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On the Geographical Positions of the Tribes Which Formed the Empire of the Yncas, with an Appendix on the Name "Aymara"

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of our expedition will reveal themselves in time by a vast increase to the trade of this country, by free commercial overland intercourse between Burma and China, and by a tardy but cordial recognition of our services by the country at large.

XI.—*On the Geographical Positions of the Tribes which formed the Empire of the Yncas, with an Appendix on the name "Aymara."* By CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, C.B., Secretary R.G.S.

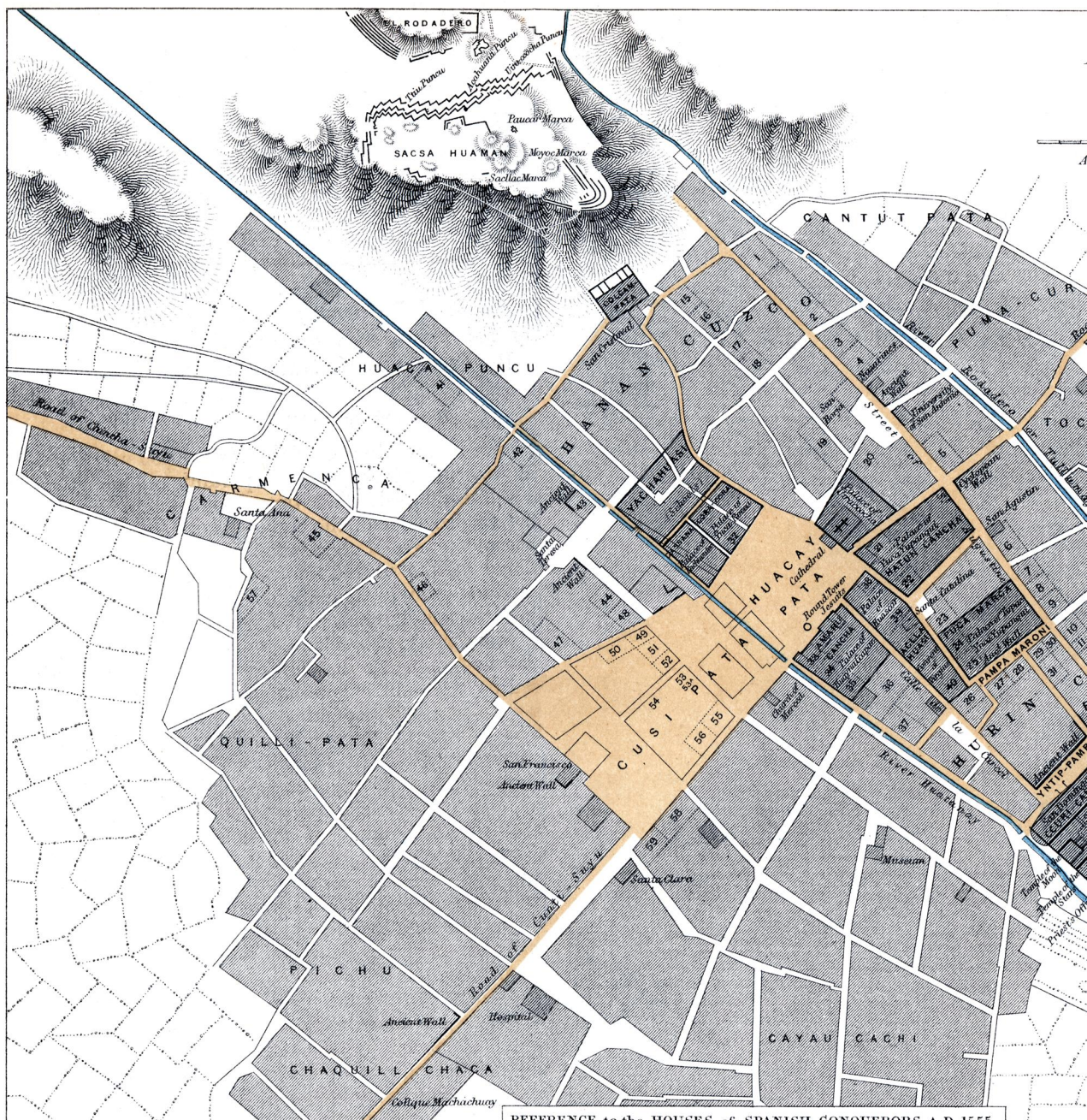
Read 10th July, 1871.

THE study of the nature and degree of the civilization attained by the aboriginal Americans is especially important, because that civilization was self-developed. The three American empires of the Yncas, the Chibchas, and the Aztecs, were based upon the progress made in the arts of civilization by the tribes which composed them, and on the united efforts of those tribes, after they had been welded into great nations. But the tendency of the united empires was to obliterate all the special characteristics of the component tribes, and to make it a task of extreme difficulty to classify or distinguish them. This difficulty is increased by the want of system in the early writings, from which alone we can now hope to derive our information. Yet it is only by resolving the American civilizations into their elements; by extracting from all reliable sources the names, localities, and characteristics of the component tribes; and by classifying them with as near an approach to accuracy as is now possible, that the inquirer can obtain a knowledge of the early history of the American races, or any idea of their origin. Without such classification there is no sure foundation on which he can base any conclusion, and little to which he can apply his science for any useful purpose.

In the present paper I propose to submit an attempt at the geographical classification of the tribes which eventually combined to form the empire of the Yncas; and I hope, on a future occasion, to work out a similar arrangement as regards the tribes in the region of Chibcha civilization.

But it is above all things essential to sift the authorities upon whom it is necessary to rely, to ascertain with great care the amount of credibility that should be allowed to each, and to attend strictly and closely to the conclusions derived from such considerations.

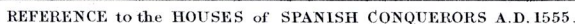
I now proceed to state the canons of criticism by which I



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Ancient Buildings Black. *Ancient Roads and Squares* Brown.



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"	21. <i>Diego Maldonado</i>	246	30. <i>Garcia de Melo</i>	"	39. <i>Pedro del Barco</i>	"	48. <i>Alonso de Mesa</i>	"	56. <i>Pedro Alonso Abrasco</i>	"
"	22. <i>Francisco Hernandez Giron</i>	"	31. <i>Francisco Delgado</i>	247	40. <i>Licentiate de la Gama</i>	"	49. <i>Garcilaso de la Vega</i> *	"	57. <i>Francisco de Villaluerte</i>	"
"	23. <i>Antonio Altamirano</i>	"	32. <i>Juan de Pincorro</i>	249	41. <i>Pedro Ortiz de Orue</i>	253	50. <i>The Princess Beatriz</i>	255	58. <i>Gomez de Tordoya</i>	256
245	24. <i>Francisco de Trias</i>	"	33. <i>Hernando Pizarro</i>	250	42. <i>Juan de Pincorro</i>	"	51. <i>Antonio de Quiones</i>	"	59. <i>Martin de Arbieta</i>	"
"	25. <i>Sebastian de Caçalla</i>	"	34. <i>Mario Serra de Lequisano</i>	"	43. <i>Hernan Bravo de Laguna</i>	"	*According to Sauer 53*			

*According to Squier 53^

have been guided in the present investigation, and upon which my conclusions are based.

My first rule is to assume no fact respecting the names of tribes, their localities, and circumstances at the time of the conquest, unless it is stated by a writer who was actually in the country during that event, or so soon after as to have been contemporaneous with the conquerors. I include such authorities in my first class, and they are as follows:—

1. *Polo de Ondegardo*, a learned and discerning lawyer and statesman, whose writings are thoroughly reliable. Unfortunately they are still in manuscript, and only a portion of them is in my hands (1550).

2. *Cieza de Leon* is the authority second in importance. He was a generous, liberal-minded man, and his work bears evidence of impartiality, accuracy, and intelligence (1554).

3. *Agustin de Zarate* is an authority who had excellent opportunities of observation, but he was very dense about understanding native names and phrases; and inferior to the two authorities I have placed before him, in exactness in power of observation, and in the value of the material he collected (1555).

4. *Fernandez de Palencia* is an authority of equal weight with Zarate, but inferior to the others (1571).

5. *Cristoval de Molina*, the priest of the hospital at Cuzco. His account of the rites and ceremonies of the Yncas, with their prayers and hymns, is still in manuscript at Madrid (1580).

6. *Miguel Balboa*, a good authority, who was in the country from 1566 to 1586; chiefly in the Quito region.

7. *Father Blas Valera*, a scholar, a linguist, and a close observer. Only fragments of his work have been preserved by the Ynca Garcilasso, but they are of great value (1590).

8. *Father José de Acosta*, a Jesuit, whose 'Natural History of the Indies' contains many curious details. But he was ignorant of the language, credulous, and prejudiced. He tells us that he quotes much from Polo de Ondegardo, and if, like the Ynca Garcilasso, he had given references to his authority, it would be possible to pick out the passages of his work that are reliable.* But he does not (1590).

9. *Garcilasso, Ynca de la Vega*. Although the great Ynca historian lived during the generation after the conquest, I place him in the first class, because his Indian descent, and correct knowledge of the language, gave him advantages and opportunities which no other writer possessed. He, alone,

* His list of names of stars in the Ynca language is copied, without acknowledgment, from Balboa.

among the early authorities, quotes each author from whom he derives information, and carefully compares their statements. As regards the amount and interest of the details collected by him, the Ynca is worth much more than all the other authorities put together (1609).

My second rule is to accept no statement respecting the name, locality, or early history of any tribe, made by any author writing in the two centuries after that in which the conquest took place, unless it is corroborated by one or more of the authorities of the first class. The Ynca Garcilasso, for reasons already stated, is the single exception. Statements respecting the manners and customs of tribes, made by later writers, are worthy of attention, and of being considered on their merits. The antiquity of many of these customs may be safely assumed, especially those of a religious or superstitious character. The writers of the second class are:—

1. *Bishop Luis Geronimo de Oré*, a native of Guamanga, in his ‘*Manuale Peruanum*,’ is the only source from which we get specimens of the *Puquina* and *Mochica* languages (Naples, 1602).

2. *D’Avalos y Figueroa*, a native of La Paz, whose knowledge of the languages is the cause of his having interspersed some pedantic essays on love, and other miscellaneous subjects, with scraps of valuable information (Lima, 1602).

3. *Torres Rubio*, a Jesuit, and author of grammars and vocabularies in the languages of the Yncas (Quichua) and of the Collas (Aymara) (1st ed. 1603).

4. *Juan de Figueredo*, author of a vocabulary and notes on the Chinchasuyu language. (In *Torres Rubio*.)

5. *Francisco de Toledo*, a statesman of untiring zeal and energy, and great capacity for work, whose ‘*Ordenanzas*’ contain a multitude of curious stray bits of information (1590).

6. *Gonzalez Holguin*, a Jesuit linguist, who was Interpreter-General to Toledo. He wrote a grammar and dictionary of the language of the Yncas (1607).

7. *Francoisco de Avila*. A priest, who wrote an interesting account of the superstitious rites of the Indians of Huarochiri (1601). It is still in manuscript at Madrid.

8. *Ludovico Bertonio*, an Italian Jesuit, who wrote a grammar and a copious dictionary of the corrupt language spoken at Juli, near the western shore of Lake Titicaca, by a mixture of many tribes, collected there from all parts of the Ynca empire. He calls this language *Aymara* (1612).

9. *Alonso de Ramos*, a miracle-monger, and author of the history of Copacabana, in which he has given some valuable information respecting the tribes round Lake Titicaca (1620).

10. *Pablo Arriaga*, a bigoted iconoclast, and guilty of many barbarisms, but his work on the extirpation of idolatry is quite invaluable (1621).

11. *Memorias de los Vireyes*, The Minutes by the Viceroy, Prince of Esquilache (1620), and Count of Castellar (1681), contain accounts of the wild Urus Indians.

12. *Fray Bernardino de Cardenas*, a native of La Paz, wrote the 'Manuel y Relacion de las cosas del Reyno del Peru,' which is useful (Madrid, 1634).

13. *Fray Diego de Cordova y Salinas*, a native of Lima, and Chronicler of the Franciscan Friars, gives a useful account of their Missions (Madrid, 1643).

14. *Fernando de la Carrera*, a native of Truxillo, published the only grammar of the Indians of the Peruvian coast (Yunca). (Lima, 1644.)

15. *Fernando Montesinos*. "Fernan Mendez Pinto was but a type of thee, thou liar of the first magnitude"! (1652.)

16. *Calancha*, the Chronicler of the Austin Friars, whose work is a precious storehouse of details respecting the manners and customs of the Indians (1653).

17. *Juan de Padilla*, the author of an interesting and valuable letter on the condition and treatment of the Indians (1657).

18. *Fray Bernardo de Torres*, a Lima professor, who wrote a second Chronicle of the doings of the Austin Friars in Peru, which is inferior to that of Calancha (Lima, 1657).

19. *Antonio de Leon Pinelo*, a lawyer, whose report to the Viceroy corroborates and adds to the information given by Arriaga and Padilla (Lima, 1660).

20. *Gaspar de Escalona*, a native of Chuquisaca, in his 'Gazofilacio Real,' has collected many details of value (Madrid, 1647).

21. *Francisco de Montalvo* wrote a life of St. Toribio, the holy Archbishop of Lima, which contains several interesting details respecting the Indians (Rome, 1683).

22. *Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti*. An account of the antiquities of Peru by an Indian; still in manuscript at Madrid (1690).

23. *Pedro Peralta*, in his description of Peru and history of the origin of the Yncas, is sometimes useful in suggesting further search on certain points (Lima, 1723).

24. *Mercurio Peruano*, a Lima periodical, which contains valuable accounts of the Canas and Canches Indians, and those of Truxillo, Tarma, &c. (Lima, 1790-96).

25. *Juan Jorge* and *Antonio Ulloa*, in their travels and 'Noticias Secretas,' give much information respecting the Indians of Quito.

26. *Juan de Velasco*, a laborious scholar, and a patriotic defender of the South American races against the attacks of Robertson and Pauw. His history of Quito is most valuable (Quito, 1789).

27. *Lorenzo Hervás*. The great learning and acute criticism of the Abbot, and his valuable remarks on the languages and dialects of the Ynca empire, place him in the first rank of second-class authorities (1800).

My third rule is to discard those early writers who were never in the country, such as *Herrera*, *Gomara*, and *Levinus Apollonius*, unless they give their authorities.

My fourth rule is, while fully recognizing the great value and importance of the writings of modern travellers and students—especially those of *Rivero*, *von Tschudi*, *D'Orbigny*, *Lorente*, *Mossi*, *Paz Soldan*, *Barranca*, *Squier*, *Wilson*, *Forbes*, and *Bollaert*—and availing myself of many of their references and suggestions; never to rely upon them for any statement not based on personal observation.

My fifth rule is to look upon traditions of modern Indians, and statements of living persons respecting historical events, when unsupported by contemporary authority, as absolutely worthless.

Thus, to sum up the critical rules by which these investigations have been guided, the names and localities of tribes are derived from authorities in the first class; some additional details on the above points are gathered from those of the second class, when they are corroborated, in the main, by the earlier and only reliable authors; accounts of manners, customs, and languages are accepted from the second-class writers so long as they are not contradictory; while the statements of early writers who were never in the country, unless they quote their authorities, and modern so-called traditions, are absolutely rejected. A personal knowledge of the localities is necessary for the identification of places mentioned by all the authorities, as well as an acquaintance with the languages, people, and their architectural remains. It would be useless to attempt a critical investigation of this subject without such special knowledge. The extent to which my personal acquaintance with the country reaches will be seen by the map. As regards the regions to the north and south of the portion explored by myself, I am obliged to rely upon the information of other travellers.

The region inhabited by the nations which formed the empire of the Yncas is a long strip of mountain and coast line, bounded on the east by the forest-covered plains of the Amazonian basin, on the west by the Pacific Ocean, and extending north and south from 2° N. to about 20° S., or upwards of 1500 miles, with an

average width, between the sea-shore and the Amazonian forests, of 400 miles.

This vast tract comprises every variety of climate, and contains within its limits most prolific tropical forests, valleys with the climate of Italy, a coast region resembling Sind or Egypt, temperate hill-sides and plateaux, bleak and chilling pasture lands, and lofty peaks and ridges within the limits of eternal snow. On one mountain side the eye may embrace, at a single glance, sugar cane and bananas under cultivation in the lowest zone, waving fields of maize a little higher up, shaded by tall trees, orchards of tropical fruits, stretches of wheat and barley, steep slopes clothed with potatoes and quinoa, bleak pastures where llamas and alpacas are browsing, and rocky pinnacles streaked with snow. In such a country, with such a variety of climates and products, and where communication is so difficult, the various nations appear to have gradually developed their capabilities in almost complete isolation, and much influenced by the circumstances which surrounded them, during a course of ages. I will endeavour to sketch the main features of the region, and to indicate its natural divisions, while submitting my classification of the nations, and my view of the positions inhabited by each, as given by the earliest writers on the subject.

The tribal divisions of the empire of the Yncas agree well with its leading physical aspects. They consist of five clearly defined regions; four following the lines of the Cordilleras, and the fifth on the sea coast. The first and most northern extends from the River Ancas-mayu to the knot of Loxa, a distance of 350 miles, and is included in the kingdom of Quitu. The second reaches from the mountain mass of Loxa to the saddle which separates the drainage of the Huallaga and Ucayali. It is 450 miles long, and comprises the Ynca division of Chinchasuyu. The third and most important region is that which is drained by affluents of the Ucayali. It includes the home of the imperial tribe, and I shall, therefore, call it the Ynca division. The fourth comprises the basin of Lake Titicaca, and is known as the Collao. The fifth is the coast region, and extends along the shores of the Pacific from the bay of Guayaquil to the desert of Atacama, a distance of 1200 miles. The principal tribes of the coast were called Yncas by the earliest writers and by the Yncas, and I shall, therefore, adopt this name for the division. I have enumerated the mountain regions as they follow each other from north to south, but I propose to treat of them in the order of their importance, as follows:— I. The Ynca region; II. The Collao region; III. The Chinchasuyu region; IV. The Quitu region; and V. The Yunca region.

I. THE YNCA REGION.

The Ynca region extends from the water-parting between the basins of the Huallaga and Ucayali, at Cerro Pasco, to that between the basins of the Ucayali and Lake Titicaca, at the base of the famous peak of Vilcañota, a distance of 380 miles. It is enclosed between the ridges of the maritime Cordillera and the eastern Andes, and is entirely drained by the affluents of the Ucayali, except at one point where it extends some distance over the coast watershed. In this mountain region every variety of climate is met with. Here nature has worked on her grandest and most imposing scale. The scenery is glorious, the products of every zone are collected upon one mountain side; but the difficulties in the way of advancing civilization, caused by the mighty obstacles of nature, are such as to tax man's ingenuity to the utmost. Humboldt has well observed that "when enterprising races inhabit a land where the form of the ground presents to them difficulties on a grand scale which they may conquer and overcome, the contest with nature becomes a means of increasing their strength and power as well as their courage."* A country like this was well adapted for the cradle of an imperial race. Its natural divisions are marked by the rivers that either flowed through or formed the boundaries of the six aboriginal nations of the Ynca region, which were as follows:—

1. *The Yncas*, whose original seat was the country between the rivers Apurimac and Paucartampu, with the lovely valley of the Vilcamayu bisecting it.

2. *The Canas*, between the summit of the Vilcañota pass and the point to which the Yncas originally extended, in the valley of Vilcamayu, with the mountains on either side.

3. *The Quichuas*, whose country originally extended from the Apurimac to the Pampas, but who were latterly confined to the valleys and mountains to the south, amongst which flow the head-waters of the Apurimac and Amancay, and their affluents.

4. *The Chancas*, a nation extending from the neighbourhood of Huanta to the Pampas, and latterly, after driving the Quichuas higher up the valleys, to the Apurimac.

5. *The Huanacas*, occupying the valley of Sausa, and the shores of Lake Pumpu, up to the ridge of Cerro Pasco.

6. *The Rucanas*, on the lofty summits of the maritime Cordillera, and part of the coast watershed.

1.—THE YNCAS.

The above six nations were closely allied, and seem to have had a common origin. Inhabiting regions alike in all respects,

* 'Aspects,' ii. p. 274.

their development depended on the same causes, and they had to encounter the same difficulties in their first advances towards civilization. In the prehistoric times there were doubtless many struggles for supremacy and leadership, until finally the Ynca nation achieved undisputed sway. The original boundaries of the Ynca country are given by the historian Garcilasso, and as the limits of territory occupied by each *Ayllu*, or lineage, were carefully recorded, these boundaries may safely be assumed to have been accurately defined.

The Ynca country was bounded on the west by the precipitous gorge of the Apurimac, and on the east by the Paucartampu river. North and south it extended along the valley of Vilcamayu, which passed through its centre, from Quequesana to the fortress of Tampu. It thus consisted of a rich and fertile central valley, enjoying an Italian climate, and yielding corn and fruit in abundance, and a mountainous tract on either side with pastures and rugged heights. Cuzco is on the western highland, between the central valley and the Apurimac. The district is about 70 miles by 60 miles in extent.

The proper name for the aboriginal people of this tract is Ynca. All the chiefs, or rather heads of *Ayllus*, or lineages, were called Yncas, and it was not until later times that the name was assumed as the special title of the royal family. Even then the head men of this original cradle of the imperial race retained the name of Yncas, but it was pretended that the title had been conferred upon them as a great favour.* It is improbable in the extreme that a royal family should confer their own peculiar name upon all the head men of the villages under their sway; and the probable alternative is, that Ynca was the original name of the nation, afterwards adopted as an imperial title when the national chief became sovereign over many other nations. The names of the *Ayllus*, or tribes of the Ynca nation, were as follows:—

WEST. (Towards the Apurimac.)	CENTRAL. (Basin of the Vilcamayu.)	EAST. (Towards the Paucartampu.)
Chinchapucyus. Rimac-tampus. Papis. Mascas. Chillquis.	Hanan-Cuzcos. Hurin-Cuzcos. Yucays. Ayamarcas. Quespicanchis. Muynas. Quehuars. Huarucos. Urcos.	Poques. Mayus. Cancus.

* G. de la Vega, I. lib. i. cap. 22.

There is no evidence for the belief that the Yncas originally came from a distance. The popular tradition was, that they first appeared from a cave at Paccari-tampu, nearly in the centre of the home district; or, in other words, that, so far as tradition could pierce into the past, their civilization was altogether of indigenous origin and growth. A very prevalent theory, however, derives the Yncas from the banks of Lake Titicaca, and upon this inverted pyramid many other equally baseless theories have been piled. It is therefore necessary to clear the ground by stating, in as few words as possible, the reasons for believing the Yncas to have been aboriginal inhabitants of the country round Cuzco, and the evidence upon which their supposed Titicaca origin rests. All the early writers on the subject, who made enquiries from the Indians at the time of the conquest, or in the succeeding generation, with a single exception, that of Zarate,* were told the same tradition, though some recorded other traditions as well. That tradition pointed to the *native* origin of the Yncas, and showed that the people had no idea of the first Ynca having come from a distance. Polo de Ondegardo,† Fernandez,‡ Balboa,§ Garcilasso de la Vega,|| Acosta,¶ Montesinos,** D'Avalos y Figueroa,†† and Molina,‡‡ have all preserved the same tradition, and their accounts of it differ sufficiently to show that they were derived from sources independent of each other. Zarate, Balboa, Molina, and Acosta §§ were also told that the Yncas came from the lake of Titicaca, and a similar story was recounted to Garcilasso by an old Ynca prince, who was his uncle.||| This prince, who told other wonderful stories to his nephew, was a grandson of that Ynca Tupac Yupanqui who built many edifices on the islands of the lake, who was fascinated by the bright expanse of waters, and who made the shores of the inland sea his favourite residence. Garcilasso himself, who tells both the popular traditions and the story of his uncle, looks upon all as equally unworthy of belief,¶¶ and conjectures that a fiction, in some form or other, was invented by the early sovereigns to establish their authority.***

The origin of the Titicaca fiction may be gathered from

* 'Hist. del Peru,' lib. i. cap. 10.

† MS. 'Del linage de los Ingas y como conquistaron.'

‡ 'Hist. del Peru,' Part II. lib. iii. cap. 5.

§ 'Hist. del Peru' (T. Campans' ed.), vol. vi. p. 18..

|| 'Comm. Real.' I. lib. i. cap. 18.

¶ 'Hist. Nat. de Indias,' lib. vi. cap. 20.

** 'Mem. Hist.' (T. Campans' ed.), vol. viii. p. 3.

†† 'Miscelanea Austral. Coll.,' xxii. p. 141.

‡‡ MS. Penes, C. R. M.

§§ 'Hist. Nat. de Indias,' lib. i. cap. 25.

||| 'Comm. Real.,' I. lib. i. cap. 16.

¶¶ My translation, vol. i. pp. 61 and 71.

*** Ibid. p. 93.

Molina's narrative. He thus relates the belief of the Ynca priests. The Creator, he tells us, dwelt at Tiahuanacu, and hence the superb edifices at that place. It was dark, and there he created the sun and moon, ordering them to go to the isle of Titicaca, and thence to ascend to their places in the heavens. He also created the first Ynca. As the sun rose, it called to the Ynca and told him to be lord of the land. At the same instant the Creator caused the first Ynca and his wife to descend under the earth, and they came out again in the cave of Paccari-tampu. The ancestors of all the other tribes of the empire were also created at Tiahuanacu, and, descending under the earth, came out in their respective countries, from caves or fountains or stones, which were ever afterwards worshipped as *huacas*.

There are priestly myths regarding the sun-worship. On their festivals, the Yncas went out towards the rising sun. In three months of the year the sun rises exactly over the end of the road leading from Cuzco towards the Collao, and when the Ynca territory only extended to Quequesana, it was at Paccari-tampu, close by, and the nearest point to the sun rising, that the Yncas fixed the origin of their ancestor, the child of the sun. After the Ynca conquests had extended to the Collao, the priests saw the sun rising out of the great lake of Titicaca; so when the Yncas began to employ the conquered people in erecting the vast edifices at Tiahuanacu, they selected that spot for the mythic place of origin of their deity. But the memory of the building of these ruins faded away, and then they were attributed to the Creator himself. Centuries afterwards the Ynca Tupac Yupanqui built temples on the island of Titicaca, and, to increase their sanctity, the sun had to be brought there from Tiahuanacu, before ascending to the heavens. The main point to be observed in all this, is that the Paccari-tampu origin was the more ancient tradition generally received by the people. When, therefore, the priests, in following the sun-rising, came to Titicaca and adopted the new Tiahuanacu myth, they seem to have felt the necessity of connecting it with the older and more popular story. So Manco Ccapac is located at Tiahuanacu, and made to go under the earth, come up at Paccari-tampu, and there have a second origin. This shows that the Paccari-tampu origin was the earliest belief, that the Titicaca origin was a more modern idea, conceived after the conquest of the Collao, and engrafted on the popular notion; but that both were myths referring to sun-worship, and relating to no real facts.

Having disposed of these fables, we come to the consideration of a people which had been established from prehistoric times in the districts round Cuzco, and had gradually developed an indigenous power and civilization, until they commenced a

career of conquest, and their dominions assumed imperial proportions. It is not the object of the present paper to discuss the various interesting points relating to Ynca civilization, excepting so far as some of them will assist us to eliminate Ynca elements in the history of other nations, and so to attain correct notions of their original condition. With that end, however, it will be necessary to consider briefly the nature of the religious belief, of some of the customs, and of the language of the Yncas, and especially to bear in mind the character of their architecture, and the progressive stages of their advance in the art of building.

The leading feature in the popular religion of the Yncas was the belief that all things in nature had an ideal, or soul, which ruled and guided them, and to which men might pray for help. Acosta compared this doctrine to the ideas or essences of Plato. It was the popular creed of the Ynca people, to which they tenaciously clung long after the Spanish conquest, and it is not now wholly rooted out. The gorgeous and imposing sun-worship of their rulers, and even the belief of the learned among them in a creator called *Pacha-camac*, was but a development of the religion of the people. All visible emblems or signs of these ideals or souls were called *huaca*, and they were represented in a thousand ways, which varied among the different nations, so that we may classify the tribes, to some extent, by a reference to their *huacas*. Those of the Yncas were chiefly in the form of vases moulded into the shape of the object to be idealized, such as llamas, fish, maize, fruit, &c. The Yncas also worshipped their ancestors, the *Pacarina*, or forefather of the *Ayllu*, or lineage, being idealized as the soul or essence of his descendants.* The emblem to be worshipped was the actual body, called *malqui*, which was preserved with the greatest care in caves called *machay*, and on solemn festivals each *Ayllu* assembled with its *malqui*. In the ravines running off from the valley of Vilcama-yu, the cliffs are literally honeycombed by the *machays*, or masonry cells, built against the rocks. This is especially the case on the huge cliff overhanging Urubamba, called *Tantana-marca*, or "the crowded height;" and in a gorge near Pisac, known as the *Huaccan-huayccu*, or "ravine of mourning." It is impossible that we should ever succeed in perfectly understanding the modes of thought which were developed into these forms of worship, especially as the information is conveyed to us through the medium of bigoted Spaniards, who were little likely to appreciate or understand the feelings of the conquered people;

* *Paccarina* is the participle of the verb *paccarini*, "to dawn," or "to be born"; from *paccari*, "morning." Hence the word was applied to the originator, the birth-giver of a family.

but the forms themselves are valuable guides to the classification of the various nations.

The language of the Yncas, which was originally spoken by three at least out of the six other nations in the Ynca region, is also a most important element in the attempt to classify the component parts of the Ynca empire. This general language, as it was called, was introduced into every conquered province, and carefully taught to the people. It was improved and polished and enriched as the civilization of those who spoke it advanced; and, in the form it had assumed, when the Ollanta drama and the ancient prayers given by Molina were composed, it was capable of expressing abstract ideas and sentiments, while it retained great purity. We can separate indigenous from Ynca words when dealing with the fragments that have been preserved of the dialects of other tribes, and we can thus ascertain to what extent each nation originally differed from the Yncas, as regards language. When the difference is only found in the terminations and particles, or in the vocabularies, it merely establishes a dialect. But when the grammatical construction is quite dissimilar, as well as the vocabulary, we have a distinct language, and a consequent marked separation as regards race.

Garcilasso de la Vega tells us that the Ynca royal family had a special court idiom, but his statement is unsupported by any other authority. He says, however, that this idiom was entirely lost at the time he wrote.* This is insufficient evidence on which to base a theory that the Ynca royal family spoke a language differing entirely from that of the people; and I agree with Hervas† that such was not the case. It is likely enough, as Hervas suggests, that the royal family and the courtiers, among themselves, used many words in a sense which was not their ordinary meaning, and even had special words of their own. But there is no evidence for the belief that the court dialect of the Yncas, mentioned by Garcilasso, was anything more than an artificially invented means of intimate communion.

Garcilasso mentions eleven words, one of which he says belonged to the court language, and he gives its meaning, while he only conjectures that the other ten may have belonged to it, because he did not know their signification. The believers in an "ancient Aymara civilization" have carried their theory so far as to suppose that their so-called "Aymara" language was the same as the court language of the Yncas. We have only the above eleven words to judge from, but they tell us

* I. lib. i. cap. 24; I. lib. vii. cap. 1.

† i. p. 240.

enough to upset this conjecture. Most of them are ordinary Quichua words.

1. *Cuzco*.^{*}—Garcilasso says that this word belonged to the court dialect, and signified a *navel*. The word for a navel in the so-called "Aymara" language is *cururu*; and the word *cuzco* does not occur in any of the dictionaries.

2. *Ayar*.[†]—Garcilasso merely guesses that this word may have belonged to the court dialect, because he did not know its meaning. It is not in any of the "Aymara" dictionaries.

3. *Manco*.[‡]—Garcilasso says the same of this word as of *ayar*. It also is not in any of the "Aymara" dictionaries.

4. *Colcam*.[§]—Garcilasso says he did not know the meaning of this word, so conjectures it may have belonged to the court dialect. In reality it means an underground granary in the general language of Peru. || It is met with in "Aymara," but that it was not borrowed from the Collao is proved by its being also in the Chinha-suyu dialect.

5. *Coraquenque*.[¶]—Garcilasso says that this name of the sacred bird may have had a meaning in the lost court dialect. But *cora* is one of the words for pasture in the general language. The name for this same bird in "Aymara" is *alcamari*^{**} and not *coraquenque*.

6. *Hahuanina*, the name of the lineage of one of the Yncas. But it is composed of two common Quichua words, *huahua* (a child), and *nina* (fire).

7. *Panaca*, the name of several of the Ynca lineages. Probably from *pana* (sister of a brother) and *ca*, the ancient form of the genitive.

8. *Raurana*, a participle of the Quichua *raurani* (I burn).

9. *Socso*, derived from the Quichua *socsuni* (I am weak).

10. *Usca*, from the Quichua *uscani* (I beg).

11. *Vicaquirau*; no doubt from the Quichua *quirau* (a cradle).^{††}

Many centuries must have elapsed before an aggressive policy became a leading feature of the government of the Yncas, and, baseless as the chronicle of Montesinos certainly is, the Ynca civilization is much more likely to have required a period represented by his hundred Yncas, than by the dozen of the more generally reliable authorities, for its full development. But that aggressive policy must have been long in the ascendant

* Part I. lib. i. cap. 18. But Montesinos says that heaps of stones are called *Cuzcos*, in the general language, p. 6.

† Part I. lib. i. cap. 18.

‡ Ibid. cap. 24.

§ Ibid. lib. vii. cap. 8.

|| Also the Pleiades. See Acosta and Balboa.

¶ Part I. lib. vi. cap. 28.

** Bertonio, Dice.

†† These last six words from G. de la Vega, Part I. lib. ix. cap. xl.

and successful, before those Cyclopean edifices can have been undertaken, which form the most ancient of the Peruvian architectural remains: for they involve the forced labour of thousands of conquered people. The various styles of Ynca architecture roughly indicate the period when each country, where ancient buildings are found, was conquered; and it is, therefore, necessary to describe them briefly, in an attempt at the classification of the component parts of the Ynca empire.

Ynca architecture is divided into five styles, each representing a long period of time. The earliest consists of walls of unhewn stones and mud, built on terraces or platforms, and used as fortresses as well as palaces. Such buildings were erected by all the nations of the Ynca region, and the best example of a *pucara*, or fort of those primitive times, is probably at Curampa, on the road from Antahuaylas to Amancay. Next come the Cyclopean ruins, which are also prehistoric. They must have been undertaken after the Yncas had conquered a wide extent of country, and thus commanded unlimited supplies of labour, but before they had developed that enlightened economy and skilful avoidance of waste of power which distinguished the later period of their rule. Each edifice of this early style has a common character which stamps it as of Ynca origin, while there is originality in detail both in the buildings of this and of the later periods. The Cyclopean style of the Yncas is characterized by enormous blocks of stone, unwrought, except where they fit into their neighbours with marvellous precision, by great slabs and stone beams, by a tendency to carve rough figures on the stones and lintels, by colossal but very rude statues, and by seats, stairs and recesses accurately cut out of huge monoliths, or even out of the living rock. All such works appear generally to have been undertaken by one sovereign, or possibly by two succeeding ones, and then to have been left unfinished; with the possible object of employing a turbulent but subjugated people, while feeding the vanity or pleasing the taste of the conqueror. There are five of these Cyclopean ruins which mark the limits of Ynca conquest, in very remote and prehistoric times, as extending from the southern shore of Lake Titicaca to Huaraz, beyond the ridge of Pasco. They are:—1. The ruin in the Calle del Triunfo (in Cuzco); 2. Ollantay-tampu; 3. Tiahuanacu; 4. Huíñaque; and 5. Huaraz.

I believe them to be very ancient, and to be prehistoric in the same sense as the Stonehenge is prehistoric, because there was no tradition or knowledge of their history or origin among the Yncas or their subjects at the time of the conquest. I believe them to be of Ynca origin, that is to say, to have been erected

by the same imperial and conquering race which formed the vast empire of later times, because, with many varieties in detail, they bear the stamp of one idea, and have all their main characteristics in common. The two first are included in the original province of the Yncas now under notice, and will be briefly described here. The others will come under review when we treat of the regions in which they are situated.

The ruins in the Calle del Triunfo, at Cuzco, with their "stone of twelve corners," consist of enormous blocks with rough surfaces, admirably fitted into each other with absolute precision. Modern tradition calls them the palace of Ynca Rocca; but that monarch's abode was in quite another part of the town; * and the builders and occupiers of this mighty pile are as unknown as those who raised the Stonehenge.

At Ollantay-tampu, on the northern frontier of the original Ynca realm, there are buildings of three different styles and dates. The Cyclopean remains consist of six curious slabs of immense size, apparently intended as the inner wall of a hall, with smaller pieces fitted with exquisite exactness between them. There are also immense stone beams—one 15 feet 4 in. long, by 8 feet 4 in.; and another, known as the *tired stone*, 20 feet 4 in. long, by 15 feet 2 in. broad—Cyclopean walls, and vast seats and recesses hewn out of the living rock. Figures of men and animals were carved on the stones.† These remains are also prehistoric, and their present name merely refers to the title of a dramatic composition of a later period, the scene of part of which is placed among the ruins.

The great fortress of Cuzco, though Cyclopean as regards construction, is not prehistoric, and therefore does not come within this category. Its originator, the occasion of its being erected, and even the architects are known; and the ancient style, which had been discarded for ordinary buildings, was deemed suitable for a fortress intended to be impregnable, and was accordingly imitated by a later generation for this special purpose.

The third style of architecture shows a great advance in civilization. More enlightened rulers saw the enormous waste of power involved in dragging and raising stones weighing many tons. The same pattern was retained, walls were still built of polygonal-shaped stones with rough exterior surfaces, and fitting exactly to each other; but they were much reduced in size, and could be conveyed and raised to their places by the efforts of a few men. Rows of doors and recesses for *huacas* now appear, with stone lintels and slanting sides. The outer

* G. de la Vega, I. lib. vii. cap. 10.

† Cieza de Leon, cap. 94.

front of the Colcampata or traditional abode of Manco Ccapac, the older portion of the Ccuri-cancha or Temple of the Sun, and the palaces at Rimac-tampu, Yucay, Ollantay-tampu, and Chinchero belong to this period. I believe the edifices of the third style to be prehistoric also, because all the buildings of which anything is really known are of later date.

The fourth style is characterized by more regular courses, but in which the stones are not all regular parallelograms, in some cases the upper and under stones fitting into each other, or dove-tailing. These walls usually have a cornice below the highest course.

The fifth style has perfectly horizontal courses, and stones exquisitely fitted, but with slightly projecting surfaces, analogous, as Mr. Fergusson observes, to our rustication. In this latest and most perfect style we meet with rectangular doorways, recesses and windows. The eastern side of the Temple of the Sun, the inner buildings on the Colcampata, and the whole of the Ynca palaces at Cuzco, as well as most of the buildings figured by Ulloa and Humboldt in the Quito region, belong either to the fourth or to the fifth and latest style.

I can now explain my grounds for treating all the earlier Yncas (whose names are given in various recorded lists) as prehistoric from an architectural point of view. Each Ynca had a separate palace at Cuzco, and, though other considerations support the same conclusion, I consider none as historical personages unless their abodes can be identified. The traditional site of the abode of Manco Ccapac may be set aside as mythical, because the remains are partly of the third and partly of the latest style. The most ancient palace that can be identified is that of Ynca Rocca, in a place formerly called the Cora-cora. Portions of the walls still exist, and they belong to the very latest style. The walls of the palaces of Uira-cocha, Pachacutec, Ynca Yupanqui, Tupac Ynca Yupanqui, and Huayna Ccapac are also in regular courses of the latest style. These are the historical Yncas. The earliest of them may have flourished 200 years before the conquest, at the outside; and this is as far back as memory, aided by *quipus*, could well go, and retain any appreciable amount of credibility. All earlier styles of architecture are therefore prehistoric, and countries where they are found must have been subdued by the Yncas previous to the reign of Ynca Rocca; while countries where only the latest style is met with furnish this architectural proof that they were conquered by the Yncas within historical times. Detailed history, based on native information (discarding the absurdities of Montesinos), is only to be met with in the pages of the Ynca Garcilasso; but, so far as it goes, it

confirms the above conclusion. In none of the countries said, by Garcilasso, to have been subdued by the historical Yncas, are the Cyclopean or polygonal styles met with. The earlier pre-historic conquests are divided among five mythical Yncas, a totally insufficient number, and in the scenes of all these conquests the earliest styles are found. They form silent but indisputable testimony that the Ynca conquests had reached certain limits in a period of unknown antiquity, while the unhistorical character of all Garcilasso's narrative, until he reaches the time of Ynca Rocca, is shown by the absence of incident and the weary sameness of each alleged conquest. Certain countries had been subdued before the memory of living man, and further back than any tradition reached. Garcilasso's informants had to divide the conquests of these countries among a small number of names which alone lingered in the traditional lore of the *amautas*; but the first part of the narrative is too symmetrical for real history. The early styles cannot have had their origin among any other people than the Yncas, because they occur both to the north and to the south of Cuzco, among very distinct races, as well as in the home district of the imperial tribe itself; and must, therefore, necessarily be referred to the common centre.

The sculptured stones and statues of the most ancient Cyclopean style disappear, to a great extent, in later times, when ingenuity and originality of that kind were mainly lavished on the plastic art. Yet sculpture was not altogether abandoned, and serpents, especially, are found carved on the walls and lintels of palaces of the historical Yncas. Comparisons between stone sculptures and designs on vases of clay, stone, and the precious metals, throw much light on these questions; and a close critical examination of the designs on vases would, in all probability, furnish reliable data for their classification as regards chronology and nationality.

The above considerations respecting the styles and periods of Ynca architecture have an important bearing on questions relating to the separation of Ynca from indigenous elements in the classification of the tribes.

I now proceed to notice the other nations in the Ynca region.

2.—THE CANAS.

On the saddle which divides the drainage of the Ucayali from that of Lake Titicaca, there is a small tarn, whence the waters flow on one side to the Atlantic and on the other to the inland sea. This lake marks the boundary between the Ynca and Colla regions, and a hardy mountain race, divided into

several tribes, of which the chief was that of the Canas, inhabited the vale of Vilcamayu, from the source of the river to Quequesana, where the Ynca territory began, including the mountain districts on either side. These people were divided into *Ayaviris*, *Canas*, *Canches*, and *Caviñas*.

The *Ayaviris* were a very stubborn and independent people, forming a buffer between the Collas and Yncas, with both of whom they waged fierce wars in the days before their final subjugation. They are said by Cieza de Leon to have been a branch of the Canas.

The *Canas* inhabited the country on the left bank of the Vilcamayu, from the border of the Ayaviri country to Quequesana. They were described as a proud, cautious, and melancholy race of shepherds, clothing themselves in dresses of sombre colour, and using sad and plaintive music. They built their villages in naturally strong positions, and, besides their flocks, raised *papas* and *ocas* on the banks of the alpine lakes which feed the river Vilcamayu. They were constantly in revolt against the Yncas.

The *Canches* inhabited the country opposite the Canas, on the right bank of the Vilcamayu. They were of middle height, bold, restless, inconstant, but good workmen and industrious. They loved solitude, were very silent, and built their huts in secluded ravines and valleys. They wore a black fillet round the head, with the ends hanging down as low as the chin. After they were subjugated by the Yncas, the Canas and Canches settled in villages in the fertile vale of Vilcamayu, but formerly they confined themselves to the high lands on either side, and were in a state of constant war. Bertonio says that they spoke the language of the Collao, but he was hopelessly confused by the numerous dialects around him in the mission at Juli. The Canas and Canches really spoke a dialect of the Ynca language.* Their mode of burial was also similar to that of the Yncas. They built stone *machays*, or recesses, on the heights for their dead.

The *Caviñas* appear to have been the aboriginal inhabitants of the upper part of the Vilcamayu valley, having the warlike Canas and Canches on the hills on either side of them. They wore woollen clothes with a black fillet round their heads. They are said to have held a temple or shrine in great veneration at a place called Ausancata, and they believed that the souls of the departed went to a certain great lake where the tribe had its origin, and there again entered the bodies of the newly born.

* 'Mercurio Peruano,' i. p. 200 (ed. Lima, 1861).

Garcilasso asserts that they had an idol of fearful form, to which they offered very barbarous sacrifices.

3.—THE QUICHUAS.

The Apurimac divided the Yncas from a closely allied nation, speaking the same language, called Quichuas. In ancient times it is said that these Quichuas occupied the valleys of Abancay and Andahuaylas, and all the country between the Apurimac and the Pampas, but that they were driven out by their enemies the Chancas. In the time of the Spanish conquest their homes were in the upper parts of the valleys of the Pachachaca and other tributaries of the Apurimac, extending, east and west, for 120 miles in a straight line, from that river to the Pampas. In their rear, to the south, were the lofty uninhabited *punas* of the Cordillera. Their territory consisted of uplands covered with long grass, and profound gorges and ravines. Mossi derives the name of Quichua from the abundance of straw in this region. *Quehuani* is to twist, *Quehuasca* is the participle, and *ychu* is straw. Together, *Quehuasca-ychu*, "twisted straw," corrupted and abbreviated into *Quichua*.

The Quichuas were divided into six *ayllus*, or lineages, namely, the *Yanahuaras*, *Chumpi-vilcas*, *Cotaneras*, *Cotapampas*, *Aymaras*, and the *Umasayus*.

The *Yanahuaras* were a tribe occupying the left bank of the Apurimac.

The *Chumpi-vilcas* were also on the left bank of the Apurimac, but higher up the valley. These Chumpi-vilcas were renowned as the best dancers of the Ayrihuay. At harvest time they hung fertile stalks of maize, called *Huantay-sara*, and *Ayrihuay-sara*, on branches of trees, and danced round them, afterwards burning them as a sacrifice.

The *Cotaneras* lived in the deep ravines further west. They were granted in *encomienda* to the Ynca Garcilasso's father.

The *Cotapampas* were Indians living on the wild mountains westward of the Cotaneras.

The *Aymaras* lived in the upper part of the valley of the Pachachaca. Calancha says that they were clever Indians, but great idolaters.

The *Umasayus* were a race of shepherds, bordering on the Aymaras, in the wild pasture country towards the river Pampas.

These Quichua tribes were staunch and loyal friends of the Yncas, and they are recorded, within the historical period, as having turned the scale in favour of the Ynca Uira-cocha, in his great life-and-death struggle with the Chancas. Their language is that of the Yncas, and the specimens (collected by

Dr. Justiniani) of songs by the Aymara and Cotapampa Indians prove it to have been uncorrupted by foreign words. But the name Quichua is inappropriate as that of the language of Peru, and absurd as that of the Peruvians generally. It should have been called the Ynca language. All the old writers call it "la lengua general," and "la lengua cortesana;" and it was first called *Quichua* by Friar Domingo de San Tomas, not in his grammar, but in his vocabulary, published at Valladolid in 1560. He possibly first collected lists of words in the language, among the Quichuas, and therefore called his vocabulary by their name, which was adopted by all subsequent grammarians.

4.—THE CHANCAS.

The warlike and turbulent Chancas appear to have had their original seat round the sites of Huamanca and Huanta; but, driving the Quichuas further up the valleys, they eventually extended their dominions to the left bank of the Apurimac.* They claimed descent from a puma, and on great festivals they clothed themselves in puma skins, with their heads thrust into the skulls. They told Cieza de Leon that their fathers came out of a small lake called Soclo-cocha, and this lake was their chief place of worship, where they prayed and made sacrifices. The Chancas were divided into the following *ayllus*, or lineages:—*Hancohuallus*,† *Utunsullas*,† *Urumarcas*,† *Vilcas*,† *Yquichanos*, *Morochucos*, *Tacmanas*,† *Quinuallas*† and *Pocras*.‡ Of these, the Urumarcas§ lived in the valley of the Pampas, the Vilcas on the plateau above its left bank, the Pocras in the valleys round the present city of Ayacucho, the Yquichanos in the mountains above Huanta, and the Morochucos in Cangallo.

Hervas supposes that the Chancas spoke a language which was different from the Yncas, and which has disappeared. This is very likely, for many of their words were very distinct, such as *yacu* for water, instead of the Quichua *unu*. These distinctive words point to their dialect as having been allied to the language of the people of Chinchasuyu further north. The Chancas were first subdued in prehistoric times, and edifices in the Cyclopean or second style of the Ynca architecture were found in the centre of their country, at a place near the river Huínaque. Cieza de Leon notices the differences between these ruins, and those referable to the historic Yncas, and it is clear from what he says, that all memory of their origin had passed away. The existence is also recorded of a colossal statue ornamented with serpents and lizards carved on the stone. It took that barba-

* Cieza de Leon, cap. 90. † 'Comm. Real.' I. lib. v. cap. 19. ‡ Ib. cap. 24.

§ Cieza de Leon, cap. 89.

rous old Jesuit, Arriaga, with the help of thirty men, three days to break it to pieces. At Vilca, also in the country of the Chancas, there were palaces, temples, and baths of the latest style of Ynca architecture. Yet, notwithstanding all these evidences that their country was subjugated in very remote times by the Yncas, the Chancas appear to have been constantly rebelling, and on one occasion they very nearly overthrew the empire of their conquerors. But, with the aid of the loyal Quichuas, the bloody battle of Yahuar-pampa was decided in favour of the imperial race; and Hancohuallu, the brave chief of the Chancas, unable to brook defeat, emigrated to the forests of the Huallaga valley with a large body of devoted followers. This was about 150 years before the arrival of the Spaniards.

5.—THE HUANCAS.

The most northern part of the Ynca region, including the valley of Sausa, the shores of Lake Pumpu or Chinchaycocha, and the surrounding mountains, was peopled by a nation called Huancas, who were divided into the following tribes or lineages:—The *Sausas*,* *Huancavilcas*,* *Llacsapalancas*,* *Pumpus*,† *Chucurpus*,† *Ancaras*,† *Huayllas*,† and the *Yauyus*.†

The Huancas were described as a warlike people, who burnt their prisoners taken in war, preserving a few bits of skin out of the ashes, which they placed in their temples as trophies. They also made drums of the skins, saying that their enemies would hear them, and knowing they were the skins of their people, would run away at the sound. Their villages were small and well fortified, with stone towers, broad at the base, and narrow above. These Huancas believed that they derived their origin from a man and woman who came forth from a fountain called Huarivilca, over which they built a temple. They are also said to have worshipped dogs. They fought with slings and lances, and had many feuds respecting the boundaries of their properties. We learn much concerning the customs of the Huayllas and Yauyus from the Jesuit Arriaga. There was a *huaca* common to the whole tribe, as well as household *huacas* in each family. The *malquis* were venerated as among the Yncas, and the reason given by the people for this cult was *cuyaspa*, *i. e.* “for the love they bore them.” The offerings made to the *malquis* were cloths, plumes, jars, vases, skins of foxes and lions, and horns of deer. The women, at seed time, invoked the earth as *mama-pacha*; the fountains and rivers also had their *huacas*, and great stones had special names, and were worshipped

* G. de la Vega, I. lib. vi. cap. 10.

† Ibid. cap. 11.

† Ibid. cap. 16.

with a thousand tales and fables of their having once been men turned into stones. There were many soothsayers or diviners by dreams, odds or evens, and the feet of hairy spiders. These superstitions, or similar ones, though told of a branch of the Huancas, were current among all the tribes in the Ynca region. I find most of them alluded to in the Quichua drama of "Ollanta."

The Huancas spoke a language which was more distinct from that of the Yncas, and contained more words derived from their northern neighbours than the Chancas.* I am uncertain whether the Huancas and Chancas originally belonged to the Ynca or the Chinchu-suyu race.

6.—THE RUCANAS.

Tribes of hardy and stalwart mountaineers inhabited the wild region of the maritime Cordillera to the south-west of the Chancas, on both the Ucayali and the coast watersheds. I find four mentioned, namely the *Rucanas*, *Soras*, *Collahuas*, and the *Huamanpalpas*.

The *Rucanas*† were described as a handsome and well-disposed people, who were expert bearers of burdens, and had the privilege of carrying the Ynca's litter. Their country was on the coast watershed.

The *Soras*,‡ closely allied to the *Rucanas*, lived on the left bank of the Pampas near its source, and were neighbours of the Aymaras.

The *Collahuas*§ were on the seaward slopes of the Cordillera, below and south of the *Rucanas*.

The *Huamanpalpas* || dwelt further to the north and west, in Cangallo.

The Rucana tribes appear to have been more allied to the Quichuas than to the Chancas as regards language. They use the word *unu*, and not *yacu*, for water, which is one of my tests; and I should class them almost as a branch of the Quichuas.

The above are the ethnological divisions of the Ynca region. The Yncas, Quichuas, Canas, and Rucanas are closely allied and are but branches of one great family; while the languages of the Chancas and Huancas contain a great number of foreign words, which make it doubtful whether they should be classed with the Yncas or with their northern neighbours in Chinchu-

* I am aware that von Tschudi speaks of a language spoken in Yauyos, called *Kauqui*; but I have not met with any mention of it in any other author, and von Tschudi only gives the name, and says that but few words have been preserved.—*Travels*, p. 488.

† G. de la Vega, lib. iii. cap. 18; lib. vi. cap. 3; lib. viii. cap. 9.

‡ Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 18. Balboa.

§ Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 9.

|| Ibid. cap. 12.

suju. The six nations occupied a rich and highly favoured region, yielding all the products needed by civilized communities, yet calling forth the full energies of its inhabitants to open communications, convey materials, and supply necessary irrigation. In a long course of ages the six nations probably worked out these ends by separate roads, until increasing population brought them in contact with each other, when a struggle for supremacy ended in the mastery of the fittest—the Yncas. Such people were sure, in the course of time, to overcome more distant tribes living in regions less favoured by nature, even though they might have been originally of the same race.

II.—THE COLLAO REGION.

The country forming the basin of Lake Titicaca is about 300 miles long by 150 broad, bounded east and west by the mighty chain of the Andes and the coast Cordillera, with the saddle of Vilcanota, that connects the two chains, as its northern limit, and with all the drainage from these surrounding mountains flowing into the great lake. The region thus enclosed is 12,000 feet above the level of the sea, a hilly and broken plateau where no corn, save quinoa, will ripen, and only yielding edible roots and coarse pasture for llamas and alpacas,—a bleak and treeless series of unproductive plains and uplands. Such a country was not adapted for the development of indigenous civilization; and before the Ynca conquest, it was inhabited by the rudest and most savage tribes in the Andes. Without corn, without timber, they dwelt in stone huts, tended their flocks, raised crops of ocas and papas, and engaged in incessant feuds. They were brave and warlike, but their only arms were slings and *ayllos* or *bolas*; so that they suffered much in encounters with the better armed soldiers of the civilized Indians to the north.* Their language, though it has different terminations for the numbers and cases of nouns, and numbers and persons of verbs, must be classed as but a dialect of the Ynca or Quichua language. It was so rough and uncultivated, and those who used it were so barbarous, that they could scarcely speak it themselves.† The system of numerals was most imperfect, and originally barely reached to counting 4, if so far, for 3 is borrowed from Quichua, as well as 5, 6, and 10; and all the rest are compound. The language contained few words to express abstract ideas, and none for many things which are indispensable in the first beginnings of civilized life. The Yncas appear to have called all the inhabitants of this region by

* Balboa, p. 151.

† Blas Valera; quoted by G. de la Vega, Part I. lib. vii. cap. 4.

the general name of Collas, because the Collas were the first tribe they encountered after entering the basin of Lake Titicaca, and they were followed by the early Spanish writers, who named the region forming the basin of Lake Titicaca, the Collao. It was conquered by the Yncas in very remote prehistoric times, and they conferred incalculable benefits on the inhabitants by teaching them a cultivated language and the arts of civilized life, forming them into colonies in more genial regions, and establishing an interchange of products between the colonists in the coast valleys and the eastern forests, and their brethren on the bleak plateaux of the Collao.*

The original inhabitants of the Collao or Titicaca region, consisted of the following tribes:—The *Collas*, the *Lupacas*, the *Pacasas*, the *Carangas*, the *Quillacas*, the *Urus*, and the *Collahuayas*.

The *Collas* inhabited the country to the north of Lake Titicaca. They were first described by Cieza de Leon, who tells us that they relate many fictions, but that no sense can be learnt from them concerning their origin. He says that the native chiefs were treated with great respect, and travelled in litters with a large retinue. But he was most struck by the *chullpas*, or burial places, and he describes the funeral ceremonies as well as the dances at harvest time. The name *Colla* is preserved in two villages called *Hatun* and *Paucar Colla*, where the Yncas erected various edifices; but the civilizing influences of the conquerors were so powerful that the original language has entirely disappeared, and now even the names of villages are nearly all composed of words belonging to the Ynca language.

The *Lupacas*† occupied the western side of Lake Titicaca, as far as the River Desaguadero: their territory being comprised in the present province of Chucuito. They retained the use of their ancient language, though receiving numerous words from their masters, some in substitution of old words of their own, but most to express things and ideas of which they had no knowledge before they were instructed by the Yncas.

The *Pacasas*‡ were a large and populous tribe inhabiting the whole eastern shore of Lake Titicaca, and the country to the south as far as Callapa. They were divided by the Yncas into two provinces; namely the Pacasas of *Uma-suyu*, or the water district, to the east; and those of *Urco-suyu*, or the hill district, to the south of the lake. They also retained their

* See G. de la Vega, Part I. lib. vii. cap. 1.

† Bertonio.

‡ D Orbigny, 'Voyage,' ii. p. 392. Garcilasso calls the *Pacasa* tribe by the name of *Cac-yaviris* (I. lib. iii. cap. 2).

ancient language, which was almost identical with that of the Lupacas.

The *Carangas* * and *Quillacas* † were tribes in the southern part of the basin of Lake Titicaca.

The *Urus* ‡ were a savage tribe inhabiting the shores and islands in the southern part of Lake Titicaca. Calancha calls them *Ochozumas*. The beds of rushes in the shallow parts of the lake are in some parts nine leagues long and even more. Here these wild people lived, making secret lanes through the rushes, and navigating them in floats made of long bundles of rushes lashed together. Ramos says that they were little better than beasts, and that they lived in miserable huts in islands among the rushes. But they were very expert boatmen, and were employed to take charge of ferries in many parts of Peru.§ They spoke a barbarous patois called *Puquina*, of which we have only the Lord's Prayer, and a few other specimens, furnished to Bishop Orè, by Father Alonzo de Barzana.|| These specimens contain several Quichua words, and what remains, appears to be a very rude dialect of the Lupaca, with many syncopes; but it is impossible to judge definitively without seeing a grammar.

The *Collahuayas* ¶ were a small tribe inhabiting the mountainous province of Larecaja, to the eastward of the great peaks of the Andes. They are famous in all parts of South America for their knowledge of the virtues of herbs. Collecting a stock in trade in the eastern forests, they wander over thousands of miles, from village to village, as professors of the healing art. With many words peculiar to themselves and to their trade, they now speak a dialect based on the language of the Yncas.

Other tribes to the south and east of the Titicaca basin, in Cochabamba and Charcas, also spoke the Ynca language.**

The Titicaca tribes may be taken as members of one stock, speaking rude dialects of the language of the Yncas, which were found in their best form among the Lupacas and Pacajes. The country they inhabited, now known as the Collao, was

* G. de la Vega, I. lib. iv. cap. 20. Ramos, cap. 7. D'Orbigny, 'Voyage,' iii. p. 317.

† The *Ullaca*, in the 'Royal Commentaries,' is, I think, a misprint for *Quillacas*. See also D'Orbigny, ii. p. 472.

‡ D'Avalos y Figueroa, p. 142. Calancha. Ramos, cap. 30. Conde de Castellar, p. 187. Príncipe de Esquilache, p. 96. Acosta, lib. ii. cap. 61, who says that the Urus are so brutal that they do not consider themselves as men, saying that they are not men but *Urus*, as if they were another class of animals, p. 96. Balboa, p. 143.

§ 'Ordenanzas de Toledo,' lib. II. tit. ix. Ord. 28.

|| 'Rituale Peruanum,' Hervás, i. p. 245.

¶ Miller's 'Memoirs,' ii. p. 339. Weddell's 'Voyage.'

** As well as the *Colchaquis*, in Tucuman.

not adapted for the development of a civilized community, but rather of a warlike race of hardy shepherds. Such the Titicaca tribes appear to have been, and their only really aboriginal remains are rude stone walls thrown up as fortresses, and the earliest forms of *chullpas*, or burial places, such as those described by Mr. Squier near Acora, in the country of the Lupacas. They consist of stone slabs, some 6 feet high, set in a circle or square, and supporting blocks which form a roof.

But the Collao was overrun by the armies of the Yncas in very remote prehistoric times; and the most extensive and imposing remains of their second or Cyclopean style are at Tiahuanaco, on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca, in the country of the Pacasas. These vast unfinished works may well have been commenced to commemorate a mighty conquest, and to employ a defeated but numerous and warlike foe. Cieza de Leon, who was the first to describe the Tiahuanacu ruins, asked the natives when they were built. He was told that they were made before the Yncas ever reigned, but his informants could not say who made them. They added that they had been told by their fathers that all he saw was done in one night.* The latter statement vitiates all the information received by Cieza de Leon. The Indians with whom he conversed were evidently ignorant and uneducated, and knew nothing about the matter. Polo de Ondegardo was the next Spaniard who instituted inquiries respecting the Tiahuanacu ruins. He was a sagacious lawyer, accustomed to weigh evidence, and, as Mr. Prescott † says, he was conscious of having derived his information through the most authentic channels. He investigated these questions with much care, and he tells us that the Tiahuanacu ruins are unfinished works of the early Yncas. This view is confirmed by their family likeness to all the other Cyclopean works of the Yncas. Here are the enormous accurately chiselled blocks and seats as at Ollantay-tambo and the Rodadero, and the colossal statues and sculptured stones as at Ollantay-tambo and Huaraz. Although the more ancient work at Tiahuanacu is prehistoric, additions appear to have been made by later Yncas, and within historic times. Garcilasso de la Vega tells us that a great part of the Tiahuanacu ruins were attributed to Acahuana Ynca, one of the architects of the fortress at Cuzco.‡ Mr. Squier refers to this later work at Tiahuanacu, which he distinguishes from the more ancient stones, the latter being unhewn, and the former cut with much elaboration.§ Each of the Ynca Cyclopean ruins have some original conception, marking the indivi-

* See my translation, p. 179.

† 'Conquest of Peru,' i. p. 164.

‡ 'Comm. Real,' I. lib. vii. cap. 29.

§ 'Primeval Monuments of Peru,' p. 16.

duality of the designer, while they all preserve the general characteristics which stamp them as the work of the same people. Tiahuanacu is renowned for its monolithic doorways. The sculptures on the great doorway, in alto-relief, consist of a central figure holding a serpent in each hand, and three lines of smaller figures, those in the middle line having heads of some bird, apparently a condor. Though carved with wonderful boldness, they are excessively rude, and, as is to be expected, far inferior to the Ynca designs of a later period. D'Orbigny* and others have invented elaborate theories to explain a symbolical meaning, which there are no grounds for supposing that these sculptures ever possessed, thus displaying the fertility of modern imaginations, but obscuring rather than throwing light upon ancient history. The central figure of the Tiahuanacu doorway is nearly identical with one which frequently occurs on vases, gold and silver cups, and war clubs of the Incas. As regards the condor figures, the mighty birds of the Andes form a common ornament on Ynca designs.† These considerations point to the Yncarial origin of the Tiahuanacu ruins. They mark the southern, as those at Huaraz do the northern limit of Ynca conquest during the time that their second architectural style prevailed.

The later remains of Ynca rule in the Collao‡ are chiefly to be met with on the islands of Lake Titicaca; and are the work of that famous sovereign Tupac Yupanqui. He became enamoured of the great expanse of water, out of which his deity the sun appeared to rise, and he erected a temple and other edifices to its honour. Riches were prodigally lavished on these establishments, and their importance, combined with the sovereign's caprice, may have given rise to the myth, that the sun rested on the island before rising to its place in the heavens. Tupac Yupanqui removed the natives from the islands whose sacred character he had ordained, and peopled them, and the villages on the adjoining coast, with families from nearly all the loyal tribes in his empire. The *Collas* were considered too barbarous to be allowed to enter the holy precincts of the temple; a

* 'Voyage,' iii. p. 340.

† Comm. Real.' I. lib. v. cap. 23.

‡ The fancied distinction between the Ynca and so-called *Aymara* architecture, based on the notion that doorways in *Aymara* masonry are invariably upright, whereas the Ynca doorways have their sides inclined inwards, is quite imaginary. The inclining sides are by no means universal in Ynca architecture, and are met with in their third, and occasionally in their fourth styles. In the latest Ynca style, as, for instance, at the inner ruins on the Colcampata at Cuzco, the doorways are rectangular. The *chullpas*, in the Collao, with rectangular openings, are in the fourth style of Ynca architecture, evidently designed under the direction of chiefs who had been educated at Cuzco.

There are no ruins in the Collao which are not of Ynca origin, except the earliest and rudest *pucaras* and *chullpas*.

prohibition, observes Ramos,* similar to that ordained by the Jews against the Moabites.

The most interesting point in the connection of the Yncas with these wild tribes of the Collao, is what I believe to be the evidence that, under the teaching of their conquerors, the natives developed and improved their own architectural designs. They had no temples or palaces, but they lavished all their skill on the tombs of their chiefs, and Cieza de Leon declares that he "was truly astonished to see how little they cared for having large and handsome houses for the living, while they bestowed so much care on the tombs of the dead; as if all happiness did not consist in something else." It has been seen that, originally, they constructed tombs of upright slabs arranged in a circle, with other blocks forming a roof, or in the form of a square. But these ancient attempts were improved upon when the Collas, Lupacas, and Pacasas began to receive new ideas from their masters; while the original plan of their ancestors was retained and developed. It was the policy of the Yncas to educate the sons of vassal chiefs at Cuzco, where they learnt all the arts and literature of the capital.† Thus they returned to their own land with minds enlarged by study, and by contact with a more civilized people. The *chullpas*, built under the auspices of chiefs educated at Cuzco, would naturally be improvements on the rude attempts of barbarous ancestors. Mr. Squier, in his able and suggestive pamphlet, has traced out the evidence of gradual improvement in the construction of the *chullpas*. The first step, shown in the ruins of Quellenata, was from the rude tombs at Acora to round towers of considerable height, built with roughly hewn stones. Then come such tombs as those at Ullulloma, which are imitated from the third Ynca style of architecture, and must, therefore, be very old. Lastly, we come to *chullpas*, in which the fourth Ynca style is closely imitated. These are square as at Escoma, or like that in Caranga, given in D'Orbigny's work; or round as at Sillustani. The burial towers at the latter place, on a promontory jutting into the alpine lake of Umayo, are circular, and so far they follow the plan of the earlier Collao tombs. The niches, to receive the bodies, take the place of the *machays* near Cuzco. The masonry is identical with that of the fourth Ynca style in every respect; and the lizard or serpent carved on one of the stones now fallen, but seen *in situ* by my informant Don Manuel Costas, is the very same design as is to be seen on the walls of the Ynca palaces at Cuzco. The Sillustani *chullpas* are an adaptation of the Ynca architecture to the traditional

* 'Historia de Copacabana.'

† G. de la Vega, I. lib. vii. cap. 2.

forms of the Collao tombs, and are certainly the most curious and interesting aboriginal monuments in the Titicaca region. The tower form of tombs was not peculiar to the Collao. It occurs again among the Chachapuyas. But it was doubtless of native growth; while its improved architectural style is due to the teaching of the Yncas. Mr. Squier has brought out this evidence of progressive improvement in the *chullpas* of the Collao very clearly. Cieza de Leon thought that the differences in the *chullpas* merely denoted the rank and wealth of those who built them; * but nevertheless the view of Mr. Squier is, I think, the correct one.

The most conclusive evidence of the barbarism of the Collao tribes, before they were civilized by the Yncas, is to be gathered from an examination of their language, which was first studied by Jesuits who settled at Juli, in the Lupaca country, in 1570. These Fathers were in the midst of families of colonists from all parts of the empire, who had been established at this point by Tupac Yupanqui, to watch over the temples on the sacred islands. Here were Canas and Caviñas of the Ynca nation, Cotapampas and Aymaras belonging to the Quichua tribe, Chancas, Cañaris, and many others; but, during the long confusion consequent on the Spanish conquest and subsequent civil wars, the Ynca language had been neglected, and a generation had grown up speaking only the dialect of their birthplace, though retaining the names of their *ayllus* and many words from their ancestral homes. Juli itself was full of Aymaras,† and this explains the deplorable blunder of the Jesuits in giving the name of “Aymara” to the language they learnt at Juli, which was in reality that of the Lupaca tribe.‡ We are told that the same language was spoken in greater purity by the Pacasas, on the other side of the Desaguadero.§ *Aymara* is applied to the language of the Lupacas and Pacasas in one of the ‘Ordenanzas’ of the Viceroy Toledo; in which a Jesuit of Juli, named Gonzalez Holguin, who was learned in the languages of Peru, is appointed Interpreter-General.||

An Italian, named Ludovico Bertonio, studied the Lupaca dialect for many years, and published a grammar in 1603, and a very copious and valuable dictionary at Juli in 1612; and another grammar, with a short vocabulary, was published at

* My translation, p. 364. See Mr. Squier’s pamphlet on the ‘Primeval Monuments of Peru.’

† Blas Valera, quoted by Garcilasso, Pt. I. lib. vii. cap. 4.

‡ The whole question respecting the misapplication of the word *Aymara*, and the origin of the blunder, will be found fully discussed in the Appendix to this Paper.

§ Bertonio.

|| Tit. xv. p. 84.

Lima in 1616 by the Jesuit Torres Rubio. We also have specimens of the language in the 'Rituale' of Bishop Uré, and in the Gospel of St. Luke by Don Vicente Pasos-kanki, printed in 1829. A life of Christ in the Pacasa dialect was written by D. B. de Merian, of the diocese of La Paz, the manuscript of which is now in the possession of Mr. Squier.

An examination of these works will show that a great number of words are borrowed from the Ynca language, while the structure of the grammar, in the Ynca language, is identical with that in the Lupaca and Pacasa dialects.

It is, therefore, more correct to class the tongues spoken in the Collao as mere dialects of the Ynca or Quichua language. They have the same number of transitive verbs, and the same method of forming them; the same inclusive and exclusive plurals of verbs and pronouns; the same forms for varying the meaning of verbs; and the number of Quichua roots in the Collao dialects is very great. The differences in declining and conjugating nouns and verbs are only sufficient to justify the Lupaca and Pacasa being classed, with those of Chinchu-suyu, as Quichua dialects. These differences are as follows:—

NOUN.

	YNCA.	LUPACA.
<i>Sing. Gen.</i>	— p, pa.*	— na.
„ <i>Dat.</i>	— pac.	— taqui.
„ <i>Acc.</i>	— cta.	(same as nom.)
„ <i>Voc.</i>	— ya.	— y.
„ <i>Abl.</i>	— pi.	— mpi.
<i>Plur.</i>	— cuna.	— naca.

VERB.

	YNCA.	LUPACA.
<i>Ind. Pres. Sing. 1st.</i>	— ni.	— tha.
„ „ <i>2nd.</i>	— nqui.	— ta.
„ „ <i>3rd.</i>	— n.	— i.
„ <i>Plur. 1st.</i>	— nchie ycu.	— piscatana tha.
„ „ <i>2nd.</i>	— nquichic.	— piscata.
„ „ <i>3rd.</i>	— neu.	— pisqui.

* A more ancient form of the Ynca genitive, occurring in the drama of 'Ollanta' and in some old songs, is in *c, ca*.

VERB—continued.

	YNCA.	LUPACA.
Ind. Pret. <i>Sing.</i> 1st.	— reani.	— atha.
„ „ 2nd.	— reanqui.	— ata.
„ „ 3rd.	— rean.	— ana.
„ <i>Plur.</i> 1st.	— reanchie ycu.	— apiscatana tha.
„ „ 2nd.	— reanquichic.	— apiscata.
„ „ 3rd.	— reancu.	— apiscana.

Ind. Fut. <i>Sing.</i> 1st.	— sac.	— aha.
„ „ 2nd.	— nqui.	— ahata.
„ „ 3rd.	— nca.	— ani.
„ <i>Plur.</i> 1st.	— ssan.	— apiscatana tha.
	— cu.	
„ „ 2nd.	— nquichic.	— apisakahata.
„ „ 3rd.	— nca.	— apiscana.

VERBAL TRANSITIONS.

	YNCA.	LUPACA.
1st. I—thee.	Yqui.	Sma.
2nd. He—thee.	Sunqui.	Tama.
3rd. Thou—me.	Huanqui.	Ta.
4th. He—me.	Huan.	To.

AUXILIARY VERB.

	YNCA.	LUPACA.
I am.	Cani.	Canca—tha.

PRONOUNS.

	YNCA.	LUPACA.
I.	Ñoca.	Na.
Of me.	Ñocap.	Nana.
Us.	Ñocanchic.	Nanaca.
	— ycu.	
Of us.	Ñocanchicpa.	Nanacana.
	— ycup.	
Thou.	Cam.	Huma.
He.	Pay.	Hupa.

PRONOUNS—*continued.*

	YNCA.	LUPACA.
This.	Cay.	Aca.
That.	Chay.	Uca.
Same.	Quiqui.	Quiqui.
My.	Y.	Ha.
Thy.	Yqui.	Ma.
His.	N.	Pa.

The Quichua words in the early so-called *Aymara* dictionaries prove the extent of the obligation of the people of the Collao to Ynca civilization. A comparison of Bertonio's dictionary and the vocabulary of Torres Rubio, with the Quichua dictionaries of Holguin, Torres Rubio, Mossi, Von Tschudi, and my own, will show the very large percentage of Ynca roots in the dialects spoken in the Collao. The numerals of the Ynca language, as compared with its Collao dialects, are as follows:—

YNCA.	PACASA.	LUPACA.
1. Hue.	Maya.	Maa.
2. Yscay.	Paya.	Paa.
3. Quimsa.	Quimsa.	
4. Ttahua.	Pussi.	
5. Pichea.	Pisca.	
6. Socta.	Chocta.	Chokhta.
7. Canchis.	Pacallco.	
8. Pussac.	Quimsa callco.	
9. Yscun.	Llalla tunca.	Llalla tunca.
10. Chunca.	Tunca.	
11. Chunca hucniyoc.	Tunca mayani.	
20. Yscay Chunca.	Paya Tunca.	

It will be seen that 1 and 2 are aboriginal, and perhaps 4; but 3, 5, 6, and 10 are borrowed from the Yncas, and 7, 8, 9, and higher numbers are compound. Words relating to religion, sacrifices, and ceremonial worship, are nearly all Ynca. So are the words for the sun as a sacred object (*Huilca*), as a God (*Ynti*), and as a conveyor of light and heat (*Rupay*, corrupted into *Lupi*); though the Collao people had words for the moon, stars, day and night. Nearly all the words for qualities and conditions of the mind and body are Ynca, and most of the

words relating to music and dancing, as well as those connected with irrigation and public works. The words for a village, a fortress, a bridge, an inn, a guest, a door, a window, a lake, a ravine, a tree, a bush, a stick, are Ynca; those for a chief, a father, a tribe, a woman, a province, a soldier; those for all warlike implements except a sling (*korahua*); and those for fire, bread, for all cooking and eating utensils, and the cognate verbs.

It might perhaps be suggested that these words were not borrowed from the conquerors, but that the Yncas took them from the conquered people of the Collao. Such an idea seems to me to be so preposterous that it refutes itself. But it is disproved by the fact that many of the words in question were also borrowed by other conquered nations, who received their civilization from the Yncas. For instance, the words *Auqui* (a Prince, used for a Father in the Collao), *Huarmi* (a woman, corrupted to *Marmi* in the Collao), and *Marca* (a village) are also in the Chincha-suyu language. This is a proof that they were received from a common centre, by the conquered peoples to the north and south of the Yncas, but separated from each other by hundreds of miles.

When the Ynca words are eliminated, we can form a clearer notion of the state of the people in the basin of Lake Titicaca before their subjugation, from the words that remain. Their religion consisted in the worship of animals and stones,* to which they offered woollen cloths, coca, and guinea-pigs. They believed in divination by odds and evens, and spiders' legs, and in such omens as a lizard crossing their paths, or as hearing certain cries.† At funerals they made sacrifices, some say human sacrifices, and sprinkled the blood over the tombs. At harvest time they had dances and drinking-bouts. Their only architectural attempts consisted in setting huge slabs on end round the bodies of their chiefs. Their dwellings were rude stone huts, and their occupations were tending large flocks of llamas and alpacas, and cultivating edible roots and quinoa. They flattened the heads of their infants, like other tribes further north.‡ They had songs by which they preserved some memory of ancestral deeds, and they played on a sort of Pandæan pipes, made of eight hollow reeds of different lengths.§ They had a rough idea of a year of ten months, and they wove woollen

* The names of the idols of the Lupacas were:—Ano Ano, Pachapaqui, Ccapia, Huana, Hatucachi, Phokhpo collo.—*Bertonio*.

† See the questions in Bertonio's 'Confesionario.'

‡ This practice was forbidden in the 'Ordenanzas' of the Viceroy Toledo, lib. II. tit. ix. Ord. viii. p. 146.

§ 'Comm. Real.' I. lib. ii. cap. 26.

cloths. In their incessant feuds their only arms were *bolas* and slings; and their subsequent history seems to show that they were brave, fierce, and cruel. There is no ground for believing that they were ever anything more than a race of barbarous uncultured shepherds, before they came under the humanizing influence of their conquerors, nor that there ever existed any form of civilization in the basin of Lake Titicaca, except that introduced by the Yncas.

III.—THE CHINCHA-SUYU REGION.

The Cordillera of the Andes, for a distance of 450 miles from the knot of Loxa to Cerro Pasco, with the valley of the Marañon on one side and a part of the coast watershed on the other, was known to the Yncas as the province of Chincha-suyu. It was inhabited by tribes speaking a language which differed very considerably from that of the Yncas as regards its vocabulary, though the grammar is almost the same.

The tribes of Chincha-suyu, enumerated by early writers, are as follows:—1. *Huanucus*; 2. *Conchucus*; 3. *Huamachucus*; 4. *Casamarcas*; 5. *Chachapuyas* or *Chachas*; 6. *Huacrachucus*; 7. *Huancapampas*; and 8. *Ayahuacas* (Cassas, Calluas, Aya-huacas).

The region inhabited by these tribes consists of two ridges of the Andes, with the river Marañon flowing between them, and the country is very mountainous and rugged, in some parts almost inaccessible. Commencing from the south, the first people were the *Huanucus*, who were strong and healthy, owing to the excellence of the climate, where the warmth is not heat, and the coolness is not cold. They built forts on the hill-tops, and were engaged in constant feuds. The Ynca palace at Huanuco, with its six portals, is one of the finest specimens of their fourth style of architecture.

Next come the *Conchucus*, in the valleys of both the Marañon and coast watersheds. They also were very warlike, and made a desperate struggle for their independence. The *Conchucus* are said to have worshipped an idol called *Catequilla*, and ghosts called *Huaraella*, amongst willow-trees near the villages, where voices were heard.* At Huaraz, in the *Conchucu* country, there were ruins in the second, or Cyclopean style of Ynca architecture.† As *Tiahuanacu* marks the southern, so *Huaraz* marks the northern point to which Ynca conquest extended in their prehistoric and Cyclopean period. The two unfinished ruins have enough in common to mark them as works of the same imperial race. At *Huaraz*, as at *Tiahuanacu*,

* Arriaga.

† Cieza de Leon, cap. 82.

faces and human figures were skilfully carved on the huge blocks. Some Indians told Cieza de Leon that the Huaraz ruins were unfinished works of the Yncas, while others, more imaginative, declared that they were erected by giants who were as large as some of the great statues carved there in stone. The same stories were told to Polo de Ondegardo and Cieza de Leon, of similar statues and sculpture, at Tiahuanacu. The truth was that in both cases there was absolute ignorance on the subject among the generation then living.

The *Huamachucus*, lower down in the Valley of the Marañon, were so named from the silver half-moons worn on their heads.* They had no villages, but lived in scattered huts on the mountain sides, and worshipped stones of peculiar shapes. They employed sorcerers to seek omens in the entrails of sheep, and are accused of having offered up human sacrifices.

The *Casamarcas*† were a populous and warlike tribe, who wore a head-dress of narrow cords like a fillet, and sacrificed wives and servants on the death of their chiefs.

The *Chachapuyas* or *Chachas* inhabited the mountainous country on the right bank of the Marañon. According to Father Blas Valera, the name, in their language, signifies "a place of strong men." The men were brave and handsome, and the women were remarkable for their great beauty. Their chief god was the condor, and they also worshipped serpents. They wore woollen clothes, and their head-dress was a sling, twisted round the brows, which was also their principal warlike implement. The tombs of the chiefs (called *Protho*)‡ consisted of towers perched on the verge of precipices overhanging the Marañon.§

The *Huacrachucus* lived on both sides of the fearful gorge through which the Marañon flows. Their name is derived from their head-dress, which consisted of a black woollen cord, with white tufts at intervals, surmounted by a deer's horn.|| They were a fierce people, and were serpent worshippers.

The *Huancapampas*¶ were inhabitants of mountains near Jaen de Bracamoras, and the *Ayahuaças*,** divided into *Cassas* and *Calluas*, extended to the borders of the Quito region. They are said to have been split into many tribes at enmity with each other, to have had no villages, to have worshipped animals, rocks, and streams, and to have been cannibals.

It will be observed that even the native names of these tribes

* *Huama*, a silver half-moon; and *chucu*, a head-dress.

† *Casa*, snow, and *marca*, a village. ‡ D'Avalos y Figueroa, p. 125.

§ 'Merc. Per.,' No. 22, p. 204. || *Huacra*, a horn; and *chucu*, a head-dress.

¶ *Huancar*, a drum; and *pampa*, a plain.

** *Aya*, death; and *huaca*, a sacred place.

are lost, and that the names by which they were known at the time of the Spanish conquest are composed of Quichua words, generally having reference to distinctions indicated by their head-dresses. We are indebted to Father Juan de Figueredo for a vocabulary of the Chincha-suyu language, and for some notes on its grammatical construction;* and, by the elimination of Ynca words, we may, as in the case of the Collao tribes, form some idea of their condition from their language. Judged by this test, the Chincha-suyu tribes were more advanced in civilization than those of the Collao. Their language not only contained words for agricultural acts and implements, but also for irrigating and for weaving. But, beyond 4, the numerals are borrowed from the Yncas,† as well as all words for building, bridging, and road-making; while, like the tribes of the Collao, they obtained the word *marca* for a village, from their conquerors, as well as those for buildings and their component parts. The terminations, in conjugating and declining, differ less from the Quichua than do those in the dialects of the Collao; and indeed, in the Chincha-suyu, the differences appear to be mainly caused by syncope, and slovenly pronunciation.‡ The more civilized of the Chincha-suyu tribes would seem to have been serpent worshippers, and to have offered up human sacrifices. They lived in scattered huts, and not in villages, but built fortresses on hill-tops, to which they retired, with their families, in time of war. They cultivated Indian corn, roots, and fruit trees; wore woollen clothes; worked in silver and copper; and had words for many trees, fruits, and flowers. Their language, at the time of the Spanish conquest, was less adulterated with Ynca words than that of the Collao, and there is reason for believing that the Chincha-suyu was once quite a distinct, though a rude and barbarous, dialect.

IV.—THE QUITU REGION.

The Quitu region, extending over the lofty *paramos* of the Cordillera, from the knot of Loxa to Pastu, has on one side the vast forests of the Amazon valley, whose inhabitants are included in my former Amazonian list,§ and on the other the rich forest-covered country reaching to the shores of the Pacific, from

* In the edition of Torres Rubio, of Lima, 1754.

† The Chincha-suyu numerals were:—1. Cellan; 2. Yscay; 3. Quima; 4. Chuscu; 5. Pisca; 6. Octa; 7. Canchi; 8. Puac.

‡ YNCA.					CHINCHA-SUYU.	
—	uni	..	..	..	—	a'.
—	an	..	..	..	—	ay.
—	huanqui	..	..	..	—	huan.

§ See the 'Transactions of the Ethnological Society,' iii. p. 140.

the gulf of Guayaquil to the river Patia, whose tribes I have provisionally classed with those of the Quito Cordillera.

Velasco told Hervas that there were 117 tribes in the kingdom of Quito, and that grammars and catechisms of the languages of many of them had been composed, and were in manuscript at Quito. None of these have been published, and we are thus debarred from an examination of grammars and vocabularies, which throw so much light upon tribal history. I have adopted the following classification of the tribes of the Quito region, from the accounts of the earliest writers:—

North of Quito:—1. *Quitus*, or *Caras*; 2. *Puritacus*; 3. *Cullahuasus*; 4. *Linguaehis*; 5. *Cayambes*; 6. *Utaballus*; 7. *Carangues*. South of Quito:—8. *Llactacuncas*; 9. *Ancamarcas*; 10. *Hambatus*; 11. *Muchas*; 12. *Puruhas*; 13. *Chenibus*; 14. *Tiquisambis*; 15. *Lausis*; 16. *Cañaris*; 17. *Paltas*; 18. *Zarzas*. On the Coast:—19. *Huancavilcas*; 20. *Mantas*; 21. *Caras*; and 22. *Tacamis*.

The story told by Velasco, the Quito historian, is that the ancient inhabitants, of whom nothing is known, were called *Quitu*; but that, about 500 years before the Spanish conquest, a nation from the seacoast, the *Caras*, ascended the river Esmeraldas in balsas, and conquered the whole of the Quito highlands, being ruled by a dynasty of kings called *Seyris*, or *Caran Seyris*. The *Seyris*, or kings of Quito, were powerful, and subjugated many neighbouring tribes. They worshipped the sun and moon, and built a temple on the equator, with tall columns for observing the solstices. Their dead were deposited in arched tombs of stone, in desert places, and stones and earth were piled over them to a great height. These tombs were called *Tolas*. They had made but slight advances in architecture, and their attempts were confined to these *Tolas*, to rude stone houses, and to fortresses on the hill-tops. They dug three or four moats round the summit of the hill to be fortified, each strengthened by a parapet, with a building in the centre.* The *Caras* made copper and bronze arms and tools, stone mirrors, and vases of black and red clay, and they were very expert as lapidaries, not only boring emeralds and other stones, but carving figures upon them.† They are even said to have had a system of counting and annotation, like that of the *quipus*. It consisted of a clay frame with many divisions, into which stones of different sizes, shapes, and colours were placed.‡

To the north of Quito little is recorded respecting the tribes, beyond their names. They are said to have been very dirty; so much so, that the Yncas made them pay tribute in lice, and

* Ulloa, i. p. 473.

† Ibid. i. p. 466.

‡ Velasco, ii. p. 7.

they wore metal rings in their noses, whence the Yncas called them *Quella-senca* (iron nose). The most northern of all were the Carangues, a warlike and barbarous tribe, who, for an act of treachery, were massacred in great numbers by order of the Ynca Huayna Ccapac. The bodies were thrown into a small lake near the road from Pastu to Quito, which has ever since been called *Yahuar-ccocha* (the lake of blood). After the massacres, few but boys and children, were left in the tribe, which was afterwards called *Huayna-cuna*, or the young tribe.* These Carangues are said to have been serpent worshippers.

The first important tribe to the south of Quito was that of the *Llacta-cuncas*, which was composed of sixteen populous *ayllus*, or lineages. Next came the *Hambatus*, *Muchas*, *Puruhus*, *Tiquisambis* and *Sausis*.

The *Cañaris* were a very numerous nation to the south of the above, divided into twenty-four *ayllus*, or lineages. They are described as a handsome race, with a peculiar head-dress. The hair, worn very long, was twisted in a knot on the top of the head, and on it was fastened a circular crown of fine laths crossing each other, like a sieve, and tufts of braid of many colours were passed through the holes. The poorer sort wore a piece of calabash, and were hence nicknamed *Mati-uma* (calabash heads), instead of the variegated sieve. The *Cañaris* buried wives with their dead chiefs, and were much addicted to divination.†

South of the *Cañaris*, near Loxa, were the *Paltas*, a small tribe living in the warm ravines. They were very ugly, owing to the heads of the children being flattened by boards tied in front and behind, and gradually tightened until the age of three years. Hence *Palta-uma*, or "Palta head," was another name for ugliness among the Yncas. The *Zarzas* had their abodes in the western slopes of the Cordillera, about Zaruma.

The tribes on the Pacific coast, belonging to the Quito region, are extremely interesting.

The *Huancavileas*‡ inhabited the banks of the river Guaya-

* This event happened within the memory of men living at the time of the Spanish conquest, and is therefore quite historical as related by Cieza de Leon, p. 133; Balboa, p. 179; G. de la Vega, I. lib. ix. cap. 11; and Velasco, i. p. 18. The same story was told to a recent traveller as having had its scene in Carangas, a province in the far south of Bolivia, "according to a tradition still preserved in the district." The inventor of the tradition had blundered at the similarity between *Caranga* and *Carangue*. This shows the utter worthlessness of modern so-called traditions; for, to make this Bolivian tradition still more absurd, the people of the Collao were devoted followers of the Ynca in the Carangue war, and suffered severely on the Ynca side.

† G. de la Vega, lib. viii. caps. 4, 5.

‡ The name is composed of two Ynca words—*Huanca* (a drum) and *Vilca* (sacred).

quail, the sea-shore as far as the point of Santa Elena, and the islands of Puna and Muerto. They were numerous, and, at one time, powerful, being divided into eighteen *ayllus*. They had a custom of pulling out three front teeth in each jaw. They wove cotton, and dressed in cotton shirts ornamented with *chaquiras*, or small beads of gold or silver. The hair was worn long, with a garland round the head, ornamented with *chaquiras*, and they had large rings in their noses. They are said to have had idols in the shape of beasts, to which they made human sacrifices, and before which they danced and beat drums. Their tombs were round, with a vaulted roof, and openings towards the rising sun. Their arms were clubs and spears, and they flayed their enemies, filling the skins with ashes, and hanging them to the walls of their houses.*

The *Huancavilcas* had attained to no mean degree of proficiency in the art of working metals. A statue of pure gold, 6 inches high, and very creditably sculptured, was found on the island of Muerto a few years ago, as well as ornaments consisting of thin plates of gold covered with figures, and strung together like a collar. One of these collars has about a hundred figures of pelicans, the sacred bird of these people, and every figure represents the bird in a different position. As they had been stamped and not engraved, a separate die must have been used for each figure.

It was in the country of the *Huancavilcas* that Mr. Spruce found chips of transparent quartz crystal on the sea-shore, in *middings*, or refuse heaps similar to those in Denmark. The *middings* consist of fragments of pottery, and of sea-shells of four species, one of them not now found in the neighbouring sea, and must have been the refuse of a very ancient people. The story of the giants said to have landed on this coast, near Point Santa Elena, which is told by most of the early writers, is no doubt explained by the more recent discovery of fossil bones of huge mammals, where pieces of cliff have broken away on the sea-shore.†

The *Mantas*‡ inhabited the sea-coast north of the *Huancavilca* country, from Point Santa Elena to Charapoto, and were divided into eight principal lineages. Their god was a large emerald, and the *Mantas* were famous as lapidaries. They are also said to have worshipped fish and serpents. They tattooed their faces

* Cieza de Leon, cap. 56.

† Cieza de Leon, cap. 52; G. de la Vega, I. lib. ix. cap. 9; Zarate, lib. i. cap. 4; Acosta, lib. i. cap. 19; Ranking, p. 51. See also Ulloa and Humboldt, and compare Stevenson's 'Travels,' ii. p. 235.

‡ The name is from a dangerous fish called *manta*, which attacks the pearl-divers.—*Noticias Secretas*, p. 549.

with pointed stones,* and flattened the heads of their children until they were four or five years old. They lived by fishing.

The *Caras* also lived on the coast, from Charapoto to the Cape of San Francisco; and the fable points to them as the conquerors of Quito. The Indians of one branch of this tribe, called *Passaus*, are said to have been very barbarous, painting their faces, living in the hollows of trees and under rocks, and going naked. Garcilasso saw them fishing in their balsas, when, on his way to Europe in 1560, his vessel stopped to get in wood and water at Cape Passaus.

The *Tacamis* (Atacames) are said to have been conquered by the *Caras*; but they do not appear to have differed materially from other tribes on this part of the Pacific coast.

The remains of Ynca edifices in the Quito region are all in the latest and most perfect of the architectural styles, which confirms the correctness of the statements received by early writers respecting the conquest of Quito by the last two Yncas. These edifices have been described in detail by Ulloa and Humboldt.

The language spoken at Quito, at the time of the Spanish conquest, is said to have been identical with that of the Yncas, and it is the same now, with slight differences in pronunciation and in the vocabulary. The fact is puzzling, seeing that the Chinchasuyu tribes, with a different vocabulary and some variations in grammar, intervene between the Ynca and Quito regions. Yet the Ynca conquest was so recent that there had been no time to change the language of the subjugated people. It seems to me to be clearly impossible that the Ynca and Quito languages can really have been identical. The explanation probably is, that there were many Ynca *mitimaes*, or colonists, in the kingdom of Quito, and that the chiefs and leading men, with whom the Spaniards came in contact, had been educated at Cuzco. The descendants of the *mitimaes* have caused the Ynca language to predominate in modern times; but the existence of aboriginal languages is indicated by the statement of Velasco, in his letter to Hervas.

It would be very interesting to discover whether the workers in gold and gems on the coast were of the same race, and spoke the same language with the natives of the Quito highlands, or whether they were allied to the civilized people on the coast of Peru, further south. A closer investigation of the *middings* near Chanduy, and of similar remains along that shore, would also yield valuable results.

* Cieza de Leon, cap. 46.

V.—THE YUNCA REGION.

The numerous valleys on the Peruvian coast, separated by sandy deserts of varying width, only required careful irrigation to render them capable of sustaining a large population. In these valleys we meet with a race of people who had made considerable advances in civilization, but who were quite distinct from the people of the Andes. Yunca is an Ynca word, meaning a warm valley. It was applied by the conquering mountaineers to the people of the coast, and, as the word used by themselves is lost, we can do no better than adopt the term applied to them by the Yncas.

There are some slight traces of the Peruvian coast having been originally peopled by a diminutive race of fishermen, who were driven out by the more civilized Yuncas. We are told by Cieza de Leon that, in the valley of Chinchá, a very small aboriginal race disappeared before the conquering Chinchas, and that their bones had been seen in certain tombs by the grandfathers of his informants. It is possible that these may be the same people who are described by Bollaert on the coast further south. He calls them *Changos*, and he and D'Orbigny describe them as a gentle, hospitable race of fishermen, never exceeding 5 feet in height, with flat noses, fishing in boats of inflated seal-skins, and sleeping pell-mell in sealskin huts, on heaps of dry seaweed. Bollaert, whose account of the *Changos* is better than that given by D'Orbigny, says that they buried their dead lengthwise; * and some bodies have been found in this unusual posture near Cañete. This is another slight link connecting the *Changos* with the early aboriginal race further north. The fishermen at *Sechura*, on the borders of the great northern desert, may be another remnant of this aboriginal race, as well as the *Etenes*, *Morrópes*, *Catacíos*, and *Colanes*, described by Mr. Spruce. The 40 words of the Sechura language, collected by Mr. Spruce, prove it to have been entirely different from the language of the Yuncas.†

The coast people, who were in possession of the richest valleys at the time of the Ynca conquest, were an extremely interesting race. They appear to have formed distinct communities in the different valleys, each under a chief more or less independent; but wars were frequent and very bloody. The most civilized and powerful was the Chimú,‡ who ruled over the five valleys of Parmunca, Huallmi, Santa, Huanapu, and Chimú

* Bollaert, p. 172.

† See note to my Introduction to Cieza de Leon, p. xliii.

‡ Cieza de Leon, cap. 68; Balboa, pp. 72, 76; Calancha, lib. ii. cap. 35; G. de la Vega, I. lib. vi. cap. 32; Feijoo, 'Rel. de Truxillo,' p. 25.

itself, where the city of Truxillo now stands. The subjects of this prince had made great advances in civilization, and his vast palaces, near the sea-shore, now form most extensive ruins. They cover three-quarters of a league of ground, exclusive of the great squares, 270 yards long by 160 wide, which were used as gardens and cornfields. Each palace is surrounded by an exterior wall of *adobes*, or enormous sun-dried bricks, 50 feet high, 5 yards broad at the bottom, and narrowing to 1 yard at the top. Besides the palaces with their numerous chambers, the enclosures contained huge mounds, with interior passages, used as tombs for the dead, and a reservoir supplied by subterranean aqueducts. Some 9 or 10 leagues from these palaces of the Chimú there is a solid mass of cut stone, 360 feet by 530, and 150 feet high, which was used as a cemetery. It contained chambers of hewn stone, with niches a yard square, containing the bodies in a sitting posture.* The dry climate favoured the adornment of outer walls by colour, and those of the Chimú palaces were covered with very tasteful sculptured patterns. Among other ancient buildings, in the coast valleys, may be mentioned the great fortress at Calaveras in the valley of Casma, and that in the Parmunca valley; the mounds in the valley of the Rimac; the temple of Pachacamac with its vast and now silent city; and innumerable abandoned towns and villages on the rocky hillsides which border almost all the valleys.

Figures of coloured birds and animals are said to have been painted on the walls of temples and palaces, and the remains of this colour are still visible at Parmunca,† and on the sea face of the Pachacamac temple. The inhabitants of the valleys set apart every square foot of ground that could be reached by water, for cultivation, and built their dwellings on the hillsides overlooking their fields and gardens. Their system of irrigation was as perfect as any that modern science has since adopted; and they not only supplied the fields by regular turns regulated by time, but raised the water to irrigate high levels. Cieza de Leon tells us that sometimes, when he had stopped for the night on the banks of one of these irrigating channels, before his people had finished pitching the tent, the channel became dry, the water having been drawn off in another direction. In the valley of Nasca many rich vineyards and cotton estates owe their existence to a most perfect system of irrigation constructed by the ancient people. The Yncas may have improved these irrigation works, and no doubt kept them in good working order; but it is certain that they were originally designed and

* 'Merc. Per.' No. 247, p. 38; 'Antiq. Per.'

† Proctor's 'Travels,' p. 175; Cieza de Leon, p. 248; Paz Soldan.

executed by the Yuncas, for the simple reason that they could not have existed without them.

The Yuncas had also made considerable advances in the arts. Silver and gold ornaments, mantles embroidered with gold and silver bezants, robes of feathers, cotton cloths of fine texture, and vases of an infinite variety of design are found in the tombs. Cieza de Leon tells us that the chief of each valley had a great house, with *adobe* pillars and doorways hung with matting, built on extensive terraces. He says that the chiefs dressed in cotton shirts and long mantles, and were fond of drinking-bouts, dancing and singing; and the walls of the palaces were painted with bright coloured patterns and figures. Such places, rising out of the groves of fruit trees, with the Andes on one side and the ocean on the other as background, must have been suitable abodes of joy and feasting.

It is not possible to get any correct notion of the religious creed of these Yuncas. All we know is that there was a far-famed and very sacred temple at Pachacamac, and another in the valley of the Rimac; and that a she-fox, a sea monster, and other idols are said to have been worshipped. As regards divination, the savage old iconoclast Arriaga boasts of having punished 63 wizards in the coast valleys. The rich were buried in the great mounds, called *huacas* by the Yncas, and the rest of the population in the rocky hills or in the deserts; the extreme dryness of the atmosphere accounting for the vast number of well-preserved mummies that are found in cemeteries such as those near Arica.

The Ynca conquest obliterated the Yunca names and traditions, even before the arrival of the Spaniards; so that we can now learn but very little respecting this interesting people. The very name Yunca belongs to the Ynca language, as well as most of the names of places, such as Nasca, Pisco, Runahuanac, Chilca, Pachacamac, and Rimac. In each valley there was a very desperate resistance to the invaders, great slaughter, and a consequent large importation of *mitimaes*, or colonists. It is also recorded that the people of Nasca, and many in the valley of Chimu, were transported into the interior. The Ynca ruins on the coast, though built of *adobes*, are all clearly of their latest and most perfect architectural style; thus, as in Quito, furnishing a proof of the correctness of Garcilasso's narrative. The best preserved Ynca edifice, of which I took measurements, is at Hervay.

No dictionary of the Yunca language has been preserved; but we have a grammar and a short list of words of the language spoken in the valley of Chimu, and the Lord's Prayer in the *Mochica*, a dialect spoken in the valleys of Runahuanac and

Huarco (Cañete) further south. These fragments prove that the coast people were wholly unconnected with the Yncas and other mountaineers, and of a different origin. The languages are entirely distinct, both as regards vocabulary and grammatical construction.

The Yunca grammar is by Don Fernando de la Carrera, a great-grandson of Pedro Gonzalez, one of the first conquerors, who settled at Truxillo, near the ruins of the Chimu palaces. Carrera was born there, he sucked in the language with his mother's milk, and published the grammar at Lima in 1644; but he declares that the Yunca is so very difficult that he was the only Spaniard who had ever been able to learn it. In his time it was spoken in the valleys of Chimu, Chicama, Chocope, Sana, Lambayeque, Chiclayo, Huacabamba, Olmos, and Motupe. When the 'Mercurio Peruano' was published in 1793, it is said to have entirely disappeared. The Yunca has three different declensions of nouns, the Ynca language only one. The Yunca has no transitive verbs, and no exclusive and inclusive plurals, which are the chief characteristics of the Ynca language. On the other hand the Yunca conjugations are formed in quite a different way from those in the Ynca language. Carrera gives the Yunca numerals, which are very complete; and a list of words for parts of the body.* Of the *Mochica* language, which

* Carrera's Yunca grammar is so very scarce that I here give a few specimens:—

FIRST DECLENSION.

Mecherræc	.. ..	A woman.
Mecherræcero	.. ..	Of a woman.
Mecherræcæropæn	.. ..	To a woman.
Mecherræcæn	.. ..	Women.
Mecherræcænro	.. ..	Of women.

SECOND DECLENSION.

Eng	.. ..	A mother.
Engæio	.. ..	Of a mother.
Engæiopæn	.. ..	To a mother.
Engæn	.. ..	Mothers.

THIRD DECLENSION.

Cholu	.. ..	A boy.
Cholungo	.. ..	Of a boy.
Cholungopæn	.. ..	To a boy.
Chofuæn	.. ..	Boys.

ADJECTIVE.

Peño nopæn	.. ..	A good man.
Peño mecherræc	.. ..	A good woman.
Peño nepæc	.. ..	A good tree.
Utzhø ong	.. ..	A large algoroba.

PRONOUN.

Moiñ	.. ..	I.
Mæino	.. ..	Of me.
Mæich	.. ..	Us.
Tzhang	.. ..	You.

AUXILIARY VERB.

Moiñ e or ang	.. ..	I am.
Tzhang e	.. ..	You are.
Aio e	.. ..	He is.
Mæich e	.. ..	We are.
Aiong ære	.. ..	They are.

VERB.

Meteiñ	.. ..	I bring.
Metaz	.. ..	You bring.
Metang	.. ..	He brings.
Meteix	.. ..	We bring.
Metazchi	.. ..	Ye bring.
Metænanang	.. ..	They bring.

Meteiñ piñ	.. ..	I brought.
Metaz piñ	.. ..	You brought.
Metang piñ	.. ..	He brought.

was spoken in the country south of Chimu, especially in the valleys of Huarco (Cañete) and Runahuanac (Lunahuana), we only have the Lord's Prayer, which has been preserved by Bishop Orè. It is impossible to form a decided opinion from one specimen, but it seems to be a mere dialect of Carrera's Yunca language.

The difference of language proves that the Yuncas of the coast did not, like their conquerors the Yncas, descend into the warm valleys from the region of the Andes. There are reasons, already stated, for thinking that they were not the aboriginal inhabitants of the coast. Two alternatives remain. They either came from the north, and were offshoots of the Huan-cavilcas and Mantas, the gold workers and lapidaries of the Quito seaboard; or they arrived from beyond seas. We can form no opinion on the former possibility without a comparison with the languages of the northern tribes. There remains the other suggestion, that the Yuncas arrived by way of the Pacific ocean. On this point we have few reliable data. Acosta * tells us that the Indians of Yca and Arica relate how, in ancient times, they used to make voyages to islands in the far west, on the inflated skins of seals. But the story, I suspect, really only refers to the trips of the thrifty coast agriculturists to the Chincha Islands, for manure. Balboa,† however, an older and more reliable authority, gives a detailed account of the state-ments made at the time of the conquest by the coast Indians of Lambayeque. They declared that a great fleet arrived on the

Meteiñ met I will bring.
Metaz met You will bring.
Metang met He will bring.

NUMERALS.

1. Onœc.
2. Atpat.
3. Copœc.
4. Nopœc.
5. Exil mœtzh.
6. Tzaxil.
7. Nite.
8. Lang œss.
9. Tap.
10. { Cîœch (seldom used).
Napong (men),
Nassop (things).
11. Napong allo onœc.
12. Napong allo aput.
13. Napong allo copœt.
20. Pac pong.
30. Coc pong.

40. Noc pong.
100. Na palœc.
1000. Na cûño.

Allo is a copulative conjunction.

Neizna	.. ..	Morning.
Hac	.. ..	Hair.
Falpœng	.. ..	Head.
Loch	.. ..	Eyes.
Medeng	.. ..	Ears.
Fon	.. ..	Nose.
Sap	.. ..	Mouth.
Echang	.. ..	Teeth.
Ed	.. ..	Tongue.
Cengque	.. ..	Neck.
Ôœen	.. ..	Arm.
Mœcha	.. ..	Hand.
Ssod	.. ..	Bosom.
Pilla	.. ..	Thigh.
Tonia	.. ..	Leg.
Nossœn	.. ..	Knee.
Loc	.. ..	Foot.

* Lib. i. cap. 19, p. 68.

† 'Hist. del Peru,' p. 89 (T. Campans' ed.).

coast, some generations earlier, commanded by a chief named Noymlap, who had with him a green stone idol, and that he founded a dynasty of chiefs.

South of Nasca, the Peruvian coast appears to have been uninhabited, except by scattered families of Chango fishermen, until the Yncas established colonies of *mitimaes* in the valleys of Arequipa, Moquegua, Tacna, and Arica. Those of Arequipa are said to have been brought from Cavanilla, those of Tacna from Juli and Pisacoma, and those of Moquegua from Acora and Ylave—all villages in the Collao.

We thus have the following tribes along the Peruvian coast, beginning from the north:—The *Colanes*; the *Etenes*; the *Catacdos*; the *Sechuras*; the *Morrópes*; the *Chimus* (the *Yuncas* of Carrera); the *Mochicas* (the *Chinchas* of Garcilasso); and the *Changos*. The coast Indians have almost entirely disappeared. Their languages are disappearing; the most important have ceased to be spoken. But their civilization is attested by several old writers, and is illustrated by ruins, and by many works of art. They are the most mysterious as regards their origin, and in that respect the most interesting of all the tribes in the five great regions we have now passed in review.

This completes our survey of the tribes which formed the empire of the Yncas. It will be seen that they resolve themselves into two primary divisions, distinguished by a complete difference of language, both as regards vocabulary and grammatical construction; sufficient to establish an entirely separate origin. These are the people of the four Andean regions, and the Yuncas of the coast. They form two civilizations and two races. The tribes of the four Andean regions, on the other hand, spoke languages which, though differing as regards vocabulary, are identical in grammatical construction, and point to a common origin.

The languages are our most reliable guide. Physical differences are caused by local circumstances, and all travellers in Peru must have observed many shades of colour in the skins of the Indians, and great variations in their physical development; but these phenomena are attributable to climatic influences and to varied habits of life. The languages, however, when carefully studied, give us an insight into the original condition of the different tribes, and, with the aid of evidence collected from the earliest writers, enable us to resolve the great Ynca empire into its elements, and to classify its component parts. The present attempt towards such geographical classification is, in a great measure, provisional; but, by carefully avoiding all groundless assumptions, and by adhering to

the canons of criticism which have been adopted after consulting high authorities on such matters, I trust that the present paper will at least prove to be a step in the right direction.

APPENDIX ON THE NAME AYMARA.

THE name *Aymara* has been generally but erroneously applied to the people inhabiting the basin of the Lake Titicaca, a region which is known as the Collao. The name really belongs to an *ayllu* or lineage of the Quichua tribe, inhabiting quite a different part of Peru, and wholly unconnected with the people of the Collao. The improper application of the name has caused much confusion, and has led several eminent and learned men into serious errors. It, therefore, seems very desirable that the question should be thoroughly investigated.

It is asserted, in support of the theory that *Aymara* was the name of the people of the Collao :—First, that the name in question was borne by the people of the Titicaca basin before the existence of the empire of the Yncas ; and in proof of this a reference is given to the 10th chapter of the 3rd book of the ‘Royal Commentaries of Peru,’ by Garcilasso de la Vega. A perusal of this 10th chapter will show that Garcilasso neither states nor implies anything of the kind.

The second reason alleged for thinking that the word Colla (the name by which the people of the Titicaca basin were known to the Yncas and early Spaniards) is more recent than that of *Aymara*, is, because the Aymaras are asserted to have been subjugated by the Yncas before they annexed the country of the Collao.

Garcilasso, an author who describes the progress of the Ynca conquests in detail, tells us the exact opposite : namely that the Collao were conquered by the third and fourth Yncas,* while the Aymaras were subdued afterwards by the fifth Ynca.† At the same time it is not clear why the date of the conquest of these tribes should be thought to have anything to do with the relative antiquity of their names, nor why their antiquity should have any bearing on their correct application.

The third assertion is that the *Aymara* tribe, mentioned by Garcilasso, lived in the Collao before the Spanish conquest.

I shall presently show, by a connected chain of evidence, that the geographical position of the Indians of the *Aymara* tribe has been misunderstood ; and that their homes were several hundred miles from the nearest point of the Collao.

Finally, the antiquity of the so-called *Aymara* name and nation may, it is alleged, be estimated by the allusion to its annexation by the third and fourth Yncas, in Garcilasso.

1. The word *Aymara* is never so much as mentioned in Garcilasso’s account of the campaigns of the third and fourth Yncas, who vanquished the Collas, not the Aymaras.

I will now explain my view of the case, as regards this name *Aymara*.

2. It is of course well known that for the last three centuries the language of the people inhabiting the basin of Lake Titicaca has been called *Aymara*, and that, for about 200 years, the term has been extended to the people who speak it, and who are now called *Aymara* Indians, though their country is known as the Collao. But in the course of my study of the early Spanish

* G. de la Vega, I. lib. ii. caps. 18, 19, 20 ; lib. iii. caps. 1 to 8.

† Ibid., I. lib. iii. cap. 10.

writers on Peru, I was struck by the total absence of the word Aymara from their pages, although the people themselves, under the name of Collas, are constantly mentioned, and sometimes particularly described. On closer investigation, I found that not a single writer contemporary with the Spanish conquest, who describes the people of the Collao, ever mentions the word Aymara. I am acquainted with the writings of seven authors contemporaneous with the Spanish conquest, who mention the Collao; five of whom had been in the country, while the other two were historians who compiled from original sources.

3. *Francisco de Xeres* (1547), the secretary of Pizarro, who published his book in the above year, alludes to the Collao, but never mentions the word Aymara.

4. *Polo de Ondegardo* (1550) was an enlightened statesman, and was at one time governor of Charcas. He made a close official enquiry into the laws and usages of the Indians, including the people of the Collao. Nothing seemed to escape him, and he enters into minute detail, but the name Aymara never appears in his manuscript.

5. *Gomara* (1553) was a compiler and was never in Peru, but he lived at Seville, and had access to numerous original documents. His history was published in the above-mentioned period, and in it he mentions the Collao, but the word Aymara is absent from his pages.

6. *Cieza de Leon* (1554), the gallant soldier and graphic narrator, who is always careful to give the name of every tribe he encountered, and who devotes two chapters to an account of the Collas, never mentions the word Aymara. The 'Crónica del Peru' of Cieza de Leon is a voluminous work, and one of the best that was written at the time of the conquest. It is in four parts; the first, which is the only one in print, consisting of 570 closely printed duodecimo pages. He is very careful to give the names of the tribes he came in contact with, and if the people of the Collao had been called Aymaras, he would assuredly have given them the name. But their name was Colla, and he calls them so accordingly.

7. *Zarate* (1555), the financier, was a writer who knew the country. He speaks of the Collas, but never of the Aymaras.

8. *Levinus Apollonius* (1567) was a compiler who published his work on Peru at Antwerp in the above year. He wrote in Latin, and invariably called the people of the Titicaca basin "Collaoes," and their country "Regio Collaoibus." The word Aymara does not occur in his book.

9. *Fernandez el Palentino* (1571), the chronicler of Peru, has frequent occasion to mention the Collao, in his narrative of the wars of Gonzalo Pizarro and Giron, but he never once mentions the word Aymara.

10. According to D'Orbigny and others who advocate the "Aymara" theory, there was a nation called *Aymara*, whose name was older than the time of the Yncas, and who inhabited the whole extent of the basin of Lake Titicaca, from 15° to 20° s. lat. Yet all the writers, without a single exception, who visited that region at the time of the Spanish conquest, and who wrote an account of its inhabitants, concur in calling it by another name, and not one so much as mentions the word Aymara. If it was the name of the nation they must have known it, and would have said so. Their silence proves that the name was then unknown in the Collao, as that of the people to whom it is now incorrectly applied, and who were then called Lupacas, Collas, Pacasas, &c.

11. We next come to the authors who wrote upon Peru in the generation after the Spanish conquest. We have seen that the name Aymara was not applied to the people of the Collao at the time of the conquest, and we shall now find that it was equally foreign to them in the succeeding generation. Of these I will mention seven (besides the Jesuit grammarians to be dealt

with separately), namely, Balboa, Acosta, Herrera, Garcilasso de la Vega, Ramos, Montesinos, and Calancha; all of whom knew the country personally, except Herrera.

12. *Miguel Cavello Balboa* finished his history of Peru in 1586. He mentions the conquest of the Collao by the Yncas, and says that the name of their king was Colla.* He calls the country Collao, and its inhabitants Collas, and never once mentions the word Aymara.

Acosta (1590), the Jesuit, completed his work in the same period, and has much to say respecting the Collao and the Collas; but he never mentions the word Aymara.

Herrera (1601), the great historian of the Indies, who had full access to all official documents, published his work in 1601-15. He invariably calls the region of Lake Titicaca, Collao; and though he uses the word Aymara, it is only to furnish a direct proof that it was not the name of the people of the Collao,†

Garcilasso de la Vega (1609), whose 'Royal Commentaries' form by far the most valuable book on ancient Peru, invariably calls the people of the Titicaca basin Collas; and his mention of the Aymaras supplies a further proof that they had no connection whatever with the Indians who now incorrectly bear that name.‡

Alonso Ramos (1620), a Jesuit, wrote his history of Copacabana in 1620, and his mention of Aymaras and Collas proves, as will presently be explained, that the former were strangers, and the latter natives of the Collao.§

Fernando Montesinos, the licentiate, passed many years in Peru, and wrote his historical memorials in about 1652. He always calls the country of the Titicaca basin the Collao, and never mentions the word Aymara.

Calancha (1653) was born and died in Peru. In his history of the proceedings of the Augustine Fathers in that country, which was published in the above year, the proof is completed that the Aymaras were a tribe wholly unconnected with the Titicaca region.||

13. These proofs that the word Aymara was not the name of the Indians of the Collao at the time of the conquest, though I believe quite conclusive, are negative. I will now produce positive proofs that the Aymaras, at the time of the conquest and previously, formed a tribe entirely unconnected with the Collao, speaking a different language, and living in a distant part of Peru.

14. *Garcilasso de la Vega* is the only author who describes the progress of the successive Ynca conquests in any detail. According to him the third and fourth Yncas conquered the whole region of the Collao, as far south as the Lake of Paria. The fifth Ynca, named Ceapac Yupanqui, therefore turned his attention to the region to the westward of Cuzco, called by the Yncas Cunti-suyu. By following the course taken by this fifth Ynca, and his general Auqui Titu, in two successive campaigns, we shall discover whence the name Aymara really comes, and how foreign it is to the language and people of the Collao. *Garcilasso's* detailed narrative of these campaigns is supported, to some extent, by *Herrera*.¶

* Ternaux ed., pp. 55, 87, 151, 182.

† See paragraph 20.

‡ See paragraphs 16, 17, 19.

§ See paragraph 32. The word occurs twice in *Ramos*, once in the list of colonists at Copacabana, and once where he says that *Titi* means a wild cat in *Aimara*, caps. 6 and 7.

|| See paragraph 21. The word occurs four times in the work of *Calancha*, twice in mentioning the real province, at pp. 724 and 855, once in mentioning the colonists at Copacabana, p. 6 (ii.), and only once as the language in the south, p. 860.

¶ *Herrera*, Dec. V. cap. 3. *Fernandez*, II. lib. ii. cap. 41.

15. The Collao is bounded on the west and east by two lofty chains of mountains, which are united by a saddle to the north, forming the water-parting between the drainage of Lake Titicaca and that of the great river Apurimac. On the northern slope of this saddle are the sources of the Apurimac and its affluents, and the region which these streams water is the Cunti-suyu of the Yncas. The Apurimac itself sweeps round and bounds Cunti-suyu on the east and north. This region was inhabited by the Quichua nation; which was divided into six tribes called Cotapampas, Cotaneras, Yanahuaras, Chumpivilcas, Aymaras, and Umasayus.

16. The Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui, having crossed the River Apurimac at the holy bridge (*Huaca-chaca*), found himself in the country of the Yanahuaras, and came to a town in it called Piti. All these names can easily be identified. The *Huaca-chaca* still spans the Apurimac; Yanahuara is in the modern province of Cotabambas, and Piti is a town in the same province. From Yanahuara the Ynca advanced to the territory of another tribe called Aymaras, whose fighting men he found encamped on a hill called Mucansa. Eventually they submitted, and the Ynca encamped at a place in the Aymara country called Huaquirca.* These names can also be identified. The Aymaras are the people of the modern province of Aymaraes, on the upper waters of the Pachachaca or Abancay. The Cerro de Mucansa is on the border between Cotabambas and Aymaraes. Huaquirca is a town in Aymaraes. The Ynca then settled some pasturage disputes between the Aymaras and their neighbours the Uma-sayus. This Uma-sayu † (which has been confused with the Omasuyos on the east side of Titicaca) was a district on the western frontier of the Aymaras. It can be identified by the towns of Totora and Chiriqui, which Calancha and Pinelo tell us were in this Uma-sayu, and which still exist.‡

17. In the second campaign the Ynca general, named Auqui Titu, again crossed the Apurimac at *Huaca-chaca*, traversed the province of Cotapampa (the modern Cotabambas), and entered that of Cotaneras, who declared that they desired to be vassals of the Ynca, to escape from the tyranny of their powerful neighbours the Chancas.§ The Ynca general then marched onwards, reducing the country on either side of the River Abancay, which was also inhabited by the Quichuas. Garcilasso mentions that one of the branches of the Abancay flows past the town of Chuquinca. We thus learn that the tribe of Aymaras inhabited the upper part of the valley of the River Abancay or Pachachaca; that the Cotaneras dwelt on the high pasture land between that valley and Cotabambas, as well as in part of the valley lower down; and that the Chancas, the powerful enemies of both these neighbour tribes, were established in the lower valleys of Andahuaylas and Abancay.

18. It has been necessary to enter into these geographical details, because they have been totally misunderstood. It has been assumed that Uma-sayu is the Omasuyos to the east of Lake Titicaca, and that if the Aymaras bordered on it, they must have lived in the Collao. In reality there were two Uma-suyus. This one, in the western division of the Ynca empire, was after-

* G. de la Vega, lib. iii. cap. 11.

† In the first edition of Garcilasso (1609) it is Umasayu; in the second edition of 1723 it is printed Umasuyu. See also a letter of Juan de Padilla ('Papeles Varios').

‡ Calancha, iii. cap. 12. p. 855. The districts of Cotabambas and Umasayu were united under one Corregimiento (see Letter of Juan de Padilla, 1660, 'Papeles Varios'). In this "Corregimiento de Cotabambas y Umasayu," the Augustin friars held the *doctrinas* of San Agustín de Cotabambas, Chiriqui y Chuquibamba, Mamara y Turupai, Totora y Oropesa, and San Juan de Totora.

§ G. de la Vega, iii. cap. 12.

wards included in the Spanish 'Corregimiento de Cotabambas y Umasuyu.'* The direction of the Ynca's march, his crossing the Apurimac at Huaca-chaca, and the mention of Cotabambas, the Cerro de Mucansa, the towns of Piti, Huaquirca, Chuquinca, Totorá, and Chiriqui, and the River Abancay, furnish data to fix the exact position of the Aymara country.

19. When the Chancas rebelled and were marching in great force against the Ynca Uira-ecocha, Garcilasso says, "20,000 men of war came to his aid from the parts of Cunti-suyu, about 20 leagues away, being people of the Quechua nation, belonging to the Cotapampa, Cotanera, Aymara, and other tribes who bordered on the territory of the rebels in that direction."†

20. There is further evidence of the exact position of the Aymara nation. Herrera‡ tells us that when Hernando Pizarro marched from the coast to attack Almagro at Cuzco, he started from Nasca, ascended the mountains to Parinacochas, and then crossed an uninhabited region to the province of the Aymaras, thence going by Totorá and the Chumpivilcas province to the Apurimac. Totorá is still a village in the province of Aymaraes. The rebel Giron also, in 1552, started from Nasca, crossed the Cordilleras to the province of the Aymaras, and defeated the Marshal Alvarado at Chuquinca on the Abancay. He then marched down the valley of the Abancay, to burn the villages of the neighbouring Chancas, who had assisted his enemies. We are told all this, in much detail, by Fernandez of Palencia.§

21. Father Calancha, in his history of the Augustine Order in Peru, also distinctly fixes the position of the country of the Aymaras; and of their neighbours the Uma-sayus.|| He says that the Augustines were sent to convert the Uma-sayus together with the Cotapampas, showing that they bordered on the province of Cotabambas. He goes on to tell us that the land of the Aymaras is about 30 leagues w.n.w. of Cuzco, a mountainous country with pleasant ravines, fertile plains, and very lofty peaks. Its towns, he adds, were Huaquirca, Sobayno, Antabamba, and Calcauso. All these places are in the modern province of Aymaraes, some 70 or 80 miles west of Cuzco.

22. The foregoing chain of evidence must, I submit, be accepted as placing the true position of the ancient Aymaras beyond a doubt; and as proving that the ancient province of Aymaras and the modern province of Aymaraes are identical. The Aymaras were a small tribe of the Quichua nation, living in a remote part of the valley of the Abancay; with the Uma-sayus, Cotapampas, and Cotaneras as their neighbours. They had not the slightest connection with the people of the Collao, but were Quichuas of the Quichuas, specially loyal vassals of the Yncas,¶ and speaking the so-called Quichua language, which their descendants still speak.

23. After the blunder of calling the people of the Collao by the name of Aymaras had been established by long use, people were evidently puzzled by the existence of these *true* Aymaras in a part of Peru so far distant from the Collao. D'Orbigny** quotes a census made in 1795, in which the difficulty is got over by classing the Quichua-speaking *true* Aymaras with the so-called Aymaras of the Collao. But this arbitrary and false classification explains nothing. It has been assumed that the province of Aymaraes was the most northern limit of the nation of the Collao; and so an attempt

* Carta de Juan de Padilla.

† G. de la Vega, v. cap. 17. "Quechuas de los apellidos Cotapampa y Cotanera," lib. v. ch. 23.

‡ Herrera Dec. VI. lib. iv. cap. 4.

§ Fernandez, 'Hist. del Peru,' Part II. lib. ii. caps. 44, 45, 50.

|| Calancha, iii. cap. 37, p. 724; iv. cap. 12, p. 855.

¶ G. de la Vega, v. cap. 17; Ramos, cap. 7.

** 'L'Homme Américain,' i. p. 310.

is made to get over the difficulty. But, in addition to there not being a particle of admissible evidence for such an assumption, the thing is evidently impossible. The nearest point of the Collao is 150 miles from Aymaraes, and upwards of 200 by the only practicable road—that taken by the Marshal Alvarado in his march against the rebel Giron. The intervening space was peopled by tribes who were hostile to the Collas, and did not speak their language. First there were the Canas, with whom the Collas waged fierce and unsuccessful wars before the Ynca conquest.* Then a lofty tract of uninhabited mountainous country would have to be traversed. Then the river Apurimac must be crossed. Then the Chumpivilca, Yanahuara, Cotapampa, Uma-sayu, and Cotanera tribes must be encountered and overcome. All these obstacles would have to be got over, before the people from the Collao could reach the province of the Aymaras, and turn it into their northern frontier. It is scarcely necessary to add that there is no record of any such achievement having been attempted.

24. It has now been established that the people of the Collao were not called Aymaras at or before the Spanish conquest, that the real Aymaras were a small Quichua tribe living in a part of Peru remote from the Collao, and that therefore the word is foreign to the language which is now incorrectly called Aymara. It remains to inquire by what chance a name so inappropriate was originally applied to the people and language of the Collao.

25. It appears that the first time that the word Aymara was ever applied to the language of the Collao was by the Jesuits, who were established at a village near the western shore of Lake Titicaca, called Juli, in about 1570. They had a college and four parishes there, and studied the languages of the Indians.† But it so happened that there were descendants of colonists from all parts of Peru settled at Juli,‡ the most numerous of whom were some Aymaras; § and the language they spoke, though based on that of the Collao, was very corrupt. The Jesuits gave the name of Aymara to the language they learnt at Juli, and finding that they were understood by other Indians in the basin of Lake Titicaca, they extended the name to the language and people of the Collao. It was generally received as the name of the language by other writers, for want of a better, but not as that of the people.

26. Among the first Jesuits established at Juli, were the writers Gonzalo Holguin, Diego de Alcobaca, and probably Blas Valera.|| The first instance I have met with, of the name Aymara being applied to a language of the Collao, is in the 'Ordenanzas' of the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo, who appointed Gonzalo Holguin, a person expert in three languages spoken by the Indians (called Quichua, Puquina, and Aymara) to be his Interpreter-General, on a salary of 500 dollars a year; the order is dated at Arequipa, September 10th, 1575.¶

27. Diego de Alcobaca, another of the first Jesuit Fathers settled at Juli, was a half-caste native of Cuzco, and was brought up with the Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega, author of the 'Royal Commentaries.' The two boys went to school together at Cuzco, to the house of the good old canon Juan de Cuellar, who taught about eighteen half-caste lads a little grammar, and to read Latin. When they grew up, Garcilasso went to Spain in 1550, while his schoolfellow became a Jesuit missionary in his native country. The two friends kept up a correspondence. In 1603 Alcobaca sent the Ynca Garcilasso a 'Confesionario,' which he had printed at Lima in 1585, in three languages—"Spanish, the general language of Cuzco, and the special one of the province

* Cieza de Leon, cap. 100.

† Arriaga, 'Extirpacion de la idolatria,' cap. 20, p. 123.

‡ Bertonio.

§ Blas Valera.

|| Hervás says that Father Blas Valera was "contemporaneo y compañero de Bertonio," i. p. 244.

¶ Titulo, xv. p. 84.

called Aymara.”* Alcobaça also sent his friend a description of the famous ruins at Tiahuanacu,† and supplied him with news respecting what had passed in Peru and Chili since his departure.‡ Thus Garcilasso gives us the following bit of news about the Jesuits;—“A Father of the Company of Jesuits composed a play, in honour of our Lady the Virgin Mary. It was written in the Aymara language, which was different from the general language of Peru. . . . The actors were Indian lads, and the ceremony took place in a village called Sulli.”§ It is odd that Garcilasso does not make a digression here to explain how it was that a language spoken at Sulli (Juli), on the shores of Lake Titicaca, had the same name as a tribe living hundreds of miles away, whose subjugation and subsequent exploits he himself records. It seems never to have occurred to him that the Jesuits had given this name to a language of the Collao, for he speaks of the name as applied to the language “of the province called Aymara,” the province which he had himself described as being to the westward of Cuzco, and not in the Collao. The mention of a village called *Sulli* might not identify the locality in his mind, for on the only occasion that he mentions Juli he spells it quite differently—*Chulli*.||

28. The way in which the name Aymara got misapplied by the Jesuits at Juli is, however, not far to seek. We are told by Father Alonzo Ramos, the historian of Copacabana, that when the Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui conceived a strong veneration for that sacred locality, he removed the whole of the Colla natives to the neighbouring village of Yunguyo, and supplied their places by *mitimaes*, or colonists, from the most distant provinces of the empire.¶ Ramos enumerates 43 tribes from which colonists were drawn, including Incas, Canas, Aymaras, Chumpivilcas, Yanahuaras, and Chancas. Among the most numerous, according to Blas Valera,** and Calancha,†† were the Aymaras. The descendants of these colonists spread themselves from the peninsula of Copacabana to the mainland, and settled in the village of Juli. Indeed, Blas Valera asserts that, in his time, all the inhabitants of Sulli (Juli) were Aymaras ‡‡ This is an exaggeration, for Bertonio mentions people belonging to the Chinchaysuyus, Canas, and three other tribes, who were then living at Juli.§§ We may, assume, however, that the descendants of Aymara colonists formed a large proportion of the population at Juli in those days.

29. During a residence of upwards of a century in the Collao, and especially during the generation after the Spanish conquest when intermarriages with native women would be frequent, the descendants of these Aymara colonists, while retaining the name of their ancestral *ayllu*, or tribe, gradually and insensibly adopted the language of the Collao people in whose midst they lived, though retaining many words of their mother tongue.¶¶ Now, it has been seen that Juli was the very place where the Jesuits, and among them Holguin

* G. de la Vega, Part II. lib. i. cap. 23. See also von Tschudi, ‘Kechua-Sprache,’ p. 26.

† G. de la Vega, Part I. lib. iii. cap. 1; Part II. lib. iv. cap. 10.

‡ G. de la Vega, Part I. lib. vii. cap. 25. § Part I. lib. ii. cap. 28.

|| Part I. lib. ii. cap. 20. In edition of 1609, as well as that of 1723. Cieza de Leon spells it *Xuli*, cap. 104.

¶ Ramos, cap. 7; Herrera, Dec. V. lib. iii. p. 74.

** Lib. ii. cap. 9. †† II. lib. i. p. 6.

‡‡ Blas Valera’s torn MSS.; passage copied by Garcilasso in his ‘Commentaries,’ Part I. lib. vii. cap. 4.

§§ Hananusuyus, Hurinsuyus, Chinchaysuys, Canasu, and Hoyancas.

¶¶ This was especially the case with the Chinchaysuyus. Bertonio, ‘Preface :—“Many use different words for the same thing, even in this town of Juli, where the Hanasuyus differ from the Hurinsuyus and Hayancas; and the Chinchaysuyus, born here, speak somewhat differently from the others.”’

and Alcobaca, were established. They learnt the Collao language, in a very corrupt form, from the descendants of colonists who had been brought from the distant Quichua province of Aymara;* and they very inappropriately, but not altogether unnaturally, gave it the name of the Aymara colonists, from whose descendants they had learnt it. This is, I think, the most probable explanation of the blunder. The name Aymara was adopted for the language by the Jesuits at Juli; it found its way into Garcilasso's work † in two quotations from Alcobaca's letters, and even twice occurs in the chronicle of Herrera.‡ The Jesuits, having given the language this name, were not long in applying it to the whole mass of Indians in the Collao who understood the language.

30. The next works, after the appearance of the 'Confesionario' by Alcobaca, in which the language of the Collao is called Aymara, were by Bertonio. The Jesuit Father Ludovico Bertonio, an Italian and native of the marches of Ancona, first came to Peru in 1593, and joined the college at Juli about twenty years after his brethren had adopted the name Aymara for the language of the Collao. Thus he never heard it called by any other name. He studied the corrupt form of it spoken at Juli for twenty years. In 1603, his 'Arte breve de la lengua Aymara' came out at Rome, and a second and much better edition was printed at Juli. His Aymara Vocabulary was finished on July 10th, 1611, and also printed in the Jesuits' house at Juli.§ It fully deserves the name of a dictionary, for it consists of 398 pages, and contains several thousand words; but it has a very large percentage of Quichua words current among the people at Juli, and bears internal evidence of having been compiled from the mouths of those Quichua tribes—among them the Aymaras—who as colonists were settled at Juli. Indeed, Bertonio tells us as much. He says that the different Indians gave him various words for the same thing, so that a word obtained from an Indian may not agree with that for the same thing in his dictionary; and he even thinks it necessary to declare that none of the words were invented out of his own head.|| There was evidently a sort of Babel at Juli.

31. Diego de Torres Rubio, another Jesuit, published his short grammar and vocabulary of the so-called Aymara language at Lima in 1616. The vocabulary is very meagre, consisting of about 1690 words, of which 20 per cent. are Quichua. This very large preponderance of alien words is, as has been shown, accounted for by the Jesuits having learnt the language from descendants of Aymara and other foreign colonists, instead of from the people of the Collao themselves.

32. Herrera in one instance, Garcilasso in a single quotation, the Viceroy Toledo, and Ramos and Calancha, adopted the Juli Jesuits' name for the language of the Collao; but they all invariably called the people who spoke it Collas, and never Aymaras. For they all knew perfectly well that the Aymaras were a tribe of the Cunti-suyu, speaking the general language,

* Bertonio.

† The word occurs eight times in Garcilasso. At I. lib. ii. cap. 28, mentioning the play acted at Sulli; at lib. iii. cap. 10, twice; cap. 11, and lib. v. cap. 17, relating the deeds of the real Aymaras; and at II. lib. i. cap. 23, twice, mentioning the 'Confesionario' of Alcobaca. The eighth time is in a quotation from Blas Valera, I. lib. vii. cap. 4, where he says the people at Juli were all Aymaras.

‡ "Hablan la lengua general, que se llaman Aymaràn, i tambien de los Ingas, i pocos hablan la particular."—Herrera, Dec. VIII. lib. v. cap. 3. But the royal chronicler, who had never been in the Indies, evidently had very vague ideas on the subject of these languages. The name occurs in one other place in Herrera in speaking of the real province, Dec. VI. lib. xiv. cap. 4.

§ Bertonio also translated into Aymara, for the use of the Indians, a life of Christ by the licentiate Alonso de Villegas (Juli, 1612, 4to.).

|| "Pero ningun vocablo he sacado de mi propria cabeza."—Bertonio.

with their homes far to the westward of Cuzco.* Ramos shows that he understood this clearly, for he says that the colonists alone, and among them the Aymaras, were allowed to enter the temple at Copacabana; while the Collas, or natives of the country, being immoral and lascivious, were excluded; and he likened this rule to the Jews excluding the tribes among whom they dwelt from the sanctuary.†

33. But when the name *Aymara* was once generally adopted as that of the language of the Collao by the Jesuits and dominant class, it was an easy transition for inaccurate writers to apply it to the inhabitants of the Collao, who speak that language. Bertonio speaks of the “nacion Aymara” as embracing all the numerous tribes who used the language which he had learnt among the colonists at Juli, in the country of the Lupacas. First, they erroneously called the language *Aymara*, and then they dubbed all the tribes who used it “la nacion Aymara.” But the first occasion, so far as my reading goes, on which the name of Aymara was ever applied to Indians in the Collao, by any one beyond the Jesuit brotherhood, was by the Viceroy, Prince of Esquilache, in a long minute drawn up for the information of his successor, and dated January, 1620.‡ Now the term is universal, and an Indian of the Collao would not understand if he was called anything but an Aymara.

34. In conclusion, I will sum up the evidence with respect to this name Aymara in a few words. I have first based my proof that it was not the name of the people of the Collao at or before the time of the Spanish conquest on the fact that not a single contemporaneous writer who describes the Collao and its people even so much as mentions the name. I have strengthened this proof by referring to the additional fact that neither does a single writer, in the generation after the conquest, although several mention the name Aymara, ever apply it to the people of the Collao, except the Jesuits at Juli. I have, then, shown, by a mass of evidence, that the name Aymara belonged to a small Quichua-speaking tribe, who were entirely unconnected with the people now misnamed Aymaras. Finally, I have suggested the probable origin of the blunder among the Fathers at Juli.

35. It must not be supposed that I have originated anything new in observing that the word Aymara was foreign to the people who now bear that name, although the point has not probably been so closely investigated before. It has always been well known to students of South American history and ethnology that both the words Quichua and Aymara were incorrectly adopted for their present use by the Spaniards.§ The Quichua language was always called the general language of Peru, the court language, or the language of the Incas, by old writers. Father San Tomas, the author of the first grammar, gave the rather inappropriate name of Quichua, probably because he learnt it amongst the Quichuas of Cunti-suyu, who spoke it. We have seen how the blunder of calling the language of the Collao by the name of Aymara originated.

36. D'Orbigny was aware, as regards the word Quichua, that it was only the name of a tribe, and that it was first applied to the language generally by the Spaniards.|| He also knew that the word Aymara was at first confined to a province; ¶ but his want of personal knowledge of the geography of Central

* Herrera, Dec. VI. lib. iv. cap. 4; G. de la Vega, Part I. lib. iii. cap. 10, Calancha, lib. iv. cap. 12, p. 855; Ramos, cap. 6.

† Ramos, cap. 13.

‡ The words are, “Orden que los Indias Aymaraez de Chuquito, de Mita, no paguen ni de ellos se cobran mas que lo que cobran de los que quedan en su provincia.”—*Memorias de los Virreyes*, i. p. 96.

§ “Se suele por los autores modernos llamar Quichua.”—*Hervas*, i. p. 231.

|| ‘L'Homme Américain,’ i. p. 255. ¶ ‘L'Homme Américain,’ i. p. 307.

Peru, and his inaccurate quotations from Garcilasso, led him into the erroneous belief that the people of this province spoke the same language and were of the same race as the people of the Collao. This confusion induced him to apply the name Aymara to the people as well as to the language of the Collao. Don Mariano Rivero was evidently aware that the term was merely one that had been adopted by Europeans for convenience; for he says that '*M. D'Orbigny gives them the name of the Aymaraes.*' Rivero has adopted D'Orbigny's nomenclature in his '*Antigüedades Peruanas.*'* But von Tschudi, in his '*Kechua-Sprache*,' invariably calls the people Collas;† and in one place he speaks of the *Colla-Sprache*,‡ though as a rule he adopts the name Aymara for the language, no doubt because it had been so long used in that sense. Lorente, also, the Peruvian historian, uses the conventional term Aymara for the language, but always speaks of the people as Collas.§

37. I will point out one instance, out of many, of the confusion that is caused by the misapplication of the word Aymara, from which students suffer who have not an intimate personal acquaintance with Peruvian topography. Don Lorenzo Hervas was a learned scholar, who, however, had not visited this part of South America. In reading Garcilasso's narrative of the conquests of the 5th Ynca in Cunti-suyu, he came to the account of the subjugation of the Aymara province. He had gathered from the misleading pages of Bertonio that the Aymara language was spoken round the shores of Lake Titicaca; so he naturally came to the conclusion that the Aymara province conquered by the 5th Ynca also bordered on the Titicaca Lake.|| D'Orbigny, from the same premises, and owing to the same want of knowledge of Peruvian topography, has fallen into the same mistake. Had these distinguished writers known the positions of the places mentioned in connection with the conquest of the Aymara province—namely, of Piti, Cotapampa, Cotanera, Mucansa, Huaquirca, Chiriqui, Totorá, and Chuquinca—they would have avoided the mistake which the blunder of the Jesuits has otherwise rendered almost inevitable.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE TRIBES OF THE EMPIRE OF THE YNCAS.

Ethnological Region.	Tribes.	<i>Ayllus</i> or Lineages.
I. THE YNCA REGION.	1. <i>Yncas.</i>	Hanan Cuzcos. Hurin Cuzcos. Yncas. Ayamarcas. Quespicanchis. Muynas. Quehuars. Huarucs. Urcos. Chinchapucyus. Rimactampus. Papris. Mascas. Chillquis. Poques. Mayus. Cancus.

* Page 28.

† I. pp. 15, 16.

‡ I. p. 17.

§ '*Hist. del Peru*,' pp. 74, 77, 138.

|| Hervas, '*Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas*,' i. p. 240.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE TRIBES OF THE INCAS—*continued.*

Ethnological Region.	Tribes.	Ayllus or Lineages.
THE YNCA REGION— <i>continued.</i>	2. <i>Canas.</i>	Ayaviris. Canas. Canches. Caviñas.
	3. <i>Quichuas.</i>	Yanahuaras. Chumpi-uilcas. Cotaneras. Cotapampas. Aymaras. Uma-sayus.
	4. <i>Chancas.</i>	Hancohuallus. Quiñuallas. Utusullas. Urumarcas. Vilcas. Tacmanas. Pocras. Yquichanos. Morochucos.
	5. <i>Huancas.</i>	Sausas. Huancavilcas. Llacsapalancas. Pumpus. Chucurpus. Ancaras. Huayllas. Yauyus.
	6. <i>Rucanas.</i>	Rucanas. Soras. Collahuas. Huamanpalpas.
II. THE COLLAO REGION.	1. <i>Collas.</i> 2. <i>Lupacas.</i> 3. <i>Pacasas.</i> 4. <i>Carangas.</i> 5. <i>Urus.</i> 6. <i>Collahuayas.</i> 7. <i>Quillacas.</i>	
III. THE CHINCHA-SUYU REGION.	1. <i>Huamucus.</i> 2. <i>Conchuruc.</i> 3. <i>Huamachucus.</i> 4. <i>Casamarcas.</i> 5. <i>Chachapuyas.</i> 6. <i>Huacrachucus.</i> 7. <i>Huancapampas.</i>	
	8. <i>Ayahuacas.</i>	Cassa. Callua. Ayahuaca.
IV. THE QUITU REGION.	1. <i>Quitus</i> or <i>Caras.</i> 2. <i>Llacta-cuncas.</i> 3. <i>Ancamarcas.</i> 4. <i>Hambatus.</i>	16 Ayllus. 3 Ayllus. 5 Ayllus.
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CLASSIFICATION OF THE TRIBES, &c.—*continued.*

Ethnological Region.	Tribes.	<i>Ayllus</i> or Lineages.
THE QUITU REGION— <i>continued.</i>	5. <i>Muchas.</i> 6. <i>Puruhas.</i> 7. <i>Tiquisambis.</i> 8. <i>Lausis.</i> 9. <i>Cañaris.</i> 10. <i>Paltas.</i> 11. <i>Zarzas.</i> 12. <i>Puritacus.</i> 13. <i>Cullahuasus.</i> 14. <i>Linguachis.</i> 15. <i>Cayambes.</i> 16. <i>Utaballus.</i> 17. <i>Chimbus.</i> 18. <i>Carangues.</i> 19. <i>Huancavileas.</i> 20. <i>Mantas.</i> 21. <i>Caras.</i> 22. <i>Tacamis.</i>	6 <i>Ayllus.</i> 31 <i>Ayllus.</i> 4 <i>Ayllus.</i> 9 <i>Ayllus.</i> 24 <i>Ayllus.</i> 4 <i>Ayllus.</i> 13 <i>Ayllus.</i> Many <i>Ayllus.</i> 7 <i>Ayllus.</i> 6 <i>Ayllus.</i> 18 <i>Ayllus.</i> 8 <i>Ayllus.</i>
V. THE YUNCA REGION.	1 <i>Colanes.</i> 2. <i>Etenes.</i> 3. <i>Catacáos.</i> 4. <i>Sechuras.</i> 5. <i>Morrópes.</i> 6. <i>Chimus.</i> 7. <i>Mochicas.</i> 8. <i>Changos.</i>	

XII.—*The Principality of Karategin.* By Major-General ABRAMOF, Chief of the Zarafshan District.* Translated from the Russian and communicated by R. MICHELL, F.R.G.S.

THE territories of Karategin,† the valley of the Surkhaù River,‡ and its tributaries, are held to be perfectly independent. They

* We are indebted to Major-General Abramof, the Chief of the Zarafshan district, for these first particulars of a Central Asian State, known to us only by name. On the last maps of Central Asia (such as Kiepert's map of 'Suran oder Turkistan,' 1864) there is a void in that part where Karategin is situated, and only in Sheet 1 of Colonel Walker's map of 1867 do we find the tracing of a road passing through Dervaz (Darbaz) and the eastern portion of Karategin into Kokan. This, in all probability, is the route of Mullah Abdul Medjid, whose journey from Peshawer to Kokan is known to us only through a brief notice in Petermann's 'Mittheilungen' of 1864, p. 158. The original account of the journey is in the 'Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Foreign Department,' No. xxxix. (Papers relating to a Journey to Kokan: Calcutta, 1863). Of all the names of places on the route given in Walker's map, that of Lungur Eshun is the only one that corresponds with any of the names mentioned by General Abramof—we mean Langar-Sha, in Abramof's list.

† According to recent accounts, Karategin has become an apple of discord between several Central Asian rulers.—May, 1870.

‡ Doubtless the Surkhab (*ab* being water) traced in Macartney's map. See Col. Yule's 'Cathay and the Way Thither,' and Preliminary Notice, p. ccxxvi, vol. i.