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Making Inca History:

Authors and Artists in the Murua Manuscripts on the History of Peru, 1588-1616

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in History

by

Elisabeth Schoepflin

2022

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2022

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Making Inca History:

Authors and Artists in the Murua Manuscripts on the History of Peru, 1588-1616

by

Elisabeth Schoepflin

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2022

Professor Kevin B. Terraciano, Chair

This dissertation examines the participation of Indigenous intellectuals in two illustrated manuscript versions of *Historia general del Perú* (1616), an early colonial chronicle on Inca history and Spanish colonization. The Basque Mercedarian friar Martín de Murua (1566? - 1615) compiled two manuscripts in Spanish and Quechua (Inca imperial language) during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries while living in the southern Andes and Spain. One Andean collaborator and artist who worked on Murua's two manuscripts, don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, later produced his own history after breaking off relations with the friar. Murua's and Guaman Poma's works are the only three extensively illustrated manuscripts from early colonial Peru. Murua's project produced two heavily manipulated and unfinished palimpsests that preserve the physical, visual, and textual traces of Andean and Iberian voices, hands, and influences. However, aside from Guaman Poma, we know very little about the other Quechua-speaking Andeans who contributed to the composition of the two manuscripts, despite several excellent studies. Most manuscripts involving the collaboration of friars and Indigenous elites in colonial Spanish America are attributed to a friar and do not mention the names of Indigenous

participants. My dissertation addresses this knowledge gap by introducing new and original archival information on the named Andean contributors to the Murua project and examines how their backgrounds, activities, experiences, and concerns influenced the content of the manuscripts on which they worked as authors, artists, translators, and informants.

My study examines the colonial context of the manuscripts' production and interrogates the prevalent notion of a single Iberian author and a universal Andean history. I reconsider canonical accounts of Andean historiography in the light of the Indigenous intellectuals' memories and arguments. The research addresses multiple questions: How did the interests, backgrounds, and activities of Indigenous participants in early colonial chronicle projects reflect their distinct and uncertain status in the colonial world? How did their practical and ideological concerns and strategies influence the production of colonial discourses on Inca history? My study combines archival research with a textual, visual, and material analysis of Murua's and Guaman Poma's manuscripts to detect and analyze Indigenous contributions and influences.

My analysis shows that male Andean elites perpetuated and adapted their descent and memory traditions to the introduced medium of the Spanish chronicle in an attempt to validate, defend, and protect their once privileged but now threatened status under Spanish rule. Murua and the Indigenous actors engaged in a multi-directional and heterogenous process of cultural translation, creative innovation, and transculturation. The dissertation makes many valuable contributions to a rich historiography on the Murua and Guaman Poma manuscripts, Inca history, early colonial Peru, Indigenous agency in Spanish America, and early modern history-making in the trans-Atlantic world.

The dissertation of Elisabeth Schoepflin is approved.

Juan Ossio

Efrain Kristal

Stella Elise Nair

Teofilo F. Ruiz

Kevin B. Terraciano, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2022

To Juan, Nico, Lucio, and Nubra

Contents

List of Illustrations and Charts	vi
Acknowledgements	xvi
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE Crisis of Indigenous Nobility: Background and Context to Murua's Andean Endorsers	35
CHAPTER TWO "Of the famous deeds": Individual Background and Contributions of Andean Endorsers	87
CHAPTER THREE "Drawn by my hand": Guaman Poma's Background and Contributions	119
CHAPTER FOUR "My Duties as a Monk": Cultural and Religious Conditions for Indigenous Engagement	184
CHAPTER FIVE "History Without Writing": <i>Khipus</i> and the Historiographical Discourse for Indigenous Engagement	218
CHAPTER SIX Cuzco's Inca History: Representation of Inca Descent and Memory in the Murua Manuscripts	247
CONCLUSION	311
Glossary	330
Appendices	338
Bibliography	363

List of Illustrations

Figure 1: a. Galvin Murua or *Historia del origen*, (2004 [1590]). Photo by author. Getty Research Institute, Special Collections. b. Getty Murua or *Historia general del Piru*, (2008 [1616]). Photo by author. Getty Manuscript Department collection.

Figure 2: Murua, *Historia general del Piru*, (2008 [1616]), f. 11r. Digital image courtesy of Getty's Open Content Program.

Figure 3: Murua, *Historia del origen*, (2008 [1590/1596]), f. 5v (front). Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 4: 1590 title page with Andean endorsers. Martín de Murua. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1590/1596]), f. 5v (behind). Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 5: Kingdom of Peru coat of arms. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and Martín de Murua. "Las Armas del Reyno del Piru," in *Historía General del Piru* (2008 [1616]), f. 307r. Digital image courtesy of Getty's Open Content Program.

Figure 6: 1596 Cacique endorsement letter in *Historía General del Piru* (2008 [1616]), f. 307r. Digital image courtesy of Getty's Open Content Program.

Figure 7: Tambotoco origin story. Martín de Murua. "Las Armas del Reyno del Piru," in *Historía General del Piru* (2008 [1616]), 19r. Digital image courtesy of Getty's Open Content Program.

Figure 8: Coya, Ypa Vaco Mama Machi Coya, Mama Chiquia. Martín de Murua. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 28v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 9: Portrait of Manco Capac, Chima Panaca ayllu. Martín de Murua. *Historia y genealogía de los reyes incas del Perú* (2008 [1596]), f. 9v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 10: Declaration. ARC. Betancur. Vol. 1, núm 21, [1584], f. 264. The document is a copy of an original document in the Betancur Collection. Photo by author.

Figure 11: Testimony. ARC. *Libro de genealogía de Diego Felipe Betancur Tupa Amaru*. Vol. 1, no. 25; f. 290. Photo by author.

Figure 12: Auto. ARC. Contreras. Prot. 4, 1596-97, 3 December 1596, ff. 173-v. Photo by author.

Figure 13: Portrait of don Melchor Carlos Ynga. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Príncipes: Don Melchor Carlos Ynga." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [739 [753]].

Figure 14: Signature by Don Pablo Mango Topa. ARC. Antonio Sanchez. Prot. 36, 1593-94, 14 July 1594, ff. 550-v. Photo by Author.

Figure 15: a. Signature of don Luis Chalco Yupangui with don Francisco Atauchi. ARC. Luis de Quesada. Prot. 13, 1586, 4 March 1586, ff. 328-329v. b. Signature on Testament will 24 December 1600. ARC. Antonio de Salas. Prot. 303, 1600-01, 24 December 1600, ff. 560-563v. Photos by Author.

Figure 16: Cañari Book 3, Chapter 17 and blank facing folio. Martín de Murua. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 68v-69r. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 17: Mercedarian Coat of Arms, pasted over letter to King. Martín de Murua. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 6v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 18: Friar Martín de Morua beating an Andean who is weaving. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Fraile Merzenario Morua." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [647 [661]].

Figure 19: Meeting of don Martín Guaman Malque de Ayala with don Francisco Pizarro. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Conquista, El Primer embajador." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [375 [377]].

Figure 20: Guaman Poma wearing Andean *uncu* and Iberian style dress. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Pregunta Su Majestad, responde el autor." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [961 [975]].

Figure 21: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Mapamundi del reino de las Indias." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [983-984 [1001-1002]].

Figure 22: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Pontifical Mundo." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [42 [42]].

Figure 23: Map of Tahuantinsuyu. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 63v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 24: Chuquillanto dreaming. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "El sueño de la nusta," in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 145v.

Figure 25: Kingdom of Peru coat of arms. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and Martín de Murua. "Las Armas del Reyno del Piru," in *Historía General del Piru* (2008 [1616]), f. 307r. Digital image courtesy of Getty's Open Content Program.

Figure 26: Guaman Poma's invented coat of arms with an eagle and lion. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "El primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno compuesto por don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [frontispiece].

Figure 27: Cañari defeat under Huayna Capac's captain, Challcochima. "El décimo capitán, Challco Chima, Quito, Cayanbi, Cañari, Chachapoya." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [161 [163]].

Figure 28: Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, "Capítulo de los Ídolos, Vaca Billca Incap." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [261 [263]].

Figure 29: Artist don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and labels, "*capac yupanqui, pachayachachic*," by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 96v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 30: Six sayhuas in Andean landscape. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Sayua, mojones del ynga" by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 79v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 31: Inca builders and sayhuas. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Amojonadores de este reino, Vna Cavcho Inga, Cona." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [352 [354]].

Figure 32: Inca roads and structures. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "apachita, casas para los chasquis, puytuc vasi" by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 80v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 33: A Tocricoco Anta Inga supervising an Andean commoner travelling on the Inca roads. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Gobernador de los caminos reales." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [354 [356]].

Figure 34: Inca Huayna Capac meets with don Candía in front of *cuyusmanco*. Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "*Cayoritacho micunqui, este oro comemos, en el cuzco*." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [369 [371]].

Figure 35: Atahualpa on raised stepped platform. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Pizzaro, Atauapla ynga, quisquis" by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 44v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 36: Worship of *Huaca*, "*Apachita*" by "*echicero*" by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 104v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 37: Mamacona in worship. Artist don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and label, "*Virgenes escogidas*," by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 3v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 38: Artist don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and labels "*Virgenes, escojidas q[ue] seruian al sol, y al templo*" by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 143r. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 39: Artist don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. Chuquillanto dreaming. "El sueño de la nusta," in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 145v.

Figure 40: Artist don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Chuquillanto, Acoytapra," in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 146v.

Figure 41: Artist don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and labels, "Acoytapra, Chuquillanto, *seuan huyendo*," by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 147r. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 42: Artist don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and labels "Sabaseray, Pituseray, Urcon, Urcasera, Acoytapra, Chuquillanto, Guayllabamba, Calca" by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 147v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 43: Artist don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and labels, "*Pachayachic, sacrificio q[ue] hace al sol, capac yupanqui*," by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 95v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 44: Artist don Guaman Poma de Ayala's Chuquillanto Dream and Martín de Murua's palindrome Quechua poem in Sator Square form, "*Mezedie, Micuc Isutu Cuiuc Utusi Cucim*," in *Historia del orijen y genealogía* (2008 [1596]), f. 145v, 146r. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 45: Roman word-square, incised on wall-plaster from the Roman town of Corinium (Cirencester), 2nd-3rd century AD. Copyright Corinium Museum.

Figure 46: Tired Rock. Artist don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and labels "ynga urcun, *saycum, callacucho*" by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 37v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 47: Tired Rock, by don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, "EL NOVENO CAPITAN, INGA VRCON / "Chayapoma, Uiha." / Lloró sangre la piedra. / hasta Guanoco, Guayllas / Chayapuyman." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [159 [161]].

Figure 48: Mamacona in worship. Artist don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and label, "Virgenes escogidas," by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 3v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 49: Prologue to King. Hidden, pasted over text. Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 3v (behind). Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 50: Guaman Poma de Ayala. Inca, "Quipucamayo contador" in Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 76v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 51: Guaman Poma de Ayala. Inca, "Carta y quipu del ynga, en queda las ordenanças p[ara] guardar" in Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 124v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 52: Guaman Poma de Ayala. Inca, "Tocoricuc ~~virey~~ suyoyocapo Birey" in Martín de Murua, *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 69v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 53: Guaman Poma de Ayala. Inca, "este yn[dio] deuenzer de la guerra de serbir al ynga y pide la muger que señala al ynga - tocricoc" in Martín de Murua, *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 85v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 54: Inca and *quipucamayo* showing a quipu. Martín de Murua. "Las Armas del Reyno del Piru," in *Historía General del Piru* (2008 [1616]), f. 51v. Digital image courtesy of Getty's Open Content Program.

Figure 55: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Regidor, Tengo libro: quipoc, cuenta." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [800 [814]].

Figure 56: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Quinta calle Saya Payac (texto en recuadro): Carta." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [202 [204]].

Figure 57: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Admini[s]trador de Provincias Sviviov, Gvaiac Poma, Apo, S[eñ]or / secretario / suyuyuq / apu." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [348 [350]].

Figure 58: Coya, Ypa Vaco Mama Machi Coya, Mama Chiquia. Martín de Murua. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 28v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 59: Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua, *Relación de antigüedades*, fol. 13v, 1613 (from Pachacuti 1993: p. 208). Courtesy of BNE.

Figure 60: Inca, "Cuçi Guananchiri" and *aclla* worship of *Huaca*. Guaman Poma. *Historia y genealogía de los reyes incas del Perú* (2008 [1596]), f. 36v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 61: "Capac Yupanqui, armas que anadio(?) este inga." Martín de Murua, *Historia del Piru*, (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute Publication Program, 2008), f. 30v.

Figure 62: "Las andas del ynga". Martín de Murua. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 54v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 63: Portrait of Manco Capac, Chima Panaca aylo. Martín de Murua. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 9v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 64: Martín de Murua and Guaman Poma. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 50v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 65: "Yauar Guacac Ynga Yupangui, Aucaylli." Martín de Murua. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 15v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 66: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Cuarto edad del mundo desde Rey David, David, en Jerusalén," Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [28].

Figure 67: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "El segundo mes, febrero, Puacar Uarai Quilla" in *Ibid.*, page 240 [242].

Figure 68: "Amaro." Guaman Poma. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 51v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 69: Chapter 13 with poem on Manco Inca. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 48r. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 70: Martín de Murua and Guaman Poma(?). Potosi mountain. "Eao fulçio collumas eius." *Historia del origen* (2008 [96]), f. 141v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 71: Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. City of Potosi. "Ciudad. la Villa Imperial de Potocchi, por la dicha mina es Castilla, Roma es Roma, el Papa es Papa, y el rey es monarca del mundo; y la Santa Madre Iglesia es defendida, y nuestra fe guardad por los cuatro reyes de las Indias, y por el emperador Inga, agora lo apodera el Papa de Roma y Nuestro Señor Rey don Phelipe el tercero. Plus Ultra. Ego Fulcio Collumnas Eius. Chinchaysuyo. Collasuyo. minas de Potosí de plata. Ciudad imperial Castilla," Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [1057 [1065]].

Figure 72: Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala "*Ciudad. Ego Fulcio Collumnas Eius.*" Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [1058 [1066]].

Figure 73: Spanish King, Charles V, vanquishing the Turks. The triumphal arc for Charles V in Milan, 1541. Anonymous, *Trattato del intrar in Milano di Carlo V Cesare sempre Augusto con le proprie figure de li archi* by Giovanni Alberto Albicante, Milan, 1541. Out of Copyright.

Figure 74: Portrait of 10 Inca Kings. Frontispiece. Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas i tierra firme del Mar Oceano: en 4 decadas desde al año de 1492 hasta el de 1531*, (Madrid: Emprinta Real, 1615).

List of Maps

Map 1: Plan of parishes in Cuzco, 1876-1877. Reproduced from Wiener, (1880), p. 307. Out of copyright.

List of Charts

Chart 1: a. Elecciones del alférez real de los yngas de esta ciudad del Cuzco, hechas en 4 de junio de 1595; b. en 24 de junio de 1598; y en 29 de junio de 1600. Betancur, vol. 1, #25.

Chart. 2: Names of Inca rulers in chronicles. Julien, *Reading Inca History*, 65-67, 69-72, 74-77, 79 from chronicles. ARC. Chacón Becerra. Prot. 71, 1778-79, 19 July 1585, ff. 158r-164r; ARC. Betancur. Vol. 1, núm 21, 16 January 1584, ff. 263-265v.

Chart 3: From Juan Ossio, "Introduction," 45.

Chart 4: Parishes of Cusco, based on Weimer 1880 map. Julien, *Organización parroquial del Cusco*, 83.

Chart 5: Coya name comparisons in chronicles. *Adapted from Ossio, *Introducción*, 42.

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2015 Mellon Fellowship - Spanish Paleography Intensive Workshop
2014 UCLA Graduate Summer Research Mentorship Fellowship
2014 Title VI Fellowship Language Area Studies (FLAS)
2013 Title VI Fellowship Language Area Studies (FLAS)

AWARDS AND HONORS

- 2020 Best Graduate Student Conference Presentation, FEEGI, St. Louis, MO
2017 Graduate Certificate in Early Modern & 18th Century Studies
2003 Magnum Cum Laude, University of Pennsylvania, PA

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

"*Micuc Isutu Cuiuc Utusi Cucim*: The Sator Square and Martín de Murua's Quechua Palindrome Poem," in *Caliope* 27:1 (2022): 82-116.

"Muchas Historias Incas: los Andinos Elites del Cusco y los Manuscritos Coloniales de Martín de Murúa," in *Historia y Patrimonio Cultural. Memoria Del 56 Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*. Coords. Manuel Alcántara, Mercedes García Montero and Francisco Sánchez López. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad Salamanca (2018), 454-465.

Review of *El estandarte real y la mascapaycha: La historia de una institución inca colonial* by Donato Amado Gonzales, *Revistas Andinas* 55 (2018), 259-262.

"Un Inca Vasco Perú: Los manuscritos de Murúa en el contexto colonial," in *Estudios Andinos. Seminario Interdisciplinar de Pisac 2009-2018*. Ed. by Marco Curatola Petrocchi, Colección Estudios Andinos. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica Del Perú, Fondo Editorial.

INVITED TALKS

- 2022 "Late Sixteenth to Early Seventeenth Centuries (ca. 1590 to 1616) in the Southern Andes: Indigenous Participation in the Murua Manuscripts," TextDiveGlobal: A Literary History of Europe and its Global Connections, 1545-1659, Online (March) and Università degli Studi di Padova, Padua, Italy (September).
2022 "Inca History in Fragments: Physical and Cultural Traces of Andean Voices in the Murua Manuscripts," Getty Research Institute Scholar talk, Los Angeles, CA.

2019 "Micuc Isutu Cuiuc Utusi Cucim: The Sator Square and Murúa's Quechua Poem," Coloquio: Vida y obra Fray Martín de Murua, Centro E & Y, Lima, Peru.

SELECTED CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

2022 "Making Inca History: Fragments and Erasures of Andean Voices in the Murua Manuscripts," Ethnohistory Conference, Lawrence, Kentucky.

2021 "Making Inca History: *Alcalde mayor y gobernador* don Luis Chalco Yupangui and the Early Modern Andean Chronicle compiled by Martín de Murúa," Institute Andean Studies, Berkeley / online.

2021 "*De los famosos Hechos de los yndios cañares y de sus privilegios*": Don Pedro Purqui and the Early Modern Andean Chronicle by Martín de Murua," Colonial Latin Association of History / America Historical Association / online.

2019 "*Como Sus Menores y Humildes Vasallos*: The Making of Inca Nobility in the Early Colonial Chronicle by Martín de Murúa," FEEGI, St. Louis, MI.

2019 "Micuc Isutu Cuiuc Utusi Cucim: The Sator Square and Murua's Quechua Ideogram Poem," Society for Renaissance and Baroque Hispanic Poetry, Irvine.

2018 "*Muchas Historias Incas: los Andinos Elites del Cusco y los Manuscritos Coloniales de Martín de Murúa*," International Conference of the Americanists (ICA), Salamanca, Spain, July 15-20.

2017 "Landscape of Colonial Andean Religion in the Murúa Manuscripts," Colonial Latin American History at American Historical Association (AHA), January 5-7.

2017 "*Siendo yo*": Visión Controversial de Martín de Murúa en los Andes Colonial," LASA, Lima, Peru, April 29-May 1.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Western Civilization, Winter 2020, Teaching Associate, UCLA
Spain and Portugal 1479-1789, Spring 2016, Teaching Assistant, UCLA
Modern Latin America, Winter 2015, Teaching Assistant, UCLA
Colonial Latin America, Fall 2015/Fall 2016/Fall 2019, Teaching Assistant, UCLA

SELECT RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

2020 Graduate Research Assistant for Professor Stella Nair through the Center for 17th and 18th Century Studies, UCLA.

SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION AND UNIVERSITY

2021-2022 Co-organizer, IMVCA
2017-2019 Graduate Student-at-large, Executive Committee, FEEGI
2015-2017 Latin American Representative for the History Graduate Student Association
2015-2016 Co-organizer, IMVCA

SELECT PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP AND AFFILIATIONS

2017 American Society for Ethnohistory
2017 *Programa de Estudios Andinos*, PUCP, Lima, Peru
2016 American Historical Association (AHA)
2015 Forum for Early-Modern Empires and Global Interactions (FEEGI)
2014 Andean Working Group, UCLA
2014 Indigenous Material & Visual Cultures of the Americas Working Group, ca. 1450-1750, UCLA (IMVCA)

INTRODUCTION

<i>Al autor</i>	To the author
<i>Nadie fray Martín presume</i>	Nobody presumes friar Martín
<i>ser tan arrogante y loco</i>	to be so arrogant and crazy
<i>que pueda dezir en poco</i>	that he could say in so little
<i>lo que alcanzo buestra Pluma</i>	what your pen achieved.
<i>Y así tendre por grandeza</i>	And so you will have for greatness
<i>el quedar sin alabanza</i>	to remain without praise,
<i>pues bemos que nadie alcanza</i>	since we will see that nobody reaches
<i>donde v[uest]ro yngenio empieza</i>	where your genius begins. ¹

And another book was that of Fray Martín de Morúa of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy of the Redemption of Captives; he wrote about the history of the Incas. He started to write, and he did not finish, or, better said, he neither began nor ended, because he does not declare where the Inca came from nor how or in what manner or from whence, nor did he declare if the Incas were legitimate rulers and how their line came to an end. Nor did he write of the ancient kings or of the great lords or of other things, but rather everything [he wrote] about [the Incas] [was] menacing and aggressive against the gentile Indians and about how, frightened by them, the gentile Indians became idolaters, just as happened with the Spaniards of Spain, who were gentiles, and the Romans [who conquered them] had idols to Jupiter and to the calf.²

On May 15th, 1590, five Indigenous leaders gathered in Cuzco, the former Inca capital in the southern Andes. Four of the five men were of Inca descent and one of Cañari descent. They

¹ The poem is accompanied by another on the same folio: "*Al autor / Soys en todo el orbe tal / fray Martín por V[uest]ra Pluma / que con esta brebe suma / es V[uest]ro nombre ynmortal / Quien podra mover su canto / a la historia que sacais / si solo en ella dejais / al mundo lleno de espanto*" [To the author / In the whole world you are such, / Fray Martín, that by your pen, / with this brief summation, / your name is immortal. / Who could move your song / to the history you created, / if only in her you leave / to the world full of fright]. Martín de Murua, *Historia general del Piru: facsimile of J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig XIII 16*, edited by Tom Cummins and Barbara Anderson (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2008), 2v.

² "*Y escriuió otro libro fray Martín de Morúa de la horden de Nuestra Señora de las Merzedes de Redención de Cautibos; escriuió de la historia de los Yngas. Comensó a escriuir y no acabó para mejor dezir ni comensó ni acabó porque no deglara de dónde prosedió el Ynga ni cómo ni de qué manera ni por dónde ni declara ci le benía el derecho y de cómo se acabó todo su linage. Ni escriuió de los rreys antiguos ni de los señores grandes ni de otras cosas, cino todo contra yndios gentiles y de sus rretos y de sus herronías y espantado de ellos que como gentiles lo herraron, como los españoles de España fueron gentiles y rromanos tubieron herronía, ydulos al Júberter y al bezerro. Y por la misericordia de Dios y por sus sanctos apóstoles de Jesucristo, San Pedro, San Pablo, patrón de Roma y del Santiago Mayor, apóstol, patron de España, son cristanos.*" Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica*, f. 1080 [1090]. Translation by Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup, "Guaman Poma and the Manuscripts of Fray Martín de Murúa: Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the Historia del Perú," *Fund og forskning i det Kongelige Biblioteks samlinger* 44, (2005), 108.

gathered to endorse an illustrated chronicle, *Historia del origen*, compiled by the Basque friar, Martín de Murua (1566? - 1615) of the religious order of Our Lady of Mercy. Their names, inscribed in a deteriorated 1590 title page, were hidden, pasted over, and uncopied onto a visible folio page. Their names reside behind a paradisaical Andean landscape intended to represent the Inca empire and history. Six years later an unspecified group of native leaders from Cuzco addressed another endorsement letter to the Spanish King, Philip III. Lightly crossed out and pasted over, Murua transferred this 1596 letter to a newer manuscript version, titled *Historia general del Perú* (1616), for the coat of arms of the Inca kingdom on the opposite (recto) side of the folio. The Indigenous artist of Inca and Yarovilca descent, don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (ca. 1535-50-?), had illustrated the inner sections of the coat of arms. This remarkable Indigenous artist and author contributed over 100 images and labels to Murua's chronicle project. Following their collaboration, Guaman Poma completed his own illustrated chronicle in 1615. Throughout his account, Murua emphasized his sustained sourcing from Indigenous knowledge keepers, particularly the *kipukamayocs* (expert readers of the *kipu*, an Inca textile recording device). Viewed comprehensively, the Murua manuscripts evidence the fragmented traces of Indigenous participation. Sadly, as the production process continued, the friar overtly discounted their voices and authority by pasting over their endorsements.

In contrast, Murua gathered and prominently exhibited letters of endorsement and authorization to publish the *Historia general del Perú* from his superiors in the Mercedarian Order and the Spanish crown. Fourteen letters legitimized Murua as a Spanish Christian,³ validated the veracity of his account, and most importantly, confirmed that, "It (the chronicle) does not contain anything against the faith or morals and will help the History of Peru" (Getty, Fol. 10r). The Spanish endorsers reiterated his sole authorial intentions according to early modern European standards,

³ Of the fourteen letters, the first eleven come from the Governor and Capitan General of the Tucumán province, a lawyer and Commander in the Office of the Inquisition, and various priests and commissioners from Cuzco, La Paz, Charcas, La Plata, and Potosí. They also include endorsements from the Master General of the Mercedarian Order, the censorship office and finally, King Philip III himself in 1616. See Murua, *Historia general del Piru*, 3r-11r.

an assertion made repeatedly in the chronicle, as in the frontispiece poem cited above. The final three letters from the Master General of the Mercedarian Order, the censorship office, and King Philip III in 1616 manifested the chronicle's passage to the Spanish monarchy's imperial center in Madrid and the manuscript's entrance into a transatlantic historical discourse. However, careful work by book handlers, scholars, and conservationists in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries has revealed the material traces of other hidden endorsements. This dissertation peers into the attempted erasure to shed light on the social and cultural context of Indigenous participation in the Murua manuscripts and, more broadly, processes of chronicle production in the Viceroyalty of Peru and the Spanish empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Topic and Argument

After decades of violent upheaval and civil wars following the Spanish invasion, the Crown supplanted the multiethnic and multilingual Inca state with its own Christian colonial system. Spanish rule imposed economic, religious, and social institutions to exploit Indigenous labor and natural resources (Stern 1982). Ecclesiastics grew disillusioned with the limits of their "spiritual conquest" and used increasingly aggressive efforts to destroy native Andean practices and beliefs (Duviols 1977; MacCormack 1991; Mills 1997). King Philip II's 1577 decree prohibited the production and publication of histories related to the conquest and Amerindian practices. In the Andes, publications were further hindered by decades of civil war, the Taqui Onqoy Indigenous rebellion, and Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's heavy-handed campaign to destroy Inca legitimacy and Andean religion while establishing a colonial system that relied heavily on silver mining. This multi-pronged effort included the production of histories that explicitly represented the Inca as tyrannical and idolatrous in order to justify the conquest and Spanish rule.

Yet, in the face of this repression, a vibrant collective of Indigenous communities and families negotiated their position through legal, cultural, and economic mediums. After decades of struggle and transformation, a cluster of Spanish, Indigenous, and mestizo authors emerged

to defend Andeans under Spanish rule, and to refute histories that characterized the Inca as illegitimate tyrants. They engaged with a polyphonous and dialogic lettered city, a term coined by Ángel Rama to conceptualize the symbolic space of literary practices and practitioners in the colonial Iberian empire. By the early seventeenth century, only decades after the introduction of alphabetic writing in the Andes, Indigenous writers such as Guaman Poma (1615), Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua's (ca. 1600)⁴ and mestizo author Garcilaso de la Vega, *El Inca* (1616)⁵ authored "Indian histories" that promoted and celebrated Andean cultures, languages, and peoples (Salomon 1999). Amidst these transformations, friar Martín de Murua compiled his chronicle. My dissertation examines this surge in Indigenous representation and historical reconstruction through the sustained and strategic efforts and voices of Andean actors and argues that Murua's project relied on strategies of collaboration and mutual benefit. In other words, my study examines the question of authorship in the Murua manuscripts.

As a case study, Murua's manuscripts provide a unique view into an early modern⁶ chronicle's multi-phased production process that spanned decades and regions and involved many people with diverse experiences. The production of the *Historia general del Perú* comprises two extensively illustrated manuscripts, respectively known as the Galvin Murua (1590) and the Getty Murua (1616). Murua compiled the manuscripts in Spanish and Quechua (Inca imperial language) during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries while living in the southern produced two heavily manipulated and reworked book manuscripts that preserve the physical, visual, and textual traces of these diverse voices, hands, and influences. However, until only recently, authorship was attributed solely to the friar; Indigenous engagement and agency was

⁴ Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua, *Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Piru*, Pierre Duviols and César Itier eds., (Lima; Cuzco: Institut français d'études andines; Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de Las Casas," 1993).

⁵ Garcilaso de la Vega, *El Inca*, *Comentarios Reales de Los Incas*, ed. Carlos Aranibar, 2nd ed., (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2004 [1609]); *Comentarios Reales de Los Incas*, 1st ed., 2 vols. 5–6, (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1976).

⁶ As Sanjay Subrahmanyam observes, using terms of periodization such as "early modern" presents illusions and challenges of universalism. Yet, he argues that in using a universal category of periodization it also acknowledges a connected history that equally positions all cultures, peoples, and languages on the same footing in the past. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected History: From the Tagus to the Gangus*, (India: Oxford University Press, 2005), 4.

not acknowledged and remains understudied. This dissertation seeks to identify Indigenous participation, perspectives, and motivations in the manuscripts and to situate them in their social and cultural historical context. My analysis challenges our notions of authorship and agency in the construction of colonial Inca history.



Figure 1: a. Galvin Murua or *Historia del origen*, (2004 [1590]). Photo by author. Getty Research Institute, Special Collections. b. Getty Murua or *Historia general del Piru*, (2008 [1616]). Photo by author. Getty Manuscript Department collection.

The dissertation combines archival research with textual, visual, and material analysis of Murua's and Guaman Poma's manuscripts to determine Indigenous contributions and influences. In particular, I have located archival records that situate Murua and the Indigenous contributors to the manuscripts in Cuzco society; the sources include legal campaigns to protect Inca nobility, elections of the Inca royal standard bearer, descriptions of ceremonial activities, and last wills and testaments, among other original documents. My dissertation poses the following questions: How did the interests, backgrounds, and activities of Indigenous participants in Murua's manuscripts reflect their distinct and uncertain status in the colonial world? How did these practical and ideological concerns influence the production of and discourse on Inca history in the Murua manuscripts? I explore authorship by examining the activities of Murua and the Andean hereditary nobles in the Cuzco region with whom he worked, who left traces of their genealogical and historical concerns in the manuscripts' compositional phases. Contributing to a growing

scholarship on Indigenous and Spanish colonial history, my research shows that male Andean elites and intellectuals perpetuated and adapted their descent and memory traditions to chronicle mediums in their attempts to validate, defend, and protect their once privileged but now threatened status in the Spanish colonial state, sometimes at the expense of other Andean groups.

My research approaches archives and chronicles as constructed narratives and representational realms of power and interests. Traces of Indigenous voices reveal a contested site of negotiation, competition, and alliances that strategically intersected with other cultural, economic, and legal activities that Andeans undertook to protect and promote their communities' social status and privileges. This is a case study of the Cuzco region's unique and local histories in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. However, as other colonial ethnohistorians and Atlanticists have argued, these Indigenous agents engaged with global and transatlantic forces and influenced historical and ideological discourses between and among Amerindian and Iberian peoples. Whereas some Spaniards produced conflictual and biased histories that diminished Amerindian agency, a more transcultural interaction between Murua and his Andean collaborators fundamentally shaped the manuscripts' production and composition. This multi-directional, emergent, and dialogic process of cultural translation created a distinctive Spanish American chronicle. My dissertation reconsiders canonical accounts of Andean historiography and identity and interrogates the dominant notion of a single Iberian author.

Sources

My principal sources are the two distinct manuscript versions of *Historia general del Perú* that were compiled by Murua. The bound manuscripts describe Inca history, governance, and religion; the Spanish conquest; and Inca and colonial Spanish cities. When discussed together they will be referred to as the Murua manuscripts. The earlier version, *Historia del origen, y genealogía real de los reyes Ingas del Piru* (1590), is referred to as the Galvin Murua or

manuscript. The manuscript is composed of 150 folios organized into four books, written by multiple scribes, including Murua and Guaman Poma (Adorno and Boserup 2005). It includes Andean oral histories, mythology, Quechua poetry and captions, and extensive ethnographic material. The manuscript contains 113 watercolor images by Murua and Guaman Poma (Cummins 2014). The illustrations generally accompany each chapter on a facing folio page and loosely adhere to its chapter content. The depictions include royal men and women attired in Andean textile dress; ceremonies and rituals; coats of arms; sacred objects and places; prototypical Spanish cities; a legendary Andean love-story; and prominent events of the Spanish conquest. Embedded within the images are captions, labels of objects, and poems in Spanish and Quechua, added during different production phases by Guaman Poma and Murua. With a notarial book structure (Turner 2014), Murua heavily manipulated the manuscript by moving and pasting over folios and adding supplemental text. Its production in the Cuzco region likely extended from the 1580s to early 1600s. Chapter 3 of this work examines the production of the Galvin Murua.

The final version, *Historia general del Perú* (1616) is based on the same ethnographic and historical information as the earlier version, but follows more distinctly an early modern European linear, chronological progression. I refer to it as the Getty Murua or manuscript, which consists of three books, comprising nearly 400 folios on Spanish colonization and evangelization, Indigenous resistance, the history of the Order of Mercy in the Andes, and more. The value of the text is significant. As John Hemming explains in his seminal work, *Conquest of the Incas*, the uniquely expanded account of the Inca response and resistance in Vilcabamba, "consistently viewed events from the Indian side . . . It frequently corroborated gaps in the other chroniclers' narratives" (2012 [1970]: 18). The Getty Murua features only 34 watercolor images, primarily royal portraits that accompany the Inca and Coya chapters, done mostly by Murua. The manuscript includes four images by Guaman Poma that were transferred from the Galvin Murua. The majority of the texts were written by two main scribes. However, Murua wrote the last few chapters and table of

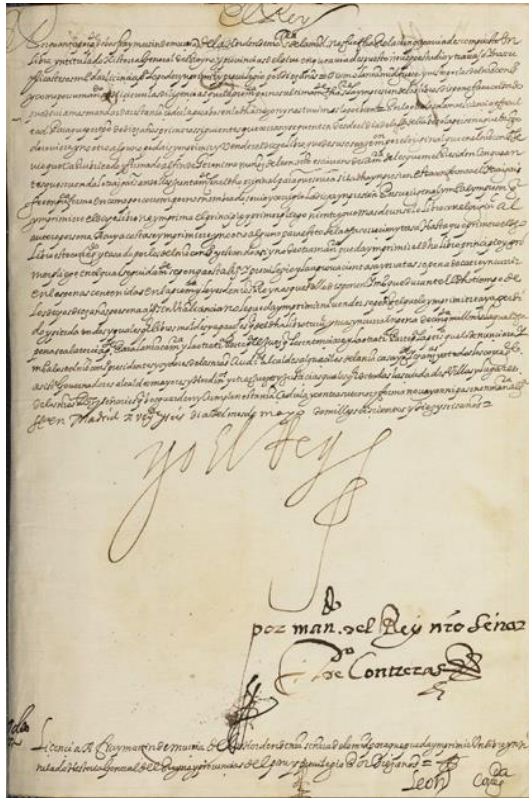


Figure 2: Murua, *Historia general del Piru*, f. 11r. Digital image courtesy of Getty's Open Content.

contents; the text also bears editorial markings by chronicler fray Alonso Ramón of the Mercedarian order, as well as markings by the king's censor, Pedro de Valencia.⁷ Likely begun in the first years of the 1600s, endorsement letters trace Murua's travels south from Cuzco through the Andean highlands to Buenos Aires, where he took a ship to Spain in 1615 (Aguinagalde 2017: 16-21). Many scholars have examined the "hidden bibliography" in the manuscripts (Adorno 2008a: 122, note 8) from accessible sixteenth-century writings attributed to Polo de Ondegardo, Fray Jerónimo Román y Zamora, Cristóbal de Molina, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas,

Francisco López de Gómara, Fray Luis Jerónimo de Oré, and others.⁸ I refer to these sources in my analysis of the Murua manuscripts throughout the dissertation.

⁷ For more on evidence of censorship and paleographic analysis, see Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma and the Manuscripts of Fray Martín de Murúa; Rolena Adorno, "Censorship and Approbation in Murúa's *Historia General Del Piru*," in *The Getty Murúa: Essays on the Making of Martín de Murúa's "Historia General Del Piru*," *J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig XIII 16*, edited by Tom Cummins and Barbara Anderson, Los Angeles: Published by the Getty Research Institute, 2008a), 103-115; Thomas Cummins, "The Making of Murúa's *Historia General Del Piru*," in *The Getty Murúa*, 36-40; Ivan Boserup, "Quelques Observations Sur l'évolution Matérielle et Textuelle Du Manuscrit de Salamanque (Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16) de l'*Historia General Del Perú* de Fray Martín de Murúa," in *Lecturas y Ediciones de Crónicas de Indias: Una Propuesta Inter Disciplinar*, Ignacio Arellano and Fermín del Pino eds., (Navarre, Spain; Madrid: Universidad de Navarre; Iberoamericana, 2004), 84-87; and "Los Textos Manuscritos de Guaman Poma (II): Las Estapas de La Evolución Del Manuscrito Galvin de La *Historia General Del Perú* de Martín de Murúa," in *La Memoria Del Mundo Inca: Guaman Poma y La Escritura de La Nueva Corónica*, ed. Jean-Philippe Husson, (Colección Estudios Andinos 19. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2016), 63.

⁸ Most textual analyses of copied texts focus on the Getty Murua and the Loyola copy. For early criticism of Murua's copying and copied text from Polo de Ondegardo's *Los errores y supersticiones de los indios* (1585), see Raúl Porras Barrenechea, *Los cronistas del Perú, 1528-1650*, (Lima: Sanmartí Impresores, 1962), 677-78; Pierre Duviols, "Les sources religieuses du chroniqueur péruvien fray Martin de Morúa," *Annales de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines d'Aix* 36 (1962): 267-77; and Carlos Aranibar, "Algunos problemas heurísticos en las crónicas de los siglos XVI-XVII," *Nueva Crónica* 1 (1963): 106. For additions by Francisco López de Gómara (1552), Cristóbal de Molina's lost manuscript, and (erroneously) Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (1616) see *Ibid.*: 106-7. John Rowe performed a comparative textual analysis between Gómara's and Murua's sections on *coyas* (Inca queens), characterizing the manuscript as a lie that detracted from its value. See John Rowe, "La mentira literaria en la obra de Martín de Murua," in *Libro de homenaje a Aurelio Miró Quesada Sosa*, (Lima: Tall. Gráf. P.L. Villanueva, 1987), 753-61. Rowe identified an overlap with Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572) and suggested a shared source with Molina, the *Probanza de nietos*, via Miguel Cabello de Balboa's *Miscelánea antártica* (1586). See John Rowe, "Probanza de los incas nietos de conquistadores," *Histórica* 9 (1985): 193-245. For an in-depth textual analysis, see Catherine Julien, *Reading Inca History*, (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2000), 19, 49-89. For textual overlap with Diego Fernández, El Palentino in the history of the Spanish conquest of Peru and Jerónimo Román y Zamora (1595) for accounts of the *kipu*, who copied from Las Casas' manuscript *Apolegetica historia sum aria* (1555-59) see Martti Pärssinen, "Otras Fuentes Escritas Por Los Cronistas: Los Casos de Martín de Morúa Y Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara," *Histórica (Lima)* 13

Murua carried both manuscript versions with him to Spain, according to endorsements in the Getty Murua and a 1615 inventory of his belongings conducted shortly after his return from Peru.⁹ After extensive redaction the Mercedarian Order in Madrid endorsed the Getty version for publication on October 22, 1615. He received authorization for publication on April 28, 1615 from the royal censor and on May 26, 1616 from the Spanish King (fig. 2). However, the final version remained unpublished during his lifetime due to unfavorable publishing conditions (Adorno 2008a: 103-121), further hindered by his sudden death on December 6th, 1615. Chapter 4 provides more background on the friar.

Even though the *Historia general del Perú* remained unpublished, it was not completely unknown. Over the course of the late seventeenth to late eighteenth centuries the manuscript moved from the Mercedarian house in Madrid to the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca in Salamanca, and to the Palacio Real in Madrid.¹⁰ In 1808, Joseph Bonaparte included the manuscript in his war booty as he fled Spain. Surrounded by English, Spanish, and Portuguese forces led by Duke Arthur Wellesley, Bonapart abandoned the loot in his escape over the Pyrenees. In 1816, Ferdinand VII officially declined the repatriation of the manuscript as a gift for Duke Wellington's role in expelling the French (Wellington 1962: xvi-xix). As the Wellington Manuscript, it languished in obscurity in the Wellington library in England.

(1989): 45–65. For copying from Fray Jerónimo de Oré (1598) and Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), see Annalyda Álvarez-Calderón, *Friar Martín de Murua and his Chronicle*, (Miami: University of Miami, 1996), 60-63; *Ibid.*, "La crónica de Fray Martín de Murua: Mentiras y legados de un mercedario vasco en los Andes," *Revista Andina* 45 (2007): 159-186. Sabine Hyland (2016: email correspondence), suggests another source for the Inca resistance to Spaniards in the Getty Murua may be the mestizo friar, Fr. Juan Caballero. For further historiographical discussions see Adorno, "Censorship and Approbation," 122; Brian Bauer and Jean-Jacques Decoster, "Introduction: Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa and The History of the Incas," in *The History of the Incas*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 1-25; Juan Ossio, "Introducción," in *Códice Murúa: historia y genealogía real de los reyes Incas del Perú*, edited by Juan Ossio, (Madrid: Testimonio, 2004), 7-21 and others.

⁹ One of two inventories of Murua's belongings were made upon his return to Spain and sudden death by his brother, Diego de Murua. It includes a brief description of what is likely the Galvin Murua. "Un borron de su libro con algunas figuras de las yndias." EUA-AME, protocolo de Espilla de 1615, caja 147, nº 2, fols. 53 v. Transcribed and published by Aguinalgalde, *Misterio Resuelto*, 64.

¹⁰ The earliest mention of the Getty Murua is from 1672 by the Spanish bibliographer, Nicolás Antonio (1617-1684). He traced the manuscript from the Mercedarian house in Madrid to the library of the royal councilor, don Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado. After Prado's death in 1658 the manuscript moved from his personal library to the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca in Salamanca. Juan Bautista Muñoz catalogued it in 1782 and provided a bibliographic description in 1799. In 1738, Andrés Gonzalez de Barciai provided a brief bibliographic reference lifted from Antonio. Shortly after, with the forced closure of the *colegios mayores* by Charles III, the *Historia general* was moved to the Palacio Real in Madrid and remained in obscurity. Cummins and Anderson 2008: 1-3; Adorno and Boserup, "Prolegomena," 113-21; and Ossio, "Introducción," 12-17.

In 1950, Miguel Enguidanos Requena, an assistant to Manuel Ballesteros-Gaibrois at the University of Madrid, rediscovered the manuscript.¹¹ From a photocopy made at the time, Ballesteros-Gaibrois produced a published transcript of the text, published in two volumes without images in 1962 and 1964, following the redacted versions from the censorship process. In 1979, H.P. Kraus bought the manuscript at a Sotheby's London auction and detached five pasted-over folios. In 1983 the J. Paul Getty Trust in Los Angeles bought the manuscript as part of a larger collection. It was renamed the Getty Murua.¹² In 2008 the Getty Research Institute published a facsimile print and digital publication and sponsored research on the manuscript. The project included various phases of scientific and analytical studies and publications (Cummins and Anderson 2008: 1-3; Boserup 2016: 63; Ossio 2008, 2004: 7-28; Ballesteros 2001: 5-16).

The provenance of the Galvin manuscript is even more obscure and has caused substantial historiographical confusion (Adorno and Boserup 2005: 127-128). Its location is unknown after Murua brought it to Spain, where it was likely entrusted to the Mercedarian order after his death.¹³ In 1879 historian Marcos Jiménez found it in a Spanish Jesuit exile house in Poyanne, France. He associated it with a manuscript described in 1739 by the Jesuit Miguel Venegas, housed at the Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús in Alcalá de Henares, Spain.¹⁴ A defective, handwritten copy with five line drawings, called the "Loyola manuscript", was made in

¹¹ Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, "El original pedido de la 'historia General del Peru' de Fray Martin de Murua, Mercedario," *Letras*, vol. 19, no. 49 (1953): 255.

¹² Publications of *Historia general del Perú* include: Martín de Murua, *Historia General Del Perú, Origen y Descendencia de Los Incas*, edited by Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, vol. 2, Colección Joyas Bibliograficas/Bibliotheca Americana Vetus 1–2, (Madrid: Instituto "Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo", 1962/1964); *Historia General Del Perú*, edited by Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, Crónicas de América 20, (Madrid: Dastin Historia, 1987 [reprint 2001]); Murua, *Historia general del Piru*. For an internet publication that includes the redacted sections, see Juan Ossio, ed. *Historia general del Perú*, <http://repositorio.pucp.edu.pe/index/handle/123456789/173393> (2020) (accessed 4/21/2022).

¹³ As a friar in the Our Lady of Mercy Order, his belongings went to the order upon his death. Representatives from the order were present during the settling and inventory of his estate. Aguinagalde, *Misterio Resuelto*, 40-45.

¹⁴ Miguel Venegas, *Noticia de la California y de su conquista temporal y espiritual hasta el tiempo presente: Sacada de la historia manuscrita, formada en México año de 1739*, ed. Andrés Marcos Burriel, 3 vols., (Madrid: imprenta de la viuda de Manuel Fernández, y del Supremo Consejo de la Inquisición, 1757 [reprint Mexico: Editorial Layac, 1943-45]), pt. 1, chap. 5, p. 69; Juan Ossio, "Polemizando sobre los manuscritos del padre fray Martín de Murua," *Histórica* (Lima) 29, no. 1 (2005): 163-182; and Adorno and Boserup, "Making of Murua's Historia General Del Piru," 7; 43, note 4.

1890, and served as a primary source for most twentieth-century publications.¹⁵ In the mid-twentieth century the manuscript was purchased by Irish collector, Sean Galvin, but it remained hidden to scholars until 1996, when anthropologist Dr. Juan Ossio located it after a twenty-five year search (2001: 69; 2004: 7; 2008c: 56; 2014: 11). Ossio subsequently arranged a facsimile and transcription publication in 2004, allowing scholars to analyze both manuscripts together for the first time.¹⁶ A multidisciplinary group of scientists, conservators, anthropologists, art historians, and codicologists collaboratively studied the two manuscripts, which resulted in a conference and two Getty publications of their findings in 2008 and 2014.¹⁷ This dissertation is possible due to the groundbreaking efforts of these experts, and hopes to contribute to their seminal findings.

The third cornerstone chronicle of my investigation is Guaman Poma's massive, illustrated manuscript, the *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615), which consists of more than 1,000 folios and 399 black ink illustrations.¹⁸ Art historian Thomas Cummins has pointed out that Guaman Poma's work and the Murua manuscripts are the only three extensively illustrated manuscripts on the history of early colonial Peru (2008: 147). Moreover, Guaman Poma was a contributing artist to Murua's chronicle during the production phase of the Galvin Murua. Comparative analyses

¹⁵ Manuel Ballesteros provided a list of Loyola copies and publications in his prologue: 1) Loyola copy (1890), now lost; 2) Copy of the Loyola Manuscript by González de la Rosa (1911); 3) Clement R. Markham publication *History of Perú* from González de la Rosa's copy; 4) P. Olmo from Loyola manuscript and included in Horacio H. Urteaga's edition; and 5) P. Bayle's *Historia del origen* (1946) from the Loyola Manuscript. Publications of the Loyola copy include: Dr. Horacio Urteaga and D. Carlos A. Romero's fragmentary version *Historia de los Incas reyes del Perú* (1922-25); Raul Porras Barrenechea's *Los orígenes de los Inkas* (1946); and Constantino Bayle's *Historia del origen y genealogía real de los Reyes Ingas del Perú* (1946). Manuel Ballesteros-Gaibrois, "Introducción," in *Historia General Del Perú*, edited by Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, *Crónicas de América* 20, (Madrid: Dastin Historia, 1987 [reprint 2001]), 13; Juan Ossio, "El Original Del Manuscrito Loyola de Fray Martín de Murúa," *Colonial Latin American Review* 7, no. 2 (1998): 271-78; "Introducción," 12-13; "Martín de Murúa (?-ca. 1620)," in *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies, 1530-1900*, ed. Joanne Pillsbury, vol. 3, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008a), 436-41; and Adorno and Boserup, "Making of Murua's *Historia General Del Piru*," 7.

¹⁶ Martín de Murua, *Códice Murúa: historia y genealogía real de los reyes Incas del Perú*, ed. Juan Ossio, (Madrid: Testimonio, 2004).

¹⁷ Martín de Murua, *Historia general del Piru: facsimile of J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig XIII 16*, edited by Tom Cummins and Barbara Anderson, (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2008); Tom Cummins and Barbara Anderson, eds., *Manuscript Cultures of Colonial Mexico and Peru: New Questions and Approaches*, (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2014).

¹⁸ Publications of Guaman Poma include: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government: On the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615*, translated by Roland Hamilton, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009); *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno*, eds. John V Murra, Rolena Adorno, and Jorge Urioste, (Madrid: Historia 16, 1987); and *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, ed. John V Murra, Rolena Adorno, and Jorge Urioste, vol. 3, Colección América Nuestra 31, (México, D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno, 1980); *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1980); *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, ed. Franklin Pease, trans. Jan Szeminski, 3 vols., (Lima: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2008); The Royal Library of Denmark's digital facsimile provides an extensive list of bibliographic sources on Guaman Poma: <http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/info/en/biblio/index.htm>, accessed March 30, 2021.

begun by Emilio Mendizabal Losack in 1961 and 1963 have demonstrated many similarities in the three books' composition, content, and illustrations (see Chapter 3 for more on this historiography). Working with the *Nueva corónica* and other relevant archival sources brings into sharp relief the implications of multivocality and Indigenous participation as a practice of cultural and linguistic translation in the composition of Murua's chronicle project. My analysis sheds light on Guaman Poma's unique contributions and interventions to the Murua manuscripts, including his development as an Indigenous artist, author, activist, and intellectual that culminated in the *Nueva corónica*. Chapters 3-5 examine the multivalent images and texts in the Murua manuscripts and the dialogic process of transculturation and cultural translation in which both Guaman Poma and Murua engaged. While the Murua manuscripts are the focus of my investigation, my study also contributes to scholarship on Guaman Poma.

Although I examine both Murua manuscripts in detail, my focus is on Indigenous voices in the earlier Galvin Murua and the context of those voices in colonial Cuzco.¹⁹ Guaman Poma's images and other evidence suggests far more Indigenous influence in the Galvin than in the Getty Murua. I have sought to understand more about the background and motivations of Guaman Poma and the five Indigenous leaders named in the 1590 endorsement letter from Cuzco. My archival research and systematic survey of published primary sources from the Cuzco region has enriched our understanding of the Murua manuscripts. In my focus on Cuzco, I am acutely aware of the danger of perpetuating a historiographical focus on a homogenized Inca-centric history of the Andes, centered in Cuzco and perpetuated by Iberian historians and Garcilaso de la Vega, *el Inca* (Abercrombie 1998: 196). In recent years, many Andean scholars have begun to recognize the multiple identities and ethnicities of colonial Peru, going beyond a traditional focus on the Inca empire. My goal is to highlight the diversity of actors who contributed to the production of history in Cuzco.

¹⁹ This is not to say that there isn't potential for Indigenous participation from Murua's time in present-day Bolivia and Spain during the production of the Getty Murua. These considerations will be part of future research.

Authorship

In the last pages of his chronicle (f. 1080 [1090]), Guaman Poma catalogued the first mention of Murua's *Historia general del Perú*. He derided the friar's account for its incompleteness and "menacing" view of Inca history. His own version rectified the perceived inaccuracies by documenting an Indigenous historical consciousness and cultural life that extended past the idolatrous Inca to include other reigning lords and local customs. His mention of Murua's history project differed starkly from his brief but more complimentary references to other sixteenth-century authors of Inca history and religion, such as friar Agustín de Zárate, Dominican friar Domingo de Santo Tomás, Jerónimo de Oré, and Jesuit friar José de Acosta (Adorno and Boserup 2005: 107-108). Guaman Poma's derision is surprising given his participation in the making of the Galvin Murua, even if he was not ultimately mentioned by Murua. However, his earlier collaboration with Murua also explains his intimate knowledge of the friar and his project. Centuries later, many scholars similarly questioned the Murua manuscripts' ethnographic credibility and criticized its awkward writing style. A primary concern has been Murua's abundant and sometimes misleading reuse of uncited texts (Álvarez-Calderón 2007: 159-186; *Ibid.* 1996: 159-86; Rowe 1987: 753-61; see Chapter 4 & 5). Nonetheless, despite Guaman Poma and other scholars' doubts, the Murua manuscripts are often cited for scholarship on Inca history and culture and responses to Spanish colonization.²⁰

This dissertation seeks to contribute to scholarship on colonial Andean historical production. As an illustrated chronicle project on Inca history, the Murua manuscripts bear an important, if underrecognized, role in colonial Andean historiography. Historians and literary scholars have examined the long trajectory of Spanish American literature as the development of

²⁰ For example, the Murua manuscripts are extensively used for material on Inca women in Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987); Indigenous activities in response to the Spanish invasion in John Hemming, *The Conquest of the Incas*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1970); material culture of the Inca in Carolyn Dean, *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock*, (Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2010a); Inca memory practices in Susan A Niles, *The Shape of Inca History: Narrative and Architecture in an Andean Empire*, (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999) and others.

a unique American culture.²¹ Many scholars focus their analysis on prominent colonial writers and intellectuals such as Pedro de Cieza, Bartolomé de Las Casas, Hernando de Santillán, José de Acosta, and Sarmiento de Gamboa. Those who wrote on language, such as Friar Diego Holguin González and Friar Santo Tomás de Domingo, are also often cited. The works of Indigenous and mestizo authors and leaders, such as Diego de Castro Titu Cusi Yupanqui (1570), Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamuygua (ca. 1616), Garcilaso de la Vega, *El Inca* (1609), and Guaman Poma, are evoked for promoting pro-Andean movements and advocating for dignity and self-determination. The Murua manuscripts are often left out of these discussions. Few studies have acknowledged the intermingling of Indigenous and non-Indigenous voices in the creation of Andean histories, thereby challenging notions of a single author in chronicle production.

The idea of the "author" is a historical construct with implications for legal, literary, and cultural fields of study and practice. The term "author" (*auctor*, *auctoritas*) first appeared in Europe in the Middle Ages, as early as the 1200s, as a writer and authority, mainly in relation to Christian truth and classical knowledge (Minnis 1984: 10). The subsequent invention of the printing press unavoidably linked authorship with intellectual property rights (Eisenstein 1979: 229-230) and prospects of profit for publishers, booksellers, and authors (Febvre and Martin 1976: 249). The nineteenth-century Cartesian and Romanticist focus on individuals, inward reflection and inspiration drove literary theorists to focus on the individual author when interpreting texts (Eagleton 1983: 196; Ede 1985: 6). However, in the 1970s post-structural theorists such as Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault challenged author-driven interpretations of texts. They linked

²¹ For example, D. A. Brading argues that despite an admiration for European culture, the experience of Indigenous cultures and peoples, the first conquerors, missionaries, and historical events fostered a unique creole American identity. Not necessarily contradicting Brading, Sabine MacCormack traces modern-day Peruvian Andean identity and a sense of national autonomy to the intellectual values and cultural precepts arising out of a reconceived classical European past. She considers early colonial Spanish, Andean and mestizo chroniclers, grammarians, missionaries, and intellectuals who used the Greeks and Romans to describe and promote an early Colonial Andean society grounded in an Inca Empire. Martín Lienhard's historiographical overview of Indigenous texts, while including Spanish works that drew on oral transcriptions and interviews such as Sarmiento de Gamboa and Cristóbal de Molina, makes no mention of Murua's manuscripts. D. A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492-1867*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Sabine MacCormack, *On the Wings of Time: Rome, the Incas, Spain, and Peru*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); Martín Lienhard, "Indigenous Texts," in *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies, 1530-1900*, (Norman, Okla: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 87-106; Rolena Adorno, *Colonial Latin American Literature: A Very Short Introduction*, Very Short Introductions 294, (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

authorship with the capitalist ideology of ownership and the Enlightenment focus on individual genius.²² At the same time, the author construct also aids in historically specific textual interpretation (Nehamas 1987: 265-91; Irwin 2002: 191-204) and provides agentic recognition for minority voices (Pappas 1989: 325-31; Walker 1990: 551-71). The more comprehensive concept of textual agency allows for the inscription and alteration of text beyond the romanticized singular author (Eggert 2019: 5). Indigenous studies of the Americas have sought to recognize the collaborative, multivocal, and relational authorship of cultural production, memory, and research.²³

Murua's authorial and editorial voice alongside many other Spanish and Andean voices, complicate the task of investigating authorship and vocality in the Murua manuscripts. Philosopher M.M. Bakhtin's (1981: 259-242) concept of *heteroglossia* argues that discursive texts like novels and chronicles include a multitude of dialogic interactions that are embedded in social phenomena, but with the distance of time can appear as a linguistically unified discourse. The notion of polyphony or "dialogic indices" allows for conflicting and divergent voices to emerge, despite any colonizing and "authorial" impulse to diminish the "chance" and strategic perspectives of resistant and persistent minority voices (Lamana 2008: 11; Foucault 1972: 9, 23). William Hanks (2000), a linguistic anthropologist, observes the inherent incompleteness of texts, which contain hidden indexical components when separated from their concrete context of production. The general term "intertextuality" captures the variety of relationships between texts, including genres within literary traditions, such as chronicles (Jenny 1982). The "intertextual trajectory" of

²² In seminal essays Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault questioned the foundations and utility of authorship for interpreting texts. For Barthes the Author only imposes limits of interpretation to a text under the false pretense of originality. Instead, interpretation ends with the reader, who evoke the multiplicity of influences rendered in the text. For Foucault, the author-function spoke to "characteristics of the mode of existence, circulation, and functioning of certain discourses within society". In particular, the ideological figure of the author imposes a historical analysis of discourses. Roland Barthes, "Death of the Author," in *Image, Music, Text*, trans. Stephen Heath, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 142-148; Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?," *The Foucault Reader*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 101-20.

²³ For example, Kevin Terraciano makes a similar observation of the uniquely collaborative production process for the Florentine Codex, produced in New Spain in the sixteenth century. Shawn Wilson provides a more contemporary view by an Indigenous scholar of Cree descent working in the Australian and Canadian context. He argues for the collaborative, co-authorship composition of research according to Indigenous principles of relationality. Wilson Shawn, *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*, (Canada: Hignell Book Printing, 2008); Kevin Terraciano, "Introduction," in *The Florentine Codex: An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, eds. Jeanette Favrot Peterson and Kevin Terraciano, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2019), 1-20; "Three Texts in One: Book XII of the Florentine Codex," *Ethnohistory* 57, no. 1 (December 21, 2010): 51-72.

a colonial document requires that every text is treated as an object whose meaning comes through its context in relation to other discursive conditions and broader social fields. In my study, the intertextuality and multivocality of texts in the Murua manuscripts includes other chronicles as well as other visual and material discursive fields. The works feature interwoven narratives derived from multiple sources that were collected in different regions across a period of at least two decades. The result is a complex palimpsest of fragmented knowledge.

This dissertation is less concerned with examining authorship for the sake of analyzing the manuscripts' underlying narratives, in the tradition of literary analysis. I am more concerned with the communities and individuals involved in the process. Linguistic anthropologist Bruce Mannheim (1998: 386-387) explains (following Stanley Fish 1982) that despite the possibility of infinite interpretations which post-structural theory has provoked, actors in the production of texts belong to interpretative communities that shape cultural strategies and projects. However, he adds that the formal structure of the text, such as a chronicle, likewise defines and activates interpretative communities. Accordingly, the Murua manuscripts are treated as primary sources for understanding Amerindian positioning in early colonial Andean and transatlantic society. This study is part of a historiographical trend (reviewed below) that challenges notions of a romanticized and essentialized "Andeanness" in favor of recognizing intertwined European, Amerindian, and regional forces that reshaped imagination and identity in this period.

Literacy, orality, and history

Interrogating authorship in the Murua manuscripts requires contending with the role of literacy and changing memory practices in the Andes during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The Murua manuscripts were modelled on early modern Iberian-Christian literary and history projects, but they relied in large part on Indigenous pre-Hispanic and colonial Andean memory practices. Without a graphic writing tradition, pre-Hispanic Andean methods of recording information relied on oral, performative, pictorial, architectural and other material practices. Social

memory practices highlight not only forms of Indigenous agency, persistence, resistance, and adaptation in the face of Spanish colonialism, they also exerted Indigenous influence on early modern American, European, and Atlantic cultures and literacy practices. This section reviews major works in Andean scholarship that address these themes and the dialogical relationship between Andean social memory and history-making practices.

"Social memory" identifies the embodied and transitory cultural and social practices of remembering that directly produce and participate in the process of explaining the past. Social memory refers to the ways societies selectively remember the past to make sense of the present (Le Goff 1977; Connerton 1989; Cohen 1985; Fentress & Wickham 1992; Roach 1996; Abercrombie 1998). As a process that is symbolic, subjective, and dynamic, social memory is not necessarily concerned with "truth" about the past but the ways that groups of peoples organize, practice, and conceptualize meaning in semantic or sensory form. As such, it functions as a source of knowledge and a practice of imagination (Cohen 1985: 3-58). Social memory can include kinesthetic expressions, performance activities, written records, spoken narratives, built environments, textiles, and other material culture. Manifested through culture, language, and material culture, memory is inherently social (Appadurai 1986: 3-36) and emergent (Tedlock and Mannheim 1995: 2-22; Salomon 2004). By understanding the Murua manuscripts as a practice and product of social memory it allows for multiple, flexible "truths" that reveal what the manuscripts can tell us about early Colonial Andean sociohistorical processes. Social memory accounts for the varied and potentially conflicting Indigenous and Iberian forms of remembering that are embedded in the manuscripts' composition and content.

Nonetheless, early modern Spanish society increasingly associated the written word with legitimacy and authority. Ángel Rama (1996 [1984]) spearheaded the influential concept of the *ciudad letrada* or "lettered city". He argued that *letrados*, a group of educated specialized administrators or officials, used the written word to promote a symbolic space or "lettered city" based on Baroque and idealized concepts of order, classification, civility, and categorization.

Rolena Adorno (1987) expanded Rama's concept from a united, singular ideological discourse to one embedded within multivocal practices and ideologies. As many scholars of medieval and early modern European history, art history, and literary history have demonstrated, the European literacy tradition was immersed in oral and embodied cultural and social practices (Cummins & Rappaport 2012: 5; Lienhard 2008; 1992a, 1992b; Clanchy 1993; Bakhtin 1984; Ginzberg 1980: 6; et al). Rather than understanding literacy as a univocal and independent medium (Goody 1977, 1987; Ong 1982), multiple literacies composed a complex and multivocal "system of referentiality" that featured lettered, pictorial, textile, architectural and performative forms of expression and that involved particular social groups (Rappaport and Cummins 2012: 6; Boone and Mignolo 1994). As the decolonial author of African literature, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o observed, "orature" or oral literature captures the range of living, embodied, and oral performance forms and histories "produced alongside or within mediated literacies of various kinds and degrees" (1984: 58-66; Roach 1996: 11). Literacy in terms of the written word was "a heterogeneous set of communicative strategies and practices proper to the colonial situation," (Rappaport and Cummins 2012: 9; Cummins 1992) and expressed local, international, and transcultural conditions created by diverse sets of colonial actors.²⁴ This dissertation research proceeds from these approaches to contextualize the Murua project within broader social processes and the multidisciplinary modalities of social memory practices.

My dissertation proceeds from the well-documented observation of complex Andean memory practices. Numerous scholars of Inca culture have shown how oral, visual, performance, and tactile traditions served as essential vehicles of interconnected place and memory making practices in the Andes.²⁵ Cummins argues that objects in the Inca cultural and aesthetic system

²⁴ Additional ethnographies and literature that consider the power of literacy into the present include Andrew Canessa, *Intimate Indigeneities: Race, Sex, and History in the Small Spaces of Andean Life*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012); Francisco Cevallos Candau, ed., *Coded Encounters: Writing, Gender, and Ethnicity in Colonial Latin America*, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994); Rosaleen Howard-Malverde, *Creating Context in Andean Cultures*, (New York; Oxford [England]: Oxford University Press, 1997); and others.

²⁵ Some examples include: Stella Nair, *At Home With the Sapa Inca: Architecture, Space, and Legacy at Chinchero*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015); Carolyn Dean, *Culture of Stone*; "The Inka Married the Earth: Integrated Outcrops and the Making of Place,"

existed in a “field of meaning” through association and memory (2007: 267-297). Inca built and natural environments, such as architecture and stonework, established meaning within and through their contextualized and conditional arrangements, ritualized engagements, and larger spatial relationships (see Chapter 3). The *kipu*, an Inca textile recording device, catalyzed memory and supported social and ritual organization that was reinscribed during ceremonial activities. Despite the ambivalent position of *kipukamayocs* (expert readers of the *kipu*) in early colonial Peru, they played a crucial role in the oral and literary components of the Murua manuscripts (see Chapter 5). Similarly, the *mascapaycha* (*masca paycha*), a pre-Hispanic Inca textile royal tassel, functioned as a symbolic continuation of Inca descent, memory, and power in the colonial era (see Chapters 1, 2, 4, 5). In highlighting Andean voices and perspectives, my study invokes Indigenous cultural concepts and practices that might lend context to the intentions of the Indigenous participants, while seeking to avoid an essentializing or ahistorical portrayal.

It is equally true that Inca chronicles engendered myriad misrepresentations and misunderstandings. Iberian historians were steeped in a biased, hegemonic European historical and Christianizing tradition. The Spanish evangelizing project imposed prejudiced theological and political frameworks onto Inca and Andean history and religion (MacCormack 1991, 2007; Ramos 2010; Mills 1997; Estenssoro Fuchs 2003). Historian Sabine MacCormack observed that “Vital information about Inca and Andean religious practices come from men committed to its destruction.” (1991: 5) Colonial Andean chronicles deployed many examples from ancient history and thus share striking similarities with Roman history. Murua emulated other Iberians who wrote *historias* of New Spain and Peru, drawing from and even copying others in the pre-modern tradition. In the early modern period *relaciones* (or accounts), *crónicas* (chronicles) and *historias*

The Art Bulletin 89, no. 3 (2007): 502–18; *Presence: The Inherence of the Prototype within Images and Other Objects*, eds. Rupert Shepherd and Robert Maniura, (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006), 105-84; Frank Salomon, *The Cord Keepers: Khipus and Cultural Life in a Peruvian Village*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Sabine MacCormack, “History, Historical Record, and Ceremonial Action: Incas and Spaniards in Cuzco,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43, no. 2 (April 2001): 329–63; Rosaleen Howard-Malverde, *The Speaking of History: “Willapaakushayki” or Quechua Ways of Telling the Past*, (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1990); Niles, *Shape of Inca History*; Thomas Alan Abercrombie, *Pathways of Memory and Power: Ethnography and History among an Andean People*, (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998); Rowe, “Probanza”; and many others.

not only included accounts of past events but also descriptions of nature and customs (Terraciano 2019: 2; León-Portilla and Sánchez-Albornoz 2002: 260-261). Historical narratives were framed chronologically according to successions of rulers and a linear progression of events that moved from the biblical origins of society to the present (Salomon 1982, 1991; MacCormack 2007, 2001, 1993: 332; Cañizares-Esguerra 2009: 248-259; Martínez 2014: 178; Bloch 1986a: 135-56). From this perspective, his project is far from unique.

However, the Murua manuscripts stand at the crossroads of Indigenous and Europeanized forms of remembering the past. The act of recording the Andean past in graphic, book form required Indigenous authors and artists to transform Andean oral traditions into a Europeanized historical record. As anthropologist Frank Solomon observed, Europeans understood history as a cause-and-effect linear progression from a beginning to an end, whereas Andeans interpreted events as episodes in a cyclical, repetitive pattern. Indigenous authors who tried to make the conquest era intelligible to Spaniards while remaining faithful to an Andean conceptualization of memory confronted the impossible task of combining two drastically different narratives of the Inca past. They produced a "literature of the impossible" (1982: 4).

These divergent approaches have engendered contentious debates and questions among scholars about whether the chronicles document myths or historical events of the Inca past.²⁵ Some scholars deny the historical content of Inca sources and argue that the Inca past portrayed in the chronicles represents mythological or ahistorical explanations for kinship alliances and social organization (Zuidema 1964; Urton 1990: 6; Pease 1995; Ossio 1981, 2021). Other scholars assert that that the chronicles document Andean oral and performative memory practices, which recorded actual events and perpetuated an Inca historical consciousness, despite many Iberian and Christian misunderstandings (Rowe 1946; Julien 2000; Rostworowski

²⁵ For discussion of myth and history for interpreting the Amerindian past see Jonathan David Hill, ed., *Rethinking History and Myth: Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

1999: 3; Niles 1999; Salomon 2004, 1991). Still other scholars have focused on the contingent nature of historical production in the colonial Andean scholarship.²⁶

Instead of attempting to sort history from myth, this dissertation focuses on how the multivocality, as well as the silences and erasures, of the Murua manuscripts influenced both the process and narrative of Inca historical production. As Michel Foucault (1972, 1977) observed, archives and documents should be perceived not as monuments but as discourses or "webs of negotiation taking place in a living society" (Adorno 1990: 173). A practice of history positioned in discourse fundamentally decenters history and deprives any one group or individual from controlling it. According to Caribbean historian Michel-Rolph Trouillot, historical production is born from dynamics of power that engender different forms of silences. Humans are both actors and narrators in history (1995: 2-5). Archives function as constructed narratives and representational realms of power, interests, and silences (Adorno 1987; Burns 2005, 2010; Trouillot 1995; Stoler 2009). Within the constraints of the colonial order, subaltern voices nevertheless participated at some level in the production of colonial documents--even if they were silenced or erased (O'Toole 2012; Mills 1997: 4). The Murua manuscripts and related primary sources reveal both engagement and silences and erasures of Indigenous vocality.

In other words, this dissertation approaches the Murua manuscripts and related sources not as a singular or universal truth of history (despite the friar's very early modern ambitions), but rather as a dialogic and contested kaleidoscope of discourses and perspectives in the early colonial era. Perhaps historian Ann Stoler (2009: 1) best explained the dynamic:

Grids of intelligibility were fashioned from uncertain knowledge; disquiet and anxieties registered the uncommon sense of events and things; epistemic uncertainties repeatedly unsettled the imperial conceit that all was in order... As such, these archives are not simply

²⁶ Gary Urton in his ethnohistorical and ethnographic analysis of the Inca origin legend in Pariqtambo near Cuzco, focused on how and why sixteenth-century Inca participated as active agents in the production of their own mytho-histories through sociopolitical engagement with Iberians. Sabine MacCormack observes that myth and history in the Andes should not be understood as opposites. Instead, memories and knowledge are made and remade within specific and complex historical and social conditions, including the Bible. Gary Urton, *The History of a Myth: Pacariqtambo and the Origin of the Inkas*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990); Sabine MacCormack, "Myth, History, and Languages in the Andes," *Colonial Latin American Review* 2, no. 1-2 (1993): 247-60.

accounts of actions or records of what people thought happened. They are records of uncertainty and doubt in how people imagined they could and might make the rubrics of rule correspond to a changing imperial world.

The temporal, geographic, and material "grids of intelligibility" of Stoler's twentieth-century Dutch colonial records differ greatly from the colonial Andean archives and chronicles of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. However, both cases exhibit the "epistemic uncertainties" of real people who were entrenched in the dynamics of imperial hegemonic power and biases. Every historical document reveals the particularities of a people and the context of its production (Sabean 1990: 9-12) and is political (Terraciano 2011a: 77; Rappaport 1990). Murua's manuscripts reveal early manifestations of the dialogic, if not contradictory, interaction and opposition between oral and literary arts in colonial Andean history-making and discourses.

Indigenous nobles and intercultural entanglements

In the intercultural encounters of colonial spaces, asymmetrical power relations produced complex, distinct, and often contradictory records and experiences for Indigenous nobility. Ella Temple Dunbar's articles in the late 1940s on colonial Inca lineages shed light on the crucial role of the Indigenous nobility in colonial Peru. John Rowe (1954, 1959) followed by examining the Great Rebellion of Indigenous elites under the leadership of Tupac Amaru II. Ethnohistorical studies of New Spain developed sooner and stronger than in the Andes, beginning especially with Charles Gibson and James Lockhart, due to the more extensive survival of archival records and manuscripts produced by both Spaniards and Mesoamerican writers and artists.²⁶ Since the

²⁶ Louise M. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahuatl-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989); Serge Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico: The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16th-18th Centuries*, trans. Eileen Corrigan (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993); Frances E. Karttunen and James Lockhart, *Nahuatl in the Middle Years: Language Contact Phenomena in Texts of the Colonial Period*, University of California Publications in Linguistics, v. 85, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); *The Art of Nahuatl Speech: The Bancroft Dialogues*, UCLA Latin American Studies, v. 65, (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, University of California, 1987); James Lockhart, *Nahuas and Spaniards: Postconquest Central Mexican History and Philology*, UCLA Latin American Studies, v. 76, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, University of California, Los Angeles, 1991), 20-21; Charles Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952); *The Aztec under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964); Kevin Terraciano, *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca: Ñudzahui History, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Mathew Restall, *The Maya World: Yucatec Culture and Society, 1550-1850*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); Peter B. Villella, *Indigenous Elites and Creole Identity in Colonial Mexico 1500-1800*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University of Press, 2016).

1970s scholars have used Spanish and Andean sources to shed light on the experience of Indigenous nobles after the Spanish invasion. Scholars such as John Murra (1975), Nathan Wachtel (1977) and Steve Stern (1982) initially focused on the economically and culturally destructive effects of the conquest and colonial order. More recently, scholars of both the Andes and Mesoamerica have considered processes of negotiation and accommodation, which recognize proactive Indigenous responses to colonial realities and reveal the extent to which the Spaniards depended on Indigenous peoples or precedents for nearly everything they managed to accomplish.²⁷ This analysis contributes to the growing recognition of native Andean agency in colonial and post-colonial times and seeks to bridge the gap between Mesoamerican and Andean ethnohistorical scholarship.

More recently, scholars have recognized the need to eschew simple binaries such as "us" and "them", "active" and "passive", "resistance" and "domination", and the theory of "hybridity" that might promote simplified understandings (Dean and Leibsohn 2003) while negating complex interstitial spaces of negotiation that characterized colonial societies (Mills 1997; Scott 2009: 5, 15, 60, 165; Lamana 2008: 19; Puente Luna 2018). In this vein, the physical and mental

²⁷ See below for excellent examples of studies that consider the interaction of Native American and European forces in shaping Indigenous reimagining and position in the colonial Andean world. Kenneth J. Andrien, *Andean Worlds: Indigenous History, Culture, and Consciousness under Spanish Rule, 1532-1825*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001); Donato Amado Gonzales, *El estandarte real y la mascapaycha: historia de una institución inca colonial*, Colección estudios andinos 22, (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica Del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 2017); "El cabildo de los veinticuatro electores del Alférez Real Inca de las ocho parroquias cusqueñas," *Allpanchis*, no. 72 (2008): 61–95; *La descendencia de Don Cristóbal Paullo Ynga y sus privilegios: documentos de probanza y testamentos del siglo XVI-XVII*, (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, BNP, 2016); "La formación de parroquias y la nobleza incaica en la ciudad del Cuzco," in *El ombligo se pone piercing: identidad, patrimonio y cambios en el Cuzco*, ed. Luis Nieto Degregori, (Cuzco: Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala, 2009), 13–45; Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, "Typology in the Atlantic World: Early Modern Readings of Colonization," in *Soundings In Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500-1830*, eds. Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 237–64; *Nature, Empire, and Nation: Explorations of the History of Science in the Iberian World*, (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2006); Tom Cummins, "We Are the Other: Peruvian Portraits of Colonial Kurakakuna," in *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century*, eds. Kenneth J Andrien and Rolena Adorno, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico*, Hemming, *The Conquest of the Incas*; Gonzalo Lamana, *Domination without Dominance: Inca-Spanish Encounters in Early Colonial Peru*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); Sabine MacCormack, "'The Heart Has Its Reasons': Predicaments of Missionary Christianity in Early Colonial Peru," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 65, no. 3 (1985): 443–66; Bruce Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka since the European Invasion*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991); Luis Millones, "Ethnohistorians and Andean Ethnohistory: A Difficult Task, a Heterodox Discipline," *Latin American Research Review* 17, no. 1 (1982): 200–216; *El Retorno de las huacas: estudios y documentos sobre el Taki Onqoy, siglo XVI*, (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos: Sociedad Peruana de Psicoanálisis, 1990); Jeremy Ravi Mumford, *Vertical Empire: The General Resettlement of Indians in the Colonial Andes*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012); Pease Franklin, *Curacas, reciprocidad y riqueza*, (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1992); Steve J Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640*, (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982); Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*; Karen Spalding, *Huarochiri, an Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule*, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1984); Nathan Wachtel, *The Vision of the Vanquished: The Spanish Conquest of Peru through Indian Eyes, 1530-1570*, (Hassocks [England]: Harvester Press, 1977); and others.

"borderlands," according to Chicana theorist, Gloria Anzaldúa (1987), acts as a non-hybrid, space-in-between or third space (Bhabha 1994) for creation and relationships. Historical anthropologist Thomas Abercrombie promoted the term "interculture" to highlight how cultural practices in the Andes act as spatial and temporal borderlands and creative interactions embedded within colonial systems of inequality (1998: 114-115). The bridge between cultures produces "mutual entanglements", a phrase coined by Nicholas Thomas (1991: 3-4, 211) and deployed by Thomas Cummins (1992: 96) to describe the complex and mutable relationships and contexts of exchange between images and objects used by Amerindians and Europeans. In this dissertation, the production and composition of the Murua manuscripts' folios, texts, and images rely on the "mutual entanglement" of its Iberian and native actors in colonial Cuzco society.

Part of the collision of Iberian literacy production with Andean oral history making practices included an inherent transcultural experience for the colonizer and colonized (Cummins and Rappaport 2012: 9, 26). Early modern visual and textual historical projects were subject to inherently asymmetrical discrepancies and inequalities of colonization (Gruzinski 1993; Hanks 2000; Mignolo 1995, 1986; Rappaport and Cummins 2012; Puente Luna 2018). The merging, converging, and non-binary process of transculturation allowed for new, multivalent forms of cultural transformation and discourse (Pratt 1992, 1996; Ortiz 1995 [1947]; Rama 1996; Adorno 1990: 174; Rappaport and Cummins 2012: 26) that drew upon Andean concepts and practices, such as complementarity (Nair 2007a: 211; 2007b). Performance studies scholar, Diana Taylor, defines transculturation as "the transformative process undergone by all societies as they come in contact with and acquire foreign cultural material, whether willingly or unwillingly." (2003: 10) Translation in the linguistic, artistic, and cultural sense was fundamentally related to the transformation of oral and tactile memory traditions into literary and visual projects according to European standards in the Andean context. As scholars of the Andes and Mesoamerica have pointed out, slippage and reinvention are implicit in the process of linguistic and cultural translation (Cummins 1994; Wouk 2017: 1-3, 8-9; Terraciano 2019: 14; Lamana 2019: 10; Bleichmar 2022:

445; Fernández-Salvador 2022). Theoretically this approach understands culture as fundamentally dialogic, intercultural, and emergent (Mannheim and Tedlock 1995: 2-20). I draw on these studies to examine manifestations of the intercultural, if not contested, qualities of interaction and cultural translation in colonial Andean history-making and discourses in the Murua manuscripts.

The Murua manuscripts reveal interstitial spaces of emergence. Bourdieu's (1977) concept of *habitus*, as a "system of durable, transposable dispositions" or "series of moves" (72-73), expresses the generative and relational yet historical practice that maintains and transforms any objective or fundamental structure of society. Even in a situation of asymmetrical, colonial power, every person and community in minority and majority positions holds the potential for participation and redefinition in the maintenance and creation of memory and knowledge. *Habitus* allows for the possibility that friar Martín and others who participated in making the manuscripts affected memories of cultural practices and beliefs during their collective engagement.

These investigations and approaches intersect with scholarship on the *cacique* (Indigenous leader) and Indigenous elites (particularly those who claimed Inca descent) in early colonial Andean society and their role in the (re)inscription of memory and genealogy in the legal and cultural sphere. Iberian and Indigenous actors in the Murua manuscripts partook in a multivocal and "highly legalistic lettered culture of colonial Spanish America" that extended into all aspects of society (Turner 2014: 103; Calvo 2007: 142). As Cummins and Rappaport have observed, "Legal documents functioned as prime vehicles for transforming native perceptions of time, space, and the discourse of power" (2012: 4). In protecting and promoting their privileges in line with Iberian customs of nobility based on patrilineal descent, elites in many Andean communities gradually shaped and refined their Inca memories to conform with legal and lettered demands.²⁸ They engaged an imperial legal system that advanced historical discourses in

²⁸ For example, María-Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008); "Indigenous Genealogies: Lineage, History, and the Colonial Pact in Central Mexico and

chronicles of the same period. This study contributes to scholarship on the reconceptualization of memory and genealogy in colonial Andean society (see Chapter 6).²⁹

My evidence for the background and motivations of Murua's Indigenous participants rests largely on legal and bureaucratic proceedings. Colonial legal practices and records categorized and registered Andeans according to fixed legal and social positions. Iberian legal terminology classified Amerindians in terms of "governance, status, and difference," applying labels to people such as *indio/a* (Indian), *cacique/cacica* (lord of vassals), *indio/a del común* (commoner; tribute payer), *mestizo/a* (mixed race person), *ladino/a* (hispanized native person), etc. Recent studies have challenged and reframed these colonial markers to capture the complex occupations of Indigenous leaders. They came from urban and rural communities and strategically engaged and informed the "lettered city" as advocates, activists, intellectuals notaries, scribes, intermediaries, *caciques*, parish assistants, and interpreters within the courts of Cuzco, Lima, and Madrid. Caciques and Indigenous advocates and intellectuals traversed Andean and transatlantic spaces "seeking privilege, justice, and reward."³⁰ Andean historian José Carlos de la Puente Luna's

Peru," in *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes*, eds., Yanna Yannakakis and Gabriela Ramos, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014), 173–201; Sara V. Guengerich, "Inca Women Under New Spanish Rule," in *Women's Negotiations and Textual Agency in Latin America, 1500-1799*, edited by Mónica Díaz and Rocío Quispe-Agnoli, (London: Routledge, 2017), 106–29.

²⁹ For example: Cummins and Rappaport, *Beyond the Lettered City*; Kathryn Burns, "Notaries, Truth, and Consequences," *The American Historical Review* 110 (2) (2005): 350–70; *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru*, (Durham [NC]: Duke University Press, 2010); Donato Amado Gonzales, *El estandarte real y la mascapaycha*; John Rowe, "The Incas under Spanish Colonial Institutions," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 37 (1957): 155–99; José Carlos de la Puente Luna, "Incas Pecheros y Caballeros Hidalgos: La Desintegración Del Orden Incaico y La Génesis de La Nobleza Incaica Colonial En El Cuzco Del Siglo XVI," *Revista Andina*, no. 54 (2016): 9–95; Urton, *The History of a Myth*; and others. For the role of visual evidence of portraits see Thomas Cummins, "From Lies to Truth: Colonial Ekphrasis and the Act of Crosscultural Translation," in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650*, edited by Claire J Farago. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); John Howland Rowe, "Retratos Coloniales de Los Incas Nobles," *Revista Del Museo e Instituto Arqueológico*, no. 23 (1984): 109–20; Bauer and Decoster, "Introduction"; Catherine Julien, "History and Art in Translation: The Panos and Other Objects Collected by Francisco de Toledo," *Colonial Latin American Review* 8 (1) 1999: 61–89; Carolyn Dean, "The After-Life of Inka Rulers: Andean Death Before and After Spanish Colonization," in *Death and Afterlife in the Early Modern Hispanic World [Special Issue]*, edited by John Beusterien and Constance Cortez, 7 (2010b): 27–54.

³⁰ See Rolena Adorno, "Images of Indios Ladinos in Early Colonial Peru," in *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century*, edited by Kenneth J Andrien and Rolena Adorno, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 232–70; David T. Garrett, *Shadows of Empire: The Indian Nobility of Cuzco, 1750-1825*, (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Ernesto Laclau, *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*, (London; New York: Verso, 1990); Tamar Herzog, "The Appropriation of Native Status: Forming and Reforming Insiders and Outsiders in the Spanish Colonial World," *Journal of the Max Planck Institute for European Legal History* 22 (2014): 140–49; Gonzalo Lamana, *How "Indians" Think: Colonial Indigenous Intellectuals and the Question of Critical Race Theory*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2019); José Carlos de la Puente Luna, *Andean Cosmopolitans: Seeking Justice and Reward at the Spanish Royal Court*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017), 6-10; Villella, *Indigenous elites and Creole identity*, Yanna Yannakakis, and Gabriela Ramos, "Introduction," in *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes*, edited by Yanna Yannakakis and Gabriela Ramos, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 1–17.

(2018: 8-10) use of situational identities foregrounds the fluid and dynamic interplay between local contexts and global forces in the colonial identities of Indigenous actors. I try to be as specific as possible when documenting situational identities, using terminology from colonial records as well as more specific background identifiers, such as Quechua terms for Inca roles and concepts when appropriate and possible (see Chapter 1, 2, and 3).

This dissertation is a case study of local Andean histories produced in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, especially in the Cuzco region. However, the project's participants also engaged with transatlantic, global forces and ideological discourses that involved both Amerindian and Iberian peoples. This exchange includes Indigenous strategies to participate actively in legal, cultural, religious and translation activities, while interacting with a Basque friar of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy, whose locus of power was in the Iberian Peninsula (see Chapter 4). While accounting for unequal power relationships, this dissertation contributes to recent scholarship by Atlanticists and colonial ethnohistorians that emphasizes the role of Indigenous peoples in the development of colonial Iberian society and discourses.³¹ I consider early colonial Andean history to be connected to Atlantic history, as "connected worlds" (Subrahmanyam 2005, 2022). Amerindian communities were nodes of power connected to broader Atlantic, hemispheric, and global systems in the sixteenth century and beyond (Green 2009: 299-316; Coclanis 2009: 337-356; Cohen 2008: 409; Bushnell 2009: 191-222; Terraciano 2011b: 252-270).

One cannot appreciate Indigenous contributions to Andean historical discourse and ideology in early colonial Peru without understanding the complex multivocal nature of the Murua manuscripts. It is not an accident that the production of the Murua manuscripts intersected with a

³¹ Puente Luna, *Andean Cosmopolitans; Into the Heart of the Empire: Indian Journeys to the Habsburg Royal Court*, (Fort Worth, Tex.: Texas Christian University, 2010); "The Many Tongues of the King: Indigenous Language Interpreters and the Making of the Spanish Empire," *Colonial Latin American Review* 23, no. 2 (n.d.): 143–70; "Incas Pecheros y Caballeros Hidalgos"; Kenneth Andrien, and Rolena Adorno, eds., *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); *Nature, Empire, and Nation*; Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad: la incorporación de los indios del Perú al catolicismo, 1532-1750*, trans. by Gabriela Ramos, (Lima: IFEA, Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto Riva-Agüero, 2003).

proliferation of writings by Andean authors in this period of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in the Andes as well as Mesoamerica. The manuscripts' multivocality challenges canonical views of Andean historiography and identity that focus on a singular Iberian maker rather than the dialogical and contingent foundations of history-making projects. This study highlights the interdependent realities of an Iberian "author" or "compiler" with the unacknowledged role and agency of Indigenous intellectuals, leaders, advocates, scribes, and artists. Indigenous representatives were fundamental to any Andean history making process, however misrepresented and misinterpreted their contributions would become. This dissertation aims to identify the voices of those Indigenous participants in Andean historical discourses, while recognizing the inequitable and challenging conditions of engagement.

My dissertation contributes to broader issues of colonial Andean and transatlantic visual and material culture, Cuzco-specific and hemispheric-wide Amerindian cultural history, and early modern social memory practices and chronicle production. The analysis builds on scholarship in ethnohistorical and cultural Andean history that highlights the historically contingent, practical, and fragmentary conditions of historical production. I have sought to emphasize the breadth and diversity of Indigenous agency through collective and individual efforts. This study examines the many interrelated strategies deployed by non-Indigenous and Indigenous actors in the chaotic first century of colonial rule. From an androcentric and Cuzco-based production process, Indigenous intellectuals and elites emerged as instrumental cultural translators, producers, advocates, and intermediaries for the rights and privileges of their communities and kin, sometimes at the expense of other Andean voices and regions. The multivocal production and composition of the Murua manuscripts can now be understood as intimately related to the conflicted and dialogic process between social memory and history-making practices during the colonial period.

My dissertation examines the chronicle as an important contribution to colonial and transatlantic Spanish American literature and art. On the one hand, my analysis demonstrates

the friar's direct engagement with descendants of elite male Indigenous leaders and knowledge keepers, who necessarily adapted to their colonial conditions while perpetuating Andean-centric practices and memories. My study provides a vital context to understanding Murua's sources and composition, including the history and practice of *kipu* arts in the late sixteenth century. On the other hand, the codicological and comparative analysis complicates colonial cultural production by showing instances of misrepresentation, prejudice, and information slippage inherent within the asymmetrical, colonial condition. This conflicted process enables a greater appreciation of Guaman Poma's role as contributor and source to the Murua manuscripts and his development as an author, artist and intellectual. My dissertation contributes to the historiography on Guaman Poma by examining his roles in the Murua manuscripts. By challenging the notion that Murua was the sole author of a multivocal manuscript, the friar appears as a conflicted and ambivalent editor, protagonist, and cultural translator. The Murua manuscripts are more properly understood as native and mestizo literary and visual productions as much as collaborations between friars and Indigenous intellectuals during the colonial period. More broadly, my dissertation dispels the notion that Andean elites did not participate in lettered and visual production as Mesoamerican elites did in this period by acknowledging the multigenerational and multipronged efforts of Indigenous intellectuals, however invisible or incommensurate certain activities and mediums may be to the colonial archives.

Chapter Overview

This dissertation consists of six substantive chapters, in addition to this introduction and a conclusion. The analysis is more or less chronological, focused on how Andeans participated in the production process of the Galvin Murua. In keeping with a focus on Indigenous agency, the preliminary chapters forefront Indigenous voices and backgrounds in chapters 1-3 and then expand outward in chapters 4 and 5 to consider the cultural, religious, and historiographical context of engagement with Murua, including more background on the friar. Chapters 1-4 focus

on the individual backgrounds and collective activities of the Indigenous endorsers (chapters 1 and 2), Guaman Poma (chapter 3), and Murua (chapter 4), respectively. The analysis considers evidence of Indigenous voices and influences in the manuscripts. Chapter 6 brings together content introduced in the previous chapters to examine representations of genealogy, memory, and power in the manuscripts, including additional influences by Indigenous and mestizo actors.

Chapters one and two identify the Murua project participants, beginning with the five Indigenous endorsers of Inca and Cañari descent who were named in the 1590 pasted-over and thus hidden, original title page of the Galvin Murua. The two chapters consider the participants' cultural and socio-political context, their preoccupations, backgrounds, and motivations for working on the project with Murua. These two chapters also provide an historical background to Andean society in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The context includes an overview of pre-Hispanic Inca civilization, the Spanish invasion, and Viceroy Toledo's violent policies of the late sixteenth century, which provoked a crisis among Andean leaders and elites. My goal is to demonstrate that the men from Cuzco who participated in Murua's history project sought to perpetuate and promote their elite status and collective memories. The chronicle project was one of many overlapping cultural, political, and legal strategies that they adopted in this period of turmoil and transformation.

Chapter one specifically focuses on how the five Indigenous endorsers of Inca and Cañari descent used an interconnected network of pre-Hispanic and colonial institutions and practices to adapt to rapidly changing regional and transatlantic realities, often making hard choices between resistance and negotiation. Their collective activities included waging legal campaigns against Spanish officials and other non-Inca Indigenous leaders to secure their elite position in colonial Cuzco society. Sarmiento de Gamboa's visual and textual history project of the 1570s, commissioned by Viceroy Toledo, created a network of experienced Indigenous leaders who became familiar with Spanish chronicles. This earlier project established a precedent and model for Murua's history and some of the counterpoints to Sarmiento's claims advanced in the

manuscripts. Three of the Inca endorsers participated as members in the "Cabildo (council) of Twenty-Four" of the "Eight Native Parishes of the Incas," as electors of the *alférez real de los Incas*, an exclusive and symbolic Inca figurehead who wore the royal Inca tassel or *mascapaycha* during important ceremonies. This office was the Inca equivalent of the Spanish royal standard bearer.

Chapter two uses a variety of original sources to focus on the backgrounds of the four Inca and one Cañari endorsers, which provide a context for the Cuzco-centric version of Inca history that frames the chronicle. This Cuzco-centered history is thrown into relief by the personal interventions of don Pedro Purqui, the Cañari endorser. Purqui's explicit non-Inca contributions illuminate the competing discourses of Indigenous elites in colonial Andean society. The juxtaposition of the collective activities from chapter 1 with the individual backgrounds in chapter 2 underscore the complex and diverse strategies of elite Indigenous inhabitants to promote and protect their status.

Chapter three examines Guaman Poma's background and his unique and multifaceted contributions to the manuscripts. I consider his motivations for participating in an intercultural process of exchange that engaged with other Inca and non-Inca elites and Iberian colonizers. Guaman Poma's contributions exemplify the multi-authorial layering of information between images, texts, and captions in the Murua manuscripts, which produced an intertextual narrative with many possible interpretations, dependent on the reader's background and knowledge. Comparative and codicological analyses of the manuscripts reveal the progressive, iterative, and dialogic production process of a colonial Andean chronicle. This chapter argues that Guaman Poma's contribution to the Galvin Murua was an important phase in his development as an artist, author, and intellectual that culminated in the completion of his own chronicle in 1615.

Chapter four situates Murua as a conflicted colonial figure immersed in a dynamic process of transculturation with Iberian and Andean individuals, communities, and cultures. The inquiry proceeds from Murua's personal background as a Basque and young Mercedarian friar to his

interactions with Iberian and mestizo religious and state officials and Indigenous elites, including his contact with confraternities and his participation in ceremonial activities. This chapter explores the cultural and religious context of Murua's engagement with Indigenous intellectuals in Cuzco, including how the friar's family, Basque, and religious backgrounds likely sensitized him to some of the aspirations of Cuzco's colonial Indigenous elite.

Chapter five considers the importance of the *kipu* for Murua's engagement with Indigenous intellectuals and elders in colonial Cuzco. The Mercedarian's exposure to the Inca textile recording device produced ambivalent views of pre-Hispanic and colonial Indigenous recording practices. Murua struggled to reconcile his appreciation of ancient Inca *kipus* with his observations of how with Andeans had adapted the devices to colonial and ecclesiastical purposes. The unique historiographical role of the *kipu* created space for surprising confluences between Murua and Guaman Poma's discursive and ideological approaches. Together, chapters 1-5 demonstrate that Murua's visual and textual history project tapped into the social networks and memory practices of both Indigenous and Iberian communities in the Cuzco region.

Chapter six studies the chronicle's discourse on Cuzco's Inca history and descent as a demonstration of inter-Andean and Spanish negotiation and power. The analysis links the backgrounds and strategies of Guaman Poma and the Inca endorsers to select representations of the Sapa Inca, Coya, Captains, and the *mascapaycha* or Inca royal tassel. This chapter also considers how the Indigenous endorsers, particularly don Luis Chalco Yupanqui, contributed specific content on the Inca and Captains. The legal reconceptualization of Inca history according to patrilineal descent, in accordance with selective oral traditions and social memory practices, facilitated both homogenized and divergent representations of Inca men and women. The resulting multivocal narrative projected both contested and complementary representations of power, including the Andean practice of *tinkuy* (the conjoining of two complementary parts).

A concluding chapter considers how the dissertation sheds new light on the Murua manuscripts, specifically, and on Andean history in the early colonial period, in general. I also

reflect on how the manuscripts compare with chronicles and codices produced by Spaniards and Indigenous intellectuals in Mesoamerica during the same period and under similar circumstances. These fascinating manuscripts were never published in the colonial period. They represent transcultural and transatlantic discourses produced in a transformative period of cultural contact, collaboration, and conflict.

Nomenclature and Orthography

Native-language writing, including names and places, is an important facet of this dissertation, requiring some explanation of nomenclature and orthography. The use of generalized terms such as "Indigenous," "Indian", or "Amerindian" is debated without any perfect solution. They are all products of colonial or post-colonial processes of "othering" and the homogenizing of ethnically, linguistically, and culturally diverse peoples in the Americas (another imperfect descriptor). At the same time the constraining Spanish identifiers of "*indio*" or "*india*" (translated into "Indigenous," "native," or "Indian") were nonetheless also employed by people of the *república de los indios* during acts of Indigenous legal agency (Puente Luna 2018: 11; Lamana 2019; Garret 2005: 11). In this dissertation, I attempt to remain as ethnically specific as possible when discussing individuals, while using broader terms such as "Indigenous" when describing activities or people more generally. When discussing people claiming descent from the pre-Hispanic royalty of Cuzco, I will use "Inca". In the early colonial period both Spanish and Quechua orthography was far from standardized and spelling varied considerably. Multiple spellings of "Inca" exist in primary and secondary sources from the colonial era, including "Ynga," "Inga," and "Ynca". However, unless copying directly from a primary source, I will use "Inca" because of its widespread contemporary use and acknowledgement of "Inca" as a simultaneous result of Indigenous agency and Spanish imposition (Ibid.). In general, I have chosen to use the most common form of Quechua words as they were written in the period, based on the Spanish-language version of the roman alphabet.

More generally, with ethnic or personal names, places, and Quechua words, I will use contemporary linguistic southern Quechua spelling practices, while acknowledging variations in brackets or providing greater explanation in the footnotes. However, when providing a direct quote from a primary source I will follow the spelling convention from the source. Spanish and Quechua words are italicized throughout the text, unless referring to a leadership title (i.e., Inca or Coya or as part of a name, (i.e., Inca or Coya), or descent or ethnic group, (i.e., Inca or Cañari). For the purpose of convenience, I will use -s for the Quechua plural and forego *-cuna*, unless it is part of widely used contemporary usage, such as *yanacuna* (Inca retainers). For longer quotes English translations are used in the body text. The original quote in Spanish or Quechua is provided in the footnotes or appendix. Footnotes provide expanded information or bibliographic references beyond what is included and cited parenthetically in the body of the chapters.

Lastly, scholars have traditionally spelled friar Martín de Murua's name with an accent, (i.e., Murúa). In his manuscripts, his name also appears as "Morúa", likely by Indigenous scribe(s). However, according to genealogical investigations by the Basque historian, F. Borja de Aguinagalde (2017), the friar's surname is spelled without an accent. This dissertation follows Aguinagalde's spelling.

CHAPTER ONE

Crisis of Indigenous Nobility:

Background and Context to Murua's Andean Endorsers

The Famous History

An investigation made of the origin and creation and first rule of the great lords, Inca Kings / ... and nobles who were of this Kingdom / ... and of their deeds and customs and dress / ... and other things of the service is done in this monastery of our Lady / ... of Mercies of this great City of Cuzco, capital of said Kingdom of Peru / translator of the Fray Martín de Murua of said order in order to discover the / Declaration that was taken from don Luis Chalco Yupangui Governor [missing] of this City and of all the parishes and from don Juan Quispi Cussi Inca, *cacique principal* of the parish of San Blas [missing] / Mango Topa *cacique principal* of the parish of San [missing] / And from don Martin Quispe Topa *cacique principal* of the parish [missing] / and from don Pedro Purqui *cacique principal* of the yndios [missing] of the Cañaris of the Parish of Santa Ana] ... / many of her *caciques principales*, leaders of ancient Indians... / city / ... knew the [plural] / ... of the ... / Report of this ... in this city Our Lady of Mercy of the Redemption of Captives of the Great City of Cuzco the Capitol of this Kingdom and Province of Peru, / Month of May Year 1590.³²

1. Introduction

Scholars have shown that Murua copied extensively without citation from other Iberian New World chronicles.³³ This was not an unusual practice in the Early Modern period.³⁴ However,

³² "La famosa Ystoria. Y probanza hecha de el origen e cri[ac]ion] e primera posesion de los grandes señores Reyes yngas...y señores que fueron de este Reyno.... de sus hechos e costumvres y vestimenta..... y otras cossas de el servicio es hecho en este convento de nuestra señora de las mercedes de este gran ciudad del Cuzco cabeça deste dho Reino del Piru Lengua de el padre fray Martin de Morua de la dicha orden para averiguar la Declaraçion que de ello tomo de don Luis Chalco Yupanqui governador [roto] maior de esta dicha çiudad y de todas las parroquias y de don Juan Quispe Cussi Ynga cacique principal de la parroquia del señor Sant Blas y [roto] Mango Topa cacique principal de la parroquia de señor sant [roto (Santiago)] y de don Martin Quispe Topa cacique principal de la parroquia [roto San Xpoval (Cristobal)] y de don Pedro Purqui cacique principal [?] de los yndios [roto Cañaris, que es de la Parroquia de San Ana]...otros muchos caciques principales de caveças de los yndios viejos.....çiudad..conosieron los.....de el [plural].....Relaçion de su...nados...en este çiudad Nuestra Señora de la Merced de Redempcion De Captivos de la Gran Ciudad de El Cuzco Cabeza de este dicho Reyno i proVincias del Piru Mes de Mayo Año 1590." Murua, *Historia del origen*, under fol. 5v. Transcription by author. Translation by Tom Cummins, "Dibujado de mi mano: Martín de Murua as Artist," in *Manuscript Cultures*, 39.

³³ See Introduction, note 8.

³⁴ Rolena Adorno writes that by the seventeenth century, New World histories were predominantly "reworkings, even plagiarisms, of previous chronicles, or oblique remembrances of deeds long past," in *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 4. Also see, Francisco Esteve Barba, *Historiografía indiana*, (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1964), 19.

the friar's frequent misleading use of ethnographic material and unsubstantiated claims of using Andean sources has led some scholars to question his direct contact with Indigenous voices and the veracity and accuracy of his chronicle (Álvarez-Calderón 2007: 159-186; *Ibid.* 1996: 159-86; Rowe 1987: 753-61). While these questions remain valid, new information has come to light that, in addition to Guaman Poma, at least five elite male Andeans of Inca and non-Inca backgrounds participated in Murua's chronicle project. Specifically, according to a pasted-over and hidden, original title page in the Galvin Murua (quoted above), in 1590 at least five Andean elites of Inca and Cañari descent endorsed Murua's Inca history.

Drawing from a range of archival sources, this chapter and the next explore the cultural, socio-political, and economic preoccupations of these five Andean men. Since the uncovering of the text in 2007, articles by art historian Tom Cummins and anthropologist Juan Ossio have been concerned primarily with the implications of the hidden folios for the production process and the manuscript's relation to Guaman Poma's chronicle.³⁵ According to Cummins (2014: 37), historian Donato Amado Gonzales has verified the existence of all five Andean endorsers. Amado Gonzales also examined the lives of don Luis Chalco Yupangui and don Martín Quispe Topa in his seminal work (2017). However, no scholar has analyzed the backgrounds and interests of all five Andean elites as a group and as individuals or has considered why they would have participated in Murua's chronicle project. This chapter offers a new and focused study of the backgrounds and social networks of the five named Andean endorsers, and their potential motives for contributing to Murua's manuscripts.

My analysis draws on a combination of primary sources, especially published transcripts of chronicles and scores of legal records in the Regional Archive in Cuzco. This chapter considers

³⁵ According to Thomas Cummins and Juan Ossio, "*De estos nombres están cotejados con los documentos notariales que aparecen entre 1581- 1600. De manera que la mención de Fray Martín de Murua es correcta para 1590.*" Thomas Cummins and Juan Ossio in "Muchas veces dudé Real Mag. aceptar esta dicha ympressa": La tarea de hacer La famosa historia de los reyes incas de fray Martín de Murua," in *Au miroir de l'anthropologie historique mélanges offerts à Nathan Wachtel*, eds. Juan Carlos Garavaglia, et al., (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2013), 5. Also see Juan M. Ossio, "New Assessment of the Hidden Texts in the Galvin Manuscript of Fray Martín de Murua," in *Manuscript Cultures*, 28; and Tom Cummins, "*Dibujado de mi mano*," 37.

how the Andean endorsers' participation in Murua's project was part of an extended legal and literary campaign to defend their noble status and privileges that began as early as Francisco de Toledo's term as viceroy (1569-81), when he commissioned official chronicles of the Incas and Peru. I also trace this campaign through the election records of the symbolic figurehead of the *alférez real de los incas* by the Cabildo of Twenty-Four of the Eight Native Parishes of the Incas. Following the introduction is a brief explanation of the physical evidence of the Andean endorsers in the manuscript and relevant ethnographic and socio-political context. The next section of the chapter examines the Andean endorsers' participation in social networks and legal campaigns under Viceroy Toledo. The third section explores Viceroy Toledo's legal efforts to delegitimize Inca elites. The fourth section considers the role of Toledo's history project. In the 1570s Sarmiento de Gamboa established a model for Indigenous engagement with Spanish writers of history that resonates with Murua's own history-making process. The model would have been a familiar medium by which Indigenous actors addressed an Iberian audience. The fifth section examines an extended lawsuit against Inca descendants and their privileges based on their noble status. Lastly, the sixth section investigates a native corporate institution that served to consolidate Inca descendants' elite position and social memory in colonial Cuzco society.

This chapter examines the five Andean men as Indigenous intellectuals and highlights their collective and individual agency. In light of the data, I consider their interests and motivations for participating in Murua's chronicle project and the historical reconstruction of Inca history as multiple, interrelated strategies for the defense of their noble status and privileges in the Spanish colonial context. As Indigenous intellectuals who sought to "not only lead, but also persuade, mediate, and animate" (Ramos and Yannakakis 2014a: 2), I show how these Andean elites straddled the needs of their family and communities and mediated their positions of power with Spanish authorities. These men appear as activists, mediators, leaders, and negotiators in Cuzco society. Unfortunately, Iberian genealogical definitions of noble lineage favored men as *hidalgos*, at the expense of women. The endorsements of Murua's manuscript from 1590 and 1596 were

part of an extended engagement by these Andean men with collaborative oral, visual, and literary forms of judicial, notarial, and chronicle practices. Their engagement challenges the notion that individual Iberian authors wrote chronicles about Indigenous history. In the case of the Murua



Figure 3: Murua, *Historia del origen*, (2008 [1590/1596]), f. 5v (front). Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 4: 1590 title page with Andean endorsers. Martín de Murua. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1590/1596]), f. 5v (behind). Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

manuscripts, elite Andeans in Cuzco played an active role on many levels in seeking to shape and influence the telling of Andean history.

2. Physical Evidence of Andean Endorsers in the Manuscripts

2.1 *Material evidence*

The original 1590 title page is one of twenty-two pasted-over, hidden folios within the Galvin Murua's four books.³⁶ It sits obscured behind a paradisaical Andean landscape meant to represent the Inca empire and history (Cummins 2014: 40) (fig. 3). Unlike many of the other hidden texts, this 1590 declaration by native leaders was not recopied onto a visible folio page. However, from the fiber-optic scan of the deteriorated folio one can glean the names, positions,

³⁶ In 2007-2008, through high-tech image scanning conducted at the Getty Research Center in Los Angeles, Tom Cummins and Juan Ossio determined that twenty-two pasted over, "hidden" folios existed within the Galvin Murua's four books. See Cummins and Ossio in "*Muchas veces dudé*," 151-70; Ossio, "New Assessment," 11-34; and Cummins, "*Dibujado de mi mano*," 35-65.

and parish affiliations of five Andeans – four of Inca and one of Cañari descent (fig. 4).³⁷ They are as follows:

- Don Luis Chalco Yupangui, (hereafter don Luis) governor [missing] *maior* of the eight native parishes of Cuzco. The title *alcalde mayor* and *gobernador* are often used together, suggesting the complete phrase is *gobernador y alcalde mayor*.
- Don Juan Quispe (Quispi) Cussi (Cusi) Inca (hereafter don Juan), *cacique principal* of the Parish of San Blas.
- [Missing] Mango (Manco) Topa (hereafter don Pablo³⁸), *cacique principal* of the Parish of San C [missing]. Archival research suggests a *don Pablo* Mango Topa from the Parish of San Cristóbal.³⁹
- Don Martín Quispe Topa (hereafter don Martín) is *cacique principal* of the Parish of [missing]. Archival research suggests San Cristóbal.
- Don Pedro Purqui (Porque, Porqui)⁴⁰ (hereafter don Pedro) is a *cacique principal* of the Indians [missing]. Archival records suggest a *cacique principal* of the Cañaris from the Parish of Santa Ana.

In addition to the 1590 original title page, six years later a group of "*Principales, Curacas, y Caciques Principales*" or native leaders from Cuzco addressed another endorsement letter to the Spanish King, Philip II. Unlike the 1590 original title page, it does not provide any specific names. Lightly crossed out, pasted over and ultimately also not meant for publication, this May 15, 1596 endorsement letter was transferred from the Galvin Murua to the Getty Murua for the coat of arms of the Inca kingdom on the opposite (verso) side of the folio (fig. 5 and 6). It was originally pasted onto a blank folio in the Getty manuscript. In 1979 the book dealer H.P. Kraus was able to pull the folios apart without damaging their integrity and expose the texts. Cummins and Ossio (2013: 8) argue for the veracity of the 1596 letter, particularly when combined with the

³⁷ The suggestions for the missing information are based on my own research with primary sources, with special thanks to Amado Gonzales' preliminary suggestions.

³⁸ Manco Topa follows the more prevalent spelling of his name in the primary sources, though Mango is not unusual.

³⁹ The transcript by Cummins (2014: 5) says "parroquia de señor sant." However, after re-transcribing the original text from the image scan, I believe it is "sanc", as in San Cristobal.

⁴⁰ The spelling of his name also appears as Purque or Porque. Unless using a direct transcript, I will use Purqui, in keeping with the 1590 endorsement letter spelling.

pasted-over, original title of 1590. Murua later added a second title below the letter. The letter praises Murua's ingenuity, curiosity, and eloquence.

...the genius and curiosity of fray Martín de Morua, religious of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy and Redemption of Captives. Five years ago he wrote a history of our ancestors: the Inca kings of this kingdom of Peru, their government, and many other related curiosities that he got from the elders of this kingdom and from us. And the style is easy, eloquent, serious and substantial, and the history very truthful as appropriate to the subject and persons that it portrays, and moreover, of the



Figure 5: Kingdom of Peru coat of arms. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and Martín de Murua. "Las Armas del Reyno del Piru," in *Historia General del Piru* (2008 [1616]), f. 307r. Digital image courtesy of Getty's Open Content Program.

Figure 6: 1596 Cacique endorsement letter in *Historia General del Piru* (2008 [1616]), f. 307r. Digital image courtesy of Getty's Open Content Program.

service to your Majesty, that will result from the printing of this said history....⁴¹

The alternative spelling of Murua's surname with an 'o' suggests that an Andean writer penned the passage, possibly Guaman Poma or another Indigenous scribe (Ossio 2014: 20; 2004: 23). Moreover, the endorsement indicates that roughly five years earlier Murua actively gathered

⁴¹ The entire letter in its original Spanish is: *Carta del los principales, curacas Caci(ques) P(rincipales) yndios del gran ciudad cabeça destos reynos e provinçias del piru – a la rreal Magd --Del Rey don phe Nuestro Señor-S. C. R. M. (Latin for sacrum) Entre las cosas, que esta gran ciudad; topa cusco A producido. Útiles e pouechossas Al servicio de V. Magd. nos apareçido Hazer estima, de el yngenio E curiosidad, de el padre, fray Martín de Morua, Religiossa del orden de nuestra señora de la merçedes Redemçion de Captivos; el qual abra çinco años que a escrito una ystoria de nuestros Antepasados; Los rreyes yngas deste Reino del píru, y de su gobierno, con otras, muchas curiosidades Por Relaçon, que de ello tomo, de los Viejos antiguos deste dho Reino Y de nosotros. Y que El estilo es façil Eloquente, grave y sustancial, y la istoria Muy Verdadera como, combiene Al sujeto, E personas de quien trata, Y que demas. del servicio de V. Magd. que resultara de Ymprimirse, la dicha Ystoria, començandose a celebrar E Hazer ynmotal la memoria E Nombre, Delos grandes, Señores Como lo mereçieron sus Hazañas deseando que todo esto Se consiga; Umilmente; suplicamos a V. Magd. sea servido de fauoresçer E Hacer Mrd. Al dicho Padre fray Martín de morua, Paraque su pretençon baía Adelante, Que es lo q Esta dha çiudad Pretende, de que Resçivira de, V. Magd. Grande E Particula Mrd. Cuya sacra catholica Y Real Magd. Nro. Señor guarde, E prospere Por mucho E mui felizes años con acresentamiento demas Reinos Y señorios, como sus menore Umildes vasallos deseAmos; Cosco quinze de maio de Mill y Quinientos E noventa y seis S.C.R.M. Besa los Reales pies y manos a V. Magd sus Umildes Vasallos."* Murua, *Historia general del Perú*, f. 307v. Transcription by author.

information from elders and the Andean endorsers (referred to as "us"), corresponding with the original 1590 title page and endorsement. While ultimately redacted from the final publication, together the 1590 declaration and 1596 endorsements confirm the Andean leaders' participation in Murua's chronicle project. Unfortunately, the documents lack additional background information on the endorsers, beyond their titles and parish affiliations.

2.2 *Inca socio-political and kinship organization*

The native leaders' titles of *cacique*, *curaca*, *cacique principal* and *alcalde* prompt more questions about their actual leadership roles and responsibilities. Archival documents (discussed below) reveal that don Luis Chalco Yupangui was *alcalde mayor* and governor of native Cuzco at the time he worked with Murua. The office of *alcalde mayor* and the less prestigious, *alguacil mayor*, were privileged native leadership positions in colonial Cuzco, reserved for male descendants of Huayna Capac (Amado Gonzales 2017: 335-6). However, the other native leadership titles are more ambiguous. Whereas *curaca* was a Quechua term for an Andean native leader or lord, *cacique* was a Taíno title from the Caribbean that Spaniards applied to all native leaders in the Americas. In the colonial Andean context, *cacique* came to include all Indian officials who collected tribute and presided over some basic social unit. This could be a college-educated, hereditary ruler of a larger pueblo or an illiterate tribute collector of a forty-person *ayllu* (Andean social unit).⁴² The duties could be limited to tribute collection or extend in authority well beyond fiscal duties. Whereas the position of the *cacicazgo* tended to be held by men during the colonial period, women *cacicas* (Spanish female version of the term "cacique") persisted through female hereditary succession.⁴³ The use of different titles like *cacique*, *cacique principal*, and *curaca* both

⁴² As David Garret explains, "The Crown accepted these hereditary norms for Andean lords, but also demanded further information and ordered that 'customary practice' be maintained...Even though it was not clear that succession was the norm and it was rather the hispanization of *cacical* sucession." Garrett, *Shadows of Empire*, 36.

⁴³ For more information on women's authority and presence during the colonial period, see Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*; Karen Graubart, *Con Nuestro Trabajo y sudor; Indigenous Women and the Constructon of Colonial Society in 16th and 17th Century Peru*, (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 2000); Urton, *History of a Myth*, 41-70; David Garret, "In Spite of Her Sex': The Cacica and the Politics of the Pueblo in Late Colonial Cuzco," *The Americas* 64, no. 4 (2008): 547-581; and others.

reveal and obscure socio-political complexities within native communities under Spanish rule. In short, the leadership positions identified in Murua's endorsements suggest an ethnically and socially broad and diverse group of native hereditary leaders in Cuzco. The ambiguity might also reveal Murua's own confusion of who was who, and how to identify a multiplicity of Andean leaders from those whom he sought endorsement.

The coat of arms completed by Guaman Poma and Murua (see chapter 3 for more analysis) on the opposite (verso) folio side from the 1596 endorsement letter provides a Europeanized visual representation of the Inca socio-political organization and leadership. The depiction of four distinct regions or *suyus* of the Inca empire in a medieval European heraldic emblematic format acknowledges the crucial role of pre-Hispanic Inca organization in sixteenth-century Peru. This depiction invites a review of the key Inca socio-political, cultural, and cosmological organizing principles that continued in the colonial period. The Andean concept of duality, founded on complementarity and opposition, underscored Inca socio-political and religious organization (Yaya 2012; Cummins 2007; Duviols 1979; Zuidema 1964). Duality (possibly triad [Pärssinen 1992: 369]) and quadripartite models conceptually integrated local ethnic groups and their *ayllus* into the Inca paradigm from state, regional, and local levels. The Inca thought of their empire in terms of four distinct geopolitical parts or *suyus*: Chinchaysuyu, Antisuyu, Collasuyu, and Cuntisuyu. As such, the Inca empire is often referred to in Quechua as *Tahuantinsuyu* (*Tawantinsuyu*) or four regions, with Cuzco as the political and ceremonial center.⁴⁴ *Ayllu* describes the basic Andean social unit pervasive throughout the Andean region (McEwan 2006: 209; Rostworowski 1999: 228; Protzen 1993: 52) that included a "corporate landholding collectivity self-defined as ancestor-focused kindred" (Salomon 1991: 21). In the most basic terms, *panaca* or royal *ayllu* refers to an extended family lineage of a royal Inca ruler in the Cuzco

⁴⁴ Juan Ossio explores the challenges to the unifying implications of the term, Tahuantinsuyu with the largely Western concept of empire. Juan Ossio Acuña, *El Tahuantinsuyo de Los Incas: Historia e Instituciones Del Ultimo Estado Prehispánico Andino / The Incas' Tahuantinsuyu: The History and Institution of the Last Pre-Hispanic Andean State*, Ernest & Young Consultores S. Civil de R.L. ed., (Lima: Ernest Young, 2021), 41-50. See also, María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *History of the Inca Realm*, (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 223-226.

region (Zuidema 2002: 19; Yaya 2012: 9). The son that inherited the role of Inca formed his own *panaca*. Every *panaca* was dedicated to the cult, lands, and prestige of a living or deceased ruler, including maintaining his royal estate and venerating his mummy. Over time this practice resulted in the accumulation of wealth and power and increased competition for power between *panacas* (Bauer 2004: 159-84; Cobo 1979: III [1653: BK, 12, Ch. 4] cited by *Ibid.*: 162).

Despite a general understanding of the definition and organization of the *panaca*, scholars continue to debate its pre-Hispanic function and evolution in the sixteenth century. A fundamental divide exists between structuralist, ahistorical and historical interpretations of Inca social organization. The first in-depth study of *panacas* was by anthropologist, Tom Zuidema (1964), which was later adopted by Nathan Wachtel (1966). Based on the concept of asymmetric diarchy, the ten *panacas* were part of a contemporary spatial and hierarchical system that equally divided each moiety equally. *Panacas* were not *ayllus* or lineages but were comprised of elective ranks (much like age classes) with three subcategories: *qullana*, *payan*, and *qayaw*. *Panaca* affiliation determined access to water and land rights⁴⁵ and entailed political and ritual responsibilities, including preserving the Inca system of remembering the past, both mythical and historical (Zuidema 1990: 19-33, 35, 54-56; 2002: 25; 2004; 2013). Each *panaca* was associated with specific sacred sites and was conceived on sacred imaginary lines, known as *ceque*.⁴⁶ Zuidema's structuralist interpretation implies that Spaniards misunderstood the social positions associated with these groupings as names of historical persons or Inca kings. According to Juan Ossio (1981; 2021), the text and accompanying image of twelve Inca kings in Chapter 15 of the Galvin Murua represents this ahistorical social organization of the Inca.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Jeanette Sherbondy adds that in the second half of the sixteenth century *panacas* evolved in the courts on the principles of the *ayllu* as a royal corporative group organized to control important *acequias* (irrigation canals) and land rights in the Cusco valley. Jeanette Sherbondy, "Panaca Lands: Re-Invented Communities," *Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society* 24, no. 1-2 (1996): 173-201.

⁴⁶ Also see, Brian Bauer, *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca: the Cusco ceque System*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998). All discussions on the *ceque* system rely heavily on Bernabé Cobo's account. Bernabé Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire: An Account of the Indians' Customs and Their Origin, Together with a Treatise on Inca Legends, History, and Social Institutions*, trans. Roland Hamilton, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979).

⁴⁷ While I am not prepared to make a claim, another interpretation could be that the image is simply a portrayal of twelve Inca leaders named in Chapter 15 via el Palentino. The flatness of temporality in the image does not necessarily deny historicity to the Inca kings.

In contrast, a more historical interpretation views *panaca* as a descendent group of past Inca kings. John Rowe proposed that the *panaca* was a type of *ayllu* organized by matrilineal descent, and traced the historical progression of Inca kings according to dates presented by Miguel Cabello Balboa (or Valboa) (Rowe 1946).⁴⁸ A *panaca* excluded an Inca ruler's heir to the throne, who created his own *panaca* when he became ruler. Once deceased, the ruler's *panaca* continued to serve his royal estate and venerate his mummy, resulting in the accumulation of wealth and power (Bauer 2004: 159-84; Niles 1999: 2). Catherine Julien (2000: 23) argues that the *panaca* maintained an historical consciousness which was captured by the chronicles. In particular, she argues that the hereditary status of *capac* (*qhapak*) stems from the ruler named Manco Capac and was passed through the male line to the Inca's brothers and sisters, thereby determining an Inca descendant's status within a *panaca* and Inca empire. César Itier (2011: 187; Puente 2016: 29-30) proposes that the *panaca* name did not refer to lineal descent as much as it did to a title, such as *vicario* or governor. It originated from the head of the lineage, usually one of the Inca's sons whom the ruler put in charge. In other words, Chima *panaca ayllu* referred to the "lineage of viceroy Chima". More recently, Isabel Yaya (2012) blends Zuidema's cultural framework of dual organization with a diachronic approach. She argues that dualism was a dynamic constitutive force in oral history traditions based on an active, dialectical tension between structure and practice. Linguistic anthropologist Bruce Mannheim proposes royal descent in terms of a house model, rather than lineage from a definable ancestor beyond three generations removed from the claimant (2020: 379-380).

In the chronicles Inca histories generally traced their Inca ancestors back by eleven rulers from Huayna Capac, who had been the last undisputed ruler of the Inca, to Manco Capac, the legendary founder of Cuzco.⁴⁹ Following Andean principles of complementarity, the Inca

⁴⁸ María Rostworowski later showed the influence of a matrilineal based *panaca* in the election of Inca rulers. María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *La mujer en la época prehispánica*, (Lima, Perú: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1986).

⁴⁹ There is no consensus on the number of *panacas*, though chronicles generally propose an official list of eleven *panacas*. HURIN CUZCO: 1) Chima *Panaca* - Manco Cápac, 2) Raura *Panaca* - Sinchi Roca, 3) Auayni *Panaca* - Lloque Yupanqui, 4) Uscamayta

descendants of the first five Inca rulers from Manco Capac to Capac Yupanqui were grouped into Hurin (lower) Cuzco. The last five Inca rulers, from Inca Roca to Topa Inca Yupanqui (or Tupac Inca Yupanqui, Topa Inca), were associated with Hanan (upper) Cuzco (Bauer 2004: 162). The Inca kinship division between moieties of Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco extended into the physical and social conception of Cuzco and the imperial state. Despite changes brought by Spanish colonization, these foundations of Andean, and more specifically Inca, social organization continued to play a crucial role in native Cuzco society.

In sum, the 1590 declaration, the 1596 endorsement, and the Inca coat of arms are evidence of Andean participation and the inclusion of their perspectives in Murua's chronicle project. However, the physical remains do not tell us much about the five Andeans' backgrounds or their motivations for participating in the project. The following section will examine archival documents that involve the five Andean elites who endorsed the 1590 original title page. In doing so I will explore the cultural, legal, economic, and socio-political context of Indigenous elites in colonial Cuzco in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and their interests for participating in the chronicle project. In particular, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo and other Spanish officials attempted to disrupt the privileged position of Inca descendants, which catalyzed Inca elites to defend their status in the courts. Their concerns and efforts produced some of the first extant records in which they appear.

3. Viceroy Toledo's legal campaigns against Inca descendants (1570s)

3.1 Inspections and reorganization

When Viceroy Francisco de Toledo arrived in Peru for his term in 1569, the Spanish King, Philip II, had charged him to end a long-standing conflict with the Inca descendants of Vilcabamba

Panaca - Mayta Cápac, 5) Apomayta Panaca - Cápac Yupanqui. HANAN CUZCO: 6) Uicaquirao Panaca - Inca Roca, 7) Aucaylli Panaca - Yawar Huácac, 8) Socso Panaca - ViracochA, 9) Hatun Ayllu - Pachacútec, 10) Cápac Ayllu - Túpac Yupanqui, 11) Tumibamba Panaca - Huayna Cápac. Fernando Iwasaki Cauti, "Las panacas del Cuzco y la pintura incaica," *Revista de Indias; Madrid* 46 (1986): 62; Isabel Yaya, *The Two Faces of Inca History: Dualism in the Narratives and Cosmology of Ancient Cuzco*, (Boston: Brill, 2012), 32-33.

(80 miles north of Cusco) and Cuzco (Nowack and Julien 1999), to reduce longstanding corruption and abuse by both secular and religious officials in Peru (Zimmerman 1938: 127-129, cited by Brokaw 2010: 208), to increase income for the Spanish Crown, and to advance evangelization efforts. This charge included attempts to delegitimize Inca rule and to impose tribute assessments on all Andeans by ending tribute exemptions for Inca descendants and *yanacona* (Inca retainers) (Amado Gonzales 2017: 37). His numerous tactics prompted Inca elites to defend their claims to royal nobility in the courts by citing precedent and by mobilizing the support of their non-Inca and Spanish allies. These actions produced some of the first documents in which Murua's Andean endorsers appear. The records offer a glimpse into the complex and multifaceted society of sixteenth-century Cuzco.

One of Viceroy Toledo's first steps was to conduct an extensive *visita general* (official inspection tour) of Cuzco and the surrounding area between 1570 and 1575.⁵⁰ On route to Cuzco, he and accompanying officials traveled through the highlands and conducted extensive *informaciones* or interviews with groups of as many as two hundred Indigenous informants from places such as Jauja, Huamanga, Vilcas, Yucay, and Cuzco. The set of preformulated questions left little room for candid, unprejudiced answers by local leaders and *kipukamayoc* (expert readers of the khipu, the Inca recording device) (Toledo 1920 [1570-1572]: 135-143; Levillier 1956: 41-42; Brokaw 2010: 138-140). Unsurprisingly, his letter from March 1, 1572 to the Spanish King, which summarized his findings and conclusions, underscored the Inca empire as a band of cruel, illegitimate tyrants who took control and imposed rule over unwilling native peoples. The findings served to legitimate Iberian resource extraction (particularly coca and mining), control of native labor, and, crucially, the annulment of Inca descendants' claims to special privileges and protections based on nobility (Levillier 1935-42: 4-13).

⁵⁰ The inspection took place from 1571 to 1573/1574, with additional *visitas* occurring as needed through 1581. Previous viceroys also conducted inspections, though they were not as extensive. Galen Brokaw, *A History of the Khipu*, (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 166.

Clearly, Toledo had grown impatient with Inca rulers or never agreed with the previous administration's attempts to negotiate with them. In mid-1572, the viceroy claimed falsely that previously loyal and compliant Cuzco Inca descendants were planning to revolt in Vilcabamba.⁵¹ He sent bands of Spaniards, Cañaris, and Chachapoyas to pursue the young Inca ruler, Tupac Amaru, in the steep, forested mountain terrain surrounding Vilcabamba. Tupac Amaru and his wife were eventually captured, brought to Cuzco, and executed on September 24, 1572.

In Cuzco, Toledo aimed to reorganize and equalize natives Cuzqueños, to increase income for the Spanish Crown, and to support evangelization efforts. These efforts included an increase from five native parishes (Nuestra Señora de Belén, San Blas, San Cristóbal, San Sebastián, and Santa Ana) to eight parishes (adding Hospital de los Naturales, Santiago, and San Jerónimo) as well imposing tribute payments on all Andeans by ending exemptions for Inca descendants and *yanaconas*. The reorganization relocated competing Inca *ayllu* and *panaca* and other ethnic groups into particular parishes surrounding the city center, which was reserved for Spaniards and renamed the Parish of Matriz.⁵² In addition, on August 11, 1572, citing the alleged Inca uprising, Viceroy Toledo ordered that all "*yndios yanaconas*" and "*yndios cuzqueños*" (Inca descendants living in Cuzco) who were not assigned to an *encomienda* (royal grant of Indigenous labor and tribute to a Spaniard) to be registered to pay tribute to the Spanish Crown (Aparicio 1963: 119). As Toledo argued in an *ordenanza* (ordinance) later that year on the nobility rights of

⁵¹ An August 11, 1572 *auto* (order) by Toledo cites select native Cuzqueans' support for an uprising by the Inca ruler, Tupac Amaru. Horacio Urteaga published the first transcript of the decree in "Privilegios Acordados Por los Reyes de España A Los Indios Nobles y a los Caciques del Antiguo Imperio Peruano," in *El Imperio Incaico*, (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1931), 230. A second publication can be found in Manuel Jesús Aparicio Vega, "Documentos Sobre El Virrey Toledo," *Revista del Archivo Histórico*, 11 (1963): 119-128. The document is discussed in Puente Luna, "Incas Pecheros y Caballeros Hidalgos," 18.

⁵² Julien, "La organización parroquial del Cusco," 84; Amado Gonzales, *El estandarte real y la mascapaycha*, 40-43. Laurent Segalini's in-depth study of land property in the early colonial period shows that part of the Inca nobility lived outside the city in villages surrounding Cuzco, corresponding to their respective territories and site of ancestry mummy veneration rather than in Curicancha as later documents suggest. With the reduction enforced by Toledo, the Chima and Raura who lived in Wimpillay were reduced to the Parish of San Sebastián. The Huhuaynin and Uscamayta lived in Cayaucachi and were reduced to the parish of Belén in 1560. The Apomayta and Vicaquirau lived in the town of Larapa and the Sucusu and Aucaylli lived between Callachaca and Cayra. They were all reduced to the parishes of San Sebastián and San Jerónimo. The documentation is less clear for Capac and Hatun but possibly they lived in Tococachi, which later became San Blas. He confirms that the Cañaris occupied the hills of Carmenca in the parish of Santa Ana and San Cristóbal. Laurent Segalini, "*Organización socio-espacial del Cuzco prehispánico: Datos Sobre La Repartición de Tierras de Los Grupos Aristocráticos Incas*" *Revista Andina*, 49 (2009): 105-134.

the Cañari and Chachapoya, "In this city there are many Indians who try to be free, to not pay tribute to your Majesty or to other persons."⁵³

Not long after, on August 13, 14 and 22, Licenciado Polo and other officials complied with Toledo's order to make a complete census and to register the *caciques principales* of each parish, thereby completing a census of Cuzco's native inhabitants. The native leaders swore their loyalty and allegiance to the Crown and promised to collect the necessary tribute. Notably, don Pedro Purqui, the only named Cañari collaborator in the Galvin Murua, was listed as a *cacique principal* of the Santa Ana Parish (Ossio 2014: 28; Aparicio Vega 1963: 123). Similarly, don Francisco Chalco Yupangui, don Luis' father and outspoken leader for the parish of San Sebastián and descendant of Viracocha, was also listed as a *cacique principal* (Ibid: 126). In the census count, don Martín García de Loyola's *encomienda* of Huayna Capac's descendants in San Cristóbal lists a don Martín Quispe Topa as the eight-year-old son of don Hernando Pomacapi (twenty-six years old) and Beatriz Chimbo Urma (thirty years old) (Amado Gonzales 2016: 100). Along with their other household occupants, don Martín's father and household occupants were listed with the other thirteen sons of don Cristóbal Paullo Topa Inga and grandsons of Huayna Capac and their households (Urteage 1931: 232-233).

Significantly, Toledo underscored in the same *ordenanza* that indirectly questioned the *hidalgo* (or low-ranking nobility) status of Inca, the continued rights of the Cañari and Chachapoya to receive their special privileges, given their crucial support in defeating the Inca and providing special services in Cuzco. The Inca conquerors of Tumibamba, Topa Inca Yupangui and Huayna Capac, had brought the Cañari and Chachapoya to Cuzco as *mitmaq* (*mitimae*, *mitmac*, *mitma*) (relocated populations)⁵⁴ from the north to serve as personal guards and soldiers for the Inca.

⁵³ "En esta ciudad habían muchos indios que pretendían ser libres, para no pagar tributo a Su Magestad, ni a otra persona." Ordenanzas, "Ordenanzas para la ciudad del Cuzco y sus términos," in *Francisco de Toledo: disposiciones gubernativas para el Virreinato del Perú. Volumen 1 (1569-1574)*, M.J. Sarabia Viejo, ed., (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Sevilla, 1986 [1572]), 198.

⁵⁴ *Mitmaq* (*Mitmac*, *mitimae*) are relocated settlers who were used to access a diversified production or to control other conquered ethnic groups. Diego González Holguín Quechua grammar (1607) and Quechua dictionary (1608) are considered the most detailed of Quechua dictionaries from the colonial period. He used innovative orthography that was not completely tied to the Third Council

They lived in the Urubamba valley in Huayna Capac's "house of the Inca" and in the hills of Carmenca, which was then renamed the parish of Santa Ana (Decoster and Najarro 2016: 90). Under the Spaniards they served various judicial functions as guards for the prison and arms storage, messengers, and executioners, in addition to participating in and maintaining order during festivals. In other words, in exchange for providing these continued services to the Spanish officials and in keeping with the criteria of *hidalguería* for their service to the Spanish Crown, "in the war and in the time of conquest," they maintained tax exemptions and other special privileges (Ordenanzas 1986: 199). Upholding the image of warrior elites, they achieved unprecedented power and status in colonial Cuzco society that fostered a competitive dynamic in their relationship with the Inca elite (Dean 1999: 186-197; Gisbert and Mesa 1982: 180).

3.2 *Inca legal responses, 1570s-80s, and the Cañari, don Pedro Purqui*

In response to Toledo's multiple efforts to undercut the power of Cuzco's noble Inca or *inca de la sangre* (inca by blood), elites launched a legal campaign to fight Toledo's decrees in the 1570s. By 1573, petitions with testimonies and grievances were dispatched to the Audiencia of Lima that successfully suspended the order. In 1574 the Audiencia of Lima sent the case to the Council of the Indies in Seville, confirmed the suspension of previous decrees issued in favor of Inca descendants, and ordered the restitution of what had been collected from them.⁵⁵ In 1576,

standards established in the 1580s and relied largely Cuzqueño terms and expressions. As he states, his dictionary was the work of "many Indians of Cuzco" (2007 [1607]: 37) that served as his informant. Holguín defines *mitmaq* as, "*Advenedizo, avezindado en algun lugar*" [resettled in another place]. See also, Alan Durston, *The Heyday of Pastoral Quechua (1590s–1640s)* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 158-161; Raúl Porras Barrenechea, "Prólogo," in *Vocabulario de La Lengua General de Todo El Perú Llamada Lengua Qquichua o Del Inca*, vol. 2 (Colección Kashkanchikrakmi 4, Proyecto de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural, Corporation Editorial Nacional, 1993), 170.

⁵⁵ This timeline derives from two cases presented in the record. On December 11, 1573 in Lima an *auto* from the Audiencia Real declared the suspension of Toledo's decree and affirmed their nobility as legitimate sons of don Cristóbal Paullo Topa Inga and grandson of the Inca ruler, Huayna Capac, from the Parish of San Cristóbal, represented by don Luis Cusirimache and don Francisco Carratopa. On March 3, 1576 the Real Audiencia added to the suspension the restitution of their tribute. This *auto* was then presented in Cuzco on August 30, 1576. See Urteaga, *El Imperio Incaico*, 229-239 and Tom Zuidema, "'Descendencia paralela' en una familia indígena noble del Cuzco," *Fenix, Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional* 17 (1967) 47-49, for published transcription of documents related to this legal campaign. Similarly, male Inca descendants of Mayta Capac and Lloque Yupangui (Hurin Cuzco) from the Parish of Belén launched a legal campaign in 1573. On April 4, 1573 in Cuzco they presented their petition to Capitán Ordoño de Valencia, *visitador general* who sent their case to Viceroy Toledo on July 30, 1573. By February 5, 1574 the case was brought to the Real Audiencia, where they suspended the order and sent the case to the Council of the Indies. By September 24, 1574 the suspension was confirmed with the order for full restitution. On September 24, 1576 the public notary Antonio Sánchez in Cuzco recorded a copy of the documents, where we can assume it was presented to Spanish officials. For a published transcription of documents see, Carlos A. Romero, "Libro de Provisiones Reales de Los Virreyes don Francisco de Toledo y don Martín Enríquez de Almansa," in *Revista de*

Inca leaders presented the rulings in Cuzco before the *corregidor* (mayor) of Cuzco, Gabriel Paniagua de Loaysa. Ignoring the sentence, Paniagua ordered that all nobles participate in personal services to the Crown, including the construction of a canal to carry water from Chinchero, build military barriers, clean plazas, and more (Espinoza Soriano 1977: 93). After significant threats, physical abuse, and imprisonment of up to two years many *inca orejones* ("big ears"; a high noble caste claiming to be direct descendants of the Inca)⁵⁶ either went into hiding or submitted to public shaming, including being undressed from the waist up while completing the tasks ordered by Paniagua (Espinoza Soriano 1977: 91-108). However, from 1579-1581 the *inca orejones* or *inca de sangre* of the eleven *ayllus*⁵⁷ continued their campaign by way of a petition and *probanza* (evidentiary proof), consisting of testimonies on their behalf by Spanish residents in Cuzco and non-Inca native Andeans from the Cuzco region.

A 1579-1580 *probanza* testifies to the complex social networks and alliances forged between Inca and non-Inca native and Iberian elites in early colonial Cuzco. The native *alcalde mayor*, don Francisco Sayre, son of Paullo Inca and Mama Ussica or Doña Catalina, grandson of the 12th Inca ruler, Huayna Capac, directed the 1579-1580 *probanza* in the name of the *inca orejones* of the eleven "*ayllus y parcialidades*" in Cuzco.⁵⁸ Except for Topa Atao, don Francisco Sayre Topa, don García Inquill Topa, and don Gonzalo Sayre Topa, the remaining names of the *ayllu* leaders are missing due to the document's deterioration, but they might have included

Archivos y Bibliotecas Nacionales 1, no. 1 (1898): 102-107. For a in-depth consideration of the legal campaign, timeline, and documents see: Puente Luna, "Incas Pecheros y Caballeros Hidalgos," 19-21; and Ella Dunbar Temple, "La Descendencia de Huayna Capac: don Carlos Inca," *Revista Histórica* 17 (1948): 47.

⁵⁶ *Inca Orejones* was a name given by Spaniards in the sixteenth century to Inca descendants and was based on the large earrings they wore as markers of Inca nobility. In later sources *inca orejones* are also referred to as *inca de sangre*, a term used by Garcilaso to differentiate the *panacas* from other groups by blood and privilege. See Julien, *Reading Inca History*, 29; Garret, *Shadows of Empire*, 17-18; Garcilaso 1976 [1609], bk. I, chap. 23; 1990: 40; and Murua, *Historia del origen*, 37r.

⁵⁷ The list excludes representatives from the Huascar *panaca*, with the assumption that don Alonso Titu Atauchi, nephew of Huascar and son of Tito Atauchi, had died. He was also listed as a representative in Sarmiento's 1572 chronicle. Espinoza Soriano, "Orejones del Cuzco," 84.

⁵⁸ The *probanza* included Chimapanaca (lineage of Manco Capac), Rauraua panaca (Sinche Roca), Hauaymin ayllu (Lloque Yupangui), Apomayta (Capac Yupangui), Uscamayta (Mayta Capac), Vicaquiraroa (Vicaquirao), Aucaylle panaca (Yaguar Guaca Ynga Yupangui), Cuzco panaca (Viracocha Inca, Iñaca panaca (Pachacuti Inca), Capac ayllu (Tupa Yupangui Inca), and Tomebamba (Huayna Capac). This is the same list given by Sarmiento, excluding Huascar's *panaca*.

Murua's Andean endorser, don Martín.⁵⁹ The witnesses were composed of a diverse and overlapping group of sympathetic "*descubridores y conquistadores*", "*vecinos*" of Cuzco, *encomenderos*, priests, and non-Inca native *caciques*, *principales* and elders from the surrounding region. They included eleven allied Spaniards who had lived for decades in Cuzco,⁶⁰ and six non-Inca native elders and leaders, some who were alive during the reign of Huayna Capac and/or before the arrival of the Spanish. Through a series of six rigidly pre-formulated questions, the witnesses confirmed the extent and widespread recognition of the social and economic crisis in Cuzco that the Inca elite had suffered in the sixteenth century.⁶¹ Unfortunately, women, children, and commoners were predictably excluded. The answers highlighted the *inca orejones'* consistent and unceasing loyalty to the Spanish Crown during and after the Inca revolt led by Manco Inca and their pre-established privileged status. This assertion directly countered Toledo's accusations of a rebellion supported by Cuzco's Inca descendants and also followed the required terms of the Iberian *hidalgo*. Inca descendants repeated this legal strategy throughout the colonial period.

Significantly, the last testimony by a native Andean, recorded in 1580 or 1581,⁶² came from don Pedro Purqui, "*cacique principal de los indios Cañares que están en la fortaleza desta ciudad*," [cacique principal of the Cañari Indians who are in the fort of this city]. The fort refers to

⁵⁹ Possible representatives include don Francisco Chalco Yupangui, don Luis' father, perhaps even don Juan Cusi Topa and others named in Sarmiento's chronicle and/or a 1582 *carta de poder* for Christobal de Molina, such as don Alonso Puscon, don Juan Cuzco, don Martin Quispe Topa, don Gonzalo Sayre, don Felipe Carytopa, don García Atao Yupangui, don Xpoyal Cusiguaman, don Pedro Ucusicha, don Gaspar Aycha Auqui, don Francisco Guaman Cayo, Bautista Vuanpi, and Don Felipe Yarisi. ARC. Cervantes. Prot. 3, 1580-82, 6 June 1582. ff. 266-v.

⁶⁰ This Spaniards in the *probanza* include Hernando Solas; Mansio Sierra de Leguizamo, *vecino* and conquistador; Alonso de Auilla; Alonso de Mesa, *vecino* and conquistador; Juan Martínez de Ribera, *vecino*; Pedro de Váldez, *vecino*; Francisco Ponce, *vecino*; Cristóbal de Molina, secular priest for the parish of the Hospital de los Naturales; Damián de la Bandera; García de Melo; Hernando Arias. Many of these men were prominent figures and officials in sixteenth-century Cuzco society. Mansio Sierra and Alonso de Mesa participated in Toledo's 1572 *información* that condemned the Inca as usurpers. According to Ella Dunbar Temple, "La Descendencia de Huayna Capac," 144, Mansio Sierra de Leguil lived with the mestizo son of Don Diego Hernandez and his Inca wife, Coya Doña Beatriz Manco Yupanqui in Carmenca.

⁶¹ The questions of the 1579-1581 *probanza* confirmed that the Inca were the rulers of Peru before the arrival of the Spanish; Inca experienced extreme poverty after the dispossession of their land, houses, labor, and resources by the conquistadors; they remained loyal to the Spanish Crown throughout Spanish and Inca rebellions; and they endured extreme abuse under Paniagua.

⁶² Unlike the Spanish testimonies, there was no date given for the native testimonies. The last Spanish testimony was completed on February 12, 1580. The next date we see is September 12, 1581 to mark the petition for a public reading of the *probanza*, signed by the notary Luis de Quesada. Espinoza Soriano, "Orejones del Cuzco," 80.

the *mitmaq* Cañari who lived in Sacayhuamán and Carmenca in the Santa Ana Parish. Unfortunately, the majority of his testimony is missing in Soriano's transcription due to the original document's deterioration. Below is what remains:

People so principal that they had their *yanaconas* and servants and were served. And this he responds. To the fifth question he said that this witness knows that the said Incas, almost the majority of them, served the *marqués* don Francisco Pizarro and his captains in all things that they ordered and were occupied in the service of your Majesty.⁶³

Don Pedro's response to Question Six referred to his answer to Question Five. We can assume that we are seeing the end of Question Four, which we know about the state of impoverishment of the *inca orejones* from the other testimonies discussed. Don Pedro used a descriptor repeated by the other witnesses for the *inca orejones* of Cuzco as "*gente tan principal*" [people so principal]. His answer also referred to an important element of Question 2 that supported the claim that the *inca orejones* of Cuzco, as the rulers and governors of Peru, were "served" by others - a precedent which was respected by Pizarro and subsequent Viceroy. According to the witnesses, the *inca orejones* never provided personal services until being ordered and harassed to do so by the corregidor Paniagua. Don Pedro's response to Question Five also agreed with the other testimonies by reiterating the *inca orejones'* loyalty and submission to the Crown during the Spanish and Inca revolts. Unlike most of the non-Inca native testimonies, and like many of the Iberian witnesses, Purqui did not acknowledge the abuse and mistreatment that Manco Inca suffered under the conquistadors, particularly by Hernando Pizarro and Gonzalo Pizarro, in their incessant search for gold and silver. Nor did Purqui consider that the abuse justified Inca resistance. Given that Manco Inca's uprising was in the more recent past when the Cañari were already aligned with the Spaniards, his lack of articulated compassion towards the Inca ruler possibly had to do with the history and allegiance of the Cañari to Spaniards during the Inca

⁶³ "*Gente tan principal tenían sus anaconas y criados y eran seruidos. Y esto responde. A la pregunta cinco dijo queste testigo saue que los dichos ingas, casi la mayor parte dellos seruieron al marqués don Francisco Pizarro y [a] sus capitanes en todas las cosas que ellos les mandauan y ocupauan en seruicio de Su Majestad.*" Espinosa Soriano, "Los Orejones del Cuzco," 107-8.

resistance and defeat. Nonetheless, he strove to uphold in his testimony pre-Hispanic precedents that maintained the elite status of the Inca.

Don Pedro's inclusion in the *probanza* reveals a direct link of the Cañari with the efforts of Inca elite to protect their noble status in colonial Cuzco and challenges the interpretation by many scholars that an exclusively competitive relationship existed among ethnic Indigenous groups, which was fostered by Toledo. On the one hand, given the Cañari's longstanding competition with the Inca, and Viceroy Toledo's simultaneous attack on Inca leaders and respect for Cañari and Chachapoya's privileges in 1572, it is surprising to see don Pedro's support of the Inca. On the other hand, evidence indicates that his endorsement of Murua's 1590 chronicle was founded on established alliances and experiences. Moreover, his testimony suggests that he understood that the perpetuation of the elite status of Inca descendants was intimately tied to the social status that the Cañari maintained in Cuzco. Having witnessed attacks on the Inca by Viceroy Toledo and his administration, the Cañari must have been acutely aware of how Spaniards might change their views towards the social status of any and all elite Andeans. If Paniagua felt emboldened to eliminate the privileges of Inca who had been loyal to Spaniards, what assured the Cañari that the same reasoning would not eventually be applied to them? I will return to this question and don Pedro later in Chapter 2. One thing is certain, Andean elites, Inca and non-Inca alike, did not hesitate to seek to influence the direction of colonial discourse and policy.

3.3 Cristóbal de Molina: Indigenous advocate

The other significant testimony in the *probanza* for the purposes of our analysis comes from the respected priest of the Hospital de los Naturales parish, and long-time sympathizer of colonial Cuzco's Inca descendants, Cristóbal de Molina or "El Cusqueño" (ca. 1529-1585).⁶⁴ Even

⁶⁴ Although we do not know when he arrived in Cuzco, it had to be before the founding of the Hospital de los Naturales in 1556. See Henrique Osvaldo Urbano, "Molina, Cristóbal de (ca. 1529-1585)," in *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies, 1530-1900*, ed. Joanne Pillsbury, vol. 3. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008) 427.

though they most likely never crossed paths,⁶⁵ Murua copied Molina's now lost manuscript for many sections of his Galvin manuscript, which were then copied into the Getty texts. Molina was respected as an Indigenous advocate, particularly for the rights of Inca elites, and by secular and state officials for his role in testing priests for proficiency in the Quechua language and his overall services to native evangelization efforts. In the 1570s he held the position of official, salaried priest to the Indians of Cuzco. Every Sunday and feast day he preached in Quechua in front of the cathedral (Durston 2007: 73). In contrast to Guaman Poma's deprecating description of Murua's preaching abilities in Quechua, Guaman Poma provided a glowing and extremely poetic example of Molina (611 [625]-612 [626]).

According to Molina's testimony, by February 5, 1580 he was at least fifty years old and had resided in the city for twenty-three years, "*más o menos*" [more or less]. He stated that he had known most of the Inca descendants in the *probanza*, as he had preached for more than fourteen years to them and participated in the *visita* ordered by Viceroy Toledo under the direction of the captain Martín García de Loyola.⁶⁶ He supported the *incas orejones'* privileged status and reiterated their loyalty to Church and State.

This witness has never seen nor heard that the said Incas who resided in the parishes had done any personal service in this city in any way, except on the day of Corpus Christi and the principal festivals that the church celebrates when the procession goes out of the *matriz* [center] and decorates the streets with arches and reeds.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Given that Murua most likely only arrived in Cuzco in 1588 and Molina died on May 29, 1585, they probably never personally overlapped. However, the 1580 *probanza* and 1582 *carta de poder* indicate that their social networks in colonial Cuzco included similar native leaders.

⁶⁶ On November 4, 1575 Viceroy Toledo from Arequipa ordered a salary for Molina, "*Por se negocio tan importante para la conversion y enseñamiento de los indios*" [for his important work in the conversion and teaching of indians] of the eight parishes in Cuzco. Two days later, on November 6, 1575, Molina was solicited for another *visita* by Viceroy Toledo under the direction of Sancho Verdugo *Aguacil Mayor* of the parishes and surrounding area of Cuzco. L. H. Jiménez, "Al padre Xpóbal de Molina, 150 pesos ensayados por la pedricación de los yanaconas é indios de las parroquias del Cuzco," *Revista de Archivos y Bibliotecas Nacionales* (Lima: Oficina Tipográfica de "El Tiempo": 1899) 38-39, 41-45.

⁶⁷ "*Nunca jamás este testigo ha visto ni oído que los dichos incas que residen en las parroquias hayan fecho seruicio personal ninguno en esta ciudad en cosa alguna, ecepto los días de Corpus Xpte e principales fiestas que celebra la iglesia cuando va la procesión fuera de la matriz, que adereszan las calles con sus arcos y juncos.*" Espinoza Soriano "Orejones del Cuzco," 105.

He gave a scathing account of the public whipping, undressing, and imprisonment of the native *alcalde* of the Parish of the Native Hospital by Paniagua and advised them to bring their grievances before the Audiencia and Viceroy in Lima.⁶⁸

Not long after the *probanza*, on June 6, 1582, the *caciques principales* of the eight parishes of Cuzco and descendants of Inca rulers, including don Martín Quispe Topa who served as signatory, gave Molina power to represent their claims for noble privileges before the Audiencia in Lima, the Viceroy don Martín Enríque and other Spanish officials in Lima. The *poder* reiterates the *Inca orejones'* exemption from taxes and personal services based on their positions as leaders of the Inca *panacas*, *ayllus*, and descendants of Inca rulers:

We were exempted from personal service in that some of us did not pay taxes or tribute, given that we are Incas and the most principal people of this entire kingdom and of the descent and lineage of Inca lords who were of this kingdom.⁶⁹

Of Murua's Andean witnesses, don Martín Quispe Topa is listed among other heads of Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco, including don Francisco Chalco Yupangui, the father of don Luis.⁷⁰ Don Martín, don Juan Cuzco, and don Francisco are the three Inca signatories.

In conclusion, as Toledo and compliant Spanish officials attempted to undercut the power and rights of Inca elites, the record shows how a collective Indigenous front organized to counteract those efforts and to defend their social status collectively. While Spanish officials engendered competition among Spaniards, Cañari, Chachapoya, and Inca descendants, multiethnic alliances and social networks emerged in support of pre-Hispanic

⁶⁸ Molina declared: "*Muchas veces los indios de las dichas parroquias vinieron a este testigo a rogar les favoreciese con sus cartas como mejor pudiese escribiendo a Su Excelencia el agrauio que le[s] hacía en hacerles hacer las dichas talanqueras, a lo cual este testigo les decía que pues aquí no alcanzauan justicia ocurriesen a la ciudad de Los Reyes a pedir lo que les conuiniese, porque estando este testigo en la ciudad de Ariquipa trató con el excelentísimo señor visorrey destos reinos acerca de que los indios hatunlunas pedían que los dichos ingas de las parroquias les ayudasen a hacer los seruios personales en esta ciudad.*" Espinoza Soriano, "Orejones del Cuzco," 99; Puente, "Incas Pecheros y Caballeros Hidalgos," 21.

⁶⁹ "*Qualquiera merced o mercedes en los casos y cosas que obiere lugar asi en que seamos reservados del servicio personal como en que algunos de nosotros no paguemos tasa ni tributo atento a que somos Yngas y la gente mas principal de todo este reyno y de los de la descendencia y linia de los yngas señores que fueron de estos reyno.*" ARC. Cervantes. Prot. 3, 1580-82, 6 June 1582. ff. 266-v.

⁷⁰ Additional Inca representatives include: don Alonso Puscon, don Juan Cuzco, don Gonzalo Sayre, don Felipe Caritopa, don Gracia Atao Yupangui, don Xpoval Cusiguaman, don Pedro Ucusicha, don Domingo Uscamaita, don Gaspar Aycha Auqui, don Francisco Guaman Cayo, Bautista Vuanpi, and don Felipe Yarisi. *Ibid.*

and early colonial precedents. Moreover, by the 1570s don Juan, don Martín, and don Pedro appear as established leaders, representatives, advocates, and mediators of their communities.

4. Making Indigenous Colonial History: A Model, Method, and Precedent (1570s)

In his efforts to discredit Inca claims' as natural lords of the Andes and justify Spanish colonization, Viceroy Toledo commissioned an official visual and written history on the Inca and Andean geography. While Toledo's interviews were included in official records sent to the Council of Indies, the chronicle and accompanying *paños* or painted cloths were designed directly for the king, Philip II (Julien 1999: 62). By the late colonial period, Viceroy Toledo's investigations into the Inca past and administrative reorganizations had made a lasting mark on the discourse of colonial Andean history. Both Murua manuscripts make repeated positive references to Toledo's historical investigations. However, the official historical project commissioned by Toledo and completed by Sarmiento did more than validate Murua's historical investigations into the Inca past. It also provided a colonial precedent as a model and method for producing an illustrated manuscript and engaging with Indigenous nobles, but with important differences.

4.1 Sarmiento de Gamboa's chronicle project

Toledo entrusted the official chronicle project to Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa (1535-1592?), a sea captain and royal cosmographer, to delegitimize Inca rulers as unjust tyrants. Proceeding from the fragmented accounts of conquistadors, Spanish chroniclers composed histories of the Inca with significant input from Indigenous elites living in the Inca heartland, including Pedro de Cieza de León (ca. 1518-1554) and Juan Diez de Betanzos (?-1576). Sarmiento's Inca history in the 1570s was intended to be the decisive, comprehensive account that brought together the different versions presented by each dynastic kinship group. Sarmiento continuously reminded the reader of the Inca's tyranny and illegitimacy at key moments in the chronicle. However, his extensive research and access to Indigenous elders and *kipukamayocs*

who witnessed the Spanish invasion makes his chronicle one of the most significant, if not controversial, sources on Andean history and culture for scholars today.

Sarmiento joined Toledo's four-year inspection tour through the Andean highlands from 1571 to 1574, with an extended stop in Cuzco in 1572. During a period of large-scale investigation into the geography of both Spain and the Americas by the Spanish Crown, the chronicle was envisioned by Sarmiento as a three-part series that included an illustrated natural history and geography of the Andes, a description of Inca history and customs, and a history of the Andes since the arrival of the Spaniards (Sarmiento 1906: 10 [1572: Ch. I]; cited by Bauer and Decoster 2009: 6). Only the second manuscript survives, titled *Historia indica* (hereafter called *History of the Inca*), which was completed in Cuzco in 1571-72. Bound in green Moroccan leather and lined in red silk, the manuscript was most likely designed as a gift to King Philip II, who was an avid collector of books and "curiosities" from around the world (Julien 1999: 62). In the hands of Jerónimo de Pacheco, a member of the viceroy's personal guard, the manuscript was delivered to King Philip, along with four *paños* or painted cloths on the history of the Inca and other artifacts and objects (Bauer and Decoster 2009: 1; Julien 1999: 62). Unfortunately, at some point the manuscript was separated from the *paños*. The manuscript remained in obscurity for centuries.⁷¹

By his own account, Sarmiento's research for *History of the Inca* was largely conducted in Cuzco, in addition to surrounding areas including the Jauja Valley and the city of Guamanga (Sarmiento 1906: 130 [1572]). The royal sponsorship of the chronicle guaranteed that Sarmiento had access to the highest level of Spanish officials and influential Indigenous elites in Cuzco. In particular, he recorded memorials from head representatives of each of the *panacas* or royal kin groups. He drew specifically on oral histories recorded in *kipus* and read to him by elder *kipukamayocs* (Sarmiento 1906: 31 [1572: Ch. 9]). In addition, Sarmiento had the benefit of

⁷¹ The *paños* were on view as late as the early seventeenth century but may not have survived the fire that destroyed the Alcázar in 1734. By the time the inventory was made after the death of Philip II in 1598, the manuscript and the *paños* had already been separated. Where Sarmiento's manuscript went after its arrival in Spain is unknown. It was not cited by scholars until the late nineteenth century. Catherine Julien, "History and Art in Translation," 62-63.

access to Toledo's official interviews and other legal documents that also had drawn from Andean oral histories recorded by *kipus*. A well-known example includes a memorial produced in 1569 by the remaining descendants or *panaca* of the Inca ruler, Topa Inca Yupanqui. Unfortunately, the petition was submitted just as Viceroy Toledo began his term and campaign to discredit Inca descendants and was promptly rejected. Many of the witnesses also participated in other legal efforts, including a petition in 1567 by María Manrique Cusi Huarca's, sister and wife of Sayre Tupa, Toledo's *Informaciones* of 1571, and Sarmiento's chronicle project in 1572 (Rowe 1985: 201). While none of Murua's endorsers were part of the list, twelve of the twenty named descendants of Topa Inca Yupanqui participated in the 1585 declaration of the Lawsuit for Exemptions, discussed in section five of this chapter.⁷² The social overlaps are unquestionable. Moreover, John Rowe (1985) demonstrated that Sarmiento's account bears a narrative resemblance to the 1569 *probanza*. The narrative structure of the memorial seems to follow the recording structure of the textile knots in the *kipu*.

On February 29, 1572 Sarmiento formally presented his completed manuscript to Viceroy Toledo and the royal notary, Alvaro Ruiz Navamuel, for verification by Indigenous elites in Cuzco. Reminiscent of the verification of the painted cloths a month earlier, 36 representatives of the royal kin groups who had been interviewed, and an additional six men, were called to a public reading of the manuscript to provide minor edits. Of course, the inherent inequality of the colonial context in which the Indigenous elites acted, and the overt intentions of Toledo and Sarmiento, undermined any possibility for a fair and sincere verification process. At the end of his chronicle, Sarmiento listed the names, ages, and *ayllu* of his native witnesses, who were predominantly male Inca descendants of the twelve Inca rulers.⁷³ This included one of Murua's endorsers, don

⁷² Of the twelve in the 1585 record, four are members of the Qollana lineage, five are of the Payan lineage, and three are of the Kayaw lineage. While the differences between the three members are not mentioned in the 1585 record, the members of the Qollana are listed first, followed by Payan, and then, Kayaw. Rowe, *Probanza de nietos*, 195.

⁷³ The list of Inca rulers includes: Manco Capac, Cinchi Roca, Lloqui Yupanqui, Mayta Capac, Capac Yupanqui, Inca Roca, Yahuar Huacac, Viracocha Inca, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, Topa Inca Yupanqui, Huayna Capac, and Huascar. Later in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Huascar was dropped from the list.

Juan. The Andean is listed as a forty-five year-old member of the Hatun Ayllu (also called Iñaca Panaca Ayllu) and descendant of the ninth Inca ruler, Pachacuti (Sarmiento 2009: 154, 209). This would make him sixty-three years old in 1590 and either not born yet or an infant when the Spanish invaded in 1532. The forty-two witnesses who participated also included don Francisco Chalco Yupangui, don Luis' father. Many of Indigenous individuals made their "marks" in the signature section at the end of the officially notarized record. On March 4, 1572, Sarmiento wrote a lengthy letter to King Philip explaining his project and the manuscript and four painted cloths that were transported to Spain (Bauer and Decoster 2009: 20-21).

The similarity in acknowledging and naming Inca *ayllu* heads and drawing on *kipukamayocs* in Sarmiento's chronicle offers an important comparative model for Murua's pasted-over original title page with Andean witnesses (1590) and the letter to the king from Andean leaders (1596). However, there are important differences. Sarmiento's "endorsement" from Inca elite included many more representatives from each *panaca* and was formalized by a royal public notary. Murua's five named Andeans were not all Inca and did not include representatives from each royal kinship group. Nor was the document officially notarized. Uniquely, the 1596 letter for Murua's chronicle offers a written endorsement, but lacks direct names, affiliations, or legal substantiation. Lastly, while Sarmiento's "verification" by Inca representatives was meant to lend more legitimacy to the chronicle, Murua ultimately hid and redacted his Indigenous endorsements in what could be considered an active silencing of Indigenous voices. In other words, limited and transformed components of Sarmiento's verification process are visible in Murua's chronicle process. However, the friar lacked official access to Inca rulers and appeared to have no explicit political intentions or connections for his chronicle. Significantly, Sarmiento's access to Inca sources for his account was not completely unique for the period.

4.2 *Molina reports and Indigenous engagement*

Another particularly relevant example of an Iberian ecclesiastic working with Inca descendants is Cristóbal de Molina. In the early 1570s Molina produced two reports. The first is a now lost manuscript on Inca history, which Cabello Balboa and Murua likely copied.⁷⁴ Rowe (1985) demonstrated that the same 1569 *probanza* used by Sarmiento corresponded to texts in Cabello Balboa and Murua, via Molina.⁷⁵ The document accounts for the mediated and indirect perspective on Inca history from descendants of Topa Inca Yupanqui in the Getty Murua. Given the very identifiable textual link between Molina and Murua's accounts, John Rowe also suggested that Molina's lost *relación* was the source for the expanded text on Vilcabamba resistance and incursion (personal communication, cited by Julien and Nowack 1999: 22, note 6). According to Molina's second report, cited by Bernabe Cobo, Molina assembled informants who had been alive during the reign of Huayna Capac, Huascar, and Manco Inca (Molina c. [1570-1575] 1989: 49).⁷⁶ He also might have participated directly in Toledo's inquest and could have drawn upon Sarmiento's history. According to Cobo (1653, bk. 12, chap. 2), the memorials that Molina collected, most likely from *kipukamayocs* (Brokaw 2010: 141-142), included substantially similar information found in Sarmiento and Polo. Like Sarmiento, Molina likely copied from the same 1569 memorial of the descendants of Topa Yupanqui and, perhaps, Polo de Ondegardo's writing (Decoster and Bauer 2009: 32).

Nothing from the archives suggests that Murua maintained a similar level of engagement with and respect from Indigenous elites or had the level of official state recognition that Molina or Sarmiento enjoyed. Sarmiento's and Molina's direct access to legal documents and

⁷⁴ The first report was also referenced by Molina in his second report, titled *On the Fables and Rites of the Incas (1570-1575)*. Both reports, compiled before and after Sarmiento's chronicle, were requisitioned by the bishop of Cuzco, Sebastián de Lartaún, sometime after his arrival in Cuzco on June 28, 1573. Bauer and Decoster, "Introduction," 32, citing Esquivel y Navia 1980: 232, 246; Urbano 1989: 17.

⁷⁵ Despite Rowe's findings, Martti Pärsinnen still believes Murua copied from Sarmiento. Brian Bauer and Jean-Jacques Decoster suggest that all four authors, Murua, Cabello Balboa, Sarmiento, and Molina used Polo's 1559 report. Rowe, *Probanzas de Nietos*, 194, 200; Pärsinnen, *Otras fuentes escritas*, 47; Bauer and Decoster, "Introduction," 32; Julien 2000: 15-17, 123-153.

⁷⁶ Cobo had access to secular and ecclesiastical records in Lima, Cuzco, Arequipa, and Juli, including Molina's second report. He often mixed or reproduced entire blocks from his sources. Bauer and Decoster, "Introduction," 25.

kipukamayocs suggests a far more systematic research process than would have been possible for Murua. However, Molina's example of multi-layered interaction and collaboration with Inca descendants testifies to how religious figures such as Murua might have engaged with Indigenous elites and *kipucamayocs* in Cuzco. Moreover, the endorsements of Murua's and Sarmiento's manuscripts point to a shared methodology based on judicial and notarial practices.

4.3 Murua and Toledo's visual history project compared

As Sarmiento compiled his written history, Toledo commissioned native artists to paint a history of the Inca on cloth. The content and structure of the paintings offer important insights into Murua's inspiration for his illustrated chronicle. The 1590 Galvin Murua includes 113 illustrations, with 19 royal portraits, and involved the native artist Guaman Poma, whereas the Getty Murua features 37 illustrations, with 31 royal portraits. On January 14, 1572, a month before the public reading of Sarmiento's history to Inca representatives, four paintings were presented to a group of 36 Inca representatives, including don Francisco Chalco Yupangui, and six additional men. Of the Inca representatives, nine had participated in and "verified" Sarmiento's history. The Andean group gathered in the house of Juan Maldonado just off of Cuzco's central plaza, where the *paños* had been painted by native artists.⁷⁷ According to Ruiz de Navamuel's report of the public reading, the first cloth depicted the Inca origin myth of Tambotoco and the Viracocha creation myth.⁷⁸ The next two cloths included lineage-based histories of the Inca through portraits of each Inca ruler with their wives and most likely divided between Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco. Along the border, Sarmiento added written information on their royal kin or *panaca* and wind roses. Sarmiento

⁷⁷ Specifically, "Porque en los lienzos que embia a SM [el virrey Toledo] pintados de los ingas hizo poner a Paulo Inga padre de Don Carlos en mas preminente lugar que al titu cusi iupangui que esta rretirado viendolo doña maria cusí guarcai mujer del inga que muria a la qual hizo el visorrey casar contra su uoluntad con un soldado pobre ermana legitima del dicho del tito cusi iupangui en casa de Juan maldonado donde los paños se pintaúan y viendo que una hija del Paulo Inga llamada doña Juana estaua pintada encima de la doña maria dicha se enojo y dixo allí como se sufre que su padre de Don Carlos y el esten en mas preminente lugar y su ermana siendo bastardos que mi padre e mi ermano e yo siendo legitimos y ansi se fue con otros ingas sus deudos a quexarse al uisorrey." AGI. Carta del P. Vera a S. M., Cuzco 9 May 1572, Lima, Leg. 270, fols. 532 v-533, cited by Fernando Iwasaki Cauti, "Las panacas del Cuzco," 70. First published in Roberto Levillier, *Don Francisco de Toledo, supremo organizador del Perú: Su vida, su obra (1515-1582)*, v. 3 (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1940), 286, which Ella Dunbar reproduced in "Don Carlos Inca", 15.

⁷⁸ The royal inventory completed in 1598 supports this description. Julien, "History and Art in Translation", 63; Iwasaki, "Las panacas del Cuzco y la pintura incaica," 69.

added text to the borders, which was read to the representatives. The final cloth depicted a genealogical tree of the royal kin groups of Cuzco. This last painting appeared to invite debate among the Indigenous elite as family representatives argued to secure their royal ranking.⁷⁹ Upon completion and verification, the *pañños* were sent to Spain with the manuscript, where they were displayed as late as the early seventeenth century in Casa del Tesoro as one of various artworks and curiosities of the world (Julien 1999: 62-63, citing Sanchez Cantón 1956-1959: 2. 250-252).

Evidence demonstrates that the *lienzos* (paintings on canvas) remained on display in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries before Murua travelled in the Andes. A careful study by Catherine Julien of the inventory of King Philip II's estate from the early seventeenth century and Francisco de Toledo's estate in 1582⁸⁰ at his death confirm that a group of seventeen *lienzos* had come from Peru with Viceroy Toledo and had been part of the royal collection housed in the Casa del Tesoro (Julien 1999). Furthermore, in search of concessions for a *repartimiento* in 1586, mestiza doña Leonor de Soto, daughter of conquistador Hernando de Soto and Leonor Tocto Chimbo, who was the daughter of Huayna Capac and a sister of Atahualpa, used the painted clothes as legal documentation. Her testimony drew on one of the sixteen *lienzos* in the Royal Palace of Madrid that depicted the capture of Atahualpa in Cajamarca, including captain Hernando de Soto. The testimony confirmed Soto's participation by citing the accompanying text to the capture: "with the help of Captain don Hernando de Soto".⁸¹ Lastly, according to a

⁷⁹ In a demonstration of the rivalry between Inca descendants under colonial conditions and the power of women, María Huarca Cusi, sister and wife to Sayre Tupa, contested the placement of her father, Manco Inca below don Cristóbal Paullo Inca's branch. This was of course due to the colonial hierarchy, where Manco Inca had rebelled and Paullo Topa had remained loyal to the Spanish. Hemming, *Conquest of the Inca*, 399; Levillier, *Toledo supremo organizador*; Bauer and Decoster, "Introduction," 17; Iwasaki, "Las panacas del Cuzco," 70; Puente, "Incas pecheros y caballeros hidalgos," 35; Temple, "La descendencia de Huayna Capac," 147, 168-169.

⁸⁰ Archivo Histórico Nacional, Colección Duques de Frias. *Ynventario de los bienes del yllustrisimo virrey fecho por la justicia ia de Oropesa*. Oropesa, 26 April-14 May 1582, ff. 127-60, cited and reference by Julien, "History and Art in Translation," 86-87, and León Tello, *Archivo de los Duques de Frias. Tomo III. Condados de Oropesa y Fuensalida y sus agregados*, (Madrid: Dirección General de Archivos y Bibliotecas, 1973), 24.

⁸¹ In addition, the notary in the testimony wrote: "Orossi yo el dicho escriuiano doy fee que bien el dicho lienço un cauallero del abito de Santiago que encima de su caueza en la pintura del dicho linço decia: 'Soto, tenía asido y presso,' a lo que allí parecia pintado, al dicho atagualp y le lleuaua presson." AGI. Escribania de Camara 509-A, cited by Enrique Marco Dorta, "Las pinturas que envió y trajo a España don Francisco de Toledo," *Historia y Cultura*, 9 (1975): 71-72; Tom Cummins, "La fábula y el retrato: imágenes tempranas del inca," in *Los incas, reyes del Perú*, ed. Tom Cummins, (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005), 17. Leonor de Soto wrote on the *lienzo*: "The year 1533. The valiant governor don Francisco Pizarro, who later became a Marquis, in the reign of the king of Spain, the Catholic emperor Charles, who in person and with the help of Captain don Hernando de Soto and a few Spanish companions, who are worthy of perpetual recognition and notable fame, captured Atagualpa, who was called ynga and lord of Peru, not really being

description in 1600 by the royal portrait painter Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, four *lienzos* of the Inca kings were on display in a bedroom of the Royal Palace.⁸² These accounts suggest an awareness by some Spanish elites of the painted cloths and their content. It is possible that Murua, who was in Peru by 1580 (or earlier), could have become aware of the *paños*. In other words, as the young Murua set out for the Andes, full of intellectual, religious, and artistic aspirations and curiosities, he might have imagined the novelty and exoticism of a visual Andean history and its peoples.

Furthermore, the visual and codicological evidence in Murua's manuscripts suggest some knowledge and modeling of Toledo's paintings, and the content could have come from his time in Cuzco (Cummins 2008). First, similar in content to the first *paños* commissioned by Toledo, a watercolor rendition of the Tambotoco origin story is included in Murua's 1615 Getty manuscript at the beginning of the royal portraits (19r; fig. 7). Based on the text on the backside (verso) of the folio, the image was transferred from the Galvin 1590, where it had also been the frontispiece to Book One on the "Origin and descent of Inca Lords." It had accompanied Chapter 1 in the 1590 version, "How before there was no king or universal lord until the Incas". The original text from the Galvin, now in the Getty, starts by describing:

such, having preceded a certain requirement, and in this capture 8,000 Indians died, almost all of whom suffocated running into each other out of fear of the horses." Julien, "History and Art in Translation," 72.

⁸² Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, painter for king Philip II, described them while he stayed in the fifth bedroom in the Royal Palace in July 1600: "*Quatro lienzos grandes, en que esta pintada, en el uno la descendencia de los yngas que gobernaban el piru y en los otros tres los retratos de los doze yngas hasa Guacayna...*" Cited by Cummins, "La fábula y el retrato," 16.

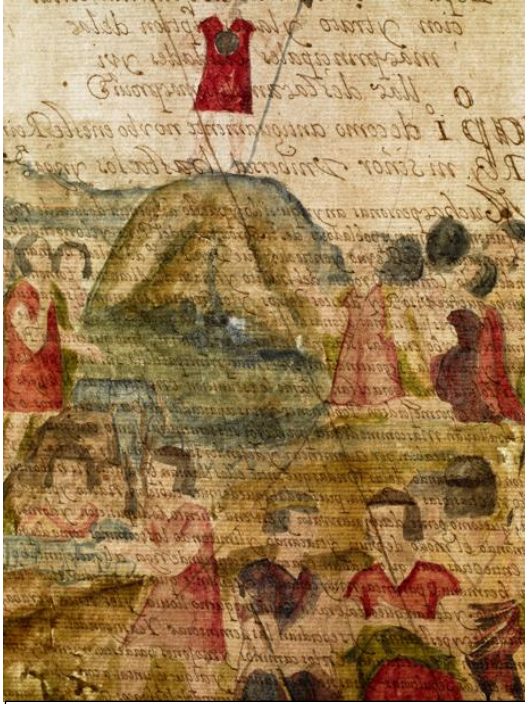


Figure 7: Tambotoco origin story. Martín de Murua. "Las Armas del Reyno del Piru," in *Historia General del Piru* (2008 [1616]), 19r. Digital image courtesy of Getty's Open Content.

Many people have inquired and attempted to discover the root of who were the first inhabitants of these provinces of Peru and the origins of the Incas who ruled this kingdom. Among them was don Francisco de Toledo, brother of don Juan de Toledo, Conde de Oropesa, of these kingdoms. He governed them with the greatest prudence and in them made the most just laws worthy of a nobleman. What is most certain is that he discovered that in ancient times there was no lord general in all of these provinces...rather everything that came after was born and originated from the Incas, who as people with great valor and understanding, mandated and brought order to society.⁸³

The reference acknowledges Toledo's thorough investigation and the fragmented social organization of the Andes before the Inca came to prominence. However, Murua pivots by stating that it was the Inca who created social order. The text that replaced this original text in the Galvin Murua (39r) was copied directly from Jeronimo de Oré. The replacement excerpt from Oré again praised Toledo but included many more disparaging descriptions of Inca rule.⁸⁴ The accompanying chapter in the Getty Murua makes no mention of Toledo but reinforces the European notion of the Indigenous origin narrative as a "fabula ridicula" or fantastical story (Cummins 2005: 28). Significantly, as Cummins first pointed

⁸³ "Muchas personas an ynquirido y puesto diligencia de sacar de raiz quien fueron los primeros pobladores destas prouinçias del Piru y el origen de los ingas que señorean este Reyno y entre ellos fue don Francisco de Toledo hermano de Don Juan de toledo Conde de Oropesa de estos Reinos y los Gouerno con grandissima prudencia y hizo en ellos leyes justissimas dignas de tal caballero y lo que mas cierto hallo fue que antiguamente no ubo en todas yestas probincias señor General...pues toda la que despues tubieron nascio y procedio de los Ingas que como gente de tan gran valor y entendimiento lo dispusieron y domesticaron ordenando el modo de viuir." Murua, *Historia general del Pirú*, 19v, transferred from Galvin Murua 1590.

⁸⁴ Significantly, the original text was taken out of the Galvin, presumably for the image, and replaced with a text that included a large, introductory segment directly copied from Jeronimo de Oré. Praising Viceroy Toledo, the replacement text states, "El Virrey Don Francisco de Toledo puso diligencia en sacar verdadera aueriguación del origen de los Reyes Ingas de este dicho Reino." It continues to describe the towns and house as without order or leadership, in a language reminiscent of Toledo's and Sarmiento's more disparaging perspective.

out, the textual and visual descriptions demonstrate an awareness of Toledo's investigations and his evolving understanding of Inca history.

Similarly, the portraiture of the second and third *lienzos* commissioned by Toledo suggest an association with the watercolor renditions of the Inca rulers and Coyas (Inca "queens") in the Galvin and Getty Murua. Multidisciplinary, collaborative investigations have determined that the early version of the Galvin included the *inca-coya* portraits and texts (for examples, fig. 8 and 9). Cummins and Ossio have concluded that according to the reference of "images and words" in another previously hidden prologue letter to the king (see Chapter 3 for the full quote) that the portrait images in Book 1 of the Galvin were a part of the very early, if not initial, composition of the Galvin manuscript (Cummins and Ossio 2013; Ossio 2014: 17; Cummins 2014). According to Ossio, the letter disproves the assertion by Adorno and Boserup of an early "Cusco Version" that Murua copied for the Galvin manuscript (2008b; 2005; Boserup 2016). In the initial phases before Guaman Poma's contribution, Murua completed the *inca-coya* portraits (Cummins 2014; Trentelman 2014; Turner 2014) and the majority of the chapter texts, including many (though not all additions) on the verso sides of the folios in the Galvin manuscript (Adorno and Boserup 2005). The 1590 original title page and 1596 endorsement letter were most likely written in response to this earlier structure.

Sarmiento's visual and textual project to describe the geography, customs, laws, and religions of the Andes is reminiscent of the images that Guaman Poma produced in the 1590 Galvin Murua manuscript. At the end of 1572, Toledo left for Charcas and the southern Andes, where he remained until about 1575. Two letters written after Toledo's departure from La Plata in 1575 mention Sarmiento's continued work as royal cartographer. One letter from the president of the Royal Audiencia describes: "He [Toledo] has ordered a good cosmographer to visit all of the provinces and towns, of both Spaniards and Indians, to record their latitude and describe them in paintings and to write the customs and laws with which the Inca used to govern them and all of

their rites and ancient ceremonies" (Levillier 1918-1922, 1: 329; Julien 1999: 79).⁸⁵ Books Three and Four of the 1590 Galvin Murua have at least sixty-four images related to Inca religion, law, governance, geography, and Inca and Spanish cities. At least six of the *lienzos* in



Figure 8: Coya, Ypa Vaco Mama Machi Coya, Mama Chiquia. Martín de Murua. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 28v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 9: Portrait of Manco Capac, Chima Panaca aylo. Martín de Murua. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 9v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

the King's possession at the *Casa del Tesoro* address the same topics as that Sarmiento's *lienzos* address, according to the letters. If this is true, it is likely that Murua and Guaman Poma were aware of the Toledo-Sarmiento textual and visual project of the late sixteenth century.

4.4 Reflections

The Murua portraits represent a nascent Andean elite portraiture tradition that evolved during the colonial period, but they are also related directly to Toledo's visual history project (Cummins 2008: 164-168). Detailed accounts describe festivals for important events in Cusco, Potosí, and Lima as early as 1555, like the festival for the beatification of San Ignacio de Loyola recorded in 1610. These festivals often contained public processions of twelve Inca kings,

⁸⁵ The other letter is from the Audience of Charcas with the same date. "About the description of all this land that the cosmographer has made and the true history of all that happened in Peru with the information he has taken from those who have been longest in this kingdom, which is something of great importance so that the truth about everything will be known and consent will not be given to circulate in print some false histories." AGI, Lima 270, Carta de la Audiencia de Charcas, f. 6, cited by Julien, *History and Art in Translation*, 79.

impersonated by *curacas* or their children, and a display of Inca portraits. Through public processions and Inca portraits, Andean elites asserted their Inca heritage and rightful claims to colonial power and prestige within a colonial context (Cummins 1991). Molina (1989 [1576]: 49-50) and Sarmiento (1906 [1572] chap. 9: 31) describe the pre-Hispanic Inca use of a series of painted wooden tables, even though no actual artifacts remain. Supposedly, Inca Pachacuti, the ninth Inca ruler, used these visual representations to consolidate the memory of Inca dynastic rule through genealogical narratives, which in turn informed the 1572 *paños* (Julien 2000: 12, 62-65, 80-81; Julien 1999). However, Cummins (2014: 165-173) has questioned if this form of Inca visual tradition existed and continued in the form of royal portraiture during the colonial period. With or without pre-Hispanic precedent, the European portraiture convention in the colonial period served as an important cultural and legal form of evidentiary material for Andean elites to claim their privileged social position.

In fact, in the Early Modern period visual evidence, such as portraits, became useful evidence in the legal arena for Inca descendants (Cummins 2004; 1995). Garcilaso de la Vega, El Inca, wrote that in 1603 he, don Melchor Carlos Ynga, and don Alonso de Mesa were entrusted by Inca descendants to present their case before the king. They were to provide visual proof as evidence: "painted on a vara and a half (about 1.5 meters) of white taffeta from China, a royal (lineage) tree, descending from Manco Capac to Huayna Capac and his son Paullo."⁸⁶ Indeed, the archival record shows that on March 29, 1603 in Cuzco, Inca descendants named Garcilaso, El Inca, Don Melchor Carlos Ynga, don Alonso de Mesa, and don Alonso Márquez presented their evidence for nobility before King Philip II in Spain. Significantly, the *poder* includes don Francisco Chalco Yupangui and his son, don Luis Chalco Yupangui, as representatives of the kin group descended from Viracocha Inca (Iwasaki 1986: 73-74; cites AGI, Lima 472). Again, on January 19, 1604 in Cuzco, Inca representatives generated another *poder* that again empowered

⁸⁶ "Pintado en vara y media de tafetán blanco de la China el árbol real, descendiendo desde Manco Cápac hasta Huayna Cápac y su hijo Paullo." Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, v. II, 384.

Garcilaso, El Inca, don Melchor Carlos Ynga, and don Alonso de Mesa. Don Alonso Márquez was replaced by the friar Jerónimo de Oré.⁸⁷ Almost half of the Inca representatives appear in both the 1603 and 1604 documents, including don Francisco Chalco Yupangui (though not don Luis). While these notarial documents do not mention Toledo's *paños*, they create a link between Murua's Andean elite endorsers, particularly don Luis, with the use of visual histories to support Inca claims to nobility.

In other words, Murua's 1590 and 1616 illustrated manuscripts project occurred exactly within the period that Inca elites in Cuzco were sending representatives armed with visual histories to the Spanish court. Given the publicity of Toledo's efforts and the collective representation in the 1603 and 1604 documents, it is very likely that don Luis and the other endorsers knew of such visual accounts. Toledo's deployment of visual evidence of Inca history, in addition to written documentation, normalized the use of the visual medium by Inca elites within the Iberian legal and cultural context in early colonial Cuzco. Working in late sixteenth-century Cuzco, Murua and Guaman Poma developed illustrated manuscripts that local Indigenous leaders would have recognized as a valid method of presenting their past and an effective medium for reaching an Iberian audience, particularly the king.

There are striking similarities between Murua's manuscript and the ones curated by Toledo and Sarmiento in the 1570s. The basic shared contours of a written and visual narrative of the history of the Inca and Spanish colonization, addressed specifically to the king, suggests that the Murua manuscripts were envisioned to appeal in part to the curiosity, intellect, and artistic interests of the Spanish sovereign. Murua's awareness of the Sarmiento-Toledo written and visual history of the Inca might have encouraged him to undertake an ambitious illustrated chronicle

⁸⁷ Murua possibly overlapped with Oré, who was assigned to parishes in the valleys of Cusco and Jauja in 1582. During this period Oré overlapped with Guaman Poma, who criticized him for his historical interpretation of the Inca (Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica*, 998). As *cura doctrinero* (priest) in the province of Collaguas (1583-95) and vicar for the crown province of Yamqui, Oré developed his skills in Quechua and eventually published in 1598 his chronicle and choir music in Quechua. He was also present in the proceedings of the Third Council of Lima. Margot Beyersdorff, "Oré, Luis de Jerónimo de (1554-1630)," in *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies, 1530-1900*, 472-475.

project that integrated visual and written histories on similar genres and topics. The visual and written model also would have been familiar, if not acceptable, to Inca elites. In addition to legal, cultural, and socio-political strategies, Inca descendants understood and proactively used portraiture and chronicles to advance their claims for noble status and privileges in the colonial period. Murua's chronicle project in the 1580s and 90s offered a new opportunity for asserting and promoting an Inca and Cuzco-centered version of Andean history in a changed, post-Toledo, political atmosphere.

5. Pleito de Exenciones or Lawsuit for Exemptions⁸⁸

As Toledo and his supporters sought to diminish the privileges of the Inca elite, in the 1570s and 80s the *inca orejones* and the non-Inca caciques of the four *suyus* (also called *incas de privilegio* in other sources) initiated a lawsuit known as the *pleito de exenciones* (lawsuit for exemptions).⁸⁹ Remaining records of the *pleito de exenciones* include don Luis, don Juan, and don Martín as Inca claimants. The lawsuit illuminates the complex social network in native colonial Cuzco and the Andean endorsers' extensive experience with colonial Andean legal processes.

The lawsuit began when the *caciques* of Tahuantinsuyu went to court to limit the number of individuals who could claim Inca descent and consequently exemption from paying tribute and providing personal services to the state. The strain of population decline from numerous fatal diseases, Inca and Spanish civil wars, crop failure and malnutrition, and migration had left less tribute-paying individuals from which *caciques* and *alcaldes* could collect tribute for the Spanish Crown (Cook 1981: 52; Garret 2005: 46-47). In this legal battle that lasted through the 1570s and 1580s, Inca descendants and non-Inca *caciques* deployed

⁸⁸ José Carlos de la Puente Luna gave this obscure lawsuit the name *Pleito de Exenciones*. See Puente, "Incas Pecheros y Caballeros Hidalgos," 9–95.

⁸⁹ César Itier disagrees with Puente's assessment that they are the *incas de privilegio*. See César Itier, "Incas Pecheros y Caballeros Hidalgos," *Revista Andina*, 54 (2016): 64-67. For more on *incas de privilegio* see, Laurent Segalini, "Organización Socio-Espacial Del Cuzco Prehispánico"; Garrett, *Shadows of Empire*.

lawyers, representatives, and witnesses on their behalf to represent their claims and petitions before the court.

The claim for tribute exemption by Inca descendants rested on the Iberian concept of *hidalgo* or lesser nobility.⁹⁰ In general, the colonial legislation did not deal systematically with Inca descendants and left every native petitioner to prove their noble credentials legally. Proving nobility in the colonial Andes rested on a demonstrated faith in Christianity, services to the King, and genealogical ties to former rulers. Importantly, noble status in the Spanish colonial state exempted one from tribute and provided additional compensation in service to the Spanish Crown. Hence, a primary focus of these petitions, *autos* (official decrees), and memorials rested on the Inca recording a "*linea recta de varón*" (direct male line) to an Inca ruler, which generally excluded female descendant petitioners or their own female descent line.⁹¹ To secure privileges for themselves and kin, the litigants in this lawsuit were, therefore, men. Women were only referenced if their Inca descent came through their mothers, making communal memory a highly gendered process (Martínez 2008; 2014: 173-201).⁹² With the assault on their noble status by Spanish officials and *incas de privilegios*, male Inca descendants joined together to enforce their noble position previously supported by the Spanish Crown. As we will see in the Lawsuit of

⁹⁰ In fact, in the medieval and early modern period there is no generic Castilian term for nobility as a group. The term *nobleza* was used only for great lords who were referenced with different terms at different periods, while lesser nobility were known as *infanzones*, *hidalgos*, *caballeros*, and *escuderos*. For discussions specifically on native *hidalgos* in the Colonial Andean context, see: Puente, "Incas Pecheros y Caballeros Hidalgos," 9–95; Sara V. Guengerich, "Inca Women under Spanish Rule," 107; and others. The bibliography is vast, but for an Iberian background, see: I. A. A. Thompson, "Hidalgo and Pechero in Castile," *History Today*, 37: 1 (1987): 23; "Neo-Noble Nobility: Concepts of Hidalguía in Early Modern Castile," *European History Quarterly* 15 (1985): 379–406; Díaz de Durana, *Anonymous noblemen: the generalization of hidalgo status in the Basque country (1250-1525)*, (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2011); and others.

⁹¹ There are exceptions, such as in the case of Cusi Huarca. See Guengerich, *Inca Women Under Spanish Rule*, 117.

⁹² For more on representation, writing, and power, including the domination of men and elites in the archive see: Kathryn Burns, "Forms of Authority: Women's Legal Representations in mid-colonial Cuzco," in *Women, Texts and Authority in Early Modern Spanish World*, Marta V. Vicente and Luis Corteguera, eds., (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), 149-163; Burns, *Into the Archive*; "Making Indigenous Archives: The Quilcayacamayoq in Colonial Cuzco," in *Indigenous intellectuals: knowledge, power, and colonial culture in Mexico and the Andes*, Gabriela Ramos and Yanna Yannakakis, eds., (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 237-260; Marta Vicente and Luis Corteguera, "Women in Texts: From Language to Representation," in *Women, Texts and Authority in Early Modern Spanish World*, Marta V. Vicente and Luis Corteguera, eds., (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), 1-16; and Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

Exemptions, male Inca descendants did so by drawing on their growing network of Spanish allies and officials and developing acumen in Iberian judicial and literary instruments.

The two primary documents of concern were generated by the heads of the *ayllus* shortly after the 1582 *poder* that granted representational power to Molina. The Inca descendants from Cuzco and the surrounding region produced memorials of all living Inca descendants in Cuzco from the 1580s. The caciques of the four *suyus* or *hatunrunas*, with their lawyers, used the recognition of the true Inca descendants to limit through the courts the number of Andeans claiming Inca descent, and therefore, tribute exemption. The intention is clearly explained in the declarations. For example:

They have made and make suit with the Indians who sought to be recognized as Inca descendants of the Lords who were of these kingdoms...without being Incas, among who they have inserted and insert many who are not Incas and attempt to get away with the said liberty, for which reason and so that it is known and understood that those who really should and can enjoy the said liberty of the Incas are to be descendants of the lords that were of these kingdoms (f. 252).⁹³

The two memorials were recopied and included as documentation in a declaration found in the Betancur

Collection. Don Diego Felipe Betancur compiled the multi-volume collection in the late eighteenth century as proof of his noble descent from the Marque of Oropesa during a lawsuit against don José Gabriel Condorcanqui.⁹⁴



Figure 10: Declaration. ARC. Betancur. Vol. 1, núm 21, [1584], ff. 264. The document is a copy of an original document in the Betancur Collection.

⁹³ "Ellos (principales of the four suyos) an tratado y tratan pleito con los yndios que pretendian ser declarados por yngas descendientes de los Señores que fueron destes reynos ... sin ser yngas entre los quales se an intrometido y intrometen muchos que no son tales yngas y pretenden salir con la dha libertad por cuya causa e para que se sepa y entienda quales son los que realmente deven e pueden gosar de la dha livertad de yngas por ser descendientes de los señores que fueron destes reynos." Don Garcia Tuero Gualpa Cacique principal of Condesuyo, don Martin Sutu cacique of Condesuyo, don Garcia Toma Vilca Cacique Principal de los yndios de los Andes, don Miguel Yrin principal (region unreadable), don Pedro Gualpa Rimache principal of Collasuyo, don Santiago Manri cacique principal of Andesuyo, and don Garcia Yana [missing] Tima principal of Chinchaysuyo of the four regions presented the declaration before Judges Damian de la Bandera and Garcia de Melo. *Ibid.*, f. 253.

⁹⁴ The Betancur Collection holds valuable records. However, the genealogical information was manipulated and must be used with caution. For further discussion see, Amado Gonzales, *El estandarte real y la mascapaycha*, 227-230; David Garret and Javier

The first document is undated and part of a declaration from January 1584 (fig. 10).⁹⁵ The "Testimony of the Exemption of the Inca" is in an eighteenth-century legal record of Doña Tomasa de Medina Guzmán Atau Yupanqui from the San Sebastián parish, who claimed descent from Viracocha. The series of copied memorials, testimonies, *autos*, and royal executives began in the 1570s and traced the periodic but continuous legal efforts by Incas in San Sebastián to maintain their status of liberty and exemption from tribute obligations or personal services.⁹⁶ The 1584 testimony included a memorial from the ayllu Susco of the living Inca descendants of the "modern" Inca rulers from Huayna Capac to Viracocha (or Hanan Cuzco) or *Pecheros*, as they are referred to in the document (f. 161). Without any reference to their ayllu or leadership position, the 1584 testimony grouped the Incas according to their lineage and, at times, parish. Here, don Juan Quispi Curi (Cusi) was listed as a descendant of Pachacuti. Don Luis was named a descendant of Viracocha and also acted as a signatory. While don Martín Quispe Topa was not listed, his father, don Hernando Pomacapi, son of don Cristóbal Paulo Ynga, was included.⁹⁷ Similarly, don Pablo Mango Topa was not listed. However, a don Martín Mango Topa, son of don Cristóbal Paulo Ynga and grandson of Huayna Capac, was listed. The similar name suggests that he was possibly his father, though this connection remains unverified.⁹⁸

Espinoza, *Sombras del imperio la nobleza indígena del Cuzco, 1750-1825*, (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2009); and David Cahill, "Primus Inter Pares, La búsqueda del Marquesado de Oropesa camino a la gran rebelión (1741-1780)," *Revista Andina* 37, (2003): 9-35.

⁹⁵ ARC. Chacón Becerra. Prot. 71, 1778-79, January 1584, ff. 158r-164r. John Rowe first uncovered the document and discussed it in *Los Incas Del Cuzco: Siglos XVI, XVII, XVIII*, (Cuzco, Peru: Instituto Nacional de Cultura Región Cuzco, 2003 [1985]), 81. Both Amado Gonzales, "El estandarte real y la mascapaycha," 106; 2008 [21012]: 75-76; 2009: 36-37; and Puente, "Incas Pecheros y Caballeros Hidalgos," 48-63 provide partial transcripts of the testimony and declaration.

⁹⁶ Doña Tomasa de Medina Guzmán Atau Yupanqui used them to demonstrate her descent from Viracocha Inga through Pedro Atau Yupanqui. Significantly, it includes a lawsuit begun in 1572 brought by the Viracocha Inca descendants from the ayllu Susco from the Binilla, Challcha, and Quisalla pueblos, who had been reduced to San Sebastian and *encomendado* by Captian Martín Dolmos and Doña María Arias in April 1544. The campaign was led by don Francisco Chalco Yupangui, *cacique principal* of the San Sebastian parish; don Alonso Puscon as "segunda persona", and don Juan Guacamayta. They were eventually successful in 1575.

⁹⁷ A Martín Quispe Topa was listed as a descendant of Pachacuti and resident in Santa Ana Parish. This is not him as numerous records show that don Martín and his wife, Doña Francisca Balladares, lived in San Cristóbal Parish and were descendants of Huayna Capac. ARC. Betancur. Vol. 1, núm 25, 24 June 1598, ff. 290-v. ARC. Sanchez de Quesada. Prot. 38, 1589, 24 March 1589, ff. 238v-239v. ARC. Sanchez. Prot. 36, 1593-94, 14 July 1594, ff. 550-v. Amado Gonzales, "El estandarte real y la mascapaycha," 156.

⁹⁸ In 1572, during the census registration of don Cristobal Paullo's sons, a don Martín Mango Topa was listed as a thirty-year old, single. Possibly don Pablo Mango Topa was born soon after. However, I have not found verifiable documentation.

The second memorial is part of another declaration from January 16, 1584 (fig. 11).⁹⁹ The memorial named the remaining *ayllu* from Manco Capac to Viracocha and their living or recently deceased Inca descendants and leaders. Don Luis Chalco Yupangui was listed as a descendant of Viracocha.¹⁰⁰ In striking contrast to the extensive list of Hanan Cuzco in the 1584 testimony, the second 1584 declaration included only a small number of living descendants from Hurin Cuzco and only those who are considered the leaders of the *ayllus*. The document offers little information about the others, often repeating: "*no se acuerdan de sus nombres*" [they do not remember their names] or "*sus nombres no conocen*" [they do not know their present name] (f. 254r). Even though the Hurin Cuzco representatives wanted to use this opportunity to record their own noble Inca descent in the Iberian legal and written form, the lack of recognized male living descendants to represent them underscored their remoteness and perhaps their lack of socio-political power among Inca descendants in the colonial Cuzco context. Significantly, all four Inca endorsers of Murua's manuscript (don Luis, don Juan, don Martín, and don Pablo) were in Hanan Cuzco.

During the lawsuit of exemption, don Luis Chalco Yupangui increasingly emerged as a native leader. On behalf of the Viracocha descendants, he and five other male Inca descendants on March 28, 1586¹⁰¹ gave power of representation to don Jorge Fernández de Mesa and the Augustinian friar Luis de Quesada at the Spanish Court. Only don Luis and Francisco Atauchi

⁹⁹ ARC. Betancur. Vol. 1, núm 21, [1584], ff. 252-265. The document in the Betancur Collection is a copy of an original document.

¹⁰⁰ The transcript of the memorial in the 1584 declaration lists: /264r/ Manco Capac, of the *ayllu* Chima Panaca; Cinche Roca, of the *ayllu* Raura Panaca. The living head and *cacique* was don Alonso Puscon, "*que es ynga principal de mucha calidad*" and other Incas that "*no se acuerdan de su nombres*". Lloque Yupangui... and Auqui Yupangui, of Haguainin *ayllu*, "*qual fueron don Agustín Tito Condemayta Ynga ques ya difunto que hera ynga muy principal /264v/ y de mucha calidad cuyo hijo es don Geronimo Tito viznieto de Guayna Capac ynga y hombre principal y a joan bautista Quispe Condemayta y otros algunos de dho ayllu que son muy principales*". Maita Capac, *ayllu* Uscamayta, "*don Joan Tambo Uscamaita y a don Diego Paucarmaita su hijo lexítimo y don Francisco Guari Tito y don Juan Uscamayta y aunque ay otros deste ayllu no se acuerdan de sus nombres*". Capac Yupangui Ynga Señor, descendants in the *ayllu* Apomayta, "*don Xpoval Cusi Guaman y a don Francisco Cocac Maita y a don Domingo Uscamaita y a don Juan Atau Maita y a Joan Bautista Opcalala y a los de mas del dho ayllu no conocen por sus nombres de presente*". Ynga Roca Ynga, *ayllu* Vicaquirao, "*don Francisco Guaman Rimache don Pedro Cota y don Juan Urco guaranca y a los de mas del dho ayllu no concen por sus nombres*". Yaguar Guaca Ynga Yupangui, *ayllu* Aucaili Panaca, "*Hernando Yto y a don Pedro Palomino y a don Martín Charaya y otros de sus nombres no conocen*", and "*Viracocha Ynga Gran Señor y rrei y conquistador desta ciudad y sus tierras, ayllu Cucco Panaca, don Francisco Chalco Yupangui Cacique Principal de la Parroquia de San Sebastian hombre muy principal y de mucha calidad y don Garcia Topa Yupangui Cacique Principal de la Parroquia de San Geronimo y don Luis Chalco Yupangui y los hijos de don Joan Tito (mutilated text) y otros yngas de cuyos nombres de presente no se acuerdan*." ARC. Betancur. Vol. 1, no. 21, 16 January 1584, ff. 264r-v.

¹⁰¹ This includes don Francisco Amaro Tito, don Juan Nyna, don Pedro Ychipio, don Francisco Atauchi and don Domyngo Gualpa Tito (f. 328). They all also appear in the 1585 *Testimonio*.

were signatories (f. 328). A month later, the father of don Luis and other Inca descendants from Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco named don Luis and other Inca Cusqueños as their representatives in Lima in defense of their privileges and claims to nobility.

Despite possible fissures, towards the end of 1580 Inca descendants successfully solidified their elite position in colonial Cuzco society. By May 22, 1587 the lawsuit between the *incas de sangre* and *incas de privilegio* was resolved in favor of the Inca descendants.¹⁰² In addition, on March 11, 1589, don Pablo Manco Topa, as *alcalde* of San Cristóbal parish,¹⁰³ received for posterity on behalf of the descendants of Huayna Capac in San Cristóbal parish the Audiencia's 1576 *ejecutoria* or final judgement on the suspension of Toledo's decree in favor of noble status for Inca descendants (Urteaga 1931: 233). The very public ceremony of the transmission suggests a general acceptance by Spanish officials of the elite position of Inca descendants, particularly the descendants of Huayna Capac. Notably, even though the records show no evidence of don Pablo in the 1572 census, he appeared to possess a leadership role as a descendant of Huayna Capac by 1586. The 1589 performance of the *ejecutoria* transfer was also just one year before the same don Pablo was listed with the others as an Inca endorser of Murua's 1590 manuscript.

Despite the victories of the Inca descendants in the 1580s, they continued to fight to defend the privileged status of the Hanan Cuzco, Hurin Cuzco, and *yanacuna* against Spanish officials throughout the 1590s and 1600s. They continued to cite their loyalty to the Crown in the conquest of the Andes, which they tied to the continued recognition of their noble status and privileges among Andeans. In many of these documents don Luis Chalco Yupangui appears as an active participant and leader.

¹⁰² Betancur, 22 May 1587, ff. 255v-56v.

¹⁰³ ARC. Sánchez de Quesada. Prot. 38. 1589. 24 March 1589, fol. 238v-239v.

In sum, during the last three decades of the sixteenth century and early decades of the seventeenth century, Inca and non-Inca leaders actively participated in the "lettered city" of Iberian notarial record-keeping practices. While not all were literate, the Andean endorsers of Murua's manuscript were Indigenous intellectuals who engaged in the transformation from oral to written record-keeping in order to defend their families and negotiate with colonial authorities. The legal campaigns of the 1570s and 80s between Inca and non-Inca elite revealed long-standing tensions as well as collaborative efforts among these ethnically and socially diverse communities. On the one hand, non-Inca leaders sought to limit the number of native elites claiming Inca descent. But in doing so, their efforts also helped the Inca and *yanacona* to codify their privileges and heritage. In protecting and promoting their privileges according to notions of Iberian nobility based on patrilineal descent, they gradually shaped and refined their Inca memories to meet myriad legal and lettered demands. As drivers and instigators of legal campaigns and documentation within the contours of Iberian concepts of nobility, Andeans adapted to colonial conventions while also shaping the communal memory and discourse of colonial Inca heritage and history. In the glow of a successful campaign for Inca descendants, Murua's chronicle project offered another venue to disseminate a Cuzco and Inca-centric history of Inca heritage.

The documents from the Lawsuit of Exemptions also prove that don Luis, don Martín, don Juan, and don Pablo served as active leaders of their *ayllu*, *panaca* (Inca ruler lineage corporations) and moieties. Following Andean dualism, all four belonged to the hanan or "upper" Cuzco moiety composed of the *ayllu* and *panaca* of the more recent Inca rulers. Their *panaca* membership clearly shows their inclusion in the elite and "modern" kinship and socio-political class of Inca nobility in colonial Cuzco. These pre-Hispanic and colonial kinship alliances are a crucial component of Murua's history of the Inca and its rulers. Not long after the resolution of the lawsuit of exemptions, the formation of an institutional body for Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco further determined the symbolic, elite position of Inca descendants in colonial Cuzco.

6. Cabildo of Twenty-Four and the *Alférez Real de los Incas*

6.1 *Background information*

The *Cabildo* (council) of Twenty-Four, composed of twenty-four electors from the eight native parishes of Cuzco, was established in 1595 as an honorific institution to elect annually a person of the Inca elite to serve as *alférez real de los incas* or bearer of the royal standard during the festival and procession of Santiago.¹⁰⁴ Don Luis, don Pablo, and don Juan all served as members in the 1595 and 1598 elections, which are two of only a few remaining election records found in the Betancur Collection at the Regional Archive of Cuzco. In this section I examine the background to the Cabildo of Twenty-Four and two election records that include the Andean endorsers, and the implications of their involvement in Murua's chronicle project. Through their involvement with the Cabildo of Twenty-Four and perpetuation and adaptation of Inca heritage, don Luis, don Pablo, and don Juan engaged as practiced Inca leaders and Indigenous intellectuals in Cuzco's late sixteenth-century cultural, and socio-political networks and institutions.

The position of *alférez real de los incas* was established on May 9, 1545 by royal decree to reward those Inca in Cuzco who had been loyal to the Spanish during the “pacification and conquest” of the Inca. The honor was symbolized by the wearing of the Inca *mascapaycha* or red tassel worn by the Inca ruler in pre-Hispanic times (fig. 9 for one of many representations in Murua's manuscripts) during festivals in Cuzco, particularly the festival of Santiago on July 25th in honor of the apostle's appearance at the conclusion of the Inca uprising led by Manco Capac.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Donato Amado Gonzales has written extensively on the *alférez real de los incas*. See Amado Gonzales, *El estandarte real y la mascapaycha*; “El alférez real de los incas: resistencia, cambios y continuidad de la identidad indígena Elites indígenas e identidades cristianas en los Andes coloniales,” in *Incas e indios cristianos: élites indígenas e identidades cristianas en los Andes coloniales*, Jean-Jacques Decoster, ed., (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas, 2002), 221-249; “El cabildo de los veinticuatro electores del Alférez Real Inca de las ocho parroquias cusqueñas,” *Allpanchis*, 72 (2008): 61-95. See also, Garret, *Shadows of Empire*, 56.

¹⁰⁵ After the pacification of the Inca, the Spanish conquistadors established the festival of Santiago. The festival included the procession of the royal banner by the Spanish and *mascapaycha* by the Inca. From 1558 onwards the *alférez real de los incas* joined in the dawn and day procession to honor the apostle. Accompanied by prominent noble Incas and leaders of the eight native parishes, the procession ended in the Cathedral with the Spanish *alférez real* and leaders seated on the right side and Inca *alférez real* and leaders seated on the left side.

The selection process of the *alférez real de los incas* eventually became formalized during two major phases. In the first period from 1558-1595 the election included all Inca descendants from both Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco. In the second period from 1595-1824, a Cabildo of Twenty-Four electorates from the eight parishes of Cuzco annually elected the *alférez real de los incas*. The election had become so chaotic and competitive between *panacas* that on June 4, 1595 don Agustín Jara de la Cerda, mayor of Cuzco and Judge of the natives, formed the *Cabildo de los veinte y cuatro electores del alférez real de los incas de las ocho parroquias de la ciudad del Cuzco* [Cabildo of the twenty-four electors of the *alférez real de los incas* of the eight parishes of the city of Cuzco], referred to as the Cabildo of Twenty-Four. The structure followed the Spanish Cabildo (governing council of a municipality) in Seville, which usually consisted of twenty-four members. The Cabildo of Twenty-Four was a purely honorific institution that (ideally) consisted of at least two electors from each of the eight native parishes and was restricted to Inca of Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco.¹⁰⁶ The order decreed that the Cabildo of Twenty-Four maintain a book that recorded the election, hold a free and secret vote every June in the house of the judge, and participate in the festival of Santiago.¹⁰⁷ The Cabildo continued until 1824, when it was disbanded under the nationalizing efforts of Simón de Bolívar. Throughout the colonial period, the office was reserved for Inca descendants and served to maintain, however precariously, their corporate identity and privileged position.

Interestingly, the founding of the Cabildo of Twenty-Four in 1595 coincided with a survey and repartitioning of native land in the Cuzco region under the supervision of Alonso Maldonado de Torres. It strove to confirm land title for all properties. The process left nominal properties in the hands of Indigenous communities and opened access to land for other Spaniards and the Crown. According to Laurent Segalini (2009: 107-129) this was the final phase of the Spanish

¹⁰⁶ In reality, twenty-four members was not always achieved due to disease, competition, and other challenges. Donato Gonzales, *El estandarte real y la mascapaycha*.

¹⁰⁷ ARC. Cabildo del Cuzco: Justicia Ordinaria. Leg. 2, 1587-1589, c. 25, 24fs. f. 181.

reorganization of Cuzco after Toledo's reduction and further confused or eroded the autochthonous territorial and conceptual kinship and socio-political divisions of Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco. Significantly, the election records of the Cabildo of Twenty-Four continued to record affiliations with Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco in 1595 but ceased to note the distinction in later records. The Cabildo also promoted increased competition between Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco (Cerrón-Palomino 2008: 235-236). Nonetheless, both the formation of the Cabildo of Twenty-Four and the land repartition followed a similar process of incorporating native Andeans into Spanish colonial institutional structures and hierarchies. Even as the depletion of native land and economic resources exacerbated colonial economic and social inequalities, the socio-cultural status of Inca descendants became more secure with the formation of the Cabildo of the Inca than it had been in the 1570s.

In fact, as Amado Gonzales (2016; 2017) has argued persuasively, the Cabildo of the Inca, while an imposed Spanish colonial institution, acted as a vehicle of continuity and change for local Inca customs and memories through the active engagement of Cuzco's Indigenous elite during the colonial period. Even as the membership of the Cabildo of the Inca relied on leaders from native parishes, those leaders' validity depended on their Inca and non-Inca descendants and ethnic groups, class divisions, *ayllu*, and *panaca*--including divisions

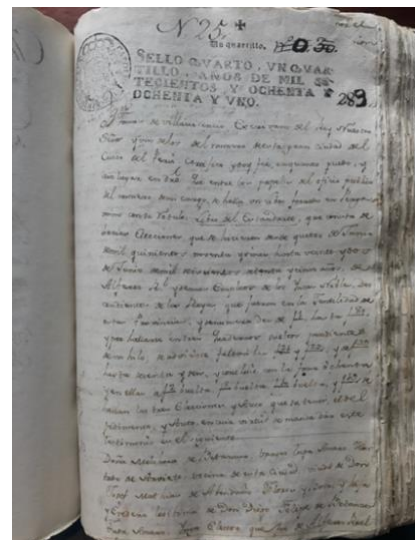


Figure 11: Testimony. ARC. Libro de genealogía de Diego Felipe Betancur Tupa Amaru. Vol. 1, no. 25; ff. 290. Photo by author.

between Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco. Through membership and the performance of the *alférez real de los incas*, Inca descendants continued to reinscribe Inca social memory and prestige. Moreover, Amado Gonzales shows how performative memory practices and social networks surrounding the *alferéz real de los incas* became deeply integrated with multiple mediums for recording memory and maintaining elite social status in colonial Cuzco society,

including paper documentation, oral history, portrait and Corpus Christi paintings, land ownership, ceremonial performances, and apparently chronicle projects like the one compiled by Murua.

6.2 *Inca endorsers and the Cabildo of the Incas*

Significantly, the Cabildo of the Inca's 1595 and 1598 election records in the Betancur Collection include don Luis, don Pablo, and don Juan.¹⁰⁸ The earliest election record for the *alférez real de los incas* is dated June 4, 1595 (fig. 11). It documented the votes of all twenty-four members from Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco. Strangely, the document failed to record who they elected. Unlike subsequent election records, this document included pre-Hispanic affiliations by identifying each elector with his ayllu and moiety. However, the impact of Spanish colonial political organization was also apparent as some electors were additionally identified by their parish affiliation. In addition to don Francisco Hilaquita and don Alonso Topa Atau, don Pablo Manco Topa was identified as a member of the ayllu of Huayna Capac.¹⁰⁹ Corroborating Sarmiento's association, don Juan Quispe Cusi was listed as part of Hatun Ayllu. Don Luis was again associated with Viracocha Ynga. All were listed as part of Hanan Cuzco. Both don Pablo and don Luis signed the record with five other noble Inca from Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco.¹¹⁰

The next election record for the *alférez real de los incas* from June 24, 1598 also included don Pablo Manco Topa, don Luis Chalco Yupangui, and don Juan Quispe Cusi (Chart 1). The group of only twenty electors were collectively identified as part of Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco and listed according to their vote. The majority chose don Juan Paucarmaita from Hurin Cuzco of

¹⁰⁸ 4 June 1595, 24 June 1598, and 29 June 1600 elections records are in ARC. *Betancur Collection*. Vol. 1, no. 25; ff. 288-294.

¹⁰⁹ This reading differs from Donata Amado Gonzales, *El estandarte real y la mascapaycha*, 113, who identifies don Pablo with *Ayllu Topa Ynga Yupangui*. The excerpt in question is: "[margin] Guainacapac / hanancuzco = don Francisco Hilaquita Alferes del año parado de noventa y quatro = don Alonso Topa Atau = don Pablo Manco Topa = Aillo Topa Ynga Yupangui = don Fransisco Pilcotopa = don Martin Atauche = Hatun Ayllu = don Juan Quispi cusi = don Juan Tito Topa de señor San Geronimo = don Juan Cuzco, casique Principal de la Perroquia de San Christoval = don Pedro Mayontopa = Viracocha Ynga = don Franc[isc]o Challco Yupangui = don Luis Chalco Yupangui Ynga = don Christoval Atau yupangui = don Pedro Sota Yupangui." The names of the other electors always follow their *ayllu*. I also corroborated their kinship affiliations of other electors, including don Francisco Pilcotopa as descendant of Topa Ynga Yupangui. Considering other primary sources with don Pablo, I believe he is descendant of Huayna Capac.

¹¹⁰ Don Francisco Hilaquita, Don Alonso Topa Atao Ynga, Don Pedro Mayon Topa Ynga, Don Francisco Guaritito, and Don Juan Ylla Topa Ynga. See Betancur, ff. 290v.

the Ayllu Uscamaita. Exactly half of the electors had also participated in 1595, suggesting both continuity and change in membership. The record only explicitly identified two members as part of Hanan Cuzco. All the individuals listed at the bottom were in Hanan Cuzco, suggesting a continued internal organization. Don Luis voted for don Juan Paucarmaita; don Pablo voted for don Joan Ynquiltopa, a minority choice; and don Juan is the only one to vote for don Francisco Conchatito, another descendant of Pachacuti.¹¹¹ Finally, don Luis was one of eight noble Inca to sign the record.¹¹²

Spanish officials had determined the terms for wearing the *mascapaycha*, but an order from June 24, 1598¹¹³ suggests that there was resistance to the exclusive use of the *mascapaycha* by the *alférez real de los inca* and *alcalde mayor*. The “*auto sobre la borla*” reiterated the requirements of the 1595 decree that only the *alférez real de los incas* could wear the royal fringe, and attendance was mandatory for Inca descendants at the festival of Santiago. The decree explicitly recognized that the custom of displaying the royal fringe on the festival day of Señor Santiago by the *alférez real de los inca* represented Inca lineage and nobility. Don Luis signed the document, although he is not identified as *alcalde mayor*.

The significant absence of electors in the June 29, 1600¹¹⁴ election posed a new challenge to the newly formed Inca Cabildo by a non-Inca elite, and a swift response to solidify Inca-only membership led by don Luis. Of eighteen electors, nine were repeats from 1595 and eight were repeats from 1598, including six who participated in all three elections.¹¹⁵ None of Murua's Inca

¹¹¹ For the descent of don Francisco Conchatito see, ARC. Gaspar de Prado. Prot. 277, 1603-8, 19 January 1604, ff. 43-44.

¹¹² This included don Luis Ynga, don Pablo Ynga, don Luis Chalco Yupangui, don Pedro Orcoguaranca, don Hernando Pomacapi Ynga (father of don Martín Quispe Topa), don Pedro Mayontopa, don Francisco Guaritito, and don Sebastian Ubina. Don Francisco Chalco Yupangui (father of Don Luis) and don Alonso Puscar were not present for the election because they were imprisoned for denouncing the *corregidores* (royal mayor) Antonion Osorio and Jerónimo Costilla. However, on June 26, 1598, they, along with don Francisco Atau Yupangui, *cacique principal* of the San Gerónimo Parish, voted for don Juan Paucarmayta. ARC. Prot. 71. Chacón Becerra, 1778-79, 19 July 1585, ff. 119-v.

¹¹³ Betancur. Vol. 1, Num. 25, 24 June 1598, ff. 292-v.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, ff. 292v-293.

¹¹⁵ This includes don Francisco Guaritito from Hurin Cuzco and don Francisco Pilco Topa, don Martín Atauchí, don Francisco Chalco Yupangui, don Pedro Mayontopa, and don Joan Tito Topa from Hanan Cuzco. Don Diego Rimache from the San Gerónimo parish was elected with twelve votes.

a. Cabildo de los veinticuatro electores incas, 1595			
Hanan Cuzco	Affiliation	Hurin Cuzco	Affiliation
Don Francisco Hilaquita	Guayna Capac	Don Francisco Guari Tito	Uscamaytas
Don Alonso Tupa Atau	nieto	Don Juan Paucarmaita	
Don Pablo Manco Topa		Sebastián Copca	
		Don Domingo Uscamaita	
Don Francisco Pilco Topa	Ayllu Topa Ynga Yupanqui	Don Diego Rimache	Parroquia de San Jerónimo
Don Martín Atauchi			
Don Juan Quispi Cusi	Hatun Ayllu	Don Pedro Rimachi	Parroquia de San Sebastián
Don Juan Tito Topa	Hatun Ayllu, Parroquia de San Jerónimo capac yupangui		
Don Juan Cuzco	Hatun Ayllu, Cacique Principal de la Parroquia de San Cristóbal	Don Cristóbal Chivantito	Huaynin
		Joan Quispe Condemayta	
Don Pedro Mayontopa	Hatun Ayllu or Viracocha	Don Alonso Puscon	Raura Panaca
		Don Domingo Guanacchiri	
Don Francisco Chalco Yupanqui	Viracocha Ynga	Don Francisco Sota Chima	Chima Panaca
Don Luis Chalco Yupanqui Ynga		Don Juan Sayre Tupa	
Don Cristóbal Atauyupanqui		Don Joan Chayacama	
Don Pedro Sota Yupanqui		Don Augustin Gachachima	

b. Cabildo de los veinticuatro electores incas, 1598		c. Cabildo de los veinticuatro electores incas, 1600	
Elector	Elected	Elector	Elected
Don Pedro urco guanca Alférez del año pasado	Don Joan Paucarmaita	Don Pedro Poma capi	Don Agustin Guaritito
Don Luis viracochan Ynga alcalde maior	don Pedro Mayontopa	Don Fran ^{co} Guaritito	Don Agustin Guaritito
Don Pablo Manco topa	don Joan Ynquiltopa	Don Fransisco Topa yupangui	Don Alonso Pacacauchi
Don Joan Tito Topa	don Joan Ynquiltopa	Don Diego Rimache	Don Diego sayre
Don Fran ^{co} Pilcotopa	Don Juan Ynquiltopa	Don Fran ^{co} Pilco Topa	Don Diego valapomaita
Don Martín Atauche	Don Joan Ynquiltopa	Don Martín Atauchi	Don Domingo uscamaita
Don Pedro Mayontopa	Don Juan uscamaita	Don Fran ^{co} conchatito	Don Diego Rimachi
Don Fran ^{co} concha Tito	Don Joan Ynquiltopa	Don Francisco Chalco Yupangui	Don Diego Rimachi
Don Joan Tito topa	Don Juan Paucarmaita	Don Pedro Mayontopa	Don Diego Rimachi
Don luis Chalco Yupangui	Don Juan Paucarmaita	Don Fran ^{co} Suta Shuina	Don Diego Rimachi
Sebastian Copeasaca	Don Juan Paucarmaita	Don Luis Cusi rimachi	Don Diego Rimachi
Don Fransisco Guaritito	Don Juan Paucarmaita	Don Pedro Guainayupangui	Don Diego Rimachi
Don Diego Paucar maita	Don Juan Paucarmaita	Don Alonso Atao yupangui	Don Diego Rimachi
Don Diego Saire Tito	Don Juan Paucarmaita	Don Joan Tito topa	Don Diego Rimachi
Don Luis cusi rimache	Don Juan Ynquiltopa	Sebastian Topa mayta	Don Diego Rimachi
Don Domingo Guanacchire	Don Juan Ynquiltopa	Don Domingo Usca maita	Don Diego Rimachi
Don Agustin Gualpa chima	Don Joan Paucarmaita	Don Alonso Cuzcon	Don Diego Rimachi
Don Sebastian ubina Alguacil maior de las Parroquias	don Joan Ynquiltopa	Don Diego Guaina chiri	Don Diego Rimachi
Manuel Tito yupangui	Don Juan Paucarmaita		
Don Joan quispe Topa	Don Fransisco Conchatito		
Don Francisco Chalco Yupangui	Don Juan Paucarmaita		
Don Alonso Puscar	Don Juan Paucarmaita		
Don Francisco Atau yupangui	Don Juan Paucarmaita		

Chart 1: a. Elecciones del alférez real de los yngas de esta ciudad del Cuzco, hechas en 4 de junio de 1595; b. en 24 de junio de 1598; y en 29 de junio de 1600. Betancur, vol. 1, #25.

endorsers appeared as electors. However, the list again included don Francisco Chalco Yupangui, don Luis' father and longtime leader of the San Sebastián parish. The low membership attendance prompted don Pedro Huayna Yupanqui, a non-Inca, to appear at the election and to cast his vote. His presence was noted with dissatisfaction by Pedro Tito Cusiguallpa and don Luis Chalco Yupangui, leading non-Inca members to be permanently barred from participating.¹¹⁶ Even as non-Inca elites rose in status and power in colonial Cuzco society, the Cabildo of the Inca allowed Inca descendants to maintain a uniquely prestigious position from a symbolic and ceremonial perspective, although still subordinate to Spanish officials. While don Luis served as *alcalde mayor* for all native Cuzco, in efforts like this and other legal campaigns he, his family, and the Inca network were staunch defenders of Inca status and heritage over other Andeans.

Significantly, Murua's 1596 endorsement letter from native Cuzco leaders was created a year after the formation of the Cabildo of Twenty-Four and the first elections with both Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco. Murua and/or the leaders may have felt compelled to include another endorsement that underscored the prestige of Inca descendants that the creation of the Cabildo of Twenty-Four helped to solidify. There is the unlikely possibility that it was, in fact, the members of the Cabildo of Twenty-Four who participated in the 1596 letter. However, given the new significance of the Cabildo of Twenty-Four in colonial Cuzco society, Murua probably would have identified them as such. Conversely, Murua's reference to "*Principales, Curacas y Caciques Principales*," includes a broader group of Inca and non-Inca leaders from the Cuzco region. Nonetheless, the prevalence of don Luis, don Juan, and don Pablo in both the 1595 and 1598 elections demonstrates that they were intricately and publicly involved in native Cuzco as representatives and leaders during the production period of the Galvin Murua. As such, it is very possible they were again involved as native leaders in the 1596 endorsement.

¹¹⁶ The document can be found in José García, "El Alferazgo Real de Indios en la Época Colonial," *Revista Universitaria* XXVI (1937): 188–208. See Amado Gonzales, *El estandarte real y la mascapaycha*, 117-119.

However, another record from December 3, 1596 offers clues as to who else might have been involved in Murua's 1596 letter.¹¹⁷ In the same year that Murua solicited his second endorsement from Cuzco's native leaders, and only a year after the formation of the Cabildo of Twenty-Four, a decree by Spanish officials sought to limit gatherings by Andeans. Read aloud before native leaders from each of the eight parishes who were listed, the order forbade Andeans, by threat of punishment, to gather in groups except for holiday festivals and Sunday.¹¹⁸ Listed



Figure 12: Auto. ARC. Contreras. Prot. 4, 1596-97, 3 December 1596, ff. 173-v.

among the parish leaders were: don Pablo Manco Topa, *alcalde* of San Cristobal Parish; don Juan Cusi Quispi Cusi, *principal* in the San Blas Parish; and don Pedro Porque (Purqui), *principal* in the Santa Ana

Parish (See Appendix A, Transcription 1 for the other names; fig. 12). Thus, in addition to the listing of Inca in the elections of the *alférez real de los incas*, this document from 1596 offers additional possible Andean men who endorsed Murua's early manuscript version. Unfortunately, it is impossible at present to confirm any additional individuals.

¹¹⁷ ARC. Contreras. Prot. 4, 1596-97, 3 December 1596, ff. 173-v.

¹¹⁸ More research is needed to understand the particular context of this record.

Through their membership in the Cabildo of Twenty-Four, don Luis, don Juan, and don Pablo were clearly actively involved as Inca leaders in their parish and kinship networks. Our limited records indicate that none of them appear to have served as *alférez real de los incas*, but as members of the Cabildo of Twenty-Four they served in an elite socio-political and cultural institution recognized for its significant role in perpetuating royal Inca memories and social status. Their participation demonstrates that Andean leaders actively promoted and defended their Inca heritage within colonial institutions for their families and communities, in ways that went beyond economic and legal strategies discussed in previous sections of this chapter. Significantly, Murua and his Andean endorsers were undoubtedly present in Cuzco for the formation of the Cabildo of Twenty-Four in 1595 and the coalescing of Hanan Cuzco, Hurin Cuzco, and Inca prestige in colonial Cuzco. The formation of the Cabildo of Twenty-Four represented a symbolic gesture of recognition by the Spanish state, and social and cultural stability for Inca descendants, after the turmoil caused by Viceroy Toledo, the 1595 reorganization, and incessant challenges to their livelihood and status. Murua's ambitions for a visual and textual representation of an Inca history coincided with the consolidation of an Inca elite who strategically and intentionally perpetuated, adapted, and reimagined Andean memory practices within a colonial context.

7. Conclusion

The select group of Indigenous witnesses who endorsed the Galvin Murua were immersed in the parishes, *ayllus*, and moieties of native colonial Cuzco. They played active roles in the socio-political, economic, religious, and cultural networks of the Inca city. As intellectuals and elites who accommodated themselves to the Spanish colonial project, they persisted in defending the rights and livelihood of their families and communities. The Inca endorsers of Murua's manuscript were not (at least explicitly) supportive of the Inca resisters in Vilcabamba, but they nonetheless staunchly promoted their Inca descendancy, including their association in Hanan Cuzco with the more "modern" Inca rulers. For the Inca descendants, in general, the efforts of

Spanish officials and other native ethnic and social groups to curtail their privileges and rights created a crisis of nobility that motivated them to defend themselves through legal and symbolic means. Inca elites intentionally engaged with colonial institutions and practices to maintain and advance their social status. Similarly, don Pedro Purqui participated as a representative of his ethnic and parish community in order to promote the privileges of the Cañari who were living in native and Spanish colonial Cuzco. He used the same multiplicity of approaches, and his identity as a leader, to conserve his community's special status and privileges in colonial Cuzco. However, he was also an astute negotiator between Inca and Spanish officials, recognizing how the interests of the Cañari overlapped with Inca descendants and how they did not.

Rather than simply functioning as competitors for the approval of Spanish officials and nobles, Inca and non-Inca elites alternately allied, negotiated, and competed among themselves and with other Spaniards in a complex and fluid matrix of interests and networks. They adapted the most pragmatic strategies of leadership and identity to represent their communities before Spanish officials, scribes, interpreters, and others. They all engaged in the transformation of oral history to alphabetic text and illustrations in order to mediate between their constituencies and Spanish authorities, to negotiate a more accurate history of their past, and to defend and promote themselves and their communities. By the time that these Andean leaders engaged with Murua at the end of the sixteenth century, they were accustomed to each other and to the collaborative oral, visual, and literary format of notarial, judicial, and chronicle practices. Their participation in the Toledo-Sarmiento history project, and their experience with the legal campaigns of the 1570s and 80s and election records of the *alferéz real de los incas*, placed Murua's male elite endorsers in a unique position. Murua's Andean collaborators were primed to reimagine and reinscribe their heritage and memory at a time when colonial changes and depopulation threatened to obliterate the past. By the end of the sixteenth century, Murua's Indigenous collaborators must have been eager to represent themselves and their people in his illustrated chronicle project.

Descendants of pre-Hispanic rulers and nobles relied on demonstrating lineage and heritage to defend their elite positions in colonial society. Native rulers sought to establish the same proof of elite descent required of the Iberian nobility, thereby allowing them and their descendants to retain lands and titles, access to high office, and other privileges within the colonial system. As a result, genealogy became a paramount preoccupation for any Indigenous elite who attempted to establish an identity in Spanish Peru. This fact led many elites to engage the legal system and to serve as activists and leaders for the rights of their families and communities in a way that commoners did not and could not engage. Unfortunately, the legitimacy and authority given to men by colonial society to participate as witnesses and claimants in major campaigns and legal proceedings also meant that the process of collective memory recorded in legal and historical projects was an androcentric process that favored men's voices. As in so many other parts of Andean society, the recording of native memory in lettered and visual records of the colonial period occurred predominantly through, and perhaps because of, an array of strategic adaptations and negotiations that excluded the voices of Andean commoners and women.

CHAPTER TWO

'Of the famous deeds':

Individual Background and Contributions of the Andean Endorsers

Of the famous deeds of the Cañari and of their privileges.

These Inca lords brought many guards with them who were Cañari Indians. They were trusted because they were brave, courageous, valiant, and very confident . . . These Cañaris were reserved for tribute and other things, some of which continue today in this great city of Cuzco. They live in the Parish of Santa Ana. Their captain is don Pedro Purqui. They were always considered loyal vassals and nobles for having served so well, either among the Spaniards or the Indians. Today, they are exempt from [paying] tribute and personal service and many other impositions, and by provision of the Real Audiencia of the City of Lima they were declared to be loyal and as such ordered that their privileges and liberties be guarded and given a coat of arms: a cross on a silver shield that they wear with a headdress placed on the head. Because they are very courageous and valiant, two lions were added to the sides of the cross as symbols. They are decreed as nobles with their freedoms and privileges maintained. Likewise, these famous Cañaris descended from the royal blood of the Inca by a son of the great Huayna Capac and an Indian of the Cañari, called the famous Captain Guaritito. He was very brave and for a long time conquered many lands and Indians . . . Had many great wars with the famous Colla Topa, captain, as was said in the history. It was allowed for some Cañaris to put the Inca *borla* (tassel) and *mascapaycha* (Inca royal tassel) on their head like the main leader by descendancy from the valiant captain Guaritito, although by license or express mandate from the Inca. If they [Cañari] did it without permission, they [Inca] buried him alive and destroyed all his *ayllu* and relatives and labeled them traitors to the royal crown of the Inca... As strong and courageous captains, they always maintained to this day in this great city of Cuzco and throughout this kingdom their reputation and fame for being highly regarded, esteemed and as faithful and loyal vassals of his majesty.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ The full chapter is: "*Capítulo 17 de los famosos Hechos / de los yndios cañares y de sus privilegios / Trayan estos señores yngas De Hordinario mucha gente de guardia consigo que era / de yndios cañares Por ser velicossas, animossos, valientes y de mucha confiança de quien / en la guerra mas se confiauan a manera que el turco con sus genibaros, aunque de quien / mas se fiauan de todos en general eran de sus propios naturales y parientes y que / estos cañares eran reseruados de tributo y de otra cossa, alguna de los quales algunos / an perseuarado en esta gran çiuudad del cuzco y viben en la parrochia de la señora / sancta ana el capitan de los quales es don pedro Purqui y a causa de auer ser / uido muy bien en todo lo que sea ofresçido anssi entre españoles como entre los mismos / yndios y estar siempre aparejados como leales vasallos e Hidalgos para ello. / Al presente anssi mismo son rreçerbados de tributo y de seruiçio personal y de otras / muchas ymposiçiones y por prouiçion de la Real audiencia de la çiuudad de los / Reyes estan declarados y dados por leales y como a tales mandando se les guarden sus / preuilegios y libertades y dado les por armas una chruz en un escudo de Plata / que traen tocado y puesto en la caueça y por ser muy animossos y balientes se les / anadieron por ynçinias dos leones a los lados de la cruz. Leuantados y mandando / que como a tales Hidalgos se les guarden sus liberades y preuilegios como dicho es. / Assi mesmo desendian estos famosos y velicossas cañares de la sangre Real del ynga / por un hijo que tubo el gran guayna capac en una yndia de los dichos cañares llamado / el famosso capitan guaritito el qual fue muy valiente y*

Whereas Chapter One approached the Andean endorsers from their more collective activities, this chapter considers their unique backgrounds. The question from Chapter 1 remains: What factors compelled the Andean endorsers to participate in Murua's chronicle project? Here I consider the individual backgrounds and available primary sources of the Inca endorsers. I incorporate additional primary evidence and relevant secondary source material to give context to their individual status, background, and motivations. I then examine examples of how don Pedro Purqui contributed to the Galvin Murua. Significantly, these interventions do not conform to the overriding Inca-centric historical narrative. In addition to Guaman Poma, Purqui's contribution is one of the few explicit traces of personal intervention that we can tie directly to Indigenous sources. His intervention supports the possibility that the Inca endorsers also contributed to the text, explored in Chapter Five. Chapters 3-5 consider the contributions of Guaman Poma and the Inca endorsers to the text and illustrations.

This chapter examines the shared concerns, experiences and backgrounds of the Andean endorsers. The violent oppression and context of Iberian colonization forced Indigenous elites to engage in new legal and cultural spheres, both collectively and as individuals. While Andean actors reinscribed Inca heritage and legacy with sometimes conflictual interests, they also shared strategies and alliances that reimagined Andean memory and society within a colonial context. Second, the interventions by don Pedro demonstrate that despite an overriding Inca-centric history in Murua's chronicle, the Galvin Murua exhibits traces of conflicted Andean histories and strategies of elite non-Inca ethnic groups prevalent in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth

*para mucho y conquisto muy / chas tierras e yndios q[ue] estauan alsados contra el ynga su padre y poniendolos / en mucho Horden y conq[ue]rto tHeniendo grandes guerras con el famoso colla topa ca / pitan como queda dicho en su istoria y assi fue permitido A algunos destos dichos / cañares poner la uorla y mascapaycha del ynga en la caueça como fuese principal / acaueça Por la desendencia que los dichos tubieron de el belicosso capitan guaritito / ymfante aunque esto auia de ser con lisençia o mandato expresso del ynga y al que / se la ponía sin ella lo enterrauan viuo y asolauan todo su aylo y parentela / y los daua por traydores a la corona Real del ynga y Por caussa de ser desen / dientes deste valerosso capitan guarito y d ser tan arduos balientes y animo / ssos en la guerra y gente tan noble tomaron nombre de cañares y como tales / desendietes suyos la ayudaron en la conquista de quito y de to [roto] quel laco / marca como fuertes y valerosos capitanes quedando siempre en esta repu / taçion y fama y siendo muy tenidos y estmiados y assi lo sono y en día en / esta gran çiudad del cuzco y en todo este rreyno por fieles y leales vasallos de su mag^d." Murúa, *Historia del origen*, f. 69r.*

centuries in the Cuzco region. This chapter continues to deepen understandings of the diversity, fluidity, and instability of Andean identities and memories within a colonial context. The analysis challenges the idea of single authorship by contextualizing the individual backgrounds and interests of Andean and mestizo actors in the chronicle's production.

2. Descendants of Huayna Capac: don Martín Quispe Topa and don Pablo Manco Topa

Of the five Andean endorsers, two were descendants of Inca ruler, Huayna Capac, and lived in the Parish of San Cristóbal. At least one, don Martín Quispe Topa, was the grandson of Huayna Capac's son, don Cristóbal Paullo Inca (1518-1549) (Urteaga 1931: 233; Puente 2016a: 55). Don Paullo Inca's mother was Añas Collque, daughter of chief of Huaylas (Guailas) of non-Inca royal blood, putting him at a lower rank than his half-brothers Huascar, Atahualpa,¹²⁰ Tupac Huallpa,¹²¹ and Manco Inca. However, he and his descendants were able to rise to significant power and social status in Cuzco in the sixteenth century thanks to don Paullo Inca's opportunistic relationship with the Spaniards (Temple 1949; Hemming 2012 [1970]). He sided early and consistently with the Spaniards in the early phase of "pacification and conquest" of the Andes. He proved to be a vital native leader and able warrior, providing conquistadors such as Diego de Almagro life-saving native manpower, resources, and guidance in the difficult Andean terrain during their many military campaigns against natives and against each other during the Spanish civil war in Peru.¹²² His approach stands in stark contrast to his half-brother, Manco Inca, who

¹²⁰ Huayna Capac's sudden death, likely precipitated by disease carried by the Europeans, set off a not uncommon struggle for power between his two sons, Atahualpa and Huascar, and their allied factions. According to María Rostworowski, unlike European primogeniture, the rules of Inca succession allowed for sons to have equal accession rights that often led to more or less intense battles for power after the death of an Inca ruler. Unfortunately, the Spanish arrived in 1532 amid this fratricidal war, which they adeptly exploited to their advantage. As a captive of the Spaniards, Atahualpa ordered Huascar's death, and the conquistadores famously rushed through an unjust trial under fear of another Inca raid that ended with Atahualpa's execution. María Rostworowski, "Succession, Cooption to Kingship, and Royal Incest among the Inca," in *Southwest Journal of Anthropology* 6, 4 (1960), 417-427.

¹²¹ Tupac Huallpa was the son of Huayna Capac and younger brother of Huascar. He was in Cajamarca during Atahualpa's captivity and execution. He was then coronated a day after Atahualpa's death in 1533, following Inca and Spanish ceremonies, but soon died from disease in Jauja on the way to Cuzco. Manco Inca, part of Huascar faction, emerged from hiding to accompany the conquistadors in claiming Cuzco. Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, 86-96.

¹²² Various scholars have compared and analyzed primary and chronicle sources on the life of Paullo Inca's and his descendants and the relationship with Manco Inca. See *Ibid.*; Ella Dunbar Temple, "La descendencia de Huayna Capac"; "Los testamentos inéditos de Paullo Inca, don Carlos y don Melchior Carlos Inca. Nuevos datos sobre esta estirpe incaica y apuntes para la biografía del sobrino del Inca Garcilaso de la Vega," in *Documenta* 2, no. 1 (1949-50), 630-651; Julien and Nowack, "*Toledo contra los incas*"; Donato

was crowned by Francisco Pizarro and allied Inca in December 1533. Both don Paullo Inca and Manco Inca (c. 1516-1545) were part of the Huascar faction in Cuzco but went into hiding during the brutal attacks of Atahualpa's captains. Manco Inca's mother, Cura Ocllo, was of royal Inca blood, and a higher rank than Paullo Inca. However, by the end of 1535, he led a native uprising against the Spanish that included the siege of Cuzco in 1535-36 and the founding of a sovereign Inca state in Vilcabamba. In contrast, Paullo Inca chose to support the Spanish. He likely sabotaged negotiations between his half-brother, Manco Inca, and the Spaniards and participated in a raid into Vilcabamba in the beginning of 1539 under Gonzalo Pizarro.¹²³ He likely calculated that the Spaniards would prevail and that he could garner power and wealth for himself and his descendants by remaining allied with them (MacCormack 2016: 76).

After years of military campaigning, Paullo Inca turned his attention to solidifying his hard-fought position of power in colonial Cuzco, embracing Spanish customs while maintaining Inca traditions. In 1537, after Manco Inca's revolt, Diego de Almagro crowned Paullo Inca with the *borla* during their return from Chile. He was granted Colcampata, the former palace of Huascar, where he lived with his sons, don Carlos Inquil Topa Inca (1537-1582) and don Felipe Inquil Topa and his wife, doña Catalina Tocto Ussica.¹²⁴ In 1543 he was baptized by *comendador* friar Juan Pérez Arriscado as don Cristóbal Paullo Inca, along with his wife and mother. His two sons were

Amado Gonzales, "La Descendencia de don Cristóbal Paullo Ynga y sus privilegios," in *La Descendencia de Don Cristóbal Paullo Ynga*, 27-73; Sabine MacCormack, "¿Inca o español? Las identidades de Paullu Topa Inca," *Ibid.*: 73-94; et al.

¹²³ The relationship between Manco Inca and Paullo Inca is not entirely straightforward. Paullo Inca supported Manco Inca in Cuzco as he became increasingly under attack and mistreated by the Spaniards. According to Cieza de León and Betanzos, Manco Inca sent Paullo Inca and Villac Uma, a high priest and Inca leader, to accompany Diego de Almagro on this expedition to Chile with the agreement to ultimately lead them to their death or destruction. But according to a *probanza* by don Melchior's, his grandson, Manco Inca and don Francisco Pizarro ordered Paullo to go with Almagro. Villac Uma ultimately fled the expedition and eventually rejoined the Inca uprising. Paullo Inca continued to support the Spaniards, likely saving their life in the Atacama Desert. He sided with the Almagristas against the Pizarristas, and opportunistically sided against the Crown in the Spanish civil war until it became clear the rebels would lose, and he switched sides. Manco Inca continued to reach out to Paullo Inca. Enjoying the new power and prestige received by allying with the Spaniards, Paullo Inca became an increasingly unpredictable and untrustworthy ally to Manco Inca. He ultimately sabotaged the negotiations and fought against the Inca uprising. *Ibid.*: 74-75, et al.

¹²⁴ Following Spanish protocol to request rewards and privileges, between April 6-12 of 1540, don Paullo produced a *probanza* from twenty friendly witnesses that highlighted his loyalty to the winning side of the Spanish. See Hemming, *Conquest of the Inca*, 248, cited in note p. 567, CDH Chile 5, 354. His son, don Melchior Carlos Inca, later produced another *probanza* that continued don Paullo Inca's selective life history. BNM, 1626: ff. 1-178v, published in Amado Gonzales, *La Descendencia de don Cristóbal Paullo Ynga*, 95-346. Moreover, he had two official wives until 1543 when he was baptized and chose doña Catalina. Mariusz Ziolkowski, "Del 'orden divino' o ¿por qué eran obedidos los soberanos de Vilcabamba?," *Vilcabamba entre arqueología, historia, y mito*, Jean-Jacques Decoster and Mariusz Ziolkowski, eds., (Cuzco: Centro Bartolomé de las Casas, 2016), 202.

baptized in a chapel attached to Colcampata and other Inca elites in Cuzco soon followed.¹²⁵ Significantly for our Andean endorsers, on April 1, 1544 his many offspring were legitimized *en masse* by royal decree, allowing them to receive the privileges and rights as Huayna Capac's descendants.¹²⁶ On May 9, 1545 Emperor King Carlos, granted don Paullo Inca various rewards, including a coat of arms, *repartimientos* in Yauri, Hatun Cana, and other towns, and an annual income of 12 million pesos (Hemming 2012 [1970]: 249; Temple 1949: 65). Paullo Inca only officially married doña Catalina two days before his death in 1549. The marriage certified that his eldest son, don Carlos, would be recognized as his first heir according to Spanish criteria. The unique privileges and efforts of Paullo Inca allowed for his ancestors to amass considerable wealth over the course of the colonial period, including several *chacras* (small farms) of coca, maize, and chili, fruit orchards, textile mills, and houses (Puente 2018: 151).

Don Paullo's son and grandson upheld his opportunistic attitude and hispanized legacy. They both received an elite education according to Spanish standards, learning how to read and write, ride a horse, and becoming skilled in arms and music (Temple 1948: 146). Don Carlos was the first native Andean to marry a Spanish woman, doña Maria de Esquivel, from Trujillo, Spain. He played a leading role in colonial Cuzco society, manifested in an extravagant baptismal festival for his son, don Melchior Carlos Inca, in 1571. Don Melchior's godparents were none other than Viceroy Toledo and doña María Arias, wife of Martín Olmos. However, much to Toledo's dislike, the natives of Cuzco received don Melchior as the Inca king and gave him the title, "Capac Inca". Not long after, Toledo became increasingly frustrated and suspicious of the power of the Inca in Cuzco and Vilcabamba. He accused and imprisoned don Carlos, don Titu Atauchi,¹²⁷ and other

¹²⁵ His wife, Mama Tocto Ussica (or Oxica), was baptized as doña Catalina Tocto Ussica. His mother Añas Collque became doña Juana, his sister became doña Beatriz Huayllas Ñusta. Other prominent Inca that were baptized include, don Garcia Cayo Topa, don Felipe Cari Topa, don Juan Paccaco Pascaca, don Juan Sona and others. Amado Gonzales, *Descendencia*, 30; Hemming, *Conquest of the Inca*, 250; Temple, *Descendencia de Huayna Capac*, 137.

¹²⁶ Urteaga published the document in, *Imperio Incaico*, Appendix D, 263-6.

¹²⁷ Don Titu Atauchi was the nephew of Huascar, last descendant of Huascar Ayllu and father of don Alonso Titu Atauchi. A 1544 document presented to the royal court identify him as son of Huascar Inca and grandson of Huayna Capac. He was *alcalde* of the Parish of San Cristóbal in 1560. He died around 1574, upon returning from Cuzco after being exiled by Viceroy Toledo. Puente Luna,

Inca elites for allegedly participating in the 1567 mestizo rebellion plot and allying with the resisting Inca in Vilcabamba.¹²⁸

However, at the time of Murua's chronicle production in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries don Melchior, the son of don Carlos Inca, was the living inheritor of Paullo's legacy and influencer of colonial Cuzco's social atmosphere and relations between natives and



Figure 13: Portrait of don Melchor Carlos Ynga. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Príncipes: Don Melchor Carlos Ynga." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, Nueva corónica y buen gobierno (c. 1615), page [739 [753]].

Iberians. He was only three years old when Toledo's persecution of his father was reversed by royal decree. This special status enabled him to be raised in luxury. He received the same education as the mestizo sons in Cuzco at the Jesuit college of San Borja in Cuzco, and enjoyed the lifestyle of Spanish aristocrats. In 1582, at the age of eleven, he inherited his father's estate and Colcampata was restored to him, reversing Toledo's seizure. After founding and endowing a chapel of San Francisco, he was given the symbolic figurehead title of Alderman and Royal Standard-Bearer of the Incas in Cuzco. The standard-bearer accompanied the *alférez real de los incas* in the festival of Santiago. Like his father, in 1595 he married a

woman of Spanish descent, doña Leonor Arias Carrasco and daughter of conquistador Pedro

"Incas pecheros y caballeros hidalgos," 52; Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, "El Alcalde Mayor indígena en el virreinato del Perú," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 17 (1960): 207; Hemming, *Conquest of Inca*, 455; Julien, *Inca Reading History*, 86.

¹²⁸ Other prominent figures who were accused include don Alonso Tito Ataque, Felipe Inga, Diego Cayo, don Agustín Condemayta and other. Diego Cayo, resident in the San Blas, was descendant of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui. His father was second in command to Huayna Capac. Sarmiento mentions a 75-year-old Diego Cayo from the Hatun ayllu of Pachacuti Inca who also verified his chronicle. Sarmiento, *Historia de los incas*, chap 97, p. 126. Julien and Nowack studied an *expediente* that dealt with the process against the Inca. See Julien and Nowack, *Toledo contra los incas*, 19-20. Amado Gonzales, *Descendencia*, 32-33, 139; Hemming, *Conquest of the Inca*, 437-438.

Alonso Carrasco.¹²⁹ To recuperate the *repartimiento* of Hatuncana, don Paullo completed a *probanza* between May and October of 1599 that, like his grandfather's, presented a strategically positive picture of their loyalty to the Spanish Crown (MacCormack 2016).

However, in the latter half of the 1590s, don Melchior's generally wild behavior prompted Spanish officials to find ways for him to leave the city. Don Melchior also became entangled in political intrigue in Cuzco that involved his father-in-law, who was charged for conspiracy in 1601. Don Melchior's involvement was never proven. In 1599, a sympathetic Viceroy don Luis de Velasco entreated the Spanish King to fund don Melchior's travel to the Spanish Court to fight his case for additional rewards there. At the end of 1600, don Melchior also requested to travel to Spain, which the king granted in 1601. He was eventually granted knighthood and the post of *gentilhombre de boca* in exchange for his *borla*. While in Spain, he was granted power of representation in 1603 on behalf of Inca descendants in Cuzco with Garcilaso de la Vega, El Inca and other mestizos (discussed in Chapter One). However, don Melchior ultimately failed to bring the case forward in the courts (Temple 1948; Hemming 2012 [1970]: 443-446; Puente 2018: 1-5). He died in 1610 in a monastery in Madrid and is depicted by Guaman Poma as a quintessential hispanicized Andean elite in aristocratic Iberian clothing and a pointed beard (fig. 13).

However, for all the efforts at hispanization by Paullo Inca and his descendants, it is easy to lose sight that their important social status in colonial Cuzco among Andeans also depended on upholding Inca traditions and standards. Sabine MacCormack (2016) points out that Paullo Inca and his ancestors also maintained fundamental Inca practices that promoted their social status among Andeans in Cuzco. Don Paullo was treated with pomp and majesty reminiscent of an Inca ruler in Cuzco, such as being carried on a litter to church. He hosted the celebration of Inti Raymi from his palace and guarded the sacred stone from the hill of Huanacauri (Wanakawri, Guanacauri) until the Spanish discovered and destroyed it (Hemming 2012 [1970]: 250;

¹²⁹ He also had four children with a native woman, doña Catalina Quispe Sisa Chavéz: Juan Melchor Carlos Inca, Juana Yupanqui Coya, Carlos Inca, and Melchora Clara Coya. Hemming, *Conquest of the Inca*, 444.

MacCormack 2016: 81). At his death, he was mourned with traditional Inca ceremonial ritual (Ibid: 80, citing (Betanzos (1987 [1551-1557]: part I, cap. XXXI; Cieza 1986b [1554?]: caps. XXXII, LXI]). His heirs similarly held considerable social power in native colonial Cuzco, holding the prestigious position of the *alférez real de los incas* until the 1580s, the offices of the *alcalde mayor* and *alguacil mayor* throughout the colonial period, and leading positions in ceremonial activities (Amado Gonzales 2016: 44-68; Temple 1948: 147). While none of don Paulo's other descendants experienced the same level of wealth and prestige as his direct heirs, the collective efforts of his descendants helped maintain positions of social prestige for all the descendants of Huayna Capac in colonial Cuzco. Except for don Carlos and his descendants, who remained in Colcampata, don Paulo Inca's many other sons and descendants were reduced to the Parish of San Cristóbal, which is where we find initial evidence of don Pablo Manco Topa and don Martín Quispe Topa.

Due to deterioration of the document, Murúa's 1590 declaration states that a Manco Topa, *cacique principal* of San Cristóbal, endorsed his chronicle. Numerous documents produced between 1589 and 1598 name a don Pablo Manco Topa as *cacique principal* and *alcalde* in the San Cristóbal parish in the 1580s and 90s¹³⁰ and as a member of the 1595 and 1598 Cabildo of Twenty-Four in the election of the *alférez real de los incas*.¹³¹ These references make it all but certain that the Andean endorser don Manco Topa is don Pablo Manco Topa. It remains unclear if he was a direct descendant of Paulo Topa, though a similarity in names suggests he may have been the son of don Martín Mango Topa, a recognized son of Paulo Topa and grandson of Huayna Capac. Like don Luis Chalco Yupanqui,

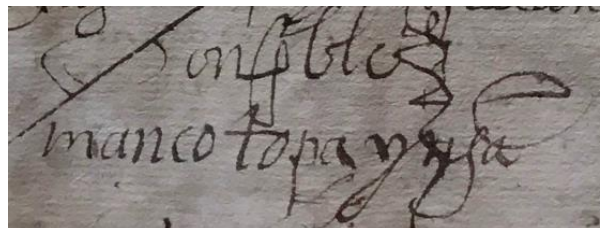


Figure 14: Signature by Don Pablo Mango Topa. ARC. Antonio Sanchez. Prot. 36, 1593-94, 14 July 1594, ff. 550-v. Photo by Author.

¹³⁰ This includes: ARC. Sanchez de Quesada. Prot. 38, 1589, 24 March 1589, ff. 238v-239v; ARC. Sanchez. Prot. 36, 1593-94, 14 July 1594, ff. 550-v; ARC. Betancur. Vol. 1, núm 21, 4 June 1595, ff. 290-v.; ARC. Betancur. Vol. 1, núm 25, 24 June 1598, ff. 290-v; ARC. Ciencias. Leg. 10, 1602, 2 August 1602, ff. 26-28v; Urteaga, *El Imperio Incacico*, 235.

¹³¹ Betancur Collection, ff. 288-294.

evidence of his signature (fig. 14) and ample representation in the colonial record suggests he was literate in Castilian and possibly educated in Cuzco's school for elite native sons.

The August 1572 census taken in the parish of San Cristóbal provides the earliest evidence of don Martín. The census listed the sons of Paullo Inca by household, including anyone living with them and the property associated with them. Don Hernando Pomacapi (twenty-six years old), and doña Beatriz Chimbo Urma (thirty years old), had three "legitimate" children: Martín Quispe Topa (eight years-old), Joana Quispisuca (seven years-old) and Paula Pasma (one year-old). The household also included other children and widows, possibly his aunts.¹³² Compared to some of the other sons of Paullo Inca, the 1572 census suggests a more modest socio-economic status of his natal family, with only one *topo* of land and one maize plot of land, in San Cristóbal. The 1572 date makes don Martín twenty-six in 1590 when he endorsed Murúa's chronicle. This would mean that don Martín was in his late teens and early twenties in the 1580s when he served as a representative and *cacique principal* for San Cristóbal and its residents.¹³³ Perhaps his education among the elite Andean male youth in Cuzco and literacy, demonstrated by his signature in various documents,¹³⁴ prompted his leadership role at such a young age. He appears to be more active in the 1580s during the legal campaigns against Spanish officials than in the 1590s.¹³⁵

¹³² In the August 1572 census of the parish of San Cristobal, don Quispe Topa is listed as the other households of his uncles, sons of Paullo Inga. For don Martín's household it states: "Don hernando Pomacapi, 26 yrs, hermano de los dichos y Beatriz Chimbo Urma su mujer de treinta años e Martín Quispitopa de ocho años, Joana Quispisuca de siete años y Paula Pasma de 1 año, hijos legitimos de los dichos, e Juan Cullo de dos años e Joana Mohina Justa de cinco años y Mariahumba viuda de 36 años leonor Chimbo Quipe de 38 yrs viuda y Bartholomé Yatán de 14 yrs y Francisco de 11 yrs y Ynes Paico de 5 years hijos de la dicha Leonor, tiene un topa y un pedazo de tierra de maiz a donde sus hermanos asimismo declara que tiene seis carneros de la tierra." Urteaga, *Imperio Incaico*, 232-233.

¹³³ Amado Gonzales provides a review of the careers of don Quispe Topa, and particularly his sons, in the socio-economic life of colonial Cuzco. According to Amado Gonzales, don Quispe Topa took over as *alguacil mayor* for the eight parishes from don Sebastián Urbina. Unfortunately, his archival source for don Quispe Topa as *alguacil mayor* is not cited. However, I believe he may be referring to his son with the same name given the dates and later references. I have located numerous archival documents related to his sons' activity. However, a more in-depth consideration of the family goes beyond the scope of this dissertation project. Amado Gonzales, *El estandarte real y la mascapaycha*, 156-163.

¹³⁴ Don Martín served as witness to Maria Payco widow of Martin Limachi of the parish of Belén in ARC. Luis de Quesada. Prot. 13. 1586. 20 February 1586. f. 172. Cervantes, 6 June 1582. f. 266v.

¹³⁵ Don Martín was signatory to a power of representation for Cristóbal de Molina in June 1582. Ibid.

Curiously, while don Martín is an endorser to Murua's 1590 manuscript, he is not as readily visible in the colonial archive, such as the Cabildo of Twenty-Four or the Lawsuit for Exemption. Possible lack of seniority and ample representation from San Cristóbal (such as don Pablo Manco Topa) within the constraints of limited available membership positions (only two per parish) kept him out of the Cabildo of Twenty-Four; or perhaps the limited election records simply did not record his participation. He married doña Francisca Balladares, descendant of Huayna Capac. They had two sons, don Fernando Ynga Balladeres and don Martín Quispe Topa.¹³⁶

His sons played a significant role in seventeenth-century colonial Cuzco's socio-political and religious networks as native leaders and legal guardians. In 1620 don Fernando Ynga Balladeres took over the position of *alcalde mayor* of the eight parishes of Cuzco from don Luis Chalco Yupanqui and served until his death in 1646. He donated significant resources to religious endeavors such as the *cofradía* (religious brotherhood) of Señora of Copacabana. His brother, don Martín Quispe Topa married doña Magdalena Pilco Cosa and served as *alguacil mayor* from at least 1637 to 1685. He was also *cacique principal* and governor of San Cristóbal parish, and guardian for numerous individuals. Records show that the brothers found it increasingly difficult to pay the royal tribute. Don Martín Quispe Topa (the son) died in debt and poverty, despite being deeply entrenched as a leader in the social and economic life of native colonial Cuzco.¹³⁷

Religious orders and indigenous elites developed ties through the selection of burial spaces in churches of religious orders (Ramos 2010: 193-213). As descendants of Huayna Capac, don Martín and don Pablo likely had ties with the Franciscans. Gabriela Ramos describes how descendants of Huayna Capac believed that Paullo Inca's body was buried in the Franciscan church. Indeed, his testament requests that he be buried in the Franciscan convent in the Tococachi neighborhood in San Blas parish.¹³⁸ According to notarial records from the sixteenth

¹³⁶ ARC. Alonso de Bustamante. Prot. 11, 1676-1678, 7 April 1679, f. 285.

¹³⁷ See Amado Gonzales, *El estandarte real y la mascapaycha*, 106-115, 131, 158-165.

¹³⁸ ARC. Corregimiento de Causas Ordinarias. Leg. 66, 1699-1705.

and seventeenth centuries, his burial spurred Huayna Capac's descendants to secure burial sites in the Franciscan church. Significantly for our study, this request included don Martín's younger sister, doña Juana Quispe Sisa, in 1635,¹³⁹ and his son, don Fernando Ynga, in 1646, while he served as *alcalde mayor* of the eight parishes of Cuzco.¹⁴⁰ In his will don Fernando Ynga also named doña Juana Carrasco, possibly a mestiza and relative, to be his successor in the confraternity of Nuestra Señora de Copacabana, a Marian devotion supported by the Augustinians.

To conclude, don Martin and don Pablo were not only significant for their collective efforts with other Inca, but they also held a distinct position of social prestige as descendants of Huayna Capac and Paullo Inca in colonial Cuzco. This status supported their leadership roles in Cuzco and participation in Murua's chronicle project. They resided in the heart of the native colonial Cuzco society and adopted a more acculturated Indigenous approach to their Spanish colonial conditions, having embraced Spanish loyalties while maintaining distinct features of their Inca heritage. Significantly, Huayna Capac is the only Inca ruler to be represented by two out of four endorsers of Inca descent.

3. Descendant of Pachacuti: Don Juan Quispe Cusi Inca

Besides those already discussed in Chapter 1, no additional documents have been located that are primarily concerned with don Juan Quispe Cusi Inca, which limits our understanding of him. However, beginning in the 1570s he owned land in the Parish of San Blas, bordering Diego Cayo, another *principal* of Hatun Ayllu (or Iñaca Panaca). The ancestral lands in Cuzco of the Hatun ayllu were between Lucre, Callachaca and Patallacta.¹⁴¹ Based on information

¹³⁹ Ramos, *Death and conversion in the Andes in the Andes: Lima and Cuzco, 1532-1670* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 2010), 175, citing a will from doña Juana Quispe Sisa ñusta, Cuzco, 30 October 1635, ARC, PN, Seventeenth century, Francisco de la Fuente 109, f. 322.

¹⁴⁰ Gabriela Ramos, "The Incas of Cuzco and the Transformation of Sacred Space under Spanish Colonial Rule," in *Space and Conversion in a Global* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 73, citing AHC, Protocolos Notariales, Pedro de la Carrera 4, f. 663r.

¹⁴¹ ARC, Antonio Sánchez, Prot. 25, 1573-1574, f. 374; Segalini, "Organización socio-espacial del Cuzco prehispánico," 123; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *Historia de los incas*, 126, 175.

provided in Sarmiento de Gamboa's *Historica Incaica* he was approximately sixty-three years old in 1590, and therefore, born shortly before or after the Spanish invasion. We can also verify that he was a descendant of the Inca ruler Pachacuti and member of Hatun Ayllu (also called Inaca Panaca Ayllu) and Hanan Cuzco from the 1584 Testimony.¹⁴² He served as a *cacique principal* in 1596 (if not much earlier)¹⁴³ and representative member of the Cabildo of Twenty-Four for San Blas in 1595 and 1598.¹⁴⁴ In other words, along with don Pedro, he was one of the elder endorsers of Murua's 1590 manuscript and a longtime leader and representative of his ayllu and parish in sixteenth-century native Cuzco. He may or may not have become literate in Castilian (likely not), for we have no evidence of his signature; but he was certainly familiar with the Iberian lettered arts as an Indigenous intellectual. Unfortunately, at this point we have no specific additional information on his immediate familial connections or socio-economic status.

4. Descendant of Viracocha: Don Luis Chalco Yupanqui

Don Luis Chalco Yupanqui is the only listed native leader in Murua's 1590 declaration for whom we have significant records in the Cuzco archives. The son of doña Joana Chimbo Ocllo and don Francisco Chalco Yupanqui, he was born in the San Sebastián Parish. He was part of the Wimpillay (Limballa, Bimpilla) and Callachaca community as a descendant of Inca ruler, Viracocha, and member of the Sucso Panaca Ayllu and Hanan Cuzco. Thanks to a last will and testament from December 24, 1600 (see Appendix A, Transcription 2) we know he had two sisters, doña Catalina Pilco and doña Ysabel Pilco Çiça, still alive in 1600.¹⁴⁵ According to one document in 1597, don Luis was "forty-six years more or less", suggesting a birth year of approximately 1552.¹⁴⁶ With his wife, doña Maria Malque, he had two sons, don Urcon Chalco

¹⁴² ARC. Chacón Becerra. Prot. 71, 1778-79, January 1584, ff. 158r-164r.

¹⁴³ ARC. Contreras, 3 December 1596, ff. 173-v.

¹⁴⁴ ARC. Betancur Collection, 4 June 1595, 24 June 1598, ff. 288-294.

¹⁴⁵ ARC. Antonio de Salas. Prot. 303, 1600-01, 24 December 1600, ff. 560-563v.

¹⁴⁶ ARC. Miguel de Contreras. Prot. 4, 1596-97, 1 January 1597, f. 1201v.

Yupanqui (his eldest) and don Luis Viracocha Chalco Yupanqui, and one daughter, doña María Pilco Çiça. His daughter possibly married don Fernando Roco Yupanqui and had four sons.¹⁴⁷ He also had a twin boy and girl by a native woman named María and another daughter named Catalina by another woman. He relocated to his wife's community in San Blas parish, while maintaining connections with San Sebastián parish.

Like other pre-Hispanic and colonial Andean leaders, don Luis benefited from a legacy of hereditary leadership and privilege through his father (and possibly mother, though more research is required). His father, don Francisco Chalco Yupanqui, was an extremely important native figure in colonial Cuzco in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In 1572, the elder don Francisco Chalco Yupanqui served as a witness to Sarmiento when he was approximately forty-five years-old and *cacique principal* of the Sucso Panaca Ayllu (Sarmiento 2009 [1572]: 209); therefore, he was most likely alive before the Spanish invasion and the Inca civil war. From the 1570s to the early 1600s, don Francisco Chalco Yupanqui, as cacique principal of the Wimpillay and Callachaca and the San Sebastián parish, continuously worked with other Inca descendants in San Sebastián and other parishes to secure and protect the privileges of Inca descendants,¹⁴⁸ including many of the same legal efforts where we find don Luis.¹⁴⁹ As to be expected, he was also a member of the Cabildo of Twenty-Four of the Eight Parishes of Cuzco in 1595, 1598, and 1600, suggesting continuous membership.¹⁵⁰ Interestingly, don Luis did not take over the

¹⁴⁷ On January 24, 1633 a doña María Sisa (Çiça) was married to don Fernando Roco Yupangui and lived in San Sebastian. They had four sons: Bartolomé Chalco Yupangui, Francisco Auquicani, Diego Chalco, and Diego Felipe. The choice of "Yupangui" and "Chalco" for the sons suggests a familial connection. ARC. Prot. 71. Chacón Becerra 1778-79, 24 January 1633, 126v.

¹⁴⁸ This included presenting and wining their case in 1572 to limit tribute collection from the *encomendero* of Wimpillay and Callachaca, don Martín Dolmos, to the level of before the *visita* by Muños and Damian de las Bandera Solas and ordered by Viceroy Toledo. ARC. Chacón Becerra, Agustín. Prot. 71, 1778-79, 30 of January 1575-19 May 1602 ff. 128v-154.

¹⁴⁹ There remain many more documents involving don Francisco that need to be analyzed for understanding the social and kinship networks of don Luis.

¹⁵⁰ In the 1595 record he was named with don Luis, don Cristóbal Atauyupangui, and don Pedro Sota Yupangui as descendants of Viracocha in Hanan Cuzco. In 1598 he voted for don Juan Paucarmaita, as did don Luis, and was called to verify the validity of the vote (Betancur 25, 291v). In the 1600 vote, unlike don Luis, who refused to vote because of the presence of don Pedro Huayna Yupanqui, a non-Inca, don Francisco voted for don Diego Rimachi. Don Francisco continued to appear as *cacique principal* of San Sebastián parish until 1604.

leadership position of his father as *cacique principal* in San Sebastián parish but instead sought leadership for all of native colonial Cuzco.

Following Andean hereditary practices, don Luis's sons were also primed to be native leaders in colonial Cuzco. In 1586 don Urcon Chalco Yupanqui married doña María Payco Oclo, daughter of don Cristóbal Rimache Ynga, a Viracocha descendant who lived in San Sebastián parish. The document explicitly stated that don Urcon was the "legitimate, oldest son of don Luis Chalco Yupangue Ynga of the descendants and lineage of the said Inca".¹⁵¹ In a June 1, 1596 *poder* (power of attorney) both his sons were named to serve as Inca representatives in their efforts to protect their privileges and rights before Spanish Officials in Lima.¹⁵² However, in don Luis's 1600 testament he only named his one son, don Luis Viracochan, as his legitimate son. An extreme illness had prompted don Luis to draw up his last will and testament. This suggests that perhaps his eldest son had recently died from one of the introduced diseases that continually ravaged the native population during the early colonial period. As a result, his younger son, don Luis Viracocha, was put in control of don Luis' affairs and estate, including his three children from women other than his wife. In 1598, according to the election records for the *alferéz real de los ingas*, don Luis Viracocha served as a member of the Cabildo of Twenty-Four with his father and grandfather. He was listed as *alcalde mayor* of the eight native parishes in Cuzco, in which case he would have directly followed or filled in for his father, who was possibly suffering from an extreme illness.¹⁵³ It is unclear what happened after 1598, as at some point his father resumed the office of *alcalde mayor*.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ "*Hijo ligitimo y el mayor de don Luis Chalco Yupangue Ynga de la descendencia y prosapia del dho ynga.*" ARC. Quesada, Luis de. Prot. 13, 1586, 8 March 1586, f. 205v.

¹⁵² ARC. Antonio de Salas. Prot. 18, 1596-97, 1 June 1596, ff. 556-558.

¹⁵³ Betancur, num. 25, f. 291.

¹⁵⁴ In 1604, a don Luis Vicon Viracocha Inca is identified as the *alcalde mayor*, which could perhaps be the same person. ARC. Agustín Chacón Becerra. Prot. 71, 1778-79, 30 January 1575-19 May 1602 ff. 153v.

As the original 1590 title page suggests, don Luis was indeed a prominent native leader in Cuzco in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. By 1581 he served as the *alguacil mayor* when don Francisco Sayre was *alcalde mayor* of the eight native parishes of Cuzco.¹⁵⁵ In 1586 there is substantial evidence that he functioned in various capacities, likely fulfilling his responsibility as *alguacil mayor*, including as a guardian to doña Ysabel Tocto Ocllo,¹⁵⁶ witness to a land sale,¹⁵⁷ and more. Eventually in a *poder* from April 22, 1586 he represented Inca interests in Lima.¹⁵⁸ His experience in Lima offered an opportunity to develop his leadership skills and build his social network and legal acumen beyond Cuzco, entering into the transatlantic sphere of Spanish officials in the Viceroyalty of Peru. By 1590, he served as a witness for Murua's chronicle as the "[*alcalde*] *mayor y gobernador de esta dicha çiudad y de todas las parroquias*" [*alcalde mayor* and governor of this said city and of all the parishes]. He shows up actively fulfilling his duties between 1590 to at least 1597 as *alcalde mayor* of the eight native parishes.¹⁵⁹

By 1597, in at least two records, when he served as a witness, don Luis was not only identified as *alcalde mayor*, but, like Guaman Poma, as "*yndio ladino en lengua española natural desta gran ciudad del Cusco*" [indian fluent in the Spanish language, a native of this great city of Cuzco].¹⁶⁰ An *indio (yndio) ladino* has been defined as an acculturated non-Spaniard fluent in the Castilian language. However, other characteristics were conflated with the concept of *ladino*, an expansive term that referred to someone who had converted to Christianity, had become

¹⁵⁵ ARC. Luis de Quesada. Prot. 11, 1571-81, 14 October 1581, f. 471v.

¹⁵⁶ ARC. Luis de Quesada. Prot. 13, 1586, 4 March 1586, ff. 115v-117.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 11 March 1586, f. 230-231.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 22 April 1586, ff. 471v-472. Additional archival research is needed in Lima and Spain to identify if there are surviving records of their efforts.

¹⁵⁹ In a June 1596 *poder*, when his sons were entrusted to represent the Inca descendants, he was recognized with the similar title, "*alcalde mayor y gouernador de las perroquias de la gran ciudad del Cuzco cabeça de los reynos y provincia del piru*" [*alcalde mayor* and governor of the parishes of this great city of Cuzco head of the kingdom and province of Peru]. ARC. Antonio de Salas. Prot. 18, no. 11, 1596-97, 15 July 1597, f. 556. In fact, in most of the documents from 1596 and 1597, he was identified as the *alcalde mayor*. *Ibid.*, 6 November 1596; *Ibid.* 1 June 1596, ff. 556-558; *Ibid.*, 27 November 1596, ff. 165-66; ARC. Juan de Olave. Prot. 8, 1596, 28 June 1596, f. 431v; ARC. Miguel de Contreras. Prot. 4, 1596-97, 7 January 1597, f. 1201v; *Ibid.*, 14 January 1597, 1607-1618v.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 7 January 1597, f. 1201v. ARC. Antonio de Salas. Prot. 18, no. 11, 1596-97, 15 July 1597, f. 556.

acculturated to Hispanic and European customs and dress, and was literate (in Castilian). While sharing the characteristic of a native person fluent in *castellano*, the *yndio ladino* was far from homogeneous. Instead, the heterogenous and conflictive position had a "chameleon-like" quality whose meanings and implications changed with the context (Adorno 1991: 232-70; 2007: 24-26; Dueñas 2010: 5-6; Kilroy-Ewbank 2018: 26; Puente Luna 2018: 102). It could also be derogatory. Like the mestizo and Indigenous intellectual, an *yndio ladino* served as a cultural broker in an intermediate "third position" that was always relational and affiliated to fixed categories (Cummins and Rappaport 2012: 43) as a situational identity (Puente 2017). In other words, while an *yndio ladino* was an Indigenous intellectual, not all Indigenous intellectuals were *yndios ladinos*. Thinking of Guaman Poma and the other Andean participants as Indigenous intellectuals emphasizes their own agency as cultural brokers rather than the colonial categories and caste labels imposed on them by external actors.

If anything, don Luis' labeling by Spanish officials as *ladino* confirms his literacy in Castilian

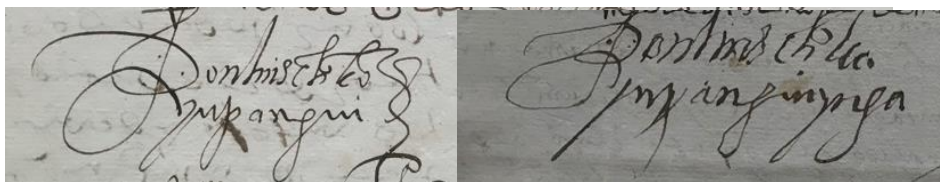


Figure 15: a. Signature of don Luis Chalco Yupangui with don Francisco Atauchi. ARC. Luis de Quesada. Prot. 13, 1586, 4 March 1586, ff. 328-329v. b. Signature on Testament will 24 December 1600. ARC. Antonio de Salas. Prot. 303, 1600-01, 24 December 1600, ff. 560-563v. Photos by Author.

and his mediating role as a leader within native and colonial Cuzco society. He likely received an early education from members of the clergy that included elementary arithmetic, basic religious doctrine, and reading and writing from religious material, evidenced by numerous examples of his signature (fig. 15). While he may not have served as the *alcalde mayor* in 1598, he was nonetheless a member of the Cabildo of Twenty-Four in 1595 and 1598, and advocated for exclusive Inca membership in 1600, possibly in his capacity as *alcalde mayor*. Either way, he

remained *alcalde mayor* until March 31, 1620, when the son of don Quispe Topa, don Fernando Balladeras, took over the position from the deceased don Luis.¹⁶¹

According to his 1600 testament don Luis was financially secure (relative to other native Andeans) and entrenched in the socio-economic activities of colonial Cuzco. Whereas his noble inheritance tied him to the parish of San Sebastián, he moved and lived in San Blas parish with his wife. He owned multiple houses and plots of agricultural land in San Blas parish, San Sebastián parish, and the surrounding areas of Cuzco. He left them all for his son, daughter, wife, and sisters. Whereas he left the affairs of his estate in charge of his son, he divided his inheritance equally between his son and daughter. He had minimal debts to various Spaniards and Andeans.

In addition to his land, the only material possessions he held most dear and valuable were his pre-Hispanic and colonial Inca textiles and objects. These objects included feathers, *llauto* (royal diadem), multiple *cumbi* (fine textile) *mantas* (shirts or cloaks), a *manta* of *awasca* (a coarse woolen cloth made on a backstrap loom), *tornasol* (Spanish inspired method that reflects two distinct colors depending on the angle to the sun), a pre-Hispanic *llançapata* (male tunic with checkerboard pattern),¹⁶² three *mascapaycha*, and more. Significantly, he also possessed three *mascapaycha*. He gave two *borlas* or tassels to his son and the third to his daughter, "*para que tenga cosa mya y se acuerde de my*" [so that you have things of mine and remember me] (f. 562). These items in don Luis's will are particularly striking given that Murúa's manuscripts are remarkable for the level of visual and textual detail and information on textiles. His stated reasons and attachment are reminiscent of Tom Cummins's claim (1992: 111) that objects of antiquity offered Andeans a unique continuity between the past and present by serving as records of connection to a period before the arrival of the Spaniards.

¹⁶¹ ARC. Francisco Hurtado. Prot. 117, 1620, f. 404, 31 March 1620.

¹⁶² The definition is according to Murúa, who provides examples. Tom Zuidema, "Guaman Poma and the Art of Empire: Towards an Iconography of Inca Royal Dress," in *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century*, Kenneth J Andrien and Rolena Adorno, eds., (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 166.

Similarly, don Luis insisted on the rights of his inherited plot of land to plant maize from his parents in the parish of San Sebastián. Even though his main home was in San Blas with his wife, his statement suggests he viewed the family land as a unique connection to his privileged status from both an Inca and Spanish colonial context.

I declare that I have three *topos* from Pacara in the parish of San Sebastián by the street Chaca to plant maize, which I inherited from my parents and ancestors, and it is not between the community and the indians of Çucçu and Aucayles, because I have instruments of possession from the visitors general who have been in this city and in those I refer, I order that my said children should enjoy them equally without dissension between them, aware that I acquired the said lands from my ancestors and that they are not purchased, and that they look after my nobility and assist you and others.¹⁶³

He inherited the land from his parents in San Sebastián parish, which had been granted to his family during a *visita general* because of their noble status, which was recognized by the Spanish Crown. He argued that the lands were hereditary possessions, not purchased or belonging to members of the community, presumably San Sebastián; he confirmed his *panaca*, the "yndios of Çucço (Sucso)"; and he referred to the pueblo of Aucayles, where his father had been *cacique principal*. He affirmed that his two children were to share rights to the land. His fear of losing control suggests that the plot of land served as important legal proof that demonstrated his connection to Inca noble status and privileges in the colonial context.

Lastly, don Luis Yupanqui Chalco's will from December 24, 1600 provides strong evidence of his ties with the Franciscans. His second request in the will was to be buried in the Franciscan Monastery in the family burial site that includes his son, don Luis Ynga. He also requested that the priest from the San Blas parish, also under Franciscan indoctrination, complete the last rites and pay his alms. His extensive will and family burial site in the Franciscan monastery indicates

¹⁶³ "Declaro que tengo tres topas de pacara en la parroquia de san sebast^{an} dodizen calla chaca de senbrar mais las quales herede de mys padres y pajados y no es entra a la comunidad e y^s de çucço y aucayles por q tengo Recaudos [??]mts^o de los visitadores generales que an sido esta ciudad ayne enllas me Refiero mando que goçen por yualmente los dhos mis hijos sin y ne entre ellos aya disençiones atento que las dhas tierras adqueri de los dhos mis pasados y no es conprado y miren por mi nobleza y qhe aun os y a otros se ayuden." Salas, 24 December 1600, f. 561.

his relative wealth and social standing as an Indigenous elite and his close relationship with the Franciscan order, in addition to the Jesuits (Ramos 2010: 113-115). The association of don Luis, don Quispe Topa, and don Manco Topa with the Franciscans and prestigious burial sites make them very likely members of the order's confraternities, such as the cult of Our Lady of Candelaria and the Immaculate Conception. However, there is currently no specific evidence of them belonging to a confraternity associated with the Mercedarian Order to which Murua belonged.

These documents paint a dynamic and multifaceted picture of don Luis as an Inca descendant and native leader in colonial Cuzco. He clearly enmeshed himself in the cultural, economic, religious, and socio-political life of colonial Cuzco and straddled multiple identities depending on the context. He participated in a line of native male leaders from his father (and likely before) to his sons and daughters. He was committed personally and collectively to promoting, protecting, and influencing the trajectory of the rights, privileges, and heritage of Inca descendants and Cuzco's preeminence within the context of imperial structures and constraints. He cherished his royal Inca heritage, from the economic and socio-political advantages it afforded him to the personal and kinship connections and memories that he nurtured.

However, like don Cristóbal Paullo Inca and other Inca elites, he also embraced the cultural, economic, and religious changes brought on by the Spanish while maintaining ties to his indigenous heritage. He converted to Christianity and accepted its doctrine and the religious and social connections that came with it. He was one of the first generations of native Andean males to write and speak Spanish. He mastered navigating the judicial courts to maintain and influence the rights and legal culture of his own and fellow Inca descendants within the transatlantic, imperial context. As Puente (2018: 183) points out, "Obtaining royal decrees and favorable rulings at the king's local and metropolitan courts had become a distinguishing mark of a good Andean leader, cacique or not." In other words, he straddled the complex role of an Inca leader committed to his Indigenous and elite heritage who mediated, negotiated, and advocated for himself and his community. His seemingly ambivalent position within native and colonial Andean society, much

like Guaman Poma's, explains his label as a *ladino*. His complex and very Inca and colonial background and interests also help explain the leading role that he played in supporting Murua's chronicle project to celebrate the Inca past in response conditions of his colonized present.

5. The Cañari: Don Pedro Purqui

Of the five Andean endorsers in the 1590 original title page, only one, don Pedro Purqui, was of non-Inca ethnic descent. Rather, as notarial documents confirm that don Pedro was a Cañari and *cacique* of the parish of Santa Ana. The Cañaris' contentious role in the defeat of resisting Inca hegemony makes Purqui's inclusion as an endorser of a Cuzco-centric Inca manuscript both surprising and mysterious. Even more curious, unlike the other Inca nobles, his name reappears in the Galvin manuscript's Book Three, Chapter Seventeen (fig. 16), titled "*De los famosos hechos de los yndios Cañares y de sus privilegios*" [Of the famous deeds of the Cañari and of their privileges]. For a chapter excerpt see the quote at the beginning of this chapter. The following section considers what the presence of the Purqui in the notarial records and manuscript can reveal to us about his personal status and, more generally, the Cañari's unique social and cultural position in early colonial Cuzco. The composite evidence shows that don Pedro was an established native leader in colonial Cuzco society. Along with other legal and cultural strategies, he actively engaged with Murua's 1590 manuscript to defend and promote the privileged status and memory of the Cañari in colonial Cuzco society. We also see early signs of how the Cañaris collectively reconceptualized their descent memory in Inca-like terms. In doing so, we see the fluid construction of Cañari identities in the early colonial period that was both competitive and aligned with the interests of other elite natives in Cuzco and their colonial context.

5.1 *Background*

We know from records discussed in Chapter 1 that Purqui was a recognized leader of Santa Ana parish by 1572 and continued to be so throughout the 1580s and 90s. In addition, a donation record written on June 27, 1595 describes a financially secure don Pedro and his

immediate family.¹⁶⁴ The document is a donation to his legitimate son, Joan Sánchez Urco, of a plot of land in the Santa Ana parish that he had owned with his recently deceased wife, doña Francisca Manco. In the record don Pedro was identified as "*cacique principal de la parroquia de sancta ana y alcalde de los canares desta ciudad del Cusco del piru*" [*cacique principal of the parish of Santa Ana and alcalde of the Cañaris, of this city of Cuzco of Peru*] (f. 566). Comprehensively, the 1572 census, 1580 *probanza*, 1595 donation, and 1596 *auto* clearly show that Purqui was an active leader and representative of the Cañari in Cuzco society throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. We can conclude that by the time Purqui collaborated with Murúa, he was a recognized elder and authority among the Cañari, the Santa Ana parish, and colonial Cuzco.

5.2 Galvin Chapter on the Cañari

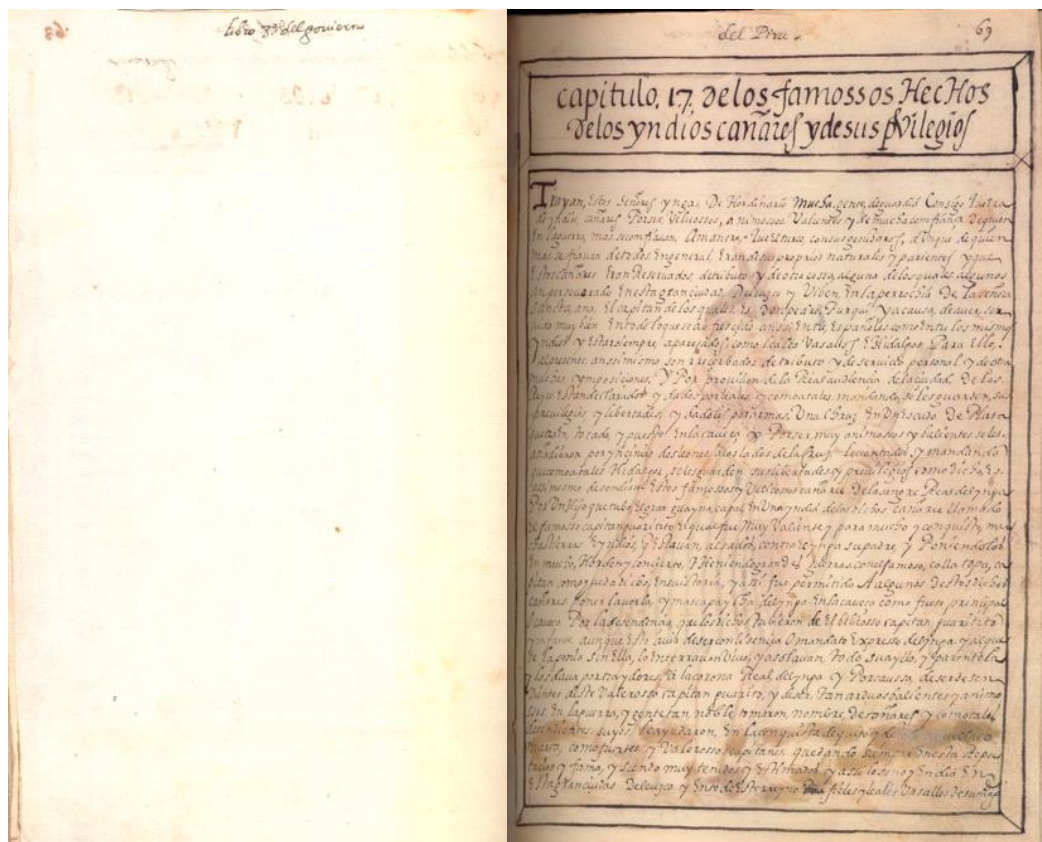


Figure 16: Cañari Book 3, Chapter 17 and blank facing folio. Martín de Murua. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 68v-69r. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

¹⁶⁴ ARC. Salas, Prot. 18, 1596-97, 27 June 1595, ff. 566-67.

It is significant that an entire chapter in the 1590 Galvin Murua manuscript is devoted to the Cañari of Cuzco and refers to a don Pedro Purqui as their leader. So far, no other text has been identified as a source from which Murua copied for this chapter. Unfortunately, unlike the other chapters in this section, the facing folio 66v remains empty and without an image (to be discussed more fully in Chapter 3). Furthermore, in contrast to the many textual additions made to the other chapters in Book Three, this chapter on the Cañari is consistent with the borders, scribal hand, and contents of its first textual draft phase.¹⁶⁵ The lack of textual additions suggests that this chapter was part of the very early production phase of the manuscript that aligns with the timeframe of the 1590 Andean endorsement.

In the Galvin chapter, Purqui is identified as the captain of the Cañari, who lived peacefully among the Spaniards and Inca.

They live in the Parish of Santa Ana. Their captain is don Pedro Purqui. They were always considered loyal vassals and nobles for having served so well, either among the Spaniards or the Indians. Today, they are exempt from [paying] tribute and personal service and many other impositions, and by provision of the Real Audiencia of the City of Lima they were declared to be loyal and as such ordered that their privileges and liberties be guarded and given a coat of arms: a cross on a silver shield that they wear with a headdress placed on the head.¹⁶⁶

The text then describes the coat of arms granted to the Cañari by the Spanish Crown - a cross on a shield of silver that the Cañari embellished with two lions on each side of the cross to signify their bravery. The narrator threads a fine needle to justify their unique status in Cuzco - one that intertwines their loyalty to the Spaniards and their Inca descent through Captain Guaritito - a Cañari warrior and son born out of wedlock to the eleventh Inca ruler, Huayna Capac.¹⁶⁷ According to the text, Guaritito was a valiant conqueror who aligned himself against his father and fought in

¹⁶⁵ Except for a few anomalies of pasted-on folios with images, the images in this book section are in their original folios. Some chapter folio pages remain empty. The major changes are of text clearly added later in Murua's scratchy hand. In these instances, chapter titles contain additions and texts spill beyond the borders and into the next folio side. Production phases are more fully discussed in chapter 3 on Guaman Poma.

¹⁶⁶ For full transcription, see Chapter Two, footnote 119.

¹⁶⁷ This Guaritito is not to be confused with Inca Capitán Capac Guaritito, who is discussed in both the Galvin and Getty manuscripts. The Galvin 43r chapter on Capitán Capac Guaritito, titled "*Capo 8 del famoso y esforçado Capitán Capac Guairititu,*" was left blank.

many wars with Captain Colla Topa, "*como queda dicho en su historia*" [as it is said in their history]. Because of their Inca descent some Cañari leaders wore the Inca *borla* or *mascapaycha*, but only with the "*mandato expreso del ynga*" [express permission of the Inca]. The punishment for wearing the fringe without permission was to bury the transgressor alive and isolate his ayllu and kin and mark him as a traitors to the Royal Inca. The narrator concludes that many people took their names because of their reputation as fierce warriors. They maintained a great reputation as descendants who helped in the conquest of Quito and Lacomarca (Guamanca) and remained faithful and loyal vassals of the Spanish crown.

The Cañari originated from the northern provinces of Acay and Cañar in present-day Ecuador, with central populations in Hatun Cañar and Cañarbamba. In their original territory they are generally understood by historians and archaeologists as having a pluri-ethnic population (Oberem 1981; Burgos 2003), though ethnically distinct from the Inca. The general understanding from other colonial chronicles is that the first wave of Cañari had been only recently conquered by the Inca rulers, Topa Inca Yupanqui and Huayna Capac, in the fifteenth century, and relocated to Cuzco as *mitmaq* in the Inca colonizing project.¹⁶⁸ The fierce reputation of the Cañari secured them the position of guards and soldiers for the Inca, roles that they then played for the Spaniards (Oberem 1976: 1981). A second wave of Cañari arrived from the north as part of the Spanish military offensive against the Inca, participants in as the short-lived phase of "Hispano-Andean alliances" (Stern 1981) that included the Chachapoyas, Wanka (Espinoza Soriano 1966; 1971-72), and some groups near Quito (Salomon 1987: 182). However, Spanish exploitation and oppression of the native groups led to a breakdown in these alliances by the 1560s (Stern 1981). The second-wave Cañari transplants often inhabited available land in the surrounding Cuzco region.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ Out of a total population of 50,000, 35,000 were relocated as *mitmaqs* during this phase. Martti Pärssinen, *Tawantinsuyu: The Inca State and its Political Organization*, (Helsinki: 1992).

¹⁶⁹ Erwan Duffait, "La Presencia Cañari En La Cordillera de Vilcabamba Durante El Siglo XVII: Documentos Coloniales y Arqueología," in *Vilcabamba Entre Arqueología, Historia y Mito*, Jean-Jacques Decoster and Mariusz Ziolkowski eds., (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios

Guaritito was likely involved in the Inca civil war and Spanish pacification campaign. During the northern campaigns, Huayna Capac's secondary wife was an elite Cañari woman who played a role in the Inca practice of forging interethnic marriages to build alliances. While Murua's text only describes Guaritito rebelling against his father, the timeline suggests that it is more likely that Guaritito predominantly led rebellions against his half-brother, Atahualpa, who lived in Cañari territory in the northern Andes. The Inca history titled *Suma y narración de los incas*, by Juan de Betanzos (with a significant contribution from his wife, Cusirimay Ocllo, and her relatives), describes how immediately after the death of their father and Inca ruler, Huayna Capac, Atahualpa sent gifts from Quito in the north to his half-brother in Cuzco, Huascar, via Cañari messengers. Despite the rebuke from his mother, Rahua Ocllo, Huascar rebuffed the gifts and ordered that the lead Cañari messenger be killed and his skin used for a drum (Betanzos 1987 [1551]: 210). However, in the outbreak of the Inca civil war between the half-brothers, the Cañari aligned with Huascar.¹⁷⁰ Atahualpa waged a genocidal war against the Cañari for their support of Huascar (Herrera y Tordesillas 1615, book 3, chap. XVII, cited by Decoster and Najarro 2016: 90) that left approximately 2,000 survivors (Hirschkind 1995) and approximately fifteen women for one man (Cieza de León 1984 [1553]: 208). After the death of Huascar, the Cañari immediately aligned themselves with the Spaniards to defeat Atahualpa and his army (Ibid: 315-317). In fact, Cabello de Valboa (1951 [1586]: 474) also mentioned Guaritito, son of Huascar, as particularly active in his role of turning the Spaniards against Atahualpa. Specifically, Guaritito went to Francisco Pizarro and described Atahualpa and his army's cruelty under Atahualpa's Captains, Challcochima and Quizquiz.

Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas, 2016), 72–87. Jean-Jacques Decoster and Margareth Najarro argue that the Cañari had their own goal for territorial expansion and control during their various waves of migration within the Andes. Their project allowed them to penetrate Inca territory and integrate into elite colonial indigenous society. Jean-Jacques Decoster and Margareth Najarro, "De Tumibamba a Vilcabamba: los Cañaris y su ensayo de proyecto colonial," in *Ibid.*, 88-101.

¹⁷⁰ Cieza de León describes a particular instance early in the Inca civil war when Atahualpa sought support from the Cañari. However, they had already agreed to support Huascar. One version says they took Atahualpa prisoner while another version says that that Huascar's captains took Atahualpa prisoner. In either case, Atahualpa escaped. Pedro Cieza de León, *La Crónica del Perú*, ed. Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, (Madrid: Historia 16, 1985), 24.

Colla Topa is another Indigenous leader who decided to remain in Cuzco and ally with the Iberians during the transition from Inca to Iberian rule. Colla Topa is likely another spelling of Cayo Topa (Kallo Thupa). According to Rowe (2003 [1994]: 40; Puente 2016a: 52) Sarmiento (chaps. 57, 60, 61, 62; 1906 [1572], pp. 103, 105, 110, 111) names Cayo Topa Inca as the son of Auqui Topa Inca (also known as Topa Inca Yupanqui), in the ayllu of Huayna Capac, and 75 years-old in 1572. Auqui Topa Inca was the brother of Huayna Capac, serving as his advisor and governor of Cuzco. Cayo Topa and Titu Atauchi were leading senior nobles who remained in Cuzco with Paullo Inca rather than join Manco Inca in Vilcabamba.¹⁷¹ He was baptized as Diego Cayo Topa and served as one of Cieza de León's sources for his chronicle.¹⁷² According to Amado Gonzales (2002: 22) Cayo Topa, Paullo Inca, don Felipe Cari Tupa, Ynga Paccac, and Gualpa Roca were the first to inhabit the office of the *alférez real de los incas*. After the failed expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro into Vilcabamba to capture Manco Inca, Pedro de la Gasca sent Cayo Topa in 1548 to negotiate with Sayre Tupa (Hemming 2012 [1970]: 271). Significantly, in the fall of 1549, Cayo Topa, the son of the Inca ruler, Topa Inga Yupanqui, donated land between Cuzco and the Yucay Valley from his father's estate to the Mercedarians in order to secure a Christian education for his sons.¹⁷³ Cayo Topa would later be prosecuted and exiled by Viceroy Toledo for conspiring with the Inca in Vilcabamba in 1572 along with other leading native leaders, including don Carlos Inca,

¹⁷¹ Murua describes in the Getty that, along with other native Andeans, Pazca Huayparo Soptor and Cayo Topa, sons of Auqui Topa Ynga, and nephews of Huayna Capac, remained in Cuzco rather than join Manco Inca. Murua named don Joan, don Luis Utopa Yupanqui, and don Pedro Mayo Rimachi in Murua, *Historía General del Perú*, f. 144r.

¹⁷² Cieza de Leon described Cayo Topa as his primary informant in Cuzco, and "the one living male descendant of Huayna Capac in Cuzco in 1550". Cieza de Leon, *Crónica del Peru*, chap. 6; *Crónica Del Perú, Segunda Parte*, ed., Francesca Cantù, (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica, Fondo Editorial, 1986 [1553]), 13.

¹⁷³ Presumably this would have been royal estate land under the care of his *panaca* or kin group, but more research is needed. Cayo Topa named Martin Pérez Manzano as his priest and guarantor in the negotiations. The interpreter, Gabriel Alvarez de la Carrera was a son of a Spaniard and Andean woman, named Ysabel, who became a Mercedarian friar one year later. Specifically, "*Voluntad dar e donar a la dicha casa e monesterio de nuestra merced. unas tierras y estancias qeu fueron del dicho topa inga yupanqui su padre e agora son suyas e las tiene e posee, que seran desta dicuad dos leguas camino de yucay que se llaman curimarca y yanarey y sayacache y chapar y un rio que se llama Tiquimayo que pasa por alli, y esto todo tiene por linderos dela una parte la estancia del licenciado de la Gama que se llama Challuamarca, y de las otra parte chumbicancha ques de los indios de loaiza y de la otra Tancabamaba e por la otra parte el camino que va a maras que sean y queden desde agora para siempre jamas al dicho monesterio e frayles e convento del....pueden despues de saeverlo enseñrlo a los yndios naturales destas probincias a quien por ser hijos suuos tendran respeto: e por ende quiere fazer la dicha donacion de las dichas tierras.*" For the entire document see, Arch. Merced Cuzco, Cayo Topa hijo de Topa Inga Yupanque hace donación de una Estancia al Convento de la Merced del Cusco. Doc. 650. 8 October 1549 in Víctor M. Barriga, *Mercedarios ilustres en el Perú*, (Arequipa: Establecimientos gráficos La Colmena, 1943), vol. 2, 161-166.

don Felipe Inca, don Alonso Titu Atauchi, and don Augustín Conde Mayta and two caciques, Pedro Gaumbotongo and Francisco Tuyruhaulpa. Presumably, he was later able to return to Cuzco (Ibid.: 434-437). In 1574, his wife doña Beatriz Cusirimay Colla, daughter of don Cristóbal Paullo Inca, sold land in the valley of Cuzco (Segalini 2009: 123; Puente 2016: 54). In the final incursion into Vilcabamba in 1572, don Francisco Cayo Topa, the son of Cayo Topa (Segalini 2009: 109), joined the Iberians and Cañari leader, don Francisco Chilche, in the capture of Tupac Amaru.

Indeed, in the social memory of the Spanish pacification campaign against the Inca in the Cuzco region, the Cañari leader, Francisco Chilche, stands out above all others. Under the leadership of Chilche, the Spaniards continued to receive support from the Cañari, including during the final attack on the last stronghold of Inca sovereignty in Vilcabamba in 1572.¹⁷⁴ The important alliance of the Cañari granted them tribute exemption. Chilche was richly rewarded for his leadership and loyalty. Francisco Pizarro granted him the position of *cacique* of the *yanacona* in the Yucay Valley, the ancient stronghold of Huayna Capac, replacing Inca Gualpa Topa (Covey and Amado Gonzalez 2008: 24). He settled into the Carmenca neighborhood in the Parish of Santa Ana, where he was named *alcalde*¹⁷⁵ and then elected *cacique* in 1560.¹⁷⁶ According to Garcilaso de la Vega, much like other Spaniards, he married an Inca *ñusta*, doña Paula Cusihuarca, to consolidate his power over the Inca of Vilcabamba. The pair received substantial property.¹⁷⁷ However, curiously, despite Chilche's well-known role in defeating the Inca and elite

¹⁷⁴ Francisco Chilche was brought to Cuzco by Huayna Capac as a *mitimaq* and designated as a *yanacona* in service of the Inca. Years later, Diego de Trujillo describes how Francisco Chilche supposedly presented himself to Francisco Pizarro in Limatambo and offered his allegiance to defeat the Inca. According to Garcilaso, he became a particular hero of the Spaniards and Cañaris for being a staunch and early ally of the Spanish and killing an Inca champion during the Inca siege of Cuzco in 1536. See Diego de Trujillo and Raúl Porras Barrenechea, *Relación del descubrimiento del reyno del Perú*, (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1948), 63; Luis Eduardo Valcárcel and Fernando de Avendaño, *Índice de Documentos Referentes al Juicio Sobre Legítima Descendencia Del Último Inca, Túpac Amaru*, (Lima, 1949); Decoster and Najarro, *Tumibamba a Vilcabamba: los Cañaris*, 91-92; Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 178-197; Covey and Amado, *Imperial Transformations*, 23; Horacio Villanueva Urteaga, "Documentos sobre Yucay en el siglo XVI," in *Revista del Archivo Histórico del Cusco* 13 (13) 1970, 1-185; and others.

¹⁷⁵ ARC. Libro de cabildo del Cusco, no. 3, box 2, ff. 37 and 67.

¹⁷⁶ González Pujana, *El Libro del cabildo de la ciudad de Cusco*, (Lima: Institute Riva Agüero, 1982), 102.

¹⁷⁷ Garcilaso identified Chilche's wife as the widow of Sayre Tupa rather than daughter of Tupac Amaru. "El don francisco cañari quedó tan favorecido y tan soberbio, que se atrevió años despues a matar con tósido, según fama pública a don Felipe Inca, Hijo de

status in Cuzco society, including his marriage to another Inca, the chapter in the 1590 Galvin Murúa makes no mention of his role in solidifying the position of the Cañaris in colonial Cuzco society.

In fact, the language and content of chapter seventeen is decidedly more conciliatory and aligned with the Inca than we would expect, given the role that don Chilche played in the war. The language of the chapter points to a reformulated history of the pre-Hispanic and early colonial periods that explains and positions the Cañari within colonial Cuzco society. On the one hand, the text maintains a clear connection with notarial language and descriptions concerning Indigenous nobility and the status of the Cañari in colonial Peru. Familiar words such as privileges and liberty, tribute and personal service, vassal, and hidalgo, are used just as in the many notarial records from the Lawsuit for the Exemption. All the significant legal and performed markers of Spanish colonial nobility and vassalage are acknowledged, including the coat of arms that they proudly displayed. On the other hand, equally significant was the connection made with the Inca nobility through the pre-Hispanic and colonial Inca marker of nobility--the *borla* or royal tassel. Most likely referring to pre-Hispanic times, only the Inca ruler could grant permission to wear the marker of Inca nobility. The emphasis on punishment adds weight to the legitimacy and respect given by the Cañari to Inca authority. Furthermore, the narrative signals alliances with the Inca through Guaritito's descent and the Inca elite who remained in Cuzco, such as Cayo Topa. It is surprising that the Cañari maintained similar attitudes of reverence towards Inca authority; the narrative indicates that they realigned their collective memory of conquest in order to negotiate a favorable position in colonial Cuzco society.

5.3 *Cañari and performative reenactments*

Huaina Capac...Confirmose la fama porque después casó con la mujer del Don Felipe, que era muy hermosa, y la tuvo más por fuerza que de grado, con amenazas y no ruegos que los aficionados del cañari le hizieron, con mucho agrvio y queza de los Incas, más sufrieronlo, porque y ano mandavan ellos." Garcilaso, *Historia General del Perú*, 1944 [1617] libro VII cap. I, 186, cited from *Ibid.*, 93.

Descriptions of colonial ceremonies, such as the feast days of Corpus Christi and Santiago on July 25th, provides additional context for don Pedro's participation in Murua's Inca-centric historical project and illustrates the Cañaris' multivalent position in colonial Cuzco. In these festival processions, "Incas, Cañaris, Chachapoyas, and others sought to authorize competing visions of the past" (Dean 1999: 197). For example, in May 1610 Cuzco natives held a 24-day festival to celebrate the beatification of San Ignacio de Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit Order. Starting on Monday, May 3, processions from the native parishes of Belén, Santiago, Hospital de Naturales, and San Blas streamed daily into the center. The festivities included Andean music, dance, and dramatic representations of the Inca past. Inca representatives of the eleven Inca rulers were carried through the city in litters by Andean commoners in the tradition of Inca kings. As the *alcalde mayor* who also served as signatory to this document, don Luis was likely also carried in a litter (Amado Gonzales 2017: 184). On Sunday, during the festival day of the Basques, the parish of Santa Ana and the Cañari entered Cuzco's main plaza and, "Put three hundred Cañari soldiers armed with spades, pikes, and many arquebuses, and very well dressed [in the plaza]...they entered the church, that was full of Spaniards and more than 5,000 Indians."¹⁷⁸ Similarly during the annual Spring Corpus Christi festival the Cañari enacted a mock battle of the famed defeat of an Inca champion by Cañari Francisco Chilche during the Inca siege of Cuzco led by Manco Inca (Dean 1999). In processions like these Inca elite could display their acculturation to the colonial paradigm and submission to the crown while also asserting their Inca heritage and rightful claims to colonial power and prestige (Cummins 1991; Amado Gonzales 2017: 151). In contrast, the Cañari could utilize festivals as performances to assert their own ethnic heritage of martial prowess with the privileged status that they won by their early allegiance and submission to the Spanish Crown (Dean 1999: 161-197). In every way, from cultural, social,

¹⁷⁸ "Metió delante trescientos soldados...muy bien vestidos soldados cañares armados de picas alabardas y muchos arcabuces, y muy bien vestidos sitiaron en la plaza un castillo que traían, combatieronlo haciendo sus escaramuzas al son de las cazas." The full transcript of the recorded celebration can be found in Carlos A. Romero, *Tincunakuspa: La Prueba Del Matrimonio Entre Los Indios*, (Lima: Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, 1923), 447. See also Chapter Four of this dissertation for further discussion.

legal, political, and economic perspectives, the Cañari were crucial and powerful participants in early colonial Cuzco's complex and diverse society.

5.4 Reflections

Many scholars have pointed to the longstanding competition between the Cañaris, Chachapoya, and the Inca that went on for centuries and continued to play out in various forms (Dean 1999; Amado Gonzales 2017: 184-199; and others). The competitive attitude allowed the Cañari to insert and solidify themselves in elite colonial indigenous society and an expanded territory, albeit under the control of the Spanish (Decoster and Najarro 2016: 88-101). Viceroy Toledo legally fostered competition through his purposeful attempts to draw distinctions between the social status and privileges held by the Cañari and Inca in colonial Andean society. And as we just reviewed, Spanish officials throughout the colonial period sanctioned performative reenactments that highlighted and remembered the rivalries and battles between them. Some prosperous Cañaris attempted to use their advantageous situation in colonial Cuzco to join the elite group of twenty-four electors of the Cabildo of the Inca. According to one source, in the early seventeenth century, the Inca elite rebuffed Cañari Saguaytocto's attempts by citing his Cañari position and historical role as a *mitimaq* under the Inca and position in colonial Cuzco society.¹⁷⁹

Don Pedro's participation in the 1579-80 *probanza* and his evident contribution to the Galvin Murua chapter complicates the competitive narrative. In the *probanza* he supported the noble and privileged status of Inca descendants as a direct rebuke to Spanish officials' attempts to undermine Inca status. In the 1590 Galvin chapter he applies a legitimating discourse to the Inca, links Cañari descent and prestige with the Inca, and ignores Chilche's role. Purqui, who I suggest is the informant for this chapter, believed that Cañari prestige and memory depended on

¹⁷⁹ "Sino que es descendiente de los canareas que para el dia del corpus salen con sus insignias de cañares, hechos soldados, porque asi lo ordeno Francisco Toledo...porque los dichos cañares y chachapoyas no son naturales de dicha ciudad, sino que son abenedisos de los pueblos de quito y anca, que los dichos yngas les llevaron a dicha ciudad para que les sirviesen...al tiempo de la conquista se hallaron con los conquistadores y les dieron la insignia de los cañares y no pagan tasa...acuden a la carcel a ser porteros y verdugos, y por esta rason no se pueden poner la insignia de la mascapaycha ni sacar el estandarte real." ARC. Colección Betancur, vol. 2, n°. 70-v; Amado Gonzales, "El alferez real de los incas," 221; Decoster and Najarro, "Tumibamba a Vilcabamba," 94.

their intermediary position and alliances with both the Inca and the Spanish. This markedly more mediated approach, adopted well after the Inca of Vilcabamba no longer posed a threat, differed from Francisco Chilche's more combative attitude. This shift in attitude might explain why Chilche was not mentioned in the chapter. The narrative approach points to a dynamic and evolving relationship between the Cañari, Spaniards and Inca elites in the colonial period.

In his article, "Ancestors, Grave-Robbers, and the Possible Antecedents of Cañari Inca-ism" Frank Salomon addresses the historical antecedents to the Cañari's unusual and radical "reorganization of collective memory" towards "Inca-ism" (1987: 208). Despite firm ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence of the Cañari's distinct, non-Inca origin and anti-Inca political actions, a "structural amnesia" since the Spanish invasion enabled them to adopt Inca genealogy as part of their collective legitimacy. The shift played an important role in pro-Inca ideology and political movements in the colonial period, including the Tupac Amaru II rebellion in the late eighteenth century (Szeminski 1982). As Magnus Mörner (1987) observes there were no "Indians" before the arrival of Europeans, who often failed to recognize the diversity of ethnic, linguistic, and cultural groups. Simultaneously the collective native experience of Spanish violence, coercion, and oppression throughout the colonial period blurred the lines between Cañari and Incas and supported a rising pan-Andean Indigenous awareness that attached itself to a non-localized Inca identity. According to Salomon, the Spaniard's violent and destructive actions of indiscriminate looting and assault on local ancestors that began in the sixteenth century encouraged the long colonial process of Inca-ism.¹⁸⁰ Our case study of Purqui offers additional early colonial factors and evidence to the slow rise of "Inca-ism" in the collective memory of the Cañari.

Don Pedro, as a Cañari leader in late sixteenth-century colonial Cuzco cultivated a collective memory of ethnicity, identity, and social status that was fully enmeshed with their past

¹⁸⁰ Using trial records from 1563, Salomon links the rise of Inca-ism to a early case study of the violent actions of a Spanish official who looted a Cañari grave site in modern Ecuador and the continued assaults on local ancestors over the centuries. Frank Salomon, "Ancestors, Grave-Robbers, and the Possible Antecedents of Cañari Inca-ism" in *Natives and Neighbors in South America*, Harald O. Skar (ed) (Göteborg: Ethnologiska Studier 38, Göteborgs etnografiska museum, 1987), 207-232.

and present conditions in two colonial contexts: first under the Inca and later the Spaniards. Thus, not unusually, through legal and cultural expressions and alliances, don Pedro aimed to secure the privileged social status of the Cañari through two of the most significant determinants in colonial Cuzco--descent from Inca rulers and loyalty to the Spanish crown. His dynamic position evokes the Andean concept of *tinkuy* (*tinku*, *tincu*), Quechua for the powerful joining of two complementary opposites or halves. It originally referred to the meeting of two rivers, such as in Cuzco at the site of what is now Curicancha. However, it has been applied more broadly to physical and figurative complementary conjoining, including two people (*qhariwarmi*), nature/man-made structures (Earls and Silverblatt 1978: 311; Dean 2007), seams of textiles (Quilter 2010; 43), cosmological phenomena, territories (Cuzco as the center of Tahuantinsuyu, for example), and more. In the Spanish colonial period scholars have used the concept to frame Andean responses to their negotiations with Iberians in the colonial context, visible in performative, legal, and militaristic positioning (Dean 1999; Roy 2016). Thus, following the Andean concept of *tinkuy*, I suggest that these alliances conceived by Purqui for the Cañari were not exclusive or singularly opposed to each other but existed as part of a composite history in which all the accumulated threads coalesced into a single explanation for ethnicity and social status in colonial Cuzco. By protecting Inca memory, heritage, and privileges in the face of shared colonial oppression, don Pedro indirectly defended and legitimated the elite rights of his community in the colonial present and future while maintaining important alliances with Spanish colonial status markers.

The vision and memory articulated by Purqui speaks to how he personally understood his mediating role as an Indigenous intellectual and native leader in colonial Cuzco. We see that don Pedro not only infiltrated but actively participated in the reformulation of competing and evolving visions of Andean history found in Murua's narrative. Given these numerous intertwined pieces of evidence, I conclude that Murua's chapter on the Cañari is based on the perspective and direct testimony of Purqui. My conclusion further supports the argument that the five native endorsers

in the hidden original title page directly and strategically engaged with Murua's history project as one of many strategies to defend and promote their elite social status. Unfortunately, the unique inclusion of a Cañari's perspective is entirely erased in the Getty manuscript.

6. Conclusion

Comprehensively, we begin to see a small but impressive group of elite Indigenous leaders who influenced the Murua manuscripts. All had a connection with Cuzco's native population and concerns, but each possessed his own unique background and perspective. They deployed shared strategies, particularly legal and cultural, to promote and protect their individual and collective status within colonial society. Yet, as we began to see in Chapter 1, a diverse range of Indigenous people participated in the early colonial discourse on Andean history. The indigenous voices, identities, and memories in Murua's manuscript are far from homogenous, but they are deeply invested in collective activities. Most prominent is the powerful faction of Huayna Capac's descendants and kin through don Martín and don Pablo. They protected their prestige and elite social status through early and consistent adaptation and accommodation to hispanization and colonization. In don Juan and don Luis we see the force of "modern" Inca descendants that formed the robust elite Indigenous network in colonial and Indigenous politics and cultural practices in Cuzco. Through don Pedro, we see the fundamental and powerful role that the Cañari *mitmaq* played in colonial Cuzco society and their Andeanized adaptation to Inca authority and memory in the colonial context from a position of *tinkuy*. All together, we can appreciate more fully that none of the native Andeans who engaged with Murua aligned with the resistant Inca in Vilcabamba. Rather, they were insiders who quickly adopted leadership and advocacy roles that embraced elements of Spanish colonialization and Hispanization. We will continue to develop a fuller picture of the background, motivations, and influences of indigenous voices through the unique participation of Guaman Poma in Chapter 3 and additional religious and cultural contexts in Cuzco in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER THREE

'Drawn by my hand':

Guaman Poma's Background and Contributions

[Your] Royal Catholic Majesty, many times I doubted to accept this task, and many times afterward, having begun, I wished to give it up for fear that my intentions, not finding the ability in my faculties, to finish it by conforming to how a history so fantastic and, with much reason, surprising to all the world ought to be. As this is a history without writing, but rather [kept] by quipus and the memory of the old and ancient Indians. And thus, sustained by various discourses, I passed countless days, until I grew old in this Kingdom...I decided to write the history and dynasty and famous deeds of the Inca kings of this kingdom of Peru together with the government that they had. I worked to find the most faithful accounts possible, taking the information from those people who were brought to me from various parts, which I distilled according to common agreement. I chose the language and words of Spanish, with the desire to present it to your Majesty...a book drawn by my hand so that the variety of colors and with the composition of the paintings, to which your Majesty is inclined, makes easier the reading of my text which lacks the style and imagination that is found only in works of great genius. Receive benignly your Majesty this humble and small service, accompanied by my great desire. This would be a blessed and soothing recompense for my efforts.¹⁸¹

Letter of the Author

Letter of Don Felipe *Guaman Poma* de Ayala to his Majesty, to King Philip.

Many times I doubted [Your] Royal Catholic Majesty to accept this task and many times afterward having begun I wished to give it up for fear that my intentions, not

¹⁸¹ "Muchas veces dude C(atólica) R(eal) Mag(esta)d) aceptor esta dicha ympressa y muchas mas despues De auer la començado Me quisiera bolver atras juzgando Por temeraria mi yntençon No Hallando sujeto en mi facultad Para acabarla conforme a la que se deuia a una ystoria E gouierno tam peregrino e con razon tan espantossa a todo el mundo, Por ser istoria sin Escripura Ninguma, Mas de por los quipus y memoria del los yndios antiguos y viejos Y assi colgado de Varios discursos Passe muchos dias Yndeterminados, Hasta que Vençido de mi y tantos años De este rreyno Y de tan antiguo desseo que fue siempre Buscar En la rudeza de mi Ingenio alguna ocaçion, con que poder servir a V Mag.d Me determine de escribir la istoria y descendençia y los famosos Hechos de los rreies ingas deste rreino del piru juntamante con el Gobierno eroico que los dhos tubieron, trabaje, auer, para este efecto las mas verdaderas Relaciones que me fueron pusibles Tomando La sustançia de aquellas personas a Que de varias Partes me fueron traídas al fin se rreduzian todas a la mas co...(mun). (opi)nion Escoxí la lengua y frasis castellana, con el desseo de presentar a Va. Mag....Libro, dibujado, de mi mano Para que la variedad, de los colores Y la ynbencion de la pintura, a que, V Mag.d es ynclinado Haga facil aquel pesso y molestia de una letura falta de ymbençon E de aquel ornamento y pulido Estilo que En los grandes Yngenios solo se Hallan. Resçiva V. Mag^d Venignamente Este Umillde Y Pequeno seruiçio Acompañado de mi gran desseo Y esto me sera un dichosso y descansado galardón de mi trabajo." Murua, *Galvin Murua*, fol. 3v [hidden text]. Translation and transcription by Cummins, *Dibujado de mi Mano*, 42.

finding the ability in my faculties, to finish it as to conform as it ought to be according to histories without any writing, but rather [kept] by *kipus* and the memories and reports of the old and ancient Indians...I chose the language and words of Spanish ...I worked very hard to produce, with the desire of presenting to your majesty this said book entitled, *The first new chronicle of the Indians of Peru*. And that it be used for faithful Christians, written and drawn by my hand and imaginative effort, so that the variety of them, of the paintings, composition, and image, to which your majesty is disposed, makes easier and lightens the weight and tedium of reading my text, which lacks the style and imagination that is found only in works of great genius.¹⁸²



Figure 17: Mercedarian Coat of Arms, pasted over letter to King. Martín de Murua. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 6v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

1. Introduction

The first text quoted above belongs to Murua, who explained to the Spanish King, Philip II, how he gathered indigenous material and produced his illustrated manuscript. It is hidden from

¹⁸² "Carta del Autor / Carta de Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala a su Magestad, al rrey Phelipo / Muchas uestes dudé, S[acra] C[atólica] R[real] M[agestad], azeptar esta dicha ynpresa y muchas más después de auerla comensado me quise bolber atrás, jusgando por temeraria mi entención, no hallando sugeto en mi facultad para acauarla conforme a la que se deuía a unas historias cin escriptura nenguna, no más de port los quipos y memorias y rrelaciones de los yndios antigos de muy biejos y biejas sabios testigos de uista, para que dé fe de ellos, y que ualga por ello qualquier sentencia jusgada...Escogí la lengua e frasis castellana...Pasé trauajo para sacar con el deseo de presentar a vuestra Magestad este dicho libro yntitulado Primer nueua corónica de las Yndias del Pirú y prouechoso a los dichos fieles cristianos, escrito y debojado de mi mano y ingenio para que la uaridad de ellas y de las pinturas y la enbinción y dibuzo a que vuestra Magestad es enclinado haga fázil auel peso y molestia de una lectura falta de eninción y de aquel ornamento y polido ystilo que en los grandes ingeniosos se hallan." Translation from Cummins, *Dibujado de mi Mano*, 42-43, of Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva Corónica*, 13, fol. 8.

plain view behind folio 3v of the Galvin Murua. It is very similar to the second quote. The first excerpt is a letter by Murua found within one of the twenty-two pasted-over texts unveiled in 2007-2008. It is currently hidden behind a Mercedarian coat of arms (f. 3v, fig. 17) that served as a frontispiece for the Galvin Murua. Like the pasted-over original title page of 1590, Murua did not copy this letter onto visible folios. The letter offers a compelling glimpse into Murua's aspirations, but it gives little credit to the Andeans with whom he worked. The second excerpt is by Guaman Poma and is a letter to the Spanish King, Philip III, in the beginning of his *Nueva corónica*. Like Murua's letter, Guaman Poma's letter (second text quoted above) begins with the same unique phrase, "*Muchas veces dudé*" [Many times I doubted], and goes on to describe similar trials, tribulations, and attempts at completing an illustrated history of Peru. Like so many graphic and textual aspects of the Murua manuscripts and *Nueva corónica*, these letters point to a direct connection between authors. The association is vital for understanding the native author's role in the Murua manuscripts.

In the first two decades of the seventeenth century, the Indigenous writer and artist, Guaman Poma, produced one of a handful of Andean authored chronicles in the colonial period. The lavishly illustrated chronicle includes more than 1,000 folio pages and 399 black and white illustrations and makes extensive use of Spanish and Andean Indigenous languages, Quechua and Aymara. Unlike Murua and most other early colonial New World chronicles (with Bartolomé de las Casas as a significant exception) Guaman Poma wrote an excoriating account of the corruption and mistreatment of native Andeans at the hands of colonial officials and calls for the restitution of the lands and governance to Indigenous peoples under the authority of the Spanish Empire. His chronicle, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, includes two works. The first part provides an extensive Christianized Andean history that challenges Inca preeminence and underscores the author's own noble ancestral lineage. The second part is an advisory letter to the King on the problems and ills in colonial Andean society, many for which the author concludes there is no remedy--"*no hay remedio*" (for example see: ff. 450 [452], 492 [496], 497 [501], 463

[573], and 647 [661]). His impressive, entirely unique illustrated chronicle has made him one of the most significant sources for Andean history, culture, and worldviews. Appreciating Guaman Poma's contributions to the Murua manuscripts holds is of crucial significance to Andean historiography and, more particularly, our understanding of the unique and complex multi-authorial quality of Indigenous participation in the Murua manuscripts.

This chapter explores authorship and transculturation through Guaman Poma's compositional contribution and engagement with the two Murua manuscripts. It is impossible to comprehend the historiographical aspirations and contentions of the Murua manuscripts without considering Guaman Poma's contribution, and equally difficult to understand Guaman Poma's *magnum opus* without accounting for his experience of having worked with Murua. The Indigenous author and artist is a vital voice and participant in Murua's chronicle project narrative and artistry-- particularly in the Galvin Murua. This historic collaboration between the Andean and the friar raises many questions. What background and context compelled Guaman Poma to participate in Murua's chronicle project? How did they work together and how did they decide on the graphic and textual content of the narrative? My analysis considers how intellectual exchanges between Murua and Guaman Poma affected the images, chapter texts, captions, and overall organization of the Murua manuscripts.

The first part of the chapter explores Guaman Poma's personal background and interventions in the Murua manuscripts related to his personal motivations. Those interventions subvert an overriding Inca-centric narrative in Murua's chronicle, revealing traces of conflicted Andean histories and strategies between and within elite Inca and non-Inca ethnic groups in the Cuzco region during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Guaman Poma was a dynamic figure whose participation in the Galvin Murua was a formative exercise that culminated in his more fully developed and curated chronicle. Like the five Andeans discussed above, Guaman Poma was an Indigenous intellectual in early colonial Andean society who initiated litigation and participated in cultural projects, such as chronicles, to elevate and promote his elite

Andean ancestry and social status in the colonial Andean social hierarchy. The Galvin Murua provides glimpses of Guaman Poma's influence on the images and text, how he sought to decentralize a totalizing Inca-centric history and subvert Cuzco-centric relations and loyalties, including the role of the Cañari under Inca and Spanish rule.

The second half of the chapter is a close analysis of the visual and graphic depictions of Inca *huaca*, *sayhua*, *apachita*, and an Andean love story that explores Inca animacy and power through man-made and natural construction. On the one hand, Andean cosmological and socio-political spatial patterning and perspectives in Guaman Poma's images offer insightful clues for understanding the artist's autochthonous contribution to the Murua manuscript. On the other hand, Guaman Poma is a product of his colonial times, engaging with Murua and his chronicle project as a Christianized Indigenous intellectual. The layered relationship between images, labels, texts, and chronicles reveals confluences and disjunctions between Guaman Poma and Murua's voices. Their production process left layers of information and interpretations within the manuscript's composition. The Galvin manuscript was a formative and dynamic period of development for Guaman Poma, when he fine-tuned his message and skill.

2. Historiographical Considerations

The scholarship on Guaman Poma has focused on two main areas of inquiry. The first is Guaman Poma's elusive biography and his chronicle. Significant interest began in the 1970s with Juan Ossio (1970) and Rolena Adorno's (1974) respective theses. The historiography includes

the chronicle's linguistic¹⁸³ and ethnographic context;¹⁸⁴ biography;¹⁸⁵ graphic¹⁸⁶ and textual significance.¹⁸⁷ There are multiple publications of his work, including the digital version in

¹⁸³ For explorations on language and oral tradition, see, Xavier Albo, "Los textos Aymaras de Waman Puma," in *Religions des Andes et langues indigènes: Équateur-Pérou-Bolivie avant et après la conquête espagnole; Actes du Colloque II d'Études Andines*, Pierre Duviols, ed., vol. 1, (Aix-en-Provence: Centre Aixois de Recherches Latino-Américaines, Université de Provence, 1993), 13–42; Marco Ferrell, "Textos Aymaras En Guaman Poma," *Revista Andina (Cuzco)* 14, no. 2 (1966): 413–55; Jean-Philippe Husson, *La poésie quechua dans la chronique de Felipe Waman Puma de Ayala: de l'art lyrique de cour aux chants et danses populaires*, (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1985); "En busca de las fuentes indígenas de Waman Puma de Ayala. Las raíces incas y yaruwillka del cronista indio: ¿invencción o realidad?," *Histórica* 19, no. 1 (1995): 29-71; Bruce Mannheim, "What kind of text is Guaman Poma's Warikqamayoc," in *Unlocking the doors to the worlds of Guaman Poma*, 211-232; Jan Szemiński, "Idiomas de don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala," in *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1993), 9–14; Jorge Urioste, "Estudio analítico del quechua en la Nueva corónica," in *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1980), xx – xxxi; and others.

¹⁸⁴ For Guaman Poma and Quipus see, Galen Brokaw, "The Poetics of Khipu Historiography: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and the Khipukamayocs from Pacariqtambo," *Latin American Research Review* 38, no. 3 (2003): 111–47; "Khipu Numeracy and Alphabetic Literacy in the Andes: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno," *Colonial Latin American Review* 11, no. 2 (2002): 275–303; Emilio Mendizabal Losack, "Don Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Señor Y Príncipe último Quellqacamayoc," *Revista Del Museo Nacional (Lima)* 30 (1961): 228–330; José Carlos de la Puente Luna, "That Which Belongs to All: Khipus, Community and Indigenous Legal Activism in the Early Colonial Andes," *The Americas* 72, no. 1 (2015): 19–54; *Andean Cosmopolitan*; John Howland Rowe, "The Age-Grades of the Inca Census," in *Miscelánea Paul Rivet, octogenario dicata.*, vol. 2, International Congress of Americanists, ed., (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México), 499–522; and others.

¹⁸⁵ For biographical background and debates, see Rolena Adorno, "A Witness unto Itself: The Integrity of the Autograph Manuscript of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno (1615/1616)," in *Fund og forskning i det Kongelige Biblioteks samlinger* 41, (Copenhagen: 2002), 7–106; Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Y no ay remedio*, edited by Elías Prado Tello and Alfredo Prado, (Lima: Centro de Investigación y Promoción Amazónica, 1991); Edmundo Guillén Guillén, "El cronista don Felipe Guaman Poma y los manuscritos hallados en el pueblo de Chiara," *Amaru. Revista de Artes y Ciencia*, Lima, no. 10 (1969): 89-92; José Carlos De la Puente Luna, "El Capitán, El Ermitaño y El Cronista: Claves Para Establecer Cuándo Nació El Autor de El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno," in *La Memoria Del Mundo Inca: Guaman Poma y La Escritura de La Nueva Corónica*, Jean-Philippe Husson, ed., 1st edition, Colección Estudios Andinos 19, (Lima: Fondo Editorial, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú; Apus Graph Ediciones, 2016), 117–46; Abraham Padilla Bendezú, *Huamán Poma, el indio cronista dibujante*, (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1979); Nelson Pereyra Chávez, "Un Documento Sobre Guaman Poma de Ayala Existente En El Archivo Departamental de Ayacucho," *Histórica (Lima)* 21 (1997): 261–70; Guillermo Lohmann Villena, "Una carta inédita de Huaman Poma de Ayala," *Revista de Indias*, no. 20 (1945): 325-327. For questions and verification of Guaman Poma's identity, see: Monica Barnes, "Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Martín de Murúa, and Blas Valera: Three Andean Chronicles and the Quest for Authenticity," *Latin American Indian Literatures Journal* 19, no. 2 (2003): 152–61; Francesca Cantù, ed., *Guaman Poma y Blas Valera: tradición andina e historia colonial: actas del Coloquio internacional, Instituto Italo-Latinoamericano, Roma, 29-30 de septiembre de 1999*, (Roma: A. Pellicani, 2001); Laura Laurencich Minelli, *Un complemento a la polémica sobre Guamán Poma de Ayala, Antropologica* 17, no. 17 (1999): 422–27; Ossio, "Paralelismos entre las crónicas de Guaman Poma y Murúa," in *Guaman Poma y Blas Valera: tradición andina e historia colonial, actas del Coloquio internacional* (Rome: Instituto Italo-Latinoamericano, 1999); "Nota Sobre El Coloquio Internacional 'Guaman Poma de Ayala y Blas Valera: Tradición Andina e Historia Colonial'. Instituto Italo-Latinoamericano, Roma, 29-30 de Setiembre de 1999." *Colonial Latin American Review* 9, no. 1 (2000): 113–16.

¹⁸⁶ An important collection of essays on Guaman Poma and his images is, Mercedes López-Baralt, ed., *Guaman Poma de Ayala: The Colonial Art of an Andean Author*, (New York, N.Y.: Americas Society, 1992). Other important works include: Monica Barnes, "The Gilcrease Inca Portraits and the Historical Tradition of Guaman Poma de Ayala," in *Andean Oral Traditions: Discourse and Literature*, Margot Beyersdorff and Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz, eds., (Bonn, Germany: Holos, 1994), 223–56; Raquel Chang-Rodríguez, "Las Ciudades de Primer Nueva Corónica y Los Mapas de Las Relaciones Geográficas de Indias: Un Posible Vínculo," *Revista de Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana (Lima)* 41 (1995): 95–119; "Un itinerario simbólico: Las Ciudades y villas de Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala," in *Libro de Homenaje a Aurelio Miró Quesada Sosa*, (Lima: Tall. Gráf. P.L. Villanueva, 1987), 321–36; Tom Cummins, "The Uncomfortable Image: Pictures and Words in the Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno," in *Colonial Art of an Andean Author*, 46–59; "Images on Objects: The Object of Imagery in Colonial Native Peru as Seen through Guaman Poma's Nueva Corónica i Buen Gobierno," Special issue of *The Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society* (Urbana) 25, no. 1 and 2 (1997): 237-273; Marco Curatola Pettruchi, "El códice ilustrado (1616) de Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala: hacia una nueva era de lectura," *Colonial Latin American Review* 12:2 (2003): 251-258; Augusta Holland, *Nueva Corónica: Tradiciones artísticas Europeas en el Virreinato del Perú*, 1st ed., Archivos de Historia Andina 42, (Cuzco, Perú: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de Las Casas" (CBC), 2008); Lauren Kilroy-Ewbank, "Fashioning a Prince for All the World to See: Guaman Poma's Self-Portraits in the Nueva Corónica," *The Americas* 75, no. 1 (January 2018): 47–94; Valerie Fraser, *The Artistry of Guaman Poma*, (New York; London: Cambridge University, 1996); Mercedes López-Baralt, *Icono Y Conquista: Guamán Poma de Ayala*, Libros Hiperión 102, (Madrid: Hiperión, 1988); "La Persistencia de Las Estructuras Simbólicas Andinas En Los Dibujos de Guaman Poma de Ayala," *Journal of Latin American Lore* 5, no. 1 (1979): 83–116; "La contrarreforma y el arte de Guaman Poma: notas sobre una política de comunicación visual," *Histórica* (Lima), vol. 3, no. 1 (1979): 81-95; "La Corónica de Indias como texto cultural: articulación de los códigos icónico y lingüístico en los dibujos de la 'Nueva Corónica' de Guaman Poma," *Revista Iberoamericana*, no. 120-122 (1982): 461-531; *Guaman Poma, autor y artista*, (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1993); Rolena Adorno, "On pictorial language and the typology of culture in a New World chronicle," *Semiótica*, t. 36, no. 1-2 (1981): 51-106; Tom Zuidema, "Guaman Poma and the Art of Empire: Toward an

Copenhagen.¹⁸⁸ This scholarship plays an important role in understanding the influence of Guaman Poma on the Murua Manuscripts.

A second line of inquiry considers Guaman Poma and his chronicle in relation to the two manuscripts compiled by Murua. The historiography brings *Nueva corónica* more firmly into a historiographical cluster than earlier generations of scholarship that understood it as a singularly unique work. The publication of the *Loyola Copy* (an incomplete copy of the Galvin Murua) by Constantino Bayle in 1946 prompted preliminary comparisons with the *Nueva corónica* by John Rowe (1958). The subsequent publication of the Getty Murua in 1962 by Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois produced more studies on the comparisons between the three versions and the relationship between Guaman Poma and Murua (Mendizábal Losack 1963; Zuidema 1964; Condarco Morales 1967; Ballesteros Gaibrois 1978, 1981; Rowe 1979; Ossio 1982, 1985; Murra 1992). However, Juan Ossio's discovery in 1996, and an accurate facsimile publication of the Galvin Murua in 2004, coupled with the unveiling of hidden texts in the same manuscript in 2008, have catalyzed a series of new studies. The more recent scholarship provides a genealogy of the structure, images, and some of the texts found in the *Nueva corónica*, and a deeper appreciation

Iconography of Inca Royal Dress," in *Transatlantic Encounters*, 151–202; "Guaman Poma between the Arts of Europe and the Andes," *Colonial Latin American Review* 3, no. 1–2 (1994): 1–2; and others.

¹⁸⁷ For example, Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup, eds., *Unlocking the Doors to the Worlds of Guaman Poma and His Nueva Corónica*, (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2015); *New Studies of the Autograph Manuscript of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2003); Rolena Adorno, ed., *Guaman Poma and His Illustrated Chronicle from Colonial Peru: From a Century of Scholarship to a New Era of Reading*, (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, University of Copenhagen & the Royal Library, 2001); Rolena Adorno, *The Polemics of Possession in Spanish American Narrative*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); *Writing and Resistance*; "Images of *Indios Ladinos*"; *Cronista Y Príncipe: La Obra de Don Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala*, 1st ed., (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1989); "La redacción y enmendación del autógrafo de la Nueva corónica y buen gobierno," in *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, John V Murra, Rolena Adorno, and Jorge Urioste, eds., 3 vols., Colección América Nuestra 31, (México, D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno, 1980), xxxii – xlvi; Pierre Duviols, *Periodización y política la historia prehispánica del Perú según Guamán Poma de Ayala*, (Lima: Institut Français D'études Andines, 1980); Raúl Porras Barrenechea, *Los Cronistas del Perú*, (Lima: Sanmartí Impresores, 1962); *El cronista indio, Felipe Huamán Poma de Ayala*, (Lima: Tall. Gráf. de la Editorial Lumen, 1948); D. A. Brading, *The First America*; John Howland Rowe, "Las generaciones del mundo según Don Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala," *Histórica (Lima)* 7, no. 1 (1983); Jean-Philippe Hussion, ed., *La Memoria Del Mundo Inca: Guaman Poma y La Escritura de La Nueva Corónica*, Colección Estudios Andinos 19, (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2016); Sabine MacCormack, *On the Wings of Time: Rome, the Incas, Spain, and Peru*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); Juan Ossio, *En Busca Del Orden Perdido: La Idea de La Historia En Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala*, 1st ed., Colección Estudios Andinos 5, (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2008); "Myth and History: The Seventeenth-Century Chronicle of Guaman Poma de Ayala," in *Text and Context: The Social Anthropology of Tradition*, Ravindra K Jain, ed., (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1977); *Ideología mesiánica del mundo andino*, 1st ed., (Lima: Colección Biblioteca de Antropología, I. Prado Pastor, 1973); *The Idea of History in Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala*, (Thesis Oxford University, 1970); and others.

¹⁸⁸ See Introduction, note 18.

of Guaman Poma's role in the Murua manuscripts. I hope to contribute to these rich and significant examinations in the course of my analysis.

There are many questions and varying conclusions as to the role that Guaman Poma played in Murua's manuscripts. Ballesteros Gaibrois (1978, 1981), Bayle (1946), and Ossio (2000a, 2004) have postulated the possibility of a family-run workshop in Cuzco where Guaman Poma worked as a collaborator. In contrast, through textual analysis, Condarco Morales (1967) concluded that Guaman Poma copied Murua and was not an informant in the project. Rowe (1954) and Murra (1992) conclude that Murua and Guaman Poma shared the same Indigenous sources but Guaman Poma then augmented and corrected his information with additional sources, his lived experience as a native Andean, and his unique political agenda. In the tradition of Ballesteros Gaibrois, Ossio (2000, 2004) employed a structuralist comparison to argue for a close collaboration, concluding that Guaman Poma himself served as an informant to Murua. Other studies have shown similarly that Murua and Guaman Poma shared unique information, particularly concerning Inca women (Anderson and Cummins 2008: 3; Murra 1992: 60-74). In contrast, through their codicological analysis, Adorno and Boserup (2005: 195; 2008: Section 10; Adorno 2007: 34-35; Boserup 2016) challenge suggestions of a close working relationship.

Cummins and Ossio (2013; Ossio 2014; Cummins 2014) provide further insight to the complicated role of Guaman Poma in the Murua manuscripts. They challenge Adorno and Boserup's assessment of Guaman Poma and Murua's relationship by arguing that Guaman Poma had a deep and sustained contact with the Galvin Manuscript. Through a comparison of texts from the 1596 indigenous endorsement letter found in the Getty Murua, the pasted-over texts in the Galvin Murua, and passages in the *Nueva corónica*, Cummins and Ossio argue that there was an element of modeling and copying by Guaman Poma from texts created in the Galvin Murua production phase. With this manuscript cluster first promoted by Ossio (1998, 2000a, 2004, 2008b, 2015), Cummins concludes that the three manuscripts are "intimately and genealogically related" (2014: 35), especially as the only three extensively illustrated works from the colonial

Andes (Cummins 2008: 147). Lastly, recent codicological and art historical studies have established that Guaman Poma was a key artist in the early production phases of Murua's chronicle project (Cummins 2008; Turner 2014; Trentelman 2014; Ossio 2015). There has been a wide-ranging assessment of Guaman Poma's role in the Murua manuscripts--from intimate collaborator, informant, apprentice, copyist, and rebel. This dissertation hopes to contribute to this historiography by examining Guaman Poma's interventions and the resulting multiple layers of interpretations and misunderstandings in the multi-authoriality of the Murua manuscripts.

3. Guaman Poma in the Murua Manuscripts' Production Process and Timeline

Guaman Poma's artistic participation in the early phases of Murua's chronicle project was far more extensive and direct than that of the other five Andean endorsers. Overall, the Andean artist contributed 102 drawings with captions to the Galvin manuscript,¹⁸⁹ of which ninety-nine are extant, and four were transferred to the Getty Murua (Boserup and Adorno 2005; 2008: 20). The loose relationship between the texts and images (Ossio 2004: 49) suggests a successive working schedule between him and Murua (Adorno and Boserup 2005: 195; 2008: Section 10; Adorno 2007: 34-35). Guaman Poma likely contributed his images and captions to the Galvin Murua between 1596 (or no later than December 1598) and 1600 after the majority of manuscript texts had been completed, and after the 1590 original title page was created with input from the mentioned Andean endorsers. Murua then made a few minor textual additions to the Galvin Murua.¹⁹⁰ Supporting this scenario, Murua spent an increasing amount of time outside of Cuzco between 1596 and 1600, as *procurador* (advocate) in 1595 in Curahuasi (Barriga 1933: 69) and

¹⁸⁹ For a list of captions by Guaman Poma see, Adorno and Boserup, "Prolegomena," 241-241. It includes Getty Murua folio 307r and Galvin Murua between folios 54v-147r.

¹⁹⁰ The first to reconstruct production dates for the Galvin Murua using historical figures and dates mentioned in the text was Constantino Bayle, "Introduction," in *Historia del origen y genealogía real de los reyes inças del Perú (Loyola)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo, 1946), 32-33. Based on folio 137v, Ossio suggests that Guaman Poma completed all his images before 1600, given that the depicted eruption in Arequipa could coincide with reference to a pre-Hispanic eruption mentioned in the chapter text. However, Adorno and Boserup conclude from the same image and others that include textual additions that Guaman Poma completed the images in the blank space left only after Murua's textual additions, placing the images for Book 4 after February 18, 1600. See Ossio, "Paralelismos entre las crónicas de Guaman Poma y Murúa"; "Introducción," 54; "Murúa's Two Manuscripts," 77; Adorno and Boserup, "Prolegomena," 192; "Making of Murúa's Historia General del Piru," 23.

in Arequipa in February of 1600 (Murua 1590: f. 137v; Ossio 2008: 77; See Chapter Four for more detail and Appendix B for timeline).

Analysis of the book structure by Nancy Turner and paint pigments by Karen Trentelman confirm that Guaman Poma's artistic contribution came in the later production phases of the Galvin images. Trentelman outlines eight phases to the completion (2014: 129-131). According to Cummins, Murua contributed as an artist in the first four phases, when he completed the watercolor portraits of Inca rulers and *coyas* (Inca queen) (2014: 35-53). Guaman Poma furnished the majority of images in the subsequent four phases: first, the images between folios 34 to 140 and 145v; second, a series of images depicting Chuquillanto's dream in folios 146v, 147r, and 147v and likely folios 3v and 143v, which Murua later transposed into the Galvin manuscript after Guaman Poma's contribution (Turner 2014: 90-95); third, the embellishments of the *coya* portraits with coats of arms and earth mounds; and, possibly fourth, additions to the portrait of Mama Ocllo (f. 222v) and Potosí (f. 141v). According to Turner, the Galvin Murua's flexible book structure, based on colonial notarial book structures and not the manuscript book structure, allowed Murua to make changes to the Galvin and Getty Murua.¹⁹¹ Guaman Poma was not directly involved in the production of the Getty manuscript, except for his transposed images.

Juan Ossio (2001: 65) notes that Murua and Guaman Poma overlapped again in the Aymaraes province in 1604-6. Guaman Poma refers to the friar's assignment as a *comendador* (law-enforcement officer) and *cura* (priest) in Aymaraes in his chronicle (f. 106 [108]). Guaman Poma describes the friar's cruel punishment of four idolators under Alonso de Medina, who was the region's parish municipal officer in 1604-6. It was likely a powerful and contentious experience. One of Murua's late textual additions refers to his experience in Aymaraes, albeit with very

¹⁹¹ According to conservationist Nancy Turner the red edged stippling with vermillion paint on the paper edge, likely done by Guaman Poma, is only visible in the center of the book and corresponds with a A-cross watermark paper of the first phases of the Galvin Murua. Murua then reworked the manuscript with the PD-Hand watermark after Guaman Poma's participation. In this phase he moved and manipulated various folios, including fols. 44v, 63v, 136v, and 137r. Nancy Turner, "Accounting for Unfinished History," 93-94.



Figure 18: Friar Martín de Morua beating an Andean who is weaving. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Fraile Merzenario Morua." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, Nueva corónica y buen gobierno (c. 1615), page [647 [661]].

different conclusions that bemoan the actions of his Indigenous parishioners (f. 106r; Ossio 2004: 191, note 175).

Given Guaman Poma's multiple criticisms of Murua in his chronicle, this period may have contributed to a souring of the previous working relationship. Guaman Poma accuses Murua of stealing his wife, manipulating officials against the rights of natives, cruelly punishing Andeans unnecessarily, and forcing natives to work for his own profit (ff. 647 [661], 648 [662]) (fig. 18) (Ossio 2008b: 80; Adorno 2016: 1191; 2007). In contrast to the Indigenous advocate and priest, Cristóbal de Molina, Guaman Poma reinvents a disparaging rendition of Murua's preaching

abilities, mocking his grammatically and syntactically flawed Quechua and cruel message (f. 611 [625]). The Andean author acknowledges Murua as having written a history of the Incas (f. 1080 [1090]; see Introduction for longer excerpt) and "*gran letrado*" [very learned], but with the caveat, "*para hacer mal a los pobres indios*" [to harm the poor Indians] (f. 517 [521]). Another potential contributing factor to the soured relationship might have been that the friar informed Guaman Poma that he intended to produce a new manuscript version that would exclude most of the Andean's images (Ossio: Personal Communication). As a final negation of their working relationship, Guaman Poma never mentions his participation in Murua's project or its influence on his own illustrated chronicle.

4. Background

Unlike the five Andean witnesses examined in chapter two, Guaman Poma was not from colonial Cuzco's elite Andean society. Instead, he was likely born around 1560 or earlier, but definitely after the conquest, in Lucanas (Adorno 2008: 255; Barnes 1999; Husson 1995) or Huamanga, in Chupas Valley, the Ayacucho province east of Cuzco.¹⁹² His family were *mitmaq*, populations that the Inca state had relocated from their native origins, in this case during Topa Inca Yupanqui's reign. In the *Nueva corónica* he claimed descent from the non-Inca, Yarovilca dynasty of Huánuco through his father, don Martín Guaman Malque de Ayala, and noble Inca ancestry through his mother, doña Juana Curi Ocllo Coya, daughter of Topa Inca Yupanqui.¹⁹³ His chronicle and sparse documentary sources provide clues into his life and motivations. Recently, scholars have questioned, dispelled, and confirmed aspects of his curated biography.

One thing about the Andean author is certain: like the five Andean witnesses, Guaman Poma sought to secure his noble lineage and elevate his social status within the colonial system during his adult life by setting himself apart from other Andean commoners and ethnic groups. According to Guaman Poma, in the fifteenth century, under the leadership of his grandfather, Cápac Apo Guaman Chaua Yarobilca Allauca Guánoco, and Tingo leader and Inca *cabiña* (lower class Inca) (Tello 1991: 35), don Juan Tingo, the Yarovilca and Tingo ethnic groups arrived in Chupas in the Huamanga region as *mitmaq*. They helped the Inca conquest under Topa Inca Yupanqui and settled there among the "*mojones y sayuas puesto de Topa Inga Yupanqui*" [stone boundaries and *sayuas* established by Topa Inga Yupanqui] (f. 904 [918]). With the Spanish invasion, their ancestors aligned to defend the land for the Spanish Crown. However, over time various parties encroached on their territory. Spaniards supported land grants to the Chachapoya

¹⁹² There are no exact dates provided by Guaman Poma or that have been found in the archives. Adorno first proposed 1530-1550. Puente suggests that the 1560s are more likely. Ossio continues to doubt this later date, drawing on additional factors. See Rolena Adorno, "La redacción y enmendación," xxxii-xlvi; Puente, "El capitán, el ermitaño y el cronista," 117-146; and Ossio, "Mito e historia," 147-164.

¹⁹³ Various authors have address Guaman Poma's biography and the question of his birthplace. See Chapter Three, note 189.

as part of their service to the crown (Macera 1991: 28-30). A collection of documents, commonly called the *Expediente Prado Tello* or *Expediente*,¹⁹⁴ shows that between 1595 and 1600 Guaman Poma engaged together with other Tingo descendants in an ultimately failed lawsuit against the Chachapoyas on behalf of land claims in the Valley of Chupas in the Huamanga region.

The lawsuit records from 1596 to 1600 reveal important aspects of Guaman Poma's interpretations of Inca and Spanish colonial history and his personal experiences during the period he would have worked with Murua. In the petition, his Yarovilca family closely aligned with the Tingo clan. His father, don Domingo (or Martín) Guaman Malque de Ayala,¹⁹⁵ don Alonso de Guamani, and doña Uana Chuquitinta are listed as claimants with Guaman Poma. Moreover, the petition includes a portrait of Guaman Poma's father as *cacique principal* and don Juan Tingo as *cacique principal* and second person of the Pueblo of Santa Catalina de Chupas. The documents verify that between 1595 and 1600 Guaman Poma traveled between Huamanga and Lima to present his case to various local and regional governing officials. However, in March of 1600 the corregidor, deputy, and justice official of Huamanga, Pedro de Rivera, criminally charged Guaman Poma for falsely presenting himself as an Andean lord. The charges included an accusation that he changed his surname from the more common "Lázaro" to the more prestigious "de Ayala." By December 18, 1600 the land rights in Chupas were confirmed for the Chachapoya. He likely went south to the province of Lucanas and Andamarca (Adorno 2000; Varallanos 1979: 33; Porras Barrenechea 1948: 33; Bendezú 1979: 171). At some point, Guaman Poma began to work on his chronicle and completed it before 1615, according to his final letter to King Philip III, dated February 14, 1615.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ For the full collection of the lawsuit documents see, Guaman Poma, *Y no ay remedio*.

¹⁹⁵ In the petition, Guaman Poma's father is referred to as don Domingo Guaman Malque de Ayala, while in his chronicle he is referred to as don Martín Guaman Malque de Ayala. Prado de Tello, "Introducción," in *Y no ay remedio*, 36.

¹⁹⁶ Porras Barrenechea believes Guaman Poma's experience was limited to the Huamanga region and province, the area south of Lucanas, and trips to Lima via Huancayo or Nazca and Ica. Guaman Poma refers to local events from 1608-1615, with the most in 1611-1613. Ossio argues that Guaman Poma began to work on his chronicle before he met Murua. Adorno argues he began working on the chronicle while in exile and after his collaboration with Murua. Porras Barrenechea, *El cronista indio*, 25, 30; Adorno, "Writing and Resistance," xlili-xlix; Guaman Poma and his illustrated chronicle, 22; Ossio, "Paralelismos entre las crónicas," 64; *Introducción*, 51; "Mito e Historia," 147-64.

Guaman Poma's petitions outlined argumentations and visual conceptualizations of his noble ancestry, which he more fully employed and shaped in his chronicle, including portraits and a map. His disaffection with the colonial system was likely shaped through his extensive travels and disappointing legal encounters, when he witnessed and personally experienced many abuses by colonial officials (Adorno 2000: xxvii). His self-curation and promotion through his biography makes his motivations for making his chronicle easier to discern.

Of the many personal, political, historical, and social facets of *Nueva corónica*, one of Guaman Poma's personal goals was to elevate his social status and distinguish himself and his family lineage from other Andean nobles and commoners in the eyes of the Spanish Crown (Kilroy-Ewbank 2018: 47-94; Adorno 2001: 20). In multiple visual and written references scattered throughout the chronicle Guaman Poma directly connected his ancestors with the original inhabitants and rulers of Yarovilca in Chinchaysuyu, from the time of Adam and Eve and through Purun Runa, an era before the Inca ascendancy. According to the author, his grandfather, Capac Apo Guaman Chaua was the most powerful ruler of Yarovilca and leader of Chinchaysuyu and was married to Mama Pomauvalca. Under Topa Inca Yupangui and Huayna Capac Inca, he served as administrator, second person to the Inca (ff. 397 [399]; 341 [343]; and others), viceroy (ff. 184 [186]; 341 [343]; 431 [433]), and Duke of Alba (ff. 340 [342]; 341 [343]). He portrayed his grandfather and the Chinchaysuyo region as the most significant in the Inca empire.

By promoting his family's ancestry and leadership before and during Inca rule, Guaman Poma's elite outsider and insider position validated but also debunked and decentralized Inca primacy in Andean history. From personal and collective perspectives his narrative outlines multiple phases (five eras) and outlines a longer trajectory of Andean history, albeit aligned with Spanish Christian notions of a linear, biblical history (Ossio 2008c: 198). His portrayal stands in stark contrast to many Spanish American chronicles on Andean history from the colonial period (including Murua's), which predominantly focus on a monolithic and totalizing Inca-centric version of the Andean past, with often fantastical and mythical elaborations.



Figure 19: Meeting of don Martín Guaman Malque de Ayala with don Francisco Pizarro. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Conquista, El Primer embajador." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, Nueva corónica y buen gobierno (c. 1615), page [375 [377]].

Figure 20: Guaman Poma wearing Andean uncu and Iberian style dress. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Pregunta Su Majestad, responde el autor." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, Nueva corónica y buen gobierno (c. 1615), page [961 [975]].

Guaman Poma establishes his father's hereditary leadership and rights by promoting both his allegiance to the Inca and his loyalty and service to the Spanish Crown and Catholic Church. According to the Andean, his father, don Martín Malque Guaman de Ayala, was also the second person, like a viceroy and the Duke of Alba, to Topa Inca Yupangui, Huayna Capac, and Huascar (ff. 5; 736 [750]; 902 [916]). In his father's portrait he fought on Huascar's side against Atahualpa during the Inca civil war; Guaman Poma repeatedly called Atahualpa the "bastard son" of Huayna Capac (ff. 87; 114; 141). Though chronologically impossible, according to Guaman Poma, his father was the first Andean leader to greet the Spanish in Tumbes as the ambassador of the Inca ruler, Huascar (Padilla 1979: 30; Ossio 2016: 151). The meeting is represented in an image of his father and Francisco de Pizarro embracing, while kneeling and looking directly at each other. The

equality and friendship signified by the image underscores Guaman Poma's personal goal to show his family's early loyalty to the Spanish (f. 375 [377], fig. 19). However, the image also placed Iberians and Andeans on an equal footing. Guaman Poma's version of the first encounter delegitimized the master narrative that Andeans were conquered and thereby subjected to legitimate colonial rule and supported his vision of self-rule and determination under the authority of the Spanish Christian emperor (Adorno 2007).

To establish his family's early and deep loyalty to the Spanish Crown, Guaman Poma portrayed his father as quickly siding with the Spanish Crown. He repeatedly fought alongside Spanish loyalists, particularly under Capitan Luis Dávalos de Ayala, during Inca and Spanish rebellions and civil wars. Guaman Poma asserts that his father was granted the last name "Ayala", when he saved captain Ayala's life.¹⁹⁷ Unlike Murua, Guaman Poma delves extensively into the details of the Spanish civil war in the Andes, allowing ample and multiple opportunities to exalt his father's early and continued service to the Spanish Crown. Eventually, his father served as a captain in the capture of Tupac Amaro in the Vilcabamba region under Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, in which he "*ganó merced de armas y salario*" [won a grant of arms and a salary] (f. 902 [916]). Despite these many unlikely claims, Guaman Poma's portrayal of his father as a royal leader and warrior under the Inca and early loyalty to the Spanish crown served to establish the author's ancestral noble status according to Iberian criteria of the *hidalgo*--a similar tactic employed by the other Andean endorsers from Cuzco. The reader is reminded at the end of the chronicle of one of his primary grievances, born from his lost lawsuit against the Chachapoya and exile from his home territory. A chapter that begins with reminding the reader/king of his father's

¹⁹⁷ An actual connection to Luis Ávalos de Ayala remains unknown, given that his father's service to the conquistador is extremely unlikely. Most likely Guaman Poma took the name "de Ayala" during his legal campaigns in Chupas as a strategy to establish legitimacy (and was accused of doing so). Guaman Poma graphically depicts his father and other native leaders beating Francisco Hernández Girón and his men (f. 432 [434]). Padilla, *El indio cronista dibujante*, 36; Ossio, *En busca del orden perdido*, 151; and Puente, "El capitán, el ermitaño y el cronista," 136-139.

loyalty and many contributions to Spanish successes, devolves into a tirade of abuses and wrongs directed at his family and his subsequent descent into poverty and landlessness.¹⁹⁸

Much like the other Andean endorsers, Guaman Poma emphasized his family's deep devotion to and early acceptance of Christianity. His supposed older, mestizo half-brother from his mother, the friar Martín de Ayala,¹⁹⁹ played a central role in assuring Guaman Poma's Christian indoctrination. Thanks in part to the influence of his alleged half-brother, Guaman Poma was able to live an exemplary native Christian life that contrasted with the lives of corrupt Spanish friars like Murua (Porrás Barrenechea 1948; Adorno 1978; 2000: XLV; Quispe-Agnoli 2004: 242). Moreover, Guaman Poma claimed that he received a religious education and training from fray Martín, including how to read and write.²⁰⁰ In both Cuzco and Huamanga in the 1560s the friar would have had opportunities to meet Guaman Poma's father, who served as a *yanacóna* at both hospitals (church-sponsored institutions), which in the colonial period would not have been considered below his position.²⁰¹ According to an early image, he pinpoints the overlap in Cuzco where he depicts friar Martín with his father and mother, and writes in the caption "*en la ciudad de Cuzco*" [in the city of Cuzco] (f. 14). The many corresponding years that padre Martín de Ayala and Guaman Poma's father lived in Cuzco and Huamanga make their acquaintance a likely

¹⁹⁸ Towards the end of the *Nueva crónica* Guaman Poma finally revealed part of his personal frustrations and motivations. In particular, he made an extensive and detailed case for his family's rights to the "*tierra y valle de Santa Catalina de Chupas adonde hubo la batalla de don Diego de Almagro el mozo contra la Corona Real*" [land and valley of Santa Catalina de Chupas where there had been a battle by don Diego de Almagro the Younger against the Royal Crown] (f. 904 [918]).

¹⁹⁹ Friar Martín was either a secular priest or a friar. If the latter, his affiliation to a religious order is unknown.

²⁰⁰ According to Guaman Poma, his Inca mother and Spanish Captain, Luis Dávalos de Ayala were the parents of his half-brother. We know that a friar Martín was born in Cuzco around 1550 but many scholars doubt their familial connections, including the possibility of his mother committing adultery. However, a debate remains. Puente doubts there was adultery between Guaman Poma's mother and don Luis Avalos de Ayala. Ossio believes it could be true given that don Ayala arrived in Peru two to three years before Father Martín's birth and was in Cuzco one year before his birth. Guaman Poma's images with friar Martín and his parents confirm that he was older than Guaman Poma. According to Guaman Poma, friar Martín took the habit when he was twelve years-old, an example of the early colonial Andean Church practice of accepting mestizo priests. Alfredo Alberdi Vallejo, "De Felipe Lázaro Guaman, indio, a Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala," *Runa Yachachiy*, 12 (Sitio internet: www.alberdi.de/GPAREDSINCLA.19.97.07.pdf); John Murra, "Una visión indígena mundo andino," in *Nueva Corónica y buen gobierno*, vol. 1, (2008), note 23; Ossio, *Mito e historia*, 151-154; *En busca del orden perdido*, 67, 88-89, 151; "*Algunas reflexiones en romo a la historicidad del cronista indio Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala: su ubicación en el tiempo*," in *El hombre y los Andes. Homenaje a Franklin Pease*, Javier Flores and Rafael Varón, eds., (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2002), 339; Padilla, *El indio cronista dibujante*, 36; and Puente, "El capitán, el ermitaño y el cronista," 119.

²⁰¹ Mestizo friar Martín served at the Cuzco Hospital of Natives around 1556 and by 1579 was in Huamanga, serving in the Native Hospital (fols. 15 [15]- 18 [18]). Puente, "El capitán, el ermitaño y el cronista," 119-121, 128, 134-136.

possibility and explains Guaman Poma's extensive knowledge and memory of Cuzco, including the execution of Tupac Amaru in 1572.²⁰²

From childhood to his adult life, Guaman Poma underscored his participation and education within the Church and state-sponsored activities in support of colonial institutions. He worked for Spanish officials and priests during ecclesiastical inspection tours, including a campaign of the secular priest Cristóbal de Albornóz in Soras and Lucanas in 1569 and 1571 to extirpate perceived idolatry.²⁰³ It was not unusual for young indigenous men to serve as interpreters and assistants to ecclesiastics, a practice promoted by Viceroy Toledo (Durston 2007). His chronicle reveals that he was exposed on many levels to the culture and teachings of Spanish Christianity during his life. In his various sojourns to Cuzco he would have interacted with Murua, native Cuzco elites, and their social-religious circle. This circle included Franciscan friar Luis Jerónimo Oré, an Inca advocate in the 1590s whom Guaman Poma deeply admired (Adorno 2000: 55) and whose writings Murua copied for the Galvin Murua. By the 1590s, Guaman Poma was in his thirties and well-educated, experienced, and connected to Cuzco's state and ecclesiastical colonial institutions, activities, and resources. He was the perfect Indigenous collaborator for the younger Murua.

Despite Guaman Poma's familiarity with Spanish colonial culture, he also fashioned himself and his book project to straddle and embrace the transformation of pre-Hispanic Andean oral historical practices into Iberian literary and visual history-making practices. Like the other Andean men who endorsed the Galvin Murua, Guaman Poma played a pivotal role as mediator in colonial Peru. He intentionally linked his ancestors and lineage with the profession of the *khipukamayoc* (or expert reader of the *khipu*, an Inca textile recording device) and the

²⁰² From Cuzco his father was ordered by Viceroy Toledo to lead a company into Vilcabamba to capture Tupac Amaru. He then relocated or returned to Huamanga. Correspondingly, Guaman Poma's chronicle suggests that the author spent a significant amount of time in Cuzco in the late sixteenth century or, at minimum, had access to first-hand accounts from the pivotal events in the 1570s. Guaman Poma's father was also a founding brother of the Limpia Concepción confraternity in Huamanga, associated with the Franciscan Church. Adorno, "La redacción y enmendación," xxxii–xlvi; Puente, "Martín de Ayala".

²⁰³ Puente, "Martín de Ayala," 138, questions the prevalent assertion by scholars that he was a translator or interpreter for Cristóbal de Albornóz. The assumption is based on Guaman Poma's description of serving the friar during inspection tours (f. 283 [285]).

qillqakamayuc (or keeper of graphic information in the Inca administration) (ff. 143, 191 [193], 359 [361]; Adorno 2000: 80; Kilroy-Ewbank 2018: 82). In colonial Quechua neologism, *qillca* could mean both writing combined with statistical recording as well as sculpting and painting (Cummins and Rappaport 2012: 209, citing Holguín 1989 [1608]: 301, 513; Santo Tomás 1951a [1560]: 357), offering a perfect blend for Guaman Poma's illustrated chronicle project and his reconfiguration of Andean oral history and textile recording practices into a literary and graphic work in the service of the Crown. This mediating approach to Iberian and Indigenous culture, memory, and arts likely appealed to Guaman Poma as he initially worked on Murua's illustrated manuscript version.

To many today, Guaman Poma stands out as one of the most prominent Indigenous intellectuals in the Andes from the early colonial period. Like don Luis Chalco Yupangui, Guaman Poma was identified in notarial records as an *indio ladino*, though he never used the term to describe himself (Adorno 1991: 23). In an often-referenced closing self-portrait, a kneeling Guaman Poma addresses the Spanish King, who sits on a raised platform. While the Andean's left hand holds a book, his raised right thumb and index finger extend in front of him as an indication of speech. On his upper body he wears the elite *uncu*, a men's knee-length sleeveless tunic, combined with Iberian style dress (f. 961 [975]; fig. 20). Guaman Poma portrays his ancestors in similar *uncu* pattern, including his portrait of his father in the *Expediente*, making yet one more ancestral link to his colonial present through a potent symbol of Indigenous power and prestige (Ramos 2005: 57). As art historian Lauren Kilroy-Ewbank (2018: 47-94) has shown, his self-portraits famously blended Andean and Iberian clothing and paraphernalia to signal his appropriate nobility, Christianity, education, and elite status in pre-Hispanic and Spanish colonial society. Through visual and textual references, Guaman Poma connected his prestige and social position to his ancestors and elevated his own social standing in colonial society; enough to give him the audacity to offer the King critical accounts and advice to counter the abuses perpetrated by Spaniards in the Andes. As Adorno observed, in Guaman Poma's illustrated chronicle, where the Andean lord and Inca sovereignty had occupied a central position (graphically, literally, and

symbolically) in the pre-Hispanic period, in the colonial period their figure was replaced by Andean petitioners and advisors (2000: 116).

As we consider Guaman Poma's contribution to the Murua project, it is vital to remember that his intellect, opinions, and ambitions evolved during and after his collaboration with Murua. He was a determined and talented artist, intellectual, and advocate for his individual and collective Andean rights. Neither he nor Murua were static figures. Guaman Poma's contributions to the Galvin Murua represent a distinct juncture in his journey before the production of his own chronicle, which resembles Murua's manuscripts in some ways but is also distinctly different in many other respects.

4. Text, labels, and images: layers of time and exchange

Many comparative studies of Guaman Poma and Murua have examined their works as finished, one-dimensional material texts often based on transcribed publications. This is especially true of earlier studies of the Galvin Murua and Getty Murua. However, excellent facsimile reproductions of both the Galvin and Getty manuscripts, and the multidisciplinary examination of those manuscripts conducted at the Getty Research Institute, now enable us to consider the role of Guaman Poma in the Galvin Murua and his collaboration with Murua in a far more multifaceted and nuanced light. Moreover, understanding Guaman Poma's contribution in relation to Murua reveals the multidimensional layers of information embedded in the manuscript, impacting readers' interpretations and misinterpretations. I hope to contribute to a robust historiography on Guaman Poma's contribution to the Murua manuscripts and the relationship between the manuscripts by considering specific instances in the interplay between the images, texts, and captions, and by incorporating paleographic and codicological aspects into the analysis.

Excellent studies into Guaman Poma's interwoven graphic and textual composition in *Nueva corónica* offers insights for approaching his images in the Murua manuscripts. On the one hand, Guaman Poma's drew on medieval and Counter-reformational instructional art images or

ymagines (Adorno 2000: 80; López-Baralt 1979a, 1992a: 16; Peña Núñez 2018) prevalent in sixteenth-century Cuzco for his artistic style and composition, including Renaissance costume books (Cummins 2008: 151), religious engravings, and late medieval woodcuts (Van de Guchte 1992: 92-107). On the other hand, studies by Mercedes López-Baralt (1979b, 1988, 1992a, 1993) and Rolena Adorno (1989, 2000; 2008) have demonstrated how the images are embedded within a fully integrated Andean spatial symbolism. Quadripartite principles based on Andean complementarity are used and manipulated by Guaman Poma to relate socio-political and moral messages of a world turned upside-down. As such, while his images are comprehensible to the European viewer/reader, they also display "autochthonous values of symbolic representation", allowing for multiple visual interpretations.²⁰⁴

López-Baralt has also paid particular attention to the words as an integral part of Guaman Poma's images. Using Roland Barthes' analysis (1977: 38-41), she claimed that Guaman Poma's practice of "anchoring" attempted to "fix the sense of the image" (López-Baralt 1992: 23) for the reader/viewer. The linguistic message guides the reader/viewer's gaze towards various literal and symbolic interpretations and identifications.²⁰⁵ In contrast, the less common function of "relay" completes the visual image by adding complementary information that is not included in the image (Barthes 1977: 40-41). In *Nueva corónica*, this information includes dialogue, prayers and songs, and monologues (López-Baralt 1992a: 23-24). A far less complex interplay of linguistic messages exists in the Galvin and Getty images. The Galvin Murua includes a handful of poems and brief dialogues. Both the Galvin and Getty images include multiple captions (often written below the

²⁰⁴ Mercedes López-Baralt and Rolena Adorno draw on the early seventeenth diagram by Pachacuti Yamqui and Garcilaso's description of the Inca imperial city of Cuzco to identify foundational compositional structures in the *Nueva Corónica* that are based on oppositional relationship between *hanan* (upper) and *hurin* (lower). López-Baralt argues that this necessary complementarity in the composition carry ethical values for the author. Adorno differentiates symbolic value patterns according to spatial oppositional positionality and hierarchy along "primary diagonal lines". Wherein Inca times the center is often filled by Andean lords and symbols of the Inca organization, in representations of the colonial period the center is empty or filled by Christian symbols or the Spanish monarchy. López-Baralt, *Estructuras Simbólicas Andinas; From Looking to Seeing*, 17; *Guaman Poma, autor y artista*; and Adorno, *Writing and Resistance*, 89-119.

²⁰⁵ López-Baralt, *From Looking to Seeing*, 23, identifies five forms of anchorage in *Nueva Corónica*: Naming or identification of characters, objects, animals, buildings, and so forth; characterization, which qualifies a character according to his or her ethnic origin; spatial or temporal locations; identification of events; and author's explanation.



Figure 21: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Mapamundi del reino de las Indias." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [983-984 [1001-1002]].

image or floating in blank space in the image frame) and labels (often written within or next to body parts or objects of identification). Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup (2005: 163) have identified Guaman Poma as the hand (and likely author) of distinct captions in the images he composed, whereas the remaining captions, labels, poetry, and dialogue found throughout all the images belong to Murua, despite different inks and degrees of neatness. I will periodically return to these observations as I consider Guaman Poma's contributions and interventions.

4.2 Interventions of the Personal

The *mapamundi* (f. 983-984 [1001-1002], fig. 21) and *pontifical mundo* (f. 42; fig. 22) in the *Nueva corónica* offer insights into Guaman Poma's conception of spatial organization based on Andean principles of complementarity and his incorporation of European graphic models. In

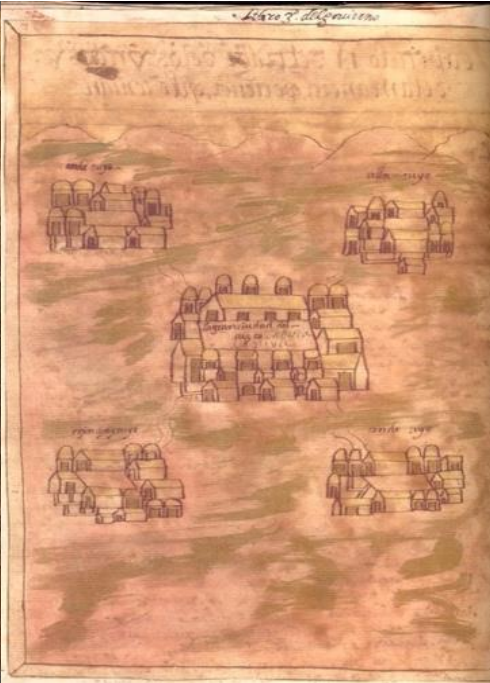


Figure 22: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Pontifical Mundo." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, Nueva corónica y buen gobierno (c. 1615), page [42].

Figure 23: Map of Tahuantinsuyu. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. Historia del origen (2008 [1596]), f. 63v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.



Figure 24: Chuquillanto dreaming. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "El sueño de la nusta," in Historia del origen (2008 [1596]), f. 145v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 25: Kingdom of Peru coat of arms. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and Martín de Murua. "Las Armas del Reyno del Piru," in Historia General del Piru (2008 [1616]), f. 307r. Digital image courtesy of Getty's Open Content.

organized it according to a quadripartite composition of the Andean cosmivision. Cuzco sits in the *mapamundi* Guaman Poma used a conventional European mapping conceptualization but the center as two diagonal lines distinguish between the four regions of Tahuantinsuyu, read from left to right (viewer's perspective) and top to bottom: Chinchaysuyu, Collasuyu, Antisuyu, and

Cuntisuyu. In this map, the left of center position is associated with *hanan* (upper) and the right of center is associated with *hurin* (lower) (Wachtel 1973: 177-181, cited by Adorno 2000: 89; Ossio 1973: 179). In the *pontifical mundo* this same concept is manipulated to represent a cosmivision of the Christian world, though embedded in Spanish colonial realities. However, in Guaman Poma's symbolic play of values "*las indias del Perú*" [the Indies of Peru] sits in the horizontal upper portion (*hanan*/superior position) with Cuzco as its continuous center and "*Castilla en lo abajo de las Indias*" [Castilla below the Indies] in the lower portion (*hurin*/inferior position) with the "city" of Castilla in its center. Except for Cuzco he does not label any of the *suyus* (regions) and depicts them scattered among mountains. Similar organizational features appear in his images in the Murua manuscripts.

The organization of the four *suyus* is compositionally similar and crucially different from another image in the Galvin Murua by Guaman Poma on folio 63v (fig. 23). The slight changes suggest developments in Guaman Poma's messaging while making the images for the Galvin Murua that became more fully articulated in the *Nueva corónica*. The illustration on folio 63v is a conceptual map of the Inca empire, Tahuantinsuyu, and faces Chapter 12 in Book Three, titled "The division of the four provinces: chincha suyo, colla suyo, conde suyo, and andes suyo." Again, the Inca capital of Cuzco is depicted in the center of the image with a plaza surrounded by Inca style buildings. Its labels include "*la gran ciudad del Cusco*" [the great city of Cusco] by Guaman Poma, followed immediately by "*cabesca de piru*" [head of Peru] added by Murua at a later point. Evenly spaced from Cuzco in the four corners are slightly smaller but similarly designed urban centers. Starting from the *hanan*-upper left position and moving clockwise each urban center is respectively labeled in Guaman Poma's hand "*ande suyo*", "*colla suyo*", "*conde suyo*", and "*chinchay suyo*". Lightly sketched straight roads lead from Cuzco to each city. They appear to be in the same ink as the label by Murua.

The graphic design of Tahuantinsuyu by Guaman Poma in the Murua manuscripts resembles a tunic design on textiles only worn by Inca rulers, known as the Quechua *casana*. It

was composed of four smaller squares within a larger square. According to Tom Zuidema, the Quechua *casana* represents the earth and Inca empire divided into four parts based on Andean principles of complementarity. The center is the Axis Mundi and is associated with male procreative power (1990: 171; Dean 2001: 172). A similar graphic composition exists in other illustrations by Guaman Poma in the Galvin Murua, including Chuquillanto's dream in the legendary love story (f. 145v, fig. 24). In the visual rendition of Tahuantinsuyu on folio 63v (fig. 23) of the Galvin Murua, Cuzco is in the most powerful and potent position, while the *suyus* surround it. From a horizontal perspective, Antisuyu and Collasuyu are in a *hanan*/upper position to Chinchaysuyo and Condesuyo in the *hurin*/lower position. Within *hanan*, Antisuyu is in a *hanan* position to Collasuyo. Subtle but noticeable, the order and location of the *suyus* in the four corners are different from his maps in *Nueva corónica*.

The Getty Murua contains another compositionally similar rendition of Tahuantinsuyu in the coat of arms of the "Kingdom of Peru" (Getty, fol. 307). The coat of arms had been transferred from the Galvin Murua to the Getty Murua to serve as the frontispiece for Book Three on the cities of Peru. In the process the 1596 endorsement letter from the Andean leaders was pasted up (and later unpasted by H.P. Kraus). Murua drew the bordering escutcheon and Guaman Poma illustrated the coat of arms after the 1596 endorsement letter was written and still in the Galvin Murua (Adorno and Boserup 2008: 11-15, fig. 25). Guaman Poma composed the Kingdom of Peru with four distinct coats of arms for each *suyu*, delineated by vertical and horizontal lines. They follow the design features of Tahuantinsuyu in Galvin folio 63v. The literary and visual presentation of Inca nobility in a European medieval heraldic emblem would have been accessible to both European and elite colonial Andean audiences.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ As part of his analysis of the coat of arms, Cummins, "Dibujado de Mi Mano," 40, observes that the escutcheon is the same coat of arms for the Mercedarian order. For more on coats of arms in the Andes, see Cummins, "Let me see! Reading is for Them: Colonial Andean Images and Objects 'como es costumbre tener los caciques Señores'," in *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 2nd through 4th October 1992*, Elizabeth Hill Boone and Tom Cummins, eds., (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), 91-148; and Domingues Torres, "Emblazoning Identity," in *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World*, Ilona Katzew and Luisa Elena Alcalá, eds., (Los Angeles; New Haven, 2011), 97-117.

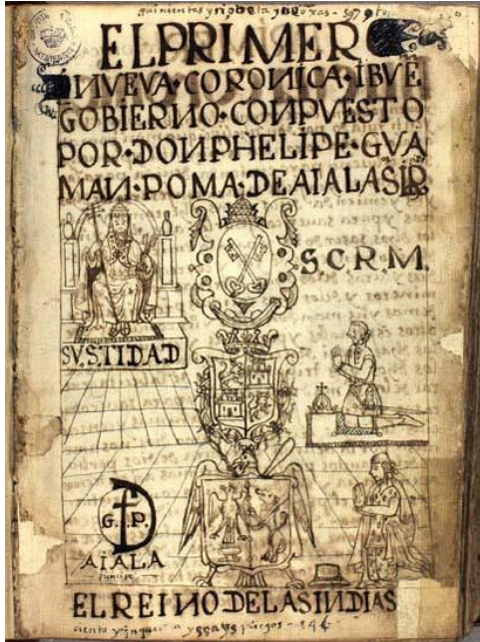


Figure 26: Guaman Poma's invented coat of arms with an eagle and lion. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "El primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno compuesto por don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [frontispiece].

Decidedly different from his Tahuantinsuyu image in the Galvin Murua, the Andean artist positioned his fabricated coat of arms for Chinchaysuyu in the privileged hanan position, signaling the particular importance of his ancestral region and lineage. He also used the same heraldic signifier for Chinchaysuyu as his ancestral coat of arms in the frontispiece for *Nueva corónica*, composed to resemble his own name with an eagle (*waman*) and cougar (*poma*) embedded within the coat of arms of Castile and Leon (Kilroy-Ewbank 2018: 127, note 84; frontispiece; fig. 26). In the Getty Murua coat of arms Guaman Poma included captions naming the four Inca regions in the four corners of the folio frame and a caption

at the bottom that listed his grandfather, Apo Guaman Chaua, as the first great lord of Peru from the pre-Inka Yarobilca in Chinchaysuyu. It states, "These four arms were the arms of the four ancient kings of the four parts of this kingdom of Peru. The first great lord of the three was Apo Guaman Chaua Yarobilca Alluaca Guanoco from the old town of Guanoco."²⁰⁷ He does not name any other regional leader in his caption. Friar Murua later crossed out the captions for Chinchaysuyu and Andtisuyu in the upper right and left corners and wrote "The Arms of the Kingdom of Peru"--negating through words the composite complexity of the image and emphasizing a simplified notion of the Inca empire. For each *suyu* Murua also added labels naming them inside each coat of arms. His redactions suggest that for the final publication he

²⁰⁷ "Estas quatro armas fueron las armas de los quatro Reys antig[u]jos de los quatro partes destos rreynos del piru el primero gran señor sobre los tres fue apo guaman chaua yarobilca alluacaguanoco del pueblo de guanoco el biejo." Murua, *Historia general del Perú*, f. 307r. For further discussion on the image and caption see, Adorno, "Polemics of Possession," 53-54; Kilroy-Ewbank, "Fashioning a Prince," 87; Ossio, *Busca del Orden*; 53-57; "Tradición Oral Andina," 53 Adorno and Boserup, "Making of Murúa's," 12-13; and Cummins, "Let Me See!," 100-101.

planned to remove all Guaman Poma's captions; a subtle but simple reminder of Murua's tendency to obscure the explicit voices and complexity of his native participants.

The spatial order of the *suyus* in the earliest representation of Tahuantinsuyu on folio 63v by Guaman Poma differs from his renditions in the coat of arms now in the Getty Murua and the *mapa mundi* in the *Nueva corónica*. Between folio 63v and the coat of arms, Guaman Poma shifted the *suyus* by one position in a clockwise manner. His ancestral *suyu*, Chinchaysuyu, sits in the most powerful position after Cuzco: in the upper left corner (viewer's perspective) or *hanan*. Andesuyu moved to the upper right in the *hurin* position in relation to Chinchaysuyo while remaining in the *hanan* (upper) position in relation to Collasuyo and Condesuyo. Interestingly, Murua added the *suyu* names in the corners of Guaman Poma's image of Chuquillanto's dream that accompanies a palindrome poem. However, their order does not correspond to the one presented by Guaman Poma in his Tahuantinsuyu map or the coat of arms, suggesting Murua either rejected or ignored but, in any case, failed to grasp his Andean collaborator's subtle explanations of Andean socio-political organization and hierarchy.

Guaman Poma's two graphic depictions in the Murua manuscripts and the *Nueva corónica* reveal how his visual conceptualization of the Inca empire underwent iterations and clarifications as the artist blended Andean and European conventions. The altered position of the *suyus* in Guaman Poma's images in the Murua manuscript exhibit a progression of his personal messaging and intervention within the Inca historical narrative, which he more fully developed in his own chronicle. When he made the first image on folio 63v, he simply followed the chapter title text and formulated and visually conceptualized Tahuantinsuyo along Andean concepts of hanan/hurin and complementarity. With the Inca coat of arms, he asserted his own ancestral predominance into the conceptualization, a message he more fully developed in his *Nueva corónica*. In the image of the *Mapa mundi* and *Pontifical mundo*, he positioned the Andes above Castile, but acknowledged a new colonial reality.

Guaman Poma's coat of arms represents an intentional intervention in Murua's Inca-centric narrative, an attempt to decenter the Inca-centric rule while elevating his own elite ancestry. The author/artist inserted his voice, lineage, and non-Inca historical perspective into the Galvin text and images, while or immediately after he was promoting the same ancestral narrative in the legal system. The coat of arms in the Getty Murua gives us a small but significant inkling of his intellectual and political development. Similarly, the chapter on the role of the Cañari in the Galvin Murua presents a subtle de-centering of Inca history.

4.3 A Cañari Erasure

Through an act of elision rather than addition, Guaman Poma asserted his competition with other *mitmaq* or relocated populations in the region and promoted his constructed historical memory by leaving blank the accompanying image for the chapter on the Cañari. As discussed in chapter 2 of this work, the chapter's composition on the Cañari in the Galvin Murua was directly influenced by Murua's Cañari endorser, don Pedro Purqui. The account appears in Book 3, which features an almost consistent pattern: each completed chapter text faces an image on the following page. However, in the case of the Cañari chapter there is no image (f. 68v). It remains utterly blank. Based on an understanding of the production process, we know that the text had been completed, suggesting that Guaman Poma decided not to complete the image. This omission is unusual, given the number of completed images in Book 3 of the Galvin Murua.²⁰⁸

Why did Guaman Poma neglect to depict the Cañari lord in the manuscript? In his dispute over land rights with the Chachapoyas in the 1590s and his portrayal of the Cañari and Chachapoya in his chronicle, Guaman Poma employed multiple tactics to discredit their elite, warrior reputation of the Chachapoya in the *Nueva Corónica*, reveals that he resented and disliked the Chachapoyas and under the Inca and Spaniards. His first of many references to the Cañari

²⁰⁸ The recto side of the folio without a Cañari image includes a hastily written title page without chapter text. This raises some questions as to whether there is a relationship between the missing text and image. However, according to Nancy Turner's analysis, the folio pages are intact from the original state of the manuscript. Turner, "Accounting for *Unfinished History*," 4.

and Chachapoya lists them as conquered people under Huayna Capac, without additional detail (ff. 112 [112]; 114 [114]; 140 [140]; 161 [163]; 162 [164]; 332 [334]; 333 [335]). The only visual representation of the Cañari in the entire chronicle depicts their defeat under Huayna Capac's captain, Challcochima (f. 161 [163]; fig. 27). The defeated warriors are rendered battling against the Inca from the *hurin*/lower position in the viewer's right half of the image, while the Inca occupy more than two-thirds of the image's center-left. Second, he establishes his ancestral authority by listing the Cañari as a conquered group under the author's grandfather and captain of all Chinchaysuyo, Cápac Apo Guaman Chaua Chinchay, during Topa Inga Yupanqui and Huayna Capac's reign (f. 166 [168]). Third, he accentuates the contrast between his ancestral people and the Cañari and Chachapoya under the Inca and Spanish rule. Under the Inca he claims that "The Indians Guanocos Chinchaysuyos, subjects of Cápac Apo Guaman Chaua Yarobilca Allauca Guánoco, and his sons were given many charges and privileges. In this



Figure 27: Cañari defeat under Huayna Capac's captain, Challcochima. "El décimo capitán, Chalco Chima, Quito, Cayanbi, Cañari, Chachapoya." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, Nueva corónica y buen gobierno (c. 1615), page [161 [163]].

entire kingdom they never gave a single office to the Chachapoyas and Cañaris because they were rebels and lying thieves."²⁰⁹ Likewise, during the early years of the Spanish invasion, "The Cañari and Chachapoya and *yanaconas* only applied themselves to robbing and stealing with the Spanish, and not to the service of the Crown."²¹⁰ Fourth, in a final blow to their character, he

²⁰⁹ "Y así porque fueron grandes servidores d ela Corona Real del Inga, los indios guánocos fieles, como en castilla los vizcaínos, así le dio muchas tierras y muchos pueblos en este reino a los indios guánocos Chinchaysuyos, sujeto de Cápac apo Guaman chaua Yarobilca Allauca Guánoco, y a sus hijos les dieron muchos cargos y oficios beneficios. En todo este reino no les dio ningún cargo a los Chachapoyas y Canares porque fueron indios rebeldes y ladrones embusteros." See Guaman Poma, Nueva Corónica, f. 345 [347].

²¹⁰ "Los cañaris y chachapoyas y yanacunas se metieron sólo a fin de robar y hurtar con los dichos españoles, no se metieron por servir a us magestad."Ibid., f. 395 [397].

blames them for ending the legitimate lineage of Inca kings to rule within the Spanish Empire. The author excoriates the Cañari and Chachapoya for cruelly attempting to kill any legitimate royal Inca line during the Inca civil war between half-brothers Atahualpa and Huascar, particularly all of Huascar's line, even slicing open the stomachs of pregnant women (f. 389 [391]). Guaman Poma never mentions their role under Spanish rule, except for blaming the Cañari leader, Francisco Chilche, for poisoning Sayre Tupa (Saire Topa, Sayri Tupac Inca) out of jealousy for the honor and respect that the exiled Inca received after leaving Vilcabamba (f. 443 [445]).

Guaman Poma's clear animosity toward the Cañari suggests that his omission was not due to error or a lack of time. Rather, by not including an image in the visual narrative of the manuscript, Guaman Poma diminished or negated the role of the Cañari in Inca and Spanish history. In doing so, he subverted the textual narrative compiled by Murua. The result is a competing visual and textual narrative influenced by two non-Inca Andeans. Sadly, the small but important focus on the Cañari was completely omitted by Murua in the Getty Murua as he strove to streamline his narrative in the manner of a Europeanized Inca-centric history.

Ironically, both Guaman Poma and don Pedro employ similar tactics in constructing their social status within the colonial Andean social hierarchy. Both claim a connection and alliance to Inca and non-Inca ethnic nobility who are remembered for their early and consistent loyalty and service to the Spanish Crown. Like don Pedro, Guaman Poma aimed to distinguish his ancestry in colonial terms in order to elevate and promote his family's social standing. However, from his very personal experience and perspective as an outsider to native Cuzco society and territory, Guaman Poma saw the Chachapoya and Cañari as competition, as depraved Andeans who stole his land in the service of greedy and unjust Spaniards (f. 903 [917]). We lack similar insight into don Pedro's perspective on Guaman Poma and his people.

As with the five Andean endorsers, Guaman Poma employed multiple literary and artistic strategies to convince a mixed Iberian and Andean audience on the question of native elite rights in an effort to promote his personal and family status. His participation in Murua's manuscript

project was likely part of that effort. However, in contrast to the five Andeans, his apparent disappointment with Murua and his project fueled a desire to create his own chronicle. Moreover, he sought to transcend Murua's Cuzco-centric history by creating one that included and privileged memories and rights from other regions of the Andes, while still employing signifiers of the colonial Christian social hierarchy.

In fact, there are few interventions that speak to Guaman Poma's personal background in the Murua manuscripts. Murua compiled an impersonal and generic portrayal of Inca history that progressively ignored direct Indigenous sources and collaborators, to the point of their eventual attempted erasure. However, the influence of Guaman Poma in the Murua manuscripts, particularly the Galvin Murua, is undeniable when we consider the relationship between the images, texts, and labels. What follows are additional examples of influences and interventions that shed light on the multifaceted composition and temporality of exchange between Murua and Guaman Poma in the making of the Galvin Murua.

4. Animacy, Huacas, and Idolatry

Representations of Andean animacy in depictions of organizational and sacred stone structures, and a legendary love story, reveal the dynamic interplay between Guaman Poma and Murua. As a proud, Indigenous intellectual and artist for the chapters on Inca customs, governance, and religion in the Galvin Murua, Guaman Poma played an irreplaceable role in inserting nuanced ethnographic information. However, as a devout Christian, he also agreed with Murua in his condemnation of perceived Andean idolatry. Comparing Guaman Poma's work in the Galvin version with the *Nueva crónica* shows how Guaman Poma developed and elaborated his graphic language regarding Inca religion and Andean culture. Guaman Poma and Murua's entanglement exposes the contested and interwoven terrain of Spanish Christian hegemonic forces and native adaptations of their tradition and memory.

By 1660 the imposition of Spanish Christian rule and the dissipation of the Inca state fragmented the uniform practice of the sun cult into local and regional cults.²¹¹ Frank Salomon (1991: 4-5), in his introductory essay to the *Huarochirí* manuscript, states, "The equation between Inca religion and Andean religion is an ideological slight." Under pre-Hispanic Inca rule, a network of local, polytheistic, and animistic religious practices continued even as their Inca conquerors incorporated regional sacred sites into their imperial religious system. In contrast, the syncretic process of Christian Andean religion was founded on violent confrontations between pre-Hispanic Andean memories and European religious conceptions.²¹² In the Murua manuscripts, the multivalency of sacred Andean animacy, manifested in a *huaca*, exhibit the contested forces and negotiations of Indigenous and Iberian actors from the early phases of colonization.

The presence of animacy rather than representation defined a *huaca's* significance. A *huaca* refers to specific places, people, and objects (natural and man-made) inhabited and organized by *camay* (*kamay*), a perpetual active force. *Camay* as "energizing matter" resides at multiple and changeable scales in a "superhuman person, shrine, landscape feature, sacred and powerful object" or *huaca*, animating local, smaller entities as well as the all-embracing space and time of *pachacamac* (Salomon 1991: 16; Cummins 1996a: 161; Taylor 2000; Dean 2010a: 2-4). Together they compose the circulation of the cosmos.²¹³ Water, stone, and the sun are particularly potent animators of the sacred, kinetic energy of *camay*. Light, fluids, shadow, or direction imbue Inca aesthetics and culture in stone and metalwork, agricultural and ritual practices, clothing, and the body (Cummins and Mannheim 2011: 5-21). *Camay's* cosmic flow depends on *ayni* or reciprocity, whereby humans are fundamental actors in a complementary relationship with the

²¹¹ *Conopas*, the personal "gods of fecundity", developed as essential mediums for perpetuating Andean sacred beliefs connected to human, animal, and agricultural productivity during the colonial era. Their multiple associations with fertility and ancestry functioned on the personal and communal level. Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies*, 75.

²¹² Literature on colonial Christian Andean religion is vast. See MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes*; Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies*; Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*; Estenssoro Fuchs, *Paganismo a la santidad*; Ramos, *Death and conversion in the Andes*; Claudia Brosseder, *The Power of Huacas: Change and Resistance in the Andean World of Colonial Peru*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014); and others.

²¹³ The Milky Way is the cosmic *mayu* or river in constant motion from the sea to sky to sea. Gary Urton, *At the Crossroads of the Earth and the Sky: An Andean Cosmology*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 64-69.

natural world and each other. The Inca expanded the obligation from the smallest social units to encompass governing relationships with conquered ethnic groups, among themselves, and their dependent relationship with earth (Murra 1972; Silverblatt 1987: 224-225; Rostworowski 1999: 38-47, 94, 176; Dean 2010: 68). Ritual performance and offerings to *huaca* animate the sacred, maintain cosmic and physical movement, and shape natural and man-made relationships. According to historian, Kenneth Mills, in the colonial era when traditional Andean religion moved towards local and regional practices, *huaca* reverence served an essential role in maintaining community, family, and individual health.²¹⁴ These local numina lived "in the realm of a network of many idols, *huaca*, and shrines" (1997: 101).

The nuanced multiplicity of Andean religious traditions challenged Spanish Christian notions of idolatry. According to early modern Europeans, idols were man-made, finely crafted out of precious metals and anthropomorphic or zoomorphic in their appearance. The Andean worldview defied Cartesian binary opposition and competition between the natural and non-natural, humans and nature, and culture and nature. It countered Aristotle's conception of inanimate nature so prevalent in early modern European thinking (Dean 2010: 1-8; 2007: 506). By not fitting into European's categories, a *huaca* threatened evangelizing aspirations to eradicate Andean ritual traditions. In addition, Tom Cummins suggests that objects and images in the Inca cultural and aesthetic system existed in a "field of meaning" through association and memory.²¹⁵ However, ecclesiastics generally focused on single pieces of information rather than pursue the

²¹⁴ The ability to live in both an Andean and Christian belief systems is visible in extirpation trial records. For example, in 1617, Doctor Vega Juran Lopez de Moya accused a baptized, elderly Andean, Tomas Parinanco from Auquimaria of idolatry for his continued worship and maintenance of two *huacas* called Juripalpa and Ayna. Parinanco confessed that despite being a good Christian who attended mass, he continued to worship the local *huacas* but had previously lied during confession. He reported that during the planting season fellow Andeans gave chicha, coca seeds, textiles, coca leaves, guinea pigs, and other things. Depending on the ritual, they might fast, practice abstinence and/or purify themselves in a river or lagoon. After getting sick Parinanco went to the local priest, confessed, and stopped visiting the *huaca*. He claimed to not know the *huaca* Ayna's founders. They were dead without descendants, though this may have been for their protection. He identified the *huaca* Juripalpa as an old *curaca* that had died and turned to rock. AAL. "Hechicerias E Idolatrias", Leg. I: 4, 1617, f. 8.

²¹⁵ Objects are defined through a process of metonymy which establish relationships and meaning through their ritualized engagements and larger spatial relationship. Thomas Cummins, "Queros, Aquilas, Uncus, and Chulpas: The Composition of Inka Artistic Expression and Power," in *Variations in the Expression of Inka Power: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 18 and 19 October 1997*, ed. Richard L. Burger et al., (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection; distributed by Harvard University Press, 2007), 267-97.

network of sacred relationships between places, offerings, and practices. It is telling that Polo ended a long list of possible *huaca* formations by concluding that a Spaniard should not go by what it looked like, what it was made of, or where it was located but by how Andeans acted toward it and their offerings (1916 [1571]: 189-90).

Visual and graphic accounts of Andean practices in the Murua manuscripts represent both misunderstandings and mutual understandings between Murua and Guaman Poma. The chapters on Inca ritual practice involving *huacas* are in Galvin Book Three, Chapter 44 (f. 96r) to Chapter 54 (f. 106r) and Getty Book Two, Chapter 27 (f. 279v) to Chapter 37 (f. 300v) and follow with chapters on the houses of the *aclla* or women dedicated to worship the Sun and service of the Inca. Of the 113 images in the Galvin Murua, twelve images accompany a series on Inca ritual offerings to a *huaca*.²¹⁶ A handful of other images scattered in the first three books of the Galvin manuscript also depict Inca ritual activity with a *huaca*. The texts in the series are largely composed of recopied texts from Polo (Duviols 1962), and likely provided Murua cover for censorship as he entered into dangerous terrain, especially considering the Galvin Murua's innovative and creative aspects. Generally, the text condemned a complex religion by indiscriminately describing religious activity as witchcraft, idolatry, superstition, and diabolical. A comparative view of images compiled by Guaman Poma in the Galvin Murua and *Nueva corónica* offers additional context and reveals the dynamism between the two manuscripts' production.

Guaman Poma overtly depicted certain Inca ritual activity in the Galvin Murua and his own chronicle as idolatrous in relation to the *huaca* according to Christian criteria. The chapter text in the Galvin Murua alternates between descriptions of a state-controlled, Inca Sun cult and Murua's personal tirades on idolatry in his colonial present. Guaman Poma reflected generic idolatrous ritual activity by visually repeating associations of a *huaca* with human-like figures and diabolical associations. In *Nueva corónica* Guaman Poma not only includes labels like "*hechicero*" for

²¹⁶ This includes ff. 36v, 95v, 96v, 98v, 99v, 100v, 101v, 102v, 103v, 104v, and 105v.

priests and medicine workers but European-styled diabolical figures controlling their actions (ff. 246 [248], 277 [279], 279 [281]).²¹⁷ He specifically condemned the Inca for their introduction of idolatrous practice.²¹⁸ During March or *Pacha Pucuy*, he explained, "They sacrificed black sheep to their idols and gods,



Figure 28: Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, "Capítulo de los Ídolos, Vaca Billca Incap." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [261 [263]].

Figure 29: Artist don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and labels, "capac yupanqui, pachayachachic," by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 96v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Wacabilca, *Orcocona*, that were names for the Incas, and they made many ceremonies with the priest - *allauiza*, *condeuiza* - and with the *laycacona*, witches that talked with the demons . . . they performed idolatrous ceremonies."²¹⁹ He slandered Topa Inga Yupangui, who "spoke with the *huaca* and stones and demons" (f. 262 [264]). In the accompanying image (f. 261 [263], fig. 28) Topa Ynga Yupangui spoke to *Wanakawri Huaca* (*uanacauri uaca*; *Huanacauri*) with a group of *huaca* at his feet.²²⁰ Though a different Inca, the graphic depiction is strikingly similar to the one

²¹⁷ Guaman Poma's Galvin images of elderly Andean medicine healers and spiritual leaders on folios 104v, 106v, 107v, 112v, and 113v reflect the chapter title and initial text by focusing on the figure's elderly physical attributions and activities. Murua then added the Spanish Christian qualifier, "*echizero*" [witch].

²¹⁸ Guaman Poma blamed the first Inca for the introduction of idolatry, and particularly, Mama Huaco, wife to Manco Capac (f. 80).

²¹⁹ "Sacrificaban carneros negros a sus ídolos y dioses, *wacabilca*, *orcocona*, que estaban nombradas por los Incas, y hacían muy muchas ceremonias con los pontífices - *allauiza*, *condeuiza* - y con los *laycaconas*, *hechiceros* que hablaban con los demonios...y hacían ceremonias idólatras." Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica*, f. 241 [243].

²²⁰ In the first Inca coat of arms (f. 79v, fig. 30), Guaman Poma labeled the *huaca*, *Wanakawri* (*Huanacauri*), as both mountain and anthropomorph, "*ydolo de Uanacauri*" [idol of *Wanakawri*] and "*ydolo de los yngas y armas del Cuzco*" [idol of Inca and coat of arms of Cuzco]. He referenced the same Inca *huaca* at Tambotoco, Pacaritambo for his regional depiction of Cuzco ritual activity, labelled

on Galvin folio 96v (fig. 29).²²¹ However, while explicit ritual activity enabled a level of shared understanding of Inca idolatry between Murua and Guaman Poma, the intersecting fields of Inca socio-political, cosmological, and ritual associations with other stone structures produced confusion - as seen with the *Sayhua* and *Apachita*.

4.5. *Sayhua* and *Apachita*

The interplay between images, texts, and labels in the Galvin Murua does not always lead to a more ethnographically accurate or expansive record and must be considered with the multifaceted composition of the Galvin Murua. The overlap of Inca socio-political, cosmological, and ritual practices produced confusion for the non-Indigenous and highly prejudicial person like Murua. Other phases to the labels added by Murua definitively demonstrate that they did not include Guaman Poma, even if they relied on his many images. Comparing the images and texts between the Galvin Murua and *Nueva corónica* for the *sayhua* and *apachita* provides greater appreciation for the complexity of messaging and information found in the Galvin Murua and the relationship of exchange between Guaman Poma and Murua.

In the lower half of folio 79v (fig. 30) there are six stone pillars extremely similar in construction scattered in a grassy landscape, with one blue and white mountain reaching above the undulating horizon. The upper half of the folio page remains blank. Murua wrote "*Sayua*" and

"*Idolos de los Ingas*" [Idols of the Inca] (f. 264 [266]). *Wanakawri* was a *wawki* (petrified brother) of the first Inca that stood on a hill just south of Cuzco. Paullo Inca housed the *wawki* (*wawqi*) near Cuzco until it was destroyed by Spaniards. The Jesuit Cobo describes, "*era mediana, sin figura y algo ahusada*" [it was of moderate size, without representational shape, and somewhat tapering]. The Spaniards removed "*mucha suma de oro y plata, no repararon en el idolo, por ser . . . una piedra tosca*" [a great quantity of the gold and silver from this shrine but paid no attention to the idol (*wawki*), because it was . . . a rough stone. Carolyn Dean references the same Inca coat of arms in *Nueva corónica* as proof of Andean notions of "transformational qualities and transubstantial nature of stone where, in the lower right quarter of the blazon, the important *huaca* called *Wanakawri* is depicted as a mountain and anthropomorphic human figure." However, her analysis ignores his insinuations of idolatry. Dean, *Culture of Stone*, 24; *Death and Afterlife*, 34, 38; Bernabé Cobo, "Historia Del Nuevo Mundo," in *Obras Del P. Bernabé Cobos*, edited by Francisco Mateos. Vol. 2. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 91-92 (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1964), 390.

²²¹ In a pointed demonstration of a difference, Guaman Poma in *Nueva corónica* drew an explicit distinction between Andean idolatrous practice and regional festival song and dance that is all together lacking in the Galvin Murua. With distinctiveness, detailed knowledge, and creativity, he celebrated the beauty of regional Andean poetry and cultural expression. "*Todos los cuales estas fiestas no tienen ningún idolatra trata [sic] sino huelgo y fiesta y regocijo, así los grandes como los ricos y pobres en todo el reino . . . Por eso pongo todas las idolatrías que tenían, para que sean castigados de lo malo, de lo bueno se guarde.* [All of these festivals never had any idolatry [sic] but entertainment, festival, and celebration, for elites as much as for the rich and poor throughout the Kingdom . . . Because of this I have included all the idolatries that they had, so that the bad is punished (and) the good is guarded]." Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica*, f. 328 [330]. For more on song and dance in *Nueva corónica* see, Mannheim, "What kind of text is Guaman Poma's *Warikza Arawi*"; Husson, *La poésie quechua dans la chronique de Felipe Waman Puma de Ayala*; and others.

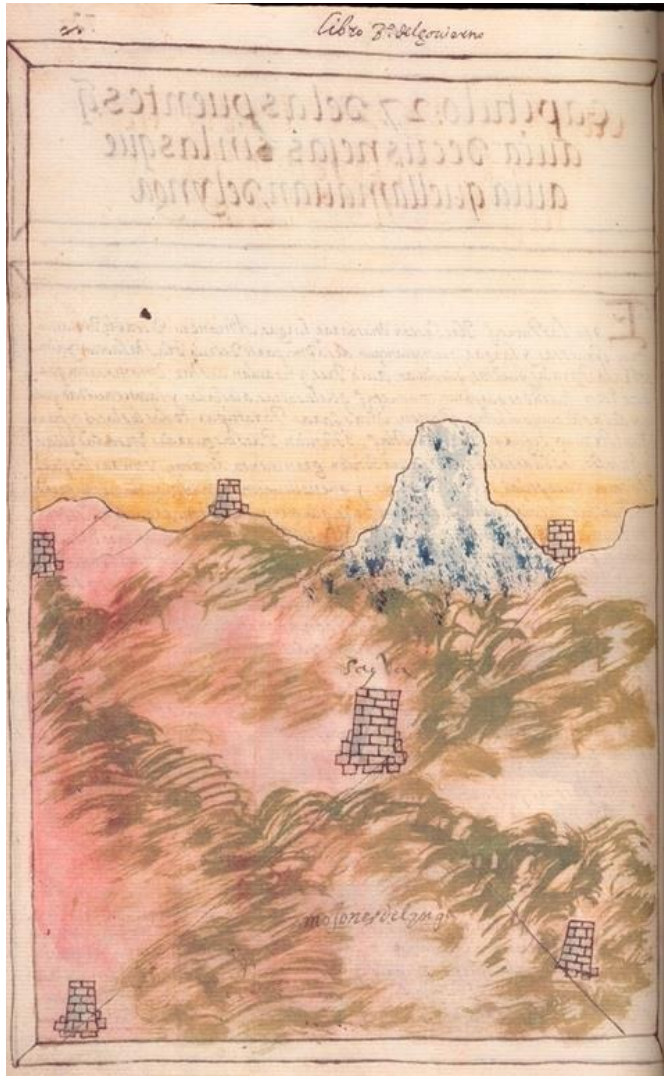


Figure 30: Six sayhuas in Andean landscape. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Sayua, mojones del ynga" by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 79v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

below "mojones del ynga" [stone boundaries of the Inca] above a slightly larger stone pillar in the center of the image. Straight lines connect the sayhua (sayua, saywa, sayba), including a T-like intersection over the most prominent in the middle. The facing Chapter 28 on folio 80r is titled, "The Order of the Stone Boundaries and Jurisdiction of the Province". There is no definition or mention of the sayhua in the chapter text or elsewhere in the Galvin or Getty manuscript.

However, other sources from the sixteenth century define sayhua as a stone boundary or territorial marker that symbolized petrified markers of transition and passage. Cobo identifies at least four

surrounding Cuzco, although other huacas may also have been sayhuas.²²² Holguín defines "sayhua" as "mojones de tierras" [stone land boundaries] (1989 [1608]: 214). Ritual activities associated with the sayhua reinscribed territory in the landscape and commemorated land rights (Dean 2010: 46-48; Nair 2015: 48, 53). Ethnographic observations by Thomas Abercrombie

²²² Bernabé Cobo identifies the four sayhuas near Cuzco as Collanasayba, Cascasayba, Aquarsayba and Illansayba. Cobo names a huaca "sinayba", which archaeologist, Brian Bauer, suggests could in fact be a "sayhua" and possibly marked the end of the Quespicanche territory. Cerro Sayhua is now the name of a mountain south of Cuzco. Bernabé Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, Roland Hamilton, ed., (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 61, 73; *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 180; Brian Bauer, "Ritual Pathways of the Inca: An Analysis of the Collasuyu Ceques in Cuzco," *Latin American Antiquity* 3, no. 3 (1992):193; Niles, *Shape of Inca History*, 185; and Dean, *Culture of Stone*, 47.

(1998), Margot Beyersdorff (2007), and others have demonstrated that these performative and ritual practices continue into the present. The *sayhua*'s association with territory and mountains corresponds with Guaman Poma's Galvin image, which features a prominent, high mountain and multiple *sayhuas* sitting on peaks and mountain passes. The interpretation of a *sayhua* as territorial markers also explains the straight lines drawn between them, including a T-like intersection over the largest *sayhua* in the middle, possibly identifying some territorial perspective surrounding Cuzco. The image corresponds on a superficial level with the chapter text but provides additional information on Inca conceptualizations of territory.

According to the Galvin text, Murua assigns Topa Inca Yupanqui with the construction of stone boundaries throughout the Andean region to demarcate territories and travel between them. As part of his conquest, he built new stone markers as well as appropriated local markers into Inca state boundaries. Murua's association of *sayhua* with Topa Inca Yupanqui overlaps with Guaman Poma's own portrayal and corresponds with the archaeological record. Like other Inca architectural features, *sayhua* as a boundary marker entered the Inca architectural canon with Topa Inca Yupanqui (Nair 2015: 103). Accordingly, Guaman Poma identified in his legal proceedings and *Nueva corónica* his rights to the contested territory in Huamanga according to the *sayhua* built in the era of Topa Inca Yupanqui. Guaman Poma wrote in *Nueva corónica*, "This lawsuit of the stone boundaries and *sayhua* placed by Topa Inca Yupanqui; and all the lands and farm plots and walls that are within the stone boundaries."²²³ He then listed the names of the many *sayhuas* that demarcated his family's territory. In his petition he included a map of the territory and important boundary markers. Curiously, Guaman Poma and Murua both spell territorial markers as *sayua*, a term subject to considerable orthographic variation. However, without more comparative analysis with other chronicles, this evidence does not confirm Guaman Poma's influence on the content.

²²³ "Este pleito de los mojones y sayuas puesto de topa inga yupanqui; y todas las tierras y chacaras y alizales que hay dentro de los mojones." Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica*, f. 904 [918].

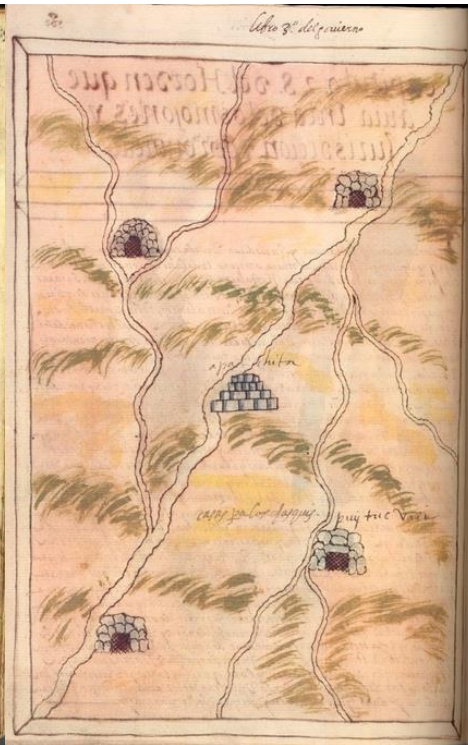
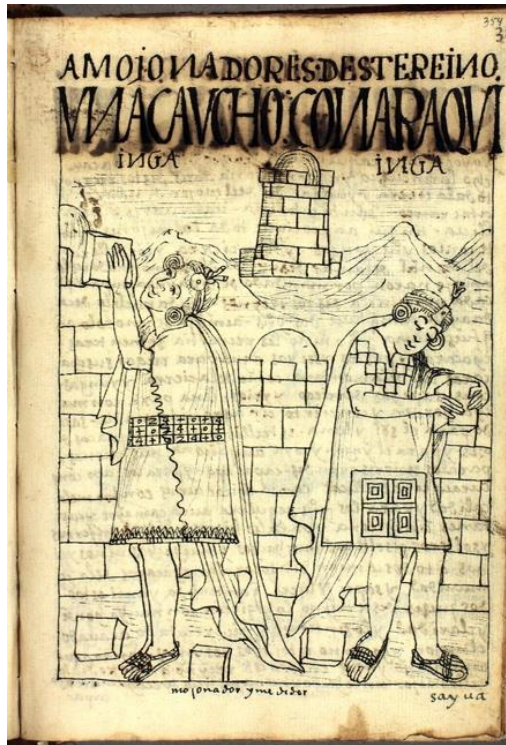


Figure 31: Inca builders and sayhuas. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Amojonadores de este reino, Vna Cavcho Inga, Cona." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, Nueva corónica y buen gobierno (c. 1615), page [352 [354]].

Figure 32: Inca roads and structures. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "apachita, casas para los chasquis, puytuc vasi" by Martín de Murua in Historia del origen (2008 [1596]), f. 80v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Guaman Poma's images in the Galvin Murua and his other works are similar in many ways. For example, a territorial map of Huamanga in the Galvin and a corresponding image in Guaman Poma's petition suggest that one was based on the other. Guaman Poma identifies pillars with the label, "*Mojón de conquistadores*" [boundary of conquistadors] or "*Mojón de los Yngas*" [boundary of Inca] (f. 53). However, more strikingly, in *Nueva corónica* (f. 352 [354]) an image titled, "*Amojonadores de este Reino*" [Surveyor of this Kingdom], has two Inca men from Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco called, *Unacaucho* and *Conaraqui*, building stone structures with ashlar blocks (fig. 31). In the corresponding chapter on folio (f. 353 [355]), titled "*Amojonadores*" [boundary makers], he explains who the builders are: "*Sayua Checta Suyoyoc, Cona Raqui, Hanan Cuzco Inca, unacaucho Lurin (Hurin) Cuzco Inca, mojanadores de estos reinos*" [boundary builders of this kingdom]. He goes on to describe how Topa Inca Yupanqui instructed them to build "*mojones*." The *sayhua* in his image are masoned stone pillars composed of a large base, thinner pillar, and smaller dome shape protruding from the top. Significantly, Guaman Poma's image in his chronicle and the Galvin Murua underscore the Inca institution of finely crafted

sayhua as part of the empire building project and ritual practice of territorial marking and memory-keeping in the Andean landscape. Moreover, ashlar masonry was reserved for the most sacred, elite constructions (Nair 2015: 27). In other words, while the compositions are not identical, there is enough alignment between Guaman Poma's images and their context to verify the accuracy of Murua's label. This is not always the case when we compare other images.

For example, the next image in the Galvin Murua on folio 80v facing Chapter 29, titled, "Organization of all the roads" (fig. 32) includes a finely worked mason stone platform (indicated by the blue shading and straight lines of each stone), with the label "*apachita*" written by Murua above it. Each corner area of the folio includes square-shaped, less finely constructed stone structures with an opening door in the center (indicated by the wavy lines and lack of shading in contrast to the central structure). Above one structure sits two labels in Murua's hand, "*puytuc wasi*", which is translated in the open space as, "*casas para los chasquis*" [houses for the postal runners]. One wider road runs diagonally by the *apachita* and two *puytuc wasis*. Smaller roads splinter from the main road to connect with the other two *puytuc wasis*. The image composition also bears a similarity to the four-cornered graphic representation of the Inca empire, Tahuantinsuyu, by Guaman Poma and repeated elsewhere in the Galvin manuscript. Whereas the meaning of *puytuc wasi* is relatively clear, questions remain concerning the label's accuracy for the stone structure named *apachita*.

Carolyn Dean describes an *apachita* as a "site of communication between complementary pairing of mountain *apu* and human beings" in which *apachitas* are "miniature mountains of stones" that embody the mountains themselves (2010: 98, 56-61). Garcilaso de la Vega, El Inca reprimands the Spanish misunderstanding of *apachitas* as the mountain tops themselves, a mistake Acosta, Polo and Arriaga and others make (Dean 2010: 57; Polo 1916 [1571]: 57; Acosta 1962 [1590]: 225; Arriaga 1999 [1621]: 69). Instead, Garcilaso defines *apachita* or *apachecta* as the act of giving thanks and offerings to a mountain for safe passage, "We give thanks and offer something in order to bear these burdens, giving us strength and vigor to climb the slopes that

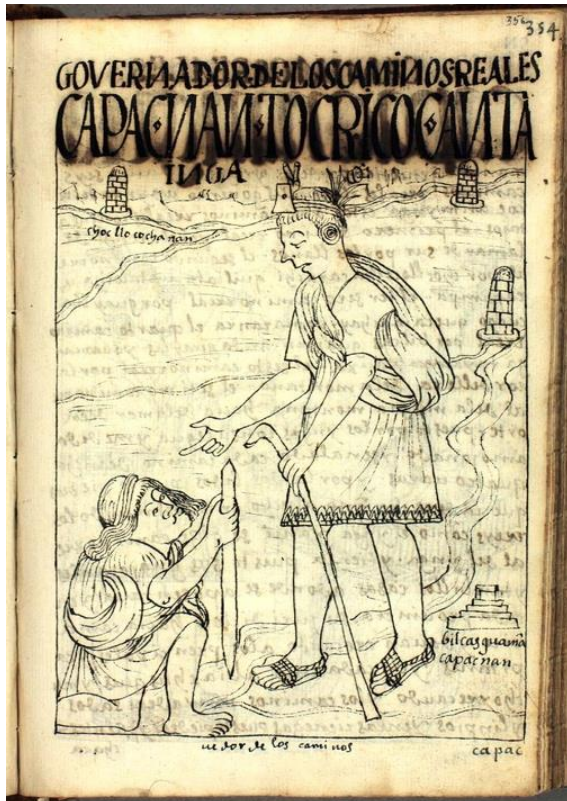


Figure 33: A Tocricoco Anta Inga supervising an Andean commoner travelling on the Inca roads. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Gobernador de los caminos reales." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, Nueva corónica y buen gobierno (c. 1615), page [354-356]].

are so steep".²²⁴ Holguín defines "apachita" as "Montones de piedras adoratorios de caminantes" [stone boundary markers shrine of travelers] (2004 [1608]: 51). Interestingly, Dean (2010: 99) uses the example on folio 104v in the Galvin Murua to argue that *apachitas* could be found in many forms, including finely constructed stone structures.

Like the previous chapter and image with the *sayhua*, the image on folio 80v corresponds only slightly with the title and texts. The text describes in detail the order and fine construction of the Inca roads, especially given that the Inca ruler was carried across them. Significantly, the chapter text does not mention *apachita* or *puytuc wasi*.

However, the closing text does describe the order given to the houses for the postal runners on the Inca roads: "With much order and effort in the inn and roads: every league has six thousand steps and mediated through cords, and at times there were small houses of the private *chasquis*, from five-to-five leagues."²²⁵ The description of order in the text is also visually represented.

²²⁴ Garcilaso's emphasizes that *apachita* signifies an act and utterance, not a noun. "Declarando el nombre *apachitas* - que los españoles dan a las cumbres de las cuestras muy altas y las hacen dioses de los indios - es de saber que debe decir *apechecta*. Es dativo. Y el genitivo es *apachecta*. De este participio de presente *apáhech*, que es el nominativo y con la sílaba -ta se hace dativo: quiere decir 'al que hace llevar', sin decir quien es ni declarar que es lo que hace llevar. ...quiere decir "demostramos gracias y ofrecemos algo al que hace llevar estas cargas dándonos fuerzas y vigor para subir por cuestras tan ásperas como esta". Y nunca lo decían sino cuando estaban y en lo alto de la cuestra. Y por esto dicen los historiadores españoles que hablaban con ellas porque allí les oían decir esta palabra *apachecta*. Y como no entienden lo que quiere decir dárselo por nombre a las cuestras." Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios reales de los Incas*, 69. Acosta made this mistake. "Adoran los ríos, las fuentes, las quebradas, las peñas o piedras grandes, los cerros, las cumbres de los montes que ellos llaman *Apachitas*, y lo tienen por cosa de gran devoción." José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las indias*, (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1962 [1590]), bk. 5, chap. 5, 250.

²²⁵ "Con mucha orden y concierto, assi en los tambos, como en los caminos, q[ue] no sentían muchos el caminas, cada legua tenía seis mil pasos y lo median por cordeles y atrechos auía casitas de los *chasquis* particulares de cinco, a cinco leguas." Murua, *Historia del origen*, 81r.

Moreover, the uniqueness of the central stone structure is underscored by the thicker road, suggesting a royal Inca road system. Again, the *apachita* or a corresponding structure is not mentioned. Instead, the clues to understanding the stepped platform made of stone comes from Guaman Poma's own chronicle.

The chapter "Royal roads" in *Nueva corónica* recounts, "In the time of the Incas there were six royal roads, which Inga Tocricoc Anta Inga governed...Each road was the width of four sticks, and on each side two stones and went straight. It has not been done in all the world like the Inca kings did it; and as such they call it the Royal Inca Road...And on each there were *chasquis* and much care."²²⁶ The corresponding image (f. 354 [356], fig. 33) has a Tocricoco Anta Inga (governor) supervising an Andean commoner travelling on the Inca roads. Behind him, roads wind across the landscape with stone pillars at their side, signaling royal Inca roads. In the bottom right corner at Tocricoco Anta Inga's feet is a stepped platform, labeled "*Bilcasguaman / capacñan*" [royal road of province or district of Bilcas]. Like the Galvin chapter on Inca roads, the *Nueva corónica*'s corresponding chapter makes no mention of *apachitas*. Rather, according to the text and label, the stone structure at the feet of the Tocricoco Anta Inga indicates each provincial leader's role and jurisdiction to maintain and take care of the Inca roads - not an *apachita*.

Moreover, ignoring the labels for now, the structural form and context of the Inca royal roads share similarities with the Galvin Murua image of the supposed *apachita*, suggesting some concordance in their significance and function. The thicker road on which the stepped platform stands in the Galvin Murua supports the conclusion that it is a depiction of an Inca royal road system like the one depicted in the *Nueva corónica*. As such, given the complete lack of any mention in either chapter of an *apachita*, and the similarity in function and context to the stepped

²²⁶ "*Cápac ñan Guamanin, que en tiempo de los Incas había seis caminos reales, los cuales gobernó un Inga Tocricoc Anta Inga...Cada camino de ancho cuatro varas, y por los dos lados puestas piedras, que va derecho que no han hecho en todo el mundo los reyes como el inga; y así se dice camino real del Inga... Y en cada uno había chasquies y mucho recaudo.*" Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica*, f. 355 [357].

platform stone structure, the man-made stone feature in the Galvin likely also signifies the relationship of a province or district with the Inca royal road, and not an *apachita*.

Significantly, in the *Nueva corónica* and Galvin Murua, Guaman Poma only depicted stepped stone platforms with elite Inca rulers and leaders. Included in the examples is a stepped platform in an Inca building frame, drawn behind the *cuyusmanco* (*cuyusmango* or royal Inca complex) and Inca Huayna Capac as he meets with don Candía, who explains that Spaniards eat gold (f. 369 [371]; fig. 34). Another example has Inca Manco Capac sitting among his Inca advisors and warriors on a stepped platform with the label, "*Trono y asiento del Inga llamado Usno, en el Cuzco*" [Throne and seat of the Inca called *usno*, in Cuzco] (f. 398 [400]). A similarly composed image in the Galvin Murua by Guaman Poma depicts Atahualpa sitting on a raised stepped platform above Pizarro and his men on one side and Quisquis and his other Inca captains on the other (f. 44v; fig. 35). Unfortunately, the form and function of the *usnu* (*usno*, *ushnu*) is poorly understood by archaeologists, as few archaeological examples remain. Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies suggest an *usnu*, "May be a stepped structure, a platform, base of a throne, place for high-ranking personages" (1980: 343). Jean-Pierre Protzen explains that "*usnos*, the dais-like structures, were ceremonial and administrative platforms from which the Inca lords presided over festivities, reviewed their armies, or on which they offered sacrifices to the deities," and that they were located either in the middle or edge of a settlement's main plaza (1992: 203). While we cannot be sure that Guaman Poma's drawing is an *usno*, the depiction makes clear that these raised platforms were a highly exclusive and elite place associated with Inca rule, oversight, and ritual activity.²²⁷ In other words, Guaman Poma's stepped platform in the Galvin Manuscript on folio 80v is not an *apachita* but a signifier of Inca rule and territory.

The identification of another stone construction as an *apachita* by Murua also appears in an image by Guaman Poma in the Galvin manuscript and raises similar questions about accuracy.

²²⁷ For more on *usnos* and references to colonial chroniclers, see, Dean, *Culture of Stone*, 130-141; Tom Zuidema, *Reyes y guerreros: ensayos d8e cultura andina*, edited by Manuel Burga, (Lima, Perú: FOMCIENCIAS, 1989); and others.

The image on folio 104v is part of a series of graphic depictions of *huaca* reverence and idolatry (fig. 36). The *huaca* is composed of a rectangular, finely constructed stone pillar (again, indicated by the straight-lined masonry and blue shading), crenelation on its platform, and a pentagonal pillar rising from its center. An elderly man is kneeling in front of the *huaca* with a child in his hands and feathers and coca bundles by his knees in the form of an offering. The labels are by Murua. The *huaca* is labeled "*apachita*" and the man as "*echizero*" (witch).

The relationship between Guaman Poma's images and the text adheres to the general pattern in the Galvin version. The image corresponds to the facing Chapter 53, "Of the sacrifices of the Indians and of the things they sacrificed" and, more specifically, the first line in the text: "The things those Indians sacrificed to the Huacas were diverse: the first and principle, boys of 10 years-old and younger for very important dealings."²²⁸ The text then describes the types of



Figure 34: Inca Huayna Capac meets with don Candia in front of a cuyusmanco. Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Cayoritacho micunqui, este oro comemos, en el cuzco." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, Nueva corónica y buen gobierno (c. 1615), page [369 [371]].

Figure 35: Atahualpa on a raised stepped platform. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Pizarro, Atahualpa ynga, quisquis" by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 44v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 36: Worship of Huaca, "Apachita" by "echicero" by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 104v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

²²⁸ "Las cosas que sacrificaban estos indios a los Guacas eran diversas: la primera y principal, niños de diez años para abajo, y esto para negocios de mucha importancia." Murua, *Historia del origen*, f. 105r.

offerings to *huacas* by region and significance. There is no mention of *apachitas*. They are identified in the Galvin Chapter 50 and 52 as a type of stone shrine placed in mountain passes and road crossings where travelers make various offerings.²²⁹ A child offering is never mentioned as a feature of sacrifice to *apachitas*. Significantly, all the texts from these chapters are copied identically from Ondegardo de Polo's work as part of the Third Lima Council's publications in the 1580s. There is no indication that Guaman Poma conceived of the stone altar as an *apachita*.

In fact, the *huaca*'s composition resembles the *sayhua* in *Nueva corónica* (f. 354 [352]) and Galvin Murua (f. 80r). The *sayhua* on the horizon in the *Nueva corónica* also includes a larger rectangular base and pillar protruding from the top. Exactly in the middle and bottom half of the image Inca builders construct a crenelated stone structure with a circular half dome rising behind it. The similarity of form and fine stone masonry supports the hypothesis that the *huaca* in the Galvin Murua could be a *sayhua*, or at the very least, another Inca-made *huaca* shrine of sacred, elite importance, but not necessarily an *apachita*, as the label defines it.

Nonetheless, if we understand *sayhua* and *apachita* both as *huacas* or sacred sites, in either instance it is not incorrect to understand them as receiving offerings. Andean *camay* denotes a specific and perpetual sacred essence and animacy that organizes and inhabits specific places, people, and objects (natural and man-made) known as *huacas* (Salomon 1991: 16; Taylor 2000; Dean 2010: 4). Moreover, both *sayhua* and *apachita* are categorized by Polo and Guaman Poma as *huacas*, and therefore idols according to Spanish Christian understandings. Guaman Poma's description of the *apachita* clearly groups them together with other *huacas* and sites of idolatrous activities. In his chapter, "Idols", Guaman Poma writes:

²²⁹ Chapter 50 describes: "Los serranos usaban, en caminos echar en los mismos o encrusijadas en los serros, o en Rimeros de piedras segun y a queda dicho se llaman apachitas o en las peñas y cuebas o en sepulturas antiguas, calçados Viejos plumas, coca mascada, o mayz mascado y otras cossas, pidiendo q[ue] los deixasen pasar en saluo y les quiten, el cançançio del camino, y les den fuerças Para caminar." Murua, *Historia del origen*, 102r. Chapter 52 describes: "Y en las cumbres y collados de serros y otros adoratorios que ay, q[ue] en la lengua de los yndios llaman apachitas en los quales los yndios a la pasada, ofresian coca, mayz, plumas de aues y echaban las ojotas viejas u, otra cossa alguna de las que lleuaban para su camino y si no lleuauan, q[ue] ofreser, echauan a lo menos una piedra porq[ue] con esto les pareçia q[ue] dejauan el cansançio del camino y cobraban nuevas fuerças." Ibid.: f. 104r.

Topa Inca Yupanqui ordered the Indians of the hot land or the mountains, [that] when they went to the lowlands and arrived at the *apachita*, to adore Pachacámac, and as a sign place a stone. Each one brought a rock and left it there, and as a sign left flowers or twisted straw to the left [of the *apachita*]; until today the Indians of this kingdom perform this vice of the *apachita*.²³⁰

Another chapter on *hechiceros* describes, "The witches [were] like priests who served in the provinces for the *apachitas* and common huacas, idolatrous gods, of which they had many in this kingdom."²³¹ Murua's Spanish and Indigenous (at least Guaman Poma) authors' association of *apachitas* with idolatrous *huacas* likely confused Murua's ability to differentiate between sacred and idolatrous Andean stone structures in his attempt to exhibit his knowledge of Andean religion.

Murua's labels of *apachita* for the man-made *huaca* site on folio 104v, and the stepped platform structure among the Inca roads on folio 80v, are incorrect. Whereas readers and scholars alike might think that they see two representations of *apachitas*, I argue they are not. Instead, they observe other important royal Inca stone representations. One thing that is certain is the significance of stone in Inca ritual, memory, and empire-building practices.

We do not know for sure if the labels for folio 80v and 104v were added under Guaman Poma's guidance, another Andean or Iberian source, or from Murua's own encounters or readings about *apachitas*. However, my inclination is to believe that Murua's confusion was not caused by Guaman Poma but was based on the interpretations of other confused Iberians and the friar's own misguided and prejudicial encounters. Murua added these labels in Book Three at a later phase, when he was converting the Galvin Murua into a repository of information and was no longer engaging with Guaman Poma on his chronicle project.

²³⁰ "Mandó Topa Inga Yupanqui que los indios de tierra caliente o los indios de la sierra fuesen a lo caliente, llegasen al *apachita*, en ello adorasen a Pacha cámac, y por señal amontonasen piedra, cada cual llevase una piedra y lo echasen en ella, y por señal dejasen flores o paja torcida a la izquierda; hasta hoy lo hacen los indios de este reino este vicio de *apachita*." Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica*, f. 262 [264].

²³¹ "Los Hechiceros como sacerdotes que servían en los guamanies y por los *apachitas* y común uacas (*huacas*) ídolos dioses, que había muchas en el reino." Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica*, (f. 280 [282]).

The implications of these various incongruencies and added information between the labels, images, and chapter texts speak to the layers of meaning embedded in the Galvin Murua, due to its multi-authorial and multi-phased production and composition. The illustrations by Guaman Poma serve as crucial visual sources for late-sixteenth century Andean perspectives on Inca territory, socio-political organization, memory, and ritual practice--information that is not included in the alphabetic texts. However, the multiple authorship of the labels over various production campaigns must be taken into consideration when analyzing the images.

5. A legendary Andean love story

Stone structures are one of many interrelated representations of Andean animacy and sacredness in the Galvin Murua. A graphic legendary love story between the herder, Acoytapra, and the *ñusta* (Inca princess) and *aclla* (chosen woman of the sun), Chuquillanto, provides a unique case of creative syncretic reimagining of Andean and Christian sacred relations between Murua and Guaman Poma. Whereas both the Galvin and Getty manuscripts contain textual versions of the story, only the Galvin includes illustrations by Guaman Poma and a Quechua palindrome poem by Murua.²³²

A few scholars have studied the legendary love story. Pilar Alberti Manzanares (1981) compares the narrative versions found in the Loyola (copy of the Galvin manuscript without images) and the Getty manuscript in the context of the Inca sun cult and the *aclla* institution. Alicia Houtrouw (2019) argues in her graphic and textual analysis that Murua and Guaman Poma both concluded the relationship between the lovers was impossible, but for different reasons based on their own ideologies and missions. I examine the legend within larger narrative themes: the idealized Inca *aclla*, women, and animacy in the Galvin manuscript and the legend's reimagination

²³² Other mentions of Murua's palindrome poem include Cummins, "From Lies to Truth," 169-171; Estenssoro Fuchs, *Paganismo a la santidad*, 308; Ossio, "Murúa's Two Manuscripts," 83; and Lisl Schoepflin, "Micuc Isutu Cuiuc Utusi Cucim: The Sator Square and Martín de Murua's Quechua Palindrome Poem," *Calliope* 27 (1) (2022): 82-117. Curiously, at the end of Getty Book One, the Andean legend precedes another love story between Sayri Tupac and Cusi Guarca, historical figures in the sixteenth century. The pairing of love stories raises the possibility that Chuquillanto and Acoytapra represent real persons remembered through oral history and inscribed into the landscape. Murua explains how he heard of the love story between Sayri Tupac and María Cusi Guarca from native Andeans in the Cuzco region. Murua, *Historia general del Piru*, f. 221r.

by Guaman Poma and Murua. The legend reveals a complex process of cultural exchange and translation between the two authors.

In the Galvin's current configuration, the legend functions as the final two chapters and is illustrated with four watercolor drawings executed by Guaman Poma (145v, 146v, 147r, 147v; fig. 39-42). However, codicological, pigment, and content analyses suggest that the illustrations on folio 3v (fig. 37) and 143r (fig. 38) share the same palette and were situated after the dream sequence (Trentelman 2014: 130), which Murua transposed after the Andean's contribution (Turner 2014: 90-95). Based on Trentelman's eight artistic campaign phases in the Galvin, Guaman Poma completed these images during the third of his four artistic phases. While chapter texts came first, Murua likely wrote or rewrote the Quechua anagram after Guaman Poma's dream sequence images, given the poem's correlation with the image.²³³

The Galvin and Getty narratives prepare the reader for the legend with dedicated chapters on the *acllawasi*, a state-controlled Inca "house for chosen women". The women were selected from all regions of the Inca empire to worship the Sun and serve the Inca ruler during ritual festivals (Galvin Book Three, Chapters 36 to 43; Getty Book Four, Chapters 18 and 19). For each type of *aclla* house the Galvin Murua includes six chapters and five images (ff. 3v, 88r-95r), which Guaman Poma completed in his second artistic campaign. Only Chapter 36 on the first *aclla* house is missing an image, possibly due to Murua's reorganization.²³⁴ The women are divided according to a combination of qualities, rules, and tasks, including: social status (Inca lineage, non-Inca noble, commoner, or poor), age (distinct groupings starting at five years-old), beauty,

²³³ This pattern breaks with the general production pattern of text completed before the images. However, the script hand for the added texts on folio 146v (145bisv) suggests it was recopied, possibly to accommodate the poem to reflect Guaman Poma's image. His image on 145v suggests the original folio 146 included a poem or text and text on the verso side, which was recopied. Unfortunately, the ideogram poem was not included in the pigment analysis conducted by scientist, Karen Trentelman, to provide a more accurate production timeline. Karen Trentelman, *Colorants and Artists' Palettes in the Murúa Manuscripts.* In *Manuscript Cultures of Colonial Mexico and Peru: New Questions and Approaches*, edited by Tom Cummins, Emily A Engel, Barbara Anderson, and Juan M. Ossio, (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2014), 116-40.

²³⁴ The image for folio 3v depicts a *mamacona* kneeling in worship to the sun temple. Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup suggest Murua moved the image to serve as the frontispiece to Book One. However, pigment analysis by Karen Trentelman places it within the later artistic campaign of the dream sequence. *Ibid.*, 130; and Adorno and Boserup, *Making of Murúa's Historia General del Piru*, 20.

regional background (Cuzco or non-Cuzco), degree of seclusion, role in ceremonial activity and sun cult worship, and occupation (singer, chicha, and/or textile producer for themselves or the Inca).²³⁵ Each image emphasizes specific qualities and tasks according to the corresponding chapter. The women complete their distinct activity outside or in a doorway frame of an *aclla* building, consisting of an oversized door, thatched rounded gable roofs, and high walls differentiated by the casting of sun's shadow and light.²³⁶ In the *Nueva corónica* only one chapter outlined the *aclla* organization, using similar criteria and descriptions but further differentiating them into twelve distinct "houses" of "virgins for idols" and "common virgins".²³⁷ The names, duties, and image composition between chronicles do not coincide (ff. 298 [300]-299 [301]; Murra 1992: 64; Condarco Morales 1967: 303; Ossio 2004).

The two concluding and summarizing chapters in the Galvin Murua include a specific acknowledgement of "one very sumptuous" *acllawasi* next to Yucay in the Sacred Valley (also known as the Urubamba or Yucay Valley) (ff. 93v-95r). Chapter 42 on folio 94r repeats the order of the houses and lists the punishments for transgressions against the "*indias de recogimiento*" [secluded women] and graphically depicts a guarded *aclla* complex. Chapter 43 describes the ultra-elite women of the sun collected from the four regions of Tahuantinsuyu who were wholly dedicated to the worship of the sun. According to Murua's exotic and romantic telling, they lived

²³⁵ The *mamacuna* inhabited the first house and included the most beautiful and secluded women of Inca lineage dedicated to serve and worship the sun and weave clothing for the Inca. The second house for *Cayanguarme* (*Cayan warmi*) where the older daughters of leaders and commoners. They were not as beautiful and produced chicha and food for the Inca and trained for marriage tasks. The third house for *huairucalla*, daughters of lords or the poor, were not secluded. They served, cooked, and prepared chicha for the Inca; participated in ceremonial activities; and worked in the fields. The fourth house for *taqui acllas*, girls from nine to fifteen, sang and danced for the Inca and ceremonial activities. The fifth house for *vinachicuy*, daughters of leaders (*principales*) and commoners from five to six years old, primarily weaved fine textiles. The sixth house, daughters of 'foreigners' to Cuzco from fifteen to twenty years old and, remained secluded.

²³⁶ For the second house, Guaman Poma emphasized the storage and production role of the *cayanguarme*, with a label "*despensera del ynga*" [food storage keeper of the Inca]. Murua added "*capacmarca wasi*" [house of lords] and "*chavay trojas*" [definition uncertain] (f. 88v). For the third house, a *huairucalla* serves an Inca, with Guaman Poma's label, "*el servicio del ynga*" and Murua's Quechua label, "*pacoricoc llacvaricoc*" [service of food to the Inca] (f. 89v). The fourth image depicts a young woman sitting inside singing with a drum, labeled by Guaman Poma, "*cantora del ynga*" [singer of the Inca] (f. 90v). The fifth house depicts very young, "*muchachas q[ue] se enseñana y las crían*" [girls that they teach and develop] (label by Guaman Poma) with their elder teacher inside the large and darkened doorways of Inca buildings (f. 91v). The sixth house renders a *manta*-less *vinichicuy* tilling a field outside an *acllawasi*, guarded by an elder man with a staff and Guaman Poma's label, "*ciembra*" [sowing] (f. 92v).

²³⁷ Guaman Poma, *Nueva Corónica*, f. 298 [300], illustrated a crowd of *acllas* with spindles overseen by one *mamacona* seated outside two *aclla* buildings. He used one chapter and brief descriptions to make his differentiations.

off the smell of certain foods and fruits, wore jewelry of precious metals and stone, dressed in white, and had the whitest llamas. Of the many "bizarre" *acllawasis* scattered throughout the Inca empire, "They specifically made a very sumptuous one in the Sierra Nevada in Yucay, called Savasiray, which later was the site of a great story between a shepherd of the white herd recounted in an upcoming chapter."²³⁸ The reference suggests that Murua planned early in the manuscript's composition to recount the legend as part of an overarching thematic concern with Inca women and *acllas*.

Similarly, the full-page, original image (not pasted or transposed) on folio 94v by Guaman Poma links compositional features in the generalized *aclla* chapters with the specific *aclla* complex and site from the love story. He used a bird's-eye view of the *acllawasi* below the mountain *apus*, Sauaçiray, Pituçiray and Urcorseray. The labels include "*pastor*" (shepherd) and "*portero*" (guard) by Guaman Poma and "*acllauasi*", "*casa de recojidas*" [house of the secluded], and the mountain names by Murua. Outside the *acllawasi* a herder passes with his red and brown llamas. Red symbolized Inca nobility (Phipps 2013: 31). The red color of one llama signaled that Acoytapra led a llama herd dedicated to the sun, despite textual references to white llamas. The

²³⁸ "En espeçial Hijieron uno muy sumptuosso, en la sierra neuada, que esta junto a Yucay llamada, Sauasiray que despues le sucedio un gran Hecho a un pastor del ganado blanco del sacrificio del sol, con una Hija del sol llamada Chuquillanto como adelante se dira en su capitulo." Murua, *Historia del origen*, f. 95r.

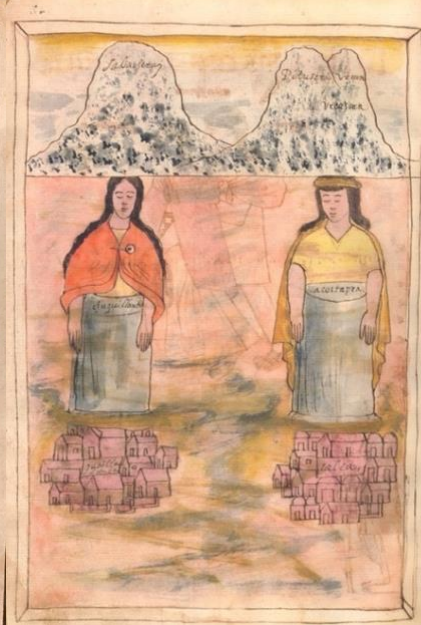
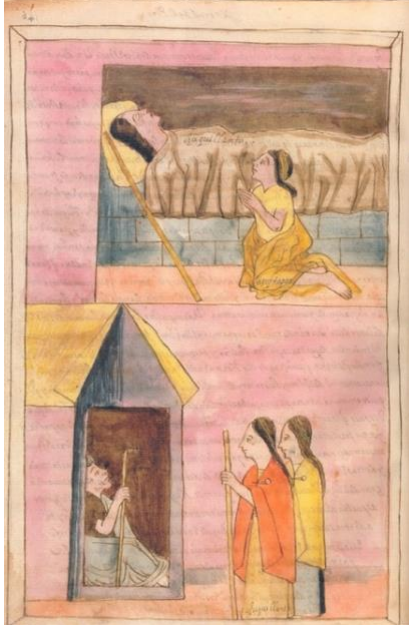
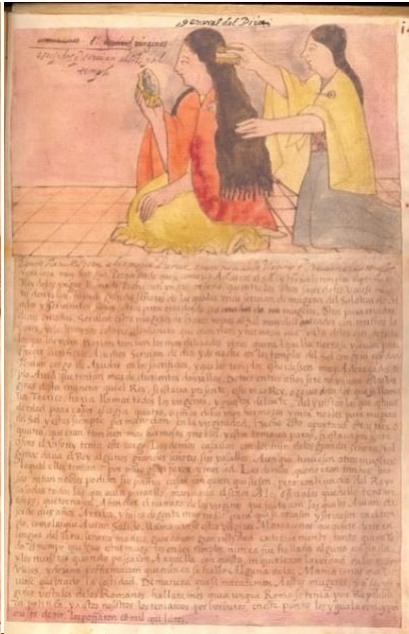


Figure 37: Mamacona in worship. Artist don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and label, "Virgenes escogidas," by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 3v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 38: Artist don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and labels "Virgenes, escojidas q[ue] seruián al sol, y al templo" by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 143r. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 39: Artist don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. Chuquillanto dreaming. "El sueño de la nusta," in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 145v.

Figure 40: Artist don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Chuquillanto, Acoytapra," in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 146v.

Figure 41: Artist don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and labels, "Acoytapra, Chuquillanto, seuan huyendo," by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 147r. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 42: Artist don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and labels "Sabaseray, Pituseray, Urcon, Urcasera, Acoytapra, Chuquillanto, Guayllabamba, Calca" by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 147v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

guard sits outside the door of the enclosed *acllawasi*, in the form of a *cancha* (*kancha*, Quechua for a physically bounded space, building cluster) (Nair 2015: 67-68).

The last chapter before the legendary love story refreshes the reader on the "secluded virgins that served the sun and temple" (f. 143r). Above the text Chuquillanto looks at a mirror while a female companion brushes her hair. Displaced and manipulated, Murua separately cut and pasted the image and text onto the folio page. The script is in a unique block print copied from Book One of friar Román y Zamora's chronicle (1897 [1575]: 365, cited by Pärssinen 1989: 48; Ossio 2004: 246, note 236). The chapter recounts how the *tucuricuc* chose and ordered the women from throughout the region. His role reminds the reader that the *aclla* served as storehouses of women (Murua 1596: f. 92r) for the labor production of textiles and ritual beverages and as wives to fulfill obligations of reciprocity (Rostworowski 1999: 176; Bray 2003a, 2003b, 2008). Murua ends by praising the institution, "If we imitate women, virgins, and vestals of the Romans, we find that although Rome was a republic, we thought of them as barbarians, in the same way they (the Inca) are equal, or better said, they surpassed them by a thousand carats."²³⁹

Murua's account was part of a trend in late sixteenth-century Iberian chronicles that equated the *aclla* institution with European convents for nuns where celibacy was a defining characteristic. Art historian, Bat-Ami Artzi (2016: 238-240) argues that rather than controlling "virginity" (a word that does not exist in Quechua), the Inca were more interested in controlling reproduction.²⁴⁰ According to historian Karen Graubart, the changing discursive terrain of the *aclla* reflected Iberian interests, which increasingly limited the historical discourse on the Andes to Cuzco- and Inca-centric interpretations. In the "Toledan Era" the *aclla* represented an idealized, unrecoverable past that had been replaced by morally indecent Indigenous women in the colonial

²³⁹ "De manera que si miraremos a estas mugeres, y a las virgenes vestales de los Romanos, hallaremos que aunque Roma se tenia por Republica política, y a estos nosotros los teniamos por barbaros, en este punto los ygualaron y por mejor desir, les passaron cof[n] mil quilates." Ibid., f. 143r.

²⁴⁰ For Iberian equivalences between Roman virgins and Inca *acllas*, see Pilar Alberti Manzanares, "Mujer y religión: Vestales y Acllacuna, dos instituciones religiosas de mujeres," *Revista Española de Antropología Americana*, 17 (Madrid: University of Complutense, 1987), 155-196.

present.²⁴¹ Murua's idealization of the *aclla* stands in stark contrast to the supposedly indecent Andean women that he encountered in his own daily life (Porras 1962: 377-381; Ossio 2004: 43).

There exists very little reliable information on the *aclla* institution and its inhabitants. Additional textual records from the early colonial period are scarce. They include El Inca, Garcilaso de la Vega and a chronicle from 1600 by an Anonymous Jesuit. The Jesuit friar focused on the central Inca *acllawasi* in Cuzco and its educating function for elite women, while only a few remained for lifetime service to the Inca and Sun Cult.²⁴² In addition to chronicle sources, a few colonial notarial records corroborate that the *acllawasi* in the Cuzco region possessed land in the Sacred Valley near Pachar and Yucaybamba.²⁴³ There are very few actual archaeological remains anywhere, including Pachacamac and Cuzco (Squier 1877: 429; Bray 2003a: 93-142; 2008: 108-132; Bauer and Bowser 2004; Covey 2006; Farrington 2013). Unfortunately, the Cuzco's *acllawasi* is now largely subsumed or destroyed by the Santa Catalina monastery and other colonial and contemporary architecture.

5.2 Story and Analysis

The love story begins with Chuquillanto walking outside with her fellow female companion in the rarified air of the steep mountain terrain above the Urubamba Valley (now more commonly known as the Sacred Valley). Her red manta and checkered-patterned belt (fig. 37, 40) establish Chuquillanto's elite status as a *ñusta* (Inca princess) among the other chosen women, and possibly as a novice (Houtrouw 2019: 173). That night in the *acllawasi*, she was restless and

²⁴¹ Karen Graubart outlines three phases. *Chronicles of conquest* show the "spontaneous and indeterminate interactions" of Spaniards that drew on their experiences with Muslims. *Colonial accommodation* in the 1550s celebrated the "possibilities of mestizaje" for an emerging state between Spanish (often men) and Andean (often Inca women) elites. *Acllas* were understood as an admirable and morally irreproachable institution like *beatas*, nuns, and virgins. In the *Toledan Era*, *acllas* existed symbolically in an idealized, unrecoverable past that had been replaced by morally indecent women. The concept of women "living indecently" had everything to do with the socio-economic strain and social ills rather than any ethical or religious issues. Graubart, "Indecent Living," 213-35.

²⁴² For *aclla* education, see Pilar Alberti Manzanares, "Una institución exclusivamente femenina en la época incaica: las acllacuna," *Revista Española de Antropología Americana*, 16 (1986): 153-190.

²⁴³ Susan Niles cites a 1594 document that identified thirty *topos* of land in the Yucay Valley belonging to the *mamacuna* in Yucaybamba, given by Huayna Capac. Kathryn Burns found a document from the Convent of Santa Catalina that the Cuzco *acllawasi* possessed lands in the Yucay Valley near Pachar. ADC, Colegio de Ciencias, leg. 33, doc. 9, fols. 181–82, cited by Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 159; Niles, *Shape of Inca History*, 150.

withdrawn. Following instructions from a bird in her dream, she sat in the middle of the *acllawasi*'s four Inca fountains to find a solution for her desire. The bird had advised Chuquillanto to repeat the memory of her encounter with Acoytapra. If the flowing water repeated her (which it did), then she could follow her desire. The next day Chuquillanto walked again through the Andean countryside with her companion. They encountered Acoytapra's mother, who had tried to protect



Figure 43: Artist don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and labels, "Pachayachic, sacrificio q[ue] hace al sol, capac yupanqui," by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 95v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

her son by transforming him into a stick or cane. However, Chuquillanto unknowingly took the stick back with her to the *acllawasi*. That night he returned to his human shape, and they had sex. The next morning he transformed again into a stick, enabling Chuquillanto and Acoytapra to escape from the *acllawasi* under the suspicious eyes of the guard.

However, Inca religious ideology and class hierarchy would dictate that their relationship was impossible. She was, after all, dedicated to the sun and, according to Murua, pledged to sexual abstinence. Moreover, she belonged to the most noble Inca descendant class, *Collana*, whereas Acoytapra belonged to a non-Inca class, *Cayao*, from Lares (Manzanares 1981: 205-206). Any transgression

would be violently punished. They were spotted by a guard while making love and forced to escape to the mountains. They were rendered infertile but forever united by being transformed into the mountain range Pitusiray, which overlooks the Sacred Valley near Cuzco. While the story of Chuquillanto and Acoytapra is Andean in origin, Murua adapted it to the conventions of an Iberian pastoral genre popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. At one point, he even called it a *ficción* or fiction (Arrom 1973: 26).

The first image by Guaman Poma shows Chuquillanto, frustrated by her impossible desire for Acoytapra, sitting downcast in a fountain in the *acllawasi* and listening to the animated water (fig. 39). The fountain includes four distinct sources of water coming from each of the four regions of Tahuantinsuyu. Murua labeled each corner with the name of a region and a second type of identifier. The chapter text provides a translation of the fountains' names. The underlining significance of the alternative names remains unclear; perhaps they refer to environmental features associated with the regions and their water resources.²⁴⁴

The fountain evokes male sexuality and the association of water with procreative fertility; like sperm spouting from a penis that literally covers Chuquillanto. Water's multi-sensorial significance as *camay* to be heard, felt, tasted, and seen made it particularly potent to the Inca (Nair 2015: 51) and capable of multiple meanings. In Andean cosmology water signified semen, maleness, fertility, ancestors, and transition between worlds (Arguedas 1964; Isbell 1978: 137-165; Ossio 1978; Dean 2010: 38; Manzanares 1981: 199) and played a vital role in the practical, political, and ritual logic in the Andes. Moreover, the image composition evokes the familiar design and significance of the four-cornered Inca empire and its potent center on folio 63v (fig. 23) and the Quechua textile tunic design, *casana* on folio 95v (fig. 43). At the same time, Inca state hegemony, represented by the control of water, frames Chuquillanto's desire.²⁴⁵ César Itier points

²⁴⁴ From the viewer's perspective, the top left is labeled *llullucha puquio (fuente de ovas)* from *collasuyo*; top right is labeled *chuclla puquio (fuente de ranas)* from *chinchaisuyo*; bottom left is labeled *ocoruro puquio (fuente de berros)* from *condesuyo*; and bottom right is labeled *siclla puquio (fuente de guijas)* from *antesuyo*. Murua provides Spanish translations of the fountain names in the text: "Desta manera la de chinchaysuyo que estaua hazia la parte de lo occidente, sicllapuquio que significa fuente de guijas y la otra se llamaua llullucha puquio que significa fuente de obas esta estaua a par de oriente que se llamaua collasuyo, la otra que estaua la parte del septentrion se llamaua ocorura puquio que significa fuente de berros y la otra que estaua a la parte del medio dia se llamaua chichllapuquio que significa fuente de rranas." Murua, *Historia del origen*, f. 145r.

²⁴⁵ The Inca imperial project shaped itself around the potency and control of water because it was agriculturally and culturally vital to their power. Archaeological, ethnographic, and ethnohistorical evidence shows that the Inca developed sophisticated hydrological and ritual practices and monumental architecture to control the flow, access, and meaning of water. A few studies on the politics of water, include, R. Valderrama and C. Escalante, *Del Tata Mallku a la Mama Pacha. Riego, sociedad y ritos en los Andes peruanos*, (Lima: DESCO, 1988); Peter Gose, "Segmentary State formation and the ritual control of water under the Incas," *Comparative studies in society and history: an international quarterly*, v. 35 (1993): 480-514; J. Treacy, *Las Chacras De Coporaque: Andeneria Y Riego En El Valle Del Colca*, (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1994); Rostworowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, 214-219; Alfredo Valencia Zegarra, "Recent Archaeological Investigations at Machu Picchu," in *Machu Picchu: Unveiling the Mystery of the Incas*, Richard L. Burger and Lucy C. Salazar, eds., (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 70-82; Kenneth R. Wright, *Machu Picchu: A Civil Engineering Marvel*, (Reston, Va: ASCE Press, 2000); Kenneth Wright and Alfredo Valencia Zegarra, *Machu Picchu: A Civil Engineering Marvel*, (Reston, Va.: ASCE Press, 2000); P. H. Gelles, *Water and Power in Highland Peru*, (New Brunswick, N. J.:

out that the alliance between the pastor of the puna and water source and the women of the fertile land in the valley fits with the broader history of Andean oral history traditions involving gendered complementarity (1996: 173-177). From this perspective, the image alludes to Chuquillanto swimming in Inca semen and procreative power in the potent center²⁴⁶ while her desire and reproduction are bound by Inca imperial state control.²⁴⁷

The ideogram and palindrome Quechua poem by Murua in the facing folio reproduces an early Christian amulet known as a Rotas-Sator Square (Schoepflin 2022; fig. 44 and 45). The reimagined palindrome suggests Murua intentionally appropriated the form and meaning of the Latin Sator Square to add magical significance and Christian coding to his poetic and sensual interpretation of the love story of Chuquillanto. The water's procreative potency in the image and poem linked water and irrigation in the agricultural cycle to the creator-sower analogy found in the Latin palindrome. Through specific textual, graphic, and thematic similarities, Murua invoked associations between the Andean legendary love story and the popular early Christian understandings of the European Sator Square.

Rutgers University Press, 2000); Tamara Bray, "Water, Ritual, and Power in the Inca Empire," *Latin American Antiquity*, v. 24, n. 2 (2013): 164-190; and others.

²⁴⁶ Guaman Poma underscored water's procreative force for the female earth in *Nueva corónica*. For example, his depiction of the *Araui Pincollo Uanca* song includes two male Andeans serenading two female figures submerged in the *Uatanymayo* (Watanay river (or semen) with flutes (or penises) from a cliff (f. 316 [318]). The flutes as penises correspond with Murua's repeated identification of Acoytapra's flute with various sexual overtones, such as masturbation. Alicia Maria Houtrouw, "Forbidden Love in the Andes: Murúa and Guaman Poma Retell the Myth of Chuquillanto and Acoytapra," *Getty Research Journal* 11 (January 2019): 176.

²⁴⁷ Pilar Alberti Manzanares suggested that the local town *huaca*, represented by the fountain regions, approved of the love affair but the Inca Sun deity did not. Alberti Manzanares, "Los Amores de Chuquillanto y Acoitapia," 200-205.



Figure 44: Artist don Guaman Poma de Ayala's Chuquillanto Dream and Martín de Murua's palindrome Quechua poem in Sator Square form, "Mezedie, Micuc Isutu Cuiuc Utusi Cucim," in *Historia del orijen y genealogia* (2008 [1596]), f. 145v, 146r. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.



ROTAS
OPERA
TENET
AREPO
SATOR

Figure 45: Roman word-square, incised on wall-plaster from the Roman town of Corinium (Cirencester), 2nd-3rd century AD. Copyright Corinium Museum.

Murua's narrative ambiguity does not suggest that he sought to validate Andean beliefs. Murua was a mendicant friar whose zealous Spanish Christian biases and prejudices against Andean religious beliefs and traditions overwhelmed any inclination to accommodate local beliefs that contradicted his own. Evidence of syncretism in the Quechua poem leads us to consider the

similarities and convergence of early Christian and Andean beliefs and practices.²⁴⁸ Estenssoro Fuchs argues that certain Andean practices, such as the *haylli* (an Andean dance form), were able to persist in the colonial Andes not due to the continuation of their pre-Hispanic significance but to reveal their true but hidden Christian meaning. The *interpretatio christiana* required "an effort of exegesis, forcing a resemantization" or disjunction by drawing Andean traditions into a Christian worldview.²⁴⁹ Durston points out that disjunction required an audience to possess a strong background in Christianity to make the underlying connections (2007: 269). The same is true for Murua's poem, which required occult Spanish Christian knowledge to fully grasp its meaning. However, the legend's creative reconceptualization and conversion into an innovative colonial product did not end with Murua.

In three folios that follow the poem, Guaman Poma produced images that exemplify his visual spatial patterning according to Inca cosmological worldviews. Folio 146v (fig. 39) includes two scenes. Chuquillanto lies in bed in the more powerful *hanan* position and Acoytapra kneels in supplication below her in the *hurin*, subordinate position, exhibiting their relative but not equal complementary relationship.²⁵⁰ She had unknowingly taken Acoytapra back to the *acllawasi*; he had been transformed by his mother into a stick or cane and is depicted leaning against the bed. In the bottom half of the folio Chuquillanto holds the stick of the transformed Acoytapra as she passes the elderly guard with her female companion. In the next image (f. 147r; fig. 40) Acoytapra and Chuquillanto walk across the Andean landscape. Behind them the outlines of an

²⁴⁸ For more on examples of Christian - Inca tropes, such as the blood-irrigation water, God-Inca sovereign trope, and Christ-Pachacamac, and the interpretative ambiguity, see, Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 246-270; Estenssoro Fuchs, *Paganismo a la Santidad*; and Bruce Mannheim, "A Nation Surrounded," in *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World*, edited by Elizabeth Hill Boone and Thomas Cummins, (Washington, D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998), 383-420.

²⁴⁹ For our current purposes, "disjunction" refers to Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs's use, which draws from art historian Erwin Panofsky (1960). Estenssoro Fuchs, *Paganismo a la Santidad*, 152-3, note 26.

²⁵⁰ Alicia Houtrouw, "Retell the Myth," 173, suggests Chuquillanto, as a woman in the *hanan* position, and Acoytapra, as a man in the *hurin* position, indicates an inappropriate conjugal pairing according to Andean complementarity. I am not clear if their positioning represents an inappropriate conjugal pairing and rupture of social norms. Between various Galvin images Guaman Poma portrays the male/female pairing in interchangeable *hanan/hurin* positions, without their being any particular indication of a problematic relationship. Poignantly, folio 81v, on the marriage of the Inca, the Coya is in the *hurin* position and the *sapa* (ruler) Inca is in the *hanan* position. Rather the emphasis is on their relationships in complementary relativity in the context of their activity (for example, compare ff. 36v, 81v, and 95v). Therefore, the Chuquillanto/Acoytapra positioning is demonstrative of their power relationship, but not necessarily a reflection of an inappropriate pairing.



Figure 46: Tired Rock. Artist don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and labels "ynga urcun, saycum, callacucho" by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 37v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 47: Tired Rock, by don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, "EL NOVENO CAPITAN, INGA VRCON / "Chayapoma, Uiha." / Lloró sangre la piedra. / hasta Guanoco, Guayllas / Chayapuyman." *Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [159 [161]].

unnamed mountain range are covered in the same pink used by Guaman Poma to signify habitable land. The elderly guard watches from the bottom left corner, in both a subordinate position below the lovers' and subtly superior position in the horizontally *hanan* position. The text tells us that the guard's discovery triggered their petrification, according to Andean beliefs.

The next illustration corresponds to the texts but also offers an entirely more subtle interpretation from an Andean perspective (f. 147v, fig. 41). Chuquillanto and Acoytapra stand still, eyes closed, hands at their side. Sauasiray sits above the *ñusta's* image, and Pitusiray and Urcunsiray sits above the pastor, covering the crowns of their head. Petrified Chuquillanto remains in the *hanan* position in the viewer's left side of the folio and Acoytapra in the *hurin* position. In the illustration's bottom half, the city of Guayllamba has replaced Chuquillanto's feet and Calca has replaced Acoytapra's feet. The powerful mountain *apus* or deities sit in the *hanan* position while the man-made towns are in the *hurin*, bottom half of the image. Between them, forming a third, liminal section, Chuquillanto and Acoytapra stand in *tinkuy* and *qhariwarmi* as mediators of the natural and man-made world, however infertile or incompatible.

The process of petrification of living things, including humans and deities, is common in Andean oral history. Petrification was not death but a pause in animacy without the essence or life force necessarily leaving (Dean 2001: 170; 2010: 5, 35-40). Across the Andean landscape ancestors and deities rested in suspension as large and small rocks. In colonial records and contemporary oral histories, rocks represent petrified ancestors²⁵¹ and *puruawqa* (*puruauca*, *purunawka*) or petrified warriors who returned to "life" to come to the aid of humans.²⁵² In Andean gendered complementarity, sight, rocks, and mountain tops are associated with masculinity and virility while the earth is associated with the female. A woman's petrification into a feminized rock signified the suspension of her procreative abilities, rendering her infertile but sentient.²⁵³

Two images of a tired rock by Guaman Poma in the Galvin Murua (f. 37v, fig. 46) and *Nueva corónica* (f. 159 [161]; fig. 47) shed light on Andean lithographic animacy and the development of Guaman Poma's Christian influenced visual language. The *rumi sayk'uska* (tired or weary rock) belonged to an Inca category of quarried, unfinished rocks that refused participation in Inca imperial building projects but, conversely, also reinforced the grandeur of Inca architecture by all the rocks that did comply. The passage documents Andean beliefs in a rock's animacy and the Inca's dialogical practices with the natural world to support their cultural practices of power and persuasion (Dean 2010: 50-53; 2019). The friar labeled the rock, *saycum Collaconcho*, a heavily sculpted megalith outcrop called today Chinkana Grande or "Great Labyrinth" at the edge of the archaeological site of Sacayshuaman (Zuidema 1979: 341; Van de

²⁵¹ See Chapter Three, note 218 for an example in extirpation records.

²⁵² One well known oral history recorded in chronicles recounts how in the Inca battle against the Chancas, *puruwaqa* came to their aid. MacCormack, *Religion of the Andes*, 286-301; Dean, *Culture of Stone*, 39, 49. For chronicle sources see, Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, pt. 1, bk. 5, chap. 18, 293; José de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral*, bk. 6, chap. 21; Cobo, *History*, 128-129; Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, 35-36; and Santa Cruz Pachacuti, *Relación de Antigüedades*, fol. 19r, 219.

²⁵³ In the *Huarochirí Manuscript* female deities transformed themselves into stone and become infertile to escape the sexual desire of pursuing male deities. In one case, Caui Llaca flees from Cuni Raya Viracocha's sexual pursuit down the Lurin River watershed into the Pacific Ocean and transformed with her son into a rock. While her petrification was voluntary, petrification as infertility also seemed to serve as a form of punishment for a woman's sexual transgression. Anonymous, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 47; Frank Salomon, "How the Huacas Were: The Language of Substance and Transformation in the Huarochirí Quechua Manuscript," *Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 33 (1998): 15; Dean, *Culture of Stone*, 36; "Andean Androgyny and the Making of Men," in *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 12 and 13 October 1996*, edited by Cecelia F Klein, (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 170.

Gucht 1984: 548; Bauer 1998: 58; Dean 2019: 2). The textual account of the "*pedra cansada*" in the Galvin is located in the top half of the image, written after the image was created (Adorno and Boserup 2005: 198). The breaking with the regular text-to- graphic production pattern suggests that Guaman Poma inserted a popular oral history associated with Inca Urcon that Murua then elaborated textually with the guidance of Guaman Poma or some other Indigenous source.

Guaman Poma made subtle compositional changes to the image in his *Nueva corónica*, removing insinuations of Andean sacredness and idolatry that characterize the 1590 rendition. He also redefined the tired rock's animating force by referring to Christianity. The 1590 narration describes how the rock ground to a halt near Sacsayhuaman, weeping blood and destroying people.²⁵⁴ In *Nueva corónica* the rock was quarried in Cuzco and moved to Quito in Ecuador via Guanuco (Huánuco Pampa).²⁵⁵ In both images, laborers pull the rock under Inca Urcon's supervision. According to Tom Cummins and Bruce Mannheim (2011: 12) the graphic compositions in both chronicles describe the same narrative moment when a quarried stone wept blood and came to a halt despite all efforts by laborers. They argue that Guaman Poma's first image from c. 1590 aligned the rock's unshaped form, sketched in ashlar block, with the role of architecture and stone in the Inca imperial project and the kinetic force of Andean *camay*, accentuated by its anthropomorphic eyes. In the second rendition of the early 1600s, Guaman Poma drew the stone's natural state in a rounded, smooth form. Its streaming blood in cross-like shapes evoked the Franciscan's stigmata marks, aligning the stone's animating force more overtly with Christ's blood and thereby avoiding perceptions of idolatry. The petrified lovers in the story

²⁵⁴ "*Tambien quieren debir desta piedra cansada que trayendo dixo no me llebes por q[ue] este tiemo se trocara y bendra amandar a esta tierra otro Rey y no sere de prouecho pa[ra] el ynga y por esto dizen que se canso y no quixo pagar adelante y lloro sangre y asi estruxo hizo pedasos a mucha gente y de alpasunto dizen que la juntaron de chuquipampa de la llanada questa en la fortaleza.*" Murua, *Historia del origen*, 37v.

²⁵⁵ According to Carolyn Dean, there are six known accounts of Tired Stones from the Cuzco region that identify the Collaconcha near Sacsayhuaman. She cites Garcilaso de la Vega ([1609] 1966, vol. 1: 470); Cieza de León ([1880] 1986, 148-49); Murua (1986 [1616], 314-16); Ocaña (1987, 225); and Betanzos ([1557] 1996, 157). Only Guaman Poma identified a tired stone on the way to Guanaco (Huanco Pampa) and then Quito. Carolyn Dean, "A Rock and an Art Place: The Inkas' Collaconcho in Context," *World Art* 9.3 (2019): 231-58.

evoked a similar lithic animacy, despite their apparent immovability that could be perceived as idolatrous in two-dimensional graphic renderings.

The image of the petrified lovers could hold the potential for multiple meanings when considered from Spanish Christian and Andean perspectives and in relation to the text. With their closed eyes in a restful pose, Guaman Poma signaled Chuquillanto and Acoytapra's suspended though animate life in a petrified state. An Andeanized conclusion allows for the illicit but true love between Chuquillanto and Acoytapra to continue indefinitely, albeit without their socially inappropriate procreative power according to Inca ideology (Houtrouw 2019: 178). The lovers' petrification into the Yucay Valley and its mountain range inscribed an Inca geography and memory.²⁵⁶ Visible from the towns of Guayllamba and Calca, the text acknowledged the enormity of the mountains and the reach of their regional reverence. By embedding energy and memory into the landscape, Guaman Poma stressed the massive and indestructible scale of Andean animacy. Yet, the couple's explicitly anthropomorphic representation raises the possibility of idolatry in colonial Christian discourse, especially considering Guaman Poma's human-like *huacas* featured in the Galvin manuscript and *Nueva corónica*. Murua's description of their petrification into "statues" linked them to a popular Christian discourse on idols (Murua 1596: ff. 15r, 16r, 40r, 65v, 96r, 110r, 123r, 124r, and 146r). Murua's textual retelling prescribes petrification as punishment for their sinful discretion of extramarital sex according to Christian morals (Houtrouw 2019: 176). The sexual transgression of the *ñusta*, so markedly different from the idealized *aclla* in previous chapters, redefined Inca morals and ideology according to Christianity.

Guaman Poma's allegiance is harder to define as he sought to legitimate Andean culture and history within a Spanish Christian framework, or what Frank Salomon has identified as a "literature of the impossible" that demanded a "cultural doubleness" or biculturalism (1982: 4).

²⁵⁶ For discussions and ethnographies on Andean memory inscribed into landscape, see Rosaleen Howard-Malverde, *The Speaking of History*; Salomon, "Introduction"; Dean, *Culture of Stone*; Nair, *At Home with Sapa Inca*, 35-53; Niles, *Shape of Inca History*; Abercrombie, *Pathways of Memory and Power*; and others.

Guaman Poma's images in the Galvin Murua, particularly those for the *aclla* chapters and Andean love story, carry the reader from the outside into the imagined intimate and exclusive spaces of the *acllawasi* and back out into an Andean landscape that can be viewed by all. The visual narrative establishes a kaleidoscope of connections between man, material culture and nature. Important relationships between water, sun, animals, humans, mountains, Inca royal architecture, and more are positioned as parts of Inca ideology and Andean beliefs. Shifting between the drawings evokes the fluidity of the cosmos and animacy with the multiple forms of transformation and reciprocity in the eyes of Andeans. Thanks solely to Guaman Poma's contribution, the multiplicity and transformation of animated sacredness in the Andes in the Galvin Murua elucidates the continuity and adaptation of Quechua beliefs in the face of extreme oppressions.

Despite the infusion of Andean meanings in his images, we also know that Guaman Poma was a faithful Christian. From the animacy of the tired rock to the idolatrous *huaca* shrines to the love story, Guaman Poma's graphic language and composition in the Galvin Murua exhibited his ambiguous and developing visual representations of *huaca* and animacy in Andean culture. His images, including the lover's petrification, accentuated an Andean logic and power, decipherable for native Andeans but mysterious and exotic, if not idolatrous, for Christian Europeans and Andeans. The Andean artist experimented on the border of Andean and Spanish Christian culture and ideology, creating multivalent images for an intended mixed audience. Guaman Poma's images of animacy in the Galvin Murua drew closer to the Quechua idea of *camay* than his images in the *Nueva corónica*. However, depictions in the Galvin Murua of *huaca* reverence as idolatrous followed generic representations that lacked the nuanced treatment of the subject in his chronicle.

In sum, with Guaman Poma and Murua's creative reinventions, the Galvin Murua resides at the ambiguous edge of acceptability for what could avoid censorship by Spanish Christian authorities. From the human-figured *huaca* to the legendary love story, the Indigenous intellectual's complicated Andean-Christian perspective and mediating role offered a range of interpretations to the reader/viewer on the significance of *camay*. In the end, Murua and Guaman

Poma's produced multifaceted representations that complicate prevalent Inca histories as manifestations of a creative history-making project in a colonial borderland. The images reveal Guaman Poma's agency in a contested cultural process that documented both change and continuity in the sixteenth century. For both authors, the reader/viewer is the final arbiter of interpretation. The elision of Guaman Poma's images in Murua's more conservative and Europeanized, final version is not surprising; the author could not publish his work without conforming to Spanish Christian standards.

5. Conclusion

Each of the men who contributed to Murua's project, from the Inca descendants to don Pedro and Guaman Poma, evoked and celebrated Inca heritage and lineage. Guaman Poma's explicit contribution as a descendant of the *mitmaq* leadership from Lucana de-centered Inca-centric history and revealed the conflicts and multiplicities that existed in the Andes before the Spaniards arrived and re-emerged in the colonial period. His contribution included graphic reworkings or elisions to highlight his own ancestral preeminence while subverting his competitors, such as the Cañari. The explicit contributions of Guaman Poma and don Pedro represent unique and dynamic Andean voices in the Murua manuscripts. They refined their memories as they reflected on the multiplicity of their colonial realities.

In reading the Murua manuscripts as layered physical, contextual, and temporal objects of material culture, their kaleidoscopic composition and production becomes apparent. Guaman Poma's graphic and textual narrative often described but sometimes subverted a singular, superficial aspect from the chapter title and/or text. His contributions consistently added Andean perspectives of Inca socio-political and cosmological order. Guaman Poma's contributions to the Galvin and his own *Nueva corónica* highlight the iterative and intertextual production process of the manuscripts. The multifaceted, intertwined chronicles compiled by Guaman Poma and Murua reveal a convoluted process of knowledge and history-making in colonial Peru. In addition to what

can be read and viewed, one needs to consider the erasures and omissions, and read "against the grain" to find evidence of Indigenous voices. Thankfully, Guaman Poma's own chronicle provides evidence of his voice and agency in the Murua manuscripts. We cannot fully appreciate one manuscript without studying the others.

The analysis on Inca society and animacy in colonial Peru reveals a tension between the idealization of an Inca-centric past and contested processes of change in the colonial period. The pervasive indoctrination into Christianity shared by Murua and Guaman Poma produced overlapping ideological interpretations of Inca ritual activities and women. These spaces of confluence and transculturation created a field of creative curiosity, cultural translation, and intercultural dialogue and innovation. The authors' undeniably divergent views and backgrounds also led to disagreement and disenchantment. Guaman Poma used his intermediary role as a Christian Andean elite to vindicate and legitimize Andean sovereignty and dignity. Murua's entrenched superiority and prejudices, so pervasive among Iberians and ecclesiastics, impeded his understanding of Andean culture and the hope of mutual respect between Guaman Poma and his clerical collaborator. Their eventual separation resulted in two distinctly different chronicles of Andean history, the Europeanized Getty Murua and the more Andean *Nueva corónica*.

CHAPTER FOUR

"My Duties as a Monk":

Cultural and Religious Conditions for Indigenous Engagement

PROLOGUE of . . . At the royal feet and hands of Your Majesty I place the history of the realm of Peru and the ancestry [of the] Inca kings and the exploits of their government. . . I began in my youth this [broken] . . . I was thirty years-old working always true to the facts, making sure . . . [broken] the pleasure of serving Your Majesty with these endeavors . . . the battles [broken] of the Spaniard against the Indians and their arrival and conquest are still missing but give me [broken] we have seen enough in the chronicle of Peru . . . [broken] I reproduce all that I see . . . I do not believe that it is outside my duties as a monk to be interested in such a variety of subjects . . . For this [style] of writing only belongs . . . to clergymen and to the most religious people, because the first printed books that appeared in Peru were catechisms and books of sermons in Quechua and Spanish written by a father very . . . [broken] and the Society of Jesus that was religious and another book entitled *The Indian Catholic* . . . [broken] wrote another very learned clergyman of the order of the Seraphic Father Saint Francis of . . . that will not hurt my profession to have spent many years in such a variety of subjects reduced to history. It is common here for authors to pay tribute to the princes that give title to their works, and to emphasize how difficult their works are. . . I will consider myself satisfied if Your Majesty accepts my book with pleasure as your illustrious . . . your father, who was without equal, accepted a partridge from a humble shepherd while he was in the . . . taking advantage of the shepherd boy's modesty, rather than the don.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ "PROLOGO de [. . .] / En los reales pies y manos de VM pongo la ystoria deste Reynos del piru y la descendencia [de los] / Reyns ingas del can el eroico gobierno que los dhos. Tubieron que yo escripto para quede [. . .] / llenos de esplendor y de inmortalidad comense en mi jubentud Este [roto] abele en [. . .] / Treinta de mi edad trabajando continuamente fiel assegurando n[roto] [. . .] y su b[. . .] / dicha en que habia de servir con estas labores a VM para que estos [...] que aunque / los negocios arduos pueden divertir a los grandes Reyns de la dulzura de la leccion que [. . .] / Menos no dexar par eso de favorecer las lerras y las artes y no creo que el aber gastado [...] / Mucho tiempo en este genero de leccion en fe a que sera la obra pues si se mirare atentamente / ninguna cosa ay en el Piru que consiga trayga curiosidad que no este aqui solo [roto] [. . .] Jasbal [. . .] / de los españoles con los yndios y de la entrada Y conquista dellos faltan pero deseme [. . .] bastantemente hemos vista en la coronica del piru / Todo generalmente [. . .] grado pem saber pero aquel trato por variedades mas apasibles porque / mano como no pueda tener constancia en una cosa [. . .] crease cuando yeo [. . .] y de que / noticia, no creo que es ageno de monge averme dado a tanta variedad de [. . .] de / de nombre de ystoria pues solo el [. . .] pertenece solameme a los Eclesiasticos / y a las personas sficus religiosas porque los prirneros libros que uvo en el piru yrnpresos fueron / el vocabulario catecismos y sermonarios en la lengua quechua y española a de un padre muy / y de la campania de jesus que fue religioso y otro libro que se ymitula el Catholicico indiano / escribio otro religioso muy docto de la orden del serafico padre nro. San francisco den / ra que no deshara mi profesion el aber gastado muchos años en esta diversidad de cosas / Reducida a historia suelen en este lugar autores ensalzar a los principes que ynitula / sus trabajos y mayor La dificultad que tuba la obra mas yo para lo primero no / bastante ni ay necesidad, pues por todo el mundo ay levantadas [tropeços] en nombre / en lo segundo no ay para q que yo ensalze la obra que por que para que della tenga fuerza/ a mi que Vmaj se tenga par servida de mis trabajos y llamo los mios porque por mi traba / sin saber de nadie y sin saber otra ystoria desto de que poder aprovechar de que en nuestra / castellana par lo cual pues es loado de los autores la liberalidad de los grandes reyes Yngas / me contentare conque V m reciba alegremente este mi libra como el ynclito p[. . .] / [. . .] r vuestro unico padre recibio de un simple pastorcillo una perdiz estando



Figure 48: Mamacona in worship. Artist don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and label, "Virgenes escogidas," by Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 3v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 49: Prologue to King. Hidden, pasted over text. Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 3v (behind). Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

1. Introduction

In yet another uncopied text hidden by a pasted-over folio 3v under an *aclla* worshipping the sun temple (fig. 48 and 49), the reader gleans pearls of insight into Murua's mindset and intentions during the early stages of his chronicle project. The Prologue, likely to Murua's 1590 version, is addressed to the Spanish king. He explains his aspirations for writing a history, and interestingly, acknowledges some of the historiographical influences and ecclesiastic sources that are otherwise missing in his chronicle, including sermons from the Third Lima Council, *Symbolo Catholico Indiano* by Gerónimo de Oré, and Jesuit friar and linguist González Holguín (Cummins and Ossio 2013: 18-20). Just as the passage starts in supplication to the king, he ends by placing the worth of his efforts in "being of service to Your Majesty." Even as Murua sought to legitimize

en el autor / monta bar e echando mano de la sencillez del çagal y no del don." Murua, Códice Murúa, 3v. Complete Spanish text of Galvin 3v found in Cummins and Ossio, "Muchas veces," 165-166, with improved translation by Ossio, "New Assessment of the Hidden Texts," 32-33, n. 10.

his history by claiming knowledge from ethnographic sources and personal experiences, he firmly positioned his aspirational efforts among Iberian scholars, writers, and ecclesiastics aligned with hegemonic Iberian imperialism and evangelization projects of the late sixteenth century.

This chapter further examines authorship in the Murua manuscripts by considering the cultural and religious conditions and experiences that would have informed the strategies, models, and attitudes of engagement between Murua and his Andean collaborators. Far from a one-way dynamic, there is ample evidence of multiple exchanges between colonizing and colonized actors in the final manuscripts. This chapter aims to show the role of transculturation, the two-way exchanges that informed Murua as much as his Andean participants. Although organized and presented in a literary, chronicle format, it was Indigenous (especially Inca) elites who articulated social memories and conceptions of Inca history in Murua's chronicle project. The process of cultural translation helped to shape Murua's conflicted ambitions, creating circumstances and models for Indigenous participation and, unfortunately, the eventual erasure of some of their contributions.

The chapter first explores Murua's background as a Basque and young Mercedarian friar. It is impossible to fully assess Murua's intentions for compiling a chronicle and his method of including and excluding Andean voices. Examining elements of Murua's own background contextualizes his engagement with Andean elites and the promotion of their Inca royal history and noble social status in his chronicle. Second, I consider the cultural and religious context of Cuzco in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that enabled the participation of five Andean endorsers and Guaman Poma. Since records on Murua's activities in Cuzco are scarce, I consider the intersections between religious figures and native elites through the presence and attitudes of the Mercedarian Order, in general. I then widen the lens to consider the role of confraternities in building lasting, multigenerational connections between Indigenous elites and religious orders and friars in Cuzco, particularly the Jesuits.

2. Murua the Basque

Despite a number of studies on Murua and his manuscripts, details of the friar's biography have generally eluded scholars. They have relied on limited biographical information offered by the friar or provided in his numerous endorsements by other prominent Mercedarian officials. However, in 2017 the Basque scholar, Borjas Aguinagalde published a consequential study and collection of primary sources on Murua's genealogy.²⁵⁸ In addition, my own archival research in the Regional Archive in Cuzco provides information on his life and location between 1588 and 1603. Murua hinted in the Getty Murua that he was a “native....of the Province of Guipúzcoa” near Azpeitia, the birthplace of the founder of the Society of Jesus, Ignacio de Loyola, in the Basque region (Galvin 2004 [1590] 126v, cited by Ossio 2004: 55). According to sacramental records found by Aguinagalde, Murua was likely born on November 1, 1566²⁵⁹ as the fourth of seven children²⁶⁰ of María Ruiz de Gallastegui and Master Pedro de Murua Arangutia in a small town called Eskoriatza near Azpeitia, in the Guipúzcoa province in the Basque region.²⁶¹

For a Guipúzcoan family like the Murua Arangutia, the mid-sixteenth century was a socially and economically exciting time. Located on the Iberian peninsula's northwestern edge and connected to northern Europe, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Mediterranean Sea, Basques were well practiced in trade and travel. They were some of the earliest entrepreneurs and travelers to

²⁵⁸ The publication includes transcriptions and photocopies of inventories, birth records, letters, and other primary sources as they relate to friar Murua and his family members. F. Borja Aguinagalde, *Un misterio resuelto*.

²⁵⁹ Unfortunately, some ambiguity remains. The name in the November 1, 1566 baptismal record for Maria and Pedro's newborn was left blank and referred to as a “*una infante*”, i.e. female. In addition, a 1592 testament by Maria Ruiz de Gallastegui listed her heirs from oldest to youngest, but only referred to (presumably) friar Murua as “*fray santos su hijo fraile de la horden nuestra señora de la mercedes*.” Thankfully, other evidence corroborates Murua as a sibling and son in this family, including the given names and order of the other children. Aguinagalde, *Misterio Resuelto*, 20. This less than conclusive evidence has led Juan Ossio to question the date, as it would mean the friar was extremely, though not prohibitively, young when he went to Peru. Instead, Ossio suggests that perhaps friar Murua was a bastard son born earlier and out of wedlock. See Juan Ossio, “A propósito del misterioso mercedario Fray Murua de Murua,” *Colonial Latin American Review*, 27, no. 2, (2018): 280-289.

²⁶⁰ Friar Martín four brothers include: Master Juan de Murua (1558-post 1617) moved to Aramayona as a barber-surgeon; Diego de Murua (1559-1626) became a priest in San Pedro de Mazmela; Diego de Murua (1563-?) remained in Eskoriatza and maintained the family lineage; and Andres (1572-?) became a Franciscan friar. His two sisters include: Mariana, who married Juan de Olaeta, and Catalina del Espiritu Santo (1577-?), who became a Mercedarian nun in Santa Ana and eventually *comendador* of the convent. Aguinagalde, *Misterio Resuelto*, 19-20.

²⁶¹ His parents married on January 16, 1558. The family name had fluctuated between Murua and Arangutia but was eventually joined into one by the mid-sixteenth century. The name originates from land plots in the valley of Aramayona and Léniz. On November 30, 1428 Gómez González de Butrón, lord of the valley of Aramayona granted Pedro de Arangutia the “*casa de cal y canto*” or ‘house of lime and stone’. *Ibid.*, 14-15.

the Americas and built extensive networks within Europe, the Americas, and across the Atlantic Ocean (Otazu and Durana: 2008). The Guipúzcoa province at the foothills of the Pyrenees mountains had plentiful running water and direct access to the Atlantic Ocean. Their geographical and socio-political position sustained a robust economy that supported an intimately connected yet fiercely proud and independent urban and rural society in the expanding Spanish empire.

In the mid-sixteenth century Guipúzcoans underwent a process of social and territorial cohesion. The unceasing conflict in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries between warring elite family lineages (or *parientes mayores*) within relatively small territories and the crown's conflicts in its frontier region near France and Navarre required perpetual military responsibilities from its inhabitants, particularly from Guipúzcoa and Vizcaya. These unceasing social dynamics created a long tradition of vassalage relationships with the crown and *parientes mayores* that led to tax exemptions for local inhabitants, a crucial criterion for establishing *hidalgo* status (Ruiz 2011; Durana 2011; Aguinagalde 2016: 77). Contributing to these efforts was a relatively rapid embrace of literacy and notarial and chronicle recording practices (Aguinagalde 2016). In 1526 the order of the Fuero Nuevo confirmed universal *hidalgo* or noble status for all Guipúzcoans, which was progressively re-confirmed with individual litigation during the sixteenth century. By the mid-sixteenth century, Guipúzcoans had culturally and legally fostered the notion of a great noble community of original inhabitants from the Goths who adhered to the principles of *limpieza de sangre* or purity of blood (Aguinagalde 1994: 65).

As such, friar Martín was born during a unique period of social stability and opportunity for the interconnected Guipúzcoan society and province in the Basque region. Leading up to the sixteenth century, the Murua Arangutia lineage had progressively fragmented and declined in status, becoming subordinate to other more powerful lineages.²⁶² However, by the 1560s they

²⁶² The highest ranks of *Pariente Mayores* of Guipúzcoa included the Guevaras, lords of Oñates followed by the Muruas of Lazcano and Gamboas de Olaso. A third rank was occupied by the lords of Ugarte and Amézqueta, Oñaz de Larrea, and some branches of the Muruas in slightly inferior positions, such as the Martín López branch. At the fourth level were the lowest-ranking heads of lineages, such as the lords of Berástegui or San Millán, Echazarreta and the Berrosoetas, where lesser Muruas appear. See José Díaz de Durana, *Anonymous noblemen*.

busied themselves by integrating into the local elite and building connections with the Spanish Court - particularly friar Martín's older brother, Diego de Murua. Their father, a butcher and surgeon, most likely strove to teach his children to read and write (Aguinagalde 2017: 18-19). In other words, friar Martín belonged to a modest, emergent family integrated into a society and province that had only relatively recently begun to claim, enjoy, and practice the privileges of universal nobility and upward mobility through judicial, territorial, fiscal, and cultural mediums.

The significance and relative newness of universal hidalgo status for Guipúzcoa and the role of literacy and legal campaigning to their efforts might have sensitized the friar to the concerns and struggles of Inca descendants. As we have seen, Murua's Andean endorsers and Guaman Poma were steeped in concerns for establishing, promoting, and defending their noble and privileged status in the newly formed colonial Andean society. Like the Basques, Andean elites were faced with embracing the judicial maze of the Iberian court, the authority rendered to the written record over oral transmission, significance of lineage and male descent, maintenance of a unique language in the face of imperial pressures, and so much more. While not losing sight of significant differences, friar Martín's Basque background and socio-economic, geographical, and cultural heritage likely contributed to supporting a context of engagement and appreciation for some of the socio-political and cultural challenges faced by Andean elites.

3.1 Murua and the Mercedarians: From the Basque Region to the Andes

According to friar Martín, he joined the Mercedarian Order in Burceña in the Burgos province near his hometown (Ballesteros-Gaibrois 2001 [1987]: 6; Álvarez-Calderón 1996: 21). The nobleman, Peter Nolasc (1189-1256), founded the Royal, Celestial and Military Order of Our Lady of Mercy and the Redemption of the Captives (Mercedarian Order) in 1218 in Barcelona. Created in the *reconquista*'s militaristic environment, the Order's early medieval character focused on local, community needs for freeing Christian captives from Muslims in North Africa and Mediterranean area. By the early 1500s the Order began to incorporate mendicant and spiritual

tendencies while maintaining its military character (Brodman 1986: 39-42). Only after a series of reforms, Pope Alexander VIII declared them a mendicant order in 1690 (Taylor 2000: 10).

The Mercedarian Order established themselves in the Basque region in the 1500s, which provided the Murua Arangutia family opportunities that would fundamentally shape Murua's life. Religious orders offered the socially emergent Murua Arangutia family means for social and economic advancement. The Mercedarian Order first founded houses in the Basque region in the mid-fourteenth century (Álvarez-Calderón 1996: 17). In the 1550s the powerful Galarza family donated two plots of land for a Mercedarian convent in Eskoriatza. The house was formally founded with a signed capitulation on September 11, 1562, just four years before friar Martín was born. It was only their second convent established in the Basque region and soon became the only Mercedarian convent in the region during the early modern period.²⁶³ If Murua was born in 1566, he presumably took the habit of novice in Burgos before he was twenty years-old,²⁶⁴ just before leaving for Peru. Friar Martín's sister, renamed Catalina del Espíritu, joined the Mercedarian convent for women and eventually rose to the position of Commander by 1615.²⁶⁵

3.2 *Expansion into the Americas*

With a legacy of unruly, militant behavior, Mercedarians flourished during the early phase of American colonization and evangelization.²⁶⁶ As military chaplains willing to take up arms, Spanish conquistadors favored the Mercedarian missionaries during the early expeditions into

²⁶³ On September 11, 1562 the Mercedarian convent was formally founded with the signed capitulations from the Padre friar Juan de Tapia, Commander of the Mercedarian monastery in Burceña and Bizkaia. The first convent was founded in 1493 in Arantaza near Oñate but was taken over by the Dominicans in 1508. Aguinagalde, *Misterio Resuelto*, 15-16.

²⁶⁴ Given his birth at 1566 and undeniable presence in Peru before 1588, he would have been in his mid-teens when he joined the order. Joining young was common and offered opportunities for education, including literacy training.

²⁶⁵ His youngest sister married Juan de Olaeta. His younger brother, Andres (n. 1572), became a Franciscan friar and his older brother, Pedro (1559-1626) was a schoolteacher and beneficiary priest in San Pedro de Mazmela. His oldest brother, Juan (1558- post. 1617) moved to Aramayona as barber and surgeon. Diego (n. 1563) remained in Eskoriatza.

²⁶⁶ The earliest record of a Mercedarian friar traveling to the Americas is from 1495, when he joined the second voyage of Cristobal de Colón to the Indies. Ricardo Sanlés, "Trayectoria Misionera de la Merced en la Conquista de América," in *Estudios* 90-91 (1970): 440.

new territories. By 1514 the first Mercedarian house was founded in Santo Domingo.²⁶⁷ In 1526 the Spanish king fully endorsed Mercedarian missionary presence in the New World and in 1535 the first convent was established in Mexico City. From Mexico they joined early expeditions and opened houses throughout Central America and accompanied Francisco Pizarro's 1531 journey down the western spine of South America. By 1539 houses were scattered throughout Peru, including prominent properties in Lima and Cuzco.²⁶⁸ However, under the sway of the counter-reformation, monastic reform, and state centralization this independent and aggressive attitude eventually lost favor with the Iberian monarchy and its humanistic aspirations. In 1543 the monarchy banned the order from any further foundations in the Americas and severely restricted the movement of its personnel.²⁶⁹

A debate on the evangelization and colonization practices erupted in the Iberian court and between the religious orders. Spearheaded by the Dominican Montesino and then friar Bartolomé de Las Casas, they criticized the violent conquest and forced conversion practices under the guise of millenarian and utopic attitudes promoted particularly by Franciscans. Within this controversy the Mercedarians were seen as particularly egregious actors. It did not help that in 1537 members of the Order in Peru generally sided with the colonists against the Crown in an attempt to establish an independent kingdom. It quickly devolved into a civil war between the followers of the leaders of the first band of conquistadors, Francisco Pizarro and Diego Almagro. This may explain friar Murua sidestepping of the Spanish civil war in Peru in his account of early colonial Andean history.

²⁶⁷ According to Bernal Díaz, a conquistador with Hernan Cortés' (1485-1547) band of invaders, in 1519 Mercedarian Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo (1485-1524) played a key role as military chaplain. *Ibid.*, 445.

²⁶⁸ In 1534 Mercedarians joined Pedro de Alvarado to establish a house in Quito, Ecuador, which was quickly followed by an expedition with conquistador Belcalcazar into Columbia. They joined the company of Diego de Almagro (1475-1538) to Chile in 1535, where they established a convent in Santiago in 1550. However, an Indigenous insurrection threw the missions out in 1599. From Peru in 1536, Mercedarians ventured into Bolivia and Argentina. *Ibid.*, 437-471.

²⁶⁹ For more on the Mercedarians in the Americas see, P. Fr. Guillermo, Ode Vázquez Núñez, *Manual de historia de la Orden de Nuestra Señora de la Merced*, vol. 1 (1931) 462; P. Fr. Luis Vázquez Fernández, *Cedulario Mercedario en su relación con el Nuevo Mundo: 1518-1599*, vol. 47 (Estudios: 1991), 191-208; Bruce Taylor, *Structures of reform: the Mercedarian Order in the Spanish Golden Age* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2000), 88. Victor Barriga provides valuable information and sources on the Mercedarians in the Andes. See Victor Barriga, *Mercedarios ilustres en el Perú*, (Arequipa: Establecimientos gráficos la Comena, 1943); and Barriga, *Los mercedarios en el Perú en el siglo XVI. Documentos inéditos del Archivo general de Indias [de Sevilla]* vol. 1-5 (Rome: Tipografía "Madre di Dio", 1933).

However, the second half of the sixteenth century, when Murua was in Peru, marked a new, rehabilitating phase for the Mercedarians in the Americas (Vázquez Núñez 1931: 505-6; Taylor 2000: 89). It led to a formal adjustment to the relationship between the Iberian and overseas patrimony and the slow lifting of their ban to establish new houses and convents.²⁷⁰ The funds generated from the Americas elevated their status within Iberian society and the royal court. Under the impetus of fray Francisco Zúmel, from the mid-fifteenth century onwards Mercedarians gradually shifted toward establishing a more elite reputation, particularly through academia and a court presence. Those traveling to the Americas were predominantly graduates from the Colleges of Salamanca and Alcalá, who were completely supported thanks to funding from the Americas. This development gradually transformed the Mercedarians' character in the Americas as they established a full *studium* in Lima (1581) and in Mexico City (1594) for training religious persons (Vázquez Núñez 1936: 25; Vázquez Fernández 1991: 624; Taylor 2000: 91). In this context, the Basque friar's ambitious illustrated chronicle project would contribute to a growing Mercedarian historiography on the Americas.²⁷¹ His efforts not only served to elevate the reputation and social standing of himself and his family but it also fit into the reform efforts of the Mercedarian Order.

Unfortunately, the friar's travel dates to Peru remain unknown as his crossing is not included in the Real Hacienda travel records to the Americas. Juan Ossio suggests Murua may have arrived as early as 1577 or shortly thereafter with friar Pedro Guerra.²⁷² Ossio recognizes friar Pedro in crossed out texts on Getty folio 327v, described as having given friar Martín his

²⁷⁰ By 1563 four new sub-provinces emerged - Lima, Cuzco, Chile, and Guatemala. Three new houses were founded in Tucuman under the jurisdiction of the Cuzco province, which eventually became its own province in 1592. While many houses were destroyed, the brethren in the Chile Araucanian rebellion in 1597 distinguished themselves as loyal to the Crown. In 1616 Quito and Mexico were established as independent provinces of Lima and Guatemala. Taylor, *Structures of Reform*, 367.

²⁷¹ Sabine Hyland in a personal correspondence generously outlined multiple Mercedarian authors from Murua's time period and also mentioned in Tirso de Molina's history of the Mercedarians. However, more research is required. Sabine Hyland, personal communication by email, November 1, 2016.

²⁷² Ossio based his suggestion for a 1577 crossing on the possibility that Victor Barriga may have incorrectly transcribed Murua's name as Monila, as other instances also exist. Barriga, *Los Mercedarios*, 3:290; 4:163. Moreover, the information is supported by Luis E. Valcárcel suggestion in his biography of Miguel Cabello Balboa, though his source of information is unclear. Valcárcel, "Vida," xxix, cited by Ossio, "Murua's Two Manuscripts," 78, 93, note 11.

habit and acting as a father.²⁷³ If he were born in 1566, he would have been eleven years-old when he crossed. Other scholars have suggested that he may have joined one of two crossings as a replacement or last-minute addition that went unrecorded with friar Alonso Enrique de Aremendáriz on September 20, 1586, along with eighteen other friars, or with friar Diego de Porres on October 19, 1586, with twenty friars.²⁷⁴ By his own description, before coming to Cuzco he was a priest in Capachica, a peninsula off the southern coast of Lake Titicaca.²⁷⁵ Though possibly as early as 1585, by September 1588, at twenty-four years old, he was in Cuzco.²⁷⁶ In addition, the hidden, original prologue in the Galvin manuscript (quoted at the beginning of this chapter) suggests an approximate age and rough timeline in the Andes. As he wrote, "I began in my youth...Thirty years old working continuously and faithfully."²⁷⁷ If we align the writing of his prologue with the 1596 endorsement letter for the chronicle by Andean leaders and his November 1, 1566 birthdate, friar Murua would indeed have been thirty years old in 1596. We also know from the date of the 1590 original, hidden title page that he would have been working "faithfully" since at least 1590 (likely earlier) and likely in the Mercedarian House in Cuzco.

²⁷³ The crossed-out text is very difficult to decipher. However, according to Ossio it is: "Fray Pedro Guerra <canceled: que por averme dado el avito y ser yo su hijo y parte por la aficion que tengo del padre> <inserted: de quien> deixo en silencio muchas cosas". Murua, *Historia general del Perú*, f. 327v.

²⁷⁴ Unfortunately, Murua is not listed in either record. The next registered crossing occurred in August 1588, when Murua was already in Cuzco and had already spent time in Capachica. In total of 144 friars were recorded to have travelled to Peru by the Real Hacienda in the sixteenth century. According to the Mercedarian record it was closer to 160. Pedro Pérez, *Religiosos de la Merced que pasaron a América española* (Sevilla: Cuatro Oficial de Estudios Americanistas, 1923), 229-330; *Religiosos de La Merced Que Pasaron a La América Española: Con Documentos Del Archivo General de Indias*, Biblioteca Colonial Americana, vol. 9, (Sevilla: Centro Oficial de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla; Tip. Zarzuela, 1923), 169-256; Severo Aparicio, "Los Mercedarios en la evangelización del Perú siglos XVI-XVIII," *Analecta mercedaria: periodicum historiae et spiritualitatis: annus XIII 1994* (1998): 10; Guillermo Vázquez Núñez, *La Orden de la Merced en Hispanoamérica* (Madrid: Revista Estudios, 1968), 327-8; and Álvarez-Calderón, *Martín de Murúa*, 29.

²⁷⁵ Murua, *Historia del origen*, 73v, 77v, 128v. On folio 73v Murua describes the placenames according to their *huacas*, or sacred sites, including an island, Amantani, that was "*poblado y reducido*" [populated and reduced] after Viceroy Toledo's tour of the southern Andes, which took place in the second half of the 1570s (f. 73v). This would mean he was in Capachica after the late 1570s. Mercedarian historian, Severo Aparicio locates friar Murua in Capachica on July 16, 1580. However, his supporting evidence is only Murua's own vague references, which do not include exact dates. Severo Aparicio, *Analecta mercedaria*, 52.

²⁷⁶ ARC. Andres Sanchez. Prot. 34, 1590-95, 26 September 1588, ff. 1017-v; ARC. Andres Sanchez. Prot. 34, 1590-95, 26 September 1588, f. 1018; ARC. Andres Sanchez. Prot. 34, 1590-95, 27 September 1588, ff. 1018v-1020. Padre Peredo from the Mercedarian Convent in Cuzco has indicated that Murua was in Peru by 1585 according to private records. I have not had the opportunity to view or verify the source.

²⁷⁷ "Tubieron que yo escripto para quede [...] llenos de esplendor y de inmortalidad comense en mi jubentud Este [roto] abele en [...] Treinta de mi edad trabajando continuamente fiel." Murua, *Historia del origen*, behind 3v.

Numerous notarial records generated by Mercedarians verify Murua's continued presence in the Cuzco region in the 1580s and 1590s. His sojourn overlapped with the Lawsuit of Exemptions, the formation of the Cabildo of the Incas, and the land repartitioning discussed in Chapter 1. It is also when he started to plan and produce his chronicle. He was a signatory in a set of four documents, dated of June 2nd, 3rd, 5th, and 7th in 1590 (the year of the first endorsement letter), respectively. The records discuss a contract between the Mercedarian Convent in Cuzco and Francisco de Burgos. The contract allowed Burgos and his family to live and work on the Mercedarians' land and property in Curahuasi near Guaynarima and Paccha.²⁷⁸ Five years later, on November 7, 1595, Murua served as *procurador* (legal representative) on behalf of the Mercedarian Order during a testimony in Curahuasi to the visitor and judge, Francisco Aldrete Maldonado. The testimony was part of the 1595 survey and repartitioning of native land discussed in Chapter 1. Murua attested that, "The said convent [Mercedarian] has had this land for more than 20 years."²⁷⁹ The 1595 document lists wide swaths of land taken from native Andeans, such as Cocharan, Guainarima, Ochupata and Paccha. Only a month earlier on September 16 and 28 and October 7, 1595 notarial records from Cuzco include Murua as a signatory.²⁸⁰ All three documents granted authority to particular friars to represent the Mercedarian house in Cuzco. Interestingly, the October 7 document appointed fray Joan de Ribas as *procurador*, stating that there is no other *procurador* to handle their economic affairs.²⁸¹ However, we know that Murua served as *procurador* for the Mercedarians a month later in Curahuasi. This suggests that his departure from Cuzco prompted the need for another *procurador*. By his own description of the

²⁷⁸ ARC. Andres Sánchez. Prot. 35, 1571-93, 2 June 1590, ff. 749-755v; *Ibid.*, 3 June 1590, ff. 750-50v; *Ibid.*, 5 June 1590, ff. 750v-751v; *Ibid.*, 7 June 1590, ff. 751-755v.

²⁷⁹ "Fray Martín de Murúa Procurador del Convento de la Merced del Cuzco, pide se le ampare al Convento en la posesión de la Estancia de Juan de Alcobasa y de las tierras Cocharay, Cocharan y otras." AMC. Curahuasi, Cuad. 7. 7 November 1595. Reproduced in Victor Barriga, *Mercedarios en el Perú*, 352-353.

²⁸⁰ ARC. Joan de Olave. Prot. 7, 1595, 16 September 1595, ff. 657-65; *Ibid.*, 28 September 1595, ff. 713-715v; and *Ibid.*, 7 October 1595, 721v-723v.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 722v.

famous volcano eruption and a notarial record, Murua spent time in Arequipa circa 1600.²⁸² Fray Martín returned to Cuzco at some point before July 31, 1603, when he acted as *procurador* in a dispute over a house and store in Cuzco that the Mercedarians had rented to Francisco Cano. While undated, we know from the inventory of his belongings taken in Escoriatza, that the *provisor* or diocese judge in Cuzco commissioned Murua to investigate witchcraft.²⁸³ These documents offer a glimpse into Murua's participation in the Mercedarians' social, economic, and political activities and networks in the Cuzco area between 1588 and 1603 that impinged on native land rights.²⁸⁴ He would have been aware of the formation of the Cabildo of Twenty-Four and the socio-cultural and historical significance of the *alferéz de los incas* and *mascapaycha* (so amply represented in his portraiture) to the perpetuation of the Inca heritage and prestige.

We know from the endorsement letters and clues in the Getty that between August 25, 1611 and December 17, 1614 friar Martín moved progressively south from Cuzco while he set the grounds for his return to his natal town, Eskoriatza. He travelled through Illabaya, Peru to La Paz (now Bolivia); he went southwest to La Plata or Sucre, Bolivia, in 1612; he continued southwest to Potosí in 1613 and then southeast to Tucumán, Córdoba, and Buenos Aires in 1614 – all the while working on the final, Getty manuscript version. During that period, he served as priest and *comendador* of a small pueblo outside the city of La Plata called Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora de Huata. Starting as early as February 13, 1610 until January 27, 1614 friar Martín organized a series of donations for Eskoriatza's Mercedarian Convent of Santa Ana for its endowment and the chapel's ornamentation. In 1612, more than a year before his return, he

²⁸² Murua signed a "*escritura de censo*" with Juan Aguirre and Agustina Velazco and Mercedarian friars Fr. Pedro de Arce comendador of Arequipa, Fr. Martín Blanco, Fr. Felipe de Santa Cruz, Fr. Gonzalo de Cerbera, Fr. Juan de Montoya, and Fr. Pedro de Ayala on November 26, 1599. Arch. Merced Arequipa. T. VI. fol. 486, cited by Barriga, *Mercedarios en el Perú*, v. 3, 377, footnote 1. By July 31, 1603 he had returned to Cuzco and served as *procurador*. Murua, *Historia del origen*, f. 137v; Ossio, Murúa's Two Manuscripts, 77.

²⁸³ EUA-AME, protocolo de Espilla de 1616, box 147, no 1. f. 196v; reproduced and transcribed by Aguinalgalde, *Un misterio resuelto*, 67.

²⁸⁴ Apparently, Cano had neglected to fix and maintain the property according to the agreement. The Mercedarians asserted the right to evict his family early. ARC. Joan de Olave, Prot. 253, 31 July 1603, ff. 563-v.

elected himself to be the principal priest of the convent and wrote that he intended to return. He also put his brother, Diego, in charge of his affairs in his absence.

By 1615 friar Martín joined the Armada in Buenos Aires captained by General Lope Diez de Aux y Armendariz towards Lisboa. According to a letter to Diego, Murua was still in Lisbon as of September 20, 1615; working to secure his return to Eskoriatza and more importantly the final steps towards publishing his chronicle. He died on December 6, 1615 from an illness, shortly after returning to his natal town. His death prompted two inventories of his belongings to be submitted to the Mercedarian Order, uncovered by historian Borja Aguinagalde (2017). By then he had submitted his chronicle to the Mercedarian and Crown's censorship office and secured the famous Flemish artist, Pieter Perret, who was serving as royal sculptor for the Crown in Madrid, to complete his chronicle's images (Aguinagalde 2017: 16-21). Included in his inventory of belongings taken upon his death are a contract and communication with the artist.²⁸⁵ Tragically, he never knew that the Spanish king authorized his chronicle for publication on May 26, 1616.

3.3 *Order of Our Lady of Mercy in Cuzco*

A tourist walking through the streets of central Cuzco today quickly notices the unique intermeshing between Inca and Hispanic architecture and urban planning. Early in the invasion religious orders took possession of seized property gifted from conquistadors, such as temples, residences, and enclosures. Dominicans appropriated the temple of Curicancha; the Jesuits built on the site of Amarucancha, a property of Huayna Capac; and the Franciscans occupied Tococacahi, what is today San Blas, until they moved into the Cassana, the former residence of Inca Huayna Capac in the center (Ramos 2015: 62-64). Not five minutes walking from the main plaza (Haucaypata or Aucaypata in Inca times) sits the Mercedarian Church and Convent. It is located on the edge Limpipata, just off the Cusipata, the Inca's great ceremonial plaza near the center (Hyslop 1990: 37; Bauer 2004: 111; Nair 2015: 181) and sat directly adjacent to the Hanan

²⁸⁵ EUA-AME, protocolo de Espilla de 1615, box 147, no 2, f. 54r: cited and transcribed by Aguinagalde, *Un misterio resuelto*, 64-65.

section of Inca Cuzco. In the colonial period the "wide and long" Cusipata held open air markets (Murua 2004 [1590]: 128r). Under Inca rule the plaza was divided by the Saphi River into two sacred spaces,²⁸⁶ the Cusipata on the west side of the Saphi River and Haucaypata on the east side. The prominent and central location of the Mercedarian Convent and Church signals the Order's early and integral role in the religious and cultural life of sixteenth-century Cuzco society.

The setting of Murua's engagement with Andean leaders occurred in a period of dynamic transformation of Cuzco's urban life. The arrival of the Spaniards did not spell the end of Andean heritage. The legacy and imprint of Andean communities and Inca rule, particularly in Cuzco, continued in customs, architecture, memory, kin affiliations, social status, and more. The location of Inca shrines, religious objects, and mummies of Inca rulers roughly coincided with the organization of the first five parishes, convents, and churches in Cuzco (Toledo 1986, I: 201-2), which allowed for a certain link to Inca socio-political and religious organization for natives (Bauer 2000; Julien 1998; Ramos 2010). The appropriation of space by Spaniards along the contours of the Inca ceremonial center and surrounding multi-ethnic occupation provided room for negotiation by Indigenous elites and commoners in an Andean reconceptualization of sacredness, space, and power in a colonial context (Ramos 2014; Mumford 2012).

However, just as importantly, a fundamental characterization of the Spanish colonial project in the Americas was the attempted appropriation and founding of a Hispanic urban life and ritual space (Farriss 1984: 160; MacCormack 2001). This objective was particularly poignant in Toledo's reduction efforts that relocated Andeans into grid-like cities following principles of ancient Roman *policía*.²⁸⁷ In Cuzco, the efforts by Spanish officials to establish cities and governance through its convents, shops, and residences along new street, plazas, and parishes dramatically

²⁸⁶ In the 1930s the Saphi river was covered. The river originally met with the Tullumayo river at Curicancha. David Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca* (Austin: University of Texas, 2004), 111.

²⁸⁷ *Policía* conceptually linked religion, municipal government, and urban design to promote a pre-conceived, grid-like plan on urban spaces. In the Americas, this was linked with *reducción* or the resettlement of native communities into Hispanic urban spaces. For more on *policía* in the Andes, see Mumford, *Vertical empire*; MacCormack, *On the wings of time*; among others.

disrupted and displaced its original inhabitants (Julien 1998: 93). Colonial parishes, convents, churches, colleges, hospitals, and confraternities that accompanied this reorganization provided services but functioned as institutions for social reform and order along Hispanic and Christian ideologies and practices (Ramos 2010: 89). In this process, the Mercedarian's early arrival to Cuzco allowed them to quickly claim ties to urban space and Indigenous elites and labor.

In 1539, friar Sebastian de Castañeda founded the first Mercedarian convent in Cuzco with a grant from the marqués Francisco de Pizarro. According to testimonials from 1564, the Mercedarians were the first religious order to establish a house and convent in Cuzco, with friar Sebastian initially serving as the only priest to natives.²⁸⁸ In 1559 the marqués de Cañete charged Polo de Ondegardo to establish five parishes, claiming that the 20,000 Indians living in the Cuzco region did not receive sufficient Christian instruction.²⁸⁹ The Parish of Belén was officially founded on February 26, 1560 and placed under the indoctrination of the Mercedarian Order (González Pujana 1982: 106). In 1561, the Audiencia de los Reyes noted in lawsuit documents that the Mercedarians had switched with the Franciscans and were put in charge of indoctrinating the Cayaucache (Cayocache) community.²⁹⁰ In 1572 Viceroy Toledo added the Parish of the Hospital de los Naturales and Parish of Santiago out of sections from the Parish of Belén and Parish of Santa Ana to better represent ethnic groups in each parish. Among other reasons, he sought to address some of the rivalries among kin groups (*ayllus* and *panacas*) in Hanan Cuzco and Hurin

²⁸⁸ AGI. "Información en el Cuzco, por Fr. Francisco de Obregón, Procurador de la Orden de la Merced, en que consta ser aquella Casa el primer Monasterio fundado en la Ciudad después de poblada, y los servicios hechos por sus religiosos." Leg. 314, June 1564, published in Barriga, *Mercedarios en el Perú*, vol. 1, 141-159. In notes 46 Barriga mentions Padre Sebastian de Castañeda's 1539 founding of Mercedarian House in Cuzco, citing AGI Leg. 11.

²⁸⁹ "Vivían libremente; con Los cuales no se puede tener cuenta para doctrinarlos sino fuese haciendoles iglesia en Los barrios donde viven, para que sepan adonde han de acudir para el dicho ejecta; e haciendose estas iglesias se podria dar orden en negocio que tanto importa a el bien de Los dichos naturales, que tienen ahí sus asientos, tratos e granjerías . . ." Diego Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias cronológicas de la gran ciudad del Cuzco*, (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, 1980), v. 1, 197-198. Cited by Catherine Julien, "La organización parroquial del Cuzco y la ciudad incaica," *Tawantinsuyu* 5 (1998): 82.

²⁹⁰ In 1560 the Franciscan and Mercedarians switched parishioners for easier access to the Church for parishioners. Arch. Gen. Ind. Justicia. Extracto del Pleito seguido en la Audiencia de los Reyes entre los Religiosos de S. Francisco, Sto. Domingo, Sn. Agustín y la Merced y el Obispo, Dean y Cabildo del Cuzco sobre doctrinas. Cuzco 21 August 1561. Leg. 403. Cited by Barriga, *Mercedarios en el Perú*, v. 2, 235-240; Julien, "La organización parroquial del Cuzco," 84.

Cuzco and issues of land possession caused by the 1559 relocation.²⁹¹ The Parish of Belén included the Cayaucache community on the Cuntisuyu *ceque* (conceptual and physical lines connecting sacred sites emanating from Cuzco's center), near the neighborhoods and archaeological sites of Coscapata and Coripata (Rowe 2003: 135-142).²⁹² Well after Murua was in Cuzco, a powerful earthquake in 1650 damaged the Mercedarian convent and church and ruined houses and water access in the parish. The damage was so significant that in 1666 the parish boundaries and church were moved to the south of Cuzco (Map 1).²⁹³



Map 1: Plan of parishes in Cuzco, 1876-1877. Reproduced from Wiener, (1880), p. 307. Out of copyright.

Nonetheless, even before the establishment of the parishes in 1559, the Mercedarian's early involvement in Cuzco allowed them to quickly establish contact with Indigenous inhabitants, including elites and *yanacona*. Tellingly, between 1559 to 1595 Indigenous testators preferred the

²⁹¹ According to Amado Gonzales, *El estandarte real y la mascapaycha*, 40-42, there was a lawsuit between Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco but no direct documentation has yet been found.

²⁹² The town of Cayaucache and the former site of the church appear to have been located approximately half a kilometer east of the modern church. Currently, there is a large archaeological site called Coripata. Bauer, *Sacred landscape of the Inca*, 125; Amado Gonzales, *El estandarte real y la mascapaycha*, 39-43; Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias cronológicas*, 198; Sarmiento de Gamboa, "Segunda parte de la historia general llamada índica," in *Geschichte des Inkareiches*, edited by Richard Pietschmann, v. 6, series 4, (Göttingen: Königlichen Gesellschaft, 1906), 35 [1572: Ch. 11]; Juan López de Velasco, *Geografía Y Descripción Universal De Las Indias Desde 1571 - 74*, (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1971), 479.

²⁹³ Bauer, *Sacred Cusco*, 125 cites AHD/Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarias: Leg. 19, c. 15, 1672-1675 and Rowe, pers. com. 1992.

La Merced's convent church as their burial site (Ramos 2010: 138). After 1560, native *alcaldes* of the Indigenous parishes served as a link to the Orders, particularly in making tribute payments (Julien 1998: 85). Inca elite who remained in Cuzco and allied with the Spanish chose the Mercedarians to educate their sons, such as don Diego Cayo Topa, son of Auqui Topa Inca and nephew of Huayna Capac (discussed in Chapter Two).

In addition to Inca elites, other non-Inca natives composed an important part of colonial Andean society and the interactions between natives and friars. In the case of the Mercedarians, a 1572 document records the extensive labor of *yanacona* in service of the Mercedarian Order in Cuzco. The *yanacona* came from the communities of Cayaucache, the site of the Belén Parish, and, in the first few decades of colonialization, the Cucutcalla community in the Parish of Santiago. In addition to the religious teachings, the Order solicited *yanacona* to build the Mercedarian Order's convent, houses, and churches and to manage their land for resources. This labor duty included everything from transporting stone pillars from Sacayshuaman to serve as the foundation for Mercedarian edifices to carrying and sculpting wood from Chinchaysuyu. In other words, the sacred walls that Murua inhabited were built by Indigenous people.

By 1585 and closer to Murua's tenure, the *ayllu* and *curaca* (native lords) in the Parish of Belén would have been fairly established. The parish was dominated by the *panaca* of Uscamayta, descendants of Inca Mayta Capac and in Hurin Cuzco (Julien 1998). According to Cobo the Uscamayta and Huhuayin *panacas* lived in Cayaucachi and its surrounding area during Inca rule. In 1560, Polo de Ondegardo named Juan Uscamayta *principal* of the Uscamayta and *alcalde* of the Parish of Belén (Segalini 2009: 109). In 1585 the *ayllus* and leaders included Sutic Chima with the *curaca* Pedro Uscamayta; Tarpuntay and Altamirano with *curaca* Joseph Guartito, and Wimpillay with *curaca* Christoval Roca. The native residents of Chima *Panaca*, descendants of Manco Capac, in Hurin Cuzco, and the *ayllu* and pueblo of Guimpallay were split between the

Parishes of Belén and San Sebastian.²⁹⁴ Throughout the late sixteenth century, don Luis Chalco Yupanqui's father, don Francisco Chalco Yupanqui, was a leader and advocate for the *ayllu* and community of Wimpillay and Callachaca but resided in the Parish of San Sebastián. Interestingly, none of the named Andean elite witnesses came from the Parish of Belén. This fact suggests that while Murua certainly had contact with the parishioners in Belén, additional networks and people connected him to Indigenous elites from other parishes.

3.4. *Mercedarians and Mestizos: The Example of Juan Caballero*

Another likely point of contact with Andean culture, language, and people for Murua came through Mercedarian mestizo friars and their relations to Andeans. In contrast to other religious orders such as the Jesuits and Dominicans, the Mercedarians retained a medieval approach to conversion rather than adopting humanistic concepts characteristic of the sixteenth century. This meant that like the Franciscans, they accepted baptism as an objective goal of conversion and were less demanding of their Indigenous converts. Trusting the power of conversion, they were the only religious order in Peru that actively pursued and accepted men of mixed racial descent, called mestizos in the language of the time, into their order throughout the sixteenth century (Hyland 2003: 136; 1998: 436).

Initially the Crown and Vatican were somewhat ambivalent toward mestizo friars, while recognizing their linguistic and cultural abilities to communicate effectively with Indigenous people. The First and Second Lima Council excluded Amerindians but made no reference to mestizos (Ibid.: 435). In 1571 and 1576 the combination of two papal bulls permitted American bishops to ordain mestizo men for priesthood who could demonstrate literacy by dispensing with

²⁹⁴ Amado Gonzales, *El estandarte real y la mascapaycha*, 50-51 provides a chart of all *ayllus* and *curacas* in the parishes during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. He uses information adapted from Miranda (1975 [1583]), pp. 176-212 and cited by Julien, *Organización parroquial del Cusco*, 86 and ARC. Mesa Anduesa Lorenzo. Prot. 175, 1650, fl. 760. "Don Martin Quispe topa Inga Alguacil Mayor de las 8 Parroquias ladino y Don Cristóbal carlos Inga Alcalde Mayor de las 8 parroquias como su fiador, como albaceas de Don Fernando Inga Alcalde mayor que fue de las 8 parroquias traspasan la capellania que fundo Don Fernando Inga." 4 June 1650. Unfortunately, I have not had the opportunity to review the document directly.

the question of illegitimacy.²⁹⁵ However, simultaneous resistance was also growing, in part to the relative ambiguity of the Crown and contradicting policies of *limpieza de sangre* or purity of blood that tied a person's moral and religious disposition to their parents (Durstun 2007: 80-91). Both Sebastián de Lartaún, Bishop of Cuzco, in 1577 and a royal *cédula* in 1578 prohibited the ordination of mestizo friars. The orders were widely ignored by bishops and archbishops in Cuzco, who appeared in favor of mestizo friars and their unique potential to communicate with Andeans. The legal campaigning and advocacy by mestizos influenced a favorable assessment of the matter by the Third Council of Lima in 1583, where they played a key role in translating Quechua for instructional purposes (Ibid.: 226-227). Nonetheless, by 1582 the Society of Jesuits unanimously voted to prohibit mestizo friars and in 1588 another royal decree again prohibited bishops from ordaining mestizos (Puente 2016b: 132-133; Hyland 2003: 184). However, by then the Mercedarian Order had fully absorbed and incorporated a number of mestizo friars.

The Mercedarian friar Juan Caballero exemplifies the mestizo friar and author. He was the son of an Andean woman and Iberian conquistador. The Mercedarian playwright and historian Tirso de Molina, praised friar Caballero's capability to reach native Andeans with his mastery of multiple Indigenous languages and the literary arts (1974: 211). In the same year that Pope Gregory XIII issued his bull, a notarial record shows that Juan Caballero was in the Mercedarian convent in Cuzco in October, 1576.²⁹⁶ Another record shows he died between 1590 and 1605 in the Cuzco region near Guamanga.²⁹⁷ He was present during the height of the Mercedarian's influence and appeal to Andean neophytes in Cuzco. These dates support the possibility that

²⁹⁵ More specifically, a bull from Pope Pío V in 1571 permitted the ordination of mestizo friars. In 1576 Pope Gregory XIII reiterated the Vatican's position with a bull that added the mestizo's demonstrated literacy.

²⁹⁶ Mercedarian friar Juan Caballero joined other Mercedarian friars in a notarial record concerning the order's real estate transactions in Cuzco. The record does not include Murua. ARC. Joan de Olave. Prot. 253. 1603. October 1576. f. 329-335v.

²⁹⁷ AGI. 74-5-29. *Memoria de los religiosos fallecidos en la Provincia de la Merced del Cusco desde 1590 hasta 1605 por Fr. Gabriel de Sotomayor, de los libros de Conventos y doctrinas*. Villa de Potosí, 10 February 1605, in Barriga, *Mercedarios en el Perú*, v. 3, 397-398. Tirso Molina, *Historia general de la Orden de Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes* v. 2 (Madrid: Provincia de la Merced de Castilla, 1974), 212. The document states that friar Caballero died in Guamanga before the publication of his chronicle.

Murua and Caballero overlapped in the Mercedarian convent in Cuzco and that Caballero's chronicle might have been an additional source for the Getty Murua (Hyland 2017: 6).

Much like his contemporary, Jesuit and mestizo friar Blas Valera (Hyland 2003), Caballero would have worked closely with Andeans. He very likely had contact with don Diego Cayo Topa, don Francisco Cayo Topa, and other leading natives in Cuzco who participated in negotiations and, ultimately, in the capture of Tupac Amaru. As discussed in the Chapter 3, don Diego Cayo Topa donated land to the Mercedarians in exchange for his son's education. John Hemming suggests that don Francisco Cayo Topa was likely an informant of Murua, given a number of mentions (2012 [1970]: 593). As the son of don Diego Cayo Topa, don Francisco would have had a strong connection with the Mercedarians having been educated by them. However, don Francisco was already dead by October 16, 1582, according to a sale of land by his wife, doña Juana Cusi, daughter of don Francisco Sayre Tupa and doña Maria Mama Oclo. Given the timeframe, it is more likely he would have been Caballero's source.²⁹⁸ Via Caballero's unpublished and lost text, he could have been one of the crucial sources for the incredibly detailed, "Indian" perspective on the resistance and incursion into Vilcabamba in the Getty Murua (Ibid.: 18). Caballero could also have been a source for the various Quechua poems in select Inca portraits and scenes added late in the production process of the Galvin Murua and produced by a mestizo or Spaniard proficient in Quechua (see Chapter 5).

According to the Mercedarian playwright and historian, Tirso de Molina, Caballero wrote an eloquent, poetry rich history of the Inca, written entirely or partially in Quechua. The manuscript likely made its way to the Council of the Indies as part of a package of memorials that friar Angulo sent to the Spanish king on the activities of the Mercedarian Order. In friar Angulo's letter, dated March 15, 1575, he described: "I sent a history of the origin of the Incas of this land and it is

²⁹⁸ ARC. Antonio Sánchez, Prot. 29, 1582-1583, 16 October 1582, f. 413v.

something of curiosity and different than what is there (in Spain)."²⁹⁹ Angulo might have been referring to Sarmiento and Toledo's recent chronicle. Tirso de Molina eventually gained access to the manuscript, prompting him to praise Caballero and his work. Sadly, Caballero died before he could secure publication of his chronicle.

Caballero's established role as a mestizo friar in the Mercedarian Order with extended connections to native Andeans in Cuzco, meant that he very likely could have served as an informant, textual source, and/or link to other Andeans, including Guaman Poma or the five witnesses when Murua arrived in the 1580s. The extended and unique description of the Inca negotiations and resistance in Vilcabamba and eventual capture of Tupac Amaru in the Getty Murua suggests in-depth knowledge with events, something Murua lacked but which Caballero would have had through his native sources and experiences. Perhaps Caballero's death in this period prompted Murua to substantially draw on a (second) unpublished manuscript of Caballero. Unfortunately, while records suggest an overlap between Murua and Caballero in the Mercedarian convent in Cuzco, we continue to lack concrete evidence of textual copying or collaboration.

Murua would have had various opportunities for contact with Andean people through his connection with the Mercedarians. These opportunities could have involved longstanding relationships with families of Inca descendants and the community of Cayaucache, where the Mercedarians were particularly active in their conversion efforts and the location of their parish. The Mercedarians' embrace of mestizo priests likely shaped Murua's access to Andean culture and people. Significantly, Indigenous peoples maintained a significant role and influence on the physical and cultural contours and memories of Cuzco and, even, the Mercedarian Order. The following section explores native and ecclesiastical colonial institutions and ceremonial contexts

²⁹⁹ "Suplico a V. M. haga ver los memoriales que juntamente van con esta que fuera lo que toca a la orden de nuestra señora de las mercedes ynbio el origen de los yncas desta tierra y es con alguna curiosidad y en algo diferente del que alla ay asi mismo va el orden que podría aver para aver mas doctrina y mejor haziendo cassas de religion de mugers en las prouincias de los naturales y lo que mas fuere apuntado lo reciba V. M. con el animo que lo he procurado." AGI Leg 270. Los reyes. 14 March 1575. "Carta de Fray Diego Angulo, a S. M.; pide no sea despojada su Orden de la merced que tiene hecha de los bienes mostrencos y dice envía una relación sobre el origen de los Incas in Barriga, *Mercedarios en el Perú*, 343-345. Constantino Bayle suggested this reference could have been the copy of Murua's earlier manuscript version that the Loyola copy was based on. However, we can now definitely say this was not the case. Bayle, "Introduction."

beyond the Mercedarian Order that could have fostered contact between friars like Murua and Indigenous elites.

4. Inca, Jesuits, and Confraternities

4.1 *Indigenous confraternities*

Native confraternities were an important, defining feature of Cuzco colonial society that forged relations between religious actors and native elites. A confraternity is a hierarchical brotherhood of religious association housed in a particular convent or church and organized around the worship of a particular devotion, such as a shrine, relic, or religious image.³⁰⁰ A confraternity of native parishioners in Cuzco was organized by "parish jurisdiction, profession, socioeconomic level or ethnic origin" (Ramos 2010: 110). Descendants of Inca rulers and *caciques* often became founders and sponsors and were members of multiple confraternities, providing them access and special privileges to various burial sites in chapels (Ibid.: 111-113). Like the organizing principles of the Inca council to elect the *alférez real de los incas*, confraternity leadership ideally consisted of a council of twenty-four who, with guidance from a priest, decided on the activities, leadership, and assets of the brotherhood. In addition to the *veintecuatro*, the hereditary leadership of the *mayordomo* and founder carried particular social prestige (Ibid: 172; Puente 2016: 135).

The activities of confraternities involved a broad network of social interaction founded on mutual assistance and often went beyond the association itself (Garland 1994: 223). This included providing donations and support to native inhabitants at crucial junctures, particularly the sick, in church-sponsored hospitals and families of dying individuals and subsequent funerary expenses and prayer offerings for salvation. The confraternity was also heavily involved in organizing and sponsoring public celebrations and decorating shrines (Ramos 2010: 110-113).

³⁰⁰ For example, in Cuzco, the Franciscans housed the Cult of our Lady of Candelaria and of the Immaculate Conception, the Dominicans founded the confraternity for our Lady of the Rosary, and the Augustinians sponsored Our Lady of Grace. Gabriela Ramos, *Death and conversion*, 112. Mercedarian confraternities remain undetermined.

Comprehensively, the activities, membership, and offices offered their own social, economic, and political distinction and opportunity for advancement by Indigenous elites and commoners (Varón 1982). Moreover, confraternities helped reclaim family and community bonds that had been compromised through the colonization process (Celestino and Meyers 1981; Charney 1989).

Gabriela Ramos (2014: 70) observes that religious orders and secular priests were crucial touchpoints in supporting and guiding confraternities and the community that developed within them. Confraternities' organization and function suggest that during the colonial period indoctrination of the native elite by religious orders was at times complex, if not chaotic, as friars competed for influence. Ramos argues that this dynamism created openings for Andean elites to negotiate and strategically consider the advantages of establishing friendly ties with religious orders, especially the Jesuits in the late sixteenth century. As such, given the role confraternities played in cultivating community and social prestige in native colonial Cuzco society, we can confidently assume Murua's Andean endorsers participated in various confraternities sponsored by the Orders. Multiple membership meant confraternities housed at the Mercedarian Church created a venue for Murua to meet and engage with his Andean endorsers.

4.2 *A Jesuit confraternity*

The Society of Jesus (Jesuits), who arrived in the Andes in 1566, made a significant impact on Cuzco's religious and cultural life in late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They were particularly involved in servicing the poor through orphanages, confraternities, and other pastoral services.³⁰¹ Through their activities, they were uniquely successful in building relationships with Inca elites, believing that through their leaders the masses would follow. The Jesuit Order exemplified the new type of religious order born out of the ethos of the Counter-Reformation and Catholic reform. They focused on evangelization based on humanist education and discipline.³⁰²

³⁰¹ In 1541 Loyola founded the first confraternity in Rome to establish two orphanages for boys and girls, respectively. This model of the serving the poor soon expanded to other cities and included halfway houses for courtesans and prostitutes. Other orders soon followed their example.

Their accommodationist practices accepted local customs and sought a "soft" conversion that adapted and acculturated to local cultures, languages, religious practices, and a new social system. However, in contrast to Asia, the far more expansive, centralized, and powerful Spanish colonial and military rule that linked Christianity and hispanization in the Andes reduced the need for extreme accommodationist approaches. Nonetheless, degrees of accommodation and "indianization of Christianity" did occur, represented in the multiplicity and diversity of "Christianity" as it "naturalized" and indianized (Mills 1997: 504-535).

A manuscript written by an anonymous chronicler, likely a Jesuit, from 1600 provides a unique description of native religious activity via the confraternity of *Nuestro Jesus* sponsored by the Jesuit friars in Cuzco. The record offers a useful view into the cultural and religious atmosphere in which Murua would have been involved. Written in the tradition of Cristóbal de Molina, González Holguín, Garcilaso de la Vega, and others, it relates a positive account of Inca descendants and associations between Andean beliefs and Christian concepts. Friars taught in schools, parishes, houses, and public plazas; they conducted weekly Wednesday talks, sermons every Friday and Sunday, and daily mass in Church; and they supported processions and services in the native hospital (1968: 18-19). Indigenous inhabitants helped build the Jesuit church, convent, and college located on Amarucancha, formerly the property of the Inca ruler, Huayna Capac (16, 31). Our Named Jesus was founded most likely in the late 1570s by Diego Cucho, "*un yndio rico y muy virtuoso*", and under the principal charge of friar Gregorio de Cisneros. By 1600 the brotherhood's membership reached 150 native parishioners. Iberian and mestizo friars, including friar Blas Valera, played consequential roles in reaching Andeans through expert native language communication (until 1582, when Jesuits forbade mestizo priests to

³⁰² The young Basque nobleman, Ignacio de Loyola, officially founded the Society of Jesus in 1540. With its administrative center in Rome, the Order quickly grew into a dominant global enterprise. The Order grew rapidly under Loyola's guidance. By the time of his death there were about 1000 members divided into twelve provinces, or administrative units. Remarkably, by 1565 the members already numbered 3,500 and by 1615, they had jumped to 13,000. While the province of Portugal was initially the most prosperous, with the support of King John II and expansion into Brazil, Spain and Italy quickly followed. John O'Malley, "The Society of Jesus," in *A Companion to the Reformation World*, edited by R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 223-224.

serve).³⁰³ Similarly, we can imagine Murua interacted with Inca elites through the activities of the confraternity housed in the Mercedarian Church.

Invoking similarities to the *alferéz real de los incas*, the Anonymous Jesuit describes the distinguished role of the *veintecuatro* and their social prestige in native colonial Cuzco society. The church chapel was used for council meetings and to elect the mayordomos, officials, and *veintecuatros* as "the most exemplary and virtuous"; to receive daily mass from the friar in charge of them, and to sing every Saturday. Every Friday the members provided services and alms to the sick and poor. In other words, the Anonymous Jesuit recounts a vibrant confraternity under Indigenous elite leadership that fostered Cuzco's atmosphere of cultural and religious expression.

The author particularly praises the ceremonial aesthetics and activities of the confraternity and devotees during Christian festivals. Echoing the symbolic honor found in serving as a member of the Inca Cabildo and the wearing of the royal fringe, Indigenous elites performed and maintained their prestige as a member of the confraternity and their ceremonial and performative activities. In keeping with the Jesuit pastoral support of music and spectacle, the author admiringly described the confraternity's role in providing singers and musicians. The three to four festivals and processions of devotion included more than 500 people in addition to the members and the *veintecuatro*. Andeans came dressed in fine Andean textiles, "with white shirts and colorful *acollas* or blankets, some of deep red and others of crimson apricot; and the women with *llicllas* and *yacsas* that are blankets and skirts of the same color . . . There is always a principal Inca, richly dressed, and the standard banner that he carries in his hand principally made of apricot colored silk, with the insignia of the confraternity." After the principal Inca, native leaders of the confraternity carried the young Jesus in a litter from inside the church into the plaza for display

³⁰³ In addition, the Anonymous Jesuit mentions that Cristobal Ortiz, Juan de Montoya, and many others also played an important role in fostering the confraternity. Anonymous Jesuit, "Relación de las costumbres antiguas," in *Crónicas peruanas de interés indígena*, edited by Francisco Esteve Barba, (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 209. Madrid: Ediciones Atlas), 38.

and devotion with the music of "hornpipes, trumpets, and flutes."³⁰⁴ The Anonymous Jesuit provides crucial insight into the dynamic and sustained engagement between religious friars and Indigenous elites in the cultural life of colonial Cuzco.

On February 1, 1601 don Chalco Yupanqui joined his father and the other heads of the royal *ayllus* of the eleven Inca rulers in a memorial that exemplified their deepening relationship with the Jesuits.³⁰⁵ Poignantly and uniquely for colonial Andean records, the memorial's introduction closed with Quechua words.³⁰⁶ The memorial praised the Jesuits for their Christian evangelization efforts in the Americas, and particularly those of rector Diego de Torres in the Andes. After listing various grievances about the treatment of native Andeans by Spanish miners and officials, the Inca descendants requested the founding of a Jesuit college for their sons. While other Orders also participated in education, the Society of Jesus was particularly committed to the promulgation of education and schools as a "civilizing" force. As such, with their growing reputation in Europe,³⁰⁷ on September 22, 1603 the crown in Valladolid granted them permission to establish a school for the sons of Andean leaders in Cuzco.

³⁰⁴ "Y de los que de mas edificacion han sido en als cosas sobredichas, sacan loi beintiquatros que en esta cofradia son ciento y cinquetna poco mas o menos y estos en sus processiones y fiestas van con cirios encendidosc con armas del nuestro jesus y ban vestidos los yndios con camisetas blancas y acollas o mantas colaradas unso de grana y otros de demasco carmesi; y las yndias con lliuillas y yacsas que son sus mantas y sayas o vasquiñas de las mesmas colores. serán los cofrades y beintiquatros entre hombres y mugeres más de quinientas personas. es cosa de mucha edificación y mucho de ver lo que luze y canpea esta cofradia el dia y octaua de corpus xpi y los dias de sus fiestas y jubileos que son 3 o 4 en el año en los quales hazen por la plaça procesión publica con sus cantores y ministriles tocando, y como la gente es tanta y tan lucida y la cera tambien, que tiene esta cofradia en mucha abundancia, no puede dejar de ser la cosa de mas lustre que ay en esta ciudad. va adelante el prioste que siempre es un ynga principal, ricamente vestido, y el pendón que lleua en la mano primaemnte labrado de damasco carmesi, con las ynsignias de la cofradia. todo el pendón va lleno de vedrieras y cristales puestos en encajes muy galanes, y la lança o vara es de plata, y de lo mismo las dos maças ricas que van al lado, y despues van las andas del Niño Jesus de mucha labor, precio y estima. lleuanlas en los onbros yndios principales muy bien adereçados con las libreas dichas. vale lo que tiene la cofradia en orlos, chirimías, tronpetas y flautas, cera y otras cosas de estima doze mill ducados poco mas o menos." Anonymous Jesuit, "Relación de las costumbres antiguas," 37-38.

³⁰⁵ AGI. Patronato, 191, R. 21, 1 February 1601, ff. 1-v. Transcript from Amado Gonzales, *Estandarte*, 276-279.

³⁰⁶ "Cusco primero de febrero de 1601 años chunca chunca muchai coscaiqui; Capac Apo surcar hariqui yanaiqui chaquiqui maquiqui muchaicuquiqui, yngacona nietos de Guayna Capac/, Don Alonso Topa Atao Ynga/, Don Fernando Puma Capi Ynga / Capac Yupanqui/, Don Pedro Mayon Tupa Ynga/, Maita Capac Ynga/, Don Francisco Guaritito/, Manco Capac Ynga/, Don Sebastián Copca Maita Inca/, Sincheroca Inga/, Francisco Curu Yupanqui Inca/. Nietos de Biracocha Ynga/, Don Luis Chalco Yupanqui Inga/, Don Alonso Puzco Inca segunda persona/, Don Francisco Challcu Iopanqui Ynga/, Incaroca/, Don Benito Tupa Yupanqui Inca nieto de Haueraura/, Don Xpoyal Cuti Manco. Esas son los nietos de los honse Yngas Señores naturales que fueron en este Reyno del Piru." *Ibid.*: 277 (f. 1).

³⁰⁷ The Jesuits highly successful humanist method through education meant they not only significantly contributed to the cultural landscape of communities but wielded a very powerful tool for evangelization across cultures and languages. The numbers exploded: in 1579, there were 144 colleges; in 1626, there were 444 colleges, with 10 seminaries and schools; in 1749, there were 669 colleges plus 176 seminaries and schools. By 1773, they had founded more than 800 schools throughout the Catholic world. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 32.

From the onset of Spanish colonial rule, education of Amerindians was overseen by friars and religious orders and intentionally linked with evangelizing and hispanizing efforts (Amado Gonzales 2017: 279). As with don Diego Cayo Topa's request in 1549 to the Mercedarians, Andeans quickly understood that the education of young male elites, particularly in writing and literacy, was intertwined with conversion to Christianity. Indeed, until 1568 the Crown had little idea how to foster sustained evangelization efforts except through literacy and catechism training (Lissón-Chavez Ed. 1944: II/8: 452, cited by Estenssoro Fuchs 2003: 180). By March, 1571 Toledo explicitly stated that Christian education and literacy training of young male Andeans was entwined with efforts to reorganize and reform Andean society according to the Iberian Christian social order.³⁰⁸ In many ways, don Luis Chalco Yupanqui was a preeminent example of this complex process. He was likely placed under the tutelage of a religious order, given his literacy, conversion to Christianity, and his father's prominent role as a native leader.

4.3 *Beatification of San Ygnacio de Loyola*

Unsurprisingly, on June 26, 1610 don Chalco Yupanqui again joined other heads of the eleven Inca descendant kin groups to present before Cuzco's city council a petition for the annual celebration of the beatification of San Ygnacio de Loyola, founder of the Society of the Jesuits.³⁰⁹ The petition was composed on June 10, 1610 in Quechua by male Inca descendants and translated on June 14, 1610 for the Spanish record. The petition followed the first successful beatification celebrations of San Ygnacio de Loyola in May, 1610. Thankfully, an anonymous author in 1610 described the indigenous contribution to the celebrations, which was published in

³⁰⁸ "Carta del virrey don Francisco de Toledo a S.M. acerca del gobierno espiritual de las provincias del Perú", Cuzco, 25 March 1571, in Levillier Ed. 1921: III: 490-523, cited by Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad*, 180-181.

³⁰⁹ The complete list of names include: Don Alonso Topa Atao Ynga grandson of Guayna Cava, don Francisco Pilleo Topa grandson of Topa Ynga Iupangui, don Juan Tito Yupangui grandson of Pachacuti ynga, don Pedro Rimachi of Pachacuti Ynga, don Luis Chalco Yupangui Ynga grandson of Viracocha Ynga, don Francisco Píleo Topa Capac Aillo, don Francisco Curu Iupangui, Don Martín Rimachi Maita grandson Capac Ynga Yupangui, Don Agustín Quispi Mayta of Mayta Capac Ynga, Don Diego Tecso Topa of Capac Yoque Yupangui, don Luis Cusirimachi, don Sebastián Chua Cama, don Marcos Auqui Maita with all of Hatun Cuzcos. ARC. Libro de Cabildo núm. 9, Becerro núm. 3-6, 1610-1612, 26 June 1610, ff. 1-v.

Lima.³¹⁰ The record shares striking similarities with the indigenous performances described by the Anonymous Jesuit in 1600 and the atmosphere of Christian Andean celebration in Cuzco.

Scholars have noted that the festivities in honor of the beatification of San Ignacio de Loyola were remarkable performances of Inca heritage, memory, and prestige.³¹¹ Particularly, the elaborate month-long celebration included multiple processions from each native parish and their confraternities that streamed daily into the center of Cuzco. On the first Monday, May 3rd, the Parish of Belén, which was administered by the Mercedarian Order, presented: "The procession of all the gallant Incas, grandsons, and descendants of Hatun Cuzco, received in the Company (Jesuits) with ringing bells and music."³¹² On the following Wednesday, in the procession of the Parish of the Hospital de los Naturales, Andeans entered the central plaza and sang a song from the period of Huayna Capac dedicated to Christ. The confraternity of Jesus received the procession by displaying the devotion of Baby Jesus dressed in fine Inca clothing.³¹³ The procession from the parish of Santa Ana on Sunday included a demonstration of military force by the Cañari, discussed in Chapter Two, Section Five. In addition to local demonstrations by parishes, non-Inca natives reenacted battle scenes of their remembered contribution to Inca conquests. This included vanquishing the Cañari under Huayna Capac's command and, subsequently, the Cañari conquest of the Canas of Anacona for the Inca. Symbolically, the prisoners and booty of the Inca conquest were then offered to the *corregidor* (administrative judge) as a show of submission to the crown's authority.

³¹⁰ The record on the native processions has been attributed to Francisco de Avila. Cummins, "La fábula y el retrato," 38, footnote 49.

³¹¹ For more discussion on the festival: *Ibid.*: 38; Romero, *Tincunakuspa*, 447-454; Amado Gonzales, *El estandarte real y la mascapaycha*, 68, 125-134; Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 252; and Estenssoro Fuchs, *Paganismo a la santidad*, 308. Also discussed in Chapter 2, section 5.

³¹² "Ilustrando la procesion todos los Ingas della nietos y descendientes de los Atun (Hatun) Cuzcos muy galanes, recibiose en la Compañía con repiques de campanas y musica." Romero, *Tincunakuspa*, 448.

³¹³ "Entró el Miércoles la Parrochia del Hospital, de los naturales con grande estruendo de danzas y musica y haciendo un regozijo que se vsaua en tiempos del Inga Huaynacapac, mudado a lo diuino en loor del Sancto, - esta precesion reciuió la cofradia de Jesus, que esta en la Compañía sacando su niño Jesus en habito de Inga, uiuamente aderezado, y con muchas luces." *Ibid.*

Another performance "that gave the most pleasure to the Spaniards" (44) was the procession of Indigenous leaders representing the eleven Inca rulers. Dressed in the finest Inca textile clothing and paraphernalia, they passed by the *corregidor* carried on litters by their closest descendants. The procession of leaders most likely included Chalco Yupanqui (Amado Gonzales 2017: 184). As they passed by the *corregidor* they raised their insignia and bowed their heads in a sign of submission, and the Spaniards took off their hats in acknowledgment. Don Alonso Topa Atauchi, uncle of Melchior Inca, who was then already in the Spanish Court, led the procession of Inca Kings and representatives. He was the most elite living descendant of Inca Huayna Capac who had remained loyal to the Spaniards. He was adorned in the finest textile and royal paraphernalia that included the *mascapaycha*. The procession of Inca rulers began with Manco Capac and ended with Huayna Capac. The performance included the reenactment of the defeat of the Cañari and the origin story to the naming of Yahuarcocha - a lake of blood named in memory of the great number of dead. Getty Murua includes the same story on Huayna Capac's life (f. 72r).

The sanctioned nature of the Indigenous ceremonies exemplifies the complex process of engagement between Andean elites and Iberians in the early colonial Cuzco. There is undeniable evidence of Andean social memory embodied and remembered through the processions of the Inca king and his descendants; the curated displays of Inca power through fine textiles and elite objects;³¹⁴ and the dramatic reenactments, music, and song of past events and stories. At the same time, the syncretic display of Inca and Iberian culture firmly positioned the Christian God and Church as the basis of Inca legitimacy and political power. This dynamic is exemplified by the parade of Baby Jesus adorned in Inca attire, who faithfuls brought out to greet the singing Inca descendants of Huayna Capac from the Parish of the Hospital de los Naturales. Displays of power and prestige were consistently framed within submission and acculturation to Iberian officials and Church and state power. The processions by parishes, with distinct performances

³¹⁴ See Gabriela Ramos, "Los Símbolos de Poder Inca Durante el Virreinato," in *La descendencia real y el renacimiento inca* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005), 44-60.

from ethnic and social groups, underscored the dynamic of domination and negotiation of Andean kinship and memory within the Christian, hispanized social order. Like the Inca legal campaigns and the wearing of the *mascapaycha* by the *alférez real de los incas* from this period, religious performances and paintings offered strategic venues for Andean elites to assert their social privileges. Significantly, this phase of colonization in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries contrasts with earlier phases, when displays of Inca power were considered more threatening to evangelization and colonization efforts (Estenssoro Fuchs 2003: 308-310).

5. Context for evangelization and cultural production

Historian Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs has defined the shift in attitude between the *primera evangelization* (first evangelization), whose height was in the 1550s and 1560s, and the reform period in the 1570s and 1580s. Responding to the Counter-Reformation, the policies of the Council of Trent (1545-63) brought significant changes to evangelizing practices in the Andes. The earlier period can be characterized by more flexible pastoral practices and less formal catechesis, very limited sacraments other than baptism, and greater openness to native cultural practices and terminology. In the reform period, Viceroy Toledo made significant attempts to unify the diversified Church and its many competing forces. However, after his term that the influential Jesuits and archbishop developed a set of universal and centralized principles, guidelines, and strategies to guide priests in their efforts to both promulgate Christianity and eradicate idolatry (Estenssoro Fuchs 2003: 27, 245-247). The Council promoted a new approach towards Amerindians that relied on dialogue rather than memorization.

In the same atmosphere as the 1600 and 1610 performances, Guaman Poma and Murua collaborated and produced their works after the Third Council of Lima (1581-83). Similarly, pastoral Quechua texts and translations, didactic theater and representational images would have been a common and accepted form for reaching native Andeans in the evangelization process by Iberian ecclesiastics. The first three Provincial Lima Councils (1551-1552; 1567-1568; 1581-

1583) produced and disseminated material to support Native American language use in religious contexts. However, only the Third Council actively promoted the use of Southern Peruvian Quechua use as the *lingua general* at the expense of other Andean languages, leading to the intentional homogenization and normalization of native languages in Church materials (Mannheim 1991: 2; Durston 2007: 37-48). The initiative led to the production of many Quechua-language texts, including poetry, dictionaries, and pastoral texts (Estenssoro Fuchs 2003: 246-266; Adelaar and Muysken 2004; Albó 1993: 81-83; Mannheim 1991; Cerrón-Palomino 1987). The Third Council's fraught religious and linguistic relationship between traditional Andean beliefs and Spanish Christianity produced, perhaps paradoxically, increased cultural sensitivity by its author-translators³¹⁵ that created more nuanced efforts to Christianize or discredit Andean concepts and traditions (Durston 2007: 307). Similarly, the production and circulation of didactic, religious engravings, murals and other imagery contextualized Christianity into an Andean setting (Fernández-Salvador 2022; Peña Núñez 2018; Estenssoro Fuchs 2003). Murua and Guaman Poma compiled their chronicles in this experimental, albeit constricted, atmosphere of accommodation between Christian and Andean religious concepts and institutions.

As part of this new evangelization approach, the Third Council of Lima also insisted that friars learn, teach, and preach in native languages. However, instruction was far from uniform. A Quechua Chair was established at the University in Lima, which was meant to oversee all instruction and testing. Competition between the secular church and religious orders, including language instruction, meant that many mendicant orders, such as the Mercedarians, continued their own language instructions for their members (Durston 2007: 115-122). As a member of a mendicant order, Murua would have received his initial Quechua instruction through the

³¹⁵ The term "author-translator" comes from Alan Durston's study of pastoral Quechua, which understands the translator as embedded within prevailing social norms and participating in the establishment of relationships between languages, cultures, and peoples, which are often hierarchical. Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 1-16.

Mercedarians, possibly in Lima and Cuzco. However, this did not guarantee his proficiency. Friars often experienced spotty instructional and testing oversight that relied on learning in the field.

A close study of the Murua manuscripts reveals an attitude informed by the experimental and constricted atmosphere of accommodation between Christian and Andean religious concepts and institutions in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as examined in Chapter 3. Alan Durston defines the height of pastoral Quechua texts and translation of basic Christian terms and prayer as the "postcouncil" period roughly between 1590 and 1650 (15, 137-146), which included author-translators such as Luis Jeronimo de Oré, Juan Pérez Bocanegra, Jesuit Diego González Holguín and others. From 1585 to 1610, a growing confidence in the new approach supported greater accommodation to Indigenous culture and a belief that the power of beauty could convert Amerindians (Ibid.: 308, 270). Murua's extensive copying from a variety of pre- and post-Council texts and his creative inclusion of Quechua poetry and labels suggests his familiarity with pastoral Quechua and Spanish American chronicle trends of this period.

The particularly syncretic and innovative cultural expression of Inca tradition, dress, and memory in the festivals also helps to explain what is depicted in the Murua manuscripts. The description of finely dressed Indigenous leaders clearly evokes the sumptuous attire of the Inca personages in the images of Murua's manuscripts. The very public and celebrated atmosphere of Inca and Spanish dress and customs in ceremonial activities were a probable source of inspiration and exposure for Murua and his other artists and collaborators. Even though he would not have specifically witnessed the 1610 Beatification celebration (likely the celebrations described by the Anonymous Jesuit), processions of Inca rulers in state and religious ceremonial processions were a common affair in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. While we currently lack Mercedarian accounts of their activities with native inhabitants through their confraternities, the extensive interactions described by the Anonymous Jesuits hint at Murua's possible encounters while in Cuzco. The friar's prolonged stays in the former Inca capital from at least 1583-1599 and

again in 1603 would have enabled him to participate in religious, social, and cultural events involving Indigenous elites and friars in the city, in addition to elsewhere in the Andes.

6. Conclusion

Unfortunately, Murua does not appear in documents associated with the above-mentioned institutions and activities. But we know that native elites living in Cuzco interacted with religious figures within a realm of cultural and religious activities in the colonial period. To varying degrees, the dynamic conditions allowed Amerindians to strategically align with religious and state bodies and individuals. The dramatic rise in influence of the Jesuits with Inca elites and Cuzco culture did not preclude the continued relationships and involvement of other religious orders. Murua compiled the Galvin manuscript during a surge in displays of Inca power, memory, and prestige that were safely legitimated within the doctrines of the Christian Church. As such, the negotiated field of Andean social memory practices, catalyzed and maintained by Indigenous peoples and powerfully incorporated into Cuzco's late sixteenth-century society and culture, served as a crucial cultural background and impetus for Murua's visual and written history making project.

A fundamental question of my dissertation considers the process of history-making in a colonial context when accounting for the role and agency of Indigenous voices in the production and composition of the Murua manuscript. This chapter focused on Murua, a crucial protagonist, who organized and contributed to his illustrated chronicle project, and him as a cultural translator within a colonial contact zone. This project offered the Basque, Mercedarian outsider an opportunity to work closely with prominent Inca elites and the talented Guaman Poma. They collectively engaged in a transcultural dialogue in the unequal terrain of a colonial contact zone. The Mercedarian's early arrival and evangelizing methods supported unique possibilities for Murua, including the acceptance of mestizos. The Indigenous leaders with whom Murua worked had ample exposure to religious orders and state officials and select opportunities for negotiation and survival within them. Ongoing public ceremonial practices and previous chronicle projects

created a social network and cultural field of practice for transforming oral history into a literary form. A key historiographical vehicle for cultural translation and Indigenous engagement used by Murua comes alive in his discussion of the *kipus* and the elders who could decipher them.

CHAPTER FIVE

"History Without Writing":

Khipus and the Historiographical Discourse for Indigenous Engagement



Figure 50: Guaman Poma de Ayala. Inca, "Quipucamayta contador" in Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 76v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

To the Reader

I guarded the rigor of History according to divine Cicero's Orations in Book Two, which states that history is a witness of the eras, light of truth, life of memory, master of life, and messenger of the ancients. No one has thought to compile with the rigor of these requirements what I wanted to achieve. Because I have consulted with witnesses from both eras about what I have written, discussing [during] the many years that I have lived in these parts with the older Indians and [their] discourse, investigating their form of archives and repositories most forgotten and buried, which has shed potential light on the truth that is sought.⁶⁰

1. Introduction

According to Murua, his ambitious history project was possible because he had lived many years in the

Andes, which afforded him time to confer with the elders and their "archives and repositories most forgotten and buried" (2008 [1616]: f. 15r). He specifically emphasized the *khipu*'s crucial role in recording Inca oral memory and, significantly, equated their recording capacity with Iberian archival and literary practices. Moreover, the Murua manuscripts are often cited sources for chronicle material on Inca *khipus* and provide some of the few rare accounts of ecclesiastical

⁶⁰ "Con todo eso si sea de guardar el rigor de lo que quiere dezir historia, conforme la diffino zizeron en el libor 2º de sus Coraçones que dizo que la historia era testigo de los tiempos Luz de la Verdad, Vida de la memoria Maestra de la vida y correo de la antigüedad. Ninguno pienso que ha cumplido con todas estas condicionales con el rigor que yo he deseado cumplir, porque he conferido lo que escribo con los testigos de entrambos tiempos, comunicando en aquellas partes los muchos años que en ellas he vivido con los indios de mayor edad y discurso, y revolviendo su modo de archivos y depósitos más olvidados y sepultados con que se ha dado la luz posible a la verdad que se busca." Murua, *Historia General del Piru*, f. 15r. Translation by author.

kipus in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Emilio Mendizábal Losack (1963) and Juan Ossio (2004: 29-32) suggest that the Galvin Murua exhibits modes of presentation and convention that draw on the *kipu*, which would have come from his Indigenous sources.

However, numerous scholars have doubted the friar's access to *kipu* readers and the reliability of his information. Pierre Duviols (1979: 589) has suggested that the prevalent, if not exaggerated, reference by Iberian colonial authors to *kipus* and Andean elders was an effort to lend credibility and authority to their accounts. Other scholars have pointed out that Murua compiled his manuscript in the late sixteenth century when many of the native elders and *kipukamayocs* who were alive during Inca rule would have been dead and their *kipus* destroyed. Some think that Murua simply recycled what had been collected and written before, thus undermining the legitimacy of his manuscripts' history-making methods, model, and information (Barba 1964: 19; Álvarez-Calderón 1996: 68-73; Adorno 2000: 4). Ironically, Murua also lamented the *kipu*'s destruction and the resulting fragmentary remains of Inca oral history that he aspired to coalesce into a complete history (2008 [1616]: f. 246v). He promoted the *kipu* even as Andean adaptations complicated evangelizing and colonizing ambitions of Spanish officials and ecclesiastics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

This chapter examines Murua's broader historiographical discourse for Indigenous engagement through his representation of *kipus*. With the Murua manuscripts as a case study, the broader question of the chapter asks how did the encounter and interaction between sophisticated oral and literary recording practices inform colonial Andean historiographical discourse and production? Couched in a literary chronicle project, the evocation of the *kipu* as an accurate recorded source of Indigenous knowledge serves as a crucial analytical framework for interrogating Murua's historiographical discourse for Indigenous engagement and history making under colonial conditions. His ambivalent and conflicted views and experiences reveal a collision between idealized structures of knowledge and the heterogeneous process of everyday life.

The relationship presented between the *kipu*'s oral, tactile, and performative process and literary arts for recording memory in Murua's manuscripts offers a unique lens to consider the dynamic and dialogic process of change and transculturation in a colonial contact zone. The subsequent interrogation explores Murua, Guaman Poma, and Indigenous informants as conflicted actors in the colonial context and their own "epistemic uncertainties" described by Ann Stoler (2009: 1). Through an analysis of the multiple hands and voices in the visual and textual representation of the *kipu* in the Murua manuscripts and its pre-Hispanic and colonial context, I show how the *kipu* held multiple and conflicted truths and purposes for the history project. This section highlights the crucial influence and infusion of Andean record-keeping practices and voices into the Murua manuscripts and early colonial Andean historical framing and discourse.

2. Legitimizing the *kipu*

From the beginning, Murua portrayed the Inca *kipu* in idealized terms, as a medium for recording memory that was equivalent to Iberian literary arts and archives. For example, in the 1590 hidden text Murua explicitly called the *kipu* arts a "history without writing" (f. 6v). Later he writes, "They [Andeans] understand with the same capacity as we [do] in our language, [with] paper and ink."⁶¹ His letter to the reader in the Getty manuscript referenced the *kipu* as the Inca archive of memory that contained the "truth" about Inca history. Later, in the Getty chapter on the *kipus* he equated the Inca's historical *kipu* with Iberian literary and historical arts, while acknowledging its difference. "Even though the Inca and his Kingdom lacked the industrious art of knowing to read and write . . . the Inca and his Indians still had other mediums, although not as easily obvious and clear as books and writing, at least it was more industrious and subtle and hidden...this medium and writing to conserve their doings."⁶² Throughout his chronicle he likened

⁶¹ "Porque todo lo tenían puesto con mucho orden y concierto en sus *kipus* y cuerdas, por donde ellos se entendían con la facilidad que nosotros en nuestra lengua por nuestro papel y tinta." Murua, *Historia del origen*, f. 77r.

⁶² "Aunque al *ynga* y a sus Reinos les falto el arte tan *yndustriosa* de *sauer leer* y *escruir* medio tan famoso y combiniente para comunicarse las jentes de unas *prouinçias* a otras . . . y aun casos sucedidos de tantos millares de años, como tenemos sabemos y gozamos mediante las letras, todabia tubo el *ynga* y los *yndios* otro medio aunque no tan façil notorio y claro como el de los libros y

the *kipu* with archives, storages, registers, writing, accounting, and records of memory.⁶³ While he may have questioned the *kipu*'s accessibility and clarity, he never undermined the *kipu*'s recording ability. These examples did more than create a mutual equivalence; they validated an Inca recording practice that Murua used to legitimate his history project.

Fraudulently or not, his claimed interactions with *kipukamayuc*s gave him a supposed authority to write his Inca history for a Spanish audience as historian and cultural translator or "author-translator" between cultures and languages. He did so "in the form of divine Cicero," a truth sought and defined under European terms. Colonial chronicles strove to emulate Roman histories (MacCormack 2001: 332) and a linear chronological order of events often at odds with oral history practices (Salomon 1991; MacCormack 2007; Cañizares-Esguerra 2009: 248-259). Nonetheless, the Andean recording device provided the friar a legitimate source for his Europeanized Inca history. Of course, Murua was not alone in this approach to legitimate his history for a European audience. In the late sixteenth century, although a declining practice in the colonial archives, Spanish officials and ecclesiastics accepted and promoted certain historical, administrative, and ecclesiastical *kipus* and their experts. Murua could have engaged with the *kipu* in multiple forms and methods, supporting elements of his claims.

3. Background

Despite pre-Hispanic remains and colonial documentation, the *kipu* remains enigmatic. Most *kipu* artifacts are from the Inca period. Some scholars propose that the Inca's connection to Wari statecraft and imperial expansion is a possible link with the non-numeric Wari *kipu* tradition from five hundred to one thousand years earlier.⁶⁴ Through archaeological remains

escriptura, al menos fue mas yndustrioso y subtil y escondido. . . este medio y escriptura para conservacion de sus hechos." Murua, *Historia General del Perú*, f. 245v.

⁶³ *Kipu* mentions in the Galvin Murua include: ff. 6v (hidden), 79v, 128r, 57v, 66r, 72r, 74r, 75r, 76r, 77r-v, 92r, 104r, 115r, 119r, 122v, 124v, 125r, 127r, 131r, 138r. The Getty Murua mentions include: ff. 80v, 203v, 109v-210r, 225v, 233r, 235r, 245v, 248v, 261r, 269r, 271r, 349r, 357v, 367r, 371r.

⁶⁴ First suggested by John Rowe (1948), John Topic proposes that the centralized administration of the Chimú in the northern Andes probably acted like a stimulate for the Inca, with a big difference being that Inca governance was more decentralized, assisted by the

scholars have determined that the *kipu's* decimal-place value patterns, based on the forms and placements of the knots (Locke 1923; Ascher and Ascher 1981), provided a device to record tribute, labor obligations (Murra 1982: 239-262), and census data (Rostworowski 1999). Historians and anthropologists suggest that the degree of uniformity raises the possibility of a semiotic system able to record a range of statistical and narrative information (Pärssinen 1992: 31-50; Lienhard 1992b; Urton 1998; Quilter and Urton 2002; Beyersdorff 2005; Hyland 2017). The flexible system allowed the Inca to rely on local *curacas'* political authority to implement their idealized provincial authority for the management of labor and goods (Julien 1988). According to Susan Niles (1999: 5), *kipukamayucs* as experts in creating and reading *kipus* held privileged leadership and governance positions. The *kipu's* mobility supported Inca imperial ambitions to control networks of information over vast territories (Topic 2013: 45-47). According to a survey by Galen Brokaw (2010: 96), chroniclers also observed, "That in addition to maintaining pastoral statistics and registering tribute, the *kipu* recorded personal inventories,⁶⁵ census,⁶⁶ laws,⁶⁷ ritual sacrifices, religious geography,⁶⁸ calendrical data,⁶⁹ and perhaps...narrative histories."⁷⁰ Unfortunately, despite the apparent similarity in material features between the various types of

kipu's mobility. John Topic, "De 'audiencias' a archivos: hacia una comprensión del cambio en los sistemas de registro de la información en la Andes," in *El Quipu Colonial: Estudios y materiales*, Marco Curatola Petrocchi and José Carlos de la Puente Luna, eds., (Lima: Fondo Editorial PUCP, 2013), 44-47; Gordon McEwan, "The Wari Empire in the Southern Peruvian Highlands: A View from the Provinces," in *The Nature of Wari: A Reappraisal of the Middle Horizon Period in Peru*, edited by R. M. Czwarno, F. M. Meddens, and A. Morgan, (Oxford: B. A. R., 1989), 53-71; Katharina Schreiber, *Wari Imperialism in Middle Horizon Peru*, Anthropological Papers 87. Ann Arbor: Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, 1992.

⁶⁵ Damián de la Bandera, "Relación general de la disposición y calidad de la provincia de Guamanga, llamada San Joan de la Frontera, y de la vivienda y costumbres de los naturales della," In *Relaciones geográficas de Indias: Perú*, edited by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, I:176-80, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 183, (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1965 [1557]), 179.

⁶⁶ Cieza de León [1553] 1985: 74,77-78; Betanzos [1551] 1987: 56; Capoche [1585] 1959: 138; Acosta [1590] 1987: 409; Garcilaso de la Vega [1609] 1984: I, 112-113; II, 24; Murua [1611] 1987: 374.

⁶⁷ Porras [1582] 1904: 197; *Tercer Concilio Limense* [1583] 1990: 191; Garcilaso de la Vega [1609] 1984: I, 88, 112; 11, 27; Murua [1611] 1987: 377,407; Calancha 1638: 91.

⁶⁸ Molina [1570-1584] 1989: 122-123, 127-128; Anonymous (Huarochirí manuscript) [1608] 1991: 112, 142; Murua (1611) 1987: 442-443; Arriaga 1621: 88.

⁶⁹ Román y Zamora [1575] 1897: 11, 67-68; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara [c. 1596-1603] 1963: 251; Murua [1611] 1987: 372, 376.

⁷⁰ Collapiña [1542/1608] 1974; Polo de Ondegardo [1572] 1916-1917: 46, 91; Molina [1570-1584] 1989: 58; Santillán [1563] 1950: 43; Anonymous Jesuit [1580] 1968: 171, 173; Cabello Balboa [1586] 1951: 240; Acosta [1590] 1987: 124-125, 418; Román y Zamora [1575] 1897: 68; Anonymous [1600] 1944: 292; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara [c. 1596-1603] 1904: 548; Avalos y Figueroa [1602] 151; Garcilaso de la Vega [1609] 1985, I, 45, 67; II, 26; Murua [1611] 1987: 373; Vázquez de Espinoza [1630] 1992: 758; Calancha 1638: 91-92; Cobo [1639/1653] 1956: II, 83.

kipus, early native adaptations to *kipu* use under Spanish colonization and evangelization pressures created a certain ambivalence and unresolved confusion among Iberian chroniclers towards the *kipu*'s pre-Hispanic role and structure (Ibid.: 117).

Scholars have examined how interdependent oral, visual, performance, and tactile traditions served as essential vehicles for Andean remembrance (Salomon 1991; Lienhard 1993; Abercrombie 1998; Niles 1999; Dean 2010, 2006: 105-84). The *kipu* was no exception. In a textile-rich culture such as the Andes, the Inca *kipu* functioned as a highly sophisticated recording device that had a "visible, tactile, and emotive" form of embodied and performed knowledge that catalyzed memory through distinct material features (Howard-Malverde 2002: 47; Harrison 2002, 2013; Brokaw 2010: 17; Charles 2013). Curatola Petrocchi and Puente Luna (2013: 198-205) identified nine chronicles that mention the use of pebbles and grains of corn with accounting *kipus*, called a *yupana* (type abacus or table for counting, likely for detailed calculations) (Mackey and Altieri 1990; Assadourian 2002; Radicati de Primeglio 2006: 285-287). This includes the Galvin Murua, which describes, "*hacian unos cuentas por piedras y por nudos*" [they made certain accounts with pebbles and knots] (Murua 2004 [1590]: f. 77r). The ritual activation of "moving through" a performative reading of *kipus* supported the social practice of communities (Salomon 2004; Curatola Petrocchi and Puente Luna 2013: 216-224).

However, with the arrival of the Spaniards and their beliefs in the superiority of the written word to other forms of record keeping, the *kipu* arts were presented with unprecedented challenges to its authority and legitimacy even as it proved a useful keeper of Andean memory. *Khipu* studies generally describe a rapid decline in *kipu* use (Lara 1947: 50; Duviols 1971; Loza 1998). However, evidence also shows that *kipukamayocs* played an important role in the legal and administrative functioning of the nascent Spanish colonial state (Acosta Rodríguez 1979, 1987; Salomon and Spalding 2002; Charles 2013). Initially, the statistical or administrative *kipus* that had supported the Inca state adapted, accompanied, and provided much needed assistance to the Spanish colonial state's record-keeping efforts for Indigenous related activities such as

census-taking, tribute-counting, keeping track of goods, and more (Loza 1998; Salomon 2004: 110). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Andeans employed *kipus* to verify and legitimate their legal status of nobility. As a result, most references to the *kipus* come from legal interactions between colonial administrators and native communities and their *kipukamayuc*. For example, as early as 1542, Viceroy Vaca de Castro called on at least four official *kipukamayuc* to provide an official history of the Inca (*Relación de los Kipukamayuc*). Three decades later, Viceroy Toledo interviewed Indigenous elders on Inca governance and history during inspection tours, who themselves were likely *kipukamayuc* (Brokaw 2003: 138, 196; Murua 1590: 125r). In the 1570s, the cord media reached its most official colonial status when Viceroy Toledo acknowledged in various ordinances between 1569-1581 that when an alphabetically literate scribe was not present, a *kipukamayuc* could serve as a valid "scribal assistant" and the *kipu* as a valid form of record-keeping. The orders still gave precedence and authority to writing but recognized the *kipu* as an alternative form of documentation (Loza 1998: 156; Urton 1998: 430; 202: 8-10; Brokaw 2003; Burns 2005). Curatola Petrocchi and Puente Luna observe that *kipukamayuc* also often served in the Iberian leadership role of *caciques* and held the high title of "don" (2013: 210). Not by accident, Murua's Andean endorsers and Guaman Poma claimed these titles and offices, supporting Murua's possible connections to *kipukamayuc* and underscoring his Indigenous elite sources.

Unfortunately, the cultural gap between Andean and Spanish literacies eventually became insurmountable for *kipu* keepers. The disconnect grew with the increasing preeminence granted to alphabetic writing and the increased Hispanization and literacy of Andean *ladinos* alongside the undecipherable and commensurate nature of the *kipu* with European visual and graphic recording practices (Cummins 1994: 194-95; Burns 2010: 8; Topic 2013). Over the course of the sixteenth century, *kipus* became increasingly irrelevant in the legal and administrative sphere as more Andeans adopted Iberian legal and historical practices, and the bureaucratic center shifted towards the communicative practices of Seville and the Spanish court. As a result, *kipus* are less

present in the colonial archive and the maintenance of uniform Inca *kipus* declined. However, more locally idiosyncratic *kipu* practices continued to be maintained privately or within native communities in a parallel information system.⁷¹ Scholars have demonstrated through ethnographic studies that Andean cord media practices for record keeping and accounting persist to the present day (Mackey 1970; Salomon 2004; Hyland 2017; Salomon and Spalding 2002: 860). In other words, while Murua's encounters with *kipus* may not have been as robust as those of earlier Iberian observers, and were possibly more mediated by native adaptations to colonial conditions, evidence from the historical context and manuscripts supports an enduring degree of exposure and access to widely circulated knowledge of *kipus* in Cuzco.

4. Inca Khipu

In fact, Murua's narrative preoccupation with Inca *kipus* and their role in governance and customs reflects prevalent sixteenth-century concerns. For example, the Spanish King charged the viceroy Martín Enríquez, Toledo's successor, to complete an inquiry in Cuzco "about the customs they (Inca) had in Peru before the Spanish conquest concerning judicial, civil, and criminal administration."⁷² The investigation took place in March and April 1582, only a few months after the *probanza* into Inca privileges discussed in chapter one. The record included many of the same Spanish witnesses, such as Cristóbal de Molina.⁷³ The nineteen questions reviewed Inca universal laws, administration of justice, and the role of the *kipu* in their transmission and

⁷¹ Frank Salomon explains that the abundance of unpublished documents from Huarochirí attest that the "*Khipu* art did not disappear from political life early in the Spanish era as *kipus* studies usually affirm. Rather, cord media persisted in the interstices of colonial rule as a parallel information system providing data independence from colonial scribes." Salomon, *Cord keepers*, 109; Topic, "De 'audiencias' a archivos," 48-59.

⁷² "*Acerca de las costumbres que tenían los del Perú, antes de la conquista española, en la manera de administrar justicia civil y criminal.*" The king cited the Andean's skillful adaptation to Iberian litigation in the courts. They should continue their methods amongst themselves, and Spaniards needed to better understand their process. Martín Enríquez, "Información hecha en el Cuzco," in *Gobernantes del Perú, cartas y papeles, siglo XVI*, Roberto Levillier, ed., vol. 9, (Madrid: Juan Pueyo y Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1925 [1581]), 268. For an analysis of the inquiry, see Karen Spalding, "Quipu versus escritura: la burocracia incaica en el siglo XVI," in *El Quipu Colonial: Estudios y Materiales*, 65-76.

⁷³ The Spaniards each answered independently, while the indigenous witnesses answered as a group. They include García de Melo, Damián de la Bandera, Cristóbal de Molina, Alonso de Mesa, Bartolomé de Porras, doña Beatriz Miro *yndia*, don Francisco Cocamayta from Hurin Cuzco, and don Francisco Quiquia from Hanan Cuzco.

recording.⁷⁴ The Iberian and Indigenous informants pointed to song and the *kipu* for recording memory and laws. Indeed, the report reflect many of the chapter topics in the Galvin Murua, Book Three and the Getty Murua, Book Two, on Inca governance and customs.⁷⁵ However, where some Spaniards, such as García de Melo, rejected the claim that the Inca had universal laws (despite his answers in every other way suggesting as much), Murua provided ample evidence of a collectively recognized and practiced Inca governance system, particularly under Topa Inca Yupanqui.

Historian Karen Spalding (2013: 72) observed that an administrative system that involving *kipus* implied training and schooling, much like how Spanish civil service and literacy preparation depended on training through the church and universities (Kagan 1981; Poole 2004: 3-21). Only Indigenous informants to the *probanza* mentioned that boys were trained to read and use *kipus* and abacus-like table of different colors (*yupana*).⁷⁶ However, the Galvin and Getty Murua offer more information. Added text on Galvin folio 56v describes schooling in the Inca's royal complex or *cuyusmanco* for sons of elite families to prepare them to be "great lords". Over the course of four years, teachers trained the young boys in the Quechua language, ritual, and in the third and fourth year, how to use *kipus*, "For governance and authority . . . and in the same cords [they recorded] the many histories and events of war from times past. They told them in the general language of the Inca because they were already skilled. The masters told them by memory many

⁷⁴ The 1582 inquired into the Inca division of provinces; the role of judicial and administrative leaders such as the Inca, *Tocuyricos*, and other equivalences to Spanish offices; universal laws and their recording and transmission with *kipus*; and sentencing and punishment. Ibid.: 269-271.

⁷⁵ Rolena Adorno similarly observes that a majority of the second part of Guaman Poma's chronicle titled, *Buen Gobierno*, is presented as a *visita* report. Adorno, *Writing and Resistance*, liii.

⁷⁶ "Juzgauan por las leyes que ellos tenían las quales entendían por unas señales que tenían en quipos que son nudos de diferentes colores y por otras señales que tenían en una tabla de diferentes colores por donde entendía la pena que cada delincuente tenía y que para sauer lo que estas leyes contenían auía dos yndios de ordinario que no se quitauan de junto a ellas sino que siempre estudiauan en ellas y declarauan lo que contenía cada cosa y siempre auía estudio en esto y desta manera yba la memora de unos en otros proque siempre para esto se ponían muchachos que con la niñez fuesen aprendiendo y que la orden que se tenía en juzgar." Enríquez, *Información hecha en el Cuzco*, 284-285.

times."⁷⁷ Similarly, though augmented with additional detail, the Getty Murua description (ff. 248v-249r) focuses on schools as necessary training for service to the Inca. The text highlights the many forms of historical memory kept by the *kipus* and the connection to the office of the *tooricucapu* (provincial leader). More research is required to discern the accuracy of the description and the degree of influence of Iberian education on elite sons.

4.1 Chapter descriptions of *kipus*

The most robust descriptions of *kipus* in the Murua manuscripts appear in the sections on Inca governance and customs in chapters specifically on *kipukamayuc*s (Murua 2004 [1590]: f. 77; 2008 [16156]: ff. 245v-247v); see Appendix C for full transcripts and comparisons). The chapters reveal a complexity to Murua's extensive knowledge of and experience with *kipus*. The descriptions range from the friar's idealization and second-hand, copied accounts to some of the most salient examples of his personal encounters with historical, administrative, and ecclesiastical *kipus* and his opinions on the contemporary Andeans that used them. Specifically, in both chapters, friar Murua includes a general description of the material and mechanical use of the *kipu*. The passage comes from Augustinian friar Jerónimo Román y Zamora's history, *Repúblicas del mundo*, published in 1595, who had copied it from Bartolomé de las Casas' *Apologetica historia sumaria*, published in the 1550s (Pärssinen 1989: 47-48; Álvarez-Calderón 1996: 68; Adorno 2008: 122). In the Galvin version, the copied passage appears as added text on the back side of folio 77 after a "completed" chapter text on the front (recto) side, indicating that at least some added material occurred after 1595. The added text is written with a more hurried script and occupies space usually filled by an image for the subsequent chapter. The passage is fully integrated into the Getty chapter.

⁷⁷ "De su gobierno y autoridad . . . y en los mismos cordeles muchas historias y trances de guerra que acaecieron en tiempos pasados, y decíanselas en la lengua general del Inga, porque ya estaban diestros, y los maestros les decían de memoria muchas veces." Murua, *Historia del origen*, f. 56v.

A closer comparative examination of Román y Zamora, Galvin Murua, and Getty Murua reveals that Murua drew on his textual source for general descriptions but augmented them with additional information and personal experiences. Specifically, the copied sections in the Galvin version are almost identical to Román y Zamora. Both the Galvin and the Getty supplement Román y Zamora's account with Quechua names; many examples of the information stored in historical, administrative, census, and accounting *kipus*; local, regional, and state variations linked to language diversity and ethnic groups alongside *kipu* standardization used by Inca officials; personal encounters and observations, and more. Following a familiar pattern, the recopied Getty text used the Galvin's basic outline but added more detail.

In keeping with his admiration and attention to the historical *kipu*, Murua offered a personal lament on the loss of knowledge and use of the Inca historical *kipu* in the colonial period without acknowledging the role of writing. For example, in the Galvin and even more so in the Getty Murua, he supplemented Román y Zamora's description with a very personal perspective on the diminished state of the historical *kipu* in the early seventeenth century. The Galvin text from Román y Zamora acknowledged the impact of Spanish disinterest and antagonism: "[He] took out his cords and was right without missing a point. Our Spanish people, as they could not find anyone who interpreted that gibberish, did not try hard to conserve those registers and so lost everything." Murua added, "Even though some of these modern Indians rarely used them for their needs."⁷⁸ He added in the Getty, "[If] those who had maintained [the *kipu*] were living, one would discover the famous successes of the Inca--their origin, conquest, battles, and events--enough to fill many books which from them could have been written. What is known now, with much work, is in pieces and fragments as they had missed or have missed all the ancient

⁷⁸ "Sacaba sus cuerdas y daba razon dello sin faltar un punto nra gente española como no allase quien les interpretase aquellos jirigonças no curaron mucho de conseruar aquellos Rigistros y ansi perecio todo. Aun q[ue] algunos destos yndios moderan de usar muy a menudo en sus necesidades." Murua, *Historia del origen*, f. 77v.

storytellers."⁷⁹ Like the Indigenous witness from the 1582 inquiry, he lamented early Spanish disinterest in Inca *kipukamayuc*s and *kipus*, whose textile and oral knowledge and memory practices rivaled Spanish books and archives. According to Murua, the Spanish assault on their craft created a structural breakdown that diminished native *kipu* use and squandered an opportunity to record Inca history in its totality. Clearly revealing an early modern European illusion for a unified and holistic history, he however bemoaned the fragmentary and stunted historical project brought on by European disregard for alternative ways to record history. Moreover, Guaman Poma's images provide additional information on the administrative role of *kipus* that would otherwise be missing.

4.2 Guaman Poma's additions

Following the usual pattern of the manuscript's composition, Guaman Poma's graphic depiction of the *kipukamayuc* reflects the content of the chapter title and first paragraph but embeds additional ethnographic information (f. 76v, fig. 50). The image depicts a barefoot Andean in a yellow tunic, blue mantel, and simple headband holding up and gazing at a multi-colored *kipu*. The floor is a simple pink earth with a blank background. Murua added the labels "*contador*"[accountant] and "*kipukamayuc*", likely at later and distinct production phases given their unique ink colors. The text repeats defining words from the chapter title. The first paragraph relates how every *marcacamayo* or *llatacamayo* (towns), "Had accounts of their *kipus*, which are

⁷⁹ "Eran Buios los que de esto cuidauan se descubrieran famosissimos suçessos de estos yngas de su origen conquistas y vatallas y acontecimientos bastantes a henchar mucho numero de libros que dellos se escribieran y lo que agora se saue con mucho trauajo es arremiendos y por fragmentos como y aban faltando o anfaltado de todos los contadores antiguos." Murua, *Historia General del Piru*, f. 246v.

cords with different colors and knots made by them, of all the people and officials in the large and small towns and the equal distribution of work, as if settled by paper and ink."⁸⁰ The simple dress of the Andean *kipukamayuc* in Guaman Poma's image reflects their general presence within every village. The repeated graphic and textual identification of colored *kipus* for accounting and memory transmission corresponds with general knowledge about *kipu* construction, visible in the information provided by Indigenous and Iberian sources, including in the 1582 report (Enríquez 1925 [1581]: 279, 284) and other chroniclers such as the Juan Pérez Bocanegra (1631). The remainder of the text is not reflected in the image. It describes the role of the *marcacamayo*



Figure 51: Guaman Poma de Ayala. Inca, "Carta y quipu del ynga, en queda las ordenanças p[ara] guardar" in Martín de Murua in *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 124v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

as announcers, the use of pebbles and *kipus* for accounting, and other uses for the *kipu*: "Throughout this great Kingdom there are a great multitude of towns and people; because everything was in great order and concordance through their *kipus* and cords. They understood [their records] with the ease that we have in our language with our paper and ink."⁸¹ As elsewhere, Murua compares the *kipu*'s capabilities to Iberian paper and ink, an equivalence that many Spaniards would not make.

⁸⁰ "Tenían cuenta por sus propios quipus, que son unos cordeles con diferentes colores, con nudos que dan en ellos, de todas las personas del pueblo chicos y grandes y oficiales, y de los repartir tarea igualmente, como si asentasen con papel y tinta." Murua, *Historia del origen*, f. 77r.

⁸¹ "Hay en todo este Reino gran multitud de pueblos y gente; porque todo tenían puesto con mucho orden y concierto en sus quipus y cuerdas, por donde ellos se entendían con la facilidad que nosotros en nuestra lengua por nuestro papel y tinta." *Ibid.*, f. 77r

The second *kipu* depiction by Guaman Poma appears on Galvin folio 124v in a chapter on Inca orders (*ordenanzas*) (fig. 51). Guaman Poma included similar orders and title in his *Nueva corónica* chapter (Condarco Morales 1967: 303-305, cited by Ossio 2004: 218, note 214; Guaman Poma 1616: ff. 182 [184]-193 [195]) but lacked an accompanying image. The Galvin chapter continues uninterrupted onto the next folio page with a decorative flourish (written with increasingly larger margins). Only at the chapter conclusion is the *kipu* finally mentioned, possibly serving as a reference for Guaman Poma. The image includes an Inca, signaled by his royal red fringe and red tunic, standing in the *hanan* position (to the viewer's left in an upper register) holding a stretched-out black *kipu* together, and a kneeling elite Andean with a white fringe in the *hurin* position (viewer's right, lower register). The Inca and Andean elites gaze at each other. The first label by Guaman Poma states, "*carta y quipo del ynga*" [letter and *kipu* of the Inca] and Murua added, "*en queda las ordeñançes para guardar*" [where the orders are recorded].

Significantly, the graphic rendition by Guaman Poma adds nuanced information about individuals who used the *kipu* that Murua clearly did not possess. The white tassel or *borla* falling from the Inca elite's headband over his forehead indicates that he is the *tocoricuc*, the highest provincial leader and advisor to the Inca. All Guaman Poma's representations of the *tocoricuc* include a light blue and white *borla* or tassel and similar headband design (f. 69v, 85v, fig. 52 and 53). However, there are no textual mentions of the *tocoricuc* wearing a white tassel and he is only briefly mentioned in the chapter.⁸² This attention to the color of the tassels and textile clothing appears to have been shared by other Andeans. In the 1582 report, only the Indigenous informants bring attention to the different colored tunics and tassels to signal the bearer's position

⁸² "En esta gran ciudad de Cuzco, en ausencia del Inga, fuesen nombrados cuatro señores los más principales, los cuales sobrepujasen a los visitadores tucyruc para remediar los defectos con justicia y con prudencia, y que estos, con dos orejones de los de su consejo, juzgasen todos los negocios que se ofreciesen." Ibid., f. 125v.

or the type of news or justice of an Inca ambassador or commissioner.⁸³ Significantly, an image in the Getty Murua by the friar fails to make this same distinction despite being similar in its composition (f. 51v, fig. 54). While the standing Inca has a red fringe, the kneeling Andean elite holding the *kipu* lacks a headband. However, like Murua, both the Spanish and Indigenous declarants identify the significant role of the *tocoricuc* in dispensing justice in the Inca realm.



Figure 52: Guaman Poma de Ayala. Inca, "Tocoricuc ~~virey~~ suyoyocapo Birey" in Martín de Murua, *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 69v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 53: Guaman Poma de Ayala. Inca, "este yn[di]o deuenzer de la guerra de serbir al ynga y pide la muger que señala al ynga - tocoricoc" in Martín de Murua, *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 85v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

Figure 54: Inca and quipucamayó showing a quipu. Martín de Murua. "Las Armas del Reyno del Piru," in *Historia General del Piru* (2008 [1616]), f. 51v. Digital image courtesy of Getty's Open Content Program.

4.3 Getty Murua

The facing Getty chapter to Murua's image draws attention to Topa Inca Yupanqui's role in organizing the Inca state. In general, the Getty Murua provides a far more robust and extended history of Topa Inca Yupanqui. While there is no mention of the *kipu* in the chapter, despite being depicted, it outlines the order that the Inca imposed through the roles of the cacique, *tocoricuc*,

⁸³ "E que quando se ofrescian cosas graues en las prouincias embiaua el ynga un comisario y que la señal que este lleuaua para ser ouebsecido hera yr en andas y un baculo en la mano y que si el negocio hera muy arduo lleuaua por señal una camiseta azul e yba con el mismo poder del ynga y le lleuauan en andas como dicho tienen." Enríquez, *Información hecha en el Cusco*, 287.

soyuyoc apu, mitmacs, land distribution, tax, *aclla* and more. Here again, Indigenous informants in the 1582 report similarly attribute the order imposed by the Inca to Topa Inca Yupanqui, in addition to his father Inca Yupanqui (Enriquez 1925 [1581]: 287). In contrast, the Spanish declarants use the more ambiguous and monolithic term, "ynga." This order also aligns with Murua and Guaman Poma's attributions to Topa Inca Yupanqui, further supporting Murua's Indigenous sources, including Guaman Poma, with Indigenous lineages and oral traditions in Cuzco and the surrounding region. Comprehensively, we see that Murua understood and aimed to show the vital role of the *kipu* in Inca state organization and governance. Yet again, Guaman Poma added additional nuance and knowledge to the *kipus*, although his detailed commentary on the topic is much more extensive in his own chronicle.

4.4 *Khipu representation in the Nueva corónica*

In fact, in comparison to the Galvin Murua, the graphic and textual reflections on the role of the Inca *kipu* in Inca administrative and governing organization is far more distinct and detailed in the *Nueva corónica*, highlighting Guaman Poma's superior grasp of Inca socio-political organization and traditions. We also see his unique articulation of the crucial role of the *kipukamauc* in Inca governance as key to his elite self-fashioning in the colonial context. Particularly, the most robust graphic and textual examples of the *kipu* appear at the conclusion of the *Nueva Corónica's* section on Inca history and customs. The chapters are devoted to distinct official leadership and governance positions. The official charge of the *suyoyoc* or provincial administrator is graphically and textually represented with the *kipu* on folio 348 [350] and 349 [351] and, more specifically, in connection to the Inca *collcas* or storage facilities for Tupa Inca Yupanqui (ff. 335 [337]-336 [338]). The graphic and textual depictions on folio 348 [350] and 349 [351] directly connect the important position of Guaman Poma to his ancestral line. Dressed in his distinct ancestral *uncu* design, Guaman Poma explains how *suyoyocs* included the sons and grandsons of his grandfather. They were only chosen from high social classes and were extremely

talented and competent as the position primed them eventually to govern. See Chapter Three for more on this topic.



Figure 55: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Regidor, Tengo libro: quipoc, cuenta." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [800 [814]].

Only a few folios later, Guaman Poma rendered the *Incap quipocin Cápac* or Secretary of the Inca with a *kipu* who, again, came from his grandfather's male ancestral line. In the chapter text, he explains, "Honorable secretaries had *kipus* of colored textiles and they were called *quilcacamayoc* or *quilca uata quipoc*."⁸⁴ The term *quilca* had transformed in the colonial period to embrace alphabetic and graphic expression. The Andean writer goes on to explicitly link the role of the Iberian *escribano* in Peru's viceroyal with the pervasive presence of the secretary throughout the Inca empire and its roads, provinces, and towns. He concludes, "With the cords they governed the entire kingdom. This was the

great Monteroso, who wrote without any kind of lying and bribery. He was Christian."⁸⁵ The closing image in his section on Inca history depicts Guaman Poma giving counsel to Andean leaders, dressed in a hybrid version of his ancestral Andean *uncu* and Iberian clothing (f. 366 [368]).

Poignantly, the comparison of the lettered arts with the *kipu* is a theme Guaman Poma accentuates in the *Nueva corónica* and one that he shared with Murua. A striking example in *Nueva corónica* portrays a Spanish colonial officer, *regidor* (councilor) and Inca officer, *surcococ*,

⁸⁴ "Secretarios honrosos tenían quipos de colores teñidos, y se llamaban quilcacamayoc o quilca uata quipoc." Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica*, f. 359 [360].

⁸⁵ "Con los cordeles gobernaban todo el reino. Este fue el buen Monteroso, que escribía sin mentira y sin cohecho ninguno, era cristianísimo." *Ibid.*, f. 359 [360].

with a book and *kipu* (f. 800 [814], fig. 55). In another subtle example (f. 202 [204], fig. 56), in Guaman Poma's first image of the *kipu* he drew a young Andean (18 to 20 years old) holding a small *kipu* and placard with "carta" written inside to explain both the *kipu* and the boy as a messenger. It corresponds with the chapter on the fifth age class or *calle* (street) for boys, who served as messengers. As Cummins observed, the placard explained as a meta-text the unfamiliar form to the European viewer (1994: 195-6), a unique type of cultural translation not used elsewhere in his chronicle. Guaman Poma's graphic representation and textual anchoring in the Galvin Murua and the *Nueva corónica*



Figure 56: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Quinta calle Saya Payac (texto en recuadro): Carta." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [202 [204]].

combine and accentuate the relationship between the *kipu* and Iberian lettered practice, both as literal alphabetic representations and literary genre (letter).

In other words, despite undeniable differences between Murua's and Guaman Poma's treatment of Inca *kipus* in their respective chronicles, surprising confluences appear. On the one hand, Murua relates the administrative and historical *kipus* as idealized but highly sophisticated oral history and recording devices from a foreign or "other" past culture. In various chapters he presented explanations of how and when the Inca *kipu* was implemented, and who was in charge, whereas Guaman Poma inserts subtle Andean knowledge into the Galvin images. In contrast, Guaman Poma's rendition in his own chronicle graphically and textually distinguished between various uses and offices of *kipkcamayucs*, exhibiting an autochthonous understanding of *kipu* arts and their practice. He intertwined his ancestral lineage and social status with the

charge and knowledge of *kipukamayuc* and explicitly carried the transformed practice and office into the colonial, "lettered" context. On the other hand, both manuscripts shared a fundamental recognition for the vital roles and capabilities of the *kipu* arts and its practitioners in Andean culture and memory. Both used the *kipu* as an intellectual, creative, and historiographical link between Inca and colonial record keeping, statecraft, and history making. Their approaches respected the transition from embodied oral, tactile, and performative memory-making practices to the literary and graphic arts manifested in the illustrated chronicle medium. Both used relationships with the *kipukamayuc* to elevate their social and intellectual credentials and legitimize their chronicle project. Murua, as a Basque from an emergent social class, where literacy was still wholly integrated with oral practices and only relatively recently used for social advancement and legal protection, used his chronicle project for advancement. Similarly, Guaman Poma drew on his mediating position with an even more recent (albeit far more violent) introduction of literary record keeping into Andean culture to establish his status. This intellectual and creative convergence of interests alongside significant differences allowed for space of dialogue, however conflictive and unequal, to emerge.

5. Colonial Khipus

Immediately following Murua's description of the Inca *kipu* in the Getty chapter on *kipukamayuc*, the friar began to describe more personal and contemporary experiences in his colonial present. His reflections offer insight into the evolution of administrative, particularly accounting, *kipus* in the late and early 1600s from the perspective of a Spanish priest in the asymmetrical power relations of colonialism. He reported that:

They [Andeans] use the *kipus* and stories among themselves today except with less curiosity than before . . . [When the *corregidor*] arrives in a town and asks an Indian for

the king's service, they look at the *kipu* and give it to him. If they ask for something else, they look in a different *kipu*. It is like this for the rest of the dealings that arise."⁸⁶

Revealing his misunderstanding of accounting *kipus*, he proposes that their multiplicity induced confusion and allowed Andeans to inflate their census records to the *corregidor* (mayor) and their deductions in tributes and services. His account highlights the tension and sidelining of Andean *kipus* in favor of Iberian written accounts by the early 1600s. His assumption of manipulation reveals his bias towards Iberian ecclesiastics and distrust of Andeans in his colonial present. Indeed, the evolution of the *kipu* during the Spanish colonial era invariably involved the Church.

5.1 *Friar Diego de Porres and ecclesiastical quipus*

As a Mercedarian friar, Murua would have been aware of sixteenth-century efforts to adapt and promote *kipus* for ecclesiastical purposes. Besides the Archbishop Loaysa's order in 1555 and the Third Council's Catechism of 1585, the Mercedarian friar Diego de Porres' (1531-1605) undated "Instruction"⁸⁷ is the only other known sixteenth-century document that promotes *kipus* for ecclesiastical purposes (Assadourian 2002: 136-137; Estenssoro Fuchs 2003: 77-82; Durston 2007: 285-286; Brokaw 2010: 227; Charles 2013: 170). Sempat Assadourian (1988: 31-32) has argued that Porres' "Instruction" influenced the increased use of ecclesiastical *kipus* by Andeans that later chroniclers like Murua observed. Porres placed responsibility on native caciques and *alguaciles* to maintain community *kipus* for both ecclesiastical and administrative purposes (Estenssoro Fuchs 2003: 80-81). This included the Roman Christian holy calendar; synodal orders from the Church; four orations; records of the dead and their belongings; and tribute

⁸⁶ "Si esta ausente al que le sigue como es el que adegaldas minas a serbir al Rei o el que a de yr a alguna cosa del serui^o del Corregidor llega a un pueblo y pide un yndio para cosa del seruicio del Rey luego miran el quipu y por el se los dan y si pide otro para cosa Suia miran otro quipu diferente Para ello y ansi para los demas negocios que se ofresen." Murua, *Historia general del Perú*, 247r.

⁸⁷ *Instruccion y orden que han de tener los sacerdotes que se ocuparen en la doctrina y conversion de los indios* and has been published in the *Revista del Archivo Histórico del Cuzco* n. 3 (1952) and in Barriga, *Mercedarios en el Perú*, vol. 2 (Rome: Tipografía Madre di dio, 1933), 244-251. Friar Porres arrived in Peru as a soldier with Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza in 1551 and was probably ordained in 1558. By 1570 he served as the *procurador* of the Mercedarian convent in Cuzco and would become the provincial of the Mercedarian order. While debated, the "Instruction" was most likely written in the 1560s or 70s before Murua would have arrived in Peru. See Severo Aparicio Quispe, *La Orden de la Merced en el Perú: Estudios Históricos*, (Cuzco: Provincia Mercedaria del Perú, 2001), 36; Barriga, *Mercedarios en el Perú*, vol. III., 287; Roberto Levillier, *Organización de la iglesia y órdenes religiosas en el virreinato del Perú en el siglo XVI. Documentos del Archivo de Indias*, vol. 2, (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1919), 70-73.

payments to the native hospital. Friar Porres mandated *caciques* to monitor usage of rosary bead-like *kipus* for personal prayer, suggesting that he perceived widespread *kipu* literacy among both men and women. *Khipus* would have been an extremely useful tool for the overburdened priest in recording catechistic information where alphabetic literacy was rare in the Andean highlands (Charles 2007: 18). The document reveals well-established support for the idea of using *kipus* for Christian purposes by the 1580s, and after the Third Council of Mercedarians and other ecclesiastics, such as the Jesuits.

Scholars have considered the Third Council of Lima as a vital moment in the Church's nuanced attitudes towards ecclesiastical *kipus*. Many scholars have argued that the Third Council in 1583 represented a decisive rupture, when Spaniards universally condemned all *kipus*, which led to the gradual disappearance of *kipus* in the colonial archive.⁸⁸ However, Estenssoro Fuchs determined that by the 1580s ecclesiastics had begun to differentiate between benign and useful ecclesiastical, administrative, and historiographical *kipus*, and (in their view) the dangerous, idolatrous *kipus* used in Andean religious practices, such as *waka* worship. While condemning idolatrous *kipus* and calling for their destruction in one statement, the Third Council in Lima also advocated for confessional *kipus* (2003: 221-223; Brokaw 2010: 24-27). The Council's stance reflected a general attitude among ecclesiastics in the late sixteenth-century Peru, particularly among the influential Jesuits. Like friar Porres, the Jesuit's encouraged ecclesiastical adaptations of *kipus* in the 1570s while denouncing all other traditional Andean practices.⁸⁹ By the end of the sixteenth century, the Third Council's threat of destruction and the growing authority of lettered scribes pushed *kipus* out of Spanish administration and into

⁸⁸ Pierre Duviols and Carmen Loza first established a trajectory of decreased use and destruction of *kipus*. For example, Carmen Loza suggested a series of progressive stages that included a period of acceptance and even legitimization of ecclesiastical and administrative *kipus* between 1550-1581, to a complete rejection marked by published documents generated out of the Council of Lima. See Carmen Loza, "El uso de los *quipus* contra la administración colonial española (1550-1600)," *Nueva síntesis* 7/8: 59-93; "Du bon usage de *quipus* face à l'administration coloniale espagnole (1550-1600)," *Population* 53, 1-2: 139-60; Pierre Duviols, *La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou colonial; "l'extirpation de l'idolâtrie," entre 1532 et 1660*, Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andine, vol. 13, (Paris: Institut Français d'Etudes Andines/Editions Ophrys, 1971).

⁸⁹ A canonical text by Jesuit priest, Joseph de Arriaga, *Extirpation of Idolatry*, describes the destruction of idolatrous *kipus* but also advocates for the use of confessional *kipus*. Arriaga, *Extirpation of Idolatry*, 89, cited by Brokaw, *History of the Khipu*, 24.

personal and internal community use. However, some adaptations, particularly the ecclesiastical *kipu*, permitted its continued use, which chroniclers like Murua witnessed and at times recorded.

The success of Porres and the Mercedarian approach to *kipu* accommodation is evident in Murua's *kipu* chapters. The Galvin and Getty detail Murua's encounter with a calendrical *kipu*. An Andean elder presented him a *kipu* adapted to record the Roman calendar and Christian holy days and festivals. He interrupts Román y Zamora's passage in the Galvin with:

Where I was a priest there lived an old Indian leader [who] had kept in one of these large cords the entire Roman calendar and all the Saints and festival days. In trying to understand how and in what manner he knew it, [I learned] that a very curious friar from my Order had told him in previous years to make the calendar and taught him to understand it. He came to know it like the friar. . . It was a thing of great admiration to see how this good elder understood it [*kipu*] as if it were by paper and pen.⁹⁰

The Mercedarian friar was possibly the very same friar, Porres who promoted ecclesiastic *kipus* and evangelized in the Lake Titicaca region in the 1560s (Brokaw 2010: 232). Murua was a priest in Capachica on the northern edge of Lake Titicaca in the 1580s, fitting the timeline. This unique account illustrates a successful adaptation of the calendrical *kipu* by Andean people and the influence of Mercedarians in these efforts.

5.2 Confessional *kipus*

Not mentioned in the "Instruction" or in the 1590 Galvin Murua was the confessional *kipu*, another colonial adaptation to presumably aid Andeans in recording their sins and penitence for confession. According to early chronicle descriptions, particularly Polo de Ondegardo (1985 [1585]: 260-268, cited by Harrison 2013: 148), Andeans practiced a form of confession linked to ritual and fasting. However, as Estenssoro Fuchs has shown, the concept of sin as conceived in Christian doctrine did not exist for Andeans and required a profound change of interpretation and

⁹⁰ "Donde fui doctrinante le vide aun yndio curaca viejo tener en un cordel grande destes todo el calendario Romano y todos los Sanctos y fiestas de guardar y medio a entender como y de que manera lo sabia y q[ue] a un frayle muy curioso de mi horden los años pasados le auia dho se lo lejese el calendario y que lediese a entender y que asi como el frayle se lo yba de siendo yba el asentando en su *kipu* y asi fue cosa de gran admiracion ber de la manera q[ue] el buen viejo se entendia por el como si fuera por papel y tinta." Murua, *Códice Murua*, f. 77v.

understanding of memory. After the Third Council, which accepted Quechua word equivalences for some Christian concepts, the Quechua word *hucha* was officially accepted to express Christian sin but permanently displaced Andean meanings (2003: 217-228, 254). The incongruity and misunderstandings of the Christian concept of "sin" deeply frustrated ecclesiastics like Murua, which found expression in his description of confessional *kipus* in the Getty Murua.

It remains unclear whether confessional *kipus* had been introduced by the Jesuits, or whether they were actively promoted by secular clergy, Mercedarians, and Dominicans in the area or whether they were invented by Andeans and ultimately accepted by Jesuits and other ecclesiastics.⁹¹ The first reference comes from José de Acosta, when he reported in the Jesuit's Annual Letter of 1578 that an Andean from Juli used a confessional *kipu* (Ibid.: 220; Brokaw 2010: 235-237).⁹² In the Gavin manuscript Guaman Poma depicted a young woman confessing to an elder man whom Murua labeled as "*echisero confesor*" [witch confessor] (f. 112v).

Unsurprisingly, the more time Murua spent in the Andes, the more ecclesiastical *kipus* he encountered, including confessional *kipus*. Appearing only in the Getty chapter narrative, friar Murua offered a mixture of admiration, nostalgia, and extreme frustration with the confessional *kipu*. He began by recounting his earlier encounters in the Cuzco (ca. 1590s and early 1600s), Arequipa (ca. 1600s); and Aymareas (ca. 1604-1610?) regions of the southern Andes:

[I] travelled a few years through this industrious region. The knowledgeable *indio* and *india* confessors experimented in confessing with the cords and *kipus*, making their general confessions with the commandments. Later, every time they confessed, they took their

⁹¹ Citing Jesuits' annual letter from 1602, Alan Durston argues that the Jesuits in La Paz instructed Andeans in the use of confessional *kipu*. However, Galen Brokaw points out that the document does not actually say this, leaving some room for ambiguity. See Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 286-287; Brokaw, *History of the Kipu*, 238-239.

⁹² "An Indian approached a Father on his knees, with a great quantity of *kipus*, which are accounts that they bring of their sins, saying that he wanted to do a general confession, because he had always omitted a sin, and that some days previously there had appeared to him one night a very majestic lady along with many others and she said to him: Son, so many years you have kept this sin quiet, all the confessions that you have done do not benefit you; see to it that you confess well, that these who come here will be witnesses. The Indian confessed with such feeling and order about his whole life that, according to what that Father said, you could very well believe that the Queen of heaven had been his teacher." José Acosta, "Annual de la Provincia del Pint del ana 1578," in *Obras del P. Jose de Acosta* (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, [1578] 1954), 296.

kipu and stated their sins. It certainly has been a marvelous thing and an incredible outcome to make their confessions more complete and treat the truth more satisfactorily.⁹³

However, he also criticized the confessional *kipu* for causing incredible confusion, revealing his negative biases and prejudices towards his native contemporaries. He blamed them for their lack of experience in meditating on life. Their propensity to lie resulted in embellishments, obfuscation, diminishment, or fantasy. To please an unfriendly priest, the confessor might exaggerate or change the nature of the sin to induce affection. He concluded that the manipulation of the confessional *kipu* could even provoke the presence of the devil. Clearly frustrated, Murua professed, "Many times they are the cause of making their confessor leave the limits of reason, catching them in palpable lies and saying impossible things to excuse their sins."⁹⁴

Murua's personal, firsthand account aligns with many late sixteenth-century ecclesiastic attitudes towards Andeans and their (mis)interpretations of Christian sin. Over the course of twenty years, Juan Pérez Bocanegra wrote a lengthy and disparaging report that he finished in 1622, *Ritual Formulario e institución de curas* (1631), on Andean confessional *kipu* use in the region. His time in Peru coincided with Murua's. Bocanegra was general examiner and priest in Cuzco's Cathedral and Parish of Belén and then priest in the Parish of Andahuaylillas in the province of Quispicanchi (Mannheim 1991: 146). Like Murua, his detailed descriptions questioned the reliability of confessional *kipus* and described how Andeans mishandled and falsified confessional *kipus* (Harrison 2002; Estenssoro Fuchs 2003: 223-227). Under the guidance of elders and religious faithfuls, Andeans prepared and memorized sins on *kipus*, exchanging and reusing confessions of sin among themselves, often resulting in confessing to sins that were inappropriate to their age or status. In his exhaustive interviews he admitted that Andeans

⁹³ "Andado de Pocos años a esta parte yndustriados los yndios e yndias de confesores doctose experimentados en confesarse por estos cordeles y *kipus* haciendo sus conficiones generales por los mandamientos y despues cada bes que se confiesan sacan su *kipu* y por el ban disiendo sus Pecados que sierto a sido un medio maravilloso y de grandisimo efecto para que hagan sus confeciones mas enteras y con mas satisfacion de que tratan berdad." Murua, *Historía General del Pirú*, f. 247r.

⁹⁴ "Muchas vezes ellos son causa de hazer salir a sus confesores de los limites de la Razon cogiendolos en las mentiras Palpables y disiendoles para escusa de sus Peccados cosas que son ymposibles." *Ibid.*, 246r.

generally hid associations with ritual traditions that could be linked to Christian idolatry (Harrison 2002: 111-113; 2013: 148-152; Charles 2017: 168-170). Estenssoro Fuchs (2003: 224) observed that for Bocanegra the greatest scandal was the usurpation of sacramental authority by native faithful leaders in their mediation of confessional *khipus*. Wholly frustrated and disenchanted, Bocanegra suggested that all *khipus* should be burned (1631: 134 [sic. 114]).

Despite sharing some of Bocanegra's attitudes, Murua's Galvin and Getty passages also revealed the range of complex experiences associated with Andeans and their *khipus*. He saw them as both a vestige of an idealized Inca past and a dynamically changing device in his lived colonial present. Considering Porres' "Instruction" of the 1560s/70s, the decisive role of the Third Lima Council in 1583-85, and Murua's descriptions in the 1590s and early 1600s, it is clear that Spanish ecclesiastics made many ambivalent attempts over the course of several decades to distinguish between the use of *khipus* for Christian purposes as opposed to "idolatrous" native practices.

5.3 (Non)Idolatrous *khipu*

In the course of Murua's adulating, nostalgic, and at times frustrated narrative about *khipus*, he focused on the historical, administrative, and ecclesiastic uses while neglecting to consider the obvious role of *khipus* in Andean religious practices. In his references to the ecclesiastical *khipu*, he eschewed casting suspicion on the idolatrous potential of *khipus*. He hardly mentioned the *khipu* in the context of Andean religious practice in the Galvin Murua and Getty Murua. This disassociation of the *khipu* with Andean religion is not for lack of describing Indigenous idolatry, superstition, and witchcraft. In fact, in the Galvin manuscript section on Andean rites Murua copied almost verbatim ten of fifteen chapters from an extract of a report written by Polo de Ondegardo in 1559 that was published in 1584-85 as part of the Third Lima

Provincial Council's proceedings.⁹⁵ Ondegardo compiled his observations through extensive interviews with *kipukamayucs* and inspections as *corregidor* of Cuzco in 1558-1561.⁹⁶ Comparative analysis shows that the Getty chapters were reorganized but the text from Ondegardo remained the same. Even so, there are no derogatory descriptions of *kipus* in either manuscript. In the Galvin, fifteen of the twenty references are in Book Three. Nine chapters (2, 5, 14, 20, 22, 23, 25 [image], 25, 40 [text]) are concerned with laws, social order, and punishment. The next six instances are concerned with Andean rites (chap. 52, 63, 67, 70, 73 [image], 73 [text]).⁹⁷ Chapters 52 and 70 use the exact same phrase "*kipus* and memory".⁹⁸ While both chapter texts are copied substantially from Ondegardo, the *kipu* references are not. The Getty Murua includes twenty-two references to the *kipu*. However, only Book Two, Chapter 36, on *huaca* worship mentions that *kipus* recorded "their histories and the mode and order of their sacrifices."⁹⁹ In sum, the striking difference between Murua's descriptions of historical, administrative, and ecclesiastical *kipus* and the "idolatrous" *kipu* represents his own ambivalent position towards *kipus* in his colonial present. It also shows how he strove to reflect a positive

⁹⁵ The Galvin chapters copied from the Catechism by Ondegardo included Chapter I, V, VI, VIII, XI, XII, XIII, and XIV for Book III, Chapters 45, 49-59, 61-62, 70-72. For a close analysis, see Duviols, "Les sources religieuses du chroniqueur péruvien," 267-277. See also Álvarez-Calderón, *Friar Martín de Murúa and his chronicle*, 90; Bauer and Decoster, "Introduction", 32. For publications of the Ondegardo published writings in the Catechism see *Los errores y supersticiones de los indios. Confessionario para los curas de indios: Con la instrucción contra sus ritos, y forma de impedimentos del matrimonio*, ff. 7r-16r in *Doctrina Christiana y Catecismo para instrucción de los indios*, (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1985).

⁹⁶ During his period as *corregidor* he produced a report on the location of mummies, which Sarmiento incorporated into his history. He also charted the shrines (*wakas*) and drafted a "chart of the *ceque*", which may have been the basis for Cobo's text, though no copy has been found. He wrote many other texts on the administration, history, and economy of the Andes, mostly in his capacity as a Spanish official. Ana María Presta and Catherine Julien, "Polo Ondegardo" in *Guide to documentary sources for Andean studies, 1530-1900*, Ed. Joanne Pillsbury, vol. 3 (Norman, Okla: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 529-535.

⁹⁷ See Chap. 5, footnote 63 for full list of *kipu* mentions in the Murua manuscripts.

⁹⁸ Chapter 52, titled, "*Del modo de sacrificar de los indios collas y puquinas*," states, "*Y tanta razon hay de creer a sus antepasados y a sus khipus y memorias como a los mayores yantepasados de los cristianos, ya sus quilcas*." Murua, *Historia General del Piru*, f. 104r. Chapter 70, titled, "*Del orden que habia del año y fiestas que guardaban*" states, "*Muchas cosas dejaban de hacer por los sueilos, porque mil aban mucho en esto, y asi tenían desto khipus y memorias, por donde se regían*." Ibid., f. 122v.

⁹⁹ "*Todas las cosas de cosas de que tenemos noticia en las antiguallas de este reyno son deducidas de los quipos de los yndios viejos y conforme su variedad así esfuerza la aya en quien escribiere sus ystorias y en el modo y horden de los sacrificios es tanta la confusión con que lo refieren que ymposible baia la narración de ello tan concertada y distinta como yo quisiera mi deseo asia bueno mi dilijencia mucha en ello y mi trauajo sin çesar si en algo me gerrare crea el lector que no tengo culpa culpable que yo e procurado sacar a luz la berdad*." Ibid., f. 297r.



Figure 57: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Admini[s]trador de Provincias Sviviov, Gvaiac Poma, Apo, S[e]ñor / secretario / suyuyuq / apu." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [348 [350]].

perception of the record-keeping capabilities of Inca's *kipus* that legitimized his native sources and historical method.

Guaman Poma never rendered a graphic version of an "idolatrous" *kipu*, suggesting his compositional authorship and influence on Murua. Whereas Guaman Poma portrayed the Inca *kipu* and *kipuamayuc* in an idealized administrative and historical context (f. 348 [350], fig. 57), his many images in the Galvin and *Nueva corónica* of Andean religious practices do not include *kipus*. The lacuna is striking considering the vivid attention given to depicting the important role of material offerings, such as coca, chicha, human, and more. His static portrayals of *kipus* in the Galvin Murua discussed

above show that as a self-identified Andean inheritor and cultural translator of the *kipukamayuc* and fervent Christian, he did not want to associate the *kipu* with "idolatrous" activities. This position aligned with the approach of other Andeans, including their handling of confessional *kipus*. Not surprisingly, Guaman Poma in his *Nueva Corónica* wrote, "I confess, father, all my sins. Do not ask me about the idols."¹⁰⁰

6. Conclusion

Murua's many interactions with *kipus* and their practitioners reveal someone caught in the uncertainties of shifting epistemic structures, between hegemonic colonial biases and his lived experiences in the uneven process of transculturation and cultural translation. The friar celebrated, admired, and employed the Inca's historical and administrative *kipu* for the discursive

¹⁰⁰ "Confiesame, padre, de todos mis pecados. No me preguntes de las sacas, ydolos." Guaman Poma, *Nueva Corónica*, f. 635 [649].

framework of his chronicle project. Together with his Andean collaborators he legitimated his native sources by validating the oral recording device's accuracy and sophistication by equating it with Iberian practices and archives. The historical framing generated an intellectual and creative link with his Andean collaborators, particularly Guaman Poma, and a medium for translating Andean oral history to an Iberian audience while demonstrating the capacity of Andean culture. In other words, despite friar Murua's clear Spanish Christian biases and religious background, an overriding intention of his narrative was a historical project that depended on Andean practices for remembering and recording. This approach differs from those of other early colonial Andean chroniclers who also relied on Andeans but sought to impose Spanish colonial administrative practices onto Inca state customs (such as Polo de Ondegardo's in the 1550s), delegitimize Inca rule (such as Sarmiento's chronicle in the 1570s), or extirpate idolatrous practices (such as the Bocanegra's efforts and Huarochiri manuscript in the early 1600s).

Simultaneously, the differences between the two Murua manuscripts and *Nueva corónica*, all written within a few decades of each other, shed light on the colonial Andean ambivalence towards *kipus*. Murua's admiration for administrative and ecclesiastic *kipus* evolved into frustration as he observed *kipu* use by Andeans in his own day. His conflicted response resonates with Guaman Poma's autochthonous treatment. Andeans actively adapted the *kipu* to accommodate their colonial context and the growing authority of the written word (Salomon 2004; Charles 2013; Curatola Petrocchi and Puente Luna 2013). Reading between the lines of Murua's encounter with confessional *kipus* reveals Andean attempts and struggles to accommodate or resist Christian confessional practices and conceptions around sin and penance. However, in contrast to Guaman Poma, by copying from accepted Iberian sources, the friar safely aligned his narrative with hegemonically accepted discourses. He blamed the incompetence and dishonesty of contemporary Andean commoners and elders, instead of considering the evangelizing failures of ecclesiastics, or real differences between Andean cultural concepts and his own Spanish Christian views. In other words, his increasingly conflicted views had less to do

with the structure and capability of an idealized Inca *kipu*, and more with his lived interactions with Andeans, prejudices, and disappointing evangelizing efforts. The *kipu* representations in the Murua manuscripts reveal a collision in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries between idealized structures of knowledge and history-making and heterogenous, uneven processes of transformation. These spaces of confluence and transculturation created a field of creative and intercultural dialogue and innovation for multiauthoriality and Indigenous agency, which resulted in the Galvin Murua. The following chapter examines representations of genealogy, and pre-Hispanic and colonial social memory practices.

CHAPTER SIX

Cuzco's Inca History:

Representation of Inca Descent and Memory in the Murua Manuscripts

<i>Cay na cana van cuchuscan carcan, chequiyuc amar</i>	<i>Con este cuchillo, fue degollado el desdichado de amaro ynca</i>	With this knife, he was decapitated the unfortunate Amaro Inca
<i>cuncan, cuzcupi vyalla yncacunap, atun aucan</i>	<i>en el cuzco, públicamente por mandado del vi Rey</i>	publicly in Cuzco by the order of the Viceroy
<i>yanca camachiscan manta</i>	<i>don fran[cisco] de toledo. [margin: el q[ue] siempre quiso mal al lin[aje de] los yngas]</i>	<i>don Francisco de Toledo</i> [margin: he always wanted the worst for the Inca lineage]
<i>Cusi Guarcaiparirpunmi cay niscanchic yncacarcan llucic maçim çapay turan quiquin tapas cuncacuspa suncun vcunpi guaylluscan</i>	<i>Y era espejo de cusiguarçay este ynca que a hemos d[ich]o, hermano carnal suyo, y solo que ya no tenía otro, a quien más que así quería, resplandizia a su Reyno</i>	He was Cusi Guarçay's mirror, this Inca, who it has been said, her only carnal brother, and as she had no other who she loved more, illuminated her kingdom
<i>Pachatapas cancharichic dona beatripac sapri çapa cacanllanmi carca chunca hvçniyuc capaçpa curmamuc sillquiguamanta</i>	<i>De doña beatriz era Raíz, y era su solo tío, por genealogia Recta de doze yngas y Reyes q[ue] hubo.¹⁰¹</i>	Doña Beatriz was the root and he was her only uncle by direct descent of the twelve Inca and Kings that were.
<i>Cay coya llamanmi llapan apusquin cuna gunucun</i>	<i>(sólo en princesa todos sus antepesados se han resumidos</i>	(Only in the princess have all her ancestors gathered
<i>payñam llapan capaccunap cañca guancaspa çiçachin</i>	<i>Ella ahora [es] de todos los reyes con su devenir estando, hace floreecer</i>	She is now all of the kings with her becoming, will bloom
<i>ñaupa pacarimus canta</i>	<i>su antiguo linaje)¹⁰²</i>	her ancient lineage) ¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ This completes the partial translation provided in the Galvin Murua. Transcription and punctuation of Quechua and Spanish are from Peña Núñez, *Incas alzados de Vilcabamba en la primera historia (1590)*, de Martin de Murúa, (Pamplona: EUN-SA, Ediciones de la Universidad de Navarra), 264.

¹⁰² This last stanza is not translated into Spanish in the manuscript. This translation follows César Itier, "A propósito de los dos poemas en quechua de la crónica de Fray Martín de Murúa," *Revista Andina* 5/1 (1987): 217.

¹⁰³ The folio includes a Quechua version and a Spanish translation. The English translation is of the Spanish version by the author. In the future I hope to provide a translation of the Quechua. Murúa, *Historia del origen*, f. 50v.

1. Introduction

Captured in the steep Andean hills near Vilcabamba, prisoner Tupac Amaru and his fellow captains and kin marched in procession into the Inca capital. Decades of resistance and negotiation with Spanish authorities and other Indigenous ethnic groups and factions preceded this moment. Viceroy Toledo ordered the captains to remove their *llautos* (Andean headband) and Tupac Amaru to remove his *mascapaycha* in submission and deference to the Spanish Crown. However, in a show of resistance they only touched their chained hands to their *llautos* and inclined their heads towards the viceroy, a mere *yanacona* to the Spanish King. After a hasty trial, Toledo ordered the execution of Tupac Amaru and his captains for the next day. Protests erupted from Spanish ecclesiastics and Inca relatives. But Tupac Amaru's corporal punishment continued, despite his baptism, which allowed his descendants to receive the privileges and status of nobility according to Spanish Christian criteria. As Tupac Amaru walked through Cuzco, streets and balconies filled with grieving crowds who feared for the great Inca leader. His widowed and respected sister, Cusi Guarca, called out from a balcony in lament. Only a few months earlier she had protested Viceroy Toledo's demotion of her brother, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, in relation to don Paullo Inca Tupa's descent line in the *paños* discussed in chapter 1. Titu Cusi Yupanqui, son of Manco Inca and grandson of Huayna Capac, had persisted in Vilcabamba while Paullo Inca Tupa, son of Huayna Capac, and his heirs became early loyalists of the Spanish invaders. On September 24, 1572 a Cañari executioner decapitated the last *Sapa Inca* (sole, unique Inca in reference to a living king).¹⁰⁴ Decades later, the Murua manuscripts sympathetically retold these events.

This chapter seeks to examine the intersection of genealogy and memory, linking Indigenous actors and the various legal and cultural contexts and strategies that we have explored

¹⁰⁴ Murua, *Historia del Piru*, 191r-201v; Baltasar Ocampo Conejero, *Descripción de la Provincia de San Francisco de la Victoria de Vilcabamba [Lima, ca 1611] (British Library Add. 17585 f. 0001-0073)*, in *Baltasar de Ocampo Conejeros y la Provincia de Vilcabamba*, ed. Brian S. Bayer and Madeleine Halac-Higashimori (Cuzco: Ceques Editores, 2013), 19-56; Peña Núñez, *Incas alzados de Vilcabamba*, 186-245; Yaya, *Two faces of Inca history*, 266.

to the representation of Inca descent and history in the Murua manuscripts. As María Elena Martínez has argued, recording lineage in legal and historical projects was a crucial "device of negotiation" in the colonial pact for Indigenous elites to claim and transmit their political and economic rights and privileges to their descendants (2014: 179). An examination of select representations of the Sapa Inca, Coya, Captains, and the *mascapaycha* reveal that Murua's multivocal chronicle project supported both contested and complementary influences and strategies in representing power and descent. Understood from an Indigenous perspective, the manuscripts' visual and textual composition reflect the dialogical, dynamic Andean practice of *tinkuy* in the colonial context. The Sapa Inca received special attention after Inca descendants collectively adopted customs of patrilineal descent and primogeniture in their attempt to reconceptualize and negotiate Inca noble status according to Iberian criteria. In contrast, sections dedicated to Coyas and Captains, positions that were diminished in official colonial culture and legal campaigns, are smaller and contain more variable information. Nonetheless, a convergence of Inca social organization based on complementarity and oral history practices, combined with a sustained concern for the maternal line by Inca descendants in the colonial period, supported unique references to noble Inca women. My examination of this discourse presents evidence of the influence and collaboration of Guaman Poma and the Inca endorsers, particularly don Luis, and possibly an unknown mestizo author. I focus especially on the Galvin version due to its earlier production and strong evidence of Indigenous participation.

2. Compositional Form: Inca and European

As readers opens the Galvin manuscript (or facsimile) they pass through introductory images and texts until arriving at the heart of Book One.¹⁰⁵ After the Inca origin story, portraits

¹⁰⁵ The first half of the first chapter comes directly from Jerónimo de Oré (f. 39), who praises Viceroy Francisco de Toledo for his investigations. It goes on to describe a fragmented society devoted to local communities, deities, ancestors, and *guacas* until Pachacuti Yupanqui Ynga formed a more organized state-wide religion. See Chapter 1 for additional description.



Figure 58: Coya, Ypa Vaco Mama Machi Coya, Mama Chiquia. Martín de Murua. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 28v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

and text compose individual chapters on twelve Sapa Inca and Coya.¹⁰⁶ The Inca are dressed in a rich blend of pre-Hispanic and colonial Inca textiles and paraphernalia (Phipps 2014; Phipps, Turner, and Trentelman 2008), including: the *mascapaycha*, which is held by a *llauta*; a *llacachuqui* (feathered war lance held in the right hand); and a royal staff. The Coya images similarly blend European portraiture conventions and pre-Hispanic royal and colonial Inca textiles and accouterments such as a crown, bird, or flower (fig. 58). Then, uniquely to Murua (and Guaman Poma), chapters on Inca leaders or Captains include illustrated scenes and texts. The illustrated Getty manuscript retains certain

similarities with the Galvin as a subsequent version of the same chronicle but with significant and meaningful alterations.¹⁰⁷ These changes include an expanded narrative; a collapse of the Inca, Coya, and Captains into Book One; and increased Europeanization of the chronicle's representation of genealogy. The Galvin manuscript exhibits the best evidence of how the identified Indigenous endorsers were directly engaged.

¹⁰⁶ In the Galvin manuscript, the beginning folios on the Inca portraits hint at the extensive manipulation of its first two quires. We first encounter pasted-on portraits of Manco Capac (f. 9v.) and Sinchi Roca (f. 10r.) Only on the verso side of folio 10 is the chapter text for Manco Capac. While Chapter titles are written on the folios; narrative content is missing for Sinchi Roca, Lloque Yupanqui, and Mayta Capac. Portraits are also missing for Lloque Yupanqui, Mayta Capac, and Capac Yupanqui. The remaining portraits for Ynga Roca to Guascar Ynga are pasted and have a single red border.

¹⁰⁷ Elena Phipps suggests that the artist for the Getty manuscript used Aymara textiles as models or was intimately familiar with them. Moreover, the Galvin images demonstrate knowledge of a Quechua-based Cuzco context while the Getty reflects experiences in Bolivia. See Elena Phipps, "Woven Documents: Color, Design, and Cultural Origins of the Textiles in the Getty Murúa," in *Manuscript Cultures of Colonial Mexico and Peru*, 74-80.

The precedent to remember royal lineage and ancestors was rooted in both pre-Hispanic and colonial Inca and Iberian oral and written traditions, though with very different models of history. In the sixteenth century, as Spanish officials established criteria for the social status of *caciques* in the Americas, the visual and textual practice of depicting European history through the model of *translatio imperii* had emerged, in which genealogy based on primogeniture determined the passage of time. *Translatio imperii* conceived of the succession of empires through the male dynastic lineage.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, the Inca and Coya chapter narratives would have been a familiar fifteenth-century biographical format for histories of royal personages to the Spanish reader. Iberian biographies typically described the subject in terms of the physical description, moral character, and significant deeds of notable personages (Romero 1944: 115-138; Adorno 1986: 43). For a European reader, the recognizable European-style portraiture and biographical conventions made otherwise exotic royal Inca men and women more familiar (Adorno 2000: 41-47). The influence of the European genealogical model of history is readily visible in Murua's manuscripts. However, a closer examination of the texts reveals Inca influence and maybe the influence of Murua's personal experience from living in the Andes.

As Isabel Yaya (2012) has argued, primogeniture also played an important role in the Inca ideal for royal succession in opposition to the practical preference for choosing the most able son. Yaya links the dual approaches of succession to the two distinct oral history traditions and genres embedded in chronicles that Catherine Julien (2000) identified in her comparative textual analysis. The Inca Life History genre or "long account" revolved around the lineage and accomplishments of certain ruler. The chronicle *Suma y narración* compiled by Betanzos is a Life History from the perspective of descendants of Pachacuti and relatives of the Sapa Inca Huayna Capac in the Panaca Capac *Ayllu* (Pease 1995: 228; Mannheim 2008: 186). Other chroniclers such as Murua

¹⁰⁸ Martínez, "Indigenous Genealogies," 178; Marc Bloch, *La Sociedad Feudal*, (Madrid: Akal, 1986). For more on the role of genealogy and the construction of time in medieval Europe, see Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer, trans. vol. 3, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 3, 104, 109-12; Howard Bloch, "Genealogy as a Medieval Mental Structure and Textual Form," in *La littérature historiographique des origines à 1500*, vol. 11/1 of *Grundriss Der Romanischen Literaturen Des Mittelalters*, ed. by Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1986), 135-56.

(via Cristóbal de Molina's lost *relación*) in the Getty Murua (Loaysa 1943) and Sarmiento de Gamboa also included elements of the Life History, particularly for Topa Inca Yupanqui and Huayna Capac. The Inca Genealogical genre or "short account" was a formal mechanism for transmitting knowledge of dynastic descent by primogeniture and is found in the chronicles of Cristóbal de Molina (via a comparative analysis of Murua and Cabello Balboa), Cieza de León, Guaman Poma de Ayala, Diego Fernández, Sarmiento de Gamboa, Bernabé Cobo, *Discurso* and others (49-90). They include a brief account of the Sapa Inca, his remaining royal *ayllu* or *panaca*, and surprisingly, the Coya. Julien observes that the unique but variant genealogical structure shared by Guaman Poma and Murua cannot be tied to works before 1560, when it is more likely that the people who transmitted information had firsthand experience with the genres.¹⁰⁹ Their similarly discrepant portrayal of genealogy from other chronicles includes information on the maternal Coya dynastic line, data on the Inca origin myth, and other important Inca leaders (59, 61-65, 72-76). This fact raises the question: why did they share these unique features when it was likely not part of the Inca Genealogical genre most often consulted and reproduced? Was it similar Inca sources, evolving reconceptualizations of Inca descent within the colonial context, or something else?

The socio-political and cosmological organization of the Inca might explain the unique genealogical structure shared by Guaman Poma and Murua. Gendered complementarity underscored Inca socio-political and religious organization and ideology. Gender was flexible, relative, and constructed and always defined in relation to a complementary opposite rather than an absolute and fixed binary, as in the Western, Cartesian tradition.¹¹⁰ A diagram by native Joan

¹⁰⁹ Julien compares Murua and Guaman Poma to authors who compiled their chronicles written before 1560 such as *Discurso*, Gutiérrez, and Las Casas. Julien, *Reading Inca History*, 82.

¹¹⁰ Carolyn Dean aptly describes: "Andean notions of complementarity involve pairs that are flexible and relative rather than fixed and permanent...The gendering of space, natural forms, and even people shift depending on the relationship of the complements to one another in a particular instance. In Andean complementarity, both parts of the pair are viewed as essential, and the third part, that formed by the conjoining, is procreative and often very powerful, if not sacred. Importantly, Andean complementarity is not equality; the system subjects the 'lower' (*urin*) complement to the 'upper' (*anan*) complement." Dean, Carolyn, "The Inka Married the Earth: Integrated Outcrops and the Making of Place," *The Art Bulletin* 89 (3) (2007): 506. For further discussion, see: Constance Classen, *Inca Cosmology and the Human Body* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993); Dean, "Andean Androgyny and the Making of Men," in *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America: a symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 12 and 13 October 1996*, ed. Cecelia Klein (Washington,

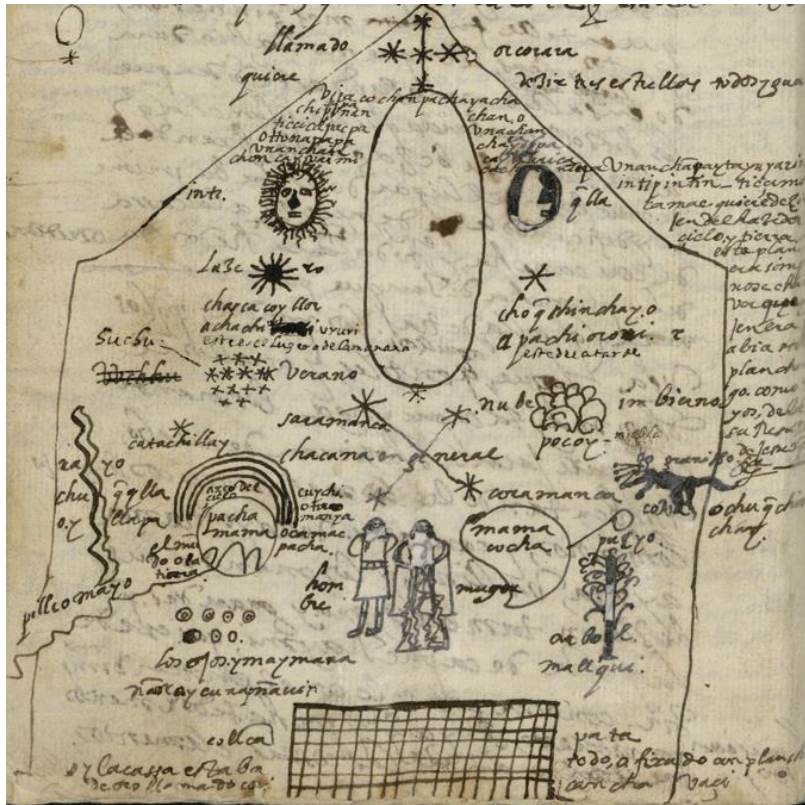


Figure 59: Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua, *Relación de antigüedades*, fol. 13v, 1613. Courtesy of Biblioteca Nacional de España.

de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua provides a graphic interpretation from the early seventeenth-century (fig. 59).¹¹¹ According to various scholars, a disk in the center represents an androgynous and creative center that transcends or joins the dichotomies of opposing and complementary gender forces in *tinkuy*. At the bottom stand the figures of a man and woman in *qhariwarmi* (Quechua for the conjoining of

man and woman), denoting the basic social unit that humanizes the cosmos within sexual and

D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 143-182; Olivia Harris, "Complementarity and Conflict: An Andean View of Women and Men," in *Sex and Age as Principles of Social Differentiation*, edited by J. S. La Fontaine, Association of Social Anthropologists Monograph 17, (New York: Academic Press, 1978), 21-40; Billie Jean Isbell, "La otra mitad esencia: un estudio de complementariedad sexual andina," *Centro de Investigación, Universidad del Pacífico/Lima*, Estudios Andinos, no. 12 (1976): 37-56; María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Estructuras andinas del poder: ideología religiosa y política*, (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1986); Irene Silverblatt, "Interpreting Women in States: New Feminist Ethnohistories," in *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era*, edited by Micaela di Leonardo, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 140-74; Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987); and Gary Urton, *At the Crossroads of the Earth and the Sky: An Andean Cosmology*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 109.

¹¹¹ At approximately the same time that Guaman Poma and Murua were completing their manuscripts in the early seventeenth-century, author Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua completed a history of the Inca before the arrival of the Spanish. His account includes a cosmological diagram that many scholars believe reflects the Andean *qhariwarmi* and serves to humanize the cosmos within sexual and kinship terms. Heavily indoctrinated in Spanish Roman Catholic theology, Pachacuti Yamqui sought to show that despite the more prevalent polytheism in the Andeans, the first Sapa Inca, Manco Cápac, and his great-great-grandson Mayta Cápac had knowledge and belief in the one God, who they called Viracocha Pachaychacich. Pierre Duviols has argued that Pachacuti Yamqui would not have had the memory of the diagram as it was destroyed in the early phases of the conquest. Moreover, the significant influence of colonial Christian imagery and conceptualization in the diagram suggests it was entirely fictitious. See Pierre Duviols, "Punchao, Idolo Mayor de Coricancha: Historia y Tipología," *Antropología Andina*, 1-2 (1976), 156-83; Duviols and Itier, *Relacion de Antigüedades*, 30-61. There has been undoubted essentialization of the diagram. However, studies by scholars demonstrate that Pachacuti Yamqui also incorporated Andean concepts of gendered complementarity that are supported by other contemporaneous sources. For further discussion on the scholarship and analysis of the diagram, see Dean, "Andean Androgyny", 149; Classen, *Inca Cosmology and the Human Body*; Isbell, *La otra mitad esencia*, 38; John Earls and Irene Silverblatt, "La realidad física y social en la cosmología andina," in *Actas de congreso Internacional de Americanistas*, t. 4, (Paris: 1978), 318-319; Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 41. It is possible Pachacuti Yamqui's creation reflects transmission of knowledge and social memory consistent with early seventeenth-century Andean cosmology.

kinship terms. The Inca and Coya are the imperial manifestation of *qhariwarmi*. At the same time, as we've discussed in Chapter 3, Guaman Poma's images in the *Nueva corónica* and the Murua manuscripts reflect quadripartite principles based on Andean complementarity that allow for multiple and relative gendered relationships of power and authority.

Irene Silverblatt argues that as the Inca grew in power, they promoted a hierarchical and exclusionary elitism of "conquest hierarchy" out of the Andean cosmological framework of gendered complementarity and parallelism. Drawing on the ideology of complementarity as a force for equilibrium, she often uses Murua and Guaman Poma as sources to suggest that the Coya was conceived as the imperial and religious matriarch over women and the earthly leader with direct relations to the moon as supreme deity of the Inca, creator women, and controller of everything female.¹¹² The Inca was the imperial and religious patriarchy over men and the earthly leader with direct relations to the supreme male deity, the sun.¹¹³ In kinship terms, according to Catherine Julien, the Coya was given to Inca women who qualified as possible spouses for an Inca and should not be equated with the term "queen." The Inca held *capac* status as descendant from Manco Capac. After Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui and Topa Inca Yupanqui, *capac* passed exclusively through the mother and father to the Inca's brothers and sisters and determined an Inca descendant's status within a *panaca*. According to Betanzos, *Sapa* (*çapa*) referred to "unique Inca" to apply to the person who was ruler ([1551-1557] pt. I, chap. 27; 1987: 132; Julien: 22-48; McEwan 2006: 68). According to Holguín, *çapa* denotes "solo" [only, singular] (1989 [1608]: 409) and was not only used for the Inca but in connection to many positions and material objects to denote a principle or unique quality, including the Coya (1989 [1608]: 52, 77-78, 409, 419). Initially

¹¹² There is scarce evidence from Polo de Ondegardo, Pedro Sancho, and Bernabé Cobo that Coyas were revered as mummies and gold statues. Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco*, 160-161, 177-179.

¹¹³ Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 40-66. Silverblatt's Marxist study ignores a more complex, non-linear understanding of the development of the Inca and Colonial Andean state and religion. However, she is one of the first scholars to provide important insight into the role of women in the Inca state. She drew heavily on earlier works by Reiner Tom Zuidema, who analyzed baptismal records from Anta, north of Cuzco, that found parallel transmission of names as an example of parallel descent. Julien, *Reading Inca History*, 25-26. One of her prime sources is Murua. Significant scholarship and other colonial textual and ethnographic sources attest to the significance of gendered complementarity and the important role of Coyas.

under Inca rule, the Sapa Inca married for his principal wife an elite woman from other ethnic groups in the Cuzco valley to build alliances. However, in addition to asymmetrical cross-cousin marriages, sister-wife marriages among *panacas* formed the ideal imperial pattern. Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui possibly instituted the sister-wife marriage ideal to maintain proximity to the main royal line (Bauer 2004: 79; Sarmiento 1965 [1572]; Yaya 2012: 76-80). Women and their associated lineage group held important positions of authority and influence in the political arena of Cuzco and for the succession credibility of Sapa Incas (Ibid.: 93-95).

The Galvin manuscript's text and compositional structure suggest an understanding or, at the very least, a representation of the ideal conceptualization of asymmetrical complementarity between the Coya and Inca. For example, according to Murua, during royal marriages the Inca is quoted as saying, "Just as you will be mistress over this piece of clothing, in like fashion you will be mistress over the rest as I am" (Murua 1596: f. 82r).¹¹⁴ Moreover, in only two instances when Sapa appears in the Galvin manuscript he is connected to the Coya.¹¹⁵ Cummins (2008: 169) and Ossio (2014: 88-90) consider the distinct patrilineal and matrilineal descent representation in the Galvin version as a reflection of Inca gender complementarity. However, the distinctly sparse chapter content devoted to the Coya raises questions about their role in Inca oral traditions and what was available to Murua in the colonial period. The shift to coupling the Coya with the Inca in the Getty indicates an increasing emphasis on patrilineal descent in the sixteenth century, in line with the pressures of European historiographical and patriarchal biases.¹¹⁶ Murua explicitly

¹¹⁴ "Le dezía que así como auía de ser señora de aquella piesa de rropa lo sería de todo lo demás como el lo hera." Murua, *Historia del origen*, f. 82. Translation by Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 66. She uses the quote to argue for gender equality. However, I believe it reflects the Inca terms of necessary but unequal gender complementarity. In the Getty, the expanded version discusses in much more length the festivities and roles of the Coya. The quote is repeated, "Llebaua el ynga una piesa de Ropa finísima de cumbi y unos topos de oro y el demás a Dereso que le abía de dar a Su muger y deciale al sol que así como abía de ser Señora de aquella bestiduras topos y lo demás así lo sería sin falta de todo quanto El tenía y poseía y que el la traría como hija del sol." Murua, *Historia general del Perú*, f. 253.

¹¹⁵ "Esta Señora y Reyna / con las yndias comunes Pocas Veces tenía conversación y con las principa / les y onestas tenía las en tanto q[ue] las llamaría muchas veces señora / o coya, y Ellas le rrespondían sapa coia." Murua, *Historia del origen*, f. 25r. "Reina y Señora, q[ue] entre ellos se dize sapa y Coya, guanú." Ibid., f. 130r.

¹¹⁶ Raquel Chang-Rodríguez first discussed Murua's unique visual and textual representation of the Inca and Coyas in terms of Andean complementarity. She argued that the Getty Murua, unlike other Spanish chroniclers, shows a particular understanding of Andean complementarity. But she did not examine the Galvin Murua, which supports Andean notions of the Coya's power and authority more

explained in the Getty his desire to make his work more accessible to a Spanish audience: "To give greater clarity to this history, I wanted to put every Coya and queen chapter together with her husband because by treating them afterwards it caused confusion with the reader, which is what I want to avoid".¹¹⁷ The compositional change in the Getty manuscript suggests an explicit step towards validating Andean society, culture, and memory according to European criteria.

3. Inca

3.1 *Background*

The kinship identification of the Sapa Incas in the Galvin and Getty manuscripts' portraits, labels, and text correspond with other chronicles and primary sources from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (see Chart 2 for names of Inca ruler in chronicles). In particular, the names and *panacas* of the Sapa Inca correspond with records from the Inca legal campaigns, including the 1584 declaration and 1585 testimony that listed Inca descendants by their Sapa Inca. José Carlos de la Puente (2016: 12) observes that the dynastic social organization promoted by Inca elites in Cuzco in their legal campaigns informed Toledo's assumptions about Inca lineage and historical accounts. Those versions were collected or recopied by many authors including Sarmiento, Molina, Murua, Acosta, and Cabello Balboa from the 1570s to the 1600s. For example, Sarmiento's account describes how Inca Roca named his son Uicaquirao (Vicaquirao) as the head of his *panaca*, which they now call Vicaquirao *Panaca Ayllu* as part of Hanan Cuzco.¹¹⁸ The 1584 Declaration (f. 254v) and the Galvin manuscript (f. 14v, 22r) also list Inca Roca of the

accurately by depicting the Incas and Coyas in distinct descent lines. Raquel Chang-Rodríguez, "Las Coyas incaicas y la complementariedad andina en la Historia (c. 1616) de Martín de Murúa," *SIs Studi Ispanici* 24 (1999), 11–27

¹¹⁷ "Dar mayor claridad a esta historia he querido hazer de cada Coya y Reyna su cap[itul]o junto al de su marido porque haziendo despues particular tratado dellas causaria en los lectores confusion que es lo que mas procuro huir." Murua, *Historía general del Piru*, f. 23v.

¹¹⁸ "Nombro Inga Roca Inga por cabeza de su linaje a su hijo Uicaquirao, y asi se llamo y ahora tambien se llama su parcialidad Uicaquirao Panaca Ayllu. De este linaje hay en el Cuzco algunos que viven hoy, los principales de los cuales, que los amparan y conservan este ayllu, son los siguientes: don Francisco Guaman Rimache Hachacoma, don Antonio Guama Mayta. Son Hanancuzcos. Vivio ciento y veinte y tres anos; sucedio de veinte anos, fue Capac ciento y tres anos, murio el ano de mil y ochenta y ocho anos del nacimiento del senor. El cuerpo de este hallo el licenciado Polo en un pueblo llamado Rarapa..." Sarmiento, *Historia de los incas*, 224.

Vicaquirao *Ayllu*.¹¹⁹ This standardization contrasts with significant discrepancies on the origin myth and the number and order of Inca rulers in earlier accounts. The differences reflect conflicting views of lineage-based oral traditions maintained by an Inca's *panaca* (Yaya 2012: 43-52), which over time became fixed in the European chronicle and legal format.

	El Palentino	Sarmiento	1584 Declaration	1585 Testimony	Cabello Balboa	Galvin	Getty	Guaman Poma
	Mango Capac Inga	Manco Capac	Mango Capac Ynga		Manco Capac	Manco Capac	Manco Capac	Mango Capac Inga
	Sinche Roca Inga	Sinchi Roca	Cinchiroca of Raura Panaca		Cinchi Ruca	Sinchi Roca	Sinchi Roca	Cinchi Roca Inga
	Llocuco Pangue Inga	Lloqui Yupangui	Lloque Yupanqui of Chaguainin ayllu		Lluqui Yupangui	Lloqui Yupangui	Lloque Yupanqui	Lloqui Yupanqui Ynga
	Maita Capa Inga	Mayta Capac	Maita Capac Ynga, Uscamaita ayllu		Mayta Capac	Maita Capac	Mayta Capac	Mayta Capac
	Capac Yupangi	Capac Yupangui	Capac Yupanqui, Apomaita ayllu		Capac Yupangui	Capac Yupangui	Capac Yupanqui	Capac Yupanqui Ynga
	Inga Ruco Inga	Inga Roca Inga	Ynga Roca Ynga, Vicaquirao ayllu		Ynga Ruca Ynga	Inga Roca	Ynga Roca	Inga Roca
	Yaguar Guac[a] Inga Yupangue	Yaguar Guaca	Yaguarguacac Ynga Yupangui, Aucaille Panaca		Yaguar Guaca	Yaguar Guacac	Yahuar Guacac	Yauar Uacac Ynga
	Viracocha Inga	Viracocha	Viracocha Ynga, Cuçco Panaca	Viracocha	Viracocha Inga	Viracocha	Viracocha Ynga Ynga Yupanqui [or Pachakuti Ynga]	Uira Cocha Ynga
	Pachacoti Inga	Pachacuti		Pachacuti Ynga	Ynga Yupangui	Inga Yupangui	Tupa Ynga Yupanqui	Pachacuti Ynga Yupanqui
	Topa Inga Yupangue	Topa Inga Yupangui		Topa Inga Yupanqui	Topa Ynga Yupangui	Tupa Inga Yupangui		Topa Ynga Yupanqui
	Guayna Capa Inga	Guayna Capac		Huayna Capac	Guayna Capac	Guaina Capac	Huayna Capac	Guayna Capac Ynga
	Guascar	Tito Cusi Guapla Indi Illapa [Guascar]			Topa Cusi Gualpa [Guascar]	Guascar Ynga	Huascar	topa Cuci Gualpa or Guascar Ynga

Chart. 2: Names of Inca rulers in chronicles. Julien, *Reading Inca History*, 65-67, 69-72, 74-77, 79 from chronicles. ARC. Chacón Becerra. Prot. 71, 1778-79, 19 July 1585, ff. 158r-164r; ARC. Betancur. Vol. 1, núm 21, 16 January 1584, ff. 263-265v.

Nonetheless, unlike earlier chroniclers, Murua and other late sixteenth-century chroniclers like Cabello Balboa, Guaman Poma, and Garcilaso were less interested and generally neglected to include *panaca* association in their text on Inca kings (Zuidema 2002: 26). One important exception is the Galvin portraits, where *panaca* affiliations are listed with the Inca names and, at times, poems. The ink for the *panaca* affiliations is slightly darker than the names, suggesting

¹¹⁹ While Puente did not distinguish between the Galvin and the Getty version, their shared naming pattern for the Inca kings supports Puente's observation. Supporting Cesar Itier's (2011) proposal that a *panaca's* name originated with the head of the lineage, Puente argues that *panacas* represented in the 1584 declaration were royal *ayllus* that were not necessarily any different from other Andean descents groups. The *panaca's* listed in the Declaration captured an *ayllu* founded by its leader and composed by his descendants. The listing in the Declaration corresponded with the dynastic treatment of rulers in *Historia de los incas*, compiled by Sarmiento. César Itier, "Las Panacas no existieron," in *Estudios sobre lenguas andinas y amazónicas: homenaje a Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino*, ed. by Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino, Wilhelm F. H Adelaar, Pilar Valenzuela, and Roberto Zariquiey, (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica Del Peru, 2011), 181-93; Puente, *Incas pecheros y caballeros hidalgos*, 29-32.

they were written at different moments. Another exception appears in the Galvin manuscript in Chapter 15, Book One, with text copied from Diego Fernández, El Palentino's chronicle of 1571, *Historia del Perú* (Pärsinnen 1989: 48-58; Julien 2000: 86). El Palentino collected his information in the 1560s (Pease 2008: 213-215), before Toledo's history project in 1572 and the lawsuit for exemption in the 1580s. The copied text in the Galvin lists the *panacas* of the Incas which diverges from listings in the Galvin portraits.¹²⁰ While we cannot assert any direct influence from a particular individual, the Inca names and *panacas* included in the Murua manuscripts correspond to a general trend found in legal documents supported by Inca descendants in the late sixteenth century.

The Galvin Inca chapters offer possible glimpses of the role of the Inca endorsers in Hanan Cuzco, particularly don Luis. Besides chapters on Manco Capac, the progenitor, and Capac Yupanqui, the chapters on Sapa Incas of Hurin Cuzco include titles but lack textual content. In contrast, the Sapa Incas of the more recent past in Hanan Cuzco, starting with Inca Roca, all contain textual content. Comparative textual analysis has shown significant copying from Oré, Fernández, El Palentino, and Polo de Ondegardo in all the Inca chapters.¹²¹ However, significant portions of the chapters for Inca Roca, Viracocha, Pachacuti, and Huayna Capac are original. Interestingly, these Sapa Inca are all in Hanan Cuzco, the same descent and kinship groups to which our Inca endorsers belonged. They carried the memories of the more recent, historical past,

¹²⁰ The pre-Toledean text lists a slightly different order and identification for Inca lords, their *panaca*, and association with Hanan Cuzco or Hurin Cuzco than the other Galvin Inca chapters. El Palentino wrote during negotiations that led to Sayre Tupac's and Cusi Guarca's exit from Vilcabamba. The news of Titu Cusi Yupanqui's death and the appointment of Tupac Amaru as Inca ruler had not yet reached Spanish authorities. The consequential capture and execution of Tupac Amaru and Toledo's visual and textual history happened a year after the publication of El Palentino's chronicle. Like the legal records, it is concerned with who is defined to be *incas de sangre* and the "*verdadero incas*". It states: "*Estos Doze señores yngas fueron thenidos En mucho En este Reyno de todos los yndios los quales quentan auer auido catorze aillos o linages conforme a los señores que auido y los que de qualquier destos descendian Eran uerdaderos yngas y se tenian en mas por que procedian de alguno de los señores que era como dezir de sangre Real thenian puesto a cada Aillo su nombre.*" Significantly, in contrast to the Galvin chapter and book composition, Chapter 15 acknowledges the kingship lineage of Manco Inca and Sayre Tupa but does not mention Tupac Amaru.

¹²¹ For the Sapa Inca in the Galvin, Murua copied from Jerónimo de Oré for the first half of chapter one in Book One, and a significant amount for Manco Capac and Capac Yupanqui. See Álvarez-Calderón, *Friar Martín de Murúa*, 60-61; *Mentiras y legados*, 159-186. Murua also copied from Diego de Fernández, El Palentino, for a few lines in Manco Capac, Viracocha, Pachacuti, and Huayna Capac and more significantly for Topa Inca Yupanqui and, as discussed, the closing Chapter Fifteen on the Sapa Inca. See Pärsinnen, *Otras Fuentes Escritas*, 48-58; Julien, *Reading Inca History*, 86. There are also a few shared passages from Polo de Ondegardo in Manco Capac and Inca Roca, and, according to my own textual analysis, Yauar Guacac. See Porras Barrenechea, *Los cronistas del Perú*, 677-78; Aranibar, *Algunos problemas*, 106; Duviols, *Les sources religieuses*, 267-77.

at the time of the chronicle project and Spanish invasion. More specifically, the type and location of original text in the Galvin Murua suggests, without explicit evidence or citation, that don Luis and possibly don Juan served as sources for the text.

For example, whereas a few lines about Viracocha Inca come directly from El Palentino's chronicle, the remaining lines are unique. In the passage transcribed below, the underlined words were copied from *Historia del Perú* (1571). The bolded parts were recopied in the Getty.

Fernández, *Historia del Peru*, 1963 [1571], p. 81

Of Viracocha, Eighth Inca: Viracocha conquered five *pueblos*. He was valiant and had Mama Yunto Cayan as his wife. They had five sons, which they called: first and heir, Pachacuti Inca; second, Inca Urcon Inca; third, Inca Maita; fourth, Cuna Yurachali Curopangue; and fifth, Capac Yupangue.¹²²

Murua, *Historia del origen*, 1596, f. 17r

Chapter 10, The great doings of valiant Viracocha Inca, 8th King: This brave Inca was the great lord, very valiant and bellicose of which some say that a few days after the death of the Inca they announced among themselves a bearded Inca that came from the ocean... Having conquered five *pueblos* the opinion remained that he was very valiant. They said that his wife was someone called Mama Yunto Cayan. They had five sons, which they called: first and heir, Pachacuti Ynga and for other name Ynga Yupangui; second Ynga Urcon Ynga; third Ynga Mayta; fourth Cunayura Chali Coropangui; fifth Capac Yupangui so great and some opinions say that this great Inca was not married and by default left no sons. In his absence his brother, Inca Yupangui, rose to king and lord . . . His clothes were a tight and long, all white cotton shirt or *cumbi*, and on top of the *manta* a cape was added to the right shoulder, and a colored tassel of cotton or wool skein. They had dances on festival days they were ordered to show to the o officials . . . ¹²³

¹²² "De Vira Cocha, Inga Octavo: Vira Cocha Inga conquistó cinco pueblos. Fué valiente y tubo por mujer una que se llamó Mama Yunto Cayan; de la cual tuvo cinco hijos, los cuales se nombraron, el primero, que fué heredero, Pachacoti Inga; el segundo, Inga Urcon Inga; el tercero, Inga Maita; el cuarto, Cuna Yurachali Curopangue; el quinto, Capac Yupangue." Diego Fernández de Palentino, "Historia Del Perú," in *Crónicas Del Perú*, ed. by Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 164–65, (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1963 [1571]), 81.

¹²³ "Capitulo 10 de los grandes Hechos del valeroso viracocha ynga 8 Rey: Este Valeroso ynga fue Gran señor muy valiente y velicosso del Qual dizen que desde a pocos dias de como murio El ynga Publicauan entre ellos un inga barbado que benia de la mar . . . de auer conquistado cinco pueblos quedo en oPinion de mui ualiente y dizen que tuuo por muger una que se llamo mama yunto cayan en la qual tuuo cinco hijos los quales tenian por nombre el primero que fue eredero pachacuti ynga y por otro nombre ynga yupangui el segundo ynga urcon ynga el terzero ynga mayta el quarto cunayura chali coropangui el quinto capac yupangui tan uiena y algunas opiniones que quieren dezir que este gran ynga no fue casado y que por defecto de no dejar hijos. En su ausencia alçaron por rrey y señor / a uno que dixeron ser su hermano llamado inga yupangui . . . su bestido fuese una camiseta de algodón o cunbi toda blanca estrecha y luenga y ençima una manta por capa añudada al Hombro derechHo con madejas de algodón o lana de colores

Murua, *Historia general del piru*, 1616, f. 37r

Chapter 17, Of the doings of Viracocha, Eighth Inca: Viracocha was the son of Yahuar Hauacac. He was brave and great spirit, and some say he was **bearded** and **conquered** many **pueblos**. Even though he disappeared after long time time, he married with **Mama Yunto Caya** and they had **five sons: first and heir called Pachacuti Ynga** Yupanqui **and for other name Ynga Yupanqui, second Urcon Ynga, third Ynga Maita, fourth Coropanqui, fifth Capac Yupanqui. There are also some opinions that want to say that he was not married and that at death he lacked sons and heir, His brother called Ynga Yupanqui rose to lord . . . and the clothes were a tight and long, all white cotton shirt or *cumbi*, and on top of the *manta* (poncho) a cape was added to the right shoulder, and a colored tassel of cotton or wool skein. They had dances on festival days they were ordered to show to the officials . . .**¹²⁴

The text for each Sapa Inca by El Palentino is by no means extensive. Murua copied his entire chapter on Viracocha for his own. However, he added significant original content, some of which diverges from other sections and chronicles. He added a second name to Pachacuti--Ynga Yupanqui and, uniquely, stated that he did not marry and left no sons.¹²⁵ The second half of the original text describes how Inca Yupanqui was a priest and the specific composition of his *cumbi* (fine Inca textile) clothing worn during festivals. Unlike other chapters on the Inca that offered new information, were substantially rewritten, and/or expanded, the Getty chapter on Viracocha is very similar to the Galvin chapter. The only redacted section referred to a mythical, bearded man that the Inca supposedly called Viracocha Inca. He appeared and disappeared before Sapa Inca Viracocha began his rule. In the very next chapter in the Galvin (f. 18r) on the ninth Inca, Pachacuti

por uorlas tienauanse los días de festiuales y mandauales que se enseñase a los ministros . . ." Murua, *Historia del origen*, 17r.

¹²⁴ "Cap^o 17 De los hechos de viracocha ynga octauo: Viracocha ynga hijo de yahuar huacac fue valeroso y de gran animo y algunos dicen que fue Barbudo y conquisto muchos Pueblos y aunque al cauo de mucho t[iem]po se desapareçio. Fue cassado con mama yunto caya en la qual tuuo cinco hijos el Primero que fue heredero se llamo Pachacuti ynga yupanqui por otro nombre ynga yupanqui el segundo Vicu ynga el terçero ynga maita el quarto Coropanqui el quinto capac yupanqui tambien ay algunas oPinones que quieren deçir que no fue cassado y que muerto el faltando le hijos y suçesor alçaron por senior aun hermano suyo llamado ynga yupanqui . . . el vestido una camiseta de algodón o cumbi toda blanca estrecha y larga y encima una manta añudada al hombro derecho con madexas de algodón o lana de colores por o la tiznauanse los días festiuos y mandauales que ensenasen a sus ministros . . ." Murua, *Historia general del Piru*, f. 37r.

¹²⁵ The idea that Viracocha did not have sons, which allowed his brother, Inca Yupanqui, to rise to power is unique. Most chronicles and even Murua, list Inca Urcon and Inca Yupanqui as his sons.

Inca Yupanqui, Murua again copied a small portion from El Palentino. Most of the text (as far as identified) is original in the Galvin. Like Viracocha, the second half of the chapter is devoted to describing his attire, including the *mascapaycha*, and general activities during festivals.¹²⁶ While it is impossible to verify any direct link to don Luis or don Juan, the chapter texts evoke Inca society's collective and don Luis' specific concern (as seen in his 1600 testament) for the performance and maintenance of lineage, memory, power, and prestige through ancient objects and textiles.¹²⁷

Significantly, the type and location of original text in the Galvin Murua suggests that don Luis and possibly don Juan, as descendants of Pachacuti, served as sources for the content. Notably, Topa Inca Yupanqui's chapter in the Galvin Murua, from whom none of the Andean endorsers claimed descendancy, was largely copied from El Palentino with limited original text. At a minimum, the Indigenous leaders' legal and cultural strategies for the promotion of their noble Inca heritage informed the multivocal composition of the Inca history in the Murua manuscripts.

4. Captains

Both Murua's and Guaman Poma's chronicles included unique sets of chapters on Inca captains. Whereas the Galvin lacks clarity, Murua explains in the Getty how he collected content from the "*khipus* and memories" that was "not outside history nor far from my principal intention to make mention of and remember some of the sons of the Inca" who were equally valiant and vital to the Inca. They are "celebrated with no less gusto and joy than the principal

¹²⁶ "El qual salía en las fiestas grandes que ellos tenían muy galan y rricamente uestido con la corona o mascapaicha puesta enseñal de Rey y señor con muchos flores y con patenas de plata y de oro, tiznabase conforme la fiesta o tiempo q[ue] era y lleuaua mucha multitud de gente tambien tiznados de mil colores y figuras Dançando yba ylando sin descansar cantando unos Respondiendo otros trocandolas palabras y diziendo las ystorias suçesos y Hazañas deste dho ynga y en llegando A la cancha o caza en donde la suso dha fiesta celebrauan y buuelto el ynga a su casa los que quedauan comian bebían y en borna chauanse Reñían despues apuñean dose desafiando Hasta que al fin lleuauan las mugeres a sus cassas ydolatrauan Reziamente adorando al sol y la luna." Murúa, *Historia del origen*, f. 18r.

¹²⁷ Don Luis' testament states: "Declaro que yo tengo bestidos del cumbe de conbre del tienp[o] antiguo que me hijo don luis ynga tiene por mem[pria] y llautos y plumerias y mascapaycha que son tres / todos los quales manda al dho don luis ynga mi hijo con cargo que le de a doña maria pilco çiça una camiseta blanca de cunbe antigua y una manta negra de cumbe y una de las dhas mascapaychas para que tenga cosa mya y se acuerde de my." ARC. Antonio de Salas. Prot. 303, 1600-01, 24 December 1600, f. 562r. See Appendix A, Transcription 2, for full transcript.

Kings."¹²⁸ This remark suggests that Inca remembrance practices extended beyond Sapa Incas to other prominent (exclusively male?) ancestors. Their unique content offers insight into Inca oral history practices of descent during the colonial period that went beyond the bounds of primogeniture captured in the legal records.

Juan Ossio's (2000a, 2004, 2008b, 2015) comparative studies conclude that Guaman Poma and Murua had access to similar oral sources and traditions for the history and iconography of Inca nobility, including the Inca, Coyas, and captains (See Chart 3).¹²⁹ Ossio's observations raise the question: Could their sources include the named Inca endorsers? Why were these captains mentioned and not others? In this section we consider the significance of the captains in representations of Inca descent in the colonial period, and any indications of the Indigenous endorsers' influence on the textual accounts. A comparative examination with other chronicles and primary sources considers a possible logic to the clustering. Various indications in the selection and inclusion of certain Inca leaders suggest the direct input and influence of don Luis Chalco Yupanqui. The presence of the Cañari endorser's perspective, that of don Pedro, makes the inclusion of the Inca endorsers as sources more likely.

Unlike the descriptions of Inca and Coya, the chapters on notable sons of the Inca rarely include recopied text and loosely follow the structure of the Genealogical genre, particularly in the Galvin manuscript.¹³⁰ In the Galvin version the section comprises Book Two and ends with the

¹²⁸ "Por auer tratado particularm^e de todos los yngas que en este Reino fueron señores y auca seguido en ello con el maior cuidado que asido posible. La verdad y la relacion, mas Sierta que de la mucha variedad y distintas Razones que los yndios Viejos con sus quipos y memorias me andado y ecollejido me aparesido no ser fuera de la historia ni ajeno de mi prinsipal yntento hazer mençion y Recuerdo de algunos hijos de los yngas los quales aun que no les Suciedieron en los estados por auer otros maiores en edad que se les Preferian fueron valerosos y señalaron en las guerras y conquistas que el ynga haçia Siendo capitanes de sus exesitos de los quales los yndios aun el día de oy hazen memoria contando y Refiriendo algunas cosas dignas de Sauerse y que ellos entresi las selebran con no menor gusto y contento que los de sus Reyes prinsipes." Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, f. 203v.

¹²⁹ Ossio also identifies key differences between Captain representations. Guaman Poma was more accurate in certain iconographic aspects and, apart from Pachacuti as the first captain, the ordering and kinship affiliations diverge. There is no apparent order to the captains in Murua's manuscripts. Ossio argues that the differences stem from their distinct motivations: Murua for his underlining interest in a fantastical Andean history in contrast to Guaman Poma's mission to demonstrate a linear Andean history that incorporated his grandfather's role as a captain for Topa Inca Yupanqui. Moreover, Guaman Poma was more consistent and accurate in his visual representations, including the *tocapus* on the dresses of the Inca (2015). Ossio, *Tradición oral andina*, 10-11; *Introducción*, 49; "Inca Kings, Queens, Captains, and Tocapus," in *Unlocking the Doors to the Worlds of Guaman Poma and His Nueva Corónica*, edited by Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup, (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2015).

¹³⁰ Pierre Duviols identified one exception in the chapter on the first captain, Pachacuti, which includes texts from Polo, Chapter VII. Duviols, *Sources religieuses*, 18; Polo, *Instrucción contra las ceremonias*, 270.

Galvin Manuscript	Getty Manuscript	Nueva corónica
1 Pachacuti or Ynga Yupangui	1 Pachacuti or Ynga,	1 Pachacuti or Ynga Yupanqui Yupanqui
2 Cusi Guanán Chiri	Cusi Huana Chiri	2 Topa Amaru
3 Ynga Uron	2 Ynga Urcon	3 Cuci Uanan Chiri
4 Apocámac	Apomaita, Villcaquiri	4 Apo Maytac y Vilcac Ynga
5 Ynga Maitac	Ynga Maita	5 Ausitopa Ynga Yupangui
6 Ynga Maitac		6 Otorongo Achachi o Apocamac
7 Tupa Amaru	3 Tupa Amaro	7 Ynga Maytac Ynga Urcon
8 Capac Guaritito	4 Capac, Huaritito, Ausitopa	8 Apocamac Ynga
9 Ausitopa Ynga		9 Ynga Urcon
10 Atawalipa		10 Chalcochima
11 Rumiñahui		11 Ruminahui
		12 Capac Apo Guaman Chaua
		13 Capac Apo Ninarua
		14 Mallco Castilla Pari
		15 Malco Mullo

Chart 3: From Juan Ossio, "Introduction," 45.

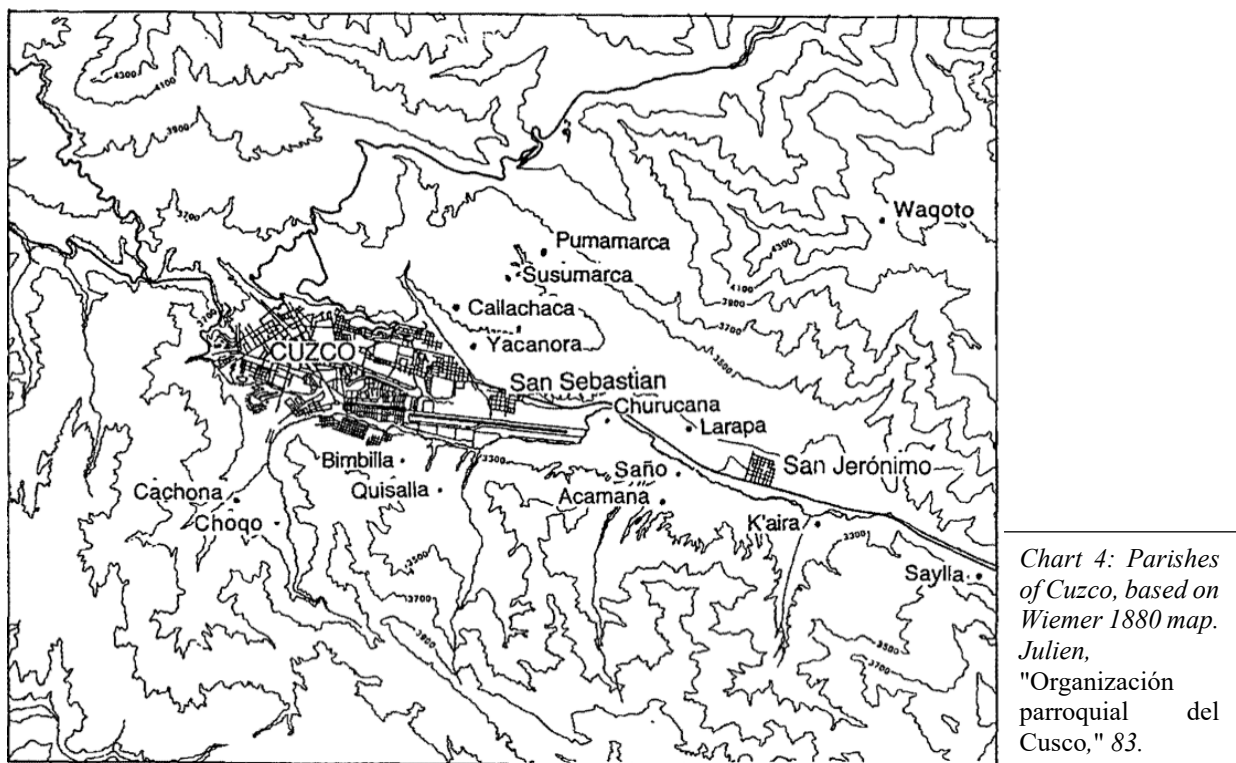
leaders of the Inca resistance to Spanish rule. Guaman Poma is the artist of the descriptive illustrations (in contrast to the static Inca and Coya portraiture). In the Getty manuscript the chapters on captains conclude Book One and lack images. Murua reduced the text, clustered captains into fewer chapters, and at times expanded his account (see Chart 3 for comparative list of captains and chapters order). Here I focus on certain pre-Hispanic captains whose treatment suggests the involvement of Inca endorsers. Inca leaders after the Spanish invasion are addressed in the *mascapaycha* section.

4.1 Pachacuti and Cusi Guanán Chiri

As the Getty chapter organization suggests, Inca leaders Pachacuti or Ynga Yupanqui and Cusi Guanán Chiri (Cusi Huana Chiri, Guanachiri Amaro, Huana Chiri Amaro) or Manco Inca are clustered in Inca social memory. Cusi Guanán Chiri is identified as the son of captain Pachacuti (not to be confused with Sapa Inca, Pachacuti) and grandson of the first Sapa Inca, Manco Capac (1596, f. 37r; 1616 203v), or the more commonly shared version, the son of Inca, Sinchi Roca, and brother to Lloque Yupanqui and Coya Chimbo (1596 f. 24r). The narrative in Galvin Chapter 2 (f. 37r) recounts his ritual and conquest activity in the Cuzco valley, and the

continuation of related ceremonial practices during Inca rule. It emphasizes that Cusi Guanac Chiri instated the Inca initiation rite of piercing young men's ears. The rite was meant to differentiate the Inca from other ethnic groups as they increased their power throughout the valley. Following the Genealogical genre, the chapter concludes by describing his hundreds of children with his principal wife and *yunacas* (*yñaca*), which are *ñustas* or Inca princesses.¹³¹

However, according to accounts by Sarmiento and Cobo, Guanachiri was Sinchi Roca's



wawki (also written as *hauqui*, *hauque*, *hauque*, *hauque*, *hauque*, *hauque*, *hauque*, and *gaoiqui*) or petrified brother in the form of a fish (though it would have been an abstract form for the Inca). As *corregidor* of Cuzco, Polo de Ondegardo discovered the *wawki* Guana Chiri (Sarmiento) or Huana-chiri-amaro (Cobo) at the same time with the *mallki* (mummified body of an Inca ruler)¹³²

¹³¹ Chapter 2 also includes *tianguéz*, a hispanized word for market from Nahuatl, called *tianquiztli*. The inclusion suggests a mixture between Andean and non-Andean sources, a typical pattern of Murua. See, Ossio, *Códice Murúa*, 106, note 55.

¹³² *Mallki* were often kept in caves and defined in sixteenth-century dictionaries as a kind of plant, sapling for planting, fruit tree, or as a verb, to replant (*mallquini*). Domingo de Santo Tomás, *Lexicón, o Vocabulario de la lengua general del Perú*, edited by Raúl Porras Barrenechea, (Lima: Edición del Instituto de Historia, 1951), 314; González de Holguín, *Vocabulario*, 159; Dean, *After-life of Inka Rulers*, 29-30.

Sinchi Roca in the *pueblo* of Wimpillay (Bimbilla or Membilla according to Cobo).¹³³ The noticeable similarity in the description can be explained by the fact that Cobo copied from Sarmiento, citing a shared source, such as Molina's now lost manuscript or Polo de Ondegardo's republished 1559 report (i.e., *De los errores y supersticiones de los indios*) (Bauer and Decoster 2009: 26-32). The *wawki* and *mallki* were under the care of the Raurahua *Panaca*, the "*ayllo* and family" of Sinchi Roca. The association between the *mallki* Sinchi Roca and the *wawki* Guanachiri explains the popular kinship relationship with the Sapa Inca in the Murua manuscripts.

Carolyn Dean explains that during a ruler's lifetime the *wawki* was his embodied complementary double who owned land and goods. In the case of the Inca's absence, his petrified double embodied the ruler. It was taken to war and carried in processions for adequate rainfall (analogous to semen) and good harvest. Upon the ruler's death and mummification, the *wawki* continued to be revered and hosted the masculine energy of the feminized *mallki*. Unfortunately, Spaniards such as Polo de Ondegardo quickly categorized the *wawki* and their reverence with stone idols or *bultos*, despite not following figurative or anthropomorphic compositions.¹³⁴ Guaman Poma's image does not seem to make a connection to the *wawki*. However, he acknowledges Cusi Guanacachi's ritualistic persona by depicting him kneeling with an *accha* and offering keros (queros) filled with chicha to a sacred stone (*huaca*) and *Inti* (Quechua for Sun). Each element is positioned according to complementary hanan and hurin realms (fig. 60).

¹³³ "Este dejo un idolo de piedra, figura de pescado, llamado Guanachiri Amaro, que fue en su vida su idolo guaoqui. El cual idolo, con el cuerpo de Cinchi Roca, hallo el licenciado Polo, siendo corregidor del Cuzco, en el pueblo de Bimbilla, entre unas barretas de cobre, y el idolo tenia su servicio de criados y tierras de sembrar." Sarmiento, *Historia de los incas*, 220. Carolyn Dean points out that Sarmiento never in fact saw a *wawki*, and likely just assumed a figurative form along idol stereotypes. Dean, *After-life of Inka Rulers*, 33-34.

¹³⁴ As a material object, the *wawki* likely did not conform to Spanish expectations of idols as intentionally figurative or anthropomorphic. While Spaniards described *wawkis* as figurative, there is no evidence they were in fact. Often Spaniards stripped them of textiles and metals without recognizing the embodied value in the stone. Importantly, Carolyn Dean argues they did represent the Inca ruler but were an embodied manifestation of them. The *wawki* is different from the *wanka* (*huanca*), which is a male ancestor turned to stone. See Dean, "Andean Androgyny, 165-70; Dean, *Culture of Stone*, 41-44; Dean, *After-life of Inka Rulers*, 29-34; Polo, "De los Errores y Supersticiones," chap. 3, 10-11; Acosta, *Natural and Moral History*, bk. 5, chap. 6, 265-66.

Significantly, Sarmiento's and Cobo's descriptions and the original Inca site location of the *wawki*, Guanachiri in Wimpillay, links us to don Luis. Wimpillay was an occupied Inca site in the surrounding area of Cuzco, located on a lower mountain north of Muyo Orqo mountain along Cuzco's Huatanay river. Wimpillay was the *pueblo antiguo* of the Chima and Raura *panaca* and bordered the land of Apomayta (Segalini 2009: 108-109). After the Spanish invasion, the town became part of don Martín Dolmos' *encomienda* (royal grant of Indigenous labor and tribute) (Rowe 1944: 22, Julien 1998: 88, Chart 4). In the last three decades of the sixteenth century, don Francisco Chalco Yupanqui, the father of don Luis, was



Figure 60: Inca, "Cuçi Guananchiri" and *acla* worship of Huaca. Guaman Poma. *Historia y genealogía de los reyes incas del Perú* (2008 [1596]), f. 36v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

a *cacique principal* of Wimpillay and Callachaca, and possibly familiar with the oral history and ritual practices surrounding the *wawki* Guanachiri, while not part of the Raurahua Panaca.¹³⁵ He was likely aware of Polo de Ondegardo's discovery and destruction of the Guanachiri *wawki* and perhaps even interviewed as one of the *kipucamayucs*. The differences in discursive versions between the Galvin and other chronicles raises the possibility that the account relied on an Indigenous source with ancestral connections to Wimpillay, such as don Luis or a relative, rather than Polo de Ondegardo's report. Murua could have recorded the account as a human figure who was steep in ritual without recognizing it as an animated, non-human *wawki* that was deeply integrated in ceremonial activities with Sinchi Roca.

4.2 Inca Urcon, Vilcaquirao, Apomaita, and Inca Maitac

¹³⁵ ARC. Chacón Becerra, Agustín. Prot. 71, 1778-1779, 30 January 1575, 19 May 1602, f. 128r-146.

The next cluster of captains in the Murua manuscripts revolves around captains Inca Urcon (Inca Urcum, Urcon Inga, Ynga Urco, Inga Urton, Inca Orcon), Apomaita (Apo Mayta, Apomayta, Apomaytac), Vilcaquirao (Villcaquiri [Murua], Vica Quirao, Uillca Quiri), and Inca Maitac. The many references from early colonial Andean histories and records make clear that the memories of Apomaita, Vicaquirao, and Inca Urcon were contested though actively maintained between *panacas*. Curiously, only Murua, Guaman Poma, and El Palentino mention Inca Maitac as the brother of Inca Urcon and son of Viracocha (Murua 1596: f. 41r, 17r; Guaman Poma 1615: [156] 158; El Palentino 1963 [1571]: 81). The narrative emphasizes his military valor, weapons, and sumptuous proliferation of royal estates that he created with his three brothers and captains: Cunayrachali, Curopangui and Capayupangui.¹³⁶ This unique inclusion suggests two things that are not necessarily unrelated: Murua had access to a particular perspective and memories that eluded the investigations of other chroniclers, and/or he misunderstood elements of what he had heard.

The Murua and Guaman Poma accounts on Inca Urcon are very different from other chronicles. They are strikingly more positive in their description of Inca Urcon than most other chronicles by using the adjective "courageous" to describe him. Other chronicles depict him as acting cowardly in the face of the Chankas uprising (Dean 2019: 7). In both Murua manuscripts he is identified as the legitimate son of Viracocha, younger brother of Sapa Inca, Pachacuti (Getty), and older brother of Captain Inga Maitac.¹³⁷ In *Nueva corónica*, Inca Urcon is listed as the son of Pachacuti (f. 137), legitimate son of Viracocha and Mama Yunto Cayan Coya (f. 107), and tenth ruler, Tupa Inca Yupanqui (f. 160 [162]); likely indicating different people (Ossio 2015: 302-4). Interestingly, according to Sarmiento, only the descendants of Inca Urcon believed him to

¹³⁶ The chapter on Inca Maitac curiously discusses their dislike for bearded men, drawing their presence into the colonial era. Ossio points out that this is how Guaman Poma describes Iberians. Ossio, *Introduction*, 111, note 64.

¹³⁷ Murua, *Historia del origen*, f. 17r; *Historia general del Perú*, f. 205r. Betanzos states that Inca Urcon was the oldest of seven sons and most favored by Inca Viracocha, whereas Inca Yupanqui (Pachacuti) was one of the youngest sons. Juan de Betanzos, *Suma y narración de los incas*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, tomo 209, (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, [1551] 1968), 17.

be the legitimate son of Viracocha, whereas others remembered him as illegitimate. The distinctive perspective in the Galvin and Getty versions suggests that don Luis, or other Inca descendants of Inca Urcon and Viracocha, were sources for this cluster.

The Galvin chapter on Inca Urcon focuses on the oral history of the tired rock in Collaconcho by Sascayhuaman (discussed more fully in Chapter 3), territorial conquest in the northern and southern Andes, and architectural and agricultural achievements by Alpasunto, a mountain near Cuzco--all quintessential character traits expected of a strong Inca leader. He was much loved by his father and subjects for his great valor. Following the Genealogical genre, the text concludes: "*No dejó hijos, pero fue muy valeroso capitan*" [He did not leave sons, but he was a very valiant captain] (f. 38r). There is no mention of a relationship or competition with Inca Yupanqui (or Pachacuti Inca), Apomaita, or Vicaquirao, which are notable features in other accounts.

The Galvin Chapter 5 on Apomaita and Vilcaquirao, and Chapter 6 on Captain Maitac (Inca Maitac), are most concerned with defining leadership qualities according to Inca standards and lack any kinship information. These chapters focus on the leaders as valiant captains who were involved in the conquest of Cañete, and the connection between regional *huaca* appropriation and Inca territorial conquest. There is no explicit connection made between Apomaita and Vilcaquirao with Inca Urcon, Viracocha, or Pachacuti. Apomaita is alternatively listed as Capac Yupanqui's son and Inca Roca's brother (Murua 1616: f. 31r; Balboa Cabello 1951 [1586]: 290; Cobo [1653] 1964: 80), and with Vicaquirao, as Inca Roca and Coya Cusi Chimpu's (Mama Micai) son (Ibid.: 72; Murua 1616: f. 28r, 33). Interestingly, Garcilaso de la Vega, *El Inca* claims that Apomaita and Inca Maita are the same person. The author identifies Apomaita as Yahuar Huacac's brother and Inca Roca's son (Garcilaso de la Vega, *Inca* 1976 [1609], book 4, chap. 20: p. 138).

The Getty chapters on Pachacuti Inca (f. 39r-40r) and Inca Urcon (f. 204r-206r) augment distinctive information on the captains in this cluster. The divergent kinship association in the

Getty could be due to Murua's use of Molina's now lost chronicle. The Inca chapter includes slightly expanded information on the Sapa Inca Pachacuti following the Life History format, likely derived from Molina. However, Julien's analysis did not analyze the additional information in the captain chapters, which allows for other sources (2000: 184).

The Getty chapter on Inca Urcon repeats much of the information from the Galvin, but largely redacts information on Apomaita, Vicaquirao, and Inca Maita. Like Cabello, the Getty chapters disparage Pachacuti and praises Inca Urcon, even though the Murua version is far more positive. The account describes how the Sapa Inca-to-be ordered the murder of his brother, Inca Urcon, in Cacha (Canche), which is in the province of Sicuani and Cuzco Department (Ballesteros Gaibrois 2001: 65, note 83). Pachacuti feigned mourning, while Viracocha's grief over his favorite son's death killed him or, unique to Murua, he was said to have disappeared "according to some", at which point Pachacuti assumed the role of Sapa Inca. Unlike Cabello, the captain chapter in the Getty Murua describes how Apo Maita and Vicaquirao joined Pachacuti Ynga Yupanqui in successful battles in the Vilcabamba region and against Chancas from the province of Andahualyas during Viracocha's rule. Despite these details, the Getty version reads more like a summary of a well-known oral history than the type of detailed accounts found in other chronicles.

In contrast to Murua, major earlier chroniclers such as Betanzos [1551], Cieza [1553], and Sarmiento [1572] offer a negative view of Inca Urcon, with more detail on his relationship with Apomaita and Vicaquirao. Unlike Murua, their accounts explicitly associate Inca Urcon with the contentious leadership transition between Viracocha and his younger son, Pachacuti, and the vital role that the captains Apomaita and Vilcaquirao played in battles against the Chancas and Pachacuti's favorable ascension as Sapa Inca. However, despite Pachacuti's clear demonstrations of superior leadership and loyalty from other Inca leaders, Viracocha still intended for Inca Urcon to succeed him. This choice caused a cascade of events that culminated in

Pachacuti's coronation as ruler and his role in Inca Urcon's death. Although many accounts of these events differ in detail, all arrive at the same conclusion.¹³⁸

Despite differences, Murua's versions correspond with other accounts of Apomaita's kinship and the captains' generational clustering under Inca Roca, Viracocha, and Pachacuti rule. For example, Betanzos listed Apomaita and Vicaquirao as loyal friends of Inca Yupanqui, who saved him from conspiracies and attempted murder by Viracocha and Inca Urcon.¹³⁹ According to Sarmiento's narration Apomaita and Viracocha were experienced and respected Inca captains and leaders during Viracocha's rule. Inca Urcon fled Cuzco with his father and left Pachacuti to fight with Apomaita and Vicaquirao. The captains subsequently supported Pachacuti's accension to the rulership, and unsuccessfully tried to advise Viracocha.¹⁴⁰ Like Murua, Cobo associates Inca Roca's descendants with the first of Hanan Cuzco, in which Yahuar-Huacac, Vicaquirao, and Apomaita are brothers and Inca Roca's sons ([1653] 1964: 73). While Murua obscures the connections, his accounts originated from the same collective memories of Inca descendants.

Significantly, Apomaita and Vicaquirao were also prominent figures in the social and geographical memory of Inca descendants. They were recorded in various chronicles and records from the sixteenth century as ancestral heads of *panacas*. Specifically, according to sixteenth-century written records, Capac Yupanqui's *panaca* is called Apomaita *Panaca Ayllu*, and Inca

¹³⁸ Cieza, Sarmiento, and Cobo diminish Inca Urcon's claim as Sapa Inca as Inca Viracocha's 'bastard' but favored son. Betanzos, Cieza, and Sarmiento all describe how during the battle with the Chancas Viracocha left Cuzco with Inca Urcon and his entourage. Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, Apomaita, Vicaquirao, and other fighters remained in Cuzco and successfully beat back the Chanca. Cieza, *Crónica del Perú*, 193-196; Sarmiento de Gamboa, *Historia de los Incas*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 135, (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, [1572] 1965), 223-238, 275; Pachacuti Samqui Yamqui, *Relación de antigüedades*, 219-220; Bernabe Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 80; Betanzos, *Suma y narración*, 17, 22-26.

¹³⁹ Betanzos provides an extended account of Vicaquirao's role as ambassador between Pachacuti and Viracocha, who he tried to (unsuccessfully) convince to return to Cuzco under Pachacuti's request. *Ibid.*: 22-26.

¹⁴⁰ According to Sarmiento's account, Apomaita was Capac Yupanqui's grandson through Apo Saco, who was nephew to Inca Roca (different mothers). Apomaita joined his uncle, Inca Roca, in military campaigns. Vicaquirao (Uicaquirao) was Inca Roca's son, and Yaguar Guaca's half-brother. Apomaita and Vicaquirao served as ambassadors and advisors to Inca Viracocha and then Pachacuti. "En esta mujer hubo Inca Roca Inga un hijo llamado Tito Cusi Gualpa y por otro nombre Yaguar Guaca, y demas de este hijo legitimo y mayor tuvo Inca Roca otros cuatro hijos famosos, nombrados el uno Inga Paucar Inga, el segundo Guaman Taysi Inga, el tercero Uicaquirao Inga; este fue fuerte y gran guerrero y fue companero en las armas con Apomaita, los cuales dos capitanes fueron los que a Viracocha Inga y a Inga Yupanqui les dieron grandes victorias y les ganaron muchas provincias y fueron el principio del gran poder que despues tuvieron los ingas." Sarmiento, *Historia de los Incas*, 223-232.

Roca's is called Vicaquirao *Panaca Ayllu*.¹⁴¹ Polo de Ondegardo ([1571] 1916: 28, 32; [1571] 1917: 40, 28) and Cobo (copying from Polo; [1653] 1964: 73, 170, 180) identify the Vicaquirao *Ayllu* with eight *huacas* in the second *ceque* on the Chinchaysuyu road called Payan. The fourth *ceque* on the Cayao road belonged to the Apumayta *Ayllu* and had ten *huacas*. One "idol" had the same name as the *ayllu*, i.e., Apu Mayta. Alternatively, Betanzos claims that Pachacuti divided Cuzco into Hanan and Hurin Cuzco. Those above Curicancha who descended from Manco Capac were in Hanan Cuzco, whereas descendants from Vicaquirao, Apu Mayta, and Quilliscachi Urco Guaranga, as the "bastard" sons from mothers of different nations, lived in Hurin Cuzco.

Nothing directly links don Luis or the other Inca endorsers to the reconceived oral history captured in the chapters on captains. Nonetheless, by the seventeenth century, baptismal records show that many *panaca* members, including those of Vicaquirao and Apomaita, were living in San Sebastián (Julien 1998), where don Luis' father was an elder and leader until at least 1600, and where don Luis was born, presumably, and continued to own ancestral property. While don Luis and don Francisco were part of the Sucso *ayllu* as descendants of Viracocha, the pro-Viracocha and Urcon versions in the Murua manuscripts offer the possibility that don Luis served as a source during the Galvin production process. Oral histories of Inca Urcon, Apomaita and Vicaquirao appear to have been more widely shared but included contested versions. As with Cusi Guanán Chiri, regional connections exposed don Luis and the others to shared oral traditions about these very important figures in Inca ancestral history.

4.3 Tupa Amaro

Tupa Amaro (also spelled Tupa Amaru Ynga, Amaro Topa, Amaro Topa Inga, Amaro Thupa) was the eldest son of Sapa Inca, Pachacuti, and Mama Anauarque Coya, and the trusted brother of Sapa Inca, Topa Inca Yupanqui. Unusually, he was a member of his brother's *panaca*,

¹⁴¹ Sarmiento, *Historia de los Incas*, 223-224; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 72-73; ARC. Betancur. Vol. 1, núm 21, 16 January 1584, ff. 252-256v.

Capac *Ayllu*, rather than his father's *panaca*. He was the head of the second-ranked, Payan lineage. Many of his descendants were killed by Atahualpa's followers for siding with Huascar during the Inca civil war. He was a well-remembered prominent figure in Cuzco's Inca history (Murua 1596: 42r; 1616: 207r-208r; Guaman Poma 1615: f. 137, 148; Pachacuti [ca. 1613] 1993: 228 [f. 23v]; Sarmiento [1572] 1962: 248, 253, 275; Cobo [1653] 1964: 83; Rowe 1985). He joined his father, Pachacuti Inca, on military conquests. He later governed for his younger brother, Topa Inca Yupanqui, when he was away on military campaigns (Ibid.: 195-197; Cabello Balboa [1585] 1951: 311, 335; Sarmiento de Gamboa caps. 40-42; [1572] 1965: 245-248). He married Curi Ocllo (Polo [1571] 1917: 7). Unfortunately, his many heirs were forgotten because, "Among the nobles they do not remember sons, heirs, and successors of the kingdom if they were not valiant."¹⁴²

Tupa Amaro enjoys an unusual association with shrines and miracles (Rowe 1979: 11) and was put in charge of reorganizing Cuzco's shrines (Sarmiento de Gamboa cap. 37; [1572] 1964: 241-242). According to Pachacuti Yamqui, at his birth an *amaru*, or supernatural serpent, appeared from a mountain near Cuzco as comets passed in the sky ([ca. 1613] 1993: 224 [f. 21v]). During a famine, Tupa Amaro fed the city's inhabitants with his fields in Callachaca. His "clouds never left his fields, always raining at dusk." Much like a Christian saint, Tupa Amaro was revered for his humility and generosity towards the poor.¹⁴³ Surviving descendants in 1569 maintained sacred sites on the Payan *ceque* line (Rowe 1985: 195-197). According to Polo de Ondegardo, three *huacas* were associated with Tupa Amaro. They included Colcapata, the house of his wife Curi Ocllo; Carmenga, an agricultural field of Tupa Amaro; and Tupa Amaro's house on the Inca Road (Julien 1998: 88; Polo [1571] 1917: 5, 9, 12-13; Cobo [1653] 1964: 171, 173).

¹⁴² "No tienen noticia de los nombres de ellos, porque no se Hazia quenta entre estos señores como de los Hijos erederos y subzesores del Reyno, si no era que fue se valiente." Murúa, *Historia del origen*, 42r. This quote ignores the toll of Atahualpa's massacre of his descendants in the preservation of their memory.

¹⁴³ "En este tiempo, dizen que el dicho Amaro Topaynga siempre en esos siete anos de hambre los sacaba mucha comida de sus chacaras de Callachaca y Lucriocchullo; y mas dicen, que de su chacara jamas se apartaban nubes, llubiendoles siempre en anocheciendo, y assi dizen que no cayeyan yelos; milagro de nunca creer. Y desto dizen que la gente los querian adorar, y el dicho Amaro Ttopaynga no los consiente a que hizisen el tal negocio contra el Hazedor, que antes los humillaba a los pobres, dandoles de comer en los dichos ciete anos de hambre; el qual Amaro Topa ynga dicen que siempre su inclinacion era demasiado humilde con todos, y bien hablado. Este an hecho los colcas y troxes de las comidas, de mucho tiempo atras, cuyos descendientes fueron los capacayllos." Pachacuti Yamqui, *Relación de antigüedades*, 230 [24v].

Tupa Amaru owned many properties in and around Cuzco that included Callachaca, just above Cuzco by Sascayhuaman and Luriocchullo, and northeast of San Sebastián Parish.¹⁴⁴ A detailed archaeological survey by Susan Niles (1987) demonstrated that Callachaca, Pomamarca, and Susumarca were part of Captain Martín Dolmos's *encomienda* and previously part of the city's ritual and dynastic landscape.¹⁴⁵ As with Wimpillay, don Francisco was cacique of Callachaca in the 1570s, if not earlier, and San Sebastián Parish, where inhabitants from Wimpillay and Callachaca had been relocated.¹⁴⁶ Callachaca, often associated with Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui and Tupa Amaru, was part of the ancestral land of the Sucso and Aucaylli panaca before the 1595 repartition (Segalini 2009: 120-121). According to his last will and testament, written in 1600, don Luis owned ancestral land in Callachaca that he gifted to his son and daughter.¹⁴⁷ By all accounts he possessed a ritual, kinship, and physical connection to the land, making him familiar with the popular oral histories surrounding Tupa Amaru.

Tupa Amaro was clearly a prominent figure in sixteenth-century, Incaic Cuzco, whose memory from the recent past was maintained in the city's ritual, architectural, and territorial space. Oral, visual, performance and tactile traditions served as essential vehicles in Inca place and memory-making practices. Places and material culture retained the memories of ancestors for their descendants (Dean 2010, 2006: 105-84; Niles 1999; Abercrombie 1998; Lienhard 1993; Salomon 1991). As such, any of the five named Inca could have served as sources. Don Luis is a likely candidate. Although he did not live in Capac *Ayllu*, his connection to the land and local sacred sites inscribed with Tupa Amaro's memories make don Luis a likely source of information.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 218, 230. His property also included Lucre, Occhullo, "Amaromarcaguasi, a forest at Sorama (Tierras de Sorama Ms.), a field at Chacuaytapra near Cuzco (Cobo libro 13, cap. XIII, XIV; 1994: 173-175; Rowe 1986: 203), and probably around additional holdings (Rowe 1986: 204; Sherbondy 1982: 193-194, n. 86; Rostworowski 1962: 163; Villanueva and Sherbondy 1979: 118-153)." *The probanzas de nietos* was part of the descendants' efforts to retrieve his property. Susan Niles, *Callachaca: Style and Status in an Inca Community*, (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1987), 18-20.

¹⁴⁵ In addition to Amaru Tupa's Callachaca, Susumarca was a *huaca* in the city's *ceque* system. John Rowe, "An account of the shrines of ancient Cuzco," *Nawpa Pacha*, 17 (1980): 34; Niles, *Callachaca*, fig. 5.2, 180; Table 5.2; 12, 192, 194-196; Julien, "Organización Parroquial Del Cusco," 86-88.

¹⁴⁶ ARC. Chacón Becerra Agustín. Prot. 71, 1778-1779, 128v.

¹⁴⁷ ARC. Antonio de Salas. Prot. 303, 1600-01, 24 December 1600, f. 561r.

While none of these examples have provided us with a direct link between don Luis and the text, the tangential connections point to him as a source without precluding the other endorsers as possibilities. Moreover, the account's distinct concerns with Inca leadership characteristics that combined ceremonial, conquest, and architectural activities, suggest direct Inca involvement in the Galvin narrative. The idiosyncratic mentions of Apo Camac and Inga Maitac, figures only highlighted in *Nueva corónica*, suggest unique native sources shared by Guaman Poma and Murua. The Genealogical composition, consistent with the Inca and Coya accounts in the Galvin version, corresponds to Inca oral history traditions.

Murua's interest in oral histories of Inca descent created an opening for a more expansive patrilineal descent model that included the oral history practices of other revered ancestors besides Sapa Incas. The composition reflects a more complicated leadership and kinship structure, where authority also rested with other Inca figures in a relative but unequal complementary relationship to other Inca leaders. This more complicated memory practice by *panacas* was not recorded in legal documents, where testimonies were crafted to serve Inca strategies by reconceptualizing aspects of Inca memory to suit Iberian criteria of nobility. Even as the oral histories of these Inca leaders were transformed in the lettered chronicle process, their unique inclusion in the Murua manuscripts, later repeated in Guaman Poma's *Nueva Corónica*, adds credence to their significance in the construction of Inca kinship, socio-political organization, and memory-making traditions.

5. Coya

Even as the Galvin manuscript, Getty manuscript, and *Nueva corónica* chronicle are recognized for their unusual amount of information on Inca women, the lack of textual content on the Coya compared to the Sapa Inca suggests that Murua lacked certain source material, either orally or textually. This section contends with the result of an all-male cast of sources and collaborators in the manuscripts' genealogical composition and the making of a lettered and

illustrated Inca history, more generally. To what extent were generalizations or silences about female lineages, or their outright erasure, due to Murua's limited access to women's knowledge and Inca memory practices about women? What do representations of Coya and matrilineal descent tell us about Indigenous authorship in the Murua manuscripts and the inherent androcentric biases of manuscripts produced entirely by men?

5.1 Coya Names

Scholars have compared the Coya names in the Murua manuscripts with other chronicles, including the *Nueva corónica* by Guaman Poma (Ossio 2000, 2004, 2008; Ballesteros Gaibrois 1981). Additional features emerge by examining the ink and names written into the Murua manuscripts and comparing them with other chronicles. Murua provides numerous name variations for each Coya in different ink, sometimes up to four variants, particularly in the Galvin. This variation includes names written as labels into the Galvin and Getty Coya portraits as well as in the chapter titles and texts. All the Galvin portraits include names and their generational "number" in the dynastic lineage, written with a light brown ink. For almost all the Coyas in the earlier (hurin) generations, additional names are written with a darker ink. The names do not always correspond with the title or text, creating a collection of Coya name variants. In contrast, the Getty includes only one name in the portraits that always corresponded with the names in the chapter title and text. A closer comparison of the names with other chronicles reveals surprising overlaps with El Palentino, Cabello Balboa (most likely via Cristóbal de Molina), and Guaman Poma. The comparison with Guaman Poma suggests that they shared ethnographic information in addition to their artistic collaboration. (Chart 5 and Appendix D, Charts 1 and 2 for Coya name comparisons.)

Nueva**Coronica**

La primera quya, Mama Uaco
 La segunda quya, Chinbo Urma
 La tercera quya, Mama Cora Oclo
 La cuarta quya, Chinbo Mama Yachi Urma
 La quinta quya, Chinbo Uclo Mama Caua
 La sexta quya, Cuci Chinbo Mama Micay
 La séptima quya, Ipa Huaco Mama Machi
 La octava quya, Mama Yunto Cayan
 La novena quya, Mama Ana Uarque
 La décima quya, Mama Oclo
 La undécima quya, Raua Oclo
 La duodécima quya, Chuqui Llanto

Getty**Manuscript**

1 Mama Huaco (m2b+d), Mama Oclo (m2c)
 2 Chimpo Coya (m2b +d)
 3 Mama Cura (m2b+c), Anahuarque (m2b+c)
 4 Chimpu Urma (m2b+c), Mama Yacche (m2b)
 5 Chimpo Oclo (m2b), Mama Cahua (m2b)
 6 Cusi Chimpo (m2b+c), Mama Micay (m2b)
 7 Ypa Huaco coya (m2b), Mama Chiquia (m2b+c)
 8 Mama Yunto C[o]ya (m2b+c)
 9 Mama Anahuarque coya (m2b+c)
 10 Mama Oclo (m2b+c) and Toctacuca (m2c)
 11 Rahua Oclo (m2b+c) - Pilli coaco coya (m2f)
 12 Chuquillanto (m2 Chuqui Huipa (m2b+d+f), Mama Huarca (m2f)

Código Galvin

1 De la primera reina Mamauaco (M1c+d) o Mama Oclo (M1c)
 2 de la Coya Chimbo (m1c+d)
 3 De Mamacura (m1c+d) o Anac Varqui (m1d)
 4 De la Infante Chimbo Urma (m1c+d) o Mama Yacche (m1c)
 5 De la *Nusta* y *Coya* Chimbo Oclo Mama (m1c +d) Caua Coya (m1c)
 6 De la Coya Cusi Chimbo (m1c+d) o Mama Micay (m1c)
 7 De la Infante Ipavaco (m1c+d), Mama Machi (m1c)
 8 De la Hermosa ñusta Mama Yunto (m1c)
 9 De la Coya Mama Anahuarque (m1c+d)
 10 De la Reina y Señora Mama Oclo (m1c) and Toctacuca (m2f)
 11 De la gran Reina y Señora Raba Oclo (m1c) and pilco huaco (m1f)
 12 De la hermosa y discreta Coya Chuquillanto (m1c) o Mama Guarqui (m1d)

Getty Portraits

Chympo Coya (m2a)
 Mama Cuya Coya (m2a)
 Chimpo Urma Coya (m2a)
 Chimpo oclo Coya (m2a)
 Cusi chimpo Coya (m2a)
 Ypa huaco coya (m2a)
 Mama yunto Coya (m2a)
 Mama Raba oclo, coya (m2a)
 Chuquillanto muger de guascar ynga (m2a)

El Palentino

1 Mama Uaco
 2 Mama Cura
 3 Mama Anahuarque
 4 Mama Yacchi
 5 Mama Cagua
 6 Mama Micay
 7 Mama Chiquia
 8 Mama Yunto Cayan
 9 Mama Anabarqui
 10 Mama Oclo
 11 mama Pillco Uaco; Raua Oclo
 12 Mama Huarca
 13 Ccoya Cuxi Varcay

Código Galvin Portraits

Mama Vaco coya (M1a), Mama Oclo (M1b)
 chimpo coya (m1a), mama coca (m1b)
 mama cura (m1a), mama caua (m1b)
 chimpo urma (m1a), mama coca (m1b)
 chimpu oclo, mama caua) coya (m1a), mama curiyilla (m1b)
 cusi chimpo, coya; mama micai) coya (m1a), nothing (m1b)
 ypa vaco, mama machi) coya (m1a), mama chiquia (m1b)
 mama yunto cayan coya (m1a), nothing (m1b)
 nothing m1a and m1b
 Mama oclo coya (m1a), nothing m1b
 Raua Oclo (m1a), in getty, nothing (m1b)
 Chuquillanto (m1a) in getty, nothing (m1b)

Cabello Balboa

1 Mama Oclo
 2 Mama Cauca, del pueblo de Saño
 3 Mama Caua, del pueblo de Oma
 4 Mama Cauca, del pueblo de Tau caraz
 5 Curi Ilipay, del Cusco
 6 Mama Micay , de los pueblo Huayhllacanes
 7 Mama Chicuy del pueblo de Ayarcu ma
 8 Mama Rundu Coya, del pueblo de Canto
 9 Mama Anahuarque, del pueblo de Choco
 10 Mama Oclo, su hermana
 11 Mama Cusirimay, hermana mayor sin hijos
 12 Mama Ragua Ocho, segunda mujer y hermana

DIEGO DE FERNÁNDEZ, EL PALENTINO (ca. 1520-ca. 1581)

Murua copied text from El Palentino for many of the Inca chapters. For the Coyas, with few exceptions, Murua predominantly copied El Palentino's names into the Galvin chapter's titles. Sometimes the names in the title correlate with names provided in the Galvin chapter texts and were then carried over into the Getty Murua. In general, the names include small spelling variations but exhibit strong correlations. This overlap corresponds with one of the first phases of production for the Galvin Murua, when he completed the majority of the texts, and before Murua

collaborated with Guaman Poma. This aspect of the Coya organization sheds light is on Murua's production process, given that all the titles are written into the folios, even if texts and/or portraits are missing.

- The names found in the Galvin Chapter titles include: the first Coya, Mama Huaco; third Coya, Anahuarqui; fourth Coya, Mama Yacchi; fifth Coya, Caua Coya (Cagua for Fernández, El Palentino); sixth Coya, Mama Micay; seventh Coya, Mama Chiquia; eighth Coya, Mama Yunto Coya (Yunto Coya for Fernández); ninth Coya, Mama Anauarque (Anahuarqui for El Palentino); and tenth Coya, Mama Ocllo. In the case of the fifth Coya, Caua Coya, El Palentino and Murua share a particular variation that is not repeated by others. It is also not carried over into the Getty manuscript. In contrast, the shared name variation for the third Coya, Anahuarqui, which was also not common among other chroniclers, was carried over by Murua into the Getty title and text.
- El Palentino's name for the eleventh Coya, Pilco Huaco, was included in both the Galvin and Getty manuscripts as a variation but only in her mother's chapter, Mama Ocllo.
- El Palentino's name for the twelfth Coya, Mama Huarcay, is repeated only in the Coya's Galvin chapter text with a slightly different spelling ("g" instead of "h"). In her Getty chapter text Murua changed the spelling to Mama Huarcay. Other name variations appear, such as Chuqui Huipa and Chuquillanto, in the chapter text for her mother, Raba Ocllo.

DON FELIPE GUAMAN POMA DE AYALA (ca. 1560 - ca. 1616)

There is significant correlation between the Coya names recorded by Guaman Poma and the names written in all the Coya portraits of the Galvin manuscript in light brown ink by Murua (fig. 58). Generally, where Guaman Poma wrote longer names, Murua often split them into two names that were carried forward into the title and text of the Galvin and Getty manuscripts. Differences are mainly orthographic.

- There is identical correlation between *Nueva corónica* and Murua's first Coya, Mamauaco; eighth Coya, Mama Yunto; tenth Coya, Mama Oclo; and eleventh Coya, Raba Oclo.¹⁴⁸ The names were carried over to the Getty manuscript.
- The second Coya in *Nueva corónica* is called Chimpo Urma Coya, while in both the Galvin and Getty manuscript she is Chimpo Coya.
- With the third through eighth Coyas Guaman Poma's names correspond with those in the Galvin Murua, except that in most cases Guaman Poma included longer combinations which Murua split into two. However, the split names in the Galvin and Getty title and text follow name variations found in other chronicles.
- The ninth Coya, Mama Anauarque, lacks a portrait in the Galvin Murua, but the names in the title and text in the Galvin and Getty manuscripts correspond with *Nueva corónica*.

In general, there is significant overlap with the names in the *Nueva corónica* and one set of Coya name variations in the Galvin manuscript, which were carried over into the Getty manuscript. The consistency of this set of names in all the portraits and neatness of the script, combined with their "number" in the line of descent, suggests that they were written first. There is also an overlap with the Inca names, order, and number written on the Galvin Portraits in light brown ink with Guaman Poma's information in his portraits in *Nueva Corónica*. This fact is less remarkable given that the name and lineage were far more readily accessible and public in the colonial Cuzco context. However, together they offer a consistent pattern.

MIGUEL CABELLO BALBOA (ca. 1530-1606)

Another name variation in both manuscripts overlaps considerably with the names from Cabello Balboa's chronicle, likely because both copied from Molina. The Galvin manuscript exhibits similarities with Cabello Balboa (Molina) in the names that were added by Murua to the

¹⁴⁸ The portraits of the eleventh Coya, called Raba Oclo, and the twelfth Coya, Chuquillanto, were transferred to the Getty. I am treating them here as part of the Galvin manuscript following the production timeline.

Coya portraits in darker brown ink. These added names are not in all the portraits and are generally not written so neatly. The spelling of names in the Murua manuscripts and Cabello Balboa's chronicle is not exactly the same. In many cases overlaps correspond with more commonly mentioned names from other chroniclers. However, many overlaps in the name variations only occur consistently with Calbello Balboa and not with the names of other chronicles or variations shared with El Palentino (with some exceptions) or Guaman Poma.

- Cabello Balboa's names are virtually identical with the Galvin Murua's darker ink in the portraits for the first Coya, Mama Ocllo; second Coya, Mama Coca (Cabello Balboa, Mama Cauca); third Coya, Mama Caua; and fifth Coya, Curi Hilpay. Mama Coca and Curi Hilpay were continued in the Getty Murua, whereas Mama Ocllo and Mama Caua were not.
- Murua's fourth Coya, Mama Yacchi, corresponds with Cabello Balboa's Mama Tancaray Yachhi, and was carried into the Getty chapter title.
- Murua's seventh Coya, Mama Chiqui, overlaps with Cabello Balboa and Fernández, El Palentino's name, Chiguia. Murua included the name in the Getty chapter title.
- Murua's sixth Coya, Mama Micay, and eighth Coya to twelfth Coya had no additional names added with black ink in the Galvin manuscripts. The names from the light brown ink already correspond with the names given in Cabello Balboa. Murua's sixth Coya, Mama Micay, and tenth Coya, Mama Ocllo, overlapped with the names provided by Fernández, El Palentino; Guaman Poma; and others. Murua's eighth Coya, Mama Yunto Cayan Coya, is Mama Runto Caya in Cabello Balboa; Murua's ninth Coya, Ana Uarque, is Anaruarqui in Cabello Balboa and is shared with Fernández, El Palentino and other chroniclers; and Murua's twelfth Coya, Chuqui Huipa, corresponds with other chronicles.
- Murua's eleventh Coya does not use, Cusi Rimay, as is found in Cabello Balboa.

In conclusion, evidence shows that Murua first used information from El Palentino for the names in the title in an early phase of the Galvin production. This production phase likely corresponded with the addition of text on the Inca. At some point after the completion of the Galvin Murua portraits, Murua added the names written in light brown ink that correspond with the *Nueva corónica*. Unfortunately, the timing of these captions in the production timeline remains elusive. Given the many interventions of Murua and Guaman Poma in the Galvin, Murua could have added the Coya names before, during, or even after their period of collaboration from 1596 to 1600. For most of the images by Guaman Poma, the labels by Murua were completed after the images were executed, and thus, in a later production phase of the Galvin Murua. However, given that the Inca and Coya portraits were likely completed by Murua before Guaman Poma's artistic contribution, there is a possibility that the shared Coya names were added sooner. The names could have been provided to Murua before or while Guaman Poma began the first phase of his work on the images for the legendary love story and coat of arms. The overlap with Cabello Balboa for the second names on the portraits suggests Murua began using information from Molina's lost manuscript in a later phase of the Galvin manuscript's production. The overlap indicates a transition period between the Galvin Murua, perhaps as it became a repository for information, and the final version of the Getty Murua. Comprehensively, this theory also supports the general trend that many of the labels, captions, and poetry in the images added by Murua were done in the later phases of production for the Galvin.

The Coya name analysis offers additional evidence of Guaman Poma's involvement in the Galvin manuscript, the intimate relationship between the three manuscripts, and a connection with the other Inca informants. The fact that Guaman Poma was the source for the names is unlikely. He was an outsider to Inca lineage and *panaca* associations and, therefore, lacked direct and intimate access to the oral traditions surrounding the Coyas. More likely is that Murua gathered these names in an early phase of the Galvin production, before and/or during Guaman Poma's period of contribution, and likely from his Inca sources in Cuzco. While making the coats

of arms and other images, Guaman Poma would have been exposed to the names and used them for his chronicle. This conclusion supports the theory that Guaman Poma used the Galvin manuscript and its Indigenous informants as a source and model for elements of his chronicle. He then adjusted and augmented the information according to his personal understanding of Andean memory and culture and overarching purposes and messaging in the *Nueva corónica*. In other words, the Coya names establish more proof of the textual connection between the three manuscripts and two authors that went beyond an artistic contribution. Guaman Poma's participation in the Galvin Murua's production was one of many vital experiences that contributed to his formation as an author and artist. Unfortunately, his contributions did not apparently extend to the textual content of the Coya chapters.

5.2 Francisco De Gómara and the Coyas

In his article, "*La Mentira en la obra de Martín de Murua*", John Rowe warned, "The Mercedarian writer Friar Martín de Murua presents us an exaggerated case of an author seeking literary success and arrives at a lie by way of plagiarism" (Rowe 1987: 753). Rowe identified that Murua had drawn from Francisco López de Gómara's (1511-ca. - 1559) two-volume work, *Historia General de las Indias y Conquista de México* (1552) for nine of twelve Coya narratives across both manuscript versions. Gómara triumphantly celebrated the conquistadors and their heroic deeds during the Spanish invasion of the Americas while denigrating the Amerindians. He wrote his account during the consequential debate (1550-1551) on the treatment of Amerindians in Valladolid between Juan Ginés de Sepulveda and the indigenous advocate, Bartolomé de las Casas.¹⁴⁹ Murua copied ethnographic portrayals of native Cumaná life in present-day Venezuela and the Aztec ruling class in Mexico from Gómara's widely published and accessible work. The information taken from Gómara occurs in the following order in the Coya lineage and

¹⁴⁹ A great deal of scholarship and literature has been written about this debate. See Lewis Hanke, *All Mankind Is One; a Study of the Disputation between Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in 1550 on the Intellectual and Religious Capacity of the American Indians*, (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974); Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*, (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Brading, *The First America*.

corresponding chapters. Here is an updated list first generated by Rowe (1987: 757), with adaptations and corrections noted in the footnotes.

- Chimbo. *Historia de las Indias*, chap. 74, 79 (Information from Cumaná), Galvin.
- Chimpu Urma. *Historia de las Indias*, chap. 80, 81, 82 (Cumaná), Galvin and Getty.
- Chimpu Ocllo. *Conquista de México*, chap. 67 (1554, f. 103-104); 68 (1554, f. 104-105), Galvin and Getty.
- Cusi Chimpu. *Conquista de México*, chap. 67 (1554, f. 103-104); 71 (1554 f. 107v-108), Galvin and Getty.
- Ipa Vaco. *Conquista de México*, chap. 72 (1554, f. 108); 73 (1554, f. 109-110); 74 (1554, f. 110-110v), Galvin and Getty.
- Mama Yunto. *Conquista de México*, chap. 75 (1554, f. 110v-111). Information for the royal gardens, Getty.¹⁵⁰
- Mama Anahuarque. *Conquista de México*, chap. 80 (1554, f. 118v-119), Galvin.
- Mama Ocllo. *Conquista de México*, chap. 80 (1554, f. 119v-120); 82 (1554, f. 121v-122); 206 (1554, f. 297v), Galvin and Getty.¹⁵¹
- Chuquillanto. *Conquista de México*, chap. 224 (1554, f. 318); 216 (1554, f. 309-309v), Galvin.¹⁵²

Proceeding from Rowe's analysis, a close comparative examination of Gómara's text and the Galvin and Getty Coya chapters shows the mutating but iterative intertextuality in Spanish American colonial texts. The process ignored women's voices and perspectives, contributing to the universalization and othering of Inca women in colonial discourse.

In five cases, Murua copied from Gómara to the Galvin, and then edited the Galvin account for the Getty version. This included: Chimbo Urma, the fourth Coya; Chimbo Ocllo, fifth Coya; Cusi Chimbo, the sixth Coya; Ipa Vaco, the seventh Coya; and Mama Ocllo, the tenth Coya. For

¹⁵⁰ Rowe identified Gómara's chapter "Jardines de Moctuzuma" in *Conquista de Mexico* as an inspiration for the Getty Chapter on Mama Yunto, the eighth Coya. Even though Murua reserved a folio page for Mama Yunto, the Galvin version lacks a textual or visual description for her. The Getty chapter recounts very briefly the general notion of abundant royal gardens, reminiscent of Moctuzuma's garden in Gómara's account. However, the only potentially copied phrase is "outside of the city." Most likely, Murua employed Gómara's general idea of royal gardens to fill in an otherwise sparse chapter. However, given that this chapter goes against the general trend of his copying, it is also possible that he produced Mama Yunto's text with without direct plagiarism.

¹⁵¹ Rowe incorrectly identified Chapter '206' as '192'.

¹⁵² Rowe incorrectly identified Chapter '224' as '20' and Chapter '216' as '202'.

example, Chimbo Urma's texts in both versions originated from Gómara's *Historia*, Chapter 81, "De como hacen la yerba ponzoñosa con que tiran" [Of how they make the poisonous herb with which they throw]. Gómara's chapter described the customs of native Cumaná in Venezuela. One comparative excerpt between the texts from Gómara and Murua's Galvin (1590) and Getty (1616) manuscripts shows how information was copied and recycled. Underlined words in the Galvin are copied from Gómara. Bolded words in the Getty are recycled from the Galvin.

Gómara, *Historia General*, 1922 [1552] p. 195:

The arrows are of strong and dark wood, of very hard reeds, and I believe that those who bring them here for virtue and vices; in place of iron they put flint and hard and spotted and dyed fish bones. The instruments that they play in war and dances are deer-bone flutes, wooden flutes like the calf, cane panpipes, much painted (kettle) drums made of wood and large gourds, conch-shell horns, cymbals made of conches and large oysters.¹⁵³

Murua, *Galvin*, 1590, f. 26r:

The arrows were of strong wood and of very hard reeds. In place of iron they put flint, and bones of spotted fish, and the instruments with which they made music and dances for this queen señora Chimpu Urma were deer-bone flutes, wooden flutes, wooden panpipes, painted wooden drums, conch-shell horns, conch-shell cymbals.¹⁵⁴

Murua, *Getty*, 1616, f. 30r:

The instruments with which they made music for this Coya were deer-bone flutes, wooden flutes, panpipes, drums of painted wood, conch-shell horns.¹⁵⁵

Murua copied almost complete sentences from Gómara to the Galvin manuscript, which he edited into short descriptors for the Getty Murua. The ethnographic information Murua copied from

¹⁵³ "Las flechas son de palo recio y tostado, de juncos muy duros, y creo que los que los traen acá para gotosos y vicios; pónenles por hierro pedernal y huesos de peces duros y enconados. Los instrumentos que tañen en guerra y bailes son flautas de hueso devenados, flautones de palo como la pantorrilla, caramillos de caña, atabales de madera muy pintados y de calabazas grandes, bocinas de caracol, sonajas de conchas y ostiones grandes." Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia General de Las Indias*, (Madrid, Calpe: 1922 [1552]), 195.

¹⁵⁴ "Las flechas eran de palo rrezio y todas de juncos muy duros ponian les por Hierro pedernal, y Huesos de pezes enconados y los ynstrumentos con que a esta rreyna y s^a chimpu urma dauan musica y bailes eran flautas de Huessos deuenado flatones de palo caramillos de palo, atauales de madera mui pintados, vozinas de caracoles sonajas de concha." Murúa, *Historia del origen*, 1590, f. 26r.

¹⁵⁵ "Los ynstrumentos con que a esta coya dauan musica heran flautas de hueso de benado Flautones de Palo carmillos atambores de madera pintados vocinas de caracoles." Murúa, *Getty Murúa*, 1616, f. 30r.

Gómara discussed the Cumaná peoples in Venezuela who were far removed from the Andes. Even though the information was clearly unrelated, Murua presumably used the content to amplify his otherwise sparse accounts to present seemingly detailed content on the Coya's life.

A similar pattern of repurposed ethnographic inaccuracies to describe noble Inca women continued into three Coya chapters in the Galvin manuscript. However, in these cases, Murua solely copied text from Gómara for the Galvin manuscript but removed it in the Getty version. These copied texts include: Chimbo, the second Coya; Mama Anarhuarque, the ninth Coya; and Chuquillanto, the twelfth Coya. Embedded in Coya Chuquillanto's chapter is a description of Huascar's memorial service, her husband and twelfth Sapa Inca, and the dirge-like song performed by the women with "*un tono triste lastimoso*" [a sad and melancholic tone].¹⁵⁶ However, as with the majority of the chapter, the passage is copied from Gómara's Chapter 206, titled *Enterramiento de Los Reyes* [Burial of the Kings].¹⁵⁷ In the Getty Murua, the account of Huascar's death is removed from the Coya chapter but more explicitly described in an expanded account on the Inca civil war between Huascar and Atahualpa loyalists. The other Coya chapters on Chimbo and Mama Anarhuarque follow a similar processual trajectory. In all cases Murua copied extensively from Gómara for the 1590 version but removed all erroneous information for the final version while retaining information specific to Inca culture.

These comparisons reveal a multifaceted process of discursive intertextuality that led to both generalization and particularism in the representation of descent for royal Inca women, often

¹⁵⁶ "Su muerte Hizieron mucha solemnidad Velando el cuerpo y metiendole en la uoca y en otras partes mucho oro y Riquezas amortajaron le con diez mantas muy Ricas y muy labradas de colores diferentes Pusieron le una maxcara o figura muy Pintada de diablos y con esto enterraron el cuerpo en el templo desta gran çiudad enterro le el gran Pontifiçe de aquel templo con sus Hechizeros empezando a cantar un tono triste lastimoso Dezian çiertas palabras y echaron en una gran bobeda con todas las joyas que tenia armas pluma, venderas de la manera que se Hallo en la guerra sacrificaron muchas personas Pusieron le al difunto Por todo el palacio y templo muchas Robas e flores y muchas cosas de comida y beuida como por offenda deço en esta Coya y señora Una Hija llamada cusi Varcay coya la qual se caso con sayre ynga y s^{or}." Murúa, *Historia del origen*, f. 34r.

¹⁵⁷ "Metíanle en la boca una fina esmeralda; amortajábanle con diecisiete mantas muy ricas y muy labradas de colores...Poníanle una máscara muy pintada de diablos, y muchas joyas, piedras y perlas.... Recibíalos el gran sacerdote con toda su clerecía a la puerta del patio, en tono triste; decía ciertas palabras, y las joyas que tenía. Echaban también a quemar todas las armas, plumajes y banderas con que le honraban... Entre tanto que ardía la hoguera, y quemaban al rey y el perro, sacrificaban los sacerdotes doscientas personas... Ponían al difunto en casa, y en el templo muchas rosas y flores, y muchas cosas de comer y de beber, y nadie las tocaba sino sacerdotes, que debía ser ofrenda." Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia de la conquista de México*, ed. Jorge Gurría Lacroix, (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 2007), 403.

in the same passage. Murua's inclusion of Coyas in prominent compositional positions alongside his copying from Gómara suggests that a lack of information evoked the friar's disregard for accuracy despite an awareness from his informants of the Coya's leadership roles. Moreover, his other textual sources on Inca history and early colonial Peru came from Iberian-authored works that also lacked accurate information and any input from women. His method resulted in exoticized, universalized representations of royal Inca woman. Nonetheless, likely thanks to his Inca sources, he included specific genealogical and cultural information that appears fairly accurate. The manuscripts recognize the importance of matrilineal lines of descent and women's roles in oral and performative traditions, but excluded the direct perspectives of women.

However, other sections of the chronicle address the roles of Inca women. These accounts describe their leadership and influence in pre-Hispanic Cuzco society, song and dance forms during ceremonial and remembrance activities,¹⁵⁸ *acllas* or women devoted to the worship of the Sun, and legendary stories. These descriptions contrast with the more passive role ascribed to women in chapters of the Genealogical genre that relate Inca succession practices based on primogeniture. Prominent women of more "recent" Inca memory, such as Rahuá Ocllo, the mother of Huascar and wife of Huayna Capac, received particular treatment for their leadership and power in Inca sections that follow the Life History genre. Andean women who lived in Murua's times are also discussed, but in a more negative light.

There are surprising, contradictory differences in the genealogical representations of the Inca and the Coya. Inca names that appear in the labels and chapter texts of Murua's manuscripts were largely consistent with late sixteenth-century legal records and chronicles on Inca lineage

¹⁵⁸ For example, in the Galvin manuscript, Book Three, Chapter Six (f. 58r), Murua explicitly remarked on the role of women in dances for remembering the deeds of the deceased and for passing their memory to the next generation. He erroneously called the dance form "*arabic*" in reference to Moorish dance forms. This was a prevalent pattern of generalizing and othering based on Iberians' previous experiences and popular beliefs concerning the Moors in sixteenth-century colonial Spanish American discourse. Graubart, "Indecent Living," 218. The accompanying image by Guaman Poma depicts an elite Inca woman singing and beating a drum in an Inca stone building (f. 90v). In the Getty version, Murua included descriptions of extensive dancing and dirge-like singing by women as Huayna Capac's corpse (the eleventh Sapa Inca and father of Huascar and Atahualpa) entered Cuzco at the culmination of a multi-day funeral procession. However, in a glaring omission, the passage does not identify the dance as *Harauí* (nor does Murua identify it as '*arabic*'). These cases suggest Murua had a haphazard process for compiling his narratives in the Galvin. By the time of the Getty Murua he enjoyed increasing access to additional sources and had become more familiar with Andean culture.

and descendancy.¹⁵⁹ Unfortunately, Coya lineages and their ancestral heads never appeared in court records of collective Inca action, underscoring that they received less attention in the legal and cultural remembrance practices relevant to retain noble status in the colonial period. This fact could explain the greater variety among documented Coya names in the Murua manuscripts. Nonetheless, the Coya names evince how diversity in Inca social memory and oral traditions remained, despite influences by legal and chronicle practices and pressures to simplify Andean history into a linear and monolithic Cuzco Inca history. The process of change between oral traditions and written recording mechanisms, and a focus on patrilineal descent in the colonial period, imposed more consistency on the recorded historical reconstruction of Inca lineage at the expense of recorded Coya lineage.

At the same time, the consistent strategy and opportunity to reconceptualize social memory narratives by male Inca descendants, which focused on primogeniture and patrilineal genealogies, did not exist for women and Coya oral traditions. The Genealogical genre in Inca oral traditions reflected in the coya chapters did not center on women's roles. Of course, this is not to say that views of Inca women did not transform with the changing discourse on the Inca, or that women were not involved in legal battles over the course of the sixteenth century.¹⁶⁰ Nonetheless, even though the archives and chronicles offer glimpses into the shifting roles of Inca women in pre-Hispanic and colonial society, the biases and conditions of the emerging colonial state generally hindered their explicit participation in the production of Spanish American

¹⁵⁹ This is not to say that variety in names did not exist, but this observation is particular to the relationship of the legal record from the late sixteenth century to Murua chronicle and in relationship to the Coya names at this time.

¹⁶⁰ This is not to say that elite Inca women did not exist as crucial actors in colonial Cuzco's religious, economic, cultural, and socio-political life. They actively sought to secure and protect their privileges and wealth in the Spanish courts and society and participated in other forms of knowledge transmission, such as dance, song, textiles, and storytelling. Judicial archives show how Inca women participated as active agents in the maintenance of their social and economic rights, even as it was consistently mediated by their husbands, notaries, guardians, and other male figures. These rights included land claims and financial restitution from the Spanish Crown, who respected the pre-Hispanic rights of women to land and wealth. For further discussions on the role of Inca women in the colonial period, see: Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Sara Guengerich, "Inca Women under Spanish Rule: *Probanzas* and *Informaciones* of the Colonial Andean Elite," in *Women's Negotiations and Textual Agency in Latin America, 1500-1799*, Mónica Díaz, Rocío Quispe-Agnoli, eds. (London: Routledge, 2017), 106-129; María Rostworowski de Diez, *La mujer en la época prehispánica* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1986); Rostworowski, *Doña Francisca Pizarro: una ilustre mestiza, 1534-1598*, (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1989); Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, sun, and witches: gender ideologies and class in Inca and colonial Peru*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Silverblatt, "Andean Women in the Inca Empire," *Feminist Studies* vol. 4, n. 3 (1978), 37-61; and others.

chronicles, including Murua's manuscripts.¹⁶¹ My study of the chapter content reveals the erasure and silencing of women-centric colonial Andean history-making practices, that were by and for women, or even just focused on women. Whereas Murua sought to distinguish his chronicle from others, he also copied or personally produced post-Toledean universalizing discourses on Inca history and Spanish colonization in the narrative arch of his chronicle, particularly in the Getty manuscript. The lacuna of information is fundamentally connected to colonial, patriarchal cultural and legal trends. And yet, paradoxically, the Murua manuscripts still manage to represent the authorial position of noble Inca woman in a relationship of *tinkuy* with the Inca.

The subtle interplay of Coya names in the texts complicate how we understand and use ethnographic information rendered in the Galvin Murua. The complexity underscores the multilayered nature of the manuscripts. We are left wondering if exclusive memories of Coya ancestors were not part of Inca practices (or genres) of remembrance, and/or if a general lack of sources produced by women, reinforced by legal and cultural practices in the colonial period, led to this dearth in our knowledge. Moreover, it remains unclear why Murua and Guaman Poma chose to include Coya chapters, beyond a demonstration of asymmetrical gendered complementarity and matrilineal authority, particularly when there was so little available information. The section on *mascapaycha* will attempt to address this question.

6. Mascapaycha

6.1 *Sixteenth-Century Context*

In the colonial period the *mascapaycha* represented a poignant example of the dialogical conceptualization of patrilineal descent by Inca and Iberian actors. The Murua manuscripts reflect this emergent, contested discourse. The *mascapaycha* was a textile object of authority of pre-Hispanic origin used by the Inca. After the fragmentation of the Inca system, the red tassel held

¹⁶¹ One exception is Juan Díez de Betanzos, whose principal informant was his noble Inca wife, Cuxirimay Ocllo, and her kin from the Capac Ayllu. Bruce Mannheim, "Betanzos, Juan Diez de (?-1576)" in *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies, 1530-1900*, ed. Joanne Pillsbury, vol. 2. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 186.

many, often contradictory, meanings over the course of the sixteenth century (Cummins 1992: 97). Indigenous artists, descendants, and intellectuals, including Murua's collaborators, employed Indigenous symbols of prestige and power to reinforce their noble status in Spanish colonial society. These symbols included elite textiles and paraphernalia, genealogical trees, portraits, coats of arms, and the *mascapaycha*.¹⁶² The circulation of the *mascapaycha* as an object and discursive symbol reveals the ability of Inca elites to convey multiple meanings depending on the context and audience. Many of the symbols appear in the Murua manuscripts as part of an interrelated visual and textual narrative on Inca history and descent, revealing Indigenous and mestizo strategies to promote and negotiate their social and cultural position in colonial society.

It remains unclear if in pre-Hispanic times the royal tassel was understood as a singular object of Inca rule and territory.¹⁶³ However, over the course of the sixteenth century it quickly evolved to symbolize just that. During the early phase of the Spanish invasion, the conquistadors and Spanish Crown promoted Atahualpa as the symbolic head of the Inca sovereign kingdom. The portrayal of Atahualpa as the Inca sovereign occurred in spite of the chaos of the Inca civil war and subsequent Inca resistance and negotiation under Manco Inca and his successors. Spaniards used Atahualpa's capture in 1532 to declare the successful conquest of a supposedly unified geopolitical Inca state by the Spanish Crown. They explicitly defined the *mascapaycha* in this early period as Atahualpa's crown and linked it with the Iberian concept of the Crown, rulership, and their conquest narrative of a unified geopolitical Inca territory.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, Murua

¹⁶² For further discussion on material culture of prestige in the colonial period, see among others, María Elena Martínez, "Indigenous Genealogies," 173-201; Tom Cummins, "Let Me See!," 91-148; Ramos, *Simbolos de Poder Inca*; Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs, "Construyendo La Memoria: La Figura Del Inca y El Reino El Perú, de La Conquista a Túpac Amaru II," in *Los Incas, Reyes Del Perú*, 93-173; Elena Phipps, "Garments Identity in the Colonial Andes," in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, Johanna Hecht, Cristina Esteras Martín, and Luisa Elena Alcalá eds., (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2004), 17-36; and others.

¹⁶³ For example, the *wawki* as the Sapa's double embodied his rule and power. Dean, *After-life of the Inka*, 29-34.

¹⁶⁴ The *alcalde mayor* Juan de Porras first connected the *mascapaycha* with the lion, which traditionally corresponded with the Habsburg king and crown in 1535. The graphic combination was reiterated in Pizarro's coat of arms as conquistador. Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs provides a thorough historical study of the development of the *mascapaycha* in the sixteenth century. Estenssoro Fuchs, "Construyendo La Memoria".

repeatedly and consistently translated the *mascapaycha* as "crown," including Atahualpa's regal appearance when he was captured by Pizarro.¹⁶⁵

The *mascapaycha* was reinterpreted after the execution of Tupac Amaru in 1572 and Toledo's concerted efforts to delegitimize the Inca. For Spaniards it became irrelevant to maintain the idea of Atahualpa as the sovereign ruler. Thus, the visual presentation of the genealogical succession of the twelve Inca kings in the 1570s included all the Sapa Inca with the *mascapaycha*, ending with Huascar and not Atahualpa. Moreover, transplanting the *mascapaycha* from the Sapa Inca to the Spanish King came to symbolize a peaceful transfer of power and historical reconceptualization of time according to genealogy, following the terms of *translatio imperii* or the linear succession of empires as a male dynastic sequence.¹⁶⁶ However, even with the Spaniard's attempted redefinition of the *mascapaycha* in the colonial period (Estenssoro Fuchs 2005), the perpetuation of the tassel's royal significance left a space for Inca leaders to collectively and individually negotiate their "pact" with the Spanish Crown (Martínez 2014: 190-192) .

By the late sixteenth century, the Spanish royal *borla* had become a vital Indigenous signifier of noble Inca continuity. The performative wearing of the tassel with other elite Inca clothing and paraphernalia in portraits and festivals was an accepted and uncontroversial display of Inca descendants' simultaneous vassalage and elite status in early colonial society, while downplaying their submission (Wuffarden 2005: 232-44). The *borla* highlighted their royal bloodline according to the custom of primogeniture and, therefore, confirmed their political legitimacy as descendants of pre-Hispanic rulers and nobles (Martínez 2014: 190). This patrilineal interpretation corresponded with Puente's observation of the diminished representation of royal *ayllus* and *panacas* in colonial Andean chronicles after Viceroy Toledo (2016: 12). However, the

¹⁶⁵ In fact, the first definition of the *mascapaycha* as a crown in the Galvin Murua appears in Chapter 10, f. 45r on Atahualpa. "Y traía en la frente una borla de lana colorada muy finísima, que era la corona e insignia de los reyes Ingas deste Reino." See also, Murua, *Historia del origen*, f. 50r, 55r, 69r, 103r, 119r, 122r, and 135r.

¹⁶⁶ For more on the connection of genealogy, *mascapaycha*, and historical time in the Andes, see Martínez, "Indigenous genealogies" 190-192; Diana Fane, "Portraits of the Inca: Notes on an Influential European Engraving," *Source* 29, no. 3 (2010): 36; Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, "La descendencia real y el renacimiento inca," in *Los incas, reyes del Perú*, 232-44.

elevation of the tassel in portraiture and performance likely contributed to the continued embodiment, rather than representation, of Inca power through the appropriation of Spanish mediums by Inca descendants (Dean 2010b).

Don Luis' explicit attention in his 1600 testament to the inheritance of his textiles, including three *mascapaychas*, evoked the same concern for memory, lineage, and prestige shared collectively with Inca descendants but from a more familial perspective.

I declare that I have dress of *cumbi* from the ancient times that my son, don Luis Ynga, should keep for memories, and *llautos* [headbands] and feathers and three *mascapaychas*, which I give to the said don Luis Ynga, my son, with the charge that he give to doña Maria Pilco Ciça a white shirt of ancient *cumbi* and one black *manta* of *cumbi* and one of the said *mascapaychas* so that she has something of mine and remembers me.¹⁶⁷

Don Luis' multiple *mascapaychas* complicate the meaning of the tassel for Inca descendants in colonial Cuzco. Their multiplicity countered the Spaniard's sixteenth-century centralizing campaign to control who had the right to the *mascapaycha*. This tension is reflected in the declaration by Spanish officials of June 24, 1598 that mandated the *mascapaycha* could only be worn by Inca descendants, "*para que en rason de la dicha Borla no Haigan disenciones entre ellos*" [so that in terms of the *borla* there is no dissension among them] and only by the *alférez real de los incas* on the festival day of Santiago.¹⁶⁸ The document was signed by none other than don Luis as *alguacil mayor*. This was likely connected to the controversy surrounding the *alférez real de los incas* and membership in *Cabildo de los incas* and, more broadly, the rising claims to Inca descent by Andean elites. Even Guaman Poma (ironically) complained that you could not turn your head without someone claiming the title of "Inca".¹⁶⁹ At the same time, the terms "Ynga"

¹⁶⁷ His testament bequeaths additional ancient and colonial textiles to his children, wife, and sister. ARC. Antonio de Salas. Prot. 303, 1600-01, 24 December 1600, f. 562r. See Appendix A, Transcript 2 for full transcript.

¹⁶⁸ Betancur. Vol. 1, Num. 25, 24 June 1598, ff. 292-v.

¹⁶⁹ "Conzederá de cómo los pobres yndios tienen tantos reys Yngas. Antiguamente tenían sólo un rey Ynga. Y anci en esta vida ay muchos Yngas: corregidor, Ynga; doze tinientes son Yngas, ermano o hijo del corregidor y muger del corregidor y todos sus criados hasta los negros son Yngas, y sus parientes y escrivano son Yngas. los encomenderos y sus ermanos o hijos y criados, mayordomos y mestizos y mulatos, negros y su muger, yanaconas y chinaconas cocinaras son Yngas. Y los padres y sus ermanos y hijos y

and "*orejón*" had come to narrowly mean the dynastic Inca lineage among chroniclers. By the early seventeenth century Garcilaso differentiated between *incas de sangre* and *incas de privilegio* (Garret 2005: 80; Julien 2000: 29). In this context, Spanish officials and Inca descendants in Cuzco shared motivations to restrict who could performatively assert Inca descent in the public through the wearing of the *mascapaycha*. Conversely, the June declaration and don Luis' testament imply that Inca descendants kept multiple *mascapaychas* privately, and even wore them publicly to assert their noble Inca descent in a public sphere.

Moreover, don Luis' gifting of a *mascapaycha* to his daughter complicated the Iberian campaign that the royal textile belonged wholly to the lineage of noble Inca men. In the same testament don Luis gifted most of his property to his son and daughter, without stipulating that one or the other property go specifically to either one. This bequest included ancestral land in San Blas associated with the perpetuation of nobility (f. 561). In contrast, he first gifted his collection of ancient textiles and *mascapaycha* to his son with specific stipulations of what his son should then give to his daughter. This slightly different gifting process suggests a particular association of those textiles with patrilineal descent. The tassel provided don Luis' daughter and her descendants material proof of Inca nobility, albeit legitimated by her patrilineal descent symbolized in the *mascapaycha*.

6.2 Pre-Hispanic Inca and the Mascapaycha

Even as the *mascapaycha* was a symbolic and exclusionary, honorific object designated for Inca descendants, its contested and dynamic significance by the late sixteenth century is reflected in the Galvin manuscript's multivocality. Don Pedro (Cañari) and Guaman Poma both used their participation in Murua's chronicle project to promote their connection to noble Inca

mayordomos, y anaconasc oseneraso amigos hastas los fiscales y sacristanes cantores son Yngas. los susodichos hazen grandes daños y males a los yndios en este reyno. Tantos Yngas avés de conzederar." Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva Coronica y Buen Gobierno*, ed. R Pietsemann, (Paris: Institut d'ethnologie, 1989), 918; cited by Estenssoro Fuchs, "Construyendo la memoria", 136.

status. Don Pedro used his chapter to reconceptualize and promote Cañari status and privileges in colonial Cuzco. Permission to performatively and publicly wear the symbolic royal tassel explicitly intertwined the Cañari's genealogy in Cuzco with Inca lineage. The widespread possession and wearing of the *mascapaycha* by Andean elites complicate the centralizing discourse promulgated by Spaniards that it equaled a European crown.

Nonetheless, in the interplay between texts and image the dominant, post-Toledo discourse prevailed by associating a crown-like *mascapaycha* with the Sapa Inca. The overarching approach underscores the pre-Hispanic connection with performed remembrances, ritual activity, and authority continued and reconceptualized in the colonial context. For example, in the Galvin chapter on the Sapa Inca, Pachacuti, the original text (not copied from Fernández) explicitly mentions the Sapa Inca wearing the *mascapaycha* as part of his attire. The passage directly connects the wearing of the *mascapaycha* with other Inca paraphernalia of prestige during public and exclusive ceremonial activities, which included dance, song, and oral traditions that recounted the histories, successes, and events of the Sapa Inca. Each Inca portrait by Murua is depicted with a *mascapaycha* hanging off a

llauto.¹⁷⁰ The Getty Inca portraits by Murua include royal tassels but in a far less detailed way (fig. 61). In another example, Galvin Chapter Three in Book Three (f. 55r) describes how the *borla* was a key part of the Inca royal costume when the Sapa Inca was in public. Visually reflecting the



Figure 61: "Capac Yupanqui, armas que anadio(?) este inga." Martín de Murua, *Historia del Piru*, (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute Publication Program, 2008), f. 30v.



Figure 62: "Las andas del ynga". Martín de Murua. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 54v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

¹⁷⁰ Murua, *Historia del origen*, ff. 9v, 10r, 14v, 15v, 16v, 17v, 18v, 19v, 20v, and 21v. *Historia general del Perú*, f. 21r.

chapter, Guaman Poma makes explicit the symbolic infusion of Inca power in the *mascapaycha* by showing a red tassel hanging from a staff where the Sapa Inca would sit in his royal carrier (f. 54v; fig. 62).¹⁷¹ The exclusive wearing and association of the *mascapaycha* with the Inca corresponds to the strategic promotion by sixteenth-century Inca descendants of their noble heritage and prestige along patrilineal descent in the colonial Andean discourse.



Figure 63: Portrait of Manco Capac, Chima Panaca ayllu. Martín de Murua. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 9v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin. (left)

Figure 64: Martín de Murua and Guaman Poma. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 50v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin. (middle)

Figure 65: "Yauar Guacac Ynga Yupangui, Aucaylli." Martín de Murua. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 15v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin. (right)

Simultaneously, graphic iterations by Murua and Guaman Poma of the *mascapaycha* in the Galvin Murua support and complicate the object as a symbol of Inca authority. There are no known extant pre-Hispanic *mascapaychas*. However, an inventory of the Spanish king's headband.¹⁷² Interestingly, a similar *mascapaycha* topped by yellow plumage with red or yellow

¹⁷¹ Guaman Poma's illustrations with the *mascapaycha* include Galvin Códice, f. 54v, 57v, 59v, 64v, 66v, 81v, 96v, 99v, 114v, 115v, 116v, 118v, 120v, 121v, 123v, 124v, and 141v; and *Historia general del Perú*, 84r.

¹⁷² "Una corona de lana verde tejida con un plumero de lana como de franjas rojas; la dicha corona estaba en el casco que tenía el señor soberano de la provincia [del Perú]," and "una corona de algodón verde con una manera de plumaje colorado." Estenssoro Fuchs, "Construyendo la memoria," 103-4; citing R. Laurent. *Évocation de la conquête de l'Amérique espagnole au XVII^e siècle. Commémoration du cinquantième centenaire du premier voyage de Christophe Colom en Amérique*, (Bruselas, Archives

feathers or two black feathers was rendered seventeen times in the Galvin Murua and two times in 1545 described a multicolored plumage of wool or cotton attached to a green in the Getty Murua (folio 84r by Guaman Poma was transferred from the Galvin). This possession included the friar's portrait of the first Inca, Manco Capac (fig. 63; f. 9v), and seventeen by Guaman Poma (fig. 64; f. 50v). Other variations include red or yellow headbands and green or black helmets (fig. 65).¹⁷³ All the Inca portraits also feature an Iberian crown with golden spikes which adorns the top of the headband. The other depictions by Guaman Poma, often of a generic "Inca ruler", are without the crown motif, suggesting a more indigenous portrayal. In two other instances, Guaman Poma depicted a green headband and red tassel on the ground (hurin position) next to a kneeling Inca and captain Cusi Guanacur, before a *huaca* and *Inti*, signaling their deference to Andean deities (ff. 36v, 64v; fig. 60). The composition reoccurs in the *Nueva Corónica* for King David and Sapa Inca images in prayer (fig. 66 and 67), suggesting Guaman Poma was intentional in his use



Figure 66: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "Cuarto edad del mundo desde Rey David, David, en Jerusalén," Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [28].

Figure 67: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. "El segundo mes, febrero, Puacar Uarai Quilla" in *ibid.*, page 240 [242].

Générales du Royaume, 1992), 66; Paz Cabello, "Los Inventarios de objetos incas pertenecientes a Carlos V: estudio de la colección, traducción y transcripción de los documentos," *Anales Museo de América* 2: 50, 51-52 (Brussels inventory, 51 Simancas inventory). Chronicler González de Oviedo described graphically and visually a similar *mascapaycha*. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, edited by Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso and Jay I. Kislak Reference Collection (Library of Congress), Vol. 5, (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1959), plate XI, figure 1a.

¹⁷³ *Mascapaycha* depictions in the Galvin include: green headbands 9v, 136v, 44v, 49v, 50v, 57v, 59v, 64v, 96v, 99v, 114v, 115v, 116v, 118v, 120v, 123v, and 124v; yellow bands, 66v, 81v, and 141v; red headbands, 14v, 15v, and 17v; and helmets with plumage 15v, 16v, 18v, 19v, 20v, and 44v. Curiously, the incomplete image on f. 21v of the 12 Incas lacks painted headbands and no crown-like adornment.

of the object.¹⁷⁴ Graphic representations of the object in Murua and Guaman Poma indicate that certain colors and designs were associated with the Sapa Inca, but also suggest that significant variation existed, as attested in don Luis' testament.

6.3 Colonial Inca and the Mascapaycha

The manuscripts' multivocal representation also reflects the *borla's* negotiated significance as a symbol of primogeniture and royal descent in the Spanish colonial context. In the Galvin text, Murua followed dominant, post-Toledan norms by ending Inca rule with Huascar. He relegated Atahualpa, Manco Inca, Sayre Tupa, and Tupac Amaru to the Captain section, even though they led the Inca resistance and negotiated with various viceroys for privileges (Hemming 2012 [1970]). However, Beatríz Peña Nuñez and Estenssoro Fuchs argue that Guaman Poma



Figure 68: "Amaro." Guaman Poma. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 51v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

subverted Murua's representation by depicting Atahualpa, Manco Inca, Sayre Tupa, and Tupac Amaru with the royal tassel (Murua 1596: f. 44v, 45v, 46v, 47v, 49v, 50v). Images of Captains Atahualpa and Tupac Amaru drawn by Guaman Poma include the crown motif. Symbolically, Tupac Amaru is depicted without the *mascapaycha* during his execution (ff. 51v; fig. 68). Guaman Poma's intervention was an explicit assertion from an Andean perspective of Inca authority despite Iberian efforts to diminish them (Peña Nuñez 2019: 53, 157-159; Estenssoro Fuchs: 126).

However, Guaman Poma's inclusion of the *borla* may not have been as radically subversive in relation to the texts. There are clear references to the *mascapaycha's* role in the negotiation process between Iberians and Inca in the mid-sixteenth century. For example, Galvin

¹⁷⁴ Guaman Poma establishes the composition early in his chronicle. On folio 28 King David plays a harp with his crown on the floor by his knees in a hurin position as he looks to God in deference in the hanan position in the left upper corner. The composition is then repeated various times with Sapa Inca in ritual activity and the mascapaycha at the base of a *huaca* (ff. 149, 238, 240, 248, and 264).

Chapter 12 (f. 47r) is devoted to the early actions of Manco Inca in support of the Spaniards and his son, Sayre Tupa, and is tellingly titled "Of how they entrusted the *borla* to the Spanish". It states, "This brave Manco Inca was seen with the Spanish in peace. And they received him with great pleasure and gave him much favor and gave him the *borla* of this kingdom of Peru, in which he promised vassalage to the King, our Lord."¹⁷⁵ The exchange of the *mascapaycha* supported the negotiations between the Spaniards and the Inca. Without mentioning the ongoing role of Titu Yupanqui Cusi in Vilcabamba,¹⁷⁶ the account describes how Sayre Tupa, "Took the *borla* that they call *mascapaycha* before he left this city [Cuzco] for Lima."¹⁷⁷ In other words, the *mascapaycha* was a tool of negotiation. Guaman Poma's visual inclusion was not denied by the textual description of the *mascapaycha*'s role after the Spanish invasion. Both maintained a connection to the pre-Hispanic Sapa Inca and upheld Inca nobility via patrilineal descent into the colonial period without threatening Spanish imperial authority.

Nonetheless, the graphic and textual rendering in Galvin Chapter 16 and 50v provide a reconceptualization of Inca lineage from descendants in Cuzco that highlighted the significance of the maternal line alongside the patrilineal focus of the *mascapaycha*. The poems

¹⁷⁵ "Este valeroso mango ynga se uido con los esPañoles con mucha paz y Ellos le Resçiuieron con mucho contento y gusto y los quales le Hijieron mucha merçed y luego dio la uorla deste Reyno del piru con la qual prometio basallaje al Rey nuestro señor." Murua, *Historia del origen*, 47r.

¹⁷⁶ The vital role Titu Cusi Yupanqui played as governor in Vilcabamba during the resistance and negotiation is not mentioned in the Galvin or Getty manuscripts. Unfortunately, we lack space to amply explore the representations of Vilcabamba in the narrative. Titu Cusi Yupanqui upheld claims to Inca sovereignty as he negotiated and resisted conditions of Spanish colonialization. The Inca who remained in Cuzco or left Vilcabamba had strategically decided to ally with the Spanish to secure their position in a colonial social reality rather than negotiate with resistance like Titu Cusi Yupanqui. Nonetheless, the continuation of Inca sovereignty in Vilcabamba played an important role in Andean social consciousness. For more on Titu Cusi Yupanqui and Sayri Tupac, see Hemming, *Conquest of the Inca*, 270-304; Peña Núñez, *Incas alzados de Vilcabamba*, 45-52; Liliana Regalado de Hurtado, *El inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui y su tiempo: los incas de Vilcabamba: y los primeros cuarenta años del dominio español*, (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1997); Edmundo Guillén Guillén, *La guerra de reconquista Inka*, (Lima, Perú: E. Guillén Guillén, 1994); Héléne Roy, "La resistencia de T'tiu Kusi Yupanki o la historia de una paradoja," in *Vilcabamba entre arqueología, historia y mito*, Jean-Jacques Decoster and Mariusz S Ziolkowski eds., *Archivos de historia andina* 53, (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas; Centro Tinku, 2016), 146-157; Catherine Julien and Kerstin Nowack, "La Campaña de Toledo Contra Los Señores Naturales Andinos: El Destierro de Los Incas de Vilcabamba y Cusco," *Historia y Cultura: Revista Del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia Del Perú*, no. 23 (1999): 15–81; Diego de Castro Titu Cusi Yupanqui, *Ynstrucción del ynga Don Diego de Castro Titu Cussi Yupangui para el muy ilustre Señor el liçençiado Lope Garçia de Castro, governador que fue destos reynos del Piru*, Luis Millones ed., (Lima: Ed. El Virrey, 1985 [1570]).

¹⁷⁷ "Prinçipe mango ynga fue un yndio del mismo linage llamado don carlos ynga nieto del balerosso guayna capac el qual uiuio mucho tiempo en esta ciudad y despues acauo su uida muy christianamente tuuo este capitan mango ynga un Hijo que despues fue su Heredero que es el dho xayre topa el qual casso con coya cusi guarçay Hija de su tío guascar El qual fue muy fuerte y belicosso y quando tomo la borla que ellos llaman mascapaicha antes que saliesse desta çiudad Para la de Lima se mudo el nombre en mango caPac pachacuti yupangui." Murua, *Historia del origen*, 47r.

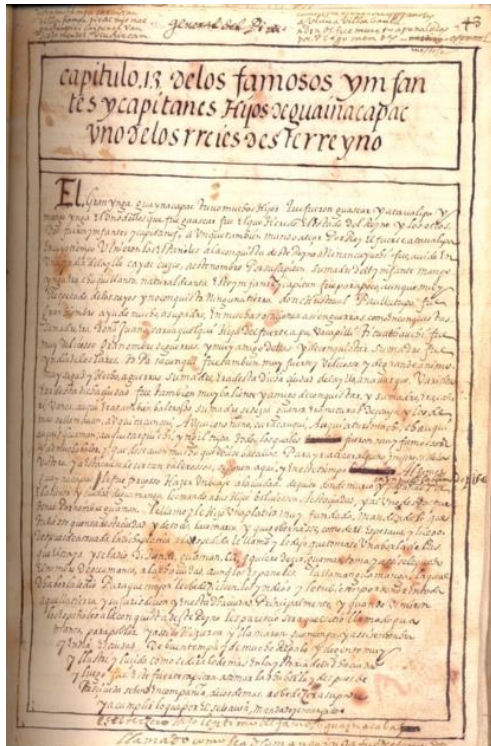


Figure 69: Chapter 13 with poem on Manco Inca. *Historia del origen* (2008 [1596]), f. 48r. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

on 50v compositionally connect with the shorter Quechua poems (and Spanish translations) that accompany the Inca portraits for Manco Capac, Inca Roca, Tupa Inca Yupanqui, Huayna Capac, Huascar and Manco Inca (written in the upper margin of Chapter 13, f. 48r; fig. 63, 69). All the poems were composed according to sixteenth-century European poetic conventions. They demonstrate a mastery in written Quechua while maintaining elements of *arawi* (*harawi*, *haraucicu*, *haruai*);¹⁷⁸ a dirge-like pre-Hispanic Inca poetic tradition that honored the memory of a deceased Sapa Inca. The Quechua poems were not written by Murua, though he may have been the translator.¹⁷⁹ The more

likely author is a mestizo or Spaniard with a mastery of Quechua who was extremely sympathetic to the Inca plight.¹⁸⁰ Possible candidates include Jesuit friars Antonio de Vega (Peña Núñez 2017: 264-66, 293), Alonso de Barzana, or Blas Valera; secular friar Cristóbal de Molina (Itier 1987: 224); or Mercedarian friar Juan Caballero. On the one hand, the multiple demonstrated links between the Galvin and Getty Murua and Molina's lost manuscript strongly support Molina's

¹⁷⁸ According to Diego Gonzalez Holguín, *harawi/haraucicu* are "songs of the deeds of others, or the memorial of absent loved ones, also songs of love and affection. And now they use these terms for religious and spiritual songs." Holguín, *Lengua General del Peru*, 2007 [1608], lib: I: 119. For more on *arawi* as a pre-Hispanic poetic genre of the Inca, see Niles, *Shape of Inca History*, 6-7, 26-44; Jean-Philippe Husson, *La poésie quechua dans la chronique*, 41-57.

¹⁷⁹ Margot Beyersdorff's initial analysis argued that the poems were pre-Hispanic and Inca in origin. However, Cesar Itier demonstrated European poetic influences and authorship, including its syllabic structure. Both analyses were handicapped by working from the incomplete copy of the *Historia del origen*, known as the Loyola version. More recently, Peña Núñez studied the confluence of the poems and image in her in-depth and multidisciplinary analysis of the Vilcabamba resistance in *Historia del origen* to show the mix of pre-Hispanic and colonial traditions. Adorno and Boserup also labeled the poems as part of the *arawi* tradition. See Margot Beyersdorff, "Fray Martín de Murúa y El 'Cantar' Histórico Inka," *Revista Andina*, 4, 2 (1986): 501-22; César Itier, "A propósito de los dos poemas," 211-27; Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma and the Manuscripts of Fray Martín de Murúa," 198; Beatriz Carolina Peña Núñez, *Los Incas Alzados de Vilcabamba*.

¹⁸⁰ Itier argues that the discrepancy in the number of Inca kings between the Quechua and Spanish version shows that Murua wanted to minimize the texts Jesuit connection. The Quechua version only describes eleven Inca kings, which the Jesuits promoted, while the Spanish translation lists twelve. Itier, "Propósito de los dos poemas," 223.

account as a source for the poems. The connections include the *coya* names, which, like the poems, were added late in the Galvin production process and the Tupac Yupanqui's *probanza de los nietos* and possibly the Vilcabamba addition in the Getty Murua. On the other hand, given Murua's proclivity to copy, these connections do not preclude another source such as Caballero, whose account may have also been a source for the Vilcabamba section. The added texts on 50v-51v and previously 52r (later transferred to Getty as folio 84v) were added by Murua after the illustrations between April, 1592 and 1598.¹⁸¹

In the graphic and letter-filled folio of 50v, Inca figures simultaneously manifest the death, continuity, and transformation of Inca elite status and descent after the Spanish invasion. The page is filled with Quechua poems translated into Spanish. A mournful illustration by Guaman Poma has don Martín García de Loyola leading a tearful and bowed Tupac Amaru with a golden chain around his neck. On his head is a green *llauto* topped by a golden crown-like fringe and a red *mascapaycha* hanging down his forehead. Above his head a Quechua and Spanish translated poem bemoans his decapitation by the order of Viceroy Toledo; "He who always meant harm to the Inca lineage" (see chapter introduction for the full poem). The accompanying text on 52r, before it was transferred to the Getty, sympathetically laments his tragic end. To the left of Tupac Amaru, a Spanish poem describes the graciousness of his brother, Sayre Tupa, in negotiations and the *mascapaycha's* performative role in symbolically manifesting both Inca continuity and loyalty under the authority of the Spanish Crown. "His surrender to the King was well received / the brave and invincible Cuzco / for which they gave him the *borla*."¹⁸² In 1558, during ongoing

¹⁸¹ The texts came before the illustrations in this part of the *Historia del origen*. Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma and the Manuscripts of Fray Martín de Murúa", 198-99. The date range is based on Constantino Bayle's observation that the added text was written while doña Beatriz was in Chile with her husband, don Martín Loyola de la García, before he was murdered by natives between April 1592 and 1598. Bayle, "Introduction," 32-33.

¹⁸² "Fue Sayre Tupa hijo muy querido / de Mango, el fuerte Inca belicoso, / que puso zerco al Cuzco, perseguido / del campo español tan cudizioso. / Aquesta fue por Rey bien reciuido / del inbenzible Cuzco baleroso, / al qual por su virtud dieron orla / de justo Rey, poniendole la borla. / Casó, pues, Sayre Tupa con su hermana, / la Coya Cusi Guarca, dibuzada / por mano divinal y soberana, / de ser y de balor perfezionada. / Aquesta fue palacio de Diana / y a ti, o sacro Phebo, consagrada / por ninpha de la fuente chrialina, / de limpia castidad clara y divina. / Lloró tu muerte, o Sayre desdichado, / el benerable coro de Medea, / en tierna jubentud arreuatado / por la horrend parcha, / dura y fea. / Los campos del Collao muy celebrado, / los chinchas del gran Sur q[ue] los rodea / en parte, y los chunchos montesinos / llorante los laguas cristalinos." Murúa, *Historia del origen*, f. 50v; Transcription by Peña Núñez, *Incas alzados de Vilcabamba*, 163.

negotiations between Spanish officials and the Inca of Vilcabamba under Titu Cusi Yupanqui, Sayre Tupa and Coya Cusi Huarca, his sister-wife, left exile for a promised encomienda in the Yucay Valley near Cuzco. Three years later he unexpectedly died by illness or poison.¹⁸³

A brief Quechua poem, translated into Spanish, written below Tupac Amaru's feet, and a textual addition in the left-hand margin of the 50v, lament the end of the Huascar house and the Inca line through the death Titu Atauchi. He was the nephew of Huascar and the only remaining member of the Huascar royal house and *ayllu* according to Sarmiento (Itier 1987: 221). Along with don Carlos and other Inca, Toledo had them imprisoned in 1572 on suspicion of their support of the Inca resistance in Vilcabamba. Cusi Huarca was also implicated. After Titu Atauchi's release by order of the Audiencia of Lima, he suffered an untimely death in Cuzco.¹⁸⁴ As the margin states:

Titu Atauchi was in a dark prison for two years in Lima, after having been imprisoned in Cuzco with don Carlos Inga. Don Francisco de Toledo imprisoned them with many other Incas and exiled them from Cuzco. The judges of the Royal Audiencia of Lima released them and ordered them to return to Cuzco, where Tito Atauchi died from fever, which ended the genealogy these Indians call *Silquihua*.¹⁸⁵

The closing line suggests that according to primogeniture, the Inca royal line ended with the death of Titu Atauchi. However, his son, don Alonso Titu Atauchi, continued as a prominent Inca leader,

¹⁸³ Sayre Tupac and his sister-wife Cusi Guarcay received a perpetual encomienda grant of Yucay, Jaquijaguana, Gualaquipa and Pucara near Cusco, which yielded an annual income of 10,000 to 20,000 pesos. Falling ill upon his arrival in Yucay, he had a will drawn up to protect his wife and daughter, doña Beatriz Clare Coya. However, he recovered to only die in 1561. According to doña Cusi Guarcay and Guaman Poma, don Francisco Chilche, poisoned him. Guengerich, *Inca Women Under Spanish Rule*, 115; Guillén Guillén, *Guerra de reconquista Inka*, 34.

¹⁸⁴ Don Titu Atauchi lived in San Cristobal Parish. He participated in the visual and textual components of Toledo history project in 1572 and was listed by Sarmiento as 40-years-old on February 29, 1572 as the only remaining member of the Huascar *Ayllu*. The group of Inca who were accused of conspiracy with Titu Cusi Yupanqui included don Carlos Inca, son of Paullu; don Agustín Conde Mayta from Lloque Yupanqui *Ayllu*; don Diego Cayo; two *caciques principales*, don Pedro Guambotongo and don Francisco Tuyrugualpa; don Titu Atauchi. Toledo had their belongings confiscated and imprisoned. He was released three months later by order of the Audiencia of Lima and died in Cuzco shortly thereafter. Peña Núñez, *Incas Alzados de Vilcabamba*, 295-301; Ella Dunbar Temple, "Descendencia de Huayna Cápac," 93-165, 175; Sarmiento, *History of the Inca*, 165-166; Guillén Guillén, *Guerra de reconquista Inka*, 148-151; Itier, "Propósito de los dos poemas," 221-223; Espinoza Soriano, "Orejones del Cuzco," 80-87; Nowack and Julien, "Campaña de Toledo," 16-17; Bauer and Decoster, "Introduction," 20; Guaman Poma, *Nueva Coronica*, f. 114. See Chapter Two, section 2.

¹⁸⁵ Margin Text: "En una carzel oscura estuvo Titu Atauchi Inga dos años en la ciudad de los Reyes, después de haber estado preso en el Cozco con don Carlos Inga, a los cuales prendió don Francisco de Toledo con otros muchos Incas y los desterró del Cozco. Y los Señores oidores de la Real Audiencia de Lima los restituyeron y mandaron volver al Cozco, donde murió este Tito Atauchi de calenturas, donde feneció la genealogía que aquestos indios llaman Silquihua." Quechua Poem: "Cay vatay vaçi Ucupim / Titu Atauchi tiarca / yscayhuata, chay mantare / Cuzcuman cutim puptina / rupay ña alparichirca." Spanish Poem: "Y en esta cárcel oscura / estuvo Titu Atauchi ynga / dos años en la ciudad de los Reyes. / Después de haber estado preso / en el Cuzco murió de unas calenturas." Murúa, *Historia del origen*, f. 50v; Transcription by Peña Núñez, *Incas Alzados de Vilcabamba*, 296-297.

exemplified by his role at the head of the 1610 procession of Inca descendants during the Beatification of Loyola in Cuzco.

Yet, in the same Spanish poem on Sayre Tupac, doña Cusi Guarca y and her daughter, doña Beatríz Clara, are celebrated for their role of continuing the Inca dynasty through the maternal line.¹⁸⁶ Women emerge as crucial protagonists in the continuation of Inca descent in the colonial era. They are briefly mentioned in Chapter 47 and the end of Chapter 16 but celebrated in the poems on folio 50v. "Married, Sayre Tupac with his sister / the Coya Cusi Guarca y, drawn / by the divine and sovereign / of perfect being and courage."¹⁸⁷ Murua concludes Book Two with added text (fig. 68): "Of this famous Amaro we can include the Coya doña Beatríz, who at present is governor of Chile, and within her is contained all the valor and being of each one of them, and many virtues that are only in this *señora* for having descended from such superior and powerful Kings."¹⁸⁸ However, their position in the early colonial period was liminal and precarious as the Inca in Vilcabamba and Cuzco came under increasing threat from Spanish authorities. Moreover, the Spanish Crown recognized women of Inca descent as noble, just like male descendants of Inca rulers. Spaniards often married elite Inca women to access their wealth and privileges, contributing to a new mestizo Andean society and culture that depended on the maternal line for recognition of noble status, inheritance, and privileges (Martínez 2008; 2014: 178).

¹⁸⁶ In addition to Cusi Guarca y and doña Beatríz Clara, other notable Inca women in the sixteenth century who are not described in the Murua manuscripts include doña Magdalena Mama Huaco, great granddaughter of Huayna Capac, daughter of Tupac Amaru and Catalina Pilco Huaco, both from royal houses; Inés Huaylas Yupanqui (or Cusi Quispe Sisa ñusta), daughter of Huayna Capac who married don Francisco Pizarro and had children, and later married Francisco de Ampuero; and others. For more on Inca women in the sixteenth century see Guengerich, *Inca Women Under Spanish Rule New*; Hemming, *Conquest of the Inca*; and Rostworowski, *Doña Francisca Pizarro*, 93–165.

¹⁸⁷ "Sayre tupa con su hermana / La coya cusi guarca y dibuzada / por mano diuinal y soberana / de ser y de balor perfezonada." Murua, *Historia del origen*, 50v.

¹⁸⁸ "Fue Cusi Guarca y hermana carnal suyo y solo que ya no tenía otro a quien mas que a si quería [texto atachado] todos los Reyes yngas sus antepasados. Deste famoso amaro se vienen a yncluir en la coya doña Beatríz que al presente es gobernadora de chile y en ella se enzierra todo el balor y ser de cada uno de ellos y las muchas virtudes estan en sola esta señora por venir y dezender de tan altos y podersosos Reyes. Da lustre por su balor a sus antepasados y los haze florecer con memoria eterna, esta señora es hija de Sayritupa y de la coya cusi guarca y, hermanos carnales, Hijos de mango ynga, casaronse conforme a su ley que permitia casarse el hermano con la hermana, siendo Reyes y erederos y el obispo don Jhoan Solano, que fue el primero que hubo en esta ciudad dispenso con ellos por autoridad apostólica y comisión de Julio III, pontífice máximo. Fue tío de doña beatríz clara coya este triste Amaro." Murua, *Historia del origen*, 51v.

According to native witnesses in Cusi Guarcaý's 1567 *Informaciones ad Perpetuam Ref Memoriam* (Judicial inquiry for the perpetual memory of the kings),¹⁸⁹ she was daughter of Manco Inca and Catalina Taypichilque's (alternately spelled Taipe, Taipi, Taypi + chilque), ancestors of Huayna Capac and Atahualpa from her paternal and maternal line. At a young age, she joined Manco Inca in Vilcabamba in 1536. She left Vilcabamba with Sayre Tupac and their daughter, doña Beatríz Clara. Shortly after she was baptized as doña María Manrique Cusi Guarcaý. The Church legitimated their marriage with a papal dispensation (Murua 2008 [1616]: 168v). After Sayre Tupac's death, young doña Beatríz inherited his estate, which left Cusi Guarcaý financially disadvantaged. Over the subsequent decades, she fought and negotiated in the courts for financial restitution and peace with the Inca in Vilcabamba. She unsuccessfully conspired to marry her daughter to Cristóbal Maldonado, the younger brother of mestizo Juan Arias Maldonado, and one of the wealthiest families in the Viceroyalty of Peru. However, with the fall of Vilcabamba, doña Beatríz married her uncle's capturer. In Toledo's efforts to diminish Cusi Guarcaý's standing, he undercut her genealogical position in the 1572 *paños*, which she disputed in the verification process; Toledo forced her to marry a low-ranking soldier, Juan Fernández de Coronel; and ignored her active legal efforts for recognition. Yet, despite her poverty and disadvantaged position, she remained a recognized Inca noblewoman and political player in colonial Cuzco.¹⁹⁰

Even though women are muted players in the representation of Inca history and were excluded in the production of the Galvin and Getty manuscripts, the multivocal composition in folios 50v-52v highlights the maternal line not only as remnants of pre-Hispanic significance but

¹⁸⁹ *Información ad perpetuam dada en 13 de enero de 1567 ante la Real Justicia de la Ciudad del Cuzco, Reino del Perú, a pedimento de la mui ylustre señora Doña María Manrique Cusi Guarcaý Coya, vecina de dicha ciudad.* ARC. Betancur. n. 9. fols. 136-85.

¹⁹⁰ Much more could be said about doña Cusi Guarcaý and doña Beatríz. For more on Guarcaý's verbal disapproval during the verification process of the *paños*, see Guengerich, *Inca Women Under Spanish Rule New*; Hemming, *Conquest of the Inca*, 285-304, 399, 427-443; Peña Núñez, *Incas Alzados de Vilcabamba*, 45, 168-175, 273-282; Temple, "Descendencia de Huayna Capac," vol. 11, 128, 168-176; Covey and Amado Gonzales, *Imperial Transformations*, 25-29; Carmen Escalante Gutiérrez and Ricardo Valderrama Fernández, "Los Tupa Guamanrims Ynga y Vilcabamba (1533-1589)," in *Vilcabamba entre arqueología, historia y mito*, 136-145; Guillén Guillén, *Guerra de reconquista Inka*; Ella Dunbar Temple, "Testamento Inédito de Doña Beatríz Clara Coya de Loyola, Hija Del Inca Sayri Túpac," *Revista de La Biblioteca Nacional (Lima)* 7-8 (1950): 109-22; Marie Timberlake, "The Painted Colonial Image," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 29.3 (1999): 563-98; Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits*, 27-29, 89; Nowack and Julien, "Campaña de Toledo," 32-33; Itier, "Propósito de los dos poemas," 211, 221.

as wholly relevant to the continuity of Inca descent in colonial Andean society. The narrative specifically celebrates Inca descendants of *linea directa* (direct descent) who left Vilcabamba and allied with the Spanish, such as Sayre Tupac, Cusi Huar cay, and doña Beatríz. Doña Beatríz represented the dynastic reflection and continuity of Tupac Amaru. Idealized and celebrated in a poem laced with Greek references, doña Cusi Guar cay and doña Beatríz "symbolize the poetic hope of a rattled dynasty looking for someone to represent it" (Peña Núñez 2018: 269). The textual and visual juxtaposition of these Inca women with the *mascapaycha* and Sapa Inca in the Galvin acknowledges the privileged status of the Inca maternal line in a way that is lost in many other chronicles and legal records. The sentiment is evocative of don Luis when he gifted one of his *mascapaychas* to his daughter. Taken as a whole, these records underscore the fact that Inca women served as vital keepers of memory, lineage, and noble status in the colonial context.

Reminiscent of the Galvin, in the Getty version the reader is treated to one of the most extensive colonial-era accounts of the complex unfolding of resistance, negotiation, and ultimate defeat of the Inca in Vilcabamba. The poems and images by Guaman Poma are gone, but the narrative is streamlined and connected across chapters. The intricacies of the narrative have prompted scholars to suggest another copied source from a sympathetic author with intimate, possibly first-hand, knowledge of the events and actors, such as Cristóbal de Molina (Nowack 1999: 6, citing Rowe, personal communication) or Juan Caballero (Hyland 2017: 6). Through it the reader appreciates the multiethnic and multifaceted negotiation among the Inca in Vilcabamba, their Inca counterparts in Cuzco, Spanish and mestizo allies and aggressors, and other native ethnic groups, including the Cañari. The "*linea directa*" ends with Tupac Amaro rather than Huascar. Only pre-Hispanic Inca leaders were treated as "captains." A love story between Sayre Tupac and Cusi Huar cay concludes Book One.¹⁹¹ The portrayal is reminiscent of the

¹⁹¹ The addition of a sympathetic love story between Sayre Tupac and Cusi Guar cay to conclude Book One reflects the tone in the poems, tantalizing suggesting a single source for the poems and the Getty. I hope to explore this more fully in future research.

perspective expressed in the poems and chapter texts in Galvin folios 50v-52v, which appreciate the complex and evolving position of Inca descendants in colonial society.

6.4 Coats of Arms and the *Mascapaycha*

In addition to the portrayal of the *mascapaycha* with Inca rulers and captains they are found in coats of arms accompanying the Coya in the Galvin and the Inca in the Getty. Indigenous elites used evidence of their maternal and paternal descent in the sixteenth century as proof of noble status, juxtaposing the *mascapaycha* with fictitious coats of arms (Cummins 1998: 105-6) in the Galvin Coya portraits. Since only kings had the power to grant coats of arms in Iberian culture, the heraldic emblems became contested tools of negotiation for Indigenous elites. Through the deployment of coats of arms, native subjects sought to demonstrate the king's acknowledgement of their noble status, their loyalty to the Spanish crown, and its confirmation of certain privileges. Coats of arms became a strategic tool to display superiority over other Andeans through the imagistic blending of pre-Hispanic and colonial markers of authority, ancestry and worth. Many Inca coats of arms included a version of the *mascapaycha* with other Habsburg symbols.¹⁹² The fictitious coats of arms with the *mascapaycha* in the Murua manuscripts legitimated the noble descent of Inca descendants and promoted their superiority over other native groups in colonial Peru.¹⁹³ These images are among the few graphic elements that were almost identically replicated in the Getty version, but applied to the Inca to conform to the expectations of an intended European audience.

However, in their original association with Coya portraits, the coats of arms reveal an Andean influence, especially since Guaman Poma was the artist. By including coats of arms with the *mascapaycha* in the Coya portraits, the artist(s) celebrated Inca authority and lineage in terms

¹⁹² For further discussion of Iberian coats of arms see, María Elena Martínez, "Indigenous Genealogies," 173-201; Domingues Torres, "Emblazoning Identity," 97-117; Cummins, "Let Me See!," 91-148; Ramos, "Símbolos de Poder Inca," 43-66; Estenssoro Fuchs, *Paganismo a la santidad*, 101; and others.

¹⁹³ Coats of arms with the *mascapaycha* in the Galvin Coya portraits include ff. 26v, 27v, and 28v.

of gendered complementarity. It remains unclear who decided to include the coats of arms with the Coya portraits. Did Guaman Poma as the artist take the initiative to include them, or was Murua advised by other Inca actors to do so, or did Murua and Guaman Poma confer on the decision? Notably, the association of Guaman Poma's coat of arms with the Coya portraits supported his personal claim to Inca descent through his maternal line. Unfortunately, in the Getty version Murua shifted, replicated, and identified the coats of arms with the Coya's male partner.¹⁹⁴ As with the coupling of the Inca and Coya chapters, the shift of the coats of arms to the Sapa Inca, particularly with the *mascapaycha* reinforcement, underscored patrilineal descent.



Figure 70: Martín de Murua and Guaman Poma(?). "Eao fulcio collumas eius." *Historia del origen* (2008 [96]), f. 141v. Courtesy of Sean Galvin.

6.5 Potosí and the *Mascapaycha*

The dialogical and negotiated relationship between Inca and Iberians culminates in the image and chapter text for the city of Potosí in Book 4 of the Galvin manuscript (f. 141v-142v; fig. 70). The abundant silver produced by the Potosí mine made it one of the most important sites for economic wealth in the Spanish empire. The illustration centers on a single Inca in the top center of the image looking off into the distance. The *mascapaycha* rests prominently on his forehead. His arms hold the two columns of Hercules, each topped by European-style crowns just above his head. The Potosí Mountain stands between the Inca and the pillars. The mine sits below the

¹⁹⁴ In the Getty, only the Sapa Inca from Manco Capac to the sixth Sapa Inca, Inca Roca, include coats of arms in the top left corner, indicating two phases in the completion of the Getty Inca portraits.



Figure 71: Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. *City of Potosi. "Ciudad. la Villa Imperial de Potocchi, por la dicha mina es Castilla, Roma es Roma, el Papa es Papa, y el rey es monarca del mundo; y la Santa Madre Iglesia es defendida, y nuestra fe guardada por los cuatro reyes de las Indias, y por el emperador Inga, agora lo apodera el Papa de Roma y Nuestro Señor Rey don Phelipe el tercero. Plus Ultra. Ego Fulcio Collumnas Eius. Chinchaysuyo. Collasuyo. minas de Potosí de plata. Ciudad imperial Castilla."* Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [1057 [1065]].

Figure 72: Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala "Ciudad. Ego Fulcio Collumnas Eius." Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [1058 [1066]].

mountain crest in the shape of a dark oval shape with a grid. Two laborers and a llama strain as they climb up its slopes while gazing upwards. The image of the mountain contains a unique red iron earth pigment found in only one other image in the Galvin, whereas the depiction of the mine itself was originally covered by silver, simulating the actual elements of the mountain.¹⁹⁵ Within the bottom border Guaman Poma wrote, "*cerro y minas de potocçi*" [mountain and mines of Potosí]. In the top of the image, Murua inserted the captions "*Plus Ultra, Eao fulçio collumas eius*" and "*el ynga*" (Adorno and Boserup 2005: 243; Cummins and Ossio 2013: 167) before the borders were drawn. The incomplete and restructured quire makes it difficult to determine where the image falls in the artistic campaigns, whether this was the original position or if it was originally a frontispiece

¹⁹⁵ The use of silver is unique to this image in the Galvin, while in the Getty it was used for final embellishments. Trentelman, *Colorants and Artists' Palette*, 128-129; Cummins 9 April 2019: presentation, Lima. Murua possibly added the silver at a later stage in the Galvin, when he planned to transfer the image to the Getty.

to the 1590 manuscript version (Ibid). The figure and pillars resemble Murua's artistic hand in the Inca portraits. Guaman Poma's participation as an artist on the mountain, laborers, and llama is less clear, though possible.¹⁹⁶ He repeated a similar (but different) depiction of Potosí, including the captions, in his chronicle (fig. 71).

The text in the beginning of the chapter on Potosí addresses the image and vital role of Potosí and the Andes within the Habsburg empire. "It is painted with an eagle with two heads and on top of the famous mountain [sits] the imperial crown for having discovered and conquered it in the era of the Christian and Catholic King Charles V."¹⁹⁷ Notably, the bicephalous eagle is not depicted in the Galvin image. Nonetheless, the textual description explicitly links the graphic rendering with the coats of arms of Potosí and Charles V.¹⁹⁸ The city's shield included the silver mountain between the two columns of Hercules, depicted by Guaman Poma (fig. 72). Charles V granted the city its coat of arms in recognition of its economic significance to the empire (Estenssoro Fuchs 2005: 132). Charles V's coat of arms from 1516 included "Plus Ultra" with an eagle standing between two columns. His imperial motto and emblem referred to the strait of Gibraltar, the edge of the known world according to the ancients, repurposed during the Renaissance.¹⁹⁹ The pillars flanking the Potosí Mountain signified the new Christian frontier in the Americas, whereas the eagle marked the continuation of the *reconquista* mission from the peninsula (MacCormack 2007: 228; Estenssoro Fuchs 2005: 107-8; fig. 73). The convenient

¹⁹⁶ Trentelman suggests the artist for the mountain and laborers could be Guaman Poma, given the shared red iron earth pigment used in the mountain and the illustration of Mama Ocllo completed by him. Unfortunately, insufficient comparable data and the incomplete and restructured quire make it difficult to determine which artist participated in the illustration and during which artistic campaign. Moreover, the figures share a stylistic similarity with the figures in Galvin folio 66v. Cummins and Ossio argue Murua is a likely artist based on similarities in the figures in the paradisaical landscape on folio 1v that originally was a frontispiece to the 1590 Galvin version. See Cummins and Ossio, *Muchas Veces Duda*, 167; Cummins, *Dibujado por mi mano*; Trentelman, *Colorants and Artists' Palette*, 128-129.

¹⁹⁷ "Pintanle con un aguilla, con dos caueças y ensima de este famosso serro la corona ymperial por auer se descubierta y conquistado en tiempo del christianissimo y catholico Rey carlos quinto." Murua, *Historia del origen*, 142r.

¹⁹⁸ For more on the images, see Cummins and Ossio, *Muchas Veces Duda*, 167; Estenssoro Fuchs 2005: 107-111, 122; MacCormack, *On the Wings Of Time*, 128, 228, 233-234; Kilroy-Ewbank, *Fashioning a Prince*, 93; Cummins, "Images of Murúa's Historia General del Piru," 148-149; Cañizares-Esguerra, *Typology in the Atlantic World*, 259.

¹⁹⁹ For more on the meaning of *Plus Ultra* and the pillars of Hercules, see Earl Rosenthal, "Plus Ultra, Non Plus Ultra, and the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V," *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971): 204-228.

narrative of the mine's discovery by an "Indian" after the Spanish arrival (Murua 1596: 142v) served to claim the silver mine and its riches as part of the historical era of Spanish Christianity and the Crown's territory. As such, despite the danger of promoting a prominent Andean *huaca*, Spanish ecclesiastics and officials embraced Potosí's heraldic emblem (Phipps 2004; Estenssoro Fuchs 2005: 122), which is reiterated in the Galvin.

However, nuanced differences *between* the Galvin and *Nueva corónica* promote Inca status within the Spanish empire. Text added to the chapter's conclusion explains:

And for great goods likes these, Peru never fails to remit to Spain the fruit that is taken from the insides of this rich and powerful mountain, from which they extract every year six or seven million ducats. Our Catholic King sustains all Christianity with the things brought by the same fleet, as you see by this painting. So the Inca says, "*Ego fulçio columnas eius*. As Lord and possessor of this great mountain from which Peru derives such pleasure, Spain is paid." Thus, everyone from this Kingdom should give thanks to God for having given us this mountain that surpasses all others in the world in its grandeur, beauty and wealth."²⁰⁰

Murua specifically attributes the biblical phrase, "*Ego fuçio columnas eius*" to the Inca, which he altered from the Vulgate version of Psalm 74:4, "*ego confirmavi columnas eius*" or "I bear the pillars". The royal Sapa Inca holds the imperial pillars of the Christian frontier for the Spanish Crown, while acknowledging the Inca descendants as supportive and loyal vassals of the Spanish Crown and



Figure 73: Spanish King, Charles V, vanquishing the Turks. The triumphal arc for Charles V in Milan, 1541. Anonymus, *Trattato del intrar in Milano di Carlo V Cesare sempre Augusto con le proprie figure de li archi* by Giovanni Alberto Albicante, Milan, 1541. Out of Copyright.

²⁰⁰ "Y por tan grandes vienes como estos ningun Retorno ynvia el piru a españa sino el fruto q[ue] se saca de las entraños deste Rico y poderoso zerro del q[ua]l lleuan todos los años seys, o siete millones de ducados las mismas flotas q[ue] traen todo lo dho con le q[ua]l ñro catholico Rey sustenta toda la christianidad como se be por esta pintura pues dize el ynga, ego fulçio columnas eius - como s^o y poseedor deste gran zerro con lo q[ua]l el piru q[ue]da contento y españa pagada. deuemos pues todos los deste Reyno dar graçias a Dios por abernos dado este zerro tan notable entre todos los del mundo en grandeza hermosura y riqueza." Murua, *Historia del origen*, 142v.

their purse. Guaman Poma used the same altered Latin for his image,²⁰¹ suggesting that he borrowed and augmented elements from the Galvin image for his own. However, his image depicts the four lords of Tawantinsuyu holding up the Pillars of Hercules, including his grandfather, with the Inca in the middle. Guaman Poma's image elevates the native lords from the four regions of the Inca empire, whereas the Galvin version emphasizes the singular elite position of the Inca and their descendants, exemplified by the prominent *mascapaycha*. However, both versions agreed on the essential and legitimate authority of Andean lords within the Spanish Christian empire.

Even though the Potosí image replicated Spanish Christian and imperial typology, the inclusion of the Inca with his *mascapaycha* promoted the Inca descendants as Peru's powerful and legitimate heirs and vassals to the Spanish Crown (MacCormack 2007: 234). The Galvin Murua aligns with Bartolomé de las Casas and Guaman Poma's perspective that authority should devolve to Andean native rulers, while remaining part of the Spanish Empire (Cañizares-Esguerra 2009: 259). The influence of the metropole in Murua's image is significant. However, the Potosí rendition reflects the idea of a negotiated colonial pact with the Spanish crown, promoted by Inca descendants. This message aligns with the Inca descendants' collective legal campaigns in Cuzco in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Cabildo of the Inca and *alférez real de los incas*, and the strategies implied in the 1590 and 1596 endorsement letter by native leaders to the Galvin version. The negotiations between two essential but unequal complementary actors formed a new socio-political *tinkuy* in the Andes, which positioned the Spanish Crown in the hanan (upper) position and the Inca in the necessary hurin (lower) position.

From visual representations of the Inca kings by Murua to the resistant Inca in Vilcabamba by Guaman Poma, and their juxtaposition with Inca women, the multivocal representations of the

²⁰¹ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra first pointed out the altered phrase in Guaman Poma's illustration, which he attributed to the Andean. However, given the same change is found in the Galvin Murua, it is likely Guaman Poma copied the altered phrase from the Galvin manuscript. The use of the phrase in association to silver mines was repeated in the seventeenth. Creole author Gaspar de Escalone Agüero used the Latin phrase from Psalm 74:4 in his depiction of the silver mines of Guancavelica in the seventeenth century. Cañizares-Esguerra, *Typology in the Atlantic World*, 245-259.

mascapaycha in the Murua manuscripts reflect the contested discourse on Inca descent in sixteenth-century colonial Cuzco society. The Galvin's multilayered composition expresses the dialogical and emergent process of negotiation that occurred between Iberians and Inca descendants from the Cuzco region in the constant reformulation of the colonial pact. The *mascapaycha*'s powerful assertion of Inca authority, prestige, and claims to nobility according to patrilineal descent echoed a strategy implemented by the Inca descendants and validated by Iberian courts and colonial institutions. These activities of political jostling within a prestige hierarchy were familiar to the Inca from the pre-Hispanic era. However, the visual and textual juxtaposition of the *borla* with noble Inca women by Guaman Poma and an unknown (though likely mestizo) author highlighted the continued relevance of the maternal line. The combination intertwined Inca gender complementarity and strategies to claim Inca descent in the colonial context. Unlike the direct association of don Pedro Purqui and don Guaman Poma in the manuscript's composition, I cannot identify a direct influence by the Inca endorsers in the representation of the *mascapaycha*. However, the significant role of Indigenous actors in the social and cultural context deeply informed the Murua manuscripts' reconceptualization of Inca history and descent.

7. Conclusion

My analysis of genealogy and descent in the Murua manuscripts evinces the significant degree of intertextuality and multivocality in Murua's manuscripts that included Indigenous voices. There are layers of unacknowledged copying from other Iberian chronicle sources. However, numerous locations in the graphic and visual representations of the Inca, Coyas, and Captains also involved Inca and non-Inca Indigenous voices. While I have demonstrated that Guaman Poma and don Pedro Purqui were directly involved in the composition, my analysis also suggests the high probability of the Inca endorsers' involvement, particularly don Luis. Other Indigenous

voices permeated through the many copied texts, including Cristobál de Molina and/or possibly the mestizo friar, Juan Caballero.

The Murua manuscripts record the contested and complementary strategies of Inca and non-Inca Indigenous descendants in late sixteenth-century Cuzco. The textual and graphic representations of genealogy, memory and authority manifest a dynamic and dialogic practice of *tinkuy*. Iberian authors blanketed pre-Hispanic Andean history with a universalized Inca representation of descent and authority. However, Indigenous and mestizo sources used the history project to highlight other important facets of pre-Hispanic and colonial Inca history. They elevated the authority of Inca women and other male Inca leaders through the perpetuation of Andean notions of unequal gendered complementarity and a respect for maternal lines of descent. They promoted the continued claim of Inca nobility through maternal and paternal descent despite the end of Inca sovereignty represented by the death of Tupac Amaru. The chronicle's many discursive fields of engagement created a contested space for both universalized and variable representations of descent and memory, in spite of silences and erasures perpetuated by the Spanish colonial lettered history. The Inca endorsers understood Murua's project not only as a way to influence the discourse but to perpetuate the embodied power of the Inca within the medium of an illustrated chronicle, as they had done through oral traditions and khipus under Inca rule.

Conclusion

This dissertation identifies and examines evidence of Indigenous voices and agency in the Murua manuscripts from late sixteenth-century Peru. My study disputes the notion that a singular Iberian author created a Spanish American chronicle by highlighting the direct participation of Indigenous collaborators from the Cuzco region who contributed multiple literacies and social memories to the early colonial project. This final chapter summarizes many important implications for understanding the socio-political and cultural context of the manuscripts, and the backgrounds and practical and ideological motivations of the individuals who participated in Murua's multivocal chronicle project. In the light of these new findings, I will close with a reflection on the significance of the Murua manuscripts for the historiography of early colonial Spanish America.

The Indigenous intellectuals who contributed to the Murua manuscripts collectively engaged in multiple, interrelated cultural and legal efforts to promote their history and lineages. The chronicle project was one such effort. They were embedded in both established and emerging social networks of Iberian and Andean elites in colonial Cuzco. Despite unprecedented adversity and destruction, they rapidly adapted to a fluid situation and reinscribed social memory practices to defend their elite status and to build community relations within changing local and transatlantic contexts. This process has enormous implications for how we understand the production of Andean history in the colonial period. It is not that Indigenous participants naively and submissively provided raw information that was then transformed and misunderstood by a biased Iberian author. Rather, these select and elite Indigenous endorsers, artists, and contributors were leaders and advocates for their communities, families, and territories. Their participation was part of a larger strategy to influence regional and transatlantic discourses on Indigenous rights and knowledge. Despite the inequalities and disruptions of a colonial system in which "indios" were considered inferior subjects, history production in this period exhibits ample evidence of Indigenous agency and negotiation.

The visual and graphic history projects of Toledo and Sarmiento in the 1570s established models and methods for producing chronicles based to some extent on Andean-Iberian collaboration. At the same time, Indigenous intellectuals developed strategies and practices through their religious, ceremonial, and legal activities. State and religious member institutions, such as the *Cabildo de los Incas* and confraternities sponsored by religious orders, created new forums for interaction. The new legal system enabled Indigenous actors to testify as witnesses and to formulate arguments in petitions, as advocates for their own families and communities. By the late sixteenth century, Murua drew on an established and evolving network of Andean elites, Spanish officials, and religious institutions in Cuzco society. Despite decades of upheaval, many Indigenous intellectuals had acquired the necessary skills to participate in a colonial history project.

Inca descendants saw the chronicle project as another vehicle for promoting and defending their rights before Spanish and Indigenous elite audiences, and for recording collective memories with new graphic systems of communication. They understood legal, ceremonial, and historical campaigns as interrelated means to explain and solidify their elite position under Spanish rule. Like legal campaigns, literary and visual chronicle projects provided opportunities to reformulate social memories in accordance with Spanish forms of expression and colonial institutional demands. Historical representations of patrilineal genealogy in both legal manuscripts and the Galvin and Getty manuscripts conformed with Iberian customs of nobility.

Inca and non-Inca elites had a long history of applying memory practices to political and social agendas. The ancient practice of associating kin and ethnic groups with a central power continued in the colonial period, shifting to associate ancestral lineages with the Spanish Crown. In fact, the Andean concept of *tinkuy* suggests a framework that enabled elite Andeans to reconceive and negotiate their elite position within a new colonial paradigm. This approach enabled both a complementary relationship of subordination to the Crown and a simultaneous assertion of privileges and social prestige in relation to other Andeans and Iberians. Participating

in chronicle projects reinforced and rearticulated these power relations and identities. In the Murua manuscripts, particularly the Galvin, the Andean collaborators creatively reinscribed the Inca-coya lineage structure, offered poems, and produced images of coats of arms, elite textiles, *kipus*, and *mascapaychas*. Inca and non-Inca elites sought to adapt their memories, social status, and identities to a colonial context.

My findings directly connect the Inca and Cañari endorsers to the Galvin Murua. The manuscript was a contested and negotiated site for Indigenous actors and their concerns. In particular, don Pedro Purqui's contribution to the Galvin chapter reveals how the Cañari attempted to reconceptualize their political identity in the early colonial period. His contribution supports the likely scenario that the other endorsers also contributed to the manuscript's content at an earlier stage of production. Don Luis Chalco Yupanqui's attempt to connect his kinship with the Inca and Captain accounts is perhaps the best example of this strategy. Guaman Poma visually subverted Purqui's contribution in order to advance his own agenda of decentering the Inca-centric narrative. In other words, each participant in his own way coupled the prestige and privileges of Inca descent with loyalty to the Spanish crown to secure and promote his position within elite sectors of colonial society. My combined analysis of text and images, the compositional and codicological aspects of the manuscripts, archival records involving the project participants, and related sixteenth-century chronicles sheds light on a complex Indigenous network of elites and would-be elites who employed multiple strategies to promote their specific interests in a rapidly changing world. Their activities ranged the spectrum from resistance and competition to negotiation and alliance. The manuscripts reveal inter-Andean concerns, discourses, and strategies that transcend a simple cultural conversation between Iberian and Indigenous actors.

Guaman Poma appears to have contributed more to the manuscripts' multivocality than the other Andean endorsers. He was both insider and outsider to Cuzco's Inca-centric formulation of history. His graphic interventions inserted a distinct visual language that straddled Andean and European narrative concepts and forms of expression. His images often added valuable

ethnographic information and cultural context that was not articulated in the alphabetic text. The distinct but overlapping motivations and textual strategies of Murua and Guaman Poma produced a spectrum of interpretations, innovations, and slippages in the process of translation. Guaman Poma was not only a contributor. He used source and textual information developed during his collaboration with Murua for his own subsequent chronicle. His participation in the Murua manuscripts' production facilitated his own development as an Indigenous artist, author, and advocate. The experience exposed him to visual and textual models and provoked him to produce a "new" history based on his knowledge, experiences, and convictions. As Cummins indicated, the three manuscripts are intimately tied to the extent that we cannot understand one without examining the others.

While the multivocal nature of the manuscripts is clear, Murua was nonetheless the primary protagonist in his chronicle project as author, compiler, and chief editor. Born into a noble family in Guipúzcoa, Basque country, Murua may have sympathized with the ambitions of the Inca and Cañari elite who aspired to represent themselves in the process. Moreover, his Mercedarian affiliation positioned him within a reformist ecclesiastical institution that supported the type of ambitious chronicle project to which he dedicated a good part of his life. The Mercedarians' played a vital role in early colonial Cuzco urban life and architecture; they accepted mestizos as friars; and they promoted the adaptation of *kipus* for ecclesiastical purposes to engage Andean culture, history, and peoples. Murua guided the chronicle through various stages to completion, traversing the sprawling Andean highlands all the way to the Iberian metropole in his transatlantic circuit. As the leader of this dialogical cultural process, he must have consulted multiple sources of information that informed the manuscript's creative production.

All the actors shared one common feature: they were cultural translators. They engaged in a transcultural process of translation, adopting literary recording practices and visual languages. The manuscripts reveal a dynamic process of transformation and translation specific to the late sixteenth-century Andes. This process included recontextualizing the *kipu* as a literary

archival medium, documenting genealogies in colonial legal records and chronicles, synchronizing graphic and alphabetic texts, and reformulating Andean sacred beliefs within a Christian framework of idolatry. All of the participants must have considered whether certain concepts were commensurable with European ones, and decipherable to a Spanish audience. No doubt, the Indigenous collaborators were also concerned with speaking to a mixed Spanish-Andean audience.

The manuscripts' palimpsests reveal some of the slippages, silences, and erasures of Indigenous voices in the production of history within an asymmetrical colonial society. The manuscripts' physical features reveal how Murua erased and redacted select contributions by the Indigenous participants, contributing to the idea that he was the project's author and final arbiter. Moreover, the manuscripts' sources and production reveal the extent to which history-making was a gendered process that silenced and excluded women and commoners. Male elites who were associated with prestigious Inca lineages dominated the historical production of a Cuzco based, Inca-centric, androcentric history. Unfortunately, this legacy of exclusion limited the scope of my analysis. Despite these limitations and possibilities for future analysis, my contribution to identifying multiple Indigenous voices in the texts and images has significant implications for understanding the Murua manuscripts in Spanish American historiography. Future research might investigate other geographical influences on the manuscripts. The Getty Murua's production in the Southern Andes might shed light on the direct and indirect role of women as sources for the knowledge contained in the manuscript.

Historiographical Considerations

Spaniards documented their invasion of the Americas with two types of early modern historical genres, the *relación* and the *historia* or *crónica*. The earliest Iberian accounts from the Americas came from the Caribbean and New Spain. For example, from 1519 to 1526 Hernando Cortés wrote several *cartas de relación* to the crown, reporting directly to the king (instead of his

commanding officer, the governor of Cuba) on what he had found on his expedition to the mainland from Cuba and how he had proceeded in the name of His Majesty. In keeping with the genre, he provided some detailed observations about the peoples whom he encountered. These letters were both standard reports of the expedition's findings and a carefully crafted narrative that affected all subsequent Spanish histories of the conquest of Mexico. Many of Cortés's letters (especially the second and third) were published soon after they reached Spain.

Stationed on the island of Española in Santo Domingo, the first royal chronicler of the Indies, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, interviewed Spaniards who returned to Spain from the mainland and other Caribbean islands for his *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, the first part of which was published in 1535. Murua used a later work by Oviedo in 1547 as a source on the history of the Spanish conquest of Peru (Pärssinen 1989: 45-65). The Franciscan fray Toribio de Benavente, who took the Nahuatl name *Motolinía* (literally "the suffering one"), consulted Nahuas for his *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España*, completed in 1541. Francisco de Gómara's *Historia General de las Indias y Conquista de México* (1552) used sections from Motolinía's history and Cortés's letters, while Murua drew from Gómara's *Historia General* for ethnographic information (discussed in Chapter 6). In the same period, fray Bernardino de Sahagún labored on his decades-long project, which relied heavily on Indigenous collaborators and consultants, culminating in the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, now commonly called the Florentine Codex. These are some of the many secular and ecclesiastical history projects produced in New Spain in the sixteenth century.

In the Andes, a similar but distinctly different process unfolded in the creation of Iberian accounts of the Andes and its people that depended on consulting Indigenous people. Initial descriptions by Spanish authors were primarily concerned with military and political hostilities. Writings began in the 1530s in the form of official reports, letters, and first-hand accounts of the Spanish invasion by Francisco de Xerez (1497-?), Miguel de Estete (ca. 1507-ca. 1550), Pedro

Sancho (1514?-1547), and Hernando Pizarro (ca. 1501-1578).²⁰² Only by the 1550s did reports by secular and ecclesiastic officials become more concerned with Inca infrastructure and religious beliefs and activities, including many accounts that were used by Murua. These reports coincided with the First Lima Council in 1551-52, which declared native religious practices "idolatrous" and influenced the Iberian debate on Amerindian status and rights in the Spanish Christian empire. On the secular side, several civil servants and military captains recorded their observations, drawing on consultations with Indigenous elders and Inca descendants. This group included Pedro Cieza de León's (ca. 1518-1554) monumental *Crónica del Peru* (1553), Juan Diez de Betanzos' (?-1576) *Suma y narración de los incas* (1551-57), and Juan Polo de Ondegardo y Zárate's (ca. 1520-1575) many republished reports. By the 1570s Spanish authors such as Juan de Matienzo (1520-1585), Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa (1532-1592?), and Pedro Pizarro (ca. ca. 1515-ca. 1602) strove to depict Inca culture and religion as tyrannical in order to justify and consolidate Spanish and Christian colonial rule. Comprehensively, scholars have claimed that these early works benefited from the knowledge of *kipukamayucs*, whereas Murua would not have had a similar "original" engagement. This dissertation shows that while Murua and his Andean collaborators did not communicate with descendants who lived before or during the Spanish arrival, he nonetheless engaged with some of their immediate ancestors who had adapted Indigenous memory practices to colonial genres of record-keeping and story-telling. Following in the wake of these transformations and his many copied sources, Murua shared the historiographical methods and ideological convictions of his predecessors.

Murua acknowledged in his hidden, uncopied prologue to the king in the Galvin Manuscript (f. 3v) that he belonged to a tradition of literary ecclesiastics in the Andes. He wrote, "I do not

²⁰² Specifically, this includes an official account by Francisco Pizarro's secretary, Francisco de Xeréz (1497-?), titled *Verdadera relación de la Conquista del Perú* (1533), of the initial landing on the Peruvian coast and approach to Cajamarca. Xeréz incorporates in his appendix a first-hand account by Miguel de Estete (ca. 1507-ca. 1550), a regular soldier, describing the first stages of the invasion, particularly the journey of Hernando Pizarro to the sacred site of Pachacamac and the capture of one of Atahualpa's primary "captains", Chilichuchima. Pedro Sancho (1514?-1547) replaced Xeréz as official secretary with a short account of the events after Cajamarca. Hernando Pizarro (ca. 1501-1578) official letter to the Crown in 1533 provides further information from his perspective on the capture and execution of Atahualpa, Hernando's journey to Pachacamac, and many more events.

believe it is outside my duties as a friar to be interested in such a variety of subjects [with the] name of history. For this [style] of writing only belongs ... to clergymen and to the most religious people, because the first printed books that appeared in Peru were catechisms and books of sermons in Quechua and Spanish." These "first printed books" likely were the publications of the Third Lima Provincial Council and Jerónimo de Oré's (1554-1630) *Symbolo Catholico Indiano* (1598), two major sources for his chronicle (Cummins and Ossio 2013: 18).

Other influential ecclesiastical works preceded and overlapped with Murua's literary efforts. The learned Jesuit priest and theologian José de Acosta (1540-1600) combined an astute study of classical thought with observations of Inca social, cultural, and religious practices in *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (1590). He challenged Toledo-era Spanish historians by positioning the Inca on a spectrum of cultural relativism and advocated for conversion through persuasion rather than by force (Pagden 1982: 4, 150-208). Among the ranks of ecclesiastical authors are mestizo friars such as Jesuit friar Blas Valera, the Anonymous Jesuit, and the Mercedarian friar Juan Caballero. Blas Valera countered Acosta's qualified subordination of Incas to Christian Europeans by advocating for the inherent similarity between Christian and Inca religion and the Spaniard's own linguistic and cultural failure to understand (Hyland 1998; 2003; 2008; 2011). The Dominican friar Domingo de Santo Tomás (1499-1570), Oré, and the Jesuit friar Diego González Holguín (1552-1618) extended Spanish understandings of Andean people through their study of the Quechua language and accompanying ethnographic information. Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas (1474? - 1566) condemned the injustice of Spanish "just wars" towards Amerindians and continuously lobbied the crown to protect his Indigenous subjects, who he argued were capable of ruling themselves with the guidance of friars like himself. Although he never set foot in Peru, Las Casas used material from works compiled by his friend, the friar Tomás de Santo Domingo (1499-1570), and Pedro Cieza de León (ca. 1518-1554). By the early 1600s, many of Murua's most strident critiques of the conquistadors and their conduct in the *Historia del Perú* resonated with the many writings of Las Casas from a few decades before but

were redacted for publication by the Mercedarian censor, Alonso Remón, and the king's censor, Pedro de Valencia (Adorno 2008: 95-116). Simultaneously, Murua also aligned with other ecclesiastics who shared an increasing frustration with evangelizing efforts, such as Juan Pérez de Bocanegra (?-1645), Francisco de Ávila (ca. 1573-1647), and others. By the mid-seventeenth century, historian Bernabé Cobo produced a synthesis of the early colonial Inca histories by Spanish authors in his *Inca Religion and Customs*, published in 1653 (Hamilton 1990; Rosa 1911). Among the Mercedarians, Murua participated in a growing body of literature, exemplified by Mercedarian historians and friars Juan Caballero, Cristóbal de Molina, Alonso Remón, and others (Hyland, personal communication). From this perspective, Murua's accounts were not particularly unique, groundbreaking, or eloquent contributions to Spanish American historiography. He emulated sixteenth-century historiographical trends of Spanish ecclesiastics who admired Inca state and cultural customs but discounted their religious practices as idolatrous and bemoaned the challenges of evangelization.

However, the Murua manuscripts uniquely illustrate the complexity of Spanish American discourse and authorship, and the crucial role Indigenous actors played in the historiography. Highlighting Indigenous voices in the Murua manuscript demonstrates how a Spanish American chronicle, ostensibly authored by Iberians, was in fact embedded in Andean strategies of representation through negotiation and adaptation. The strategy extended to multiple forms of expression in colonial society, from oral traditions, legal records, and visual media to performative and religious practices. The Andean collaborators of the Murua manuscripts belong within the historiography of native and mestizo literary and visual production efforts, both as authors and/or mediated creators. These native elites translated their cultural practices and perspectives into European literary and visual mediums.

This dissertation has shown through an analysis of the Murua manuscripts that native leaders translated and reconceived Andean oral and *kipu* memory traditions into Iberian legal and literary forms. One prominent and early example, in addition to Guaman Poma's work, is the

1570 petition (*Ynstrucción*) of Titu Cusi Yupanqui, son of Manco Inca (Hurtado 2008: 662). Titu Cusi dictated his account to a Spanish notary named Martín de Pando during negotiations with the government of Lobe García de Castro (1564-69) to leave the last Inca outpost of resistance in Vilcabamba. By listing the grievances perpetrated by Spaniards, particularly towards his father, Manco Inca, Titu Cusi maintained an Inca perspective on history while negotiating his rights and privileges in a colonial context (Roy 2016). According to Martin Lienhard (2008) the textual composition suggests a type of ritual homage to Manco Inca based on Inca oral traditions of remembering. Other noteworthy examples discussed in this dissertation include the 1569 *Probanza de los nietos* by descendants of Tupac Inca Yupanqui; a *kipukamayuc's* interview during an inquest before Licentiate Cristóbal Vaca Castro (r. 1541-44) titled *Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los Incas* (16th-early 17th centuries); a *kipukamayuc's* testimony in Toledo's interviews of the 1570s; the testimony of Indigenous witnesses in other legal campaigns, such as the 1579-1580 *probanza* that included don Pedro Purqui; the legal campaigns of the 1580s by Inca descendants from Hanan and Hurin Cuzco; and last wills and testaments, such as the one written on behalf of don Luis Chalco Yupanqui in 1600. By the early seventeenth century, after decades of efforts by Indigenous peoples in official legal and religious colonial arenas, several talented Indigenous and mestizo authors wrote in the same period that Guaman Poma produced his *Nueva corónica*.

The association between ecclesiastics and Indigenous intellectuals that characterized Murua's chronicle project was repeated in other parts of Peru. The papers of fray Francisco de Ávila, a zealous extirpator of idolatry, contained two remarkable Indigenous-authored works. Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua wrote the *Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Peru* as a project to educate, catechize, and reconceive Andean practices within a Spanish Christian framework. Like Blas Valera, a Christian, his work ascribed native agency and dignity to Andean culture by arguing that they were not inherently barbaric but rather equal to Spaniards once they became Christians. Among Ávila's papers was the anonymous Quechua manuscript of Huarochirí

([1608?] Taylor 1987; Salomon 1991, 2008). Ávila lent his voice to the many voices of this complex manuscript as the Iberian Christian editor; the other voices include an anonymous Indigenous scribe, possibly the Indigenous nobleman Cristóbal Choquecasa (Durston 2014: 151-172), as well as various Indigenous elders from the Huarochirí region near Lima (Salomon 2008: 3; 1991: 2-3; 1982: 9-26). The narrative reflects shifting territorial relationships in a sacred landscape filled with deities and cosmological references that are imbued with Andean sacred concepts, activated by ritual activity, and deeply embedded in everyday life (Salomon 1991; Murra 1970: 7). As the closest extant transcription of a colonial Quechua oral history, it is clearly a colonial lettered project produced under the auspices of ecclesiastic patrons. Through archival sources, Frank Salomon (2003) identified a connection with the same *kipukamayuc* and *curacas* mentioned by Guaman Poma in his *Nueva crónica* and the anonymous scribe in the Huarochirí manuscript. By extension, this connection links the Murua manuscripts and its producers to the overlapping network of Indigenous intellectuals who actively bridged and translated local and pan-Andean oral and written histories with the goal, at least in part, to promote their own personal and ancestral legitimacy in the Cuzco region.

Similarly, we cannot talk about the Murua manuscripts in Andean historiography without acknowledging the widely published and translated works of the mestizo author, Garcilaso de la Vega, El Inca (1539-1616). Garcilaso de la Vega remained connected to the efforts of the Inca elite in Cuzco and served as their advocate in Spain, as evidenced by the fact that Inca representatives in Cuzco, including don Luis Chalco Yupanqui and his father, granted power of attorney to Garcilaso in 1603. Despite their different positions and agendas, Garcilaso and Murua crossed paths in documenting Inca networks and strategies in Cuzco. Drawing from multiple Spanish and mestizo chroniclers, his Andean schoolmates, and his own youthful recollections as an Inca descendant, Garcilaso claimed a unique knowledge of Andean and Spanish language, culture, and memory.

Thirty years after leaving Peru for Spain, Garcilaso combined humanist and neo-platonist ideas with Renaissance rhetorical strategies to articulate a favorable image of the Inca in his *Comentarios reales* (1609), followed by his account of the Spanish invasion and civil war in the *Historia general del Peru* (1617). This two-part work, conceived as a single history, combines his own writing with other histories, including the lost works of the mestizo friar, Blas Valera. Garcilaso's *Comentarios reales* posits a universalized, bible-friendly history of Inca customs, administration, succession, and conquest that ultimately favors Huascar because of his mother's lineage. Like most of his Indigenous and mestizo counterparts, he promoted the Inca as a civilizing power who brought justice and order to a multi-ethnic Andean landscape. They were comparable in many ways to the Spaniards, only unaware of Christ. Hence, they were similar to the ancient Greeks and Romans. As Rolena Adorno (2008: 120) has observed, Murua submitted his chronicle for publication just as Garcilaso's chronicle reached the printing press. Both manuscripts by Garcilaso circulated widely. Garcilaso de la Vega's popular publication and Murua's untimely death in 1615 likely hindered the publication of Murua's *Historia general del Perú*.

Indigenous and mestizo authors contextualized the Spanish invasion as part of a long historical process of native agency in an Andean territory, landscape, culture, and society. They demonstrated the many ways that Andeans asserted and validated their inherent dignity and ability to govern themselves within a contested colonial context. If the overarching message of the Murua manuscripts appeals to notions of Spanish Christian paternalism and superiority, the discernible contributions of Indigenous actors reveal complex processes of negotiation, adaptation, and agency.

One of the truly defining elements that makes the Murua manuscripts and Guaman Poma's *Nueva corónica* unique in early colonial Andean historiography, and distinctly related to codices in New Spain, is their combined display of painted images and text. Other examples from the period are incomparable. For example, Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas published his four volume *Historia general* between 1601 and 1615, printed in Madrid.²⁰³ The work included two engravings: a graphic genealogy of Aztec rulers, which used the Codex Magliabechiano as a visual source (Cummins 2011: 339), and a lineage of ten Inca rulers depicted as busts (fig. 74). Like Murua's portraits, the Inca busts might have been influenced



Figure 74: Portrait of 10 Inca Kings. Frontispiece. Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general*, (Madrid: Empronta Real, 1615). Out of copyright.

by the models of Toledo's visual project (Cummins 1994: 190-192; Dean 2010: 40). Images of Inca rulers in Andean chronicles, especially the Murua manuscripts, compare with illustrated Indigenous histories in New Spain.

However, scholarship on Indigenous collaborations with Iberians to produce texts and illustrated manuscripts has lagged in the Andes compared to New Spain. The paucity of images and native-language alphabetic writings produced by Indigenous artists and writers in the Andes led James Lockhart, a founder of the "New Philology" school for colonial Latin America, to shift his attention from Peru to the archives of New Spain.²⁰⁴ Whereas New Spain underwent the same type of upheaval with the arrival of conquistadores, epidemics, population decline, and political instability, it did not suffer the same prolonged period of political and social turmoil as in Peru. As

²⁰³ Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas i tierra firme del Mar Oceano: en 4 decadas desde al año de 1492 hasta el de 1531*, (Madrid: Emplenta real, 1615).

²⁰⁴ Some of his earlier works focused on Peru include James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560: A Colonial Society*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968); *The Men of Cajamarca; a Social and Biographical Study of the First Conquerors of Peru*, (Austin: Published for the Institute of Latin American Studies by the University of Texas Press, 1972); James Lockhart and Enrique Otte, *Letters and People of the Spanish Indies, Sixteenth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

Tom Cummins observed (1994) Mesoamericans possessed a pictographic and partly phonetic writing tradition cultivated by Nahua *tlacuiloque* (plural of *tlacuilo*, "painter-writer") and their counterparts in other culture areas of Mesoamerica, which was far more commensurate with European figurative artistic traditions and graphic writing. This correspondance contrasts with the incommensurate textile mnemonic recording practice of the *kipu* and abstract visual language of the Inca. In the initial phases of conquest, Mesoamerican codices were targeted for destruction by Europeans, like *kipus* in the Andes. However, the similarities between pre-Hispanic codices and European recording modes offered Mesoamericans the prospect of continuing a tradition, albeit adapted, that was acceptable to official colonial culture in a way that *kipus* and *kipukamayucs* were not.²⁰⁵ Furthermore, the ancient Mesoamerican practice of transmitting information by writing with black ink on paper (and other media) facilitated the rapid adoption of alphabetic writing in New Spain, especially in Nahuatl but also in other languages such as Yucatec Maya, Mixtec, and Zapotec.

The comparable visual and graphic traditions in Europe and Mesoamerica enabled a more rapid process of cultural translation in New Spain than in the Andes. The result was a far greater production of illustrated manuscripts, chronicles, and notarial sources in New Spain that involved the collaboration of native artists and scribes who learned European art style and how to write in their languages (albeit in the Latin alphabetic tradition), combining pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican and European graphic and visual recording traditions. But this fact should in no way diminish the impressive efforts of Andean elites who sought to translate their cultures and adapt to European literary modalities. Unfortunately, it is precisely the power structures of inclusion and exclusion

²⁰⁵ For additional reflections on the dynamics of orality, visuality, and literacy between Peru, New Spain, and European forces, see, Elizabeth Hill Boone and Walter Mignolo, *Writing Without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994); Elizabeth Hill Boone and Thomas Cummins, eds, *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 2nd through 4th October 1992*, (Washington, D.C: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998); Elizabeth Hill Boone and Gary Urton, eds. *Their Way of Writing: Scripts, Signs, and Pictographies in Pre-Columbian America*, (Washington, D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2011); Jeanette Favrot Peterson and Kevin Terraciano, eds., *The Florentine Codex: An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2019); Jorge Gómez Tejada, ed., *The Codex Mendoza: New Insights*. Quito: USFQ Press, 2022).

inherent in the construction of archives that has precluded a fuller representation of Indigenous activity in the face of a foreign, prejudicial invader. Despite these differences, it is possible to make numerous comparisons between Murua's manuscripts and the greater corpus of manuscripts in New Spain, and to appreciate the contributions of those rare Andean manuscripts to early colonial historiographical practices in the Americas.

The Murua manuscripts have much in common with many texts on Indigenous history produced by friars and their native collaborators in New Spain. In the two major viceroyalties of Spanish America, friars and Indigenous intellectuals produced illustrated codices that combined local and European traditions. Indigenous elites commissioned the production of codices in the early colonial period to promote and protect collective interests and concerns on behalf of communities, factions, or families. Like the *kipucamayucs* in the Andes, Nahua *tlacuiloque* were tasked with the creation, maintenance, and interpretation of records for elites (Boone 2014; Ramos and Yannakakis 2014b). As members of an elite group, they quickly adapted to new colonial demands and modes of expression.

For example, the Codex Mendoza is one of the earliest extant colonial codices produced by the *altepetl* (Nahua ethnic state or community) of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. It was completed around 1540-1541, during the reign of Viceroy don Antonio de Mendoza, for whom it is named. The manuscript demonstrates the relatively rapid adaptation of pre-Hispanic recording methods to the historical and legal promotion of Mexica elites in New Spain. Its production involved a rapid collaborative process of cultural translation between a Spanish scribe, perhaps a friar, and at least two Nahua *tlacuiloque* (Gómez Tejada 2012: 158; 2022b: 182-238). The codex combines pictographic and Spanish alphabetic writing in a tripartite history of the Mexica world, organized over space and time (Navarrete 2011). As a "victorious chronicle" (Boone 1992), the Codex Mendoza was produced with the legal considerations of the royal family and the governors of the Indigenous *cabildo* to prove their superior status in relation to the neighboring *altepetl* of Tlatelolco (Bleichmar 2022: 392-446; Mundy 2022), similar to the stance that the *Cabildo de los Incas* in

Cuzco took vis-à-vis other Andean ethnic groups. The first Viceroy of New Spain, don Antonio de Mendoza, supported the Indigenous use of pictorial evidence in lawsuits (Ruiz Medrano 2010: 33-35), a strategy also employed in the Andes. In the 1550s and 1560s Indigenous elites used other illustrated codices such as the Codex Tepetlaoztoc (or Kingsborough) and the Codex Osuna to promote their legal claims (Terraciano 2019: 6).

The best known and most remarkable example of a multi-decade collaboration between a friar and Indigenous elites is the Florentine Codex. The production of the twelve-book codex, bound in three volumes, included multiple phases and versions made between 1547-1577.²⁰⁶ In a far more defined workshop setting than the one in which Guaman Poma worked, Franciscan fray Bernardino de Sahagún and a team of Nahua writers, scholars, and artists produced the final manuscript of some 2500 pages and more than 2000 images in a Franciscan college, the Colegio de Santa Cruz in Santiago, a Franciscan college in Tlatelolco, a neighboring Mexica community north of Tenochtitlan in current day Mexico City. The codex reflects a number of European models such as encyclopedias, universalist *historias* on morals and customs like the Murua manuscripts, and books with sermons and confessions (Ibid.: 2-5). With a far more robust and ambitious narrative scope than the Murua manuscripts, the account includes three interrelated narratives: an original Nahuatl text; a Spanish translation that includes its own substantive annotation and abbreviations; and painted and unpainted images produced by Indigenous artists (Terraciano 2010). Like Guaman Poma and the Inca and Cañari collaborators, Nahua artists infused many of the images and much of the text with their own specific, local perspectives. However, Sahagún's project came under scrutiny and even opposition by a growing skepticism towards ecclesiastic efforts to describe and document Indigenous cultures, languages, and religious practices. The opposition culminated in a 1577 decree by King Philip II to confiscate and ban the production of

²⁰⁶ The scholarship on the Florentine Codex is vast and expanding. See Peterson and Terraciano, *Florentine Codex*; Terraciano, "Introduction", 12; Bernardino de Sahagún, *General History of the Things of New Spain: Florentine Codex*, Edited by Arthur J. O Anderson and Charles E Dibble, eds. and trans., 13 Parts, (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1950-1982 [1590]; Angel María Garibay K., *Historia de La Literatura Náhuatl*, 2 vols, (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1953); and many others.

works on Amerindian customs and history. Decades later, Murua was able to continue the time-tested practice of collaboration between friars and Indigenous elites in his chronicle project.

Similarly, the Dominican fray Diego Durán compiled an illustrated history project, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e islas y tierra firma* (completed in 1581), in collaboration with Indigenous informants. Durán was born in Seville but moved to New Spain at a young age, where he became fluent in Nahuatl and immersed in Mexican culture. He conducted interviews with elders, consulted pictorial texts from Texcoco and other communities in the Valley of Mexico, including dozens of illustrations by Nahua artists or *tlacuiloque*, and copied from other sources for his account, including an anonymous Nahua source known as *Crónica X* (Heyden 1994: xxv-xxiv). Like the Murua manuscripts, Durán's manuscript was only published (without the hand painted images produced by native artists) in the late nineteenth century (1867-1880) (Terraciano 2019: 12). These early works from New Spain compare with the Murua manuscripts in their reliance on collaborative efforts between friars and Indigenous artists-scribes and Indigenous sources, elite memory keepers included.

The proliferation of Indigenous and mestizo authors and intellectuals from the Andes in the early seventeenth century coincided with a similar, if not more pronounced, increase in New Spain (Boone 2014). In both contexts Indigenous intellectuals celebrated their local histories as translators, negotiators, and advocates to promote their ancestors' rights and privileges in the Christian colonial context. These competing local histories contributed to a robust political and intellectual Indigenous dialogue. Indigenous authors included Hernando Alvarado Tezozomoc from Tenochitlan and don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin from Amaquemecan Chalco (Schwaller 2014: 46). Diego Muñoz Camargo, the mestizo son of a conquistador and Nahua noblewoman from Tlaxcala, is an author who straddled both worlds, writing in Spanish but relying on native artists to draw more than a hundred illustrations in his manuscript, completed in 1585. These works are key sources for colonial ethnohistory.

Chimalpahin, the Nahuatl historian and Indigenous intellectual who wrote in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, compares in many ways to Guaman Poma. Chimalpahin produced several extensive histories of Indigenous Mexico, written almost entirely in Nahuatl for a Nahuatl audience. He moved to Mexico City when he was fourteen years-old and lived in Xoloco from 1593 to the mid-1620s, while working as a *fiscal* (priest's assistant). Similar to the collaborators in Murua's history project, Chimalpahin participated in a network of native religious and intellectual life in the capital, which gave him access to the extensive libraries of the San Francisco church and convent. Like Guaman Poma he was a devout Christian who celebrated Indigenous cultural practices that did not seem to contradict Christianity. Unlike Guaman Poma, he avoided discussions of native sacred practices that were not specifically Christian. Chimalpahin was a compiler; he drew his information from a rich selection of native oral, pictographic, and written sources that he copied, transcribed, and introduced into his narrative (Schroeder 1997; 2014).

In conclusion, the multivocal contributions of Andeans to Murua's manuscripts illuminate a dynamic arena of cultural production as the early period of Spanish America came to a close in the first decades of the long seventeenth century. This production occurred in the midst of a shift from catastrophic turmoil to the stabilization of Iberian authority in the Andes, when the native population had not yet reached its nadir. The manuscripts reflect the intellectual strategies of Indigenous and mestizo elites in this period of uncertainty. Surviving Andean elites strove to link local and regional histories with larger political and social agendas, negotiating with colonial officials and adapting to a rapidly changing society. In the process they interacted with many other people, sometimes competing with Andeans as much as with Iberians, or making alliances for their mutual benefit. My analysis of the Murua manuscripts reveals how a network of Indigenous actors influenced Spanish American intellectual and historical discourse by participating in a range of legal, cultural, and chronicle projects. Whereas relatively little is known about the individual Nahuas who contributed to the Florentine Codex, Durán's *Historia*, and other

collaborative works involving friars and Indigenous intellectuals in New Spain, my dissertation provides a great deal of new information on the Andean contributors to Murua's project.

Scholars who have focused on the Andes, New Spain, and the Americas have demonstrated the crucial role of literary works in the development of a creole, and ultimately patriotic national consciousness (Brading 1991; MacCormack 2007). Martín Lienhard's (2008: 87-106) historiographical overview of Indigenous texts includes Spanish works that drew on oral transcriptions and interviews, such as the histories of Sarmiento de Gamboa and Cristóbal de Molina, but he made no mention of Murua's manuscripts. However, as Peter Villella has argued for New Spain, Indigenous actors played a distinct role in creole imaginings of a Mexican nationhood that emphasized its native roots. It was a dialogical and mutually reinforcing process. My dissertation argues that the Murua manuscripts compare with similar Indigenous projects in New Spain, in which Indigenous collaborators asserted themselves and their social position and contributed to conceptualizing a new colonial norm. The Andean participants in Murua's project negotiated with the friar and other colonial officials to advance their conceptions, identities, histories, and cultures; they contributed directly to the historical texts that they helped to create, that could not have been created without them. Indeed, in the eighty-three years from Atahualpa's defiant act of throwing the silent, undecipherable book (i.e., the bible) on the ground in 1532 (which justified his capture in the eyes of the conquistadors), to Guaman Poma's completion of his provocative *magnum opus* in 1615, native Andeans sought to reconceptualize their history, resist attempts of subjugation, perpetuate memories of their ancestors, negotiate with colonial authorities and others, and advocate for themselves and their people. All the while, their numbers declined precipitously with each deadly epidemic. The Murua manuscripts exemplify how Indigenous people participated actively and creatively in a process of colonial transculturation during an extended period of major transformations.

Glossary: Quechua and Spanish Terms and Personages

Quechua

<i>Aclla, Aklla</i>	Chosen women dedicated to worship the Sun and service of the Inca state. They are selected among royal descent groups and provincial governing elites.
<i>Acllawasi (acllahuasi)</i>	House of the chosen woman.
<i>Acolla</i>	Blanket.
<i>Acso</i>	Bag-like cap, open on both ends.
<i>Amaru</i>	Supernatural serpent.
<i>Antisuyu (Andesuyu)</i>	Eastern part of Tahuantinsuyu bordering the Amazon jungle.
<i>Apachita</i>	<i>Huaca</i> identified as a pile of stones contributed by travelers.
<i>Apu</i>	Honorific title for mountain deities, governors charged with collecting tribute, and military officers of various ranks.
<i>Arawi, Harawi, Harauicu, Haruai</i>	Dirge-like, pre-Hispanic Inca poetic tradition that honored the memory of a deceased Sapa Inca.
<i>Awasca</i>	Course and thick undecorated cloth.
<i>Ayllu</i>	Andean social unit.
<i>Ayni</i>	Reciprocal relationship.
<i>Casana</i>	Quechua textile tunic design, composed of four smaller squares within a larger square.
<i>Chacra</i>	Cultivated land plot.
<i>Chasqui</i>	Messenger, postal runner.

<i>Chinchaysuyu (Chinchay Suyu)</i>	Northwestern region of Tahuantinsuyu, including Quito, along the Andes.
<i>Collcas</i>	Storage facilities.
<i>Collasuyu (Qullasuyu)</i>	Southeastern region of Tahuantinsuyu along the Andes.
<i>Coya</i>	Inca principal spouse.
<i>Cumbi, Qompi</i>	Fine special textile or tapestry, restricted to nobility.
<i>Cuntisuyu (Condesuyu, Kuntisuyu)</i>	Western region of Tahuantinsuyu along the Pacific Ocean.
<i>Curaca, Kuraka</i>	Quechua term for an Andean native leader or lord.
<i>Cuyusmanco</i>	Inca royal complex.
<i>Hanan, Anan</i>	Upper division of Cuzco; people/objects in above and outside position.
<i>Hatunrunas</i>	<i>Caciques</i> or native leaders of the four suyus.
<i>Haylli</i>	Andean dance form.
<i>Hucha</i>	Quechua term appropriated as "sin".
<i>Hurin, Urin</i>	Lower division of Cuzco; people/objects in lower and inside position.
<i>Inca, Ynga, Inka</i>	People claiming descent from pre-Hispanic royalty.
<i>Inti</i>	Sun divinity.
<i>Kamay, Camay</i>	Energizing matter, essence of type or type of things.
<i>Kancha, Cancha</i>	Enclosure, building cluster; applied to monumental architecture, temporary ritual precincts, or livestock.
<i>Khipu, Quipu</i>	Inca textile recording device for narratives and accounting, composed of set knotted, dyed strings.

<i>Khipucamayoc, Quipucamayoc</i>	Expert readers of the <i>khipu</i> .
<i>Llacachuqui</i>	Feathered war lance held in the right hand, royal staff.
<i>Llancapata</i>	Male tunic with checkerboard pattern.
<i>Llauto, Llawt'u</i>	Royal headband with fringe.
<i>Mallki</i>	Mummified body of an Inca ruler.
<i>Marcacamayo, Llatacamayo</i>	Inca town.
<i>Mascapaycha, Maska paycha</i>	Red tassel worn by the Inca ruler, <i>borla</i> in Spanish.
<i>Mitmaq, Mitimae, mitma</i>	Relocated ethnic groups, to ensure political stability in the Inca empire.
<i>Ñusta</i>	Inca "princess".
<i>Pachacamac</i>	All-embracing space and time.
<i>Pallqa</i>	Aymara for conjoining of two parts.
<i>Panaca</i>	Inca royal lineage from main dynastic line.
<i>Puytuc wasi</i>	House of the postal runners.
<i>Puruwawqa, purunawka</i>	Petrified warriors who returned to 'life' in the aid of humans.
<i>Qhapak, Capac</i>	Royal. According to Julien (2000), the hereditary status stemming from Manco Capac and passed through the male line to the Inca's brothers and sisters.
<i>Qhariwarmi</i>	"Man-and-woman," composed of conjoining complements.
<i>Qillca</i>	Writing and painting, decoration.
<i>Qillqakamayuq</i>	Keeper of graphic information in the Inca administration.
<i>Rumi sayk'uska</i>	Tired or weary rock, <i>piedra cansada</i> .

<i>Sapa, Çapa Inca</i>	Sole, unique Inca of the living king.
<i>Sayhua, Sayua, Saywa</i>	<i>Huaca</i> that demarcates boundary made of stone, territorial marker.
<i>Seqe, Ceque</i>	Conceptual and physical lines connecting shrines emanating from Cusco's center.
<i>Suyu, Suyu</i>	Division of land and people, four quarters of the Inca realm or Tahuantinsuyu.
<i>Soyuyoc apu</i>	Provincial administrator of the Inca.
<i>Tahuantinsuyu, Tawantinsuyu</i>	Inca territory and state made of four regions.
<i>Tinku, Tincu</i>	Place or event of joining of two oppositional, complementary parts.
<i>Tucuricuc</i>	Provincial leader.
<i>Uncu</i>	Men's knee-length sleeveless tunic.
<i>Usno, Usnu, Ushnu</i>	A type ceremonial platform in center or out parts of a plaza.
<i>Waka, W'aka, Huaca</i>	Shrine linked to sacred and powerful person, landscape feature, or object.
<i>Wawki, Wawqi, Huauqui</i>	Male's brother and petrified embodiment of important male.
<i>Yunaca, Yñaca</i>	Principal wife.
<i>Yanacona, Yanacuna</i>	Inca retainers.
<i>Yupana</i>	Type abacus or table for counting for detailed calculations.
<u>Spanish</u>	
<i>Alcalde mayor</i>	Privileged office reserved for descendants of Huayna

<i>de las ocho parroquias</i>	Capac. Involved in public activities, demarcation of land, and tribute collection for the Crown.
<i>Alférez real de los incas</i>	Symbolic figurehead and bearer of the royal standard (<i>mascapaycha</i>) during the festival and procession of the Apostle of Santiago.
<i>Alguacil mayor de las ocho parroquias</i>	Privileged native leadership position reserved for male descendants of Huayna Capac. Responsible for cleaning and supply of public spaces; oversee the prisons.
<i>Auto</i>	Official decrees.
<i>Borla</i>	Tassel.
<i>Bultos</i>	Stone idols.
<i>Cabildo de los veintecuatro electores del alférez real inca</i>	Institution formed for the election of the <i>alférez real inca</i> composed of Inca descendants.
<i>Cabiña</i>	Lower class Inca.
<i>Cacique</i>	Taíno title from the Caribbean that Spaniards applied to all native leaders in the Americas, lord of vassals.
<i>Cacique principal</i>	Native leader.
<i>Cédula</i>	Official decree.
<i>Cofradía</i>	Religious brotherhood, confraternity.
<i>Corregidor</i>	Mayor, administrative judge.
<i>Hidalgo</i>	Low-ranking nobility.
<i>Inca de la sangre</i>	Inca by blood, <i>inca de orejones</i> .
<i>Incas de privilegio</i>	Non-Inca caciques of the four <i>suyus</i> .
<i>Indio del comun</i>	Commoner, tribute payer.

<i>Ladino</i>	Hispanized native in Iberian caste system.
<i>Linea directa</i>	Direct descent.
<i>Lingua general</i>	General language.
<i>Letrados</i>	Group of educated specialized administrators or officials.
<i>Lienzos</i>	Paintings on canvas.
<i>Limpieza de sangre</i>	Purity of blood.
<i>Mestizo</i>	Mixed race in Iberian caste system.
<i>Orejones</i>	"Big ears"; high noble caste claiming to be direct descendants of the Inca.
<i>Paño</i>	Painted cloth.
<i>Parientes mayores</i>	Elite family lineages in Basque region.
<i>Pechero</i>	Descendants of Hanan Cuzco or "modern" Inca rulers from Huayna Capac to Viracocha.
<i>Piedra cansada</i>	Tired rock, <i>rumi sayk'uska</i> .
<i>Probanza</i>	Evidentiary proof.
<i>Translatio imperii</i>	Visual and textual practice of depicting European history through genealogy based on primogeniture to determine the passage of time.
<i>Topo</i>	Spanish measurement.
<i>Tornasol</i>	Spanish inspired method that reflects two distinct colors depending on the angle to the sun.
<i>Vicario</i>	Governor.
<i>Visita general</i>	Official inspection tour.

Personages

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (ca. 1560 - ca. 1616)

Guaman Poma was born after the conquest in Lucanas or Huamanga, in Chupas Valley, the Ayacucho province east of Cuzco. His family were *mitmaq* from Topa Inca Yupanqui's reign. He was a descendant from the Yarovilca dynasty of Huánuco through his father, don Martín Guaman Malque de Ayala, and noble Inca ancestry through his mother, doña Juana Curi Ocllo Coya, daughter of Topa Inca Yupanqui. Collaborator and main artist in the Galvin Murua from ca. 1596-ca. 1600. Andean artist and author of the seminal chronicle, titled *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615).

Juan Quispe Cusi (before 1570 - ?)

Descendant of Pachacuti Inca in the Hatun Ayllu (or Ñaca Panaca). Approximately sixty-three years old in 1590. He is listed as *cacique principal* in the late sixteenth century and endorsed the Galvin Murua. Member of the Cabildo de los Incas in 1595 and 1598.

Luis Chalco Yupanqui (ca. 1552 - 1646)

Descendant of Viracocha Inca and member of the Sucso Panaca Ayllu and Hanan Cuzco. Inca endorser to the Galvin Murua in 1590 as governor and *alcalde mayor* of native Cuzco. He served as *alguacil mayor* and *alcalde mayor* in the late sixteenth century. Son of Don Francisco Chalco Yupanqui and doña Joana Chimbo Ocllo and born in the Parish of San Sebastián. He lived in Parish of San Blas with his wife, doña Maria Malque. They had three children: don Urcon Chalco Yupanqui, don Luis Viracocha Chalco Yupanqui, and doña María Pilco Çiça. He was member of the Cabildo de los Incas in 1595 and 1598.

Martín de Murua (November 1, 1566 - December 6, 1615)

Murua was the fourth of seven children to María Ruiz de Gallaystegui and Master Pedro de Murua Arangutia in Eskoriatza, Guipúzcoa province in the Basque region. He took the habit for the Religious Order of Our Lady of Mercy (Mercedarians) at a young age. He worked as a priest in the Andes during the 1580s-1615, when he compiled his chronicle on Inca history, *Historia general del Perú* (1616).

Martín Quispe Topa (1564 - ?)

He was descendant of Huayna Capac Inca, son of Don Hernando Pomacapi and doña Beatriz Chimbo Urma, and resident of Parish of San Cristóbal. Listed as *cacique principal* of the Parish and endorser in 1590 of the Galvin Murua. He married doña Francisca Balladares. They had two sons, don Martín Quispe Topa and don Fernando Ynga Balladeres, who were Inca leaders in Cuzco in the seventeenth century.

Pablo Manco Topa (ca. 1560s - ?)

He was descendant of Huayna Capac Inca, maybe son of don Martín Manco Topa, who was son of Paullo Topa and grandson of Huayna Capac. He lived in Parish of San Cristóbal. Inca endorser of the 1590 Galvin Murua as *cacique principal* of San Cristóbal Parish. He served as *cacique principal* and *alcalde* of the parish in the late sixteenth century. Member of the Cabildo de los Incas in 1595 and 1598.

Pedro Purqui (before 1572-early 1600s)

Purqui was Cañari leader and *cacique principal* and *alcalde* of the Parish of Santa Ana throughout the late sixteenth century. He was an endorser to the Galvin Murua in 1590. He had one son, Joan Sánchez Urco, with his wife, doña Francisca Manco.

Appendix A: Transcriptions

*Red is for unclear transcription

Transcription 1: ARC. Contreras, Miguel de. Prot. 4, 1596-97, 3 December 1596, ff. 173-v.

/f. 173/

notificaçones Las Personas a quien se notificó el auto probeido / por el s^r corregidor y Juez de rresidencia ~~son los~~ / lo qual se hizo por ynterpretaçion de don / P[edr]o guaman Paucar ynterprete de esta çiudad / en lo sig[uient]e.

San xpoa^oL (Cristobal) **Don pablo manco topa** ac[a]lde y a don joan cuzco / y a don gonçalo urco guaranca y a los demas / caçiques e yndios de la parroquia de san xpou^al.

Santa aña **Don P[edr]o porque** y a don P[edr]o ucusicha y a / don m[ar]ti[n] urco guaranca ac[a]lde y a don P[edr]o sinloche / y a sus rregidores y a los demas prinçipales / de la parroquia de santa ana.

[H]osp[ita]l Don agustin guallpa cusi ac[a]lde y a don P[edr]o / quispe y a don joan guallpa succso y al los / demas prinçipales de la parroquia del [h]ospital.

Santiago Don P[edr]o auqui guaman ac[a]lde de santiago / y a don xpou[ba]l cuti manco y a don Joan cayao caciques / prinçipales y a los demas yndios de la dha / parroquia.

Belen Don P[edr]o maras chaudi ac[a]lde de belen / y a don diego saire y a don fran[cis]co guaritito / y a los demas regidores y principales / e yndios de la dha parroquia.

San Sebastan **Don francisco chalco yupangui** caçique principal / de sant sebastian y a don al[ons]o puscon y a don / joan auqui ac[a]ldel de y a los demas principales / e yndios de la dha parroquia.

/f. 173v/

San Blas Don fran[cis]co pillco topa ac[a]lde de la parroquia / de san blas y a don fran[cis]co chauca rimache y / a **don Juan quispe Cusi** y a don domingo usca maita / y a los demas prinçipales e yndios de la dha / parroquia.

San ger[oni]mo Don garci[a] chinchero ac[a]lde de san ger[oni]mo / y a don al[ons]jo cusi guaman y a don gar[ci]a / atao yupangui y a don xpoa^ol (Cristobal) chiuan tito y a los demas principales e / yndios de la dha parroquia.

Todos los cuales d[ic]hos ac[a]ldes caçiques princi / pales - regidores e yndios de las dhas / parroquias auiendo les notificado y dado / les a entender por el d[ic]ho ynterpre / te dixieron que al pres[ent]e no pueden Juntan / sus yndios por que es dia de trauajo y para / que se puedan juntar sera dia de fiestas / y domingo y asi se les mando que tengan / ~~para~~-el juntos para el primer domingo / o fiesta sopena de que seran graue / mente castigados lo contrario haziendo / fecho en el cuzco y tres dias del mes de / diziembre de mill qui[niento]s y noventa y seis / años testigos m[ar]ti[n] de rribera y Francisco / Xomexia y lo firmo el d[ic]ho ynterpre / valot[a]do para el / Pedro Guaman Paucar / don Gabriel Paniagua de Luaysa / ante mi Miguel de Contreras escriui[an]o de su mag[estad] y Re[yn]o

Transcription 2: ARC. Salas, Antonio de. Prot. 303, 1600-01, 24 December 1600, fl. 560-563v.

/f. 560/ [Testam(en)to]

+ En nombre de dios amen sepan quantos esta carta de / testamento ultima y postrimera voluntad / vieren como **yo don luis chalco yupangui ynga / hizo de don francisco chalco yupangui y de dona / joana chimbo ocllo**. El d[ic]ho my p[adr]e dif[un]t[us] que dios / aya en su teoria estando enffermo y sano de la / boluntad y en my buen Jui[ci]o y entendim[ien]to q[ua]l n[uest]ro s[en]or / fue seruido de me lleuar creyendo como creo en la santissima / trinidad

p[adr]e e hijo y spiritu s[ant]to tres pers[on]as y un solo dios y todo / ay leo que fiel xpiano deue tener y creer otorgo y conozco / en lago y ordeno my testm[en]to en los manera siguiente.

+ Primeramente encomiendo a my anima a dios / n[uest]ro s[an]t[o] que la cao y redimyo por su preciosa sangre / y el cuerpo a la tierra dynessformado.

+ yten mando que si dios fuere seruido de me lleuar / desta presenteuida mi cuerpo sea sepultado en el / monasterio de s[an]t[o] san francisco desta ciudad en la / es[ta]nte y lugar que a don luis ynga a mi hijo le pareciere / y el cura de la parroquia de san blas de / donde soy aconpane mi cuerpo con ruiz alta / y para ello se le pague la limosna acostumbrados.

+ yten m[an]d[o] quel dia de mi enterrami[en]to si fuere / ora o sino otro dia luego siguiente se me diga / una misa cantada y dos rresadas el cuerpo pres[en]te / y para ello se le pague la limosna acostumbrada.

+ yten mando que en los dos dias siguientes / de mi enterramy[en]to en cada dia me diga tres misas / Resadas en el d[ic]ho convento y en su nobenario / otra misa cantada con su rreynien y para ello / se le pague la limosna acostumbrada.

+ yten mando que en el altar de n[uest]ra s[enor]a de guada/ lupe en la parroquia de san blas me diga / una mysa cantada con su rresponso y p[ar]a ello /f. 560v/ se le pague la limosna acostumbrada.

+ yten mundo se diga una misa rresada / por las animas de purgatorio y se / pague la limosna dha -? se en la dha parroq[ui]a

+ yten mando a las mandas **stereosas** / y a cada una dellas dos rreales con los / quales las aparto de mys bienes.

+ yten declaro que soy casado y belado segun / orden de la santa madre yglesia rromma / con **doña maria malque mi muger** y durante / n[uest]ro matrinio o vimos y procreamos / por nuestros **hijos ligitimos a don luis / biracochan ynga y a doña maria pilco / çica** a los quales recoñosco portales / mis hijos ligitimos.

+ yten declaro que tengo las casas de mi morada / en que al presente bino que son en la dha / parroquia de san blas que llaman rayan / pata y por otro nevira y paccha que linda / por la delantera la Calle rreal que via a la / yglesia de s[eno]r san blas y por la otra / con casas de di[eg]o G[e]r[onimo] y por las cabeçadas / con otro solar que tengo en la dha parroq[ui]a / las quales dexo por mitad a los d[ic]hos don / luis ynga y doña maria mis hijos ligitimos / q[ue] puedan goçar con cargo que si alguno / de los d[ic]hos mis hijos muriere sin tener hijos / ligitimos goçe y posea el que quedare / asi mesmo declaro que **doña ysabel pilco / çica mi hermana** tiene un pedaço entre / las d[ic]has mis casas y su ella quisiere o sus / hijos biuir en llas puedan hazer su biuienda /f. 561/ y el d[ic]ho don luis ynga mi hijo le faboresca / a quien le encargo.

+ yten declaro quel solar que ha pegado / con las d[ic]has mis casas mando a los dhos / mis hijos para que hereden permitad el qual / d[ic]ho solar las que y conpre de los herederos / de di[eg]o al[ons]o difunto fuera del çilco de tierra / que doña maria malque mi muger conpro / de doña catalina pilco mi hermana q[ue] monta / la d[ic]ha venta qui[nient]os y setenta p[es]os con rreales / de a ocho el peso y entra esta quantia tresientos y sey[sient]a / p[es]os de la d[ic]ha doña m[ari]a malque mi mug[er] m[a]d[re] q[ue] se le buelua por mis **heudio**.

+ yten mando que los d[ic]hos mis hijos no / puedan vender ni enaxenar asi las / d[ic]has casas para ellos como el dho solar de arriba / y si tal hizieren las doy por ninguna / desde luego y mientras en la d[ic]ha doña maria / malque mi muger biuiere este ella y q[ue] / ninguno de los d[ic]hos mis hijos no la ynquiete / atento que atrauaxado en adornar las / d[ic]has casas y solar con mucho trauaxo.

+ yten declaro que tengo la estançia e cusipanpa / y chacaras de papas y çiertos yanaconas / en ella mando a los d[ic]has mis hijos o yqual / mente hereden con cargo que le de algun / pedaço a mi hermana doña ysabel pilco çica / por quanto yo herede la d[ic]ha estançia / de mi padre de que tengo rrecaudos dello.

+ yten declaro q[ue] tengo tres fanegados de tierra / con sus corralones en caynia sasaguana /
que las que por del Rey n[uest]ro s[eno]r manda a los / d[ic]hos mis hijos.

+ declaro que tengo doze topos de tierra /f. 561v/ con sus corralones y barrancos en el / asiento
de saollo de sembrar mais que me / cupo en la rrepartición y acomodamy[ento] de / tierras que
hizo esta ciudad quando a los / d[ic]hos mis hijos que los tengan por yguales / partes.

+ declaro que tengo otras tres fanegadas / y media en el t[er]m[ino] del pu[eb]lo de paruro en
dise / partes en uricurucua dos fanegadas / y en cayamero fanegada y media asi / de rregadio
como de temporal con algunos / arboledas que en ellas ay de que tengo / Recaudos mando a
los d[ic]hos mis hijos.

+ declaro que tengo tres topos de pacara en / la parroquia de san sebastian dodizen calla /
chaca de sembrar mais las quales herede / de mys padres y pasados y no es entra a la /
comunidad e y[ndi]os de çucço y aucayles por q[ue] / tengo Recaudos bastantes de los
visitadores / generales que an sido esta ciudad a que ellas / me Refiero mando que goçen por
yguales / partes los d[ic]hos mis hijos sin que entre ellos / ay adisençiones atento que las
d[ic]has tierras / adqueri de los d[ic]hos mis pasados y no es comprado / y miren por mi nobleza
y que aun os y a otros se ayuden.

+ declaro que tengo unos corralones y andense / en callachaca de mis pasados llamado
gunylla / chanca mando a los d[ic]hos mis hijos - asi / mysmo tengo en el d[ic]ho pu[el]bo de
callachaca unas / arboledas de chachacoma y quisuares / llamada caycapuynio mando a los /
d[ic]hos mis hijos como los de mas /f. 562/

+ declaro que tengo doze bacos entre picos y / gameles en la estança de cusipanpa las dos /
mando a doña yn[di]a chinbo ocllo mi madre / y con los demas mando seuenda para pagar /
çierto çenso que tengo ynpuesto sobre mis / cosas de las santa yglesia desta ciudad de du
dosientos / ??? de pr^ol como pareçera por la escrip[tor]a.

+ declaro que tengo dos casas el uno grande / y el otro mediano mando a la d[ic]ha **doña /maria pilco çica mi hija** - la si mismo tengo / otras dos casas ~~gran-de~~ el uno de çedro grande / y el otro pequeño los quales mando al d[ic]ho / don luis ynga mi hijo. ~~asi mis~~

+ declaro que tengo otra casa grande de / aliso con su çerradura y llaue mando a doña / maria mi muger con la casa en que duermo.

+ declaro que yo tengo bestidos del cumbe de conbre / del tiempo antiguo que me hijo don luis ynga / tiene por mem[ori]a y llautos y plumerias / y mascapaycha que son tres todos los quales / manda al d[ic]ho don luis ynga mi hijo con cargo / que le de a doña maria pilco çica una camiseta / blanca de cunbe antigua y una manta negra / de cumbe y una de las d[ic]has mascapaychas / para que tenga cosa mya y se acuerde de my.

+ declaro que en pod[e]r de un serrero llamado / pasqual esta entrenado en quatro po[n]chos una / camyseta de cumbe blanca antiguam[ent]e / quel d[ic]ho don luis ynga mi hijo lo desentrene / y lo tome para si.

+ declaro que ysabel rupo yn[di]a tiene por siete / patagones una m[an]ta de auasca tornasol / y una camiseta de llanca pata / f. 562v/ antigua mando se desentrene.

+ declaro que tengo entrenados dos cocos desta / de la d[ic]ha doña maria my muger en Agurun / chima de oropesa de guasau cuzco mando se desentreñe dando çinco patagones / que le deuo.

[deudas]

+ declaro que deuo a P[edr]o Vilca quarenta p[es]os de / a ocho mando que se pague - y a joan piçarro / panadero dies pe[so]s de a ocho rreales el p[es]os y a fran[ci]sco / rimache caçique diez patagones y a la suegra / de don di[eg]o cusi rimache nieto de antigualpa v[en]te / patagones y a la madre de guadaleti çinco patacones / y todos los quales mando que se pague de mys / bienes y el d[ic]ho don luis ynga mi hijo tenga / quenta en ello.

+ declaro que deuo aun yn[di]o de oropesa diez patagones / de rresto de una haquilla plateada que me uendio / m[an]d[o] se pague de mys partes.

+ declaro que deuo a mateo caltayo dos patagones / por los quales mer[c]e[d] una terçiana m[an]do se pague / y se quite la dha terçiana.

+ declaro que deuo a un caçique de don Jua[n] Hernando de / cartaxena diez patagones el qual me libro para / que diera a una her[ma]na suya quella en la d[ic]ha / casa mando se le pague.

+ declara que tengo en my pod[e]r doze p[es]os de un yndio / de pacarictambo que yo le auia fiado de la carçel por los / d[ic]hos p[es]os que deuia al[ons]o al[ons]o carrasco que sacando me de la / f[i]r[m]a que hize m[an]do se le buelua.

+ declaro que una yn[di]a maria tu dize questa prenada / de mi mando quel nino o nyan que naçiere / siendo dios seruido don luis ynga mi hijo le quite / de su pod[e]r y lealmente y de todo lo nesces[ari]o /f. 563/ a si mysmo tengo otra hija ella llamada cat[arin]a / mando quel d[ic]ho mi hijo la traiga a casa y rrecoxa / ella y den casas y tierras para que se sustente los dhos nynos y madre.

+ mando que me entierre con el auito de s[an]t[a] san fran[cis]co / donde mando que mi cuerpo sea sepultado dando / a uno de los rreliogiosos del d[ic]ho convento otro nuebo.

+ e para cumplir y pagar lo conr^{do} en el d[ic]ho my / testamento dexo y nombro por mys albaceas / y testamentarios a don luis ynga mi hijo y a don / pedro quispe caçique pr[incip]al de la parroquia del ospital / de na[tura]les y francisco pariac de la d[ic]ha parroquia / a todos tres juntam[en]te por si - ynsolidum le doy / mi pod[e]r cumplido para que usen el d[ic]ho cargo / en todas las cosas y casos a el anexo y con / cernyente quel pod[e]r que se rrequiere / se lo doy con ??????.

+ cumplido y pagado lo conr^{do} en el d[ic]ho my testam[en]to y las mandas en el contenidas dexo y nombro / por mys herederos unybersales a don luis vira / cochan ynga y doña maria pilco çica mis hijos / ligitimos los quales hereden en los d[ic]hos mis / ?? y los de mas que me deuan pertenescer / sin que falta cosa alguna.

+ y por la presente Reboco - anulo y doy / por ninguno y de ningun valor / y effecto quales quier
testamentos memoriales / cobdiçilios ? yo a tes de re ayass y /f. 563v/ otorgado en qualq[ui]er
manda para / que no valga ni haga falta saluo q[ui]ere / quede presente hago y ordeno para /
que vºlga y haga falta en qui[nient]o y ?? era del / o por la uia y fforma que mexor / de dio lugar
aya - en testimy[ent]o de lo qual / lo otorgue con les pres[en]te firmo y t[e]s[timient]os / el
cap[i]t[an] andres perez moran y miguel munoz / y fran[cisco] hurtado y ju[an] de paredes y
fr[ancisc]o / curo yupangui - quel ffecho y por el d[ic]ho don / luis chalco a quien doy fiel q[ue]
conozco otorgado en la / ciudad del cuzco a veynte y quatro dias del / mes de diziembre de mill
y siysçientos años y lo firmo / don Luis Chalco Yupangui ynga
ante my ant[oni]o de solas es[crivano] Pu[bli]co
[margin] testamento de don luis chalco yupangui ynga

Appendix B: Timeline

Between 1530-60	Guaman Poma born
November 1, 1566	Martín de Murua born
November 3, 1566	Murua's possible baptism
1580s	Arrival of Murua in Peru, stationed in Capachica
Late 1580ish-1600ish	Working on <i>Historia del orijen</i>
May 15, 1590	Original title page in <i>Historia del orijen</i>
1588-1595	Murua in Cusco
1594-1595	Guaman Poma served as translator and witness in Huamanga, Cusco
November 7, 1595	Murua in Curahuasi (near Cusco)
May 15, 1596	Second Andean endorsement letter in <i>Historia del orijen</i>
December 18, 1600	Guaman Poma lost legal battle in Lucanas and Andamarca; exiled
1600/2-1609	Murua started on <i>Historia general del peru</i>
July 31, 1603	Murua in Cusco
1604-6?	Murua priest in Pochuanca, Pacsica, and Pichigua in Aymaraes region
1608 to 1615 (esp. 1611-1613)	Guaman Poma in province of Lucana
February 15, 1610	Murua sent benefits to Santa Ana Convent
1610ish	Murua priest in Huata, Bolivia
1611-1613	Murua in Illabaya, La Plata, La Paz, Potosi (Bolivia)
January 27, 1614	Murua in Tucumán, Buenos Aires
1615	Murua traveled from Buenos Aires to Lisbon
1615	Murua in Madrid, Mercedarian Convent

November 5, 1615	Murua arrives in home town of Eskoriatza, Basque region
November 22, 1615	Murua fell ill
December 6, 1615	Murua dies
December 21, 1615	Inventory of Murua's belongings from Peru
April 28, 1616	Mercedarian authorization
May 26, 1616	Murua receives authorization from Spanish Crown for publication of <i>Historia general del Pirú</i>
Circa 1616	Guaman Poma dies

Appendix C:

Transcription of Galvin and Getty Quipu Chapters

With copied text from Román y Zamora

Galvin Murua, 1590, f. 77-v

* Bold copied from Jerónimo Román y Zamora, *Repúblicas de Indias*, 1595, ff. 170-172.

/f. 77r/ capitulo 25 de los contadores q[ue] el ynga tenia llamauan, entre ellos, quipu camayos Avia, Repartidos Por los pueblos chicos y grandes yndios que llamanuan, *marca, camayos*, o *llacta camayos* que thenian quenta Por sus *quipus* que son unos cordeles con diferentes colores, con ñudos, que dan en ellos de todas las personas del pueblo chicos y grandes, y oficiales y de los Repartir tarea, y igualmente, camosiasentasen, com papel y tinta los quales *marcacamayos* se ymformauan de los caciques de lo que auia que Hazer o querian que se Hiziese ymformando, dello, se subian en alto, y aora que estaua la gente Reposada y sin Ruydo como de noche, a las dies, o por la mañana, antes que amanesa ese, a vozes les declaraua todo lo que el día siguiente auían de saber, lo qual, les dizia y Repartia de Hordenario poco antes que anochesiése y les aperseuía de nacuo que El que de Ello, Ex se diesse le auíande castigar y al que exsedia, lo castigauan Publicamente, con Unaçote y si algunos tHenian que Hazer El *marca, camayo* les Hazia que trauajasen para si propíos Porque no estubiessen, o siossos y al que estubiese occiosso lo matauan, tambien Hazian sus quantas Por piedras y por ruidos, como Esta dicho En cuerdas de colores Cuengas, contavan Uno, Diez, çiento, Un mill, dies çientos Dies mill, Dies cientos de mill Jugauan Estos yndios, con un solo dado, que llaman la *picha*, de cinco puntos Por un lado, uno por otro, dos por otro y por otro tres y el otro lado, quatro y la punta con una Cruz Vale çinco y El çuelo del dado veinte, y assi se juegan oy en día y esto los usan, assi los yndios como las yndias, aunque fuera de conejos que Ellos llaman cuyes no juegan cossa de plata supan y vino es de mayz y Emborracha, rebiamente, a un que otras veuídas Hazen de frutas y yerbas, también suelen tener otras cordeles de quantas y quipu, de cossas Passads de sus yngas

y de sus leyes y gouuernos y Hazañas que cada, uno Hazia assi en las conquistas como en las guerras y en todas las demas cosas de su antepasados los reyes E yngas deste rreyno y de sus desendençias y de las naçiones Porque ay gran suma dellas con diferente, language, conforme se usa y es costumbre, en cada tierra y parçialidad o prouncia Por que ay en todo este Reyno gran multitud de pueblos y gente, Por que todo lo tenian puesto, con dicho, orden concierto en sus quipus y cuerdas Por donde, ellos se entendian con la façilidad que nosotros En nuestra lengua Por nuestro papel y tinto, y biuian contanta quenta con los dichos sus quipus que aunque pasasen muchos dias sea cordauan como si pasara en a quel ynstante y punto ya uno y Endia se usa mucho entre algunos yndios [lo qual era una ynbençion] /f. 77v/ lo q[ue]L Era Una buena **ynbençionn para dexar por memoria lo que ellos querian pero no yba por pinturas ni cifras,** como se usaba con la nueva españa **mas por otro arte harto mas curioso y digna de ser sabida esta era un genero de nudos hechos** como dho es **En unos cordones algo gruesos amana de pater nostres, o de nosario o nudos de cordon** dema P. San Franco **por estos contaban los años los meses y dias por estos sabian umdades, de benas Jente mas y millares ypa q[ue] los cosas q[ue] querian contar Diferençiasen hazianlos nudos majores y meñores y con diferencias de colores de manera q[ue] para una cosa temian nudo colorado y par otra verde, o amarillo y ansi y ua lo demas pero lo q[ue] amimas me espanta es q[ue] pro los mismos cordones y nudos contaban las suzeçiones de los tiempos, y quanto Reyno cada ynga y si fue bueno o malo, si fue baliente o couarde, todo en fin lo q[ue] se podia sacar De los libros se sacaba de alli como fuese esto yo no lo se ni lo entiendo, esto es cierto q[ue] asta oy jo ay y tratar dello los viejos** de lo que vine a saber lo mas q[ue] en este libro la puesto y en una dotrina de capaz donde fui dotrinante le vide aun **yndio curaca viejo** tener en un cordel grande destes todo el calendario Romano y todos los Sanctos y fiestas de guardar y medio a entender como y de que manera lo sabia y q[ue] a un fray le muy curioso de mi horden los años pasados le auia dho se lo lejese el calendario y que lediese a entender y que asi como el frayle se lo yba de siendo yba el asentando en su quipu y asi fue

cosa de gran admiración ver de la manera que el buen viejo se entendía por él como si fuera por papel y tinta y así antiguamente **tenían grandes montones destas cuentas a manera de Registros como los tienen los escribanos y allí tenían sus archivos** como que da dho en el prólogo **y de tal manera que el que quería algo no tenía más que saber de presente a los que tenían este oficio y preguntárselos cuánto ha que acaeció esto, o qué ynga hizo tal ley cuando fue año seco o abundante, cuando hubo pestilencia y todo lo demás y luego el quipucamayú o contador Sacaba sus cuerdas y daba razón dello sin faltar un punto a la gente española como no allase quien les interpretase aquellos girgonças no curaron mucho de conservar aquellos Registros y así pereció todo a un que algunos destes yndios moderan de usar muy a menudo en sus necesidades Aunque si esta gente quisiera o alla quien la enseñara a escribir aunque no tenían tinta ni papel del nuestro toda vía la tierra había producido materiales con que a provechase por que un árbol llamado xagua la una fruta cuyo color es blanco al principio y luego poco a poco se va tornando negro como tinta con el qual los yndios solían tener su algodón, y los españoles se aprovechaban del para escribir y no era mala tinta aunque también suelen hacer muy buena tinta y corpa y las plumas hacían de otros árboles llamada copey del qual sacan no solo plumas mas aun papel y tinta y los primeros españoles se aprovecharon destes yndios instrumentos quando le faltaban los propios aunque no se yo que mas propios que los antiguos no escribieron con mejores materiales.**

Getty Murua, 1615, 245v-247v

Underlined added to the bold indicates copied text from Galvin Murua to Getty Murua of copied text from Román y Zamora, *Repúblicas del mundo* (1595), ff. 170-172.

/f.245v/ Capº 11, de los contadores que abia llamados quipu camayos

+ Aunque al ynga y a sus Reinos les faltó el arte tan yndustriosa de saber leer y escribir medio tan famoso y combiniente para comunicarse las gentes de unas provincias a otras y para

salir los hombres de las tinieblas de la ygnorançia y alcanzar el titulo tan descado de sabios y trascender y alcanzar los secretos escondidos, y aun casos sucedidos de tantos millares de años, como tenemos sabemos y gozamos mediante las letras, todabia tubo el ynga y los yndios otro medio aun que no tan façil notorio y claro como el de los libros y escriptura, al menos fue mas yndustrioso y subtil y ascondido con el qual los casos seçedidos en ynfinidad de años los referian los yndios que los tenian por oficio tan puntual y distintamente que los mejores y mas diestros lectores de nuestras escrituras no se les abentajaran en el dibir los en señalar los tiempos y ocasiones las personas edades y circunstançias que en ellos con currieron cosa maravillosa y de tener estima en una jente ygnorante y tenuta en ñras prouinçias por ynculta y barbara.

+ este medio y escriptura para conservaçion de sus hechos llamaban los yndios *quipus* y a los yndios que te nian por oficio guardar estos quipus y dar quenta y razon de ellos *quipucamayos* que quiere dezir contador estos quipus **eran un jenero de ñudos hechos en unos cordones algo gruesos** de lanas y colores diferentes **por estos contaban** y referian **los dias** semanas **meses** y años por estos hacian unidades decenas çentenas **millares** y millones de millares **y para las cosas que querian** dezir **diferençiallas** hacian unos ñudos mayores que los otros y ponian **dibersas las colores de manera que para una cosa tenian un ñudo colorado y para otra amarillo, o berde** o azul o negro segun / f. 246r / la calidad y segun el numero asi era el ñudo mas o menos grueso por estos **nudos contaban las sucesiones de los tiempos y quando reino cada ynga** los hijos que tubo **si fue bueno o malo valiente o cobarde** con quien fue casado que tierras conquisto los edifiçios que labro el serbicio y riqueza que tubo quantos años viuido donde murío a que fue aficionado **todo en fin lo que los libros** nos enseñan y muestran **se sacaba de alli** y ansi todo lo que en este libro se refiere del orijen prinsipio sucesion guerras conquistas destruiciones castigos edificios gouierno policia tratos bestidos comidas authoridad gastos y riquezas de los yngas todo sale de alli y por los quipus e benido enconosimiento de ellos y todos quantos refieren cosas deste reyno lo an alcanzado y sabido por este medio unico y solo de entender los secretos y antiguedades deste reyno.

+ y ansi tenian los contadores grandes montones destos cordeles amanera de registros como los escriuanos los tienen en sus escriptorios y alli guardauan sus archiuos y detal manera que el queria saber algo no tenia mas que haber sino yr se aun *quipucamaio* de estos y preguntalle quanto a que sucedio esto o qual ynqa hizo esta ley quien conquisto tal prouinçia quien fueron sus capitanes quando fue el año seco o abundante quando abo pestilencias y guerras quando se rebellaron tales yndios quando sucedio tal terramoto en que tiempo rebento tal bolcan quando vino tal rio de abenida destruyendo las chacaras luego el contador sacaba sus cuerdas y daua razon de ello sin faltar un punto y no ay duda sino que si los españoles al prinsipio tubieran curiosidad en hazer que estos yndios contadores_ que estaban en el cuzco como encabeça y era a su cargo lo mas prinsipal del Reino les declararan y ynterpretaran estos quipus y jerigonças de ellos como entonses estaua la tierra entera y estas cosas no se abian empesado /f. 246v/ a olvidar y dejar de los yndios y eran Biuos los que de_ esto cuidauan se descubrieran famosissimos suçessos de estos yngas de su origen conquistas y vatallas y acontesimientos bastantes a henchir mucho numero de libros que dellos se escribieran y lo que agor se saue con mucho_trauajo es arremiendos y por fragmentos como ya ban_ faltando o anfaltado de todo los contadores antiguos.

+ y de la manera que los abia en todo el cusco general del Reyno y de cada prouincia en particular asi los abia en cada prouincia que tenian quenta y quipu della y en cada Pueblo en los cordeles, puestos el numero de los yndios del Pueblo y de las cosas, en general del y cada aylo tenia su contador de solo el con los yndios que abia casados y soltero y biudos y sus mugeres e hijos y los que se morian y los que de nuebo naçian y los oficiales de cada ofiçio de manera que se en punto se quisiese saber quantos yndios abia en un pueblo e yndias y quantas personas chicas y grandes y las chacaras y ganados que tenian en Juntando los contadores se sabia sin faltar cosa y abia otra marabilla que cada prouincia como tenía Propio lenguaje natiuo tambien tenía nuebo modo de quipu y nueba Razon dello estos contadores los llamaban Juntamente *marcacamaios* que significa Estar El pueblo a su cargo y ansi los curacas quando querían mandar

alguna cosa que se hiciese en el Pueblo, o que el ynga lo ordenaba o que fuesen a alguna obra publica Estos de ynformaban dellos y se subian en un alto y a la ora que la gente estaua soçegada y sin Ruido Recogidos todos en sus casas, poco despues de aber anochesido o del a maneser a boces declaraba lo que el dia siguiente se abia de hazer y les amenasaba que el que excediesu Seria castigado Rigurosamente y el que no hacia lo que se le mandaua le castigaba el *marcacamayo* /f. 247r/ Con un açote que tenía y ansi era themido y Respetado de todos

+ Estos *quipus* y quantas se usan el dia de oy entre ellos aunque no con la curiosidad que antiguamente pero todas las obras detras bajo que sean de Repartir entre ellos qualquiera Cosa que sea de hazer han aber el quipu a quien le abe Por Su horden y si esta ausente al que le sigue como es el que adegralas minas a serbir al Rei o el que a de yr a alguna cosa del serui^o del Corregidor llega a un pueblo y pide un yndío para cosa del serui^o del Rey luego miran el quipu y por el se los dan y si pide otro para cosa Suia miran otro quipu diferente Para ello y ansi para los demas negocios que se ofresen y Sino fuese Por ello abria entre ellos grandisima confuçon y en estos quipus suelen Poner quando el corregidor del sacerdote no les pagan o otras personas todas las cosas de comida y demas que Pidieron y despues en la Residencias y bisitas se lo piden aun mas de lo que les deben Por no que dar cortos que su malicia asubido ya mas que solía que como ben que quando semejantes cosas piden siempre ay conçiertos y Rebajas ponen de ordinario mas de lo que les debe para que aja lugar le rebaja y queden en lo que dieron por que siento que en astucias y malicias y delicadesas nos exsedan a nos otros.

+ Andado de Pocos años a esta parta yndustriados los yndios e yndias de confesores doctose experimentados en confesarse por estos cordeles y quipus haciendo sus conficiones generales por los mandamientos y despues cada bes que se confiesan sacan su quipu y por el ban disiendo sus Pecados que sierto a sido un medio maravilloso y de grandisimo efecto para que hagan sus conficiones mas enteras y con mas satisfacion de que tratan berdad, de que siempre sea tenido sospecha y con algu[n]a mas Recordacion y memoria de sus Peccados y mas alibio de los que los sacramentan Por que en efecho se entiende que en general o por la

confusion /f. 247v/ de su entendimiento y la Poca meditacion que hazen de su Voda o por la facilidad que tienen en el mentir (que es grandisima) o por supesima naturalesa malicia y Ynstigacion del demonio ellos las mas confeciones las hazen nullas y dimidiadas, ocuetando. Los peccados que an cometido oya que los confiesan negando el numero aunque esten sientos del ola Sircunstancias que los agraban notable m^e o mudan especie y aun que ellos digan que de temor suelen en cubrillos en esto tambien mienten que sia un sacerdote aspero y desabrido los mas los tratan con amor en las conficiones porcurando les sacar sus peccados con sua bidad o muchas beses ellos son causa de hazer salir a su confesores de los limites de la Razon cogiendolos en las mentiras Palpables y disiendoles para escusa de sus Peccados cosas que son ymposibles y desto basta esto.

+ Se le Referire para que se note la curiosidad de algunos yndios lo que bide en un yndio biejo y curaca en sierta doctrina donde fui cura El qual tenia en un cordel y quipu todo el calendario Romano y todos los Santos y fiestas de guardar por sus meses distintos y me dijo que los sabia aquello y fue que aun religioso de mi horden curioso que abia sido doctrinante alli le abia dicho se lo lejese e diese a entender y como El Padre se los yba disiendo El yndio yba en su quipu a sentandolo y a las fiestas de guardar Ponia el ñudo diferente y mas grueso y asi si era cosa de admiracion como se entendia por El quipu y sabia quando benian las fiestas y las Vigilias de ellas.

Comparisons between Román y Zamora, Galvin Murua and Getty Murua

* In Galvin Murua, bold copied from Jerónimo Román y Zamora, *Repúblicas de Indias*, 1595

** In Getty Murua, bold indicates copied text from Galvin Murua to Getty Murua of copied text from Román y Zamora, *Repúblicas del mundo* (1595)

Jerónimo Román y Zamora, *Repúblicas de Indias*, 1595, f. 171v

Esta era un genero de ñudos hechos en unos cordones algo gruessos a manera de pater nostres,

o de rosario, o ñudos de cordó de sant Frãisco, por estos cõtauan los años los meses y dias, por estos hazian unidades, dezenes, centenas y millares, y para que las cosas que querian contar diferenciassen hazian los ñudos mayores y menores y con diferencias de colores, de manera que para una cosa tenian ñudo colorado y para otra verde, o amarillo.

Galvin Murua, 1590, f. 77v

Era un genero de nudos hechos como dho es En unos cordones algo gruesos amana de pater nostres, o de nosario o nudos de cordon dema P. San Franco por estos contaban los años los meses y dias por estos sabian umdades, de benas Jente mas y millares ypa q[ue] los cosas q[ue] querian contar Diferençiasen hazianlos nudos majores y meñores y con diferencias de colores de manera q[ue] para una cosa temian nudo colorado y par otra verde, o amarillo.

Getty Murua, 1615, f. 245v

Eran un jenero de ñudos, hechos en unos cordones algo gruesos de lanas y colores diferentes, por estos contaban y Referian *los dias Semanas meses y años por estos hacian unidades decenas çentenas millares* y millones de millares y para las cosas que querian dezer, diferenciallas, hacian Unos ñudos mayores que los otros y ponian dibersas las colores de manera que para una cosa tenian un ñudo colorado y Para otra amarillo, o berde o azul o negro Segun la Calidad y Segun El numero, asi era El ñudo mas o menos grueso.**

Jerónimo Román y Zamora, *Repúblicas de Indias*, f. 171v

...y ansi yua lo de mas: pero lo que ami mas me espantas es que por los mesmos cordones y ñudos contaun las successiones de los tiempos, y quanto reyno cada Rey, y si fue bueno o malo, si fue valeinte o couarde, todo en fin lo que se podia sacar de los libros se sacaua de alli. como su esse esto yo no lo se, ni lo entiendo.

Galvin Murua, fol. 77v

Cordones y nudos contaban las suzeciones de los tiempos, y quanto Reyno cada ynga y si fue bueno o malo, si fue baliente o couarde, todo en fin lo q[ue] se podia sacar De los libros se sacaba de alli como fuese esto yo no lo se nilo entiendo.

Getty Murua, f, 245v

Nudos **contaban las sucesiones de los tiempos y quando Reino cada ynga** los hijos que tubo **si fue Bueno o malo, valiente o cobarde** con quien fue casado que tierras conquisto los edifiçios que labro el serbicio y Riqueza que tubo quantos años viucio donde murio a que fue aficionado **todo en fin lo que los libros** nos en Seãn y muestran **Se Sacaba de alli.** y ansi todo lo que en este libro Se Refiere del origen Prinsipio Sucesion guerras conquistas destrucciones castigos edificios gouierno Policia tratos bestidos comidas authoridad gastos y Riquezas de los yngas todo Sale de alli y por los quipus ebenido en conosimiento de ellos y todos quantos Refieren cosas deste Reyno lo an alcansado y sabido por este medio Unico y solo de entender los secretos y antiguedades deste Reyno.

Jerónimo Román y Zamora, *Repúblicas de Indias*, 171v

Tenian grandes montones destas cuentas a manera de registros como los tienen los escriuanos, y alli tenian sus Archiuos: y de tal manera q[ue] el que queria algo, no tenia mas que hazer de yr se a los que tenian este officio y preguntarles quãto ha que acaecio esto, o qual Rey hizo tal ley, quando fue año seco o abundante, quãdo vuo pestilencia y todo lo de mas.

Galvin Murua, f. 77v

Temian grandes montones destas cuentas amanera de Registros como los tienen los escriuanos y alli temian sus archivos como q[ue] da d[ic]ho en el prologo **A los q[ue] temian este ofiçio y preguntatarles quanto ha q[ue] acaecio esto, o ql ynga hizo tal ley quando fue año seco o abundante, quan do vuo pestilencia y todo lo demas y luego el quipucamayo o contador**

Getty Murua, f. 246r

Sea un quipucamaio de estos y Preguntalle quando a que Sucedio esto, o qual ynga hizo esta ley, quien consuisto tal Prounçia, quien fueron sus capitanes, **quando fue el año seco o abundante, quando ubo pestilencias** y guerras, quando se Rebellaron tales yndios, quando sucedio tal terremoto, en que tiempo Rebento tal bolean. . .

Jerónimo Román y Zamora, *Repúblicas de Indias*, f. 171v

Sacaua sus cuerdas y daua razon dello sin faltar un punto. Nuestra gente como no hallasse quien les interpretasse aquellas girigonças no curaron mucho de conseruar aquellos registros.

Galvin Murua, f. 77v

Sacaba sus cuerdas y daba razon dello sin faltar un punto nra gente española **como no allase quien les interpretase aquellos girigonças no curaron mucho de conseruar aquellos Rigistros y ansi perecio todo** a un q[ue] algunos destos yndios moderan de usar muy a menudo en sus necesidades.

Getty, f. 246r

Luego el contador sacaba sus cuerdas y daua Razon dello sin faltar un punto y no ay duda sino que si los españoles al prinsipio tabieran curiosidad en hazer que estos yndios contadore que estaban en el cusco como encabeça y era a su cargo lo mas prinsipal del Reino les declararan y ynterpretaran estos quipus y **Jerigonças** de ellos como entonses a olvidar y dejar de los yndios y eran Biuos los que deesto cuidauan se descubrieran famosissimos suçessos de estos yngas de su origen conquistas y vatallas y acontecimientos bastantes a henchir mucho numero de libros que dellos se escribieran y lo que agor se saue con mucho trauajo es arremiendos y por fragmentos como ya ban faltando o an faltado de todo los contadores antiguos. Estaua la tierra entera y estas cosas no se abian empesado.

Appendix E

Chart 1: Coya Name Comparison Between Galvin Manuscript and Getty Manuscript

Galvin Coya Chapters								
Chapter Portrait	Chapter Portrait	fol.	Chapter Title	Chapter Title	Chapter Text	fol.		
Light Brown 1a	Dark Brown 1b		1c	1c	1d			
1	Mama Vaco coya		Mama Oclo	22v	Mama Uaco	Mama Oclo	Mama vaco	23r
2	chimpo coya, 2		mama coca	23v	Chimpo		Coya Chimpo	24r
3	mama cura, coya, 3		mama caua	24v	Mama Cura		Mama Cura or Anac Varqui	25r
4	chimpo urma, coya 4		mama coca	25v	Chimpu Urma	Mama Yacchi	Chimpu Urma	26r
5	chimpu ocllo, mama caua coya 5		mama curiylla	26v	Ocllo	Mama Cava	Chimpu Ocllo	27r
6	cusi chimpo, coya; mama micai coya 6			27v	Cusi Chimpu	Mama Micay	Cusi Chimpu	28r
7	ypa vaco, mama machi} coya 7		mama chiquia	28v	Ipa Uaco	Mama Machiquia	ypa uaco [mama mache - crossed out]	29r
8	mama yunto cayan coya 8			29v	[Mama Yunto]			30r
9				30v	Anauarque		Mama Anauarque, Ypa uaco	31r
10	Mama ocllo coya 10			31v	Mama ocllo		Toctocuca	32r
11	getty			32v	[Raba Ocllo]			33r
12	getty			33v	Chuquillanto		Mama Guarqui, Chuquillanto	34r

Inca pair	fol.	Coya mother	fol.	Inca son	fol.	Coya daughter	fol.
1e		1f		1g		1h	
1	Mama Huaco (poem), Mamavaco	10v	1			Mama vaco	23r
2	no text	11r	2	Chimbo	23r	Chimpo	10r
3	no text	12r	3	Mama Cura	24r	no text	11r
4	no text	13r	4	Chimpo Horma coya o mama yacche	25r	no text	12r
5	not name	14r	5	Chimpo Ocllo	26r	no text	13r
6	cusi chinpi	15r	6	Cusi cHimpu	27r	cusi chinpu	15r
7	Cusi Chimpu	16r	7	Ypa guaco, Mama chiqui	28r	Cusi Chimpu	16r
8	not name	17r	8	mama yunto	29r	mama yunto	17r
9	not name	18r	9			no named	18r
10	Mama Ocllo	19r	10	Mama ocllo		mama ocllo	19r
11	Raua Ocllo	20r	11	Pillicoaco		Raua Ocllo	20r
12	chipchillanto, Mama uarcay, Chuquillantom	21r	12			Chuquillanto, macarcay	21r
	cuçi varcay coya	21r				not named hija cusi varcay coya	34r
							getty 79v 33r

Getty Murua Names						
Chapter Portrait	fol.	ChapterTitle	Chapter Title	Chapter Text	fol.	
2a		2b	2b	2c		
1		Mama Huaco	Mama ocllo as mother of manco capac	mama huaco	23v	
2	Chympo Coya	25v	Chympo Coya	chimpo coya	26r	
3	Mama Cuya Coya		Mama Cura	Anaɸuarque	mama cura, anachuarque	28r
4	Chimpo Urma Coya		Chimpo Urma	Mama Yacche	chimpo urma	30r
5	Chimpo ocllo Coya		Chimpo Ocllo	Mama Cahua	chimpo ocllo	32r
6	Cusi chimpo Coya	34r	Cusi Chimpo	Mama Micay	coya cussi chimpo	34r
7	Ypa huaco coya		Ypa Huaco coya	Mama Chiquia	coya hipa huaco	36r
8	Mama yunto Coya		Mama Yunto C[o]ya		mama yunto caya	38r
9			Mama Anahuarque coya		mama anahuarque, hipa huaco	47r
10			Mama Ocllo		Mama ocllo, toctacuca	55r
11	Mama Raba ocllo, coya Chuquillanto muger de guascar ynga		Rahua Ocllo	image from galvin	Rahua ocllo, pilco huaco	77v
12			Chuqui Huipa	galvin	Chuqui Huipa, Mama Huarçay	

Inca pair	fol.	Coya Mother	fol.	inca son	fol.	Coya Daughter
2d		2f		2g		2h
1	Mama huaco	21r	1		mama huaco	26r
2	chimpo coya	25r	2	chimpo coya	24r	27r
3	mama cura	27r	3	not mentioned	25v	mama cura, 29r
4	chimpo urma	29r	4	not mentioned	28r	
5	chimpo ocllo	31r	5	chimpo ocllo	30r	
6	cusi chimpo	33r	6	cusi chimpo	32r	not named 32v
7	Mama chiquia	35r	7	mama chiquia	34r	
8	mama yunto caya	37r	8	mama yunto caya	36r	
9			9	mama anahuarque coya	38r	mama anahuarque 48r
10	mama ocllo	56r 59r, 63r,	10	mama ocllo	47r	
11	Rahua Ocllo	76v	11	Rahua Ocllo, Pilli coaco coya Mama huarçay, chuquillanto, chuqui huipa	55v	
12	Chuqui Huipa	90r	12		77v	

Chart 2: Coya name comparison in short accounts

*This chart draws from Julien 2000, p. 80-81 with expanded information on Murua and others. Letter and number identifiers refer to Appendix E, Chart 1.

Generation	Female members of Inca pair									
1	Woman Named <i>Mama Ocllo</i> Las Casas Gutiérrez Betanzos Sarmiento Zamora Valboa Pachacuti <i>Murua 1bc</i> <i>Murua 2b, d</i>	<i>Mama Huaco</i> Fernández <i>Discurso</i> Cobo <i>Murua 1a, c, d</i> <i>Murua 2c</i> Guaman Poma	<i>No one</i> Cieza	<i>Mama Ocllo Huaco</i> Garcilaso						
2	<i>Mama Coca</i> Las Casas <i>Discurso</i> Betanzos Sarmiento Zamora Valboa <i>Murua 1b</i>	<i>Mama Cura/Chura/coya</i> Fernández Gutierrez Cobo Garcilaso	<i>Chimpo Coya</i> <i>Murua 1c+d</i> <i>Murua 1a</i> <i>Murua 2a, b, d</i>	<i>Chimpo Urma Coya</i> Guaman Poma	<i>Mama Ocllo</i> Garcilaso	<i>No one</i> Cieza Pachacuti				
3	<i>Mama Cagua Pata</i> Las Casas Gutierrez Sarmiento Zamora	<i>Cachua/Caua</i> <i>Discurso</i> Cobo Valboa <i>Murua 1b</i> <i>Murua 2a, b, c</i> Garcilaso	<i>Anahuarqui</i> Fernández <i>Murua 1d</i> <i>Murua 2b, c</i>	<i>Mama Cura</i> <i>Murua 1c+d</i> <i>Murua 1a</i> <i>Murua 2a, b, c</i>	<i>Mama Cora Ocllo Coya</i> Guaman Poma <i>Murua 1c, d</i>	<i>Woman from Caño</i> Cieza	<i>No One</i> Betanzos	<i>Mama Tancaray Yachi Chimpo Urma Cuca</i> Pachacuti		
4	<i>Mama Chianta/Dianta</i> Las Casas Gutiérrez Zamora	<i>Mama Taocaray</i> <i>Discurso</i> Cobo Sarmiento	<i>Mama Tancaray Yacchi</i> Valboa	<i>Mama Yacchi</i> Fernández Oré <i>Murua 1c</i>	<i>Chimpo Urma</i> <i>Murua 1c+d</i> <i>Murua 1a</i> <i>Murua 2a, b, c</i>	<i>Mama Cuca</i> Garcilaso <i>Murua 1b</i>	<i>Chimbo Urma Mama Yachi</i> Guaman Poma	<i>Mama Cagua Pata</i> Cieza	<i>No One</i> Betanzos	

		Murua 2a		Murua 2b					
5	<i>Indi Chigia</i>	<i>Chuqui/Cori Ilpay</i>	<i>Curi Hilpay</i>	<i>Cagua</i>	<i>Caua Coya</i>	<i>Chimpo Oclo</i>	<i>Chinbo Ucllo Mama Caua</i>	<i>Coya</i>	<i>No One</i>
	Las Casas	<i>Discurso</i>	Sarmiento	Fernández	Murua 1c	Murura 2a, b	Guaman Poma	Cieza	Betanzos
	Gutiérrez Zamora	<i>Cobo Valboa</i>	Murua 1b	<i>Coya Maca Curi</i>		<i>Mama Caba</i>			
		Pachacuti		Garcilaso		Murua 1a, c, d			
6	<i>Mama Micay</i>	<i>Cici Chinbo Mama Micay</i>	<i>Mama Micay Chimpo</i>	<i>Cusi Chimpo</i>	<i>Cusi Quicgsu</i>	<i>Nicay Coca</i>	<i>No One</i>		
	Las Casas Gutiérrez Fernández <i>Discurso</i> Cobo Sarmiento Zamora Valboa Murua 1c, a Garcilaso Murua 2b	Guaman Poma	Pachacuti	Murua 1a, c, d, Murua 2a, b, c	Murua 1a	Cieza	Betanzos		
7	<i>Mama Chiguia</i>	<i>Mama Chiquia</i>	<i>Coya Mama Chicya</i>	<i>Ipa Vaco</i>	<i>Ypa Uaco Mama Machi Coya</i>	<i>Mama Machi</i>	<i>Coya Mama Chicya</i>	<i>Mama Chuqui Chicya Illpay</i>	<i>No One</i>
	Las Casas Fernández Gutiérrez <i>Discurso</i> Cobo Cieza Sarmiento Zamora Valboa Murua 2b (Coya Hipa)	Murua 1c, 1b Murua 2b+c	Garcilaso	Murua 1c+d Murua 1a Murua 2a, b Hipa Huaco Murua 2b	Guaman Poma	Murua 1a, c	Garcilaso	Pachacuti	Betanzos
8	<i>Runto Coya</i>	<i>Yunto Coya</i>	<i>Mama Yunto Cayan Coya</i>	<i>Mama Yunto Coya</i>	<i>Mama Runto Caya</i>	<i>Rondo Caya</i>	<i>Mama Rontocay of Anta</i>	<i>No One</i>	<i>Roncoy</i>
	Las Casas <i>Discurso</i> Garcilaso	Fernández Gutiérrez	Murua 1a Guaman Poma	Murua 1c Murua 2a, b, c	Zamora Valboa	Cieza Sarmiento	Pachacuti	Betanzos	Cobo

9	Anahuarqui Las Casas Fernández Discurso Cobo Sarmiento Zamora Valboa	Mama Ana Uarque Guaman Poma Murua 1c, d Murua 2b, c	Sister/no name Cieza Betanzos Pachacuti	Mama Hana Guarqui Las Casas Zamora	Ipa Vaco Murua 1a, c, d Murua 2de	Anahuarqui Micay Gutiérrez	Anahuarqui Micay Gutiérrez		
10	Mama Ocllo Las Casas Fernández Gutiérrez Discurso Cobo Cieza Betanzos Sarmiento Valboa Murua 1a, c Guaman Poma a/b Murua 2b, c	No One Zamora	Coya Mama Ana Guarqua Pachacuti	Toctacuca Murua 1f Murua 2c	Pilli Coaco Coya Murua 2b	Coya Chimpu Ocllo Garcilaso			
11	Pilco Huaco Gutiérrez Fernández Murua 1f Murua 2f	Cusi Rimay Cobo Sarmiento Valboa	Chimbo Ocllo Cieza	Palla Coca Betanzos	No one Las Casas Zamora Murua 1b	Mama Cuçi Rimay Pachacuti Murua 2a	Coaia Rava Ocllo Discurso Guaman Poma Murua 2a, b, c Murua 1a, c	Raua Ocllo Coya Garcilaso	Mama Ocllo
12	Mama Huarcay Fernández Murua 2f	Mama Guarqui Murua m1d	Chuqui Huipa Discurso Cobo? Betanzos Sarmiento Valboa (Uzpai) Murua 2b, d	Chuqui Llauto/Chuquillanto Murua 1a, c Murua 2a Guaman Poma	Coya Choque Yupa Cobo	Pillcu Huaco Garcilaso	Coya Mama Chuqui Huypa Chuquipay Pachacuti		

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