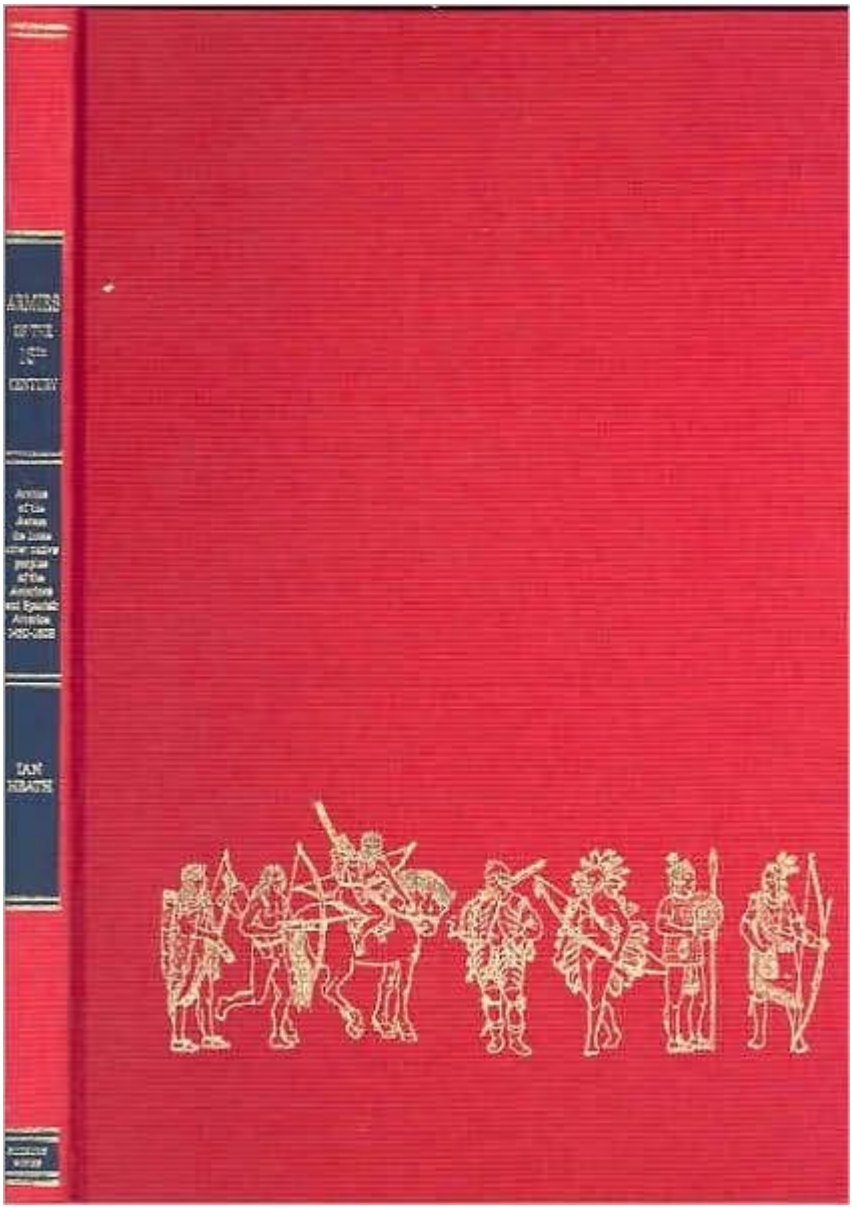
Ian Heath



The armies of the Aztec and Inca Empires, Other Native Peoples of the Americas, and the Conquistadores 1450-1608

Armies of the Sixteenth Century Vol. 2

Armies of the Sixteenth Century

2: The armies of the Aztec and Inca Empires,
other native peoples of the Americas,
and the Conquistadores
1450–1608

Organisation, warfare, dress and weapons
247 illustrations

by Ian Heath

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INTRODUCTION

One of the principal problems encountered in writing this book has been the difficulty of stopping it from becoming either an anthropological survey, or a history of 16th century exploration. Preventing it from doing either has not been altogether possible, nor, perhaps, entirely desirable, since in contrast to the relative uniformity of much of Western Europe by this time, it was their cultural diversity which enabled the American peoples to be told apart, both among themselves and by the early European explorers whose writings are our main source of information. Nevertheless, I have tried to concentrate principally on those aspects of their dress and customs which are most relevant to their military rather than their social organisation — though the two were often inseparable — and to their style of fighting, both against each other and, with varying degrees of success, against the European invaders.

It is not an altogether pretty story. All the early European voyages of exploration were distinguished by the pride, ignorance, greed, and casual brutality of the majority of their participants. None of the early colonial powers — Spain, Portugal, France, and England — were entirely innocent in this context, but of them all it was the Spanish *conquistadores* who proved to be the bravest, the most determined, and yet at the same time the very worst ambassadors that an alien civilisation could ever hope to foist upon an unsuspecting New World. They had their critics even within Spain, notably in the person of Bartolomé de Las Casas, who wrote that Spaniards operating in the Americas 'acted like ravening beasts, killing, terrorising, afflicting, torturing, and destroying the native peoples, with the strangest and most varied new methods of cruelty.' It was this sort of opprobrium that led to the so-called 'Black Legend' of Spanish malevolence, which England in particular exploited to considerable political advantage at the time, and which to a greater or lesser degree has coloured foreign attitudes towards Spain and Spanish-speaking countries ever since.

Although the vaunted might of the fabulous Aztec and Inca 'empires' collapsed like a proverbial house of cards in the face of European military expertise, success proved progressively less easy to come by for the conquerors as the century ran its course. Despite being decimated by the new diseases which accompanied each European expedition, numerous unsophisticated American peoples proved resilient enough to withstand and sometimes even to turn back the invaders. Some were not conquered for centuries, while others chose to be decimated to the point of extinction rather than submit. As Joseph de Acosta observed in the 1580s: 'Let no man think that the Indians are of no consequence; and if they do think so, then let them go and put it to the test.'

Wherever possible the line drawings which illustrate this volume are taken directly from, or at the very least based on, pictures by 16th century artists or published in 16th century books. Any reconstructions that have been necessitated by the absence of surviving contemporary illustrations are based instead on archaeological finds, 15th or 17th century representations, and the detailed descriptions of eye-witnesses. Needless to say, I have not attempted to deal with every Amerindian people, just those with whom the *conquistadores* and other European adventurers came into more than fleeting contact during the course of the period under review. Nor are individual European conquests or Indian rebellions covered in any detail, that not being the specific purpose of this series. I have concentrated instead on the organisation, fighting style, and appearance of the opposing forces, and am hopeful that the end product will surprise a great many readers who had previously thought that the conquest of the Aztec and Inca 'empires' constituted the sum total of Spanish military activity in the New World in Renaissance times.

Ian Heath
December 1998

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THE WEST INDIES

The islands that go to make up the West Indies consist of the Lesser Antilles, the Greater Antilles, and the Bahamas. It is generally agreed that when the Spaniards arrived the four main islands of the Greater Antilles — Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico — were known respectively to their native populations as Cuba, Ayti (whence modern Haiti), Yamaye or Xaymaca (spelt 'Jamaigua' by 1502), and Boriquén or Borichiù. However, Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (more usually referred to in English books as Peter Martyr) wrote that the native name for Hispaniola was actually Quizquella, and it seems that Ayti (which meant 'rough highlands') actually referred only to a mountainous region in the east of the island. The Greater and Lesser Antilles were peopled principally by Arawaks[1] and Caribs respectively, while an earlier Arawak people, the Lucayos, inhabited the Bahamas (the Spaniards consequently referring to these islands as the Islas Lucayas).

THE ARAWAKS

Migrating northwards from the coasts of Venezuela and Guiana either side of the Orinoco delta, the Arawaks had occupied the entire West Indian archipelago during the course of the first millennium AD. When the Spaniards arrived in 1492, however, they were themselves in the throes of being pushed steadily north by the Caribs. They lived in large agricultural communities consisting of loose, unfortified clusters of houses, each village generally having a population of 1–2,000. They were governed by hereditary chieftains called *caciques*, a term which the Spaniards subsequently utilised indiscriminately to refer to the native rulers found in every corner of the Americas. Among the Arawaks the office of cacique seems to have generally descended from father to eldest son, but if a cacique left no sons of his own then his sister's son inherited instead. If a cacique inherited in this way — i.e. via his mother — then at his death it was her nearest relative who succeeded, not his. In Puerto Rico and Hispaniola at least this method of succession occasionally resulted in the existence of female caciques, notable amongst whom were Higuanama, cacique of Higüey, and Anacaona, who succeeded to the chieftainship of Xaragua at the death of her brother Behéchio.

In the four main islands of the Greater Antilles some caciques wielded considerable power over a domain which might encompass many villages extending over a considerable tract of territory. Except in Puerto Rico, where a single cacique (Agueybaná) seems to have held sway, each island appears to have consisted of several principal and numerous smaller chiefdoms, or *cacicazgos*, as the Spaniards called them. Those of the principal caciques were subdivided into between ten and two dozen smaller districts under lesser caciques. Jamaica, for instance, had between eight and ten main *cacicazgos*, while Cuba had perhaps six. Hispaniola had five, comprising those of the chieftains Guacanagari of Marien, Columbus' loyal ally; Guarionex of Magua; Caonabó of Maguana; Mayobanex and Cotubanama of Higüey; and Behéchio of Xaragua. Though leagues were occasionally formed, individual caciques acted largely independently of one another (on one occasion, during the Puerto Rican rebellion against the Spaniards in 1511, an alliance was even formed with the chiefs of the neighbouring island of St. Croix).[2] Below the caciques came their blood-kin, adopted or otherwise, called *nitaínos*. The Spaniards considered these to be nobles, and recorded that in wartime they provided the caciques with their bodyguards, while in peacetime they assisted in the government of individual villages.

Despite the estimates of early Spanish explorers that there were a million or more Arawaks in Hispaniola alone (a census of 1495/6 gives 1.13 million, at a time when numbers in Spanish-controlled areas of the island had already declined by perhaps two-thirds), and that there were a further 600,000 on Puerto Rico and Jamaica, it seems likely that their true numbers were probably smaller. Modern estimates of the population at first contact vary dramatically, from 200,000 upwards, but it is certainly possible that there were as many as a million in all. However, in a pattern that was to recur repeatedly throughout the New World thereafter, these numbers dropped dramatically following the arrival of the *conquistadores*, as war, disease, starvation, and enslavement took their toll. The Arawak population of Hispaniola, which may have stood at 250–300,000 in 1492, had dropped to 60,000 by as early as 1508, and to 11,000 by 1518. By the 1530s there were said to be less than 500. The story was the same elsewhere. By 1550 just 1,000 free Arawaks were left of Cuba's estimated pre-Conquest population of 100,000, and only 60 could be found on Puerto Rico in 1542, while the Bahamas had been entirely depopulated by Spanish slave-raids as early as 1513.[3] Though a few isolated pockets may have survived long enough to merge

with the incoming Spanish population, the Arawaks of Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico were all effectively extinct by the middle of the century.

In addition to the Arawaks proper, there was a sub-group called the Ciguayo living in the mountains and along the north-east coast of Hispaniola, who spoke a different language. Columbus describes those of Cayabo, who he calls the Macorix, as being 'of strange speech', and observes that they and the 'long-haired' Ciguayo of Huhabo province were more warlike than the Arawaks. Since, unlike most Arawaks, they are recorded to have used bows, it is conceivable that they were of mixed Arawak–Carib descent, ethnologists having noticed other distinctive Carib traits in 'the meagre evidence available'. They are said to have been able to raise 15,000 warriors.

Vestiges of the Greater Antilles' aboriginal population also survived alongside the Arawaks in some areas. Bartolomé de Las Casas says these were called Guanahacabibes, but today they are generally referred to as Ciboneys (as a result of an early misreading of Las Casas). Another source says they were referred to as Cenavas, meaning 'fleet as deer'. A considerably more primitive people than the Arawaks, they followed a nomadic existence, feeding themselves by hunting and fishing rather than agriculture, and living in temporary camps which were often in caves. By the time the Spaniards arrived the Ciboney were confined to western and isolated parts of central Cuba, and the south-west corner of Hispaniola. They still constituted perhaps as much as 10% of Cuba's population, and though experts differ regarding exactly how much territory they held, it is significant that, despite having Arawak names, the five western-most Cuban 'provinces' mentioned by early Spanish writers — Guanahacabibes, Guaniguanico, Marien, Habana, and Hanábana — all contain widespread evidence of Ciboney occupation but little of Arawak.

With the exception of the Lucayos, Arawak Indians were generally shorter than the Spaniards. They had a copper-coloured complexion described by contemporaries as 'reddish', 'clear brown', or 'a chestnut colour', and deformed their skulls from birth so that they had broad, flat foreheads. This may have been a factor in the claim made by some Spaniards that 'their skulls were so thick that the Spaniards often broke their swords in hitting them.' The Ciboney, however, didn't indulge in cranial deformation. The Arawaks appear to have worn their black hair in a variety of styles, Las Casas describing it as long and tied in a knot either on the forehead or at the back of the skull. Columbus' companion Diego Chanca says that the Arawaks of Hispaniola had their heads 'shaved in places and in places have tufts of tangled hair of such shapes that it cannot be described', while Columbus himself wrote in 1492 that the Lucayos wore theirs short 'down to the eyebrows, except a few locks behind, which they wear long and never cut.' The Ciguayo wore theirs waist-length, 'drawn back and fastened behind, and put into a small net of parrots' feathers', which Columbus describes as 'plumes of feathers of parrots and other birds' worn behind the head.

All the sources agree that they went largely naked, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1525) being alone in mentioning the wearing of 'a certain leaf as broad as a man's hand' (presumably a penis sheath) to conceal their private parts. It was only after the Conquest that genital coverings were widely adopted. The Jamaican Arawaks, however, are described by Andrés Bernáldez in 1494 as having 'the breast and stomach covered with palm leaves', probably indicating some sort of short plaited palm garment.

Most men decorated themselves extensively with black, white, red (especially for war), and yellow paint, at least some such decoration taking the form of tattoos. Bernáldez described the Jamaican Arawaks as 'painted a thousand colours, but the majority black', while Columbus described the Lucayos as painting themselves black, white, red, or 'any colour that they find. Some of them paint their faces, others the whole body, some only round the eyes, others only the nose.' Oviedo tells us that the Arawaks of Hispaniola and Cuba tattooed their bodies with 'the images of their demons … in black colour'. The Ciboney are specifically described as using red and yellow paint, while the Ciguayo are said to have stained themselves completely black with charcoal, some encountered in battle by the Spaniards in 1498 being described as 'all painted and spotted, black and red'.

Body ornaments comprised pendants, ear-plugs, and nose-plugs of gold or coloured stone, and necklaces of seeds, seashells, or beads of a variety of materials, including marble, clay, bone, and white, green, and red stones. One bead necklace presented to Columbus comprised 800 stone beads, but most comprised probably no more than a few score. Green and white stones might also be inserted in the cheeks and forehead. Caciques and *nitaínos* were distinguished by their ornaments, Las Casas describing such men as wearing in addition bracelets, anklets, earrings as large as bracelets, and, as a symbol of a cacique's rank, a pectoral variously described as moon, disc, or fleur-de-lis shaped and 'as large as a plate'. All these

decorations were of gold or a gold-copper alloy called *guarin* or *tumbaga*. Radial coronets of coloured feathers were also worn, Bernáldez mentioning seeing such coronets of both white and green feathers set 'very close together' amongst the noble retinue of a Jamaican cacique, others of whom wore what he describes as 'a large plume in the shape of a *zelada* [salade helmet]'. He also mentions that the principal cacique he saw in 1494 wore 'a large open crown of small stones, green and red, arranged in order, and intermingled with some larger white stones … And he also wore a large ornament hung over his forehead, and from his ears two large disks of gold were suspended by some little strings of very small green stones. Although he was naked, he wore a girdle, of the same workmanship as the crown, and all the rest of his body was exposed.' The forehead ornament was probably one of the small stone figures of men, representing their gods, which Arawak warriors wore on their foreheads in battle. These little figurines were depicted with their knees drawn up and a prominent penis.

Numerous early explorers remarked on the peaceful disposition of the Arawaks, and especially those of Jamaica and Cuba; Columbus, for instance, repeatedly describes them as 'unwarlike'. They are said to have warred among themselves only rarely, though they often had to defend their villages against Carib raids launched from the Lesser Antilles. The Arawaks of Puerto Rico were the most warlike, doubtless as a result of suffering the greatest number of Carib attacks.

Characteristic Arawak weapons were spears, thrown stones, darts (hurled by means of spear-throwers), and two-handed palmwood 'swords' called *macanas*. The macana was actually a variety of club, described as being long and heavy, two fingers thick narrowing to the edges, and capable of cleaving through even a helmeted Spanish head at a single blow. The spear-throwers — which for want of a better word the Spaniards initially called *tiraderos* ('slings') — were less sophisticated than those later found in Mesoamerica (for which see the text accompanying Figure 35), and comprised no more than a grooved wooden stick with a fishbone peg at one end and a pair of braided-cotton loops for the first two fingers at the other. Diego Chanca recorded in 1493 that using these, the Hispaniolan Arawaks could shoot their fire-hardened darts 'to a considerable distance with much accuracy'. Oviedo mentions that the points of such darts — which were tipped with a sharpened piece of wood, a fish's tooth, or sundry other natural materials — were designed to break off in the wound. A more unusual Arawak weapon was a variety of stinkpot, in which noxious gas was generated by adding pepper to burning coals contained in a clay pot.

Though bows were also used in some quarters their distribution was erratic, and they seem to have been found predominantly in those areas most influenced or threatened by the Caribs. The bow was not found at all in Cuba at first contact,[4] for instance, but was widely used in Puerto Rico and among the Ciguayo of Hispaniola and their Arawak neighbours in the *cacicazgo* of Higüey, where it was more often found in the hands of nobles than commoners. Columbus describes Ciguayo bows being 'as large as those of France and England', and their unfletched arrows as a *vara* and a half or 2 *varas* long (the *vara* being the length of a man's arm, or 33 ins/84 cm), tipped with the same materials as the darts described above; after the arrival of the Spaniards iron nails were also utilised. Ciguayo and Higüey arrows were customarily poisoned using a local herb, but those of the Puerto Rico Arawaks were not. Columbus states that the Ciguayo didn't shoot 'as in other parts, but in a certain way which cannot do much harm.'

Little is recorded of Arawak tactics. Though, like other Indians, they appear to have favoured the use of ambushes and surprise attacks, they are also recorded to have fielded large phalanxes of men in the open field when fighting the Spaniards, which were led by musicians with conch-shell trumpets (Andrés Bernáldez mentions the Jamaican Arawaks using black wooden trumpets 'with elaborate carvings of birds and other conceits'). They may also have had flags of some sort, the Jamaican cacique described by Bernáldez having 'a white banner with no design on it'. Arawak warriors took great pride in their ability to dodge missiles, and practised this at every opportunity.

Trinidad

The Arawaks who survived the Carib migration in some corners of the Lesser Antilles were known as Igneri, a Carib term. They were said to be more warlike than other Arawaks, which doubtless explains how they survived in the first place. The bulk of them were to be found in Trinidad and Tobago, a Spanish report of 1520 acknowledging that they also occupied the islands of Barbados, Gigantes, and Margarita. There were, nevertheless, several attempts by the Spaniards to get Trinidad's population officially redesignated as Carib, in order that it could be legally enslaved (the island was being illegally raided for slaves from 1510 on), and, ironically, Caribs did indeed begin to settle on the island in the course of the 16th century, having

apparently established themselves on the northern coast by c.1530. Margarita's Igneri population seems to have been similarly displaced by Caribs by the 1560s at the latest.

Columbus had discovered Trinidad in 1498, and it theoretically belonged to his family from that time until Antonio Sedeño attempted to establish the first Spanish settlements there in the 1530s, which had to be abandoned in the face of fierce opposition from the Indians inhabiting the north-east corner of the island (probably Caribs). Other attempts at colonisation in 1553 and 1569–70 were similarly unsuccessful, and permanent occupation only commenced in 1592 with the foundation of San José (sacked by Sir Walter Raleigh en route to Guiana in March 1595[5]). As elsewhere in the West Indies, the native population went into catastrophic decline after the arrival of the Spaniards. Trinidad's estimated 200,000 Igneri inhabitants in 1534 had been halved by 1570, and stood at just 35–40,000 by c.1595. When the British captured Trinidad 200 years later there were only a thousand Indians left.

In general appearance the Igneri were similar to the Arawaks of the Greater Antilles, going naked except for a belt. However, they also demonstrated Carib and even mainland Venezuelan characteristics. Their chiefs wore gold pectorals, and gold 'crowns' and eagle-shaped frontlets on their heads, while their warriors painted themselves red, wore their hair long like the Caribs, had coloured cotton headbands, and wore feather decoration. Armament consisted of spears, darts, spear-throwers, macanas, slings, and bows firing feathered arrows tipped with poisoned bone heads. Unlike the Arawaks of the Greater Antilles they also used shields, described as being round or rectangular.

The Spanish Conquest

When, in 1492, Christopher Columbus discovered the Bahamas, followed by Cuba and Hispaniola (La Isla Española), he was actually looking for the Far East, and initially believed that Cuba was Japan, or possibly a peninsula of mainland China or some other place in the Indies (whence the inhabitants were mistakenly referred to ever after as 'Indians'). Returning with 17 ships and some 1,200 men in November 1493, he established the first permanent Spanish settlement in the Americas at Isabela, on Hispaniola, but almost immediately met with resistance from the larger part of the Arawak population. Taking the field against them with just 200 foot, 20 horse, and a contingent of pro-Spanish Indian auxiliaries — the key to every 16th century Spanish success in the New World — Columbus defeated the main Arawak body at the Battle of Vega Real in late-March 1495. Another rebellion erupted in 1498, when Ciguayos besieged the settlement of Concepción, but Columbus was again able to disperse them at the head of about a hundred Spaniards backed up by 3,000 Arawak auxiliaries, traditional enemies of the Ciguayo. Despite his military successes, his incompetence as an administrator nevertheless led to Columbus being replaced as governor in 1500 by Francisco de Bobadilla. He was succeeded in turn by Nicolás de Ovando (1502–9), who conquered Xaragua in 1503 (after brutally exterminating its caciques at a welcoming feast and hanging their queen, Anacaona) and Higüey in 1504, eliminating Hispaniola's last powerful independent cacique. In 1520, however, Enriquillo, the new cacique of Xaragua, rebelled, and only submitted on favourable terms in 1533 after the Spaniards had been unable to defeat him in the field. Spanish control of the island was consolidated by the foundation of as many as 15 new towns during Ovando's term as governor.

Columbus' second voyage of 1493–94 had also discovered the Lesser Antilles, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica. The island of Puerto Rico was actually named San Juan Bautista by Columbus, but because of what Girolamo Benzoni terms 'the abundance of gold and silver found there' it soon became San Juan *de Puerto Rico* ('the rich port'). Its colonisation began in 1508, the Indians putting up little resistance, perhaps looking upon the Spaniards as potential allies against the Caribs, who had already established themselves in eastern parts of the island. By 1511, however, they had endured as much as they could stand of the Spaniards' depredations and cruelty and rebelled under the leadership of caciques Guaybaná and Guarionex, who even received support from the local Caribs. Despite initial success (Benzoni reports that they killed about 150 Spaniards 'who were dispersed about the island seeking gold'), the rebellion was crushed by Juan Ponce de León by June.

Columbus had been stranded on Jamaica for a year in 1503–4, but its first formal Spanish settlement was not established until 1509, when his son Diego Colón (governor of Hispaniola 1509–15 and 1518–26) sent Juan de Esquivel to occupy the island. His expedition appears to have met with no resistance, the Jamaican Arawaks being found to be of a very pacific temperament. Jamaica remained a colonial backwater thereafter until it was eventually seized from Spain by the British in 1655. Its native

population was virtually extinct by as early as 1519.

On discovering Cuba in 1492 Columbus had initially called it Juana, but its native name had soon prevailed. It was not until 1511 that the first Spanish settlement was established, and Cuba remained less important than Hispaniola for the rest of this period, despite its capital Havana being a vital staging post for fleets homeward-bound to Spain. The 300-strong expedition which Diego Colón had sent to occupy Cuba in 1511 was commanded by Diego Velázquez, who by 1515 had conquered much of its eastern half. However, the rest of the island, especially remote parts of the west, remained unsubdued, and after the majority of *conquistadores* had moved to the mainland during and in the immediate aftermath of Cortés' conquest of Mexico, a general Indian rebellion erupted in 1523. Though this was rapidly suppressed, lingering pockets of resistance persisted into the 1550s, flaring up into rebellion whenever the opportunity arose, notably in 1538–44 when the Spaniards suffered several reverses.

In the first three decades of the century the tiny Spanish presence in the West Indies was seriously weakened by the launching of expeditions to the mainland, which frequently all but depopulated Cuba, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico. The fact that few of those who set out on such enterprises ever returned meant that the Spanish population grew only slowly. There were still only about 700 Spaniards on Cuba in 1550, and only 1,500 on Jamaica even at the beginning of the 17th century. A report of 1582 put the entire free population of Hispaniola at just 2,000, even when Indians, *mestizos* (people of Euro-Amerindian mixed parentage), and *mulattoes* (people of Euro-African mixed parentage) were included.

THE CARIBS

The Caribs' name — more properly rendered Caliponam, Calinago, or Calino, meaning 'harmful nation' or 'quarrelsome people' — was given to them by the Arawaks on account of their raiding propensities. Columbus rendered their name Caribales, which, because the Caribs were eaters of human flesh (they ate their enemies' bodies in order to inherit their warlike qualities), gave rise to our word 'cannibals'.[6] They had already driven the Arawaks out of most of the Lesser Antilles before the Spaniards arrived, and by the late-15th century were regularly raiding southwards against Trinidad and the coasts of Venezuela and Guiana, especially the Orinoco delta region; and northwards to Puerto Rico and Hispaniola, possibly even foraying as far as Cuba and the Bahamas. They had occupied the offshore Puerto Rican island of Vieques, and had started to establish permanent footholds along the southern and eastern coasts of Puerto Rico itself, so it seems likely that but for the Spanish Conquest they would have eventually pushed the Arawaks out of the Greater Antilles too.

Their inter-island raiding continued unabated throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, since the Spaniards, realising that the Lesser Antilles lacked sufficient mineral wealth to make them viable for colonial exploitation, saw no good reason to confront such a patently hostile people. The only significant Spanish intrusions into Carib territory were unsuccessful expeditions against Guadeloupe in 1511 and 1515, both repulsed with sizeable losses, and several equally unsuccessful attempts to establish a settlement on Dominica. Otherwise only slave-raiders ventured here, official authorisation having been granted for the wholesale enslavement of the Caribs in 1503. This led to the depopulation of numerous islands during the 1520s and 1530s as their Carib (and Igneri or Arawak — the slavers were not particularly discriminating) inhabitants were enslaved, killed, or forced to flee to the mainland or other islands. Other than the occupation of islands close to the mainland, such as Curaçao in 1527 and Trinidad on several occasions between 1532 and 1592, the first permanent European settlements in the Lesser Antilles did not appear until the 17th century, starting with the Dutch colony founded on St. Eustatius in 1600. Many islands nevertheless resisted European conquest right up until the 18th century.

Carib organisation was very simple. Each village was independent under its own chief, who was treated with deference but had little real authority, Steward (1948) observing that 'Carib men were individualists, and they looked down upon the Europeans for taking orders.' Chieftainship was not hereditary but elective, the holder generally being chosen for his martial qualities, his age, his wisdom, or because he had inherited *caracoli* (symbols of authority — see below) from his ancestors. Each village also usually had one or two elected war-chiefs (*ubutu*), experienced warriors who held their posts for life and were invariably accompanied by a retinue of warriors wherever they went. Two or more *ubutu* customarily took part in every Carib raid, one being acknowledged as overall commander for the duration of the expedition. To judge from later evidence each canoe in a raiding party was commanded by its owner, who bailed while the rest of the crew paddled. Their canoes, like those of the Arawaks, were dug-outs, which came in a variety of sizes,

some being only big enough to carry one man, while others could hold up to 50. The largest were called *pirogues*, which had their sides built up with planks. These could be up to 40 ft (12.2 m) long, while the largest of the smaller variety were about half that size. By the latter part of the 16th century both types could be found fitted with masts (three and two respectively), probably adopted in imitation of Spanish practice. Diego Chanca records that the Caribs were prepared to travel 150 leagues on a raiding expedition, and, as we have already seen, they may have travelled a great deal further if they did indeed reach as far as the Bahamas. On long journeys they would stop and rest on uninhabited islands encountered en route, actually planting patches of edible crops on some of these to cater for such an eventuality.

As with every other Indian tribe, the Caribs relied on surprise to give them an advantage in their attacks, preferring to fall on an enemy village while it still slept, either at dawn or by the light of a full moon. Most Arawak and Carib communities posted sentries near potential landing sites to watch out for raiding parties, and if so much as a barking dog lost the raiders their element of surprise they would usually abandon the expedition, regardless of how far they might have travelled. If they remained undiscovered, the raiders would attack in three parties, howling and shooting fire-arrows into the thatched roofs. If their attack failed to overwhelm the enemy within the next few hours they would collect together their dead and wounded and withdraw at noon. Though a second attack was occasionally attempted, it was more usual for the enterprise to be abandoned. In a successful raid, the captured village would be looted and the enemy dead roasted and eaten. Female prisoners, 'especially the young and handsome', became part of the captor's family (individual warriors sometimes ended up with dozens of concubines in this way), while any men taken alive were killed and eaten at the subsequent victory feast. However, men with whom the raiders traded during their peacetime ventures were released, a tit-for-tat arrangement that would guarantee the captor's life when his own village was raided. Chanca records that captive boys were castrated and employed as servants 'until they are fully grown, and then … they kill and eat them'.

Most Carib raiding parties involved a couple of hundred warriors. In 1520, for instance, five canoes with 150 men landed on the eastern end of Puerto Rico, as did 11 canoes with 500 men in 1530. In September 1529 eight 'great canoes' attacked San Juan harbour, while John Hawkins witnessed a raid by 200 Caribs on the Spanish settlement of Borburata, Venezuela, in 1564. Considerably larger forces could be assembled on occasion, as is proved by the raid launched against the French and English settlement on St. Kitts in 1625, which involved an estimated 4,000 Caribs.

John Sparke, who accompanied Hawkins, wrote that when fighting Spanish slave-raiders 'they choose for their refuge the mountains and woods where the Spaniards with their horses cannot follow them. And if they fortune to be met in the plain where one horseman may overrun 100 of them, they have a device of late practised by them to pitch stakes of wood in the ground, and also small iron [spikes] to mischief their horses'.

Caribs were shorter and stockier than Arawaks, practised cranial deformation, and bore facial tattoos from the time that they were initiated as warriors (described by Chanca as 'a hundred thousand devices, such as crosses and other markings of different kinds'). They wore their hair long and most often loose, cutting it short only above the eyes. Some, however, tied it in some undefined way on the back of the head, decorating the knot with macaw feathers. Men and women alike painted themselves red, in part at least 'to keep away the bitings of mosquitoes'. Chanca describes some as having 'their eyes and eyebrows stained', probably with black paint. They went naked like the Arawaks, but differed in covering their penis with a sheath, Sparke explaining that the men covered 'no part of their body but their yard, upon the which they wear a gourd or piece of cane, made fast with a thread about his loins, leaving the other parts of their members uncovered.'

Jewellery comprised the usual mixture of feathers, fish-bones and stone pendants in their pierced ears, noses and lips, and necklaces of wood, stone, bone and shell beads. The most highly-prized items, however, called *caracoli*, were crescent-shaped pieces made of gold-copper alloy (*tumbaga*) edged with wood. These came in various sizes, the smallest being used as ear, nose, and lip plugs, while others were worn as pendants round the neck. Because the metal from which they were made could only be obtained by raids onto the mainland these were regarded as a sign of high rank, generally being worn only on ceremonial occasions and rarely during raids. A chief seen on Dominica in 1596 had 'the model of a lion in shining brass [i.e. *tumbaga*] hanging upon his breast' and carried a Spanish rapier.

The characteristic weapon of the Caribs was a 6 ft (1.8 m) longbow firing long poisoned arrows. The latter, kept in a cane quiver 'of the bigness of a man's arm', were made of reed with fish-bone, tortoise-shell, or fire-hardened wooden points. They

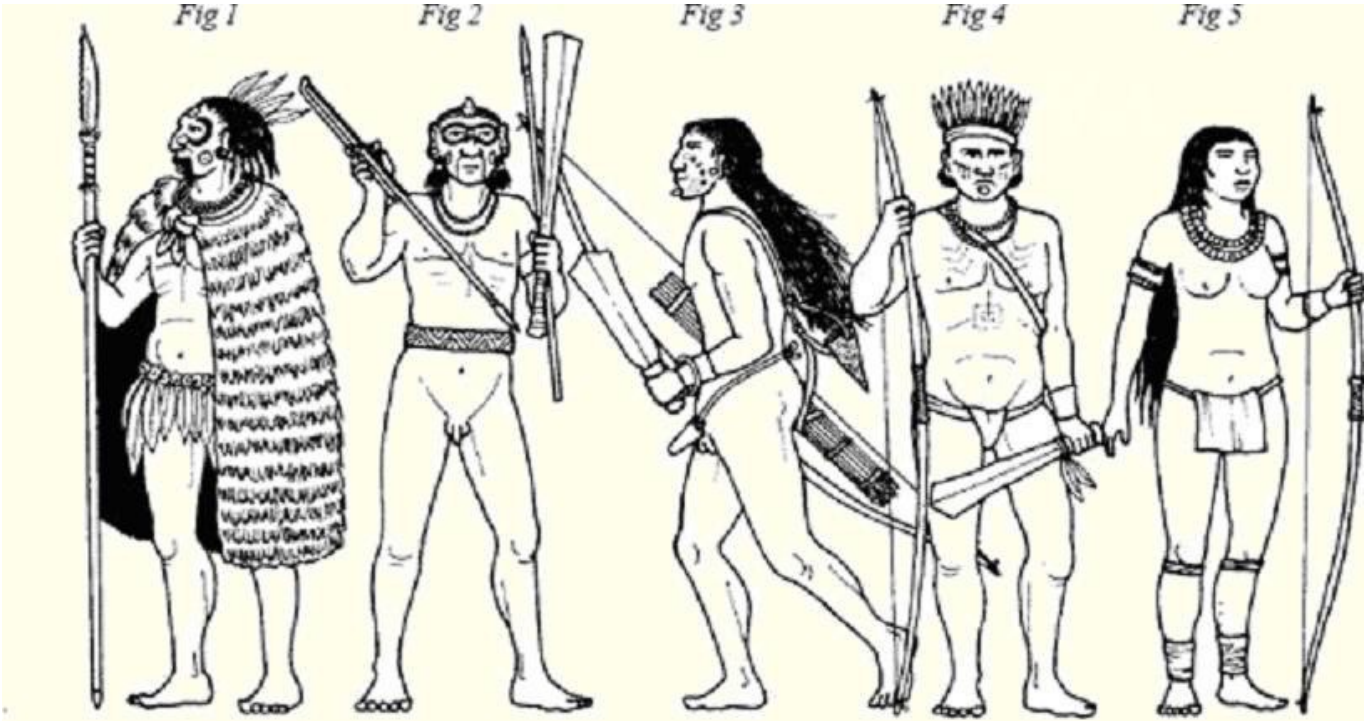
had no fletching. Sparke recorded that 'they are so good archers that the Spaniards for fear thereof arm themselves and their horses with quilted canvas of two inches thick, and leave no place of their body open to their enemies, saving their eyes, which they may not hide, and yet oftentimes are they hit in that so small a scantling.' He adds that the poison was fatal within the space of 24 hours. Other weapons consisted of darts, and clubs called *boutou*, decorated and painted with geometric and anthropomorphic patterns. The length of the *boutou* apparently depended on a warrior's rank, those of chiefs being up to 5–6 ft (1.3–1.8 m) long.

FIGURES

1 & 2. ARAWAK WARRIORS There are few 16th century pictures that can be claimed with certainty to portray West Indian natives. Figure 1 is a reconstruction based in part on drawings made in 1529 by Christopher Weiditz, of Indians taken back to Spain by Cortés. Though usually described as Aztecs they are clearly not, and it is possible that they represent Arawaks. Certainly several aspects of their appearance conform to early written descriptions of Arawak adornment, notably the loose cloak of coloured feathers, and the stones set into the cheeks and forehead. Both of these features appear to have been characteristic of Arawak caciques, as too, probably, was the feather decoration of the belt. It is nevertheless possible that the drawings portray Indians from elsewhere in the Caribbean, not least because one figure is shown with a shield when none of the Spanish descriptions mention the Arawaks of the Greater Antilles using these. Figure 2, however, is definitely an Arawak, being based on pre-Conquest figurines. Several sources mention 'girdles' such as that worn here, which were of woven cotton. Those of chiefs were sufficiently highly prized that they were considered suitable gifts for presentation to Columbus. He is armed with a spear-thrower, darts, and a club. Spear-throwers had once been employed throughout the Americas, and remained widespread, but by the 16th century they had been replaced in many areas by the bow. See the text describing Figure 35 for further details.

3 & 4. CARIB WARRIORS Figure 3 is derived principally from drawings executed by a member of Drake's expedition of 1585–86 in what is known as the 'Drake Manuscript'. Note the small red gourd containing his arrow-poison, which, the text explains, was made by mashing together the leaves 'of a tree called mensenille, the blood of a bleating toad, and the flesh of a centipede'. Sparke says that other gourds carried when on an expedition contained 'the juice of sorrel [and] flour of their maize, which being moist[ened], they eat'. Figure 4, based on 17th–18th century sources which demonstrate that Carib costume had not changed significantly in the interim, wears a small breechclout, has his hair tied up — apparently on the top of his head — and has a feather head-dress. Both men are armed with longbow and *boutou*.

5. CARIB WOMAN Each Carib warrior was accompanied on campaign by one or more women, whose job it was to prepare his food and to apply his body-paint each morning. Carib women were also prepared to fight, and Columbus' first party ashore on Guadeloupe in 1496 was confronted by a veritable army of Carib women armed with



longbows. Their only dress consisted of a small white cotton breechclout pulled through a string front and back in the form of an apron, and white cotton bands below the knees and above the ankles, resulting in slightly swollen calves. The Spaniards are said to have used these leggings as a guaranteed way of accurately distinguishing Arawaks from Caribs.

NOTES

1 These are often erroneously referred to as Taino. Many Arawak tribes were still to be found throughout the northern part of South America.

2 The Indians of St. Croix — now part of the US Virgin Islands — were probably Arawaks rather than Caribs, though they appear to have demonstrated aspects of both cultures. By 1515 St. Croix had been entirely depopulated by Spanish slavers.

3 The Spaniards regarded the Bahamas as utterly worthless and made no attempt to colonise them, instead simply enslaving and removing the population to Hispaniola, Cuba, and Puerto Rico.

4 Steward (1948) suggests that the bows recorded in use by Cuban Arawaks during a subsequent stage of the Spanish conquest were probably 'a later addition'.

5 He was driven off when he attacked Margarita island and Cumaná in June. Several attempts by the Spaniards to establish themselves in Guiana between 1542 and 1576 all failed, and European conquest and settlement of the region did not start in earnest until the beginning of the 17th century. There were several English expeditions here, of which the most notable were those of Raleigh in 1595 and 1617, Laurence Keymis in 1596, and Charles Leigh in 1604, the last even attempting to found a colony.

6 A report of 1658 records that the Caribs deemed 'French people delicious and by far the best of the Europeans, and next came the English. The Dutch were dull and rather tasteless, while the Spaniards were so stringy and full of gristle as to be practicably uneatable.'

THE SPANISH MAIN

Though it soon came to include the West Indies and the Caribbean Sea itself, the term 'Spanish Main' was initially coined by 16th century Englishmen to describe that part of Spanish-occupied Central America which bordered on the Caribbean basin, consisting of coastal Venezuela and Colombia, Panama, and the eastern parts of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Honduras. Spanish discoveries here had begun with Columbus' voyage along the coast of Venezuela in 1498. Further expeditions by various adventurers between 1499 and 1509 resulted in the exploration of the entire coast between Venezuela and Honduras, and led in 1509 to the granting of royal patents to Diego de Nicuesa and Alonso de Hojeda to establish the first settlements on the mainland, then known simply as *Tierra Firme*. In 1510 Hojeda founded San Sebastián de Urabá (where Francisco Pizarro, future conqueror of Peru, was placed in command) on the northern coast of Colombia, but this was burnt down in an Indian attack and was abandoned as untenable soon afterwards. Santa María la Antigua del Darién was then established in its stead, to become capital of the Isthmus region. Nicuesa, meanwhile, had founded Nombre de Dios in Panama at much the same date. The systematic looting of the region's mineral wealth, meanwhile, had already begun at the turn of the century, and was sufficiently profitable that after 1513 the Isthmus of Darién was customarily referred to as *Castilla del Oro*. Pedro Arias de Avila, or Pedrarias as he was known, was appointed captain-general of the new province in July 1513, and moved the capital from Darién to Panama, on the Pacific coast, at the end of 1519. The other principal towns of the region were the Colombian ports of Santa Marta, founded by Rodrigo de Bastidas in 1525, and Cartagena, founded by Pedro de Heredia in 1533. All of these settlements were to subsequently serve as bases for the exploration, conquest, and exploitation of the interior. At the opposite end of the Spanish Main, Honduras and Nicaragua were conquered during the 1520s, though in some places Indian resistance sputtered on for another two decades.

Most of the coastal tribes inhabiting this region were soon destroyed, in the majority of cases by the mid-1540s, when, for instance, Benzoni states that the 400,000-strong pre-Conquest population of Honduras had dwindled to less than 8,000. Among the more significant tribes were the Nicarao,[7] Chorotega, and Subtiaba of Nicaragua; the Guetar, Voto, and Suerre of Costa Rica; the Cuna, Guaymí, and Chocó of Panama; the Cueva, Calamari (or Caramairi), and Tairona of coastal Colombia; and the mainland Caribs and Arawaks of Venezuela. The Calamari, who called themselves the Mocana, were one of the most powerful. Their territory lay between Urabá and the Río Magdalena, where they lived in villages surrounded by stockades consisting of living trees or canes. It has been surmised that

they may have been related to the Caribs, since they were especially noted for their archery, their eating of slain enemies, and the fact that the women went to war as well as the men; one 18-year-old girl captured by the Spaniards in the vicinity of Cartagena in 1514 claimed to have killed as many as eight *conquistadores* before she was taken. Sometimes the women — especially the younger girls — merely served as porters, but when they fought they used the same sort of 6 ft (1.8 m) longbow as the men, made of black palmwood. This was used to shoot poisoned palmwood or reed arrows with stone, fish-scale or fire-hardened wooden tips. Other Calamari weapons comprised palmwood clubs, slings, spear-throwers, and blowpipes firing poisoned darts, which the Spaniards are said to have particularly feared. They also used two varieties of shield, apparently round or rectangular. They differed from the Caribs in wearing their hair short. Dress, such as it was, consisted under most circumstances of no more that a sheath for the penis (sometimes covering the testicles too), though Benzoni mentions that those living round Cartagena wore 'a decent bandage round the loins'. The penis sheath was often made of gold decorated with pearls prior to the Spanish Conquest, but 'having been obliged to cede these to the Spaniards' they made do with a simple calabash thereafter. For decoration they wore gold pendants, rings, necklaces, ear-plugs, nose-plugs, and so on, plus red and black body-paint (also recorded in Costa Rica, Panama, and elsewhere in the region).

Though virtual or absolute nudity also prevailed in Panama and Costa Rica, the use of clothing in peacetime (usually a coloured cotton breechclout and tunic) and cotton armour in wartime was more usual in Honduras and Nicaragua. Honduran Indians, for instance, wore 'thick padded cotton corselets, which gave adequate protection against Indian arrows and even withstood several blows from our swords.' Various chroniclers record the use of cotton armour and quilted cotton helmets in Nicaragua. Indeed, the culture of both Honduras and Nicaragua was Mesoamerican rather than South American, Nicaragua in particular consisting of several distinct city-states rather than clusters of tribal villages — which is hardly surprising since several tribes here were of the same Nahuatl origin as the Aztecs. Benzoni says that the peoples' habits were 'nearly all like those of the Mexicans', while Pascual de Andagoya (1541) says that they were 'very civilised … like those of Mexico, for they were a people who had come from that country, and they had nearly the same language'. The Nicarao wore sleeveless tunics, breechclouts, and mantles, the upper classes wearing cotton while commoners substituted maguey fibre. Some at least were tattooed, notably on their arms. They had an elite of noble warriors called *tapaligue*, who Oviedo says shaved their entire head except for a three-cornered patch on the crown, where the hair was allowed to grow to about 2 ins (5 cm) with a single long lock growing from the middle (a description which suggests that their hair was worn in much the same style as that of Aztec *Quachicqueh* or 'Shorn Ones', for whom see Figures 32–34). Weaponry in both Honduras and Nicaragua comprised spears, spear-throwers, bows, macanas, and shields of tree bark or light wood, covered with cotton or feathers; the macanas were of the Mesoamerican variety depicted in Figure 28 and fully described in its accompanying caption. Those seen in Honduras were described as 'long wooden swords, with grooves on each side, where the edge of blade should be, with sharp flints which cut like steel, lashed into them with tarred twine'. Aztec-style back-standards were also in use (for which see Figure 27). Arms were customarily stored in local temples and only distributed in wartime, when the warriors were led by a war-chief appointed by the ruling council, the tribal chief not usually going into battle. (If present he would take command only if the war-chief was killed, or else would appoint another war-chief on the spot.).

Panama straddled the invisible frontier between the furthest limits of Mesoamerican and South American cultural influences, so that of its principal tribes the Guaymí, living in the direction of what is now Costa Rica, were related to both the Maya and Nahuatl peoples of Mexico, while the Chocó at the opposite end of the Isthmus — who succeeded in resisting the Spaniards until the second half of the 17th century — were related to the Muisca of Colombia. The middle portion of the country consisted of numerous petty-states of which the most significant belonged to a tribe known as the Cuna or Cuna-Cueva, Spanish sources reporting that these had 'three principal chiefs and 53 lesser chiefs'. Similar petty-states existed among the Guaymí of the Coiba region, where more than a dozen put up a spirited resistance to early Spanish attempts to occupy their territory. The first conquistador expedition here, under Gonzalo de Badajóz in 1515, was beaten so badly by the forces of the most powerful of these states, Paris, or Parita, that the Spaniards abandoned their loot and fled in disorder. Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa led a second expedition in 1517, which managed to defeat the Paris Indians — who fought 'in battalions' — only after a day-long battle. The most powerful chief north of the Azuero peninsula, Urraca, remained unconquered at his death in

1531. All of these petty-states had bodies of elite warriors referred to by Oviedo as *cabras*, who received land and wives in return for their services.

Because their chiefs were 'continually at war with each other respecting boundaries', Guaymí and Cuna villages boasted robust defences described as 'forts made with two or three enclosures of timber and large trees and a very good moat around'. One on an island in the Gulf of Montijo had 'circles of growing trees and a surrounding moat'. Andagoya, who accompanied Espinosa's second expedition in 1519, describes those seen beyond the Buricá peninsula as 'fortified with moats and palisades of *cardos* very strong, spiny, and interwoven to make a strong wall', these *cardos* doubtless being columnar cactuses. Such defences were sufficiently strong that artillery was required to breach them. In Panama each such town maintained what Steward (1959) describes as a standing army, probably meaning a warrior elite available for military service at a moment's notice. Those in the eastern part of the country fought with bows, but in central and western areas, and in neighbouring Costa Rica too, they preferred spears and spear-throwers and employed bows only when hunting. Espinosa describes the warriors as wearing 'cotton corselets reaching from their shoulders to their knees and below, with sleeves to the elbow, as thick as the mattress of a bed, so strong that a crossbow will not pierce them.' He also mentions that the chief of Paris wore 'many disks and armour of gold ... over a cotton garment'. Guaymí spears are described as being as long and heavy as German pikes, and their method of arraying themselves for battle was also likened to that of the Germans, Espinosa even mentioning their use of 'fifes' and drums. Secondary armament consisted of macanas.

Except for whatever armour they may have worn Panamanian warriors went naked, or at the most wore a penis-sheath carved from coloured sea shell and secured round the loins by a cord. The Guaymí of Coiba did not wear even this. Oviedo says that Cuna warriors were marked with the personal emblem of their chief (*quevi*), which appears to have taken the form of distinctive patterns painted or tattooed on the face and body. See Figure 10.

Venezuela

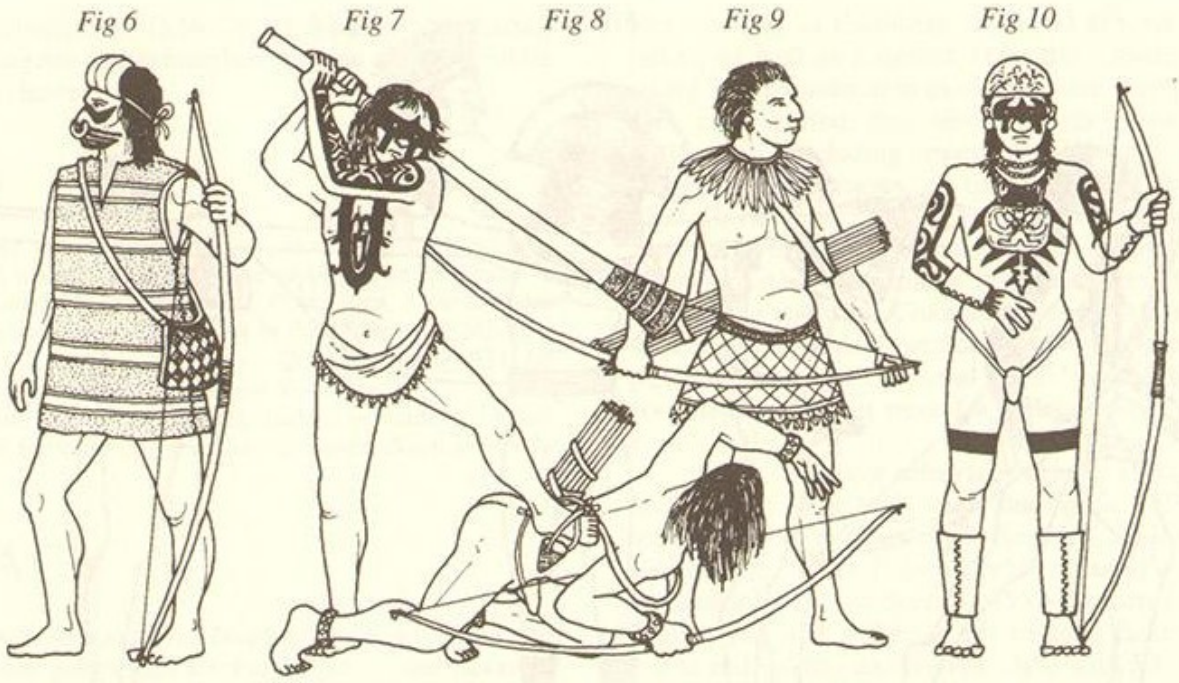
Although discovered in 1498 and regularly raided for slaves, pearls, gold, and brazilwood from 1502, Venezuela was colonised only slowly by the Spaniards, with insignificant settlements at Cumaná in 1520 and Santa Ana de Coro in 1527. In 1528, however, licence to conquer and colonise Venezuela was granted by Emperor Charles V (King of Spain 1516–56), to Heinrich Ehinger (or Alfinger) and Hieronymous Sayler, who seem to have been agents for a German banking consortium headed by the House of Welser, to whom the licence was officially transferred in 1530. The resultant German expedition of 780 men, consisting predominantly of Spaniards, Portuguese, and Negro slaves, arrived in February 1529, marking the first of several brutal treasure-seeking expeditions launched into western Venezuela with little success between 1529 and 1546, led by Heinrich Ehinger 1529–33; Nikolaus Federmann 1530–32 and 1538–39; George Höhermut 1535–38; and Philip von Hutten 1541–46. The soldiers participating in all of these were mostly Spanish adventurers, who were expected to provide their own horses, provisions and arms, which at the soldier's death were usually seized by the German authorities to pay off alleged debts to the consortium, their companions-in-arms being fined to make up any shortfall.

Since the Germans were interested in commercial exploitation rather than colonisation, they established no permanent settlements during the period in which they had control of the province, and paid little attention to their administrative responsibilities. The first German governor, Ehinger (killed on campaign in 1533), therefore chose the existing Spanish-founded town of Coro as his capital. Following the murder of the last German governor, Philip von Hutten, by a rebellious officer in 1546, Charles V appointed a series of Spanish lieutenant-governors, albeit still nominally on behalf of the House of Welser, until the Council of the Indies eventually revoked the German grant in 1556. By this time the Spaniards had already established settlements at Nueva Cadiz on Cubagua Island in 1523, and at Valencia in 1555. Another important town was Santiago de León de Caracas, founded in 1566. The larger part of the Venezuelan interior, however, remained unexplored even at the end of the century.

The greater number of those Indians confronted in the coastal regions were Caribs in the east, and Arawaks (or Caguetío, as they were known) round the Gulf of Venezuela in the west. These fundamentally resembled their Antillean counterparts, the relatively peaceable Arawaks fighting with spear-throwers and spears which measured up to 25 *palmos* (about 17½ ft/5.3 m) in length, while the warlike Caribs fought with longbows. However, unlike the island Caribs, Oviedo tells us that 'the Cannibal archers' of *Tierra Firme* wore 'certain armour of gold, especially great and round pieces on their breasts and splints on their arms, likewise other pieces which they put on their heads and other parts of their bodies.' This doubtless resembled the gold armour recorded for various Panamanian and Colombian tribes, for which see Figures 10 and 167. Amerigo Vespucci noted the use of square wooden shields amongst Caribs with whom he fought in 1498, stating that they carried these in such a way that they didn't interfere with the handling of their longbows, probably indicating that they were strapped to the forearm. He adds that the Caribs were 'sure shots, for they hit whatever they please; and in some places the women use these bows. And they have other weapons, such as fire-hardened spears and other clubs with knobs, of excellent workmanship.' Some wore their hair 'polled and rounded', but the majority wore it long. Oviedo mentions the wearing of gold penis-sheaths by 'principal men', commoners substituting 'shells of certain great whelks'. Jewellery worn in battle comprised gold rings worn through their lips, nostrils and ears, chiefs adding gold bracelets from elbow to wrist, and from knee to ankle — another allusion to gold vambraces and greaves like those of Figures 10 and 167. Body-painting and tattooing are also recorded.

FIGURES

6–9. INDIANS OF THE SPANISH MAIN Taken from the 'Drake Manuscript', these four warriors represent a cacique or chief, an 'Indian of Ihona', a coastal



Colombian from the Guajira peninsula, and a Nicaraguan. The original caption for Figure 6 describes caciques as being recognisable by 'a ring hanging from the nose and a band on the forehead', both of gold. In the drawing the gold headband is actually a frontlet tied at the back of the head by a red lace. His sleeveless tunic — probably cotton armour — is salmon pink with white horizontal stripes edged in yellow, and his shoulder-bag is red and yellow. The 'Ihona' whence Figure 7 comes has not been identified, but his breechclout could be the 'decent bandage round the loins' that Benzoni mentions being worn by tribesmen living in the vicinity of Cartagena, while his macana or club is characteristic of those used throughout Panama and the coastal regions of Colombia and Venezuela. Such clubs were of heavy black palmwood an inch (25 mm) thick and between 3–4 ins (7.6–10.2 cm) broad, widening towards the further end, and anything up to 5 ft (1.3 m) or so in length, with blunt rather than sharp edges. They were often ornately carved, and the original depicts this one as having four red bands at its tip. The painted or tattooed decoration of his face, body, and arms is added from Panamanian pottery figurines. The Colombian in Figure 8 has gold bracelets and anklets inlaid with blue stones, and a small gourd containing poison hangs from the strap supporting his arrows, which appear to be simply bundled together rather than contained in a quiver. The Nicaraguan in Figure 9 wears a plaited palm-leaf skirt fringed with red, blue and yellow feathers, plus a feather collar in the same colours. His arrows too appear to be bundled together by means of a sort of slip-knot, which presumably enabled individual arrows to be extracted without the rest falling out. Note that the arrows of Figures 8 and 9 have no flights.

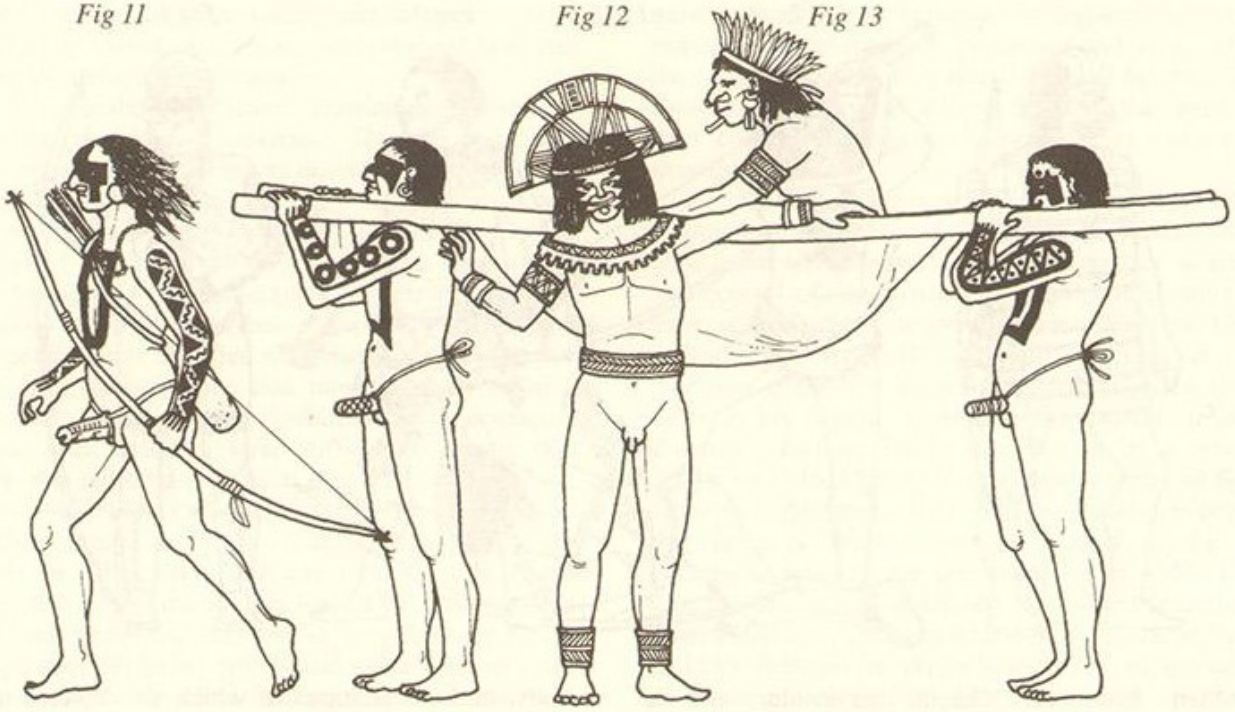
10. CUNA WARRIOR This figure is a reconstruction based on 16th century pottery, written descriptions, and archaeological finds from graves excavated at Sitio Conte. His pectoral, pudding-basin helmet, vambraces, and greaves — all made of gold — probably indicate he is a cacique. Ordinary warriors doubtless possessed fewer prestigious ornaments and probably resembled the next figure. Note the painting or tattooing on his face and body, further variations of which are depicted in other figures in this section.

11. WARRIOR OF PANAMA OR COASTAL COLOMBIA Reconstructed primarily from drawings illustrating Girolamo Benzoni's account of his travels between 1541–56 (published in 1565), this may be a Cuna, Cueva, or Calamari. Oviedo describes how the Cueva 'carried their genitals in sea-shells of many colours, very well fashioned [i.e., carved], by cords that attached to the belt about their loins'. Gold penis sheaths were also widely worn in the pre-Conquest era, though these were seized and melted down by the *conquistadores* along with every other native artefact found to be made from precious metals. With the possible exception of this penis-sheath, and with the occasional substitution of a spear or macana for the longbow, he is typical of the majority of warriors found throughout central and eastern parts of the Spanish Main.

12. TAIRONA WARRIOR The Tairona lived in the district adjacent to Santa Marta and were constantly at war with the *conquistadores*. Espinosa (1519) describes their dress as consisting 'of a tunic and a sort of cape of striped cotton. They wear golden earrings, golden pendants and eagles on the breast, stone bracelets, and pieces of gold on their wrists and ankles. The wealthiest chiefs and notables also wear fine round stones and golden jewels'. However, 15th–16th century figurines such as those on which this figure is based demonstrate that in wartime they went naked but for a belt, though they continued to boast a prodigious amount of jewellery. The crested head-dress was probably worn only by caciques. Note also his distinctive hair-style.

13. *TIERRA FIRME* CHIEFTAIN AND HAMMOCK Oviedo says that the chieftains of *Tierra Firme* were carried in hammocks, even in battle, and there are several references to such hammocks being seen in use in various corners of the Spanish Main, especially in Panama and Colombia. Oviedo's description of a chieftain and his escort states that 'two of them carry him sitting upon a long piece of wood which is … as light as they can find.

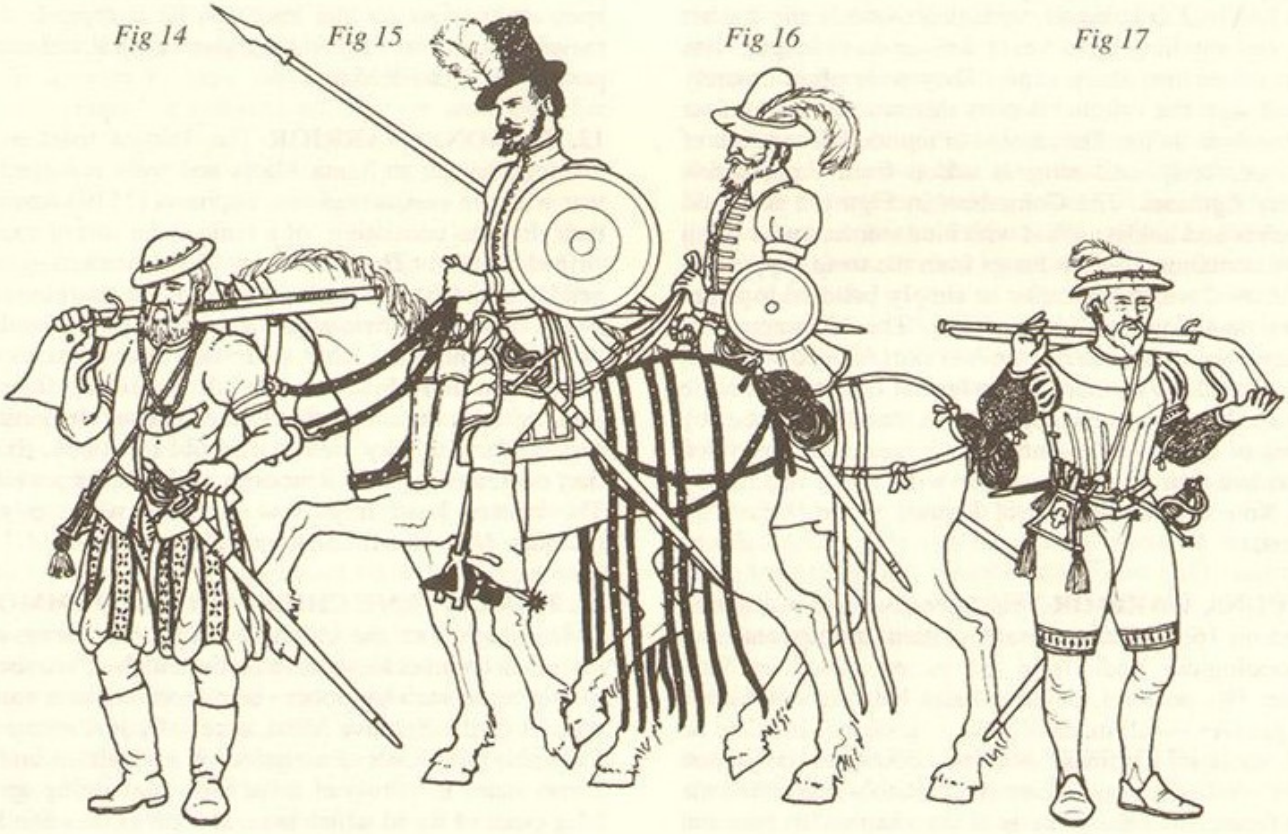
Fig 11 *Fig 12* *Fig 13*



The other ten [men] follow next unto him as footmen. They keep continually a trotting pace with him on their shoulders … The Indians assigned to this are for the most part slaves or *naboriti*'. The source from which this figure is reconstructed shows the hammock suspended from two poles rather than one, and there were doubtless many variations.

14–17. GERMAN ADVENTURERS There are several contemporary pictures of the assorted Germans who participated in expeditions to Venezuela and other parts of South America during the 16th century. Of those portrayed here, Figures 14–16 are members of Nikolaus Federmann's expedition of 1538–39, from Geronimo Köhler's *Viajes*. Figure 15 is Federmann himself, while Figure 14 is one of the two dozen German miners who accompanied his 123 Spanish soldiers. Note the cases of wheellock *faustrohr* ('fist-guns', or pistols) which occur on either side of Federmann's saddlebow, and the bucklers strapped to the upper left arm of both horsemen.[8] The fourth figure is from a woodcut depicting the chronicler Ulrich Schmidel, who, like Federmann, served as a soldier of the House of Welser before taking employment with the Spanish in Paraguay in 1535–55, where he was following in the footsteps of Germans who had fought in the River Plate region as early as Sebastian

Fig 14 *Fig 15* *Fig 16* *Fig 17*



Cabot's expedition of 1526–29. He appears to be wearing a plate gorgette and breastplate over an arming doublet with mail sleeves.

NOTES

7 The chief of the Nicarao at the time of first contact was Nicaragua, whence the name of the country. This tribe lived in western Nicaragua and north-west Costa Rica. Nicarao states mentioned by Spanish chroniclers in the 1520s being Mistega, Ochomago, Oxmorio, Papagayo, Quauhcapolca (ruled by Nicaragua), Tezoatega, Totoaca, and Xoxoyota.

8 Federmann tells us that his own shield was 'made of a barrel lid', which the blow of an Indian club split 'down its whole length'.

PIRACY

When it was shipped from Nombre de Dios in 1533, the 13,000 lbs of gold which formed just part of the Inca ruler Atahualpa's ransom (the other part being 25,000 lbs of silver) is said to have represented more gold than then existed in the entire kingdom of Spain. And yet this was no more than a small fraction of the treasures that flowed steadily from the New World to the Old, constituting about a fifth of Spain's annual revenue even in an unexceptional year. A total of some 181 tons of gold and 16,000 tons of silver were officially recorded to have reached Spain between the beginning of the 16th century and the middle of the 17th, without taking into account the homeward-bound wealth of individual colonial entrepreneurs. It is therefore hardly surprising that the Caribbean proved an irresistible lure to pirates.

Raiders of sundry origins could be found in or en route to the Caribbean at one time or another, including even Barbary pirates from such places as Algiers and Salé. However, the fact that France and Spain were almost continuously at war between 1521 and 1559 (in 1521–30, 1535–38, 1542–44, and 1547–59) inevitably meant that during the first half of the century the majority were French 'corsairs', a term which came to denote legalised pirates or 'privateers' — private individuals holding government commissions to raid enemy commerce.[9] These started appearing in the Caribbean in the 1520s, were present in considerable numbers by the 1530s, and began to raid coastal settlements during the 1540s. Benzoni records that it did not take them long to seize 'a great many' treasure ships, and that 'of the captains, pilots and clerks who traded in the Indies, few escaped without having been captured by the French once or twice.' One of their earliest successes was also their most profitable — the capture in 1523, by Jean Florin (or Fleury) of Honfleur, of two out of three ships en route from Mexico to Seville with the treasure Cortés had plundered from the Aztec Empire, estimated as worth 800,000 ducats. In his confession, written under torture following his capture at the end of a six-hour fight with six Spanish ships in 1527, Florin claimed to have 'robbed and sunk' as many as 150 vessels in the course of his five-year career. Though this is doubtless an exaggeration, some idea of the scale of Spanish losses can be drawn from the fact that between 1535 and 1547 alone no less than 28 sizeable Spanish treasure ships, not to mention an unrecorded number of smaller vessels, were sunk by pirates either in Caribbean waters or around the West Indies, as well as a further 41 in the Atlantic, without taking into consideration those that were merely robbed. The same period also saw 22 attacks on Spanish settlements, including raids on Havana in 1536; Honduras and Chagres, on the Isthmus of Panama, in 1537; Havana, San Germán, Puerto de Plata, La Yaguana, and Aina (Hayna) in the West Indies in 1541; Cubagua off the coast of Venezuela in 1543; and Santa Marta and Cartagena in northern Colombia in 1544. All in all there were about a hundred recorded raids by French landing parties between the 1530s and the 1570s, and doubtless a considerable number more for which records no longer exist.

The two most celebrated French corsairs of the 16th century were both active during the 1550s. These were François le Clerc — nicknamed *Jambe de Bois* ('Peg-Leg', *Pie de Palo* to the Spaniards) — and his lieutenant Jacques de Sores. In 1553–54 these cruised the West Indies with a fleet of ten vessels, sacking several towns and holding Santiago de Cuba with 300 men for a month. In 1555 Sores, commanding just three ships, succeeded in capturing Havana with a landing-party of only about 200 men, and held it for 18 days before sacking and burning it once it had become clear that no more money could be extorted from its inhabitants. Other French pirates arriving there three months later found nothing left worth stealing.

A few years later the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) officially ended hostilities between France and Spain. However, a clause of the Treaty stated that 'west of the prime meridian and south of the Tropic of Cancer … violence by either party to the other side shall not be regarded as in contravention of the treaties' — in other words, treaties drawn up in Europe were not regarded as binding in the Americas — and for the best part of the next two centuries private individuals intent on vengeance or profit continued to sail pirate fleets through this gaping loophole to fight an undeclared war throughout the Caribbean, immortalised in the contemporary maxim 'no peace beyond the line'. Nevertheless, the heyday of the 16th century French privateer was drawing to a close, the series of civil wars known as the Wars of Religion (1562–98) seriously affecting the mounting of even private expeditions. Thenceforward English pirates gradually took over as chief depredators of Spanish possessions in the New World, in alliance with the French in the 1570s before displacing them almost entirely after English support for Spain's rebellious Dutch subjects, which began in 1585, had led to open war in 1587. This same conflict also resulted in the appearance of a handful of Dutch privateers in the Caribbean before the end of the century.[10]

The first recorded instance of English piracy in the New World had taken place in the vicinity of Santo Domingo in Hispaniola in 1527, when an English captain landed 30–40 men armed with longbows, firearms, and a cannon, to seize provisions after the locals had refused to trade with him. Later attempts by Sir John Hawkins to trade in the Caribbean had led to strained relations and the threat of conflict in 1564–65 and an all-out clash of arms at the fortified island of San Juan de Ulúa, off the coast of Mexico, in 1568. However, it was only with the escapades of Sir Francis Drake and his ilk in the 1570s

that English piracy came of age. There were ten documented English raids during the period 1570–74, the most famous of which were Drake's attacks of 1572–73 on Nombre de Dios, Cartagena, and the *Camino Real* ('royl road') between Panama and Nombre de Dios, along which treasure shipments from Peru were transported by mule-train for shipment back to Spain.[11] Though Though it netted little in terms of profit, Drake's expedition of just two ships and 73 men succeeded in putting the fear of God into the Spaniards, not least by its alliance with the dreaded Cimaroons (escaped Negro slaves — see the chapter on Spanish America). Other allies, who participated in Drake's attack on a mule-train outside Nombre de Dios, comprised a party of French corsairs under the noted navigator Guillaume le Testu, who was mortally wounded during the fighting. The 1580s saw surprisingly few expeditions in the Caribbean, though English raiders turned up in some of the New World's more unexpected quarters. In 1586–88, for instance, Thomas Cavendish had emulated Drake by circumnavigating the globe and in 1587 had raided Puná island off the coast of Peru; and following the amalgamation of the Portuguese and Spanish thrones in 1580 there were several raids on Brazilian ports and coastal shipping during the late-1580s and 1590s. The most significant of these expeditions was the capture of Pernambuco for a month in 1595 by the allied squadrons of James Lancaster and two French corsairs, Venner and Jean Lenoir, mustering between the three of them some seven or 11 ships.

Nevertheless, the principal expedition of the decade was Drake's re-appearance in force in 1585–86 with as many as 21 ships, nine pinnaces, 2,300 men, and a plan to establish a permanent English presence in the Caribbean. His intention was to sack both Santo Domingo in Hispaniola and the coastal towns of the Spanish Main, and to put ashore landing-parties which, acting in concert with the Cimaroons, would seize Nombre de Dios and Panama to secure control of the *Camino Real*. Garrisons would then be left in Cartagena, Nombre de Dios, Panama, and Havana, which, it was proposed, would also be seized as the fleet headed back towards England.[12] It was a bold plan that was, nevertheless, doomed to failure.

Drake's fleet descended on Santo Domingo on New Years' Day 1586, landing about 1,000 men (Spanish sources report between 550 and 1,200) who swiftly overwhelmed the Spanish defences.[13] After sitting amidst the rubble of their victory for a month negotiating ransom terms for the release of the city, in February the English moved on to Cartagena, destroying the minor port of Río de la Hacha en route. However, things had started to go wrong: already only 1,200 of Drake's original 2,300 men remained fit for duty, the rest having either succumbed to disease or fallen to enemy action. In addition Drake was running behind whatever schedule he might have set himself, which had given the Spaniards time to reinforce Cartagena's defenders to a strength of about a thousand men — comprising 550–600 Spaniards (including 54 horsemen), 400 Indians, and 25 Negro freemen — plus the Spanish element of the crews of two galleys moored beneath the town walls, comprising about another 200 men. As many as 500–600 men (said by a Spanish eye-witness to have comprised 300 arquebusiers, 100 pikemen, and 200 Indian archers) had been assigned to defend a rampart thrown up across a neck of land adjacent to the harbour, supported by between four and six guns.

The English landing-party of about a thousand men drove the Spaniards from the rampart by push of pike and rushed on into the town itself, where they found every street blocked by barricades. Though the Spaniards made little effort to defend these the log of one of Drake's ships records that the English suffered 'great annoyance by the Indian arrows coming very thick out of the houses about their ears, with which many of us were hurt, and the arrows being poisoned, some died'. Another contemporary report records other men being 'mischieved to death with certain pricks or small sticks sharply pointed, of a foot and a half long, the one end put into the ground, the other empoisoned, sticking fast up'. These too were the work of the Indians. Despite their defences and preparations, however, the Spaniards were driven out, and Drake spent another six weeks negotiating the city's ransom. By this time only 800 of his men remained fit. Even though his losses were made good to some extent by the freed slaves (Frenchmen, Negroes, Moors, Greeks, Spaniards, and 200 Turks) from the two Spanish galleys destroyed in Cartagena harbour, it was clear that at this rate of attrition his forces were in serious danger of being decimated beyond recovery. Plans to capture Nombre de Dios and Panama, and to leave permanent garrisons in the Caribbean, were therefore abandoned, and Drake sailed for home, destroying the Spanish fort at San Agustín in Florida en route. He had lost a total of 750 men.

During the 1590s there were an average of 14 English expeditions to the Caribbean every year, with as many as 25 in 1598. That led by Drake and John Hawkins in 1595–96, aimed at San Juan de Puerto Rico and Panama, was the largest, comprising 27 ships, 1,500 seamen, and 2,500–3,000 soldiers, but it met with even less good fortune than Drake's solo foray a decade earlier. Hawkins died on the outward passage, and the Spaniards, long since forewarned of the impending English attack, had time to reinforce Puerto Rico with 1,500 fresh troops from Spain. When his attack was consequently driven off with considerable loss Drake sailed for Nombre de Dios, raiding along the coast of the mainland as he went. Nombre de Dios was found largely deserted, and he seized the fort and burned the town. He then despatched 900 men, organised into five or seven companies under his lieutenant, Thomas Baskerville, to traverse the Isthmus and take Panama, but after marching through torrential rain for three days these encountered stiff Spanish opposition on the fourth and, with their provisions and powder ruined by the downpour, they were obliged to withdraw. Re-embarking its landing-party, the fleet then sailed along the coast of Honduras and Nicaragua, its crews contracting dysentery en route after landing to find water. When Drake himself died of the 'bloody flux' in January 1596 command devolved on Baskerville, who called an end to the disastrous expedition and sailed for home with the remaining 14 or 15 ships (several having either been lost to the enemy or scuttled in consequence of having insufficient men left to crew them). It was left to another celebrated English corsair, George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland — author of a dozen raids between 1586 and 1598 — to succeed where Drake had

not in capturing San Juan de Puerto Rico, which he did in 1598 with a fleet of 18 ships and 1,000 men. He had intended to hold the port permanently, but once again unsustainable losses to tropical disease obliged the English to withdraw without installing a garrison. The frequency of such semi-official English ventures subsequently declined, there being only ten altogether between 1600 and 1603, when the long-running Anglo–Spanish conflict effectively came to an end.

WARFARE

The majority of pirate flotillas operating in American waters initially consisted of no more than a single ship equipped for both fighting and trading, accompanied by a smaller vessel of a type called a pinnace or *patache*, which, having a shallow draft and being provided with up to 18 oars a side as well as sails, was better suited to the inshore work called for in coastal operations. The pinnace might displace as little as 20 tons and could have a crew of as few as 20 men or as many as 70, but carried little or no armament beyond a number of small *versos* (1–11/2 pdr breech-loading swivels). No raiding force recorded in the first half of the century ever comprised more than 800–1,000 men and six vessels, of which two at the very least were pinnaces. During the 1550s, however, the French despatched larger fleets which included royal warships as well as privateers, and carried sizeable contingents of troops for deployment ashore. The ten ships which sailed under François le Clerc in 1553–54 constituted the first of these more substantial ventures, and included two royal warships and three or four pinnaces. Most English expeditions of the period 1572–1603 were of three ships or less. Only those which received royal backing were any larger, being sometimes accompanied by royal warships (two served under Drake in 1585–86, and five in 1595–96). Drake's expedition of 1572–73 appears to have been unique in carrying three prefabricated pinnaces aboard one of its two ships, which were unloaded and re-assembled when he arrived at his destination in the Gulf of Darién. Pinnaces were sufficiently important to the success of a privateering enterprise that expeditions were generally abandoned if the larger ships lost touch with them for any reason, while the pinnace commander sometimes decided to utilise the advantages of his vessel for his own profit, abandoning the accompanying ship to go a-roving on his own.

In the absence of their own navigational charts, early French raiders depended heavily on the knowledge and experience of disaffected Spanish pilots, Benzoni recording in the 1540s that 'it was some Spaniards, practised in that navigation, who led the enemy … so that the French also became as familiar with those waters as the Spaniards themselves'. It was, for instance, a Spaniard who guided five French ships into Cartagena harbour in 1544, where they landed 100 men and sacked and burnt the town. Before long, however, French corsairs knew as much about navigating in the Caribbean and the Atlantic sea-lanes as their Spanish counterparts, and had accumulated sufficient intelligence of Spanish strength in the region to enable them to launch their attacks with impunity. Benzoni noted that 'although in the beginning they restricted themselves to the vicinity of Hispaniola and San Juan de Puerto Rico, yet when those districts ceased to yield rich prizes … they frequented more of the islands, and even some of the provinces on the mainland', pillaging towns and capturing ships wherever they went. The *audiencia* of Santo Domingo reported in 1541 that French corsairs 'knowing the weakness of these ports landed in many of them … in full daylight, [and] burned and robbed some without meeting any resistance'. Very few Spanish attempts to repel pirate landing-parties were ever successful, and at least some of those that were owed their success more to bribery than force of arms. Indeed, Blasco Núñez Vela (1539) considered that 300 corsairs could seize any coastal town on the Spanish Main that they cared to, regardless of its size or strength, and it is readily apparent from the sources that the Spaniards' poor leadership and lack of adequate arms virtually guaranteed the pirates success on land. So long as they managed to avoid the larger and more heavily-armed Spanish warships sometimes despatched against them there was also very little that they needed to fear at sea.

Normal French raiding practice, as recorded by a Spanish eye-witness in 1571, was for the crew of the pinnace to make the attack while the larger ship stood offshore, the booty being subsequently transferred to the ship, which would periodically return to Normandy to sell it. This is exactly how Sores went about attacking Havana in 1555, when he landed the bulk of his men by means of his pinnaces and ships' boats to outflank the town's defences and launch an overland attack from the rear. On this particular occasion the French set fire to the fort's gates to smoke out its garrison after several hours of fighting. The Spanish governor had meanwhile rallied the population (which, as was customary under such circumstances, had fled inland with the greater part of its portable valuables at first site of the corsairs) and returned with such armed men as he could muster, but was beaten off. Drake employed much the same tactics in his attack on Santo Domingo in 1586, putting his landing-party ashore several miles away to launch a surprise attack from the rear while his main fleet kept the town's defences occupied from the seaward side. This became the characteristic *modus operandi* of English privateers thereafter.

The Spanish response

Recognising the increasing problems presented by piracy as early as July 1522, the Spanish Crown stipulated that ships making the transatlantic voyage should be of at least 80 tons (increased to 100 tons in 1543), and issued regulations governing the minimum armament that each vessel was required to carry, consisting of at least two brass guns, six iron ones, and several smaller pieces. However, it seems that these were rarely complied with, since Benzoni states that the principal cause of Spanish ship losses 'was the avarice of the owners; for on quitting Spain, such was their avidity to fill up with merchandise and passengers that they did not put the due number of guns on board … nor even the number ordered by the Council of the Indies'. Commissioners sent to examine that ships were armed in accordance with these regulations were simply bribed to look the other way. Consequently, continues Benzoni, 'if a well-armed little French *galleonette* happened to meet a ship of even 1,500 or 2,000 salme [c.300–400 tons] they attacked her without the least fear, knowing how ill Spanish ships

were provided. Firing first a few shot, they then hailed them to lower their topsails ... and if they did not do it directly, they fired some of their great guns into them, right amidships, and the Spaniards seeing that there was no way of defending themselves ... surrendered.' The French would then loot the ship, its crew, and its passengers, before allowing them to go on their way.

A more successful solution to ship losses was the introduction of a convoy system, which had probably been first experimented with as early as 1501. In 1526 it was ordered that ships sailing in either direction between the Caribbean ports and Spain had to rendezvous at Seville and Santo Domingo and only sail when a minimum of ten vessels had been assembled, but these regulations may never have been enforced, and seem to have been studiously ignored if they were. Next, in 1543, it was ordered that henceforth ships were to sail in one of two annual convoys, each consisting of at least ten vessels (in reality there could be up to a hundred) escorted by a single royal warship, that were to make the outward voyage in April (or May) and August, and the return journey in early summer and late spring.[14] A further ordinance in 1553 increased the strength of a convoy's escort to four warships. By the mid-1560s this convoy system had evolved into its final form, with one fleet sailing each year to Veracruz in Mexico and another to Nombre de Dios and Cartagena, the only New World ports licensed to trade directly with Spain (vessels sailing anywhere else had to obtain special authorisation). These two fleets would rendezvous at Havana for the return trip to Spain, having first taken aboard whatever treasure had been shipped to Panama from Peru and (after 1571) the Philippines and thence, via the *Camino Real*, to Nombre de Dios. In 1597 the northern terminus of the *Camino Real* was transferred to Puerto Bello, and from about 1600 the principal transhipment port for fleets from the Philippines became Acapulco.'

There were also efforts to form a permanent fleet in the West Indies, several ill-equipped ships being sent out to Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico for the purpose in about 1533, and in 1552 a flotilla of 300 men and four vessels, including one pinnace, was established at Santo Domingo, though guns had to be removed from the fort to arm these and all of them were soon wrecked. In 1567 Spanish admiral Menéndez de Avilés, who had already driven French corsairs away from the Spanish coast during the early-1550s, began a programme of refortification throughout the Caribbean, replacing earlier earth and timber forts with masonry defences and ensuring that all were sufficiently provided with artillery. Menéndez died back in Spain in September 1574 whilst assembling an armada to execute his boldest venture of all — the planned capture of the Scilly Isles and the establishment of a fleet of 15–20 Spanish warships there, which, had it gone ahead, would have prevented French, English and Dutch privateers alike from escaping into the open Atlantic.

A further effort to deploy a defensive fleet in the Caribbean got under way in 1575, and in 1578 two galleys and a sloop were stationed in Cartagena, the oarsmen of the former being slaves and convicts of whom many were, ironically enough, former pirates. Their deployment being deemed a success, another two galleys were sent out to Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico in 1582, and two more were based in Cuba from 1586. As some indication of a typical galley crew in this period, we know that the larger of the two galleys stationed in Cuba carried 21 officers, 24 seamen, 46 soldiers, and 254 oarsmen made up of 13 paid freemen, 49 slaves, and 192 convicts including 18 Frenchmen and ten other foreigners. By 1598, however, these galleys were all unfit for service, and they were replaced by an *armada de barlovento*, or 'windward squadron', consisting of six small, fast warships of the type subsequently called frigates. However, this flotilla spent most of its time escorting treasure ships to and from Spain rather than patrolling the Caribbean as had been intended, and after 1608 it was based permanently in Spanish waters.

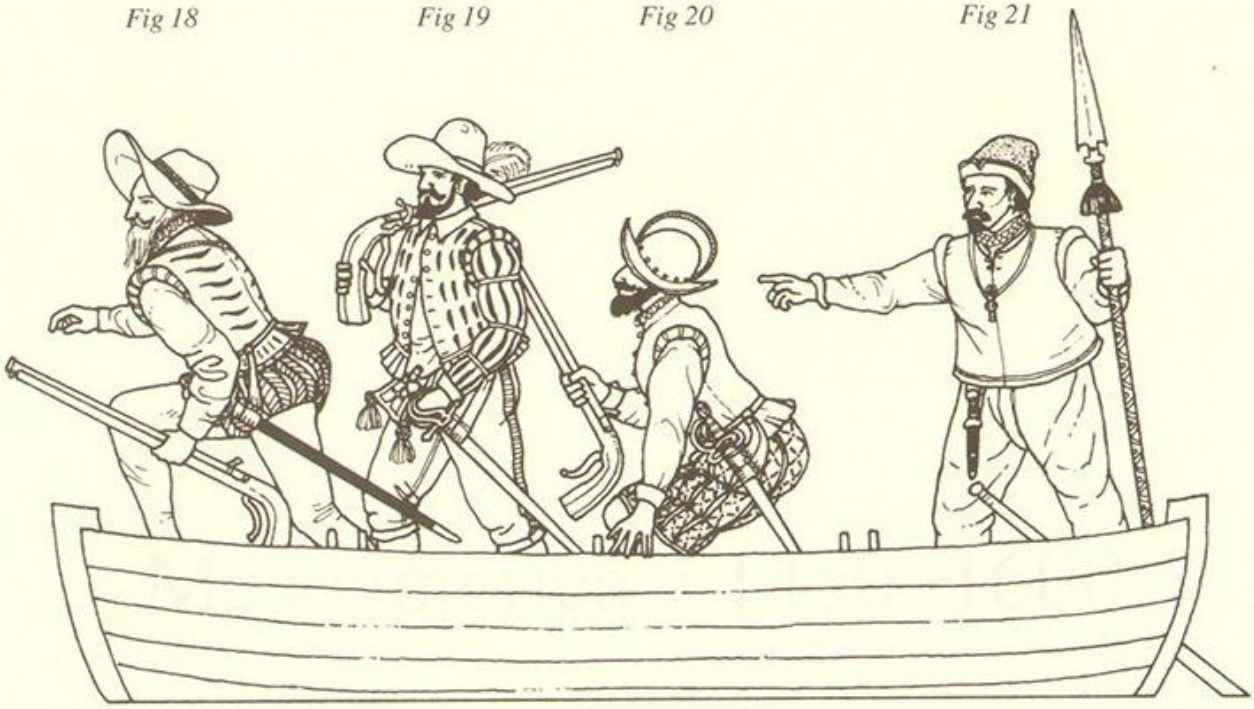
FIGURES

18–25. CORSAIRS AND SEAMEN Figures 18–21 come from de Bry engravings of 1590 depicting earlier French raids on the West Indies, while Figure 22 is a Dutch corsair from a contemporary engraving of Olivier van Noort's raid on southern Chile in 1599. Though privateers tended to be equipped predominantly with firearms, the landing parties fielded by French and English expeditions which had received official backing tended to be armed more like conventional military detachments, with the usual mix of weapons that would be found in a company drawn from any Western European army of the period. The arms of the 74 men of Drake's landing party in Panama in 1572, for instance, were typical of those of English armies of that date, comprising 24 men with muskets or 'calivers' (the latter being a firearm that fell halfway between a musket and an arquebus in performance), 12 men with longbows, 12 pikemen, a further six men with 'firepikes' (pikes to which torches were attached), six targeteers (men armed with a sword and shield, or 'target'), six men with partisans (spear-bladed polearms such as that carried by Figure 21), and four musicians (two drummers and two trumpeters). Sores' men at Havana in 1555, wearing metal corselets and armed with arquebuses, were likewise accompanied by drums and flags. When attacking at night, corsairs customarily donned white shirts over their armour and other apparel 'that we might be sure to know our men in the pell mell in the night', as one explained, since there was nothing else about their costume to distinguish them from such average 16th century seamen as those depicted in Figures 23–25. Though these represent an Englishman of 1578, a Frenchman of 1582, and a Spaniard of 1592 respectively, all Western European seamen of this period dressed identically. For other seamen see Figures 180, 221, 222, 226, and 228, as well as Figures 101–104 in this book's companion volume, *Armies of the Sixteenth Century: The Armies of England, Scotland, Ireland, the United Provinces, and the Spanish Netherlands*. The latter also provides details of the dress, arms and armour in use amongst Western Europeans during the period under review.

NOTES

9 The French word *corsaire* derived ultimately from Latin *cursarius*, 'a raider', possibly via Spanish *corsario*, 'one who cruises'. During the 16th century European monarchs regularly made use of the fiction that a nation's seamen were not *really*

Fig 18 *Fig 19* *Fig 20* *Fig 21*



pirates if they were carrying what were called 'letters of marque' or 'letters of reprisal', which authorised the bearer to attack foreign shipping whenever and wherever he wished, theoretically to compensate losses suffered by the nation's own merchants at the hands of other pirates …

10 The most significant 16th century Dutch maritime enterprise in the Americas took place not in the Caribbean, but in southern Chile, where an expedition consisting of four or five warships and 258 men under Olivier van Noort was active in 1599–1601. Among the places van Noort raided was the island of Talca, where, after they had massacred the Spanish garrison, his force subsequently had the misfortune of being mistaken for Spaniards by the local Mapuche Indians, who drove them back to their ships with the loss of 23 men.

11 The Spanish overland treasure *trajins* (trains) were organised in 'recoes' (Spanish *recuas*), of 50 or more mules. The train attacked by Drake near the Campos river in April 1573 consisted of three 'recoes', one of 50 mules and two of 70 each, with each mule carrying 300 lbs (136 kg) of silver. Each 'reco' was guarded by about 15 Spaniards. The construction of a canal through Panama to replace the *Camino Real* was given serious consideration as early as the 1520s and 1530s, but the idea was abandoned mid-century.

12 Drake's plan differed little in essence from one drawn up by the French back in 1558/9. This had proposed to seize Nombre de Dios and Panama, to sack Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico, to intercept a Spanish treasure-fleet as it sailed from Veracruz to Havana, and then to attack and destroy Havana itself. It was calculated that this would disrupt the flow of treasure back to Spain to such an extent that 'not a single *sou* would come thence for two years'.

13 Though several modern authorities state that the attackers were assisted by local Cimaroons, contemporary Spanish and English documents seem to make no mention of this.

14 The Portuguese did not introduce a similar convoy system for their trade with Brazil until 1571, when it was ordered that ships had to sail in groups of at least four vessels, of which one had to be large and well-armed.

Fig 22 *Fig 23* *Fig 24* *Fig 25*

Mesoamerica c.1450–1600

THE AZTECS

Though modern books tend to treat the so-called 'Aztec Empire' as if all of its people — especially those of the Valley of Mexico — shared the same origins, the Aztecs[15] were, in fact, just one of up to 40 Nahuatl-speaking Chichimec tribes which had migrated into Central Mexico in the 13th century, probably from the north-west, and subsequently overran the Toltec Empire. Other tribes involved in this migration included the following:

Acolhua	Huexotzinca	Otomi
Chalca	Malinalca	Tepaneca
Cholulteca	Matlatzinca	Tlahuica
Couixca	Michoaca	Tlaxcalteca
Cuitlahuaca	Mixtec	Totonaca
Culhua	Nonoalca	Xochimilca

Most settled in the region where the principal town subsequently bore their name (the Cholulteca in Cholula, the Culhua in Culhuacan, the Xochimilca in Xochimilco, and so on). The most important of them — i.e. those which managed to retain their independence until the 16th century — are dealt with individually further on in this chapter.

Early in the 14th century the Aztecs established the cities of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco on islands in Lake Texcoco in the Valley of Mexico, Tenochtitlan achieving ascendancy in 1428 by forming an alliance with the neighbouring city-state of Texcoco to overthrow the ruling Tepaneca people. Soon afterwards (1431) the city of Tlacopan (Tacuba) joined with Tenochtitlan and Texcoco to create the 'Triple Alliance', round which the so-called Aztec Empire grew. Expansion proceeded rapidly from the 1440s, with town after town being coerced or beaten into submission. Each subjugated community was permitted to retain its own ruler and gods, but was thereafter obliged to make regular payments of tribute to the storehouses of Tenochtitlan in order to maintain the empire's administration, priesthood, and military potential; failure to do so brought swift and merciless retribution. By the time the Spaniards arrived in 1519 the ruler of Tenochtitlan, always the pre-eminent leader of the Alliance, had become undisputed master of its empire, while the rulers of Texcoco and Tlacopan had become his own carefully selected appointees.

Leader of the Aztec nation was the *Tlatoani* ('Speaker'), also called the *Tlatoque*, *Hueytlatoani* ('Revered Speaker') or *Tlacatecuhtli* ('Chief of men'). Effectively he was the king or paramount chief, but his office was technically elective and theoretically he could be deposed. In reality, however, the kingship was hereditary, each *Tlatoani* being elected from among the kindred of the same ruling line by a council of chief men and priests; the only variation from European practice was that brothers and nephews were usually selected in preference to sons — for instance, Axayacatl, Tizoc, and Ahuitzotl, who ruled successively in the period 1469–1503, were all brothers, while Ahuitzotl's successors Moctezuma II (1503–20) and Cuitlahuac (1520) were his nephews, being sons of Axayacatl. Cuitlahuac was succeeded in turn by Ahuitzotl's son Cuauhtemoc (1520–25), the very last *Tlatoani* of Tenochtitlan.

The Speaker was assisted by a man called the *Cihuacoatl* ('Serpent-Woman') — who was his chief minister and deputy in all things — and by four other senior officials who were probably the same as the elected leaders of the four quarters into which Tenochtitlan was divided, whose responsibilities combined both civil and military functions. These were the *Tlacatecatl* ('Cutter of Men'), the *Tlacochcalcatl* ('Master of the House of Darts'), the *Ezhuahuacatl* ('Blood-Shedder'), and the *Tlilancalqui* ('Master of the House of Darkness') or *Quauhnochtli* ('Chief of the Eagle and Prickly Pear', an allusion to the emblem of Tenochtitlan that can still be found on Mexico's national flag today). One of these officials was usually the heir-apparent and all were commonly the *Tlatoani*'s brothers, cousins, or kinsmen of the royal bloodline. Provincial governors or commanders were also known as *tlacatecatl* or *tlacochcalcatl*.

The structure of Aztec society had become distinctly stratified by the 16th century. Beneath the Speaker of Tenochtitlan came the rulers of tributary or subordinate

towns (some having more than one), these being likewise called *tlatoani*, otherwise *teuctlatoqueh* (usually translated as 'judges'). Next came the senior nobility or chieftains (*teteuctin*), who were heads of the noble houses and were equivalent in rank to the chieftains of 19th century North American tribes. Beneath them were the 'nobles by birth', the *pipiltin*, who were variously the issue or descendants of rulers (*tlatocapipiltin*) or of chieftains (*tecpipiltin*), called *tlazopipiltin* if by legal wives or *calpanpipiltin* if by concubines. These *pipiltin*[16] or lesser nobility actually constituted a sizeable proportion of the population of Central Mexico — 14% in Huexotzingo, for instance, and perhaps 20% in Tenochtitlan — and provided the nucleus of most armies. Next came the upper-classes of the common people, comprising the 'eagle nobles' (*quauhpipiltin*) who had been raised to noble status by their martial achievements, and the headmen (*capolehqueh*) of each town ward or *calpulli* (literally 'big house'). Beneath these came the commoners (*macehualtin*), who were a mixture of subjects of the *teteuctin*; bondsmen or farm-hands (*mayehqueh* or *tlalmaitin*); and slaves (*tlatlacohtin*).

Technically military service was required when necessary from most elements of Aztec society, an obvious exception being the slaves, but in reality the onus of responsibility lay with the upper classes — who were expected to perform military service as an obligation of their social status and were shamed if they did not — and those commoners specifically trained for a military career.

TRAINING AND ADVANCEMENT

Aztec parents decided on their children's careers, most sons being expected to follow in their father's footsteps. Those who were going to be warriors had their hair grown in a distinctive style from the age of ten, with a long tuft called a *piltontli* at the back. Their training took place through two types of school, known as the *telpochcalli* ('youths' house') and the *calmecac* ('row of houses'). *Fray* Bernardino de Sahagún, author of the *Codex Florentino*, records that a *telpochcalli* was to be found in each city ward (though he says elsewhere that each ward of Tenochtitlan 'had 10 or 15 such *telpochcalli*', which is more likely) and that it was attended mostly by commoners, while a *calmecac* was to be found attached to each of certain important temples and was attended only by the nobility and such commoners as had been dedicated to the priesthood.

Though Sahagún implies entry at an earlier age, the *telpochcalli* was attended from the age of 15 — 'after the child had been reared by his parents' — according to the *Codex Mendoza* (c.1549), and concentrated on educating its students in the art of war, the teachers being veteran soldiers (*tequihuahqueh*), 'teachers of youths' (*tiachcacauhtin*), and noble warriors (*pipiltin*). The *calmecac*, by contrast, principally taught religious subjects, and its students were admitted at a much earlier age, somewhere between five and 13 (sources differ). When they reached 15 those *calmecac* students who needed to learn military skills were sent for their lessons to the barracks of the elite Eagle and Jaguar warriors in the palace precinct, a factor which helped to perpetuate the superior military standards Aztec society expected of its nobility.

Usually no student was expected to actually fight until he was 20 years old, but at least some — once they had proved they were strong enough — began to be taken on campaign at an earlier age, carrying the arms and equipment of individual *tequihuahqueh*, to whom they effectively served as apprentices. In exceptional circumstances they might even fight while still only in their teens, such as when an army of 16–18 year olds was deliberately fielded as an insult to an enemy's fighting abilities. *Tlatoani* Moctezuma I (1440–68) even sent out 'boys upwards of 12 years of age' against the Chalca, arming them with bows, shields, and macanas, with orders to follow close behind the main army to make the Chalca think that two armies had been raised against them.

Once they reached maturity at the age of 20 the young men left their schools and were considered to be novice warriors, but any further advancement could only be achieved by the taking of captives in battle. A warrior who succeeded in taking his first captive, even with the help of up to six other warriors,[17] was thenceforward considered a 'leading youth' (*telpochyahqui*) and a captor (*tlamani*), and his tuft of hair was cut off;[18] but a warrior who proved unable to take a captive after three or four campaigns was deemed a disgrace. He was contemp-tuously referred to as a *cuexpalchicacpo*, a 'youth with a baby's tuft', and according to Sahagún would throw himself into the next battle in a wild frenzy, to take a prisoner at any cost. If even then he still needed the help of others to take his captive his head was plastered with feathers, but if he failed completely the top of his head was shorn, 'cut like a ring-shaped carrying pad'. Presumably he had to keep this humiliating hair-style until he finally took a prisoner, died in the attempt, or was in effect cashiered.

When a warrior had taken three captives he became a *tiachcauh* or 'teacher of youths' himself. Four captives made him a *telpochtlatoh* ('ruler of youths', the governor of a *telpochcalli* school) and a *tequihuah* or 'valiant warrior',[19] entitling him to a distinctive hair-style (see Figures 44–46). Warriors who took five or six prisoners became *Otontin* ('Otomis') and qualified for another distinctive hair-style (Figure 35), and if they took even more they became *Quachicqueh* or 'Shorn Ones' (Figures 32–34; the literal translation of their name is 'scraped heads'). Though both these ranks are sometimes thought to have been attainable only by noblemen, Sahagún alludes to 'Shorn Ones' who came from the *telpochcalli*, which would imply that at least some came from a non-noble background. Alvarado Tezozomoc, writing before 1562, says that each *Otomitl* or *Quachic*

took command of 100 men on campaign, but other sources put them in the front rank or rearguard, or intersperse them with the rank and file to bolster the resolve of the latter, which is perhaps Tezozomoc's meaning (he also refers to one *Otomitl* or *Quachic* 'between every three or four warriors', probably meaning ranks); Diego Durán[20] probably had this arrangement in mind when he wrote of 'a youth who had never been to war before' being placed next to each 'seasoned warrior', in order that the latter could 'take care of the younger men and give them protection.'

If, in Moctezuma II's time, a fifth captive was taken from Atlixco, Huexotzingo, or Tliliuhquitepec, then his captor received especially great honour and was called a *quauhyahcatl* ('great captain'), while a sixth captive from these places qualified a warrior for the rank of *tlacochcalcatl* or *tlacatecatl*.

Though unpaid, warriors received rewards and preferments commensurate with their battlefield performance, including clothes, jewellery, slaves, land, and appointment to or promotion in administrative office. Most Aztec officials were chosen from the warrior class, though Sahagún reports that, despite their battlefield skill, *Otontin* and 'Shorn Ones' were excluded from holding office because of their wild nature. Tezozomoc, however, contradicts him by claiming that eminent *Quachicqueh* sometimes held very high posts indeed, including even those of *Tlacatecatl*, *Tlacochcalcatl* and *Quauhnochtli*. Certainly at the very least 'Shorn Ones' would seem to have sat in the war-councils the Speaker held with the Jaguar and Eagle societies.

Many of the distinctions of each of these various classes of warrior actually took the form of rich clothing or jewellery, and from Moctezuma I's time onwards it was ordained that 'brave men' were no longer to buy their own lip-plugs, ear-plugs, gold necklaces, bracelets, shields, weapons, 'insignia' (standards), 'many-coloured feathers', mantles, or breechclouts, all of these items henceforth being among those given out by the Speaker 'as payment for memorable deeds'. The distribution of such insignia, many elements of which were associated with civilian attire rather than war-dress, took place at a special ceremony celebrated each year in the eleventh of the Aztecs' 18 months, *Ochpaniztli*. As some indication of the value of such gifts, an ornate feather mantle was considered to be equivalent to the price of 100 canoes (a cotton mantle was worth one canoe).

Warriors who performed poorly on campaign might actually be stripped of their rewards. *Otontin* and *Quachicqueh*, for instance, are said in one source to have fought in pairs on the battlefield, and if one was killed and the other ran away the survivor was dishonoured and relieved of his rank until such time as the Speaker might decide to restore it, perhaps after the miscreant had experienced a year or two of disgrace, or had re-qualified for his status by the capture of additional prisoners. The punishment for wearing items of dress or jewellery to which one had no right was death.

ELITE WARRIORS

From Sahagún's *Codex Florentino* it is apparent that *tequihuahqueh*, *Otontin*, and 'Shorn Ones' alike were armed, equipped and fed at the expense of the state, and other sources indicate that they lived in warrior 'houses' (*tequihuacacalli*) — communal lodgings equivalent to barracks — in the palace precinct. The same is also true of the religious warrior-societies known as the Eagle Warriors (*Quaquauhtin*) and Jaguar Warriors (*Ocelomeh*), occasionally referred to collectively as *Quauhtlocelotl* or Eagle-Jaguars.[21] These comprised 'a caste of initiates fighting for the attainment of spirituality'.[22] Only *tequihuahqueh* (i.e. warriors who had taken four or more captives) could enter either of these orders, but details of any other selective process that may have been involved are not known. Certainly not every *tequihuah* automatically became a member, despite the *Codex Mendoza*'s attribution of a jaguar war-suit to all men who took four prisoners, and some additional qualification may have been required to become an Eagle Warrior in particular. Certainly pictorial evidence indicates that Eagle Warriors were considerably less numerous than Jaguars, and significantly most of the surviving pictures depicting eagle war-suits show them being worn by rulers or chieftains. Significantly too, the surviving tribute lists do not include a single picture of or allusion to an eagle war-suit, so clearly the demand must have been on a very small scale indeed, compared to an annual requirement of close to 30 jaguar war-suits.

The majority of those who did gain admission to either society were members of the nobility, and even where commoners of equal military expertise were admitted they were held in less regard than the noble elements. They even appear to have lived in their own distinct 'house' whereas the noble members were accommodated in 'eagle houses' (*quauhcalli*), though both alike were within the palace precinct. Joseph de Acosta (1588) records that 'every order of these knights had his lodging in the palace, marked with their emblems. The first was called the Princes' Lodging, the second of Eagles, the third of Lions and Tigers [i.e. Jaguars], and the fourth of grey knights [Acosta's name for the *Otontin*]. The other common officers were lodged below in meaner houses. If anyone lodged out of his station, he suffered death.'

When they became too old to fight, Jaguar and Eagle Warriors were known as *Quauheuhueh* ('Eagle Elders'), and it is apparent from Durán's work that they continued to perform important duties on campaign — such as keeping the men in order on the march, marshalling them into formation on the battlefield, and taking charge of the army's camps — but they no longer wore their eagle or jaguar war-suits or carried arms; Durán mentions that they simply 'carried staffs in their hands and wore headbands, long shell ear-plugs and labrets.'

The *Quachicqueh* and *Otontin* were considered the most courageous of all Aztec warriors and were greatly feared by their enemies, the sources referring to them fighting like madmen in battle without regard for their own safety. Durán records that each 'Shorn One' swore never to flee 'even if faced by 20 enemies, nor take one step backward', and that each *Otomitl* 'made a vow not to retreat even if faced by 10 or 12 enemies, but rather to die.' Unsurprisingly, therefore, they suffered grievous losses in any Aztec defeat, such as against the Tarascans in 1478/9, where they must have been virtually if not actually wiped out (only 200 of the army's Tenochtitlan contingent reputedly survived). Sahagún noted that the 'Shorn Ones' were also described as *momiccatlcani*, meaning 'they who hurl themselves to death', a name comparable to the warrior-society of 'crazy dogs wishing to die' of the North American Crow Indians, who sought death in battle by their own boldness, just as Sahagún elsewhere says that the 'Shorn Ones' did. Indeed, there are enough similarities between the little that we know of the *Otontin* and *Quachicqueh* on the one hand and such Plains Indian 'contrary' warrior-societies on the other to demonstrate that ultimately both probably shared the same cultural origin.[23]

Torquemada describes the 'Shorn Ones' as behaving like fools or crazy people on the battlefield, and Sahagún likens their comportment to that of buffoons, observing that they dressed clumsily and, elsewhere, that they were vain and outspoken, all of which denotes such self-confidence in their martial abilities that they could not be belittled by either detrimental appearance or unsociable conduct. Going back to the parallels with Plains Indians, it is also interesting to note that 'Shorn Ones' appear to have often been held back as a reserve or placed in the rearguard, which tallies with the customary behaviour of a Cheyenne 'contrary' group, the 'Bowstring Society', who took no part in battles where victory was inevitable but only attacked when the tide had turned against them. Most of the time, however, the *Quachicqueh* and *Otontin* (in that order) were in the forefront of battle, and, as already noted, they might even be temporarily interspersed among inexperienced warriors, a role in which Jaguar and Eagle warriors were also employed. (This practice originated during a campaign against Metztitlan in 1481 when, seeing the morale of his recruits badly shaken by the ferocity of the Metzoteca attack, an Aztec commander recommended that 'one or two or three' veterans should be placed among each troop of them 'to give them strength and spirit'. This enabled the Aztecs to drive back the next attack and get themselves safely away from the battlefield.)

The existence of all of these elite groups may lay behind the claims made by some 16th century writers that the Aztec Speaker maintained a sizeable bodyguard. Francisco López de Gómara[24] provides one of the clearest references to this body, stating that 'Moctezuma [II] had daily a company of 600 gentlemen and lords to act as his bodyguard, each with three or four armed servants to wait on him, some even with as many as 20 or more, according to their rank and wealth; so altogether they numbered 3,000 in the palace guard, some say many more'. He concedes himself, however, that 'they put on this guard and show of power' to impress the Spaniards 'and that ordinarily it was smaller.' Certainly Durán records that the *Quachicqueh* and *Otontin* in an army of Moctezuma I's time totalled only about 2,000 men, even though these had been assembled not just from Tenochtitlan but 'from all the provinces'.

Although modern authorities generally dismiss the idea of a formal bodyguard it is worth noting that Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, nephew of the last ruler of Texcoco (who one would therefore expect to be well-informed in such matters), reported the existence of warriors and captains whose special responsibility was to guard the Speaker and his family, while the *conquistador* Bernal Díaz del Castillo refers to Moctezuma II having 'over 200 of the nobility in his guard, in other rooms close to his own'. Durán too, quoting from a lost Aztec chronicle, specifically mentions guardsmen in at least two passages — surrounding the *Tlatoani* Axayacatl in battle against the Matlatzinca in 1478, and accompanying Ahuitzotl (1486–1503) during a religious ceremony — in the second instance providing a reasonably detailed description of them which is worth quoting in full, wherein he calls them 'gallant soldiers, every one of them of noble blood. All of these carried a staff in their hands, but no other weapons. On their heads they wore their symbols of rank as knights; these consisted of two or three green or blue feathers tied to their hair with red ribbons. Some wore the feathers erect on their heads while others wore them hanging. On their backs hung as many round tassels as the number of great deeds they had performed in battle. These tassels were attached to the feathered headbands. All these warriors wore splendid jewellery.'

Certainly a complete absence of bodyguards of any description seems highly unlikely, even in an orderly theocracy like the Aztec empire. If they were indeed provided by any of the elite warriors mentioned above we do not know which, though the Eagles and Jaguars seem the most likely candidates.

ORGANISATION

As has already been mentioned, Tenochtitlan was divided into four quarters or *campans*. Following its conquest by Tenochtitlan in 1473 the neighbouring Aztec city of Tlatilolco became a fifth 'quarter'. Each quarter comprised several *calpulli* — wards or kin-groups (of which there appear to have been 20 in all by 1519) — divided in turn into smaller family groupings called *tlaxilacalli*, of which there were probably two or three per *calpulli*. This same organisation was transferred to the army when it was mustered, with *calpulli* units — each serving under its own elected clan war-chief, a *tiachcauh* — combined into four (later five) larger divisions under the *campan* chieftains. Sometimes, when

very numerous, a *campan*'s warriors were subdivided into smaller units, each comprising at most two or three *calpulli*. Each *calpulli* had its own standard and went into battle shouting the name of its ward.

Unit organisation throughout Mesoamerica was based on the vigesimal system, the smallest unit being the *pantli*, or 'banner', of 20 men. Technically the next unit should have been the company of 400 men (*tzontli*, or 20 3 20) and the largest was certainly the *xiquipilli* of 8,000 men (20 3 400), but there is sufficient evidence to indicate that units of 100 and 200 men also existed, perhaps as subdivisions of the *tzontli*. References even occur to bodies 800–1,000 strong, but these were probably combinations of several smaller units. Quite how these various unit sizes relate to the administrative structure of *campan* and *calpulli* outlined above is unclear. It has been suggested that each *calpulli* fielded 400 men and each *campan* 8,000. Probably Sahagún is referring to bands of 200–400 men when he describes Aztec units as comprising men of a 'particular group or kindred', which is presumably an allusion to either a *tlaxilacalli* or a *calpulli*.

Units as small as 200 men, and probably those of 100, each had their own standard (probably that of the unit's commander), which was placed in the centre of the unit in battle. There is also some evidence to suggest that individual units may have used some sort of distinguishing combination of colours for identification, presumably in the form of an item of clothing. Certainly the chronicler known as the Anonymous Conquistador, after describing Aztec war-suits, refers to how 'one company will wear them in white and red, another in blue and yellow, and others in further different combinations', and Díaz del Castillo wrote of the defenders of Tenochtitlan in 1521 that 'each separate body of the Mexicans was distinguished by a particular dress and certain warlike devices'. In the 18th century Clavigero, using earlier sources, wrote that units were 'distinguished by the colour of the plumage which the officers and nobles wore over their armour'. How this worked in conjunction with the complicated Aztec strictures regarding the wearing of different colours and costumes, alluded to in the figure captions below, remains unclear.

The size of an Aztec army depended on the task in hand. It could involve no more than the noble elements of the Triple Alliance itself, including the Eagle and Jaguar Warriors; or a full muster of the warrior-class, i.e. all of those who had opted for a 'full-time' military career as opposed to the common militiamen (the *yaoquizqueh*); a general call-to-arms of a greater or smaller part of the entire population; a universal muster of the Triple Alliance and some or many of its tributary towns; or a combination of any of these — for instance, an army might comprise just the warrior-classes of the Triple Alliance and several tributaries. The majority of field-armies appear to have been in the region of 20–50,000 strong, but for the campaign against Coixtlahuaca in 1506–7 reputedly 25 *xiquipilli*, or 200,000 men, were raised — not an entirely impossible figure if the highest of the various estimates of Mexico's population c.1500 (between five and 25 million) are at all accurate, but certainly highly improbable, for logistical reasons if no other. Troops of tributary towns were technically obliged to serve once a year, the normal practice being for them to be mustered by the town's own *tlatoani* and then (in the words of a *Relación Geografica*[25]) 'handed over to the Mexican captain sent by Moctezuma's government, and this man they acknowledged as captain and obeyed'.

A general call-up was announced in Tenochtitlan by a priest dressed as the war-god Painal ('Swift Runner'), who, wearing a black mask edged with white dots and with his body painted blue and yellow, ran through the streets with a rattle and a shield while the town's war-drum was beaten. The people then assembled at the main temple of each quarter, where arms were issued from those stored in an arsenal (the *tlacochcalco* or 'house of darts') situated in the temple entrance. Gómara records that these held bows, arrows, slings, 'pikes', darts, clubs, macanas, and shields, and a smaller number of helmets, greaves, and vambraces. Díaz del Castillo notes what must have been additional arsenals in the palace itself, where Moctezuma II 'had two buildings filled with every kind of arms, richly ornamented with gold and jewels', including all of the arms listed by Gómara plus 'much defensive armour of quilted cotton ornamented with feathers in different devices'. The richer quality of the palace arsenals indicates that the warrior-class must have been supplied from these, both in war and in the *Ochpaniztli* ceremony. Stock-levels in these arsenals were maintained by means of the tribute payments exacted from the Alliance's subject provinces, which by the Conquest period seem to have been required to supply over 600 war-suits, armours, and shields at the end of every 260 days, as well as considerable quantities of slings, slingstones, bows, arrows, flint and obsidian blades, and 32,000 canes to make spears and darts. Since the Valley of Mexico was at too high an altitude to cultivate cotton the Triple Alliance was, in fact, entirely dependent on its tributaries for cotton cloth and armour.[26]

Each unit was responsible for the transport of its own victuals, which were provided by the state. Where the campaign was local each warrior carried his own provisions on his back in a net bag, but for campaigns further afield *tlamemes*, or porters, were used. Sometimes these were sent ahead to leave supply caches along the army's line of march for as long as they were in Triple Alliance territory. Towns en route were expected to provide additional supplies and equipment; where they failed to do so provisions were sometimes taken by force, but any form of unauthorised looting, in either friendly or even enemy territory, was otherwise a capital offence, be it so much as an ear of corn plucked from the roadside. Women generally accompanied the army to cook and to carry additional household equipment that might be needed. Even with these relatively sophisticated logistical arrangements, however, ensuring the availability of adequate supplies in such a thinly populated land — especially once the army had entered enemy territory — was no easy task. Consequently delays, lengthy halts, and long sieges, all presented insurmountable difficulties. As a result sieges were rarely attempted, most towns being taken by frontal assault.

Sahagún records that on the march the army adhered to a strict order of precedence. Priests went first, followed by the army's generals with the Eagles, Jaguars, and veteran warriors; next came the rest of the Triple Alliance's own troops; then those of Tlatilolco, Acolhuacan, Tepaneca, Xilotepec and 'the so-called *Quaquata*' (i.e. men with slings tied round their heads, a name Sahagún elsewhere applies to the Matlatzinca); and after them the contingents of other tributary towns and provinces. Strict military discipline was enforced both on the march and in battle. When the army was in array 'no-one might break ranks or crowd in among the others', and chieftains would 'then and there slay or beat whoever introduced confusion'. Those found guilty of almost any sort of battlefield misconduct were customarily stoned to death following a court-martial hearing.

A STANDING ARMY?

Modern authorities are unanimous that the Aztecs had no standing army. Nevertheless, as we have already seen, they did have men whose working lives were dedicated to military service and whose career advancement could only come through that service; who earned their keep by fighting; and who were housed and fed by the state. Certainly there is never any suggestion in a contemporary source that non-noble warriors, at least of the rank of *tequihuah* and up, had any other form of income or livelihood, other than receiving — like *tiachcauhqueh* (men who had taken three captives) — gifts from parents in payment for providing their children with a military education, and certainly in this respect they were full-time professionals. However, they remained collections of individually courageous warriors rather than properly constituted, formally administered and disciplined companies, and outside of their service either on campaign or in a civil administration capacity — even accepting that they were forever at the Speaker's beck and call — their time appears to have been effectively their own. In addition it needs to be borne in mind that all such men were what we would today consider officers, or at least senior NCOs, so that there was no such thing as a permanent rank-and-file; military service was very much a secondary responsibility for Aztec commoners, whose principal duty was to farm the land. In this regard if no other, the Aztecs can hardly be considered to have had a standing army.

However, this conclusion calls for an explanation of the frequent Spanish references to the existence of Aztec 'garrisons' (*guarniciónes*), since this term automatically implies a permanent military establishment. Díaz records that 'the great Moctezuma kept many garrisons and companies of warriors in all the frontier provinces. There was one at Soconusco to guard the frontier of Guatemala and Chiapas, another at Coatzacualcos and another on the frontier of Michoacán, and another on the frontier of Pánuco, between Tuxpan and the town which we called Almeria on the north coast.' *Relaciónes Geograficas* remark on the presence of other such garrisons at Oaxaca, at Calixtlahuacan in Tolucan, at Tututepec and Chilapa on the frontiers of Yopitzinco, and elsewhere, while by 1519 'a large garrison of warriors' had reportedly been installed in Cholula. However, in 16th century Spanish the term *guarnación* actually denoted not a garrison as we would understand it, but rather just a detached force or a body of soldiers, so that most of the generally vague allusions to Aztec 'garrisons' probably signified small forces present in an area on no more than a temporary basis.

The few garrisons for which a more convincing case might be made appear to have been established as colonial settlements rather than military outposts — the 'garrison' colony of Oaxaca, for instance, was, according to Diego Durán, made up of 900 married men and their families drawn from Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, Chalco, Xochimilco, Cuernavaca, and the Mazahua; while those to be settled on another occasion at Oztuma, Alahuiztla, and Teloloapan on the Tarascan frontier consisted of 2,000 men and their families, gathered from more than 40 towns. Doubtless such men as were selected would have been of military age and would be expected to provide the nucleus of any locally mustered force, but it is not suggested anywhere that such service should be provided on a full-time basis, even though those settled on the Tarascan frontier are warned to be constantly on their guard because of the enmity between the Tarascans and the Aztecs.

However, such 'garrison' colonists may have been a cut above the usual class of farmer-militiamen. From Díaz's account it would appear that the garrison on the Huaxtec frontier, based in Xiuhcoac, was maintained by tribute and supplies exacted from the other towns and villages in the area and was active on a regular-enough basis to have inspired fear throughout the region, an unlikely occurrence if it just consisted of commoners performing their obligatory military duties. Díaz implies that Xiuhcoac could put as many as 4,000 men in the field in 1520, many of whom were doubtless locals whose tribute payments to the state took the form of military service. The 'garrison' of Calixtlahuacan in Tolucan, originating with Aztec colonists settled there in the 1470s, is recorded fielding a similarly sizeable force in 1521, when Cortés wrote that it and the local Mazahua population suffered 2,000 dead in an engagement against a combined Spanish–Otomi force.

THE SPANISH CONQUEST

When Hernando Cortés' expedition sailed for Mexico in February 1519 he was nominally acting as captain-

general of Diego Velázquez, governor of Cuba, even though the latter had actually cancelled his commission and ordered his arrest after jealous rivals had persuaded the governor that Cortés presented a potential threat to his authority. With his fleet of 11 ships, carrying 508 soldiers, 109 seamen, 200 Arawak porters, some Negro slaves, several artillery pieces, and 16 horses, Cortés proceeded down the coast of Yucatan and landed at the site of what is now Veracruz on Good Friday 1519. After fruitless exchanges with Aztec ambassadors sent from Tenochtitlan, he coerced the local Totonac Indians to rebel and then, in August, he set out inland with some 400 Spaniards, 15 horses, six guns, and a minimum of several hundred Indian warriors and porters. Despite the fact that Cortés had hoped for support from the Aztecs' traditional Tlaxcaltec enemies, an unlooked-for clash with the latter's vedettes led to two hard-fought encounters at the beginning of September, and it was only afterwards that the Tlaxcaltecs allied themselves to the Spanish cause. Cortés' expedition then resumed its march, reinforced by thousands of Tlaxcaltec warriors (Cortés claims 100,000, Bernardino Vázquez Tapia says 40,000; either way all but 5–6,000 were sent home).

Heavily defeating an attempted Aztec ambush at Cholula, the *conquistadores* entered Tenochtitlan without opposition on 8 November 1519. Confronted with such a *fait accompli*, Moctezuma had no choice but to treat the invading army as honoured guests. He was, nevertheless, placed under house-arrest soon afterwards on suspicion of encouraging opposition to the Spaniards elsewhere in the country. Several *tlatoani*, contemptuous of the Speaker's failure to put up any worthwhile resistance to the *conquistadores*, now organised a plot to overthrow him and expel the Spaniards, but Moctezuma learnt of the conspiracy and arranged with Cortés for the ringleaders — his nephew Cacama of Texcoco, his brother Cuitlahuac of Itzapalapa, and the *tlatoani* of Tacuba and Coyoacán — to be arrested. Moctezuma subsequently declared himself a vassal of Spain.

Soon afterwards, in April 1520, word arrived from Veracruz that Pánfilo de Narváez had arrived from Cuba with 80 horse, over 800 foot (including 80 arquebusiers and 130 crossbowmen), and 13–19 guns, under orders from Diego Velázquez to either arrest Cortés 'or thrust him out of the kingdom'. Assembling just 250 men, Cortés immediately marched to confront Narváez and overwhelmed his superior force in a sudden night-attack which resulted in little loss of life. Narváez himself was wounded and captured, after which most of his men switched sides and returned to Tenochtitlan with Cortés.

Meanwhile, during Cortés' absence from the city his lieutenant Pedro de Alvarado had massacred many Aztecs at a religious festival, to seize their jewels according to Girolamo Benzoni, though others say it was because the ceremony was one which involved human sacrifice, which Cortés had forbidden. More probably, as Alvarado himself claimed, the climax of the celebration was planned to be the signal for the Aztecs to attack and kill the Spaniards. Certainly there were indications that Aztec warriors were being mustered within Tenochtitlan in preparation for an insurrection, and once Alvarado had launched his attack the small Spanish garrison and its Tlaxcaltec allies were immediately beaten back and besieged in the Palace of Axayacatl by a veritable multitude of Indians. The initial spate of attacks subsequently abated sufficiently for Cortés to re-enter Tenochtitlan unopposed, but once there he was trapped as the entire population rose in revolt. Moctezuma was mortally wounded — it is uncertain by whom — during an attempt to negotiate with his brother Cuitlahuac, who had been released and elected *Tlatoani* in his stead, and, in a series of bitter engagements fought throughout the canal-intersected city's narrow streets, bridges and causeways, the Spaniards' attempts to disperse the encircling Aztecs were beaten back.

After a week of fighting Cortés saw no alternative but to withdraw from Tenochtitlan. The evacuation, which commenced on the night of 30 June 1520, proved such a desperate enterprise that it became known as the *Noche Triste* ('Sad Night'). Nearly 600 Spaniards and 2,000 Tlaxcaltec warriors had been killed by morning, along with untold numbers of hostages, prisoners, and female camp-followers. Most of the treasure looted from the Speaker's palaces was also lost. The survivors were nevertheless able to halt the Aztec pursuit at the Battle of Otumba (Otompan) on 7 July, fought in open ground where the *conquistadores* were able to take advantage of their superior weapons and few remaining cavalry. Cortés then spent the winter of 1520–21 regrouping in Tlaxcala, while smallpox — introduced into Central Mexico amongst the men who had accompanied Narváez — decimated the Triple Alliance, the *Tlatoani* Cuitlahuac being amongst those who succumbed. Reinforced to 86 horse, over 800 foot, 18 guns, and 20–24,000 (one source says 75,000) Tlaxcaltec auxiliaries, Cortés returned to lay siege to Tenochtitlan in May 1521, his attacks being supported by 13 brigandines which shipwrights with the expedition had built and launched on Lake Texcoco. On 13 August, after 93 days of intense fighting in which the Aztecs had suffered enormous losses, the last Aztec *Tlatoani*, Moctezuma's cousin Cuauhtemoc, was captured as he attempted to flee the city by canoe. All organised resistance subsequently collapsed.

The rest of Central Mexico was subjugated by Cortés' captains within the next few years and became the province of New Spain, Cortés being officially recognised as governor in October 1522.

WARFARE

As we have seen, the Triple Alliance was not really an 'Empire' at all, but a conglomeration of subjugated or allied towns and city-states all obliged to pay various forms of tribute to the central government in Tenochtitlan. Inevitably from time to time one or more of these tributaries would rebel, and an Aztec army would be despatched to bring them back into line (which is why the surviving records show some towns being

conquered by several successive Speakers). Alternatively an independent town from which tribute had been demanded might refuse to pay it, and again an army would be despatched to persuade the recalcitrents to comply. The enemy would normally be given the option of voluntary submission first, by such actions as installing the Aztecs' chief god in his temple or offering immediate payment of any overdue tribute, and his town was only attacked if he declined. In this sense there was no such thing as a surprise attack, since both sides were fully cognisant of the actions of the other, usually through the activities of their spies and ambassadors, and an enemy chief was usually ritually anointed and presented with weapons by the Aztecs' emissaries as a sign that war had been declared against him.

When the Aztec forces eventually arrived before the enemy town both sides would draw up for battle, and once again the Aztecs would demand the town's submission. Then priests would light an incense-soaked bonfire between the armies, and one last opportunity was given to the enemy to submit, before the flames went out. Díaz records that the Tlaxcaltecs lit such a fire in front of the Spaniards prior to their main battle against them in 1519, the priests telling Cortés that he 'should quit the land before the firewood which they had piled up should burn away. Then the warriors, drawn up in battle array, started to whistle and sound their trumpets and drums.' If neither side had withdrawn or submitted when the flames died the priests scattered the embers in every direction just as they intended to scatter their enemies. Negotiations being thus concluded, the signal for battle was given by a priest blowing on a conch-shell trumpet, most often at dawn.

There was nothing disorganised about their battle-array: the Anonymous Conquistador describes their 'squadrons' moving 'with perfect order' and maintaining formation 'wonderfully'. The members of each contingent went into action in a set order, the military orders generally advancing first, followed by the veterans and then the rest of the army. However, some subject regions sent in their youths first — presumably to give them an opportunity to take prisoners and thereby earn promotion — followed next by their more experienced men, and only then by the nobility and veterans.

The most succinct description of Aztec battlefield comportment is that of Geronimo de Mendieta (1596), whose brief account features most of the key elements. He wrote that 'at the outset they sped stones by slings, and rods like darts', and that 'they also threw stones by hand. Thereafter they resorted to sword and shield, and the archers went in at the same time well protected thereby, and thus they spent their ammunition … After the vanguard had used a good deal of its ammunition they charged with sword and dart, the sword being of wood, long and lined with cutting pieces of flint. It was tied to the wrist in order that they might drop it in order to seize an enemy without losing the weapon, as their main object was to capture men alive. They had no style of fencing, neither did they charge directly, but skirmished and rushed back and forth. At first one side would turn to flee, as it seemed, the enemy pursuing, killing, and wounding and capturing all those lagging behind. Then the side fleeing would suddenly turn on its pursuers, who fled in turn.' Mendieta notes that the battle continued thus 'as in a tournament' until the troops involved, becoming tired, were replaced by fresh companies which 'came forward to take up the fight'. This use of relays of fresh troops may, in fact, have been one of the keys to the Triple Alliance's military supremacy, since 16th century Spanish authors only attributed this practice to the Aztecs. One source claims that they replaced men in the fighting line as frequently as every 15 minutes, though it seems likely that in reality the intervals would have varied, since it would have been necessary to wait for a convenient lull in the fighting before such a tricky manoeuvre could be attempted. The fact that it was possible at all says much for Aztec discipline, which is praised in passing by several contemporary Spanish writers.

Most battles started as skirmishes and then gradually intensified until the issue was decided, Diego Munoz Camargo noting how if the first company into action was pushed back another would come up to its support, obliging the enemy to send forward another in turn: 'In this way further squadrons came up until a great battle developed, though reserves were always kept by both sides'. Where they were of superior strength the Aztecs would simply rely on weight of numbers to bear the enemy down, but the preferred tactic was envelopment, often achieved by the feigned flight of a decoy body drawing the enemy forward into a carefully pre-planned ambush. Sources describe how, in flat country where no other cover was available, the Aztecs would even dig shallow holes the night before the battle (dawn attacks being favoured[27]) and hide men in these, or else simply lay down on the bare ground and cover themselves with grass, after which 'the generals sent out small bands to skirmish with the enemy and lead them to where the warriors were hidden. Then with a great din the concealed warriors leapt out on the enemy's backs, trapping them between two forces.' Díaz records an instance where slingers and archers attacked from three sides while swordsmen attacked from the fourth. López de Gómara records the Tlaxcaltecs utilising just such an ambush in their first engagement against Cortés in 1519, in which they sent forward 1,000 skirmishers to lure the Spaniards and their Totonac allies into an ambush where an alleged 80,000 warriors lay hidden in 'ditches and ravines'.

An archer's quiver contained just 20 arrows, while the highest number of javelins or darts usually taken into action was five, and more often three or four, so it seems likely that the initial missile phase of a battle was of only brief duration, even allowing for the re-use of spent missiles. Yet it was occasionally sufficient to repel the enemy. At other times a particularly stubborn foe might be intermittently subjected to missile-fire throughout the course of an action, the barrage being renewed between charges as the combatants fell back. The Spaniards considered Aztec slingshot more dangerous than their archery, and it is significant that most of the areas which managed to retain their independence against the Aztecs until the Spanish

Conquest[28] were considerably more proficient with, and made much greater use of, the bow than the Aztecs did, the latter considering both the bow and the sling to be peasant weapons (their own elite warriors instead favoured the *atlatl*, or spear-thrower). Nevertheless, bows can be seen occasionally in the hands of *tequihuahqueh* in 16th century Aztec pictures, while the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* (dating to c.1550–64) depicts a coyote-suited Aztec warrior armed with a sling during the street-fighting in Tenochtitlan in 1520. But these are exceptions, and the Anonymous Conquistador's claim that 'many if not most' warriors carried both a bow and a sling in combat, as well as a macana and spear, is not supported by other sources, either pictorial or written. More usually elite and noble warriors had an *atlatl* and club or macana, novice warriors a macana or club, and commoners a bow or sling, while members of all three categories could be found with thrusting spears. However, some areas subjugated by the Aztecs *did* use the bow as a primary weapon (e.g. the southern Huaxtec provinces), and doubtless the contingents they fielded on behalf of the Aztecs included many archers. Of the tribes at the centre of the Aztec state, the Acolhua east of Lake Texcoco appear to have been the principal exponents of archery, surviving *Relaciónes Geograficas* emphasising that they fought with bows and macanas.

One other characteristic feature of Mesoamerican warfare which all the Spanish sources comment on was the sheer volume of noise that Indians generated in battle. Admittedly some of this had a specific purpose — most Mesoamerican peoples used drums, clay whistles and conch-shell trumpets, along with hand-signals and spear motions, to transmit orders — but on the whole it was designed simply to destroy the enemy's morale, and on occasion it was able to shake even the iron will of the Spaniards. The Anonymous Conquistador wrote that 'in battle they sing and dance and sometimes give the wildest shouts and whistles imaginable, especially when they know they have the upper hand. Anyone facing them for the first time might be terrified by their screams and their ferocity.' Díaz similarly describes the Aztecs 'yelling hideously' as they attacked, 'accompanied by the wild music of shell-trumpets, pipes and drums, all of which must indeed have terrified anyone who had never heard it before.'

Victory normally went to the side that succeeded in slaying or capturing the enemy commander, who — easily distinguishable by his plumage and finery — was therefore a prime target. The Anonymous Conquistador states that Aztec warriors were actually 'not permitted to kill lords, but made them their prisoners', reserving them for sacrifice at a later date. Significantly, therefore, whereas the Spaniards won the Battle of Otumba in 1520 by killing the Aztec commander, on two separate occasions during the Conquest Cortés managed to escape near-capture by the Aztecs, who would have done better to have simply killed him.

Defeat of the enemy was followed up by a rapid pursuit, either till the enemy reached their town (where a last stand was normally made around the main temple) or, if it was the attacking force that had been defeated, until a natural obstacle such as a river or a hill was reached, where the army would reform. Either way a single victory was usually decisive, and the pursuit of a defeated enemy or the sack of a town was generally brutal and thorough.

The enemy town and the bodies of the dead were methodically looted after a battle. Durán records booty taken after the fall of Coyoacan to have included 'gold, gems and precious feathers, shields and insignia, clothing and many other spoils', while after a battle on Lake Texcoco in 1440 the Aztecs 'gathered the canoes that had floated away, and the shields, darts and arrows. They stripped the dead and despoiled them of their finery.'

Fighting the Spaniards

Despite their small numbers, the horses, metal armour, guns, and other superior weapons of the *conquistadores* guaranteed from the outset that Aztec resistance was ultimately futile. Nevertheless, sheer weight of numbers coupled with bravery and determination had enabled the Aztecs to drive Cortés' army from Tenochtitlan in 1520 and destroy three-quarters of it in the process, though even then the Spaniards had been able to rout the massive pursuing army at the Battle of Otumba with a charge by just a handful of cavalry. Indeed, it was the horse that gave the Spaniards their most decisive advantage over the Indians almost everywhere in the New World, and the few tactical innovations that the Aztecs were able to introduce before their overthrow were all designed to counter the effectiveness of cavalry.

Cortés' letters written at the time make frequent reference to the Aztecs' use of entrenchments, fallen trees and the like, thrown across the Spanish line of advance as if to impede the deployment of their cavalry. In particular they mention the use of concealed pits filled with sharp stakes, which the Spaniards seem to have thought were specifically intended to bring down and kill horses; however, they first encountered these at Cholula in 1519, when the Aztecs had yet to see cavalry in action, which makes it more probable that such pitfalls were a characteristic feature of Indian defensive warfare long before the arrival of the *conquistadores*. More significant was the adoption of long lances among the Aztecs in 1520.[29] Cortés described these as 'heavy lances like pikes, for use against horsemen', and Gómara as 'very long lances ... for attacking horses', so clearly Cortés himself was in no doubt regarding their purpose. The penultimate *Tlatoani*, Cuitlahuac, seems to have introduced these long spears, Gómara specifically stating that he was responsible for equipping the arsenals of Tenochtitlan with such weapons. They were encountered in the hands of the 'garrisons' at Tepeyacac and Quauhquechollan in Puebla in 1520, and Díaz refers to them several times in his description of the fighting in and around Tenochtitlan in 1521. He describes them as tipped with captured Spanish sword blades, and notes how they were used from behind breastworks erected across the causeways into the city, where 'with their lances and great showers of arrows and javelins, shot from [canoes on] the lake, they wounded and killed the horses before the horsemen could do damage to the enemy.' They were used in the open too: on a level plain near Chalco late in 1520, Gonzalo de Sandoval was confronted by 'many squadrons of Mexicans' who 'attacked him fiercely with darts, arrows and slingstones, and with long lances with which to kill horses.' The fact that on another occasion an entire body of Aztecs was encountered carrying 'long lances with which they were waiting for the [Spanish] horses' can presumably be

taken as an indication that such pikemen were fielded as separately organised units. Even if they were, however, the Aztecs' custom of fighting in open order would have considerably reduced the effectiveness of such weapons.

Unlike horses, firearms seem to have caused the Aztecs surprisingly little alarm, for they soon realised that handguns and cannon alike fired in straight lines, and learnt to throw themselves to the ground or dodge to one side when they saw one about to be fired in their direction. There is a good picture in Sahagún's *Codex Florentino* which actually shows several Aztec warriors, their shields over their heads, diving to the ground as a cannon is fired at them.

Prisoners and sacrifice

The Aztecs are said to have sacrificed between 20–50,000 people to their gods every year, and reputedly sacrificed 20–70,000 on a single occasion in 1488 (the dedication of the great temple in Tenochtitlan). Such sacrificial victims were provided predominantly by the Aztecs' military conquests, and their resultant obsession with taking prisoners in battle is well documented. Joseph de Acosta, for instance, wrote that the Aztecs were 'greatly practised to run and wrestle, for their chief manner of combat was not so much to kill as to take captives', while Díaz observed that 'the Mexicans never killed our men in battle if they could possibly avoid it, but merely wounded them so that they were unable to defend themselves, in order that they might take as many of them alive as possible, to have the satisfaction of sacrificing them'. In addition, as we have already seen, military advancement could only be achieved by the taking of prisoners in battle. However, this aspect of Aztec warfare has perhaps received too much attention, and the fact that the Aztecs were willing and able to inflict massive casualties on an enemy during combat has tended to be overlooked. Sources such as the *Codex Ramírez* make it abundantly clear that the Aztecs generally left battlefields 'filled' with enemy dead, and, significantly, it is recorded that at times specific orders had to be issued to ensure that captives were actually taken alive for sacrifice.

Nevertheless, one type of warfare may have been specifically undertaken for the sole purpose of taking prisoners. This was the *Xochiyaoyotl* or 'Flower War', a formal battle involving roughly equal numbers on each side who met to fight at a pre-arranged time and place. It has been suggested that the Flower War was also employed as a means of deciding political dominance between rivals, by demonstrating military superiority without resorting to a full-scale conflict, and it is certainly significant that by the late-15th century the Aztecs' usual opponents in their Flower Wars were the unconquered cities of the Puebla-Tlaxcala valley, notably Tlaxcala itself plus Huexotzingo, Cholula, Atlixco, Tliliuhquitepec, and Tecoac. Díaz quotes Moctezuma II as claiming that if they had really wished to, the Aztecs could have easily conquered Tlaxcala, 'but then there would be nowhere for the young men to exercise themselves without going a long way off; besides, we always like to have people to sacrifice to our gods.'

Prisoners of war were almost invariably sacrificed, not only amongst the Aztecs but throughout the greater part of Mesoamerica. Aztec religion, and in particular their worship of the sun god Huitzilopochtli, began to depend on sacrifices on a grand scale from about the mid-15th century, and war was the principal source of victims. They were chiefly killed by having their hearts cut out over a stone altar, following which parts of the victim's body were eaten by his captor. Some captives, apparently the most courageous or those of highest rank, were first given the opportunity to show their mettle in gladiatorial combat, in which they were tied by one ankle to the middle of a circular stone platform and supplied with a small shield and a macana edged with feathers rather than flints. The prisoner was then attacked by five Jaguar Warriors one at a time, the fifth of these being left-handed. According to some, if he survived all five attacks the captive was released, but usually the victim was wounded and then carried off to the altar for the usual sacrifice.[30] Warriors sacrificed to the gods went to the same special heaven as was reserved for those killed in battle, so prisoners seem to have met their gruesome fate with philosophical resignation.

FIGURES

26. MEXICAN SHIELDS At the time of the Spanish Conquest these were almost invariably circular (but see Figure 72). The materials most commonly used in their manufacture were maguey fibre, plaited palm-leaves, cotton, leather, and fire-hardened cane or wooden rods. Although shields of solid wood (*quauhchimalli*) are sometimes encountered, the most common type was that made of rods. The diameter of the few surviving examples[31] is about 28–30 ins (71–76 cm), but 16th century pictures indicate that in reality the majority probably varied between 20–30 ins (51–76 cm). The rod variety (*otlachimalli*) is described by the Anonymous Conquistador as being 'of strong, solid cane meshed together and interwoven with heavy double cotton'. This tallies perfectly with the construction of a surviving shield sent to Emperor Charles V by Cortés in 1519; this is made of canes set side by side and secured by thick strands of twisted cotton, and covered with a thin layer of hide.

Though Gómara — presumably quoting his master Cortés — describes Mexican shields as 'handsome rather than strong', Durán wrote that 'a sword could not dent them', and the Anonymous Conquistador that they were 'so strong that only a good crossbow can shoot through them, while arrows do them no damage'. Sahagún adds that the cane *otlachimalli* was deemed the most serviceable variety, because it 'did not crack or split'.

Those of the noble warrior class were generally decorated with assorted patterns made up of glued feather mosaics, though some appear to have simply been painted. Those of solid wood could be inlaid with mosaics made of turquoise, coloured stones, and precious metal plaques, and might even have gold rims (as did ten *chimalli* sent to the Tarascan king Zuangua in 1520). Such inlaid shields, however, may have been intended only for display or ceremonial use; certainly most of the 24 turquoise and 40 gold and silver shields among the 150 of all descriptions sent to Charles V are specifically listed in their shipping manifest as having been for use 'only at feasts and dances'. In addition shields of all types could have a feather-decorated fringe, up to about 18 ins (45 cm) long, at the lower edge. Called a *tentlapilollo*

(literally 'it has a hanging border'), this can be seen in numerous figures in this section. A few had a fringe of feather tufts all around instead (*ihuitenzouhquichimalli*, 'shield with an open feather border'), like that of Figure 31. The *tentlapilollo* may have served to deflect spent missiles, or have been intended to conceal more of the bearer with a view to making it harder to land blows on him, but most probably it was purely decorative.

A limited number of patterns occurred on 'Aztec'[32] shields, the use of many of which appears to have been subject to similar strictures to those governing a warrior's dress and jewellery, seemingly being dependent upon his rank, social class, merit as a warrior, and so on. We can surmise certain of these restrictions from information and pictures in the *Codex Mendoza* and one or two other sources, but on the whole any conclusions regarding who might have used any particular type of shield remain little more than guesswork. One exception to this is the information given in the *Codex Matritense*, which lists the types of shield that rulers and captains used, from which it is apparent that the former could use just about any pattern that took their fancy, specifically versions of types 26ix, xii, xvi, xviii, xix, xx, xxvii, and xxix; while captains used versions of 26xi, xv, xviii, and xxiv, as well as the *ihuitenzouhquichimalli* and types called *tepachiuhquichimalli* ('flattened shield', of feathers with 'beaten copper ... laid over it' and an open feather border) and *tlaauitectlichimalli* ('whitewashed shield', covered with chalk, but with a coloured rim). Nevertheless, in contemporary pictures many of the shields listed here are also shown held by men who are clearly neither captains nor rulers — notably types 26xi–xiii and xiv, which are the two most common patterns to be found throughout the sources — and, likewise, captains and rulers are portrayed using shields other than those assigned to them.

Whether or not shields had a *tentlapilollo* appears to have been at the whim of the bearer; probably somewhere between a quarter and a half of the shields depicted in Aztec codices have them. The *Codex Mendoza* portrays fringe colours (top to bottom) as follows: 26viii, yellow/red, alternate green and yellow tips; 26xii, yellow/blue/white/red (another has just yellow/red), alternate green and yellow tips; 26xv with green field, yellow/red, alternate green and yellow tips; 26xv with red field, red (others have yellow)/red, alternate yellow and green tips; 26xix, yellow/blue/white/red, alternate green and yellow tips; 26xxi, red/red, alternate yellow and green tips; 26xxxv, blue/red, alternate yellow and green tips; and 26ixl, red/white, white tips.

26i & ii Representations of the cane *otlachimalli* as portrayed in the *Tira de la Peregrinación* and the *Codex Mendoza*. The latter source depicts this type of shield — coloured straw yellow, with a blue rim — being carried by a warrior who has taken one captive, indicating that such warriors had not yet earned sufficient merit to qualify for any of the patterned shields described below.

26iii–vi Views of the insides of Aztec shields, showing grip arrangements: 26iii is a surviving shield, 26iv is from a late Aztec stone carving, 26v is from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, and 26vi is from the *Codex Borgia*. All four show reinforcing rods or slats, and 26iii–v have leather, fur, or cotton padding behind the grips. Contemporary pictures show that shields were held in two different ways, either with both grips in one hand, or with the forearm through the first and the hand holding the second.

26vii The absence of details of their cane construction indicates that plain shields depicted thus are probably covered with leather. In the *Codex Mendoza* they are always straw yellow with red, blue, or white rims, those with blue rims being shown held by a warrior who has taken three captives and a priest who has taken one. None of them have fringes.

26viii & ix This appears to have been a traditional shield type of Northern Mexico, which the Aztecs brought south with them. The *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* shows it in widespread use throughout the Triple Alliance and northwards into Cuextlan and Jalisco and up the coast of the Gulf of California. It is usually shown with an even number of lines in two alternating colours (most commonly black and white or red and white, but also in green and black, tan and black, etc.).

26x A simple variant of the previous shield found in the *Codex Florentino*, with the field chequered rather than striped.

26xi *Quetzalxicalcoliuhquichimalli* ('quetzal [macaw] feather shield with stepped fret design'). Invariably green and yellow (either portion could be either colour) with a yellow or red rim. The one illustrated here is from a surviving example, in which the yellow portion has a thin red outline. In the *Codex Mendoza* such shields are carried by a warrior with a great many captives and a priest with six captives; however, of the shields depicted in its tribute section as many as 10% are of this type, and it appears in quantity in other pictorial sources.

26xii & xiii Two of the assorted subtle variations of the above to be found in 15th–16th century pictures. They may simply result from poor draughtsmanship, but it is worth noting that the *Codex Mendoza* itself contains three variants.

26xiv A surviving *ixcoliuhquichimalli* ('curved eye shield'). Field is yellow over red, the fret between them green, edged in black on the side adjacent to the yellow and in light blue on the other edge. The rings of the 'eye' are (inwards) magenta/light blue/magenta/yellow. Like the stepped fret design (type 26xi), this occurs in numerous variations.

26xv *Quetzalcuexyochimalli* ('quetzal feather Huaxtec shield'). It is clear from its name that this pattern was adopted from the Huaxtecs. This example is red, with a red and yellow rim, yellow 'nose-moons', and curved bands of (top to bottom) blue/red/black/green/yellow. In the *Codex Mendoza* the same pattern, but with a plain yellow rim, is shown being used by a warrior who has taken four captives, by two-thirds of those who wear jaguar war-suits (who had also taken four captives), and ascribed to a priest who has taken five captives (though his picture shows an eagle's-foot shield — see 26xxi — in error). Of all the shields in the tribute section of the *Codex Mendoza* this is the most popular, totalling 300 with the red and yellow rim and a further 82 with a plain yellow rim. In the *Codex Mendoza* five jaguar war-suits are shown with a version of this shield which has a green field and a plain yellow rim; a sixth has a red and yellow rim.

26xvi A variant of the *quetzalcuexyochimalli*, with a white field and rim, blue 'waves' instead of 'nose-

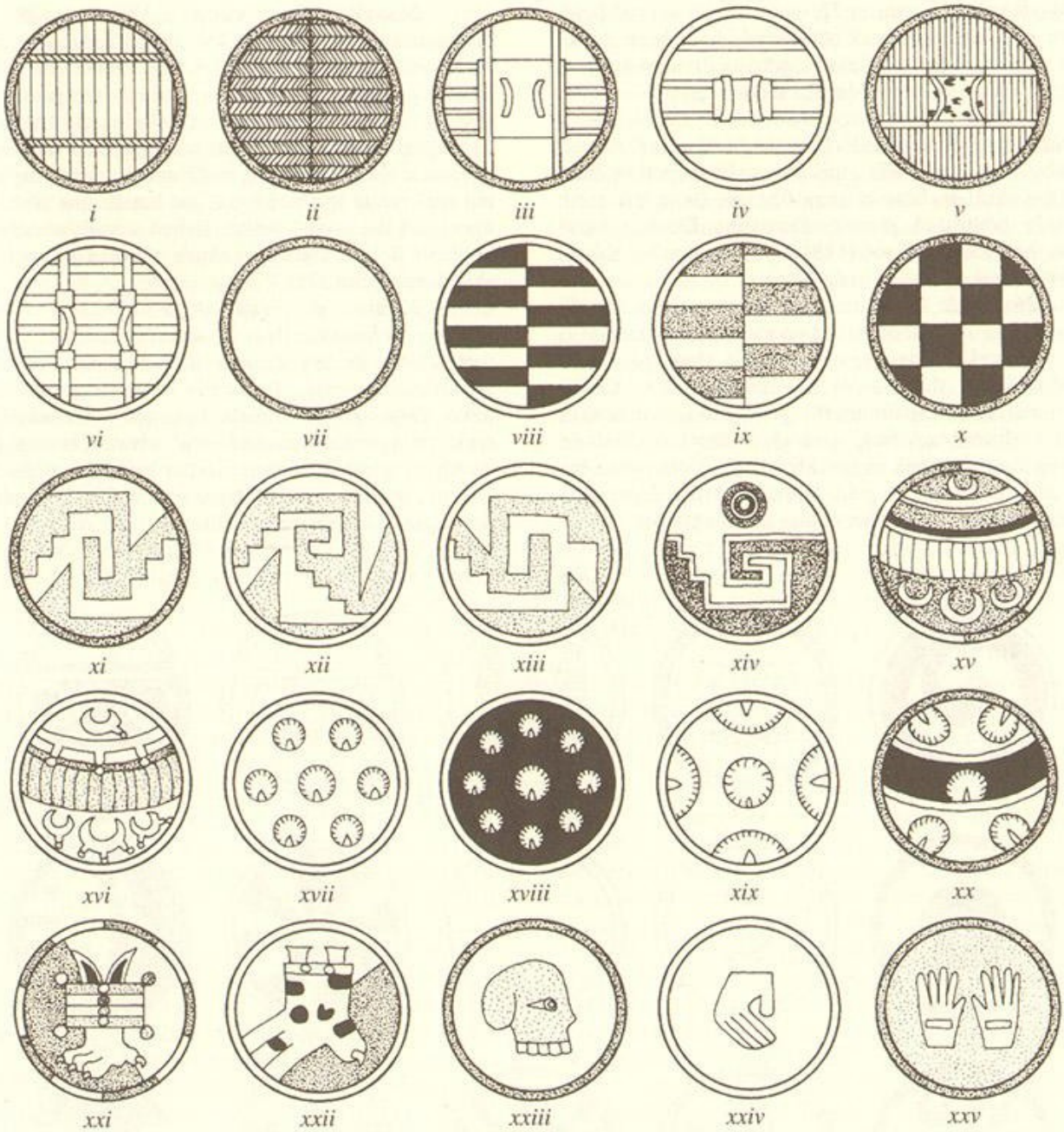


Fig 26 i–xxv

moons', and curved bands of blue/white/red/orange. The extensions from the blue band and 'waves' are decorated at the ends with yellow discs. The *Codex Mendoza* shows the same shield (but with an orange rim) carried by a warrior with five or six captives, probably in error for type 26xv. The only time this type of shield appears in the tribute section is as part of 40 distinctive Huaxtec costumes that have a flat-topped hat (see figure detail 43a).

26xvii *Hihuiteteyochimalli* ('feather pellets shield'). The pellets are always white, but the field occurs in numerous colours. With a yellow field and white rim, the *Codex Mendoza* shows it carried by a priest who has taken two captives.

26xviii This is the *zitlallochimalli* ('star-studded shield'), which could be carried by captains. A variant of the preceding, it had nine feather pellets rather than seven. Sahagún describes it as being 'made of black feathers glistening with pyrites. It has a design in blue.' It had an open feather border.

26xix *Teocuitlateteyochimalli* ('silver stones shield'). Yellow field, with the five feather 'stones' in white. This was the shield of a ruler, and yet this pattern (but perhaps in different colours) often occurs in the hands of ordinary warriors.

26xx Seemingly a combination of types 26xv and xix, this type occurs repeatedly in the *Codex Azcatitlan*, to which it appears to be unique.

26xxi *Quauhtetepoyochimalli* ('eagle's foot shield'). The *Codex Mendoza* erroneously shows this carried by a priest with five captives (such men actually used type 26xv). Field and rim are red and white, the foot yellow with white talons, the four central bars (top to bottom) red-brown/green/yellow/blue, with discs of green, red-brown, blue, and yellow, and the corner discs (clockwise from top right) red, blue, yellow, and white. In the codex's tribute section this shield accompanies back-standards of type 27x. The *Codex Matritense* attributes a plain blue field to other examples.

26xxii *Ocelotetepoyochimalli* ('jaguar's foot

shield') from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*. White and red field, yellow rim. The stumps of bone would have been white. Most sources show the field diagonally divided as here, but the *Codex Matritense* depicts it plain red.

26xxiii *Tozmiquitzyochimalli* ('yellow parrot feather death's head shield') from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*. Used by 'superior chiefs', this pattern had a yellow field with the skull in blue cotinga feathers (with the teeth probably white). A picture illustrating Durán's book shows the *Tlatoani* Tizoc (1481–86) using such a shield, but with the skull facing to the front.

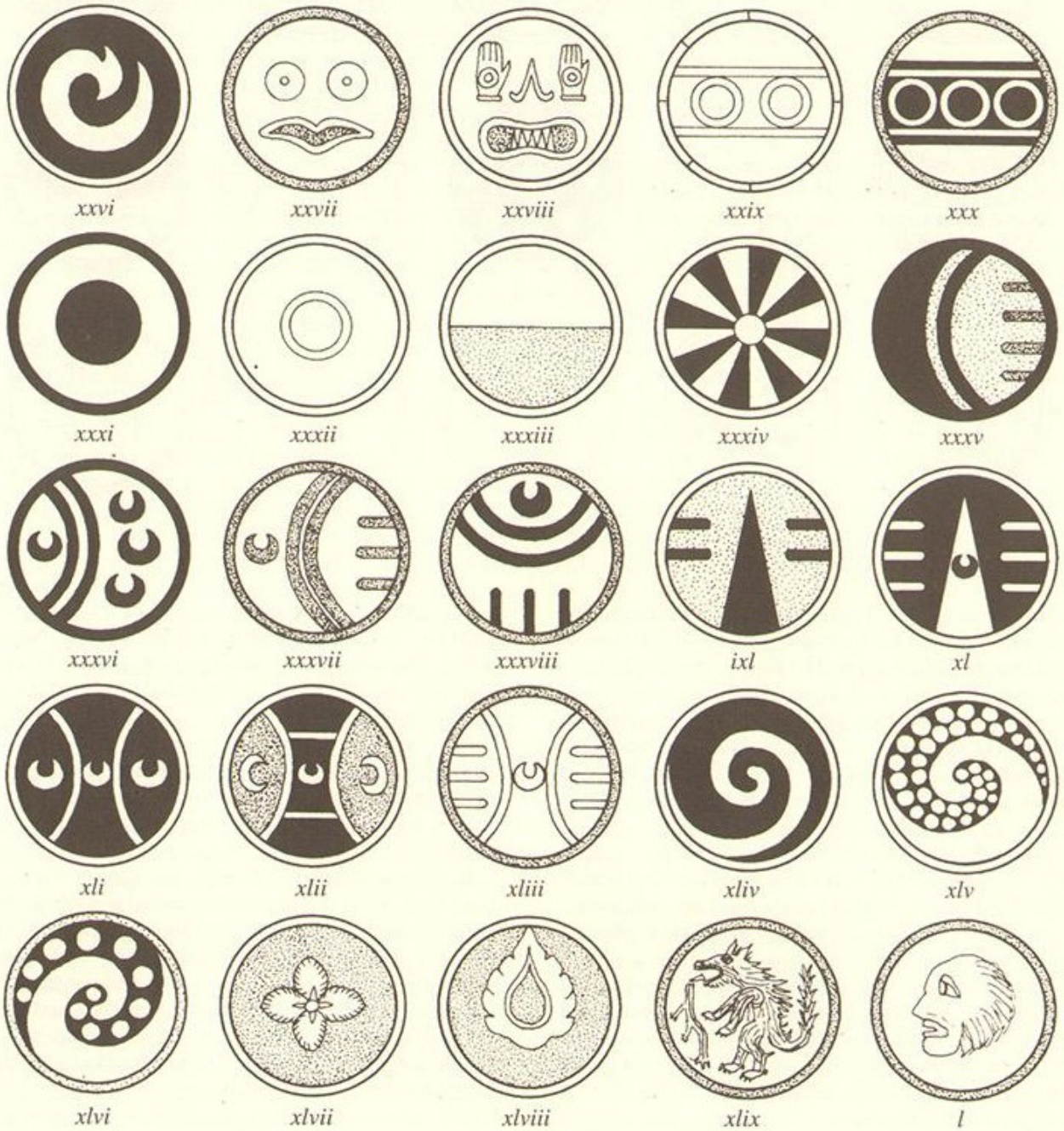
26xxiv & xxv Variants of the *macpallochimalli* ('hand shield'). Most often shown with a single hand.

26xxvi *Tecacanecuillochimalli* ('curved labret shield') from the *Codex Florentino*. The *Codex Matritense*, which attributes this pattern to captains, says it had a 'shiny black field' and white labret. A chieftain fighting for Mendoza in the Mixton War described his own as green with a gold labret, and the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* shows it in further colour combinations.

26xxvii & xxviii Variants of the *texaxacalochimalli* ('thick lips shield') from the *Codex Matritense* and *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*. A chieftain's shield. That depicted in 26xxviii is apparently the personalised version of the Tlaxcaltec chieftain of Ocotelolco, Maxixcatl, being a pun on his name (*maitl* = hand, *ixtli* = eye, *atl* = water); the field and rim are yellow, the mouth red with white lips and teeth, the hands pink with white eyes, and the 'nose' white. It had a yellow/red/yellow *tentlapilollo*. For another example of a *texaxacalochimalli* shield see Figure 27xi.

26xxix & xxx Also described as a *texaxaxalochimalli*, this is a very common pattern, particularly in the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* and *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*. It usually has two, or sometimes three, rings on the middle bar, and occasionally has crescent 'nose-moons' above and below. It is to be found occurring in many colours, 26xxx having a yellow field, red rim, black horizontal bars, and white rings, plus, in the original, a red *tentlapilollo*.

Fig 26 xxvi–l



26xxxi *Xapochimalli* ('mirror shield'). This pattern, specifically intended for senior chieftains, came in numerous colour combinations, including yellow with blue disc and rim, yellow with red disc and rim, yellow with black disc and rim, and light blue with gold disc and rim (which Sahagún mentions could have a golden butterfly in the centre). *Xapochimalli* shields and type 26xix alike sometimes had a long double or triple tassel hanging from the centre, which could hang to up to a foot below the rim; for an example, see Figure 242.

26xxxii *Anahuayochimalli*. Though intended for chieftains, outside of the realm of Aztec influence (in New Galicia and Guatemala, for instance) it could be found in the hands of the lowliest warriors, and in many colour combinations.

26xxxiii *Poztequichimalli* ('cleft shield'). This example is half of yellow feathers and half of green, but it seems likely that other colours could also be found. Some were divided vertically rather than horizontally.

26xxxiv This is another, but rare, way in which the face of the shield might be found subdivided in two colours. This particular example is from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*.

26xxxv–xxxviii These are all types of *cuextecatlchimalli* ('Huaxtec shield'), of which 26xxxv occurs just once in the *Codex Mendoza* so was presumably a senior chieftain's; blue field, black rim, crescent, and vertical bar, and four horizontal purple bars. The variants in 26xxxvi–xxxviii are from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, where they are shown in use by ordinary Aztec and Huaxtec warriors; 26xxxvi is white, with black charges and rim, and 26xxxviii is yellow with orange-red charges and rim, but both also occur in other colours. The pattern of 26xxxviii is variously shown displayed vertically and horizontally.

26ixl & xl These are representative of another common type of *cuextecatlchimalli*. A third of the Huaxtec war-suits in the *Codex Mendoza* are accompanied by type 26ixl (all but one of the remainder have type 26xv), these having a red or blue field and rim, depending on the colour of the war-suit worn with them, and black charges. In red with a blue rim it is shown carried by a warrior who has taken two captives. In the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* and other sources it occurs in sundry colour combinations. Type 26xl differs in having three bars at each side instead of two, and a crescent 'nose-moon' on the triangular segment.

26xli–xliii Shield patterns from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* which appear to be derived from Mixtec types (see Figures 67 and 68); 26xli is black with yellow rim and charges, while 26xlii has a black central band edged blue, red flaunches, yellow horizontal bars and 'nose-moons', and a blue rim.

26xliv–xlvi These are representative of a common shield pattern which probably represents the feathered serpent associated with the popular Aztec god Quetzalcoatl. All of these appear to be rendered in black and white, the omission of the discs from the spiral of 26xliv probably being a mistake. The *Codex Mendoza* shows such a shield being carried by a priest who has taken four captives.

26xlvii *Tonalochimalli* ('flower shield'), the shield pattern associated with the god of flowers, Macuilxochitl. Occurs in numerous colours.

26xlviii This device, from the *Codex Florentino*, represents a conch-shell. A portrait of Nezahualcoyotl, Speaker of Texcoco (d.1472), in the 16th century *Codex Ixtlilxochitl*, shows him with a shield of this type coloured blue, with a green shell and red rim and *tentlapilollo*.

26xlix It is often said that the shields of rulers and commanders carried their personal hieroglyphs, though beyond the survival of this particular example evidence in support of this theory is scanty (see also 26xxviii). The device, consisting of glyphs for water and an animal, is said to represent the *Tlatoani* Ahuitzotl (1486–1503), whose name means 'water-opossum'. It is probably a ceremonial shield, since battle-scenes invariably show Ahuitzotl with one of the conventional shield-types described above. The field is red, with the water and animal in light blue, the latter being detailed in dark brown, with yellow eyes, and white teeth and claws edged in red. Originally this shield had a *tentlapilollo* that was possibly white and red.

26l Shield bearing the black mask of Camaxtli, the war-god of the Tlaxcaltecs. In the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* it is carried by a senior chieftain at the fall of Tenochtitlan, and, like the preceding shield, it may possibly represent a personal device.

27. MEXICAN STANDARDS Called *quachpantli*, these were in use throughout most of Mexico and came in an almost infinite variety of forms, of which those depicted here represent only a tiny selection. Though the majority were closely associated with aspects of Mexican religion, a large number represented such mundane everyday objects as buildings, plants, animals, birds, household utensils, and weapons, while some appear to have been completely abstract. They were made out of cane, wood, paper, gold, copper and, above all, vast numbers of brightly coloured, glue-hardened feathers which, where necessary, were dyed, sometimes to imitate more expensive, often unavailable exotic types. Certainly the lower grades of warrior carried less costly versions of standards than the nobility did.

Sahagún records that the standards portraying birds and animals were based on carved colorin wood, but most others were based on 'a skeleton of dried maize stalk, or strips of paper', covered with 'pulverised maize stalk made into a dough with glue' — in effect *papier mâché* — and then smoothed down and covered with a cotton lining, over which the feathers were worked.

There were far more different types of standard than there were of shield patterns, so, unlike the latter, it is possible that some were personal to the individuals who carried them; and even where several men might all carry, for example, *xolotl* standards (27xv), surviving illustrations demonstrate that enough variations in colour and minor detail were possible that the easy distinction of one from another would still have been feasible. This is important, since — with every *tlatoani*, chieftain, and veteran warrior being entitled to carry one — there may have been hundreds of such standards present on a battlefield. It is possible, however, that only those warriors commanding units may have actually carried one in action, since many veteran warriors are portrayed without them in contemporary pictures.

Each standard was mounted on a staff that was said to be about 10 *palmos* (7 ft/2.1 m) long. This seems to tally fairly closely with the pictorial sources, in which

they generally stand between 4 ft and 6 ft (1.2–1.8 m) above the wearer's shoulders. The staff, normally decorated or covered with painted leather, was secured to a light cane frame that the Anonymous Conquistador says was strapped onto the bearer's back 'in such a way that it neither hinders him in combat nor in doing whatever he wishes, and it is so securely bound to his body that it cannot be untied or taken from him unless his body is cut to pieces.' Any standards that *were* captured were generally distributed amongst the victors by the Speaker, Sahagún recording that this is how the *quetzalpatzactli* type (27viii) first came into use amongst the Aztecs after being captured from the Quiche of Ayotlan in 1502. For the appearance of the carrying frame see Figure 41 and figure detail 42a.

The colour of the bearer's war-suit or corselet was generally the same as the principal colour of his standard. However, as with costume, jewellery, and shields, there were restrictions regarding who could bear certain types of standard, though our knowledge on this subject is far from complete. Of the types shown here we know from the *Codex Matritense* that only rulers could bear certain varieties of 27i (the *teocuitlapantli*, black-and-yellow trupial-feather and quetzal macaw-feather varieties), 27vi (*zaquantonatiuh* variety), 27viii (*quetzalpatzactli* variety), 27x (*zaquanpapalotl*, *quetzalpapalotl* and *xollopapalotl* varieties), 27xii (*quetzalcopilli* variety), and 27xvii.

27i Twin-banner standards are common in the pictorial sources. One variety, the *teocuitlapantli*, included beaten gold, but most were simply of feathers, including yellow trupial and the ubiquitous green quetzal macaw feathers. The particular variety depicted is of a type associated with the fertility god Xipe Totec. In the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* it is shown red and yellow, but should properly be red and white (Xipe Totec's colours).

27ii *Quetzalxopilli* ('quetzal-feather claw'). Occurs several times among the Tlaxcaltecs in the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*. This version is yellow and orange, with a red-tipped fringe, red disc, red/yellow cup, and a green quetzal plume.

27iii *Teocallipantli* ('temple standard') from the *Lienzo*. Yellow stonework, red door, yellow door-frame with black base, green roof-line, with red 'tiles' and green quetzal-feather crest. This is probably intended to be the gold 'banner of the Spear House ... with a spray of quetzal feathers held in a cup on the top' that is recorded by Sahagún; he also mentions a silver variety.

27iv *Aztatzontlpantli* ('heron-feather locks standard') from the *Codex Matritense*. This represents the head-dress of Tlaloc, god of rain and thunder, whence the cloud-like white plumes of heron feathers. Note the wig shape of the lower fringe (see also 27xii and xvi).

27v *Metayacatlpantli* ('thigh-skin mask standard'). The blue streak on the face indicates that this probably represents the god Cinteotl.

27vi This is the sun-disc. The *Codex Matritense* mentions two varieties, the *zaquantonatiuh* of black and yellow trupial feathers, and the *quetzaltonatiuh*, which Sahagún describes as 'a golden sun, and in the centre of it a circle of [green] quetzal feathers'.

27vii This is the crane standard of the Tlaxcaltec town of Tizatlan, from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*. Gómara describes it as 'a golden crane with outstretched wings, decorated with many figures done in enamel and feather-work', but all the other sources state that it was white. Díaz's observation regarding the Tlaxcaltecs who accompanied Cortés when he marched back to retake Tenochtitlan in 1521, that 'every company had a standard, on which was embroidered a white bird with expanded wings, being the arms of Tlaxcala', perhaps indicates that they had provided themselves with European-style flags at the behest of the Spaniards, to assist in distinguishing them from the Aztecs.

27viii A 'compressed feather standard'. This came in an assortment of forms, some with the crest mounted on a helmet like that of 27xvii. This rendition from the *Lienzo* is the standard of the Tlaxcaltec town of Quiahuiztlan; colours are (right to left) red, green, white (with pink tips), green, and yellow with spaced brown feathers. The rosette is yellow with an orange centre and two yellow tassels with white ends and green tips. Other forms included the *quetzalpatzactli* (quetzal feathers), *cacalpatzactli* (crow feathers), *cuezalpatzactli* (macaw feathers), and *xiloxochipatzactli* ('compressed maize flower crest').

27ix *Papalotl* (butterfly) standard from the *Codex Matritense*. This particular example is an *itzpapalotl* ('obsidian butterfly') variety, a type which was made from sheets of beaten copper (Sahagún says gold) and quetzal feathers. More characteristic versions resembled that carried by Figure 46, which is blue, with yellow edge and red central disc, red antennae, yellow/green/white cup holding a plume of red macaw feathers, and a hanging yellow tassel with red ends and yellow and green tips. The *Codex Matritense* includes other variants called *quetzalpapalotl* (made of green quetzal feathers), *xollopaplotl* (dark yellow parrot feathers), *zaquanpapalotl* (black and yellow trupial feathers), and *tlilpapalotl* (black crow feathers).

27x *Xacallipantli* ('straw-hut standard') from the *Codex Matritense*. Others represented a grass hut (*zacacallipantli*) or a masonry house (*caltaquallipantli*).

27xi *Chimallahuiztlpantli* ('shield device standard') from the *Codex Matritense*.

27xii *Copillipantli* ('conical headpiece standard'). This rendition, one of several in the *Lienzo*, is yellow with a red cup and green quetzal-feather crest, a white band with yellow-centred red discs, and a red-striped yellow fringe.

27xiii *Ixtlapalpantli* ('horizontal standard') from the *Codex Matritense*.

27xiv The *quetzalmatlaxopilli* is described as 'a round plumage in the manner of an ear of maize', and was widely used by the Huaxtecs and Otomi. Sahagún calls it a 'young maize flower crest [which] had, as its leaves, quetzal feathers [set in it], and [was decorated] with flint knives of gold [i.e. gold rays]'. In Aztec pictures it is usually portrayed with a yellow centre edged in blue and red, within a green quetzal-feather 'husk'; this particular example is topped with a blue ball, a red/green/yellow cup, and a green crest. Cihuatzin, the Aztec commander killed at the Battle of Otumba in 1520, carried a standard of this type.

27xv *Quaxolotlpantli* ('Xolotl-head standard') from the *Codex Mendoza*. The god Xolotl was the twin of Quetzalcoatl. This rendition comprises a blue parasol with small yellow discs and a larger yellow/blue/red disc at the front, a blue fringe with red edge and yellow/green tips, and a yellow and purple head with a crest of red-tipped white feathers and a green quetzal-feather plume.

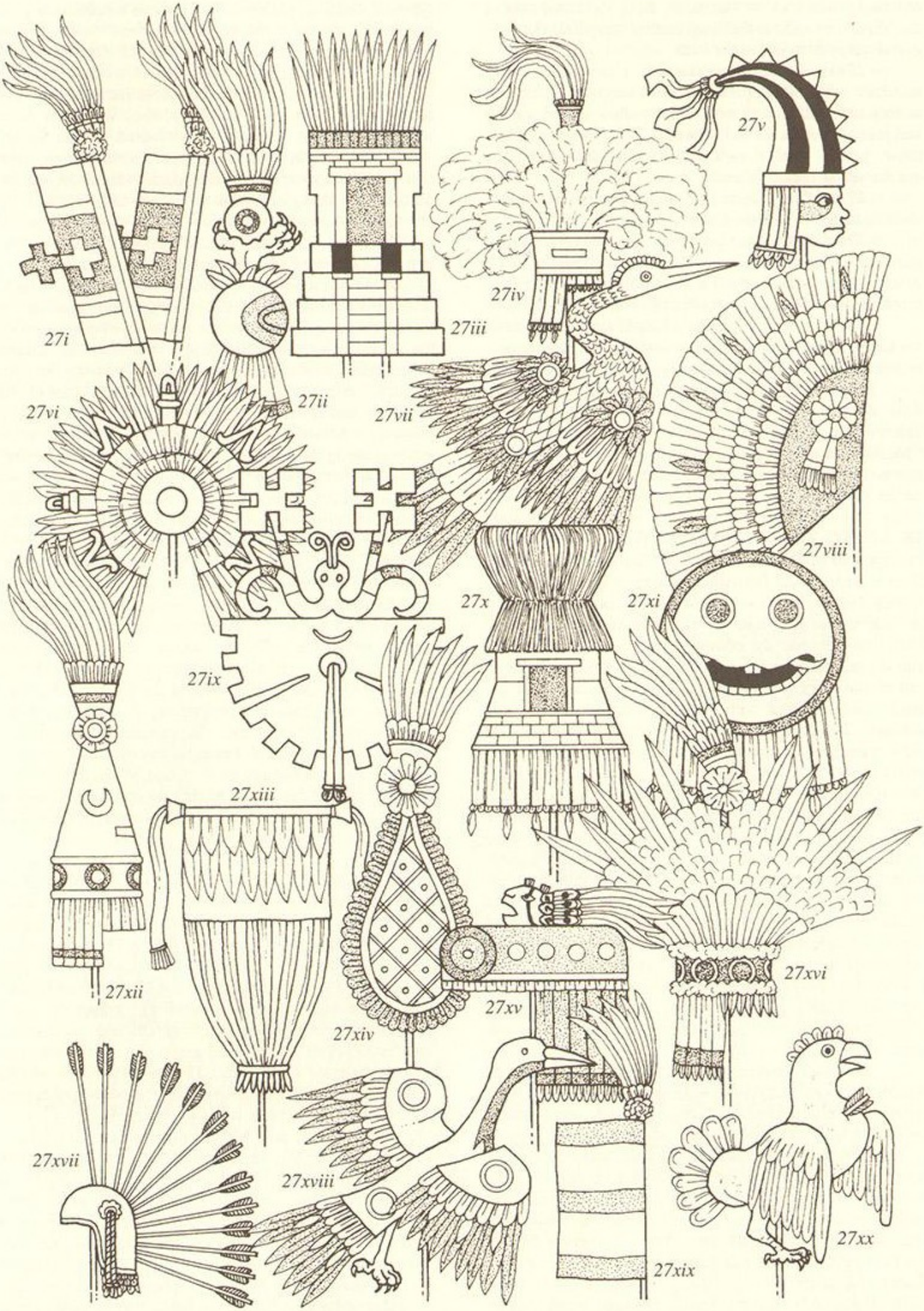

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Fig 27

Sahagún and the *Codex Matritense* record blue, white, red, and yellow *xolotl* standards. Both the latter source and the *Lienzo* show the long feather fringe all the way round rather than just at the back.

27xvi *Tlecomoctlpantli* ('crackling fire standard'). This example from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* is mainly red and yellow, with a pale yellow upper portion and green (in error for red) 'flames'. The flower at middle top is yellow, with a yellow/green/red cup holding the usual quetzal-feather plume.

27xvii *Tlacochpatzactlpantli* ('compressed arrow shaft standard') from the *Codex Matritense*.

27xviii *Quetzaltototlpantli* ('resplendent quetzal standard') from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*. Yellow with green wing and tail feathers and a red throat. This was the standard of the Tlaxcaltec town of Ocotelolco.

27xix A simple banner of cloth or feathers from the *Codex Florentino*. It is yellow with three blue stripes, yellow ball, red cup, and green quetzal-feather plume.

27xx *Huaxolotlpantli* ('turkey-cock standard'). This device was probably associated with the god Tezcatlipoca, one of whose other names was Chalchiuhtotolin or 'Precious Turkey', in which guise he represented sacrificial blood (note the arrow through the turkey's heart).

28. AZTEC *TLACATECUHTLI* This is Cuauhtemoc, last Speaker of Tenochtitlan (1520–25), taken principally from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*'s picture of his surrender to Cortés. He carries a *toxicocolli* standard and is attired in the war-suit of an Eagle Warrior. War-suits, or *tlahuiztli* (the term technically comprised suit, head-dress, and shield), are described by the Anonymous Conquistador as 'all of one piece and of thick cloth, which they tie at the back', and 'covered with a layer of feathers of various colours'. They did not constitute armour themselves, but were worn over a separate quilted cotton corselet which characteristically covered the torso, hips, and occasionally the upper thighs, but not the arms. Where the war-suit was accompanied by a helmet this was of wood, shaped to the required configuration and covered 'with feathers or encrustations of gold and precious stones', and presumably lined with quilted cotton (or so we can assume from Durán's description of helmets made 'of quilted cotton in the form of a tiger or lion or eagle'). Eagle-suits of the type portrayed here vary slightly in the sources, not always having the wings or the taloned feet (which could be below the knees or above the ankles) but sometimes adding a tail. In addition the wings might consist of a row of long feathers attached to each of the wearer's arms.

Curiously, surviving lists of the accepted forms of battle-attire for Aztec rulers do not include eagle war-suits, but enumerate a wide range of other items including yellow or blue coyote war-suits (see Figure 57); yellow, white, bi-coloured (blue and yellow), 'gold', and 'silver' Huaxtec pointed cap war-suits (Figure 43); feather corselets of a type called an *ehuatl* (Figure 31) in white, yellow, blue, or 'princely' feathers, each with matching head-dress and drum 'upon a carrying frame' on the back; types of head-dress called 'quetzal-feather horns' (figure detail 31a), 'quetzal-feather demon of the dark' (Figure 42), 'quetzal-feather bestrewn head' (figure detail 31b), and 'blue water-ears head' (probably also like detail 31a, but in blue rather than green); shield types 26xi, xv, xix, xxi, xxii, xxiii, xxxi, and xxxii; sundry types of standard; and jewellery such as turquoise or gold ear-plugs, an eagle-shaped gold labret,[33] and various types of bead or mat necklace of gold, turquoise, and jade. Broadly speaking, Aztec rulers wore what they liked, and these lists include only those items exclusively reserved for their use. Similarly, they doubtless bore whatever type of standard they wanted to, the *Codex Matritense* actually listing that carried here (the *toxicocolli* or *tzococolli*, 'yellow parrot feather serpentine device') as being one that was normally carried by chieftains. A type that occurs frequently in pictorial sources, it was invariably yellow with a red/green/yellow cup and a plume of green or red parrot feathers.

He is armed with the native sword or *maquahuitl*, invariably referred to by the Arawak term 'macana' in Spanish sources. This was the most popular weapon of the Aztec upper classes, amongst whom it had almost entirely displaced the club, mace, and axe during the 15th century. It comprised a flat hardwood blade 2–4 ins (5–10 cm) wide and about 3½ ft (1 m) long, often decoratively painted, with sharp flakes of obsidian or flint set in grooves along its narrower two edges (though a variant, the *maquahuitzochtli* or 'pointed macana', had blades set in all four edges as well as a pointed tip, so was probably square in cross-section). Though the stone blades required frequent replacement, the Spaniards were otherwise impressed by the macana's effectiveness, frequently commenting on its razor-like sharpness; Gómara states that it 'could cut cleanly through a lance or the neck of a horse, and even pierce or nick iron, which seems impossible'. On the whole, however, Spanish metal armour was proof against the majority of its blows, and only when the blades were at their newest did they stand any real chance of penetrating it. It is clear from contemporary pictures that the macana was normally wielded in just one hand, but some eye-witnesses refer to it being used two-handed on occasion. When not in use it was held behind the shield, having no scabbard, though it usually had a wrist-strap attached to the end of the hilt to prevent its loss in combat.

29 & 30. AZTEC *TLACATECUHTLI* Figure 29 is based principally on a picture in the *Codex Rios* (also referred to as *Codex Vaticanus A*) of c.1566–89 depicting Moctezuma II at the conquest of Toluca. He is dressed in imitation of the god Xipe Totec, in a flayed human skin (or perhaps a war-suit made to *look* like a flayed human skin, including a chest incision), complete with distinctive *teocuitlaanahuacayo* shield and rattle-stick. The feather crest was red and green, the skirt green, and the standard red and white. The three portions of the shield comprised red-and-white rings, a portion of jaguar skin, and 'water' (blue paint or feathers). His face is painted white over red. A drum mounted on the back, as mentioned under Figures 28 and 31, constituted another element of the Xipe Totec costume, which came in three versions (red, blue, and 'ocelot'). It was a popular form of battle-dress amongst late Aztec rulers. Tezozomoc's *Cronica Mexicana*, for instance, specifically records that Axayacatl — depicted wearing a similar outfit in Figure 30, from the possibly spurious *Codex Cozcatzin* (1572?) — customarily dressed as Xipe Totec in wartime. In place of the feather head-dress this second figure substitutes a *xiuhuitzolli*, the Aztec equivalent of a crown. This was

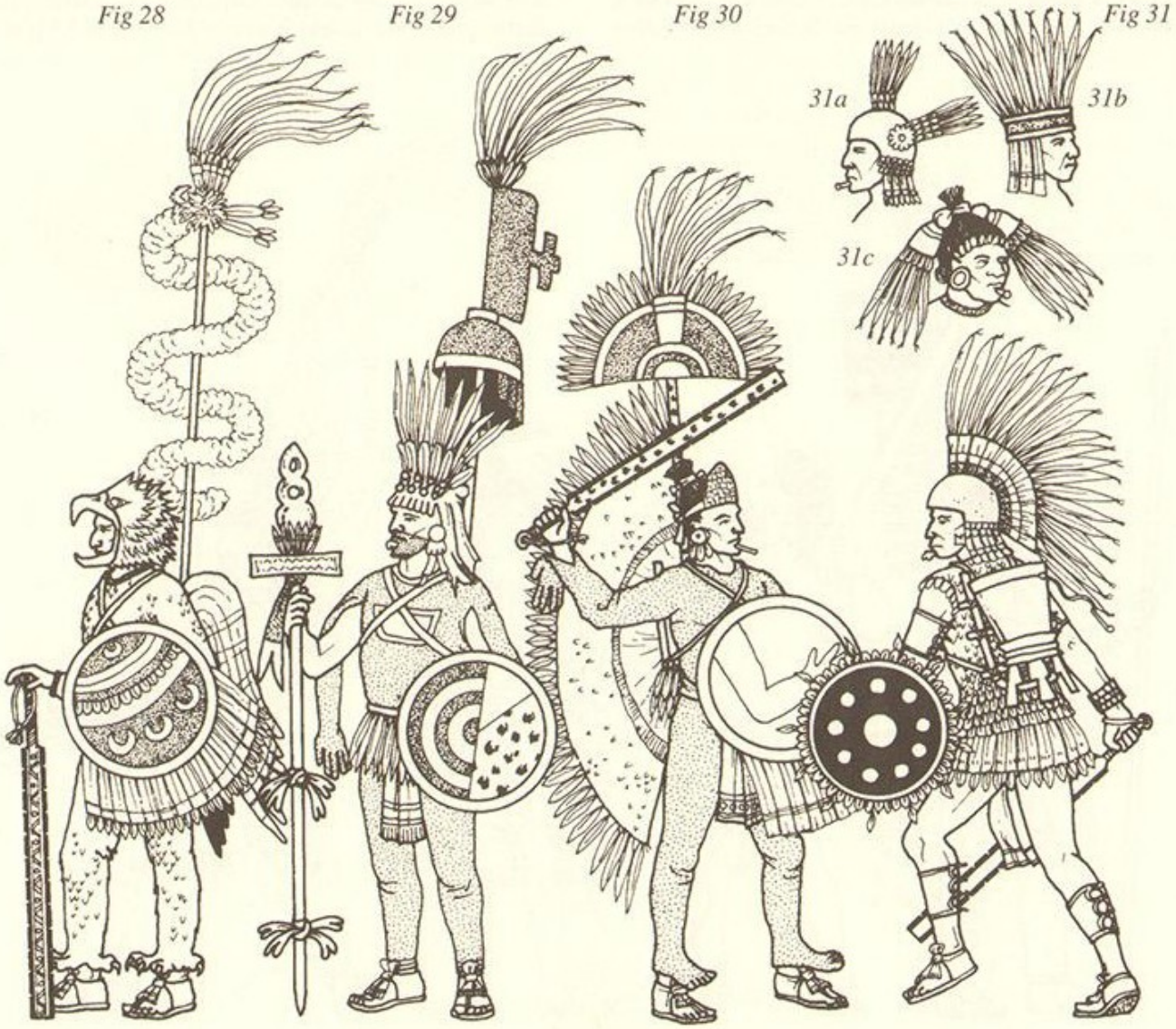
invariably blue; that of the Speaker had the front panel covered with turquoise mosaic and was tied at the back with a red bow. As well as being worn by most Aztec rulers and senior chieftains, these were also in use amongst the Huexotzinca, the Mixtecs, and possibly the Zapotecs. His shield depicts a human right arm.

Note the hanging ends of the *maxtlatl* or breechclout of both figures. The fact that this is always visible at the groin in pictures of warriors wearing war-suits indicates that the latter must have had a vent so that the warrior could relieve himself without having to entirely disrobe. From pictorial evidence it is clear that the *maxtlatl* was most often white, though coloured ones are recorded (Sahagún noting tawny, carmine, and 'many-coloured' breechclouts worn by some warriors, while the Anonymous Conquistador describes them as 'various colours'). Those of the upper-classes were often ornately decorated and embroidered at the ends.

Though the Aztecs customarily plucked out their facial hair, Díaz specifically states that Moctezuma II had a 'very little beard, well arranged, thin, and black', which is confirmed by near-contemporary pictures drawn by Aztec artists. Such slight beards are occasionally apparent in other Aztec pictures, but they were clearly uncommon.

31. AZTEC CHIEFTAIN This figure is a composite from the *Mendoza*, *Florentino*, *Ixtlilxochitl* and *Matritense* codices. His sleeveless corselet is an *ehuatl*, a garment of feather-covered cloth worn over cotton armour by chieftains. Sahagún describes those of senior chieftains being of blue cotinga, yellow parrot, white heron and 'princely' feathers, while those of junior chieftains were of red parrot, bright red feathers, and turkey-hen feathers. In the *Codex Mendoza* they occur only in red or yellow. The feathers were set in horizontal rows like a scale corselet, and in combination with the cotton armour worn underneath they were reportedly able to resist 'spears and arrows and even the sword'. The skirt element may have actually been separate from the body and is depicted multi-coloured in the *Codex Matritense* but of the same colour as the body in the *Codex Mendoza* (which adds sleeves in error). To judge from pictorial sources the *ehuatl* was worn only in the Valley of Mexico, roughly in the area between Tenochtitlan and Tlaxcala.

Additional armour was provided by greaves, vambraces — actually armbands (*matemecatl*) and wristlets (*matzopetztli*) — and a helmet made of wood and bone, ornately decorated with feathers. Vambraces and greaves were uncommon. The sources tell us that they were generally made of gilded leather, leather-covered wood or bark, or thin gold, and were sometimes decorated with feathers. The gilded wooden helmet sports an impressive feather crest, the colours of which are shown in two principal combinations in the *Codex Mendoza*, being (from bottom to top) red/green/yellow,



and green or red, sometimes with a blue band at the base, the feather aventail being yellow and red with alternate yellow and green tips. He does not carry a standard on his back, instead having 'a skin drum, upon a carrying frame and decorated with gold'; Sahagún alludes to this being red, blue, or 'gold', depending on the colour of the *ehuatl* worn with it. These drums were used to transmit certain orders on the battlefield — Durán, for instance, records that, fighting the Matlatzinca, 'Axayacatl began to sound the golden drum that he carried on his back, which was played when the enemy retreated', while Acosta wrote that the *Tlatoani* Itzcoatl (1428–40) 'gave the signal to do battle with a little drum he carried on his shoulders'. It would seem that only important chieftains carried them, and that the right to do so was a privilege granted at the whim of the *Tlatoani*; Moctezuma II, for instance, sent a 'gilded drum' to one of Cholula's rulers.

Detail 31c shows a *quetzalilpiloni*, a distinctive pair of gold-decorated quetzal feather tassels that Sahagún records as the 'prime ornamentation' of Aztec chieftains; although an item of civilian rather than military attire it can nevertheless sometimes be found worn in battle, as this example from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* demonstrates. For the explanation of details 31a and b see description of Figure 28.

Though many Aztecs went barefoot by choice the nobility customarily wore sandals (*cactli*). Those of chieftains were most commonly white, tied with a conspicuous broad red lace, but the most senior nobility might wear them in turquoise blue, while Moctezuma I (1440–68) ordained that only noblemen could wear gilded, painted sandals. Other noblemen often wore sandals of jaguar-skin. All had leather soles. Those of ordinary warriors were plain and usually of maguey fibre. By Moctezuma II's time only warriors who had taken two or more captives were entitled to wear sandals at all, and Acosta states that all 'common people' had to go barefoot.

32–34. AZTEC *QUACHICQUEH* These are recognisable by their shaven heads, which left a crest of hair that is described in text sources as on the left side of the head but in pictorial sources is invariably shown in the middle (so was presumably offset only slightly to the left). Durán records their heads as being painted half blue and half yellow (or red) — the colours of the war-god Painal — presumably vertically, but the *Codex Mendoza*, from which Figure 32 is taken, shows the neck and the top of the head painted black, and other sources similarly depict the top of the shaved head as being black. Note also the single heron feather glued on each temple (a detail omitted in the *Codex Mendoza* but apparent in other sources).

Figure 32 wears a yellow *tlahuiztli* with red collar, white sandals with red laces, a necklace of white shells (also worn by some *Otontin*), and gold ear-plugs. His standard might be the type called a *chicunauhpanquetzaliztli*; this is white with red horizontal stripes, a green vertical stripe, and a black upper portion with white feather pellets, the pole itself being red surmounted by an orange ball with a cup of yellow feathers and a green quetzal-feather crest. His shield is a type 26xv variant. Figure 33,

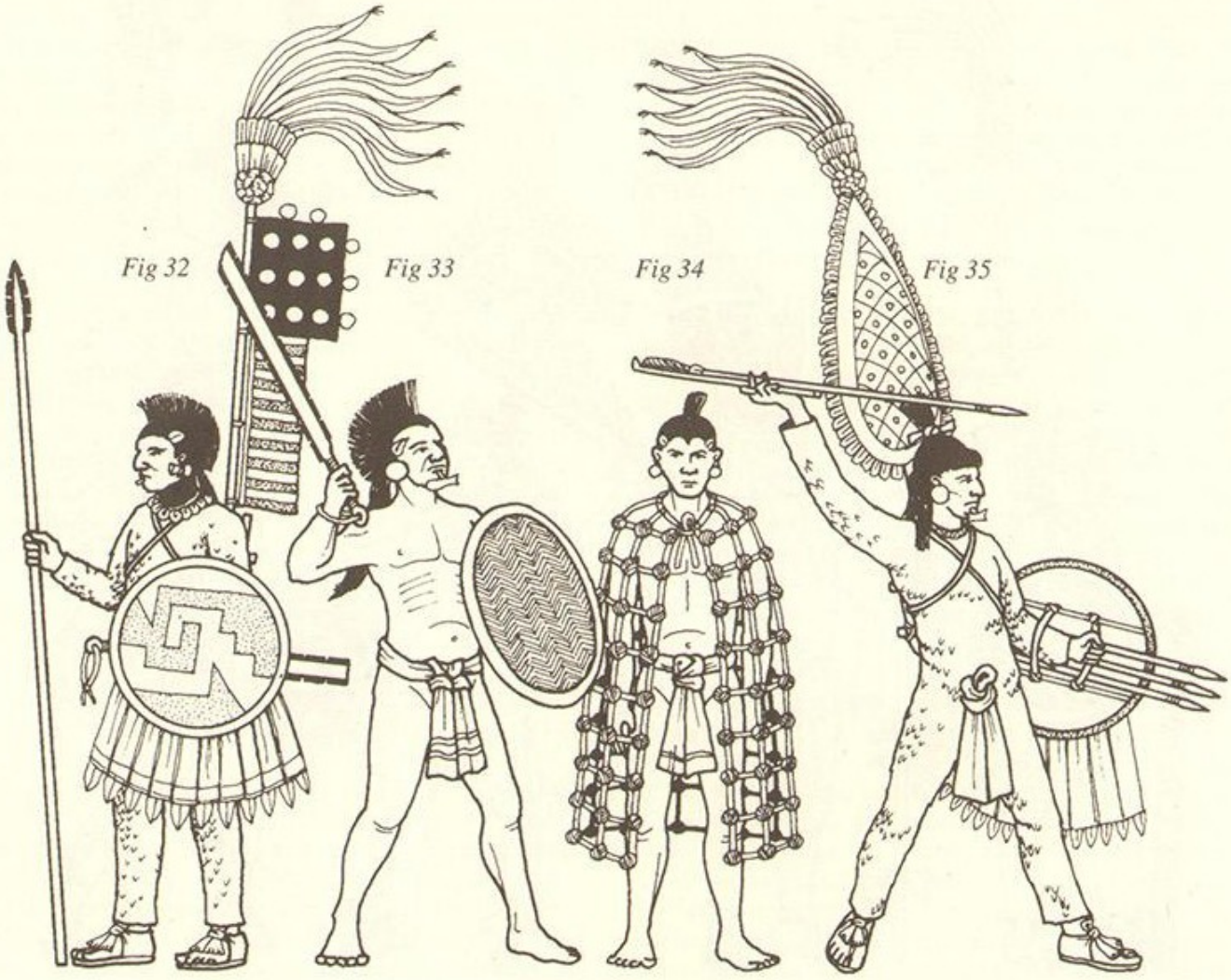


Fig 32 *Fig 33* *Fig 34* *Fig 35*

by contrast, wears nothing but a *maxtlatl* or breechclout. In Central Mexico this was almost invariably tied at the front with both ends hanging down over the thighs, though in a few instances it can be found arranged so that one end hung down at the front and the other at the back. He comes from the *Codex Florentino*.

Figure 34, from the *Codex Rios*, portrays a *Quachic* in court dress, sporting the distinctive netted cape (*inchalcaiatl*) worn only by *Quachicqueh* and chieftains. Sahagún describes these as made 'of twisted maguey fibre, knotted like a net', small golden shells being attached to those of chieftains while 'Shorn Ones' had 'large fibre balls hung from them by strings'.

35. AZTEC *OTOMITL* from the *Codex Mendoza*. He wears his hair in a style that appears to be a cross between that of the Otomi tribe (see Figures 98 and 99) and an Aztec *tequihuah* (see Figures 44–46), though other pictures show their hair arranged in pure Otomi style. It is bound with a red ribbon. He wears a green war-suit with a red collar, white sandals with red laces, gold ear-plugs, and a large gold labret. In the original his shield is a type 26xvi, with an orange rim and a yellow and pink *tentlapilollo* with green tips.

The device he is using is a wooden *atlatl*, or spear-thrower. Often ornately carved and decorated, these were about 2 ft (61 cm) long with a hooked end, a groove in which to rest the butt end of the dart or javelin, and a pair of holes or finger-loops about two-thirds of the way along for the index and second fingers. It enabled javelins to be thrown further and with a force many times greater than was otherwise possible. Modern tests indicate that it had a probable maximum range of about 150 ft (45 m) — dependent, inevitably, on the strength of the individual using it; that considerable accuracy was possible at 120 ft (37 m), a four-inch (10 cm) target being hit consistently even in poor light; and that the penetrative power of its darts or javelins was greater at that range than that of an arrow. Bernal Díaz del Castillo's view of *atlatl* darts was that they 'could pass through any sort of armour, and against them there was no means of protection'.[34]

The darts or javelins themselves, called *tlacochtli*, were of oak. They probably averaged about 4 ft (1.2 m) in length, had a feathered butt-end like an arrow, and had either a fire-hardened tip or a blade of obsidian, flint, fish-bone, or copper, often barbed so that 'it cannot be removed without making a large wound unless it can be pulled out at the opposite side'. The Anonymous Conquistador records that some 'have three points, making three wounds at a throw, for on one stick they insert three very slender and sharp points'.[35] Pictures indicate that normally three or four darts were carried, or at most five, which are invariably shown being held horizontally behind the shield in such a way as to indicate that they must have been tucked through the shield grips, one above the other, as shown here.

36–38. AZTEC PRIESTS There has been some debate over the years regarding whether or not Aztec priests actually fought, but the *Codex Mendoza* leaves us in no doubt that they did, grading them in accordance with the number of men that they captured in battle. Taken from this source, Figure 36 is a priest who has taken three captives. He wears a green war-suit with a red collar, carries a red-striped white standard with blue ball, yellow/green/red cup and the usual quetzal-feather crest, and carries a colourful version of shield type 26viii, the colours of which are on the left (top to bottom) green/red/blue/red/green/yellow, and on the right red/green/yellow/green/red/blue; the rim is yellow, and

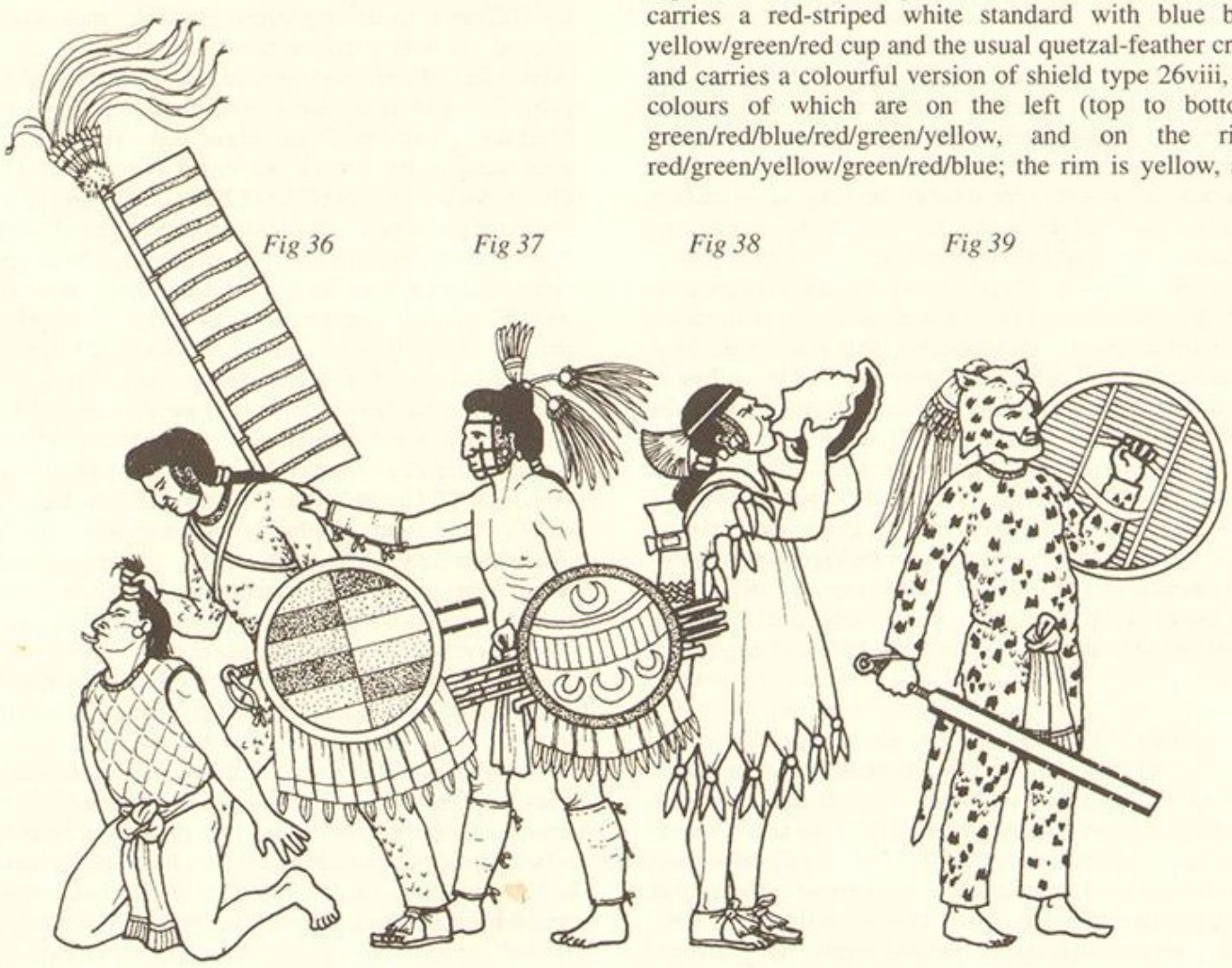


Fig 36 *Fig 37* *Fig 38* *Fig 39*

the fringe is yellow and red with alternate green and yellow tips. His hair-style and the red patch of paint on either side of his face denote his priestly status.

Figure 37, based on a picture in the *Codex Florentino*, wears *quetzalilpiloni* feather tassels attached to his hair, and gilded leather greaves and vambraces. Though the source tells us that this was the costume of a priest, it was actually worn during the fighting at Tenochtitlan in 1521 by an Aztec champion named Tzilacatzin (see description of Figures 44–46).

Priests signalled the commencement of a battle by blowing on conch-shell trumpets, and it seems likely that it was also priests who were responsible for the transmission of the army commander's orders throughout the ensuing combat, by means of drums and clay whistles as well as conch trumpets. The priest depicted in Figure 38 comes from the *Codex Magliabecchino*. He carries either a decorated gourd or a drum on his back; for the former see also Figure 112.

A non-combatant variety of priest, to be found accompanying Aztec armies in the field, was the *texoxotla ticitl*, which means 'sorcerer-physician' or medicine-man. Mendieta says that in battle the Aztecs had 'well disposed and agile people to care for the wounded', who took them to the rear where the medicine-men treated them. Other tribes seem to have been similarly accompanied by such medical teams, Díaz noting that the Tlaxcaltecs who fought Cortés in 1519 whisked away every wounded warrior as soon as he was injured, thereby making it impossible for the enemy to accurately assess their losses.

39 & 40. AZTEC JAGUAR WARRIORS from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* and *Codex Magliabecchino* respectively. Though woven to resemble an animal skin, this type of war-suit, called an *ocelototec*, was nevertheless still made of feathers in the case of noblemen, though Durán states that men of non-noble birth attaining this rank had to make do with suits made of actual skins. It was presumably the latter variety which occasionally had clawed paws round the wrists and ankles as depicted in Figure 40. In the original source Figure 39's shield is a type 26xxxii (yellow field, red rim and ring), but in the *Codex Mendoza* shields with jaguar war-suits are nearly all type 26xv, with a few type 26xi. Figure 40's shield, however, is Xipe Totec's *teocuitlaanahuacayo* variety, described under Figure 29, though the portions occur in a different order here. The *Codex Mendoza* shows that jaguar war-suits came in a variety of colours — mainly blue (75%), but also yellow, red, and white — though the markings were always black, the collar red, and the breechclout white. Figure 39's version is yellow, with a feather crest that is (from the base) yellow/red/white/yellow/green. For further details of animal war-suits see the text describing Figure 57.

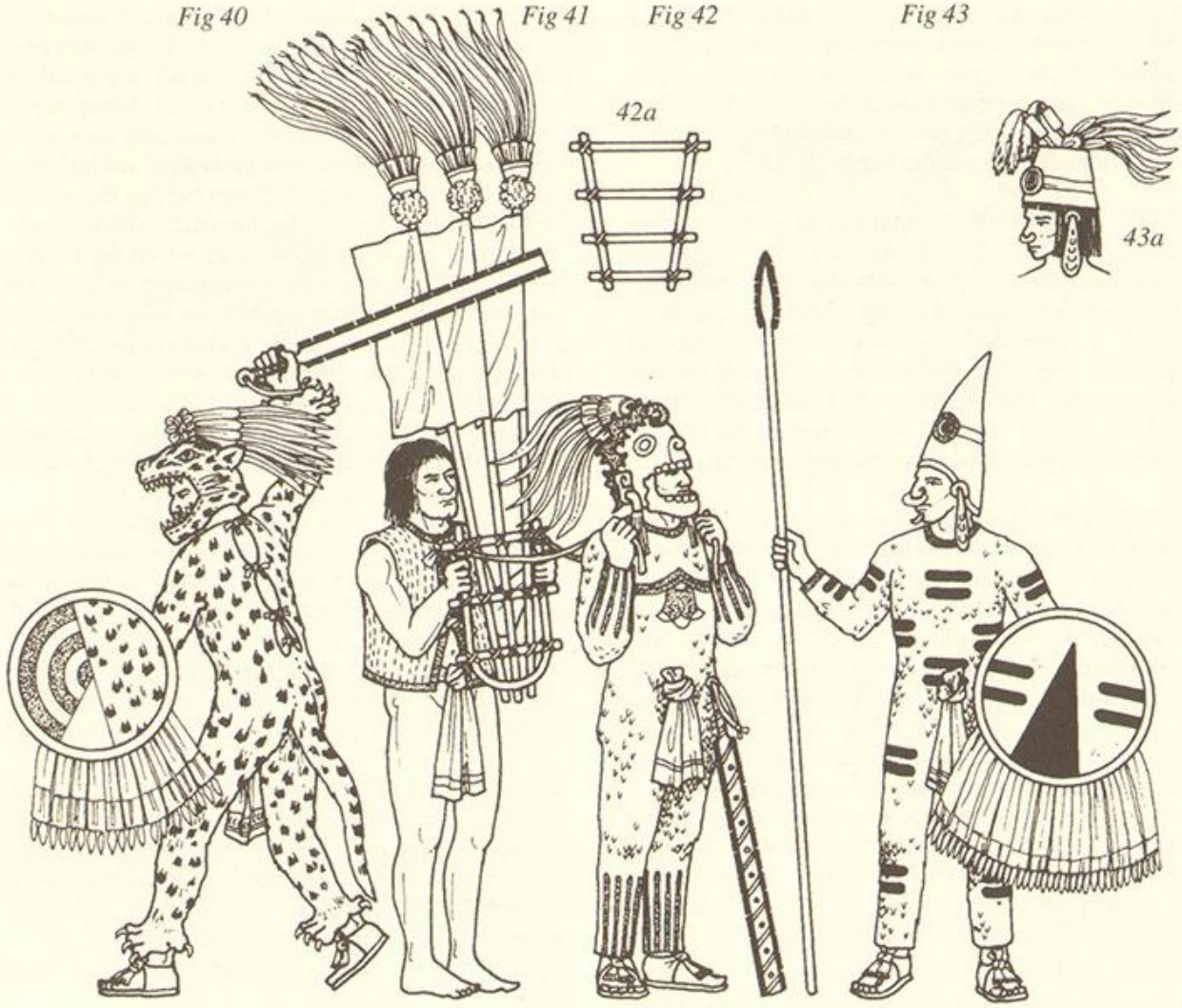
41. AZTEC WARRIOR from the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* of c.1562/3. This figure wears body-armour, in the form of a quilted cotton *ichcahuipilli*. This consisted of unspun cotton wadding stitched between two layers of cloth and often bound at the edge with a strip of leather. Contemporary sources describe it as being between one and three fingers thick, and Díaz records that some were 'richly ornamented on the outside with many coloured feathers used as devices and distinguishing marks', perhaps an allusion to the *ehuatl* (described under Figure 31). Except at close range such corselets were reputedly impervious to arrows and even *atlatl* darts. The type worn here is secured down the front with leather thongs, but others could be tied at the back or simply pulled on over the head.

42. AZTEC *TLACOCHCALCATL* in a *tzitzimitl* ('demon of the dark') war-suit, from the *Codex Mendoza*. This type of war-suit was worn only by rulers and senior chieftains. It also occurs in yellow and blue versions in the source, but this one is white, with thin red stripes on the forearms and lower leg, a red collar, and a red, yellow, and green depiction of a chest incision and protruding heart at the front. The skull-shaped helmet is also white, with yellow teeth, nose, eyes, ear-pendants, and shell on the forehead; red ears; crimson matted hair; and an orange feather tuft with a green quetzal feather plume emerging from it. In the original he carries a type 26xvii shield with a yellow field, orange rim, and an orange and red fringe with alternate yellow and green tips. However, most of the other *tzitzimitl* suits in this source have shield types 26xi and xv. The standard and carrying-frame that he is being assisted to strap on has white flags, and blue tufts with yellow/blue/red cups and the usual quetzal-feather plumes. Detail 42a depicts an alternative shape of carrying-frame.

43. AZTEC WARRIOR attired in a *cuextecatl* or 'Huaxtec' war-suit, as portrayed in the tribute lists of the *Codex Mendoza*.[36] This style of costume, which went to warriors who had taken two captives, was copied from the Huaxtecs, its distinguishing characteristics being the pointed hat with a disc or rosette on the front, the dark double-bar pattern, and the crescent-shaped gold nose-plug. This particular suit is red, the hat having a green band and a red/white/blue/yellow disc. The majority of such suits in the source are either blue (48%) or red (36%), with a few in white (12%) and yellow, plus just one example in green; the double-bars (referred to by the Aztecs as 'hawk scratches') seem to have been mostly either black or a darker shade of the suit's base colour. Sahagún, listing the war-dress of Aztec rulers, records that they wore Huaxtec suits in yellow, white, and a bi-coloured version in which the hat and suit alike were half blue and half yellow (the colours of the war-god Painal again), as well as 'golden' and 'silver' varieties, the last two having a cup of quetzal feathers at the top of the hat (see Figure 91). All of these rulers' versions had a gold disc at the front of the hat. Detail 43a shows an alternative form of head-dress; this one belongs with a white suit (other suits accompanying such hats are yellow) so is itself white, with a green rim, a red/blue/yellow disc, two blue pompons at the front, and a quetzal feather plume at the back. Note it also has a wig (and gold ear-pendants), which suggests it may have been worn by a warrior of *Quachic* rank.

He is armed with a spear (*tepoztopilli*) of a type usually interpreted by modern authorities as a long-handled slashing weapon, but 16th century pictures show it being used overarm, held close to the butt, for stabbing or thrusting; it is even sometimes shown being thrown. Spanish chronicles indicate that such obsidian or flint-bladed spears were actually capable of piercing metal

Fig 40 Fig 41 Fig 42 Fig 43



corselets but were less effective against quilted armour. They appear to have averaged 6–8 ft (1.8–2.4 m) in length.

44–46. AZTEC *TEQUIHUAHQUEH* Despite the simplicity of their costume and equipment the rank of these warriors is apparent from their distinctive hair-style, the red-ribboned *temillotl* ('column of stone'). Their attire is important in indicating that although the wearing of items of paraphernalia to which one was not entitled was a capital offence, warriors of rank clearly had the right to 'dress down' if they so desired, and can often be found going into battle nearly naked. Doubtless they believed — like their 19th century North American counterparts — that a combination of war-paint, charms, and prayer would protect them, and that the absence of a war-suit or armour demonstrated their fearlessness. We have already seen that the *Codex Florentino* depicts a 'Shorn One' fighting in just a breechclout (Figure 33), and in the same source Sahagún records that an *Otomitl* at Tenochtitlan in 1521 wore different costumes each time he went into battle, though he left his head uncovered so that his hair-style announced his rank. Indeed, the importance of hair-styles in advertising an individual's status resulted in a general reluctance to wear a helmet or any other sort of head-dress unless it too proclaimed status, and even lords and chiefs are often depicted bareheaded in battle.

Figure 44 (from Humboldt Fragment III) has his face painted yellow with red stripes. Perhaps surprisingly, the use of war-paint amongst the Aztecs is somewhat of a thorny subject. Certainly since at least the 12th century Mexican Indians of the warrior classes had theoretically painted their whole body (except the face) black when going to war, but they do not appear to be represented thus in many contemporary Aztec codices. What form facial decoration usually took is even more debatable. Sahagún records warriors painting black stripes on their faces and sprinkling them with iron pyrites, but this was for participation in the ritual dances performed each evening, not for war. It is also reported that a warrior who had taken a captive painted his face red and yellow, but once again this seems to have been only for the subsequent celebration. Only a few warriors occur with painted faces in Aztec pictorial sources, and significantly the use of face-paint by other tribes — the Otomi, for instance — is actually remarked on as being a distinctive trait, i.e. something by which they might be distinguished from Aztecs. Significantly too, though the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* often shows face-paint in use among various frontier tribes, particularly those to be found in the north, it does not once show it worn by an Aztec.

Figures 45 and 46, from the *Codex Florentino* and the *Codex Mendoza* respectively, portray *tequihuahqueh* in more typical dress, consisting of a war-suit in the former instance (black spangled with small white discs in the original), and a long cotton *ichcahuipilli* in the latter. Figure 46 is a warrior who has taken three captives, though, inexplicably, the *Codex Mendoza* also depicts a warrior who has taken only one captive as wearing his

hair in the *temillotl* style. Figure 45 has a shield that may be a variant of type 26xxvi, while Figure 46 has a type 26xv shield which is green with a yellow rim, yellow 'nose-moons', a red curved band at the top, and a yellow one across the middle. For details regarding his standard, see the information given under Figure 27ix.

47. AZTEC WARRIOR The majority of Aztec warriors in the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* wear war-suits. This particular man's is a pale orange colour, with the usual red collar. His shield is black and white with a red rim, and he is armed with a *quauhololli*, an oak club with a spherical head. Another type of club was the *huitzauhqui*, which had a stone head. The headband and fillet of feathers in detail 47a is also of frequent occurrence in the *Lienzo*, most often being portrayed in white, green, or red.

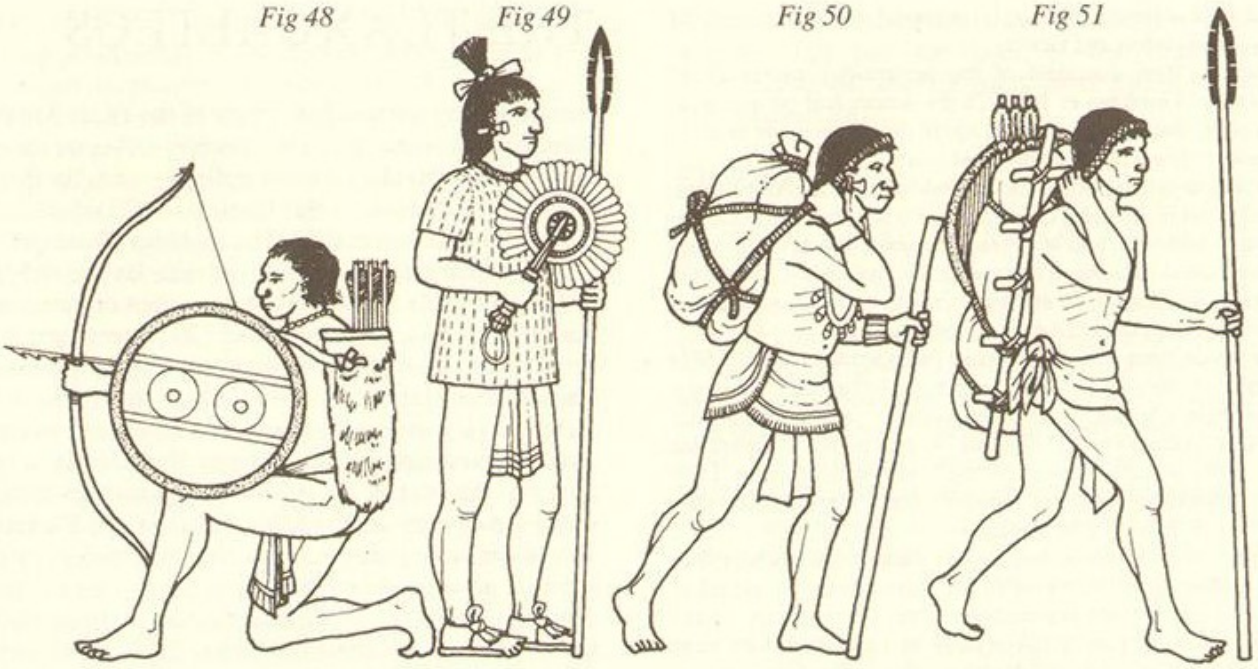
48. AZTEC ARCHER Also from the *Lienzo*, this man from Quauhtlatlauchan in Puebla is a commoner. These had no access to armour but went on campaign in their everyday clothes, consisting of a breechclout and knee-length mantle (the *tilmatli*, not worn in combat; see Figure 62) made of coarse vegetable fibre, either maguey (a type of cactus), yucca, or palm. The majority were armed with either a bow or a sling, the latter predominating, though doubtless spears and clubs would have been issued to many from the municipal arsenals. Durán records that archers were sometimes accompanied by shield-bearers, described as 'warriors who were to defend the archers and who were experts at deflecting arrows with their shields. Their skill was wondrous; when they saw an arrow coming they would hit it with their shields, turning it aside.'

The bow (*tlahuitolli*) was usually about 4 ft (1.2 m) long, or occasionally up to 5 ft (1.5 m), and fired reed arrows with a fire-hardened foreshaft that could have all the same sorts of tip as an *atlatl* dart. Sahagún provides details of their construction, describing how they were made of reeds 'straightened in the fire' and had their ends securely tied with maguey fibres 'so that the arrow shafts would not split back'. The foreshafts and/or heads were then set in place with glue, after which the arrows were bundled in twenties. They were kept in a quiver (the *micomitl* or *mixiquipilli*), which we may assume held 20. The Mexican bow probably had the same range as those found in other parts of southern North America, i.e. up to 200 yds (183 m), and was probably of similar power. In a competition in Tlatilolco in the 1470s some archers were able to shoot their arrows through a wooden statue 4 ins (10 cm) thick.

On the subject of missile weapons, it should be noted in passing that though the Aztecs made no attempt to utilise captured Spanish firearms, a few crossbows were put to use during the Spanish siege of Tenochtitlan in 1521. Díaz tells us that, having captured some crossbowmen, the Aztecs 'made them load the crossbows and show them how they were to be fired', and shot some of the Spaniards' own spent bolts back at them.

49 & 50. AZTEC *POCHTECA* or travelling merchants (literally 'merchants who lead') acted both as spies and *agents provocateur*, hoping that by their high-handed behaviour in rival towns they could provoke retaliation against themselves or insults against the Aztec *Tlatoani*, either of which constituted sufficient excuse for the Aztecs to attack the offending town. The symbols of their

Fig 48 Fig 49 Fig 50 Fig 51



trade were a feather fan and a staff, though because they frequently had to fight when passing through alien territory the 'staff' was often a spear and, as can be seen from Figure 49 (from the *Codex Mendoza*), they also wore cotton armour. However, the armour would only have been donned after they had been discovered, since in order to spy on the enemy they customarily disguised themselves by adopting the local hair-style, costume, and language. *Pochteca* lived in their own section of each Aztec town or city. They were highly esteemed and received many privileges, and under *Tlatoani* Ahuitzotl were elevated to the same rank as warriors of the military orders. They had their own leader, who Sahagún calls the *Pochtecatlailotlac* or 'governor of the merchants', and in wartime elected their own commander, the *Quauhpoyohualtzin*, and formed their own troops under their own standard. From Figure 49's hair-style it is apparent that this merchant is also a veteran warrior, a clear indication of their ambiguous role in Aztec society. Figure 50, from the *Codex Fejervary-Mayer*, appears to wear more typical travelling attire.

51. AZTEC YOUTH IN TRAINING The *Codex Mendoza* depicts this figure accompanying a *tequihuahqueh* on the march, and makes it clear from the way it describes him that he is one of the trainee warriors who accompanied such veterans on campaign: 'he goes to war with him, carrying his baggage on his back with his own arms'. The shield at least is his own, since the *tequihuahqueh* he accompanies already has one.

NOTES

15 Their name derives from Aztlan or Aztatlan, the legendary 'Place of Herons' whence they believed they had originally come. However, their own oral tradition (as recorded in the 16th century) states that long before they ever settled in the Valley of Mexico their god Huitzilopochtli had instructed them to change their name to Mexica, which is the name the Spanish *conquistadores* knew them by. Diego Durán (see note 20 below) is the earliest post-Conquest writer to show a preference for the term 'Aztec', which has now become the name invariably used to describe both the Mexica people and their culture.

16 The word actually means 'children'. Tlaxcala and some other places had a lower rank of nobility called *teixhuihuan* ('grandchildren'), who were hardly distinguishable from commoners.

17 If helped by more than six others the capture did not count.

18 If he had received help only the left half was cut off. The rest was presumably cut off when he achieved another half-captive, or perhaps only when he managed his first unaided capture of an enemy.

19 This is how *tequihuah* is normally translated. Its literal meaning, however, is 'tribute owner', or 'one who has (a share of the) tribute', an allusion to his maintenance by the state.

20 Despite dating to 1581, Diego Durán's chronicle, along with that of Hernando Alvarado Tezozomoc (1598) and the mid-century *Codex Ramirez*, are all thought to have derived from a single lost pre-Conquest original. Durán clearly states that his account derives from an earlier Aztec source.

21 G.C. Vaillant, in *The Aztecs of Mexico* (1944), also refers to a 'third infrequently mentioned order, the Arrow', and has been repeated by many writers since, but I have been unable to trace the source of his claim. Significantly the most recent academic studies of Aztec warfare make no mention of this alleged order, and the fact that the bow was a commoners' weapon certainly makes it improbable that such an order ever existed.

22 Irene Nicholson, *Mexican and Central American Mythology* (1983).

23 See Werner Stenzel 'The Military and Religious Orders of Ancient Mexico' (1974). Nor were such elites unique to the Aztecs in Mexico: Durán claims that those of neighbouring states were established in imitation of the Aztecs' own, but it is clear that in reality such societies predate the rise of what we consider 'Aztec' civilisation. Nevertheless, there may have been some truth in Durán's version of events, since Tezozomoc records that there were *Quachicqueh* — a uniquely Aztec institution — among the Huexotzinca at least. In addition pictures of non-Aztec warriors can be found which include men in the *temillotl* hair-style of the *tequihuahqueh*. See, for instance, Figure 56.

24 Although never in the New World himself, López de Gómara's history (1552) is an important source for Mexico at the time of the Conquest, since he was later Cortés' secretary in Spain and had much of his information direct from the marquis himself, as well as from Andrea de Tapia and, probably, other surviving *conquistadores*.

25 These were regional geographical surveys organised by the Spaniards at various times during the century following the Conquest. They were sort of mini Domesday Books, and are

packed with valuable details of, amongst other things, local history, dress, arms, and tactics.

26 Prior to their conquest of the present-day provinces of Morelos and Guerrero in 1418–28 the Aztecs had no access to cotton at all, their clothes having up till then been made entirely of vegetable fibre, i.e. *henequen* and *ixtle*.

27 Gómara says that prior to the Spanish invasion the Aztecs were generally 'not in the habit of fighting at night'. Once darkness fell fighting would stop, and if necessary resume the next morning. However, the Aztecs were not averse to carrying out night-time reconnaissance forays, or night-marches that would put them in an advantageous position for the next day's battle.

28 Toribio de Benavente 'Motolinia' (who wrote in about 1541) enumerates these as Michoacán, Metztitlan, Tlaxcala, Huexotzingo, Cholula, Yopitzinco, Acapulco, and Acatepec, but omits Cuextlan; however, Cholula — previously a Tlaxcaltec ally — had actually realigned itself to the Aztecs by 1519 (which is why the Spaniards found Tlaxcala 'very hostile to the people of Cholula' at their arrival).

29 As will be seen below, long lances were in use among tribes to the south-east of the Valley of Mexico prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, but not amongst the Aztecs themselves, whose adoption of them can therefore only be connected with their experiences at the hands of Spanish cavalry earlier that year.

30 Details of this ceremony vary somewhat in the sources, some mentioning that the victim fought four or seven warriors. In the most famous such combat a captured Tlaxcaltec chieftain is said to have succeeded in killing more than eight of the men sent against him and wounding 20, so clearly he faced more than just five *Ocelomeh*; but he had specifically requested to be put to death by the Aztecs in order not to cheat the gods.

31 Only four pre-Conquest Aztec feather shields seem to have survived to the present day: two in Stuttgart, one in Vienna, and a poor condition one in Mexico City.

32 In this context the term is intended to embrace the entire area of Aztec influence. Where such shields as those described were not in use in an area prior to its conquest by the Aztecs, they certainly came into use afterwards. It is apparent from the invaluable pictures in the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* that Aztec-style shield patterns occurred in their greatest concentration in Central Mexico (especially the region covered by the modern states of Mexico, Tlaxcala, and Puebla), but probably petered out rapidly outside those limits and were not in use at all in Michoacán or Guatemala.

33 The labret or lip-plug was a popular piece of jewellery throughout Mesoamerica. It could be up to several inches long, and was made of various materials dependent upon the rank of the wearer, including gold, amber, jade, rock crystal, flint, and conch shell. Only the nobility and warrior-class of Aztec society wore labrets. Ear-plugs, however, were universal, though they were only made of wood, bone 'or other inferior materials' even among 'brave captains and warriors', since only rulers and the senior nobility were permitted to wear gold and precious stones. Even warriors who had taken as many as five captives were entitled to only a long blue labret and leather ear-plugs, and those who took a sixth captive received a long yellow labret.

34 The *atlatl* remained in use in many parts of Mexico well into the present century, still being used by Tarascan duck-hunters until at least the 1960s.

35 No-one else mentions such three-bladed darts, and they do not appear in a single contemporary picture. They were probably intended for hunting or fishing rather than fighting.

36 The fact that none of the Huaxtecs' conquered southern provinces — Tuxpan, Papantla, Xiuhcoac (or Tzicoac), and Molanco — provided such war-suits as part of their tribute payment to the Triple Alliance strongly implies that they were an element of northern Huaxtec war-dress, not southern, even though the tribute of the Aztecs' one northern Huaxtec conquest, Oxitipan (north of Metztitlan), does not include any either. In fact the southern Huaxtec provinces' tribute to Tenochtitlan only included four war-suits in all (one of them an *ocelototec*), and Oxitipan provided none.

THE TLAXCALTECS

Confronted by the steady advance of the Triple Alliance's frontiers, from the mid-15th century onwards the city-states of the Puebla-Tlaxcala valley — notably those of Atlixco, Cholula, Huexotzingo, Tlaxcala, and Tliliuhquitepec — combined into a loose alliance of their own aimed at halting Aztec expansion. By the end of the century Tlaxcala was the most important of these states, comprising a league of some 28 towns and cities governed from its four regional capitals of Ocotelolco, Quiahuiztlan, Tepeticpac, and Tizatlan, each with its own *tlatoani*. This league was powerful enough to withstand concerted attempts by Moctezuma II to subdue it in the first two decades of the 16th century, and destroyed an entire Aztec army in 1515. Nevertheless, the Tlaxcaltecs shared the same culture as the Aztecs, which in military terms is apparent from their army organisation (units of 100, 400 and 8,000 all occur in the sources), their tactics, their weapons, and their war-dress. Thus the description by Gómara of the Tlaxcaltec army fielded against Cortés in 1519 could almost as easily be about the Aztecs: 'Their faces were painted with red bixa, which gave them the look of devils. They carried great plumes and manoeuvred marvellously well. Their weapons were slings, pikes, spears and swords of the sort called macanas, bows and arrows (these not poisoned), helmets, arm and leg armour of wood, gilded and covered with feathers or leather. Their corselets were of cotton; their shields and bucklers, very handsome and not at all weak, were of tough wood and leather, with brass[37] and feather ornaments; their swords of wood with flints set in them, which cut well and made a nasty wound. Their warriors were arrayed in squadrons, each with many trumpets, conches and drums'.

Units seem to have been uniformly armed (some entirely of spearmen and others entirely of archers are mentioned) and Díaz says each warband 'displayed its respective device'. Some were seemingly uniformed after a fashion: Díaz mentions how the Tlaxcaltec warriors at the Battle of Tehuacingo in 1519 'were all clad and bore devices of white and red, which was the uniform of their general'. He later refers to Xicontencatl, the *tlatoani* of Tizatlan, being accompanied by '50 of his principal warriors all clothed in uniform habits of white and red', and in other passages mentions men 'from all parts of the country wearing their different liveries', and that 'each company had its device and uniform, for each chieftain had a different one'.

Overall command was in the hands of an elected war-chief who operated under the direction of, and was usually one of, the state's four co-leaders, the rulers of its four principal cities. Every other city in the league was subordinate to the 'big four', but enough latitude existed for independent action to be possible. The Spaniards' first battle in Tlaxcala, for instance, was fought by the Otomi army of the subject city of Tecoac without the knowledge of the league's rulers (or so they later claimed). Otomis, incidentally, represented a sizeable proportion of Tlaxcala's population by the second half of the 15th century, mostly in the capacity of soldiers or labourers (the Tlaxcaltecs considered them 'wild people and very stupid'). It was probably because of the presence of large numbers of Otomis that the bow was of much greater

importance to the Tlaxcaltecs than it was to the Aztecs, featuring prominently in descriptions of their arms as well as in numerous pictures in the superbly-illustrated *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*. It seems likely that the Tlaxcaltec archers Sahagún records serving under Cortés were Otomis. In the same passage he describes how 'all the dwellers in cities beyond the mountains, those of Tlaxcala, of Tliliuhquitepec, of Huexotzingo, all came crouching, and as they went loosed cries and shrieks while striking their mouths with their hands; they screeched and whistled, and shook their heads', all of which is very reminiscent of the behaviour of later North American Indians.

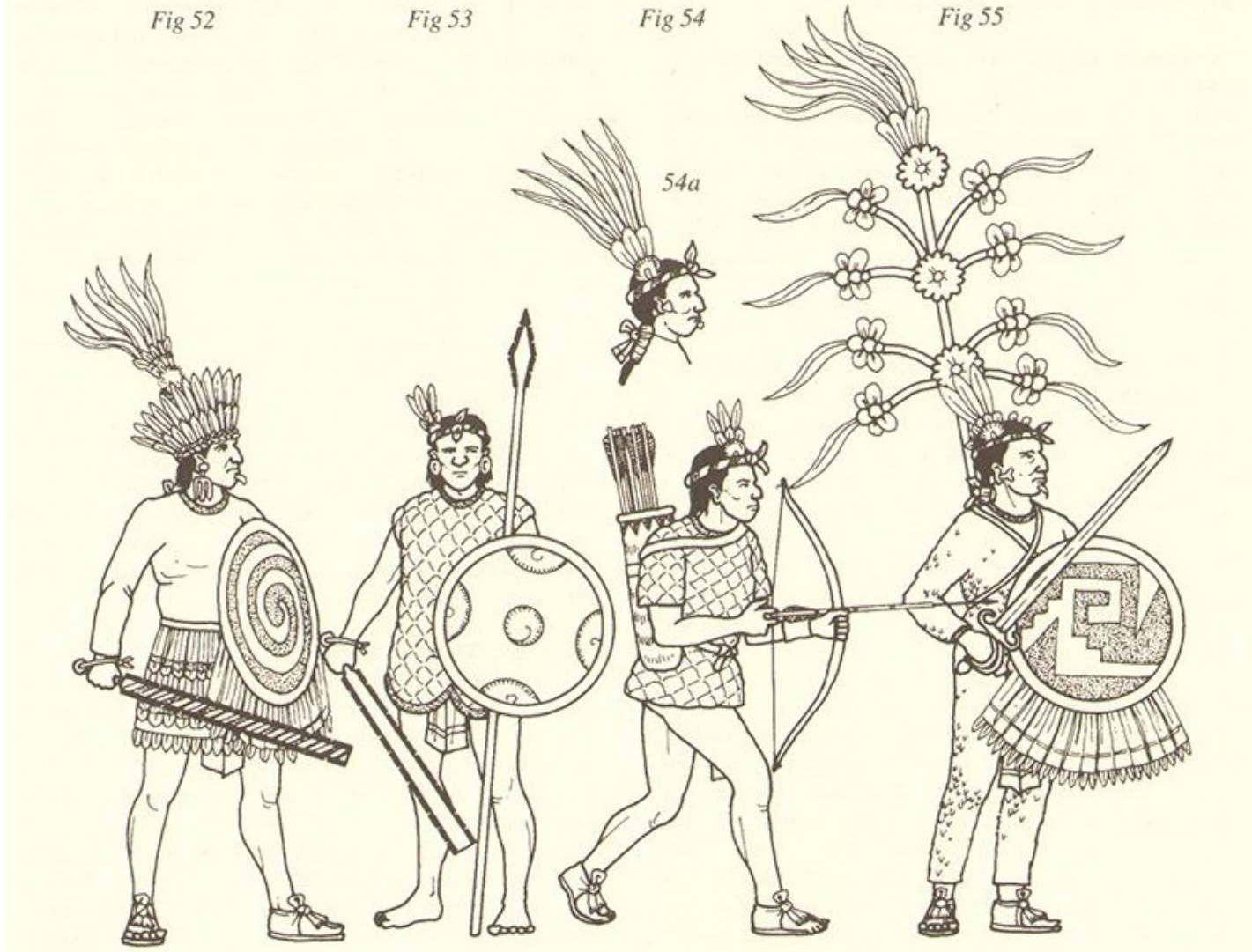
López de Gómara provides some additional details of Tlaxcaltec military customs. He says it was the commander-in-chief himself who carried the army's standard, 'at the rear of the troops, as is their custom in wartime.' Further on he explains that though carried in the rear during the fighting 'when the battle is over it is placed where everyone may see it. Those who do not rally to the standard are punished. Two arrows, relics of the first founders, are borne into battle by two brave and noble captains and are used to foretell victory or defeat. One of them is shot at the enemy at the first encounter; if it kills or wounds it is a sign of victory; otherwise, of defeat. So they claim at least, and they never fail to retrieve the arrows.' Finally, in what is doubtless a reflection of his master Cortés' opinion of them, he describes the Tlaxcaltecs as 'warlike beyond all others'.

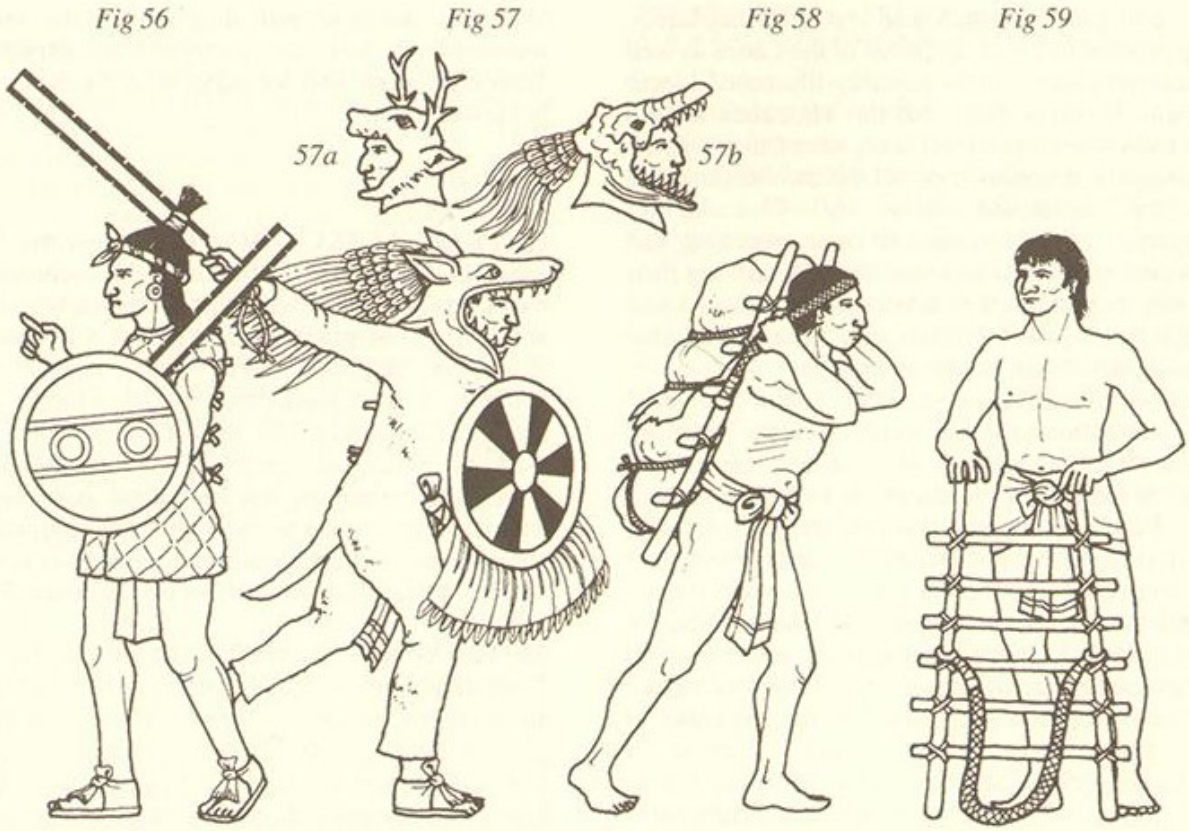
After being defeated by Cortés in engagements on 2 and 5 September 1519, Tlaxcala allied itself with the Spaniards, thereafter providing considerable numbers of warriors not just for both of the expeditions to Tenochtitlan but also for many other Spanish conquests in Mesoamerica.

FIGURES

52. TLAXCALTEC CHIEFTAIN from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, whence all the figures in this section come. He wears a yellow *ehuatl* (its skirt decorated with red bands and a fringe of green feathers), with a red and yellow 'feathered serpent' shield with yellow and red *tentlapilollo* with green tips. The *Lienzo* pictures indicate that the Tlaxcaltecs, like most Central Mexican tribes, used the standard range of 'Aztec' shields, with occasional variations. His head-dress is of pink-edged white feathers, with a plume of green quetzal feathers in a red and yellow feather cup that looks as if it might be attached to a topknot of hair like that of Figure 56.

53. TLAXCALTEC WARRIOR Despite the fact that Tlaxcala was surrounded by Aztec territory, which cut off all its supplies of cotton, written sources and the *Lienzo* pictures confirm that Tlaxcaltec warriors customarily wore cotton armour. Some of this at least is known to have been obtained through a black-market trade that existed between Tlaxcala and its Aztec-dominated neighbours, but much may have been obtained as battlefield plunder. Díaz records that Tlaxcaltec clothing was made of *henequen* (probably meaning maguey-





fibre), doubtless in consequence of the same cotton shortage. He nevertheless describes it as 'beautifully embroidered and painted'. The *Lienzo* indicates that type 26xix shields such as the one carried here were commonplace amongst the Tlaxcaltecs.

54. TLAXCALTEC ARCHER The twisted red-and-white headband with three-feathered white plume, worn by Figures 53–56, was the characteristic Tlaxcaltec head-dress. It is occasionally found accompanied by a row of small white heron feathers across the top of the head from front to back (Figure 55). Somewhat taller plumes indicated that the wearer was a member of the senior nobility, while those of chieftains were surmounted by quetzal feathers as depicted in detail 54a. Nobles also wore their hair longer, and tied at the back with a red ribbon.

55–57. TLAXCALTEC NOBLE OR VETERAN WARRIORS Figure 55 comes from the *Lienzo*'s picture of Nuño de Guzmán's attack on Tototlan in 1530. He wears a yellow war-suit, and, being in Spanish service, he carries a European sword. His standard is red, with yellow butterflies, red-centred yellow flowers, and green quetzal 'leaves' at the top and at the end of each branch. The shield fringe is yellow/red/yellow. Figure 56 is interesting for its confirmation that some Tlaxcaltec veteran warriors adopted a form of the *temillotl* hair-style of Aztec *tequihuahqueh*.

War-suits are far less common amongst the Tlaxcaltecs than amongst the Aztecs in the *Lienzo*'s pictures, and just five warriors are shown in animal-headed types. None of these are of the eagle variety, but contemporary descriptions of Tlaxcaltec veterans as eagles, lions, and jaguars implies that probably they had similar military elites to the Aztecs' own and, presumably, were similarly attired. Figure 57, however, is a member of none of these, but instead wears a coyote war-suit (*toxcoyotl*, 'coyote-face'). The Aztec *Codex Mendoza*[38] invariably depicts such suits as being yellow, with a red collar and the usual white and quetzal feather plume, but the *Codex Matritense* includes enough variants to indicate that this costume must have enjoyed some special status or significance in the Valley of Mexico: these comprise the *tlapalcoyotl* ('red coyote'), *tlecoyotl* ('fire coyote', which had prominent red macaw feather 'flames' over the whole suit), *citlalcoyotl* ('star-studded coyote', of black feathers with white ones scattered over it), *tlilticoyotl* ('black coyote', of black turkey-hen feathers), *itzacoyotl* ('white coyote'), *tozcoyotl* ('yellow parrot feather coyote'), and *xiuhcoyotl* ('blue coyote'), of which the last two were reserved exclusively for *tlatoani*, while the others could all be worn by chieftains. Among the Aztecs a priest who had captured six of the enemy wore a coyote-suit.

As well as eagles, jaguars, and coyotes, numerous other varieties of zoomorphic war-suit appear to have been used amongst Tlaxcaltecs, Aztecs, and other tribes too. Detail 57a depicts the head-dress of a deer-headed suit from a Tlaxcaltec ms. of 1562, while 57b is an alligator variety from the *Lienzo*. A *Relación Geografica* records that in pre-Conquest days the Acolhua of Teotihuacan had worn costumes resembling not just eagles, jaguars, coyotes, and deer, but also herons, ducks, pumas, and 'other animals'.

58 & 59. TLAXCALTEC *TLAMEME* The *tlameme* was a porter, a vital element in the logistics of war in a country which had no pack-animals and had never invented the wheel. They seem to have been a distinct occupational group within Mexican Indian society, their profession being hereditary, and they enjoyed a curious sort of neutrality in war that, short of getting involved in an actual battle, protected them from attack. Díaz reports that they could carry a load of two *arrobas* (50½ lbs/22.9 kg) 'and march five leagues with it' (13–16 miles), though in reality loads were probably lighter or heavier in

accordance with the distance to be travelled. Certainly early-16th century Spanish sources variously mention loads equivalent to 38, 50½, 55½ and 76 lbs (17.2, 22.9, 25.2 and 34.5 kg). The goods were packed into woven cane containers (*petlacalli*), and/or covered with hides to protect the contents, and strapped to a carrying frame, the *cacaxtli*, which was carried by means of tumplines. The construction of the *cacaxtli* can be seen in Figure 59. Many of the Indian auxiliaries who accompanied Spanish armies were porters (*tlamemequeh*), some of whom were utilised to haul the *conquistadores*' guns. Many were later re-trained as pack-mule drivers. Some subject towns of the Triple Alliance provided porters as part of their annual tribute payment.

NOTES

37 Probably *tumbaga*, a gold and copper alloy.
38 This contains 44 coyote war-suits, compared to 29 jaguar. Of these, 43 are accompanied by shield type 26xv, and one has a type 26xi.

THE HUEXOTZINCA

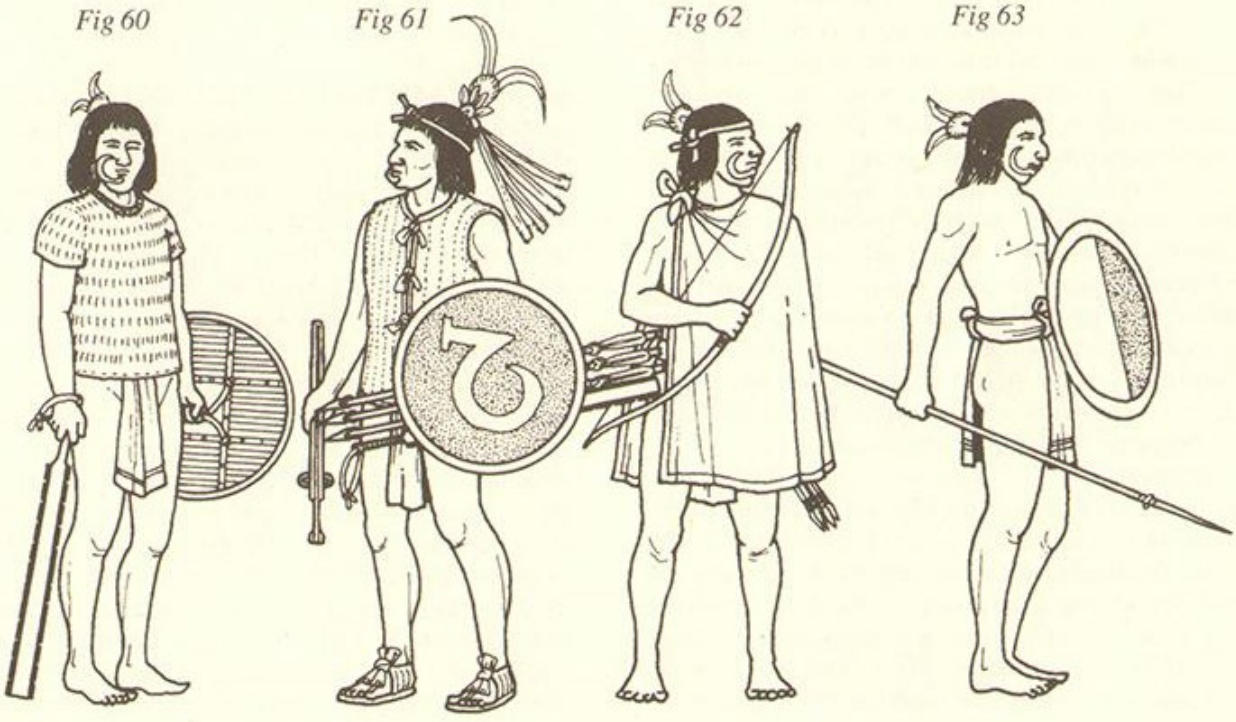
Huexotzingo was the centre of a powerful league in the Puebla-Tlaxcala valley from the 14th century on, and posed a sufficient threat to the Aztecs by the 15th century that the Triple Alliance's *Tlatoani* Tizoc (1481–86) singled it out for attention by decreeing that none of his warriors were to receive the insignia of a *tequihuah* or veteran warrior until each had taken at least one Huexotzinca prisoner. It was perhaps in consequence of this that Huexotzingo was eclipsed by its principal ally, Tlaxcala, towards the end of the century. Two last attempts by the Huexotzinca to maintain their pre-eminence by force — in embarrassing alliance with their Aztec enemies in the first instance — were bloodily defeated by the Tlaxcaltecs in 1504 and 1515, the victors even occupying Huexotzingo after the second defeat and holding it until the rivals were reconciled in 1518. Díaz records there being an Huexotzinca contingent with the Tlaxcaltec army that fought against Cortés the following year. Huexotzingo appears to have submitted to the Spaniards at the same time as Tlaxcala, and likewise supplied troops to accompany them to Tenochtitlan.

FIGURES

60. HUEXOTZINCA WARRIOR from pictures in the *Codex Mendoza*, with the distinctive long curved labret (*tecacanecuilli*), made of white sea-shell, that was their principal identifying characteristic. It is clear from contemporary pictures that it was shaped to curl round close to the right cheek rather than to protrude in front of the chin.

61–63. HUEXOTZINCA WARRIORS from entries in the *Codex en Cruz* (1553) and *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, commemorating Aztec battles against them in the period 1491–1518. Note the use of a small plume of white feathers, a trait shared by Huexotzingo with its neighbours Tlaxcala (as we have already seen) and Cholula. Where worn, the leather headband was red. Figure 61, whose sophisticated head-dress denotes he is a chieftain, carries a type 26xxvi shield; other standard 'Aztec' patterns, such as types 26xi and xv, occur in the *Matricula de Huexotzingo* of 1560, so probably the full range of Mexican shield types was in use amongst the Huexotzinca just as it was among the Tlaxcaltecs. Figure 62 wears a mantle (*tilmatli*) of the type worn throughout Mesoamerica. Those of commoners were of maguey, yucca, or palm-fibre, but those of experienced warriors and noblemen were cotton. Among the Aztecs at least they increased in ornateness according to the number of prisoners the wearer had taken, and those of ordinary warriors were not to fall below the knee on pain of death, except to conceal disfiguring war-wounds. In Central Mexico the mantle was always discarded before battle, though the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* indicates that in the north and south it was sometimes rolled up and tied diagonally round the torso in action.

Fig 60 *Fig 61* *Fig 62* *Fig 63*



OAXACA

The most numerous peoples found in this region were the Zapotec and Mixtec, others being the Chinantec, Cuicatec, Huave, Mazatec, Mixe, Zoque, and Chontal. Loose federations of city-states prevailed, of which the most important in the 15th–16th centuries were the Zapotec cities of Teozapotlan (or Zaachila, seat of the 'universal lord of all the Zapotec Indians'), Tehuantepec (whence the Zapotec capital was transferred after the Aztec capture of Zaachila in the 1490s), Yanhuitlan, Mitla, and Tlacolula; and the Mixtec cities of Culiapan, Tututepec, and Tlaxiaco. Following the arrival of the Mixtecs in the 13th century sporadic warfare against the Zapotecs had eventually resulted in their ascendancy, despite their smaller numbers, and Culiapan had eventually become the region's principal centre. Though in the 1480s the Aztecs established a 'garrison' at Huaxyacac (the name of which was later corrupted by the Spaniards to 'Oaxaca'), and made considerably more extensive conquests here under Moctezuma II, much of southern Oaxaca remained independent until the arrival of the Spaniards in 1521 because, faced with a common enemy, the Mixtecs and Zapotecs had managed to put aside their differences to present the Aztecs with a united front. Nevertheless, Zapotec strategy was to let the Mixtecs bear the brunt of the fighting, thereby weakening both their potential enemies simultaneously. It was doubtless this policy which led to Spanish sources frequently describing the Zapotecs as 'devious' when compared to the 'warlike, courageous' Mixtecs.

The mountainous nature of the region — with its narrow, slippery passes, and numerous fortified hilltop towns — was a contributory factor in its defence, presenting problems even to the all-conquering Spaniards. Cortés himself, admitting that he had twice failed to subjugate it, described Oaxaca as 'a country so rough in its character it is impossible to penetrate it even on foot', peopled by tribes 'defended by strong fortresses, mountainous terrain and substantial weapons.' In fact, although the Zapotecs and Mixtecs alike had all either submitted peacefully or been conquered by the end of 1522, some tribes were never actually beaten by the Spaniards, who were unable to ever bring them to battle.

When needed, armies were recruited by conscription as elsewhere in Mexico and organised in the usual vigesimal system. War was generally undertaken to demand tribute from rivals and neighbours, tactics involving raids, night-attacks, ambushes, and the advantageous use of high ground. *Relaciónes Geograficas* indicate that local practice was to fight in 'squadrons' under individual leaders who were distinguished by the feather standards that they wore, such squadrons often being arranged as two wings. Though prisoners were mostly sacrificed, in southern districts they were often enslaved instead.

Armour generally comprised cotton and leather corselets, shields of cane in the lowlands and hide in the mountains, and — at least in some areas — helmets, the *Relaciónes* mentioning their use amongst the Mixtecs but apparently not amongst the Zapotecs. Weapons consisted of bows ('very large and strong' according to Bernal Díaz del Castillo), clubs, macanas, slings, and long spears. Darts are also mentioned, but there are no 16th century references to spear-throwers being used, though contemporary pictures of both Zapotecs and Mixtecs indicate that they still were. It would appear, however, that the spear-thrower's importance was in decline, and that reliance on the bow was increasing.

The long spears favoured by several of the region's tribes — notably the Mixe, Chontal, and Chinantec — are often mentioned in Spanish sources. Cortés described those of the Mixe as 'from 25–30 *palmos* in length [about 17½–21 ft, or 5.3–6.4 m], very stout and well made, pointed with flint', while Díaz says those of 'Zapotec mountaineers' of the Tiltepec region, used in conjunction with long, body-covering shields (see Figure 72), were 'longer than ours, with a *braza* [5½ ft/1.7 m] of cutting edge of stone blades that cut better than our swords'. *Relaciónes Geograficas* of 1579–81 indicate that before the Spanish Conquest the Mixe and Chontal had fought almost exclusively with spears described as three *brazas* long.

FIGURES

64 & 65. ZAPOTEC WARRIORS Figure 64 is a noble warrior, from a depiction of the fall of Xochitlan to the Aztecs in 1497 in the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*. He wears a padded armour of three to four layers of quilted cotton called a *pelaga* (equivalent to the Aztec *ichcahuipilli*) and has a feather standard, carried on a frame on his back in the usual way. The Mixtecs also used such standards, which are described as striped and white. Zapotec 'nobles', doubtless including the warrior elite classes, wore brightly coloured and decorated cotton and feather mantles, along with gold and stone beads, lip-plugs, and ear-plugs. At least some Zapotecs used war-paint — those of Atepec, for instance, painted their faces and legs 'to make them appear more fierce and terrifying'. Note that the ends of Zapotec and Mixtec breechclouts hung down at both back and front, and were longer than those of the Aztecs.

Except for a shield Zapotec commoners generally went unarmoured, wearing only a breechclout. They were armed predominantly with bows, slings, and spears. Figure 65's breechclout and headband are white with red decoration.

66 & 67. MIXTEC WARRIORS from the late-15th century *Codex Selden* and the *Lienzo de Zacatepec* of c.1540–60. Figure 66, depicting the ruler of Jaltepec, wears a hip-length jaguar-hide corselet, a carved wooden helmet with quetzal feather crest, and ear-plugs of characteristic shape. Though eagle and jaguar war-suits more like those of Figures 28, 39 and 40 also occur in Mixtec codices they are invariably depicted in ceremonial rather than military contexts. Nevertheless, Mixtec warriors were rewarded for bravery Aztec-fashion, by being permitted to wear jewellery, decorated mantles, and so on, so were often sumptuously adorned in battle. They also painted their bodies and parts of their faces black, or sometimes red. Figure 67 wears a characteristic short cotton corselet. Note the distinctive shape of their macanas, a type apparently unique to the Mixtecs; these could be up to 4–5 ft (1.2–1.5 m) long. Note Figure 67's shield too, which, like that of Figure 68, displays the most widespread Mixtec pattern, with the field divided into three portions by two vertical curves or

curved bands. This particular example has a blue field with a central red band, a yellow rim, and a green fringe with yellow tips.

68 & 69. MIXTEC ARCHERS from the *Lienzo de Zacatepec* and *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*. Both wear quilted cotton corselets. A description of such corselets, as worn by the Chinantecs, says they were sleeveless, knee-length, made like jackets from 'very coarse material', and padded to a thickness of three fingers (somewhat over 2 ins/5 cm). Figure 68's shield (substituted from the *Vienna Codex*) is yellow, with a blue rim and two curved white bands edged in red. The ornate head-dress of Figure 69 clearly indicates that he is either a veteran or an upper-class warrior, demonstrating that the Mixtec nobility did not share their Aztec counterparts' contempt for the bow.

70. MIXTEC COMMONER These were generally either unarmoured or wore one of the simple quilted cotton corselets described above. They were armed with a mixture of slings, spears, bows, and shields, the sling being especially popular.

71. MIXTEC MUSICIAN with a conch horn, probably a priest, from the *Codex Nuttall*. Similar figures can be found in codices emanating from almost every corner of Mesoamerica.

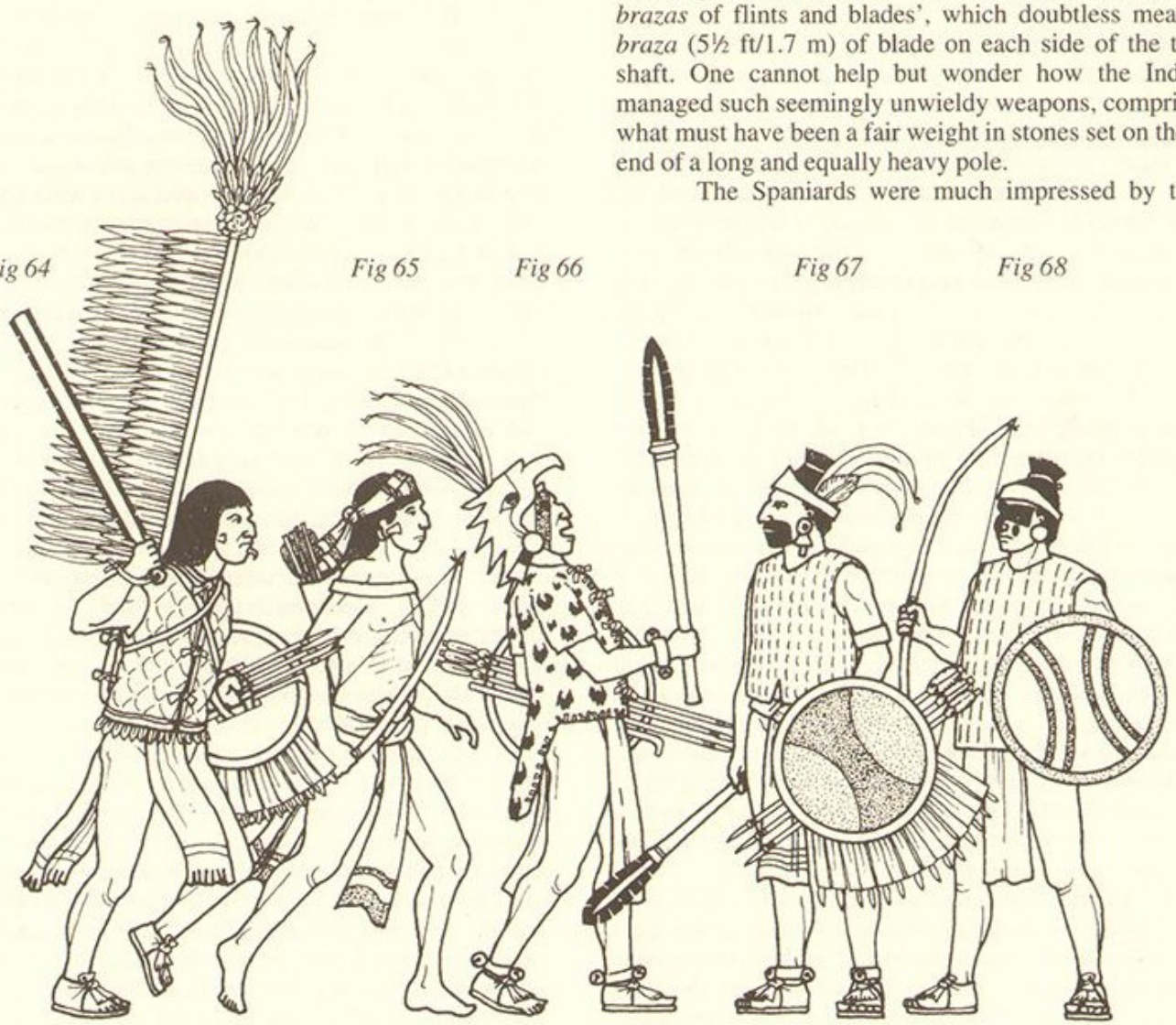
THE CHINANTECS

There were some 24 Chinantec towns in the mountainous extreme north of Oaxaca, the most important of which included Chinantla, Oxitlan, Ucila, Atlatlauca, Tepetotutla, Tuxtepec, and Tlacoatzintepec. Each had its own chief and there is no record of a ruling king as such, but the *Relaciónes Geograficas* of 1579 tell us that all the villages, in peace and war alike, 'responded to the call of the lord of Chinantla'. The province was conquered by the Aztecs under Ahuitzotl in the late-15th century, who installed 'a very large garrison of troops' in Tuxtepec that actually defeated a Spanish force in the early days of the Conquest. Elsewhere, however, Aztec rule seems to have been shaken off very shortly before the arrival of Cortés, for Díaz records that when a Spanish scouting force with Aztec auxiliaries was sent into the region in 1520 the Chinantecs told its commander that 'not a single Mexican should enter their country, for they would kill them'. Except for one rebellion in the early 1530s, localised to Tepetotutla, they appear to have remained loyal to the Spaniards throughout the century.

Their principal weapons were macanas, bows, and huge spears. The *Relación* for Chinantla describes these as 'long poles like lances, fitted with flints and blades', and that for Ucila says the blades were a *vara* long (33 ins/84 cm). Díaz variously describes them as better and much longer than Spanish pikes (which normally measured about 16 ft/4.9 m) and having 'two *brazas* of flints and blades', which doubtless means a *braza* (5½ ft/1.7 m) of blade on each side of the thick shaft. One cannot help but wonder how the Indians managed such seemingly unwieldy weapons, comprising what must have been a fair weight in stones set on the far end of a long and equally heavy pole.

The Spaniards were much impressed by these

Fig 64 *Fig 65* *Fig 66* *Fig 67* *Fig 68*



spears, so much so that when Cortés planned to march against his rival Pánfilo de Narváez he actually sent to Chinantla for 300 pikes, though asking the Chinantecs to remove the flint blades and replace them with copper points, thereby transforming the Indians' slashing weapon into the more conventional European thrusting variety. In fact our best description of Chinantec warriors comes from Díaz's account of the 1,500-strong contingent that came to join Cortés' expedition against Narváez (they arrived the day after the latter's capture): 'They entered Cempoallan in good array, two by two, and they carried their very long lances of great thickness, which have on them a *braza* of stone blades which cut like knives, as I have already said, and each Indian carried a shield like a *pavesina*, and [they marched] with their banners extended and many plumes of feathers and drums and trumpets, and between every two lancers an archer'. The Ucila *Relación* says that Chinantec leaders fought with bows, which presumably indicates that the lance was a commoners' weapon.

In 1579 it was reported that 'there does not appear to have been a fortress in all this province because, the country being so rough and mountainous, it is a stronghold in itself. The natives say that formerly they climbed to the top of a craggy hill and then cut off the approach, after which — so that they could descend — they constructed ladders. In this manner they fortified themselves.'

FIGURES

72. CHINANTEC SPEARMAN Only the warrior-nobility could generally afford armour, and Chinantec commoners are generally described as 'naked' or clothed in just a maguey fibre breechclout in battle. Though these may have been coloured (Chinantla produced numerous dyes, notably red) they are likely to have been faded, the local dyes being recorded as 'not fast'. Little jewellery is likely to have been worn outside of the upper classes, who continued to wear nose-plugs and ear-plugs well into the 17th century. However, most men customarily coloured their legs and faces with black and red war-paint before battle in order to make themselves more frightening.

The *pavesina* depicted here is based on earlier Maya examples (see Figure 86), while the spear is a hypothetical reconstruction; no contemporary portrayals appear to have survived of either. In a fuller description of *pavesinas* given in his account of the Tzotziles of Chamula, Díaz says that they 'covered the whole body when fighting, and when they are not needed they roll and double them up so that they are no inconvenience to them.' This indicates some sort of slatted or fabric construction, most probably the latter since this would have provided more effective defence against the long, slashing lances which had doubtless prompted the adoption of such shields in the first place (as a substitute for the absence of body-armour); certainly Clavigero in the 18th century, working from earlier sources, considered they were probably made of leather or *henequen* (vegetable fibre). Díaz's use of the word 'pavise' implies a rectangular shape, which is confirmed by Diego de Godoy (who served in the same campaigns) and earlier Maya representations. It seems to have been the usual shield for use in conjunction with the long lance, being included in descriptions of Chinantec, Tzotzile, and Zapotec arms alike. Díaz even includes shields 'made so that they can be rolled up', and long lances 'with a *braza* of blade', in his list of Aztec arms contained in Moctezuma II's arsenals in Tenochtitlan, these having perhaps been supplied at some point as tribute from the Oaxaca region. However, there is no evidence of their use among the Aztecs, not even elsewhere in Díaz's own account, so their inclusion may simply be a mistake.

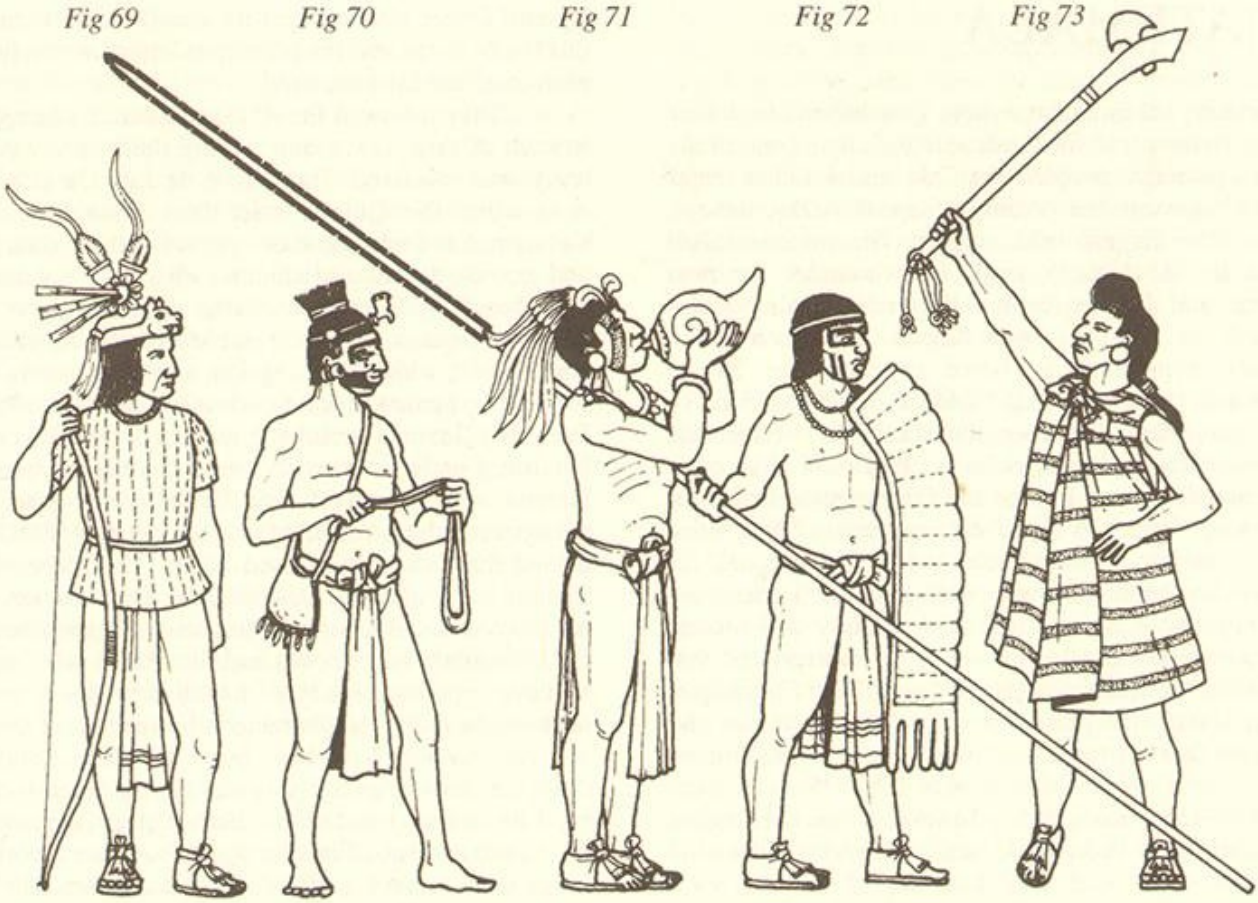
CHIAPAS

The Chiapaneca, with their capital at Chiapan, were the most powerful tribe of this region. At the arrival of the Spaniards they were governed by a council of priests from amongst whom two leaders were selected each year, who between them governed the state and commanded its military expeditions. Díaz wrote that the Chiapaneca 'at that time were the greatest warriors I had seen in all of New Spain', even compared to Tlaxcaltecs, Aztecs, Zapotecs, and Mixtecs, and he adds that they were feared by all their neighbours. They were continually at war with the Tzotzile city of Zinacantlan, with the Quilena, and with the Zoque, whose southern tribes were all either subject to or enemies of the Chiapaneca (as the northern Zoque were of the Cimateca). 'In short,' writes Díaz, 'they levied contributions from all the surrounding townships, dragged the inhabitants forcibly away to sacrifice to their gods, and devoured their flesh at their festive orgies.'

The Spanish campaigns that subdued them in 1523–24 and 1527–28 met with fierce opposition, and it was not until the 1540s that the Chiapaneca were finally defeated. In a battle in 1524 that lasted until nightfall, an army of over 100 Spaniards plus Indian auxiliaries managed to kill only 15 Chiapaneca, while itself losing two Spaniards and four horses killed and having 15 more Spaniards and numerous auxiliaries wounded; compared to Cortés' battles against other tribes, where hundreds or even thousands of Indians were killed for the loss of a mere handful of *conquistadores*, these figures are truly remarkable. It is significant too that at the end of this engagement Díaz admits to the great relief among the Spaniards at the sight of the Chiapaneca withdrawing: 'We considered our position in every respect dangerous,' he concedes, 'since with all our firing and courageous fighting we had been unable to drive the foe from the field'. And the very next day, when the Chiapaneca resumed the fight, he had to admit again how the Spaniards 'were indeed astonished to find how firmly these Indians maintained their ground'. Indeed, the largest recorded number of casualties the Spaniards were able to inflict on the Chiapaneca in any battle was just 120, and to achieve even this they too suffered 'great loss in killed and wounded'.

Chiapaneca warriors charged into battle with a shower of stones, darts, and arrows, yelling hideously, and fought 'with the ferocity of enraged lions', even managing to wrest the lances from the hands of several Spanish cavalrymen on at least two occasions. In fact they demonstrated no fear of horses whatsoever and speedily evolved numerous ways of neutralising their impact in battle. In one engagement each horseman was attacked by six or seven warriors who grabbed the horse and tried to pull the rider out of his saddle. On another

Fig 69 Fig 70 Fig 71 Fig 72 Fig 73



occasion they had lassoes 'which they threw at the horses in order to pull them to the ground. Strong nets which they use for the purpose of snaring wild deer were also fixed at certain distances to catch our horses, and they had other smaller ropes with loops, which were to be thrown about our necks to pull us towards them.'

Their more conventional weapons comprised bows, slings, 'clubs like macanas', fire-hardened javelins hurled with spear-throwers, and 'lances much longer than ours'. They wore cotton armour and plumes of feathers. As we have already seen, long spears were popular among several tribes of Oaxaca, Chiapas, and Guatemala. In Chiapas they are specifically referred to as being in use among the Chiapaneca, the Mame of Huiztlan, and the Tzotziles of Chamula, and the numbers of the last could apparently be judged by counting their spears. On one occasion, when the Spaniards were attacking a gap in the ramparts of a fortified position from which the Tzotziles were fighting with arrows and stones, it is recorded that 'no less than 2,000 Indians stretched out against us a forest of long lances'. These weapons were robust enough for a 'heavy thrust' of one to pierce through Díaz's steel armour, his life only being saved by the quilted corselet he wore beneath it. Using much the same phraseology as when describing Chinantec arms, he describes these lances as having 'more than two *brazas* of blades of flint', meaning a *braza* (5½ ft/1.7 m) on each side of the shaft. Other Tzotziles were armed with slings, bows, darts, and macanas. Those of Zinacantlan at least coloured themselves with red ochre. They attacked with the usual cacophony of 'shouts and loud yells, whistles, howls, and trumpets, drums and conch shells'.

The best archers in the region were the Cimateca of Cimatan and Talatupan, of whom Díaz wrote that 'they were remarkably expert archers, and the arrow which flew from their large bows seldom missed its aim'. He also noted that, unlike most Mexican bows, their arrows could 'pierce double folds of well quilted cotton armour, which is a great feat.' In one instance he even ordered his cavalry not to attack them since this 'would only expose their horses to the enemy's unerring arrows'. These Cimateca — fighting from behind wooden barricades across passes between mountains and lakes, 'with spike holes to shoot through' — maintained their generally successful resistance to the Spaniards until as late as c.1564, but by then disease and starvation had all but exterminated them.

FIGURES

73. TZOTZILE OR CIMATEC WARRIOR Sahagún tells us that both tribes cut their hair differently from the Aztecs, and though he fails to say in what way, the picture of a Tzotzile from Zinacantlan accompanying his text, on which this figure is based, probably serves for both. As we have seen, the two tribes differed principally only in their main armament, being a long spear for the Tzotziles and a large bow for the Cimateca. This man, however, is armed with neither, but carries instead a distinctive axe of a type that occurs in eastern Oaxaca, Chiapas, and Yucatan alike, but not in Central Mexico. It is probably the Maya variety that Diego de Landa describes as having a blade made of the gold-copper alloy called *tumbaga*, set in a wooden haft. Note that his striped mantle, though secured in conventional fashion by a knot on the chest, actually has arm-holes at the sides. It may therefore have been worn in action since in this form it was no longer an impediment to freedom of movement. However, most men probably wore just a breechclout in battle, supplemented by cotton armour where available or appropriate.

GUATEMALA

This country takes its name from Quauhtemallan, which was the Aztec name for Iximche, chief city of one of the region's principal peoples, the Cakchiquel. Other major tribes comprised the Tzutujil (capital Atziquinahay), Quiche (the largest tribe, capital Gumarcaaj, called Utatlan by the Aztecs), Pipil (for whom see the next section), and Mame (capital Zaculeu); smaller tribes included the Pokomchi and Kekchi, who both had a particular reputation as fierce warriors, the Xinca, Pokoman, Uspantec, Ixil, and a splinter-group of Cakchiquel, the Zacatepec. Of these the Mame and Uspantec were both of Quiche stock, and all alike were Maya peoples, even though the Quiche state had been established originally by Toltec migrants. Most were mutually hostile — the Quiche and the Cakchiquel, for instance, had been at war with each other for decades at a time throughout most of the 15th century and almost continuously since c.1470 — so it is unsurprising that attempts by the Quiche to get the Tzutujil and Cakchiquel to join them and present a united front against the Spaniards failed utterly. In consequence the Guatemalan Indians were defeated piecemeal in 1523–25 by an army of 300–450 Spaniards and up to several thousand Indian auxiliaries under Pedro de Alvarado. However, their final overthrow took until well into the 1530s, not least because all except the Tzutujils and the Quiche of Xelahuh (Quetzaltenango) rebelled in 1526–31. Individual city-states could each raise about 5,000 men, though by the addition of allied contingents larger armies might be fielded, the largest two on record being 14,000 and 16,000 strong.

Though their Maya origin is apparent in the dual leadership of most tribes (which usually had a 'king', who shared power with a kinsman who was simultaneously heir-apparent and regent), militarily it was Mexican influence that predominated. Unit sizes were vigesimal, with units of 20, 400 and 8,000 men — Díaz, for instance, reports that the army of the Xelahuh Quiche in 1524 comprised two *xiquipilli*, while the *Annals of Xahila* record the 2,000 Cakchiquels who allied with Alvarado the same year as *vomuch*, meaning 5 × 400 (*vo* = five, *omuch* = 400). Elite eagle and jaguar warriors are also to be found amongst the Quiche and Tzutujil at least, the two chieftains elected to lead the Tzutujil in wartime actually being called the *Quauhtli* ('Eagle') and *Ocelotl* ('Jaguar'). The *Quauhtli* 'wore the insignia of the eagle over his … cotton armour' and the *Ocelotl* wore the insignia of the jaguar over his, doubtless meaning they were attired in costumes akin to those of Figures 28, 39 and 40. The Tzutujil ruler Atziquinahay wore a helmet decorated with feathers 'in the form of an eagle'. Insignia of the sort depicted under Figure 27 were in use too, a *Relación Geografica* of 1585 recording that in pre-Conquest days the Tzutujil 'carried various devices, and insignia on their shields. Some carried eagles made of feathers, others jaguars, and others figures of birds and animals, in such a manner that the … lords and rulers of each kingdom and province were known by their devices, that were different from each other.' In addition many Guatemalan tribes, especially in the highlands and the south-west, followed the Mayan practice of tattooing themselves (covering 'all the body … with a thousand figures' as one observer put it), and Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo noted that the patterns adopted were unique to each chief and his followers.

They followed the Aztec practice of storing arms in each of their towns and issuing them only when the army was mustered; Bartolomé de Las Casas records how when the Quiche ruler (the *Ahau-Ahpop*) had summoned his men he then 'provided them their bows and arrows, spears and shields, with their standards of very beautiful feathers and their banners'. The usual mixture of spears, darts, slings, clubs, macanas, and bows was utilised, with arrows, spears, and darts having either flint or fire-hardened points, some of which (according to Fuentes y Guzmán, writing at the end of the 17th century but using earlier sources) were poisoned. Antonio de Herrera wrote in 1601 that Guatemalan spears were poisoned, perhaps meaning arrows; but in 1535 Oviedo denied that poison was used at all. The spears of the Tzutujil of Atitlan are described by Díaz as 'lances of uncommon length', long spears also being attributed to the Chinantecs (see above) and the Mame, who are said to have repulsed Spanish cavalry with them on one occasion in 1525. The characteristic weapons of the area, however, seem to have been bows (which had displaced the spear-thrower as the principal missile weapon during the 14th century) and clubs. Both appear in quantity in the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* pictures, and bows are recorded in virtually all surviving 16th century documents and battle descriptions. The Cakchiquels, for example, are repeatedly described as being armed with 'bows and shields'. All Guatemalan warriors seem to have carried shields, described in 1585 as having been 'of rods and thin pita fibre, twisted and closely woven'. Some also wore cotton armour.

One feature of Guatemalan organisation not evident in any of the descriptions of Aztec armies is the apparent grouping of each town's troops according to weapons, Francisco Izquin Nehaib (1558) recording that Quiche troops were organised in companies of shield-bearers (*ajpocab*), spearmen (*tzununche*), archers (*ajch'ab*), and men armed with hand-weapons (*tz'olaj*). Cakchiquel and Tzutujil warriors appear to have been grouped in a similar fashion.

Acuma tells us that in battle the Quiche customarily drew up with their slingers and javelinmen on the left, their archers either on the right or to the rear (sometimes protected by shield-bearers), and their spearmen on the wings. Díaz's view of Guatemalan warriors was that they 'were not very warlike people, nor did they ever offer any stout resistance unless they were in a strong position in mountain canyons, and even then their arrows did us very little harm.' Certainly most of what successes they had resulted from lurking in rough terrain, but even Díaz himself elsewhere admitted that in open battle in 1524 Pedro de Alvarado was only able to drive the Quiche of Zapotitlan from the field at the third attempt, despite inflicting heavy casualties on them. On another occasion a 2,000-strong Uspantec force actually defeated the Spaniards, falling on their rear as they attacked Uspantan in 1529.

However, open battles were the exception rather than the norm, and against the Spaniards feigned flights and ambushes in barricaded passes were generally preferred. The Indians played in particular on the Spanish dislike of mountainous country, and wherever they could

they ensured that their feigned flights or lines of retreat led to broken ground where the effectiveness of cavalry was minimised. Díaz several times mentions the Quiche 'reforming their ranks on the slope of a mountain' or rallying 'on a hilltop'. They would also leap out in twos and threes at cavalrymen and try to pull down man and horse, Alvarado himself recording their willingness to attack at such uneven odds as 'one of them to two horsemen'. In particular they specialised in the construction of pits as a defence against Spanish cavalry, these being described by Las Casas as 'covered over with broken boughs of trees and grass, completely concealing them' and 'filled with sharp stakes hardened by fire, which could be driven into the horses' bellies if they fell into the pits.' The use of such traps made already difficult mountain passes totally impassable. The *Annals of Xahila* record how the Cakchiquel, in revolt against the Spaniards in 1526, 'made trenches, they dug pitfalls, that their horses might be killed ... Many men of the Castilians were slain, and many horses killed in the pitfalls.' But these achieved only initial success, when still unexpected; familiarity led to caution, and Las Casas observed that before long 'the Spaniards knew how to avoid them'.

Though the Cakchiquel are reputed to have been less inclined towards sacrificial cannibalism than their neighbours, noble prisoners of war at least were normally sacrificed and eaten as in Mexico, though commoners were often merely enslaved.

FIGURES

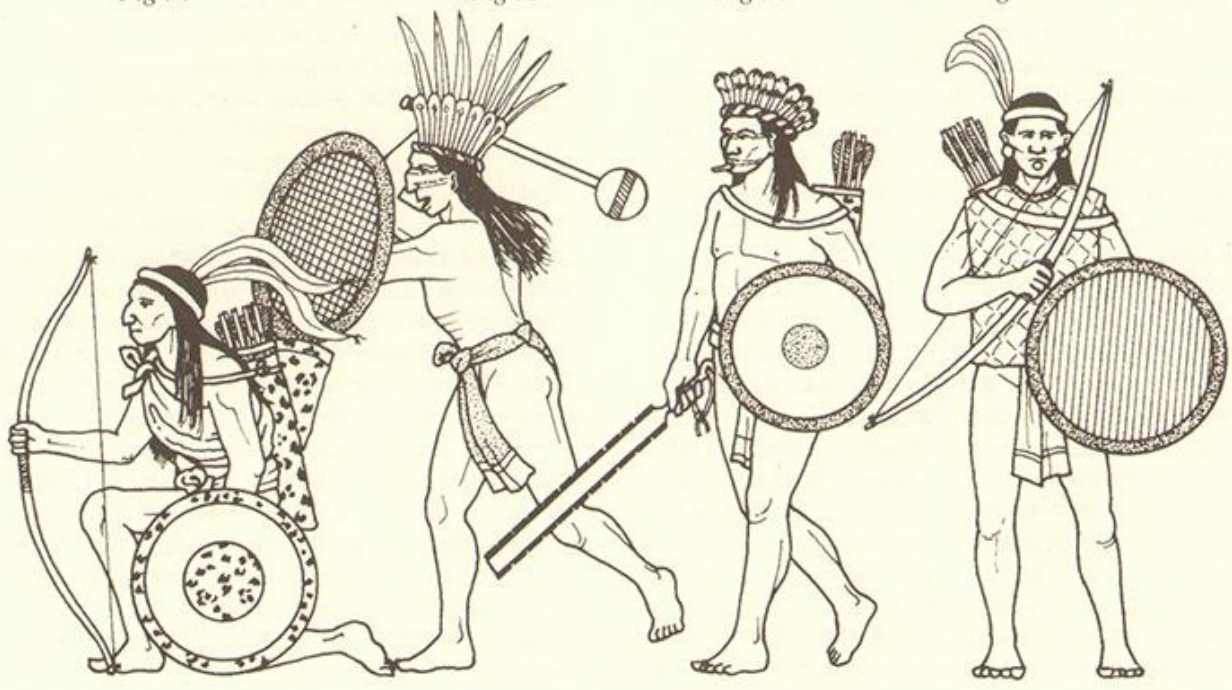
74. QUICHE WARRIOR from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*'s depiction of the defeat of the Zapotitlan Quiche in 1524. In the *Lienzo*'s pictures all Guatemalan warriors wear similar attire — normally just a maguey-fibre breechclout (only nobles and their retainers could wear cotton or decorated cloth) — and all have very long hair, but the long orange-red plumes are unique to the Quiche, as are the rolled cloaks wrapped round the torsos of several, presumably for protection. Not all the Quiche figures in the *Lienzo* have the plume, and all those that do are archers. Perhaps they represent the elite Quiche 'eagle warriors', described as 'those who take the land with bows and arrows'. Having said all that, however, it should be pointed out that the *Lienzo*'s representations of what is ostensibly the conquest of Guatemala depict warriors who all bear a suspiciously close resemblance to the tribesmen it portrays as inhabiting New Galicia in northern Mexico (see Figures 115–125), and it is certainly possible that Figures 74–76 are not Guatemalans at all. See also note 51.

75. TZUTUJIL CHIEFTAIN Again from the *Lienzo*, this figure is from its portrayal of the Spanish conquest of Atitlan, in which only two of the six warriors it contains wear face-paint. Note his shield, as well as those of the other figures in this section; none of them bear any sign of 'Aztec'-style decoration, the simple patterns of most probably indicating variations in their manufacture, though some appear to have a coloured central disc and one Quiche shield has its rim and central disc covered with jaguar fur (Figure 74). The head-dress is of yellow and red feathers, and his fillet is red and white. Ordinary warriors wear a simple red headband instead, one being shown with a low crown of small feathers. Guatemalan nobles favoured blue and red clothes, often decorated with silver and gold thread (banned by the Spaniards in 1563).

76. CAKCHIQUEL WARRIOR from the *Lienzo*'s depiction of the conquest of Iximche. Of the other warriors in the original two have clubs and one a bow. Their feather crowns are lower than that of this figure and are a dark colour, perhaps intended for the 'iridescent green [quetzal] feathers' attributed to Cakchiquel warriors in the *Annals of Xahila*. This man's plumage, however, is yellow, fitted to a red and white fillet. His breechclout is yellow and the shield is yellow with a red disc and rim.

77. TZUTUJIL WARRIOR The armour of this figure is

Fig 74 *Fig 75* *Fig 76* *Fig 77*



a reconstruction based on a 1585 description of pre-Conquest equipment in Atitlan, which says it comprised 'a jacket without sleeves which came to the waist, which they called *escahuypiles* [Aztec *ichcahuipilli*]. It was made of doubled *mantas* with layered cotton in between and then back-stitched with heavy cord so that no type of arrow could pass through, nor would a macana of knives cut through it.' None of the *Lienzo* figures of Guatemalans wear any armour at all — another reason to suspect their authenticity (see Figure 74's caption and note 51) — but written sources indicate that such cotton corselets were in widespread use among the Tzutujil and Cakchiquel at least.

THE PIPIL

This tribe was an enclave of Nahuatl-speakers (i.e. non-Mayans) settled in south-east Guatemala and throughout western and central El Salvador. The most important Pipil states when Pedro de Alvarado arrived in the area in 1524 were Cuzcatlán (the largest, comprising some 60 towns), Izalco, Itzcuintepec (modern Escuintla), Jalptagua, and Mita. Alvarado fought major battles against the Pipils of Izalco and, probably, Cuzcatlán at Acaxual (Acajutla) and Tacuxcalco, as well as numerous lesser engagements. His letters written at the time provide much of the little that we know about their equipment and tactics. At Acaxual they 'came so heavily armed that those who fell to the ground could not get up, and their arms are corselets of cotton three fingers thick and armour down to their feet, and arrows and long lances'. Alvarado wrote that they were drawn up 'somewhat near to a wood where they could shelter from me, and I ordered that all my people fall back'; when the Pipils made the mistake of pursuing them into open ground the Spaniards turned and wiped them out. Nevertheless, the Pipil remained unshaken by this disaster, and when they confronted the invaders again only five days later at Tacuxcalco it seems to have been Alvarado who was the more scared, observing that they were 'frightening to see from afar, for most of them had lances 30 *palmos* long [over 21 ft/6.4 m], all raised high. And I mounted a hill to better see what happened and I saw that all the Spaniards arrived at within a quoit's length of the Indians and that neither the Indians fled nor the Spaniards attacked, so that I was afraid of these Indians who dared to wait thus.' Even after defeat here too the Pipils did not give in, but simply avoided meeting the Spaniards in the open, abandoning their towns and moving into the hills, from whence they would ambush unwary Spanish columns.

The Pipils seem to have had a professional soldiery that did no work in the fields, being maintained instead by contributions from those that did. Such warriors existed in every town, the commoners among them living in barracks that García de Palacio (1576) calls *calpules* (Aztec *calpulli*). Probably they provided such military service in lieu of tribute payments, and beyond receiving sustenance and lodging do not appear to have been paid, though they were allowed to retain whatever plunder they took in war. Other aspects of Pipil organisation, however, were much the same as those to be found among their Nahuatl kin in Central Mexico, including the grading of warriors according to the numbers of captives they had taken; the distinguishing of successful warriors by dress and hair-style; the possibility of advancement into the ranks of the nobility as a reward for military expertise; the existence of a warrior elite which wore jaguar-skin corselets, quetzal-feather head-dress, and gold or silver ear-plugs; the storing of weapons in arsenals within each town's temples; and the retention of some prisoners as slaves and the sacrificial execution of others. The army was commanded by an elected chieftain, assisted by four advisers appointed from among the ruling council.

FIGURES

78. PIPIL NOBLE WARRIOR This is a reconstruction from written sources such as Alvarado's letters and the history of López de Gómara, the latter describing Pipil armour as 'a kind of sack made of hard twisted cotton, three fingers thick. These sacks were white or coloured, and the Indians made a brave show with them and the plumes they wore on their heads.' He adds that their very long spears were poisoned, but Alvarado makes no mention of this and it seems unlikely. Other sources state that the Pipil upper classes wore coloured cotton and nose-plugs. The warrior depicted here wears his long hair braided and tied with red ribbons, an indication that he was a veteran who had captured four or more enemies in battle. Such men were also permitted to wear jaguar-skin corselets and quetzal-feather head-dress.

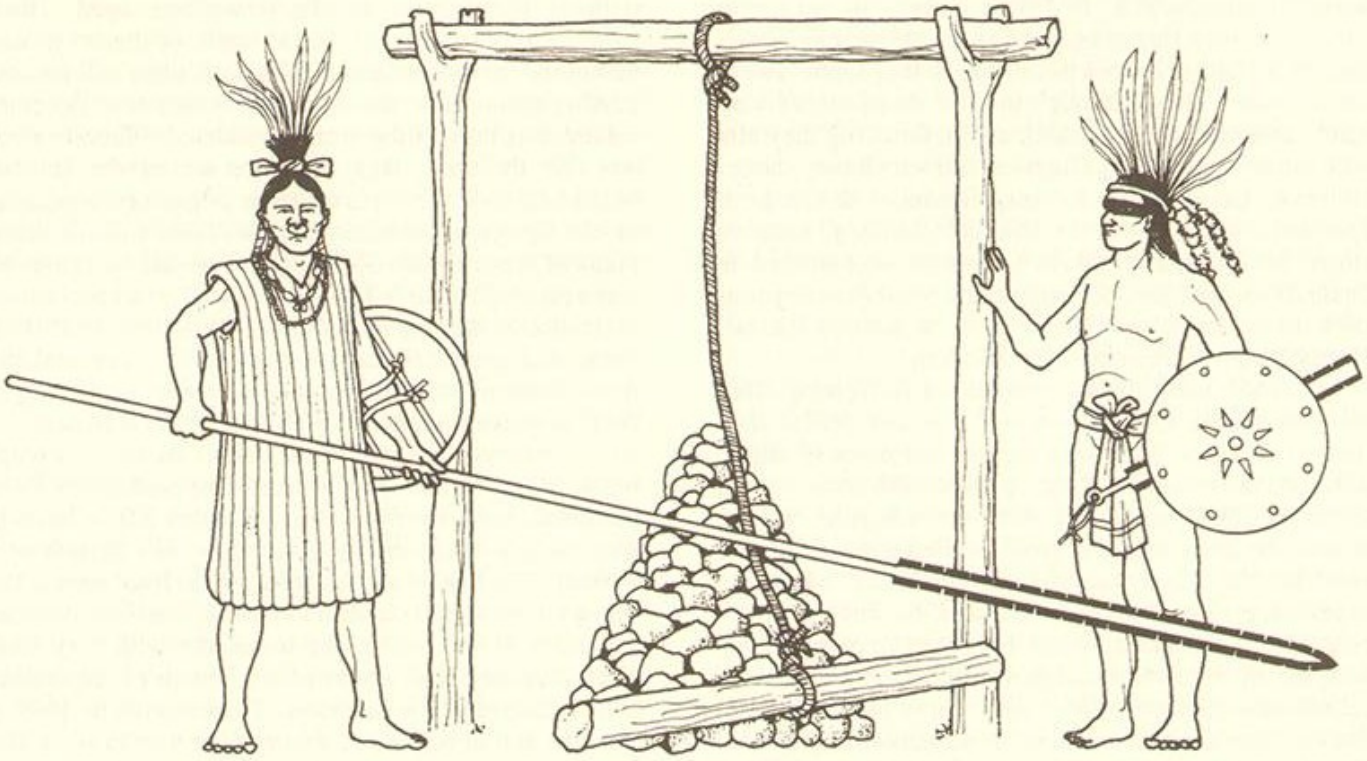
79. PIPIL STONE-THROWING DEVICE as depicted by the historian Fuentes y Guzmán in the 17th century. These were situated on hilltops in preparation for a battle, and the suspended crossbeam was wound round and round until the rope was twisted as tight as possible. A stack of small stones was then placed before it and the beam, once released, was whipped round by the tension in the rope to shoot the stones downhill at the approaching enemy in a continuous barrage.

80. PIPIL WARRIOR from Itzcuintepec, from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*'s pictures of Alvarado's Guatemalan campaign (the reader should therefore bear in mind the reservations expressed under Figure 74 and in note 51). The shield pattern is substituted from Guzmán's pictures. As usual, non-noble warriors wore maguey-fibre in place of cotton. His head-dress is white.

YUCATAN

The royal cities which epitomised the zenith of Mayan power were already in ruins when, during the civil wars that marked the collapse of the subsequent League of Mayapan between 1190 and 1200, large numbers of Toltec mercenaries were introduced into the region from Central Mexico, resulting in the establishment of a Mexican ruling dynasty here (the Cocoms) early in the 13th century. The Cocoms ruled Yucatan until 1441, when a successful Mayan revolt led by the Tutul Xiu virtually exterminated them and destroyed their capital, Mayapan. After this Yucatan disintegrated into a jigsaw of minor warring states, with the Tutul Xiu and surviving Cocoms still regularly at each other's throats when the Spaniards arrived.

Fig 78 *Fig 79* *Fig 80*



Spanish landings on the coast of Yucatan began as early as 1511, but, like that of Hernández de Córdoba — which landed at Cape Catoché, Campeche and Champotón in 1517, and lost more than half its 110 men — were generally repulsed. Cortés led a march through the region en route to Honduras in 1524–25, but a sustained attempt at conquest began only with Francisco de Montejo's expeditions of 1526–35, in which he received support from the Tutul Xiu. The Spaniards were driven out by 1536, but returned for good in a further series of campaigns launched by Francisco de Montejo the younger between 1542–47. Nevertheless, Yucatan remained somewhat of a colonial backwater thereafter, and in about 1570 there were no more than 300 Spanish households in the entire province, based almost entirely in Mérida (the provincial capital), Campeche, and two smaller settlements. In addition several inland tribes remained entirely unsubdued, the Chol and Lacandon in particular resisting both conquest and Christianisation well into the 17th century (the latter are still pagans today), while the Itza held out until as late as 1697.

In consequence of Toltec influence, which may have already been beginning to make itself felt amongst the Maya as early as the mid-5th century,[39] military organisation was based on the vigesimal system as elsewhere in Mesoamerica (Spanish sources mention units of 400 and 8,000), but command was in the hands not of a territorial leader (*halach uinic*) or local chieftain (*batab*), but of two elected leaders called *nacoms*. One of these, holding office for life, had more to do with ritual and religion than military matters, but the other, chosen from among the most valiant warriors, served in the role of war-chief. He was replaced every three years, which was probably just as well since he was subject to many strict taboos while he held office, including being forbidden to associate with women (even his own wife), to eat meat, or to partake of any intoxicating drink. He always led the army in the field, and though accompanied by his *batab* the latter took command only if the *nacom* was killed or disabled. His troops were mostly the usual conscript militia, but the nucleus of the army was provided by a small core of professional warriors, the *holcan* or 'braves' (the word means brave, valiant, or strong), who had to be ready to take up arms whenever called upon. There were a certain number of these in each town, the towns being responsible for keeping and feeding them in peacetime and providing them with the larger part of their pay in wartime (the *holcan* chieftains paying the rest, described as a 'quite small' sum). Doubtless this practice originated in the Cocom period, when considerable numbers of Mexican mercenaries had been customarily maintained.

Other indications of Mexican influence are surprisingly few. It was thought for some time that the Toltecs were responsible for the introduction of the *atlatl* or spear-thrower to Yucatan, but this is now considered to have been in use there at a considerably earlier date (appearing, for instance, on a stela thought to date to the 1st century AD), though it remains true that even if it was, it was little used by the Maya before the Cocom period. However, the bow is another matter, and Diego de Landa (c.1566) clearly states that the Maya 'learned from the Mexicans the use of the bow and arrow', as well as — more improbably — 'the lance and the axe, their shields, and jackets made of quilted cotton'. (One wonders what the Maya fought with before if the Toltects genuinely *were* responsible for the introduction of all these items.) The bow was probably coming into widespread use among the Yucatec Maya by the beginning of the 11th century, and by the 16th century they were considered 'excellent archers'. Every Spanish account of battles against them refers to clouds of arrows being fired, and Maya archers — who were invariably commoners — are reported to have often carried two quivers. Landa describes their bows as very strong, 'more straight than curved', and in length a little less than the height of the archer. Their reed arrows, with a flint or fish-tooth head attached to a wooden foreshaft, were over five *palmos* long (about 45 ins/1.14 m).

Surprisingly the sling may have been another Mexican introduction. It does not seem to appear in surviving Maya literature, and Landa categorically states that the Yucatecs 'did not throw, nor do they know how to throw, with a sling, although they do throw stones very surely and strongly [by hand], and in throwing they aim with the left arm and forefinger at that which they shoot.' However, Cervantes de Salazar, Hernández de Córdoba, Juan de Grijalva, and Bernal Díaz del Castillo all mention slings being used by Maya tribesmen encountered in landings on the coast of Yucatan, and references to slings occur in the *Relaciónes Geograficas*, so perhaps Landa's observation was true only of certain tribes.

The Yucatec Maya specialised in fighting from ambush. Landa records how in roads and defiles they 'placed defences filled with archers and made of sticks, of wood, and usually of stone', pierced with arrow-slits, a technique they employed with considerable success against the Spaniards. The *Relación de Mérida* describes how the Maya constructed such barricades 'where the roads were most thickly hemmed in by undergrowth', constructing palisades 'which they interwove and tied up with the trees of the undergrowth itself. The Spaniards called such palisades *albarradas*. These palisades were shaped like a half-moon and were camouflaged with branches so that they could not be detected. The Indians would remain behind these *albarradas* in great silence, waiting for the Spaniards to enter. Then, when the Spaniards had entered among the trees of the *albarrada*, the Indians fired arrows at them from all sides'. Initially the Spaniards tackled these positions head-on, their shot and crossbowmen laying down what covering fire they could while sword-and-buckler men attacked the barricade itself, some climbing over to engage the Indians hand-to-hand while others hacked and pulled it apart. However, the *Relación* observes that 'while this type of fighting was adhered to great resistance was met with from the Indians and there were great difficulties and long delays in conquering them.' Eventually the Spaniards learned to attack *albarradas* in their flanks instead, while simply feigning a frontal assault to keep the defenders occupied.

In attack the Maya preferred to surprise the enemy, marching in silence but attacking with the usual loud cries, whistles, blasts on shell trumpets, and beating of drums. They customarily drew up with the upper-class warriors in the centre, gathered round their chief, and a wing of bow-armed commoners on each flank. Prisoners of rank were occasionally ransomed but were more often bled for religious purposes before being eventually sacrificed, perhaps months or even years later. Commoners, however, were mostly reduced to slavery, remaining the property of their captors. At least some sacrificed prisoners were ritually eaten, another custom thought to result from Toltec influence.

FIGURES

81–83. MAYA WARRIORS Figure 81 is from the 15th–16th century *Madrid Codex*, while 82 and 83 are from 13th–15th century painted murals at Chichen Itza, the last great Mayan city. 16th century Spanish sources describe the Maya of Yucatan as tall, strong and — by European standards — ugly: they indulged in cranial deformation (especially among the upper classes) so that the skull tapered and the forehead was wide and flat; trained themselves to become cross-eyed (they considered a squint to be a mark of beauty); and disfigured their faces and bodies with scars and tattoos. Landa explains that 'the more tattoos they bore the more valiant and brave they were considered'. Tattoos were worn on the arms, legs, and face among the Yucatec Maya, and took the form of linear or geometric patterns or 'the figures of serpents or eagles', into which a black pigment was rubbed. Tattooing of the hands, however, was a privilege awarded only to those who had performed brave deeds. Among the Mopan Maya, Itza, and Chol, linear and geometric tattoos covered the face and the front of the torso, with a totem animal or 'a most ugly devil' displayed prominently on the chest or stomach.

Hair was generally worn short on top — except for a fringe at the front which was pushed up by a headband into a sort of crest (as in Figure 82) — but was long and braided at the back and sides 'like the hair of a woman'. The hair of a Spaniard who had lived among the Maya for years is described as 'shorn from the forehead and sides to the crown, the remainder with very long black hair, tied with cords with a ribbon of red leather which reached below his waist.' The *Relación de Mérida* reported that in battle some wore their hair loose 'while others tied it in different ways, each one in the way that seemed to him the greatest bravery', perhaps an allusion to the existence of a system of denoting rank or status by hair-style such as existed among the Aztecs.

War-paint was also used in battle, red, black, and white being the colours most frequently mentioned. Figure 82 is actually painted all over in yellow and red stripes, doubtless a traditional Maya practice,[40] but elsewhere the Mexican custom of painting the whole body black — except the face and, seemingly, the hands (probably so that the presence, or absence, of tattoos could be determined) — seems to have prevailed, though Landa records warriors with 'faces and bodies' painted red, and Díaz notes that the Indians fought by Cortés at Champotón had their faces painted black, red, and white. Even when the rest of the body was painted black, it seems to have been usual to paint the face red, though the cheeks and nose were sometimes black and the forehead sometimes blue. The *Relación de Yucatan* mentions warriors smearing the nose, face, body, and arms alike with black and yellow.

Figure 81 wears a type of armour unique to Yucatan. Described in several Spanish sources, it comprised a long strip of cotton a *palmo* (8½ ins/21 cm) wide that was twisted into a tight roll the thickness of a man's thumb and wound round and round the body (Oviedo says 20 or 30 times) 'from breast to hips', the spare end doubling as breechclout.[41] Oviedo, writing in 1535, insisted that though the Spaniards considered this to be armour it was actually 'their habitual costume', which seems improbable. A *Relación Geografica* reported that such armour was so strong that arrows could not penetrate it 'nor even make an impression'. Figure 82 wears a more conventional sack-like, sleeveless, quilted cotton corselet, the *euyub*; the original shows it coloured red on the right side and white on the left. Wooden armour apparently also existed, Gómara mentioning 'a suit of wooden armour, gilded, set with small black stones' that Cortés had apparently seen. Unfortunately it is not described; nor does such armour seem to feature in

any contemporary pictures. Possibly it consisted of no more than vambraces and greaves such as those described under Figure 31.

Though the weapon carried by Figure 82 is called a 'bat' by many modern authorities — their bizarre theory being that it was used to strike aside incoming missiles — it was actually a type of curved wooden club with sharpened edges, apparently in widespread use throughout Mesoamerica until displaced by the macana in the mid-15th century. The Maya had been responsible for the addition of obsidian blades to the 'bat', making it into what has been described by Ross Hassig (1988) as a 'short sword', and it had been introduced into Central Mexico by the Olmecs. A few figures at Chichen Itza are shown carrying two such weapons, one in each hand. Note his long-stemmed ear-plugs — a type in widespread use among the Maya — and his shield, of characteristic 'daisy' shape complete with white fabric apron at the lower edge. The second piece of fabric, hanging from the top, must have been intended to entangle an enemy's weapons. Maya shields, described as both light and strong, were made of two layers of interwoven rods, covered on the front with deer or jaguar skin, coloured cotton, or feather-work. Choaca Indians of the northern coast, against whom the Spaniards fought in 1527–28, used turtle carapaces for shields.

Figure 83 is armed with a spear-thrower and darts, which could have fire-hardened points or flint blades. Landa described the Maya spear-thrower as 'a piece of wood about three fingers wide, pierced at about one-third of its length, and six *palmos* long, with which they throw very powerfully and accurately'; pictures invariably show it to have been heavily decorated with feathers. He also has a blue, red, and white back-standard of characteristic type, a pompon and crest of blue feathers on his head, and a red-rimmed white shield with a blue crescent.

84–87. MAYA CHIEFTAINS These figures are selected from 23 depicted in a carved frieze in the Great Ball Court at Chichen Itza (14th–15th century), where their equipment and dress contrasts distinctively with that of a similar frieze of Mexicans or Mexicanised Itza carved above them. All but one of the 23 figures is armed with a spear, though several carry in addition a flint knife (Figure 84) or a bladed club (Figure 87). By our period some would probably also have had a macana, called by the Maya a *hadzab* ('that with which one strikes a blow'); this was described as four *palmos* long, or about 34 ins (86 cm), and three fingers wide. However, the macana was uncommon even in the 16th century. Maya spears are variously described as an *estado* (about 5 ft/1.5 m) and 12–15 *palmos* (8½–10½ ft/2.6–3.2 m) in length, and were sometimes thrown.

All wear ornate crests of feathers and many have animal-head helmets, doubtless the 'helmets of wood' Landa records being worn by 'lords and captains'. Note in particular the spectacular Quetzalcoatl rattlesnake costume of Figure 86, which is presumably ceremonial rather than actual war-dress, similar but shorter serpent head-dresses in other carvings probably depicting those worn in combat. Very little other armour is actually in evidence, though the wristlets, anklets and puttee-like leggings, all white, may have been of some defensive value, as too would have been the collar and turquoise mosaic face-mask of Figure 84, and it is possible that the apron-like alligator costume of Figure 85 either is or conceals a cotton corselet. Note the two different types of shield, round and rectangular, the latter type clearly of flexible construction and probably of quilted fabric (see Figure 72). The *Relación de Yucatan* describes the circular variety as 'made of little rods strongly plaited with one another … with hand strap and garniture of the skins of deer and tiger [sic]'. Painted carvings elsewhere at Chichen Itza show that the rectangular shields were

Fig 81 *Fig 82* *Fig 83* *Fig 84*

mostly white with a coloured edge and fringe, and the round ones chiefly either white with a red or blue rim, or yellow with a white rim.

88. MEXICANISED MAYA This is a composite figure based on carvings from various temples at Chichen Itza. The cylindrical cap with eagle frontlet, and the stylised eagle pectoral, are both survivals from classical Toltec costume, and are invariably blue in Maya frescoes and sculpture. His apron-like white or blue kilt is also an old Mexican fashion, as are his bare calves (the Maya almost invariably wearing some sort of covering on the lower leg). Note also the crescent-shaped nose-plug, compared to the rod nose-plugs of the other figures here. Warriors in assorted elements of Mexican-style attire can also be found wearing animal-head costumes which include coyotes, quetzals, owls, jaguars, and snakes. The armament of such Mexicanised warriors is invariably depicted as a spear-thrower and darts, and if a shield is carried it is of the circular variety.

NOTES

39 At least two major Mayan city-states seem to have acquired Toltec kings at about this time.
40 Surviving paint on warrior figures at Chichen Itza shows stripes mostly red and white, but sometimes red and yellow, or red and blue, and occasionally vertical rather than horizontal.
41 The oft-repeated reference to the use of salt in Maya corselets results from Diego de Landa's confusion of the Maya words *tab* (salt) and *taab* (twisted cord) when describing such armour.

THE HUAXTECS

The Huaxtecs, or Cuextecs, were a Maya people who had become separated from the Maya of Yucatan by successive waves of invaders more than two millennia before the arrival of the *conquistadores*. Their towns were individually ruled and 'ceaselessly at war' with each other, only joining in temporary alliances when it was necessary to confront invaders, usually from Metztitlan or the Aztec Triple Alliance. This left them at a distinct disadvantage as Aztec expansion continued in the second half of the 15th century. From the 1450s on the Aztecs steadily ate away at the Huaxtec frontier, and campaigns by Axayacatl c.1475 and Ahuitzotl in 1486–87 secured Aztec control of the entire southern half of their lands. However, the northern portion — called Cuextlan by the Aztecs and Pánuco by the Spaniards — retained its independence until conquered by Cortés in 1522. An earlier attempt to colonise the area by one of Cortés' rivals, Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica — to whom a royal warrant had assigned the region — had ended disastrously when the expedition of 270 men he despatched in 1519 was cut to pieces by the Huaxtecs 200 miles north of the Pánuco river, its commander Alonso Alvarez de Pineda being among the many dead. Refusing to acknowledge the Crown's reassignment of this territory to Cortés in 1522, Garay himself descended on the coast in 1523, leading 150 horse and 450 foot with the intention of confronting his rival on the battlefield. However, his forces defected wholesale to Cortés' side, and Garay died in captivity soon afterwards.

Huaxtec revolts against the Spaniards in 1523 resulted in defeats by Cortés and Gonzalo de Sandoval in turn, and a final rebellion in 1525–26 was followed by the systematic enslavement and massacre of considerable numbers of Huaxtecs between 1527–33 by their first Spanish governor, the brutal Nuño de Guzmán. Consequently weakened, the province fell prey to Chichimec raiders from the north, who thereafter launched sizeable forays against its Spanish settlements, notably in 1547 and 1579.

Huaxtec warriors were described as 'fierce and cruel' even by the Aztecs, Diego Durán recording the contemporary opinion that 'the Huaxtec people were so strong that the entire land trembled with fear of them'. He notes that 'even their young sons played at war and pretended to bring captives home'. Indeed, the Aztecs respected their martial capabilities sufficiently to copy various aspects of their military attire.[42] Díaz — who wrote of the Huaxtecs' preparedness 'to rush upon the points of our swords with the savage ferocity of so many tigers' — noted that Cortés in turn 'knew well that the tribes of this province were very warlike'. Cortés' first engagement against them, at Ayotochcuitlatlan (modern Coscatlan) in 1522, took place on level ground well suited to his cavalry and the Huaxtecs were soundly defeated (though the Spaniards lost three men, four horses, and 100 Indian allies killed, and another 30 Spaniards and 200 Indians were wounded), but at the next battle, at Chila on the Pánuco river, the Huaxtecs 'had such confidence in the strength of their position among the lakes that they would not submit.' Cortés wrote that they 'fell to fighting with us so furiously that never, since my arrival in these parts, have I seen so bold an attack in the field.' Here the *conquistadores* lost another two men, three horses, and 'many' Indians killed, plus 30 more Spaniards, 15 horses, and an unspecified number of Indians wounded.

Eventually falling back, the Huaxtecs attempted to ambush the Spaniards in a deserted town the next day, but Cortés had been forewarned of their attack and thus had the advantage. 'They were such tenacious fighters,' he continues, 'and the battle lasted so long [Díaz says half-an-hour], that although we broke through them three or four times they always managed to reform. They made a circle, kneeling on the ground, and awaited us in silence, not screaming or shouting as the others do, and every time we entered among them they fired so many arrows at us that had we not been well armoured they would have got the better of us, and I suspect not one of us would have escaped.' As it was, the combination of cavalry and shot eventually obliged the Huaxtecs to retreat. Gómara — who records that as well as arrows they hurled darts and stones — adds that at the end of the encounter they executed a meticulously disciplined withdrawal across the river, carried out a few men at a time, their warriors then reforming on the far side ready to confront any attempt at pursuit, before finally slipping away under cover of darkness. Even Díaz, though he regarded the Huaxtecs as the most uncivilised and filthy people to be found in the whole of New Spain,[43] had to admit that their ability to rally three times and renew their attack against the Spaniards was 'a thing one has seldom seen' among the Indians.

Though they may not have indulged in the whooping and howling that was customary among other Indians, their attacks were not launched in absolute silence. Tezozomoc (1598) records that Huaxtec warriors had rattles or bells attached to their belts, and the *Codex Durán* describes the noisy advance of an Huaxtec army, 'making a great din with the wooden rattles which hung from their helmets and with the large metal rattles which they wore on their backs and feet, all of these making a weird noise.' This passage also tells us that 'the Huaxtec warriors were so hideous that the mere sight of them terrified', an allusion to their indulgence in cranial deformation and extensive tattooing. Sahagún called the Huaxtecs 'wide-headed', and contemporary pictures and earlier figurines confirm that their heads were flattened at the front and elongated, tapering in profile to a shape reminiscent of an egg. The tattooing is described by Sahagún as showing 'obsidian serpents', while the figurines depict complicated geometric patterns on some or all parts of the torso, upper arms, buttocks, and legs. According to Nicolas de Witte (1554) only the upper classes had the right to facial tattoos, Pánuco noblemen being distinguishable 'by certain marks or designs' on their faces.

Huaxtecs also customarily had a large perforation through the nose, and filed their teeth to a point before colouring them red or black. They dyed their hair too, Sahagún says 'in diverse colours, some yellow, some red, and some vari-coloured'. Durán notes that they had 'their bodies and faces painted in different colours'. Jewellery comprised pectorals, bracelets, and ear-plugs, of gold, jade, calcite, shell, or even pottery, according to status (though gold was probably only widespread among the southern Huaxtecs). Their thick nose-plugs were of either rock crystal or precious stones for nobles, or a palm-leaf stem or a red-feathered reed (Sahagún calls it an arrow) for commoners. In addition armbands were worn, 'leather bands about the calves of their legs', and feathers on their heads.

Weapons and armour were much the same as those of the Triple Alliance, though the Huaxtecs made considerably more use of the bow than the *atlatl*, doubtless under the influence of their northern neighbours, the Chichimecs. Elements of the latter — mostly from the Pame and Olive tribes — had occupied the northernmost fringe of Huaxtec territory by the 16th century, when they were referred to as *Cuextecachichimeca*, or Huaxtec-Chichimecs, by Sahagún, who describes them as 'civilised' because (under reciprocal Huaxtec influence) they lived in towns and wore clothes. Huaxtec arrows had broad flint or obsidian heads. Another popular weapon, given some prominence in the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*'s picture of the Pánuco Huaxtecs, was the spear. The *Lienzo*'s pictures also show clubs and macanas, but some doubts have been expressed by anthropologists regarding whether or not the macana was actually in such widespread use here as elsewhere (for instance, the only *Relación Geografica* of the Huaxtec region to mention it is that for Huexotla); shell engravings found in the north instead show the curved club with a sharpened edge discussed under Figure 82, though they may predate the period under review.

Doubtless the better-quality armour and equipment was to be found among the warrior nobility, including the class of veteran warriors de Witte calls *tiachems* (Aztec *tiachcauhqueh*) and the jaguar and eagle societies that appear to have existed here as in other parts of central and southern Mexico (as indicated by the presence of animal masks in some contemporary Huaxtec art). Such men formed the front ranks of an Huaxtec battle-array.

Two later sources giving details of Indians in the Pánuco region are doubtless referring to the Chichimecs who, as we have seen, subsequently overran much of the province. The Frenchman André Thevet, who described them as 'naturally cruel and mighty men', wrote in 1558

that when they go to war 'they carry their king in a great beast's skin, and those that bear him, who are four in number, are clad in rich feathers'; he adds that there was no question of him leaving the field till the battle was over since if he showed any fear he was killed. In 1572 an Englishman, John Chilton, travelling from Huexotla to Tampico, observed that the 'wild Indians' who roamed the area were tall and had 'all their bodies painted with blue, and wear their hair long down to their knees, tied as women used to do with their hair-laces'. He also noted that they took their bows with them whenever they went out ('being very great archers') and were mostly naked. After surviving a sojourn among them he was told by amazed Spaniards that these Indians normally delighted in killing any Christian they encountered and wearing round their necks 'any part of him where he hath any hair growing … and so are accounted valiant men'.

FIGURES

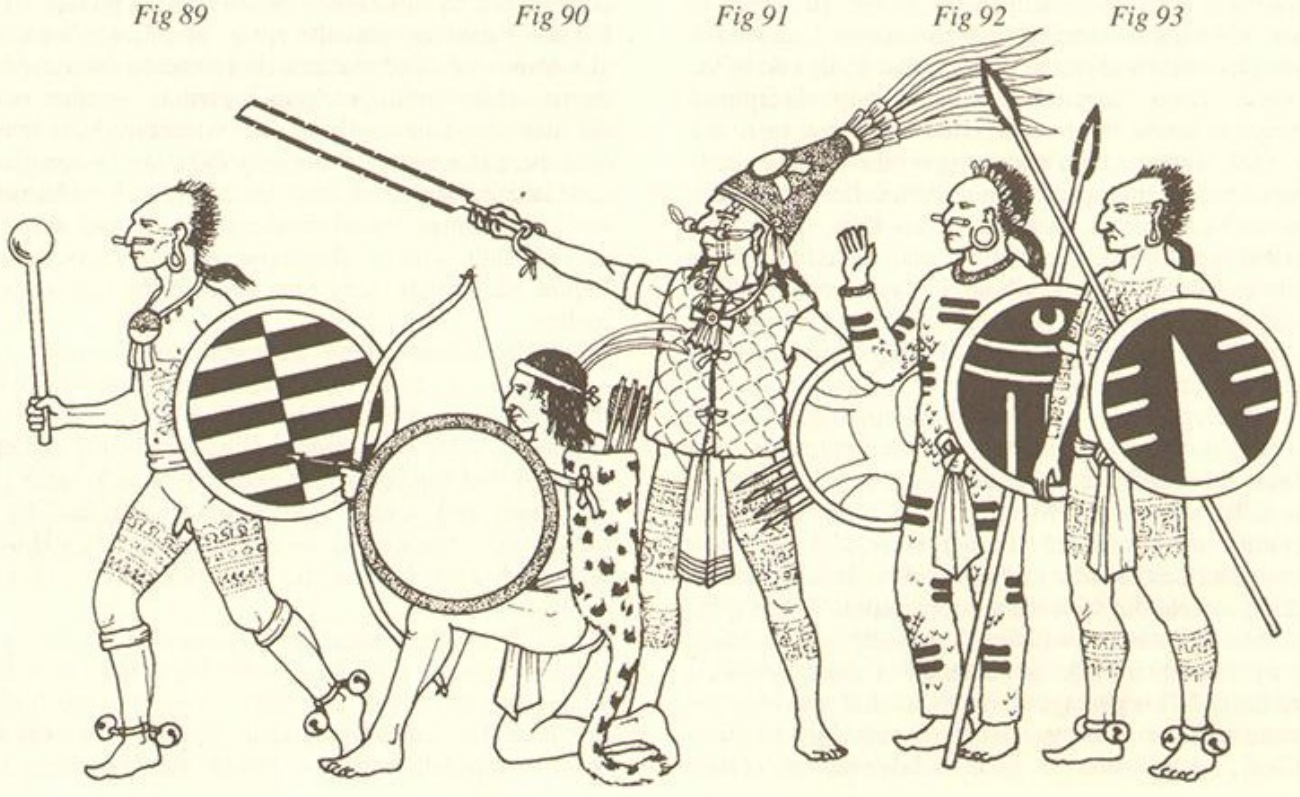
89. HUAXTEC WARRIOR based on figures in the *Codex Florentino*, *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, and *Codex en Cruz*. Note the characteristic (according to Sahagún) absence of a breechclout, though the *Lienzo* pictures and pottery figurines demonstrate that some Huaxtecs did wear one (as does a figure in one of Sahagún's own pictures). Durán wrote that they practised such nudity, along with fasting and sleeping on the bare ground, as a means of hardening themselves for war, but it is more likely that it was connected with both the local tropical climate and the phallic cult that prevailed in the area.

90. HUAXTEC ARCHER from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*'s picture of the Battle of Ayotochcuitlatlan, which portrays the archers kneeling in a close-set wall of shields and bows exactly as implied in Cortés' description of the subsequent engagement at Chila. From this warrior's general appearance it can be assumed he is a member of the Chichimec element of Pánuco's population. His shield is tan with a red rim. Breechclout and headband are white.

91. HUAXTEC NOBLEMAN The Huaxtecs wore a distinctive pointed cap which was copied by the Aztecs (see Figures 43 and 96). Figures wearing this type of hat and various forms of war-dress occur throughout the surviving codices, and though most depict Aztecs, the *Codex Mendoza*'s description of war-suits with such hats as *Cuexteca* confirms who they were emulating. This particular rendition, with a feather crest that denotes he is a nobleman, is based on the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* of c.1562/3. Feather standards were also used, borne on the back as usual, but both Sahagún and Tezozomoc refer repeatedly to the use of yellow parakeet and red macaw feathers for decoration among the Huaxtecs, replacing the more usual quetzal feathers which would have been a rare commodity this far from Chiapas and Guatemala.

92 & 93. HUAXTEC WARRIORS from Pánuco, loosely based on the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*. Figure 92 wears a conventional *tlahuiztli* war-suit, even Sahagún admitting that 'there is a great quantity of clothing' among the Huaxtecs, even if some of them chose not to cover 'their shameful parts'. It bears the characteristic double-bar 'hawk scratches' which the Aztecs considered typical of Huaxtec costume. Interestingly the *Codex Bourbonicus* shows Huaxtecs with such markings painted or tattooed directly onto their bodies. Shields shown in the *Lienzo*'s two pictures of Huaxtec warriors are exclusively of types 26vii–ix and xxxvi–xl; none of them have fringes. Those shown here are coincidentally both black with yellow rims and charges. Figure 92's fillet of feathers is blue-grey. His hair-style, also to be seen in Figures 89 and 93, is described by Sahagún as 'a tuft of hair at the back of the head'. The hair over the rest of the head was worn about 2 ins (5 cm) long, standing on end (as depicted in the Aztec hieroglyphs for several southern Huaxtec place-names).

Fig 89 *Fig 90* *Fig 91* *Fig 92* *Fig 93*



NOTES

42 This appears to be in complete contradiction to the *Codex Florentino*, in which Bernardino de Sahagún — recording details of the promotion of an Aztec warrior in accordance with the number of captives he had taken — wrote in 1545 that 'if six, or seven, or ten Huaxtecs, or barbarians, were taken, he thereby gained no renown'. However, his Aztec informants may have been demonstrating their personal bias against a people who they had never managed to subdue. It is also likely that the passage actually alludes to those captives taken after a warrior had taken his first four — i.e. even if his next six or more captives were Huaxtecs he still received no further advancement in rank until (as we are told elsewhere) he had first captured a warrior from Atlixco, Huexotzingo, or Tliliuhquitepec. The intended meaning, therefore, is not to denigrate the bravery of the Huaxtecs, but simply to point out that no matter how many captives a warrior might take, even if they were Huaxtecs, unless he first captured one Huexotzinca warrior or ally he would not be promoted further, which tallies with what we know of Tizoc's reforms regarding promotion (see section on the Aztecs).

43 His opinion derived in part from their nudity and the phallic aspects of their religion, but also from the fact that nowhere else 'were human sacrifices found to be so frequent or so barbarous'. On the subject of their barbarity, Sahagún records that when an Huaxtec overcame an opponent 'he cut off his head, casting his body aside. He carried off only his head; he tied it to a stick.' The heads were subsequently flayed, Díaz finding in a temple the still recognisable flayed faces of some of his comrades killed during Pineda's expedition. Curiously some modern authorities nevertheless assert that the Huaxtecs 'did not practise human sacrifice'.

THE TOTONACS

Subdued by the Aztecs under Moctezuma I and his successors, these were the first people that Cortés encountered on landing in Central Mexico, and provided him with his first Indian auxiliaries against the Aztecs. He claimed they held 50 towns and numbered 50,000 warriors, which is rather improbable in view of the fact that only about 700 (from Cempoallan, Zacatlan, and Ixtacamaxtitlan) accompanied him to Tenochtitlan, and half of those were porters. Despite the fact that the Spaniards at first showed more trust in the Totonacs than in the Tlaxcaltecs, they made no significant military contribution to the Spanish Conquest. Indeed, the *Relaciónes Geograficas* indicate that they were not a particularly warlike people (many towns claiming never to have fought any wars), which Díaz indirectly confirms by his observation that they were 'always in terror' of the local garrison of 4,000 Aztecs based near Tuxpan. Indeed, this fear of the Aztec garrison was directly responsible for a Spanish defeat in 1520, when the 2,000 Totonacs accompanying a Spanish detachment of 40–50 men and two guns bolted at the very sight of the enemy.

Díaz describes Totonac arms as 'bows, arrows, lances, shields', while the *Relaciónes*, which add macanas, stones, and sharp sticks (presumably fire-hardened darts) to the list, confirm that the bow was their principal weapon. In battle their chieftains and veteran warriors carried 'quetzal-feather devices' (i.e. back-standards).

FIGURES

94 & 95. TOTONAC WARRIORS Sahagún's comment that the Totonacs resembled the Huaxtecs a little, being 'long-faced, with column-shaped faces, because they are broad-headed', indicates that they practised cranial deformation like their northern neighbours (see above). From statues and pottery we also know that their bodies were often ornately tattooed. Díaz described the Totonacs he saw in 1519 as having 'very large openings' in the ears in which they wore 'discs with gold and stones', while in 'large perforations in the lower lip' some wore 'discs of stone delicately tinted blue', while their nobility wore gold labrets. This fits very well with the Totonac depicted in the Aztec hieroglyph for Cempoallan, on which Figure 94 is partially based, where the disc-shaped lip-plug is shown as blue with a white edge. Note also the red headband used to braid and knot his hair at the back of the head. Figure 95, from the *Codex Florentino*, wears a mantle and breechclout. Sandals were also sometimes worn. The *Relaciónes Geograficas* make it clear that although some wore cotton armour (which was manufactured in quantity in Misantla, for instance) most men went into battle naked except for the breechclout.

METZTITLAN

Another area that managed to remain independent of the Triple Alliance, this mountainous region actually comprised two separate states or confederations, comprising Metztitlan itself and Tututepec, of which Metztitlan was the greater. Nicolas de Witte (1554) wrote that in the pre-Conquest period the region had been constantly at war with the Aztecs, the Tlaxcaltecs, and the Huaxtecs of Pánuco. By the time the Spaniards arrived it was hemmed in by the Aztecs on three fronts at least (south, east, and west), and in consequence of Moctezuma II's campaigns may have actually been entirely surrounded and its two constituent parts even severed from one another. Both states submitted to the Spaniards in 1521, and again — following 'a few encounters' — in 1522. Tututepec rebelled one final time in 1523–24, after which its ruler was executed by Cortés.

The local people comprised a mixture of Metzoteca (or Metza), Tutupaneca, Acolhua, Otomi, and Huaxtecs. In addition the lord of Metztitlan seems to have exercised some kind of hegemony over the Pame Chichimecs, de Witte actually claiming that he was 'supreme ruler of all the Chichimeca'. Little else is known beyond the fact that all the sources are unanimous in considering Metztitlan militarily powerful, almost all the tribute it received being spent on war. Cortés described the lands of Metztitlan and Tututepec as 'well defended and the people themselves are skilled in the use of arms because of being surrounded on all sides by enemies'. All we know of their tactics is that they had a reputation for returning to battle day after day until the enemy was defeated, but otherwise they differed little if at all from those of their enemies, a missile barrage normally preceding hand-to-hand combat.

FIGURES

96 & 97. METZOTEC WARRIORS from a picture in the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* showing the Spanish fighting in Metztitlan in 1522. All five of the Metzotec warriors depicted in the original are different, probably reflecting the region's mixed population. Figure 96 wears a

Fig 94 *Fig 95* *Fig 96* *Fig 97*

costume that the *Lienzo* repeatedly shows being worn by Aztecs in the battles round Tenochtitlan but that clearly derives ultimately from the Huaxtec region; curiously such figures are always shown with the pointed hat on the right shoulder, never on the head, and give the impression of it being permanently fixed there, not least because many Aztecs are shown wearing a fillet of feathers at the same time. His shield is the only one that the original picture shows having a fringe; of the other five visible two are like that of Figure 97, and the others are types 26viii, xxxviii, and a variant of type xi, so clearly Huaxtec influence was considerable. Of the weapons apparent in the picture there are three macanas and one bow. Both warriors wear white headbands, Figure 97's having a white and red-orange plume. In a portrayal of Tizoc's ignominious enterprise against Metztitlan in 1481 the *Codex Durán* depicts all the Metzotec warriors wearing war-suits, one of them with a coyote head.

THE OTOMI

To be found throughout many parts of northern Mexico, from Colima to Metztitlan, the Otomi were considered a 'civilised' Chichimec people by the Aztecs, because they had chiefs, a nobility, wore clothes, and were town-dwellers. Nevertheless, they were still 'preoccupied', as Sahagún puts it, with bows and arrows, and like their untamed Chichimec cousins they favoured small-scale raids to pitched battles. Other than their use of the bow, the principal indication of the Otomis' Chichimec ancestry was their practice of 'painting' the face. From Sahagún's description it is clear that such face-painting was actually tattooed on to the skin, apparently in a sort of turquoise green (Otomi women certainly used a colour described as 'very green, bluish, very beautiful', and a contemporary insult described Otomis as 'green-heads'); however, the *Codex Mendoza* colours the Otomi face appearing in the Aztec hieroglyph for the city of Otompan yellow with red lines, which tallies with another passage in Sahagún which says that Otomi women smeared their faces with yellow ochre. In addition some Otomi practised cranial deformation, and the women, if not the men, blackened their teeth.

The other distinctive physical characteristic of the Otomi was their hair-style, which can be seen in the pictures. Sahagún describes how they shaved the forehead and sides but 'on the backs of their heads they left much long hair', a style called a *piochtli* (whence the Otomi were sometimes called *Piochequeh*). The long hair left at the back was sometimes bound with a ribbon. For jewellery warriors wore ear-plugs of gold, copper, sea-shell, 'mirror-stone', and turquoise mosaic, and lip-plugs of jade, gold, and sea-shell. Commoners used simpler materials, including crystal, obsidian, and even 'black beetles' for ear-plugs. Costume, armour, and weapons seem to have followed Aztec styles, though Sahagún notes that the Otomi were 'gaudy dressers' using tasteless colours and patterns, apparently meaning that they did not adhere to Aztec strictures regarding who could wear what. Basic dress comprised breechclout, mantle, and sandals.

Their martial prowess must have been considerable since, as we have seen, the Aztecs named one of their highest grades of warrior *Otontin*, or 'Otomis'.

FIGURES

98. OTOMI WARRIOR Though based predominantly on a representation of Chichimecs in the *Codex Durán*, this figure fits contemporary descriptions of Otomis so perfectly that it seems more than likely the latter, as 'civilised' Chichimecs, provided the model for Durán's artist. The face markings depicted are from the hieroglyph for Otompan mentioned above. As usual, the mantle would not have been worn in combat.

99. OTOMI WARRIOR in cotton armour, from the *Codex Florentino*. Bernal Díaz del Castillo records the arms of the Otomis who attacked Cortés' army in Tlaxcala in 1519 as bows, macanas, and 'fire-hardened darts'.

THE YOPI

The Yopi or Yopime, living in the part of southern Mexico then called Yopitzinco, were considered barbarians by the Aztecs, Bernardino de Sahagún's informants telling him that they were 'clumsy, inept and coarse', while another source recorded that they did not even wear clothes until they were married and then wore only deerskins. Nevertheless, they were the only tribe of modern Guerrero who were able to retain their independence against the Aztecs right down until the Spanish Conquest, and the Aztecs considered them opponents of sufficient importance for their chiefs to be invited under safe conduct to attend coronation ceremonies in Tenochtitlan. Even the Spaniards took until 1531 to subdue them.

The explanation for their success may simply be that, like the Tarascans and Tlaxcaltecs, and unlike the Aztecs, they made considerable use of the bow. Contemporaries described them as 'valiant men of the bow and arrow', and noted that they learnt to handle a bow from childhood, a boy reaching the age of seven being given a bow and arrows and told that henceforth if he wanted to eat he had to kill his own game. Otherwise they lacked any form of military sophistication, Sahagún describing them as just like the Otomi, but worse, and 'completely untrained'. Spanish sources record that they were brutal fighters, customarily beheading all those slain in battle and sacrificing and flaying their captives, warriors and civilians alike.

Sahagún says the Yopi were also called Tlappaneca (which means 'red people') 'because they paint themselves with red ochre'. Though his remark implies they were one and the same, the Tlappaneca were in fact a neighbouring tribe of the Yopi, though it is certainly likely that originally they were two divisions of the same people. However, they did not share the same military success, the Tlappaneca being overwhelmed by the Aztecs under Ahuitzotl in 1486–87.

FIGURES

100. YOPI WARRIOR from Acapulco, from a series of figures drawn by an unknown Spanish artist c.1550. The bands round his wrists and ankles appear to all be of deerskin, but there is otherwise nothing distinctive about his appearance. The Yopi seem to have fought either naked or wearing no more than a breechclout, though this man's mantle is knotted up in such a way that it would have been no impediment in combat. None of the sources mention the existence of Yopi armour.

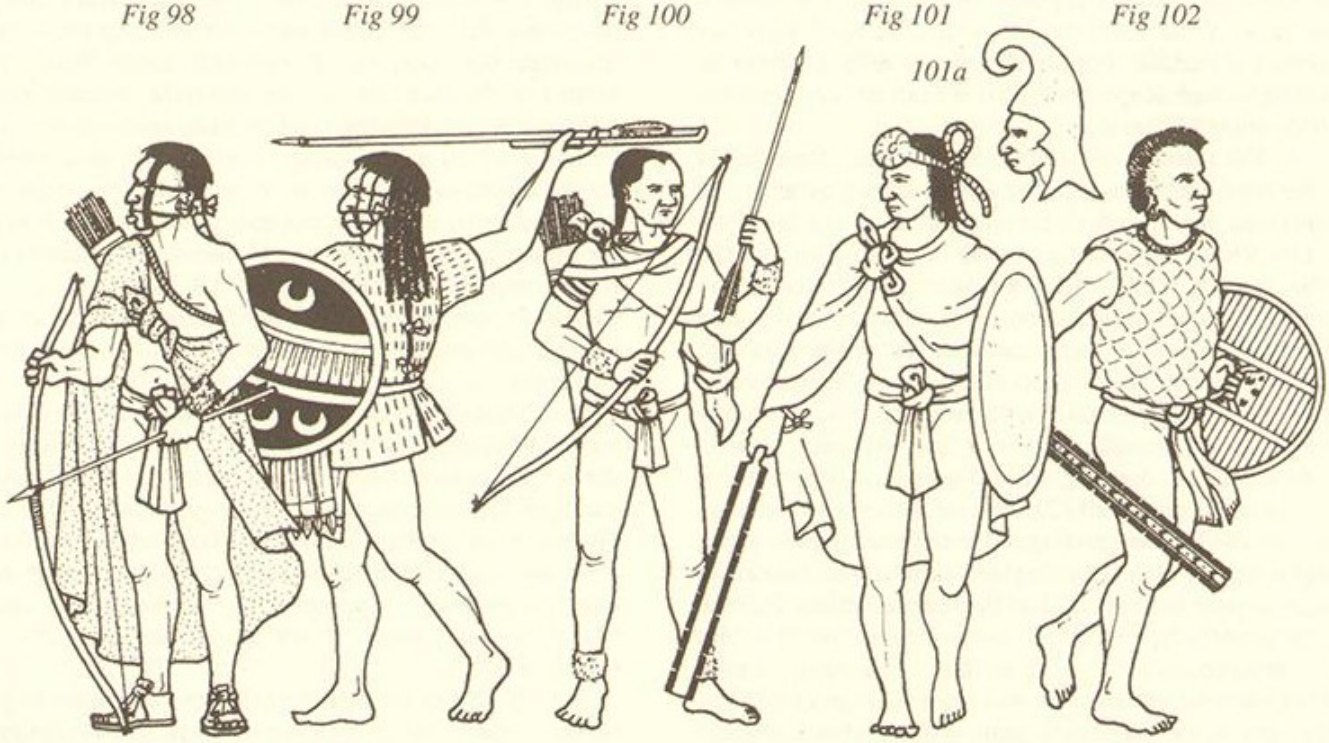
THE MATLATZINCA

These were an Otomi people occupying the area that lay between the Aztec empire and the Tarascans. In consequence they were to be found fighting for both at various times during the 15th century, until most were conquered by the Aztecs under Axayacatl between 1469–79. Those remaining free settled in Tarascan territory. They were famous for their use of the sling. Sahagún wrote that 'just as the Chichimecs always went carrying the bow, these always went carrying the sling', adding that they were also known as *Quaquata* 'because they always went with the sling tied about the head'. He derives this nickname from either *quatl* ('head') and *tematlatl* ('sling'), or, as seems more probable, from *quatel* or *quatetl* ('one with a head of stone', an Aztec joke alluding to the warrior's head being held in the sling). Sahagún also tells us that their clothes were of maguey fibre rather than cotton.

FIGURES

101. MATLATZINCA WARRIOR from the *Codex Florentino*, with a sling tied round his head. Shield and macana are added from a picture of Matlatzinca warriors in Diego Durán's history, which shows them with arms and armour identical to those of the Aztecs they are

Fig 98 *Fig 99* *Fig 100* *Fig 101* *Fig 102*



fighting. As usual, the mantle would not have been worn in combat. The sling itself was made of maguey fibre or plaited cotton, and threw stones that had been carefully shaped by hand to a standard size. (The Aztecs stockpiled such stones in their arsenals, and it seems likely that the Matlatzinca and other tribes did the same.) These stones could be slung with sufficient velocity to wound or kill even an armoured Spaniard. The distinctive hat in detail 101a is from another picture in the *Codex Florentino*, showing a Toluca chieftain. Sahagún says the Toluca were another, apparently indistinguishable, Matlatzinca tribe. Their homeland of Tolocan, with a mixed population of Matlatzinca, Mazahua, and Otomis, was overrun by the Aztecs in 1474, after which Axayacatl introduced Aztec settlers to stabilise the region, this doubtless being the origin of the Aztec 'garrison' the Spaniards found there.

102. MAZAHUA WARRIOR In 1521 Spaniards under Gonzalo de Sandoval defeated the Aztec garrison of Matlatzingo and its Mazahua allies, 'Matlatzingo' being the name the Spaniards gave to the Aztec province of Tolocan. The Mazahua, centred on Xocotitlan, were another tribe of similar culture and customs to the Toluca. Like the Matlatzinca and Toluca they were primarily sling-armed, though the figure depicted here (based on a picture in the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* depicting the action in 1521, wherein all his companions are clearly Aztecs) is armed with the macana more characteristic of the warrior upper-classes. Sahagún wrote of Mazahua men that they always carried gourd rattles, and when they did anything they 'set the gourd rattles on top of their heads', securing them with headbands.

THE TARASCANS

This name was given to the people of Michoacán by the Spaniards, who thought that the Indians' nickname for the *conquistadores* (*Tarascue*, or 'sons-in-law', an allusion by the Tarascans to the fact that the Spaniards had stolen all of their daughters) was actually the name of their tribe. What the Tarascans called themselves is not known for certain, but some sources refer to them as Purepacha and Huacanace. Aztec codices occasionally call them the Michoaca.

The initial foundation of the Tarascan state, based on the three chieftainships of Tzintzuntzan, Coyucan, and Patzcuaro, began under chief Tariácure in the late-14th century. However, it was not until the second half of the 15th century that his kinsman Tzitzicpadacuare succeeded in welding together a sizeable confederation by conquering or coercing many of his neighbours into submission. Though its population was considerably smaller, many Spaniards considered the Tarascan state to be equal in strength to the Triple Alliance, whose attempts at its conquest were fought to a standstill in 1478 (when at most only 2,100 Aztecs survived out of an army of 24–32,000), and again, at Indaparapeo, in 1515, despite the Tarascans themselves suffering considerable losses in dead and captured on the latter occasion. Indeed, by the time the Spaniards arrived in Mexico in 1519 roles had reversed, and it was the Tarascans, under Tzitzicpadacuare's son and successor Zuangua (d.1520), who were steadily advancing into Aztec territory, notably in modern-day Guerrero province. But for the appearance of the Spaniards it is possible that, in time, the Tarascans would have overthrown the Triple Alliance.

Michoacán nevertheless remained studiously neutral during the Spanish conquest of the Aztec empire in 1519–21, despite requests for aid from both Moctezuma II and Cortés. Consequently the victory of the latter was followed in 1522–23 by a punitive Spanish expedition against the Tarascans, under the command of Cristóbal de Olid, who led 70 cavalry, 200 Spanish foot, and at least 5,000 Indian auxiliaries. However, with the exception of one clash in 1522 and Nuño de Guzmán's violent *entrada* of 1529 (when he tortured Zuangua's son and successor Tzintzicha Tangaxoan to death for supposedly hiding treasure), the incorporation of Michoacán into the kingdom of New Spain was achieved with minimal bloodshed (by *conquistador* standards). Thereafter the Tarascans provided considerable numbers of auxiliary troops in support of Spanish expansion northwards.

Ruling the Tarascan state from its capital of Tzintzuntzan on Lake Patzcuaro was the *Cazonci*, the human representative of their chief god Curicaveri. The military establishment was headed by a 'captain-general', and there was also a 'chief ensign'. Responsible for the manufacture of military equipment were the *Cuzcuri* (maker of leather corselets), the *Cheriquenquei* (maker of cotton corselets), and the *Quaricoquauri*, who was responsible for the making of bows and arrows and their storage, 'since large quantities of them were needed'. All these posts were hereditary. Equipment was issued from municipal arsenals prior to a campaign, maize flour and other victuals also being provided.

Each chieftain led his own warband 'with its gods and ensign', its strength seemingly averaging 400 men. This and the fact that divisions of 8,000 men are mentioned tells us that, as usual, organisation was vigesimal. The Tarascans appear to have maintained a small number of 'full-time' soldiers, used to garrison a line of forts (six sites are known, but there were probably more) built along their south-eastern frontier as a defence against the Aztecs, who had a parallel defence line of their own. The forts were constructed where they could dominate the most likely approach routes that Aztec armies might take, thereby obliging the latter to either follow a more difficult road or else to attack the fort, either of which would delay their advance long enough for the Tarascans to assemble their forces. The existence of a similar line on Michoacán's north-eastern frontier, for protection against Pame and Guachichile raiders (for whom see the section on the Chichimecs), can be surmised from the fact that the Chichimecs were unable to penetrate into Tarascan territory until after the Spanish Conquest.

'Garrison' troops of the eastern frontier forts were mostly Matlatzinca, forced out of their own country by the Aztecs and settled in various parts of Michoacán by *Cazonci* Tzitzicpadacuare in the period 1454–79. Other allies or subject peoples, often similarly settled in frontier locations, comprised Otomi, Huetama (a Matlatzinca tribe), Cuitlateca,[44] Escamoeche, Chontal,[45] Tepuzteca, Mazahua, and those tribes that Sahagún calls the *Teuchichimecas*.[46]

Much like the Aztecs, Tarascan campaigns largely involved raids against their neighbours. The *Relación de*

Michoacán (1539–41) gives a succinct account of their preferred tactics in war: 'Each group of six companies established ambushes with their gods and flags, and in the midst of the ambushes there was a company of 400 men and a god of the runners called Pungarancha. All these go to the [enemy] village with their bows and arrows and set fire to the houses. Then they begin to draw back, pretending to run away ... [and] entice their enemies out of the village and lead them into ambush. When the enemy reaches the ambush, a smoke signal or a trumpet releases the attack.' For pitched battles they drew up in more formal array with the elite veteran warriors of Tzintzuntzan in the vanguard ('in good order,' writes Durán, 'their lords standing in front'), and attacked so furiously that even an Aztec army is recorded to have almost instantly given way. As elsewhere in Mexico, prisoners were preferred to dead bodies, but contrary to Aztec practice not all captives were executed and eaten, many apparently being kept as slaves.

Durán lists Tarascan arms as comprising the usual Mesoamerican assortment of 'slings and thrown spears, bows and arrows, swords edged with stone blades, clubs and other offensive weapons. They also had finely worked shields and insignia made of gold and feather-work.' The *Relación de Michoacán* describes the shields as 'made of the feathers of many birds, some from white herons which belong to Curicaveri, some from red parrots, and others from little gold and green-coloured birds', and says 'all the people carry oak clubs', some of which had copper teeth added (the Tarascans knowing how to smelt copper, and apparently bronze, which they used for knives and axe-heads). The Tarascan weapon *par excellence*, however, was the bow. Sahagún describes how they 'always went with their bows', with 'woven reed quivers' on their backs containing flint-headed arrows that the *Relación* describes as having flights coloured yellow, white, red, and green. Cortés' secretary Gómara describes Tarascans as 'great bowmen and excellent marksmen, especially those called *Teuchichimeca*', and even the Aztec *Tlatoani* Moctezuma II acknowledged their expertise as archers. The *Relación* includes references to Tarascan archers shooting two arrows at once and using the quiver as a club in close combat. The spear-thrower was also to be found in limited use alongside the bow.

Body-armour included 'leather war-coats' and the usual 'doublets stuffed with cotton', here called *cherenguequa*; of the latter, long ones were worn by the 'valiant men' — seemingly a warrior elite comparable to the Aztec *tequihuahqueh* — and shorter ones by commoners, where these were armoured at all (most were not). In some areas (notably Patzcuaro, where cotton was not grown) corselets were of maguey fibre rather than cotton. In addition to their armour 'lords and valiant men put on doublets made of rich bird feathers', and the *Relación* refers to head-dresses of white heron feathers, eagle feathers, and 'coloured parrot feathers', while Sahagún mentions 'yellow fan-shaped devices' and 'shoulder devices of *ayoquan* [heron?] feathers'. Sahagún's description also indicates animal skins were much used for clothing, mentioning ocelot, wolf, lynx, fox, deer, and 'garlands of squirrel skins'.

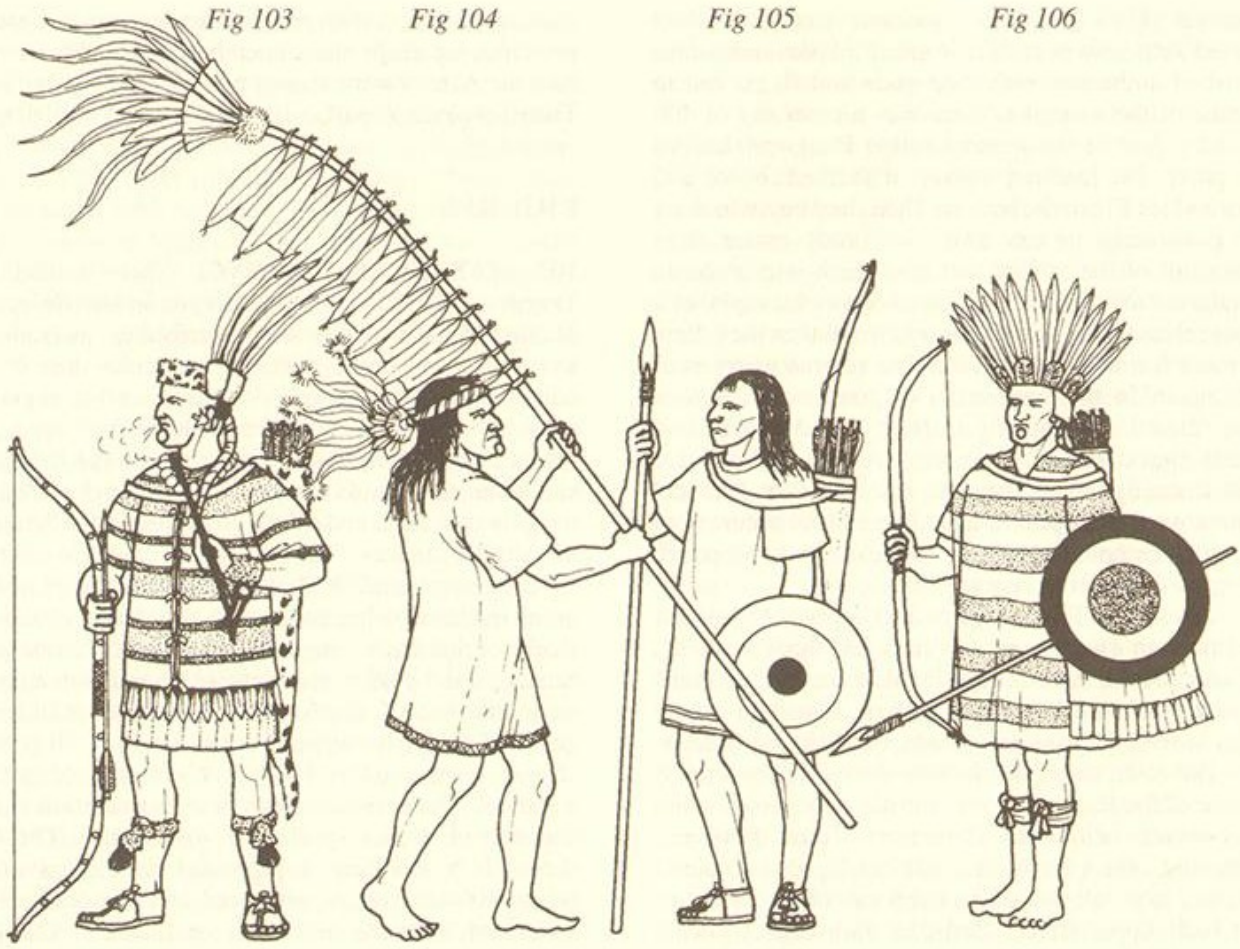
Other decoration used in war included considerable amounts of jewellery — Durán says 'they were so covered with gold, gems and feathers, all so shining, glittering with golden bracelets, ankle-bands, ear pendants, lip-plugs and golden headbands, that as the sun rose the Aztecs were almost blinded by their brilliance.' Their lip-plugs in particular are described by Sahagún as 'very big'.

FIGURES

103. TARASCAN *CAZONCI* This is Tzintzicha Tangaxoan (1520–29), as portrayed in the *Relación de Michoacán*. His war-dress is described as 'an ocelot-skin wreath on his head, a quiver of ocelot-skin or other coloured animal skin full of arrows on his shoulder, a piece of leather four fingers wide on his wrist [i.e. a bracer], some bracelets of deerskin with the hair left on, and some deer hoofs on his legs, all of which were the insignia of a lord, and all the lords bedecked themselves in a similar manner.' The attire of the chieftain referred to as 'captain-general' is described as 'a great plumage of green feathers on his head and a very large, round silver shield on his back. An ocelot-skin quiver, some golden ear-loops and golden bracelets with a red cotton doublet, an Indian suit of serrated leather on the shoulders and gold bells down the legs; an ocelot-skin four fingers wide on his wrist, and a bow in his hand complete his costume.' The *Cazonci*'s own bow was emerald-studded, and served as his symbol of sovereignty. The figure shows him smoking a pipe and wearing a corselet decorated with rows of white, red, and blue feathers, with a hem of alternate red and blue feathers. The plume holders on his headband are red, and the plumes themselves are the usual green quetzal feathers. His white necklace is of fish-bones, such necklaces being highly prized.

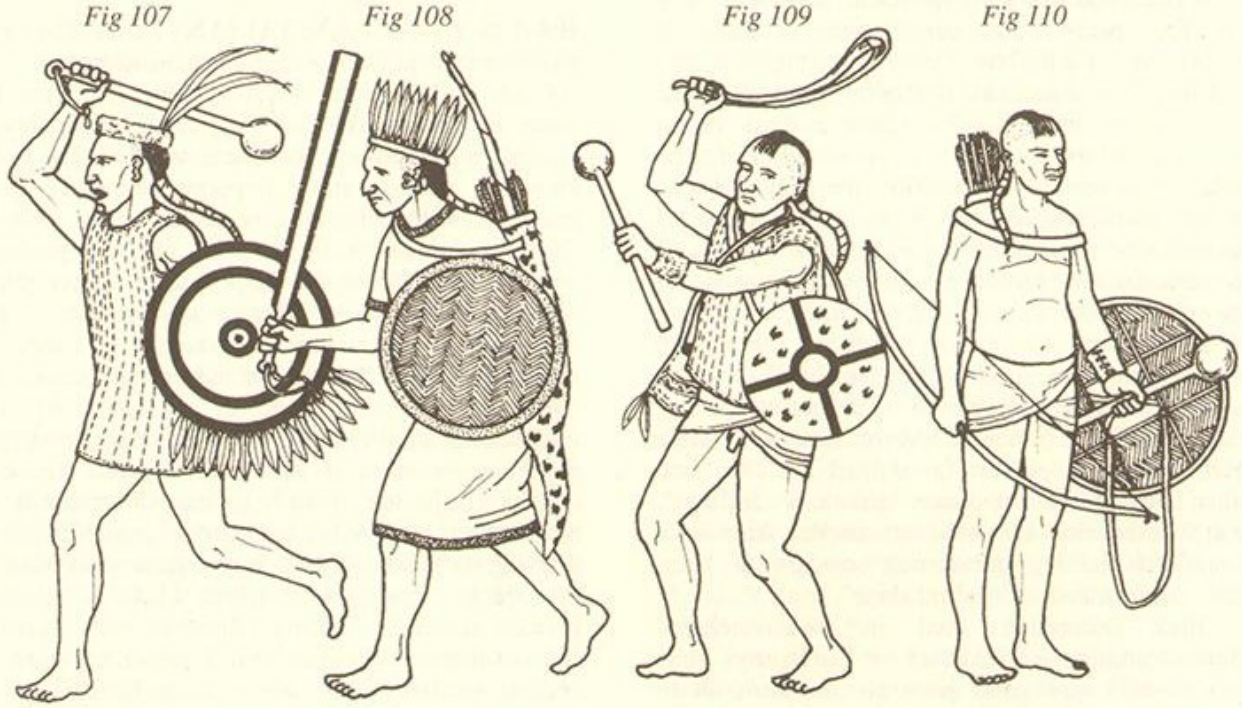
The title of *Cazonci* is thought to derive from the Tarascan word *kats-o-n-tsi*, meaning 'shaven', this tallying with pictures in the *Relación* which show most Tarascans with their heads shaved at the sides (see Figures 107, 109 and 110).[47] Probably Figures 104, 105 and 112 also have their heads shaved thus, but the fact that the central band of long hair is worn loose conceals this.

104–108. TARASCAN 'VALIANT MEN' The first two figures are from the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, Figures 106 and 107 are from the *Relación*, and Figure 108 is from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*'s depiction of Nuño de Guzmán's descent on Michoacán in 1529. The veterans known as 'valiant men' were permitted to wear lip-plugs like the nobility, but their headbands could only be of deerskin or feathers. Figure 104's plume is presumably one of the 'yellow fan-shaped devices' recorded by Sahagún. Note that the Tarascans — unlike the Aztecs and most, if not all, other Mexicans — carried their standards in their hands, and not on their backs. In the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, as in all Aztec representations, the staff is straight, but all the pictures in the *Relación* show it curved at the top, whence this depiction. The text describes Tarascan standards as 'of bird feathers attached to long canes', but elsewhere says that flag staffs consisted of 'heavy, pointed wooden sticks that are two *brazas* long [about 11 ft/3.3 m] and are hooked [curved]', adding that they were carried by 'valiant men'. It also says that Tzintzuntzan's army was accompanied by 200 white heron-feather standards



'pertaining to their god Curicaveri', Coyucan and Patzcuaro's contingents being accompanied by a further 40 each, which suggests that each individual warband carried its own. The *Relación* shows most Tarascans armed with bows and clubs, plus a few with spears. Other sources specifically tell us that spears were carried by Tarascan leaders. Note the red-bound pigtails of Figures 107–110, worn by the majority of warriors in the *Relación*. Some war-paint was also worn, 'valiant men' and priests at least being recorded to have blackened themselves for battle. Only one Tarascan in the *Lienzo* has a macana, the rest having bows; all wear long white shirts.

109–111. TARASCAN COMMONERS from the *Relación*. The Tarascans did not wear the usual breechclout, but instead used a hip-cloth wrapped tightly round the loins, which is said to have left the buttocks and, on occasion, the genitals exposed. A mantle might be worn in peacetime, but no sandals, and only occasionally



a shirt. Note the shield patterns of this and the preceding figures, incidentally, which are of an entirely different style to the 'Aztec' varieties employed elsewhere throughout Central Mexico. The *Relación* shows them mostly decorated with discs and rings of red, blue, and white. *Relaciónes Geograficas* state that Tarascan shields were up to 4–5 *palmos* wide (34–42 ins/86–107 cm), made of cane, and sometimes covered with leather. Most of those depicted in the *Relación*, however, are quite small. Cortés records that commoners wore a simple leather bracer when using the bow.

Commoners were also responsible for the carriage of the army's provisions on the march, and carried everything on their backs as elsewhere in Mesoamerica. Tarascan porters, however, do not appear to have utilised the *cacaxtli* or carrying frame depicted in Figure 59, pictures in the *Relación* indicating that their loads were simply secured in a sheet or large net supported from the forehead by a tumpline.

112. TARASCAN PRIEST or *Curitiecha*. Note the sacrificial knife at his chest and the 'gourd set with turquoise' on his back, suspended from a red strap round his shoulders; called a *yectecomatl* among Aztec priests, this held tobacco. In battle Tarascan priests instead carried idols of their gods on their backs, and some at least carried flags. Where their hair was bound in a pigtail the binding was white rather than the more usual red.

NOTES

44 Though most Cuitlatecs were technically vassals of the *Cazonci*, they actually fought for Aztecs or Tarascans as the needs of the moment dictated. *Relaciónes Geograficas* tell us that their arms comprised bows, slings, clubs, shields, and cotton corselets, and that they fought 'in squadrons'.

45 A different tribe to that of the same name in Oaxaca (the name, given to both by the Aztecs, simply meant 'barbarians'). Their independence ended in the 1490s, when they were decisively defeated and conquered by Ahuitzotl, 44,200 being reputedly killed or captured. *Relaciónes Geograficas* say they fought with bow, spear and shield, and wore waist-length cotton armour.

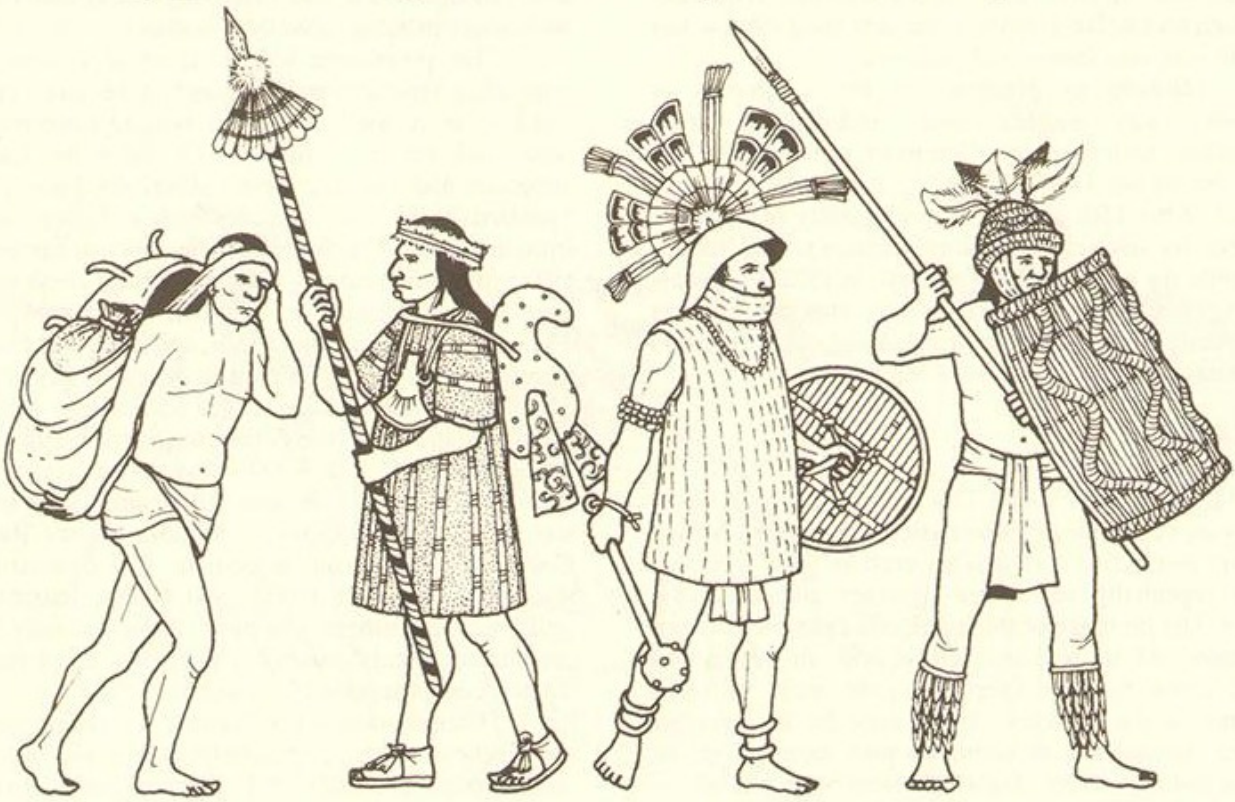
46 'Teul Chichimecs'. Though likewise used by Gómara to describe the Chichimecs found in Michoacán, the term actually referred to the settled Cazcane, Tecuexe, Tepecano, and Cora tribes (see the section on New Galicia), whereas the Chichimec tribesmen serving with Tarascan armies appear to have been nomadic Guachichiles and Guamares.

47 A passage in Sahagún informs us that the Tarascans had once been known by the name *Quaochpanme* 'because they never let their hair grow. All shaved their heads', men and women alike, though he adds that 'an occasional one wore the hair long'. The nature of this shaving can be seen in Figures 109 and 110.

COLIMAN

A civilisation of much greater antiquity than that of the Aztecs seems to have survived largely undisturbed among the Teco Indians of this remote corner of Western Mexico until the Tarascans overran the area in the 1460s. Tarascan occupation lasted for only about a decade, however, before the chieftains left in charge by the *Cazonci* seceded and established their own independent states in Colima (Colimotl), Motines, Zapotlan, Sayula, Amula, Autlan, and other places, Colima achieving supremacy amongst these by the late-15th century. Surprisingly, they were subsequently able to maintain their independence from Michoacán, even — in alliance with the Coca, Tecuexe, and Cazcane (for whom see the next section) — inflicting a decisive defeat on the Tarascans at the Battle of Tlajomulco in the 1480s. However, their diminutive states were not strong enough to offer much by way of resistance to the Spaniards.

Fig 111 *Fig 112* *Fig 113* *Fig 114*



Nevertheless, the first unusually cautious Spanish probe in this direction was actually repulsed with loss and it took a second, larger expedition under Cristóbal de Olid to subdue the area in 1523. Prior to that Tarascan influence had inevitably prevailed here, and several petty-states — notably in Quacoman, Zapotlan, and Amula — had become tributaries of the Tarascan *Cazonci* once more, either by coercion or by reconquest (though Amula at least subsequently rebelled). One *Relación Geografica* for the region remarked of its population that they 'were not excessively bellicose, nor yet were they given to such cowardice that they fled from their enemies, but rather they knew how to resist and to defend their houses and lands.'

The *Relaciónes* also provide us with brief descriptions of the natives' costume, armour and weapons, noting that their everyday dress generally comprised only a breechclout and coloured cotton mantle, though in districts on the Tarascan frontier they wore long shirts 'of white cotton that reached to their knees', such as those of Figures 104, 105, and 108. Armour was of the usual quilted variety, 'made of a great quantity of cotton, tightly packed to the thickness of a finger more or less', from which they constructed 'helmets, and jackets, and thigh coverings, and other forms of armour as they wished, and if it was made well it could not be pierced by arrows.' Figurines from Colima and Jalisco dating to the first millennium show warriors wearing more rigid armour of cylindrical form, probably of wicker construction, with the arms protruding from holes at the sides, but if such corselets were still in use by the 16th century the Spanish chroniclers failed to remark on them. Wicker shields certainly were used, described as made of cane 'split into thin pieces' and woven together, two such woven layers then being sewn one across the other and trimmed to shape, after which leather hand-grips were fitted. Such a shield was said to have been 'so strong that an arrow could scarcely penetrate it'. Typical weapons comprised bows, heavy wooden clubs (some studded with stones), and darts and spears with fire-hardened points. No mention is made of slings. A few late figurines are also shown with macanas.

Adjacent to Motines (in the south-east of Coliman) was another small independent state, Zacatollan, which shared Coliman's conquest by the Tarascans in the 1460s. Regaining its freedom towards the end of the 15th century, it subsequently managed to preserve its sovereignty against Tarascans and Aztecs alike until the arrival of the Spaniards in 1522. It appears to have shared Tarascan culture, so that its warriors presumably would have been dressed and armed like, and would have fought like, those of Michoacán.

FIGURES

113. TECO CHIEFTAIN This reconstruction is based largely on contemporary descriptions, though his helmet with its distinctive fore-and-aft crest is of a type that recurs repeatedly on earlier figurines and decorated pottery. The plumage of this particular example is (from the centre) white, red, and yellow, with single yellow-tipped green feathers alternating with pairs of blue-patterned white feathers. These may be the 'feather devices' mentioned in some Spanish descriptions of Colima Indians, which might otherwise be an allusion to standards like those in use either in Michoacán or elsewhere in Mexico.

114. TECO WARRIOR from somewhat earlier figurines, in which such large, rectangular cane shields appear frequently. Most of the figurines also wear ornately crested helmets of various shapes. He has breechclout flaps hanging at both front and back, and wears feather greaves.

NEW GALICIA

This was the name given by the Spaniards to the area of western Mexico encompassing the modern states of Jalisco, Nayarit, Sinaloa,[48] and parts of Zacatecas, much of which was initially overrun, with considerable destruction and cruelty, by Nuño de Guzmán in 1530–31 at the head of an army of 300–500 Spaniards, 12 guns, and 7–12,000 Indian auxiliaries. Guzmán was subsequently the first Spanish governor of New Galicia (1531–36). Despite the partisan claims made by modern Mexican writers for a sizeable native state in Jalisco at the time of the Conquest, the entire area actually comprised large numbers of small, autonomous communities that mostly comprised a central town or large village with a number of smaller towns or villages subject to it. The majority controlled no more than a single valley and on the whole they were mutually hostile, any alliances or coalitions that might exist against a common enemy being no more than arrangements of temporary convenience. The largest at Guzmán's arrival were Totolan (Coinan or Cuinao), Pocintlan, Cuitzeo, Tonallan, Cuinacuaro, Cuyula, and Coyutla, all north of Lake Chapala; Xalpan (Jalpa), Nochistlan, Juchipila, and Tonanican (Teul), in Zacatecas; Sentispac,[49] Zacualpan, Jalisco, Tepic, Tecomatlan, and Aztatlan, in Nayarit; and Chametlan (Chiametla), Quezala, Pochotla, Ciguatlan, and Culiacan, in Sinaloa. Most were ruled by an elected chief, though a few had hereditary rulers and Tonallan was unique in being ruled by a woman.

The population was made up of various tribes, principally Tepecano and Cazcane[50] in the north; Tecuexe and Coca in the south; Cora, Huichol and Totorame in the west; and Tahue in Sinaloa. Of these the Cazcane, Tepecano and Tecuexe were collectively known to the Spaniards as the *Teules-Chichimecos*, to distinguish them from the nomad Chichimecs, their principal centre being at Tonanican or Teul in Cazcane territory. These rebelled against the Spaniards in 1538, in the Mixton War of 1541–42, and again in the 1550s, and some sided with the frontier tribes in the Chichimec War that began in the 1560s. The Mixton War was a particularly dangerous affair. It started with the defeat of a Spanish army of 100 horse, 100 foot, and 5,000 Tarascan auxiliaries under Pedro de Alvarado, who was killed, and was eventually won by Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza at the Battle of Coinan in 1542, leading perhaps 500 Spaniards and somewhere between 10,000 and 60,000 Indians, plus artillery. The northernmost parts of the area only finally came under Spanish control in the 1590s, and some Cora tribes were not subdued until as late as 1722.

Though sources for Guzmán's *entrada* record that the Tecuexe were particularly numerous, the most densely populated and highly advanced part of the region

was Sinaloa, where a prosperous, civilised culture equivalent to those of Central Mexico flourished along the coast; Pedro de Castaneda, for instance, described the Tahue of Culiacan (who reportedly fielded as many as 25–30,000 men in 1531) as 'the best and most intelligent race', and others noted their superior dress and organisation. According to Castaneda they did not even 'eat human flesh or sacrifice it'. However, Guzmán's campaign and those that followed utterly destroyed this civilisation, so that barely a trace of it can be found. Most of the area rebelled in 1533, the Spaniards managing to hold only Culiacan, and it was not until 1564–66 that it was reconquered by Francisco de Ibarra.

Surviving Spanish accounts provide us with numerous details of the arms and armour to be found in the region, and the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* contains over 20 pictures of Spanish battles here.[51] From these various sources we know that cotton armour was uncommon, and in the *Lienzo* pictures it is only worn by about half-a-dozen figures out of more than 100 portrayed;[52] most warriors are shown in just a breechclout and sometimes sandals, though a number have a mantle rolled and tied diagonally round the torso, perhaps for protection. Otherwise their only defence was a round shield of either cane or leather (either cayman skin or a leather 'like cowhide', doubtless buffalo). Most shields seem to have been left undecorated — the various linear and criss-cross patterns apparent in the *Lienzo* pictures simply represent their construction from woven reeds — but a few pictures (those captioned Jalisco, Tototlan, Chametlan, and Tlaltenanpan, probably Tlaltenanco) show shields of type 26viii, the Tototlan picture even showing two *cuextecatlchimalli* (a type 26ixl and a variant of type 26xxxvi). Most others are portrayed in shades of yellow and pale tan, almost invariably with a red rim (probably indicating leather), and none have fringes, though one source attributes the use of feather-decorated shields to Chametlan.

Weapons were mainly clubs, bows (with a maximum range of about 150 yds/137 m), and macanas, though spears and darts also occur — indeed, the Tahue were described as skilful with both spear and bow. Twice as many clubs as macanas appear in the *Lienzo* pictures, and this is about as far north as the use of the macana is reported to have been found. Archaeological finds of stone club-heads in the region show that they came in assorted forms, some plain and spherical, some multi-faceted (looking rather like pineapples), and others with flanges similar to mediaeval European types. Yet others were of wood. Slings were also used, in the state of Jalisco and probably elsewhere (Obregon, for instance, refers to the Tahue of Chametlan 'shooting' stones). Certainly stones are shown flying through the air in many of the *Lienzo* pictures, even though no slings are in evidence.

Next to nothing is known about tactics, beyond the fact that most of the region's tribes drew up in organised, formal battle-arrays. As elsewhere in Mexico, however, there seems to have been a preference for ambushes and surprise attacks, and intelligent use was made of high or rough ground, which at an early stage the local Indians had recognised as the one weakness of Spanish cavalry. In particular much ingenuity and effort was expended on the construction of elaborate fortifications of tree-trunks and boulders on rocky heights, which could be released when required to crash downhill onto the heads of their attackers. It was in such an avalanche that Pedro de Alvarado was killed in 1541, when a horse lost its footing and dragged him downhill.

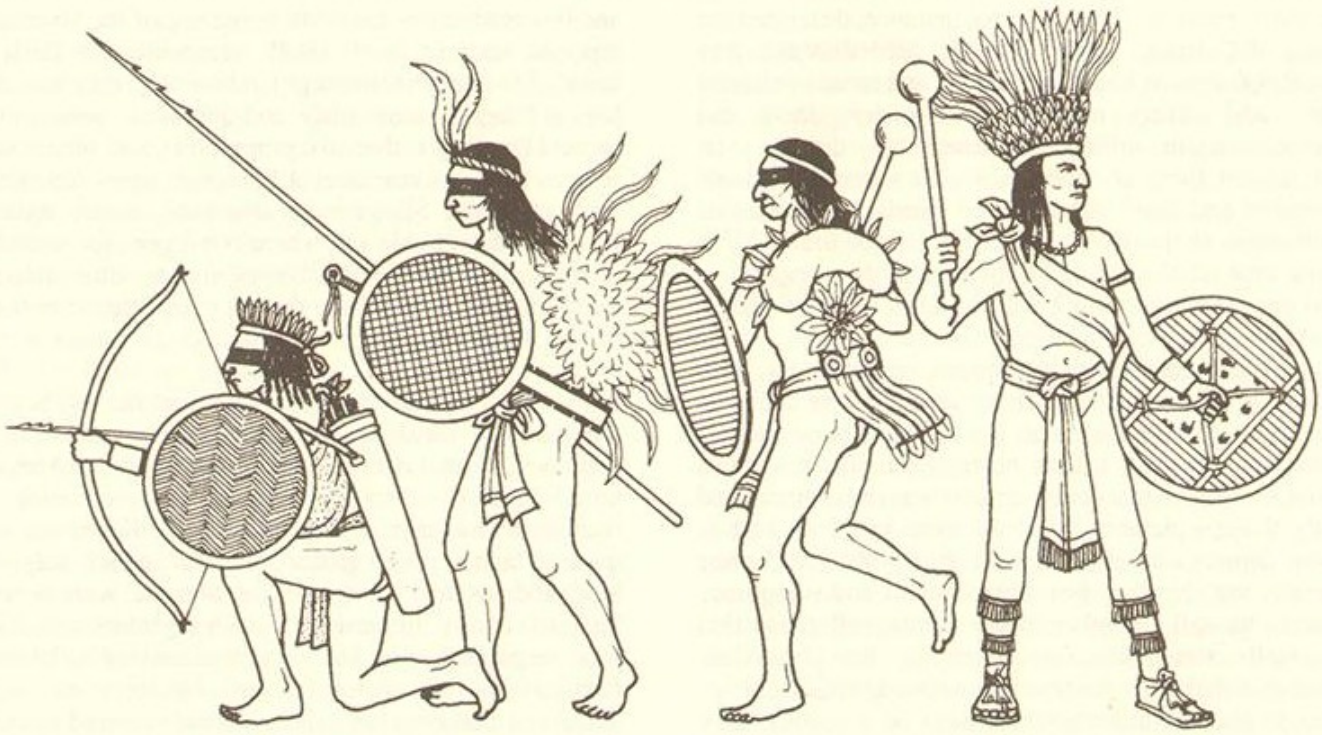
FIGURES

All the figures in this section are from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*. The bland range of colours used in the original pictures (largely shades of yellow, tan, and red) lead one to suspect that the artist was shackled by the limitations of his palette.

115–118. CAZCANE WARRIORS from Teul (Figure 115), Xalpan (Figure 116), and Tlaltenanpan (Figures 117 and 118) respectively. The ornate quiver of Figure 115 is black with a pale yellow feather fringe and a

Fig 115 *Fig 116* *Fig 117* *Fig 118*

Fig 119 Fig 120 Fig 121 Fig 122



yellow eagle-foot device at the bottom. His breechclout is tan and his shield is yellow and red. Figure 116 has a white headband and breechclout, and his quiver is of jaguar skin. Quivers seem always to have been worn round the neck, with the strap wrapped virtually horizontally around both shoulders. Note the linear face-paint; some 60% of New Galician Indians in the *Lienzo* are shown with one or two horizontal black lines across the eyes and cheeks. The two hair-styles depicted — both long, but either loose and brushed back at the front, or parted in the middle and secured by a headband tied in a variety of ways — were those most frequently to be found throughout this region. The colour and way of knotting the headband seems to have varied according to tribal origin, those of Figures 116–118 all being plain white. Note that Figure 117 wears a waist-length, pale yellow shirt, probably cotton and possibly body-armour; his shield is a type 26viii, in tan and black, with a tan rim. Figure 118 is armed with what is clearly a fire-hardened wooden spear.

119. TECUEXE WARRIOR This Indian from Xonacatlan, a subject town of Tonallan, wears a fillet of small white feathers. In the *Lienzo* pictures this type of head-dress is also shown being worn in Tlacotlan and Colotlan, while in its picture of Juchipila the feathers are rendered green; however, all three of these places lack the distinctive knot at the back of the head. Hip-cloth, breechclout, and the mantle knotted round his torso are all pale tan colours. His hair is worn in short ringlets.

120 & 121. CAZCANE AND TECUEXE CHIEFTAINS Figure 120 is from a picture (captioned Xayacatlan) that Chavero (1892) claims belonged to a theoretical Mixton War sequence in the *Lienzo*, which would probably make him a Cazcane (but see note 51 below), while 121 is a Tecuexe from Tonallan. A number of such feather back-standards are depicted in the *Lienzo*, the majority being like that of Figure 120, which is yellow with long orange feathers. It is unclear, from the style of the pictures, exactly what form such standards took; they appear to comprise a spray of feathers, but it is possible that they were concave — like similar devices recorded amongst North American Indians in the 19th century — or even flat like the Aztec *patzactli* 'compressed feather' standard. The long feathers in his yellow and white striped headband are orange. The upper part of Figure 121's device is pink with red feather edging, while the rest is yellow, with a red central band and red tips. He has a white headband and yellow-and-white breechclout. Note the absence of carrying frames for the standards, which must therefore have been either strapped directly to the body like that of Figure 130 or perhaps slung from a shoulder-strap like the *enduap* of Figures 169–171.

Tepecano chieftains apparently carried no weapons at all in battle, except for a stick with which to beat and thus humiliate any of their warriors who disobeyed orders or showed signs of cowardice.

122 & 123. TAHUE CHIEFTAINS Such impressive feather head-dresses as these (which are portrayed as being yellow, with tall red plumes) occur in a number of the *Lienzo* pictures. Usually they seem to denote leaders, but in a few instances (Quezala, Tecomatlan, and Tlaxicho) more than one figure wears one, which may indicate that in some places they were part of an ordinary warrior's attire. However, his pale yellow corselet (presumably cotton armour) and ocelot-skin greaves leave one in no doubt that Figure 123 is a chieftain. He also has a long yellow feather or feathered reed through the septum of his nose. Breechclouts of both figures are white. Note that Figure 122, from Quezala, wears sandals and fringed leather strips round the lower leg, both of which occur in only one other *Lienzo* picture of this region (Colipan).

124. TAHUE WARRIOR from Chametlan. His white

headband is tied in such a way as to leave two tabs at the back, while the Tahue of Culiacan tied theirs in a small round knot at the front (detail 124a).

125. AZTATEC WARRIOR The Aztatecs of Aztatlan (Acaponeta) were a Totorame tribe. The distinctive features of this figure are the looped knot of his white headband (a type also to be seen in the *Lienzo*'s pictures of distant Apulco and Tototlan) and the shortness of his hair compared to the long hair worn elsewhere in New Galicia. His breechclout is tan and the shield is yellow with a red rim as usual.

NOTES

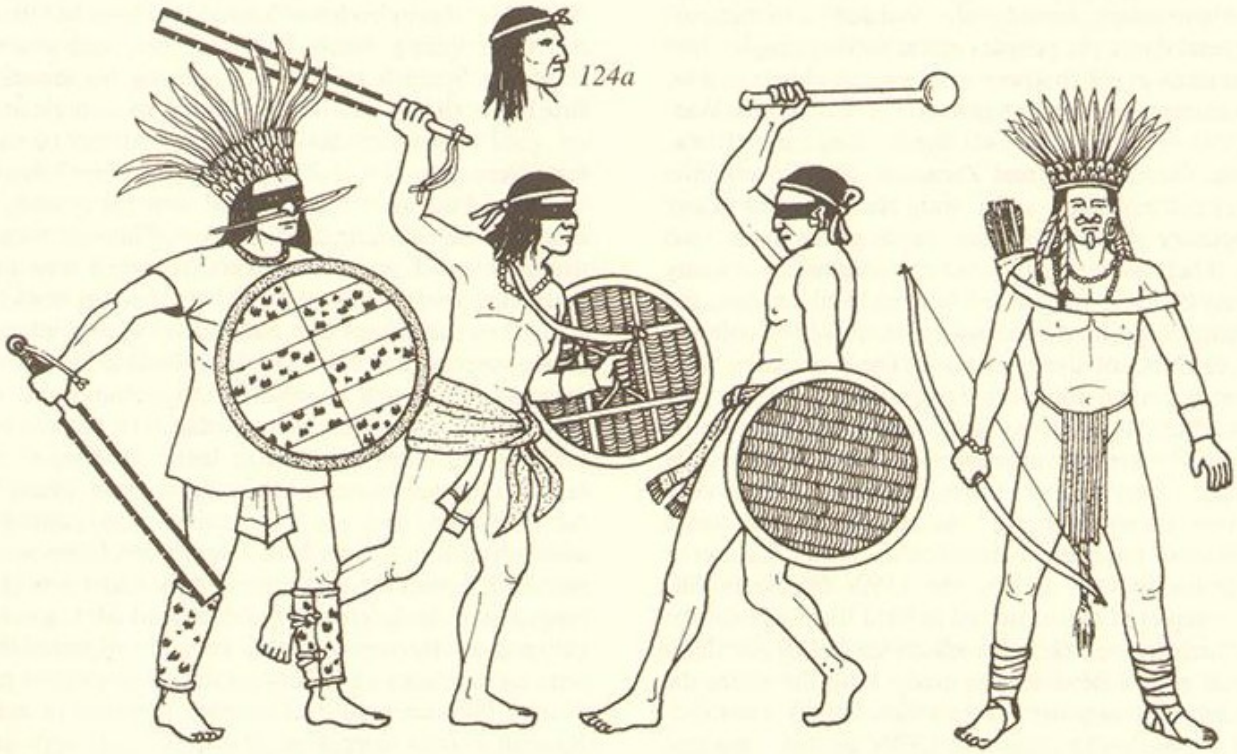
48 Most of Sinaloa was transferred to the province of New Vizcaya when the Spaniards established the latter in 1564/5.
49 Called by Guzmán — somewhat confusingly — Michoacán, and referred to in other sources as Teimoac.
50 Their name meant 'there isn't any', their customary response to Spanish attempts to requisition supplies and treasure.
51 Interpretation of this portion (plates 53–75) of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* is open to debate. Alfredo Chavero was of the opinion that the pictures portray Guzmán's expedition of 1530–31 and the Mixton War of 1541–42, and certainly plates 54–71 seem to depict the former; but plates 72–75 are captioned with place-names more in keeping with Pedro de Alvarado's campaign to the south, that took him to Chiapas and Guatemala (depictions of which follow from plate 76 on), and it seems possible, even likely, that a mistake of some sort was made when the lost original was copied — certainly the appearance of the warriors shown in plates 72–75 is more in keeping with the tribes of the north-west than the south of Mexico, so it is possible that captions belonging to some omitted plates have actually been placed in error on pictures belonging to Guzmán's or Mendoza's expeditions. However, identifying place-names in the *Lienzo* is itself a challenge, thanks in part to some extraordinary feats of misspelling by the scribe who originally lettered them in.
52 One plate (53), captioned Jalisco, actually contains a warrior in a yellow *tlahuiztli* war-suit, with a red feather device like that of Figure 120 on his back and carrying a type 26viii shield. The presence of a war-suit here is inexplicable since this town was separated from the Aztec frontier by some 300 miles, and it is the only appearance of a war-suit (in either a pictorial or a written source) outside the Aztec zone of influence. However, despite its caption this place is out of chronological order to actually be Jalisco, so is perhaps mis-captioned (see note 51 above) and in reality might represent somewhere closer to the Aztec frontier.

THE ACAXEE

These were the principal tribe of several — the Acaxee, Ximime, Hume, Tebaca, and Sabaibo — which occupied the mountainous country east of Culiacan. Though 16th–17th century Spanish writers tell us much about their appearance they say little else, beyond the facts that they fought with showers of arrows, darts, stones, and clubs, and ate the bodies of slain enemies. Their arms consisted of bows, arrows with barbed heads, puma-skin quivers, clubs, macanas, spears, and darts 'coloured red with brazilwood', plus oval hide shields decorated with feathers.

Savage as the Acaxee reputedly were, Perez de Ribas says the Ximime were worse, and that both were afraid of the neighbouring Tepehuane. He tells us that the dress of the last was the same as that worn by the Acaxee and that their arms likewise consisted of bows, macanas, and 'brazilwood pikes and spears', other sources adding clubs and slings to this list. By the early-17th century the Tepehuane had taken to horseback, and 'were as capable as very able Spanish cavalry' (see also note 54). They had even learnt to use captured Spanish firearms, though they lacked the expertise to maintain them successfully. The Spaniards subdued the Acaxee in 1603, the Ximime in 1611 (though they rebelled five years later), and the Tepehuane in 1618.

Fig 123 *Fig 124* *Fig 125* *Fig 126*



FIGURES

126. ACAXEE WARRIOR The Acaxee wore few clothes; many Spanish sources actually say they were naked, but Hernando de Santaren (c.1600) records them wearing a cord girdle with tassels hanging at the front, as too does Andres Peréz de Ribas (1645, but writing of the period around 1600), who adds that a 'tail' hung down from this at the back, 'made of many strings of deerskin and dyed several colours'. In the 1560s Francisco de Ibarra even noted that some wore Mexican-style mantles, these being white or 'painted' (decorated with patterns). Deerskin strips round the legs and ankles, and on the instep of the foot to assist in climbing, are also recorded. Hair was worn long and braided with strips of cloth, with a white cotton headband plus a feathered head-dress in wartime. Jewellery primarily consisted of a green stone worn in the nose, long strings of white snail-shells worn as necklaces and bracelets, black ear-plugs inlaid with a white bead, and sometimes copper or silver earrings the size of bracelets. Shells were also worn in the hair, nose, and ears, while in the lower lip some wore up to three small human bones taken from the bodies of their victims. Some wore face-paint, probably of stripes, the sources also occasionally referring to them painting the body. Lastly a small circular mirror, about 6 ins (15 cm) in diameter, was worn at the small of the back in peace-time. This was what the Aztecs called a 'tail mirror' (*texcacuitlapilli*). Made of nodules of iron pyrites ground till they shone, it was in use throughout Mesoamerica, but generally only with civilian attire.

THE CHICHIMECS

The original Chichimecs were the nomadic barbarians from the north-east that invaded the Toltec empire in the 12th–13th centuries, amongst whom were the Aztecs and the other tribes which subsequently settled in the Valley of Mexico. The term Chichimec was then transferred in turn to their own northern neighbours, principally the Otomi (who were considered 'civilised' Chichimecs) and, beyond them, the peoples of the northern region that the Spaniards came to know as *Gran Chichimeca*, who were to cause them so much grief in the 'Chichimec War' of c.1550–90. Principal of these were the Pame, Guamare, Guachichile, and Zacateco. The Guachichile were both the largest tribe and, according to many contemporary Spaniards, the most courageous and warlike. Their name meant 'head coloured red', variously explained by their use of red feather head-dresses, red face-paint, or pointed red leather *bonetillos* (doubtless similar to those of the Huaxtecs). The Guamares were likewise described by some Spaniards as 'the bravest, most warlike, treacherous and destructive of all the Chichimecs', as were the Zacatecos, of whom even their Chichimec neighbours were scared, the overall impression therefore being that all Chichimecs alike made fearful enemies. Nevertheless, some Zacatecos were semi-sedentary, and by the 1550s the Spaniards, having conquered these, started to field them against the other Chichimecs, some Guachichiles being similarly employed at a somewhat later date. Of all the tribes the Pame[53] were initially the least warlike, though even they became more hostile from the 1570s as their patience with Spanish demands grew thin. The armies fielded by the Spaniards here nevertheless continued to consist largely of Indian levies raised further south, notably amongst the Aztecs, Cazcane, Cholulteca, Otomis, Tarascans and Tlaxcaltecs, and many of these chose to — or were required to — settle in the area, thereby gradually displacing the nomadic Chichimec population.

There was no hereditary or permanent leadership among the 'wild' Chichimecs, a leader, who was usually the bravest warrior, only being elected in wartime. Even so — and despite traditional enmities (such as between the Zacatecos and Cazcanes) — they proved themselves able to form leagues with other tribes to present a common front against punitive Tarascan raids and, later, Spanish attempts at northward expansion, the Guachichile being not only responsible for but also leading most such alliances. When they began large-scale raids against the Spaniards in 1561 they were said to have gathered together between eight and 13 chiefs and about 800 warriors in their mountain strongholds.

From the outset the special weapon of the Chichimecs was the bow. Sahagún wrote that they carried it everywhere, keeping it to hand even when they ate and slept, and that Chichimec boys were given their first bow at the age of one and were allowed no other playthings. The accuracy of Chichimec archers and the power of their bows is apparent from all the 16th century Spanish writers. Lazaro de Arregui recorded how he had once seen an orange thrown into the air and hit with so many arrows that it was in small pieces before it eventually hit the ground. Sahagún was told that Chichimecs could hit anything they fired at, no matter how small or how far away it was, and another writer recorded that 'when they aimed at an eye and hit an eyebrow they cursed it as a bad shot.' Herrera y Tordesillas recorded their arrows as capable of going through all but the most tightly woven mail armour, while Bernardino de Vargas Machuca saw an arrow go through a soldier's powder-flask, buckskin armour, mail corselet, and doublet, and after all that still be left with sufficient impetus to wound him. On another occasion Gonzalo de Las Casas described how an arrow went clean through a horse's armoured head and then into its rider, killing them both outright, and elsewhere records a Spanish soldier who, raising his arquebus to fire, had both hands nailed to its stock by a single arrow.

The wooden bows capable of these prodigious feats were about 4 ft (1.2 m) long, firing arrows that were, to judge from pictorial sources, from two-thirds to as much as the full length of the bow. These arrows were usually of reed, with a hardwood foreshaft which either had a fire-hardened point or had an obsidian head bound to it. They were kept in a hide quiver with a lid, carried either suspended behind the right shoulder from a strap, or pushed through a cord knotted round the waist. Gonzalo de Las Casas records that four or five arrows were held in the bow hand in battle, both as an aid to rapid firing and to provide some protection (there being no indication that the Chichimecs used shields). In addition a fur or leather bracer was worn. Other weapons included a short throwing spear only about 4 ft (1.2 m) long, stone axes, clubs, wooden-handled stone knives (often thrust through a leather strap coiled round the left arm, as in Figure 134), and, in the southernmost part of *Gran Chichimeca*, the ubiquitous macana. In addition Spanish swords were used after capture, though there is

no evidence that captured arquebuses were.

Spanish sources provide fairly comprehensive details of the tactics Chichimec raiders used against them, which were doubtless much the same as had been earlier employed against their Tarascan, Teco, and other settled neighbours, into whose territory the Guachichile in particular had started encroaching by the end of the 15th century. We are told that they always travelled in single file, doubtless to disguise their numbers, and attacked in relatively small bands of usually no more than 200 men, though in a few exceptional instances they fielded forces of up to 1,000. They were masters of reconnaissance (the sources contain countless references to scouts, look-outs, and spies), and favoured ambushes — especially of Spanish wagon-trains — and surprise attacks, in rough terrain that prevented the effective use of cavalry by the Spaniards. They outflanked the enemy whenever they could and advanced in open order ('the better to see an arrow coming and protect themselves from it'), missile men leading — mostly archers, but some tribes also had slingers — and men with spears and clubs following behind. When they attacked they came on at speed, shouting, and shooting off a hail of arrows as they did so. When attacking a settlement or *ranchería* they preferred to weaken it beforehand, by systematically stealing or killing its horses or livestock over an extended period, thereby reducing both its defensive capabilities and its morale in preparation for the final attack, which was usually launched in the early evening or at dawn. Even when repelled they were generally able to make good their escape, splitting up into small groups to avoid Spanish pursuit, which, by their careful choice of battlefield, they were usually able to out-distance or evade anyway. Such was their martial potential, in fact, that Vargas considered their 'tricks' to be better even than those of professional soldiers in Europe, adding that they 'never fail in anything they attempt'. Another commentator, Joseph de Acosta, wrote in 1588 that 'neither by force nor by cunning' were the Spaniards able to subdue the Chichimecs, 'for having no towns nor places of residence, to fight with them is really like hunting after wild beasts, which scatter and hide themselves in the most rough and covered places of the mountains.'

By stealing rather than killing the Spaniards' horses and thereby mounting themselves, as they had begun to do by the 1580s at the very latest, they increased their raiding potential enormously. 'These Chichimecs,' observed one colonist in 1585, 'are no longer content to attack the highways on foot, but have now taught themselves to ride the horses they rustle, and this is making their way of fighting much more dangerous than before; on horseback their war-parties can cover greater distances to attack, and disappear with greater speed.' That they had a sizeable number of mounts is confirmed by a report of 1582 which complained that the Chichimecs possessed more stolen horses than their proper owners were left with.[54]

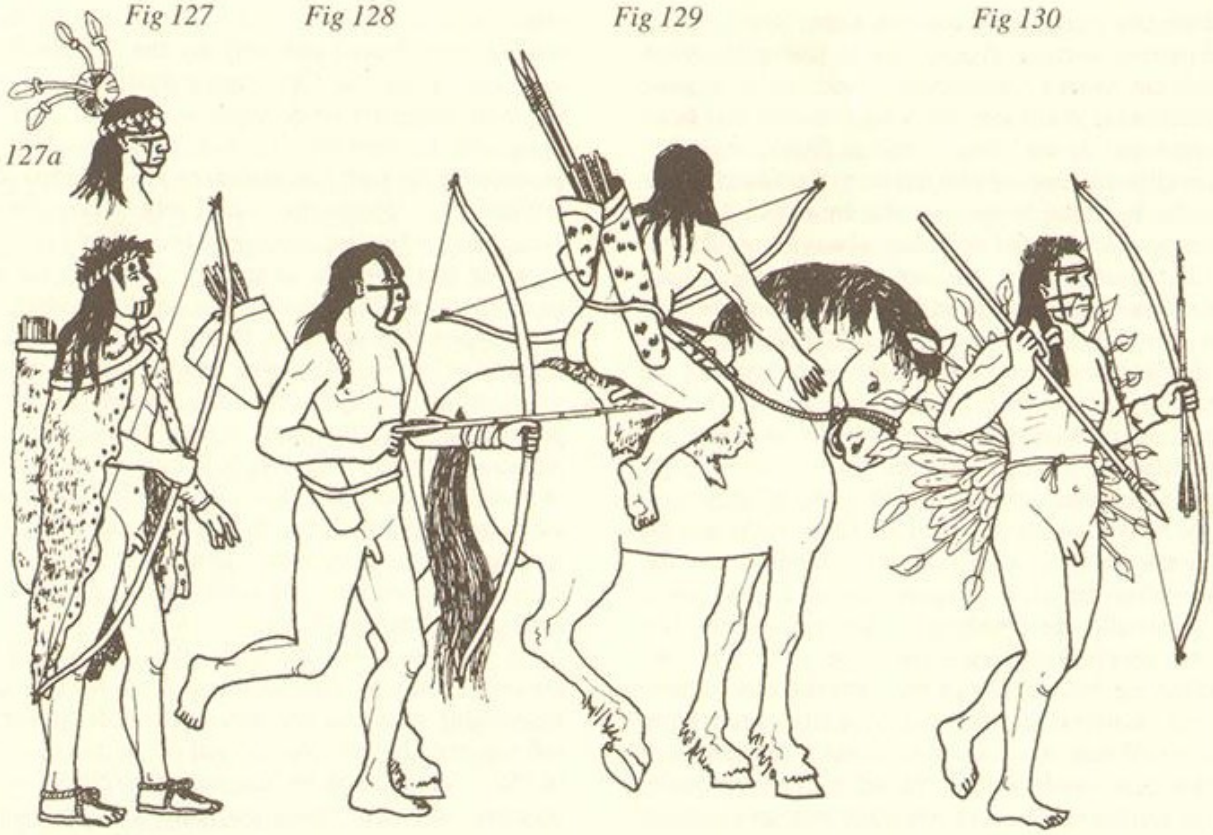
By their brutal treatment of captives the Chichimecs also earned a reputation for ferocity among Indians and Spaniards alike. They scalped their victims — preferably before killing them — and tortured and mutilated prisoners to death in a variety of unsavoury ways, including impalement and the cutting out of their hearts Aztec-fashion. All male captives were killed, and often the female captives too. Consequently Chichimecs were greatly feared not only by the Spaniards' Indian auxiliaries (who the Chichimecs held in great contempt for their adoption of Spanish ways), but even by the Spaniards themselves. They achieved such a morale ascendancy, in fact, that instances are recorded of 50–60 Indians — 'Mexicans' (probably Tlaxcaltecs) and Tarascans — fleeing from only four Chichimecs on one occasion and just two on another. There is even a report of as many as 25 *Spaniards* being defeated by just 13 Chichimecs. On occasion the Chichimecs even proved capable of wiping out small Spanish forces of up to 50 men. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that some previously peaceful and even Christianised Indians joined the Chichimecs simply to escape the risk of death at their hands, and more sided with them as their successes mounted in the 1570s and 1580s. Some mulattoes, *mestizos*, and fugitive Negro slaves also joined them (see the section on Cimaroons in the chapter on Spanish America).

From 1540 up until the 1580s, Chichimec prisoners taken by the Spaniards were usually enslaved for varying numbers of years, despite the government's official anti-slavery policy,[55] but on occasion — notably in 1561 — execution by hanging or burning was resorted to, along with mutilation, particularly by the amputation of a hand or foot. One captain ordered the thumb and first finger to be cut off the right hand of his prisoners so that they could not use a bow again.

The general appearance of Chichimecs can be gauged from Figures 127–130. Sahagún described them as 'strong, lean, hard, and very wiry, sinewy, powerful,' adding that 'they ran much'. The Spanish sources universally report them as being naked, and it is apparent that even where anything was worn — at most some sort of breechclout (which might be of leaves or furs or strips of hide), or a deerskin cloak — such clothing was discarded before going into action, 'for the effect', as Gonzalo de Las Casas puts it. Sandals of deerskin, yucca fibre, or palm leaves were occasionally worn, and a leather bracer on the left wrist. The Zacatecos also wore protective dog-skin coverings on the lower leg. Hair was worn long, parted in the middle, and could reach to the waist. It was occasionally braided. The Guachichile and Guamare dyed and painted their hair red, and most Chichimecs painted and tattooed their bodies and faces. Reptiles, ferocious beasts, wavy lines and other linear patterns prevailed, the colours employed being chiefly red, black and yellow. The only other decoration to be seen comprised a leather headband, feathers, and occasional necklaces and earrings. Those who submitted to Spanish rule were given the same Spanish-style clothes as are depicted in Figures 240 and 241, a few of their leaders even receiving saddles, swords, and sword-belts. Items of Spanish dress were probably worn by some Chichimec tribesmen even before submission since, other than food, clothes were the principal item of booty seized in their raids.

FIGURES

127. CHICHIMEC WARRIOR in a deerskin cape, from the *Mappa Quinatzin* of c.1542–48. Chichimec figures in the *Codex Kingsborough* (whence detail 127a) are very similar. Sahagún describes the capes of ordinary



warriors as of deer, coyote, grey fox, and squirrel, while those of leaders were lynx, jaguar, wolf, and puma. Some Chichimec leaders also wore a squirrel skin head-piece.

128 & 129. CHICHIMEC WARRIORS Based principally on figures sketched on various Spanish maps between 1550 and c.1580, these are probably Guachichiles or Guamares. The black facial decoration on Figures 127 and 128 is added from Spanish descriptions of Guachichile captives taken in 1575. Probably the style varied from individual to individual. Note the characteristic form of the arrow, made of cane or lechuguilla stalk with a hardwood foreshaft and a flint or fire-hardened head, often barbed. This type of arrow was typical of the tribes of Northern Mexico.

130. CHICHIMEC WARRIOR Though this figure from the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* is intended to represent a *Teul-Chichimec* of the Mixton War, his state of undress is actually more in keeping with the 'wild' Chichimecs. The feather standard on his back denotes that he is probably a leader. The *Relación de Michoacán* says that the Chichimecs' 'plumages for their backs' were of eagle feathers, and also mentions a 'flag' of white chicken feathers, while Sahagún refers to Chichimec leaders having a 'circular fan device of yellow parrot feathers', doubtless references to such back-standards as this. The facial markings are from the Aztec hieroglyph for 'Chichimeca'.

NOTES

53 Their name meant 'no', the answer they gave to most Spanish demands. See also note 50.

54 Not all their horses were obtained by theft. As early as 1579 it was reported that in the north of New Spain there were 'a very large number of horses and mares, so many that they live wild in the country, without owners'. It is no surprise, then, that by the end of the century most Indian tribes of Northern Mexico — with the possible exception of those of Sonora — had acquired at least a modest quantity of horses. Indeed, by 1608 it was reported of the Tepehuane that they no longer went anywhere on foot, 'all now customarily riding on horseback'.

55 By deliberately turning a blind eye to the enslavement of prisoners the authorities hoped to induce more Spanish colonists to enlist for military service.

NEW VIZCAYA AND NEW MEXICO

Spain's initial interest beyond the extreme northern frontier of its Mexican conquests had been fired by imaginative stories about large, silver-rich cities which reputedly lay somewhere in this direction, referred to by *Fray* Marcos de Niza — the principal source of these tales — as the 'seven cities of Cíbola'.[56] However, the expedition mounted to search for them in 1540–42 (300 Spaniards, 1,500 Indians, and 1,000 horses, along with 500 cattle and over 5,000 sheep), led by Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, discovered that the 'cities' were just a cluster of dusty pueblo villages between the Little Colorado and Rio Grande rivers, occupied by Zuni Indians. Unsurprisingly disillusioned, therefore, interest in further exploration here waned, and an ordinance of 1573 actually banned any further military expeditions into New Mexico.

It was the appearance of Sir Francis Drake in the Pacific in 1578–79, prompting Spanish fears that the English might have found the long-sought North-West Passage (they hadn't), which finally provided the impetus for renewed exploration northwards. This was spearheaded by the expeditions of Antonio de Espéjo (1582–83), Gaspar Castaño de Sosa (1590–91, who was arrested and brought back with his entire force for

illegally leading an expedition without a royal warrant), and Juan de Oñate (1598–99). Oñate's colonising expedition of some 400 men, 130 families and 7,000 cattle established San Juan de los Caballeros, the first *conquistador* settlement in New Mexico. Oñate himself was dishonourably removed from office as governor in 1609 following several atrocities against the Indians, notably at Acoma pueblo in 1599, where he mutilated several hundred prisoners by the removal of a hand or foot. Spain's hold on the area remained tenuous well into the next century, there being less than 50 soldiers and settlers in the whole of New Mexico in 1617.

It goes without saying that the Spaniards soon found themselves fighting the majority of the local tribes with whom they came into contact, including the Hopi, Keresan, Piro, Tano, Tewa, Tiwa, and Zuni. These are today classified as Pueblo Indians on account of their villages, which were square or oblong communal structures built of stone, adobe, and ash. Each comprised a cluster of at least ten or 12 adjoining buildings that were a minimum of two storeys tall and more usually three or four (Coronado in fact says three to five storeys, and other sources claim six to seven), the entire complex being succinctly described by Lowery (1901) as 'presenting to the eye the appearance of a gigantic flight of stairs … each step representing a storey, and the entire structure supported on three sides by a solid base.' There were no entrances or windows at ground level, individual houses being largely accessible only by movable ladders which led to openings in the virtually flat roof which topped off each storey and doubled as a terrace for the next. Once inside, doorways communicated with the neighbouring chambers, which were illuminated by narrow windows described in a Spanish description of 1540 as 'loopholes made sideways'. The ruins of many such pueblos can still be seen today. Their complicated, higgledy-piggledy construction enabled pueblo-dwelling Indians to put up a spirited defence when attacked, since even where the Spaniards succeeded in finding their way inside it was only to discover that each of the complex's individual modules had then to be fought over and captured separately. At least on some occasions Pueblo women participated in the defence of their villages, Gaspar Pérez de Villagrá (1610) recording the defenders of Acoma in 1599 to have included 'many maidens of surpassing beauty, stark naked'.

These villages were widely dispersed at intervals of from 20 up to 70 miles apart, and there appear to have been well over a hundred of them (Oñate names 134), with populations varying between 200 and 1,000. Each was governed by a council, which chose its own chief and, when necessary, a war-chief. Such warfare as took place before the Spaniards arrived consisted largely of defending themselves against the attentions of a new wave of what the Spaniards termed *ranchería* Indians (i.e. nomads), who reached this region at about the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century. Early Spanish sources tell us that the Pueblos called these raiders *apaches de nabahu* — 'enemies of the cultivated fields' — whence the names by which their tribes were subsequently known, Apache and Navaho, the first recorded Spanish use of the term 'Apache' occurring in 1599. They lived by hunting buffalo,[57] and prior to taking to horseback (which they had by c.1640) their nomadic life-style depended on large numbers of 'medium-sized woolly dogs' for the transport of their possessions from camp-site to camp-site. Each dog could pull a loaded travois weighing up to four *arrobas* (about 100 lbs/45 kg), or carry a load of 35–50 lbs (16–23 kg) on its back.

FIGURES

These are all reconstructions, based largely on 16th century Spanish descriptions and 17th–18th century pictures.

131. JUMANO WARRIOR The Spanish sources mention various Jumano tribes, principal of which appear to have been the Otomoacos or Cholomes, and the Abriaches or Julimes. One source describes both of these as 'Chichimecs', probably because, like the latter, they generally went naked except for an occasional buffalo-hide cape. They wore their hair cut very short except for the crown, where it was left 'two fingers long and curled

Fig 131 *Fig 132* *Fig 133* *Fig 134*

with minium paint in such a way that it resembles a small cap'; on the very top of the head they left a single long lock, to which were fastened feathers of 'white and dark birds such as geese, cranes and sparrow-hawks.' Their faces, arms and bodies were 'striped with neatly painted lines' (these were in fact tattoos, which from later sources we can surmise were coloured blue, red and white). Consequently they are frequently found referred to as *indios rayados* or 'striped Indians'. They were armed with spears, clubs, 'excellent shields of buffalo hide', and 'Turkish' — i.e. composite — bows, made of bone and horn glued and bound together.

132 & 133. PUEBLO WARRIORS These mostly wore their hair 'like the Mexicans', though some wore it long and shaggy. In battle they are described as being either naked, sometimes with the penis tied by a cord round the waist (in the same fashion as depicted in Figure 163), or wearing a long tanned leather or coloured cotton breechclout, occasionally fringed. Some tribes painted their bodies with stripes, the people of Acoma pueblo, for instance, being described in 1599 as painted 'with daubs and stripes of black, red, and white'. The Zuni, however, wore a coloured buffalo-hide 'jacket', said to provide 'good protection'; Villagrá may have had similar buffalo-hide costumes in mind when he described the Pueblo Indians defeated at Acoma as 'leaping from cliff to cliff ... dragging the long tails and horns of their costumes'. In peace-time most Pueblos wore a knee-length blanket of cotton, maguey, hareskin, deerskin, or feathers, fastened at the shoulder 'like the Mexicans'. These are said to have been decorated with 'many figures and colours'. The Piro also wore hand-painted and embroidered cotton shirts which even the Spaniards considered 'very pleasing'. Painted or dyed buffalo-hide and deerskin moccasins were worn in summer, and knee-length boots in winter. Some also wore close-fitting tanned deerskin caps, perforated with holes and decorated with feathers. Their weapons consisted of clubs 'half a *vara*' (17 ins/43 cm) long with a stone head secured by a thong, and sinew-backed bows firing fire-hardened arrows, with flint heads which could 'easily pierce' Spanish leather armour. Round and oval buffalo-hide shields were carried, and basketry armour, known to have existed at an earlier period, may still have been in use.

134. APACHE WARRIOR These are described as well-built. They wore a mantle, a small breechclout, and boot-like moccasins, all of buffalo-hide or deerskin, and had 'their bodies and faces all painted'. Their principal weapon was a 'very large' composite bow, firing arrows with 'long bone tips' or flint heads. Slings, clubs, and shields are also mentioned.

NOTES

56 The villages of the Zuni valley were known to the Indians as Shiwina, which *Fray* Marcos erroneously rendered as Cíbola.

57 The extent to which the nomads of New Vizcaya and New Mexico depended on buffaloes for their day-to-day existence is made patently clear by Gómara as early as 1542: 'Of them they eat, they drink, they clothe, they shoe themselves: and of their hides they make many things as houses, shoes, apparel and ropes: of their bones they make bodkins; of their sinews and hair, thread; of their horns, maws and bladders, vessels; of their dung, fire; and of their calves' skins, buckets, wherein they draw and keep water.'

South America 1500–1600

THE INCAS

During the second half of the 15th century the Quechua-speaking Incas, under their ruler Pachacutec Inca Yupanqui (1438–71), underwent an era of such rapid expansion that when the Spaniards arrived only 50 years after Pachacutec's death the Inca state encompassed a huge area that stretched almost the entire 3,500-mile length of the Andes. This included not just the western two-third of modern Peru[58] but also western Bolivia, most of Ecuador, a strip of north-western Argentina, northern Chile, and perhaps even a small portion of southern Colombia. By a mixture of flattery, threat and force, handreds of different tribes and cultures had been successfully accommodated within a single, integrated state under the Quechua ruler, the *Sapa Inca*. All alike were designated 'Incas' by subsequent historians, and their country has become known to posterity as 'the Inca Empire'; but to the Indians themselves it was simply Tawantinsuyu, 'the Land of the Four Quarters', in allusion to its division into the four major provinces or quarters of Antisuyu in the east, Cuntisuyu in the west, Chinchasuyu in the north, and Collasuyu in the south, all respectively named after one of the principal tribes living in those directions in relation to the country's capital, Cuzco. Each of these was administered by an *Apu*, usually a close relation of the *Sapa Inca*. The empire also contained four linguistic groups, composed of the Quechua themselves, the coastal Chimu, the Aymara to the south, and the Uru to the north, but under Inca domination all alike were obliged to speak Quechua.

The Inca empire reached its greatest extent under Huayna Cápac (1493–1527), and might have continued to expand but for the war of succession that broke out between his sons Huáscar and Atahualpa following his death. This bitter conflict was still in progress when the Spaniards — just 62 cavalrymen, 106 infantrymen, and a couple of small guns, under Francisco Pizarro — reached Inca territory in 1532, and was one of the factors that facilitated the *conquistadores*' subjugation of the country. Huáscar, the legitimate heir, was decisively defeated by his halfbrother's generals Quizquiz and Calcuchima at Ambato, Tomebamba, Cajabamba, and Cuzco in 1532, and, captured in the last of these engagements, he was later killed on Atahualpa's orders. Following the massacre of his unarmed escort during negotiations with Pizarro, Atahualpa himself was seized by the Spaniards in November 1532 while encamped at Cajamarca, and was executed in July 1533 despite having paid a ransom of staggering proportions to secure his liberty. After occupying Cuzco in November 1533, Pizarro then installed Huáscar's brother Manco Inca Yupanqui as a puppet Sapa Inca.[59] In 1534 Manco and his forces willingly joined with Pizarro's lieutenant, Diego de Almagro, in defeating the northern Inca army commanded by the last of Atahualpa's principal generals, Quizquiz.

Manco must have soon regretted his decision to side with the Spaniards, however, as their greed and depredations swiftly brought his empire to its knees. Eventually he fled from Cuzco and began a rebellion which resulted in the deaths of some 800 conquistadores. He laid siege to Cuzco itself in February 1536 with an alleged 50–100,000 warriors and 80,000 auxialiaries (other sources claim up to 200,000 or even more), but was unable to retake the city, even though its tiny garrison numbered just 190 Spaniards, 80 horses, and a few handred Indian auxiliaries. A separate army of 60,000 men sent against Lima received no support from the local population and was repulsed with heavy losses when it attempted to face up to Spanish cavalry on the coastal plains. Frustrated at every turn by the resolute defenders of Cuzco and its environs, and with elements of his army steadily deserting to the Spaniards, in March 1537 Manco finally raised his siege and retired into the mountainous province of Vilcabamba, straddling the frontiers of what are now eastern Peru and Bolivia, where, following the eventual collapse of his rebellion in 1539, he established what is today often referred to as 'the Neo-Inca Empire', with its capital at Viticos. Manco and his sons Sayri Túpac, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, and Túpac Amaru ruled in succession from here, waging desultory guerrilla warfare against the Spaniards and pacified Indians of Jauja and Huamanga for much of the time, until Viceroy Francisco de Toledo invaded Vilcabamba in 1572. Finding the frontier virtually unguarded (apparently in consequence of an epidemic that was raging through the Inca population), the Spaniards and their Cañari Indian allies swiftly overwhelmed what little opposition they encountered. The *Sapa Inca* Túpac Amaru was captured in flight by a detachment under Martín Garsía de Loyola, and his execution brought the Inca line to an end.[60]

Subsequent expansion from their Peruvian power-base took the Spaniards north, south and east. In the north, Diego de Almagro and Sebastián de Belalcázar fought their way to Quito in 1534, defeating Quizquiz's army en route. Almagro then returned to Peru while Belalcázar consolidated Spanish control of the region befor pushing on into Colombia (see the section on New Granada). At the opposite end of the country, the advance into what is now Chile brought the Spaniards into contact, and ceaseless conflict, with the Mapuche Indians (see the section on the Araucana). Exploration east of the Andes — into the Peruvian Montaña and its Bolivian equivalent, the Yunga — often with disastrous consequences, occured between 1532 and 1570, and a handful of scattered towns were established along the western edge of the Montaña after 1560. However, stiff opposition from the Chuncho (the generic name for the local forest tribes) had resulted in the abandonment of nearly all of these settlements by 1600.

ORGANISATION

The overall population of the Inca empire in the 16th century is unknown (it has been variously estimated at between two and ten million[61]), but that it could raise at least 100,000 men without putting any undue strain on its resources is apparent from the fact that three separate armies each of 30–40,000 men are credibly reported as being in the field in mid-1532, while later the same year Huáscar alone is said to have fielded 80,000 men, and Atahualpa's generals only slightly less. An estimated 35,000 men are said to have died at the civil war battle of Cajabamba, and 15–16,000 at Ambato.

Although during the closing stages of the empire's existence an unknown number of full-time soldiers had

begun to be raised, largely for frontier garrison duties, the majority of Inca warriors were invariably militiamen. Technically every able-bodied man between the ages of 25–50 (yonger if married, and occasionally up to the age of 60) was classified as an *auca camayo* or 'a person fit for war', liable for military service, but it was not usual for them all to be summoned at once. In practice a district provided a predetermined number of men to the army when called upon, larger numbers, or reinforcements, only being summoned when necessary. When the *caparisca* or call to arms went out these contingents would assemble either at Cuzco, or at some convenient point on the road if their lands lay along the army's anticipated line of march. This service was obligatory and the man were unpaid, the state providing their weapons, uniforms, and sustenance from the tribute it collected. Technically there was no time limit to the duration of such service but often troops served in rotation,[62] those remaining at home being required to till and keep their neighbours' fields during their absence. They were always led by their own chiefs in conjunction with a veteran Inca officer appointed by the state. Pascual de Andagoya wrote in the 1540s that their wives and children customarily accompanied them on the march, doubtless to carry their provisions, tents, and other necessities. He also states that Inca soldiers 'never entered a village [but] had their tents in the fields', a policy doubtless aimed at maintaining strict discipline.

Their principal arms were dictated by local preferences and expertise — the Anti and Chuncho used bows, for instance, the Huanca slings and spears, the Conchi darts, slings and bolas, and so on — but men within a contingent were always uniformly armed. In addition some effort was made to ensure that troops mobilised for a campaign were suited to the environment in which it was to take place (for example, sending troops from the hot coastal lands to fight in the thin air of the mountains was avoided), so more often than not the majority were drawn from the provinces adjacent to the area to be attacked. As well as eliminating the need to send armies tramping up and down the country this also provided a useful outlet for the animosity of recently-conquered frontier provinces, whose peoples tended to be the bitterest enemies of their neighbours anyway.

Inca society was organised on a decimal basis for administrative purposes, each of the country's four quarters being divided into smaller provinces of 10,000 households, those in turn into groups of 1,000 households, and so on. Inevitably, therefore, similar organisation was applied to the army. Unfortunately we do not know the names by which the various units were called,[63] only the titles of their commanders:

10 men	*Chuncacamayoc*
50 men	*Pichca chuncacamayoc*
100 men	*Pachaca camayoc*
1,000 men	*Huaranca camayoc*
2,500 men	*Apu*, assisted by an *apuratin*
5,000 men	*Hatun apu*, assisted by a *hatun apuratin*

Pedro de Cieza de León (1551) mentions units of 500 and 10,000 as well, the existence of which is certainly likely since similar units of householders existed in the civil administration, but we have no iformation regarding their officers. The lowest two ranks given, the *chuncacamayocs*, were usually held by local civilian officials called *camayocs*, who in all probability were responsible for the same men in their civilian lives. Their principal responsibilities included ensuring that their men were adequately provided with clothes, arms and supplies. On the march these needs were catered for by the existence of a sophisticated network of government storehouses (*colca*) and road-houses (*tambo*[64]), the latter being located at regular intervals (of 4–6 leagues or 'a day's journey' according to Spanish sources, i.e. about 12–18 miles) along the entire length of the country's 14,000-mile — some say 25,000-mile — network of roads.[65] Their maintenance was the responsibility of the local villages. Each was stocked with sufficient equipment and victuals to maintain the army on its march through Inca territory, so that the need to forage whilst in their own lands was eliminated; anyone who did so was therefore flogged or executed. Beyond the frontier, however, the army had to be accompanied by a massive support train comprising thousands of llamas, herders (at the rate of about one per 15–20 animals), and porters. For further details see the text describing Figures 151 and 152.

The army's elite units were provided by the Inca troops themselves, composed of the military contingents of the capital's two rival divisions of *Hanan* (Upper) and *Hurin* (Lower) Cuzco — meaning north and south respectively of the Urubamba River — which were competitive almost to the point of hostility, their men generally marching well apart and encamping at a distance.[66] Their soldiers were called *huaminca*, meaning 'veterans', and their two commanders were the *huaminca pusariquen apu*, 'the officers commanding the veterans'. The veterans received formal military training as part of their coming of age on reaching 14 or 15, being taught not the use of variors weapons but also how to manufacture such of them as did not require a smithy. They underwent numerous tests of courage and stamina, on successful completion of which they received assorted insignia denoting their status, including having their ears pierced, and being permitted to wear a breechclout, as well as being given the traditional Inca weapons of sling, mace and shield. It is doubtless such men that Francisco de Xerez (1534) was alluding to in his description of Atahualpa's army as comprising 'dextrous and experienced soldiers, who had served in it from boyhood.' It was from among these that the army's captains, the *aucakpussak*, were chosen, responsible for every military duty great and small, from commanding a patrol to providing basic training for provincial troops. Xerez described them leading their men 'with as much order as Turks'.

The highest military officer of the empire, the Aucacunap apu ('Chief of soldiers'), was invariably from Upper Cuzco, while the *Aucata yachachik apu* ('Chief in charge of organising the soldiers') was from Lower Cuzco. Other senior officers included the *Hinantin aucata suyuchak apu* ('Chief who assigns units to their proper place'), equivalent to a 16th century European Sergeant-Major, and the *Sericac* or Quartermaster. The commander of an army in the field was called an *Apusquipay*, assisted by an aide called an *Apusquiprantin*. The *Apusquipay* was usually an uncle, brother, or some other close relation of the *Sapa Inca*.

Though they were doubtless organised along identical lines, the Neo-Inca armies of Manco Inca Yupanqui and his sons were a mere shadow of their pre-Conquest counterparts. They had access to infinitely fewer men and, unsurprisingly, lacked the cohesion and morale of earlier Inca armies, desertions being commonplace. They

consequently appear to have depended heavily on contingents of Anti tribesmen.

HOUSEHOLD TROOPS

On the field of battle the *Sapa Inca* was carried in a litter (see Figure 153) among men called the *Auquicona*, made up of his nearest kin. These were usually accompanied in addition by the *Mancopchurincuzcos*, men of the royal *ayllus*[67] descended from earlier *Sapa Incas*; the noble *Ayllucuzcos*, or 'Incas by privilege'; and the *Yanancona*, the reigning *Sapa Inca*'s personal retainers. Some or all of these constituted part at least of the sizeable bodyguard for the *Sapa Inca* recorded by Spanish chroniclers. Garcilaso de la Vega (who lived in Peru until 1559) is doubtless exaggerating, as was his tendency, when he gives the total of these household troops in Huáscar's time (1525–32) as 10,000 men. More credible, perhaps, is the description of Atahualpa's tent in 1533 given by Xerez, who says it was surrounded by '400 Indians, who appeared to be a bodyguard', while the procession of 2,000 (some say 5–6,000) attendants and courtiers with him at his capture by Pizarro the same year included 300 archers and 1,000 spearmen. The spearmen were probably Cañari, while the archers are likely to have been Anti or Chuncho tribesmen. Manco Inca Yupanqui's murderers are recorded to have been overtaken and killed by Anti guards in 1545 (Manco is said to have had a total of 5,000 guardsmen), and 600–700 Anti were associated with the *Sapa Inca* Titu Cusi Yupanqui's household c.1565.

The Cañari were the first permanent bodyguard unit to be employed by the *Sapa Inca*, being taken on by Huayna Cápac — who was impressed by their courage and fighting abilities — towards the end of the 15th century, not very long after the conquest of Cañar by his father, Túpac Yupanqui (1471–93). The fact that it was deemed necessary to take on a guard at all, and the fact that it was a guard comprised of newly conquered foreigners to boot, are clear indications that by this stage in the empire's expansion an element of distrust had grown up between *Sapa Inca* and his nobility. Early signs of this had already been made apparent by Huayna Cápac's heavy dependence on non-Quechua commanders and troops in his conquest of Ecuador, and appears to have been justified by the fact that, during the fighting against the Caranqui people of Quito, Huayna's traditional wartime bodyguard of Cuzco nobility had abandoned him when he was overthrown from his litter (the *Yanancona* rescued him). Huayna subsequently underlined his distrust by moving his court away from Cuzco to Tomebamba in the Cañari's own Ecuadorian homeland, a decision which, however, may also have been influenced by a desire to create an independent or semi-independent state for his favourite illegitimate son Atahualpa, who accompanied him to Tomebamba while the legitimate heir Huáscar was raised in Cuzco (this being the root of the civil war between the half-brothers in 1527–32). Despite the favour that Huayna had shown them, however, the Cañari remained loyal to Huáscar, as the legitimate heir, rather than to Huayna's favourite, Atahualpa. As a result Atahualpa's forces, driving south from Quito in 1532, utterly destroyed Tomebamba and attempted to wipe out the male Cañari population, Agustín de Zárate (1555) claiming that 60,000 were killed while Hernando Pablos (1582) states that 'all the Cañari died, so that of the 50,000 there had been, no more than 3,000 remained'. Unsurprisingly, therefore, the survivors were amongst the first to ally themselves to the Spaniards when the Conquest began — which makes it doubly ironic that they should end up providing the very last body of guards for a *Sapa Inca*, when 400 of those in Spanish service escorted Huayna's grandson Túpac Amaru to his execution in Cuzco in 1572.

EXTENDING THE FRONTIER

The growth of the Inca empire was achieved by what has been described as 'carrot and stick' diplomacy, which involved sending ambassadors to areas the Incas intended to conquer, whose job it was to point out to the enemy all the advantages of voluntarily becoming part of the Inca domain. Only if this well-rehearsed cajoling failed to bring about peaceful submission would the Incas attack, but once they did the outcome was virtually inevitable. From Pachacutec's time on each newly conquered province was stabilised by troublesome elements of the population being transferred to other regions, while colonies from established provinces were resettled in the resultant vacant or unoccupied lands. Such colonists, moving either way, were called *mita-kona* (subsequently usually Hispanicized as *mitimaes*). In addition roads were constructed, and fortresses, ranging in strength and complexity from entrenched camps to circular stone strongholds with up to four concentric walls, were built along the new frontier, the garrisons of which were maintained by provisions drawn from the new province. These garrison troops were employed on a permanent basis, receiving gifts of food, clothes, women, and gold and silver bracelets from the government in payment for their service, the award of a woman each — introduced under Túpac Yupanqui — being 'to encourage an increase in the population'. Such full-time soldiers were initially recruited amongst the Aymara, but after the 1490s they were instead drawn predominantly from amongst the Cañari. As well as on the frontiers, some regulars were to be found in Cuzco, whence Huáscar is recorded to have mustered 2,000 prior to the Battle of Ambato in 1532.

WARFARE

In the absence of contemporary sources (the Incas had no written alphabet[68]) particulars regarding the state of Inca warfare in the pre-Conquest period are virtually non-existent; nor can much be extrapolated from later, largely Spanish accounts. All we really know of their battlefield tactics is that the Incas favoured a direct thrust at the location of the enemy's commander and/or chief idol. This was often launched by only one element — usually a third — of the army, while the remainder were either held back as a reserve, waiting for the critical moment when the enemy had spent his strength before joining the attack, or were sent to launch flank attacks on the enemy while he was still fully engaged to his front. Reserves were also used to cover the army's retreat if the main attack met with stiff opposition. The attack itself was led by slingers (firing shot the size of a hen's egg according to Francisco de Xerez), followed by archers and then javelinmen, to soften up the enemy before the two armies

came to hand-blows. They even fired the scrub round strong enemy positions on occasion, thereby laying down a smoke-screen to conceal their own movements while at the same time obliging the enemy to shift his ground. In attacks on towns, heated slingshot might be used to set fire to thatched roofs (as during the siege of Spanish-held Cuzco in 1536–37).

When the fighting took place in the mountains its climax tended to be the storming of an enemy fortified town or fortress (*pucara*), an operation which was apparently an Inca speciality — Xerez observed that 'only a thousand of them sufficed to assault a town of that land, though it were garrisoned with 20,000'. Sometimes huge, rectangular padded cotton shields were used to cover troops making the assault, each big enough, according to Pedro Pizarro (1571), to shelter 100 men 'as though under a mantle'.

Inevitably the arrival of the Spaniards resulted in tactical changes, but these were largely of a defensive nature prompted by the effectiveness of Spanish cavalry. Alonso de Guzmán recorded that the Incas 'adopted the trick of digging large numbers of great holes in which they set stakes, and which they concealed with earth and straw. Horses often fell into them, and the rider was generally killed.' Smaller, hoof-sized holes were also utilised, and were generally more effective since they were considerably easier to conceal. Another ploy, utilised repeatedly in Manco Inca Yupanqui's revolt, was to let the Spaniards enter a narrow defile which had been blocked with rock part-way along, and then, when they reached the obstruction, shoot at them from cover with slings and arrows and hurl 'so many stones and boulders down on them from the slopes that they killed almost all of them without having to come to close quarters.' Zárate records that they wiped out several troops of up to 80–90 cavalry in this way, capturing their arms and an occasional horse as a result. Allusions to Inca horsemen are rare, but Manco and three other chieftains are recorded to have charged on horseback with lances during a skirmish between 80 Incas and 30 Spanish foot-soldiers in 1537.[69] Individual Spanish cavalrymen who had their horses killed beneath them, or were cut off and isolated during a melee, were sometimes pulled down and clubbed to death, but since they rarely went into action alone there was normally a companion close at hand to rescue them.

There are numerous references to captured Spanish armaments already being in use among the Incas as early as Manco's reign. At the siege of Cuzco, for instance, one captain is recorded who 'carried a buckler on his arm, a sword in one hand and a battle-axe in the shield-hand, and wore on his head a Spanish morion', while at the Battle of Ollantaytambo, fought during the same siege, a Spaniard observed that some of the Incas made an impressive sight, armed 'with Castilian swords, bucklers, and morions'. Though such instances may have been the exception rather than the norm, Manco's son Titu Cusi (who reigned c.1558–71) is reported to have customarily worn a Spanish sword and to have regularly practised duelling with his *mestizo* secretary. The discovery of a cache of 800 pikes and 2,000 pike-staves in 1565 in preparation for a rebellion is also sometimes mentioned as an indication that the Incas were beginning to learn from Spanish example, but it should be remembered that when Pizarro arrived in the country the Incas were already using spears allegedly 30 *palmos* long (over 21 ft/6.4 m), though there is no indication that they ever learnt how to employ them against horsemen. It seems likely that the only reason the pikes of 1565 excited comment was that they were evidence of a well-organised Inca conspiracy to re-arm themselves for war.

Unlike the Aztecs, who threw captured Spanish firearms into Lake Texcoco, or the Tarascans, who offered them up to their gods, the Incas tried to utilise whatever arquebuses and culverins they could lay their hands on, forcing their Spanish prisoners to make powder for them. In Manco's rebellion, however, their lack of familiarity with such weapons meant that on the whole they were singularly ineffective. Pedro Pizarro wrote that 'since they did not know how to ram the arquebus they could do no damage. They left the ball close to the end of the muzzle, and therefore it dropped to the ground when it came out.' However, some 20 years later Lope García de Castro (governor of Peru 1564–69) found that the situation had changed in the interval, giving him cause to complain that 'there has been much carelessness in this kingdom. The Indians have been allowed to have horses, mares, and arquebuses, and many of them know how to ride and to shoot an arquebus very well.' Doubtless arms in the possession of nominally pacified Indians had already found their way into the hands of the unconquered Incas of Vilcabamba long before Castro issued instructions for all horses and Spanish weapons to be confiscated from the natives. Certainly in 1565 Titu Cusi showed a Spanish envoy 25 arquebuses held in the arsenal of a single 'fortified hilltop house' near Bambacona, which may indicate that there were many more elsewhere; or perhaps that is exactly what it was hoped the envoy would believe.

One last aspect of their warfare that should be noted is that, unlike the Aztecs, the Incas were not hampered by the need to take prisoners to fulfil any sort of religious obligation.[70] Consequently they went into battle with the sole intention of killing the enemy. Inca battles could therefore be, and apparently often were, extremely sanguinary affairs, after which necklaces were made from the teeth of the enemy dead, flutes were made from their shin-bones, and human-shaped drums were made of the flayed skins of their commanders. However, mercy tended to be shown towards captives; though some of their commanders might still be executed, others were generally allowed their freedom, as too were common warriors. After all, the empire could do little with depopulated wastelands and preferred to win the defeated enemy over by a show of calculated kindness. The speed of the empire's growth indicates that this policy was surprisingly effective.

TRIBAL INSIGNIA

Most provinces of the empire either adopted Inca dress voluntarily or were obliged to do so following their conquest — we know, for instance, that prior to their subjugation in the late-15th century the Cañari 'went scantily clad and almost naked', most wearing only a breechclout, whereas by the time the *conquistadores* arrived they wore the characteristic Inca shirt. However, from a very early date (Fernando Montesinos and Sarmiento de Gamboa thought from the reign of Inti Cápac Yupanqui, in about the 13th century) every tribe in

every province was required to wear some form of distinctive device so that they might be distinguished from one another when they travelled or when they assembled for war. Some of these insignia involved 'different stripes and colours' in their clothes, but on the whole men displayed their most distinctive device in their head-dress and/or hair-style. 'They differ in their headgear according to the fashion of each country,' wrote Zárate in 1555. 'Some wear woollen plaits, others a single woollen cord and others many cords of different colours. Everyone wears something on his head.' The custom was obligatory. Bernabé Cobo (living in Colombia and Peru 1596–1629) records that it was illegal to 'go around without this identification or to exchange their insignia for that of another nation', Túpac Yupanqui ordaining that infractions of this law should be punished by '100 strokes of the lash'. Joseph de Acosta (1588) adds that a man could not abandon the tribal insignia of his home province even if he went to live in another. The practice was still widespread even in the late-16th century, but Cobo, who lived in Peru in 1609–13, remarked that in his time 'these insignias are used by only a few, because the Indians are adopting the use of our hats', which is confirmed by the pictures of Felipe Huamán Poma de Ayala, published at much the same date.

On the whole the tribes simply kept whatever form of headwear was traditional among them, the only difference being that it was thereafter compulsory. On occasion, however, a style of head-dress had to be adjusted or invented to suit the Inca administration. Garcilaso de la Vega recorded that when the territory of the Huanca was conquered by Pachacutec Inca Yupanqui in the mid-15th century it was too large to be conveniently governed as a single province. It was therefore divided into three separate provinces, and the *Sapa Inca* ordained 'that their head-dress, which was the same throughout the entire Huanca nation, should be of a different colour in each of the three provinces, at the same time that its form remained unchanged.'

That such insignia were worn even in battle is confirmed by Cobo, who wrote that 'each group could be easily identified by the general and the other field officers and in battle it was impossible for the tribe showing the most valour to be overlooked.' This also implies that the use of helmets was not widespread, which Poma de Ayala's pictures again confirm, showing them being worn principally by the troops of Cuzco (though a few are also worn by Colla and Chincha warriors).

A number of different head-dresses can be seen in Figures 138–154, but details of others are to be found in the works of numerous Spanish chroniclers, notably Pedro de Cieza de León, Pedro Pizarro, Garcilaso de la Vega, and Bernabé Cobo, and these are listed below. Though not always particularly precise, their descriptions are nevertheless of considerable value:

Tribe/locale	*Head-dress*
Adaguaylas	'Wrapped around their heads woollen cords that came down under the chin.'
Bonbon	Red and yellow ribbons round the head, and long hair.
Cajamarca	Long hair 'tied with a sling' according to Cobo, but Cieza de León says tied with 'narrow cords in the manner of a fillet', which Pizarro describes as red.
Canchi	'Black fillet round the head, the ends of which hang down as low as the chin'. Elsewhere Cieza de León describes the fillet as wide, and red or black.
Chachapoya	A 'certain fringe' according to Cieza de León, but a sling according to de la Vega. Pizarro says their heads were 'partly shorn'.
Chanca	Long hair 'plaited into many very small plaits, with some woollen cords which are allowed to fall below the chin.'
Conchuco	'Peculiar head-dress of cords', and 'distinguishing cords or fringes'.
Cuzco	A black woollen braid called a *llauto*, a finger wide and wrapped round the head four or five times (see Figure 138).
Guaylas	'Wear their hair long, and they have on their heads certain wreaths which they call *pillos*, as well as very white slings wound about the head.'
Huacrachucu	'A black woollen cord with white speckles, surmounted by the tip of a deer's horn'.
Huamachuco	'Like that of Cajamarca'.
Huanca	Hair was plaited and 'wound in the manner of a fillet round the head and neatly trimmed.' Also a red fillet, which Cieza de León describes as 'about four fingers broad' and hanging as low as the chin.
Jauja	As the Huanca, but the fillet black.
Ríobamba	A 'band round the head', the hair very long and plaited into small tails.

These represent only a fraction of the total number of styles that must have been in use during this century (Joseph de Acosta says, doubtless with considerable exaggeration, that there were 'a thousand other differences'). Nevertheless, one notable feature of all those which are known is that, with the exception of the Colla and Cana (see Figures 140 and 141) and the coastal Indians of the old Chimu kingdom, every one of them involves a headband. Cobo, for instance, noted that 'the majority of them were made of cords or braids with many twists', distinguished 'by the fact that some were of wool others of cabuya (which is their hemp), some thinner than others, and some of one colour while others were another'.

FIGURES

Unless otherwise stated, all of the figures in this section are based on Poma de Ayala's drawings conceived and executed between 1584–1613, the accuracy of which is confirmed by surviving Inca pottery and artefacts.

135 & 136. INCA SPEARMEN Basic Inca costume as worn throughout most of the empire comprised a breechclout, a sleeveless, shapeless shirt (the *uncu*), sandals (or moccasins among the Aymara), and a brown woollen *yacolla* or mantle. The last item, though not normally worn in action, was sometimes wrapped round the body several times in place of armour, or round the left arm in place of a shield (see Figure 144), which is the likely explanation of Xerez's reference to 'sleeves with many folds of cotton' over which he says Inca spearmen

Fig 135 Fig 136 Fig 137 Fig 138

'worked their lances'. A common way of wearing the mantle which left both arms free can be clearly seen in Figure 153. The *uncu*, or *cushma*, was basically rectangular in form, surviving examples having a width to length ratio of about 7:9. It was about 30 ins (76 cm) wide, reached to just above the knee in most provinces, and had slits for the head and arms. All Inca clothes were made mostly of alpaca or llama wool (or vicuna wool in the case of the *Sapa Inca* himself and those he honoured with the privilege), though cotton was used in the hotter coastal regions. The cloth took three forms: an uncoloured coarse-weave called *aucasa*, used by soldiers and commoners; a finer weave of coloured and decorated cloth called *compi*, used by officers and chieftains; and a very fine weave used by the royal Inca *ayllus*.

The soles of their sandals were most often of untanned leather (which meant they had to be abandoned in wet weather), but might also be of aloe-fibre or, to a lesser extent, of wool. The uppers consisted of brightly-coloured braided woollen cord. The Incas actually introduced sandals to some places (parts of Ecuador, for example), while Cieza de León says that they tried to ban leather sandals in conquered provinces in place of aloe-fibre ones. Either way, Blas Valera considered typical Inca dress to include bare feet, which suggests that footwear was perhaps not as common as other sources imply.

Figure 136 is taken largely from the decoration of a 15th century lacquered goblet, which depicts his helmet and its crest as both being red, his tunic as being brown with red panels and hem, and his shield as being green at top and bottom and red in the middle, with black lines and a white apron. The shields depicted in details 136a and b are from other Poma de Ayala drawings. For details of Inca shields see the text describing Figure 141.

137. INCA HALBERDIER The clothes of soldiers were issued by the state, and from scattered references it seems that they were genuine uniforms, in different colours according to unit. Spanish sources mention that at Atahualpa's capture in 1532 his escort included one unit wearing a red and white check uniform, and there were other units 'in different liveries'. The Incas used most colours, especially crimson, blue, green, brown, grey, white and black. The use of check patterns — either of plain colours or of squares bearing repeated devices — was the most popular form of decoration, resulting in such names for shirts as *kasanaa uncu* ('shirt with a chequered pattern') and *ahuaqui uncu* ('chequered shirt as a corselet', in Spanish a *camiseta ajedrezada* or *como coraza*). The latter term confirms that the quilted body-armour often referred to in the sources was of exactly the same cut and appearance as the civilian shirt. A surviving fragment of such padded armour comprises two layers of brown cloth with a padding of cotton between them that was once about 2 ins (5 cm) thick, stitched together with coarse thread knotted on one surface at intervals of about 1½ ins (38 mm). For additional protection warriors sometimes wore *canipu*, metal plates about 6 ins (15 cm) in diameter which were often worn on both breast and back; these are said to have been a form of military award, and were of copper, silver, or gold depending on the status of the individual. Cobo, writing much later, mentions that a round shield of chonta-palm wood and cotton might also be carried on the back.

Inca helmets are described in Spanish sources as being of quilted cotton and wood or plaited cane, 'which could not be stronger if they were of iron'; Pedro Pizarro describes them as 'so strong that no stone nor blow could penetrate them'. On Peruvian pottery and in Poma de Ayala's pictures alike they invariably have a transverse feather crest from ear to ear with, usually, a plume in the middle. The small badge on the front indicates that Figure 137 is from Upper Cuzco, while Figure 135 is from Lower Cuzco. Ayala's drawings also show a few helmets bearing the horseshoe-shaped badge of the Chincha or the crescent badge of the Colla. The weapon carried here is a *yauri*, described by de la Vega as 'a sort of halberd, finished on one side with a sharp point and on

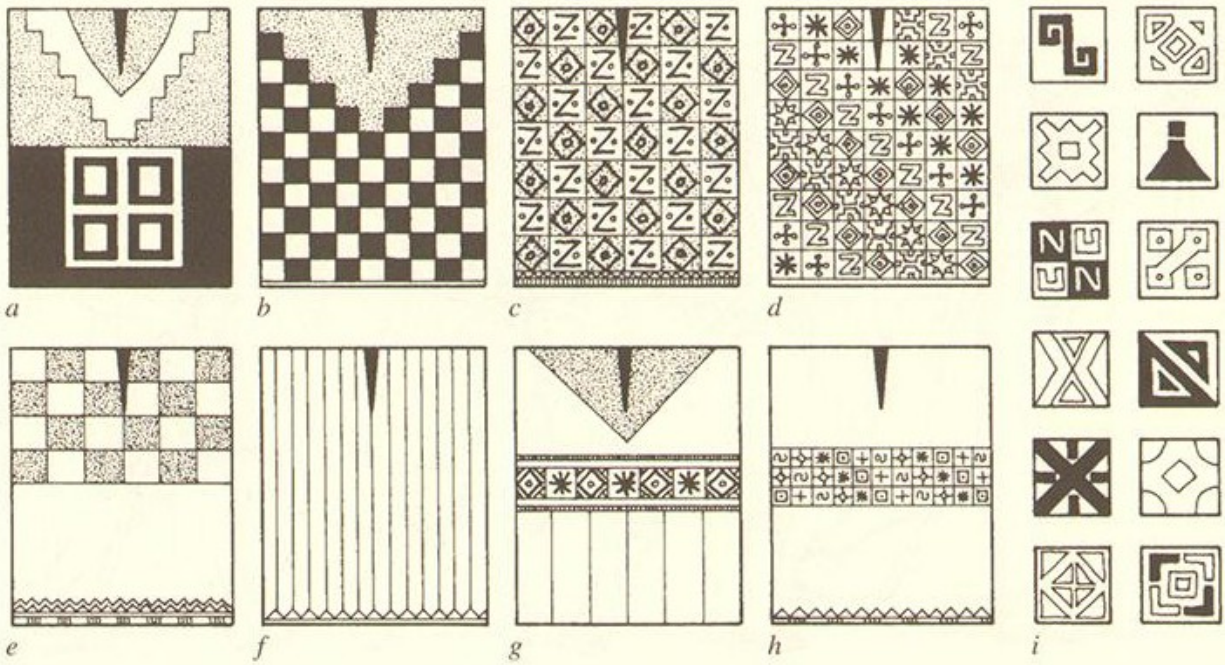
the other by a keen-edged blade.' It was normally of copper or bronze, but some used by high-ranking noblemen were silver or even gold.

138. INCA SLINGER armed with the traditional Inca weapon-combination of sling (*huaraca*), mace (*champi*) and shield. The sling — of wool, leather or cabuya fibre — was used by every rank of society, from *Sapa Inca* to the lowliest commoner (though only the *Sapa Inca* used slingshot of gold!). Alonso Enriquez de Guzmán wrote in 1543 that it was their principal weapon. 'With it,' he observed, 'they can hurl a huge stone with such force that it could kill a horse. Indeed, its effect is not much less than that of an arquebus. I have seen a stone thrown from a sling at 30 paces break in two a sword that a man was holding in his hand.' When not in use the sling itself, measuring between 7–24 ins (18–61 cm) when doubled for use, was tied round the head or waist. The mace had a wooden staff of somewhat over 30 ins (76 cm), and a star-shaped head of stone, bronze, copper, silver, or even gold, with five to eight lobes (usually six), each 'as thick as a man's thumb'. The longest-handled variety, called a *rompecabeza* by the Spaniards, was wielded two-handed. Note the bag or *chuspa* suspended from his shoulder. This was used to carry slingstones in war, and small tools, amulets, coca, etc., in peacetime.

139. INCA *UNCU* PATTERNS The decoration of *uncu* sometimes consisted of no more than fine vertical stripes, or one or more coloured panels, but more often it comprised a V-shaped or stepped collar (*ahuaqui*) and a geometrically-patterned, chequered band round the waist. Figures 139a and b are surviving examples, while those depicted in c–h are from Poma de Ayala's drawings. Figure 139a has a red upper half with a yellow stepped collar, and a black skirt with a yellow panel decorated with four black squares; Figure 139b has a black and white check pattern and a red collar. Figure 139c is described in Poma's text as being chequered in green and orange on the upper half and blue and white on the lower half. Note its *tucapu*, or patterned squares, which were a characteristic feature of Inca costume. These bore a myriad of different symbols or geometric patterns, which were repeated diagonally across the chequered portion of the shirt. Figure 139d is an example of a royal *uncu*, in which the entire surface of the shirt is decorated with *tucapu*; Poma de Ayala depicts such tunics being worn by several different *Sapa Inca*, including Túpac Amaru at his capture in 1572. The details at far right are just a handful of examples of *tucapu*. On the evidence of surviving *uncu* it would appear that the principal colours utilised in *tucapu* were red, black, yellow, and white.

140. COLLA WARRIOR His distinctive insignia comprises a cone-shaped black woollen cap, called a *chukka*, with a crescent badge on the front. Cieza de León tells us that this tribe deformed their skulls so that they were elongated, and flattened behind, Cobo pointing out that their hats had to be cone-shaped 'because they shaped their heads that way'. There were inevitably variations of this hat — those of the Cana (see next figure) were wider and more rounded, and *Relaciónes Geograficas* tell us that those of the La Paz district were pointed while in nearby Pacajes they were yellow. Pedro Pizarro noted that the neighbouring Carniga, Aullaga and Quillaca also wore such hats, but in different colours. The striping of his *uncu*, dividing it into four vertical panels front and back, is characteristic of all the Colla depicted in Poma de Ayala's drawings. Note his footwear: being of an Aymara tribe he wears moccasins (*hisscu*) in place of the usual sandals. Some, however, went barefoot. Though limited use was made of bows and spears, the characteristic weapons of all the Aymara tribes were slings, stone-headed clubs (*porras*) of various lengths, and bolas. In particular the Collas specialised in the use of the bolas (*ayllo* or *ayllu*), made of usually two but occasionally up to five fist-sized stone, copper, or wooden weights wrapped in rawhide and attached to 18-inch (46 cm) cords. This could bring down a charging horse by entangling its legs, and is recorded to have been used against Spanish cavalry during Manco's rebellion, albeit with minimal effect. The type of spear shown here,

Fig 139



the *llaca*, had a border described by de la Vega as comprising 'multi-coloured feathers that ran through gold rings from the blade to the end of the shaft'.

141. CANA WARRIOR The crested spear he carries is another variety that recurs throughout Poma de Ayala's pictures. His shield (*polcanca*) is of the standard Inca type — square, of wooden rods covered with leather, matting, or metal, and framed by an apron of cloth or occasionally feathers. The largely geometric devices painted on them have been described as heraldic by some modern authorities, but if there were any rules governing their use these have yet to be discovered. The apron is most often white in Spanish paintings but is sometimes described as being coloured. Probably this sort of shield was 'government issue' and was in the process of replacing other indigenous varieties when the Spaniards arrived. Certainly Pedro Sancho (1534) mentions 'oval shields made of leather', while round shields (*huallcanca*) had generally been used in the Chimu zone prior to its conquest by Pachacutec Inca Yupanqui. In the 1560s Diego Rodriguez describes Inca shields being of 'silver, or leather, or of feathers', but the troops he saw were predominantly Anti tribesmen of the Neo-Inca Empire. Note that the waistband of the Cana *uncu* did not consist of the usual patterned squares characteristic of Quechua shirts.

142. CHARCA WARRIOR Pedro Pizarro describes the Charca wearing their hair 'caught up and bound with little nets round it made of cords of coloured wool, and having a cord which passes under the chin', but Poma de Ayala's picture seems to show just a headband. Simple headbands occur as a form of official head-dress throughout the Peruvian highlands, especially north of the Aymara area, and occur in many of the *Relaciónes Geograficas* of the second half of the century. In Quito they were called *pillos*, and were described as being round and about an inch thick. Various areas record them as grey and white, black, and red. His weapon is the Peruvian equivalent of the macana, which was about 4 ft (1.2 m) long and 4 ins (10 cm) wide at the tip, tapering to a handgrip ending in a pommel. Wielded two-handed, it was made of black chonta-wood 'so smooth and sharp that it cut as if it was of steel'.

143. CANARI WARRIOR The Cañari consisted of a loose confederation of individual, largely independent tribes. They wore their hair very long by Inca standards, and knotted some of it at the front of the head. Several sources call their head-dress a 'crown', which Cieza de León describes as made of 'thin wands, as fine as those of a sieve'. However, de la Vega says that only nobles wore this (he says it was 'a perforated hoop, about three fingers high in the middle, through which coloured skeins were passed') and that commoners instead wore a similarly perforated hoop made from a calabash rind, whence the Cañari were nicknamed 'Gourd-heads' (*Matiuma*). Note the distinctive copper, silver, or gold rings through ears and nose; the nose-ring earned a related tribe the nickname of *Quillacaña* ('metal-noses').

Whenever Cañari are mentioned in Spanish texts they are always referred to as spearmen, and it is with spears that Poma de Ayala arms the Cañari in his only picture of them. These were of palmwood and appear to have usually been about 6–7 ft (1.8–2.1 m) long, with heads of bronze, copper, stone, or fire-hardened wood. Some Inca spears were longer — at least two 16th century Spanish writers record spears 30 *palmos* long (over 21 ft/6.4 m) — but there are no references to such weapons being used in battle. They were possibly adopted under Spanish influence. All Inca spearmen usually carried either a mace, club, or macana as secondary armament. Other Cañari weapons included spear-throwers, slings, and copper or stone axes.

144. CUNTI WARRIOR These were another Aymara tribe — note the moccasins and the same pattern of striped *uncu* as worn by Figure 140. He has wrapped his mantle round his left forearm to substitute for the lack of a shield.

Fig 140 *Fig 141* *Fig 142* *Fig 143*

145–147. FOREST TRIBESMEN Archers in 16th century Inca armies were invariably provided by forest Indians, particularly the Anti and Chuncho. Primitive by Inca standards, they remained cannibals even after conquest[71] and seem to have escaped the clothing strictures that prevailed elsewhere in the empire, only a few tribes living on the immediate borders of the Inca domain being known to have adopted Inca costume. Based on Poma de Ayala's drawings, Figures 145 and 146 are Anti. The chieftain wears colourful crests of feathers on his back and on his jaguar-skin headband, plus a feather covering that Poma de Ayala probably intends to represent feathers stuck all over the body, a common practice amongst numerous South American tribes. The loincloth worn by Figure 146 is likely to have been adopted quite late, under Inca or even Spanish influence. In the original drawings both these Anti warriors also wear long woollen knee-tassels like those of Figure 148, but they appear to have formed part of their festive rather than everyday attire. Diego Rodriguez recorded that the Anti he saw in Neo-Inca service c.1565 were armed with bows, clubs, and axes, and 'advanced in good order'. Poma de Ayala depicts their bows as being rather small, but it is more likely that they measured at least 5–6 ft (1.5–1.8 m). Indeed, the bows of some forest tribes in this region averaged 6½–8 ft (2–2.4 m). Significantly, however, contemporary chronicles indicate that Inca archery was not particularly effective against Spanish armour, even where this consisted of cotton corselets. Only men unfortunate enough to be struck in the face suffered serious wounds.

Figure 147 is a reconstruction of a typical Chuncho warrior, based on the observations of numerous 16th century eye-witnesses. All Chuncho were armed with spear-thrower or bow, and clubs were also in widespread use. Wood, leather, or basketry shields were used by most tribes except those of Arawakan origin. Garcilaso de la Vega describes Chuncho warriors' chonta-wood bows as being 'the common weapons among all the tribes of the Antis'. He says that the Chuncho wore a breechclout plus a head-dress of parrot and macaw feathers (therefore much the same basic costume as that of the previous two figures), while other sources tell us that many tribes simply tied the penis up or down with a piece of string. Many Chuncho also painted their faces, arms and legs red, smearing the torso 'with different colours'. The Muzu (or Mojo), whom the Incas fought in Bolivia, are similarly described as being 'painted red', while the Pasaus they fought in Ecuador 'painted their faces in quarters of four different colours: yellow, blue, red and black'. Battle-pictures on 15th–16th century Inca lacquered wooden cups similarly demonstrate that forest Indians were customarily painted, in contrast to the Incas, who are shown with unadorned faces. Certainly the Incas had once used war-paint too (Acosta wrote that in the past they used to put red paint on the face and body), but by the time de la Vega wrote paint was considered only fit for women and barbarians. Nevertheless, the fact that in 1532 the arsenals of Cuzco contained 'many colours, blue, yellow, brown and many others for painting' may be an indication that war-paint had only recently gone out of use. Certainly 16th century Spanish writers never refer to the highland Incas being painted, though they used the word often enough when describing other Indians.

148 & 149. CHINCHA WARRIORS wearing their own distinctive pattern of *uncu*. That of the chieftain depicted in Figure 148 is decorated with *flecos*, or coloured woollen tassels. He wears in addition an ornate feather ruff and long knee-tassels, neither of which were worn in combat.

150. CHIMUR WARRIOR This figure of an Indian from the coastal lands of the old Chimu kingdom (conquered by the Incas in 1466) is based on 15th century pottery and figurines, Spanish sources confirming that their characteristic dress remained unchanged in the 16th century. This comprised bare feet, a breechclout, a sleeveless cotton shirt reaching only to the hips, and a sort

Fig 144 *Fig 145* *Fig 146* *Fig 147*

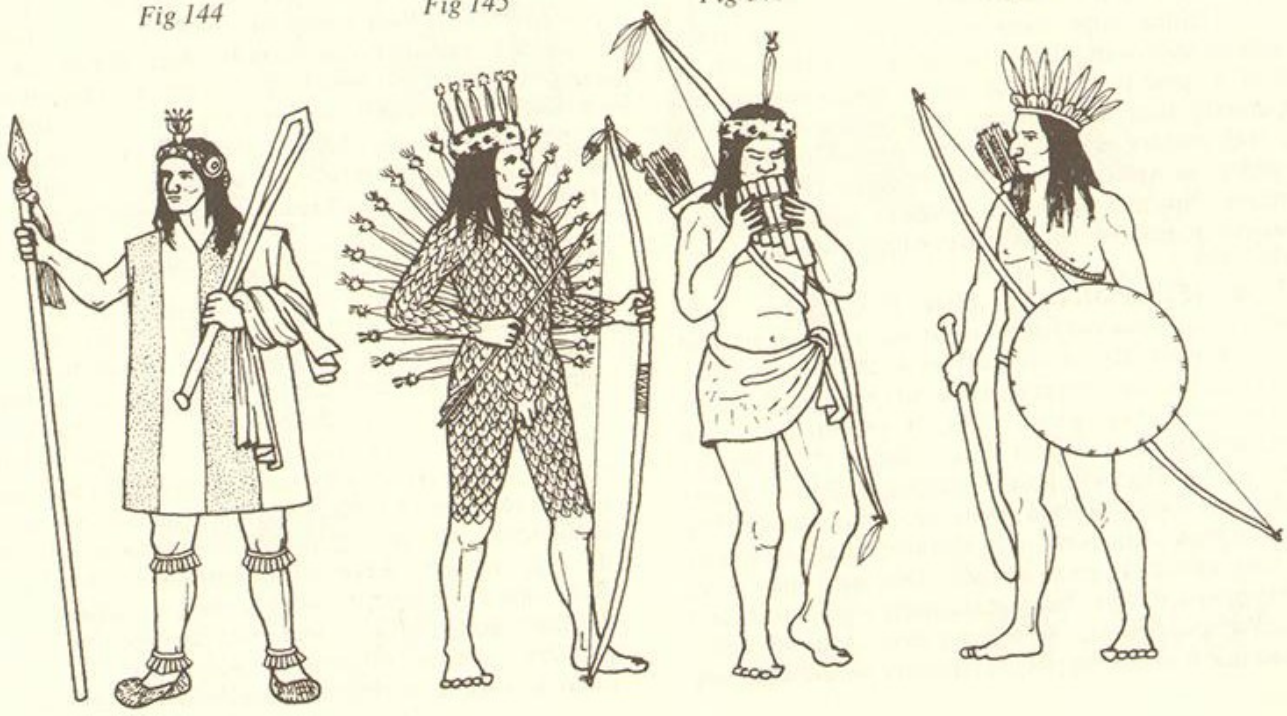
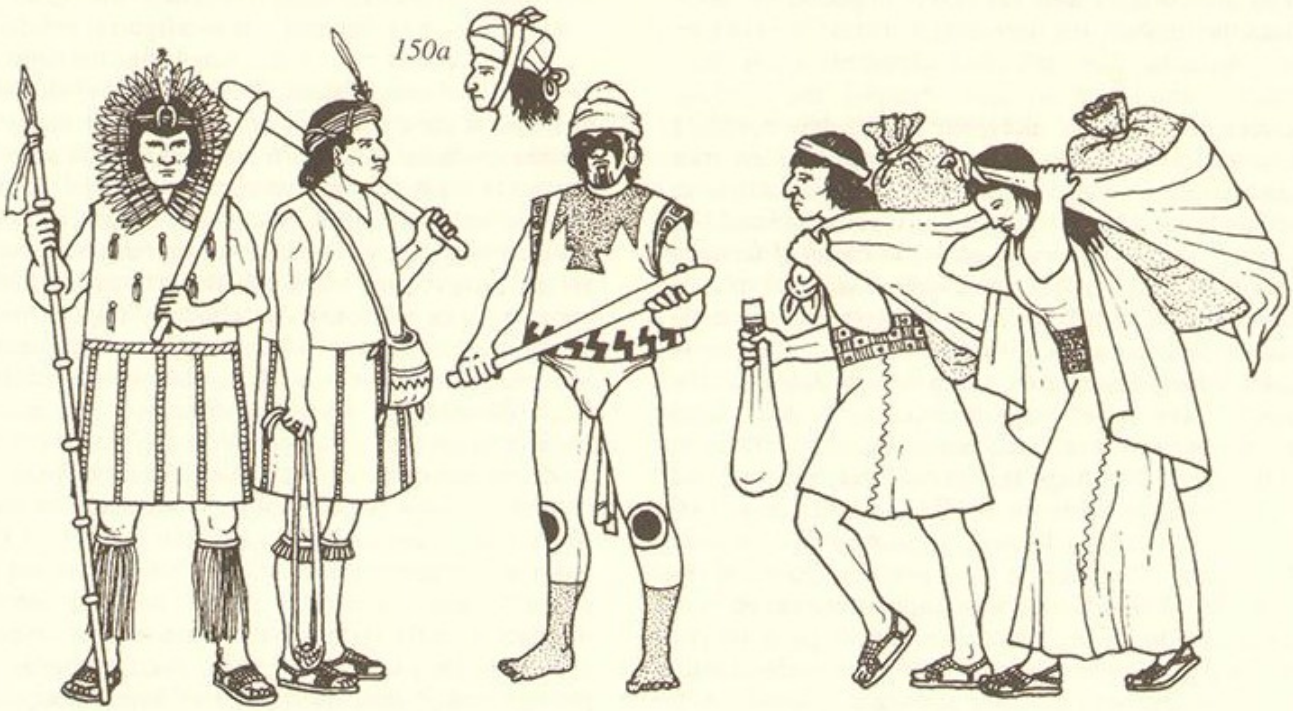


Fig 148 Fig 149 Fig 150 Fig 151 Fig 152



of turban-cum-headscarf worn 'about the head and under the chin' (whence one Spaniard described them as 'muffled like gypsies'). This turban arrangement was usually low and rounded or very slightly pointed, though some were virtually indistinguishable from North African types (e.g. detail 150a); Cieza de León described those of Tumbez as 'a round affair, made of wool, and sometimes spangled with gold or silver beads known as *chaquira*'. Note this figure's breechclout or *huara*, which the short *uncu* enables us to see for the first time. This was triangular in shape, the three ends being tied at the small of the back. It was sometimes (at least among the upper classes) worn in conjunction with a woven belt 'four fingers in width, and narrower over the hips than in that part which lies over the body.' This was decorated with mother of pearl, gold, and silver. Black war-paint was worn on the face, lower legs (up to the calves), and sometimes the knees and arms, or on occasion over the entire body.

Chimur arms comprised circular shields, clubs, macanas, spears and darts, the last being hurled with the aid of a spear-thrower. The use of spear-throwers had apparently disappeared amongst the highland Indians by the 16th century but survived in the coastal lowlands and Ecuador, as well as amongst the Indians of the Upper Amazon. Spanish chroniclers refer to it as a *tiradera*, *amiento*, or *estolica*, but its Indian name is unknown.

151 & 152. PORTERS Most Inca armies were accompanied by about half as many non-combatants, and at least as many llamas, as warriors — the force of some 12,000 men under Atahualpa's general Quizquiz, defeated by Diego de Almagro in 1534, is recorded to have abandoned at least 15,000 llamas during its flight. At home in even the most hostile Andean environment, and needing no fodder beyond whatever sparse grazing they found en route, llamas not only provided meat on the hoof but also served as pack animals. However, they were unable or unwilling to carry particularly heavy loads and needed at least one day of rest per week, and preferably two, so that it was often possible for only about two-thirds of the available animals to be utilised at any one time. This was doubtless why the Incas generally made considerably more use of porters than they did of pack-animals. The average load carried by a llama was 75–100 lbs (34–45 kg), for a distance of about 11 miles a day, while an Inca porter could carry a load weighing up to 75 lbs (34 kg) for 15 miles a day, seven days a week. Though Acosta claims that the Spaniards required their llamas to carry up to 200 lbs (91 kg) and to travel 30 miles or more, he is undoubtedly exaggerating, since it appears to have been generally acknowledged amongst the Indians that if a load weighing more than about 100 lbs (45 kg) was put on a llama it would just lay down and refuse to move. (There are stories of herders having to then spend up to three hours coaxing the animal back to its feet.)

Porters frequently included many women, generally provided by the soldiers' wives. It was recognition of their contribution to the Inca war effort that led Hernando Pizarro to issue orders during Manco's siege of Cuzco in 1536–37 that all captured Inca women should be executed. A porter's load was customarily supported by means of a sheet tied across the chest (men) or the forehead (women). It is not clear whether the leather flask carried by Figure 151 is Inca or Spanish.

153. INCA LITTER Commanding officers and the *Sapa Inca* himself went into battle on ornate litters. The *Sapa Inca*'s (called the *pillco rampa*, or 'scarlet litter') is described by Xerez in 1532 as 'lined with multicoloured parrot feathers and decorated with gold and silver plates', while Cobo says it was 'covered on the inside with gold'. Traditionally it was carried by men from Callahuaya for short trips, and for longer distances by Lucana tribesmen of the provinces of Lucana and Sora, known as 'the feet of the Inca', who were trained for their special role from the age of 20; these were uniformed in blue at Atahualpa's capture. Pictorial sources invariably show the litter borne by just four men as here, but this is probably just an illustrative convention since text references mention eight or sometimes even as many as

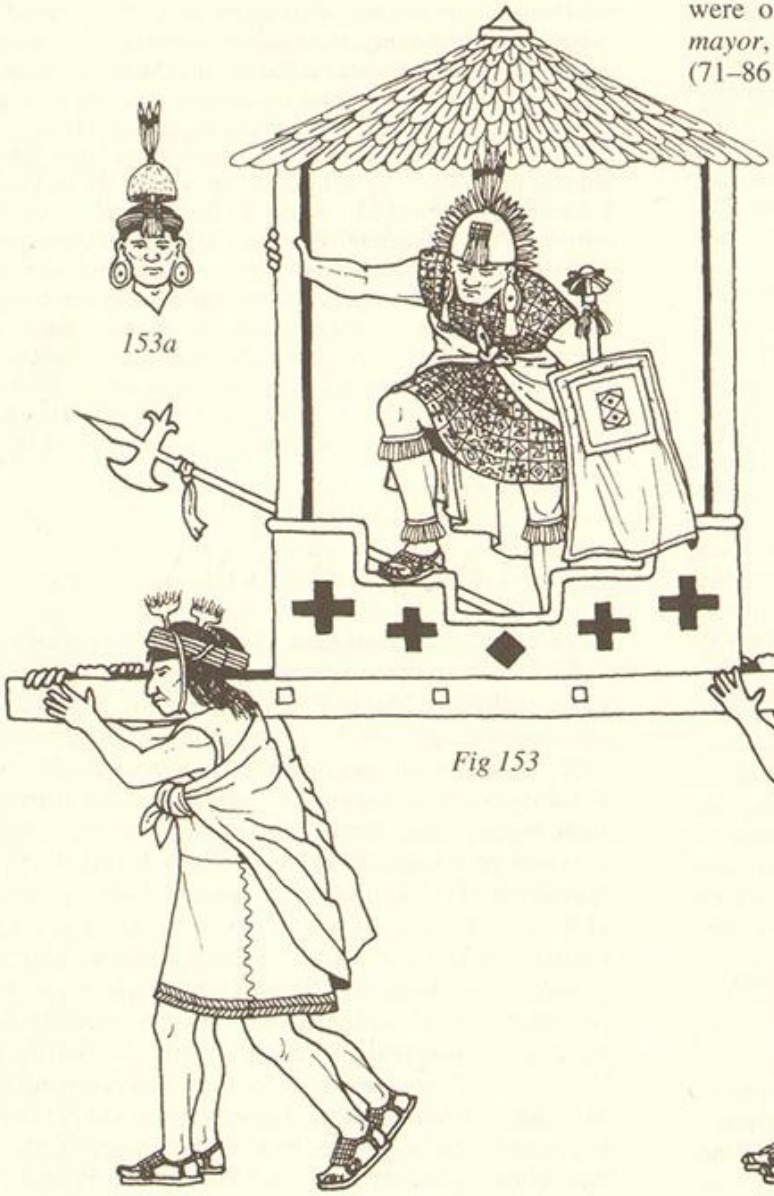
20 bearers, normally accompanied in addition by replacement crews (a total of as many as 200–300 Lucanas normally attended the *Sapa Inca*'s litter).

The *Sapa Inca* was distinguished by the red fringe (*masca paycha*) hanging from gold tubes on the front of his helmet, which was his symbol of sovereignty.[72] This formed part of the fuller royal head-dress depicted in detail 153a, comprising a braid headband (*lyawt'o*, or *llauto*) wound round the head four or five times, plus the *masca paycha* and a tassel pompon about 6 ins (15 cm) tall surmounted by two or three black-and-white feathers. Though most sources agree that this head-dress was red, Montesinos describes it as red and blue, Cobo as 'many-coloured', and Andagoya as 'of various coloured wool, gold and silver, very rich'. Poma de Ayala even attributes different coloured versions to different *Sapa Incas*. The heir apparent wore a yellow variety.

The other distinctive feature of the *Sapa Inca* was the size of his gold ear-plugs. All Inca nobles wore large ear-plugs, whence they were called *pakoyoq* ('ear-plug men'), or, by the Spaniards, *orejónes* ('big-ears'); but no-one was allowed to have holes in his ears that were more than half the size of those in the *Sapa Inca*'s, and what they wore in the holes was restricted according to province and status. Most commoners used simple ear-plugs of reed, wood, or even wool, but gold was worn amongst the nobility, the weight of which distended their earlobes to similar grotesque proportions to those seen in detail 153a, and sometimes even tore through the thin band of remaining cartilage.

The *Sapa Inca* was customarily armed with sling, shield, *yauri*, and gold mace. Other Inca commanders were apparently distinguished by a particular type of spear. Garcilaso de la Vega describes it as 'a dart' called a *chuquiapu*, or 'captain's lance', and compares it to a Spanish commander's baton. Could this be the unusual spear carried by Figure 148?

154. CARABAYA WARRIOR This tribe replaced the Lucanas as the royal litter-bearers after the desertion of the latter in the early stages of the Conquest (the Lucanas having defected to Pizarro's side even before the *conquistadores* entered Cuzco). He carries a unit standard (*capác unancha*), such as are shown in several Poma de Ayala drawings. They appear to have been only about 8 ins (20 cm) square, plus tails, and were stiffened with paint depicting the unit captain's device, perhaps one of the same sorts of pattern as appeared on shields; Poma de Ayala, however, always shows them plain. The *Sapa Inca*'s royal standard is described by Cobo as a small, square, cotton or woollen pennant measuring 10–12 *palmos* along each edge; since he says the flag was small, the units are presumably *palmos menor*, which were only a third the size of the more usual *palmos mayor*, meaning that it was probably about 28–34 ins (71–86 cm) square. He continues: 'It was fixed on the



153a

Fig 153

Fig 154

edge of a long pole so as to stand out stiffly and not to flap in the wind. Each king had his arms and emblems painted on it, because each of them chose different ones, although the most usual for the Inca lineage were the rainbow and the two serpents stretched out the length of it, parallel with the fringe that served as a crown. To this, each king would normally add as his device and emblem whatever figures he chose, such as a lion, an eagle and other things. For a fringe this standard had certain long red feathers placed at intervals.' A guard of two men carrying gold maces mounted on long poles normally accompanied the royal standard.

Other emblems carried into battle by larger field-armies were two carved stone idols (*huacas*) representing Huanacauri and the first *Sapa Inca*, Manco Cápac. Probably these were transported on litters. Smaller forces carried one or more *huacas* representing less significant gods. All of these were kept in the temples in Cuzco until they were needed.

NOTES

58 The name 'Peru' resulted from pre-conquest Spanish confusion with the province of Birú (coastal Colombia west of the Atrato River), where early explorers had first heard rumours regarding the existence of the Inca empire.

59 Initially another of Huáscar's brothers, Túpac Hualpa — whose name is variously rendered in Spanish sources as Tupa Gualpa, Tubalipa, and Toparca — had been selected by Pizarro to be puppet *Sapa Inca*, but he had died prior to the capture of Cuzco, probably from poison administered on the orders of an Inca general of the Atahualpan faction, Calcuchima. At the time of the Spanish Conquest, Manco had been away in the east on an expedition against the Anti, otherwise it is likely he would have been selected as *Sapa Inca* straight away. As adherents of the legitimist faction, all of Huáscar's brothers naturally regarded the Spaniards as allies against Atahualpa.

60 Manco was murdered in 1545 by seven Spanish fugitives who had sought refuge at his court following the defeat of rebel forces led by Almagro 'the Lad'. He was succeeded by his son Sayri Túpac, a minor, who, following his negotiated submission to the Spaniards in 1555 and his death in 1560, was succeeded in Viticos by his older half-brother, Manco's illegitimate son Titu Cusi Yupanqui, who seems to have had himself proclaimed *Sapa Inca* in about 1558. At his death in turn in 1571 Titu Cusi was succeeded by his half-brother Túpac Amaru. Following Manco's rebellion his brother Paullu Túpac (d.1549), having deserted to the Spaniards during the siege of Cuzco, was enthroned as puppet *Sapa Inca* by the rebel Diego de Almagro (father of Almagro 'the Lad') in 1537, and was subsequently recognised in turn by Pizarro, Almagro 'the Lad', and Vaca de Castro. He survived being captured fighting for Almagro at Las Salinas in 1538, and for Almagro 'the Lad' at Chupas in 1542, simply because the victorious Pizarrist faction considered that they could make more use of him alive than dead. Hostilities between the Spaniards and the Neo-Incas of Vilcabamba were suspended on several occasions while the former sought the voluntary submission of the latter. On other occasions dissident Spaniards appear to have assisted Neo-Inca raiders — this was certainly true of fugitives who took refuge in Viticos following the defeat of Francisco Hernández Girón in 1554.

61 This had dropped to about 2 1/2 million by 1560 and 1 1/2 million at the most by 1590.

62 It has been estimated that between a fifth and a seventh of a province's men would normally be in arms at one time.

63 It is quite possible that the units were simply called by the same word as was used for the number of men they contained — *chunca* (10), *pichcachunco* (50), *pachac* (100), *huaranca* (1,000), and so on.

64 These were large stone buildings some 100–150 ft (30–45 m) long and 30–50 ft (9–15 m) wide. Typically they contained provisions (dried meat, maize, beans, dried potatoes, and other vegetables), plus caches of arms, clothing, and footwear.

65 Government runners were similarly posted at intervals along all Inca roads, enabling messages to be transmitted at a speed of some 150 miles a day. It is said that a message from Cuzco took just ten days to get to Quito in Ecuador. The road network boasted two north-south highways, one on the coast and one in the mountains, linked by numerous east-west routes.

66 The extent of their rivalry is apparent from the fact that in the civil war between Huáscar and Atahualpa they supported opposite sides, *Hanan* Cuzco supporting Huáscar while *Hurin* Cuzco backed his brother.

67 The *ayllu*, or extended family, was the cornerstone of Inca society. It is described by contemporary Spanish and *mestizo* chroniclers as a related group of kinsmen descended from a common ancestor; in the late-Inca administration, however, it was sometimes no more than a convenient grouping of households, related or otherwise, within a local community. The royal *ayllus*, of which there were ten in the 16th century, were descendants in the male line from earlier *Sapa Incas*. In addition the reigning Inca had his own *ayllu*.

68 All administrative records were maintained by means of knotted, coloured strings (*quipu*).

69 This combat ended with 24 of the Spaniards dead after two hours of fighting. The Incas also lost several men, mostly to arquebus and crossbow fire (five of the Spaniards were arquebusiers and seven were crossbowmen; the rest were armed with sword and buckler).

70 That is not to say they were entirely free from superstition when it came to fighting. Most military activities were preceded by the sacrifice of numerous llamas, and Manco's attacks on Cuzco were invariably timed to coincide with the full moon (enabling the Spaniards to predict and prepare for them).

71 Poma de Ayala remarked that 'some of the Anti soldiers enlisted by Huayna Cápac Inca, to demonstrate the vastness of his empire, were naked savages in the habit of eating their enemies. They fed themselves on the flesh of defeated nobles.'

72 According to Montesinos army commanders were also permitted to wear the *masca paycha*, but not over the forehead, instead wearing it on the left side of the head when they marched to war and on the right when they returned victorious (being removed completely if they returned in defeat). Girolamo Benzoni likewise refers to nobles wearing 'a woollen tassel' over the left ear. Probably such masca paycha were black like the llauto.

THE ARAUCANA

Amongst the numerous Inca conquests of the period up to 1450 was the northern portion of modern Chile, as far south as the Río Maule. Though Diego de Almagro had led a tentative and costly[73] foray in the same direction in 1535–36 following

his appointment as governor of 'New Toledo' (as it was proposed to name the lands stretching southwards from Peru), Spanish expansion in this direction only began in earnest with Pedro de Valdivia's expedition of 150 *conquistadores* and 1,000 Indians in 1540 and the foundation of the town of Santiago in February 1541. Like the Incas before them, the Spaniards subdued the Indians of northern Chile with their customary speed and efficiency before meeting with stiffer opposition in the forested wetlands beyond the Río Maule from tribes who, by 1569, they were referring to as *Araucano*, or Araucanians. These were, in fact, Mapuche Indians (the name means 'people of the land'), though they often called themselves Moulches or Pehuelches, which simply meant 'warriors'. The Spaniards, however, mistakenly assumed that the province contained three distinct cultural groups comprising the Mapuche, Picunche ('people of the north', whom they had already defeated), and Huilliche ('people of the south'), without realising that each individual group of Mapuche simply used the latter two terms as a means of referring to its nearest northern and southern neighbours.

The Incas, who had referred to the Mapuche as either *Auca* ('warriors' or 'enemies') or *Promauca* ('wild enemies'), had never managed to conquer them. Following a Mapuche victory over the Incas south of the Río Maule in 1460, in an engagement described by Bernabé Cobo as 'the hardest fought and fiercest battle that the Peruvians ever had', Pachacutec Inca Yupanqui ordered his captains to pull back and fortify the northern bank of the Maule, saying that 'for the time being it would be the frontier for the Araucana and the edge of his empire; and the dominions of the Incas never passed that line'. A second attempt at conquest in 1491 was similarly unproductive, and even in northern Chile the Incas were unable to do more than build a few forts and impose a veneer of Quechua administration.

The Spaniards were initially to meet with little more success. The Picunche, or northern Mapuche, raided Santiago as early as autumn 1541, and it was only in the 1550s that Pedro de Valdivia began to push gradually further south, establishing the towns of Concepción (1550), Imperial (1551), and Valdivia (1552), as well as three important forts at Arauco, Tucapel, and Purén in what was to prove the heartland of subsequent Mapuche resistance. However, following the destruction of Tucapel in December 1553 by the more important of the two principal Mapuche leaders, the elected war-captain or *toqui* Lautaro (his chief, Caupolicán, being the other), Pedro de Valdivia was killed and eaten when his relief force of just 40 men was ambushed and wiped out. His lieutenant and eventual successor Francisco de Villagrá (governor of Chile from 1560) was no more successful when he set out to revenge Valdivia's death, and was forced to retreat after losing 90 of his 150 men. The Spaniards subsequently abandoned Concepción, which was burnt by the Mapuche, and when Villagrá returned and started to rebuild it in 1555 he was again driven away. By 1556 Lautaro had pushed the Spaniards back as far as the Río Maule. He had captured every Spanish town and fort south of the river except Imperial and Valdivia, and was steadily inching towards the *conquistadores*' capital, Santiago, when his forces were surprised and destroyed by Villagrá in April 1557, at Peteroa on the Mataquito, where Lautaro was killed. The following year saw three battles between Caupolicán and the new governor, García Hurtado de Mendoza, at Concepción, Lagunillas, and Millarapue. The Spaniards won all of these, though in two they were pushed to the brink of disaster before they triumphed: at Lagunillas the cavalry were beaten, but their pikemen saved the day, while at Millarapue it took the fire of six Spanish guns to break up a dense formation of Mapuche spearmen sufficiently for the cavalry to get in among them. Caupolicán was captured and tortured to death in 1559, which brought the first phase of serious fighting to an end.

One of the principal reasons for the many successes of the Mapuche against the Spaniards during the 16th and 17th centuries was their adaptability. As early as 1551, after being ridden down by the Spanish cavalry in various encounters, they learnt to attack in column in waves of usually no more than 100 men, rather than in a single massed phalanx as in the past, each wave attacking in rapid succession and retiring in turn to ground unsuitable for horsemen, while the next wave resumed the fight, thus gradually exhausting the Spaniards while themselves continually attacking with fresh or rested men. They also learnt to cut the Spaniards' line of retreat with felled trees and barricades, forcing them to take less suitable routes where ambushes could be prepared in advance. Various other techniques employed to counter the effectiveness of Spanish cavalry included the use of nooses and lassoes to unhorse riders, while in one attack each warrior simply held a large piece of timber in front of him. Most effective of all, however, was their adoption by 1556 of long spears, which they thrust into the horses' faces, a Spanish contemporary observing that they 'maintained as close and serried a line of pikes as if they had been expert German infantry'. It was with this formation that they succeeded in repelling a Spanish cavalry charge at the Battle of Millarapue. Nevertheless, the Mapuche's adoption of the pike was only the beginning of bad news for the Spaniards. By 1558 they had also begun to use captured firearms effectively (though they possessed very few); by 1562 some were to be found riding horses; and before the end of the century they had even started to imitate Spanish organisation and tactics. Artillery also fell into Mapuche hands on several occasions from 1554 on, notably during the war of 1598–1601, but lack of expertise and sufficient powder prevented it from being put to use.

Horses were captured for the first time in 1540, and two Spaniards were spared specifically in order to teach their captor how to ride. However, the systematic accumulation by the Mapuche of every Spanish horse they could lay their hands on began only with the defeat of Valdivia in 1553 and of Villagrá in 1554, and their *toqui* Lautaro is recorded to have gone into battle on horseback for the first time in 1556. Horses came into widespread use among the Mapuche in the 1560s and sizeable bodies of cavalry were to be found in their armies by 1568, before long numbering up to 600 horsemen. In 1599 a Mapuche army is reported to have included as many as 3,000 cavalry as well as 2,000 infantry, and in 1601 it was said that they could muster up to 4,000 cavalry in all, while the Chilean Spaniards were hard pushed to field as many as 600.[74]

17th century Spanish sources sometimes record entire Mapuche armies being mounted, and tell us that in battle those forming the centre of the line dismounted and fought on foot while their horses were taken to the rear, only the warriors on each flank remaining on horseback, where they formed up in two lines. In the 16th century, however, they may have used their horses only as a means of transport, and appear to have usually dismounted all their men on the battlefield. In those instances in which, at the very end of the century, Mapuche cavalry may have appeared on the battlefield for the first time they are said to have formed up on the wings of their infantry — another imitation of Spanish practice — with the *toqui* commanding the right and one of his lieutenants commanding the left. By 1611 Mapuche horsemen were sufficiently experienced to not only take on Spanish cavalry in the open field, but to beat them.

By the 1580s at the latest their armies are described as being marshalled on the battlefield 'in manner like the Christians'. The infantry are said to have drawn up 'packed together ... like Germans', with alternate men armed with pike or club; later, when the majority were pikemen, they drew up in two ranks, men with the longest pikes being placed in the second of these. Where missile-men were stationed is unclear, but in the earlier part of their wars with the Spaniards they appear to have skirmished in open order so presumably preceded the rest of the foot, though later they are said to have formed up in close order. López Vaz (1586) says that after placing their pikemen in ranks 'they place bowmen among them'.

Though they were prepared to 'hazard themselves desperately, entering the pikes upon any enterprise', the Mapuche nevertheless continued to avoid pitched battles wherever possible, preferring to rely on harassment, surprise attacks, and ambushes. They were quick to learn how to use contours in the ground as protection against Spanish firearms, to throw themselves flat as they were about to be fired upon, and to take advantage of wet weather that, by extinguishing their matches and dampening their powder, rendered Spanish arquebusiers defenceless. When they attacked they did so with a lot of noise, shouting, and rhythmic striking of their mouths. They maintained good order in battle until the opportunity for plunder presented itself, and then all discipline was lost. Attacking Spanish forces were stealthily encircled even as they approached, and frequently found all their avenues of escape cut off. Remarkably, the Mapuche would then pursue the defeated enemy on foot, overtaking the Spaniards individually as their horses tired in the summer heat (neither side campaigning during the autumn or winter months).

The population of the Mapuche at first contact has been estimated at between half and one and a half million, and individual armies encountered in the field seem to have averaged about 5–10,000 men. Prior to the arrival of the Spaniards these had lived in individual, independent communities, but during the 1550s alliances were formed for self-defence, leading to the establishment of a loose confederation — based round Arauco, Catiray, Purén and Tucapel — which the Spaniards referred to as the *estado*. This confederation forged further alliances with its neighbours as and when the needs of the moment dictated, but did not always enjoy universal support even within its own borders: an unknown number of pro-Spanish chiefs refused to support Mapuche resistance and occasionally even allied with the Spaniards. When troops were required, the *estado* leaders sent messengers to each village chief, who was given a symbolic war-arrow and a knotted red string (a *quipo*) which indicated the number of days until the muster. Such *estado* and allied chiefs as opted to answer the call to arms would despatch a warband under a leader chosen for his personal bravery. Once the individual contingents had mustered, a *toqui* or war-leader was elected from amongst them (his title derived from the axe that was the symbol of his rank). He would normally command the combined Mapuche forces thereafter until the conclusion of hostilities, which meant that in the second half of the century some *toqui* remained in power for a considerable length of time. Their armies were organised into units called *linco cona*, which by the 1590s at the latest were usually of 100 men, each unit later having drums and trumpets like those of the Spaniards. A 'matchstick-man' rendition of a battle drawn by Poma de Ayala shows a body of Mapuche fighting on foot accompanied by one man with a three-tailed, Inca-style flag, and another with a long trumpet and a spear.

Despite such sophistication, however, the Mapuche had not shaken off their traditional superstitions even by the end of this period, and depended heavily on shamanistic magic to give themselves, their weapons, and their horses added strength and speed in battle. In addition they appear to have adopted the bloodthirsty practice of cannibalism purely for its psychological effect on the Spaniards. Captives were sometimes ritually tortured and crucified or otherwise executed, and their hearts or entire bodies were then eaten, along with the corpses of soldiers killed in the fighting. Flutes were often made of their shin-bones. The Mapuche nevertheless appreciated the usefulness of captured soldiers as informants and of captured Spanish women as hostages, holding as many as 500 of the latter at the very beginning of the 17th century. Doubtless much of what they learnt and copied of Spanish practice was derived from such captives as were spared. Some prisoners even joined them, as did mulatto deserters, runaway Negro slaves, *mestizos* born of Mapuche mothers, and even some Spanish fugitives (more than 60 in 1600 alone). All alike brought a little more Spanish expertise into the Indian camp, teaching them bit by bit how to post sentries; how to fortify their villages and encampments with trenches, disguised pits and thorn hedges (which obliged attacking Spaniards to dismount); and how to forge iron, though not how to make gunpowder, for which they remained dependent on prisoners and deserters even in the 17th century.

These advances in Mapuche military technology combined with their industry, ingenuity, strength and 'invincible courage' to produce the most dangerous enemy the Spaniards were to encounter in the New World during the 16th century. Acosta observed in 1588 that, despite having campaigned continuously for over 25 years 'without any sparing of cost', the Spanish forces had been unable to gain 'one foot of ground'. Though the era of Lautaro's command was the closest the Mapuche ever came to outright victory over the Spanish invaders, bitter warfare between *conquistadores* and the *estado* continued unabated throughout the second half of the 16th century. In December 1598 this flared into a general uprising throughout southern Chile following the death of the governor, Martín García de Loyola, along with his entire escort of 50 Spaniards and 200 Indian auxiliaries, at the hands of 300 Mapuche horsemen led by the *toqui* Paillamacu (Loyola himself was taken alive and eaten). Demonstrating considerable tactical and strategical skill, Paillamacu led the Mapuche to a new era of military success, winning back — albeit only temporarily — considerable tracts of conquered territory. Numerous Spanish settlements and forts were destroyed in the process: Angol and Coya were abandoned almost immediately; the new governor, Francisco Quinones, ordered the evacuation of Arauco and Cañete as soon as he arrived; Valdivia was razed by the Mapuche soon after; and Villarica, Imperial, and Osorno eventually fell after sieges lasting nearly three years. By 1601 the Spaniards held just one settlement south of the Biobío River — Castro, on the Isla de Chiloé. Spanish recovery in the region did not begin until 1621.

By 1664, after 111 years of conflict, the war against the Mapuche had cost the lives of as many as 29,000 Spaniards and 60,000 Indian auxiliaries. Unsurprisingly, under such circumstances, the Mapuche were to become the last major element of South America's native population to be subjugated by Europeans, being finally pacified in 1882–83 after more than three centuries of resistance.

FIGURES

155. 'PICUNCHE' WARRIOR This figure from Poma de Ayala's drawings demonstrates that, as a result of either conquest or influence, the dress of the Mapuche of northern Chile had fallen in line with the requirements of the Inca empire by the time the Spaniards penetrated into the area in the 1540s. The principal weapon of the northern Mapuche appears to have been the spear.

156. MAPUCHE WARRIOR c.1500–50 His main garment is a sleeveless shirt, originally of soft skins but later of coarse woollen cloth, mostly blue. Head-dress comprises an animal skin with the tail hanging down at the back (some wore feathered bird skins instead). The face-paint worn in earlier times may have dropped out of use by this time, though apparently it had been re-introduced by the 17th century specifically to frighten the Spaniards. Earrings are the only jewellery mentioned in the sources. Hair was worn long, in two tails, but in wartime the head was said to be shaved, leaving just a ring of hair akin to a monk's tonsure (a claim not supported by pictorial evidence). The Mapuche remained barefoot until the 18th century. In the early years of their war against the Spaniards some warriors wore the captured chasubles, copes and so on of Spanish priests, and as late as 1600 an entire force of 3,000 infantry and 600 cavalry paraded in religious habits looted from recently captured Spanish towns. This was a deliberate act of bravado intended to intimidate their Spanish adversaries.

157–159. MAPUCHE FOOT-SOLDIERS c.1580–1600 Figures 157 and 158, wearing leather corselets and helmets, are taken from pictures associated with Diego de Ocana's *Cronica* of c.1598–1608. Leather armour was already in use amongst the Mapuche by 1550, when Pedro de Valdivia and Alonso de Ercilla (author of the epic poem *La Araucana*) recorded corselets and helmets of llama hide, undressed sealskin, and whalebone. Hawkins, who implies that armour was worn only by 'such of them as fight on horseback', describes Mapuche leather corselets as being 'a beast's hide, fitted to their body green, and after worn till it be dry and hard'; he adds that the best-armed men wore corselets of double thickness. Valdivia noted that their helmets were shaped 'like priests' hats', with 'great plumes', and described such leather armour as sufficiently tough that 'there is no battle-axe, however sharp, which can hurt those who wear them'. By the 1590s at the latest some Mapuche were beginning to substitute iron corselets captured from the Spaniards — for instance, there were 200 Spanish armours, of which some at least were apparently mail corselets, among 3,000 Mapuche horsemen recorded in 1599. The coloured original from which Figure 158 comes renders his shirt and armour brown, and the helmet feathers as white, red, yellow, and black.

Their armament consists of bow, spear, and the distinctive *lonco quillquill*, a long-handled club which Spanish and English sources alike often refer to as a macana. Made of iron-hard luma wood, it was invariably over 6 ft (1.8 m) long and had an angled end often used to hook horsemen out of the saddle (a long pole fitted with a slip knot was also used for this). The bow was short by South American standards, measuring at most little more than 40 ins (1 m), but was nevertheless reported to be a

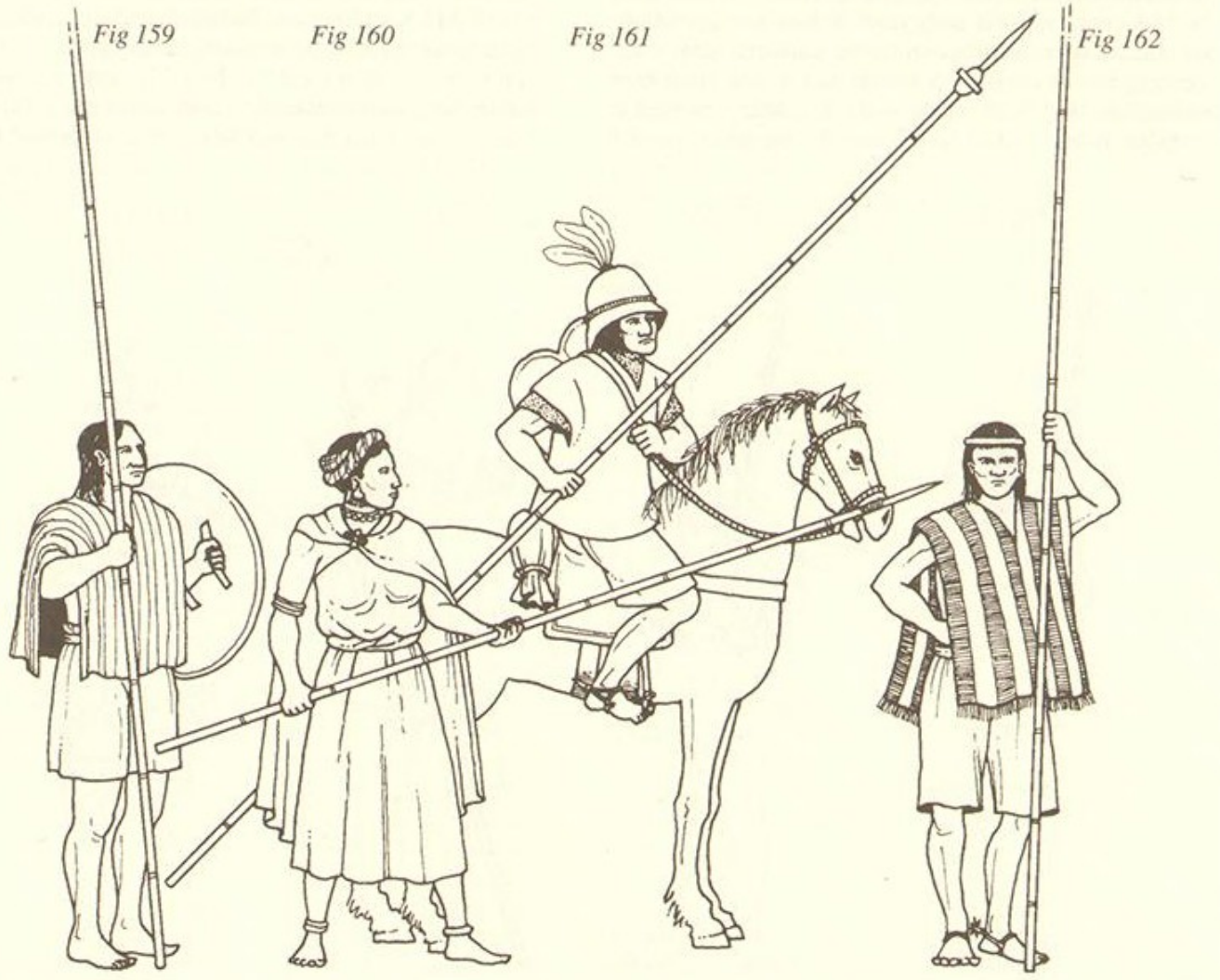
Fig 155 *Fig 156* *Fig 157* *Fig 158*

fairly powerful weapon. It fired reed or cane arrows which were only about 2 ft (61 cm) long — Hawkins says 'three-quarters of a yard' — fitted with two feathers and a bone, flint, or fire-hardened wooden head, described as 'loose and hurting, the head remaining in the wound'. These were occasionally poisoned, the poison being smeared on from a small jar immediately before use. Though Figure 157 carries a short thrusting spear, longer spears or pikes, such as that of Figure 159, were actually more common throughout the second half of the century. Other Mapuche weapons included knobbed or spiked clubs, slings (of woven rushes or guanaco wool), spear-throwers (the javelins for which were about 5½ ft/1.7 m long), two-stone bolas, and a few captured arquebuses (no more than 70 among 2,000 infantry in 1599). Arrows, spears, and javelins alike mostly had flint, bone or fire-hardened tips, though some were said to have been already of 'brass' (actually bronze or copper) before the Spaniards arrived.

Figure 159, from Francisco Núñez de Pineda's *Cautiviero Felíz* (1629), is more typical, though few men are shown carrying shields by this late date, and only a few sources ever mention them. Pedro de Valdivia described the shields he saw as being of thick hide, and tells us that the spears he saw in Mapuche hands in 1550 were '20 and 25 *palmos* in length', or about 14–17½ ft (4.3–5.3 m).

160. MAPUCHE WOMAN Mapuche women were considered the property of their menfolk (to whom they were expected 'to render blind obedience'), and it may be because of this that some were to be found fighting alongside them, usually armed with spears. Their 'slave-like' status may, however, have been more apparent than real, since an important Mapuche leader in 1590 was Janequea, the widow of a chief who had been killed by the Spaniards. Their clothing consisted of a sack-like dress secured at the right or left shoulder, with a wide woollen sash round the waist, and a cloak secured at the neck by a brooch. Jewellery comprised necklaces of stone and shell beads, and bangles round the arms, wrists, and ankles. Their hair was customarily worn in two plaits wrapped in coloured woollen bands and tied round the head. They painted their cheeks and noses red, and used black paint to darken their eyebrows and eyelids.

161 & 162. MAPUCHE CAVALRYMEN Figure 161, with a captured Spanish shield — a red *adarga* — hanging at his back, comes from Ocana's picture of the defeat of Martín García de Loyola in 1598. Mapuche cane lances were exceptionally long — Spanish accounts say 20–30 *palmos* or more (14–21 ft/4.3–6.4 m) — with at first a fire-hardened point or a flint or bone head, later replaced by an iron blade as these became available (often in the form of looted Spanish daggers and broken sword blades). Some also carried captured Spanish swords and were said to be adept in their use. Saddle and harness were light, home-made copies of the Spaniards' own, using little metal; horse-bits were of whalebone or luma wood, reins were of leather or rope, and stirrups were simply rope or leather loops, or wooden rings, just large enough to accommodate the big toe. Captured Spanish saddles



were also used, but cut down considerably to lighten them. Simple prick spurs are worn here, but rowel spurs — probably captured from the Spaniards — came into use during the first half of the 17th century.

Figures 159 and 162, from de Pineda's *Cautiviero Felíz*, demonstrate the fundamental change in native attire that seems to have begun at the end of the 16th century as a direct consequence of the widespread introduction of the horse. So-called 'little trousers' have replaced the traditional breechclout, and an open-sided woollen poncho has replaced the *uncu* (from which it appears to have evolved by the simple process of undoing the *uncu*'s seams for ease of movement). The Spanish word 'poncho' only begins to occur in the 1620s, but the indications are that the garment itself probably appeared during the period 1580–1600; certainly 'little trousers' did (Figure 161 wears these, for instance). Richard Hawkins (1593) describes the 'woollen cassocks' worn by Mapuches he met as being 'made like a sack, square, with two holes for the two arms, and one for the head, all open below, without lining or other art. But of them some are most curiously woven, and in colours, and on both sides alike.' Liebstad (1648) describes the poncho as 'mostly of different colours, white, yellow, blue and red, and fringed', while Pineda's sketches indicate that it was usually vertically-striped. Headbands such as that worn here were most often red.

NOTES

73 Of the alleged 12–15,000 Indian warriors and porters taken on this enterprise, under the puppet *Sapa Inca* Paullu Túpac, 10,000 are said to have died, principally from the effects of exposure suffered whilst crossing the Andes; 156 of Almagro's 500 Spaniards, and 40 of their 200 horses, also succumbed.

74 By the late-16th century the Mapuche were getting many of their horses from the wild herds that had spread across the Argentine pampa, descended from horses which had escaped or been stolen from, or lost or abandoned by, the Spanish colonists of Chile, Tucumán (north-west Argentina), and Paraguay. In the process the pampa tribes with whom the Mapuche horse-hunters came into contact themselves took to the horse, Juan Ortíz de Zárate recording Spaniards being attacked by mounted Indians in the vicinity of Buenos Aires as early as 1580, while Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa noted in 1579 that by then even the Indians of southern Patagonia were experienced horsemen. Settlement of Tucumán, incidentally, had begun from Chile in 1550, but in 1563 it had been declared a separate province under the *audiencia* of Charcas.

NEW GRANADA

Spanish conquest of what was to eventually become modern Colombia[75] began with Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada's expedition in search of a land-route from Cartagena to Peru in 1536–38, and was not completed until the 17th century. The entire region was peopled by literally hundreds of mostly small, and on the whole mutually hostile tribal groups which, though courageous, lacked both the internal organisation and the strong leadership that might have enabled them to offer meaningful opposition to the Spaniards. Consequently there were no great military dramas here, and certainly no major battles, just a steady erosion of Indian resistance. Quesada's expedition, consisting of 600–700 foot (organised in eight companies) and 80–100 horse, suffered heavy losses to the climate as well as in running fights with the local Indians before he finally reached Muisca territory with just 166 men and 59 horses.

The Muisca, more often referred to as Chibcha (a contraction of the name of one of their chief gods, Chibchacum), inhabited a mountainous plateau that measured about 150 miles north to south and 40 miles east to west, with a pre-Conquest population variously estimated to have stood at between 300,000 and 1.2 million. They were the only tribal group in the future province which possessed anything approximating organised government, though even this consisted of little more than loose confederations of large villages, ruled by hereditary lines of paramount chiefs whose power depended largely on their personal charisma. There were several of these petty states or confederations, each ruled by a chieftain bearing an entirely different title, the principal of these being the *Zipa*, the *Zaque*, the *Tundama* (who may have owed nominal allegiance to the *Zaque*), and the *Iraca*. The most significant were the so-called 'kingdoms' of the *Zaque* of Tunja in the north, and the *Zipa* of Tuesaquillo (Bogotá) in the south, the latter being the largest Muisca state. The *Zipa* and *Zaque* had been intermittently at war with one another for much of the second half of the 15th century and were so once again when the Spaniards arrived, as the *Zipa* attempted to extend his frontiers yet further. The *Iraca* appears to have been an elected, pope-like religious leader based at the temple complex situated at Sogamoso, some 20 miles from Tunja. The territory of the *Zipa* consisted of six subdivisions (the Muisca counted by sixes), each governed by an *usaque* or sub-chief.

Each Muisca petty-state seems to have been able to muster only a small number of men on most occasions — the *Zipa*'s first engagement against the Spaniards, for instance, involved just 500–600 'picked warriors' (most probably 600). Spanish accounts nevertheless have the *Zipa* and *Zaque* fighting each other with 50,000 men. However, we know next to nothing about Muisca military organisation beyond the fact that the *Zipa* had a warrior elite which guarded his western and south-western frontiers against their neighbours and traditional enemies, the Panche and Muzo (or Colima), of whom the Panche alone were said to have been capable of mustering 50,000 warriors. These frontier guards were referred to as *guecha* (meaning 'brave', or 'valorous'), and were commanded by specially-chosen men who often received the chieftainship of villages as a reward for their services.

Regardless of their military potential, however, Muisca resistance to the Spanish invaders was insignificant, and Quesada rapidly overran or cowed every one of their petty-states into submission. After defeating the *Zipa* Thisquezuza, who fled to a secret camp in the forests to the west, Quesada moved on to seize the *Zaque*'s capital at Tunja and the *Iraca*'s at Sogamoso in October 1537. Thisquezuza's camp was located and attacked early in 1538, and though the Spaniards were driven off the *Zipa* was mortally wounded. His nephew and successor Sagipa subsequently launched a series of assaults on the Spanish camp in turn, obliging the Spaniards to withdraw to the plains. However, when the neighbouring Panche took advantage of the chaos to raid the *Zipa*'s territory Sagipa's forces were too weak to drive them out, and he

consequently submitted to the Spaniards in exchange for their assistance. Sagipa and Quesada's combined forces defeated the Panche at the Battle of Tocarema, where the Muisca met their attack head-on while the Spaniards charged them in flank. Soon afterwards, however, the *Zipa* was tortured to death by his erstwhile allies as they sought to locate suspected hoards of hidden gold, and Quesada founded the town of Santa Fé de Bogotá on the site of the late *Zipa*'s capital.

While all this had been going on, another Spanish expedition had been advancing into the province from the south-west under Sebastián de Belalcázar, who, fresh from his conquest of Quito in Ecuador in 1534, had pushed on into southern Colombia to found the towns of Popayán and Santiago de Cali in 1536, before foraying down the Magdalena and Cauca rivers through the territory of the Páez and Pijao Indians. His surprise, on arriving at Bogotá in 1539, at unexpectedly finding Quesada already there, can only have been equalled by the surprise of both at the simultaneous arrival of a third expedition, this time from Venezuela, led by the German adventurer Nikolaus Federmann. Though Belalcázar was subsequently confirmed as governor of Popayán (1540), Charles V appointed one Alonso Luís de Lugo to be the first governor of New Granada (1542), and Lugo ordered Quesada to leave the Indies. There were several futile Muisca 'rebellions' against the Spaniards while these events unfolded, the last of them being put down in 1541.

It was, incidentally, in the eastern part of New Granada — which consisted of savannah grasslands stretching away into Venezuela, occupied by the Achagua, Guahibo,[76] Guayupe, and Sae tribes, among others — that rumour eventually placed the legendary golden realm of El Dorado, which Spanish expeditions continued to seek until as late as the 1590s, generally suffering appalling losses in the process. Subjugation of this part of the province only began in earnest at the end of the 16th century.

The fiercest opposition met with in New Granada was offered not by the Muisca, but by the warlike Andaquí, Moguex, Páez, Pijao, and Pubén (Popayán)[77] tribes, dwelling in the highlands which lay across the Spanish route between Quito and Bogotá. The Spaniards consequently waged a relentless war of extermination against these, making repeated *entradas* into their territory to kill every Indian they could find and to destroy their crops and villages. The Indians retaliated in kind, attacking Spanish settlements and patrols when and where they could. Hostilities erupted intermittently throughout the century, and there were several major conflicts, notably in 1543–56 and 1562–73, during which several Spanish settlements were destroyed. As elsewhere in the Americas, however, deep-rooted traditional enmities between the region's various tribes (which were described time and time again as 'perpetually at war' with one another) prevented them from ever displaying a united front against the tiny forces fielded by their conquerors. An occasional exception were the Páez and Pijao, normally bitter enemies, who sometimes put aside their differences to fight side by side against the Spaniards. Eventually a war of 1605–8 exterminated resistance to such an extent that a Spanish eye-witness reported 'that the troops could not find Indians to fight, houses to plunder, or roots or grain to eat'.

The principal weapon of the majority of these tribes was a long, thick-shafted spear of 20–25 *palmos* (14–17½ ft/4.3–5.3 m), or even 40 *palmos*, made from the black wood of the chonta palm. The Muisca and the Cauca valley tribes, however, also made considerable use of spear-throwers, which were used to hurl cane darts 6–10 *palmos* long (4–7 ft/1.2–2.1 m) with 'great skill' and 'great force'. Spears and darts alike had fire-hardened points, though Benzoni records that the spears of the *Zaque*'s Muiscas had flint blades. The other weapons most frequently met with are slings and two-handed clubs. The latter are usually called macanas in the sources, but, despite some unreliable 17th century claims to the contrary, were actually of the wooden-bladed South American variety rather than the flint-edged Mesoamerican type. Those of the Muisca flared out from the handle and were 'four-edged' — presumably denoting a squarish or diamond-shaped cross-section — while Popayán clubs are described as an improbable fathom and a half long and four fingers wide; probably they resembled those of Figures 142 and 144. They were made both of black chonta palm and of an unspecified white wood. In addition the Muisca had Inca-style fluted maces, while the Páez and Pijao are recorded to have used captured Spanish swords and daggers.

Longbows averaging about 6 ft (1.8 m) were to be found in use in some areas, notably amongst the Cauca and Magdalena valley tribes (such as the Panche and Muzo), and the Guajiro in the north, those of the latter being so powerful that Cieza de León says they often 'transfixed a horse, or the knight who is riding, the arrow entering on one side and coming out on the other'. Arrows poisoned with curare and other toxic substances were utilised in many areas, the anonymous author of the 'Drake Manuscript' describing the poison utilised by the Guajiro as so effective that men wounded by their arrows 'only survive 24 hours'. In central and southern districts the bow was less common, and amongst the Muisca — who, rather bizarrely, instead hired archers from their traditional Panche and Muzo enemies — it was not used at all. Blowpipes firing short, usually poisoned darts were preferred by some tribes, the darts consisting of slivers shaped from the stems of palm leaves.

Shields are recorded for most tribes. Those of the Muisca were small and rectangular — possibly resembling Inca types — except amongst the *Tundama*'s warriors, who are described as using larger wooden 'pavises'. Everywhere else, however, they were circular. Few details of construction are available, but they appear to have been largely either of wood or animal hide, those of the Páez being of jaguar, puma, and bear skins. The Popayán and the tribes of the Cauca, Atrato and Magdalena valleys are described as using well-made and 'painted' wooden shields, while the Quimbaya (a confederation of half-a-dozen Cauca valley tribes which allied itself to the Spaniards) used light shields made from their own hair. The Achagua of eastern Colombia used shields woven from cane, while their Guayupe and Sae neighbours used round shields of tapir or manatee hide, described as 'big enough to cover a man completely', some warriors also wearing helmets of the same material, decorated with feathers. Some tribes — notably the Arma, a Cauca valley people said to be capable of raising 20,000 warriors — even wore small amounts of gold armour, for which see Figure 167.

Warfare largely consisted of raids, ambushes, and

early morning attacks on unprepared enemy villages, which were consequently almost always defended by pitfalls and spiked trenches at the very least. However, most of the tribes of the *cordilleras* of eastern Colombia, perhaps in unconscious response to Inca influence,[78] were reported to be capable of drawing up in regular battlefield formations: the Coconuco, Guayupe, Moguex, Muisca, Páez, Panche, Pijao, and Sae are all at one time or another described as fighting 'in ordered formations'. In 1540, for instance, Pascual de Andagoya described 12,000 Páez warriors as awaiting their Spanish adversaries 'on a plain, formed in close column, with as much precision as could have been seen in Italy, armed with pikes 40 *palmos* long; and between each two pikemen there was a man armed with a club ... These came forth between the pikemen to fight, and then retreated behind them; so that the [Spanish] cavalry could neither break the line nor use their lances against them until the arquebusiers opened fire ... [Then] before the Indians could close up they were charged by the cavalry.'

Attacks were launched to the accompaniment of trumpets, shell horns, drums, and loud shouting, arrows being fired and darts being hurled first, followed by slingshot, before duelling with spears and clubs commenced. The club-armed men appear to have advanced ahead of the battle-line to engage the enemy, and withdrew to the protection of the spearmen when necessary. Whenever possible they fought from high ground, from which they could roll stones down on their attackers. In addition they utilised hidden pits to hamper the enemy, these proving particularly effective against Spanish cavalry. Cauca valley and Muisca chiefs, incidentally, were customarily carried into battle in litters or hammocks slung from a pole. That of the *Zipa* is described as being 'hung with sheets of gold', while those used by the Ancerma tribe were decorated with patterns of gold stars and circles. In addition, in 1537 the *Zipa* Thisquezuza's army carried with it the mummified remains of his predecessor in a second litter, which Markham (1912) says 'was the strange custom of the Chibchas'. The Arma, Carrapa, and Pozo at least are also reported to have used cotton flags of unspecified shape, decorated with 'stars and figures of gold'.

Most villages were defended by pitfalls lined with sharp cane spikes, and some had wooden palisades tied with lianas. The Patángoro and Amani (conquered by the Spaniards 1557–61), who lived between the territory of the Panche and the coastal lowlands, were especially noted for their strongly fortified villages, which earned these tribes their Spanish nickname of *Palenque*. The strongest of their stockades are described as being erected in inaccessible sites, the approaches to which were sewn with sharp stakes. They had an outer palisade over 20 ft (6.1 m) tall and an inner one 7 ft (2.1 m) tall, the space between them being filled with earth to the same height as the inner palisade, this in-fill having a water-filled ditch dug into it (the water being transported by hand, with some difficulty, from the nearest river). Other defences included booby-traps, notably logs placed in such a way as to be released by a trip-cord to fall on unwary attackers approaching along forest trails. So strong were these fortifications that on one occasion 4,000 Patángoro were able to hold out against the Spaniards for 40 days, the defenders pouring stones, arrows, spears, water, and burning missiles on the heads of their attackers all the while.

As elsewhere in South America, women accompanied warbands on their expeditions, normally to carry food, cooking pots, bags of extra slingstones and the like. However, Popayán women and those of the Cauca and Magdalena valleys actually went into battle with their menfolk, carrying extra arrows and spare darts which they handed over to the men as and when needed, and they sometimes even participated in the combat.

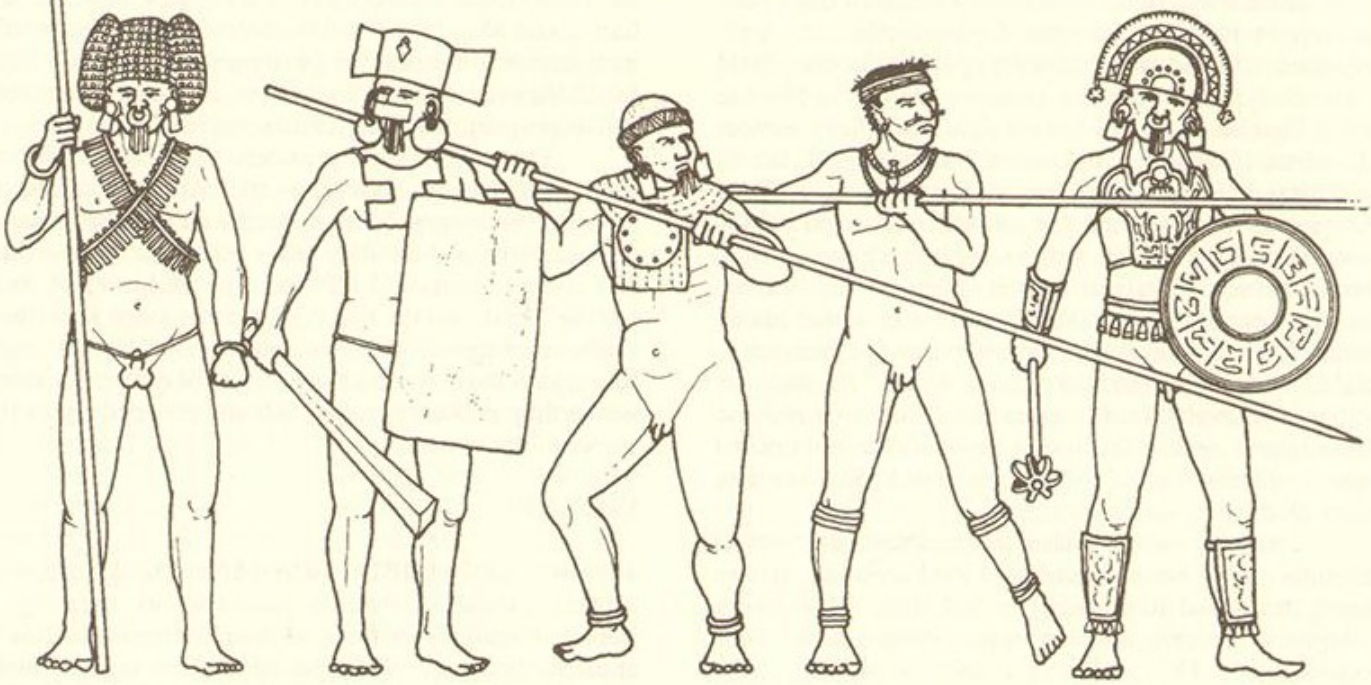
The treatment of prisoners varied from tribe to tribe, but many, including the Arma, Quimbaya, Popayán, Pijao, and Muisca, sacrificed at least some of their captives and ate their bodies or those of men they had killed in battle. The Pijao made necklaces of their victims' teeth, while the Popayán not only kept their skulls as trophies, but also, along with several other tribes, kept the complete flayed skins of enemy warriors, which they padded out with ash and propped up in the corner of their huts.

FIGURES

163–167. COLOMBIAN INDIANS Though Spanish accounts occasionally mention warriors wearing a 'loincloth hanging in front' or a small breechclout, it is apparent that on the whole the tribes of this region fought naked but for a penis-string or sheath (the latter described by Cieza de León as being of shell, bone, or 'very fine gold, suspended by a thread in front of their privates'). Many tribes did not wear even this much. Only the Muisca regularly wore clothes, comprising two pieces of white cotton cloth, of which one was worn round the waist and the other round the shoulders (presumably meaning a breechclout or loincloth and a mantle), those of distinguished individuals having red or black step-fret patterns and the like painted on them. However, such garments were abandoned in wartime, when Muisca warriors went naked like everyone else. The majority of Colombian Indians also went barefoot, though some of the savannah-dwelling tribes, notably the Guayupe and Sae, wore deerskin moccasins and vegetable-fibre leggings to protect themselves from the tall, tough grass.

Hair-styles do not appear to have varied widely, the Patángoro and Amani being typical in wearing their hair cut in a straight line halfway between the ears and the shoulders (though warriors of acknowledged bravery were tonsured, thereby earning them one of their nicknames, *Coronado*). The elite Muisca *guecha*, however, are described as having their heads 'always shaven', a style apparently also adopted among the nomadic Guahibo of eastern Colombia. By contrast, several other eastern Colombian tribes, such as the Achagua, Guayupe, and Sae, wore their hair long instead, reaching down to the waist at the back but cut short at the front. Some wore such long hair braided with white ribbons and tied back 'like a rose', while the Achagua sometimes painted theirs red. Ordinary Muisca warriors may also have had long hair, since Cieza de León states that in war the Muisca 'twist their hair into great wheels'. Quimbaya chiefs customarily grew their hair long to denote their status, while ordinary tribesmen cut it in the usual way. Some tribes, notably the Panche and Muzo, the Patángoro and Amani (their neighbours to the north-west), and the Quimbaya and Pozo of the Cauca valley, practised cranial deformation, their skulls being elongated during infancy.

Fig 163 Fig 164 Fig 165 Fig 166 Fig 167



The majority of warriors had their bodies, faces, arms, and legs variously coloured with black, yellow, and orange-red dyes (the last from bixa, the distinctive odour of which was apparently responsible for occasionally betraying the presence of their ambush parties). Arma and Pozo warriors, for instance, applied yellow, blue, and black paint to the face, and painted their bodies red, while Guayupe Indians painted their faces and upper bodies black, and the rest of the body red. Feathers were also employed in ornamentation, the Pijao using them in sufficient quantity that Spanish observers commented on their 'quaint and odd liveries made of feathers in various and pleasant colours'. As well as being worn in 'coronets' round the head — virtually universal throughout western Colombia, though varying somewhat in showiness from tribe to tribe — these could be found glued to the body with resin (as, for example, among the Pijao and Achagua) as well as attached to helmets, headbands, bracelets, necklaces, and so on.

The characteristic adornment of all Colombian tribes east of the Cauca River were pectorals, necklaces, nose ornaments, earrings, and bracelets, to which the Quimbaya at least added hoops or bands below the knees and round the ankles. The Muisca, Arma, and Pozo alike wore numerous thin gold labrets in a hole in the lower lip which was sometimes large enough for food to fall through. Jorge Robledo (Cieza de León's captain) records that these clusters of labrets hung below the chin, so that the Spaniards referred to them as 'beards'. Pedro Simón (1604), describing the Muisca *guecha*, wrote that 'their noses and lips were pierced, and all round their ears other holes were pierced, into which numerous threads of very fine gold were inserted.' The holes pierced in their lips and noses served the same purpose — to indicate the number of Panche Indians killed: 'one golden thread … for each Indian'. Another type of nose ornament, characteristic of the Quillacinga, was moon-shaped, whence the tribe's name, meaning 'moon in the nose'. Other jewellery included necklaces and bracelets of green, white, and blue gemstones set in twisted, fine gold wire strings. Gold rings either inserted into, or hanging from, the ears were also in widespread use. A few eastern tribes substituted necklaces, earrings and nose ornaments utilising pearls.

Tumbaga (gold-and-copper alloy) pectorals, necklaces, and fan-crested helmets were characteristic of the region, and several contemporary chroniclers noted the use of gold armour, particularly amongst the Arma, whence their name. Cieza de León, for instance, mentions 'Indians armed with gold from head to foot', while Gaspar de Espinosa describes his encounter with an unspecified tribe of north-west Colombia, the chief of which was 'covered with gold — a large helmet on his head … four or five necklaces … a brassard of gold on his arms. They were all dressed in this armour and had many pieces of gold attached to their chests and backs. They also wore gold belts with small golden bells attached to them, and many plates of gold were also attached to their legs.' Pedro Simón similarly refers to the use of 'golden diadems' by Muisca captains, adding that 'some of the gold plates which they wore were so big that they were used as breastplates to protect them from arrows.'

The figures portrayed are based predominantly on 14th–16th century gold and pottery figurines, backed up by archaeological finds and early Spanish descriptions. It seems likely that the more ornately equipped warriors represented in such sources are chieftains, and that the majority of ordinary warriors would have resembled Figures 7, 8, 11, 165 and 166. Of those depicted here, Figures 163–165 are all Muisca (Figure 165 having the shaven head of a *guecha*), Figure 166 is a Quimbaya, and Figure 167 is a composite of several Cauca valley figurines that gives us some idea of the appearance of the gold-armoured warriors mentioned by Spanish chroniclers.

NOTES

75 Ecuador was also considered part of New Granada.

76 Though the nomadic Guahibo resisted the advance of Nikolaus Federmann's expedition, they subsequently earned a degree of notoriety by their willingness to raid neighbouring tribes, such as the Achagua and Sáliva, for slaves, who they then sold to the Spaniards (just as they had earlier sold them to the coastal Caribs).

77 The Popayán consisted of numerous related tribes living in the Popayán valley. Their neighbours were the Quillacinga to the south-east , the Patía and Pasto to the south, the Chocó to the west, the Andaquí to the east, and the Cauca valley tribes to the north.

78 The territory of the Pasto and Quillacinga tribes of southern Colombia marked the northernmost limit of Inca conquest. Described as being of a peaceful disposition, these tribes were swiftly subjugated by Belalcázar in 1535–36.

BRAZIL

After it had become apparent that both Spain and Portugal considered that their respective voyages of exploration gave them undisputed claim to all newly-discovered lands, Spain prevailed upon Pope Alexander VI (himself a Spaniard) to arbitrate. This resulted in a papal bull of May 1493 which assigned to Spain all undiscovered lands lying west of a meridian drawn 100 leagues west of the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, while Portugal was allotted all those to its east. The following year, however, the Treaty of Tordesillas moved this dividing line a further 270 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, and thereby gave Portugal access to just one as yet undiscovered corner of the New World — Brazil, which was at first thought to be a separate island. Pedro Alvares Cabral is usually credited with Brazil's discovery, having sighted and claimed it for Portugal in 1500, but it is now generally recognised that a Spaniard, Yáñez Pinzón, had probably discovered it several months earlier.

Limited resources and existing commitments in Asia and Africa rendered the conquest and colonisation of Brazil a difficult proposition for Portugal, and from the outset it found its claim to the region being hotly contested by the French, who refused to acknowledge the validity of Alexander VI's bull allocating the undiscovered world to the Iberian powers. French ships (predominantly of Breton and Norman provenance) had started to appear off the Brazilian coast by 1504 at the very latest, landing their crews to establish friendly relations and alliances with the local Indians and to load up with the valuable brazilwood[79] which gave the country its name. The Portuguese had little choice but to put up with these trespassers for several years, but following the establishment of a permanent French trading post in 1516, hostilities were finally commenced against them in 1516–19. A small Portuguese fleet under a renegade Frenchman, Cristóvão Jacques, was sent to patrol the coast and destroy whatever French vessels or settlements he encountered, firing the first shots of an undeclared 'brazilwood war' which was to last until 1615. A second coastal sweep by Jacques in 1526–28 succeeded in virtually eliminating the French presence in Brazil, all the seamen and traders who were captured being executed as pirates. But this proved to be no more than a fleeting victory, since, despite the existence of standing orders that every French vessel found in Brazilian waters should be sunk, the same decade actually saw some 20 Portuguese ships falling into French hands every year. In 1531 French traders captured the Portuguese warehouse (or 'factory') on the island of Itamaracá near Pernambuco, built a fort, and garrisoned it with between 60 and a hundred or more men. However, the French surrendered to a Portuguese expedition of three ships under Pero Lopes de Sousa at the beginning of 1532. Though Sousa had promised that their lives would be spared, 20 of the French were hanged, others were given to the his Indian allies to eat, and the rest were imprisoned and tortured in Portugal.

Portugal's hold on Brazil nevertheless remained tenuous, and it has been observed with little exaggeration that prior to the 1540s the country was as much French as it was Portuguese, with large portions of the territory claimed by Portugal neither settled nor controlled and the region between Cabo Frio and Río de Janeiro, where an estimated seven or eight French ships called annually, effectively in French hands. It took until 1532 for the first permanent Portuguese colony to be established, when Martím Afonso de Sousa founded São Vicente. They went on to establish several more coastal colonies in the 1540s, but antagonised the local Indians in the process, enabling the French to take full advantage of their own good relations with the natives to re-establish their own presence. Effective Portuguese control was limited to the territory adjacent to their settlements at Olinda, Pernambuco, and Bahía.

In November 1555 a French expedition under Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon, comprising three ships and about 600 men (many recruited from France's prison population), established a settlement on Guanabara Island, two miles off the coast near modern Río de Janeiro. This seems to have been envisaged as merely the first step towards the establishment of a French colony that André Thevet, who accompanied the expedition, christened 'La France Antarctique'. Calling the settlement Fort Coligny, Villegaignon emplaced part of his artillery in the main wooden fort on Guanabara, while 'the rest of his artillery and all his men' were placed on another small island 'within cannon-shot of the one which he fortified.' An appeal for support to France's Admiral Coligny, who had since become a Huguenot, or Protestant, resulted in the arrival of three more ships with a further 300 colonists, nearly all Huguenots, in February 1557, and another 190 arrived under Villegaignon's nephew in March. Unfortunately for the success of the enterprise, however, Villegaignon proved to be a harsh, despotic leader, and his inept handling of his Tupinambá and Tamoyo Indian allies, coupled with religious discord among the settlers (three Huguenots were executed), resulted in his being recalled to France in 1558.

In March 1560 Fort Coligny was attacked by a force of Portuguese and Indians under the governor, Mem de Sá. Estimates of the strength of both sides vary dramatically. Sá's own account states that there were just 120 Portuguese and 140 Tupinambá auxiliaries, compared to 116 French colonists with 'well over a thousand' Tamoyo Indians; other accounts mention 800 or 1,500 Tamoyos. The French chronicler André Thevet, on the other hand, asserts that there were only ten Frenchmen in the fort at the time, and that their assailants numbered 2,000, supported by 26 armed ships (there were actually two warships and eight smaller vessels). Either way, the French abandoned the fort and slipped away to the mainland by canoe after only two days of fighting, having

apparently run out of water. The Portuguese, however, had suffered sufficiently high casualties (Thevet claiming that 120 had died for every Frenchman killed) that Sá settled for demolishing the fort and torching several local Tamoyo villages and made no effort to pursue the French fugitives. Consequently these continued to thrive among the Tamoyo of Guanabara Bay for several years more, assisting in the fortification of several Indian villages and the emplacement of 'much artillery'. Sá received orders to hunt them down in 1563, but it took until 1565–67 for sufficient reinforcements to arrive from Portugal, by which time there were said to be only about 30 of Fort Coligny's Frenchmen still at large. The Portuguese and their Tememinó Indian allies eventually fell on the Tamoyo forts in January 1567 and extirpated the 'many Frenchmen' among their defenders. Following this victory the Portuguese founded the town of São Sebastião do Río de Janeiro on the adjacent mainland.

Despite the fact that the French and their Tamoyo allies were defeated repeatedly on land throughout the 1570s, and lost numerous vessels to the Portuguese at sea, French ships nevertheless kept coming back for cargoes of brazilwood — there were 11 in Guanabara Bay on a single occasion in 1579, for instance, and four on another occasion in 1580. The main theatre of French operations, however, now shifted north to Paraíba and Sergipe, where Frenchmen seem to have been encountered helping the Indians in almost every campaign that the Portuguese launched against the Potiguara and Tupinambá from the 1570s until the end of the century, being present in sufficient numbers on some occasions for their drums to be heard and French flags to be seen flying among the Indians.

Their ongoing failure to secure control of the entire coastline continued to cost the Portuguese dear, enabling the French to cling tenaciously to their precarious footholds and obliging the Portuguese to rely on the dangerous sea route for communication, where monsoon conditions frequently caused their forces to suffer unfortunate delays or considerable losses. However, as a result of a successful campaign against the Tupinambá in 1589–90 they were finally able to secure a land-route between Bahía and Pernambuco, enabling them to oust the French from Sergipe. The French nevertheless continued to maintain a strong presence in Potiguara territory — the districts of Paraíba and Río Grande do Norte at the north-east tip of Brazil — to the end of the century. Even after the Portuguese had made considerable headway into this region in 1597–99 almost a thousand miles of unoccupied coastline between Río Grande do Norte and the mouth of the Amazon remained open to French traders, and the French threat only came to an end with the elimination of their settlement on Maranhão island in 1615.

PORTUGUESE BRAZIL

Following its discovery, Brazil was initially leased to a consortium of Lisbon merchants, but reverted to the Crown in 1505. The earliest Portuguese settlements were small, somewhat impermanent affairs referred to as *feitorias*, a term usually translated as 'factories' or 'warehouses', denoting what in later colonial times would be described as trading-posts. The first official settlement was that established at São Vicente in 1532. Two years later, the basis of the colony's future organisation was set down when King João III divided the whole coast of Brazil into 14 hereditary 'captaincies' (*capitanias*), which between 1534 and 1536 were assigned to 12 court favourites in the form of 15 separate grants, the two principal recipients, or *donatários* — Martím Afonso de Sousa and his brother Pero Lopes — receiving two each, one of the latter's consisting of two separate parts. All the *donatários* were, by necessity, rich men, since they were expected to develop their grants at their own expense and pay specified taxes to the Crown. In exchange the captains were awarded what was, in effect, absolute power within their colonies, with the right to levy their own taxes and to commercially exploit their lands as they saw fit, though the Crown retained its monopoly in the brazilwood, spice, and slave trades.

The first batch of grants comprised (north to south) Itamaracá, Pernambuco, Bahía, Pôrto Seguro, Espírito Santo, São Tomé, Río de Janeiro, Santo Amaro, São Vicente, and Sant'ana, which were all awarded in 1534. In 1535 Pará/Maranhão, Ceará, Piauí, Río Grande do Norte, and Paraíba were added along the coast north of Pernambuco, and Ilhéus was created from the northern portion of Pôrto Seguro. However, some *donatários* (notably those of Piauí, Río de Janeiro, and Sant'ana) made little or no attempt whatsoever to occupy their grants, and of those which were actually colonised during the 16th century, a combination of insufficient resources and Indian attacks — largely provoked by attempts to enslave the local population — all but destroyed three (Bahía, Pará/Maranhão, and São Tomé) in the mid-1540s, and seriously weakened another two (Espírito Santo and Pôrto Seguro). Two more (Ceará and Sant'ana) were abandoned entirely, and only those of Martím Afonso de Sousa at São Vicente and Duarte Coelho at Pernambuco (which he called New Lusitania) enjoyed marked success.

When the captaincies failed to flourish, the Crown in 1549 issued a decree limiting the *donatários*' power and establishing a central government by the appointment of a governor, who was also made captain of Bahía and Captain-General over all the other captains. The first governor was Tomé de Sousa, cousin of Martím Afonso, who founded the town of São Salvador in Bahía as his capital. He was succeeded by Durate da Costa (1553–57) and Mem de Sá (1557–72). Following Sá's death the administration of Brazil was subdivided into two provinces, one centred at Pôrto Seguro and the other at Espírito Santo, each under its own governor, but this experiment was short-lived. A single government was restored in 1578, when it became the office of a governor-general. Royal authority remained somewhat of a fiction, however, and was certain only in Bahía, some governors never even venturing beyond their own captaincy's frontiers. By the end of the century Portugal had secured effective control of no more than the two regions centred round Bahía and Pernambuco in the north (where about 70% of the colony's Portuguese population lived), and São Vicente and São Paulo in the south. The union of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns in 1580 had no discernible effect on the government of Brazil, which remained in the hands of Portuguese administrators.[80]

Military command was initially fragmented amongst the individual captains, but after 1549 it became the responsibility of a government official called the *Capitão-Mór* (captain-major), backed up by an *alcaide-mór* who was in overall charge of the *ordenança*, or militia. Lesser

capitão-mórs were local commanders responsible for the military affairs, and sometimes the administration, of outlying regions. There were no regular troops in Brazil until 1625. Instead, the decree of 1549 required that all colonists were to be armed, and militia service was already an obligation for all men aged between 15–60 (with the exception of clerics and such professional classes as lawyers). They were required to serve whenever called upon and for as long as necessary, which sometimes involved men remaining under arms for months or even a year or more at a time. Each settlement would field as many companies or smaller units as it could, at the rate of one company per parish. These companies and smaller units were variously known as *companhias*, *bandeiras*, and *estancias*. Each company theoretically consisted of 250 men after about 1570, though in reality they frequently numbered less than a hundred. Bahía could field as many as 12 full companies by 1612, but few other settlements could field more than one. Each company was commanded by a *capitão*, assisted by an *alfares*, and several companies together were commanded by a *capitão-mór* and a *sargento-mór* (sergeant-major), though four or more companies were sometimes commanded instead by a colonel. Assuming that Portuguese organisation in Brazil was the same as in India and Africa, all the militiamen would have been registered in official muster-rolls, and when on active service would have received both pay and *mantimento*, or subsistence allowance (paid in money or in kind, or both). In Brazil they were usually paid six months to a year in arrears, and, like their counterparts in Goa, probably had difficulty sustaining themselves other than when on campaign.

With a population of no more than 1 1/2 million by 1532, and with its resources already stretched, Portugal had no surplus manpower available with which to populate and develop its Brazilian colonies. Many early emigrants were consequently *degredados* — criminals convicted of anything from murder to petty theft — but even with such reluctant colonists as these the country remained no more than thinly populated at best, and by the end of the 16th century only the eastern coast and a narrow strip of territory reaching at best some 60 to 100 miles inland had been sparsely occupied, even in the successful captaincies. This shortfall in manpower was compensated for by the enslavement of the Indian population and the introduction of Negro slaves. The colonists depended particularly heavily on Indian slave-labour, despite the fact that after 1570 Indians could theoretically only be enslaved if they were captured in arms against the Portuguese in what was euphemistically referred to as a 'just war' approved by the governor. However, after 1574 the definition of what constituted a 'just war' became broad enough to admit almost any sort of expedition against the Indians, official or otherwise. By 1584 there were at least 18,000 Indian slaves in Brazil. There were also 2–3,000 Negro slaves by 1570, and at least 14,000 by 1587, compared to a Portuguese population inclusive of *mamelucos* (the issue of Indian mothers by Portuguese fathers) of 3,460 in the late-1560s, 25,000 in 1584, and 30,000 by 1600.

Unsurprisingly, in view of these figures, the Portuguese depended heavily on the support of their slaves in conflicts with the French, and Boxer (1969) states that 'the Portuguese relied much more on the fighting qualities of their African slaves than did any of the other European colonising nations.' Certainly Gabriel Soares de Sousa reported in 1587 that Brazil could muster 4,000 Guinea Negroes to assist in its defence, compared to only 2,000 Portuguese and 6,000 Indians. Two years earlier, however, Fernão Cardim seems to say that Bahía alone could raise 3,000 Portuguese, 8,000 Christian Indians, and 3–4,000 Negro slaves, and Pernambuco 2,000 Portuguese and 2,000 slaves (another contemporary says 'up to 10,000 slaves and 2,000 Christian Indians'). Elsewhere Pernambuco is said to have been able to raise 3,000 Portuguese foot, 400 horse,[81] and up to 5,000 Negro and Indian slaves.

The Portuguese authorities claimed to be able to muster just 2,000 Indian auxiliaries in 1553, but this seems to be a gross under-estimate of their potential since in 1569–71 the *donatário* of Pernambuco alone fielded as many as 20,000 in support of the six small militia detachments that he and the neighbouring captaincies had assembled for a campaign against the Caeté. Every Portuguese military expedition was invariably accompanied by a sizeable contingent of allied or Christianised Indians, usually numbering at least several hundred and on most occasions outnumbering the Portuguese on a ratio of four or five to one, though two contingents of 400 Portuguese — the largest forces that seem to have seen service in the field during the 16th century — were accompanied by just 700 and as many as 3,000 Indians respectively in 1575 and 1601.

Indian auxiliaries even cheerfully participated in campaigns aimed at the enslavement of other Indians, most such raids being conducted by the *Paulistas*, or people of São Paulo, the majority of whom were themselves half-Indian, Tupí-speaking *mamelucos*. A document of 1572 reported of the *Paulistas* that 'from the time that they leave school to their old age, their whole lives consist of going out to bring in Indians and sell them … In the whole town of São Paulo there are not more than one or two who do not go out to capture Indians, or send their sons out, or other members of their family … including even judges and clergymen'. Their forays into the *sertão* or backwoods in search of precious metals, gemstones and slaves were known in this period as *entradas* or *picadas*, but they have since achieved fame, or even notoriety, as *bandeiras* or 'flags', a term that began to be applied to such expeditions only in about 1635. The name *bandeirantes* by which the raiders themselves have become famous did not come into use until as much as a century later. The slavers were predominantly *mamelucos*, with a few whites, but the bulk of their raiding parties were made up of bow-armed Tupí and, later, Guaraní Indians, sometimes escorted by a handful of Portuguese soldiers where the expedition had been formally commissioned by the government or a town council. Such raiding parties varied considerably in size, though by the 17th century at the latest they were often of several hundred men. The expedition leader commonly assumed the title *capitão-mór* and often organised his raiders on a semi-military basis.

Negroes were probably being imported from Guinea as early as 1538, even though the first official notice of the despatch of slaves to Brazil dates only to 1550. Some 10,000 are said to have been imported by 1580, and by 1575 a community of runaway Negro slaves had already established itself near Bahía, though it was soon destroyed by Luís de Brito de Almeida, governor of northern Brazil. Runaways nevertheless continued to trouble the province, numerous fortified villages (called *quilombos* by the

Portuguese, but *mocambos* by the slaves) springing up in remote areas inaccessible to all but the most determined pursuer. By 1597 Pero Rodrigues was able to write that 'the rebellious Guinea Negroes who live in the mountains' had become the colonists' worst enemies, regularly launching raids on Portuguese settlements. Even the Indians were said to be afraid of them. The heyday of these runaway communities, however, did not come until the 17th century, when Palmares, the largest and longest-lasting of the *quilombos*, was established. Succinctly described by Lang (1979) as 'a self-sufficient African kingdom located in the interior of Alagoas', this lasted from 1603 until 1694. For information on runaway slaves elsewhere in the Americas see the chapter on Spanish America.

THE TUPI

The sheer volume of individual tribes with whom they came into contact in coastal Brazil bewildered the Portuguese and Spaniards, who, by the end of the 16th century, had grouped and labelled them for convenience as Guaraní (or Carijó), Potiguara, Tamoyo, Tapuya, Tobayara, and Tupinambá, even though some of these actually comprised several distinct peoples and continued to be known by several alternative names. The cannibalistic Tupí tribes were the most important of them, not least because they were the first Brazilian people with whom European explorers came into contact. The term 'Tupí' actually embraced numerous related tribes, the most significant of which were the Tupinambá (including the Tamoyo and Ararape), Tupinikin (or Margaya), Tobayara, Potiguara, Tupina, Temiminó, and Caeté. These had only recently migrated into the coastal lands, driving out the Gê-speaking peoples who had previously occupied the same region. By the time of first contact the Tupí had overrun most of the Brazilian coastline from the mouth of the Amazon southwards beyond modern São Paulo. Each tribe consisted of numerous palisaded villages that were made up of four to eight communal houses, each of which could accommodate up to 30 families. These villages moved location about once every five years. The Potiguara were considered the most powerful Tupí people, Martím Leitão (1585) describing their tribe as 'the largest and most united of any in Brazil', while Gabriel Soares de Sousa reports that they were able to field armies of 20,000 men.

Inter-tribal warfare was endemic — a Portuguese report of 1531 states that 'every two leagues they are at war with one another' — this conflict providing victims for their sacrificial rituals and cannibalism. Consequently the various Tupí tribes had no qualms about allying themselves with the Portuguese and French invaders against one other.[82] Tupinambá and Temiminó could be found fighting for both, but the Tupinikin and Tobayara fought principally for the Portuguese. However, the Tupinikin rebelled in 1562 and in 1584 an avaricious slaver's treachery drove the Tobayara to ally with their traditional Potiguara enemies against the Portuguese, so that the authorities had to resort to arms to win them back. The Tamoyo, Caeté, and the powerful Potiguara of Paraíba fought for the French, the Tamoyo and Potiguara achieving frequent successes against the Portuguese in the second half of the century. In the course of the 1560s, however, the Tamoyo were gradually pushed inland, and in 1575 were all but destroyed by Antonio de Salema.

When the shipwrecked Englishman Anthony Knivet encountered the Tamoyo in 1597 he found them still to be 'the most mortal enemies that the Portuguese have in all America', but in attempting to retake their conquered lands that year under his guidance the last survivors were annihilated, a third being killed and the rest captured and enslaved. By 1587 the Caeté had also been exterminated, Mem de Sá having declared war on them in 1562. Some Potiguara, on the other hand, managed to maintain a shaky peace with the Portuguese from 1560 until 1574, though warfare was continuous thereafter for the rest of the century, and an anonymous Jesuit wrote in 1584 that 'no-one can resist the fury of this nation of victorious heathen.

Crude drawings of palisaded Tupí villages published in Hans Staden's book in 1557.

They are personally more spirited than any others, and so brave that they do not fear death.' The French (still sailing along the coast most years to procure cargoes of brazilwood) provided them with arms, and by 1584 were teaching them how to construct earthworks complete with towers and trenches, reinforced with logs as a defence against artillery fire. Such fortifications were employed during the siege of a Portuguese fort on the Paraíbo River in 1584–85, and Martím Leitão describes one he encountered in 1585 which had seven trenches, three towers, log barricades, and booby-traps comprising trees released by trip-cords to fall on the attackers. After years of fighting, the Potiguara signed a treaty with the Portuguese only in 1599, and after a final revolt in 1601 capitulated for good, their energies thereafter being channelled inland against the sinister Aimoré tribes on behalf of their new masters. The final French attempt to establish a colony on the coast of Brazil was among the Tupinambá of Maranhão island in 1612–15.

The principal weapon among the Tupí was a bow that, to judge from contemporary woodcuts, was usually some 6 1/2–7 ft (2–2.1 m) long. Jean de Léry (1556) says it was made of red or black wood, André Thevet (1558) describing these materials respectively as a type of cane that grew on the coast, and *hayri*, a black palmwood so heavy that it would sink 'like iron' in water. The stave was apparently decorated with inlaid marquetry patterns using coloured wood, and the bow-string was dyed green or red. 'Their bows are so much longer and stronger than those we have,' wrote de Léry, 'that one of our men could scarcely draw one, far less shoot it … They can draw and shoot them so fast that, with due respect to the good English bowmen, our savages — holding their supply of arrows in the hand with which they hold the bow — would have fired off a dozen while [the English] would have released six'. Hans Staden (1557) and Pero de Magalhães (1576) likewise report that 'they shoot very rapidly' and that they were such skilful archers that 'it is a marvel for one of them to miss his mark no matter how difficult it may be.' The Potiguara in particular are said to have been such accurate shots that 'an arrow fired by them never misses'. The arrows themselves were an ell long (45 ins/1.1 m), made of reed with flights consisting of two long feathers of 'rose-colour, blue, red, and green, and of such like colours'. They were tipped with fish or animal teeth, bone, or barbed heads carved from *hayri*, or simply had their tips sharpened and fire-hardened. These traditional arrowheads began to be replaced by nails and other types of iron blade following the arrival of the French and Portuguese. Thevet reported that their arrows were 'so strong that they will pierce a good mail corselet', while a Portuguese eye-witness wrote in 1601 that Tupí arrows could go through 'quilted breastplates or curates'. Their other main weapon was the *tacape*, a flat, paddle-shaped club made of heavy red or black wood, with an oval or circular head, about an inch thick, with edges described as 'very finely sharpened'. This could be up to 5–6 ft (1.5–1.8 m) long, and was most often wielded two-handed. Like the bow, it might have a pattern of coloured wood inlaid into it, and its handle was often decorated with feathers, particularly during celebrations.

Tupí wars were fought predominantly as a means of exacting revenge and taking prisoners. Their traditional tactics were 'to skirmish together, more on nights than on days', skirmishes and surprise night-attacks on enemy settlements being preferred over pitched battles. Attacks on villages (which were invariably palisaded) were launched at dawn to the sound of gourd trumpets, fire-arrows being shot into the roofs of the huts and the villagers being killed or captured as they fled. A village expecting such an attack would plant swathes of wooden spikes beyond the palisade 'to gall and pierce the feet of their enemies', thereby giving warning of the attack. On those occasions where a pitched battle occurred they would draw up in a mass phalanx. Jean de Léry says that as soon as the two sides came within 200–300 yds (180–275 m) they 'greeted one another' with a hail of arrows, Magalhães relating that it was 'a very strange sight to see two or three thousand naked men on opposing sides shooting with bows and arrows at one another with loud shouts and cries, all hopping about with great agility from one spot to another so that the enemy was unable to take aim or shoot at any definite individual'. Men hit by arrows simply tore them out and returned to the fray. 'When they were finally in a melee with their great wooden swords and clubs,' continues de Léry, 'they charged one another ['like bulls', says Knivet] with mighty two-handed blows', and thereafter it was a fight to the finish, each warrior fighting for as long as he could move his arms and legs. All of those taken alive, men, women, and children, Indians and Europeans alike, were sacrificially executed and eaten. However, this might not occur for a considerable time afterwards, some prisoners even having time to marry and bear children during their captivity.

Regarding the battlefield comportment of Tupí warriors, Amerigo Vespucci wrote after his voyage of 1501–2 that 'there is no order or discipline in their fights, except that they follow the counsels of the old men.' Magalhães likewise noted that they fought in a disorderly fashion 'and often countermand one another's orders to the point of quarrelling, because they have no captain to restrain them.' Thevet says that the Tupí greatly feared the noise of firearms, but they seem to have soon become accustomed to it, the same chronicler recording that a huge Tamoyo chief named Cunhambebe carried two 'great muskets' into battle against the Temiminó. From a picture in Thevet's *La Cosmographie Universelle* (1575), which shows them being fired from Cunhambebe's shoulders by one of his warriors (Cunhambebe stands with his back to the enemy for this operation), it is clear that the pieces in question, said to have been captured from a Portuguese ship, are swivels or wall-guns, capable of firing bullets which Thevet claims were 'as large as a tennis ball'.

Like other Brazilian tribes, those Tupí living on the coast or along the great rivers also made considerable use of canoes, which are described as being made out of 'the bark of a single tree'. These could carry up to 20–30 warriors. The Tamoyo were even prepared to engage the Portuguese — who themselves made considerable use of native canoes — on the open sea, and were sometimes victorious in such encounters.

Léry says that the Tupí were 'of a tawny shade, like the Spaniards or Provençals'. Beyond an occasional penis-string, or at the very most a sheath of leaves round the genitals (sometimes worn by old men), they largely went naked, especially in combat, when any clothes they possessed — and these were a commodity distributed freely among them by the French and traded with them by the Portuguese[83] — being taken off beforehand.

Instead they decorated themselves for battle with paint, or by using resin to glue finely-chopped red and white feathers to their bodies, Knivet describing how some warriors covered themselves with 'feathers of diverse colours, in such order that you could not have seen a spot of their skins but their legs'. Various sources tell us that they painted themselves completely black (described by one observer as 'bluish-black'), or with one arm and leg black and the other red, or with their body painted in red and black quarters or even 'in chequered patterns'. Léry says that it was 'especially their custom to blacken their thighs and legs [so] that seeing them from a little distance, you would think they had donned the hose of a priest'. Thevet records the men's bodies being painted with 'a thousand delights ... such as figures of birds or waves of the sea', these presumably being the 'white lines' that another eye-witness says were painted over their blackened bodies. Pero Vaz de Caminha (1500) records that the Tupinambá in addition had 'their foreheads painted from temple to temple ... with a black paint, which looks like a black ribbon the breadth of two fingers.' The 'Anonymous Narrative' of Cabral's expedition adds that they also painted their eyelids and 'over their eyebrows' with 'figures of white and black and blue and red.' In addition all Tupí might be extensively scarred or tattooed, the Tupinambá cutting a long scar, with black pigment rubbed into it, for every enemy slain, so that the area of the body covered grew according to the number of victims killed or captured. Knivet saw warriors with 'all their bodies ... carved from the face to the feet'. Feather head-dresses were also worn, notably by the Tamoyo, who Knivet recorded as having 'their heads always set with feathers of divers colours'. Hans Staden recorded that the Tupinambá adorned themselves 'with red feathers so that they may distinguish their friends from their foes.' Caminha wrote that they wore caps of yellow, red, and green feathers, but it is clear from pictorial sources that these were for use only during feasts and on ceremonial occasions.

For jewellery warriors wore necklaces strung with their victims' teeth (archaeologists have found examples with up to 3,000) and chieftains wore long necklaces of snow-white snail-shell beads, all wound several times round the neck. They also sported bone or white, blue, or green stone lip-plugs, which Caminha describes as being 'the length of a handbreadth, and the thickness of a cotton spindle and as sharp as an awl at the end'. Antonio Pigafetta (1520) states that almost every Tupí had 'three holes in the lower lip and wear small round stones about a finger in length hanging from them'. Staden says that Tupinambá chieftains and medicine-men wore up to seven similar plugs in their cheeks, while Peter Carder, who lived among the Tupinambá in 1578–79, says that depending on how many men a warrior had killed 'so many holes they will have in their visage, beginning first in their nether lip, then in their cheeks, thirdly in both their eyebrows, and lastly in their ears.' Vespucci records these being made of 'blue stones, bits of marble, very beautiful crystals of [white or green] alabaster, very white bones', and claims that some of them were up to 'a span and a half' long (9 ins/23 cm); however, the small bone cheek-plugs of a Brazilian Indian who was shown to King Henry VIII in 1531 were described by Richard Hakluyt as protruding just 'an inch out from the said holes'. Sticks of bone were also worn in up to three holes in the ears, and sometimes through the wings of the nose. Some wore shell ear-pendants.

THE AIMORÉ

This Gê-speaking people, also known as the Botocudo (from their cylindrical ear- and lip-plugs), were nomadic forest-dwelling cannibals, about whose cannibalism there was nothing religious or ritualistic; they simply looked upon humans as a source of food. They were neighbours and traditional enemies of the Tupinambá, who had forced them inland not long before the Portuguese had begun to settle in Brazil in the 1530s. Their subsequent raids on coastal Tupinambá settlements, coupled with Portuguese expansion inland, brought them into contact and conflict with the latter by the 1550s. Mem de Sá succeeded in pushing them back in 1560–61, but the captaincies of Ilhéus and Pôrto Seguro nevertheless suffered grievously at their hands before the majority were subdued during the early decades of the 17th century.

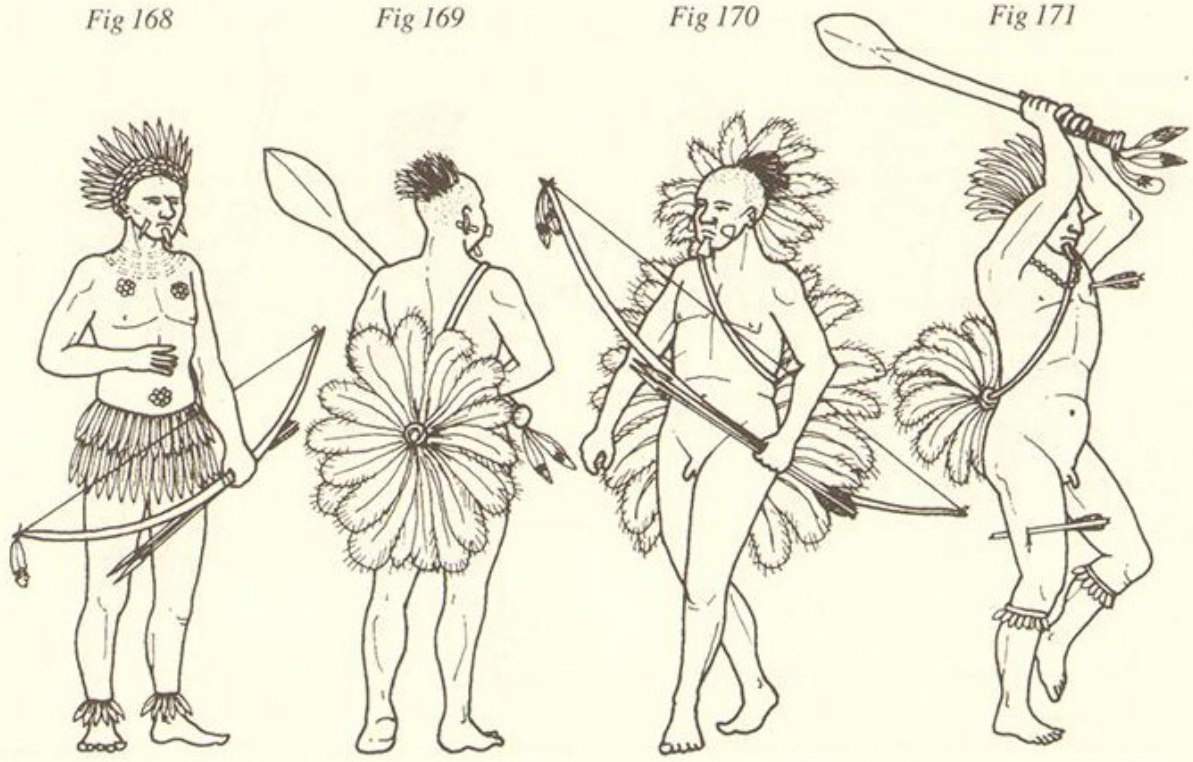
The difficulty of fighting such nomads bewildered their European adversaries, who complained that 'one day they are in one place and the next in another'. Expert in the use of their very long bows, they were infamous for their tactic of shooting from cover without being seen, Fernão Guerreiro protesting in 1605 that 'our men do not know they are there until they feel themselves hit by arrows'. Jacome Monteiro (1610) records that they were 'extraordinarily agile and great runners' who made use of 'treacherous assault and ambushes'. Anthony Knivet (1597) confirms that they were 'as swift of foot as any horse' and notes their preparedness to press home an attack in the face of considerable odds, stating that just five or six would set upon a sugar factory 'where there are at least 100 persons'.[84] Adept at hiding themselves beneath the very leaves of the forest floor, they scattered and hid if attacked, setting sharp slivers of cane in the ground as they went to hinder pursuit, and sometimes doubling back to fall on their pursuers' rear. Their very name — a Tupí word meaning 'evil people' or 'killers' — neatly encapsulates the fear such tactics inspired. Small wonder, therefore, that, as a Frenchman noted c.1610, 'the Portuguese never go without the towns save with arms, for fear of meeting these savages in the forests.'

FIGURES

168. TUPI WARRIOR as depicted in woodcuts by Johann Froschauer and Hans Burgkmair dating to 1505 and c.1516–19 respectively — based on a mixture of verbal descriptions and actual artefacts brought back by early explorers — and a later woodcut commissioned by Ulisse Aldrovandi (d.c.1605). The Millar Atlas of c.1519 renders the various feather adornments worn here in alternating combinations of red, blue, yellow and green. The feather 'skirt' is possibly what Pigafetta had in mind when he described the Tupí wearing 'a hoop surrounded by the largest parrot feathers, with which they cover the private parts and backside only'.

169–171. TUPINAMBA AND TUPINIKIN WARRIORS Figures 169 and 170 are from woodcuts in Hans Staden's account of his captivity among the

Fig 168 *Fig 169* *Fig 170* *Fig 171*



Tupinambá from 1552–55 (he was a German gunner serving the Portuguese), while Figure 171 comes from a picture of a battle between Tupinambá and Tupinikin warriors illustrating Jean de Léry's account of the early years of Villegaignon's colony. Both sources portray Tupinambá and Tupinikin as being identical. The characteristic Tupí hair-style is described as comprising 'a bare space on the head with a circle of hair round it like a monk' — see Figures 172, 175, and 176 — which led to the Portuguese nicknaming them *Caboclos* ('Baldies'); however, this description does not tally with Staden's pictures, which by contrast show the whole head shaved except for a shaggy tuft towards the back. Possibly, therefore, the Tupinambá differed from other Tupí in this regard. Jean de Léry recorded the Tupí belief that if they grew beards[85] or had their hair long at the front 'they might be seized and captured by these'. They also plucked out all other facial and body hair. The device worn at the small of the back, the *enduap*, was of grey rhea feathers attached to a large ball of gum that was suspended from the shoulder by a cotton string. The head-dress of red feathers was called a *kannittare*.

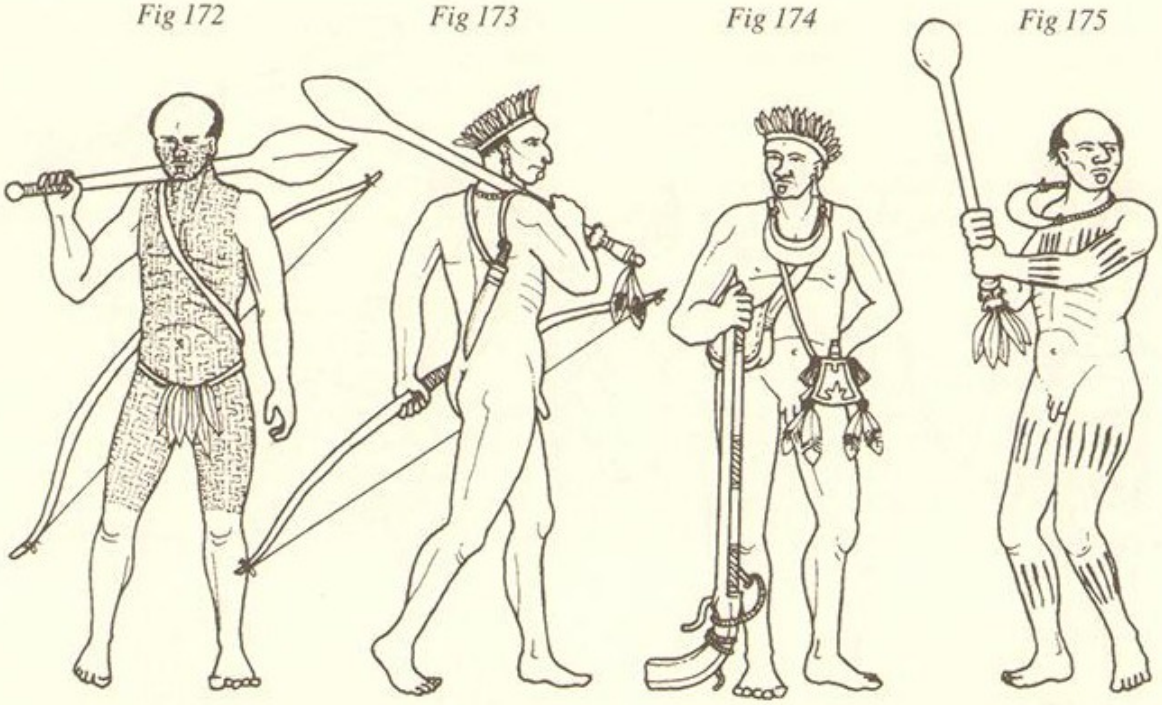
172. MARANHAO TUPINAMBA WARRIOR from a woodcut of 1614. Note the tattoos, which seem to be the same as those which Knivet indicates were typical of the neighbouring Potiguara. He describes the latter as having their bodies 'all carved with very fine works, and in their lips they make a hole … and wear a green stone therein, and he that hath not this fashion is counted a peasant.' The feathers covering his private parts may be a coy nicety introduced by the French artist. The shoulder-strap presumably has something to do with the way his bow is suspended behind his right hip, possibly supporting a quiver to which the bow is in some way attached. Certainly de Bry's engravings show a quiver at the right hip.

173–175. TAMOYO WARRIORS Knivet tells us that the Tamoyo 'have their heads always set with feathers' and that they wore the same sort of green stone in their lips as the Potiguara. Figures 173 and 174 are based on the descriptions and woodcuts of André Thevet (1558), while Figure 175, with his body considerably scarred to denote the number of enemies he has slain, is from Léry's book. Note the crescent-shaped pectoral suspended by a cotton thread, worn at the chest by Figures 174 and 175 like an 18th century officer's gorget. Léry describes these as being 'more than half a foot long, made of … bone, white as alabaster', but other sources describe them being of black palmwood.

The arquebus of Figure 174 and the knife hanging at Figure 173's back are gifts of the French, who liberally distributed firearms amongst them in the hope that they would be used against the Portuguese. By 1546 at the very latest the Portuguese were similarly trading arquebuses and swords to their own Tupinikin allies in exchange for brazilwood.[86] Thevet records that the Tamoyo carried firearms with them when they went to war but that they did not (at that date) know how to use them effectively, but 'oftentimes they shoot them off just to scare their enemies', and on other occasions put too much powder in them so that they blew up, killing or wounding whoever fired them. Nevertheless they were fast learners, and in 1560 governor Mem de Sá reported that the French garrison of Fort Coligny included Tamoyo who were 'just as good arquebusiers as the French.' Mem de Sá and José de Anchieta (1565) both noted that the French had also provided the Tamoyo with 'many arquebuses and powder and swords', and a Jesuit report of 1575 records that the 'many weapons' the Tamoyo of Cabo Frio had received from the French included daggers, swords, broadswords, arquebuses, and even 'cannon' (apparently light swivels are intended). Jean de Léry noted that they generally discarded the sheaths of the swords and daggers they obtained, 'delighting in the brightness' of the blades.

Not all Tamoyo villages possessed firearms. One Portuguese soldier observed in 1575 that it was the Portuguese advantage in firepower that gave them the victory, the Tamoyo having 'nothing but their

Fig 172 Fig 173 Fig 174 Fig 175



fearlessness with which to oppose us'. Even where they did have arquebuses they often had very few; a large Potiguara village attacked by the Portuguese in 1598, for instance, had only a dozen.

176. TUPI WARRIOR The shields carried by some warriors are described by Thevet as 'very long'; though the woodcut in his book from which this figure comes, portraying a battle between rival tribes (probably Tupinambá and Tupinikin), show them as oval and of no great size. Theodor de Bry's engravings of the end of the century show Tupí tribesmen with shields about 3 ft (91 cm) long, with curved edges (figure detail 176a), while Léry describes them as 'broad, flat, and round, like the bottom of a German drum.' Very probably there was some variation in the shape and size from tribe to tribe. They were made of bark, or tapir or manatee hide, Thevet describing the hide ones as being 'of divers colours like the cattle of France', while Lopes de Sousa (1531) says they were 'painted like ours', whatever that means. Thevet adds that they were strong enough to 'bear out the shot of a handgun'. Léry states that they were used only 'to receive the arrows of the enemy', and not during hand-to-hand combat, though it is in the latter role that they appear in one of the woodcuts decorating his book. It would appear, incidentally, that not all tribes used shields, since Peter Carder claims to have shown the tribe he lived with in 1579 how to make them (his being described as 'of the bark of a tree some three-quarters of a yard long'). Interestingly, Knivet records that in an attack on a Temiminó village by 500 Portuguese and 3,000 Tupí auxiliaries the latter used 'things that the Portuguese call pavises … and these the Portuguese and Indians that were on our side did carry before them like a wall, and so came to the wall of their city and broke it down'. These pavises were cane screens 7–8 yds (6.4–7.3 m) long, said to be impenetrable to arrows. What is not clear from the passage in question is whether or not they were a traditional Tupí contrivance, or whether they had been introduced by the Portuguese.

177. TUPI WOMAN On expeditions of sufficient duration that they needed to take provisions along, the Tupí were accompanied by their women, to carry their hammocks and possessions and to prepare their food; 'their wives carry all their provision in baskets on their backs' wrote Knivet, while Richard Hawkins observed in 1593 that 'the women serve to carry all, and the men never succour or ease them.' Some of their women even fought, Magalhães relating how these cut their hair and 'dressed' like men (since Tupí fought naked, does he mean feathered and painted like warriors?). These were armed with bows. However, Tupí women depicted on the battlefield in contemporary illustrations, such as the one in Thevet from which this figure comes, appear to be doing no more than providing their men with arrows or food. Knivet states that Tupinikin women painted themselves, and the same may be true of other tribes. Tupí women wore their hair long and either loose or braided into a single thick tail, as shown in detail 177a (from Staden's pictures); it was probably the unmarried women who wore it loose.

178. 'TAPUYA' WARRIOR *Tapuia* was a Tupí term — variously described as meaning 'people of a strange tongue', 'enemies', or 'westerners' — that was used by early Portuguese chroniclers and explorers to denote non-Tupí tribes, several of which were still to be found in the coastal forests when the Portuguese first arrived. It subsequently came to be employed as a blanket term for all the non-Tupí tribes of eastern and north-eastern Brazil. As many as 76 Tapuya tribes, including the Aimoré, are listed in a document of 1584, and at least six language groups were encompassed. Consequently there was no such thing as a typical Tapuya, and it is impossible to identify with certainty the particular tribe represented by this figure captioned as a 'Tapuiyarum' in a 17th century book. However, it seems likely that he is a Guaitacá (a name also found rendered as Oueitacá and Waitacá).

The Guaitacás were a warlike tribe living in the vicinity of Cabo São Tomé, from which they expelled the Portuguese when the latter attempted to occupy the region in 1553–58. They launched frequent raids against

the captaincy of Espírito Santo throughout the second half of the century, and were often victorious against both the Portuguese and such Tupinambá tribes as had allied with them. They were only finally subjugated in 1630. Their most distinctive physical characteristic seems to have been their hair. Knivet, for instance, describes them as having 'long black hair like wild Irish', while Lescarbot wrote that they 'wear their hair down to their hips, contrary to the custom of the other Brazilians, who cut it short behind.' Some men, however, seem to have shaved their foreheads whilst still growing their hair long behind. The warrior depicted is armed with a club, spear-thrower, and darts.

179. AIMORE WARRIOR The Aimoré went naked, wearing nothing but a penis sheath, but could be distinguished by the skull-cap style in which they cut their hair, and by the cylindrical wooden plugs they wore in their ears and lower lip, which could be 3–4 ins (7–10 cm) in diameter and an inch (25 mm) thick. They plucked out all body hair, even including their eyelashes, and wore necklaces of seeds, teeth, and peccary hooves. In wartime they painted their faces red and their bodies and arms (but not their legs) black, sometimes painting only one side thus. In addition some wore a simple fan of feathers on the forehead, where it was secured by a blob of wax (detail 179a). Feathers might also be tied round the legs and upper arms.

They were armed chiefly with 7 ft (2.1 m) longbows made of black palmwood, said to have had a range of only about 100 ft (30 m). These were often trimmed with rings and tufts of feathers, or yellow or black *quembé* strips. They fired long reed arrows with bamboo or wooden heads. Secondary armament, where carried, consisted of 'heavy clubs', probably similar to that of Figure 178.

180 & 181. FRENCHMEN By the 1540s at the very latest numerous Frenchmen could be found living alone amongst the Tupí, to learn their language, to make alliances and improve their trading opportunities, and to act as middlemen and translators for traders arriving from France to do business with the Indians. Like their *coureurs de bois* counterparts in 18th century Canada, they were often so successful at assimilating themselves as to become virtually indistinguishable from the natives. There are several references to such men abandoning their clothes and going naked like the Indians, and Jean de Léry wrote in 1556 that some went native to such an extent that they even participated in ritual cannibalism, killing and eating the host tribe's enemies. Portuguese living among the natives adopted their customs in exactly the same way, and as early as the first decade of the century several castaways marooned on the Brazilian coast had already risen to positions of some authority among the tribes that had adopted them. One Portuguese living among the Tupinambá in 1585 went naked and tattooed just like them, and even fought alongside his tribe against *Paulista* slavers. Figure 180, from a picture in Léry's book, depicting a French trader being greeted by Tupí Indians, is more conventionally attired.

182–185. PORTUGUESE If there are any detailed 16th century pictures of Portuguese soldiers in Brazil it would seem that they have yet to be published. Of those depicted here, Figure 182 is based on a portrait of Martím Afonso de Sousa in the *Livro de Lisuarte de Abreu*, Figure 183 is from one of the pictures in Hans Staden's book of 1557, and Figures 184 and 185 are based on pictures of Portuguese colonist-soldiers as portrayed in a manuscript executed in India in the mid-16th century. Although Figures 182 and 183 both wear steel corselets, we know from written accounts that light armour of quilted cotton and buffalo-hide was more common amongst the Portuguese, just as it was with their Spanish counterparts. Most men were armed with a sword and a crossbow or arquebus, but polearms, pikes, and two-handed swords are also in evidence in the sources.

186 & 187. *MAMELUCOS* These two figures result from combining the few details apparent in one of Staden's pictures with what we know of *mameluco* dress

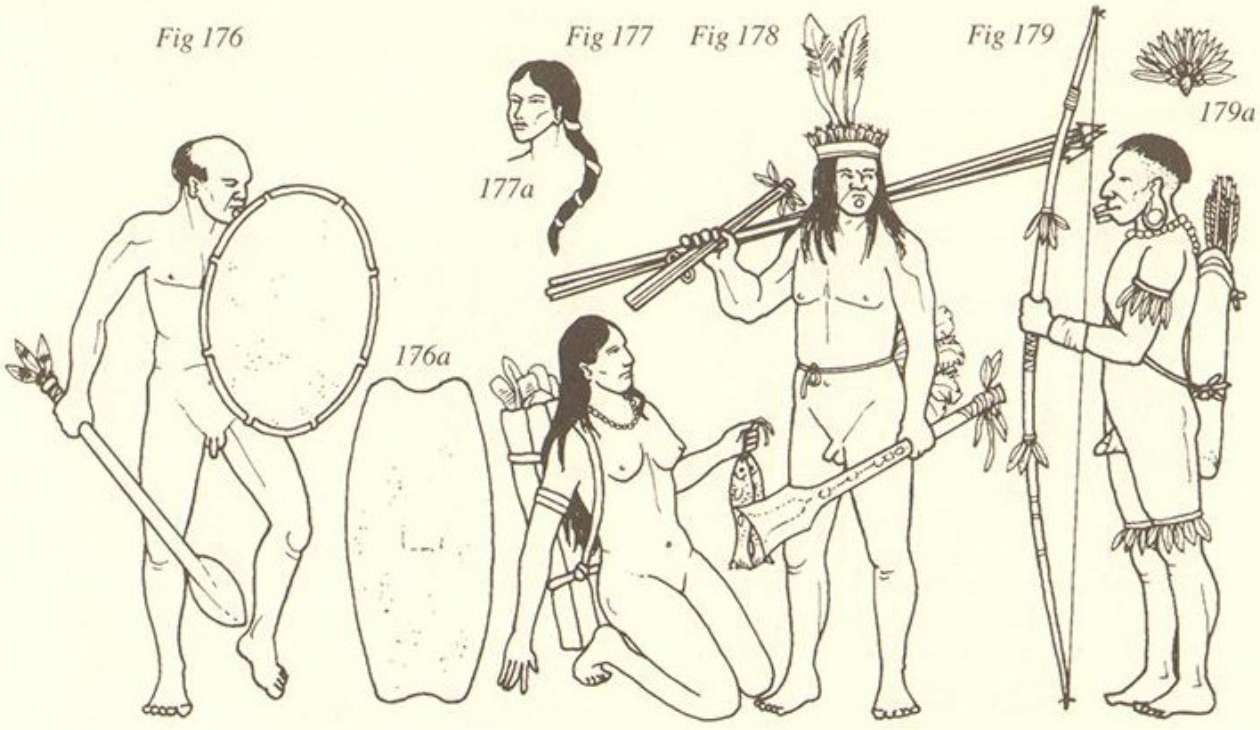


Fig 180 *Fig 181* *Fig 182* *Fig 183*

and arms from 17th century pictures and written accounts. They seem to have been bearded and dressed like Portuguese on most occasions, but when on campaign appear to have often gone naked and adopted Indian armament instead — of the two *mamelucos* in Staden's picture, for instance, one is armed with an arquebus and the other with a longbow, though both wear European attire, and a list of *bandeirante* arms in an act of 1610 also includes the longbow alongside muskets, swords, and *facões* (i.e. 'falchions', or machetes), while Knivet mentions their use of rawhide shields. Several *mamelucos* are recorded to have had themselves scarred in the traditional Tupí way depicted in Figure 175, and one is described as painting himself red and decorating his face with gummed-on feathers.

NOTES

79 Brazilwood, also called dyewood, was used in the manufacture of cloth dyes, and gave rise to the name Verzin by which Brazil was known to the earliest Portuguese explorers (derived from *verzino*, the Italian word for brazilwood). As well as timber, the French traded in such luxury goods as peppers and animal skins.

80 Ironically the union of Spain and Portugal also brought France closer to possessing Brazil than it had ever been before or would ever be again, since in 1582 Don Antônio, a claimant to the Portuguese throne, promised to cede the colony to France in exchange for Queen Catherine de Medici's provision of ships and men in pursuit of his claim. The defeat of the French fleet off the Azores brought this alliance to an abrupt end.

81 The very nature of the terrain dictated that few Portuguese

Fig 184 *Fig 185* *Fig 186* *Fig 187*

campaigned on horseback, their cavalry rarely numbering more than a couple of dozen in any expedition.

82 The Tupí called the French *Mair* — a term denoting an exceptional or brave man — and the Portuguese *Pero*.

83 Tupí in Portuguese service were required to clothe themselves. However, an observer noted in 1601 that many wore no more than a cap, or a shirt which reached no further than the navel, and they discarded whatever European clothes they had at every opportunity.

84 Following its introduction from Madeira by 1526 at the latest, sugar had eventually displaced brazilwood as the country's principal export. By the end of the century about 120 sugar mills were in operation throughout Brazil.

85 After the French had established their colony at Maranhão in 1612 the Tupinambá there are said to have grown such beards and moustaches as they could in imitation of those worn by the French. Earlier attempts to emulate the appearance of their French allies may explain Anthony Knivet's observation of 1597 that the Tupinambá 'let their beards grow long'.

86 Later in the century Portuguese slavers traded swords, arquebuses, and even an occasional horse to the Indians in exchange for their help in capturing slaves.

THE PLATE AND PARAGUAY RIVERS

The Portuguese considered that the line demarcated by the Treaty of Tordesillas, which divided the unexplored world between Spain and Portugal, passed through the mouths of the Amazon and the Río de la Plata (which was discovered by a Portuguese expedition in 1511–12), and as late as the mid-18th century it was still believed that these rivers — the latter of which extended inland as the Paraná and the Paraguay — rose in a single massive lake somewhere to the west, in effect rendering Brazil an island. A Portuguese expedition under Martím Afonso de Sousa, despatched towards the Plate estuary in 1531, penetrated no further south than the vicinity of modern Santos, where it founded the towns of São Vicente and São Paulo and swiftly became bogged down in fighting the Tamoyo Indians. It was consequently left to the Spaniards to explore the Plate, Paraná, and Paraguay rivers. Sebastian Cabot's expedition which attempted, but failed, to establish a settlement on the Paraná as early as 1526–29 was sponsored by Spain.[87] More successful was Pedro de Mendoza's foray with about 2,000 people and 100 horses, which established the town of Buenos Aires early in 1535. However, relations between the settlers and the local Quirandi Indians soon became strained, and Mendoza eventually sent a 300-strong punitive expedition against them under his brother Diego, who was heavily defeated. Diego was among the 200 Spaniards killed, and all but five of the 30 horses which had accompanied him were also lost. The Quirandi pursued the survivors back to Buenos Aires, laid siege to the settlement, and even managed to burn the four Spanish ships that were in the harbour. By the time the Indians withdrew, following an unsuccessful direct assault on the town's defences in June 1535, only 560 Spaniards remained alive. Mendoza himself fell ill and died en route back to Spain in 1537.

Another expedition sent up the Paraná and Paraguay rivers from Buenos Aires had meanwhile built a fort on the latter in August 1537, naming it Asunción (now the capital of Paraguay). However, the expedition leader, Juan de Ayolas, was killed in a Payaguá ambush, and on being elected by the *conquistadores* present to take over as governor of the new province, his successor Domingo Martinéz de Irala decided to abandon the ailing settlement at Buenos Aires in mid-1541, removing the surviving colonists to Asunción. In the meantime Emperor Charles V had appointed Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca as Ayolas' official successor, and after arriving from Spain with 250 men and 26 horses in spring 1541 he eventually set out overland for Asunción in November, where he arrived to take over from Irala in March 1542. However, after two years of smouldering resentment, Irala rebelled in April 1544. Jailing and then deporting Cabeza de Vaca on trumped-up charges, Irala eventually won official recognition as governor, and subsequently held this post until his death in 1556. Spanish expansion proceeded apace thereafter, despite fierce resistance from the Guaicurú Indians in particular, and several towns and forts were established along the eastern bank of the Paraná and in other parts of what is now western Brazil. The establishment in 1561 of Santa Cruz de la Sierra beyond the *Gran Chaco* secured the Spanish line of communication between Asunción and Peru, and in 1580 Juan de Garay re-established Buenos Aires in the Plate estuary.

THE GUARANI

Known to the Spaniards and Tupí as Guaraní, and to the Portuguese as Carió or Carijó, this cannibalistic tribe of Paraguay and Brazil was initially friendly towards European explorers until alienated by the slaving activities of the latter. As traditional enemies of the Tupí, in the first half of the 16th century they are generally to be found fighting for the Spanish governors of Asunción against neighbouring tribes. As many as 10,000 are said to have served under Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca against the Guaicurú in 1542, 2,000 served with Domingo Martinéz de Irala in 1548, and 4,000 with Juan Ortíz Vergara in 1560. They were apparently reliable auxiliaries. Their good order on the march and in battle much impressed the Spaniards, whose greed and brutality nevertheless soon managed to estrange them. The second half of the century was punctuated by numerous unsuccessful Guaraní revolts, and from the 1590s on they were also subjected to frequent Portuguese slaving raids launched from São Paulo.

Cabeza de Vaca (1555) described those who served with him in 1542 as naked, 'all decked with parrot feathers', and painted yellow, red, and 'a variety of other colours'. He also records that they were armed with bows, and 'macanas' of black wood (probably of the paddle-shaped Tupí variety). His account mentions too that some wore 'plates of copper, which glistened marvellously', these being protective Inca chest ornaments as shown in Figures 135 and 137, obtained either by trade or as loot. Some were silver. In addition they wore wristguards made of braided human hair. Jewellery comprised necklaces of large discs of white shell, and a distinctive yellow lip-plug of jatahy rosin, described by Ulrich Schmidel (1567) as 'two spans long and the thickness of a quill or reed' (Schmidel was a German mercenary — a member of a company of 80 arquebusiers and musketeers — who served under successive Spanish commanders in Paraguay in 1535–55).

The Chiriguano

The Chiriguano were the descendants of Guaraní who, between 1471 and 1526, had migrated across the *Gran Chaco* from Paraguay to settle in the foothills of the Bolivian Andes between the upper Pilcomayo River and the upper Grande or Guapay River. During the reign of the *Sapa Inca* Túpac Yupanqui (1471–93) they began raiding the eastern frontier of the Inca empire for gold and silver ornaments and copper tools, launching numerous attacks against Charcas province and the Chané, an Arawak people who lived along the Andean foothills of the northern *Gran Chaco*. The fierce Guaraní invaders were able to completely subjugate the far more numerous but peaceable Chané, of whom they slaughtered many, reducing the rest to servitude and taking their women as wives. This union of Guaraní and Chané resulted in the people subsequently known as Chiriguano. Sources of the 16th–17th centuries calculate that the Chiriguano, excluding their Chané slaves, numbered no more than a few thousand souls. As some indication of the imbalance between the Guaraní/Chiriguano and Chané elements of their society, it is recorded that in the Charagua district 350 Chiriguano ruled 4,000 Chané, in the Machareti district 400 Chiriguano ruled 5,000 Chané, and on the Guapay River 200 Chiriguano ruled 1,000 Chané.

The fourth Guaraní migratory wave from the coast, which occurred during the early 1520s, was — remarkably for such an early date — accompanied by between four and six Europeans led by one Aleixo or Alejo Garcia, a Portuguese. They are usually said to have been survivors from a ship belonging to a Spanish expedition under Juan Díaz de Solís which had been ambushed by Indians at the mouth of the River Plate in March 1516.[88] Solís was killed here, and his fleet had then returned to Spain, but one ship was wrecked on the coast, and Garcia was among the 18 survivors. At some point in the first half of the 1520s (accounts differ regarding the exact date) he and three to five companions joined with or, according to some, actually led 2,000 Guaraní as they migrated west, pushing as far as Presto and Tarabuco, about 60 miles inside Inca territory. This was presumably the expedition recorded by Sarmiento de Gamboa, in which Guaraní raiders captured 'the fortress of Cuzcotuyo [probably Incahuasi], where the Inca had a large frontier garrison to defend the country against them. Their assault being sudden, they entered the fortress [and] massacred the garrison'. This appears to have been in 1524. Eventually, however, the increasing strength of Inca opposition obliged these raiders to withdraw.[89] Despite being the first Europeans to reach it, Garcia and his companions did not survive to bring back news of the Inca empire's existence, since they and many of their Guaraní allies were killed during the return trip in 1525 or 1526, by Indians through whose territory they were passing.

The first Spanish colonial intrusion into Chiriguano territory was the town of Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, established in 1564 and destroyed by the Chiriguano very soon afterwards. This was the beginning of a series of embarrassing Spanish reverses, the most infamous of which was the ineffective campaign led by Francisco de Toledo, Viceroy of Peru, in 1572–74, aimed at the conquest of the Chiriguano. On this occasion the Indians had simply declined to meet the Spaniards in open battle, instead harassing them so relentlessly that they were eventually obliged to abandon their baggage and provisions and retreat in utter confusion, suffering considerable losses in the process. Joseph de Acosta records that the survivors 'returned very happy to have saved their lives, having lost their baggage and almost all their horses.' There were no further attempts to subjugate the region until the 17th century.

Chiriguano and Guananí warfare depended on skirmishing, surprise, and ambushes. Scouts always preceded a warband on campaign, and sentries were posted to prevent the enemy from taking their camps and villages by surprise. Enemy villages were attacked at dawn. Prisoners were often ceremonially killed and eaten, but a few were spared and incorporated into the tribe. The Chiriguano are said to have eaten as many as 60,000 Chané during their conquest of that tribe at the beginning of the 16th century.

THE MBAYA OR GUAICURU

The name Guaicurú was originally given by the Guaraní to several warlike tribes living west of the Paraguay River, including the Mbayá, and today the terms Guaicurú and Mbayá are generally regarded as being synonymous. At the time of first contact they lived along the west bank of the Paraguay north of the Pilcomayo River, and after receiving the earliest Spanish explorers amicably soon became their inveterate enemies. When they subsequently attempted to oppose Spanish expansion the southern Mbayá, living opposite Asunción, were crushed by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca in 1542.

One of the most significant Mbayá tribes were the Payaguá, who were infamous for their canoe-borne raids along the course of the Paraguay/Paraná between the Xarayes marshes and Santa Fé. They put up such fierce opposition to the Spaniards that they remained almost unbeatable on the water until their power was finally broken in the 1730s. They consisted of two principal divisions, 16th century Spanish sources calling only the northern of these Payaguá, while referring to their southern cousins, living along the Bermejo and Pilcomayo rivers (tributaries of the Paraguay), as Agaze. Schmidel describes the Agaze as the 'best warriors that can be found' when fighting from their canoes, but 'not so good at fighting on land'. Payaguá canoes are described as having been 10–20 ft (3–6 m) long and 1½–3 ft (45–91 cm) wide, with a sharp bow and stern. With six or eight men standing in the stern, paddling for all they were worth with pointed 9 ft (2.7 m) oars, they could reach a speed of seven knots, and the largest of them could hold up to 40 men. It was Payaguá tribesmen who attacked Cabot's expedition in 1527, and massacred that of Juan de Ayolas in 1539. Another local canoe-faring tribe, the Mepene, were said by Schmidel to 'only fight upon the water'. These could muster sufficient canoes, each carrying up to 20 warriors, that the Spaniards could claim to have destroyed 250 in a single action.

The Mbayá fought with bows, flint-bladed spears, and clubs described as 'four spans long with a knob at the end'. Their bows are variously described as measuring 4 ft or 6 ft (1.2 or 1.8 m), and their spears 5–6 ft (1.5–1.8 m). They appear to have carried only 10–12 wooden arrows, sometimes unfletched, which were tipped with a

sliver of bamboo or 'a broad and long fish's tooth' that 'cuts like a razor', fitted into a socketed reed foreshaft. The bow was drawn with the middle two fingers, the arrow being held between thumb and index finger. Like the Guaraní, they wore wristguards made of braided human hair.

In open battle, or when attacking an enemy village, they drew up in a crescentic formation, with flute players in the centre of their array. They preferred to take the enemy by surprise in the small hours just before dawn, their normal tactic being to fire several volleys of arrows (using incendiaries if attacking a village), and then discard their bows and charge in wielding their clubs. If they lost the element of surprise, however, or suffered even a small number of casualties, they would usually withdraw. Only children and young women were normally taken prisoner, all the men being killed.

THE QUIRANDI

A relatively small tribe (population 3,000) living along the lower reaches of the River Plate, the Quirandi could be found fighting against the Spaniards from the 1530s on. Their main weapons were bows, clubs (doubtless of the usual sharp-edged paddle variety), flint-headed spears the length of half-pikes which could be hurled by means of a spear-thrower, and bolas. To judge from results, the bolas was by far the most effective anti-cavalry weapon of any that 16th century native Americans possessed. Those of the Quirandi were *bolas perdidas*, i.e. one-stone bolas, described by Schmidel as 'bullets made out of stone with a long piece of string attached to them, of the size of our leaden bullets at home in Germany. They throw such bullets round the feet of a horse … causing it to fall.' He adds that 'it is also with these bullets that they killed our commander', this being a reference to Diego de Mendoza, killed with six other horsemen by bolas in an affray in 1536. It was probably their use of the bolas that enabled the Quirandi to actually force a draw in a major engagement with the Spaniards in 1538. André Thevet probably had the Quirandi in mind when he noted, regarding Indian use of the bolas, that 'at 35 or 40 paces, they scarcely ever fail to strike where they have taken aim'.

Described as swift of foot, they employed their manoeuvrability to attack the Spaniards whenever the latter could be caught at a disadvantage, such as when crossing a deep stream or negotiating a narrow path. Their attacks appear to have been launched in regular array, though order was not maintained once battle had been joined. As with other tribes of the area, they fought naked, and there appears to have been nothing distinctive about their appearance.

Other important tribes of the Paraguay River region included:

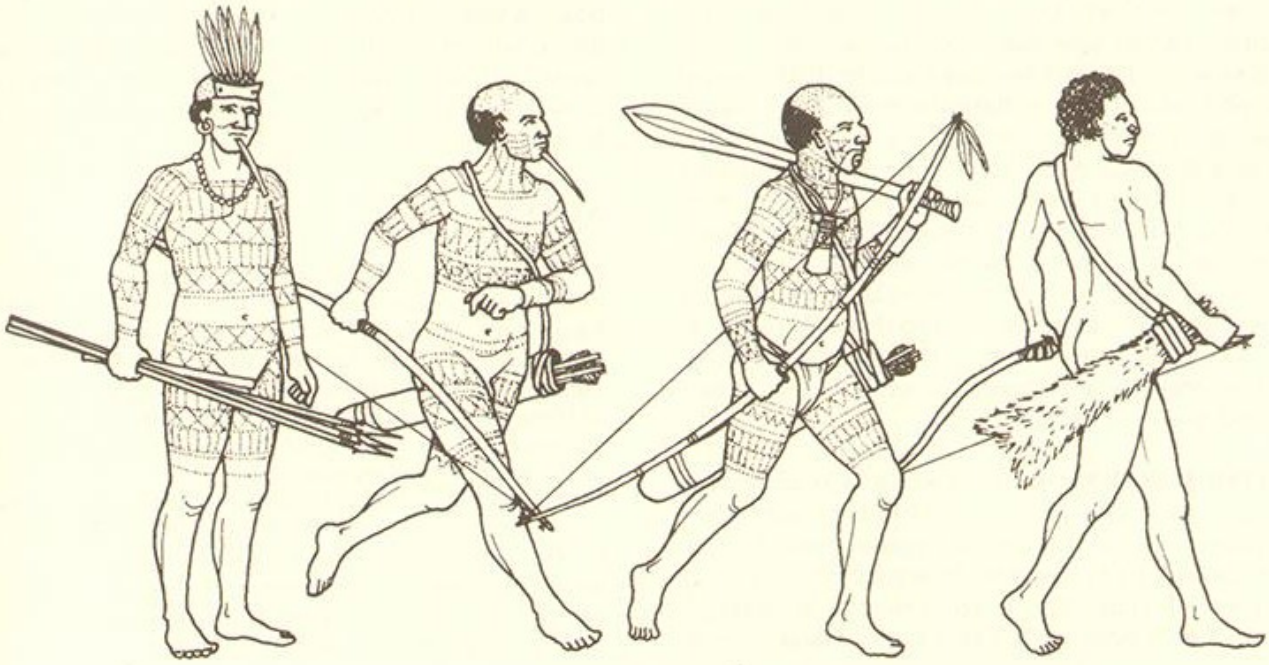
— the Timbu, who lived on islands in, and probably the eastern shore of, the Paraná River. Schmidel says that, together with the Charua from north of the river estuary, the Quirandi, and the Yana, they reputedly assembled 23,000 warriors for an attack on Buenos Aires in 1535. However, he puts their own population at only about 15,000, capable of mustering more than 400 dugout canoes, up to 80 ft (24.4 m) long and 3 ft (91 cm) wide, each crewed by 16 men. Their numbers had declined to 8,000 by 1612.

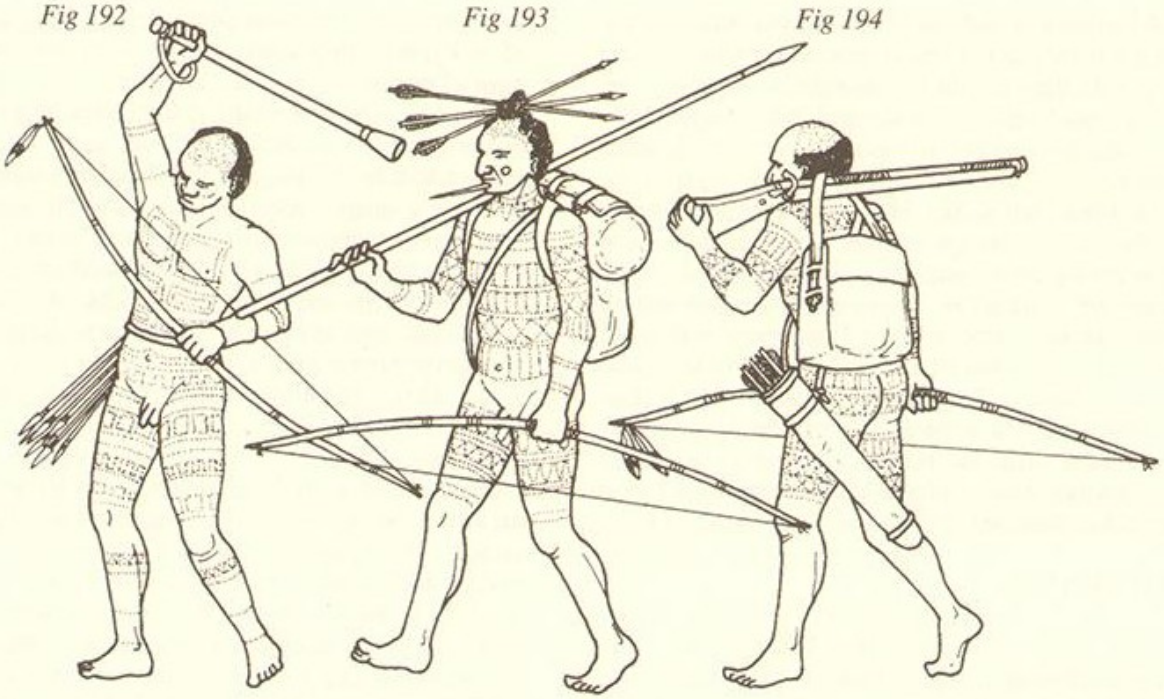
— and the Guarago, who lived at the source of the Paraguay. Unusually, these wore a moustache, as well as large wooden rings distending the lobes of their ears ('the ear is folded round the ring in a wonderful manner') and large lip-plugs of blue crystal 'the shape and size of a draughts man'. They wore no more than an apron of white beads, but 'painted' (tattooed?) themselves from the head to the knees, which made it look to the Spaniards as if they were wearing breeches.

FIGURES

188 & 189. GUARANI WARRIORS based on the pictures illustrating Ulrich Schmidel's book, published in 1567. Most Guaraní went naked, though some groups wore a cotton loincloth and others, especially in the harsher climes further south, wore skin cloaks. The usual

Fig 188 *Fig 189* *Fig 190* *Fig 191*





hair-style was a tonsure like that of Franciscan monks, over which some wore a plume of feathers mounted on a woven frontlet as depicted. Guaraní bows were usually 6–8 ft (1.8–2.4 m) long, and very powerful (modern Indian bows in this area can shoot accurately to 100 yds/90 m, and are capable of piercing an inch of timber at 80 ft/24 m). They were sometimes bark-covered or else had a basketry grip in the centre. Their arrows, of which Cabeza de Vaca says they carried 'a great number', were of wood or reed with heads of stone or bone (sometimes human). Wristguards were of human hair or cotton. Shields, sometimes feather-decorated, were certainly still in use in this century but had disappeared by the end of the next.

190. CHIRIGUANO WARRIOR Early Chiriguano would have been indistinguishable from the preceding figures, with shaven foreheads, painted and tattooed faces and bodies, and blackened teeth. Garcilaso de la Vega confirms that they still went naked even in the second half of the century, but it is clear that at some point prior to 1600 they began to adopt the Inca-influenced narrow breechclout and cotton shirt of their Chané subjects. The fact that they could be distinguished by a particular type of turquoise-studded tin labret measuring an inch or more in diameter may indicate that they were members of a separate Guaraní tribe, distinct from their kinsmen who remained near the Paraguay River. The feather-decorated frontlet shown in Figure 188 was still worn during the migration period but was subsequently replaced by a woven Andean type studded with metal plates, perhaps resembling that of Figure 144. Note also the characteristic silver pectoral. Other jewellery principally consisted of necklaces of seeds, turquoise, and shell beads.

191. TIMBU WARRIOR from a woodcut in Schmidel's book. Though some wore cotton or deerskin breechclouts in peacetime, all the tribes of this region appear to have fought naked. The Timbu were distinguished by 'a small star', made of white, blue, or green stone, worn through the side of each nostril. They also wore a labret through the lower lip. Though they fought mainly with their bows, contemporary pictures also show spears and paddle-shaped clubs like those of the Tupí, while Oviedo refers to the use of spear-throwers. The quiver carried here appears to be of animal-skin with the fur left on.

192. MBAYA WARRIOR These invariably went naked, and shaved the front and top of their heads to leave what has been described as either 'a crescentic crest extending from ear to ear', or 'a crown of hair around their shaved head'. They are said to have painted/tattooed their whole body from head to toe with 'stripes and patches of black and red.' They didn't use a quiver, their arrows being instead stuffed through a belt or carried in the hand.

193 & 194. INDIANS IN SPANISH SERVICE These two Paraguayan warriors in Spanish employ come from an illustration in Ulrich Schmidel's book. Both are Guaraní, or possibly the related Yapiru, who frequently fought for the Spaniards. Although Figure 193 does not have his head shaved, instead having a full head of hair tied in a topknot through which several arrows have been thrust, an identical figures is nevertheless captioned as being a 'Carijó' elsewhere in Schmidel's book. The arquebus and backpacks they carry belong to the Spaniards they serve.

NOTES

87 Among the participants in this expedition were two Englishmen, of whom one, Roger Barlow, later advocated that King Henry VIII should invade Peru by sending a fleet and 4,000 men up the River Amazon. Means (1935) states that 'this was a scheme which he tried to foster between 1550 and 1553.'

88 However, a certain Diego García, describing his own voyage of exploration in 1525, wrote that Aleixo's expedition was carried out by 'one of my men'.

89 The *Sapa Inca* Huayna Cápac is said to have sent a general named Yasca and allegedly 20,000 men to drive out Garcia and his Guaraní/Chiriguano raiders. Huayna Cápac subsequently strengthened the frontier defences of Charcas province to prevent further Chiriguano incursions, building fortresses at Guanacopampa, Saigpuru, and Samaypata.

North America 1497–1608

FLORIDA

Though it is almost certain that the existence of land north of the Bahamas had been known since at least 1502, it was not until March 1513 that this particular corner of the North American mainland was recognised as having been 'officially' discovered, when Juan Ponce de León stumbled upon it whilst he was searching for more islands that could be raided for Indian slaves. Because he discovered it on the Sunday before Easter he named it Florida (from *Pascua Florida*, the Spanish name for Palm Sunday), a term which, as far as the Spaniards were concerned, encompassed not just the peninsula of Florida itself but also a large tract of the adjacent mainland, in particular the area that became Georgia and the Carolinas, and sometimes the entire North American coast, from almost as far south as Pánuco in Mexico to as far north as Newfoundland.

Every Spanish attempt to establish a permanent presence here during the first half of the century met with failure in the face of stiff Indian opposition, invariably suffering enormously heavy losses in the process. The first was led by Ponce de León himself, who landed in San Carlos Bay on Florida's west coast in 1521 with 200 men and 50 horses, only to be repelled by the local Calusa Indians. Further expeditions followed: under Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón to 'the land of Chicora' in Winyah Bay, South Carolina, in 1526 (500 men, about 100 wives, children, monks, and Negro slaves, and 89 horses); under Pánfilo de Narváez at Tampa Bay in Florida in 1527–28 (600 men and 41 or 42 horses[90]); and under Hernando de Soto in 1539–43 near Tampa Bay again (570 men and 213 or 223 horses, plus perhaps 100 servants and slaves). All four of these would-be conquerors paid with their lives: Ponce de León was mortally wounded by an arrow, Ayllón and de Soto both died of sickness, and Narváez, after his advance inland with 300 men and 40 horses had been driven back, drowned when he attempted to sail down the coast in a flotilla of small boats which were little more than rafts and were wrecked with the loss of all but about 80–90 men, nearly all of whom subsequently succumbed to disease and Indian attacks. Another colonising enterprise in 1559–61, commanded by Tristán de Luna, was similarly unsuccessful.

Despite the failure of the earlier expeditions, some of them nevertheless represent incredible feats of endurance and exploration. De Soto's march inland with 550 men and about 200 horses traversed parts of Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Alabama, where, in October 1540, the Spaniards fought a major battle with Choctaw Indians at Mabila (Mobile), in which 18–22 men and seven or 12 horses were killed and another 150 or 250 men and up to 70 horses were wounded, while the Choctaws lost 2,500–3,000 men. They then journeyed on through Mississippi, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and finally Louisiana. On arriving at the coast the 310 survivors constructed boats and sailed down to Tampico in New Spain. As well as the Choctaw, tribes encountered en route included the Alabama, the Caddo confederation, and the Natchez. The four survivors[91] of Narváez's ill-fated company, which had been harassed to virtual extinction by Apalachee Indians, endured an even more epic journey, eventually reaching the frontier of New Galicia in Sonora, on the Pacific coast of Mexico, nine years later, in 1536, after many adventures.

The next Spanish attempt to establish a foothold in the area was prompted by the arrival in Florida of the French. In June 1562 a French reconnoitring expedition consisting of two ships and 150 Huguenots[92] under Jean Ribault and René Goulaine de Laudonnière, sent by the Huguenot leader Admiral Coligny, had erected a small fort (Charlesfort) on Parris Island, some 15 miles north of the mouth of the Savannah River, but its 25-strong garrison had mutinied soon after and abandoned it, building a small boat and sailing away to be rescued by an English ship. The Spanish, finding Charlesfort empty in June 1564, razed it to the ground. A second French expedition, of three ships and 300 men commanded by Laudonnière, constructed a larger base — Fort Caroline — in Timucua Indian territory opposite modern Jacksonville, at the mouth of the St. Johns River, in July 1564. Laudonnière himself describes this fort as being 'built in the form of a triangle. The side toward the west, which was toward the land, was enclosed with a little trench and raised with turfs made in the form of a battlement nine feet high; the other side, which was toward the river, was enclosed with a palisade of planks of timber after the manner that gabions are made. On the south side there was a kind of bastion within which I caused an house for the munitions to be built; it was all builded with fagots and sand, saving about two or three feet high with turfs whereof the battlements were made.'

The French were initially welcomed by the Indians, and when soon afterwards they found themselves running short of provisions, they opted 'to serve a king of the Floridians against other of his enemies for milk and other victuals'. This chief was Outina, the ruler of some 40 villages in the vicinity of the St. Johns River. The support of the French enabled him to win two victories over his rival Potanou, but this alliance of convenience did not last long. In a very short time the French, having 'made the inhabitants weary of them by their daily craving of maize', resorted to seizing Outina early in 1565 and ransoming him for a supply of provisions. Predictably, the Indian response was hostile, the French being chased away in a running battle that lasted for several miles and cost many lives. Laudonnière eventually released Outina, but the damage was done, and fighting between the French and Indians continued. The situation had deteriorated to the point where Laudonnière was considering abandoning Fort Caroline when, in August 1565, Ribault arrived with a reinforcement of seven large ships packed with 600 colonists.

The Spanish remained blissfully unaware of the French colony's existence until they captured a pinnace crewed by a small band of Frenchmen who, discontented with Laudonnière's leadership, had ventured out on an unauthorised privateering foray. Admiral Pedro Menéndez de Avilés was immediately despatched from Spain with an expedition consisting of over 2,500 soldiers and seamen in 34 ships (only four of which, however, were of any real size). The Spanish fleet engaged the French ships below Fort Caroline at the beginning of September 1565, only days after Ribault's arrival, before withdrawing further down the coast to regroup as a storm brewed. Ribault took advantage of the pause to load his men aboard the French ships and sail off to seek out the Spanish fleet, which enabled Menéndez in turn, by landing 500 men and

marching overland, to catch Fort Caroline virtually undefended. According to Laudonnière's own account he had been left with just 45 of Ribault's people in the fort, inclusive of 'lackeys', women, and children (only nine or ten were actually soldiers), while of his own men only 16 or 17 were fit enough to bear arms, the rest being either sick or suffering from wounds inflicted during the conflict with Outina. Attacked unexpectedly at dawn, the fort was swiftly overrun. Laudonnière and about 50–60 Frenchmen escaped into the woods, but 142 other men were killed or executed, and 50–70 women and children captured. About 20 of the fugitives were later intercepted and killed, another 30 managed to escape to surviving French boats, and ten more fled to the Indians.

Ribault's ships had meanwhile been stranded ashore by a storm, and the victorious Spaniards now marched to Matanzas Inlet and bluffed 200 survivors of their crews into surrendering and then executed all of them barring a dozen Catholics and four craftsmen. When another group of 350 survivors was encountered 150 of these surrendered and met the same fate, including Ribault. The remaining 200 attempted to build, or more probably repair, a ship from their beached vessels but were overtaken and captured by the Spaniards and condemned to the galleys. This brought the century's most significant French colonial enterprise in North America to a sad end, and the Spaniards set about establishing a number of missionary outposts and forts of their own — including three built in the vicinity of Fort Caroline — with mixed fortunes. Brief information on these can be found in the chapter on Spanish America.

French trading, fishing, and piracy, meanwhile, continued unabated in American coastal waters for the rest of the century, and included a revenge attack mounted by Dominique de Gourgues, who raised his own fleet of three ships, 80 seamen, and 150 soldiers, and arrived in Florida in spring 1568. Allying himself to the local Indians led by Outina's principal enemy, Satouriona, de Gourgues and his Indian auxiliaries attacked the three Spanish forts at Fort Caroline one by one. Both of the smaller forts were swiftly overwhelmed and all but 15 of the garrison massacred in each case. A sortie of 60 arquebusiers from Fort Caroline itself was also cut off and massacred, after which the rest of the garrison fled into the woods, where Gourgues' Indian allies set on them. The prisoners taken in all three forts were then hanged and the forts razed, after which de Gourgues and his fleet sailed back to France.

In 1577 the French briefly re-established themselves in Florida, but the large galleon which brought them there, commanded by Nicolas Strozzi, was wrecked in the process. Landing at Charlesfort — temporarily abandoned by the Spaniards (who called it San Felipe) — Strozzi's 280 men had constructed themselves a triangular timber fort measuring 66 paces on each side, but this was overrun by local Guale and Cusabo Indians, who killed up to 200 Frenchmen. This disaster had occurred by spring 1578, when Spanish forces reoccupied the site and found it littered with Frenchmen's bones. Told that a further 80–100 Frenchmen had been captured by or taken shelter with various tribes, the Spaniards spent the next couple of years trying to track these down, though they only ever found about 30 (nearly all of whom they executed). The largest individual band encountered consisted of 20 being harboured by the Cusabo Indians of Coçapoy, a tribe which had long been in arms against the Spaniards; an expedition under Pedro Menéndez Marqués consequently attacked Coçapoy, killing three of the fugitives and capturing and hanging the other 17. Further foreign vessels seen or reported in the vicinity of Charlesfort from late-1577 until 1580 were suspected to have been clandestine French efforts to resupply or rescue its erstwhile garrison. One ship landed elements of its crew near old Fort Caroline in July 1580, these being attacked and overwhelmed by a Spanish detachment which killed 54 men and captured numerous others. Indians reported the appearance of yet another French landing-party near Cayagua (Charleston Harbor) at the end of 1581, but the Spaniards sent out from San Felipe in search of them found no-one.

THE INDIANS

The principal Indian peoples of 16th century Spanish Florida comprised the Timucua in the east, as far north as Cumberland Island; the Mayuca, Ays, Tegesta, Tocobago, and Calusa[93] south of Mosquito Inlet; the Apalachee between the Aucilla and Apalachicola rivers at the head of Apalachee Bay; the Yamasee and Guale (pronounced 'Wali')[94] — Muskhogean tribes related to the Creeks — in Georgia; the closely-related Cusabos, who lived around the Spanish settlement of Santa Elena to their north; and finally the Choctaw to the west of Apalachee Bay, the largest tribe in the American south-east after the Cherokee. Many of these tribes were vestiges of the disappearing Mississippi culture that had dominated the south-east corner of North America for about the past 500 years. Until relatively recently this culture was thought to have had its heyday in the period 1300–1500, but it is now generally considered to have survived until at least the mid-16th century. Interestingly, numerous aspects of the culture's art and artefacts, as well as its temples set on earth pyramids, indicate links with Mesoamerica, and some trading is certainly known to have existed between the two regions. Nearly all of these tribes were extinct by the mid-18th century. Their overall population even at the time of first contact may have been no more than 50–75,000, living in small scattered communities that were generally concentrated at the mouths and along the courses of the area's navigable rivers.

The people about which we know most, with whom both the French and Spaniards came into collision, were the Timucua, a non-Mississippian people. Those with whom the French came into contact consisted of three tribes: the Satouriona, the Outina, and the Potanou. These were semi-nomadic, Juan Rogel writing in 1569–70 that 'nine out of the twelve months they wander about without any fixed abode.'

Like all North American peoples, the Timucua tribes (of which there appear to have been 15 in all) were each led by a chief who exercised considerable power and yet remained in effect no more than a 'first among equals', retaining his status and authority by personality and persuasion rather than by force. The Spanish generally referred to Timucua and most other Floridian chiefs as caciques, but called those of the Guale and the Casubo *micos*. Loose confederations in which a powerful tribe dominated its neighbours — such as the 40 villages under Outina, and the 30 under Satouriona — were presumably

led by particularly charismatic chiefs, to whom, in the case of the Guales, the Spaniards allocated the title *mico mayor*, literally 'big chief'. Missionary interference in the succession of a Guale *mico mayor*, named Juanillo (who the Franciscan friars objected to on the grounds that he had more than one wife), prompted the so-called Juanillo Rebellion in 1597, in which the Spanish missionary outposts were all wiped out. Juanillo went on to lead some 40 canoes and 400 men against the principal Spanish settlement in the area, the *presidio* of San Pedro on Cumberland Island, but he was routed by the small Spanish garrison and the local Christianised Timucua Indians (the Tacatacuru tribe) living round the fort. Governor Gonzalo Méndez Canzo then arrived with 150 men from Santa Elena and, accompanied by many Timucua and loyal Guale Indians, mounted a punitive expedition, and by burning the rebel villages, destroying their crops, and executing several chiefs, he was able to break the back of the rebellion by spring 1601. Juanillo himself fled into the forests and made his last stand in the stockaded village of Yfusinique, which fell to pro-Spanish Guales soon after, when Juanillo was among the 26 rebel chiefs killed in the fighting. The remaining hostiles then fled into the interior.

All the sources agree that Floridian Indians were tawny in complexion and 'of great stature', greater than that of Europeans. Their dress is described in some detail by various chroniclers. The 'Gentleman of Elvas', a chronicler of de Soto's expedition, describes it as comprising a mantle, a deerskin breechclout or loincloth 'made like a linen breech', and deerskin moccasins, the last being customarily worn only when travelling or on the warpath; otherwise they preferred to go barefoot. The mantle was worn in such a way that the right arm was left bare, this being the customary fashion throughout the American south-east. Garcilaso de la Vega (1605), whose account was compiled from earlier sources, says that it was of fur, and that the deerskin breechclout was 'varicoloured' (in 1565 Nicolas le Challeux described that of the Timucua as 'strangely decorated'), so doubtless it bore painted patterns. John Hawkins, who visited Fort Caroline in 1565, describes Timucua deerskin garments as painted 'some yellow and red, some black and russet, and every man according to his fancy.' Variations in dress noted among some tribes included what appear to have been penis sheaths (or perhaps breechclouts) of plaited palm leaves among the Calusa, and deerskin leggings, noted by chroniclers of the de Soto expedition on several occasions; for this form of leg-wear see the section on Canada and New France below. Rodrigo Ranjel describes those worn by the Apalachee as being black with white ties. The Apalachee also wore fur cloaks in winter, principally of marten.

The Timucua wore their hair long, about 18 ins (45 cm) long according to Jacques le Moyne (Laudonnière says 'down to their hips'), but tied it up on top of the head in a distinctive knot 'with that lower down round the forehead and the back cut short into a ring about two fingers wide, like the rim of a hat'. The Guale appear to have worn their hair in much the same style. Le Challeux says that 'this trussing of their hair' served as a quiver for some of their arrows in war. Le Moyne — who, like Le Challeux, was a member of the doomed French colony of 1564–65 — provides details of the styles of ornamentation they favoured, comprising 'feathers of different kinds, necklaces of a special sort of shell, bracelets made of fish teeth, belts of silver-coloured balls, round and oblong, and pearl anklets. Many of the men wore round, flat plates of gold, silver or brass, which hung upon their legs, tinkling with little bells.'

The Gentleman of Elvas records that Floridian Indians 'painted' their skin red and black, and most sources record the widespread use of both body-paint and tattoos on face, body, arms, and thighs by most Timucua and Guale men. Ribault, for instance, describes the Timucua as painting their bodies blue, red, and black; Laudonnière records that '[some] painted their faces with black, and the rest … painted it with red', while many had patterns 'pricked into their flesh' on torso, arms and thighs; and Le Moyne notes that they were 'in the habit of painting the skin around their mouths of a blue colour'. John Hawkins observed in 1565 that they 'paint their bodies also with curious knots, or antique work, as every man in his own fancy deviseth, which painting … they use with a thorn to prick their flesh … In their wars they use a slighter colour of painting their faces, thereby to make themselves show the more fierce; which after their wars ended they wash away again.' The Chickasaws encountered by de Soto's expedition as it went further west were described by the Gentleman of Elvas as 'having their bodies, thighs and arms ochered and dyed with black, white, yellow and red, striped like unto panes, so that they looked as if they went in hose and doublets; and some of them had plumes, and others had horns on their heads, and their faces black, and their eyes done round about with streaks of red, to seem more fierce.'

WARFARE

It is clear from all the sources that the principal weapon of virtually all the tribes of the region was the bow, the only exceptions apparently being the Choctaws of Pensacola Bay and Mobile Bay, who, we are told, carried 'neither bows nor arrows' but instead attacked Narváez's expedition with 'slings and darts' in 1528, the word 'slings' here being an allusion to spear-throwers, also recorded in use amongst Indians encountered by de Soto's expedition at the mouth of the Mississippi. Garcilaso de la Vega describes the darts thrown with these as being about 6 ft (1.8 m) long, and capable of passing 'through a man armed with a coat of mail'. Eye-witness accounts make little or no mention of shields or spears being used among the Timucua, though Bernal Díaz del Castillo noted Calusa warriors using spears as well as 'very large bows' in 1517, while the Calusa who chased off Ponce de León's party in 1521 are described as being armed with shields and bows.

Their bows were as tall as the men who used them, and had a draw weight of about 50 lbs (mediaeval English longbows, by comparison, had a draw weight of anywhere between about 70 and 150 lbs). Said to be made of oak or similar 'strong and heavy' wood (Hawkins says 'a kind of yew, but blacker than ours', probably meaning hickory or black locust), they were stout enough — exaggeratedly described as 'the thickness of a man's arm' by Cabeza de Vaca — to be used as a club when a warrior's arrows were spent. They were sometimes decorated with coloured patterns. A test carried out by the Spaniards during de Soto's expedition

showed that at 50 ft (15 m) the bows of Floridian Indians were powerful enough to shoot an arrow through both sides of two mail corselets and a strong wicker basket, and certainly a dozen years earlier ten of Narváez's men had been killed by arrows that went right through their armour. De Gourgues likewise records in astonishment that during his expedition of 1568 an arrow fired by one of his Timucua allies 'ran through the target and body of a Spaniard'. The Gentleman of Elvas went so far as to compare the penetrative force of an Indian arrow to that of a crossbow bolt. However, it is clear from other anecdotes that their arrows were largely ineffective against plate armour, a disadvantage they soon learnt to overcome by aiming at those parts of a man left unprotected. Hawkins observes that in a battle against the French in 1565 the Timucua, 'having shot at divers of their bodies, which were armed, and perceiving that their arrows did not prevail against the same, they shot at their faces and legs'; in this way they succeeded in wounding all but 40 of the Frenchmen facing them.

Their reed or cane arrows were 'of great length'. They had nocks and feather flights and were provided with any one of a wide variety of heads, including stones 'like points of diamonds', the tips of deer's horns, the teeth of fish and snakes, fish bones and scales, splinters of animal bone, birds' beaks, horseshoe crabs' tails, and so on. Others simply had the cane sharpened to a doubtless fire-hardened point, or were fitted with 'a kind of hard wood, notched, which pierceth as far as any of the rest.' Hawkins found in 1565 that some arrows even had metal heads, for which the broken-off tips of knives obtained from the French were used. He also mentions arrowheads made of silver. The Gentleman of Elvas says that the fish-bone heads, which he describes as 'chisel-shaped', tended to break off on impact with armour, but that the sharpened cane variety could go through a shield and, he says, 'do split and pierce a coat of mail'. In addition he notes that an Indian archer 'seldom misses what he shoots at'; that 'if the arrow does not find armour, it penetrates as deeply as a crossbow bolt'; and that in the time it took a Spanish crossbowman to fire once an Indian could shoot off three or four arrows. In fact Garcilaso de la Vega believed that as many as six or seven arrows could be fired in that time.

Laudonnière recorded details of a skirmish with the Indians, observing that 'when 200 had shot, they retired themselves and gave place to the rest that were behind, and all the while had their eye and foot so quick and ready, that as soon as ever they saw the arquebuses laid to the cheek, so soon were they on the ground, and as soon up to answer with their bows, and to fly their way, if by chance they perceived we were about to overtake them: for there is nothing they fear so much, because of our swords and daggers.' The French learnt to break the Indians' spent arrows as they withdrew 'so as to deprive the savages of the means to begin again ... for by this means they lacked arrows, and so were constrained to retire themselves'.

Gonzalo Solís de Merás (1567) neatly summarises all the advantages a Timucua archer had over a Spanish arquebusier in an exchange of fire: 'They shoot their arrows with such force that they pass through the soldiers' clothing and coats of mail, and the Indians are very quick in shooting. Once a soldier has discharged an arquebus, he cannot reload it before the Indian, on account of his fleetness, comes up with him and fires four or five arrows at him; and while he is putting in the powder to prime it, the Indian withdraws through the woods and high grass and watches for the instant when the powder takes fire; then he stops, and ... crawls along through the grass, and when the arquebus is fired, he rises in a different spot from where he was when the soldier sought to take aim at him.' However, their bowstrings were affected by rain, and they had to be careful to keep them dry when they crossed rivers or other stretches of water. The bows of Indians attacking de Soto's expedition were certainly affected by rain on at least one occasion.

In most instances individual chiefs could probably field only very small numbers of warriors, a clue to the size of their individual bands perhaps being provided by Hawkins' reference to a Timucua attack consisting of 700–800 men under 18 chiefs, or an average of only 40–45 warriors per chief. Leaders of confederations, however, could doubtless assemble considerably larger forces, Jacques le Moyne stating that Satouriona 'could muster an army many thousand strong'.

Indian tactics were not geared to set-piece battles, much of their warfare involving attacks on rival villages which were customarily launched at dawn after a night-march to get into position (a practice soon adopted by the Spaniards). Le Moyne wrote that during 1564–65 the French colonists, fighting for Outina[95] against his rival Potanou, 'never saw a regular battle; all the military operations were either secret forays or light skirmishes, with fresh men constantly replacing the fighters.' The Gentleman of Elvas observed that 'they never stand still, but are always running and traversing from one place to another, so that neither crossbows nor arquebuses can be aimed at them'. If charged by men on foot, he adds, they would simply run away. However, they never put more than the distance of an arrow-shot between them, which meant that when the enemy tired of the pursuit the Indians could swiftly turn and fall on their backs as they withdrew, customarily killing all those that they captured, and scalping and dismembering the enemy dead. Solís de Merás also reports that 'they fought in skirmishes. They jump over the bushes like deer ... and if the Christians follow them, and the Indians are afraid, they go to places where there are rivers or swamps ... and when the Christians retire, they turn back across the river and follow them until they reach the fort, sallying forth from among the thickets and shooting arrows ... On this account war cannot be waged against them very successfully, unless one goes to their villages in search of them, to cut down their crops and burn the houses and take the canoes and destroy the fishways ... so that they must leave the land'. The Indians, however, often opted to suffer near-starvation by burning their own villages and stores of provisions rather than let them fall into Spanish hands, and then harried the enemy by repeatedly ambushing his foraging parties.

Coping with Spanish horsemen was a different matter. As elsewhere in the Americas, in an open field the Spaniards' horses enabled them to ride down any Indian who attempted to stand against them or tried to run away. However, the cavalry's effectiveness was seriously impaired not only by the reckless bravery of the Indians — on one occasion, for instance, a mere two Apalachee warriors rushed against *eight* mounted Spaniards — but also by the local geography, which consisted largely of

swamps, estuaries, and dense forests. Even in areas of open woodland where the Spaniards might have been able to operate more successfully the Indians soon learnt to throw up obstructions between the trees to hinder their progress, and fired at their horses rather than the riders whenever circumstances permitted. They apparently never attempted to use whatever spears they had against horsemen, de la Vega's explanation for this being that they lacked the patience to wait for a cavalier to come within reach of a spear, preferring 'to have him shot full of arrows at a good distance before he reaches them'. Hawkins records that when fighting in woodland they fired from behind cover by 'clasping a tree in their arms, and yet shooting notwithstanding', presumably meaning that they fired with one arm on either side of the tree-trunk (which, therefore, could not have been any bulkier than a sapling).

Despite this preference for skirmishing warfare, it is evident that the Indians were also capable of drawing up in close-order phalanxes, which seem to have been widespread among many peoples of the Americas, both North and South, prior to the arrival of the white man with his devastating firearms. The de Soto chroniclers several times mention encounters with Indians who drew up in formal array — Chickasaws in 'four squadrons', for instance, and Choctaws 'in three squadrons, every one by themselves'. Le Moyne, despite his observation that the French 'never saw a regular battle', nevertheless records that Outina 'marched his forces in regular ranks like an organised army', as depicted in some of his pictures. 'On the flanks of his force were his young men,' he continues, 'wearing red war-paint; the swifter of them acted as advance guards and scouts.' They were directed by 'heralds', most probably tribal elders, who shouted out orders to halt, advance, attack, or whatever. At night (they never fought after sunset) the Timucua slept in an organised camp in groups of ten. Laudonnière tells us that their provisions when on the march comprised bread, honey, parched cornmeal, and sometimes smoked fish. These were carried by 'women and young boys, and by hermaphrodites'.

Forts

Villages were generally fortified, particularly in those regions where the frontiers between tribal territories met or overlapped. Le Moyne provides a good description of the defensive palisades used by the Timucua, telling us that they 'dig a ditch in a circle around the site, in which they set thick round pales, close together, to twice the height of a man; and they carry this paling some ways past the beginning of it, spiral-wise, to make a narrow entrance admitting not more than two persons abreast. The course of the stream is also diverted to this entrance; and at each end of [the entrance] they are accustomed to erect a small round building, each full of cracks and holes ... In these they station as sentinels men who can smell the traces of an enemy at a great distance'.

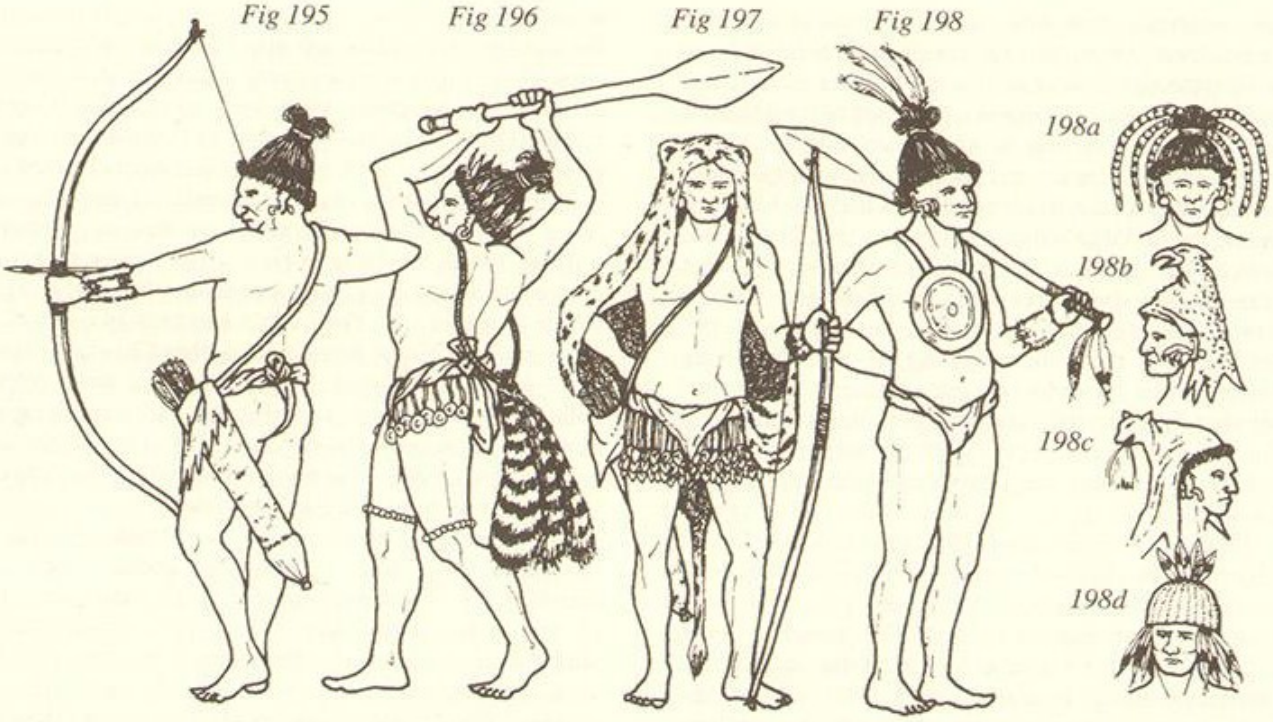
Further west, however, Spanish explorers encountered considerably more sophisticated defensive works. The fortifications of the Choctaw town of Mobile, for instance, are described by Garcilaso de la Vega as 'an enclosure three *estados* [about 16½ ft/5 m] high ... made of logs as thick as oxen. They were driven into the ground so close together that they touched one another. Other beams, longer and not so thick, were placed crosswise on the outside and inside and attached with split canes and strong cords. On top they were daubed with a great deal of mud packed down with long straw, which mixture filled all the cracks and open spaces between the logs and their fastenings in such manner that it really looked like a wall finished with a mason's trowel. At intervals of 50 paces around this enclosure were towers capable of holding seven or eight men ... The lower part of the enclosure, to the height of an *estado* [5½ ft/1.7 m], was full of loopholes ... The pueblo had only two gates'. The Gentleman of Elvas describes another Choctaw fort (at a place he calls 'Ullibahali') as being 'of thick logs, set solidly close together in the ground, and many long poles as thick as an arm placed crosswise. The height of the enclosure was that of a good lance, and it was plastered within and without and had loopholes.'

Rodrigo Ranjel records an abandoned Alabama stockade with 'two fences and good towers', and provides the following details regarding the construction of its walls: 'They drive many thick stakes tall and straight close to one another. These are then interlaced with withies, and then overlaid with clay within and without. They make loopholes at intervals and they make their towers and turrets separated by the curtain and parts of the wall as seems best ... Such stockades are very strong.' Garcilaso de la Vega describes the same fort as 'square, with four equal curtains made of embedded logs, the curtain of each wall being 400 paces long. Inside this square were two other curtains of wood which crossed the fort from one wall to the other. The front curtain had three small doors, so low that a mounted man could not go through them. One door was in the middle ... and the other two were at the sides near the corners. In line with these three doors there were three others in each curtain, so that if the Spaniards should take the first ones, the Indians could defend themselves at those of the second curtain, and of the third and the fourth. The doors of the last curtain opened on a river which passed behind the fort ... There were no doors at all on the sides of the fort.'

The Spaniards believed that this fort had been built specifically to confront them, which seems unlikely. However, this may have been true of some Apalachee defences encountered in thick woodland, where the approach to a large village was by means of a narrow track through the trees, along which 'at intervals of a hundred paces they had made strong palisades with thick logs'.

FIGURES

195–200. TIMUCUA WARRIORS Figures 195–198 are from Theodor de Bry's engravings of a series of paintings by Jacques le Moyne (now mostly lost); Figure 200 is from a painting by John White (1585) which was probably based on one of the same lost originals; and Figure 199 is from a surviving Le Moyne sketch of chief Satouriona. Note the sharp-edged wooden clubs wielded by several of these warriors, which were capable of splitting a man's head; it was probably such clubs that Bernal Díaz del Castillo had in mind when he noted in 1517 that the Calusas used 'a sort of sword'. Spanish explorers often referred to this club as a 'macana', incidentally, which confused Garcilaso de la Vega into thinking that Floridian Indians actually used the flint-bladed Mesoamerican variety of sword. Note, too, the



metal pectorals (probably copper) of Figures 198 and 200; these were probably worn for decoration rather than protection, and some modern authorities suggest that they were made of shell rather than metal. Reed knives were also carried, and metal knives obtained from Europeans became more commonplace as the century progressed (de Gourgues, for instance, provided his Timucua allies with 'some daggers, knives [and] hatchets'). De Bry has mistakenly placed Figure 195's quiver on the left hip, when it should be on the right.

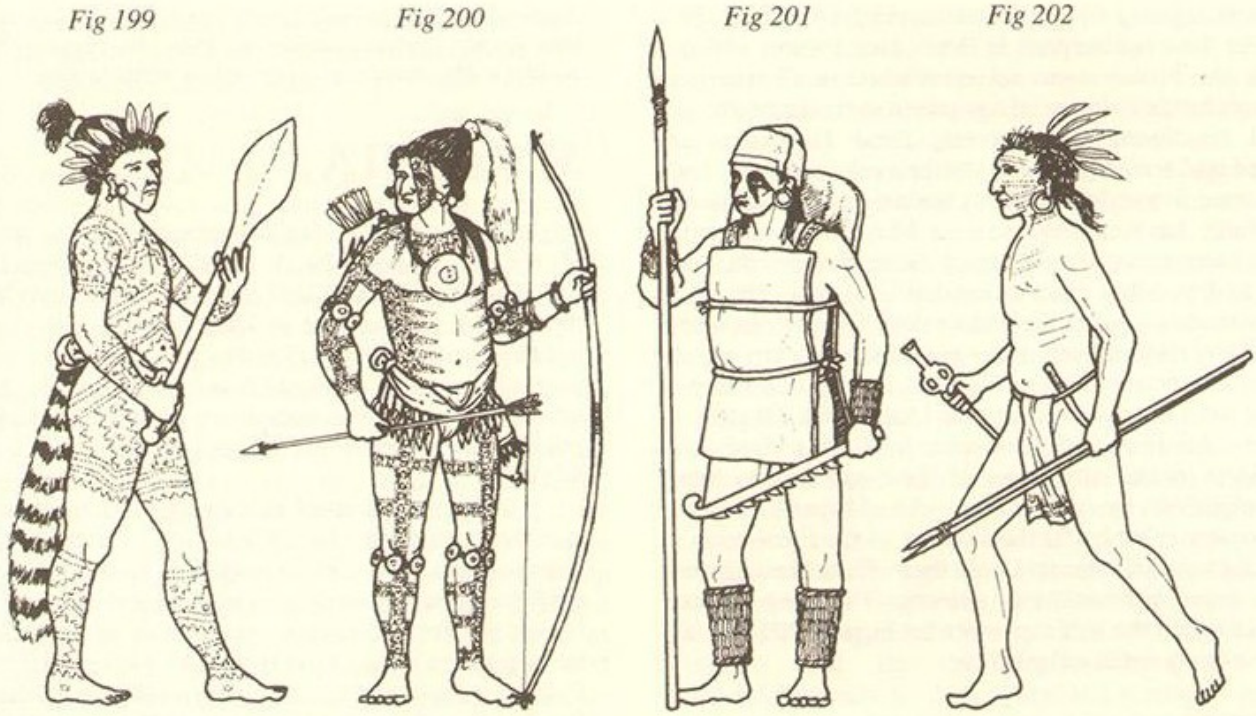
Several of the figures wear bracers, which de la Vega describes as being of 'heavy feathers' and reaching from wrist to elbow, secured by a deerskin thong wrapped seven or eight times round that part of the forearm 'where the bowstring quivers with the greatest force'. Details 198a–d are variant forms of head-dress, of which 198d appears to be a wicker helmet. Virginian Indians encountered by English colonists in the early-17th century are also recorded to have been seen wearing 'upon the head the stuffed skin of a hawk or other bird, with its wings spread', which must have resembled detail 198b. Figure 200 has a white plume, a leather bracer with red fringe, a copper pectoral and bracelets, a leather quiver with red decoration, suspended by a red strap (Le Moyne mentions the Timucua as having red belts), and a white breech-clout with dark shell pendants. He also has a single diagonal red stripe painted across the left side of his face.

Though de Bry's engravings also show men tattooed like Figures 199 and 200, it is interesting to note that they are invariably either chiefs or important warriors, and that the other men who surround them are not portrayed as being tattooed. This suggests that the extent to which an individual was tattooed was perhaps dependent upon his status.

201. LATE MISSISSIPPI CULTURE WARRIOR This figure is a reconstruction based in part on Garcilaso de la Vega's account of the arsenal found in 1540 in an Indian temple at Talomeco in the territory of the Uche — probably Yamasees or Creeks — on the Savannah River. Archaeological and pictorial evidence of the period c.1200–1600 demonstrates that this kind of armour was probably once in use throughout much of eastern America. 17th century Iroquois examples were of woven cane (see Figure 213), but the head-pieces and 'breastplates like corselets' found by de Soto's men were, according to his secretary Rodrigo Ranjel, of rawhide with the hair stripped off. De la Vega says the shields they found were of two types, one circular and made of wood and leather, the other oblong and 'made of such strongly woven cane that they would stop the missile of a crossbow or that of an arquebus'. (The same type of cane shield, 'closely interwoven with thread', was seen in the hands of the Indians who assembled to contest de Soto's passage across the Mississippi.[96]) It seems likely that armour was uncommon in the south-east by the time the Spaniards arrived, or had perhaps disappeared entirely. Significantly none of the published sources record that the Spaniards ever encountered any armoured warriors in the course of their expeditions in the region. His club is of wood, with shark's teeth set into a groove on one edge. Archaeologists have found such weapons in several sites in the American south-east, and chroniclers of the de Soto expedition intimate that they were used by some of the Indians that they encountered.

202. CHOCTAW WARRIOR based on later drawings. The Choctaw were called 'Long Hairs' both by themselves and by their neighbours, in consequence of the fact that, unlike all the other local tribes, they didn't shave their heads anywhere. Another name given to them in the 17th century was 'Flat Heads', resulting from the fact that they practised cranial deformation, flattening both the front and back of their skulls. Like the Mississippi Indians, Choctaw warriors painted themselves red and black and were probably tattooed in black, red, and blue on the 'face, arms, shoulders, thighs, legs, but principally on the belly and breast'. Their traditional weapons were bows, knives, clubs, and javelins, but as already mentioned, the Choctaws of Pensacola Bay and Mobile Bay are described at the time of de Soto's expedition as

Fig 199 Fig 200 Fig 201 Fig 202

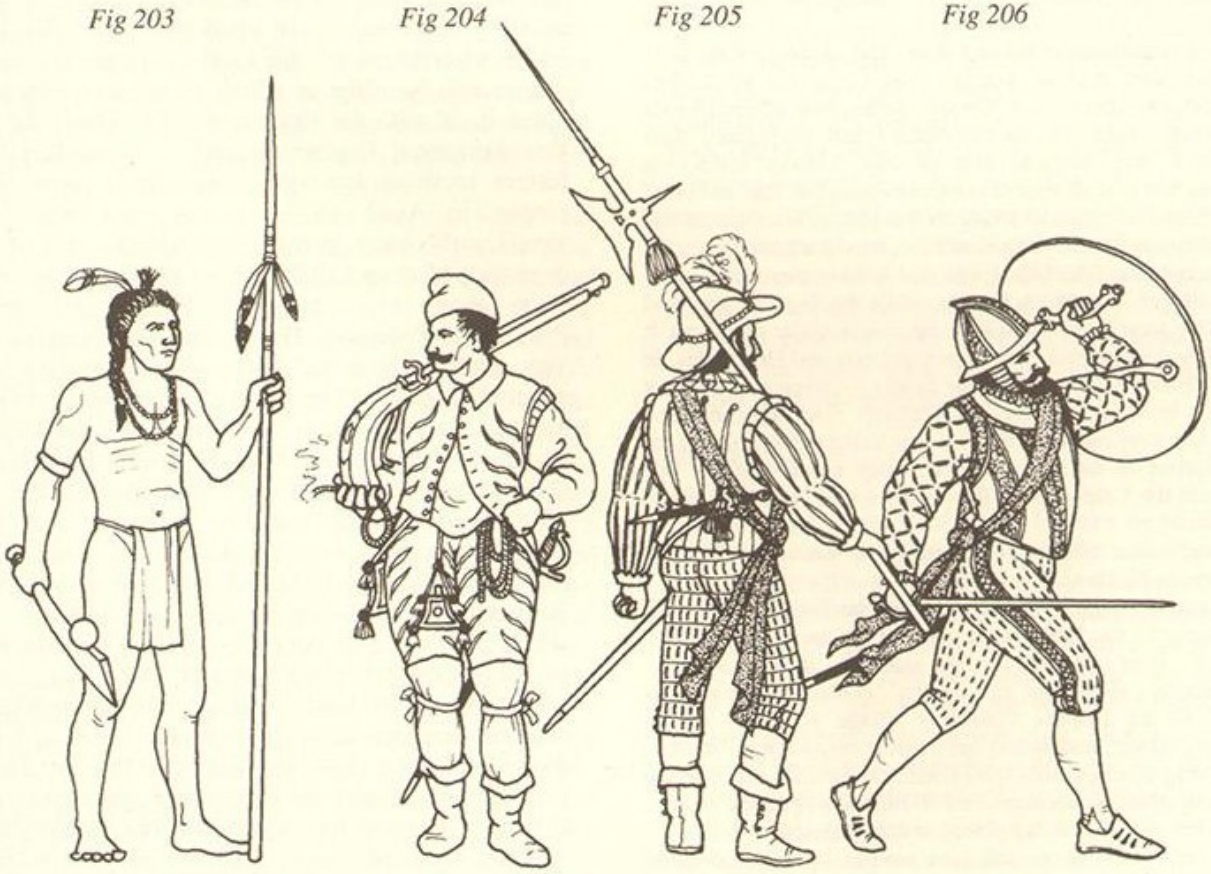


being armed with spear-throwers and darts rather than bows. Where shields were carried at all they were made of buffalo hide or alligator skin.

203. CADDO WARRIOR Warriors of the Caddo confederation of Louisiana encountered by de Soto's expedition were considered 'the best fighting people that the Christians met with'. This figure is based mainly on a later drawing by Antoine le Page du Pratz. His wooden club is of a type called an *atasa*, which seems to have been in widespread use amongst most tribes of the south-east during the pre-Conquest period. It is succinctly described by du Pratz as having 'the shape of a cutlass blade, two and a half inches broad and one and a half feet long. They have an edge and a back. Toward the end of the back is a ball three inches in diameter, which is part of the same piece.' The chroniclers of de Soto's expedition recorded that they fought principally with long fire-hardened spears, but bows were also in widespread use.

204–206. FRENCHMEN of Laudonnière's expedition, from Jacques le Moyne's lost paintings depicting French

Fig 203 Fig 204 Fig 205 Fig 206



soldiers fighting for the Timucua chief Outina in 1564. Unlike their counterparts in Brazil (see Figures 180 and 181), the French were not established in Florida long enough for their dress and equipment to be adapted to suit local conditions. Consequently these Huguenots are attired and armed identically to their co-religionists back in France, in a style completely unsuited to the backwoods of North America. However, Le Moyne's pictures may have been drawn from memory rather than on the spot, and had possibly been tailored to suit their European audience (as some of the Indian details definitely were). By 1565 Laudonnière's men were somewhat more ragged than those portrayed here, Hawkins finding that many of them were barefoot (he provided them with 50 pairs of shoes). All French fighting men in Florida were foot-soldiers, incidentally, none of their expeditions being accompanied by any horses. Le Moyne's pictures demonstrate that by far the majority of the Frenchmen in Florida were arquebusiers, only their officers being armed with sword-and-buckler or polearm. They also indicate that in action the soft caps worn by Figures 204 and 205 were usually replaced by helmets.

NOTES

90 Though the expedition had started out with 180 horses, many had died during the long voyage from Spain.

91 Three Spaniards — among them the chronicler Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca — and a Negro slave. The latter, named Estevan, was later *Fray* Marcos de Niza's scout in New Mexico, where he was killed by Zuni Indians in 1539.

92 Contrary to a misconception popular amongst historians, and despite the fact that the majority of 16th century French expeditions in the New World were led by Huguenots (French Protestants) — including Roberval, Ribault, Laudonnière, Mesgouez de la Roche, Pierre Chauvin de Tonnetuit, and Pierre du Gua de Monts — French attempts to establish colonies in the Americas were all motivated by nationalism rather than religion.

93 It is said that at about the end of the 15th century, or possibly somewhat later, Arawak Indians from Cuba, led by a chief named Sequene and his son 'Carlos', settled in southern Florida at an unidentified site named Abaibo and subjugated their neighbours. The ultimate fate of this Arawak colony is unknown, but it is at least theoretically possible that the chief called Calusa or 'Carlos' living in the 1560s, after whom the Spaniards named this eponymous tribe, was descended from his earlier namesake. Chief Calusa is said to have controlled some 50–70 villages in southern Florida, while the Tegesta, Ays, and some other tribes were also to some extent under his sway. It was Calusa Indians that both Ponce de León and Hernández de Córdoba encountered — the latter fatally — when they set foot in Florida in 1512 and 1517 respectively. Tradition maintains that the Ays were related to the Lucayos living in the Bahamas at the beginning of the 16th century, which would suggest that they, if not the Calusa, mark the northernmost limit of Arawak migration.

94 'Guale' was a term of convenience that was adopted by the Spaniards, and embraced several tribes.

95 Laudonnière records that Outina put the French, with their arquebuses, 'in the forefront, to the end (as they said) that the noise of their pieces might astonish their enemies'. Consequently, since the Frenchmen 'could not march so secretly' as the Indians, Potanou's village got wind of the impending attack 'and issued out in great companies', but fled on receiving a volley from the French. On another occasion 30 French arquebusiers accompanied 300 Indians against Potanou, with the French again being placed in the vanguard.

96 It seems likely that such cane shields were the original characteristic shield-type of south-east North America, but had been largely displaced during the 15th–16th centuries by the circular leather variety found among the northern tribes.

VIRGINIA

England, like France, did not acknowledge the division of the entire unexplored world between Spain and Portugal, Sir William Cecil (later Lord Burleigh) telling the Spanish ambassador in 1562 that 'the Pope had no right to partition the world and to give and take kingdoms to whomsoever he pleased.' It was, consequently, only a matter of time before operations commenced aimed at establishing a permanent English presence in the New World.

England's first colonial enterprise in the Americas — the proposed foundation of a settlement in Newfoundland — came to nought in 1583 when two of the three ships involved in the initial reconnaissance were lost off the North American coast with all hands, including the expedition's leader Sir Humphrey Gilbert (Sir Walter Raleigh's step-brother). Instead it was Roanoke Island, in Pamlico Sound, that became the site of her first colony. In order to flatter the 'Virgin Queen' Elizabeth I and obtain her patronage, the colony was, at Raleigh's suggestion, named 'Virginia' (though the site was actually in what is now North Carolina). The failure of Raleigh's attempts to establish settlements here in 1585 and 1587 — Sir Francis Drake rescued the survivors of the first colony after his foray into the West Indies in June 1586, while the 100 settlers planted in the second had disappeared by 1590[97] — resulted in part at least from the opposition of many of the local Algonkian-speaking tribes. These consisted of the Chawanoke, Croatoan (later called Hatteras), Moratuc, Neusiok, Pomouik (or Pomeioc), Roanoke, Secotan, and Weapemeoc (or Yawpim), each comprising anything from one to 18 often palisaded villages. The initial friendliness of the local Roanoke Indians soon soured into hostility, at which point the Croatoan tribe allied itself with the English settlers against them. The first permanent English colony — established slightly further north at Jamestown, in what is now Virginia proper, in April 1607 — was confronted by the significantly more powerful Powhatan confederation, consisting of almost all the tribes found on the James[98] and York rivers — the Chesapeake, Chickahominy, Pamunkey, Potomac, Powahatan, and Rappahannock. This confederation had been welded together between about 1572 and 1607 by Powhatan (*weroance*, or chief, of the tribe of that name, and father of the celebrated Pocahontas), and lasted until the death of his successor Opechancanough in the 1640s. Individual villages could raise from two to 200 warriors, and a tribe could muster 20–400 depending on size, the majority being able to muster 100 at most. In 1607 John Smith enumerated the Powhatan confederation as comprising 28 tribes with about 2,385 warriors, but omits several which would have probably brought the total to nearer 2,500.

We are fortunate in having not just several fairly detailed contemporary descriptions of these peoples, dating both to the 1580s and to the first few decades of the 17th century,

but also the exquisite water-colours of John White, governor of the second Roanoke settlement, who, luckily for posterity, was gathering supplies in England when his colony vanished. All the sources agree that the Indians here were taller than Europeans, and of a tawny or chestnut complexion. Occasionally they went naked, but most men wore a breechclout, which in this period was usually of deer, bear, or seal skin, but later was often of cloth obtained by trade. This appears to have been worn in two different ways, being either simply tied round the waist, or else passed between the legs and secured by means of a thin leather belt, often a snakeskin, through which it was pulled to hang down like a fringed apron at the front, while a tail might be suspended at the back.

A fringed mantle might also be worn in cool weather, tied across one shoulder and passing under the opposite arm. This was made of hemp, mulberry bark fibre, rabbit-skin, deerskin, or various other types of skin or fur (bear, beaver, deer, fox, moose, otter, racoon, and squirrel are all mentioned in 17th century sources). They generally wore skins with the fur left on in winter, 'but in summer without'. Those woven from bark fibre or hemp were usually dyed, most often red but also black or yellow, while the deerskin mantles and breechclouts of the upper classes might be painted or decorated with white beads, cowrie shells, animal teeth, pearls, or copper trinkets. (A mantle believed to have been Powhatan's, brought back to England early in the 17th century, is coloured blue and decorated with the stylised figures of a man flanked by two rearing animals, and surrounded by more than 30 discs, all made up out of small white shells.) Most men went barefoot, but occasionally 'swamp-moccasins' were worn, these consisting of a single piece of moose hide or deerskin drawn tight round the foot by means of laces at the toe and heel, the rear laces being often tied round the ankles in addition. Early 17th century sources mention that in winter and for protection when travelling Powhatan Indians also wore the same sort of tanned deerskin leggings ('leather stockings up to their twists') as are described under Figure 212, and they were doubtless worn in the 16th century too. These were fastened to the waist-belt at the top and the moccasins at the bottom. Like the mantle, they were frequently decorated with coloured designs. Separate sleeves of 'deep furr'd cat' (bobcat fur) might also be worn, as described under Figure 217.

The Roanokes and Secotans wore red, white, and blue body-paint, while the Powhatans often painted their heads and shoulders red, and some painted their bodies yellow or black. William Strachey (c.1618) says that the Powhatans 'paint and cross their foreheads, cheeks and the right [i.e. the shaved] side of their heads diversely', while William Wood (1634) records that Virginian Indians on the war-path painted their faces 'with diversity of colours, some being all black as jet, some red, some half red and half black, some black and white, others spotted with divers kinds of colours'. Face-painting in wartime appears to have been predominantly black and red, but white, yellow, and blue were also used. White's pictures show that specific devices might also be tattooed on the back of the shoulder, such as those in figure detail 208a. These were large enough to be identifiable at a reasonable distance. Since a group of Secotan Indians in one picture all have different devices they are obviously not tribal, and perhaps indicate status or family affiliation. Wood may have had similar devices in mind when he recorded of Virginian Indians that 'many of the better sort [bear] upon their cheeks certain portraitures of beasts, as bears, deers, mooses, wolves, &c, and some of fowls as of eagles, hawks, &c,' all tattooed in black. 'Others have certain round impressions down the outside of their arms and breasts, in form of mullets or spur-rowels, which they imprint by searing irons'.

The characteristic hair-style throughout the region comprised a coxcomb or ridge of short, upright hair across the crown from the front of the head to the nape of the neck, with the hair on the left side of the head grown 'an ell long' (and sometimes tied in a knot above the ear), while that on the right side was shaved 'very close' (to stop it 'flapping about the bowstring when they draw it', according to a later source). The hair was sometimes dyed red, and the knot on the left side was often 'stuck with many coloured gewgaws', the decorations listed in the sources including turkey and eagle feathers, the brow-antler of a deer, the dried hand of an enemy, copper crescents, 'the whole skin of a hawk stuffed with the wings abroad', buzzard and other birds' wings (with a rattlesnake rattle attached), and various sea-shells suspended from strings. Wood, however, implies that this half-long/half-short style was appropriate only to young men and warriors, and that older men wore their hair 'very long, hanging down in loose dishevelled womanish manner; otherwise tied up hard and short like a horsetail, bound close with a fillet.' It is perhaps this style that Verrazzano had in mind when, at the beginning of the century, he described North Carolinian Indians as having their hair tied in a pony tail. Some Roanoke and Powhatan chiefs certainly seem to have had their hair long on both sides of the head, and either knotted behind each ear or at the back of the neck.

Gabriel Archer (1607) says that 'the kings and best among them have a kind of coronet of deers' hair coloured red', worn round their knotted hair. Such red 'coronets' were doubtless the same as those seen amongst the Armouchiquois of Maine by James Rosier in 1605, described as 'a kind of coronet about [the] head, made … of a substance like stiff hair coloured red, broad, and more than a handful in depth, which we imagined to be some ensign of superiority.' (See also Figure 215.) Most men also had their ears pierced in two or three places, warriors wearing earrings consisting of strings of bone, stone or shell beads, stained pearls, up to five or six bone or copper pendants, or the leg of an eagle, hawk, turkey or some other bird, of which the claws 'hang upon the cheek' (compare to figure detail 198b). Other jewellery included pearl or bead necklaces and bracelets, while Archer mentions some having 'chains of long linked copper about their necks'.

WARFARE

The principal weapon of all the Indians faced by English settlers during the period 1585–1620 was the longbow. This measured 5–6 ft (1.5–1.8 m) — a surviving example dating to 1660 is 66 3/4 ins (1.7 m) from tip to tip — and was made predominantly of witch-hazel or sometimes hickory. Martin Pring describes one he saw in 1603 as 'painted black and yellow, the strings of three twists of sinews, bigger than our bowstrings.' Strachey records the range of Powhatan examples as 40 yds (36.5 m) 'level, or very near the mark, and 120 is their best at random'. Wood wrote that Indian bows were 'quick, but not very strong, not killing above six or seven score [paces]'. The

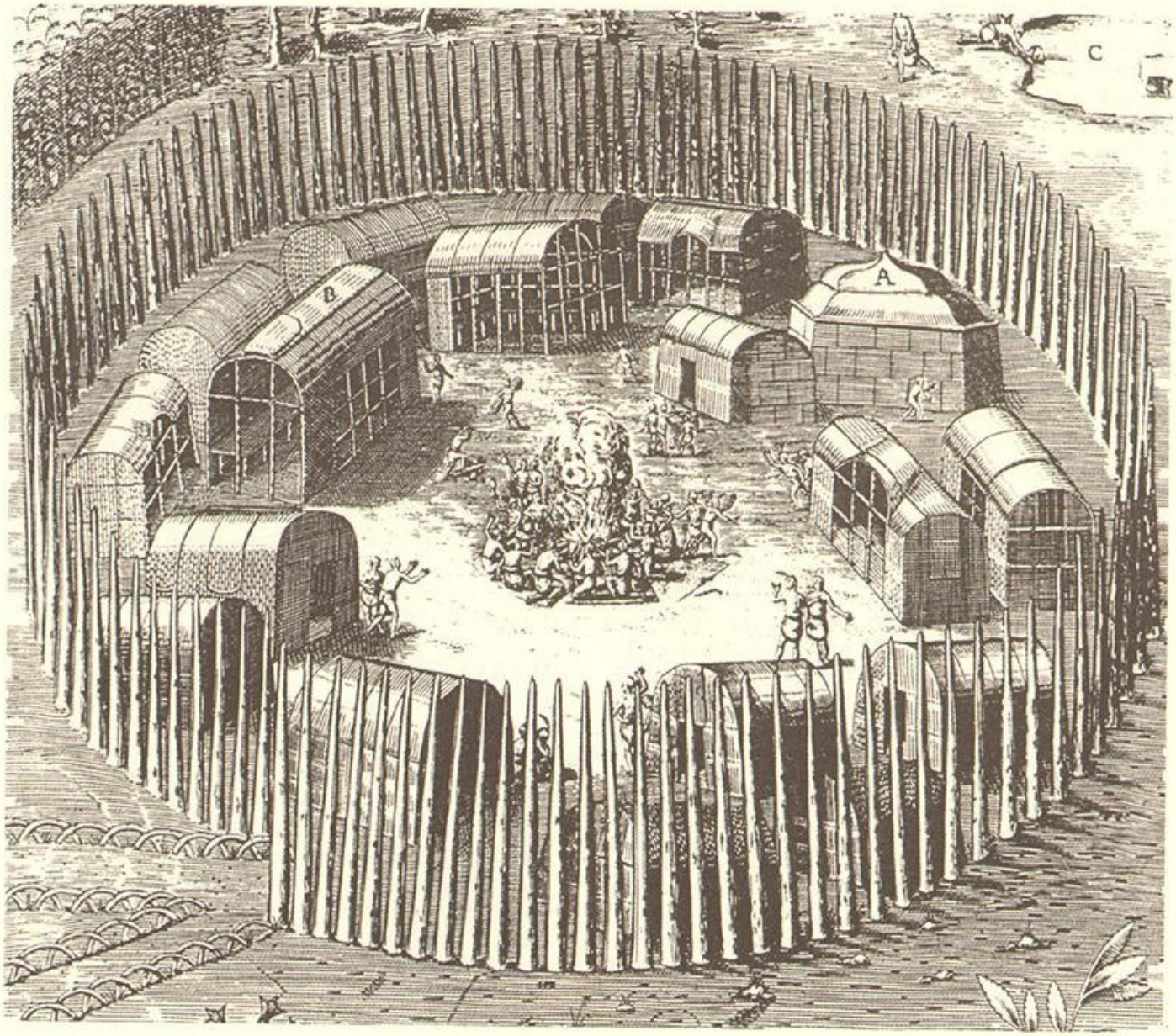
general view today is that they were not particularly accurate at more than about 40–50 yds (36.5–45.7 m).

The arrows — variously described as 'a yard and a handful' or 'five quarters' long (about 1.1 m) — were of elder, some having a 6–8 inch (15–20 cm) foreshaft inserted into the main shaft which allowed them to break off in a wound. They were tipped with a wide assortment of materials including stone (mostly quartz), bone, deer antler, copper, sea-shell, fish-tooth, turkey-cock spurs, birds' beaks, and horseshoe crab tails, all of these being 'sufficient enough to kill a naked man'. The stone, bone, and copper ones were usually triangular or heart-shaped and quite large (about 1½–3 ins/3.8–7.6 cm long and an inch broad), but some copper ones were conical, and fitted over the end of the wooden shaft. Pring describes the fletching as consisting of 'three long and deep black feathers of some eagle, vulture, or kite', while Strachey says they were fletched with turkey feathers. They were customarily carried in a quiver that Pring says was 'full a yard long, made of long dried rushes wrought about two handfuls broad above, and one handful beneath with pretty works and compartments, diamond-wise of red and other colours.' Others were of wolf's skin. The Powhatans wore the quiver across the back, 'hanging on their left shoulder with the lower end of it in their right hand' as they trotted along, and the arrows were drawn over the right shoulder using the right hand. White's pictures of the Roanokes, however, show that they wore the quiver at the right hip instead.

Wood says that they 'use no other weapons in war than bows and arrows, saving that their captains have long spears, on which if they return conquerors they carry the heads of their chief enemies'. The only other weapons commonly employed were stone-bladed axes, curved wooden clubs like that of Figure 215, and what Thomas Hariot (1588) describes as 'flat-edged wooden truncheons, which are about a yard long' (see Figure 208). These 'truncheons' were sometimes carved and painted.

As regards defensive equipment, Hariot mentions shields made of bark, and 'armour made of sticks wickered together with thread' (for armour of this type see Figure 213), but this is the only allusion to the existence of armour anywhere in this region. Strachey too mentions shields, but observes that they were 'not many, nor everywhere'. Those of the Powhatans were said to be 'made of the bark of trees, round and thick enough to

The fortified village of Pomeioc, an engraving based on a painting of 1585 by John White, published in Thomas Hariot's Admiranda.



keep out an arrow', and other sources tell us that they were sometimes painted red.

The earliest but nevertheless brief account of their fighting style is given by Hariot: 'Their manner of wars amongst themselves is either by sudden surprising [of] one another, most commonly about the dawning of the day or [by] moonlight; or else by ambushes, or some subtle devices. Set battles are very rare, except it fall out where there are many trees, where either part may have some hope of defence, after the delivery of every arrow, in leaping behind some [tree] or other.' Indeed, as with all other Indians, ambush was their preferred tactic, ideally from a carefully selected location where geographical features would prevent the enemy from deploying or easily escaping. Wood states that when they attacked they did so 'in a disordered manner', and Archer tells us that the chief directed the battle in person, always leading from the front.

The details of a mock battle fought for the benefit of the Jamestown colonists by Powhatan Indians in the early-17th century, recorded by William Strachey, are probably also applicable to the Roanoke and their neighbours. Strachey records how they stood 'ranking themselves fifteen abreast, and each rank from [the] other four or five yards, not in file, but in the opening betwixt their files, so as the rear could shoot as conveniently as the front.' Having formed up, they advanced, 'all duly keeping their ranks, yet leaping and singing after their accustomed tune, which they use only in wars.' They then let fly with their bows until their supply of arrows was exhausted: 'When they had spent their arrows they joined together prettily, charging and retiring, every rank seconding [the] other. As they get advantage, they catched their enemies by the hair of their head, and down he came that was taken; his enemy, with a wooden sword, seemed to beat out his brains'. When in time one side was weakened sufficiently 'the Powhatans charged them in form of a half-moon; [the enemy] unwilling to be enclosed, fled all in a troop to their ambuscadoes, on whom they led them very cunningly ... whereupon the Powhatans retired themselves with all speed to their seconds, which the [enemy] seeing, took that advantage to retire again ... and so each returned to their own quarter.'

Also in the early-17th century, Henry Spelman witnessed an actual battle between two Virginian tribes (the Potomac and Masomeck): 'They never fight in open fields but always either among reeds or behind trees, taking their opportunity to shoot at their enemies and till they can nock another arrow they make the trees their defence ... On both sides they scatter themselves some little distance one from the other, then take they their bows and arrows and having made ready to shoot they softly steal toward their enemies, sometimes squatting down and prying if they spy any to shoot at whom if at any time he so hurteth that he cannot flee they make haste to him to knock him on the head. And they that kill most of their enemies are held the chiefest men.' Such was their 'leaping and dancing', however, that Roger Williams (1643) observes that 'seldom an arrow hits, and when a man is wounded, unless he that shot follows upon the wounded, they soon retire and save the wounded'. Consequently few battles ended with many casualties, Williams noting that there were 'seldom 20 slain' in most.

Provisions usually taken on a raid comprised a bag of cornmeal, called *nocake*, to which water simply needed to be added to transform it into a porridge or edible paste, enabling a meal to be eaten without the need to light a fire, which would have betrayed a warband's position to the enemy. Williams says that 'with this ready provision, and their bows and arrows, are they ready for war, and travel at an hour's warning.' (See also note 105.)

Forts

Most tribes built themselves one or more fortified sites in which to seek refuge in times of danger. Though most were circular, there were also square or rectangular types, the smallest being about 40–50 ft (12–15 m) across with a single cabin inside, while the biggest might contain as much as four acres of ground and hold an entire village of anywhere between about 20 and 50 cabins. They were usually surrounded by a single palisade, which William Wood describes as 'erected of young timber trees, ten or twelve feet high, rammed into the ground, with undermining within, the earth being cast up for their shelter against the dischargements of their enemies, having loopholes to send out their winged messengers.' Vincent, a participant in the attack on a Pequot fort in Connecticut in 1637, describes these timbers as 'young trees and half-trees as thick as a man's thigh or the calf of his leg', and says that they were set as close together as possible. Sometimes the palisade might be trebled for additional defence, and a description of Powhatan's as being 'prettily fortified with poles and barks of trees' suggests that the palisade was at least sometimes strengthened by a covering of bark. Smaller forts had a single entrance formed by overlapping the ends of the palisade, leaving such a narrow gap between them that Vincent says they had to be 'for the most part entered sideways'. This could be easily blocked 'with boughs and bushes as need requireth'. Larger forts had two entrances at opposite sides, so that the village plan resembled two half-circles slightly offset. Fire was seldom if ever used in attacking these forts, and the Indians usually besieged such places rather than attempting to escalade them, occasionally goading the defenders out by taunts to fight them in the open.

FIGURES

207–210. VIRGINIAN WARRIORS It is apparent from late-16th and early-17th century written accounts, John White's paintings, and the handful of known 17th century depictions not based in some way on the latter, that the tribes of Virginia and those in the immediate vicinity of Raleigh's colonies in North Carolina were dressed and armed pretty much alike. Of those depicted here, Figure 207 is derived from White's paintings. Note the tattooed or painted decoration on his body, arms and legs, largely in red, though the pattern on his shoulders is rendered in red, white, and blue. The rectangular copper plate on the chest, added from another figure, denotes he is a chief. Martin Pring (1603) likewise records of Virginian Indians that 'some few of them had plates of brass a foot long, and half a foot broad before their breasts.' These were ceremonial, not defensive, and were noticed among several different tribes of north-east America.

Detail 207a is a variant hairstyle — from White's painting of a medicine-man — which tallies closely with early descriptions of the styles in which Creek and

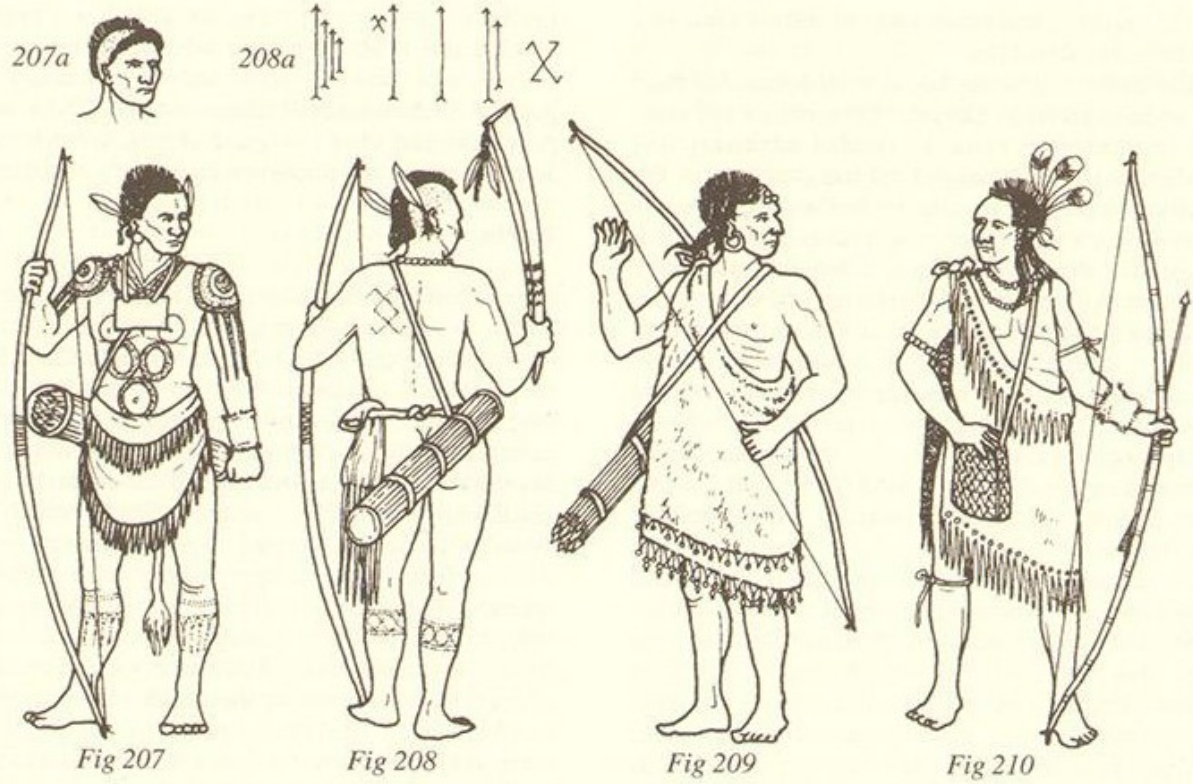


Fig 207 Fig 208 Fig 209 Fig 210

Cherokee Indians wore theirs. The Creek were said to 'shave their head, leaving a narrow crest or comb, beginning at the crown of the head, where it is about two inches broad and about the same height, and stands frizzed upright; but their crest tending backwards, gradually widens, covering the hinder part of the head and back of the neck: the lank hair behind is ornamented with pendant silver quills'. The Cherokee 'cut all their hair close to the head, except a strip about an inch wide running over the front of the scalp from temple to temple, and another strip, of about the same width, perpendicular to the former, crossing the crown ... to the nape of the neck. At each temple a heavy tuft is allowed to hang to the bottom of the lobe of the ear. The long hair of the strip crossing to the neck is generally gathered and braided into two ornamental queues.'[99]

Figure 208 is based on other pictures by White later engraved by de Bry. Note the bag at his left hip, which carried a warrior's tobacco in peacetime and his provisions in war. The tattoos depicted in detail 208a are discussed in the main text above. He is armed with one of Hariot's 'truncheons' (White describes them as 'wooden swords'), taken from a later source. Warriors apparently carried these 'at their backs' in some fashion when not in use. Strachey says that the Indians of Chesapeake Bay called them 'monococks, as the savages in Darién [Colombia] call theirs macanas, and be alike made', which confirms that they were indeed sword-like weapons. However, the word *monocock*, or *monowhauk*, was actually the Indians' name for English swords, and the Indian name for their own weapon may have been *tomahack*, or tomahawk (a term later applied instead to the club of Figure 215). A variation of the 'truncheon', as carried by Figure 213, is described by William Barlowe in 1584[100] as having 'the sharp horns of a stag or other beast' fastened to its end, Strachey stating that the horn was 'put through a piece of wood in form of a pickaxe' while others substituted 'a long stone sharpened at both ends'. Compare the axe of Figure 73.

Figure 209 comes from the so-called 'Drake Manuscript'. He is captioned as being an 'Indian of Loranbec', a place described as being 'at 36½ latitude' (slightly north of Roanoke, if the bearing is correct). The original caption goes on to say that the Indians in question were 'extremely skilful in battle on account of their strength, as the English could tell fighting under Sir Francis Drake in 1586 when they attempted to conquer this land, but were forced to weigh anchor and retreat because of the resistance they encountered'.[101] The hem of his hide mantle is decorated with a blue fringe and red and yellow beads.

The final figure is from a water-colour of a Powhatan Indian named Eiakintomino, drawn in St. James' Park c.1614 after he had been brought to England. The fringes decorating the edges of his mantle have a row of what are probably shell beads. Note his bracer, Strachey confirming that the Powhatans wore bracers of wolf, badger, and black fox fur. Other than this single original (subsequently copied in a lottery broadsheet published in 1615) all other pictures of Powhatans published in the early-17th century appear to be derived from White's work.

NOTES

97 A ship with 30 men sent by the Spanish governor of Florida in 1589 to seek out the rumoured English colony at Roanoke failed to discover it, but gathered sufficient intelligence to persuade him that it had already disappeared by that date. The missing colonists were not entirely given up for lost by the English until the early years of the 17th century. Raleigh despatched five minor expeditions to Virginia between about 1600 and 1603 with instructions to look for any signs of them, and two Jamestown colonists were specifically sent in search of survivors in 1608–9. There were several contemporary rumours regarding the missing colonists' ultimate fate, including one which said they were massacred by Powhatan in 1588/9. However, Indian oral tradition, supported by circumstantial evidence, argues for the Roanoke colonists having relocated to

Croatoan near Cape Hatteras, where they intermarried with and were absorbed by the friendly Croatoan Indians. Certainly in the late-19th century it was noted that Indians said to be descended from the Croatoans included blue-eyed, fair-haired individuals, and that their language included several words identified as being of Elizabethan English origin; in addition forms of as many as 41 family surnames associated with the Roanoke settlers were said to still be in use among them.

98 The Spanish — who had discovered Chesapeake Bay by accident in 1561 — had established a Jesuit mission on the James River, at the edge of Powhatan territory, in 1570, but it was massacred by local Indians five months later. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés launched a small punitive expedition against the alleged killers in 1572, en route back to Spain. The only other Spanish enterprise north of Georgia during this century was the establishment in 1526 of a colony near Cape Fear in North Carolina, which was abandoned only a year later.

99 According to Swanton (1946) the Cusabo of Georgia (northern neighbours of the Guale) followed 'the usage of the Creeks and Cherokee' in the cut of their hair.

100 Barlowe was one of the leaders of the reconnaissance expedition sent over to America that year by Raleigh.

101 This appears to be an allusion to Drake's rescue of the Roanoke colonists. No contemporary source mentions a confrontation between his fleet and the local Indians, however, so the caption in the 'Drake Manuscript' is presumably a garbled reference to either the hostilities between Ralph Lane's settlers and the Roanoke Indians which culminated in the decision to abandon the colony, or to Drake's attack on the Spanish fort at San Agustín, during which operation local Indians had attacked Drake's landing-party in support of the Spanish garrison.

CANADA AND NEW FRANCE

Though in 1497 Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot) became the first European to sight Newfoundland since Viking times, and while there may have been Breton ships fishing off its coasts before the end of the 15th century, the northern edge of the North American continent was actually claimed by Portugal following the voyage of Gaspar and Miguel de Corte Real around Newfoundland and part of Labrador in 1500–2. It seems to have been this 'official' discovery which made the rich fishing grounds of Nova Scotia's Grand Banks public knowledge, and by 1504 at the latest had resulted in a vast influx of Portuguese, Breton, Norman, and Basque fishermen. This in turn led to the first Renaissance era contact between whites and North American Indians when cod fishermen, whalers, and seal and walrus hunters alike, having taken to sheltering in bays along the coast, began to establish summer settlements ashore, some of which grew to sufficient size that early cosmographers listed them as towns. In time Brest, in Labrador, became the largest of these, and continued to be regarded as the most important town in Canada[102] even after the foundation of Quebec. As some indication of the sheer volume of fishing boats that could be found plying Newfoundland waters at any one time, 200 a year were said to be calling at Prince Edward Island alone after about 1550, while a report of 1578 recorded the presence off Newfoundland of 350, of which 150 were French (mostly Breton), 100 were Spanish, 50 were Portuguese, and the balance included many from England. Most came for the fishing, but from early in the century a steadily increasing number of Frenchmen had begun to trade with the Indians in exchange for furs, so that by 1603 English estimates put France's annual revenue from the fur trade at 30,000 crowns.

The earliest attempt to establish a permanent settlement in the region was mounted by the Portuguese, in about 1520–25, though its precise location is unknown (it may have been at the site known as 'Old Fort' in St. Peter's Bay, Cape Breton). Its fate is equally uncertain, Samuel de Champlain stating that it was abandoned because of the severe climate, while Jean Fontenau *dit* Alfonce (a Portuguese navigator in French service who died c.1557) says Indians destroyed it. A second attempt to found a colony in the same vicinity may have been attempted c.1553, and another short-lived Portuguese colony was planted in the strait of Belle Isle in 1566–67.

Official French interest in the region began in 1524, when King Francis I despatched Florentine navigator Giovanni da Verrazzano[103] on a voyage of discovery. Verrazzano, who arrived on the North American coast in the vicinity of Cape Fear and then sailed as far north as Nova Scotia, claimed this entire region for the French Crown, and named it 'New France'. No further exploration took place until the commencement of Jacques Cartier's voyages a decade later. Cartier, who had already sailed privately to both the North Atlantic and Brazil, led three Crown-sponsored expeditions to Canada. The first, in 1534, was little more than a reconnaissance trip, but when he returned in 1535–36 he sailed inland up the St. Lawrence River and formed an uneasy alliance with the local Indians under Donnacona, chief of Stadacona (modern Quebec). When this relationship soured as a result of the French explorers' failure to understand Indian customs, Cartier also formed an alliance with Stadacona's upriver rival, the town of Hochelaga (modern Montreal), thereby further straining his relations with Donnacona. In 1536 Cartier, mistakenly concluding that a plot was afoot to massacre his party, consequently seized Donnacona, his sons, and two other chiefs and sailed away to France, where Donnacona died.

Cartier's third voyage (1541–42) represented the first official French attempt to establish a permanent colony in North America. The expedition was nominally under the overall command of Jean-François de la Rocque, Sieur de Roberval, but Cartier, with the rank of captain-general, sailed in advance while Roberval assembled his potential colonists from among France's prison population. Arriving in the winter of 1541/2, Cartier established a settlement at Charlesbourg Royal on the St. Lawrence River, nine miles above Stadacona, calling it France-Roy. Roberval arrived with over 200 colonists in July 1542, but the settlement did not prosper, largely as a result of French mistreatment of the local Indians. Roberval was recalled, and the colony was abandoned in the middle of 1543.

This failure meant that it was up to the Norman and Breton fishing fleets to keep the French flag flying in Canadian waters for the next half-century, and their very existence came under serious threat during the Hapsburg–Valois War of 1547–59, when armed collisions between the fishermen of Spain and France became commonplace on the Grand Banks. The most serious engagement involved a Spanish assault on a fortified French fishing township in Bradore Bay on the

Labrador coast in 1555, the 500 survivors (which gives some idea of the size occasionally attained by these temporary settlements) being shipped back to France by the victorious Basque fishermen. There was not another serious French attempt establish a colony in Canada until 1598, when Mesgouez de la Roche was granted the somewhat hollow title of lieutenant-general of Canada, Hochelaga, Newfoundland, Labrador, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and Acadia. He responded by collecting another 250 reluctant colonists from France's jails and dumping them on inhospitable Sable Island, 90 miles out into the Atlantic east of Nova Scotia. Only 11 survived to be rescued and repatriated in 1603. A considerably smaller venture was the establishment by Pierre Chauvin in 1599 of a trading-post at Tadoussac, 125 miles north of Stadacona on the St. Lawrence, but of the 16 men he left there only five were found alive when he returned in 1600. It was only in the opening years of the 17th century that permanent French townships were finally established, by Pierre du Gua de Monts at Port-Royal in Acadia (Nova Scotia) in 1605, and by Samuel de Champlain at Quebec in 1608.

England's principal interest in the region throughout the century involved searching for a direct sea-route to the East — the fabled North-West Passage — which resulted in the three expeditions of Martin Frobisher in 1576–78, Humphrey Gilbert's fatal enterprise of 1583, and the three voyages of John Davis in 1585–87. Gilbert formally laid claim to Newfoundland on behalf of the English Crown in August 1583 but died in a shipwreck on the way home, and the claim was never made good.

THE INDIANS

Except for the Iroquois, the Huron, the Inuit (or Eskimos), and possibly the Beothuk, all the tribes encountered here during the period under review belonged to the Algonkian linguistic family. The so-called Laurentian Iroquoians of Stadacona and Hochelaga, with whom Cartier and Roberval had dealings in 1535–43, are probably another exception. Their exact ethnic background is by no means clear, but it is generally agreed that they were probably of Iroquoian stock and may indeed have been true Iroquois. Competition between the Hochelagans and Stadaconans and their Iroquois and Algonkian neighbours, apparently concerning the right to trade furs with the French, resulted in their disappearance in the late-16th century. The Stadaconans seem to have already been dispersed by or during the 1580s, and Marc Lescarbot (1606) states that the Hochelagans, along with such Algonkian tribes as lived in the St. Lawrence valley, were wiped out by an invasion of 8,000 Iroquois 'eight years ago', therefore c.1598. They had certainly disappeared by 1603.

Of the region's other tribes, the Iroquois and Hurons were the largest and most powerful, and when Champlain arrived at the beginning of the 17th century they had been fighting one another for 50 years, part of an ongoing struggle between the Iroquois and other tribes for control of the St. Lawrence valley. The fact that the name 'Iroquois' appears to be a French rendition of the Algonkian word for a snake provides adequate testimony of how much the Iroquois were loathed by their enemies.

Occupying an area that came to be known as Iroquoia, encompassing the Finger Lakes and the Hudson River district, the Iroquois actually comprised a confederation of five tribes — whence the term 'the Five Nations'[104] subsequently applied to them — consisting of (from west to east) the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk. This confederation came into existence during the 16th century, possibly by c.1525 but more probably after 1550, under the leadership of the Mohawk leaders Deganawidah and Hiawatha. Its overall population is estimated to have stood at a minimum of 20,000 by 1600, out of which it could field some 2,500 warriors. The most important of the Five Nations, and the most feared by the neighbouring Huron, Micmac, and Montagnais, were the Mohawk, Seneca, and Onondaga, of whom the last were the most warlike (though it was the Seneca who were the principal participant in the war with the Huron). Individual tribes were autonomous in most affairs under their own chiefs, or *sachems*.

Their Iroquoian-speaking Huron enemies, who called themselves Ouendat or Wendat, consisted of a similar confederation, consisting initially of just two principal tribes — the Attignawantan and Attigneenongnahac — which were joined by the Ahrendahronon c.1590 and the Tahontaerat c.1610, both of which were possibly descendants of the vanished Laurentian Iroquioans. These four tribes lived in 18 villages situated at the heart of an area of little more than 700 square miles known as Huronia, lying east of Lake Huron. Champlain relates that by the Hurons' own estimate their villages were 'peopled by 2,000 warriors, without including in this the ordinary inhabitants, who may amount to 30,000 souls', and some modern estimates put their population c.1600 even higher, at 40,000.

The Beothuks dwelt throughout Newfoundland at first contact, but they withdrew inland as European fishermen began to establish themselves along the coast, and in 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition reported that 'in the south parts we found no inhabitants, which by all likelihood have abandoned these coasts, the same being much frequented by Christians; but in the north are savages, altogether harmless.' They were the only local tribe which declined to become involved in trading furs with the whites, which led to an invasion of Newfoundland by European trappers from 1580 on, and inevitable confrontations. The Beothuk population declined rapidly as a result, and one modern estimate puts their numbers at the end of the century as low as 500.

The principal Algonkian peoples with whom the French came into contact at an early date comprised the Armouchiquois, Micmac, Montagnais, Naskapi, and Ottawa. Of these, the Armouchiquois or Eastern Abenaki, bitter enemies of the Micmacs and on hostile terms with the French, occupied an area that comprised in essence the south-western two-thirds of modern Maine. According to Samuel Purchas (1602), their total population was 14,000, including 3,000 adult males. The Micmacs, who as well as the Armouchiquois also fought with the Beothuks, Mohawks, and Stadaconans, were to be found throughout Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, and the Gaspé Peninsula, and consequently were

noted for their seamanship. Though early French sources generally refer to them as Souriquois, they are also found being called Toudamans (by Cartier), Tontaniens (by André Thevet), and Tarantines (by 17th century English colonists). Their numbers were estimated at about 2,000 in 1612, and 3–3,500 in 1616. The Montagnais, with whom Cartier had made contact in 1534, lived between the St. Lawrence and James Bay on the edge of the Arctic Ocean, where their traditional Iroquois enemies had driven them during the 15th century, while the related Naskapi lived in Labrador and were enemies of the Inuit. The Montagnais and Iroquois were still at war when Champlain first encountered them. The total population of the Montagnais at first contact was at least 5,000, and probably nearer 10,000. The Ottawa — early French renditions of this Huron word include Andatahouat and Ondataouaouat — were an Ojibwa tribe, whose name means 'Traders'. Allies of the Hurons, they lived on Manitoulin Island and around the shores of Georgian Bay, on the north side of Lake Huron.

The government of all these tribes was by means of councils of elders or chiefs, usually called *sachems* or *sagamores* in early French sources. 'They have no special chiefs with absolute command,' records Lescarbot, 'but rather pay honour to the eldest and bravest, whom they appoint captains by way of honour and respect, and of whom there are several in a single village … As to the wars they undertake, or raids into enemy country, two or three of the elders or valiant captains will undertake to lead such an expedition, and will go to neighbouring villages to inform them of their intention, giving presents to those of the said villages to oblige them to go and accompany them on the said war-path … They designate the place where they intend to go [and] they derive honour if they succeed, but if they fail the dishonour … remains with them'.

In the extreme north lived the Inuit (which means simply 'the people'), who were found, in the area and period under review, mostly in Greenland, Baffin Island, and northern Labrador as far south as Anticosti Island at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, as well as sometimes crossing the strait of Belle Isle into northern Newfoundland. Algonkian-speaking Indians called them 'Eskimo', meaning 'eaters of raw meat', Inuit being their own name for themselves (though the Greenland Inuit called themselves Katladlit instead). Their first contact with Europeans since the Viking age is generally regarded to have been at the time of Frobisher's expedition of 1576, but it seems likely that fishermen had encountered them earlier than this. Certainly Indian tradition has it that Inuit were responsible for the destruction of a Spanish fishing settlement in Bradore Bay on the coast of Labrador in about mid-century. Almost every English expedition seeking the North-West Passage seems to have skirmished with small bands of Inuit at one time or another.

Local Indian costume ranged from the occasional nudity of some Algonkians to the comprehensive fur swaddling of the Inuit. Other than in the extreme north, the fundamental items of dress almost everywhere were breechclout, mantle, and moccasins. In warm weather the men of most tribes wore no more than the breechclout, made of deer, beaver, or seal skin. Passing between the legs, this was secured around the waist by a leather strap, over which its ends hung as two squarish flaps each about a foot long. The mantle took one of two forms: a longer variety which was worn like a cloak, usually with one arm exposed, or a knee-length type covering most of the body, which went under the right arm and was tied above the left shoulder by means of a leather string, and occasionally secured round the waist by a belt. The mantle could be of almost any kind of fur or skin, Lescarbot telling us that it was 'made of many skins if these were of otters or beavers, and of a single skin if it was of moose, bear, or lynx'. The skins used in their clothing were frequently decorated. The Iroquois appear to have often dyed theirs black, while the Beothuk coloured theirs with red ochre (whence their nickname of 'Red Indians', later applied to all North American Indians). Champlain describes the trimmings on Montagnais and other Algonkian clothes as comprising 'strips of porcupine-quill which they dye a very beautiful scarlet colour', while those on Huron clothes were 'made of glue and of the scrapings of the said skins, with which they make bands in many ways … in places putting bands of red or brown paint amidst those of the glue, which are always pale'. In winter, and in the north, fur mantles were substituted for skin, and leggings and sleeves were added. These are all described under Figure 217, while Inuit costume is described under Figures 218–220.

Moccasins were each made of a single piece of moose hide without any strengthening for the heel or sole. The succinct description of a later writer, Lafitau (1724), explains how each moccasin was 'puckered over the toes of the foot, where it is sewn with cords of gut to a little leather tongue. Then it is taken up with ties of the same skin, passed through holes cut at regular intervals and tied above the heel after being crossed on the instep of the foot.' They were usually made out of pieces of old moose skin previously used for robes, the grease these had absorbed partially compensating for the fact that the leather was untanned. Even then, Lescarbot says, they did not last long, 'especially when they go into watery places'.

Once the Indians had started trading with the French some items of European dress inevitably began to appear amongst them. Gabriel Archer, for instance, records encountering a Micmac chief in 1602 who 'wore a waistcoat of black work, a pair of breeches, cloth stockings, shoes, hat, and band', and adds that 'one or two more had also a few things made by some Christians'. John Brereton, who was also present, says that the chief wore 'waistcoat and breeches of black serge', and that another Indian wore a pair of blue breeches.

The local Indians were on the whole taller than Europeans, and of a complexion generally described as tawny or olive. They were frequently painted or tattooed with geometric patterns, stripes, and pictures of animals, men, and spirits, which sometimes covered the entire body. Gabriel Sagard (1632) tells us that the Hurons 'paint their body and face in various colours, black, green, yellow, red, violet, and in many other ways', and tattooed their faces 'with representations of snakes,

lizards, squirrels, and other animals'. Somewhat later, François du Creux reported that 'some of them may be seen with the nose and eyes blue and the eyebrows and cheeks black; others with black, red and blue stripes from the ears to the mouth; others with stripes running from ear to ear across the forehead, and three stripes across each cheek; others will blacken the whole face hideously with the exception of the forehead and the point of the chin and a circle around the eyes'. The Iroquois are similarly reported to have been heavily tattooed, especially on the face, throat, chest, arms and legs; the Ottawa were 'much carved about the body in divisions of various patterns' and painted their faces different colours; the Armouchiquois painted their bodies black, and their faces black, red, or yellow, with 'stripes of excelling blue over their upper lips, nose and chin'; and the Micmac are variously reported to have painted their faces red, their eyebrows white, their noses blue, and their bodies an unspecified colour, probably black. As with their clothes, the Beothuk painted themselves completely red, and early descriptions record that they also had stripes tattooed across their faces, Pietro Pasqualigo relating how those seen in 1500 were 'marked on the face in several places … some with six, some with eight, some with more lines', while a report of 1509 states that they were 'tattooed on the face with a small blue vein from the ear to the middle of the chin, across the jaws.' Their hair was usually black (though Sagard notes that some Hurons had chestnut-coloured hair), and was worn in a variety of styles. Facial hair was assiduously plucked out amongst the majority of tribes, but Inuit, Micmac, and Armouchiquois sometimes had slight beards.

Personal adornment largely consisted of feathers, plus silver or copper bracelets, and copper or bead earrings and necklaces. Feathers were worn in the hair in various ways, but important men might have them round the whole head, or 'in fashion of a coronet' round a hair-knot at the back of the head. Lescarbot says that Iroquois chiefs wore 'feathers far loftier than the others', while Gabriel Archer's Micmac chief had 'hanging about his neck a plate of rich copper in length a foot, in breadth half a foot' (compare to Figure 207). In addition all warriors customarily carried a shoulder-bag to hold their provisions and tobacco.

WARFARE

Weaponry of the local Iroquoian and Algonkian tribes consisted principally of the usual combination of bows, clubs, and to a lesser extent throwing-spears. Their bows were large (later sources describe them as 'almost the height of a man', or 'full five and a half feet long'), fairly straight, and made of such woods as red cedar, maple, mountain ash, wych elm (hornbeam), and fir. Most were well-made, but the scarcity of timber in the sub-Arctic zone meant that Beothuk weapons were often 'knotty, and of very rude appearance'. (This shortage of suitable wood probably also explains the use of slings amongst the Beothuk that John Cabot saw in 1497.) An Armouchiquois witch-hazel longbow tested by James Rosier in 1605 was found 'able to carry an arrow five or six score [paces] strongly' when fired in the English manner. Several early chroniclers describe the arrows as 3 ft (91 cm) long and made of reed, but Champlain says they were of wood, and later sources specifically mention cedar and pine. They were fletched predominantly with three crow or eagle feathers, but the Beothuk are said to have used goose feathers, while Lescarbot says that if feathers were unavailable the Hurons made do with strips of beaver skin. They were tipped mostly with bone, stone, and fire-hardened wood, though the Armouchiquois made considerable use of horseshoe crab tails. Whenever possible they substituted iron heads, or heads cut from brass, obtained by trading with the French. Archaeological finds suggest that this process may have already been underway as far inland as the Seneca Iroquois at the beginning of the century. The arrows were held in a quiver across the back, made of decorated leather, leather-covered bark, or, at least among the Micmacs, cane.

Their wooden clubs appear to have been predominantly of the variety favoured by the Hurons and Iroquois, called *gajewas*, described by William Wood (1634) as consisting of 'staves of two feet and a half long, and a knob at one end as round and big as a football'. Lafitau describes such ball-headed clubs as made of 'very hard wood, two or two and a half feet long, squared on the sides, and widened or rounded to the width of a fist at its end'. For their general appearance see Figure 215. Lescarbot was doubtless describing such a weapon when he wrote in 1606 that the Micmacs used 'wooden maces shaped like a crozier'. Bladed clubs of the type held by Figure 213 were also in use, the blades sometimes being of steel by the end of the century. Pietro Pasqualigo (1501), writing of Gaspar de Corte Real's voyage of 1500, may have had this type of club in mind when he observed that the Beothuk used 'swords of a kind of stone', since Cabot mentions only that they used 'wooden clubs'. Among the few references to spears are Wood's description of the Mohawks using javelins tipped with 'sea-horse' (seal) teeth, and Rosier's observation that the Armouchiquois employed 'darts headed with bone'.

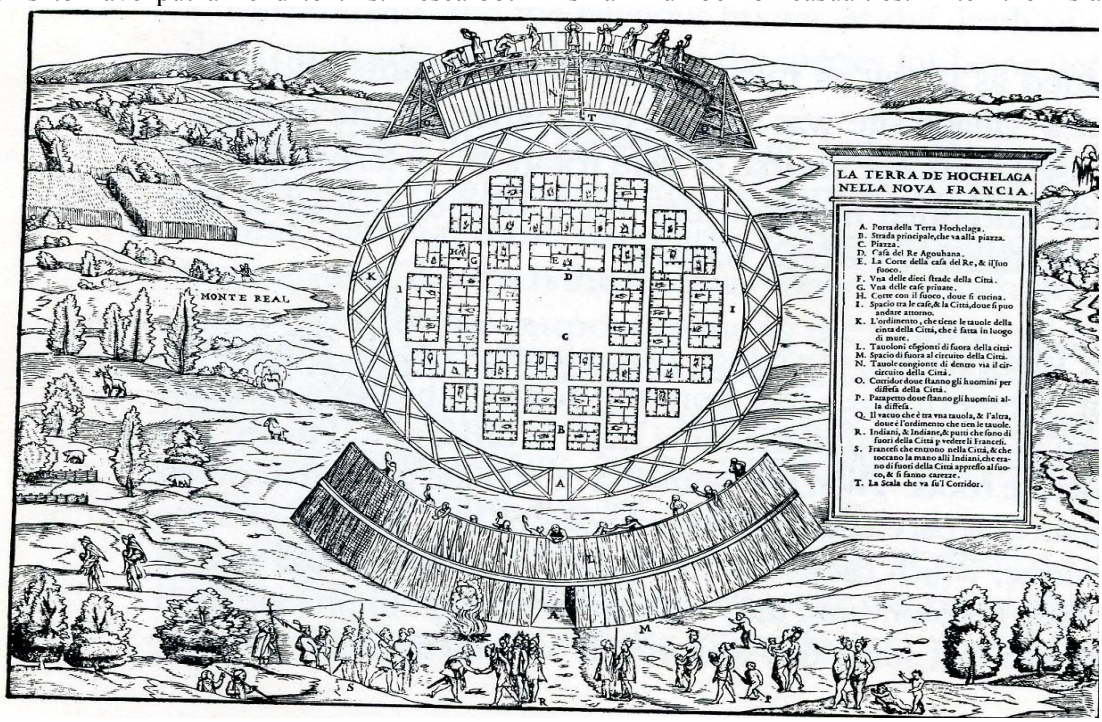
Shields, where carried, were either round and made of leather or rectangular and made of wood, with a usually rounded top edge. The latter variety, generally referred to in early French sources as a pavise, was favoured by the Hurons and Iroquois. Though Champlain also depicts a Montagnais warrior with such a shield (Figure 215), Lescarbot states that this tribe used 'round shields', probably indicating that, like the Hurons — to whom Sagard attributes both 'shields which cover almost the whole body' and 'others, smaller, made of boiled leather' — they used both types. Since Lescarbot describes the Micmac as also using 'shields which cover their whole body' it can be assumed that they too probably employed the rectangular variety, while Champlain's pictures show an Ottawa warrior (Figure 216) with a round shield. Huron shields are later described by Lafitau as being 'of willow or bark, covered all over with one or many skins. Some are of very thick skin. They were of all sizes and shapes.' Sagard says they were made of cedar bark. As well as shields some Iroquoians also used body-armour, for details of which see Figure 213.

As amongst the Indian population almost everywhere

else in the Americas, most tribal warfare depended on raids, ambushes, and surprises, particularly amongst the weaker tribes, who dared not face the powerful Hurons or, more especially, the Iroquois in the open field. 'Their wars are carried on solely by surprises, in the dead of night, or, if by moonlight, by ambushes or subtlety,' explains Lescarbot. Whenever possible, raiding expeditions were launched in the summer or early autumn when there was sufficient vegetation to provide cover. The warband would travel by canoe where possible, and when going overland always went single file, the last man in the column having the responsibility of concealing their tracks. Describing Huron practice, Champlain tells us that 'they divide their men into three troops, that is, one troop for hunting, scattered in various directions; another troop, which forms the bulk of their men, always under arms; and the other troop made up of scouts, to reconnoitre along the rivers and see whether there is any mark or sign to show where their enemies or their friends have gone … The hunters never hunt in advance of the main body, nor of the scouts, in order not to give alarm or to cause confusion, but only when these have retired, and in a direction from which they do not expect the enemy. They go on in this way until they are within two or three days' march of their enemy, when they proceed stealthily by night, all in a body, except the scouts. In the daytime they retire into the thick of the woods, where they rest without any straggling, any noise, or the making of a fire even for the purpose of cooking'.[105] Lescarbot praises their powers of endurance at such times, observing that 'they can endure hardness in the war, lie in the snow and on the ice, and suffer heat, cold, and hunger'.

Full-scale battles were also not unknown, these generally taking place in broad daylight. At the time of first contact it appears to have been customary to draw up in close order on such occasions, as the Iroquois encountered by Champlain did, but the introduction of firearms[106] seems to have put an end to this. Lescarbot provides interesting details of the degree of practise which went into perfecting these close-order battle formations. He says that 'their chiefs take sticks a foot long, one for each of their men, and represent the chiefs by others slightly longer. Then they go into the wood and level off a place five or six feet square, where the head man, as sergeant-major, arranges all these sticks as seems best to him. Then he calls all his companions, who approach fully armed, and he shows them the rank and order which they are to observe when they fight with their enemies … And afterwards they retire from that place and begin to arrange themselves in the order in which they have seen these sticks. Then they mingle among one another and again put themselves in proper order, repeating this two or three times, and they do this at all their camps [i.e. their halts on the march], without any need of a sergeant to make them keep their ranks, which they are quite able to maintain without getting into confusion.'

Battle customarily opened with an exchange of archery, in which large numbers of arrows would be fired without taking particular aim, their practice under such circumstances apparently being to draw the bow only to about the bottom of the rib-cage, or even to the waist, placing greater stress on the volume of their fire than its accuracy, though Quinn (1983) states that 'their skill in shooting at a distance by this method was also considerable.' As an aid to rapid fire it is recorded at a later date that the Beothuk would 'take four arrows, three between the fingers of their left hand, with which they hold the bow, and the fourth notched in the string, [and] discharge them as quick as they can draw the bow, and with great certainty.' When they ran out of arrows they would close for hand-to-hand combat 'with great clamours and fearful howlings, in order to astonish the enemy and to give themselves mutual assurance.' On the whole one side would flee after suffering a relatively small number of casualties. After their slain enemies'



Ramusio's plan of the Laurentian Iroquoian village of Hochelaga, including hypothetical details of the construction of its defences. In the foreground Jacques Cartier meets the local chiefs.

heads or scalps had been collected as trophies the warband would return home and ceremonially torture its captives to death. Champlain records that their withdrawal was carried out with a military precision that would probably have put many European armies to shame, stating that 'they conduct their retreat very securely, putting all the wounded and the old people in their midst, and having strong forces in front, on the wings, and in the rear, and maintaining order in that formation until they reach a place of safety, without breaking ranks.'

One interesting detail worthy of notice is Sagard's observation that Huron warbands had an 'ensign or flag, which is (at least, those which I have seen are) a round piece of tree bark, with the arms of their town or province painted upon it, and fastened to the end of a long wand, like a cavalry cornet.'

Inuit weapons consisted of bows, slings, darts, and spear-throwers. With timber in such short supply their bows were short composite weapons only about a metre long, constructed of small strips of driftwood (predominantly spruce), caribou horn, and caribou or whale bone, 'sinewed on the back with strong veins,' as Martin Frobisher put it in 1578, 'not glued too, but fast girded and tied on. Their bowstrings are likewise sinews.' Arrows were only about 18–20 ins (45–50 cm) long, made of wood with a flight of just two feathers, a bone nock, and a bone, stone or — by the time Frobisher wrote — iron tip, attached in such a way that it broke off in the wound. However, Inuit bows are said to have been 'of small force, except they be very near when they shoot.' The darts used with their spear-throwers had 'many forks of bone in the fore-end, and likewise in the midst', described as resembling toasting-forks but longer. Another type of dart, which Frobisher implies was not used with the spear-thrower, was longer and had a long, sharp bone blade 'not much unlike a rapier'. He considered this 'their most hurtful weapon.' John Davis (1586) seems to imply that darts were more important than bows, stating that 'their weapons are all darts', and only that 'some of them have bow and arrows and slings'. The Inuit did not obtain any firearms until as late as the 1780s.

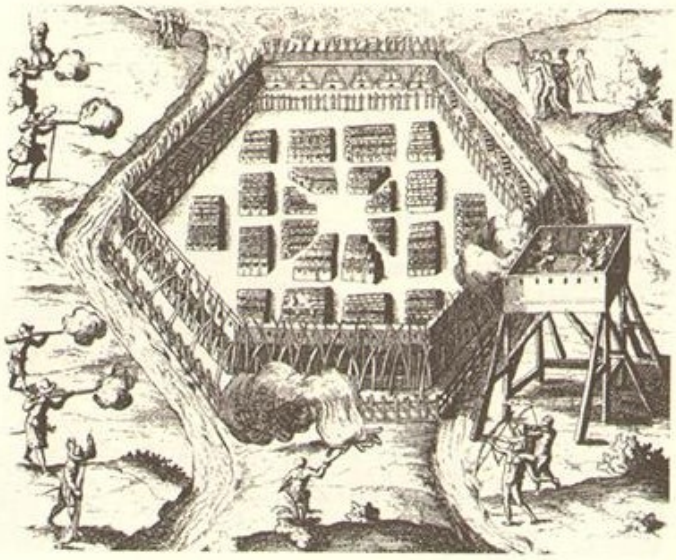
The Inuit were regarded by the English as being 'very active and warlike', and certainly there were frequent skirmishes between the two sides. Most of these engagements were maritime affairs, however, with the Inuit skirmishing from their kayaks and boats. During Davis' second voyage, for example, a skirmish took place for the possession of a kayak belonging to the English. The Inuit opened fire from their kayaks with darts, and the English returned fire with their longbows, killing 'three of them in their boats'. Anywhere up to a hundred or so kayaks occasionally attacked European vessels. John Hall recorded of John Cunningham and John Knight's expedition to Greenland in 1605 that 63 Eskimos approached in their boats, 'certain of them [with] great bags full of stones, [and] began to sling stones unto us'. When Hall fired a pistol they all paddled off. Then, deploying on the shore, 'they did so assail us with stones from their slings, that it is incredible to report, in such sort that no man could stand upon the hatches, till such time as I commanded for to loose sails and bonnets two men's height, to shield us from the force of the stones, and also did hide us from their sight; so that we did ply our muskets and other pieces such as we had at them; but their subtlety was such that as soon as they did see fire given to the pieces, they would suddenly duck down behind the cliffs, and when they were discharged, then sling their stones fiercely at us again.'

Forts

Though it is likely that the Algonkians also constructed regional strongholds as a refuge for the populations of nearby villages at risk of attack, all the information which has come down to us appertains to those of Iroquoian tribes. The earliest details available are found in Cartier's description of Hochelaga in 1535: 'The town is circular and enclosed by timbers in three *rangs* [rows or tiers] in the manner of a pyramid, the top row cross-wise, the middle row upright, and the bottom row laid lengthwise, the whole well joined and lashed together according after their fashion; and it is of about the height of two lances [probably 30–35 ft/9.1–10.7 m]. And there is but one gate or entry to this town, closed by bars, above which and at several places along the enclosure there are galleries of a kind with ladders ascending to them, where stones and rocks are kept for protection and defence. There are some 50 houses in the town, each 50 or more paces long and 12 to 15 wide'.

This account describes defences very similar to those of an Onondaga Iroquois town unsuccessfully attacked by Champlain in 1615, and to those of Huron forts recorded later in the 17th century, which had palisades constructed from three interlaced layers of stakes, reinforced on the lowermost 9 ft (2.7 m) of the outer surface with thick bark and inside with felled tree-trunks resting on forked timbers driven into the ground. Champlain describes the Onondaga town as 'enclosed by four stout palisades, made of large timbers, thirty feet in height, interlaced together with not more than half a foot between them, and galleries like a parapet which they had fitted with double timbers, proof against our shots; and they were near a pond where there was no lack of water … and they had this stored within under cover to put out fires.' His generic description of fortified Huron villages

Despite the fact that the artist has somewhat Europeanised his subject matter, this engraving from Champlain's Voyages et Discouvertes faites en la Nouvelle France *nevertheless provides a reasonable idea of the general appearance of Iroquoian fortifications.*



is similar, and contains similar phraseology to that used in Cartier's portrait of Hochelaga, speaking of 'wooden palisades in three rows, interlaced into one another, on the top of which are galleries which they furnish with stones for hurling and water to extinguish the fire that their enemies might set against them.'

As already intimated, not all villages were defended by such palisades, only the larger ones and those in threatened areas; Champlain tells us, for instance, that only eight of the 18 villages of Huronia were fortified. Nor were all such defences necessarily this robust — from 17th century sources we know that many had palisades only half as tall, while the excavation of various sites has shown that though some had a palisade of up to five rows of staggered posts, many had only one or two rows. Excavation has also been useful in providing additional constructional details, telling us that the posts were set between 6 ins and a foot (15–30 cm) apart and were 3–6 ins (7–15 cm) in diameter, with the centre row, where there were three or more, consisting of thicker timbers of up to a foot in diameter. The rows were interwoven with branches and lined with bark, logs were placed between them, and there were one or two gateways, which Sagard says were so narrow that they had to be negotiated sideways rather than by 'striding straight in'.

As well as being defensive, these fortified strongholds served a strategical purpose, Sagard explaining that when an enemy tribe invaded, each fortified village stood to its own defences 'until they see that the enemy has fastened on certain of these [villages]; then at night with little noise a number of warriors from all the neighbouring towns, if there is no necessity for a larger army, go to give their aid, and shut themselves into the town which is besieged, defend it, and make sorties, láy ambushes, skirmish, and fight with all their strength for the safety of their country, to overpower the enemy' — thereby in effect turning the tables by pinning down the enemy's forces, rather than vice versa.

Temporary defences were also utilised by warbands when in enemy territory. When Champlain and his Indian allies unexpectedly encountered a party of 200 Iroquois at Lake Champlain in 1609 the latter are described as having 'built a barricade, cutting down the trees with wretched [iron] hatchets which from time to time they win in war, and with sharp stones which serve the same purpose'. On another occasion he records that after his Huron, Algonquin, and Montagnais allies had beached their canoes at night 'each began, some to cut down trees, others to strip bark from the trees to cover their wigwams in which to take shelter, and others to fell big trees for a barricade on the bank of the river round their wigwams. They know how to do this so quickly that after less than two hours' work, 500 of their enemies would have had difficulty in driving them out without losing many men. [But] they do not barricade the river bank where their boats are drawn up, in order that they can embark in case of need.'

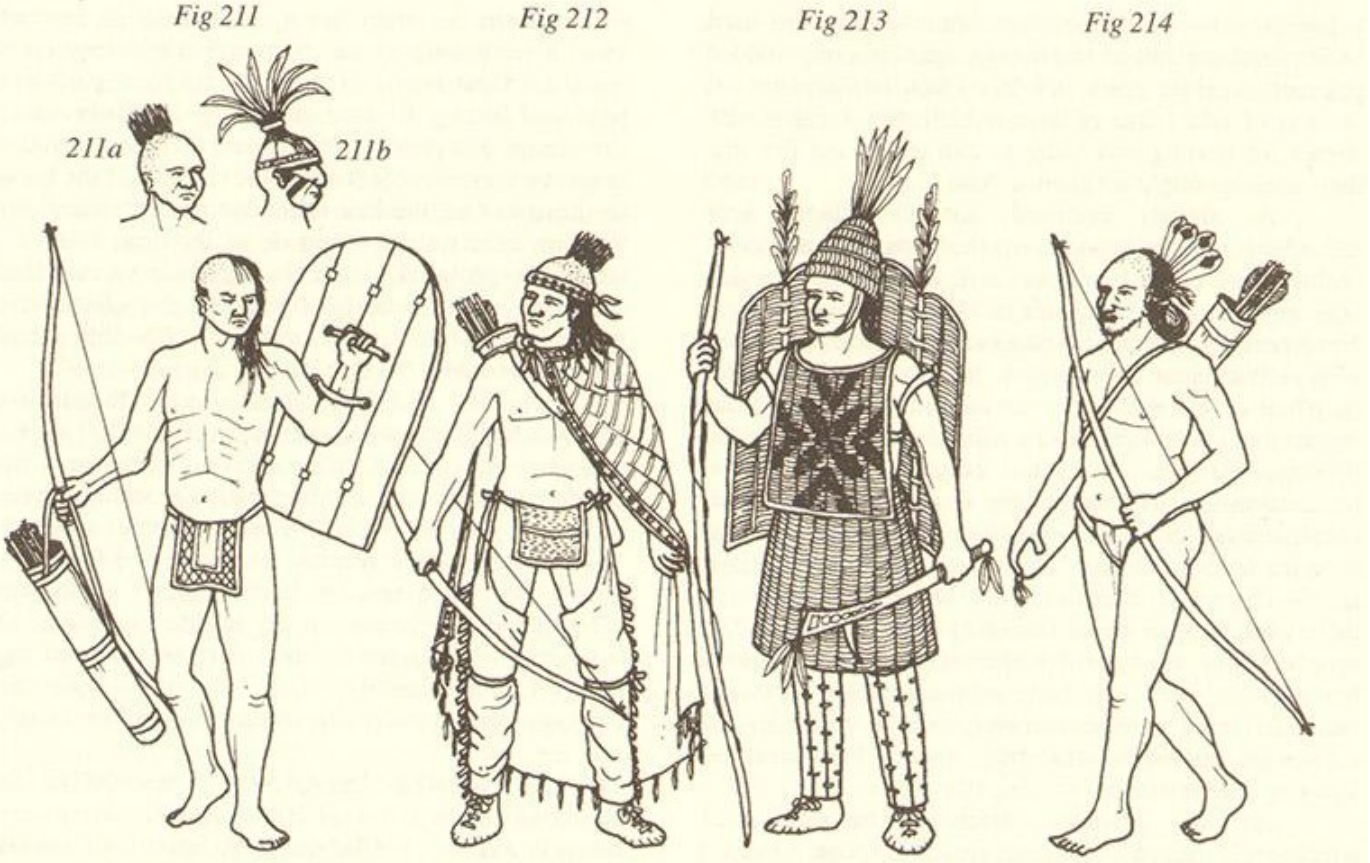
FIGURES

211 & 212. IROQUOIAN WARRIORS Though these Hurons are based largely on 17th century pictures, written descriptions confirm that they are equally appropriate to the 16th century. The sources all agree that the Hurons had 'no set fashion for trimming the hair and each follows his own fancy.' According to Lescarbot some wore it long, some short, and others long on just one side; Sagard records them shaving some parts of the head and letting the hair grow long in others; and du Creux says that 'some of them brush their hair straight up to form a crest … others shave the crown and the back of the head and let the hair fall down on both sides of the temples; others shave one side of the head and let the other side grow'. Detail 211a depicts a variant Huron hairstyle, while detail 211b shows the characteristic Iroquois hairstyle as portrayed in 17th–18th century pictures; note also his face-paint.

As well as a snake or eel-skin headband, Figure 212 wears the characteristic leggings which, Lescarbot tells us, were worn 'in winter, when going to sea, or when hunting'. These were footless leather stockings sewn in such a way as to fit the leg quite closely, albeit with 'many folds'. They reached to about mid-thigh, from where they were tied by leather thongs to the strap securing the breechclout. On the outside they had a fringe consisting of 'a great number of points without tags', which Lafitau describes as four fingers wide. Such leggings were worn by Algonkians and Iroquoians alike.

213. ARMOURED IROQUOIAN WARRIOR from Champlain's *Voyages et Descouvertes faites en la Nouvelle France* (1619), where this figure is captioned as 'the manner in which they are armed when they go to war.' Champlain records that the Iroquois he encountered in 1609 wore such armour 'woven of cotton thread and wood' which was proof against arrows but ineffectual against firearms. Lescarbot says that after Champlain had shot down all three of their chiefs the Iroquois were demoralised when they saw that their armour was no protection, and Champlain adds that in flight they threw away these armours 'the better to run'. Writing of the Hurons, Sagard describes such armour as being worn 'on their back, and against the legs, and other parts of the body, to provide protection against arrows; for it is proof against those with sharp stone points, but not against our Quebec iron heads. These corselets are made of white rods cut to the same length and pressed against one another, sewn and interlaced with little cords, very tightly and neatly.' Lafitau, who mentions the existence of 'thigh and arm guards of the same material', says that the rods were of 'wood or little reed wands' and that the cords were of deerskin. Note that the armour protecting his back is attached to his upper arms by straps and is vertically 'hinged' for flexibility. It must, nevertheless, have severely restricted movement. John Smith records encountering a party of Iroquoians who carried separate shields made of 'small sticks woven betwixt strings of their hemp and silk grass, as is our cloth, but so firmly that no arrow could pierce them.'

Although armour appears to have been in widespread use in this region it was not found amongst every tribe — the Laurentian Iroquoians had none, for example, but told Cartier that a neighbouring tribe living up the Ottawa River, whom they referred to as '*agojuda*, meaning savage people', wore armour 'made of cords and wood interlaced and intertwined'. (It has been variously suggested that these *agojuda* were Hurons, Iroquois, or even Ottawa River Algonkians.) Where armour was in use, it began to fall out of favour with the appearance of, first, iron arrowheads, and then firearms.



However, it remained commonplace in the 1630s and took some time to disappear entirely, a French map still including a sketch of an armoured Huron warrior as late as 1657.[107]

214. ARMOUCHIQUOIS WARRIOR from Champlain's engraved map of 1612. Champlain says that except for a breechclout the Armouchiquois wore clothing only rarely, and when they did it was 'made from grasses and hemp', while Lescarbot reported that they 'have no furs, but only chamois'. They seem to have had a distinctive hairstyle, variously described by those who saw it. Cartier wrote that Armouchiquois he met in Gaspé Bay had 'the head shaved all round in a circle, except for a tuft on top of the head, which they leave like a long horse's tail. This they do up and tie in a knot with leather thongs.' Champlain, writing of Armouchiquois he saw in 1604–7, states that they 'shave off their hair fairly high up on the head and wear the remainder very long, combing and twisting it neatly behind in several ways with feathers which they fasten on their heads.' Lescarbot's description of 1606 fills in the remaining gaps. He records that the Armouchiquois and the Micmacs, or Souriquois, both 'tied their hair on the crown of their heads [but that] in one thing the Armouchiquois differ from the Souriquois and other savages of Newfoundland, in that they pull out their hair in front, and are half bald, which the others do not.' James Rosier (1605) says that only those who were married tied the long part of their hair up at the back in what he calls 'a long round knot'. Unusually some Armouchiquois and Micmacs also had thin beards.

215. MONTAGNAIS WARRIOR from Champlain's map of 1612. The Montagnais basically wore their hair loose and down to their shoulders, cutting it shorter only at the front to prevent it getting in their eyes when they ran. According to Sagard, however, some rolled up the hair at one or both sides of the head 'like moustaches above their ears', and inserted 'feathers and other trifles'. Note the band round his head, which may well be the 'kind of coronet about [the] head, made ... of a substance like stiff hair coloured red, broad, and more than a handful in depth' reported amongst the Armouchiquois by Rosier in 1605 and amongst the Virginian Indians by Archer in 1607. The fact that Sagard records a similar head-dress amongst the Hurons too indicates that its use was probably general throughout the eastern part of North America. Sagard describes it as 'a sort of plume, most of them round the head standing up like a crown, others sloping down like a moustache, made of the long hair of the moose, dyed a scarlet red, and glued or otherwise fastened to a leather band three fingers in width and long enough to go round the head'. Although none of the contemporary sources mention the skirt shown being worn here, one has to assume that this is accurate since an identically costumed Montagnais was re-engraved for the same author's *Voyages et Descouvertes faites en la Nouvelle France*, published seven years later.

216. OTTAWA WARRIOR from Champlain's *Voyages et Descouvertes faites en la Nouvelle France* (1619). Though frowned upon amongst Iroquoians, nudity was common in some Algonkian tribes, the Ottawa often going completely naked. Champlain records of them that 'the men are uncovered, having nothing on but a fur robe like a cloak, which they usually lay aside, especially in summer.' The warrior depicted is a member of an Ottawa tribe called the Missiauga. These were nicknamed the *Cheveux Relevés* or 'High-hairs' by the French, because, as Champlain explains, they wore their hair 'elevated and arranged very high and better combed than our courtiers'. Sagard's more detailed description tells us that 'they wear and arrange their hair above the forehead very

straight and high … and cut in due proportion so as to become continually lower from above the forehead to the back of the head.' Note also his extensive tattooing. What the original artist intends for a club actually appears to be a paddle.

217. BEOTHUK WARRIOR This reconstruction of a Beothuk warrior is wearing the same sort of full winter attire as could be found throughout the American north-east, but especially in the sub-Arctic zone in the extreme north. This comprised a caribou or bearskin cloak (sometimes with a deep collar) worn with the fur on the inside; leggings like those of Figure 212; moccasins which sometimes reached up to the middle of the legs to protect them from the snow; separate sleeves; mittens; and sometimes even a hat, described by Richard Whitbourne (writing of c.1582) as 'made of seal-skins, in fashion like our hats, sewed handsomely with narrow bands about them, set around with fine white shells'. Mittens were actually uncommon, these and moccasins being worn by only one of the Beothuk encountered by John Guy in 1612, 'so that all went bare-legged and most barefoot'. These particular men were also bareheaded. All Beothuk clothes, along with their bows, canoes, and other possessions, were invariably coloured with red ochre.

Beothuk skin garments seen during Gaspar de Corte Real's expedition of 1500 are said to have been 'not sewn together in any way or fastened to the body, nor tanned, but thrown over the shoulders and arms just as they are taken from the animals', the cloak instead being secured round the waist by a belt made of seal sinews. Guy says that those he saw actually wore gowns rather than cloaks, which 'reached down to the middle of their legs, with sleeves to the middle of their arm', but in reality the sleeves were a separate item of dress and normally reached to the wrist, the cloak having slits at shoulder height to allow the arms to pass through. Sleeves recorded in use amongst the Iroquois, Hurons, Micmacs, Armouchiquois, et al, were connected by two leather laces tied behind the shoulders. Sometimes just one sleeve was worn, on that side left exposed by the cloak.

Alberto Cantino (1500) wrote that they wore their hair 'long, as we wear it, letting it hang in plaited rings'. Jean Fontenau *dit* Alfonce (1540s) described it as 'trussed above the crown of their heads, and plaited and braided', and Cartier (1534) as 'tied up on the top of their heads like a wreath of twisted hay' with a small wooden pin thrust through it and decorated with a few feathers. Guy says their hair was worn 'somewhat long but round … Behind they have a great lock of hair plaited with feathers, like a hawks' lure, with a feather in it standing upright by the crown of the head and a small lock plaited before.' He adds that their hair was coloured black, brown, or yellow, presumably meaning it was painted or dyed.

Despite the harshness of the climate, early explorers record that during the short Newfoundland summer some Beothuk went naked except for a breechclout, while in the cooler spring and autumn they also wore their cloaks, but with the fur on the outside.

218–220. INUIT Figures 218 and 219 come from drawings by John White (who appears to have accompanied Frobisher's expedition of 1577), while Figure 220, depicting a native of the Davis Straits, is from a mid-17th century French publication. The Inuit wore their hair long and shaggy, while their complexion is described by Frobisher as resembling that of a 'sunburnt country man', and by John Hall as 'brown of colour, very like to the people of the east and west Indies' (Frobisher is describing Baffin Islanders, while Hall is describing Greenlanders). Some men wore a wispy moustache and a thin beard. Ideally their clothing was made of caribou skin (which was lighter and warmer) in the winter, and sealskin (which was more waterproof) in the summer, but in reality they generally wore a mix of both, not least because caribou skins were harder to come by. Frobisher tells us that all the skins used were 'very soft and supple, with the hair on. In cold weather or winter, they wear the fur side inward; and in summer outward'. Garments of birds' skins, with the feathers left on, were also worn, a participant in Davis' 1586 voyage describing these as 'their apparel for heat'.

Fig 215 *Fig 216* *Fig 217* *Fig 218*

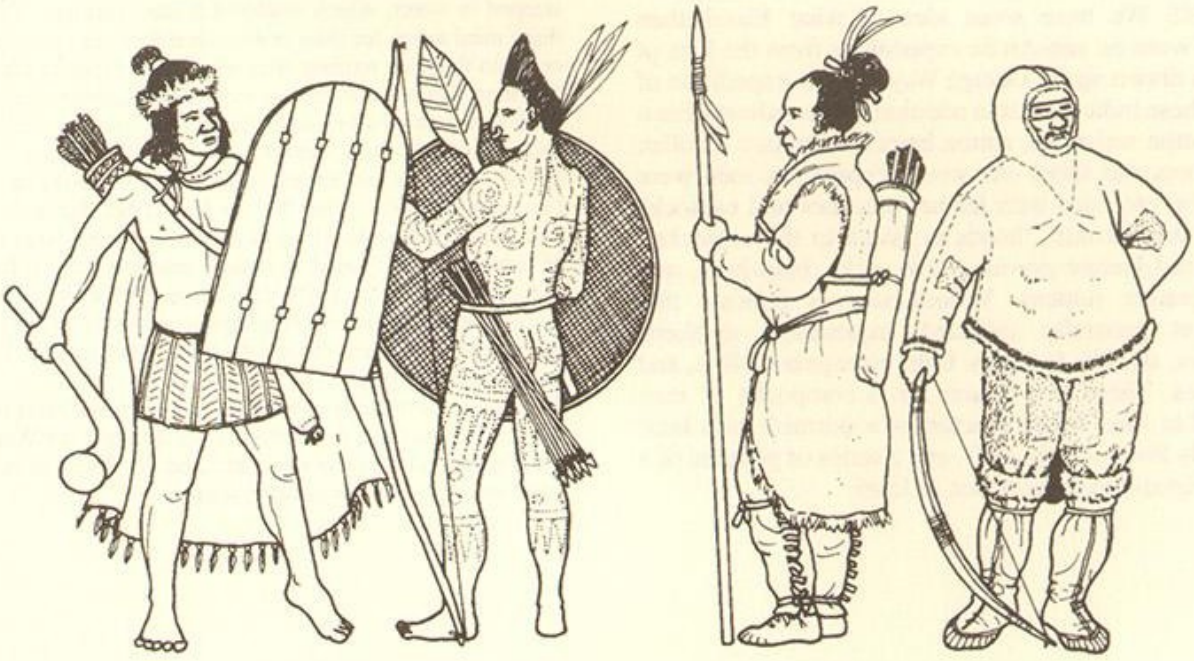
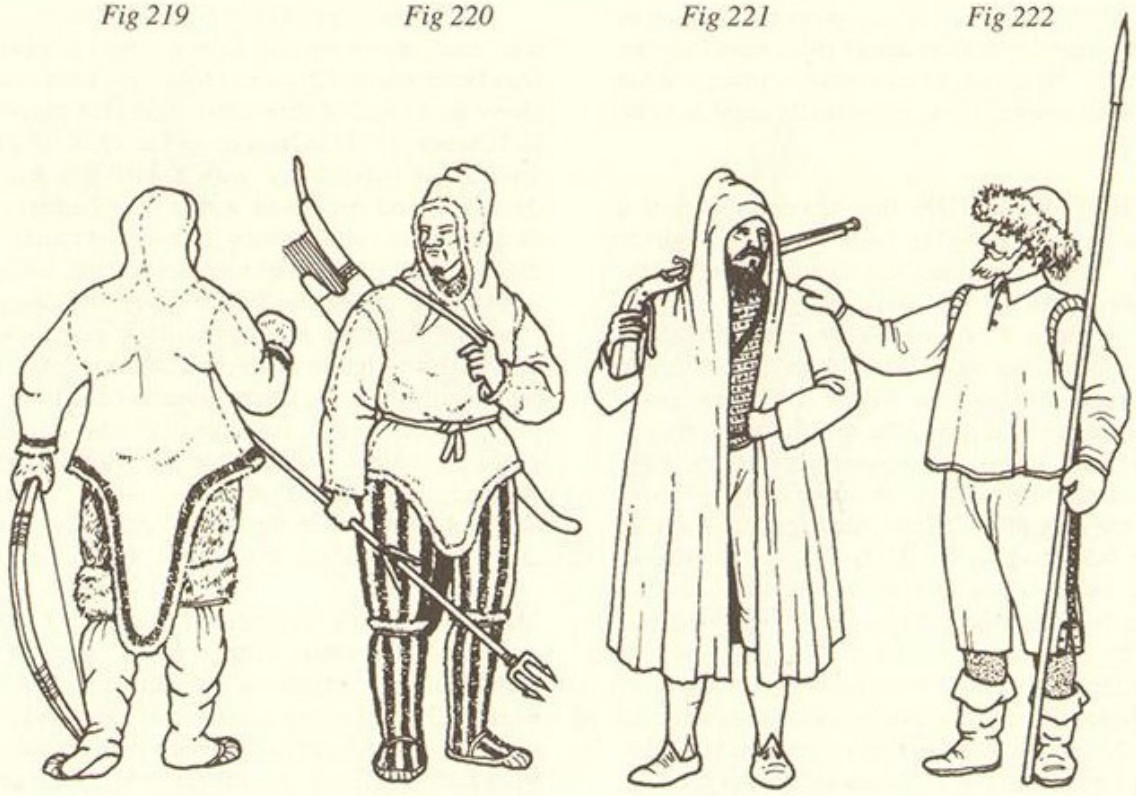


Fig 219 Fig 220 Fig 221 Fig 222



The principal outer garment was the *anorak*, which had both a hood and a flap for the wearer to sit on. It was sometimes decorated with contrasting patches of fur, in particular with two curving triangular pieces of white caribou fur below the hood, referred to as 'walrus tusks' (see Figure 220). In addition they wore up to three pairs of leggings at once, reaching from the waist to the knee, plus long fur socks, soft inner boots, and outer walrus hide boots. Mittens were mostly of caribou hide. Note Figure 218's wooden or walrus ivory snow goggles, added from archaeological finds. Figure 220's dart is from a German woodcut of 1580 illustrating a description of Frobisher's 1577 voyage. Note also his bowcase-cum-quiver, designed to accommodate his bow once it had been unstrung.

The Naskapi Indians of Labrador are reported to have worn similar clothes to the Inuit.

221 & 222. EUROPEAN SEAMEN IN NORTHERN WATERS We have some idea of what Elizabethan seamen wore on sub-Arctic expeditions from the lists of supplies drawn up for George Waymouth's expedition of 1602. These indicate that in addition to the ordinary linen shirt, cotton waistcoat, cotton breeches, knitted woollen hose, boots and shoes one would expect, the men were also to be provided with leather breeches and cassocks lined with lambskin, 'hoods to fasten to the cassocks', frieze-lined leather gowns, frieze socks, boot-hose, and furred leather mittens. Various sources indicate that armament generally included arquebuses, muskets, longbows, swords, bucklers, bills, boarspears, pikes, and half-pikes. These two figures are a composite of men depicted in John White's picture of a skirmish with Inuit at Bloody Point in July 1577, and a series of pictures of a Dutch expedition in the Arctic in 1596.

NOTES

102 In the 16th century Canada was considered to comprise modern Newfoundland and northern Quebec state, while southern Quebec and northern New England were referred to as 'Norumbega' by the English and 'New France' by the French (who subsequently applied the name more specifically to the St. Lawrence valley). The name 'Canada' is generally believed to be derived from *el cabo de nada* ('Cape of Nothing') or *aca nada* ('nothing here') — Spanish explorer Juan de Agramonte's assessment of the territory's potential in 1511. Indian tradition, however, has it that the word comes from the Cree for 'clean land'. Though Brest may have been the chief town of Canada, Quebec was the chief town of New France.

103 He was killed by Carib Indians, probably on Guadeloupe, when he misguidedly landed alone to treat with them in 1528.

104 They became the Six Nations after being joined by the Tuscarora in 1722.

105 When unable to hunt or light fires they depended for their sustenance on roasted cornmeal, which could be eaten dry or steeped in water, which rendered it like porridge. 'They keep these meal cakes for their needs when they are near the enemy or when they are retiring after an attack,' explains Champlain, 'for then they do not waste time in hunting but retire quickly.' Each man carried a bag sufficient for six to eight weeks. When this ran out they would return home for a fresh supply.

106 As early as his expedition against the Iroquois in 1615 Champlain mentions that four or five of his Huron auxiliaries were familiar with handling firearms. However, large numbers of firearms only started to appear amongst the St. Lawrence Indians in the 1640s and 1650s, when the French supplied the Hurons, Montagnais, and Algonquins, while the Dutch supplied the Iroquois. Firearms began to find their way into Virginian Indian hands in the 1620s.

107 Similar armour was worn in various other parts of North America at this time. In California, for instance, the Wintu wore corselets of vertical wooden slats, and the Pomo wore basket-work armour of willow or hazel wands.

Spanish America 1492–1600

Spanish conquests in the New World during the early part of this period were achieved largely by freebooting adventurers, led by captains who at best held indefinite royal commissions and at worst lacked any sort of authority for their actions whatsoever. In the majority of cases expeditions were organised in accordance with the terms set out in agreements called *capitulaciones*, negotiated between the King, the expedition leader, and the adventurers the latter hired to accompany him. The leader of such a venture, referred to as an *adelantado* ('advancer'), was, by necessity, a nobleman or at least a gentleman, who agreed to finance the entire expedition out of his own pocket (or out of the pockets of his sponsors) in exchange for the Crown granting him what was, in effect, absolute power over the region which he was to explore or discover. All the early Spanish voyages to and expeditions in the New World were financed and carried out by this means, Columbus himself being an *adelantado*. The system was only eventually ended under King Philip II (1556–98), who gradually appointed and installed salaried governors in place of the *adelantados*.

Initial success in an expedition guaranteed the support of further bands of adventurers — drawn largely from the West Indies once colonies had begun to be established there, but also from Spain — all keen to cash in on a profitable enterprise; hence the steady flow of reinforcements to Cortés and his captains, for instance, throughout the course of their Mexican campaigns. Readily available manpower was limited, however, and the newly-established colonies of Hispaniola, Cuba and Puerto Rico were sometimes all but stripped of their entire populations. Even then many expeditions were too small. Others were inadequately provisioned, or badly led, and resulted in the deaths of hundreds of *conquistadores*. The initial conquests of Mexico, Central America and Peru therefore had to be achieved with incredibly small armies of rarely more than a few hundred Spaniards, and owed their success more to luck, inspired leadership, and the support of sizeable bodies of Indian auxiliaries, than to numerical strength. Indeed, with the single exception of Cortés' doomed 1,300-strong army in 1520, which lost some 870 men fighting against the Aztecs, the only armies to include in excess of a thousand Spaniards were those that they fielded against each other in the civil wars that plagued Peru throughout the two decades after 1537. Even the largest of these did not reach 2,000 men, and armies of between 400 and 1,000 were more usual. (In 1553, for example, the royalists under Alonso de Alvarado fielded 400 horse, 300 pikemen, and 300 shot, whilst the forces of the rebel Francisco Hernández Girón totalled just 100 arquebusiers, 300 other foot and an unknown number of cavalry. In 1541 Almagro 'the Lad' fielded just 300 horse, 100 arquebusiers, and 150 pikemen, and the following year Vaca de Castro's army totalled no more than 700 men, including 370 horse and 170 arquebusiers.)

After 1498 *adelantados* customarily rewarded individual *conquistadores* with the right — known initially as *repartimiento*, and subsequently as encomienda — to collect Indian tribute from a specific area, most often in the form of labour. The demands placed on the Indians by the recipient, or *encomendero*, were at first limited to specific tasks for limited periods, but it did not take long for most *encomenderos* to re-interpret their grants as official authorisation to treat the Indians as their personal property, and to govern the specified lands as they saw fit. The Indians thereby became slaves, to be exploited, abused, or punished as the *encomendero* pleased. Though the granting of new *encomiendas* ended with the introduction of the so-called 'New Laws' of 1542/3, those already extant were maintained unchanged thereafter, and enslaved Indians remained slaves. All that the *encomendero* had to do in return for his privileged status was to provide military service, and sometimes money, whenever called upon.

Government of Spain's first colonies in the New World was initially in the hands of Christopher Columbus, who had been appointed Viceroy, based in Hispaniola. However, his administrative incompetence resulted in a succession of governors being installed in his stead after 1500. The title of Viceroy was revived in 1535 for the governor of New Spain, based in Mexico City (as the old Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan had been renamed), and in 1544 a second Viceroy, based in Lima, was appointed to govern Peru. These administered the individual regions into which their viceroyalties were subdivided through advisory bodies called *audiencias* — primarily judicial councils, usually composed of four or five *oidores* (judges), a fiscal, and, later, a president — which had the King's blessing to pressure the Viceroy into adopting its views or policies. By the end of the century there were four or five *audiencias* per viceroyalty, these often being further subdivided into provinces (*provincias* or *gobernaciones*) under their own governors. The *provincias* were subdivided in turn into smaller territories which were each under either an *alcalde mayor* (where a significant Spanish settlement existed) or a *corregidor* (where the population was largely Indian), there being respectively 70 and more than 200 of these in New Spain alone by the 1570s. American *audiencias* established within the two viceroyalties by the early 17th century comprised:

New Spain
Santo Domingo (1526)
Mexico (1528)
Guatemala (1543)
Guadalajara (1548)
Peru
Panama (1538)[108]
Lima (1542)
New Granada, or Santa Fé de Bogotá (1549)
La Plata, or Charcas (1559)
Quito (1563)
Chile (1609)

At the time that the Panama *audiencia* was established it was intended that it should be responsible for all Spanish colonies between Nicaragua and the southern tip of the continent, but this situation lasted only until 1543, when the *audiencia* of Los Confines[109] was established with responsibility for Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Panama, plus Chiapas, Tabasco, and Yucatán in Mexico. This was based initially at Gracias in Honduras, but after 1549 its capital was shifted to Santiago de los Caballeros in Guatemala. Shorn of Panama (which was reinstated as a separate *audiencia*, with new boundaries, in 1563), as well as Tabasco and Yucatán in Mexico, this became the *audiencia* of Guatemala in 1570. Panama's western frontier subsequently became the dividing line between the two viceroyalties, though the

situation was somewhat confused by the fact that the *audiencia* of Santo Domingo in Hispaniola, governing the West Indies and Florida and nominally subordinate to New Spain (but in effect autonomous), also had jurisdiction over the northern coastal lands of Venezuela, even though the rest of that region came under the *audiencia* of New Granada, which was answerable to the Viceroy of Peru. This inevitably led to government of the region being somewhat fragmented and occasionally incoherent.

Viceroys and governors were all appointed by the king, who was guided in his choice by a body of at best partisan and at worst corrupt — or at the very least seriously misguided — royal advisors, referred to as the Council of the Indies (*Consejo de las Indias*). This was originally created as a sub-committee of the Council of Castile before being constituted as a separate and distinct entity in 1524. Initially most of the Councillors were members of the clergy, but before long lawyers, attorneys, and accountants prevailed. These invariably had convoluted agendas of their own and little knowledge or understanding of exploration, colonial government, or military affairs, beyond what they could deduce from balance sheets. It was their ignorance of the New World's geography in particular that was responsible for much of the rivalry and armed conflict that occurred amongst Spanish officials in the Americas. On numerous occasions men were issued with royal warrants which failed to clarify the frontiers of the regions they had been appointed to govern, to the extent that it was relatively commonplace — at least during the first half of the century — for two or more men to be given either authority over, or license to explore, the same area, thereby creating disputes that were frequently settled by assassination or a trial of strength on the battlefield.

Military command was in the hands of another Crown appointee referred to as the captain-general, a post which during this period was generally held by the Viceroy himself. He was guided in wartime by a council of war made up of his most experienced officers. The Viceroy personally led his troops in the field only rarely, the expeditions of Antonio de Mendoza against the Cazcanes in 1542, and of Martín Enríquez (Viceroy of New Spain 1568–80 and Peru 1581–83) against the Chichimecs in 1570, being the exceptions rather than the norm. Most preferred instead to delegate authority to their subordinates. However, even in dire emergencies a Viceroy needed to get the agreement of the *audiencia* and the King's local treasury officials before he could declare war or draw the necessary funds to finance military action, and in his absence the *audiencias* were themselves in charge of military affairs. In the provinces military command went to a lieutenant captain-general (*teniente de capitán general*), usually referred to simply as 'captain-general', who — especially in frontier areas — was usually the local governor, otherwise his lieutenant-governor (*teniente de gobernador*), and either way usually an affluent individual expected to personally subsidise the province's military affairs. Another important variety of military official, who only first appears in the 1580s, was the provincial *pagador* or paymaster, responsible for pay, inspections, and general administration.

Despite the fact that no permanent standing army was established until the mid-17th century, the viceroyalties were expected to be militarily self-sufficient except in cases of war with a rival European power. After the late-1560s Viceroys and local governors generally had access to relatively small (and sometimes almost negligible) numbers of regular troops, rarely exceeding a few hundred men in any one province even at the end of the century — there were just 800 soldiers in Panama in 1587, for instance, and only 250 in Florida in 1600. The largest number of regular soldiers to be found in any part of Spanish America at the end of the 16th century appears to have been in Chile, where continuous war with the Mapuche Indians necessitated the maintenance of about 1,500 men on a full-time basis (López Vaz reporting in 1586 that the Chilean authorities 'spend all the gold that the land yieldeth in the maintenance of their soldiers'). For the bulk of their military manpower, however, colonial officials depended on a mixture of volunteers, men raised at their own expense, militiamen provided by the towns and landowners, and Indian auxiliaries. The few Spanish regulars, whether raised at the expense of the king, the Viceroy, the local governor, or even the local municipal authorities, were chiefly to be found in the towns and specially constructed forts along the coast (to repel the raids of French, English, and Dutch corsairs) and in the *presidios* built along restless portions of the colonies' frontiers. Individual local garrisons, however, sometimes consisted of no more than a captain, a handful of artillerymen (often no more than three, and occasionally just one), and a few servants or slaves.

Most of the available artillery, which appears to have been considerable, was found in the same locations plus the larger towns (Drake's attacks on Santo Domingo and Cartagena in 1586 found more than 90 serviceable guns — three-quarters of them brass — in these two places alone), but it saw little service in the field outside of Peru's mid-century civil wars. During the latter the rival factions fielded about six guns apiece in several battles, the royalists being able to muster up to a dozen on occasion by taking additional suitable pieces from the Viceroy's ships. The largest artillery train recorded in the New World during the century seems to have been that of Gonzalo Pizarro in Peru in October 1544, which totalled as many as 22 guns, plus 50 artillerymen, a guard of 30 arquebusiers, and 'more than 6,000 Indians carrying the cannon and munitions on their backs' — an allusion to the customary practice adopted by the Spaniards in the Americas of having their guns hauled or even, especially in Peru, *carried* by teams of Indian baggage-handlers. This was necessitated by both the relative scarcity and high value of horses and the severity of the terrain. Garcilaso de la Vega describes the technique as utilised in Peru: 'Each piece of artillery was lashed to a thick beam more than forty feet long. A series of poles ran under this beam each about two feet apart and sticking out about a yard on either side of the beam. Each of these poles was held by a pair of Indians, one at each end … They bore the weight on their necks, where they wore pads so that the heavily laden poles should not hurt them too much, and the Indians were changed every 200 paces, since they could not carry such a weight any greater distance.' On the occasion he is describing, 10,000 Indians were involved in the transport of 11 guns, the barrels and carriages of which were carried separately.

During the second half of the century small bodyguard units were established for the Viceroys. Francisco Pizarro's royal warrant authorising the conquest of Peru had also

given him permission to raise a guard of 24 halberdiers, or perhaps arquebusiers, but he apparently never did. Such a company of *alabarderos* was eventually raised in Peru in 1555, as were cavalry units of lancers and 'archers' (the latter term actually denoting crossbowmen and arquebusiers); these totalled 100 lancers, 50 'archers' and 50 halberdiers by 1569. At much the same date, however, Viceroy Enríquez de Almansa of New Spain (1568–80) was authorised to have a guard of just 20 men.

Military service was expected from Spaniards settled in the New World from the outset, and after October 1540 it became obligatory for all able freemen aged 16–40 to serve in the militia. Nevertheless, the acceptability of paid substitutes implies the availability of additional men who clearly did not owe service on their own account (perhaps impermanent residents, such as seamen, or even foreigners, such as the Italians and Portuguese prominent amongst Pizarro's forces in Peru in the 1540s). The use of fines to employ substitutes is recorded as early as 1529, when Nuño de Guzmán forced reluctant draftees to purchase exemption by each contributing 'a certain sum of money to hire a substitute' for his expedition into New Galicia. Militiamen pursued their own occupations during the week but theoretically assembled for drill on Sundays and for field-days once every four months, performed guard duty at least once a month, and had to make themselves available for active service in the field whenever called upon. In exchange for this they were paid a small salary and received assorted privileges, notably exemption from prosecution and from the payment of various taxes. By about mid-century most provinces appear to have been capable of fielding from 100 up to about 500 militiamen, or sometimes more, while the majority of individual settlements could field no more than 50–100 prior to c.1580. The larger, long-established towns were inevitably the exception. San Juan de Puerto Rico theoretically had access to 150–200 militiamen in the 1560s, Cartagena about 300 (c.1560), Havana 500 (1586), and Santo Domingo allegedly 1,000 (1570). Officers were provided by a mixture of eminent citizens and local grandees but, initially at least, were invariably *peninsulares* (i.e. men born in Spain), though *criollos* — colonial-born Spaniards — were beginning to appear among them by the latter part of the century. Senior officers were always veterans of Spain's European wars. By the 1580s about two-thirds of the men they commanded were *criollos*.

There appears to have been no official limit to the period for which a militiaman might be called to the colours, this depending entirely on circumstances. As a result some were almost, if not actually, permanently under arms, sometimes for years at a time, and most served often enough to become experienced soldiers (something which many already were, since we read time and again of local men who were veterans of Spain's various European wars, notably in Italy and the Low Countries). As a rule the best quality men assisted in the guarding of key cities and fortresses, and the worst were used to guard the coasts — which to some extent explains the timid response often met with by corsair landing-parties: Spanish troops confronting Sir John Hawkins in 1564, for instance, fired a single volley and then ran away. However, official Spanish policy appears to have been for the militia not to put up a resolute defence under such circumstances, but to simply offer such resistance as they could and then retreat into the adjacent countryside with their families and as much of their movable goods as they could manage, leaving the enemy to be dealt with, when necessary, by a relief force assembled specifically for the purpose. By the 17th century the normal obligation seems to have been for men to serve in the militia during ten consecutive years.

Though most militiamen served on foot some were cavalrymen. Nombre de Dios could field 30 horsemen in 1554, for instance, Cartagena 40 in 1566, Panama 50 in 1577, and Santo Domingo 100 in 1583 (compared to 300, 200, 450, and 500 foot-soldiers respectively). The *encomenderos* tended to provide the bulk of such cavalry, those of each town generally constituting an individual company. When taken on for the duration of a campaign they received no pay, remuneration instead taking the form of further grants of land or improved terms regarding the *encomiendas* they already held; refusal to serve generally resulted in confiscation of land and/or the *encomendero*'s Indian work-force. Nevertheless, it seems likely that not all of the men provided were necessarily of a particularly high standard: of 620 cavalry reviewed in Mexico City in 1536, for instance, only 450 were found to be in a fit state to take the field, while in 1542, during the Mixton War, it was discovered that many of Mendoza's cavalrymen lacked the training or skill to serve effectively on horseback, and had to be relegated to the infantry.

Ordinary cavalrymen and foot-soldiers hired in New Spain received a gold peso and food allowance in 1552, while those hired in Peru received a lump-sum of about a year's pay on recruitment in order to equip themselves, but were lucky if they ever saw another penny thereafter unless the campaign was unusually long. Fortunately for the authorities most Spaniards in the Americas were reputedly proud enough to 'not even take pay from the King in time of war', which, if true, is just as well. On very rare occasions monthly ration payments were distributed.

During the initial phase of the Spanish conquest units were made up ad hoc and, unsurprisingly, were of no particular size or composition. After regular government had been established infantry companies normally consisted of 150 or 200 men (though they were invariably understrength), while cavalry units were most commonly of about 20 men. By the second half of the century infantry companies in the field were largely made up of men equipped entirely with firearms, though a sizeable proportion — perhaps as many as a third — seem to have either substituted or carried a sword and buckler in addition when fighting Indians, and polearms were not unknown. Pikes were also issued as and when necessary, for the defence of coastal towns against conventionally equipped English or French forces deploying pikemen of their own. When pikemen were needed for field service, as during Peru's civil wars, they may have been organised into separate companies; certainly they served in separate units on the battlefield, as was customary in Europe. However, military equipment was generally in short supply, and until the late-1530s militiamen usually provided their own weapons, which consequently varied considerably in both type and quality. Thereafter the Crown sent out occasional shipments of arms to equip the colonists, but records show that in the 1540s and 1550s these usually comprised between three and five pikes to every firearm supplied, a ratio that improved to one or more firearms per pike during the 1560s. Official orders for armour and weapons often

remained unfilled even years after they were sent in, and militiamen and regular soldiers alike continued to be generally left to their own devices when equipping themselves. Leather and cotton armour, shields and horses were invariably obtained privately, but firearms, mail corselets and plate armour were only available (officially, at least) via the viceregal authorities — which probably goes a long way towards explaining why they remained relatively uncommon. Viceroys could usually only expect to receive about half of all the munitions they ordered from Spain, if they received anything at all. An order for arquebuses sent from Mexico in January 1572, for instance, was still outstanding nearly five years later, in December 1576. It is therefore unsurprising to find that a great many firearms were actually obtained by smuggling and other unofficial sources of supply.

MEXICO'S NORTHERN FRONTIER

The northern frontier of New Spain was the Wild West in embryo, complete with ranches, prospectors, wagon trains, isolated forts, and sudden Indian raids, all set against a sandy, cactus-studded backdrop. Being largely nomadic, the Indians here were infinitely harder to pin down and defeat than the sedentary tribes of Central Mexico had been, and pursuing their small raiding parties was akin to chasing after shadows. The solution to the problem was the establishment at key points of small forts called *presidios*, the garrisons of which could patrol the area and provide escorts for the wagon trains travelling to and from the valuable silver mines that had been established deep within Indian territory. Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza (1535–50) was the first to consider building a line of *presidios*, following the suppression of the rebellion of 1541–42, in order to provide a screen against the possibility of incursions by the unconquered northern tribes. However, construction of the first two did not begin until 1569. More were built throughout the 1570s, and 20 more in the 1580s as conflict in the region intensified. Their numbers only declined towards the end of the century, as the Chichimec threat receded.

The standard *presidio* was rectangular, with non-crenellated walls, battlements that provided the roofs of the buildings within (which surrounded an open quadrangle), towers at two or more corners, and one gate. The earliest had garrisons comprising just a senior soldier called a *caudillo* (or *cabo*) and four or five men, but later, as the Indians obtained horses for themselves and thereby increased their mobility, they increased to between about a dozen and 20 or so men. Many garrisons remained understrength, however, and it was not unknown for them to be disbanded entirely simply to cut costs, a constant lack of money being just as severe a handicap to Spanish military operations in the Americas as it was in Europe, largely in consequence of inter-departmental rivalry and an over-indulgence in red tape by the royal treasury agents based in Mexico City (who at times refused even to obey the orders of the Viceroy himself).

Small patrols and escorts of four to ten men were still being mounted by these presidial garrisons even in the 1580s, but by then larger, full-time patrols of up to 40 men were also being maintained in the field, commanded by a commissioned captain assisted by an *alférez* and a *sargento*. In addition some wealthy landowners and mine-owners maintained their own salaried soldiers under special licence from the Viceroy and, from 1575, wagon trains were required by law to provide two well-armed men per *cuadrilla* (a 'squad' or 'unit', presumably in this instance meaning a single wagon). All of these various soldiers were arquebus-armed cavalrymen on cotton-armoured horses; infantry on the northern frontier were provided mostly by Indian auxiliaries, very occasionally backed up by local militiamen. Full-scale punitive expeditions comprised at most 40–50 Spanish cavalry and 80–500 Indian auxiliaries, and were usually commanded by the provincial lieutenant captain-general.

The soldiers were mostly criollos (60% by the 1580s) and occasionally mestizos, while European-born Spaniards constituted at most only about a third of them, though this last group still included most of the officers, usually landowners commissioned to raise troops whenever called upon to do so. Ordinary cavalrymen were still being paid as little as 250 *pesos* per annum even in 1576, despite the fact that a captain in 1561 reckoned that the men in his company that year had each spent between 1,000 and 2,000 *pesos* on horses and equipment; and even in 1580, when pay was increased to 300 *pesos*, it was still considered that no soldier could adequately equip himself for less than a thousand. Even so, pay peaked at just 450 *pesos* in 1581, despite the fact that the resultant low-quality recruits often actually provoked Indian hostility by their unruly behaviour, some even operating protection rackets or indulging in the illegal slave trade in order to augment their meagre salaries. Even captains officially received only 500 *pesos* in the 1570s, increased to 600 in 1581, but in practice their pay varied between 550–800. Pay was issued in advance in up to three instalments a year, though men posted to the most inaccessible spots got theirs only once a year if they got it at all.

FLORIDA

The fact that the majority of treasure ships travelling between the Americas and Spain passed through the Straits of Florida inevitably rendered Florida itself of considerable strategic importance, and led to several inauspicious attempts to establish a settlement there during the first half of the century, which have been outlined in the chapter on North America. The largest of these was Hernando de Soto's expedition of 1539–43, which had landed some 600 people (including eight clerics but apparently only four women). Following the failure of this enterprise and the lapse of de Soto's royal warrant, it was decided that the Viceroyalty of New Spain should itself annex the region rather than depend on the escapades of profit-seeking entrepreneurs such as de Soto. At the end of 1557, therefore, Viceroy Luís Velasco of New Spain (1550–64), was ordered to establish a colony on St. Helena Island (South Carolina), some 20 miles north of the mouth of the Savannah River, though this instruction was subsequently revised, directing instead that a settlement should first be established on the Gulf coast of Florida itself. To this end a fleet of 11 ships, with 500 soldiers, 240 horses (of which only 130–140 survived the voyage), and 1,000 settlers and

slaves (the former being mostly Christian Tlaxcaltec Indians from Mexico) — was despatched to Pensacola Bay in mid-1559 under the newly-appointed governor of Florida, Tristán de Luna y Arellano. However, like its predecessors, this embryo colony failed to prosper and had to be abandoned in 1561. Horses, incidentally, did not last long in any of the Spanish expeditions to Florida, all those which did not die of disease, hunger, or Indian arrows invariably ending up being eaten. Even after the Spaniards established a permanent presence here the number of horses failed to increase, despite occasional shipments of additional animals from Cuba and Hispaniola. There were just 15 or 16 left in San Agustín in 1570, all of which had been eaten by 1573.

It took the arrival of French settlers in 1562 to prompt more determined Spanish efforts to colonise Florida, another private individual — the francophobic Pedro Menéndez de Avilés — being granted authority to conquer the region as Captain-General of Florida.[110] Raising a force of nearly 2,650 soldiers and settlers, 100 horses and 34 ships in Spain, largely at his own expense (only 299 men and one ship being provided by the Crown), he descended on the small French colony at Fort Caroline in September 1565 and annihilated it, subsequently establishing three forts on this site, which he renamed San Mateo, and a fourth (San Juan de Pinos) at San Agustín, further south on Florida's Atlantic coast. The following year he occupied and refortified a deserted French site at Charlesfort on Parris Island (South Carolina), renaming it San Felipe, having already built a new *presidio* called Santa Elena on neighbouring St. Helena Island. Several smaller fortlets and Franciscan missionary outposts were also established, at Tequesta and San Antonio on the west coast, Aís, Tocobago, Santa Lucía (now St. Lucie) and Matanzas on the east coast, and Joada and Axacan in Georgia. Another small fort was built at San Pedro de Tacatacuru on Cumberland Island in 1587.[111] Each of the fortlets had a garrison of only about 30 men, though there were said to be 200 at Aís when it was first erected.

Half-a-dozen small forts were established in the direction of North Carolina by an expedition of 125 men under Juan Pardo (sent out from Santa Elena by Menéndez in 1566–68), but these had a lifespan of no more than a few months, the Indians overrunning all of them by spring 1568 after one of the garrison commanders had made the fundamental mistake of getting involved in tribal politics by providing military support to one tribe against another. Most of the governor's various other fortifications fared little better. French raiders destroyed the trio of forts at San Mateo in 1568 and they were not rebuilt. The outpost at Tequesta was abandoned in 1570, as was that at San Antonio at some point between 1568–71 in consequence of a rising led by the most powerful local chief, Calusa. The other Floridian fortlets were nearly all overwhelmed by local Indians at much the same date, and certainly by c.1575. Matanzas survived a little longer on account of its being only 18 miles south of San Agustín, which was itself partially destroyed in an Indian attack at about this time, when the powder magazine exploded after being set alight by fire-arrows. The Jesuit mission at Axacan was destroyed in an Indian attack in 1571, Joada was abandoned soon after, and nine small Franciscan missions established in Georgia in 1594 survived only until 1597, when a Guale uprising wiped them out too (missionary activity here was renewed in 1601). At the end of the century San Pedro provided the springboard from which operations against the Guale rebels were launched.

All of the Spanish forts in La Florida were constructed of timber, and thus highly susceptible to the vicissitudes of the local sub-tropical climate, which rotted wood in next to no time. An English report describes 'the walls being none other but whole masts or bodies of trees set upright and close together in the manner of a pale', with whatever guns they boasted being mounted on platforms constructed of layers of tree-trunks with earth packed between the trunks; in 1586 San Agustín's fort had 13 or 14 guns, including six bronze pieces, and in 1576 Santa Elena had four bronze guns (with another two buried nearby). In about 1572 another report described Santa Elena and San Agustín forts as being 'made of planks and thick beams for pillars', and makes the observation that their timbers rotted from the damp climate after only four or five years, so that their garrisons had to work all year round to keep them in a fit state of repair. This in turn led to much discontent, since the men often received no pay or rations for months at a time, and the report closes with the observation that they would have mutinied if they had had a boat to get away in. The fort at San Agustín destroyed by Drake's expedition in 1586 (see below) was actually the sixth of nine forts built in succession on this site between its foundation and the end of the century, those which were not destroyed by rot variously succumbing to fire, floods, and hurricanes.

In November 1567 San Mateo had a garrison of 200 men, San Agustín another 200, and Santa Elena 60. However, by 1573 there were only 25 soldiers each at San Agustín and Santa Elena according to one of the colonists, López de Velasco recording that the strength of Florida's entire garrison and colony stood at just 150 soldiers and as many civilians ('labourers') by then. In 1576 there are said to have been just 200 men in the two surviving *presidios* at Santa Elena and San Agustín (San Felipe had been temporarily abandoned; it was briefly reoccupied after 1578), and Menéndez's nephew and successor Pedro Menéndez Marqués found just 139 'soldiers and labourers' in Santa Elena at his arrival there in 1577. However, other sources put overall garrison strength at about 275 men the following year. Either way, the dwindling garrisons were described as being 'in great want' by 1584. Two years later Sir Francis Drake, having already sacked Santo Domingo in Hispaniola and Cartagena in New Granada, attacked and burned San Agustín en route back to England, overwhelming its defences in just two days, despite the assistance provided to the garrison by local Timucua Indians, who launched at least one unsuccessful sortie against the English attackers; the English sources give its garrison at that date as 150 men. However, the fort was subsequently rebuilt, and when it was decided to abandon Santa Elena the following year San Agustín thereafter constituted the only significant Spanish stronghold left in Florida, its garrison — recorded as 250 men in April 1600 — being so closely invested by hostile Indians[112] that it stood no chance of ever fulfilling the role envisaged for it: to protect Spain's interests in south-east America and Spanish shipping using the straits. It therefore comes as little surprise to learn that by 1602 it was being proposed back in Spain that the province should be abandoned entirely, and another five years were to elapse before a decision to persevere was finally reached.

INDIAN AUXILIARIES

It is fair to say that from the moment the *conquistadores* first landed in the Americas they found Indians willing to serve them, and Indian auxiliaries took part — as warriors, porters, interpreters, and scouts — in every 16th century campaign. Indeed, without them Spanish conquest of the Americas could never have taken place at the speed that it did, and might not have been possible at all. The initial motivation of such native auxiliaries was to settle old scores. In Mexico, for instance, the Totonacs, Tlaxcaltecs, Huexotzinca, and Zapotecs alike welcomed the Spaniards (somewhat short-sightedly, perhaps) as liberators from the yoke of Aztec oppression, while Cakchiquels happily served against their traditional Pipil and Tzutujil enemies, and Cañari against their Inca overlords, to mention but a few examples. Their numbers in the initial conquest period could be counted in thousands: Cortés was accompanied by 6,000 Tlaxcaltecs, Huexotzinca, Tliliuhquitepecs, and Totonacs in his initial advance to Tenochtitlan in 1519; 5,000 accompanied Cristóbal de Olid to Michoacán in 1522; 3,000 Aztecs and others (including Cuauhtemoc, their last *Tlatoani*) went with Cortés to Honduras in 1524; 8,000 Tlaxcaltecs, Aztecs, and Huexotzinca participated in Nuño de Guzmán's expedition to Western Mexico in 1529–31; and 5,000 Tarascans marched to defeat with Alvarado in 1541, the same year as just 20 Spaniards were accompanied by 2,000 'Indian friends' in Francisco de Cardenas' expedition against Manco Inca Yupanqui. 15,000 Indians are said to have set out with Diego de Almagro's expedition from Peru to Chile in 1536, while for the siege of Tenochtitlan in 1521 Cortés had the services of at least 20–24,000, provided by Tlaxcala, Huexotzinca, Cholula, Texcoco, Chalco, Xochimilco, and Tacuba. The largest auxiliary force of all was probably that of perhaps 40,000 Indians — largely Tlaxcaltecs, Tarascans, and Otomi, but including contingents from various other Christianised Mexican tribes — which accompanied Mendoza north to crush the Teul Chichimecs in 1542.

Such auxiliaries were at first allowed to pursue their bloodthirsty tradition of ritual sacrifice. After the fall of Tenochtitlan, for instance, the Tlaxcaltecs indulged in a feast of sacrificed Aztecs, even taking home portions of flesh for those who had stayed behind in Tlaxcala, and Tarascan auxiliaries were likewise allowed to sacrifice their captives undisturbed after the conquest of Colima. Bartolomé de Las Casas even claimed (doubtless with more than a little exaggeration) that Pedro de Alvarado's auxiliaries in Guatemala were provided with nothing at all to eat, being instead allowed 'to eat the Indians they captured'. However, this period of expedient tolerance of native custom appears to have been short-lived, and in Mexico Christianisation of the Indians followed hard on the heels of conquest before the end of the 1520s.

Of all the Indian auxiliaries fielded during the 16th century pride of place must go to the Tlaxcaltecs, who stood by Cortés and his *conquistadores* in their darkest hour, after the Aztecs had driven the Spaniards from Tenochtitlan in 1520, killing two-thirds of them in the process. Tlaxcaltec contingents served in every major Spanish campaign in Mexico during the first half of the century, a record of which they were immensely proud. A Tlaxcaltec warrior actually saved Cortés' life in the fighting at Xochimilco in 1521. Even the Spaniards — not generally given to humility at this date — acknowledged their debt to the loyalty of their Tlaxcaltec allies, granting them as a reward full exemption from the sometimes considerable tribute demands and obligatory personal service imposed on other Indians, a privilege they were still enjoying in 1602. Loyal Tlaxcaltec colonists were later transplanted to settlements on the northern frontier, to help secure it against Chichimec raiders, as too were Indians from Cholula, Michoacán and elsewhere. Such colonists were encouraged to perform military service when called upon by the promise of slaves and land, though sometimes such service was nevertheless exacted under duress, and fines might be imposed on those who declined to provide it.

Although Tlaxcaltecs and Tarascans served there in considerable numbers, the Spaniards' principal allies in their northern conquests were the Otomis. These provided the bulk of the auxiliary troops fielded in the Chichimec War of 1550–90, sometimes unsupported by any Spanish soldiers whatsoever, and some of their chieftains received commissions akin to those issued to Spanish officers. The Christianised Otomi chieftain Nicolás de San Luís of Tula, for instance, was commissioned as a captain and 'captain-general' of Indians in 1557, with authority to 'use the arms of offence and defence necessary for such office' and instructions 'to arm yourself in full regalia to distinguish yourself from the 1,000 Indians with bows and arrows' under his command; he was even authorised to go to war accompanied by a drum, bugle and fife. Even so, though he had sole command of his warriors he nevertheless had to be accompanied by a Spanish liaison officer on all his campaigns and was accountable to the *alcalde mayor* in Jilotepec. Another Otomi chieftain, Hernández de Tapía, is recorded to have maintained his own troop of 500 archers for service against the Chichimecs. The 500 Indians recorded by John Chilton accompanying 40 Spanish soldiers through Chichimec territory in Tamaulipas in 1572 were probably Otomis too; he describes them as 'all good archers and naked men'. The service of such warriors was initially paid for by gifts of food, clothing, and trade goods, but exemption from some or all of their tribute payment and personal service obligations became the norm from the 1570s. A few were maintained on a permanent basis, either by the state or by individual landowners, and served primarily in the role of scouts. Bands of Arawak Indians receiving regular monthly salaries were being similarly maintained on a semi-permanent basis in Cuba by about mid-century, for use against those of their countrymen still in arms against the Spanish conquerors.

Inevitably one of the principal problems of employing Indian auxiliaries in battle was the difficulty of distinguishing friend from foe. It was easy enough if the auxiliaries were wearing Spanish-style clothes or carrying Spanish weapons, but the sources make it abundantly clear that Indian costume and weapons continued to prevail in Northern Mexico and most of South America throughout the century, though in Brazil the Tupinikin and Tobayara auxiliaries found in Portuguese service are said to have worn white shirts. As early as 1521 Spanish cavalry fighting in Matlatzingo killed six or eight of their own Otomi auxiliaries after mistaking them for Aztecs, and this was doubtless not an isolated incident. Even the

introduction of simple field-signs — such as the pieces of red felt worn in the headbands of Antonio de Espejo's Indians in New Mexico in 1582–83, or the white 'crosses' (probably saltires) painted on the chest and back of Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's Guaraní auxiliaries in Argentina in 1542 — were no certain guarantee of safety in the heat and confusion of battle, and Cabeza de Vaca himself conceded that such devices helped very little after several of his Guaranís were still accidentally killed by over-enthusiastic Spanish soldiers during a close night-battle. Probably such occurrences gradually diminished as, with experience, the Spaniards became more familiar with the individualities of costume, hair-style and so forth that distinguished one tribe from the next, but it is unlikely that the problem was ever entirely eliminated.

SLAVES AND CIMAROONS

Negro slaves accompanied all of the early Spanish expeditions. Cortés had as many as 300 with him during his campaign in Mexico in 1521, and it was reckoned that there were some 10,000 scattered throughout the New World by 1528. Las Casas says that by 1540 this figure had increased to 100,000. An *oidor* of Santo Domingo reported the presence of 20,000 Negro slaves on Hispaniola alone c.1560, and there are said to have been over 20,000 in Mexico by 1570. Though a report of 1582 is probably exaggerating when it claims that there were by then 25,000 Negroes on Hispaniola, it is of interest in its observation that the island's comparable Spanish population was just 2,000, even including Indians, mestizos, and mulattoes. Alexander Ursino tells us at much the same date (1581) that there were only about 2,750 Spaniards in Peru, less than 1,300 in Chile, and just 400 in Panama. With as many as 2,000 Negro slaves being officially (and perhaps twice as many more unofficially) imported into Spanish America every year by 1552, it is hardly surprising that the Spaniards soon started to look upon their slaves as an untapped source of military manpower.

Individual Negro slaves are occasionally mentioned fighting alongside their Spanish masters from the very beginning of the Conquest.[113] However, the first time they appeared on the battlefield in significant numbers was during the period of the Peruvian civil wars which began in 1537, when desperation probably drove many men on both sides to arm their slaves for the first time. Negro slaves fought on Vaca de Castro's side at the Battle of Chupas in 1542, for instance, while in 1548 Gonzalo Pizarro armed a number of his Negro and Indian slaves with lances and put them on horseback to deceive the enemy into thinking his forces larger than they were. Then in 1553–54 Hernández de la Nazca, one of Girón's captains, organised the first black infantry company in the New World, consisting initially of 150 slaves (later 250–300) captured during the destruction of royalist property. These were armed with a mixture of agricultural implements ('hoes') and firearms, and were promised their freedom in exchange for military service against the royalists. Garcilaso de la Vega reports that Girón 'gave them an independent command', with a slave called Master Juan as their captain-general. 'Apart from the Negro commander,' he continues, 'the rebel leader appointed Negro captains, who picked their ensigns, sergeants, and corporals, and fifers and drummers … Many Negroes in the royalist camp went over to the rebel side when they knew that Francisco Hernández had treated their relatives so honourably, and they fought against their masters for the duration of the war. The rebel leader made full use of these soldiers, sending them out with Spanish corporals to gather provisions.' At the Battle of Pucará they and 70 Spanish arquebusiers were sent to launch a frontal attack on the royalist camp while the rest of the army attacked from the rear.

Elsewhere Negro slaves served in the defence of coastal towns against pirate raiders, as at Havana in 1555,[114] San Juan de Puerto Rico in 1557, Cartagena in 1560 and 1572, and Santo Domingo in 1583, and when the first militia companies were established in Cuba in 1586 in response to Drake's threatened attack on Havana they included 'many men of colour', though these may have been largely mulattoes rather than pure-blooded Negroes since the independent black company formed from such militiamen in 1600 was called the *Compañía de Pardos Libres* ('Company of Free Mulattoes'). Free blacks, who only began to appear towards the middle of the century as particularly enlightened individuals rewarded their most loyal slaves with manumission, were less common. Nevertheless, there were as many as 50 amongst the 450–500 men mustered to defend Cartagena against Drake in 1586, and a company of free Negroes commanded by a Negro captain took part in the operations against Drake's landing-party in Panama in 1595. In 1610, however, there were still only 148 in the whole of Panama, compared to 3,500 Negro slaves.

Though constantly short of workers because their slaves died so often, the Spaniards never looked to improve their conditions or treat them more humanely, but simply imported ever more slaves. So harsh were the conditions in which they lived that a significant number inevitably fled. Many were run down and recaptured by hunting parties of men and dogs called *rancheadores* — a dangerous occupation which cost the lives of many Spaniards. Others elected to remain within Spanish colonial society by choosing themselves a new master, or pretending to be freemen — a certain Juan Valiente, for instance, fled his original master in New Spain and ended up serving with his own arms and horse in Pedro de Valdivia's expedition in Chile in 1540, where he was eventually killed in battle by the Mapuche Indians. Many, however, simply fled into the hills, where it was next to impossible for the Spaniards to find them. The earliest official record of such an event dates to 1502, and by the very next year the problem had already grown to serious enough proportions on Hispaniola that the import of further slaves was temporarily suspended. But the situation did not improve during the 16th century, and by 1570 it was being claimed that 30% of the slaves imported into the Americas every year succeeded in escaping into the bush. By the 1530s the Spaniards had nicknamed such runaways *cimarrones*, or Cimaroons (from the Spanish word *cimarrón*, 'wild'), a name which had been previously employed to describe both domesticated cattle which had run wild, and unsubjugated Indians. The English in their turn adopted and corrupted the word to 'Maroons'.

Cimaroon communities elected their own chiefs and kings, who were compelled by their circumstances to rule like despots. At least some of these leaders — such as

Bayano in Panama, and Yanga in *Gran Chichimeca* — claimed to have originally been kings in their Guinean or Angolan homeland. The Cimaroons built themselves villages and grew crops alongside these, including bananas, beans, maize, cotton, sugar cane, and tobacco. Few descriptions of early Maroon villages or *cumbes* (from the African word *mi-kumbe*, meaning a hideout) appear to have survived, or at least have not been published. However, it can be generally supposed that they resembled 17th century *palenques* (as they were subsequently called, from the Spanish word for a stockade), which consisted of small settlements of 15–20 wattle-and-daub huts — easily rebuilt once an attacking Spanish force had withdrawn — surrounded by a palisade of logs or thorn entanglements and one or more ditches lined with sharpened stakes. Other defences often encountered consisted of booby-trapped false trails. It would seem from 16th century sources that earlier villages may not have been fortified as often or with as much sophistication, but at least one Cimaroon stronghold on the Balsas River in Panama, attacked by the Spaniards in 1577, had a 'fort'. (Its defenders, including a handful of English corsairs under John Oxenham,[115] were driven out, abandoning the fort and setting fire to it and the village as they fled.) The Spaniards had discovered this village more by luck than skill, and numerous sources allude to the difficulty of finding Cimaroon bases, which were so well-hidden in the forests that it was said to be possible to walk right past one without noticing it.

The strength of a Cimaroon band was increased by the arrival of additional runaways, and by the capture of slaves from the Spaniards. Forcibly liberated slaves, however, were at first watched closely in case they should turn out to be spies, and they generally seem to have served some sort of probationary period before being trusted with arms. Any Cimaroon who deserted or attempted to betray the community was killed. Negro freemen, incidentally, were not recruited; they were neither liked nor trusted by the Cimaroons, who regarded them as to all intents and purposes Spaniards, and consequently treated them as such. The only way that Cimaroon children could therefore be born free was by intermarriage with Indians (their issue being referred to by the Spaniards as *zambos*), which often resulted in the Cimaroons being at war with some of the local Indian tribes, from whom they had kidnapped Indian women. Male runaways considerably outnumbered females, so this was the only way that most could get a wife. Rivalry with other Cimaroon bands also occasionally led to bloodshed. Girolamo Benzoni attributes this enmity to the fact that many Cimaroons had been sold into slavery by their own tribe's enemies, and where members of these enemy tribes were found to be present in a rival band friction was sure to ensue. As a result, he observes, 'they do not do the harm to the Spaniards that they might if they were all united', though they were able to 'make common cause among themselves' when necessary.

The Spaniards considered that burning the runaways' fields and thereby leaving them without any means of subsistence was 'the most effective warfare which can be waged upon the Cimaroons.' The fact that in the 'winter season' — i.e. the middle months of the year — the Cimaroons were unable to conceal their foodstuffs growing in the fields, and were compelled by the heavy rains to stay in the shelter of their villages, made this the ideal time to attack them, whereas after their crops had been harvested in the summer they were able to secrete these and themselves in the bush where not a man could find them. 'Further,' continues a Spanish report of 1571, 'in the [winter] rains the Negroes leave a trail in the mud wherever they go, and cannot avoid doing so; nor can they travel by the rivers, for they are swollen. In the summer they can travel thus, and leave no trail.'

The Cimaroons were reported to 'not await an attack; their defence is to flee and to hide in the remotest, most secret fastnesses of the mountains, abandoning their villages, some of which they burned as soon as they knew that our men were approaching.' Indeed, they had a knack for disappearing, General Diego de Frias Trejo reporting, regarding a campaign against them in Panama in 1578, that after capturing a village on the Piños River he had 'gone over the whole region without finding a Negro or trace of any, because they have separated and fled to remote and hidden fastnesses, [and] there remained … no Negro who could be caught, or even laid eyes upon'. Consequently the Spaniards often used captured Cimaroons (especially those who had submitted voluntarily) as trackers, to hunt down their elusive countrymen. All Cimaroons were capable of advancing through the forests in perfect silence, which made them ideal as scouts, and they could detect the presence of Spaniards at a considerable distance by the smell of their smouldering arquebus matches.

A succinct description of Cimaroon comportment during a skirmish is provided by Francis Drake's nephew and namesake, who records that when a company of Spaniards marched out to confront Drake's attack on Venta Cruces in 1573, the Cimaroons, after initially taking shelter from the Spaniards' arquebus fire, 'all rushed forward one after another, traversing the way with their arrows ready in their bows and their manner of country dance or leap, very lustily singing *yo peho! yo peho!* and so got before us, where they continued their leap and song after the manner of their own country wars, till they and we overtook some of the enemy who, near the wood's end, had conveyed themselves within the woods to have taken their stand … But our Cimaroons … broke in through the thickets on both sides of them, forcing them to fly'. One Cimaroon was killed by a pike thrust, but he was their only casualty.

At one time or another in the course of the century there were problems with slave rebellions and Cimaroon bands in almost every corner of Spanish America, as follows:

Hispaniola

The first slave revolt in the New World took place at Santo Domingo in December 1522, most of the rebels being hanged when it was crushed. The leader of the principal band of Hispaniolan Cimaroons by 1542 — when it was believed that there were 2–3,000 runaway slaves scattered across the island — was Diego de Guzmán, who was killed in a confrontation with 30 Spanish soldiers, during which 19 Cimaroons and one Spaniard were killed and 16 Spaniards were wounded. His place was then taken by Diego de Campo. Benzoni records that the Spaniards 'finally seeing that these blacks multiplied, and that all the Spaniards who fell into their hands were made to die under every sort of torment, began to collect men together and send them into all parts of the island where the Negroes hid

themselves. At first it turned out very favourable to the Spaniards, for taking with them some Negroes, under promise of liberty, who knew the localities, they used to attack them in the night, and finding the people asleep … they captured and killed a great many of them. But thereafter the runaways learned to keep watch and to be vigilant, whereby the Spaniards often got the worst of it. Thus the Negroes have now become so fierce and numerous, that when I was residing on the island, it was asserted that there were upwards of 7,000. And in the year of 1545, while I was residing there, it was reported that the Cimaroons (for so the Spaniards in those countries call the outlaws) had joined a general rebellion, were scouring over every part of the island, and doing all the mischief they could. Whereupon the *almirante*, Don Luigi Colombo … sent some messengers to entreat and supplicate them to be content to live peaceably, for the Spaniards would do the same and would not annoy them any more.'

Sending back a message that he did not trust their promises, Diego de Campo defeated one Spanish force sent against him but was subsequently captured. He saved his life by agreeing to guide further Spanish expeditions against the Cimaroons, but was soon afterwards killed by his former companions. He was succeeded as leader by a slave named Captain Lemba, whose band, living the life of highwaymen, had dwindled from 140 to a mere 20 men by 1548, when Lemba was killed. This did not mark the end of the Cimaroon problem on Hispaniola, however, since in the very same year the Spaniards became aware for the first time of another band which had apparently existed, undiscovered, since the beginning of the 1530s, but their heyday appears to have been over by mid-century.

Panama

A general rising of Negro slaves was only put down with 'great difficulty' here in 1531, and in the 1540s Benzoni reported that 'among the woods on the eastern side, not very far from Nombre de Dios, there are numbers of Negro runaways, who have killed many Spaniards sent by the governors to destroy them.' These had also allied themselves with the local Indians, and they steadily became more powerful, eventually threatening the transit of treasure shipments overland from Panama to Nombre de Dios along the *Camino Real*. An official of Panama reported in 1570 that 'the matter which, in this kingdom, most urgently demands remedial action is the problem of dispersing the Cimaroons, Negro outlaws in rebellion in its mountainous, unpopulated interior', who were 'numerous' (sources suggest there were about 3,000 by this date) and robbed travellers on the roads. He describes their principal settlement as being Vallano, 30 leagues from Nombre de Dios, and states that 140 Spaniards, including 100 arquebusiers, had just been sent against them. This force was subsequently maintained in the field continuously by the Panamanian authorities, but was unable to do more than keep the roads clear.

What was already a dangerous situation reached crisis point during the 1570s when the Cimaroons began to support the raids of English corsairs, the Spaniards recognising that because of being 'so thoroughly acquainted with the region and so expert in the bush' the Cimaroons could show English pirates 'methods and means to accompany any evil design they may wish to carry out'. One English account of 1572 describes the Cimaroons of Panama as being 'under two kings of their own. The one inhabiteth to the west, the other to the east of the way from Nombre de Dios to Panama'. Another says that there were three bands, consisting of a small group in the vicinity of Panama who lived by attacking traffic between Panama and Venta Cruces, and two substantially more significant bands, one at Puerto Bello under Pedro Mandinga (who claimed, with considerable exaggeration, to be able to raise 1,700 men, and is recorded to have raided Nombre de Dios itself), and the other — the largest Cimaroon band of all — in the district of Vallano in the south, under Juan Vaquero, who is sometimes called Bayano in Spanish sources (a corruption of 'Vallano'). Francis Drake junior records that the Puerto Bello Cimaroons had been attacked in 1572 by a 150-strong Spanish expedition guided by a captured Cimaroon. These had surprised the town 'half an hour before day, by which occasion [i.e. being dark] most of the men escaped, but many of their women and children were slaughtered or taken. But the same morning by sun-rising (after their guide was slain … and that the Cimaroons had gathered themselves in their strength) they … drove the Spaniards to such extremity that, what with the disadvantage of the woods (having lost their guide and their way), what with famine and want, there escaped not 30 of them to return'.

Juan Vaquero appears to have often ambushed the Spanish mule and slave-borne treasure *trajin* from Panama on his own count, and in 1573 he and a handful of his men assisted Francis Drake's attempts to emulate him. Drake had 20 English and Frenchmen and 40 Cimaroons when he attacked the mule train at Venta Cruces in January 1573, and 30 English and Frenchmen and 50 Cimaroons in his second attack, near the Campos River, in April. Cimaroons also accompanied Drake across the isthmus to attack the Pearl Islands in the Pacific the same year.

It was the Cimaroon alliance with Drake, Oxenham, and a handful of other English corsairs in the 1570s that finally propelled the Spaniards into decisive action against them. In June 1577 the Viceroy of Peru provided 145 men, and these, initially accompanied by 60 mulattoes and Negroes serving as porters (who, unsurprisingly, deserted during the march), spent the next six months scouring the Vallano region for Oxenham's pirates and the Cimaroons, capturing most of the former but failing to subdue the latter, despite burning their chief town of Ronconcholon and many other villages besides. After the failure of the campaign the Spaniards opened peace negotiations with the principal two Cimaroon societies in January 1579, resulting in an agreement that they should be allowed to settle as free men in two new Spanish towns, the Vallano Cimaroons at Santa Cruz la Real on the Chepo River, and the Puerto Bello Cimaroons at Santiago del Principe on the Francisca River. However, though the latter seem to have settled down to their new life without untoward difficulty, the Vallano Cimaroons soon returned to the bush, and in October another expedition was mounted against them. They remained at large in May 1580, but soon afterwards Juan Vaquero seems to have been captured and hanged, and at least some of the Vallano Cimaroons subsequently resettled at Santa Cruz la Real. New bands of Cimaroons appeared thereafter, but they never again posed the same

threat as they had in the 1570s.

Those Cimaroons who settled at Santa Cruz la Real and Santiago del Principe remained loyal throughout the rest of the century, but their numbers were small. A letter written to King Philip II in 1587 states that 'most of them are employed in your Majesty's service, and they are 100 in number', and in a report of 1596 Santiago del Principe is said to have consisted of just 30 houses. The English were unaware of the reconciliation and believed that their erstwhile Cimaroon allies merely awaited their return before rising in rebellion against the Spaniards. It therefore came as a rude shock to Drake's captains, as well as a surprise to many Spaniards, who had doubted their fidelity, to find that the Cimaroons of both Santa Cruz la Real and Santiago del Principe rallied to the Spanish cause during Drake's raid on Panama in 1595–96. Men from both communities served in the field 'under the banner of their captain Juan de Roales, who is also one of them'. Those who remained at home in Santiago del Principe 'would not allow the [English] to take water at the River Fator and killed some of them, including a captain … Angered by this the enemy sent ten manned launches against them and [the Cimaroons] set fire to their huts and withdrew to the bush, from which they killed a number of Englishmen, about 25 altogether.'

Slave uprisings elsewhere in the Caribbean zone included several in northern Colombia, such as at Santa Marta in 1529 and Coro in 1532, and Pascual de Andagoya wrote at the beginning of the 1540s that by then the Cimaroons of a village called Mompox were 'more feared in that land than the Indians.' Allied with local tribes, the Cimaroons of the Guajira peninsula effectively rendered this a Spanish no-go zone during the closing decades of the century. There was also a slave rebellion in Honduras in 1548, and in Venezuela in 1552–55. The latter is said to have initially involved just 200 slave-miners but quickly spread, and received support from the Jirajara Indians. This rebellion came to an abrupt end when the Cimaroon leader, Miguel (referred to in the sources as 'King Miguel', or *El Rey*), was killed and his men annihilated during an attempt to capture the regional capital, Barquisimeto.

New Spain

As early as 1525 there is a report of Negro slaves fleeing to live with the Zapotec Indians, and in 1537 the Negro slaves of New Spain covertly elected themselves a king, apparently planning to ally with those Indians still in arms and kill the Spaniards. However, the authorities got wind of the plot and arrested and executed the ringleaders. At least two minor slave revolts took place during the 1540s, and the number of runaways steadily grew until Viceroy Luís de Velasco found it necessary, in 1553, to organise a civil militia (the *Santa Hermandad*) to patrol the province's highways against their depredatory raids, which were at their worst on the stretch between Mexico City and Veracruz. By 1570 as much as 10% of New Spain's 20,000-strong slave population had become Cimaroons, and were allying with hostile Indians to raid the very outlying farms and mines from which they had largely fled. Worst hit were the northern frontier districts from Guadalajara to Zacatecas, where the brutal treatment of Negro miners, and the isolation of the silver mines in which they toiled, had provided both the motivation and the opportunity for them to rebel in considerable numbers. Siding with the local Chichimec Indians, they established strongholds and raided the local Spanish settlements repeatedly. Before long a wave of similar uprisings began to roll steadily eastwards, and by 1572 the entire area east of a line between Mexico City and Zacatecas was affected, all the way to the coast. By then the situation was deemed serious enough for the Viceroy to request (though he did not receive) military assistance from Spain, and it was to get worse yet. Price (1973) says that by 1579 'the revolt nearly covered the entire settled area of the colony outside of Mexico City, in particular the provinces of Veracruz and Pánuco, the area between Oaxaca and Gualtuco on the Pacific coast, and almost the whole of *Gran Chichimeca*'. Cimaroon bands sprang up throughout the region, and raiding parties and *rancheadores* could be found everywhere. The situation was stabilised thereafter, but only slowly. Those Cimaroons allied with the Chichimecs in the north took the longest to subdue, and their principal leader, Yanga, only finally submitted on favourable terms in 1609.

Peru

For an assortment of reasons, not least the establishment of a relatively efficient police force in 1557, the Cimaroon problem never grew to unmanageable proportions in Peru. However, as early as 1544 runaways were already 'assaulting and killing men and robbing farms' in the vicinity of both Trujillo and Lima. The largest Cimaroon community known to have existed in Peru was that of 200 runaways at Huara, near Lima. This was destroyed by an expedition of 120 Spaniards in 1545, all 200 Cimaroons being killed, as were 11 of the Spaniards, including their commander. Gangs of 15–20 Cimaroons, sometimes joined by Spanish renegades, continued to 'go about robbing the travellers on the roads … and the natives' for the rest of the century, but never constituted a serious threat to the stability of the province. Similar small bands of Negro highwaymen also existed in Chile by 1551.

WARFARE

The remarkable success of ridiculously small numbers of Spaniards over sometimes vast and always superior numbers of Indian warriors was due in part at least to the lack of cohesion amongst their enemies, the preparedness of Indian peoples to side with the invaders, and a failure to comprehend the European concept of 'total war'. Disease also had its part to play, and it is perhaps significant that epidemics of smallpox (which had broken out in the West Indies in 1518) had swept through both Mexico and Peru immediately prior to their respective invasions by the *conquistadores*.

From the moment that the first one was put ashore on Hispaniola in November 1493, however, horses were the key to Spanish success in the Americas. They gave the Spaniards not just distinct tactical and logistical

advantages, but a morale advantage too, because the Indians, who had never seen such creatures before, were initially scared to death of them. Their importance is summed up well by Girolamo Benzoni, who, following the defeat and death of governor Diego Gutíerrez of New Carthage at the head of an all-infantry force, observed that 'if we had possessed but four horses the Indians would not have fought, for they dread this very spirited animal more than all the arms that the Spaniards have used against them. So that they say publicly, it is not the valour of the Christians, nor their arms, artillery, lances, swords, or crossbows that have subdued them, but the fear, the fright, inspired by their horses. And we know this by experience, for in every place where the Spaniards have not been accompanied by horses they have been vanquished by the Indians'. Indeed, at first contact the Arawaks, the Aztecs, and doubtless most other Indian peoples too, thought that each Spanish cavalrymen and his horse were one supernatural creature with four legs, two arms, and two heads, and were so relieved when they subsequently discovered that the horse was just an animal like any other that when the first one was killed in Mexico (by the Tlaxcaltecs in 1519) it was cut up and the portions circulated throughout their lands, to demonstrate that such creatures were mortal. Even so, it is significant that horses captured by the Aztecs in 1520–21 were still sacrificed as if they were human, and their heads ended up alongside those of Spaniards on the temple skull-racks.

The tactical advantages of the *conquistadores*' cavalry were many, not least in their sheer speed of movement, which could frustrate any attempt at flanking movements that their enemies might attempt in an open field. The effectiveness of even a tiny number of Spanish cavalrymen on a 16th century American battlefield is nowhere better demonstrated than in the Battle of Otumba in 1520, where just 23, mounted mostly on wounded horses, charged against a massive Aztec army and, by riding down its commander, were able to put the enemy to flight. The danger of fielding horsemen in such small numbers, of course, was that individuals could be surrounded and swamped by the enemy, and it was to avoid this that they charged in small groups of between three and five abreast. Such charges were launched at half-speed rather than at full gallop, with the lance held overarm and aimed at the enemy's face or throat, for the Spaniards learned at an early stage that an Indian speared through the body frequently retained sufficient strength, determination, and skill to grab hold of the lance, so that it was wrenched from the horseman's grasp by the impetus of his charge before he could pull it free. Indeed, dextrously side-stepping a horseman's thrust and grabbing his lance became a common Indian tactic throughout the Americas during the 1520s and 1530s, being recorded in areas as far apart as Chiapas, Guatemala, Pánuco, Florida, and Peru. Although even such an experienced Indian-fighter as Nuño de Guzmán once lost his lance in this way, it was more usual for inexperienced newcomers to be disarmed thus.

Bernal Díaz del Castillo outlines the Spanish cavalry's battlefield technique, as employed in Mexico, Central America, Peru, and elsewhere, in several passages: they were 'always to keep together' in parties of three or five, which were to charge abreast 'at a hand-gallop' once the accompanying crossbowmen and arquebusiers had fired, with their lances 'held short so as to strike at the faces of their enemies and put them to flight'. He adds that 'several of us who were veteran *conquistadores* had frequently cautioned the new recruits to adopt this mode of attack, but many of them had neglected this good advice', so that in an action against the Chiapanecs in 1524, for instance, 'four of the less experienced ones had paid dearly for this neglect, for the Indians wrested the lances out of their hands and wounded them and their horses with their own weapons.' This is doubtless the reason why cavalrymen who were deemed to be either insufficiently experienced or inadequately equipped are recorded to have been sometimes (in 1542, for instance) demoted to the ranks of the foot-soldiery rather than run the risk of them hampering the manoeuvrability and effectiveness of an expedition's all-important cavalry arm. In addition, such was the tactical (and monetary!) value of the Spaniards' cavalry arm that on campaign the speed of an expedition's advance was tailored to suit the pace of its sickest or most badly injured horse, even where this might put the infantry of the force under threat of attack for longer than was desirable.

The effect of the Spaniards' other principal military introduction to the New World — gunpowder firearms — was surprisingly small. Even though Cortés was accompanied by 14 artillery pieces in his initial advance to Tenochtitlan in 1519, and by 15 more when he returned in 1521, they seem not to have excited any undue panic among the Indians on the few occasions that we know they were used, despite an observation by one *conquistador* that the massed Indian formations presented them with an ideal target. Probably whatever advantage they might have imparted was negated by the speed, mobility, and very numbers of the Indians facing them. Handguns were similarly inconsequential compared to the considerable firepower of Indian archers, slingers, and javelinmen, though they did have the advantage of greater range. In addition they were present in only very small numbers throughout the first half of the century (just 13 of Cortés' infantry in 1519 were arquebusiers, as were only four of the defenders of Cuzco in 1536–37), so that during much of the initial Conquest period crossbows were present in at least equal and often superior numbers. Both weapons had the disadvantage of being slow to reload, which placed them at a severe disadvantage when confronted by an enemy who almost invariably outnumbered them. It was in an attempt to minimise this deficiency that, when fighting the Tlaxcaltecs in 1519, Cortés is recorded to have ordered that his arquebusiers and crossbowmen should fire alternately so that some of them always had their weapons loaded and ready. The charge of the Spanish horse was sometimes synchronised to the effectiveness of the foot-soldiers' fire, waiting until the crossbowmen and arquebusiers 'had made any impression' before launching their usually decisive charge. Against the Aztecs at least, the infantry were 'always to keep their close formation', and were instructed not to charge the enemy until ordered to do so.

However, the most effective Spanish infantry arm was the sword. As early as his coastal voyage between Brazil and Venezuela in 1499–1500, Amerigo Vespucci noted that the only reason the Indians they encountered each time they landed had dared to attack them was because 'they did not know what kind of a weapon the sword was, or how it cuts.' Used as a thrusting weapon it was unbeatable — a straight-armed lunge could pierce right through Indian

shields and cotton armour whilst the swordsman himself remained beyond the reach of the enemy's slashing weapons. Time and again Díaz remarks how the Indians drew off 'when they had pretty well experienced the sharpness of our swords', and the Spaniards soon learnt the advantage of closing with the enemy rather than standing off, since the Indians 'had the advantage of their missile weapons when at a little distance'.

The use of their swords as thrusting weapons also enabled the Spanish infantry to keep in tight formation, which, when fighting the Aztecs, presented the Indians with fewer opportunities to grab and drag away an individual for sacrifice; those instances in which Spaniards were captured normally occurred when their close array had been broken. Initially by far the majority of Spanish foot were therefore sword-and-buckler men (over a thousand out of some 1,300 infantry in 1520, and 700 compared to 118 arquebusiers and crossbowmen in 1521) and it was only in the second half of the century that firearms began to prevail in New Spain. However, though handguns were at first equally rare in Peru, the need to field European-style armies following the outbreak of hostilities between Pizarro and Almagro in 1537 encouraged the more rapid introduction of advanced weaponry here, so that arquebusiers were being fielded by the hundred by the late 1530s, Pedro de la Gasca raising as many as 700 in 1547. It was also in Peru that the pike was most often seen in use, and for the same reasons (being an absolutely useless weapon for fighting Indians). Pikes were nevertheless available in storage in every Spanish province of the Americas as a precaution against the threat of attack by conventionally-armed French, English, or Dutch forces. Certainly the equipment of Spanish forts in Florida in 1578 included large numbers of pikes and half-pikes, and the defenders of Cartagena in 1586 were able to equip at least 100 pikemen. Nevertheless, insufficient quantities of pikes were found to be available in Peru during its civil wars, and daggers fitted to long poles had sometimes to be substituted.

Finally, during the early period of Spanish conquest in particular, but less so in the second half of the century, the Spaniards often took dogs into battle with them to savage the Indians. Oviedo, for instance, records that 'the conquistadores in the Indies' were always accompanied by Irish wolfhounds and other 'bold, savage dogs', and Sahagún records how these 'came panting, foam dripping' at the head of a Spanish column on the march. The first documented use of a dog against the Indians was on Jamaica at its discovery in 1494, and the following year Columbus' 20 cavalrymen at the Battle of Vega Real were accompanied by the same number of dogs. Columbus' companion Diego Chanca considered that 'a dog is as good as ten men against the Indians', and his successor as governor in 1500, Francisco de Bobadilla, was of the opinion that 'one Spaniard travelled as securely with a dog as if he took 100 men with him.' The most famous example of such an animal was Ponce de León's hound Bezerillo, who in his time reputedly killed more Indians than any Spanish soldier, and consequently earnt for his master an additional crossbowman's pay and 1 1/2 shares of booty. Antonio de Herrera (1601) records of Bezerillo that 'the Indians were more afraid of ten Spaniards with the dog, than of 100 without him'. He was eventually killed in action by an Indian arrow.

However, the worst savagery that Spanish dogs inflicted upon the Indians was done after the fighting was over, not during, a nicety that was doubtless lost on their victims. Diego Durán tells us that after the capture of Tenochtitlan in 1521 Cortés used his dogs to run down some of his Aztec prisoners as a form of execution, in the hope that it would terrorise the others into revealing the whereabouts of supposed hidden treasure. A similar brutal practice was followed after the overthrow of the Incas, and on numerous other occasions. The English subsequently followed the Spanish custom of taking dogs with them to America. In 1584 Richard Hakluyt advocated the use of mastiffs both as guard dogs and on the battlefield, as amongst the Spaniards; Roanoke colony is recorded having two (until they had to be eaten…), and Martin Pring's expedition to New England in 1603 was accompanied by several.

Further details of warfare between the Spaniards and native Americans can be found in the other chapters of this book.

THE CIVIL WARS IN PERU

Though in broad terms these resulted from widespread resentment of the imposition of Spanish royal authority, in their opening stages they took the form of a power struggle between Diego de Almagro and Francisco Pizarro. Only in the late 1540s, goaded by the unsympathetic handling of the delicate situation by a new Viceroy, Blasco Núñez Vela, was there a concerted attempt by the *conquistadores* to protect their privileged position and prevent the introduction of new laws that, being designed to protect the rights of the Indian population, they saw as a serious threat to their wealth and power. Although neither side could muster particularly large armies, there were, nevertheless, numerous more or less sanguinary engagements, of which the following were the most significant. The battle formations utilised were miniature versions of those employed on the battlefields of Europe.

AMANCAY, 12 July 1537

Despite representing their joint interests at Court in Spain regarding the proposed conquest of Peru, Francisco Pizarro had come back with a patent that named him as sole commander of the enterprise, to the exclusion of his associate Diego de Almagro. Despite being compensated with a grant of extensive lands south of Peru, Almagro decided that the old Inca capital of Cuzco should also be his, since it was his 'men of Chile' (as the Almagrista faction came to be known) who had rescued the city during the Inca rebellion of 1536. He therefore seized Cuzco by means of a coup in April 1537, arresting Pizarro's officers and then taking to the field with 450 men, backed up by an unknown number of Indian auxiliaries, to confront the 500-strong relief force that Pizarro had despatched against him under Alonso de Alvarado (Pedro's brother). In July their forces collided at the Apurimac bridge over the Amancáy River, the Almagristas swiftly overrunning Alvarado's 'very strong position … defended by pieces of artillery'. Both sides showed a commendable reluctance to shed

Spanish blood, and the combat resulted in only three or four deaths.

It was in exchange for his assistance to Almagro here that Paullu Túpac was subsequently enthroned as puppet *Sapa Inca* at Cuzco. Peace terms between Almagro and Pizarro were agreed in November, by which Almagro was confirmed in possession of Cuzco in exchange for the release of Pizarro's imprisoned officers. Though this uneasy settlement was a humiliation at best, it gave Pizarro the time he needed to regroup his forces in preparation for the next phase of the war.

LAS SALINAS, 6 April 1538

Although this battle was the finale of Almagro's rebellion against Pizarro, neither of the principal protagonists actually took part: Almagro was ill, and watched from a hilltop, while Pizarro's forces were commanded by his brother Hernando. The Almagristas, commanded by Rodrigo de Orgoñez, consisted of 600 men — half and half horse and foot — and an unknown quantity of guns, while Pizarro's royalist forces comprised 800 or 880 men (including 400 horse and 130 arquebusiers, the rest being crossbowmen). The former were drawn up behind a stream at 'a place where the highway goes up a slope with a small flat place on one hand and a small swamp upon the other'. Orgoñez placed his guns on one flank (another source says on the road, which therefore presumably passed through one flank) and his few arquebusiers on both flanks, and arranged his cavalry in two troops, one of which, under Captain Guevara, was placed near the swamp with orders to fall on the royalist foot. The royalist horse also drew up in two troops.

The Pizarrist arquebusiers, advancing through the swamp, became mixed up with Guevara's troop of horse, which after a brief skirmish they were able to repel by the accuracy of their fire. Indeed, the fire of Pizarro's arquebusiers was the decisive factor in the battle, Garcilaso de la Vega stating that it 'did much damage and … disordered the enemy so that his lines were easily broken, both infantry and cavalry withdrawing from their posts to get away from the arquebus fire.' In desperation Orgoñez charged with his remaining troop of 100 horse, but Pizarro's cavalry (under Gonzalo Pizarro and Alonso de Alvarado) fell on their exposed flank 'with such force that they threw more than 50 men to the ground', and Orgoñez himself was mortally wounded in the head by a bullet. After a hard fight the Almagristas fled, though many were subsequently captured and executed, including Almagro himself (executed in July). In all there were probably about 200 men killed from both sides, most of them Almagro's, but this figure doesn't appear to include the simultaneous fight that Agustín de Zárate says occurred on one flank between the rivals' Indian auxiliaries, of whom Almagro is said to have fielded 6,000 under Paullu Túpac. Following this victory, Francisco Pizarro governed in relative peace until June 1541, when, frustrated by the failure of their attempts to win support for their cause in the courts, he was murdered in Lima by partisans of Almagro's mestizo son, Diego de Almagro *el Mozo* ('the Lad'). When this news reached Spain a new governor, Cristóbal Vaca de Castro, was sent to restore order.

CHUPAS, 16 September 1542

Attempts by the 'men of Chile' to negotiate a settlement with the new governor were frustrated by their suspicions of his sincerity, and swiftly led to armed confrontation, with Almagro 'the Lad' leading an army of 550 men against a larger royalist force of about 700 men under Cristóbal Vaca de Castro. The latter had somewhat under 300 arquebusiers and Almagro had 250, and both sides had artillery (though the royalist guns never came up in time to join the fight). Pedro Pizarro, present in Almagro's ranks, says the rebel artillery consisted of three falconets, but other accounts mention four or even 16 guns. The opposing forces drew up on uneven ground with infantry in the centre and cavalry on the flanks. Almagro positioned his arquebusiers in front and on the flanks of his infantry, men-at-arms formed the front ranks of his cavalry,[116] and his artillery was says the rebel artillery consisted of three falconets, but other accounts mention four or even 16 guns. The opposing forces drew up on uneven ground with infantry in the centre and cavalry on the flanks. Almagro positioned his arquebusiers in front and on the flanks of his infantry, men-at-arms formed the front ranks of his cavalry,116 and his artillery was emplaced 'in a good position' in advance of the centre. However, as the royalists advanced towards them an hour or two before sunset the entire rebel army, guns and all, moved forward to meet them, the artillery — apparently through the premeditated treachery of its Cretan commander, Captain Candia, who Almagro personally killed — ending up in a poor position from where it could only come to bear on the enemy as they crested a rise. The successful discharge of just one gun, which killed 17 men, stopped the royalist advance only briefly before Vaca de Castro's sergeant-major, the octogenarian Francisco de Carvajal, attacked the artillery head-on, killing the gunners and the arquebusiers guarding them and then turning the guns against the rest of Almagro's infantry. At the same time the cavalry clashed on both wings, and soon afterwards the opposing pikemen closed with one another (other sources transposing these events). The ensuing savage melee lasted until darkness fell, by which time all but two companies on the right of Almagro's line were in flight, and Vaca de Castro himself led his reserve of 30–40 horse against these, routing them after a brisk skirmish.

Casualties on both sides were extraordinarily high. A total of between 240 and 500 Spaniards had been killed and some 500 wounded, royalist losses being the greater. Vaca de Castro's Indian auxiliaries and Negro servants are said to have killed many additional rebels as they fled. (Both sides had Indian auxiliaries. Almagro's were again led by the puppet *Sapa Inca* Paullu Túpac, who 'attacked Vaca de Castro's left flank with many Indian warriors, pelting them with stones and darts. But when the leading arquebusiers killed some of them the rest immediately fled.') Of some 150 rebels taken captive in flight or in nearby Huamanga, about 60 were subsequently executed, Almagro among them.

ANAQUITO, 18 January 1546

Attempts by Peru's first Viceroy, Blasco Núñez Vela, to introduce the so-called 'New Laws', a code of

humanitarian legislation aimed at controlling the excesses of the *conquistadores* and improving the status of the Indians, resulted in widespread disaffection. The dissidents were led by the late Francisco Pizzaro's younger brother Gonzalo, who, supported by Francisco de Carvajal, marched on Lima late in 1545 and cowed Núñez Vela's own *audiencia* into appointing Pizarro as governor-general, and suspending the 'New Laws'. The Viceroy was meanwhile lured into attacking the larger rebel army by false rumours regarding its size; he was led to believe it numbered only 300 men, whereas, in fact, Pizarro fielded 150 horse, 200 arquebusiers and 350 pikemen, while Núñez Vela had only 140 horse and 250 foot, all tired from an overnight march. In addition the rebels were situated in a strong position, commanding a ford over the Guallabamba River. The ensuing battle was brief and bloody. Seeing 50 of Pizarro's cavalry charging on the left, the royalist horse counter-attacked, but in such disorder that when Pizarro followed up with the rest of the rebel cavalry he found the royalists 'already worsted, and easily completed their confusion'. When the Viceroy was killed in the melee (he was beheaded as he lay wounded on the ground) his army broke and fled. As many as 200 royalists were killed in the battle and subsequent rout, while Pizarro lost just seven men.

HUARINA, 20 October 1547

A new Viceroy, Pedro de la Gasca, reached Panama six months after Núñez Vela's death, and spent the rest of 1546 and the first half of 1547 preparing the ground for his arrival in Peru by encouraging elements of Gonzalo Pizarro's supporters to defect. Consequently when Gasca landed at Tumbes in June, Pizarro lacked the confidence to confront him, and instead withdrew towards the south, sending word ahead to Diego Centeno, commander of the royalist troops which held the frontier passes against him, that he was prepared to leave Peru in exchange for Chile. Centeno's reply that he should surrender left him with no other choice but to fight.

Pizarro's forces comprised 80 horse, 300 'very good' arquebusiers, about 120 pikemen, and several guns, while Ceteno's consisted of nearly 1,000 men including 200 horse and 150 arquebusiers, with the rest mostly pikemen. Pizarro's sergeant-major, Francisco de Carvajal, drew up the rebel forces with cavalry on one flank and infantry on the other, with 120 arquebusiers sent out in three groups of 40 to cover their front and flanks. As the enemy approached, Centeno (who was sick, and commanded from a litter) ordered that his arquebusiers should shoot while they were still 300 yards away 'in order to provoke a quick volley from the enemy' while still out of range, his infantry then levelling their pikes and advancing. However, the rebels did not oblige. Carvajal instead held his fire until the royalists were just 100 yards away, and then brought down 150 men, including two captains, with one withering volley. Wavering in the face of such concentrated fire, the royalist foot broke at the second volley and began to flee. Charging in an attempt to save the situation, the numerically superior royalist horse inflicted substantial losses on Pizarro's cavalry, but two troops that attempted to take the rebel infantry in flank ran into the covering detachment of arquebusiers and were driven off, all of the royalist cavalry then fleeing too.

Some 350 royalists were killed in the battle and 30 more were captured and executed. Pizarro is reported to have lost about 100 or 120 men (Pedro Pizarro says a total of 500 men were killed on both sides).

XAQUIXAGUANA, 9 April 1548

This was the final battle of Gonzalo Pizarro's four-year rebellion. With 550 arquebusiers, 900 other foot and horse, six guns, and an unknown number of Indian auxiliaries, Pizarro pitched camp at Xaquixaguana below the road by which the royalist forces of Pedro de la Gasca would have to descend from the mountains. His position could only be approached frontally, through a narrow defile; to his left was a river and a marsh, and to his right the mountains, while 'a deep rocky cleft' lay to his rear. Gasca's forces (500–700 arquebusiers, 400–500 pikemen and 400–500 horse, plus another 300 men who had joined him en route) were able to march down to the plain under covering artillery fire (Poma de Ayala says the royalists had six guns), and drew up as two squadrons of horse and two battles of foot, the cavalry on the flanks as usual and the infantry slightly in advance in the centre. Once they were deployed the army's guns were brought down too (though their subsequent fire was inaccurate, constantly overshooting), while the arquebusiers of both sides began to skirmish. At this juncture a number of Pizarro's men on the left flank deserted and joined the royalists, and when soon afterwards a company of 30 rebel skirmishers also changed sides his whole army began to disintegrate, upon which Pizarro surrendered. The royalist cavalry then charged after the rest of the fleeing rebel army, killing and capturing many. Of the prisoners, Pizarro, his *maestro di campo* Francisco de Carvajal and eight or nine other captains were all executed.

CHUQUINGA, 20–21 May 1554

Publication in June 1552 of revised laws abolishing obligatory Indian service in mines, houses, estates, and the like, coupled with the death of Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza in July, resulted in renewed disturbances that culminated in the rebellion of Francisco Hernández Girón in Cuzco in November 1553.

Pursued by a royalist army under Alonso de Alvarado, Girón's considerably weaker forces had established themselves in a strong position consisting of a walled artificial terrace on the steep banks of the Amáncay River. The royalists comprised 800–1,100 men, the larger figure being made up of 300 arquebusiers, 550 pikemen and halberdiers, and 250 cavalry, backed up by 1,000 'fighting Indians'. Girón, by contrast, could muster only about 380 men, including 220 arquebusiers, but the considerable discrepancy in numbers was more apparent than real, since the steepness and unevenness of the valley rendered Alvarado's cavalry and pikemen useless.

The battle started at daybreak on the 20th with skirmishing between arquebusiers across the Amáncay, Alvarado having sent forward 150 picked arquebusiers to harass the enemy position. This exchange of fire intensified at 9:00 a.m. as the main royalist forces came up. Garcilaso de la Vega records that 'both forces were in places where there was no flat ground at all, but only the cliffs and woods and high rocks and ravines through

which the Amáncay flows.' This skirmishing persisted until 3:00 p.m., with at least 40 royalists being killed or wounded 'without seeing who shot them'. Alvarado's attack was then called off for the day, though Girón's skirmishers continued to harass the royalists throughout the night.

At noon next day the royalist arquebusiers advanced again and crossed the river, the plan being for them to attack both flanks of the rebel position simultaneously while the rest of the army negotiated the only path down the steep bank, crossed the Amancáy, and made a direct frontal assault. In the event, however, the detail assigned to attack the rebel right failed to wait for the rest of the army and attacked even before all its own men had got across the river, which was running breast-high. This enabled a small sortie by the defenders to emerge from their 'fort', defeat the two troops of royalist arquebusiers in turn, and get back under cover before the main royalist body had even started to ford the Amancáy. The depth of the river seriously hampered the royalists, some men getting their powder wet while others had their pikes washed away. Girón's arquebusiers, 'scattered in fours and sixes among the terraces, cliffs, and ravines, and clumps of trees on the river bank', picked off many of them as they floundered in the water and as they attempted to reform their ranks when they reached dry ground. Over 70 royalists, including most of their officers, were killed or wounded 'before they could deal a blow with sword or pike.'

Garcilaso de la Vega records that 'what followed was merely disorder and confusion, and many of the [royalists] refused to cross the river ... for fear of the arquebuses.' Noticing their disarray, 50 rebel arquebusiers launched a sudden sortie and put the entire royalist army to flight. As many as 300 were captured, while in the whole two days' fighting 120 royalists had been killed and 280 wounded, 40 mortally. Alvarado himself was among the wounded. Ironically a further 80 royalists were killed by local Indians as they fled, some of Alvarado's captains, confident of victory, having prior to the battle ordered the Indians of the vicinity to kill any fugitives they saw on the roads (in the expectation that these would be Girón's men rather than their own). Rebel losses 'numbered no more than 17.'

PUCARA, 11 October 1554

A royalist army of 450 pikemen, 500–700 arquebusiers, and 300 cavalry, commanded by a triumvirate of *oidores* (Saravia, Santillán, and Mercado) representing the *audiencia* of Lima, marched to Pucará, 40 leagues beyond Cuzco, where Francisco Hernández Girón waited to give battle in a position 'so strong that it could not be attacked from any side, being surrounded by rough and inaccessible mountains like a strong wall that twisted and turned, and the stronghold [of Pucará] itself was very spacious.' Believing the royalists to be both dispirited and short of powder and provisions, Girón resolved — against the advice of his captains — to launch a night attack with his entire army against their camp 'soon after midnight when the moon had set'. However, two of his captains deserted and forewarned the royalist commanders of the impending assault, enabling them to evacuate the cramped camp and draw up on open ground in preparation for the assault. Pedro Pizarro says that the *oidores* left just a drummer and a few Spaniards and Negroes occupying the camp, in order 'to deceive Girón into believing that the camp was [still] there'.

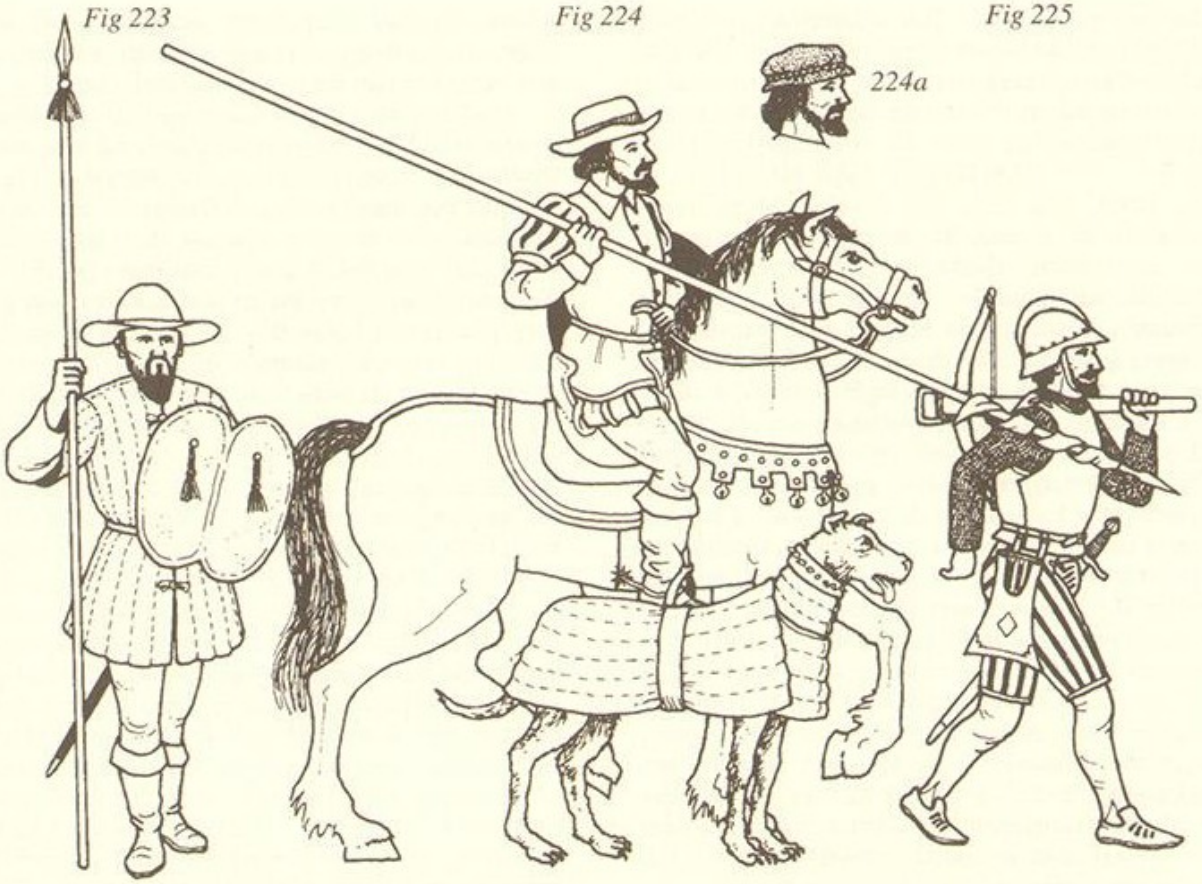
The plan worked. Girón sent 70 arquebusiers and a company of 250 Negroes to launch a decoy attack from the front of the camp while he and the bulk of the army — a further 600 arquebusiers, 200 pikemen and 30 horse — attacked from the rear. Finding the camp undefended when they reached it, the frontal attack swiftly overran the site, killing every Indian porter, horse, and mule that they encountered. Girón's main attack from the other direction was less fortunate. His arquebusiers fired off their pieces in the direction of the camp without realising that it was no longer occupied, and it was only then that 'His Majesty's men let fly with arquebuses and artillery'. Few men appear to have been injured on either side in this exchange, which took place in almost total darkness, but Girón, realising that he had lost the element of surprise, ordered his forces to pull back to their fort.

Total casualties in the engagement comprised just ten rebels dead, 'many' wounded, and 200 captured during the withdrawal, while the royalists lost just 5–6 dead and 30 wounded, these apparently all being inflicted by their own arquebusiers in the confusion. Girón fled several days after this debacle, the 60-odd troops who accompanied him gradually deserting along the road. Captured in November at Huamanga, he was executed in December, and over the next three years some 800 of his partisans were also arrested and executed. His defeat marked the final end of the Peruvian civil wars.

FIGURES

The following information on Spanish equipment is intended only to reflect usage in the Americas. Participants in expeditions which sailed directly from Spain would instead have resembled their more conventionally-attired counterparts illustrated in other volumes in this series (see, for example, the figures in the Spanish Netherlands section of volume 1).

223 & 224. LIGHT CAVALRYMEN, CENTRAL MEXICO c.1530–60 These figures are taken from the *Relación de Michoacán* and the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* respectively. The latter wears typical Spanish costume, detail 224a depicting one of the 'flat red caps' recorded to have been worn by many *conquistadores*. Figure 223 is more interesting, in that instead of the thick canvas jacket of Figure 222 he wears one of the Indian-style quilted cotton corselets called *escaupillas* (often described in contemporary lists as *armas de la tierra*, or 'arms of the country', to distinguish them from the plate-armour that constituted 'arms of Castile'). Despite the fact that the term *escaupilla* derives from the Aztec name for a cotton corselet, *ichcahuipilli* (see Figure 41), such armour was actually adopted by the Spaniards some years before they landed in Central Mexico, initially as a result of experience gained during expeditions into Colombia and coastal Yucatan, which had shown that metal corselets were unsuited to the humid climate. Coupled with this came the realisation that cotton armour generally provided adequate protection against Indian arrows. Plate armour, being uncomfortably heavy, was therefore largely abandoned when fighting against the Indians, though short mail corselets continued to be worn beneath



quilted leather or cotton armour.

Frequently described as being up to three fingers thick, the *escaupilla* was highly regarded by the Spaniards for the protection it provided against arrows, and was in widespread use throughout Spanish America. Indeed, by 1578 it was the *only* type of armour to be found stored in the armouries of Spanish garrisons in Florida, and perhaps elsewhere. Garcilaso de la Vega states that the *escaupilla* 'turned an arrow better than inferior plate', while the *Codex Rios* (*Codex Vaticanus A*) records how 'it resists the arrows which could penetrate the strongest coats of mail and even some [plate] corselets [but] could not penetrate these *escaupillas*'. One worn by an officer accompanying Hernando de Soto in Florida stopped more than 20 arrows at the Battle of Mabila (1540). The Indians' dependence on missiles meant that fundamentally all Spanish soldiers serving in the Americas wore armour of some sort from a very early stage of the Conquest. Richard Hawkins wrote approvingly of his Spanish adversaries in 1593 that 'he which cannot come to the price of a corselet will have a coat of mail, a jacket, at least a buff jerkin, or a privy coat. And hardly will they be found without it, albeit they live and serve, for the most part, in extreme hot countries.' And yet at Cartagena in 1586 it was observed by the English that very few of the town's defenders were armoured, and that this gave Drake's men an edge in hand-to-hand combat.

In addition to body-armour and a helmet (which was itself often of quilted cotton, or was provided with cotton or leather ear-pieces), a shield was generally carried by cavalrymen until as late as the 18th century. This could be a circular wooden or steel target (*rodela*, whence Spanish sword-and-buckler men are most often referred to as *rodeleros*), but the heart-shaped leather *adarga* — which was generally either left uncoloured or else painted white — seems to have been generally preferred throughout this period. Shields of Indian design and manufacture, identifiable by the fact that in lists of arms they are called *chimales* (from the Nahuatl word *chimalli*), described in 1596 as being specifically 'for protection against arrows', were also to be found in use.

Even at the end of the 16th century cavalry armament in the Americas typically consisted of lance and sword. In fact two swords were often carried, one from the belt and one from the saddle, indications being that the former was a rapier, the latter a broadsword (which might otherwise be found suspended from a shoulder-belt). Though firearms began to appear more often from about the middle of the century (Gonzalo Pizarro had a body of 200 mounted arquebusiers as early as 1548), the lance remained in widespread use alongside these.

Shipping horses all the way from Iberia was expensive, and large numbers did not survive the trip (only 26 survived out of 40 that Cabeza de Vaca shipped from Spain to the River Plate in 1540, to mention but one example). Unsurprisingly, therefore, horses from the Antilles were preferred once they had become established there, not least because they were already acclimatised to the rigours of the tropical American climate. Preferred horse colours were chestnuts, dark bays and browns, though it is clear from Bernal Díaz del Castillo that, with the single exception of pure white, horses of all colours could actually be found. Their harness was customarily provided with numerous copper bells.

Note Figure 224's war-dog. These were a mixture of wolfhounds, deerhounds, and mastiffs, and could stand up to about 2½ ft (75 cm) tall at the shoulder and weigh in at some 90 lbs (41 kg). They were frequently provided with quilted cotton armour to protect them against Indian

missiles, and a spiked leather collar that was designed to deter their victims from trying to throttle them.

225. CROSSBOWMAN c.1520–40 Although crossbows could be adversely affected by the humid tropical conditions encountered in various parts of the Americas (in Central America, for instance, they are reported to have 'got out of order every day owing to the constant damp'), its relative ease of maintenance, coupled with the even greater difficulty of maintaining arquebuses in working order, meant that the crossbow remained the preferred *conquistador* missile weapon until about mid-century. However, it was in a minority thereafter and had all but disappeared before the end of the 1560s. Sahagún describes *conquistador* crossbowmen wearing knee-length cotton armour that was 'very thick, very dense, very hard', though Benzoni states that infantrymen's corselets were 'lighter' than those of horsemen. Leather armour was also to be found in use amongst foot-soldiers, being provided, for instance, by Nuño de Guzmán to his Spanish and Indian infantry in 1530 (along with native 'fibre sandals'). Small round shields were also in widespread use. Mounted crossbowmen continued to be found until the 1550s, but as early as 1551 a force of 50 mounted shot included only ten. By the 1590s, when Pedro Ponce de León nevertheless still proposed to include 50 crossbowmen as well as 50 *arcabuceros* in the expedition he hoped to lead into New Mexico, the crossbow had long been supplanted by firearms.

226–228. SEAMEN AND LIGHT FIELD-PIECE c.1490–1540 Spanish field-guns in the Americas were at first small-calibre pieces taken from their ships, but larger guns up to 10–12 ft (3–3.7 m) long were being cast in Peru by 1541 at the latest (by Indians working under the guidance of European and unspecified Levantine gun-founders). The tradition of using seamen and ex-seamen to crew their guns persisted, however. In Peru's civil wars[117] many of these were Greek (Greek gunners participated on both sides at the Battle of Chupas), and most were foreign; only one Spaniard and one Basque are to be found amongst the crews of 11 large royalist guns in 1554, for instance, the rest consisting of Italians, Netherlanders, and Portuguese. This was presumably the result of the poor reputation which Spanish gunners seem to have had — Benzoni, for instance, records that 'Spaniards, especially at sea and in those countries, knew not how to manage guns'.

The seamen depicted are from Spanish illustrations dating to c.1500 and 1529 respectively. Both wear typical seaman's costume of the first half of the 16th century. This was customarily made of wool, and tended to be loose-fitting, comprising baggy trousers, and shirts and tunics that had very full sleeves, with a brown topcoat overall in poor weather. Hats were chiefly red (though the Portuguese version of the characteristic conical linen cap, the *carapuça*, was more often blue or rose-coloured). The gun, dating to 1513, is doubtless representative of the four falconets which, along with ten heavier pieces and 110 seamen, accompanied Cortés' forces in 1519.

229 & 230. ARMOURED CAVALRYMEN, CENTRAL MEXICO c.1540–80 from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* and the *Codex Durán*. The extent to which plate-armour was worn in Spanish America is hard to establish with certainty. Certainly men accompanying expeditions sailing directly from Spain would have been provided with it, but it is clear from the written sources that it was otherwise less common in the Americas than the pictorial evidence would have us believe. Instead a combination of shortages and climate dictated that cotton and leather armour began to be substituted for plate at an

Fig 226 *Fig 227* *Fig 228* *Fig 229*

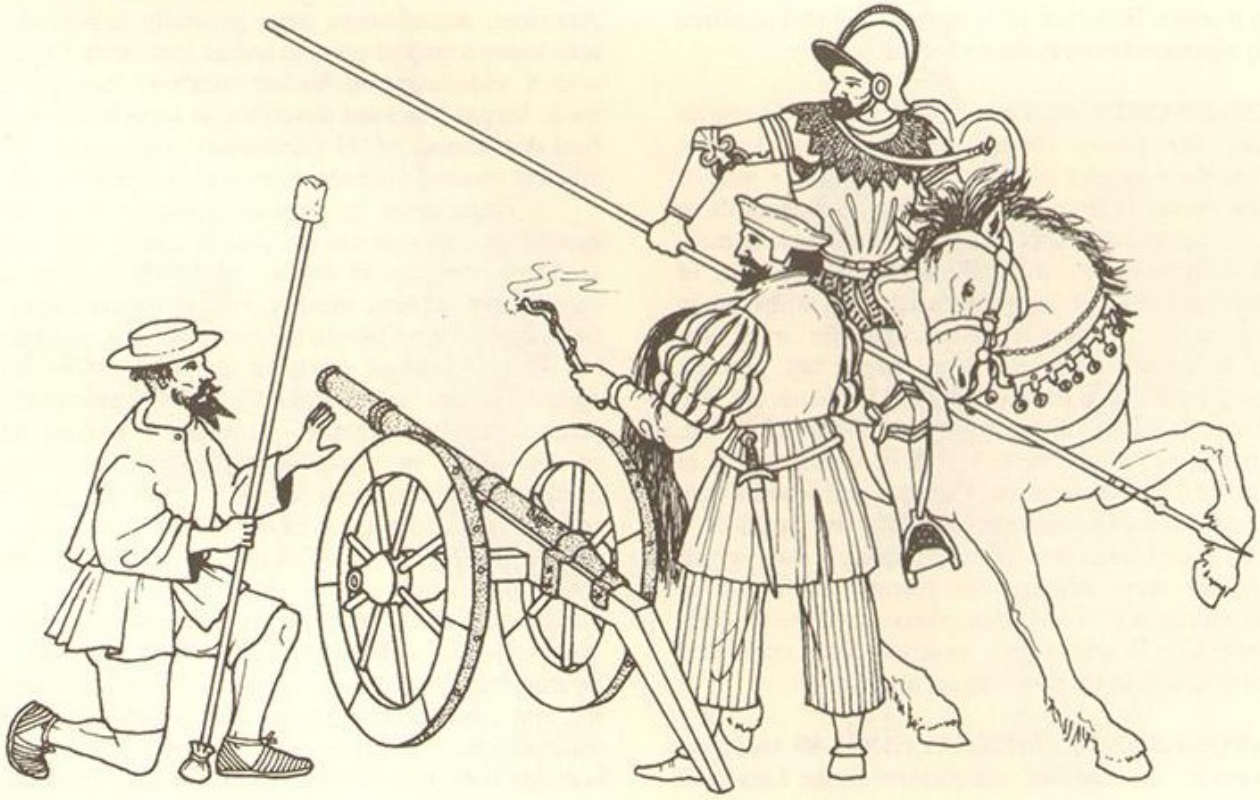


Fig 230 Fig 231 Fig 232 Fig 233

early stage of the Conquest. As early as 1540, for instance, over 90% of Coronado's men had cotton or leather armour, compared to a handful of officers and less than half-a-dozen men who wore plate (a few others having mail corselets). Even when worn, plate harness was often incomplete, Díaz recording that *conquistador* cavalry in the 1520s generally wore only half-armour (he specifically states that their lower parts were 'in no way protected'). Though helmets remained relatively common, even they were not as widespread as might have been expected. Well over half of Coronado's men were apparently without one, while Garcilaso de la Vega tells us that enclosed helmets were actually rare in Peru, where cavalrymen often wore a gorget and infantry helmet instead. However, plate-armour had still not been entirely displaced even at the end of the century.

231–233. SWORDSMEN c.1540–65 from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, the *Codex Osuna* (1565), and a drawing depicting the conquest of Peru on John Cabot's map of the New World (1544). Large numbers of Spaniards in the Americas were equipped as sword-and-buckler men, though their numbers gradually declined in favour of arquebusiers as the century progressed. Díaz notes that in his day at least, many sword-and-buckler men also carried a spear — length unspecified, but perhaps indicating a pike or at least a half-pike. Halberds are also recorded in use. Regarding the plume of Figure 232's hat, it is interesting to note de la Vega's observation that in Peru in 1547 Francisco de Carvajal introduced unit identification into Gonzalo Pizarro's army by means of 'a little flag the same colour as the company's flag' which each soldier wore amongst the plumes of his hat or helmet, adding that 'if he had no plume, he wore the little flag instead'. Whether this practice was continued thereafter, and if so for how long, is unclear.

234. ARQUEBUSIER, MEXICO c.1560–80 based on contemporary descriptions, and pictures in the *Lienzo de Cuauhquechollan*. Although the 1,200 men accompanying Columbus' second voyage in 1493 reputedly included 100 *espingardes* (arquebuses), as well as 100 crossbows, these numbers — if true — are exceptional. More typical of the early stages of the Spanish Conquest are the mere 13 arquebusiers found in Cortés' army in 1519, compared to 32 crossbowmen (representing respectively a mere 2% and 5% of his forces). And despite being reinforced repeatedly his army still had only 20 arquebuses when he marched to Honduras five years later. However, the volume of firearms in the Americas increased rapidly thereafter, especially under the stimulus of Peru's civil wars, which began in 1537. Like most Spanish soldiers in the Americas, arquebusiers were generally armoured. This man wears a quilted corselet and an iron 'archer's salade', with a wide-brimmed leather sombrero hanging at his back. Vargas Machuca describes an arquebusier wearing buckskin armour of '11 thicknesses' over a mail corselet, albeit to no avail (an Indian arrow pierced them both).

Arquebuses in Spanish America were usually matchlocks, though the *arcabus de rueda* or wheellock arquebus was also in use by the 1590s. A surprisingly early reference to a musket occurs in connection with Coronado's expedition in the north in 1540, and muskets are also mentioned amongst the arms stored in two Spanish forts in Florida in 1578. However, the proportionately lighter arquebus understandably predominated in Spanish America throughout the century. Official sources tell us that powder flasks were of wood, painted black, and embellished with stripes and the quartered arms of Castile and León; clearly, therefore, they must have been provided by the central administration. An expedition in Florida planned for 1600 called for each of its 300 men to be provided with an arquebus, a sword, an *escaupilla*, a suit, a coloured felt hat, and a saddlebag for use as a haversack (for which see those carried by Figures 193 and 194). The expedition was also to be provided with 150 spare swords to replace

broken ones, which says much for Spanish reliance upon these but little for their quality…

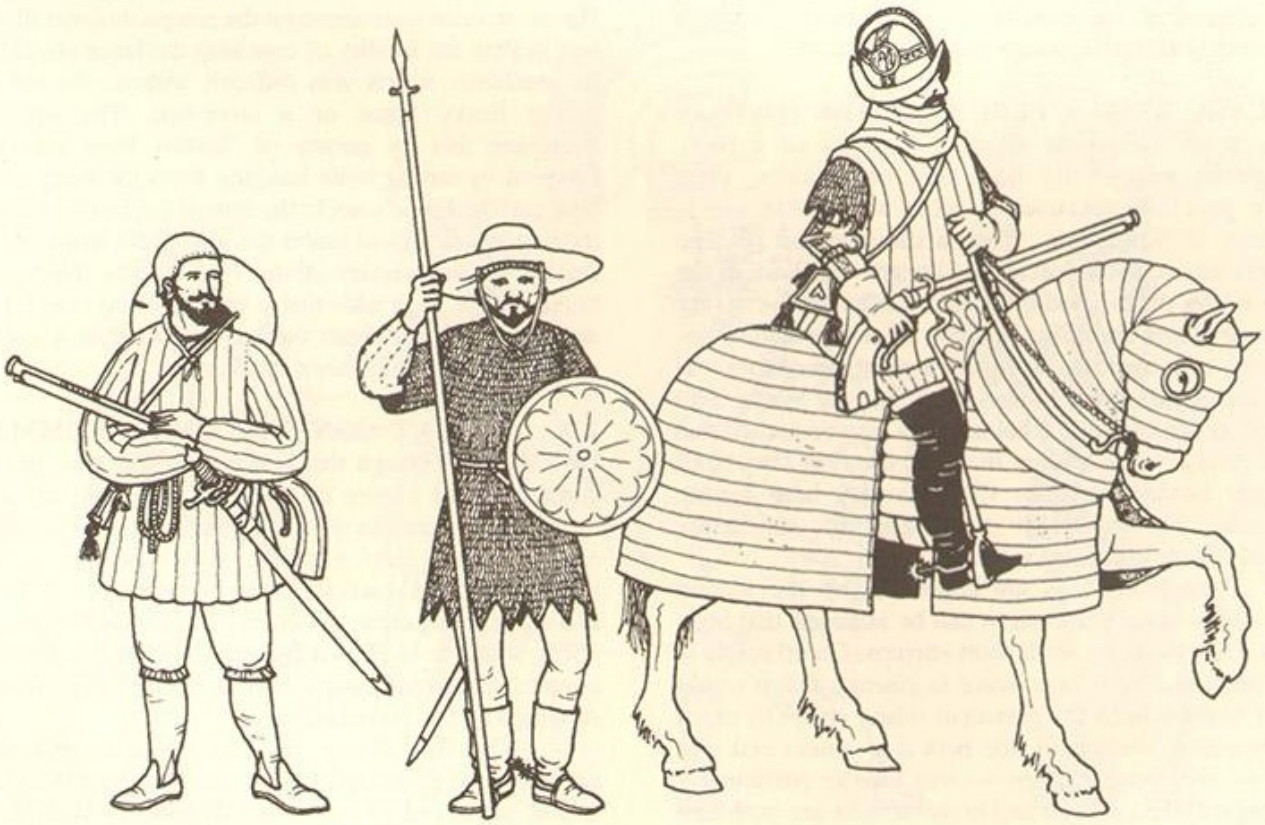
It seems to have been popular amongst the Spaniards to load their firearms somewhat unconventionally, perhaps to increase their 'stopping power' when facing Indians, who were frequently too fast or agile to hit with a conventional single shot. We therefore often read of men loading with anywhere up to eight or ten balls at a time, or of using non-standard varieties of ammunition. Participants in Drake's raid on Panama in 1572–73, for instance, noted that Spanish musketeers seemed to favour 'hail-shot' and 'quartered shot', while Garcilaso de la Vega records the use of 'wire-shot', in which a length of wire was used to join two half-bullets, which separated as they left the barrel 'and cut anything they hit by means of the wire between them.' This had originally been invented in Spanish Flanders for use against massed pikes, which it could cut through like an airborne scythe — indeed, it was used for this very purpose at the Battle of Las Salinas in Peru in 1538.

235 & 236. CAVALRYMEN, CHICHIMEC FRONTIER c.1570–85 Figure 235 is from a picture of the *presidio* of Jalpa (in front of which he appears to be standing guard) drawn in 1576, while Figure 236 is based on contemporary lists of arms plus pictures in a *Relación Geografica* for 'Chichimecas', dating to c.1582.

The accuracy of Chichimec archery dictated that arrow-proof armour was essential to survival on New Spain's northern frontier. Diego de Vargas was of the opinion that 'the men of this land must travel armed in two mail hauberks, or with one good one and one of very strong leather, and with their horses very well-armoured, and even with all this there is no guarantee of protection against the arrows they loose.' In ideal circumstances equipment consisted of a helmet (either a *celada* or, from the late-1570s, a morion); a bevor (*sobrevista*); a mail hauberk (*cota de malla*), ideally 'of double-strength', or a plate corselet with pauldrons; either a quilted cotton corselet (*escaupilla*) or a doubled leather corselet (*armas dobladas*); leather thigh pieces (*zaraguelles*), described by Gaspar Pérez de Villagrá (1596) as 'lined with fabric and provided with straps'; an *escarzela* ('tasset'), which was an additional leather skirt attached to the body-armour to protect the upper thighs;[118] an *adarga*; and tall, thick riding boots. Although constant shortages meant that few men were lucky enough to possess such thorough equipment, by the late-16th century they had to have a minimum of *cota*, *sobrevista*, and *zaraguelles*, as well as two horses and an arquebus, in order to qualify for their pay. However, if Coronado's expedition can be regarded as typical then less than half of all cavalrymen may have had helmets by this time. Several sources mention knapsacks and, unsurprisingly, water-bags amongst their equipment. Characteristic armament had earlier consisted of one or two swords, dagger, and lance, the arquebus being added in the 1580s. In the 17th century a pair of pistols was substituted for the arquebus.

The horse-armour comprised pieces for the protection of the breast, flanks, neck, and forehead, only the last including any metal, being sometimes either an iron *testera* or a composite piece made of 'doubled buckskin' and metal. The rest was usually made from cotton and/or leather. The leather was mostly buckskin, though Villagrá describes it only as 'resembling' buckskin, probably an allusion to buffalo hide. Cotton horse-armour was to be found in use throughout Spanish America. One source describes such armours as three to four fingers thick, while another says they were so thick that they made horses look 'gigantic'. Whether of cotton or leather, the climate dictated that no horse could put up with wearing armour for long, so it was customarily only

Fig 234 *Fig 235* *Fig 236*



238a

Fig 237 Fig 238 Fig 239

donned when a confrontation with the enemy was anticipated. Metal horse-armour is also sometimes met with, the horses of Cabeza de Vaca's expedition in Paraguay in 1542 having 'breast-plates' (which were only put on immediately prior to going into action). Having been shipped directly from Spain, de Soto's horses for his expedition to Florida in 1539 were at first metal-armoured (apparently in mail bards), though significantly cotton armour was later substituted.

237. CAVALRYMAN, PERU 1580s-1590s This figure comes from Diego de Ocana's *Cronica* of c.1600. Though he wears only back and breastplates, plate armour generally remained in more widespread use in Peru than in New Spain. When a shortage had become apparent amongst the forces of Almagro 'the Lad' in the 1540s it was made good by Indian smiths who, copying Milanese pieces and using an alloy of copper and silver, allegedly manufactured sufficient armours to enable 'the worst man in his army' to possess at the very least a mail hauberk, a corselet, and a helmet. It is also on record that light cavalry 'were seldom or never used' in Peru until Almagro fielded some in 1541, cavalry here having previously 'always fought in full armour', sometimes concealed beneath Indian shirts.

Though his legs are concealed by the leather apron of his horse's armour, it can be assumed that he is riding *á la gineta*, i.e. with short stirrups. Garcilaso de la Vega states that Peru 'was won *á la gineta*', which would appear to have been the prevalent riding style (so much so that a man who could ride both *á la gineta* and *á la brida* — with long stirrups — was held in particularly high regard). His *adarga* and horse-armour are both tan-coloured (and therefore clearly of leather), with a red band and Santiagan sword painted on the former, and red decoration plus a black-patterned white border on the latter.

As in New Spain, the lance appears to have been a light *lanza* as opposed to a *lanza de armas*, being customarily wielded overarm when used against Indians. However, civil wars amongst the *conquistadores* dictated that in Peru the facility of couching the lance should also be available, which was difficult without the aid of a proper heavy lance or a lance-rest. The Spaniards overcame this by means of 'leather bags which are fastened by strong belts hanging from the front saddle-bow and the horse's neck; the butt of the lance is fitted in the bag and is tucked under the arm like a lance-rest', so that the impact 'carried all the weight of the rider and the horse.' De la Vega adds that if the lance survived intact it was then removed from the bag and used as a stabbing weapon like the light lance that it was.

238 & 239. CONQUISTADOR COMMAND ELEMENT Though this standard-bearer and musician come from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, the standard carried — an early example of the Mexican flag, depicting an eagle perched atop a cactus growing from a stone, holding a 'snake' (actually the intertwined glyph for fire and water) in its claw — comes from the *Codex Osuna* of 1565, where it is shown being carried at the head of a column of Spanish troops. This flag was derived from the Aztec glyph for Tenochtitlan.

The flag shown in detail 238a is that which accompanied Francisco Pizarro's conquest of Peru in the 1530s, preserved in the Army Museum in Madrid. It is

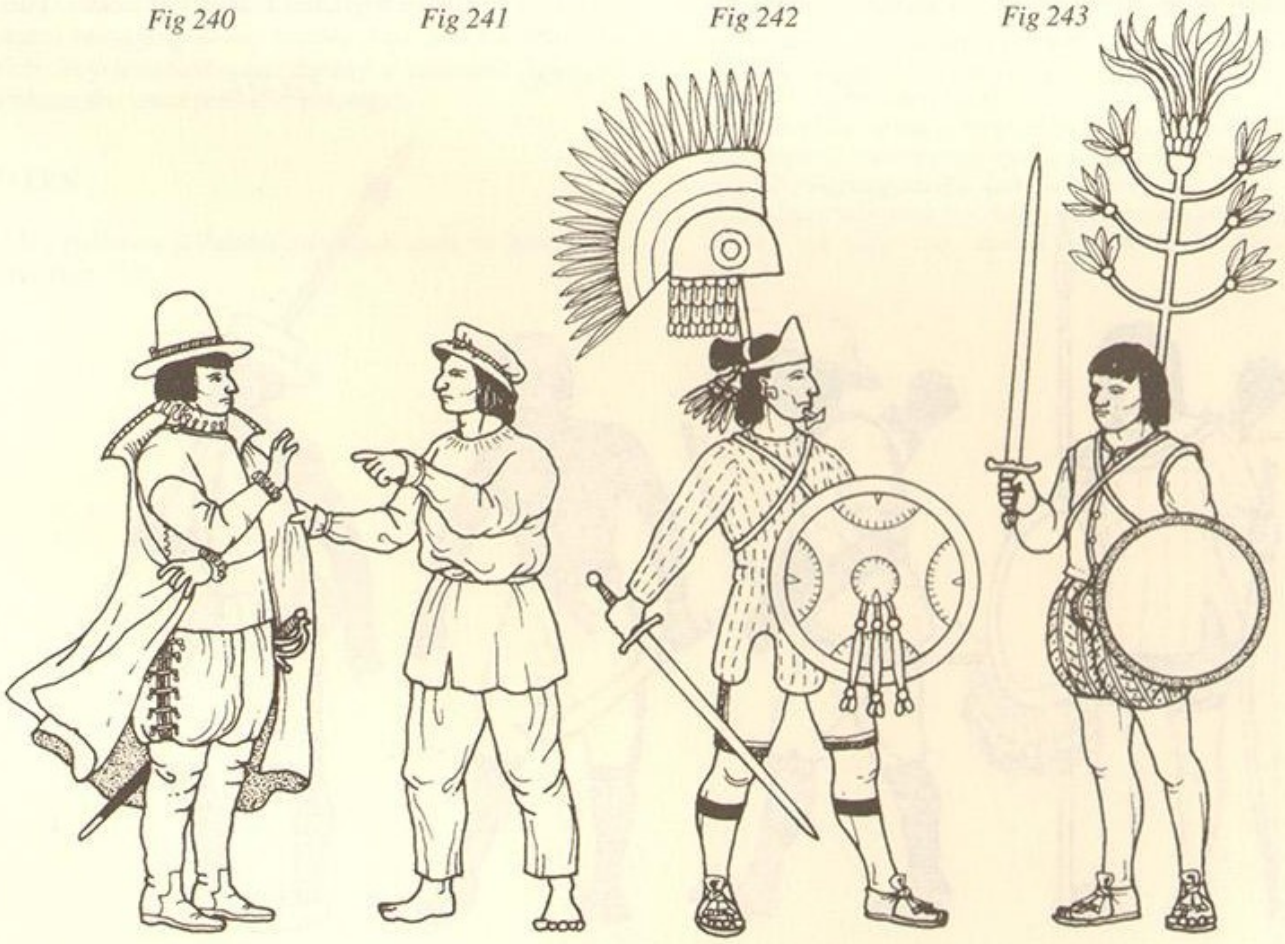
red, with gold decoration and, in the centre, the quartered arms of Castile and León; on the other side a picture of St. James, mounted and armoured, replaces the royal arms. Most other *conquistador* flags of which we have details were of a religious nature. Díaz, for instance, tells us that one of Cortés' flags in 1520 bore 'the picture of Our Lady the Virgin Santa Maria', while in 1562 Francisco de Ibarra was accompanied by a blue damask flag embroidered in gold and silver with a picture of Christ and the Virgin Mary. Luís de Velasco's flag during Juan de Oñate's expedition to New Mexico in the 1590s was of white silk with fringes and trimmings of gold and crimson silk, and had on one side the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist and round them 'the rosary of Our Lady with large gold beads, and at their feet the escutcheon and arms of the governor'; on the other side was a picture of St. James encircled by the inscription *Sic ut sanguino centa* (probably *Sicut sanguine innocenti*) and the arms of Velasco.

Poma de Ayala records that the flags of Gonzalo Pizarro's forces at the Battle of Huarina comprised 'the monogram GP for Gonzalo Pizarro, surmounted by a royal crown' and 'images of the Virgin Mary or St. James'. Garcilaso de la Vega says that some of Gonzalo's captains 'had devices on their banners with Gonzalo Pizarro's name surmounted by a royal crown. One of the devices was a G and P intertwined, and another captain had a heart with the name of Pizarro'; these banners were 'of various colours'.

240 & 241. HISPANICIZED INDIANS Although Spanish dress was shunned in some areas even at the end of the century — notably in Northern Mexico and the Río de la Plata — by 1570 the majority of Spain's Indian subjects in Central and South America had begun to adopt it. Sometimes this was only achieved by force (Inca dress was forbidden following Túpac Amaru's execution in 1572, for instance), but on the whole the adoption of European-style clothes went hand-in-hand with conversion of the Indians to Christianity. Indeed, it was the missionary friars who succeeded in persuading the Indians in their care to abandon breechclouts in favour of trousers. By the 1540s at the latest many Indians were already dressed like Figure 241 (from the *Codex Florentino*), in hat, plain, straight trousers and simple shirt — more often than not white or off-white. Not all wore wore hats, but most continued to wear a traditional native cloak or mantle in conjunction with the shirt and trousers. At first even chiefs wore nothing more distinguished than this, but by the 1580s, and very probably earlier, many of the Indian nobility had begun to dress just like their Spanish counterparts, complete with stockings, boots[119] and felt hats, as demonstrated by Figure 240 (from Poma de Ayala's drawings). As can be seen, the once-distinctive native hair-styles were also abandoned in favour of a universal page-boy style, and by the end of the century some Mexican Indians at least were beginning to grow beards. The use of body-painting, tattoos, and the piercing of ears, lips and nose were also discouraged but appear to have survived, noblemen in particular continuing to boast gold lip- and ear-plugs and other native jewellery even when in otherwise conventional European attire.

242–244. INDIAN AUXILIARIES These figures, from the mid-century *Codex Santiago Tlatelolco* (Figure 242) and *Lienzo de Cuauhquechollan*, are typical of the Hispanicized Indians to be found fighting alongside

Fig 240 *Fig 241* *Fig 242* *Fig 243*



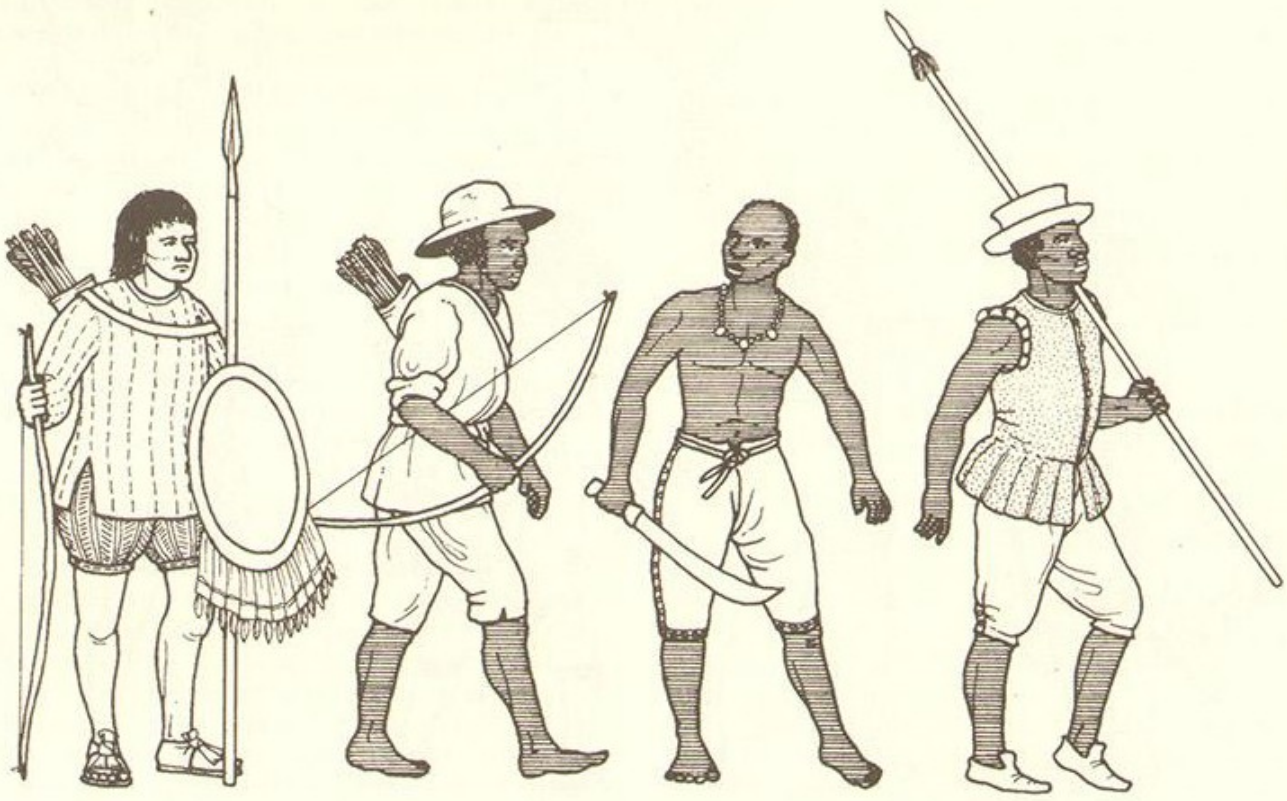
Spanish troops in pictorial sources. Figure 242 is the *tlatoani* of Acolhuacan, one of the commanders of the Aztec auxiliaries who fought in the Mixton War of 1541–42. Note the mixture of native and Spanish styles, and also his *temillotl* hair-style — one of its last appearances. The use of native shields, armour, and back-standards amongst auxiliary troops, even in conjunction with Spanish dress, survived in New Spain until at least the 1580s (they are all to be found in the sources from which these figures come, and Diego Durán specifically records Indian-style shields in use in 1581). On the whole native weapons prevailed too, especially the bow, but before long the Spanish metal sword had largely replaced the traditional macana. Initially all Indians had been forbidden to possess metal weapons, but some Tlaxcaltec and Aztec auxiliaries were certainly carrying Spanish swords by 1524, and official permission to do so was being regularly granted to Indian noblemen by the second half of the century, though only in conjunction with the wearing of Spanish attire. In the Chichimec War some chieftains were even authorised to wear Spanish armour,[120] and permission to carry firearms must have begun in Mexico at about the same time, though remained admittedly rare. The earliest surviving example of a permit authorising an Indian to carry a gun dates only to 1619, but a Tlaxcaltec participant in Antonio de Espejo's expedition to New Mexico in 1582–83 was not only described as 'a fine soldier and arquebusier' but was also skilled at carving gunstocks. Some chieftains were even permitted to ride horses from 1542, when Mendoza granted the privilege to the leaders of Indian auxiliaries serving under his command during the Mixton War, but this too was rare.

Alongside such Hispanicized auxiliaries were also to be found warriors who were almost if not entirely indistinguishable from their pre-Conquest counterparts. Though largely provided by those only recently converted to Christianity, it is significant that the source of Figures 243 and 244 even includes a couple of auxiliary warriors in eagle and coyote war-suits, despite its late-16th century date.

245 & 246. CIMAROONS These reconstructions are based on contemporary pictures of slaves, pictures of later Cimaroons, and such written information as is available. It is unclear exactly what 16th century Cimaroons wore, though interestingly Francis Drake junior noted in 1573 that as soon as those accompanying his uncle's expedition in Panama in 1573 approached their village 'they washed themselves in the river, and changed their apparel, which was very fine and fitly made ... somewhat after the Spanish fashion, though nothing so costly'. The implication here is that they did *not* wear clothes of this kind *until* they got home. However, it is unclear whether this means they wore little clothing on campaign, or simply plainer clothing. We know from a variety of contemporary sources that Cimaroon clothes were largely either stolen from the Spaniards or provided by English and French corsairs, and they may very well have been better-dressed than the average slave (who appears to have only been provided with new clothes about once every two or three years). The fact that their clothes could be of reasonable quality is confirmed by Alvaro de Castro, who noted that Cimaroons living by highway robbery on Hispaniola were 'richly dressed and decorated with gold'. As evidence of their enslavement, most would probably also have borne identification marks tattooed or branded on them by their owners, mostly consisting of a single initial, a monogram, or occasionally a symbol of some kind. Indian slaves were marked with the letter 'C' on the face and arms.

As might be expected, their armament was varied.

Fig 244 *Fig 245* *Fig 246* *Fig 247*



Cerrato wrote in the 1540s that Cimaroons of Hispaniola 'had spears which they had made themselves as well as some weapons which they had stolen from fallen Spaniards.' Stolen agricultural tools were also modified into weapons, especially such things as axes and machetes. However, their main weapon was usually a bow, firing an arrow that is described in 1572 as 'somewhat like the Scottish arrow, only somewhat longer, and headed with iron, wood, or fishbones'. Alliances with the local Indians sometimes resulted in their arrows being poisoned, and some Cimaroons adopted Indian war-clubs. Spanish swords must have frequently fallen into their hands, but do not seem to have been utilised often if at all, perhaps because the Cimaroons lacked the skill or experience needed to use them effectively. They probably also had a handful of firearms by the end of the century. When the Cimaroon leader Yanga's *palenque* was captured in 1609 it contained among other things 'some arquebuses', and descriptions of his band indicate that though armed predominantly with bows a few had firearms. However, Cimaroon bands of the 17th–18th centuries were able to make little use of the firearms they captured because of a dearth of powder and ammunition, and the same is doubtless true of this period.

247. NEGRO SLAVE OR SOLDIER c.1540–60 Negro slaves and freemen alike often fought for the Spanish, and not only in emergencies — the guards of the mule-trains attacked by Drake in 1573 included Negroes, for instance, of whom at least one was armed with an arquebus; and the three Spaniards who captured John Oxenham in 1577 included one 'in the garb of a Cimaroon' and armed with a bow. The figure depicted here is taken from mid-century Mexican sources, similar figures appearing in a campaign context in several pictures belonging to the second half of the century, in which they invariably accompany a mounted Spaniard (to whom the lance probably belongs).

NOTES

108 The *audiencia* of Panama only came under the jurisdiction of Peru from 1567.

109 Antonio de Herrera (1601) explains that its unusual name resulted from the fact that it was 'built in the confines of the provinces of Nicaragua and Guatemala, without assigning any certain town.'

110 He had gained most of his military experience fighting French pirates in the West Indies, and strongly believed that if the French were able to gain possession of Florida they would next overthrow Spanish control of the islands, by inciting rebellion amongst the Indians, mulattoes and Negro slaves who constituted the bulk of the population.

111 This lasted until 1689. An earlier fort erected on this site in 1569 appears to have been abandoned c.1573.

112 In 1594 it was recorded that 'the soldiers did not dare to go out even to hunt or fish because the Indians killed them.'

113 Individual Indian and Negro slaves often assisted Spanish cavalrymen with fresh mounts and replacement weapons in battle, much as esquires had done in mediaeval times. The chronicler Pedro Pizarro was himself saved, after his horse had been shot down at Chuquinga in May 1554, by 'a Negro of mine ... whom I had sent ahead with a stallion'.

114 But in an earlier attack here by French pirates (1538) Negro slaves had joined them when they sacked the town.

115 Oxenham appeared in Panama in 1575 or 1576 and 'joined with the Cimaroons', but was eventually hunted down with most of his crew. However, the Spanish never did find a party led by one of his officers, Jacome Canoa, and these eventually escaped, Canoa promising to return and lead the Cimaroons to victory over Spain. Their signal indicating they had returned was to be a black flag — this being either the origin of the black flag later identified with all pirates, or an indication that such flags were already in use.

116 Pedro Pizarro records Almagro's cavalrymen to have been so well-armoured that the Viceroy's men had to strike at their horses to have any effect on them.

117 Royalist troops in these wars wore red sashes or armbands. The rebel forces of Almagro 'the Lad', and possibly of his father before him, were distinguished by white sashes or armbands.

118 These additional pieces are also recorded elsewhere. The *Relación de Mérida* describes cavalrymen fighting the Yucatec Maya wearing quilted corselets and 'large skirts of the same type to protect themselves from the knees to the feet', as well as quilted bevors and visors 'which nearly covered the eyes'. Their horse-armour too was of quilt.

119 Numerous written sources of the last quarter of the century also mention commoners wearing sandals and boots, but pictorial sources generally show them barefoot.

120 Indian chiefs were even being knighted and granted titles of nobility and their own coats-of-arms before the end of the century.

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