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THE *NUEVA CORÓNICA* OF GUAMAN POMA 1615–2015

Three Studies on Critical Issues Related to GKS 2232 4°

INTRODUCTION

In celebration of the fourth centenary of the autograph codex *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (Peru, 1615, Ms. Copenhagen, GKS 2232 4°) of the Andean Indian Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, which has been preserved since the 17th century in the Royal (National) Library of Denmark, three critical studies are hereby published for the first time, which in different ways address issues related not only to the authenticity of Guaman Poma's recently challenged authorship of the *Nueva corónica*, but also to the consistency of fundamental autobiographical data given by the author in his own work—an issue that from time to time since the discovery of the manuscript in 1908 has raised doubts about the "mysterious," even supposedly "mystifying" author's historicity and identity.¹

In the first of these three studies, Professor Jean-Philippe Husson from the University of Poitiers (France) addresses the apparent contradictions of the information given in different contexts by Guaman Poma regarding his own age at different points of his life. By reinterpreting data discussed recently by other specialists, Husson finds a positive solution to the paradox by taking into consideration the diverse—Andean and European—systems of age-reckoning available to Guaman Poma. With Professor Husson's penetrating analysis, the biography of Guaman Poma seems at last to have acquired the solid chronological foundation, which has been lacking since the re-discovery of the *Nueva corónica* in 1908.

Both of the next two contributions address indirectly the authenticity of Guaman Poma's authorship of the *Nueva corónica* by questioning

¹ As late as 1987, in spite of the discovery of numerous archival documents that mention Guaman Poma as an interpreter involved in the administration of the colony, the distinguished Spanish Americanist Manuel Ballesteros wrote: "Sabemos que Guaman Poma era un mistificador …" (We know that Guaman Poma was a mystifier …). (Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Perú. Edición de Manuel Ballesteros*, 1986, Madrid: Historia 16, p. 7.

the authenticity of the *Documenti Miccinelli*, two short manuscripts with some annexed material kept inaccessible to open, academic scrutiny in a privately owned collection in Naples. Since 1996 they have challenged Guaman Poma's authorship of the *Nueva corónica* besides propounding numerous other extraordinary claims with relation to the history and literature of colonial Peru. The full publication of the Miccinelli manuscripts in 2007 by an Italian academic press stressed the urgency of renewed critical analysis of the highly controversial Miccinelli material.

Thus, in the second paper, Professor Davide Domenici from the University of Bologna (Italy) analyzes the "khipu system" (knotted cords) described and reproduced in the Miccinelli documents as if it were a pre-Hispanic syllabic system revamped by the *mestizo* Jesuit Father and chronicler Blas Valera, the alleged "true" author of *the Nueva corónica*. By comparing the Miccinelli data with the system described in 1750 by the Neapolitan intellectual Raimondo de Sangro, Domenici argues that only a small portion of one of the two main Miccinelli manucripts can be considered to convey material that antedates De Sangro's famous *Lettera apologetica* (Naples, 1750), while the rest of the Miccinelli material should be discarded as forgeries of the very late 20th century—including the passages that question Guaman Poma's authorship of the *Nueva corónica*.

In the third and last contribution, the retired Keeper of Manuscripts and Rare Books of the Royal Library, Ivan Boserup, discusses a particular drawing discovered ϵ .1998. It seems to be a "secondary" forgery meant to be discovered by chance in the State Archive of Naples, and to confirm through more or less cryptic hints the authenticity of the narrative of the "primary" Miccinelli manuscripts. Boserup argues that both the hypothetical forger and a renowned scholar, who has recently defended the authenticity of the drawing, have been dependent on a 20th century theory—today outdated—regarding an illustrated manuscript chronicle by the Mercedarian Missionary Fray Martín de Murúa, which includes nearly hundred drawings by Guaman Poma.

Both Domenici and Boserup reach their respective results by uncovering key aspects—unknown till now to scholars and to the forger—of original material outside of the Miccinelli collection, to which the forged documents refer.

Fund of Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger [Discoveries and research in the collections of the Royal Library], the yearbook of the Royal Library, founded in 1954, has previously published five distinguished papers related to Guaman Poma and his *Nueva corónica*, all freely avail-

able as PDF files on the National Portal for Publishing of Scientific and Cultural Journals of the Royal Library at <tidsskrift.dk>. — In 1980, the co-editor of the first critical edition of Guaman Poma's work, Rolena Adorno (Yale University), rounded off her three-months' study in the Royal Library of GKS 2232 4° with a detailed introduction to the author, the autograph codex, and its history.² — Twenty years later, having had the occasion to revisit the library and Guaman Poma's manuscript in connection with the opening of the digital facsimile of the Nueva corónica published on the library's website, ³ Professor Adorno updated her earlier paper with new observations and interpretations in a paper⁴ reissued the following year in a separate publication for wider international distribution.⁵ — In 2004, Ivan Boserup took up the calculations of Guaman Poma regarding the extent of his book in order to examine whether these layered paleographical data substantiate that parts of Guaman Poma's work may have been lost, concluding definitively, however, that this was not the case.⁶ — In the same volume, Professor Marco Curatola Petrocchi (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú) presented and assessed the digital facsimile just mentioned, stressing the importance of the un-retouched facsimile for research worldwide and for the promotion and study of the *Nueva corónica* in Latin America in particular.⁷ — After the publication in 2004 in Madrid of a high-quality complete facsimile of the "Galvin Murúa," the manuscript mentioned above to which Guaman Poma contributed illustrations, long lost but re-discovered in 1996 by Professor Juan Ossio (Pontificia Universidad

² Rolena Adorno, "The *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*. A New Look at the Royal Library's Peruvian Treasure," *Fund og Forskning*, vol. 24, 1980, pp. 7–28.

³ <www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/info/en/frontpage.htm>. On this occasion, the Royal Library published an essay by Rolena Adorno on Guaman Poma and his manuscript, in English and in Spanish: *Guaman Poma and His Illustrated Chronicle from Colonial Peru*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press & The Royal Library.

⁴ 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), *Fund og Forskning*," vol. 41, 2002, pp. 7–106.

⁵ Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup, *New Studies of the Autograph Manuscript of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's* Nueva corónica y buen gobierno, Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2003.

⁶ Ivan Boserup, "A New Interpretation of Guaman Poma's Calculations on the Title Page of the *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*," *Fund og Forskning*, vol. 43, 2004, pp. 87–116.
⁷ Marco Curatola Petrocchi, "The Illustrated Codex (1615/1616) of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala: Towards a New Era of Reading," *Fund og Forskning*, vol. 43, 2004, pp. 423–36.

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Católica del Perú), Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup co-authored a detailed analysis of this highly interesting and complex manuscript of paramount importance for understanding Guaman Poma's intellectual history.⁸ — Furthermore, it should be mentioned that the library's other journal (in Danish), *Magasin*, in 1993 published an important short study by retired Senior researcher Harald Ilsøe (the Royal Library) on the probable date of entry in the seventeenth century of the *Nueva corónica* into the private library of king Frederic III of Denmark (the future Royal Library), confirming a conjecture by the renowned Peruvian historian Raúl Porras Barrenechea.⁹ The same journal published in 2012 the first report on the discovery of a modern forgery among the Miccinelli manuscripts,¹⁰ published in more detail in 2015.¹¹

In 2015, the Royal Library publishes the proceedings of the "2nd International Colloquium on Guaman Poma," held at the Royal Library 24–26 October 2013. 12

- ⁸ 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*, vol. 44, 2005, pp. 107–258.
- ⁹ Harald Ilsøe, "Lidt gammelt nyt om bibliotekets berømte inkahåndskrift" [Some old news about the library's famous Inka manuscript], *Magasin fra Det Kongelige Bibliotek*, vol. 8 (1), 1993, pp. 28–32.
- ¹⁰ Ivan Boserup and Mette Kia Krabbe Meyer, "Afslørende streger. Kontrakttegningen fra Napoli-dokumenterne og Det Kongelige Biblioteks *Nueva corónica* under lup." [Revealing lines. Examining through a looking glass the Contract drawing of the Naples Documents and the Royal Library's *Nueva corónica*], *Magasin fra Det Kongelige Bibliotek*. Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek, vol. 25 (4), 2012, pp. 9–18.
- ¹¹ Ivan Boserup and Mette Kia Krabbe Meyer, "The Illustrated *Contract* between Guaman Poma and the Friends of Blas Valera: A Key Miccinelli Manuscript Discovered in 1998," see the following note.
- Poma and his Nueva corónica (Proceedings of the Second International Colloquium on Guaman Poma, held in October 2013 in the Royal Library in Copenhagen), Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2015. (Danish Humanist Texts and Studies, vol. 50; international distribution: The University of Chicago Press). The volume includes invited papers by Ivan Boserup, José Cardenas Bunsen, Gregory T. Cushman, Mettelise Fritz Hansen, Regina Harrison, Jean-Philippe Husson, Gregory Khaimovich, Mette Kia Krabbe Meyer, Bruce Mannheim, Jesper Nielsen, Amnon Nir, Juan Ossio, Audrey Prévôtel, Frank Salomon, Jan Szeminski, and R. Tom Zuidema. (The proceedings of the 1st colloquium, held on 21–22 October 2010 in Poitiers, France, edited by Professor Jean-Philippe Husson, Poitiers, are published in 2015 in Lima, Peru, by Apus Graph Editores in collaboration with the Fundo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú: La memoria del mundo inca: Guaman Poma y la escritura de la Nueva Corónica).

With the following international papers celebrating the fourth centenary of the *Nueva corónica*, the Royal Library wishes to invite international scholars to consider publishing in its yearbook future studies on one of its most remarkable manuscript treasures.

The Editor of *Fund og Forskning*October 2015



