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# THE GUARANI INVASION OF THE INCA EMPIRE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: AN HISTORICAL INDIAN MIGRATION

By BARON ERLAND NORDENSKIÖLD

There are, as is well known, two important Guarani tribes in Bolivia, the Chiriguanos and the Guarayús. The latter live between the Rio Itonama and the Rio Blanco, in that part of eastern Bolivia which is called after them Guarayos and which lies between the districts Mojos and Chiquitos. The Chiriguanos live in southern Bolivia from the Rio Itiyuro to somewhat north of the Rio Grande, in the outermost valleys of the Andes towards the Gran Chaco and in the Chaco itself.<sup>1</sup>

The Chiriguano Indians are mentioned in accounts of the history of the Inca Empire. They occupied much official attention in the first colonial days, and much has been written about them subsequently. Even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries their origin and history proved a source of great interest to writers, e. g. Guzman,<sup>2</sup> Techo,<sup>3</sup> Fernandez,<sup>4</sup> Guevara,<sup>5</sup> Lozano,<sup>6</sup> and Charlevoix.<sup>7</sup>

Guzman<sup>8</sup> relates that in 1526, following an order by Martim Affonso de Souza, four Portuguese, together with some friendly Indians from the coast, left San Vicente (now Santos) to explore the interior of the land. One of the Portuguese, called Alejo Garcia, was famous for his knowledge of the Guarani language. Traveling overland they first reached the Rio Paraná and, going through Guarani villages, came to the Rio Paraguay. They were well received by the inhabitants, whom they persuaded to accompany them westward on the voyage of discovery, from which they hoped to bring

<sup>1</sup> The Franciscan missionary, P. Fr. Bernardino de Nina, in his "Etnografía Chiriguana" (La Paz, 1912), describes (p. 5) the reduced territory now occupied by the Chiriguanos as extending "to the north scarcely as far as Abapó, to the south up to Itiyuro de Yacuibo, to the west as far as Monteagudo (Sauces) and to the east as far as Carandaiti: some hundred leagues from north to south and forty from west to east."

<sup>2</sup> Rui Díaz de Guzman: *Historia Argentina del descubrimiento, población y conquista de las provincias del Rio de la Plata* (1612), in "Colección de obras y documentos relativos á la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias del Rio de la Plata, ilustrados con notas y disertaciones, por Pedro de Angelis," Vol. 1, Buenos Aires, 1836.

<sup>3</sup> N. del Techo: *Historia Provincie Paraguarie Societatis Jesu, etc.*, Liège, 1673; translation in Vol. 4 of Churchill's "A Collection of Voyages and Travels," 6 vols., London, 1732.

<sup>4</sup> Juan Patricio Fernandez: *Relación Histórica de las Misiones de los Indios, que llaman Chiquitos, que están á cargo de los Padres de la Compañía de Jesus de la Provincia del Paraguay*, Madrid, 1726, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Guevara: *Historia del Paraguay, Rio de la Plata y Tucuman*, in "Colección Angelis," Vol. 2, p. 83.

<sup>6</sup> Pedro Lozano: *Descripción chorographica del terreno, rios, arboles y animales de las dilatadísimas provincias del gran Chaco Gualamba: y de los ritos y costumbres de las innumerables Naciones barbaras e infieles que le habitan*. Córdoba, 1733.

<sup>7</sup> François-Xavier Charlevoix: *Histoire du Paraguay*, Paris, 1757, Vol. 1, pp. 36, 258.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

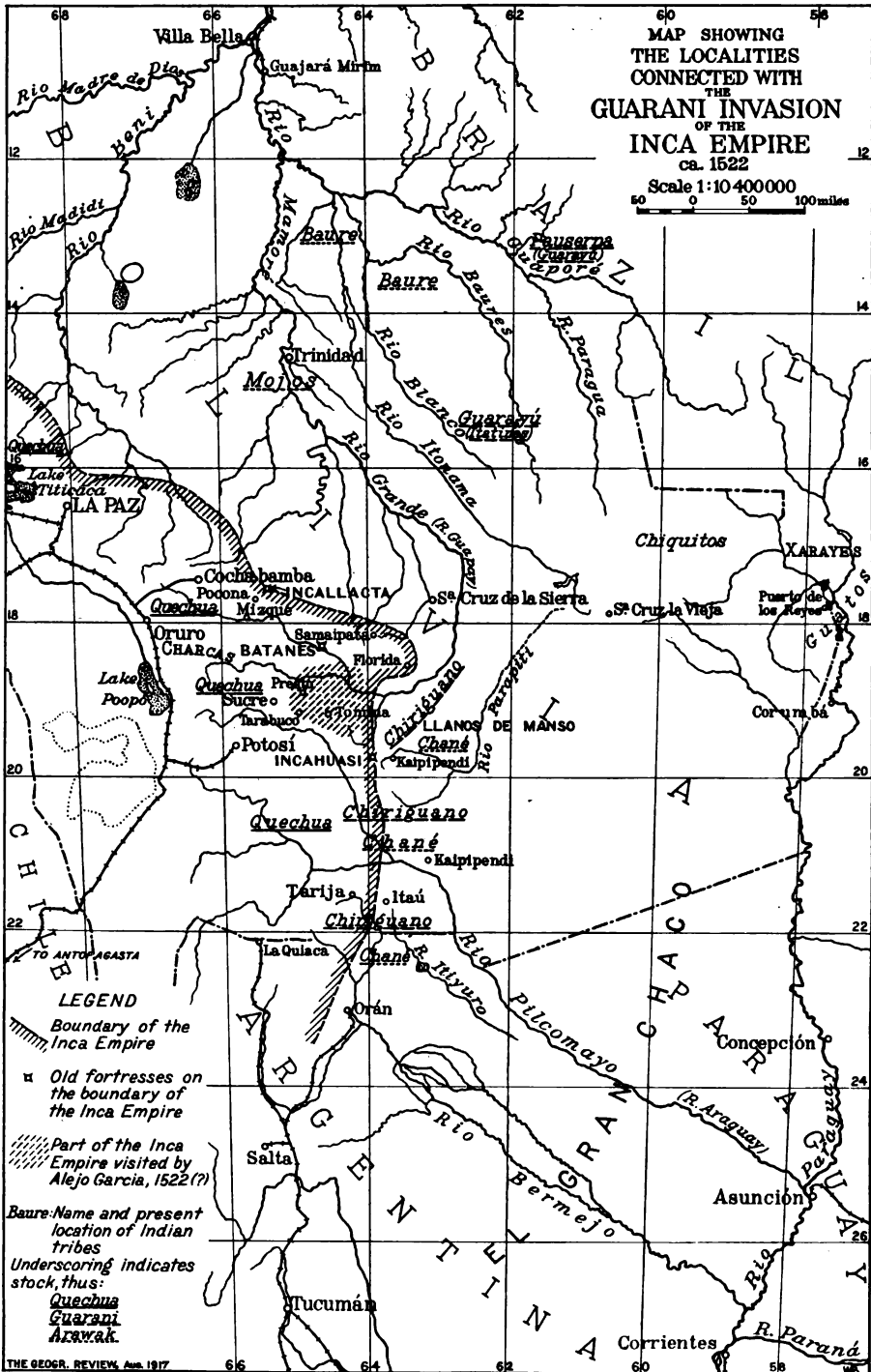


FIG. 1.—Map showing the localities connected with the Guarani invasion of the Inca Empire, ca. 1522. Scale, 1:10,400,000.

back fine clothes and objects of metal, both for warlike and for peaceful uses.

Accompanied by two thousand Indians they came to a harbor on the Rio Paraguay called San Fernando. Others say that they left the Paraguay River a little north of Asunción (Asunción) and, following a stream called Paray, crossed the plains, continuously fighting their way against the inhabitants. After many days' weary march they reached the mountains and invaded Peru in the territory between Mizque and Tomina. There, in some Indian villages ruled by the mighty Inca, they plundered and killed all whom they found. Then they continued for more than forty leagues as far as the outskirts of the villages of Presto<sup>9</sup> and Tarabuco. Numerous Charcas Indians advanced to meet them here, so they turned, retiring in such good order that they suffered no losses.

In consequence of this attack on their country the Incas had the whole boundary very carefully fortified with strong fortresses, in which they placed large garrisons. The fortresses still exist in these mountains, the Sierras de Cuzco-toro.<sup>10</sup>

When the Portuguese with their followers had reached the plain laden with their booty of cloth, clothing, metal utensils, and jewelry of silver, copper, and other metals, they returned to Paraguay by another and better route than that by which they had come, though even this was difficult enough by reason of hunger and war. From Paraguay Garcia sent two of his followers to Brazil to tell Martim Affonso de Souza about their discoveries. They took with them objects of gold and silver brought from the districts they had visited. Garcia, together with his followers, remained with the Indians in Paraguay. There he and his followers were murdered by the Indians, who only spared a boy, the son of Garcia. His name also was Alejo Garcia, and Guzman asserts that he knew him.<sup>11</sup> When the two messengers reached Brazil, they told of the riches they had seen in the territory of Charcas, as yet undiscovered by the Spaniards. In consequence of these accounts sixty soldiers under the leadership of Jorge Sedeño left San Vicente. These, too, were murdered by the Indians at the Rio Paraguay and the Rio Paraná. After this a great number of Indians left these parts and betook themselves to the territories where Alejo Garcia had been. Those who were from the Rio Paraná followed the Rio Araguay, better known by its Quechua name of Pilcomayo. It is these Indians who now live on the frontier of Tarija. Those who lived where Asunción now lies "*entraron por aquel rio sobre el rio del Paraguay, y Caaguazú,*" and the Indians higher up the river from Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera entered at San Fer-

<sup>9</sup> Presto is now a little place situated 75 miles northeast of Sucre, Tarabuco a larger one southeast of Sucre.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Erland Nordenskiöld: *Forsknningar och äfventyr i Sydamerika*, Stockholm, 1915, in which work several sketches of the ruins of these fortresses are published.

<sup>11</sup> In order rightly to estimate the value of Guzman's statements, it should be remembered that Guzman's father came to America with Cabeza de Vaca and that his mother was the daughter of Domingo de Yrala.

nando. It is these Indians who now live by the Rio Guapay (Grande) twenty leagues from San Lorenzo in the province of Santa Cruz. There all these Guarani Indians carried on a bloody war with the original settlers and made numerous slaves.

This is a summary of Guzman's highly interesting account of Alejo Garcia's invasion of the Inca Empire and the migration of the Guarani Indians from Paraguay westward.

Lozano<sup>12</sup> quotes Guzman from Techo and Fernandez, who also reproduce his account. He remarks that the similarity in language between Chiriguano and the language of the Indians in Paraguay speaks in favor of this migration theory, but that it is contradicted by Garcilaso de la Vega, the great authority on ancient Peruvian history. Garcilaso relates that Inca Yupanqui undertook a military expedition against the Chiriguanos. This is said to have been nearly one hundred years before Alejo Garcia's expedition, for Inca Yupanqui lived for many years after his war against the Chiriguanos. His successor was Tupac Inca Yupanqui, who ruled for many years. After him ruled Huayna-Capac, in whose reign "Alexo Garzia" penetrated into Peru.

Of the same opinion as Lozano was Charlevoix,<sup>13</sup> who also cites Guzman.

Following Garcilaso de la Vega, d'Orbigny<sup>14</sup> assigns Inca Yupanqui's struggle against the Chiriguanos to about 1430 and assumes that the Guarani, who, according to him, emigrated from Paraguay about 1541, mixed most with the Guarani Indians, who lived there first. D'Orbigny is ignorant of the fact that the Chiriguano territory is partly inhabited by another tribe, the Chané.

Of modern authors who have written about the Chiriguanos, Kersten<sup>15</sup> cites Guzman and Garcilaso de la Vega and, like Lozano and Charlevoix, puts more faith in the latter. Serrano y Sanz<sup>16</sup> takes the same point of view. Domenico del Campana<sup>17</sup> cites d'Orbigny. Church either does not know Guzman or ignores him.<sup>18</sup>

We see, therefore, that Garcilaso de la Vega is the sole authority for the belief of Lozano, Charlevoix, d'Orbigny, and others that the Chiriguanos inhabited the frontier of the Inca Empire in the Chaco long before Alejo Garcia's expedition. Garcilaso's account of the Inca Empire is, however, not always trustworthy. His description of the Chiriguano Indians is

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>14</sup> Alcide d'Orbigny: *L'Homme Américain*, Paris, 1839, Vol. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Ludwig Kersten: *Die Indianerstämme des Gran Chaco bis zum Ausgange des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Internat. Archiv. für Ethnogr., Leyden, 1904.

<sup>16</sup> Manuel Serrano y Sanz: *Los indios Chiriguanaes*, *Rev. de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 1898, July, Madrid. The abundant bibliographical references and quotations from sources make this a particularly valuable work. In sequence (numbers for August to December) are described the Chiriguano attacks on the early Spanish settlers, the viceroy Francisco de Toledo's unsuccessful campaign against this indomitable tribe and other incidents of their participation in colonial history.

<sup>17</sup> Domenico del Campana: *Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani*, Florence, 1902. Contains a short bibliography.

<sup>18</sup> George Church: *Aborigines of South America*, London, 1912, edited by Clements R. Markham from the unfinished MS. left by author at his death.



**FIG. 2—A Chané Indian, Rio Parapiti, Bolivia. (Figs. 2-8 are from photos by the author.)**

fantastic and full of inaccuracies,<sup>19</sup> and he is clearly contradicted by other authors who were more reliable and less prejudiced than he in their accounts of the Inca Empire.

Thus Cobo,<sup>20</sup> whose work on the Inca Empire is regarded as reliable, says, like Guzman, that the Chiriguanos emigrated from Paraguay at the beginning of the sixteenth century. He states that the Chiriguanos penetrated into the kingdom of Peru almost at the same time as, or shortly before, the Spaniards. They left their country in groups and, ravaging as they went, wandered over four hundred leagues through the intervening provinces till they reached the districts bordering on the territory of Charcas. These districts they wrested from the original settlers and peopled in great numbers. Cobo farther on<sup>21</sup> relates that Huayna-Capac sent his leaders against the Chiriguanos and that the servants of the Incas fared badly.

Sarmiento de Gamboa,<sup>22</sup> who is also regarded as unusually reliable, gives a detailed account of the struggles of the Incas against the Chiriguanos. Like Cobo, he first mentions the Chiriguanos under the rule of Huayna-Capac. He tells us how that Inca visited Charcas, thence going to Pocona to give orders respecting the defence against the Chiriguanos and to repair a fortress that his father had built.

Furthermore<sup>23</sup> he relates that while Huayna-Capac was busy with the war in the north against the Cayambis, the Chiriguanos attacked Charcas and took the fortress of Cuzcotuyo, where the Inca had a large border guard against these Indians. They killed the whole garrison and plundered the country. Huayna-Capac received news of this in Quito and sent a chieftain called Yasca to Cuzco to summon the people and march against

<sup>19</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega: *Primera parte de los Comentarios reales*, Madrid, 1723. English translation in *Hakluyt Soc. Publs.*, 1st Series, Vols. 41 and 45, 1869 and 1871.

On p. 244 Garcilaso gives the following incorrect and fantastic description of the Chiriguano Indians:

"Las espías fueron, como se les mando, y bolvieron, diciendo que la tierra era mallisima de montañas bravas, cienegas, lagos y pantanos, y mui poca de ella de provecho, para sembrar y cultivar, y que los naturales eran brutisimos, peores que bestias fieras, que no tenían religion, ni adoravan cosa alguna: que vivian sin lei, ni buena costumbre, sino como animales por las montañas, sin pueblo, ni casas, y que comian carne humana, y para la aver, salian a saltar las Provincias comarcanas, y comian todos los que prendian, sin respetar sexo, ni edad, y bebian la sangre quando los degollavan; porque no se les perdisese nada de la presa. Y que no solamente comian la carne de los comarcanos que prendian, sino tambien la de los suyos propios, quando se morian; y que despues de averse los comido, les bolvian a juntar los huesos por sus coyunturas, y los lloraban, y los enterravan en resquicios de peñas, o huecos de arboles, y que andavan en cueros, y que para juntarse en el coito, no se tenia cuenta con las hermanas, hijas, y madres. Y que esta era la comun manera de vivir de la nacion Chirihuana."

<sup>20</sup> Bernabé Cobo: *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (con notas . . . de D. Márcos Jiménez de la Espada), Seville, 1892, Vol. 3, p. 61. The passage reads: "Los Indios Chiriguanos, que siendo, como son, valientes y guerreros, casi al mismo tiempo, o pocos años antes que los españoles entrasen en este reino del Perú, salieron ellos, en cuadrillas de su patria, el Paraguay, y corriendo más de cuatrocientas leguas por las provincias que hay en medio, haciendo gran destrozo en los naturales déllas, llegaron á las tierras que al presente poseen confinantes con la provincia de los Charcas, las quales quitaron á sus moradores, y usurpándolas para sí, las tienen agora bien pobladas de los de su nación."

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181.

<sup>22</sup> Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa: *Geschichte des Inkareiches*, edit. by Richard Pietschmann, *Abhandl. der K. Gesell. der Wiss. zu Göttingen, Philol. Hist. Klasse*, N. S., Vol. 6, 1906, p. 106. English version in *Hakluyt Soc. Publs.*, 2nd Series, Vol. 22, 1907.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

the Chiriguanos. In the Collao (the Titicaca Basin region), too, Yasca collected people, whereupon he set off against the Chiriguanos, with whom he waged a fierce war. Yasca took some of these Indians prisoners and sent them to Huayna-Capac in Quito to let him see how curious they looked.

Further confirmation comes from Balboa,<sup>24</sup> who says that the Incas and Chiriguanos fought several combats without victory on either side. Like Sarmiento, Balboa says that Yasca sent a number of prisoners to Huayna-Capac. He left new garrisons in the border fortresses. Balboa also relates that when Huayna-Capac was in the Collao, he intended to invade the territory of the Mojos and the Chiriguanos but desisted when he learned of their poverty and savagery.

Cieza de Leon<sup>25</sup> speaks of Huayna-Capac's war against the Chiriguanos, saying that the people of the Incas fared badly and returned in flight.

Joan de Santaacruz Pachacuti-yamqui Salcamayhua, too,<sup>26</sup> describes the attack of the Chiriguanos on the Inca Empire under Huayna-Capac. He says the Inca sent against them his most skilful chieftains with 20,000 Chinchaysuyo Indians. In passing he mentions the Chiriguanos under "Topayngayupanqui."

Of the authors here referred to who have written on the history of the Inca Empire, it will be seen that Cobo, Sarmiento, Balboa, Cieza de Leon, and Salcamayhua mention the attack of the Chiriguanos on the Inca Empire under Huayna-Capac, while none of them speak of these Indians in connection with any war under any previous Inca. Cobo plainly states that, shortly before or at the time of the discovery of the country by the Spaniards, the Chiriguanos migrated from Paraguay, and thus he confirms Guzman's statements. On the other hand Garcilaso de la Vega says nothing about the invasion of the Inca Empire under Huayna-Capac by the Chiriguanos, and I am inclined to think that by a mistake he assigned an event that happened under that Inca to the reign of his grandfather.

Guzman and his echoes mention a certain Alejo Garcia in connection with the migrations of the Guarani Indians westward. Who really was Alejo Garcia? When did he make his expedition? Were he and his followers the first Europeans to enter the Inca Empire?

To find an answer to these questions I have gone through all the literature at my disposal in which I could hope to find some information about this mystical conquistador and the westward migrations of the Guarani Indians at the beginning of the sixteenth century: in particular I have

<sup>24</sup> Miguel Cavello Balboa: *Histoire du Pérou*, in Ternaux-Compans, "Voyages, etc." 2d series, Vol. 4, Paris, 1840, p. 181.

<sup>25</sup> Pedro de Cieza de Leon: *Segunda parte de la Crónica del Perú*, in "Biblioteca Hispano-Ultramarina," published by Márcos Jiménez de la Espada, Madrid, 1880, p. 238. English translation in *Hakluyt Soc. Publ.*, 1st Series, Vol. 68, 1883.

<sup>26</sup> Joan de Santaacruz Pachacuti-yamqui Salcamayhua: *Relacion de antigüedades deste Reyno del Pirú*. Contained in "Tres relaciones de antigüedades peruanas," Madrid, 1879, pp. 290-291 and 304. English translation in *Hakluyt Soc. Publ.*, 1st Series, Vol. 48, pp. 67-120, 1872. Markham dates the work about 1620.

looked for references antedating Guzman's work. Domingo de Yrala<sup>27</sup> states that when Juan de Ayolas began his march in 1537 through the Chaco, setting out from "El Puerto de la Candelaria" on the Rio Paraguay, he found among the Payagoa Indians a slave who had been with a certain Garcia, a Christian who conveyed to the island of Santa Catalyna a quantity of metal. The slave offered to lead him to the place from which Garcia had got this metal. Juan de Ayolas accepted the offer and succeeded in traversing the Chaco, but on the way back he was murdered by the Payagoa Indians. This was told Domingo de Yrala by a Chané boy from the interior of the country. On the Rio Paraguay in latitude 16° 30' Yrala himself met many Indians, ex-slaves of Garcia's, who had fled to this place when the Guarani Indians murdered him. With these Yrala made a three-days' journey inland to speak with some Guarani Indians. They told him that it was a 15 days' march to the inhabited districts, and confirmed the fact that it was Garcia who had been murdering and plundering in the region.<sup>28</sup> It is clear from Yrala's statement that Garcia went overland from the south coast of Brazil to the Rio Paraguay.<sup>29</sup>

When in 1543 Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca made his journey to the upper Rio Paraguay, he, too, came across numerous traces of Garcia and of the westward migrations of the Guarani Indians. Cabeza de Vaca's journey has been described partly by himself and partly by his secretary Pero Hernández, and their accounts strike one as reliable.<sup>30</sup> Hernández relates, *inter alia*, that Cabeza de Vaca came to a tributary of the Rio Paraguay called Yapaneme. This was half as wide as the main river and ran into it in latitude 19°. According to the old residents, this was the way that Garcia, the Portuguese, came. With not more than five Christians he had warred in these parts at the head of a large number of Indians; he had fought many fights and had destroyed a number of villages. A mulatto, Pacheco, who had taken part in this expedition, returned to the land of the Guaçani,<sup>31</sup> by whom he was murdered. Garcia returned to Brazil. The Guarani who had accompanied him had suffered great losses in the interior, and, said Hernández' informants, there were many individuals of this tribe who could give much information on the expedition and its consequences.<sup>32</sup> Hernández relates furthermore<sup>33</sup> that Cabeza de Vaca met Chané Indians whom Garcia had brought with him from the interior. These Indians, he

<sup>27</sup> Carta de Domingo de Yrala á S. M. dando extensa cuenta del estado de las provincias del Rio de La Plata, prision de Cabeza de Vaca, etc., 1545. Contained in: *Relación de los naufragios y comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca*, "Colección de libros y documentos referentes á la historia de America," Vol. 6, Madrid, 1906, p. 381.

<sup>28</sup> Domingo de Yrala, *op. cit.*, p. 392.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 387.

<sup>30</sup> *Relación de los naufragios y comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca*, in "Colección de libros y documentos referentes á la historia de America," Vols. 5 and 6, Madrid, 1906. The *Comentarios* written by Pero Hernández are translated in *Hakluyt Soc. Publ.*, 1st Series, Vol. 81, pp. 94-262, 1891.

<sup>31</sup> Guarani?

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 276-277.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291. "Algunos destes indios trayan quantas margaritas y otras cosas que dixeron auerles dado Garcia quando con el vinieron."

says, had taken wives in their new country, on the Rio Paraguay. A large number of Chané Indians came to meet the governor (i. e. Cabeza de Vaca), saying that they were well disposed to the Christians because Garcia had treated them well when he took them from their country. Some of them had necklaces and other objects given them by Garcia.

Cabeza de Vaca questioned the Chané Indians on the interior of the country<sup>34</sup> and its inhabitants. The chieftain of the Chané Indians, a man of about fifty, answered that when Garcia brought them there they passed through the territory of Maya. They then came to the Guaranis, who killed nearly all Garcia's Indians. However, the chieftain and others of his tribe had succeeded in escaping up the Rio Paraguay to the villages of the Sacoci Indians, where they had been well received. They had not dared to return by the road of the outward journey, lest the Guarani Indians should attack and kill them.

In the Xarayes district, on the upper Paraguay, the emissaries of Cabeza de Vaca met a Guarani Indian from Ytati.<sup>35</sup> Among other things, he related that, when he was very young, his tribe had united with all the inhabitants in the district to betake themselves to the interior of the country. He had accompanied his father and his relatives to fight the natives, from whom they took articles and adornments of gold and silver. After suffering a defeat in which a great number of Guarani Indians had been killed, the rest fled, remaining for the most part in the woods, through which they reached the interior. They did not dare to go back for fear of being killed by the Guaxarapo, Guato, and other Indians whose territories they would have to pass. He said that from the plundered villages they had taken many articles of gold and silver, *tembetas*, ear-drops, bracelets, fillets, axes, and little vessels, but that most of these had been recovered by the natives in their successful attack.

Hernández goes on to relate<sup>36</sup> that in El Puerto de los Reyes on the upper Rio Paraguay there were some Tarapecoci Indians. Like the Chané, they had come with the interpreter Garcia on his journey of discovery among the villages of the interior and had returned after being defeated by the Guarani Indians on the Rio Paraguay. These Indians said that they were not hostile to the white men, nay, that they liked them after Garcia had been in the country and had traded with them. But they were hostile to the Guarani Indians. Francisco de Ribera, who had visited their fellow-tribesmen in their native country, showed them some arrows from there, which they recognized and were glad to see. These Tarapecocis had gold and silver which they had bartered from the Paycunos, who in their turn had got these metals from the Chanés, Chiménos, Carcaras, Candires, and others.

From the accounts given by Yrala, Cabeza de Vaca, and Hernández we learn a good deal about the migrations of the Indians of this region in the

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 292.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 304-307.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 329-330.



FIG. 3—One of the Chiriguano villages that line the eastern foothills of the Andes from a little south of Santa Cruz to the Argentine frontier. The Chiriguano village is seldom large, being composed as a rule of eight or ten straw-thatched huts.

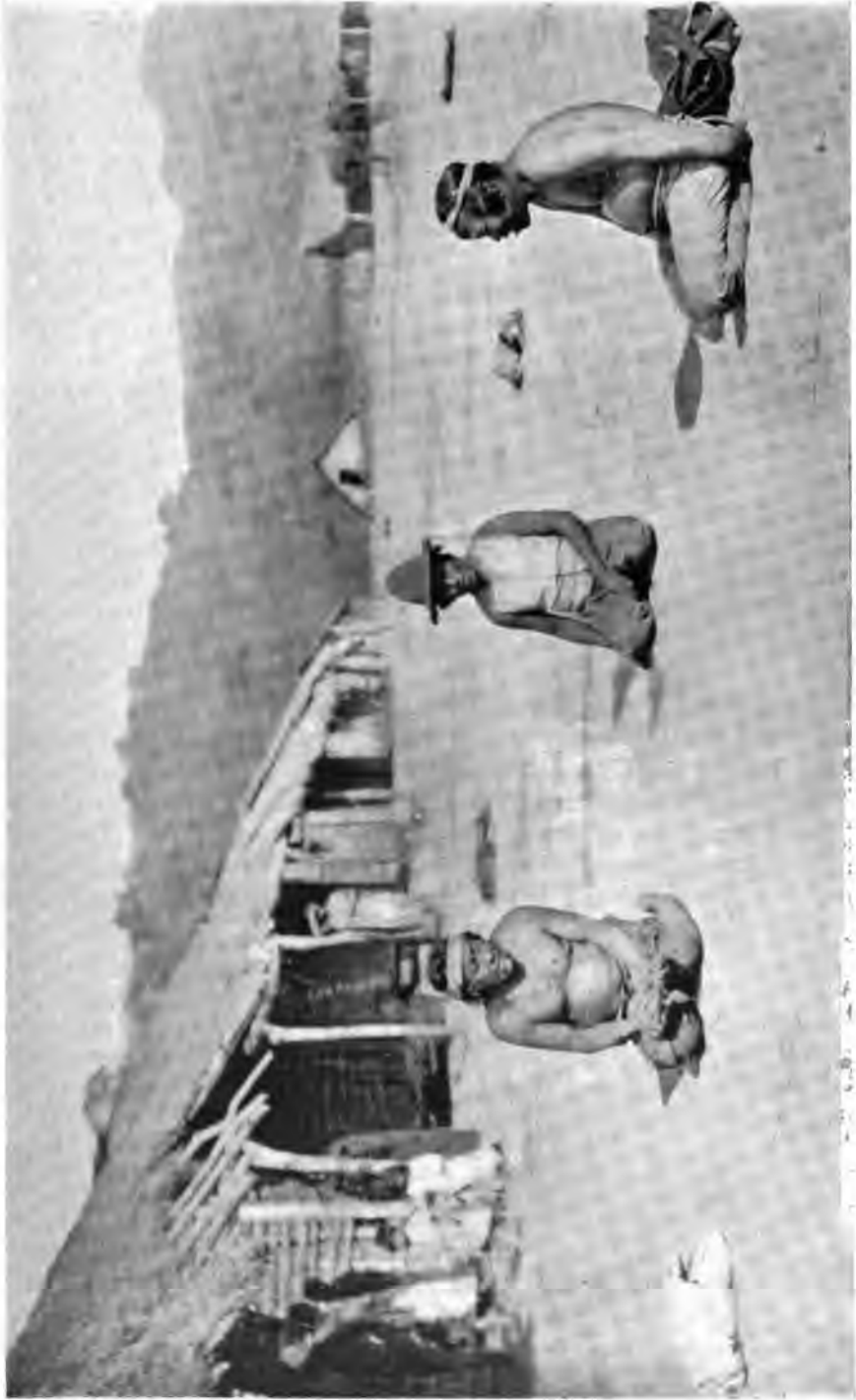


Fig. 4—Chiriguano Indians playing a stick game in Tihulpa, Bolivia, one of the villages at the eastern foot of the Andes.

beginning of the sixteenth century. We find corroboration of the occurrence of large migrations of Indians from east to west, and of the important part Garcia played in them. Numerous Guarani Indians from Paraguay wandered westward, and a number of them stopped in this region. Garcia took back to the Rio Paraguay Chané and Tarapecoei Indians, with whom he seems to have been very friendly.

Of great interest is the narrative of the Guarani Indian from Ytati on the migrations of his fellow-tribesmen from the Rio Paraguay, and their forced sojourn in the forests. These Indians from Ytati are evidently identical with the group of Guarani Indians who according to Guzman came from Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera on the upper Rio Paraguay and took up their residence on the Rio Guapay, twenty leagues from San Lorenzo in the province of Santa Cruz. In these parts there still lives a considerable tribe of Guaranis, viz. the Guarayú, whom I mentioned at the beginning of this article.

Just as Cabeza de Vaca had done, Nuflo de Chavez<sup>37</sup> and Francisco Ortiz de Vergara<sup>38</sup> found numerous traces of the westward invasion of these Guarani Indians.

Nuflo de Chavez got a very interesting and partly veracious description of the Inca Empire when he reached the province of Xarayes on the upper Rio Paraguay. He there met "Chirikuanos"—as he calls the Guarani inhabitants—who had taken part in the expedition westward: among them was a chieftain Bambaguazú. He described to Nuflo de Chavez the struggles between the "Chiriguanos" and the Candires, by which latter he meant the Indians of the hills. On the Chiriguanos' side were the chieftain Peritaguari and Moqueringuazú with all his men. There is also mention of "los Taguarinbucus" and of Itapuan's (Ítapuay's?) and Guayubai's men. The whole movement was organized by Itapuary. When the "Chiriguanos" had passed the Rio Guapay, they saw the border village of the Candire country.<sup>39</sup> They had not succeeded in getting into this village, but had only stolen metal spades and tools from outhouses in the cultivated fields.

It is evident that Chavez got all this information from the "Chiriguanos" who live in Guarayos, i. e. from the Guarayú. It evidently relates to an expedition identical with that described to Cabeza de Vaca by the Indian from Ytati.

<sup>37</sup> *Annua de la Compañia de Jesús—Tucuman y Perú—1596. Mision ó Residencia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra, "Relaciones Geográficas,"* Vol. 2, p. lxxvi. Madrid, 1886. This includes (p. lxxxiii): *Relación general que se tomó en pública forma y se envió autorizada al virrey en la provincia de los Xarayes que es en 17 grados sobre el Rio Paraguay, 250 [leguas?] de la Asumpcion donde habia llegado el general Nuflo de Chaves con 150 hombres, con orden é intento de poblar en ella, y despues, por la relación que tomó, pasó adelante.*

<sup>38</sup> Al Ilmo. y Rmo. Sr. D. Juan Ovando, presidente del Consejo Real de Indias: *Relación verdadera del viaje y salida, que hizo del Rio de la Plata al Peru, Francisco Ortiz de Vergara, su cierto servidor, in "Colección de Documentos inéditos del Archivo de Indias,"* Vol. 4, Madrid, 1865.

<sup>39</sup> These ruins should be looked for between Florida and Samalpata not far from Santa Cruz de la Sierra. I have met persons who stated that there were considerable ruins which they supposed to be of Jesuit, but which are presumably of Candire origin.

Ortiz de Vergara,<sup>40</sup> who in 1565 went from the Rio Paraguay to Santa Cruz in Chiquitos (i. e. Santa Cruz La Vieja) and from there to the Rio Parapiti, relates how the Guarani Indians had ravaged the country. He passed through large uninhabited tracts which the original settlers had abandoned through fear of the Guaranis.

The author of the "Relación Verdadera del Asiento de Santa Cruz [La Vieja]"<sup>41</sup> speaks of the Guarani Indians who lived thirty leagues from that place. He says that there are about 4,000 of them and that they came from the other bank of the Rio de la Plata after having eaten up or otherwise destroyed numerous tribes on the way. He also says that this country is fertile and abounds in fish, game, and wild fruits.

Juan Perez de Zurita<sup>42</sup> relates (about 1586) that these Itatines (Indians from Ytati) lived 35 leagues from Santa Cruz, in a fertile land of much food and water and great woods.

It is clear from what the Indians told Cabeza de Vaca and Nuño de Chavez that the group of Guarani Indians who came from the upper Rio Paraguay did not succeed in making any conquests in the Inca Empire but only reached the boundary of that dominion. After their defeat they withdrew to the woods where, as has been stated, their descendants still live.

Unfortunately we cannot follow the migrations of the Chiriguano in the same way as we have followed those of the Guarayús or Itatines. This is largely owing to the fact that they passed through the trackless wilds of the Chaco, through a region that baffled even the conquistadors of the sixteenth century. The author of the "Relación Verdadera"<sup>43</sup> alludes to the numerous attempts to make a road through the Chaco, all of which failed for lack of water or because of inundations.

He also relates that many Chiriguano, when they passed to settle in the hills, died of thirst and snake-bites.

Blas Garay<sup>44</sup> has published an anonymous document from the Archivo de Indias which also confirms the statement that the Guarani Indians emigrated from Paraguay to Peru in the reign of Huayna-Capac. The author of this document says that some of the Guarani Indians returned to their country again, and that a thousand settled in the hills. It would be remarkable if the Guarani Indians who settled in the hills and caused the Incas so

<sup>40</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>41</sup> *Relación Verdadera del asiento de Santa Cruz de la Sierra, límites y comarcas della, Rio de la Plata y el de Y-Guapay é sierras del Piru en las provincias de los Charcas, para el exómo Señor Don Francisco de Toledo, Visorey del Pirú, in "Relaciones geográficas," Madrid, 1885, Vol. 2, p. 154.*

<sup>42</sup> *Relación de la ciudad de Santa Cruz de la Sierra y su gobernación, calidad de tierra y otras cosas y la cual dió Juan Perez de Zurita, Gobernador que ha sido della, in "Relaciones geográficas," Madrid, 1885, Vol. 2, p. 171.*

<sup>43</sup> *Loc. cit., p. 156.*

<sup>44</sup> *Blas Garay: Colección de documentos relativos á la historia de America, y particularmente á la historia del Paraguay, Asunción, 1889. (After Samuel A. Lafone Quevedo: Juan Díaz de Solís, Historia, Buenos Aires, 1903, Vol. 1, p. 180.) Lafone Quevedo assumes that this document was written about 1575 by Montalvo.*

much trouble, numbered no more than one thousand.<sup>45</sup> Cazorla<sup>46</sup> estimates them, towards the end of the sixteenth century, at less than 600 and, with slaves, at 2,500. That they were comparatively few is confirmed by Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa,<sup>47</sup> who distinguishes clearly between the Guarani Indians who lived in the province of "Ytatin" 30 leagues east of Santa Cruz (La Vieja), and those who lived 50 to 60 leagues west of that place. He estimates the latter at 4,000 warriors, not half of whom were true Chiriguanos, but mestizos, i. e. sons of these and of women of other tribes. Figueroa adds that they had four to five thousand Indians from "Los llanos del Capitan Andrés Manso," who were their subordinates. We see how, in Figueroa's time, the Chiriguanos were generally known as a conquering tribe which, shortly before, had taken possession of the country, a warrior race that had taken wives in a foreign land. However, their expansion seems to have been about the same then as now. In "Relación Verdadera"<sup>48</sup> we read that they had villages on the Rio Grande, Rio Condurillo (=Rio Parapiti), and Rio Pilcomayo. Their southern boundary was the 22nd degree of latitude.

According to Guzman, the migrations of the Guarani Indians westward began, as we have said, with the expedition of Alejo Garcia, which he asserts took place in 1526. He also says that Garcia was sent out by Martim Affonso de Souza. This last statement must be due to an error, for in the detailed diary in which Pero Lopez de Souza describes this expedition<sup>49</sup> there is no mention of Alejo Garcia. On the other hand, there is the statement that Martim Affonso de Souza met a certain Francisco de Chaves and five or six Indians on the south coast of Brazil. Chaves told him of great riches in the interior of the country, which induced Martim de Souza to send out an expedition under the leadership of Pero Lobo. The last-named was killed by the Indians. This is confirmed by Hernández.<sup>50</sup> Pero Lobo's unlucky expedition left the Brazilian coast for the interior in September, 1531.

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<sup>45</sup> The writer of "Carta del Licenciado Matienzo a S. M. sobre los Chiriguanaes, visitas y otros asuntos" (1561) says the Chiriguanos numbered 800 to 1,000: they were very dexterous in war, "que cincuenta acometerán á mill y aun á tres mill de los desta tierra." This letter from the Archivo de Indias is one of several documents containing references to the Chiriguanos reproduced in the "Juicio de Límites entre el Perú y Bolivia: Prueba Peruana presentada al gobierno de la República Argentina por Victor M. Maurtua," Barcelona, 1906. Vol. 2.

<sup>46</sup> Carta de Fernando Cazorla, etc., MS. Bib. Nacl. (Madrid) J 53, fol. 317, 318. Cf. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *loc. cit.*, p. 572.

<sup>47</sup> Relación de la ciudad de Santa Cruz de la Sierra por su Gobernador Don Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa, in "Relaciones geográficas," Vol. 2, pp. 165 and 167. Dated 2/6, 1586. Written?

<sup>48</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 155.

<sup>49</sup> Pero Lopez de Souza: *Diário da Navegação 1530-1532*, publicado por Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, Lisbon, 1839, p. 29: "Quinta-feira desasete dias do mes d'agosto veo Pedro Annes Pilloto no bargantim, e com elle veo Francisco de Chaves e o bacharel, e cinco ou seis castelhanos. Este bacharel havia trinta annos que estava degradado nesta terra, e o Francisco de Chaves era mui grande lingua desta terra. Pela informaçã que della deu ao Capitã Y., mandou a Pero Lobo com oitenta homẽs, que fossem descobrir pela terra dentro: porque o dito Francisco de Chaves se obrigava que em des meses tornada ao dito porto, com quatrocentos escravos carregados de prata e ouro. Partiram desta ilha, ou primeiro dia de setembro de mil e quinhentos e trinta e hum, os quarenta bestelros e os quarenta espingardeiros."

<sup>50</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 185.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.



FIG. 7.



FIG. 8.

FIG. 5—A Chané Indian, Rio Parapiti, Bolivia.

FIG. 6—A Chiriguano Indian, Tihuipa, Bolivia. Note the *tembeta*, or button-like ornament on the chin.

FIG. 7—A Chiriguano woman, Yacuiba, Bolivia.

FIG. 8—A modern Chiriguano burial urn, Kaipipendi, Bolivia.

Garcia seems to have made his expedition to the boundaries of the Inca Empire long before Pero Lobo started his expedition, and before 1526. This appears almost certain from the remarkable letter of the 10th of July, 1528, written by Cabot's fellow-traveler Luis Ramirez from the Rio Solis (Rio de la Plata),<sup>51</sup> in which he relates, *inter alia*, that Cabot met two of Solis' comrades on the south coast of Brazil in 1526, Enrique Montes and Melchor Ramirez, the latter of whom said that he had been on the Rio de Solis as interpreter to a fleet from Portugal. Many of the people in it had remained in the country, and five of them had gone to the hills, where there were said to be great riches and a white king who had proper clothes like theirs. From there they had sent a letter to say that they had not yet reached the mines, but that they had treated with some Indians who were neighbors to the hills and who wore on their heads a kind of silver crown and a kind of gold plate hanging round their necks and in their ears. They had sent twelve slaves and samples of metal and related that they had collected much metal. They invited the others to come to them, but they did not dare to because of the dangers and the many tribes through whose territories they would have to pass. Later had come the news that the Guarani Indians had killed them to take from them their slaves, loaded with metal.<sup>52</sup>

So far as I can see, there is no reason to doubt that Luis Ramirez' statement is, in the main, correct. It is to be assumed that he exaggerates somewhat when he speaks of the riches discovered. What he writes about the excursions of the Portuguese to the frontiers of the Inca Empire strikes me as absolutely truthful.

*To judge by the evidence, he speaks of the same expedition as Guzman, Yrala, and Hernández, i. e. Alejo Garcia's.* It appears from Ramirez' account that it must have been some years before Cabot's journey to Rio de la Plata (i. e. before 1526) that the Portuguese made their raiding expedition to the boundaries of the Inca Empire. Huayna-Capac died in 1526.<sup>53</sup> It is thus clear that the Portuguese and the Indians from Paraguay raided the boundaries of the Inca Empire in the later years of Huayna-Capac's

<sup>51</sup> Carta de Luis Ramirez: A document copied by F. A. Varnhagen in the library of the Escurial, *Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. do Brasil*, Vol. 15, 1888, Rio de Janeiro.

<sup>52</sup> Ramirez, *loc. cit.*, p. 20: "Este tambien dijó mucho bien de la riqueza de la tierra, el qual dijó haver estado en el Rio de Solis por lengua de una armada de Portugal; y el Sr Capitan General por mas se certificar de la verdad desto le pregunto si tenian alguna muestra de aquel oro y plata que decian n'otro metal que decian, los cuales dijeron que aquellos quedaron alli siete hombres de su armada sin otros que por otra parte se havian apartado, y que destes ellos dos solos havian quedado alli estantes en la tierra, y los demas vista la gran riqueza de la tierra, é como junto á la dicha sierra avia un rey blanco que traia buenos vestidos como nosotros, se determinaron de ir allá, por ver lo que era, los quales fueron y le embiaron cartas; y que aun no habian llegado á las minas, mas que habian tenido platca con unos indios comarcanos á la sierra é que traian en las cabezas unas coronas de plata, é unas planchas de oro colgadas de los pescuezos é orejas, y ceñidas por cintos, y le enviaron doze esclavos y las muestras del metal que tengo dicho, y que le hacian saber como en aquella tierra havia mucha riqueza, y que tenian mucho metal recojido para que fuesen allá con ellos los quales nose quisieron ir á causa que los otros havian pasado por mucho peligro, á causa de las muchas generaciones que por los caminos que havian de pasar havia, é que despues havian havido nuevas que estos sus compañeros bolviendose á do ellos estaban, una generacion de indios que se dicen los Guarenis los havian muerto por tomarles los esclavos que traian cargados de metal, . . . . ."

<sup>53</sup> Cleza de Leon, *op. cit.*, p. 259; Cobo, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 189.

reign. That the Guarani Indians at this period attacked the Inca Empire, we know, as has been mentioned, also through Cobo, Sarmiento, Balboa, and Cieza de Leon.

Thus we see how very strikingly the statements from the authors who have written the history of the Inca Empire accord with those taken from the oldest descriptions of voyages of discovery in the basin of the Rio de la Plata.

As Pizarro and his companions did not reach the most northerly boundaries of the Inca Empire before 1526, it is clear that he and his companions were not the first Europeans to cross the border of that mighty kingdom. *Pizarro had a predecessor in Alejo Garcia.*

The "armada" on which the Portuguese came and plundered the borders of the Inca Empire was, according to Luis Ramirez,<sup>54</sup> that of Cristobal Jaques. This is a man about whose voyages we unfortunately seem to know very little.

Harrisse points out that in the *islarío* of Santa Cruz mention is made of some islands in the estuary of the La Plata River which are named after Christoval Jaques, who, he says, was a Portuguese who came to this river from the coast of Brazil on account of the report that gold was to be found there. Harrisse says that it is not known how far up the La Plata Jaques went.<sup>55</sup> In this connection he lays stress on the fact that from the many Portuguese and Spanish ships that visited Brazil and the surrounding territories, seamen must have remained in the country after deserting, being shipwrecked, or abandoned on shore, and then joined some Indian tribe. They then went from tribe to tribe, wandering west and south. Harrisse continues: "In this way we can explain the unvarying tradition of Europeans having descended the great rivers of that part of the country in early times." In a note Harrisse mentions Alejo Garcia.

The most detailed account of Jaques that I have come across occurs in a book published by Lycêo Litterario Portuguez in Rio de Janeiro (1900), called "Historia Topographica e Bellica da Nova Colonia do Sacramento do Rio da Prata." The author of the introduction to this, J. Capistrano de Abreu, assumes, apparently on good grounds, that Jaques undertook two voyages to these parts. On the second voyage he did not reach the Brazilian coast before 1526 or 1527. The first voyage is supposed to have taken place between 1516 and 1521. Of the second voyage we know a good deal: of the first, which is of interest to us, we know very little, unless a document found in the archives of Simanca by J. T. Medina refers to this voyage. This is a letter from the Spanish minister in Portugal, Juan de Cuniga, to King Charles V. In it, Cuniga relates that in 1521 King Manuel of Portugal had sent to the Brazilian coast an expedition which had there met nine of

<sup>54</sup> Ramirez, *loc. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>55</sup> Henry Harrisse: John Cabot, the Discoverer of North America, and Sebastian, His Son, London, 1896, p. 261. See also Franz R. von Wieser: Die Karten von Amerika in dem *Islario General* des Alonso de Santa Cruz, Innsbruck, 1908, p. 56.

Solis' companions. They had then continued up to a river which was fourteen leagues wide<sup>56</sup> and had gone thirty-five leagues up the river. There they heard a great deal of the riches in the interior of the country and got from the Indians silver, copper, and gold specimens.<sup>57</sup> If this was the expedition with which Alejo Garcia went to South America, he must have reached the Inca Empire about in 1522.

Guzman says nothing about *what* Indians the Guaranis met with in the districts where they settled. He only relates that they waged a very bloody war against the settlers and made numerous slaves. Cobo merely says that they conquered from their original inhabitants the tracts where they now live. Nor does Hernández say *what* Indians they were; but he tells us that Garcia had with him Chané and Tarapecoi Indians when he returned to the Paraguay River from his raid through the Gran Chaco. The Chanés are a very well known tribe in the Chaco. *They are Arawaks.* They still live in many parts within the territory of the Chiriguano Indians, as on the Rio Itiyuro in northern Argentina, near the mission of Itau south of the Rio Pilcomayo, not far from that river at Kaipipendi,<sup>58</sup> and above all on the lower Rio Parapiti. Everywhere they give the impression of being a tribe that has been pushed aside. They speak Guarani,<sup>59</sup> i. e. they are Guarani-ized, and have a civilization much resembling that of the Chiriguanos. It is therefore presumable that Chané Indians constituted at least a part of the original population in the present Chiriguano territory.

The Chiriguanos speak very contemptuously of the Chanés, whom they call *tapuy* or *tapii*, which, according to Corrado,<sup>60</sup> means that they are derived from something that has been bought. According to the same author they also call them *chirámui chiyari* (= my slave, my female slave), while a Chané addresses a Chiriguano as *cheya* (= my master). I have myself heard Chiriguanos contemptuously call the Chané Indians *cuñareta* (= women).

According to Matienço<sup>61</sup> a number of the Indians who were driven away from the districts conquered by the Chiriguanos settled in the Tarija valley. It is not known what Indians these were.

The Guarayú Indians, or Itatines, presumably conquered, from the Chané and other Arawak tribes, those districts, too, where they now live. In the "Relación Verdadera"<sup>62</sup> we read that the peaceful Indians who lived

<sup>56</sup> The Rio de la Plata.

<sup>57</sup> José Toribio Medina: Juan Diaz de Solis, Santiago, 1897, pp. cccxiii-cccxvi.

<sup>58</sup> Not to be confused with the Kaipipendi situated near the Rio Parapiti.

<sup>59</sup> On the Rio Parapiti they still know a little of their old Arawak tongue. Cf. Erland Nordenskiöld: *Indianlif*, Stockholm, 1910.

<sup>60</sup> Alexandro M. Corrado: *El Colegio Franciscano de Tarija y sus misiones*, Quaracchi, 1884, p. 54.

<sup>61</sup> Memoria del Licenciado Matienço al excelentísimo señor don Francisco de Toledo visorrey del Peru cerca del Asiento de la provincia de los Charcas, sobre el labrar de las minas, in "Coleccion de documentos inéditos," etc., Vol. 24, Madrid, 1875.

<sup>62</sup> *Relación Verdadera*, *loc. cit.*, p. 157: Of the Indians "en frente y al leste de Condurillo [Rio Parapiti]" is said "Estos indios eran naturales de los valles que están á los principios de la Cordillera que poseen los Chiriguanas, no de los que hay serca de los Charcas, como algunos han pensado, los cuales, echados de los Chiriguanas, se pasaron en aquella asperesa de tierras por escapar de sus crueldades, y defendiéndose bien y multiplicando en gran muchedumbre."

near the lower Rio Parapiti, presumably Chané, had been forced out there by Itatines. In their conquests these Indians certainly met not only Arawaks but also Chiquitanos. It would not surprise me if it was these latter warlike Indians who used the poisoned arrows that drove the Itatines into the woods which their ancestors inhabited and still inhabit.

We thus see that in large tracts of Bolivia now inhabited by Guarani Indians, the Arawaks presumably constituted the original population. In several earlier papers<sup>63</sup> I have had occasion to deal with this interesting tribal group, and I am convinced that future investigations will show that they had a still greater extent and importance than we are now aware of.

From the references in the sixteenth-century literature herein quoted, it seems clear to me that Guzman's account of Alejo Garcia and the expeditions of the Chiriguano Indians, described at the beginning of this paper, is in the main correct. Its only inaccuracy lies in associating Garcia with Martim Affonso de Souza and dating his expedition as 1526: it must have been some years earlier.

We therefore see:

(1) That at the beginning of the sixteenth century numerous Guarani Indians emigrated from the Rio Paraná and the Rio Paraguay to Guarayos and to the outermost valleys of the Andes towards the Gran Chaco.

(2) That the districts in which these Indians settled were not previously inhabited by Guarani Indians, but chiefly by Arawaks.

(3) That Alejo Garcia, the Portuguese, was in the Inca Empire before Pizarro.

#### POSTSCRIPT

When I wrote the above paper I did not have access to Dr. Manuel Dominguez' excellent article on the Chaco. In this he clearly proves that Alejo Garcia was the first European to be in the Inca kingdom, thus arriving at the same conclusion as I had. As Dominguez does not give an account of the migrations of the Indians in connection with Garcia's plundering expedition, which migrations were of primary interest to me, I am still of the opinion that the publication of my paper is fully justified. Dominguez' article was published in the *Revista del Instituto Paraguayo*, Asunción, 1904, a periodical which is of course rare in European libraries. This also accounts for the fact that Dominguez' work is not quoted by several authors whose interest it would have been to know it.

<sup>63</sup> E. g. cf. Erland Nordenakiöld: *Urnengräber und Mounds im bolivianischen Flachlande*, *Baessler-Archiv*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1913.