, his long years in Panama and the Caribbean, to his death in Peru. In this current we find Rómulo Cúneo-Vidal, who prepared a lengthy biography of Pizarro, and many studies on pre-Columbian and colonial Peru, often using manuscript sources from his private collection, or elsewhere, which he usually never revealed. His work included the Indians as active participants in the wars of conquest, unlike most of his predecessors, who usually made them appear only in reply to Hispanic advances.⁶

4. "Si para el pueblo pudo serlo, al menos para las clases ilustradas no fue dudoso, que los españoles eran una raza atrevida y deseosa de dominar el imperio de los Incas. Desde que no se les consideraba como enviados del cielo, sino como enemigos formidables, se creyó lícito todo medio de libertarse de ellos...." Sebastián Lorente, *Historia de la conquista del Perú* (Lima, 1861), 107.

5. Manuel de Mendiburu, *Diccionario histórico-biográfico del Perú* (Lima, 1931 [1st ed. 1874-90]), 1:1-3.

6. See, especially, *Obras completas de Rómulo Cúneo-Vidal*, vol. 3, *Guerras de los últimos Incas peruanos contra el poder español*, 2d ed. (Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1978).

Studies by Carl O. Sauer and Mario Góngora, and Raúl Porras Barrenechea's *El nombre del Perú*, are among the works essential for an understanding of early Spanish occupation of Tierra Firme.⁷ As for the entrepreneurial and financial sides linking Spanish banks in America, Guillermo Lohmann Villena's *Les Espinosa* is undoubtedly the most solid study of the financial, mercantile, and conquering activities of one of the families most heavily involved in the conquest of Peru. Lohmann provides the social and family context of *Licenciado* Gaspar de Espinosa, and then proved beyond all possible doubt he (and not Father Hernando de Luque) was one of the people who most heavily financed the Peruvian adventure. In addition, Espinosa used his influence in Court to favour Pizarro.⁸ The work of Enrique Otte and Miguel Maticorena stand out among the many minute studies which established important historical facts on the company's contract, the first voyages towards the coasts of Levante, or the connections linking Basque merchants with preparations for the Peruvian campaign.⁹

7. Carl Ortwin Sauer, *Descubrimiento y dominación española del Caribe* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1984); Mario Góngora, *Los grupos de conquistadores en Tierra Firme (1509-1530)* (Santiago de Chile, 1962), and Góngora, *Studies in the Colonial History of Spanish America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); Raúl Porras Barrenechea, *El nombre del Perú* (Lima: P.L. Villanueva, 1968). A good synthesis is J.H. Elliott, "The Spanish Conquest and Settlement of America," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell, 1:149-206 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

8. Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Les Espinosa: Une famille d'hommes d'affaires en Espagne et aux Indes à l'époque de la colonisation* (Paris: Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1968).

9. These pieces of research reveal important data, but they are unfortunately scattered in newspaper and magazine articles. See, for example: Enrique Otte, "Mercaderes vascos en Tierra Firme a raíz del descubrimiento del Perú," *Mercurio Peruano* 45, no. 443-44, Libro Jubilar de Víctor Andrés Belaunde, 3, (Mar.-Apr., 1964): 81-89; Otte, "Los mercaderes vascos y los Pizarro. Cartas inéditas de Gonzalo y Hernando Pizarro y su mayordomo Diego Martín," *Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg* 44, no. 8, Travaux de L'Institut D'Etudes Latino-Américaines de L'Université de Strasbourg (TILAS), 6, (May-June 1966): 777-94; Miguel Maticorena

An especially important subject is Francisco Pizarro's biography, and those of his brothers and descendants. This was done with dedication by scholars like Miguel Muñoz de San Pedro, who studied and edited documents of great historical significance.¹⁰ But it was Raúl Porrás Barrenechea who prepared the best studies on Pizarro's life and milieu. He studied and presented the statements made by witnesses on the conquistador's parents, the Trujillan, early sixteenth-century milieu, and Pizarro's ancestry therein. Porrás was also interested in subjects such as marriage alliances, descendants, testaments, and the death and burial of the Marquis. Finally, he also published particularly important collections of documents, such as the book of royal cédulas for Peru, another of letters, Pizarro's testaments, and the "*Información de servicios*" taken before he was made a Knight of the Order of Santiago.¹¹

It is unfortunate that Porrás did not complete his projected definitive book on Pizarro, for its posthumous edition is not the long awaited work of a mature scholar, and is instead full of repetitions and contradictions which understandably appeared as his research progressed.¹² The

Estrada, "El contrato de Panamá, 1526, para el descubrimiento del Perú," *Cahiers du Monde Hispanique et Luso-Brésilien*, Caravelle (Toulouse), 7 (1966): 55-84.

10. Miguel Muñoz de San Pedro, Conde de Canilleros, "Francisco Pizarro debió apellidarse Díaz o Hinojosa," offprint of *Revista de Estudios Extremeños* 6 (1950); Muñoz de San Pedro, "Las últimas disposiciones del último Pizarro de la conquista," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 126 (1950): 387-425; 127 (1950): 203-52, 527-60; Muñoz de San Pedro, "La total extinguida descendencia de Francisco Pizarro," *Revista de Estudios Extremeños* 20 (1964): 467-72.

11. Raúl Porrás Barrenechea, *Cedulario del Perú. Siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII* (Lima: Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, 1944-48); Porrás, *Cartas del Perú (1524-1543)* (Lima: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Peruanos, 1959); Porrás, "Información sobre el linaje de Francisco Pizarro, hecha en Trujillo de Extremadura en 1529," offprint of *Revista de Estudios Extremeños* (July-Dec. 1950); Porrás, *El testamento de Pizarro* (Paris: Imprimeries Les Presses Modernes, 1936).

12. Raúl Porrás Barrenechea, *Pizarro* (Lima: Editorial Pizarro, 1978). In addition, the book was carelessly published.

genealogy of the Extremaduran Pizarros, and the Peruvian years of the conquistador, were studied by José Antonio del Busto, who likewise studied and published many books and papers on the invading host's members, and other matters pertaining to that age.¹³ María Rostworowski, in turn, published an enjoyable biography of doña Francisca Pizarro, the conqueror's daughter.¹⁴

Here I will briefly present some recent studies that depart from the more traditional current to produce innovative lines of research. The biography of the conquistador and his age have recently benefitted from various studies. The revival of local history in Spain, particularly that produced by Extremaduran historians, has produced important works of social and economic history.¹⁵ Similarly, Ida Altman has approached the Extremaduran milieu from the point of view of relations between this area and America during the sixteenth century, paying special attention to the causes lying behind migration to the Indies, and the effect returning *indianos* had over their homeland.¹⁶

One of the most important breakthroughs in the

13. See, among his many works: José Antonio del Busto, "El conquistador Martín Pizarro, primer alguacil de Lima," *Mercurio Peruano* 44, pt. 1 (1963): 111-25; Busto, *Francisco Pizarro. El Marqués Gobernador*, 2d. rev. ed. (Lima: Studium, 1978); Busto, *La conquista del Perú*, 2d ed. (Lima: Studium, 1981); Busto, *La pacificación del Perú* (Lima: Studium, 1984); Busto, *Diccionario histórico-biográfico de los conquistadores del Perú* (Lima: Studium, 1986-87); Busto, *La tierra y la sangre de Francisco Pizarro* (Lima: Universidad de Lima, 1993).

14. María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Doña Francisca Pizarro. Una ilustre mestiza, 1534-1598* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1989).

15. See, for example, José Luis Pereira Iglesias, "La realidad socioeconómica de Extremadura en la etapa del Descubrimiento," *Alcántara* (Cáceres) 3d epoch, 17 (May-Aug. 1989): 93-124; Pereira, *Estructura agraria de Cáceres y su tierra en el siglo XVI. Resumen de la Tesis presentada para la obtención del grado de Doctor* (Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 1982). Also, Pereira and Miguel Rodríguez Cancho, *La "riqueza campesina" en la Extremadura del Antiguo Régimen* (Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 1984).

16. Ida Altman, *Emigrantes y sociedad. Extremadura y América en el siglo XVI* (Madrid: Alianza, 1992).

historiography of conquest was James Lockhart's *The Men of Cajamarca*. This work made an individual and collective analysis of all Spaniards present in Cajamarca when the Inca was captured. Using abundant sources, the author summarized the major events leading to the capture of the Inca, moving thence to a study of each member of the host, making available information such as birthplace, degree of literacy, status in the host, amount of booty received, and subsequent destiny after the conquest. It can well be said that just as Porras widened our knowledge of Pizarro, the man, so did Lockhart with the enterprise and the men who formed it up to Cajamarca. Lockhart supplemented his work with a second book, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560*, where he pictured early colonial society through its constitutive elements.¹⁷

Besides the above-mentioned scholars, two others also contributed documents of mandatory reference for this subject. Rafael Loredo published lists of all Peruvian encomiendas after Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion, and the ones given out to the victors.¹⁸ The second is Lohmann's pioneering work collecting, transcribing, and organizing all documents signed by Pizarro, both public and private.¹⁹

In the second, ethnohistorical current --also called Andean history, or Indian history-- scholars have pondered over subjects of outstanding importance because they presented a different, and valid way of understanding the

17. James Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca. A Social and Biographical Study of the First Conquerors of Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972); Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560: A Colonial Society* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968).

18. Rafael Loredo, *Los repartos* (Lima, 1958). Despite the poor quality of the transcription these unique sources are obliged reading while the original documents remain unavailable.

19. Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Francisco Pizarro. Testimonio. Documentos oficiales, cartas y escritos varios* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1986). I used Lohmann's book whenever possible due to the faithfulness of its transcriptions, the references it makes to the whereabouts of the original papers, and the listing of other publications wherein the same documents were published.

conquest, and the relations between Indians and Spaniards. New questions were asked of the sources, mainly on Indian attitudes regarding the conquest and the colonial world they suddenly found themselves in. Moreover, I do want to point out that Andean ethnohistory, which consolidated itself two decades ago as a distinct historiographical trend, has managed to have the Indian point of view incorporated into the historian's standard perspective. This is not a place to present an historiographical balance of ethnohistorical output.²⁰ However, I do want to mention the ethnohistorical literature which was most useful for me, even if I do leave out some important contributions in the field.

María Rostworowski has published about a dozen books and papers presenting and ordering ethnohistorical data, which have often been successfully used to understand the relationship between the environment and indigenous social structure, both in pre-Columbian and colonial Peru.²¹

20. See, for example: Karen Spalding, "El indio en la colonia: investigaciones pasadas y perspectivas futuras," chapter in *De indio a campesino. Cambios en la estructura social del Perú colonial* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1974), 197-249; John V. Murra, "Las investigaciones en etnohistoria andina y sus posibilidades en el futuro (1970)," chapter in *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1975), 275-312; Franklin Pease, "Etnohistoria andina. Un estado de la cuestión," *Historia y Cultura* 10 (1976-77): 207-28; Rafael Varón Gabai, "La investigación histórica en el Perú actual. El futuro de las investigaciones históricas," *Boletín del Seminario de investigación en ciencias histórico-sociales* (Ayacucho), 2d epoch, no. 1 (July 1980): 61-68; Heraclio Bonilla, "The New Profile of Peruvian History," *Latin American Research Review* 16, no. 3 (1981): 210-24; Luis Millones, "Ethnohistorians and Andean Ethnohistory: A Difficult Task, a Heterodox Discipline," *Latin American Research Review* 17, no. 1 (1982): 200-16; Steve J. Stern, "Paradigms of Conquest. History, Historiography, and Politics," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24, Quincentenary Supplement (1992): 1-34; Ida Altman and Reginald D. Butler, "The Contact of Cultures: Perspectives on the Quincentenary," *American Historical Review* 99 (1994): 478-503.

21. See, especially, María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Señoríos indígenas de Lima y Canta* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978); Rostworowski, *Conflicts over Coca Fields in XVith-century Peru*, *Studies in Latin American*

Franklin Pease devoted part of his work to the study of the Inca state and its last rulers, and has also studied the colonial Indian.²² Frank Salomon presented a classic model of Quiteñan nobility under the Incas,²³ and Ella Dunbar Temple's research on the descendants of the Inca was an original approach which should have been followed.²⁴ Finally, Nathan Wachtel wrote a most successful synthesis of what has been called "the vision of the vanquished."²⁵

Noble David Cook made a major contribution to historical demography, providing a detailed demographic benchmark for

Ethnohistory and Archaeology, *Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology*, University of Michigan, no. 21 (Ann Arbor: Museum of Anthropology, 1988); Rostworowski, *Etnia y sociedad. Costa peruana prehispánica* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1977) (2d ed. titled *Costa peruana prehispánica* [1989]); as well as her recent *Ensayos de historia andina. Elites, etnias, recursos* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos and Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, 1993).

22. See, in particular, Franklin Pease García Yrigoyen, *Los últimos incas del Cuzco*, 2d. rev. ed. (Lima: P.L. Villanueva, 1976 [1st ed. 1972]); Pease, *Del Tawantinsuyu a la historia del Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978). Later, revised editions are available of both books.

23. Frank Salomon, *Los señores étnicos de Quito en la época de los Incas* (Otavalo: Instituto Otavaleño de Antropología, 1980).

24. Ella Dunbar Temple, "La descendencia de Huayna Cápac," *Revista Histórica* 11, (1937): 93-165, 284-323; 12 (1939): 204-45; 13 (1940): 31-77; "Azarosa existencia de un mestizo de sangre imperial incaica," *Documenta* 1 (1948): 112-56; "Los testamentos inéditos de Paullu Inca, Don Carlos y Don Melchor Carlos Inca," *Documenta* 2 (1949-50): 630-51.

25. Nathan Wachtel, *Los vencidos. Los indios del Perú frente a la conquista española (1530-1570)* (Madrid: Alianza, 1976). In addition other researchers edited documents and presented their research, with varying degrees of success. Of these, Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, Edmundo Guillén, and Juan José Vega stand out. Among the many works of the named authors see, for example: Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, "Los huancas, aliados de la conquista," *Anales Científicos de la Universidad del Centro del Perú* 1 (1972): 5-407; Espinoza, *La destrucción del imperio de los Incas*, 2d ed. (Lima: Retablo de Papel, 1977); Espinoza, *Ethnohistoria ecuatoriana. Estudios y documentos* (Quito: Abya-Yala, 1988); Edmundo Guillén, *Versión Inca de la conquista* (Lima: Milla Batres, 1974); Juan José Vega, *Los Incas frente a España. Las guerras de la resistencia, 1531-1544* (Lima: Peisa, 1992).

Peru.²⁶ A compilation of papers on the role of European disease in sixteenth-century Indian mortality has recently increased the literature available on population.²⁷ Many have tried to understand how Indian elites adapted themselves to the colonial world; of these, the most successful have been Pease and Karen Spalding; the latter also has a special place in Andean historiography for her regional study of Huarochirí under Inca and Spanish rule, from the Indian point of view.²⁸ Efraín Trelles' work on the early, sixteenth-century Peruvian *encomienda* is relevant as he explored the economic and political interests of a conquistador.²⁹ Finally, the study made by José de la Puente Brunke provides a register of *encomiendas* and *encomenderos* as well as a study of the process this institution followed; it is the first to provide a solid foundation for the subject.³⁰

26. Noble David Cook, *Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru, 1520-1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Cook, "Population Data for Indian Peru: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", *Hispanic American Historical Review* 62, no. 1 (1982): 73-124. Unfortunately, the least certain period in both works includes the first two decades of Spanish presence in Peru.

27. Noble David Cook and W. George Lovell, eds., *"Secret Judgments of God." Old World Disease in Colonial Spanish America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992).

28. Franklin Pease, *Curacas, reciprocidad y riqueza* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1992); Spalding, *De indio a campesino*; Spalding, *Huarochirí. An Andean Society Under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984). See, in addition, Steve J. Stern's *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest. Huamanga to 1640* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982). An ideological book, proposes a model which focuses on the Indian population within the regional context. This book became popular in the United States, where it captured a large academic audience.

29. Efraín Trelles Aréstegui, Lucas Martínez Vegazo. *Funcionamiento de una encomienda peruana inicial* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1982).

30. José de la Puente Brunke, *Encomienda y encomenderos en el Perú. Estudio social y político de una institución colonial* (Sevilla: Diputación Provincial, 1992). This research, as those of Cook's, proceeds on firmer ground beginning with Pedro de la Gasca's *tasa* or tributary roll (1548-1550).

The historiography of other areas of Spanish America may prove useful. A comparison with the conquest of Mexico will no doubt add a new dimension to Andean studies. Fernando Cortés was the only conquistador that effectively governed and exploited his marquesado in the land he had conquered for Spain. In that respect, Cortés represents the ideal no other conquistador could achieve. Silvio Zavala published in 1933 *Los intereses particulares en la conquista de la Nueva España* using mainly chronicles, legislation, and judicial expedientes as sources. There he pointed out the fundamental role of private investment and credit for the expeditions of conquest, and their relationship with the Crown as guarantor of the legal order.³¹ But the conquistador and his estate also have been the subject of many studies based on its almost intact archives. The book by G. Micheal Riley, *Fernando Cortés and the Marquesado in Morelos* gives an image of the formation and early functioning of the marquesado in terms of its encomiendas, resources, and administration.³²

31. Silvio Zavala, *Los intereses particulares en la conquista de la Nueva España*, 3d ed. (Mexico, D.F.: El Colegio Nacional, 1991).

32. G. Micheal Riley, *Fernando Cortés and the Marquesado in Morelos, 1522-1547. A Case Study in the Socioeconomic Development of Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973). A global perspective of the marquisate may be found in Bernardo García Martínez, *El marquesado del Valle. Tres siglos de régimen señorial en Nueva España*, Centro de Estudios Históricos, new series 5 (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 1969). For a recent biography of Cortés, followed by 4 volumes of documents, see, José Luis Martínez, *Hernán Cortés*, 2d rev. ed. (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México and Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1990). About the Tehuantepec haciendas, their administration, and labor force, see Lolita Gutiérrez Brockington, *The Leverage of Labor. Managing the Cortés Haciendas in Tehuantepec, 1588-1688* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1989). As examples of Cortés' individual enterprises see, Ward Barrett, *The Sugar Hacienda of the Marqueses del Valle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1970); Ivie E. Cadenhead, "Some Mining Operations of Cortés in Tehuantepec, 1538-1547," *The Americas* 16, no. 3 (1960): 283-87; Charles Verlinden, "Cortés como empresario económico y la mano de obra esclava," *Historia Mexicana* 38 (1989): 771-78; Jean-Pierre Berthe, "Las minas de oro del Marqués del Valle en Tehuantepec, 1540-47," *Historia Mexicana* 8, no. 1 (1958):

Lockhart's recent work on the Nahuas gives a brand new picture of Mexican history, by referring to everyday Indian life and using sources written in Nahuatl.³³ Work on Indian-Spaniard relations already have a model in Charles Gibson's classic studies, which made a great contribution to change the image of the defenceless Indian.³⁴ As for political units, Lockhart finds that the Spaniards made a point to name "cabeceras" and "sujetos;" however, in Nahuatl sources all these parts apparently have equal status. He believes this fact will have a decisive effect on the discovery of the grassroot elements of Nahua organization.³⁵

It will be quite interesting to keep the Mesoamerican experience in mind, particularly now the main trend in Andean historiography is to reappraise the functions of *panacas*, the Inca royal lineages, and other groups in Cuzco and its environs, established with the participation of women and relatives of the Inca sovereigns, who apparently had special privileges all over the Andean world.³⁶ This is particularly true when appraising the case of Gonzalo and Hernando Pizarro's early *encomiendas*, for both appropriated a great number of individuals scattered over vast geographical

122-31. For a proposal on the medieval reminiscence of the marquisate, see, François Chevalier, "El Marquesado del Valle," *Historia Mexicana* 1, no. 1 (1951): 48-61.

33. James Lockhart, *Nahuas and Spaniards. Postconquest Central Mexican History and Philology* (Stanford and Los Angeles: Stanford University Press and UCLA Latin American Center, 1991); Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest. A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).

34. Charles Gibson, *Los aztecas bajo el dominio español (1519- 1810)*, 4th ed. (Mexico: Siglo Veintiuno, 1978); Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952). A useful appraisal of Gibson's work may be found in Lockhart's "Charles Gibson and the Ethnohistory of Postconquest Central Mexico," chap. in *Nahuas and Spaniards*, 165-66, 169.

35. Lockhart, *Nahuas After the Conquest*, 8.

36. Lockhart has aptly suggested that the larger units that have recently been noticed in the Andes, similar to those of the Nahuas, were previously concealed by the *ayllus* (Lockhart, *Nahuas After the Conquest*, 605, n. 39).

expanses, and entwined in distinct demographic associations which seem to have been connected through social links.

This thesis was motivated by the above mentioned studies and trends, and others which shall be mentioned in turn. As a result of the historiographical development reviewed above, I do believe it will henceforth be difficult to prepare a serious study on the Andes without including both the Hispanic and the Indian point of view. I have therefore tried to follow here this trend.

At a more general level, this research tries to explain how the company formed to conquer Peru originated and worked. Its private character, and the political support it received from the Spanish Crown, allowed Francisco Pizarro to take the highest ranking positions in the *gobernaciones* of New Castile and New Toledo after his victory, and likewise made him the biggest user of the land's resources, always with the help of his brothers and followers, with whom he shared a great part of the risks and most of the benefits.

The first part, called "The Dynamics of Conquest," presents a chronological account of the company formed for the conquest and governing of Peru, where it would be impossible to separate the private and public sides. Chapter 1 goes back to the Extremaduran background of the Pizarros, and Francisco's consolidation in Panama, with an appraisal of the different accounts of the financial participation Father Hernando de Luque, *Licenciado* Gaspar de Espinosa, and each of the conquistadores had in the *Compañía del Levante*, i.e. the one which headed for Peru. Chapter 2 studies the use Pizarro and his partners made of their influence to reach the corridors of power at Court, sidestepping intermediate institutions in America and eventually securing the company's exclusiveness. Here I registered all *mercedes*, the grants and privileges given to Pizarro for the exploitation of Peruvian soil, within both a colonial as well as a private, entrepreneurial context. After his first voyage to Spain, Hernando Pizarro began to grow in importance, and once his brothers Juan, Francisco, and Gonzalo met a violent death, he

took over the direction of the family and the estate each of its members had amassed. The chapter ends with a study of the controls placed by the Crown through royal officials, priests, and special inspectors.

Chapter 3 covers Francisco Pizarro's administration. Particular attention is given to two unseparable points: first, the establishment of Spanish government, and second, the distribution of human and natural resources to form Indian *encomiendas*, as well as mining and agropastoral ventures by conquistadores, their families, and followers. Chapter 4 examines the administration of Francisco Pizarro's estate by his children's tutors, in the midst of the great violence caused by the Civil Wars and the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro. Chapter 5 covers the manoeuvres carried out by Hernando Pizarro to secure all of the family's estate by marrying his niece, doña Francisca, the daughter of his brother Francisco, and through a definite strategy for the reconstruction of the Peruvian companies and possessions.

The second part of this thesis, called "The Men and the Properties," summarizes data on people who became linked to the Pizarros by their participation in the conquest, and by managing their companies and the individual possessions that made up the Peruvian patrimony. Chapter 6 is on the Spaniards who formed the highest ranking group in the Pizarrista machine, usually relatives and *paisanos*, but also supported by religious orders and the networks developed by merchants. Chapter 7 attempts to find out the nature of the connections established between Pizarro, his company, and members of Indian Peru who exhibited decisiveness and personal initiative in their contacts with the conqueror.

Chapters 8 and 9 make an inventory of the possessions which formed the Peruvian estate of the Pizarro brothers and their children, including *encomiendas*, mines, coca-leaf plantations, cattle farms, *chacras*, orchards, shops, and even a sugar mill. Besides listing each property by owner and location, information on production, Indian population, and colonial transformations are also provided. Finally, chapter

10 explains the end of the Pizarros' Peruvian companies, when the family's activities finally moved to Trujillo, in Spain, followed by a brief overview of the grants received in Spain by the descendants of the conquerors of Peru.

In brief, the research presents the private side of the Pizarro conquest-company and government as a new topic for the historiography of the Spanish conquest, and the first decades of the Hispanic-American and Peruvian colonization, whilst also touching some debatable ones which have been argued over for centuries such as the genealogy of Francisco Pizarro and his beginnings as a conquistador. In both cases I tried to test the reliability of the facts and the role played by each protagonist. The sources I used are mostly contemporary manuscripts, in addition to published documents, chronicles, and the relevant literature. For want of the Pizarro archive now lost I used extensively the Archivo General de Indias, the Archivo Histórico Provincial y Universitario de Valladolid, and the Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, among others. In them, information was obtained from documents like judicial files, notarial records, private letters, official inspections, and requests for grants from the Crown.³⁷

This research adds the entrepreneurial dimension to the conquest of Peru and the governing of the country during the first decades that followed the Spanish invasion. Private interest is disclosed as the force behind the conquest and settlement of Peru, but always under the political patronage of the Castilian Crown. The evidence and interpretation provided about the origin and development of the Pizarrista organization, which was devised both to exploit the resources of the country they had conquered and to govern it in the name of the Spanish Crown, will undoubtedly increase the present knowledge on the first twenty years of colonial presence in Peru. However Francisco Pizarro and his family will long continue being a matter for research and often

37. A detailed explanation of the sources used may be found in the introduction to the bibliography.

passionate debate, even though it will soon be half a millennium since the Inca was captured in the *tambo* of Cajamarca.

PART ONE

THE DYNAMICS OF CONQUEST

CHAPTER 1

BEFORE THE CONQUEST

A. TRUJILLO OF EXTREMADURA

The Pizarros left Trujillo for Peru in 1529, and by the mid-sixteenth century Hernando, the only one still alive, returned with a host of his brothers' sons and mestizo nephews. In between these two dates, whilst conquering and colonizing Peru, the Pizarros retained links with their homeland by corresponding with their relatives, and making donations and investments. The bonds joining the Pizarro brothers for their departure to the Indies do not belie the great differences present between them. Hernando --the only male born from his father's legitimate marriage-- obviously never doubted that he would eventually return to Spain, whilst Francisco, the one most heavily committed to his American possessions, would stay. However Juan and Gonzalo would eventually suffer the vagaries of history leading to their remaining in Peru.

The presence of Extremadurans, and of Trujillans in particular, could be felt among the members of the expedition right from the very start. One should bear in mind however, that the Extremadurans made up the biggest regional group among the 168 Europeans present when Atahualpa was captured, and no less than 17 were from Trujillo. The intense loyalty this group of Trujillans had for the Pizarros was undoubtedly surpassed only by the fraternal loyalty the brothers had for each other; it never failed, despite the immense differences which singled out each one of them.

Although not a single member of the expedition belonged to the high nobility --i.e. to the group made up by dukes, counts, petty feudal lords, and their nearest kin-- 38 were

hidalgos and most came from Extremadura, Trujillo in particular. The most prominent families of the city contributed with men like Pedro Barrantes, Juan Pizarro de Orellana, and Juan de Herrera, all of whom set out for the Indies with Pizarro. Below these hidalgos were six individuals in an intermediate position, 91 falling within that of plebeians, and just 20 in the lowest group; the social origin of the 33 others has not been established. Valid conclusions regarding the social composition of the expedition can also be reached by taking literacy as a comparative criteria. In all, 51 individuals definitely knew how to read and write; 57 knew how to sign their names in varying degrees of skill, and 33 can certainly be taken to be illiterate, while the other 27 remain unclassified due to a lack of data.¹

Just as Trujillo influenced the conquest of Peru, in turn this event influenced Trujillo. The *indianos*, those who came back enriched from the Indies, monopolized the Town Council, bought *pueblos reales* and married between themselves. This notwithstanding, Ida Altman established the limits of their influence, stating that, although the Trujillan society remained stable, it was flexible enough to absorb the impact of the Indies, and keep its structures intact.² The Pizarros were obviously the most successful of these migrants and thereby attained a leading role in the city although, as the above-mentioned historian says, the Pizarros were not Trujillo, neither before nor after the conquest of Peru.³ Still, and be it as it may, it is undeniable that Trujillo's history was for the great part decided by: the shipments of money sent back by the Pizarros and other conquistadores; the migrants who returned with great or small fortunes; the Indians and mestizos who managed to become part of Trujillan society; the imposing buildings;

1. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 28-35.
2. Altman, *Emigrantes y sociedad*, 60.
3. *Ibid.*, 22-23.

and even the vacuum left behind by those who left and never came back.

Despite its major importance for the conquest of America, in the early sixteenth-century Trujillo was not a great city. At the time it only had around two thousand vecinos so it was bigger than Cáceres but smaller than Burgos, Salamanca, Segovia, and Valladolid, and approximately half the size of Medina del Campo. The city's importance was based upon the control it exerted over the towns and villages within its jurisdiction. According to a census carried out for tax purposes, in 1557 76 men and women of Trujillo were hidalgos, with two thirds belonging to the lower ranks of the nobility; although by that time the conquest of America had affected the city, only eight of these were taken to be *peruleros*.⁴

The area covered by the city was divided into three parts, which likewise corresponded to the social stratification of its inhabitants. First, the *villa* or town, within the walled enclosure, was situated on the high part of a hill, from where the limits of the city could be observed. There rose the turreted homes of the knights and *hijosdalgos*, with their respective coat of arms over the doorways. Some of the lineages present were those of the Bejaranos, Altamiranos, Orellanas, Añascos, Vargas, Carvajales, Loaysas, Paredes, de los Grados, Alvarados, Calderones, Torres, Escobares, Hinojosas, Aguilares, Cervantes, Tapias, and the Pizarros of course, of whom many would appear amongst the conquerors of Peru and later migrants to the Indies. In the *villa* itself stood the church of St. Mary the Great, preferred by the vecinos for their ceremonies. Here the funerals of the King of Aragon took place with Isabella, his daughter-in-law, attending, and it was there too that many Pizarros would be buried. So it is that in the nave lie Diego Hernández Pizarro, supposed head of the Pizarros of Trujillo,

4. David E. Vassberg, "Concerning Pigs, the Pizarros, and the Agro-Pastoral Backgrounds of the Conquerors of Peru," *Latin American Research Review* 13, no. 3 (1978): 48-49.

and don Francisco Pizarro, the mestizo son of the conqueror, who was born in Peru but died in Trujillo at the age of 20.⁵

The second area was the plaza right beside the hill, in a large, flat piece of land, probably laid out in more recent times. At first having been taken over by merchants and notaries, its importance gradually increased as an economic centre both for the countryside's produce and for the craftsmen. The last area was somewhat contemptuously known as the *arrabales*, made up of lanes which left the plaza and headed towards the fields. Peasants and artisans lived there, with the latter's workshops also here, as the names of the streets show: de los Olleros, Sillerías, Zurradores, de los Hornos, Tintoreros, Herreros, and, towards one end, the *judería*.⁶

By the mid-sixteenth century the town's nobility had begun to migrate from the *villa* to the plaza, which they secured the following century. Thus, when Charles V came to Trujillo in 1526, he lodged at the so-called House of the Chain, belonging to Nuño García de Chávez and standing on the plaza. The Pizarros had a house in the *villa*, but towards the end of the fifteenth century Captain Gonzalo Pizarro, Francisco's sire, had a *solar* on the plaza, just like his friends Martín de Chávez and Juan Núñez de Prado. This *solar* would later be enlarged by Hernando Pizarro, taking in adjacent houses to build the Palace of the Conquest, undoubtedly the most imposing building in Trujillo's plaza.⁷ Although the process had begun long before, Porrás was right when he said that "the conquerors of Peru had a decisive role in the city's transformation, and in the descent from the

5. Porrás, *Pizarro*, 3-4, 45-95, 104-8. The data provided by Porrás, the foremost student of the topic dealt with in this part, are on the whole quite reliable, but unfortunately he rarely states the archives they come from. Besides the references already given see Clodoaldo Naranjo Alonso, *Trujillo. Sus hijos y monumentos*, 3d ed. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1983); Busto, *La tierra y la sangre de Francisco Pizarro*, and Juan Tena Fernández, *Trujillo histórico y monumental* (Trujillo, Spain, 1967).

6. Porrás, *Pizarro*, 4-5.

7. *Ibid.*, 5-7.

villa to the *arrabales*;"⁸ it would perhaps be more precise to say they invested in the most prestigious parts of the city, and certainly by the mid-sixteenth century that was the plaza.

This process is quite clear in the case of the Pizarros. Captain Gonzalo Pizarro had his *solar* in the plaza, and his conquistador sons sponsored the urban development of Trujillo taking that lot and the plaza as its axis. Francisco established in his will that a church dedicated to Our Lady of the Conception be built, and that it be on the

lugar más cercano que se pudiese aver a las casas que fueron de mi padre... [situadas] por delante de la plaza pública de la dicha ciudad de Trujillo e al presente son del comendador Hernando Pizarro, mi hermano, que las herederó [sic]....⁹

The church was not built, probably due to Hernando's obvious interest in preventing the dispersal of the family's inheritance which he controlled, including the parts belonging to his brothers Francisco and Juan.¹⁰ However, in his own testament and codicil, Hernando ordered the founding of a hospital and the College Church of Trujillo.¹¹

The influence of the conquistadores was not, however, restricted to the urban area of Trujillo. The Pizarros, for example, slowly but surely bought up all of the arable and urban lands in La Zarza, just a few kilometres away but

8. Ibid., 6.

9. Testamento de Francisco Pizarro (henceforth FP), Los Reyes, 5 de junio de 1537. Published in *ibid.*, 503-77. The passage quoted on p. 525.

10. A detailed heuristical analysis of Francisco Pizarro's testaments has been prepared by Lohmann, showing the incongruities among these documents and their probable tampering. As regards the document concerning the erection of a church in Trujillo --according to Lohmann "no es descaminado aceptar que constituya un todo con el testamento de 1537"-- the suspicion that Hernando Pizarro (henceforth HP) tampered with the documents increases because of the formal omissions and contradictions with the 1537 testament, variations which benefitted Hernando. See Guillermo Lohmann Villena, "Las expresiones de última voluntad de Francisco Pizarro. Un incierto complejo documental" *Revista Histórica* 34 (1983-84): 23-24.

11. Tena, *Trujillo histórico y monumental*, 391.

within the jurisdiction of Trujillo. Hernando also bought lands and pastures in nearby Garciaz, Jaraicejo, Cañamero, La Cumbre, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and Logrosán.¹²

Without denying the material side of the investments, the blend of ideals which Hernando Pizarro's purchasing strategy represents is quite interesting, and corresponds to a period of change in Spain's social patterns. Whilst, on the one hand, the conquistador expanded the *solar* he had inherited to build a veritable palace in the plaza of Trujillo --the economic centre of modern and bourgeois life in the sixteenth century-- on the other he built up the holding of La Zarza just like a jigsaw puzzle, with obvious feudal reminiscences and so successfully that it would be granted as a marquisate to his heirs, under the name of *La Conquista*, though without the feudal rights which they and Hernando longed for.¹³

The Pizarros were the most important *peruleros* who returned to Trujillo loaded with American riches, but they were not the only ones who did so. It is true that due to their closeness to the leader of the expedition the Extremadurans, and the Trujillans in particular, were more inclined to remain in the Indies,¹⁴ but it is also true that as a rule, both those who did and did not return sent money back to Spain in significant amounts. It was thus that many *peruleros*, such as the Carvajales,¹⁵ Francisco de Herrera,

12. For a study of the Pizarros' investments in Spain see Rafael Varón Gabai and Auke Pieter Jacobs, "Peruvian Wealth and Spanish Investments: The Pizarro Family during the Sixteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 67 (1987): 657-95.

13. *Ibid.*, 691-94.

14. Lockhart believes Pizarro's friends and fellow countrymen tended to stay in Peru, whilst his enemies and rivals preferred to return to Spain (Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 51).

15. The Carvajal mentioned by Porrás was probably Diego, Juan Pizarro's servant in Peru, who returned to his hometown before 1541 (Porrás, *Pizarro*, 6; Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 173).

Juan Pizarro de Orellana,¹⁶ and García Ruys, built their houses in the plaza and its vicinity.

"Pizarro," one of the oldest family names in the area and in the city, has been related to the lineage of the Añascos since the thirteenth century. Some sources show the Pizarros were present in the area from at least 1280, with one Gonzalo Sánchez Pizarro who belonged to the Añascos. This would have been the father of Sancho Martínez, Añasco Pizarro, and Alonso Martín Pizarro; the Pizarros of Peru descended from the former. Many sources mark the presence of these individuals, and their offspring in the succeeding century, in the immediate vicinity of Mount Pizarroso.¹⁷

Leaving Mount Pizarroso behind and heading for Trujillo, the oldest person in the city identified as a Pizarro was Diego Hernández Pizarro, who married in 1400. In 1434

16. Juan Pizarro de Orellana, a distant relative of the Pizarros, was present at the capture of the Inca in Cajamarca but chose to return to Trujillo, reaching Spain in 1535. Despite the problems over money he would subsequently have with the Pizarros, his son married doña Francisca Pizarro, Hernando's illegitimate daughter with Isabel Mercado, on whose offspring the titles of the Pizarro conquistadores would in due time be bestowed (Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 236-38).

17. Porras, *Pizarro*, 7, citing the Trujillan historian Clodoaldo Naranjo Alonso. See also the "Catálogo de los fondos municipales" of the Archivo Municipal de Trujillo (henceforth AMT), a manuscript guide available at the above-mentioned repository which includes many documents on the Añasco, and the estates on Mount Pizarroso, which date to 1353. Porras likewise says that in the AMT he saw a 1391 document, according to which Rodrigo Alfonso Pizarro and Martín Alfonso, his brother, lived in their own "heredad" in the mount and pastures of Pizarroso, near Trujillo (Porras, *Pizarro*, 7). On the other hand, Madoz cites a brook in the province of Cáceres, judicial district of Trujillo, in the same province, as well as a stream in that very province but in the judicial district of Logrosán, with its source in the sierras of Garciaz and which flows out to the Ruecas, both rivers having the name of Pizarroso. No reference is, however, made to Mount Pizarroso (Pascual Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España y sus posesiones de ultramar* (Madrid, 1845-50), 13:75. Finally, Busto believes that "Pese al notorio origen montañés, no hay un solo lugar en la Montaña que se arroge el derecho de haber sido la cuna de los Pizarro" (Busto, *La tierra y la sangre de Francisco Pizarro*, 47, n. 10).

Hernando Alonso Pizarro, one of his successors, a *regidor* of the municipal council,¹⁸ married Isabel Rodríguez and fathered Captain Gonzalo Pizarro; and perhaps had another son, Juan Pizarro, who may have been Francisco Pizarro's connection in his first voyage to America. Captain Gonzalo Pizarro, nicknamed "*El Largo*" and father of the conquistador brothers, was an *hidalgo* of Trujillo with some prestige and a limited estate, to which his house on the plaza and the small holdings in La Zarza bear witness, but who certainly did not belong to the high nobility. He was a soldier in the War of Granada, and from 1512 to 1522 in the War of Navarre, where he lost his life. Just a few months before his death he sent a brief letter to the Emperor, making his presence in the battleline known:

Sacra Cesárea Católica Magestad. Gonzalo Pizarro, capitán de Vuestra Magestad, homil[de]mente los pies y manos de Vuestra Sacra Magestad beso y hago saber que he residido y resido en el reino de Navarra, al qual agora nuevamente los franceses han conquistado, y por escusar la prolixidad yo escribo a Francisco de los Cobos, secretario de Vuestra Sacra Magestad, haziendo entera relación de todo lo que ha pasado y en el estado en que queda, para que él haga relación a Vuestra Magestad, por que por la relación yo digo verdat segund soy obligado a mi rey e señor. Nuestro Señor la Sacra y Católica Magestad de Vuestra Real Alteza con larga vida y acrecentamiento de muchos más reynos y señoríos acreciente. De Logroño, xii de junio. Los pies y manos de Vuestra Sacra Magestad umil[de]mente beso. Gonzalo Pizarro.¹⁹

The tone of the letter confirms that Gonzalo Pizarro was not held in much esteem at the Court. However, the question of the nature of his relationship with secretary Cobos still remains unanswered.

18. Vassberg, "Concerning Pigs," 49. A certain Hernando Alonso Pizarro, Francisco's grandfather, was alderman in 1498 (Porrás, *Pizarro*, 9).

19. Gonzalo Pizarro al Emperador, Logroño, 12 de junio, Archivo General de Simancas (henceforth AGS), Estado 345 (años 1522-1529), f. 106. The year does not appear, but it must have been 1522.

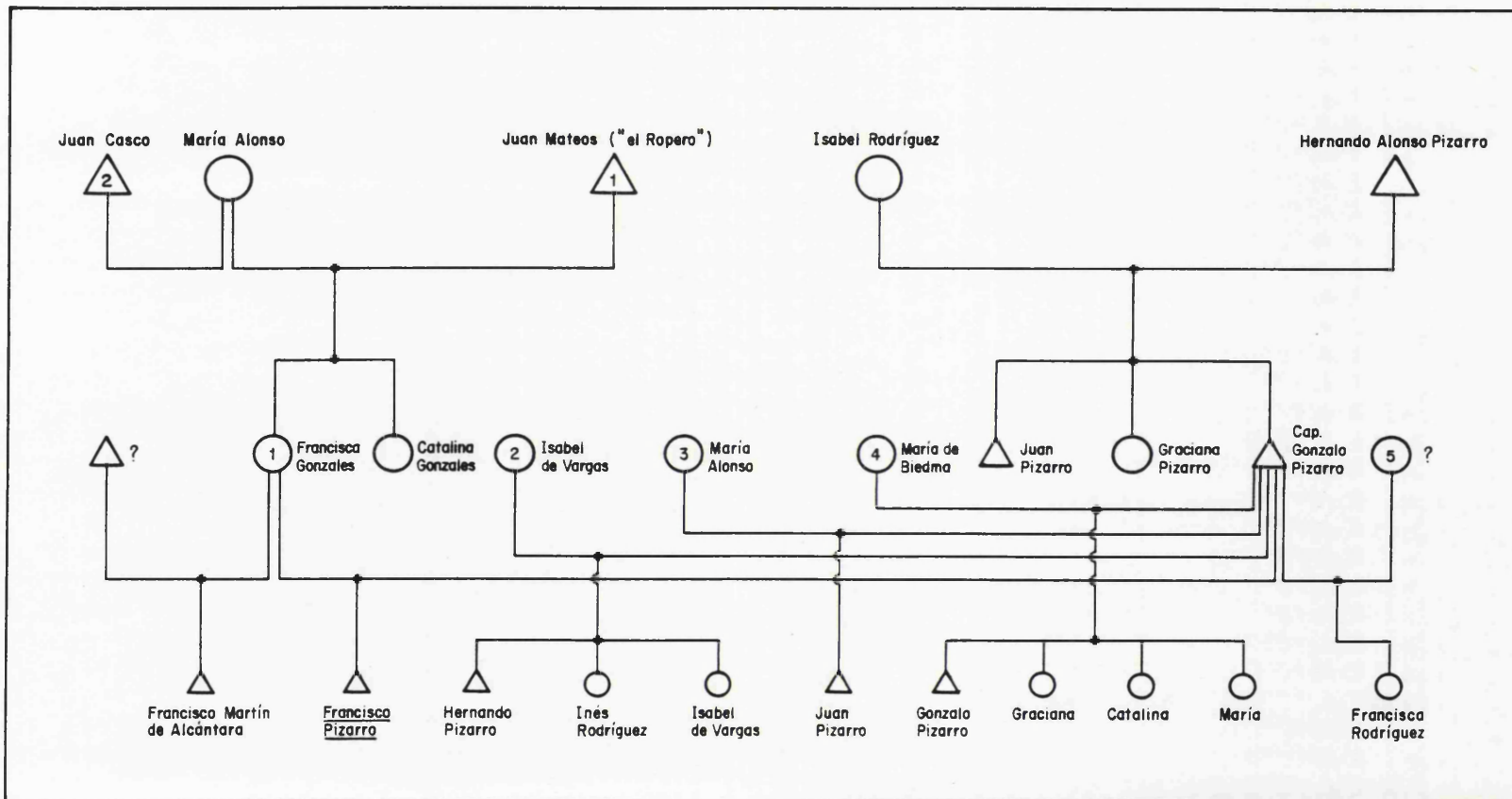


ILLUSTRATION 1. ANCESTORS AND LIAISONS OF CAPTAIN GONZALO PIZARRO.

Captain Gonzalo Pizarro's testament shows that he sired many children with different women, many of whom he acknowledged --perhaps all of them-- save for the conqueror of Peru.²⁰ (See illustration 1.) He thus had three children with Isabel de Bargas, his lawfully wedded wife: Hernando Pizarro, Inés Rodríguez,²¹ and Isabel de Bargas. Catalina and Gracia were born after he lost his wife, from a liaison with María de Biema, his "servant."²² She was at Pamplona when the testament was drafted --the dying man could not sign due to the seriousness of his condition-- securing dowries for her daughters, besides the estate they would inherit. However, the future of all people mentioned in the document was not neglected, and even less that of Hernando who, as the eldest, would get the biggest share. Besides the ones already mentioned, in his testament the dying Captain also named other children born out of wedlock but without specifying their mother's name. They were: Francisca Rodríguez, María, Juan Pizarro, and Gonzalo.²³

One thing about the testament which has always drawn the attention of historians is that it simply omits Francisco

20. Testamento del capitán Gonzalo Pizarro, Pamplona, 14 de setiembre de 1522. Published by Luisa Cuesta, "Una documentación interesante sobre la familia del conquistador del Perú," *Revista de Indias* 8 (1947): 866-71. Porras comments on the testament and outlines Gonzalo's biography; he met many difficulties because of the existence of at least four contemporary individuals who bore the same name (Porras, *Pizarro*, 10-12).

21. There is no doubt the Inés Rodríguez of the testament is Inés Rodríguez de Aguilar, the name under which she appears in many other documents (*Ibid.*, 12). She was the sister who long represented her brothers' interests in Trujillo.

22. It should be noted that the name Biema also appears in the documentation as Viedma; as for Gracia, she appears as Graciana in other sources (*ibid.*)

23. Testamento del capitán Gonzalo Pizarro, 1522. The María mentioned was probably María de Aguilar, whilst the Gonzalo would be Gonzalo Pizarro (*ibid.*) According to what he stated in his testament, given in Cuzco on 16 May 1536, Juan Pizarro was the son of María Alonso (Cuesta, "Documentación interesante," 872-78). Porras says that same María Alonso was also Gonzalo's mother (Porras, *Pizarro*, 12).

Pizarro. Many hypotheses have been presented concerning this omission, such as that the father forgot his son or had no knowledge of his whereabouts, due to the long period that had passed since he left for the Indies. The question, which I am not trying to solve, remains because: 1) His age would make Francisco the eldest son of Captain Gonzalo. 2) Not much time had really gone by. If Pizarro left Spain in 1501 and his father died in 1521, the resulting twenty years in times of migrations and homecomings should on no account be taken as an extremely long period. 3) The period of 24 years which separates Francisco and Hernando, Captain Gonzalo's presumed second son, has yet to be explained. 4) Many witnesses of the *información* made in Trujillo in 1529 said they had met Francisco in the house of Hernando Alonso Pizarro, his presumed-paternal grandfather.²⁴ This makes it possible to present two self-contradicting hypotheses: first, that Francisco was an earlier son of young Captain Gonzalo, while still a bachelor and without an established estate, so grandfather Hernando Alonso took the paternity upon himself; second, that Francisco was a son of old Hernando Alonso, and that upon his death Gonzalo took over the child, at least until he left for the Indies. The confusion is worsened by the presence of more than one Francisco Pizarro in Trujillo. In 1529 a Francisco Pizarro sold a plot which had belonged to his father, Sancho Pizarro de Guijo.²⁵ Years later, when a certain Ynés de Aguilar sold a plot of land it was noted that she was a daughter of the deceased Francisco Pizarro.²⁶

As regards Pizarro's mother, Porras eagerly investigated this point and concluded that she was a servant in the convent of San Francisco de la Puerta de Coria in Trujillo called Francisca Gonzales and the daughter of the peasants

24. "La Información de 1529," in Porras, *Pizarro*, 72-95.

25. Carta de venta de Francisco Pizarro a Gonzalo Docampo, Trujillo, 23 de junio de 1529, Archivo del Conde de Canilleros, Cáceres, Asuntos de Trujillo (henceforth ACC-AT), 16-34.

26. Carta de venta de Ynés de Aguilar a Bernardino de Tapia, Trujillo, 18 de julio de 1545, ACC-AT, 7-42.

Juan Mateos and María Alonso, nicknamed "Los Roperos." Captain Gonzalo would marry off this Francisca Gonzales to "one Martín," just as he would do later with another María Alonso, already mentioned as probable mother of Juan and Gonzalo Pizarro, to one Alonso de Soto.²⁷

Also it would be appropriate to make one last comment, concerning Pizarro's childhood in his homeland and the famous porcine legend, so widely known and yet of such dubious validity. On the one hand, the nobles were the biggest, large scale pig-raisers both in Trujillo and in Cáceres.²⁸ On the other, and notwithstanding the general irrelevance of the fact, it would not be something strange if Pizarro indeed pastured pigs, given the animal's abundance in the area. Francisco López de Gómara, Hernando Cortés' chaplain and chronicler and the man who invented the legend, spread it far and wide until it found life of its own in literature.²⁹ However, there are few doubts that Pizarro was the illegitimate son of a Trujillan hidalgo and a woman of low origin, who shared his first years between his father's and his mother's homes, thus having access to the *villa*, the plaza, and the *arrabales*, as well as the properties of the Pizarros in La Zarza.

B. FRANCISCO PIZARRO IN TIERRA FIRME

Francisco Pizarro left for the Indies in 1501, just like many Extremadurans who set sail in the fleet of Nicolás de Ovando, Governor of Hispaniola. Perhaps young Pizarro had been sent in search of a better future than his birthplace could offer,

27. Porras does not explain how he came to the conclusion that María Alonso married "one Martín" (Porras, *Pizarro*, 13). He probably based himself on the last name of Francisco Martín de Alcántara, Pizarro's half-brother on his mother's side.

28. Altman, *Emigrantes y sociedad*, 90.

29. On this point see Porras, *Pizarro*, 14-16, 45; Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 135-36, and Vassberg, "Concerning Pigs." The latter makes an interesting summary of the milieu the Pizarro came from.

thus going to find his uncle Juan Pizarro.³⁰ In 1514 Juan Pizarro was a vecino of the villa of la Vera Paz and had received encomiendas in the villa of San Juan de la Maguana, with a total of 38 "naborías."³¹ When Francisco's father died a few years later, he referred to his brother Juan, evincing that he died in the Indies and left money and estate, "lo cual me pertenece a mí como su hermano y heredero."³²

The fact that Juan left his inheritance to his brother Gonzalo implies his lack of descendants, thus strengthening the argument that Francisco probably went to help him manage his possessions. However, it is somewhat surprising to find that Francisco was excluded from his uncle's inheritance, on which his father ordered "que el dicho Hernando Pizarro, mi hijo, y sus hermanas, mis hixas lexítimas, cobren y los partan todos entre sí igualmente."³³ In any case, it should be stressed that there is no evidence whatsoever that Francisco and his uncle Juan ever met, nor that the latter ever bequeathed him any posthumous legacy.

The details of Pizarro's career in the Indies are unknown, but some isolated episodes have been recovered. During his years in Tierra Firme Francisco acted under the command of Governor Pedro Arias Dávila, better known as Pedrarias, carrying out two "entradas" among the native

30. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 141; Rolando Mellafe, *Descubrimiento del Perú*, vol. 1 of Mellafe and Sergio Villalobos, *Diego de Almagro* (Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 1954), 28. Boyd-Bowman disagrees and contends Pizarro embarked for the Indies with Alonso de Ojeda in 1504, and to Tierra Firme in 1510 (Peter Boyd-Bowman, *Indice geobiográfico de más de 56 mil pobladores de la América hispánica*, enl. ed. (Mexico, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1985), 38.

31. *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1864-1884) (henceforth CDIAO), 1:203-4. According to the 1514 repartimiento of Indians of La Española, Juan Pizarro was vecino and alcalde of San Juan de la Maguana, where "se le encomendó seis naborías allegadas que registró." See Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi, *Los dominicos y las encomiendas de indios de la isla Española* (Santo Domingo: Editora del Caribe, 1971), 223, n. 235.

32. Testamento de Gonzalo Pizarro, 1522, 871.

33. *Ibid.*

people of Castilla del Oro.³⁴ For instance, Pedrarias once sent him as "coadjutor" of Luis Carrillo, who went as Captain because he was the brother of doña María Niño, the wife of the royal secretary Lope Conchillos. Pizarro's presence was essential from a military standpoint, but one can presume that young Captain Carrillo represented the economic interests which sponsored the expedition. According to Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo --who knew most of these personalities-- the *entrada* to the provinces of Abraime and Teruy was successful:

Desta tierra e otras partes trujeron Luis Carrillo e Pizarro e los que con ellos fueron muchos indios y esclavos, e muy buen oro; e también usaron sus crueldades con los indios, porque ya esta mala costumbre estaba muy usada, e la sabía de coro el Pizarro, e la había él usado de años atrás.³⁵

Pizarro faithfully fulfilled his role of conquistador, following the guidelines common to all Europeans who took part in the rape of those Indian settlements not yet controlled through *encomiendas*.

By 1509 Pizarro had a leading position, becoming a Lieutenant in Alonso de Ojeda's troops in Santo Domingo and in 1513, during the Spanish discovery of the Pacific Ocean, his name appears next to that of Vasco Núñez de Balboa, the expedition's commander, a sure sign of the prestige he then had.³⁶ Pizarro continued participating in many expeditions and led an active life in Spanish politics in Tierra Firme. When on 15 August 1519 Pedrarias, Governor of Castilla del Oro, founded the city of Our Lady of the Assumption of Panama, Pizarro was away in an expedition led by *Licenciado* Gaspar de Espinosa. Pizarro was named *regidor* of the municipal council despite his absence, granted a *solar*, and became one of the most important *encomenderos* of the new

34. For Pedrarias' activities in Castilla del Oro see Sauer, *Descubrimiento y dominación española del Caribe*, 369-97.

35. Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia de las Indias*, 3:243.

36. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 141.

city.³⁷ That same year, when Pedrarias and *Licenciado* Espinosa signed a contract for an expedition to Nicaragua, Pizarro and Almagro were among the expeditionaries.³⁸

In 1522, just prior to the preparations which led to the conquest of Peru, Pizarro, Almagro, Hernando de Luque, and Diego de Mora sent to Seville 705 gold pesos which they had obtained from their mining company in Panama. This was the first known shipment made by the conquerors of Peru.³⁹ Pizarro obtained an encomienda of 150 Indians in the Island of Taboga⁴⁰ that same year, due to a new repartimiento of Indians made to overcome some deficiencies and secure the Spanish population of the brand-new city of Panama. The island has fertile soil, and its gravel was used as ship's ballast. Almagro likewise received 40 Indians there who supplemented the 80 he already had in the cacicazgo of Susy, whilst Luque received 70 in the cacicazgo of Perequete (or Peruquete), to the west of Panama.⁴¹ The expedition which would conquer Peru would set sail from the Island of Taboga.⁴²

Toward the beginning of the 1520s, the European mode of exploiting the Americas had undergone an important development. The age of the *compañía* or company, a sea-trading firm based on the Italian model used in the Caribbean by Columbus and other Genoese, had been replaced by the so-called military *compaña*, which followed a tradition inherited

37. Mellafe, *Descubrimiento del Perú*, 34-35; Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 142; Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Tercera parte*, 8; María del Carmen Mena García, *La sociedad de Panamá en el siglo XVI* (Seville: Diputación Provincial, 1984), 184, 276.

38. Lohmann, *Espinosa*, 158.

39. Otte, "Mercaderes vascos en Tierra Firme," 82.

40. The Island of Taboga, also known as Island of las Flores or San Pedro, is some 20 kms. from present-day Panama, and the same distance from Panama Vieja, i.e. the city founded in 1519.

41. The chroniclers Estete and Cieza mistakenly identified Perequete with the cacique Birú, who was to the south (Porrás, *Nombre del Perú*, 85).

42. Mena García, *Sociedad de Panamá*, 333-34; Benito Reyes Testa, *Taboga en el descubrimiento y conquista del Perú* (Panama, 1947), 13-17; Porrás, *Nombre del Perú*, 85.

from the Middle Ages and continued during the Spanish Wars of Reconquest. The difference between the two is quite important because the first one was based on a few investors who hired the services of a host of salaried men, whilst the Spanish *compañía* was made up by a group of men, each of whom was in charge of his own equipment and weapons, receiving in return a previously stipulated share of the spoils, but not a salary.⁴³

The company was used by the earliest expeditions, or "*cabalgadas*," which set out from Hispaniola in search of slaves, gold, and pearls. However, lack of capital and the high risks involved produced changes which gradually led to an increase in the number of investors, eventually including all of the expeditionaries, who agreed to share the benefits according to each one's contribution. When the Spaniards moved from the islands to the continent, the standard practice was to share the investment and the benefits, the salary having been eliminated save for the sailors.⁴⁴

The study of the Spanish expansion from the islands to the continent is quite interesting. Under the command of an old conquistador, the party, organized as a company, set out in search of *encomiendas* and improved standards of living. Those who did find them and were satisfied founded a Spanish settlement where they would remain; the rest continued participating in *entradas* to uncharted lands. Governors and affluent vecinos backed these expeditions, and often took a hand in their financing: thus they simultaneously made a profitable investment and rid themselves of the expeditioners. It is quite obvious that, as Lockhart and

43. Góngora, *Grupos de conquistadores*, 39; Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 66; Lockhart and S.B. Schwartz, *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brasil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 79. For the régime which Columbus tried to establish, based on the Italian mercantilist model and the Portuguese factories of Guinea, see Luis Arránz, *Cristóbal Colón* (Madrid: Historia 16 and Quorum, 1987), 93-106.

44. Góngora, *Colonial Spanish America*, 20-21; Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 66; Lockhart and Schwartz, *Early Latin America*, 79.

Schwartz contend, the driving force behind Spanish expansion in the Americas was not a spirit of adventure, but poverty and rivalry. The expeditionaries abandoned a place which held no promise for them, once natural resources had become exhausted and Indian labour had been taken over by the more powerful vecinos. As for the internal structure of the expeditions which set out on the *entradas*, it was flexible enough to deal with the exchange of goods, pillage, or conquest itself, depending on the native peoples they found. The expeditions which sought slaves in the Caribbean, the great expeditions of conquest in the central areas, and the subsequent expeditions in marginal areas were thus no more than variations on the same basic organizational form.⁴⁵

In the early stages of European dominion over the islands and the adjacent coast, the main activities carried out had been minor exchanges with the Indians and the *cabalgadas*, i.e. expeditions which set out to penetrate inland and sack what they found, but with no intention of settling down permanently. The innovation introduced by Fernando Cortés, which signals a new stage in the colonization of America, was to begin the conquest of a land with permanent settlement or colonization as its goal. This new mode was based on the founding of cities with resident encomenderos, powerful *cabildos* controlled by these same encomenderos, and the personal services of the native population, with their own caciques as mediators.⁴⁶ The conquest of Mexico was a goal in itself unlike others, which aimed only to obtain an immediate booty, or to be used as a starting point for future expeditions. However, the main reason why the Mexican *entrada* became a permanent conquest --just as it would later on happen with Peru-- lay in the nature of the indigenous society encountered.

With his invasion of Mexico Cortés began a new stage in the Spanish dominion of America. By that time it was possible to count on the capital amassed by diverse groups present in

45. Lockhart and Schwartz, *Early Latin America*, 78-79.

46. Góngora, *Colonial Spanish America*, 20.

the Indies since the first decades of discovery. It was thus that merchants and financiers from Genoa, Florence, Nuremberg, and Augsburg, as well as some Spaniards, became dedicated to trade, mining, and plantations. On the other hand, this same capital actively participated in financing conquest expeditions, and it was its support what permitted the organization of bigger companies that gradually deepened and strengthened the European foothold in America.⁴⁷

It is in this context that the conquest of Mexico, begun in 1519, looms as the culmination of many previous minor expeditions, gradually developing the material and financial support whilst whetting European appetites for treasures and making them intensify their search. The step was thus taken from the pillage of Indian populations relatively near to European settlements, to costlier and more difficult expeditions such as those of Mexico and Peru. The Cortesian modality of permanent settlement, based on institutions which would guarantee Spanish dominion, had very clear precedents in the historical development of European penetration into America. This landmark would be continued by later companies in search of great empires to conquer, some real and others only a figment of overactive minds, in an age where the unknown was taken as a necessary challenge, and as a possible and more effective avenue for enrichment and social promotion. It was at this moment, when the first phase of Europe's penetration of America had reached maturity, that Pizarro began the preparations for the Peruvian enterprise.

Towards 1522, Pizarro had acquired much better living conditions than any impoverished area of Spain could have offered him, as the illegitimate son of a not-too-rich hidalgo. In spite of this he decided to risk his privileged lot in Panama, and find a new destiny. In that year Pascual de Andagoya made the first regular expedition south of Panama and along the Pacific Ocean, reaching as far as the Port of Piñas, on the river Birú, also under the orders of Governor

47. Ibid., 10-11.

Pedrarias. Due to a serious illness Andagoya, however, had to abandon the life of a conquistador for many years.⁴⁸ Pedrarias then used his authority as Governor and entrepreneur to send Pizarro and Almagro on the conquest of *Levante*, the East. To that end, the parties made a *Capitulación y asiento* in which they would act as Captains, but under Pedrarias' franchise.⁴⁹ The exact conditions agreed upon are unfortunately unknown, but on the basis of other, similar expeditions organized by this Governor, it would not be strange if the greatest investment was made by Pizarro and Almagro.

The partners made their first reconnaissances along Andagoya's route between late 1524 and early on in the next year, finding reasons enough to press onward. But the similarities between the expedition to *Levante*, and others which gradually penetrated the American continent, do not end here. A common desire of all the conquest captains was to deal directly with the Crown, leaving aside individuals who through the offices they held benefitted within their jurisdiction. The most successful captains freed themselves from these intermediaries. Diego Velázquez detached his appointment from Diego Columbus, and Fernando Cortés bargained for his privileges in New Spain *a posteriori* directly with the Crown, displacing the same Diego Velázquez.⁵⁰ Pizarro's 1529 voyage to Spain had precisely the same goal of bargaining directly with the Crown, which

48. Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, 1:199. A manuscript of Andagoya's recounts the detailed news he obtained in Birú concerning the Inca Empire: "En esta provincia supe y hube relación, así de los señores como de mercaderes e intérpretes que ellos tenían, de toda la costa de todo lo que después se ha visto hasta el Cuzco, particularmente de cada provincia la manera y la gente della, porque éstos alcanzaban por vía de mercadería mucha tierra" (*ibid.*, 1:206-7, n. 7).

49. El rey a Pedro de los Ríos, gobernador de Tierra Firme, Valladolid, 17 de mayo de 1527, Archivo General de Indias (henceforth AGI), Panamá 233, lib. 2, f. 267; there is another copy in Indiferente 415, lib. 1, ff. 107v-8. The text of this *Capitulación* has unfortunately not been found.

50. See, for example, Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia de las Indias*, 5:23.

fortunately enough for him coincided with the change of governor of Castilla del Oro.⁵¹ Pedrarias was replaced by Pedro de los Ríos, who would take the *juicio de residencia* of his predecessor, as was common in these cases. In narrating the events, Fernández de Oviedo cannot hide his contempt for the partners:

[Pizarro y Almagro] acordaron, cuando ya vieron el grand principio de riqueza de aquella tierra, e habían habido alguna cantidad de oro, de ir a pedir al Emperador nuestro señor aquella gobernación, antes que se descubriese tanto que los desechasen a ellos para tan grand oficio.⁵²

The expectations newly generated by the southern route became a magnetic field which attracted old and new conquistadores, so the partners had to hasten to secure exclusive rights and carry out the project.

It is quite possible that the change of governor, and Pedrarias' disgrace with the Court, did indeed help Pizarro and Almagro's claims. The letters that Pizarro had sent to the Crown, first by himself and later jointly with Almagro so as to establish a direct route to the supreme head of the Spanish Empire, likewise seem to have achieved their goal. Luque, Pizarro, and Almagro thus wrote to the Crown requesting that the conditions agreed upon with Pedrarias be respected. A reply was received in a royal cédula reminiscing the conquistadores' request:

me fue hecha relación que por nuestro servicio y por descubrir la costa de Perú que es en la Mar del Sur, syendo Pedrarias Dávila nuestro gobernador desa tierra hizieron tres navíos en los quales han pasado trescientos hombres españoles, los quales diz que están en la dicha tierra del Perú poblando e pacificando la

51. According to one account, in 1519 Fernández de Oviedo had an interview with Charles V in Barcelona and managed to have Pedrarias substituted by Lope de Sosa, but the latter died before he could take office. Fernández de Oviedo achieved his goal in his following voyage, in 1523, when Pedro de los Ríos was appointed governor and *Licenciado* Juan de Salmerón *Alcalde Mayor* and *Juez de Residencia*. See Elsa Mercado Sousa, *El hombre y la tierra en Panamá (s. XVI), según las primeras fuentes* (Madrid: Seminario de Estudios Americanistas, 1959), 162-66.

52. Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia de las Indias*, 5:33.

dicha tierra, en lo qual diz que ha gastado más de veynte e cinco myl castellanos e que se temen que en el asiento que sobre ello tomó con ellos el dicho Pedrarias vos hareys alguna mudanza e novedad de que podrían recibir agravio, e me fue suplicado e pedido que por merced vos mandase que le guardásedes e cumpliésedes los asyentos e capitulaciones que cerca del dicho descubrimiento e población había tomado con ellos el dicho Pedrarias Dávila....⁵³

The King accepted the request, sending the above-mentioned cédula to Pedro de los Ríos, commanding him to respect the previous contract.⁵⁴

The second voyage of the company took place between 1526 and 1527. It was then that the evidence was gathered which convinced the court of Charles V of the convenience of signing a *capitulación* with the company of these experienced conquistadores. Without delay the Emperor sent a cédula to *Licenciado* Juan de Salmerón, *Alcalde Mayor* of Tierra Firme, ordering him to have Captains Pizarro and Almagro, who "fueron al descubrimiento del Perú," as "*recomendados*," and to help and show favour to them.⁵⁵ It should be stressed that when he attended the Court personally in 1529, Pizarro must have already been known and related to the discovery of Peru thanks to his previous letters. Besides, Cortés was also present at the time, negotiating his marquisate and recounting the adventures of his conquest, all of which must have whetted the Crown's appetite for a new kingdom to add to the Castilian Crown, one similar to Mexico or even better. William Prescott described this episode as follows:

53. R.C. a Pedro de los Ríos, lugarteniente y gobernador de Tierra Firme, Valladolid, 17 de mayo de 1527, AGI, Panamá 233, lib. 2, f. 267. Copy in Indiferente 415, lib. 1, ff. 107v-8. Published in Milagros del Vas Mingo, *Las capitulaciones de Indias en el siglo XVI* (Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1986), 243-44. A similar decree, dated in Toledo, 10 de noviembre de 1525, is in the *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile*, ed. José Toribio Medina. Santiago de Chile, 1888-1902 (henceforth *CDIHCh*), 6:26-27.

54. *Ibid.*

55. R.C. al Licenciado Juan de Salmerón, alcalde mayor de Tierra Firme, Monzón, 5 de junio de 1528, AGI, Panamá 234, lib. 3, ff. 135-36. Published in *CDIHCh*, vol. 4.



He [Cortés] was at the close of his career, as Pizarro was at the commencement of his; the Conqueror of the North and of the South; the two men appointed by Providence to overturn the most potent of the Indian dynasties, and to open the golden gates by which the treasures of the New World were to pass into the coffers of Spain.⁵⁶

So it was that in a letter written by the Queen, the lands discovered by Pizarro were described as a "tierra rica e fértil e poblada de gente más razonable que ninguna otra de las que hasta agora se an descubierta...."⁵⁷

Pizarro had gone to the Caribbean in search of his uncle Juan Pizarro, just like many others who had set out to follow in the footsteps of kin. However, the outstanding position achieved by Peru's future conqueror was a result of his entrepreneurial and political ability. At around the age of 40⁵⁸ as one of the oldest captains in the Indies, he had a considerable estate at his command, and had learned the technical and ideological rudiments which underpinned Europe's expansion in America.

C. THE COMPANY OF LEVANTE

The conquest of Peru was a step forward for the Spanish advance in the Caribbean, Tierra Firme, and Mexico. It was an especially costly and high-risk adventure because of the distance separating the Europeans from the areas they had already controlled, and because they did not know the place they were headed; this would not change until Pizarro's third and last voyage, when they began to enter the land from Tumbes, on May 1532. Seven years had gone by since his first voyage, and in between he had obtained the financing and the

56. Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, 1:305.

57. La reina al provincial de la orden de Santo Domingo, Toledo, 21 de abril de 1529, AGI, Panamá 234, lib. 3, ff. 303v-4v.

58. In 1522 Pizarro said he was around 40, in 1539 that he was around 60; Cieza says he was 63 years and two months old when he died, whilst Zárate believed he was at least 65 at the time (Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 153). According to these reports, his birthdate would respectively fall on 1482, 1479, 1478, and 1476. Boyd-Bowman, *Indice geobiográfico*, 38, dates it ca. 1471.

royal permission for the "discovery and conquest" of Peru, and secured the governance of the lands and peoples which he placed under the imperial Crown of Charles V. Now we shall turn to the entrepreneurial and financial precedents which made the conquest of Peru possible.

The *Compañía del Levante* or *Armada del Levante*, as it was called in the earliest documents, was established for the discovery and conquest of Peru.⁵⁹ Its roots lay in the other companies established in Panama by Pizarro and Almagro for the joint administration of their estates. Pizarro had always had the leading role, with Almagro as second in command and in charge of all matters regarding supplies and provisions, for which he was exceedingly well talented. Both partners worked together from at least 1519, when they took part in the expedition led by *Licenciado* Espinosa. In 1522, for example, Pizarro shared with Almagro the encomienda of Chochama, a region recently conquered by Pascual de Andagoya's expedition and where both presumably took part; but we do not know when they established their company, though it was perhaps never put in writing.⁶⁰

It was in 1522 that a link joining Pizarro, Almagro, and Hernando de Luque, traditionally taken to be the "third partner" of the conquest of Peru and --erroneously, as will be seen-- its main financial support, first appeared in documents studied by various historians. It was early in that year that on behalf of Luque, Pizarro, Almagro, and Diego de Mora, present in Panama, Friar Alonso de Escobar registered the above-mentioned 705 gold pesos from mines and consigned them to Jerónimo de Escobar and Friar Juan Quejada, in San Benito of Seville.⁶¹ We can surmise that this money proceeded from the company's mining activities, but there is no data concerning how it would be disposed of in the metropolis.

59. Maticorena, "Contrato de Panamá, 1526," 56.

60. Mellafe, *Descubrimiento del Perú*, 35-36; Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 144.

61. Otte, "Mercaderes vascos en Tierra Firme," 82.

By that time Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque were among the richest men of Panama, right alongside Governor Pedrarias and *Licenciado* Espinosa. All of them took part in many companies, like those of Nicaragua in 1522 and 1523.⁶² Around 1524 and shortly after Pizarro's first exploratory voyage to Peru, the partners established a company with Luque, forming a partnership for diverse undertakings, just like many other residents before them. Since each of them held good *repartimientos*⁶³ of Indians and lands with maize fields and cattle, together the three of them made a powerful company, cultivating their lands and mining gold. Besides, the alliance with Luque had an additional advantage: the priest was a close friend of the Governor, to whose Council he likewise belonged as "*procurador* [solicitor] of caciques and Indians," favouring the company's party.⁶⁴ However, one should bear in mind that Pizarro and Almagro's company had long existed independently of any share in occasional undertakings, or even the very conquest of Peru. The possessions of each one could not be separated prior to their first voyage to Peru.⁶⁵

Towards 1524, when preparations for the first expedition to Peru were underway, there appeared a tangled host of difficulties due to the fact that many of the conquistadores of Panama and Nicaragua wanted to begin exploring that route. This worsened in 1527, after the second voyage, possibly because of the exaggerated news brought back by the expeditionaries. Pedrarias himself, by then Governor of

62. Mellafe, *Descubrimiento del Perú*, 37.

63. Despite their different origins in medieval Europe, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the terms "*encomienda*" and "*repartimiento*" appeared in the documentation as interchangeable words (Puente, *Encomienda y encomenderos*, 13-15). Throughout this thesis they are also used with that same meaning, in expressions such as "*encomienda de indios*" and "*repartimiento de indios*."

64. Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia de las Indias*, 5:125; Porras, *Pizarro*, 117-18; Mellafe, *Descubrimiento del Perú*, 36.

65. Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia de las Indias*, 5:124; Mellafe, *Descubrimiento del Perú*, 35.

Nicaragua,⁶⁶ Sebastián de Benalcázar, Hernando de Soto, and Pedro de Alvarado, were among the conquistador-entrepreneurs who could have rivalled the Company of *Levante*. Pedrarias' possible financial participation in the Peruvian company has not been clearly established; it would not be unusual, however, given the strong interest he had in all of the area's conquests and his vantage point as Governor, as seen above. It is even more likely that in 1524 the partners were forced to accept his participation; he abandoned the Peruvian adventure when he later on left for Nicaragua for what seemed to be a more promising conquest.⁶⁷ Cieza says that Almagro bought from Pedrarias "el provecho que heredava de la compañía que al principio se hizo, o lo sacó fuera, ques lo cierto, por mil y quinientos castellanos que le dio...."⁶⁸

When the Peruvian company gave its first benefits and Pedrarias was settled as Governor of Nicaragua he remembered his agreement with Pizarro and Almagro, claiming that whilst governing Tierra Firme he had mustered men and weapons at his expense for the expeditions led by the two partners (to the east), and Francisco Hernández (to the west), spending much money he had borrowed and duly requesting the "interest" belonging to him as governor.⁶⁹ In any case Pedrarias did meddle with the company, both from his office in Panama and later on in Nicaragua, one of the main points supplying Peru during its conquest.

It is well known that Pizarro and Almagro's Peruvian company obtained capital from quite a wide range of investors, of whom the most debated was Luque and his presumed sponsor, *Licenciado* Espinosa. The part traditionally attributed to Luque as the main financier, giving him a privileged position *vis-a-vis* the other partners, is based

66. Pedrarias was named Governor of Nicaragua by a R.C. of Valladolid, 1 de junio de 1527, AGI, Patronato 180, r. 19.

67. Maticorena, "Contrato de Panamá, 1526," 56.

68. Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Tercera parte*, 76.

69. Two cédulas were issued on the same date to the Governor. R.C. a Pedro de los Ríos, Valladolid, 2 de agosto de 1537, AGI, Panamá 234, lib. 3, ff. 16-17.

upon a late and seriously questioned copy of the *Acta de constitución* of Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque's company, dated 10 March 1526. Many writers question this document's reliability on the basis of quite solid evidence.⁷⁰

It is worth stressing some parts of the argument which lead to the conclusion that the document is worthless. First, the *Acta* which promised Luque one third of the profits of the Peruvian company was not mentioned by his heirs in the suit they brought against Pizarro and Almagro in the 1530s. Furthermore, it was not mentioned in any contemporary manuscript or publication, even though it would have been a decisive instrument. It was only in 1567 that the heirs of *Licenciado* Espinosa mentioned this three-party contract in relation to a second document, also of dubious validity, according to which Luque left Espinosa his part of the spoils. And it was not until the early-seventeenth century --i.e. 70 years after it was supposedly signed-- that the first copies of the contract appeared, as well as the widely held belief of chroniclers and officials on a three-way contract supposedly signed in 1526.⁷¹

In appraising this point, Lohmann is much more balanced than other scholars, suggesting the possibility that a real contract did exist, but that some of its terms and perhaps the date were altered too, although at present this can in no way be proved. However, the same historian concludes that be it as it may, the documentation studied evinces that the funds necessary for Pizarro and Almagro's operation in the conquest of Peru were supplied by *Licenciado* Espinosa,⁷² no doubt referring to the additional funds needed by the Company

70. Porras believed Luque did not use his own money, and seriously questioned the document's worth (Porras, *Pizarro*, 122; Porras, *Nombre del Perú*, 58-62). The contract's validity is likewise questioned by Mellafe, *Descubrimiento del Perú*; Lohmann, *Espinosa*, 205-20; Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 70-73.

71. Porras contended it was only towards 1642 that this contract first appeared as a historical document in the *Anales del Perú* of the "whimsical" Montesinos (Porras, *Nombre del Perú*, 59).

72. Lohmann, *Espinosa*, 218, 220.

in its last stage, after their own contribution which must have been the major one.

One side of this complex question which is in no way clear, is why Espinosa needed to conceal his economic contribution to the Peruvian company behind a proxy, having already participated directly in other companies both before and after this one. Rolando Mellafe proposed that it was due to the uncertainty posed by Pedrarias' replacement and the subsequent *juicio de residencia*, which would go together with an appraisal of how the conquest of the Darién and Panama had been managed. Espinosa was no doubt involved with Pedrarias in more than one scheme, and this perhaps frightened him for a moment,⁷³ all the more so when despite his influence at Court, the then *alcalde mayor* of Pedrarias had already been strongly reprimanded by the King for his conduct in the *entradas* and the enslaving of Indians.⁷⁴

On the other hand, it should be noted that though in this opportunity Luque perhaps acted as Espinosa's proxy, he was an active individual with one of Panama's most important fortunes.⁷⁵ The priest had made his own contribution to other conquest-companies, and he met all the requirements needed to join an adventure such as this one. Despite this, there is no evidence that he was the main financier,⁷⁶ but it is possible that at one stage or another he did contribute capital in conditions unknown to us. It should once again be noted that there is no truth in saying that Luque contributed the

73. Mellafe, *Descubrimiento del Perú*, 56-58.

74. R.C. a Pedrarias, 22 de julio de 1517, in *CDIAO*, 37:300ff. Reference taken from Ernesto Schaefer, *Indice de la Colección de documentos inéditos de Indias* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1946-47), 2:136-37.

75. Lohmann says Luque had already acted as proxy on behalf of other men; for example, in Tierra Firme in 1524, when he temporarily took charge of Francisco de Lizaur's estate "por la confianza que le tenía al tiempo de partir a España" (Lohmann, *Espinosa*, 161, n. 1, citing R.C. a Luque, Burgos, 20 de mayo de 1524, AGI, Panamá 233, lib. 2, f. 1). Lizaur had been named accountant of the Island of San Juan and his *Instrucción* was issued in 1511 (AGI, Indiferente 415, lib. 2, ff. 155-56).

76. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 73.

capital needed by the two impoverished adventurers for the conquest of Peru.⁷⁷

Licenciado Gaspar de Espinosa is the second mysterious person who had a hand in financing the Peruvian company. His case is even more relevant than that of Luque, both because he was an influential man at Court and in sixteenth-century Europe in general --which his pen fascinated with stories of conquests and Inca treasures-- as well as because of his paternal and conciliating position of ascendancy over Pizarro and Almagro.

Espinosa came from Medina de Río seco, studied in Salamanca and left for Castilla del Oro in 1513, in the fleet of Pedrarias, ready to take office as *alcalde mayor* of Darién. He combined his official duties with those of a merchant, possibly acting as an agent of the firm of bankers his family ran in Seville. He also led three expeditions inland through Panama, making a booty of gold and pearls and recording his movements in detail. After spending ten years in Panama he decided to return to Spain, being then appointed *justicia mayor* of Madrid. Shortly afterwards he sought and was appointed Oidor in the Audiencia of Hispaniola; its seat in Santo Domingo had become a major place for European exploration, trade, and financial activities in the mainland.⁷⁸ In his two years in office he combined judiciary and entrepreneurial activities, cultivating sugar cane, building a sugar mill, and sending agents to Panama and Nicaragua to sell clothes, horses, and other items. The conquest of Peru and the immense mercantile avenues it opened

77. This widely-known story can be found, for example, in Prescott: "... the two cavaliers [Pizarro and Almagro] should contribute their little stock towards defraying the expenses of the armament, but by far the greater part of the funds was to be furnished by Luque (Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, 1:209).

78. Espinosa was Oidor from 1528 to 1532 (Boyd-Bowman, *Indice geobiográfico*, 150).

up, plus Santo Domingo's decay when the Audiencia of Mexico was created, persuaded him to return to Panama.⁷⁹

Many gaps concerning the conditions in which Espinosa participated in the Peruvian adventure have yet to be filled in, but his enthusiasm, especially after the third voyage, leave few doubts on how committed he was to it. Lohmann has shown that in Panama, he backed Almagro's endeavours to recruit soldiers and charter ships, as well as reporting on the campaign to the metropolitan authorities and the European presses.⁸⁰ In October 1535 Espinosa informed the Crown that he had sent his son Juan de Espinosa to Hispaniola,

por caballos y armas y bastimentos para embiallo al Perú; para en este socorro tengo hecha una carabela e un bergantín y hago un navío grande de porte de treinta caballos para el viaje....⁸¹

In return for his support, Espinosa requested that his son be named captain or given an encomienda. On 2 April of the following year he gave his above-mentioned son Juan a *poder* in Panama, authorizing him to act in his stead as executor of the deceased Luque's testament, in the company the latter had with Pizarro and Almagro.⁸² And it was on account of this document, and of previous agreements of which we know nothing, that Juan de Espinosa received 13,000 pesos from Pizarro. It should be emphasized that in the latter deed there is an explicit denial of the existence of any "carta ni escritura alguna, así en la contratación principal de la dicha compañía [del Levante], como en los gastos e

79. Guillermo Lohmann Villena, "Un hombre de negocios en la colonización de América: el licenciado Gaspar de Espinosa," *Estudios Americanos* 20, no. 104 (1960): 135ff.; Boyd-Bowman, *Indice geobiográfico*, 150.

80. Lohmann, "Un hombre de negocios," 135ff.

81. Espinosa a S.M., Panamá, 10 de octubre de 1533, in Roberto Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú. Cartas y papeles. Siglo XVI* (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1921-26), 2:28. This expedition must have put Pizarro and Almagro's company in great debt to Espinosa.

82. Library of Congress, *The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress. Documents from Early Peru* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1932-36) (henceforth *HC*), 1:15. The published summary of this document does not give much information on the presumed company.

intereses," so this payment ended Luque's participation in the adventure.⁸³

But Espinosa's interests in Peru were not limited to Luque's supposed inheritance; on the contrary, he controlled his agents from Panama, covering a wide range of operations. The best-known of these was the priest Juan de Asencio, dedicated to selling horse mounts, Indian captives from Nicaragua, and poultry.⁸⁴ Banking activities also had an important place in the *Licenciado's* activities. For instance Juan de Valdivieso, a resident of Cuzco, sent 2,000 silver marks, --the equivalent of 560 kgs. in weight-- to the order of Espinosa in Panama, to be transferred to Pedro de Espinosa's bank in Seville, where they would be collected by the beneficiaries designated in the contract signed in Lima, on 9 December 1535.⁸⁵ Valdivieso had been part of the first group of Peru's conquerors, had settled down in Cuzco, where he had an encomienda, and had been Pizarro's *criado*⁸⁶ in matters pertaining to money. In Panama he also had a company with *Licenciado* Espinosa.⁸⁷ Finally, he would be the executor of Espinosa's testament, as we shall now see.⁸⁸

In 1536, when more than 70 years of age and in possession of prosperous businesses in Panama, Espinosa made a reckless decision which would determine the last years of his life: he would go to Peru. He already had there agents and friends who could take care of his affairs, but for some reason --perhaps related to his son's death a short while before when the Indians attacked at Huaytará, or concern for his Peruvian investments, then in special danger-- he set out for a country then in the midst of an Indian uprising.

83. Maticorena, "Contrato de Panamá, 1526," 60-61.

84. Lohmann, *Espinosa*, 227.

85. *Ibid.*, 226-27.

86. "*Criado*" may be translated as "servant." For an explanation of the role of *criados* and other servants see chapter 6.

87. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 246-47. We cannot rule out the possibility that the money belonged to Pizarro, or to Valdivieso's company with Espinosa.

88. Lohmann, *Espinosa*, 241.

Captain Juan de Berrio had come to Panama in search of help, commissioned by Pizarro with 12,000 pesos and precise instructions to follow to the letter whatever Espinosa suggested. The latter took the opportunity and left for Peru taking his daughter with him, and a 200-man expedition which he had already prepared to conquer the San Juan river.⁸⁹

When the expedition reached Peru the Indian uprising had already been checked on the coastlands, and the same would soon happen in the highlands. Espinosa settled down in Lima to enjoy a privileged position due to his many business deals, and the friendship and ascendancy he had over both partners, Pizarro and Almagro, whose relationship was becoming more flammable with each passing day. The confidence Pizarro had in him can be gauged by the fact that despite Espinosa's old age, in his testament he entrusted him with the safe-keeping of the estate of his children, doña Francisca and don Gonzalo.⁹⁰

During his stay in Peru, Espinosa alternated between acting as friend and peace-maker --being often responsible for the political truce between the two most powerful Spaniards of the land-- and the businessman whose diverse deals surpassed the frontiers of the new *gobernación* then being conquered. He undoubtedly controlled a commercial and financial network reaching at least as far as Panama, but also touching Seville thanks to his relatives. On one occasion, for example, he asked Antonio Corzo, master of his ship "Todos los Santos," to collect 500 silver marks from Joan de Vicuña, Pizarro's mayordomo in Panama, and to then hand the result of this and other operations to his wife, doña Isabel de Espinosa.⁹¹

89. Ibid., 233-34. Perhaps the expenses incurred in this expedition increased the debts already owed by Pizarro and Almagro's company to Espinosa.

90. Lohmann, *Espinosa*, 235-36; Porras, *Pizarro*, 558.

91. HC, 1:28. For more information on Corsicans in America see Enriqueta Vila Vilar, "Los corzos: un 'clan' en la colonización de América. Apuntes para su historia," Offprint of the *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 42 (1985), and p. 9 for Antonio Corzo in particular.

On the other hand, his relatives began to arrive in Peru, quite possibly to back Gaspar de Espinosa, an exceptionally adventurous personality but whom the passage of time had weakened. His son Juan de Espinosa was Almagro's secretary. In 1537 his nephew Francisco de Espinosa left Spain for the Indies taking with him goods and slaves worth 182,750 maravedís, given to him in Seville by his uncle Pedro de Espinosa. Francisco was in Trujillo of Peru on 13 January 1542, and sided with the Pizarristas during Gonzalo's rebellion; he became his mayordomo and after their defeat, all of his properties were confiscated.⁹²

Licenciado Espinosa played a major role as mediator between Pizarro and Almagro, even though in the end he only managed to postpone the outbreak of war between the ever more hostile followers of both leaders. His last attempt to prevent a fatal outcome between Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro, on the one hand, and Almagro, on the other, would cost him his life. Having heard in Lima of the strife, he set out for Cuzco casting aside his many years and the harshness of an exhausting journey. He found Cuzco in ruins, not yet recovered from the siege and fire to which the resisting Incas had set it, and died on 25 August 1537. A few months later, on 26 April 1538, Hernando defeated Almagro in the Battle of las Salinas, executing him two months afterwards, thus sealing the rift between the conquering parties and unleashing the Civil Wars of Peru.

The activities of the conquest-company were not limited to matters of internal or military administration against the natives; on some occasions it had to face other enterprising Europeans to uphold its exclusive rights over the Peruvian expedition. Whilst on the one hand it secured the help of specialized individuals, on the other it had to face determined competitors. The first included men like Bartolomé Ruiz, an expert pilot in the South Seas who held a position reserved for few of the expedition's members. Ruiz, who

92. Lohmann, *Espinosa*, 90-91, 237.

contributed 5,000 gold pesos during preparation for the first voyage,⁹³ was with Pizarro in the Isla del Gallo in 1527, and was named *Piloto Mayor de la Mar del Sur* in the *Capitulación* of Toledo.⁹⁴ Cristóbal de Mena, sent to Nicaragua by the authorities on July 1529 to prevent the departure of Spaniards and slaves for Peru through Panama, was likewise included. Mena lost interest in his initial goal, joined the expedition, and invested in the purchase of horses and slaves he would later sell to other fellow expeditionaries.⁹⁵

Other, more adventurous, conquerors set sail southwards without a previous agreement with Pizarro and Almagro's company. Such was the case of Sebastián de Benalcázar, who met the conquering host in Puerto Viejo, off the coast of modern Ecuador, on November 1531. The 30 men, twelve or fourteen horses and two ships Benalcázar brought in *compañía* with the pilot Juan Fernández, were incorporated in the Peruvian adventure, but the conditions agreed upon are not known. Benalcázar was included in the expedition as Captain, commanding the men he had brought with him. Although his share of the booty at Cajamarca was small, it is likely he received more than was officially registered.⁹⁶ A similar reinforcement arrived with Hernando de Soto, near Christmas of 1531, when the conquerors were in a critical situation due to the Indian attacks in the Island of la Puná, off the Gulf of Guayaquil.

Pizarro had previously appealed to the royal authority, informing that Pedrarias had sent Captain Pedro Albites and Soto to Peru, with 150 men. The Queen replied prohibiting Pedrarias from sending

gente alguna de armada ny en otra manera a hazer entradas ni cabalgadas ny a rescatar ni contratar con los yndios de la dicha provincia ni a otra cosa alguna

93. Mellafe, *Descubrimiento del Perú*, 40.

94. Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, 1:306.

95. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 133.

96. *Ibid.*, 8, 124-25. Busto says Benalcázar joined Pizarro in Coaque, but he does not give his source. See Busto, *Conquista del Perú*, 61.

si no fuere con licencia e consentimiento del dicho Francisco Pizarro....⁹⁷

Soto had had a company with Hernán Ponce de León since at least 1516 or 1517; Ponce stayed in Nicaragua in charge of their affairs. Pizarro's envoys had already contacted these conquistadores, also interested in the southern expedition before the first voyage took place, but apparently no agreement was then made. However, Soto's unit proved essential for the march forward, contributing some hundred soldiers, 25 horses, and two ships.⁹⁸ His presence would prove decisive during the invasion of Peru, due to his condition as experienced captain and his ability to act thoughtfully at moments of difficult times, balancing in some degree Hernando Pizarro's unbridled impetuosity, and even Almagro's. Once again, we do not know the conditions agreed upon by Pizarro and Almagro with Soto and Ponce de León. However, in 1545 Ponce brought a lawsuit in Seville against doña Isabel de Bobadilla, Soto's widow, claiming half the 120,000 gold pesos presumably sent from Peru to Spain by Soto, not a mean amount and probably the outcome of the sale of ships and equipment of the expedition, the booty, and the product of investments made in those first years of conquest.⁹⁹

The last important detachment incorporated in the expedition was that of the *Adelantado* don Pedro de Alvarado, Governor of Guatemala, who reached Quito in August 1534, with the idea of conquering that region. On the field, Almagro's negotiating ability proved victorious. First he encouraged desertion among Alvarado's troops, incorporating them in his. Then, with Alvarado weakened, Almagro bought the complete expedition, as well as the privileges received from the Emperor for the "discovery and conquest of the South Seas."

97. R.C. a Pedrarias, gobernador de Nicaragua, Madrid, 10 de agosto de 1530, in Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:90.

98. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 8, 73; Lohmann, *Espinosa*, 205; Busto, *Conquista del Perú*, 63.

99. The expediente of the lawsuit is in AGI, Justicia 750-A, according to Lohmann, *Espinosa*, 205 n. 1.

The fleet consisted of two galleons, three *naos*, and two *navíos*, and was purchased with all of its belongings by Pizarro and Almagro in one hundred thousand pesos --at least, that is what notarial documents say-- an amount he promised to pay in Jauja, San Miguel, or "any other place," as soon as the money was brought from Jauja.¹⁰⁰ It is quite clear that Alvarado was pressured by the events, and for this reason he would later on claim before Charles V that Almagro had deceived him into accepting the sale.¹⁰¹ According to a recent study on early Spanish Guatemala, the expedition to Peru was Alvarado's "most disastrous, humiliating, and expensive undertaking of his whole career."¹⁰²

Legal protective devices, guaranteed by the *Capitulación* of Toledo, were used simultaneously with deeds on the field.¹⁰³ As soon as he heard of Alvarado's preparations Diego de Porras, the man in charge of Pizarro and Almagro's business and vessels in Panama, presented a writ before Governor Pedro de Barrionuevo, demanding the exclusiveness of their undertaking.¹⁰⁴ A similar petition must have been made at Court. The metropolitan reply did not take long, issuing a *cédula* ordering Alvarado be "expelled" from Peru because his *capitulación* did not apply there.¹⁰⁵

Although we do not have all the details of the above described transactions, the ability of Pizarro and Almagro's company to take command, both in the early moments of uncertainty and progress through unknown lands, as well as after the capture of the Inca booty, clearly stands out. The

100. *HC*, 1:17, 2:10-18.

101. Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú*, 2:33-36.

102. Wendy Kramer, "The Politics of Encomienda Distribution in Early Spanish Guatemala, 1524-1544" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Warwick, 1990), 216.

103. See chapter 2.

104. *Información*, Panamá, 30 de marzo de 1534, AGI, Patronato 193, r. 21, ff. 256-70.

105. R.C. a Francisco de Barrionuevo, gobernador de Tierra Firme, Valladolid, 19 de julio de 1534, in Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:212-14. The Queen had sent a similar order to Alvarado himself the year before, R.C., Zaragoza, 8 de marzo de 1533, in *ibid.*, 1:114.

expeditions which set southwards to join the Pizarrista adventure, or wanted to act independently, were defeated. The political command of this undertaking was thus strengthened, and the military might of the European invaders increased. It was a living and dynamic enterprise that answered to everyday challenges posed both by Indians and Spaniards. It is quite clear they did not have a good idea of what it was they were looking for, not even of the route to be followed. Neither did they have enough men or supplies to advance endlessly in uncharted lands. But the company had enough flexibility and ability to cash in on many resources to their advantage, and with the hope of finding a land as rich as the one already conquered by Cortés.

The Peruvian enterprise was based on the Company formed by Pizarro and Almagro. Even so, the financing of the expedition as a whole was made up by a large network of contributions, both from powerful economic groups as well as small partnerships and individuals. Thus, whilst the main company was responsible for the overall organization, the availability of ships and crews, the inclusion of experienced men and the recruitment of troops in general, each of the participants entered the expedition as a partner, with a contribution usually beginning with themselves and which could be increased with weapons, horses, slaves, and supplies. This is the reason why the expeditioners never called themselves "soldiers" but "*compañeros*," since that term implied a salary a *compañero* did not receive.¹⁰⁶ The profits won by the company were shared in relation to each individual contribution, once the expenses incurred by the main company had been deducted.

The company formed by two conquistadores was another kind of enterprise which simultaneously existed among the expeditionaries. These were independent, with the partners uniting capital and work in minor commercial activities. For instance, the priest Juan Asencio, whom we already met as

106. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 18-20.

Gaspar de Espinosa's agent, bought a horse in company with Friar Francisco de Morales, which they contributed to the Cajamarca campaigns in 1533.¹⁰⁷ Another instance would be the above-mentioned Diego de Porras, Pizarro and Almagro's mayordomo in Panama. Having formed a partnership with a certain Maldonado, he gave him a mare of his pledging to share half the profits it brought in the Peruvian campaigns.¹⁰⁸ The complaint, made long after by Porras, was that

agora ha savido que valió la dicha yegua con la parte que ganó quatro mill y seys cientos pesos de oro y que no le ha querido dar dellos más de mill pesos de oro aviéndole de dar dos mill y trezientos, de que rescibe agravio....¹⁰⁹

Whilst some of these companies had a specific objective and did not last long, others ended only with the death of the partners.¹¹⁰ The partners could join the main conquest company individually or together.

Finally, a group of merchants also took part in the expedition. Acting as a link between the campaigning conquistadores and the European supply stations in Panama, some joined the conquest adventure whilst others followed it at a safe distance in their own ships. Among the first, for instance were two men in Cajamarca as conquistadores. Pedro Pinelo received his share of the Inca's ransom for the part

107. Lohmann, *Espinosa*, 227. Since these partners do not appear in the allotment lists of Cajamarca, they presumably did not arrive until after the Inca was captured, but not too long afterwards because Francisco de Morales attended the Inca's burial (Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 321).

108. For the many Maldonados, both present and absent in Peru, see *ibid.*, 222-23. On the other hand Diego de Maldonado, the only one with that last name appearing in the allotment of Cajamarca as a horseman, received 7,770 gold pesos and 362 silver marks. Gonzalo, the other Maldonado present at Cajamarca, appears among the foot soldiers, receiving 4,440 gold pesos and 181 silver marks. The best list of the allotment in *ibid.*, 96-102.

109. R.C. a los gobernadores y justicias de las Indias, Palencia, 28 de setiembre de 1534, AGI, Panamá 234, lib. 5, f. 180.

110. Many pairs of conquistadores who formed companies are listed in Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 73, n. 23.

he played as a foot soldier, whilst Pedro Cataño received his as "*de a caballo*." Although only indirect evidence is available, both surnames were related to Genoese families resident in Seville who actively traded with the Indies since the time of Columbus.¹¹¹ An even more outstanding instance is that of Domingo de Soraluca, one of Pizarro's companions in the Isla del Gallo, who since 1529 had taken over the greatest commercial company working between Panama and Seville, formed by his fellow Guipuzcoans Martín de Zubizarreta, Francisco de Churruca, Juan Pérez de Achotegui, and Juan Saez de Aramburu.¹¹² Francisco de Calahorra, a merchant's factor, was in a class all by himself. In 1534 he was with the Spanish host, then some two hundred men, collecting debts and selling goods but without participating in battle, so he was not taken as a conquistador.¹¹³

According to the following passage, those individuals who entered Cajamarca once the battle was over may also be included in the same group:

De cierta cantidad de oro que el gobernador apartó [del rescate de Atahualpa], e dejó por repartir, dio parte dello a los vecinos que quedaron en el pueblo de Sanct Miguel e a toda la gente que fue con el capitán Diego de Almagro, e a todos los mercaderes e marineros que, después de la guerra hecha, vinieron a la fundición; por manera que a todos los españoles que en aquella tierra e reino se hallaron, alcanzó parte.¹¹⁴

Merchants served as suppliers, financiers, and agents in different operations. They did not belong to the expedition itself, but in their constant travels they supplied weapons, horses, food, and other items, at first on credit and then receiving the precious metals pillaged from the Indians. As can be surmised, some adventurous individuals who were not related to traditional merchant families also acted as such,

111. Ibid., 26, 293, 309.

112. Otte, "Mercaderes vascos y los Pizarro," 777, 780. In 1532 Domingo de Soraluca was accused by his partners in Seville, of having been more a soldier than a merchant (ibid., 780), suggesting his presence in the expedition to Peru was at first commercially motivated.

113. Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 83.

114. Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia de las Indias*, 5:80.

occasionally or permanently. Such was the clear-cut case of Pascual de Andagoya; after losing his chance of conquering Peru, he collaborated with Pizarro and Almagro's company, making a fortune with his ships and dealings.¹¹⁵

The flow of European goods in one direction, and precious metals in the opposite one, was essential for the maintenance and survival of the European expeditions, the Peruvian one in particular. With the booty obtained --or with credit raised on the promise of a future booty-- the expeditions could supply their wants and preserve their strategic and technological superiority over the Indian groups. The products thus exported from New Spain to Peru during the 1530s and 1540s consisted everything needed for a land being conquered: weapons, gunpowder, and other military implements, as well as horses, meat, and sugar. Later on, seeds and cattle were sent from Mexico once the development of Spanish agriculture and cattle-raising in Peru was feasible, switching over to luxury imports towards 1550. Its previous incorporation to the European economy allowed Mexico to supply Peru with essentially different products, according to what stage the colonization of Peru was in.¹¹⁶

Right from the very beginning, a conquest-company's greatest expectation had been permanent settlement in the lands the conquistadores hoped to rule, so the profits of their investments would come once the native peoples were conquered. Although the spoils of Cajamarca surprised a Europe which would henceforth associate Peru with immense amounts of gold, this was just the beginning of an era of colonial exploitation which would transform the Andean economy and society in just a few years, placing them under the command of a distant imperial Spain, and of a somewhat less distant group of privileged conquistadores. However, the

115. See, for example, *CDIAO*, 39:552-57, where an imprecise reference is made to Fernández de Oviedo and Antonio de Herrera.

116. Woodrow W. Borah, *Early Colonial Trade and Navigation between Mexico and Peru*, *Ibero-Americana* no. 38 (Los Angeles, 1954), 84.

financial support required a precise legal frame, one that found its definitive shape in the *Capitulación* of Toledo, the contract giving exclusive rights to Pizarro and Almagro's company. To make this contract Pizarro had had to travel to Spain, once he concluded his explorations of the so called *Costa del Levante*. He then tried to free himself from the patronage to which he had so far been subject, by reaching a direct agreement with the Crown.

CHAPTER 2

CAPITULACION, GRANTS, AND CONTROLS

A. THE CAPITULACION OF TOLEDO AND THE FIRST GRANTS

Royal acknowledgement of the *Compañía del Levante* would be as important as its financial organization: it would neutralize the desires of other conquistadores also interested in the news coming from the south. The company's exclusive rights would reduce the risks facing Pizarro's third expedition --i.e., from the point of view of competition between Spaniards--, thus making it easier to raise loans. These were the reasons why Pizarro halted his advance and went instead to Spain.

Access to power-groups within the Castilian Court required great dedication and ability, to get in touch with the secretaries, counsellors, and the King himself. In his extraordinary *Francisco de los Cobos, Secretario de Carlos V*, Howard Keniston pictures the upper echelons of the Spanish bureaucratic machine, described in the prologue by Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino as:

un organismo vivo con las intrigas, las mezquindades, las ambiciones y las ansias de poder de unos hombres. También caen dentro de esa descripción el trabajo infatigable de los mismos y su constante dedicación a la empresa imperial.¹

With such traits, Pizarro must have gone to Spain armed not only with Pedro de Candia's exaggerated account and a flock of American cameloids, but also with reliable contacts. I believe the conquistador's strategy began in Tierra Firme, when he had established connections with powerful men who had

1. Hayward Keniston, *Francisco de los Cobos. Secretario de Carlos V*, trans. and intr. Rafael Rodríguez-Moñino Soriano (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1980), xxi.

personal influences at Court. The most important of these was *Licenciado* Espinosa, who had contacts and corresponded with many high-ranking individuals in Spain. But the contract signed in Panama with treasurer Puente on Pizarro's behalf by Almagro and Luque, on 27 January 1526, offering gold in exchange for his influence before the King, also stands out.²

Finally, one should also bear in mind that the conquistador had taken part in an expedition with the brother-in-law of the powerful royal secretary Lope Conchillos. In 1507 Ferdinand placed Conchillos and Bishop Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca in charge of matters pertaining to the Indies. A year later Francisco de los Cobos, then beginning his spectacular career, appeared as Conchillos servant, clerk, and scribe.³ By the time Pizarro reached Spain, Cobos was one of the most important people in the Castilian Court of Charles V. The study of sources showing Pizarro's connections in later years, allows us to deduce that he made a great effort to get near Cobos and his circle. From these, the most important ones were Juan de Samano and Juan Vázquez de Molina.⁴

On 20 November 1519 Cobos was named "fundidor and marcador mayor" of Yucatán and the lands conquered by Diego Velázquez. But on being told of new discoveries, he used his advantageous position in the Council of the Indies and immediately requested the extension of his privilege. The treasures discovered in Mexico and Peru would become the main source of his fortune.⁵

During Pizarro's visit, Cobos took steps to ensure his funds were properly collected. On 6 March 1529 he gave Juan de Samano power of attorney to collect the proceedings of a grant he had received, consisting of

2. Porras, *Nombre del Perú*, 61.

3. Keniston, *Francisco de los Cobos*, 13.

4. On 15 November 1519, Samano had been appointed secretary of the Indies and secretary to Cobos, a friendship he would keep until his death (*ibid.*, 46).

5. *Ibid.*, 53.

20 mil ducados librados en las Islas Española, San Juan, y Cuba y Nueva España, y de las salinas de Indias y del oficio de fundidor y marcador mayor del oro y plata....⁶

On 23 November Samano "substituted" this letter so it could be used by Pizarro and the three royal officials assigned to the expedition: Alonso Riquelme, Antonio Navarro, and García de Salcedo.⁷ In a letter sent by Pizarro to Samano from Cajamarca, on 8 June 1533, he asked straight away for help at Court to obtain grants, in particular those concerning the limits of his jurisdiction. In return, Pizarro offered to "aprovechar las cosas de su servicio," also noting he was remitting gold from the smelting tax to Cobos.⁸ Two months later, when Espinosa wrote to Cobos about the enormous treasure of Atahuallpa, he offered to send him his share.⁹

A recent study reviewed the metropolitan decisions relating to Peru, noting that some other people favoured Pizarro in Spain. The most influential of these was Cardinal García de Loaysa, President of the Council of the Indies, but Diego Beltrán, councillor of the Indies, and Juan Suárez de Carvajal, Bishop of Lugo, were also important. Beltrán was indebted to Pizarro for the favour shown in Peru to his sons, Antonio Beltrán and Bernardino de Mella. The latter recommended his brothers Illán Suárez de Carvajal and *Licenciado* Benito Suárez de Carvajal, who went to Peru with Hernando Pizarro.¹⁰

The arrival to Spain was probably unpleasant. Pizarro and *Licenciado* Corral were imprisoned because of a collective debt incurred by "los concejos y vezinos de la ciudad de Darién y villas de Acla y el Nombre de Dios." However, a writ issued by the Royal Council ordered them freed, under a promise of personally appearing before the Council, "y con

6. Bertram T. Lee, "Algunos documentos sobre los primeros conquistadores," *Revista Histórica* 8, (1928): 372-74.

7. *Ibid.*, 374-75.

8. Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 37.

9. Keniston, *Francisco de los Cobos*, 151.

10. Victoria Carmona Vergara, "Informadores en la corte y consecuencias políticas en el Perú temprano." Paper presented at the Tercer Congreso de Estudiantes de Historia, Universidad Católica del Perú (Lima, 1993).

esto les alcen la carcelería o prisión que les está hecha."¹¹ The chronicler Herrera y Tordesillas states the doubtful opinion that it was Cortés who used his influence to free his fellow countryman.¹²

After Pizarro's first steps at Court were over, he switched to the more practical side of giving legal shape to the agreement both parties would sign. The decisive document for these cases was the *Capitulación*; it had its origins in the Spanish Middle Ages, and its purpose was to secure the prescriptive right to a reward for the conqueror who served the Crown at his own expense.¹³ The *Capitulación* between Pizarro and Empress Isabel is dated on 26 July, but was signed only on 17 August 1529.¹⁴ In it the conquistador was licensed to continue his discovery, conquer, and planting Peru.¹⁵ To this end the same document offered many grants for the moment when he actually took possession of the land, but its most striking aspect is the cautiousness shown by the

11. The document does not show who it was forwarded to, probably because the upper end has been cut off. It is dated in Toledo, 6 February 1529, AGI, Panamá 234, lib. 3, f. 280. This episode was retold by Busto, *Francisco Pizarro*, 44-45 and Manuel Ballesteros, *Francisco Pizarro* (Madrid: Historia 16 y Quorum, 1987), 51-52, in both cases without indicating a source. On the other hand, the Council of Justice of Castile was also known as the Royal Council. It named the judges of the *Chancillería* of Valladolid, and then those of Granada and the Indies. Towards the end of the reign of Ferdinand matters pertaining to the Indies, the Casa de Contratación included, were administered by a sub-committee of the Royal Council (Keniston, *Francisco de los Cobos*, 9-10).

12. Ballesteros, *Francisco Pizarro*, 52.

13. Góngora, *Colonial Spanish America*, 21.

14. According to Porras, the original copy was found by him in AGI, Patronato 90, no. 1, r. 3. He also deduces it was Empress Isabel, wife of Charles V, who signed the *Capitulación* with Pizarro, and not his mother, Queen Juana (Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:xix, xxii). Notice by coincidence it was also on 26 July that the Inca Atahualpa was executed, in 1533.

15. The complete text was published in *ibid.*, 18-24, and related documents in the pages following. Vas Mingo, *Capitulaciones de Indias*, 259-65, publishes only the text of the *Capitulación*, transcribed from AGI, Indiferente 415, lib. 1, ff. 115-20.

Castilian officials. Although at first sight one might be impressed by the Crown's generosity, however careful revision shows it definitely assumed only two important pledges: first, to give Pizarro and Almagro's company exclusive rights over the adventure, and, second, to aid them in buying horses, guns, and supplies. The titles and annuities for the conquistadores would only materialize if the riches they promised did indeed exist, and they did indeed conquer them.

The *Capitulación* offered to extend the privileges granted when detailed knowledge of the new land was obtained, especially for Pizarro, who seems to have specified his claims in full. The request for vassals was thus left pending, but in the meantime he was given

la veintena parte de todos los pechos que nos toviéramos en cada un año en la dicha tierra, con tanto que no exceda de mil e quinientos ducados, los mil para vos, el dicho capitán Pizarro, e los quinientos para el dicho Diego de Almagro....¹⁶

The much-desired encomiendas, grants of Indians, were similarly treated, cautiously promising

poder para que en nuestro nombre... fagays la encomienda de los yndios de la dicha tierra, guardando en ellas las ynstruciones e hordenanças que vos serán dadas....¹⁷

Money and Indians undoubtedly were the two most delicate and interesting matters in the conquest of Peru. For the moment they were, however, left aside, even though in coming years the royal attitude would show a desire to fulfil the pledges made on vassals and encomiendas, at least whilst a state of war persisted and European organization of the land was completed.

The *Capitulación* came together with a set of cédulas issued in the same place and date, conceding the *mercedes* or grants contractually offered in it as well as some additional ones. In this way Pizarro received the titles of Gobernador and *Justicia*, *Capitán General*, *Adelantado*, and *Alguacil Mayor*; he was also given a life salary of 1,000 ducados a year from his *gobernación's* revenue, and the *tenencia* of

16. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:20, 35.

17. *Ibid.*, 20-21.

Peru's fortresses. He was, on the other hand, given the *gobernación* of the Island of las Flores, near Panama, for as long as he so desired, in return for 200,000 maravedís per year. Finally, the *encomiendas* of Indians and properties in Tierra Firme belonging to Pizarro, Luque, and Almagro would be retained.

A different group of grants gave tax exemptions. Pizarro was thus licensed to take 50 slaves without paying dues; exempted from paying the *almojarifazgo* for up to 3,000 gold pesos of merchandise, and provided with up to 40 quintals of saltpetre at the low price at which the Crown bought it. But even more important was the direct support given, in particular regarding financing the purchase of guns and supplies. A *cédula* authorized Pizarro to buy pieces of artillery up to 300,000 maravedís worth, whose value would be reimbursed to him from the Royal Treasury in Tierra Firme. Furthermore, in Nombre de Dios the Crown would give him three *tiros* of bronze free of charge, as well as sulphur, saltpetre, lead, and cauldrons, to be paid only when his *gobernación* had revenues.¹⁸

As for the earliest honorary grants, two asked by Pizarro at the Court stand out: his coat of arms, bestowed on 13 November 1529 --the first of three he would be given--, and his entry to the Order of Santiago as Knight. For the latter it was ordered that an *Información* on his lineage be taken in his hometown, and it was finished in 1529.¹⁹ Late

18. References are in appendix 1. The issue of royal armament to this expedition was not exceptional, as can be gauged by a *visita* made by *Licenciado* Cristóbal Vaca de Castro to the fortress of Santo Domingo, on 7 January 1541, whose *alcaide* was Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo. The inventory mentions numerous occasions when crossbows, *tiros*, bronzes, and other items were handed out to different expeditions, although the Peruvian one is not mentioned (AGI, Patronato 173, no. 1, r. 9. Published in *Reales cédulas y correspondencia de gobernadores de Santo Domingo. De la regencia del cardenal Cisneros en adelante*, vol. 1 of *Colección Histórico Documental Trujilloniana*, (Madrid, 1958) 273-302).

19. Porras carefully scrutinized this *Información* to establish some early parts of Pizarro's life.

that year Pizarro requested that the Habit of Santiago be given to him in Seville, where he was preparing the fleet he would take to the South Seas.²⁰ The *Capitulación* and the set of documents forming the contractual agreement between Pizarro and the Crown reveal the confidence both parties had in the success of the company, and the need each had of the other to do so. Although Pizarro had taken to the Court some Indians from the periphery of the Inca Empire, as well as various animals and goods whose exoticness must have impressed the Emperor, it is nonetheless surprising that the Crown took a hand in financing the adventure. Though not a big amount, it does exemplify the active role it had in the European penetration of America, on the financial side as well as in the control it somehow exerted over the expeditions through certain strategic supplies, firearms, and the metals needed to produce them. *Mercedes* granted to the Pizarros are listed in appendix 1.

When the *Capitulación* was over, Pizarro went briefly to Trujillo.²¹ Despite his efforts, Porras found no traces of this visit.²² However, the testimony given by the priest Pedro Martínez says he saw the conquistador

en esta cibdad de Truxillo, siendo este testigo pequeño, y que fue quando vino la primera vez a España el dicho marqués don Francisco Pizarro de Yndias....²³

Pizarro undoubtedly left Trujillo and Spain in a hurry "porque, lo uno, él tenía pocos dineros que gastar, y lo otro, no vía ya la hora que estar en la tierra que dexaba descubierta."²⁴

The conditions reached with the Crown echo those agreed upon by Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque who, perhaps due to the

20. Lohmann, *Espinosa*, 265.

21. Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Tercera parte*, 81.

22. Porras, *Pizarro*, 17.

23. Trujillo, 24 de abril de 1566, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 685v-86v.

24. Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Tercera parte*, 82.

Capitulación, decided to renew their society in Panama, on 12 May 1530.²⁵

The Authorities in Panama

During the time Pedrarias was Governor, the expeditions organized from Tierra Firme had him not only as sponsor and direct participant, but also as the person responsible before the metropolitan authorities. The letters forwarded straight to the King and the Council of the Indies by the captains and men of different expeditions, were motivated by the desire for bigger prerogatives and grants than those the Governor could offer. However, once the royal *capitulación* to begin an expedition had been obtained, the officials of the lands with juridical authority became a source of information, and occasionally the executors of royal authority.

The Peruvian expedition had followed the prescribed steps, and from the moment the ships set sail from Spain in 1530, letters had been sent to the authorities in Tierra Firme and to *Licenciado* Juan de Salmerón, Oidor in New Spain, requesting an *Información* on the reason why there were no *oficiales reales* in it.²⁶ *Licenciado* Antonio de la Gama, *Juez de residencia* and Governor of Panama, took advantage of the situation and tried to show how zealously he did his job. In a letter to the King sent from Nombre de Dios, on 24 May 1531, he accused the expeditionaries of many irregularities. When the *Licenciado* arrived to Panama Pizarro had already left for the Island of las Perlas, on the Gulf of Panama, so he sent a subordinate after him to carry out a *visita*, an official inspection.²⁷ De la Gama reported having found only

25. The document is summarized in Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 327. It comes from Cieza's chronicle, Almagro's lawsuit against the Pizarros (AGI, Escribanía 1007-B, f. 720), and the *CDIHCh*, 5:236. As with other documents related to this topic, its authenticity has yet to be demonstrated.

26. R.C. al licenciado Juan de Salmerón, Madrid, 10 de octubre de 1530. Published in Porrás, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:89-90.

27. A reference made to the Island of las Perlas said: "son aquellas islas la primera tierra que los que vienen del Perú reconocen." (Gasca a Guillermo de Malineo, Palencia, 23

two of the Dominican friars but no royal officials, although Riquelme had gone with the visitador to join the expedition. Besides, half the men Pizarro was taking were "muy ruyn e dohente [y la expedición] no llevaba bastimento ni armas que convenía...."²⁸

Not surprisingly, Captain Cristóbal de Mena did not allow the visitador on board his ship. According to de la Gama, there were two reasons for this. First, that some of the expeditionaries hidden inside the ship had left Panama notwithstanding "que estaban sobre juramento que no saldrían de la tierra sin pagar algunas deudas, e se fueron escondidamente a donde el dicho Pizarro...." Second, it seems they were trying to finance the costly voyage which lay ahead, and "el dicho Hernando Pizarro mandó sacar perlas a ciertos indios, sin para ello tener licencia...." On Hernando Pizarro, de la Gama remarked something continually mentioned by all those who would meet him: "llevaba medio alterada e amotinada alguna gente della que iba con el dicho Pizarro... y aun dízenme que allá en España se había desnaturado de los reinos de Vuestra Magestad e si yo supiera antes que de aquí se parcyera no le dexara ir con el dicho Pizarro. Plega a nuestro señor que allá no les acaesa algo de lo que acá todos piensan."²⁹

De la Gama's letters were replied by a cédula and a letter from the Queen. The cédula commanded him to summon those responsible for the affairs of the Island of las Perlas, to mete out justice, whilst the letter thanked him for reporting the arrival "a la tierra" of the Pizarros, and the forthcoming shipment of gold and silver.³⁰ He later reported a ship had taken to Panama "unos frailes dominicos

de agosto de 1553, in Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso, ed., *Documentos relativos a don Pedro de la Gasca y a Gonzalo Pizarro* [Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1964], 1:208).

28. *Licenciado* de la Gama a S.M., Nombre de Dios, 24 de mayo de 1531, AGI, Patronato 194, r. 3, ff. 3-4v.

29. *Ibid.*

30. La reina al *Licenciado* de la Gama, *juez de residencia* de Tierra Firme, Medina del Campo, 19 de diciembre de 1531, AGI, Panamá 234, lib. 5, f. 8.

y otros franciscos," who had gone to Peru from Nicaragua. No gold had come in that ship, he said, but another was expected and it would bring the much-desired metals. He worried once more over the behaviour of the conquistadores, sending an *Información* on the treatment given to the Indians on the Island of las Flores by Almagro, showing "cómo son tratados e trabajados e cómo convendría quitarlos del arrendamiento en questán, ques muy grande cargo de conciencia que estén ansí."³¹

The arraignment was successful because a few months later, the Queen issued a *cédula* recalling the conditions under which the 1529 *Capitulación* had conceded the Island of las Flores to Pizarro, as well as the *Informaciones* received concerning his nonfulfilment. As for the Indians, she said that

los trabaja mucho sacándolos de su tierra y llevándolos a otras partes a trabajar, e hazer canoas, e a guardar puercos e acarrear madera para un navío quel dicho Francisco Pizarro dizque haze en esa tierra... e que la persona quel dicho Francisco Pizarro tiene en la dicha isla para que los granjee los llama perros, y les da palos, y les haze comer yervas, y que a esta causa muchos de los dichos indios se an ydo e ausentado de la dicha isla....³²

The *cédula* ended by commanding an inspection of

de qué manera el dicho Francisco Pizarro y sus fatores y criados an tratado y tratan los dichos yndios y no consintáis ni deis lugar a que sean maltratados....³³

Despite the apparent clash between officials and conquistadores, everything changed completely once Hernando went to Spain. Among other things, the King commanded that Almagro should not be deprived of his possessions in Tierra

31. *Licenciado* de la Gama a S.M., Panamá, 25 de febrero de 1532, AGI, Patronato 194, r. 9, f. 24. Inca lands would be entered a few months after this letter, since Pizarro would set inland from Tumbes only on May 1532. As for the Island of las Flores, the Spanish Crown took possession of it on 29 January 1519, according to a *testimonio* sent by Pedrarias to the King (*CDIAO*, 10:12-18).

32. La reina al gobernador o juez de residencia de Tierra Firme, Segovia, 28 de setiembre de 1532, AGI, Indiferente 415, lib. 1, ff. 131v-33.

33. *Ibid.*

Firme or on the Island of las Flores; quite the contrary, "le hayais por encomendado y le ayudéis y favorescáis que en ello me serviréis."³⁴

The halo of royal favour surrounding Hernando probably convinced de la Gama it would be wiser to join the Pizarros, in particular since he suspected he would soon travel to Peru on an official mission. He thus wrote to the Emperor complaining of the trouble Francisco de Barrionuevo, the new Governor, had caused Hernando, to which the King replied commanding the officials in Tierra Firme to avoid annoying Hernando or de la Gama.³⁵ By then Hernando and the *Licenciado* were fast friends, dining at the same table, and exchanging presents. They even travelled together to Nombre de Dios, to inspect the ship which would take Hernando and the gold from Peru to Spain.³⁶

B. NEW NEGOTIATIONS AT COURT WITH HERNANDO PIZARRO

In their clash with the Inca state, the Spaniards had managed to enter its lands and take the military and political initiative. Until then, the legal framework had been provided by the *Capitulación* and related documents of 1529. An unavoidable conclusion is that the legal apparatus had a favourable effect on the Pizarrista adventure. As we already saw, on 10 August 1530 the exclusiveness granted to the expedition produced a *cédula* prohibiting Pedrarias, just promoted to Governor and Captain-General of the province of Nicaragua, from sending a 150-strong expedition to the

34. El rey al gobernador de Tierra Firme, Toledo, 18 de abril de 1534, AGI, Panamá 234, lib. 5, f. 158.

35. El rey a Francisco de Barrionuevo, gobernador, y a los oficiales de Tierra Firme, Valladolid, 19 de julio de 1534, *ibid.*, f. 174.

36. Descargo del licenciado de la Gama en su juicio de residencia, Panamá, 17 de marzo de 1534, in Víctor M. Barriga, *Los mercedarios en el Perú en el siglo XVI. Documentos inéditos del Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla* (Roma-Arequipa, 1933-54), 2:53-54. On his return from Peru Captain Mena also shared this new friendship, and the group grew due to the presence, in Peru, of Sebastián de la Gama, brother to the *Licenciado*.

province of Tumbes, under the command of Hernando de Soto and Pedro de Arbites, plus all *cabalgadas* and *entradas* or even from trading with Indians in Pizarro's *gobernación*. Years later, on 8 March 1533, a new *cédula* with a similar prohibition was issued, this time against Pedro de Alvarado, Governor of Guatemala, and his men. The Crown thus fulfilled its most important pledge: to ensure that no other conquistador-entrepreneur meddled with the conquest of Peru.

Pizarro had to keep in touch with the Crown, reporting on his advances and needs, and requesting prerogatives according to what the conquest and opposing groups demanded. Already from the Island of la Puná he had sent Rodrigo de Mazuelas, early in 1532, with a commission to intercede before the Court on behalf of Pizarro and other conquistadores.³⁷ He also took with him a *Relación* Pizarro sent to the Council of the Indies,³⁸ soon answered with a request for a "descripción del Perú," plus a detailed account of the services rendered by the conquistadores,

e lo que después que ansy la conquistaron e poblaron an sydo aprovechados, ansy del repartimiento de yndios como de otra manera....³⁹

Behind this command lay the royal intention of granting the Indian repartimientos in perpetuity to the conquistadores and their descendants.

As for the Spanish government in the new lands, the Crown was still interested in upholding the preeminence of the Pizarrista group, gradually granted the remaining faculties offered in the 1529 *Capitulación*. On 8 March 1533 Queen Isabel declared the intention of granting perpetual repartimientos to those conquistadores who decided to remain in Peru, keeping some aside for the Crown itself, and for future possible contingencies.⁴⁰ Considering it was Pizarro who controlled the distribution of the repartimientos, the

37. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1: *passim*; Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 235; Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, 147-48.

38. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú* 1:125.

39. *Ibid.*, 127.

40. *Ibid.*, 1: 126-29.

Crown was in fact confirming his exclusive right to shape the European settlement in Peru.

At Court, Mazuelas succeeded in inflaming royal interest in the Peruvian enterprise, simultaneously pressuring for the continued concession of rewards to Pizarro and other conquistadores, for their labours against the Indians. However, it was essential that, on Pizarro's initiative, a completely new event forced the Crown to renew the legal and political framework agreed upon in 1529. The opportunity would arrive after Inca Atahualpa was captured, showing beyond all possible doubt that Indian might had been broken. The necessary conditions for the establishment of an exploitative framework according to metropolitan interests, would come after the silver and gold of the first pillages and the Inca's ransom were distributed. At this moment Hernando sought to renew the agreement between the Pizarros and the Crown, by showing that his group of conquistadores still fell within the Crown's economic and political interests, no longer in terms of promises but realities.

To this end Hernando --the most unruly and educated of the brothers-- travelled to Spain weighed with precious metals, once the *reparto* at Cajamarca had concluded. On arriving to Seville in 1534, he handed the corresponding royal fifth to the Crown officials; this first shipment from Peru would serve as a negotiating device to obtain the Crown's support in the succeeding stages of the conquest.⁴¹ The Royal Treasury was satisfied with this delivery, but Hernando ably managed to personally commit himself to transporting all succeeding shipments of Peruvian bullion.

Hernando evidently acted on behalf of his brother Francisco, on whom fell the command of the adventure. Although Hernando took advantage of the situation to request some *mercedes* and improve his lot, the documentation examined shows no sign that he tried to question or diminish his brother's lead. So it was understood by the metropolitan

41. See María Emelina Martín Acosta, *El dinero americano y la política del imperio* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992), 39-42.

authority, which would refer to this moment a while after remarking that

nuestra intención fue quando se le dio [la provisión para traer el oro de esa provincia a Hernando Pizarro] que vos [Francisco Pizarro] lo aviades de hazer por ser vos y él una misma cosa....⁴²

On arriving to Spain, Hernando hired the services of the well-known solicitor Sebastián Rodríguez, who would henceforth represent the interests of the Pizarros. A series of requests must have been made after Hernando appeared before the Emperor.⁴³ The Crown accepted the actualization on the conditions proposed by the Pizarros. To this end, a set of royal cédulas was issued between May and October 1534; as in 1529, so there were now different kinds of decrees. Whilst some directly sought to strengthen the Pizarros' political power in Peru, giving them honourific grants, others instead favoured the colonial exploitation of the land. Of the first, the one extending Pizarro's *gobernación* 270 leagues south of the Spanish settlement of Santiago or Zemunqueya, instead of the 200 initially granted, obviously stood out.⁴⁴ Another cédula authorised him to name Almagro, Hernando Pizarro, or any other person he saw fit, as his successor in the *gobernación*. But the one giving Pizarro permission to grant repartimientos was even more important, even though he had to send the appointments to Spain, so the King would confirm them. Although the 1529 *Capitulación* had offered to so empower him, it had not yet been legally sanctioned, so the form used in the Peruvian repartimientos had an interim status. This time the Crown gave him the necessary jurisdiction, and there soon was a change in the formulas used in the cédulas granting repartimientos.

42. R.C. a FP, Monzón, 10 de octubre de 1537, in Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú*, 2:54.

43. The written request for the *mercedes* has not been found, but each individual cédula mentions a specific request.

44. This extension is contradicted by the *Capitulación* signed by the Crown and Almagro that same year, giving him 200 leagues immediately south of Pizarro's 200.

Pizarro could also appoint three life-long *regidores* in each of the *regimientos* or *cabildos* founded in his *gobernación*. As for the honorary grants, the most important of all was one bestowed on Hernando, the Habit of Santiago, and a lifelong salary of 200,000 maravedís a year from Peru's revenue, all for services rendered during the conquest of Peru; Hernando and Francisco were also allowed to take four white female slaves to Peru, paying a tariff of 4 ducados each.⁴⁵

However, the most important *mercedes*, both for the Crown and the Pizarros, were the ones whose aim it was to lay down the foundations of colonial production, in great measure a subsidy favourable for the use of metropolitan capital and technology. And the royal support received by the Pizarros strengthened their position as Peru's foremost entrepreneurs. The Crown thus permitted Francisco and Hernando to take 100 tariff-free slaves each "por que con ellos se sacaría oro en las dichas minas [que se han descubierto] de que nuestras rentas serían acrecentadas...."⁴⁶ Hernando, who had just bought a 125-ton ship called the "María Ana" for 1,000 gold ducados, and had another vessel laden with wares in Seville (perhaps the same one), was named Captain of the armada taking him to Peru until he reached the place "where his brother was," and was given permission to take 50 passengers to Peru.⁴⁷ He was likewise exempted from paying the

45. Emilio Harth-Terré, "Esclavas blancas en Lima: 1537," *El Comercio* (Lima), 3 June 1963, affirms many white slaves were taken to America between 1506 and 1527, to New Spain in particular. For Peru he notes the presence of one Isabel de Manduja in a protocol of Francisco Pinto, notary, preserved in Lima's Archivo General de la Nación, but does not give a complete archival reference. Even more interesting is the reference this same scholar makes to the purchase of a white slave in 1,200 *castellanos* made on June 1537 by Juan de Vallejo, and the letter of freedom Lope de Idiáquez gave that same month to a white slave of his called Beatriz, branded on the chin, "por los buenos servicios que le ha prestado".

46. Porrás, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:160.

47. Sevilla, 5 de junio de 1534, in *Catálogo de los fondos americanos del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla*, vol. 6: *Siglos XV y XVI* (Sevilla: Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de América, 1986), 54.

almojarifazgo due for 1,000 ducados of wares which could be sold along the road, six horses, and six mules. Foreseeing the needs of his troops, Hernando was given permission to take Indian women from the Island of las Perlas to cook for them whilst staying in Panama, "por no haberlas ahí suficientes," on condition they were returned to their homeplace, were payed, and their husbands --if married-- or parents --if single-- had consented to their departure.⁴⁸ There is no doubt the conquistadores took with this retinue everything the Crown could offer for the serious exploitation of their lands.

Finally, the Pizarros used the occasion to demand for their company the exclusive rights to the conquest of Peru. As a result Hernando received two cédulas aimed at neutralizing foreign parties: one for the Marqués del Valle, forbidding him to go to Peru with the army he was raising in New Spain; the other for Francisco de Barrionuevo, Governor of Tierra Firme, who should expel Pedro de Alvarado, Governor of Guatemala, from the Peruvian provinces.⁴⁹

But the cédulas given around those dates also had another side, one representing the Crown which set claims on, and limits over, the Pizarros. Two cédulas commanded Francisco and the royal officials in Peru, to give Hernando the existing amounts of royal fifths so he could take them to Spain. A detailed *Instrucción* was also given to him explaining how he should take the gold, ask Pizarro, Almagro and all other conquistadores for a donation and, finally, how he should inform the Crown of the amount of gold and silver he would take on his next voyage, using a secret code provided.⁵⁰ Hernando guardedly secured a royal cédula,

48. Carlos V al gobernador de Tierra Firme, AGI, Panamá 234, lib. 5, ff. 174v-75.

49. Miguel León-Portilla, *Hernán Cortés y la Mar del Sur* (Madrid: Cultura Hispánica, 1985).

50. This code outdates the one Lohmann considered the first official one, from Gasca's time (Guillermo Lohmann Villena, "Cifras y claves indianas. Capítulos provisionales de un estudio sobre criptografía indiana," offprint of *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 11 (1954): 22.

forwarded to his brother the Governor, wherein he was protected from any damages resulting from his absence, in particular concerning the distribution of treasures, encomiendas, or offices. Charles V clearly let it be known he was "muy servido" with Hernando's voyage, and thus expected that "en sus haziendas y aprovechamientos desa tierra [Peru] no reciba agravio por aver estado ausente...."⁵¹

Hernando showed he was the ablest person to negotiate at Court: he had convinced the imperial bureaucracy the Pizarros were still the best possible choice for the continuance of the conquest of Peru. The Royal Treasury had, on the one hand, received part of its fifths and the promise of bigger shipments in the near future. In return, the Pizarros received the renewal of the conditions agreed upon in 1529, strengthening their political control and extending their prerogatives for governing the land. On the other hand, the political advantages came together with the primacy they had been conceded to exploit Peru's resources. Hernando had obtained a series of licences and tax-exemptions, particularly for the introduction of metropolitan capital and technology into mining.

Although all of these preparations were aimed towards labours which would be more eagerly carried out in Peru, Hernando also left behind in Spain an organization which would have to respond to the new conditions. Besides the solicitor now representing the Pizarros at the Court, Hernando had also invested in *juros*, different kinds of annuities, and real estate, on his own and on his brothers' behalf, especially in Trujillo and its environs. The merchants and bankers representing him in Seville, and his *criados* in Trujillo, had detailed instructions on keeping alive the European end of the enterprise. The organization left behind in Spain thus insured direct exchanges with the Crown, simultaneously heading the family's investments towards the areas determined by the absent conquistadores.

51. Porrás, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:188-89.

Hernando's presence in Spain could not but confirm before the metropolis that the Trujillan brothers were the ones who truly commanded the enterprise.

Diego de Almagro had also given Hernando power of attorney to request some mercedes in his name, and the Crown did in fact grant some of them. However, it is much more likely that on this occasion Almagro was once again displaced by a Pizarro, as had happened in 1529; what few grants he received probably originated in the requests made by Cristóbal de Mena and Juan de Sosa, his other two envoys. In Peru, the clashes between the Pizarros and Almagro had by then reached a decisive stage.

Though in no way taking his testimony to be necessarily true, when summarizing the confrontation Cieza was quite clear:

Dizen que estando en la Corte, Hernando Pizarro procurava por las vías que podía de anichilar la persona de Almagro escureciendo sus servicios. Mas que llegando Cristóval de Mena ynformó al contrario de aquello, dando cartas de Almagro al Enperador y a los señores del Consejo.... Y se libró la provisión [que otorgaba la gobernación de Nueva Toledo a Almagro], informando sienpre bien de Almagro Cristóval de Mena y Juan de Sosa, los quales trayan poder de Almagro sin rebocar el de Hernando Pizarro sino para que si él no quisiese usar dél, que ellos en su nonbre pidiesen las mercedes.⁵²

This would seem to be borne out by the charge made by the Almagristas, to the effect that Hernando had tried to hide the royal cédulas, and that the copies Almagro finally received had been sent through a different conduit than Hernando.

As for the Pizarro family, Francisco stood out as the most favoured one, first of all as Governor but also due to the advantages granted on the financial side. Hernando, in turn, had obtained a series of honours and grants placing him second only to Francisco. Although this was to be expected, considering it was he who had gone to the Court, it is somewhat surprising that not one of the three remaining brothers was mentioned in the documents. Even though the

52. Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Tercera parte*, 262-63.

enterprise had the Pizarro brothers as its indisputed leaders, the absence of any royal grants for Juan, Gonzalo and Francisco Martín de Alcántara would surely become a source of future tensions.

C. METROPOLITAN CONTROLS OVER THE PIZARROS

The conquest expedition followed the political guidelines set by, and under the economic control of, the metropolis, both during the first acts of war and when the alien government began to settle in Peru. Control was first based upon the menace of the *juicio de residencia* of the Governor of Tierra Firme, under whose jurisdiction the Peruvian adventure fell, assembling information from the expeditionaries themselves and other persons who corresponded with the Court. The command to carry out an enquiry, or bring the presumed guilty to justice, depended on comparing the information received, and on the reliability and influence the correspondent had; the charges usually made concerned the ill-treatment given to Indians, or the illicit use of funds from the Royal Treasury. Pizarro and Almagro initially had to render accounts to Pedrarias, Governor of Tierra Firme and foremost participant in all expeditions leaving Panama; after the *Capitulación* they would be directly accountable to the metropolitan authorities through the Council of the Indies.

At first, perhaps until 1540, the Pizarros could in fact act almost autonomously, seldom having to face the Crown's representatives and then usually reaching mutually convenient, live-and-let-live agreements. To have its presence felt in the Peruvian adventure the Crown used different tactics. Governor Pizarro's authority was pitted by the Crown against that of the officials of the Royal Treasury. An attempt was made to limit that of both through the presence of clergymen, sent to Peru with specific missions related to the Royal Exchequer, the native population or other governmental matters. Finally, the officials established in lands previously conquered also took a hand in the government of Peru.

This age of early controls, i.e. the weakest ones, came to a close towards 1540, when the murders of Diego de Almagro and Francisco Pizarro carried violence past a point of no return, which would soon bring to an end the undisputed control the family of the conquistador had over Peru. These events coincided with the arrival of *Licenciado* Cristóbal Vaca de Castro, President of the Audiencia of Lima, who had been fully empowered to reorganize government, limit Pizarro's authority, and redistribute the encomiendas of Indians. Although Vaca de Castro was not overly concerned with his official mission, he undoubtedly did succeed in separating the Pizarros from their Peruvian estates, exploiting them to his advantage and that of his followers. Now we shall turn to some of the devices used by the Crown to impose its control over the conquest and government of Peru.

The *Capitulación* explicitly forced Pizarro to take the officials of the Royal Treasury with him right from the moment he left Spain. To this end, the cédulas appointing the three officials who were to travel with the conquistadores had been issued two months before the *Capitulación* itself was signed; their mission would be to ensure the conditions agreed upon with Pizarro were duly fulfilled.⁵³ The officials were favoured with many advantages such as exemption from paying the *almojarifazgo*, and a licence to take manufactured silver and slaves duty free.⁵⁴ They were also made *regidores* of the future *cabildo* of Tumbes,⁵⁵ thus extending the direct presence of the Crown into an institution capable of producing laws and allegiances, at a moment when alliances played a first-rate role in the distribution of offices and

53. RR.CC. de Toledo, 24 de marzo de 1529, appointing Alonso Riquelme as treasurer of the province of Tumbes, Antonio Navarro as accountant, and García de Salcedo as *veedor de fundiciones*. These decrees begin the "Registro de Reales órdenes dirigidas a las autoridades del distrito de la Audiencia de Lima," AGI, Lima 565; the first two books were published in full in Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*. The cédulas mentioned are in 1:3-7.

54. *Ibid.*, 1:10-13.

55. *Ibid.*, 1:13-14.

lands. Meanwhile, more important was the permission given to interest these officials in leaving for the Indies, to "*tratar y contratar*" by themselves or in a company, so long as it was with "*productos de la tierra*" and not Spanish ones.⁵⁶

Of the three officials, it would be Alonso Riquelme who would gain the greatest notoriety through his deeds in Peru, the first of which happened even before he left Spain. Some kind of disagreement with Pizarro made the party depart before the three officials had embarked; they in turn had the royal *factor* of the Casa de Contratación send warrants to the authorities in Tierra Firme, ordering Pizarro's arrest.⁵⁷ The Crown, however, decided to back the conquistador despite the evident misdemeanors. Using all possible caution, the Queen approved the attitude taken by the *factor* but revoked the warrants sent to Tierra Firme by his zealous colleague, and reprimanded the officials, who should board the first ship possible or face the royal menace of being replaced.⁵⁸ By a *cédula* issued in Madrid on 18 January 1530, Pizarro was simply asked to name, with the prelate of the Dominicans travelling with him, three persons who would provisionally take charge of the Royal Treasury until the designated officials joined the expedition.⁵⁹

Not long after, a new appointment was made in the officials travelling with Pizarro: Antonio Navarro was requesting his transfer to Nicaragua, and in his stead the Crown named Pedro de los Ríos,⁶⁰ the man who had succeeded Pedrarias as Governor of Tierra Firme and who, curiously enough, was now being sent as the royal accountant to

56. The three *cédulas* are in *ibid.*, 60, 83-84, 85.

57. Although there had been problems due to the small number of expeditionaries, less than the 150 the *Capitulación* specified should leave Spain, we should not discount the presence of a minor incident related to the personal belongings or merchandise of these enterprising officials. See *ibid.*, 23, 83, 87, 89-90.

58. *Ibid.*, 87-88.

59. *Ibid.*, 86.

60. *Ibid.*, 94-96.

Pizarro's lands. De los Ríos placed no objection to becoming more closely acquainted with the interesting possibilities Peru offered, but Navarro abandoned his plans and informed he was alright in the province of Tumbes, so he recovered his post.⁶¹ Officials were also betting on the high expectations raised by the new lands to the south, as opposed to the well known, but diminishing riches of Nicaragua.

Like in many others, the practice of royal control in this expedition consisted in having officials and governors send detailed information on the events and relevant personalities, for the conquest and government of the land. It was on these usually conflicting accounts that the Crown based the orders and communications that made its presence felt by its officials and European settlers of America. Except for moments of great conflict between imperial policies and local power groups, the guidelines proposed by the Crown served to keep a certain balance within colonial society, despite great internal stresses. Royal officials had a significant role in this order, even though like the governors, their fidelity to the Crown was by no means ensured. During the first years of the Peruvian expedition the Crown favoured Pizarro almost permanently, and by extension the governing group mainly constituted by his brothers and fellow countrymen, minimizing decisions the metropolitan officials found inadequate, such as the use Pizarro made of funds from the Royal Treasury to defend Cuzco in 1536 and 1537, or even the executions of Inca Atahualpa or Almagro.⁶²

61. Ibid., 101-2.

62. Although Pizarro did receive a communication informing him of the royal displeasure over the death of Atahualpa, "por ser señor", it ended saying that "pues a vos os pareció que convenía está bien por el presente, hasta que ynformados del negocio mandemos proveer lo que convenga" (ibid., 191). This moderate reprimand probably sought to quiet the pressures exerted by the religious orders, the Dominicans in particular, rather than have the guilty punished. The use of funds from the Royal Treasury, in turn, was initially accepted on condition they were later reimbursed (Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú*, 2:52), but was then included as one

The Crown's condescending attitude was certainly the best, because for as long as the Pizarros ruled Peru there hardly existed any real threat to their power, as Almagro himself realised when he tried to find a space for himself in Chile. Even less likely was a direct imperial presence through officials more interested in becoming rich pillaging, than in performing their bureaucratic mission. But this in no way means no royal influence was exerted over the government; it developed, instead, in relation to the gradual strengthening of Spanish power in Peru, in a double play which would use the Pizarros right until the moment the Crown was strong enough to eliminate them from the Americas. Thus, when Pizarro requested that the royal officials should not take a hand in government matters, the Crown commanded them to limit themselves to their office.⁶³ However, in an attempt to gauge how far the Europeans had advanced, a royal *Instrucción* of that same date ordered him to meet with the royal officials, the two longest serving *regidores* and a representative of each of the Spanish cities and prepare a comprehensive *Información* of the land, covering aspects of geography, politics, demography, and production concerning the Indians, plus a detailed presentation of the conduct followed by the conquistadores, the criteria that should be used to distribute offices and titles, and the compensations received, including a list of the repartimientos given out.⁶⁴ Amongst other possible reasons, this *Información* was

more charge in the lawsuit brought against the heirs of Pizarro.

63. For instance, a R.C., 8 de marzo de 1533, commanded the royal officials in Peru to "entendáis tan solamente en lo que tocare a vuestros oficios... y no os entremetáis en las cosas de la gobernación desa dicha tierra porque de lo contrario seré derservida..." (Porrás, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:120-21). It can be surmised this order was given in reply to a complaint made by Pizarro.

64. *Instrucción* in *ibid.*, 1:126-29. There is no indication whatsoever that this order, the necessary reconnaissance or the report itself were ever carried out. Even worse, some years passed by before the conquistadores had the data requested.

evidently requested to widen the ruling group in Peru, in an attempt to place limits upon the power of the Pizarros.

One of the Crown's immediate concerns was the collection of its revenues from Peruvian treasures, and to hasten the flow of precious metals to Spain. During Hernando's stay in Spain, the metropolitan officials must have decided it would be beneficial if they granted the privileges the conquistador sought, using him in return to convey the royal treasure. Mutual dependence between the Crown and the Pizarros was thus reinforced and extended in time, but Hernando in fact would never again convey them. By this time, however, it had been decided to send a fourth Treasury official to Peru, a *factor*; Yllán Suárez de Carvajal was chosen for this position, and given instructions saying he should deliberate important matters with Pizarro and the other officials. From the *Instrucciones* given we can conclude the Crown did not want to oppose him to the Governor, but did want to extend the direct metropolitan presence in the lands of the Pizarros.⁶⁵

D. THE CLERGY AND IMPERIAL SUPERVISION⁶⁶

The proceedings obtained by a conquest company from its activities through pillage or any other means, were shared among investors according to the contribution each had made, and between those who had actually participated in the expedition. As a result, the conquistadores tried to secure the biggest possible benefits from their expeditions, and only the State could curb their unlimited expectations.

65. *Instrucción*, Palencia, 6 de agosto de 1534, in *ibid.*, 2:21-25. The reason why the *factor* was sent probably lies in the shadows falling over the distribution of the booty made in Cajamarca, and the inaccuracy of the assays, all of which injured the collection of the fifths. A R.C., Toledo, 13 de marzo de 1534, ordered all smeltings cease until an especially commissioned person arrived, for "lo que toca al buen recaudo de nuestra hacienda" (*ibid.*, 1:148).

66. A preliminary version of this section appeared in Rafael Varón Gabai, "El clero y la fiscalización imperial en la conquista del Perú. La actuación de Hernando de Luque, Vicente de Valverde y Tomás de Berlanga," *Boletín del Instituto Riva-Agüero* 19, Homenaje a Armando Nieto Vélez, S.J. (1992): 111-32.

Supervision was left in the hands of royal officials specifically appointed for each expedition, in accordance with the terms agreed upon in the *capitulaciones*.

The presence of friars in the expeditions gave them an ideological basis, but they also served as the Crown's informants and supervisors. For Horst Pietschmann, when the lands were settled the orders --to which almost all clergymen belonged during the early stages of the conquest-- became a natural ally of the Crown in their clashes with the *encomenderos*. On the one hand, the orders needed a high degree of authority, if they were to carry out successfully their evangelizing role, wherein they found themselves in woeful dependence upon the *encomenderos*; on the other hand, the orders and the *encomenderos* both competed for Indian labour.⁶⁷ However, while Peru remained under the Pizarros the orders, especially Dominicans and Mercedarians, became their close allies, even during Gonzalo's rebel government. The Pizarros did not compete with the friars for resources but rather granted them land and Indians for their sustenance.

This alliance between religious orders and the Crown, within the framework of the Patronato Real allowed the State to use priests as supervisors of conquest expeditions and, later on, of the rudimentary governments these gave rise to. The following pages shall focus on Hernando de Luque's fleeting appearance as a partner in the conquest of Peru; on Friar Vicente de Valverde, the mythic participant in the capture of Inca Atahualpa, and on Friar Tomás de Berlanga, a royal envoy commissioned to supervise the company of the conquest of Peru, and find a satisfactory solution to the quarrel between Pizarro and Almagro.

At first, Father Hernando de Luque was the most important clergyman in the Peruvian enterprise, but he soon left his place to the Dominican Friar Vicente de Valverde. Luque had been involved in one way or another with the

67. Horst Pietschmann, *El Estado y su evolución al principio de la colonización española de América* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989), 108-9.

financial side of the adventure, so in the *Capitulación* the Crown gave him the bishopric which would be established in the new lands. He was never able to land in Peru, due first to his businesses in Panama, and then to his illness and death, in 1534.

During Pizarro's negotiations with the Crown, the Spanish ambassador before the Roman Court had presented Luque to the Pope, as candidate for the Bishopric of Tumbes, i.e. of Peru.⁶⁸ As part of the agreements reached in the *Capitulación*, Luque was named *Protector* of Indians in his future jurisdiction.⁶⁹ When he rejected this title due to his business and illness, the metropolitan authority replaced him with the Dominican Friar Reginaldo de Pedraza.⁷⁰ A short while after Luque addressed the Crown through his attorney Juan de Perea, explaining he had not travelled to his diocese because he had been fitting two ships for Pizarro, then already in Peru, and rendering accounts of the church he was in charge of. Now, despite Pedraza's appointment, he requested he be reinstated to his protectorship, to which the Queen consented.⁷¹ The ambassador in Rome was notified and reminded to request the bulls confirming the concession of the bishopric to Luque, not yet dispatched two years afterwards despite royal insistence.⁷²

One of the first provisions taken by the Crown on Pizarro's arrival to Spain, long before the *Capitulación* was signed, was to apply to the Provincial of the Dominicans, asking him to choose

68. Carlos V al embajador en Roma y al Papa, Barcelona, 20 de julio de 1529, in Porrás, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:63-65.

69. R.C. de la reina, Toledo, 26 de julio de 1529, in *ibid.*, 32-34.

70. R.C. a Reginaldo de Pedraza, Ocaña, 11 de marzo de 1531. Pizarro was informed of this appointment on that same date. In *ibid.*, 90-91.

71. R.C. a Luque, Medina del Campo, 9 de mayo de 1532, in *ibid.*, 103-4.

72. La reina al embajador en Roma, Medina del Campo, 9 de mayo de 1532, in *ibid.*, 103; El rey al embajador en Roma y al Papa, Toledo, 20 de febrero de 1534, in *ibid.*, 142-44.

quatro religiosos de la dicha vuestra orden que sean personas de buena vida y ejemplo... y así nombrados les mandéis que vengan a mí, que yo los mandaré despachar con toda brevedad....⁷³

On Pizarro's departure the Dominicans had increased to six, and travelled under Friar Reginaldo de Pedraza. Two friars stayed in Panama, one returned to Spain, and only the remaining three joined Pizarro's expedition.⁷⁴ However, one of these died on the way to Peru, whilst Pedraza stopped at Coaque and thence returned to Panama, where he would die shortly afterwards.⁷⁵ From these chance happenings, Friar Vicente de Valverde became the sole survivor of the group who did enter Peru and participated in the mythified events of Cajamarca.⁷⁶

To the vagaries of fate, which made him the only friar among the expeditionaries, Valverde added the strength needed to survive the hardships which were a conquistador's lot.⁷⁷ Valverde did not waste the chance and wrote to the King. On 7 June 1533, the friar reported the "buen suceso... [en el enfrentamiento] contra el cacique Atabaliba e de la suma de oro y plata que en ella se hobo." He left Peru by mid-1534, with the intention of obtaining in Spain the privileges vacated by Luque and Pedraza.

73. La reina al provincial en España de la orden de Santo Domingo, Toledo, 21 de abril de 1529, AGI, Panamá 234, lib. 3, ff. 303v-4v.

74. Licenciado Antonio de la Gama a S.M., Nombre de Dios, 24 de mayo de 1531, AGI, Patronato 194, r. 3, f. 3.

75. Pedraza died in May 1532 (Teodoro Hampe Martínez, "La actuación del obispo Vicente de Valverde en el Perú," *Historia y Cultura* 13-14, [1981]: 112). Hernando had used the opportunity to send money home, availing himself of the fact that the friar intended to return to Spain. He therefore handed over 300 gold pesos and letters to be delivered to his "hermanas beatas" in "tierra de Trujillo." He would later on claim the money and letters, found in Panama among the possessions of the deceased priest (La reina al gobernador o juez de residencia de Tierra Firme, Madrid, 28 de enero de 1533, AGI, Panamá 234, lib. 5, f. 87).

76. His biography in Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 201-7.

77. Besides the friars already mentioned, the expedition included Juan de Sosa, a priest who stayed in Piura with the rear guard (*ibid.*, 465).

Around this time the Crown sent him two letters --perhaps caused by his own letters or his friends' influence in Spain, *Licenciado* Gaspar de Espinosa, in particular. It is, however, unlikely that he received the letters because by then he was on his way to Spain, where he would arrive towards February 1535. The first one acknowledged receipt of his letter. The King cautiously replied entrusting him with the "cuidado de la instrucción y conversión de los indios desa gobernación en las cosas de nuestra santa fee...." The other letter showed more warmth, and informed the friar that Hernando Pizarro would tell him "lo que dél sabréis," no doubt referring to the mission of collecting money for the Crown, at the same time offering to bear him in mind for a *merced*.⁷⁸

A few months after his arrival in Spain, Valverde was presented for the Bishopric of Peru and summoned to Court by the Queen, "para entender en vuestro despacho y platicar con vos algunas cosas del servicio de Dios nuestro señor...."⁷⁹ Meanwhile, whilst preparations were made to send him back to Peru, the Queen announced his appointment to the general of the Spanish Dominicans and requested ten friars who would join him in his comission.⁸⁰ To prevent the delays his predecessor had had in obtaining the papal bulls, the Genoese Esteban Doria and Pantaleón de Negro were hired; they would go to Rome to take the necessary measures.⁸¹

78. *Ibid.*, 203; Hampe, "Vicente de Valverde," 116-17. The letters, dated in Toledo on 21 May 1534 and Valladolid on 19 July 1534, are published in Porrás, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:196-97, 207-8.

79. La emperatriz Isabel a Valverde, Madrid, 14 de agosto de 1535, in Porrás, *Cedulario del Perú*, 2:104; Carlos V al embajador en Roma (including Valverde's presentation to the Pope), Barcelona, 27 de mayo de 1535, in *ibid.*, 236-38); La emperatriz al embajador en Roma (including another presentation), Madrid, 5 de octubre de 1535, in *ibid.*, 2:112-13).

80. La reina al general de la orden de Santo Domingo en España, Madrid, 30 de setiembre de 1535, in *ibid.*, 2:112.

81. La reina al embajador en Roma, Madrid, 5 de octubre de 1535, in *ibid.*, 114; Contrato entre la reina y Esteban Doria y Pantaleón de Negro, Madrid, 15 de octubre de 1535, in *ibid.*, 117.

On this point Lockhart's opinion is particularly relevant; he notes the Council of the Indies expected to find in Valverde the necessary leverage to control Pizarro's administration, as well as an alternative source of information to the conquistador.⁸² Valverde, in fact, received all legal support possible, and was simultaneously requested to report on the most important governmental affairs. The *Instrucción* he was given on July 1536 emphasized the following points: to ensure repartimientos were moderate, to carefully rate the tributes of the land, ask accounts of the royal officials, ensure honesty in the payment of the royal fifths and that natives were well treated, as well as build his see's cathedral, prepare a detailed *Relación* of the land, and collect tithes for the Church's maintenance.⁸³ An effective fulfilment of the preceding points would undoubtedly be taken as a challenge to the Pizarrista régime, just when it was laying its foundations and rewarding the first European settlers. However, the tone of the *Instrucción*, and the additional *cédulas* and *sobrecartas* suggest that the Crown intended to have its presence simultaneously felt in the new lands through different channels, trying also to prevent the characteristic monopolization of resources by the first conquistadores. The Royal Treasury officials had as much to fear as the Pizarros, or even more: up till then they had lived in relative peace and quiet, but now they soon would be closely examined by Valverde and two accounting specialists.⁸⁴

Even before leaving Spain, Valverde's mission became more complex due to the news coming in on the disagreements

82. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 204.

83. *Instrucción* de la reina a Valverde, Valladolid, 19 de julio de 1536, AGI, Lima 565, lib. 2. Published in Porrás, *Cedulario del Perú*, 2:177-95 and CDIAO, 23:446-53 (dated, however, on the seventh of that same month and year). Another copy in AGI, Indiferente 415, lib. 2, ff. 53vff.

84. Various *cédulas* on the frauds incurred by royal officials and the rendering of accounts, without which they could not leave Peru may be found in RR.CC. de la reina a Valverde, 19 de julio de 1536, in Porrás, *Cedulario del Perú*, 2:187-93.

between the conquistadores: on the one hand, the quarrel between Pizarro and Almagro; on the other, the upsurge in Indian resistance.⁸⁵ Valverde was not intimidated; instead he hastened his departure, together with a retinue of more than 50 persons made up mostly by relatives and fellow countrymen.⁸⁶ He also took with him 100 riflemen and crossbowmen under the command of Andrés Jiménez, who went to Peru to help Pizarro in the war against the Indians.⁸⁷

The Crown decided to begin what would in effect become the first "visita," an official inspection, on Governor Pizarro and the officials of the Royal Treasury, even before the Spanish capital had been established in Lima, or the first ecclesiastical see in Cuzco had been taken possession of. Friar Tomás de Berlanga had been appointed to the decaying Bishopric of Tierra Firme, with its see in Panama. Availing itself of his voyage, the Crown thought it wise to entrust him with the preparation of a detailed *Información* of Peru, for the appraisal of the different problems that had arisen between the Spaniards. For this reason Charles V signed the letters, *provisiones*, and instructions the prelate would need in Valladolid, on 19 July 1534. Given the urgent circumstances, it was clear that Berlanga should take possession of his see in person and go to Peru immediately. Letters to Pizarro and the royal officials in Peru were also prepared, informing them of Berlanga's appointment, and

85. In Spain, Valverde continued being a useful source of information. On 25 January 1536 the Queen thus received a letter with a copy of an account, made by Hernando Pizarro, on what had transpired between his brother Francisco and Almagro (La reina a Valverde, Madrid, 15 de febrero de 1536, in *ibid.*, 133-34).

86. Hampe, "Vicente de Valverde," 120.

87. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 2:287-91. The Crown had previously authorized the passage to Peru of another hundred harquibusiers and musketeers Pizarro had requested to Francisco de Zavala through Peranzures, who was appointed captain (*ibid.*, 2:259). The Crown in both cases subsidized travelling expenses.

commanding them to lend him all necessary help for the successful completion of his mission.⁸⁸

The *Instrucción general* reveals the metropolitan need for detailed knowledge of uncharted lands. First of all, a geographical description of the land, naming ports, towns, rivers, mountains, pastures and animals, as well as the new, European settlements. Second, data on the Indian peoples explaining their government, rites and customs, occupations, and riches. Third, an appraisal of the Pizarrista administration. Specific items included such different topics as where the cathedral was located, the collection of tithes, legal matters, the collection of revenues, mines, and a moderate surveillance of the work of the Pizarros and the royal officials. He was particularly instructed to inspect the treatment meted out to the natives, the encomiendas and the valuation of tributes, and should there have been any abuse in the distribution of Indians, "platiquéis con el dicho gobernador y de mi parte le digáis que lo enmiende y modere."⁸⁹

The Crown's officials back in Spain obviously lacked data on Peru, so the moment had not yet come for direct government, or to curtail the power of the conquistadores. With no other way out, they would have to continue depending on the presence of the Pizarros, fully aware of the cost implied both in terms of the concentration of political power as in the appropriation of resources.

Berlanga was in Panama and about to leave for Peru; the news coming from the Court left him no doubt the quarrel between Pizarro and Almagro would not be easily solved --at the moment Hernando Pizarro as well as Almagro's attorneys were in Spain, determined in extending their parties'

88. Published in *ibid.*, 2:4-8, and also in *CDIAO*, 23:414-22, and summarized in *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de Ultramar*, Segunda serie (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1885-1932) (henceforth *CDIU*), 15:115-17. Another copy in *AGI*, Indiferente 415, lib. 2, ff. 50-53.

89. *Ibid.*

grants-- and it was then he received an additional order to mark out the limits of the *gubernaciones* of Pizarro and Almagro, giving the first one 270 more leagues.⁹⁰

Berlanga did as he was told, setting out for Peru after taking possession of the Panamanian see in 1533. He did not waste time in Lima and immediately carried out an *Información secreta*, from 20 August to 13 November 1535. From the sources it looks as if the prelate faithfully followed the instructions received. With the help of *Licenciado* Pedro Barna, he interviewed many witnesses on the attitudes taken by Governor Pizarro and the royal officials. Great emphasis was laid on the Royal Treasury. The opening questions asked if the payment of the royal fifths had been properly carried out, taking enough details to cover any possible instances of fraud. He then questioned the witnesses on the tribute paid by the *curacas*, and especially on payments made in gold, and how much the conquistadores had paid to the Royal Treasury. The questionnaire ended asking about the Indian repartimientos which should have been given to the Crown --i.e. the so-called "cabeceras"-- for its direct profit through tribute and labour.⁹¹

Some specially interesting points appeared in the statements made by the witnesses, starting with the very distribution of the booty at Cajamarca. The assayer Pedro Díaz, vecino of Lima, declared having seen every single person *quintar* metal and jewels during the last five years, i.e. since Cajamarca.⁹² This witness swore Pizarro and the officials had sold the silver obtained by the Exchequer at Cajamarca at "a peso e ducado [each mark], poco más o menos." The chronicler Pedro Sancho, another witness and who had once been Pizarro's secretary, affirmed Hernando Pizarro had taken

90. Emperatriz Isabel a Berlanga, Madrid, 31 de mayo de 1535, in Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 2:94-95.

91. A copy of the *Información* in *CDIAO*, 10:237-307.

92. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 468, says that although Pedro Díaz was not in Cajamarca when the Inca was captured, he arrived shortly after and was the expedition's smelter and assayer.

to Spain "cinco mil y tantos" marks of silver, but that the remaining 5,074 had been auctioned there and bought by Almagro, paying one peso and eleven reales for each mark of silver. Sancho had also been the notary of that transaction. Other witnesses who helped recapture this episode were Captain Hernando de Soto, Pedro Bravo, and Beltrán de Castro. Soto would return to Spain the following year,⁹³ once he realised the Pizarros would not let him find the place he wanted in Peru. In the statement he made to Berlanga he was led only by his own personal disappointment, and perhaps also in defiance of the Pizarros. He therefore reported that when the officials asked Pizarro for Indians in Cajamarca to carry the fifth of silver, he had answered there were none to be had. They thus had to sell the royal treasure, losing --always according to Soto-- some twenty thousand ducados. Bravo pointed out that once the silver had been sold, the purchasers carried it to Jauja and necessarily had to use Indians.⁹⁴

Beltrán de Castro also had not been present when the Inca was captured, but he had been Pizarro's Lieutenant-Governor in Cuzco, in 1534, together with Juan Pizarro.⁹⁵ Berlanga questioned him in Nombre de Dios, far away from Peru and the menace of the Pizarros, when Castro was on his way to Spain. In his statement Castro charged the Pizarros with having avoided paying the fifth at Cajamarca, referring to a quaint example of fraud. He said that

pasando este testigo por la puerta de la casa de la fundición, un criado o mayordomo del gobernador Pizarro, que se dice _____ [a blank space in the original], estaba en la dicha casa de la fundición, y le vio sacar de la bragueta unos tejuelos de oro, y que con el cuño echaba la marca de su Magestad, y que no vio otras personas por allí.⁹⁶

93. Boyd-Bowman, *Indice geobiográfico*, 21.

94. *Información*, in *CDIAO*, 10:237-307.

95. Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, 141.

96. *Información*, in *CDIAO*, 10:237-307.

In other words, the Governor was being accused of having stamped his gold without paying the Exchequer, and without worrying much about concealing his crime.

The charges against Pizarro stemming from the later smelting at Cuzco are similar to those of Cajamarca. Reference should be made to the exceptional testimony given by the Florentine merchant Neri Francisqui.⁹⁷ As a specialist in the matter, he noted that instead of individually registering the fineness of the gold pieces as they were melted down, only the equivalent in "pesos de buen oro" was recorded. He therefore, "dijo que pueden [robar a Su Magestad] por la mejoría o peoría que puede haber en el oro." Rather than surprise us, this charge should instead confirm the frequent variations between assays made during the Peruvian campaigns, and those later on made in Spain with the same pieces. The same witness added one piece of information of which he would later on repent: the royal seal was in a chest kept by the *contador*, whose key had been lost. For this reason,

para sacallo del cofre quitaba el contador Mercado dos clavos de la cerradura y lo sacaba y daba al veedor, el cual lo metía en un cofre suyo con su llave, la cual tenía el veedor.⁹⁸

A few days later Francisqui changed his statement, specifying that the misplaced key had been found eight days after. Another witness insisted on how poorly the stamp and seal were kept, and said he "lo vido muchas veces en poder de un negro que era pregonero en el Cuzco, e otras veces en poder de un truhán que está aquí que se dice Juan de Lepe."⁹⁹ Leaving quaint anecdotes aside, we can surmise it was very easy in a state of war, full of great difficulties and anxieties and where even the simplest official rule lost

97. From his own statement it follows Francisqui was in Peru from January 1534 until 1536. In his trade he was one of the few truly professional foreign merchants, he sold Spanish wares, cattle, and Indian slaves to the conquerors, speculating with precious metals and stones (Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 128.

98. *Información*, in *CDIAO*, 10:237-307.

99. *Ibid.*

force, to pass to the everyday rule of informality and permanent corruption.

All witnesses agreed on the facts surrounding the metals confiscated from the conquistadores in Cuzco by the Exchequer. It was the result of "rescates" and forced donations made by the greatest of the Indian lords, which had been stamped in Jauja without paying the fifth, and given to Pedro de Alvarado to pay the bills he had with Pizarro and Almagro's company.¹⁰⁰ The crime here was double, since the Crown had ordered that those Cuzqueñan treasures should go straight to the royal coffers.

The most serious charges of the visita were undoubtedly made against the royal officials. The conquistador Gregorio de Sotelo, vecino of Los Reyes and present in Peru since the arrival of Benalcázar's expedition from Nicaragua, gave one of the strongest testimonies, noting that he had "a los oficiales por hombres que no son fieles en su oficio." Sotelo had won the confidence of his fellow countrymen of León with his ability and honesty in matters pertaining to money, and made such a favourable impression on Berlanga that he recommended him to the Council of Indies for the position of treasurer in Peru.¹⁰¹ Sotelo ratified what most of the persons questioned said of the lack of interest the officials showed for the collection of tribute coming from the Crown's repartimientos, but he levied his most serious charges against the feared *veedor* García de Salcedo,¹⁰² whom he accused of carelessness, and of having private interests more pressing than the Royal Treasury. Thus it was that ever since the Island of la Puná,

el veedor había enviado una caja adelante al pueblo de Tumbes, y que dentro en la caja iba el cuño y marca del rey y él [Salcedo] se quedó en la isla, y echaron la caja en la playa y puerto de Tumbes y que por no ir el veedor allí... dijo el veedor que se lo habían tomado los indios de guerra y que hasta hoy no han parecido; y se quedó [atrás en la isla de la Puná] por poner cobro

100. Ibid.

101. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 241-43.

102. In the sources he appears as "Salcedo" or "Saucedo".

en su mercadería, porque es mercader y trata y que por este respecto no se halló al principio en Caxamalca de la fundición y proveyeron veedor, porque se detuvo en Sant Miguel a comprar y llevar mercaderías a Caxamalca....¹⁰³

While in Spain, the officials were given permission to trade. However, because Salcedo was more dedicated to his own business than that of the Crown, he lost the monopolic tools to legalize conquered metals which was quite serious, as was his not being present at the smelting in Cajamarca as well.

As for the relations between the Pizarros and the officials, they were not easy for a while, after the agitated beginning in Spain. In Tumbes Pizarro carried out a *probanza* against the officials and before his Lieutenant-Governor Soto, "en la cual se contenían muchas cosas en deservicio de Su Magestad y de su real hacienda." Surprisingly enough, this *probanza* "se la hurtaron con otras escrituras" from the notary Gerónimo de Aliaga, who declared Governor Pizarro himself had ordered the theft. It would not be surprising if by that time Pizarro and Salcedo had reached an agreement, for they would form a company in the valley of Nazca.¹⁰⁴

The last important topic which follows from the examination referred to the Crown's repartimientos. Pizarro was accused of not having set aside enough tribute-paying Indians, since different testimonies said the Crown's repartimientos were just the following: the Island of la Puná, "que está por ganarse;" Guanaco (Huánuco), in "términos de Xauxa," and "el Inca" of Cuzco, besides one in Collao and another in Trujillo. Fernán González, conquistador, vecino of Los Reyes and one of the men of Cajamarca, stated they "no señalaron por cabecera a Chíncha para Su Magestad, siendo la principal cabecera desta tierra, por no hacer enojo el gobernador para dallo a Hernando Pizarro." But besides being far too little it was also fictitious, because although the above-mentioned repartimientos had been given to the Exchequer, the officials never bothered to collect the

103. *Información*, in *CDIAO*, 10:237-307.

104. See chapter 8 for the so-called Company of La Nasca.

tribute; the same González said, in reference to the "Inca" of Cuzco, that "dél se aprovechan gobernador e oficiales e otras personas," a charge made over and over again.¹⁰⁵

Once the witnesses had all been examined, Bishop Berlanga summarized his observations in a *Requerimiento* he presented to Pizarro, Riquelme, and Salcedo in Lima, on 6 November 1535, before the notary Pedro de Salinas. The first four points referred to the greater care they should have with the money of the Royal Treasury. Pizarro should appoint an accountant, for there was none then, and place the stamp and seal in a proper place, and the gold in a safe place. Berlanga also reminded them that officials should be present during smelting. As for the repartimientos of the Crown, it was specified that "el Inca del Cuzco" should only serve the King and should on no account be executed, although if necessary he could be tried and sent in person to Spain. Although small and insufficient in Berlanga's opinion, the remaining royal repartimientos had been of no benefit to the Crown because of the lack of industry of the officials. On the other hand, it was demanded that a proper place should be allotted to the royal palace in Lima --which should be built "haciendo venir a los indios de Guanaco"-- as had been done with the cathedral. Attention was then called to the supposed discovery Martín de Estete --Pizarro's Lieutenant-Governor in Trujillo, and his comrade since the days in Tierra Firme-- had made of a native temple full of gold.¹⁰⁶ According to the

105. *Información*, in *CDIAO*, 10:237-307.

106. He is variously named Astete, Hastete, and Estete. He went to Tierra Firme in 1514, where he participated in expeditions for plunder and conquest, some of them with Pizarro. This conqueror died shortly after receiving great treasures from the *curaca* of his encomienda in Chimú. María de Escobar, his widow, then married Francisco de Chávez and claimed those treasures in inheritance (R.C. de Valladolid, 7 de diciembre de 1537, ordering the suit be sent to Spain, published in Porrás, *Cedulario del Perú*, 2:373-75). On the death of Estete, Pizarro took the encomienda for his daughter doña Francisca (see chapters 4 and 8).

witnesses this treasure, which had been taken in secrecy, amounted to more than one hundred thousand pesos.¹⁰⁷

As for the problems that took place in the administration of the Royal Treasury, such as the sale of silver from the *quintos* in Cajamarca, or the inappropriate registering of gold and silver in the records of smelting, Berlanga warned those responsible and set guidelines to be followed in future. Faced with the manifest dishonesty of the royal officials, the Bishop decided to avoid a formal conviction and preserve good relations, but without thereby exposing himself to any possible sanctions which might later on accrue in Spain, for lack of efficiency in his mission. Berlanga's moral and generalizing tone was summarized in his verdict, where it was clearly established that "los oficiales no han de ser distribuidores de la hacienda real, sino guardadores...."¹⁰⁸

The distribution of Indian encomiendas was a serious enough matter among conquistadores, and as such, Berlanga was forced to mention it, although once more he did not intend to take it to extremes. After stating "que yo no tenía voluntad de entender en el dicho repartimiento, ni entenderé, pues estoy de camino," he noted that it was openly said that Pizarro, his brothers, and the officials "tenían demasiados indios," whilst other conquistadores who should have them did not. Equally important to the amount of Indians distributed, was the observation Berlanga made that they should "quitar los rescates [with the Indians] hasta que se tasasen"¹⁰⁹ los dichos tributos," since this implied the establishment of fixed amounts of tribute, instead of just trying to get as much as possible through extortion and threats. Faced with Pizarro's refusal to suspend the "rescates," Berlanga left the matter pending until it was solved in Spain.¹¹⁰

107. The *Requerimiento* and its reply are in AGI, Patronato 192, n. 1, r. 12; another copy was published in *CDIAO*, 10:237-307.

108. *Requerimiento*, AGI, Patronato 192, n. 1, r. 12.

109. The transcription mistakenly reads "tratasen".

110. *Requerimiento*, AGI, Patronato 192, n. 1, r. 12.

A reply to the *Requerimiento* was not long in coming, and on 13 November Pizarro, the treasurer, and the *veedor* Salcedo presented a joint writ. They first denied all of the charges, one by one but without recurring to witnesses, nor evidence or specific explanations which would prove the falseness of the charges Berlanga had made. Three points should be emphasized. The first one concerns the simple charge Pizarro and the officials made against the Bishop. Berlanga had been named to the ecclesiastical see of Panama, once important but now in a complete state of decay, and suffering from an endemic loss of Indians and Spaniards, on the whole because of the brighter prospects Peru offered. The Governor and the officials contended the Bishop had tried to make his charges ill-sounding because of his "deseo de ser proveído e enviado a estas partes por Su Magestad." Berlanga perhaps thought likewise, because when he left Panama and returned sick to Spain in 1543,¹¹¹ he left behind him nothing but the foundations of the cathedral.¹¹²

The second point referred to the execution of Atahuallpa. Again, in trying to discredit the person of Berlanga, the Pizarrista argument turned to fallacy and not to the contents of the charge he had made:

y a lo que toca a aver sucedido en deservicio de Su Magestad la muerte de Atabaliba, bien parece que vuestra señoría habla de tal manera y que vino a la tierra en tiempo que no le alcanzaron los temores pasados, porque tenemos que fuera en más deservicio que los españoles todos murieran y que Su Magestad perdiera la tierra, e desto se mostrará descargo tal de que Su Magestad se tenga por servido.¹¹³

It was true that during Berlanga's stay in Peru the land was relatively quieter for Europeans than before, but Berlanga wanted to reprimand Pizarro, and also make it quite clear that the execution of the land's sovereign should not be

111. Boyd-Bowman, *Indice geobiográfico*, 137.

112. Reyes Testa, *Taboga*, 49. Berlanga had been licensed to take with him 24 slaves duty-free, for the erection of the temple and his own "granjerías" (RR.CC. de Madrid, 15 de abril y 4 de junio de 1540, cited in Mena García, *Sociedad de Panamá*, 88).

113. *Requerimiento*, AGI, Patronato 192, n. 1, r. 12.

repeated, thus faithfully sticking to the letter of the instructions he had brought with him from Spain. Finally, the concentration of Indian repartimientos in the hands of the Pizarro brothers and the officials, was acidly received:

en lo que dize estar en nuestro depósito y encomienda la más cantidad de la tierra, respondemos ser mucho menos de aquello de que Su Magestad esperamos que nos hará merced por los trabajos y costas que en la guerra y conquista de la tierra hemos pasado... y los [indios] que ansí estan recomendados en mis hermanos no son tantos como en su aviso muestra, pues es noticia que en la tierra hay personas que tienen mayores repartimientos e lo quen nombre de Su Magestad tienen encomendado lo han servido e merecido e antes los tengo de mejorar....¹¹⁴

As can be seen, the irony lies in that the Pizarros had in fact taken the best Indian repartimientos in Peru, but it was nonetheless also true that they wanted many more, because just as Pizarro made these statements in Lima, his brother Hernando was in Spain, trying to obtain confirmation for an immense amount of repartimientos and many other benefits for the conquistador's family.

Perhaps Pizarro felt Berlanga's visita was harmless, although of the many presents he offered him, the Bishop only accepted one thousand pesos to distribute among the hospitals of Nicaragua and Panama.¹¹⁵ According to the account Berlanga gave to the Emperor, it was Pizarro himself who lucidly appraised the royal intentions, saying

que en tiempo que anduvo conquistando la tierra y anduvo con la mochila a costas nunca se le dio ayuda, y agora que la tiene conquistada y ganada se le envía padraastro....¹¹⁶

Berlanga did not manage to make an in-depth *información* of what was going on in Peru --it would have been impossible in the less than three months he spent in Lima-- but his visit was useful for the Crown as it obtained the required information which would be needed when it later on began to displace the Pizarros and their cronies. It is true that the

114. Ibid.

115. Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia general del Perú* (Lima: Milla Batres, 1966), 1:106.

116. Ibid., 105-6.

Queen sent a note to Pizarro showing her satisfaction at the way the Governor had behaved with Berlanga, but not long after the preparations to send *Licenciado* Cristóbal Vaca de Castro were over, and this time the metropolitan representative would be invested with enough authority and command to face and reduce the power of the Pizarros in Peru.

This stage of the first controls over Pizarro, i.e. the weakest ones, ended towards 1540 when the murder of Almagro, first, and then that of Pizarro, unleashed the violence which would soon lead to the demise of the almost absolute sway his family had over Peru. This coincided with the arrival of *Licenciado* Vaca de Castro, who in complying with the wise forecasts of the metropolitan authority, brought with him full powers to curb the power of the Pizarristas, replace the Governor should he die, and redistribute the Indian encomiendas. Although Vaca de Castro was not interested much in fulfilling the instructions he had been given, it is undeniable that he did succeed in separating the main Peruvian productive centres from the Pizarros, exploiting them to his own benefit or that of his followers.

The sympathies the Pizarros managed to build at Court were the result of a coupling of interests between the Crown, its officials and the conquistadores. However, this initial balance was over once Almagro had been murdered. The Civil Wars would henceforth delay for a decade the establishment of the direct rule of the Spanish bureaucracy, when the supervisory mechanisms took a much more institutionalized form than during the conquest.

CHAPTER 3

FRANCISCO PIZARRO, GOVERNOR OF PERU (1532-1541)

Pizarro's government of Peru was brief; not one decade passed between the expedition's landing and the death of its captain, but so fierce were events their remembrance five centuries later was assured. In those years the conquering host invaded Peruvian lands, victoriously met the Inca State and laid down the foundations for the definitive Spanish settlement of the Andes. The group of men allied to Pizarro also became stronger then, i.e. those who took the political posts of lieutenant-governors in different areas, and the *regidores* in the *cabildos* of Spanish cities. These individuals, who shared power with Pizarro and provided the political foundations for his regime, likewise enjoyed with him the best encomiendas and resources of the Andes.

It is quite unfortunate that contemporary documentation is particularly scarce for the period 1532-1533, not only due to losing them but also because the conquistadores dedicated themselves mainly to war.¹ However, the data found in chronicles and later sources give us a picture of how Almagro, and other conquistadores not belonging to Pizarro's clique, were gradually set aside just when Peru was being reconnoitred. But in contrast with the scantiness of documentation, some publications stand out which were important contributions in their time, and were in turn important for later studies.

1. For these years, Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 379, records 37 different kinds of documents signed by Pizarro. This is more than for previous years, but is nonetheless scarce. A similar situation exists in other sources and archives as far as this period is concerned.

A. THE CONSOLIDATION OF PIZARRO'S POWER, 1532-1533

From the moment the conquering host was formed, the partnership Pizarro had so successfully established with Almagro in Panama began to break up. Inside the host, the imbalance between each partners' strength bred a potential conflict which eventually became one of the main elements in the early history of colonial Peru. The sway Trujillans and Extremadurans had over the group, coupled with the presence of Pizarro's brothers and kinsmen, elevated him even more as the political and military strategist of the conquest,² particularly since an Almagrista equivalent did not exist at all.³ Almagro's absence from the expedition which crossed the country from the coast to Cajamarca in search of the Inca, only weakened his already uncertain status among the conquistadores, even when allowance was made for his efficiency in supplies and communications, so essential for their success.

A critical moment took place when Almagro arrived with his two hundred reinforcements, who were notoriously surprised on being told the treasure piling up was not for them, but only for those present the day the Inca was captured.⁴ The discontent of those newly arrived; the urge captors and royal officials had, the former for their share of the booty, the latter for the royal fifths to be sent to Spain: this all just hastened the distribution, for which the

2. From the chronicles it undoubtedly follows Pizarro himself led his half-dozen captains --two of whom were also Pizarros besides himself-- on the assault of Cajamarca. See, for instance, Pedro Pizarro, *Relación del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Perú*, ed. Guillermo Lohmann Villena, 2d ed. (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1978), 35; Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Tercera parte*, 133.

3. Lockhart says the dominance of the Extremadurans was gradually diluted once the host left Spain, engendering tensions between the Trujillan leaders and the rest, who came from all remaining areas of Spain (Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 31). However, it should be noted that Almagro did not have anything remotely resembling a similar group of kinsmen or countrymen.

4. Lockhart prepared a detailed chronology of events using chronicles and other primary sources (Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 3-16).

execution of Atahualpa was indispensable. And it was around this time that two important expeditions into the heartland of the Inca Empire were made; both intended to quicken the collection of precious metals offered by the captive king. One went to Pachacamac with Hernando Pizarro in command, the other one to Cuzco.⁵

In a previous reconnaissance, Hernando Pizarro had gone as far as Huamachuco. His account is the most trustworthy we have, and shows above all the discovery of a new and captivating world. He reported finding "cantidad de oro e plata" in Huamachuco, "e desde allí la envié a Caxamalca." He then received Francisco's permission "para que fuesse a una mezquita, de que teníamos noticia, que estaba çient leguas de la costa de la mar, en un pueblo que se diçe Pachacama."⁶ It took twenty-two days to cross the sierra and the coast with a small group of horsemen. Their goal was quite clear:

Toda esta tierra de los llanos e mucha más adelante no tributa al Cuzco, sino a la mezquita. El obispo dellas estaba con el gobernador en Caxamalca: avíale mandado otro buhío⁷ de oro como el que Atabaliba mandó. A este propósito el gobernador me envió yr a dar priessa para que se llevase.⁸

To his disappointment,

Llegado a la mezquita e apossentados, pregunté por el oro e negáronmelo que no lo avía: híçose alguna diligencia e no se pudo hallar.⁹

After talking with different local lords, Hernando entered the sanctum sanctorum and made them go with him, "para que perdiessen el miedo."¹⁰

Hernando had more luck on the way back to Cajamarca:

Llegado al camino real, a un pueblo que se diçe Bombon, topé un capitán de Atabaliba con cinco mill pessos de oro que llevaban a Caxamalca....¹¹

5. Porras, *Pizarro*, 173.

6. Hernando Pizarro a la Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Santa María, 23 de noviembre de 1533, in Porras, *Cartas del Perú*, 82.

7. The transcription mistakenly reads "hubío."

8. *Ibid.*, 82.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*, 83.

11. *Ibid.*

Back at Cajamarca, it was decided he should leave for Spain a haçer relación a Su Magestad desto e de otras cosas que convienen a su servicio. Sacóse del montón del oro cien mill castellanos para Su Magestad, en cuenta de sus quintos.¹²

The Peruvian treasure and Hernando impressed Charles V's Court; the negotiations carried out by him reinvigorated the political framework, ready for the new stage then just beginning in Spain's colonization of Peru.

Three messengers left for Cuzco on 15 February 1533; many of their comrades believed they would never see them again.¹³ These envoys had the protection of Quisquis, one of Atahualpa's generals, who had commanded they be allowed to enter Cuzco and the Coricancha --the temple of the Sun-- on condition nothing belonging to the mummy of Huayna Capac be touched. The conquistadores found the Coricancha uninjured and took all the gold they found; the natives refused to help them fearing for their lives. A big part of what was taken was placed in two buildings, one for the King and the other one for the Governor. The buildings were then closed, sealed with the royal stamp, and left guarded by Indians. However, the mixed feeling Quisquis had --he had just taken Cuzco for Atahualpa and felt powerful, but nonetheless fearful for the life of his lord-- made him close certain areas to the visiting Spaniards.¹⁴ The envoys probably told Pizarro what they had seen, and convinced him the invading army should move onward to the capital city.

Including pillages and the ransom, the total value of the metals collected amounted to more than 1.5 million pesos, the biggest amount ever gathered in the Indies up to that moment.¹⁵ Smelting had finished by 16 July 1533, and

12. Ibid., 84.

13. Porrás, *Pizarro*, 173, quoting the chronicler Cristóbal de Mena.

14. Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, 64-65.

15. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 13; he believes this amount was evidently undervalued.

distribution could then begin.¹⁶ Cieza reports Pizarro then said before the notary

Que el oro que se [a] avido hasta oy, dicho día, y Atabalipa a dado, está hecha fundición y número de todo ello ques sacado el quinto de Su Magestad y derechos de quilatador, fundidor, marcador y costas que la compañía a hecho, que lo demás que quedava él quería hazer repartimiento....¹⁷

Then they set aside the metal corresponding to

derechos y costas desto y lo que la compañía devía y el escaño y otras joyas de gran peso, sin lo que se hurtó, que fue mucho, y sin los cien mill ducados que se sacaron para la gente de Almagro, se repartió lo demás.¹⁸

The "stolen" metals must refer to those hidden from the company and also from the officials to avoid paying the royal fifth.

Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo reports distribution had ended on 25 July, and that Pizarro also gave part

a los vecinos que quedaron en el pueblo de Sanct Miguel e a toda la gente que fue con el capitán Diego de Almagro, e a todos los mercaderes e marineros que, después de la guerra hecha, vinieron a la fundición; por manera que a todos los españoles que en aquella tierra e reino se hallaron, alcanzó parte....¹⁹

The conquering army reached Cuzco on 15 November 1533. Shortly afterwards it was decided to melt, stamp, and distribute the treasures pillaged from the Inca capital after the *reparto* of Cajamarca. On 15 December the Governor and Antonio Navarro, royal accountant, drew an affidavit with Pedro Sánchez as witness, justifying the haste in smelting

por quanto la plata y oro que se ha recogido e avido en esta cibdad, mucha cantidad della son pieças menudas labradas de yndios e otras de mucho bolumen..., [así] como por ser mucha la cantidad de oro y plata que ay y se espera aver, que si se aguardase a hazer fundición de todo junto abría mucha dilación y embaraço en ella, por lo qual acordaron que el oro y plata menuda que se a

16. The respective documents are in Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 73-76.

17. Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Tercera parte*, 161.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia de las Indias*, 5:80.

avido se funda y lo demás que se recogiere y oviere adelante se funda como se vaya hallando....²⁰

Jerónimo de Aliaga temporarily replaced García de Salcedo, the royal *veedor*, then absent. As there was no appropriate building, they "señalavan por casa de fundición un galpón grande que está dentro de la posada de dicho señor gobernador."²¹ Unlike Cajamarca, where constant reference was made to the "montón," here the individual booty obtained by each Spaniard was explicitly mentioned. Silver would be immediately smelted. Then,

quando el dicho oro se quisiere fundir, se darán los pregones que se acostumbran dar para los que toviesen oro o plata o otras cosas de que pertenezca quinto a Su Magestad lo traigan a la dicha casa para que se cobre a aya quenta de todo....²²

The treasure was distributed on 22 February 1534, since

está todo aderezado y puesto en orden para hazer el dicho señor gobernador repartición dello entre los españoles como Su Magestad le manda, el qual repartimiento conviene al servicio de Dios y de Su Magestad hazer muy breve por que los yndios de Quito, que de aquí huyeron, fueron sobre Xauxa a dar guerra a los españoles que allí quedaron....²³

According to other documents annotated carelessly by Loredó --unfortunately without copying them in full, or giving archival references-- in Cuzco there was a list with the shares of treasure similar to the Cajamarca one. The conquistadores accordingly received their lot

vistas y examinadas las calidades y trabajos de las personas que han de llevar parte de dicha plata... [Y]

20. The documentation on the smelting and distribution of Cuzco is transcribed in Loredó, *Repartos*, 124-33, unfortunately without any archival reference. The *Acta* referred to in *ibid.*, 124-26. It is surprising that such an important document was not attested by a notary, but only by Pedro Sánchez as witness; however, a later document (*ibid.*, 127) reads "Pedro Sancho, theniente de escribano general," so perhaps the name on the first document was copied erroneously.

21. *Ibid.*, 126.

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*, 129.

aviendo respeto a sus trabajos e perdidas que han hecho en la conquista.²⁴

Four days later the conquistadores performed the Spanish foundation of the city of Cuzco, on 23 March 1534.²⁵

An *Información*, carried out years after the events by doña Francisca Pizarro, sheds light on Pizarro's questioned honesty. The charge made by the attorney and which opened the lawsuit, was that the Governor had unlawfully taken the silver and gold found in Cuzco by his *yanaconas*, without including it in the "montón." Witnesses included the conquistadores Martín Pizarro, Pedro de Alconchel, the *veedor* García de Salcedo, García Núñez de Castañeda, Diego Gavilán, Pedro Díez de Roxas, Juan Alonso de Badajoz, and Melchor Palomino, who declared that when gold was distributed in Peru,

a cada uno se le daba conforme a sus trabajos e a la calidad de su persona, a unos a una parte e a otros a tres quartones e a otros a menos, y el dicho marqués llebaba sus partes conforme a como es huso e costumbre, e questo es lo que sabe porque lo vido.²⁶

Distribution turned out to be harder than expected because not all the metal had the same fineness. According to one witness, he

tiene noticia del dicho oro e plata que en la dicha saçón corría en este dicho reino que hera de diferentes quilates, porque había plata blanca de vronce e cántaros e plata de en medio que hera mas baxa e otra plata que se llamaba chafalonía, que se tenía por más baxa que la susodicha, y el oro hera alguno fino e otro de quilates de diferentes de ocho quilates arriba....²⁷

The witnesses agreed "partes" were made in three of the "repartos": the first one in Cajamarca, the second in Cuzco,

24. Ibid., 98-103, 107. Distribution began on Thursday, 5 March 1534, and finished the 19th (ibid.)

25. The documentation on the Spanish founding of Cuzco is in Raúl Rivera Serna, intr. and ed., "Libro primero de cabildos de la ciudad del Cuzco," *Documenta* 4 (1965): 441-80.

26. The complete text has not been found, but an undated official summary is in AGI, Escribanía 496-B, ff. 891-95v.

27. Ibid.

and the third in Jauja.²⁸ The question, to which all witnesses answered in the affirmative, read as follows:

Yten si saben que después de poblada la dicha cibdad del Cuzco luego como se vino el dicho marqués a poblar la dicha cibdad de Xauxa nunca más hubo partes, sino que si algún español hallaba alguna cosa, no siendo prohibido en rescate, lo tomaba e rescataba para sy sin traello a partes con los demás compañeros... y ansy muchos después que sabían de enterramientos e guacas o otros tesoros pedían licencia para lo sacar al gobernador y el señor gobernador se la daba, e sy alguna cosa hallaba la tomaba para sí y hacía suyo, dando el quinto a Su Magestad, digan lo que saben.²⁹

As for the treasures found by Pizarro's *yanaconas*, it was said that

al tiempo que se halló la dicha plata e oro en la dicha ciudad de Cuzco por los dichos *yanaconas* del dicho marqués don Francisco Pizarro todos los dichos conquistadores estaban divididos por el reyno....³⁰

The preceding passages show everything found up to the *repartos* was placed in the "*montón*" and then distributed between all of the partners. However, "después de las partes de Xauxa, que fueron las postreras, no hubo más parte...." In other words, the conquest-*compaña* was ended; in future, all pillage would not be for the company but for the individual, provided the governor gave his permission and the King's share was paid. This justified the fact that the treasures found by Pizarro's *yanaconas* had not been distributed, particularly since the charge implied Pizarro had hidden them from his partners. This is clearly the Pizarrista side of the story, for which not much data is available.

By now it was clear to all Almagro had been displaced by the Pizarros, and that the New Castile would not be the reward he once expected to receive from the conquest of Peru. Although in his condition as partner he probably did receive a major share in the *reparto* of Cajamarca, he had nonetheless

28. The *reparto* of Jauja is the least known and hardly ever appears in specialized literature. An exception is the conquistador Lucas Martínez Vegazo, who received "658 pesos en oro de quilates ensayados y 240 marcos de plata" (Trelles, *Lucas Martínez Vegazo*, 22).

29. AGI, Escribanía 496-B, ff. 891-95v.

30. *Ibid.* Underlined in the original.

been pushed aside from all positions with political power. The expeditions he organized to Chile and the Chiriguanos were therefore aimed at finding new opportunities. In Spain Hernando Pizarro himself, his enemy and the person invariably regarded as being behind the enmity between the partners, requested permission for him to carry out new conquests, in such a way that both Almagro and the Pizarros would benefit from it.

Thus, on 21 May 1534, Hernando signed in Toledo an "asiento y capitulación" on Almagro's behalf, entitling him to discover 200 leagues onwards from Pizarro's 200. The Crown bound itself to help him with a salary, artillery, mares, and *mercedes*, but also to give Pizarro 500 ducados a year from the revenues his land produced, in return for the help he had given Almagro.³¹ Two years later the Queen granted Lope de Idiáquez permission, jointly requested by Pizarro and Almagro, to discover and conquer the islands off the coast of their *gobernaciones*.³² Needless to say, Almagro never achieved success in any of these adventures, and no Peru was ever again found.

Unlike the Pizarros, Almagro had formed no clique and therefore had nothing to oppose them with, in terms of organization and mutual confidence. Lockhart believes the presence of so many brothers gave depth, ubiquity and nimbleness to the Pizarros, but also made Francisco's rule harder.³³ But on the contrary, if there had been no brothers Pizarro would have had a more limited area of influence, making it harder for him to determine his real power base.

Great efforts were made to keep up appearances, despite the obvious antagonisms, by then also known at Court. A letter from Almagro to the King, dated in San Miguel, on 8 May 1534, told how the Spaniards had defeated the Indians and given the government to whom it rightfully belonged, since another lord had tyrannized the land. He also told how the

31. AGI, Indiferente 415, lib. 1, ff. 140-44v.

32. *Ibid.*, ff. 187-93v.

33. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 153.

cities of San Miguel, Cuzco, and Xauxa had been founded, with Chíncha and Condesuyos soon to be established on the coastlands. Last of all he mentioned Pedro de Alvarado's intrusion; he had arrived from Guatemala with many Indians which he used as a threat supposedly because they had a liking for human flesh, and who had already killed in and plundered Puerto Viejo and the Punta Santa Elena.³⁴ When negotiating with Alvarado, Almagro showed his mastery and ability in protecting the company he had with Pizarro.³⁵

It was probably around this time that an undated memorandum was drafted, indicating

Su Magestad podría ser socorrido de algún préstamo que Pizarro, el gobernador del Perú, y su hermano, y el Adelantado Almagro y otras personas que tienen muy crecidos caudales de oro y plata así en aquellas partes como en éstas podrían prestar a Su Magestad, dándoles para su seguridad lo que pareciese ser justo y honesto.³⁶

In Spain it was still believed the company operated harmoniously but the note was never sent, possibly because news arrived of the clashes between the partners.

All those who had been at Cajamarca, and either threatened to form their own faction or stand in the Pizarros and their countrymen's way, were gradually and subtly displaced much like Almagro had been pushed out. The amount of booty obtained was huge, smoothing the departure of the discontented and allowing them to find their goals outside Peru. Mena and Salcedo thus returned to Spain, whilst Soto and Benalcázar set out to conquer other areas.³⁷

B. THE FIRST COLONIAL ORDERING, 1533-1541

The bulk of the members of the expedition marched on after the *reparto* of Cajamarca. On August 1533 they set out for Jauja, arriving there two months later. A Spanish city was immediately founded and it provisionally became the capital

34. AGI, Patronato 192, n. 1, r. 5.

35. See chapter 1 for Alvarado's expedition and Almagro.

36. AGI, Patronato 189, r. 10.

37. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 85.

city of New Castile, until Lima displaced it.³⁸ It is interesting to see who were the men privileged with a position in the *cabildos* of the first cities. James Lockhart correctly notes the Pizarros tried to fill Peru's *cabildos* with their countrymen and *criados*. For Cuzco, Lockhart found revealing results after studying its 11 members in 1537, i.e. three years after its establishment. Thus we find Hernando Pizarro was the Lieutenant Governor, while at least two of the *regidores*, Juan de Valdevieso and Rodrigo de Herrera, were Pizarro's *criados*. It might even be that only three of its members were not Pizarristas. On the other hand, eight had been present when the Inca was captured, and five came from Trujillo or Cáceres.³⁹

As for Lima, the first *cabildo* was formed by the treasurer Alonso Riquelme and the *veedor* García de Salcedo, on account of their posts, and a group close to Pizarro: Rodrigo de Mazuelas, Alonso Palomino, Nicolás de Ribera *El Mozo*, Cristóbal de Peralta, Diego de Agüero y Sandoval, Diego Gavilán and the mayor too, Nicolás de Ribera *El Viejo*. Mazuelas had represented Pizarro before the Spanish Court, and it was probably then that he requested a life-long *regimiento* "del pueblo donde resydieren governador e ofiçiales." By late 1535 three *regidores* had a life-long tenancy (Mazuelas, Quincoces, and Arbieta), and three others were appointed by Pizarro personally, thanks to his royal prerogatives. The remaining two were to be elected in a plenary session but in this opportunity, when the 1536 representatives were elected, the *regidores* decided to delegate this role to Pizarro. At the very first meeting of 1536 Pizarro raised the number of *regidores* to 12, gave life-long status to Ribera *El Mozo* and Agüero, and incorporated

38. The distribution of *solares* and Indians to the encomenderos of Jauja is in AGI, Justicia 405-A, ff. 58v-66, and Justicia 405-A, ff. 103v-8, published in Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 167-71; the capital's removal to the coast and Lima's Spanish founding in *ibid.*, 171-77, and also in Bertram T. Lee, ed., *Libros de cabildos de Lima* (Lima: Concejo Provincial de Lima, 1935-), 1:4-17.

39. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 86-87.

Antonio Picado, his secretary and right-hand man. Crisóstomo de Hontiveros and Francisco Martín de Alcántara, Pizarro's *criado* and half-brother, respectively, joined the *cabildo* later. In 1539 it received Martín de Ampuero, Pizarro's former page.⁴⁰ The joint control the first conquistadores and their successors held over Lima's *cabildo* was soon lost. Their hegemony lasted somewhat more in Cuzco and much more in Huamanga, where they could still be found in the late 1550s.⁴¹

As was to be expected, the positions representing Governor Pizarro in the cities under his jurisdiction were monopolized by his brothers, or persons on whom he had great confidence. On 25 August 1534 the *cabildo* of Cuzco received Hernando de Soto as Lieutenant-Governor, revoking the earlier appointment of Beltrán de Castro. Three days later this same *cabildo* relieved Soto of his command and named Juan Pizarro as *teniente de capitán general*.⁴² In his *Instrucciones*, Pizarro had given him full powers to change the distribution of Indians given to the *vecinos* of Cuzco.⁴³ Thus empowered, Juan Pizarro allotted Indians of *encomienda* to Pedro Alonso Carrasco.⁴⁴

Pedro de Añasco was named *alguacil mayor* of Quito in 1535, four days before Lima was founded.⁴⁵ Martín de Estete,

40. Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Los regidores perpetuos del cabildo de Lima (1535-1821). Crónica y estudio de un grupo de gestión* (Seville: Diputación Provincial, 1983), 1:35-40.

41. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 63.

42. Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 334-35.

43. Provisión del Cuzco, 5 de agosto de 1535, in Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 85-87.

44. Juan Pizarro granted him the *caciques* Guallaxe, Cota, Coro, and their peoples, plus the towns of Comata, Corochane, and Conulva (Cédula original del Cuzco, 18 de agosto de 1535, AGI, Lima 1618, r. 1). On the other hand, Carrasco does not appear in Pizarro's above-mentioned *Instrucciones*. In 1540 he received an *encomienda* in the valley of Jayanca (Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 374).

45. Cédula de Pachacama, 14 de enero de 1535, in Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 81-82. On the other hand, Busto, *Diccionario de los conquistadores*, 1:142-44 has identified two conquerors, both named Pedro de Añasco, who were cousins; both had been born in Seville but from a "linaje trujillano". One reached Peru with Benalcázar, the other one in reply to

who served under Pedrarias in Nicaragua and went to Peru with Pedro de Alvarado,⁴⁶ was Pizarro's Lieutenant-Governor in Trujillo until his death, and perhaps his partner in search of treasures from the *huacas*. *Licenciado* Antonio de la Gama was Pizarro's Lieutenant in Cuzco. The change in the *Licenciado's* attitude is interesting since just a few years before he had been notoriously opposed to Pizarro, whilst acting as *juez de residencia* in Panama.⁴⁷ In virtue of his position, in 1540 he granted the Mercedarians a "principal orejón y anaconas" in encomienda, and the *estancia* of "Managuañuncabamba e Canascoro, camino a Condesuyo."⁴⁸

The firms or productive units Pizarro worked in his lifetime were gradually organized, as need arose. In some cases, properties he had taken as his own were transferred to other conquistadores, whilst he took over other, more valuable ones, encomiendas in particular. Of all his properties, the encomiendas in the valley of Yucay stood out; they were taken by Francisco, Hernando, and Gonzalo, and included the *ceja de selva* where coca was grown. At different moments Francisco also took, for himself or his children, the encomiendas of Chuquiabo, Puna, Huaylas, Chimú and Conchucos, Lima, and Chuquitanta. The exploitation of encomiendas probably focused on the exaction of tribute and labour through Indian authorities, and on the forced participation of his *encomendados* in military activities. Pizarro began to work his businesses with initiative. Although there is no precise data on how the mines of Porco were first worked, we do have enough evidence to show some European techniques were used. In another company, the so-called *Compañía de Lanasca*, established with his partner García de Salcedo, the *veedor*, Pizarro probably left the administration to Salcedo; on the

Pizarro's request for help during the rebellion of Manco Inca.

46. Busto, *Diccionario de los conquistadores*, 2:82-83.

47. See chapter 2 on de la Gama's former attitude.

48. Barriga, *Mercedarios en el Perú*, 2:123-26.

death of the Marquis, Salcedo became the partner of his daughter doña Francisca.⁴⁹

Like all other conquest expeditions, the Peruvian one also included royal officials who took note of the fulfilment of the pledges contracted by the conquistadores with the Crown, the financial ones in particular. The Governor, in turn, needed staff to carry out the bureaucratic side of his post, such as drafting decrees, keeping correspondence, and reading documents for him. In the Island of Santiago Pizarro had already specified, on 3 February 1532, that Rodrigo de Mazuelas was his secretary; to him he gave power of attorney before the King and the Council of the Indies, to present petitions and request *mercedes*, as well as "cualquier relación de lo que me ha sucedido en estos reinos andando en su real servicio."⁵⁰ The men responsible for taking down Pizarro's words were his secretaries López de Jerez, Sancho de Hoz, Antonio Picado, Pero López de Cazalla, Cristóbal García de Segura, and Bernardino de Valderrama, his mayordomo and public notary. Each in turn had a whole staff of scribes at their command, like Antonio de Miranda for instance; he joined Picado's team after the Battle of las Salinas. In his *Información de servicios*, Miranda declared he had defended Pizarro with a knife the day he was murdered.⁵¹ Many documents signed by Pizarro were written by Sancho, who used the traditional form of "por mandado de Su Señoría, Pedro Sancho."⁵² At one moment or another the Governor must have distanced himself from Sancho. One document refers to the revocal of one of Pizarro's *provisiones* because Sancho had not fulfilled the terms of the agreement made with Captain

49. The acquisition and working of the Pizarros' properties will be seen in more detail in chapters 8 and 9.

50. Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 213-14.

51. Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, xx.

52. Many examples appear in Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, *passim*.

Pedro de Valdivia, to explore the provinces of New Extremadura.⁵³

It was Picado, however, who became the most notorious of Pizarro's secretaries. He had been Pedrarias' secretary in Nicaragua, and had Pizarro's complete confidence. It often happened that Pizarro placed his *rúbrica* and Picado filled in the Governor's name; this was sometimes explicitly acknowledged: "puse mi señal y Antonio Picado, mi secretario, puso mi nombre."⁵⁴ Diego Moreno declared he had been in an "expedición a los Andes" at the time Pizarro was murdered.⁵⁵ Later on he heard how once the Marquis was dead, the assassins had pillaged his house "e para saber los vienes que tenía, los dichos matadores avían dado tormento a Picado su secretario, al qual asimismo mataron...."⁵⁶ In his chronicle Pedro Pizarro says the men of Chile hated the Marquis even more because of Picado, and that was why they "le descoyuntaron a tormentos y le cortaron la caueça en el rollo de la çiudad de Los Reyes...."⁵⁷

The elementary organization Pizarro and Almagro's society had had in previous years, had to be swiftly adapted to the vastness of Peru and the possibilities it presented. We have, in fact, few data on the organization of the partners' affairs in Panama, but it can be surmised some of their *criados* continued serving them in Peru. As happened with Juan de Vallejo, in whom both Pizarro and Almagro trusted, and who was the former's executor.⁵⁸ In 1537 Pizarro gave out two documents wherein he recognized as his own the

53. R.C. de Ancerma, 12 de agosto de 1540. The document is identified as Rich 25, Edwin Blake Brownrigg, *Colonial and Latin American Manuscripts and Transcripts in the Obadiah Rich Collection: An Inventory and Index* (New York: The New York Public Library: 1978), 36.

54. Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, xx, 233-34.

55. He undoubtedly referred to Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition to *La Canela*, which he quite clearly preferred not to identify in his statement. Diego Moreno, who lived in La Zarza in 1566, was a vecino of Trujillo and "mayordomo and proveedor" of the house of Hernando Pizarro.

56. AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 701r.

57. Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 202-3.

58. *Ibid.*, 214.

debts incurred by Antonio Pérez de la Serna and himself with Juan de Vallejo, then living in Panama.⁵⁹ It was the same with Diego de Porras, who also took charge of the Panama side, and had the full confidence of both partners. Almagro thus obtained a royal cédula with which he delegated the post of royal accountant of Tierra Firme upon Porras, for as long as he served the King fulfilling what he had contracted with Pizarro in Peru.⁶⁰ Around this time Porras had an *Información* made against don Pedro de Alvarado, "sobre haberse metido y ocupado ciertas tierras y tomado naves y gente armada que iban en socorro de Francisco Pizarro." Porras identified himself as "estante en Panamá para la administración de la hacienda e navíos" of Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro, on whose behalf he acted against the Governor of Guatemala.⁶¹

Around this time too, many people appear in the documentation as "mayordomos" or "criados" of Francisco Pizarro; occasionally, some of these people are also connected to the other Pizarro brothers. The mayordomo was responsible for running the business he had been entrusted with, and therefore had the full confidence of his lord. Bernardino de Valderrama was Pizarro's mayordomo, and also acted as public notary.⁶² Valderrama was of course quite close to the Governor. We find him in many important documents. In Pachacámac, on 29 December 1534, Pizarro and Almagro, "ambos a dos," gave Lope de Idiáquez power of attorney to represent them in the lawsuits they followed in Spain. The signature was witnessed by Captain Ruy Díaz, Juan de Espinosa --who also signed for Almagro-- and Valderrama.⁶³ In another document, also signed in that same place around those same days, Pizarro gave full powers of attorney to Almagro, in which amongst other items he authorized him to

59. Ibid., 245-47.

60. R.C. de Toledo, 22 de marzo de 1534, AGI, Panamá 234, lib. 5, f. 152.

61. The *Información* in AGI, Patronato 193, r. 21, ff. 256-70.

62. Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, xx.

63. Ibid., 216-17.

collect debts, demand accounts and prosecute people; the witnesses were Domingo de la Presa, Picado, and Valderrama.⁶⁴ As notary, it was Valderrama who registered the deed revalidating Pizarro and Almagro's company, one of the most important documents prepared in an attempt to reconcile the partners, also signed in Pachacámac, on 14 January 1535.⁶⁵ A week later, on the 20, "en el pueblo de Lima," Pizarro and Almagro jointly authorized Valderrama to collect any money owed them, as well as to receive jewels, merchandise, clothes, horses, slaves, and Indians, "e otras qualesquier cosas que sean nuestras e nos pertenescan," control accounts of their ships' masters, and carry out other many transactions.⁶⁶

Two years later, Pizarro authorized Valderrama to represent him in all his legal and commercial transactions; a month later, on 21 June 1537, Valderrama received another power, given in Guarco, to collect the money produced by Pizarro's ships.⁶⁷ When Pizarro hired master Diego García, "para que en mi nombre podáis ser maestre de la nao grande nombrada Santiago, que al presente está surta en el puerto de Sangallán," hire sailors, buy apparel, take it to Panama, and take cargo there or elsewhere, it was stipulated that only Pizarro or Valderrama could ask him for accounts.⁶⁸ A similar case took place when master Lorenzo Román was hired; Pizarro gave him his ship Santiaguillo, also in Sangallán, to sail to

64. Dated in Pachacámac, [a blank space] enero de 1535, *ibid.*, 219-20.

65. *Ibid.*, 25-26.

66. Using this power of attorney, on 2 August 1537 Valderrama sold the ship San Pedro, then in Callao, to Benito de la Feria, vecino of Seville, in 500 gold pesos, together with all its sails, anchor, jolly-boat, and apparel (*ibid.*, 217-19).

67. *Ibid.*, 226-27.

68. Power of attorney given in the *tambo* of Chíncha, 27 June 1537 (*ibid.*, 259). As for the services rendered by master García, Valderrama recognized in Pizarro's name a debt of 850 pesos, as payment for the voyage from Panama to Callao. The original document used by Lohmann is now missing from the Archivo General de la Nación, Lima (*ibid.*, 227, n. 1).

Panama.⁶⁹ Finally, the mayordomo shielded himself with his master to escape the law. A royal cédula given in Valladolid, on 13 November 1537, declared Valderrama owed 2,000 gold ducados to Gerónimo de Çurbano, vecino of Los Reyes, and refused to pay arguing everything he had belonged to the Marquis and was not his, and could thus not be sequestered.⁷⁰

Juan Pérez de Vicuña, another distinguished servant, was hired by Francisco Pizarro in Lima, on 12 December 1535, with a yearly wage of 300 pesos,

para que seáis mi mayordomo en las haciendas, casas, ganados, navíos y en todas las otras haciendas e granjerías que yo y el adelantado don Diego de Almagro, mi compañero, tenemos en la ciudad de Panamá y en los otros pueblos de la Tierra Firme llamada Castilla del Oro e para que lo tengáis a cargo y en administración todo ello y la Isla de las Perlas que nosotros tenemos arrendada a Su Magestad... y en todo lo demás que en cualquier manera nos tocare en la dicha ciudad de Panamá, por tiempo y espacio de dos años....⁷¹

The following day Pizarro gave a power to Francisco de Zavala, resident in Seville, to collect the gold or silver he sent to that city, collect his letters, buy merchandise and clothes, and also to use the licence the King had given him and send 100 slaves to his *gobernación*. It would all be sent to the city of Nombre de Dios, to his mayordomo Juan Pérez de Vicuña, on Pizarro's risk.⁷² Two years later, in Lima, Pizarro handed a receipt to Pedro García de Jerez, present, and his brother-in-law Juan de Alfaro, vecino of Seville in the precinct of Santa María and then absent, for 1,600 gold pesos "por razón de una fusta e otras mercaderías que de vos compré," to be paid in Panama by his mayordomo Juan de Vicuña "dentro de ocho días que esta carta le fuere mostrada."⁷³

Francisco Hurtado also was Pizarro's mayordomo. In a legal statement he admitted having been present when Viceroy Núñez Vela reached Lima, but he "estaba en la mar con los

69. Ibid., 260.

70. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 2:344-45.

71. Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 254-55. Also published in Lee, "Documentos sobre conquistadores," 369-71.

72. Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 223-24.

73. Ibid., 244-45.

hijos del marqués" when the Viceroy was taken prisoner.⁷⁴ At this time Pizarro probably also had Alonso de la Cueva as mayordomo, since he figures as such in old papers received by the Marquis's heirs, making diverse payments.⁷⁵

Hernando Sánchez de Pineda was a mayordomo whose expensive wages reflected his important position. Pizarro promised to pay him 5,000 pesos for three years, beginning on 17 July 1535. Sánchez would serve the Governor

de mayordomo en las minas de Collao y en otras cualesquier donde su señoría oviere de coger e cogiere oro e para mirar e facer proveer e bastecer las cuadrillas que anduvieren en las dichas minas y entender en granjear e beneficiar los indios de repartimiento que tiene o toviere en la dicha provincia de Collao e facer e proveer y entender en todo lo demás que tocara a la hacienda e granjerías que su señoría tuviere en los dichos dominios de Collao....⁷⁶

Judging by his expensive salary, the new mayordomo must have been an experienced man, and he was being sent to the area the Pizarros would soon make a great producer of precious metals.⁷⁷ Interestingly enough, the passage just quoted explicitly links mines and encomienda as the source of Indian labour, thus integrating different elements in one single productive unit.

Pedro de Villareal was Pizarro's chamberlain when his master ordered him in Cuzco, in July 1535, to hand the important sum of 100,000 pesos over to Almagro's representatives: Juan de Espinosa, secretary; Juan de Herrada, mayordomo, and Juan Alonso de Badajoz, chamberlain, to pay for the expenses they would incur at Court.⁷⁸ When he

74. Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú*, 2:340.

75. AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 1127v-28.

76. Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 253-54.

77. Sánchez was very likely sent to Chuquiabo, later on the city of Nuestra Señora de La Paz, because of the abundance of gold there in pre-Columbian times (Marcela Ríos, personal communication). Pizarro took that encomienda for himself.

78. Cieza, my source here, adds the money would be used "para negociar ciertas cosas de casamientos que tratava [Almagro] con el cardenal de Çigüença e mercar renta para el hijo que tenía" (Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Tercera parte*, 280).

went to the parish of El Sagrario to have his daughter baptized, Villareal was once again identified as the Governor's chamberlain⁷⁹

In the documentation many persons appear as "criados;" a term which clearly covered a great hierarchical field. In any case, to be a *criado* implied social proximity verging on intimacy; unlike the *mayordomías*, this status was not given by a public deed. Pizarro's *criados* were many and well-known. They often appear identified as such, particularly in official documents. They could appear only as witnesses in notarial deeds, or as the executive party in one of his master's commands. Among the most famous we have Francisco de Ampuero, whom Pizarro married to doña Inés --the mother of his two eldest children-- and later on became a prominent person in local politics, just like his successors.⁸⁰ Don Antonio de Ribera was also a *criado* of Pizarro's; he married Inés Muñoz when she widowed Francisco Martín de Alcántara, Pizarro's brother on his mother's side.⁸¹

Among the Trujillan conquistadores some were identified as *criados*. Alonso de Toro, present when the Inca was captured, was identified as a *criado* of Francisco and also of Hernando Pizarro's. Ever-faithful to the Pizarros, Toro, one of Cuzco's encomenderos, presided over Almagro's execution. In later years Gonzalo Pizarro would appoint him Lieutenant-Governor of this city. Francisco de Carbajal then described him as

aquél que es de Truxillo y criado del señor comendador Hernando Pizarro y hechura del gobernador, mi señor, y

79. The baptism was recorded on 25 August 1538. Harth-Terré, who found this, claims it was the first time the term "mestizo" was used in an official document (Emilio Harth-Terré, *Cauces de españolización en la sociedad indoperuana de Lima virreinal* [Lima: Editorial Tierra y Arte, 1964], 8).

80. See especially chapters 6 and 7 for more data on Ampuero.

81. Don Antonio once declared he "tuvo por señor al señor Marqués" (AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 123-24).

servidor del marqués, que sea en gloria, y de todos....⁸²

Another one was Francisco de Chávez, remembered for the unusual brutality with which he struck at the people of Huaylas and Conchucos after the murder of the encomendero Sebastián de Torres.⁸³ Although he arrived long after the conquest was over, Chávez, murdered by the Almagristas together with Pizarro, was taken to be the most important man in Peru after the Governor;⁸⁴ he got to be Lieutenant-Governor in Lima.⁸⁵ In his 1537 testament Pizarro appointed Chávez as his children's tutor.⁸⁶

Joan de Valdivieso and Pedro Navarro are also identified as Pizarro's *criados*, albeit with a lower status. On 26 October they received in Jauja a power to "cobrar e cobredes todas e qualesquier mercaderyas e otras cosas que a my me trayan, asy de la cibdad de Panamá como de otras qualesquier partes...."⁸⁷ Two others, Juan de Fuentes and Jerónimo de Añasco, identified themselves as Pizarro's *criados* when declaring in a 1537 writ.⁸⁸

In Spain, some of his envoys to the Court were identified as his *criados*. When the officials of the Casa de Contratación of Seville enthusiastically announced to the Queen the arrival of the fleet with the treasures from the Indies, it was said that:

Anoche domingo xvii del presente escribimos a Vuestra Magestad con Francisco Maldonado, criado del gobernador Pizarro, que vino del Cuzco....⁸⁹

82. Francisco de Carbajal a Pedro de Soria, Chuquisaca, 14 de octubre de 1546, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 1:458-59. Toro's biography in Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 357-60.

83. Sebastián de Torres' cruelty to the Indians, his death, and the following repression by Chávez are described in chapter 7.

84. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 152.

85. Carta de deuda otorgada en Los Reyes, 28 de mayo de 1538, in Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 249-50.

86. Porrás, *Pizarro*, 54.

87. Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 214.

88. *Ibid.*, 227.

89. Oficiales de la Contratación a la reina, Sevilla, 18 de marzo de 1538, AGS, Estado 42, f. 31.

A year later Francisco Çavallos, who also reached Spain with the treasures from Peru and Pizarro's errands, was likewise identified as his *criado* in the highest spheres of the Court.⁹⁰ The royal councillor don Francisco de los Cobos sent a letter to the Emperor with Çavallos, indicating that

porque Çavallos vino con todo esto y ha deseado ir a besar las manos a Vuestra Magestad y darle razón de todo, lleva este despacho; yo le he dicho que hasta que hable a Vuestra Magestad no diga a nadie nada....⁹¹

Indeed, it would not be strange if the envoy did have a personal interview with the Emperor.

Although the Pizarros had important mining or agropastoral businesses, they did not abandon the pursuit of rapid enrichment through the pillage of Indian tombs, or the extortion of Inca nobles and regional *curacas*. As seen above, Francisco participated with Miguel de Estete in the discovery of tombs in Chimú, also enjoying the treasures found by Lorenzo de Aldana in "las sepolturas de los yndios del señor Marqués en Quito," to whom Aldana sent an account of what he had found.⁹² But it was Hernando who most enjoyed this kind of treasure-hunting. His excavations at Chíncha are widely known --the enormous hole he dug by the Inca administrative centre of La Centinela can still be seen today⁹³-- as well as his relentless harassment of Manco Inca and the *curacas* of his encomiendas to make them reveal the secrets they jealously kept.⁹⁴

The conquistadores of areas already controlled by Europeans frequently tried to invade those not yet fully annexed to Spain. In Peru, at the very beginning of the

90. Cobos a S.M., Madrid, 25 de noviembre de 1539, AGS, Estado 45, f. 240b.

91. Ibid., f. 240c.

92. The document is mentioned but not transcribed in AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 1241r. I do not know what "indios del marqués" he referred to.

93. Rostworowski, *Etnia y sociedad*, 107.

94. Among the many references available, see e.g. AGI, Escribanía 506-A, f. 12v and Titu Cusi Yupanqui, *Instrucción al licenciado don Lope García de Castro*, ed. Liliana Regalado de Hurtado (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1992), 21-25.

conquest different expeditions had been neutralized or incorporated thanks to Almagro's ability; such had been the fate of those led by Soto, Mena, Benalcázar, and Alvarado. Once the Inca was captured, however, it was clear Pizarro was strong enough to have full control over his *gobernación*.

But Hernando Cortés, the great entrepreneur-conqueror tried by all means to extend his Mexican *gobernación* and reach Peru. It was thus that on returning from his wretched expedition to Baja California, he signed a contract with Juan Domingo de Espinosa, who would leave for Peru as a commercial agent for one year at least. Four or five months later Cortés received Pizarro's request for help⁹⁵ through the Mexican Viceroy, don Antonio de Mendoza, in the form of the "traslado" of a letter Pizarro had sent to Alvarado. A chronicler says Pizarro offered to leave the land and depart for Panama if he was helped.⁹⁶ Cortés ordered two ships be dispatched under the command of Hernando de Grijalva, but they arrived once the danger was over. One of them secretly left for the east, the other one returned to Acapulco. Interestingly enough Francisco de Carvajal, Gonzalo Pizarro's famous *maestre de campo*, arrived with this expedition.⁹⁷ Early in 1538, Cortés sent at least one ship with different goods belonging to him, weapons especially, which was received in Lima by the above mentioned Juan Domingo de Espinosa on 10 April 1538.⁹⁸ The shipment had been entrusted to Captain Palacios Ruis, who handed over in Lima iron helmets, muskets, crossbows, artillery pieces, swords, gunpowder, and other military items. Cortés kept himself informed of the struggle between Almagro and Pizarro through

95. Borah, *Early Colonial Trade*, 12-13.

96. León-Portilla, *Cortés y la Mar del Sur*, 115-20, referring to the chroniclers López de Gómara and Antonio de Herrera.

97. Borah, *Early Colonial Trade*, 13; León-Portilla, *Cortés y la Mar del Sur*, 115-16.

98. León-Portilla, *Cortés y la Mar del Sur*, 120.

his agent in Panama, who sent him detailed reports on the latest developments."⁹⁹

The death of Francisco Pizarro ended a period which had begun with the invasion and conquest of Peru, and ushered in one of strife, one where the violence which lay hidden inside the settlers would come to the fore. It was no surprise that the Crown dealt with Pizarro just as it had previously done with his predecessors in other parts of America, right from the time of Columbus, and regained the political authority it had delegated on him. But in Peru, the clash between Pizarro and Almagro and its violent outcome hastened the first-encomenderos' loss of political control on behalf of the Crown. This moment coincided with the arrival of *Licenciado* Cristóbal Vaca de Castro, whose *Instrucciones* for government were based on the "muchos malos tratamientos" meted out on the Indians, also emphasizing the need of a "tasación de los yndios que están encomendados al dicho marqués [Pizarro] y a sus hermanos, parientes, criados y familiares...."¹⁰⁰ By some kind of premonition on the part of the metropolitan authority, Vaca de Castro had been named Governor of Peru and invested with full powers.

99. Guillermo Lohmann Villena, "Hernán Cortés y el Perú," *Revista de Indias* 9, no. 31-32, (1948): 339-40.

100. *Instrucciones a Vaca de Castro*, año 1540, AGI, Indiferente 415, lib. 2, ff. 70-83; the quotes on f. 71v.

CHAPTER 4

THE PIZARRO ESTATE UNDER ITS GUARDIANS (1541-1553)

A. MURDER AND ALMAGRISTA CHAOS

Diego de Almagro *El Mozo* and his followers murdered Pizarro to avenge the death of their disdained leader, but also to enjoy those resources the Pizarros denied them. With Almagro gone his faction lost all political weight, and had no chance at all of getting to Peru's riches. This was reflected in the contempt the victors had for them. Pizarro was then "tenido por el más rico hombre que avía en aquella tierra....," and it was no mere flight of fancy.¹ It was thus natural that this group, which took control briefly, anxiously waited to take over the mythical riches of the dead Governor.

Pizarro's murder unleashed a series of assaults and robberies, beginning with his own possessions in Lima and gradually extending to the main encomiendas and mines. The data appearing in the lawsuit followed by the *fiscal* of the Council of the Indies against Diego Méndez is quite explicit. Méndez, born in the town of Oropesa and a vecino of Cuzco, was Almagro's "criado y secuaz;" he was charged with complicity in Pizarro's murder, and the subsequent robberies and rebellion against the King. The scores of questions asked describe in detail the murder and sacking of Pizarro's house, his children's capture, the distribution of encomiendas, the mistreatment of Indians, the appropriation of goods and money.... The Almagristas had gone in search of "los bienes

1. Declaración del 24 de abril de 1566, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 685v-87. Hernán Rodríguez Chacón had the "tenencia e alcaidía" of Trujillo (Spain) by decision of Hernando Pizarro, of whom he was a *criado*.

que se hallasen de don Francisco Pizarro e de Hernando Pizarro e Gonzalo Pizarro...."² Méndez was particularly charged of taking a group of soldiers into the house of Antonio Picado, and also of taking his Indians. To find out what possessions the Marquis had, "los dichos matadores habían dado tormento a Picado, su secretario, al cual asimismo mataron." In the ensuing atmosphere of widespread fear Juan de Herrada --the man who led the murderers-- and many other people sacked Pizarro's house and took away jewels, tapestries, and even the horses.³

Shortly afterwards and still during the confused days of Almagrista control, some of the stolen articles were recovered from different people and handed over to Juan de Barbarán. The respective inventory was then taken before the mayor and Salcedo, the ubiquitous *veedor*, this time acting as executor. Immediately afterwards, and no doubt in fear of his life,

el dicho *veedor* [Salcedo] vio y entregó [todas las joyas] ... al dicho señor capitán Juan de Herrada, el cual lo recibió y se hizo cargo dello por virtud del dicho mandamiento del dicho señor gobernador [don Diego de Almagro] y del dicho señor alcalde....⁴

Also included in this surrender were many silver bars belonging to Pizarro and held in trust by Salcedo; it must, however, have been imposed by force, even though it followed all prescribed formalities and took place before witnesses and a public notary.⁵

After stealing the treasures, the Almagristas moved on to the productive centres. However, the brief span the rebels had in power did not allow for much continuity in their work, thus limiting themselves to steal anything immediately

2. El Fiscal contra Diego Méndez, AGI, Justicia 422, n. 1, ff. 57, 81-93v, 131-47 in particular. The suit began in Cuzco, on 9 December 1542, and ended on 6 July 1543. Méndez was sentenced both to death and to confiscation of his properties, but he escaped from jail and only the second part of the sentence was carried out.

3. AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 700v-1; Justicia 422, n. 1, ff. 7v-8.

4. AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 1241v-47v.

5. *Ibid.*

available, particularly gold and silver. As for the mines, always an interesting subject, one witness favourable to Méndez asserted he "truxo de las minas de Porco mucha plata...", but "no sabe" if he had stolen anything. Another one asserted Méndez had not taken anything by force, "e que si algo tomaba daba cédulas dello para lo pagar de la plata de Hernando Pizarro, que lavía tomado...."⁶ The defendant, once don Diego's Lieutenant-Governor in the city of La Plata --in whose jurisdiction lay the mines of Porco--, said he

no sabe que [las] minas ayan impedido ni dejado de labrarse, porque las de Porco se hazía muy gran hazienda en ellas, hasta que Francisco de Almendras las despobló....⁷

Finally, it came as no surprise when the victors hurriedly divided the encomiendas between themselves, particularly those belonging to Pizarro and taken by don Diego.⁸

Pizarro had two children with doña Inés Huaylas --doña Francisca and don Gonzalo-- and two more with doña Angelina --don Francisco and don Juan. (See illustration 2.) These young heirs found themselves in an extremely weak condition, despite the provisions taken by their father in successive wills. A study of the original documents should prove worthwhile due to the serious doubts the changes made therein raise. In the 1537 testament Pizarro established that upon his death, Diego Mejía de Prado and Francisco de Chávez, in Spain, and Juan Pizarro and Francisco Martín de Alcántara, in Lima, should be his children's guardians.⁹ In another draft --the so-called "*minuta enmendada*"--, dated in 1538, we have the same guardians in Spain and, in Peru: Hernando Pizarro, Francisco Martín de Alcántara, Francisco de Chávez, and the secretary Antonio Picado.¹⁰ In the 1539 version no tutors are

6. AGI, Justicia 422, n. 1.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., ff. 22v-23v, 56v-57.

9. Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 300. Strangely enough, Juan Pizarro had died in 1536, one year before the supposed date when this testament was drawn (Lima, 5 June 1537.)

10. Ibid., 308.

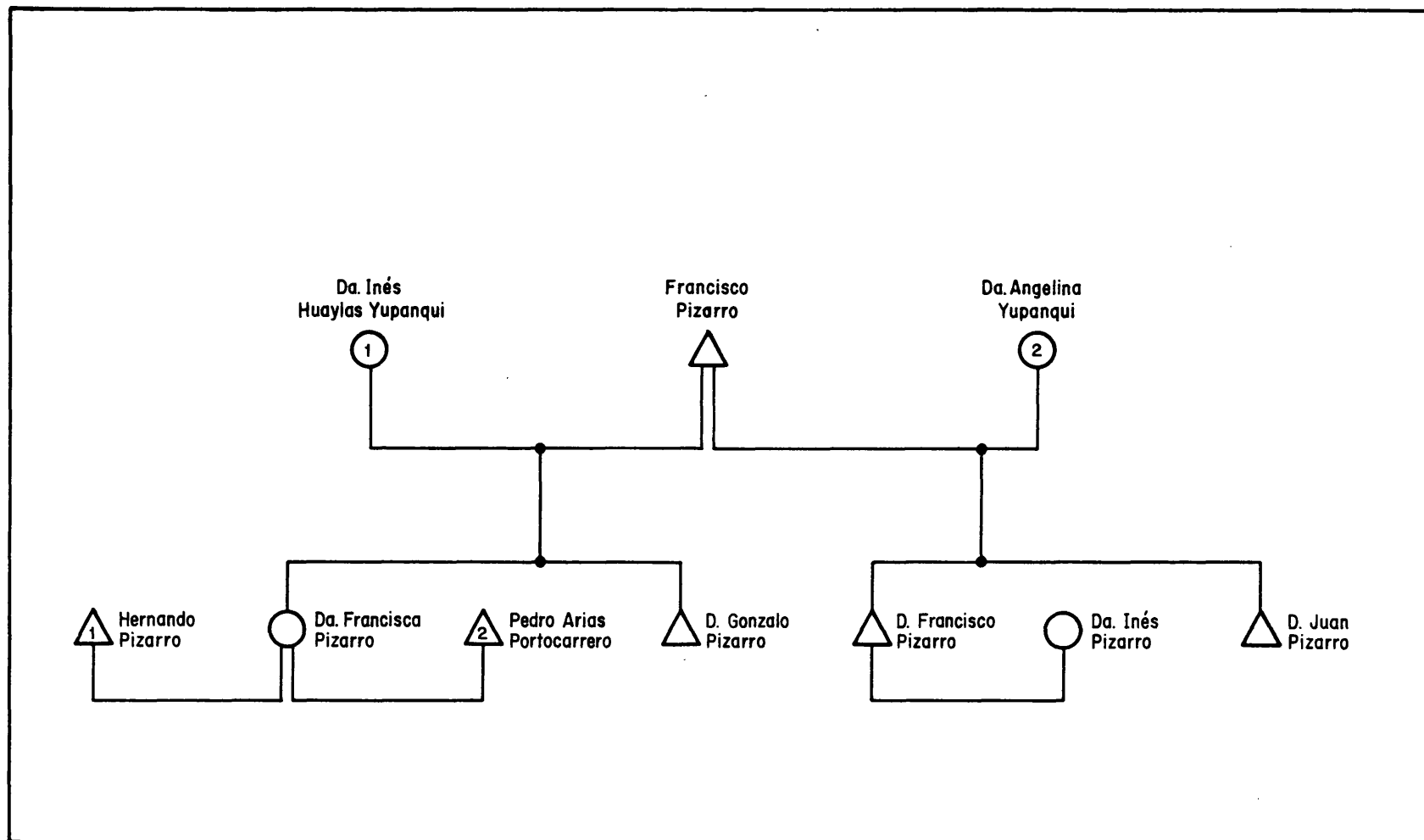


ILLUSTRATION 2. LIAISONS AND DESCENDANTS OF FRANCISCO PIZARRO.

named, but the executors appointed for Peru are Friar Vicente de Valverde, Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro, Francisco Martín de Alcántara, Francisco de Chávez, and Antonio Picado.¹¹ As for the final testament, drawn in 1541, its terms remain unknown because don Diego de Almagro had it destroyed or hid after taking the will by force from the notary Pedro de Salinas; in it Pizarro once again reaffirmed his confidence in his brother Gonzalo, in Francisco de Chávez, and in Antonio Picado.¹²

Of all documents relating to the Pizarros it is the testaments which undoubtedly raise the most questions, above all because they were tampered with.¹³ As for the guardianship, it should be noted that all people named were quite close indeed to Pizarro, but they also died with him or soon after, save for Hernando, then in Spain. He would one day use the powers given him by these testaments, tampered or not. However, as far as protecting the children was concerned, he and Gonzalo were not present, and Francisco Martín de Alcántara, Chávez, and Picado had also been killed by the Almagristas.

Perhaps all Almagristas wanted to have Pizarro's children killed, but on this point the sources are somewhat contradictory. Doña Francisca's governess insisted the murderers wanted to kill the children too, then in another house and afterwards hidden by *veedor* Salcedo and his wife. As a consequence, in order to save their lives,

se tomó por medio que los desterrasen a ellos [los niños] y a doña Inés de Ribera... y así los desterraron y los metieron en un navío de que era maestre uno llamado Baupista, el cual habiéndolo[s] embarcado en su navío supo este testigo por cosa cierta que los había echado en tierra sabiendo quel dicho licenciado Vaca de Castro... había ya entrado en [el Perú]....¹⁴

11. Ibid., 314.

12. Although the text remains unknown, close witnesses declared Pizarro had left the *gobernación* to Gonzalo, entrusting it to Francisco de Chávez and Picado whilst his brother set off for La Canela. However, no mention is made of any guardianship (ibid., 286).

13. See Lohmann, "Ultima voluntad de Francisco Pizarro."

14. AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 696v-97.

Doña Inés Muñoz, the wife of Francisco Martín de Alcántara, later known as doña Inés de Ribera, herself believed this story was true, for in a letter to the King she said that

porque don Diego y los demás tiranos, sus secuaces, procuraron con toda instancia y diligencia de matar a todos los hijos del marqués fueme forzado a esconderlos y salir destos reinos con ellos....¹⁵

The Almagrista Diego Méndez, in turn, declared Juan de Herrada had been the one who sent the children to Nicaragua, with doña Inés going with them of her own free will.¹⁶ The difference lies on whether the Almagristas were bent on the death --the Pizarrista story--, or just the exile --the Almagrista side of it-- of the children. In any case, the absence of the Pizarros from Lima produced a vacuum which made it impossible to rally the opposition against the Almagristas. Circumstances changed with the arrival of *Licenciado* Vaca de Castro, who returned the colonial authority back to its lawful condition. For the children and their estate his rule (1541-1544) would in the long run, however, cause more serious problems than Diego's had.

B. LICENCIADO CRISTOBAL VACA DE CASTRO

The metropolitan officials summed up events perfectly when they heard Almagro had been murdered. Cobos had first suggested to the King "dilatar algo la ida del licenciado Vaca"¹⁷ because the land was in peace. The extreme gravity of the Peruvian crisis was realized only upon receiving the news

15. Lima [?], 8 de mayo de 1543, AGI, Patronato 192, n. 1, r. 32. Doña Inés repeated her account in a letter to the Council of the Indies (Lima, 12 de marzo de 1575, AGI, Lima 270, ff. 641-44v.) Old and by then abbess of the convent of Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepción, doña Inés prepared a *probanza* requesting *mercedes* from the Council; the abbess thought it would be better this time to declare she had been the first married woman who arrived in Peru with her husband, and to keep quiet instead about her adventure with Pizarro's children (Lima, 18 de marzo de 1592, AGI, Lima 209).

16. AGI, Justicia 422, n. 1, f. 52.

17. Cobos al emperador, Madrid, 25 de noviembre de 1539, AGS, Estado 45, f. 240c.

of Almagro's execution and the expediente of his trial.¹⁸ Cobos himself gauged how serious the struggle between Pizarristas and Almagristas was, thus dampening his satisfaction over the funds and news received concerning the output of the silver mines.¹⁹

Fray García de Loaysa, Cardinal of Seville and President of the Council of the Indies, wrote to the King and informed him that the Council --himself, Cobos, and the Count of Osorno-- had met and convened that it was still essential for someone to be sent to Peru. Satisfaction had to be given

a los que piden justicia y proveer las cosas generales así de las cuentas de la hacienda y patrimonio real de Vuestra Magestad como de la reformatión del exceso que dicen que hay en los repartimientos que tenemos relación que en lo uno y en lo otro hay necesidad de proveer y también visto la edad del Gobernador don Francisco Pizarro y el estado en que están las cosas de aquellas provincias si acaeciese fallecimiento suyo sería muy provechoso que esta persona se hallase allá en aquella coyuntura para tener la tierra en justicia....²⁰

Despite the gravity of the moment, the Cardinal recommended to waiting for Hernando Pizarro, soon to arrive in Spain, so

el juez viese antes que se partiese de acá los procesos y escripturas que Hernando Pizarro dicen que trae y oyese lo que en el Consejo cerca dellos se platicase para más información suya.²¹

It would be best if the delay in sending an official was concealed, and the King agreed.²² Vaca de Castro therefore left for Peru with a clear idea of what was going on, and with precise instructions to follow. His mission would so clearly harm the privileges of the Pizarros that Hernando objected to his appointment, arguing the *Licenciado* was his enemy.²³

18. Fiscal Villalobos al emperador, Madrid, 20 de diciembre de 1539, *ibid.*, f. 242.

19. Cobos al emperador, Madrid, 9 de mayo de 1540, AGS, Estado 49, f. 45.

20. Presidente del Consejo de Indias al emperador, Madrid, 23 de diciembre de 1539, AGS, Estado 45, f. 243.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

23. HP al emperador, Madrid, 21 de abril [1540], AGI, Escribanía 1007-B, ff. 81-83v.

Quite possibly few other rulers turned out to be as disappointing as Vaca was, even in this age of early colonial rule, because his mission had been so precisely set and yet yielded such disastrous results. The *Licenciado* was prone to pay more attention to his own interests, rather than the role in government he had been entrusted with, often ignoring pressing administrative matters. Most of his attention was taken up by the properties of the Pizarros, in particular those belonging to the young heirs of the Marquis.

It was 12 May 1542: Vaca de Castro was already in power as President of the Audiencia of Lima, and Gonzalo Pizarro still in his expedition to La Canela,²⁴ when Juan de Barbarán went to see the mayor as guardian of Pizarro's children and their estate.²⁵ He wanted to adapt the inventory of Pizarro's possessions to the new political circumstances, since the previous one

se hizo en tiempo de don Diego de Almagro e las justicias que a la sazón había eran jueces incompetentes, y es en sí ninguno lo que entonces se hizo....²⁶

Barbarán therefore requested a new inventory be taken. The new one included the "casas principales e huerta," i.e. the four *solares* in the main square, various *estancias* and a mill, all in Lima or its immediate vicinity. Also listed were clothes, jewels, slaves, cattle, and documents. But the great amount of gold and silver objects recovered from many different people, some of them identified, is certainly surprising. More than once they were returned due to "arrepentimiento," as when an unstamped silver bar was returned by the city's vicar, "que le había dado cierta

24. Gonzalo returned from the vicinity of Quito in June 1542 (Prescott, *Peru*, 1080.)

25. Barbarán said he had been entrusted with the guardianship but failed to include a copy of the document, as was styled in such cases. I believe he never received a formal authorization, or that he chose not to show the circumstances in which he had been given it. Be it as it may, the authorities gave their consent.

26. AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 1250-84v.

persona por bienes del dicho señor marqués."²⁷ It follows that the pillage of Pizarro's house must have been a generalized and confused event, but once it was all over and enquiries begun, many returned what they had stolen out of fear of their consciences or of the law, whilst others were forced to do so by Barbarán and other, reinvigorated, Pizarristas. Two months later Barbarán auctioned different items belonging to Pizarro's house, linen and clothes mostly.²⁸

Although in the documents Barbarán appears as the person legally responsible for the guardianship, many transactions show he was not the only one who took charge of the late Governor's children and belongings. Sometimes it is Francisco de Ampuero who appears connected to the children's estate, prior to Gonzalo's arrival to Lima; this comes as no surprise since he had been Pizarro's *criado* and had married doña Inés Huaylas, the mother of doña Francisca and don Gonzalo Pizarro.²⁹ Other contemporary sources show the children and their possessions were taken care of by Inés Muñoz, Francisco Martín de Alcántara's widow, now married with don Antonio de Ribera. A witness thus said that

antes que el dicho Gonzalo Pizarro viniese a Lima, cuando salió de la entrada de la Canela, los daban los dichos tributos [de los repartimientos de doña Francisca] a la mujer de Francisco Martín, que se dice doña Inés, en cuyo poder e guarda estaba doña Francisca Pizarro, porque su marido Francisco Martín [de Alcántara] era hermano del dicho marqués don Francisco Pizarro.³⁰

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. His wife's position probably favoured Ampuero with the administration of doña Francisca's tributes and mines in the area, but at present we have no documentary evidence. See chapter 7 for the connections between doña Inés Huaylas and the Indian group ruling her birthplace, during the early colonial period.

30. Declaración de Alonso de Billar, Sevilla, 7 de noviembre de 1553, AGI, Justicia 1054, n. 3, r. 1, 2a pza., f. [157]. Don Antonio once declared doña Francisca Pizarro lived in his (and doña Inés Muñoz, his wife's) house when Gonzalo Pizarro left Lima, and perhaps also before that (AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 123v).

Vaca de Castro arrived with legal support and a cunning largely outstripping the challenge don Diego's rebellion posed; this would not, however, be the case when he had to face first Viceroy Blasco Núñez Vela, his supposed successor, and then Gonzalo Pizarro who did indeed succeed him. The need to "reformat los indios" of Pizarro and his relatives, i.e. to reduce the amount of Indians the Pizarros had taken in encomienda, figured prominently in Vaca's instructions. The metropolitan authorities undoubtedly wanted to limit the power the conquerors had and eventually push them aside, as had already happened to Christopher Columbus in Santo Domingo, and Fernando Cortés in Mexico. The circumstances Vaca met with were much easier than expected because the main power-group, the Pizarros and their connections, had been mortally wounded when the Marquis was murdered, and young Almagro never really managed to become the effective ruler of Peru.

With ample jurisdiction and exceeding his attributions, the new Governor and President of the Audiencia promptly designed a network to collect other people's profits, depriving the Pizarros, Almagro *El Mozo*, and others from what their encomiendas and mines yielded. After issuing a "*cédula de reformatión*" for the encomiendas of the Pizarros which would be useful as a legal safeguard, Vaca de Castro gave the "*demasia*" --i.e. the surplus-- to other men, including his own *criados* and settlers who had arrived to Peru long before, in an attempt to strengthen his supporters.³¹ As might have been expected, far from fulfilling the "*tasa y reformatión*" of the Indians he had been ordered to do, Vaca turned instead to

hacer bien y provecho a sus deudos, criados y allegados, y lo hacía sin se informar de los indios que se reformaba y aprovechamiento que tenían y lo que daban y podían dar de tributo....³²

31. Residencia de Vaca de Castro, Lima, año de 1544, AGI, Justicia 467, ff. 27v, 37.

32. Cargos del oidor Alonso Alvarez en la residencia de Vaca de Castro (*ibid.*, f. 9.) It is echoed in statements made by the witnesses (e.g. *ibid.*, f. 12).

As for the repartimientos belonging to Pizarro's children, it did not prove exceedingly difficult to seize those of Chimú, Huaylas, Conchucos, Lima, Chuquitanta, Atabillos, Chuquiabo, and others.³³ A representative of Vaca's went to the towns of Yucay, Lare, and others in Francisco Pizarro's encomienda in Cuzco, collecting coca and maize,

y los hacía vender el dicho Gaspar Gil y rescatar con los indios naturales y acudía con el oro y plata que dello procedía al licenciado Vaca de Castro, como su mayordomo que era....³⁴

A similar case took place in Huaylas: Vilairima, the *curaca*, declared having given gold, silver, clothes, halters, sandals, and other items, when the Governor passed through on his way from Quito to Lima. The man in charge of the collection had been Cristóbal de Rojas, Vaca de Castro's mayordomo.³⁵ This same Cristóbal de Rojas had taken gold and silver from the *curaca* of Chimú for the Governor.³⁶ Another time it was Tostado, also Vaca's *criado*, who took gold and silver from the Indians of Huaylas,³⁷ whilst Diego Mejía looked after Canta, Huaura, and Atabillos.³⁸ Nor were the mines of Porco allowed to waste, for the ambitious Governor also profitted from its output of silver.³⁹

C. GONZALO PIZARRO BECOMES GUARDIAN

On arriving to Lima in 1542, Gonzalo Pizarro found Juan de Barbarán as "tutor y curador de las personas y bienes" of his nephews. Barbarán was one of the first conquerors --he was present when the Inca was captured-- and it looks as if he had been one of Pizarro's *criados*. When his master was murdered he was brave enough to bury him and look after his children. His closeness to some of the Almagristas obviously made things easier, but his behaviour was nonetheless

33. AGI, Justicia 467, ff. 28v-29v; Justicia 1054, n. 3, r. 1.

34. AGI, Justicia 1054, n. 3, r. 1, 2a pza., ff. [207v-8].

35. AGI, Justicia 467, f. 13v.

36. Ibid., ff. 13v-14v.

37. Ibid., f. 30v.

38. AGI, Justicia 1054, n. 3, r. 1.

39. Ibid.

praiseworthy.⁴⁰ Gonzalo formally took over the guardianship on 27 November 1542, before the accountant Juan de Cáceres, then the city's mayor; his guarantors were the *veedor* García de Salcedo --again!-- and the conqueror Martín Pizarro. Shortly afterwards, on 2 January 1543, Gonzalo placed his nephews under the care of his mayordomo Alonso de Villacorta.⁴¹

On 17 May 1543, Juan de Barbarán rendered an account of the time he had been responsible for Pizarro's children, and that part of his estate which was in Lima. He thus officially handed over everything included in the inventory, from houses and *estancias* to papers, slaves and cattle. That same day Villacorta accepted the account rendered. Most of the expenses --all of which obviously could not have been incurred in providing for the children-- were payments made to notaries, outstanding debts, and some clothes for the children. Two items stand out. The first one concerns some expenses incurred for Pizarro's burial, including wax and clothes for pages and *criados*, all of which leads us to the conclusion that mourning was not as secret as it might have been. The other one was a shipment of clothes for sale which must have arrived after Pizarro died. There were at least 100 boxes of them; Barbarán had them taken to a shop and sold.⁴²

Villacorta handed Francisco de Ampuero "ciertas escrituras de conocimiento y obligaciones" included in the inventory, two days after accounts had been rendered; they probably were transactions made whilst he represented the

40. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 289-91; Busto, *Diccionario de los conquistadores*, 1:203-6.

41. Gonzalo's guardianship and his replacement by Alonso de Villacorta are in AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 1227-35v. For specific documentation on Gonzalo's interest in the administration of his nephews's estate, see e.g. Gonzalo's letter to his mayordomo instructing him to inspect don Francisco's --his nephew-- properties in Cuzco, (GP a Alonso de Villacorta, Quito, 14 de julio de 1545, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 2:192-93).

42. Cuentas de Barbarán a Villacorta, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 1250-84v. As for Pizarro's funeral, Ampuero also made some expenditures rendered separately (*ibid.*, ff. 1179ff).

children, and Gonzalo accepted them as tutor.⁴³ With Gonzalo's written authorization in hand, Ampuero prepared to leave Lima and take possession of the children's Indians, collect tributes, and supply their mines in Huaylas.⁴⁴ Months later he was still managing money belonging to the children, and Pedro Navarro, the mayor, was commanding him to pay the notary's fees.⁴⁵ Even more, Ampuero also represented the children when their father's body was identified and removed from his burial place in the old cathedral to the new one.⁴⁶ Two years later Gonzalo declared he was "contento y satisfecho" with what he had received from Ampuero, leaving everything to Father Diego Martín, his "mayordomo mayor," unfortunately once more without giving greater details.⁴⁷ As Peru's ruler, Gonzalo must have really been pleased with the accounts rendered by Ampuero.

43. Lima, 19 de mayo de 1543, *ibid.*, ff. 1250-84v. This delivery, plus the granting of a subsequent power of attorney, makes me believe Ampuero had already taken charge of part of his nephews' affairs on Gonzalo's command. The *traslado del poder* from Gonzalo to Ampuero to defend, collect debts and tributes, take possession of their Indians, and supply their mines in the province of Huaylas in virtue of the guardianship, took place in Lima, on 7 July 1543, before Juan Franco, public notary. This, and other documents pertaining to Gonzalo's guardianship are in AGI, Justicia 396, n. 3, r. 1, ff. 23-47.

44. *Ibid.* Due to the nearness of his departure, Ampuero waived his guardianship of the children of Sebastián de Torres on 17 July 1543. On 31 he repeated his request before the alcalde Juan de Barbarán, who then transferred the guardianship, as can be seen in the notarial records of Juan Franco, *HC*, 1:164-65.

45. Lima, 14 de noviembre de 1543, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 1179.

46. Lima, 21 de enero de 1544. The certificate of exhumation in Bertram T. Lee, "Dos documentos inéditos peruanos," *Revista Histórica* 11 (1937): 325-28. A detailed study of the circumstances in which Pizarro died, according to different sources, in Hugo Ludeña, "Versiones tempranas sobre la muerte de don Francisco Pizarro," *Boletín de Lima* 37 (Jan. 1985): 5-32.

47. Cuentas de Barbarán a Villacorta, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 1250-84v. Reference to "Diego Martín, clérigo, que tuvo a cargo la tutela de la dicha doña Francisca por Gonzalo Pizarro..." is also made in the questionnaire presented by Antonio de Ribera in the suit over doña Francisca's accounts (*ibid.*, f. 391).

Gonzalo's return to Lima in 1542 did not challenge Vaca's interests because after the Governor rejected him, Gonzalo chose to avoid a confrontation and retired instead to his repartimientos in Charcas, staying aloof from all political events. However, things changed in 1544 with the arrival of Viceroy Blasco Núñez Vela, who proved unable both to enforce the New Laws and maintain Peru's fragile internal peace. The *encomenderos'* agreement on resisting the royal envoy, and Vaca's predatory stance against his estate and that of his relatives', led Gonzalo down a road heading straight towards rebellion.

On 11 October 1544 Vaca de Castro signed an "*obligación*" for 12,000 gold pesos, "por razón de todo aquello que de las haciendas de los dichos menores [don Gonzalo y doña Francisca Pizarro] yo he habido y cobrado, u otro por mi mandado."⁴⁸ This document's validity was questioned during the lawsuit brought in Spain against Vaca by the heirs of Marquis Pizarro: whilst the latter swore the *obligación* had been freely given, the first disowned it swearing he had been forced to sign. In any case two points are worth noting: on the one hand there were the lawful expectations of the Pizarros, who surely thought their financial losses would be redressed thanks to this document,⁴⁹ while on the other Vaca's uneasiness at being displaced in the political and financial spheres by Viceroy Núñez Vela, plus the added risk of a *juicio de residencia*.⁵⁰

48. AGI, Justicia 1054, n. 3, r. 1, 2a pza., f. [30v].

49. Prince Philip ordered that shipments of gold and silver for Vaca should be retained in Seville, because he had misappropriated funds from the Royal Treasury and the Indian tributes left vacant by the deaths of Francisco Pizarro and others. Samano, the royal secretary, Alonso de Yllescas, Marshal Diego Caballero, and Francisco de los Cobos were amongst the creditors whose money Vaca was bringing from Peru and was sequestered at Seville as it arrived "unregistered" (AGI, Justicia 1175, n. 7).

50. The incomplete proceedings of the lawsuit presented by Pizarro's heirs is in AGI, Justicia 1054, n. 3, r. 1. Vaca was declared innocent a long time afterwards, no doubt thanks to his connections. His biography is in Mendiburu, *Diccionario histórico-biográfico*, vol. 11.

Gonzalo managed his nephews' estate as if it were his own, particularly once he was Governor, because the needs of his rebellion made it impossible to distinguish the funds not belonging to him.⁵¹ Just as in previous years the country's resources had given rise to the Pizarros' estate, so now the produce of the encomiendas, lands, and mines belonging to the children and Gonzalo himself were assigned to governmental expenditures. Management of all properties, which at first retained certain administrative independence, was now gradually weakened until they could not be distinguished from all of the estate Gonzalo managed. The properties of the children provided a great deal of the resources essential for the rebel government's survival.

D. DON ANTONIO DE RIBERA'S ADMINISTRATION (1547-1553)

Gonzalo Pizarro hurriedly left Lima in the first days of July 1547, when Lorenzo de Aldana arrived to Callao with the royalist armada. In his haste he probably did not stop to think how useful certain formalisms would have been for his nephews' future wellbeing, under the regime Pedro de la Gasca would establish in less than a year's time.⁵² On 26 July 1547 doña Francisca Pizarro --her father's universal heir after don Gonzalo, her brother, died the previous year⁵³-- went to

51. Don Antonio de Ribera, the following guardian, declared that "los bienes muebles de la dicha doña Francisca, el dicho Gonzalo Pizarro los tenía y gastaba, y así mismo la renta de sus indios e de los otros sus bienes..." (AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 127).

52. Busto, *Pacificación del Perú*, 79-80, holds exactly the opposite opinion: Gonzalo, "[p]resagiando su final no quiso desamparar a sus sobrinos..., y habiéndolo planeado con los alcaldes de la capital Antonio de Ribera (tutor de los menores) y Martín Pizarro (tío de los mismos), logró que éstos alzarán bandera por el Monarca...." No evidence supports this statement, as we shall soon see. Besides, if Martín Pizarro did have some kind of kinship with the youngsters it was probably so distant he could have hardly been called "uncle" (Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 417-20).

53. Pizarro named his children Francisca and Gonzalo, his universal heirs. The latter died intestate in 1546 due to his minority of age. His sister took over his part, in compliance with their father's will. Don Francisco was buried in Lima's *iglesia mayor*, in the tomb of his father. (See, for example,

see Martín Pizarro, the mayor, a Trujillano and one of the first conquerors. Don Antonio de Ribera said that

por ser la persona que es, y por haberla tenido en su casa por el cargo que le tiene, y porque tuvo por señor al señor marqués, su padre difunto, por amor de Dios, y porque su hacienda no se pierda, quería aceptar el dicho cargo y hacer en ello lo que debe como tal curador.⁵⁴

It is no surprise that neither Gonzalo, the former guardian, nor don Antonio, who followed him, paid much attention to unimportant affairs such as accounts, since this procedure was carried out in the midst of total chaos,

cuatro o cinco días después que desta ciudad [de Lima] salió Gonzalo Pizarro --que tenía alterados estos reinos-- el cual era su curador [de doña Francisca], y no dejó cuenta ni razón de sus bienes; y por ser el tiempo revuelto... y el dicho don Antonio haber ido luego a la provincia de Xauxa a servir a Su Magestad y al señor Presidente el licenciado Pedro Gasca para deshacer al dicho Gonzalo Pizarro... [tampoco don Antonio de Ribera] pudo hacer el dicho inventario.⁵⁵

With no time to stop and think about the difficulties which might appear in future, don Antonio did not bother, or simply could not manage, to organize the documentation of the immense estate inherited from Francisco Pizarro. Although he had been close to Gonzalo, don Antonio had joined the royalist army once the rebel's defeat was foreseeable, just like many others had frequently done during the first decades of the conquest.⁵⁶ As doña Francisca's tutor and guardian, he

Preguntas 4, 10 y 11 del interrogatorio y declaración de Simón de Alzate, AGI, Justicia 1054, 2a pza.) Gonzalo Pizarro imparted the death of the youngster to Hernando Pizarro (Quito, 29 de mayo de 1546, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 2:170-71).

54. The deed was registered by the notary Baltazar Vázquez, with the accountant Juan de Cáceres and Gerónimo de Silva as guarantors (AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 123-24v; the quote on f. 123v.)

55. Ibid., ff. 126v-27. In *ibid.*, f. 90, doña Francisca's attorneys confirmed the date the guardianship declared by don Antonio began.

56. An especially-gifted individual in the trade of changing sides at the timeliest moment possible was Captain Garcilaso de la Vega. See Rafael Varón, "Política y negocios de los conquistadores. El padre del Inca Garcilaso," *Historia y Cultura* 21 (1991-92): 81-103.

was foresighted enough to send a horseman in her name to join the troops of President Gasca, then in Jauja.⁵⁷

The oidores and alcaldes of Lima supervised the expenditures incurred in the guardianship of all orphans, due to the implicit responsibility they had for the children's wellbeing. On 20 August 1549 a decree from the Lima Audiencia commissioned *Licenciado* Andrés de Cianca, one of its oidores, to enquire who was acting as guardian, "y de la manera que los rigen y gobiernan y aumentan sus bienes y haciendas y la cuenta y razón que dellos tienen...."⁵⁸ When don Antonio de Ribera was summoned, he presented the instrument whereby Mayor Martín Pizarro had given him the guardianship two years before on 26 July 1547, and check the accounts kept right up to 1549. The Oidor studied the income and expenditures, certifying their truthfulness by a detailed reading of their contents before doña Francisca herself, then thirteen years old.

Don Antonio had sold a *solar* the young lady had in Lima; received the wages of a blacksmith who was doña Francisca's slave; leased out the pond and sold cattle, and so on. The most important expenditures were the payments made to the city's *provisor* to take possession of the repartimiento of Lima --which according to don Antonio, Gonzalo had given to the Mercedarian friars-- wax for Pizarro's grave on All Souls' Day, equipment for the mines and scissors for the Indians to make rugs; a glass-mirror and oil for the lamp in doña Francisca's dressing room; mourning dresses for her, for Catalina de la Cueva, her governess, don Francisco, and a servant called Xuárez.⁵⁹

The accounts were probably not studied as carefully as the impressive formalities want us believe. Thus, for instance, the 2,831 pesos doña Francisca and don Antonio de

57. Strangely enough, he bought the horse from Lorenzo de Aldana, a prominent Gonzalista before changing over to Gasca's army (AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 129).

58. *Ibid.*, ff. 121-22v.

59. *Ibid.*, ff. 127-210v.

Ribera, her tutor, loaned on 12 December to Francisco de Ampuero, a transaction justified saying doña Francisca

vive al presente en unas casas principales de la morada de mí, el dicho Francisco de Ampuero, que tengo en esta ciudad, alinde con otras casas y tiendas [*crossed out*: "suyas"] mías y de cara del monasterio de Nuestra Señora de la Merced, e por esta causa yo no puedo disponer dellas, lo cual yo al presente quería hacer para suplir mis necesidades....⁶⁰

The interesting point in this supposed loan, guaranteed by the mortgage of the houses mentioned, is that no date was set for its payment; indeed, this took place seven years later and only because of the insistence shown by Gonzalo de Torres, clergyman and one of Hernando Pizarro's *criados*.⁶¹

The oidores and alcaldes constantly interfered in the expenditures made on behalf of the youngsters. The payment orders show the ease with which they used the funds for apparently trivial expenditures, which should have been arranged by the guardian himself except when the creditors had no choice other than to resort to the authorities to be paid. A royal decree issued by the Audiencia ordered the payment of 200 pesos to Friar Luis de Villasana, "por la doctrina de los naturales de Guaylas, con carta de pago del dicho;" mayor Gerónimo de Silva, don Antonio's very guarantor in the guardianship, ordered the payment of 82 pesos to Bartolomé Pérez for the services rendered to doña Francisca in Huaylas; mayor Martín Pizarro had the clergyman García Velázquez paid 200 pesos, two jugs of wine and 16 pounds of wax "por que doctrinó los indios de Lima y Chuquitanta ocho meses, con carta de pago del dicho."⁶² *Licenciado* Cianca approved the accounts with only a few minor objections, and took down the sum owed by don Antonio due to the difference between income and expenses.⁶³ The following year don Antonio took the initiative and rendered accounts on what had so far

60. *Ibid.*, ff. 496-97v.

61. Gonzalo de Torres collected the last 1,231 pesos on 9 November 1556. The rest had been previously collected by don Antonio de Ribera (*ibid.*, ff. 497v-98v).

62. *Ibid.*, ff. 110-12v.

63. *Ibid.*, f. 458.

been incurred. *Licenciado* Cianca again approved the accounts up to April 1551.⁶⁴

The management of the children's estate greatly changed with the measures taken both in the metropolis and in the colony itself once Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion had been defeated. On the one hand it was ordered that the repartimiento of Yucay and the coca of Avisca be given to the Crown; don Francisco would instead receive an annuity he should share for some years with his sister and his cousins, the daughters of Gonzalo and Juan. On the other hand, it was also ordered that doña Francisca and don Francisco, Pizarro's children, should get ready to travel. Gasca had sent the children of Gonzalo and Juan Pizarro to Spain before leaving Peru, and left detailed instructions for the departure of the remaining Pizarros.⁶⁵ On 29 December 1551 Francisca, still don Antonio's ward, requested from the Audiencia of Lima that her departure be delayed. She argued that

sería muy gran daño y perjuicio para mis bienes y hacienda que al presente me partiese para los dichos reinos [de España] a causa que tengo todos mis bienes derramados y en diversas partes e lugares destos reinos como es en las Charcas, Cuzco y Arequipa y en otras partes, y partiéndome al presente no podría disponer cómodamente de los dichos mis bienes porque si los quisiese vender no hallaría quien me los comprase y se venderían a menos precio por ser muchos, así muebles como raíces....⁶⁶

She ended requesting a reasonable deadline be set for her departure, and that her guardian be allowed to sell her belongings; the Audiencia convened. Don Antonio obviously thought the children's estate would dwindle fast and eventually vanish once they had left. He therefore hurriedly began to sell the properties doña Francisca still owned. The following were some of the most valuable ones: a *solar* with

64. *Ibid.*, f. 458v. Interestingly enough, the tribute paid in this period was based on the 1549 rates.

65. Pizarro's children were ordered to leave Peru (RR.CC. de los reyes de Bohemia, Valladolid, 11 y 20 de marzo de 1550, as mentioned in *Oidores del Perú al Consejo de Indias*, Lima, 20 de febrero de 1551, AGI, Lima 92).

66. AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 451.

a pond and houses in Lima which once belonged to Francisco Hurtado, auctioned for 800 pesos *ensayados* to Alonso de Castro, *alguacil mayor de corte*; a *chacra* in Chuquitanta, sold to Francisco Ruiz for 510 pesos *ensayados*; six *solares* "que estaban a la barranca del río, donde está el asiento del molino y horno de ladrillo," sold to Antón Sánchez for 600 pesos *ensayados*; two *solares* in Arequipa sold to Gaspar de Armenta for 150 pesos *ensayados*, and last of all, a much-esteemed bed with crimson silk sold for 400 pesos *ensayados*. Don Antonio also got rid of many, lower-priced objects, such as two tables with their benches, clothes, carved stones, and cattle, goats, and pigs.⁶⁷

The guardian's decision to sell can be understood as that of a manager with no entrepreneurial outlook. Some of the most expensive properties could obviously not be sold, such as Pizarro's "casas principales" in Lima's main square, or the *encomiendas*. If there was no intention of giving up these properties, an administrative organization would have to be established even in the absence of the owners. However, some real estate and minor productive units were indeed sold, such as the *chacra* of Chuquitanta, whose main advantage probably was having Indian labour from the *encomienda* at its command.

The Audiencia ordered Francisco de Ampuero to take doña Francisca and don Francisco Pizarro to Spain. This did not trouble him because he also wanted to go there with his daughter. Instead it allowed him to avoid making costly travelling expenditures the children eventually paid for, and finally, once there he unsuccessfully tried to be paid for having carried out his commission. The travellers included Catalina de la Cueba, doña Francisca's governess; Antón Martín, the girl's servant; Juanillo, don Francisco's page, and Ampuero and his daughter. Once in Spain Ampuero set out for Medina del Campo. There he went to see Hernando Pizarro, then in the prison of La Mota, rendered an account of the

67. Ibid., ff. 474v-78v.

voyage and handed him 1,700 gold pesos; Hernando accepted them on 29 November 1551.⁶⁸

Strangely enough, Hernando accepted the accounts without raising any objections. It was Ampuero, instead, who devised an ingenious scheme to conceal his ambitions. He and doña Inés, his wife and doña Francisca's mother, jointly asked Hernando to give them a *carta de dote* which would include everything he had received from doña Francisca. Doña Inés' interest lay in that she would become her daughter's mandatory heir should she die childless. The proceedings ended with a royal *cédula* ordering Hernando to hand over the required deed, but we do not know if it was fulfilled.⁶⁹

Due to Hernando's presence, the children's status changed dramatically once they reached Spain. Hernando took control of the whole of the family's estate, managing it as one unit and ceaselessly defending it from the attempts the Crown and certain individuals made to expropriate it.

68. AGI, Justicia 1054, n. 2, r. 2. The statement made by Catalina de la Cueva concerning travelling money certainly speaks for itself. She declared that when doña Francisca requested of don Antonio "que si tenía dineros suyos se los diese...., el dicho don Antonio de Ribera le dijo: 'por Dios señora, que no tengo dineros vuestros pero de los míos yo os proveeré'" (AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 697v).

69. AGI, Justicia 1054, n. 2, r. 1.

CHAPTER 5

HERNANDO PIZARRO AND DOÑA FRANCISCA: MARRIAGE AND ESTATE UNIFICATION

A. HERNANDO PIZARRO'S "RECONQUEST"

The Pizarro's estate was in open decay when Francisco's young children travelled to Spain. Gonzalo's rebellion and its guardians' management had had a devastating effect upon it. Once in Spain, doña Francisca submitted to her uncle Hernando. He married her and simultaneously took over the management of her estate. No precise data on the marriage has been found, but its date can be approximately established. On 31 May 1552 doña Francisca signed a notarial document in La Mota, wherein she referred to Hernando as "mi tío."¹ Five months later, on 27 October, Hernando stated before a notary he had married doña Francisca Pizarro, "al presente ausente en la ciudad de Trujillo".² The wedding therefore took place sometime during those five months, perhaps at La Mota, a prison Hernando could not leave.³ Francisca would be in

1. Poder de Francisca Pizarro (henceforth FaP) a Martín Alonso, Medina del Campo, 31 de mayo de 1552, Archivo Histórico Provincial y Universitario de Valladolid, escribano Juan de la Rúa (henceforth AHPUV-JR), 6828. Fojas are not numbered in these legajos, but follow an approximate chronological order.

2. Poder de HP a FaP, Medina del Campo, 27 de octubre de 1552, *ibid.* 6828. On the other hand, the witnesses in a *probanza* taken in Lima in 1556 --Francisco de Ampuero, Nicolás de Ribera, Lucas Martínez, and Inés Muñoz-- all declared Hernando and doña Francisca had indeed married in church (AGI, Patronato 90-A, n. 1, r. 25).

3. Doña Francisca declared she had married at Medina del Campo, but could not remember "hacía cuánto;" Hernando asserted it had been about 14 years ago (La Zarza, 13 de abril de 1566, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 13v-14). For an account on Hernando's long years in the Castle of la Mota, see, Luis Fernández Martín, *Hernando Pizarro en el Castillo*

Trujillo shortly afterwards. María Rostworowski contends "no hay documento que cuente si surgió el amor entre la jovencita de 17 años y el tío que frisaba los cincuenta o si sólo fue una unión por conveniencia familiar."⁴ The prompt separation of the newly-weds, and the differences in age and life experiences is certainly surprising. On the other hand, the Crown never again voiced its opposition to the marriage between doña Francisca --the heiress of the Inca and the conquistador-- and any of her uncles --Hernando or Gonzalo-- a liaison over which Prince Philip had once worried overmuch, when the couple's political significance was deeply feared.⁵

The conquistador looked after both his own business and those of his nephews. He also took over the estate and legacies of Juan Pizarro. Those of Gonzalo were now lost, and Hernando made no open attempt to prevent the confiscations being carried out by the royal officials in Peru and Spain. Hernando's strategy began by controlling the estate with his own personnel, displacing the guardians appointed in Peru. In Medina del Campo, on 13 November 1551, doña Francisca gave a power of attorney to Juan de Uribe, attorney before the Council of the Indies, and Pedro Fernández, solicitor before the Court. Since she was now 19, doña Francisca requested from the Emperor permission to manage her possessions and

de la Mota (Valladolid: Consejería de Cultura y Bienestar Social, Junta de Castilla y León, 1991).

4. Rostworowski, *Doña Francisca Pizarro*, 63.

5. Prince Philip wrote to his ambassador in Rome "que Gonzalo Pizarro ha tratado de casarse con una hija del marqués don Francisco Pizarro... que la hubo en una india hija de Guaynacaba, con prosupuesto de pensar que con este título podrá con justa causa ser señor della...." Since Gonzalo would have to request the Pope's permission, Philip ordered "destorbar que no se despache ni se trate de cosa desta sucesión..." (Felipe a su embajador en Roma, Madrid, 21 de mayo de 1547, AGS, Estado 874, exp. 160). The ambassador replied he would lie in wait, but "hasta agora parece que no la han demandado..." (Embajador al Príncipe, Roma, 19 de julio de 1547, *ibid.*, exp. 78). "Hernando Pizarro" mistakenly appears on the front page of the first document.

thus prevent any further damage or losses to her estate.⁶ Hernando took swift measures whilst waiting for the corresponding decree. Doña Francisca thus asked the corregidor that a certain Juan Pereyra --uncle Hernando was acquainted with him as he had witnessed a notarial deed two years ago-- be appointed as her guardian; this was duly made and Pereyra received a power of attorney to act on her behalf.⁷ The following day it was used as the legal basis for the new power given to Juan de Uribe and Pédro Fernández, wherein Sebastián Rodríguez, the well known solicitor, was included as proxy to act on her behalf before the Council of the Indies.⁸ Since she was "mayor de 18 años y menor de 25," (she was really 17), Charles V promptly gave his permission to "tener, regir, y administrar y gobernar los dichos vuestros bienes y hacienda."⁹

Neither did Hernando forget little Francisquito, the son of Francisco Pizarro and doña Angelina. His properties were not many, but he had his income from the repartimiento of Yucay and other sources which could not be wasted. Hernando made sure steps were taken before the Royal Council and other authorities to have a guardian named who could act on the child's behalf in any lawsuit.¹⁰ A few months later the corregidor of Medina del Campo appointed Hernando himself as

6. Poder de FaP a Juan de Oribe, procurador en el Consejo de Indias, y a Pero Fernández, solicitador ante la corte, Medina del Campo, 13 de noviembre de 1551, AHPUV-JR 6827.

7. Curaduría de FaP, Medina del Campo, 15 de febrero de 1552, AHPUV-JR 6828. Pereyra testigo en poder de HP a Pero Hernández, Medina del Campo, 8 de mayo de 1550, AHPUV-JR 6826.

8. Juan Pereyra sustituye poder de FaP a Sebastián Rodríguez y Juan de Oribe, procuradores en el Consejo de Indias, y Pero Fernández, andante en corte, Medina del Campo, 16 de febrero de 1552, AHPUV-JR 6828.

9. R.C. de La Mejorada, 16 de abril de 1552, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 95-96. Two years after, don Antonio de Ribera's attorney correctly noted doña Francisca was not yet 18 "al tiempo que imperó la dicha venia, ni al presente los tiene..." (Lima, 28 de noviembre de 1553, *ibid.*, f. 105).

10. Poder de don Francisco Pizarro a los licenciados Paredes y Castillo, andantes en corte, Medina del Campo, 3 de junio de 1552, AHPUV-JR 6828.

his nephew's guardian;¹¹ he duly empowered two of his *criados* to leave for Seville, where they should go to the merchant Diego de Illescas and collect the 4,000 pesos which had just arrived from the Indies for don Francisco.¹²

The effects of having one of the conquistador Pizarros back at the helm were soon felt in Peru. Hernando's management restored an entrepreneurial and productive spirit to the family's Peruvian possessions. Legal and political matters were thus accordingly carried out with the same enthusiasm as the financial ones. For instance, their representatives before the Court had the permission Charles V's decree granted, confirmed by another decree, given by Prince Philip this time, and specifically aimed at the Audiencia of Lima; this was an instrument that could be used to exert pressure within their requests.¹³

On 25 February 1553 don Antonio de Ribera appeared before the Audiencia de Lima, still as doña Francisca and don Francisco's tutor and guardian, who had by then already left Peru. He requested permission to send them money to Spain,

por cuanto los dichos menores ternán necesidad de dineros para sus alimentos y otras necesidades e yo les querría enviar los tributos de su encomienda deste año a su riesgo y ventura....¹⁴

The shipment probably never took place because the funds do not appear in the records of the Casa de la Contratación. The possibility of an illegal one is hard to believe, considering

11. Curaduría de don Francisco Pizarro, Medina del Campo, 26 de octubre de 1552, *ibid.* Interestingly enough, Juan Pereyra appears throughout the document as guardian but his name was then crossed out and replaced by that of Hernando, with Pereyra now as guarantor.

12. Poder de HP, curador de don Francisco Pizarro, a Gerónimo de Argüello y Alonso Serrano, Medina del Campo, 27 de octubre de 1552, *ibid.* Curiously enough, this shipment is not included in the list of metals received in Seville for the Pizarros (see Varón and Jacobs, "Peruvian Wealth and Spanish Investments," table 1). Regarding Alonso de Illescas and his son Alvaro, Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 91, contends they were merchants with strong interests in Peru.

13. R.C. de Monzón, 29 de julio de 1552, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 94.

14. *Ibid.*, f. 623.

both don Antonio's tense relations with Hernando Pizarro's representatives, and the permission granted by the Audiencia.¹⁵

B. SALVAGE AND REORGANIZATION (1552-1578)

The Charges Made

The lawsuits brought against members of the Pizarro family were many and of various kinds. The most important ones questioned the legitimacy of their Peruvian possessions, on account of both the high number of encomiendas they had, and their ties with Gonzalo's rebellion. But they were also prosecuted by a large amount of complainants who expected to gain money or prevent the confiscation of estates bequeathed by a conquistador.

Hernando organized his own defence; in legal terms it was quite simple, but extremely complex in political ones. He likewise took over doña Francisca's defence, who also had to follow a myriad of lawsuits the Crown and private persons had brought against her father. Besides, he also had to recover the possessions long held by other persons. It is clear the charges specifically distinguished which Pizarro was being prosecuted, but in practice they became confused, just like the properties each of them had.¹⁶

As regards the charges presented by the Crown, its arguments had not changed much ever since Bishop Berlanga warned Pizarro in 1533 that

se dize públicamente que vuestra señoría y sus hermanos y los oficiales teneyns tanta cantidad de yndios como Su Magestad y todos los otros conquistadores españoles....¹⁷

15. It could also be that the source used is incomplete and does not include shipments made between 1552 and 1555 (Varón and Jacobs, "Peruvian Wealth and Spanish Investments," table 1).

16. This confusion shows in the proceedings of the trials. The lawsuits against Francisco Pizarro and his heirs were assembled in AGI, Escribanía 496, whilst those of Hernando are in AGI, Escribanía 498. However, the files are often in the wrong place.

17. Lima, 6 de noviembre de 1535, AGI, Patronato 192, n. 1, r. 12.

This charge became a kind of sarcastic remark repeatedly made by successive governors and royal envoys, but one should not forget that royal officials usually sought their own advancement, and that of their entourage; as happened with Vaca de Castro, the person who most advantageously turned the income produced by the Pizarros' encomiendas to his own benefit.¹⁸ In 1556 a *fiscal* estimated that despite all cuts and losses, the income Hernando and doña Francisca received from their encomiendas amounted to one hundred, or one hundred and fifty thousand pesos a year, an exceptionally high amount.¹⁹

A trial uniting the Crown and the "*primeros conquistadores*" was the one charging Pizarro with having taken 60,000 pesos belonging to the Royal Treasury, from the house of treasurer Riquelme. The money was used in 1536 to rescue the conquistadores, then besieged by Manco Inca's army; each personally received a share, and used it to buy weapons and provisions. The trial had begun in 1548, just after Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion, and ended only in 1572,²⁰ when doña Francisca's representatives finally managed to prove the conquistadores had actually reimbursed the funds her father had lent them.²¹

All in all, the charges raised against Francisco and Hernando Pizarro were few, due perhaps to their contrasting appearances: whilst the Governor seemed to be a sober and reserved person, with his feet firmly set in Peru, Hernando instead was fierce, irritable, and overambitious. In other words, each could be taken as a representative of the different trends present within the same party. Even so, it was clear the highest number of lawsuits would be brought against Hernando, for he took over many resources during his

18. Vaca based his illicit activities on various royal instructions aimed at curbing the unlimited power the Pizarros had in Peru. See a R.C. and the expediente on the attachment of Pizarro's possessions in Peru, in AGI, Escribanía 496-B, f. 737vff.

19. AGI, Patronato 90-A, n. 1, r. 25.

20. AGI, Escribanía 498-B, f. 1ff.

21. AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 1, 1154-58v.

brother's rule which he then defended, with a watchful eye trained on the changing political circumstances throughout his long life.

So after Gonzalo's rebellion, the *fiscales* of many different districts went to Court to have the Indian repartimientos and mines reverted back to the Crown, and collect debts owed to the Royal Treasury. Hernando's first line of defence, which requested he not be deprived of his encomiendas, was based on a royal cédula entitling all lieutenant-governors in the Indies to retain their encomiendas. This was contested by *Fiscal* Villalobos because Hernando was "más que un teniente gobernador," had far too many Indians in encomienda, and had been away from Peru for far too long. Hernando's request was rejected by the Council of the Indies.²²

A different case was simultaneously brought before the Council: the *fiscal* requested his mines be taken away because he was neither a vecino, nor lived in Peru; Hernando's representative replied he wasn't because he was imprisoned, but once free he would go there and keep a full house. Finally, a royal cédula ordered an inquest to establish if Hernando should lose his mines.²³ *Fiscal* Villalobos of the Council of the Indies relentlessly persecuted the Pizarros for years. Villalobos had been watchful since the very first years, always acting in accordance with the Crown's policies, as suited a zealous defender of her interests. In 1539 Villalobos received the expediente of the case brought by Hernando Pizarro against Almagro, which was sent to Spain by Governor Pizarro. The cautious official consulted the King and expressed his opinion:

me parece que [Hernando Pizarro] no procedió bien porque, aunque hubiese causas para le condenar a muerte [a Almagro], no guardó la orden que debía en el

22. Fallo del Consejo de Indias, Valladolid, 28 de mayo de 1545, AGI, Justicia 1174, n. 1, r. 5. The enormous amount of Indians granted in encomienda to Hernando Pizarro was second only to that of his deceased brother Francisco. See chapters 9 and 10 for more details.

23. AGI, Justicia 1071, n. 1, r. 9.

proceder..., y, porque se espera pronto la venida de Hernando Pizarro y tengo obligación de acusar semejantes cosas y no quería comenzarlo sin saber la voluntad de Vuestra Magestad..., *suplico a Vuestra Magestad me envíe a mandar lo que es servido que yo en esto haga....*²⁴

The royal councillor who received the consultation hastily and approvingly made the following note:

Presto que se le responda que él haga su oficio, que después Su Magestad mirará lo que convenga.²⁵

Recourse to a higher echelon was unusual, and happened at particularly decisive stages of a trial.²⁶ We can thus conclude the Court had unanimously agreed upon the need to subdue the Pizarros to the Crown and limit their rule in Peru, or simply eliminate them. When he went to Spain to justify himself, Hernando's arrogant assurance did not let him see the strategy the Crown had followed in the conquest of all its American possessions. In 1550 Villalobos addressed the Council to begin a new trial against Hernando, asserting he

a seydo uno de los principalmente culpados en todas las alteraciones, muertes, ruydos, ynjurias y daños, y robos, y malos tratamientos e otros hecesos cometidos en las provincias del Perú contra el real servicio de Vuestra Alteza y bien común de la tierra y contra los españoles e naturales della, y el que principalmente revolvió la dicha tierra y a los gobernadores della, por donde sucedió todas las alteraciones y hecesos....²⁷

The relevant information should thus be assembled and, in compliance with the New Laws, they could proceed to "quytar al dicho Hernando Pizarro todos los yndios que en qualquier manera tenga."²⁸ Shortly after, the Audiencia of Lima

24. Villalobos, fiscal de las Indias, al emperador, Madrid, 20 de diciembre de 1539, AGS, Estado 45, f. 242.

25. Ibid.

26. A good example would be the consultation which includes a summary of the trial, the sentences given by the Audiencia of Lima, and sundry data useful for the Crown to decide its position vis-a-vis the Pizarros. Consulta del Consejo de Indias sobre los repartimientos de Hernando Pizarro, 10 de mayo de 1557, AGI, Indiferente 738, r. 1, n. 4, 4a pza.

27. Villalobos al Consejo de Indias, Valladolid, 16 de mayo de 1550, AGI, Justicia 1071, n. 1, r. 1.

28. Ibid.

demanded of the imprisoned encomendero he exhibit, within two years, a royal permit "para seguir gozando de sus indios." After he failed to do so, a new *provisión* forced Hernando to refund the tributes improperly collected from the repartimientos of Chincha, Manta, and others, including those of Almagro *El Viejo*.²⁹

It happened likewise in Cuzco and Charcas where, spurred by one of Nieva's *provisiones*, the royal officials found an old verdict wherein Hernando was charged with unlawfully holding repartimientos, with no legal title whatsoever, "más de abérselos dado Gonzalo Pizarro al tiempo que tubo tiranizado ese reyno."³⁰

The decrees repeatedly given by the Council of the Indies to deprive Hernando of his Indians, and the initiative of the *fiscales* and *oidores* living in Peru, caused many difficulties for the conquistador and his attorneys. The countless sentences given in the viceroyalty and the metropolis often resulted in confiscations, but always with the pervading slowness of the colonial bureaucracy. In 1563 the Council of the Indies sentenced "en grado de definitiva" that Hernando had no right to have his Indians.³¹ A year later the Audiencia of Charcas obeyed the respective royal *cédula*, recording through *Licenciado Haro*, *oidor*, that

los indios están en cabeza de Su Majestad y los frutos depositados y el Consejo de Indias proveerá de quién serán indios y tributos, así como quién servirá la vecindad.³²

29. Traslado de sentencia de la Audiencia de Lima contra HP, 18 de julio de 1553; Sentencia de la Audiencia de Lima, 3 de diciembre de 1555; Confirmación del Consejo de Indias, 10 de octubre de 1558, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, n/f [following f. 60.]

30. AGI, Patronato 188, r. 20.

31. Sentencia de Madrid, 10 de setiembre de 1563, AGI, Escribanía 498-A, ff. 951-52.

32. Acuerdo del 26 de marzo de 1564, Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, Libros de Acuerdos de la Audiencia de Charcas (henceforth ANB-LAACH) 1, ff. 82-83. The issue centred on the *vecindad* caused quite a stir among the *oidores*, which is in the following pages.

In 1570 the execution of a sentence regarding various debts Hernando and Francisco's heirs had was received in Peru; by then, however, the family's mayordomos had managed to conceal all but a small amount of possessions and funds, plus the unconcealable tributes long ago managed by royal officials. The fiscal of the Audiencia of Lima, *Licenciado* Ramírez de Cartagena, reported to the Council he had found many orders for execution of sentences for debts against Pizarro and his heirs' possessions, but it would not be an easy task:

Tengo por negocio dificultoso poderse cobrar estos sesenta mil pesos porque no ay casi bienes de que poderse cobrar éstos, sin otro pleito que se trata contra la doña Francisca Pizarro de otros setenta mill pesos, en que también entiendo que ha de ser condenada, y sin otro de veinte mill pesos que todos tres son contra los bienes del marqués Piçarro....³³

He also knew there were other trials pending against Hernando, one over "veinte mill pesos... y otro de la ejecución de los tributos de los yndios de Chíncha e Manta que tubo sin título, que monta mas de otros ciento e tantos mill pesos," previously mentioned. However, despite his efforts all procedures had ceased, and the files were now lost.³⁴ Two years later Viceroy Toledo wrote to the Council of the Indies stating that he was sending 25,000 pesos collected from Hernando's mayordomos, and "hasta cobrar lo que resta no se alzaré la mano dello." He would likewise have someone collect the tribute of the repartimientos of Cuzco.³⁵

It happened differently with the mines, for the royal officials did not take control of the Pizarros' mines in Porco, perhaps due to the Crown's manifest inability to work them directly. Even so, in 1550 the *fiscal* began a new trial before the Council of the Indies, and the Pizarros took the chance to argue that the Audiencia should stop harassing their mayordomos.³⁶

33. Ramírez de Cartagena al rey, Los Reyes, 9 de junio de 1570, AGI, Lima 270, ff. 89-94; the quote on f. 89.

34. Ibid.

35. Virrey Toledo al Consejo de Indias, 1 de marzo de 1572, AGI, Lima 28-B, lib. 4, ff. 258v-59.

36. AGI, Justicia 1071, n. 1, r. 9.

But these were not the only charges raised against the Pizarros. We find, in addition to those relating to Gonzalo's uprising --to which Hernando was in all fairness linked-- some of a rebellious kind. For instance, an accusation made by Marshal Alonso de Alvarado --one of Francisco Pizarro's associates, who then sided with Vaca and Gasca-- and the attorney Joan Fernández noted that during the disturbances caused by Sebastián de Castilla, Hernando's house in the Villa de la Plata (Chuquisaca) had backed the rebel.³⁷ The presumed sympathy for the rebel is not surprising, but unlike other serious charges, this one would not get to Court.

Rebuilding the Patrimony

From the moment his niece reached Spain, Hernando's strategy consisted in centralizing both the management of the family's estate and its defence at Court. The most important documents doña Francisca produced in 1552 referred to her guardianship, the formal avowal of the marquissate she inherited from her father, and the testament she had left in Peru. The following year she named mayordomos and attorneys to manage her possessions and represent her in the countless trials followed against her in Peru and Spain. It was obviously not easy to find the correct individuals because the long distances and difficult communications were compounded by the risk of losing properties and money, due to an undeniably hostile policy against the Pizarros followed by the Spanish judiciary. The people appointed as part of the business merger were therefore acquaintances, who had always participated in Hernando's affairs.

Hernando did not waste time, and immediately began his programme of recovery and salvage of the family's estate. He first had doña Francisca give a power of attorney to two of Hernando's mayordomos: Martín Alonso, a Trujillan who was leaving for Peru, and Diego Velázquez, already there; they

37. Traslado de carta del mariscal Alvarado y fiscal licenciado Joan Fernández, original de Potosí, 20 de octubre de 1553, AGI, Lima 92.

would audit the accounts rendered by don Antonio de Ribera, her former tutor.³⁸ A week later doña Francisca gave another power of attorney to Martín Alonso, this time naming him her mayordomo and authorizing him to take possession of, and manage, all her Peruvian properties. Of all the many documents drafted during these months, this is perhaps the most important one for the historian, since it shows how determined Hernando was to control the still sizable and desirable estate his brother Francisco had left in Peru, before it was finally wasted. Martín Alonso had been explicitly empowered to manage the encomiendas, appoint and fire mayordomos, take possession of and work the mines of Porco, buy slaves, hire solicitors and attorneys, go to court, and, finally, ship to Spain the profits in gold or silver bars, or in letters of credit.³⁹ Hernando then turned to his own affairs, to that end giving many powers of attorney. Martín Alonso was entrusted with the management of all of his possessions in Peru, including the estates of his brothers Juan and Gonzalo.⁴⁰ He also had him collect money of his in Panama, where Alonso would have to stop on his way to Peru.⁴¹ Later in the year Hernando gave him custody of doña Francisca's possessions in Peru;⁴² and the following January and February renewed his power to manage their joint estate, and bring a lawsuit against don Antonio de Ribera over doña

38. Poder de FaP a Martín Alonso y Diego Velázquez, mayordomos de HP, Medina del Campo, 25 de mayo de 1552, AHPUV-JR 6828. Copies in AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 97-101, and Escribanía 496-B, f. 946v.

39. Poder de FaP a Martín Alonso, Medina del Campo, 31 de mayo de 1552, AHPUV-JR 6828.

40. Poder de HP a Martín Alonso, Medina del Campo, 11 de julio de 1552, *ibid.*; Poder de HP a Martín Alonso, Medina del Campo, 12 de julio de 1552, *ibid.*; Poder de FaP a Martín Alonso, Medina del Campo, 31 de mayo de 1552, *ibid.*

41. Poder de HP a Martín Alonso, Medina del Campo, 18 de julio de 1552, *ibid.*

42. Poder de HP a Martín Alonso, Medina del Campo, 8 de noviembre de 1552, *ibid.*; FaP a Martín Alonso, 26 de diciembre [1552], *ibid.*

Francisca's guardianship.⁴³ Martín Alonso thus became the most important person in the Pizarros' Peruvian administration, whose mission it was to rebuild and recover what had been lost or was in dispute. It would be necessary to name mayordomos for the works needing them, hire attorneys, and appraise the persons already inside the organization. Various powers were henceforth given for general and specific aspects of the Peruvian estate.⁴⁴

In Lima, Martín Alonso dedicated himself to following the orders he had received. In using the power doña Francisca had given him, he authorized Gonzalo de Torres "para todos los casos de dicho poder."⁴⁵ On 21 October 1553, and in virtue of the royal cédulas and the above-mentioned power, Martín Alonso requested don Antonio de Ribera render accounts for the "6 años, 2 meses y 21 días" his guardianship had lasted.⁴⁶ Don Antonio presented those previously approved by *Licenciado* Cianca, claiming they left him free of charge up to 15 April 1552, and handed in several bills to justify expenditures made in subsequent months, but these clearly did not cover everything done on behalf of the minor.⁴⁷ Alonso, in turn, appeared before the Audiencia of Lima and demanded Ribera render accounts for the whole period during which doña Francisca's estate had been under his management.⁴⁸ Don Antonio's attorney replied accounts had already been rendered, possessions returned, and they had agreed upon the

43. Poder de FaP a Martín Alonso, Medina del Campo, 14 de enero de 1553, AHPUV-JR 6829; Poder de FaP a Martín Alonso, Medina del Campo, 20 de enero de 1553, *ibid.*; Poder de HP y FaP a Martín Alonso, Medina del Campo, 27 de febrero de 1553, *ibid.*

44. See e.g. the following powers of attorney, all given in Medina del Campo: FaP a Martín Alonso, 14 de marzo de 1553, *ibid.*; FaP a Martín Alonso, 1 de octubre de 1556, AHPUV-JR 6831.

45. AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 510v-11v. As usual, Hernando and doña Francisca were robbed by Torres, for in 1563 they gave a power of attorney to have him audited (AGI, Escribanía 496-B, ff. 976-83v).

46. AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 114-15.

47. Martín Alonso and Diego Velázquez received the documents on 5 November 1553 (*ibid.*, ff. 110-12v).

48. Demanda del 21 de noviembre de 1553, *ibid.*, f. 90.

results.⁴⁹ The Audiencia did, however, accept the demand, and these were the first steps in a long legal tangle. Doña Francisca's representatives questioned in detail the accuracy of the income and expenditures registered by the guardian, and the convenience of some sales and purchases made. Documents were produced and witnesses questioned. Don Antonio defended himself fiercely, and even had the *quipucamayocs* of the encomienda of Huaylas confirm the tribute payments he had presented.⁵⁰

There were many reasons why the accounts were objected to, but one of the most important ones was that no tribute from the repartimientos of Huaylas, Chuquitanta, and Lima had been entered right up to April 1548. Don Antonio's representatives repeatedly showed the tributes had not been collected then both "porque no había tasa," and because of the war between Gonzalo Pizarro and Gasca.⁵¹ According to one account,

Gonzalo Pizarro se llevó al cacique principal de Guaylas⁵² y la mayor parte de los indios, y los tuvo consigo hasta que le mataron [a Gonzalo], que pasó tiempo más de un año, en todo el cual tiempo los dichos indios no dieron ni pudieron dar ningún tributo por estar el dicho cacique ausente y estar los indios ocupados en la guerra, y servían a los españoles que iban en servicio de Su Majestad.⁵³

49. Ibid., f. 105.

50. Don Antonio's representatives requested statements from the *quipucamayocs* of Huaylas and the friar living there, who were then in Lima. The request specified the *quipucamayocs* would not be able to answer what tribute had been paid; an oidor should instead question them and have the *quipus* shown. On 5 July 1555 the Audiencia accepted their appearing before *Licenciado Mercado* (AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 417). Unfortunately, I have been unable to find any other reference to this point.

51. AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 458.

52. "Guailes" in the original.

53. Ibid., f. 513 (my italics). According to don Gonzalo de Malquellia, the *curaca principal*, the Indians of the repartimiento of Huaylas --to the north of the province of the same name-- were with Gonzalo's troops, whilst those of the repartimiento of Chucaracoay (Recuay) --to the South-- were taken to the rival side by their encomendero, Cristóbal de Torres (AGI, Justicia 405-A, f. 197).

Many encomiendas did not pay the tribute due in that fateful year of 1548, due to the hardships caused by the wars between the Spaniards. These had begun in 1537, but the greatest movements of men took place between 1547 and 1548. The Indians were seriously harmed during this long decade of civil war. On the one hand, armies plundered the lands they passed through in search of booty and food; on the other, these same armies were made up by an extremely small number of Spaniards and some thousand Indians. For ten years Indian helpers had taken part in the wars, neglecting their fields and other tasks. There is no overstatement in saying the Indians had been the worst losers in the wars waged by the Spaniards. Oidor Cianca, and other auditors, therefore had to accept the forfeiture of those tributes as something justified by the turn of events.

The Audiencia finally gave its verdict after don Antonio had died,⁵⁴ establishing that his heirs would pay an amount to be set by the accountants. However, its fulfilment was never ordered; the proceedings were sent to Spain and took so long, somebody jotted down on the cover that it "vino a este Consejo [de las Indias] con las mil y quinientas, sin despacharse ejecutoria en las Indias...."⁵⁵

In Spain, the Council confirmed the previous sentence without much ado. The final verdict, in "segunda suplicación," was given in Madrid, on 22 December 1571, and established don Antonio's heirs should pay the following: First, 1,178 pesos and 3 *granos* of fine gold, 13,627 pesos, 5 *tomines*, and 6 *granos* of *plata ensayada*, and 5,215 pesos and 11 *granos* of *plata corriente* for what was missing in the accounts. Secondly, 4,000 pesos *ensayados*. Third, don Antonio would have to pay doña Francisca the 20,000 pesos in *plata ensayada* in which the *veedor* García de Salcedo had been condemned, in return for the documents which his heirs could

54. Don Antonio de Ribera had already died on 29 November 1565 (AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 499). The lawsuit was taken over by his wife, doña Inés de Ribera (formerly Inés Muñoz), and his son of the same name.

55. Sentencia del 19 de marzo de 1568, *ibid.*, f. 89.

then use to collect said amount from Salcedo's heirs. Last of all, doña Francisca was authorized to bring a lawsuit against Gaspar de Armenta and Cristóbal de Burgos, on the company her father had had with them.⁵⁶

"14,000 y tantos pesos" paid by don Antonio's heirs arrived three years later to Seville.⁵⁷ The *fiscal* always against the Pizarros, confiscated the money "porque quería ver ciertos procesos antiguos que se habían traído y tratado con el dicho marqués don Francisco Pizarro." The Council, however, thought otherwise and authorized the payment, arguing that "por estar ya acabados [los procesos], ha muchos años que se llevaron y están en la fortaleza y archivo de Simancas, y habría mucha dilación en traerlos."⁵⁸

Twenty one years had gone by since the demand had first been presented before the Audiencia of Lima; the evidence presented against don Antonio de Ribera must have been solid enough to withstand the official enmity for the Pizarros, the persistence of both parties, and the myriad echelons of the Spanish judiciary system. Don Antonio's guardianship was neither organized nor methodical, or so the countless mistakes in the accounts he presented show. Even worse, the losses doña Francisca's estate had thanks to this guardian were probably much bigger than those proved time again before the judges.

Alonso also acquired an important victory: don Antonio formally handed him over the *Casas Principales* in Lima, as well as the slaves Pedro Buzo, Salvador, Francisco Arriero,

56. AGI, Escribanía 952.

57. Hernando was probably on friendly terms with Ribera for his testament (given in La Mota de Medina del Campo, on 10 October 1557) says: "Yten digo e declaro que yo envié [en] la flota de mayo próxima pasada a Flandes a don Antonio de Ribera 5,775 escudos y cédulas de cambio para mis negocios, e no son menester allá y le he escrito que me los torne a remitir; mando se cobren dél o de quien los oviere de pagar" (AGI, Escribanía 496-B, f. 696).

58. Petición de Sebastián de Santander, en nombre de HP y FaP, Madrid, 26 de noviembre de 1574, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 78.

Mateo, and Juana.⁵⁹ He then recovered documents pertaining to old debts owed to the Marquis, which he tried to collect.⁶⁰

In contrast with the position taken against don Antonio, Hernando Pizarro did not question the guardianship of Juan de Barbarán, probably because it was so far removed it would be hard to get anything out of it, or perhaps because it had been approved by Gonzalo Pizarro himself, in circumstances Hernando had no desire to disclose.⁶¹ In any case, Hernando, whom most people hated, and his long quest for the reconstruction of the family's estate, was once again crowned by success. 1553 was thus the year in which the Pizarros launched forth their campaign to recover the family's possessions and encomiendas in Peru and Spain, both their own and those inherited. The Peruvian possessions were placed under the control of Martín Alonso, who had long served the Pizarros.

Hernando's designs were greatly upset when he lost confidence in Diego Velázquez, up till then his most important mayordomo in Peru, save for Father Diego Martín. Hernando let his suspicions be known and began a legal battle which lasted two decades and was only solved in 1574 with the deceased mayordomo's heirs.⁶² In Spain, Hernando decided to supervise things closely, and the missions and powers granted to his representatives therefore were more limited in scope. As a result, a *criado* or *factor* was named whenever he needed to pick up money arrived from Peru to the Casa de la

59. Los Reyes, 18 de abril de 1554, *ibid.*, ff. 412-13v.

60. According to the inventory, the documents were handed over on 14 May 1555 by Pedro de Avendaño, the secretary of the Audiencia of los Reyes (*ibid.*, f. 1141).

61. Barbarán's accounts are in *ibid.*, ff. 1250-84v.

62. Poder de HP a Diego Velázquez, Medina del Campo, 10 de noviembre de 1553, AHPUV-JR 6829; HP revoca poderes a Diego Velázquez, Medina del Campo, 12 de marzo de 1555, AHPUV-JR 6830; Poder de HP y FaP a Antonio de Figueroa, 28 de mayo de 1564, in Guillermo Lohmann Villena, "Documentos interesantes a la historia del Perú en el Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid," *Revista Histórica* 25 (1960-61): 452; HP contra los herederos de Diego Velázquez, La Plata, 19 de junio de 1569, ANB-LAACH 3, f. 126; Sentencia contra Diego Velázquez, La Plata, 25 de enero de 1574, ANB-LAACH 5, f. 94v.

Contratación of Seville, or for any particular problem. Gerónimo de Argüello was sometimes thus commissioned, once jointly with the merchant Diego de Illescas.⁶³ Diego Moreno, a long-time *criado*, was charged with collecting revenues accruing from within the jurisdiction of Trujillo, and looking after doña Francisca's lawsuits.⁶⁴ But the lawyer Sebastián Rodríguez, already mentioned as one of the most famous solicitors of the time, was hired to design the strategy which would be followed before the Council of the Indies, the highest tribunal for the Pizarros; Rodríguez and his colleague Pedro Hernández enthusiastically represented the Pizarros at least between 1552-1556.⁶⁵

The changes in personnel gave good results. On the financial side, indirect data suggests management became more efficient. Five years had gone by without any shipments of

63. Poder de HP a Gerónimo de Argüello y Alonso Serrano, Medina del Campo, 27 de octubre de 1552, AHPUV-JR 6828; Poder de HP a Gerónimo de Argüello, Medina del Campo, 26 de mayo de 1553, AHPUV-JR 6829.

64. Poder de HP a Diego Moreno, Medina del Campo, 19 de junio de 1553, *ibid.*; Poder de HP a Diego Moreno, Juan Cabrera, Francisco Saravia, Juan Vásquez y Gerónimo de Argüello, Medina del Campo, 8 de junio de 1553, *ibid.*; Poder de FaP a Sebastián Rodríguez, Medina del Campo, 26 de diciembre de 1552, AHPUV-JR 6828; Poder de HP a Francisco de Saravia, Gerónimo de Argüello y Juan Cortés, Medina del Campo, 28 de enero de 1554, AHPUV-JR 6829.

65. Sustitución de poder de Juan Pereyra, curador de FaP, a Sebastián Rodríguez, Juan de Oribe y Pero Fernández, Medina del Campo, 16 de febrero de 1552, AHPUV-JR 6828; Poder de FaP a Pero Hernández y Sebastián Rodríguez, Medina del Campo, 3 de junio de 1552, *ibid.*; Poder de HP y FaP a Sebastián Rodríguez y Pero Hernández, Medina del Campo, 27 de febrero de 1553, AHPUV-JR 6829; Poder de FaP a Sebastián Rodríguez y Pero Hernández, Medina del Campo, 26 de diciembre de 1552, AHPUV-JR 6828; Poder de FaP a Cristóbal de Cueto y Sebastián Rodríguez, Medina del Campo, 26 de setiembre de 1556, AHPUV-JR 6831; Poder de FaP a Cristóbal de Cueto y Sebastián Rodríguez, Medina del Campo, 26 de setiembre de 1556, *ibid.* In 1545 we find Sebastián Rodríguez as Hernando's solicitor before the Council of the Indies (AGI, Justicia 1174 n. 1, r. 5). In 1543 Rodríguez had been the attorney of Dr. Beltrán, a counsellor dismissed from the Council under the charge of having received gifts from Hernando Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Cortés, in return for favours (Ernst Schaefer, *El Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias* [Seville, 1935-47], 1:64-65 and 2:129).

money, but many were received in Seville in 1555 and 1556, sent by Martín Alonso and the above mentioned Gregorio de Torres from the proceedings of the Peruvian properties. The Pizarros' investments in Spain were simultaneously renewed in 1552, eight years after the last ones had been made; they reached a high mark that year, and in 1555 and 1556 too.⁶⁶ On the whole, these investments must have been made with the revenues recently arrived from Peru.

Two other replacements subsequently took place in decisive circumstances. The first was when Antonio de Figueroa, a vecino of Seville, replaced his predecessors in Peru. Hernando and doña Francisca empowered him in 1564 to supervise their Peruvian affairs and audit accounts from Diego Velázquez, Martín Alonso, and Gregorio de Torres,⁶⁷ whose powers were revoked with another instrument.⁶⁸ The Pizarros renewed his permission to manage their affairs some years later, when Figueroa was in Peru.⁶⁹ In 1571 Figueroa, as doña Francisca's representative, appointed a priest for Francisco Pizarro's *capellanía* in the cathedral of Lima,⁷⁰ and early in 1574 we still find him serving the Pizarros, apparently in charge of the mines of Porco.⁷¹ The fact he already had two years jointly working as mayordomo with Hernando Chacón, a person in whom the Pizarros greatly trusted, does not discredit Figueroa but instead indicates he

66. Varón and Jacobs, "Peruvian Wealth and Spanish Investments," tables 1, 2.

67. Poder de HP y FaP a Antonio de Figueroa, 28 de mayo de 1564, in Lohmann, "Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid," 452. Copies are in AGI, Escribanía 498-B and Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú*, 2:108-19. Another, more general power given to Figueroa in AGI, Escribanía 498-B, ff. 90v-96v.

68. Revocación de poderes de HP y FaP, 28 de mayo de 1564, Lohmann, "Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid," 453.

69. Poder de HP y FaP a Antonio de Figueroa, La Zarza, 3 de enero de 1567, ANB-EP 24, ff. 235-42.

70. Nombramiento de capellán, La Plata, 23 de marzo de 1571, ANB-EP 23, ff. 88-89v.

71. Poder de Antonio de Figueroa a Pedro Moreno y Juan Vázquez Pacheco, La Plata, 18 de enero de 1574, ANB-EP 12, ff. 193-94. No other reference to this person has been found.

was perhaps being transferred somewhere else, or was leaving their service.⁷²

In this early stage of reorganization, the most important and successful achievements came on the judicial side. Hernando was probably aware, right from the very moment the Pizarros lost all political influence, that the best ground on which to face the Crown and defend his interests would be in the law courts. The previous defences, based on isolated and disjointed arguments, were now built into a machinery whose sole objective was to recover as much as possible of what had once been the enormous and privileged estate of his brethren. In the many records gone over, we find from this date onwards a determined and tireless defence of the Pizarrista interests. Important, though partial victories were thus won, but it is true these were frequently revoked by the same courts. Thus they retained the revenue produced by some encomiendas, the mines, chacras, and coca fields, and the profits produced by minor items such as the rent of some shops in Potosí. One of the most important issues focused on the repartimientos of Cuzco: Juan and Gonzalo had lost theirs when they respectively died heirless or as a rebel. Francisco's heirs were left under an arrangement proposed by Gasca, according to which a trustee would manage the repartimientos of Yucay and the coca fields of Avisca. A life-long annuity from the proceedings would be given to don Francisco and doña Francisca; The daughters of Juan and Gonzalo Pizarro would receive enough to travel to Trujillo (in Spain) and as a dowry.⁷³

Hernando's case was far more complex, as he had to contend with the Crown and various individuals, including the influential Arias Maldonado. Viceroy Diego López de Zúñiga y

72. See, for instance, the following instruments: Poder de HP y FaP a Hernán Rodríguez Chacón, La Zarza, 3 de enero de 1572, ANB-EP 2, ff. 57-60; another copy in *ibid.*, ff. 64-66v; Petición de Hernando Delgadillo a la Audiencia, La Plata, 4 de marzo de 1574, ANB-EP 12, ff. 82v-89v.

73. Gasca al Consejo de Indias, Lima, 26 de setiembre de 1548, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 2:258-77. See also chapter 8.

Velasco, Count of Nieva had given him Hernando's encomiendas in Cuzco, and he more than once received royal cédulas supporting his request.⁷⁴ A lawsuit between the parties involved and the Crown happened when the royal officials, in compliance with the rulings of the Council of the Indies, tried to place these same encomiendas under the Crown's control.⁷⁵ As might be guessed, Hernando once again had to face the opposition of the oidores whenever his case was brought before the Audiencia of Charcas.⁷⁶

An interesting case because of all it implied was the one concerning the charges brought against Francisco Pizarro due to the money he had taken from, and later returned to, the Royal Treasury for the defence of the conquistadores. The sentence given by the Audiencia of Lima in 1553 demanded the payment of 60,000 pesos in nine days; two years later it was confirmed.⁷⁷ In late 1555 Juan Fernández, *fiscal* of the Audiencia of Lima, wrote to the Council he had "sacado executoria" to collect the above mentioned amount, stating he believed "que parezerán bienes hereditarios de qué cobrar."⁷⁸ The Council finally revoked the seizure of doña Francisca's "bienes propios" to pay a debt incurred by her father.⁷⁹

If this case shows a long defence in a trial involving the Crown, the Pizarros acted with the same resolution when they had to defend their own interests. It was thus that in 1554 Juan de Uribe, Hernando's attorney before the Council of the Indies, demanded the restitution of 134 silver bars, worth 50 marks each, Gasca had taken in Cuzco, in 1548, as if

74. Provision del Conde de Nieva, Lima, 13 de marzo de 1561, AGI, Escribanía 498-A, ff. 966v-68v. A summary of the trial in *ibid.*, ff. 39-40.

75. Virrey Toledo al rey, 1 de marzo de 1572, AGI, Lima 28-B, lib. 4, f. 259. The proceedings of the trial against Arias Maldonado are in AGI, Escribanía 498-A, pza. 7.

76. See e.g. Acuerdo de la Audiencia, 29 de julio de 1566, ANB-LAACH 2, f. 97v, complying with the royal cédulas, and naming Arias Maldonado and Alonso de Massa as trustees of Hernando's tributes; and the one accepting the appeal from Cuzco, Acuerdo del 13 de enero de 1567, in *ibid.*, f. 154.

77. AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 1050v-59.

78. AGI, Lima 92.

79. Año 1568, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 86.

they had belonged to his brother Gonzalo. The Council sentenced the demand be addressed to the Audiencia of Lima.⁸⁰

It should be pointed out that Hernando did get to control the vast majority of the estate his brothers had acquired during the conquest, and all attempts made to have him give up some of the properties were largely unsuccessful. The first one was made by Francisco de Ampuero and doña Inés Huaylas, doña Francisca's mother; as mentioned above they demanded at court the presentation of a letter of dowry for the possessions Hernando had received from doña Francisca, so the mother could inherit them if and when the daughter died. The Council accepted the request, and in the restless year of 1553 gave a decree ordering the deed be made, but we do not know if its terms were fulfilled.⁸¹ The other was a compromise reached with Juan de Betanzos and doña Angelina, the mother of little don Francisco, who died in Spain. Hernando ratified the agreement his mayordomo had reached with doña Angelina, "sobre [los bienes de] la porción hereditaria que doña Angelina pretendía, que se tasaron en 4,000 pesos."⁸² A last attempt occurred when Hernando and doña Francisca demanded from doña Inés Pizarro, Gonzalo's daughter and her cousin's widow --the above mentioned don Francisco-- the restitution of her deceased husband's estate, for such had been his will should she remarry, as had indeed happened.⁸³

Despite the minor victories gained in the many lawsuits he followed, Hernando's real success lay in protracting the

80. AGI, Justicia 1074, n. 7. No other reference to this topic has been found, but one must not forget that the majority of the archives of the Audiencia of Lima have disappeared.

81. AGI, Justicia 1054, n. 2, r. 1. Years later, in 1566, doña Francisca declared she had not given a *carta de dote* (AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 13).

82. Poder de HP y FaP a Martín de Ampuero y Antonio de Figueroa, Villaverde, 27 de agosto de 1564, in Lohmann, "Archivo de Protocolos de Madrid," 453.

83. Poder de HP y FaP a Diego Moreno, Hernando Ximénez y Francisco Durán, Medina del Campo, 23 de julio de 1558, AHPUV-JR 6831.

trials so no definitive verdict against him was given, thereby long avoiding the loss of the Peruvian estate. It is true the many courts and appeals, the constant transfers from one jurisdiction to another, and the frequent requests of reports to and from the metropolis and the colony made this delay possible. But the royal designs of controlling the government of Peru without any interference from the Pizarros was swiftly achieved, and there was not much those involved in the fight against the Spanish State could do about it. Thanks to the particular circumstances produced by Gonzalo's rebellion, Hernando did not even dream of trying to recover the political control of Peru, dedicating instead all his efforts to retain the properties he and his brothers had acquired when power was in their hands.

C. THE COLLAPSE OF THE GREAT PERUVIAN ADVENTURE

The reorganization of the Peruvian enterprises allowed Hernando to regain control over his estate, but circumstances were quite different from those halcyon days when his brothers ruled Peru. By 1570, the conquest had become a myth, a tale wherein the Pizarros appeared as its leading characters. The tragic death three of them met, and the imprisonment of the last surviving Pizarro only ensured their leading role in the myth. Now the colony was more stable, Spanish society had taken roots in Peruvian soil, and the Indians were now not as violent as in previous decades. The Pizarros had no political influence whatsoever, and quite the contrary, they had to face their enemies each and every day at all levels of the power structure. Viceroys, oidores, fiscales, royal officials, and corregidores all faithfully obeyed the royal command and faced the Pizarros and their representatives.

As a result, the majority of the encomiendas and other properties had two destinations: some were returned to the Crown and were eventually held by royal officials, or the protégés of the present ruler; others were granted to other conquistadores or influential persons, despite the decree

explicitly prohibiting the auction or the concession of Hernando Pizarro's properties to a third party.⁸⁴ Besides, the ever present menace of the seizure of his possessions and money always loomed threateningly over each trial, both in Peru and in Spain, and eventually did come true.⁸⁵

Both cases --benefit by bureaucratic managers, or concessions to third parties-- reflect a typical practice of the early colonial system Horst Pietschmann labelled the "age of the distribution of the spoils from the conquest." This was when officials distributed encomiendas and lands, and also offices and other privileges to relatives and friends of all kinds. Viceroy's arrived with a large retinue of relatives and servants, and were thus the ones who most used this practice, which persisted throughout Spanish rule.⁸⁶ John Lynch goes further and places this situation in a wider political perspective which tries to explain the link between the metropolis --as the distant source of power-- and local power groups. He believes that

local officials were far removed from their sovereign, surrounded by a world of competing interests and a society from which they themselves could not remain detached.⁸⁷

We are thus before a complex system comprising, from the point of view of the bureaucrat, his own personal interests, and those of the Crown and the local power groups. This pattern was begun in Peru by Vaca de Castro, who followed

84. R.C. de El Escorial, 7 de marzo de 1563, AGI, Escribanía 498-A, ff. 955v.-57r.

85. See e.g. the Auto de ejecución de bienes contra FaP, where the Audiencia declared that "aviendo visto la dicha causa declararon por fecha la escursión [sic] en los bienes del dicho marqués [Francisco Pizarro] en este reino en lo tocante a la dicha doña Francisca Pizarro e assí lo proveyeron," Los Reyes, 20 de julio de 1571, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 1223.

86. Horst Pietschmann, *El Estado y su evolución*, 166. Pietschmann is correct in noting we have no social outline of the Spanish officials who held posts in the colonial administration.

87. John Lynch, "The Institutional Framework of Colonial Spanish America," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24, Quincentenary Supplement (1992): 70.

Pizarro and preceded the first Viceroy due to his position as Governor and President of the Audiencia. The Pizarros' estate included the best properties in all the land, and were probably enthusiastically regarded as such.

The Cuzqueñan encomiendas inherited by don Francisco and doña Francisca were managed by royal officials as soon as Gonzalo's rebellion was over, and the tribute collected was given to the mayordomos for its shipment to Spain. In Hernando's case, the Royal Treasury held the money and waited until the lawsuits pending solution were over; sometimes they granted the encomiendas to other people.⁸⁸ But even the revenue from non-confiscated encomiendas immediately waned, besides not producing any of the benefits accruing from its possession, like labour, land and pastures, or even prestige.

As for the houses Francisco Pizarro had built in Lima, the city's so called "casas principales" --those were used by the Audiencia. In 1554 Doña Francisca brought a lawsuit before the Council of the Indies, and obtained a sentence commanding the Audiencia to pay "el alquiler de las dichas casas por el tiempo pasado a precio justo y moderado y para que vean si las casas convienen para residir en ellas la Audiencia y cárcel como agora y en tal caso se las compren...."⁸⁹

The mines of Porco were the most valuable productive unit the family retained in Peru, but their possession here had also been questioned, and there was a risk of losing them. The Crown wanted to sell them, but procrastinated its decision. We may surmise by then the mines were worked in such a way, they yielded the highest possible amount in the least possible time. So it was that in 1575 the mayordomo

88. See e.g. the account given to the viceroy of Hernando's tributes collected in the district of the Audiencia of La Plata between 1560 and 1564, AGI, Lima 270, lib. 2, ff. 335-50v.

89. AGI, Justicia 1074, n. 2. The proceedings end with the notice of the sentence made to doña Francisca's attorney in Valladolid, but no reference is made to the results.

Fernando Mercadillo confirmed, on behalf of Hernando, a previous agreement which hired

una mina de metal de plata que es en la veta rica de Porco que llaman La Salteada, que tiene por la una parte linderos mina [sic] del marqués don Francisco Pizarro e por dicha otra parte mina que fue de Gonzalo Pizarro e ahora es mina de Su Majestad....⁹⁰

It would be leased for 10 years, and paid with a non-specified "parte de metal".⁹¹

In 1575 the Crown issued a cédula --drafted with the characteristic vagueness of a veiled threat-- ordering the sale of Hernando's mines in Porco, but in the meantime allowing his agents to work them so the owner could pay back the debts he owed for the tribute. It was only in 1580 that Hernando's attorney presented the decree to the Audiencia of Los Reyes, which obeyed the royal command.⁹² In any case, the output was supervised by the royal officials, and an evident pressure was brought to bear over Pizarro's mayordomos.⁹³

In the 1550s and 1560s the trend in the output of the Pizarro's Peruvian estate was undeniably downward, but some economic activity still yielded income for Hernando and doña Francisca. This all changed with Viceroy Toledo, in much the same way as would happen with the foundations of colonial government and society during the decade his administration lasted. The new metropolitan representative was adamant in finding a solution to all pending problems, including that of Hernando Pizarro. In compliance with various cédulas, Toledo declared "vacos" all of Hernando's repartimientos. The extremely complex case of Arias Maldonado, the man who had received Hernando's Cuzqueñan repartimientos, was solved by granting him an annuity of \$50,000 pesos, but without the

90. Fernando Delgadillo en nombre de HP, La Plata, 22 de mayo de 1575, ANB-EP 24, ff. 158-59.

91. Ibid.

92. Petición de Diego Hernández Pardo en nombre de HP, AGI, Lima 125.

93. On 17 August 1573 Antonio de Figueroa, then in La Plata, was prevented from going to Potosí to pick up the account books of Hernando's mines in Porco. The Audiencia instead requested the "teniente" of Porco be summoned (ANB-LAACH 5, f. 71).

possession of the repartimiento.⁹⁴ The "ejecutoria" was entrusted to Gil Ramírez de Avalos, "persona de confianza y spiriencia;" he was appointed "juez de comisión" for this case because Hernando's mayordomos "tranpean lo que pueden" and were in no way to be trusted at all.⁹⁵ The judge was extremely zealous and even imprisoned Martín Alonso de los Ríos, the Pizarros' mayordomo, in La Plata.⁹⁶ Two years afterwards, the mayordomo Antonio de Figueroa was summoned to La Plata, to discuss the accounts of Hernando's Indian tributes, and the processing of the metals yielded by his mines at Porco.⁹⁷

Towards 1574 it looked as if all the family's possessions in Peru had been encumbered. The Viceroy himself decided to audit the accounts of the attachment carried out in Cuzco against Hernando, establishing the encomendero had a debt of almost 70,000 pesos.⁹⁸ *Licenciado* Ramírez de Cartagena, *fiscal* in the Audiencia of Los Reyes, carried out the attachment against Hernando's "indios e frutos dellos," and sent the respective documentation --including the *tasas*-- to the Viceroy in Cuzco. In Charcas, the Audiencia unanimously voted for the "ejecución de la carta ejecutoria emanada en el Real Consejo [de las Indias]," but two months later decided instead it would be more convenient for the Royal Treasury if the proceedings were sent to Spain, and confiscations were made there.⁹⁹ Perhaps this evasiveness decided Toledo to take the accounts in Cuzco and Charcas, producing some money he later sent to the Council of the

94. AGI, Patronato 190, r. 8.

95. Virrey Toledo al rey, 1 de marzo de 1572, AGI, Lima 28-B, lib. 4, f. 259. Toledo was not the only official worried on this respect: *Fiscal* Ramírez de Cartagena informed the Council of the Indies about his part on the case (AGI, Lima 270, n. 1, f. 158v).

96. Acuerdo, 10 de marzo de 1572, ANB-LAACH 5, f. 3r.

97. Poder de Antonio de Figueroa a Pedro Moreno y Juan Vázquez Pacheco, La Plata, 18 de enero de 1574, ANB-EP 12, ff. 193-94.

98. Año 1575, AGI, Lima 270, n. 1, f. 53.

99. Sesiones del 1 de marzo y 25 de mayo de 1573, ANB-LAACH 5, ff. 62, 67.

Indies.¹⁰⁰ As for the loan Pizarro took from the Royal Treasury in Cuzco during the Indian rebellion, "para socorrer a los conquistadores," he chose to send the proceedings and accounts to Spain for their collection, perhaps because the enormous amount of money pending could not be collected in Peru.¹⁰¹

One can indeed question Toledo's motivation. On the political side, he wanted to eliminate all traces of the rule the conquistadores had exercised, with their nepotic and exclusive privileges the capitulaciones had given them. Financially, he would have more resources at his disposal to maintain his Viceroy's court, his followers, and, in general, his administration.

Mid-sixteenth century Peru had changed substantially vis-a-vis the two previous decades. Hernando realized he would henceforth be unable to enjoy the benefits obtained during the Pizarrista administrations. He decided, right in the midst of a campaign designed to rescue the properties his brothers and him had built up, that it would be far more profitable if he concentrated on the short run, and tried to squeeze the highest possible profits from the productive units still under his control.

True, he was no longer losing trials --and would no longer do so-- but the properties confiscated were precisely the most contested ones, and their management were turned over to royal officials. On the other hand, although the encomiendas acknowledged as his own were under royal management, they yielded a usable revenue just like the mines at Porco. Properties which were not strictly necessary were gradually sold. In preparing for this moment, Hernando and doña Francisca gave some powers of attorney to Martín Alonso, then their man in Peru. One of these was to sell their

100. AGI, Lima 270, n. 2, f. 160; AGI, Lima 270, n. 1, f. 158; AGI, Lima 270, n. 2, f. 53.

101. AGI, Lima 270, n. 1, f. 189bis. Figures in these trials are often mixed up; in this case it must be 70,000 pesos, but the document says 90,000. In the Council, the case was solved favourably to Pizarro (see chapter 10).

"chácaras" and other properties;¹⁰² another one specified it was to sell their "chácaras e huertas" in Lima, Arequipa, and Cuzco, together with what had been received in Cuzco in inheritance from Juan Pizarro.¹⁰³

A decade later and at last free, Hernando was still trying to reduce the Peruvian estate, expanding instead his possessions in Spain. This must have been the reason which moved him to grant a power of attorney to his mayordomo Antonio de Figueroa, then in Peru, to carry out transactions on his behalf,

e para que ansí mismo podáis vender e vendáis todos e cualesquier bienes raíces como son casas, tiendas, viñas, tierras, chácaras, huertas y otras heredades que cualquier de nos habemos y tenemos y nos pertenescan, o que se vos dieren en recompensa e por razón de los dichos conciertos... con que no podáis vender ni vendáis mina alguna de las que tenemos y nos pertenece....¹⁰⁴

Difficulties undoubtedly increased due to Viceroy Toledo's determination, and these circumstances were reflected in an increase of the sales. In 1573 Figueroa sold some important properties doña Francisca had in Porco, consisting in houses and shops located on the "plaza pública" of the mining settlement.¹⁰⁵ On that same date Figueroa sold a *solar* of doña Francisca's in Arequipa; like most of her properties, it was superbly located, i.e. beside the "casas de cabildo, alhóndiga e carnicería."¹⁰⁶ The following year it was the turn of a "casa e tienda" Hernando had in Potosí, "en la calle que dicen de los Pulperos," sold to settle an account worth 500 pesos *corrientes* with the Audiencia's secretary, Pero Xuárez de Valer --so he "deshaga todos los autos e

102. Poder de HP y FaP a Martín Alonso, Medina del Campo, 28 de setiembre de 1556, AHPUV-JR 6831.

103. Poder de HP a Martín Alonso, Medina del Campo, 28 de octubre de 1556, *ibid.*

104. Poder de HP y FaP a Antonio de Figueroa, La Zarza, 3 de enero de 1567, ANB-EP 2, ff. 908-11v.

105. Carta de venta, La Plata, 1 de setiembre de 1573, ANB-EP 24, ff. 217v-19.

106. Carta de venta, La Plata, 1 de setiembre de 1573, *ibid.*, ff. 219-20v. In 1567 Figueroa had already sold the lot that lay beside the one now sold (Ratificación de venta, La Plata, 9 de setiembre de 1573, *ibid.*, ff. 233-34).

impedimentos contra mis partes y sobre los depósitos de los indios chichas y chayanta," in connection with a lawsuit pending on Martín Alonso de los Ríos.¹⁰⁷

Hernando Pizarro obtained control over the family's patrimony dislodging tutors and other delegates, and imposed his own organization. He simultaneously faced the Crown and dozens of individuals whom he battled to retain his possessions, both in the Spanish and American courts. Deprived of all political influence, his judicial campaign allowed him to preserve a great part of his estate until the 1570s. It was then that Viceroy Toledo uprooted the Pizarros from Peru, personally assuming the challenge of ending all pending cases. As a result, the Pizarros withdrew from Peru and gave way to other local power groups established under the protection of the new régime, controlled by the Crown and its officials. I believe that in the long run, Hernando's strategy did manage to strengthen his estate in Peru and its administration; he then dedicated himself to consolidating the properties which would form his mayorazgo in Spain right until the day he died.

107. Fernando Delgadillo en nombre de HP, La Plata, 4 de marzo de 1574, ANB-EP 12, ff. 82v-89v; Poder de Fernando Delgadillo a Pedro Xuárez de Valer y Francisco Hurtado, La Plata, 2 de junio de 1574, *ibid.*, ff. 273-74v. The transactions on the previous pages were registered before the notaries of La Plata, but similar activities must have taken place in Lima, Cuzco, Arequipa, and Quito, areas with a high concentration of properties belonging to the Pizarros. Unfortunately, sources are not available, at least for the first three cities named.

PART TWO

THE MEN AND THE PROPERTIES

CHAPTER 6

THE PERSONNEL

The Pizarros needed a large number of employees to run their vast Peruvian estate. They were forced to increase it shortly after the Inca was captured. Soon, a coherent organization had been formed, one which received and controlled thousands of individuals, incorporated into a transatlantic network covering various parts of America and Europe. It had its origins in the groups of *criados* each brother had for his private financial affairs, each retaining its own individuality despite the close cooperation which undoubtedly characterized them. In spite of the violent circumstances lived by the Pizarros, which deprived the entrepreneurial entity of stability and continuity, the historical development seen in previous chapters led to the consolidation of the family's administrative teams into one single structure. The process of consolidation began shortly after the death of Francisco Pizarro, when Gonzalo took over the guardianship of his nephews, and was interrupted during the five years following his execution. Hernando henceforth had the undisputed control of the organization. The pages following will be devoted to the upper layers of this organization, made up by relatives, *criados*, and some professionals, Spanish all of them.

It must have been difficult to select adequate personnel meeting the requirements made by Pizarrista enterprises, particularly since over the years they numbered at least four hundred people in the most important positions, and perhaps

another four hundred in the least important ones.¹ In search of men they could trust in, the Pizarros naturally found it logical to recur to their family and their home-land, especially after the conquest of Peru: Francisco had done so in 1529, when he went in search of his brothers, and family-members in Europe and America would repeatedly do so. According to Ida Altman's recent study, in sixteenth-century Alta Extremadura, family relations and kinship made up the organizational centre guiding social relations and the assignment of economic resources. Furthermore, the "webs of kinship" were revitalized by providing a framework for various legal, social, and economic functions, such as choosing godfathers, appointing tutors for minors, the purchase and sale of *censos*, passing important dignities, appointing executors, and giving powers for personal affairs.²

During the years spent in Panama, Pizarro and Almagro's society must have had *criados* to manage their encomiendas and other works, but it was only in Peru that servants began to multiply, both for the Pizarro-Almagro society and the individual affairs of each of the partners. It was only later on, when a wide range of productive units had appeared, that the Pizarros simultaneously secured the family's estate, extended its administrative organization, and definitely pushed Almagro aside, by then an unnecessary partner.

The administrative organization had people performing different roles in the most varied places. Some worked exclusively for the Pizarros for years, others helped them professionally in specific instances. So they hired bankers in Seville and Valladolid to collect and negotiate financial papers and money; merchants in Flanders, Medina del Campo, Seville, and Panama to transport silver, merchandise, and correspondence; solicitors before the Council of the Indies

1. The estimate is based on a list made from the thousands of sources examined and organized by using a database. These approximately four hundred individuals appear signing or participating in notarial or judicial acts.

2. Altman, *Emigrantes y sociedad*, 157, 173.

and the Court; attorneys before the Audiencias of Los Reyes and La Plata, the Contratación of Seville, and the Chancillerías of Valladolid and Granada; mayordomos representing them in America from Porco and Potosí to Cuzco, Lima, Quito, and Panama; partners directly in charge of running mines or agropastoral enterprises; *criados* specifically intended to look after encomiendas, mines, chacras, houses, and other possessions; *doctrineros*, for the conversion and spiritual vigilance of the Indians they had been entrusted with; tutors to look after their children; private secretaries to draft documents and keep the correspondence; and stewards to supply their homes or, in Hernando's case, his prison in Medina del Campo.³

One should bear in mind that the personnel under the Pizarros were highly hierarchized, its structure ending in the command of Francisco, Hernando, and Gonzalo. As Lockhart has said, when Hernando became the sole surviving brother he was the ultimate authority.⁴ Nonetheless, distance, the slowness in communications and the urgency of local affairs forced the absentee owner to grant wide powers to many people. In the case of the highest ranking mayordomos, these included the possibility of "substituting," i.e. of delegating all responsibilities to others, even that of the initial power. A long chain was thus formed, in which responsibility finally lay on the first granter of the letter of power; Hernando's ceaseless efforts to keep his companies working can be understood once we realize how much money passed through other alien hands. It is interesting to examine one of these chains. In 1572 Hernando and doña Francisca authorized Hernando Rodriguez Chacón --a mayordomo of theirs just ready to leave for Peru-- to take accounts

3. The Pizarros obviously also had a great number of servants, mestizos and Indians, and slaves, white and black, who carried out diverse tasks, usually domestic ones but also agricultural and mining ones. However, these people did not belong to the highest administrative echelons of the Pizarrista enterprise, which was always formed up by Iberian personnel.

4. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 161.

from Hernando Delgadillo, then in Las Charcas collecting the revenue and produce of their mines. Chacón was likewise empowered to terminate Delgadillo's services or give him new powers, according to how he had fared. Chacón must have been satisfied with Delgadillo because the following year, in La Plata, he substituted his masters' powers for him. Then, a few months later, Delgadillo delegated the faculties received on Francisco Díez Pecellín, then leaving for Porco to collect the rent Pedro Moreno and Juan Vásquez Pacheco owed doña Francisca for working her "mina rica." He was also empowered to collect all outstanding debts, and rent "todas las casas y posesiones que la dicha Francisca Pizarro a e tiene en el dicho asiento de Porco, a cualesquier personas, por los precios más subidos que hallare."⁵ The will of the Pizarros, then living in La Zarza, was thus carried out in that distant part of Peru where they still retained properties gained during the first stages of the conquest.

A. THE PIZARROS AND THEIR RELATIVES

The most powerful and close kinship group acting in Peru was that of Francisco Pizarro and his brothers Hernando, Juan, Gonzalo, and Francisco Martín de Alcántara, too. The notion of complementing each other was everpresent, often expanding its members and forming a network every time circumstances so demanded. Thus it was that between 1539 and 1540 Francisco alternated between Lima and Trujillo; Hernando was in Spain, justifying his manoeuvres against Almagro; Juan and Gonzalo had been entrusted with governing Cuzco, and Francisco Martín de Alcántara was bringing don Diego de Almagro *El Mozo* back from Panama.⁶

The mutual support they gave each other was even clearer in extreme conditions, such as Gonzalo's rebellion. The

5. Poder de HP y FaP a Hernando Rodríguez Chacón, La Zarza, 3 de enero de 1572; Sustitución a Delgadillo, La Plata, 24 de noviembre de 1573; Sustitución a Díez Pecellín, La Plata, 18 de marzo de 1574. All the above in ANB-EP 2, ff. 57-61v.

6. Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Tercera Parte*, 262-75.

latter then took over the command of the family's Peruvian companies, and Hernando did the same in Spain, including the supervision of shipments of money and investments of various kinds. Mutual support is frequently evinced by the documentation, both notarial and epistolary. In a letter to Gonzalo, Hernando commented certain political, family and commercial affairs, at the same time informing him he was sending powers of attorney so he "haga en mi hacienda y deshaga como en la suya propia."⁷ Among notarial records we find some given by Gonzalo to Hernando, so he could represent him in all lawsuits and claims, and take accounts from the estate Gonzalo had received from his deceased brother Juan.⁸

They also paid special attention to the welfare of their nephews, particularly with the children of absent or deceased brothers. In a letter Gonzalo sent to the King from Quito, on 20 December 1542, he recounted the hardships endured by the children of the marquis, on whose behalf he requested some *mercedes*, due to the little revenue they had after their fathers' death.⁹ On December 1544 Hernando sent to Peru the *cédula* legitimizing Francisco, Gonzalo's son, which the latter had requested after overcoming the doubts he had due to the enmity the Crown had had for them.¹⁰ A year later Gonzalo instructed his mayordomo in Cuzco, to place his daughter and that of his brother Juan, in the house of his

7. HP a GP, Medina del Campo, 2 de diciembre de 1544, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 1:166-70.

8. GP y el fiscal, Quito, 2 de enero de 1541, AGI, Justicia 1075; Año 1541, AGI, Justicia 1176, n. 2, r. 6. In addition, see Poder de HP a GP, Medina del Campo, 19 de setiembre de 1543, in David M. Szewczyk, comp., *A Calendar of the Peruvian and Other South American Manuscripts in the Philip H. & A.S.W. Rosenbach Foundation, 1536-1914* (Philadelphia: Rosenbach Foundation, 1977), 18, in which Hernando authorized his brother to manage his possessions and take accounts from his mayordomos.

9. Traslado de carta de GP a SM, GP y el fiscal, AGI, Justicia 1075.

10. HP a GP, Medina del Campo, 2 de diciembre de 1544, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 1:166-70.

paisano Alonso de Toro, "con mujer que esté con ellas en casa."¹¹

Perhaps Francisco de Carbajal was the person who most clearly expressed a feeling which probably was widely felt then: that both Gonzalo and his followers were trying to keep Peru in the hands of a Pizarro dynasty, though perhaps not necessarily a rebellious one. In a letter written in Lima in 1545 and addressed to Gonzalo, Carbajal informed him he had visited doña Francisca, don Gonzalo, and don Francisco, the marquis' children, "representándoles los trabajos que Vuestra Señoría y sus criados pasamos por mantenerlos en su señorío...."¹²

The plight of Francisco's children surfaced in the correspondence exchanged by the conquistador's brethren. In 1546 Governor Gonzalo wrote to Hernando from Quito, telling him Francisquito --who had previously been kidnapped-- had been brought to him, and that he and doña Francisca were all right. However, don Gonzalo, the second son of Francisco and doña Inés, unfortunately "murió de su dolencia."¹³

In the Pizarro clan¹⁴ centripetal family forces prevailed until it disintegrated after Hernando's death. The purported marriage of Gonzalo and doña Francisca, his niece, much talked about in Peru and feared in Spain, and made real by Hernando, are good examples of the family's dynamic.¹⁵ The lawsuit Hernando brought upon his niece doña Inés, is another example of the same kind. In Spain she, Gonzalo's daughter, had married his cousin don Francisco, son of Francisco Pizarro. One clause in the deceased's will, no doubt imposed by Hernando, stipulated that should the widow marry anew, she

11. GP a Pedro de Soria, Los Reyes, 8 de febrero de 1545, in *ibid.*, 2:189-90.

12. Carbajal a GP, Lima, 25 de octubre de 1545, in *ibid.*, 1:470.

13. GP a HP, Quito, 29 de mayo de 1546, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 2:170-71.

14. John Murra appropriately labelled it so in his "Andean Societies before 1532," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 1:59.

15. See chapter 5.

would forfeit her inheritance. The young girl did decide to do so, and Hernando did not stop until he preserved the union of the family's estate: on 23 July 1558 doña Francisca, with her husband's lawful consent, empowered her *criados* to demand the return of her part of the estate.¹⁶

Francisco Martín de Alcántara also participated in the family's intimacy and the economic benefits accruing from it. His figure is less arresting than that of any of his brothers, but his presence in some events is certainly revealing. In 1538 he witnessed two notarial pledges made by Francisco Pizarro. They concerned the payment of the sizeable sum of 23,430 pesos of "good gold" Almagro owed Hernán Ponce de León, possibly from the company he had with Pizarro, and which the latter now recognized as his own, three years after their payment was due.¹⁷ Of course Almagro was then a prisoner of Hernando, and less than two months would pass before he was executed in Cuzco. Years later Martín de Alcántara would die beside his maternal brother in the vengeful assault made by Almagro *El Mozo*, and Pizarro's children would remain under the care of Inés Muñoz, his wife, rather than the Indian mothers themselves, doña Inés and doña Angelina. Above all, the children were the heirs of the Pizarro clan.

The privileges obtained by the brothers were many, with Hernando as the most favoured ever since the first distributions made in Peru, second only to Francisco himself.¹⁸ Later on, Hernando had many opportunities to receive from his brother properties previously given to other conquistadores. So it happened with some *solares* in Cuzco's *plaza mayor*, which had been first given to Hernando de Soto. On his departure they were sold by Hernán Ponce de León, his

16. HP y FaP a Diego Moreno, Hernando Ximénez y Francisco Durán, Medina del Campo, 23 de julio de 1558, AHPUV-JR 6831.

17. Los Reyes, 28 de mayo de 1538, in Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 248-50. Notice that Ponce de León was the partner of Hernando de Soto, one of the most important captains who joined the invading army. On Soto see chapters 2 and 3.

18. See chapter 9.

partner, but Francisco Pizarro nullified the sale because it broke a ruling which requested five years of residence. The *solares* were immediately given to Hernando Pizarro, who departed for Spain a second time two months later, leaving Peru never to return.¹⁹

B. KIN AND DESCENDANTS IN PERU

A second circle outside the Pizarrista nucleus was structured much like an extended family, with ramifications in Peru and Spain. In Peru it formed a privileged group due to its closeness to the seat of power, although it had an Indian element, and often reflected the contradictions caused by the conquest within the ruling family. Francisco took doña Inés Huaylas as his wife, a member of a local noble lineage, with whom he had his first two children. This union made possible an alliance with Contarguacho, her mother, who presumably helped defend Lima when it was besieged by Manco Inca.²⁰ When Pizarro left her and married her to his *criado* Martín de Ampuero, he ensured the maintenance of an equilibrium within the newly born colonial society: he gave a noble, though Indian, wife to Ampuero, removed doña Inés and deprived her of her children, who were and would forever be Pizarro, but did not return her to Indian society, where she no longer belonged. Ampuero was long close to the Pizarro, especially to Gonzalo. In 1544 he noted with satisfaction that Ampuero and Diego Martín had bought him a very good ship for 4,000 pesos, where *Licenciado* Vaca de Castro was imprisoned.²¹

In contrast with the good relationship he had with Gonzalo, Ampuero had serious problems with Hernando, which

19. Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 175-76. Unlike Francisco, Gonzalo, and Juan Pizarro, Hernando received no *solar* in Cuzco despite having encomiendas in that district, perhaps because he was absent at the time of the distribution. The distribution of *solares* in Rivera Serna, "Libro primero de cabildos del Cuzco," 468-73.

20. See chapter 7 for the links between the Huaylas people and the conquistador's family.

21. GP a Alonso de Villacorta, Lima, 3 de noviembre de 1544, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 2:197-99.

eventually took them to court over money belonging to Francisco's children. It seems that on one occasion Hernando tried to employ Ampuero, but shortly after retracted for one reason or another. He gave two powers of attorney to Ampuero just after the rebellion was over, when he was in the midst of reorganizing the administrative network. The first, in July 1550, was for a joint defence, with other proxies, of the possession of the encomiendas in the Audiencia of Lima, which *fiscal* Villalobos, the Pizarros's tireless persecutor, wanted to take away.²² The second was more important, for it empowered him to name new mayordomos should those Hernando had sent die, "confiando de la buena conciencia, amor y amistad de vos el señor Francisco de Ampuero...."²³ However, two years later this power was revoked, and two months after the same happened with any power whatsoever he might have had given to him.²⁴

Like doña Inés, Francisco Pizarro's second wife, doña Angelina, belonged to the Inca nobility. During the rebellion, Gonzalo married her off to Juan Díez de Betanzos, a conquistador who did not stand out for his boldness but as a chronicler, as a specialist in Quechua, and as a mediator between the Spanish government and the rebel Incas of Vilcabamba. It is extremely difficult to find any kind of documentary link between the Pizarros and Angelina or Betanzos, thus raising the suspicion they preferred a discrete withdrawal. Don Juan, Angelina's first child with Pizarro, died extremely young, and don Francisco, the second one, died in Spain leaving no heirs. Angelina probably claimed part of her son's estate, because in 1564 Hernando gave power to ratify the transaction convened upon by doña

22. Poder de HP a FaP, don Pedro Puertocarrero, Francisco de Ampuero, Diego de Ribera y Diego Velázquez, Medina del Campo, 22 de mayo de 1550, AHPUV-JR 6826.

23. Poder de HP a Francisco de Ampuero, Medina del Campo, 4 de diciembre de 1550, *ibid*.

24. Revocación de poder de HP a Francisco de Ampuero, Medina del Campo, 24 de octubre de 1552, AHPUV-JR 6828; Revocación de poder de HP a Francisco de Ampuero, Medina del Campo, 14 de marzo de 1553, AHPUV-JR 6829.

Angelina and Martín Alonso, the previous mayordomo, over don Francisco's part of the estate.²⁵

By now Martín de Ampuero must have visited Hernando, his relative; perhaps they liked each other, or simply found a way to benefit each other. Ampuero was in Madrid, negotiating, amongst other items, the possession of a post as *regidor perpetuo* in Lima's *cabildo* that his father wanted to leave him, but his mestizo status made things harder, so only his talent and influences allowed him to fulfill his goal²⁶ Hernando was by then free and for the moment lived in Villaverde, near Madrid. Their meeting must have been there for he was not allowed to enter the Court. Just as Hernando gave him various powers of attorney to look after his affairs in Peru, so did Ampuero jointly name Hernando and doña Francisca as his proxies in Spain, to collect money for him.²⁷

While Hernando left no descendants in Peru, Juan and Gonzalo did have mestizo children, but did not formally recognize any woman as wife. However, in his testament Juan established that

por que yo he recibido servicios de una india que se dice [blank space] la cual está parida de una niña la cual yo no tengo por hija pero por los servicios de su madre mando que si esta niña viniere en edad perfecta para casarse e casare con voluntad de Hernando Pizarro mi hermano se le den dos mil ducados para su casamiento... [pero que de ninguna manera] su madre no los herede.²⁸

25. See chapter 5.

26. Lohmann, *Regidores perpetuos de Lima*, 2:39-40.

27. Poder de HP y FaP a Martín de Ampuero, 2 de febrero de 1564; Poder de Martín de Ampuero a HP, Madrid, 3 de febrero de 1564; Poder de Martín de Ampuero a HP, Madrid, 7 de febrero de 1564; Poder de HP y FaP a Martín de Ampuero, 27 de marzo de 1564 (Revocación del 28 de mayo de 1564;) Poder de HP y FaP a Martín de Ampuero, 27 de mayo de 1564; Poder de HP y FaP a Martín de Ampuero y Antonio de Figueroa, 27 de agosto de 1564. All these documents are summarized in Lohmann, "Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid," 451-53. I have no evidence at all to show if these powers were ever used.

28. Source published by Cuesta, "Documentación interesante," 873. The name of the Indian woman is not included in this transcription or the manuscript copies I used. Copies of Juan Pizarro's testament are in AGI, Justicia

Francisco Martín de Alcántara, the last of the brothers, had gone to Peru married to Inés Muñoz. Once widowed she married don Antonio de Ribera, who according to his own statement had been a *criado* of Francisco Pizarro.²⁹ Like many others, don Antonio's closeness to the Pizarros would determine the course his life followed. In 1558, ten years after Gonzalo's rebellion was over, Viceroy Cañete would say of him he had "muy vivo él y su mujer la opinión de Pizarro, y es de los que he hallado peor relación...."³⁰ He took over the guardianship of Francisco's children when Gonzalo left Lima, and benefitted from the youngsters' respectable estate. But it was precisely for this same reason he found himself embroiled in a lengthy lawsuit with Hernando, one whose ending he never saw for as long as he lived.

C. THE RELATIVES IN TRUJILLO

The conquistador's brothers remembered relatives and countrymen who stayed behind in the homeland right up to the last minute. Some long performed as agents, but this probably changed once the children of Francisco, Juan, and Gonzalo and Hernando himself, settled down in Trujillo, revitalizing their family and its local roots.

Inés Rodríguez de Aguilar, the daughter of captain Gonzalo Pizarro and Isabel de Vargas --i.e. Hernando's sister on both sides-- was the favourite relative and the one who most frequently appears in the documentation referred to the companies. In 1534 Francisco gave a power of attorney to collect debts and invest in Spain the money sent from Peru, besides representing him before the judiciary. This document named as his representatives Hernando, then in Spain, and Inés Rodríguez de Aguilar, a vecina of Trujillo.³¹ In his testament Francisco left her money and power to dedide how

1075, n. 1, r. 6, and Justicia 1176, n. 2, r. 6.

29. In 1547 don Antonio de Ribera declared he "tuvo por señor al señor marqués," AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 123v.

30. Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú*, 1:321.

31. Poder de FP a HP e Inés Rodríguez de Aguilar, Jauja, 4 de julio de 1534, in Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 215-16.

the legacy he wanted to make to his home town should be used.³² The brothers continued giving her powers and using her as a middleperson in their private and commercial correspondence. Pedro de Soria, Hernando's mayordomo, thus wrote to her from Potosí in April 1547. The letter said he was sending 100 silver marks for Hernando, or Francisca Rodríguez of La Zarza --a daughter, too, of captain Gonzalo Pizarro-- or her, with Pedro de Avalos, the son of a Trujillan vecino.³³

In his 1536 testament, the conquistador Juan Pizarro also recalled many relatives. There he mentioned his abovementioned sisters Inés Rodríguez de Aguilar and Francisca de Vargas, as well as Graciana, for whose dowry he left money; María de Aguilar, deceased, and his aunt Estefanía de Vargas, who had raised him as a child.³⁴

Juan Pizarro de Orellana was a somewhat distant relative who worked with them in Spain. He was a well educated Trujillan who left for America in the 1530s with the Pizarros and their *paisanos*. He was in Cajamarca when the Inca was captured and received his share of the booty, but chose to enjoy it in Spain rather than in Peru. In 1535 he was back in Spain, and a little later was a *regidor* in Trujillo.³⁵ He briefly enjoyed Hernando's confidence. In 1545, when he heard of Gonzalo's rebellion and the death of Viceroy Núñez Vela,

32. The best copies of Francisco Pizarro's testament and entailment in *ibid.*, 273-320.

33. Soria a Inés Rodríguez, Porco, 23 de abril de 1547, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 209-12. In that same letter Soria informed Hernando Pizarro he was not sending more money because of the constant requests GP made for it. On the other hand, Soria told Gonzalo Pizarro, his superior in Peru, of this shipment to Spain, but failed to mention the conflict he was trying to cause with Hernando Pizarro (Soria a GP, Potosí, 23 de abril de 1547, in *ibid.*, 1:205-7).

34. Testamento de Juan Pizarro, AGI, Justicia 1075, n. 1, r. 6, ff. 5-8v. Doña Graciana and her husband Alvaro de Hinojosa later sued Juan Cortés, in his capacity as joint testamentary executors with Hernando Pizarro, for 1,000 ducados and a gold chain Juan Pizarro had left her. The proceedings are in AGI, Justicia 1053-B.

35. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 236-37.

Hernando feared for the security of his Peruvian possessions. To recover the money he had in cash, he issued a series of certificates for debts he had presumably incurred, and which his mayordomo Pedro de Soria would cash in the port that served Arequipa, in Peru. The presumed creditors were all men he trusted in, but it is to be doubted that Hernando expected each of them to travel to Peru to cash in the debt; perhaps he was thinking of endorsing them to merchants, or cashing them in later on, should his possessions be sequestered. In any case, one of the presumed creditors was Juan Pizarro de Orellana.³⁶ Gasca would later on find in Gonzalo Pizarro's personal archive, a document indicating Juan Pizarro de Orellana would collect 1,500 pesos in Seville belonging to the Pizarros.³⁷ Hernando must have ended his business with him in 1551 for then he requested, by a public deed, that Orellana hand to Juan de Herrera the houses and *juros* he inherited from his brother Juan. Although a recent sentence given by the Chacillería of Granada had returned the properties to Hernando, it was his will they be given to Herrera.³⁸

Some of the Peruvian mestizos married each other, like don Francisco --the son of Francisco and doña Angelina Yupanqui-- and his cousin, doña Inés Pizarro, the mestiza daughter of Gonzalo. Others married into Trujillan families traditionally related to the Pizarros. So it was with another don Francisco Pizarro --the son of Hernando and doña Francisca-- who married first with doña Francisca Sarmiento,

36. Obligación de HP a Juan Pizarro de Orellana, Medina del Campo, 27 de octubre de 1545, AHPUV, Francisco Ruiz (henceforth FR) 5869, f. 782 bis. There is no evidence it was ever collected.

37. Gasca al Consejo de Indias, Lima, 2 de mayo de 1549, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 2:326-42.

38. Poder de HP a Juan Pizarro de Orellana, Medina del Campo, 26 de diciembre de 1551, AHPUV-JR 6827.

the daughter of the Count of Puñoenrostro, and then with doña Estefanía de Orellana.³⁹

D. THE EXTREMADURAN ORIGIN OF THE CRIADOS

The most striking characteristic of the people who made up the Pizarrista organization was their definite regional origin: many were Extremadurans, Trujillans in particular. Martín Alonso, for instance, a mayordomo with one of the longest records of services rendered unto the Pizarros, was a vecino of Trujillo, and acted on behalf of Hernando and doña Francisca both in Peru and in his home town.⁴⁰ He was present when Inca Atahualpa was captured, having arrived to Peru with the Pizarros, perhaps with the status of a poor relative.⁴¹ Juan Cortés also came from Trujillo, apparently was an hidalgo or had a high status, and was likewise present when the Inca was captured.⁴² He was a mayordomo of the family and was in charge of different properties in Peru during the lean years of 1543-1545. In Spain, he took over the financial interests of Hernando, Gonzalo, and Juan Pizarro's estate.⁴³ Cosme de Chávez, another Trujillan, must have acted on Hernando's favour in 1550, for three powers of

39. Miguel Muñoz de San Pedro, Conde de Canilleros, *Tres testigos de la conquista del Perú*, Colección Austral (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe Argentina, 1953); Porras, *Pizarro*, 41, 43; Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 166. Francisca Pizarro would also marry a second time with a son of the Count of Puñoenrostro (Rostworowski, *Francisca Pizarro*, 69-73).

40. See e.g. the following sources: Obligación de HP a Martín Alonso, Medina del Campo, 27 de octubre de 1545; AHPUV-FR 5869, f. 786 bis; Poder de HP a Martín Alonso, Medina del Campo, 12 de julio de 1552, AHPUV-JR 6828; Poder de HP a Martín Alonso, Medina del Campo, 8 de noviembre de 1552, *ibid.*

41. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 288-89.

42. *Ibid.*, 295-96.

43. Poder de HP a Juan Cortés, Medina del Campo, 22 de setiembre de 1545, AHPUV-FR 5869, f. 788 bis; Poder de HP a Juan Cortés, Medina del Campo, 8 de enero de 1546, *ibid.*, ff. 796-97; Juan de Orive a GP, Madrid, 1 de marzo de 1546, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 2:51-52; Gasca a S.M., Lima, 2 de mayo de 1549, in *ibid.*, 2:326-42; Finiquito de HP a Juan Cortés, Medina del Campo, [?] de noviembre de 1550, AHPUV-JR 6826.

attorney were given to him then: the first to represent him in a lawsuit he had with Hernando Colón over the possession of some houses in Seville, and the other two to collect money.⁴⁴

Three of the mayordomos who long served the Pizarros still served Hernando in 1566, when his long imprisonment had ended and he returned home. Hernando Chacón lived in Trujillo, where he was his mayordomo and looked after his rural affairs; Francisco Durán also lived in Trujillo and was occasionally sent to Seville; Diego Moreno, the third one, lived in La Zarza and was likewise in charge of rural affairs.⁴⁵

However, the most able, reliable and powerful of all of the Pizarro mayordomos was Father Diego Martín. He came from Santa Cruz de la Sierra, a town in the district of Trujillo, in Spain, and was the son of Juan Martín, a clergyman too. Father Diego came to Peru in the armada of Viceroy Núñez Vela, disguised as a soldier and concealing his connections to the Pizarros. ⁴⁶The priest was the Pizarros' "mayordomo mayor" in Peru whilst Gonzalo's rebellion lasted, and it is no overstatement that both brothers had complete confidence in him.⁴⁷ Gonzalo gave him power of attorney naming Martín "mayordomo general de mi casa e hacienda e grangerías," with full power to collect interests, the tribute of his Indians, stake out mines, buy ships, and "substitute" the power on whomever he deemed convenient.⁴⁸ A few days later Gonzalo

44. HP a Cosme de Chaves. Medina del Campo, 21 de enero de 1550, AHPUV-JR 6825; HP a Cosme de Chaves, Medina del Campo, 1 de agosto de 1550, AHPUV-JR 6826; HP a Cosme de Chaves, Medina del Campo, 5 de octubre de 1550, *ibid.*

45. AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 14v-17.

46. The charge of having disguised himself as a soldier in AGI, Justicia 833, n. 5.

47. In contrast to other *criados* and mayordomos, the sources connecting Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro to Diego Martín included many letters, so that it is possible to obtain a more complete picture of this person.

48. Los Reyes, 28 de octubre de 1544. Published in Jorge Zevallos Quiñones, "El clérigo Diego Martín, mayordomo de Gonzalo Pizarro," *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú* 15 (1942): 147-54.

reported that on his arrival to Lima he had found Vaca de Castro imprisoned on a ship Francisco de Ampuero and Diego Martín had bought for him.⁴⁹ Hernando, in turn, wrote to Gonzalo that should he send Diego Velázquez to Peru, the latter would "cumplirá todo lo que diga Diego Martín," adding --probably to avoid hurting Gonzalo-- that "ambos a disposición de vuestra merced, como si fuese yo mismo."⁵⁰ By the mid-1545 the clergyman had received 17 letters from Hernando instructing him on how to manage his affairs, and reporting on Spanish and European politics. On more personal grounds, Hernando asked him for "chaquira de oro fino" and a golden washbasin for his beard.⁵¹

The mayordomo participated in the political and economic life of the country; it could not have been otherwise, at a time when there was no way of distinguishing governmental affairs from those of the Pizarros. The presence of the priest-mayordomo was disquieting for some, perhaps because of their desire for a leading role. Pedro de Soria, the mayordomo in the mines of Porco, wrote his protest to Hernando, noting that Martín "nunca ha querido venir a estas haciendas," and had instead limited his attributions.⁵²

Hernando had first wanted his mayordomo to limit himself to managing his affairs. He thus wrote to him so:

pído[o]s por merced que miréis que fuistes a mi probanza y a entender en mi hacienda y pues sois sacerdote que no os entremetais en más que esto y que procuréis de proveherme de mi hacienda que es bien menester....⁵³

However, circumstances were more pressing than the wishes of an imprisoned conquistador, something skilfully noted by the faithful captain Francisco de Carbajal. In his

49. GP a Alonso de Villacorta, Lima, 3 de noviembre de 1544, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 2:197-99.

50. HP a GP, Medina del Campo, 2 de diciembre de 1544, in *ibid.*, 1:166-70.

51. Diego Martín a [?], Los Reyes, 28 de mayo de 1545, in *ibid.*, 2:84-85.

52. Soria a Inés Rodríguez, Porco, 23 de abril de 1547, in *ibid.*, 1:209-12.

53. AGI, Justicia 833, n. 5, pza 1.

characteristically ironic style he suggested to Gonzalo he give the clergyman a bishopric:

El padre Diego Martín, demás de entender en la hacienda de vuestra señoría tan curiosamente, no perdonando a trabajo que se ofrezca, entiende en las cosas del Estado tan valerosamente, que hartos duelos terníamos si no fuese por él y por estos caballeros. Por muy mal ejemplo ternemos todos los criados de vuestra señoría ver, si lo viéremos, que vuestra señoría no le hace obispo o arzobispo de alguna gran prelación con toda la brevedad posible, porque vuestra señoría se lo debe, y pues lo ha de dar a los extraños, mejor es que lo dé a su criados, para que le sirvan con ello.⁵⁴

Hernando greatly respected Father Diego Martín, and he might possibly have esteemed him somewhat. In a letter, weighed with the mercantile seriousness so characteristic of him, Hernando told him he would "procuraré que vuelva allá Diego Velázquez porque os vengáis, que no me hallo sin vos...." He also asked him about the convenience of having his niece Francisca sent to Spain.⁵⁵

Diego Martín served the Pizarros right up until the end of Gonzalo's rebellion, when he was arrested and sent to Spain. His life was probably spared because he was a clergyman, but he could not avoid the sentence passed upon him by Francisco Solano, Bishop of Cuzco, and Friar Jerónimo de Loaysa, Archbishop of Lima:

Fallamos que debemos condenar e condenamos al dicho Diego Martín, clérigo, con suspensión del oficio de sacerdote y administración de sacramentos activo por dos años primeros siguientes, y más en destierro perpetuo destes reynos del Perú, y más en perdimiento de sus bienes muebles e raíces para la cámara de Su Magestad....⁵⁶

The sentence upon his possessions was carried out in Trujillo, on 18 March 1550. The *fiscal's* representative went to Juan Moreno, the clergyman's *criado* and brother-in-law, who declared he had some revenue from pastures and houses in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and some other possessions.

54. Carbajal a GP, Lima, 25 de octubre de 1545, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 1:468-75.

55. HP a Diego Martín, Medina del Campo, 3 de diciembre de 1544, AGI, Justicia 833, n. 5, pza. 1.

56. AGI, Justicia 1068, n. 4.

The testament of Diego Martín's father was among the documentation examined by the official who carried out the sentence. Interestingly enough, after piously distributing his estate Juan Martín paid special deference to Hernando Pizarro. The document pointed out that:

cumplido e pagado este mi testamento, y mandas y legatos en él contenidas, lo que restare de mis bienes mando que lo aya y herede el señor Hernando Pizarro, vecino de la ciudad de Trujillo, su señor de mi hijo Diego Martín, clérigo, al qual dexo por mi heredero universal que aya todos mis bienes que restare después de cumplido este mi testamento....⁵⁷

It was, however, a ruse used by the deceased, for according to Hernando, they had really been "dejado cautelosamente a sus hijos." Hernando therefore signed a deed donating what he had received to "vos, Diego Martínez [sic], clérigo, mi capellán, que presente estáis para vos e para vuestros herederos."⁵⁸ Diego Martín undoubtedly lived up to the Pizarro's expectations, but though he did save his life, he could not evade imprisonment and the confiscation of his abundant estate.

Finally, Luis de Camargo and his son Diego were merchants and vecinos of Trujillo, active participants in the regional economy of Trujillo, specially in land transactions. Luis made many investments and bought lands in the vicinity of Trujillo for Hernando Pizarro since at least 1534, but kept them under his name for decades, so as to avoid their confiscation by Crown officials.⁵⁹ He also cashed in some *juros* Gonzalo had bought with his money and what he inherited from his brother Juan.⁶⁰ Diego de Camargo must have been Hernando's mayordomo, for in 1543 the conquistador asked

57. Ibid.

58. Madrid, 25 de julio de 1541, before Bernaldino de Rojas, public notary, in *ibid.*

59. Poder de HP a Juan de la Jara, Medina del Campo, 5 de octubre de 1546, AHPUV-FR 5869, ff. 804v-5. On the activities of Luis de Camargo and his relations see e.g. ACC-AT 8, documents 33 and 47. See also Varón and Jacobs, "Peruvian Wealth and Spanish Investments," 680, and Altman, *Emigrantes y sociedad*, 142-45.

60. He was questioned on this particular point in Trujillo, in 1549 (Justicia 1176, n. 2, r. 3).

Father Diego Martín to have him render accounts and end his employment. This probably was one of the last missions the clergyman carried out before departing for the Indies.⁶¹ However, in 1546 Hernando still had outstanding accounts with Camargo; in 1558 he went to court with Luis de Camargo over a shipment of clothes sent to Peru.⁶²

Just like in other activities, when looking for employees the Pizarros felt safer recruiting them in their homeland, but obviously not all of them were Extremaduran. This time, the reason behind their plentiful numbers was not due to a sudden need for men to fill in positions of extreme reliance --as had indeed been the case when Francisco Pizarro reached Trujillo in 1529, urgently seeking conquistadores for his expedition to Peru-- for the demand for employees was a gradual one, at least for the positions requiring a high degree of responsibility and honesty. As their entrepreneurial horizons increased, the Pizarros began to select a bigger number of reliable and specialized people as their representatives.

E. KINSHIP AMONGST THE ORGANIZATION'S PERSONNEL

The links of kinship did exist among relatives and employees of diverse status in the Pizarrista organization. An interesting case is that of the family of *Licenciado* Gaspar de Espinosa, who had participated in Peru's financial affairs from quite an early date. Whilst living in Panama in 1533, he sent his son Juan de Espinosa to the Island of Hispaniola, to collect horses, weapons, and provisions to send to Peru.⁶³ The following year, Espinosa empowered his son to settle with Pizarro and Almagro, the share belonging to the deceased Luque in the conquest company, finally reaching an agreement

61. Poder de HP a Diego Martín, Medina del Campo, 27 de julio de 1543, AHPUV, Pérez de Medina 7673, f. 146.

62. Poder de HP a Juan de la Jara, Medina del Campo, 5 de octubre de 1546, AHPUV-FR 5869, ff. 804v-5; Poder de HP a Damián de León, Medina del Campo, 4 de agosto de 1558, AHPUV-JR 6831.

63. Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú*, 2:28.

with the partners.⁶⁴ Gaspar de Espinosa himself set out for Peru after Juan died, intending to protect his interests and appease the renewed clash between the Pizarros and Almagro.⁶⁵

Licenciado Gaspar de Espinosa arranged the marriage of his daughter Leonor to Antonio Picado, Pizarro's faithful secretary, whilst she was still a child. The deal officially engaged them, but the betrothal ended abruptly,⁶⁶ and by 1541 Picado had married Ana Xuárez.⁶⁷ García Ortiz de Espinosa, another of Espinosa's offspring, was in Lima in 1547, where he signed a document in a lawsuit followed by Francisco Pizarro's heirs against his possessions.⁶⁸ Francisco de

64. *Licenciado* Espinosa empowered his son Juan de Espinosa in Panama, 2 Apr. 1534 (HC, 1:15.) Juan made the deal in Lima, 20 Oct. 1535 (Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 29-31); he died in Huaytará in June 1536, during a successful Indian attack on the Spanish cavalry detachment which was trying to help the Spaniards besieged in Cuzco (Lohmann, *Espinosa*, 93).

65. We find at least two other persons called Juan de Espinosa in Peru at this time. One was Almagro's secretary, who signed for him often. He went to Spain at Almagro's request, and on his return found he had been executed. He returned to Spain and brought a lawsuit against Hernando Pizarro (Cieza, *Conquista del Perú. Tercera parte*, 280; Busto, *Diccionario de los conquistadores*, 2:75). I have been unable to establish his kinship with *Licenciado* Gaspar. Juan de Espinosa Campóo was another namesake, and a somewhat distant relation of Gaspar. He fought against Almagro *El Mozo*, and then against Gonzalo Pizarro. Gasca gave him the encomienda of Pincos, in Huánuco. He married Juana de Torres, daughter of the conquistador Sebastián de Torres (Lohmann, *Espinosa*, 67.)

66. Like Bárbola, another of Espinosa's daughters who married the conquistador Francisco Fuentes, Picado and his wife received a *recomendación* from the Council of the Indies on 1 Apr. 1539, published in CDIU, 15:126. A brief biography of Leonor and her aborted marriage in Lohmann, *Espinosa*, 97.

67. Statement made by Ana Xuárez, in Horacio H. Urteaga, "El asesinato de Francisco Pizarro, gobernador del Perú," *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú* 7 (1929): 123. This same Ana Xuárez had an important role during Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion, for Father Diego Martín sent her a letter telling her he had good troops and so did not believe Centeno could escape; he would therefore be in Lima in five months at most (Diego Martín a Ana Xuárez, La Nasca, 11 de agosto de 1547, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 2:14). Busto, *Pacificación del Perú*, 359, says she was Picado's "amiga", and later on wife of Sebastián Sánchez de Merlo, the encomendero of Huarochirí.

68. Lohmann, *Espinosa*, 220.

Espinosa, the *Licenciado's* nephew, had the confidence of Gonzalo Pizarro, whose *maestresala* he was.⁶⁹ His active participation in the uprising cost him his life, for he was one of the few men whom Gasca executed.⁷⁰ Finally, Alonso de Espinosa *El Viejo*, another of the *Licenciado's* nephews, had various business affairs and investments in Spain and the Indies. He once committed himself to shipping 8,000 gold ducados which Francisco Noguero de Ulloa, encomendero of Arequipa then passing through Seville, wanted to send to Valladolid through the family bank.⁷¹ Many other members of the Espinosa's extended family were linked directly or indirectly to Peru, most within the group of the Pizarro's followers.⁷²

Just like a whole family joined the Pizarros at different moments and with different roles, the support the latter gave to individual members of their staff extended their network of clients. A case illustrating these complex relationships between the Pizarros and their closest and longest standing *criados*, is that of Francisco Cerbera's daughter and the deceased Diego Durán. Hernando and doña Francisca donated an amount of money Ana González, the bride,

69. Gonzalo Pizarro gave Francisco de Espinosa the encomienda of the Yaros, "los cuales indios, por mandado de su encomendero hacían daño en los servidores de Su Majestad [durante el alzamiento de Gonzalo Pizarro], y para hacerlo mejor tenían por caudillo un negro del dicho Francisco de Espinosa que se decía Martín, que él lo tenía puesto allí con los dichos indios para el dicho efecto... lo cual fue causa que luego los dichos indios sirviesen los tambos por donde pasaban los servidores de Su Majestad..." (*Información de Juan de Agama*, AGI, Lima 120, f. 44).

70. Gasca a S.M., Los Reyes, 26 de agosto de 1548, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 2:258-77. See also the list of those executed in Gonzalo's rebellion in CDIAO 20:486-542; Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú*, 1:108-9.

71. It is possible that Espinosa and Noguero were distant relatives (Lohmann, *Espinosa*, 35-39).

72. For an excellent follow-up of the members of this family see Lohmann, *Espinosa*. On the other hand, we find a Cristóbal de Espinosa among Pizarro's opponents, who requested in 1540 a copy of the "probanza de testigos" he had carried out in Peru against Hernando Pizarro (AGI, Indiferente 423, lib. 19, f. 364). I found no more on him.

gave to Hernando Chacón, her husband-to-be. A few days later, the betrothed signed a deed of "dote y casamiento" before Hernando and doña Francisca.⁷³ Chacón would become an important *criado* of Hernando's long after this, but we do not know if he already was one before the marriage. In 1564 he was given the relatively simple task of collecting money in Seville; in 1566 he represented Hernando in the "tenencia e alcaidia" of the fortress of Trujillo, a prestigious post acquired with Peruvian silver.⁷⁴ In 1572, when Chacón was 53, Hernando chose him to travel to Peru, apparently to order the administration of his properties in Porco and Potosí. He was thus named mayordomo and empowered to take accounts from the *criados*, hand out powers of attorney on Hernando and doña Francisca's behalf, and carry out other transactions.⁷⁵ His mission was accomplished between late 1573 and early 1574, apparently to Hernando's satisfaction.⁷⁶

It looks as if Father Diego Martín, Hernando and Gonzalo's main mayordomo during the hard times of the rebellion, had some kind of kinship which made him serve the Pizarros. In a letter he referred to Catalina de la Cueva, doña Francisca's governess, as "mi señora madre," offering to pay "hasta 300 pesos" should she need "alguna cosa para su vestir."⁷⁷ Catalina had arrived to Lima "quince o veinte

73. Poder de Catalina Zerbera a Francisca Zerbera y Diego Moreno, Medina del Campo, 5 de julio de 1555, AHPUV-JR 6830; Escritura de dote y casamiento, Medina del Campo, 21 de julio de 1555, *ibid.*

74. Poder de HP y FaP a Martín de Ampuero, Madrid, 2 de febrero de 1564, Lohmann, "Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid," 452, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 686v.

75. Poder de HP y FaP a Hernando Chacón, La Zarza, 3 de enero de 1572, ANB-EP 2, ff. 57-60. Copies in ff. 64-66v, and ANB-EP 12, ff. 82v-85v.

76. Poder de Hernando Delgadillo a Francisco Díez Pecellín, La Plata, 18 de marzo de 1574, ANB-EP 2, ff. 57-61v. Sustitución de Hernando Rodríguez Chacón a Hernando Delgadillo, La Plata, 24 de noviembre de 1573, *ibid.*, f. 60. Other copies of the latter in *ibid.*, ff. 66v-67, and ANB-EP 12, ff. 85v-86v; Poder de Hernando Delgadillo a Gómez de Alarcón, La Plata, 20 de marzo de 1574, ANB-EP 2, ff. 64-68v.

77. Diego Martín a García de Salcedo, La Nasca, 11 de agosto de 1547, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 2:18-20. However, Martín's parentage is

días" after Pizarro was murdered, and she never met him. She stayed beside little doña Francisca during the dreadful Almagrista persecution, and went with her to her exile in Spain.⁷⁸ In 1556 and 1558 Catalina gave two powers of attorney in Medina del Campo, so Hernando's men could collect money on her name.⁷⁹ In the first one it looks as if she had acted as Hernando's secret representative, for she had to pick up money in the Casa de la Contratación of Seville; it is highly doubtful that a governess could make such a shipment. The second one referred to a debt she had in Segovia, her deceased husband's birthplace, and where she had a house "que se la tienen ocupada."⁸⁰ Here it looks instead as if Hernando placed his organization at the disposal of a faithful servant. In Trujillo, in 1566, Catalina declared she lived in the house of Hernando and doña Francisca.⁸¹

The *criados* and mayordomos who stayed in Peru for long periods, probably often took with them their Spanish relatives to help them in their work. Thus Diego Velázquez, to whom the Pizarros had long entrusted their properties, was helped by his brother Baltasar with the Pizarros' and other affairs. Baltasar acted with a striking entrepreneurial zeal both for Hernando and doña Francisca, and in his own, and his brother's affairs. He spent July 1550 in Potosí, looking after different mercantile affairs. On the first of that month he settled accounts with his partner Hernando de Alvarado, binding himself to pay him 2,298 pesos "de buen oro," for the companies they had had between them.⁸² The

quite confusing. He was the son of the clergyman Juan Martín, as already seen, but no other data is available on his mother other than that just mentioned. In 1566 Catalina de la Cueva declared herself the widow of Pedro de Madrigal, a native of Segovia (AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 696).

78. Ibid.; AGI, Justicia 1054, n. 2, r. 2.

79. Poder de Catalina de la Cueva a Gerónimo de Argüello, Medina del Campo, 28 de setiembre de 1556, AHPUV-JR 6831; Catalina de la Cueva a Hernando Ximénez, Medina del Campo, 27 de diciembre de 1558, *ibid.*

80. AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 696.

81. *Ibid.*

82. Obligación de Hernando de Alvarado a Baltasar Velázquez, Potosí, 1 de julio de 1550, ANB-EP 1, ff. 200v-1.

following day he did the same thing with Pedro de Estrada, who had been in charge of the companies both had with Diego Velázquez, as well as the "indios e yanacunas que habéis tenido a vuestro cargo e haciendas de nos los susodichos."⁸³ Estrada was left as his attorney, to represent him in lawsuits, collect debts, and carry out other legal and commercial activities.⁸⁴

Diego was Hernando's mayordomo, and had positions of great responsibility and confidence. At one moment Hernando thought of having Diego Martín return to Spain, whilst Diego Velázquez, then preparing to leave for Peru, would look after the American operations.⁸⁵ Diego Martín stayed in Peru longer, and was captured when Gonzalo's rebellion was over. Diego Velázquez went to Peru perhaps in 1546,⁸⁶ supporting Gonzalo in the management of the Pizarrista estate and in political matters. Velázquez was esteemed by Alonso de Alvarado, the marshal of Gonzalo's army and who would afterwards join Gasca.⁸⁷ Velázquez, however, let Gonzalo know the misgivings he had over Alvarado and Diego Maldonado, both of whom joined Gasca in Nombre de Dios.⁸⁸ Gonzalo apparently tried to ensure Velázquez's faithfulness giving him a repartimiento of Indians in Quito.⁸⁹

83. Pago e finiquito de Baltasar Velázquez a Pedro de Estrada, Potosí, 2 de julio de 1550, *ibid.*, f. 203.

84. Poder de Baltasar Velázquez a Pedro de Estrada, Potosí, 6 de julio de 1550, *ibid.*, ff. 207v-8.

85. HP a GP, Medina del Campo, 2 de diciembre de 1544, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 1:166-70.

86. Before 27 Sept. 1546, to be precise.

87. Alonso de Alvarado a GP, Panamá, 16 de agosto de 1547, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 2:167-69.

88. GP a Pedro de Soria, Los Reyes, 15 de octubre de 1546, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 2:186-87. Soria must have been mistaken when saying Diego Maldonado was Gonzalo's envoy to Spain instead of Francisco Maldonado. See, for example, *ibid.*, 1:274-75; Pizarro, *Relación del Perú*, 136.

89. Juan de Saavedra a GP, León [de Huánuco], 4 de enero de 1547, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 2:139-40. It might well be a namesake.

It is by no means clear how Velázquez managed to continue working in Peru after the rebellion, still as Hernando's mayordomo. By mid-November 1548 --Gonzalo was executed on 10 April of that same year⁹⁰-- he received the payment Gasca ordered for supporting the daughters of Juan and Gonzalo Pizarro.⁹¹ In July and September 1549 Hernando renewed his powers to work his mines, hire mayordomos, take accounts, send his companies' produce to Panama and Nombre de Dios, and carry out other obligatory administrative matters.⁹² However, on 10 January 1550 Hernando withdrew his confidence from his mayordomo, and revoked the powers he had given him just a few months before.⁹³ The relationship between owner and employee henceforth entered a stage of uncertainty and strife. It seems that Hernando first thought of increasing Velázquez's administrative jurisdiction once the rebellion was over but thought better of it, restricted his powers, and finally not only fully dismissed him, but also brought a long lawsuit against his heirs.⁹⁴ The Council

90. Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Las ideas jurídico-políticas en la rebelión de Gonzalo Pizarro* (Valladolid: Casa Museo Colón y Seminario Americanista, Universidad de Valladolid, 1977), 110.

91. Diego González de Vargas a Gasca, Cuzco, 29 de diciembre de 1548, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 2:382.

92. Poder de HP a Diego Velázquez, Medina del Campo, 11 de setiembre de 1549, AHPUV-JR 6825; Poder de HP a Antonio de Gibráleón, Medina del Campo, 11 de setiembre de 1549, *ibid.*

93. Revocación de HP a Diego Velázquez, Medina del Campo, 10 de enero de 1550, *ibid.*

94. Revocación de poderes de HP a Velázquez: Medina del Campo, 26 de noviembre de 1550, AHPUV-JR 6826; 10 de noviembre de 1553 AHPUV-JR 6829. Poder de HP a Martín Alonso para tomar cuentas a Velázquez, Medina del Campo, 11 de julio de 1552, AHPUV-JR 6828; Anulación de mayordomía, 12 de marzo de 1555, AHPUV-JR 6830. But in between these dates HP and FaP gave him different tasks, such as opposing a reduction in their encomiendas, following a lawsuit, or taking the accounts of doña Francisca's guardianship. See e.g.: Poder de HP a FaP, don Pedro Puertocarrero, Francisco de Ampuero, Diego de Ribera y Diego Velásquez, Medina del Campo, 22 de mayo de 1550, AHPUV-JR 6826; FaP a Martín Alonso y Diego Velázquez, Medina del Campo, 25 de mayo de 1552, AHPUV-JR 6828; Revocación de poder de HP a Francisco de Ampuero, Medina del Campo, 24 de octubre de 1552, *ibid.*; Poder de HP

of the Indies simultaneously opened a lawsuit against Velázquez, "por ser comprendido en los alborotos del Perú," due to an accusation made by Martín Enríquez de Guzmán.⁹⁵

But it so happens that this very Pedro de Estrada was a "criado" of Hernando's, who had also been in charge of his properties in Potosí; Baltasar therefore took accounts from him on behalf of his brother Diego, Hernando's mayordomo. Upon agreeing on the amounts and with all differences paid, they signed the required document before a public notary, where Baltasar said, on Hernando's behalf, that he was "bien contento y pagado."⁹⁶ Around that time Baltasar bound himself to pay 600 gold pesos for a mule "ensillada y enfrenada" he would use to "ir a negocios del comendador Hernando Pizarro,"⁹⁷ and lent 3,200 silver pesos of Hernando's money to one Juan Ibáñez de Garcigarcés.⁹⁸ These transactions registered by Baltasar Velázquez in the notarial records of Potosí raise suspicions of a conflict of interests, which would in no way escape the distant but evervigilant gaze of the imprisoned owner.

Hernando, in fact, decided to have Martín Alonso, another one of his mayordomos, bring a lawsuit against Diego Velázquez in La Plata, for what he obviously thought were serious flaws in the accounts. The oidores, who certainly did

a don Antonio de Ribera, Diego Velázquez y Martín Alonso, Medina del Campo, 12 de setiembre de 1553, AHPUV-JR 6829; Poder de HP y FaP a don Antonio de Ribera, Diego Velázquez y Martín Alonso, Medina del Campo, 12 de setiembre de 1553, *ibid.*

95. AGI, Justicia 1067, n. 1, r. 5.

96. Pago y finiquito de Baltasar Velázquez a Pedro de Estrada, Potosí, 2 de julio de 1550, ANB-EP 1, ff. 202-3.

97. Obligación de Baltasar Velázquez a Diego de Meneses, Potosí, 6 de julio de 1550, *ibid.*, f. 207.

98. Obligación de Juan Ibáñez de Garcigarcés a HP, Potosí, 29 de julio de 1550, *ibid.*, f. 229v. A marginal note states the loan was paid on time to Estrada, a *criado* of Hernando Pizarro. Notice that a few years before, in late 1544, Hernando was not fully convinced of the honesty of one of his *criados* who, coincidentally enough, was called Juan Ibáñez. HP said there had been so many frauds, it would "conviene que se le vuelva a tomar cuenta" (HP a GP, Medina del Campo, 2 de diciembre de 1544, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 1:166-70).

not like the Pizarros, went over the case many times. In a meeting held in 1564 they reached a decision on the accounts, of which we know nothing,⁹⁹ but five years later Hernando's representatives were still battling the heirs of the deceased Velázquez and the procrastinating attitude of the oidores. The lawsuit was gone over many times between 1569 and 1572; the sentence had already been given and the oidores wanted to have the case closed, but Hernando insisted in having certain errors which went against him corrected, so a new sentence had to be given in "discordia."¹⁰⁰

The desired sentence was only given in 1574; Velázquez's heirs were condemned to pay the following: first, 9,610 pesos *corrientes* and 3,000 pesos *ensayados* collected by his brother Baltasar; secondly, 1,000 pesos *corrientes* unlawfully paid to the attorney Pedro de Estrada, a partner of the Velázquez brothers; finally, 800 pesos *corrientes* for accepting a payment his brother Baltasar had improperly made.¹⁰¹

F. THE LINKS WITH THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS

The Pizarros had a very special relationship with some religious orders, the Dominican and the Mercedarian in particular. In the conquest expeditions themselves they already had had the invaluable services of Valverde, a Dominican, and later on continued close to this order. When Friar Reginaldo de Pedraza, the vicar of the Order of St. Dominic left Peru, Hernando gave him 300 pesos and letters for "sus hermanas beatas questán en tierra de Truxillo."

99. Acuerdo, 17 de enero de 1564, ANB-LAACH 1, f. 70v.

100. The lawsuit was seen on the following occasions: Acuerdos del 19 de junio de 1569, ANB-LAACH 3, f. 126; [?] de noviembre de 1569, *ibid.*, f. 78; 16 de octubre de 1570, *ibid.*, f. 142; 25 de enero de 1571, *ibid.*, f. 151; 28 de agosto de 1571, ANB-LAACH 4, f. 8; 17 de abril de 1572, ANB-LAACH 5, f. 10; 8 de mayo de 1572, *ibid.*, f. 16. It was later agreed the case should be closed as sentence had already been passed (Acuerdo, 23 de noviembre de 1572, *ibid.*, ff. 52-53).

101. The sentence was given by *Licenciado* Recalde and accepted six months later by *Licenciado* Matienzo, a tenacious enemy of the Pizarros (Acuerdos, 25 de enero de 1574, *ibid.*, f. 94v; 12 de julio de 1574, f. 113). See chapter 5 for Hernando Pizarro's relationship with Velázquez.

Friar Reginaldo died in Panama, and the money was found when his belongings were inventoried. By a cédula issued in 1533, the Queen commanded the authorities in Tierra Firme send it to the officials of the Contratación of Seville.¹⁰²

According to an accusation made in a law court, during Gonzalo's rebellion the Provincial of St. Dominic in Peru received a confidential and subversive letter. Hernando, the letter's writer, so the accusation went, said the friar "era muy amigo" of Gonzalo, also explaining that

se esperaban acá [en España] revueltas entre Vuestra Alteza y el rey de Francia..., y todo esto escribía el dicho Hernando Pizarro a fin [de] que no dejasen de hacer en el Perú rebeliones contra vuestro real servicio, dando a entender que de acá no podían enviar gente contra ellos por la necesidad que acá había con las guerras.¹⁰³

In other words, the news of European political events were an indirect way of requesting the Dominicans' support. But as we will see, it is also possible that Hernando was asking for an understanding between the Dominicans and his brother.

When Gonzalo set forth on his unfortunate expeditions to conquer the land of La Canela, he took with him the Trujillan Dominican Friar Gaspar de Carvajal. When the expedition was in the Amazon, a detachment was sent under the command of Francisco de Orellana, to act as an advance guard and search for food. The detachment, which chose not to return and thus abandoned the expedition, included Friar Gaspar, who reached the Island of Margarita after following the Amazon river right up to the Atlantic Ocean, and returned to Peru.¹⁰⁴

In 1547 Friar Gaspar was in charge of the Dominican house in Cuzco; it was probably then that he received a note sent by Gonzalo, indicating that the alms Hernando had been giving them would henceforth be revoked. Friar Gaspar replied

102. R.C., Madrid, 28 de enero de 1533, AGI, Panamá 234, lib. 5, f. 87.

103. AGI, Justicia 833, pza. 1, f. 5.

104. Raúl Porras Barrenechea, *Los cronistas del Perú (1528-1650) y otros ensayos*, ed. Franklin Pease G.Y. (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú and Ministerio de Educación, 1986), 165.

that the hundred sacks of coca-leaf Hernando gave to the monastery --a non-despicable alms, for they amounted to around 200 pesos-- had been wrongly used by his forebears but it was no longer so. Furthermore, the priest stressed that the Indians who served them had been given by Gonzalo himself, and he preached from the pulpit each and every day that "todo lo que tenemos y esta casa nos lo dieron los Pizarros." Besides every Friday "se dice una misa de pasión por la salud y vida del señor Hernando Pizarro."¹⁰⁵ I do not know how this story ended, but it is quite clear that the Dominicans did know how to adapt to circumstances; in the end, they escaped unscathed from the rebellion despite their links with the Pizarros. Although Friar Tomás de San Martín, the order's Provincial in Peru, was one of the envoys Gonzalo had sent to Rome, the latter was astute enough to join Gasca in Panama, and to return to Peru with Lorenzo de Aldana.¹⁰⁶ Still later, the Dominican Friars Tomás de San Martín and Domingo de Santo Tomás had had a hand in the delicate task of distributing the encomiendas anew once Gonzalo's rebellion was over, whilst Friar Gaspar was sent to prison in Chile.¹⁰⁷

Mercedarians also had had a longstanding connection with the Pizarros. In 1527 Father Bobadilla, the order's Provincial in the Indies, said of Pizarro and Almagro's voyage to *Levante* that "este testigo bendijo el uno de los navíos...."¹⁰⁸ Ten years later he had an important role as mediator between both partners, smoothing out all differences, if only temporarily.¹⁰⁹ Once it was established

105. Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 2:118-19.

106. Fernando de Armas Medina, *Cristianización del Perú (1532-1600)* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1953), 198.

107. According to Porras, *Cronistas del Perú*, 166, Friar Gaspar was sent as a prisoner to Chile, but returned to declare against Gonzalo Pizarro. He would continue his career shortly after, and we find him in 1554 as Domingo de Santo Tomás' second-in-command, in his order's house in Lima.

108. Barriga, *Mercedarios en el Perú*, 2:32.

109. The respective documents have been published in different occasions. Luis Vázquez Fernández recently did so in "Los Pizarros, la Merced, el convento de Trujillo

in Peru, the order rapidly extended with Pizarro's protection and the direction of Friar Miguel de Orenes, the order's Superior in Lima.¹¹⁰ Francisco Pizarro gave the estancia of Limpipata to the Mercedarians in Cuzco on 23 May 1529; the repartimiento of Villafuerte on 29 January 1540, and on 18 May 1541 confirmed the grant of an estancia made to their monastery in Lima.¹¹¹ But he also left a substantial legacy in his testament, for the foundation of one of their monasteries in Trujillo, his birthplace, carried out by doña Francisca later on.¹¹² After Pizarro was murdered it was discovered that Father Orenes kept many deeds of securities belonging to the deceased, including a receipt from the veedor García de Salcedo, a testimonial of the silver Lorenzo de Aldana took from the graves of Pizarro's Indians in Quito, and a memoir of some crossbows sent to the Atavillos.¹¹³

Mercedarians opposed the New Laws because they ruled that monasteries should lose their repartimientos of Indians,¹¹⁴ and backed Gonzalo Pizarro's rebel government. Gonzalo must have also esteemed them, for in 1546 he had already granted them various items from his brother Francisco's legacy for their monastery in Quito, in exchange for masses the friars would say for the deceased's soul. Doña Francisca would shortly after complete the grant, adding four *solares* to it after declaring void the sale her tutor and the Bishop had agreed upon.¹¹⁵ A *Relación*, written in 1548 by the Spaniard Alonso de Castellanos, states that the Mercedarian

(Cáceres) y Tirso," *Homenaje a Guillermo Vázquez Núñez (1884-1984)* (Madrid: Revista *Estudios*, 1984), 303-9; Vázquez, *Tirso y los Pizarro. Aspectos histórico-documentales* (Trujillo, Cáceres: Fundación Obra Pía de los Pizarro and Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1993), 165-84.

110. Armas, *Cristianización del Perú*, 31.

111. The *provisiones* are published in Vázquez, "Los Pizarros, la Merced," 310-14.

112. The founding charter, issued in Madrid, 6 May 1594, and related documents, have been published in *ibid.*, 332-43.

113. A list of these deeds in AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 1240v-41v.

114. Armas, *Cristianización del Perú*, 33.

115. A summary of the relevant sources in Vázquez, "Los Pizarros, la Merced," 315-19.

Pedro Muñoz offered him 100,000 pesos to distribute among the soldiers, thus getting support for Gonzalo. The money was allegedly held by Catalina de la Cueva, doña Francisca's governess, but Gonzalo fell into Gasca's hands before it was handed out.¹¹⁶

In 1549 Gasca informed the Council of the Indies that the visitador of La Merced feared their next chapter, to be held in Toledo, would reinstate Friar Miguel de Orenes in the house of Lima, and Friar Esteban in Trujillo of Peru, whom he had removed from their posts for following Gonzalo Pizarro. The former had hidden Gonzalo's silverware worth five or six thousand pesos after his execution, whilst the latter travelled to Spain to report on the progress of Gonzalo's attorneys.¹¹⁷ Gasca was furthermore convinced that Friar Pedro Muñoz, one of the Mercedarians, had volunteered to murder Lorenzo de Aldana, a royalist corregidor (and renegade Pizarrista), during a frustrated uprising for Gonzalo. Gasca concluded that this order was far too "suelta" in Spain and "peor acá" in the Indies, and so should be replaced by Franciscans and Dominicans.¹¹⁸ Finally, both Gonzalo Pizarro and Almagro were buried in the monastery of La Merced in Cuzco.

To understand the dimensions of the adventure of colonial settlement which followed the conquest, one needs to bear in mind the importance of the staff and organization the Pizarros gradually created and developed. Individuals who served the Pizarros in Peru in top-ranking positions, were always Spaniards, and in particular many were Trujillans; this demonstrates how important the links forged by kin and place of origin were, even decades after having moved to Peru. The organization thus established was of transatlantic

116. Relación de Alonso Castellanos, AGI, Lima 118.

117. Gasca a S.M., Lima, 28 de enero de 1549, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 2:363-82.

118. Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú*, 1:132. In addition, Lohmann, *Gonzalo Pizarro*, 95, contends that "la comunidad mercedaria fue uno de los más firmes sostenes de la rebelión," whilst the Franciscans refrained from participating.

scope, covering various parts of Europe and America. Finally, individual employees found themselves inside an entrepreneurial organization that widened its scope by using the resources belonging to other institutions, such as the religious orders, particularly the Dominicans and Mercedarians, as well as banks and trade. However, the highest echelon in the organization only made sense from the Indian foundations upon which it was built. The Pizarros connected themselves with individuals and whole indigenous ethnic groups; the nature of the relationship established depended on the approach taken by the natives during the invasion, the demands of the colonists, and the specific historical circumstances.

CHAPTER 7

THE ANDEAN WORLD AND THE CONQUERORS

Los indios ivan quexándose de sí mismos; espantávanse cómo no tenían el ánimo que tuvieron en tiempo de los Ingas pues vençieron tantas vatallas. El pensar en los cavallos los desatinava: por una parte los temían, por otro sentían que gente estrangera e tan diferente dellos los señorease. Esto los convençía a querer morir por no lo verlo....

Pedro de Cieza de León

A characteristic trait of the conduct followed by the conquering host was its successive shifts from violence to friendliness, simultaneously intending to instil fear in the populace, and produce alliances with specific native groups. Thus, the Spaniards used Indians as communicating tools in various ways, especially as interpreters or "lenguas," ethnic lords, the women of regional and Cuzqueñan nobilities, Villac Umu (the so-called "sumo sacerdote" of the State, Inti-cult), Atahualpa himself, and his successors the Spaniards named. This chapter by no means intends to analyze each of them in detail, but it will be useful to pay attention to the least-known cases, or the ones more relevant for the early connections between conquistadores and Indians, particularly whenever related to Pizarro and his family.

Cieza de León noted that when Pizarro arrived to Jauja, he "procurava traer a su amistad a los guancas e yayos [sic for Yauyos] [pero] por entonces no pudo venir en efeto su propósito."¹ Interestingly enough in this context, Indian

1. Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Tercera parte*, 196. The groundbreaking work which highlighted the role of Huancas and Chachas as the conquistadores' allies was Espinoza Soriano,

lords acted on their own initiative, deciding by themselves when to contact the European invader. Cieza reports that upon being told the Spaniards had come "por mandado del Enperador a poblar aquellas tierras de cristianos y a que les diesen noticia de nuestra fe," they cunningly replied "lo que vieron que convenía para estar seguros."² Even so, it would be difficult to decide how to act. This comes through in the case of the cacique Çopeçopagua, when he received Benalcázar's message urging him to come peacefully, and so avoid "lo tuviesen que prender de mano armada." According to Cieza, Çopeçopagua

temía que le avían de apretar por el oro de Quito, pues estava claro [que] los cristianos no buscavan ni pretendían otra cosa [más] que ello y plata, mas no se hallava seguro en parte ninguna porque ya los mismos naturales unos a otros se heran traydores, porque ni guardavan amistad ni parentezco ni querían más que sustentarse con el fabor de los nuestros.³

With the conquest and the presence of Spaniards in America, the Indian peoples faced a markedly new situation, one wherein they had to participate in the European's political play *per force*. Pre-hispanic hierarchies could be used as a starting point, but now the rules were different and, for some, there was a scope of brand new avenues to riches and political power.

I will try here to examine the Andean area during the conquest from the Indian's point of view, emphasizing that short time span wherein the Pre-hispanic political apparatus

"Los huancas, aliados de la conquista," and Espinoza Soriano, "Los señoríos étnicos de Chachapoyas y la alianza hispano chacha. Visitas, informaciones y memoriales inéditos. 1572-1574," *Revista Histórica* 30 (1967): 234-332. The curaca Guamán of Chachapoyas declared he had supported Francisco Pizarro, with whom he was in the latter's encomienda of Hatun Huaylas (AGI, Patronato 28, r. 56. I am grateful to Fernando Iwasaki for this reference.) The work of María Rostworowski and other scholars appeared almost simultaneously, and shall be used later on in this chapter.

2. Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Tercera parte*, 197. However, one must bear in mind the fact that Indian texts were filtered through by notaries and other Spaniards who in turn used the words of the conquerors.

3. Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Tercera parte*, 286-87.

still existed and prevailed, i.e. up to the moment Atahualpa was executed. In the first section I will examine how it was that men in the Inca administrative system received the news of the Spanish arrival. Then I will review the examples set by some individuals, who played an important role in Peru during the conquest, like the well-known interpreters Felipillo and don Martín, Pizarro's successive women, doña Inés and doña Angelina, and the "puppet" ruler Paullu Inca. I will also present the case of ethnic groups whose actions reveal a political strategy, and where the role of individuals is outlined in varying degrees of detail. As it was with the Cañaris, Huaylas, Lima and, finally, the peoples of Charcas, all of them closely linked to the Pizarros.

A. INDIAN PERCEPTION OF THE INVASION

The availability of data on the perception individuals in the Inca administrative system had of the arrival of the Spaniards, the capture of the Inca, and the collection of Tahuantinsuyu's gold and silver, will give us a better understanding of Indian responses. My discussion will centre around a unique document, which despite its importance had not yet been adequately appraised: the statements made by Indian witnesses in the lawsuit Hernando and doña Francisca followed against the Crown, to recover the expenses Francisco Pizarro incurred during the Indian uprising of 1536.⁴ Except for a Cuzqueñan nobleman, "nieto que dijo ser de Pachacuti Yupangui," the 18 witnesses said they were natives of the province of Yauyos or Huarochirí. They heard of the Spaniard's arrival in Yauyos, Huarochirí, Jauja, Cuzco, or Huamachuco. All were adults when the invasion happened, witnessed (save for two of them) the sack of Pachacamac by Hernando Pizarro, and participated (except for seven) in the 1536 siege of Lima.⁵

4. The document is in AGI, Escribanía 496-A, and was published by Guillén, *Versión inca*. Reference will be made to the published text.

5. *Ibid.*, 135.

According to the royal officials, in 1573, when the inquest was held, the witnesses seemed to be between 70 and 90, save for one who seemed to be around 60. Four decades had passed since the conquest, and the luck of these witnesses placed them among the few natives who had survived wars, plagues, and other evils of this period: on average, one out of every five.⁶ Notwithstanding the sympathy each of them might have had when the invasion fell, which can be deduced from their occupation --of those who gave it, four were soldiers in Huascar's army, one was "ovejero del Inca" in Pariacaca, another a "mayordomo del cacique Guacora Pacora" in Jauja, and the last one a soldier in Cajamarca, in Atahualpa's army-- it was hardly surprising they unanimously poured on the Pizarros their resentment over the evil which had befallen them, thus agreeing with the intentions of the Spanish *fiscal*, who wanted to incriminate the Pizarros.

The witnesses revealed their feelings and prejudices, and their statements are on no account naive. What's more, the questions are long and detailed and exhibit, as was then accustomed, the unequivocal opinion of one of the parties, in this case that of the *fiscal*. All declared before the corregidor and with an interpreter. As a result, their answers are suspiciously similar, and on occasions identical. However, a careful examination of the statements, the search of variants in each of the texts, and a comparison with other sources in the few cases whenever this is feasible, do yield valuable information.⁷

One witness declared that the Spanish ships had hardly entered Paita, when "se dijo por todos estos reinos que habían llegado ciertas gentes barbudas en unas casas por la mar...."⁸ Another said that whilst he was

6. Noble David Cook, "Estimaciones sobre la población del Perú en el momento de la conquista," *Histórica* 1 (1977): 37-60; Cook, *Demographic Collapse*.

7. Guillén has already begun this, profusely annotating the document.

8. Guillén, *Versión inca*, 78.

en la ciudad del Cuzco en servicio de Guáscar Inga llegó allí la nueva de... que éstos [los españoles] habían desembarcado y poblado un pueblo en el valle de Tangarara....⁹

Others added that when Atahualpa was in Cajamarca,

se dijo y publicó en esta provincia de los Yauyos... que venían españoles y cristianos contra él, que se llamaban los *capacochas*,... y que ellos y sus caballos comían oro y plata.¹⁰

Atahualpa allowed them to reach there so he could see them, feeling safe both from the small number of Spaniards and the fact that he was with the army he had mustered against Huascar.

Once the Inca had been captured and the ransom had begun to be collected, Hernando Pizarro decided to continue reconnoitring the land, speeding up the collection of gold and silver in the process. It was some of Atahualpa's captains who informed the conquistadores of the coastal temple, and then went with the expedition:

ciertos capitanes del dicho Atabalipa Inga, que le decían Inga Mayta y el otro Urcos guaranga, habían descubierto al dicho marqués don Francisco Pizarro, por miedo que no los matasen, el tesoro y adoratorio y depósito de Pachacama, y los indios se espantaban todos de cómo los dichos capitanes habían osado descubrir la casa del sol y adoratorio del ídolo hacedor de la tierra, y tenían gran miedo de ello....¹¹

The news spread quickly over the land. Hernando Naypa Xulca, "ovejero del Inga," was in Pariacaca when he

vio venir mensajeros de los capitanes que venían con Hernando Pizarro, por todas las provincias de la redonda, [ordenando] que todos [los] caciques y principales de ellas juntasen todo el oro y plata que tenían, y joyas de mujeres, y mamaconas y servicio de su casa, de plata, y chaperías de sus ropas, y guacas, y adoratorios y depósitos, y que todo ello le llevasen al valle de Pachacama adonde ellos iban con el dicho Hernando Pizarro..., y este testigo fue a ayudarlo a llegar con los caciques al dicho valle de Pachacama....¹²

9. They stayed there from May 1532 to 24 September of that same year, when the march to Cajamarca began (ibid., 63, n. 21).

10. Ibid., 20, 41.

11. Ibid., 58-59.

12. Ibid., 53.

It is hardly surprising to find evidence, which points out that in order to fulfil their designs of collecting the treasures, the invaders used the highest echelons of the Inca administrative system. A witness thus declared having seen in Pachacamac how "muy grandes tesoros..., y muchas chaperías, y culebras, y sapos de oro..., y leones, y zorras..., y hombres, y mujeres..." were gathered, and then all

vio este testigo también dar y entregar al dicho Hernando Pizarro y meterlo todo ello en una casa muy grande que llamaban de Chumbe Sagua, mayordomo del inga....¹³

Another witness, don Diego Poma Ricuri, "mayordomo del cacique Guacora Pacora" --better known as Guacra Paucar-- said that on the command of his cacique he had had a great amount of gold and silver articles gathered,

y así todo junto, este testigo lo hizo cargar en indios y lo llevó camino de Caxamarca, y en llegando a la provincia de Bonbón, que es en los Atauillos, topó con otros indios orejones del Cuzco que llevaban, asimismo, gran cantidad de oro y plata cargada que seria más de mil indios, los que se juntaron en el dicho valle de Bonbón; y porque este testigo conoció aquellos orejones que eran sus criados del dicho Atualipa, allí les dio y entregó todo lo que así este testigo llevaba, y los dichos orejones lo tomaron y juntaron con lo demás que llevaban....¹⁴

Finally, a point wherein all the witnesses agreed upon was their scorn for the conquistador and his brothers. A witness declared he had heard Manco Inca and Villac Umu say

que si viniera el dicho Hernando Pizarro, que ellos procuraran vengarse de él, y que antes se dejarían todos despedazar que no sujetarse a los Pizarros por el grande odio que le tenían y por los malos tratamientos que le habían hecho....¹⁵

This was probably the most useful statement the *fiscal* found in his suit against the Pizarros, so long as the metropolitan judiciary took the statements made by Indian witnesses as worthy of credit.

I believe it is important to stress two points concerning the statements quoted. On the one hand, they were

13. Ibid., 61.

14. Ibid., 87-88.

15. Ibid., 128.

made by Indians but transmitted by Spaniards, and so were liable to be altered due to the difficulties posed by language and the interests the officials had. On the other hand, they outline a picture apparently opposite to that drawn by the chroniclers of the conquest.¹⁶ The Spaniards, so this new account goes, were first seen as exotic curios no more, and were instead taken to be a threat to the Indians. It was right from this moment that they managed to penetrate Andean internal politics --in particular to benefit from disagreements within the dominant group, between the Inca and subject polities-- and gain control of the system of authority, which was headed by the Inca himself. Once this goal had been achieved, the use of Inca communications, collecting and storage systems naturally followed, particularly as regards persuasion to gather all kinds of gold and silver objects. The Christians likewise managed to protect their lives by controlling the State machine through its head, the Inca.

I believe these months may be thought of as ones of political calculations and cautiousness. Guillén has vindicated Manco Inca's first moments, upholding him as an authentic Inca and a political schemer, and not someone who conformed with the Spaniard's presence.¹⁷ From this point of view Manco Inca, a member of the faction following Huascar, and therefore opposed to Atahualpa, came out as the victorious ruler in the struggle for power in Tahuantinsuyu. Pizarro thus appears as an ally of the victorious Inca,¹⁸ so that the evident Spanish intention of conquering Peru was veiled to Indian eyes.

16. For the ideological underpinnings of the first Spanish accounts of Peru, see Franklin Pease, "Las primeras versiones españolas sobre el Perú," *Colonial Latin American Review* 1 (1992): 65-76.

17. Guillén, *Versión inca*, 132-33.

18. Guillén suggested it in *ibid.*

B. THE INTERPRETERS

Two of the Indians who played an important role in the conquest were picked out and trained to work as interpreters. As such they participated in the life and conflicts of Spanish society, contributing to the outcome of some of the most important events. The most famous one went under the name of Felipillo, and occasionally as Felipe or don Felipe. The other one was called Martinillo when young, then don Martín, and often used the surname of Pizarro. Both interpreters disliked each other intensely from the very beginning of the conquest, possibly because don Martín seems to have belonged to the upper regional nobility of Chincha, or even Inca, whilst Felipillo's origins were undoubtedly found among the Tallán commoners.¹⁹

Pizarro took both interpreters to Spain in 1529, and both participated in the expedition from its opening moves. Both were at Cajamarca, but the sources do not make it possible to identify who it was that translated the conversations with Atahualpa.²⁰ Felipillo joined the Almagristas; during the expedition to Chile he fled to join the planned uprising, but was captured and then executed.²¹

Don Martín became a Pizarrista and was loyal to the conquistador's family to the end of his days. He married a Spanish woman, was given the encomienda of Huaura by Pizarro, and lived in Lima in the *solar* he was entitled to as founder and vecino. He dressed as a Spaniard and often joined his conquistador comrades.²² Don Martín was one of the few who remained loyal to the conquistador the day he was murdered, and in the subsequent uproar and pillage which took place in Lima, hid in his house a chest belonging to the conquistador, which held documents of his debts and deeds of various

19. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 448-55.

20. Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, 82.

21. *Ibid.*

22. José Antonio del Busto, *La hueste perulera. Selección* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1981), 307-26.

kinds.²³ His moves for Vaca de Castro, to whom he offered his services, like most Spaniards, to fight the Almagristas, allowed him to enlarge his encomienda, receiving others in the valley of Huarmey.²⁴ His loyalty to the Pizarros turned out to be his undoing, for it made him participate in Gonzalo's rebellion. After being found guilty and punished, the encomendero-interpreter decided to appeal the sentence in Seville, where he died.²⁵

José Antonio del Busto rightly holds the Indian Don Martín as "no un hombre ejemplar en absoluto, pero sí el primer mestizo de pensamiento" in Peru's history.²⁶ The importance of both these individuals undoubtedly lies in their performance as true participants in the conquest, and in don Martín's case, in the participation too of an Indian in the Spanish milieu of the early colonial society. What's more, the interpreters, just like the Spaniards, lined up with the ever-clashing factions, particularly between Pizarristas and Almagristas, communicating their inclinations and interests to the groups of Indians with whom they got in contact. The chronicler Cristóbal de Molina, *El Almagrista*, clearly illustrated this situation when saying that

el marqués Pizarro tenía una lengua e intérprete, el cual amenazaba de palabra al Inga [Manco], porque sentía que no era amigo del Marqués y lo era del Adelantado Almagro; y Almagro tenía otra lengua que se llamaba don Felipe, que era gran familiar y amigo del Inga, y entre estas dos lenguas había envidias y con sus pasiones alteraban [a] los naturales [diciendo] que su señor era el Gobernador y el que había de permanecer....²⁷

23. Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, xxi.

24. Busto, *Hueste perulera*, 317.

25. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 453. Another Indian interpreter close to Pizarro was don Francisco, who received the encomienda of Alconamba, in the Chachapoyas (Loredo, *Repartos*, 261-62).

26. Busto, *Hueste perulera*, 307.

27. Cristóbal de Molina, *El Almagrista, Conquista y población del Pirú; fundación de algunos pueblos; relación de muchas cosas acaecidas en el Pirú*, in *Crónicas peruanas de interés indígena*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 209 (Madrid: Atlas, 1968), 81.

Interpreters thus had a role which went far beyond that of a translator of languages and cultures, participating in the political developments of conquest using their own initiative as leaders.

C. SENTRIES FOR THE CONQUERORS: THE CAÑARIS

The Cañaris joined the Spaniards early in the conquest, and established connections which lasted well into the viceroyalty. They collaborated with the invader individually or collectively, in different ways, clearly evincing the conflicts present within the Pre-hispanic past.

According to written sources, the presence of the Inca in the Cañar region of Ecuador dates at least to Pachacutec.²⁸ Archaeological remains confirm the Inca presence only for the time of Tupac Yupanqui and Huayna Capac.²⁹ This disagreement in our sources should not surprise us, because it is highly possible that each of the above-mentioned Inca rulers entered the Cañar area, the first in quest of booty, and the other, later, ones with enough strength to settle there permanently.

During the rule of Tupac Inca Yupanqui and Huayna Capac, alien groups of *mitimaes* were moved to the land of the Cañaris. The presence of caciques whose names evince Quechua, Aymara, Araucanian, Mochica, Chimu, Uru, Chinchá, and Chiriguano origins have been detected.³⁰ The Indian chronicler Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti states that upon reaching the Cañar, Guayna Capac

manda traer agua de un río horadando al cerro y hace una ciudad y en ella éntrala [el agua] así que caracoleada de esta manera [signo]. Y otra mitad de gente se ocupa en

28. Aquiles R. Pérez T., *Los cañaris* (Quito: Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, 1978), 281, quoting the Indian chronicler Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui.

29. José Alcina Franch, "Tomebamba y el problema de los indios cañaris de la sierra sur del Ecuador," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 37 (1980): 420-22.

30. Pérez, *Cañaris*, 479-80.

edificios de casas de Coricancha, cosa temerario [sic].³¹

The buildings would on the one hand show an improvement in the productive infrastructure, and on the other, a symbolism and sacralization of the State's presence. Groups of Cañaris were simultaneously removed from their land: some were sent to war as soldiers of the imperial army, while others to work in Cuzco, in the spectacular transformation of the Yucay valley.

Upon the death of Huayna Capac the Cañaris, of whom it is said they were Huascar's "lanceros" and personal bodyguard, sided with the Cuzqueñan Inca's faction.³² The decision made by the Cañari infuriated Atahualpa's staff, who in retaliation cruelly killed whole populations and destroyed the Inca State's seat of Tumipampa. So great was the carnage, that the manifest decline in numbers of the Cañari has been attributed mainly to this event.³³ Cieza tells how the conquistador Sebastián de Benalcázar found out that the Cañaris favoured the Spaniards, and made an agreement with them. The chronicler says Benalcázar

tuvo aviso cómo en aquella tierra agudavan a los españoles con paz y amor.... Velalcaçar los recibió bien; prometió de los tener por amigos y de les dar vengança de su enemigos. Y esta paz fue firme; no a quebrando ni faltado aunque los españoles en diverços tienpos e por casos que an suçedido an sido molestados a estos cañares e los an fatigado y hecho en ellos lo que suelen hazer en todos los demás.³⁴

One should therefore not be surprised at finding Cañari messengers in Tumbes --a cacique among them-- making political overtures to the newly arrived aliens, of whom the

31. Quoted in *ibid.*, 482-83. This scholar identifies the river mentioned as the Culebrillas, adding that the Incas replaced the native name of Guapdondelec with Tumipampa.

32. Carmen Arellano and Albert Meyers, "Testamento de Pedro Milachami, un curaca cañari en la región de los Wanka, Perú (1662)," *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 18 (1988): 97.

33. Alcina, "Tomebamba y los indios cañaris," 409. In addition, most students agree present-day Cuenca is the descendant of Incaic Tomebamba, and this in turn perhaps of another Cañari city (*ibid.*, 415).

34. Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Tercera parte*, 184-85.

northerners had already received news during the previous voyage of the conquistadores.³⁵ This attitude would ultimately be of great importance for the Spanish conquest of the southernmost part of Tahuantinsuyu.

The main reason why Atahualpa was in Cajamarca the moment the Spaniards arrived, was because had he left the area and headed for Cuzco, he would have been wide open to an attack from Quiteños and other peoples in northern Tahuantinsuyu. The above-quoted Cieza says that

porque los de Tomebanba y muchos de los comarcanos a Quito y a otras tierras de los Chachapoyas, Guancachupachos, Yngas³⁶ de los llanos, se mostravan amigos de temor e no de amor, los quales tenían gran fe con Guascar e como le viesen cerca del Cuzco [a Atabalipa] todos se juntarían y darían en él por las espaldas, con que se vería en trabajo de muerte o de perdición....³⁷

An interesting document used by Udo Oberem, wherein appear statements made by old Indians, shows that the Cañar cacique don Diego Vilchumlay and his people marched with Pizarro to Cajamarca, and then took part in the Spanish advance through the province of Quito under Benalcázar.³⁸

Political sympathies in the area were not, however, homogeneous, because if the Cañaris favoured Huascar, the

35. Ibid. See also Udo Oberem, "Los cañaris y la conquista española de la sierra ecuatoriana. Otro capítulo de las relaciones interétnicas en el siglo XVI," in *Contribución a la etnohistoria ecuatoriana*, ed. Segundo Moreno Y. and Udo Oberem (Otavalo: Instituto Otavaleño de Antropología, 1981), 131-34.

36. Its meaning makes it look as if it were an erroneous reading of "yungas."

37. Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Tercera parte*, 115.

38. The manuscript has the following reference: "Información de D. Juan Bistancela de su nobleza y ser hijo de cacique, 1594/95." (A copy of the ms. is in the private collection of Lic. Guillermo Segarra J., Quito.) Quoted in Oberem, "Los cañaris y la conquista española," 135. The chronicler Herrera, in turn, says that during the conquest's opening moves, the Cañaris "embiaron mensajeros a los castellanos, ofreciendo su amistad y, habiendo sido recibidos humanamente, embiaron sus embajadores con trescientos hombres armados, para que se asentasen su liga y federación, la cual fielmente siempre guardaron y Belalcázar les prometió su ayuda y amistad y de defenderlos de su enemigos" (quoted in Alcina, "Tomebamba y los indios cañaris," 411).

general trend in Quito leaned towards Atahualpa. Cieza adds that once Atahualpa was dead, "quedó todo el Perú rebuelto, porque muchos [indígenas] que estaban mal con Atabalipa se holgaron con su muerte."³⁹

The testimony given by the chronicler Pedro Sancho, present in Cajamarca, seems to imply that once Atahualpa had been executed, the Spaniards were firmly convinced the security of Quito was endangered because of the spontaneous Indian uprising, and so Pizarro hastened in naming a new Inca. The chronicler says he

hízolo tan presto para que los señores y caciques no se fueran a sus tierras, que eran de diversas provincias y muy lejos unas de otras, y para que los naturales no se juntaran a los de Quito, sino que tuvieran un señor separado al que habían de reverenciar y obedecer y no se abanderizaran....⁴⁰

Just as the Cañaris had set themselves apart from the rest of Quiteños when they allied themselves to Huascar even before the war of succession, so would it happen again when this uncouth Indian group joined the Spaniards, against the prevailing trend in the vicinity of Quito. On the one side were the majority of Quiteños, who tried to rebel in support of Manco Inca,⁴¹ on the other the Cañaris, allied to the Spaniards. Here I find relevant the evaluation Frank Salomon makes, pointing out that the war between Inca Imperial troops against Spain soon deteriorated into one against the Indian allies of Spain. Shortly after the events, a Spanish veteran recalled that "Quizquiz, capitán de Atabalipa... dava mucha

39. Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Tercera parte*, 172.

40. Pedro Sancho, *Relación de la conquista del Perú*, ed. Joaquín García Icazbalceta, Biblioteca Tenantila, Libros españoles e hispanoamericanos, 2 (Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1962), 64.

41. Segundo Moreno Y., *Alzamientos indígenas en la Real Audiencia de Quito, 1534-1803* (Quito: Abya-Yala, 1987), 9. According to this author, this time the Spaniards were warned by Isabel Yaruc Palla, one of Atahualpa's former wives, married to the conquistador Pedro de Puelles, Quito's Lieutenant-Governor; the caciques were captured and the uprising aborted.

guerra en la dicha tierra [alrededores de Quito] matando a los naturales que abían venido de paz a [los] españoles."⁴²

Well into the conquest, the encomendero of the Cañaris, Diego de Sandoval, marched with his Indian warriors to relieve Lima, then besieged by the Incas; the above-mentioned cacique don Diego Vilchumlay was then present. A witness stated the encomendero "Púsose en camino con ellos, y prosiguiéndolo, sabido por los indios cercadores [que] venían los cañares contra ellos, alzaron el cerco...."⁴³ In this case, like in many others where the Indians or their *encomenderos* were seeking royal *mercedes*, the effect their presence had was exaggerated, making them look as if they had been the only ones who defended the Spaniards. The fact is that several individual cases, mentioned throughout this chapter, show many Indian peoples supported the Spaniards.

On 15 June 1540 Francisco Pizarro gave, with Bishop Valverde's ascent, the encomienda of the Cañaris to his brother Gonzalo, for they were

gente belicosa, e amigos despañoles, e que sienpre... les han ayudado e servido como leales vasallos de Su Magestad, y es bien que vos, el dicho capitán Gonzalo Pizarro, como gobernador de las dichas provincias los tengays en vuestra cabeza y encomienda... [para que] biban más contentos, y vos podays servir a Su Magestad en la guerra con su ayuda....⁴⁴

42. Salomon, *Señores étnicos de Quito*, 269.

43. Oberem, "Los cañaris y la conquista española," 138, based on the chronicler Friar Reginaldo de Lizárraga, and the already mentioned Bistancela manuscript. The passage quoted in Reginaldo de Lizárraga, *Descripción de las Indias*, Los pequeños grandes libros de historia americana, serie 1, tomo 12 (Lima, 1946), 103. See also Pérez, *Cañaris*, 486, who refers to a manuscript from the AGI published in R.F. Friar Enrique Vacas Galindo, O.P., *Colección de documentos para la historia de la república del Ecuador. Cartas y expedientes de personas seculares del distrito de la audiencia de Quito. Desde 1571 hasta 1577*. 76-6-15 (Seville: Archivo General de Indias, 1913), vol. 6.

44. Testimonio de la provisión de FP, Lima, 15 de junio de 1540. A year after it was issued, the *provisión* was presented on behalf of Gonzalo Pizarro by Lorenzo de Aldana, vecino of Quito, before the city's *alcalde ordinario* (Quito, 31 de mayo de 1541). Both in AGI, Patronato 90-A, n. 1, r. 23.

The Cañaris settled in many different parts of Peru due to pre-Hispanic and colonial displacements, especially in Cajamarca, Trujillo, Huánuco, Lima, Ayacucho, Cuzco, and Jauja.⁴⁵ Those who went to Lima during the Spanish invasion appropriated some lands belonging to the *curaca* Guachinamo. Don Gonzalo Taulichusco later on brought a lawsuit before the Audiencia of Lima to recover those lands. Unique but unfortunately heavily deteriorated, and difficult to read documents show that Francisco de la Torre represented Santiago Chincomasa and other Cañaris, who according to their statements, had been Francisco Pizarro's *yanaconas*.⁴⁶

Don Gonzalo, backed by Gerónimo de Silva and Nicolás de Ribera, as municipal authorities, had managed to "se quiten sus lampas" from the Cañaris, thus preventing them from using the disputed lands. The Cañari *yanaconas* asserted these had been given to them by Pizarro and the city's *cabildo*

por los muchos y grandes servicios que hezimos a Vuestra Alteza... e que mediante nuestra ayuda y [damaged] el dicho marqués pazificó y conquistó este dicho reyno.⁴⁷

Don Gonzalo opposed this because the *chacra* of Chuntay, over which the litigation begun, had belonged to him ever since the time of the Incas, and he needed it because many others had been taken by the Spaniards to build the city and as *huertas* for the Spaniards, "y las que les que- [damaged: dan] son sin provecho." But don Gonzalo immediately moved to a particularly interesting point vis-a-vis our understanding of the relations between the alien and the native groups. The *curaca* asked:

Yten, sy saben que los dichos yndios cañares que [damaged: al pre-] sente pretenden la dicha chacara Chuntay nun- [damaged: ca han] tenido ni poseído como cosa suya ni nunca ha si- [damaged: do] y si algún

45. Manuel Miño Grijalba, *Los cañaris en el Perú. Una aproximación etnohistórica* (Quito: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, 1977), map between pp. 14 and 15; Carmen Arellano and Albert Meyers, "Testamento de Pedro Milachami."

46. The documents are in the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Lima (henceforth BNP), A-15, A-16. See also Miño, *Cañaris en el Perú*, 9, 19.

47. BNP, A-15, f. 23.

tiempo han estado en ella ha sido con conse- [damaged: ntimiento] del dicho don Gonzalo y aviéndosela prestado [damaged] y por que le servían y tributaban y no [damaged] de los dichos indios.⁴⁸

Don Gonzalo insisted the Indians prosecuted had not been Pizarro's *yanaconas*; that those who had indeed been so were all dead, and that these were just "yndios bagamundos que se han recogido y allegado a la dicha chacara por no travajar ny tributar a nadie, debaxo de dezir que heran yanacunas de [damaged] dicho marqués."⁴⁹ The verdict given by the *alcaldes* favoured the Cañaris, and it was later confirmed by the *Audiencia*.⁵⁰

During the conquest, the Cañaris participated in various military operations. According to the chronicler Diego de Trujillo, Francisco Chilche had gone to Pizarro to offer his services, saying: "Yo vengo a servir y no negaré a los cristianos hasta que muera." Chilche went with Pizarro to Cuzco, where "se pusieron en favor de los cristianos los indios cañares y chachapoyas, que serían hasta cincuenta indios, los unos y los otros, con Chilche."⁵¹ Pizarro made Chilche *curaca* of Yucay, placing an alien ally over the very Cuzco orejones. The Cañari soon had appropriated a great part of the lands in the Sacred Valley of the Incas, and had enough labour at his command to work them.⁵² Beside the well-known role as guards of certain Crown officials, the Cañaris held posts related to the everyday use of power. One thus finds an Indian interpreter called Diego de Cañar in an *Información* requested in a lawsuit between Spanish *encomenderos* in Curacullu, in the province of Huaylas, in 1557.⁵³ However, by mid-sixteenth century the colonial

48. BNP, A-16, f. 150.

49. *Ibid.*

50. Ratificación de la sentencia, 8 de octubre de 1560, *ibid.*, f. 183.

51. Pérez, *Cañaris*, 383-84, quoting Muñoz de San Pedro, *Tres testigos de la conquista del Perú*, 144-45.

52. Horacio Villanueva Urteaga, "Documentos sobre Yucay en el siglo XVI," *Revista del Archivo Histórico del Cuzco* 13 (1970): 1-148.

53. AGI, Justicia 405-A, n. 1, r. 2, f. 175.

authorities initiated a process whereby Chilche lost the lands to new Spanish owners.⁵⁴

Despite the invaluable support given to the conquistadores, and their initially favoured position, the Cañaris were soon deprived of their privileges and treated just like other Indian people.⁵⁵ However, the ability shown by this group to remain allied with the invaders' leaders at a time the latter were fighting each other, should be emphasized. The Cañaris were thus subsequently on the side of the Pizarros, García de Castro, Alonso de Alvarado, Gasca, and Toledo⁵⁶ when it suited their interests, imitating so the daily political game most Spaniards played.⁵⁷

D. THE HUAYLAS, PAULLU INCA, AND DOÑA INES⁵⁸

Pizarro's most intimate relationship with an Indian polity undoubtedly was with the peoples of Huaylas, in the north-central sierra of Peru.⁵⁹ This was partly due to the liaison the conquistador had with doña Inés, whose birthplace this was, but other elements also must have appeared which made this an encomienda desirable enough to take it and, unlike others, retain it until the very end. Huaylas was an area rich in resources, favoured by an easy access to different ecological levels. The conditions for native agriculture and cattle were superb, and the same thing happened with European plants and animals taken there. Nor was there any lack of the

54. Villanueva, "Documentos sobre Yucay," 25ff.

55. Oberem, "Los cañaris y la conquista española," 140.

56. Miño, *Cañaris en el Perú*, 30.

57. For the skilful political game played by Captain Garcilaso de la Vega, a talented conquistador, see Varón, "Política y negocios de los conquistadores."

58. somewhat modified version of this section was published in Rafael Varón Gabai, "Estrategias políticas y relaciones conyugales. El comportamiento de incas y españoles en Huaylas en la primera mitad del siglo XVI," *Boletín del Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos* 22 (1993): 721-37.

59. For general reference on the area see José Varallanos, *Historia de Huánuco. Introducción para el estudio de la vida social de una región del Perú. Desde la era prehistórica a nuestros días* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta López, 1959), and Félix Alvarez-Brun, *Ancash. Una historia regional peruana* (Lima: P.L. Villanueva, 1970).

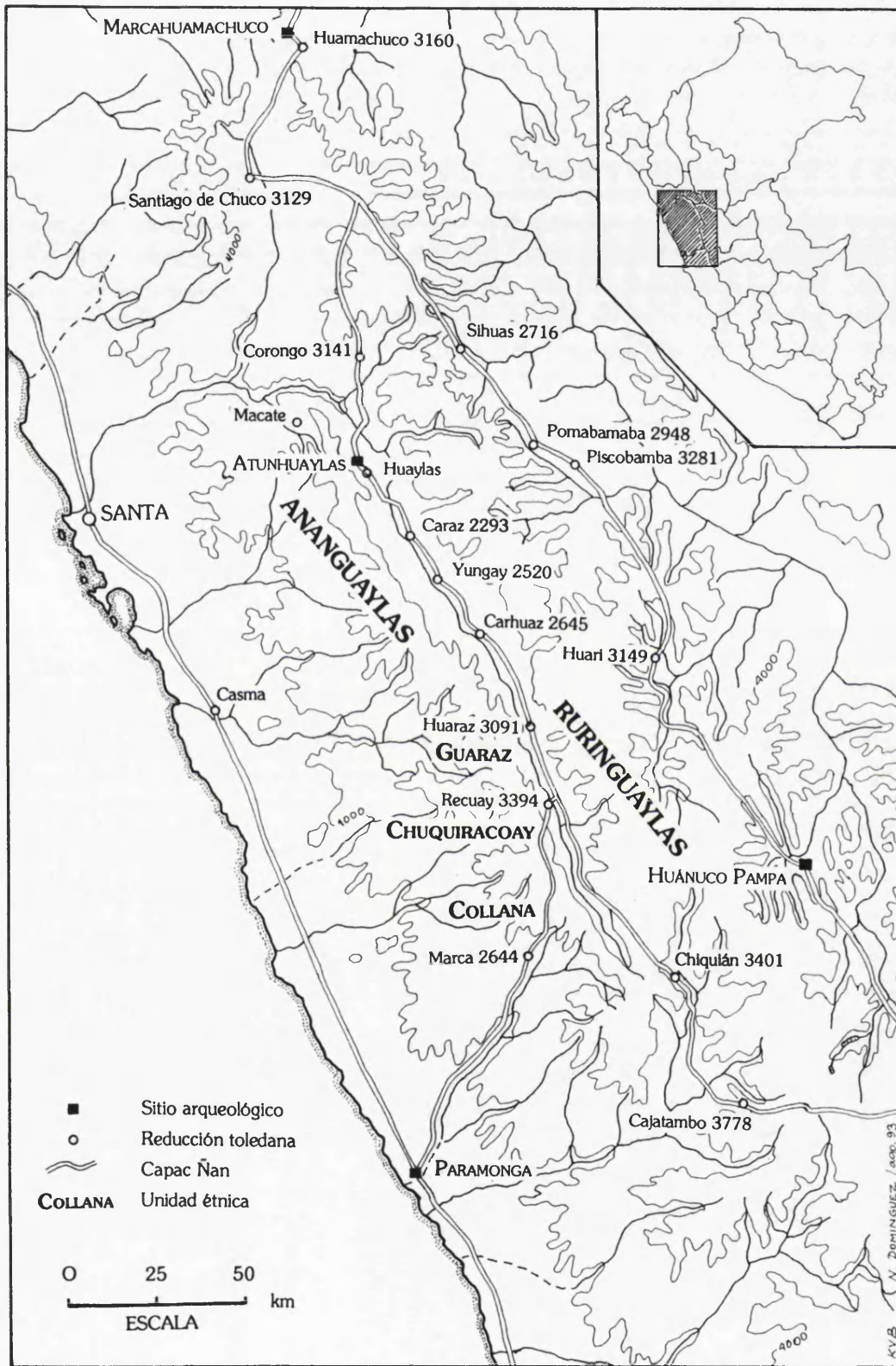


ILLUSTRATION 3. MAP OF THE PROVINCE OF HUAYLAS.

gold and silver mines the Indians worked in Pre-Columbian times, and so avidly sought for during the colony.⁶⁰ The Huaylas sided with the Spanish invasion shortly after it began, just like other polities conquered by the Incas. What's more, Paullu, who rendered such valuable services to the Spaniards and was named in the rebel Manco's stead, was a son of Huayna Capac with Añas Colque, a woman from the Huaylas élite.

The so-called "provincia" of Huaylas (Guaylas, in colonial times) is in the Callejón de Huaylas, a beautiful Andean valley delimited by the Black and White Cordilleras, two branches of the Central Andes which run parallel to the coastal desert strip and the Amazon. The Santa river flows from south to north, suddenly changing its direction west towards the farthest end of the Callejón, a strategic point where stands the archaeological site of Atun Huaylas, possibly an Inca administrative centre.⁶¹

The province was politically split into two halves when the Spaniards arrived: Ruringuaylas at the southernmost end, and Ananguaylas at the northern extreme.⁶² Each of these moieties was in turn divided into six *guarangas*, ideally spanning 1000 tributaries each. The evidence also suggests that besides its administrative use, this division also had social, economic, and ecological significance --both before

60. The area of Huaylas has produced minerals, silver in particular, ever since pre-Columbian times and right up to the present. In the late seventeenth century it was said, in mild exaggeration, that a mine there, pompously called San Julián de Cuenca y Figueroa, was "de donde el Ynga sacaba toda su riqueza" (Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú*, 13:49).

61. The only archaeological work that surveys the area is Wendell C. Bennett, *The North Highlands of Peru: Excavations in the Callejón de Huaylas and at Chavín de Huántar*, Anthropological Papers vol. 39:1 (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1944).

62. The attention of various historians has been caught by this area. For a recent example see Pease, *Curacas, reciprocidad y riqueza*, 118-21. The names "Ruringuaylas" and "Ananguaylas" are those which appear in the sources.

the conquest and during the first decades after it-- which corresponded to the broken shape of the land.⁶³

The Encomienda of Ruringuaylas and Paullu Inca

Añas Colque was a "mujer principal," i.e. she belonged to the regional élite of Ruringuaylas.⁶⁴ Her son Paullu, occasionally called Paulo or don Pablo, and Cristóbal after his baptism, was born from her union with the Inca Huayna Capac. Almagro named him Inca when Manco Inca fled to Vilcabamba in rebellion, and became a "puppet" ruler with an important role backing his gaolers.

In 1556 a revealing *Información* was held in Lima, as a result of Francisco de Ampuero's designs over the repartimiento of Ruringuaylas.⁶⁵ According to the statement made by don Antonio Poma, *curaca* of the repartimiento of Ananguaylas, Inca Huayna Capac

dio a la madre de don Pablo, su hijo, que era natural de la dicha provincia de Guaylas, otros seis mil indios en el repartimiento que agora tiene Aliaga, e licenciado Torres, e Barba e Hernando de Torres, menor, e que asimesmo oyó decir cómo las dichas mujeres de Guayna Cápac habían tenido e poseído los dichos repartimientos e indios que el dicho Inga les señaló, no sabe qué tiempo porque este testigo no lo vio, más de haber oído a sus padres.⁶⁶

63. This inference is based on my previous study of the two *guarangas* of Huaraz, published as Rafael Varón, *Curacas y encomenderos. Acomodamiento nativo en Huaraz, siglos XVI y XVII* (Lima: P.L. Villanueva, 1980).

64. Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, "Las mujeres secundarias de Huayna Capac: dos casos de señorialismo feudal en el imperio inca," *Revista del Museo Nacional* 42 (1976): 247-298, examines the case of Contarguacho and Añas Colque in their capacity as wives of the Inca, but much of what he asserts is not adequately backed, and is substantially different from what I present here.

65. Francisco de Ampuero y doña Ynés Yupanqui, su mujer, vecinos de la ciudad de Los Reyes, sobre la recompensa que pide se le haga del repartimiento de Guaylas, AGI, Justicia 1088, n. 4, r. 1. Document published by Espinoza, "Mujeres secundarias de Huayna Capac," 272-95.

66. Ampuero y doña Ynés sobre recompensa, f. 22. See also Temple, "La descendencia de Huayna Capac," for an appraisal of what the chronicles state. On the other hand Armas, *Cristianización del Perú*, 264, contends that Paullu Inca's conversion made the foundation of one of the first

As for her link with Huayna Capac and the grant given her over the resources of one of the province's moieties, the status of Paullu's mother seems to have been similar to that of Contarguacho, doña Inés' mother (detailedly recounted below), but unfortunately there is not enough information on this point.

Francisco Pizarro jointly granted the encomienda of Ruringuaylas to Sebastián de Torres and Gerónimo de Aliaga, as can be read in a cédula dated in Jauja, on 11 August 1534. Invaluable and unique data on this area may be gleaned from an *Información* held in 1557 among the *curacas*, as part of a lawsuit between the *encomenderos* who succeeded Torres and Aliaga.⁶⁷ Both had been "compañeros" in various different companies even before the conquest of Peru.⁶⁸ On 23 May 1544 Aliaga declared in Lima that

este testigo conoció al dicho Sebastián de Torres y fue amygo e compañero suyo en los yndios que tuvieron encomendados en nonbre de Su Magestad....⁶⁹

However, the encomendero partners must have divided their tributaries following the Indian *guaranga* demarcations at a moment not yet established, but which must have been at the time of receiving the grant or shortly afterwards.⁷⁰

Perhaps Torres toyed with the idea of leaving Peru for a while, for in 1536 the Queen gave him permission to retain

monasteries ever in Peru possible, in the town of Santo Domingo de Yungay, in Huaylas.

67. AGI, Justicia 405-A, n. 1, r. 2 (the document is outside the binding), ff. 186-98. The cédula is on f. 64v. It has been included in Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 363.

68. Their biographies in Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 243-46, 258-63.

69. AGI, Justicia 405-A, n. 1, r. 2, f. 71r.

70. A witness declared having "oido decir a algunos indios que destos indios de Pariona se servió dos años Gerónimo de Aliaga, primero quel dicho Sebastián de Torres..." (AGI, Justicia 405-A, n. 1, r. 2, f. 176). After the division, Torres' encomienda belonged to the three *guarangas* of Huaraz, in Ruringuaylas. It has been studied by Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, "Huaraz. Poder, sociedad y economía en los siglos XV y XVI. Reflexiones en torno a las visitas de 1558, 1594 y 1712" (Lima: Seminario de Historia Rural Andina de la Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, 1978 [mimeo]), and my *Curacas y encomenderos*.

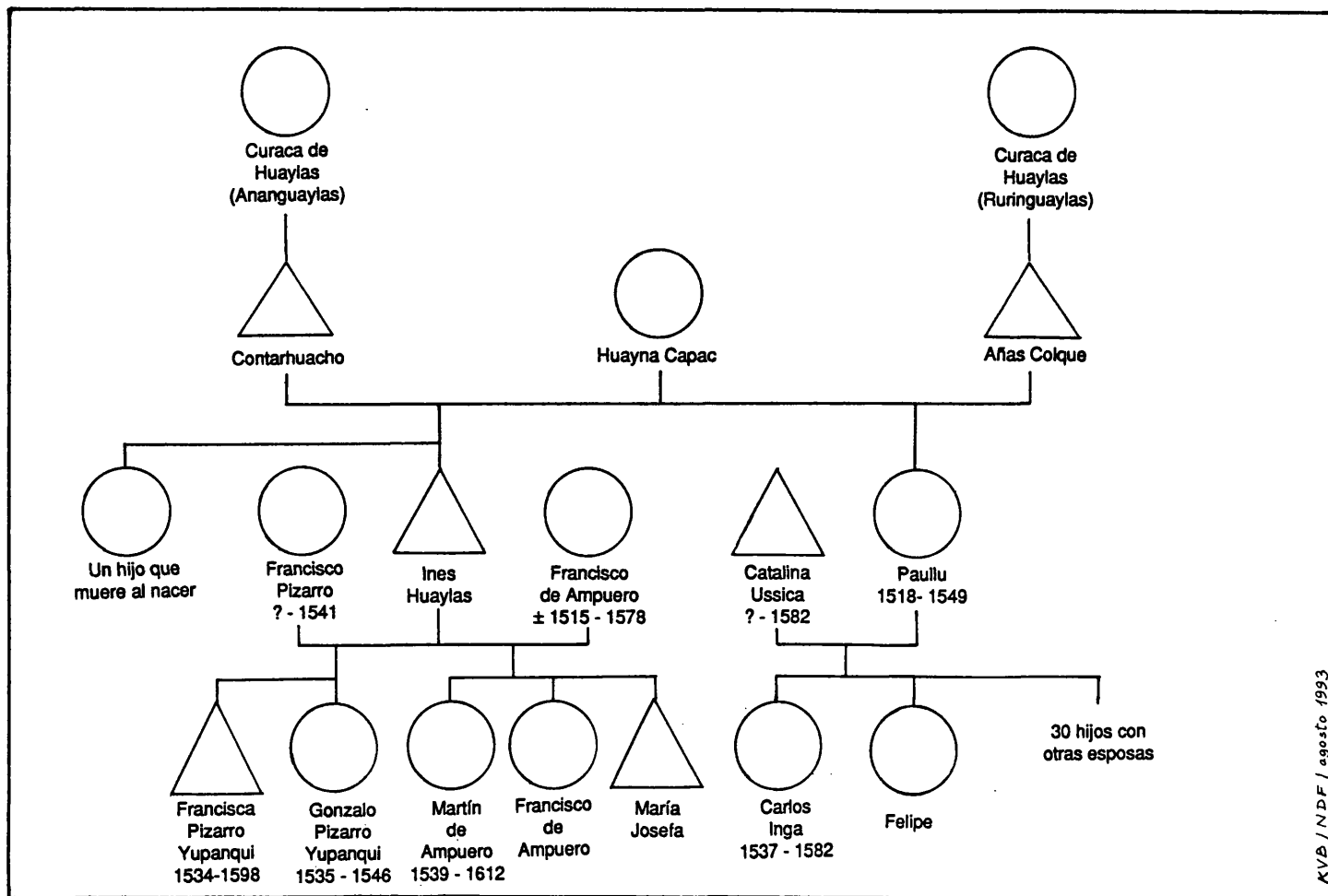


ILLUSTRATION 4. GENEALOGICAL CONNECTIONS OF HUAYLAS WITH THE INCA AND THE CONQUISTADORES.

his encomienda during his voyage to Spain, where he would go to "casarse y recoger a su mujer" to take her to Peru.⁷¹ In 1536 he requested a royal confirmation of the Indians Pizarro had given him in repartimiento, and a coat of arms too.⁷² In the accompanying *Información*, endorsed in Lima by Francisco Pizarro, he declared having arrived in Benalcázar's expedition to help Pizarro from Nicaragua. He had been present when the Inca was captured in Cajamarca, and was then in the detachment which remained in Jauja and was attacked by Quizquiz. Torres asserted that doña Francisca Ximénez, his wife, had been the first woman "honrada y casada" to reach Xauxa; he kept a house at Los Reyes with her and their children at the time he made his statement.⁷³ Late in the year, the Queen signed another cédula urging Pizarro to favour some conquistadores, including Torres.⁷⁴

One *curaca* stated having been in Jauja when the encomienda was granted, and was one of those Pizarro "así repartió," whilst the rest were all acquainted with the circumstances thanks to accounts given by close relatives or acquaintances, and seemed to have exceedingly good memories vis-a-vis the points in question. In theory, a *guaranga* should have 1,000 male tributaries, but a statement made by a witness shows that in practice, figures were much smaller "en tiempos del ynga."⁷⁵ The *curacas* given in encomiendas, their *guarangas*, tributaries, and other data are shown on table 1.

71. R.C. de Valladolid, 20 de julio de 1536, in Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 2:196.

72. Pedido de confirmación de encomienda e Información de servicios de Sebastián de Torres, Lima, 24 de mayo de 1537, AGI, Lima 118. These grants were made if the recommendation written on the margin of the original document was indeed followed.

73. Ibid. It is by no means clear if this woman is the same one Torres collected from Spain using the above-mentioned cédula.

74. R.C. de Valladolid, 30 de diciembre de 1537, in Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 2:391.

75. This corrects Espinoza's interpretation, "Huaraz. Poder, sociedad y economía," 20, who assumed the theoretical figure of 1,000 was the actual one.

TABLE 1

REPARTIMIENTOS AND GUARANGAS OF RURINGUAYLAS,
YEAR 1534

| NAME OF CURACA | No. OF TRIBUTARIOS | REPARTIMIENTO ¹ | GUARANGA |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|--------------|
| Pariona (Marca) (Paribina) | 950 | [Guaraz] ² | Collanas |
| Vyscacochoche (Vilcacochoche) | 750 | Guaraz | Ychugaraz |
| Vynacollas (Guayna Collas) | 750 | Guaraz | Allaoguaraz |
| Pocollas | ? | Chuquiracoay (Pomas) | Ychopomas |
| Marcaoma | ? | Chuquiracoay (Pomas) | Allaocapomas |
| Carualimanga | ? | Chuquiracoay (Ychochontas) | Chuquiracoay |

Source: AGI, Justicia 405-A, n. 1, r. 2, ff. 186-98.

1. The sources name each repartimiento a "provincia" as when they refer to Huaylas entirely.

2. "La Collana que se dice Marca" falls within the jurisdiction of the repartimiento of Guaraz, but the Indian witnesses treat it in a particular way for unknown reasons.

A point frequently made is that at the time the Spaniards still were not fully acquainted with the area concerned, nor its available resources. This point of view is supported by the statements made by the caciques, who insistently said some Spaniards mistakenly referred to the cacique Pariona as Paribina, and even as Oychuana, which was the place he lived in and not his name.⁷⁶ However, I believe it important to stress that thanks to the early statements made by the *curacas*, in this case the settlers did identify --if in outline-- the economic units they wanted to distribute. So it was, for instance, with the statements made in Jauja by the Huaylino *curacas*.

The encomendero Sebastián de Torres was renowned for his cruelty against the Indians, as when he "aperreó" one of his *curacas* who died as a result.⁷⁷ The Indians answered in like style and murdered the encomendero. The account given in 1557 by a deponent shows he was still remembered:

por mandado del dicho Sebastián de Torres hazían malos tratamientos a los dichos indios y los azotaban e breaban y aorcaban un negro y los yanaconas del dicho Sebastián de Torres... por que no le davan muncha plata por que en aquella sazón no estava tasado lo que avían de dar los dichos yndios... y por estos malos tratamientos que les hazía le mataron los dichos indios al dicho Sebastián de Torres.⁷⁸

It should be noted that as servants of the Spaniards, both Black slaves and *yanaconas* opposed the community Indians, just like mestizos sometimes did. As for the attempt on the encomendero's life, Pariona was held responsible because he was punished with death.⁷⁹ The Indian response had become an uprising in Huaraz, Huaylas, and the neighbouring "province" of Conchucos. Pizarro sent an expedition in reprisal under Captain Francisco de Chávez, "a hazer la conquista e

76. AGI, Justicia 405-A, n. 1, r. 2, f. 193v.

77. Ibid., f. 177.

78. Ibid., f. 176. The deponent belonged to the local elite, for he said the curaca Pariona was a "tío hermano de su padre."

79. Ibid., f. 185v.

pacificación de las provincias... do los naturales estaban alçados...." Captain Diego de Rojas, who was one of its members, said he spent in it "siete meses, hasta que los naturales quedaron pacíficos...."⁸⁰ Reprisals were fierce and did set an example, with news of it reaching beyond the frontiers of Pizarro's Gobernación. So it was that Friar Tomás de San Martín, informer and fellow Dominican of Bartolomé de las Casas, recalled the event fifteen years later, in a letter he sent from Peru to the Council of the Indies.⁸¹

An examination of the conduct followed by Paullu, the colonial Inca, should be interesting. As we already saw, he was a son of Huayna Cápac and Añas Colque, and so Manco Inca's half-brother, whom he backed at first, and temporarily represented when the Inca left Cuzco to go with Francisco Pizarro and then Hernando de Soto in the journeys they made in 1534.⁸² On his return to Cuzco, Manco sent Paullu and Villac Umu in command of the Inca troops which took part in the *entrada* to Chile organized by Almagro, and which left Cuzco in July 1535. The simple fact of placing Paullu on the same level as Villac Umu suggested that the offspring of the Huaylas nobility had reached the top echelons of Incan hierarchies. This seems to have been the rule prior to the

80. Probanza del capitán Diego de Roxas, copia del 5 de febrero de 1563, AGI, Lima 327. The expedition is mentioned in various *informaciones* made by its Hispanic participants. See e.g. that of Diego de la Canal, AGI, Justicia 1054, n. 3, r. 1, pza. 2.

81. The letter, received in 1550, tried to have Francisco de Chávez's Indians given to the Crown "en memoria de castigo," the tribute used to build schools in the area the massacre took place, and different deeds done in favour of Indians and mestizos (AGI, Lima 118). In reply, Charles V ordered the construction of schools to teach the Christian doctrine, and the maintenance of 100 children in the area affected with the legacy of the deceased Chávez. The R.C. is published in Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, "El curacazgo de Conchucos y la visita de 1543," *Boletín del Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos* 3 (1974): 13.

82. Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, 174. See Paullu Inca's biography in Temple, "Testamentos inéditos."

conquest. On the Inca's offspring with other women besides the Coya, Cieza says that

[A] los hijos que los señores avían en estas mugeres, después que eran hombres mandávanles prove[e]r de campos y heredades, que ellos llaman "chácaras", y que de los depósitos ordinarios les diesen ropas y otras cosas para su proveymiento, porque no querían dar señorío a estos tales, porque en aviendo alguna turbación en el reyno no quisiesen yntentar de quedarse con él con la presunçión de ser hijo del rey.

Y así ninguno tuvo mando sobre provincia, aunque, quando salían a las guerras y conquistas, muchos dellos eran capitanes y preferidos a los que yvan en los reales; y el señor natural que heredava el reyno los faborescía, puesto que si ordían algúnd levantamiento eran castigados cruelísimamente; y ninguno dellos hablava con el rey, aunque más su hermano fuese, que primero no pusiese en su servir carga liviana y fuese descalço como todos los demás del reyno a le hablar.⁸³

On the other hand, and despite constant suspicions, nobody ever managed to prove Paullu had indeed betrayed the Spaniards.

In July 1537, with Cuzco in his possession, Almagro staged a ceremony wherein the fugitive Inca Manco was deprived of the imperial crown, giving it instead to Paullu. For Cuzqueñans, the political participation of a son of the Inca who came not from the main marriage, i.e. with the *Colla*, was simply out of the question; Cieza's description quoted above suggests this situation had been feared by the empire's rulers. Paullu, the new Inca, immediately secured the natives' allegiance, particularly from those who favoured the Almagristas, and supported Almagro against the Pizarros, providing him with soldiers and information on the movements of his enemy. In the Battle of Las Salinas, lost by Almagro against the Pizarros, Paullu sided with his old ally and sent 6000 men to help him. However, shortly after the defeat and execution of Almagro, Paullu had no qualms about siding with the Pizarristas. By this time his conviction that the Spaniards were in Peru to stay made him quarrel with Manco,

83. Pedro de Cieza de León, *Crónica del Peru. Segunda parte*, ed. Francesca Cantù (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú and Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1985), 26.

because he knew his best possible option lay with the invaders.⁸⁴

Almagro gave Paullu the palace of Colcampata in Cuzco, previously owned by Huascar, and Pizarro gave him the repartimiento of Hatun Cana, with an annual income of 12,000 pesos. Paullu also claimed the right to some Indian *mitayos* in Alca, near Arequipa, who were his own personal possession, as well as some lands in the Peninsula of Copacabana and others in the valley of Jaquijaguana. In 1543 he accepted baptism, taking the Christian name of Cristóbal as a sign of his sympathy towards Governor Vaca de Castro. He was followed by many Indians who had hitherto refused to be converted, of which the most important on account of their family relationships were his wife, Mama Tocto Ussica, who became doña Catalina; his mother Añas Colque, who became doña Juana, and his sister doña Beatriz Huaylas.⁸⁵

On his death, his body was given both the Indian and the Christian rites. The chronicler Bernabé Cobo says that

Aunque Paullu-Inca murió cristiano y como tal fue enterrado en la iglesia, con todo eso, los indios le hicieron una estatua pequeña y le pusieron algunas uñas y cabellos que secretamente le quitaron; la cual estatua se halló tan venerada como cualquiera de los otros cuerpos de los reyes Incas.⁸⁶

Even after death, Paullu also fulfilled his role as a mediator between the now subdued Inca political power, and the colonial one which strived to impose itself. According to the passage just quoted, he was recognized as a successor of the Inca kings despite his maternal provincial origins, and his irregular accession.

84. Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, 234, and Mendiburu, *Diccionario histórico-biográfico*, 8:354-56.

85. Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, 256-79.

86. Quoted by B. Ellefsen, "Las concubinas de los Sapa Incas difuntos," *Boletín del Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos* 11 (1982): 12.

The Encomienda of Ananguaylas and Doña Inés⁸⁷

Doña Inés --called Quispezira, Quispezisa or Mama Quispe before the conquest-- was the daughter of Inca Huayna Capac and Contarguacho, a noble woman from Tocas, in Ananguaylas. Raul Porras estimated she was probably 18 when, according to the testimony of the *veedor* Salcedo, Atahualpa himself gave her to Pizarro saying: "Cata ay mi hermana, hija de mi padre, que la quiero mucho."⁸⁸

Despite being mentioned in many documents and chronicles as Francisco Pizarro's "woman," with whom he had his two eldest children, what we know of doña Inés Yupanqui --also called doña Inés Huaylas Ñusta-- is not much.⁸⁹ On the one hand, the chronicles are scarce in detail; on the other, the administrative and judicial sources available cannot be compared with each other due to the fact that they all sought to further the interests of doña Inés or of Francisco de Ampuero --to whom Pizarro married her off after ending his liaison-- and are thus extremely biased. The main sources are: first, the *peticiones de mercedes* and the *Informaciones* made in 1538, 1556, 1559, and 1572;⁹⁰ secondly, a royal cédula of 1552 giving permission to make an *Información* on doña Francisca's encomienda in Huaylas;⁹¹ finally, the testament of Francisco de Ampuero.⁹² To these one may add the

87. The encomienda of Ananguaylas --i.e. the one which first belonged to doña Francisca, and then to Vasco de Guevara-- was frequently known as *Atunguaylas*, or simply *Guaylas*, and this has caused some confusion.

88. Porras, *Pizarro*, 37. See also Temple, "La descendencia de Huayna Cápac" (1937). Both Temple, "La descendencia de Huayna Cápac" (1937): 299, and Cúneo, "Hijos americanos de los Pizarros," 80, assert Añas Colque was the daughter of Huacachillac, the curaca of Huaylas.

89. For Francisco's liaison with doña Inés, and particularly on doña Francisca Pizarro, her eldest daughter, see Rostworowski, *Doña Francisca Pizarro*.

90. AGI, Lima 204; Lima 205; Justicia 1088, n. 4, r. 1. Strangely enough, these are yet to be published.

91. AGI, Justicia 1088, n.4, r. 1, f. 9.

92. Published by Domingo Angulo, "El capitán Francisco de Ampuero, conquistador del Perú y vecino de la ciudad de Los Reyes," *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú* 7 (1929): 55-68.

power of attorney given by doña Inés to Juan de Samano on 13 March 1537, to obtain for her permission to make her *Información de méritos*.⁹³ These same sources yield data on the mother of doña Inés both before and after the Spanish conquest. However, as we shall see, some newly found sources allow us to increase our data and compare it with accounts coming from parties other than those of doña Inés and Ampuero.

In 1536 the *curaca* of the repartimiento of Ananguaylas, 35-year old don Antonio Poma, given in encomienda to Vasco de Guevara, declared through an interpreter that he had not known Huayna Capac but had met Contarguacho, "porque era su tía, hermana de Pornapacha, su padre deste testigo." He had heard her say she first had a male child with Huayna Capac, who died, and then doña Inés.⁹⁴

As for the "propiedad" she presumably had over the province of Huaylas, the same *curaca* said he had heard his parents say that Huayna Capac had

dado e repartido... y señalado en el dicho repartimiento de Guaylas seis guarangas que eran seis mil indios que son el repartimiento que era de doña Francisca Pizarro...⁹⁵

Don Diego Cinchi, cacique *principal* in the repartimiento of Huaraz (Guarás in the documents), in Ruringuaylas, and *encomendado* to Ruy Barba,⁹⁶ made an invaluable statement because of the new evidence it yields. After declaring that

93. AGN, Protocolo 18, Pedro de Castañeda, f. 15.

94. Martín de Ampuero y doña Ynés, sobre recompensa, f. 21.

95. Ibid., f. 22. Porras, *Pizarro*, 42, also says "los indios de Huaylas... habían sido vasallos de Contarguacho..." Espinoza Soriano, "Mujeres secundarias de Huayna Cápac," uses this as an unfounded argument to propose a pre-Columbian feudalism.

96. On the death of Sebastián de Torres, first encomendero of Huaraz, Ruy Barba Cabeza de Vaca married the widow and took over part of the encomienda, whilst the rest remained in the hands of Cristóbal de Torres, Sebastián's nephew. Years later part of the encomienda was recovered by Hernando de Torres, the son of Sebastián. See Varón, *Curacas y encomenderos*, 48-50.

his father, Cinchi Cauqui, had been the *cacique principal* of that same repartimiento of Huaraz, he added:

oyó decir a los dichos sus antepasados cómo el ganado de ovejas de la tierra que en el dicho repartimiento de Guaylas había del dicho Guayna Cápa, e a él le daban, así del dicho ganado como coca, ají, maíz y otras cosas que el dicho Inga tenía señalado para sí, mandó a los dichos caciques principales e indios de la dicha provincia que todo aquello, y aun lo que fuese suyo dello, se lo diesen e acudiesen con ello a la dicha Contarguacho su mujer..., *pero que en cuanto si le dio la dicha provincia e repartimiento de Guaylas por suya o no, que no lo sabe ni tal ha oído decir....*⁹⁷

It would thus turn out, according to this version, that Contarguacho only received from the Inca the produce of herds and lands in the district of Ananguaylas belonging to Huayna Capac, and not all the produce or tribute, and certainly not the lordship of the province.

Pedro de Alconchel, one of the witnesses, told how he had been in Huaylas, and had become interested in finding out some details. The conquistador declared that

al tiempo que este testigo llegó a la dicha provincia de Guaylas, viniendo della para Xauxa, estuvo este testigo en el pueblo de Hatun Guaylas, e oyó dezir como la dicha provincia era de la madre de la dicha doña Ynés, y este testigo preguntó que cómo era suya la dicha provincia siendo muger, y los dichos indios respondieron a este testigo que porque abía sido muger de Guaynacapa e avía tenido en ella a la dicha doña Ynés por su hija....⁹⁸

Not satisfied at all, Alconchel asked his informants

que cómo tenía la dicha madre de la dicha doña Ynés tanta gente, y le respondieron que el dicho Guaynacapa se lo avía dado todo e más que no parecían, que eran trecientas mugeres e muchos yanaconas para su servicio....⁹⁹

Don Pedro Sulca Collas, another witness, *curaca* of the repartimiento of Allaucagaraz, in Ruringuaylas, reported that his father "se llamaba Guaranca, que solía ser criado del dicho Guayna Cava, e como tal andava siempre con él acompañando en la guerra y en lo que le mandavan...." On the

97. AGI, Justicia 1088, n. 4, r. 1, ff. 23-24v.

98. Francisco de Ampuero y doña Ynés, sobre recompensa, f. 17.

99. Ibid., f. 17v.

death of Huayna Capac, Contarguacho left Cuzco and returned to Huaylas with doña Inés, and it was then that the witness met her, when he was a small boy. He added that Contarguacho had been born in the town of Tocas, in the province of Huaylas, and didactically concluded saying that "su padre della era cacique principal de la dicha provincia, e que por tal hija de tal cacique el dicho Guayna Cava la tomó por mujer...."¹⁰⁰ Here one clearly sees the political intention behind the alliance made with the Inca by the lord of Huaylas, transformed when used within the European judiciary system as a justification for merits. Thus it was that according to the petition made by the mestizo Martín de Ampuero, his grandmother Contarguacho had the repartimiento "como vienes dotales... del tiempo de su infidelidad" because Inca Huayna Capac had been "casado a su modo" with her. To the sources traditionally mentioned may be added one, wherein all of the previous ones are summarized. (See appendix 2.)¹⁰¹

Pizarro gave the repartimiento of Ananguaylas in encomienda to his daughter doña Francisca, who, in the words of the already mentioned Antonio Poma,

como tal repartimiento lo tovo e poseyó con las seis guarangas enteras, como e de la manera que este testigo oyó decir a sus padres que lo había tenido la dicha Contarguacho.¹⁰²

Don Pedro Sulca Collas, whom we have also met already, said he had heard the following from don Cristóbal Carica, *curaca principal* of the repartimiento of Ananguaylas:

Agora somos todos de su hija de doña Ynés Yupangue, doña Francisca, e hija del dicho marqués, que es apo que quiere decir "señor desta tierra" e a ella le habemos de obedecer e acudir con los tributos....¹⁰³

Despite the new data found on the characteristics of the grant made to Contarguacho in Huaylas, the evidence available unfortunately does not allow one to reach the structural

100. Ibid., ff. 25-26v.

101. That document is, Consulta al Rey, AGI, Lima 1, n. 146.

102. Francisco de Ampuero y doña Ynés, sobre recompensa, f. 22v.

103. Ibid., ff. 26v-27.

innards of Ananguaylas, as has already been done with Ruringuaylas.

The nature of the political liaison between Pizarro and Contarguacho is hard to determine. Waldemar Espinoza believes these alliances permitted "suavizar el descontento de la nobleza del reino de Huaylla frente a los cusqueños a quienes veían como a invasores e imperialistas...." Franklin Pease contends that "el matrimonio del Inka con hijas o hermanas de los curacas era justamente un canal para establecer relaciones de reciprocidad entre aquel y los señores étnicos." He also raises the question, rightly enough, of why, if the Huaylas were Cuzco's enemies, Contarguacho's privileged status survived its fall (since they should also have been enemies of this woman, a representative of the imperial power in their midst.)¹⁰⁴ Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that the Huaylas, like many other Indian peoples, were active players in their dealings with the conquistadores, and were in no way simply passive onlookers. We should therefore not be surprised to find that Contarguacho's closeness to Pizarro --when housing the Spaniards in Huaylas, or through her daughter-- had a political intention in predicting the forthcoming turmoil.

Long ago, José Antonio del Busto raised two questions which are yet to be answered: the date of the siege of Lima, and the reasons behind the Indian withdrawal.¹⁰⁵ If we limit our research to the data in the sources mentioned above, it was Contarguacho who told Pizarro of Manco Inca's uprising in 1536. Furthermore, they contend that the siege of Lima made by the imperial troops was lifted because of the 10,000 Indians Contarguacho sent from Huaylas.¹⁰⁶ Here I do not have new sources to increase known data, but one has to bear in mind that both the nature and finality of the sources mentioned are similar to statements made by other Indian

104. Espinoza Soriano, "Mujeres secundarias de Huayna Cápac," 249; Pease, *Curacas, reciprocidad y riqueza*, 116-18.

105. Busto, *La conquista del Perú*, 249-51.

106. AGI, Lima 1, n. 146.

peoples. Many of the documents were made by the parties interested themselves, just like this case, where they presented themselves as the sole protagonists of an event which in truth had many. On the other hand, an old and contemporary reason for the Indian retreat from Lima, which says it was due to the death of Quiso, the General in command of the Inca host, is somewhat striking.¹⁰⁷ A supplementary reason says the flat land in the capital city favoured the movements of the Spanish cavalry, placing the Indians at a disadvantage,¹⁰⁸ and that they were fighting outside their own land, at the mercy of the despised coastal peoples and many other enemy groups. Finally, it certainly is strange that despite having besieged the city, no battle of importance was fought.¹⁰⁹ In the end, there can be no doubt the Indians of Huaylas --particularly those of Ananguaylas-- backed the Spaniards against the Inca armies in 1536, however not on their own but together with the Cañaris, Huancas, and many others, preventing the siege of Lima from lasting more than eight days, and helping to secure Spanish control of Peru.

The end of the siege of the capital city and the Indian uprising coincided with the break between Pizarro and doña Inés. The chronicler Pedro Pizarro states that Azarpay, a noble Indian woman who fled after Pizarro tried to marry her off to the accountant Navarro, was captured during the early days of the uprising, and was sent to Pizarro's house in Lima. Doña Inés was envious of this woman, "que era más principal que ella," and told Pizarro he would have to kill

107. One example of this belief appears in the statement made by Sebastián Suyo, a native of Santo Domingo de Pilos, Yauyos, present in the siege of Lima. At the age of seventy and long after the events, he said Quiso Yupangui died "con una lanzada que le dieron al pasar de un río..." and that was the reason why the besiegers returned to their lands (AGI, Escribanía 496-B, f. 1072).

108. Molina, *El Almagrista, Conquista y población del Pirú*, 88.

109. I concur with María Rostworowski, *Doña Francisca Pizarro*, 25, that the death of general Quiso is an unsatisfactory reason for the Inca retreat.

her if he wanted to end the siege of the city. Pizarro had Azarpay strangled at once.¹¹⁰ It was probably this what moved Pizarro to rid himself of doña Inés, who was married off to Francisco de Ampuero, the Governor's *criado*. According to one witness, Ampuero married doña Inés "mucho después" the birth of don Gonzalo Pizarro, the child the Governor had right after doña Francisca. Pizarro "le dio en casamiento [un] repartimiento de indios."¹¹¹ It was usual to give the woman one refused to marry with to an inferior follower, and whenever possible it went hand in hand with a present.¹¹²

The relevance of the data presented for the earliest stage of the Spanish presence in the Andes goes far beyond the borders of the province of Huaylas, and raises new questions on Inca designs for the peoples they conquered. Both Añas Colque, Paullu's mother, and Contarguacho, mother of doña Inés, had special privileges in their homelands. As daughters of important regional *curacas*, Cuzco used them as a tool to ally themselves with the Huaylinos. However, from the point of view of the Huaylas, these daughters of *curacas* increased local privileges due to their matrimonial link established with Huayna Capac. It is highly possible that to retain their privileged status, or simply to survive the fall of Tahuantinsuyu, their alliance with the dominant power, now Hispanic, had to be renewed during the conquest.

The Inca had commanded that the produce of his herds and lands in Huaylas be handed to Contarguacho, his wife. To wait on her she also had 300 women and many *yanaconas*. It might be possible that instead of a local *curaca* or a Cuzqueñan *orejón*, or together with them, Inca administration --either through the Inca himself, his *panaca*, or some other

110. Pedro Pizarro, *Relación del Perú*, 200-1. According to Temple, "La descendencia de Huayna Cápac," (1937): 152, this event is also reported by Montesinos.

111. Declaración de Fernando Durán, AGI, Justicia 1054, n. 3, r. 1, 2a pza., f. [120]. It was the repartimiento of Chaclla.

112. Many Spaniards did this with their Indian women, once they achieved a position strong enough to marry a Spanish lady.

institution-- used this woman as the head of the sovereign's representation in the area. Archaeological fieldwork may clear this up by excavating in Tocas, perhaps the place where Contarguacho lived, or in Atunhuaylas, to seek the existence of Inca patterns similar to those in Inca administrative centres like Huánucopampa or Vilcashuamán. The example of Huaylas is by no means unique, and others are sure to appear. In a visita made to Canta in 1553, for instance, we find "una yndia, muger que fue de Guayna Capac, que se llama doña Inés Gualca Suyo."¹¹³

The testimony given by a *curaca* is particularly interesting, for he says he was present when Pizarro distributed the encomiendas in Jauja, and was himself "repartido" to his European encomendero. This and other statements make me believe the Spaniards had more information than is usually thought, and did manage to draw a picture of the great economic units they were distributing, even without having ever been there. This seems to have been the case with Huaylas. Pizarro saved Ananguaylas for himself, whilst Ruringuaylas was jointly given to Sebastián de Torres and Jerónimo de Aliaga. The former soon had a reputation of being a violent person. He often mistreated his *curacas*, had them hounded and tarred, leaving this to his slaves and *yanacunas*. He once killed the *curaca principal* of his encomienda, moving his Indians to vengeance and "le tomaran la vida." The general uprising which followed suit in the province of Huaylas and nearby Conchucos were ruthlessly repressed by Francisco de Chávez, who under Pizarro's orders led a bloodthirsty and exemplary expedition.

Two well-known personages of the conquest were natives of Huaylas: Paullu, from Rurinhaylas, and doña Inés, from Ananhuaylas. Despite not being wholly Cuzqueñan, Paullu was quite close to Manco Inca as one of Huayna Capac's sons, and replaced him in the Spanish milieu once he fled to Vilcabamba to lead the struggle against the invader. It should be

113. Rostworowski, *Señoríos indígenas de Lima y Canta*, 236.

pointed out that Paullu could have explained the alliance with the Inca conquistadores by his own birth, and mayhap it was on no account strange to do the same with the European conquistador. What we know of doña Inés comes from a few documents presented by her or her husband, and therefore unconditionally favour her virtues. I believe some events, such as the 1536 siege of Lima, are treated in exaggerated fashion to favour her, her relations, and the people of Huaylas. When we trace the sources produced by other ethnic groups in relation to the same episode, it becomes clear that Indian support for the Spaniards was widespread, and that if the Huaylas participated in the defence of the capital city, so did other peoples.

Finally, the study of regional units does raise questions over some aspects of the political, social, or economic organization at state level, and on the way the imperial centre managed its relations with the ethnic groups. We will thus gradually understand Inca organization, and also the ethnic groups' initiatives in their early contacts with the Spanish invaders.

E. LIMA, DON GONZALO, AND THE INDIAN HOSTS OF THE CAPITAL CITY

Para ser yndio, es buen yndio.

Bernaldo Ruiz, vecino of Lima, on don Gonzalo

The attitude exhibited by the lords of Lima during the wars of conquest, and their relations with the Hispanic rulers, may be in great measure understood thanks to the documents published by María Rostworowski. They are two *Probanzas* made by don Gonzalo, *curaca* of Lima, on the services he rendered to the Crown.¹¹⁴ I will examine these *Probanzas* as a way to understand the relationship developed between Pizarro and the

114. María Rostworowski de Diez de Canseco, "Dos probanzas de don Gonzalo, curaca de Lima (1555-1559)," *Revista Histórica* 33 (1981-82): 105-73.

people of Lima, from the time of the conquest into the later, colonial society.

Don Gonzalo was the son of the *curaca* Taulichusco, the one who negotiated with Pizarro at the time the capital city was founded.¹¹⁵ The following are the witnesses present in the first *Probanza*: Don Juan, *cacique principal* of the repartimiento of Surco, in the valley of Lima; don Pedro, a native of Tumbes, a "ladino" who had been Pizarro's interpreter; Enrique Hernández, who lived in Lima; Francisco de Ampuero; don Pedro Guancabilca, Pizarro's *criado*, who met Taulichusco in the time of Huayna Capac; Friar Gaspar de Carbajal, Vicar of the Order of St. Dominic, and well-known Pizarrista; doña Leonor, an Indian from Cuzco and wife of the above-mentioned Hernández, doña Inés Yupanqui, Ampuero's wife, and Juan de Grecia, somewhat irrelevant for our present purposes.

It is worth pointing out some interesting issues which follow from this *Probanza*. First of all, it is striking that except for three Europeans --a Greek, a humble Spaniard, and Ampuero-- all of the witnesses were Indian. Secondly, almost all of them, be they Indian or Spaniard, had belonged to Pizarro's circle, and by then had long been deprived of any power and influence. However, and despite the time gone by, it is clear they backed each other, and perhaps then formed an identifiable group within Limeñan society. Thirdly, and as María Rostworowski pointed out in her introduction to the source, it is said that both *curacas* of Lima were *yanaconas* of, respectively, Huayna Capac and Mama Vila, the Inca's wife:

el dicho Taulichusco hera yanacóna e criado de Mama Vila, muger de Guayna Capa, e otro primo hermano que tenía el dicho Taulichusco que se dezía Caxapaxa, que

115. Like all sources of its time and kind, these exaggerate the facts to extol virtues, thus enhancing the applicant's chances of obtaining a grant. Even so, they are often unique sources, which become invaluable if handled with due caution.

era principal también en este valle, era yanacona e criado del dicho Guayna capa....¹¹⁶

At present we cannot explain the significance of this pre-Columbian political connection, also present in some other Andean polities.¹¹⁷ However, there must have been a special and unusual relationship between the Inca and the small polity of Lima. Both in this and other similar cases, María Rostworowski proposes that in this fashion the Inca rewarded his servants, and likewise freed himself from having to recur to the cogwheels of reciprocity with the chief of the polity.¹¹⁸

The questions in the *Probanza* stressed that don Gonzalo and his Indians had helped the King's armies during the upheavals caused by don Diego de Almagro, Gonzalo Pizarro, and Francisco Hernández Girón --the dissatisfied encomendero who led an uprising in 1553-54. In compliance with the question, but from a different point of view, the witness Enrique Hernández explained that

como el dicho don Gonzalo e sus yndios tenyan e tyenen su asiento e tierras en la comarca e junto a esta cibdad... rescebían muchos daños, robos, fuerças e agravios de la dicha guerra....¹¹⁹

Inevitably enough, the testimony given by Hernández gives a closer picture of the violence of war, than the chivalrous support the Limeño chief was trying to present.

The second *Probanza*, of more formal complexity and less reliable testimonies, presented some of the previous witnesses and other new ones: Antón Sánchez, a resident, had collected the tribute in the repartimiento of Lima for the fleeting encomendero Alonso Palomino, in the time of Viceroy

116. Rostworowski, "Dos probanzas de don Gonzalo," 115.

117. Ibid., 109. Another similar instance in Espinoza, "Señoríos étnicos de Chachapoyas." For a study of the pre-Columbian yanacona based on the chronicles see Sócrates Villar Córdova, *La institución del yanacona en el incanato*, Nueva Corónica 1, fasc. 1 (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1966).

118. María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Historia del Tahuantinsuyu* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1988), 197.

119. Rostworowski, "Dos probanzas de don Gonzalo," 114.

Núñez Vela; Pedro de Alconchel, one of the first conquistadores and Pizarro's trumpet-player; Friar Gaspar de Carbajal; Marcos Pérez, vecino of Lima; Enrique Hernández, who identified himself this time as the city's town crier, adding he had been Pizarro's *criado*; Domingo de Destre, vecino of Lima; Francisco de Ampuero; Martín Pizarro, vecino and *regidor* of Lima; Pedro de Balboa, who lived in Lima; Gómez Caravantes Mazuelas, vecino and one of the founders of the city; the wife of Hernández, who this time gave her last name and other biographical data: it was doña Leonor Bilco Çiça, a *ladino* Indian who had earlier been married to treasurer Riquelme, with whom she "entró en Lima;" Friar Miguel de Orens, Vicar of the Order of Mercy; doña Inés Muñoz, Francisco Martín de Alcántara's widow and married to don Antonio de Ribera, one of Lima's vecinos; doña Inés Yupanqui; Bernaldo Ruiz, another vecino; don Hernando Llaguayla, "cacique principal de Pachacama;" Santiago Chimamaça, an Indian from the town of Anonos, in the province of Tomebamba, who had been Pizarro's *criado*; don Pedro Chalanán, cacique of Guala, in the vicinity of Lima, given in encomienda to Nicolás de Ribera *El Mozo*, and don Pedro Challamay, a native of the Island of la Puná, who had also been one of Pizarro's *criados*, with whom he "entró en esta ciudad [Lima]."

It can be seen that this time around more care was taken when choosing Spanish witnesses, particularly in their social status. However, it is once again clear that the *curaca* of Lima mainly based his connections on Pizarro's followers. Of the many testimonies given we should emphasize that of doña Inés Muñoz on Manco Inca's rebellion. Then, she declared, the Indians of Lima did not rebel, "y serbieron sienpre al marqués [Pizarro] en todo lo que les mandava que fue muy gran parte para que los españoles se pudiesen sustentar...."¹²⁰

As for the site where the city was founded and in what circumstances, all witnesses agreed that the lands had

120. Ibid., 158.

belonged to Taulichusco, and that "los indios estaban de paz," but some did point out that not all of the valley belonged to this *curaca*.¹²¹ Doña Inés Yupanqui introduced an important variant, undoubtedly with the naive intention of favouring don Gonzalo's claims. She had once heard Taulichusco say

que las tierras donde estava esta ciudad fundada heran suyas y que le tomavan sus tierras e decía al dicho marqués don Francisco Pizarro que *por qué le tomava sus tierras, que dónde abían de sembrar sus yndios, y el dicho marqués le respondía que no abía donde poblar la ciudad si no hera aquí, y que de fuerza se abían de tomar....*¹²²

Don Gonzalo had proceeded correctly, following the Spanish custom of presenting one's own merits to the Crown so as to receive in return *mercedes*, and this agrees with his undeniable understanding and assimilation of Spanish customs, which surfaced in, for instance, the way he dressed, rode a horse, and participated in Catholic rituals, as is constantly repeated in the sources. Doña Inés and other witnesses evince greater problems in internalizing the elements of Hispanic social protocol.

The main point here for the present study lies in trying to understand the connection established between Pizarro and his followers in Peru, the Indians in particular. We saw that the network of kin and fellow-countrymen connections between Pizarro and the members of his host were decisive for the success of the conquest of Peru. Now we find that it was still possible to identify a group formed largely by Indians, which exuded Pizarrismo long after the primacy of the Pizarros in Peru had ended. Besides the group who declared in favour of the *curaca* of Lima in both *Probanzas*, there undoubtedly existed personal commitments of many other *curacas* and Indians, who took the cause of the European invaders as their very own.

121. The testimonies given by Ampuero and don Hernando Llaguayla, *cacique principal* of Pachacama, in *ibid.*, 146ff, 163.

122. *Ibid.*, 161. My italics.

F. THE POWERFUL NATIONS OF CHARCAS

Another interesting relationship established quite early both by the Pizarros and Almagro was with the peoples of Charcas, an area the Spaniards cared much about, because of its rich herds and mineral resources in Pre-Columbian Peru.¹²³ In an *Información* made in Panama in 1534 to inquire about "los sucesos del Perú," reference was made to the founding of San Miguel de Piura and the flow of horses and men off to join the conquest expedition. Also mentioned was that the King's share of the gold gathered was in Xauxa. As for the "entradas," or conquest expeditions, Quito was mentioned, but it was also said that Almagro was in Collao, the gateway to Charcas, "donde estaban las minas."¹²⁴

In later years, the local Indian nobility prepared complex documents to prove the support given by them to the Spaniards during the conquest, and afterwards to the colonial régime then in the works. The data following comes from a long document which includes two *Probanzas* of services rendered to the Crown. Both were presented by don Juan Ayaviri Cuysara, "cacique principal del repartimiento de Sacaca y pueblo de San Cristóbal de Panacache y su provincia, alcalde mayor de los naturales de la provincia de los Charcas y capitán de las tres naciones della,"¹²⁵ whose desire it was to receive a long list of privileges, of which the most important ones were, the concession of an encomienda of Indians, the ratification of his titles of *cacique principal* and *alcalde mayor*, the permission to use a coat of arms and bear a sword and dagger, the concession of the Habit of

123. For a general history of the region, see Josep Ma. Barnadas, *Charcas. Orígenes históricos de una sociedad colonial, 1535-1565* (La Paz: Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campesinado, 1973).

124. *Información al navío la Concepción*, de FP, sobre los sucesos del Perú, Panamá, 7 de abril de 1534, AGI, Patronato 185, r. 7.

125. Here they mention three nations of Charcas, but four are more frequently mentioned, as will be seen below.

Santiago, and, last of all, the management of the "bienes de comunidad" of the *partido* of Chayanta.¹²⁶

The first *Probanza*, chronologically late and of less relevance here, was made in 1592. It deals with the applicant's merits, and retells the deeds of don Fernando Ayavire Cuysara de Belasco, his father and *cacique principal* "de toda esta provincia y capitán del Inga;" of don Alonso Ayavire, his grandfather, and of Cuysara, his great-grandfather.¹²⁷ The second *Probanza*, made in 1583, is more important for it refers to the first moments of the conquest from an Indian point of view. A list of the merits of don Fernando Ayavire y Velasco is therein made, going back to the times of Alonso Ayavire, his father; Cuysara, his grandfather; Cohocoho, his great-grandfather, and Copacatiaraca, his great-great-grandfather. From the questions made and the answers received it follows that Copacatiaraca was the one who "dio obediencia al Inca," in the time of Inca Yupangui. He had a son, Cooho, who "le sucedió en el estado en tiempo del Inca Topa Ynga Yupangui y de Guayna Capa, su hijo."¹²⁸

Cuysara and the lord of Paria were the Inca's two main Generals in this province. According to the questions made to don Juan Ayaviri, when the Incas conquered their land they left them "en su señorío e gobierno como antes lo estaban, y mediante esto atrajo su voluntad sin guerra y los tuvo por amigos."¹²⁹ Baltasar Condori, an Indian witness from Huancané, said that Cuysara was

126. For this study I used the original source, which is in AGI, Charcas 45, and a transcription of the whole text made by Margarita Suárez. This transcription will soon be published in Tristan Platt, Therese Bouysse, Olivia Harris, and Thierry Saignes, eds., *Qaraqara-Charka* (La Paz: Hisbol, forthcoming).

127. First *probanza*, 1592, AGI, Charcas 45. Cuysara occasionally appears as *Cumsara*. Variations in the spelling of the names corresponds to variations in the original document.

128. Second *probanza*, 1583, AGI, Charcas 45, ff. 32-33.

129. *Ibid.*, f. 14.

respetado por los indios de las naciones de los Charcas, e Cochabamba y otras partes, y hera uno de los mayores señores que avía en esta provincia....¹³⁰

Thanks to his rank, Cuysara was the only lord in that province who went out on a *lanpa*, "ques a manera de una silla o asiento, traiéndole e sirviéndole muchos indios," besides of course "un ynga questava puesto por governador, a guarda de las fortalezas desta provincia como señor tan grande e criado del ynga, principal señor deste reino e un Hausita."¹³¹

One of the witnesses, Domingo Titacallo, a native of Paria who looked as if he were "de más de 80 años de edad," declared that Cuysara had gone to the conquest of the "chiriguanaes"

con Guayna Capa Ynga, que fue el que conquistó esta provincia [de los Charcas], lo qual este testigo vio porque en aquella sazón guardaba el ganado del ynga, y demás desto supo y entendió este testigo que en la dicha conquista el dicho Cuysara tenía mucha amistad con el Ynga, y en las partes donde hazían alto lo fortalezía el dicho Cuysara y hazía los fuertes....¹³²

The Incas did not conquest the Chiriguanos, who established a frontier the Cuzqueñans never really managed to broach, and it took the Spaniards two centuries to do so.¹³³

In July 1535 Almagro went to Collao with the intention of then making for Chile. Manco Inca had furnished him with helpers, ordering that the 12,000 he had sent be placed under Paullu and Villac Umu.¹³⁴ All trace of the latter disappears

130. Ibid., f. 105.

131. Ibid. Hausita is the name of the Soras' *curaca*.

132. Ibid., f. 108.

133. See Thierry Saignes, "Guerres indiennes dans l'Amérique pionnière: le dilemme de la résistance chiriguano à la colonisation européenne (XVI-XIX siècles)," *Histoire-Economie-Société* 1 (1982): 77-103; F.M. Renard-Casevitz, Thierry Saignes, and A.C. Taylor, *Al este de los Andes* (Quito: Abya-Yala and Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 1988); Isabelle Combès and Thierry Saignes, *Alter ego. Naissance de l'identité chiriguano*, (Paris: Cahiers de l'Homme, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1991).

134. According to one account, Villac Umu had shown the mines of Porco to Hernando Pizarro "para servir a Su Majestad," but Hernando took them for himself (AGI, Escribanía 496-B, f. 1107). However, Pedro Pizarro says

after he quietly abandoned the Spanish ranks with a few members of his entourage, calling on to join the uprising which had by now spread all over the empire.¹³⁵ He was captured in 1539 and burned alive by Francisco Pizarro, together with some Inca officers and nobles.¹³⁶

One of the questions describes how the peoples of Charcas, which saw themselves as different Nations, reacted to the Spaniards' advance through their land. Though a long citation, the quality of the data it provides makes it necessary to quote it at length:

Iten, si saben quel tiempo que estava governando el dicho Cuisara, en aconpañamiento y por horden del dicho Gualcar Ynga, entraron los españoles en este reyno; y después de aver pacificado las demas provincias del Cusco y Lima, Hernando Pizarro y Gonzalo Pizarro subieron gente a esta provincia, para cuya resistencia hizieron consulta y junta general; y se hallaron en la villa de Cochabamba en la dicha resistencia y contradición y junta, de parte de los charcas, el dicho Cuisara, abuelo del dicho don Fernando Ayavire; y de la parte de los quillacas, Guarache, padre de don Juan Colque, difunto; y de los carangas, Chuquichanbi, abuelo de don Juan Soto; y de la nación de los caracaras, Moro Moro; y de la nación de los soras, Hausita y Huaita; y de la nación de los chichas, Corutari; y de la nación de los huros yanparaes, Xaraxuri y Aimoro; y de los mitimaes de Pocona de don Fernando Turumaya, y otros muchos desta provincia, digan.¹³⁷

The few accounts available of Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro's 1538 expedition to the Charcas are far too concise, and do not yield much data on the Indian people, and even less on the strategy these used against the invaders. Other sources tell us that Gonzalo was, in fact, the true founder of La Plata (Chuquisaca or Sucre), where he took an encomienda.¹³⁸

Hernando discovered those mines whilst he was "conquistando y apaziguando todo el Collao y los Charcas" after Almagro's execution, when a rescue party was sent to Gonzalo Pizarro, who was surrounded in Cochabamba (Pizarro, *Relación del Perú*, 188).

135. Sergio Villalobos, *Descubrimiento de Chile*, vol. 2 of Mellafe and Villalobos, *Diego de Almagro*, 129.

136. Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, 255.

137. Second *probanza*, f. 33.

138. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 180.

Moved by the Spanish invasion, the peoples of Charcas decided to organize themselves, and called forth a meeting which gathered representatives from most Indian groups in the area, apparently outside the deteriorated Cuzqueñan authorities. However, according to the above-mentioned Domingo Titacallo, Inca Paullu (or Paulo) had an important persuasive role for the Spaniards, thus showing how right Almagro had been in giving him the royal tassel. According to the witness,

como halló [el Ynga Paulo] que los naturales desta provincia estaban puestos en resistencia e que los españoles yban matando los indios que hacían la dicha resistencia, el dicho Paulo Ynga les dixo e mandó que no hiziesen resistencia porque en las provincias del Cuzco e otras partes de allá abajo estaban sujetos e vencidos....¹³⁹

The answer ends as expected, swearing that Cuysara was then the first one in giving "obediencia e subjección a los españoles."¹⁴⁰ Interestingly enough, it was around this time that some Indians from Atun Collao, a province which had not rebelled, came to Hernando and asked him to help them, for Cariapaxa (or Catari Apassa) --the lord of the nearby Lupaga province, who boasted of having married one of Huascar's daughters-- had attacked them because they were friends of the Spaniards.¹⁴¹ Once again, Indians intervened in the conquistadores' political relationships, and simultaneously made them intervene in theirs, without a doubt bearing in mind the alliances previously established with the Incas.

Besides what has already been mentioned, Cuysara credited himself --at least according to the accounts gathered by don Fernando, his grandson-- with having disclosed to the Pizarros the location of the mines of Porco, the most important silver mines in the area until Potosí was discovered. Martín de Lora, a vecino of La Plata, asserted

139. Second *probanza*, f. 110.

140. *Ibid.*

141. Temple, "La descendencia de Huayna Cápac," (1940): 34. The source cited is the *Relación del sitio del Cuzco*, ed. Horacio H. Urteaga, in *Colección de Libros y Documentos Referentes a la Historia del Perú* 10, 2d series (Lima, 1934).

that it was Cuysara, lord of the Charcas, and Moroco, chief of the Caracaras, who "descubrieron las dichas minas de Porco, que los yngas poseían, [de] donde se sacaba mucha cantidad de plata...."¹⁴² Martín de Liçalde, another Spaniard, added some details, declaring that Gonzalo and Hernando Pizarro wrote to Alonso de Alvarado, who was conquering Chachapoyas, and with whom the witness was, telling him "quel dicho Cumsara [sic] dio al dicho Hernando y Gonzalo Pizarro las minas de Porco, y les enseñó y mostró la puerta por donde se solía labrar y sacar la plata para el yngenio de las dichas minas...."¹⁴³ The Pizarros thus began to work the mines of Porco quite early, and for four decades obtained important amounts of metal.

Another file of papers on the Indians of Potosí in 1600, but which goes back to Inca times, says that the four Charca nations --i.e. the Charcas, Caracaras, Chuis, and Chichas-- were soldiers of the Cuzqueñan rulers Inca Yupanqui, Tupac Inca Yupanqui, Huayna Capac, and Huascar. Here we once again find that the *curaca* Cuysara showed Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro "todas las cosas que tenía el Inga en esta provincia de los Charcas," such as the silver mines of Porco, and other tin and gold mines.¹⁴⁴

The example of the lords of Charcas seems to indicate that these representatives of a local nobility exhibited great flexibility in responding to all favourable opportunities offered by their conquistadores, both with the Incas and the Spaniards. The Pizarros were favoured by this connection, which included political, military, and economic points; as for Cuysara's descendants, the long held prominent positions in the colonial social ladder.

142. Second *probanza*, f. 43.

143. *Ibid.*, f. 92.

144. *Indios de Potosí*, SCRMD, año 1600, AGI, Charcas 45. Published by Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, "El memorial de Charcas. 'Crónica' inédita de 1582," *Cantuta* 3 (1969): 1-35. Notice this edition only includes a very small fragment of the document.

The petition made by don Juan Ayavire Cuysara received a favourable opinion from the Council of the Indies.¹⁴⁵ A royal cédula which summarized the petition made by the obedient and useful *curaca* was then sent to the Viceroy, and ended up requesting the royal official's opinion on some points. (The document is transcribed in appendix 3.)¹⁴⁶ Thus it was that the services made by a lineage of ethnic rulers succesively connected to Cuzqueñan and Hispanic rule received their due.

G. DOÑA ANGELINA, THE SECOND "WOMAN" OF PIZARRO

Francisco Pizarro co-habited with doña Angelina Yupanqui, with whom he had two children. Data on her birth and even her life are scarce and contradictory. After Pizarro died, Gonzalo married her off with Juan de Betanzos in 1544; Betanzos was a prestigious student of Quechua who wrote the *Suma y narración de los Incas*, from where comes most of the information available on doña Angelina, obviously a version biased by their marriage.

Doña Angelina belonged to the Cuzco nobility, but some say she was the daughter of Huayna Capac, and others of Atahualpa. It is possible that she was related to Pachacutec's *panaca*, the so-called *Iñaca panaca*, from which her husband gathered important data, as shown by his chronicle. Betanzos made her daughter of a "primo hermano" of Huayna Capac.¹⁴⁷ On the other hand, her relationship with Atahualpa was real, and the account he gives of her "marriage" with Atahualpa should perhaps be taken as a *betrothal* or marriage *promise*, and not as the actual link, as

145. Indios de Potosí, f. 1.

146. R.C de Xerixo, 30 de octubre de 1599, AGI, Lima 581, lib. 13, ff. 201-3v.

147. Nicanor Domínguez recently finished an exceptionally interesting study of Betanzos. There he confirms that little is known of doña Angelina, but his opinion is that Betanzos exaggerated her noble status. See Nicanor Domínguez, "Juan Díez de Betanzos, intérprete-cronista del siglo XVI: los años previos a la *Suma y narración de los Incas*" (Memoria de Bachiller, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1992), 146-61, 254.

was Betanzos' intention. Añas Collke and Cuxirimay Ocllo are some of the names she was supposedly given before her baptism.¹⁴⁸

After a series of assumptions, Lockhart toys with the possibility that Pizarro had already got tangled with doña Angelina even before he broke off with doña Inés, basing his belief on the charge Pizarro made against Almagro of having taken "a su india."¹⁴⁹ The fact that our sources have not yielded evidence of a liaison between Pizarro and doña Angelina while he was co-habiting with doña Inés, in no way proves it did not happen. Although there is no evidence for it, it might well be that Atahualpa gave doña Angelina to Pizarro so as to establish a kinship link, as was done in Pre-Columbian Peru, but we should not discard either the possibility that the conquistador took her by force, as was all too common in the first stages of the invasion.

Pizarro had two sons with doña Angelina: don Francisco and don Juan. The latter was baptized in Lima, on 23 May 1541, with Francisco de Chávez and his wife María de Escobar as godparents.¹⁵⁰ Lockhart says that both sons --like doña Francisca and don Gonzalo, the two Pizarro had with doña Inés-- were in Lima when he was murdered. Pizarro lavished more care on the children he had with doña Inés, whom he legitimized and gave encomiendas, as well as placing them under the custody of Inés Muñoz, his Spanish sister-in-law. Don Francisco and don Juan were not legitimized and continued living with their mother in Cuzco, to whom Pizarro gave some lands, including "diez topos de tierras" in the Yucay valley, "que dicen que eran de la madre del Inca que se llamaba Mama Anaguarque."¹⁵¹ Don Juan died a child, and don Francisco was

148. Rostworowski, *Doña Francisca Pizarro*, 18-19.

149. This happened in Mala in 1537, and so would imply she was in Cuzco when Almagro entered the city in April of that year, and therefore was also there during the siege of the city the year before (Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 154).

150. Horacio H. Urteaga, "Apostillas al primer libro de bautismos de la catedral de Lima," *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú* 10 (1937): 226.

151. Villanueva, "Documentos sobre Yucay," 37.

taken to Spain in 1551, together with his paternal brothers and cousins.

Doña Angelina died around 1561. She had a daughter with Betanzos, doña María de Betanzos or María Díez de Betanzos, who had entered the convent of Santa Clara the previous year, "por mandado y consentimiento de su padre," who "dio al dicho Monesterio once vacas de vientre, y le hiço donación dellas, que [las conservaría, así] quede monxa o no...."¹⁵² Living in the cloisters was not for her, for she married without her father's consent. This lost her her inheritance.¹⁵³

H. CONCLUSIONS

The study of the Spanish invasion from an Indian perspective is fraught with problems, particularly their connections with Pizarro. The sources used should therefore be used cautiously. We have seen that the events narrated in all requests of grants the *curacas* sent to the Spanish authorities, over Manco Inca's rebellion, are full of exaggerations and fail to mention the presence of other participants. As a result, applicants appeared as the sole protagonists in a milieu in which many others existed, as can be seen when the documents produced by different ethnic groups are compared.

However, our reward lies in the rich details and variety of the sources used, both published and unpublished, which allow us to draw an overview and even compare between individuals and ethnic groups who sought the Spaniards, or answered their call for alliances, with political initiatives and expectations on their minds. We have seen how the first people in receiving the news of the Spanish arrival reacted, and how they answered to the order to gather and take precious metals to Cajamarca, using the Cuzqueñan imperial resources. It was not a moment of replies, but rather one of

152. Domingo Angulo, "El monasterio de Santa Clara de la ciudad del Cuzco," *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú*, 11 (1938): 81.

153. Domínguez, "Betanzos, intérprete-cronista," 254.

obedience because the captive Inca's vassals had not yet disowned him. Nor had the moment come for the Inca army to attack, as would happen once it was realized that the ruler had lost and would not regain his throne.

Among individuals, we should emphasize the mediating job done by the interpreters, and their participation in clashes between Indians or rival Spanish factions. Felipillo, an Almagrista, died at Almagro's hands when he joined the rebellious Villac Umu, which coincided and was probably arranged with Manco Inca. Don Martín, a Pizarrista married to a Spanish woman, joined the colonial society in the privileged position of encomendero. We must also acknowledge the presence of Indian women, some of whom long accompanied the conquistadores. As it was with the two women with whom Francisco Pizarro begot children: doña Inés and doña Angelina. The first one came from a link between reginal and Cuzqueñan nobilities, the second one from the Cuzco élite.

Pizarro's relationship with doña Inés and Paullu established a special link between the conquistador and the province of Huaylas, which he also took in encomienda. But the Cañaris (Gonzalo Pizarro's encomienda) and Lima (Francisco Pizarro's) also backed the Spaniards, and the sources repeat and rejoice over it. However, in the case of the Lima people, at least, there appeared complaints over the loss of lands suffered by the natives shortly after the capital city was founded. We do not have similar sources for other polities, but the Cañari --once the Inca's specialized group of guards, and again with the Spaniards-- and the Charcas --who backed the conquistadores in their expeditions, peace settlements, and mining discoveries-- must have made comparisons we do not know of, between Inca and Spanish rule. Furthermore, it was quite often that the *yanaconas* and --on occasion-- the *mitimaes* helped the invaders in their war of conquest.¹⁵⁴

154. Juan Pizarro committed the surveillance of the captive Manco Inca to the *yanaconas* of Cuzco, and then his pursuit and capture (Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Tercera parte*,

All the cases mentioned in this chapter show connections which favoured Spanish penetration in Peru, for I intended to evince the various ways in which the conquerors established relationships with the Indians. However, it should not be forgotten that resistance also took various shapes, which lasted long after the invasion.

CHAPTER 8

THE ESTATE OF FRANCISCO PIZARRO AND HIS CHILDREN

A. INTRODUCTION

As an economic enterprise, the most significant expectation conquest awoke was the acquisition of properties, both for the partners and other investors, as well as the remaining members of the host. Most conquistadores received a major encomienda, which determined the city they would live in. Thanks to their privileged status, the Pizarros received many throughout the districts of all Spanish cities founded in Peru. It was Francisco who received the most valuable possessions, followed by his brothers Hernando and Gonzalo, and his children doña Francisca and don Francisco Pizarro. Francisco Martín de Alcántara, his brother on his mother's side, compiled a vast estate, but of lesser dimensions than the former; however it is extremely difficult to estimate what was given to Juan Pizarro because of his early death. The following pages will attempt a reconstruction of the process through which properties were acquired, and will try to give an overall picture of what constituted the Pizarrista estate in Peru, presenting it according to the districts of Lima, Cuzco, Trujillo, Quito, and La Plata. Francisco Martín de Alcántara had an encomienda in Huánuco, whilst nothing in the districts of Chachapoyas and Huamanga belonged to the conquistador's family.¹

1. Both Spanish colonial organization --which based its dominion over the *fueros* of the cities-- and the documentation --which follows this order-- make this the easiest way to present the Pizarros' estate. See a similar organization of the material in Puente, *Encomienda y encomenderos*. On the other hand, all estate acquired in other areas will be excluded, e.g. those in Spain and Panama. Peninsular properties have been dealt with in Varón and

A simple listing of these properties would undoubtedly be interesting, but it would not be enough to explain the conquest-enterprise phenomenon, and its later settlement in the new colony. This is the reason why I intend to show the economic significance of the properties as productive units, within the context of the Peruvian colonial society in formation. Furthermore, an overall view of the Pizarrista estate will allow to envisage the way in which the so-called "primeros" conquistadores attempted to organize the land they ruled over for a brief decade. Until the defeat of the Inca army in 1536, the conquistadores' domain was limited to the minuscule Spanish population, of an almost exclusively male composition and usually at war. True, many Indian political leaders had joined the conquistadores, and with them the people at their command, but to label this early position one of government or even of political control would certainly be premature, for it was limited to tactical movements by Indians and conquistadores. Then, with the collapse of the rebel government and execution of Gonzalo Pizarro in 1548, the hegemony of the Pizarros and their followers ended; important changes followed in the possession of the encomiendas, and hence in the access to Indian labour, but it took another decade to eliminate the encomenderos' military and organizational potential, which opposed the Imperial policies.²

The inclusion of properties into the Pizarros' patrimonial group was a dynamic process, unplanned and non-organic, which formed as the Spanish foothold became stronger. To establish why one of the Pizarros took a particular productive centre is not easy, nor why, in some instances, these were later on abandoned. Occasionally, an acquisition could be justified by a sentimental or kinship link, as with the encomienda of Huaylas; on the other hand, by the matchless intrinsic value of a possession, such as the

Jacobs, "Peruvian Wealth and Spanish Investments."

2. On encomiendas, particularly after 1548, see the already-mentioned study by Puente, *Encomienda y encomenderos*.

mines of Porco or the encomiendas in the Yucay valley. However, I believe that in general terms, Francisco, Hernando, and Gonzalo tried to appropriate the most productive resources of each kind, complementary between themselves and located in different regions.

At first, Pizarro granted encomiendas "en depósito," i.e. temporarily and subject to royal confirmation, but after Hernando's voyage to Spain he was granted the right to give them in full. The concessions of Indians to the Governor could not be made by himself but by the Crown instead, which is why Pizarro gave very many encomiendas to his children. It is a widely known fact that the grant of encomienda was limited to the use of a tribute payment, which at first included the personal service of a certain number of Indians. In practice, however, the encomenderos appropriated lands and other resources within the district of their encomiendas. Mines were thus claimed and laid out by their Spanish "descubridores," who were allowed to work them in return for setting aside a part for the Crown, and paying the rights over smelting; the neighbouring encomiendas, however, were used as a source of labour, food, and inputs, at least until Gasca's years. As for the coca-leaf plantations, it has not been possible to clear the doubts raised by the existence of a pre-Columbian link with the encomiendas the Pizarros took over in Cuzco, but the money yielded by the sale of coca was long included in the accounts of encomiendas managed by royal officials.

The tribute yielded by the encomiendas in the first two decades of the conquest depended on the encomendero's ability to "*granjear*" the Indian people granted him. This is why it is impossible to quantify the tribute, and at best all that one can obtain is an estimate of how many tribute-payers there were. Although some early *visitas* were carried out, it was only with Gasca that the first *tasas* were set, i.e. the amount of money, articles, and personal service each

encomienda had to give.³ One should not forget that Gasca's *tasas* included the Indians' personal services, whose suppression by the New Laws had been one of the reasons behind the *encomenderos'* protest in Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion. Later rulers gradually diminished the tribute's range and amount, also eliminating personal service, until Viceroy Toledo fixed it exclusively in money.

The set of properties to be presented here belonged first to Francisco Pizarro and his children, who received it either directly from their father or in inheritance. However, due to the early death of three of the four heirs, and his marriage to his niece, doña Francisca, it was Hernando who ultimately managed to control everything the Crown had not confiscated.⁴

The Encomiendas of doña Francisca Pizarro

There are two known *provisiones* regarding the concession of encomiendas to doña Francisca Pizarro. The first one, given in Yucay, on 27 May 1539, obviously wanted to modify the legal holding of the family's encomiendas. According to the document, Pizarro

ponía y puso desde agora en caveza de doña Francisca Pizarro, su hija, el cacique de Chimo, que él tenía puesto en su caveza, con todos sus yndios y principales con los caciques de Guaylas e Conchuco [sic] con todos sus yndios como ella [sic] los ha tenido y poseido por suyos; e, así mismo, el cacique de Lima con sus yndios e con el principal que se dice Chuquitanta para que dellos se sirva e aproveche en sus haziendas y granjerías....⁵

A year later, Pizarro and Valverde signed a *provisión* confirming doña Francisca's possession of these encomiendas. The text said that wherefore

3. María Rostworowski, "La tasa ordenada por el licenciado Pedro de la Gasca (1549)," chapter in her *Ensayos de historia andina*, 293-348; Pedro de la Gasca, *Descripción del Perú [1553]*, ed. Josep Ma. Barnadas (Caracas: Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, 1976).

4. See chapter 5 in particular.

5. The copy used is dated on 17 June 1569, and is in turn a copy of another one taken on 18 February 15[*damaged*]² from the original in Lima (AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 36-39).

vos doña Francisca Pizarro, hija de my el dicho gobernador, teney's en depósito y encomienda el cacique de Guaylas con tres mil yndios, y ansi mismo el cacique de Chimo que se llama don Martín y el que fuere con mil indios, y el cacique de Conchuco con ochocientos indios, que son por todos quatro mil e ochocientos indios, en nombre de Su Magestad agora de nuevo os encomendamos los dichos caciques e indios para que dellos os sirvais e aprovecheis....⁶

Curiously enough, this document does not mention the repartimientos of Lima and Chuquitanta, which would be retained by doña Francisca.

In 1535, the representatives of Pizarro's children presented a *Memorial* to the Council of Indies, wherein was included a list of the repartimientos they held at the time of their father's death (which happened in 1541). The list included repartimientos which had belonged to Pizarro, but which appeared under the name of the child who inherited them or expected to do so. According to this source, the following encomiendas were held by don Gonzalo Pizarro, Francisco's second son: 1. The Indians of Canta, 2. The Indians of Huaura, 3. The Indians of Yucay, 4. The "coca Indians" of Avisca, 5. The "coca Indians" of Pomachondas and other neighbouring valleys, 6. The Indians of Chuquiabo, and other neighbouring towns, 7. The Indians from Congara (Consara), in the Charcas. Doña Francisca Pizarro, in turn, owned the following encomiendas: 1. The Indians of Atunguaylas, 2. Those of Conchucos, 3. The Indians of Chimo, 4. The Indians of Lima, 5. Those of Chuquitanta.⁷

A source which dates back to Gasca's time, prepared after Gonzalo Pizarro's defeat, lists all of Peru's encomiendas. Of the vecinos of Los Reyes, it notes that doña Francisca had 4,000 Indians in Huaylas.⁸ Besides, the "hijos

6. Provisión de Los Reyes, 19 de mayo de 1540, refrendada por Pedro de Castañeda. Copies in AGI, Justicia 398, n. 2, ff. 2-3, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 36-39. It corresponds to the authority Pizarro received to grant encomiendas (see chapter 2).

7. AGI, Justicia 1054, n. 3, r. 1, pza. 1.

8. The transcription erroneously reads "Andaguailas" instead of "Ananguailas."

del marqués" had the encomienda of Canta, with 800 Indians, that of the "mismo valle de Lima," with 100 Indians, and the valley of Chuquitanta with another 100 Indians. Here it was maliciously noted that "de todos estos indios no se sabe el título que tienen."⁹

Lands, Solares, Houses, and Orchards

In principle, the grants of lands and *solares* had a universal character, so all members of the new city would benefit, be they Indians, free Blacks or Spaniards, but in practice the conquistadores enjoyed an undisguised preference. In the city of Lima, for instance, the amount given followed no fixed criteria, for on some occasions half a *solar* was granted, and four in others, when the persons concerned were vecinos with Indian encomiendas.¹⁰ When these distributions were made, pre-Columbian holdings were obviously not taken into account; Indians were forced to leave their homes, the lands they cultivated, and their water supply.

The conquistador's supposed seigniorial ideal came true with a large and luxurious home. The encomenderos made up the structure of Spanish social and economic life; a high percentage of the Spanish population lived in their big habitational complexes. Many did it as more or less permanent guests, whilst others did so as tenants. To meet the resulting high expenditures, the encomendero used the payment in kind and labour accruing from his encomienda's tribute, to agropastoral production, and to a direct or indirect link with mining activities. The administration of these holdings required at least one mayordomo and many *criados*, whose number depended on the size of the enterprises. The Arequipeñan encomendero Jerónimo de Villegas, for example,

9. Loredó, *Repartos*, 219.

10. Ella Dumbar Temple, "Aspectos jurídico-institucionales del régimen de la tierra en los primeros cabildos de ciudades peruanas," in *Actas del VI Congreso Internacional de Historia de América*, Buenos Aires, 1980 (Buenos Aires, 1982), 2:188.

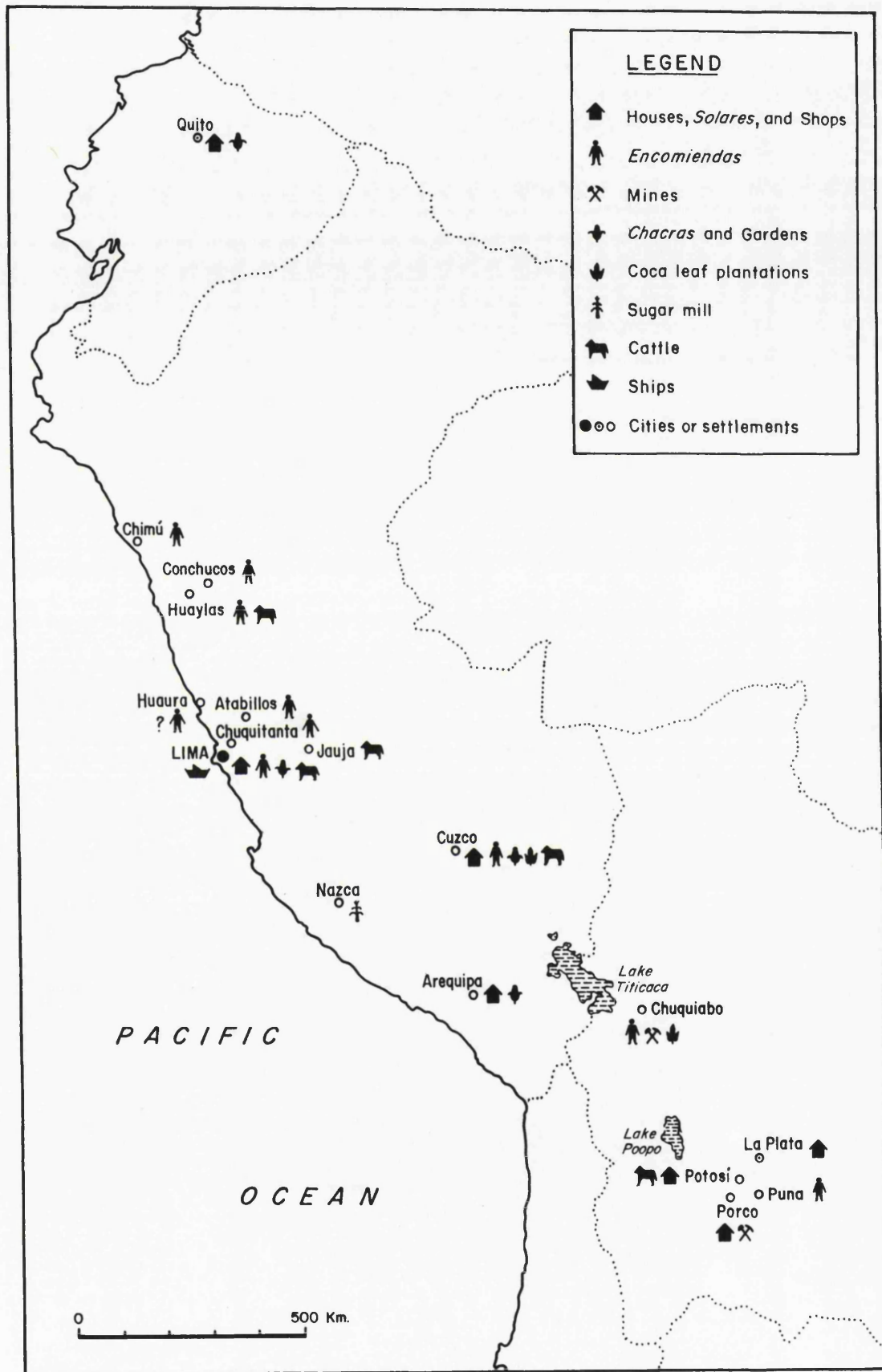


ILLUSTRATION 5. MAP OF THE PROPERTIES OF FRANCISCO PIZARRO AND HIS CHILDREN IN PERU.

had some ten Spaniards amongst his *criados*, whilst the Pizarros got to have dozens of men working for them.¹¹

It was usual for encomenderos to lodge and feed a floating population which could include anyone from soldiers to merchants, but which was mainly made up by relatives, friends, and *paisanos*. Encomenderos were pleased to receive these guests, and it was understood that the relation of dependence so established forced them to follow his political initiatives, and to accompany him as part of his entourage. A gathering of twenty or thirty guests in the home of any encomendero was a good reason for alarm, for they could well turn to be the seeds of an uprising.¹² Hernando Pizarro's house in La Plata was thus accused of having backed the uprising headed by Sebastián de Castilla.¹³ The home of an encomendero was thus a place to meet and debate, thus becoming a place of free political expression.

In Lima, these luxurious homes were built after the Spanish foundation, in the meantime using the Indian lords' imposing buildings of painted mud; the latter were moved to neighbouring towns and then resettled in the new Indian towns of La Magdalena, Surco, and the Cercado. In Cuzco, instead, the massive palaces of polished stone belonging to the Inca kings were fought over by the conquistadores, and changed hands according to who came uppermost in the Civil Wars.

B. THE DISTRICT OF THE CITY OF LIMA

For his future home, Pizarro selected four *solares* where stood the houses and *huacas* of Taulichusco, the *curaca* of Lima. The site must have been chosen for its altitude, which surely made it possible to scan the city's outskirts, much like the Indian lord probably did, as well as control one of

11. Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 22-23, 107. See also chapter 6 of this thesis.

12. *Ibid.*, 141.

13. Mariscal Alonso de Alvarado y el Fiscal, Licenciado Joan Fernández, Potosí, 20 de octubre de 1553. A copy in AGI, Lima 92.

the main outlets of the artificial rivers which left the Rímac river.¹⁴ After Pizarro's death, many governmental activities were carried out in the "casa principal de su morada," its legal status not yet established despite doña Francisca's urgings. In 1554 she received the confirmation of a decree given by the Council of the Indies for the Audiencia of Lima, commanding

que le paguen el alquiler de las dichas casas por el tiempo pasado a precio justo y moderado y para que vean si las casas convienen para residir en ellas la audiencia y cárcel como agora y en tal caso se las compren....¹⁵

However, later on the Crown tried to appropriate the houses as compensation for a presumed debt incurred by Pizarro, but the road through court was long, and the royal officials said a big amount of money was spent in repairs. Besides, two Oidores, Doctor Saravia, and *Licenciado* Santillán, lived there without paying rent, so each year 500 pesos were thus lost. Finally, the same premises were used as a smelting house and to store the royal treasury's strong boxes, as well as a place where its officials held their meetings.¹⁶

Early in 1538, the conquistador sold "unas casas" in the main square to Father Valverde, for 900 gold pesos. Their boundaries were:

de la una parte la iglesia mayor parroquial desta dicha ciudad y, de la otra parte, solar e casas de García de Salcedo, veedor de Su Magestad, vecino desta dicha ciudad, e por delante una calle real e por un lado de las dichas casas otra calle Real que atraviesa.¹⁷

14. Emilio Harth-Terré, *Lima (ensayos)* (Lima: Juan Mejía Baca, 1977), 22; Juan Gunther Doering and Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Lima* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992).

15. AGI, Justicia 1074, n. 2, f. 7.

16. Pero Rodríguez Puertocarrero a S.M., Los Reyes, 1 de febrero de 1557. A copy in AGI, Indiferente 738, r. 1, n. 14c.

17. Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 261-62. Among the documents left behind by Francisco Pizarro after his death, was a "conoscimiento contra el dicho don fray Vicente de Valverde de cuantía de 1,000 pesos" (AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 1253). This debt was perhaps related to the lot mentioned.

But Pizarro also had other holdings in the city, of which we know of because they were included in inventories made in two different moments: first, when Vaca de Castro quelled the Almagrista mutiny, and then when Gasca defeated Gonzalo Pizarro.¹⁸ The first one included gold, silver, and native clothes given to García de Salcedo to keep whilst Almagro controlled the city. The four *solares* on the main square were also mentioned, two others "a las espaldas de las casas" belonging to Bernaldino de Valderrama, a mill "cerca de la ciudad," an *estancia* "que está camino de Pachacama, a las espaldas de las estancia de doña Inés Muñoz," and another one beside the previous one, bought from Pedro de Mendoza. Also included were "veinte y cuatro solares de asientos de caciques que están inventariados por vienes del dicho señor marqués, que son junto a esta ciudad que están en las espaldas del cercado grande."¹⁹ One of the many articles listed was of special importance: the "cruz con una encomienda de Santiago, con una cintica, que pesó 30 pesos y 4 tomines," found along with other jewels in hands of "un indio que tenía Francisco Coronado." As for slaves, many Black men and women were listed as carpenters, blacksmiths and labourers who looked after the orchards, "que se llevaron los de Chile," as well as one slave from Nicaragua called Antón.²⁰

The second, and far more concise listing, repeated some items and added some others, among which stood out two *solares* located straight in front of the one belonging to the interpreter don Martín Pizarro, later on sold by the tutors of Pizarro's children to *Licenciado* de la Gama. Beyond the urban area itself, there was a "cercado con la estancia que está en él, hasta el tambo." It probably was one of the

18. Declaración de Juan de Barbarán, Lima, 12 de mayo de 1542, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 1250-84v; Memorial de los bienes de FP, Lima, 14 de noviembre de 1548, AGI, Escribanía 496-B, f. 737.

19. These *solares de caciques* are yet to be explained, and could well answer some questions concerning the links forged between Pizarro and the Indian lords.

20. Declaración de Juan de Barbarán.

above-mentioned *estancias*, and it was here that we find part of the cattle Pizarro had in the district of Los Reyes.²¹

The Repartimiento of Huaylas

This *encomienda* fell within the jurisdiction of the city of Lima, but it sometimes appears under that of Huánuco. Doña Francisca, the *encomendera*, and her successive tutors always lived in Lima right until the moment when all of Pizarro's children left for Spain. Just like in all Peruvian *encomiendas*, the tribute Indians should pay was set only with the *tasa* prepared by Gasca and his helpers, so there is no way to determine what items, and in what amounts, were paid before it. Furthermore, one source indicates that before Gasca's time, "en los tributos no se puede averiguar, porque en esta ciudad [de Los Reyes] no ha havido tasación como en otros pueblos i lo más es grangerías."²²

The *tasa* for the repartimiento of Huaylas was prepared, on Gasca's orders, by Archbishop Friar Jerónimo de Loayza, Friar Domingo de Santo Tomás, and Friar Tomás de San Martín, and was then sent to don Cristóbal --"por otro nombre Vilcarima"-- and all other "señores de la tierra," as well as to the *encomendera*. This *encomienda* undoubtedly stood out for its potential as regards the tribute to be paid. Thus, it was established that the Indians should pay the *encomendera* 600 pesos "de buen oro" a year, as well as another 4,800 pesos of stamped silver. Payments in kind included clothes and other woollen textiles, ropes, footwear, blankets and other textiles made out of hemp, plus significant amounts of sheep, pigs, poultry, and fish. Also included were 400 *fanegas* of wheat and 600 of maize a year, and 50 *cargas* of *chuño*, 50 of potatoes, and 6 *arrobos* of *ají*. The list ended making the Indians give personal services to the *encomendera*, with "12 indios para guardar los ganados que tuviere el dicho

21. Memorial de los bienes de FP. Besides the inventories already mentioned, cattle also appears in e.g. AGI, Justicia 1088, n. 4, r. 1, ff. 1-7.

22. Loredo, *Repartos*, 219.

encomendero en vuestro valle de Guaylas," and should he be a *vecino* of Huánuco or any other city in the sierra "que esté en otra tanta distancia de su repartimiento como Guánuco," then 30 married mitimaes should go to the "chácara del encomendero." As usual, it was established that the encomendero should look after the doctrine of the Indians he had received in encomienda, to which end the Indians themselves should provide the priest's sustenance "mientras no haya diezmo."²³

Not even three years had gone by when, during the Audiencia's period of interim government, a new *visita* was carried out, which resulted in a decrease in the *tasa*, following a pattern which can be observed throughout Peru. The most significant change referred to the payment in kind, with all payment in gold being eliminated, and those in silver lowered to 4,000 pesos. As for the woollen and hemp textiles, and agropastoral produce, their volume was in some instances slightly lowered, but the range of items required was retained.²⁴

Some points regarding the way the tribute was in practice collected are indeed interesting. From late 1550 to late 1553, it was not much that the Indians did not pay to don Antonio de Ribera, doña Francisca's tutor and the person responsible for the holdings. The corresponding gold and silver were fully paid as set down by the *tasa*, and only minor items were missing in the produce. Much of what was handed in was sold, but it is somewhat striking that such an important item as cereals, and other food-stuffs, were left in Huaylas; there,

23. Provisión de Gasca, refrendada por Pedro de Avendaño, Los Reyes, 4 de agosto de 1549, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 36-39, 378-79.

24. The *tasa* was part of the *provisión* prepared by oidores Cianca, Santillán, Altamirano, and Mercado, and countersigned by Pedro de Avendaño. Los Reyes, 20 de noviembre de 1552, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 388-90. The *visita* has not been found. On the other hand, the encomendera is herein identified as a *vecina* of Huánuco.

tiene la dicha doña Francisca el ható de los puercos y que en el beneficio y multiplico dellos se ha gastado lo suso dicho, porque allí no ay a quien lo vender....²⁵

Despite the fact that these products are missing from the accounts, the importance of this repartimiento can be gauged with the report made by don Antonio on the three years which began in late 1550. The repartimiento had yielded 49,998 pesos, whilst that of Lima reached 2,385 pesos, and that of Chuquitanta 1,687 pesos and 7 *tomines*.²⁶

In 1557 Viceroy Cañete informed the King that he intended to give the encomiendas of Huaylas and Chuquitanta to the conquistador Vasco de Guevara, so he could "trasladar su vecindad" from Cuzco to Lima. According to him, in Huaylas, then valued in 6,000 pesos, there were "5,000 yndios [tributarios] y buena tierra para ganados." However,

cada día se yva disminuyendo porque no tienen mynas y de adonde pagavan su tributo era de ynbiar yndios a alquilar a Trugillo y aquí, que son de quarenta leguas, y se mueren muchos porque en tres años se halló por cuenta que faltaron por esta causa más de mil y quinientos yndios....²⁷

The new encomendero, so the Viceroy said, intended to stimulate the textile industry, taking cattle from which he

les dará lana y harán ropa, que la saben hazer, y sementeras y los yndios se conservarán con no salir de su tierra y poder pagar sus tributos....²⁸

The following year *Licenciado* Diego Alvarez, corregidor of the province of Huaylas, carried out a *visita* on orders from the Viceroy, which was used to set the new tribute rate.²⁹ It yielded an overall count of 3,044 Indian tribute payers, and 10,913 "mujeres, mancebos, vejos y viejas," for the

25. AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 466-78.

26. *Ibid.*, f. 478.

27. Virrey Cañete al rey, Los Reyes, 28 de junio de 1557, AGI, Lima 28-A, n. 7, f. 2.

28. *Ibid.*

29. For the unique life of *Licenciado* Alvarez see Guillermo Lohmann, "El licenciado Diego Alvarez," *Historia y Cultura* 3 (1969): 61-68, and Miguel León Gómez, "El testamento del licenciado Diego Alvarez," *Historia y Cultura* 20 (1990): 319-50.

repartimiento which had once belonged to doña Francisca, and was then held by Vasco de Guevara. The rate was once again lowered, and many articles previously paid were taken off it. The amount of silver to be paid was lowered to 4,250 pesos, whilst wheat and maize were cut in half, i.e. 200 and 300 *fanegas* each.³⁰ The same *tasa* was in force four years later.³¹

The Repartimiento of Lima

In practice, this *encomienda* had belonged to Pizarro right from the moment when the capital city was founded. The Indian people living here were particularly affected by its construction, both because they lost their homes and land, as by the pressure exerted over them by Spanish society. Pizarro's heirs lost this *encomienda* during Vaca de Castro's administration: the Governor deemed it had become "*vaca*" on Pizarro's death, and thus granted it to Alonso Palomino. The first relevant *provisión* given by Vaca de Castro said he gave in *encomienda* the "*cacique principal del valle de Lima, que se llama Guachaniamo [sic].*" Possession was lawfully taken over before the Governor in Pariacaca, in presence of a "*cacique hermano del cacique Guachinamo,*" and the new *encomendero's* attorney. When Palomino died, the Indians were passed on to Beatriz de Rojas, his wife, until Gonzalo Pizarro took them from her "*en el tiempo de su tiranía.*"³²

The *tasa* Gasca prepared for Lima was surely the first ever made for this *repartimiento*. There a tribute was set in 30 silver pesos *ensayados*, 400 *fanegas* of maize and an equal amount of wheat, as well as beans, poultry, and fresh and salted fish. As servants, "*ocho indios que se truequen por sus mitas*" were included, and three more "*para ayuda de*

30. Los Reyes, 25 de junio de 1558, AGI, Patronato 94, n. 1, r. 2, ff. 98-101.

31. Lima, 5 de abril de 1562, AGI, Justicia 1088, n. 4, r. 1, f. 33.

32. The respective *provisiones* were issued in the Tambo de Aco, distrito de la ciudad de Huamanga, 14 de abril de 1544, and in Los Reyes, 24 de mayo de 1544, AGI, Justicia 1088, n. 1, ff. 13-16.

guarda de los ganados" belonging to the encomendero. Finally, the usual sustenance should be meted out to the *doctrinero*.³³

Payment of the tribute for the year beginning on 17 July 1550, was registered by don Antonio de Ribera. His accounts indicate he had received the items set down by the *tasa* and had sold them, save for the salted fish which would be used to feed the encomendera during her voyage,

porque en el tiempo que estava en esta ciudad la dicha doña Francisca lo recibió y quando se embarcó se le dio lo restante del año para matalotaje.³⁴

Doña Francisca had also received fresh fish for as long as she was in Lima, but after her departure "no se aprovechó el resto del año."³⁵

Two years later the Audiencia, then in charge of the viceroyalty's administration, had to carry out an inspection which led to a lowering of the *tasa*. Although the amount payable in kind did not change, that of maize and wheat was lowered. Personal service was likewise eliminated, in accordance to the New Laws, which by then were at last being enforced.³⁶

One source, unfortunately anonymous and undated, but which can nonetheless be placed circa the administration of Viceroy Cañete (1556-1560), gives an estimate of the constraints posed by the fall in population in this encomienda, both for its *curaca* and the institution itself. It noted that Lima had had 3,000 Indian tax-payers when Pizarro received it. But then, by Cañete's time, only 250 "tributarios, con viejos y todo" were left in the repartimiento. The same source reported that "los indios que... andan ausentes" had been

33. Provisión de Gasca, Lima, 17 de julio de 1549. The original in AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 382-83.

34. Cargo de lo recibido por don Antonio de Ribera del cacique de Lima hasta el 17 de julio de 1551, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 459-62.

35. Ibid.

36. Provisión de la Audiencia, Lima, 13 de octubre de 1552, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 386-87.

sacados de su repartimiento en tiempos de las alteraciones de don Diego de Almagro y en todas las demás hasta ahora, que sirven a españoles y están en muchas partes divididos que no quieren servir ni tributar con los demás indios del dicho repartimiento, ni entendía su cacique que éstos [los ausentes] son más de sesenta indios de lo cual el dicho don Gonzalo y su repartimiento han recibido y reciben gran daño según por las cargas de sus tributos [las que] han pagado entre los dichos 250 indios que han quedado siendo ellos todos más de 300 para a ver de los pagar y así lo han pagado mucho tiempo hasta ahora siendo todos 300 y más obligados a ello de que reciben notorio daño y se recibirá mayor si no les diesen facultad para los poder recoger todos a su repartimiento no estante [sic] que ayan sido sacados desde el tiempo del marqués don Francisco Pizarro acá aunque sirvan a vezinos e a otras personas ni estén en otros repartimientos e provincias destos reynos, como lo está....³⁷

We have here a condition of rootlessness quite common among the colonial Indian population, particularly in places near Spanish urban and mining areas where, on becoming *forasteros*, Indians were no longer liable to pay tribute.³⁸ But what was advantageous for the *forasteros* became a great problem for the *curaca*, for officials took years to lower the *tasa* so it would match with the fall in the repartimiento's population.

The fact that it was located in the capital city made this repartimiento feel European colonization in a special way: on the one hand it was a permanent temptation, particularly for governors and other powerful individuals; on

37. Relación de los indios de don Gonzalo, cacique de Lima, en tiempo que fueron repartidos y encomendados por S.M. en el marqués don Francisco Pizarro, que eran tres mil indios, n.d., 1 f., AGI, Patronato 231, n. 7, r. 13.

38. Karen Powers has estimated that in some parts of the Audiencia of Quito, more than 50% of the Indian population was *forastera* (Karen M. Powers, "Resilient Lords and Indian Vagabonds: Wealth, Migration, and the Reproductive Transformation of Quito's Chiefdoms, 1500-1700," *Ethnohistory* 38 [1991]: 226). On *forasteros* see also Magnus Mörner, *La corona española y los foráneos en los pueblos de indios de América* (Estocolmo: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1970); Ann Wightman, *Indigenous Migration and Social Change: the Forasteros of Cuzco, 1570-1720* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1990); David J. Robinson, ed., *Migration in Colonial Spanish America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

the other hand, the proximity of officials must have given them greater possibilities to have their complaints heard through institutional channels.

The Repartimiento of Chuquitanta

This small repartimiento had the advantage of being close to Lima, and it was perhaps for this reason that both the Pizarros and later pretenders to the repartimiento of Huaylas, named these two together.³⁹ The *tasa* prepared by Gasca was sent to the *curaca* Quispe Chunbe and doña Francisca, the *encomendera*. It set a tribute in cash of 25 pesos "de buen oro," i.e. *ensayados*. They would also have to give 300 fanegas of maize a year, and as many of wheat, plus *comares* (?), melons or pumpkins, fruit, *ají*, salt, coal, poultry, and eggs. As personal service they would have to give "6 indios entre indios e indias cada día, los cuales se han de mudar por sus mitas." Last of all was the required sustenance for the parish priest.⁴⁰

The Audiencia would later on prepare a new *tasa* by which payment in cash and personal services were eliminated, and the amounts given of maize and wheat were cut in half.⁴¹

Data gathered from accounts shows tribute was paid regularly. In the two years running from 23 July 1550 no major setbacks happened, and the cash was given in *plata ensayada*. However, the *encomendera's* tutor once accepted maize instead of the stipulated wheat. Don Antonio justified this remarking that:

39. It was usual for influential *encomenderos* living on the coast to receive two *encomiendas*, a major one which provided the larger share of their income, and a lesser one closer to the city they lived in, from which were derived *mita* Indians who worked in their homes and orchards (Rostworowski, *Señoríos indígenas de Lima y Canta*, 152).

40. Provisión de Gasca, Lima, 23 de julio de 1549. Original copy in AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 380-81.

41. Provisión de la Audiencia, Lima, 13 de octubre de 1552, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 384-85.

rescibiósele en maíz porque traxo a esta ciudad [de Lima] las 210 hanegas de trigo de suso, no seyendo obligado a ellos....⁴²

In this case, what had happened was that the Indians had chosen to give as tribute part of the wheat (90 *fanegas*) in maize, even with the additional cost of having to deliver the remaining wheat (210 *fanegas*) to Lima, instead of placing it in the area's *tambo*, as was their due. As for the tribute's other items --poultry, eggs, fruits, salt, coal, and pumpkins-- "lo recibió la dicha doña Francisca Pizarro hasta que se embarcó y que para matalotaje y servicio del navío llevó lo restante del dicho año...."⁴³

The Repartimiento of Atabillos

At the time of the Spanish invasion, the Atabillos lived in the area between the left bank of the Chancay river, and the mountains of the present *Departamento* of Lima. The ethnic makeup of this people, and their location, raise many doubts. Furthermore, the sources used do not let us go beyond the simple hypothesis that there once existed an ethnic group bearing that same name. According to María Rostworowski, this major polity she defines as *macroetnia* was made up by the *señorío* of the Atabillos themselves, the Canta, Piscas, Huamantanga, and Secos or Xecos, but the precise nature of the links uniting them in a permanent confederation or a temporary union still remains unknown. In 1534 Pizarro gave the *encomienda*, which must have then included all of the polity, to Juan Morgovejo de Quiñones; he, however, took it for himself shortly after.⁴⁴ Pizarro must have felt at home with the people, land, and resources of the Atabillos, for to fulfil the grants which gave him vassals and a marquisate, he requested "alguna cantidad de tierra en la provincia del Collao o de los Atavillos, con título." The King accepted

42. Tributos del cacique de Chuquitanta, desde el 23 de julio de 1550, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 462v-66.

43. Ibid.

44. Rostworowski, *Señoríos indígenas de Lima y Canta*, 152-57; Rostworowski, *Conflicts over Coca Fields*, 71-73, 209-10.

giving him "veinte mil vasallos en esa provincia con título de marqués," which he began to use from that very moment, but deciding instead to leave pending the marquisate's location, until after receiving the information he had requested from Bishop Valverde and the royal officials.⁴⁵ Pizarro was murdered before completing the procedure, and the Crown did not get to establish a Peruvian marquisate similar to the one granted to Fernando Cortés in the Valley of Oaxaca.⁴⁶

Once Pizarro was dead, the encomienda was carved up into many small entities because of its size. One of these was the encomienda of Canta, given to the child Francisco Pizarro, the Marquis' son, after a brief Almagrista interlude, when a certain Saavedra held it for just a few months. When don Francisco died, Gasca gave Canta to Nicolás de Ribera, *El Mozo*. The Canta became more important well in the colonial régime for they stood on the route joining Lima with Cerro de Pasco and Huánuco, whilst the Atabillos lost it instead.⁴⁷

Another minor unit of the hypothetical pre-Columbian polity of the Atabillos, was the encomienda given by Pizarro to Hernando de Montenegro. The latter had participated in the conquest of Castilla del Oro and the South Seas; he received this encomienda as a reward for having carried out the mission Pizarro had given him during the great Indian rebellion, to "pacificar los naturales de la provincia de los Atavillos." Thus he received "en la provincia de los atavillos el cazique Tomás Juarax, señor del pueblo de Andax."⁴⁸ The fact that the repartimiento was given to an encomendero who was not a Pizarro might well point out that

45. Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú*, 2:51-56.

46. I thus agree with Rostworowski, who pointed out how the chronicler Agustín de Zárate had mistakenly reported Pizarro as having used the title of *marqués de los Atabillos* (Rostworowski, *Señoríos indígenas de Lima y Canta*, 155). On Cortés' marquisate see the introduction of this thesis.

47. Rostworowski, *Señoríos indígenas de Lima y Canta*, 152-57, and *Conflicts over Coca Fields*, 71-73 and 209-10.

48. Justicia 450, n. 2, r. 2, ff. 14-21 and 61-62. Francisco Pizarro's *provisión*, given in Los Reyes, 15 Jan. 1536, is in f. 17.

this could have been a unit removed quite early from the chiefdom of the Atabillos.

Vaca de Castro increased Montenegro's grant to include el cacique llamado Hatunguaman señor del pueblo Panpas e un principal del dicho cacique llamado Julca Aure señor del pueblo Atavillos [sic] con todos los principales e indios e pueblos sujetos a el dicho cacique e principales....⁴⁹

These encomiendas were in turn confirmed by Gasca.⁵⁰

The encomienda of the Spaniard Martín Pizarro was also granted in the Atabillos. According to a *provisión* given by Pizarro in Jauja, on 10 August 1534, the conquistador would receive in deposit the *caciques* Chuquiricapa and Carñache, lord of the town of Piço.⁵¹

The Repartimiento of Huaura

In a lawsuit between Aliaga and Rui Barba it is said that before belonging to Nicolás de Ribera, Huaura had been an encomienda of Francisco Pizarro. María Rostworowski denies it for this encomienda was given by Pizarro to don Martín, the Indian interpreter who took over the conquistador's last name. Don Martín joined Gonzalo and lost his encomienda when the rebellion was over.⁵² In any case, it is somewhat

49. Ibid., ff. 17v-18.

50. Ibid., f. 14v.

51. Los Reyes, 26 de febrero de 1575. Copy in AGI, Lima 270, lib. 2, n. 2, ff. 244-45. It was said that at the time Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion ended, "Tiene Martín Pizarro en la mesma provincia de Otavila [Atavillos], quince leguas de Lima, 800 indios por cédula del marqués" (Loredo, *Repartos*, 221). Lockhart adds this conqueror, a distant relation of the "buenos" Pizarros, was an encomendero of Huamantanga, in the province of Canta (Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 418). Finally, the witness Diego Flores declared he knew "que de la otra parte del río [de Quivi] son indios atabillos de la encomienda de Martín Pizarro, que confinan con los indios de Canta" (AGI, Justicia 413, f. 53v, published in Rostworowski, *Conflicts over Coca Fields*).

52. Rostworowski, *Señoríos indígenas de Lima y Canta*, 131. On the other hand, once Gonzalo's rebellion had ended, we find the encomienda of don Martín Lengua in "el valle de Guarnei... 28 leguas de Lima, que son 300 indios." As for Huaura, it was reported that "tiene Ventura Beltrán en el valle de Guarna [Huaura], 18 leguas de Lima, 450 indios por cédula de Vaca de Castro; tiene Martín Salas en el dicho

striking that Huaura appeared in the list of repartimientos cited above, as belonging to young Gonzalo Pizarro. Whoever prepared the document undoubtedly was familiar with the situation, and would hardly have made a mistake. But on the other hand, it is no less striking that unlike other encomiendas, there is no evidence of any lawsuits presented by the heirs claiming their rights.

C. DISTRICT OF TRUJILLO

Pizarro gave Martín de Estete, his Lieutenant-Governor, the rich encomienda of "Chimo and Conchuco," in the district of the city of Trujillo. The document Pizarro signed made the following deposit:

en el valle de Chimo los yndios del pueblo Manziz con la persona del cacique principal del dicho valle que se llama Sachas Guaman e de los principales dél que se llaman Yspalta señor del pueblo Çarbin e de otro que se llama Ari Ari señor del pueblo Napadac e los yndios de los pueblos Piscobamba con la persona principal dél que se llama Vilcachacayco señor del pueblo Conchuco con la persona principal del dicho pueblo que se llama Apomachin....⁵³

Interestingly enough, the encomienda included both coastal --in the valley of Chimo-- and highland Indians --Piscobamba and Conchucos, from the *Callejón* of Conchucos-- but it is by no means clear if they were *mitimaes* or not. The association between Chimú and Conchucos would persist, but it has so far been impossible to establish the nature of the links joining both polities.

In 1535 Estete received an additional grant from Pizarro, which allowed him to

rescatar con el caçique chimo y con sus prinçipales e yndios que teneys deposytados y con el caçique conchuco y sus prinçipales e yndios todo el oro e plata que los dichos caçiques,

Valle de Guarna [Huaura] 150 indios por cédula de Vaca de Castro" (Loredo, *Repartos*, 219-28).

53. Cédula original de Trujillo, 5 de marzo de 1535, AGI, Justicia 1065, n. 5, r. 3, f. 11. Included in Lohmann's register, *Francisco Pizarro*, 364, where Piscobamba and Conchucos are omitted.

principales e yndios os quysyeren dar de su voluntad....⁵⁴

Estete obtained a great amount of gold and silver, which he apparently shared with Pizarro. The gold he gathered caught the eye of Bishop Berlanga during his inspection. The observations he made forced Pizarro to assert that in all of Estete's and other similar finds, "se efetuará lo que más al servicio de Su Magestad e a su real hacienda sea conveniente...."⁵⁵

After Estete died his widow, María de Escobar, married again with Francisco de Chávez, with whom she began a lawsuit to recover "seis mil quinientos marcos de plata y cierto oro" seized by the Crown's officials whilst taking them to be smelted in Trujillo. She demanded

todo el oro e plata e otras cosas que me tomaron e su depósito en poder del tesorero e oficiales de Su Magestad, que hallaron en el cacique e repartimiento que yo e el dicho mi marido teníamos que se llamaba Çachaguaman y en nombre de cristiano don Martín, cacique de Chimo....⁵⁶

Pizarro thus received a royal cédula instructing him to prepare an inquest.⁵⁷ However, María de Escobar became a widow anew shortly after, when Chávez, one of Pizarro's innermost friends, fell fighting at his side.

The repartimiento had become available after Estete's death, so Pizarro at first took it for his daughter doña Francisca. At the time, Chimo had one thousand tribute-payers, and Conchucos 800.⁵⁸ After Pizarro's death, his children fled from Lima towards the north, seeking to meet Vaca de Castro. They rested for a while in Trujillo, where they found sustenance in their encomienda. An account says that

54. Cédula del Cuzco, 12 de julio de 1535, in Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 84.

55. *Ibid.*, 207.

56. *Los Reyes*, 25 de noviembre de 1536, AGI, Justicia 1065, n. 5, r. 3, f. 2.

57. R.C. de Valladolid, 7 de diciembre de 1537, in Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 2:373-75.

58. AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 36-39; Justicia 398, n. 2, ff. 2, 185.

Los hijos del marqués fueron a recibir a Vaca hasta Quito y por algún buen respeto los dejó en la provincia de Piura y aora están en la ciudad de Truxillo adonde les da de comer el cacique Chimo y Conchuco que estaban depositados en una hija suya.⁵⁹

Vaca later on gave the repartimiento to Marshal Alonso de Alvarado, but the grant was soon revoked, and the encomienda returned to the children. This restitution was perhaps caused by Gonzalo Pizarro, who appeared before Vaca de Castro as the children's tutor before the great rebellion. Curiously enough, in none of Vaca's documents on this encomienda is Conchucos mentioned.⁶⁰

Years later, Gasca deprived the Pizarros of the encomienda of Chimo and gave it to Diego de Mora, so doña Francisca tried to recover it through an unsuccessful lawsuit. There, Mora argued that she should have not received any Indians in encomienda

ansy como es muger mestiza y no hija legítima... como porque... está mandado que los gobernadores ni sus hijos no tengan indios en encomienda....⁶¹

But Mora also argued more convincingly that the repartimientos doña Francisca had, in Huaylas and Lima, were so valuable they could well sustain two vecinos.⁶² The age of unlimited Pizzarrista power had clearly gone by.

D. DISTRICT OF CUZCO

In Cuzco, the Pizarros took over the very best imperial palaces. Francisco took that of Caxana, belonging to Inca

59. Academia de la Historia (Madrid), Colección Muñoz A-109, f. 59v. Reference found by John Murra, who pointed out the connection between Chimú and Conchucos. I am grateful to Franklin Pease for this reference.

60. Provisión de Vaca de Castro a Alvarado en el río de Vilcas, 14 de octubre de 1542, AGI, Justicia 398, n. 2, ff. 63-65; Provisión de Vaca de Castro a los menores, Cuzco, 18 de setiembre de 1543 (on ff. 3-6); presentación de GP ante Vaca de Castro (on f. 6.)

61. AGI, Justicia 398, n. 2, f. 15. As seen in chapter 2, doña Francisca was declared legitimate on her father's request.

62. AGI, Justicia 398, n. 2, f. 140.

Huayna Cápac.⁶³ The conquistador's family also appropriated great Indian encomiendas and other goods in the district of Cuzco. Unlike the rest of the Inca Empire, most of the lands around the capital city belonged to the *panacas* and the Incas themselves, and their closest relatives. They were thus worked by *yanaconas*, and so it was that a great number of them were in the area.⁶⁴ An interesting idea of John Rowe's suggests that each of the Pizarro brothers appropriated the lands of one Inca;⁶⁵ Pizarro thus took those of Huayna Capac in Yucay, Hernando those of Pachacuti in Tambo, and Gonzalo the ones in Xaquixaguana belonging to Viracocha. A testimonial asserted so:

Que los yngas, señores que fueron destos reynos, tenían por uso y costumbre de hazer sus asientos y moradas reales en distintos y separados lugares en el tiempo que reynaban, y en las dichas partes que así hazían se arraygavan de heredamientos, ganados, pastos, minerales de oro y plata, arboledas y otras haziendas, como lo hizo Viracocha Ynga en Caquia y Jaquijaguana y Paucartica, su hijo, en Tambo y en Pisac, y su hijo del dicho Pachacuti Yupangui y Pachacuti Ynga, Yupangui Topa Ynga, Yupangui⁶⁶ en Chinchero, Guailabamba y Hurcos i su hijo Guainacap [sic] en el valle de Yucay i asiento de Quisqui Guanca, y Guascar Ynga, hijo del dicho Guainacap, en Calca y Moyna y el asiento de Guascar, los quales dichos asientos hazían para la conservación de su memoria, aylllo y apellido.⁶⁷

The Repartimiento of Yucay

Francisco Pizarro took one of his most prestigious encomiendas in Yucay, in the Urubamba river valley, in a

63. Temple, "La descendencia de Huayna Cápac," (1937): 161-62.

64. Rostworowski, *Ensayos de historia andina*, 105, 267.

65. John Rowe, personal communication.

66. The passage underlined is obviously mistaken in the printed, punctuated original. In my opinion it should read: "su hijo Pachacuti Ynga Yupangui, en Tambo y en Pisac, y su hijo del dicho Pachacuti Ynga Yupangui, Topa Ynga Yupangui...." Rostworowski cites the same source, but her reading has some variants vis-a-vis my own (cf. Rostworowski, *Ensayos de historia andina*, 268).

67. AGI, Escribanía 506-A, f. 50v.

place Inca Huayna Capac had modified to build there his "residencia particular." The encomienda lay in the valley itself, but did not include its lower part, which under the name of Tambo --today's Ollantaytambo-- formed part of Hernando's encomienda. Pizarro likewise had maize and coca fields in Avisca, and some *chacras* with maize in the Cuzco valley, which were worked by the Indians from his encomienda. He also had cattle, and perhaps other minor properties.⁶⁸ Two important documents illustrate different sides of the Yucay valley, from the last years of Inca rule, to the early years of the colonial period, giving us a picture of what this encomienda was like when Pizarro held it. The first one is a 1551 visita, made to give vacant lands to Spanish vecinos.⁶⁹ The second dates from the late sixteenth century, but includes data gathered in Cuzco from 1558, and its narrative goes back to the pre-Columbian age.⁷⁰

Inca Huayna Capac transferred to the valley of Yucay a great number of people from other locations, to work on and improve terraces and other buildings. According to the inspection Pedro Gutiérrez Flores carried out on Viceroy Toledo's orders, a great number of Indians were found

que tenía nombre de yanaconas desde el tiempo del ynga, por ser muchos dellos indios mitimaes advenedizos y averlos hecho venir al dicho valle el dicho Ynga para su servicio, por ser aquel valle de Yucay recámara y recreación suya....⁷¹

Huayna Capac used both the Indians born in the valley and the *mitimaes*, all of whom paid their tribute working in the *chacras* and through personal service.⁷² But he probably divided the agricultural lands in Yucay between his many followers, besides the ones he kept for himself. For

68. For the cattle in Cuzco see AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 409-11.

69. Averiguación que se hizo de los indios que tenían el valle de Yucay, published by Horacio Villanueva Urteaga, ed., "Documento sobre Yucay."

70. Memorial del pleito entre Martín García de Loyola con el fiscal sobre el repartimiento de Yucay, AGI, Escribanía 506-A. This source gives a summary of the expediente.

71. Memorial de Martín García de Loyola, f. 9v.

72. Ibid., f. 24v.

instance, in the lands named Chalahuasi there were ten houses belonging to Raba Ocllo, "mujer que fue de Huayna Cápac, la cual era madre de Huáscar...", and besides Andapache another ten *topos* "que eran de la madre del Inca, que se llamaba Mama Anaguarque," and which Pizarro gave to doña Angelina, his "woman." Other lands belonged to Inca Roca, "tío de Huayna Cápac," and Tupac Inca Yupanqui. Population before "las guerras... así de los naturales de este dicho valle como de los mitimaes puestos por los señores" was of some "dos mil y ciento más o menos," undoubtedly referring to heads of families.⁷³

During the conquest Pizarro appropriated the valley of Yucay, along with all of its native people and *mitimaes*, the coca chacras of Tono, Canahuire, Paucarbamba, and Yanatai, and other maize fields in the same valley, plus those of Tiopampa in the Cuzco valley, also of maize.⁷⁴

The tribute paid to Pizarro by his Indians was in servicio personal, que en aquel tiempo acostumbraban a dar por no aver otra cosa, y le davan siempre camarico de maíz y otras cosas, y le beneficiaban sus chacaras assí las de coca que tenían en los Andes como las de maíz que tenían en la ciudad del Cuzco y valle de Yucay. Y después desto los indios del valle de Yucay fueron encomendados en don Francisco Pizarro, hijo del dicho marqués, al cual assí mesmo sirvieron todos los dichos indios que aora se dizen yanaconas y sus antepasados....⁷⁵

Pizarro appointed don Francisco Chilche, his Cañari ally, as the repartimiento's *cacique*. However, don García Quispicapi,

73. Averiguación de Yucay, 36-40.

74. Averiguación de Yucay, 94. On the other hand Germán Stiglich, *Diccionario geográfico del Perú. Segunda y última parte* (Lima: Torres Aguirre, 1922), 1066, indicates the Tono river is an "afluente izquierdo del Pilcopata. Prov. de Paucartambo. Dista media legua del Piñi-piñi. Nace cerca de la hacienda Cosñipata.... La boca del Tono está a 1377 metros de elevación." On Avisca he says they were "antiguos cocales de Garcilaso de la Vega. Prov. y Dist. de Paucartambo" (*ibid.*, 127). He defines Paucarbamba as a *fundo* in the province of Calca, district of Lares (*ibid.*, 802). Finally, he finds Yanatai a tributary of the Tono, on the right hand side (*Ibid.*, 1163).

75. Memorial de Martín García de Loyola, f. 5.

the former *curaca*, brought a lawsuit whose outcome confirmed an agreement reached outside the court by both Indian lords: both would be *caciques principales* of the repartimiento, Chilche of the "mitimas," Quispicapi of the native Indians.⁷⁶

After Pizarro's death the encomienda remained in the family's possession, save during Vaca de Castro's brief administration. In 1548 Gasca requested from the Council of the Indies that "mirado lo que el padre sirvió y que siempre fue fiel," the repartimiento should be awarded to don Francisco Pizarro, whom his father had not lawfully made him legitimate, but who nonetheless seemed to be "bien inclinado" at his nine or ten years of age. Gasca also requested that part of the tribute be used to "remediar dos hijuelas pequeñuelas" left behind by Juan and Gonzalo Pizarro, so as to send them to Trujillo with their respective dowry, "siquiera por habérmelas encomendado Gonzalo Pizarro." He ended requesting these tributes be used for the sustenance and voyage to Spain of a mestizo son of Gonzalo's, whom his father had wanted to have as his heir, and who was held as being "mal inclinado."⁷⁷ By the time the reply came Gasca had already left Peru, and the Audiencia was in command. The Emperor's first letter ordered that the will of the King of Bohemia be obeyed, by then and briefly in charge of the administration of the Indies.⁷⁸ These, in turn, ordered that the repartimiento of Yucay be given to the Crown, but the tribute paid to don Francisco, retaining part of it for doña Francisca and the small children of Juan and Gonzalo. By that time the repartimiento's output was taken to be "doce o trece mil pesos de oro de renta," with the coca produced in Avisca

76. Averiguación de Yucay, 107.

77. Gasca al Consejo de Indias, Lima, 26 de setiembre de 1548, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 2:272.

78. Carlos V a Gasca, Bruselas, 29 de diciembre de 1549. Mentioned in carta de los oidores a S.M., Lima, 20 de febrero de 1551, AGI, Lima 92.

included.⁷⁹ This order was immediately obeyed and carried out by the Audiencia.⁸⁰

From this moment on, royal officials were in charge of managing this encomienda, which produced accounting data, part of which has fortunately survived to the present day.⁸¹ The accountant Diego González de Vargas took charge of the accounts of the repartimientos of Yucay and Avisca from 1 July 1549, and by 18 November 1550 had received payments worth 22,570 pesos, 7 tomines, and 6 granos, for the sale of crops, coca, and maize in particular, but also some wheat. As for the accounts, it is worth noting that in these documents, not all sales made appear as *cobranzas* (or *pagos*); such is the case when sales are made on credit and the payments made in Potosí, where they were registered in the books by royal officials. This would seem to indicate that the value of the repartimiento's tribute was probably greater than what is here registered. As for the way tribute was paid in, it seems that by then it was paid in kind according to Gasca's *tasa*; for instance, it is said of the maize received that it came from the one thousand fanegas "que dan de tributo los indios de Yucay este presente año."⁸² In other words, pre-Columbian payments in labour had been abandoned, and replaced by those in kind.

The sales were made in public auction, save for a few which on Gasca's orders were made straight to the buyers. The first registered shipment of coca, which can be used as an example, corresponded to the *mita* (turn) of September 1549. The following deductions were made on the total amount of 914 baskets of coca taken from Avisca to Cuzco by Gómez de Palacio: 91 belonging to the tithes, 33 for Palacio, who

79. R.C. de Maximiliano, refrendada por Samano, Valladolid, 11 de marzo de 1550, ANB-Reales Cédulas (henceforth RC), 4.

80. Oidores a S.M., Lima, 20 de febrero de 1551, AGI, Lima 92.

81. Cargos hechos al administrador de tributos de Abisca y Yucay, 1549, AGI, Contaduría 1824, n. 3.

82. I have unfortunately been unable to find the *tasa* set by Gasca for this repartimiento.

"tiene cargo de cogerla," 1 as "derrama" used to pay for the cost of the lawsuit with the Church over the first fruits (*primicia*) from this repartimiento, 1 stolen on the road by the Indians who made the voyage, 1 to the town cryer who announced the auction, all of which came to a grand total of 127 baskets for "gastos." The other 787 baskets were used as follows: 100 were handed on Gasca's orders to Iñigo López de Moncibai, "por lo que sirvió en la guerra," 300 were sold, also on Gasca's orders, for 1,850 pesos payable in six months; 142 to Alonso de Barrionuevo at six pesos each, payable in six months; 226 were publicly auctioned to Pedro de Aguirre at 5 pesos each, and 19 baskets of damaged coca were auctioned off to Diego González, blacksmith, at 4½ pesos each. In the four following shipments, the total amount handed in varied from a minimum of 1,005, to a maximum of 1,214 baskets. Tithes were deduced from them all, plus the "partido" belonging to the man in charge of the collection, and a basket given on the road to the Indians. The sales price varied from a minimum of 2 pesos in the December 1549 *mita*, to a maximum of 4 on April 1549. In that same period some deliveries of cereals were made, particularly maize. Thus, at a public auction held on 7 August 1549, 18 *fanegas* of wheat were sold at 5 pesos and a ducado each, and 105 *fanegas* at 2 pesos each. The following April, 103½ *fanegas* of maize handed in by Chilche, the *cacique* of Yucay, yielded 1½ pesos and 6 granos each when auctioned, and in November 992 *fanegas* of maize were sold at an auction to Antón Flamenco, at 1 peso, 2 tomines, and 6 granos each.

The accountant González de Vargas also made some payments with the money he collected. Most of the ones made in 1549 are related to the expenses usually incurred in by an *encomienda*, such as wine, wax and wages and food for the *doctrinero*; others, such as reams of paper, furniture and provisions, were for the individual who made the repartimiento's accounts. However, the biggest payments were made on Gasca's orders, and were for Alonso Pérez de Valenzuela, the Oidor Pedro Maldonado, and the monastery of

Santo Domingo, in Lima. These payments came to 4,500 pesos out of a total of 5,208 pesos. In the expenses incurred later on, from 1550 to April 1552, we find some payments connected to the repartimiento, such as "12 mantas para beneficiar la coca de Avisca," and payments to royal officials "por el trabajo que tienen en Avisca:" 200 pesos a semester each, for the corregidor, the treasurer, and the accountant. A payment was likewise made to Segovia, the apothecary, for $\frac{1}{2}$ a pound of *solimán*, $\frac{1}{2}$ a pound of *cardenalillo*, and 4 ounces of alum to heal the Indians who harvested the coca-leaf in Avisca. As for legal expenses, the attorney Hernán González was paid 6 *fanegas* of maize for his participation in a lawsuit before the Audiencia of Lima against "el capitan Palomino sobre Yucanbo, cacique que pertenece a Avisca." But just like in the previous year, the biggest payments correspond to "libranzas" (bills of exchange) made on Gasca's orders, to meet debts incurred by his administration, and alien to the repartimiento's administration.

The coca from Avisca was held to be of the highest quality possible, and therefore there was a special demand for it in Potosí, Peru's biggest consumption market. For instance, a sales contract for coca made in this mining centre established that Pedro de las Casas would give Cristóbal de Medina a total amount of 2,000 baskets, in amounts to be delivered during the following 16 months in the terms agreed upon. The salesman agreed to deliver

la coca de Avisca y no de Gualla, que se coge en la provincia del Cuzco, la cual vos tengo de dar buena, que no sea dañada ni mojada sino de dar e tomar, por precio e contía de seis pesos y medio cada un cesto.⁸³

Just like the coca leaf from the *ceja de selva* retained its reputation during the colonial age, so the highly fertile Yucay valleylands near Cuzco increased in importance.

83. Potosí, 28 de julio de 1550, ANB-EP 1, f. 227v. The document cited here refers to Hernando Pizarro as one of the potential purveyors of the coca therein stipulated.

E. DISTRICT OF LA PLATA

The *Altiplano* or Collao, placed by the colonial administration under the control of the Audiencia of Charcas, was to be one of the most desired by the conquistadores. It was found at first to be heavily populated by people who devoted themselves mainly to raising great herds of Andean cameloids, llamas in particular, used both for transportation and the manufacture of woollen textiles. The area likewise had some important mining sites, where the Inca had found gold --around Chuquiago and San Juan del Oro-- and silver --in many places like Chayanta, but above all in Porco.

The Repartimiento of Chuquiago

Pizarro took for himself the encomienda of Chuquiago, which also appears in the documentation as Chuquiabo or Chuquiapo, and whose main settlement was "a cuatro leguas" from the royal road joining Cuzco and La Plata. It seems that it fell within the jurisdiction of Cuzco until the Spanish city was founded, in 1548, under the name of Nuestra Señora de La Paz. The encomienda lay in a deep valley, in the province of the Pacasas or Pacajes, through which ran a river of varying volume, potentially strong in the rainy season. Cieza says that after the Battle of Las Salinas, when Almagro was captured, Pizarro left for Collao

a visitar aquellas tierras e desagaviar a los que hubiesen recibido alguna vejación... e andando por aquellas provincias allegó a Chuquiabo, adonde acordó de se parar y estar allí dos meses.⁸⁴

It was there that in 1539, the Governor gave Pedro de Valdivia permission to discover and conquer Chile.⁸⁵ It was then that Pizarro became acquainted with his repartimientos, and probably became interested in the productive side of his enterprise.

84. Cited by Alberto Crespo, *El corregimiento de La Paz, 1548-1600* (La Paz, 1972), 20.

85. Manuel Rigoberto Paredes, *La Paz y la provincia El Cercado* (La Paz, 1955), 12.

The area's gold mines, whose exploitation was well under way when the Spaniards arrived, undoubtedly held the biggest fascination for Pizarro; the chronicler Mena says that whilst in prison, Inca Atahualpa told Pizarro

que las minas del Collado [sic] eran de aquel cabo del Cuzco y eran más ricas, porque sacaban dellas el oro en granos grandes y no se lavaba el oro, mas del río lo sacaban en grano.⁸⁶

One account says Pizarro "las labró y benefició y sacó dellas mucha cantidad de oro por sus mayordomos y criados."⁸⁷ Pizarro hired Hernando Sánchez de Pineda in 1535, to look after the mining of gold in the Collao, almost certainly meaning the mines of Chuquiago. The mayordomo would receive 5,000 pesos three years later for serving the Governor

en las minas de Collao y en otras cualesquier donde su señoría oviere de coger e cogiere oro, e para mirar e facer proveer e bastecer las cuadrillas que anduvieren en las dichas minas, y entender en granjear e beneficiar los indios de repartimiento que tiene o toviere en la dicha provincia del Collao, e facer e proveer y entender en todo lo demás que tocara a la hacienda e granjerías que su señoría tuviere en los dichos dominios de Collao....⁸⁸

By the time the conquest took place, gold mining must have been the most important activity in the area, and it was said that a local cult was connected to this activity. An account claimed that:

La gente deste asiento y pueblo de Chuquiapo tenían por adoración una guaca que se llamaba Choque-Guanca, que quiere decir "Señor del oro que no mengua", porque al pie del dicho cerro y junto a él están muchas minas de oro que se han labrado y beneficiado en tiempo de la gentilidad y después que los españoles conquistaron esta tierra, y hoy día hay alguna labor en las dichas minas de donde sacan los indios de Chuquiabo oro para sus tributos y tasas....⁸⁹

86. Quoted in Crespo, *Corregimiento de La Paz*, 21-22.

87. "Descripción y relación de la ciudad de La Paz, (1586)," in Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*, 1:342.

88. Cuzco, 17 de julio de 1535, in Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 253-54.

89. "Descripción de la ciudad de La Paz," 346.

The Hillemana or Illimani, which was translated as "cosa para siempre," was likewise worshipped.⁹⁰

We find, in the list of Peruvian repartimientos made once Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion was over, a brief description of the "indios que hai en la provincia de Chuquiabo que fueron del marqués don Francisco Pizarro," which are summarized in table 2. Pizarro must have had at his command more than the 10,000 tribute-payers then present, thus making this encomienda the most heavily populated of all the ones he had.

However, the tribute set down by Gasca's envoys was pretty modest in comparison with other parts of Peru, and, curiously enough, gold did not figure as one of the items given in tribute. In contraposition, a small group of *yunga* Indians paid their tribute with coca. Of these, in 1548, Gasca gave to Francisco de Barrionuevo and Alonso de Barrionuevo *El Manco* "las tres cuartas partes del cacique Collo, del pueblo de Chipe," on condition they lived "en el pueblo que nuevamente por mi mandado se ha de poblar e fundar."⁹¹

Gasca had the city of La Paz founded in 1548, as a settlement mid-way between Cuzco and La Plata; the first *cabildo* met in the nearby town of Llaxa or Laja, which lied straight over the royal road. There were some disagreements over the exact site where to raise the city, but the *hoyada* of Chuquiapo won the day over the town of Yunguyo.⁹² By then, it seems, gold mining had noticeably gone down, so the first settlers tried to have the city moved to another site, where it would be easier to find their sustenance.⁹³

90. Ibid.

91. Archivo Colonial del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, La Paz, D1-1-85. Original copy in AGI, 49-5-2/27.

92. *Actas Capitulares de la ciudad de La Paz, 1548-1562*, ed. H. Gabriel Feyles, (La Paz: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas y Culturales de La Paz de la H. Municipalidad de La Paz, 1965), 1:23-30.

93. Crespo, *Corregimiento de La Paz*, 16.

TABLE 2
REPARTIMIENTO OF CHUQUIABO,
"FORMERLY" OF FRANCISCO PIZARRO, YEAR 1548

| <i>PROVINCIA</i> | <i>PUEBLO</i> | <i>CACIQUE PRINCIPAL</i> | <i>SEGUNDA TRIBUTARIOS PERSONA</i> | <i>TRIBUTOS</i> | |
|----------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| Comasuiro | Cahatarche | Yabita | Zuguparo | 750 | Ropa, maíz, trigo, carne |
| | Guarina | Yabaique | Pati | 900 | Ropa, maíz, trigo, carne |
| | Puntazari | Chipana | Guaguacho | 800 | Ropa, maíz, trigo, carne |
| | Calamanta | Ychota | Uri | 600 | Ropa, maíz, trigo, carne |
| | Chuquiabo | El Gulli | | 400 | Ropa, maíz, trigo |
| | Viacha | Miva | Pati | 600 | Ropa, maíz, trigo, carne |
| | Caxa | Minaguanta | | 600 | Ropa, maíz, trigo, carne |
| | Traguanaco | Ticona | Ychota | 600 | Ropa, maíz, trigo, carne, pescas |
| | Guaqui | Chigualzai | Ticona | 750 | Ropa, maíz, trigo, carne |
| | Chorcosuio | Marchara | Luque | Sura | 1,350 |
| Cataiache | | Quintalabra | | 1,200 | Ropa, maíz, trigo, carne |
| Cataiache | | Guaiba | | 960 | Ropa, maíz, trigo, carne |
| Carquingora | | Tola | | 850 | Ropa, maíz, trigo, carne |
| Indios Yungas ¹ | | "Barbas de plata" | | 50 | Coca |
| | Peri | Tata | | 35 | Coca |
| | Chupe | Collo | | 50 | Coca |
| | Ari | Mezillo | | 35 | Coca |
| | Yanacarche | Opoco | | 40 | Coca |
| | | | | 10,570 | |

SOURCE: Elaborated from Loredó, *Repartos*, 205-10.

1. The transcription reads "Indios *Ingas* de Chuquiabo", but it should say "Yungas", especially since it refers to the coca-leaf producing area of La Paz.

In 1586 there were many Indian settlements of undoubted pre-Columbian origin along the valley, including Mecapaca and Taguapalca below La Paz, as well as Ango-Ango and Canoma, all of them ruined some time before in a landslide. Their inhabitants, all of them Pacajes, were people who lived in a cold environment and took llamas, wool, dresses, and salt to the nearby warm lands of the yungas, where they exchanged them for maize, coca, and wheat.⁹⁴

B. PUNA

A *Memoria*, written about the Indians of Charcas around 1548, stated the repartimiento of Puna had been Pizarro's. The tribute was set at 500 *fanegas* of maize a year, plus 50 Indians to work the mines belonging to the encomendero, but noting the repartimiento was

muy disipado porque todos los capitanes que han estado en esta provincia en las alteraciones de Gonzalo Pizarro se han servido dellos i han sido rancheados.⁹⁵

This repartimiento was located near the mines of Porco, and it can be surmised Pizarro took it over for this reason. A witness in an *información* which specifically referred to the Indians belonging to Pizarro, asserted that

los indios de las Charcas eran indios de interese por que servían en la mina de plata y tenían mucha coca y comida de que se sacaba grande interese....⁹⁶

The *tasa* Gasca had prepared can give us an idea of this repartimiento's volume and output, which probably was less than in Pizarro's time. Payment in cash would reach 4,500 pesos *ensayados* a year, whilst payment in kind included a wide range of items, such as *abasca* clothes, blankets and other items for horses, partridges, eggs, pigs, salt, "*pescuezos de ovejas adobados*," sandals, and the usual sustenance for the *doctrinero*. Finally, personal services

94. "Descripción de la ciudad de La Paz," 347-50.

95. Loredó, *Repartos*, 172.

96. Declaración de Alonso de Billar, AGI, Justicia 1054, n. 3, r. 1, pza. 2.

would be used to sow the encomendero's fields, watch over his herds and work in his house. After the Pizarrista uprising, Puna passed to the Crown; by royal decree don Juan de Sandobal, the district's corregidor, received the tribute from 1 January 1555.⁹⁷

Following the same trend which existed throughout Peru, Viceroy Toledo converted the repartimiento's standing *tasa* into its monetary value. As tribute had been paid in kind for the previous years, the auction price of the tribute during the last five years was used to find an annual average. This average would then be the new *tasa*, now set in cash, being the apparent intention to abolish payments in kind and personal services. It is clear that although the *tasa* does not include working in the mines, Toledo likewise levied this *mita* too.

The Mines of Porco

Mining was the Pizarro's main entrepreneurial concern. Juan Rodríguez Pizarro once said he had sold

fuelles para derretir el dicho metal de la dicha mina quel dicho don Francisco Pizarro tenía en las dichas minas de Porco....⁹⁸

A message Francisco sent to Hernando reported on the outputs yielded by "unas minas de plata en los Charcas y otras en la costa."⁹⁹ The following year Francisco empowered Hernando Díaz, "especialmente para que en mi nombre toméis minas de oro y de plata," stake them out and have them registered.¹⁰⁰

Mining was a special concern of Pizarro's right from the earliest stages of the conquest; we have already seen how many Indians said they had taken the Pizarros to the mines of

97. Tasa del repartimiento de Puna, Los Reyes, 7 de octubre de 1550, Archivo Histórico de Potosí-Cajas Reales (henceforth AHP-CR) 1, ff. 63-66v.

98. AGI, Justicia 1054, n. 3, r. 1, 2a pza., f. [204-205v].

99. The document, which was dated 1540, is now lost, but its existence may be inferred from Carta de HP al emperador, Madrid, 19 de marzo de 1541 (Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, 357).

100. *Ibid.*, 262.

Porco, which were already being worked before the Spaniards arrived.¹⁰¹ Diego de Ocaña, a perceptive Spanish chronicler who visited the area in the late-seventeenth century, asserts Pizarro went to Porco in search of mines. As for the quality of the mineral mined, he reported there was no need to have it smelted, for silver lay "limpia" in the lodes; however, the mines were often flooded.¹⁰²

The houses Pizarro had in the village of Porco bear witness to what was needed to lodge his mayordomos, *criados*, and followers. He had some houses in the main square, later enlarged after purchasing the neighbouring buildings. They were described as follows, when Antonio de Figueroa, mayordomo to Hernando and doña Francisca, sold them to Pedro Moreno, a vecino of the mining town of Porco:

unas casas e tiendas con sus altos e buhíos e con todo lo en ellas edificado que todo ello está cercado a la redonda que los dichos Hernando Pizarro e doña Francisca Pizarro, su muger, tienen en el dicho asiento de Porco en la plaza pública dél, las cuales dichas casas e tiendas son las que la dicha doña Francisca Pizarro hubo de Marcos de Charamonte, que alindan de la una parte con otras casas que en el dicho asiento tiene la dicha doña Francisca Pizarro, e asimesmo vendo en el dicho nombre las casas que la dicha doña Francisca Pizarro tiene en el dicho asiento que son las casas que fueron del marqués don Francisco Pizarro, difunto... las cuales dichas casas alindan con casas e tiendas que la dicha doña Francisca hubo del dicho Marcos de Charamonte e con la plaza pública del dicho asiento y calle Real en medio alindan con casas de Juan de Campos, vecino del dicho asiento....¹⁰³

Francisco, Hernando, and Gonzalo dedicated much of their efforts and investments in working the mines of Porco. It is unfortunate that we have no sources with figures for silver produced or smelted, but qualitative data indicates these mines held the attention of the three brothers, which almost certainly resulted in important financial benefits. This is the reason why European inputs and qualified personnel were

101. See chapter 7.

102. Diego de Ocaña, *A través de la América del Sur*, ed. Arturo Alvarez, (Madrid: Historia 16, 1987), 160.

103. La Plata, 1 de setiembre de 1573, ANB-EP 24, ff. 217v-21.

sent, houses kept here, and why they stubbornly fought over them in many courtrooms.¹⁰⁴

The Villa Imperial of Potosí

Mining had not yet begun in Potosí during Pizarro's lifetime, so the *bienes propios* doña Francisca had in the *Villa Imperial* were purchased later. Just like in previous instances, we have documentation prepared by her representatives when these properties were sold, however not so for their purchase. So it was that Antonio de Figueroa sold the following in Potosí to Pedro Bernal de Acosta, for the considerable sum of two thousand pesos *ensayados*:

cinco tiendas con sus casas... que la dicha doña Francisca Pizarro tenía como bienes suyos propios... [ubicadas todas juntas] en la calle que sale de la plaza de la dicha villa, la cual va al monesterio del señor San Francisco della, que alindan por la una parte con casas del capitán Juan Ortiz de Zárate e por las espaldas alindan con casas de Su Magestad....¹⁰⁵

We unfortunately ignore what the houses were used for, but doña Francisca's interests in Potosí were certainly limited, for no information has been found on activities like those in Porco or La Plata, two places in this area where the Pizarros concentrated their entrepreneurial interests.

F. DISTRICT OF AREQUIPA

Francisco Pizarro had some possessions in the city of Arequipa and its vicinity, which have been identified thanks to the documentation prepared for their sale. Two neighbouring properties located in the city centre, belonging to doña Francisca, which she must have inherited from her father, were sold by Antonio de Figueroa to Diego Hernández de la Cuba, vecino of Arequipa, and to Pedro Bernal de Acosta, vecino of Potosí. The first of these, sold at 800 gold pesos, was described thus:

104. See data presented in chapters 4, 5, and 6.

105. La Plata, 9 de julio de 1573, ANB-EP 24, ff. 240v-42.

un solar del patrimonio de la dicha doña Francisca Pizarro que la dicha doña Francisca tenía en la dicha ciudad de Arequipa, que alindaba con otro solar que tenía junto a él la dicha doña Francisca Pizarro y, asimismo, por la otra parte alindaba con solares que el cabildo de la dicha ciudad tenía, en questá edificado casas de cabildo, alhóndiga e carnicería....¹⁰⁶

Pizarro also had some farmlands in the city. This same Figueroa sold the following to Toribio de Alcaraz, vecino of La Plata, at 1,400 pesos of *plata corriente*:

una chácara questá en la cibdad de Arequipa, junto a ella que tiene por lindero el camino que va a la mar que se dice Socavaya y por la otra parte otro camino que se dice Carampata y así mismo las chácaras de Hernando Pizarro que al presente posee el licenciado Gómez Hernández, la cual dicha chácara fue del marqués don Francisco Pizarro y la vendió por una deuda que devía a Juan de la Torre y el dicho Juan de la Torre la vendió por deuda a doña Francisca Pizarro a cuyo nombre hago e otorgo esta dicha carta de venta....¹⁰⁷

The sequence of purchases is certainly strange, and perhaps reflects an attempt to conceal the property when it was in danger of being confiscated, as happened many other times.¹⁰⁸

Pizarro must also have had two other properties outside the city, which were sold to Gaspar de Armenta by Antonio de Ribera, doña Francisca's tutor, for 150 pesos *ensayados*. These two *solares* were

fuera de la ciudad de Arequipa junto a ella linderos con solares de Juan de Herrera de los yanaguares de la una parte e de la otra los linderos declarados en el título que la dicha ciudad dellos dio a la dicha mi menor....¹⁰⁹

I was unable to find any trace of Pizarro ever having an *encomienda* in the district of Arequipa; this is indeed

106. The sale of the first *solar* was attested before Pedro de Vergara, Los Reyes, 15 Dec. 1567. The transaction was later confirmed in La Plata, 9 Sept. 1573, *ibid.*, ff. 233-34. The second *solar* was sold on 1 Sept. 1573, *ibid.*, ff. 219-20v.

107. La Plata, 2 de setiembre de 1572, ANB-EP 2, ff. 908-12v.

108. On the confiscations see, especially, chapters 5 and 6.

109. Los Reyes, 4 de julio de 1552 ante Bartolomé Gascón, copy in AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 451-52.

strange, particularly because of the solares doña Francisca had in an excellent location, and the *chacras* in the vicinity. It is thus possible that if Pizarro did not have any repartimientos in Arequipa, then the titles to some of the properties were perhaps secretly switched from Gonzalo to doña Francisca, to prevent their loss.

G. DISTRICT OF QUITO

Pizarro had two *solares* in the city's main square, plus some lands in Pomasqui and Guayllabamba. In his capacity as tutor to his brother's children, Gonzalo made a donation to the monastery of La Merced, on doña Francisca's behalf, to found a *capellanía* which would keep the memory of her father. The friars bound themselves to build a chapel in the monastery, and to have mass said there for the soul of the deceased.¹¹⁰ Three years later doña Francisca noted in a notarial deed, that her tutor --then Antonio de Ribera-- had sold these *solares* to the Bishop of Quito without her consent. She confirmed the donation Gonzalo had made, and demanded from don Antonio the restitution of the 400 gold pesos he received from the Bishop.¹¹¹

H. BUSINESS AFFAIRS AND COMPANIES

Pizarro began a great many mercantile operations in Peru, both on his own and in association with other people, who took over direct management of the company. An example of the first would be the clothes he imported. One document shows Pizarro gave 1,300 pesos to Hernando de Çavallos, "para traer cierta ropa empleada de España." A shipment of clothes was sent to him at Tierra Firme after his death, and the one hundred boxes which made up this shipment were later sold in Lima.¹¹²

110. Quito, 2 de junio de 1546, in Barriga, *Mercedarios en el Perú*, 2:148-50.

111. Lima, 31 de agosto de 1549, in *ibid.*, 2:159-60.

112. Declaración de Juan de Barbarán.

TABLE 3

ESTIMATED POPULATION IN ENCOMIENDAS OF FRANCISCO PIZARRO
c. 1535

| ENCOMIENDA | No. OF TRIBUTE PAYERS | TOTAL POPULATION (TRIBUTARIES X 5) |
|---------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| HUAYLAS | 3,000 | 15,000 |
| CHIMO | 1,000 | 5,000 |
| CONCHUCO | 800 | 4,000 |
| LIMA | 3,000 | 15,000 |
| CHUQUITANTA | 200 | 1,000 |
| ATAVILLOS | 3,000 | 15,000 |
| YUCAY | 2,100 | 10,500 |
| CHUQUIABO | 10,000 | 50,000 |
| PUNA | 2,000 | 10,000 |
| TOTAL: | 25,100 | 125,500 |

SOURCES: Elaboration from data in chapter 8.

Even more important were the companies established in Peru for specific transactions. Particularly important is the one made with the *veedor* García de Salcedo, to work the Nazca valley. It follows, from a document found in the registers of a notary which was never completed, and declared void, that the partners had established an "ingenio y azúcares" in this valley, so we may well surmise they distilled *aguardiente*.¹¹³ The *veedor* also had a "fragua y tienda," but we do not know whether or not it belonged to the company he had with Pizarro. Salcedo employed Diego Méndez, his nephew, and it was said the cruelties he committed against the Indians included placing the *curaca* in irons to force him to pay tribute to the *veedor*. It was also said "toda la gente" of Condesuyo, "que es una gran ladronera," would go to Nazca to buy provisions, and then "se mete a sus escondrijos."¹¹⁴

The *veedor* was apparently the man in charge of running the company. In 1549, don Antonio de Ribera requested arbitration for the many conflicts caused by the company. The capital invested by Pizarro, plus all profits up to the moment accounts were rendered --in a non-specified date, but in Pizarro's lifetime, and before *Licenciado* Espinosa, Antonio Picado, and Bernardino de Valderrama-- came to 12,500 pesos. Still to be added were what that money had "interesado o podían interesar desde el día del fenescimiento de la dicha cuenta asta oy," a sum estimated at 7,500 pesos.¹¹⁵ There also remained, however, some accounts pending, which the *veedor* tried to solve fast. Catalina de la Cueva, doña Francisca's governess, once declared that on her arrival to Los Reyes,

113. Hernando Delgadillo en nombre de HP, La Plata, 23 de mayo de 1575, ANB-EP 24, ff. 160v-61.

114. Martín Monje a GP, La Nasca, 23 de noviembre de 1546, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 2:74-75.

115. Compromiso entre FaP y Salcedo, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 550-58. Not much attention was apparently given to the *carta de finiquito* Salcedo received at an unknown date from Cristóbal de Burgos, who had supposedly acted under a power of attorney issued by Francisco Pizarro.

la dicha doña Francisca Pizarro tenía ya formada compañía con el dicho veedor García de Salzedo y les vido tratar, hablando de la dicha compañía al dicho veedor, el qual le dixo muchas vezes a esta testigo: "señora, yo os daré seis mill castellanos por que agáis que doña Francisca me firme un finequito que no lo sepa su curador ni naide", y esta testigo no se lo dixo a la dicha doña Francisca....¹¹⁶

Doña Francisca was then twelve.

Both parties agreed to request the mediation of Diego Vázquez de Cepeda and Juan Fernández, who promptly passed judgment. Salcedo would have to pay the 20 thousand pesos he owed within a year, in three parts. (See the *carta de compromiso* in appendix 4.)¹¹⁷ The sum was not too great for the amount of transactions made by Salcedo, who, for instance, had another lawsuit pending over 100,000 pesos when he died.¹¹⁸ However, the wily royal official did not keep his word, and two decades later, doña Francisca obtained a verdict from the Council of the Indies, allowing her to collect the aforesaid sum from the estate of the deceased *veedor*.¹¹⁹

Pizarro also had other companies, like those with Gaspar Rodríguez, Armenta, and Pérez de Vicuña. With Rodríguez, father and daughter worked mines in Porco, using some tools supplied by Pizarro,¹²⁰ but the data available on these companies are scanty. Pizarro also had some vessels on the Pacific Ocean, like the galleon San Cristóbal,¹²¹ and the "nao grande" Santiago,¹²² amongst others.

116. Trujillo (España), 24 de abril de 1566, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, f. 699.

117. Dictamen del 13 de setiembre de 1549 and Carta de compromiso entre FaP y García de Salcedo, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 550-58.

118. AGI, Indiferente 857.

119. Madrid, 22 de diciembre de 1571, AGI, Escribanía 952.

120. Declaración de Juan de Barbarán, AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 1124, 1178; Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, xx-xxi.

121. FP y Andrés de Azcutia, contra maestre, Lima, 27 de mayo de 1536, in *ibid.*, 255-56.

122. Poder de FP al maestre Diego García, Tambo de Chíncha, 27 de junio de 1537, *ibid.*, 259.

I. CONCLUSION

The income from the Pizarrista estate cannot be quantified, both due to the way it was worked before the establishment of tribute rates, and the lack of sources. But having traced the properties after Pizarro's death, when tributes had already been fixed in personal labour, kind, and cash, the country was better-known, and Indians had a greater access to the colonial government, one can certainly conclude no person or business group managed to equal the estate the conquistador and his brothers had, either in volume, scope, or complexity. Pizarro took approximately 25,100 tribute payers for himself and his children in encomiendas located all over the former Tahuantinsuyo, but especially in Collao and Charcas. Using the standard rate of conversion of 1:5, these tribute payers equal a total population of 125,500 people (see table 3).

The properties belonging to Pizarro and his heirs here detailed, show the wide range of possessions and deals begun by the Governor, rather than an exhaustive list of his estate. There can be no doubt Pizarro amassed the best resources the land could offer both in terms of tribute as well as in commercial, mining, and industrial ventures.

CHAPTER 9

THE ESTATE OF THE PIZARRO BROTHERS

Francisco's brothers were in a privileged condition to acquire possessions both due to their closeness to the Governor, and for their participation in the conquest right from its very beginning. We have seen throughout this dissertation that it was Hernando who stood out the most for his entrepreneurial acumen; he was also, thanks to his marriage to doña Francisca, the one who amassed the largest estate.¹ Juan died early and, after the execution of Gonzalo, Hernando, by then the sole surviving brother, was left just with what the authorities failed to identify as belonging to Gonzalo. Although not really a member of the Pizarro "clan", Francisco Martín de Alcántara is here included because of his kinship and closeness to the Governor, with whom he died on the day of the Almagrista assault.

Many reasons led me to see the brothers' possessions as a unit. First of all, I wanted to answer the important question of what the booty derived from conquest was, i.e. the productive units and the labour taken by the group closest to the Governor, and how they were connected. On the other hand, interesting data on specific points of Peru's pre-Columbian history surfaced because these were early repartimientos. In the case of the encomiendas of Hernando and Gonzalo, for instance, the study of the units received and consolidated by the respective cédulas of 1539 and 1540 is extremely interesting. Many towns and *caciques* are therein named, who were often in charge of 10 or 20 tribute-paying Indians, rarely exceeding 100 or 200, but who on the whole

1. For the merging of Hernando's estate see chapter 5.

reached a total of some thousands of Indians in all the lands of the *gobernación* of New Castile.

A. HERNANDO PIZARRO

His leading role in the conquest, and the influence he exerted over the Governor, allowed Hernando to take possession of an important group of properties in Peru. He received in *encomienda* Indians who not only paid big amounts of tribute, but who also made it possible to work the coca plantations and the mines in Cuzco and Charcas.

A *provisión* given by Francisco Pizarro to Hernando gives us an idea of the immense desires of the conquistador's brother. The date of this document indicates Hernando requested it in order to take it to Spain and have it confirmed by the King. Table 4 shows a summary of the *provisión*.²

The towns and *curacas* given in *encomienda* were located exclusively in Cuzco and the province of Charcas. As regards the first, many valleys, towns, and *curacas* are individually named, and seem to represent small demographic centres, albeit without specifying the amount of inhabitants or tributaries.³ It is possible that some units enjoyed a certain degree of political autonomy which perhaps coincided with the Inca's personal possessions, and that of their followers and descendants as well as the *panacas*, but it is extremely difficult to establish if this indeed reflects a pre-Columbian situation, for the political structuring of these units remains unknown. However, the *cédulas* and other documentation on *encomiendas* would in future refer to greater units, often of colonial manufacture, without giving any details on their foundations. Nor is it possible to establish

2. Cuzco, 27 de abril de 1539, refrendado por Antonio Picado. Copies in AGI, Patronato 188, r. 20, ff. 19-21; Justicia 449, n. 1, pza. 2, ff. 53-55; Escribanía 498-A, ff. 1017-21.

3. A similar case happened with the *encomienda* given to Lucas Martínez Vegazo in 1540, but in this instance Pizarro's *cédula* included the amount of tributaries for each place. See Trelles, *Lucas Martínez Vegazo*, 139-62.

TABLE 4

**DEPOSITO DE ENCOMIENDA GRANTED TO HERNANDO PIZARRO,
YEAR 1539¹**

1. En provincia de Chinchasuyo, el cacique Curiata, señor del pueblo Mayo e sierra.
2. Tomebamba, todos sus indios principales a ellos sujetos.
3. Pueblo de Hurco de que es cacique Curiana e otro pueblo de que es cacique Atapoma con todos sus indios e principales a ellos sujetos.
4. El cacique de Tambo.
5. Pueblo de Chauca de que es cacique Tito.
6. Valle de Amaybamba y cacique Xuaxca con indios y mitimaes.
7. Valle de Pisco con los caciques Guaxane y Choyarama.
8. Pueblo de Biticos.
9. Valle de Bilcabamba.
10. En la provincia de Condesuyo, el pueblo Chuco con caciques Atao, Huyoya y Apoama.
11. En la provincia de los Canas el cacique Guanco y el cacique Tinta.
12. En la provincia de Andesuyo el pueblo de Calca y el señor dél Ymamananchaca y otro pueblo Pacamarca y el principal Mancho.
13. Pueblo Pacallata.
14. Pueblo Tabapaca y el principal Cayata.
15. Pueblo Guayacara y el principal Halloa.
16. Pueblo Puchimanco.
17. Pueblo Pascarpate y el señor Pueblo [sic].
18. Pueblo Pacomucho y el principal Mancho.
19. Pueblo Cur y el principal Atapoma.
20. Curuana que es principal de Tarama.
21. Principal Pichomango [¿de Tarama?].
22. Pueblo Pampallata y el principal Cuxi.
23. Pueblo Quicha y el principal Ruanacayta
24. Pueblo Landio y Parco
25. En los yungas el valle de Toayma con todos sus indios y principales y mitimaes a ellos sujetos.
26. El cacique Atapoma señor del pueblo Hurcomarca, pueblo del que es principal Chuquina, que tiene dos pueblezuelos.
27. Tanboqui y el principal Punga Huma.
28. Pueblo Horo, principal Maringa con otro pueblezuelo.
29. Pueblezuelo Yquico principal Abeacapi.
30. Otro [¿pueblo o principal?] Pencipati.
31. Otro Acoyta.
32. Otro Puybita y el cacique Ynelnache.
33. Pueblo Chilbanbaca principal Pucullasilla.
34. Pueblo Vichunga principal Guaman.
35. Pueblo Talmaro principal Canauena.
36. Pueblo Pomacollo principal Parmauati.
37. Pueblo Chuqui-Carando donde tiene su casa Atapoma.
38. En la provincia de los Charcas: en Consara y en Churinsaya los caciques Chuqueguanta, Yncura, Aytacha, Aoxi, Canchi, Banbacona y Cocon.
39. [Repite el anterior].
40. En la provincia de los Chichas, en Hurinsuyo, el cacique Unichuca y el cacique Chapora y el cacique Condori y el cacique Talaua y el cacique Hallapa.
41. En Anansuyo el cacique Chuchullamasa y el cacique Sindara y Yelma y Tucapa y el principal Caritima de Callao y el principal Arucapapa mitima de Ocolla y el principal Amanacache, mitima de Canche y el principal Condoricana, mitima de Pisquillata y el principal Malo mitima de Caranga y el principal Chico mitima de Quillara y el principal Caguarcá Pariaguana mitima de Condesuyo y el principal Chiara mitima de Collaga y el principal Chiara mitima de Aucachicha mitima del Cuzco y el principal Tarraenrraua__ mitima de Tanbo y el principal Tasega mitima de Sura.

1. Cédula de depósito granted by Francisco Pizarro, Cuzco, 27 de abril de 1539 ante Antonio Picado. Copy in AGI, Patronato 188, r. 20, ff. 19-21. Other copies with orthographic variations in Justicia 449, n. 1, pza. 2, ff. 53-55 and Escribanía 498-A, ff. 1017-21.

which of the repartimientos given by Pizarro were actually worked by Hernando, but we do have later sources which allow us to describe the ones he retained, or tried to, once Gonzalo's rebellion was over, and which in general seem to correspond to those in the 1539 *provisión*. Sources, however, show the lesser units consolidated within the greater repartimientos.

District of Lima

Hernando owned some houses in Lima,⁴ but his main activities --coca and mines-- related him primarily with the cities of Cuzco, La Plata, and then Potosí.

Chincha

Chincha's wealth stood out among the first news received by the Spaniards as they neared the Peruvian coast, and thus moved Pizarro to have this province included in the *Capitulación*, as part of his *gobernación*. In Cajamarca, the Spaniards saw that the lord of Chincha was the only one carried in a litter, besides Atahualpa. His prominence, the Inca explained to Pizarro, followed from his being an "amigo suyo" and "gran señor de los llanos", who had 100,000 rafts at sea.⁵ According to Craig Morris, the huge buildings dating to the kingdom of Chincha evince the immense riches of the valley at the moment it was annexed to the Inca empire, presumably peacefully. The Incas took advantage of the long local tradition of centralized command, which by placing them at the top, allowed them to rule through local officials.⁶

Sixteenth-century sources tell us the valley's population prior to the conquest was made up by specialist groups of merchants, peasants, and fishermen. Their trade

4. Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú*, 2:537; HC 1:56.

5. Rostworowski, *Costa peruana prehispánica*, 218. The figure is doubtless an exaggeration, but does give some idea of the importance of Chincha.

6. Craig Morris and Adriana von Hagen, *The Inka Empire and its Andean Origins* (New York: Abbeville Press for the American Museum of Natural History, 1993), 146, 163.

routes took them to two areas: the first reached the warm Manta region in the north by sea, the second, Cuzco and Collao by land. This has recently been archaeologically confirmed by Morris. It was said that the *curacas* had a substantial amount of gold and silver, a great part of which was inside the valley's graves, thus moving Hernando to pillage them.⁷

The repartimiento of the Chincha valley was given to Hernando by his brother, in return for

los servicios que vos el capitán Hernando Pizarro avéis hecho a su Magestad en los reinos de Spaña y el reino de Navarra... e porque así mismo os hallastes conmigo en la conquista y pacificación destos reinos a la vuestra costa, avéis servido en ello y fuistes a servir a Su Magestad e a llevarle el tesoro que se ganó en esta tierra....⁸

Juan Carlos Crespo notes that according to the *cédula* of encomienda itself, Hernando received Chincha with the "mytimaes e tratantes e plateros" who were abroad, but not the fishermen, evincing once more that the fleeting encomendero's ambition was again centred on precious metals.⁹

Hernando was forced to renounce the encomienda shortly after receiving it. A *cédula* signed by the Queen said she had been informed

que aveys repartido o quereys repartir a personas particulares la provincia de Chincha y mudar en ella al pueblo de Xauxa.¹⁰

However, she reminded the Governor the "cabeceras de provincia" belonged to the Crown, and therefore commanded that the encomienda of Chincha "la pongáis luego en nuestra

7. Rostworowski, *Costa peruana prehispánica*, 214-15, 224, 232-38; Morris and Hagen, *The Inka Empire*, 146.

8. En el tambo de Pachacama, 5 de enero de 1534, ante Antonio Picado. Copy of Valladolid, 12 de julio de 1555, ante Martín de Zamoyñ, *escribano de Su Magestad*, AGI, Justicia 1075, n. 1, r. 4, ff. 2-3. It must be an *escribano de corte*, for he does not figure among those of the city.

9. Juan Carlos Crespo, "Chincha y el mundo andino en la Relación de 1558," *Histórica* 2 (1978): 189-90; Crespo, "La Relación de Chincha (1558)," *Historia y Cultura* 8 (1974): 91-104.

10. Madrid, 5 de febrero de 1536, in Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 2:132.

cabeza." Pizarro complied, and tributes began to be paid to the Crown in 1538.¹¹

Three decades later, a lawsuit brought by the *fiscal* against Hernando still awaited verdict in the Audiencia of Lima, for the "ciento e tantos mil pesos" in tribute he had collected from the Indians of Chíncha and Manta, but it would have been difficult to pass sentence for the proceedings of the trial had been lost.¹²

District of Cuzco

In Cuzco, the Pizarros took the best imperial palaces. Hernando took Amaru Cancha, which had previously belonged to Hernando de Soto. On the latter's departure from Peru, Hernando obtained a *provisión* signed by his brother, the Governor, which he later on sold to the Company of Jesus for 14,000 pesos.¹³

The Coca Business

One activity Hernando soon got involved in was the coca-leaf trade. Murra believes Francisco Pizarro's repartimiento in Yucay, had been connected with the coca plantations located on the eastern slopes of the *cordillera* since pre-Columbian times, in the area now known as the *ceja de selva*, and to which sixteenth-century sources refer to as "los Andes."¹⁴ It does seem a connection did exist once --which the Incas

11. For the later management of the encomienda by royal officials see Teodoro Hampe Martínez, "Notas sobre la encomienda real de Chíncha en el siglo XVI (Administración y tributos)," *Revista de Historia de América* 100 (1985): 119-39.

12. Pliego del fiscal de S.M., Los Reyes, 9 de junio de 1570, AGI, Lima 270, lib. 1, f. 138. The mention of "Chíncha y Manta" may suggest that Hernando collected tribute from a possible Chíncha enclave in the northern polity of Manta.

13. Temple, "La descendencia de Huayna Cápac," (1937): 161-62; Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro* 175-76.

14. John V. Murra, "Introducción al estudio histórico del cultivo de la hoja de coca [Erythroxylon coca] en los Andes," chapter in *Visita de los valles de Sonqo en los yunka de coca de La Paz [1568-1570]*, ed. J.V. Murra (Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, Sociedad Estatal Quinto Centenario, and Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, 1991), 568.

preserved once they won the land-- between the peoples who mastered the highland space and the *ceja de selva*, and which perhaps was pre-Inca in origin. The Inca conquest of the Andes took place step by step, following their usual pattern of gradual expansion. In 1571 a witness declared having been present "cuando los yngas descubrieron los Andes," because before that "no había sino unos pedazillos de chacarillas pequeñas donde la cogían [la coca] y beneficiaban."¹⁵

When referring to the coca plantations in the Andes, Matienzo specified that the *camayos* "son los indios yanaconas que están residiendo en las chacaras a la continua...", and were in charge of making the baskets, of placing the coca in them, and drying the leaves in the sun, but not of preparing the land or the harvest. As for their origin, he said they "están allí del tiempo del Inga, y sus hixos y nietos [de los *camayos*], los cuales pusieron los Ingas del mesmo repartimiento que obligaron a coxer aquella chacara...."¹⁶

In a 1539 letter to Charles V, Bishop Valverde said coca was "la renta principal de diezmos," a statement repeated two decades later by the representatives of the Cuzco archbishopric, for whom "lo principal es los diezmos de la coca... no valen los demás casi nada...."¹⁷ Different sources agree the output of coca increased dramatically after the conquest: Polo de Ondegardo estimated that it had increased 50 times, and Damián de la Bandera 40.¹⁸ Cieza de León, in turn, believed the great value of most repartimientos in Cuzco, La Paz, and La Plata was due "todo por esta coca."¹⁹

15. Información tomada por el virrey Toledo, Yucay, 2 de junio de 1571, quoted in Rolando Mellafe and María Teresa González, "Aproximación preliminar a la estructura de la población de los pueblos de Songo," in *ibid.*, 661.

16. Juan de Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú (1567)*, ed. and prel. study Guillermo Lohmann Villena (Lima-Paris: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 1967), 170, 178.

17. Mellafe and González, "Aproximación a la población de Songo," 659-60; Murra, "Introducción al estudio histórico de la coca," 575, n. 30.

18. Cited in Luis Miguel Glave, *Trajinantes. Caminos indígenas en la sociedad colonial. Siglos XVI/XVII* (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1989), 84.

19. Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Primera parte*, 267.

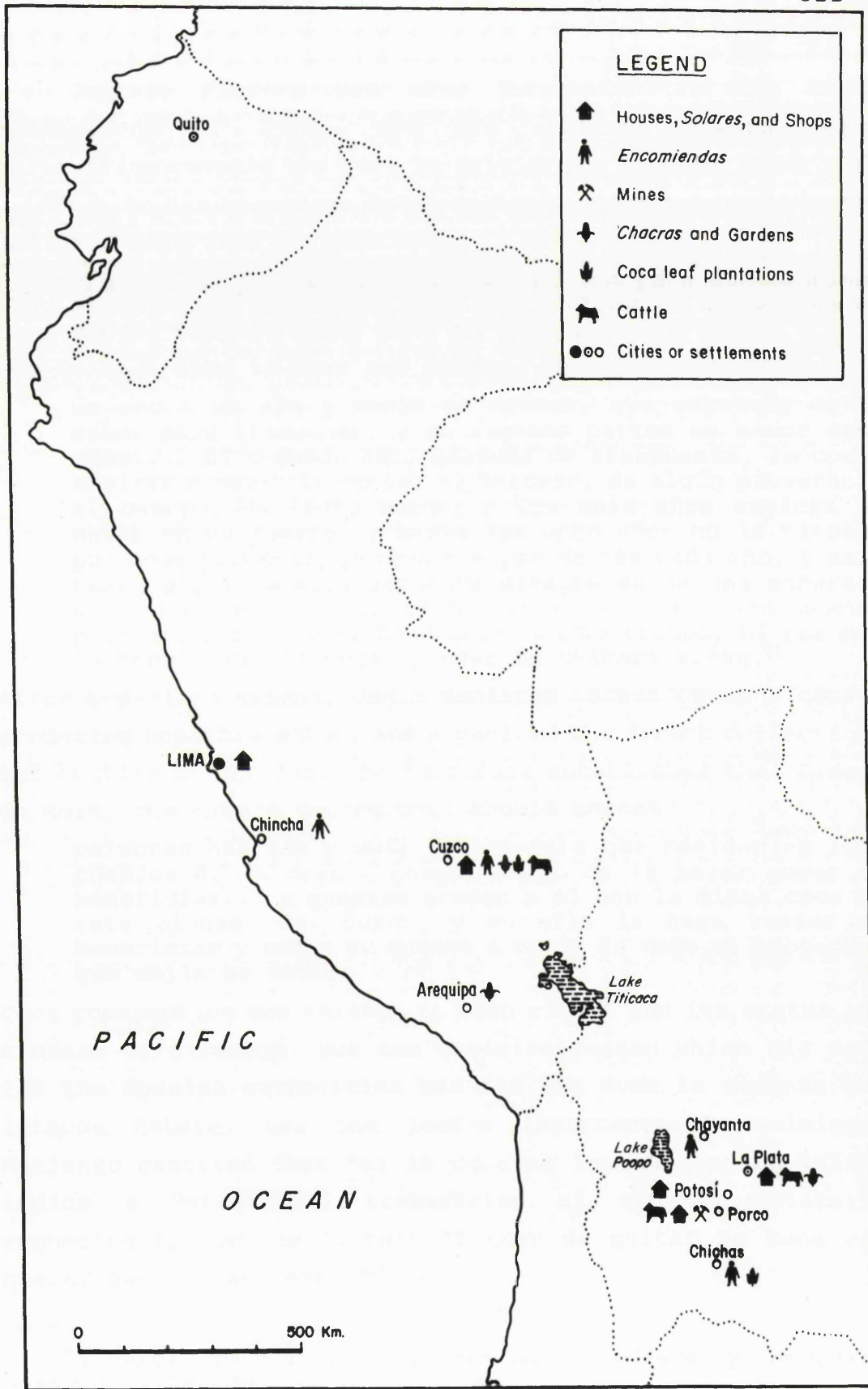


ILLUSTRATION 6. MAP OF THE PROPERTIES OF HERNANDO PIZARRO IN PERU.

Gonzalo Pizarro was also interested in the coca plantations of Cuzco, and his attitude towards its cultivation reveals how sure he felt of his hold on power. In a letter to his mayordomo Pedro de Soria, he commanded him to dedicate more land to this crop:

Procure que Cuevas eche indios de Tambo para que limpien el valle de Amaybamba, que está detrás de Tambo, para que se siembre mucha coca en él....²⁰

But it took time to have new plants. They took:

un año o un año y medio en crecer, que entonces está mejor para trasponer, y en algunas partes es mejor dos años.... El segundo año, después de traspuesta, la coca empieza a pagar la costa; al tercero, da algún provecho; al cuarto, da fruto bueno; a los seis años empieza a estar en su fuerza, y hasta los ocho años no la tienen por cosa perfecta, porque siempre da más cada año, y así hasta diez; de allí adelante siempre es de una manera, sino que reconoce el beneficio como todas las demás plantas. Dura --como he dicho-- mucho tiempo, si por no la beneficiar la dexan perder en chácara vieja.²¹

After Gonzalo's defeat, Gasca declared vacant Cuzco's coca-producing repartimientos, and organized the direct collection and auction of the leaf. He therefore established that Diego de Mora, the city's Corregidor, should choose

personas hábiles y suficientes para que residan en los pueblos de la coca e tengan cargo de la hazer coger e beneficiar... y questas acudan a él con la dicha coca a esta ciudad [del Cuzco] y en ella la haga vender e beneficiar y tenga su quenta e razón de todo el provecho que della se oviere....²²

Coca consumption was related to both ritual and its status as a means of exchange. But the decisive reason which did not let the Spanish authorities ban its use even in moments of intense debate, was the leaf's importance for mining. Matienzo asserted that "si la coca se les quitase no irían indios a Potosí, ni trabaxarían ni sacarían plata," emphatically concluding that "tratar de quitar la coca es querer que no haya Perú."²³

20. Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 2:189-90.

21. Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, 167-68.

22. Provisión de Gasca, Cuzco, 19 de abril de 1548. Copy in AGI, Justicia 398, n. 2, ff. 42-43.

23. Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, 163-65.

Coca yielded an important part of the tithes, and this caused many clashes. In the 1550s, Hernando Pizarro's collection of the tithes caused a serious conflict between Cuzco's cathedral chapter and the monastery of Santiago de la Espada of Seville. On the basis of a royal *cédula* given by Charles V, and later confirmed by Prince Philip, the latter claimed jurisdiction over the collection of the tithes of the Knights of Santiago. The monastery had therein been empowered *para que puedan pedir, demandar, recibir [y] cobrar todas las décimas de las granjerías que hasta agora deven e devieren, de la junta [de la orden de Santiago que entonces se celebraba] delante*" in New Spain, Peru and all other lands of the Indies.²⁴

Hernando's mayordomos were required to pay the tithes by representatives of both parties. The lawsuit was initiated in the jurisdiction of Cuzco's *Corregidor*, and then moved on to the Audiencia of Lima. The Audiencia established that the encomendero should pay the monastery the corresponding tithes "desde el día que le fue fecha la notificación de la dicha concesión...."²⁵ In virtue of this verdict Sebastián de Cazalla, the monastery's representative, collected 3,142 pesos and 3 gold *tomines* in silver from Pedro Mexía, Hernando's mayordomo in Cuzco. This amount corresponded to the tithes running from November 1552 to May 1555, and was worth 902 coca baskets, 40 pigs and 81½ *fanegas* of maize. In terms of its value, coca accounted for 90% of the total amount collected.²⁶ Hernando's case confirmed the value of the output of coca dwarfed any other product liable to tithe in the district of Cuzco.

Potosí was the main market for coca,²⁷ and Hernando also carried out business there. In 1560 his agents made an

24. RR.CC. de Madrid, 11 de noviembre de 1551; Toledo, 30 de noviembre de 1551, AGI, Escribanía 496-B, ff. 1166-1287.

25. Sentencia del 22 de enero de 1555, AGI, Escribanía 496-B, f. 1220v.

26. AGI, Escribanía 496-B, ff. 1178-1208.

27. Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, 161-89; Glave, *Trajinantes*, 83-116.

important advance sale: Martín Alonso, his mayordomo, received 1,028 pesos from Cristóbal de Salcedo for the mid-July harvest. He therefore ordered Diego de Torres, Hernando's representative in Cuzco, to respect the transaction.²⁸

The Repartimiento of Tambo

This emcomienda was in the Urubamba valley, downriver from Francisco Pizarro's. The tax-rate Gasca commanded was prepared by Archbishop Loayza, *Licenciado* Cianca, and Friar Domingo de Santo Tomás; as usual, a copy was sent to Chuquinaupa, *cacique* of Tambo, and another to the encomendero. Tribute items were many in number and volume. In Toaima, the Indians had to harvest 75 baskets of coca per mita and hand them in at Cuzco, together with 200 *fanegas* of maize and 50 of wheat each year, hens, ducks, partridges, eggs, fish, pigs, and timber, besides taking to Cuzco 12 planks sawed by the encomenderos' slaves. They also had to give charcoal and roof tiles. As for personal services, they would have to sow 2 *fanegadas* of maize and wheat in the encomendero's *chacras* in Cuzco, and give Indians as house servants and shepherds. Finally, the Indians would have to support the priest who took charge of their parish.²⁹

Five years later a new *tasa* was established during the Audiencia's rule, when don Francisco Moyotopa was the *curaca*. The *retasa* was taken because

a causa de la alteración de Francisco Hernández se les avían muerto algunos [indios], e llevado otros a diferentes lugares, e hechos yanaconas y andavan ausentes....³⁰

This means the tribute-paying population was now less than the 160 numbered on the previous occasion. What's more, their

28. José Pacheco, "Índice de escrituras públicas del Cuzco, año 1560," *Revista del Archivo Histórico del Cuzco* 4 (1953): 33.

29. Lima, 21 de octubre de 1550, ante Pedro de Avendaño, AGI, Patronato 90-B, n. 1, r. 43.

30. Los Reyes, 12 de octubre de 1555, AGI, Escribanía 498-A, ff. 1109-13 (the quote on f. 1109.) Another copy in AGI, Justicia 449, n. 1, pza. 2.

lives "corrían peligro" because they had to harvest the coca of Toayma, which was

junto a los pueblos alzados del Ynga, los quales algunas veces salían de guerra e los matavan e prendían e no consentían que se beneficiase la dicha coca, demás de ser tierra enferma donde se avía de yr a beneficiar e que en el dicho beneficio, no embargante que por la dicha tasa se les mandava que no estuviesen más de 20 días e se mudasen por sus mitas, los detenían 3 y 4 meses, de cuya causa muchos dellos enfermavan e morían....³¹

Captain Garcilaso, corregidor of Cuzco, was ordered by the Audiencia to appraise the request the Indians had made. The most significant items --coca, maize, and wheat-- were lowered to half the previous rate. The remaining items were reduced or simply eliminated from the tribute lists, as were personal services. The diminished *tasa*, and the small population registered from Gasca's administration onward, make me believe the repartimiento of Tambo was divided into smaller units. This, plus the demographic decline, lowered the tributary value of the repartimiento.

The Repartimiento of Amaybamba

The valley of Amaybamba, long ago known as Iguaraminuy, is formed by the Lucumayo river, once the Vacaybilque. It was the route leading from Ollantaytambo to Vilcabamba. Coca does not grow on its highest parts, but maize does. Yanayacu was the valley's main settlement, and high above it rose the palace of Guaman Marca, taken by Inca Yupanqui (also known as Pachacutec) as his own after conquering the area. Just like in the Tambo valley, Inca Yupanqui destined the palace "para su recreación, por no entrar dentro del valle."

Inca *Tupac* Yupanqui, the *coya* Mama Ocllo, and the Sun also had possessions in Guaman Marca. It was this same Tupac Yupanqui who, according to one account, took "más de mil indios mitimaes" there, most of them an outcome of the conquest of the Chachapoyas, but some were Cuzqueñan noblemen. But despite its large, pre-Columbian population, in

31. Ibid.

1579 the valley was almost empty,³² and in 1586 the same declining demographic trend persisted, according to the story told by a *visita* and *tasa* then made.³³

Juan Mayta was this *encomienda's* *cacique* when the first tax-rate was prepared on Gasca's orders. Due to its location, the tribute consisted of warm-climate products. The Indians thus had to give 200 baskets of coca per *mita*, half in the inn of the Tambo valley, and the remaining half in Cuzco. In each coca *mita* they would also have to give 24 *ysangas* of any fruit available in their land. Finally, also included were halters (*jaquimas*) with accessories, *guascas* "para atar petacas," ropes, *cabulla* "por hilar," cotton thread, and sandals, plus food for the parish priest (*doctrinero*).³⁴

In the 1559 reassessment, the tribute demanded from the *cacique* don Juan Cayotopa was lowered, and was henceforth limited to 160 baskets of coca.³⁵ In 1561, 144 baskets of coca harvested in January of that year were auctioned; 60 --delivered in Cuzco-- were sold at 2 pesos and 3 *tomines*, whilst the remaining 84 were worth 2 pesos when delivered to the town of Tambo. The delivery of 16 baskets remained pending. The total proceedings from the sale, i.e. 310 pesos and 4 *tomines*, were entered into the *caja de tributos vacos*.³⁶

The Repartimiento of Toayma and Quizquinto

Judging by their output and a sixteenth-century description, these coca plantations must have been very big as compared to others in the region. *Licenciado* Matienzo said that

en el valle de Toayma hay una chacara que es de Hernando Pizarro, y fue chacara muy antigua del Inga, y cuando

32. Rostworowski, *Ensayos de historia andina*, 148-50, 267.

33. Los Reyes, 28 de agosto de 1586, AGI, Justicia 482, ff. 6849-50.

34. Lima, 21 de octubre de 1550, AGI, Patronato 90-B, n. 1, r. 43. The copy used erroneously calls the repartimiento "Moybanba".

35. Los Reyes, 25 de setiembre de 1559, AGI, Escribanía 498-A, ff. 1127-30. Another copy in AGI, Justicia 449, n. 1, pza. 2.

36. AGI, Contaduría 1825, f. 76v.

[Pedro de] Candia fue por allí a la entrada de los Moxos, aposentó el campo en ella, con cuatrocientos caballos que llevaba, que estuvieron aposentados en ella ocho días, que con quedar destruída da mucho fruto, que a la cuenta ha más de cuarenta años que se plantó, y no puede haber menos, y puede haber mucho más.³⁷

The writer noted the area's great productivity, despite the damage caused by horses and the age of the plantation.

The caciques Comisaca, Coca, and Parinango are named in a *tasa* registered in Lima in 1553, during the Audiencia's rule. They were located in warm lands, and coca was therefore the main product, with the Indians forced to give 2,900 baskets a year. Each should have 18 pounds of pure coca-leaf, so that with "paja y bicios," its weight would reach 22 pounds. Baskets were made at the encomendero's expense, but the encomienda Indians would pack the leaves in them. It was stated that 2,400 baskets "se harán coger a otros indios," at the encomendero's expense too. Once packed, it would also be at his expense. The *tasa* wound up stating the Indian's duty to provide food for the *doctrinero*.³⁸

In 1561, treasurer García de Melo took charge of the sale of 496 baskets yielded by that year's January *mita*. Part of the harvest was sold at 3 pesos a basket. This time, the proceedings were likewise placed in the *caja de tributos vacos*, noting they corresponded to the "yndios que estuvieron encomendados en el comendador Hernando Pizarro."³⁹

*The Repartimiento of Calca*⁴⁰

The first *tasa* for this repartimiento was prepared on Gasca's command, and both the encomendero and the *cacique* Yllaca were notified. The repartimiento's location was in the *sierra*, but within easy access to the warm lands of the *ceja de selva*, so that tribute came from both ecological areas. Indians were first of all forced to harvest 250 coca baskets per *mita* in

37. Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, 167.

38. Lima, 15 de setiembre de 1553, por los oidores Bravo de Saravia, Santillán, Altamirano y Mercado de Peñaloza, AGI, Patronato 90-B, n. 1, r. 43.

39. AGI, Contaduría 1825, ff. 72-76.

40. The copy reads "Calica."

their encomendero's *chacras* of Toayma, "que hasta agora parece avéis acostumbrado a beneficiar." To avoid the diseases which haunted upland Indians in warm lands, it was established that they should at most spend 20 days there, not be loaded with more than two baskets, and every 8 of them would receive one of the baskets of coca. Should they fall sick, the encomendero would have a Spaniard "que sepa sangrallos y algunas medicinas para los que así enfermaren."⁴¹

Every year they would also have to give 500 *fanegas* of maize, 50 of wheat, and 25 of potatoes, plus hens, ducks, partridges, eggs, fish, pigs, timber, coal, and roof tiles. Personal service consisted in the planting and harvesting of maize and wheat in the encomendero's *chacras* in Cuzco, in providing men to serve him in his house, and looking after his herds. Following the established custom, food was to be provided to the *doctrinero*.⁴²

In 1559, during the administration of the Marqués de Cañete, a second *tasa* was prepared for this repartimiento. 542 "yndios" were registered this time, instead of the 608 a decade before.⁴³ The royal *provisión*, issued in reply to a request made by the *cacique principal* don Gonzalo Sayre and don Diego Ataulimache, "a cuyo cargo está el gobierno del dicho repartimiento," laid down that the new rate would not include the "beneficio e acarreo de la dicha coca," for

los Yngas no tuvieron costumbre de entrar al dicho beneficio, e lo que Su Magestad tiene proveido acerca del bien e conservación de los dichos naturales....⁴⁴

The *tasa* replaced labouring in the plantations with 1,200 pesos *ensayados* a year, an amount significantly lower than the proceedings from the sale in Cuzco of coca previously

41. Lima, 21 de octubre de 1550, por el arzobispo Loayza, licenciado Cianca y Fr. Domingo de Santo Tomás, ante Pedro de Avendaño, AGI, Patronato 90-B, n. 1, r. 43.

42. Ibid.

43. Los Reyes, 12 de agosto de 1559, AGI, Escribanía 498-A, ff. 1113-18. Another copy in AGI, Justicia 449, n. 1, pza. 2.

44. Ibid.

given in tribute. The remaining items were retained with unimportant variations save for personal services, which were eliminated.

The Repartimiento of Piquicho

This repartimiento's location has been identified with the site presently known as Machu Picchu.⁴⁵ Inquiring about the historical development of the site, John Rowe asserted it was conquered by Inca Yupanqui:

todos los terrenos de la quebrada, desde Torontoy para abajo, figuran como propiedades de Inga Yupanqui, es decir Pachacuti. Si los terrenos del fondo de la quebrada pertenecieron a Inga Yupanqui, es bastante probable que los sitios a mayor altura pero no muy lejos del río, como Machu Picchu, hayan formado parte de un complejo de sitios que incluye Chachabamba y Choquesuysuy en el fondo del valle.⁴⁶

Rowe continues explaining how Pachacuti conquered Vitcos right at the beginning of his reign. The Incas went through the ravine of Picchu because they did not know --did not control, rather-- the route from Amaybamba. This Inca conquered Amaybamba in a later campaign, thus opening a new route to Vitcos, and which eventually became the preferred one. The importance of the route passing through Picchu therefore decreased, and did not catch the Spaniards' attention. Finally, Rowe notes that the ravine of Picchu and other neighbouring sites formed part of Pachacuti Inga Yupanqui's "hacienda real", as his very own *private estate*.⁴⁷

The presence of "tierras personales" amongst the Incas has been proved by María Rostworowski, who maintains that in the various kinds of property simultaneously existing in Inca times, there was one which belonged solely to the sovereign. It was thus that Pachacutec took as his own the valley of Tampu (present-day Ollantaytambo), amongst other lands, Tupac

45. Luis Miguel Glave and María Isabel Remy, *Estructura agraria y vida rural en una región andina. Ollantaytambo entre los siglos XVI Y XIX* (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas", 1983), 11-12.

46. John H. Rowe, "Machu Picchu a la luz de documentos del siglo XVI," *Histórica* 14 (1990): 142.

47. *Ibid.*

Yupanqui chose Chinchero, Huayna Capac settled for Yucay, and Huascar with Calca and Mohina.⁴⁸ These properties had a very special régime, for they were not worked by *mitayos* (male tributaries from the communities who worked in shifts, or *hatunrunas*) but by *yanaconas*, the sovereign's permanent servants. Their produce was likewise destined to cover the Inca's personal needs. Machu Picchu must have been one of the private settlements which, after Pachacuti's death, was under the care of his *panaca*, i.e. the lineage he founded when assuming power. The site obviously was not used solely as an agricultural productive centre; one may reasonably surmise that highly specialized persons trained in ritual, calendarical, and technological topics lived there.

The *tasa* Gasca commanded was sent to a *curaca* called Macuri; from the limited amounts of tribute required it must have been a small *encomienda* indeed, located on warm lands. The *tasa* forced them, to pay 50 baskets of coca per *mita*, 12 sacks of *ají*, halters with their accessories, ropes, and other items made from hemp, cotton thread, sandals, and fruit, plus the *doctrinero's* food.⁴⁹

A decade later, Viceroy Marqués de Cañete sent Damián de la Bandera to visit this repartimiento. On the basis of its scanty population and resources, he determined that the *cacique* Macori should henceforth give a tribute of only 35 baskets of coca per *mita*.⁵⁰

In 1561, 2 pesos were paid for each of the 31½ baskets from the January *mita*, with 3½ more baskets missing to complete the required rate, which was still set at 35. The sale's produce was placed in the *caja de tributos vacos*.⁵¹

The Repartimiento of Urcos

The *tasa* Gasca ordered for this repartimiento has not been found, but one dating from 1557 notes it was "encomendado en

48. Rostworowski, *Ensayos de historia andina*, 268.

49. AGI, Patronato 90-B, n. 1, r. 43.

50. Los Reyes, 20 de julio de 1560, AGI, Escribanía 498-A, ff. 1118-21. Another copy in AGI, Justicia 449, n. 1, pza. 2.

51. AGI, Contaduría 1825, ff. 72-76.

Hernando Pizarro." At this time the encomienda was under the management of royal officials from the Cuzco treasury, and the Indians who ruled it were don Hernando Ataulenco and don Francisco Curiaca. The Marqués de Cañete attended the *curacas'* request, who had addressed the highest echelons of the viceroyalty's administration to ask for a decrease in the tribute paid, now that their numbers had fallen due to the "daños y robos" which took place during the rebellion of Hernández Girón. The new rate set a yearly payment of 100 pesos in silver, 200 *fanegas* of maize, 150 of wheat, 4 *arrobos* of *ají*, sacks of hemp, coal, and the usual sustenance for the parish priest.⁵²

The Repartimiento of Tomebamba

We do not have Gasca's *tasa* for this encomienda, but the one prepared by the Audiencia in 1552 is available. The cacique then was don Juan Pizarro, which makes me believe his Spanish namesake was his encomendero until his premature death. The *tasa*, which evinces an encomienda with limited resources, was set at 150 *fanegas* of potatoes, 100 *aves de Castilla*, fish, coal, and maintenance for the *doctrinero*.⁵³

The Repartimiento of Choco

It is not until 1562 that we find this repartimiento in the account books related to Hernando Pizarro, but it might well be the town of Chauca or Chuco, located in the "provincia de Condesuyos," both of which were mentioned in the *cédula* of encomienda Governor Pizarro gave to his brother.⁵⁴ The town had previously been visited by Damián de la Bandera, who found 31 Indians, but the tributaries later increased to 33. The new rates were set at 33 pesos *ensayados* a year, 10½

52. Los Reyes, 24 de setiembre de 1557, AGI, Escribanía 498-A, ff. 1130-34. Another copy in AGI, Justicia 449, n. 1, pza. 2.

53. Los Reyes, 18 de julio de 1552, AGI, Escribanía 498-A, ff. 1121-23. Another copy in AGI, Justicia 449, n. 1, pza. 2.

54. Cuzco, 26 de abril de 1539. Copies in AGI, Justicia 449, n. 1, pza. 2, ff. 53-55; Escribanía 498-A, ff. 1017-21; Patronato 188, r. 20, ff. 19-21.

fanegas of maize, and the same amount of potatoes a year, plus coal, salt, and fodder.⁵⁵

District of La Plata

Mining Activities

The three Pizarro brothers made a great initial effort in mining operations, but Hernando would be the adventure's real promoter, both during his stay in Peru and after he left for Spain for good. The sources studied, and particularly the letters exchanged by Hernando and his proxies, show his determination to improve the technology, output, and, finally, the licit or illicit shipment of silver to Spain. His major mines were in Porco, but thanks to tribute he also benefitted from the output of the mines in Chayanta and Chichas, where he had an encomienda; indeed, it would not be strange if he had also directly worked them through his *criados*.

It is highly probable Hernando never saw his mines operational save early on in the conquest, and that he established his organization through his mayordomos. A document signed by Hernando states he declared to Ochoa de Luyando, "escribano y oficial" of secretary Samano, he

es un hombre que ha seguido la guerra e que en toda su vida [no] tuvo minas ny las vio labrar ni sabe cómo se labran ni si son provechosas....⁵⁶

It is possible Hernando's first mines were the Peruvian ones, but he undoubtedly learnt fast how to work them.

The determination to find mines and work them continued during Gonzalo's rebellion. Francisco de Carbajal, the rebel's most daring and sarcastic officer, answered to one of Gonzalo's letters stating he had laid claim to a vein in the recently discovered site of Potosí. Writing from Chuquisaca, he said that

55. Cuzco, 19 de junio de 1562, AGI, Escribanía 498-A, ff. 1134-36. Another copy in AGI, Justicia 449, n. 1, pza. 2.

56. Document apparently from 19 Mar. 1541, AGI, Patronato 90-A, n. 1, r. 25.

Antes que vuestra señoría me lo enviase a mandar, tiene vuestra señoría minas en Potosí que valen más que toda Castilla... y no hay perro ni gato de esa casa de vuestra señoría de quien yo no haya tenido memoria....⁵⁷

The Pizarros had mayordomos living in Porco, who ran the mines and also had their encomiendas in the area. Scanty data do not allow us to find out any details of the works, but there occasionally appear references to sources which would be most useful should they appear. Thus, an "Ynventario de las escripturas pertenecientes a los herederos del marqués don Francisco Pizarro, que estaban en un cofre de Flandes viejo..." included an account book of Porco's lead and silver, from the company of Francisco Pizarro and doña Francisca with Gaspar Rodríguez, prepared in Porco on 28 September 1541.⁵⁸

In the letters he exchanged with Gonzalo, and with Inés Rodríguez de Aguilar --the Pizarros' sister who was Hernando's middleperson in Spain-- mayordomo Pedro de Soria reported different and interesting topics on labour, inputs, techniques, and the mines' output. Once he told how much food had arrived, and that maize had once again gone down to 7 pesos, a "gran perdición" because

como las minas no son para fuelles y la comida vale tan barata, los yanaconas e indios no trabajan en sacar plata lo que pueden sino un día en la semana, y todo lo demás tiempo gastan en borracheras.⁵⁹

Soria then asked for a shipment of iron and tools "porque se gastan muy rápido... y sin hierro no se puede sacar plata".⁶⁰ In another letter sent to Inés Rodríguez de Aguilar, this same mayordomo reported that Hernando's prospects for that year were good enough, for he expected to receive 100 thousand pesos in maize, coca, and *chuño*. At the moment he had 64 slaves --both Blacks and Nicaraguan Indians-- and

57. Carbajal a GP, 22 de noviembre de 1546, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 1:446-48.

58. The inventory in AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 1066-1126.

59. Soria a GP, Potosí, 23 de abril de 1547, in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 1:205-7.

60. *Ibid.*

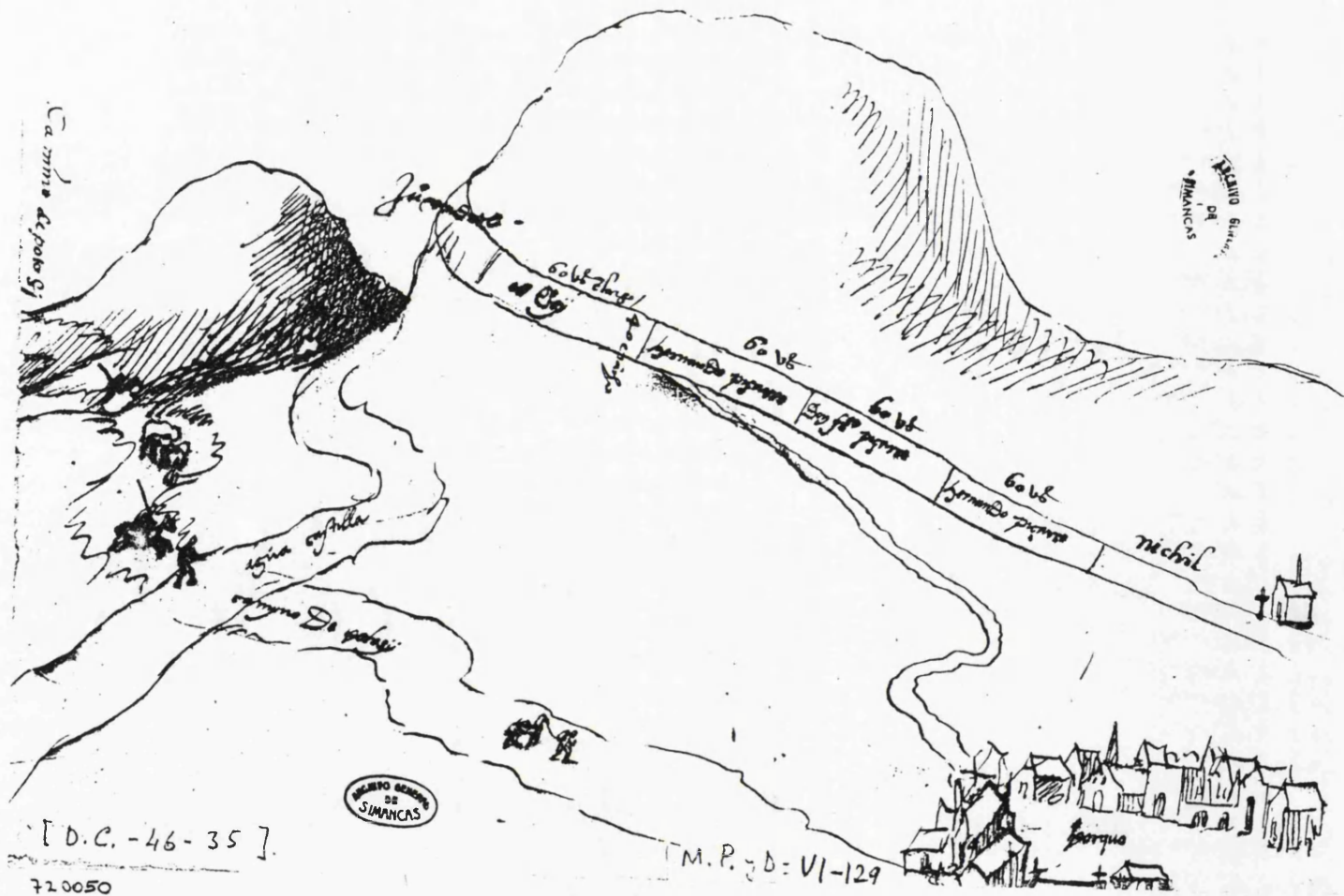


ILLUSTRATION 7. PLAN OF THE MINES OF PORCO. SIXTEENTH-CENTURY DRAWING.

besides mares and goats, had another two thousand sheep and rams.⁶¹

Later on one finds a company formed to work mines in the Charcas, both in Potosí and Porco. On 15 June 1559 García Michel ratified the company he had had with Mateo Paniagua, his deceased brother, to mine certain veins in Potosí and Porco, including 70 varas of Hernando's vein in the hill of Porco.⁶² García Michel owned one of the oldest veins worked by Spaniards in Porco, which lay beside those of the Pizarros.⁶³ (See illustration 7.) It is clear that at least in this instance, Hernando's mine was worked through a concession to a third party.

The Repartimiento of Chayanta

Hernando received the repartimiento of Chayanta jointly with captain Martín de Robles, with one third of the tributes belonging to him, and the rest to the latter. The *tasa* requested by Gasca for both encomenderos --for the repartimiento was not divided-- was notified to the *caciques* Canche and Ayracha, and the *principales* Miamay, Aquisé, and don Diego.

The tribute's structure shows there were mines in the area, for it opened with a meaningful payment of 11,000 pesos *ensayados* a year, payable in gold or silver.⁶⁴ As for clothes, "vestidos de avasca" for men and women were

61. Soria a Inés Rodríguez de Aguilar, Porco, 23 de abril de 1547, in *ibid.*, 1:209-12.

62. ANB-EP 3, f. 520.

63. AGS-DC 46-35.

64. An interesting transaction took place in La Plata, 9 Jan. 1573: Diego Velázquez del Castillo, merchant resident in that town, sold to Juan del Guijo, another resident, a mine in the repartimiento of Chayanta, "en la veta de metal de plata que descubrió Andrés Cayo, indio charca viejo del repartimiento de Chayanta, en el cerro que se llama Lasacara, al oriente, junto al camino que va de esta ciudad al dicho repartimiento de Chayanta, la cual veta que así descubrió está legua y media del dicho repartimiento de Chayanta..." (ANB-EP 24, f. 5v). As previously mentioned, no evidence shows the mines of Chayanta were worked by Hernando Pizarro himself.

demanded, with all their accesories, as well as blankets, and horse blankets, aprons, sacks, and wool. Also included every year were 1,200 *fanegas* of maize, 15 of molle, sheep, candle grease, lard, hogs (save in the first year), poultry and eggs, honey and wax, salt, "pescuezos", and hemp. As regards personal services, men would have to be given to work the encomenderos' *chacras*, be they in the city of La Plata or in the encomienda itself, and to look after his cattle; other Indians should serve in his house, and 30 more Indians would have to travel thrice a year to Potosí, Porco, or La Plata carrying the encomendero's food. As usual, they would have to maintain the parish priest, whilst his salary would be at the encomendero's expense.⁶⁵

Viceroy Marqués de Cañete ordered a *retasa*, due to, estar el dicho repartimiento muy agraviado e cargado en los tributos que hasta aora han dado... para que no se acabase de destruir el dicho repartimiento.⁶⁶

The money payment was lowered to 10,000 pesos and the maize to 1,000 *fanegas*, most of the remaining items and personal services being eliminated. Years later, the accounts of the tribute paid kept by the royal officials would note how difficult it was for the Indians to fulfil their tasks. Some Indians were imprisoned for a debt of 1,005 pesos unpaid since 1571.⁶⁷

This repartimiento must have furnished Hernando with an important revenue for as long as it was in his possession. Besides the amount and variety of the tribute paid, we should also emphasize its proximity to markets and consumption centres such as Porco and Potosí.

The Repartimiento of Chalca, of the Chichas Indians

The Chichas were in the frontier zone bordering the unruly Chiriguanaes, i.e. the limit of both Inca and Spanish expansion. Cieza briefly described this province thusly:

65. Lima, 1 de octubre de 1550, ante Pedro de Avendaño. Copies in AGI, Patronato 90-B, n. 1, r. 43; AHP-CR 1.

66. Lima, 17 de febrero de 1559, AHP-CR 1, f. 104v.

67. AGI, Lima 270, lib. 2, f. 342.

En los Chichas pueblos derramados, que están encomendados a Hernando Pizarro, y son sujetos a esta villa [de Porco], se dize que en algunas partes dellos ay minas de plata; y en las montañas de los Andes nascen ríos grandes, en los quales si quisieren buscar mineros de oro, tengo que se hallarán.⁶⁸

The *tasa* requested by Gasca, and approved by Archbishop Loayza, *Licenciado* Santillán, and Friar Domingo de Santo Tomás, was addressed to the *curacas* don Hernando de Viedma and Andrés de Chunchulamas. The payment rose to 4,800 pesos *ensayados* a year, payable in gold or silver. Also requested were 300 *fanegas* of maize a year, poultry and eggs, honey, wax, salt, articles made from hemp, and Indian servants to work the *encomendero's* lands, look after his herds, thrash the wheat, take the *encomendero's* food to Porco, Potosí or La Plata, and serve at his house. Last of all, the *doctrinero's* food should be provided by the Indians.⁶⁹ The *retasa* ordered by Viceroy Cañete lowered the payment in money to 3,500 pesos, of maize to 200 *fanegas*, and eliminated all other items and even personal service, retaining the payment to the *doctrinero*.⁷⁰

Whilst the various lawsuits in colonial and metropolitan courts were sentenced, the tribute from Hernando's *encomiendas* remained under the management of royal officials. The delivery of the items which made up the tribute, and the proceedings from their sale, were entered into the accounts of the royal treasuries.⁷¹ Due to an order given by the Audiencia of Charcas, on 14 March 1564 the collection of tribute from the Chichas, and one third of Chayanta, was entrusted for the next four years to Martín Alonso de los Ríos. At the end of his term, he said the Chichas Indians had not paid part of their tribute; after accounts were rendered, the officials did not hold Ríos accountable, despite the immense amount unpaid by the Chichas, which amounted to

68. Cieza, *Crónica del Perú. Primera parte*, 289.

69. Los Reyes, 1 de octubre de 1550. Copies in AGI, Patronato 90-B, n. 1, r. 43; AHP-CR 1.

70. AHP-CR 1, f. 111.

71. The books from Potosí include the repartimientos of La Plata; see e.g. all details for 1557 in AHP-CR 2.

5,873 pesos. Two years after, in late 1571, a new collector asserted that the Chichas had not paid 180 *fanegas* of maize worth 7,861 pesos.⁷²

In the accounts of the treasury for vacant *encomiendas* --where tributes once belonging to Hernando were placed-- one finds that most of the outgoings during the period 1560-1564 corresponded to transfers made to other royal treasuries, as expected. However, there were some revealing expenditures, such as the 10,000 pesos loaned for three years to Martín de Almendras, so he could carry out the exploration of Tucumán; or the 3,000 pesos given to captain Francisco de Godoi, "para aderezar cierta gente que con él había salido de Santiago del Estero." Then there were the 1,000 pesos for captain Pedro de Zárate and 7 men, so they could live in the *repartimiento* for its defence, and "ampararlos de los chiriguanaes."⁷³

The presence of soldiers within the *repartimiento* probably caused more harm than good, as follows from an interesting brief presented to the Audiencia of Charcas on 23 June 1572. *Licenciado* Recalde, one of the Audiencia's *Oidores*, had gone to the Chichas on orders from the Audiencia, to supply Jerónimo de Cabrera, who was then preparing his departure for Tucumán. After covering "cuarenta leguas," which gave him a good idea of the misery the Indians were in, the *Oidor* reported he

vio e entendió que en el dicho *repartimiento* había muy pocos indios, e que ha ocho años que los soldados que salen e entran en Tucuman los roban e asuelan, e por esta causa se han ausentado muchos indios naturales del dicho *repartimiento*....⁷⁴

The populace was scarce and lived in widely scattered settlements and with few resources. The *Oidor* said:

no tienen pueblo que tenga cincuenta casas, todos lo mas pueblos son de doce o diez casas, e algunos de cinco e seis casas; tienen pocas tierras de provecho e pocos pastos porque los montes son de ningún provecho....⁷⁵

72. AGI, Lima 270, lib. 2, ff. 335-50v.

73. Ibid.

74. Información del *licenciado* Recalde, La Plata, 23 de junio de 1572, ANB-LAACH 5, 2a pte., ff. 1-2.

75. Ibid.

Religion was also neglected, for they

no tienen iglesia que tenga puerta, ni campana, ni dosel en ninguna iglesia e en la parcialidad de Cotagaita,⁷⁶ que es la segunda parcialidad de todo el repartimiento, no tienen iglesia ninguna....⁷⁷

The Spanish population with which they had to live was exceedingly harmful, too much tribute was paid, and so these circumstances had to be redressed. Thus, the Oidor reported,

tienen un juez en las minas de Apachita que les es dañoso porque so color de visitarlos les hace malas obras; Pedro de Zárate les hace daño, Alaniz asimesmo les hace daño....⁷⁸

As for their liaisons vis-a-vis their Chiriguano neighbours, as yet still free of the colonial rule, it was quite clear that before the Spanish soldiers arrived, a live-and-let-live agreement existed whereby the Chichas paid the Chiriguanos some tribute. The *Licenciado* reported that although they paid

tasa a Su Magestad e a sus oficiales reales en su nombre, tributan a los indios chiriguanaes porque no son poderosos para defenderse de ellos....⁷⁹

Finally, the Chichas needed time to improve their lot, and so the Oidor requested that

por algún tiempo se les perdonen la tasa, e que se les haga algunas iglesias e ornamentos de ellas, e que Pedro de Zárate ni Alanis no tengan entrada en este repartimiento, e el juez de Apachita no tenga visita ni entrada en este repartimiento.⁸⁰

Sources are not available for exact calculations on the number of tribute payers or the total population of Hernando's encomiendas. In his case, demographic data becomes frequent only from Gasca's time. We saw in previous chapters that the *cuaderno* with Pizarro's encomiendas has disappeared, and so the earliest overall figures belong to the visita made by Viceroy Toledo. Noble David Cook has made the best study

76. Cotagaita is the present-day capital of the province of Nor Chichas, on the banks of the river with the same name, at an altitude of 2,654 metres (René Gonzales Moscoso, *Diccionario geográfico boliviano* [La Paz: Los Amigos del Libro, 1984], 52).

77. Información del licenciado Recalde.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid.

TABLE 5

**ESTIMATED POPULATION IN ENCOMIENDAS OF HERNANDO PIZARRO,
c. 1550**

| ENCOMIENDA | No. OF TRIBUTE PAYERS | TOTAL POPULATION (TRIBUTE PAYERS X 5) |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| TAMBO | 300 | 1,500 |
| AMAYBAMBA | 1,000 | 5,000 |
| TOAYMA Y QUISQUINTO | 100 | 500 |
| CALCA | 800 | 4,000 |
| PIQUICHO | 350 | 1,750 |
| URCOS | 350 | 1,750 |
| TOMEBAMBA | 350 | 1,750 |
| CHAYANTA | 2,000 | 10,000 |
| CHICHAS | 1,000 | 5,000 |
| TOTAL: | 6,250 | 31,250 |

SOURCES: Elaboration from data in chapter 9.

TABLE 6

ESTIMATE OF YEARLY TRIBUTE RECEIVED BY HERNANDO PIZARRO,
1549-1552¹

| ENCOMIENDA | SILVER (pesos) | MAIZE (fanegas) | WHEAT (fanegas) | COCA (cestos) | TOTAL (pesos) |
|------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------|
| TAMBO | | 200 | 50 | 255 | |
| AMAYBAMBA | | | | 680 | |
| TOAYMA Y QUISQUINTO | | | | 5,300 | |
| CALCA | | 500 | 50 | | |
| PICCHO | | | | 170 | |
| URCOS | 100 | 200 | 150 | | |
| CHOCO | 33 | 10 | | | |
| CHAYANTA | 3,666 | 400 | | | |
| CHICHAS | 4,800 | 300 | | | |
| | 8,599 | 1,610 | 250 | 6,405 | |
| UNIT PRICE | \$1 | \$2.5/fa. | \$3/fa. | \$3 | |
| TOTAL PRICE | \$8,599 | 4,025 | 750 | 19,215 | |
| TOTAL INCOME OF ENCOMENDERO: | | | | | \$32,589 |

SOURCES: Tasas ordered by Pedro de la Gasca and usual *almoneda* selling prices as detailed for each repartimiento in chapter 9.

1. Only the main products accounted for by Gasca between 1549 and 1552 are included.

on historical demography for present-day Peru, for which he estimated a population of 9 million inhabitants in 1520, and 14 million for all of the Inca Empire (including parts of Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Argentina, and Chile). Using the accepted rate of 1 tax payer for every 5 inhabitants, Peru's tax-paying population would thus have been 1.8 million. However, the various depopulation rates proposed by Cook differ so much between themselves that I cannot use them for this early period. Besides, there is no comparable study for Bolivia, where the Pizarros had important *encomiendas*.⁸¹

However, it was possible to arrive at some estimates. Thus, by the time of Gasca's *visita general*, Hernando Pizarro had about 6,250 tribute-paying Indians, which would amount to a total population of 31,250 (see table 5). During the period 1549-1552 Hernando must have collected an estimate of at least 32,589 pesos per year only from tribute of his *encomiendas* (see table 6).

B. GONZALO PIZARRO

Gonzalo's possessions were many, valuable, and spread all over the *gobernación* of New Castile, encompassing *solares*, Indian *encomiendas*, and mines, amongst others. In the first distribution the Cuzco *cabildo* made, Gonzalo received

dos solares en las casas donde agora avita, con la delantera que tienen a la plaza, por linderos el solar del señor gobernador y de la otra parte la fortaleza de Guaxacar....⁸²

The memory of his rebellion long existed in these houses.

Defeated, Gonzalo faced the royal punishment:

habiéndose tomado la confesión muy larga a Gonzalo Pizarro, se dio por traidor y se le cortó la cabeza y mandóse llevar a Lima al rollo della y que se derribase la casa que en el Cuzco tenía y la sembrasen de sal y en

81. See on this topic Cook, *Demographic Collapse*, and also W. George Lovell's summary, "'Heavy Shadows and Black Night': Disease and Depopulation in Colonial Spanish America," *The Americas Before and After 1492: Current Geographical Research, Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82 (September 1992): 426-43.

82. Rivera Serna, "Libro primero de cabildos del Cuzco," 469.

aquel sitio se pusiese un letrado declarando la causa....⁸³

One of Francisco Pizarro's cédulas, dated in Cuzco, on 7 March 1540, summarized all of the encomiendas he had given to Gonzalo. The cédula's style was much the same as the one he had given the year before to his brother Hernando, for many settlements throughout almost all Peru were named. Most of the grants were small, with usually no more than 15 Indians who undoubtedly were tribute payers, and it is only occasionally that we find 150 or more. Like Hernando's, the document is so complex that it should be analysed in detail, for it can disclose social relations present in the pre-Columbian world hitherto unknown. For example, it is striking that so many small nuclei are mentioned instead of the major polities. It is also difficult to understand why Gonzalo received such small amounts of Indians in places where other encomenderos, on occasion his brother Hernando himself, received all the rest. This is an early document, but by then some knowledge of the Andean people must have been available, or at the very least they were acquainted with some kind of native administrative system which allowed them to reach such a grass-roots level, and even often to include the number of Indians given in encomienda. (See transcription in appendix 5.)⁸⁴

For instance, it is said that in the province of Chinchaysuyu Gonzalo received

el pueblo Anda con el cacique Cocinga Calapinga con 150 indios con sus principales y sujetos; y el pueblo de Saquixaguana con el cacique de él que es o fuere, con los principales y sujetos con 150 indios; y el cacique Urco Xupa señor del pueblo Conchacalla y otro cacique de

83. Diego Fernández, *El Palentino, Historia del Perú*, vols. 1-2 of the *Crónicas del Perú*, ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (Madrid: Atlas, 1964), 1:229.

84. I would like to thank Tristan Platt for giving me the cédula's transcription, which is soon to be published as "Encomienda en Gonzalo Pizarro de los 20,000 indios de Caracara sujetos a Moroco," in Platt, Bouysse, Harris, and Saignes, *Qaraqara-Charka*. Notice Gonzalo did not receive the 20,000 Indians, as might be mistakenly deduced from the heading.

Quiquizaguana con el cacique que es o fuere sus sujetos y principales con 200 indios; y el cacique Aucax y el pueblo Quico y el pueblo Guarocondor con el cacique Moite....⁸⁵

The list continued for this province, naming a dozen more settlements and caciques.

Something similar happened in the province of Charcas, where Indians from many different settlements were given in encomienda, usually in small amounts and both from highland areas and the yungas where coca was grown. In "el pueblo que se llama Caracara" the encomendero received, amongst others, una estancia que se llama Caga con 28 indios sujetos a Porco, cacique del dicho pueblo, y más 2 estancias que se llaman Tormani y Chacolla con 20 indios, son de Porco....⁸⁶

This reference is interesting for it perhaps indicates where the mines of Porco received their name from (or conversely, that the name of the place was used for the cacique), and shows Indian people who lived in Porco, were used by Gonzalo to work the mines.

Further on the encomendero received, in an area the document's editors have identified as belonging to Chayanta, en un pueblo que es de Hernando Pizarro que se llama Calapicana con 40 indios, son de un principal de Moroco, se llama Chura; junto a este pueblo una estancia que se dice Challachalla con 8 indios sujetos [a] Aschacara cacique de Chayanta; y otra estancia que se dice Calache con 15 indios sujetos al dicho cacique; y una estancia que se dice Chamarca con 22 indios sujetos al dicho cacique Echacara, y los demás son de Hernando Pizarro....⁸⁷

He likewise received a great number of "pueblos" in the Collaguas: Condori, Tuti, Canacoto, Capa, Chiuaiia, Chapica, Malco, Ynmasca, Cuparque, Cupas, Ynaqui, Tula, Coymo, Uchuma, and Soro, as well as the "estancias de ovejeros y de colonos ... y mitimaes" subject to them. Unlike other cases where the number of Indians is given, here we have the amount of "casas pobladas", but Governor Pizarro did explain that he "vos

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid.

deposito en todas las dichas casas 2,200 indios conforme a la visitación que hizo Gómez de León."⁸⁸

Finally, one last deposit was made

en el valle de Gualla el cacique que se llama Guatoma de que es señor del pueblo de Gualla con el dicho pueblo y indios que en él hay... los quales os encomiendo por dejación que en mí hizo Alonso Dorchulla, vecino desta ciudad del Cuzco....⁸⁹

It could well be the encomienda of the Cañaris (see below), where a town called Guaya did exist.

The number of Indians given in encomienda by the cédula, not counting the caciques and towns for which no figures are given, comes to 7,154 tribute payers in 141 towns. This figure must be taken as mere reference, for at its conclusion the document notes that should there "hubiere más indios y pueblos de los que parecen por las visitaciones, asimismo los pongo en vuestra cabeza."⁹⁰

When his rebellion was over, an account said of Cuzco that Gonzalo had enjoyed the tribute of some 1,200 Indians, and had received around 800 baskets of coca per mita.⁹¹ It included the repartimiento of Jaquijaguana and also the one known as Collatambo, which it was vaguely said to have been "del Inca."⁹²

Of the repartimiento of the Collaguas it was said to include 1,400 or 1,500 tribute-payers, as well as 400 Indians

88. Ibid. I have no other source on the whereabouts of the aforementioned visita.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid.

91. Loredó, *Repartos*, 308, 317; Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú*, 1:128.

92. "Índice del Archivo Nacional," *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú* 12 (1939): 112; Oscar Malca Olguín, "Los descendientes del Inca Túpac Yupanqui y las tierras del sol y del inca. Año 1559," *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú* 27 (1963): 3-26. Francisco Hernández received Gonzalo Pizarro's repartimientos in Cuzco (Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*, 2:258-77). Garcilaso reports that Hernández received the repartimiento of Jaquijaguana or Sacsaguana, from which it may be inferred it had been Gonzalo's before the rebellion. See *Obras completas del Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, Segunda parte de los Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, 4:67.

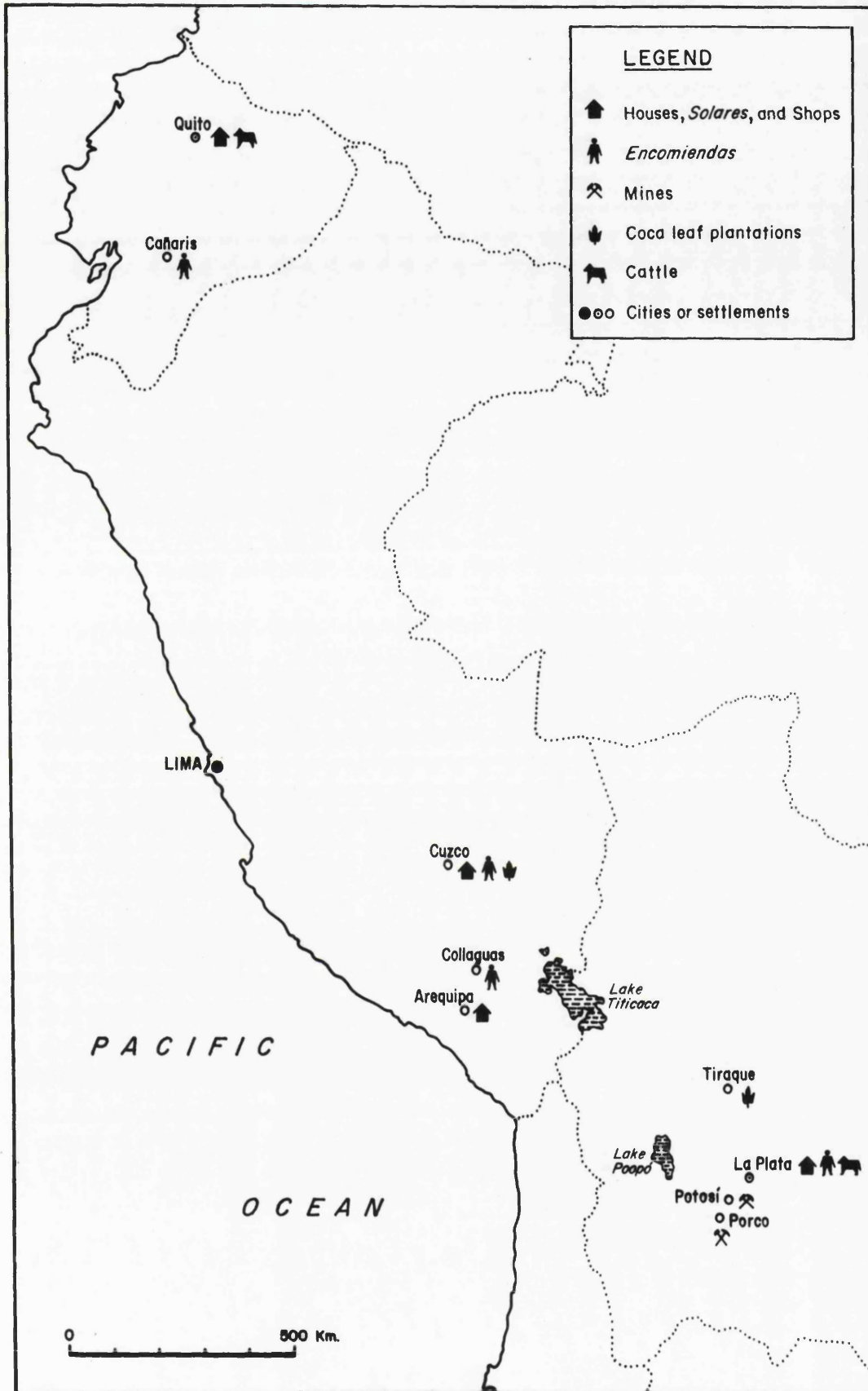


ILLUSTRATION 8. MAP OF THE PROPERTIES OF GONZALO PIZARRO IN PERU.

in Tacana, and 40 in the city's valley itself.⁹³ According to a source which dates from around 1549, in the Charcas Gonzalo had enjoyed the repartimiento "más principal y de más provecho." 5 thousand *fanegas* of maize, 48 thousand pesos from working the mines, and 500 sacks⁹⁴ of coca stand out in the tribute-rates prepared on Gasca's command. In all, the repartimiento's previous output had been worth 130 or 140 thousand pesos, even though it was noted that sale prices were high because of the wars, and should henceforth be worth 100 thousand pesos, once the Indians recovered. Another reason why the repartimiento's inhabitants had diminished was that Diego de Rojas had taken men to "discover" the Río de la Plata.⁹⁵ Thanks to a *provisión* given by his brother, the Governor, in this very district Gonzalo also had the repartimiento of the Caracas [sic], with 3,500 tribute-paying Indians, and an income of 30,000 pesos in maize, coca, and cattle.⁹⁶ The chronicler Pedro Pizarro likewise says that Gonzalo owned the town of Chaquilla.⁹⁷ Finally, he had a silver mine in Porco, beside those belonging to his brothers and the Crown.⁹⁸

In the district of Quito Gonzalo had the repartimiento of the Cañaris, given to him with Valverde's consent by his brother Francisco, after appointing him Governor of that northern province. The *cédula*, dated on 15 June 1540, indicated this grant was made

por ser como son los yndios de la provincia de los cañares gente belicosa e amigos despañoles, e que sienpre después que entraron en esta tierra a servir a Su Magestad en la conquista de las dichas provincias les han ayudado e servido como leales vasallos de Su Magestad y es bien que vos el dicho capitán Gonzalo Pizarro, como gobernador de las dichas provincias, los

93. Loredó, *Repartos*, 194, 200.

94. It should read "cestos" and not "costales."

95. Loredó, *Repartos*, 150-54.

96. Manuel Belaunde Guinassi, *La encomienda en el Perú* (Lima: Mercurio Peruano, 1945), 97; Loredó, *Repartos*, 150-51. It is by no means clear whether or not this repartimiento was included in the previous one.

97. Pizarro, *Relación del Perú*, 223.

98. AGS-DC 46-35.

tengays en vuestra cabeza y encomienda... [para que] vivan más contentos y vos podays servir a Su Magestad en la guerra con su ayuda...."⁹⁹

The caciques and towns given in encomienda belonged to the moieties of Urinsaya and Anansaya, as can be seen on table 7.

In Quito, Lorenzo de Aldana took possession of the encomienda on Gonzalo's behalf.¹⁰⁰ Its possession was disputed by Gonzalo de Sandoval, vecino of Quito, who had appeared before Lieutenant-Governor Pedro de Puelles, and later on before the Audiencia of Lima. However, Sandoval decided to drop his claim and move to Popayán, forsaking the lawsuit he had presented. The following day Gonzalo went to see Quito's Lieutenant-Governor in the company of the *cacique* don Fernando, and Tencynenla, "el otro," and took possession of the encomienda.¹⁰¹ Besides, Gonzalo also had in Quito an *estancia* with 16 Indian *yanaconas*, which he himself later gave to Father Alonso Pablos.¹⁰²

Although only fragmentary data are available, we can draw a picture of the great estate amassed by Gonzalo even before his rebellion. Like Francisco and Hernando, Gonzalo had acquired a wide range of possessions in different parts of Peru. He received the tribute of some 8,000 Indians around 1540, including the encomienda of the Cañaris. After he was captured in Jaquijaguana, all of his belongings and repartimientos were confiscated and used to reward those who joined the army of Gasca.

99. Los Reyes, 15 de junio de 1540, testimonio de Los Reyes, 29 de noviembre de 1546, otorgado por el alcalde ordinario Nicolás de Ribera, ante Pedro de Salinas, AGI, Patronato 90-A, n. 1, r. 23.

100. Posesión del 31 de mayo de 1541, in *ibid.*

101. Dejación de Diego de Sandoval, Quito, 27 de junio de 1542, copia de Los Reyes, 29 de noviembre de 1546, ante Pedro de Salinas, AGI, Patronato 90-A, n. 1, r. 26.

102. Loredó, *Repartos*, 294-95.

TABLE 7

ENCOMIENDA OF GONZALO PIZARRO IN THE PROVINCE
OF THE CAÑARIS, YEAR 1540

| <i>PARCIALIDAD</i> | <i>CACIQUE</i> | <i>PUEBLO</i> |
|--------------------|---|--|
| HURINSAYA | Xalabaxun don Pedro Pera y Sala | Guaya Cañare Mollo e Uro |
| ANANSAYA | Xabaçera Chuquimarca Tencyncaya Quiramyncaca Llaupancalla Chacmi Dama | Caracoro Xalompa Syquecaxa Laguen Tarcán Payguro Çeque Çeque |

Source: AGI, Patronato 90-A, n. 1, r. 23.

C. JUAN PIZARRO

Juan died in the Indian siege of Cuzco, in 1536, when he was about 25 years old. His early death makes it impossible to carry out a detailed appraisal of his estate, and no reference to his encomiendas has so far been found. However, he must have had them for he was a member of the first cabildo of Cuzco, established after the Spanish foundation of the city. We do have proof, instead, that he received two *solares* in the first distribution made in the city.¹⁰³ On the other hand, the conquistador Juan de Herrera took 25,000 pesos to Trujillo in Spain on his behalf, and don Alonso Enríquez estimated his fortune in 200,000 ducados.¹⁰⁴ Finally, a document signed by Hernando Pizarro in 1556, authorized his mayordomo to sell the properties he had inherited in Cuzco from his brother Juan.¹⁰⁵

D. FRANCISCO MARTIN DE ALCANTARA

Despite not bearing the name of Pizarro, this conquistador belonged to the Governor's most intimate circle. By the time he died, he had received important Indian encomiendas. In 1535 Pizarro gave him in trust "el pueblo de Mancha, con el cacique dél que se llama Vilca Yraxi."¹⁰⁶ A second *cédula* added the Indians of Domingo de la Presa, who had left Lima and his condition of vecino. This was the repartimiento of Collique, in the capital city's district, given him "con todos los indios e indias e anaconas e naborías del dicho

103. 24 de marzo y 29 de octubre de 1534, in Rivera Serna, "Libro primero de cabildos del Cuzco," 449, 469.

104. Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 168-75.

105. Poder de HP a Martín Alonso, 28 de octubre de 1556, AHPUV-JR 6831. The holdings are not specified.

106. *Cédula de Los Reyes*, 12 de octubre de 1535. However, a note indicates it was issued in Cuzco, on 2 Oct. 1535. Signed by FP and countersigned by Antonio Picado, AGI, Justicia 448, n. 2, ff. 96-98.

Domingo de la Presa...."¹⁰⁷The third cédula recalled how, when Xauxa was founded, Francisco Martín had received the cacique Alaya. This cacique was later on given "en depósito" to Hernando González, but on his death Francisco Martín once again claimed them. Pizarro once again gave them in encomienda, bearing in mind he had "hecho dejación en mí de los caciques e indios que en los términos de la ciudad del Cuzco tenían depositados e encomendados que eran de Antonio Pérez de la Serna, difunto...."¹⁰⁸

Years later doña Inés Muñoz, Francisco Martín's widow, complained to the King that Vaca de Castro had "quitado y despojado [a ella] de los yndios de Guánuco, y los ha dado a un Pedro de Puelles."¹⁰⁹ It is possible they were never given back again, for in the district of León de Huánuco, Gasca gave that same repartimiento, or part of it, to Juan de Agama, including

el cacique Guanca, que fue de Francisco Martín de Alcántara, con todos sus principales, pueblos, yndios naturales y mitimaes, sujetos a el dicho cacique Guanca....¹¹⁰

We unfortunately do not have any figures for tribute-payers or tribute, with which to establish the size of these repartimientos, which must have been huge. The valiant doña Inés was lucky enough to have lived in the new colonial society, which began with Pizarro's rule. But she must have soon understood the new power groups favoured by later administrations had pushed her aside, so that she could no longer expect to have the privileges of the previous period.

107. Los Reyes, 8 de octubre de 1540, AGI, Justicia 448, n. 2, ff. 96-98. In my opinion, Francisco Pizarro's signature here is of questionable authenticity.

108. Los Reyes, 23 de abril de 1541, otorgada por FP y refrendada por Pero López, AGI, Justicia 448, n. 2, ff. 96-98.

109. Doña Inés Muñoz al rey, 8 de mayo de 1543, AGI, Patronato 192, n. 1, r. 32, f. 1.

110. Información de Juan de Agama, AGI, Lima 120, ff. 28-29.

E. CONCLUSIONS

Contemporary sources do not make it possible to calculate the value of the Pizarros' estate at its height. However, we can make an estimate using the tribute rates available for the 1550s, making due allowances for the fall in population which had continued unabated, the devastation warring armies had wreaked upon the Indians' fields and stores, and the gold the *curacas* had lost due to extortion from the Pizarros and other conquistadores. Thus, by the time of Gasca's *visita general*, Hernando Pizarro had about 6,250 tribute paying Indians, which would amount to a total population of 31,250. During the period 1549-1552 Hernando must have collected an estimate of at least 32,589 pesos only from tribute of his *encomiendas*. Gonzalo received the tribute of some 8,000 Indians around 1540, including the *encomienda* of the Cañaris.

A study of all the *encomiendas* received by the Pizarros, particularly by Hernando and Gonzalo, on whom we have more sources, makes me suppose that *encomiendas* were granted following Indian patterns of discontinuous spatial occupation, albeit accommodating the natives' dispersal to the conquistadores' wishes. Whilst preparing the *cédulas*, *quipus* must have been used to name the list of Indians given in *encomienda*: the *quipucamayoc* would skip the strings corresponding to those already given to another Spaniard,¹¹¹ or contrariwise, the *quipu's* reading might have followed a sequence discontinuous in spatial terms, but endowed with a now lost Indian social rationale. The study of these early documents in terms of Andean settlement patterns will undoubtedly suggest new ways of understanding the indigenous social structure in pre-Hispanic Peru.

An overview of the brother's holdings lets me conclude they formed a great estate, unique in size and comparable only to that of Francisco Pizarro himself, and his children. At their command was not only that which the Incas had held

111. Editors' note on Gonzalo Pizarro's above-mentioned *cédula* in Platt, Bouysse, Harris, and Saignes, *Qaraqara-Charka*.

as most valuable, but also what had taken them to America and Peru. They received gold and silver through the Indian's tribute, and by working the mines themselves, and then made bars and luxury items; they grew coca and had it harvested using the labours of those they had received in encomienda, and sold it in Cuzco and Potosí; raised cattle and received wheat and maize from their *chacras* and tribute, using them to provide for their mayordomos and managers in their homes throughout Peru, and also to sell them in the market.

The use of qualitative data makes it clear that the volume of the Pizarrista enterprise would never again be attained. In future, no other person would amass such a vast and varied estate, even less have at their command the labour of so many men and women as the Pizarros did, during the brief years they decided the country's destiny.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSIONS AND EPILOGUE

A. CONCLUSIONS

The study of the entrepreneurial organization of the Pizarros opens new perspectives on the history of the colonization of Spanish America, and the relationships established in Peru between conquerors and Indians. Following previous research, I believe I have shown the economic finality of the conquest, and the use sixteenth-century private entrepreneurs made of their companies' output: the land, its resources, and people. Peru's early government, a successor to the conquest company, was held by that small group which Francisco Pizarro had led, with the support of his brothers and followers; the governmental function undoubtedly had as its main goal the satisfaction of the needs of these private investors. Although the Crown had given permission for the conquest, and tried to set some limits on it, these were generally set aside for as long as the conquistadores were needed to exert military control, and ensure the flow of precious metals back to the mother country. They were then deprived of all political power --a move hastened by the Civil Wars-- which was then placed in the hands of royal officials.

It should be noted that relationships established between conquistadores and Indians were driven by specific interests on both sides --rather many sides when one considers that neither the Indians nor the Europeans responded as a homogeneous block-- and were based on the knowledge and expectations of each particular actor. The manner the conquistadores handled these connections was in many ways responsible for their hold on power, for their

military control, and their exploitation of available resources using Indian labour.

Like many others who followed in kinsman's steps, Pizarro had gone to the Caribbean in search of Juan Pizarro, his uncle. However, the prominent position he acquired before the conquest of Peru was the result of his political and entrepreneurial acumen. At the age of 40 he was one of the oldest captains in the Indies, had a respectable estate at his command, and had learnt all the technical and ideological resources which sustained European expansion in America. The Peruvian enterprise was built upon the foundations of the company Pizarro and Almagro had formed, but the expedition as a whole was financed with investments made by a gigantic network of powerful financial groups, small societies, and individuals.

Access to the corridors of power within the Castilian Court required connections good enough to reach the secretaries, counsellors, and of course the King himself. The most important of these connections was *Licenciado* Gaspar de Espinosa, who corresponded with influential individuals of the Court. But Pizarro also used old acquaintances like Lope de Conchillos, the royal secretary, under whose command his career had begun. Francisco de los Cobos was then one of the most powerful men in the Castilian Court of Charles V, and would soon replace Conchillos. It follows from later data that Pizarro made a great effort to get near Cobos and his retinue, just like other American conquistadores, and just like his father himself had done in Navarre. Pizarro sent Cobos the proceeds from the Peruvian smelting tax, a grant he had received from the Emperor, while at the same time requesting his help to obtain grants at Court.

Political advantages came together with the foremost position awarded to the Pizarros to work Peruvian resources. Hernando had obtained various licences which benefitted his own, individual interests, and aimed to introduce European capital and technology into mining. Although these preparations were all intended for the colonial exploitation

of Peru, Hernando nonetheless left behind in Spain an organization which would have to meet the new circumstances. The conquistador had invested his own money and that of his brothers in *juros*, various annuities, and real estate, particularly in Trujillo and its environs; the merchants and bankers representing him in Seville, and his *criados* in Trujillo, all had detailed instructions to keep the European end of the company in operation. Direct communication with the government officials was thus ensured, whilst the family's investments were at the same time directed towards certain areas: *juros*, many of them mandatory ones, and real estate. Royal support confirmed the Pizarros both as rulers of, and main entrepreneurs in, Peru, a political-entrepreneurial junction which was the outcome of the type of grant made to a group of private investors for the conquest of Peru.

The company formed by Pizarro and Almagro stood out among other interested parties, when they obtained the *capitulación* and in subsequent explorations. Whole expeditions which attempted an autonomous role were taken over, augmenting the invaders' military power, and the company's security. It was a living and dynamic institution which faced everyday challenges both from the Indian and Spanish side. The company's main goal had been permanent Spanish settlements and political control of the land. Colonial exploitation would follow the sharing of the mythical spoils of Cajamarca, and in just a few years transform the Andean economy and society, which henceforth would be at the disposal of the distant Imperial Spain and, briefly, at the command of a small group of privileged conquistadores. The greatest long-term benefit thus obtained was Indian labour, and the exploitation of the land's resources.

The Crown at first always favoured Pizarro, and so also the governing clique formed mainly by his brothers and *paisanos*. Whatever royal officials found unacceptable --such as the executions of Atahualpa and Almagro, or the use made

of money from the royal treasuries-- was invariably kept aside until the moment when the Crown was at last able to take over the direct administration of the colony. In the absence of any other satisfactory means, it continued relying on Pizarro fully aware of the immense risks involved in the concentration of political power, and thence, of the appropriation of resources by the conquistador and his retinue. But Pizarro himself complained against the metropolitan designs, right from the very first hint of royal control.

Francisco Pizarro's time in government was brief, less than one decade passed between the arrival of the invading host and his murder, but so hectic were events their memory would still move the people involved for centuries to come. The first years were spent invading the land of Peru, victoriously fighting the Inca State, and laying down the foundations for the definitive Spanish settlement of the Andes. It was also then that a group of men closely connected to Pizarro strengthened their position --i.e. those who would take the main political and municipal positions. These individuals shared power with Pizarro, provided the political basis for his régime, and together with the conquistador enjoyed the best encomiendas and other resources of the Andean world.

The death of Francisco Pizarro closed the age of invasion and conquest and gave way to one of strife, wherein the potential violence of the colonists finally surfaced. It was to be expected that the Crown would do to Pizarro what it had already done to all of his predecessors, from Columbus onwards, to recover the authority it had delegated. In Peru, however, the struggle between Pizarro and Almagro, and its bloody aftermath, hastened the downfall of the first encomenderos on behalf of the Crown's representatives.

The spiraling violence which followed the murders of Almagro and Pizarro ended the rule of the first conquistadores. When Diego de Almagro *El Mozo* attempted to avenge his father's death and enjoy the possessions the

Pizarros denied him by murdering his father's partner, he had absolutely no chance of ever legitimizing his hold over power. The fortuitous absence of all of Pizarro's brothers produced a political vacuum which was filled by *Licenciado* Vaca de Castro, who, in accordance with the wise forebodings of the imperial officials, had everything ready to replace the Governor. Royal Secretary don Francisco de los Cobos himself realized how serious circumstances were, and thus his satisfaction at the arrival of bullion and news on the silver mines' output was dampened. Following metropolitan protectionist policies, Vaca de Castro's *Instrucciones* for government were based on the "muchos malos tratamientos" meted out to natives, but also on the need for a "tasación de los yndios que están encomendados al dicho marqués [Pizarro] y a sus hermanos, parientes, criados y familiares...."

Vaca managed to alienate the Pizarros from Peru's main productive centres, as the Crown wished, even if he was moved by a desire to use the encomiendas and resources for his own benefit, or that of his followers. Conflicts of interests were common among royal officials, for the limited resources assigned to the imperial bureaucracy made it almost necessary to make an investment out of an official's voyage, which had thus to yield benefits. Gonzalo Pizarro's return from his frustrated expedition to La Canela, and the subsequent arrival of Viceroy Blasco Núñez Vela, sparked anew the clashes which had delayed for over a decade the establishment of direct rule in the colony. The Pizarros at the same time lost forever the support they had managed to have at Court, thanks to the coinciding interests between the Crown, its officials, and the conquistadores.

Clergymen had been present in the expeditions to provide them with ideological justification and support, and also to act as the Crown's informants and controlling agents. But although she requested the services of Luque, Valverde, and Berlanga, the financial interests behind the rapport between some orders and their members with the Pizarros, ultimately weakened connections between these orders and the Crown. This

was particularly true of the Dominicans and Mercedarians; both orders received large stretches of land, donations in money and kind (e.g. coca in Cuzco), for backing Gonzalo Pizarro. The Mercedarians also opposed the New Laws once it was announced all monasteries would lose their repartimientos. However, once the rebellion was over, it was the Dominicans who were mainly responsible for carrying out the instructions issued by Governor Pedro de la Gasca for the *tasación* of all *encomiendas*.

With the Indians, the invading army characteristically swayed between violence and friendliness, at the same time trying to frighten and establish alliances with certain individuals and native people. It should be noted that according to various sources used, the Indians soon stopped seeing the Spaniards as strange and exotic beings, and became fully aware of the military and political menace they posed. By then the invaders had succeeded in infiltrating Peru's domestic affairs and would soon control the authority system, which had the Inca at its apex. Once this was achieved, the use of the native state's systems of communication, collection, and storage naturally followed, particularly regarding the necessary persuasion to collect all gold and silver objects. The Christians likewise managed to protect their lives by their attitude vis-à-vis the Inca. For the Indians it was a moment for obedience and not rebellion, for they had not yet rejected the captive ruler's authority.

To retain their privileged positions, or even just to survive the fall of Tahuantinsuyu, during the conquest Indian peoples had to renew their alliance with the hegemonic group, now Spaniard. From the connections established by the Pizarros with the Cañaris (Gonzalo's *encomienda*), Lima (Francisco's), Huaylas (Francisco's) and the leading individuals therein, it may be surmised that just like the Spaniards, Indian lords acted on their own accord, deciding by themselves various different strategies which reflected political and economic expectations over their closeness to the European invader. As allies of the invaders, the Cañaris

held positions related to the everyday use of power; however, their ability to imitate the political game most Spaniards played did not preclude their prompt loss of all privileges, nor their treatment as just one more Indian group.

More intimate was the relationship Pizarro had with the Huaylas. This was partly due to his relationship with doña Inés, but other elements also came into play, such as the area's favourable conditions for agriculture, livestock, and mining, reason enough to make him take this group in encomienda, and even toy with making them his marquisate. The example of the lords of Charcas seems to indicate the local lords' great flexibility in determining and pleasing their conquistadores' needs, both with the Incas and under Spanish rule. The Pizarros were favoured by this link, which had political, military, and economic sides, whilst the descendants of the Indian lords long managed to hold an important position in the colony's social hierarchy.

The conquistadors' early relations bred a group of Indians distinguishable from the majority of natives, characterized by distinct personal connections which made them side with the conquistadores, making the invader's cause their own. So it was, for instance, with some of the Limas, Huaylas, and Charcas, whose sympathy for the Pizarros persisted once their rule and their family's power in Peru was over. All instances mentioned show connections which favoured the Spaniards in their conquest of Peru; however, we should not forget the fierce resistance the conquistadores met, which was openly expressed until the execution of Tupac Amaru I.

It is usually pointed out that the Spaniards did not at first have an adequate knowledge of the land and its resources. However, thanks to statements made by the *curacas*, the settlers in some cases did manage to form a good idea of the economic units they intended to carve up, albeit without understanding the underlying indigenous social structure, or even knowing the land. So it was with the encomienda of Huaylas, whose *curacas* were "repartidos" in Jauja. A similar

case happened with Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro's *cédulas* of *encomienda*, wherein small social units scattered over a great expanse of land were named (to which a small amount of tributaries was added, in Gonzalo's case). In the case of Hernando and Gonzalo's *encomiendas*, for instance, a close look at the units respectively received and consolidated in the 1539 and 1540 *cédulas* is certainly interesting. Therein are mentioned many towns and *caciques* who usually have 10 or 20 tax-payers at their command, rarely surpassing the 100 or 200 figure, but who on the whole reached some thousand Indians. Hernando's *encomiendas* yielded great amounts of tribute, and their labour likewise made it possible to work coca plantations and mines in Cuzco and Charcas. Future research will establish the rationale structuring of these units, and the kinds of relationships they had built with the Inca State. The relevance of data on the earliest stages of Spanish occupation surpasses the individual frontiers of each group, and raises new questions on Inca control of its conquered peoples, particularly on the dynamics of political and economic administration. I believe the model of a centralized Inca government, with people administered politically and financially by provincial capitals, is once again called into question by a model favouring greater dispersion, greater decentralization, and with important political power accruing to the *panacas*, women, and other relatives of the Inca rulers and the high priest, as well as other component parts of the state and regional and local cults, amongst others.

From the moment Pizarro was murdered, his children and the estate they inherited came under the administration of tutors. Juan de Barbarán, the first one, has unfortunately left very little trace; more information would have allowed us to approach the mystifying period prior to Gasca's fiscal arrangements. Gonzalo's rebel administration re-established a condition momentarily suspended after the marquis died: the equivalence between a private company and the government of Peru, as it had been from the beginnings of conquest itself.

Just like control of the land had previously allowed the Pizarros to make the biggest concentration of goods, so now the produce from all of their business affairs was channelled into State expenditures. Francisco's possessions, and those of his heirs, which had at first been managed almost independently of each other, were now gradually eroded during the uprising, and incorporated into the family's estate, which remained under the custody of the rebel Governor.

After Gonzalo's execution, the administration of the minors' important estate fell adrift, and was at the mercy of the new power groups which appeared in the colony under the direction of viceroys and oidores, the new local groupings (miners, merchants, *obrajeros*, *corregidores*), and the surviving first conquistadores. The Pizarrista economy and the government were once again separated, some goods were expropriated, and for the Pizarros the *encomiendas* became an annuity without any of the other privileges the institution offered. Furthermore, the royal command to remove all of Pizarro's descendants from Peru was strictly carried out, to prevent them from ever again leading any rebellious faction.

The strategy Hernando Pizarro followed once his nephews arrived to Spain, consisted in centralizing the management of the family's estate and its legal defence, dedicating himself to this task from his prison in the castle of La Mota of Medina del Campo. It had been proved that tutors who did not belong to the family lacked interest and neglected the company, so Hernando immediately took over the guardianship of the children; he would later on achieve full control once he married doña Francisca, and on the early death of don Francisco, his nephew. The Crown confiscated what had once belonged to Gonzalo, and Hernando made no open attempt whatsoever to defend it. The estate of Juan Pizarro was also taken over by Hernando, as well as the legacies in his testament.

Many lawsuits of a diverse nature were brought against members of the Pizarro family. Of these, the most important ones questioned the legitimate possession of their Peruvian

estate, both for the excessive amount of encomiendas they held, and for the connection with Gonzalo's rebellion. Hernando organized his own defence, which was actually quite simple in legal terms, but complex in its political overtones. He also took over the many lawsuits against doña Francisca, who had to carry on with all the ones brought against her father.

Hernando first recovered control over goods and companies, placing them under the control of his own staff, and taking accounts from those previously in charge. The results of having a Pizarro once again at the helm were soon felt. Hernando's administration ensured a global approach, and ceaseless efforts were made to face both the Crown's expropriatory designs, and the lawsuits presented by private individuals, thus refurnishing the family's Peruvian estate with an entrepreneurial spirit and a productive intent. On legal grounds, Hernando's crowning achievement lay not in the occasional small victory, but in lengthening the lawsuits and delaying verdicts for many years, thereby preventing the loss of his Peruvian possessions.

The encomiendas in Cuzco inherited by don Francisco and doña Francisca were managed by royal officials from the moment Gonzalo's rebellion was over, and the tribute was given to the minors' mayordomos to send to Spain. In the case of Hernando, the royal officials of Cuzco and La Plata held the funds in custody, awaiting the conclusion of the lawsuits pending, and in some instances gave these encomiendas to third parties. Hernando made all possible efforts to retain the properties his brothers and himself had gathered whilst their family was in power, but he did not try to intervene in the political administration of Peru.

It was now that bureaucrats and their retinue began to use the encomiendas and other resources. This was mostly done by governors and viceroys, each of whom arrived together with a large number of relatives and *criados*, thus establishing a practice which lasted throughout all Spanish rule. In Peru this method was first used by the Governor and President of

the Audiencia Cristóbal Vaca de Castro, who succeeded Pizarro and preceded the first viceroy, and it was happily used too by subsequent rulers. The estate of the Pizarros included the land's best resources and was therefore eyed greedily by many pretenders, within a complex system which had to combine the bureaucrat's personal interests, the task the Crown had set him, and the interests of local power groups.

The Pizarros needed many men to manage the immense estate they had in Peru, thus forming an organization which incorporated dozens of individuals, integrated into a transatlantic network which covered various parts of America and Europe. This organization had begun with the *criados* each brother had for his own affairs, but as their entrepreneurial scope grew, so did the number of increasingly specialized men they hired. The distinction between the *criados* of each member of the family persisted until the administrative consolidation began during the great rebellion, and finished off with Hernando. Besides, the organization widened its scope by using resources from other institutions such as the Dominican and Mercedarian orders, or those of bankers and merchants.

The most powerful and closely-knit kinship group in Peru was that formed by Francisco Pizarro and his brothers Hernando, Juan, Gonzalo, and Francisco Martín de Alcántara too; each always kept in mind the idea of combining efforts. A second social group, outside the Pizarrista nucleus itself, was structured much like an extended family, with branches both in Peru and Spain. In Peru it was characterized by its closeness to power, by having an Indian element, and quite too often, by reproducing the contradictions conquest posed within the ruling family itself. But what also stands out is the Extremaduran --and particularly Trujillan-- origin of those men who at one time or another held the highest-ranking positions within the Pizarrista organization. Kinship links also existed in the ranks of followers and servants from differing places within the Pizarrista hierarchy, and we also

find that *criados* and mayordomos who stayed in Peru for long periods of time took with them their relatives too.

The staff was highly ranked, and was crowned by the command of Francisco, Hernando, and Gonzalo; it was Hernando who took over the overall command of the company once he became the sole surviving brother. The different ranks of the staff went from representatives before the Court to local managers to secretaries, ship masters and shepherds. The most important of the lot was the clergyman Diego Martín, the family's *mayordomo mayor* during Gonzalo's rebellion. He participated in the country's economic and political affairs, at a time when it was impossible to distinguish private from public interest. He undoubtedly lived up to the expectations his masters had of him and, although his life was spared, he did not avoid prison nor the confiscation of his estate.

To fully understand the adventure of conquest and colonization, we must first grasp the human organization the Pizarro family gradually formed and developed. All the more so since the company's highest echelons only acquired their significance from the Indian foundations over which it had been built.

As an economic company, the outstanding expectation harnessed by the conquest was the exploitation of labour and properties, both for the company's partners and fellow investors, and all other members of the host. Due to the virtual omnipotence which singles out the Pizarros, their patrimonial estate may be used as an index of the way the first conquistadores fulfilled their material expectations. Not surprisingly, all three brothers concentrated on the land's best resources, covering a wide range of properties in areas which on the one hand ensured an important flow of gold, silver, agropastoral produce, and personal services, and, on the other, an opportunity to begin mining, ranching, agricultural, and mercantile adventures, which they chose so as to have resources complement each other. Most conquistadores received only one encomienda, but the Pizarros got many which came to some thousands of tributaries.

Available data suggest Francisco Pizarro granted himself 25,000 Indians at least, in all of his encomiendas; that Hernando received an amount which cannot be established, but which had come down to around 6,000 tributaries by the time of Gasca's *visita*, and so must have been greater when he first had them; Gonzalo in turn had some 8,000 Indians, including the encomienda of the Cañaris.

On the basis of available data, an overall view of the Pizarrista estate allows us to qualify it as the biggest and most significant within the colonial society then being created. However, its importance cannot be gauged in quantitative terms. On one hand, we do not have figures giving the amount of tributaries taken by the Pizarros as compared with the total number of tributaries distributed in Peru. On the other, sources do not give figures for tribute collection or output for the period before the *tasas* were set. We should not forget that until publication of Gasca's *tasa*, tribute paid by Indians consisted mainly in personal services (working the land and mines, looking after the cattle, etc.), but it was also quite frequently that encomenderos "granjeasen" their Indians, besides also asking them for precious metals.

It should likewise be noted that save for the marquisate (whose Peruvian lands were never determined), all early encomiendas were given in small and scattered lots, following Indian patterns of discontinuous spatial occupation now lost, but which on no account gave encomenderos exclusive rights over a certain area. It looks as if encomenderos hoped instead to benefit from the highest possible amount of tribute, and from participating in great, high-return investments (e.g. mining, cattle, agricultural, and mercantile companies) and then enjoy their wealth in Spain, or as a Spaniard in Lima or any other city, and not by founding an encomienda made in imitation of Spanish *señoríos* (as was the case with cities, for these were indeed founded anew over the native cities.) The seigneurial and feudal ideal the conquistadores supposedly included in their baggage

on their departure for the American adventure, had therefore been considerably weakened.

Francisco's brothers were in a privileged position to acquire properties, both by their closeness to the Governor, as by having participated in the conquest from its very beginnings. The study of the properties belonging to the Governor's brothers is interesting because it can help establish what the conquest's real spoils were, i.e. the productive units and labour captured by the group nearest to the Governor. On the other hand, and as already seen, we may thus find new data on pre-Columbian Peru because we are here dealing with great repartimientos distributed quite early in the colonial era.

Hernando was the one most distinguished by his entrepreneurial interests; he also was the one who, through his union with doña Francisca, the marquis' sole heiress, managed in the long run to command the biggest estate of all. The early death of Juan Pizarro preempted a detailed appraisal of his estate; no reference to his encomiendas has been found, but he undoubtedly had them, at least in the Cuzco area. Francisco Martín de Alcántara also commanded respectable encomiendas; brave doña Inés, his widow, was fortunate indeed to reach the new, post-Pizarrista, colonial society. Like Hernando in Spain, however, she soon realized she had been excluded from the new power groups, and could no longer desire the privileges of the previous age.

The brothers amassed a great estate, unique in its volume and comparable only to that of Francisco Pizarro himself. They commanded not only what the Incas had held as most valuable, but also soon fulfilled the expectations which had taken them to Peru and America. They found gold and silver through Indian tribute and by a direct exploitation of the mines, making them bars and luxuries; coca was grown and harvested by their *encomendados* and sold in Cuzco and Potosí; cattle was raised and wheat and maize received from their *chacras* and tributes, and used to feed mayordomos and

managers in their homes throughout Peru, and to sell in the market.

Contemporary sources do not allow us to fix the value of the Pizarrista estate in its halcyon days. But a preliminary assesment may be carried out by studying the tribute-rates decreed between 1549 and 1552, with due qualifications allowed for the establishment of a tribute control, the progressive fall in population, the devastation wreaked upon Indian crops and stocks by all armies, and the loss by the *curacas* of the treasures they had amassed through extortion made by the Pizarros and other conquistadores; in brief, these figures must be quite below those of the previous era. Calculations on the outcome from the sale of all of Hernando Pizarro's tributes towards 1550, gives a grand total of slightly more than 32 thousand pesos per year. It is a big figure but must nonetheless be taken as a minimum, and as only one component part of the conquistador's total income, to which should be added the output of his mines and mercantile ventures, for which at present we do not even have approximate figures.¹

Mining was undoubtedly the most profitable of all of the Pizarro brothers' ventures. Porco held an important part of Francisco, Hernando, and Gonzalo's attention, who therefore sent European inputs and qualified personnel, kept houses there, and then doggedly battled in the courts to keep the mines. Francisco also worked the gold of Chuquiabo, and they all benefitted from the mines in their *encomiendas*, some of these in very rich areas such as Chayanta and Chichas. Potosí was also worked to the family's benefit during Gonzalo's tenure, and later on shops were kept in the Villa Imperial.

1. Income of the Cortes' Marquesado del Valle becomes interesting for comparison. In 1560, the 480 Mexican *encomenderos* received 377,734 pesos in tribute; of those, 36,862 corresponded to the Marquesado. In 1567, the income of the Marquesado was 75,623 pesos (Martínez, *Hernán Cortés*, 79, based respectively, on: François Chevalier, *La formación de los latifundios en México. Tierra y sociedad en los siglos XVI y XVII*, 2d enl. ed. [Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1976], 167; and García Martínez, *Marquesado del Valle*, 146).

But other ventures were also undertaken, such as the importing of clothes, or the "ingenio e azúcares" Francisco established in the Nazca valley, in association with *veedor* García de Salcedo.

The Pizarros had houses built in the cities where they had to serve their neighbourhoods as *encomenderos*, and elsewhere when needed to house their servants, like in Potosí and Porco. The mines, *chacras*, shops, and coca-leaf plantations were scattered all over the country, but there usually existed economic connections joining the various properties belonging to a conquistador. The most evident of these was the Puna *encomienda* of Francisco Pizarro, nine leagues from Porco, and which the Crown confiscated to use the Indians in the King's mines, much like Pizarro had done.

Henceforth, no person would amass so valuable and varied an estate, and much less command the labour of so many men and women as the Pizarro did, in the brief span when the land was theirs.

B. EPILOGUE

The Fate of the Peruvian Estate

The estate of the Pizarros caught the attention of many because it was the biggest entrepreneurial complex in all of Peru, and those strong enough tried to gain some benefit from it, until it was finally all gone. So it was with the colony's rulers, who took *encomiendas*, properties, and money from the legacy of Francisco, Hernando, and Gonzalo, to give to their followers and consolidate the local group which held them in power, as we will now see.

During his brief administration, *Licenciado* Vaca de Castro collected all tributes and benefits from the Pizarros' *encomiendas*, mines, and other possessions. He was accused of having taken 20 thousand pesos a year for three years from Porco, plus the 80 thousand pesos he took from the *repartimientos*. Gonzalo had forced him to sign a debenture for 12 thousand pesos he had allegedly taken from his

nephew's repartimientos.² The charge made by the Pizarristas was that Vaca de Castro had sent his mayordomos wherever the Pizarros had properties, like Cuzco, Charcas, and Chuquiabo.³ It was specifically said he had taken the Indians of Atunguaylas, Tocas, Conchucos, Chimo, Lima, and Chuquitanta.⁴ Besides, his mayordomos had indeed been most active: one Tostado had brought gold and silver from Huaylas; Diego Mexía had taken the Indians of Canta, Guabra, and the Atabillos,⁵ whilst Gaspar Gil collected coca and maize in the towns of Yucay, Lare, and others,

y lo hacía vender el dicho Gaspar Gil y rescatar con los yndios naturales y acudía con el oro y plata que dello procedía al licenciado Vaca de Castro, como su mayordomo que era....⁶

Cristóbal Rojas, another mayordomo, had asked the cacique of Chimo for gold and silver to give Vaca de Castro.⁷ Interestingly enough the Dominican priest Friar Tomás de San Martín, Bishop of Charcas, a noted follower of Las Casas who participated actively in the distribution of encomiendas Gasca made, was a witness for doña Francisca Pizarro in her lawsuit against Vaca de Castro.⁸

Vaca de Castro had clearly not carried out his task of "tasar y reformar" the Indians of Francisco, Gonzalo, and Hernando Pizarro, as had been his orders; his main concern was for his own benefit and that of his *criados*, giving them the repartimientos of Pizarro as well as those of Almagro. However, he claimed he had not taken Pizarro's Indians, that he had indeed carried out their reform, and that the surplus had been given in encomienda to other conquistadores. He also claimed he had sent "visitadores a visitar e informarse de lo

2. Obligación, "en el tanvo que está junto al puerto de Los Reyes", 11 de octubre de 1544, AGI, Justicia 1054, n. 3, r. 1, pza. 2.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Residencia de Vaca de Castro, AGI, Justicia 467, f. 13v.

8. Declaración, Sevilla, 7 de noviembre de 1553, in *ibid.*

que daban los indios y de los que podían dar conforme a la información que le daban...."⁹ One of the few moves made by Viceroy Blasco Núñez Vela was to receive statements made by witnesses against Vaca¹⁰ which the Pizarros had collected; on his arrival to Lima, Gonzalo found Vaca had been imprisoned by the hapless Viceroy.

Gasca's performance was exactly the opposite of Núñez Vela's, insofar as the clergyman summoned the Spaniards but with little weapons, but availing himself of the royal authority, and the offer of great rewards in encomiendas. Although Gasca used the tributes from the encomiendas of the Pizarros, no charge has been so far found saying he acted for his own benefit, or that of his *criados*; he used them instead to grant annuities or pay expenditures. Gasca was energetic, and royal support allowed him to have a prompt confirmation of what he had done in Peru. We should not forget Gasca's *tasa* did include Indian labour, the elimination of which by the New Laws had been one of the driving forces of the encomendero's protest during Gonzalo's uprising. Later governors gradually diminished personal services, as well as the amount and variety of tribute, until Viceroy Toledo fixed it in cash.

During the war against Gonzalo, Gasca obtained bullion from at least two sources. He first confiscated 134, 50-mark silver-bars from Hernando Pizarro's mayordomos in Cuzco, sequestering them as if belonging to his brother Gonzalo.¹¹ Secondly, he sent Diego de Mora to the coca growing zone in Cuzco which belonged to the Pizarros, to collect the proceeds from the sale of the leaf.

9. Ibid., ff. 9-12, 27v; AGI, Lima 1628, ff. 71-73. No documentation on these tributes has been found, nor on who the *visitadores* were.

10. Testimonio de Diego Palomino, 1 abril de 1544, AGI, Justicia 467, n. 1, ff. 92-164v.

11. AGI, Justicia 1074, n. 7, f. 1. Hernando long tried to recover these funds. In one of its usual dilatory manoeuvres, the Council of the Indies sent the trial's proceedings to the Audiencia of Lima on 28 May 1554, to be followed there (ibid., f. 7).

Gasca then rated all of the Pizarros' Peruvian encomiendas, and as a result some were confirmed, and others went back to the Crown. Doña Francisca thus held Huaylas, and shared the revenue of Yucay with her brother don Francisco, and her cousins, the son and daughters of Gonzalo and Juan Pizarro.¹² But all other encomiendas were transferred to his war-time allies: Chimo was confirmed for Diego de Mora, who had previously received it from Vaca de Castro; Chuquiabo (at least part of it) was given to Francisco de Barrionuevo and Alonso de Barrionuevo *El Manco*;¹³ Puna, much desired because of its nearness to the mines of Porco, was given to the mestizo don Diego Centeno de los Ríos, the son of Diego Centeno, for the service his father had rendered against Gonzalo Pizarro.¹⁴ Don Francisco also lost Canta and Huaura, encomiendas his father had granted him. Gonzalo Pizarro's repartimiento in La Plata was given to don Alonso de Montemayor.¹⁵ As for the mines, Gasca was instructed to inquire whether or not Hernando should lose them,¹⁶ but his mine and that belonging to his brother Francisco long continued working, whilst the Crown's, which was beside them, remained closed and at the mercy of illegal exploitation.

In 1556 an attorney estimated that despite all cuts and losses, the income Hernando and doña Francisca received from encomiendas came to 100 or 150 thousand pesos a year, an undoubtedly high amount.

12. Oidores del Perú al Consejo de Indias, 20 de febrero de 1551, AGI, Lima 92, f. 1.

13. Archivo Colonial del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto (La Paz), D1-1-85. Original copy in AGI, 49-5-2/27.

14. Joan de Cáceres a S.M, Los Reyes, 20 de febrero de 1551, AGI, Lima 118. This repartimiento, nine leagues from Porco, was later on taken by the Crown; a cédula dated on 17 May 1552 ordered that don Diego Centeno de los Ríos should receive an income of 4,000 pesos, whilst waiting until a new repartimiento was vacated and could be given him in encomienda.

15. Traslado de cédula de encomienda, Los Reyes, 10 de marzo de 1549, AGI, Justicia 1053-B, n. 6, r. 5, pza. 5.

16. Cédula de Valladolid, 30 de diciembre de 1549, AGI, Justicia 1071, n. 1, r. 9.

In 1557 Viceroy Cañete found some repartimientos vacant, such as that granted to Alonso de Montemayor in La Plata and worth 18,000 pesos, or that of Pizarro's children in Cuzco, worth 11,000 pesos. Around this time the Crown administered the repartimiento of Puna, in Charcas, which had belonged to Pizarro and was worth 8 thousand pesos.¹⁷ The Viceroy used the repartimientos to negotiate with Inca Sairi Tupac, offering him the ones Francisco Hernández Girón and Francisco Pizarro had held in Yucay, Xaquixaguana, Gualaquipa, and Pucara, in Cuzco, jointly worth 17 thousand pesos.¹⁸ He also tried to give the repartimientos of Huaylas and Chuquitanta to Vasco de Guevara, who offered to give cattle so the Indians could then dedicate themselves to manufacturing clothes, and thus prevent their diminishing.¹⁹

By mid-sixteenth century, it was quite clear Peru had changed considerably. Hernando Pizarro understood he would henceforth be unable to enjoy the benefits that had been his during Pizarrista administrations. In the midst of his campaign to rescue the properties his brothers and himself had once amassed, he decided it would be most convenient for him to worry about the short term only, and seek the greatest possible benefit in the productive centres he still had at his command.

Deprived of all political power, his campaign through the courts allowed him to retain a significant part of his Peruvian estate until 1570. It was then that Viceroy Toledo dedicated himself to uprooting the Pizarros from Peru, personally taking responsibility for closing all pending suits. The result was the Pizarros lost their Peruvian organization and assets, and gave way to the new power groups, assembled under the protection of the new régime, that over which the Crown and her officials held sway. I

17. Relación de los repartimientos que el Marqués de Cañete halló vacos al tiempo que llegó al Perú, AGI, Indiferente 738, r. 1, n. 14e.

18. AGI, Escribanía 506-A, f. 3.

19. Virrey Cañete a S.M., Los Reyes, 28 de junio de 1557, AGI, Lima 28-A, n. 7, f. 2v.

believe that in the long run, Hernando's strategy did achieve its goal of strengthening the organization and the estate he still controlled in Peru, from then on and until his death dedicating himself to consolidate the properties which would form his Spanish *mayorazgo*.

From 1560 onwards, different sentences deprived Hernando of his Peruvian repartimientos. Although for a while his mayordomos still continued to be in charge of collecting tribute, in 1564 the responsibility was transferred to royal officials, and during Toledo's time --once verdicts and appeals had run their course and were backed by his decision to solve the problem once and for all-- the treasury collected the tributes which had been "en depósito" since 1560.

Viceroy Conde de Nieva gave Arias Maldonado some of the repartimientos Hernando Pizarro had in Cuzco, as a reward for his stand against the rebellion of Francisco Hernández Girón.²⁰ The Viceroy asserted those repartimientos had not been placed under the Crown's control by the time they were given to Maldonado, although there is also a contradictory account.²¹ Arias Maldonado began to "gozar del fruto de los pueblos" of Calca, Tambo, Tomebamba, Urcos, Chuco, the Toayma valley, Quisquinto, Amaybamba, and Piquicho --all of which had been Hernando's-- as from 28 November 1560.²² Maldonado's inclusion in the lawsuits between Hernando and the Crown

20. Fiscal Ramírez de Cartagena a S.M., Los Reyes, 24 de abril de 1572, AGI, Lima 270, f. 158v. See also AGI, Escribanía 498-A, f. 948; Justicia 449, n. 1, pza. 2; Justicia 406, n. 6. The encomienda was confirmed by R.C. of Valladolid, 30 de setiembre de 1556, AGI, Escribanía 498-A, f. 959.

21. AGI, Patronato 188, r. 20. On the other hand, a letter from Nieva strongly protested because the court had listened "a quien ynformó a Vuestra Magestd de lo que no hera verdad porque éstas son de las cosas que aunque se dixesen de mí no se havía de hazer caso dellas pues se ha de tener entendido de mí que tengo de tener muy delante de los ojos lo que Vuestra Magestad me tiene mandado para cumplirlo" (Conde de Nieva a S.M., Los Reyes, 16 de julio de 1563, AGI, Lima 28-A, n. 38, f. 5).

22. AGI, Escribanía 498-A, ff. 966v-67.

lengthened these and made them even more complex. Whilst Hernando requested the "fruto de sus indios" be held in deposit, the Viceroy gave Maldonado the *provisión* necessary to take possession of the encomiendas.²³ The Audiencia of Lima supported the Viceroy and passed a verdict favouring Arias Maldonado against Hernando Pizarro,²⁴ even though the Crown wanted Hernando's possessions and revenues confiscated for herself, prohibiting their auction or sale to third parties.²⁵

Arias Maldonado travelled to Spain to clear up the legal standing of his repartimientos of Calca and Xaquixaguana before the Council of the Indies, in a lawsuit involving Hernando and the *fiscal*.²⁶ An astonishing sentence favoured Hernando, authorizing him to "gozar e goze estando ausente de los dichos yndios sus repartimientos... que hasta aquí an corrido como de los que adelante corrieren." However, it was promptly revoked and all previous ones confirmed.²⁷

The problem had still not been permanently settled in the 1570s, so the King was asked whether Hernando's repartimientos should be given to the Crown, save for those Arias Maldonado already held.²⁸ In 1573 the Audiencia of Lima sentenced in favour of Arias Maldonado, and definitely closed the case.²⁹ Meanwhile, Arias also won the suit in Spain, receiving an income of more than 5 thousand pesos a year he

23. Provisión y toma de posesión, AGI, Justicia 406, n. 6, ff. 15-18v.

24. AGI, Escribanía 498-A, f. 962v.

25. See R.C. de El Escorial, 7 de marzo de 1563, AGI, Escribanía 498-A, ff. 955v-57; Sentencia, Madrid, 10 de setiembre de 1563, *ibid.*, ff. 951-52.

26. See AGI Escribanía 498-A, f. 948; Melchor de Brizuela contra las propiedades y herederos de Arias Maldonado, Escribanía 1009-A.

27. Sentencia del Consejo de Indias, 28 de abril de 1569, revocación, 5 de diciembre 1569, AGI, Escribanía 498-A, ff. 973v-74.

28. Consulta del 16 de marzo de 1570, AGI, Indiferente 738, r. 11, n. 115.

29. Sentencia del 13 de febrero de 1573, AGI, Escribanía 498-A, f. 1255v.

would never enjoy, for on his way back he died in Nombre de Dios, and was succeeded by his son.³⁰

Peru's instability and violence was repeatedly mentioned during the sixteenth century. *Licenciado* Juan de Matienzo, an Oidor in the Audiencia of Los Reyes, explained:

Los alborotos y alteraciones que a avido en este reino se an, como es notorio, causado de la mala gobernación de los virreyes y gobernadores, o por no gratificar a los conquistadores y pobladores de la tierra y servidores de Vuestra Majestad que an puesto a mucho riesgo sus vidas por la ganar y conservar, traspasando en esto lo que Vuestra Majestad tiene mandado por sus leyes, o por dar repartimientos y encomiendas de yndios a hijos, deudos, parientes, criados y allegados suyos o a otras personas que an sido traidores y deservido a Vuestra Majestad y [han] sido causa de las alteraciones....³¹

In other words, for Matienzo the "alborotos" were due to three reasons: to poor governors; second, to the conquistadores (who above all expected encomiendas) not having been properly rewarded, and third, because governors gave encomiendas to their followers. The second and third points obviously contradicted each other, and early Spanish Peru therefore had no possible peaceful solution.

Toledo agreed with Matienzo in specifically pointing out the legacy Pizarro had left behind in the colony. The Viceroy predicted that

hasta que se consuma y acabe el gobierno con que se a procedido en esta tierra desde su principio y se plante y saque otro de nuevo, nunca se podrá[n] asentar estas provincias. Fácilmente conocerá esta verdad quien entendiera el poco saber de hombre que tuvo el marqués don Francisco Pizarro, su primero governador, que aunque ganó a Vuestra Majestad la tierra se muestra y se ve [roto]... la manera y conposición y repartimiento que en ellas hizo y en la desorden que los puso, plantando en los ánimos de la gente una viciosa libertad [roto]... de [que] se causó la desobediencia tiránica con un falso principio y fundamento que toda esta tierra era suya, a lo qual necesariamente se le siguió lo que suele, que fue discordias de los que se quisieron hazer cabezas, que tuvieron tan levantada esta tierra como Vuestra Majestad sabe, y la memoria y amor que les quedó al

30. AGI, Escribanía 1009-A.

31. Matienzo a S.M., Los Reyes, 8 de abril de 1561, AGI, Lima 92.

consentimiento y libertad que se les dio en el señorío de la tierra y servicio personal de los yndios dura hasta oy día en los corazones de los que biven.³²

But by the time Toledo began his rule, the power of the first conquistadores was nearing extinction. The government of Peru was no longer the private administration of a conquest company, and all he had to do was eliminate its remnants.

By 1570 the conquest had become a myth where the Pizarros appeared as its leading characters. The tragic death of three of them, and the two decades the last one spent in prison only secured their leading role in the collective memory. The colony was now more stable, Spanish society had become consolidated in Peru, and the Indians did not use violence with the intensity and frequency of previous decades. The Pizarros had no political influence; quite the contrary, everyday life heaped upon them repeated encounters with their enemies at all levels of power. Viceroy, oidores, *fiscales*, treasury officials, and corregidores all followed faithfully the royal command to face the Pizarros and their agents.

The trend in the income yielded by the Pizarrista estate had undoubtedly been downwards, but there still was an important economic activity which gave revenues to Hernando and doña Francisca. It all changed with the arrival of Viceroy Toledo, as would the very foundations of the colonial government and economy during his decade of government. The new royal representative had resolved to clear up all pending problems, the Pizarro included. He tackled the Arias Maldonado affair by giving 5 thousand pesos annuity, but not the possession of the encomiendas. Once this was settled, he declared Hernando's repartimientos "vacos."³³ The Viceroy immediately removed Hernando's mayordomos from the administration of the encomiendas, giving as an excuse that they "tranpean lo que pueden la cantidad que se ha cobrado,

32. Toledo a S.M., Los Reyes, 8 de febrero de 1570, AGI, Lima 28-A, n. 45, lib. 1, f. 34.

33. Toledo a S.M., Cuzco, 6 de febrero de 1572, AGI, Patronato 190, r. 8.

que era hasta 25 mil pesos...", and gave it to people in whom he trusted.³⁴ In Cuzco he appointed treasurer García de Melo, and Gil Ramírez de Avalos in Charcas. The Viceroy himself inspected the accounts, finding in Cuzco Hernando owed the State almost 70 thousand pesos.³⁵

We have documentation for the repartimientos of Chichas and a "tercio" in Chayanta, showing the methods the Viceroy used to tackle this problem. Toledo sent a judge and a notary to register the possession *factor* Juan de Ansuciana made of the repartimientos, whilst the Indians were notified that all tribute, including any pending accounts, would henceforth be paid to the royal officials. On the other hand, Martín Alonso de los Ríos and Antonio de Figueroa --Hernando's mayordomos, then in Potosí and Porco-- were ordered to pay the encomendero's debt within twenty days. This ran from 24 April 1551, when the repartimientos had been given to the Crown but kept under the administration of the mayordomos, until the lawsuit received its definitive verdict. The mayordomos did render accounts for tributes running up to 27 September 1560. The royal officials would now be in charge of their collection, and the money given to the *fiscal*.³⁶

However, payment of 25,780 pesos, 7 tomines, and 6 granos from the accounts given by the mayordomos was still pending, and they appealed to the Audiencia of La Plata when asked to do so. The oidores proved evasive and preferred to leave everything to the Viceroy; on 5 February 1572 they therefore decided the *probanzas* Hernando presented should be sent to the Viceroy, but without holding the collection of the debt. The judge named by the Viceroy therefore confiscated some of Hernando's possessions such as maize, sheep of the land, clothes, and "otras menudencias de la

34. Virrey Toledo a S.M., 1 de marzo de 1572, AGI, Lima 28-B, lib. 4, ff. 258v-59.

35. Fiscal Ramírez de Cartagena a S.M., Los Reyes, 17 de marzo de 1575, AGI, Lima 270, ff. 53, 160.

36. Relación de lo que se ha hecho en esta ciudad de La Plata en el negocio de Hernando Pizarro, n.d., AGI, Lima 270, lib. 2, ff. 335-50v.

tasa" and auctioned them, but a part still remained unpaid. Since this could not be found in La Plata, the judge, "conforme al mandamiento de Su Excelencia [el virrey]," drafted a decree to take the mines, equipment, slaves, and other facilities. Martín Alonso was then asked to pay the missing amount for he had been responsible for its collection; on failing to do so he was promptly jailed.³⁷

The accounts were inspected by the Council of the Indies. Interestingly enough it questioned the administration under the royal officials of Potosí, who had been responsible for collecting the tribute from 1560 to 1564; they had just entered the final sum, which came to 15,301 pesos, without indicating how much had been collected in tribute, nor what expenses had been incurred. It was also stated the Audiencia should not have used that sum, "ni darlo a particulares ni los oficiales reales permitirlo;" it should instead have been sent to Spain. From the failure to do so "puédense presumir aver sido por su propio interese."³⁸

In Cuzco, Toledo probably settled accounts and confiscated encomiendas just like in La Plata. In Cuzco, the coca plantations which had belonged to Francisco Pizarro were also another objective, and the viceroy thus received a decree commanding him to give the Crown "las chácaras de Tono y Paucarbanva, con los indios camayos dellas."³⁹

If we seek to establish the reasons which moved Toledo to face the Pizarros and all of the "primeros" encomenderos, we find he shared many circumstances with the rulers who had preceded him in Peru. In political terms, he wanted to eliminate all traces of the rule of the conquistadores, even if it had been exerted through the exclusive privileges granted by the *capitulaciones*. On the economic side, the elimination or diminishing of the benefits the encomenderos had would increase the resources available to sustain his

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. R.C. de Madrid, 12 de octubre de 1570; Sentencia definitiva del Consejo de Indias a favor del fiscal, 25 de enero de 1581, AGI, Justicia 450, ff. 44, 68.

court, his followers --his government, in one word. However, unlike all previous rulers Toledo, besides his unrivaled talent, set as his first task the colonial organization of the land. If to achieve that end he had to employ his followers, and give them salaries and other revenues, then he would do so --it could not, indeed, have been otherwise-- but not once forgetting this was the means and not the goal of his Peruvian sojourn.

It was then that the final decisions in the lawsuits against the Pizarros were finally reached. The Council of the Indies ended a lengthy one with a victory for the Pizarros over the heirs of don Antonio de Ribera, once the children's tutor. The sentence favoured the Pizarros with a major payment of almost 24 thousand pesos *ensayados* for the amount missing from the accounts, plus another 20 thousand for the debt incurred by *veedor* García de Salcedo against doña Francisca.⁴⁰

The lawsuit over the Indian repartimientos Pizarro gave doña Francisca was seen "en definitiva" in 1577, but long continued without end. In 1588 the Council's President asked the King to decide the case, in view of the time gone by and doña Francisca's urgency. The request read as follows:

Señor. Doña Francisca Pizarro da peticiones todos los días en el Consejo pidiendo se determine su pleyto y tiene mucha razón porque ha más de ocho años que está visto y es cargo de conciencia retardar tanto la justicia. He consultado a Vuestra Magestad lo que en esto me paresze por descargo de la mía; llebando la mira a su real servicio suplico a Vuestra Magestad humil[de]mente mandar resolver lo que más convenga y se sactisfaga a la parte. En Madrid, 8 de diziembre 1588.⁴¹

The same official repeated his request to the King shortly after, but now in more dismal circumstances. He said the lawsuit had been seen "diez o doze años" ago, and there had never been any

sentencia de los juezes que primero lo vieron y de los que lo vieron en remisión an quedado solos Gasca y

40. Madrid, 22 de diciembre de 1571, AGI, Escribanía 952.

41. Presidente del Consejo de Indias al rey, Madrid, 8 de diciembre de 1588, AGI, Indiferente 741, r. 6, n. 181.

Ynojosa porque oy hemos enterrado a Espadero; dos no lo pueden votar; Espadero no dexó su voto porque su muerte fue muy arrebatada. Convendrá sea Vuestra Magestad servido nombrar número de jueces que vean este pleyto y con los dos jueces antiguos lo determinen o que Vuestra Magestad mande se tome algún buen medio con la parte, que pienso convendría. De una manera o de otra importa mucho se tome resolución....⁴²

The affair still awaited a solution when the oidores once again called on the King, remarking "doña Francisca da mucha prisa que esta causa se determine." Only three of the nine judges who had seen the lawsuit remained, "por ser muertos los demás."⁴³

Around this time, a presumed grand-daughter of Juan Pizarro living in Cuzco came to the fore to insist on requesting *mercedes*. It was said Juan had had a daughter with a Coya called Inquil or Queque, or even doña Francisca Coya; she descended from the Incas, and her father had been "Guamanta y Cicapac", an "hijo y nieto de Hatun Inga Roca Cápac, el cual fue primo hermano de Guaynacava." The girl was even called doña Francisca Pizarro; witnesses in the *informaciones* presented said she resembled "la phisolomía [sic por fisonomía] del rostro al dicho Juan Pizarro su padre." Hernando Pizarro's mayordomos picked her up and placed her in the home of Francisco González and Cicilia Vázquez de Vilviesca, his wife, "para que la doctrinasen." Doña Francisca married Garcilópez González, with whom she begot two children, one of them Cicilia Vázquez Pizarro. The latter and don Gaspar Carroz, her husband, presented a testimonial with many *informaciones* made by the Pizarros between 1573 and 1610.⁴⁴ It is not clear whether or not this

42. Presidente del Consejo de Indias al rey, Madrid, 14 de marzo de 1589, AGI, Indiferente 741, r. 7, n. 183.

43. El Consejo de Indias, Madrid, 2 de mayo de 1590, AGI, Lima 1, n. 92. Philip II, however, was not in a hurry, and wrote below: "Por lo que aquí se dize de la qualidad y ymportancia deste negocio no conviene que se determine con tan pocos jueces sino que todo el Consejo lo vea y sentencie y assí se haga."

44. Memorial de don Gaspar Carroz, Los Reyes, año 1610. (Includes *informaciones* from 1573, 1574, and 1596.) AGI, Patronato 90-B, n. 1, r. 55.

doña Francisca was Juan's daughter that Gasca sent to Spain, for in that case she must have returned to Peru; else, she was another girl Gasca had not managed to locate.

Hernando Pizarro died old and blind in La Zarza in 1578. Doña Francisca took upon herself the management of her properties and the following year rented "la heredad e dehesa del rincón de la cabeza del cavallo," in Medellín, for nine years.⁴⁵ In 1581 doña Francisca married again in Trujillo, with don Pedro Arias Portocarrero, the son of the Count of Puñoenrostro. The new husband was younger than the bride, and brother to the wife of don Francisco Pizarro y Pizarro --the son of Hernando and doña Francisca. The family fortune gradually dwindled and so, to pay off the high cost of living in the Court, and bearing in mind the small estate of the impoverished Count, doña Francisca had no choice but to sell various un-entailed properties. She herself died in 1598, leaving jewels and some possessions to her husband, in detriment to her son don Francisco, who allowed this preference during his mother's last days.⁴⁶ The social milieu of the Pizarros seemed to be quite small, and it was even more so once doña Francisca's son, and she herself, married the two grandsons of Governor Pedrarias Dávila.

The Marqueses de la Conquista

Hernando found it hard to decide which of his sons should inherit his mayorazgo, so dearly bought. This conflictive beginning signalled the tangles and difficulties which characterized for centuries to come the possession of the title and entailed estate of the Pizarros of Peru. I do not intend to follow in detail the Spanish succession, although it would undoubtedly be interesting in itself, but rather to give some facts which will show what became of the conquistador's family.

45. Trujillo, 3 de febrero de 1580, Archivo Municipal de Trujillo, Protocolo B-1-26-1.

46. Rostworowski, *Doña Francisca Pizarro*, 69-72.

Don Francisco Pizarro, Hernando and doña Francisca's son took possession of the mayorazgo established by his parents, as well as the hereditary positions of *Alférez Mayor* of Trujillo, and Governor of its fortress. His union with doña Francisca Sarmiento produced don Juan Fernando Pizarro, who carried out a series of negotiations to benefit from his forefathers' merits. In 1625 he presented a list with the merits of his great-grandfather, Francisco Pizarro the Conquistador, requesting as legitimate heir that his title of marquis be validated, and the promised vassals given.⁴⁷ By a royal *cédula* of 12 December 1629, the King decided he be given the title of marquis in Castille, with an income of 6,000 ducados in vacant Indians for two lives, renouncing to the vassals, as was duly accepted and legally registered in Madrid on 25 October 1630.⁴⁸ At his death the title was inherited by doña Beatriz Jacinta Pizarro, his sister, who requested the revenue, already increased to 7,500 ducados, be granted on vacant Indian *repartimientos* in Mexico and Guatemala. A *cédula* granted her 3,500 ducados over vacant Indians in Peru, later supplemented with 2,000 ducados in Guatemala, and 2,000 in Mexico, formerly held by the Countess of Priego. In 1680 the Viceroy of Peru received an order commanding him to pay 10,000 ducados from the *efectos extraordinarios*, to the Marchioness and anyone who followed her in the mayorazgo.⁴⁹

Don Pedro Pizarro, her successor, requested the *encomienda* formerly of don Alvaro de Portugal y Castro, Count of Lemos, left vacant on his death, be awarded to him and his heirs for the merits made by Francisco, Juan, and Hernando

47. AGI, Patronato 90-B, n. 1, r. 58.

48. Marqués de la Conquista, 17 de diciembre de 1725, AGI, Indiferente 999. See also Archivo de la Casa y Estado de los Excmos. Sres. Duques de Abrantes y de Linares, Marqueses del Duero, de Sardeal y otros títulos (Jerez de la Frontera), legs. 43, 102, 135. This archive holds many interesting files on the Pizarros and the properties belonging to their title and Spanish mayorazgos. On the other hand, the line has been published by Miguel Muñoz de San Pedro, "Extinguida descendencia de Francisco Pizarro," 468.

49. AGI, Lima 1062.

Pizarro, with an income of 9 thousand pesos. The Viceroy of Peru was later ordered to grant this to don Pedro Jacinto Eugenio, son and heir of the Marquis don Pedro. However, in 1712 a cédula ordered Peruvian officials to confiscate the "2 thousand pesos" [sic] granted to him "por haber tomado partido con los enemigos de la corona."⁵⁰

On the death in 1756 of doña Luisa Vicenta Pizarro y Fernández Somoza, fourth grand-daughter of Francisco Pizarro --who did not get to use the title-- the line of the conquistador of Peru came to an end. The marquise now passed to the offspring of the union Hernando Pizarro had had with Isabel de Mercado before marrying doña Francisca, and whose only child was doña Francisca Pizarro Mercado. The title had been hotly disputed since the death of the first marquis, and the lawsuits finally ended only in 1880.⁵¹ In 1924 an official of the Peruvian government proudly published a photograph of himself with the Vice-Count of Amaya and another one of his brother, the Marquis of the Conquest whose lines and titles still survive.⁵²

The Pizarros and the conquest are still very much alive in present-day Peru, and are still relevant as a research topic. In the many points touched upon in this dissertation may be found new topics, which may well become points of departure for future research, both on the Hispanic and the Indian sides, or perhaps, to speak with more propriety, in the Hispanic society of colonial Peru, which in great part managed to assemble both worlds until they were given a distinct personality.

50. Marqués de la Conquista, 17 de diciembre de 1725, AGI, Indiferente 999. See also R.C. de Madrid, 13 de diciembre de 1694, AGI, Lima 1062, and Contaduría 236, n. 1.

51. Muñoz de San Pedro, "Extinguida descendencia de Francisco Pizarro," 471-72.

52. The official was the Peruvian Consul General in London, Oscar Víctor Salomón. The photographs were published in "Los descendientes del gran conquistador Francisco Pizarro," *Peru. The Cradle of South America* (Peruvian Consulate in London), vol. 1, no. 3 (September 1924), 104-5.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

GRANTS GIVEN TO THE PIZARRO BROTHERS

- 27 July 1521 Ratification of Hernando Pizarro's appointment as Infantry Captain for his and his father's merits during the siege of Logroño.¹
- 10 Nov. 1525 R.C. to Governor Pedro de los Ríos, who shall honour the "asiento e capitulación" made with Pedrarias for voyages to "Levante."²
- 19 May 1525 R.C. recommending the old settlers of Panama, Pizarro amongst them.³
- 17 May 1527 R. C. to Pedro de los Ríos, compelling him to honour Luque, Pizarro, and Almagro's *Capitulación* with Pedrarias.⁴
- 5 June 1528 R.C. recommending the mayor of Tierra Firme to help Pizarro and Almagro⁵
- 20 July 1529 Permission to buy 40 quintals of saltpetre at the price the Crown acquires it. FP.⁶
- 20 July 1529 Permission to take 2 slaves to Tierra Firme. FP.⁷
- 26 July 1529 *Capitulación* with the Crown. Includes: one twentieth of tributes or 1,000 ducados. Empowered to grant *encomiendas*. FP.⁸
- 26 July 1529 Title of Gobernador and *Justicia*. FP.⁹
- 26 July 1529 Title of *Capitán General*. FP.¹⁰
- 26 July 1529 Title of *Adelantado*. FP.¹¹
- 26 July 1529 Title of *Alguacil Mayor*. FP.¹²
- 26 July 1529 *Tenencia* of Peru's fortresses. FP.¹³
- 26 July 1529 Life-long, 1,000 ducados a year as "ayuda de costa." FP.¹⁴
- 26 July 1529 Permission to take 50 slaves duty-free.¹⁵
- 26 July 1529 Exemption from *almojarifazgo* up to 3,000 gold pesos. FP.¹⁶
- 26 July 1529 Exemption from *alcabala* for 10 years and henceforth, until further notice. FP.¹⁷
- 26 July 1529 Permission to spend up to 300,000 maravedís in artillery on his own, to be reimbursed by the Real Hacienda in Tierra Firme. FP.¹⁸
- 26 July 1529 Give him sulphur, saltpetre, lead, *almires*, and cauldrons in Nombre de Dios, to be paid once his *gobernación* yields revenues. FP.¹⁹
- 26 July 1529 Three bronze shots be given him in Nombre de Dios. FP.²⁰
- 26 July 1529 25 horses and 25 mares be given him from the ones the Crown has in Jamaica.²¹
- 26 July 1529 He may board any vessel in Tierra Firme provided he pays the price, even if it should already be hired. FP.²²
- 26 July 1529 Command of Indians, lands, *solares*, mines,

- pearls, etc. in the Island of las Flores to supply his armada, in return for 200,000 *maravedís* a year, for as long as Pizarro should so desire. FP.²³
- 26 July 1529 No Indians or properties belonging to Pizarro, Luque, and Almagro in Tierra Firme be taken away. FP.²⁴
- 26 July 1529 No attachment, or imprisonment for debts owed to merchants may take place in Pizarro's *gobernación*. FP.²⁵
- 26 July 1529 A place be left aside for the armada's equipment in the Casa de la Contratación, or in the arsenals of Seville.²⁶
- 26 July 1529 R.C. recommending Francisco Pizarro to the royal officials of Seville, in the Casa de la Contratación.²⁷
- 17 Aug. 1529 Actual date the "*Capitulación* of Toledo" was signed.²⁸
- 13 Nov. 1529 First coat of arms granted to Francisco Pizarro. FP.²⁹
- 1529 Habit of Santiago. FP.³⁰
- 10 Aug. 1530 Pedrarias, Governor of Nicaragua, shall not send men to Tumbes, nor permit Soto or Arbites make *cabalgadas*, *entradas*, or deal with any Indians belonging to Pizarro's *gobernación*.³¹
- 19 Dec. 1531 Title of *Comendador*. FP.³²
- 8 Mar. 1533 Pedro de Alvarado, Governor of Guatemala, and his men, are forbidden to enter Pizarro's *gobernación*, and deal or trade with its Indians.³³
- 8 Mar. 1533 The Queen, in the name of Charles V, declaring the royal intention of granting *repartimientos* in perpetuity, reserving some for the Crown.³⁴
- 8 Mar. 1533 The exemption from *almojarifazgo* for the conquerors of Peru, up to 500 ducados, is extended.³⁵
- 8 Mar. 1533 25 more leagues south from Chíncha are added to Pizarro's *gobernación*.³⁶
- 4 May 1534 Francisco Pizarro is granted the right to name three perpetual *regidores* in each of the *regimientos* of his *gobernación*. FP.³⁷
- 4 May 1534 Permission to take 100 slaves to work in mines, duty-free. FP.³⁸
- 4 May 1534 R.C. granting 200,000 *maravedís* a year for life. HP.³⁹
- 4 May 1534 His *gobernación* is increased to 270 leagues, instead of the 200 of the *Capitulación*, including the caciques Chepi and Coli.⁴⁰
- 4 May 1534 Power to grant *repartimientos*. FP.⁴¹
- 4 May 1534 Power to move any town, settled or not yet founded, should its location prove unsound or sickly.⁴²
- 20 May 1534 Permission to take 50 passengers to Peru, instead of the 35 already authorized. HP.⁴³

- 21 May 1534 Permission to take 100 slaves duty-free. HP.⁴⁴
- 21 May 1534 Up to 1,000 ducados of merchandise exempt from *almojarifazgo*, even if they were intended to be sold on the way.⁴⁵
- 21 May 1534 Permission to take 4 female-white slaves between them, paying 2 ducados for each. FP and HP.⁴⁶
- 21 May 1534 That their haciendas be not injured for having gone to Spain. HP.⁴⁷
- 21 May 1534 500 more ducados of salary a year to be given to Francisco Pizarro for helping Almagro in his conquest.⁴⁸
- 21 May 1534 R.C. giving Francisco Pizarro permission to distribute lands and *solares*.⁴⁹
- 19 July 1534 Pedro de Alvarado be driven away from Peru, as his *Capitulación* does not include it.⁵⁰
- 19 July 1534 Francisco Barrionuevo, Governor of Tierra Firme, shall go to Peru to drive away Alvarado. Should he be unable to, *Licenciado* de la Gama will take his place.⁵¹
- 19 July 1534 Appointment of Captain of the armada going to Peru. HP.⁵²
- 19 July 1534 Permission to take 6 horses and 6 pack mules without paying the *almojarifazgo*. HP.⁵³
- 19 July 1534 He may take any ship in the South Seas, provided the fare is paid. HP.⁵⁴
- 19 July 1534 R.C. to the Governor of Tierra Firme ordering him not to disturb Hernando Pizarro.⁵⁵
- 19 July 1534 R.C. giving Hernando Pizarro permission to take Indian women from the Island of las Perlas to Panama, as cooks for his soldiers.⁵⁶
- 29 Sept. 1534 R.C. to provide pilots to Hernando Pizarro.⁵⁷
- 28 Sept. 1534 The Marquis del Valle shall neither go nor send men to Peru.⁵⁸
- 28 Sept. 1534 Permission to name Almagro, or Hernando Pizarro, or any other as his successor. FP.⁵⁹
- 1534 Habit of Santiago. HP.⁶⁰
- 13 Mar. 1536 *Capitulación* between the Crown and Pizarro and Almagro for the conquest of the islands off the coast of *governaciones*.⁶¹
- 27 Mar. 1536 Declaration of legitimacy of doña Francisca Pizarro.⁶²
- 9 Sept. 1536 Those recommended by the Queen should be favoured only if Francisco Pizarro deems it convenient.⁶³
- 6 Nov. 1536 When in Tierra Firme give 10 ducados each to the 100 musketeers and crossbowmen Pizarro requested from Zavala, and who are going with Peranzures.⁶⁴
- 6 Nov. 1536 In Peru give 10 more ducados to each of the above mentioned.⁶⁵
- 6 Nov. 1536 He may name Hernando Pizarro or Juan Pizarro his successor, or somebody else. FP.⁶⁶
- 1536 Permission to grant *encomiendas*. FP.⁶⁷

- 7 Jan. 1537 Decree adding to the coat of arms. FP.⁶⁸
10 Oct. 1537 Title of Marquis. FP.⁶⁹
10 Oct. 1537 *Información* to establish where he shall be given the 20,000 vassals. FP.⁷⁰
10 Oct. 1537 *Información* to give the encomienda of Huaylas to doña Francisca.⁷¹
10 Oct. 1537 Approval of the 100,000 *castellanos* taken from the Real Hacienda, but they have to be reimbursed. FP.⁷²
10 Oct. 1537 Permission to build fortresses in each town and name the governor. FP.⁷³
10 Oct. 1537 Permission to appoint notaries. FP.⁷⁴
10 Oct. 1537 Declaration of legitimacy of doña Francisca and don Gonzalo Pizarro.⁷⁵
13 Nov. 1537 The first time he was addressed as "Marqués, pariente y del consejo del rey" was in a cédula issued this day. FP.⁷⁶
13 Nov. 1537 Do not charge him *almojarifazgo* up to 1,500 ducados a year, for 1538 and 1539.⁷⁷
13 Nov. 1537 Permission to take 2 horses. FP.⁷⁸
13 Nov. 1537 Permission to take 6 slaves duty-free. FP.⁷⁹
22 Dec. 1537 Decree once again adding to the coat of arms. FP.⁸⁰
14 Mar. 1538 Let Francisco Pizarro be Governor of what Benalcázar discovered and pacified.⁸¹
22 Apr. 1538 Hernando Pizarro be freed should he arrive a prisoner on his way to Spain. HP.⁸²
22 Apr. 1538 The city of Cuzco obey Pizarro and not Almagro.⁸³
19 July 1540 Decree granting 20,000 vassals, so Vaca de Castro can report where they will be located. FP.⁸⁴
7 Sept. 1540 Vaca de Castro shall report on the encomienda Francisco Pizarro gave to doña Francisca of the caciques of Guaylas and Conchucos, and requested from the King it be granted perpetually.⁸⁵
28 Oct. 1541 Permission to entail one or two estates on his sons, or on whomever he should so desire.⁸⁶

NOTES

1. R.C. de Gante, 27 de julio de 1521, refrendada por Francisco de los Cobos, AGI, Patronato 90-A, n. 1, r. 1.
2. AGI, Patronato 194, r. 3; Panamá 233, lib. 2, f. 100; Panamá 61; *CDIHCh*, vol. 4.
3. Original copy signed by Andagoya, AGI, Patronato 193, r. 8.
4. AGI, Panamá 233, lib. 2, f. 267; Indiferente 415, lib. 1, ff. 107v-8.
5. AGI, Panamá 234, lib. 3, ff. 135-136; *CDIHCh*, vol. 4.
6. *Porrás Cedulaario del Perú*, 1:17.
7. *Ibid.*

8. AGI, Indiferente 414, lib. 1, ff. 119-24; Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:18-24; *CDIU*, 20:407-20; Cieza 1979:195-98.
9. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:24-26; Rivera Serna, "Libro primero de cabildos de la ciudad del Cuzco," 450-51.
10. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:26-28; Rivera Serna, "Libro primero de cabildos de la ciudad del Cuzco," 454.
11. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:28-29; Rivera Serna, "Libro primero de cabildos de la ciudad del Cuzco," 452-53.
12. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:29-30.
13. *Ibid.*, 1:31-32.
14. *Ibid.*, 1:34.
15. *Ibid.*, 1:37-38.
16. *Ibid.*, 1:43.
17. Diego de Encinas, comp., *Cedulario indiano* (Madrid, 1945-46), 3:428-29.
18. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:43-44.
19. *Ibid.*, 1:44.
20. *Ibid.*, 1:45-46.
21. *Ibid.*, 1:53.
22. *Ibid.*, 1:46.
23. *Ibid.*, 1:47; AGI, Indiferente 415, lib. 1, ff. 131v-32v.
24. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:48.
25. *Ibid.*, 1:49.
26. *Ibid.*, 1:50-51.
27. *Ibid.*, 1:51-52.
28. This was found in the original copy used by Porras, in AGI, Patronato 90, n. 1, r. 3 (Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:xix.)
29. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:76-79; *CDIAO*, 42:38-43; Santiago Montoto, *Nobiliario Hispano-Americano del siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1927), 318-22, vol. 2 of *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de Hispano-América*.
30. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Ordenes Militares, Santiago (henceforth AHN-OMS) 6524; Porras, *Pizarro*, 47.
31. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:90.
32. *CDIU*, 15:57.
33. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:114.
34. *Ibid.*, 1:128.
35. AGI, Justicia 1065, n. 2.
36. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:125-26.
37. *Ibid.*, 1:159.
38. *Ibid.*, 1:160.
39. *Ibid.*, 1:165.
40. *Ibid.*, 1:179, 191.
41. *HC*, 2:134.
42. *CDIU*, 15:109.
43. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:180.
44. *Ibid.*, 1:185-86.
45. *Ibid.*, 1:187.
46. *Ibid.*, 1:188.
47. *Ibid.*, 1:188-89.
48. AGI, Indiferente 415, lib. 1, ff. 140-44v.
49. *CDIU*, 10:217-18.
50. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:212-14.
51. *CDIU*, 15:114-15.

52. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:220.
53. *Ibid.*, 2:17.
54. AGI, Panamá 234, lib. 5, ff. 173v-74.
55. *Ibid.*, f. 174.
56. *Ibid.*, ff. 174v-75.
57. *CDIAO*, 42:135-36.
58. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 2:55.
59. R.C. erroneously dated 28 Oct. 1534 in the *cedulario*, instead of 28 Sept. 1534. In Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 2:53-54. Repeated in *ibid.*, 2:68-69.
60. AHN-OMS 6526; Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 1:204; Lockhart, *Men of Cajamarca*, 159.
61. AGI, Indiferente 415, lib. 1, ff. 187-93v; Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 2:138-40.
62. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 2:142; *CDIU*, 15:122.
63. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 2:222-23.
64. *Ibid.*, 2:259.
65. *Ibid.*, 2:259.
66. Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú*, 2:55; *CDIU*, 15:123; Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 2:270-71.
67. Góngora, *Colonial History of Spanish America*, 25.
68. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 2:393-95; *CDIHHA*, 2:322-29.
69. Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú*, 2:51-61.
70. *Ibid.*
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Ibid.*
76. *CDIU*, 15:125.
77. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 2:342-43.
78. *Ibid.*, 343.
79. *Ibid.*, 343-44.
80. *Ibid.*, 393-95.
81. *CDIU*, 15:126.
82. Porras, *Cedulario del Perú*, 2:414-15.
83. *CDIU*, 15:126.
84. *Ibid.*, 138.
85. *Ibid.*, 140.
86. *Ibid.*, 140.

APPENDIX 2

CONSULTA DEL CONSEJO DE INDIAS AL REY SOBRE LA PETICIÓN DE MERCEDES DE MARTÍN DE AMPUERO, 1595¹

[f. 1r] Consejo de Indias, 4 de diciembre 1595.

Sobre la pretensión de Martín de Ampuero.

Bastará agora darle el hábito./

[f. 1v] [blank]/

[f. 2r]

Señor:

Por informaciones hechas de oficio, con parescer y cartas del virrey y audiencia de Los Reyes, títulos, testimonios y otros papeles, consta que Guayna Cava, último rey de las provincias del Pirú, fue casado a su modo con Cantarguacho [sic] y que de aquel matrimonio quedó una hija que se llamó doña Ynés Yupanguí, que casó con el capitán Francisco de Anpuero. Y consta, asimismo, que aviéndose confederado todos los yngas capitanes y naturales de aquel reyno y determinado de acudir con todo su poder sobre la ciudad de Los Reyes en un día que para ello señalaron, y matar al marqués don Francisco Pizarro y a todos los españoles que con él estaban para volverse a enseñorear del reyno, y habiendo tenido avisos dello las dichas Cantarguacho y doña Ynés como señoras dél, avisaron secretamente al dicho don Francisco Pizarro mediante lo qual se pudo prevenir, y madre y hija añadieron otro servicio no menos inportante que fue venir personalmente con mas de diez mill yndios de guerra, jente escogida y con los bastimentos y armas nezesarias en favor de los españoles, con que no solamente se resistió aquel furor y alzamiento de los indios sino que fueron vencidos y desbaratados y se alzó el cerco.

Del matrimonio del capitán Francisco de Anpuero y doña Ynés Yupanguí quedaron hijos, de los quales es el mayor Martín de Anpuero que ha venido aquí por procurador general de la ciudad de Los Reyes, caveza de aquellos reinos, y ha presentado los papeles por donde consta de lo sobredicho y también de que el capitán Francisco de Anpuero, su padre, fue uno de los primeros descubridores y pobladores de aquellos reinos que en todas las ocasiones que se ofrecieron sirvió al enperador rey nuestro señor que está en gloria y a vuestra magestad así en la guerra de los indios como contra los tiranos que en su tiempo se revelaron sienpre a su costa muy lucidamente con cavallos y criados y sustentando muchos soldados y que cierto repartimiento de cuya renta gozava Cantarguacho, su suegra, como vienes dotaes que tenía del tiempo de su infidelidad en que subzedió doña Ynés, su hija, y el dicho capitán Francisco de Anpuero, su marido, se le

1. AGI, Lima 1, n. 146, 2 ff.

quitó don Francisco Pizarro para darle a una hija suya natural y que el año de setenta y ocho el/ [f.2v] virrey don Francisco de Toledo informado de todo lo sobredicho encomendó a este Martín de Anpuero, que agora pide como a hijo mayor legítimo de los dichos capitán Anpuero y doña Ynés Yupangui, un repartimiento por dos vidas que renta hasta dos mill y quinientos pesos valiendo el que se quitó a sus padres mas de seis mil ducados.

Y suplica a Vuestra Magestad el dicho Martín de Anpuero que teniendo consideración a los servicios de su padre y a los grandes méritos de su agüela y madre que hizieron tan notable servicio que fue parte no solamente de conservar lo ganado y librar a todos los españoles de tan manifiesto peligro sino de que se ganase lo restante, le haga Vuestra Magestad merced de mil indios tasados en el dicho repartimiento que fue de su agüela con los corridos lo uno u lo otro en título perpetuo para vincularlo en su mayorazgo y del ávito de una de las tres órdenes militares, y visto en el Consejo parece que la hazaña de madre y hija en tanto veneficio de la nación española con notable muestra de amor y fidelidad fue muy grande y señalado servicio y que para conservar su memoria en su posteridad se podrá hazer merced al dicho Martín de Anpuero de mill y quinientos pesos de renta en el repartimiento que agora posee para que después de cumplidas las vidas por que se le encomendó los pueda vincular y anden en su mayorazgo perpetuamente y también del ávito, concurriendo en su persona las partes que se requieren para tenelle. Vuestra Magestad mandará lo que fuere servido en mandar, a catorce de diciembre de 1595.

[five signatures]

APPENDIX 3

REAL CEDULA AL VIRREY DEL PERU

SOBRE MERCEDES A DON JUAN AYAVIRE CUYSARA¹

[f. 201r]

[*In the margin*] Al virrey del Pirú que ynforme sobre ciertas cossas en que pide se le haga merced don Juan Ayabire Cuyasara, cacique.

El Rey

Don Luis de Velasco, mi virrey, gobernador y capitán general de las provincias del Pirú o a la persona o personas a cuyo cargo fuere el gobierno dellas. Por parte de don Juan Ayabiri Cuyasara, cacique Principal que dizque es del repartimiento de Sacaca y pueblo de San Christoval de Panacache y su provincia se me ha hecho relación que es alcalde mayor/ [f. 201v] de los naturales de la de los Charcas y capitán de las tres naciones della y que Cuyasara su bisabuelo siendo señor de diez mill yndios de la dicha provincia fue el primero que delos della binieron al conocimiento de nuestra santa fee cathólica y dio la obediencia a la corona real procurando, como lo hizo, que lo mismo hiciesen los demás señores y yndios de la dicha provincia, y descubrió las minas de Porco que fueron las que sustentaron el poder conquistar el emperador y rey nuestro señor, que sean [sic] en gloria, las muchas guerras que tubo contra ynfieles y que don Alonso Ayabiri su agüelo haviendo subcedido en el señorío del dicho su bisabuelo acudió con gran fidelidad y diligencia a todos los motines y reveliones que en la dicha provincia se ofrecieron contra mi servicio con su persona y muchos yndios basallos suyos, bastimentos y carneros, con que sustentó los campos, y don Fernando Ayabiri, su padre, sirvió en muchas/ [f. 202r] ocassiones y hera persona de valor y buen trato y siempre andubo en ávito de español, sustentando de ordinario muchos soldados a su costa, animándolos a que acudiesen al servicio del rey nuestro señor, que sea en gloria, y asistió en la Villa Imperial de Potosí catorze años continuos y fue alcalde mayor y capitán de todos los yndios que benían a aquel asiento, haziendo con ellos estraordinaria diligencia a costa de su hazienda para que los reales quintos fuesen augmentados, de que resultó no faltar yndios en el cerro de la dicha Villa, procurando que tubiesen siempre mucha doctrina y que se apartasen de sus ritos y cerimonias; y los

1. AGI, Lima 581, ff. 201-3v.

caciques se bisteron de españoles y se entabló el vivir en pulicía y fue caussa que en el servicio gracioso que el año de quinientos y noventa y uno se hizo a Su Magestad haviendo dado él dos mil pesos ensayados que los caciques y otros indios particulares acudiesen a dar como dieron mucho, y por la satisfacción/ [f. 202v] que tenía de su persona mi presidente de mi audiencia real de la provincia de los Charcas le encargó cobrase doze mill pesos del corregimiento y partido de Chayanta, lo qual hizo y metió en mi caja real con mucho cuidado procurando siempre el aumento della, y que el dicho don Juan es hijo ligítimo del dicho don Fernando y de doña María Coscama, su ligítima muger que es principal y descendiente de gente de calidad y no tuvieron otro hijo ligítimo sino a él, y el dicho su padre le enbió por capitán y alcalde mayor de la dicha Villa Ynperial de Potosí donde estubo tres años continuos teniendo muy particular cuydado de que tuviese yndios para la labor de las minas e yngenios del dicho cerro animándolos a que trabajasen y procurando siempre el aumento de mi hazienda en que gastó de la suya más de quinze mill ducados, teniendo siempre y sustentando en su messa diez y doze soldados y que los dichos su bisabuelo, abuelo y padre no fueron gratificados de los dichos servicios/ [f. 203] suplicádome, atento a ello y que es de hedad de veyte y seys años y el yndio más principal y de más noble generación que ay en la dicha provincia de los Charcas, le hiciesse merced de mandarle dar la renta que fuesse servido en los yndios que hubiesse vacos o que primero vacasen en essas provincias, y de un ávito de Santiago, y confirmarle el officio de cacique principal y título que dél tiene del repartimiento de Sacaca y pueblo de San Christóval de Panacache y San Juan de Acacio con el salario de trescientos pesos ensayados a él perteneciente, y el de alcalde mayor de los naturales de la dicha provinzia de los Charcas y jurisdicción de la dicha ciudad de La Plata con quinientos pessos de salario en mi caja real, y darle facultad para traer consigo dos esclavos con espada y partesanas para la buena execución de mi justicia, y del officio de administrador de los bienes de comunidad del partido de Chayanta con el quinto del multiplico así de mayz, ganado y chuño como lo que se acostumbra a dar a los que han/ [f. 203v] [~~servido~~] usado y [sic] este officio y que él y sus descendientes y los del dicho su bisabuelo gozen como personas tan principales de las exsenciones que gozan los cavalleros e hijosdalgo y habiéndose visto en mi Real Consejo de las Yndias una ynformación hecha de officio y el parecer del presidente e oidores de la dicha mi audiencia de los Charcas por que quiero saver lo que ay y passa y se puede y deve proveer cerca de todo lo sobre dicho os mando que habiendo os enterado dello me enbieys relación con vuestro parecer para que visto se provea lo que convenga. Fecha en Xericó, a treynta de agosto de mil y quinientos y noventa y nueve años. Yo El Rey. Refrendada de Juan de Ybarra y señalada del Consejo.

APPENDIX 4

CARTA DE COMPROMISO ENTRE DOÑA FRANCISCA PIZARRO Y EL VEEDOR GARCIA DE SALCEDO¹

[f. 550r]

Sepan cuantos esta carta vieren como yo doña Francisca Pizarro hija e ligítima heredera que soy del marqués don Francisco Pizarro mi padre difunto que dios aya, con autoridad y espreso consentimiento de don Antonio de Ribera, mi tutor e curador que es de mi persona e bienes questa presente, la qual dicha licencia yo le pido y demando y él me da y otorga para hazer e otorgar e jurar y obligar a mí e a mis bienes en todo/ [f. 550v] quanto en esta carta de yuso verá contenido, e yo el dicho don Antonio que presente soy otorgo... la dicha licencia... de la una parte, e yo el veedor García de Salcedo, vecino desta ciudad de los Reyes, de la otra parte, decimos que por quanto entre nos las dichas partes se espera ato [?] muchos pleitos e diferencias e debates en razón de cierta compañía quel marqués don Francisco Pizarro padre de mi la dicha doña Francisca hizo con vos el dicho veedor García de Salcedo, de La Nasca, e sobre cierta carta de finiquito que vos el dicho veedor García de Salcedo tenéis de la dicha compañía e de todo lo della procedido, la qual vos dio Cristóbal de Burgos vecino desta ciudad, con poder del dicho marqués mi padre, e sobre razón de la fuerza que vos el dicho veedor García de Salcedo hezistes por Gonzalo Pizarro al tiempo que se encargó de tutor e curador de mi persona e de los menores hijos del marqués y en razón de qualquiera cosa que [---?] de la dicha doña Francisca se vos pudiere pedir a vos el dicho veedor/ [f. 551r] García de Salcedo, e sobre razón de cierta nulidad que se pide en un proceso sobre 41 mil pesos que fueron del marqués a la ciudad de Panamá, e sobre el derecho que de ello me pertenesce a mi la dicha doña Francisca como su heredera, y sobre razón de otro pleito de 11 mil e tantos pesos que yo el dicho veedor García de Salcedo pido a vos la dicha doña Francisca Pizarro, e sobre 5 mil e tantos pesos que yo el dicho veedor García de Salcedo pido a vos el dicho marqués don Francisco Pizarro e a vos la dicha doña Francisca como su heredera, e sobre razón de otras quales quier causas pleitos e diferencias que entre nos... seguimos e tratamos... e por bien de paz e concordia, otorgamos y conocemos nos ambas las dichas partes que somos concertados, convenidos e ygualados de dexar e comprometer, e por la presente otorgamos e co-/

1. AGI, Escribanía 496-A, ff. 550r-58v.

[f. 551v] nocemos que dexamos e conprometemos todos los dichos pleitos e debates y diferencias que sobre lo suso dicho se esperan a ver e mover en qualquier manera en manos de los muy magníficos señores Diego Vázquez ques de Cepeda [sic] y el licenciado Juan Fernández, estantes en esta dicha ciudad, a los quales nos las dichas partes nombramos e señalamos por nuestros jueces.../ [f. 553v] ... en testimonio de lo qual otorgamos la presente carta de compromiso ante el escribano e testigos de yuso scriptos en el registro del qual lo firmamos de nuestros nonbres, e yo el presente escribano doy fee que conozco a los dichos otorgantes ser ellos mismos e llamarse así, que fue fecha e otorgada en la dicha ciudad de Los Reyes, a 5 días del mes de setiembre de 1549 años, testigos que fueron presentes Francisco de Ampuero, vecino y regidor desta dicha ciudad, e Francisco Hurtado de Hevia, e Julián de la Rua e Cristóbal de Burgos estantes en esta dicha ciudad, doña Francisca Pizarro, García de Salzedo, don Antonio de Ribera; pasó ante mí Alonso de Valencia escribano público.

[In the margin: Notificación aceptando los árbitros]
Árbitros aceptan nombramiento./

[f. 554r] [Legal formula omitted] ... [S]entenciamos y determinamos en la forma siguiente:

-En el artículo de la compañía que por parte de la dicha doña Francisca se allega que tubo con el dicho veedor García de Salzedo, condenamos y mandamos a el dicho veedor que dé y pague a la dicha doña Francisca 20 mil pesos de buen oro de a 450 maravedís cada uno, los 12,500 del principal y ganancias avidas en vida del dicho marqués asta el día que se feneció la quenta entre él y el dicho veedor en presencia [?]/ [f. 554v]
del licenciado Espinosa, y Antonio Picado y Bernardino de Balderrama, y los 7,500 pesos por lo que los dichos 12,500 han interesado o podían interesar desde el día del fenescimiento de la dicha quenta asta oy, los quales mandamos que el dicho veedor García de Salcedo dé y pague a la dicha doña Francisca... la tercia parte dentro de ocho días, y la otra tercia parte dentro de seis meses de la dicha pronunciación y la tercia parte restante dentro de otros seis meses... y para el cumplimiento dello otorgue escritura en forma a la dicha doña Francisca y a su curador en su nombre.

Y en quanto a 15,000 pesos de oro poco más o menos que el dicho veedor García de Salcedo pretende como cesionario de Rodrigo Núñez de Prado difunto y de Sebastián Núñez su hijo a ver y cobrar de los dichos y herederos del dicho marqués/ [f. 555r] don Francisco Pizarro y por consiguiente de la dicha doña Francisca Pizarro avida consideración y respeto que sobre los 11 mil y 700 y _____ [sic] pesos está pleito pendiente entre los suso dichos que por parte de la dicha doña Francisca Pizarro se alega que la compañía quel dicho marqués su padre tubo con el adelantado don Diego de Almagro que es el que parece aver otorgado las scripturas por donde

se piden los dichos 11 mil y 700 y _____ pesos de oro y se pretenden pedir los 3 mil y 190 restantes estaba deshecha entre el dicho marqués y el dicho don Diego de Almagro al tiempo que la dicha deuda sestraxo e que el dicho don Diego de Almagro la contraxo e hizo no para cosas útiles a la dicha compañía y que por aver el dicho Rodrigo Núñez cedido la dicha deuda a el dicho veedor García de Salcedo y después el dicho veedor al dicho Rodrigo Núñez y Sebastián Núñez su hijo, al dicho veedor pendiente el dicho pleito avían perdido el derecho que tenían a los dichos 11 mil y 700 y _____ pesos de oro e incurrido en pena de pagar otro tanto a la cámara e fisco de Su Magestad/

[f. 555v] y atento ansimismo a lo que en contrario desto está obligado en el proceso del dicho pleito por parte del dicho veedor y el poder que el dicho veedor tiene del dicho Sebastián Núñez para hacer [?] con la dicha doña Francisca qualquier concierto y transación que quisiere sobre estos 11 mil pesos de oro, lo adbitramos y conpinamos [sic] desta manera que el valor y suma de todas las acciones, deudas y escrituras que por el dicho Rodrigo Núñez de Prado difunto y por Sebastián Núñez su hijo le fueron cedidas a el dicho veedor contra el dicho adelantado don Diego de Almagro y contra el dicho marqués don Francisco Pizarro y contra sus bienes y herederos la avajamos y reducimos a valor de diez mil pesos de oro líquidos los quales y más otros cinco mil y 400 pesos de oro que el dicho veedor García de Salcedo tiene pedidos en juicio a la dicha doña Francisca Pizarro y todas las demás escrituras que el dicho veedor García de Salcedo tenga contra el dicho marqués don Francisco Pizarro o contra el adelantado don Diego de Almagro las quales por razón de la dicha compañía que entre los dichos/ [f. 556r] marqués y adelantado ubo el dicho veedor pueda pedir a los herederos del dicho marqués, declaramos y mandamos que el dicho veedor García de Salcedo ceda y traspase a la dicha doña Francisca Pizarro todo el derecho que por razón de todo lo suso dicho y de cada cosa dello le pertenece e puede pertenescer contra la dicha doña Francisca Pizarro para que la susodicha lo cobre para sí misma de los bienes del dicho marqués y del dicho don Diego de Almagro o de qualquier dellos, la qual dicha cesión y traspaso resciba la dicha doña Francisca y el dicho don Antonio de Ribera su curador en su nombre en pago del derecho que la dicha doña Francisca tiene e puede tener contra el dicho veedor y contra sus bienes por razón de aver el dicho veedor García de Salcedo fiado a Gonzalo Pizarro en la tutela y curadoría que le fue discernida de los hijos y herederos del dicho marqués.

Y en quanto el pleito de los quarenta e un mil pesos de oro quentre el dicho veedor García de Salcedo y la dicha doña Francisca Pizarro pende en la real audiencia que en nombre de su Magestad reside/ [f. 556v] en esta ciudad de Los Reyes, en razón de cierta hejecución de 26 mil y 450 pesos de oro que por parte del dicho veedor se pidió en el audiencia real que residió en la ciudad de Panamá en el qual dicho pleito por parte del dicho veedor está respondido que por su parte se

pidió la ejecución por escritura pública que traía aparejada hexecución por contra de los dichos 26 mil y quatrocientos y cincuenta pesos que por el dicho marqués le heran devidos y que el oro y plata en que la dicha hexecución se hizo sacados los derechos de Su Magestad y la baja que en ello hubo por el ensaye se redujeron a 27,800 pesos de oro de los quales el dicho veedor solamente cobró lo que por la dicha scriptura le hera devido que fueron los dichos 26,450 pesos de oro y que después se los tomó en quenta Gonzalo Pizarro siendo tutor de la dicha doña Francisca Pizarro y le dio finiquito dellos, decimos, sentenciamos y declaramos que damos por libre al dicho veedor García de Salcedo del dicho pedimiento y demanda de los dichos/ [f. 557r] quarenta y un mil pesos de oro y de qualquier derecho que por la dicha razón y pleito la dicha doña Francisca tenga e puede tener contra el dicho veedor García de Salcedo y contra sus bienes y herederos.

Y con las dichas declaraciones de suso contenidas damos por libre y quito al dicho veedor García de Salcedo de todo y qualquier derecho que por razón de la dicha compañía de suso referida e por aver tenido en su poder los dichos 12,500 pesos de oro della y de qualquier derecho y caución y recuso que por la dicha fianza en que el dicho veedor García de Salcedo salió por fiador del dicho Gonzalo Pizarro de la dicha tutela, la dicha doña Francisca Pizarro tenga e pretenda o en cualquier manera pueda tener e pretender contra el dicho veedor García de Salcedo e contra sus bienes y herederos y sobrello le imponemos perpetuo silencio para que agora ni en tiempo alguno no pueda pedir ni demandar a el dicho García de Salcedo ni a sus bienes y herederos por razón de la dicha tutela y fianza della ni por razón del dicho pleito de los dichos 41 mil pesos de oro ni por otra qualquier razón ni causa que entrellos hasta el presente aya avido cosa alguna. Otrosí, absolvemos y damos por libre a la dicha doña Francisca Pizarro y a sus bienes y herederos de la paga/ [f. 557v] de los 10 mil pesos de oro en que ansí reducimos el valor de los dichos mil pesos de oro y de todas las scripturas que el dicho veedor García de Salcedo tenía por cesión y traspaso de los dichos Rodrigo Núñez y Sebastián Núñez su hijo y de la paga de los 5 mil y 400 pesos de oro que el dicho veedor pedía y demandaba a la dicha doña Francisca y de otras quales quier scripturas, dineros y auciones que el dicho veedor tenga o puede tener contra los bienes y herederos del dicho marqués don Francisco Pizarro y del adelantado don Diego de Almagro que por razón de la dicha compañía o en otra manera los pudiera o pudiesse pedir a la dicha doña Francisca como heredera del dicho marqués, y reservamos a la dicha doña Francisca su derecho a salvo para que en razón de la dicha tutela y fianza della pueda pedir y demandar a otras quales quier personas contra quien pretendiere tener derecho, y ansy mismo reservamos al dicho veedor García de Salcedo su derecho a salvo para que pueda pedir lo que ansí paga e lasta por razón de la dicha fianza a las personas contra quien tuviere derecho; y generalmente con las dichas declaraciones absolvemos y damos por libres a ambas a dos las dichas partes e a sus bienes y herederos de

todo e qualquier derecho que por las causas suso dichas o en otra qualquier manera hasta el día de oy la una contra/ [f. 558r] la otra tenga e puede tener e le pertenezca o le pueda pertenecer e la otra con la otra...."

[Witnesses] Pedro de Valladolid e Juan de Mendieta e Baltasar de los Reyes estantes en esta dicha ciudad, fecho en Los Reyes a 13 días del mes de setiembre de 1549, el licenciado Cepeda, el licenciado Juan Fernández, Alonso de Valencia Scribano público.

El mismo día el escribano notificó a las partes y les leyó la sentencia estando todos juntos, testigo Francisco Hurtado/ [f. 558v] de Hevia e Juan de Mendieta estantes.

APPENDIX 5

CEDULA DE ENCOMIENDA DE GONZALO PIZARRO

ENCOMIENDA EN GONZALO PIZARRO DE LOS 20,000 INDIOS DE CARACARA SUJETOS A MOROCO

Archivo General de Indias, Charcas 56.

[f.41v] El Marqués don Francisco Pizarro, adelantado, capitán general, gobernador por Su Majestad, en estos reinos de la Nueva Castilla llamado Perú,

considerando que vos el capitán Gonzalo Pizarro, mi hermano, pasastis conmigo a estas partes a la conquista y descubrimiento de estas nuevas tierras, y con el favor de nuestro señor, y buena dicha de Su Majestad, las he descubierto, pacificado y poblado y sujetado y puesto en su real poderío, y en todo ello como capitán, cuando convenía y yo os mandaba, y a vos parecía que mejor convenía para la guerra poner vuestra persona a caballo como capitán, y a pié según que en los casos los requería en la primera conquista, y servistis bien como caballero honrado, deseoso y amigo del servicio de Su Majestad, y sujeción de estas nuevas tierras a vuestra costa, y con muchos gastos y poniendo vuestra persona con virtuoso animo y esfuerzo en las cosas de peligro,

también que siempre distis buena cuenta de vuestra persona de las cosas de la guerra que se os encargaban, hasta tanto que fueron puestas de condición que se pudieron poblar como se poblaron de cristianos, [f.42r] como ahora se ve,

y que asimismo después, en el levantamiento y rebelión que contra el servicio de Su Majestad hicieron con el señor de esta tierra los naturales, en la defensa del cerco que pusieron sobre esta ciudad, como capitán fuistis en ella, servistis, travajastis tanto que os señalastis en todas las huazavaras y fuerzas que se ganaron a los enemigos, de manera que viendo vuestro ánimo vuestra gente peleaba con osadía, de manera que siempre tuvistis victoria, quebrantando el ánimo y fuerzas a los indios, poniendo en todo vuestras fuerzas, hasta tanto que la ciudad se descercó,

y toda su tierra hasta los Charcas 200 leguas adelante las reducistes con guerra al servicio de su Majestad,

y después por mi manda[n]do con la gente que os dí, estando Manco Inca el señor que movía la dicha tierra en cierta fuerza, y de allí él y los capitanes que enviaba haciendo [a]saltos, matando españoles, procurando traer de nuevo así a los naturales para que le ayudasen a nueva guerra, fuistis a conquistarlo, y con el favor de Dios y vuestra buena aventura y diligencia y fuerzas que pusistis y a le ganar la dicha fuerza con la dicha gente, pudistis tanto que le desbaratastis, subiéndole la dicha fuerza de manera que de muy soberbio enemigo quedó tan flaco, y el sólo se escapó huyendo sin ayuda de su gente apartada, [y] después acá hasta ahora con la poca gente que se le pudo recoger – porque las demás fué castigada y recibida a la obediencia de Su Majestad – no ha tenido mas fuerzas para hacer más guerra ni lo ha hecho y se espera que la hará,

como hasta aquí por otras mis cédulas, que se resumen todas en ésta, los habeis tenido y poseido y os habeis servido de ellos, os encomiendo y pongo en vuestra cabeza:

en la provincia de Chinchaysuyo

el pueblo Anda con el cacique Cocinga Calapinga con 150 indios con sus principales y sujetos,

y el pueblo Saquixaguana¹ con el cacique de él que es o fuere, con los principales y sujetos con 150 indios,

¹ Xaquixaguana, lugar donde Gonzalo Pizarro fué derrotado y muerto por el ejército real en 1548.

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y el cacique Urco Xupa señor del pueblo [f.42v] Conchacalla y otro cacique de Quiquizaguana con el cacique que es o fuere sus sujetos y principales con 200 indios,
y el cacique Aucax y el pueblo Quico y el pueblo Guaracondor con el cacique Moite,
y el principal Colina señor de Quileba,
y el principal Machaguas señor de Toya,
Coxipaucar señor de Coya,
y el principal Acostopar señor de Paulo,
y el principal Cagimi señor de Clamo,
y el pueblo Lanbaqui con el principal Guamanalla,
y el pueblo Canco con el cacique Ancaipullo,
y el pueblo Pata con el cacique Maquite,
y el pueblo Tocoja con el cacique que se llama Llaquixaguanca con 30 indios,
y el cacique de Gualla que es en los Andes que se llama Xuca,
y otro que se llama Gualla con los otros principales que se llama Marcoa y Sayallos que más fueren mios,
y el cacique Maico con 400 indios, con los caciques y principales que ahora son o fueren de los dichos pueblos,

y en la provincia de los Charcas en lo sujeto al cacique Moroco, señor de 20,000 indios:

[CHAQUÍ: 1ª versión]

un pueblo que se llama Poycapicon 17 indios con el principal Xico,
y una estancia junto con el dicho pueblo con 4 indios que es del dicho pueblo, que se llama Quilipe,
y otro que se llama Pulavaia con el principal Chuca, que reside en el pueblo Chaquí con 18 indios,
y otro pueblo que se llama Camali y otros pueblezuelos que están juntos a él, con 30 indios con los principales Cataile Pare, sujetos al cacique [de] Chaquí que se dice Caricari,
y otro pueblo que se llama Sexilocoto con 20 indios, con el principal Condori que es cacique de Chaquí,
y otro que se llama Javacon con 15 indios con el principal Anda sujeto a Condori,
y otro que se llama Chaquí con 150 indios con los principales Condori e Chuca e Caricari e Abillo e Pultacapilco, que es cabecera de Moroco,
y otro pueblo que se llama Chuquitari mitimaes del Collao con 15 indios con el principal Yanquitati,
y otro que se llama Pacax, con el principal Tramal sujeto a Abiles, principales de Chaquí con 40 casas,

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y una estancia de este pueblo con 3 indios que se llama Callapaya con 70 indios mitimaes Charcas², llámanse los principales Contorio y Anata sujetos a Xarixaio principal de Chaquí [f.43r],

y otro pueblo que se llama Aucaca Galagala con el principal Aucaca con 8 indios sujetos a Catacari señor de Collapalca,

y otro pueblo llamado Tanimben con 30 indios con el cacique Guahala,

y otro pueblo que se llama Alcatuti con 30 indios, son Charcas, llámase el señor Copacallo, está media legua de Puna,

y otro pueblo que se llama Pabuxi y el principal Carucharla con 10 indios, está este pueblo cerca de Tacali,

y otro pueblo que se llama Tantola Charcas con el cacique Contavaia con 20 indios,

y otro pueblo cerca de éste que se llama Quinviri con 20 indios Charcas,

y otro pueblo que se llama Putacaia Charcas con 80 indios, cerca de Puna³, con el principal Tigua y Averuquipa, es vecacho,

y un pueblo que se llama Urcoveni con 10 indios mitimaes Quillacas con el principal Macana, sujetos de este pueblo⁴,

y otro pueblo que se llama Pulquina con 6 indios, estancia del pueblo llamado Putocaia,

y otro que se llama Guanaia con 30 indios, estancia de dicho pueblo,

y otro que se llama Pumpuma, estancia del dicho pueblo, con 10 indios con el principal Chuquí sujeto a Tigua, son Charcas,

[CHAQUÍ: 2ª versión⁵]

y un pueblo que se llama Coipaxi con 17 indios, con el principal Xico,

y otra estancia junto a este pueblo con 4 indios, llamase Quilaqui y el principal Xico,

y otro que se llama Pulabaia con 18 indios con el principal Chuca, y en este reside en el pueblo de Chaquí,

y otro que se llama Camal con 3 pueblezuelos junto a este dicho Camael, que todos son unos, con 30 indios con los principales Catari,

y el otro par⁶, es sujeto al cacique Cachi que se dice Caricari,

y otro pueblo que se dice Xilotoco con 20 indios con los principales Condori es Toescala: son Charcas,

y otro pueblo que se llama Guarapaio con 8 indios con el principal Condori cacique de Chaquí,

²Nótese que los mitimaes Charcas se subordinan *localmente* al señor Wisijsa de Chaquí.

³Puna fué reservado por Francisco Pizarro para sí mismo, ver Cuadro 2.1 "Las Encomiendas en Charcas"; también Rafael Loredo, *Los Repartos ...* (p.).

⁴ Nótese que el principal de los mitimaes Killaka debe subordinarse *en lo local* al cacique Charka o Qaraqara de la zona de su residencia.

⁵ Obsérvese la repetición, con ortografía alterada, de la sección de Chaquí.

⁶O sea, también con 30 indios como el anterior.

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- y otro pueblo que se llama Java con 15 indios con el principal Condo,
- y otro pueblo que se llama Chaquí con 150 indios con los principales Condoris Chuca y Caricari y Avillo y Pulta Capulco, cabecera de Moroco,
- y otro que se llama Machutari [f.43v] mitimaes de Collao con 15 indios con el principal Yanquetati,
- y otro pueblo llamado Docax con el principal Quicono con 40 indios junto con este dicho pueblo, están 3 casas pobladas, estancia,
- y otro pueblo llamado Collapaya mitimaes de Charcas con 70 indios con los principales Catari cana,
- y otro que está junto de este pueblo llamado Galagala de mitimaes con 8 indios con el principal Ataca,
- y otro pueblo que se llama Timaunque con 30 indios, llámase el cacique Guahaca,
- y otro que se llama Alcatu con 30 indios con el principal Copacallo, son Charcas,
- y otro que se llama Tontola con el cacique Tabar con 26 indios,
- y otro que se llama Quiriri con 20 indios con el principal Aquita, son Charcas,
- y otro pueblo que se llama Putaca, cerca de Puna, con 80 indios con el principal Tinguacuruquí y Suitachuquí,
- y otro que se dice Hincobenir con 10 indios, son Quillacas con el principal Macana,
- y otro que se dice Guanaia con 30 indios,
- y más que en el pueblo Pimpina 12 indios que es estancia de Potataca, segun que lo visitó el capitan Diego de Rojas,

[YUNGAS DE COCA]

- y más 2 leguas de cabecera de Chinbuata y un pueblo que se llama Tiraqui, con 17 indios sujetos a Moroco,
- y a 10 leguas de esta dicha cabecera en un valle 5 indios de Moroco que los manda un cacique que se llama Chiveane,

[MOROMORU]

- y más 4 leguas de Chuquisaca un pueblo que se dice Moromoro, cabecera del cacique Caricari, 90 indios Charcas de Moroco con el principal Yachatoma,
- y media legua de esta cabecera una aldea que se llama Labuara, al presente estancia despoblada, solía tener 30 indios y algunos están en Moromoro y otros por las estancias comarcanas,
- y otro que se dice Viri con 48 indios sujetos a Caricari, y el principal que los manda se llama Purco,
- y otro pueblo que se llama Carpachaca toma, y una aldea que se dice Uquirá con 8 indios, con el principal Vilcacuti † y Moromoro †,
- y una estancia que se dice Pipina con 7 indios,
- y otra aldea que se dice Yanane con 18 indios de Moromoro, del principal Samos

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y otro pueblo que se llama Guachale [f.44r.] con 27 indios con el principal Layme,
y junto a este pueblo otro que se llama Chilome con 20 indios,
y otro que se llama Suiasso con 12 indios sujetos a Moromoro,
y otro pueblo que se llama Torossa con unas estancias con 40 indios, de Moromoro,
y otra aldea que se llama Chulala con 20 indios de Moromoro,
y una estancia que se dice Ychocata con 12 indios,
y otro que se llama Lara con 8 indios,
y otra aldea que se dice Caracha con 12 indios,
y otra que se llama Maragua con 2 estancias con 30 indios, son de Moromoro,
mándalos Ariutu sujetos a Moroco,

[CARACARA]

y otro pueblo que se llama Caracara⁷ con una estancia que se llama Caga con 28 indios sujetos a Porco, cacique del dicho pueblo⁸,
y más 2 estancias que se llaman Tormani y Chacolla con 20 indios, son de Porco,
y otras 2 estancias que se llaman Sapacari y Chillachilla, con 20 indios de Caracara,
y otros pueblos que se dice Chamo con 10 indios, de Caracara,
y otra aldea que se llama Chuquiri con 4 estancias con 50 indios, de Caracara,
y otro pueblo que se dice Chaita con dos estancias con 20 indios,
y una estancia que se dice Antora con 2 indios de Caracara: estos de Caracara están 10 leguas de Chuquisaca,

[CHAYANTA⁹]

y en un pueblo que es de Hernando Pizarro que se llama Calapicana con 40 indios,
son de un principal de Moroco, se llama Chura,
junto a este pueblo una estancia que se dice Challachalla con 8 indios sujetos [a]
Aschacara cacique de Chayanta,
y otra estancia que se dice Calache con 15 indios sujetos al dicho cacique,
y una estancia que se dice Chamarca con 22 indios sujetos al dicho cacique
Echacara,

⁷Es importante distinguir Caracara, la provincia o gran señorío de los Qaraqara, y Caracara, pueblo y grupo étnico entre Macha y Moromoro. En el texto hemos mantenido la ortografía del original, pero en las notas y presentaciones distinguimos entre Qaraqara (señorío) y Caracara (pueblo).

⁸Esta línea se repite dos veces en el original.

⁹La pertenencia a Chayanta de los pueblos en esta sección puede inferirse por su inclusión en el repartimiento de Hernando Pizarro y la presencia de un cacique de Chayanta. La dependencia de los 40 indios de Calapicana del "principal Moroco" indica la presencia de un enclave de mitimaes Qaraqara en territorio Charka. Cf. la sección correspondiente de la encomienda en Pedro de Hinojosa.

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↶ y los demás son de Hernando Pizarro¹⁰,

y una estancia que se dice Suaravi con 10 indios sujetos a Ochacaia,

[MACHA]

y un pueblo que se llama Samincho con 60 indios de Moroco que sirven en Macha, el principal que los manda se llama Samacori,

y otro pueblo que se llama Ticongari con 60 indios sujetos a Macha con el principal Tantari [f 44 v.]

y otro pueblo que se llama Amarcoia con 20 indios sujetos a Macha,

y otro pueblo que se llama Pichibisa, con 49 indios sujetos a Moroco, sirven en Macha, llámase el principal Pacassa,^x

otro pueblo que se dice Puchivisca que sirven en Macha con 26 indios:

y mas dos estancias que se dice Lapilomaio con 16 indios sujetos a Macha,

y otra estancia que se dice Caranga¹¹ con 20 indios sujetos a Macha,

y una estancia que se llama Pangara con 15 indios sujetos a Macha,

y otra estancia que se llama Upangara con 15 indios¹²,

y otra que se llama Chaira con 6 indios de Macha,

y junto a ésta 16 indios con cuatro estancias sujetos a Macha,

y otro pueblo que se dice Urmazon con 40 indios sujetos a Macha, con el principal que los manda que se llama Tara, según que los visitó Alonso de Castillejo¹³

en la provincia de Caracara un pueblo de Moroco que es la cabecera de la dicha provincia que se llama Chacondi¹⁴, principal Gualca con 133 indios,

y otro pueblo que se llama Guachamion el principal Tuman con 22 de Gualca,

y una aldea que se llama Toto con 10 indios de Gualca,

y una estancia que se llama Oquira con 13 indios que son de Gualca,

y una estancia que se llama Cariporco¹⁵ con 20 indios,

y un pueblo que se llama Puquira¹⁶ con 29 indios de Gualca,

¹⁰ En esta parte de la transcripción, el quipocamayó (o el escribano español) quizás estén saltando los hilos de la población de Chayanta correspondiente al repartimiento de Charka, encomendado en Hernando Pizarro (ver Cuadro 2.1).

¹¹ Quizás un enclave del señorío de los Karanka, dependiente de los mallku de Macha; para la jurisdicción reclamada por algunos mallku de Macha sobre la gente de Karanka, ver la Quinta Parte "Probanzas", Doc. A

¹² Probablemente una repetición de la frase anterior.

¹³ Vaca de Castro encomendó en Alonso de Castillejo a los indios de Tapacarí (Sura), junto con 100 Muyumuyu de Chuquisaca (ver Cuadro 2.1). No hemos localizado los documentos correspondientes a esta visita muy temprana de Macha.

¹⁴ Proponemos la enmendación "se llama <ma>cha con <el> principal Gualca" (ver la presentación a esta Parte).

¹⁵ Nombre actual de un ayllu mínimo, o cabildo, de Macha (mitad Alasaya, ayllu mayor Sullkhawi).

¹⁶ Nombre actual de un ayllu mínimo, o cabildo, de Macha (mitad Alasaya, ayllu mayor Taphunata).

^x Probablemente el "hermano" de Gualca²⁰ mencionado en el Acto de Posesión por Pedro de Urribe, ver p.

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[POCOATA]

- y un pueblo que se llama Pocoata y el principal Ariuto con 156 indios sujetos a Moroco,
- y otro pueblo que se llama Iscamacha con 80 indios con el principal Chuquichanui sujetos a Ariuto,
- y otro pueblo que se llama Corocoro y el principal Oricoro con 20 indios,
- y otro que se llama Taco con 15 indios de Gualca,
- y una estancia que se llama Quina con 8 indios de Gualca,
- y otro pueblo que se llama Uxicaia y el principal Tumiri con 48 indios, son de Gualca,
- y una estancia que se llama Saracha con 15 indios del cacique Tumari,
- y otra estancia que se llama Yurca con 12 indios que son del pueblo de Bocatara,
- y una estancia de este dicho pueblo Xarala que se llama [f.45r.] Capi con 10 indios,

[CHAYANTA Y AYMAYA]

- y otro pueblo que se llama Chayanta con 40 indios de Moroco con el principal Coabisara, y es sujeto a Gualca,
- y un pueblo que se llama Aymaya, 62 indios con el principal Uchazara, porque los demas son de Hernando Pizarro¹⁷
- y un pueblo que se llama Coruma¹⁸ con 34 indios de Moroco sujetos a Viasara,
- y un pueblo que se llama Taparo, el principal Colqui con 23 indios de Gualca,
- y otro pueblo de Moroco que se llama Panpaiana nicalla [sic], con 19 indios sujetos a Guahalla,
- y un pueblo que se llama Vihuco con 31 indios sujetos a Moroco y Ariuto y a Pielco,
- y un pueblo que se llama Magnata guaco con 39 indios sujetos al cacique Ariuto señor del pueblo Quiqui, que es en los Charcas, con el principal Mori que son del cacique Gualta con el principal Quispe,
- y un pueblo que se llama Urbox con 40 indios, los 30 del cacique Capax señor de Puchivisa con el principal Mullo, y los 10 del pueblo Chulla que es en el valle de Lotabanba,
- y un pueblo que se llama Yaruio con 11 indios y el principal Pirco, sujetos a Gualca,
- y un pueblo que se llama Aracha con 20 indios sujetos a Pirco, señor de Caracara, y una estancia con 12 indios sujetos a Pilco,

¹⁷ Estos datos sugieren que los indios residentes en el antiguo pueblo de reducción de Aymaya (hoy los ayllu de Aymaya y Jukumani) pueden haber sido originalmente mitimaes Qaraqara en territorio Charka (repartimiento de Chayanta). 2 parcialidades, 1 Churra, 1 Qaraqara.

¹⁸ Posiblemente Coruma en la frontera con los Killaka (ver mapa).

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[YUNGAS DE CAPINOTA]

y en los yungas a las espaldas de Capinota en un pueblo que se llama Camacoro¹⁹ con 20 indios sujetos a Moroco con el principal Chuqui,

[COLO Y CAQUINA?]

y en la dicha provincia de Caracara un pueblo que se llama Sangari con 20 indios con el principal Ariuto,

y una estancia una legua de ese otro pueblo con 15 indios, llámase Churqui del dicho cacique,

y otro pueblo que se llama Yacaio con 52 indios con el principal Coy sujeto al dicho cacique,

y otra estancia que se llama Tobera con 10 indios del dicho cacique,

y otro pueblo que se llama Caquina con 80 indios con el principal Tosqui sujetos al dicho cacique,

y una estancia que se llama Capusco con 14 indios del dicho cacique,

y en la provincia de los Charcas un pueblo que se llama Josoro con 87 indios, con el principal Chuaquira sujeto al cacique Incora, señor del pueblo que se llama Quiquío,

y una estancia que se llama Xirqui con 12 indios con el principal Alavi, [f.45v]

y un pueblo que se llama Amaama con 30 indios con el principal Cori,

y un pueblo que se llama Achaco con 27 indios sujetos al dicho Cari,

[MOROMORO]

y en la dicha provincia de Caracara un pueblo que se llama Maray con 14 indios, con un principal que se dice Yanguara sujeto al cacique Ochato²⁰ señor de Moromoro,

y un pueblo que se llama Moroco con 27 indios del dicho principal Yangala,

y una estancia que se llama Chuqui Chiqui con 8 indios con el principal Arcacondor, son del cacique Ochato,

y un pueblo que se llama Sorcoto con 37 indios, los 29 del cacique Ochato con el principal Pachamico y los otros 8 del cacique Pilco²¹,

y una estancia que se llama Caianpatara con 5 indios con el principal Ayco, del cacique Aychotoman²² que se llama Llatamarca con 5 indios, llámase el principal Guarca sujetos [a] Ochato,

una estancia que se llama Yoruga que hay 7 indios, llámase el principal Machipuca sujeto a Ochoto,

¹⁹ Capinota (o Capiñata) fué un punto de convergencia en el valle de Cochabamba para los mitimaes del Collao y de Charcas, ver Murra () y Condarco Morales () sobre los mitimaes Lupaqa.

²⁰ Variante de Ochato, Ochotoma, Ochato, etc.

²¹ En este pueblo parecen estar mezclados los indios de Moromoro (cacique Ochato) y de Caracara (cacique Pilco).

²² Aquí parece faltar una frase.

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y un pueblo que se llama Soracho con 25 indios, llámase el principal Oiraxiri sujeto a Ochotoma,

este cacique que se llama Ochotoma está 8 leguas de Chuquisaca y es sujeto al cacique Moroco señor de Caracara,

{CARACARA}

otro pueblo que se llama Caracara con 98 indios, llámase el principal Pilco, es sujeto al cacique Moroco y este pueblo es uno de las cabeceras de la provincia de Caracara,

y un pueblo que se llama Ynarico con 45 indios con el principal Xual, sujeto al cacique Pilco señor de Caracara,

y una estancia que se llama Caucha con 10 indios, llámase el principal Caxa, son de Pilco,

y una estancia que se llama Lacaxa con 13 indios con el principal Guaiaca del cacique Pilco,

y una estancia que se llama Yputi con 10 indios con el principal Guaiaca del cacique Pilco²³,

y una estancia que se llama Quimani con 15 indios de Pilco,

otrosi en [la Provincia de] los Collaguas

un pueblo que se dice Condori con 10 casas pobladas,

y otro que se dice Tuti con 172,

y otro pueblo que [f.46r] se dize Canacoto con 80 casas pobladas,

y otro que se llama Capa con 60

y otro que se dize Chiuuaia con 170,

y otro que se llama Chapica con 150,

y otro pueblo que se llama Malco con 108 indios,

otro que se llama Ynmasca con 126,

otro que se llama Cuparque con 267,

y otro que se llama Cupas con 143,

y otro que se llama Yanqui con 234,

y otro que se dize Tula con 32,

y otro que se dize Coymo con ciento y 38,

y otro que se dize Uchuma con ciento y 33,

y otro que se dize Soro con 60,

²³ El original repite la frase sólo modificando el nombre del cacique: "e una estancia que se llama Yputi con 10 indios con el principal Cala sujeto a Pilco".

Qaraqara / Charka

y más todas las estancias de ovejeros y de colores que los dichos indios tubieren en qualquier parte,

y mitimaes que sean sujetos a los caciques de estos dichos pueblos que ahora son o fueron de aquí adelante, porque con estos caciques que son y sucedieron en los cacicazgos,

y vos deposito en todas las dichas casas 2200 indios conforme a la visitación que hizo Gómez de León

y en la provincia del Collao

el pueblo de Pucarani

y otro que se dice Quipa, que está 13 leguas adelante de Ayaguiri en el camino real con los mitimaes que les han hecho y hacen de los tiempos pasados comida de maiz y coca, con 150 indios²⁴,

y si en los pueblos de la provincia de los Charcas de Caracara y en los otros pueblos que están visitados²⁵ asimismo hubiere más indios y pueblos de los que parecen por las visitaciones, asimismo los pongo en vuestra cabeza;

de todos los cuales vos habeis de servir conforme a los mandamientos reales, con tanto que dejes a los caciques principales su mujer e hijos y los otros indios para su servicio, como Su Majestad manda, [y] que habiendo religiosos que doctrinen los hijos de los caciques los traigais ante ellos para que sean enseñados en las cosas de nuestra santa fé católica, con tanto que hagais a los dichos indios todo buen tratamiento como Su Majestad manda, y si así lo hiciere descargue sobre su conciencia y no sobre la de Su Majestad ni mía, que en su real nombre os los deposito

hecha en la Ciudad del Cuzco
a 7.iii.1540.

otrosí vos deposito [f.46v] en el valle de Gualla el cacique que se llama Guatoma de que es señor del pueblo de Gualla con el dicho pueblo y indios que en él hay, para que los tengais y os sirvais de ellos según y de la manera susodicha, los cuales os encomiendo por dejación que en mí hizo Alonso Dorchulla, vecino desta ciudad del Cusco

fecha ut supra,
el Marqués Francisco Pizarro
por mando de su señoría Antonio Pizado.

El qual traslado hice sacar de la dicha encomienda original, que está en el dicho cuaderno en la dicha Ciudad de los Reyes, de pedimiento del dicho don Hernando y de mandamiento de los dichos señores presidente y oidores,

en 14.vii.1564.

Y fueron presentes por testigos a ver corregir y concertar este dicho traslado con el dicho original Gomez de Buitrón y Francisco de Losa, estantes en dicha ciudad, y en testimonio de verdad lo hice escribir [e] hice aquí mi signo

Francisco Lopez.

²⁴ Estos mitimaes residían en las yungas de La Paz.

²⁵ No tenemos ninguna documentación que corresponde a estas visitaciones tempranas.

Encomienda

Y llevé a dos tomines de cada foja por ser de cacique y comunidad.

El cual dicho traslado va corregido y consertado con el dicho su original de a donde fué sacado, que llevó consigo el dicho don Francisco Ayra, en la dicha Ciudad de La Plata a 3.xi.1586, siendo presentes por testigos a lo ver corregir y sacar y consertar y entregar el dicho original

Agustín de Herrera
y Gerónimo Zambrano
y Andrés González de Cabra,
residentes en esta ciudad.

Y en fé de ello hice mi signo en testimonio de verdad

Matheo de Almonaci
escribano de Su Majestad

Concuerta con el traslado que para este efecto exhibió ante mí don Fernando Ayra de Ariutu, cacique principal y gobernador del pueblo de Copoata, y lo volvió a llevar en su poder, a que me refiero, y para que conste de ello de su pedimento dí el presente,

en la Villa de Potosi a 14.ix.1635
siendo testigo[s]
Tomás de Urive
y Juan de Viscarra
presentes

y en fé de ello lo signo y firmo en testimonio de verdad

Pedro Osseru
escribano de Su Majestad

NOTE

This document will soon be published in Platt and others, *Qaraqara-Charka*. I thank Tristan Platt for sending me this preliminary version.

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A. A NOTE ABOUT THE SOURCES

Sixteenth-century sources are usually scarce, are often scattered, and outside their original context. The documentation on the Pizarro family and its companies has not fared any better. Despite the efforts made in the last decades by individuals with a passion for the safekeeping of archives, and of archivists and librarians themselves, in Peru all documentation has long lain at the mercy of pillaging troops, fires, or the neglect of successive administrations.¹ Even at the time of Pizarro's murder it was widely rumoured that Almagro *El Mozo* had burnt the Governor's papers.²

The traces of vanished documentation occasionally comes to us in copies frequently altered, as well as fragmentary and incomplete, as happened with Pizarro's "Cuaderno de Encomiendas," and all those which viceroys and officials of the Royal Treasury had to keep. Pizarro distributed encomiendas in the ephimerous capital city the Spanish established in Jauja, registered in a document which Lohmann calls the "Diligencias complementarias de la fundación de Jauja."³ Only one of these cédulas has survived in contemporary copies, but even these copies made towards the 1560s were suspected of having been copied incorrectly to favour the interests of a certain encomendero. A lawyer thus complained the cédula "donde se reservó el cacique de la encomienda de mi parte se sacó viciosa y no de la manera que estaba en el dicho original," and thus requested secretary

1. Rafael Varón Gabai, "Preservación y promoción del patrimonio documental de la nación," in *Patrimonio Cultural del Perú. Balance y perspectivas*, ed. Fomciencias (Lima: Fomciencias, 1986), 75-92.

2. Lohmann, *Francisco Pizarro*, xx-xxi.

3. *Ibid.*, 167.

Francisco de Carbajal, "en cuyo poder está [el original] saque el dicho traslado... en pública forma."⁴

For the early years very few original documents issued in Peru are available and the numerous sixteenth-century copies are of doubtful reliability. In truth, most documents of this period are of questionable authenticity.⁵ Our data's precision improve noticeably at the time of Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion thanks to two outstanding, published collections. The first is Pérez de Tudela's two volumes of documents pertaining to Gonzalo Pizarro's private letters.⁶ The other refers to President Gasca's distribution of encomiendas to all his supporters. However, in this case the collection lacks a historical and archival context, and is incomplete and full of mistakes.⁷ Due to the absence of archival references these unfortunately cannot be compared with the original versions.

Unlike other topics, such as the voyages of discovery and the battles, the chroniclers rarely mention the encomiendas or other properties of the conquistadores. Their reading would hardly reveal the presence of the Pizarrista entrepreneurial organization, showing only that Pizarro was the richest man in Peru. Even so they remain important, for they usually provide something missing from notarial and administrative documentation: the context surrounding the events, the most important political deeds, and an appraisal of each personage.

The use of great documentary collections often turns out to be an adventure similar to working in an archive, with the additional disadvantage of finding different versions often

4. AGI, Justicia 405-A, f. 57.

5. For the case of Pizarro's testament see Lohmann, "Expresiones de última voluntad."

6. Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos referentes a Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*.

7. I mean Rafael Loredo's "El reparto de Guaynarima," "Repartimientos al finalizar la rebelión de Gonzalo Pizarro," "Alardes y derramas," and *Los Repartos*. The mistakes can be attributed both to the original copies or to their modern transcription.

wrongly transcribed. However, their revision is mandatory for they usually contain important data, in some cases thematically ordered. The guide prepared by Ernesto Schaefer was a great help for the two most important ones.⁸ As for individually published documentation, it covers the whole range of possible variants as regards interest and the quality of the edition. I have frequently mentioned the importance of Guillermo Lohmann's *Francisco Pizarro*, and its perfect edition. This stands out in contrast to the works of Rafael Loredo previously mentioned in the introduction. It should likewise be noted that a lengthy and rich document, such as the "Memorial de Charcas," may be erroneously taken to be a small one due to the absence of all references to the whole text in its published edition.⁹

From 1549 onwards more data are available, both in terms of quality and quantity. On the one hand we have the rates established by Gasca and his team, and in some cases the accounts prepared by the bureaucrats who then began to administer some encomiendas, registering the amounts paid in kind, their sale in auctions, and the expenses incurred. On the other hand, for the Pizarros we have the documentation produced by Hernando, the Royal Treasury, and the many pretenders to the encomiendas in dispute.

At present, Peruvian archives almost do not have documents dating to this period, much less a complete series. In Lima, the Archivo General de la Nación and the Biblioteca Nacional lack the documentation which should be in their respective stores, and so the early files of Superior Gobierno, Real Audiencia, and even notarial records are missing.¹⁰ The same is true of the Archivo Arzobispal of

8. Ernesto Schaefer, *Indice de la Colección de documentos inéditos de Indias* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1946-47).

9. Espinoza, "El Memorial de Charcas." A complete edition will soon be published by Platt and others, *Qaraqara-Charka*.

10. However, inventories of the most important of what little remains have been published. See e.g. "Indice del Archivo Nacional;" Lee, "Documentos sobre conquistadores."

Lima.¹¹ Early documentation is also missing in Cuzco, and a systematic search for scattered documentation proved difficult for during the time I spent there, the disorder in its stores and the obstacles posed to scholars, required an unjustifiably long stay. Very little or no early material is available in Arequipa or Trujillo.

One could reasonably hope that in Spain, the many papers hoarded by Hernando Pizarro during his long stay in the prison of Medina del Campo, and also by his relatives and himself in Trujillo --all of them somehow or another related to his Peruvian companies-- would have survived. However, the search made by many scholars, myself included, has always been unsuccessful. If it exists, the Pizarro Archive has yet to be discovered.

The study of the Pizarros and their companies cannot therefore be carried out as would have been desirable, i.e. from inside its very organization, using continuous series of documents produced and received by it. The only possible alternative was to use all existing sources available in different archives. True, some individual sources allowed me to enter the organization, providing me with unique data on the leading characters of Peru's history then; so it was with the documents Gasca took from Gonzalo Pizarro, or the letters confiscated from Hernando Pizarro in prison.¹² However, it may well be said the overall picture so obtained is that of an entity seen in detail and accuracy but from outside. Even so, this necessitated a search in many archives in different parts of Spain and America where the organization was present, so as to collect all scattered pieces which finally helped me build upon them, as with an immense jigsaw puzzle.

11. Rafael Varón, "El Archivo Arzobispal de Lima. Apuntes históricos y archivísticos," *Historia y Cultura* 20 (1990): 351-60.

12. Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos de Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro*. Hernando's letters are in AGI, Justicia 833, n. 5; some of them were published by Otte, "Mercaderes vascos y los Pizarro."

Most of the documents used here come from the Archivo General de Indias. Two legajos which altogether come to about a few thousand pages comprise what can be taken to be the backbone of my data. I refer to those marked with codes 496 and 498 of the section Escribanía de Cámara. The first is a collection of all the lawsuits the Crown brought against Francisco Pizarro and his heirs, the second those against Hernando Pizarro. In both we find data ranging from formal accusations made by royal officials to tribute rates of Indian encomiendas, or the accounts rendered by the tutors of Pizarro's young children. Many scholars have used these legajos; this time I used them to find out about the entrepreneurial and governmental aspects relevant to my subject. Other legajos in this section and in Justicia too --which exhibits an identical and earlier kind of contentious proceedings-- provided me with invaluable data on the main subject of my dissertation, and on other subsidiary but nonetheless valuable ones. These two sections, more than any other perhaps, hold the biggest amount of unexpected data due to their inclusion as evidence in the trials. Here we find visitas, tax rates, private letters, and the tiresome but equally useful testimonials rendered by witnesses.

Besides, the riches of the Sevillian archive seem to be endless, particularly once the scholar gets acquainted with the peculiarities of colonial bureaucracy. The Patronato section was formed by selecting the "best" documents: cédulas of encomienda, the most important *capitulaciones* and lists of merits made by the great conquistadores, amongst other items, with the additional advantage of having them all inventoried. However, it may be argued that its facile use impedes the discovery of new documentation. Additionally, most documents published in the great collections mentioned in the bibliography come from this section. In the Lima section we may find the letters and files sent by the highest-ranking American officials --viceroys and oidores in particular, and also clergymen-- on governmental or private matters, of which the request for *mercedes* and promotions stand out. The

section on Charcas likewise holds the reports and letters corresponding to that Audiencia.

Surprises may be had in the section called Indiferente, but in truth this is made up of legajos arranged along the same organizational principles used in the whole archive, albeit with a greater documentary variety. Some are duplicated and may be easily found under their main code number, whilst others contain data irrelevant for colonial administration (and often also irrelevant for Americanist scholars). The biggest surprise undoubtedly comes from documents erroneously placed in sections which are wholly alien, i.e. Mexico or the Philippines, but these may only be found by chance.

The Archivo de Protocolos of Seville holds interesting documentation on Peru. However, the lack of personnel, restricted timetables, and conditions for research make its use difficult. I went there in search of Hernando Pizarro's testament, but found the legajo unbound and not a single trace of the document. However, the wealth of its hoards cannot be denied, and other scholars have been more fortunate than me.

The Archivo Histórico Provincial y Universitario de Valladolid keeps the notarial documentation signed by Hernando Pizarro roughly during the two decades he spent in prison in Medina del Campo. The script is usually difficult to read, and the legajos have no page numbers or indexes, be they old or modern. This notwithstanding, after systematically scanning dozens of them I managed, first, to reconstruct the network of men who linked the head of the organization to its Andean agents; second, to periodize the Pizarro's activity during this period, and thirdly, to discover the best indications of the strategy followed by Hernando to run his Peruvian estate. However, one must not forget that just like any other documentation, notarial records must be handled with care, for behind a notary's solemnity however, great deceit may lie hidden. Remember too that for every agreement reached by Hernando and certified by

the notary's signature, there were many others privately made of which no trace survives. I thus found, for instance, many powers of attorney but almost no detailed accounts.

The charm of the Archivo General de Simancas lies in the fact that although documentation on the Pizarros, their rule in Peru, and their companies are relatively scarce, all are directly related to the highest authority in the realm. Particularly important are the letters sent by the Pizarros to the Emperor first, and later to Philip II. So it is that Captain Gonzalo, father of the conquistadores, appears. But perhaps even more invaluable are the letters exchanged between the King and his secretaries, Francisco de los Cobos in particular, on the decisions taken regarding the Peru of the conquerors. I do not believe any other archive provides a similar background against which to place Peru within a Spaniard --and Castilian-- perspective. The Archivo de la Chancillería of Valladolid holds interesting documentation on Hernando Pizarro's Spanish affairs, which were long related to Peru.¹³ However, for unknown reasons the staff of this public archive unjustifiedly disturbed my professional endeavours, as happened nowhere else.

No documentation prior to 1550 was found in the Archivo Municipal of Trujillo (Spain), not even notarial records. From 1560 onwards there abound documents signed by doña Francisca, and so it is certainly possible to deepen our knowledge of the Pizarros' place within Trujillan society after the conquest. The Archivo de los Condes de Canilleros, in Cáceres, hoards varied material almost always on the family's Spanish affairs. Something similar can be said of the Archivo de los Duques de Abrantes, whose invaluableness for the study of the Pizarros' affairs in Spain, in terms both of genealogy and estate, goes hand in hand with the present owners' desire to help scholars.

Madrid's repositories contain important documentation, the Biblioteca Nacional in particular, and to a lesser degree

13. See e.g. the documents cited by Fernández Martín, *Hernando Pizarro en la Mota*, passim.

the Archivo Histórico Nacional, or the Biblioteca del Palacio Real. My brief stays there showed part of this documentation had been published previously, and that the remainder would hardly alter my main tenets.

The Archivo Nacional of Bolivia contains data important because of two major reasons. First of all, it holds documents of a kind not available elsewhere. There I studied the papers of the Audiencia of La Plata (or Charcas), particularly their "Libros de Acuerdos," which allowed me to study the workings of a court similar to that of Lima --where the affairs of the Pizarros were often discussed-- and their properties in the richest area of the Peruvian viceroyalty. Secondly, because the documentation led me to the most important part of the Pizarrista estate, the riches of its encomiendas and mines. The chain of administrative notes which began in Medina del Campo long passed through Seville, Panama, and Lima reached La Plata, and then to its final destination in Porco and Potosí. A comparison of notarial documentation signed by Hernando Pizarro in Valladolid with that kept in Sucre --which, by the way, is in perfect order and inventoried in full-- and supplemented by additional data gathered here and there, made me see how an important segment of the Pizarros' entrepreneurial organization was structured. This image may be completed once comparable data for Cuzco, Arequipa, Huaylas, and Trujillo are available.

The Archivo Histórico of Potosí keeps the books of the royal treasuries, from which I derived data on the Pizarros' repartimientos in Charcas whilst under the administration of the royal officials. The quality, order, and excellent preservation of these documents, plus the kindness of its staff, have greatly reduced all possible inconveniences for research.

The use of many archives made it possible to obtain a documentary basis, mainly from the Archivo General de Indias, and the most varied supplements from archives widely scattered throughout the places where the Pizarrista organization operated. This was the only way to replace the

lost archive of the Pizarro family. Although it is not the ideal situation as far as sources go, I am convinced an important documentary body was collected which provided, as expected, an overall and quite objective view of the economic operations of the conquistador and his family whilst their rule and economic presence lasted in Peru.

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